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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

SINCE the appearance of the last volume of this *Journal*, the Society has acquired new premises—the first that have truly belonged to it—and the change from Hinde Street to Doughty Mews was affected during the autumn of 1968. The move and the subsequent decoration of the new rooms were carried out largely by the voluntary help of some of the Society's members, organized with great efficiency by our Secretary, Miss Mary Crawford. All who have inspected the premises agree that an excellent job has been done. We hope that with a home of its own the Society will flourish even more, and continue effectively to prosecute the purposes for which it was established.

The last ceremonial act in the old rooms was the presentation to Professor Černý of a specially bound copy of Volume 54 of the *Journal* on August 23, the day following his seventieth birthday. This happy ceremony took place in the presence of the Committee of the Society and of some of the scholars from home and abroad who had contributed essays to the volume.

Fieldwork carried out by the Society's expeditions during 1968, and briefly reported in the Foreword to Volume 54, forms the subject of three reports in the present volume. During the current year, work has continued at Saqqâra, and is in progress at Tell el-Farâ'in at the time of writing this Foreword. In addition we were able to renew work at Qaṣr Ibrîm in conditions which were by no means easy. On the last expedition Professor Plumley reports as follows:

A further season's work at Qaṣr Ibrîm was begun on January 23, 1969, and terminated on March 9. Three areas were excavated. To the south of the Great Church work was concentrated on the area immediately north of the partially excavated great stairway. This area was originally occupied by a number of buildings of various dates; but it is now evident that the great stairway once gave access to a massive stone structure which may have been the Residence of the Eparch or Deputy of the High King of Nubia, probably during the period c. 650–1173 A.D. Beneath the so-called Residence lay the remains of walls of an earlier structure which may possibly date to the Meroitic Period. The surviving walls of this building rise to a height of approximately 1.50 m. The exterior faces of these walls are mason-finished, and bear a number of symbols in relief. One of these symbols depicts an amphora in its stand; the others may be bunches of grapes. The purpose of this building is not yet clear, but the discovery of an ornamental bouquet of durra buried in a shallow pit under the level of a pavement which once surrounded this building at least suggests that it may have had some religious significance. From this area came further fragments of manuscripts written in Greek, Old Nubian, Coptic, and Arabic. A few of the texts are clearly liturgical, but most of the Old Nubian and the Arabic are letters. At least two of the Old Nubian letters are addressed to the Eparch, and possibly one or two of the earlier Arabic letters are also so addressed. Among other objects found in this area were two fine brass bowls, probably of early Mameluke date.

The second area to be excavated was at the south angle of the great west fortifications of the Fortress. Here, as expected from the evidence of the short preliminary season in December 1966,

the workmen uncovered the original south gate of the Fortress. There seems little doubt that this is Meroitic in origin, and that it was blocked up during the latest period of Meroitic occupation. Two blocks of stone, possibly lintel blocks, each bearing the prenomen and nomen of Taharqa, had been used to block the gateway. In the debris thrown down behind the blocking a large number of potsherds of Meroitic manufacture, and many fragments of papyri inscribed with cursive Meroitic, were found. Among the latter was one large piece of papyrus inscribed in Greek. Originally a flight of steps had led up to the gate, but this had been deliberately destroyed, probably when the blocking of the gate took place.

The discovery of the Taharqa blocks encouraged the excavators to think that a temple of his time had possibly been sited not far from the blocked gate. An area a short distance to the north of the gateway was therefore investigated by means of a trench. As a result of this investigation the foundations of what must have been a gateway were uncovered, and an area exposed, the nature of which strongly supports the suggestion that here once stood a small temple or a large shrine. The area seems to have been systematically robbed, and it is possible that much of the great stone-work of the Church may have come from this area. The identification of a number of coins found in this area may eventually help to determine the approximate date of the final dismantling of the building which once stood here.

As in many recent years, Saqqâra has been the principal scene of our work in the field. Professor Emery has written the following short note on the season's work:

On November 23, 1968, we reopened our excavations on the site of the temple of Nectanebo II which was discovered last year. Our first task was the removal of the Christian settlement above the deliberately destroyed Pharaonic monuments which were revealed as a series of chapels built against the face of the escarpment. These chapels rest on the rubble-filled platform enclosed by the great brick enclosure, half of which has now been cleared down to the original ground level, revealing still older structures of an earlier but uncertain date. The character of these earlier buildings, which are probably contemporary with the enclosure wall, must remain unknown until further excavation is carried out. In the course of the removal of the fill of the enclosure we had expected to find the entrance to the mausoleum of Isis, Mother of Apis, but so far we have failed in our search. However, the comparative preponderance, in the inscribed material, of reference to Apis and the sacred cow leaves little doubt that the burial place is in the immediate vicinity.

Throughout the clearance of the Nectanebo shrines and the fill of the enclosure numerous deposits of bronze, wood, and stone statuettes were found, the most remarkable of which was a group of three wooden shrines, hundreds of bronze statuettes, and a fine wooden figure of Osiris, in a stone-lined pit in the floor of one of the chapels. The objects, some of them wrapped in linen, were in an almost perfect state of preservation; but even more important were some Carian stelae which had been used to line the walls of the pit. Excavation behind one of the smaller chapels revealed two rough-stone retaining walls which led direct to the face of the escarpment, and a gate which gave access to an amazing series of underground galleries in which were buried the cynocephalous baboons who, with the ibis, were sacred to Thoth and Imhotep. The animals were mummified, wrapped in linen, and placed in wooden chests which were then filled solid with gypsum plaster. The chests, with their solidified contents were then placed in sealed niches built in the sides of the galleries. These galleries, unlike those of the ibis, with which they are connected, are stone-lined and are rich in hieroglyphic and demotic graffiti, all of which have now been recorded. There was also a rich find of Carian stelae with texts in good preservation.

The galleries are on two levels connected by a stairway, in the vicinity of which we discovered a two-thirds life-size statue of Isis nursing the infant Horus and two life-size statues of the sacred baboon.

The main upper gallery is terminated by a break into a Third-dynasty burial shaft. Because of the precarious condition of the rock and the shaft-filling, our attention was directed to the top of the escarpment with a view to finding the mouth of the shaft. By February 5 large-scale excavation revealed the top of the shaft and a great Third-dynasty tomb of unusual design with a superstructure measuring 52 m. × 19 m., thus being one of the largest in the archaic necropolis. A jar sealing, found with pottery in one of its ravaged magazines, bore the *serekh* of Neterkhet (Zoser). Work in its south burial shaft, which connects it with the baboon galleries, has had to be suspended until next season for technical reasons. On March 6 the excavations were closed down until next November when our first task will be directed to a detailed examination of this most interesting tomb and the area surrounding it.

This has undoubtedly been the most successful season the Society has had since the present campaign began at Saqqâra in 1964, and future excavation in this area will probably be even more rewarding. The division of the antiquities discovered took place on March 10 and a generous share of the finds is now on its way to the United Kingdom.

Reports on these two excavations and on the work at Tel el-Farâ'in this year will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.

During the year Egyptology has suffered many sad losses. The Society particularly mourns the death of one of its honorary members, Mr. Warren Dawson, a former Treasurer; an obituary notice appears later in this volume. Dr. J. Leibovitch, also a member of the Society for many years, and a prolific writer on Egypto-Semitic subjects, died on April 4, 1968.

Among Egyptologists who have died in the past year, who were not members of the Society, the one probably best known to members was Dr. Williams S. Smith, Curator of Egyptian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. His unexpected death on January 12, 1969, has robbed our science of one of its most learned and percipient art-historians. There are many who will remember his kindness; he was a truly generous custodian of the antiquities he supervised. Professor Giuseppe Botti, who died on September 27, 1968, will also be much missed; he had reached the advanced age of 79, but was still heavily engaged in scholarly activities. He will be especially remembered by British Egyptologists for his fruitful collaborations with T. E. Peet, Sir Alan Gardiner, and Professor Černý.

Here too we sadly record the deaths of Dr. Hans Hickmann and Dr. Irmgard Woldering. The former, a distinguished musicologist, devoted many years to an intensive study of ancient Egyptian music and musical instruments. His writings in this field will remain standard for many years to come. He died on a visit to England on September 4, 1968. Dr. Woldering, the Director of the Kestner Museum, Hanover, since 1955, was first and foremost a writer on Egyptian art. She died on April 24, 1969.

Many Egyptian collections in the great and small museums of the world remain partly published and little known. Some institutions have made notable contributions to our science by publishing catalogues of particular categories of objects; but it is evident that much still remains to be done. Four scholars concerned with collections, Mr. Bernard Bothmer of Brooklyn, Dr. Miroslav Verner of Prague, and Dr. Karl-Heinz Priese and Dr. Steffen Wenig of East Berlin, have prepared a long document, entitled *Zur Veröffentlichung von Beständen ägyptischer Museen und Sammlungen*, which will be published in *ZÄS* 96 later this year. They recommend a method of slip-publication

which would render all collections available to scholars in a standard form. We have been asked to draw the attention of museum curators and owners of collections of Egyptian antiquities to this document, and earnestly beg them to consider whether they can co-operate in such an enterprise. The problems involved should not be minimized; the labour of preparing slips will inevitably fall chiefly on existing museum staffs, while the value of the results will depend on the accuracy and knowledge of those same staffs. Some may think that the scheme is ideal, but impracticable. It is, however, a scheme to be discussed. No attempt to improve the present situation should be rejected without being given proper consideration.

Of recent publications a special welcome should greet the first two fascicules of *Ramesside Texts* by Mr. K. A. Kitchen of Liverpool University. Mr. Kitchen plans to publish hand-copies of all known historical texts of the Ramesside Period, thereby making available a great mass of primary source material much of which is at present only available in copies scattered throughout Egyptological literature. The work will appear in fascicules, and it is good to learn that he has succeeded in making arrangements with Messrs. B. H. Blackwell of Oxford for the printing and distribution of the parts. Everyone will hope that Mr. Kitchen will have the strength and determination to see the scheme through to a successful finish.

A successful finish has certainly attended the efforts of Miss Bodil Hornemann, the last two parts of whose *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* appeared in the spring this year. The drawings of Egyptian sculpture, small and large, which make up this work provide a remarkable bank of careful information of infinite value to the student of Egyptian art. It is a work the worth of which becomes increasingly apparent with use. Miss Hornemann deserves our gratitude for completing so notably a task that has engrossed her energies for more than thirty years.

We have been asked to inform readers of the *Journal* about another book which may be difficult to obtain through normal channels. This is *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete* by Peter J. Ucko, which contains a comprehensive catalogue of figurines, and a discussion of their possible function. Copies can be obtained from Macfarlanes, Dowgate Hill House, London, E.C. 4, or from Dr. Ucko, 11 Compayne Gardens, London, N.W. 6, price £6 6s., postage and packing extra (Britain, 5s. 6d.; elsewhere, 6s. 6d.).

Among the leaflets distributed with this copy of the *Journal* is one advertising the new British Museum Society. The organizers hope that members of the Egypt Exploration Society will read this leaflet with care and sympathy. The work of our Society has since the beginning been carried out in close association with members of the staffs of the Departments of Egyptian Antiquities and of Manuscripts of the British Museum, and the Museum is the principal repository of the antiquities and documents brought back to this country as the results of the Society's activities in Egypt and the Sudan. This association provides but one reason why we are glad to commend the new British Museum Society. Members of the Egypt Exploration Society will no doubt have many other good reasons for welcoming this opportunity to participate actively in the plans for the future development of the British Museum.

THE TELL EL-FARÂ'ÎN EXPEDITION, 1968

By M. V. SETON-WILLIAMS

THE fourth season was carried out at Tell el-Farâ'în from the beginning of May until the end of the first week in July. This year the expedition was financed by generous gifts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Royal Ontario Museum, and by numerous donations from ordinary members of the Egypt Exploration Society. As a result, for the first time there were sufficient funds available to employ enough workmen and transport.

I should like to express the thanks of the Expedition to Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, the Director General of Antiquities, to Dr. Hassan Bakry, to Dr. Munir Basta of the Tanta Inspectorate, and all his colleagues to whom we owe so much; we were fortunate in having one of them as our inspector this year, Mr. Ali Gamal ed-Din el-Hakim. We are also grateful to Reîs Ismayil Ibrahim Fayid, who has assisted us in all our seasons.

My thanks are also due to the members of the Expedition: Dr. Donald Redford, who acted as Field Supervisor and Epigraphist; Miss Dorothy Charlesworth, whose work on the industrial area is described in a separate article; Mr. Joseph Clarke and Mr. Peter French, who were site supervisors and draughtsmen; Mrs. Stephanie Gee, who did the recording, a large part of the photography, and the drawing; Mr. Peter Clayton, who worked on the coins and prepared the report given below; and Mr. David Dyson, who acted as photographer. Mrs. J. Martin, A.R.I.B.A., drew the plans with her customary skill. I should also like to thank the Revd. H. E. J. Biggs for his help with the report on mollusca, and Mrs. Betty Westley for her help with the animal bones.

This year we were fortunate in having brief visits from Professor J. M. Plumley, Dr. V. D. Macdermot, and Dr. and Mrs. Henry Fischer.

Work was conducted on parts of the mounds on Site B, the temple area; on Site Jj 33/4 and Kk 34, the industrial area (see separate report below); and on Kôm el-Dahab.

Site B: The Temple area (fig. 1). Work was continued in clearing the inner temple enclosure, the plan of which was not completed last year. A series of large 20-metre squares was laid down sufficient to establish the main outline of the building. The structure of the temple now appears to be of the type described by Petrie at Tell Nabêsha as a typical Delta temple.¹ A large area was cleared and levelled and enclosed inside a mudbrick retaining wall. Sometimes a mudbrick platform was laid down or a layer of clean sand of varying thickness. On this the temple structure was built. The size of the temple enclosure at Tell el-Farâ'în had been previously established as 31 × 65 m. It is interesting to compare it with the enclosure of the temple dedicated to Edjō discovered at Tell Nabêsha which was 100 × 54 ft., and the temple to Nekhbet at

¹ See Petrie, *Tanis*, II, 8 on the Egyptian method of building temples in the Delta.

El-Kâb which was 60×30 m., both being slightly smaller than the Tell el-Farâ'in building. Inside the mudbrick wall was a limestone wall lined with quartzite slabs which had been joined to the limestone by strips of copper, fragments of which were

TELL EL-FARÂ'IN 1967~68
SITE B

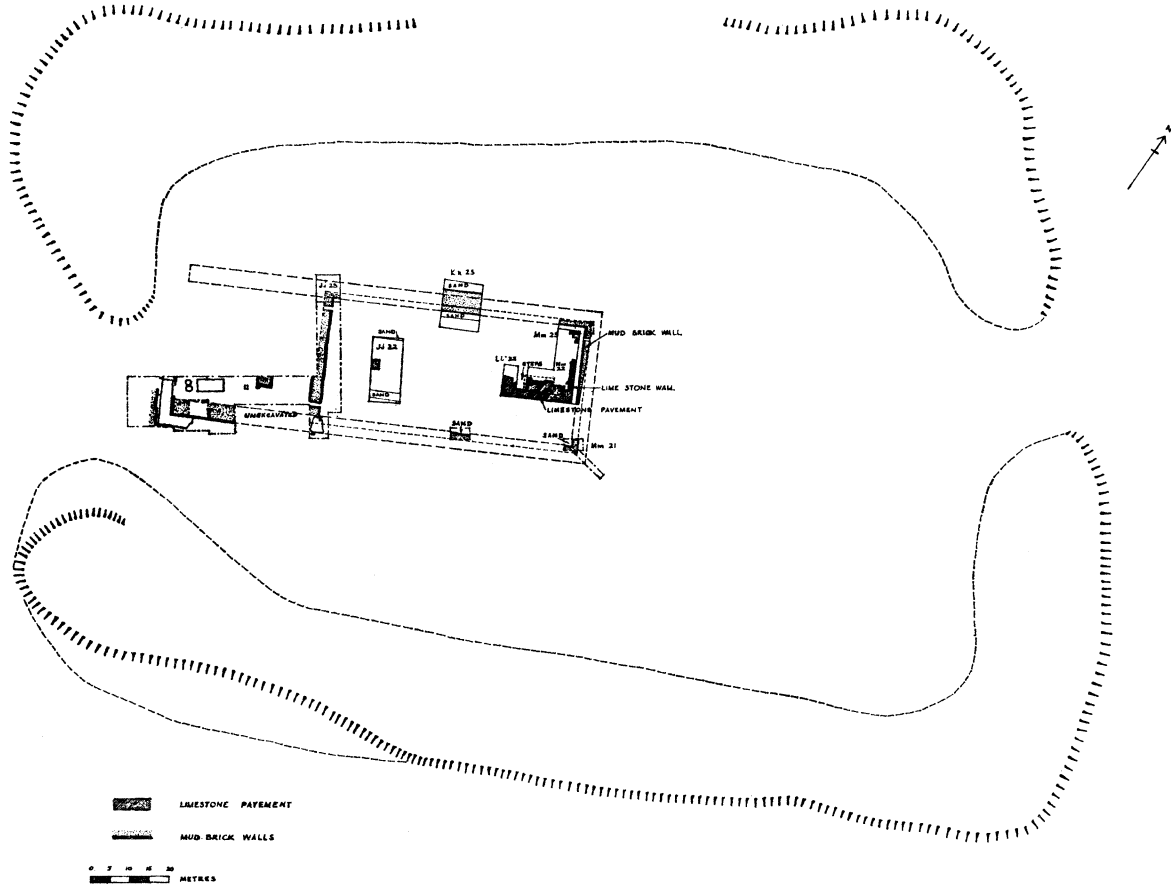


FIG. 1.

still in position in the dowel holes. The inner limestone wall, consisting of large blocks 2-3 m. long, was set on a limestone pavement 86 cm. thick. This pavement had been dressed in position, and it overlaid a thick layer of clean yellow sand, more than a metre in depth. Although many of the wall blocks were missing their positions could be easily ascertained by the deep grooves cut in the pavement which served as guide lines for the builders. The weight of the stones had also caused considerable subsidence so that the pavement in some places had sunk as much as 12 cm. With the aid of the guide lines and the subsidence, it would have been possible to reconstruct the internal structure of the temple if the pavement blocks had remained in position. The ceiling was also of fine white quartzite covered with raised five-pointed stars 8 cm. across, several fragments of which were found lying on the pavement or in the sand (pl. III,

3). The mudbrick enclosure wall rose to a height of 2.40 m. above the pavement level in a series of steps. The surface was plastered with mud and it was 1.80 m. wide. At one point, in Kk 23 where a square was dug across this mudbrick enclosure wall, evidence was found of another mudbrick wall running parallel to this. In the Ptolemaic Period cross-walls had been placed across the intervening space, but originally there must have been an ambulatory paved with limestone slabs running round the outside of the inner enclosure wall. This appears to be part of the same structure found in 1965. Between the inner mudbrick enclosure wall and the limestone wall was a space of approximately one metre filled with clean yellow sand. This building was erected during the Saïte Period, the type of building being similar to that found at Mendes. Traces of the throne name of Amasis, *Hnm-ib-rr*, were found on pink plaster scattered throughout the filling. This plaster had been placed over the original stone and was therefore not of Saïte date but later (see Insc. no. 7 below, fig. 3). It is known that Amasis, 570–526 B.C., in his long reign constructed or restored various Delta sanctuaries; for instance, at Nabêsha (to Edjō),¹ at Bubastis,² at Mendes,³ at Saïs,⁴ and at Memphis. He died, however, before the task of restoration was complete and the scarcely finished work was largely destroyed by the Persians. At Buto the whole temple had been violently destroyed, the quartzite having been ripped off the limestone blocks and smashed into tiny fragments. It must have been razed by the Persians who wished to uproot the sanctuaries of the national deities; the same thing happened at El-Kâb. But whereas the El-Kâb sanctuary was rebuilt by Darius II, it seems obvious that the same thing did not take place in the Delta. In fact, it appears that in the Persian Period the site was largely deserted, to judge by the layer of detritus on Site C and the lack of occupation debris.

The temple must have been restored in early Ptolemaic times but, except for the Satrap stela⁵ and the inscribed pink plaster, the evidence is uncertain. The temple seems to have fallen into disuse after the first four Ptolemies, probably as a result of disturbances in the Delta after the battle of Raphia. The evidence for this is the building of houses encroaching on the temple walls, and the building of a kiln actually upon the wall itself, which is dated by coins and pottery to the period of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.).

This year many additional statue fragments were found scattered through the filling overlying the temple floor. Most of these were of granite or diorite and consisted of arms, legs, and part of a striding figure in pink granite. One of the more interesting finds, from near the temenos wall, was that of the upper part of a statue in black granite. This was half life-size and an excellent piece of work. The face is delicately modelled with slightly large ears. The nose and both shoulders are broken. The head-dress is a bag wig ending on a back pillar with titles including 'Servant of Horus and prophet

¹ Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. xiv.

² Revillout, *Rev. égyptologique*, 2, 43; stela (Berlin 8439) with foundation text of Amasis in year 32 or 34 for a temple at Bubastis.

³ Naville, *Ahmas el Medineh*, 17; Hanson, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 32.

⁴ Stela of Year 8 of Amasis recording a dedication of a court and land to Neith and Horus (B.M. 1427).

⁵ *ZÄS* 9, 1 ff.; Sethe, *Urk.* II, 11 ff.

of Bastet' (see p. 21). The face shows the careful modelling to be found on some of the late sculpture with its high cheek-bones and strongly marked chin. The finish is smooth rather than highly polished. Extant height is 22 cm. (see pl. III, 1, 2). Mr. B. V. Bothmer has kindly provided the following comment on this piece:

The bust you found . . . is a very good example of late Saïte sculpture in the round. The piece undoubtedly dates from the reign of Amasis and is very close to the somewhat later kneeling naophorous statue found by Professor Emery at Sakkara . . . [see *JEA* 53, pl. XXIII, 1 and 2, *Ed.*]. The bust is very close to one from Athribis in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston which I have discussed in *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, No. 60, pp. 71-2, figs. 140-2. Your piece, however, appears to be somewhat earlier and thus I would not hesitate to place it around 540-520 B.C.

There were also discovered in the temple area several inscribed limestone slabs of probable New Kingdom date, most of them thought to be from the Nineteenth Dynasty (see p. 20).

The evidence now collected suggests that there is a temple surrounded by double enclosure walls of mudbrick, with an inner wall of limestone lined and roofed with quartzite. It was almost certainly that of Edjō the Cobra-goddess. This was the temple which was seen by Herodotus,¹ but his chapel has long since been destroyed. The temple was called Per-Edjō from which the name of Buto is derived. According to Gardiner the earliest reference to Per-Edjō is probably in the Twentieth Dynasty in the Onomasticon of Amenemope.² The name of at least one high priest of the Late Period is known—Har-ḥotpe.³

Search was made for the foundation deposits at the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, the only place where the corner was sealed by stone, but in spite of continuing below the water level this hunt met with no success. I am inclined to think this is because the foundation deposits had already been disturbed by the stone robbers. Several small blue glass rectangles were found loose in the fill and a T-shaped copper object.

Further evidence of the political disturbances at the site during the Ptolemaic period was obtained from piles of sling stones found actually overlying the mudbrick enclosure wall in Jj 23. These had been made out of limestone presumably from the temple structure.

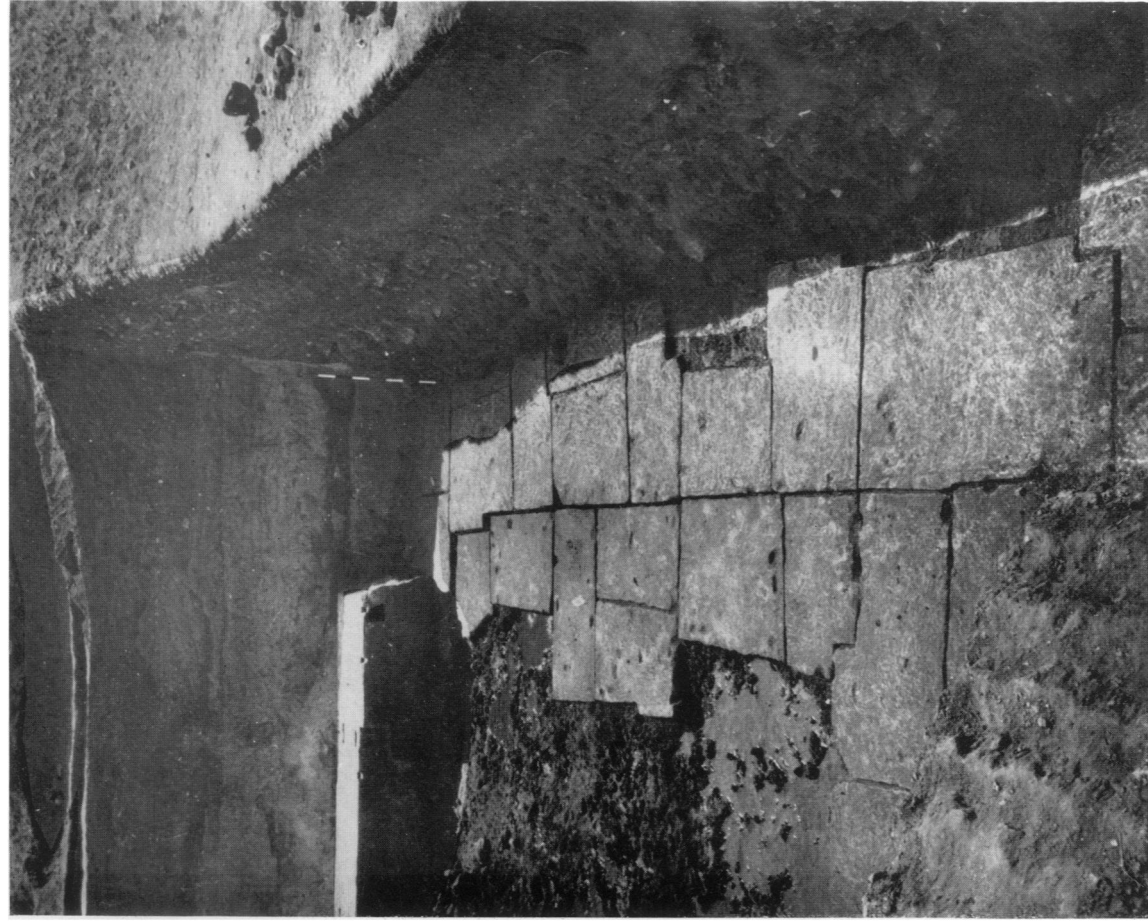
With the object of examining the structures between the temple and the main temenos wall in Gg 21/2, we laid down a trench between the two, which revealed a number of Ptolemaic rooms whose floors were made of pounded limestone. They contained the usual furniture of pottery, plain lamps, pounders, and coins. Room 3 contained, in addition, part of an inscribed grey granite bowl, perhaps of Twenty-second Dynasty date, and obviously out of place (see Insc. no. 26 below), a small terracotta figurine with Grecian-style draperies (FN 1769), and various Ptolemaic coins dating to the end of the Ptolemaic Period.

It is now possible to say after the work this year that there are at least two separate temple structures inside the enclosure wall. The one that has been described here in detail is Saïte, but there are the remains of an earlier structure lying to the west of it. This latter was probably of New Kingdom date and almost certainly of the Nineteenth

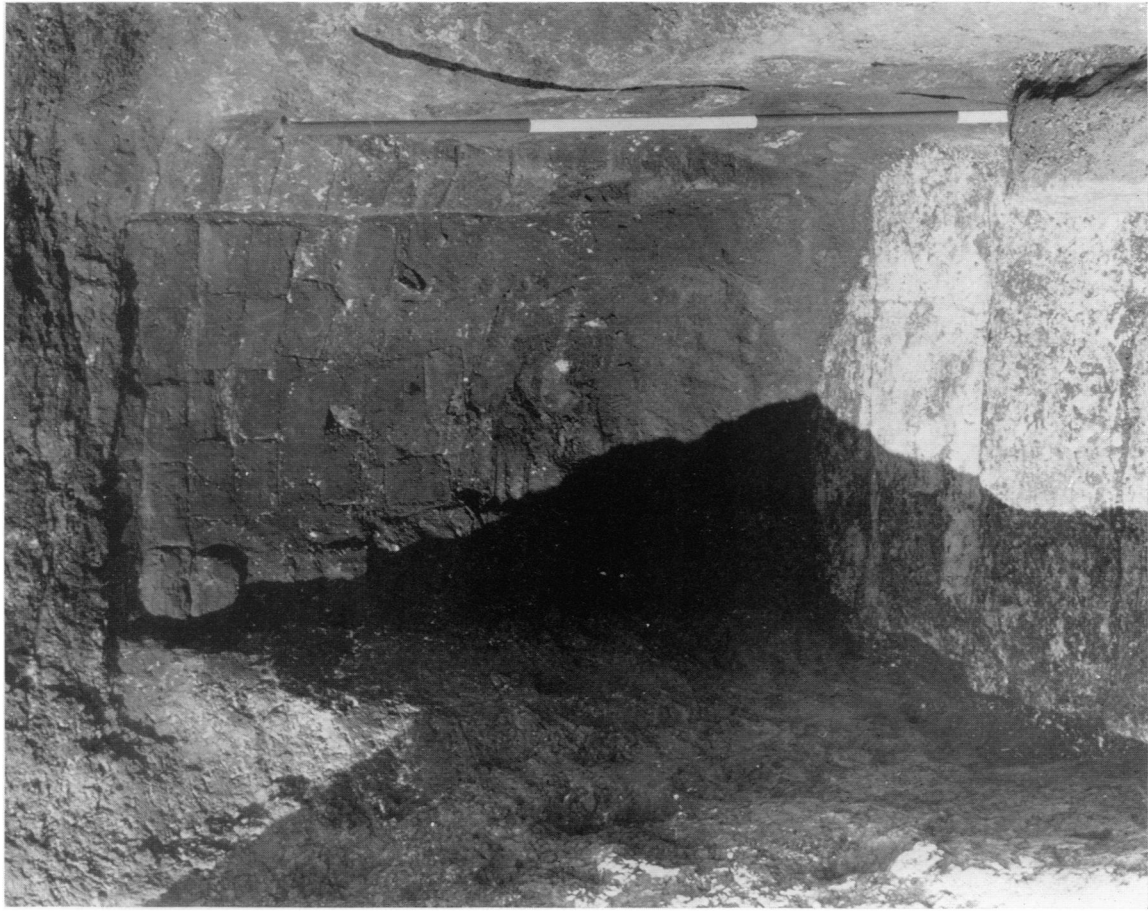
¹ III, 155.

² *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 191*.

³ *Ann. Serv.* 20, 27-32, pl. ii.



1. Pavement of Saitte temple looking east, showing inner wall and mudbrick wall behind it



2. Blocked doorway in the east side of the temenos wall, showing brick filling and limestone paving

TELL EL-FARÁĀN, 1968



1. Kôm el-Dahab. A general view of butressed outer wall of Period II b



2. Kôm el-Dahab. Entrance through butressed outer wall. The projecting section of wall on the left represents the second building phase

Dynasty, as the majority of the inscriptional material found in this area belonged to Ramesses II. All that remains of this structure is the mudbrick platform on which it was set. It was a considerably larger building than the Saïte temple and contained a columned hall with limestone pillars, only the bases of which remain. Traces of the sand underlying the limestone pavement, which had been completely robbed, could be seen on the outer side of the enclosure wall in Hh 22 and Gg 22. It was through this building that the Ptolemaic builders had driven their wells constructed to a large extent of material culled from the earlier building. Although the structure may be said to be of New Kingdom date, it probably had later additions in the Twenty-Second Dynasty to judge from the inscribed fragments found. The Ptolemaic buildings had cut through and largely destroyed the outer mudbrick wall of this temple.

By the last few years of the Ptolemaic Period the temple enclosure seems to have been entirely given up to industrialization. The reeking pottery kilns must have cast a thick pall of smoke over the area, similar to that seen today in Disûq along the canal. In view of the very large pottery manufacture it seems impossible that it was all for local consumption. The extensive importation of wine, and the manufacture here of amphorae, some of which have been found as far away as the Agora in Athens,¹ suggest a two-way trade in the Ptolemaic Period of which at the moment we know very little.

The whole temple area had been very much cut into by pits. These were of several periods, the earlier Ptolemaic and Roman ones being partly removed by the later Islamic sebakheen cuttings, which could easily be distinguished by the presence of Islamic clay pipes (post-sixteenth century).

The great temenos wall of the temple stands about 10.25 m. above the ancient ground level although it must originally have been much higher. It varies in width between 17 and 25 m., and is built of alternate layers of reeds and large bricks, the size of which was 20 × 38 × 14 cm. In 1967 samples of reeds were taken with a view to obtaining a carbon-14 date which has now been determined as between 650 and 570 B.C., a date which would well fit in with the Saïte reconstruction of the temple. It would be a natural security measure to build the temenos wall before building the inner structure.

In an attempt to date the main temenos wall and see what it was resting upon, trenches were put down on the north-east side just north of the break in the wall shown on fig. 1. This showed that the structure of the wall was of two periods and that the Saïte was a later addition—the earlier is probably Ramesside. The bricks were of two sizes, the earlier being smaller and better made. In addition a doorway partly blocked by bricks (18 × 11 cm.) was found. It was 2 m. high and 1 m. wide leading to a passage through the temenos wall floored with thin limestone slabs showing very considerable signs of wear. This paving led away outside the wall towards the cultivation. Inside we were only able to clear the passage for a distance of 6 m. as it was found just at the end of the season. The roof was lined with baulks of timber in an excellent state of preservation.² On the floor were found two bronze coins dating to Ptolemy III

¹ Agora Excavations P9636 is of the same fabric and shape as FN 374 which is locally manufactured at Buto.

² I am indebted to Miss Cecil Weston and Mr. Shaw for the information that this timber belongs to a tropical family, probably Sapotaceae, which is now found in the Southern Sudan or in the Equatorial Province.

Euergetes (246–221 B.C.) in a very worn condition, several complete pots, and part of a bird's foot in bronze. From this evidence it is obvious that the passage was in use during the third century B.C. The coins inside the passage were part of a group, as other large bronze coins of Ptolemy III and IV had been found lying in the fill outside. Whether this passage runs straight through the wall or leads to a chamber within the wall must

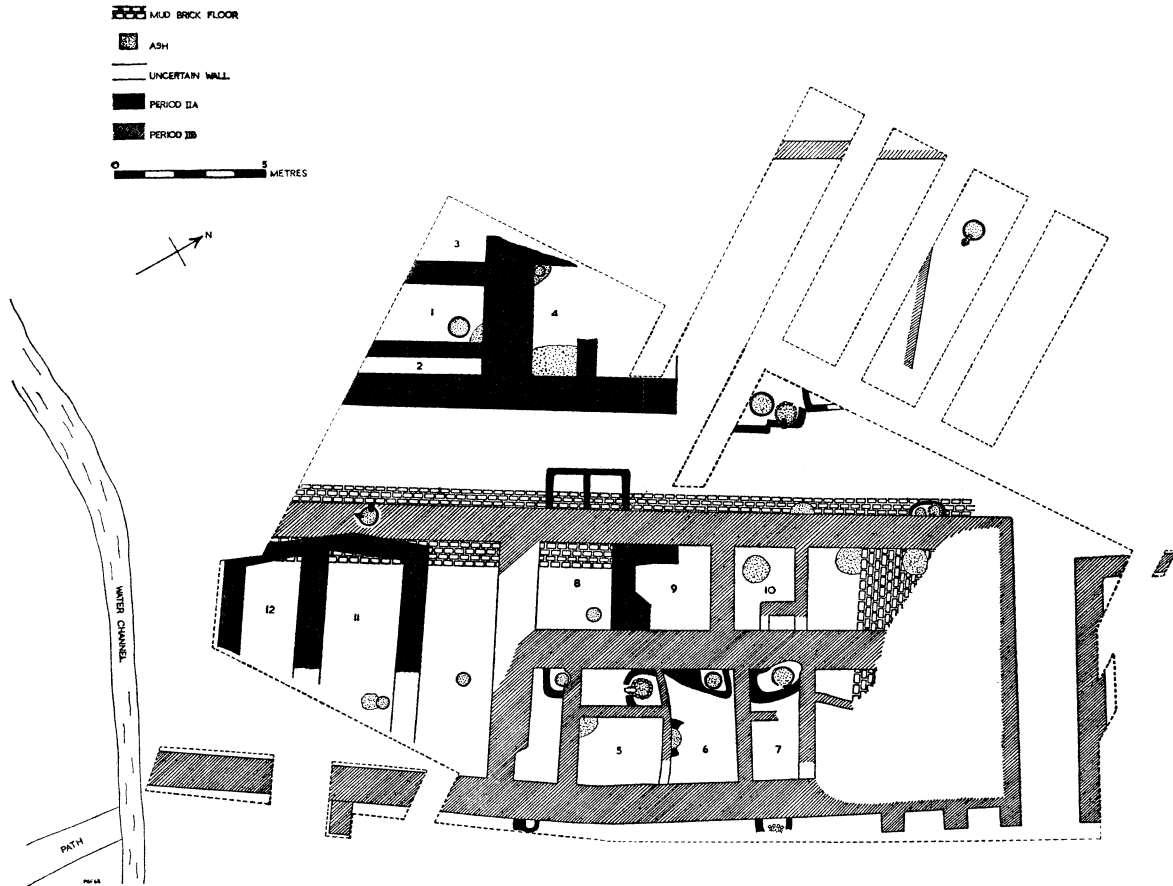


FIG. 2.

await further investigation. It may have been bricked up and blocked at the time of the revolt in Ptolemy IV Philopator's reign after the battle of Raphia (which may have been when the piles of sling stones were collected for use), or during the disorders that followed the elevation of the boy Ptolemy V to the throne.

In addition a square 20×10 m. was laid down east of the inner enclosure wall to test what buildings there were beyond the enclosure. In this area, however, no buildings were found in the upper levels, but a thick deposit of blown sand indicated a period of abandonment. In the south-east corner of the enclosure a Roman house was partly built over the wall with mudbrick walls and a lined plaster tank.

Kôm el-Dahab (Mound of Gold), also called Kôm el-Sayyajah (Mound of Jewellery), (fig. 2). Work on this small isolated mound presented certain problems. It was approximately 3 km. from the Excavation House and there was no road to it. The field paths

were continually rendered impassable by the changing water-channels. It was, however, in the midst of the cultivation and the journey to it provided an unrivalled chance of studying modern Egyptian agriculture, including the rice fields, which were progressively flooded, and maize standing three cubits high like the corn in the fields of Iaru. Dumping was a problem as irrigation ditches ran round three sides of the site. On the fourth side the mound had been cut away by the sebakheen hunters, but as there was a case pending between the Antiquities Department and the local landowner we were not able to dump on this land. A compromise was reached by placing the soil as close to the mound as possible, a not altogether satisfactory arrangement.

The present square outline of the mound is not its original shape, which was considerably larger and more oval. All that is left is the highest part, and trees. An area approximately 35×30 m. in the south-west of the mound was excavated involving squares Uu 51, 52, and 53 and Vv 52 and 53 on the grid. There were at least three and probably four periods of occupation.

Period I, Roman. No structures beyond a few clusters of burnt brick and some pits. The buildings, if any, of this period had been eroded.

Period II. This was divided into II A and II B. They were both Ptolemaic. The earliest of these, B, consisted of a substantial walled building with buttresses at intervals. This wall was 1.37 m. wide. Inside was a double row of well-built brick rooms averaging in size 4×2.50 m. The inner part of the mound at this level appeared to have no structures and was an open space—it may have been a barrack square or parade ground. The rooms, which had been reused in the later period, had been largely cleared but limestone sling-stones, some arrows of flint and of bronze, an iron spearhead, a grotesque head in clay, and the usual pounders and mortars as well as pottery could be assigned to this period. The date of the earlier Ptolemaic structure was second century B.C., established from the numerous Hellenistic jar stamps indicating that the garrison had enjoyed imported wine, mostly Rhodian. It was probably a small guard-post for the north-east side of the town. There were considerably more storage jars for both liquids and solids than would have been required in an ordinary house. What was interesting was the almost complete lack of true Egyptian objects in this collection, indicating that the garrison had been completely Hellenized.

In Period II A the very substantial brick walls of the previous period had been cut away in part to allow for the insertion of small furnaces some 50 cm. across. They were made of reused pottery, bricks, and plaster with a draught hole at the base made of the necks of discarded amphorae. These small furnaces were of an entirely different type from the kilns discovered in the previous years and were probably used for metal smelting. A large number of bronze objects was found in these levels—nails, buckles, hooks, chisels, and needles—as well as a quantity of metallic slag. The coins, which were numerous, dated the period to Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.).

Period III. In this phase the Ptolemaic building seems to have been set on a very much larger mudbrick structure with sloping sides made of larger mudbricks. This structure

filled the west side of the squares, but time did not allow for its complete investigation. The water was reached at a depth of 4 m. in the middle of the Kôm.

Three important objectives remain—the Predynastic cemetery, the temple of Horus of Pe, and the earlier temple of Edjō.

The early graves are not necessarily (although they may be) beneath the water level. If the early settlement is beyond Mound A, they may well be under the modern village of Sekhmawy which has only been built for about 90 years, largely constructed of stones and material removed from the site.

The temple of Horus of Pe was almost certainly on Mound C but it may be beneath the modern village of Muhammad el-Baz, as the deposit of bronze hawks found in 1924 came from an area within the village.

The position of the earlier temple of Edjō, if it is not below the present building, as seems the case, is probably in Mound A.

The Coins¹

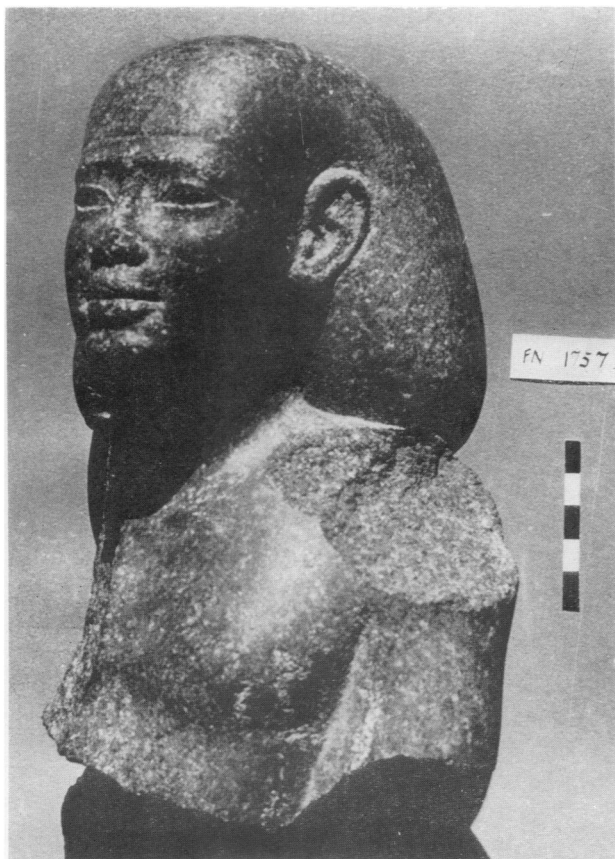
By Peter A. Clayton

UNFORTUNATELY, because of the high salt content of the soil on the site, the greater proportion of the coins found were corroded beyond recognition. The typical specimen, found in large numbers, was simply a bright green disc, averaging 21 mm. in diameter, which invariably broke into pieces when any attempt was made to clean it; it was therefore only possible to record these coins numerically in the broad categories of Ptolemaic, 'tokens', and Roman. The figures given for these 'unidentifiables' are minimum ones since in many instances the coins broke in the workman's hands even before they could be identified for simple ascription purposes.

	Ptolemaic	'Tokens'	Roman
Tell el-Farâ'in	74	31	8
Kôm el-Dahab	897	188	13

The 'tokens' should perhaps be first explained. These were small, circular bronze pieces varying between 5 and 15 mm. in diameter. Often they presented a small flange on one edge, sometimes two on facing sides, which seems to indicate that the blanks for striking, or possibly the actual 'tokens', had been cast in linked moulds, the narrow neck of metal joining them being subsequently cut or broken. Their condition was such that it is not possible to state categorically whether they were in fact cast or struck pieces. Generally nothing could be seen on them, even after cleaning, although occasional specimens did seem to have, on what may be termed the obverse, remnants of the head of Zeus Ammon, familiar from the larger Ptolemaic bronze coins. The most recognizable element of the design was his ram's horn. 'Tokens' is used here merely as a

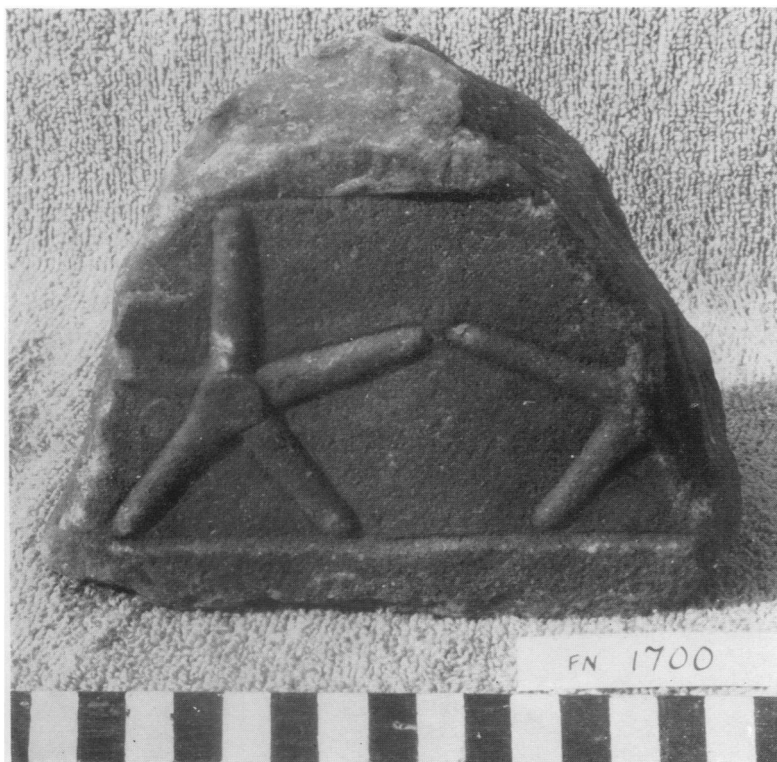
¹ Abbreviations used: *BMC*—*British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt*, by R. S. Poole, London, 1883. *Milne*—*Catalogue of the Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, by J. G. Milne, Oxford, 1933.



1. Upper part of black granite statue from Site B.
Height 22 cm.



2. Back view of statue showing the inscribed back pillar



3. Quartzite ceiling fragment from the temple, with stars carved in relief.
Width 8.2 cm.



4. Fragment of yellow quartzite showing part of a cartouche and the town names Pe and Dep

convenient term to describe these small pieces as they do not appear to be part of the normal currency issue.

The large number of unidentifiable coins from Kôm el-Dahab, over 900, may be narrowed to the later Ptolemaic period and, by virtue of their fairly constant average diameter and weight (in so far as their condition permitted such diagnosis), almost certainly represent the very common issue, found widely on the site, of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.). This has obverse, the head of Zeus Ammon facing right, and reverse, two eagles on a thunderbolt facing left.¹

The identifiable coins of the PTOLEMAIC series² start with Ptolemy III Euergetes I (247–222 B.C.). Four of his large bronze issue,³ average diameter 40 mm., were found at site B in Ss 23, one of them on a floor. These were in very fine condition, the finest coins found so far on the site—unexpectedly fine in view of the adverse conditions affecting preservation of coins. Another large bronze (34 mm.), also from Ss 23, had basically the same obverse and reverse types.⁴ From Gg 21, room 3, came two specimens of the second coinage with the head of Alexander the Great facing right with an elephant's skin head-dress as the obverse type,⁵ and a third came from Kk 23(1), found above the mudbrick end wall. A coin from Gg 21, with the usual obverse and reverse types,⁶ carried in the field on the reverse the mint device or signature of a harpa, indicating the mint of Joppa in Palestine as its source—the harpa being ascribed to Joppa by virtue of its association with the Perseus myth.⁷

Ptolemy IV Philopator I (222–204 B.C.) is represented by four coins of the normal type,⁸ from site B in Ss 23, all in good condition.

Two coins of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–181 B.C.) were found at Kk 23(1),⁹ above the retaining wall of the temple, and a third at site B in Ss 23.¹⁰ Three other specimens of similar diameter and weight to coins FN 1709 and 1713 but in corroded condition were found at Kk 23(1) and they are probably of the same type as these. Also from Kk 23(1) was a coin of Ptolemy VI Philometor I (180–145 B.C.) struck during the period when Cleopatra I was acting as regent from 181 to c. 174 B.C.¹¹ This has her head as the obverse type, in the guise of Isis, facing right, and was probably struck at Paphos.

The coins of Ptolemy VI Philometor are by far the most numerous amongst those found on both Tell el-Farâ'in and Kôm el-Dahab (see above). The commonest type has obverse, head of Zeus Ammon and reverse, two eagles on a thunderbolt facing left.¹² Five specimens¹³ were found in Gg 21(2), the houses inside the temple area. Other

¹ *BMC* 57, p. 108, pl. xxvi, 12. See further on these coins p. 22 below.

² The common types of Ptolemaic bronze coins are, obverse, head of Zeus Ammon facing right and, reverse, an eagle (occasionally two) standing either right or left, wings open or closed, with various devices or monograms in the field, and the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Therefore the full description of the types is omitted in the following account for the sake of brevity and to obviate repetition. The full description of the types mentioned will be found under the references cited.

³ *BMC* 87, pl. xii, 1: FN 1715, 1720, 1742, 1780.

⁵ *BMC* 111, pl. xii, 7: FN 1781(2), 1710.

⁷ *BMC*, p. lxxxvi.

⁹ *BMC* 77, pl. xviii, 2: FN 1709, 1713.

¹¹ *BMC* 2: FN 1712.

¹² *BMC* 57, p. 108, pl. xxvi, 12, the small module averages 22 mm. in diameter; *BMC* 24, p. 106, pl. xxvi, 8, the larger module averages 30 mm. diameter.

⁴ *BMC* 52, pl. x, 7: FN 1718.

⁶ *BMC* 77, pl. xi, 6: FN 1778.

⁸ *BMC* 38, pl. xv, 3: FN 1714, 1716, 1717, 1721.

¹⁰ *BMC* 75, pl. xviii, 1: FN 1719.

¹³ *BMC* 57, p. 108, pl. xxvi, 12: FN 1722–4, 1730.

examples of this small size were from Jj 22 just above sand (FN 1707); two from Jj 23(1) (FN 1531(7)); one from Jj 34 outside kiln 7 and on a level with the kiln (FN 1531(4)); two from Jj 34 west side of mound in level 1 (FN 1531(5) and (6)), and one from Jj 33, level 2 (FN 1332). An example of the larger size of this type came from Jj 23(29), FN 1725.

The area Kk 23(1) produced three specimens of the smaller module¹ and one of the larger² which was found inside the retaining wall and a metre below it. Other examples of the larger size bronze coins of this type were found, one in Mm 21 and two in Mm 23.³

Kôm el-Dahab, as previously mentioned, produced the largest number of Ptolemy VI coins, all of the smaller module.⁴ They were spread through the stratification, and clearly identifiable examples were found in layers 2, 3, 4, 7, and 9. Two specimens with a slight variant from the more usual reverse of the two eagles with double cornucopiae in front⁵ had only a single cornucopiae before the eagles.⁶ No specimens of this particularly common issue of Ptolemy VI were found in good condition; all exhibited signs of corrosion and wear. With regard to the last point it was noted that when a number of specimens were cleaned of their corrosion the coin types themselves were found to be worn by extensive use and handling, not merely eaten away by the corrosion. Many must obviously have remained in circulation for very many years to have had their types worn down to the degree exhibited. In view of the lack of coins for subsequent dates from the site in relation to the quantities of this type, it is clear that the coins of Ptolemy VI must have remained in circulation alongside whatever later issues were available. It would certainly seem on the basis of the numismatic evidence that the site saw its greatest prosperity under Ptolemy VI.

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-117 B.C.) is represented by three coins of two types. Two have as obverse the head of Cleopatra I in the guise of Isis.⁷ They come respectively from Jj 34 below the floor of kiln 1 and from Kk 23(1) above the mudbrick wall. The third coin of Ptolemy VIII had the head of Cleopatra II or III in an elephant's skin head-dress⁸ as obverse type, and came from Gg 21, rooms and houses inside the temple area.

Ptolemy XI's sole reign at Alexandria is represented by two coins from Kôm el-Dahab.⁹ Both came from Uu 53, square 1, layers 3 and 6 respectively. The reverse type is the head-dress of Isis (sun-disc flanked by horns, with plumes, ears of corn bound with a fillet).

A particularly interesting piece came from Mm 23(1).¹⁰ Made of base metal, it copies the types of the silver issue with obverse, the head of Ptolemy I wearing a diadem and facing right; reverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

¹ *BMC* 57: FN 1583-5.

² *BMC* 24, p. 106, pl. xxvi, 8: FN 1581.

³ FN 1732, 1726, 1727 respectively.

⁴ *BMC* 57, p. 108, pl. xxvi, 12: FN 1531(1, 8-10), 1532(2), 1577-80, 1582, 1729.

⁵ *BMC* 24.

⁶ *BMC* 32: FN 1531(2) and (3).

⁷ *BMC* 69, pl. xxii, 5: FN 1534 from Jj 34, FN 1711 from Kk 23(1).

⁸ *BMC* 127, pl. xxiii, 10: FN 1731.

⁹ *BMC* 49, pl. xxvi, 11: FN 1533(1) and (2).

¹⁰ FN 1535.

around, to right ΠΑ and to left ΛΚΑ. This is, in fact, a contemporary forgery; a similar example in the British Museum¹ shows signs of silver plating, but any similar plating has worn off the present specimen. The British Museum example weighs 13.30 gr., this one being 14.05 gr., and the average weight of the genuine silver piece 14.68 gr. The date letters on the reverse indicate 94/3 B.C. but there is no way of telling at what date this forgery was made, although it would not be very long after the piece it copied. This dating on the silver piece does at least give a convenient *terminus post quem* for this forgery. The normal issue is ascribed to Ptolemy XI in the *BMC*, but present opinion ascribes it to the second reign of Ptolemy X, still to the same years.

A contemporary of Ptolemy X of Egypt was Ptolemaeus (Apion), King of Cyrene (? 114–96 B.C.). Two of his small bronze coins were found in Uu 53 on Kôm el-Dahab. They have the usual obverse type of Zeus Ammon and, reverse, of an eagle but with BA instead of the usual legend.²

The last of the Ptolemies, Cleopatra VII (52–30 B.C.), is represented by a worn bronze coin from Ll 22(1).³ Unfortunately the obverse with the profile portrait of this famous queen was extremely worn.

Few ROMAN coins⁴ were found, their proportion to those of the Ptolemaic series being very small, which one would expect from the site. Two coins of Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) were found; one from Hh/Gg 22, pit 6, had as reverse type the temple of Mars Ultor, a circular shrine with a domed roof and a standard inside.⁵ The other coin, an issue of his second series, came from Jj 33 over kiln 5. Its obverse was a round altar with the legend CEBA CTOC, and the reverse a cornucopiae with legend KAI CAP.⁶ An obol of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) from Kk 34, level 2, had a hippopotamus as the reverse type,⁷ and a small bronze from Mm 23, pit B (1), with reverse type a bust of Nilus,⁸ may also be ascribed to this emperor.

Three coins of the Flavian dynasty were found. Two of Vespasian (A.D. 69–79), a half-drachm with bust of Nilus reverse⁹ from Hh 23, pit 6, and a dichalkon with Nike reverse from an ashpit in Jj 34(1) associated with eight corroded and unidentifiable coins.¹⁰ A diobol of (?) Domitian (A.D. 81–96) with eagle reverse came from the top of Jj 34 in the mudbrick clearing down to kiln 14.

Two one-drachm pieces of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) from Ll 21(1) and Jj 33 were of the same type with a representation of a temple of Serapis on the reverse and both were of year three.¹¹ The two half-drachm pieces with poppy or corn-ears on the reverse are probably of Hadrian and were found in Jj 34, the second of them inside kiln 1.¹²

The latest coin from the site was a bronze tetradrachm of Probus (A.D. 276–82) found in Jj 22 just above sand. The reverse type is an eagle standing left with head turned back and a wreath in his beak, in the field the letters Λ Β (i.e. Year 2, August

¹ *BMC* 44; cf. pl. xxviii, 5, for the basic type.

² *BMC* 2, pl. xxviii, 9.

³ *BMC* 5, pl. xxx, 7.

⁴ Unless otherwise stated the obverse types are the head of the relevant emperor with the appropriate legends in Greek. Full descriptions of the types will be found in the references cited.

⁵ Milne 5: FN 784. ⁶ Milne 8: FN 1190. ⁷ Milne 75: FN 1173. ⁸ Cf. Milne 113: FN 1536.

⁹ Milne 416: FN 981.

¹⁰ FN 1119.

¹¹ Milne 926: FN 1166 and 1194 respectively.

¹² FN 786 and 979 respectively.

276–August 277).¹ Previously the series of coins from the site had ended in the first half of the second century A.D.,² a date borne out by the penultimate coin listed this season. The present coin of Probus, in quite reasonable condition for the site, could well be a stray; as such no great chronological significance should be attached to it.

Report on the Mollusca

By H. E. J. Biggs, F.L.S.

FRESHWATER SPECIES

(a) *Gastropoda*

Pila ovata (Olivier)

1967 Seven examples. Ref. Dd/18. Mudbrick furnace.

1968 Two adult and one juvenile. Ref. Gg 20 (1).

Mostly in a good state of preservation although it is not a strongly built shell. On account of the large size this should be var. *raymondi* Bourguignat. The species is common in Egyptian freshwater habitats today.

(b) *Bivalvia*

Unio sp.

1967 Two fragments. Ref. Dd 18 TF 66. W 8 Eastern area [31].

1968 One right valve. Ref. Mm 21 (4).

Unidentifiable species, shells decomposing; they are probably of a common species of *Unio*. There are many species of this genus living in Egypt today.

Aspatharia rubens (Lamarck)

1968 Fragments of two valves. Ref. Gg 20 (1).

A common species in the Delta today.

MARINE SPECIES

(a) *Gastropoda*

Murex brandaris Linné

1967 One example. Ref. Dd. Mudbrick furnace.

This is a common living species in the Mediterranean today. Two other examples of this species were found in the excavations in 1964 (Ref. W 8, 1 [1], Lower section, 123) and in 1965 (Ref. W 8, Pit E. Level 2). *Murex brandaris* is one of the genus of purple-producing shells; normally those used for dye extraction are fragmented; these are all perfect specimens. If they had been used as food they could well have been broken. The reason why examples of the *Muricidae* occur in ones and twos in most excavations in the Near East has not been discovered.

Murex sp.

1967 One fragment. Ref. Dd 18 TF 66.

¹ Milne 4539; *BMC (Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes)* 2427: FN 1708.

² *JEA* 52, 168, 170–1.

This is probably from an example of *Murex trunculus* Linné, well worn down and shiny, a condition possibly due to rubbing by the fingers of the owner; but speculation as to the use is unprofitable.

Cypraea turdus (Lamarck)

1968 Ref. Mm 21 (4). One worn example.

This is a Red Sea species and is worn down, probably by wave action, when the shell gets wedged in a rock crevice, till the dorsum is completely eroded. This type of worn *Cypraea spp.* occurs sparingly in many archaeological sites in the Near East (see *Man* 63 (1963), 126, fig. 2d (Art. 153), from Jericho). The shell from Tell el-Farâ'in was of the Ptolemaic period, the Jericho specimen was of Early Bronze age. I have seen one example from Tell Brak, North Syria, from a stratum of about 2500 B.C. There was surely some magico-religious significance in this shell? If so, then we may well ask why it persisted over such a long period of time.

Charonia variegata (Lamarck)

1968 A large fragment of the columella of a specimen. Ref. Jj 23 (2).

The excavator's note on this shell reads 'from probable pit above retaining wall of temple'. The shell of which this is a fragment is a very large species still living in the Mediterranean today. An almost perfect shell of this species was found by Dr. Seton-Williams at Tell Rifa'at, Syria. The presence of single examples on archaeological sites well inland has yet to be explained; and furthermore, its apparent association with a temple. The species is eaten by man today and may be purchased in some markets on the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard, e.g. Cyprus.

Had this species been an article of food one cannot help feeling that more would be found in the same place.

(b) *Bivalvia*

Glycymeris violacescens (Lamarck)

1968 One valve. Ref. Gg 20 (1).

A common living species in the Mediterranean today. This is another species occurring sparingly on ancient sites except at Jericho where it was abundant and holed for wearing. This example has no hole.

Cardium lamarcki (Reeve)

1967 One valve. Ref. Dd 18 Mudbrick furnace.

This is a species which lives in great numbers in Lake Maryût and other places along the northern seaboard of Egypt. The example is not holed for wearing.


Report on Fauna

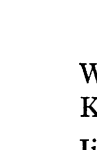

This short report on the fauna from Tell el-Farâ'in suggests that the ancient Egyptian, no less than his modern counterpart, had few meat meals. Most of the material comes from the temple site and is Ptolemaic in date. The crocodile skull fragment is perhaps not unexpected in a marshy site.

Sheep/goat	1 molar	
	1 ulna, proximal frag.	Ii 21 (3). Level II
	1 rib	
	1 humerus frag.	
	1 molar	W 8 (31). Level IV
	15 fragments of 1 animal, all parts	Kk 23, below 3. Level II
Cattle	1 molar	Ii 21 (3). Level II
	1 entire phalanx	
	1 phalanx fragment	Jj 23, cutback 1 (6). Level II
	1 astragalus	
	3 femur frags.	Jj 34 (2). Level II
Pig	1 scapula fragment	Jj 23, cutback 1 (6). Level II Medium domestic.
	1 mandible, with teeth	Jj 34 (2). Aged about two. Level II
Crocodile (?)	1 skull fragment	Jj 34, topsoil. Level I
Fish	7 jaw fragments of one species, indeterminate, saw-fish type, very small	W 8 (32). Level IV; and Jj 34 (2). Level II

Notes on some Inscriptions¹ from Tell el-Farâ'in

By Donald B. Redford

4. Fragment of purple quartzite (from Jj 22), with parts of two columns of well-executed, incised text: *n·k* in the right-hand column, and]·f *im·k* in the left-hand column. The only interest in the piece lies in the Ptolemaic value *im* for .

5. Fragment of grey granite (from Jj 22) with the bottom of two columns of text:  'in (?) every foreign land for ever', and 'like Rē^c for ever'. The partly broken topmost sign in the left-hand column could perhaps be restored , in which case we would have the phrase *hry hyst nbt*, 'rising (upon)² every foreign land', occasionally found following cartouches; cf. Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, nos. 1156-7; Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museum*, no. 552.

6. Fragment of grey granite (from Jj 22), with part of a column of text, reading [*mr?*]y n, '[below]ed of' followed by a cartouche which is probably to be restored [*Rc-mś-sw*] *Mri-Imn*.

7. Eight fragments of pink plaster, bearing traces on a smooth surface of vertical cartouches and royal epithets in relief; (nos. i-iv from Jj 21, v and vi from Mm 22, pit B, and vii and viii from Mm 23). Three nomina are represented, one complete (fragment vii) and reading *Ych-mś-s'-Nt*, and the others clearly to be restored with the same name. In each case an elongated *wys* sceptre is in evidence 1.8 cm. to the right of the cartouche. Three prae nomina are also present, none complete; but the cartouche preserved on fragments i and ii must be read [*Hnm*]-*ib-rc*. Once again a *wys* sceptre

¹ The inscriptions start with no. 4 as nos. 1 and 2 were published in 1965. The numbers are not consecutive as certain inscriptions were indecipherable and others in Greek.

² An ellipsis for *hry hr hyst?* Cf. *Urk*. IV, 2050, 13.

can be seen 1.8 cm. to the left of the cartouche ring. Above the cartouches in fragments ii and iii appear *ntr nfr* (over the praenomen), and *sꜣ Rꜣ* (over the nomen), while above the whole and supported by the sceptres is an extended sign for heaven.

It is clear that we are dealing with a decorative motif, examples of which are fairly common in Egyptian design, in which the cartouches of a king are enclosed top and bottom by signs for heaven and earth, and flanked by *wꜣs* sceptres.¹ Of course the plaster is much too poor to have been the original medium of the inscription. The fragments recovered have simply taken the impression of the incised inscription on the face of the wall to which the plaster was applied. In fact a fragment of stone bearing in incised relief the base of an upright cartouche, the foot of a *wꜣs* sceptre, and part of the horizontal baseline has been recovered from Mm 22 (see below, no. 22). The scale in both cases seems to be the same. The over-all height of the motif would have been *c.* 22 cm. (see fig. 3).

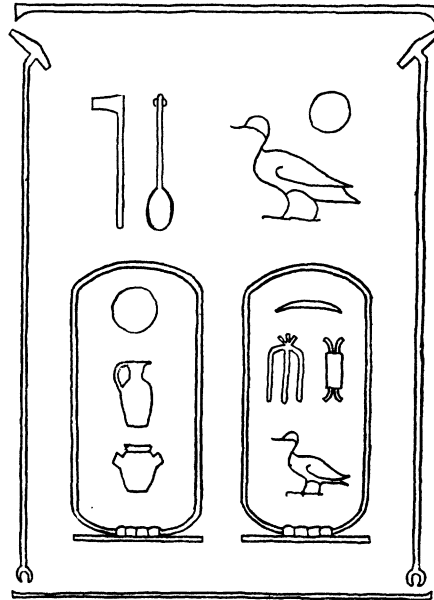


FIG. 3

17. Two badly weathered columns of text (each 20 cm. wide, and extending the full height of the block, i.e. *c.* 45 cm.), found on the same limestone block from Hh 22 on which, in 1965, part of a cartouche containing *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜣ* was discovered.² After repeated examination in different lights the right-hand column, the clearer of the two, yielded the following: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{7}{8}$ $\frac{9}{10}$, 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, [. . .]-rꜣꜥ.' The left-hand column provided a similar inscription. *Nb tꜣwy* was clear, but only the upper curve of the cartouche was preserved, and whether the first group was *nꜣw-bit* proved impossible to determine. Presumably all the cartouches on this block are of the same king.

18. Inscribed fragment of kneeling statue in black granite (?) (R 116, FN 1316).³ Inscription B on the back, of which three columns are partly preserved, can be restored as follows: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{7}{8}$ $\frac{9}{10}$ $\frac{11}{12}$ $\frac{13}{14}$ $\frac{15}{16}$ $\frac{17}{18}$ $\frac{19}{20}$ $\frac{21}{22}$ $\frac{23}{24}$ $\frac{25}{26}$ $\frac{27}{28}$ $\frac{29}{30}$ $\frac{31}{32}$ $\frac{33}{34}$ $\frac{35}{36}$ $\frac{37}{38}$ $\frac{39}{40}$ $\frac{41}{42}$ $\frac{43}{44}$ $\frac{45}{46}$ $\frac{47}{48}$ $\frac{49}{50}$ $\frac{51}{52}$ $\frac{53}{54}$ $\frac{55}{56}$ $\frac{57}{58}$ $\frac{59}{60}$ $\frac{61}{62}$ $\frac{63}{64}$ $\frac{65}{66}$ $\frac{67}{68}$ $\frac{69}{70}$ $\frac{71}{72}$ $\frac{73}{74}$ $\frac{75}{76}$ $\frac{77}{78}$ $\frac{79}{80}$ $\frac{81}{82}$ $\frac{83}{84}$ $\frac{85}{86}$ $\frac{87}{88}$ $\frac{89}{90}$ $\frac{91}{92}$ $\frac{93}{94}$ $\frac{95}{96}$ $\frac{97}{98}$ $\frac{99}{100}$; '[An offering that the king gives to . . . that he may give every fine thing, and] all that comes forth upon the altar [of . . . to the *ka* of . . .] the servant of Horus, great of the two diadems (?),⁴ prophet of . . .⁵ [. . . every

¹ Cf. Anthes, *Hatnub*, pl. 4, inscription 3, pl. 5, inscription 6; Gardiner, Peet, Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 44, no. 102; Rowe, *Catalogue*, pl. 38; Frankfort, *Kingship*, fig. 17, 19. For the related motif of cartouches, or an *nꜣh* sign, with flanking sceptres and sometimes uraei, see Legrain, *Karnak*, 253, fig. 156; 175, fig. 110; 187, fig. 120; Capart, *Thebes*, 213, fig. 135; Chassinat, *Dendera*, I, pls. 33 ff., 38, 42, and often.

² Published by T. G. H. James in *JEA* 51 (1965), 15. The block measures 99 × 94 × 45 cm., and resembles in shape part of a door jamb. The inscriptions are opposite each other on the longer sides.

³ The statue is now in Cairo, but unfortunately I was unable to examine it there. Photographs of two of the inscriptions, however, were kindly made available by Dr. Seton-Williams.

⁴ Cf. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 166 n. 3.

⁵ The sign resembles $\frac{1}{2}$, in which case we might have a phonetic writing of *Hꜣr*; but no. 27 below suggests it might also be *Bꜣstt*.

good and pure thing that heaven gives, that] earth [pro]duces, and that the Inundation brings, [whereon] the god lives.' For the title *hm Hr* and the epithet *wr wꜣdty* see *Wb* I, 269, 4; III, 88, 7, and De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 151 ff. where full references are given; see also idem, *Chron. d'Ég.* 40 (1965), 256, fig. 1, and below, no. 11. Together with the examples on the bronzes published by Engelbach,¹ the two examples published here lend strong support to the contention that this title was native to the Buto cult.²

Inscription D (→), on the right side, consists of four horizontal lines. One or two groups have been lost at the beginning of each line. $\dot{\bar{I}}$ [. . .] $\text{𓂏}^{(?)}$ $\text{𓂏}^{(?)}$ $\text{𓂏}^{(?)}$ | $[\text{𓂏}^{(?)}]^3$ | 𓂏
 𓂏 $\dot{\bar{I}}$ [. . .] 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 $\dot{\bar{I}}$ [. . .] 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 . '[. . .] Horus (?) with his eye, [prophet (?)] of Selkis, [. . .] temple-scribe of Edjō, [. . .] royal acquaintance, Nes (?) - sam-towy.' The mention of Selkis is interesting, for this awesome creature in her role as wife of Horus seems to have been revered as 'mistress of Chemmis' (Gardiner, *PSBA* 39 (1917), 41). She is sometimes mentioned in connection with the north-west Delta (cf. Montet, *Géographie*, I, 65; for Selkis at Saïs see Griffith, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri*, pl. 11 (under Saïs), Gauthier, *Ann. Serv.* 22 (1922), 107), and in lists of goddesses she often occurs in close proximity to Edjō and Neith (cf. *Wb.* IV, 203, 19; Erman, *Abhand. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1911, 34 (vii, 5-viii, 2); Dumas, *Rev. d'Ég.* 8 (1951), 31 ff., pl. 2, l. 2; *Pyr. Texts* 1314a). It has been convincingly argued that her probable cult centre, Kēdem, was not far from Buto; see De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 127 f.

The first sign of the personal name is by no means certain (for *Ns-smꜣ-tꜣwy* see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 179), although *smꜣ-tꜣwy* is clear. The date of the piece is most likely early Saïte.⁴

19. Limestone fragment (approx. 92 × 64 cm.; surface fill, Hh 22), with the partly preserved figure of a kneeling king, proffering something to a god. The cartouche is probably that of Ramesses II, and the column of text may be restored: '[The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Wsr-mꜣct-rc Stꜣn-rc*], Lord of Diadems, *Rc-mꜣś-św Mri-Imm*.'

20. Limestone plinth fragment (Mm 22, pit B) with two columns of inscription, the width of each being c. 5.4 cm. The four signs in the right-hand column may have been part of a proper name which looks like 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 . For names compounded with *mkꜣ* see Ranke, op. cit. I, 166 f.

21. Six tiny fragments (largest, F, 3.1 × 2.7 cm.; smallest, D, 1.3 × 1.8 cm.) of plaster compound stained with copper, bearing traces of cartouches and royal epithets in relief; (A-D from Mm 22, E from Jj 22, F from Kk 23). The presence of *sꜣ*[*Rc*] above cartouche ring (B), [*ntr*] *nfr* (C), and the top of an upright cartouche containing the sun disc (D) suggests the same motif evidenced by the plaster fragments (above, no. 7). But the scale is much smaller: whereas in 7, ii the height of the *nfr* sign is 5 cm., in 9 C the *nfr* is only c. 1.5 cm. tall. Fortunately fragment E preserves part of the praenomen *Hnm-[ib]-rc*, so that we are again dealing with Amasis. The fact that the

¹ *Ann. Serv.* 24 (1924), 173 ff.

³ Perhaps *hrꜣ Sꜣk(t)*? Cf. Gardiner, *PSBA* 39 (1917), 34 ff.

⁴ Cf. the absence of dividing lines between the columns; see B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 44.

² *BIFAO* 62, 165 f.

fragments of nos. 7 and 21 were found widely scattered over the temple area may indicate homogeneity of decoration throughout the building; but it is equally likely that it simply reflects the disturbed condition of site B.

22. Limestone fragment (8.1×5.5 cm.; from Mm 22), incised with the base of an upright cartouche, the foot of a *w3s*-sceptre, and a ground line. The motif seems to be identical in form and dimensions with that of no. 7, above.

24. Fragment of slate (3.5×1.9 cm.; from Kk 23) with part of a column of well-executed, incised text. The trace of a curved wrist just before the break at the bottom indicates that the text is to be restored [𓆎] [𓆏] [𓆑] [𓆒] [𓆓] [𓆔], '[revered] before the gods [of Pe and Dep]'. For the occurrence of this particular group of deities in the expression see below no. 27, and also Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, no. 672. The column probably formed part of a plinth inscription.

25. Fragment of yellow quartzite (*c.* 8×10.5 cm.) with the line of a cartouche flanked on the right by 'Pe and Dep' (see pl. III, 4).

26. Part of the rim of a bowl in pale grey granite, with the titulary of a king running in a continuous band around the outside. What is preserved of the inscription runs as follows: 'live Horus, Mighty Bull: *Hc-m-W3st*, the Two [Ladies: . . .]', and just before the *nh*, the final formula 'may he live eternally', which followed the second cartouche. Of the kings who bore this Horus name Tuthmosis III is perhaps the most famous. But it was also borne occasionally by Ramesses IX (Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, III, 210 f.), Osorkon II (ibid. 338), Harsiese (ibid. 349), and Shabataka (J. von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 53, no. 33), and consistently by Takelot II (Gauthier, op. cit. III, 353 f.) and Osorkon III (ibid. 384). Although Tuthmosis III is known to have undertaken construction work at Buto (*Urk.* IV, 1443, 12), the relative frequency of material from the eighth to the sixth century may tip the balance in favour of one of the Libyan kings.

27. Head and shoulders of a grey granite statue, with bag wig and plinth inscription in two columns (see pl. III, 1, 2; from Gg 20; width of column *c.* 3.5 cm.): 'Revered before the gods of Pe and Dep [*lacuna of unknown length*],¹ the servant of Horus, great of the two diadems (?), prophet of Bastet (?) [*lacuna of unknown length*].' On the text of the first column see above, no. 24; on the title 'servant of Horus' see above, no. 18. For the cult of Bastet at Buto, see Herodotus ii, 155.¹ The presence of the feline deity in the city may explain why Edjō is occasionally represented as a lioness: Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, II, 65; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 188*. Edjō also enjoyed hospitality at her guest's home-town of Bubastis; see Habachi, *ZĀS* 90 (1963), 43, fig. 1.

This opportunity may be taken to note briefly a number of objects (mostly unpublished) found in former years at Tell el-Farā'īn, and at present in the Cairo Museum. The numbers in brackets refer to the entries in the register at Tanta.²

¹ This is usually the only evidence cited for a cult of Bastet on the site (cf. Sethe *apud* Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* III, 1, 1086 ff.; Caminos, *JEA* 50 (1964), 91; also Roeder, *Die ägyptische Götterwelt*, 96), but I see no reason to treat it with scepticism.

² I should like to extend my thanks to Dr. H. S. K. Bakry for his discussion of some problems, and to Dr. Seton-Williams and Dr. Munir Basta for making possible my visit to Tanta.

1. Limestone relief (523), $82 \times 33 \times 16$ cm., showing a male figure with staff in left hand, striding right; beneath, the ends of two columns and one horizontal line of text. The man is clad in a transparent gown reaching from the waist to just below the knee, and he wears the diagonal sash of a lector across his chest. The text reads in part '[revered before (?) P]taḥ, beautiful of face, . . . prophet of Horus-who-is-in-Pe, Ḥarsiese'.

2. Limestone stela (524) showing the naked Ḥor-shed standing upon the heads of two crocodiles. In his left hand he holds the lion and two serpents, in his right a scorpion and a quadruped possibly a gazelle. Above is the enormous, flat-bottomed head of Bes. The stela is without text, but clearly belongs to the prophylactic genre so common in the Late Period.

3. Unfinished limestone stela (525), measuring 49×24 cm., found apparently at the foot of site A. The scene shows Tefnakhte offering the field to the seated Harendotes, lord of Pe, while the musician Ḥor sits playing his harp on the right. The inscription beneath, of which only four lines were completed, is dated in the thirty-eighth year of a king whose cartouches were left blank, but who can only be Sheshonq V. See Saueron, *Bull. Soc. fr. d'Ég.* 24 (1957), 53, fig. 1; 54 fig. 2; Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero*, IV (1962), 152 f. and pl. I; A. R. Schulman, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 41 (no. 60).

4. Statuette of Edjō in the form of a serpent with a woman's head (526). She wears a lapet wig and, apparently, the double crown. For a similar image of a serpent-goddess see Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la 25. dynastie*, pl. 4.

5. Upper left-hand corner of a stela (529), containing the ends of five lines of text, and measuring $15 \times 10 \times 6$ cm. The first line shows part of a praenomen ending in *ib*, and before it the faint trace of a curved sign, possibly *nfr* or *hnm*. The fact that the date in the second line was written with at least one, and possibly two, tens suggests a longer reign than that of Neferibrē^c Psamtik (II), and militates in favour of Amasis. The date may be restored '[regnal year] 21 (?)', fourth month of *akhet*'. In the third line mention is made of '[Horus of] Pe and Edjō', and in the fourth the relative form *i-ir* suggests the presence of the standard formula of donation stelae, viz. 'donation which X made'.

Note on p. 13 n. 1

In *BMC* these coins are ascribed to Ptolemy X, 117–81 B.C. This can no longer stand as examples have been found in wells at Corinth which were sealed in that city's destruction in 146 B.C. The coins must therefore be re-ascribed and given to Ptolemy VI. See *Hesperia* 20 (1951), 355 ff.; *ibid.* 36 (1967), 359.

TELL EL-FARÂ'ÎN: THE INDUSTRIAL SITE, 1968

By DOROTHY CHARLESWORTH¹

IN 1968 the excavations of 1967 were extended and deepened. Some kilns, located but not examined at the end of that season, were dug this year. Work on a bath-house and the later, possibly fulling, industry which succeeded it was also continued, but as an extensive establishment is here located, it is not yet possible to present a complete picture of this part of the site. The bath-house extends further east and south and there is also the possibility of further kilns on the south side of the baths.

The kilns (fig. 1). The sequence of kilns has become clearer and to some extent also the dating, but the latter remains difficult because each kiln is dug down into the ground and each was finally used as a rubbish pit, so that there is a considerable confusion of material in any one context. The earliest kilns on the site are a group of three, 9-11 (pl. IV, 1), and the near-by kiln 13, all dug into undisturbed soil. Kiln 13 was much damaged by a mudbrick wall which partly overlay it. A lime floor was associated with this wall on its south side and under it was a coin of Ptolemy VIII (170-117 B.C.), which gives an approximate *terminus post quem nihil* for these kilns, although there is no means of assessing the lapse of time between the abandonment of the kilns and the building of the wall and floor. The pottery associated with these kilns is black ware (p. 28, fig. 3), but poor quality grey and even red wares were found as rubbish in the firing chamber and on the kiln floor. Undoubtedly contemporary with the kilns is the unbaked pottery outside kiln 9, brownish-grey ware with a thin yellow slip coating it. This is not a glaze but a gloss.² It is the typical good black finish of the early wares, which contrasts with the dull grey of the later Ptolemaic and probably early Roman, an imitation of the black gloss of the Attic potters. The local potters, however, never achieved the high quality gloss found on Attic pottery and on *terra sigillata*, probably because the clay was not suitable and the temperatures of the kilns variable. It is apparent that the potters had difficulty in achieving the uniform black finish and even among the early pieces some have an unintentionally mottled, part black and part reddish-brown surface. Other pieces at this level have a surface lustrous in places as a result of the firing of the mica in the clay, but this effect seems to be chance and not under the potters' control. The commonest shapes are small in-turned rimmed bowls, generally with four palmettes and rouletting, and flat-based small bowls with flaring sides and straight or overhung rims. The latter are frequently unstamped.

¹ I am grateful to the British Academy, the Corning Museum of Glass, New York, the University of Cambridge, the Faculty Board of Classics and the University of Oxford, the Craven Committee, and the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, for grants enabling me to continue work, this year with the assistance of a draughtsman, Mr. D. S. Neal, on this aspect of the Society's excavation at Tell el-Farâ'in.

² Cf. M. Bimson, 'The technique of Greek black and *terra sigillata* red', *Ant. J.* 36 (1956), 200.

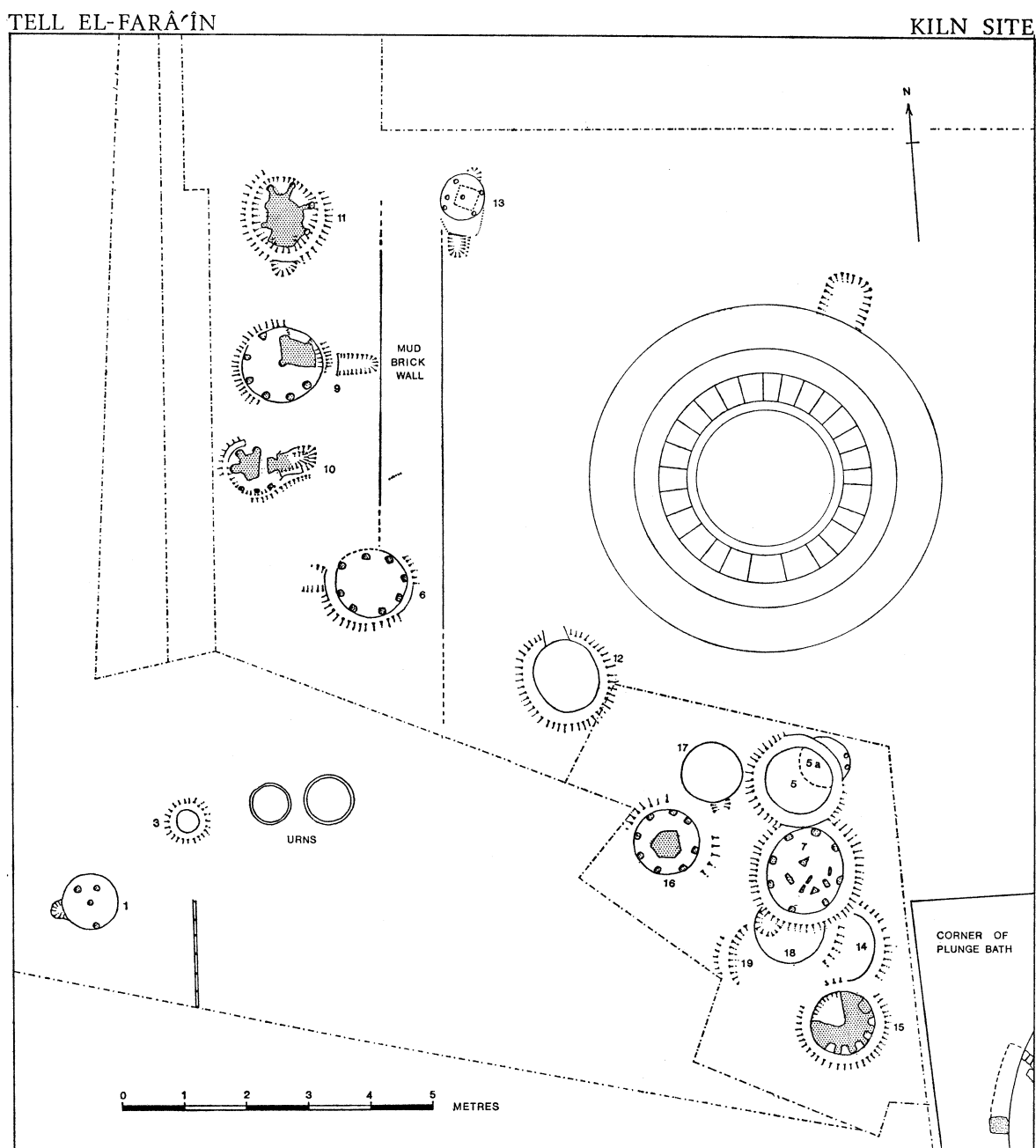
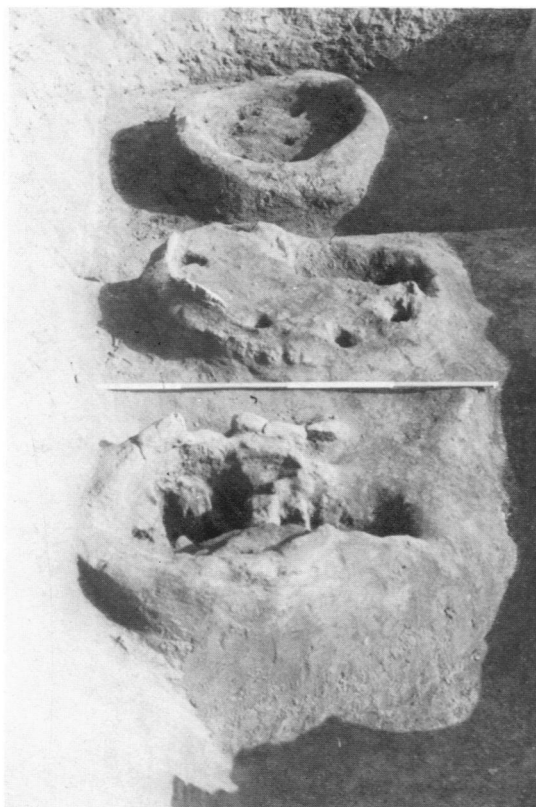


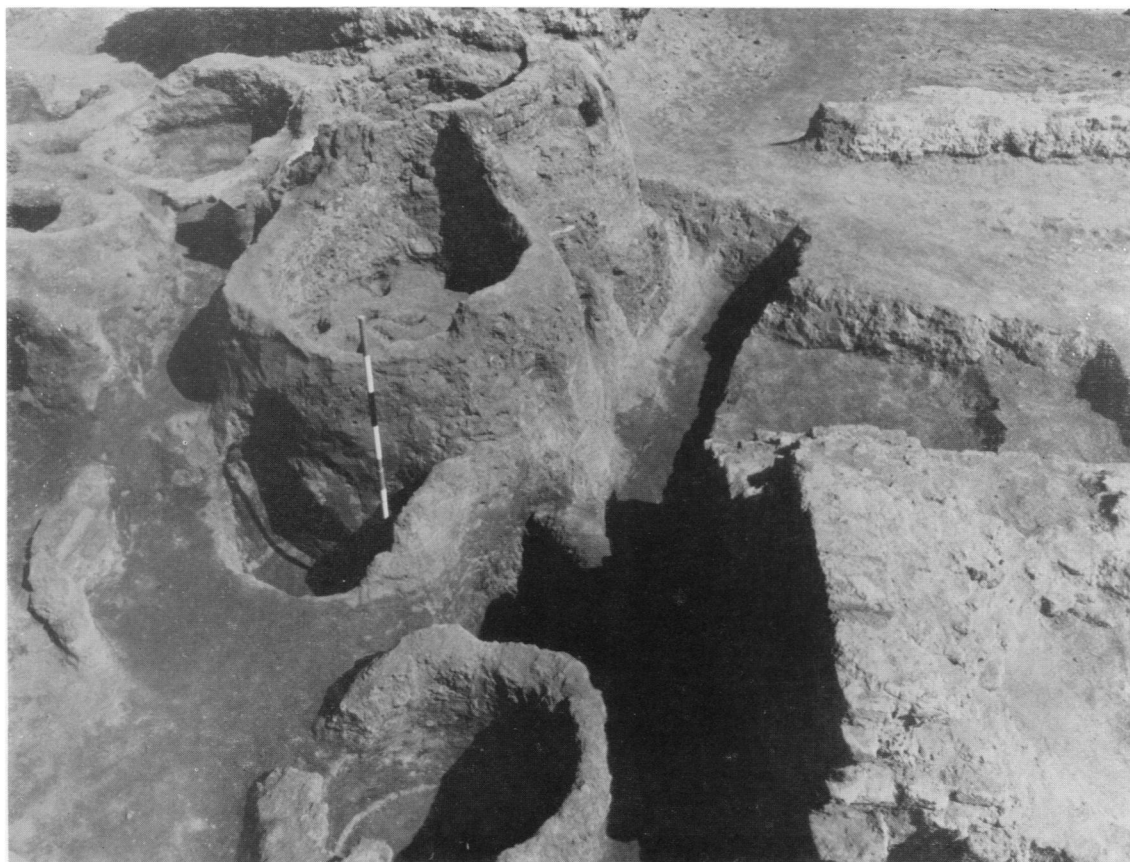
FIG. 1

Kiln 12 (diameter 1.5 m.), entirely featureless when discovered, must by its position be earlier than kilns 2, 3, 4, and 6 which were dug in 1967. It may be contemporary with or slightly later than kilns 9-11.

The other group of kilns, 5, 5a, 7, and 14-19, presents a complicated succession (pl. IV, 2). Kilns 14 and 19 are the earliest with 18 built over their remains and itself lying under 7 which is built up against the side of kiln 5. The upper level of 5 was



1. Kilns 10 (top), 9 (centre), and 11 (bottom)



2. Kilns 5, 5a, 7, and 14-19 with parts of the bath house in the right-hand foreground

THE INDUSTRIAL SITE, TELL EL-FARÂ'IN, 1968



1. Kiln 9, showing the construction of the floor



2. Tanks and the cistern

dug in 1967 and found full of amphorae with a quantity of red ware bowls, some wasters, below them. This kiln had part of the dome of another kiln, 5a, standing against one side of it. 16 and 17 lie at a higher level, nearer the centre of the mound and are obviously later. The bowls in kiln 5 may be rejects from one or both of 16 and 17 and are early Roman in date. An interesting feature of 17 was the body, knocked off at the shoulder, of an amphora built into the side of the kiln, obviously to provide water, but not for the refreshment of the potter as it would get heated where it stood. Three complete amphorae were found against the side of kiln 7. They had been subjected to considerable heat and were extremely friable.

It seems that there was no great lapse of time between the building of kiln 19 and kiln 5. Near kiln 7 a coin of Ptolemy VI (180-145 B.C.) was found. None of these kilns (19, 5, and 7) was earlier than kilns 9-11, but it was impossible to be certain, because of the manner in which they were crammed together, which pottery belonged to which kiln. The fragments around them were similar to those near kilns 9-11 but included more of the thicker, clumsier-looking vessels and more open dish forms.

The impression given by the plan, that all the kilns are grouped round kiln 2 is a false one. The majority of them are earlier than 2. It is probable that the building of this massive kiln disturbed others or that the area was originally used for a workshop or drying floor. So far these expected features have not been found although a small area of unbaked pot low down on the west side of the mound might be part of a drying floor associated with the earlier kilns, safely away from the activity around the kilns. The unbaked pottery by 9 was obviously merely stacked there for loading, or else was rejected material which was never intended for firing. From fragments it is impossible to know whether the vessels represented were defective.

The dating of kiln 2 is probably later than was originally thought (*JEA* 53, 152). It was dug down into the level which contained the coin of Ptolemy VIII and a coin from its ash-pit has now been identified as a dichalkon of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). The pottery among the ash included a piece of Eastern *sigillata*, a flat base with four palmette stamps and rouletting, early Roman as well as late Ptolemaic wares. The latest kiln, also dug in 1967, kiln 1, which overlies the lime floor, through which kiln 2 cuts, contained a coin now identified as a half-drachm of Hadrian (A.D. 117-38), dropped in, of course, after the kiln went out of use.

All the kilns found this year were of the same type and none was heavily burnt. All were much the same size with internal diameters at floor level of more or less 1 m. Where the floor remained it was built of substantial bridging blocks (pl. V, 1) and levelled up with clay to form a flat floor with a regular pattern of circular holes pierced through it. The depth of the firing chambers was approximately 70 cm. and in no case was there a stoking-tunnel or flue, only a deep bowl-shaped opening into which the fuel must have been dropped and later raked out, with some difficulty it would be thought. Every kiln had been cleaned out and left ready for further use. The type of kiln does not correspond with the types found in 1966 in a different part of the site (*JEA* 52, 164 f.). There the three circular kilns all had stoking-tunnels and one had supports for the floor. Others were rectangular. The differences, however, may be of

no chronological significance. Examples of both rectangular and circular kilns of the fifth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. are known.¹ A kiln at Olympia, under the South Hall, had a floor similar to those dug at Tell el-Farâ'in this year, but it was thinner

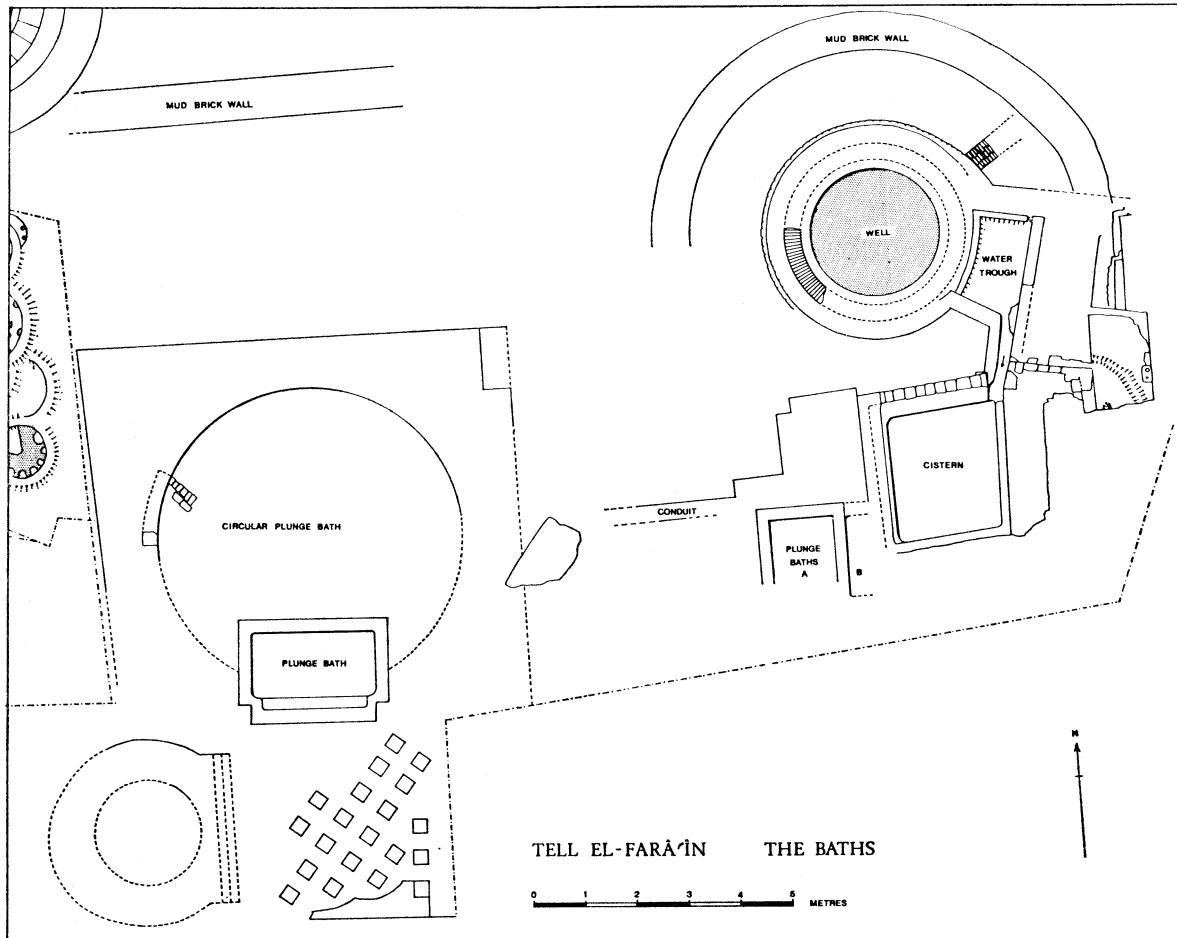


FIG. 2.

and lacked the bridging blocks. It seems to have had a floor support but the point is not entirely clear from the two sections given, as it appears in one and not in the other.² Of two fourth-century kilns at Knossos, one had a central floor support and the other had two floor supports; near them was a cistern.³ At Ayia Petros a third-century kiln had a central pedestal supporting the floor, and a funnel-shaped flue.⁴ This last kiln must be approximately contemporary with kilns 9-11.

The baths (fig. 2). Only a small part of this extensive establishment has been examined. In 1967 the cistern, some shallow troughs, and a deep tank were uncovered. This tank (pl. V, 2) is now seen to be connected with two others, both much damaged, at a higher

¹ See R. M. Cook, 'The double stoking-tunnel of Greek kilns', *BSA* 56 (1961), pl. 64.

² E. Kunze and H. Schleif, *Bericht über die Ausgraben in Olympia*, III (1938/9), 35, fig. 22.

³ Cf. B. Homann-Wedeking, 'A kiln site at Knossos', *BSA* 45 (1950), 165 ff.

⁴ *Athenische Mitteilungen* (1908), 177.

level where extensive robbing of brick makes it impossible to see how they received their supply of water, for the highest of the three tanks is substantially higher than the cistern top. Another tank measuring internally 2.45×1.27 m. by 1.20 m. deep cannot be linked with the others. This tank is built into the remains of a large circular bath, itself a secondary feature in a massive baked brick structure into, or out of, which a covered water conduit leads, at a lower level than the bath. Only part of the top of it has so far been uncovered. To the south of this is a smaller bath and a heated room. Beyond it is part of a floor of *opus sectile*, made up of pieces of marble and variously coloured stones, presumably from statues and buildings of earlier periods. In this area also some pieces of painted wall plaster were found. The mass of pottery lying among these ruins is all late Roman in character, quite unlike the pottery from the kiln site, although they are cheek by jowl.

It is not certain that the later features, the tanks, are industrial. In the baths at Kôm el-Ahmar¹ similar tanks were found, and the large and complicated building there with modifications to its plan during a period of use in both Ptolemaic and Roman times indicates what may be found at Tell el-Farâ'in.

Other structures. Near the centre of the top of the mound were the remains of mud-brick walls, dwellings succeeding the potteries. Among them some bases of large, coarse vessels were found and fortunately two intact examples, showing a jar for the storage of dry food, such as grain, next to a jar for liquids, or anything requiring storage in liquid, with a bung-hole near its base. Both were of thick fabric, red at the surface and grey in the core. They must have been made locally but not necessarily in this immediate area. There are several areas of obvious industrial activity at Tell el-Farâ'in. The jar for liquids measured internally 50 cm. in depth and 72 cm. in diameter, the other 42×57 cm. Among this domestic occupation many coins were found in 1967. Only one has been identified, probably of Domitian (A.D. 81-96). Another coin, overlying kiln 5 and possibly associated with the later kilns, found in 1967, has now been identified as Augustan (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). Other coins on the surface of the mound include two of Ptolemy VI.

The pottery (fig. 3). The pottery illustrated was all made on this site and includes unbaked pieces and wasters. As no loaded kiln was found, all the pottery described as coming from the inside either over the floor or from the firing-chamber of any kiln post-dates the use of the kiln, although not necessarily by any great length of time. As the kilns were all cleaned out ready for reuse, it may be assumed that they did not immediately become rubbish pits, but it might be a matter of only months rather than years before they were so used.

Except for kiln 2 all the kilns are too small for firing amphorae or large storage jars. Both types must have been made at Tell el-Farâ'in, but fired in kilns elsewhere. There is plenty of evidence of industrial activity. Some comment has already been made on the wares and the decline in quality between those of the lowest levels and those higher

¹ 'Abd el-Mohsen el-Khashāb, *Ptolemaic and Roman Baths of Kôm el Ahmar* (1949).

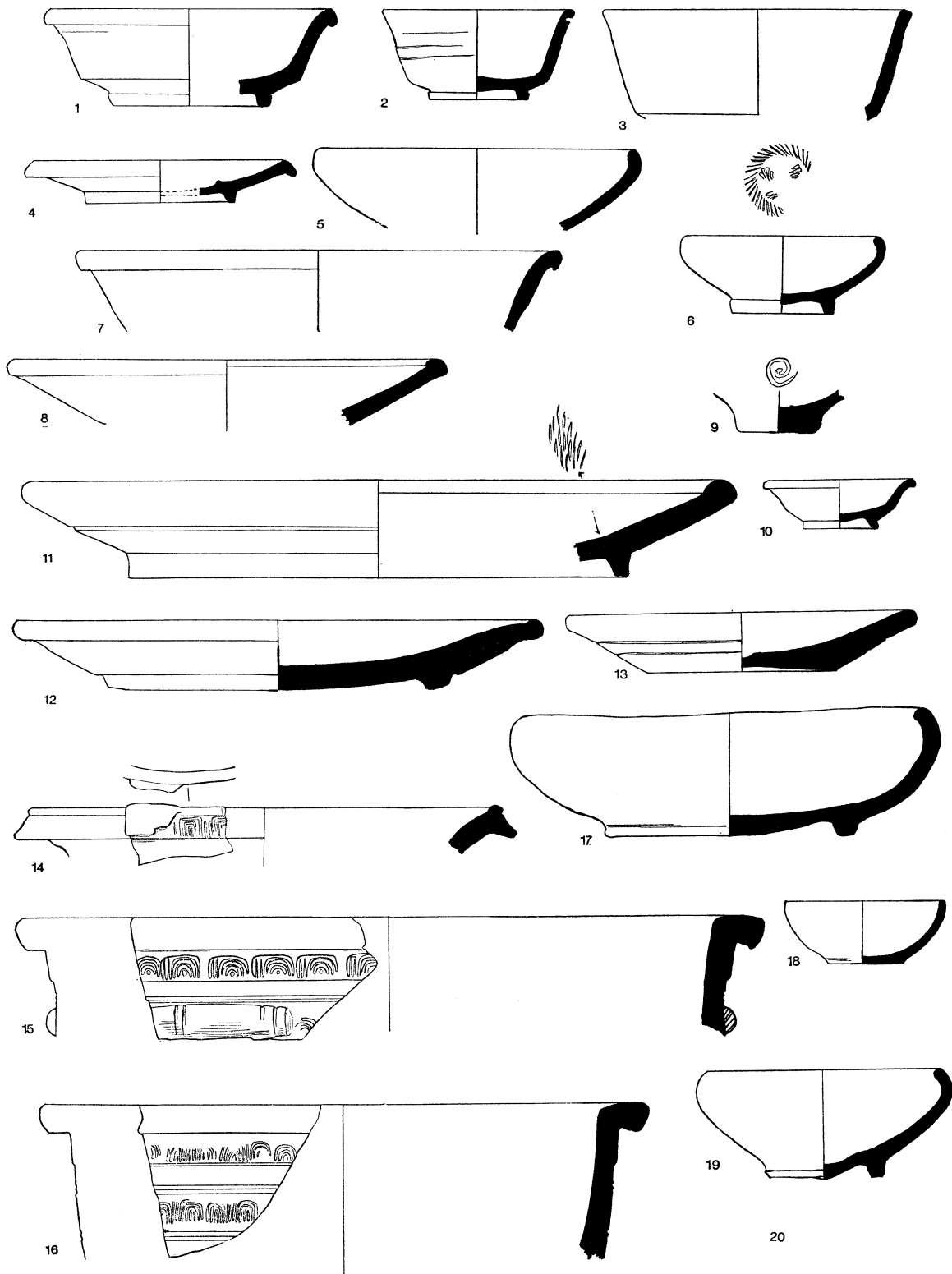


FIG. 3.

in the mound. The nineteen kilns cannot be taken to span the whole two centuries, which seems to be the time range of the pottery, from the third to the first century B.C., and there is no reason to treat the pottery as a continuous series. There may be considerable gaps when the area was temporarily abandoned. The state in which the kilns were left rather suggests this. Most of the pottery is, in intention at least, black ware. Red wares can only be associated with the upper levels and particularly with kilns 16 and 17, although in 1967 some of the kilns then dug were thought to be producing red pottery. The detail is generally coarser but in general terms much of this pottery can be compared with that from the Hellenistic levels of the Athenian Agora excavations.¹ Here the range is more restricted; there is nothing original about it. Similar comparisons of both shape and decoration can be made with the pottery from contemporary sites in Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and westwards as far as Ampurias, the whole extent of Greek trade and influence. Fabrics and details differ, for this black gloss ware was made in many places.

The earliest pottery, associated with kilns 9-11 and 13, is generally a glossy black, sometimes slightly metallic-looking as a result of the mica. The vessels tend to be smaller and finer than those of later date. The most common shapes are in-turned rim bowls, generally with four palmettes round the inside of the base, often with rouletting as well, and the bowl with an outplayed side, generally unstamped. Both a straight and an overhanging rim are used with this latter shape. Two examples of 'fish plates' with a central hollow and overhanging rim have been identified and there may be other examples, but many fragments are not sufficiently complete to be assigned to a type. Among the unbaked pottery at this level are also thickened rims. The palmettes and rouletting are frequently clumsy work even at this stage. One unbaked base fragment must be from a flagon as the inside is left rough. This is the only evidence that this shape was made in these kilns. In the later levels thick, shallow plates, many unstamped, are the most common type. There is a considerable variety of detail in the rim finish and presence or absence of an external groove round the side. The ware is generally a dull, dark grey or brownish-grey, with no attempt at a gloss and often inadequately fired. In kiln 7 and in level 2 on the west side of the mound several pieces of black, thick, large vessels decorated with a stamped ovolo and some also with relief decoration were found. These are not part of the Hellenistic repertoire. A similar stamp is recorded at Cosa² on two rims with elaborate profiles, dated there to 130/120-70/60 B.C. They are mere fragments with no suggestion of the complete shape. This decoration is also used at Tell el-Farā'in on what appear to be footstands of stemmed bowls.

1. Unbaked, brownish-grey ware with thin yellow slip, small overhanging rim, outplayed, carinated side, and foot-ring. Found in firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.
2. Black-gloss ware, straight-sided bowl (FN 945). In firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.

¹ See H. A. Thompson, 'Two centuries of Hellenistic pottery', *Hesperia*, 3 (1934), 311 ff.

² D. M. Taylor, 'Black glaze pottery', *Memoirs of American Academy at Rome*, 25 (1957), 177.

3. Unbaked, fabric as 1, shape as 2, also from firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.
4. 'Fish plate' with central hollow and short overhanging rim, from firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.; also larger example from kiln 13. Similar example at Koroni¹ (265–261 B.C.).
5. Unbaked, fabric as 1, in-turned rim bowl, from firing chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.
6. Black-gloss ware, in-turned rim bowl with crude palmettes and rouletting (FN 650) from firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.
7. Reddish-black ware with short overhanging rim, from firing-chamber of kiln 9, probably third century B.C.
8. Unbaked, fabric as 1, thickened rim, kiln 11.²
9. Unbaked, fabric as 1, thick, rough base, probably from flagon, near kiln 13.
10. Black-gloss bowl, curving, outplayed side, on level of kilns 9–11.³
11. Large shallow dish, reddish outside, dark grey core with groove round outside and rouletting inside (FN 655), in kiln 7. Probably first century B.C.
12. Large shallow dish in thick, reddish-black fabric (FN 1205) from kiln 6 (1967), similar piece in flue of kiln 5, smaller example over lime floor, under kiln 1.
13. Shallow dish without foot-ring, dark grey fabric, west of kiln 9, at higher level than kiln floor.
14. Rim fragment of black ware with ovolo stamps and lug-handle on rim, in kiln 7, probably second/first century B.C.⁴
15. Rim fragment of large bowl, fabric and decoration as 14, but also relief decoration (FN 1468), west side of mound, level 2.
16. Similar to 15 but without relief decoration (FN 1603), same level as 15.
17. Red ware, waster, in-turned rim bowl (FN 1422), in kiln 5 (1967).
18. As 17 (FN 696), in kiln 5 (1967).
19. As 17 but without foot-ring, west side of mound, level 2.
20. Small red saucer, possibly for mixing cosmetics, one of twenty-two examples found over top of kiln 14, also one example in kiln 7.

¹ E. Vanderpool *et al.*, 'Koroni, a Ptolemaic Camp on the East coast of Attica', *Hesperia*, 31 (1962), 26 ff.

² Cf. J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (1957), fig. 37, 9.

³ *Ibid.* fig. 48, 6; also Thompson, *op. cit.* fig. 117, D5.

⁴ Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.* 177 (ex. from Cosa).

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1968

By W. B. EMERY

ON February 3, 1968, the Society's excavations in the north-west area of our concession were reopened on the site explored last season, which lies about 150 m. to the north of the ibis mausoleum. The staff of the expedition consisted of Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Smith, Mr. G. T. Martin, Mr. Ali El-Khouli, Mr. Kenneth Frazer, Mr. John Ray, my wife, and myself. Through the generosity of the Trustees of the British Museum we also had the services of Mr. Stanley Baker whose work in the cleaning of the bronze objects and the preservation of the papyri was indeed invaluable.

Through generous financial support, in addition to the grant from the British Academy, it was possible to employ more than 400 men, and we were thus able to make considerable headway in the removal of the vast dumps and mounds of drift sand which covered the area of Sector 4. Fig. 1 and pl. XI show the areas of work.

Our first objective was to discover the entrance to the underground galleries of the ibis mausoleum, which we are certain is located in this area. But, as was the case in the preceding season, we again failed in our search and instead of reaching the expected entrance we uncovered at considerable depth another medium-sized superstructure of a Third-dynasty tomb. This discovery supports the view that the vast archaic necropolis extends into the valley, possibly as far as the lake of Abusîr. Like the archaic remains which we discovered in similar circumstances in Sector 1 last season, the tomb had been thoroughly rifled in ancient times and nothing remained but fragments of broken pottery. However, the partial clearance of Sector 4 had its compensation, for adjacent to the base of the buttressed wall of the platform of Sector 3 we found deposits of bronze objects and temple furniture of fine quality. There is little doubt that these deposits, like those discovered last season, were deliberately placed and were not just throw-outs left by later plunderers. They certainly are not foundation deposits, and it has been suggested that they were redundant temple offerings which by reason of their sanctity could not be destroyed and were therefore buried in the sacred precinct. Future excavation may perhaps solve this problem for which there is at present no satisfactory answer. The deposits include several groups of small wooden shrines (pl. VI, 2), wooden figures of Osiris, fine bronze situlae (pl. VI, 5, 7), an exquisitely worked bronze statuette of Amûn (pl. VII, 3, 4), and two very fine figures of Osiris, also of bronze (pl. VII, 1, 2). Of these groups of objects the richest was found a few days before the excavations were closed down at the end of the season. Working behind what appears to be the east boundary wall of the platform of Sector 3 we uncovered a wooden shrine (pl. VI, 1) which contained the following objects:

Bronze statuette of Isis seated on a wooden throne.

Bronze plaque figure of a king wearing a fillet headdress, broad collar, and kilt with a bull's tail (pl. VI, 3).

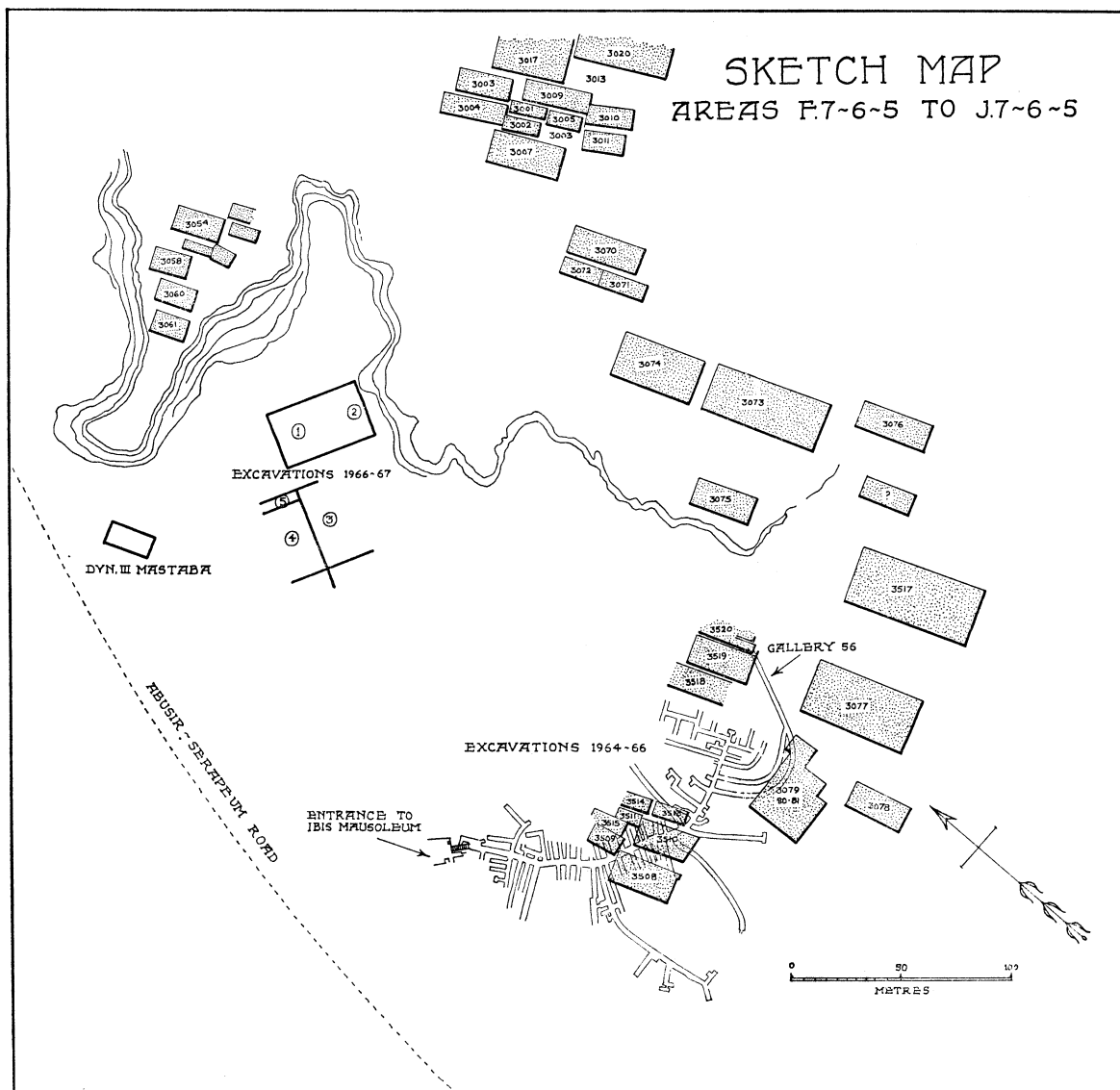


FIG. 1.

Wooden throne for a statuette inlaid with gold leaf, gesso, and coloured glass.

Wooden statue of Osiris.

Three bronze statuettes of Osiris.

Two bronze seated statuettes of Isis.

Two bronze heads of ceremonial staffs in the form of a cat seated on a lotiform column.

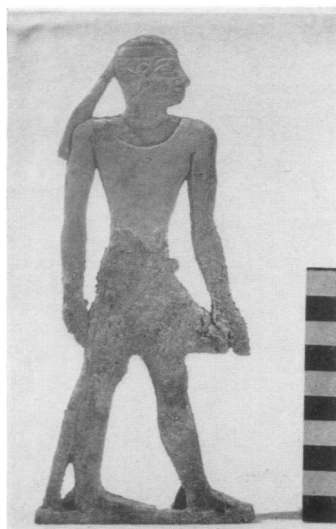
Haematite figurine of a seated cat.



1. Wooden shrine with bronze statuette of Isis and a wooden statuette of Osiris



2. Bronze seated figure of Isis as found within the remains of a wooden shrine



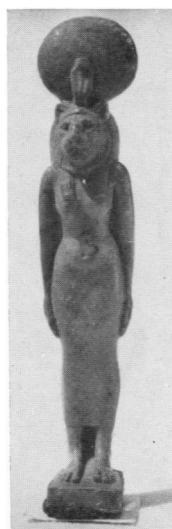
3. Plaque figure of a king in bronze. 19.5 cm. high



4. Blue faience statuette of the sacred baboon. 10 cm. high



5. Bronze situla. 16 cm. high



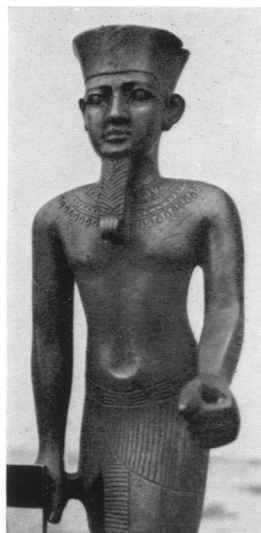
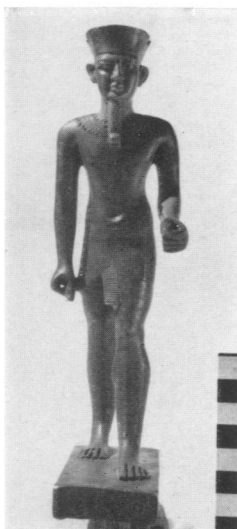
6. Blue faience statuette of Sakhmet. 14 cm. high



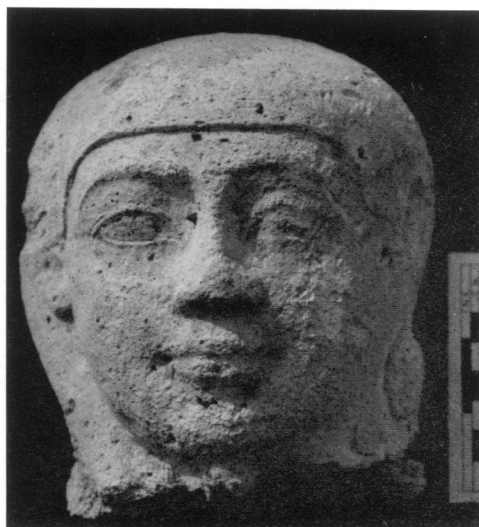
7. Bronze situla. 15 cm. high



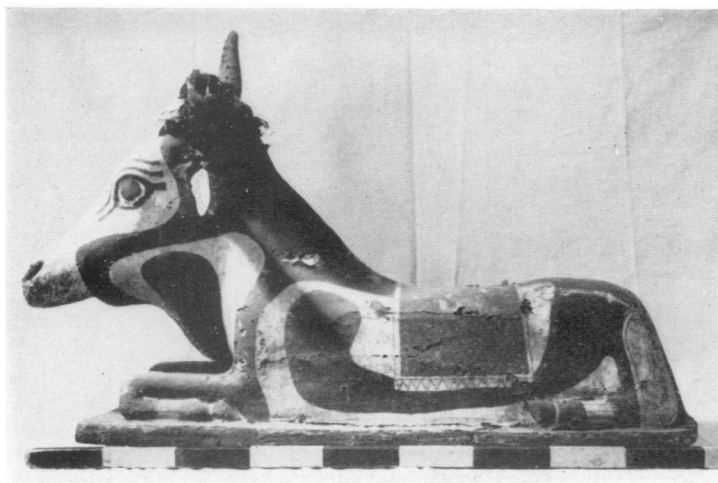
1 and 2. Bronze statuette of Osiris. 39 cm. high



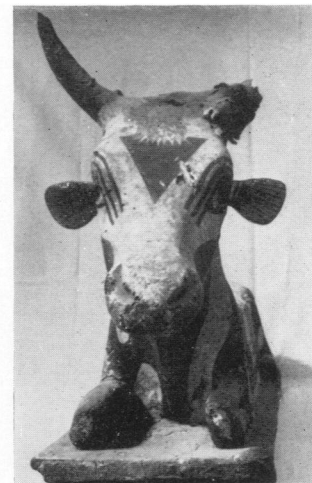
3 and 4. Bronze statuette of Amūn. 22.5 cm. high



5 and 6. Head of a limestone statue of Harpocrates



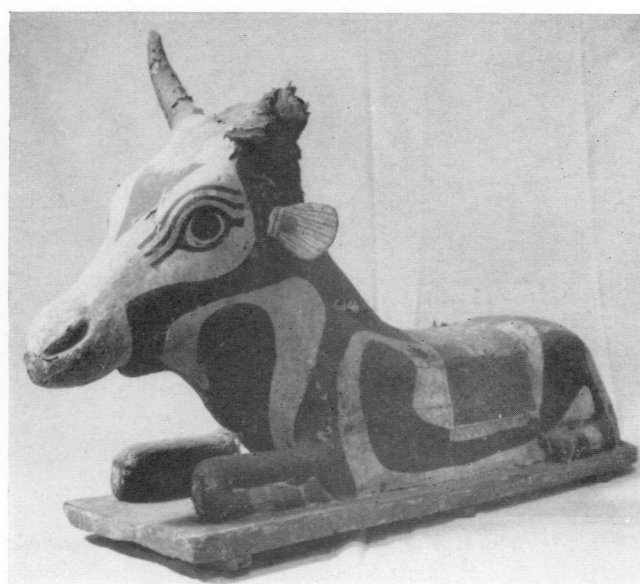
1



2



3



4

1-4. Dummy mummy of Apis. 88 cm. long



5. Bronze statuette of the Apis calf on a wooden sledge base. 9 cm. high



6. Bronze statuette of Apis on a wooden sledge base. The eyes are inlaid with silver. 11 cm. high



1. Limestone lintel from the Christian church. 130 cm. long



3



2. Limestone lintel. Nectanebo II offering to Apis. 102 cm. long



3-4. Cornice blocks with cartouches of Nectanebo II

NORTH SAQQARA, 1968

Two bronze uraei broken off a statuette.

Bronze beard broken off a statuette.

Bronze figurine of a man kneeling in an attitude of prayer.

The mixed character of these deposits and the fact that many of the objects have parts missing or damaged certainly support the theory of their redundancy as temple furnishings.

Working our way outward from Sector 4 we uncovered masses of cattle bones, some still wrapped in linen; obviously the remains of extensive plundering. With these were a limited number of shattered ibis mummies and their broken pottery containers, which surely indicate that the entrance to the underground mausoleum lies in the vicinity and go far to confirm Paul Lucas's story of his exploration in 1716:

All these passages [referring to the ibis galleries] are cut in the rock and all sorts of rooms were prepared there, some of which are filled with pots and others with mummies the majority of which are reduced to powder. In some of these niches I noticed the heads of bulls which lead me to believe that it was just there that they buried the god Apis and I had no doubt that the bull head which Monsieur le Maire, the Consul in Egypt, handed over to me for Monsieur de Valincourt, had come from this place. It was found by the Arabs of Saqqāra in a chamber worked in the rock and so closely shut that chance alone having made it open, an embalmed bull was found inside. I found such a one as I describe in the Catacombs. This bull was enclosed in a great chest on which its head was represented. The chest, which was gilded and painted, was surrounded by a fine balustrade about 5 ft. high equally gilded and painted with diverse colours.

Indeed, in connection with the numerous fragments of gilded and painted woodwork found last season, we must consider the possibility that these remains originally formed part of the balustrade which Lucas describes.

Amidst the masses of cattle skeletons the excavations revealed a small mud-brick building with vaulted roofing. It contained three rooms with a single entrance facing east. The main room was found to contain more cattle bones and skulls, many of which were covered with painted gesso. Layer on layer of these animal remains was removed and below the actual floor level we found, undamaged, what can only be described as the dummy mummy of a cow or bull (pl. VIII, 1-4). This extraordinary object consists of the animal's horned skull modelled to a life-like image with mud plaster, gessoed, and painted. The body, small and out of proportion to the head, is formed by wooden planks carefully shaped and covered with painted gesso. Whether this image represents a cow, the mother of Apis, or the god Apis himself is uncertain but the painted markings are those of the god: the black and white on the flanks, the black triangle on the forehead with the lotus garland, the red saddle cloth, and the winged hawk of Horus on the rear. Dummy mummies of this type were discovered by Belzoni during his explorations at Thebes and, although his picture of one of these images differs in many respects from the specimen found by us, there can be little doubt that they are similar.¹ It is possible that his picture was drawn from memory for he does not appear to have preserved any specimens and as far as I know none has survived in any of our museums today. Belzoni's account is as follows:

¹ G. Belzoni, *Narrative*, I, 261 f., pl. 44.

I have opened all these sorts of animals. Of the bull, the calf and the sheep, there is no part but the head and bones which is covered with linen, and the horns projecting out of the cloth; the rest of the body being represented by two pieces of wood, eighteen inches wide and three feet long, in an horizontal direction, at the end of which was another, placed perpendicularly, two feet high, to form the breast of the animal.

Certainly some of the painted skulls which we found above this image at Saqqâra originally belonged to similar dummy mummies which had been destroyed by plunderers and we are indeed fortunate that one example in some way escaped their attention. In alignment with the building in which it was found we have noted other brick structures which would appear to be similar buildings, perhaps chapels intended to house more of these curious images. But of this we are not certain for our excavations have not yet been extended in this direction.

Other areas in the vicinity of Sector 4 were tested in an effort to locate the entrance to the underground galleries but beyond the discovery of a small Christian cemetery and the remains of stone and brick buildings, we were not successful. With the same objective we completely cleared the burial shaft of a large Third-dynasty tomb in the hope that it would break through into a new part of the galleries but here again we met with failure, for at a depth of 15 m. it opened out into the completely plundered burial chamber.

On March 5 we concentrated the whole of our labour force on the top of the great brick platform of Sector 3, and commenced the clearance of the first level. This work, which continued without interruption until we closed down on April 15, confirmed that the platform was the site of a temple of considerable size built by Nectanebo II (Nakhtorheb, 360–343 B.C.) which had been destroyed by the Christians following the edict of Theodosius in the late fourth century A.D. (pls. IX and X). On the site of this temple a Christian settlement, probably monastic, with a church, had been built and limestone cornice blocks bearing the superbly cut cartouches of Nectanebo were used in the foundations of its mud-brick walls (pl. IX, 3, 4). These cornice blocks give some indication of the size of the temple, measuring 0.97 m. in height from the torus roll to the top of the cavetto cornice. Further evidence of the size of the structure was shown by pillar capitals, copies of the Fifth-dynasty palm order.

The date of the destruction of Nectanebo's temple is indicated by the discovery last season of a hoard of gold coins of fourth-century Roman emperors which were found in a small wooden box in the wall of one of the Christian buildings.¹

The frenzy of religious intolerance is shown by the breaking of so much of the temple stonework which was thrown into the courtyard of Sector 1 discovered last season. Nevertheless large parts of the temple, particularly the stone shrine bases and gateways, are preserved (pl. X) and with the removal next season of the Christian remains we may expect that a complete plan of this important building will be forthcoming. That it was dedicated to Isis, mother of Apis, is confirmed by the following evidence:

¹ *JEA* 53, 144.



1. Stairway below Christian pavement



4. Stairway below Christian brickwork



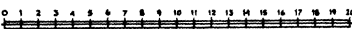
3. Ramp stairway

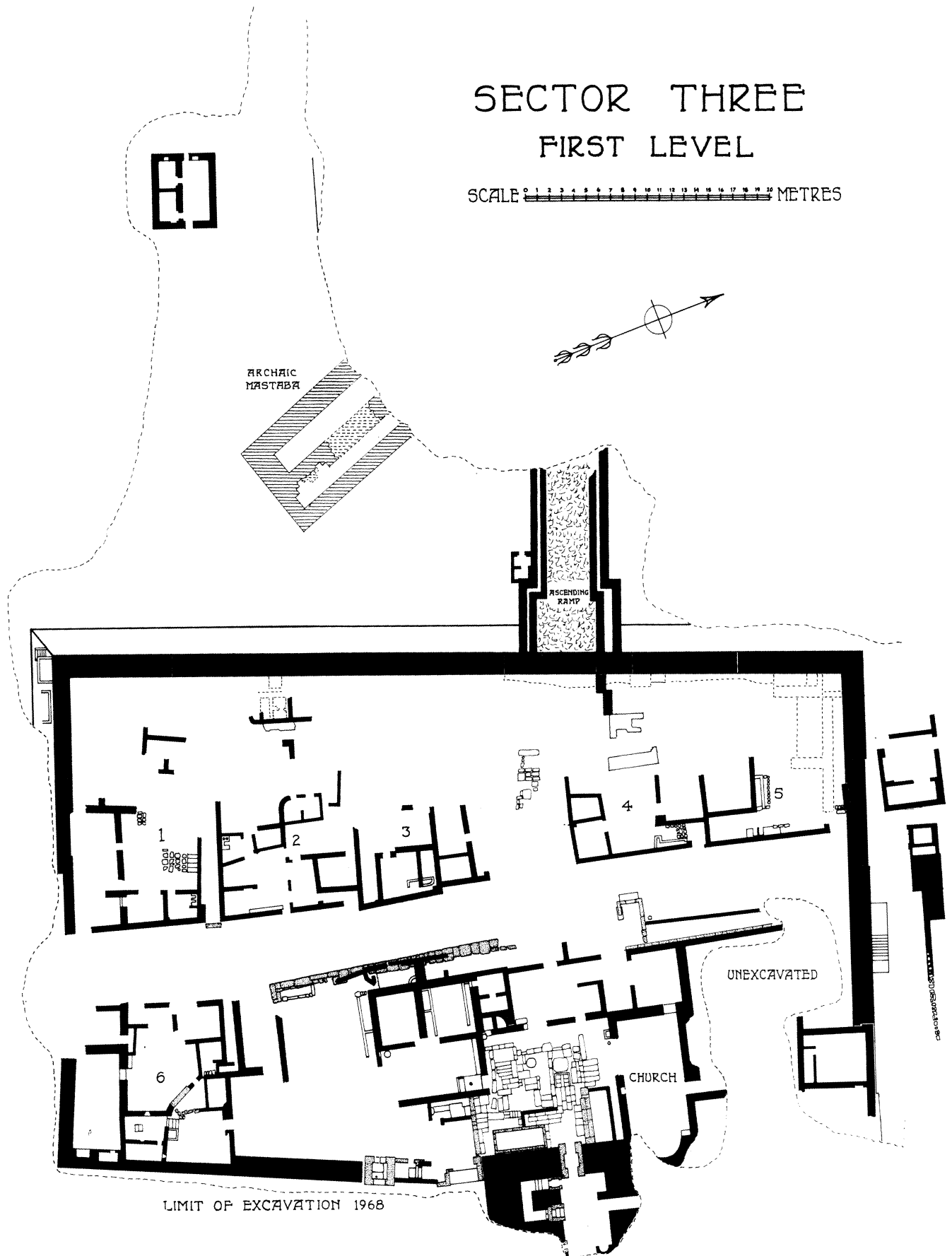


4. 'Fence' wall of limestone

THE TEMPLE OF NECTANEBO II
NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1968

SECTOR THREE FIRST LEVEL

SCALE  METRES



NORTH SAQQÂRA, 1968

1. Demotic ink inscriptions on broken masonry found in the enclosure (Sector 1) last season, some dated to Nectanebo II and others to Psammuthis (393 B.C.) and Hakoris (393–380 B.C.), consist of dedication prayers to the mother of Apis and to the Apis calf.
2. Many ostraca from both Sectors 1 and 3 bear prayers either to Apis himself or to Isis, his mother.
3. A lintel stone reused in one of the Christian buildings shows Nectanebo II offering to Apis, represented as a standing human figure with a bull's head; and a second figure of a deity, almost obliterated, which probably represented his mother (pl. IX, 2).

We know from the discovery of the Bucheum at Armant that it was customary for a separate burial installation to be built for the mother of the bull god, and that the cow burials were of as much importance as those made for the bulls. We have therefore every reason to suppose that the catacombs which are obviously in the vicinity of Nectanebo's temple will be comparable in grandeur with the Serapeum.

THE LENGTH OF THE SOTHIC CYCLE

By M. F. INGHAM

IN 1966, as a result of a correspondence between Professor O. R. Gurney, Mr. H. S. Smith, and Colonel P. B. S. Andrews, the present writer was asked to check the statements that had been made by astronomers and others during the last fifty years about the true length of the so-called Sothic cycle, which is of such cardinal importance for Egyptian chronology. Accordingly we have attempted to calculate the exact length of the interval between successive heliacal risings of Sirius, the Sothic year, as observed at Memphis from the year -4000 to the present day, and to derive new values for the lengths of the first four Sothic cycles.

It can be seen intuitively that, chiefly as a result of the precession of the equinoxes, the length of the Sothic year is not fixed, but changes slowly with time. For when the southerly declination of Sirius is decreasing, as it was until $+970$, the points on the horizon at which the star rises and sets move steadily northwards and the period of invisibility, i.e. the interval between heliacal setting and heliacal rising, will gradually decrease. The time of heliacal rising will likewise change and with it the length of the Sothic year and hence also of the Sothic cycle.

The astronomical calculations are straightforward and are illustrated by the two diagrams. Fig. 1 shows the celestial sphere with the Earth at its centre. K and K' are the north and south ecliptic poles respectively and P is the north celestial pole moving round K , as the result of precession, on a small circle of radius ϵ (the obliquity of the ecliptic) in the direction shown. S is Sirius, whose equatorial co-ordinates are α , δ , and ecliptic co-ordinates λ , β . The dashed portions of great circles are the eastern (rising) and western (setting) horizons which intersect the ecliptic in H and H' . A and A' represent the positions of the Sun at heliacal rising and setting assuming that the star is visible on the horizon. This assumption is not necessarily true, even in a clear atmosphere, but we make it because the horizon is a great circle which any other almucantar is not. Moreover, we are interested in differences between the times of successive heliacal risings, not in the exact times themselves, and so the assumption does not introduce an appreciable error. AL is thus the *arcus visionis* (γ), or smallest solar depression at which the star can be seen, for rising and $A'L'$ (γ') is that for setting. According to Schoch¹, these are different because it is more difficult to spot the star for the first time at rising than for the last time at setting, since at setting one knows where it was the evening before. We have adopted his values, more or less, and have put $\gamma = 9^\circ$ and $\gamma' = 7.5^\circ$. During the year the Sun moves from A' through T (the point of conjunction) to A and the period of invisibility is thus represented by $A'A$.

¹ K. Schoch, *Die Länge der Sothisperiode beträgt 1456 Jahre*. Berlin-Steglitz (by the author), 1928.

Fig. 2 shows how the horizon, equator, zenith, and pole are situated. N is the north point on the horizon and PN is the observer's latitude (29.9° N. at Memphis). The steps in the calculation are as follows.

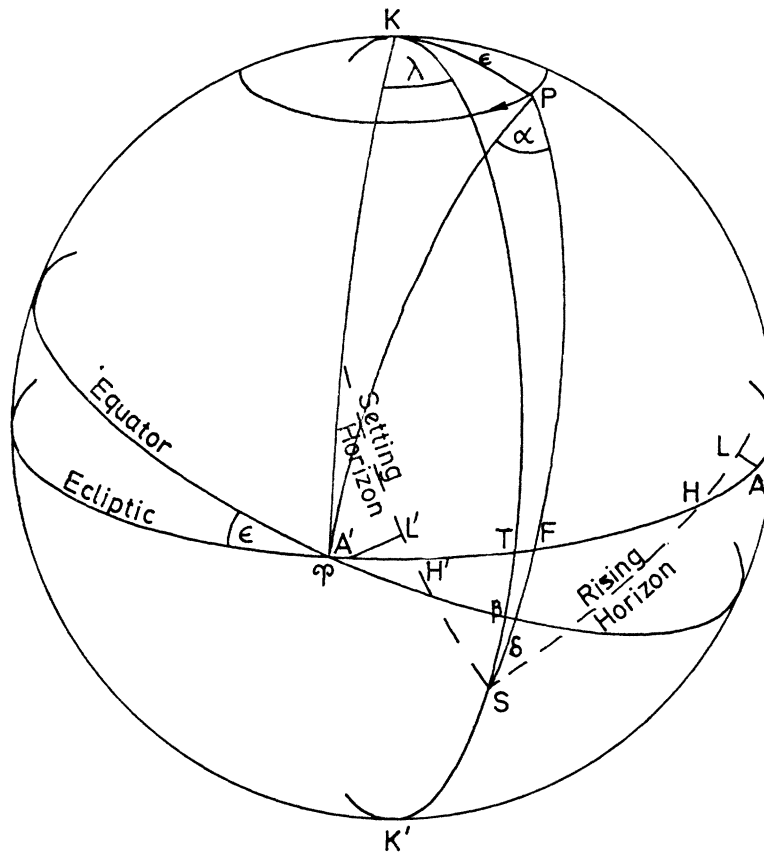


FIG. 1.

1. Obtain α , δ for Sirius from -4000 to $+2000$ from the tables of Neugebauer.¹ These figures include both precession and proper motion.
2. Calculate λ , β remembering that ϵ varies with time owing to planetary precession. The necessary formula for ϵ is given by Allen.²
3. Solve the spherical triangles KPS , PSN (fig. 2), TSH , TSH' , ALH , and $A'L'H$, to obtain the arcs $A'T$ and TA in degrees.
4. Apply the proper motion of Sirius in longitude and hence the motion of T on the ecliptic in order to find a fixed point T' on the ecliptic such that the time between successive passages of the Sun through T' is just a sidereal year of 365.25636 days.
5. Convert the lengths of the arcs $A'T'$ and $T'A$ from degrees to days. Here it is necessary to remember that the Sun's angular motion along the ecliptic is variable, being greatest when the Earth is at perihelion and least at aphelion. Thus we have to find the positions of A' , T' , and A relative to the Earth's longitude of perihelion (which

¹ P. V. Neugebauer, *Tafeln zur astronomischen Chronologie*, I. *Stern tafeln*. Leipzig, 1912.

² C. W. Allen, *Astrophysical Quantities*, 2nd ed. (London, 1963), § 10.

is the Sun's longitude at aphelion and which also changes with time)¹ in order to find how long the Sun takes to go from A' to T' and from T' to A .

TABLE I. *Lengths of the arcs $A'T'$, $T'A$, and $A'A$ in days*

Year	$A'T'$ (days)	$T'A$ (days)	Period of invisibility (days)
-4000	13.71	59.91	73.62
-3000	15.64	53.82	69.46
-2000	18.46	47.91	66.37
-1000	21.95	42.33	64.28
0	26.06	37.03	63.09
+1000	30.76	32.18	62.94
+2000	35.90	27.78	63.68

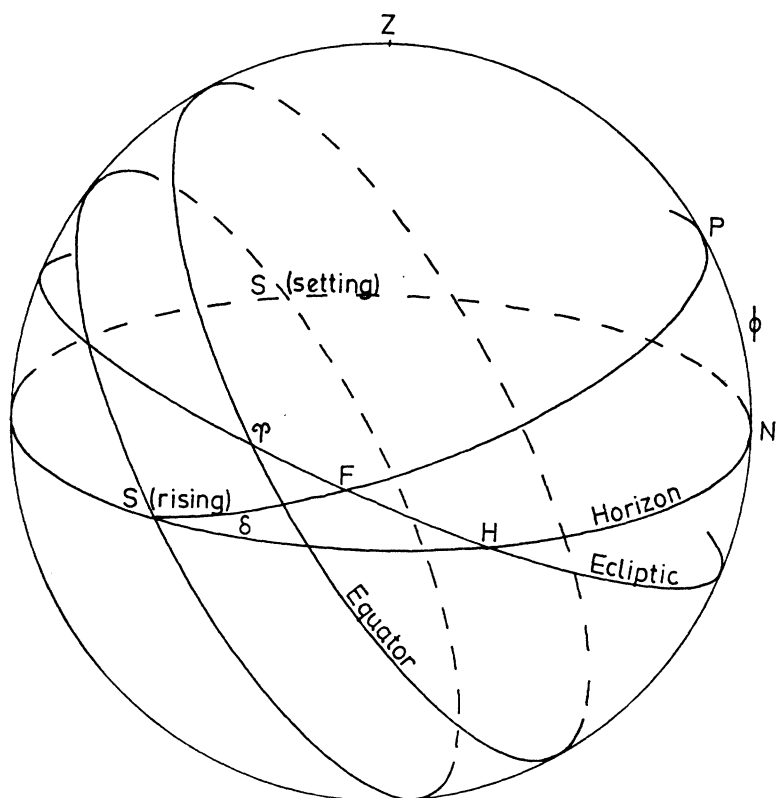


FIG. 2.

Table I shows the results of these steps and that the period of invisibility was shortening until +970 when the longitude of Sirius was 90° , and is now lengthening again. The actual period of invisibility is longer than shown because we have assumed that the star can be seen on the horizon.

To obtain the length of the Sothic year of rising at any epoch, we need to calculate

¹ C. W. Allen, *Astrophysical Quantities*, 2nd ed. (London, 1963), § 66.

the rate of change of $T'A$ expressed in days per year and this will be the amount by which the Sothic year is less than the sidereal year. In table 2, col. 2 contains the years which correspond approximately to the mid points of the first four Sothic cycles, assuming that the first began in -4226 . In col. 3 are the rates of change of $T'A$, in col. 4 the lengths of the Sothic year, i.e. the mean length for each cycle, and in col. 5 are the lengths of the cycles themselves. The figures in col. 5 are derived from those in

TABLE 2. *Lengths of the first four Sothic cycles and the mean length of the Sothic year in each cycle; constant arcus visionis*

Cycle	Middle year	Rate of change of $T'A$ (days per year)	Length of mean Sothic year (days)	Length of cycle (years)	From	To
1	-3497	0.00611	365.25025	1458	-4226	-2768
2	-2040	0.00577	365.25059	1456	-2768	-1312
3	-586	0.00532	365.25104	1453	-1312	+141
4	+866	0.00472	365.25164	1450	+141	+1591

col. 4 as follows. The Sothic cycle is the period of the precession of the Sothic year against the year of 365 days. Thus when the length of the Sothic year is 365.25025 days the length of the cycle is

$$\frac{365}{0.25025} = 1458.5 \text{ years of 365 days}$$

or

$$1458.5 \times \frac{365}{365.2422} = 1457.6 \text{ tropical years.}$$

Thus it is apparent that the length of the Sothic cycle is variable and is at present decreasing. However, the change is small and the value of 1456 years for the length of the second cycle agrees with that given by Schoch.¹ It is therefore unlikely that any but minor adjustments to the system of Egyptian chronology will need to be made.

Throughout this work we have assumed that the *arcus visionis* is a constant angle (apart from variations in individual vision and weather conditions). But it is clear that when the Sun and Sirius are far apart in azimuth the star will be visible near the horizon at a smaller solar depression than when they are close together. The arc SL (fig. 1) is the distance in question for heliacal rising and decreases from about 65° in -4000 to 46° in $+2000$. Thus the *arcus visionis* might have been less in the past than now, which would make the early values of $T'A$ somewhat less than those given in table 1. This in turn would reduce the rate of change of $T'A$ and so increase the length of the Sothic year and decrease that of the Sothic cycle. If, however, in order to estimate the magnitude of this effect, we suppose that γ varied linearly from a value of 8° in -4000 to 9° in $+2000$, we find that the length of each cycle is reduced by no more than two years. Now the year of commencement of a cycle can be known only to within a period of four years since heliacal rising occurs on the same date for four successive years.

¹ Loc. cit.

Thus the effect is unlikely to be of significance for the first two Sothic cycles but thereafter becomes increasingly important. Table 3 shows how the figures in table 2 are altered if we suppose that γ has changed with time.

TABLE 3. *Lengths of the first four Sothic cycles and the mean length of the Sothic year in each cycle; changing arcus visionis*

Cycle	Middle year	Rate of change of $T'A$ (days per year)	Length of mean Sothic year (days)	Length of cycle (years)	From	To
1	-3498	0.00585	365.25051	1456	-4226	-2770
2	-2043	0.00551	365.25085	1454	-2770	-1316
3	-590	0.00510	365.25126	1452	-1316	+136
4	+861	0.00455	365.25181	1449	+136	+1585

DAS OBJEKTLOSE 'IRI N 'HANDELN FÜR' IN DEN PYRAMIDENTEXTEN

Von RUDOLF ANTHES

DIE folgende Zusammenstellung soll zeigen, daß das objektlose *iri n* in den Pyramidentexten vielleicht nie¹ verstanden werden darf als ein transitives *iri* mit Ellipse des pronominalen Objektes,² sondern daß es eine eigenständige, idiomatische Redewendung ist. Folgerungen aus diesem Verständnis sind in der Festschrift für J. Černý, *JEA* 54, 31 ff. vorweggenommen worden. Das waren die Hinweise erstens auf sonstiges Vorkommen des objektlosen *iri* mit und ohne Präposition *n* im Sinne von 'die pflichtgemäße Arbeit leisten' auch außerhalb der Pyramidentexte³ und zweitens auf einen ähnlichen objektlosen Gebrauch der Verben *rđi*, *gmi*, vielleicht auch *đđ* im Sinne von 'dies alles geben, finden, sagen'.⁴ Es war drittens der Versuch, den Gebrauch und die Bedeutung der Demonstrativ-Nomina *nw* und *nn* an Hand der von Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 196–200 vorgelegten Textstellen, aber z. T. im Gegensatz zu seinen Ergebnissen dahin zu klären, daß sie trotz singularischer Konstruktion stets pluralische oder kollektivische Bedeutung haben, 'diese (alle)', 'dies (insgesamt)'; daß sie als Objekt von *iri* und *gmi* zwecks klarerer Determinierung anscheinend erst in einer vorgeschrittenen Sprachstufe eingesetzt wurden; daß sie als Objekt von Verben niemals elliptisch unterschlagen werden können; und daß, wo sie ein Nomen determinieren, dieses in allen vorliegenden Fällen des A.R. durch das Genitiv-Adjektiv *ny* ihnen angeknüpft wird und wie in der klassischen Sprache im Singular stehen kann, auch wo wir es als Plural übersetzen.

Schon Fr. Vogelsang⁵ hat aus der Literatur des M.R. die objektlosen Redewendungen *iri n* und *iri r*, 'Gutes tun für' und 'Böses tun gegen jmd.', hervorgehoben. Gardiner und Lefebvre haben in ihren Grammatiken bei den Besprechungen dieser

¹ Die echte Ellipse eines Objektes vielleicht *Pyr.* 1597 e, s. hier Zitat 18.

² Der Begriff der Ellipse eines nominalen Objektes, Lefebvre *Grammaire*, § 593 b, enthält die Gefahr einer willkürlichen Ergänzung des Objektes. Z. B. der Satz *'w-y hr irt, đđ-i r t*, Louvre C 1, 14, den ich übersetze 'meine Hände taten, was sie konnten, und so warf ich weg, was weggeworfen werden mußte', braucht nicht auf ein übergieriges Beutemachen sich zu beziehen (so übersetzen Lefebvre und Sethe zu *Lesestücke*, 82, 9), sondern kann, auch nach dem Kontext, bedeuten, daß der Mann seine Hände frei machte, etwa von dem vorher genannten Bogen, für den Nahkampf der Fäuste.

³ Zusätzlich s. die *Pyr.*-Stellen hier unten Abschnitt III. Weiter fürs A.R. *Urk.* 1, 119, 9–10, *m ir(y?)t n-i n wd-i, m irt-tn n-i đs-in* 'als etwas, was für mich getan wird auf Grund meiner Anordnung, und wobei auch ihr (? wörtlich: ihr selbst) eure Arbeit für mich tut.' Fürs M.R. s. die vorige Anmerkung und für die 18. Dyn. *Urk.* IV, 420, 1 und ff., *ššmn-i hmwtw r irt hft kt* 'ich setzte die Handwerker an ihre Arbeit wie das Werk es jeweils erforderte'.

⁴ In einem gleichzeitigen Aufsatz über die Präpositionen *m* und *đr* habe ich weiter behandelt *ini m* 'sich verlassen auf jmd.' und *wđi m* 'sich einmischen in die Angelegenheiten jmds.'

⁵ *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern* (1913), 102 zu Bauer B 2, 108; Lebensm. 115–16; und (m.E. nicht sicher) Bauer B 1, 109–10.

beiden Präpositionen Vogelsangs Feststellung übernommen ohne neue Zitate. Darüber hinaus wurde *iri r* 'handeln gegen jmd.' im *Wörterbuch*¹ scheinbar gesondert, tatsächlich aber mit irreführenden Belegstellen aufgeführt und weiter von Gardiner,² zurückhaltend von Sethe³ herausgestellt. Aber *iri n* 'handeln zugunsten jmds.' ist soviel ich sehe über Vogelsang hinaus nicht behandelt worden, vielleicht weil es nur sporadisch, sonst in Formeln vorkommt und andere Erklärungen zu genügen schienen. Aber in den Pyramidentexten findet es sich in massiver, lebendiger und einheitlicher Anwendung. Sethe behandelte es in seinem Kommentar nur von Fall zu Fall; ein Vergleich seiner Bemerkungen z. B. zu *Pyr.* 257 a, 582 d, 942 c, 1334 c zeigt jedoch die Richtung auf eine Klärung, die er nicht mehr durchführen konnte.

Aus den folgend vorgelegten Textstellen ergibt sich, daß das objektlose *iri* in dem Sinne verstanden werden muß, daß wir das innere Objekt des Verbums als passivisches Partizip oder als Relativform ergänzen, also nach dem Muster 'er tut, was getan wird', 'er tut, was er oder ein Anderer tut'. Die Schattierungen dieser Formen, z. B. 'was getan werden muß', 'was er tun will', können von uns nicht immer mit Sicherheit dem Texte entnommen und in die Übersetzung eingesetzt werden. Die Beziehung auf die Gegenwärtigkeit des Tuns, die wir mit 'hier' oder 'dieses' wiedergeben, scheint ein Wesenszug des objektlosen Gebrauchs von *iri* zu sein, soweit nicht eine andere Bestimmung dagegen spricht, etwa die Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit. Die kollektivische Bedeutung des inneren Objektes im Sinne von '(dies) alles oder insgesamt (tun)' erscheint zunächst bei *iri* leicht daraus erklärbar, daß jede Handlung etwas Komplexes ist ebenso wie jede Rede als inneres Objekt von *dd* 'sagen'. Aber auch bei dem objektlosen Gebrauch der Verben *rdi* und *gmi* hat die Übersetzung 'dies alles geben resp. finden' unser Verständnis anscheinend geklärt.⁴

Wir dürfen also *iri-f n X* übersetzen mit 'er tut dieses alles (oder: alles, was er hier tun soll oder will oder ähnlich) zugunsten des X' je nach dem Textzusammenhang. Die durch diese verschiedenen Möglichkeiten gegebene Unsicherheit umgehen wir durch die im folgenden durchgängig benutzte Übersetzung 'handeln zugunsten des X'. Dabei ist aber 'handeln' nicht verstanden im Sinne des bloßen Tätigseins, sondern als ein 'am rechten Platze und zur rechten Zeit das Richtige, also das dem X Nützliche tun'. In diesem Sinne können wohl auch engl. 'to act' und franz. 'agir' verstanden werden, die Gardiner und Lefebvre in ihren Grammatiken für *iri n* und *r* verwenden. — Die umständliche Übersetzung des *n* mit 'zu jmds. Gunsten' sei mir freundlich nachgesehen: 'für' und 'wegen' sind mehrdeutig, der Dativ paßt nicht immer, und Pedanterie im Übersetzen von Präpositionen ist allemal empfehlenswert.

Aus dem Gesagten versteht sich, daß auch die in Abschnitt II zusammengestellten Zitate nützlicherweise zum Verständnis herangezogen werden können, in denen *iri* mit und ohne Präposition *n* transitiv gebraucht wird mit z. B. Relativform *irtn-f*, part. pass. *iryt* und *nw* oder *nm* 'dieses' als Objekt. Ihre Heranziehung ergab sich im

¹ *Wb* I, III, 20. Alle dort genannten *Pyr.*-Stellen haben aber ein Objekt zu *iri*, gehören also besser zu *ibid.* 109, 35. Das objektlose *iri r*: *Pyr.* 850 c.e, 1464 b, 1477 aP, 1978 d, 2112 a, vielleicht 417 a.

² *Letters to the Dead* (1928), 17 zu II, 4 u.a.

³ *Dramatische Texte* (1928), 113 zu Ram. Pap. 9 a.

⁴ Das gilt wohl auch für *ini m* und das mir nur negiert bekannte *wdi m* (s.o. S. 41 Anm. 4).

Laufe der Arbeit von selbst. Dagegen sind für uns belanglos diejenigen Textstellen, an denen *iri* ein allgemeineres die Wohlgefälligkeit bezeichnendes Objekt hat, also *ih̄t nb nfr̄t* 'alle guten Dinge' und ähnlich: *Pyr.* 1590 a = 1600 a, 1597 d (s. beides zu Zitat 18), 1648 b; *nfr̄t* 'Gutes, Schönes': *Pyr.* 1099 c (s. Zitat 14), 274 c und 123 c.

I. Textstellen mit dem objektlosen *iri n*

Die *šdmn̄-f*-Form ist in den folgenden Zitaten als präsentisches Perfekt ('present perfect'; Edel §§ 537–9) verstanden. Da wir dieses im Deutschen nur umständlich oder garnicht kennzeichnen können, habe ich hier, willkürlich genug, das objektlose *irn̄-f* präsentisch wiedergegeben, 'er vollzieht die Handlung'. In allen anderen Fällen habe ich die *šdmn̄-f*-Form in der Vergangenheitsform übersetzt, z. T. mit verdeutlichendem Zusatz. Die von Edel vorgeschlagene futurische Übersetzung der *šdmn̄-f*-Form vermeide ich mit gutem Grunde.¹

A. Der König 'handelt' als Horus zugunsten seines Vaters in den Bestattungszeremonien, Zitate 1–7. — Zu diesem Thema s. auch Zitate 15–16, 20–6, 31–4, 39; vgl. 49.

1. *Pyr.* 257 a. Anfang des Spruches 247: '(257 a) *irn n-k s:k Hr*, dein Sohn Horus vollzieht diese Handlung zu deinen Gunsten. (b) Die Großen zittern, denn sie haben das Messer in deiner Hand erblickt u.s.w.'. — Das Ende des gleichen Spruches lautet:
2. *Pyr.* 261 a. '(260 b) . . . Stehe auf, der in Nedit ist. (c) Dein gutes Brot wird gemacht in Pe, dein *šhm*-Abzeichen wird empfangen in Heliopolis. (261 a) *Hr pw wd n:f irt n it:f*, Horus ist der, dem aufgetragen ist, hier für seinen Vater zu handeln, der Herr (? den Herrn?) des Unwetters. . . (b) er erhebt dich, und er wird den Atum erheben.'

Spruch 247 (= *CT* IV, 381–4) ist auch in *Totb.* Nav. 174 zusammengefaßt mit den folgenden Sprüchen 248–50, in denen NN verklärt wird als nacheinander Morgenstern, Nefertem-Lotos und *Ši*, in jeder dieser Erscheinungsformen beigeordnet dem Re. Unsere beiden Zitate sind die einzige Erwähnung einer Tätigkeit (anders *Pyr.* 258 c) des Horus in dieser Spruchfolge. Diese Tätigkeit kann doch wohl nur die hier eingeleitete, im Ritual zu vollziehende Verklärung sein. — In den Schlußworten, 261 b, muß fraglich bleiben, wer 'er' ist, und was *wts* 'erheben' bedeutet.

Horus handelt hier in einem Auftrag. Vielleicht ist Geb der Auftraggeber wie in Zitaten 7 und 16. Darin, daß Geb den Horus zum König macht, wie es besonders klar in der 'Memphitischen Theologie' erscheint, wird der Auftrag zur Beisetzung und Verklärung des Vaters und Vorgängers enthalten sein. Aber nach Zitat 45 (*Pyr.* 760 c) ist es auch Re, der dem König das Amt zuweist. Da

¹ Edel § 541 gründet seine Annahme, daß die *šdmn̄-f*-Form auch futurische Bedeutung haben könne, auf das angebliche *šmn̄-f* in *Pyr.* 1327 b, und dieses ist ihm § 533, 1 auch der einzige Beleg für ein *i*-Augment im *šdmn̄-f* 2 rad. Verben. Sethe macht eine Konjektur an dieser Stelle; ich lese und übersetze *šm n:f* 'gehe fort zu seinen Gunsten' als Anrede an *ntr nb*, wie begründet *JNES* 13 (1954), 43. In dem von Edel § 541 herangezogenen *Pyr.* 522 c und 523 c kann ich ebensowenig wie Sethe ein Futurum sehen. M.E. sind Edel §§ 541 und 533, 1 ein Irrtum und § 546 erweist ~~—~~ *šdmn̄-f* nur als negierten Wunschsatz 'er soll nicht hören'.

wie gesagt die vorliegende Spruchfolge den NN in Beziehung zu Re setzt, kann sehr wohl Re als Auftraggeber gemeint sein.

3. *Pyr.* 647 d. Ende von Spruch 370, der beginnt mit den Worten '(645 a) O Osiris NN, Horus hat es gegeben, daß die Götter sich mit dir vereinigen . . . (646 c) . . . empfangen dir seine Rede, sei befriedet mit ihr, (d) höre auf ihn (das wird dir nicht unnütz sein? 647 a) Er hat die Götter allzumal für dich herbeigebracht, und es gibt keinen von ihnen, der seiner Hand entrinnt. (b) Horus hat sich seinen Kindern angeschlossen(?), du hast dich zusammengetan mit denen, die seines Leibes sind, (c) sie haben dich liebgewonnen. (d) *irn Hr n kꜣf im(y)·k htp·k*, Horus vollzieht diese Handlung zu Gunsten seines Kas, der du bist, und so wirst du befriedet in deinem Namen *Kꜣ-htp*.'

Die Annahme, daß in *irn Hr* ein pronominales Objekt ausgefallen sei, würde hier ebenso wie in den Zitaten 1 und 2 willkürlich und unbegründet sein. Man könnte fragen, ob 'diese Handlung' der Vollzug der Vereinigung mit den Göttern ist, oder ob sie die Zelebrierung des Rituals ist, das diese Vereinigung bewirkt; die Antwort ist einfach, daß nämlich beide Funktionen des Horus eine Einheit bilden. — *Mdt* 'die Rede' (646 c) ist in P durch das Determinativ — wohl als vorgeschriebene Rede gekennzeichnet, bedeutet also den Wortlaut des Rituals.

4. *Pyr.* 582 d. Ende von Spruch 356, der beginnt: '(575 a) He, du Osiris NN, Horus ist gekommen . . . (582 a) Horus hat es gegeben, daß du ihn (scil. Seth) als dein Eigentum beanspruchst in seiner Mitte: er soll dir nicht entkommen. (b) Er hat es gegeben, daß du ihn packst mit deiner Hand: er soll dir nicht entspringen. (c) He, Osiris NN, Horus hat dich "gerächt", (d) *irn·f n kꜣf im(y)·k htp·k*, er vollzieht diese Handlung zugunsten seines Kas, der du bist, und so wirst du befriedet in deinem Namen *Kꜣ-htp*.'

In Spruch 356 verhilft Horus seinem Vater, dem Osiris NN, zum Triumph über Seth, zur Königwerdung und Gottwerdung. Dabei wird hingewiesen auf Geb, der Königwerdung und Triumph vollendet (576 c–577 a; 578 b), und auf Nut, die NN als den Gott vorstellt 'zum Nutzen des Seth' (580 b–c). Die Tätigkeit des Horus ist zusammengefaßt im Ausdruck 'rächen' (*nd*, 582 c), aber der Vergleich mit dem gleichlautenden Zitat 3 beweist, daß nicht etwa ein auf *nd* bezogenes Pronomen als Objekt von *irn·f* ausgefallen ist.

5. *Pyr.* 1334 c. Ende von Spruch 451, der 1333 a beginnt mit der Anrede an die vier Horussöhne. '(1334 a) Schlägt den Seth, "rächt" diesen Osiris NN an ihm, dieweil es Tag geworden ist. (b) Horus ist mächtig, er "rächt" selbst seinen Vater, diesen Osiris NN. (c) *irr n it iꜣ·tn sw*, der (hier) zugunsten des verstorbenen Königs handelt, den sollt ihr preisen.'

Wollte man hier ein auf das vorhergehende 'rächen' (*nd*) bezogenes pronominales Objekt ergänzen, so müßte dieses durchaus betont sein: 'wer dieses (oder: solches) tut . . .', also etwa *nn*; ein Demonstrativum aber kann nicht in Ellipse ausfallen. Sethe übersetzte deswegen 'wer (etwas) tut . . .', aber das wird offen-

sichtlich dem Text nicht gerecht. In der Übersetzung von *it* als 'der verstorbene König' schließe ich mich der von Sethe hier vorgeschlagenen 'generellen Regelung' an; wäre an *it* 'Vater' ausdrücklich gedacht, so müßten wir doch wohl *it-f* erwarten.

- 6 (= 23). *Pyr.* 970 c, dessen letztes Wort *mi* nur in *CT* VII, 39 p B 10 erhalten ist.¹ Der Schlußteil des langen Spruches 477 variiert in vier Litaneistrophen (*Pyr.* 964 ff.) die verbale Begleitung der Riten, die NN am Leibe des Osiris vollzieht, bis in 969 der Text umspringt auf Horus, der den NN zum Haupt der Verklärten statt der Toten macht; s. weiter zu Zitat 7. Das zusammenfassende Schlußwort lautet '(970 c) *irtin Hr n Wsir iri-f n NN mi*, wie das, was Horus zugunsten des Osiris tat, so handelt er hier zugunsten des NN.'

Zum adverbial gebrauchten *mi* s. Edel § 751 d mit dem Hinweis auf das syntaktisch gleichartige *Pyr.* 2048 a.c. — Das Nebeneinander von dem transitiven und dem objektlosen *iri* findet sich auch in Zitaten 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, die deswegen, wie dieses hier, in Abschnitt II noch einmal aufgeführt sind, z. T. durch bloßen Hinweis bei Zitat 39. — Eine Bestimmung des *iri* durch Adverb auch in Zitaten 8, 9, 15, 16. — Der gleiche Gedanke wie hier ist anders gefaßt in Zitaten 22 = 33 und 39.

- 7 (= 34). *Pyr.* 967 c. Zum Text-Zusammenhang s. Zitat 6; die vorliegende dritte Litanei-Strophe lautet: '(967 a) NN ist zu dir gekommen, mein Herr. NN ist zu dir gekommen, Osiris. (b) NN bürstet dein Gesicht und bekleidet dich mit dem Gotteskleide. (c) *iry n-k NN nw wdn Gb iry-f n-k*, NN tut für dich dieses, was Geb befohlen hat, (nämlich) daß er für dich hier handeln soll: (d) er legt deine Hand bleibend auf das 'nh-Zeichen und erhebt deine (andere) Hand unter das *wis*-Zeichen.'

Hier wie in Zitat 10 ist der Schlußsatz, *iri X n Y*, das Objekt von *wd* resp. *dd*, also die Umsetzung des Befehls resp. der Aussage mit dem objektlosen *iri* in die indirekte Rede, so daß ein pronominales Objekt zu *iri* nicht erwartet werden kann. — Ein Vergleich mit den drei anderen Litaneistrophen dieses Spruch-Abschnittes und die Tatsache, daß 967 c–968 b im M.R. ausgelassen sind, lassen vermuten, daß mit dem 'Handeln' des Sohns für den Vater hier die Anlegung der wohl königlichen Abzeichen (967 d) gemeint ist. An anderer Stelle hoffe ich zu zeigen, daß 'Osiris' auch sonst mit gutem Recht den Vater und Vorgänger des verstorbenen Königs NN bezeichnen kann, wie es hier offenbar der Fall ist; s. auch Zitat 30. — Zum Befehl des Geb s. die Bemerkung zu Zitat 2. — Sethes Annahme, *Kommentar*, IV, 245, daß die vorliegende Litanei ursprünglich in der 1. sing. abgefaßt sei, also: 'ich bin zu dir gekommen u.s.w.', erscheint schwer vereinbar mit dem Befund, daß P und M durchgehends in der 3 sing. abgefaßt sind, einschließlich also 964 c P; nur N hat Spuren der 1.

¹ In der Textausgabe hat Sethe deutlich gemacht, daß hier, am zerstörten Ende von N Zl. 912, Platz ist unter dem Königsnamen für das in B 10 erhaltene *mi*. Zu dem dort dem *mi* folgenden doppelten Abschlußstrich s. *CT* I, 191 n. 1*.

sing., und in den Sargtexten hat die 1. sing. sich voll durchgesetzt. Sethes Annahme basiert auf dem überlieferten ägyptologischen Vorurteil, daß der Mythos vom Gotte Osiris und sein Kultus selbständig entstanden und erst sekundär als mythische Entsprechung auf das Totenritual des Königs übertragen worden sei. Dagegen steht mein nicht schlecht fundiertes Vorurteil, daß der Osirismythos aus der Gewißheit des Glaubens an die göttliche Herkunft des Horuskönigs entstand, daß der früheste Osiriskultus das königliche Totenritual war, und daß erst in der Endzeit des A.R. Osiris sich ablöste von Mythos und Kultus des Horuskönigs. Zu dieser Ansicht paßt sehr gut der Übergang von der 3. sing. zur 1. sing. in der vorliegenden Litanei.

B. Ein Gott oder die Neunheit handelt für den verstorbenen König, Zitate 8–13. — Zu diesem Thema s. auch Zitate 27, 29, 30, 35, 38; vgl. 39, 42a, 51.

8. *Pyr.* 477 c: '(476 a) Wie schön ist doch der Anblick, wie befriedigend ist doch das Schauen, so sagen sie, so sagen die Götter, (b) da dieser Gott zum Himmel herauf kommt, da der verstorbene König NN zum Himmel herauf kommt, (477 a) seine *bꜣw*-Macht auf ihm, sein *šꜥt*-Schrecken zu seinen beiden Seiten, (b) seine *ḥkꜣw*-Zauberkräft auf seinen Füßen. (c) *irn n:f Gb mi kd iry n:f im*, Geb vollzieht hier die Handlung zu seinen Gunsten in der Art, in der (einst) zu seinen (eigenen) Gunsten gehandelt wurde. (478 a) Für ihn kommen (die Seelen und Götter und erheben ihn auf ihren Händen).' — Ein wesentlich gleichlautender Text, als Ausruf der Isis statt der Götter eingeleitet, nennt Atum statt Geb:
9. *Pyr.* 1473 a M: '*irw n:f in Itm mi ir(y)t n:f*, gehandelt wird hier zu seinen Gunsten durch Atum entsprechend dem, was für ihn (selbst einst) getan wurde. (b) Er bringt dir die Götter u.s.w.'

Zur Ausdrucksweise s. Bemerkungen zu Zitat 6. — Gelegentlich¹ habe ich darauf hingewiesen, daß, in der spekulativen Entwicklung des Götterstammbaums vom Horuskönig aus, eine königliche Funktion notwendigerweise sowohl dem Geb als auch dem Atum zukommt, und dieser Schluß bestätigt sich zur Genüge in den Pyramidentexten. So kann von diesen beiden Göttern mit Recht gesagt werden, daß sie den NN zum himmlischen König machen gleicherweise wie es ihnen selbst einst geschah. — Sethes Frage, wer wohl dem Urgott Atum den Liebesdienst erwiesen haben könnte, mag beantwortet werden mit dem Hinweis auf Die Beiden Großen Götter, die 'den täglich leuchtenden Re-Atum' durch ihren Ausspruch auf ihren Thron setzten (*Pyr.* 1694 zu 1692 b). Das führt uns hier nicht weiter, aber der spätere Bearbeiter von 1473 a hat diese Frage rationalistisch beantwortet: '*irw n:f in Itm mi kd irn:f n:f im*, . . . in der Art, in der er (Atum) für sich gehandelt hat' (*CT* VII, 32 g): der Urgott hat sein Königtum sich selbst verliehen. — Anscheinend also beziehen sich diese Zitate darauf, daß Geb und Atum die Königwerdung des NN durchführen und damit das rituelle Handeln des Horus ergänzen. Zum Anteil des Atum an diesem Geschehen

¹ Samuel N. Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (1961), 41; *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 96 (1965), 27.

s. auch die beiden folgenden Zitate, zu dem des Geb Zitat 27 = 35 und zu der gemeinsamen Tätigkeit von Atum und Geb Zitat 19 und die dort genannten Parallelen.

- 10 (= 41). *Pyr.* 2082 a. Die vier Horussöhne fertigen die Leiter für NN (2079 a–b: *ḫꜣꜣ·šn ḫꜣꜣ n NN ṣrwd·šn mꜣḫt n NN*); nach der eingehenden Beschreibung von Herstellung und Aufstellung werden sie angeredet: '(2081 a) "Laßt den Ka dieses NN sich erheben zum Gott, (b) laßt ihn wandeln zu Ruruti, laßt ihn aufsteigen zu Atum." (2082 a) *irn Itm ddt·f iri·f n NN pn*, hiermit hat Atum das getan, was er gesagt hat, daß er nämlich handeln werde zugunsten dieses NN, (b) daß er die *ḫꜣꜣ*-Leiter für ihn binden (*ḫꜣꜣ·f n·f ḫꜣꜣ*) und die *mꜣḫt*-Leiter für diesen NN festigen lasse. (c) Dieser NN wird dem Abscheu der Menschen entrückt u.s.w.'

Zu *ddt·f iri·f* s. die Bemerkung zu Zitat 7. — 2082 a–b könnte auch in die vorhergehende Anrede eingeschlossen sein, und *irn Itm* könnte als relative Vergangenheit, 'nachdem Atum getan hat', verstanden werden. *ḫꜣꜣ·f* und *ṣrwd·f* (2082 b) könnten auch an *irn Itm* (statt an *iri·f*) angeschlossen werden: 'und so läßt er ihm die Leiter binden'; ihre Identifizierung als die in 2079 a–b genannte Tätigkeit der Horussöhne erscheint eindeutig. — Atum 'handelt' dadurch, daß er dem NN den Aufstieg ermöglicht, und daraus ergibt sich die Gewinnung des Schlangenleibes (2083 c–d),¹ die Einordnung in die Dat (2084–5) und die Würde im Haus des Ruruti (2086).

11. *Pyr.* 1982 b. '(1980 a) Wie schön ist doch der Anblick, wie befriedigend ist das Schauen, der Anblick des Horus, (b) wenn er das 'nh-Zeichen seinem Vater gibt und das wꜣꜣ-Zeichen dem Osiris überreicht (c) als dem, der den westlichen Göttern vorsteht. (1981 a) Deine Wasserspende wird gespendet durch Isis, und Nephthys hat dich gereinigt, (b) deine großen, gewaltigen Schwestern, die dein Fleisch gesammelt, (c) deine Glieder aufgehoben und deine Augen haben scheinen lassen in deinem Kopfe, (1982 a) Mesektet und Mandjet.² (b) *rdn n·k Itm irn n·k psḏty*, Atum hat dir dies alles gegeben, die beiden Neunheiten haben dir dies alles getan (d. i. sie handeln hiermit zu deinen Gunsten). (1983 a) Deine Kindeskinde vereint haben dich aufgerichtet, (b) *Hpy, Imsty, Dwꜣ-mwt·f, Kḫh·šnwf*, (c) die du eine Gesamtheit genannt hast (? *irwn·k rnw·šn m twt*; s. u.), (d) die dein Gesicht gewaschen, deine Tränen abgewischt (e) und deinen Mund geöffnet haben mit ihren Fingern aus Erz.'

Spruch 670 führt von der Trauer um Osiris und ihrer Überwindung durch Horus (*Pyr.* 1973–9) über die Zeremonien an der Leiche durch Horus, die beiden Schwestern und die Horussöhne (1980–1, 1983) zum Aufstieg zur Herrschaft über Himmel und Erde (1984–5). Dazwischen erscheint 1982 etwas deplaziert. — Zur Übersetzung des objektlosen *rdi* 'geben' s. Parallelen in *JEA* 54, 37; Atum gibt dem NN Herrschaft und Königserbteil (z. B. Zitat 19 und Parallelen) oder veranlaßt seinen Aufstieg (Zitat 10). Das Handeln der beiden Neunheiten ist die Verurteilung des Seth, die sonst zusammengefaßt ist im Ausdruck *nd* 'rächen'

¹ 'Er soll nicht schlafen in der Nacht und nicht den Tag verbringen ohne seinen Schlangenleib'; zu *dt* 'Schlangenleib' s. *Drewnij Mir* (Festschrift für W. W. Struwe, 1962), 32 ff.

² Die Variante *Aba Zl.* 369 f. erweist 'Mesektet und Mandjet' als 'Isis und Nephthys'.

durch die Götter (*Pyr.* 578 a), die Neunheit (215 c), die Große Neunheit (626 c, 1628 a); vgl. dazu *nd* in Zitat 4. — Zu den Ergänzungen Sethes in *Pyr.* 1983 s. *Pyramidentexte*, III, 156. — *Pyr.* 1983 c ist hier in dem von Sethe zu *Pyr.* 1130 a angegebenen Sinne übersetzt. Die grammatikalisch gleichermaßen mögliche Übersetzung 'die Horussöhne, die für dich gehandelt haben indem ihre Namen eine Gesamtheit bilden' ist vielleicht deswegen abzulehnen, weil dabei *irw* koordiniert sein würde mit den folgenden Partizipien *i'w*, (*i*)*hw*, *wpw*, während das *iri* 'handeln' sonst syntaktisch als Oberbegriff gegenüber den einzelnen Verrichtungen behandelt zu werden scheint: s. Zitate 7, 10, 15, 16.

12. *Pyr.* 808 b, Ende von Spruch 437: '(807 a) *Nsw-di-htp Inpw-di-htp*, deine Tausend an Brot (u.s.w. bis 807 c) deine Tausend an allen guten Dingen, die du ißt, and an die du dein Herz setzt, (808 a) und daß der *ism*-Baum dich bedient und der *nbs*-Baum seinem Wipfel für dich beugt, (b) *m irw n-k Inpw* und das bedeutet: Anubis handelt hier zu deinen Gunsten.' Ebenso heißt es in
13. *Pyr.* 1723 d, Ende von Spruch 610: '(1723 b) Er (scil. der Falkengott von Letopolis) hat dieses Großbrot-und-Wasser gegeben und Wein, (c) und daß die *ism*-Bäume dich bedienen und der *nbs*-Baum seinen Wipfel für dich beugt. (d) *nsw-di-htp (r)d(y?) n-k m irw n-k Inpw* das *nsw-di-htp* ist dir gegeben und das bedeutet: Anubis handelt hier zu deinen Gunsten.'

Vgl. hierzu den Schluß von Spruch 483: '(1019 a) *htp rdw Inpw* daß der *ism*-Baum dich bedient und der *nbs*-Baum seinen Wipfel für dich senkt, (b) daß du den Himmel umwandelst wie *Swntw*.'

Die Lesung der *nsw-di-htp*-Formel ist hier nicht zur Diskussion gestellt. — Nach Edel § 525 sehen wir die *sdmw-f*-Form in *m irw n-k Inpw*. Sethe (zu 808 b) verweist darauf, daß dieses grammatisch der Grabformel *m ir s; mrr n it-f* entspricht. — Zwar ist in den drei vorliegenden Sprüchen Anubis mehrfach genannt, aber die durch *m* eingeführte Handlung des Anubis bezieht sich offenbar nur auf die 'Gnadengabe', die von ihm erwartet wird, auch in 1723 d, wo sie nicht als die seine bezeichnet ist.

C. Der König handelt außerhalb des Bestattungsrituals, Zitate 14–16. — Zu diesem Thema s. auch Zitate 40, 43–6, 50; vgl. 28 mit Re und 47 mit dem Großen Gotte als Subjekt.

- 14 (vgl. 52). *Pyr.* 1099 c: '(1098 c) NN ist der lebende Ba . . . (d) . . . der seinen Schlangenleib befreit hat, der seinen Schlangenleib gewonnen hat (1099 a) als der, welcher die Tat des Möchtegern-Täters verstört (*m hnnw ir(y)t irti*). (b) So schläft nun (oder: ist auf die Nacht beschränkt?) die Tat des Möchtegern-Täters, der Befehl des Möchtegern-Befehlshabers (*šdr ir(y)t irti wdt wdti*), (c) *iri NN n irr nfrt wd NN n wd nfrt* und NN handelt zugunsten des, der Gutes tut, er befiehlt dem, der Gutes befiehlt. (1100 a) Die Lippen des NN sind in den beiden Neunheiten, (b) NN ist die Große Sprecherin.¹

¹ Die Große Sprecherin kann verstanden werden als die Große Körperschaft (*ht*) von Heliopolis, der Gerichtshof (*d;drt*) des Gottes, das Rathaus (*ht šrw*) oder das Haus des Horus (*ht Hr* = Hathor). Zur berech-

Die Befreiung und Gewinnung des Schlangenleibes vollendet die Verklärung zum himmlischen König und Gott, und dieser spricht dann durch die beiden Neunheiten. Der Schlangenleib ist also nicht Kennzeichen des Todes, sondern des neuen Lebens, und schon deswegen dürfen wir nicht mit Sethe in 1099 a–b einen Hinweis auf die durch den Tod bedingte Handlungsunfähigkeit des NN sehen. Vielmehr ist der, dessen Handeln und Befehlen nun behindert ist, der Böse, der unberechtigt beim Tode des NN die Königsgewalt an sich riß, aber darin gestört und endgültig überwunden wurde durch die Ernennung des neuen Horuskönigs und die mythisch gleichzeitige Verklärung des verstorbenen, also der Räuber des Horusauges, der Seth des Osirismythos.¹ Gegen diese Deutung kann nicht eingewandt werden, daß die ungewöhnliche *śdmti*-Form, nach Sethe die suffixlose Form des Verbaladjektivs (vgl. Edel § 653), in diesem Spruch öfters auf NN bezogen vorkommt (*Pyr.* 1094 a, 1097 a, 1100 c); vgl. dagegen Zitat 53. — *Irt* und *wđt* sind doch wohl nicht Infinitive (Sethe), dann also part. perf. pass. Verstehen wir dies als vergangenes Geschehen, so ist der *irti* und *wđti* einer, der bereits handelte und befahl; das würde für Seth passen. — Es ist mir nicht sicher, ob das bloße *iri* neben dem pflichtgemäßen auch das schädliche Handeln bedeuten kann; vgl. die gleiche Frage in Zitat. 53. Jedenfalls bezeichnet es in 1099 a, b und c wohl jedesmal das Gleiche, nämlich das an sich gute königliche Handeln, das nur beim Usurpator ins Böse sich verkehrt.

15. *Pyr.* 1748 c. Anfang des Spruches: '(1747 a) Erhebe dich, NN . . . (1748 a) daß ich dir deine beiden Arme wasche mit diesem frischen Wasser, das dir dein Vater Osiris (*sic?*) gegeben hat. (b) Ich habe die Gerste bestellt, ich habe den Spelt geschnitten, (c) *irn-i n hbw-k im irwn n-k hnty-imntyw*, und damit vollziehe ich hier die Handlung für deine Feste, die Chentamentiu dir bereitet hat.' — Ähnlich:

16. *Pyr.* 657 b–d: '(a) Die Gerste wird zu deinen Gunsten gedroschen, der Spelt wird zu deinen Gunsten geschnitten, (b) *ir(w) n tpw sbdw-k im* (c) *ir(w) n tpw śmdwt(?)·k im* (d) *m wđdt irt n-k in it-k Gb*, und dadurch wird hier gehandelt für deine Monatsanfänge, dadurch wird hier gehandelt für deine Halbmonatsanfänge, als das, was zu deinen Gunsten zu tun befohlen ist durch deinen Vater Geb. (e) Erhebe dich, du NN, du wirst nicht sterben' (Ende des Spruches). — Vgl. weiter die folgenden Zitate:

a. *Pyr.* 761 a, das unmittelbar an Zitat 45 anschließt. 'Er (d. i. dein Sohn und Nachfolger) bestellt die Gerste, er bestellt den Spelt, *hmk-f tw im*, und damit beschenkt er dich' (neuer Anruf folgt).

b. *Pyr.* 874 '(a) Du (d. i. NN als König im *śht irw*) bestellst die Gerste und schneidest den Spelt, (b) *iri-k rnpwt-k im mi Hr s' Itm*, und damit machst du deinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?) wie Horus, der Sohn des Atum' (Ende des Spruches).

tigten Annahme, daß diese Institutionen den Sitz der Neunheit resp. die Neunheit selbst bezeichnen, s. *JNES* 18 (1959), 192 f. NN ist hier als Vorsitzender mit ihnen identifiziert und spricht als solcher durch die Neunheit. Sethes Übersetzung 'das große Gesagtwerdende' scheint mir weniger gut ins Bild zu passen.

¹ s. *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 2.

c. *Pyr.* 1950 in zerstörtem Kontext: '(a) Ich (d. i. der Rezitierende) habe die Gerste gedroschen und den Spelt geschnitten, (b) *irn·i rnpwt·k im*, und damit habe ich deinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?) gemacht.'

d. Nt Zl. 835 (= *Pyr.* 2128 b, erg. nach. Jéquier N 1011): 'Ich (d. i. dein Sohn Horus) habe die Gerste bestellt und den Spelt geschnitten, *irtn·i n rnpwt·k*, was¹ ich getan habe für deinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?). Erwache, erwache, mein Vater, zu diesem deinem Brote' (Ende des Spruches).

e. *Pyr.* 1880. '(a) Ich (d. i. dein Sohn und Erbe) habe (den Acker für) den Spelt zu deinen Gunsten gehackt, ich habe die Gerste zu deinen Gunsten bestellt, (b) die Gerste für dein *wsg*-Fest, den Spelt für deinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?).'

Das 'Handeln' für die monatlichen Feste des NN ist in den Paralleltexten vertreten durch 'den NN beschenken' (Zitat a) oder 'seinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?) machen' (b, c), und jedesmal ist es gleichgesetzt der Getreide-Gewinnung durch *im*, das wir als 'damit, dadurch oder davon' verstehen dürfen; solche Gleichsetzung liegt wohl auch vor in der relativischen Anknüpfung, Zitat d, s. u. Anm. 1. So darf das 'Handeln' verstanden werden als die gegenwärtige Darbringung des Ergebnisses der Ernte, vielleicht in der Form von Brot (d). — *Rnpwt* ist geschrieben $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{g} \end{smallmatrix} \text{h} \text{i}$ in Zitaten b, e, und $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{f} \\ \text{f} \end{smallmatrix} \text{h} \text{i}$ in c, d; gewiß handelt es sich um das gleiche Wort. Die vorgeschlagene Übersetzung, eine willkürliche Kombination aus beiden Schreibungen, ist gestützt durch die ebenfalls spezifizierende Parallele mit *wsg*-Fest in Zitat e und durch *Pyr.* 965 b: '(Sothis) *irt* $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{f} \\ \text{g} \end{smallmatrix} \text{h} \text{i} \text{j} \text{k} \text{l}$, wobei gewiß an den Unterhalt für das von Sothis eingeleitete Jahr gedacht ist; die Variante davon, *CT VII*, 38 n., '*irt n rnpwt·k*, die für deinen Jahres-Unterhalt(?) handelt' entspricht der Abweichung in der Ausdrucksweise von Zitat d gegen b.c. — Der gewiß als symbolische Zeremonie zu verstehende Vollzug von Feldbestellung und Ernte durch den König hat anscheinend eine Bedeutung, die über die Versorgung des Toten hinausgeht. Denn nach Zitat b geschieht er durch den himmlischen König für sich selbst ebenso wie (wohl auch für sich selbst, hier nicht für NN) durch den Horus, den Sohn des Atum, in dem wir den Horuskönig auf Erden, außerhalb seiner Funktion als Sohn des Osiris, erkennen dürfen. Es handelt sich also offenbar um eine Handlung des Königs, die ihm selbst und damit seinem Lande dient. Deswegen habe ich diese Zitate hier in Rubrik C herausgestellt, obgleich die Mehrzahl von ihnen auf den Bestattungsdienst sich bezieht, also in Rubrik A gehört.

D. Das Handeln der Beamten und Höflinge zu Gunsten des Königs, und zwar bezogen auf den Hofstaat des Re, findet sich nur im transitiven Gebrauch von *iri* und ohne Präposition *n*: Zitate 42 und 48.

¹ Dies habe ich als Zitat 25 neben *Pyr.* 1550 b gestellt. Solche appositionelle Verwendung der Relativform statt eines selbständigen identifizierenden *irtnf pw*, wie es auch auf Grund der Parallelen (*irn·i* u.s.w. *im*) erwartet werden kann, widerspricht zwar meinem Sprachgefühl, aber Sethes Annahme solcher Möglichkeit in 1550 b scheint heur bestätigt zu sein.

E. Fragliches (s. auch *Pyr.* 1983 c zu Zitat 11).

- 17 (ist nachträglich ausgefallen als nicht hierher gehörig, *Pyr.* 242 c).
18. *Pyr.* 1597 e. Ein als Horusauge verstandenes Bauwerk ist angeredet: '(1597 d) *iri-t n-f iht nb nfrt* (e) *iri-t n-f m bw nb šm-f im*, du tust ihm alle guten Dinge, du tust sie ihm (oder: du handelst zu seinen Gunsten) überall, wohin er geht.' Hier haben wir vielleicht eine echte Ellipse des *iht nb nfrt*, wohl nicht aber eines Pronomens, in einem stilistisch gehobenen Satz, dessen einfache Form in 1590 a = 1600 a vorliegt: 'du tust für ihn alles, was er sagt, überall wohin er geht.'
19. *Pyr.* 942 c = 943 d sei hier genannt nach Sethes Lesung und Übersetzung, denen ich mich aber nicht anschließen kann, und gegen die er selbst Bedenken vorgebracht hat: '(942 b = 943 c) Dir gehört alles, (c = d) *in Gb mdw hr-š hnc Itm irt n-f pw*, so sagte Geb, der deswegen mit Atum geredet hat. Und es ward ihm getan (wörtlich: ein ihm tun war es)', wobei mit 'ihm' anscheinend NN gemeint ist. Ich lese lieber *irtn-f pw* und übersetze '(denn) Geb ist es, der darüber mit Atum sich ausgesprochen hat, und das ist es, was er (d. i. Atum) getan hat'. So wird die durchgängige Rede an NN (941 c–943 d) nicht unterbrochen, und auch in den ähnlichen Texten, *Pyr.* 479 b–480 a, 961 c–d, 992 b–993 c, 1475 b, ist es Atum, der wie hier die Herrschaft über Himmel und Erde, die Horischen und Sethischen Stätten, auch 'die Städte des Geb' (1475 b) dem NN gibt, also handelt, während ihr Besitzer Geb die Einwilligung dazu gibt. — Zu *irtn-f pw* vgl. *irtn-f hm pw*, *Pyr.* 1023 a, in zerstörtem Kontext; dagegen ohne *pw* Zitate 24–5.

II. Verwandte Textstellen mit transitivem *iri* mit und ohne Präposition *n*. Diese Zitate sind ihrem Inhalt nach gruppiert hier oben in Abschnitt I zu Beginn der Paragraphen

A–D

A. *iri* c. obj. mit *n*:

a. *iri* in der Relativform 'was X für Y getan hat' u. ä.

20–3, als nominal gebrauchter Satzteil: 20. *Pyr.* 903 c 'wie schön ist *irtn Hr n NN*.'

— 21. *Pyr.* 1976 a–b 'du siehst *irtn n-k s-k*, du hörst *irtn n-k Hr*.' — 22 (= 33).

Pyr. 2115 a 'er tut dir *irtn-f n it-f Wšir*.' — 23 (= 6). *Pyr.* 970 c '*irtn Hr n Wšir (iri-f n NN mi)*.'

24–5, als appositionell angehängter Spruch-Abschluß? s. hier S. 50, Anm. 1: 24.

Pyr. 1550 b '*irtn Hr n it-f Wšir* 'das, was Horus für seinen Vater Osiris getan hat'? vgl. Sethes Kommentar. — 25. Nt, Zl. 835 '*irtn-i n rnpwt-k*' zitiert oben zu Zitaten 15–16.

26–9, als Apposition zu *nw* 'dieses (alles)': 26. *Pyr.* 740 '*wđt pw nw irn Hr n it-f Wšir*, dieses alles, was Horus hier seinem Vater Osiris getan hat, ist die richtig angelegte Bekleidung' (wohl im Sinne von: die gegenwärtige Ausstattung der Leiche ist das Ergebnis der rituellen Handreichungen). — 27 (= 35). *Pyr.*

1297 a = 2016 a '(du Geb,) tue ihm *nw irn-k n šn-f Wšir*.' — 28. *Pyr.* 608 c '*mi*

(wie) *nw irn-k n bnty*' (angeredet ist Re). — 29. *Pyr.* 1090 e '*mi nw irn-š n Wšir*.'

30–2, als Apposition zu *nn* ‘dieses (alles)’: 30. *Pyr.* 2022 a ‘wie schön ist *nn*, wie groß ist *nn irn n-k it-k Wšir.*’ — 31. *Pyr.* 1007 a–b ‘siehe *nn*, höre *nn irn n-k s-k, irn n-k Hr.*’ — 32. *Pyr.* 1879 a ‘*m-k* (du blickst) *n nn irn-i n-k.*’

b. *iri* in anderen Verbalformen.

33 (= 22), mit bloßer Relativform als Objekt: *Pyr.* 2115 a ‘*iri-f n-k irtn-f*, er tut für dich das alles, was er für seinen Vater Osiris getan hat.’

34–5, mit *nw*+Relativform als Objekt: 34 (= 7). *Pyr.* 967 c ‘*iry n-k NN nw wdn Gb (iri-f n-k).*’ — 35 (= 27). *Pyr.* 1297 a = 2016 a ‘*ir n-f nw irn-k n sn-f Wšir*, tue ihm dies alles, was du seinem Bruder Osiris getan hast.’

36–8, mit bloßen *nw* oder *nn* als Objekt: 36. *Pyr.* 1565 c ‘*inn ir n-k nn*’ und 37. *Pyr.* 1173 a ‘*inn ti ir n-k nn*, wer denn hat dieses alles für dich getan?’ — 38. *Pyr.* 1174 a, als Antwort ‘*in wr r-i ir n-i nw*, einer, der größer ist als ich (N: jener Große) hat dieses alles für mich getan.’

39, im part. pass. und mit part. pass. als (virtuellem) Objekt: *Pyr.* 1368 b ‘*ir(w) n-f ir(y)t n it-f Wšir*, ihm wird das getan, was für seinen Vater Osiris getan wurde.’ — Hier seien eingefügt die Hinweise auf Zitat 8: ‘*irn n-f Gb mi kd iry n-f im*’, und Zitat 9: ‘*irw n-f in Itm mi iryt n-f.*’

B. *iri* c. obj. ohne Präposition *n*:

40–5, mit bloßer Relativform als Objekt: 40. *Pyr.* 625 a ‘*iri-k irrt Wšir*, du tust, was Osiris zu tun hat, denn du bist ja auf seinem Thron.’ — 41 (= 10). *Pyr.* 2082 a ‘*irn Itm ddt-n-f (iri-f).*’ — 42. *Pyr.* 491 d ‘*iri NN ddt-f n-f*, NN tut, was er (d. i. Re) ihm sagt.’ — 43. *Pyr.* 623 c ‘*iri-k wnt-k iri-k m bšh*, du tust (scil. als Verklärter), was du vordem (scil. auf Erden) zu tun pflegtest.’ — 44 und 45. *Pyr.* 759 c und 760 b ‘(759 a) Da stehst du, NN, . . . (b) versehen mit dem angemessenen Gebaren¹ des Osiris auf dem Thron des, der den Westlichen vorsteht (*Hnty-imntyw*), (c) *iri-k wnt-f iri-f mm šhw ihmw šk*, du tust (nun), was er (bisher) zu tun pflegte inmitten der Verklärten, der Zirkumpolarsterne. (760 a) Da steht dein Sohn auf deinem Thron, versehen mit deinem zeremoniellen Gebaren, (b) *iri-f wnt-k iri-k m bšh hnty cnhw*, er tut, was du vordem zu tun pflegtest, als der den Lebenden vorsteht, (c) auf Befehl des Re, des Großen Gottes.’ — 42 a *Pyr.* 1174 b ‘*irn-f ddt-n-i*’.

46, mit *nw*+Relativform als Objekt: *Pyr.* 622 b ‘*iri-k nw irn Wšir*, du sollst alles das tun, was Osiris im Rathause in Heliopolis (einst) tat.’

47–9, mit nominalem Objekt $\leftarrow \text{Ⓢ} \rightarrow$ und $(l) \leftarrow \text{Ⓢ} \rightarrow$:¹ 47. *Pyr.* 1191 b ‘(der schöne Sitz des Großen Gottes), *irrt-f irw im-s imšhw*, an dem dieser den zeremoniellen Auftritt vollzieht in Begleitung der Ehrwürdigen’. — 48. *Pyr.* 298 b, wo der ‘Verhaßte’ (296 b), an dessen Stelle NN sich setzen will, und das Gefolge seiner *kr*-Kapelle (295 c) bedroht werden: ‘(298 a) NN wird gewiß seinem Auge Feuersglut verleihen, daß es euch umzingelt (b) und Ungewitter wirft *m irw irwt*, in die, welche das (Hof-)-Zeremoniell vollziehen.’ — 49. *Pyr.* 414 b, Ende des sog. Kannibalen-

¹ Für diese Wörter und Zitate s. meinen gleichzeitigen Aufsatz in *MDAIK*.

spruches: '(b) $\text{--} \text{šhm } irw \text{ irwt } m \text{ hbs}$, die, welche das (Bestattungs-)Zeremoniell vollziehen, gewinnen keine Macht mit dem Aufhacken (der Erde für Grab oder Opfergrube), (c) sondern der Liebessitz (Lieblingwunsch?) des NN soll mit den Lebenden in diesem Lande sein für alle Zeiten.'

III. 'Iri ohne Objekt oder Präposition (nachträglich zusammengestellte Zufallsfunde).

50–3. In anderen Texten des A.R. hat die Übersetzung 'seine Arbeit tun', 'seine Pflicht erfüllen' für dieses bloße *iri* sich ergeben (*JEA* 54, 32). 50. *Aba* Zl. 631 '*irw NN iry m sbb Rc n mštyf*, NN tut seine (königliche) Pflicht als der, welcher den Re leitet zu seinen Maat-Booten.' Das ist anscheinend eine Variante zu *Pyr.* 1785 b '*ššm NN Rc m mštyf*, NN geleitet den Re in seine Maat-Boote.'¹ — 51. *Pyr.* 131 e '*štt iri-š cnh-f*, sie (d. i. die Milchgöttin *ist*) wird ihre Pflicht tun, so daß er (d. i. NN) lebt.'² — 52. *Pyr.* 1099 a–b '*irti* der (als König) handeln möchte (der Mächtgern-Täter)'; s. Zitat 14 mit Bemerkung. — 53. *Pyr.* 421 a = 668 a: Sethe übersetzt dies versuchsweise '(a) *irti iri šti šti*, Täter, Täter, Passant, Passant, (b) dein Gesicht (668: dein Fuß) wende sich hinter dich, hüte dich vor der großen Pforte (668: vor dem großen Großen).' Er versteht *irti* als 'der du etwas tun solltest (futurisch)' und das Ganze als Zauberspruch gegen böswillige Besucher. Nach dem bisher Festgestellten frage ich mich, ob wir in dem *irti šti* (oder: *ššti*)³ einen Außenseiter (*šti*) sehen dürfen, der unberechtigt, vielleicht also zum eigenen Vorteil, eine Grabeshandlung in der Pyramide vornehmen möchte (*irti*), etwa Opfer und Gebet darbringen oder gar eine private Bestattung vollziehen. Oder ist der Spruch eine Warnung an gutwillige Totendiener (*irti*) und Passanten (*šti*)?

Pyr. Neit Zl. 697 f. Ein Nachtrag zu *JEA* 54, 36.

Zusätzlich zu dem hier unten Anm. 1 genannten Schreibfehler ist mir ein bedenklicher Lesefehler in dem oben zitierten Aufsatz unterlaufen: Nt 697 lautet *NN pw nw-k n(y) mtr hr mšc*, und nicht *mšt*. So lautet die Übersetzung in dem nun erst mir verständlich gewordenen Kontext einer Anrede an den Herrn des Horizontes: '(697) Siehe, NN ist zu dir gekommen (*Nt iyti hr-k*). NN ist alle diese dir zugehörigen Zeugen für den Gerechten, (nämlich:) NN wird empfangen in der Nase (*fnđ*), dieser

¹ Dieses *Aba*-Zitat habe ich leider in *JEA* 54, 32 mit dem Schreibfehler *m* (sic) *mštyf* wiedergegeben. Übrigens zeigt *Aba*, daß die von mir *ZÄS* 82 (1958), 87 als Alternative gegebene Übersetzung in 1785 b, 'in seinen (sic) Maatbooten', falsch ist. Unser Zitat und dazu *Aba* 635–6 variieren *Pyr.* 1784 d2–1785 c.

² Edel § 484, Abs. 1, übersetzt 'sie macht, daß er lebt', als Beispiel für den von ihm angenommenen Gebrauch der *šdm-f*-Form als Objekt von *iri*. Aber die beiden anderen von ihm genannten Beispiele gehen m.E. erwiesenermaßen fehl. *Pyr.* 1334 c, hier oben Zitat 5, hat Edel im Nachtrag zu § 533, 4 nach Sethe zögernd richtiggestellt, aber ich teilte ihm meine oben gegebene Übersetzung auch meinerseits 1954 nach seinen 'Beiträgen zum ägyptischen Lexikon' schriftlich mit; so bin ich sicher, es gehört nicht hierher. Das *imn(w)*, *Pyr.* 2172 b wie 1345 b, hat Sethe zu 749 d als Nomen erwiesen durch seine P-Variante *mnw* in 1165 b und durch 2028 c *iri-k imn(w)-k im nfrw hnc k-k*, 'du bereitest dir dort deine bleibende Stätte, die *nfr* ist zusammen mit deinem Ka'. So scheint *iri*+ 'Subjunktiv' im A.R. nicht nachweisbar zu sein.

³ Edel §§ 672, 734 schlägt vor, *šđ* statt *š* in der von Sethe hier herangezogenen Inschrift des *Nhbw* zu lesen. Aber diese Annahme würde für *Pyr.* 421, 668 und die dritte Fassung des Textes, N 1055+61, wohl zu weit gehen.

NN wird geboren (698) in den Nasenlöchern (? *mšd:t*), NN schläft in deinem Bett-Geflecht (? *ḫšf*), NN sitzt in deinem Schlangenspiel-Brett, NN lebt in deinem *cnḥ* (-Gegenstand?), NN feiert das *wšg*-Fest (*wšg NN*) in deinem *ḥtp*-Mahl. (699) NN ist zu dir gekommen (*iw n NN ḥr·k*) u.s.w.' Also Nase und Nasenlöcher, Bett, Spielbrett, *cnḥ* und Festmahl des Herrn des Horizontes bezeugen diesem, daß NN ein Gerechter ist, und zwar dadurch, daß er in jedem von ihnen ist. Durch diesen Text ist die pluralische Bedeutung des *nw·k ny mtr*, die ich l. c. nachzuweisen versuchte, aufs beste bestätigt. — Die hier mit 'in' übersetzte Präposition *m* dürfen wir ebenso gut mit 'als' oder 'durch' übersetzen, aber in jedem Falle erweisen die Eingangsworte, *NN pw nw·k . . .*, daß das *m* den NN mit jedem der Gegenstände identifiziert. Diese Stelle illustriert sehr schön mein Bemühen, in dem oben erwähnten Aufsatz über die Präpositionen *m* und *dr*, den identifizierenden Charakter als eine Grundbedeutung von *m* hervorzuheben. — Folgendes ist Nachtrag bei der Korrektur. Edel § 200 nennt als zweites Beispiel für *nw c. suff. CT I, 279 b, nw·k n bhšw* 'diese deine Kälber'. In der Form entsprechen beide Ausdrücke den von Gardiner, 113, 1 zitierten Stellen aus Kahun und Kagemni, *nꜣy·ś* (resp. *nꜣy·f*) *n ḥrdw*, und diese heißen '(alle) ihre (resp. seine) Kinder', sicher nicht 'diese ihre (seine) Kinder'. Die Frage erhebt sich, ob auch *nw·k n mtr* resp. *bhšw* verstanden werden darf als Possessiv-Artikel ohne demonstrative Implikation. Dafür kann folgendermaßen argumentiert werden. In jedem pluralischen Demonstrativum ist seinem Wesen nach der Begriff 'alle' impliziert, d. h. es meint stets alle, auf die hingewiesen wird, und so sind wir auch in den vorliegenden Aufsätzen unbeabsichtigt zu den Übersetzungen 'diese alle', 'dieses alles' für *nw* und *nn* gekommen. Wegen dieser Eigentümlichkeit erscheint durchaus denkbar, daß ägyptisch die mit *n-* gebildeten Demonstrativ-Nomina, die nach *JEA* 54, 35 f. immer kollektivische oder pluralische Bedeutung haben, den Bedeutungsübergang vom Demonstrativum zum Artikel unabhängig von der Entwicklung der singularischen Demonstrativa vollziehen konnten, und so könnte der pluralische Possessiv-Artikel früher erschienen sein als der singularische. Unser Zitat kann die Frage, ob es so war, nicht klären. Denn wir wissen nicht, ob die dabei aufgezählten sechs Gegenstände etwa in einer begleitenden Zeremonie demonstrativ hervorgehoben wurden, oder ob sie als *partes pro toto* genannt sind in dem Sinne, daß alles, was zu dir gehört, Zeugnis ablegt für den darin befindlichen gerechten NN. Aber der Sargtext legt die Übersetzung nahe: 'du hast ihn in die Gesellschaft deiner (und nicht: dieser deiner) Kälber gestellt, und er hütet sie zu deinen Gunsten auf der Erde'. — Zum Schluß sei gesagt, daß ich zwar hier oben, der Einfachheit halber, *mtr* als 'Zeuge' übersetzt habe, daß es aber gewiß, wie schon *JEA* 54, 36 angedeutet, wegen der folgenden Präposition *ḥr* als Verbalform verstanden werden muß, also als das nominal gebrauchte Partizip: 'NN ist alle (diese?) dir zugehörigen Dinge, die Zeugnis ablegen für den Gerechten'.

THE TRANSPLANTATION OF PUNT INCENSE TREES IN EGYPT¹

By D. M. DIXON

THE prominent role played by aromatics in ancient Egyptian religion, magic, and medicine is well known. Now so far as supplies of aromatic substances generally were concerned, there was no necessity to travel very far to obtain them. For example, *sntr*-trees, which Loret² has identified as spp.³ of *Pistacia*, grew wild in the deserts east and west of the Nile valley in Egypt itself.⁴ The aromatic substance *par excellence*, however, was that known as *ꜥntyw*, the only known geographical source of which was the land of Punt (Pwēnet).⁵

Nowhere in the accounts of the expeditions to Punt is there any mention of the undoubted dangers and hardships of the sea-voyage. Thus in the Eleventh-dynasty inscription of Henu⁶ the voyage is regarded as a simple affair compared with the difficult journey across the Eastern Desert which is narrated in some detail.⁷ Again, in the Deir el-Bahri inscriptions of Hatshepsut, in contrast with the account of the Egyptians' reception in Punt, their activities there, and the commodities obtained,⁸ the references to the voyage itself are simple captions (in front of the vessels sailing towards Punt) 'sailing in the sea, beginning the goodly way to God's-Land, landing in peace in the land of Punt,'⁹—as though this part of the undertaking were comparatively straightforward.

¹ I am grateful to Mr. F. N. Hepper of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for reading the draft of this paper and commenting thereon.

² V. Loret, *La Résine de Térébinthe (Sonter) chez les anciens Égyptiens*, Cairo, 1949. Cf. however, R. O. Steuer, *Über das wohlriechende Natron bei den alten Ägyptern*, Leiden, 1937.

³ Sp. and spp. are standard botanical abbreviations for 'species' in singular and plural.

⁴ Loret, *op. cit.* 5, 29–47. Loret thinks that it was in the northern part of the Eastern Desert of Egypt that the Egyptians first came across *sntr*.

⁵ The *ꜥntyw* from Retjenu recorded under Year 34 in the Annals of Tuthmosis III (*Urk.* IV, 706, 11) was almost certainly of Puntite origin, having been carried overland up the Arabian peninsula. Apart from the *ꜥntyw* brought by the *Gnbtjw* (Year 31/2, *Urk.* IV, 695), the only other place mentioned in texts of the Pharaonic period as a source of *ꜥntyw* is the island where the Shipwrecked Sailor was cast ashore. However, despite Wainwright's suggestion that it may be identical with the island of Zeberged (*JEA* 32, 31–8; cf. *id.*, *JEA* 34, 119; Myers, *JEA* 34, 119–20), it is surely a mythical place (cf. Vycichl, *Kush* 5, 70–2), although certainly conceived as being in the Red Sea and therefore within the same general area as Punt.

⁶ Couyat and Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammamat*, 81–4; pl. 31, no. 114; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* I, §§ 428–33.

⁷ It might be supposed that the description of the voyage was omitted because Henu himself did not accompany the ship (so Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* I, p. 210 n. c); but cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, 11–1

⁸ *Urk.* IV, 319 ff.

⁹ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 72. So too in front of the vessels returning to Egypt: 'Sailing, arriving in peace, landing at Thebes' (*ibid.*, pl. 75).

Nevertheless, although there is no hint in the texts of any mishaps,¹ losses in both men and ships may have been appreciable, notwithstanding efficient organization and skilful navigation. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the expeditions would not have ventured further afield than was absolutely necessary in order to obtain *ntyw* of the desired quality in sufficient quantity as cheaply as possible. From this it should follow that the area visited by the earliest expeditions lay no further south in the Red Sea region than the northernmost occurrence in quantity of the plant or plants that yielded *ntyw*. However, the demand in Egypt for this substance was apparently insatiable and as early as the Fifth Dynasty no less than 80,000 measures were brought back by one expedition alone.² It is not improbable therefore that in course of time the more northerly and easily accessible trees were ruined through over-exploitation,³ thus compelling the expeditions to travel further afield. No doubt this would have been a gradual process, but at some stage it occurred to the Egyptians that much time and effort might be saved by importing *ntyw*-trees into their own country and acclimatizing them there.

When this first happened is not certain. The earliest evidence we have for the importation of *ntyw*-trees dates only from the Eighteenth Dynasty. The texts accompanying the reliefs at Deir el-Bahri which depict the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut mention the digging up of trees⁴ which are shown being carried aboard the Egyptian vessels⁵ in baskets, presumably complete with roots—or at least parts thereof—and packed in soil. Each is shown to be roughly a man's height.

In these reliefs the foliage of the incense-trees appears in two different forms: in the one the individual leaves are drawn, giving the impression of a luxuriant foliage;⁶ in the other only the branches and outline of the foliage are shown.⁷ Only the first form was taken account of by Schoff⁸ who drew from it certain conclusions regarding the location of Punt. Lucas⁹ says of the two forms that one has 'luxuriant foliage' and the other is 'quite bare' and 'without foliage'.¹⁰ However, reference to the colour

¹ The statement in the inscription of Khentekhtiwēr at Wadi Gasus (Year 28 of Ammenemes II) that he arrived safely from Punt, 'his army being with him, prosperous and healthy' (Erman, *ZÄS* 20, 203-4; Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* 1, § 605), is merely a piece of conventional boasting rather than a hint that other expeditions had not fared so well.

² H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen* (Berlin, 1902), 38; *Urk.* 1, 246, 4.

³ F. N. Howes, *Vegetable Gums and Resins* (Waltham, Mass., 1949), 151, referring to Somaliland *Boswellia* spp. says that 'the practice is to suspend tapping of each tree every fifth or sixth year for it is realized a resting period is necessary for the trees if they are not to be exhausted'. Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix: Across the Empty Quarter of Arabia* (London, 1932), 122, speaking of the 'shazari tree of mughur', a variety of Dhufar frankincense which begins to bear in its third or fourth year, states that the gum-resin is collected ten days after slight incisions have been made in its low, stout branches. The tree then continues to yield from these incisions, deepened as necessary at intervals of ten days, for a further period of five months. After that, however, the tree dries up and must be left to recover, the period varying, according to its condition, from six months to two years.

⁴ *Urk.* IV, 327, 6; 352, 11.

⁵ Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. 74 (top), 78, 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 69, 74, 75.

⁸ W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (London, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1912), 218-19.

⁹ A. Lucas, 'Notes on Myrrh and Stacte', *JEA* 23 (1937), 28; *id.*, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*⁴, 92.

¹⁰ So also R. O. Steuer, *op. cit.* 72, who refers to the second form as 'unbelaubt' and having a 'knorriges Aussehen'. Cf. *id.*, 'Stacte in Egyptian Antiquity', *JAOs* 63 (1943), 280. Unfortunately I have been unable to see this scholar's pamphlet *Myrrh und Stakte* (Vienna, 1933), which is known to me only from his two later works, Wainwright's review in *JEA* 21 (1935), 254-5, and Lucas's paper cited in the preceding note.

plate LXXI of Naville's publication, which depicts fragments of trees rendered in the same manner, shows clearly that the second form is not bare and leafless.

Despite assertions to the contrary,¹ both forms are too conventionally drawn for any inferences regarding the botanical identity of the trees to be drawn from them.² The difference of form, however, cannot be devoid of significance, and two explanations seem possible. In the first place there may be represented here two different kinds of trees, either two varieties of the same tree or two different species;³ if the latter, then *ntyw* will have had a rather wider range of meaning. An alternative and more likely explanation, however, is suggested by the circumstance that the second form, i.e. Lucas's 'bare' form, is confined to those trees shown being carried aboard the Egyptian ships;⁴ the form with luxuriant foliage is found only in the trees depicted after arrival in Egypt.⁵ Probably, then, the two forms represent the same species at different stages of development,⁶ the trees dug up in Punt being young specimens that had not yet burst into full leaf.

In support of this interpretation may be cited the fact that in nearly every instance the trees are referred to as *nhwt nt ntyw wsd*,⁷ trees producing or bearing *ntyw wsd*. The primary meaning of the adjective is 'green', and hence 'young' or 'fresh'. In view of the fact that the gum-resins yielded by certain species are green or have a greenish tinge,⁸ it might be supposed that in this context 'green' is the correct rendering and that *ntyw* is to be identified as the product of one or other of these plants. However, it would not be clear why an epithet of colour should be applied to *ntyw* when there is no mention in the texts of *ntyw* of any other colour from which it would be necessary to distinguish *ntyw wsd*. Moreover, at Deir el-Bahri the label *ntyw wsd* appears over a heap coloured red.⁹

It would seem therefore that *nhwt nt ntyw wsd* were trees which it was hoped would eventually produce 'fresh' *ntyw*, i.e. young plants that had not yet been tapped.¹⁰ Transplantation of such trees would certainly appear to offer a relatively better chance of success than experiments with older trees.

¹ E.g. Schoff, loc. cit.

² This is also the opinion of Steuer who bases his view that *ntyw* was myrrh on an examination of the evidence afforded by the texts, *Über das wohlriechende Natron*, 71-2; *J.A.O.S.* 63, 280.

³ Cf. Lucas, *JEA* 23, 29.

⁴ *Deir el Bahari*, III, pls. 69, 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. 78, 79.

⁶ Cf. Steuer, *J.A.O.S.* 63, 281.

⁷ *Ürk.* IV, 321, 5; 329, 4; 345, 12. In *Ürk.* IV, 346, 14 *nhwt mn hr ntyw wsd*, 'trees firm (= ? "stiff") with (lit. "under") *ntyw wsd*'. This expression must surely be understood as a pious hope for the future, that the trees would indeed be 'stiff with *ntyw*', for they cannot have been imported in that state.

⁸ Bertram Thomas, op. cit. 122, referring to the varieties of Dhufar frankincense, says of one (the *shazari*, the second of the three qualities) that 'in the raw condition . . . (it) resembled green transparent lard and was very fragrant'. Lucas, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*⁴, 94, says that galbanum, the gum-resin produced by various spp. of *Peucedanum*, especially *P. galbaniflorum*, is 'of a light brownish-yellow to a dark brown colour, with often a greenish tint'.

⁹ Lucas, *JEA* 23, 29; Steuer, *J.A.O.S.* 63, 282.

¹⁰ For a different interpretation of *ntyw wsd*, however, see Steuer, *Myrrh und Stakte*; *J.A.O.S.* 63, 280, n. 6, 282. Loret, *La Résine de Térébinthe*, 11, translates, or rather interprets, *nhwt nt ntyw wsd* as 'arbres à anti récemment déracinés'.

While there is no reason to doubt that Ḥatshepsut's expedition really did bring back living *ḥntyw*-trees, it is by no means certain that she was, as some have asserted,¹ the first ruler to import them. According to Jonckheere,² 'un fait mémorable devait conférer à cette expédition, par ailleurs routinière, les caractères d'un voyage extraordinaire: ce fut l'acte qui consista à importer, vivants, des arbres à encens transférés depuis leur pays d'origine jusqu'à Thèbes.'

Were we to accept at its face value Ḥatshepsut's boastful account of her expedition, we should believe that she rediscovered the land of Punt, that she was the first Eighteenth-dynasty ruler to re-establish trade after its final cessation in the Second Intermediate Period, and that her expedition brought back more knowledge of that land than had hitherto been available. It is clear, however, from earlier texts that the last of these claims cannot be accepted; further, the circumstance that no earlier Eighteenth-dynasty expedition to Punt is known, cannot be interpreted as proof that none was sent. The conventional character of Ḥatshepsut's words is evident when accounts of later Punt expeditions are examined, for every ruler boasting of his trade with that land claims that he was the first to attempt such an enterprise. 'The expedition of Hatshepsut with its five ships is hardly to be regarded as of especial importance, nor can we be sure at all that she was the first ruler of the N.K. to revive communication with Punt. . . . the enterprise of the famous Queen has been over-estimated because of her own propaganda.'³

In view therefore of the routine nature of Ḥatshepsut's undertaking, which Jonckheere too recognizes, we must beware of assuming too readily that she was the first to import *ḥntyw*-trees,⁴ despite the prominence accorded to this aspect of her enterprise.

The importation of *ḥntyw*-trees was continued by Ḥatshepsut's successors. In the tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes (No. 39), dating from 'the opening years of Thothmes the Third's independent reign', is a scene showing the reception of commodities from Punt. Among them are four *ḥntyw*-trees, labelled as such, standing in containers.⁵ In the tomb of Rekhmirē (No. 100) are shown men carrying live *ḥntyw*-trees.⁶ On the Gebel Barkal stela Tuthmosis III promises Amūn 'all the sweet-smelling plants that grow in Punt'.⁷

In tomb No. 143, probably dating from the reign of Amenophis II, an incense-tree

¹ E.g. F. Jonckheere, 'Les expéditions pharaoniques et leur apport botanique', *Les Cahiers de la Biloque. Revue médicale gantoise*, 4^e année, N^o. 4 (juillet-août 1954), 155-88 (Punt incense-trees, pp. 163 ff.); F. N. Hepper, 'An Ancient Expedition to Transplant Living Trees', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 92 (10) (1967), 436-8.

² Op. cit., 164-5.

³ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, (Uppsala, 1946), 29.

⁴ Cf. Ramesses III's boast (P. Harris I, 7, 7): 'I planted *snṯr*-trees in thy court; they had not been seen again since the time of the god.'

⁵ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrē at Thebes* (New York 1922), I, 5; pl. 32.

⁶ N. de G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes* (New York, 1935), pl. 1; id., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes* (New York, 1943), II, pl. 17. Although the reception of the Puntite goods in Puyemrē's tomb is 'distinctly modeled on the scenes in the middle terrace of Deir el Bahri' (Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrē*, I, 84), and the scene of Puntites carrying trees in the tomb of Rekhmirē is also clearly inspired by Ḥatshepsut's reliefs, there seems no reason to suppose that these representations are conventional rather than factual.

⁷ L. 41; cf. De Buck, *Eg. Reading Book*, 62.

is depicted among goods brought by a group of Puntites who have reached the Egyptian Red Sea coast in primitive sailing-rafts.¹

In his temple at Abydos Ramesses II says that 'he planted many gardens, set with every (kind of) tree, all sweet and fragrant woods, the plants of Punt'.²

Although there is no reference to the import of incense-trees in the account in P. Harris I of Ramesses III's expedition to Punt,³ at Medînet Habu are depicted a heap of 'gum of Punt' and two trees.⁴ In the Theban section of P. Harris I the king says: 'I led to thee (Amûn) Punt with *ntyw* to encircle thy temple every morning. I planted *sntr*-trees in thy court' (7, 7); and in the Memphite section we read: 'I planted for thee (Ptah) *sntr*- and *ntyw*-trees in thy great and august court in Ineb-Sebek, being those which my hands brought back from the highland (or "desert")⁵ of God's-Land. . . .' (49, 7).

Ramesses III thus imported from Punt (God's-Land) not only *ntyw*-trees but *sntr*-trees as well. Why he should have troubled with the latter is not at all clear.⁶ Steuer⁷ observes that at Thebes it is only *sntr*-trees that are specifically said to have been planted, and he suggests that we may see therein a possible indication that experience had shown that *ntyw*-trees did not flourish there. The results of the transplantation attempts will be discussed later; here it need only be remarked that even if the *sntr*-trees were intended to replace unsuccessful *ntyw*-trees, there was no need to go to Punt for them. It was one thing to accept as an 'extra' a few sacks of *sntr*-resin (or gum-resin),⁸ but quite another to transport to Egypt living trees, which, as noted earlier,⁹ were readily procurable much nearer home.¹⁰

Among Ramesses III's gifts to Amûn listed in the Theban section of P. Harris I, his gifts to Rê^c in the Heliopolitan section, and those to all the gods, are *ntyw*-wood (*ht n ntyw*)¹¹ and *ntyw*-seed (*prt ntyw*).¹² Now without expressing any opinion here as to the botanical identity of the *ntyw*-tree, it may be noted that of the incense-trees (mainly *Boswellia* and *Commiphora* spp. belonging to the *Burseraceae* family) which

¹ N. de G. Davies, 'Trading with the Land of Punt', *BMMA, The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935*, 48. The tree does not stand in a container nor are the roots depicted, but perhaps too much should not be made of these omissions, for, as Davies remarks with reference to other features, 'it is obvious that the depiction must admit some discount of its dreadful simplicity'. The return journey through the desert of the Egyptian caravan is shown and here the tree is being carried on a yoke by two men.

² Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* III, § 527.

³ 77, 8-78, 1; cf. 48, 6.

⁴ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* IV, § 29.

⁵ See p. 64 n. 2.

⁶ Loret (*La Résine de Térébinthe*, 35-6) does not think these *sntr*-trees were from Punt, and he takes God's-Land here to be the Eastern Desert of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea. However, he ignores the mention of Punt and *ntyw* in 7, 7; and in 49, 7 in view of the reference to *ntyw*-trees, God's-Land must surely be Punt, as elsewhere in this papyrus: cf. 48, 6; 52a, 1-3; 70a, 1-2 (Egypt, God's-Land, Kharu, Kush, the Oasis); 77, 11.

⁷ *Über das wohlriechende Natron bei den alten Ägyptern*, 74.

⁸ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 329, 8 and Loret, op. cit. 7-12.

⁹ Above, p. 55.

¹⁰ A passage in a hymn to Amûn from the reign of Ramesses II may just possibly refer to the import of *sntr*-trees from Punt: 'The dwellers in Punt come to thee (Amûn); God's-Land puts forth verdure by reason of thy love. [Ships?] are brought by water (?) [unto] thee [laden?] with gum (*kmy-t*), to make festive thy temple with festal fragrance. *Sntr*-trees let drop . . . *ntyw*', *ZÄS* 42, 15-16.

¹¹ P. Harris I, 14a, 7; 33b, 6; 70b, 7. It is true that *ht* can also mean 'tree', but the usual expression for '*ntyw*-tree', both here (cf. 49, 7) and elsewhere, is *nht nt ntyw*. The quantities listed in the first two references, viz. 15 and 10, seem credible, but that in 70b, 7 appears rather high (1,059).

¹² 14a, 8; 33b, 7; 70b, 8.

occur at present in the very extensive area within which Punt is likely to have lain, none apparently produces wood (timber) of any value;¹ and the woods are not themselves aromatic. However, species of *Commiphora* can be grown without difficulty from stem-cuttings. Thus Burt, for example, notes 'the remarkable manner in which all *Commiphora* poles take root when planted in the ground';² and Eggeling states that '[*Commiphora*] stem cuttings root with ease and make useful quick-set hedges for cattle bomas and villages'.³ Reproduction of *Boswellia* spp. is by seed,⁴ though some spp. of this genus too can be grown from stem-cuttings.

It seems, then, that in addition to importing live *ntyw*-trees, Ramesses III may also have endeavoured to produce them from stem-cuttings and seeds. The possible significance of this in assessing the success or failure of the attempts to grow *ntyw* trees in Egypt is considered later.

Evidently at least some of the imported *ntyw*-trees survived the journey from Punt, for at Deir el-Bahri accompanying the representation of a number of specimens standing in containers is the label '31 fresh *ntyw*-trees brought back as the wonders of Punt'.⁵ In the inscriptions they are said to have been planted in the garden of Amūn, and the reliefs depict them growing there with cattle browsing in their shade.⁶ With careful attention it is possible they may have lasted for a time. But for how long? Was their transplantation a permanent success? Did it fulfil its aim of freeing Egypt from dependence on the Punt trade?

Loret⁷ cautiously refrains from expressing a definite opinion. Jonckheere, however, thought the operation was a great success:

On parvint à les acclimater. . . . Les précieux plants durent aussitôt être mis en place, dans le parc sacré occupant la cour du temple. . . . Ils y grandirent facilement si nous en croyons la figure 15, où l'artiste a reproduit quelques vigoureux spécimens adultes, à l'ombre desquels paît calmement le bétail. Sans doute étaient-ils aussi devenus, à ce stade, la source où l'on puisait une récolte régulière de gomme-résine fraîche, supérieure en qualité à celle qui jusqu'alors ne parvenait en Égypte qu'éventée après un long trajet par mer et par terre. . . . Il faut admirer sans réserve l'exploit qui a consisté à faire 'reprendre', sur le sol égyptien, des arbustes qui, enlevés à leur milieu, eurent à subir, avant de retrouver des conditions d'existence normales, les avatars d'un invraisemblable transport. . . . Il reste acquis que, sous le règne d'Hatshepsout, des arbustes à encens furent transplantés en Égypte pour acclimatation. L'exploit sera répété par d'autres pharaons, sinon par tous. S'ils se risquèrent à leur tour à faire revenir de Pount des plants vivants, on peut imaginer qu'ils y furent encouragés par l'exemple d'Hatshepsout à qui reviennent à la fois l'idée première du projet et le mérite d'avoir mené celui-ci à bonne fin.⁸

It has already been noted that the representations of the *ntyw*-trees are valueless for identification purposes, and it is very questionable too whether much reliance can

¹ For example, Kempthorne (quoted by Hepper in this volume of the *Journal*, p. 69) says of *Boswellia frereana*, which attains a height of 40 ft., that its wood is 'white, soft, porous and of little use, except as firewood'.

² B. D. Burt, 'Observations on the Genus *Commiphora* and its Distribution in Tanganyika Territory', *Kew Bulletin of Misc. Inform.* 1935 (3), 106.

³ W. J. Eggeling, *The Indigenous Trees of the Uganda Protectorate* (2nd ed., revised Dale, 1951), 52.

⁴ Cf. F. N. Howes, *Vegetable Gums and Resins*, 151.

⁵ *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 78.

⁷ Loret, *op. cit.* 9.

⁸ Jonckheere, *op. cit.* 165, 166, 167, 170-1. (Jonckheere's fig. 15 = *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 78.)

be placed on them as a means of assessing the success or failure of Ḥatshepsut's undertaking. In comparison with the cattle beneath them, the trees in the garden of Amūn¹ are very lofty; but the various elements in this scene are clearly not all drawn to a uniform scale. The bowl of *kš*, for example, is almost as big as a beast, and each log of *hbny* is almost as long, which would be scarcely credible even if the animals were only young. Obviously pride of place has been accorded here to the *ntyw*-trees and heaps of aromatics which are therefore shown on a much larger scale, as befitted the property of Amūn.² This does not mean, of course, that Ḥatshepsut achieved no success whatsoever, but, as we shall see, it can only have been very partial and temporary.³

While the desire to emulate or surpass the queen's enterprise may well have been one motive behind her successors' importation⁴ of *ntyw*-trees, the very fact of that importation is a strong indication that the transplantation experiments were not a success. This conclusion is borne out by the apparently desperate or despairing efforts of Ramesses III to raise trees from seeds and cuttings. Naturally, we should not expect to be told of failures, but it does seem a fair inference that, had the *ntyw*-trees been successfully acclimatized in Egypt, the long and arduous Punt voyages would have been discontinued; for it was the procurement of *ntyw* that constituted their *raison d'être*, the other commodities obtained from or via Punt being of quite secondary importance as far as that land was concerned.

It is, of course, difficult to furnish an entirely satisfactory explanation for the Egyptians' failure to transplant successfully the *ntyw*-tree without knowing the botanical identity of the plant(s) so designated, the localities from which they were obtained, and their ecology. These questions I hope to discuss in a later paper. Reference, however, should be made here to a possible partial explanation suggested by F. N. Hepper's account in this volume of the *Journal* of the *Boswellia* spp. of Africa and Arabia, and in particular by Kempthorne's description (quoted *in extenso*, p. 69 below) of the habitat of one of the African representatives of this genus, *B. frereana*. If the *ntyw*-tree were identical with one or more of these species, the difficulty of extracting even young trees from the rocky crevices in which they grow without fatally damaging them would to some extent account for the failure of the transplant attempts.

Finally, there is another interesting possibility which may be considered here. The Deir el-Bahri reliefs show Ḥatshepsut's envoy and his escort on the shore meeting

¹ *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 78.

² Cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari, Introd. Memoir*, 24-5. Cf. R. O. Steuer, *JAOs* 63, 281: 'The artist who depicted the *ntyw* trees of the Punt Reliefs imagined such extraordinary success for the queen's care of the transplanted trees that he depicted them in a state of astonishing growth and height.'

³ It is perhaps worth noting that tree remains found in the course of excavations at Deir el-Bahri included none of spp. that could possibly have produced incense. In Ḥatshepsut's temple evidence was found only of papyrus pools and flower-beds at the foot of the first ramp, cf. H. E. Winlock, *Bull. MMA. Eg. Exped. 1923-24*, 17-18, figs. 16-17; id. *Bull. MMA. 1924-25*, 15, 17, fig. 15; while roots from the groves in the earlier temple of Mentuhotpe were of tamarisk and sycamore, both native Egyptian spp., see *Bull. MMA. 1921-22*, 24-8, figs. 9-15; *Bull. MMA. 1923-24*, 5-6.

⁴ It is unlikely that Tuthmosis III—to name but one—would have been willing to be outdone in any respect by his detested predecessor.

the Puntites who, headed by their chieftain and his family, have come forth from their village bearing gifts.¹ Behind the envoy has been pitched his tent where, in accordance with instructions issued before his departure from Egypt, he will entertain the Puntite chieftain to a feast. Among the foodstuffs and drinks prepared are beer and wine, meat and fruits.

The Puntite village, consisting of a number of beehive-shaped huts standing on raised platforms supported by poles, is situated near the water's edge amid palms and other, very conventionally drawn, trees.² Stevenson Smith, who has attempted a reconstruction of the ruined upper part of the south wall of the Punt colonnade,³ notes that the composition 'follows the traditional Egyptian system of laying out the subject matter in long strips superimposed above one another'. 'The gradual widening of the registers produces a staggered effect in the arrangement of the groups of men carrying trees and logs on the right side of the composition.'⁴ In contrast to the numerous figures grouped together in front of the village in the two lowest registers, the variation in the number and kinds of trees, with the widely interspersed figures of men and animals and an occasional isolated hut, conveys an impression of more wooded country further inland.

There appears to have been considerable ethnic variety in Punt, or at least in that part known to the sailors of Ḥatshepsut's expedition. A Negro is shown striding along bearing on one shoulder a log of dark wood blotched with yellow (? *hbny*-wood) and leading a hound on a leash.⁵ Another lighter-skinned Negro is depicted before one of the beehive huts.⁵ The relations of the Puntites with these Negroes or negroids must for the present remain a matter of conjecture. Whether the Negroes were permanently settled in this locality is uncertain, but there are no grounds for Kees's assertion⁶ that they lived in the coastal region in a state of subjection to the Puntites. It appears that the place where the Egyptians landed was an emporium to which products were brought for barter from further afield.

There is some indication that *ḥntyw*-trees were cultivated in Punt, though they probably also grew there in the wild state. In the fourth century B.C. Theophrastus,⁷ speaking of South Arabia, states that 'the frankincense and myrrh trees grow partly on the mountains and partly on private estates at the foot of the mountains. Wherefore some are under cultivation, others not.' Pliny,⁸ speaking of myrrh, says that 'a cultivated variety is also produced which is much preferred to the wild kind'.

In her Speos Artemidos⁹ inscription Ḥatshepsut refers to 'Punt overflowing¹⁰ with fields of trees bearing (*hr*) fresh *ḥntyw*'. This reference to fields (*ḥwt*) suggests the existence of low-lying areas where the trees were cultivated, presumably inland at

¹ *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 69.

² There is no reason to believe that they represent the *ḥntyw*-tree although they are identical in appearance with the so-called 'bare' form of that tree.

³ W. S. Smith, 'The Land of Punt', *JARCE* I (1962), 59-61; id., *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1965), 138, figs. 173-4.

⁵ *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 71.

⁶ *Kulturgeschichte*, 124, 350.

⁷ IV, 9. In citing these passages from the classical writers I am not implying any particular location for Punt or identification for the *ḥntyw*-trees.

⁸ *N.H.* XII, 33.

⁹ *Urk.* IV, 385, 15-16.

¹⁰ Cf. Sethe's note b, *Urk.* IV, 385.

the foot of the highlands. In the Deir el-Bahri inscriptions, however, the locality from which the *ntyw* and trees are said to have come is referred to as the *htyw*, 'terraces' or 'terraced hillsides',¹ which were presumably distinct from the lower-lying 'fields'. The term *htyw* is also used with reference to the turquoise mines of Sinai and the slopes of the Lebanon;² and in the Deir el-Bahri texts too it evidently denotes elevated ground rising in stages.

Steuer³ thinks that the use of this term too is an indication of the cultivation of *ntyw*-trees. According to him,⁴ the phrase *htyw ntyw* 'bedeutet nicht nur eine terrassenmässig abgestufte natürliche Gebirgserhebung in Punt, sondern . . . auch eine an die natürliche Terrainbeschaffenheit angelehnte, landwirtschaftlich genutzte Terrassenanlage für die Kultur der Myrrhenbäume.'

The digging up of *ntyw*-trees is not depicted in the surviving reliefs, nor the terraces, which were presumably situated some distance from the coast. Now whatever the nature of these terraces, and whether the trees growing thereon were cultivated or wild, no texts at Deir el-Bahri or elsewhere provide any definite indication that the Egyptians themselves ever reached them.⁵ Indeed, the impression given by the reception scene on the shore is that the Egyptians remained in the vicinity of their camp and waited for the various commodities, including *ntyw* and trees, to be brought to them.⁶ The only remotely strenuous physical activity in which they seem to have engaged was to assist the Puntites in carrying the *ntyw*-trees on board the waiting ships.⁷

In all probability, therefore, the trees were dug up by the Puntites. But in what part of Punt? Were they really dug up on the *ntyw*-terraces, or did they come from somewhere on the coastal lowlands? It is true that the Egyptians thought they came from the 'terraces', but there are grounds for supposing that they were deceived.

We have, of course, no means of knowing whether *ntyw* was to the Puntites anything more than just an item of commerce, but it was evidently their main export in their trade with Egypt, from which they received such valued goods as strings of

¹ *Urk.* IV, 325, 344, 342, 345.

³ *J.A.O.S.* 63, 283.

⁴ *Über das wohlriechende Natron*, 78.

⁵ Contra Steuer, loc. cit., and despite Amün's statement 'I have given to thee (Hatshepsut) all Punt as far as the land of the gods. The God's-Land, which had never been trodden (*sic*), the *ntyw*-terraces, which people did not know . . . I will cause thy army to tread them', *Urk.* IV, 344.

⁶ Whether, despite their friendly reception, any restriction was placed on their freedom of movement cannot be determined, but it is not impossible that the Puntites were not eager for foreigners to know too much about the *ntyw*-growing areas.

⁷ The men carrying the trees through the wooded country towards the shore appear to be Puntites, so far as one can judge from the fragmentary condition of this part of the reliefs. The scene showing the 'hewing of *hbny* in very great quantity' (*Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 70; cf. Smith, *JARCE* I, 60-1) is likewise too fragmentary for one to be certain that this was done by the Egyptians, as Naville states (*Deir el Bahari*, III, 15). Other fragments (*ibid.* pl. 70, placed in Smith's reconstruction in the third register from the bottom, *JARCE* I, 61) show men holding baskets containing what is apparently gum-resin, picking what look like round berries from the branches, not the trunks, of trees. Sethe (*Urk.* IV, 327, 2-4), who describes this activity as 'collecting resin from the trees', presumably regards these 'berries', probably rightly, as globules or tears of gum-resin, as also does Smith (*JARCE* I, 60). It is not absolutely clear, however, by whom this work is being done, though the faces of one or two of the gatherers look as though they might be Egyptian.

² *Wb.* III, 349, 6-8.

beads (probably of blue faience),¹ metal axes, and possibly copper rings and bracelets, items which may have been obtainable by them from other sources only with difficulty. Moreover, they may well have realized at the outset what the Egyptians' motives were in seeking to acclimatize the trees in their own country and what a successful outcome to such efforts would mean to them—no more visits from Egyptian expeditions, and no more blue beads and axes. At the same time, however, they may not have felt it politic to reject outright the Egyptians' request for trees.

It is therefore not too fanciful to suppose that, in a bid to save their trade, the Puntites over a period may have sabotaged the Egyptians' efforts either by supplying them with inferior plants, or even by tampering with the roots when digging them up. Possibly too any advice they may have given on the cultivation and care of the trees was incomplete or misleading. It is true that according to the Deir el-Bahri texts Ḥatshepsut's expedition was undertaken at the command of Amūn and it would certainly have been the Egyptians' intention to obtain the choicest *ntyw*. Now as far as the gum-resin itself was concerned, the probability is that they were given the best quality, for the Puntites could have had no reason for supplying inferior material to such valued and regular customers. When it came to supplying trees, however, it may well have been a different matter altogether, and in view of the Egyptians' probable lack of first-hand knowledge of the territory inland, it is unlikely that they could have discerned whether the young trees supplied really were of top quality from the same *ntyw*-terraces as the gum-resin they received.² Doubtless any complaints by Egyptian commanders that trees supplied to previous expeditions had died would have been greeted with expressions of surprise and regret, and an offer to supply more of the same.

To sum up. The attempts to acclimatize *ntyw*-trees in Egypt were motivated by the desire to be free of the hazards involved in the arduous voyages to and from Punt. The earliest evidence for the importation of trees dates from the reign of Ḥatshepsut, but earlier attempts may have been made. Notwithstanding a partial and temporary success, the transplantation experiments were a failure. The precise reasons for this failure will be clear only when the botanical identity of the tree(s) producing *ntyw* has been established. This cannot be done on the basis of the conventionalized Egyptian representations. In the meantime it is suggested that for reasons of commercial self-interest the Puntites may have deliberately frustrated the Egyptian experiment.

Appendix

On the question of the export of beads from Egypt to the area within which Punt lay or with which it was in contact, reference may be made to the discovery at Nakuru in Kenya of a well-preserved short faience cylinder-bead (colour not stated) found near a body (which Leakey considered to be that of a chief) buried in an ultra-crouched

¹ See the Appendix below.

² The *ntyw*- (and *sntr*-) trees imported by Ramesses III's expedition (P. Harris I, 49, 7) are stated to have been obtained not from the terraces, but from the *hwt* of God's-Land, that is, either from the barren coastal zone or 'highlands' further inland, which were apparently not identical with the famous terraces of Ḥatshepsut's expedition.

position and daubed with red ochre. The burial belonged to the Gumban B culture which the excavator dated to the period of the Nakuran wet phase, *c.* 1000–850 B.C.; see L. S. B. Leakey, *The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony* (Cambridge, 1931), 200 ff. (especially 201–2), 243–4, pl. 30. Beck, who examined this bead (*ibid.*, Appendix F, 282), did not think it was Egyptian, though Leakey himself in a later paper, ‘The Sequence of Stone Age Cultures in East Africa’, *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* (1934), 145, wrote: ‘Beads found in direct association with Gumban industries show that trade connections with the civilizations of the period (such as the Egyptian) existed.’

Professor W. B. Emery tells me that during the early 1920s he was shown a quantity of typically Eighteenth-dynasty blue faience cylinder-beads which had been found at an unspecified locality on the coast of Jubaland by a member of the Kenya Boundary Commission shortly after the end of the First World War. According to this official, the site in question was strewn with fragments of human bone, and, to judge by his description, it would appear to have been a badly denuded cemetery.

Naturally, too much should not be made of such discoveries, for, like the Greek and Roman coins found at various places on the East African coast (G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, ‘East African Coin Finds and their Historical Significance’, *Journal of African History* 1 (1960), 31 ff., esp. pp. 32–4), these beads could have arrived in Kenya and Jubaland at a much later date. Still, as Piggott (*Man* 48, 24) remarks with reference to the Nakuru bead, their importance lies in ‘[their] relationship to what can now be recognized as a widespread trade from the Eastern Mediterranean *c.* 1400 B.C., which included among its objects of barter the strings of beads, represented . . . among the exports taken by Hatshepsut’s trading expedition to the Land of Pwenet’.¹

¹ Beck, incidentally, does not, as Piggott states (*op. cit.* 23), ‘stress the virtual certainty of the faience example [from Nakuru] being an actual import either from Egypt or at least from the Eastern Mediterranean’.

ARABIAN AND AFRICAN FRANKINCENSE TREES

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THE oleo-gum-resin known as frankincense or olibanum has been obtained since ancient times from several species of *Boswellia*² in the family Burseraceae. As the botanical identity of the little-known frankincense trees occurring in Arabia and in North-east Africa is becoming clearer this general account, which is backed by taxonomic research, may be of interest to archaeologists and historians. There are still gaps in our knowledge, however, and I hope attention will be focused on the puzzling Arabian species. All *Boswellia* species are very variable in leaf shape and hairiness and their classification presents difficulties. A similar degree of variation appears to be exhibited by the resin itself.

By working on herbarium specimens it has been possible to verify their identity, to extract relevant information from the field notes, and to plot the geographical distribution of each species. Other important incense-yielding species grow in India and Socotra, but these are not dealt with in this paper. The strictly taxonomic and nomenclatural aspects will be covered in my revision of all the species of the genus (in India, Arabia, Socotra, and Africa). A century ago both the historical and botanical aspects were extensively dealt with by Birdwood.³ Recently van Beek has also considered frankincense and myrrh and the ancient trade routes.⁴

Arabian frankincense

Boswellia trees grow only in a restricted portion of the southern Arabian coast in Dhufar and eastern Hadramaut. Carter pointed out⁵ that this frankincense region is unique in southern Arabia in the amount of moisture it receives, and the resulting plant growth makes it 'like a garden with a dreary arid waste on either side'. He described the Nejdee (or Nejd) limestone hills with myriads of frankincense trees growing out of crevices, and it was from there that the first quality incense was chiefly obtained and exported from the towns lying between 52° 47' and 55° 23' E. Dr. Ray L. Cleveland, who visited the area in 1958 and 1960, states that the trees are to be found in the high

¹ I should like to thank Dr. Ray Cleveland of the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, for his valuable information on the Arabian species, and the American Society for the Study of Man for permission to reproduce the photographs shown on pl. XII, 1 and 2, taken by Dr. Cleveland; also Mr. J. Lavranos of Johannesburg for information on Arabian trees, Mr. Peter Bally of Geneva for permission to reproduce his photographs, and Dr. D. M. Dixon of University College London for comments as an Egyptologist.

² Named after John Boswell, uncle of James, the famous biographer of Samuel Johnson.

³ G. Birdwood, 'On the genus *Boswellia*', in *Trans. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 27 (1870), 111-48.

⁴ G. V. van Beek, 'Frankincense and myrrh', in *Biblical Archaeologists* 23 (3) (1960), 70-95.

⁵ H. J. Carter, 'Frankincense in Arabia', in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Bombay Br.* 2 (1848), 380-90.

dry steppe country known by the inhabitants as Najd (= Carter's Nejd) just north of the Qarra Mountains lying parallel to the coast. The incense is locally called *najdi* after the locality. Thomas also reported that 'negedi is the famous of the three' varieties of incense known to him.¹ Mr. J. Lavranos, who saw the trees during the dry season of 1966, tells me that he does not believe they are botanically distinct from the coastal ones, but he agrees that the best resin is reported to come from the inland trees. This may be due to ecological causes which may not be reflected in morphological variation. The only herbarium specimen of the inland tree I have seen is one collected by Mr. Lavranos from a tree now growing in the Sultan's garden. One may compare the photographs on pl. XII, 1 and 2, of the inland and coastal plain tree respectively. Cleveland reported bark differences and he considered the inland one grew taller, although this is not borne out by the photographs.

Second quality frankincense is known as *shazri*² originating in the same region of Dhufar but I have not seen any specimens of the tree that yields this resin. Cleveland informs me that *najdi* and *shazri* are the kinds of frankincense still principally exported and there is a significant variation in price between the various grades. Collections of leaves, flowers, and/or fruits, as well as correlated exudation from Arabian trees, are badly needed to elucidate the problems that still remain.

The third quality already referred to is yielded by bushes known to the inhabitants as *sha'bi*³ growing on the coastal plain, called Sahil⁴ by Carter. He described this area as being 'bounded on the east by the mountainous promontory of Ras Noos [= Ras Nus]⁵ and on the west by that of Ras Sajar [= Ras Sajir]. The frankincense trees are mostly congregated towards each extremity of it viz. about Marbat and in the neighbourhood of Bandar Resoot [= Risut, *bandar* being Persian for port] where they are found at the base and on the sides of the mountains, almost 5 miles from the shore, and I believe they are also in a similar position near Hasek [= Hasik]. The quantity of the frankincense bears no comparison with the myriads that are spread over the Nejdee.'

Carter collected specimens at Rakheote [= Rakhyut] near Ras Sajar and sketched a branch on May 30, 1846, which was published in his paper. My illustration (fig. 1) is adapted from his sketch. The rounded bushy habit is shown on pl. XII, 2, from a photograph taken by Dr. Cleveland less than a mile from the coast. At first Carter identified his plant with the Indian species (*B. serrata* Roxb. ex Coleb.) but later he had doubts as to whether it really was the same species. Birdwood⁶ thought it was perhaps a form of an African tree which he named after Carter. Unfortunately as the description is based on Playfair's material originating from Somalia the name, *B. carteri*, must stay with the African species. Van Beek⁷ and others have applied it as well to the Arabian one which is a distinct species and should be known as *B. sacra*. This

¹ B. Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (London, 1932), 377.

² *Ibid.* 377.

³ *Ibid.* 123, 377; also Cleveland (personal communication).

⁴ In the present spelling without diacritical marks, it may be taken as Arabic for 'plain' or 'coast'.

⁵ The names in square brackets are those found on GSGS map no. 4802, sheet 4, 1:500,000 (1957); see the map on pl. XIV.

⁶ Birdwood, *op. cit.* 144.

⁷ Van Beek, *op. cit.* 71.

name should apply at least to the coastal trees and, until any further evidence is available to the contrary, the inland ones may bear it too.

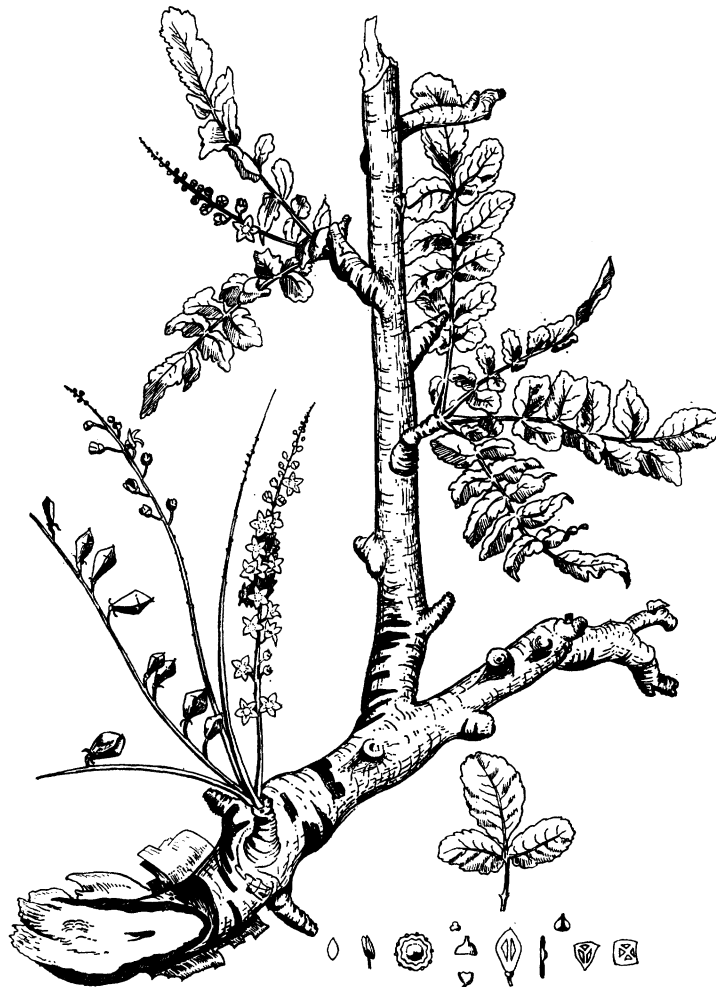


FIG. 1. Arabian frankincense tree, *Boswellia sacra*. Redrawn from Carter, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Bombay Branch* 2, 380

African frankincense

Beside the resiniferous species there are many other *Boswellias* in tropical Africa which are either non-resinous or do not yield frankincense in sufficient quantity to be exploited commercially. All the species occur in dry, rocky places and the resiniferous ones are to be found in the Horn of Africa. *B. papyrifera*, however, occurs more widely (Ethiopia, Sudan Republic, Uganda, Central African Republic—see map on pl. XV). At the present time it appears to be only a local source of incense and not to be used to the same extent as the following species. In ancient times it may have been important owing to the easy land routes from these parts of tropical Africa to Egypt.

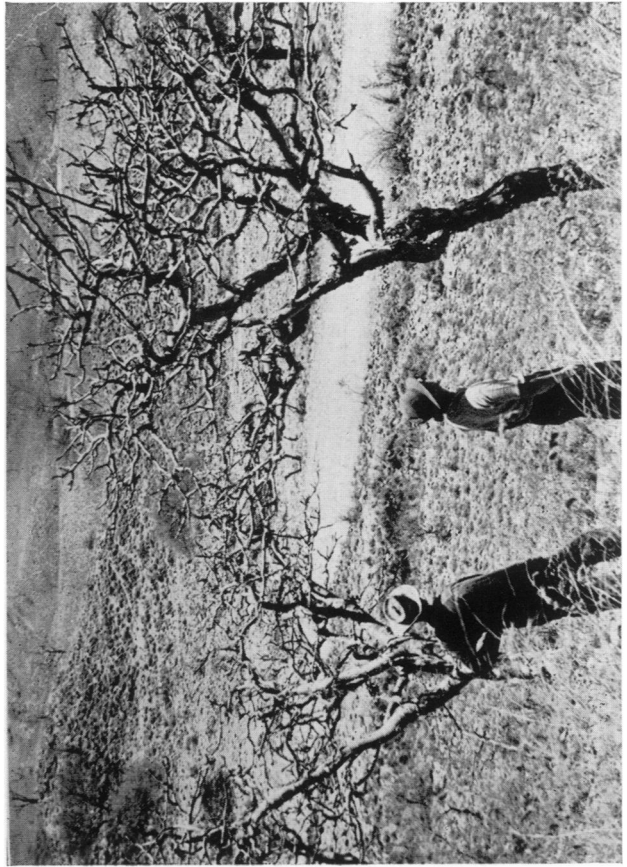
My evidence from herbarium material indicates that *B. frereana* yields first-quality frankincense and the resin from *B. carteri*, although widely used, is inferior to it.



1. *Boswellia sacra*, the tree yielding *najdi*-frankincense, north of the Qarra Mountains, Dhufar. (American Foundation for the Study of Man)



2. *Boswellia sacra*, the tree yielding *sha'bi*-frankincense, on the coastal plain near Ras Risut, Dhufar. (American Foundation for the Study of Man)

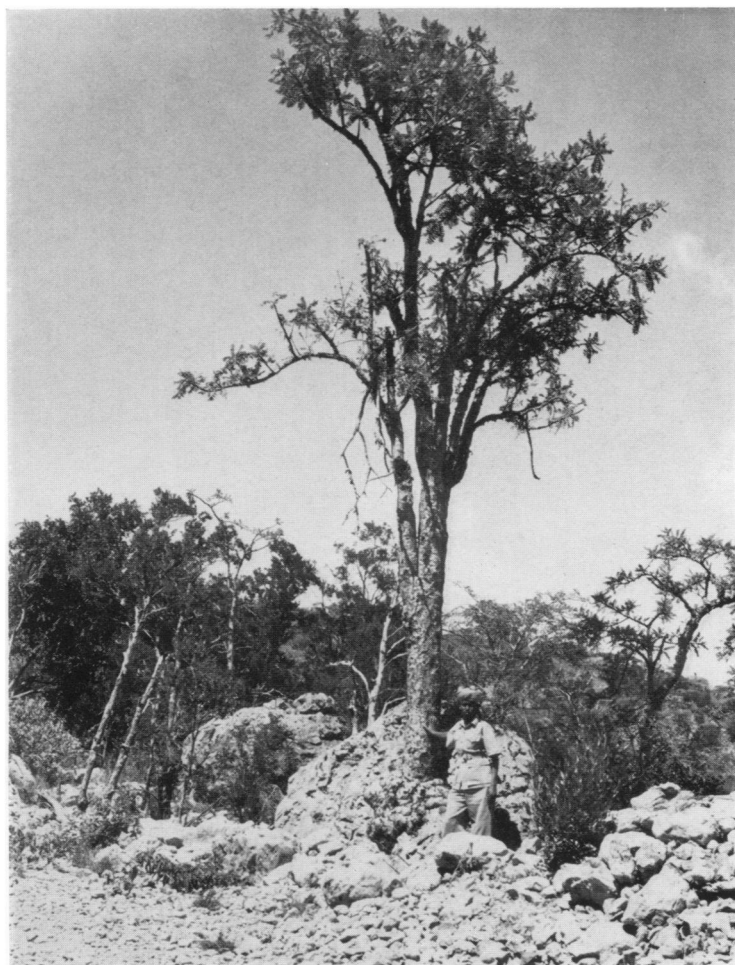


3. *Boswellia papyrifera* in woodland near Mescillit Pass, Eritrea. (P.R.O., Bally)



4. *Boswellia papyrifera*: frankincense resin tears exuding after wounding of the trunk, near Mescillit Pass, Eritrea. (P.R.O., Bally)

FRANKINCENSE TREES



1. *Boswellia carteri*, showing tall habit of tree, near Erigavo, Somalia. (P.R.O., Bally)



2. *Boswellia carteri*, detail showing swollen base of trunk growing on a boulder, near Erigavo, Somalia. (P.R.O., Bally)

A third tree known as *B. bhau-dajiana* is also resiniferous but it remains inadequately known and it may not be a really distinct species.

There is an excellent eyewitness description of *B. frereana* by the nineteenth-century traveller Kempthorne in a journal which is not readily available and is worth quoting extensively.¹ He says:

[The tree is] one of the most extraordinary plants I ever saw, quite a *lusus naturae* of the vegetable world, for the trees actually grow out of the sides of the almost polished rocks. . . . The trees were about 40 feet high,² the stem was about 2 feet in circumference, rising straight up, with a bend outwards of 6 or 7 inches. They are attached most firmly to the rocks by a thick oval mass of substance about a foot or so in diameter, something resembling a mixture of lime and mortar. Branches spring out rather scantily at the top and extend a few feet down the stem; the leaves are 5 inches or so long, and 1½ in. broad, narrowing and rounding towards the point, but not serrated at the edges; the upper surface is of a rich dark shining green, while the lower is of a lighter hue; they are thin and smooth and crimped like that beautiful species of seaweed so often found on the coast of England. The tree has four layers of bark, the outer being coarse and loose, like that of the beech, while the next two are as it were glued to the trunk and delicately fine, resembling oiled paper or gold-beaters' skin and of a bright amber colour; this bark is perfectly transparent, and can be stripped off easily in large sheets; the natives use it for writing on; the inner bark of all is an inch or so in thickness, adhering closely to the stem; it is tough, not unlike leather, and striped red and white, and yields a strong aromatic perfume. The timber is white, soft, porous and of little use, except as firewood. A deep incision into the bark causes the odoriferous gum to exude in large quantities, which is of a milky white, and of the consistency of honey, but it soon hardens by exposure to the atmosphere.

The curious swollen base of the trunk described by Kempthorne is referred to by all recent botanists (e.g. Bally, Gillett) who have collected specimens of this species. The swelling does not appear to be present in the other species except *B. carteri* (pl. XIII, 2) and it is doubtless an adaptation to this habitat, conferring on the trees the ability to cling more successfully to a rocky position. The limestone region of Somalia to which these species are restricted is extremely arid with rain during only a short period of the year, and it is a puzzle how the seedling frankincense manages to gain a root-hold before it dries up. The cleft must be moist enough at some season of the year to support the germinated seed while the roots grow down into the protective rock far enough to withstand the first long period of drought. Guidotti³ rightly observes that for some time the young plant has a precarious existence before enlarging its roots sufficiently to become thoroughly established.

It may have been this region that was known as the land of Punt by the ancient Egyptians. Hatshepsut sent an expedition to Punt to obtain living *cntyw* trees.⁴ *B. frereana* grows in the coastal region of Somalia, unlike *B. carteri* which inhabits the

¹ G. B. Kempthorne, 'A narrative of a visit to the ruins of Tahrie, the supposed site of the ancient city of Siraff, also an account of the ancient commerce of the Gulf of Persia etc.' in *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.* 13 (1857), 125-40. Part of p. 136 is also quoted by Birdwood, *op. cit.* 147.

² Recently collected specimens in Kew Herbarium were obtained from trees about 15 or up to 25 ft. in height. This may indicate that only younger trees are seen nowadays.

³ Quoted in F. N. Howes, *Vegetable Gums and Resins* (Chronica Botanica Co., New York, 1949), 152.

⁴ F. N. Hepper, 'An ancient expedition to transplant live trees', in *Journ. Roy. Hort. Soc.* 92 (1967), 435-8.

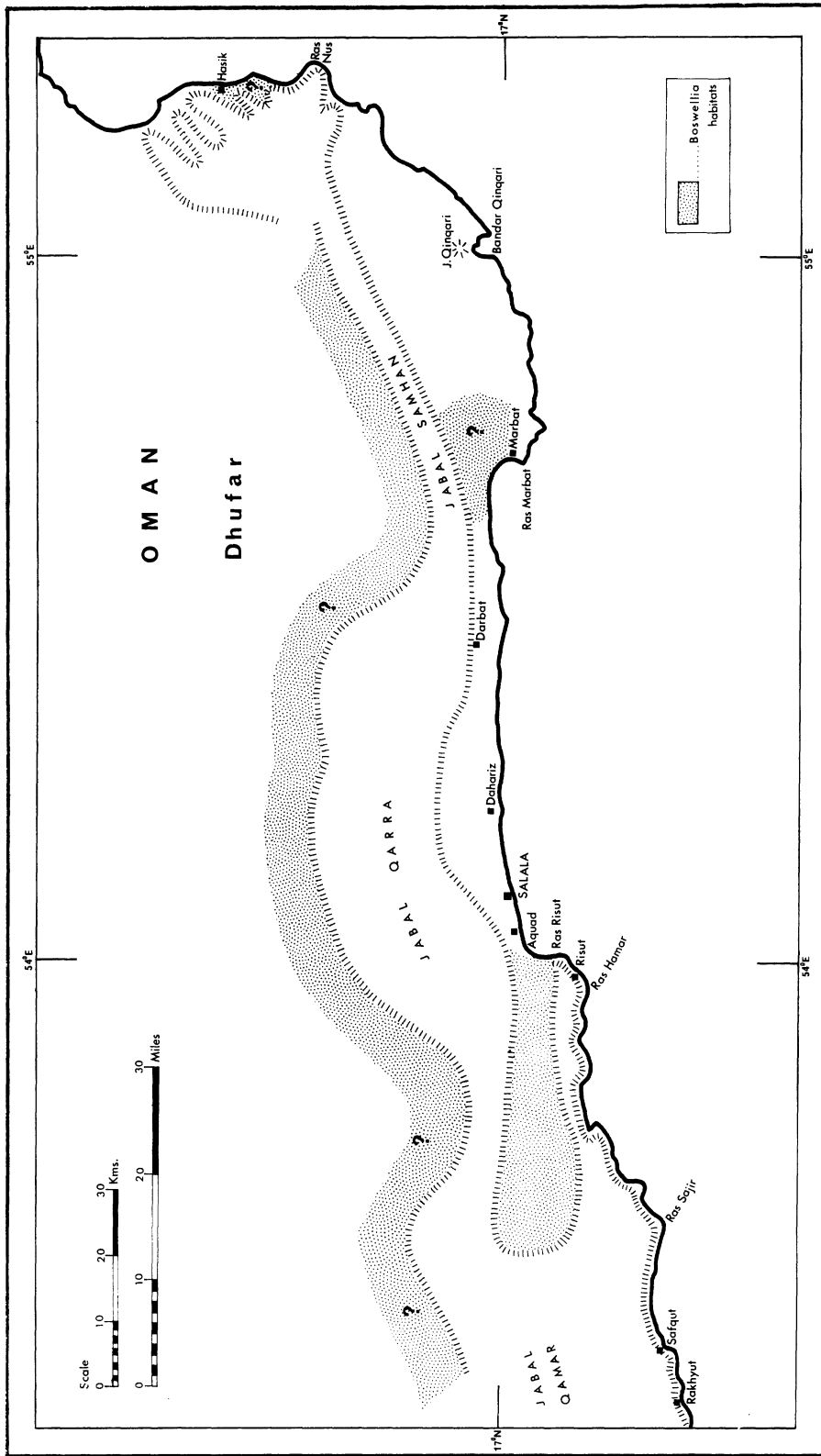
hinterland at an altitude of up to 3,600 ft. It is most likely to be *B. frereana*, or the little known *B. bhau-dajiana*, that would have been encountered if Punt is identifiable as Somalia. On the other hand the extraction of the swollen base of the trunk from the rock might have badly damaged the tree but it is possible they may have re-rooted



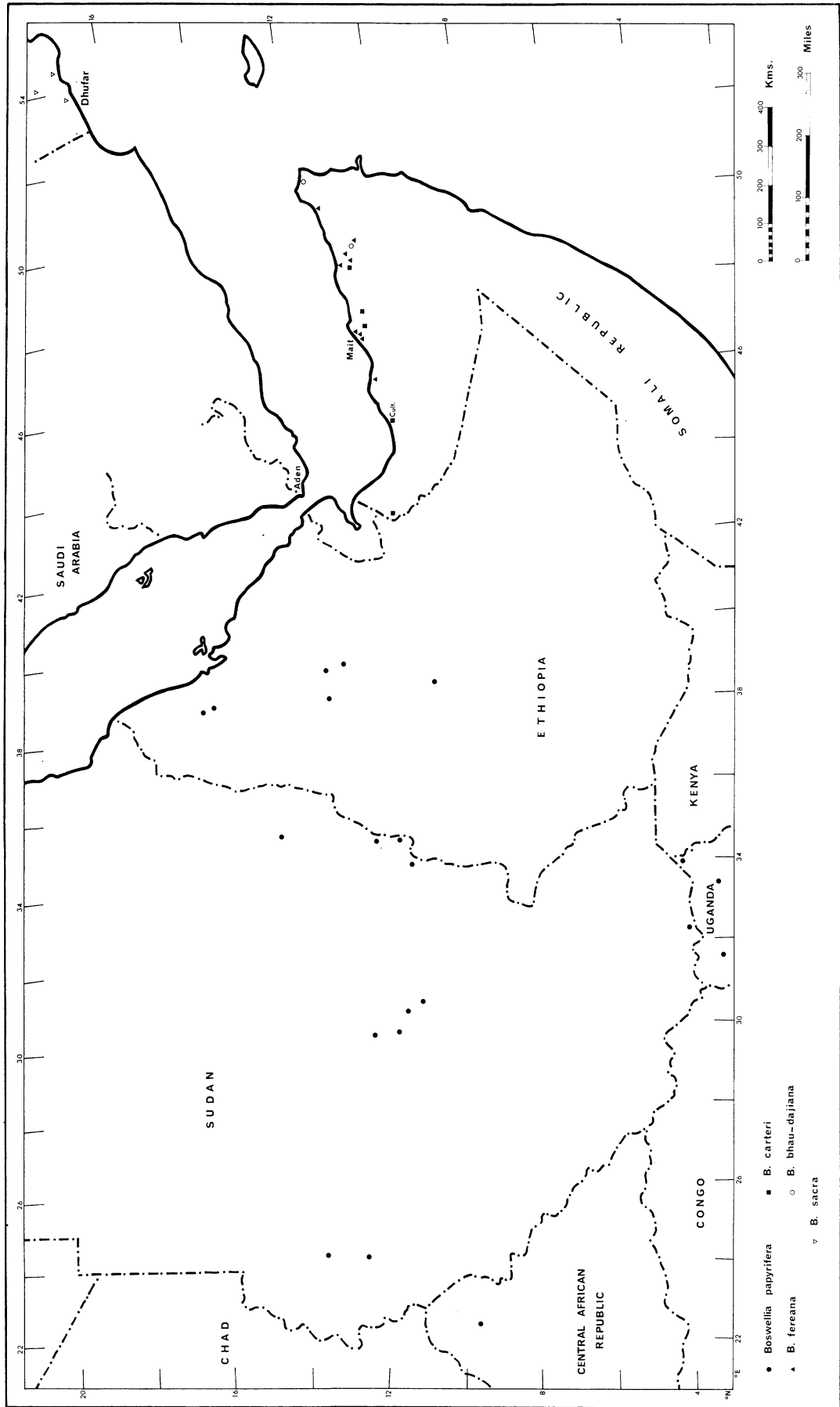
FIG. 2. African frankincense tree *Boswellia frereana*. Redrawn from Fitsch's figure in Birdwood, *Trans. Linn. Soc. London* 27, t. 32

(see below). The reliefs at Deir el-Bahri depicting the expedition show a red aromatic substance close to the trees and some scholars therefore believe that they are myrrh trees (*Commiphora* sp.). Against this conclusion is the leafy appearance of the trees on the reliefs, which much more closely resemble *Boswellia* than scraggy *Commiphora*, although there are differences of opinion as to how much significance may be attached to the representation.¹ It may be noted that the frankincense trees occurring in Dhufar grow out of the ground as well as from crevices; if this was the species transported to Egypt it would indicate a different location for Punt.

¹ For further consideration of these matters see the paper by D. M. Dixon, pp. 55 ff. above.



MAP OF DHUFAR



MAP OF NORTH-EAST AFRICA

Extraction and collection of frankincense

An interesting description of the process was published by Surgeon Carter¹ relating to the Arabian trees:

The gum is provided by making longitudinal incisions through the bark in the months of May and December, when the cuticle glisters with intumescence from the distended state of the parts beneath;² the operation is simple and requires no skill on the part of the operator. On its first appearance the gum comes forth white as milk, and according to its degree of fluidity, finds its way to the ground, or concretes on the branch near the place from which it first issued, from whence it is collected by men and boys, employed to look after the trees by different families who possess the land in which they grow.

The photograph on pl. XII, 4, shows how the gum exudes from the wound and forms clear white tears. Various other descriptions of the extraction have been published in works that are readily available.

Cultivation

In conclusion a comment should be made about the cultivation of *Boswellia*. Since the time of Theophrastus many authors have mentioned the cultivation of incense trees in Arabia, and others have suggested the possibility in Africa. In recent times, however, only odd trees are known to have been grown and there is no evidence that they are planted in any quantity for exploitation. During the nineteenth century Carter established the Arabian *B. sacra* in the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, from 'rooted stems'.³ Also in Bombay grew plants of the African *B. carteri* obtained from cuttings of the tree planted in Playfair's rocky garden at Aden, where he grew *B. frereana* as well. More recently a tree of *B. carteri* was reported from a garden at Berbera, Somalia, and another of *B. sacra* still grows in the Sultan's Garden at Salala, Dhufar.

There is little doubt that the stem of at least some species of *Boswellia* will take root. I have myself seen in Northern Nigeria *B. dalzielii* being used for stockades where poles inserted in the ground take root as readily as *Commiphora*. This characteristic has a bearing on the ability of the trees to establish themselves in artificial conditions, since the Punt expeditions brought back living specimens for this very purpose. Even if the trees really did grow at Thebes there is always the possibility that they did not yield resin, since it is unlikely that tropical species would thrive at the higher latitude.

Botanical and vernacular names of frankincense trees and their resin

The following vernacular names have been extracted from labels of herbarium specimens at Kew and the British Museum (Nat. Hist.). The identity of the specimens has been checked by me and although some variation in the spellings and even anomalies in the vernacular names appear to exist, they are included for the sake of completeness.

¹ Op. cit. 384.

² Perhaps Carter as a surgeon was applying medical terminology to his botanical description.

³ Birdwood, op. cit. 144.

A few names from literature are also given when they are quite unambiguous. The distribution of each species is given on the map on pl. XIV.

1. **Boswellia sacra** *Flueckiger* in Lehrbuch der Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches 31 (1867). Type: Arabia *Carter* (fig. in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Bombay Br.* 2 (1848), 380).
B. carteri var. *undulato-crenata* Engl. in DC., *Monogr. Phan.* 4 (1883), 33 excl. *Hildebrandt* 1381.
B. undulato-crenata (Engl.) Engl. in Engl. & Prantl, *Nat. Pflanzenfam.* ed. 2, 19a: 422 (1931).
[*B. thurifera* sensu *Carter* in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Bombay Br.* 2 (1848), 380, non Roxb. ex Flem.]
[*B. carteri* sensu *Birdwood* in *Trans. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 27, 144, pro parte quoad spec. Arab. et t. 30.]
Arabia: Maghrayt d' sheehaz—the tree: Sheehaz—the resin (*Carter*, op. cit., quotes Mahara names); Sha'bi—the resin (*Cleveland*, see discussion above); Sha'bi or somali (*Thomas*, op. cit.); Lubban (*Vesey-Fitzgerald* 12630, 12705/1). Other Arabian names apparently not relating to coastal *B. sacra*: Najdi—first quality resin (*Cleveland*); Negedi or nejdi—'the famous tree' (*Thomas*, op. cit.); Shazari—'the tree of mughur' yielding inferior quality resin (*Thomas*, op. cit.).
2. **B. frereana** *Birdwood* in *Trans. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 27 (1870), 146, t. 32. Type: Somalia *Playfair* s.n. (K).
Somalia: Yigaar—the tree; Maidi—the resin (*Collenette* 205); Yegaar or Luban maitee (*Playfair* s.n.); Jegaar (*Birdwood* 3); Luban maiti (*Birdwood* 10/1873); Maidi (*Peck* 1, 2, *Hemming* 1778); Mohor medu (*Glover and Gilliland* 719); Yagar—the tree; Maidi—the resin (*Glover and Gilliland* 756); Mohor ad [probably wrong] (*Glover and Gilliland* 708); Yagar (*Glover and Gilliland* 806).
3. **B. carteri** *Birdwood*, op. cit. 143, t. 29, excl. spec. ex Arabia. Syntypes: Somalia and Aden (cult.) *Playfair* s.n. (K).
B. carteri var. *subintegra* Engl. in DC., *Monogr. Phan.* 4 (1883), 34.
Somalia: Mohr Madow (*Playfair* s.n.); Mohor lub (*Glover and Gilliland* 937); Medi (*Gillett* 4662); Möhr méddu (méddu = white) (*Hildebrandt* 1381). Mohr add (*Birdwood* 2); Beio (*Howes*, op. cit.).
4. **B. bhau-dajiana** *Birdwood* in *Trans. Linn. Soc. Lond.* 27 (1870), 144, t. 31. Type: Somalia *Playfair* 3 (BM, K). An imperfectly known species.
Somalia: Mohr add—the tree, Luban Bedowi or Luban sheheri (of Arabs)—the resin (*Playfair* 3); Mohor (*Hemming* 1798).
5. **B. papyrifera** (*Del.*) *Hochst.* in *Flora* 26 (1843), 81. Type: Sudan *Caillaud* s.n.
Sudan: Targ tarag—Arabic (*Patel and El Kheir* 84); Durto—Fur, Rut rut—Arabic (*Wickens* 1293); Tak tak—Eliri Arabic (*Simpson* 7766, 7773); Luban—Arabic (*Aylmer* 18, *Cooke* 96); Lanya—Latuka (*Andrews* A. 1814); Sumr, Tarag, Tarag tarag, Tarak tarak—Arabic (*Wickens, Kordofan Vernac. Names* (1963), 19).

THE 'NEW YEAR' GIFTS TO THE PHARAOH

By CYRIL ALDRED

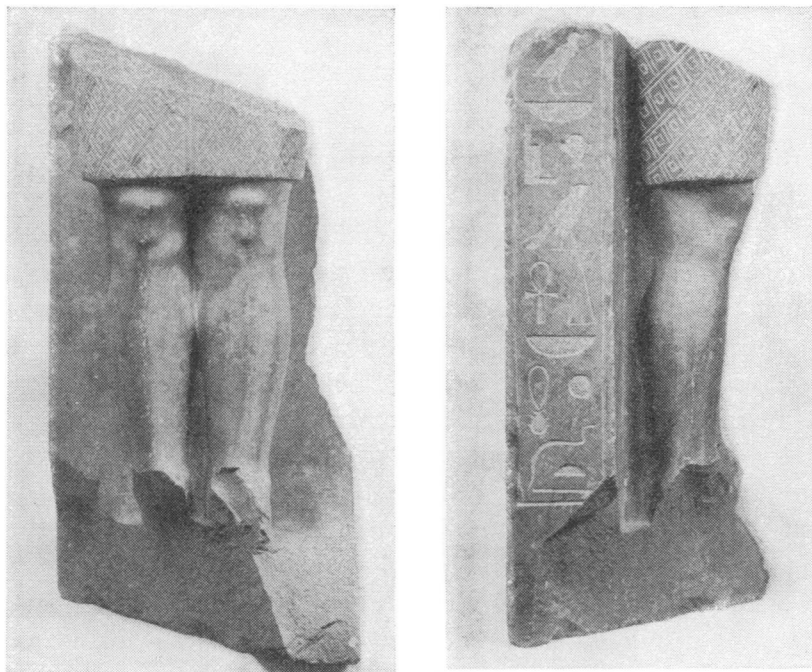
IN certain of the Theban tombs belonging to high officials during the later reign of Amenophis III there appear, in their usual places¹ to the left and right of the portico in the rear wall of the first transverse chamber, reliefs showing the owner in the presence of the king who sits on a throne under the great baldachin of state.² The notable occasion which these scenes commemorate evidently marked a climax in the life of the owner and the monarch whom he served; and there is little doubt that the event in question was a state appearance of the Pharaoh during ceremonies that marked his various jubilees, when he received his officials in audience. The *sed*-festivals of Amenophis III were, of course, important affairs that have left their record in many of the royal monuments of the reign both large and small.³ It is therefore not surprising to find that those officers of state who had some part to play in these functions also sought to commemorate the grand occasion when for a crowded hour they basked in a reflection of the light that beat upon a throne.

Tomb No. 57, for instance, has a relief showing the Pharaoh in his kiosk receiving from Kha'emhêt an account of the bumper harvest during the year of his First Jubilee.⁴ The pendent scene shows Kha'emhêt, together with the stewards of the royal house and the governors of Upper and Lower Egypt, being rewarded with collars of honour before the enthroned king on account of the exceptional harvest in this jubilee year 30.⁵ Kha'emhêt as Controller of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt emphasized his particular interests. Kheruef, on the other hand, as an officer of the royal household was more concerned with palace ceremonial, and in his tomb, No. 192, has left us valuable illustrations of some of the jubilee rites. On the left-hand wall flanking the inner portico he represents the same investiture of the officials by Amenophis III in Year 30, though he puts his patron, Queen Tiye, into the kiosk with Hathôr and the king.⁶ The pendent scene shows Kheruef presenting a collar, *tazza*, box, and jewelled pectorals to the king and queen on the occasion of the Third Jubilee in Year 37.⁷

The tomb of the Chief Steward Surero is less explicit in the character of the comparable scenes thanks to the destruction of the texts. To the left of the portico he offers bouquets and staves to Amenophis III who on this occasion wears a 'peculiar' knee-length mantle 'covered with blue squares and a red square in each blue one'⁸

¹ Wegner, *MDAIK* 4, 53, 55 ff.² Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 544-61.³ Cf. Hayes, *JNES* 10, 83-6.⁴ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1², pt. 1, p. 117 (11).⁵ *Ibid.* 116 (15).⁶ Fakhry, *Ann. Serv.* 42, pl. xl.⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix. It should be noted that the scene dated to Year 30 is probably retrospective, as the Horus name of the king, *Wḥm ḥbw-sd*, indicates.⁸ Säve-Söderburgh, *Private Tombs at Thebes*, 1, 38, pl. xxx.

over a sort of feathered under-garment. This garb and the archaic block-throne on which the king is seated suggested to Borchardt¹ that Surero was in audience with his sovereign on the occasion of a jubilee, an interpretation which Säve-Söderbergh is disposed to accept, but without enthusiasm.



FIGS. 1 and 2. Statue Fragment of Amenophis III

There is little doubt that Borchardt was right in his view. The same chequered knee-length cloak appears on a statue-fragment of a king, almost certainly Amenophis III himself, formerly in the magazines of the Luxor temple (see figs. 1 and 2),² and this bears every indication of following the pattern of the *Heb-sed* robe, though it is more detailed than usual by having a design of rhomboids incised over its surface with a smaller lozenge within each larger unit. But the classic example of such a garment is to be seen in the well-known ivory statuette of a king from Abydos, now in the British Museum, which also has upon each shoulder the same semicircular button or epaulette visible on the cloak worn by Amenophis III.³ Glanville has emphasized that the character and pose of the Abydos statuette show that the king is wearing his *Heb-sed* robe. Such an archaic fashion may have been revived for the jubilee of Amenophis III since there is evidence that antiquarian research was undertaken for the ceremonies of rejuvenation during his reign.⁴

The feathered garment worn by the king under his cloak is not quite so unusual as might at first appear since Tuthmosis III wears a similar patterned vestment, also with the Atefu crown, in a representation in the tomb of Rekhmirē⁵ where he appoints

¹ Borchardt, *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, 24.

² I am indebted to Bernard Bothmer for knowledge of this fragment and for the photographs used for the illustration.

³ Glanville, *JEA* 17, 65-6: cf. Fakhry, *op. cit.* 42, pl. xl.

⁴ Fakhry, *op. cit.* 492, ll. 9, 10 of text.

⁵ Davies, *T. of Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. xiii, pp. 15-16.

the vizier to office possibly, according to Davies, on the celebration of a *sed*-festival in his regnal year 33. Certainly a new era initiated by a jubilee would be an appropriate time at which to retire old officials and instal their successors. Borchardt believed that Amenophis III in his feathered garb is shown in the guise of the falcon which surmounted the king's *serekh*,¹ and here, too, he is almost certainly correct.

The close identification of the Pharaoh with a falcon hardly needs any emphasis. It is implicit in much of the imagery of royal texts of the New Kingdom, from the moment before birth while the king was still in the egg,² and is particularly in evidence to describe his apotheosis either as king or deity. Tuthmosis III, referring to his appointment as Pharaoh by the oracle of Amūn, states that he flew to heaven as a divine falcon, not at death, which is the usual import of the phrase, but in order to be crowned by Rē^c himself.³ Later in the same inscription he claims that the god formed him as a golden falcon, though in the context what is meant is the falcon that preceded his golden Horus name rather than the one that perched on top of his *serekh*.⁴ In the scene in tomb No. 100, referred to above, Tuthmosis III wears the Atefu crown of Rē^c⁵ protected at the rear by a solar falcon, a device which Davies compares to the motive from the famous statue of Chephren and to examples from Deir el-Bahri.⁶ This device was still in use later in the Eighteenth Dynasty since a relief of Queen Tiye shows her wearing a diadem with the hovering falcon at the rear.⁷ A statue-head of a youthful king wearing the Blue Crown protected by a falcon, and probably belonging to a coronation series (see below), exists in a French private collection.⁸

The concept of the king as a falcon has most recently been examined by Mme Posener in a valuable article⁹ in which she draws attention to such representations in reliefs and paintings as well as in statuary. She discusses the appearance of Amenophis III dressed in his feathered garb in the scenes in the tombs of Kheruef and Surero and concludes that these representations show that the king on particularly important occasions wore the visible signs of his divinity.

Such an important occasion was, of course, the jubilee when the king appeared as Horus *resurgens* on the Throne of the Living. But an equally significant event was the first appearance of the new Horus at his accession; and in fact this writer considers that the statue of Tuthmosis IV as a falcon¹⁰ belongs to his coronation series (see below). Davies has already called attention to the imbricated vestment worn by Pharaohs depicted in tombs Nos. 48, 63, 78, and 131,¹¹ and there are other examples.¹² An actual specimen appears to be the 'corselet' of Tutankhamūn with its pectoral showing the crowning of the king by the falcon-headed Atum.¹³ Unfortunately the

¹ Borchardt, loc. cit.

² E.g. Gauthier, *Inscription dédicatoire*, I, 44.

³ *Urk.* IV, 161.

⁴ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* 3 73.

⁵ Cf. *Ann. Serv.* 37, 132 (top) with pl. 2, l. 6. This passage establishes that the Atefu crown does not belong to Osiris as is so commonly claimed.

⁶ Davies, op. cit. 16.

⁷ Carter, *Ann. Serv.* 4, 177, pl. ii.

⁸ Brought to my notice by Jean Yoyotte. The features of the head are too battered for a precise analysis to be made from photographs, but the tall upright shape of the Blue Crown suggests Tutankhamūn rather than the young Amenophis III.

⁹ Kriéger, *Rev. d'Égypt.* 12, 37-58.

¹⁰ Cf. Brunner, *ZÄS* 87, 76-7, taf. v.

¹¹ Davies, op. cit. 16.

¹² E.g. in tombs Nos. 57, 192.

¹³ Carter, *T. of Tutankhamen*, I, pls. xxxviii, lxvi.

incomplete state of this garment does not permit us to decide whether it is of a size to fit only a child and as such was made as part of the king's coronation regalia, but it seems not improbable.

II

The feathered garment worn by the king, whether it is fully exposed or concealed under the knee-length cloak, suggests that the Pharaoh is represented as the newly risen Horus, either at his coronation or at his rejuvenation during the *Heb-sed*. Certainly the chequered cloak worn by Amenophis III in the left-hand scene in the tomb of Surero shows that the king is presiding at a ceremony during one of his jubilees, presumably the First. At this function Surero offers a jewelled pectoral to his king, and dressed in the leopard-skin of a *setem*-priest presents a bouquet or a staff on eight occasions.¹ The proffering of a bouquet was apparently the usual tribute paid by an official to his king when he was received in formal audience,² and there are many such representations in the Theban tombs. The presentation of staves has its parallel in the tomb of Ramose (No. 55)³ and that of Parennūfer (No. 188),⁴ as Säve-Söderbergh points out, though in both these examples the occasion appears to be not a jubilee but a ceremony following the accession of the king. The writer proposes to deal with this theme at greater length elsewhere:⁵ here he is concerned with those aspects which were repeated during the jubilee since this festival included a re-enactment of much of the coronation ritual.⁶

If the left-hand relief on the rear wall of the first hall of the tomb of Surero reveals that a jubilee ceremony is in progress, by analogy with the balanced scenes in tombs Nos. 57 and 192 a similar event is commemorated in the complementary scene on the right-hand relief. This shows Amenophis III presiding at a show of presents.⁷ It is much to be regretted that the accompanying text is completely destroyed, since, by comparison with similar representations in such tombs as Nos. 73, 76, 92, 93, and 96, this scene has been interpreted as an annual display of New Year's gifts.⁸

If this is so, the New Year in question can hardly have fallen upon I *Akhet* 1 since the celebration of the *sed*-festival apparently began on the anniversary of the Pharaoh's accession day.⁹ In the case of Amenophis III this was on III *Akhet* 2 and the ceremonies were spread over eight months, concluding on III *Shomu* 2.¹⁰ The beginning of the civil year does not therefore occur within this period. The festival of Sokar, however, in which the king took part during his jubilee, and which is represented in Tomb No. 192,¹¹ began in Memphis on IIII *Akhet* 26 and concluded four days later with the burial of Osiris when the *djed*-pillar was raised. The next day I *Proyet* 1, coinciding with the beginning of the winter season, was the canonical day for the

¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pl. xl.

² E.g. Rekhmîrêc presents a bouquet to Amenophis II at that monarch's accession, Davies, *op. cit.* 63.

³ Davies, *T. of Ramose*, pls. xxx, xxxi.

⁴ Davies, *JEA* 9, pl. xxiv.

⁵ Contra D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 120-8.

⁶ Moret, *Du caractère religieux*, 89-94, 239, 243; Gardiner, *JEA* 39, 23.

⁷ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxvi-xxxix.

⁸ *Ibid.* 38.

⁹ Parker, *Calendars*, § 309.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 310.

¹¹ Fakhry, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxix.

coronation of the Pharaoh who had risen as Horus on the Throne of the Living.¹ It was also the day of the festival of *Nḥb-kꜣw*, which was considered a New Year's feast.² At Edfu the same day marked the accession of Horus Behdety that divine exemplar *par excellence* of the Pharaoh, and the occasion was regarded as a feast of *wꜣ rnpt*.³ It would appear, therefore, that the 'New Year' gifts were presented, not at the start of each civil year as scholars have generally inferred, but only at the coronation of the Pharaoh, or at his re-coronation after rejuvenation during the jubilee ceremony, most probably following the festival of Sokar at Memphis.⁴

The dates of the advent of some of the Pharaohs during the Eighteenth Dynasty have been examined by Gardiner who has discussed them in terms of the civil calendar.⁵ Not one of the accession dates which are known for this dynasty fell upon either I *Akhet* 1 or I *Proyet* 1. But when Hatshepsut declared of her father that he knew the virtue of 'a coronation on New Year's day',⁶ it is difficult not to form the belief that she used this expression in a specially meaningful way since she was primarily concerned with a declaration of her legitimacy as Pharaoh according to a hallowed prescript that dated back at least to the reign of Sesostri III.⁷ The context shows clearly that it is the coronation of Hatshepsut that is referred to rather than her accession,⁸ so there are grounds for believing that on whatever day the Pharaoh acceded, he was formally crowned at a moment which was regarded as the beginning of a new era, and this is most likely to have been when the land emerged from the primeval waters of the inundation—the appropriate time for the re-creation of the universe that each Pharaoh initiated with his reign. Certainly the date given in the Nauri Inscription⁹ is described as 'the beginning of eternity, the commencement of happiness, very many years of peace, millions of jubilees upon the throne of Herakhty, and an eternity of the reign of Atum'. Gardiner regards such a phrase as no more than an *epitheton ornans* of New Year's Day,¹⁰ though in this passage the New Year in question fell upon I *Proyet* 1. An almost identical phrase occurs in the dedication by Sethos I

¹ Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, 134-40: Gardiner, *JEA* 1, 122-5: Kees, *Ancient Egypt* (ed. James), 56.

² Parker, *op. cit.*, § 313.

³ *Ibid.*, § 314.

⁴ It is probable that, after the initial proclamation, the jubilee rites began with the Sokar festival at Memphis and were repeated at appropriate feasts held at other regional centres. Thus while Amenophis III raised the *djed*-pillar at Memphis at daybreak on IIII *Akhet* 30, he also performed different ceremonies at Thebes on III *Shomu* 2 (Fakhry, *op. cit.* 495). This probably explains why the ceremonies were spread over so long a period as eight months (Hayes, *JNES* 10, 84).

⁵ Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 25-8.

⁶ Naville, *D. el-Bahari*, III, pl. 62.

⁷ Gardiner, *op. cit.* 26.

⁸ The ambiguity of the different meanings of *hꜣi* has most recently been discussed by Redford (*op. cit.*, 3-4, 26-7) who draws a distinction between 'accession' and 'coronation' which the Ancient Egyptian appears not to have felt. The two were regarded as synchronous, as is clear from the testimony of Tuthmosis III, quoted above, where the prince is immediately crowned on recognition by Rē in heaven; and though this may be a colourful way of saying that the ceremony was conducted in the sanctuary (cf. Wilson in Pritchard, *ANET* 446 n. 10), perhaps by Tuthmosis II himself, the significance is that it was performed only by the gods, as is so often depicted on temple walls. Horemheb, too, was recognized and promptly crowned by Amūn during the feast of Opet. But on whatever date 'recognition' occurred, and wherever it was made, a formal ceremony must have taken place at Memphis, the traditional centre for the coronation of the Pharaoh since its foundation, and this is most likely to have been held on the dawn following the burial of Osiris on IIII *Akhet* 30, when his successor appeared as the new Horus on the Throne of the Living.

⁹ Griffith, *JEA* 13, 196, pl. xl.

¹⁰ Gardiner, *JEA* 38, 21.

on the Speos Artemidos, 'the beginning of eternity, the commencement of everlastingness, the celebration of millions of jubilees, very many years of peace, and the duration of Rē^c . . .', dated however to Year 1 instead of its fourth anniversary.¹ A similar expression is used in connection with the accession date of Hatshepsut.² So far from thinking that *hst-nhh* merely served to convey that the date in question was one inaugurating a new and prosperous period, as Gardiner believes,³ the writer would suggest that it referred to the beginning of a Pharaoh's reign considered as a repetition of the original rule of Rē^c-Atum, or to its anniversary.⁴

The significance of these 'New Year' gifts thus becomes apparent. The Pharaoh whether he had recently acceded or had been rejuvenated by the jubilee rites, would immediately require in addition to his personal regalia a new set of images, clothing, and implements for replacement in all the shrines up and down the country where the statue of the king symbolized his presence in the cult as the intermediary between gods and men. The objects depicted before Amenophis III in the tomb of Surero include statues of the king and queen, vessels, censers, and furniture used in the cult.⁵ The artists and officials employed in making and assembling this material for consecration by the king doubtless took the opportunity of changing the official portraits of the royal pair, just as on similar recent occasions in Britain a new coin or stamp has been designed to commemorate the event. By regnal year 30 a new generation of artists would have arisen at the court of Amenophis III to whom the work of their predecessors would have had an old-fashioned appearance, and they would doubtless have welcomed the chance to make changes. A more realistic style of portraiture is evident in the statues that belong to the 'jubilee series'⁶ as compared with the 'coronation series'⁷ of Amenophis III. It is probable, for instance, that the celebrated statue-head of Tiye found at Sinai,⁸ where the king's officials were active towards the end of the reign, belongs to this later group and should be compared with her earlier official portraits.⁹

An earlier parade of such objects can be seen in the tomb of Amenhotpe (No. 73) where the owner presents jewels, statues, tabernacles, and other products of the workshops to Hatshepsut (destroyed) in her kiosk on the right-hand portion of the wall.¹⁰ As Amenhotpe was evidently responsible for work on the two great obelisks erected at Karnak in Year 16, it looks as though this presentation of gifts took place during the jubilee which she celebrated in that year. The style of the wall-paintings does not suggest the work of the early reign of Tuthmosis III, and Amenhotpe evidently succeeded to the office of Chief Steward only after the fall of Senenmut.¹¹

A sudden demand for similar equipment occurred, of course, more commonly at the time of a king's accession, and such an amassing of treasure can be seen in Tomb

¹ Fairman and Grdseloff, *JEA* 33, 25.

² *Urk.* IV, 262, 7.

³ *Op. cit.* 22.

⁴ Cf. the passage from *Pyr.*, § 412A, quoted by Bakir in his relevant article on *nhh* and *dt* in *JEA* 39, 110.

⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvii. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that some of this equipment was supplied for the actual jubilee rites. The four beds within canopies recall the couches in the pavilions of the four quarters represented in the jubilee scenes from the portal of Osorkon II (Naville, *Festival Hall*, pl. 11).

⁶ E.g. Brooklyn No. 48.28; Aldred, *N.K. Art²*, No. 82.

⁸ Cairo No. 38,257; *ibid.* 83, 84.

⁷ E.g. Brooklyn No. 59.19; *ibid.* No. 78.

⁹ E.g. Louvre, Salt Coll. No. 4691; Vandier, *Monuments Piot* 54, pl. 1.

¹⁰ Säve-Söderbergh, *op. cit.*, pls. i-vi.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

No. 76 where, in addition to statues and cultic equipment, jewellery and weapons are represented for the use of the newly crowned Tuthmosis IV.¹ The early date of this scene in the reign of the king is suggested by a statue of his mother Ti'a included among the cult objects.² The advent of this Pharaoh and the consequent production of a coronation series of statues is represented in a number of tombs (e.g. Nos. 75 and 77).

The accession of Amenophis III would also have necessitated a completely new set of cult images and liturgical apparatus and this is what was probably depicted in the tomb of Woserhēt (No. 47) since this official does not appear to have functioned in the later reign of his king. Tomb No. 226, also, belonging to an unknown Overseer of Tutors, evidently had a similar display of equipment, though the scene is greatly damaged.³ That these objects were made as a coronation series seems apparent from the youth of the king who is seen under the baldachin in the company of his mother, Mutemwiya.⁴

The *locus classicus* for such scenes, however, is to be found in the tomb of K̄enamūn, the Chief Steward of Amenophis II, and appears on the left-hand wall flanking the inner portal.⁵ The accompanying text speaks of the 'First Occasion of making a festivity in the Great Palace' (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) and goes on to speak of bringing gifts of the 'New Year' (𓏏𓏏): . . . 'chariots, statues, collars, weapons, the work of all craftsmen of the Delta towns (?)'. It looks, therefore, as though this was the very first consecration of such equipment in the reign of Amenophis II, even supposing that such a vast assemblage of gifts was supplied annually and not at the beginning of a new reign. Amenophis II is shown enthroned within the kiosk wearing the Atefu crown and supported by Ma'ēt. He surveys the display of objects, some of which have labels to show that despite their manufacture in the North, where K̄enamūn exercised his functions as Chief Steward in the estate of Peru-nūfer, they were destined for the temple at Karnak.

The nature and quantity of the goods on display militate strongly against the view that such a wealth of equipment can have been the normal annual output from the royal ateliers.⁶ The accompanying texts enumerate 450 quivers, 680 shields, 30 gold-tipped ebony staves, 360 bronze falchions, 140 bronze daggers, 20 spear-throwers,⁷ 58 ornamented horse-cloths. Such lavish provision is more likely to have been the proper regal outfit supplied for a young king who had just come to the throne. That this is indeed the case seems to be indicated by, among other things, the two great war chariots, one called 'The Syrian' (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) and made of wood from Naḥrin.

¹ Ibid., pl. lxxii.

² As it is probable that the accession of Tuthmosis IV took place between the two jubilees of Amenophis II (Aldred, *ZÄS* 94, 5), the objects may be gifts presented to both kings, with the equipment of Amenophis II taking precedence in a tomb of one of his adherents. The group referred to by Säve-Söderbergh (op. cit. 51) may represent Tuthmosis IV offering to his parents, rather than to himself and his mother. The larger statues, in fact, as most of the equipment, may have been prepared for Amenophis II, since the small statue of Tuthmosis IV is the only one of a king to be distinguished by name. The ruined state of the wall and the absence of a complementary scene make it impossible to be categorical.

³ Davies, *T. of Menkheperasonb*, pls. xli, xliii.

⁴ At their accession new kings sometimes appear with their mothers in the kiosk (e.g. in tombs Nos. 72, 226) or with the goddess Ma'ēt with the features of the Queen Mother. The Chief Queen puts in an appearance a little later.

⁵ Davies, *T. of K̄en-Amūn*, pls. xi-xxiv.

⁶ This has already been appreciated by Davies, see *T. of Two Officials*, 12.

⁷ For the recognition of these 'whips' as spear-throwers see Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 212.

Such vehicles can hardly have been supplied every year. Above all, a throne decorated with lion-heads, one of a pair, resembles in its general design the celebrated specimen belonging to Tutankhamūn.¹ The latter king took only two² state sedilia to the tomb with him, and since they bore the symbol and names of the Aten as well as of Amūn, they must have been made for him early in his reign and were still in use at his death, when they were buried with him as 'contaminated' material infused with his personal aura. We can surely exclude from consideration therefore that a Pharaoh would have been furnished with a new pair of thrones each year.

The same series of New Year offerings, but on a less generous scale, is evidently depicted in the tomb No. 96 belonging to the Mayor of Thebes, Sennūfer. A statue of Queen Merytrē^c Hatshepsut almost identical in design to the one shown in the Tomb of Kēnamūn is also included in the series of cult-images.³ The accompanying text speaks of 'offering the homage of the New Year (𐀀) the beginning of eternity and the end of everlastingness',⁴ which, as we have argued, strongly suggests the opening of a new reign rather than a mere year.

The owners of Tombs Nos. 47, 48, 73, 76, 92, and 226 had intimate contacts with the Palace, whether as Overseer of the Harīm, Chief Steward, Butler, Fan-Bearer, or Royal Tutor; and what they have left in their tombs is a record, mostly in a regrettably damaged state, of the outfits which they claim to have marshalled for their royal masters whether at their accession or jubilees. On the other hand, the owners of Tombs Nos. 75, 77, and 96 were respectively the Second Prophet of Amūn, Chief Sculptor, and Mayor of Thebes and the emphasis in their cases is more upon their responsibilities for manufacturing items for the royal outfit and installing some of them in the local shrines. Amenhotpe-sise, for instance, as Second Prophet of Amūn was concerned with building and other creative enterprises in Thebes, and his contribution to the coronation gifts of Tuthmosis IV came from the workshops of Amūn⁵ which would, of course, have been brought into requisition for helping to meet the sudden and exacting demand for equipment, particularly as much of it was destined for the temple of Amūn itself, once it had been consecrated.

Our concern has been entirely with the scenes represented in the tombs of the magnates of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As a theme for illustration it became less popular as time wore on and is almost unknown in the Theban tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Nevertheless, the function that it commemorated must still have been held and the reason for the disappearance of such representations is probably to be sought in the preoccupation of most of the tomb-owners during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties with scenes of strictly religious import.⁶

¹ Such traditional thrones decorated with lion-heads exist from the time of Chephren at least; cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, iv, 558d. It would appear that each Pharaoh had one such specimen. These thrones were regarded as charged with numinous power and were personal to each Pharaoh whose names they bore. Religious scruples would have prevented their being discarded annually in favour of a replacement.

² Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*, pls. x, xii.

³ Davies, *Bull. M.M.A.*, Dec. 1928, Section II, 46, fig. 6; id. *Kēn-Amūn*, pl. xvi.

⁴ *Urk.* iv, 1417: see also Bakir, *JEA* 39, 110.

⁵ Davies, *T. of Two Officials*, 12-15.

⁶ Cf. Vandier, *op. cit.* 535-6.

The writer does not wish to claim that the only occasion on which statues and palace furnishings were consecrated was at the coronation and jubilee of the king. Obviously a large new temple or palace built during the reign of any Pharaoh would demand its proper complement of ancillary equipment and this would doubtless be consecrated at the same time as the building was formally brought into use. Objects broken by accident or worn out by use would also require to be replaced during the reign and would give sporadic work to the appropriate craftsmen. In addition, small shrines and chapels within larger complexes built for the cult of a particular king or deity would have to be furnished with cult-images and liturgical vessels. Such equipment, particularly statues of gods, the king, or his ancestors, would normally have been consecrated by the Pharaoh himself, though there were evidently circumstances when he authorized a high official to act in his stead. This ceremony at Thebes would almost certainly have been an event held at irregular intervals but coinciding with one of the local feasts, particularly that of *Nḥb-kꜣw*. It seems to the writer likely that it was only on such occasions that the Pharaoh quitted Memphis or Piraḥmesse for the Southern City. Six statues of Ramesses III with accompanying altars, for instance, are represented in the mortuary chapel of the Mayor Paser from Medīnet Habu.¹ The statues were made at various times during the reign of Ramesses III but are shown together as though for consecration on one occasion before the king in his Window of Appearances. It is clear that these statues were provided by Paser, either through his own bounty, or by virtue of the responsibilities of his office; and for this favour or duty he is shown in a pendent scene being rewarded by the Court Chamberlains. This appears to be a theme distinctive of Twentieth-dynasty art, for Pennē in his tomb at 'Anība is shown in a closely similar pose being rewarded for presenting a statue of Ramesses VI to the temple of Horus of Miḥam,² though in his case the award is made before the Viceroy of Kush, since the Pharaoh had no opportunity nor inclination to visit the remote 'Anība and consecrate his statue.³

Such scenes, however, showing the occasional gift of a royal statue by a private person, have to be distinguished quite sharply from the extensive and opulent parade of the royal trousseaux before the enthroned kings represented in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is the writer's view of the evidence that such scenes were meant to convey that the Pharaoh had recently acceded or celebrated a jubilee. As a moment of glory in the lives of his officials it found an important place in the repertoire of subjects suitable for commemoration in their tomb chapels, showing them for a brief hour taking the stage before the 'god who had made them'.

¹ Schott, *Chapel of the Mayor Paser*, pl. 1.

² Cf. Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 230. The close correspondence between these scenes should be noted even to the same invocation for favour to the *Ka* of the Pharaoh, Amūn, and Mont. The two silver vessels containing unguent shown in the hands of Pennē doubtless give the details for the proper restoration of the objects held by Paser, since censers without handles would have been uncomfortable to use. A pair of silver vessels with anointing oil was apparently the standard return for the gift of a royal statue.

³ In an adjacent scene the statue is consecrated by the Viceroy, on behalf of the king, and the Steward Mey acting as lector (*loc. cit.*). The infrequent visits of the Pharaoh to the South is seen in the comparable scenes of the investiture of the High Priest Amenḥotpe at Thebes in the reign of Ramesses IX, where a statue (Federn, *Chron. d'Ég.* 34, 214) replaces the person of the king who was not present at the ceremony (Breasted, *A.R.* IV, § 495).

MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESSES II AT KARNAK

By G. A. GABALLA

DURING the work on my thesis *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, I had to deal with the war scenes of Ramesses II which occupy the exterior south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The wall is divided into two halves by a central doorway. The east half of the wall is divided into two parts by the west wall of the *Cour de la Cachette*. But while the right-hand section of this half is occupied by a scene showing the king and four princes presenting prisoners of war to the Theban Triad¹ and the so-called Poem of the Battle of Qadesh,² the left-hand part as well as the western half of the wall is occupied by war scenes distributed in three registers. Two parallel scenes showing the heraldic figure of Ramesses II smiting prisoners before Amen-Rē^c and topographical lists are shown on both sides nearest to the doorway.³ As in many other scenes from the Ramesside Period the central doorway marks the focal point towards which the events move.⁴ In scenes where the king is engaged in fighting his face is turned away from the doorway, whereas in scenes where he drives back to Egypt or presents prisoners to Amūn he faces the doorway.

While the war scenes on the western half of the doorway are well known,⁵ those on the eastern half, left-hand, are almost entirely unpublished. The reason for this is probably that these scenes on the east side lack the foreign place-names that have attracted attention to the rest of the wall. None the less, the absence of publication of these scenes leaves a gap in our knowledge, and hence their publication is desirable in order to complete the record. In the winter of 1962/3 my colleague Mr. K. A. Kitchen photographed the scenes and copied their texts. He has now been kind enough to lend me his photographs and put his copies at my disposal; for this I am sincerely grateful.

But before proceeding to describe the scenes on the eastern half of the wall, it should be pointed out that the publications of the scene on the top register, extreme right of the western half, are not complete either in Wreszinski or in Müller. In both works we see only the fort of *Iy*, the enemy, and the hoofs of the royal horses. We therefore include, in pl. XVI, the complete scene (cf. also fig. 1, left). On the right, Ramesses II

¹ Cf. Ch. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech*, MIFAO 55 (Le Caire, 1928), pl. xxv, and pp. 49-52; and M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, I (Washington, 1906), 42, and II (Washington, 1910), 110, fig. 35.

² Kuentz, op. cit., pls. VII-VIII, and pp. 24-46.

³ Cf. L.D. III, pls. 144, 145a; Müller, op. cit. I, pls. 59-63; and J. H. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh* (Chicago, 1903), pl. VII (right).

⁴ For example, the war scenes of Sethos I on the exterior north wall of the same hall, Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 34-53a, and the scenes of Ramesses II on the exterior north half of the east wall of the court of the Temple of Luxor; see K. A. Kitchen, *JEA* 50 (1964), 47-70.

⁵ Müller, op. cit., II, 104-8 and pls. 36-9; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, pls. 54-6a; and Breasted, op. cit., pl. VII (left).

(head lost) stands in his chariot shooting arrows at the enemy piled up in front and beneath the royal span. On the left is the fortified town of *Iy* raised on a hill. The explanatory legends accompanying the scene are in an appalling state of preservation. On the fort (fig. 2, A): [*Town captured*] by his majesty, *Iy*.^a

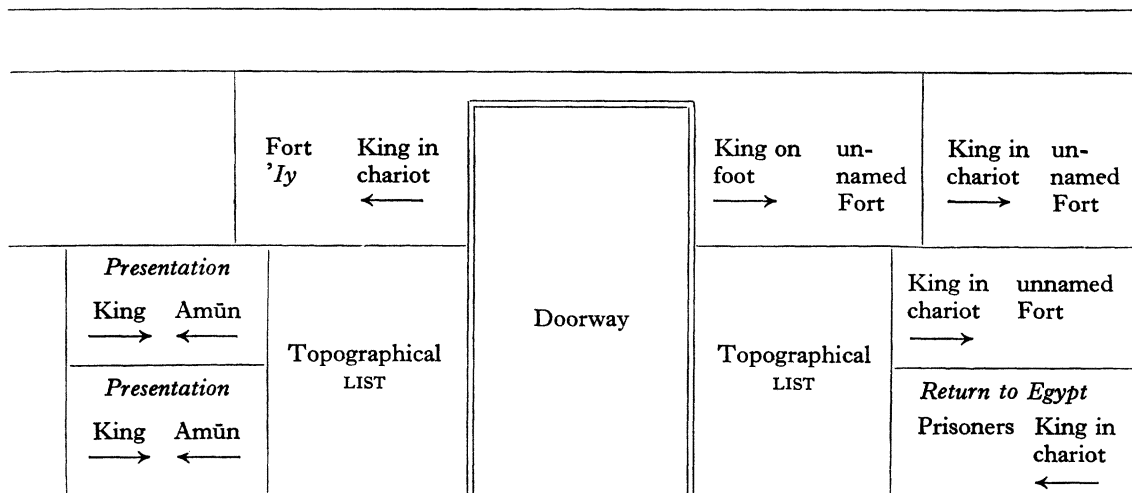


FIG. 1. Karnak, Hypostyle Hall, South Wall (Exterior). Diagram of scenes flanking the doorway

a. There is no space for any further sign between 𓏏 and 𓏏 as was implied in Müller's restoration.¹

The rhetorical text that once ran over the whole scene is badly damaged and we have only fragmentary words (fig. 2, B): [*Vic*]tory, strong-armed . . . [*his fea*]r . . . over all foreign lands.

Above the horses (fig. 2, C): *First Great Horse of his majesty, [Vic]tory in [Theb]es, from the stable of Usi[ma]rēr [Setepenrēr], beloved of Amūn.*

Furthermore, the damaged scene on the extreme right of the middle register shows the king presenting prisoners to Amen-Rēr.² Now, thanks to Mr. Kitchen's collation, the reading of the texts can be slightly improved. Hence, above Amūn we read (fig. 3, A): [*Words spoken by Amen-Rēr . . . : My son of (my) body*], my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands,^a Usi[ma]rēr [Setepenrēr], strong-armed . . . [*thou hast sea*]led it upon its north.^b [*Thy*] excellent [*fame*]^c has encircled every land. The fear of thee [*has pene*]trated^d the foreign lands. Thou art as Horus chief of the Two Lands^e . . . chiefs . . . see . . . thy victories, foreign countries being beneath thy sandals.

a. For parallels cf. texts of Sethos I at Karnak, C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Historische Inschriften der 19. Dynastie*, Teil I (*Bibl. Aeg.* IV), 7, ll. 15-16; *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 101, ll. 1-2, etc.

b. *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 101, l. 5.

c. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 12, ll. 7-8; and *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 101, ll. 5-6.

d. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 12, l. 8; and *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 101, l. 6.

e. *Ibid.*; and *R(eliefs and) I(nscriptions at) K(arnak)*, III, pls. 3, 5, l. 8.

¹ *Op. cit.* II, 105, fig. 31.

² *Ibid.* II, pl. 39 (middle, right).

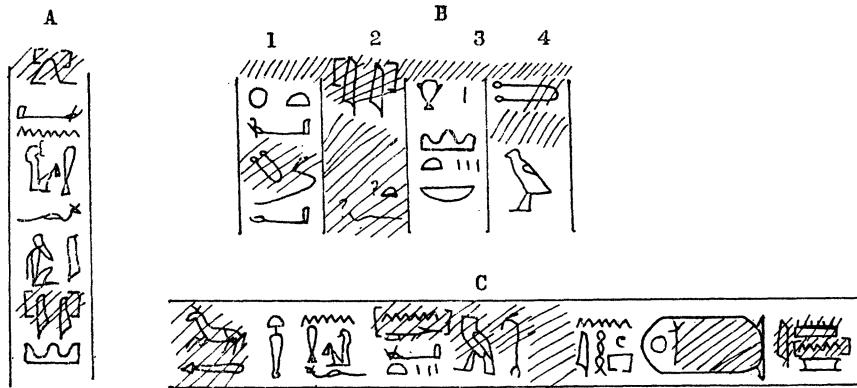


FIG. 2.

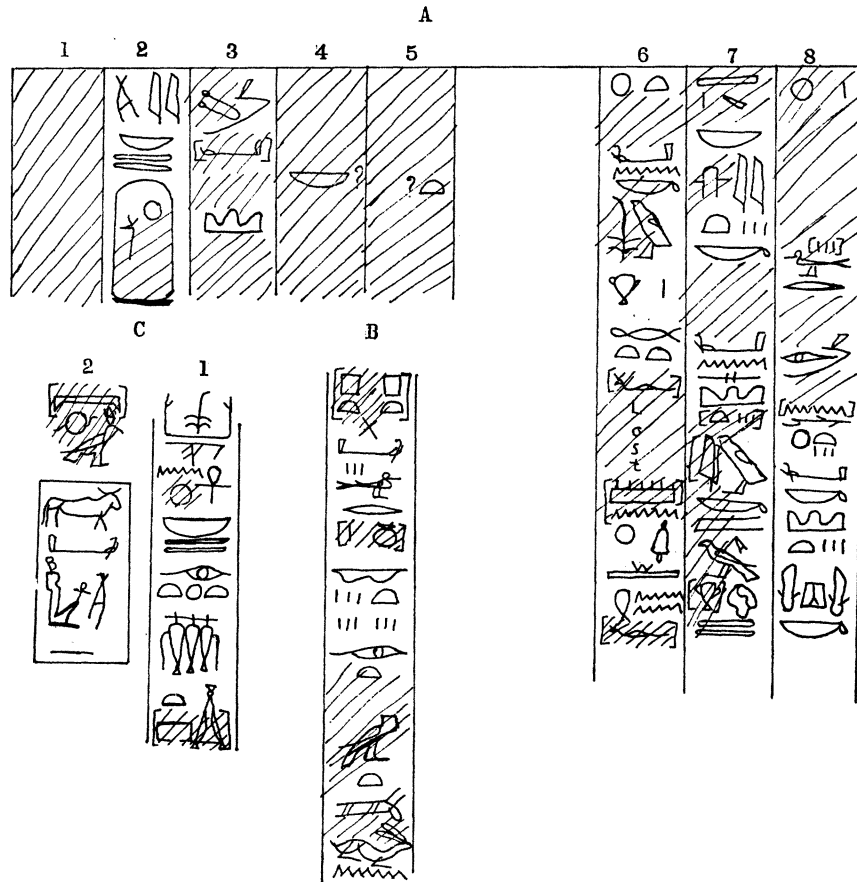


FIG. 3.

Below the king's arm (fig. 3, B): *Trampling the chiefs [of] the Nine Bows, making [them] as non-existent.*

Behind the king (fig. 3, C): *The living ka of the king, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord performing ceremonies, who is before $\underline{D}b\dot{s}t$,¹ Horus strong Bull, beloved of Maat.*

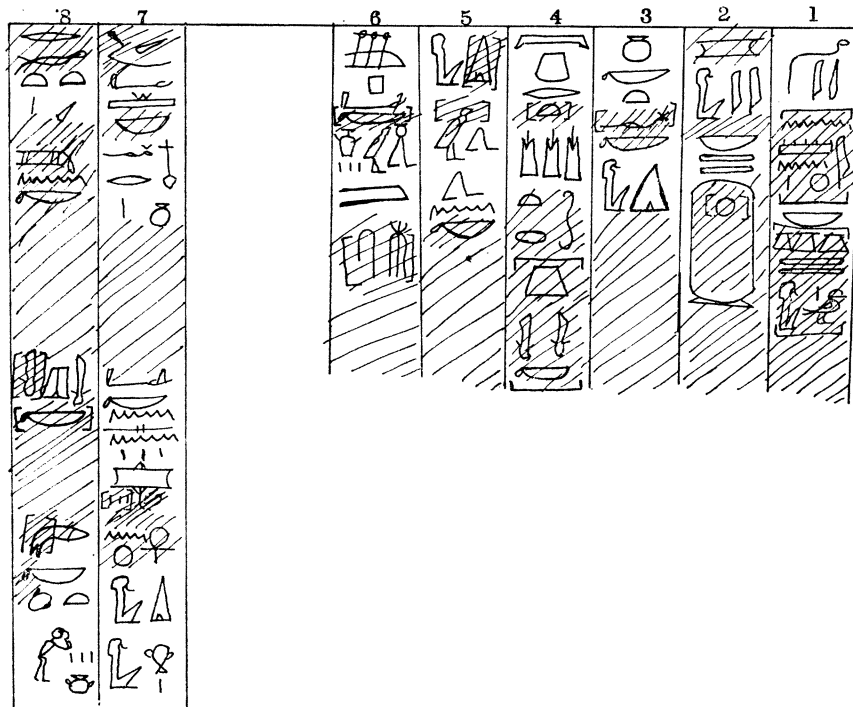


FIG. 4.

Moving to the eastern half of the wall (fig. 1, right), we find nearest to the doorway a scene showing the king smiting enemies in front of Amen-Rē^c who offers him the sickle-sword, symbol of victory, and a topographical list. This scene is partially published.² The text before and above Amūn, however, can be further improved, thus running as follows (fig. 4): *Words spoken by [Amen-Rē^c] Lord [of the Thrones of the Two Lands: My bodily son],^a my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands [Usimarēc Setepenrēc], I am thy father. I put [thy fame in] Upper and Lower [Retenu],^b the natives of Nubia being [under thy sandals]. I cause [the chiefs of the Southern lands]^c to come to thee. [They cause thee]^c to receive tribute with [their]^d children and every good gift of [their lands, seeking that]^e thou shalt give them the breath [of] life. I turn my face to the North, [I] work a wonder [for thee. I smite for thee the Red Land]^f under thy sandals, [so that thou mayst trample tens of thousands of]^g the rebellious.*

a. For parallels, cf. *supra*, p. 83, and note a; *dd mdw i[n]* and *nb*, given by Lepsius.

b. Cf. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 7, l. 16, and *RIK* I, pl. 5, l. 7.

c. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 7, ll. 17-18, *RIK* I, pl. 5, ll. 8-9; cf. also *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 102, ll. 3-4.

d. *RIK* I, pl. 5, l. 9 and *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 102, ll. 4-5; *ms[w]* seen by Lepsius.

¹ On (*hnty*) *dbst*, see Kees, *Rec. Trav.* 36 (1914), I ff., 15-16.

² *L.D.* III, pl. 145a; for the list see Simons, *Handbook*, list xxiv, cf. also Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 24 (72).

e. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 7, l. 18; and *RIK* I, pl. 5, ll. 9-10.

f. *Ibid.*, ll. 10-11 and *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 102, ll. 8-9.

g. *RIK*, loc. cit., ll. 11-12, and *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 102, ll. 9-10.

On the top register two scenes are depicted. The left-hand one shows Ramesses II on foot attacking a two-tier fort (pl. XVII). The king holds a shield and spear in one hand and another spear in the other. The enemy are seen either falling out of the fort or raising their hands in submission. No texts at all remain and the name of the fort was never inscribed.

The right-hand scene shows the king (head lost) in his chariot, smiting an enemy chieftain who holds a bow (pl. XVIII). The enemy's chariot, seen beneath the galloping horses of Pharaoh, runs amuck towards the fort. Enemy corpses are heaped up between the charging king on the left and the walls of the fortified city on the right. Others of the foe hurry towards the city while those within show signs of surrender. No texts were inscribed in this scene either, except on the fort where we find (fig. 5, c): *Town which the strong arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H., captured . . .*; the name of the city was never written.

In the middle register there is only one scene (pl. XIX), showing the king charging an unnamed city. Badly mutilated, Ramesses aims an arrow at the town, its inhabitants being already pierced by his arrows; one of them burns incense as a sign of surrender. The royal span is depicted in full gallop over the enemy. Among the latter is the enemy chieftain standing in his chariot while looking back on the victorious Pharaoh. The figure of the chieftain is, naturally, shown on a smaller scale than that of the king. The explanatory legends run as follows:

Before and above the royal span (fig. 5, A): *Long live the good god, powerful of strength, a hero valiant like Montu, the mightiest [of the mighty]^a like the one who begat him, the strength [of the two lords is in his actions],^b who treads upon the battle-field like him in Ombos. The fear of him is like (that of) Baral in the foreign lands, valiant without his equal (lit. second) whose hand is outstretched.*

a. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 10, l. 12.

b. *Ibid.* 10, ll. 12-13.

Above the horses (fig. 5, B): [*First Great*] *Horse of his majesty, Victory in Thebes . . .*

The bottom register contains only one scene, the return to Egypt (pl. XX). The king is seen driving his chariot towards the doorway. In front and below the horses are two lines of bound captives. Although the legends accompanying this scene do not offer any specific information, some of them show interesting turns of phrase.

Over the prisoners and the royal span (fig. 6, A): [*The good god*]^a *has come back after he had triumphed over the chiefs [of] all forei[gn lands].^b He has trampled under-foot the rebellious foreign lands who have attacked^c his boundaries. He [is like Montu?].^d He received the mace^e like Horus in [his] panop[ly], his [bow]^f being with him like Bastet. His arrow is [like (that of) the son of]^f Nut. No foreign country can stand before him . . . Terror of him is in their hearts. All [rebellious?] foreign lands . . . having become^g at peace . . . He has made an end of them. He who stands on the battle-field, ignoring [the*

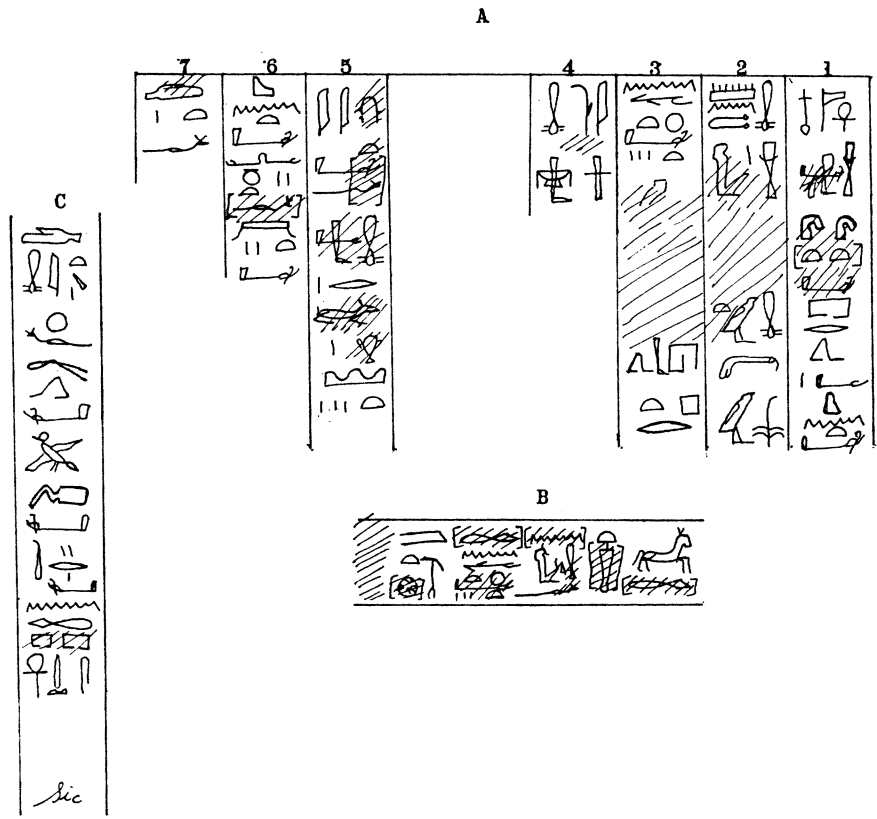


FIG. 5.

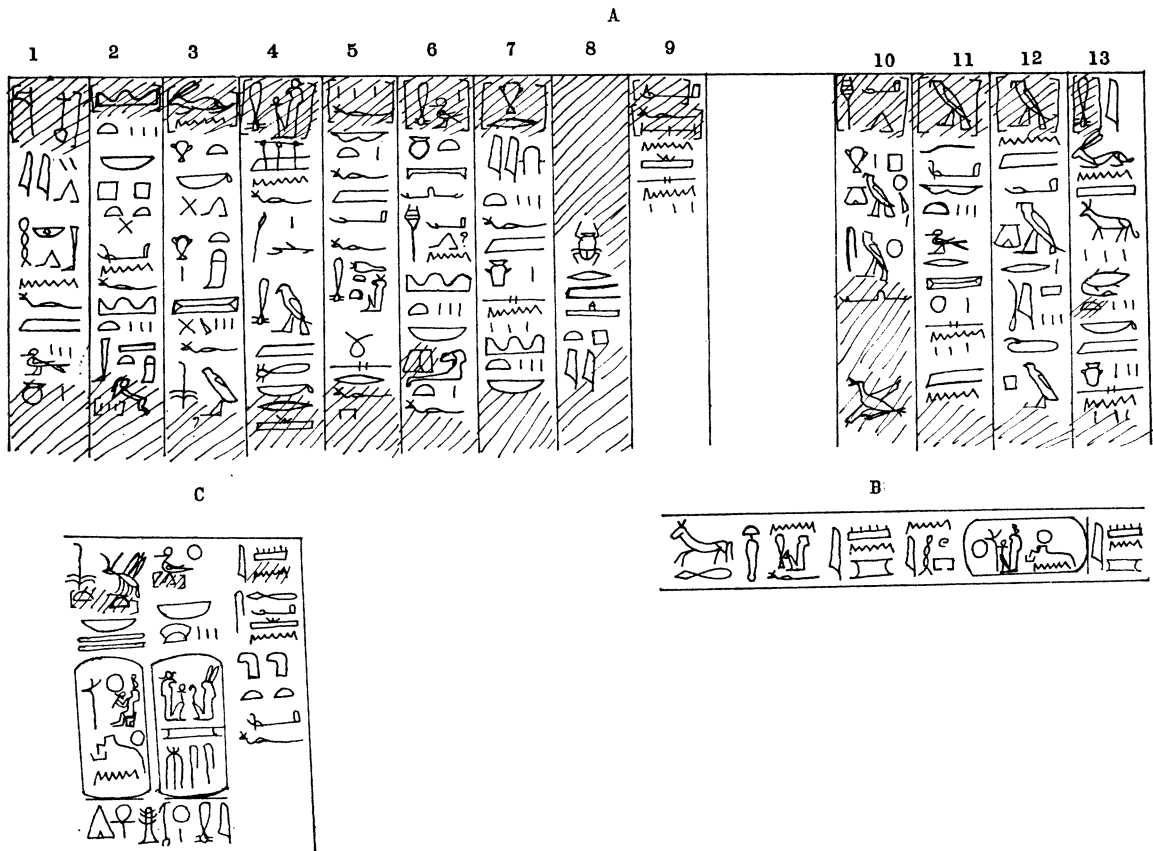


FIG. 6.

bearers of the bows].^f They spend the time in t[he] caves^h hiding like jackals—the fear of theeⁱ is in their hearts.

The parallel of this text accompanies the scene of the king returning from war on the bottom register of the west side of this same wall.¹

a. Although no traces are preserved, it is possible to restore 𓆎[†] in accordance with the parallel text, Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pl. 56a.

b. Of *h:swt* only the sign 𓂀 and traces of the 𓂁 remain.

c. Read [wn] *hr tk*: see the parallel text, Wreszinski, loc. cit.

d. Cf. *ibid.* for Montu; but here the name would appear as a monogram.

e. 𓂀 should be taken as a second determinative. It is placed after the sign 𓂁 for practical reasons.

f. Restored after the parallel text, Wreszinski, loc. cit.

g. Traces of 𓆎 *hpr* are visible, cf. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 11, l. 13. As for *htp*, we suggest *htpyw*, cf. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, loc. cit., and the Marriage Stela of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, ll. 13, 32 (*htpw*).² Moreover, cf. *Bibl. Aeg.* IV, 11, ll. 12–13 for the same phraseology arranged slightly differently and containing *bst:w*, which would fit in l. 8 here.

h. *Mgrt*, Semitic loan word, cf. Arabic مغارة and Hebrew מַעְרָה.

i. Here the suffix pronoun is second person singular instead of third person, as if the last sentence is addressed to the king.

Above the royal span (fig. 6, B): *First Great Horse of his majesty 'Beloved of Amūn' from the stable of Usimarēc Setepenrēc, beloved of Amūn.*

Before the king (fig. 6, C) are his titles ending with: *Whose valour Amūn has magnified.*

It is unfortunate that the names of the two forts depicted on the east side of the doorway were never inscribed. Nevertheless, these scenes undoubtedly represent part of Ramesses II's military activities in Palestine and Syria. Therefore, they tie up with the scenes on the western side of the doorway as well as the minor war scenes at the temple of Luxor,³ the Ramesseum,⁴ and some Nubian temples.⁵

¹ Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pl. 56a (middle).

² Kuentz, *Ann. Serv.* 25 (1925), 197, 212, 228, 231.

³ Cf. Kitchen, op. cit.; Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II, 108–9 (117–25).

⁴ *Ibid.* II, 154 (33–5).

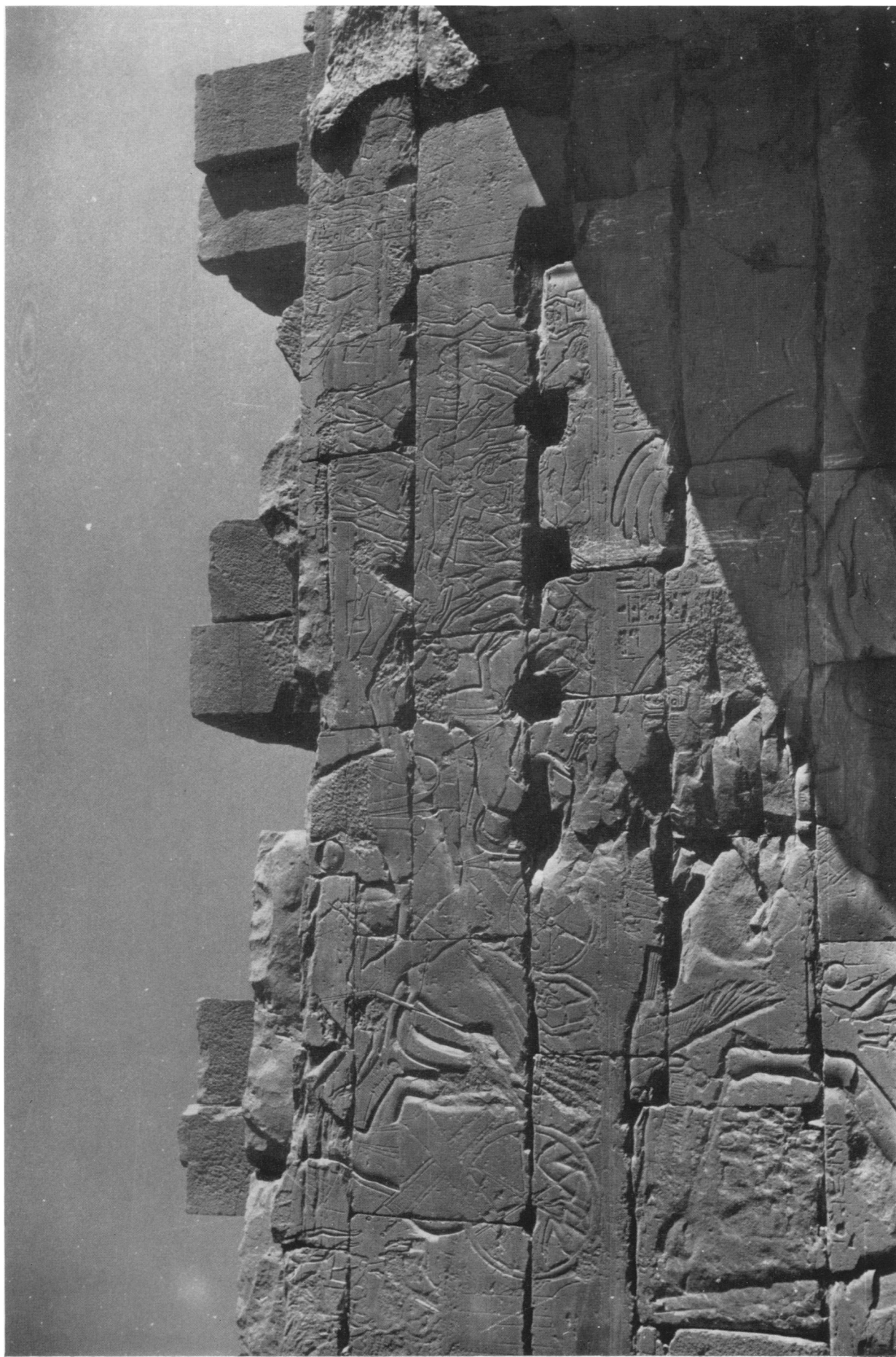
⁵ *Ibid.* VII, *passim*.



Hypostyle Hall, South Wall. West of Doorway
MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESES II AT KARNAK



Hypostyle Hall, South Wall. East of Doorway, upper left scene
MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESSES II AT KARNAK



Hypostyle Hall, South Wall. East of Doorway, upper right scene
MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESSES II AT KARNAK



Hypostyle Hall, South Wall. East of Doorway, middle scene
MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESSES II AT KARNAK



Hypostyle Hall, South Wall. East of Doorway, lower scene

MINOR WAR SCENES OF RAMESES II AT KARNAK

'IW·F [HR] TM SDM IN LATE EGYPTIAN

By SARAH ISRAELIT-GROLL

This article is offered as a late tribute to my teacher Professor Černý on the occasion of his seventieth birthday

AMONG the more obscure grammatical phenomena of Late Egyptian¹ are the various affirmative sentence-patterns in which the first position is filled by *iw*, the second by an actor-expression (either the pronominal suffix or a noun), the third by the preposition *hr* (or [*hr*]), and the fourth by an infinitive; i.e. *iw·f* [*hr*] *sdm*.

§ 1. Using time conveyance as the criterion of classification, three distinct *iw·f* [*hr*] *sdm* patterns are obtained, referring to:

I. The past (Pattern I):

Ex. 1: 'When I was coming (*hr wnn tw·i* [*m*] *nꜣy*) . . . I found (*iw·i* [*hr*] *gm*) A and B' (*LRL* 45, 7–8; cf. Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 141, v);

Ex. 2: 'Be silent and we will give you a *dꜣiw*-garment (*i·gr·tw iw·n* [*r*] *dꜣ·t n·k wꜣ·dꜣiw*). Thus they said to him. And [indeed] they gave him a *dꜣiw*-garment (*iw·w* [*hr*] *dꜣ·t wꜣ·dꜣiw*)' (B.M. 10052, 10, 7–8).

II. The future (Pattern II):

Ex. 3: 'When Pharaoh . . . appears (*wnn pr·ꜣꜣ* . . . *hr shꜣy*) . . . I shall [immediately] inform him (*iw·i hr dꜣ·t ꜣmꜣ·tw*) about them . . .' (*HO*, pl. 75, 16–18; cf. Baer, op. cit. 138, f).

III. The relative present (Pattern III):

Ex. 4: 'I saw A (*ptr·i A*) stealing your chisel (*iw·s* [*hr*] *itꜣ pꜣy·k hꜣ*)' (*HO*, pl. 46, 2 rt. 5–6);

Ex. 5: 'We pray . . . every day (*tw·n* [*hr*] *dd* . . . *m mn·t*) and I do not tire (*iw b*[*w*])

¹ The following abbreviations appear in this article:

Abbott = Pap. Abbott, publ. in Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, Oxford, 1930, vol. II, pls. 1–IV.

B.M. 10052 = *ibid.*, pls. xxv–xxxv. B.M. 10383 = *ibid.*, pl. xxii.

Černý, *Ostraca D.M.* = Černý, *Catalogue des Ostraca non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, Cairo, 1937.

Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, *CGC* = *Catalogue générale . . . Caïre, Ostraca hiératiques*, Cairo, 1931–5.

Hintze, *Untersuchungen* = Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache*, 1–II, Berlin, 1950–2.

HO = Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Oxford, 1957.

LES = Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Brussels, 1932.

LRL = Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, Brussels, 1939.

Mayer A = Pap. Mayer A, pub. in Peet, *The Mayer Papyri*, London, 1930, pls. 1–13.

Polotsky, *CCS* = Polotsky, 'Coptic Conjugation System', *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 392–422.

Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* = Proc. Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities II, 5, Jerusalem, 1965.

Polotsky, *Études* = Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, Cairo, 1944.

RAD = Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, London, 1948.

Sauneron, *Ostraca D.M.* = Sauneron, *Catalogue des Ostraca non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, Cairo, 1959.

iri-i knw) from praying to them (*iw-i [hr] smꜣꜥ-t m rn-w*—lit. “while I pray by their names”) (*LRL* 31, 5-12; cf. Korostovtsev, *JEA* 49 (1963), 173-4).

§ 2. However, when using mode of negation and substitution capabilities as the principles of classification, only two distinct *iw-f [hr] sdm* patterns are obtained. Patterns I and II are both negated by placing the morpheme *tm* immediately before the infinitive when the actor-expression is a pronominal suffix, i.e. *iw-f hr tm sdm* (and cf. exx. 20-40 below); with the nominal actor-expression, *tm* is often placed after the *iw*, i.e. *iw tm A [hr] sdm*:

Ex. 6: ‘A merchant came and recognized the mast, but the prince refused to give it to him (*iw tm pꜣ hꜣty-ꜥ [hr] di-t-f n-f*)’ (B.M. 10383, 3, 1-2);

Ex. 7: ‘And the vizier A failed to come with them (*iw tm tꜣty A hr iy hꜣꜥ-w*)’ (Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, *CGC* 25504, vs. Col. II, 5).

In contrast to Patterns I and II, Pattern III is negated by placing the morphemes *iw bn* immediately before the pronominal preformatives of the First Present, i.e. *iw bn sw [hr] sdm*. This rule is based on the fact that the *iw-f hr sdm* which functions as a virtual relative clause referring to present time (when qualifying bare or undefined nouns) is negated by *iw bn sw hr sdm*. Compare:

Ex. 8: ‘. . . messengers (*wꜣw-[tyw]*) . . . who do not scare (*iw bn st [hr] snd*)’ (*LES* 58, 3-4);

with

Ex. 9: ‘. . . someone from among you (*wꜥ-im-tꜣn*) who understands Egyptian (*iw-f [hr] sdm . . .*)’ (*LES* 75, 5); (cf. A. de Buck, *JEA* 23 (1937), 161, n. o; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 58, and Stricker, *Acta Orientalia* 16 (1938), 81 ff.).

Since the pronominal suffix cannot fill the initial position of a Conjugation Pattern—*. . . f hr tm sdm**¹ not being morphologically a self-sufficient Conjugation Pattern—we may classify the *iw* in *iw-f hr tm sdm* as a conjugation carrier, that is, a mandatory element enabling the pronominal suffix to function as the actor of a Conjugation Pattern. In contrast, since *[bn] sw hr sdm* is morphologically a self-sufficient unit, the *iw* preceding it in *iw bn sw hr sdm* is found to be morphologically a facultative element, i.e. a Converter.

§ 3. Thus, two sorts of *iw* are to be distinguished here: (i) that preceding immediately and necessarily the pronominal suffix, i.e. the *iw* filling the first position of *iw-f hr sdm* of the past and of the future (and of *iw-f [r] sdm*); and (ii) that which is

¹ Polotsky, *CCS*, § 10. Korostovtsev (*JEA* 49 (1963), 173-4), accepting Erman’s classification, maintains that *iw-f hr sdm* in Late Egyptian corresponds to Coptic Second Present. However Coptic Second Present is neither the morpho-syntactic equivalent of *iw-f hr sdm* of the past and the future nor that of *iw-f hr sdm* of the relative present. The morpho-syntactic peculiarities of the Coptic Second Present are: (1) its being followed necessarily by an adverbial adjunct (contrary to Patterns I, II, and III in Late Egyptian, and cf. Polotsky, *Études*, § 27); (2) the capability of its $\epsilon\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$ (second position) to interchange either with adverbial phrases or with the Stative (contrary to Patterns I and II; corresponding to Pattern III; cf. Polotsky, *CCS*, § 30); (3) as for the mode of negation, since Coptic Second Present is negated by $\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha} \Delta\eta$ —it is not identical either with $\epsilon\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha} \Delta\eta$ (*iw bn tw-i hr sdm*) or with $\epsilon\eta\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\omega\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$ (*iw-i [hr] tm sdm*) (Polotsky, *CCS*, § 28, p. 408 obs.).

morphologically a free morpheme facultatively preceding any Conjugation Pattern capable of functioning as an initial main sentence.

§ 4. As for substitution capabilities, *hr sdm* of Patterns I and II (negated by placing *tm* immediately before *sdm*) is interchangeable neither with adverbial phrases nor with the Stative; that is, Patterns I and II belong to the category of non-Durative tenses. In contrast, *hr sdm* of Pattern III, following the preformatives of the First Present in *iw bn sw hr sdm*, is interchangeable either with adverbial phrases or with the Stative; and cf.

Ex. 10: 'A coffin (*wr-wt*) which is smooth (*iw·f nr*), which is not painted (*iw bn sw mdn·w*)' (Berlin Pap. 10496, rt. 12-13);¹ that is, Pattern III belongs to the category of the Durative tenses. Thus, in spite of the formal uniformity, *hr sdm* of Pattern III belongs to a different substitution-table from that of Patterns I and II.

This is perhaps confirmed by the following: Infinitives of verbs of motion (*šm*, *iy*, *snī*) and of the verb *mwt ds·f* (to commit suicide), when following the preformatives of the First Present, are incapable of being followed by the reflexive dative; cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 81-91. However, the incompatibility with the reflexive dative does not exist within the framework of non-Durative tenses; for instance, within (a) the Third Future (*LES* 17, 11; 23, 5; 14, 9); (b) the Conjunctive (*LES* 24, 12); (c) the non-Initial Prospective *sdm·f* (*LES* 12, 11); and (d) the *wn in·f hr šm* pattern (*LES* 18, 5). Since infinitives of verbs of motion, when filling the fourth position of Pattern I, are capable of being followed by the reflexive dative, the infinitive of Pattern I is found to share the same syntactic peculiarity as those belonging to the non-Durative tenses (the incompatibility of the reflexive dative with Durative tenses in Coptic was first pointed out to me by H. J. Polotsky during his lectures).

§ 5. This is the rule when *hr mwt* is followed by *ds·f*: when these words are used within the framework of Pattern I they are necessarily accompanied by the reflexive dative; but when they follow the preformatives of the First Present, the absence of the reflexive dative is regular. Thus compare:

Ex. 11: 'And when he realized that crimes deserving death are those which he committed, he committed suicide (*iw·f [hr] mwt n·f hr ds·f*)';

with

Ex. 12: 'And when the officials in charge of him learned that he had committed suicide (*rdd sw [hr] mwt ds·f*)' (Pap. Lee, 2, 4; *JEA* 49 (1963), pl. XI, 11-12); and cf. also Turin Jud. Pap. 5, 4; 5, 6; 5, 7; 5, 8; 5, 9; 5, 10. Hence, it follows that the formal uniformity of Patterns I and II, on the one hand, and Pattern III, on the other, is only superficial. The lack of orthographic distinction of the morphological properties of each *iw·f hr sdm* pattern raises the difficulty of distinguishing between them. It is only their negative corresponding patterns which reveal the exclusive syntactic conditions under which each pattern occurs.

¹ I owe this reference to Professor Černý.

The purpose of this paper is to single out the syntactic force of *iw·f hr tm sdm* of the past and of the future, in contradistinction to *iw bn sw hr sdm* and *iw bwpw·f sdm*.

iw bn sw hr sdm

§ 6. Function I: the capability of serving as a predicate, of which the Emphatic *sdm·f (i·iri·f sdm)* is the subject:¹

Ex. 13: 'It is in spite of the fact that they have failed to give any cakes to the temple (*iw bn tw·tw [hr] di·t ckw . . .*) that they have kept on telling me (*iw iri·tw [sic] r dd*): Give them (the taxes)' (Pap. Mallet I, vs. 18–19). The *iw bn sw hr sdm* fulfilling Function I may be replaced by adverbial phrases;

Ex. 14: 'The tomb to which you went, in what (*mi ih*) state was it, that you found it (*i·iri·k gmi st mi ih*)?' (B.M. 10052, I, 16). Thus, inasmuch as *mi ih* of ex. 14 is capable of functioning as the predicate of *i·iri·k gmi st*, so too is *iw bn tw·tw [hr] di·t* of ex. 13 as the predicate of *i·iri·tw [sic] r dd*, i.e. *iw bn tw·tw hr sdm* is capable of functioning as a predicative adverb-equivalent.

§ 7. Function II: the capability of serving as the negative counterpart of an infinitival adjunct (i.e. *hr sdm* lacking an actor-expression of its own). This is confirmed by the capability of *iw bn sw hr sdm* of filling either the second or the third position of verbal-compounds; cf. Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 96; a verbal-compound is a syntactic unit composed of two or three elements: (1) a Conjugation Pattern; (2–3) either *hr sdm* and/or Stative not following an actor-expression of its own (i.e. not following the morphemes *iw·f*). Compare:

Ex. 15: 'And she saw the Ennead sitting (*iw·sn hms[·w]*—first position) eating (*hr wnm*—second position)' (*LES* 44, 6–7);

with

Ex. 16: 'I have spent three years . . . sitting (*iw·i hms·k*—first position) without having intercourse with a woman (*iw bn tw·i hr ck r pr*—second position)' (Leiden Pap. 371, vs. 34–7).

We may assume that the negative counterpart of *hr wnm* in ex. 15 is *iw bn tw·i hr ck* in ex. 16, both filling the second position of a verbal-compound the first position of which is filled by *iw·f hms·w*.

§ 8. Function III: the capability of serving as a virtual relative clause when following bare or undefined nouns (*LES* 58, 3), i.e. the Converter *iw* serves a purpose parallel to *nty* (compare with *LES* 40, 2).

§ 9. Function IV: the capability of following the conjunction *hr* functioning as a clause:

Ex. 17: '. . . and in spite of that, he is not convinced (lit. he cannot see—*hr iw bn sw [hr] nw*)' (*LES* 55, 15).

iw bwpw·f sdm

§ 10. Function I: the capability of serving as predicate of an Emphatic *sdm·f*:

Ex. 18: 'It is only because they had heard of it (*mḏr sdm[·w] sw*) and not because they

¹ Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 19.

had come with us (*iw bwpw·w šm . . .*) that we bribed them (*i·iri·n di·t n·w . . .*)' (B.M. 10052, 5, 19); compare with § 6.

§ 11. Function II: the capability of filling the second or third position when following a Conjugation Pattern composed with *gmī* ('to find'):

Ex. 19: 'The men were found (*gmy·n3 rm̄t*) not to have come in contact with any place (*iw bwpw·w rh s·t nb·t*)' (Abbott, 7, 13–14); and cf. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 4; compare also with § 7. When fulfilling Function II, *iw bwpw·f sdm* is interchangeable either with nouns or with adverbs.

§ 12. Function III: the capability of functioning as a virtual relative clause (cf. Abbott, rt. 5, 2–3); compare with § 8.

§ 13. Function IV: the capability of following the conjunction *hr* serving as a clause (cf. *RAD* 72, 10–11); compare with § 9.

§ 14. Since *bn tw·tw hr sdm* and *bwpw·f sdm*, when following the Converter *iw*, convey common syntactic capabilities reacting equally to similar syntactic conditions, it may be concluded that the *iw*, their only common denominator, is the morpheme enabling entirely different Conjugation Patterns to fulfil the same syntactic functions.

Thus, the Converter *iw* is a morpheme which is capable of preceding any Sentence Conjugation Pattern (i.e. a Conjugation Pattern capable of functioning as an initial main sentence) permitting it to function syntactically as (i) a predicative adverb equivalent (Function I), (ii) a non-predicative adverb-equivalent (Function II), (iii) a virtual relative clause (Function III), or (iv) a clause composed with conjunctions (Function IV).

***iw·f [hr] tm sdm* of the past**

§ 15. Function Ia: the *iw·f hr tm sdm* (third element) of the past is preceded immediately by a Conjugation Pattern (first element) referring to past time followed by the phrase *r dd* or *mdd* and either a direct or an indirect imperative (second element). On the one hand, the actor of the Conjugation Pattern composing the first element and the person giving the command of the second element are always identical; on the other hand, the actor of the Conjugation Pattern composing the third element and the receiver of the command are also identical. Thus, *iw·f [hr] tm sdm* fulfilling Function Ia states the non-execution of the command postulated by the imperative and may, therefore, be translated as a failure or refusal:

Ex. 20: 'A wrote saying (*iw A [hr] h3b r-dd*—first element): "Give up the mast (*imi p3-h̄t*—second element)" . . ., but the prince refused to give it up (*iw p3 h3ty·r [hr] tm di·t·f*—third element)' (B.M. 10383, 3, 3–4);

Ex. 21: 'I wrote to the inspectors saying (*iw·i hr h3b n n3-rw̄d mdd*—first element): "Give me someone to bring me to the south (*[imi] n·i rm̄t r in·t tw·[i] r-rsw*—second element)," but they failed to send me anyone (*iw·sn hr tm [h3b] rm̄t nb*—third element)' (*HO* I, pl. xxx, vs. 4–6);

Ex. 22: ‘. . . “Cause . . . in order to offer some incense to the god (*imi . . . r fš sntr n p; ntr*—second element),” but you failed to do it for me (*iw·k hr tm ir[·t]·f n·i*—third element)’ (Anast. IX, 14);

Ex. 23: ‘I wrote to her saying (*iw·i hr hšb n·s hr*—first element): “(Send) it back (*imi tw·f*—second element),” but she refused to (return it) (*iw·s hr tm [dī·t·f]*—third element)’ (Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques, CGC*, 25725, 3);

Ex. 24: ‘This is to inform you about the things which I have given to the scribe A saying (*r·dī·t rh·tw p; y* [sic] *dī·i n šš A r dd*—first element): “Order that I should be repaid with three (pieces) of wood, (some) vegetables, and fish (*imi didi* [i.e. *dī·tw*] *n·i ht 3 sm·w rm·w*—second element),” but he (scribe A) has failed to hand them over to me up to this day (*iw·f [hr] tm dī·t·w n·i šš p; hrw*—third element)’ (Sauneron, *Ostraca D.M.* 592, 1–3).

§ 16. Function Ib: the second element of Function Ib is composed of an imperative followed by the non-Initial Prospective *sdm·f*¹ conveying together a potential Future. In other words, the potential is conveyed by the non-Initial Prospective *sdm·f*, whereas the *a priori* condition necessary for its fulfilment is conveyed by the imperative:

Ex. 25: ‘[I wrote to you] saying (*r dd*—first element): “Come and get (lit. so that you may receive—*mi šsp·k*—second element),” but you failed to come (*iw·k [hr] tm iy*—third element)’ (Černý, *Ostraca D.M.* 434, vs. 1–3);

Ex. 26: ‘He urged me (*iw·f hr dd n·i*—first element): “Come that we may spend an hour lying (*mi iri·n wnw·t sdr·n*—second element),” . . . but I refused to listen to him (*iw·i hr tm sdm n·f*—third element)’ (*LES* 14, 4–6).

§ 17. Function Ic: the second element belonging to Function Ic is either *iw·i [r] sdm* or an Initial Prospective *sdm·i* (the actor of either verb-form is in the first person). The *iw·i r sdm* pattern conveys an action that the actor would be willing to perform on his own initiative, whereas the Initial Prospective *sdm·i* conveys an action that the actor swears by a god to perform:

Ex. 27: ‘And I urged (*iw·i [hr] dd*—first element): “I won’t go (*bn iw·i [r] šm*—second element),” and (indeed) I refused to go (*iw·i [hr] tm šm*—third element)’ (B.M. 10052, 12, 8–10);

Ex. 28: ‘And he promised (*iw·f hr dd*—first element): “I will bring you . . . (*iw·i r in·t n·k . . .*—second element),” but he failed to bring it (*[iw·f] hr tm in·t*—third element)’ (Sauneron, *Ostraca D.M.* 558, rt. 5–6);

Ex. 29: ‘Now the scribe A . . . made this prophet of Khnum take an oath by the Ruler saying (first element): “I will not let him enter carrying the god until he accomplishes his days of drinking natron (*bn dī·i ck·f*—second element),” but he (the prophet) refused to obey . . . (*iw·f [hr] tm sdm*—third element)’ (*RAD* 75, 5–8).

§ 18. Function Id: the first element is followed by adverbial phrases indicating

¹ See Polotsky, ‘Aegyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation’, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 271; Hintze, *Untersuchungen*, 186.

purpose (r + infinitive) or expectation (r - $h\dot{s}$ - t - A). The actor of $iw\cdot f$ [hr] tm $s\dot{d}m$ (third element) and the implied actor of the r + infinitive (or the A of the r - $h\dot{s}$ - t - A) are identical:

Ex. 30: 'As for me, I gave ten $s\dot{b}$ -cakes . . . to the water-carrier A in order that he should take them (r - $i\dot{t}$ - w) to the mayor (first element), and he (duly) took them (second element), but he failed to hand them over to him ($iw\cdot f$ [hr] tm $d\dot{i}$ - t - w $n\cdot f$ —third element)' (Sauneron, *Ostraca D.M.* 580, rt. 1-5);

Ex. 31: 'I sent him to hand over ($[r]$ + $d\dot{i}$ - t) a pot of fish-oil to the . . . (first element) and he (duly) took [it] (second element), but he failed ($iw\cdot f$ [hr] tm —third element)' (Sauneron, *Ostraca D.M.* 569, 8-11);

Ex. 32: 'He gave me a flank of a skin for me to work it (r + $b\dot{s}$ - k), but I did not split it ($iw\cdot i$ hr tm $p\dot{s}$ - s)' (*HO*, pl. 65, 2, vs. 6-8);

Ex. 33: 'And A, my mother, came to till (r + $s\dot{k}$) the portion of B, my father, but they prevented her from tilling [it] ($iw\cdot tw$ tm [sic] hr $d\dot{i}$ - t $s\dot{k}$)' (*Mes*, N 5);

Ex. 34: 'And the crew went up to the Valley of the Kings, awaiting the vizier (r - $h\dot{s}$ - t - $t\dot{y}$), but he failed to come to them ($iw\cdot f$ [hr] tm $i\dot{w}$ $n\cdot w$)' (Černý, *Ostraca D.M.* 148, rt. II, 18-19).

§ 19. *Since the time relationship between a command, a promise, a self-obligation, or an expectation and its non-fulfilment is necessarily successive, we may conclude that $iw\cdot f$ hr tm $s\dot{d}m$ of the past fulfilling Function Ia-d conveys a successive action in the past, i.e. it is a Conjugation Pattern which interchanges neither with adverbial phrases nor with their verbal equivalents.*

§ 20. The successive nature of $iw\cdot f$ hr tm $s\dot{d}m$ is confirmed also by its incapability of filling (i) the position of a predicate the subject of which is the Emphatic $s\dot{d}m\cdot f$ (and compare exx. 20-4 with ex. 13); (ii) either the second or the third position following a verb-form composed with the stem $gm\dot{i}$ ('to find') (cf. ex. 19); (iii) either the second or the third position of verbal compounds (and see § 7); (iv) the position of a virtual relative clause (cf. §§ 8-12). The fact that $iw\cdot f$ bn sw hr $s\dot{d}m$ and $i\dot{w}$ $bwpw\cdot f$ $s\dot{d}m$ (and see § 14) are capable of filling the above-mentioned syntactic positions indicates that the $i\dot{w}$ preceding bn sw hr $s\dot{d}m$ and $bwpw\cdot f$ $s\dot{d}m$ is not to be identified¹ with the $i\dot{w}$ of $iw\cdot f$ hr tm $s\dot{d}m$ (see also §§ 6-13).

Function II: the $iw\cdot f$ hr tm $s\dot{d}m$ fulfilling Function II follows a clause² with which it forms a self-sufficient syntactic complex.

§ 21. Function IIa:

Ex. 35: 'Although he used to land in the village in which the lad was (hr $i\dot{w}$ $wn\cdot f$ [hr] $mn\dot{i}$ - t . . .), he failed to fetch him ($iw\cdot f$ hr tm $i\dot{n}$ - t - f)' (Anast. VI, 31-2);

Ex. 36: 'Men who were bribed (lit. received some silver), since, although they had plotted ($m\dot{d}r$ $i\dot{r}\dot{i}$ - w [$w\dot{s}w\dot{s}w$]), they failed to take an active part (lit. failed to go— $i\dot{w}$ [w] [hr] tm $\dot{s}m$)' (Mayer A, 12, 9);

¹ Being the morpheme which permits bn sw hr $s\dot{d}m$ and $bwpw\cdot f$ $s\dot{d}m$ to fill the above-mentioned syntactic positions.

² A Conjugation Pattern immediately preceded either by conjunctions or by prepositions.

and compare these last examples with the following:

Ex. 37: 'We bribed them (Emphatic *sḏm:f*) because they had heard of it (*mḏr sḏm[·w]* *sw*) and not because they had come with us to this place (*iw bwpw·w šm . . .*)' (B.M. 10052, 5, 19).

Thus, *mḏr sḏm[·w]* *sw* and *iw bwpw·w šm* in ex. 37, in contradistinction to *mḏr iri·w [wḥwḥ]* and *iw·w hr tm šm* in ex. 36, do not make up a self-sufficient complex:¹ on the contrary, each sentence pattern functions separately as a predicate of the preceding Emphatic *sḏm:f* (*i·iri·n di·t*).

Hence it follows that *iw·f hr tm sḏm* is incapable of following a clause without their constituting together a self-sufficient complex.

§ 22. Function IIb: in fulfilling Function IIb, *iw·f hr tm sḏm* is preceded by a *hr pḥ-sḏm i·iri·f sḏm* pattern (preposition + defined infinitive + relative form).² The Late-Egyptian equivalent of the Middle-Egyptian non-Initial 'that' form (i.e. preceded by prepositions) is *pḥ-sḏm i·iri·f*:³

Ex. 38: 'The matter is that the scribe A . . . was not able to report to you (ⲁⲉⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲁⲉ) that in spite of the fact that we made an [intensive] search [for a] boat (*m pḥ-wḥḥ i·iri·n ḥkḥ*) we failed to find [it] quickly (*iw·n [hr] tm gm ḥs*)' (LRL 46, 4-6);

Ex. 39: 'He was brought in owing to the fact that, [although] he had heard (lit. owing to the fact of the hearing which he did—*hr pḥ-sḏm i·iri·f*) of these things from A, whom he used to assist, he failed to report them (*iw·f [hr] tm ḏd-smi·w*)' (Turin Jud. Pap. 4, 13);

Ex. 40: 'He was brought in owing to the fact that, [although] he had heard (*pḥ-sḏm i·iri·f*) of the things which the men had plotted with the women of the harem, he had failed to reveal them (lit. to go out because of them—*iw·f hr pr·t hr·w*)' (Turin Jud. Pap. 4, 6).

§ 23. The capability of functioning as a sentence-pattern complementary with preceding clauses indicates that *iw·f hr tm sḏm* is to be classified as a *non-initial main sentence* (two successive clauses are unable to constitute a self-sufficient complex).

§ 24. Function III: in fulfilling Function III, *iw·f hr tm sḏm* conveys a successive action in the future.

Function IIIa: in fulfilling Function IIIa, *iw·f hr tm sḏm* follows a *wnn·f hr sḏm* pattern (LRL 39, 10-11; cf. also Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 137-43; and see Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 41-2, note 1; *JEA* 35 (1949), 29). This construction is found in Demotic: Hughes (*Saite Demotic Land Leases* (1952), 20, § g) writes: 'Thus *in-iv—in-n*'⁴ which

¹ I.e. it cannot be translated 'after they had heard it, they did not go'.

² The *pḥ sḏm i·iri·f* pattern is a closed prosodic unit, i.e. it has to be classified as a Conjugation Pattern; this is indicated by (i) the fact that the relative form, when following the infinitive *pḥ di·t*, precedes the non-Initial Prospective *sḏm:f* which otherwise always follows immediately after the morpheme *di·t* (cf. Anast. v, 21, 7; and RAD 81, 11); (ii) the fact that the direct object follows the relative form, not the infinitive: 'the boat-search which we made (*pḥ wḥḥ i·iri·n ḥkḥ*)' (LRL 46, 5); *ḥkḥ* actually belongs to *wḥḥ* and not to *i·iri·n*.

³ Cf. Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 275 iii.

⁴ *Wnn·f* filling the first position is probably the Late-Egyptian ancestor of Demotic *in-iv—in-n*; and see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (1925), § 497.

cannot be related to the Coptic conditional particle $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$. . . may introduce either a real condition in future time or a purely temporal clause'

The sentence pattern following *in·iw·A sdm* in these texts is *iw·f sdm*, clearly distinct from Third Future;¹ thus Demotic distinguishes between *iw·f r sdm* and *iw·f sdm* of the future; *iw·f hr tm sdm* fulfilling Function IIIa is the Late-Egyptian ancestor of Demotic *iw·f sdm* of the future.

§ 25. Function IV: in fulfilling Function IV, *ir iw·f hr tm sdm* serves as a temporal clause or as a protasis of a condition:

Ex. 41: 'Let him be caught and you will hand him over to A, this friend of yours, but if you fail to find him (*ir iw·k [hr] tm gm tw·f . . .*)' (Pap. Hierat. Strassburg 39, 10–12); and cf. *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 21. Late-Egyptian *ir iw·f hr tm sdm* fulfilling Function IV is the ancestor of Demotic *iw·f sdm* of the conditional mood, clearly distinct from the relative present by its mode of receiving direct objects (see Parker, *JNES* 20 (1961), 183–4, exx. 39–43).

Further, *ir iw·f hr tm sdm* fulfilling Function IV is also the Late-Egyptian ancestor of Coptic $\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\epsilon\sigma\omega\tau\alpha\epsilon$ (the negative counterpart of $\epsilon\psi\tau\alpha\kappa\sigma\omega\tau\alpha\epsilon$); see also Polotsky, *CCS* 404, § 27.

Conclusion

Three distinct *iw* morphemes are to be distinguished:

- (i) That capable of preceding any Sentence Pattern (including non-verbal), permitting it to function as a non-initial clause (see §§ 6–14);
- (ii) That filling the first position of Patterns I and II (i.e. a conjugation carrier), permitting the patterns to function as non-initial main sentences (see §§ 15–24);
- (iii) That filling the first position of the Third Future, permitting it to function as an initial main sentence (see Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 18–19; Wentz, *JNES* 20 (1961), 120–3).

¹ Cf. *ZÄS* 19 (1881), 119, § xix, ll. 7–10.

AN OSTRACON FROM TEL ARAD EXHIBITING A COMBINATION OF TWO SCRIPTS

By SH. YEIVIN

DURING the summer season of 1967 Professor Y. Aharoni unearthed at some depth in a trench cut down the slopes of the citadel-mound of Tel Arad¹ a second ostrakon on which appeared hieratic signs similar to those on the first hieratic ostrakon discovered on the same site in 1965,² as well as words written in the known old Hebrew-Phoenician script. Since this is not a case of one text written in two scripts, it is impossible to call the ostrakon bilingual. The two scripts provide supplementary information and they are intermingled. One cannot, however, be sure how the scribe who wrote the text read it, whether in Hebrew throughout, pronouncing all the apparent hieratic signs in their Hebrew equivalents, or in a mixed sort of jargon, giving the Egyptian values to the hieratic signs. It is equally impossible, therefore, to describe the ostrakon as being written in two scripts; the best that can be done is to say, in the words of the title of this article, that the ostrakon exhibits a combination of two scripts.

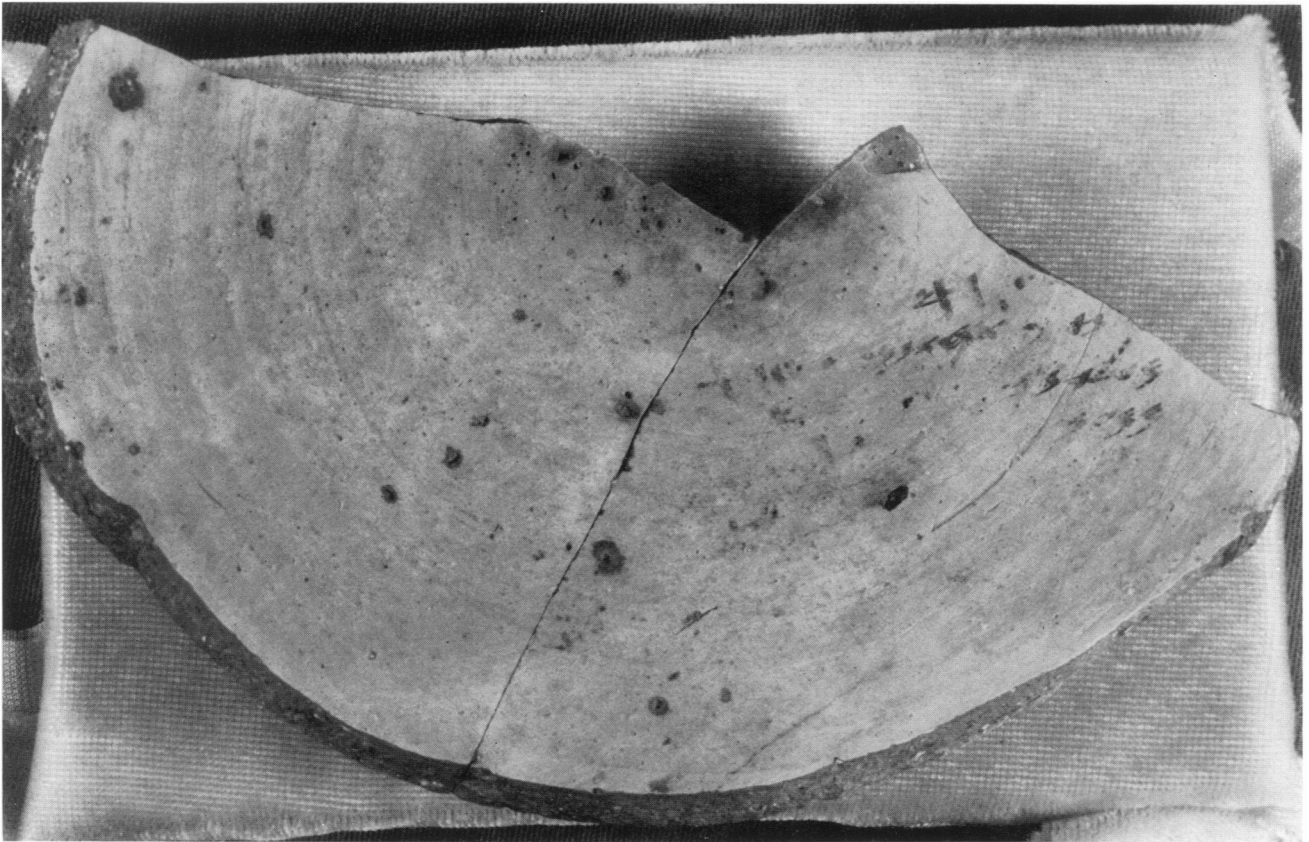
Description

The shard on which the text is written consists of about half the base of a ring-based bowl, red-burnished on the inside. Its maximum measurements are as follows: 15 cm. (half the diameter of the base) \times 8 cm. (the width of the fragment) \times 0.4-0.6 cm. (thickness). The writing in black ink appears to be a palimpsest, the original text not having been well wiped off; it is written on the burnished (inner) surface of the bowl, from the centre towards the rim. The text was written with a split pen and contains four lines, representing apparently the complete composition. The top line consists of four (possibly only three)³ hieratic signs, on the right side of the ostrakon; the following three lines have words written in the old Hebrew-Phoenician signary, followed by hieratic signs giving numerals and specifications of materials.

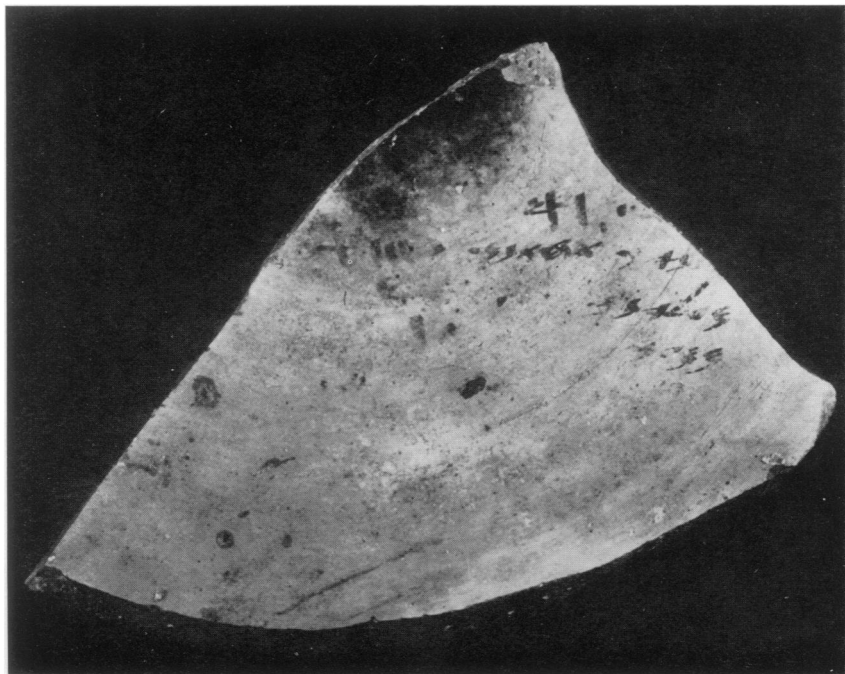
¹ The author wishes to express his gratitude to Professor Y. Aharoni who brought him this ostrakon, provided a photograph, and consented to its publication by the author. Professor Aharoni also kindly supplied information of provenance.

² S. Yeivin, *IEJ* 16 (1966), 153 ff.

³ See below, note *b* to the transliterated text.



1. The whole sherd



2. Infra-red photograph of the inscribed portion

AN OSTRACON FROM TEL ARAD

The text

In the writer's opinion, the inscription should be transcribed as follows:

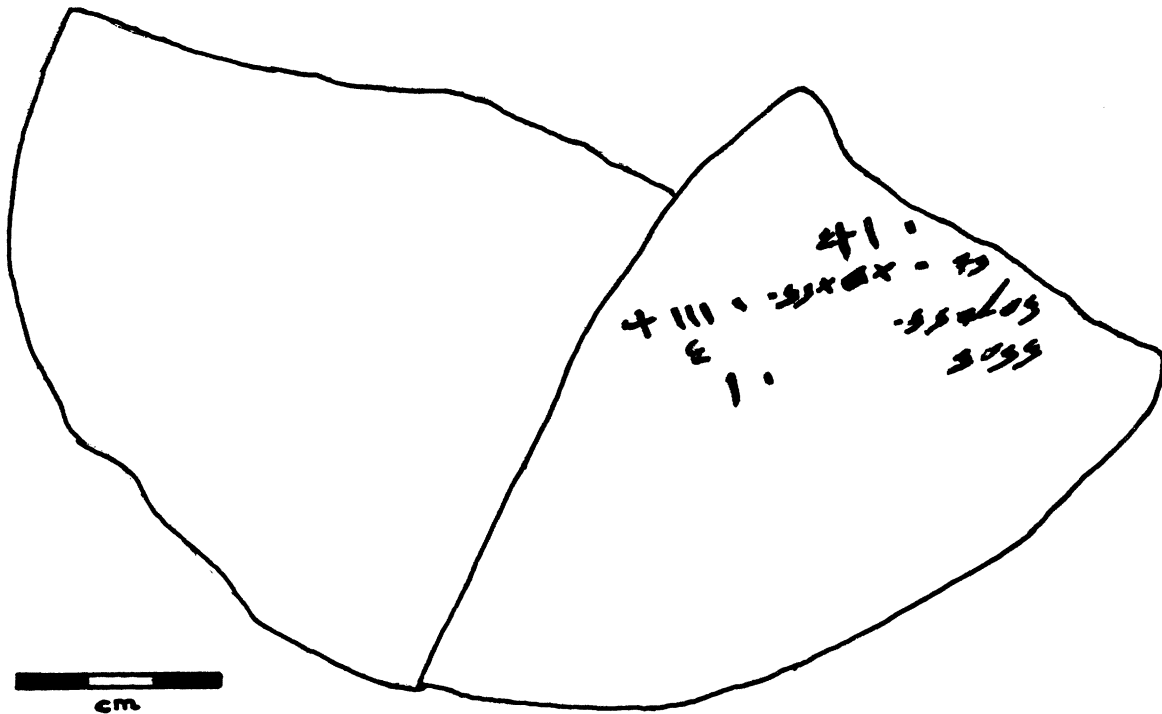


FIG. 1.

and transliterated thus:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. $\dot{h}k\dot{s}t^a$ II^b $\dot{s}mcy^c$ | |
| 2. ny n $\dot{t}h\dot{t}nm^d$ | $\dot{h}k\dot{s}t^a$ 3 $\dot{s}mcy$ |
| 3. $m\dot{c}lynm^e$ | $\dot{h}k\dot{s}t^a$ 7 |
| 4. mm^cm^f | $\dot{h}k\dot{s}t^a$ 1 |

on the basis of which it may be translated:

1. Eleven *heḳats* (measures of) Upper Egyptian barley.
2. Those of the temenos of *Ynm(t)* three *heḳats* (measures of) Upper Egyptian barley.
3. From the ascent of *Ynm(t)* seven *heḳats* (measures, scil. of Upper Egyptian barley).
4. From *Mcm* one *heḳat* (measure, scil. of Upper Egyptian barley).

Notes

(a) The dot is the conventional hieratic sign for *ḥkṣt*, cf. Möller, *Hier. Pal.* III, 63, no. 695. In publishing the first hieratic ostracon the author cited Dr. K. Baer's suggestion that the dot may be a mere check sign.¹ The fact that in the new ostracon the dot occurs not only at the beginning of a line (l. 1) but also in the middle of some lines



¹ See Yeivin, *op. cit.* 157 f.

(ll. 2-4) strengthens the assumption that in both ostraca it stands for *ḥkꜣt* and not as a mere check sign.

(b) The only absolutely clear sign after the dot is the vertical stroke expressing the numeral 'one'. However, examination both of the ostrakon itself and of the infra-red photograph (pl. XXI) easily reveals slightly below the level of the bottom of the line a 'tail' of a vertical stroke which may or may not be the remains of a defaced (or faded) sign. Professor Aharoni is convinced that this is merely a blemish on the surface of the ostrakon. The author, however, failed to observe, by sight or touch, any blemish on the surface, and he prefers to consider this mark as the 'tail' of the hieratic form of *ⲛ*, 'ten', cf. Möller, *op. cit.* III, 60, no. 623, esp. col. 4 (Dyn. XXX). The whole numeral could then read 'eleven' (10+1), which accords with the total of the quantities of *ḥekꜣt* given in ll. 2-4. If 'one' alone is read, it is impossible to see the significance of this top line.

(c) The suggested meaning of this unusual sign was fully discussed by the author in the article dealing with the first ostrakon, *IEJ* 16 (1966), 154.

(d) These three Egyptian words are here transcribed in the old Hebrew-Phoenician letters. The rest of the line consists of hieratic signs (but see above, p. 98). These words render the Egyptian *nꜣ n tꜣ-ḥwyt-(Y)nm(t)*, 'those of the temenos (precinct, house) of (Y)nm(t)'. For *Ynm(t)* and its temple of Mut see Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II, 64*.

(e) This group of letters should be resolved as a combination of the Hebrew prepositional prefix *m* (the shortened form of the preposition *min*, 'from') + designation of place (*clynn*), in which the Hebrew prefix *m* takes the place of the Egyptian phrase *nꜣ n* used in l. 2. The Hebrew transliteration *clynn* should be understood as a rendering of Egyptian , 'the staircase (i.e. ascent) (of) *Ynm(t)*'. That the hieroglyphic sign , *r*, represents an actual *l*-sound here is proved by the Coptic *ⲁⲗⲉ*, 'go up, ascend', cf. Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 4. The whole group would then mean 'the ascent, or high ground, of (i.e. above) the town of *Ynm(t)*'; for this town see the preceding note and below, p. 101.

(f) This group should also be resolved in the manner suggested for the group in l. 3: Hebrew *m + Mꜣm*, 'from *Mꜣm*', this place being the Nubian town Miꜣam (modern 'Aniba), cf. Gardiner, *op. cit.* I, 11.

Comment

Of the place-names suggested above, one is definitely attested in Egyptian documents, namely, that in l. 4 which seems certainly to be *Miꜣm*, the Nubian fortress of 'Aniba. This place is listed among the fortresses enumerated in the Ramesseum Onomasticon.¹ This identification leads to two points which are crucial for the general interpretation of the whole text: (i) The initial *m* of the first group of letters in l. 4 is not part of a word, but the Hebrew prepositional prefix meaning 'from, out of'; so too the initial *m* in l. 3. (ii) The first words of ll. 3 and 4, at least, cite place-names and not personal names, as

¹ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 11; idem, *JEA* 3 (1916), 184 ff.

might have been thought since the ostracon apparently records a list of distribution of rations.¹

The acceptance of these two points renders with some certainty the complete interpretation of ll. 2 and 3 as well. The suggested place-name in l. 3, *ʿr-Ynm(t)*, 'the high ground of or above the town of Ynm(t)',² should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Qâw el-Kebîr, on the high ground above the Nile Valley on the edge of the Eastern (Arabian) Desert. As a place-name it is not attested in any surviving Egyptian document, but it remains a plausible appellation for a district on the rising ground to the east of the Nile in Middle Egypt. To this day there exist in this neighbourhood semi-nomadic groups of Semitic and Hamitic elements; such a situation probably prevailed there from time immemorial.

This interpretation of ll. 3-4 helps towards an understanding of the combination *ny n thtnm* of l. 2, which at first sight appears quite enigmatic. If the initial *m* in ll. 3-4 is a prepositional prefix before a place-name, then the phrase *ny n* can only be taken as a transcription of the Egyptian *nꜥ n*, 'those of' = 'the group or people of (or from)'.³ The third group in l. 2 should in consequence also be considered as the transcription of a place name. It has been suggested above that the *thtnm* here should be read *t(ꜥ)-ḥwyt-(Y)nm(t)*; alternatively, the *t* taken here as the final letter of *ḥwyt* could be taken as the feminine article with the name of the town, the reading then being *t(ꜥ)-ḥwyt(t)-t(ꜥ)-(Y)nm(t)*.

It follows from the interpretation suggested above that the ostracon mentions those groups of Egyptians who were in the citadel or neighbourhood of Arad, and received rations from the Judaite commissariat there. In discussing the first ostracon, the author already suggested that there was at that time a unit of Egyptian mercenaries at Arad in the service of the Judaite army, and he also pointed out why this unit should not be considered a regular troop of the Egyptian army.⁴ The composition of this unit, or of part of it, as is reflected in the second ostracon discussed here, strengthens the author's earlier assumption. We are here concerned with a heterogeneous group, the major part of which probably consisted of semi-nomadic people from the neighbourhood of Qâw el-Kebîr in Middle Egypt, for they receive **seven** *ḥekats* of Upper Egyptian barley. The next group consists of people connected in some way (*nꜥ n*) with the temple of Mut in the same district, for they receive an allocation of **three** *ḥekats* of the same grain. The smallest group is a sprinkling of Nubians (possibly archers?), people who alone in Egyptian documentation have a reputation as fighters; they receive **one** *ḥekat* of Upper Egyptian barley. The impression received is that the ostracon deals with a troop hired out by a Twenty-sixth Dynasty Pharaoh, possibly to raise money to help him hire his own Greek mercenaries.⁵

¹ It should be remembered that many of the Hebrew ostraca from Tel Arad of the same period (towards the end of the seventh century B.C.) deal with food rations and their allocation. Not many of these ostraca have so far been published.

² By this time the final *t* was not pronounced, and would not, therefore, appear in any transliteration. The many examples of this phenomenon do not need to be cited here.

³ Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*, § 511.

⁴ S. Yeivin, *op. cit.* 158 f., whether as troops of occupation or as auxiliary allies.

⁵ Much used by Egyptian kings at this time, cf. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 356 ff.

In another respect, this ostrakon differs from the first.¹ The first deals with what might be termed the 'internal' allocation of rations, i.e. the way in which rations were distributed between individuals or small groups by the Egyptian unit itself; the second ostrakon represents part of the account presented by the Egyptian in charge of rationing to the Judaite official responsible for supplies for the various Egyptian groups.

Such a view of the situation, taken with the evidence furnished by the ostrakon discussed here, would account for the 'strange' hieratic and poor wording of the first ostrakon,² for such a heterogeneous group of hired mercenaries would hardly have included a skilled scribe. The most educated among them, who might himself be barely literate, would undoubtedly have been chosen to act as scribe for his fellows.

¹ See p. 98 n. 2 above.

² Cf. Yeivin, *op. cit.* 158, sect. iv.

PNUBS AND THE TEMPLE OF TABO ON ARGO ISLAND

By HELEN JACQUET-GORDON, CHARLES BONNET, and JEAN JACQUET

THE Kushite kings Aman-nēte-yerike, in the fifth century before our era, and Harsiotef and Nastasen, in the fourth century B.C., paid ceremonial visits to the temple of Amūn of Pnubs during their coronation journeys. From the inscriptions relating these events¹ we learn that Pnubs lay furthest north of the three great centres of Amūn-worship included in these voyages, the other two being Napata (Gebel Barkal) and Gematon (Kawa). From Pnubs the trip to Gematon could be accomplished by boat in one day according to Aman-nēte-yerike.² There can be little doubt, therefore, that Pnubs was situated in the region north of Kawa between Dongola and Tumbos at the Southern limit of the Third Cataract. The arguments in favour of this thesis have been set forth at length by Macadam in his report on the excavations at Kawa,³ and by Sauneron and Yoyotte in their article on the Nubian campaign of Psammetichus II,⁴ and need not be repeated here except to say that they appear to be conclusive. What has still to be demonstrated is the exact location of Pnubs within the region limited by the town of Dongola on the south and the Third Cataract on the north. Macadam's suggestion that it lay on the Island of Argo has been well received by most recent writers on the subject,⁵ but lack of corroborative inscriptional evidence and the fact that the Island sites remained unexcavated left the matter in doubt.

Since 1965, the joint expedition of the Henry M. Blackmer Foundation and the University of Geneva under the general direction of Professor Charles Maystre has been excavating the remains in the vicinity of the colossi on Argo Island.⁶ The site has been baptized Tabo (from the name of the village which lies in close proximity to the ancient mounds) in order to avoid confusion with the town of Argo situated at the other end of the island at a distance of 20 km. to the north. In three seasons' work the expedition has cleared the large mound lying directly west of the colossi and

¹ Stela of Harsiotef, *Urk.* III, 120, § 9. Stela of Nastasen, *ibid.* 149, § 8. Inscription of Aman-nēte-yerike, Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I, Text, 60, § E. ² Macadam, *op. cit.* 58 and 60, §§ D and E; 61 n. 99.

³ Macadam, *op. cit.* Introduction, xiv-xv.

⁴ Sauneron and Yoyotte, 'La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique', *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 163 ff.

⁵ Arkell, *JEA* 37 (1951), 115; *id.*, *A History of the Sudan to 1821* (London, 1966), 2nd ed. 154; Van de Walle, *Chronique d'Égypte*, 26^e année, no. 51 (January 1951), 99; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 3rd ed. (1952), 595; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 360.

⁶ At the request of Mr. Henry M. Blackmer and in agreement with the director of the expedition, Professor Charles Maystre, this article was written as a supplement to the preliminary report on the results of the first three seasons' excavations, which will appear shortly in *Kush*. It endeavours to combine in a coherent picture the preliminary results of the architectural study of the temple with a brief analysis of the available historical and epigraphical materials, in an effort to date the remains, and to identify the site on which they lie.

brought to light there a temple of considerable dimensions. One of the points which the expedition had hoped to clarify was, of course, the identity of the site. It must be added immediately that, unfortunately, no certain evidence on the subject has as yet been found owing to the very fragmentary state of the inscriptions. However, it seems worth while at this point to give a summary description of the temple, to note points of similarity or difference between it and other temples of the Sudan in order to place it in a chronological context, and to draw up a balance-sheet of the evidence in an effort to ascertain whether or not it is favourable to the identification of Tabo with the ancient Pnubs.

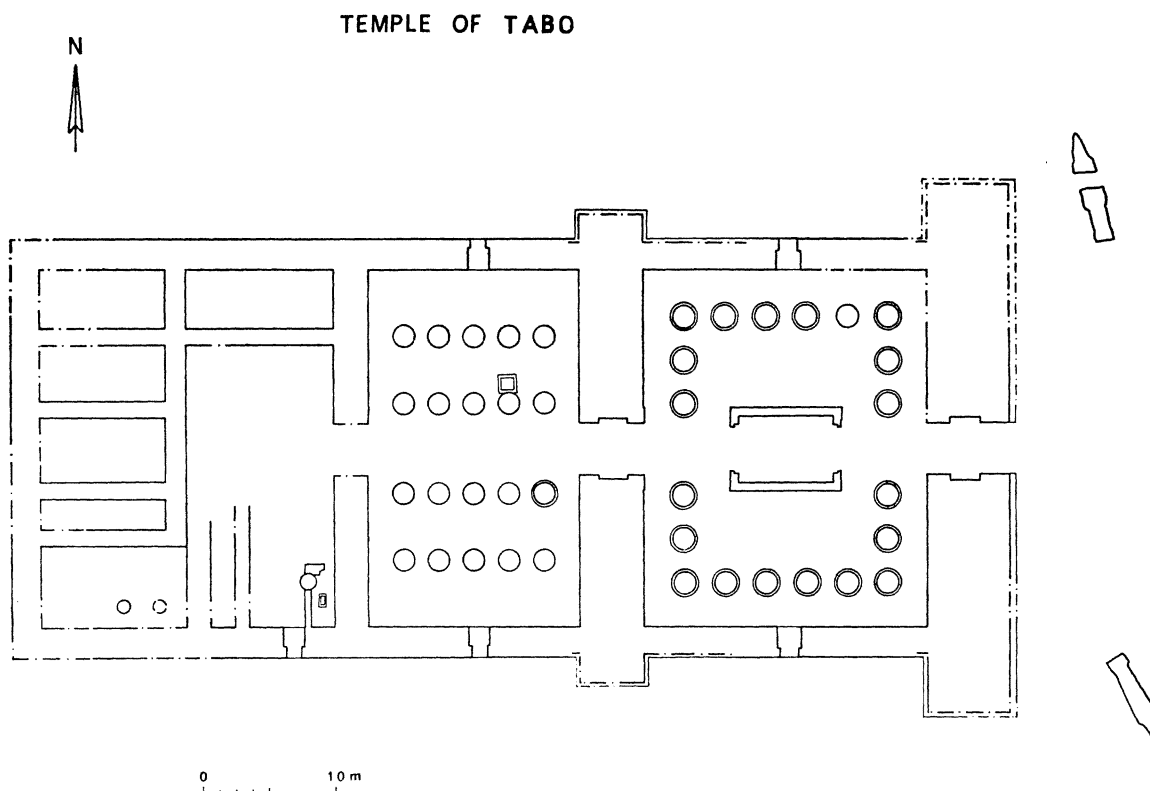


FIG. 1

The Temple

Leaving aside the additions and reconstructions of later periods, we will describe the temple in its original form as far as that can be ascertained.

Tabo temple, oriented along an east-west axis and facing east, lies at the northern extremity of the ancient site which includes a number of other mounds still to be investigated. The original plan of the temple (fig. 1 and pl. XXII, 1) recalls in many respects that of the temples of Taharqa at Sanam¹ and Kawa.² It consists of a first pylon giving access to a peristyle court limited on its western side by a second pylon leading into a hypostyle hall. Beyond this is a pronaos on to which opens the sanctuary.

¹ Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', *LAAA* 10, pl. 12.

² Macadam, *op. cit.* II, Plates, pl. 12.

Lateral rooms north and south of the sanctuary also opened directly or indirectly into the pronaos.

The total length of the temple is 75.60 m. and the width of the main body of the building is 31 m. Both the first and second pylons extend out beyond the lateral walls, the first having a total width of 40 m. and the second 35.50 m. It is evident from these measurements that the temple must have ranked among the largest and most important sanctuaries in the Sudan.

The whole building is in a very ruinous condition. The walls and columns are rarely preserved above the second course and the former are often recognizable only by the trenches cut in the hard subsoil for their foundations. This advanced state of destruction is due to the fact that there is no stone on the island which is simply an extension of the alluvial plain of the river. The temple, therefore, provided a convenient quarry for the near-by inhabitants, and fragments of blocks from its walls can be recognized in the houses of all the neighbouring villages where they serve as supports for the roof beams. Another cause of deterioration is the bad quality of the sandstone used in the construction of the greater part of the temple. It is so friable that it offers no resistance to erosion by the strong sand-bearing winds which blow across the island all winter, and it is easily cracked by the great changes in temperature between day and night prevailing in that region. Numerous ancient restorations prove that the latter agencies were at work even while the temple was still in use.

A factor of the greatest importance for the understanding of the parts of the temple that have been destroyed through the agency of man and the weather is the precision with which the ancient architects established their construction lines, which show excellent alignment over considerable distances. Thanks to these indications, it has been possible to complete the plan of the temple with the exception of the southern part of the pronaos and the rooms south of the sanctuary, where systematic investigation under the present floor-level during the next season may help to clarify the original layout, which has been perturbed by later modifications.

The first pylon displays the usual rectangular outlines, but in its present state of preservation no indication of either flagstaff niches or interior staircases is to be seen. The foundation blocks on the eastern side exhibit on their upper faces two parallel construction lines. The inner line seems to bear a relationship to the façade of the pylon; the second or outer line corresponds with the edge of a low plinth which ran all along the exterior of the temple.

A trial trench dug during the first season parallel with the pylon but some distance in front of it revealed no traces of a causeway, nor does there seem to have been an enclosure wall around the temple. A stone pavement was found in front of the main entrance, on which a number of graffiti of feet had been engraved. The door-sill is formed of a single block of black granite, 4 m. in length. The two stone sockets in which the great double doors pivoted, as well as the central block, pierced to receive the vertical wooden bar by which the doors were held closed, are still *in situ*. When opened, the two door-leaves swung back into recesses reserved for that purpose in the embrasures of the pylon.

The court is rectangular, being wider than it is deep, with six columns on each of its four sides, counting the angle columns twice. The space between the central columns on the east and west sides is greater than the intercolumnar width elsewhere, corresponding, as it does, with the width of the doorways in the first and second pylons. Single-leaved doors opened on to the court on the north and south sides. The stone pavement noticed on the exterior of the pylon continued through the entrance and across the court along the central east-west axis. In the remainder of the court no traces of pavement were found and the only indication which might permit us to conclude that it had at one time existed is a thin layer of fine gravel which appears in the stratigraphical section through the centre of the court and may have formed part of the foundations of such a pavement.

The second pylon is inferior in dimensions to the first. As has been noted above, it extends out beyond the side walls, thus breaking the monotony of these long east-west façades (pl. XXII, 2). The filling of this pylon (and that of the first pylon likewise) contained a large number of reused blocks from an Eighteenth-dynasty building (pl. XXIII, 1). The central doorway is of the same width as that in the first pylon and was likewise closed with a double door. Some heavy bronze plaques found near the northern socket doubtless formed part of a pivot or hinge of one of the door-leaves, and small fragments of silver plating mixed with the debris in the socket hole may have embellished its wooden panels.

This pylon was doubtless decorated on both its faces, but the reliefs from the east face have entirely disappeared. However, a series of round holes in a course of blocks flanking the foundations of the pylon on that side bear witness to the scaffolding which was erected there when the reliefs were executed. Blocks from the upper courses of the west face, fallen into the hypostyle hall, though much broken, prove that the scene here depicted was composed of a series of larger-than-life figures in low relief. The most recognizable fragment displays the upper part of a royal head surmounted by the horizontal ram's horns belonging to a head-dress which has now disappeared, and wearing the wide encircling band characteristic of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings and their successors (pl. XXIII, 2).¹

The hypostyle hall contains four rows of five columns each the capitals of which seem to have been palmiform, to judge by the rare fragments that have survived. The lower ends of these columns were let into circular pits dug in the hard alluvial soil without special foundations, the remaining space around them being filled with stone chips and rubble to hold them erect. Fictitious bases were then built around the drums at floor level (pl. XXIII, 3). The pavement of the hall can be recognized over its entire surface, but the portion along the central axis, in part restored at a later period, seems to have been more carefully laid and is better preserved than the areas on each side. In places the pavement has suffered considerably from fire, particularly in the region of the second pylon, and it is likewise pierced here and there by tombs

¹ The nearest analogies to this head-dress which I have been able to discover are (1) the head-dress worn by the queen in *Beg. Pyr. A 15* (*L.D.* v, 40, on the left; 41a and b), and (2) that worn by King Arnekhamani in the Lion-temple at Mussawarât (Hintze, *Les Civilisations du Soudan antique*, pl. 91). But both of these examples are highly decorated, whereas ours is perfectly plain.

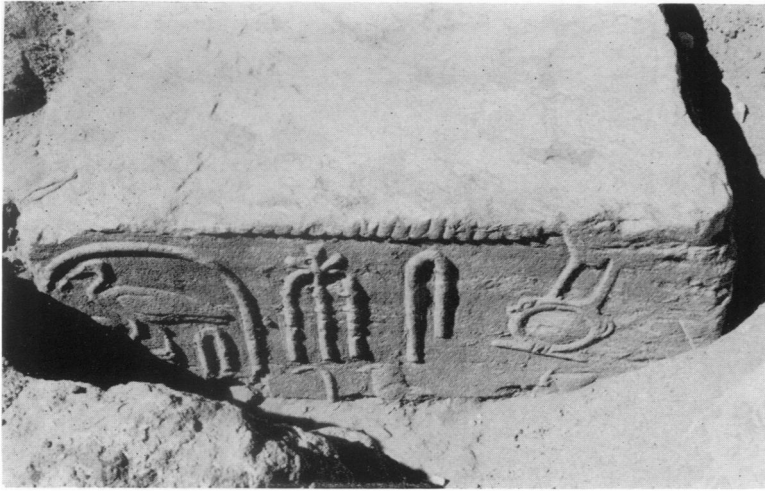


1. Aerial view, looking west



2. The second pylon, looking south

THE TEMPLE OF TABO



1. Reused block from filling of first pylon, with upper part of a cartouche of one of the Tuthmoside kings



2. Block from the west face of the second pylon, showing part of a royal head



3. Column of the hypostyle hall, showing bases built of small blocks



4. Slate amulet depicting the Theban triad; from the sanctuary



5. Faience ram's head and sun-disk; from the sanctuary

of the Christian period, while its entire surface has been greatly eroded by the action of the elements. A square, incised on the pavement along the axis of the hall, marks the spot where an altar or bark support stood.

As in the court, side-doors lead into the hypostyle hall from the north and south. Remains of burnt palm trunks and thatch found among the columns on the south side and in the doorway of the second pylon suggest that a wooden roof had at some period existed here.¹ The function of a small mud-brick construction built against the second column in the first row to the right of the doorway remains obscure.²

The rear part of the temple was remodelled in Meroitic times, making it difficult to trace the original plan of the rooms, particularly on the south side. Of the wall separating the pronaos from the rooms to the south of it, and of the four columns whose presence in the pronaos could be postulated by analogy with Sanam and Kawa, no trace has yet been found.³ The room to the north of the pronaos which, in Kawa and Sanam temples, contains an altar with a staircase leading up to it, has produced no vestiges of the existence of such an altar at Tabo. However, the pavement in this room slants upward from west to east, showing a difference of approximately 30 cm. between the two ends of the room. Is this to be interpreted as a ramp replacing the staircases in the other temples?

The sanctuary is in such poor condition that one can say of it only that it is slightly narrower than the sanctuaries in the sister temples and that, if a small room ever existed at its back, that room has now completely disappeared. Two lateral chambers to the north of the sanctuary retain fairly well-preserved pavements but their walls are destroyed down to the foundations, and even the position of their doors is uncertain. On the southern side there appear likewise to be two chambers, but this area has still to be studied in detail. Of the two columns marked on the plan (fig. 1) in the more southerly of these chambers, only one was found in place (a reused drum displaying the cartouches of Ramesses II), while the existence of the other was clearly indicated by the pit in which it had stood. They appear to belong to a later modification of the plan, as does also the small enclosure in the south-east corner of the pronaos containing a basin sunk into the floor, and probably also the doorway contiguous with it, although this is not certain.

¹ How these temples were roofed is still open to question. Macadam discusses the matter in relation to Kawa (op. cit. II, 109-111), where he gives convincing arguments for thinking that the roof was originally of stone, in spite of the inadequacy of the supporting elements, the great widths to be spanned, and the poor quality of the sandstone. Exactly the same problems face us at Tabo. There are, however, two elements which might lead one to suppose that at least some parts of these temples were roofed with wood: (1) neither at Kawa nor at Tabo were any architectural fragments found which could be identified either as architraves or as roofing slabs (Macadam, op. cit. II, 108); (2) the fact that in both temples evidence of violent fires was observed (Macadam, op. cit. II, 16, 85, 88). Such fires could have occurred only where considerable amounts of combustible material were present such as there would have been if the roof was of the palm log and matting type still used today in the region. At Tabo the remains of such burnt palm logs and matting were found in the hypostyle hall and in the doorway of the second pylon. It remains to be seen whether these may not represent a secondary reconstruction after the original insecure stone roof had collapsed.

² Some remains of mud-brick walls were likewise observed at floor level in the north-west corner of the court.

³ The pavement in the pronaos may possibly have been relaid at a later date and may consequently cover traces of the earlier disposition of these rooms. This possibility will be investigated during the coming season.

Comparison with Sanam and Kawa temples

It will be evident from this summary description that the temple of Tabo resembles in all essential points the two Taharqa temples of Kawa and Sanam. Let us sum up the comparisons.

Points of resemblance between Tabo temple and the temples of Kawa and Sanam.

1. All three temples are constructed of local sandstones of a rather poor quality.¹
2. The masonry and style of construction in the three temples are similar.
3. The general plan, including the number and arrangement of the chambers, is practically identical.

Points of resemblance between Tabo and Sanam in particular

1. The number of columns on each side of the court (six per side, whereas Kawa has but four on the east and west).
2. A second pylon extending out beyond the side walls.

Points of resemblance between Tabo and Kawa in particular

1. The body of the building is the same width throughout. At Sanam the temple is narrower behind the second pylon.
2. The capitals in the court and hypostyle hall were palmiform.²

Points on which Tabo differs from both Sanam and Kawa

1. It faces east whereas both Sanam and Kawa face west.
2. It is slightly larger in all its dimensions.
3. The hypostyle hall contains five columns in each row instead of four.
4. The lateral doors in the court and the hypostyle hall are slightly differently situated.
5. The original disposition of the sanctuary and its subsidiary rooms may not have been the same as in the other two buildings. This, however, is still open to question.³

It can thus be seen that the features held by Tabo in common with one or both of the other temples considerably outweigh the points of difference between them. The variations in size merely serve to emphasize the importance of the site for which such a large edifice was considered appropriate, and in fact the mounds surrounding the temple of Tabo give ample evidence of the extent of the ancient ruins. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to admit that the construction of Tabo temple took place at a period not far removed in time from that in which Kawa and Sanam were built.

¹ Macadam (op. cit. II, 61) says only that the temple was built of 'a greyish-yellow sandstone', but he mentions the bad quality of the stone in speaking of the wall of Aspelta (ibid. 89). Visits to the temples of Sanam and Kawa convinced us of the essentially similar quality of the sandstone used in the three temples.

² Macadam, op. cit. II, 70, 76.

³ A possible explanation of this eccentricity is the fact that Tabo is oriented in the opposite direction to Kawa and Sanam. It may have been considered necessary that the pillared hall which lies to the right of the sanctuary in the latter temples and therefore to the south of it should remain on the south of the sanctuary even when the temple faced in the opposite direction. It would in that case lie on the left of the sanctuary, as seems to have been the case at Tabo, if this is not the result of a later modification.

The style of the few relief fragments from the temple walls which have survived point to the same conclusion. As Tabo resembles Sanam more closely than it does Kawa, it may be permissible to suggest that its construction followed that of Sanam (which in turn was built later than Kawa according to Macadam),¹ and that if Tabo was not the work of Taharqa himself, it is at least to be attributed to one of his early successors.

The site of Pnubs

Admitting for the moment that the temple of Tabo is of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date, what evidence have we for the identification of the site with the ancient Pnubs?

We know of Pnubs, from literary sources and archaeological evidence, that:

1. It lay north of Kawa but south of the Third Cataract, on the east bank of the river,² at a distance from Kawa that could be covered in one day by boat.
2. It existed at least as early as the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.³
3. As far back as the time of the early Kushite kings, one of the four most important Amūn temples in the kingdom was located there.⁴
4. Amūn of Pnubs was often represented as ram-headed or in the form of a crio-sphinx.⁵
5. Osiris was also worshipped in the temple.⁶

Let us now consider these points one by one in relation to Tabo.

1. The position of Tabo on Argo Island fulfils all the topographical conditions stipulated above for Pnubs. It lies between Kawa and the Third Cataract at a distance of approximately 40 km. from the former place. Aman-nēte-yerike's trip downstream from Kawa to Pnubs seems to have taken two days, his boats probably descending with the current or being rowed against the strong prevailing north winds. On his return upstream with the wind in his sails, the journey took but one day;⁷ 40 km. is a reasonable distance to traverse under these conditions. As for the situation of Pnubs on the east bank of the river, it might be objected that Tabo is not on the east bank but on an island. However, it must be observed that Argo Island is an island only during the time of the inundation. At that period of the year the mounting waters of the Nile flow into a narrow channel which separates Argo from the mainland on the east side. But as soon as the inundation has passed, the channel is emptied of its water and quickly dries out so that crops can be planted in its bed, and one can cross it on foot without difficulty. So that, in fact, the 'island' of Argo is part and parcel of the east bank mainland during three-quarters of the year.

¹ Macadam, *op. cit.* II, 16.

² According to the Greek geographers. Cf. Sauneron and Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 167.

³ Amūn of Pnubs is mentioned on an abacus of Piankhy from Gebel Barkal temple T500; cf. Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51, 32 n. 1.

⁴ Inscription of Anlamani, Macadam, *op. cit.* I, Inscription VIII, 24, and p. 47. Anlamani dedicated his four sisters in the four most important centres of Amūn-worship in the Kingdom, Napata, Gematon, Pnubs, and Sanam.

⁵ Cf. the documentation on the subject in Sauneron and Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 163 n. 4.

⁶ Stela of Harsiotef, *Urk.* III, 163; Herodotus II, 29.

⁷ See p. 103 n. 2 above.

2. Pnubs was already a well-established centre at the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Tabo can probably lay claim to even greater antiquity. We have found, reused in the present temple, blocks from an older edifice on which are to be read the cartouches of Tuthmosis III or IV, Amenophis II, and Amenophis III. But the town existed even before the Eighteenth Dynasty. A statue of Sebekhotpe IV of the Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasty was found in the temple mound before the present excavations.¹ This piece, of course, may have been brought here at a later date. But sherds of Kerma-ware picked up by us on the surface of the mound south-east of the temple suggest that the contents of that mound may antedate the Eighteenth Dynasty by a considerable period.


On the other hand, evidence that the Eighteenth-dynasty temple survived at least until the time of Ramesses II is provided by the presence in the present temple of a reused column drum on which the cartouches of this king are carved. Furthermore, several reused blocks display the name of Amūn restored, presumably by the same king, in places where it had been erased during the 'Amarna period. The good-sized mounds, one south-east and one south-west of the temple, in the former of which can be seen the remains of a stone building as well as of mud-brick houses, and a third mound on the west of the temple in which can be traced a large mud-brick building, prove the site to have been inhabited over a prolonged period.



3. A temple of importance dedicated to Amūn existed at Pnubs during the time of the early Kushite kings since it figures among the four great centres of Amūn-worship to which King Anlamani dedicated his four sisters as sistrum players, and it was visited by Anam-nēte-yerike, Ḥarsiotef, and Nastasen during their coronation voyages. The three other centres of Amūn-worship, Gebel Barkal, Sanam, and Kawa, boasted temples built by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings, at the first by Piankhy and at the two last by Taharqa. Psychologically it would seem proper to admit that the fourth temple of this quartet dated from the same period and that these centres, endowed by the early kings of Kush, the conquerors of Egypt, retained their importance as national sanctuaries during the entire Napatan and Meroitic periods. Now in the whole region between Dongola and the Third Cataract there is no site but Tabo, as far as can be ascertained, which possesses a temple that would suit these requirements. Even at the important centre of Kerma no vestiges of such an establishment have come to light. Tabo temple, though inferior in size to that of Piankhy at Gebel-Barkal, is larger than those at Sanam and Kawa. To follow the same train of thought it is interesting to note that, on his arrival at Pnubs, Aman-nēte-yerike decreed a festival of five days' duration for Amūn, while at Kawa the festival lasted only three days.

Texts clearly establishing the fact that Tabo was dedicated to Amūn are again lacking. However, circumstantial evidence makes it almost certain that such was the case. The most important finds in this respect are fragments of the sun-disk and double plumes from the head-dress of a life-size black granite statue of Amūn. A small slate amulet in the form of a round-topped stela depicts the Theban triad: Amūn, Mut, and Khonsu (pl. XXIII, 4). Among the faience amulets are 7 double plumes and sun-

¹ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VII, 180.

disks, 2 crio-sphinxes, 6 ram's heads (pl. XXIII, 5), and part of a standing ram, as well as two other fragments of rams, in bronze. The name of Amūn appears at least four times on fragments of inscription. One of these is a reused block on which we see the tips of the wings of a vulture hovering protectively above the figure of a king,

now lost, and the remains of a text. The signs in the first column are as follows: .

That the first two signs belong to the name of Amūn is certain from the fact that the original signs, in high relief, have been erased, and subsequently restored in sunk relief. We suggest that the  beneath the 'Amūn' belongs to the word Pnubs and that the group should be restored as follows: .



This restoration is of course purely hypothetical, but tempting.

4. That Amūn of Pnubs could on occasion be represented as ram-headed is proved by the reliefs from Naga' where he appears in that form accompanied by his name in Meroitic, *Ambsi*, as Griffith has astutely observed.¹ The preponderance of ram's-head amulets and crio-sphinxes at Tabo bears this out.

5. That Osiris was also worshipped in the temple of Pnubs would explain the presence in Tabo temple of a dozen or so of small bronze Osiris figurines. A Bes head-dress in faience, a miniature bronze lion standing erect on its hind legs, and a bronze head-dress of the type worn by Apedemak are the only objects representing other divinities which were found in the temple.

Conclusion

It has been shown that during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties a temple existed at Tabo. This temple seems to have fallen into ruin or been destroyed, and, at some time between the Twentieth Dynasty and the beginning of the Meroitic period, a new and important temple was erected in its place. The latter, whose remains have now been cleared by the efforts of the joint Henry M. Blackmer Foundation and the University of Geneva Expedition, displays a close similarity in plan and manner of construction to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty temples of Kawa and Sanam and presumably dates from the same period.

Because of its position south of the Third Cataract, and because of the importance of its temple, which indirect evidence indicates to have been dedicated to Amūn, Tabo can be admitted to fill satisfactorily the requirements necessary for its identification with the ancient Pnubs. Undoubtedly, all the arguments advanced here in favour of this thesis do not equal in value the evidence of one clear inscription. Nevertheless, until more definite evidence either for or against it is forthcoming, it may not be considered too hazardous to retain the hypothesis that Tabo was Pnubs.

¹ Griffith, *JEA* 4, 26.

THE PROBLEM OF BRAIN REMOVAL DURING EMBALMING BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

By F. FILCE LEEK

UNTIL the appearance in 1911 of Karl Sudhoff's essay 'Ägyptische Mumienmacher-Instrumente',¹ medical historians had formulated no views on the removal of the brain during the embalming process other than that expressed by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C. He wrote: 'First they (the embalmers) drew out the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, taking part of it out this way, and the rest by pouring in drugs.'²

In an attempt to gain further knowledge of this subject the author examined skulls of ancient Egyptians in the Macalister Collection at Cambridge³ made by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge whilst he was in Egypt, and believed by him to consist of skulls of priests of the third and fourth degrees who served in the temples at Aswân.⁴ Investigation of the late Professor Alexander Macalister's papers revealed that originally there were some 500 skulls in the collection.⁵ Of these, 56 per cent showed a hole, made *post mortem*, in the base of the skull through the cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone. In 5 per cent it had been made through the left nostril, and in 3 per cent through the right one. In others the nasal septum had been wholly or partially removed, so that a much larger perforation into the base of the skull had resulted. Mainly owing to damage suffered in the Second World War the number of skulls has unfortunately been reduced to 327; of these, 22 were not in a condition to permit assessment. It was established that in 11 per cent the extracting instrument had been introduced through the left nostril to make an entrance into the base of the skull, and in 5 per cent its course had been through the right nostril. In 62 cases appearances suggested that less careful operative procedures had resulted in partial or total destruction of the nasal septum, and in the making of a larger hole through the ethmoid bone into the base of the cranium.

All the specimens in the Macalister collection are dry skulls, i.e. without any covering of muscle, cartilage, or epidermis. The author, after prolonged examination, formed the opinion that access would be so limited by the lumen made by the external opening of one nostril, and again by the small size of the perforation into the base of

¹ See Appendix I for the relevant passage from *Arch. für Geschichte der Medizin*, 5 (1911).

² Herodotus II, 86 (translation of A. D. Godley in Loeb Classical Library).

³ By the kindness of the late Professor J. D. Boyd.

⁴ A vivid description of the vicissitudes of the collection is given by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in *By Nile and Tigris*, I, 94 f. In a letter to Macalister, Budge expressed his disappointment that the skulls could not be purchased for less than 2 piastres each.

⁵ For Macalister's description of the collection see *J. Anthropol. Inst. of G.B.* 22 (1893), 111-21.

the skull, that no instrument could be designed to 'draw out' or 'hook out' the brain either before or after immersion of the body in the embalming salts.

In these days it is not possible to secure human material on which to test such theories. In an attempt to throw further light on the subject it was decided to use the heads of two sheep (*Ovis domestica*). The salesman expressed grave doubts as to the possibility of using them for experimental purposes. 'Even when a head is kept in a refrigerated room', he emphasized, 'the eyes and the brain begin to putrefy after a few days.' This observation provides both a clue to the reason why so many mummies have been found with the eyes removed and replaced by artificial ones, and an explanation of the custom of removing the contents of the cranium.

Replicas were made of the instruments illustrated in Sudhoff's paper. Similar instruments are exhibited in the Wellcome Museum, London, described as 'Replicas of Instruments used by the ancient Egyptian Embalmers'. Herodotus stated that these instruments were made of iron;¹ Sudhoff, however, submitted a privately owned specimen to be analysed, and this was found to consist of 99 per cent copper and 1 per cent iron. He considered, therefore, that it could be regarded as a copper instrument, the iron being present as an impurity. As copper and, later, bronze were the principal materials used by the Egyptians for tools during most of the Dynastic Period,² the author concluded that the design of the instrument was the prime factor, rather than the metal of which it was made. His replicas were made of the more easily available stainless steel.

Entrance into the base of the cranium through the nose was easily effected in spite of the narrowness of the passage. A surgical hammer and chisel were used, and although such instruments would not be included in the equipment of the embalmers, primitive alternatives would have been as effective. Owing to the distal position of the brain in relation to the nose, the pathway to it was long and narrow, but in spite of that, when an instrument was inserted into the brain and withdrawn, the end, whether open or coiled, held a covering of brain tissue which was glutinous and viscid in character. Although this covering was thin, it would have been only a question of time before most of the brain was removed by repeated insertions and withdrawals of the instruments. This demonstration completely disproved the author's original belief that such operative procedures were impossible because of lack of access to the brain. It is to be emphasized that the tissue was not 'drawn out with a hook': it was removed by degrees because its viscid consistency caused it to adhere to the instrument. The design of the instrument had little effect on the amount of tissue withdrawn at each application, and the circular-ended one was as effective as the coiled one; the criterion was rather the size of the end of the instrument. It also became quite clear that repeated insertions of the instrument caused lacerations of the tissue which reduced it to a semi-fluid condition. Had this process been continued and the head turned face downwards, much or all of the tissue would eventually have drained away.

¹ Loc. cit.

² On the sparse evidence for the use of iron in Egypt before the Late Period, except for small objects made of meteoric iron, see Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed., 1962), 235 ff.

Upon conclusion of this experiment it was decided to test the effects produced on the various tissues by covering the head with, or embedding it in, natron, to ascertain if tissue reaction accorded with the results obtained by the ancient embalmers. Although many authorities have held that the body was immersed in a solution of natron, Lucas and others¹ are of the opinion that mummification was accomplished by covering the body with the dry salts, a view which the author shares. He decided, therefore, to use one of the combinations of salts found by Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamūn and analysed by Dr. H. C. Cox. The formula selected was that of the natron found in a vase placed in front of the canopic canopy, namely:²

Sodium carbonate and bicarbonate	84·7 per cent
Common salt	1·5 per cent
Sodium sulphate	13·8 per cent.

As the brain had not been entirely removed from the experimental head (hereafter referred to as 'head no. 1'), the partially emptied cranial cavity and the nose were filled with natron. Since head no. 2 was intact, a large orifice was now made through the parietal bone, thus exposing the brain, so that there would be a large area of natron in close proximity to the tissue. The object of the experiment was to determine the anti-bacterial action, if any, of the salt mixture. The two heads were placed on a layer of natron in an earthenware vessel and then covered by 2 cm. of natron. During the course of daily inspections the only changes observed were an insignificant amount of yellowing and crystallizing of the covering salts, and a slight odour of putrefaction, which persisted, but did not increase, with the passing of time. After 43 days the heads were uncovered and the most conspicuous feature observable was the moist condition of the eyes. This observation would appear to be in accord with the findings of the embalmers, because had the natron caused desiccation of these organs, there would have been no necessity to remove them and replace them by artificial ones. The parts of the epidermis and muscle not covered by thick hair had changed to a dark brown colour and had assumed a leathery consistency. The contents of the cranial cavities emitted an odour of putrefaction, but this was no greater than when the heads had been covered with natron. The large area of tissue exposed in head no. 2 showed the onset of degenerative change indicating that the natron retarded decomposition but did not prevent it. These findings were confirmed by head no. 1, where the brain was more fluid in character and less glutinous than it had been.

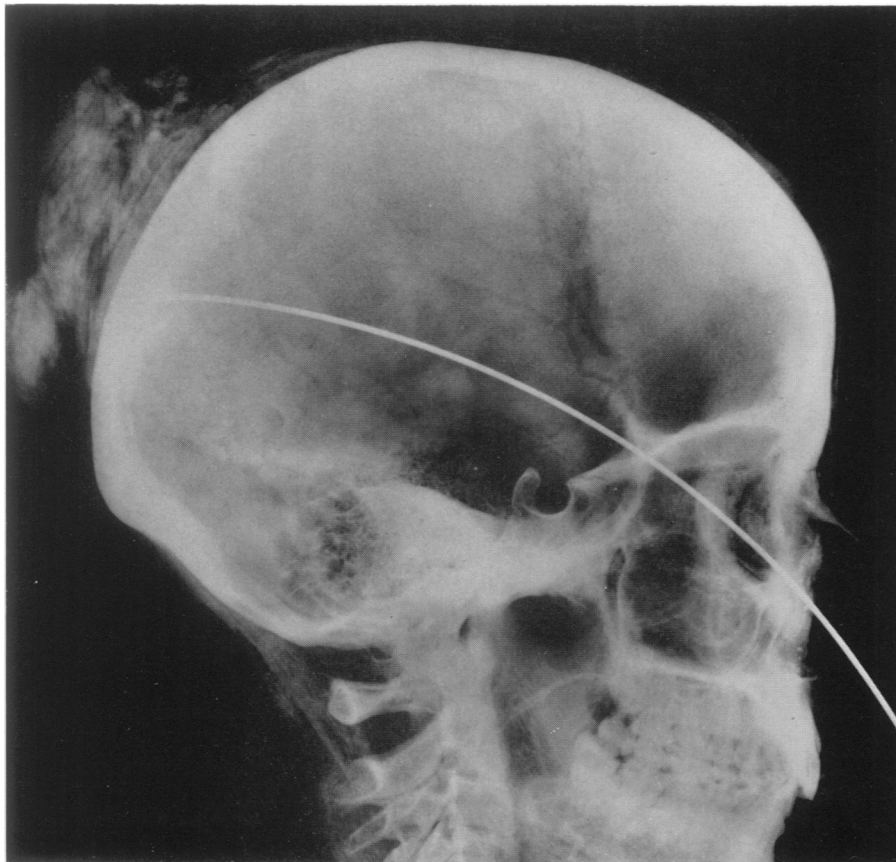
It can be assumed that the organs of *Homo sapiens* would react *post mortem* in the same way as those of *Ovis domestica*. It is evident, therefore, why the ancient embalmers removed the brain and the eyes before, or during, the process of mummification. How much it is to be regretted that *no* experiments can reveal the thought process that led them to adopt this particular surgical procedure of entering the cranium. No doubt the embalmers wished to avoid making signs of external violence, thus impairing the appearance of the head; but they happened nevertheless to choose the most effective method of extraction. It is also clear to see why bitumen has been found in many

¹ Op. cit. 281 ff.

² See Carter and Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, III, 178 f.

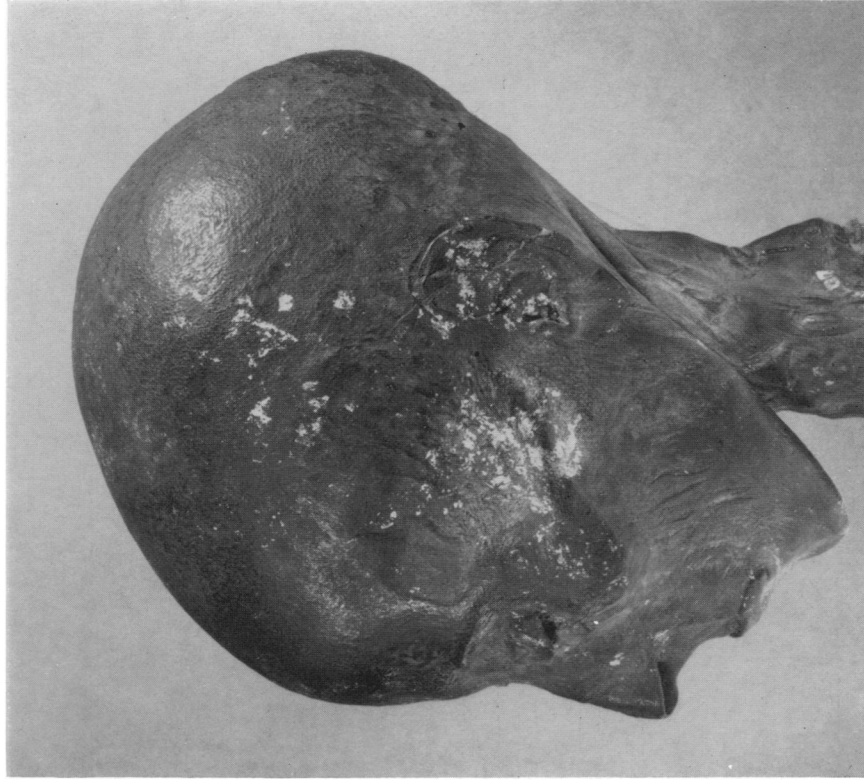


1. Head of a mummy in University College London. The entrance to the nose is undamaged. The face retains some gilding which originally covered it. The hair is in immaculate condition. Upper incisor teeth are visible where the upper lip has been cut away

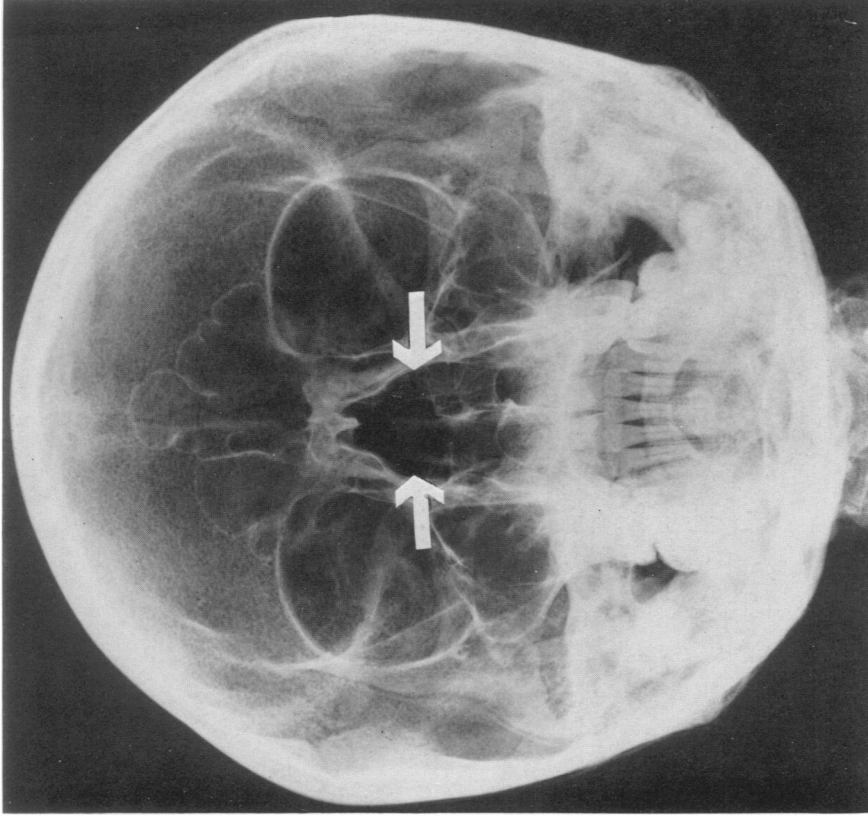


2. X-ray of the same head showing the explorer-instrument passing from the external part of the nose through the cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone to the distal part of the skull. The hair and soft tissue covering the skull are easily discernible

BRAIN REMOVAL DURING EMBALMING

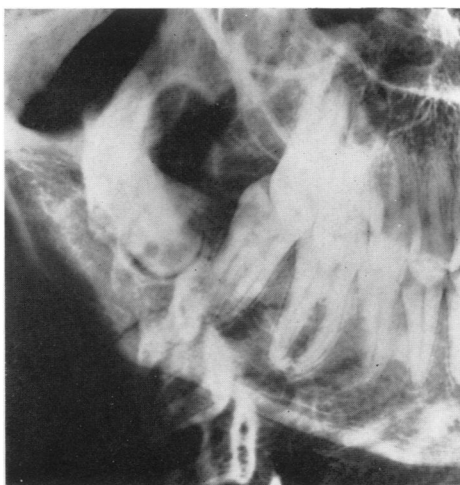


1. Head of a mummy in the City of Liverpool Museums. No evidence of damage to nose. Eyes have been ablated and the lids drawn over some insertion since disappeared. Lips are drawn tightly together. There is a complete absence of hair, lost before completion of mummification, for there are traces of gilding from nose to posterior part of skull. Complete absence of signs of external facial damage

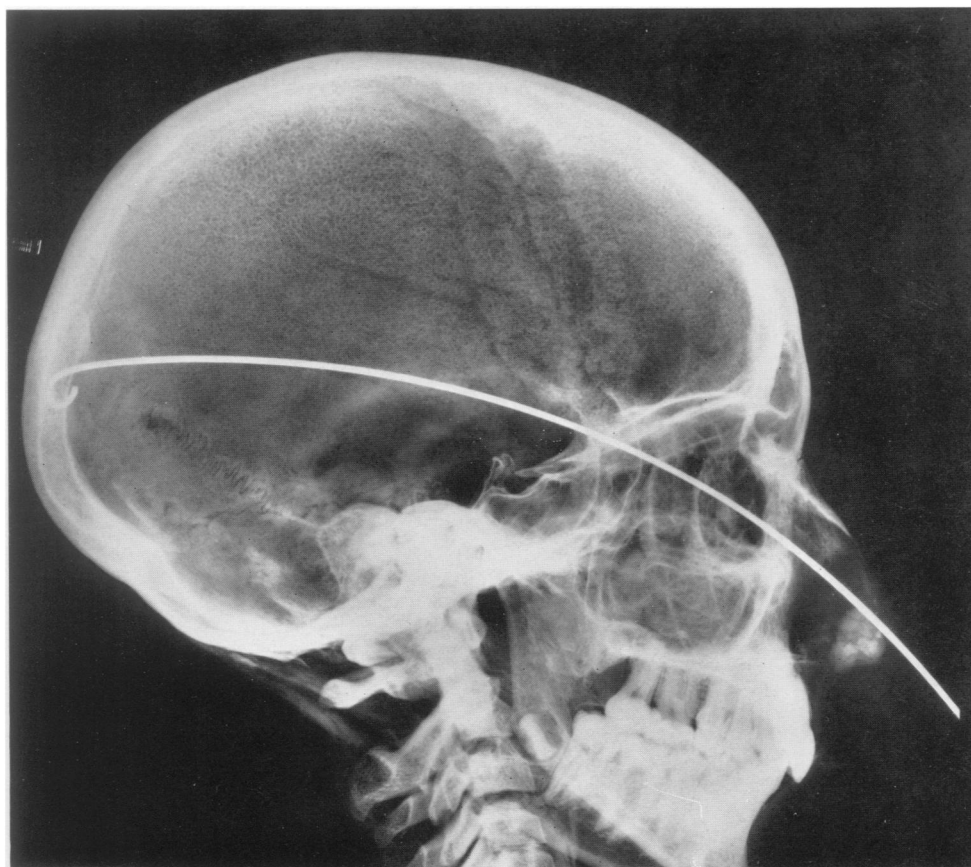


2. X-ray photograph of an occipito-mental projection of the same head, showing between the white arrows the entrance into the base of the cranium via the pierced cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone

BRAIN REMOVAL DURING EMBALMING



1. X-ray showing part of the Liverpool head. Although there are no external signs of damage, this photograph shows that the mandible is fractured at the angle of the ascending ramus between the second and third molars. This damage must have happened *ante mortem*; while it could not have been responsible for death, its cause may have been the responsible factor

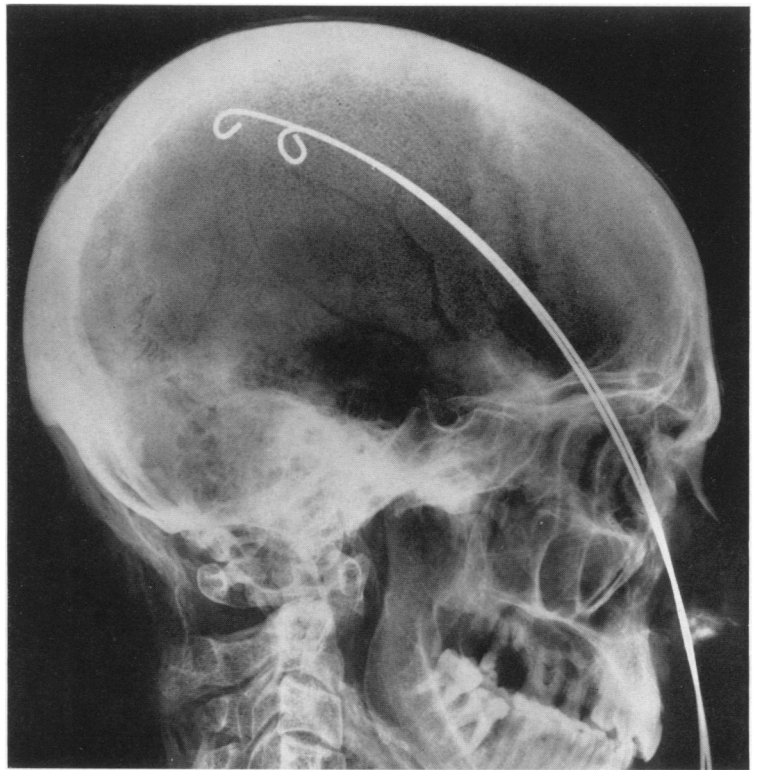


2. X-ray of the Liverpool head showing the explorer demonstrating the clear passage from the entrance of the nostril through the base of the skull to its posterior part. The first two molars are fully erupted, but the third molar is only partially developed, thus showing the age at death to have been approximately fourteen years

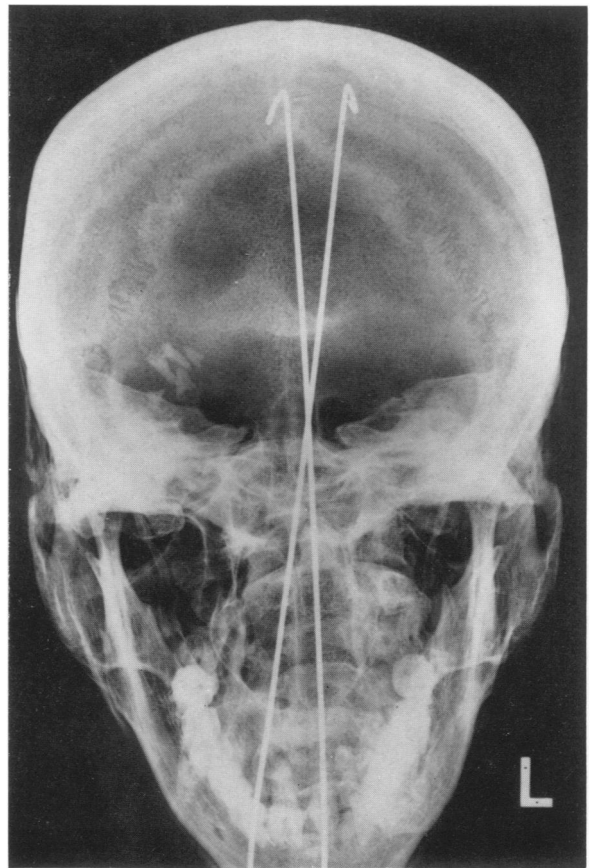
BRAIN REMOVAL DURING EMBALMING



1. Head of a mummy in the Macalister Collection in Cambridge, showing two stainless steel explorers passing through entrance to nose, through fractured cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone, and thus into the cranial cavity. Upper lip partially removed, exposing upper incisor teeth. Profile shows complete absence of nasal manipulation. There is a good covering of hair



2. This X-ray shows two explorers, one through each nostril. The upper molars show signs of caries and abscess formation



3. This X-ray shows roots of teeth lying in posterior base of skull. These are extraneous, having entered the skull *post mortem* via the canal in the spinal column

mummified skulls, since it must have been melted and poured in via the nostril by conscientious embalmers to ensure the complete destruction of any residual tissue.

Conclusions

1. Experiments performed by Sudhoff and by the author confirm that extraction of the brain through the nostrils as stated by Herodotus is feasible, but that the often used illustrative expressions 'drew out' and 'hooked out' are inaccurate.

2. Experiments carried out by the author on *Ovis domestica* prove that the use in mummification of dry natron retards decomposition but does not preserve eyes or brain.¹

Appendix I

Karl Sudhoff, after describing in detail the design of the various instruments probably used for brain-extraction, explains his experiment in the following words (from 'Ägyptische Mumienmacher-Instrumente', in *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 5 (Heft 3, Aug. 1911), 165 f.):

Ich war nun in der glücklichen Lage, mit solchen Haken die Probe auf das Exempel machen zu können und an einer Reihe von Leichen im Sommer 1908 in der Leipziger Anatomie den Versuch zu unternehmen, das Gehirn aus der Schädelhöhle zu entfernen, was in vollkommenster Weise und mit Leichtigkeit gelang — ohne daß die Nase irgendeine äußerliche Veränderung zeigte.

Das Einstoßen der Lamina cribrosa auf einer Seite glückte sofort; ebenso gelang leicht das Zerbrechen der Lamina perpendicularis, ja die völlige Zerstörung der oberen und unteren Nasenmuschel. Eine derartig zerstörte vordere Schädelgrube zeigt nach der Präparierung des Knochens oberstehendes Bild, vollkommen übereinstimmend mit dem Befunde, wie wir ihn an Mumien treffen. Ging man nun in den Schädel ein, zerriß das Tentorium und alle sich entgegenstellenden festen Membranteile im Schädelinnern unter Einhaken der Hakenspitzen oder unter Stoßen mit der gewölbten Stumpfsseite des Hakens, rührte das leicht mazerierte Gehirn um und legte die Leiche dann auf den Bauch, so lief unter leichtem Nach-helfen mit dem Haken oder seinem Stielende in 15—20 Minuten das Gehirn so gut wie völlig aus, wie wir (der findige Anatomiediener HAGEDORN und ich) uns nachträglich bei der Eröffnung der Schädelhöhlen in einer ganzen Reihe von Fällen überzeugen konnten.

Appendix II

The following comment has been supplied by Mark Lister Patterson, M.B., M.R.C.P., pathologist at the National Heart Hospital:

Following the interest and endeavour of F. Filce Leek in the palaeopathology of brain extraction demonstrated in his foregoing experiments on *Ovis domestica*, it proved possible to examine the method described by Sudhoff in *Homo sapiens* using instruments modelled on those previously described. An entry was made through the cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone via the right nostril into the cavity of the skull. No great force was needed to break through the bone, and an artificial foramen

¹ To all those who assisted in the preparation of this essay by word or deed, the author wishes to offer his most profound thanks. In particular to Messrs. Ilford Ltd. who were responsible for all the photographs and X-rays used as illustrations; to Dr. David Dixon of University College London by whose permission photographs and X-rays were made of the mummy head in the Petrie Collection; and to Miss Dorothy Slow, Keeper of Archaeology of the City of Liverpool Museums, for the loan of, and permission to experiment with, the mummy head no. 15.207.2.

of approximately 1.5 cm. in diameter was created. The brain tissue was then macerated by slow rotation of the rod and the tentorium cerebelli and falx cerebri were torn away to produce a contiguous cavity between both sides and the posterior fossa.

The brain was then evacuated in three ways, all of which were probably available to the embalmers. The first followed Sudhoff, and confirmed that brain tissue would drain from the skull if the body were correctly positioned. This method had the disadvantage of being very slow. Secondly, the brain was easily and quickly aspirated through a wide-bore catheter and piston-type syringe. Thirdly, the brain was effectively evacuated by irrigation of the interior of the skull with water which flushed the macerated tissue rapidly through the artificial foramen.

Hence it seems both reasonable and possible that the embalmers did use the method described by Herodotus to overcome the difficulties of brain putrefaction, at least in a significant proportion of bodies.

THE ROYAL TOMBS AT QUSTUL AND BALLÂNA AND THEIR MEROÏTIC ANTECEDENTS¹

By BRUCE G. TRIGGER

ONE of the principal features that distinguish the recent archaeological campaign in Lower Nubia from previous ones is the interest it has generated in the continuities, as opposed to the discontinuities, of Nubian cultural history. This emphasis is permitting archaeologists to deal with a variety of problems that were not clearly distinguished before. In particular, the investigation of the origin of individual traits is now being carefully distinguished from that of whole cultures. The new approach also permits archaeologists to discuss the evolution of material culture apart from questions of an ethnic or linguistic nature, while still recognizing that the two are related. The result is a richer and more accurate picture of the cultural history of this important region.

One of the most important results of this change in emphasis has been the accumulation of new evidence to demonstrate that the transformation from the Meroïtic to the X-Group (Ballâna) culture was a gradual one rather than a sharp break resulting from the occupation of the region by a new ethnic group.² The findings published so far have done much to confirm Hermann Junker's observation³ that these two cultures are part of a single cultural continuum. It has also become clear that many of the new and distinctive (i.e. un-Meroïtic) traits that appear in the X-Group are of Egyptian origin rather than from some unknown source.⁴

This evidence of cultural continuity requires rethinking the ethnic and social history of Lower Nubia during the X-Group Period, and a reassessment of earlier finds. Of great importance for this reassessment are the immense tumulus graves in the cemeteries at Qustul and Ballâna, near the present Egyptian-Sudanese border. Excavated by Walter B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan between 1931 and 1934,⁵ these tombs are without doubt the most important monuments from this period in the whole of

¹ This paper was prepared for the special session on Meroïtic Studies at the 27th International Congress of Orientalists held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 1967. It was revised slightly in June 1968. In preparing this paper I have been assisted greatly by L. P. Kirwan and William Y. Adams; neither, however, is responsible for the opinions that are expressed herein. The two figures were drawn by Susan Weeks.

² W. Y. Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology, II', *JEA* 51 (1965), 160-9; id., 'Sudan Antiquities Service Excavations at Meinarti, 1963-64', *Kush* 13 (1965), 175, 176; B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (1965), 132-4; id., *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West* (1967).

³ H. Junker, *Ermenne* (1925), 85.

⁴ Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia, II', 162; id., 'An Introductory Classification of Meroïtic Pottery', *Kush* 12 (1964), 165.

⁵ W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (1938) (hereinafter abbreviated *RTBQ*). For popular accounts of the excavations see Emery, *Nubian Treasure* (1948), and id., *Egypt in Nubia* (1965), 57-90.

Lower Nubia. They are particularly important from the point of view of understanding social and political development, since it is clear that they were erected by rulers who must have controlled a large part of Lower Nubia and perhaps of regions further south.¹ Any attempt to reconstruct the history of Nubia at this time must seek to determine who these rulers were, how they came to power, and what became of the state they founded. These are questions that are essentially social, rather than cultural, in nature. As we shall see, one of the most regrettable aspects of Nubian archaeology has been that so little work has been directed towards obtaining an understanding of the social history of this region.

Until recently, speculations about the tombs at Qustul and Ballâna have been tied to those concerning the origin of the X-Group culture. Most often it has been assumed that these tombs were merely another item in the inventory of a distinctive culture that was introduced into Lower Nubia with the arrival of the X-Group people.² Like other aspects of X-Group culture, these tomb styles were believed to have developed in some unknown homeland. Obvious Meroïtic traits in the tombs, like other Meroïtic traits in X-Group culture, were viewed as products of the acculturation of the X-Group people to Meroïtic ways in their former homeland, rather than as survivals of Meroïtic culture in Lower Nubia.³ This assumption (which appears to have been largely implicit) led scholars to regard the Meroïtic and X-Group cultures of Lower Nubia as being historically unrelated, in the sense that one developed from the other. It also linked the origin of any Meroïtic traits in the X-Group culture to the origin of the X-Group people.

Today, evidence that cultural changes in Lower Nubia between Meroïtic and X-Group times were gradual has shed new light on the relationship between these cultures. For the most part Meroïtic traits in X-Group culture now are viewed as continuities, whereas new traits are seen as representing innovations or borrowings involved in the gradual evolution of the local culture. The evidence of continuity between the two periods does not, of course, rule out the possibility that new groups migrated into Lower Nubia and settled there in late Meroïtic and X-Group times: indeed, new linguistic evidence⁴ appears to support Zyhlarz's hypothesis that the

¹ No other tombs of this size are found in Lower Nubia. From the size of its cemeteries Qaṣr Ibrîm appears to have been an important, but subsidiary, centre at this time.

² These supposed migrants have been variously identified. Emery (*RTBQ* 18–24) considers them to be Blemmye (i.e. Beja). His view is restated in *Egypt in Nubia*, 243–5. U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana* (1938), argues that they are Berber, and E. Zyhlarz, 'Zur Stellung des Darfur-Nubischen', *WZKM* 35 (1928), 205 ff., and L. P. Kirwan, 'Studies in the Later History of Nubia', *Liverpool Annals* 24 (1937), 67–105, claim they are Nubians. The latter view has recently won much deserved support.

³ Although often treated with sophistication and reserve, this view has nevertheless been pervasive. Emery (*RTBQ* 22) writes: 'Far from the Blemyes being a primitive desert people . . . [they were a] well-organized race with a borrowed culture of Meroïtic origin.' Junker, 'Die Grabungen der ägyptischen Altertumsverwaltung in Nubien', *MDAIK* 3, Heft 2 (1931), suggests that during their initial stay in the territory of Meroë the Nobadae were strongly influenced by the culture of the Meroites. Kirwan, in 'A Little-known People of the Nubian Nile', in E. Bacon (ed.), *Vanished Civilizations* (1963), 70, speaks of traditional links with the south 'with the so-called Island of Meroe perhaps, a very ancient centre of civilization'.

⁴ See B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, 135 n. 10; also id., 'The Languages of the Northern Sudan: an Historical Perspective', *Journal of African History* 7 (1966). Please note that the data cited from Ptolemy and Pliny in these studies are incorrect. They were derived uncritically from A. J. Arkell,

Nubians migrated into the Nile Valley from Kordofan and Darfur at this time.¹ It is clear, however, that, whatever their origin, the settlers in Lower Nubia adopted many features of the local culture rather than preserved their own. Such behaviour is not difficult to understand if, for the most part, these new settlers were nomads; in adjusting to a sedentary existence they would naturally tend to conform to patterns of life that were already well established in Lower Nubia.²

The concept of a distinctive 'X-Group people' thus appears to be without foundation. The X-Group culture probably embraced all of the inhabitants of Lower Nubia at a particular period in its culture history. This population seems to have been a *mélange* made up of the indigenous Meroitic population and various groups of newcomers, all of whom shared a common material culture. For this reason the term *X-Group* is one that is best abandoned as an ethnic label. I have proposed elsewhere that the X-Group culture be renamed the Ballāna culture to emphasize its origins in Lower Nubia.³

At least some partial answers to our questions about the rulers buried at Qusṭul and Ballāna can be obtained from an examination of the cemeteries themselves. The Meroitic antecedents of these graves frequently have been pointed out, and parallels have been found in the royal cemeteries at Meroë for the human and animal sacrifices, the crowns and jewellery found in them. These similarities led W. B. Emery to describe the graves at Qusṭul and Ballāna as being the direct descendants of those at Meroë;⁴ but he obviously did not mean that these similarities were the result of anything that had taken place in Lower Nubia, since he also argued that the rulers buried at Qusṭul and Ballāna had been strongly influenced by Meroitic culture before their arrival in Lower Nubia. In the light of our new understanding of 'X-Group' origins we must rethink the questions of when and whence these borrowings were made and how alike the royal graves at Qusṭul and Ballāna are to those of Meroë.

The superstructures are clearly very different. The tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna are covered with earth mounds up to 77 m. in diameter and 13 m. high; the tombs in the royal cemeteries at Meroë are topped by well-constructed pyramids of stone or brick. A number of theories has been proposed to account for this difference. Emery⁵ has suggested that the mounds were, in fact, a degenerate form of pyramid and had developed from them. Dows Dunham⁶ has argued that at the end of the Meroitic period the pyramid disappeared and was replaced by the earth mound, which previously had been used to cover only the graves of commoners. He suggests that this

A History of the Sudan from Earliest Times to 1821 (1961). For a scholarly commentary on these sources see J. Desanges, *Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique à l'ouest du Nil* (1962), 192-6. These minor errors do not, however, affect the validity of my major arguments.

¹ Zyhlarz, loc. cit. For a summary of views concerning the origin of the Nile Nubians see Trigger, *History and Settlement*, 135 n. 10. See also N. B. Millet, 'Some Notes on the Linguistic Background of Modern Nubia', in R. A. Fernea (ed.), *Contemporary Egyptian Nubia*, 1 (1966), 69-71.

² At least as concerns material culture (which provides the only evidence the archaeologist has to work with), this was precisely what was done by the Hebrews and other nomadic groups that entered Palestine. See Kathleen Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (1960), 195, 209.

³ Trigger, *History and Settlement*, 45-7.

⁴ Emery, *RTBQ* 23.

⁵ *Ibid.* 26.

⁶ Dows Dunham, 'From Tumulus to Pyramid and Back', *Archaeology* 6 (1953), 87-94.

is an example of a folk custom persisting, while an élite custom that was of foreign origin dies out.

An evaluation of such proposals is made more difficult by our uncertainty concerning Meroïtic burial customs in Lower Nubia; which in itself is surprising in view of the large number of cemeteries that have been excavated. It is unclear, for example, whether or not pyramids were built over upper-class graves in Lower Nubia during Meroïtic times, the ruined mud-brick superstructures that have been found there having been interpreted both as pyramids and as mastabas.¹ It is also uncertain that the circular earth mound was a common covering for graves in Meroïtic Nubia as it appears to have been in the common cemeteries that Garstang excavated at Meroë.² The graves in many Meroïtic cemeteries in Lower Nubia appear to have been too close together to have been covered by anything except a flimsy rectangular mastaba of the sort that outlines modern Nubian graves.³ If pyramids were built in Lower Nubia during the Meroïtic period, the abandonment of this shape in Ballâna (X-Group) times remains to be explained. Even if they were not, we must query why the rulers buried at Qus̄ul and Ballâna, when they adopted the other attributes of the Meroïtic royal funerary ritual, did not adopt this symbol as well.

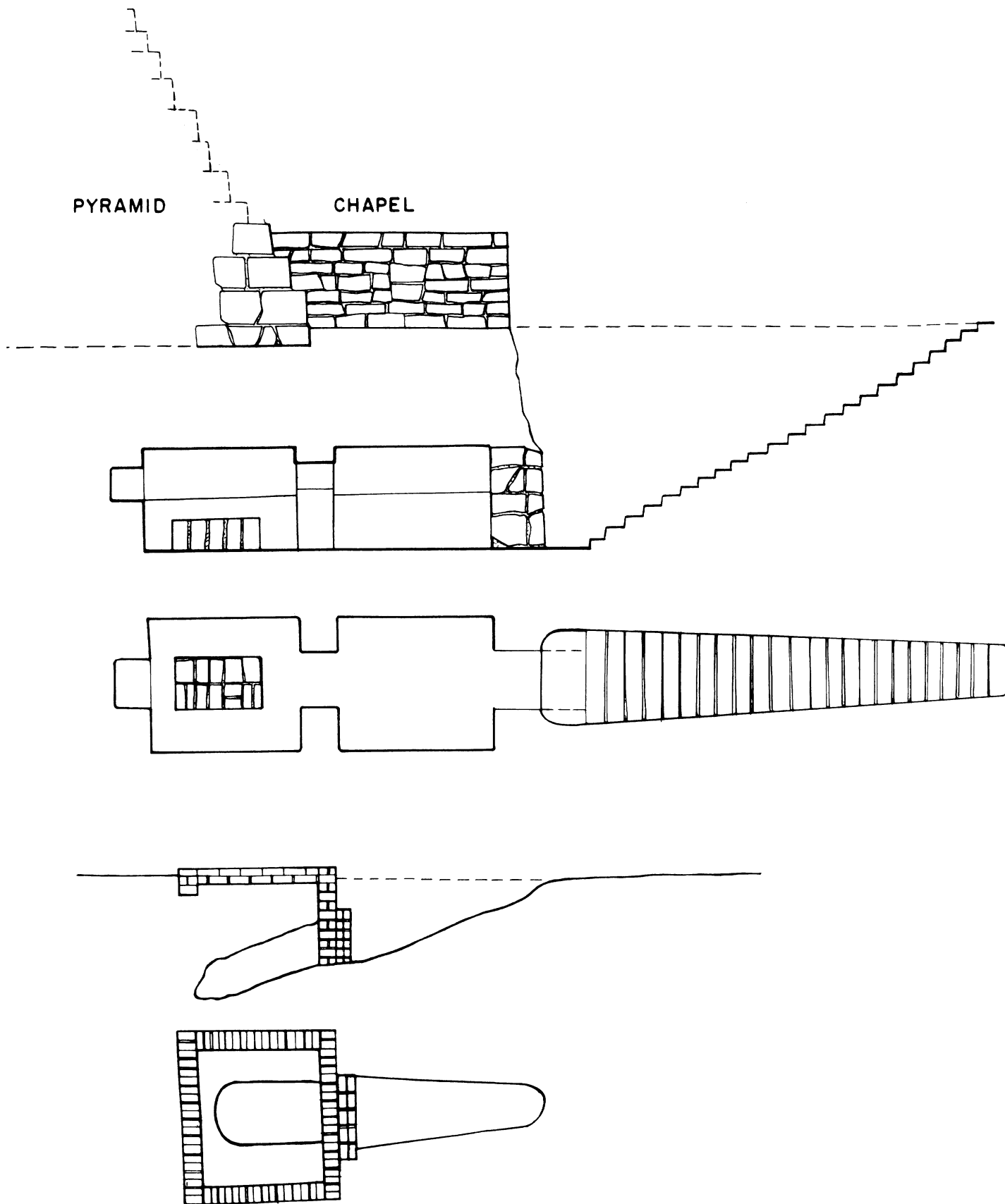
One answer may be that by the time the tombs at Qus̄ul and Ballâna were built pyramids had ceased to be a meaningful symbol, either for the élite or for the people they ruled. A large earth mound, which required a great deal of manpower to construct, but less skilled labour than a pyramid, might have been regarded as an appropriate symbol of authority and power. A change of this sort might have been merely one of fashion; on the other hand, it might have had a religious or ethnic basis. If, as has often been proposed, the rulers buried at Qus̄ul and Ballâna, and many of the people buried elsewhere in Lower Nubia at this time, were not natives of the region, it is possible that the mound had special significance in their native culture and was retained and elaborated by them when other aspects of that culture were abandoned. This might explain why mounds were common coverings for graves in some Ballâna-period cemeteries in Lower Nubia, but not in others.⁴

¹ Emery and Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan* (1935), 490, interpret them as small pyramids; they are followed by various other commentators. C. L. Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver, *Karanog: the Romano-Nubian Cemetery* (1910), 11, and M. Almagro, *La Necropolis meroïtica de Nag Gamus* (1965), 19, describe them as mastabas and false mastabas. A. Vila, *Aksha II* (1967), 315-16, believes that superstructures of both types were erected in Lower Nubia; he admits, however, that the two are difficult to distinguish.

² J. A. Garstang, A. H. Sayce, and F. L. Griffith, *Meroe, the City of the Ethiopians* (1911), 30-3. It should be noted that Garstang's southern group of tombs is now known to be post-Meroïtic. The Meroïtic tombs in the middle cemetery were found surrounded by rings of stones (perhaps marking the outline of mounds); in the north (Meroïtic) cemetery mounds were still preserved.

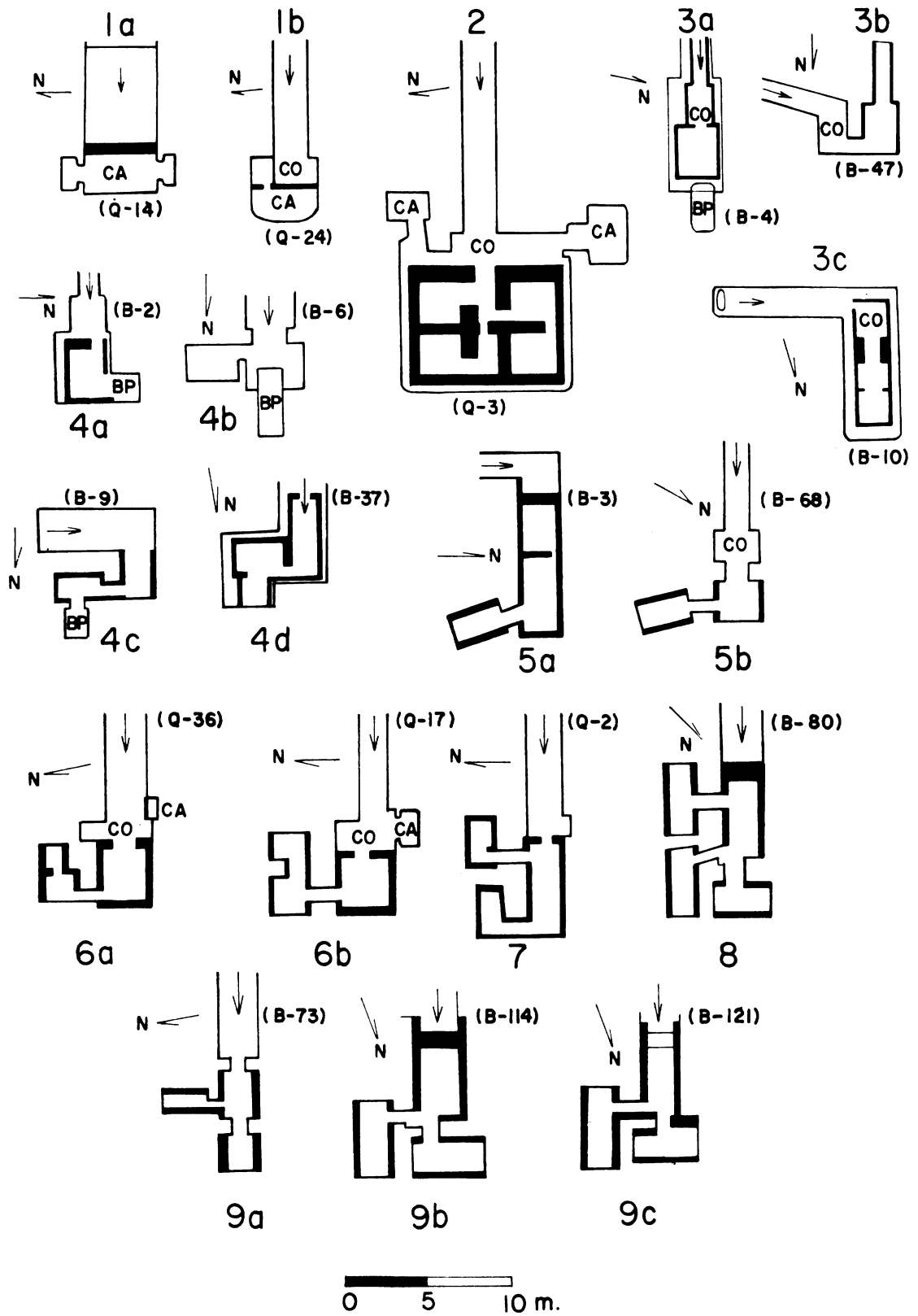
³ I am thinking in particular of the Meroïtic cemetery I know best, Cemetery A at Toshka West. See also the plan of the Meroïtic cemetery at Karanog in Woolley and Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* Only the ground plans of the more substantial Meroïtic superstructure appear to be preserved.

⁴ Emery (*RTBQ* 19) suggests that in X-Group times mounds may have been the universal form of superstructure, the size of the mound varying according to the importance and size of the grave. Mounds are attested at this time in the cemeteries at Qas̄r Ibrîm and Kalâbsha, as well as in small cemeteries such as Cemetery C at Armenna West. In other cemeteries no trace of mounds or of any superstructure has been recovered. It seems that many of these graves may have had the same sort of covering as had the simpler Meroïtic graves.



Above: Section and plan of a royal tomb. The substructure is cut in bedrock

Below: Section and plan of the surviving portions of a typical grave from Lower Nubia. The subterranean parts are cut in the alluvium



PRINCIPAL TOMB TYPES FROM QUSṬUL AND BALLÂNA
(see p. 128)

The substructures of the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna do not resemble those of the élite cemeteries at Meroë any more closely than do their superstructures. The majority of Meroitic tombs, both royal and non-royal, conform to a single pattern, that of the so-called 'cave-grave' (pl. XXVIII). These tombs consist of an open ramp sloping west, at the base of which one or more covered chambers were excavated into the alluvium or bedrock. When there are two or more chambers, these are laid out along a single axis.¹ At Qusṭul and Ballāna the sloping ramp occurs, but with rare exceptions the cave-grave is replaced by a series of barrel-vaulted brick (usually mud-brick) rooms that were built in one or more open pits, then covered over with earth. Brick-work burial chambers occur in some of the more elaborate Meroitic tombs in Lower Nubia, but never on the scale of the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna.²

Moreover, the arrangement of rooms is different. Only a small number of the principal tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna are arranged along a single axis, as is the case with almost all Meroitic tombs large or small.³ Most have a chamber near the foot of the ramp, with one or more rooms opening off it, almost invariably to the rear and to the right. The back room is usually at 90° to the room in front of it. It is noteworthy that the main burial was rarely in the rear chamber, as it was in the royal tombs at Meroë, but instead was in the chamber nearest the entrance.

It is unfortunate that the internal chronology of the cemeteries at Qusṭul and Ballāna is so obscure. Although the main graves in the two cemeteries can be arranged, according to the layout of their rooms, in a rough series from simple to complex (pl. XXIX), it is impossible to tell to what degree these different styles reflect temporal differences or differences in the rank of the people buried inside them.⁴ It seems likely, however, that the prototype for all these tombs is to be found in some of the simple, vaulted, mud-brick substructures in the Meroitic cemeteries of Lower Nubia,

Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia, II', 162, has suggested that the tumulus and a return to the pre-Meroitic practice of contracted burial may be elements imposed by newcomers upon the native population of Lower Nubia. It should be noted that the mound was used as a covering for graves in the cemeteries of the contemporary Tangāsi culture (between Dongola and Meroë). This culture is attributed to the Red Noba; see P. L. Shinnie, 'Excavations at Tangasi', *Kush* 2 (1954), 66-85.

¹ See Dows Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, IV: Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal* (1957) (hereinafter abbreviated Dunham *RCK IV*). Note that the general plan of the substructure remains the same in spite of simplification through time.

² Emery and Kirwan, *Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan*, 489, 491; tomb types W. 3, W. 4, W. 7. Brick chambers are also found in type W. 1, *ibid.* 488.

³ Note, in particular, tombs 4 and 10 at Ballāna. One-room tombs are, of course, not considered.

⁴ It is possible that the tombs which employ cave construction (Qusṭul 3, 14, 24, 25 and Ballāna 2, 4, 6, and 90) are older than tombs that do not; 'caves' being a feature of Meroitic graves. Tombs with their rooms arranged along a single axis (like 4 and 10 at Ballāna) also may be more Meroitic than those with multiple axes, and hence earlier than the rest. This suggests (but certainly does not prove) that the rough sequence of tomb styles that is illustrated in pl. XXIX may have some temporal significance, the simplest forms being earliest. If this is the case, it would appear that through time the orientation of the tomb ramp became less rigid. It would also suggest that the cemetery at Ballāna grew from south to north. These are the merest speculations, however, and are not confirmed to my satisfaction.

It should also be noted that the suggestion that these tombs are meant to represent houses is without foundation, except for tomb 3 at Qusṭul. This tomb falls outside the over-all range of styles, being much larger than any of the others and built of burnt brick. It was constructed in the form of a rectangular building rather than as a series of rooms.

and that the development of the tomb architecture bears little or no relationship to the Meroïtic tradition of royal burial.

Thus there is little in either the superstructure or the underground portions of the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballâna that shows a direct relationship with the royal tombs at Meroë. On the other hand, probable local antecedents for some of the attributes of these tombs can be found in Lower Nubia itself.¹ This is also true of certain features of the burial, such as the positioning of the principal corpse on a Nubian bed or *angareeb*. These beds are found in many of the more elaborate Meroïtic burials in Lower Nubia.

Nevertheless, a number of features occur in the burials at Qusṭul and Ballâna that are not convincingly attested in Meroïtic Lower Nubia, but are a feature of the royal burials at Meroë. The first of these is the interment of large numbers of cattle, horses, dogs, and other animals in the tomb and on the ramp leading to it. Little, if any, evidence of this custom has been found in the large Meroïtic cemeteries in Lower Nubia. The practice is attested at Meroë, however, as early as reign date 45 (c. 43–26 B.C.).² In the Qusṭul and Ballâna burials an ox was often placed at the head of the funeral bier;³ unfortunately the badly plundered condition of the élite graves at Meroë makes detailed comparisons of burial practices impossible.

A second feature common to the burials from Meroë and those at Qusṭul and Ballâna is the interment of sacrificed retainers, again in the tomb and on the ramp outside it. No unequivocal evidence of such sacrifice has been obtained from the Meroïtic cemeteries of Lower Nubia; if there was any, it was clearly limited in frequency and in the number of victims that were involved. At Meroë the earliest evidence of sacrificed retainers is found in tombs from reign date 49 (A.D. 0–25).⁴ At

¹ For a generalized description of these burials see Emery, *RTBQ* 25.

² See tomb 2, Begarawîya North (Dunham, *RCK* IV, 105). Most of the evidence is of horses or oxen buried on the stairs leading down to the tomb; the tombs themselves have been plundered. Horse burials are, of course, attested earlier.

³ Emery, *RTBQ* 25.

⁴ Two human crania were found in the original fill of tomb 22 at Begarawîya North (Dunham, *RCK* IV, 117). There is further evidence of retainer sacrifice in tomb 5, which appears to date from the next reign (*ibid.* 125), and in other tombs of later date. The three human skeletons found in tomb 1 at Begarawîya South (reign date 28, 315–297 B.C.) may date from the period of the tomb's reuse and do not constitute evidence of retainer sacrifice (*ibid.* 30). The same is true of the isolated finds of more than one body in tombs 59 and 13 at Nûri, which date from reigns 6 and 23 respectively (i.e. before 398 B.C.). Nûri was plundered, and in part built over, in Christian times; see Dunham, *RCK*, II: *Nuri* (1955), 25–6, 222, 272.

The bodies of slain retainers rarely show signs of injury; hence when several people are found buried together in a tomb, it is often difficult, or impossible, to determine whether some of them were slain, whether all of them died at the same time, or whether the tomb was reopened at intervals to receive additional burials. This is particularly difficult with small tombs. In the case of the more elaborate ones the nature of the superstructure may rule out the possibility that they were reopened. In large tombs, such as those at Qusṭul and Ballâna, the number of people interred and the difference in status between the principal body and the rest make retainer sacrifice highly probable. Although there are numerous instances of multiple burials in Lower Nubia in Meroïtic times, I am not convinced that a single example of retainer burial has been demonstrated to be such. Likewise, one must be careful not to overinterpret the multiple burials that appear in the West (non-royal) Cemetery at Meroë, beginning between reign dates 30 and 40. Reisner maintained, perhaps correctly, that most of these graves were examples of retainer burial. One of his most convincing examples is grave 18. In this tomb the subject of a subsidiary interment appears to have died of asphyxiation after the tomb was

Meroë, Qusṭul, and Ballāna the number of retainers buried in any one tomb was small; not exceeding seventeen.¹ This in no way compares with the scores and even hundreds of victims found in the royal tombs at Kerma.² These last belonged to a Sudanese kingdom that flourished early in the second millennium B.C. The retainers at Qusṭul and Ballāna include men, women, and children. There does not appear to be any close correlation between the sex of the owner of the tomb and of his or her followers.

A third feature that links the royal burials in Lower Nubia with those at Meroë is the crowns and jewellery recovered from the former. There are close resemblances between the crowns excavated in the tombs at Ballāna and those depicted in Meroitic representations of their royal family.³ Because all the Meroitic royal tombs were badly plundered, it is uncertain whether similar crowns were buried in them, but it seems not unlikely they were. More important, however, these crowns suggest that the rulers at Qusṭul and Ballāna had adopted the Meroitic symbols of kingship and that they regarded themselves, in certain ways at least, as the successors or imitators of the Meroitic kings. The religious symbols on these crowns, which appear to have been far from arbitrary (see below), suggest that even if the Meroitic state religion was in a condition of decline in Lower Nubia,⁴ the kingship of the region continued to be defined in terms of traditional Meroitic beliefs.

It is apparent that great caution must be exercised in searching for the antecedents of those features of Meroitic culture that are found in tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna but are not attested elsewhere in Lower Nubia. In particular, we must recognize that the lack of evidence of certain customs in the archaeological record does not necessarily mean that these customs were not present in Lower Nubia. Few Meroitic graves that belong to important officials are known and fewer still are well preserved.⁵ Since animal sacrifice and retainer burial were not restricted to the royal graves at Meroë, but also are attested in the graves of the nobility, it seems highly likely that there were

sealed, Dows Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, v: The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe* (1963), 159. It is perhaps noteworthy that *shawabtis* appear to have gone out of fashion before the first evidence of retainer burial appears.

Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the first century B.C., recounts, apparently on the authority of Agatharchides (who wrote in the later half of the previous century), that on the death of a Meroitic king his courtiers were expected to die with him (Diodorus Siculus III, 6). This suggests retainer sacrifice at an earlier period than it appears to be attested in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, since Diodorus Siculus does not say that these victims were buried with the king, our two sources of information do not necessarily conflict. Many victims who were slain on the death of African kings in the last century were not buried with them. See, for example, E. A. Ritter, *Shaka Zulu: the Rise of the Zulu Empire* (1955), 312, 313. Note also the retainer burial described *ibid.*, pp. 55-7.

¹ This may not be the highest figure. Most of the tombs at Qusṭul were completely excavated but were badly plundered; at Ballāna, subsurface water had caused the collapse of many tombs and hence preserved their contents. Unfortunately, the excavation of these tombs was extremely difficult and the ramps were not always thoroughly explored. Hence some bodies may be lost from the count of the tombs in both cemeteries.

² G. A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma* (1923).

³ Emery, *RTBQ* 182.

⁴ Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia, II', 164.

⁵ It is claimed on the basis of funerary texts that at least three *peshtê*-s (viceroys?) were buried at Karanog and two at Faras. One of the latter appeared to be buried under the large mastaba 2800, at the north end of the Meroitic cemetery. To my mind it is not absolutely certain that the persons commemorated in text 21 from Faras and texts 77 and 78 from Karanog are themselves described as *peshtê*-s, although the chances that they are seem high (particularly text 78).

similar customs in Lower Nubia at this time. These, rather than practices at Meroë, may have provided the inspiration for the interments at Qusṭul and Ballâna.

Thus none of the evidence considered so far for Qusṭul and Ballâna indicates a significant break with Meroïtic tradition. Moreover, at least some features of the tombs from these cemeteries have better cultural antecedents in Meroïtic Lower Nubia than in the royal traditions of Meroë. This agrees with other evidence that has been collected of striking continuities in the culture of the region. In spite of this, certain cultural discontinuities can be noted, which may be of importance in terms of the social and ethnic history of the region. The most important of these is the lack of evidence that anything was still being written in the Meroïtic script in Lower Nubia by the time that the cemeteries at Qusṭul and Ballâna were in use.¹ The disappearance of the Meroïtic script is well attested throughout the region, but nowhere is the negative evidence more striking than at Qusṭul and Ballâna, where it might have been expected to survive as a script at the royal court.²

Another custom that appears to differ from those of Meroë is the *sati*-burial of queens consort. Although concubines, or even lesser wives, may have been buried with the kings at Meroë,³ queens had their own tombs and, more importantly, appear to have played a significant role in the political life of the country after their husbands' deaths. Evidence which indicates that queens were slain and buried with their husbands has been found in three tombs at Ballâna. In each of these tombs the principal male interment wore a crown with a ram's head and *atef*-plumes.⁴ It seems likely, therefore, that only a reigning king was entitled to wear a crown of that design, while crowns without these features were worn by queens and princes.⁵ This suggests that, in each tomb in which a king has been found, a woman of high status, probably his chief wife and queen, was buried with him. Since the chances of three pairs of kings and queens dying simultaneously of natural causes seem low, it appears that here we have another break with the customs of the older kingdom.

At this point some thought must be given to the date of the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballâna. It has generally been assumed that the earliest ones date from the beginning of the X-Group. This theory was closely linked to the migratory theory of X-Group origins, however, and therefore is no longer particularly meaningful. Emery and Kirwan believe that the tombs at Qusṭul are older than those at Ballâna, and Kirwan

¹ On the possibility of continuities between certain letters in Meroïtic and Old Nubian see Millet, *op. cit.* 63.

² One only Meroïtic inscription was found at Qusṭul, none at Ballâna. The Qusṭul inscription was a single word scratched on an iron spear-head from tomb 14. The spear-head might have been an antique at the time of burial.

³ Two women appear to have been buried with King Amanitenmemide in tomb 17 at Begarawîya North. See L. Cabot Briggs's note in Dunham, *RCK* IV, 143-5.

⁴ These are tombs 80, 95, and 114 at Ballâna. In tomb 114 there is some confusion about the sex of the two skeletons associated with these crowns, Emery, *RTBQ* 147-8 and 184-5.

⁵ These are tombs 6, 10, 47, and 118 at Ballâna. Tomb 6 was that of a man; the sex of the main burials in tombs 10 and 47 was not ascertained, but the objects that accompany these bodies suggest that they were male and female respectively (the occupant of the latter tomb was affectionately nicknamed 'Jingling Millie' because of the large amount of jewellery she was wearing). The main burial in tomb 118 is described as female, but the spears and archer's looses near the body suggest that it may have been male.

has suggested that some of the latter may be as late as the seventh century.¹ These dates are based largely on imported metal objects and pottery found in the tombs, the dates of which are only approximately fixed and in many cases the subject of much controversy.² The presence of Christian symbols on this material does not necessarily indicate that the people buried at Ballāna were on the threshold of being converted to Christianity.³

An examination of the indigenous (or what is presumed to be indigenous) X-Group pottery from the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna reveals several points of considerable interest. First, it is impossible to arrange in a seriate manner (by sequence date) the pottery from the various tombs.⁴ This is true in spite of the larger amounts of thin cream ware cups in the tombs at Qusṭul and the absence of Kirwan's 7a amphorae elsewhere. This suggests that the two cemeteries might have been in use concurrently rather than consecutively. Unfortunately, no final answer can be given to this problem on the basis of the evidence that is available.

Secondly, none of the tombs in either cemetery contains the tall, thin goblets that appear to be associated with the later phases of the Ballāna culture.⁵ Moreover, while many graves contain vessels with early X-Group motifs (such as alternating black and white splash designs), these same graves often contain vessels decorated with later (finer and usually monochrome) X-Group motifs. It thus seems likely that the tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna were built over a shorter period than has been believed hitherto and that none of the large tombs dates from either the beginning or the end of the X-Group period. Needless to say, this conclusion is based on only one line of evidence. Nevertheless, it emphasizes the need for a careful restudy of all the material from these tombs. The large number of 'royal' graves in these two cemeteries does not necessarily indicate that they were in use over a long period of time, since princes and queens (probably those who predeceased their husbands) appear to have had tombs almost as large, or as large, as those of actual kings.⁶ The number of kings may in fact be small and, if inheritance was from brother to brother instead of father to son,⁷ the length of a reign was probably short in any case.

The tombs at Qusṭul and Ballāna indicate that some Meroitic ideas of sovereignty survived into the Ballāna period. The best-attested survivals are the regalia of the

¹ Emery, *RTBQ* 180-1; 396-9.

² See F. W. Freiherr von Bissing, 'Die Funde in den Nekropolen von Kostol, Ballana und Firka am II. Nilkatarakt und ihre zeitliche und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* III/IV (1939), 569-81.

³ Note also that Christianity appears to have been present in Lower Nubia for some time before the official conversion of the country; see Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia II', 164.

⁴ The author met with no success in efforts to do so. Kirwan (*RTBQ* 386) also noted that it was impossible to distinguish an earlier and a later period in the history of the cemetery on the basis of pottery alone.

⁵ For a discussion of early and late Ballāna pottery see L. P. Kirwan, *The Oxford Excavations at Firka* (1939), 33; W. Y. Adams, 'An Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery', *Kush* 10 (1962), 278-80; Trigger, *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West*.

⁶ If the theory of the crowns outlined above is correct, the graves at Ballāna that belong to queens or princes (6, 10, 47, 118) are as large as those belonging to kings (80, 95, 114).

⁷ This seems to have been the rule of succession at Napata during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty; see B. G. Haycock, 'The Kingship of Qush', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7 (1965), 466-7.

people buried in these tombs. Retainer-sacrifice may be another survival, although it is also possible that this was a custom derived from the provincial nobility who lived in Lower Nubia in Meroitic times or was already practised by adjacent peoples before they entered the Nile Valley.¹ The structure of the tombs appears to have better antecedents inside Lower Nubia than elsewhere and the mounds that cover the graves may be of local or exotic origin. The total absence of writing and the evidence of royal *sati* suggest a break with Meroitic tradition.

The question thus emerges: what social and political conditions can explain the simultaneous continuities and discontinuities that are apparent in the tombs at Qus̄ul and Ballâna?

It would appear that during the late Meroitic period, as the Meroitic heartland underwent decline and eventually was invaded by the Red and the Black Noba,² Lower Nubia enjoyed unparalleled prosperity. Most of the Meroitic town-sites and many of the cemeteries appear to date from the second to fourth centuries A.D. So do the majority of funerary texts.³ One reason for the apparent upsurge in population may be that political disturbances further south were causing refugees to settle in Lower Nubia at this time.⁴ Proof of such an assertion must depend, however, on future archaeological work in Upper Nubia. Lower Nubia appears to have owed at least nominal allegiance to the kings at Meroë until the end of the Meroitic kingdom early in the fourth century.⁵ No doubt, however, as Meroë declined, Lower Nubia grew increasingly dependent, both economically and culturally, upon Egypt. The latter dependence probably initiated the stylistic changes that mark the beginning of the X-Group or Ballâna culture. It is possible that during the later years of the Meroitic empire, or soon after, one of the leading families of Lower Nubia or refugees from Meroë itself founded a local dynasty modelled on that of Meroë. Through its imitation of Meroitic court ritual such a successor state may have introduced into Lower Nubia certain customs that hitherto had prevailed only in the capital. It is impossible, however, given the data that are available, to determine whether or not King Kharamêdeye, who has left a long Meroitic inscription in the Temple of Kalâbsha, was a ruler of this sort.

With the break-up of the Meroitic state, various movements of population may have taken place. L. R. Palmer has cogently observed⁶ that such movements do not always produce dramatic discontinuities in the archaeological record, and for this reason often go unnoticed by the archaeologist. A general decline in the prosperity of many communities in Lower Nubia appears to have taken place in late Meroitic and Ballâna times; the effects being most noticeable in the ordinary villages.⁷ This

¹ Retainer-sacrifice appears to have endured long and been widespread in the grassland country south of the Sahara. For some indications of this see W. Vycichl, 'The Burial of Sudanese Kings', *Kush* 7 (1959), 221, 222, and P. L. Shinnie's comment, *Kush* 9 (1961), 295.

² P. L. Shinnie, 'The Fall of Meroe', *Kush* 3 (1955), 82-5.

³ Trigger, *op. cit.*

⁴ W. Y. Adams, 'Post-Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology, I', *JEA* 50 (1964), 119.

⁵ B. G. Haycock, 'The Later Phases of Meroitic Civilization', *JEA* 53 (1967), 107-20.

⁶ L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans* (2nd ed., 1965), 180-1.

⁷ Trigger, *History and Settlement*, 141-3.

may have been the period when considerable numbers of Nubians from Kordofan and Darfur began to settle in Lower Nubia. In this period of decline Blemmye or Beja from the Eastern Desert also appear to have occupied parts of northern Lower Nubia. It is even possible that some members of these groups may have begun settling in this region under Meroitic rule, as the Arabs settled under Nubian rule in later times.¹ Although many people who spoke Meroitic no doubt continued to live in Lower Nubia, one long-term effect of the Nubian settlement appears to have been the replacement of the Meroitic language by Nubian and the disappearance of the Meroitic script. Further evidence of Nubian immigration may be found in the slight increase in negroid characteristics that Batrawi notes in the skeletal evidence from this period.² Such evidence should be treated with considerable caution, however, until more detailed studies become available.

It seems possible that sometime during the Ballāna phase a non-Meroitic, and possibly Nubian-speaking, dynasty came to power in Lower Nubia. For a time this dynasty controlled much of Lower Nubia and it possibly saw itself as the political heir either of the kingdom of Meroë or of the Meroitic successor state that had preceded it in Lower Nubia. Thus Meroitic court ritual and something of the Meroitic religion continued to survive, although the Meroitic script did not. The coming to power of a Nubian dynasty would have enhanced the prestige of Nubian as a spoken language and contributed to its acceptance by those who were of Meroitic descent. In the new state, Meroitic customs appear to have been modified according to the beliefs and taste of the new ruling class and many half-forgotten traditions were probably revived in a somewhat altered form.

The material culture of Lower Nubia was already heavily influenced by that of Egypt from the early Ballāna period onwards. Meroitic political, religious, and social values continued to play an important role in court life until the first half of the sixth century, when the ruling family of Lower Nubia was converted to Christianity. After this event, the Nubian court adopted Byzantine ritual.³

Finally a warning must be sounded. Because of the vast amount of archaeological work that has been done in Lower Nubia, it is easy to overestimate how much we know about the cultural history of this region, and to underestimate the losses that have resulted from the building of the High Dam. We still know very little about the history of Lower Nubia in the late Meroitic period and during the dark age that followed it. There are the inscriptions of Kharamêdeye and Silko, as well as numerous late Meroitic graffiti, but these inscriptions lack an over-all context. Such a context might have been provided had the chief towns of Lower Nubia and their cemeteries been located and thoroughly excavated. From such excavations a picture might have emerged of the political history of Lower Nubia at this time and along with it a better understanding of the dynamics of cultural development and of population changes.

¹ Ibid. 149.

² Ahmed M. el Batrawi, *Report on the Human Remains* (1935), 174-7. Commentators frequently overstate the difference Batrawi found between his Meroitic and X-Group material.

³ On the adoption and persistence of Greek see John F. Oates, 'A Christian Inscription in Greek from Armenna in Nubia', *JEA* 49 (1963), 161-71.

Qus̄ṭul and Ballâna stand in an historical vacuum. We know nothing about the political events that preceded the rise of the kings who are buried there, nor do we know anything about their successors, who were probably the last pagan rulers of Lower Nubia. The ruins of how many dynasties that struggled for power at this time lie buried beneath the waters of Lake Nasser?

Explanatory note on pl. XXIX.

The following tomb types are shown:

- 1*a, b*. Single-axis 'cave graves'.
2. 'House tomb' (only one example; it does not fit into the logical sequence).
- 3*a, b, c*. Single-axis tombs with two brick chambers or brick chamber and burial pit.
- 4*a, b, c, d*. Tombs with side chamber(s) and/or burial pit at right angles to main chamber.
- 5*a, b*. Tombs with side chambers at oblique angle to main chamber.
- 6*a, b*. Main chamber with single doorway leading into two side rooms.
7. Main chamber with separate doorways leading into two side chambers.
8. Main chamber with separate doorways leading into two side rooms and back room.
- 9*a, b, c*. Main chamber with side room and back room.

Abbreviations and conventions: CA = cave; CO = court; BP = burial pit; heavy lines = brick construction; single barbed arrow + N indicates north and shows orientation of each tomb; double-barbed arrow shows slope of ramp leading to tomb; (Q-14) = tomb 14 from Qus̄ṭul; (B-4) = tomb 4 from Ballâna.

A GREEK TESTAMENT FROM PATHYRIS

(P. Lond. inv. 2850)*

By P. W. PESTMAN

THERE is in the British Museum an important and excellently preserved papyrus to which Mr. A. F. Shore drew my attention,¹ and which, although it has been referred to several times,² has not previously been published. The document, drawn up at the office of the ἀγορανόμος in Pathyris, deals with Tathotis, a daughter of Phibis,³ who bequeaths part of her property to her daughter Kobahetesis.⁴ The text is of importance because of the dating and because of the long list and detailed description of the real property which Tathotis possessed. Further it raises many questions with reference to the status of the temple domain in relation to the status of the sacred land of a god⁵ and, finally, many of the people who appear in this 'testament' are already known to us from other sources. Tathotis, the mother, is known of old: she belongs to the family whose Greek-Demotic archive was published thirty years ago.⁶ Kobahetesis, the daughter, is also already known: she is the wife of Panobkhounis, whose family archive was recently studied in some detail.⁷ As it is not known where the papyrus was found we do not know if Kobahetesis put it away in her husband's family archive or if she herself had her own archive in which she was able to put this papyrus with her other personal documents.⁸

The papyrus is, like many other Greek papyri from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis, of first-class quality,⁹ which is remarkable considering the poor quality of the Demotic

* The text will ultimately be published in the appendix to part VI of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. I am very grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for their permission to publish this important text, and to Mr. T. C. Skeat and Mr. A. F. Shore for the support they have given me. I should also like, here, to thank my colleague in Leiden, Dr. E. Boswinkel, with whom I have discussed many of the problems which arose, for his patience and expert advice.

¹ This was during a stay which the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) made possible for me in April 1967.

² See, e.g., *Adler Papyri*, p. 4 n. 1; p. 6 and the index pp. 47 ff.; Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*⁹ s.v. δημοτέω; the literature on the dating (quoted p. 137 n. 9).

³ Compare the family tree on p. 158 for the persons mentioned.

⁴ See note on l. 16 on the question of whether one may speak here of a 'testament'.

⁵ See note on l. 30.

⁶ E. N. Adler, J. G. Tait, F. M. Heichelheim, and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Adler Papyri* (1939).

⁷ P. W. Pestman, 'Les archives privées de Pathyris à l'époque ptolémaïque. La famille de Pétéharsemtheus, fils de Panebkhounis', *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*, 14 (1965), 47-105; Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, 'Demotische Texte aus Pathyris (Neue Dokumente aus dem Familien-Archiv des Peteharsemtheus)', *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 133-70, pls. xxxiv-lxix.

⁸ In any case this papyrus does not belong in the family archive of Tathotis' family since that was found complete and published in *The Adler Papyri*.

⁹ Only the last gummed join of the sheets in col. III and the join in col. IV were not made very well, and the scribe has, therefore, left them unwritten in several places (ll. 29, 44, 45, and 46).

papyri from the same places. The text measures 16×105.7 cm. and consists of eight pages; the recto is written in five columns of varying lengths,¹ the first of which was originally rolled and sealed (pl. XXX, 1). The verso is now no longer visible but was probably not written upon.

The text is made up of several parts. In cols. II–V we find the *ὁμολογία* written at the office of the *ἀγορανόμος* in Pathyris and ruled off by a line which marks the end of the text so that later additions are made impossible.² In col. I there is a short résumé of this *ὁμολογία*, apparently also written at the office of the *ἀγορανόμος*, albeit probably by a different scribe. A few days later a scribe of the bank in Pathyris wrote at the end of the text in col. V that the tax owed had been paid by Kobahetesis. Under this, finally, the banker has signed his name.

The *ὁμολογία* itself is written by a practised scribe in a fine and easily legible hand, although in the end, as his long text grew, he began to write more cursively and use more abbreviations. He checked the contents of his text carefully and made some corrections (e.g. ll. 20, 31, and 38): only a few cases of haplography (ll. 25, 26, and 28), just as a few mistakes (ll. 21, 30, and 31), have escaped his attention.

Certain marked characteristics in the scribe's use of language are: the way in which he gives the Egyptian names *Γούνσις* and *Τμουναρήι* as *Γόνσις* and *Τμουναρήι*, and in particular the way in which he declines Egyptian names in Greek. For the genitive of *Καλῆς*, for example, he writes in l. 25 *Καλέους* but in l. 33 *Καλήτος*.³ Finally the legal distinction which the scribe appears to make between *μερίς* and *μέρος* is worthy of mention.⁴

Transcription⁵

Col. I (pl. XXX, 2)

[2nd hand]

(Ἔτους) β Ἀθὺρ ἡ παρεχώ(ρησεν) Ταθῶτις

ζ' μερίδα πάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῇ

ἐγγαίων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ ὧν ἂν προσεπι-

κτῆσῃται καὶ τῆς Τέλωνος γῆς

5 (ἀρούρας) (ἡμισυ).

Col. II (pl. XXX, 1, 2)

[1st hand]

6 Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν
Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλίσσης

¹ The length of the lines is consecutively about 7 cm. (col. I), 26 cm. (col. II, l. 6), 25½ cm. (col. II, ll. 7–13), 24½ cm. (col. II, ll. 14 ff.), 36½ cm. (col. III), 19 cm. (col. IV), 8 cm. (col. V beginning), and 9 cm. (col. VI end).

² The bracket which rules off the declaration of the payment of tax in col. V has the same purpose. The strokes in the margin of col. II between ll. 11 and 12 and between ll. 13 and 14, on the other hand, are evidently only of importance in dividing up the text.

³ See further the notes on ll. 17 and 48.

⁴ See note on l. 18.

⁵ Mr. T. C. Skeat kindly put Sir Harold Bell's transcription at my disposal. The transcription here following differs from it in only a few points.

Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς θεῶν Εὐεργετίδων ἔτους β,
 ἐφ' ἱερέξιδως τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν
 Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν
 Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος καὶ
 θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος
 10 καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος, κληφόρου Ἀρσινόης
 Φιλαδέλφου, ἱερείας
 Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος τῶν ὄντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι,
 ἐν δὲ Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Θηβαίδος, ἐφ' ἱερέξιδων καὶ ἱερισσῶν καὶ κληφόρου τῶν
 ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν
 ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Θηβαίδος, μηνὸς Ἄθυρ ἡ, ἐν Παθύρει ἐφ' Ἡλιοδώρου ἀγορα-
 νόμου.

Ἄομολογία, ἣν ἐκοῦσα καὶ συνχωρήσασα ἔθετο Ταθῶτις Φίβιος Περσίνη ὡς
 (ἐτῶν) ν ἐλάσσω μελίχρως
 15 πλατυπρόσωπος εὐθύριν μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφοῦ Πανοβχούνιος τοῦ
 Νεχούτου Πέρσου τῶν
 προσγράφων, καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ παρακεχωρηκέναι Κοβαετήσει Φαγώνιος τῆι
 ἑαυτῆς θυγατρὶ
 Περσίνη μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς Πανοβχούνιος τοῦ Τοτοέους Πέρσου τῆς
 ἐπιγονῆς· ἀπὸ μὲν
 τῆς καλουμένης γῆς σιτοφόρου Τέλωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῆι ἡ' μέρους
 (ἀρούρας) ἡμισυ, γείτονες
 τῆς ὅλης γῆς· νότου γῆ Πατσεούτος, βορρᾶ γῆ Νεχούτου τοῦ Βούχιος, ἀπηλιώτου
 ἀμπελῶν τῶν ὄχλων,
 20 λιβὸς διῶρυξ Πμοης· [[c. 23 letters]]

11. 1. οὐσῶν

14. 1. συγχ.; Φίβιος: ἰ corr.; Περσίνη: η corr.

Col. III (pl. XXXI, 1)

21 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῆι ἐγγαίων τε καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ ὦν ἂν προ(σ)επι-
 κτήσεται ἐβδόμην μερίδα ἐκτὸς τῆς δεδομένης αὐτῆι φερνῆς,
 ὦν εἰσιν· ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Ταριτεῦτος γῆς ἡ(είρου) σιτοφόρου ἐν Παθύρει
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῆι ἡ' μέρους ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὅλης γῆς·
 νότου γῆ Πατούτος τοῦ Παθῶτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, βορρᾶ γῆ Σιεπμούτος καὶ τῶν
 ἀδ(ελφῶν), ἀπηλιώτου γῆ τῶν ἰβιοβόσκων καὶ Ἀρμώνθου, λιβὸς ὄρος· καὶ ἀπ'
 ἄλλης
 σφραγίδος καλουμένης Σεναμούνιος ἀπὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος αὐτῆι ἡ' μέρους τὴν ζ'
 μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὅλης γῆς· νότου γῆ Πατούτος τοῦ Φίβιος καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν),
 25 βορρᾶ γῆ Ψενθῶ(του) τοῦ Καλέους καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν) καὶ Πατούτος τοῦ Παθῶτου
 καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν), ἀπηλιώτου περιχώμα, λιβὸς ὄρος· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος
 Ζμίνιος τοῦ Ἀρσινήσιος (ἀρουρῶν) δ (ἡμίσιος) ἡ' λο'

- ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἢ μερίδος τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος ὁμοιούσης ταύτῃ καλουμένης <ς> Σεναμούνιος καὶ Ζμίνιος, ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῆς καθηκούσης αὐτῇ μερίδος τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες τῶν δύο σφραγίδων· νότου γῆ χέρσος, βορρᾶ γῆ Νεχούτου τοῦ Ζμίνος, ἀπηλι(ώτου) ὁδός, λι(βός) ὄρος· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος (ἀρούρας) α (ἡμίσιους) d ἢ
- ἀνὰ σ (ἡμισυ) ἀπὸ τῆς καθηκούσης αὐτῇ μερίδος τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὄλης· νότου καὶ ἀπηλι(ώτου) ἱερά γῆ τῆς Ἀφροδί[τ]ης, βορρᾶ γῆ Νεχού(του) τοῦ Ζμίνος,
- λιβός ὄρος· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος καλουμένης Τιμοναρηί ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῇ ἢ μέρους τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὄλης γῆς·
- 30 νότου γῆ Καλλίου, ἀπηλιώτου <ἱερά> γῆ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ κοιλάς, βορρᾶ ἱερά γῆ τοῦ ἐν Παθύρει ἱεροῦ, <λιβός ὄρος>· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος, ἧς μέτεστι Τισύτμει Φράσιος
- τὰς ἐαυτῆς μερίδας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῇ [ἠ'] μέρους τὴν αὐτὴν μερίδα 'ζ'', γείτονες τῆς ὄλης γῆς· νότου γῆ Σεναμούνιος, βορρᾶ γῆ τῶν ἰβιοβόσκων, ἀπηλιώτου περίχωμα, λιβός γῆ Σεναμούνιος· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος ἐν τῇ κάτω ταινίαι, ἧς μέτεστι τῇ αὐτῇ Τισύτμει Φρ' ἄ'σιος μερίδα, ἀπὸ τῆς καθηκούσης αὐτῇ μερίδα τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὄλης γῆς· νότου γῆ Κολλούθου τοῦ Φίβιος, βορρᾶ γῆ Καλήτος,
- ἀπηλιώτου ὁδός, λιβός γῆ Νεχούτιος τῆς Πελαίου καὶ Ἄνεμπεῦτος· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῇ φοινικῶνος ἐν τῇ περιστάσει τῆς πόλεως τὴν ζ' μερίδα,
- 35 γείτονες· νότου φοινικῶν Ζμίνιος, βορρᾶ γῆ Γόνσιος, ἀπηλιώτου ποταμός, λιβός διωρυξ βασιλική· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῇ τε οἰκίας ὠικο-
21. ὑπαρχόντων: v corr. from a 33. l. ἀπὸ τῆς . . . μερίδος 34. ὁδός: ὁ corr. 35. φοινικῶν: corr.

Col. IV (pl. XXXI, 2)

- 36 δομημένης καὶ τεθυρωμένης καὶ ἐστεγασμένης τῆς οὔσης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὄχυρώματος, ἧς μέτεστι Θαίβει τὸ (ἡμισυ), ἀπὸ τοῦ (ἡμίσιους) αὐτῆς τὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες· νότου οἰκία Θράσω(νο)ς,
- βορρᾶ οἰκία Νεχθμίνιος ἀνὰ μέσον ρύμη ἀπηλι(ώτου) Καιῆς', λι(βός) οἰκία Παθώτου· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης οἰκίας ἐν τῇ
- ἄνω ταινίᾳ τοῦ ὄχυρώματος τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες· νότου οἰκία Ὠρου τοῦ
- 40 Θεοτορταίου, βορρᾶ ρύμη, ἀπηλιώτου οἰκία Θαίβιος, λι(βός) ρύ(μη)· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλου ψιλοῦ τόπου
- τοῦ ὄντος ἐπάνω τῆς Σενήσιος τῆς Χαρίστιος οἰκίας τὴν αὐτὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες· νότου Πανεχάτου τοῦ Πελαίου καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν) ψιλὸς τόπος, βορρᾶ οἰκία Σενήσιος,
- ἀπηλι(ώτου) ρύ(μη), λι(βός) ψιλοὶ τόποι τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης οἰκίας ὠικοδομημένης καὶ τεθυρωμένης)
- τὴν αὐτὴν μερίδα, γείτονες τῆς ὄλης· νότου Ἰσιεῖον ἀνὰ μέσον ρύ(μη) βα(σιλική), βορρᾶ

- 45 οἰκία Νεχούτου τοῦ Ζμίinos, ἀπηλι(ώτου) πλατε(ί)α ὁδὸς τῶν θεῶν, λι(βὸς) οἰκία
 Ἀρογγοῦτος·
 καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλου ψιλῶς τόπου ἐν τῇ κάτω ταινία τὴν ζ' μερίδα, γείτονες· νότου
 καὶ βορρᾶ ψιλῶς τόπος Κοβαετήσιος, ἀπηλι(ώτου) οἰκία Ἀρμώνθιος, λιβὸς Τειαιτος
 οἰκία, ἣ οἱ ἂν ὦσι γείτονες πάντοθεν πάντων τούτων. Μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ Ταθώτη
 μηθενὶ ἄλλωι παραχωρεῖν τὴν ζ' μερίδα τῶν προκειμένων· εἰ δὲ μή, ἄκυρος ἔστω
 50 καὶ προσαποτεισάτω ὁ ἐπιπορευόμενος ἐπίτιμον παραχρῆ(μα) τῇ μὲν Κοβαετήσει
40. Pap. ρμη^υ 43. Pap. τεθρ^υ 44. Ἰσιείον: σ corr. from ε; μέσον σ corr. from ρ

Col. V (pl. XXXI, 2)

- 51 χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἱεράς <τοῖς> βα(σιλεῦσιν)
 ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου (δραχμὰς) τ καὶ μηθὲν
 ἦσσαν κύρια ἔστω τὰ διωμολο-
 γημένα.

[3rd hand]

- 55 Ἐτους β Ἀθὺρ ιᾶ· τέ(τακται) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Παθύ(ρει) τρά(πεζαν),
 ἐφ' ἧς Ἑρα(κλείδης), θέμα ι' ἐνκυ(κλίου) Κοβαετήσις
 Φαγώνιος· χα(λκοῦ), οὐ ἀλλαγῆ, † (γίνονται) †.

[4th hand]

Ἑρα(κλείδης) τρα(πεζίτης)

56. Pap. Ηρ.^α (with a small dot); l. εγκ.

Translation

*Scriptura interior*¹

‡ Year 2, Hathyr 8:² Tathotis has given up:‡

(i) a seventh part of everything that belongs to her ‡ in land and in implements and that she will acquire besides; †

(ii) and † half an aroura of the land of Telon.

*Scriptura exterior*³

‡ In the second year

of the reign of Ptolemy (VIII), god Euergetes, son of Ptolemy (V) and Cleopatra (I), gods Epiphaneis, and (of the reign) of queen † Cleopatra (II) the sister, and of queen Cleopatra (III) the wife, goddesses Euergetides; †

¹ The *scriptura interior* (ll. 1–5) contains a short extract from the *ὁμολογία* (ll. 6–54): this part of the papyrus was rolled and sealed. The seal was still intact when the British Museum acquired the papyrus (see pl. XXX, 1).

² Nov. 27, 116 B.C.

³ The *scriptura exterior* contains the full *ὁμολογία* (ll. 6–54) and the declaration with regard to the payment of the tax (ll. 55–8).

during the priesthood of him who is priest, in Alexandria, of Alexander and the gods Soteres and the gods Adelphi and the gods ⁹ Euergetae and the gods Philopatores and the gods Epiphaneis and the god Eupator and the god Philometor ¹⁰ and the gods Euergetae, (and during the priesthood) of the priestesses who are the athlophoros of Berenice Euergetis, and the kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphus, and the priestess ¹¹ of Arsinoe Philopator: in Alexandria, ¹² and in Ptolemaïs of the Thebaïd, during the priesthood of them that are the priests and the priestesses and the kanephoros ¹³ in Ptolemaïs of the Thebaïd, on the 8th of the month Hathyr, in Pathyris, before Heliodoros, the agoranomos. ¹⁴

Agreement

which Tathotis, daughter of Phibis, a Persian woman, about 50 years old, rather small, honey-coloured, ¹⁵ broad-faced and straight-nosed, laid down of her own free will and with her own consent, (acting) with her own brother¹ as a guardian, Panobkhounis, son of Nekhoutes, a Persian belonging to the ¹⁶ enrolled persons,

and in which she (Tathotis) agrees that she has given up to Kobahetesis, daughter of Phagonis, her own daughter, ¹⁷ a Persian woman (acting) with her own husband as a guardian, Panobkhounis, son of Totoës, a Persian of the epigone: ¹⁸

(a)² half an aroura of the 8th part that belongs to her of the cornland, called (the land) of Telon, the neighbours ¹⁹ of the whole land (being):

on the south: the land of Patseous, (son of Phibis),

on the north: the land of Nekhoutes, son of Boukhis,

on the east: the vineyard of the people, ²⁰

on the west: the canal Pmoës; ²¹

(b) and apart from the dowry which she (Tathotis) had given to her before, the seventh part of the other things that belong to her in land and in implements, and that she will acquire besides, ²² i.e.:

(c) the seventh part of the 8th part that falls to her out of the cornland, above inundation level, in Pathyris, ³ which is called (the land) of Tariteus, the neighbours of the whole land (being): ²³

on the south: the land of Patous, son of Pathotes and his brothers,⁴

on the north: the land of Siepmous and his⁵ brothers,

on the east: the land of the keepers of the ibises and (the land) of Harmonthes,

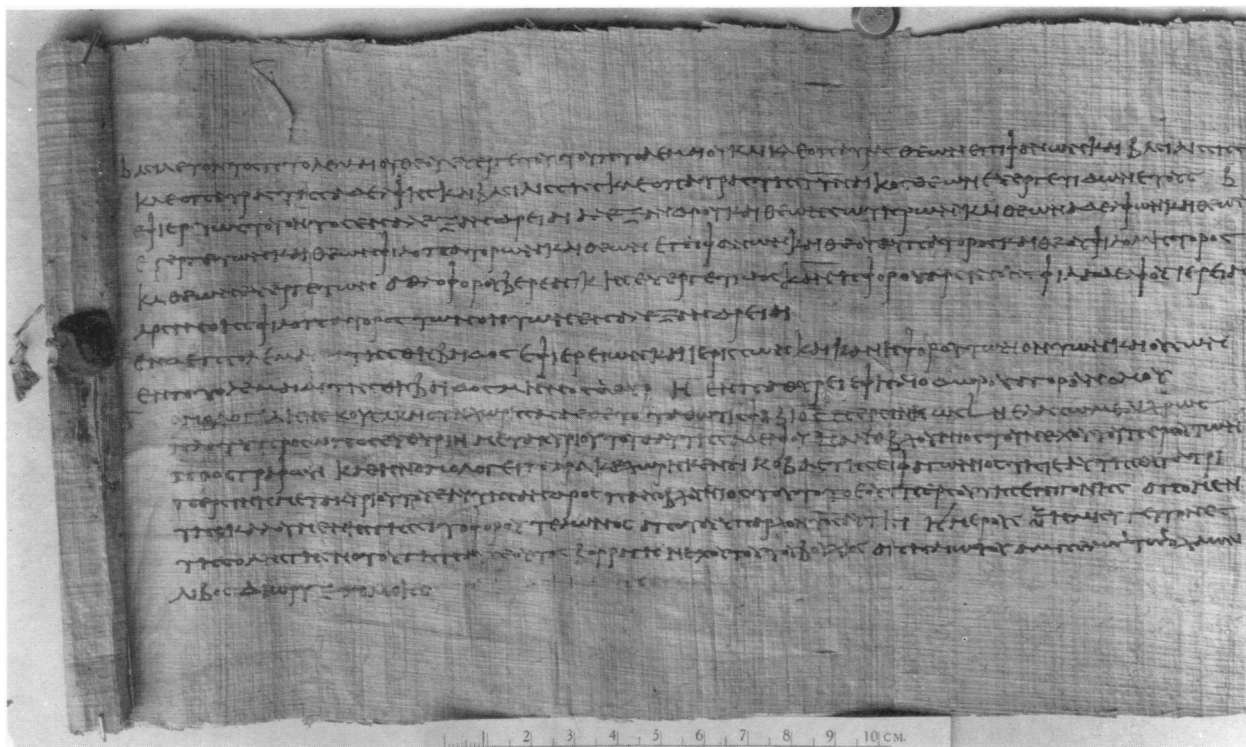
on the west: the desert;

¹ Rather: nephew.

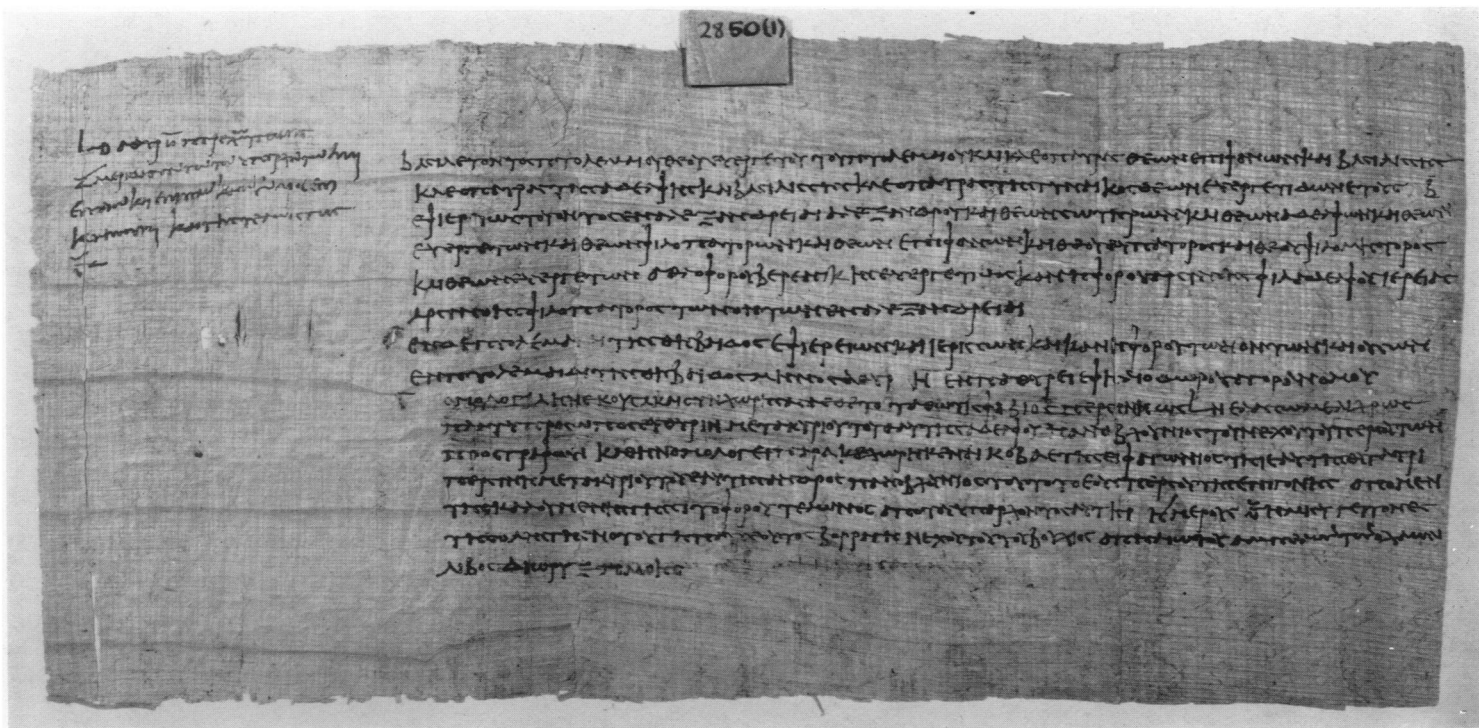
² The letters in the margin indicate the various items of property which Tathotis bequeaths to her daughter. These letters correspond to the letters on pp. 152 ff. ³ Rather: in the plain surrounding Pathyris.

⁴ Here and in future any possible sisters are also tacitly implied under 'brothers'.

⁵ Or, alternatively, 'her'. The name Siepmous is, in any case, borne by both men and women, *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 97, No. 48.

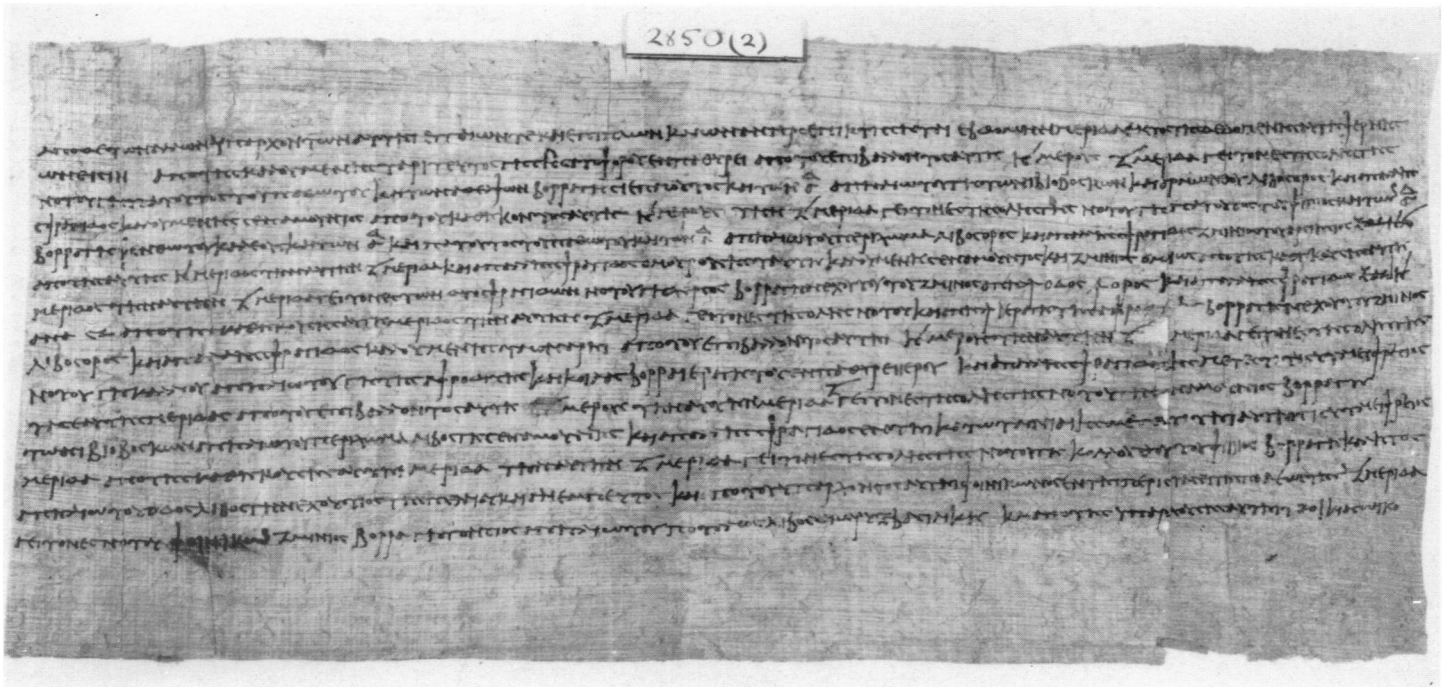


1. Cols. I (rolled and sealed) and II



2. Cols. I (unrolled) and II

A GREEK TESTAMENT FROM PATHYRIS (P. Lond. Inv. 2850)



1. Col. III



2. Cols. IV and V

- (d) and ²⁴ | the 7th part of the 8th part that comes down to her of another plot, called (the land) of Senamounis, the neighbours of the whole land (being):
- on the south: the land of Patous, son of Phibis, and his brothers, |²⁵
 - on the north: the land of Psenthotes, son of Kales, and his brothers, and of Patous, son of Pathotes, and his brothers,
 - on the east: the enclosing dyke,
 - on the west: the desert;
- (e, f) and the same 7th part of the same 8th part of another plot of $4 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32}$ arouras (called the land) of Zminis son of Harsiesis |²⁶ and likewise the same 7th part of the part that comes to her of another plot that borders upon it, called (the land) of Senamounis and Zminis (son of Harsiesis), |²⁷ the neighbours of both plots (being):
- on the south: the barren land (of Zminis, son of Harsiesis),
 - on the north: the land of Nekhoutos, son of Zmin,
 - on the east: the road,
 - on the west: the desert;
- (g) and the same 7th part of the part that comes down to her of another plot of $1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ aroura |²⁸ at the yield of $6 \frac{1}{2}$ (artabas) each,¹ the neighbours of the whole (land being):
- on the south and east:² the sacred land of Aphrodite,
 - on the north: the land of Nekhoutos, son of Zmin, |²⁹
 - on the west: the desert;
- (h) and the same 7th part of the 8th part that falls to her out of another plot called Tmonareī, the neighbours of the whole land (being): |³⁰
- on the south: the land of Kallias,
 - on the east:³ the sacred land of Aphrodite and the *κοιλιάς*,⁴
 - on the north:⁵ the sacred land of the temple in Pathyris,
 - on the west: the desert;
- (i) and the same 7th part of the part that falls to her of another plot, in which Tisutmis daughter of Phrasis has a share |³¹ for her own parts,⁶ the neighbours of the whole land (being):
- on the south: the land of Senamounis,
 - on the north: the land |³² of the keepers of the ibises,
 - on the east: the enclosing dyke,
 - on the west: the land of Senamounis;
- (j) and the same 7th part of the part that comes down to her of another plot on the northern *ταυρία*,⁷ in which the same Tisutmis daughter of Phrasis has a share |³³ for (her) part,⁸ the neighbours of the whole land (being):
- on the south: the land of Kollouthos, son of Phibis,
 - on the north: the land of Kales, |³⁴

¹ It is noteworthy that this is the only plot of which the yield is stated; see p. 142 n. 9.

² The sequence of the compass points has been altered by the scribe for simplification.

³ Rather: north? See note on l. 30, p. 146 below.

⁴ A watercourse which dries out during part of the year; see p. 147 n. 6.

⁵ Rather: east? See note on l. 30, p. 147 below.

⁶ Tathotis and Tisutmis, therefore, owned the plot jointly.

⁷ A strip of elevated land which runs parallel to the edge of the desert and the Nile and on which the town itself also stands.

⁸ Tathotis and Tisutmis, therefore, owned the plot jointly.

- on the east: the road,
 on the west: the land of Nekhoutis, daughter of Pelaias, and (the land) of Anempeus;
 (k) and the 7th part of the palm grove that belongs to her (with)in the surrounding wall of the town,³⁵ | the neighbours (being):
 on the south: the palm grove of Zminis,
 on the north: the land of Gonsis, (son of Thotomous),
 on the east: the river,
 on the west: the royal canal;
- (l) and the 7th part of her half of the house which belongs to her, which is³⁶ | built,¹ furnished with its door and its roof, which lies within the fortification,² | and in which Thaïbis, (daughter of Phibis), has a share for a half,³ the neighbours (being):
 on the south: the house of Thrason,³⁸ |
 on the north: the house of Nekthminis, the street being in between,
 on the east: (the house? of) Kaies,⁴
 on the west: the house of Pathotes;
- (m) and the same 7th part of another house on the³⁹ | southern *ταυρία*⁵ of the fortification, the neighbours (being):
 on the south: the house of Horos, son⁴⁰ | of Thotortaios,
 on the north: the street,
 on the east: the house of Thaïbis, (daughter of Phibis),
 on the west: the street;
- (n) and the same 7th part of another⁶ vacant plot⁴¹ | situated above⁷ the house of Sennesis, daughter of Kharistis,⁴² | the neighbours (being):
 on the south: the vacant plot of Panekhates, son of Pelaias, and his brothers,
 on the north: the house of Sennesis, (daughter of Pates),⁴³ |
 on the east: the street,
 on the west: the vacant plots of the temple;
- (o) and the same part of another house, built⁸ and furnished with its door,⁴⁴ | the neighbours of the whole (house being):
 on the south: the temple of Isis, the royal street being in between,
 on the north:⁴⁵ | the house of Nekhoutis, son of Zmin,
 on the east: the broad street of the gods,
 on the west: the house of Harongous;⁴⁶ |
- (p) and the 7th part of another vacant plot on the northern *ταυρία*⁹ (of Pathyris), the neighbours (being):
 on the south⁴⁷ | and north: the vacant plot of Kobahetesis,

¹ I.e. 'not in ruins'.² This lies in the town.³ Tathotis and her sister Thaïbis own this house jointly; each has half of it.⁴ This eastern neighbour was added later by the scribe between the lines. He only gives the owner of the property and does not say if it was a house. It could possibly have been a vacant plot.⁵ See above, p. 135 n. 7; the said fortification lies within the town.⁶ The two previous items referred to houses.⁷ 'Before, in front of'. Cf. also *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 55 n. 67.⁸ I.e. 'not in ruins'.⁹ See above, p. 135 n. 7.

on the east: the house of Harmonthis,

on the west: the house of Teiais;⁴⁸

or whatsoever be the neighbours on all sides of all those (plots).

It shall not be permitted for Tathotis¹ to give up to anybody else the 7th part of the above-mentioned (plots): otherwise it² shall be invalid⁵⁰ and, besides, the claimant³ shall pay forthwith as a fine⁵¹ 20 talents of bronze to Kobahetesis⁴ and⁵² 300 drachmas of coined silver money, consecrated to the Kings but never⁵³—theless, what is⁵⁴ stipulated shall remain valid.

⁵⁵ Year 2, Hathyr 11:⁵ Kobahetesis, daughter of Phagonis, has paid into the bank in Pathyris,
⁵⁶ of which Herakleides is in charge, as a deposit⁶ for the 10 per cent sales tax:⁵⁷ 3,000 (drachmas) of bronze, and its agio,⁷ total 3,000.

⁵⁸ Herakleides, the banker.⁸

Notes

Lines 6–13—The dating of our text has already attracted attention more than once,⁹ because it is dated in Year 2¹⁰ of the joint reign of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III; according to the data already known, however, there was no second year of the joint reign of these three rulers, which started only with the 33rd year and lasted, broken by a short interval, to the 54th year of Ptolemy VIII's reign (138/7–117/16 B.C.). Our text gives us two other pieces of information which are important for the dating: the agoranomos Heliodoros (l. 13) held his position from, at the earliest, the year 126 until 111 B.C., whilst the banker Herakleides (ll. 56 and 58) put his name to another text¹¹ on September 11, 114 B.C.

One might imagine that the text was indeed written during the joint reign of the three sovereigns referred to here. The Year 2 in this case must then refer to a new era in this reign.¹² There is certainly one moment in the period 138/7–117/6 at which a new era could have begun, that being at the moment when Cleopatra II was restored to the

¹ The testator.

² The *παραχώρησις*.

³ That is, he who, in spite of this interdiction, will acquire one or more items of the said property belonging to Tathotis and attempts to obtain or keep these items of property.

⁴ The heiress.

⁵ Nov. 30, 116 B.C.; the document itself is dated Nov. 27. The registration by the bank authorities of the payment of the 10 per cent tax begins here.

⁶ It is a question of a provisional payment: see note on l. 56, p. 151 below.

⁷ A small extra sum is due because payment is made in bronze and not in silver money.

⁸ Signature of the banker himself.

⁹ W. Otto and H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches* (1938), 129–30; T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (1954), 35; D. Musti, 'I successori di Tolomeo Evergete II', *La Parola del Passato* 73 (1960), 444–6.

¹⁰ The number 'two' in l. 7 is definite, for it is written thrice by three different people, at the bank (l. 55) and at the notary's office (ll. 1 and 7). In l. 7 it looks as if the number has been added later in a space left for this purpose; this, however, is only semblance; see note on l. 7.

¹¹ P. Strassb. II, 84, 33.

¹² The Year 2 cannot refer to the beginning of the joint reign itself (i.e. Year 2 = 137/6 B.C.), because the agoranomos Heliodoros held his position only from the year 126 B.C.

throne in the year 125/4 after her rebellion in the year 132/1 B.C.:¹ Year 2 would then coincide with the 47th year of Ptolemy VIII's reign (124/3 B.C.). In this year Heliodoros already held the position of agoranomos, while it is not impossible that the banker Herakleides was also in office. All the same, the dating suggested here is not very probable, seeing that no indication whatsoever of such a new era is to be found, while, from all the years in question, many texts are known which are dated in the usual way.²

Since, during Heliodoros' term of office, a Year 2 was definitely known, namely in the reign of Ptolemy VIII's successors (116/15 B.C.), it seems to me most probable that our text was drawn up in this year and, therefore, dated November 27, 116 B.C.,³ a few months after the death (on June 28, 116) of Ptolemy VIII.⁴ Why, nevertheless, our notary gives Ptolemy VIII as one of the ruling sovereigns we do not, of course, know: one may, with Otto and Bengtson,⁵ assume that an earlier prescript was *deliberately* chosen in order to avoid partisanship in the struggle for power which took place in Alexandria at the time of the succession, or one may assume with Musti⁶ that the earlier prescript was just *thoughtlessly* written down.

Line 7— $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \beta$ —The number is in an open space which is characteristic of the scribe of our text;⁷ see, for example, l. 13 η and l. 27 ζ as well as the year in other texts from the same hand.⁸

Line 8— $\epsilon\phi' \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\{\iota\}\omega\varsigma$ —Cf. also l. 12 $\epsilon\phi' \iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\{\iota\}\omega\nu$. The spelling with ι ⁹ is customary in Pathyris,¹⁰ while in the neighbouring Crocodilopolis¹¹ it is just the correct forms of $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ and $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$ which are customary in the prescript (cf. note on l. 12).

¹ P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne* (1967), 62.

² See for the Demotic texts P. W. Pestman, op. cit. 63. Attention should be paid in particular to P. Adler dem. 2, a text from the same district as ours, dating from the year 124/123 in question and, just as ours, written in the month Hathyr: the text does not, however, mention any second year of a government, just Hathyr 24 of the year 47.

³ The contents of our text, unfortunately, do not give us clear proof of the dating. Tathotis' age offers no support (see p. 140 n. 1) even though it is improbable that she had already given her daughter her legacy while she herself was still young; the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ (l. 56) is only found in Pathyris and Crocodilopolis during a short period but then very regularly: 5 cases in the period from 114 to 104 B.C. (see p. 152 n. 2), which could argue for placing our text in the year 116 B.C.

⁴ This death is, of course, actually known at this time in Pathyris—otherwise the scribe would surely have dated his document the 55th year of the reign of Ptolemy VIII.

⁵ Op. cit. 130. The titles of the eponymous priest of Alexander in my opinion argue in favour of their view, for these titles appear for the last time in 118 B.C. in the form in which the scribe of our text gives them: J. IJsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque* (1961), 120, and P. W. Pestman, op. cit. 145–6.

⁶ Op. cit. 445. This view seems less likely to me since the scribe used a prescript from before 118 B.C. see preceding note).

⁷ The year was not, therefore, added later, which fact is of importance for the dating (see note on ll. 6–13).

⁸ See, e.g., P. Collomp, *La Papyrologie* (1927), pl. i (P. Strassb. II, 84, 8); R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, I (1967), No. 12 (P. Heid. 1278, 1); P. Lond. III, pl. 5 (P. Lond. III, p. 10: 1204, 7); cf. further for P. Strassb. II, 85, 2 the *Schriftprobe* in the edition. The first two documents are drawn up by Ammonios, the two last by Ammonios on behalf of Heliodoros (as is our text: see note on l. 13).

⁹ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I¹ (1906), p. 72.

¹⁰ The only exceptions known to me are $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in P. Grenf. II, 20, II, 2 (Pathyris) and $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\nu$ in P. Grenf. I, 25, II, 7 (Pathyris): for the rest both texts show the usual characteristic elements of texts from Pathyris.

¹¹ See, e.g., P. Ryl. IV, 581, II, 2.

Line 11—*τῶν ὄντων*—Seeing that here it is a question of priestesses¹ one ought really to alter *ὄντων* to *οὐσῶν*. The form *ὄντων* is customary in Pathyris, while in all the texts from Crocodilopolis² it is the form *οὐσῶν* which appears in the prescript (cf. note on l. 12).

Line 12—*ἱερισσῶν*—The use of *ἱέρισσα*³ in l. 12 with *ἱέρεια* in l. 10 is striking and typical of the prescript of texts from Pathyris, in which *ἱέρεια* is always used to denote the priestess of Arsinoë in Alexandria and *ἱέρισσα* to denote the priestesses in Ptolemais. The scribes in Crocodilopolis, on the contrary, always write *ἱέρεια* in their prescript.

In view of the previous remarks, therefore, certain things are characteristic of the prescript of texts from Pathyris, regardless of which scribe wrote the document and what individual expressions he used in the text of the agreement itself.⁴ This means that the notary's office in Pathyris had a specimen of the prescript which was always carefully copied. At the notary's office in Crocodilopolis there was also a specimen which, however, differed in some respects from that of Pathyris.

Line 13—*ἐν Παθύρει ἐφ' Ἡλιοδώρου ἀγορανόμου*—In the southern toparchy of Pathyris there were two notary's offices towards the end of the second century B.C.: one in Crocodilopolis and one in near-by Pathyris and, as we have just seen, both these offices had their own prescripts. The agoranomos of Crocodilopolis bore the title of *ἀγορανόμος τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχίας τοῦ Παθυρίτου*, while the agoranomos of Pathyris was apparently his subordinate and drew up deeds on his behalf, although this is not always said in so many words in the deed itself.⁵

Our text is in the name of Heliodoros and was drawn up in Pathyris, but there is no indication by whom it was drawn up. Heliodoros himself was agoranomos of the whole toparchy and, as such, worked in Crocodilopolis. Originally Areios, and later Ammonios,⁶ worked in Pathyris on his behalf. This Ammonios is apparently the one who wrote our text, seeing that the writing⁷ is the same as in other texts drawn up by him, and certain characteristic elements again appear in it.⁸

¹ In some texts the masculine *hieros polos* is mentioned as well, so that the form *ὄντων* may perhaps be defended. In the other cases where the texts from Pathyris give *ὄντων* one should read *οὐσῶν*; the supplement <καὶ οὐσῶν> in P.Adler 3, II, 7 is, therefore, incorrect.

² The only exception is P.Ryl. IV, 581, II, 4, where the editors read: [ὄν]των. Would not [οὐ]σῶν, however, be more likely here? In any case the following supplement <καὶ οὐσῶν> is incorrect (since there is mention here of priestesses *only*), as also the supplement <ὄντων καὶ> in P.Adler 1, I, 3.

³ This form is found from the second century B.C. onwards: E. Maysner, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, I¹ (1906), p. 255.

⁴ In P.Grenf. 1, 25, II, 11 (Pathyris; Ammonios?) one finds the correct spelling *ἱερέως* in the body of the text itself alongside *ἱερέ(ι)ως* in the prescript (II, 2). The scribe Ammonios wavers more often between *ει* and *ε*: in l. 45 he writes *πλατέα* but elsewhere *πλατεία* (P.Lond. III, p. 8: 880, 23 + P.Strassb. II 85, 22); the way of writing *ἱππέ(ι)ων* is found in BGU III, 995, II, 10.

⁵ I intend to go into this matter in more detail in another article.

⁶ W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, III, Nos. 7673, 7687, and 7650.

⁷ It is a great pity that so few of the texts in question are published with photographs.

⁸ See in particular P.Strassb. II, 84 (P. Collomp, *La Papyrologie*, pl. i): the arrangement of the text, the year which is placed in an open space (II, 8; see above, note on l. 7). The way of writing *ἐλάσσω* is found in P.Strassb. II, 85, 11 (see below, note on l. 14). Both texts were drawn up by Ammonios.

Lines 14–16—*ὁμολογία, ἣν ἐκοῦσα καὶ συνχωρήσασα ἔθετο . . . καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ παρακεχωρηκέναι*—Cf. P.Grenf. II, 25 (Pathyris): *ὁμολογία, ἣν ἐκόντες συνχωρήσαντες ἔθεντο . . . καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ . . . συνκεχωρηκέναι*; P.Cairo Goodsp. 6 (Crocodylopolis): *ὁμολογία, ἣν ἐκὼν κ[α]ὶ συνχωρήσας ἔθετο . . . καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ παρακεχωρηκέναι*. Of these texts P.Grenf. II, 25 has nothing to do with inheritance, so that the words *ἐκοῦσα καὶ συνχωρήσασα* appearing in our text cannot be typical of a 'testament', even though they make us think of the wording which is typical of a 'testament' and which we find again, for example, in P.Grenf. I, 21, 1 (Pathyris): *τάδε διέθετο ὑγιαίνων νοῶν φρονῶν*.

Line 14—*Ταθῶτις Φίβιος*—See the family tree on p. 158, No. 37, and *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 92–3 for this lady. According to the available evidence she must, in 116 B.C., have been about 60 years old, but our text puts her age as about 50. Now a discrepancy in the personal description is not entirely inexplicable when one remembers that the agoranomos certainly wrote it down from his own observation; but the age had to be stated by the parties themselves. Some years later in 113 and 111 B.C. the texts record that Tathotis was still about 50 years old:¹ may one perhaps read into this a certain feminine vanity on the part of Tathotis? She appears for the last time in a Demotic text from 109/108 B.C.² and must then have been near 70. It is not known when she died.

Περσίνη—Tathotis was, like her daughter Kobahetesis (l. 17), a 'Persian woman': *Περσίνη*;³ Tathotis' son-in-law was *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* (l. 17)⁴ and her guardian *Πέρσης τῶν προσγράφων* (ll. 15–16).⁵ The meaning of these words is still in dispute⁶ and our text gives us no new information. The only thing established with certainty is that in Pathyris at this period the definition 'Persian' was not a fictitious one by which the debtor subjected himself to a certain form of execution, since, in our text, the daughter, i.e. the creditor, is also described as a 'Persian woman'.

ἐλάσσω—In two other texts Tathotis is described as *μέση* 'of middle height'⁷ but in our text as 'rather small'. Further, it is noteworthy that the scribe writes *ἐλάσσω* instead of *ἐλάσσων*.⁸ There are five other texts from Pathyris where this expression is written without the *ν*: all these texts were probably written by one and the same scribe, and he, Ammonios.⁹ Apparently he was accustomed to write the expression *ἐλάσσω* in

¹ Tathotis' age, therefore, is no help in fixing the date of our text (see note on ll. 6–13). The texts in question are BGU, III, 994, II, 10 and P.Strassb. II, 86, 15 (both texts were drawn up by Ammonios).

² Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 147, No. 9.

³ They are so called in a few other texts: *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), 47, No. 106 and 35, No. 32.

⁴ *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), 38, No. 50. Is it a coincidence that he was originally (up to 123 B.C.) called *Πέρσης τῶν προσγράφων* and later on (for the first time in our text: 116 B.C.) *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*? In my opinion the two terms have different meanings, a view which is supported by the fact that both these terms are used in our text.

⁵ *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), 38, No. 47.

⁶ See for this on the one hand, J. F. Oates, 'The Status Designation *Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*', *Yale Classical Studies* 18 (1963), 1–129, and on the other hand P. W. Pestman, 'A proposito dei documenti di Pathyris II, *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*', *Aegyptus* 43 (1963), 15–53 and especially 405–7.

⁷ BGU, III, 994, II, 10 and P.Strassb. II, 86, 15 (both of them drawn up by Ammonios); compare for this small inaccuracy the much greater one referred to in the note on l. 15.

⁸ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, I² (1938), p. 61 and II² (1934), p. 142 n. 1. I know of only one other text from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis where this expression is written in full (see p. 141 n. 1).

⁹ P.Adler 3, II, 10; P.Strassb. II, 85, 11 and P.Lond. III, p. 10: 1204, 15 (these texts were compiled by Ammonios on behalf of Heliodoros); P.Lond. III, p. 5: 879, 21 and 22 and P.Lond. III, p. 8: 880, 10 (these texts

full and without ν , just as his colleague in Crocodilopolis, Paniskos, always abbreviated this expression to $\epsilon\lambda$.¹

Line 15—*πλατυπρόσωπος*—In the two texts referred to above, where varying heights are given to Tathotis,² the shape of her face is given in one case as *μακροπρόσωπος* ‘long-faced’ and in the other as *στρογγυλοπρόσ[ωπ]ος* ‘round-faced’: obviously personal descriptions were not always equally accurate.³

μετὰ κυρίου—One would, in the first place, expect that Phagonis, Tathotis’ second husband, would have appeared here as guardian, just as in ll. 16–17 Kobahetesis is supported by her husband. It would seem that Phagonis was already dead in the year 116 B.C. In two other cases (113 and 111 B.C.)⁴ Patseous, Tathotis’ eldest son, appears as her guardian: why does he not do so in our case?⁵

τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀδελφοῦ Πανοβχούνιος τοῦ Νεχούτου—Panobkhounis was not actually Tathotis’ ‘brother’ but her ‘nephew’ (i.e. the son of her sister Thaïbis: see family tree, p. 158). Compare another similar case in the same family: Paous gives his support to Thaïbis, daughter of Phibis, as guardian in two cases;⁶ in the first he is called her ‘brother’, in the second her ‘kinsman’, *συγγενής*. He was, in fact, the grandson of Thaïbis’ sister (see family tree, p. 158, No. 51). The use of *ἀδελφός* in the meaning of *συγγενής*⁷ is similar to a usage found sometimes in Demotic.⁸

Lines 15–16—*Πέρσου τῶν προσγράφων*—See above, l. 14: *Περσίνη*.

Line 16—*παρακεχωρηκέναι*—The whole text up to l. 48 depends on this verb. We do not know what meaning we should ascribe to this verb: has Tathotis indeed relinquished the property in question to Kobahetesis, and has the latter, therefore, *now* already received this property? Or, has Tathotis only bequeathed her property to her and will Kobahetesis only acquire it *later*, for example on the death⁹ of Tathotis? Unfortunately our text gives us no indications which might lead to an answer to these are in the name of Heliodoros, but there is no mention made of the notary who drew them up; probably they were written by Ammonios).

¹ P.Strassb. II, 87, 15 and P.Lond. III, p. 18: 678, 5. Hermias who wrote in Pathyris on behalf of the said

Paniskos is less constant: he writes $\epsilon\lambda\sigma\sigma$ on one occasion (P.Lond. III, p. 15: 1206, 16) and on another (P.Adler 18, 4) $\epsilon\lambda\sigma\sigma\omega\iota$.

² See p. 140 n. 1.

³ Differences in the description of one and the same person may, in some cases, of course, be attributable to alterations which have taken place in the interim, such as the baldness and the scar of Panobkhounis, and Peteharsemtheus’ broken tooth and scar (*P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 95 and 99).

⁴ BGU, III, 994, II, 11 (113 B.C.) and P.Strassb. II, 86, 16 (111 B.C.).

⁵ We still know too little about the institution of guardians for women to dare to answer this question. It would be of particular interest to know whether the fact that Patseous, as heir, is an interested party has any influence here: is he, as an interested party, disqualified from acting as guardian or is he actually the most obvious person?

⁶ P.Med. 2, 4–5 = P.Adler 7, 6–7 and P.Adler 8, 5.

⁷ This meaning is not found in Preisigke and Kiessling, *Wörterbuch*.

⁸ In P.Ryl. dem. 9, 5/17 (Persian era) the son of an uncle is called ‘brother’.

⁹ Similar texts only very seldom state that they will take effect *on the death* of the testator; see for Pathyris BGU, III, 993, II, 12: *μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆν*. Until a short time ago a precise statement of this nature was unknown in Demotic texts; see now, however, P.Innsbr. dem. I, 3 (75 B.C.; see Sethe and Partsch, *Dem. Urk. zum äg. Burgschaftsrechte*, 737) and P.Mosc. dem. 123 (70 B.C.), published by M. Malinine, *Revue d'égyptologie* 19 (1967), 67 ff., who translates the end of l. 2 as follows: ‘Ils seront à vous, les choses et les biens spécifiés ci-dessus . . . après (la fin de) ma vie.’ It seems to me that this precision in these Demotic texts is due to Greek influence.

questions,¹ so that we do not know if one may with exactitude speak here of a 'testament', although, for the sake of simplification, we have so written it at the head of this article.

Κοβαετήσει Φαγώνιος—This woman was already known from other texts; see *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 94, and the family tree below (p. 158, No. 44). The surmise that Phagonis was her father² is now confirmed by our text.

Line 17—*Περσίνη . . . Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*—See l. 14 above: *Περσίνη*.

μετὰ κυρίου—See above, note on l. 15.

Πανοβχούνιος τοῦ Τοτοέους—See for this man the family tree on p. 158, No. 45, and *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 95–6. The way in which the genitive of the name *Τοτοῆς* is formed should be remarked: Ammonios usually writes *Τοτοέους* as here, but in some other texts sometimes also *Τοτοῆτος*.³ In the same way he forms from the proper name *Καλῆς* both the genitive *Καλέους* and *Καλῆτος*, both of which are found in our text (ll. 25 and 33). This illustrates how difficult it was to decline Egyptian proper names in the Greek manner,⁴ and that there was no conformity of rules for it at that time in Pathyris.⁵

Line 18—*Τέλωνος*—Near Pathyris there was not only a piece of land called after Telon (see p. 152, *a*) but also a canal.⁶

ὑπάρχοντος—In our text we have a juxtaposition of the verbs *ὑπάρχω*, *καθήκω*, and *ἐπιβάλλω* used, at first sight, arbitrarily, with this proviso, however, that the verb *ἐπιβάλλω* here appears exclusively⁷ in connection with *μέρος* (see next paragraph).

μέρους—One finds the words *μέρος* and *μερίς* used together in our text. It is remarkable that the 7th part allotted to the daughter from the mother's real property is regularly indicated as a *μερίς* and that the same word *μερίς* is used in ll. 31 and 33 with regard to *a share in undivided joint property*. Ought one to deduce from this that the *μερίς* which the daughter receives is a share in undivided joint property?

¹ With reference to the plot *n* (see p. 154) one may perhaps deduce from other data that the mother has the plot which she now allots to her daughter still at her disposal at a later date: does this mean that the mother holds *everything* for the time being in her own hands? This is not necessarily the right conclusion, all the more since the daughter pays the due tax at once (ll. 55–8).

² *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 93 n. 303 and 94, No. 44.

³ Ammonios writes in *P.Lond.* III, p. 10: 1204 the genitive *Τοτοέους* twice (ll. 15 and 20) and the genitive *Τοτοῆτος* (l. 17) once. The same person is meant in all these cases. He is also found in another text by Ammonios (BGU, III, 994, III, 4), where, however, we find the genitive *Τοτοῆτις*, thought by the editors to be *Τοτοῆτιος*, gen. of *Τοτοῆτις*: this seems improbable to me since the same scribe regularly calls this same person *Τοτοῆς* in other texts. Probably *Τοτοῆτις* is, therefore, written in mistake for *Τοτοῆτος*.

⁴ The scribe has the same difficulty with the dative of women's names ending in *-ις*; see note on l. 48.

⁵ Another problem arises with the names *Zmin* and *Zminis*; see note on l. 25.

⁶ *διῶρυξ λεγομένη Τέλωνος* (*P.Strassb.* II, 85, 15; *P.Adler* 13, II, 12, and 16, 10); [*διῶρυξ*] *Τέλωνος* (*P.Lond.* III, p. 8: 880, 14); in other texts one finds *κοιλὰς διῶρυξ καλούμενος Τέλω[νος]* (BGU, III, 1000, I, 6) and *ϵ-n-mw n p; mw (n) Tln*, 'the *ϵ-n-mw* of the canal of Telon' (*P.Heid.Kapl. dem.* 13, 7): a *κοιλὰς* or *ϵ-n-mw* is presumably a watercourse which dries out during part of the year (cf. *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 79 n. 215). In all these cases, evidently, the same canal is meant; it runs parallel to the edge of the desert (see sketch, loc. cit. 85); on the other hand, the 'canal of Telon' does not appear to be the canal which runs along the 'land of Telon' (as I had suggested earlier, loc. cit. 85) since that canal, seemingly, is called the canal *Pmoēs* (l. 20). The canal of Telon, therefore, runs more to the westward. Both canals run alongside an enclosing dyke, so that one may perhaps assume that this dyke encircles the land in between where the plot *He* (loc. cit. 85) can be placed.

⁷ Also in *P.Strassb.* II, 85, 16 (written by the same scribe, Ammonios).

Much of the property belonging to the mother forms an 8th part of a larger whole: sometimes this part is a *μερίς* and sometimes a *μέρος*. Should one assume here, then, that the first refers to an undivided joint property and the second to a divided one? The passage in our text which deals with the area *a* (l. 18) argues perhaps in favour of our surmise; the mother has a *μέρος* of this, or rather, in accordance with the suggestion just made, a plot of land which may be individualized. In this case it would indeed be so as this plot is known as 'the land of Tathotis'¹ and Tathotis allots half an aroura to her daughter (l. 18).

The words in question, *μερίς* and *μέρος*, are used together in still another text from Pathyris which was written by the same scribe.² This is a 'testament' of a man who allots, among other things, two pieces of land to his children and that ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῶι τε καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γῆς . . . δωδεκάτην μερίδα ἀδι(αίρετον) ἀ(ρο)υ(ρῶν) π (ll. 13–14)³ and ἀπ' ἄλλης σφραγίδος . . . ἀρουρῶν λς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι μέρος ἀ(ρο)υ(ρῶν) γ (ll. 15–16). In both cases the father gives a 12th part⁴ to his children but the first time it is a matter of a share in undivided joint property (*μερίς*), while the second time it is an individualized share (*μέρος*) of three arouras in size. The use of these words in this text, therefore, agrees entirely with their use in our text.

On the whole, indeed, Greek papyri are not conspicuous for an exact and consistent terminology and consequently Kreller⁵ pointed out long ago the uncertainties and contradictions with regard to the problem under review. His investigation, however, was incomplete in this respect and not entirely uncontroversial, so that a renewed investigation is certainly essential. For the time being, therefore, let us be satisfied here with the statement that there is every appearance, in our text just as in the other texts from the hand of the same scribe,⁶ of a deliberate distinction being made by him between *μερίς* and *μέρος*.

Line 19—γῆ Πατσεούτος—The plot of land is known: γῆ Πατσεούτος τοῦ Φίβιος (BGU, VI, 1259, 7); *p: zḥ n Pa-tz-s-t-rz:t sz Pz-hb* 'the land of Patseous, son of Phibis' (P.Strassb. dem. 7, 3). Patseous is a brother of Tathotis (family tree, p. 158).

γῆ Νεχούτου τοῦ Βούχιος—The plot of land is known: γῆ Πβούκιος (BGU, VI, 1259, 7); γῆ Πβούχιος (P.Lond. III, p. 20: 1209, 14); a son of Nekhouates appears in P.Grenf. II, 24, 6–7, a loan to Ψεμμενχῆι Νεχούτου τοῦ Πβούκιος. The Egyptian name *Pz-bḥ* is, according to these data, reproduced in Greek as *Πβούκις*, *Πβούχις*, and, without the article *p:*, *Βούχις*: the article *p:* or *tz* in similar Egyptian names is quite often omitted,⁷ a phenomenon which may be found already in the Twentieth Dynasty.⁸

¹ P.L.Bat. 14 (1965), 84: plot Hc.

² P.Strassb. II, 85 (113 B.C.).

³ In itself it would be possible for the 12th part to be 80 arouras in size, but this is not very probable because the plot would be of a magnitude unknown in Pathyris. I prefer to assume that the *whole* area is 80 arouras in size.

⁴ In the first case the text states this categorically, while in the second it is evident from the measurements given: 3 is a 12th part of 36.

⁵ H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* (1919), 66 ff.

⁶ Cf. also P.Adler 3, II, 16 for a sale from the same scribe of a *μερίς* of two plots of land, ἧς μέτεστι τοῖς ἀδ(ελφοῖς) ἀδι(αίρετως).

⁷ P.L.Bat. 14 (1965), 95 and n. 306. Is it a coincidence that the same scribe in P.Heid. 1278 = M.Chrest. 233, 5 and 9, writes the name *Βοκενοῦπις* also without the article?

⁸ Jac. J. Janssen, 'A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus', in *JEA* 52 (1966), 84 (a).

ἀμπελῶν τῶν ὄχλων—This same vineyard is found in other texts: ἀμπελῶν Κανώπου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν (P.Lond. III, p. 11: 881, 23 and p. 20: 1209, 15). As it is not known what meaning is to be read into the ‘brothers’ of Kanopos,¹ we remain uncertain as to what meaning the word ὄχλος has here. There is both a road and a plot of land in the neighbourhood of Pathyris which are indicated as ὁδὸς τῶν ὄχλων and γῆ τῶν ὄχλων. In these cases too the meaning of the word is unknown.²

Line 20—διῶρυξ Πμοης—Our text mentions for the first time the name of the canal that runs along the land of Telon parallel to the enclosing dyke. My conjecture that the name of this canal ought to be ‘Telon’s canal’³ appears to be incorrect. I do not know the meaning of the word Πμοης but one may, perhaps, assume that by Πμο- the Demotic *pꜣ mw* ‘the water, the canal’ is meant.⁴

Line 21—φερνῆς—See p. 153 *b*.

Line 22—ὦν εἰσιν (scil. the items *c-p*)—One finds the same words in P.Strassb. II, 83, 17, which text is probably written by the same scribe.

Ταριτεῦτος—The name is not known to me from Greek or Demotic texts from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis.

Line 23—γῆ Πατούτος τοῦ Παθώτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν—The same land is mentioned in l. 25: it lies, therefore, between the plots *c* and *d*.

γῆ τῶν ἰβιοβόσκων—The same land is mentioned in l. 32: it lies, therefore, to the north of the plots *d* and *i* and to the east of *c* (see p. 153); the land of Psenthotes, the son of Kales, to which l. 25 refers must be a part of this land belonging to the ibis keepers. There is another area to the north of Pathyris known as the land of the ibis keepers where private persons, known by name, have plots.⁵ Both of the ibis keepers’ areas, therefore, belong to them personally and there is certainly no question here of the kind of land of which Diodoros I, 83, 2 tells us that the income from it is intended for the care of the sacred ibises: χώρα φέρουσα πρόσδοον ἀρκοῦσαν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τροφήν αὐτῶν.

There is another point which requires attention: Psenthotes, son of Kales, probably possesses a part of the so-called γῆ τῶν ἰβιοβόσκων, from which one may assume that he is an ibis *keeper*. The same man appears, however, in another text,⁶ where he is called a *burier* of ibises: Ψενθώτης Κελήτος τῶν ἐκ Π[αθύ]ρεως ἰβιοτάφων. These two facts need not be considered as conflicting since it happens often enough that priests fulfil various tasks at the same time, while only one of them is mentioned at one time in the texts.⁷ It is, therefore, not impossible that our Psenthotes was responsible at the

¹ In the sense of ‘colleagues’?

² *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 80 n. 223.

³ See above, p. 142 n. 6.

⁴ Cf., e.g., *Πμουνεμοῦνις* (*pꜣ mw n Tmn* ‘the canal of Amūn’); E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues* (1952), 43. The scribe of our text did write then Πμο- instead of Πμου- but this is no drawback to our supposition, since our scribe writes on occasion *o* instead of *ou* (see note on l. 29).

⁵ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 82: to the south of *Ga*. A third plot of land belonging to keepers of the sacred ibises is to be found in the nome of Latopolis not far to the south of the town of Pathyris: BGU, III, 995, III, 4–5.

⁶ P.Grenf. II, 15, II, 6–7.

⁷ See, e.g., the case of the priests who are sometimes indicated as *pastophoroi*, then again as *choachytes*: UPZ, II, p. 39.

same time for both feeding and burying the sacred ibises, all the more because, at the same period, there is mention in Oxyrhynchus of a certain *Τεῶ[τος] τοῦ Ἀρρηγή[σι]ος ἰβιοβοσ[κο]ῦ καὶ ἰβ(ι)οτάφου* and in Tebtunis of a certain *Μαρρείους ἰβιοβο(σκοῦ) καὶ κριοτάφου*.¹

Ἀρμώνθου—We know of a piece of land belonging to Harmonthes which lies in the neighbourhood of the plot in point and is, perhaps, the identical one.²

Line 24—*Σεναμούνιος*—The plot borders on *i* (ll. 31–2): the land of Senamounis mentioned in l. 26 is another plot, although it is, of course, possible that it was called after the same woman.

γῆ Πατούτος τοῦ Φίβιος καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν)—This Patous is a brother of Tathotis (see family tree, p. 158).

Line 25—*γῆ Ψενθώ(του) τοῦ Καλέους καὶ τῶν ἀδ(ελφῶν)*—See above, note on l. 23 with reference to the land of the ibis keepers, for the plot of land and the person of Psenthotēs. Attention should be drawn here to the name of the father *Καλῆς* of which the genitive is *Καλέους* whilst in l. 33 one finds the genitive *Καλῆτος* of the same name.³

Πατούτος τοῦ Παθώτου—See above, note on l. 23.

Ζμίνιος τοῦ Ἀρρηήσιος—In our text we find two different Greek forms of the name *Ns-Min*⁴ together: *Ζμῖν* gen. *Ζμῖνος* (ll. 27, 28, and 45) and *Ζμῖνις* gen. *Ζμίνιος* (ll. 25, 26, and 35). In our previous remarks we have established that the writer of such names as *Τοτοῆς* and *Καλῆς* forms two different genitives, from which we have deduced that he wavers between the different ways in which he can *decline* these Egyptian names in Greek. In the case of the name *Ns-Min*, however, the situation is different because the question here is how the Egyptian name is *rendered* into Greek: *with* a Greek ending (*Ζμῖνις*) or *without* (*Ζμῖν*). As it is a matter here of a nominative it seems to me not impossible that this is the name which the said person used in everyday life, which carries with it the likelihood that there were people in Pathyris and Crocodilopolis who called themselves *Ζμῖν* after the Egyptian fashion, and others who preferred to Grecize their name into *Ζμῖνις*.

The plot of land belonging to Zminis, son of Harsiesis, together with the adjoining plot of Senamounis and the same Zminis, is also met with in a Demotic text (P.Heid. Kapl. dem. 8), where it is called *pꜣ šꜣ (n) Ns-Min* ‘the sand of Zminis’, on the understanding, however, that this is the name not only of the whole plot, but also of the western part of it, i.e. the part which borders the desert. It seems to me, therefore, that one must take *šꜣ* ‘sand’ as literally a piece of sandy ground and that this is the reason why grass is grown on ground near Thebes which is called *pꜣ šꜣ n Imn* ‘the sand of

¹ P.Fouad 16, 2–3, and P.Tebt. I, 72, 410–11 (114/13 B.C.); in this same sense U. Wilcken, UPZ, II, p. 9 n. 5. In Tebtunis there was a shrine where ‘the sacred ibises were sometimes buried as well as fed’ (P.Tebt. I, p. 42).

² P.L.Bat. 14 (1965), 87: plot Jg.

³ In the same way the scribe forms two genitives of the name *Τοτοῆς* (see note on l. 17).

⁴ The rendering of *Ns-* as *Z* in Greek is striking but is usual in texts from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis in names such as *Ζμῖν*, *Ζμῖνις*, *Ζμηθις*, and *Ζνεβώνυχος*; this is evidently regional. All the proper names mentioned begin with *Ζμ-* or *Ζν-*, while in other combinations in proper names from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis *Ns-* is reproduced as *Ἐσ-* as, for example, *Ἐσπνοῦθις* and *Ἐσθώτης*.

Amūn'.¹ To the south of the plot near Pathyris lies, according to the Greek text (l. 27) $\gamma\eta$ $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, and, according to the Demotic, $p\text{: } sp \text{ } n \text{ } p\text{: } \text{š}r \text{ } (n)$ *Ns-Min*, 'the rest of the sand of Zminis'. May one perhaps conclude from this that $\gamma\eta$ $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ² has the same meaning as $p\text{: } \text{š}r$ 'the sand' and that the whole plot was called 'the sand' after the sandy ground to the south-west of it, near the desert?³

$\lambda\omicron'$ — $\frac{1}{3^2}$ aroura: $\lambda\omicron$ comes from $\lambda\beta$, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* II A, 2307.

Line 26— $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $Z\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ —By Zminis is undoubtedly meant the son of Harsiesis (l. 25) and by Senamounis probably the woman of this name from l. 24.

Line 27— $\gamma\eta$ $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ —Does this mean the same as the Demotic $p\text{: } \text{š}r$, 'the sand' (see above, note on l. 25)?

$\gamma\eta$ $N\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $Z\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ —The same plot is found in P.Heid.Kapl. dem. 8, 9: $p\text{: } \text{š}h$ (n) $N\eta t\text{-}\ddot{t}=f \text{ } s\text{: } Ns-Min$, 'the land of Nekhoutēs, son of Zmin'; another plot of land and a house which perhaps belong to the same person are mentioned in ll. 28 and 45 of our text. Since the father is called Zmin and not Zminis, he is probably not the one after whom the whole complex 'the plot of Zminis' is called (see above, note on l. 25).

Line 28— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ς ($\eta\eta\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$)—See p. 147 n. 9.

$\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\text{Ἀφροδί[τ]η\varsigma}$ —This probably refers to a plot of sacred land which is also mentioned in l. 30. See note on l. 30 for various problems related to 'sacred' land.

$\gamma\eta$ $N\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\langle\tau\omicron\upsilon\rangle$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $Z\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ —Unknown; the owner is most likely the man named in l. 27.

Line 29— $T\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\eta\iota$ —On the southern border of the nome of Pathyris lies the area which is called in Demotic $T\text{: } m\text{: } y\text{-}(n)\text{-}ry$, 'the island of *ry*', which is reproduced in Greek as $T\mu\omicron\nu\nu\alpha\rho\eta\iota$;⁴ the scribe of our text, who does more often prefer \omicron to $\omicron\upsilon$ in rendering Egyptian names into Greek,⁵ writes here $T\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\eta\iota$.

Line 30— $\gamma\eta$ $K\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ —In P.Grenf. I, 33, 21 the same plot is called $\gamma\eta$ $\Psi\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\langle\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma\rangle$ $K\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ and in P.Strassb. dem. 44, 6 $p\text{: } \text{š}h$ (?) (n) Gly , 'the land of Kallias'.

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ($\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$) $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ Ἀφροδίτης $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\gamma\eta$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\Pi\alpha\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ —This presents various problems. In the first place some carelessness on the part of the scribe who has omitted to say what plot lies to the west, and has apparently also forgotten the word ($\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$), is noticeable here. Further, the sequence of the compass points is not the normal one—has he made a mistake here too or are the indications correct? The position of the $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ cannot help us since it can lie in different places,⁶ but the 'sacred land of Aphrodite' presumably does not lie to the east of the plot in question but to the north of it (on the other side of this 'sacred land of Aphrodite' lies the plot described in l. 28), while I should prefer to localize the 'sacred land of the temple in

¹ See for this text P.Heid.Kapl. dem., p. 30. In the vicinity of Thebes we know further of $\Psi\alpha\mu\eta\rho\iota\varsigma$ in which geographical description the word $\text{š}r$ also appears: *Chron. d'Égypte* 41 (1966), 316 n. 1.

² See also p. 152 n. 9.

³ The eastern part of this plot is, according to the Demotic text, most certainly fruitful land.

⁴ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 85–6.

⁵ Cf. *Πμοης* (p. 144 n. 4) and *Γόνσιος* (note on l. 35).

⁶ A $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ must indeed lie on the east side of the plot called $T\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota$ (as our text states; see p. 142 n. 6), but since we are dealing here with a so-called 'island' (to the north of it there is also an 'island': P.Strassb. dem. 44, 6) it is quite possible that there is also a $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ on the other sides of the plot.

Pathyris' in the east rather than to the north¹ on the very ground of a Demotic text from the year 94 B.C. which deals with the same plot as that which Tathotis has at her disposal here; to the east of it then there appears to be land 'of the temple in Pathyris'.² It seems, therefore, not improbable that the adjacent plots of the area in point are really: *to the south*, the land of Kallias; *to the north*, the sacred land of Aphrodite; *to the east*, the sacred land of the temple in Pathyris; *to the west*, the desert.

A second problem is the question why 'the sacred land of Aphrodite' and 'the sacred land of the temple in Pathyris' are spoken of together, for the temple of Pathyris is without any doubt consecrated to Hathor-Aphrodite.³ We know from the texts that in the neighbourhood of Pathyris there are various lands which belong to this goddess: at the edge of the desert lies the already mentioned *ἱερά γῆ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης* (ll. 28 and 30); near the river lie *wrh·w n H·t·Hr*, 'vacant lands of Hathor';⁴ and on the fragments of the map of Pathyris there is an *ἔδαφος ἀμπελώνος Ἀφροδίτης*.⁵ Besides these lands of the goddess we know of temple plots in the town of Pathyris: *ψιλοὶ τόποι τοῦ ἱεροῦ* (see l. 43), and on the southern border of the nome on the edge of the desert, the already mentioned *ἱερά γῆ τοῦ ἐν Παθύρει ἱεροῦ* (l. 30). We do, fortunately, know more about this latter plot: it was called in full in a Demotic text⁶ 'the southern land of Harsemtheus, to be cultivated, of the temple in Pathyris', while a Greek text⁷ speaks in this connection of a *τόπος ψιλός*, and of a *ἱερά γῆ Ἀρσέμθεως*. There is, thus, not only sacred land belonging to the *temple* but also sacred land belonging to the *deities* Aphrodite and Harsemtheus.⁸ In one of these cases, however, the sacred land of the god Harsemtheus appears to belong to the land of the temple. It seems most probable to me that the situation is this: the temple of Pathyris owns several plots of land ('the sacred land of the temple') on the understanding, however, that some of these plots are in the name of the goddess Aphrodite and others in the name of the god Harsemtheus.⁹

¹ The words 'of the temple in Pathyris' also support this: the plot Tmonareï lies on the borders of the districts of Pathyris and Latopolis and the addition 'in Pathyris' seems to me only to make sense when the area in question lies within the district of Latopolis since, without this addition, one might think that it referred to a plot belonging to the temple in Latopolis. See sketch *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 86 (the plot Jb is at issue here).

² P.Strassb. dem. 44, 6-7.

³ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 52-3. According to the editor of O.Zürich dem. 1894 (*Orientalia Suecana* 14-15 (1966), 45, 3-4) there could also have been a temple of Hathor in Crocodilopolis; I, however, prefer the reading *ϵ n 20 n Pr-H·t·Hr Tmwr* 'the Headman of the twenty (men) of Pathyris and Crocodilopolis'.

⁴ P.Ryl. dem. 32.

⁵ P.Cairo dem. 31.163 = SB, I, 4474 (the fragments *e* and *g* of this map belong together); according to this map an *ἔδ[α]φ[ος] ἀμπελ[ω]ν[ος] Νεχθμίν[ι]ος*, which according to the Demotic text is *wrh* 'vacant', borders this area.

⁶ P.Strassb. dem. 44, 6-7; see further also P.Heid.Kapl. dem. 12, 9 and P.Berl. dem. 13.608, I, 7-8 (*ZÄS* 65 (1930), 54).

⁷ P.Grenf. I, 33, 2-3, 21-2, and 46.

⁸ Still other lands belonging to other gods are known in this neighbourhood; P.Grenf. II, 33, 5 makes mention of *γῆς σιτοφόρου λεγομένης Νεχθαραῦτι θεοῦ μεγάλου*; this god is for the rest, however, unknown and we do not know to which temple he belonged.

⁹ As far as I am aware, one cannot gather from the texts what the effects were of the fact that a particular plot of land belonged to Aphrodite or to Harsemtheus. It is possible that Diodoros refers to land of this kind in the passage quoted above (under l. 23) in which he recounts that there is a certain type of land the income from which is used for the maintenance of sacred animals.

We have already remarked, with regard to the plot *g*, that this is the only plot of which the yield is expressly stated. Since this plot is bordered on two sides by the sacred land of Aphrodite, one may wonder whether this

The third problem confronting us concerns the relationship between 'the sacred land of the temple' of which we have just spoken and the '*ḥtp-ntr* of Ḥathor'. From the Demotic texts—the Greek texts are unanimously silent on this¹—it seems that the plain surrounding the town belongs to the *ḥtp-ntr* of Ḥathor, by which is meant the domain of the temple of Aphrodite in Pathyris.² Now this by no means implies that private persons may not own a plot of land within this domain; on the contrary, the texts show us that private persons are able, quite freely, to buy and lease such land and that they are able to act fully as owners of it regardless of the question as to whether or not the land is part of the temple domain. This question is, however, of importance in another respect: there is a Demotic text³ which treats, amongst other things, of a plot of land situated in the temple domain of Ḥathor. In the Greek subscription⁴ it is stated that the due sales tax has been paid for the sale of the *γῆς . . . τῆς οὐσης ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ προσόδῳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης*. This text shows us, therefore, on the one hand, that private persons may act as owners of a plot of land situated in the temple domain, but, on the other hand, that in some way or another the temple draws income (*ἱερὰ πρόσσδος*) from such land. I do not know whether the texts from Pathyris can give us any data on the nature and extent of the income which the temple derived from the temple domain in this location at this period. As for the sacred land of the temple, this is the land of which the temple itself is the owner and which can be sold⁵ and leased⁶ by the body of priests in the temple or by the epistates.⁷ It is remarkable that most of the cases concerning sacred land belonging to the temple which are mentioned in the previous paragraph refer to unreclaimed or uncultivated land.

μέτεστι—The impersonal verb *μέτεστι* appears three times in our text and that in the following construction:

ἦς μέτεστι Τισύτμει Φράσιος τὰς ἑαυτῆς μερίδας (ll. 30–1);
ἦς μέτεστι τῇ αὐτῇ Τισύτμει Φράσιος μερίδα (ll. 32–3);
ἦς μέτεστι Θαίβει τὸ (ἦμισυ) (l. 37).

The usual construction is *μέτεστί τινός τινι*, whereby the part to which it refers is sometimes added in the nominative.⁸ In our text, however, this part is in the accusative.⁹ In all other similar cases from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis known to me the part in question is neuter (as in l. 37 of our text), so that it is impossible to tell whether the nominative or accusative is used, although on the evidence of our text I should give preference to the latter.

Τισύτμει Φράσιος—Only one woman with the name Tisutmis¹⁰ is known in Pathyris

plot itself also perhaps belonged to the sacred land of Aphrodite and whether, in that case, the yield of 6½ artabas per aroura could have been intended for the goddess.

¹ With the exception of the Greek texts which give a translation of the Demotic passage in question: see below, n. 4.

² *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 53.

³ *P.Ryl. dem.* 15.

⁴ *P.Ryl.* II, 248, 2 = *SB*, I, 5104; cf. also *P.Giss.* 37, II, 14–15.

⁵ See the note on l. 43; cf. *P.Ryl. dem.* 32.

⁶ *P.Grenf.* II, 33, 4–6; *P.Heid.Kapl. dem.* 12, 7.

⁷ *P.Heid.Kapl. dem.* 12, 8.

⁸ E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, 482; Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* s.v. II, 2.

⁹ Considering the first two passages mentioned, the same undoubtedly applies to the passage in l. 37.

¹⁰ *P.Strassb. dem.* 8, 2; N. Reich, *Rec. Trav.* 33 (1911), 118.

and Crocodilopolis—the wife of Patous, a grandson of Phibis (see family tree, p. 158); unfortunately we do not know if this is the same woman.

Line 31—[ἡ']—After the scribe had previously described all the property of which Tathotis owned an 8th part, he comes now to other possessions. From habit he wrote at first $\frac{1}{8}$ again but later corrected the mistake. If we assume that what was said above with reference to l. 18 on the use of the words *μέρος* and *μερίς* and the verb *ἐπιβάλλω* is correct, then the scribe should in fact also have made some other alterations: ἀπὸ τῆς καθηκούσης (or ὑπαρχούσης) αὐτῆι μερίδος.

Lines 31–2—γῆ Σεναμόνιος—The land has already been mentioned in l. 24.

γῆ τῶν ἰβιοβόσκων—The land is the same as that mentioned in l. 23.

Line 32—Φρ' ἄ'σιος—The scribe probably first wrote *Φρσιος* and added afterwards an incomplete *α*.

Line 33—γῆ Κολλούθου τοῦ Φίβιος—The owner is a brother of Tathotis (see family tree, p. 158).

γῆ Καλήτος—The land and the owner are unknown; for the genitive of the name *Καλής* see note on l. 25.

Line 34—γῆ Νεχούτιος τῆς Πελαίου καὶ Ἄνεμπεύτος—The land and the owners are unknown; the spelling of the name *Νεχούτις* (with *τ* instead of the customary *θ*) and the genitive of the name *Ἄνεμπεύς*¹ deserve notice.

Line 35—γῆ Γόνσιος—The same plot is, according to P. Adler 8, 9 (104 B.C.), in the possession of *Γούνσιος τοῦ Θεοτομούτος*, and, according to P. Adler 3, II, 15 (112 B.C. [*sic*]), of his son *Νεχούτου τοῦ Γούνσιος*. The latter text is written by Ammonios, the scribe of our text; it is remarkable that in the one text he writes *Γόνσιος* and in the other *Γούνσιος*.²

τε—It is possible that the scribe first thought of the construction *αὐτῆι τε καὶ Θαίβει* but afterwards chose a different wording.³

Line 37—ἦς μέτεστι Θαίβει—See above, p. 148, for the construction, and family tree, p. 158, for Thaïbis, a sister of Tathotis.

Line 38—ἀπηλι(ώτου) Καίης—The scribe forgot to state the eastern neighbour of the house in question and then added the words quoted, above the line; he only gives the name of the neighbour, so we do not know if this man owned a house or a vacant plot of land.

Line 40—Θαίβιος—Thaïbis is the sister of Tathotis (see family tree, p. 158).

Lines 41–2—Σεννήσιος τῆς Χαρίστιος οἰκίας . . . οἰκία Σεννήσιος—This refers to two houses belonging to a certain Sennesis. The latter house is known of old,⁴ while a text

¹ The genitive *Ἄνεμπεύτος* is correct, but F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (1922 = 1967), gives s.v. only the genitive *Ἄνεμπέως*.

² See note on l. 29 for other cases in which the scribe writes *ο* instead of *ου*.

³ The word *τε* is, however, in some cases also used alone in the sense of 'yet also, further'; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* II³ (1934), p. 156.

⁴ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 75: house Ba.

has recently been published,¹ from which it appears that the house belongs to Sennesis, *daughter of Pates*, and we have, therefore, now learnt the name of this Sennesis' father.

We are told, with regard to the first house, that the *ψιλὸς τόπος* of Tathotis lies in front of it and it can, therefore, be hardly any other than the house of Sennesis, *the daughter of Pates*, since there are no other houses belonging to Sennesis in this vicinity.² The text itself, however, states that it is a house belonging to Sennesis, *daughter of Kharistis*,³ but it is not impossible that Sennesis' father bore two names, the Greek name Kharistis and the Egyptian name Pates.⁴

Tathotis' mother was also called Sennesis but there is no evidence to show that our Sennesis, daughter of Pates, is the mother of Tathotis.

Line 43—*ψιλοὶ τόποι τοῦ ἱεροῦ*—These temple lands have been known of for a long time,⁵ but recently an important Demotic text which yields new data has been published.⁶ According to this text a certain Kallias bought one of these *ψιλοὶ τόποι* from the temple, this being a plot on which, later, the aforementioned house of Sennesis, daughter of Pates, was built. The importance of this text lies in the illustration it gives us of the sale of a plot of temple land by the temple itself to a private person: see note on l. 30 above.

Line 44—*Ἰσιεῖον*—P.Strassb. dem. 44, 10, which deals with the same house, mentions on the south side 'the street of Pharaoh', *ϕ; ἡγρ (n) Pr-ϕ;*; however, there is no reference to the temple of Isis. There were several small temples of Isis in and near Pathyris,⁷ which makes it impossible to decide whether the temple of *Ἰσιδος Νεμῆτος θεᾶς μεγίστης* mentioned in BGU, III, 993, III, 4 and in P.Ryl. dem. 35 is meant here.

Line 45—*οἰκία Νεχούτου τοῦ Ζμίνος*—The same house is found in a Demotic text: *ϕ; ϕ-wy n Ns-nḥt-ḫ = f s; Ns-Min*, 'the house of Nekhouates, son of Zmin';⁸ for Nekhouates himself see above, l. 27.

πλατεῖα⁹ ὁδὸς τῶν θεῶν—P.Strassb. dem. 44, 10 mentions as the eastern neighbour of the same house: *n; imy-w*, 'the Cats', that is, a shrine of the sacred Cats. This shrine evidently lies on the opposite side of 'the broad street of the gods'.

οἰκία Ἀρογγοῦτος—The house is unknown. The proper name *Ἀρογγοῦτος = Hr-in-wywy* only appears one other time in Pathyris and Crocodilopolis and then with a slightly different spelling: *Ἀρομγοῦτος*.¹⁰ This proper name contains the title of the

¹ Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 141; cf. also *Mitteilungen des Inst. für Orientforsch.* 13 (1967), 179–81, where the plot in question is mentioned.

² See sketch in *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 75; the house Ba is clearly at issue here.

³ The name Kharistis is entirely unknown in Pathyris and Crocodilopolis; other forms of this name are found elsewhere in Egypt.

⁴ We know of various people from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis who bore at the same time a Greek and a Demotic name. The members of the family of Dryton (see Rita Calderini, 'Ricerche sul doppio nome personale', *Aegyptus* 22 (1942), 17) are known in particular, but one also comes across a few cases in the family tree of Phibis' children (p. 158).

⁵ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 75.

⁶ O.Hess dem. 1: Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *Mitteilungen des Inst. für Orientforsch.* 13 (1967), 179–81; cf. also *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 141.

⁷ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 54 n. 61.

⁸ P.Strassb. dem. 44, 10.

⁹ In other texts, however, Ammonios correctly writes *πλατεία* (see p. 139 n. 4 for his hesitation about this spelling).

¹⁰ P.Ryl. dem. 15 + P.Ryl. II, 248, 3 (= SB, I, 5104).

priest of Isis *ἰν-ωρωγ* = *ἰσιονόμος*;¹ is it pure accident that there is a temple of Isis (l. 44) on the opposite side of the street?

Line 47—*ψιλὸς τόπος Κοβαετήσιος*—The plot is unknown but it is owned by the daughter of Tathotis (family tree, p. 158, No. 44) to whom all the lands mentioned in this papyrus are bequeathed. She now, therefore, receives another plot adjoining those she already possessed.

οἰκία Ἀρμώνθιος—The house is unknown. As regards the proper name *Ἀρμώνθιος* one may safely assume that it is a woman's name² ending in *-ις* occurring along with the man's name *Ἀρμώνθης* (l. 23) ending in *-ης*; cf. also *Σενμώνθιος* (f.) along with *Ψενμώνθης* (m.) and *Νεχοῦθιος* (f.) along with *Νεχοῦθης* (m.).

Lines 47–8—*Τειαιτος*³ *οἰκία*—The house and owner are unknown, while I cannot place the proper name *Τειαις* either in Greek or in Demotic.

Line 48—*Ταθώτη*—The dative ending in *-ηι* of the name of which the nominative is written in ll. 1 and 14 as *Ταθώτις*⁴ is certainly striking, all the more so since, in this same text, three other women's names ending in *-ις* are all written with the dative ending in *-ει*: *Θαίβει* (l. 37), *Κοβαετήσει* (ll. 16 and 50), and *Τισύτμει* (ll. 30 and 32). We have already seen (note on l. 17) that the scribe of our text is uncertain how to decline Egyptian names in Greek.

Lines 51–2—*ἱεράς <τοῖς> βα(σιλεῦσιν) . . . (δραχμάς)*—The article *τοῖς* is often omitted, and not by our scribe only. According to the Demotic texts this sacred money was used for libations and burnt offerings.⁵

Lines 52–3—*μηθὲν ἦσσον*—The same scribe sometimes writes *μηθὲν δ' ἦσσον*.⁶

Line 56—*Ἡρα(κλείδης)*—This banker, according to our text, was the head of the bank of Pathyris on November 30, 116 B.C., and this was still the case on September 11, 114 B.C.⁷

θέμα—In principle the tax may only be paid on the strength of a certificate (*διαγραφή*) issued for this purpose by, for example, the tax farmer. In our case the heiress does not have the required certificate and cannot, therefore, pay her tax. For some reason unknown to us (does she want to be able to have the inherited property at her disposal?) she still wishes to pay the tax and does so by a deposit into a separate account at the

¹ P.Mil. Vogl. III, p. 186. ² Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v., can, therefore, be brought into line with this.

³ The reading *Τειλιτος* seems impossible to me.

⁴ The woman's name *Ταθώτης* can be deleted in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. This name was included on the grounds of P.Cairo 10.388 (*Archiv für Papyrusf.* 1 (1901), 63); in this text there is mention of a woman Tathotis (ll. 4 and 8) who is indicated as *Ταθώτη* and as *Ταθώτει*. We do not know what scribe wrote this text (his name is lost); it is possible that it was written by our Ammonios but it could also be by his predecessor Areios. In any case both texts show that the name *Ταθώτις* may have a dative ending either in *-ει* or in *-ηι*, so that it is unnecessary to assume that such a name as *Ταθώτης* existed.

⁵ See e.g. P.Leid. dem. 374, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen Rijksmuseum Leiden* 44 (1963), 12. R. H. Pierce discusses in detail in his, unfortunately unpublished, thesis the meaning and the Greek origin of this fine.

⁶ See on the one hand e.g. P.Strassb. II, 85, 28 and P.Lond. III, p. 8: 880, 31, and on the other hand P.Gen. 20, 17.

⁷ P.Strassb. II, 84, 31 and 33; W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I, No. 1224.

bank.¹ We know of similar provisional payments in six different texts² from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis, all written in the period from 116 to 104 B.C. Unfortunately there is nothing in the available data from which we can deduce why, in this short period of time, the tax owner suddenly, in six cases, has no *διαγραφή* at the moment at which he goes to pay the tax. Is it pure coincidence that all these cases originate in the period when Paniskos³ held the position of tax farmer?

Commentary

To prevent our commentary from becoming too long we shall limit ourselves to a short survey of the various plots of land which Tathotis bequeaths to her daughter Kobahetesis in this text, in the course of which we shall pay particular attention to data which may answer the queries as to how Tathotis came to be in possession of these plots and what Kobahetesis did with them.

1. *The items of property mentioned in the 'testament'*

a. *The land of Telon*⁴ (ll. 4-5; 17-20). This plot, consisting of arable land, vineyards, and an uncultivable piece (*χάλασμα*),⁵ is mentioned separately as if it were the most important of Tathotis' possessions. Yet the whole plot only measures 25 arouras and a part of it, moreover, is in the hands of the family of Peteharsemtheus.⁶ Another part of it is in the hands of the following descendants of Phibis (cf. family tree, p. 158):

1. Tathotis, daughter of Phibis, has an 8th part of an unknown number of arouras situated in the south of the land of Telon and consisting of arable land and vineyards.⁷ According to our text she gives half an aroura⁸ of it to Kobahetesis.
2. Patous, son of Phibis, owns a *γη χέρσος*⁹ in the land of Telon (P.Adler 3, II, 14).
3. Pelaias, son of Phibis, has a son (Patous) who also owns a piece of land here (P.Adler 3, II, 13).
4. Thaïbis, daughter of Phibis, owns a plot situated in the vicinity of her sister Tathotis' plot;¹⁰ her son Pasemis (P.Adler 3, II, 10) and Nekhoutés, son of her son Peteharsemtheus (P.Lond. III, p. 20: 1209, 11), also appear to own a small plot of the land of Telon¹¹ (the grandson in any case more than half an aroura).

¹ H. Henne, *Studi Calderini — Paribeni*, II (1957), 197-201.

² These are, besides our text (Nov. 30, 116), P.Strassb. II, 84, 32 (Sept. 11, 114), II, 86, 26 (Sept. 13, 111), BGU, III, 995, IV, 2 (Nov. 9, 110), P.Grenf. I, 27, III, 10 (Feb./March 109), and P.Adler 9, III, 2 (Sept. 12, 104 B.C.). It is worthy of note that all these payments, with one exception, were made round about the New Year of the Egyptian calendar. Were the taxes farmed out about this time and was there for that reason, at that moment, no one authorized to issue a *διαγραφή*?

³ W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, I, No. 1600.

⁴ See *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 83-5: plot H. The adjacent plots mentioned there are not those of the whole area but of the part of which there is mention in that same place.

⁵ See n. 9 below.

⁶ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 84: plot Hb.

⁷ *Ibid.*: plot Hc.

⁸ In our text the measurements of two other plots are given (ll. 25 and 27). Of the first Kobahetesis gets about $\frac{1}{16}$ aroura, and of the second, still less.

⁹ It is significant that this *γη χέρσος* (cf. note on l. 25: a sandy spot) lies in the area where there is also a *χάλασμα*, for there is a connection between them which was rightly deduced by H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden* (1966), 12.

¹⁰ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 84: plot Hc.

¹¹ Presumably inherited from Thaïbis.

5. Patseous, son of Phibis, finally, owns a plot that presumably no longer belongs to the land of Telon but is situated to the south of it.¹

It is clear from these data that the children of Phibis must have owned a substantial part of the land of Telon. Tathotis has an 8th part of this and, obviously, one may assume that the remaining $\frac{7}{8}$ was in the hands of her brothers and sister.

b. The dowry (l. 21). Tathotis states emphatically that she has already given her daughter a dowry which is, apparently, deducted from her inheritance.² It is a pity that we do not know how large this dowry was (so that we do not know the amount of the inheritance received by Kobahetesis compared with the amount received by Tathotis' other two children), nor of what it consisted. It comprised, perhaps, some property besides clothing and jewellery; it is not improbable that the *ψιλὸς τόπος* of Kobahetesis referred to in ll. 46–7 (on the south and north of plot *p*) was part of the dowry.

c, d, and i. The land situated next to that of the keepers of the sacred ibises. Between the edge of the desert and the dyke which runs parallel to it lie, to the west of the town of Pathyris, three plots of land close to each other:³

plot *c* (ll. 22–3), *the land of Tariteus*, lies on the north side of this complex, on the edge of the desert. Tathotis owns an 8th part of it; it is not known to whom the remainder belongs but it is known that members of her family own many plots of land in this neighbourhood.⁴

plot *d* (ll. 23–5), *the land of Senamounis*, lies on the south side of this complex, separated from plot *c* by a common neighbour. Tathotis owns an 8th part of this plot. To the south is the land of her brothers and sister.

plot *i* (ll. 30–2) lies in the north-east corner of the plot *d*. Tathotis owns the whole plot *i* jointly with the woman Tisutmis, who is not one of Phibis' descendants.⁵

e and f. The land of Zminis and the land of Senamounis and Zminis (ll. 25–7). The plots are adjacent and are situated on the edge of the desert according to our text, and to the north of Pathyris according to a Demotic text.⁶ The plot *e* is $4\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$ arouras in size and Tathotis owns an 8th part of it, a 7th part of which she again gives to her daughter, this being less than $\frac{1}{10}$ aroura.

*g. The land situated next to the sacred land of Aphrodite*⁷ (ll. 27–9). On the edge of the desert lies a plot of land which is presumably situated in the south of the district of Pathyris (in the vicinity of plot *h*) since we know that sacred land of Aphrodite is

¹ See l. 19 and *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 84 n. 246.

² This is only seldom stated in so many words; see P.Grenf. I, 21, 19–20. For texts from outside Pathyris and Crocodilopolis one may refer to P.Mich. v, 322a, 17–18 and 340–1, and further to the Demotic text P.Mosc. 123, 4, published by M. Malinine, *Revue d'égyptologie* 19 (1967), 67 ff.

³ Cf. *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 87: the land of Harmonthes (loc. cit., plot Jg) is perhaps identical with the land of Harmonthes mentioned in l. 23 of our text and the land belonging to Tathotis (loc. cit., plot JI: P.Adler 12, 8; 13, II, 9; 14, 14) with one of the plots *d* and *i* of our text. ⁴ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 87: plots Jc, f, and i.

⁵ She is at the most the wife of a grandson of Phibis; see pp. 148–9, and family tree, p. 158.

⁶ P.Heid.Kapl. dem. 8 (98–94 B.C.). This text contains a lease of a piece of land that lies here; it is not known whether there was any connection between the lessor on the one hand and Tathotis or her daughter on the other.

⁷ Perhaps the plot of land itself is also sacred; see p. 147 n. 9, end.

to be found there. The plot only measures $1\frac{3}{8}$ arouras, of which Tathotis again probably owns an 8th part, so that the 7th part which she gives to her daughter is only very small.

*h. The land of Tmonareï*¹ (ll. 29–30). This piece of land is an ‘island’ situated on the borders of the nome of Pathyris and the nome of Latopolis, on the edge of the desert and surrounded partly by the temple property and that of the goddess Aphrodite. Tathotis again owns an 8th part of it and again gives her daughter, Kobahetesis, a 7th part of it, which share, in the year 94 B.C., appears to have come into the possession of Peteharsemtheus, the son of Kobahetesis.²

i. Land bordering on the land of the keepers of the sacred ibises (ll. 30–2). See above, *c*.

j. The land lying to the north of Pathyris (ll. 32–4). This plot of land belongs partly to Tathotis and partly to the woman Tisutmis who is not a descendant of Phibis.³ Tathotis’ brother, a certain Kollouthos, owns an adjacent plot.

*k. The palm grove*⁴ (ll. 34–5). Between the town and the river, but within the ramparts, lie the palm groves. According to our text one of them belongs to Tathotis, whilst another grove (according to P.Adler 8, 6) belongs to her sister Thaïbis.⁵

l. The house within the fortifications of the town (ll. 35–8). Half of this house belongs to Tathotis and the other half to her sister Thaïbis (cf. the house *m*).

m. The house within the fortifications, on the south side (ll. 38–40). This house is owned entirely by Tathotis but an adjoining house belongs to her sister Thaïbis and it seems reasonable to assume that it was, perhaps, originally one building (cf. the house *l*) which has been divided into two.

*n. The vacant plot in Pathyris*⁶ (ll. 40–3). Tathotis owns a vacant plot of ground in the south-west of the town and we know that in the years 113 and 111 B.C. she sells successively 3, 2, and 2 ells of it. We get the impression, from the description of the pieces of land sold, that these sales comprise *the whole* of the vacant plot, while any indication with regard to the 7th part which, according to our text, she had given to her daughter in 116 B.C. is lacking. It would seem, therefore, as if the mother sells the whole plot in 113 and 111 B.C. including her daughter’s 7th share, but we have, unfortunately, no certain proof since scribes are often very haphazard in their description of the neighbours of a plot of land.⁷ We cannot, therefore, establish with certainty whether the mother kept this plot in her own hands after having allotted it to her daughter in 116 B.C. Since, moreover, we do not know what happened to the other plots and houses between the moment that Tathotis gave them to her daughter in 116 B.C. and her own death, we cannot find in this one instance any clues as to what the legal and economic consequences of our document were or whether we are dealing here with a ‘testament’.⁸

o. The house in the west of the town (ll. 43–5). This house stands at the corner of the broad main street which runs north–south (on the other side of which stands a shrine

¹ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 85–6: plot J.

² See below, p. 156 and n. 3.

³ She is at the most the wife of a grandson of Phibis; see pp. 148–9 and family tree, p. 158.

⁴ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 78: plot D.

⁵ Thaïbis has six sons: we know that one of them inherits a 6th part of Thaïbis’ palm grove (see P.Adler 3; 7; 8, and dem. 13).

⁶ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 75: plot B.

⁷ Loc. cit. 73 n. 185.

⁸ The question is dealt with above in the note on l. 16.

to the sacred cats) and a street which runs east-west (on the other side of which is a temple of Isis); this house is obviously in a good neighbourhood! It belongs as a whole to Tathotis and in 116 B.C. she gives a 7th part of it to her daughter Kobahetesis, which 7th part in 94 appears to have come into the hands of her grandson Petehar-semtheus, the son of Kobahetesis.¹

p. *A vacant plot in the town* (ll. 46-7). This vacant plot, which, on the evidence of the houses adjoining it, is also situated in the town, belongs as a whole to Tathotis. She gives a 7th share to her daughter, who already owned some pieces of land on the north and south sides of this plot. We do not know how the daughter acquired these adjacent plots but perhaps she received them from her mother on an earlier occasion, for example as dowry.

II. *The property of Tathotis, her daughter, and her grandson*

A. *The property of Tathotis*, daughter of Phibis and Sennesis (family tree, p. 158, No. 37), appears to be made up of the following:

1. Tathotis owns an 8th part in each of seven plots of land situated in the plain surrounding Pathyris (the plots *a* and *c-h*). The remaining $\frac{7}{8}$ th parts appear to belong to her brothers and sister, witness in particular the available data on plot *a*: it is known that both sisters and some of the brothers owned a piece of ground in this plot. Although the previous history of these seven plots is unknown everything suggests that Tathotis, together with her brothers and sister, inherited them, and probably from their parents.

2. Two houses (*l* and *m*) and a palm grove (*k*) lie within the confines of the town. One half of the one house (*l*) belongs to Tathotis, the other half to her sister: they evidently acquired the house jointly. This is obviously the case, too, with the other house (*m*) and the palm grove (*k*) for, indeed, although the other house belongs as a whole to Tathotis, her sister's house adjoins it and one may, perhaps, assume that it was originally one house divided into two. In the same way Tathotis' sister has a palm grove next to that of Tathotis (*k*). The previous history of these houses and this palm grove is, unfortunately, unknown, but considering the fact that two *sisters* have acquired these three lots it seems plausible that they acquired them from their parents either by inheritance or as dowry.

3. Two plots of land, situated in the plain (*i* and *j*), belong to Tathotis and Tisutmis jointly. These two women, as far as is known, were not related, and it is, therefore, very improbable that they inherited the plots from a common member of the family; presumably, for some reason or other, they made a joint purchase of the two plots.

4. There are three plots (*n-p*) situated in the town which belong solely to Tathotis but it is not known how she acquired them.

5. There is still mention in the years 111/10 and 109/8 B.C. of vineyards and palm groves belonging to Tathotis² but it is not known whether one must understand by these some of the plots cited above or whether other plots are meant.

¹ See below, p. 156 and n. 3.

² See Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, 'Demotische Texte aus Pathyris', *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 133 ff., Nos. 3, 8, and 9; and the Greek text published by J. G. Milne, *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 2 (1917/19), 316, No. E (not included in the *Sammelbuch*).

B. *The property of Kobahetesis*, daughter of Phagonis and of the aforementioned Tathotis (family tree, p. 158, No. 44), appears to comprise the following:

1. She received before 116 B.C. a dowry (*b*) from her mother which perhaps included the *ψιλὸς τόπος* of l. 47.
2. She receives in 116 B.C. from her mother a half aroura of the land of Telon (*a*).
3. She receives in 116 B.C. from her mother a 7th share of all the other property as described in the above *ὁμολογία* (the movable property, the plots and the houses *c-p*) as well as a 7th part of all that the mother may acquire after this list is compiled. It is possible that Tathotis' vineyards and palm groves as cited above under (5) fall into this category. We have no data on what happened to the remaining 8th part of Tathotis' property. Since Tathotis has not only a daughter but also two sons, Patseous and Patous (family tree, p. 158, Nos. 41 and 42), they will presumably inherit the remaining 8th share of Tathotis' property. We do not, alas, know how large the share of each of the sons separately is and still less the proportion of the sons' inheritance to that of the daughter, for we have no idea how large the dowry was.
4. Kobahetesis owns, besides, a few plots of land and a house which she herself bought.¹

C. *The property of Peteharsemtheus*, son of Panobkhounis and the aforementioned Kobahetesis (family tree, p. 158, No. 53), has already been described in detail elsewhere.² He owned in 94 B.C. a plot of land (*h*) and part of a house (*o*) which evidently came to him from his mother Kobahetesis and belonged to what she in her turn had inherited from her mother Tathotis.³ Nothing further is known, unfortunately, about the fate of the other lands and houses which Kobahetesis inherited from her mother.

The family tree⁴

Finally the family tree of Phibis. He has, so as far is known, four sons⁵ and two daughters:⁶ one of these daughters, Tathotis, inherits an 8th part of her parents' property. Tathotis in her turn has two sons and one daughter, Kobahetesis, who, besides her dowry, inherits a further 7th part of her mother's property.

¹ *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 94, No. 44 § 3. The texts do not say whether Kobahetesis inherited anything from her father.

² *Loc. cit.* 98-100.

³ P.Strassb. dem. 44: W. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 31 (1909), 98 ff. In this text, besides the house *o* and the land *h* there is also mention of a plot of land situated in the land of Telon. In this same land of Telon also lies the plot of land (*a*) which Tathotis gives to her daughter but they are two different plots; for the history referred to in P.Strassb. dem. 44 see *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 84-5.

⁴ The women's names are printed in italics. The numbers by some of the names refer to the numbers under which the said persons appear in the archive of Peteharsemtheus: *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 57.

⁵ The family tree in *Adler Pap.*, p. 4, does not mention Patous, son of Phibis (cf. for him *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 48 n. 5), but does mention a certain Sisoukhos, who, however, is most certainly not one of our Phibis' sons.

⁶ *Adler Pap.*, p. 4, mentions a third daughter, a certain Senenouphis. There is some question, however, as to whether she is really a sister of Tathotis and Thaïbis; one would, in that case, have anyway expected her to be a co-owner of the plots mentioned on p. 155, under 2.

Of the remaining descendants of Phibis only those have been included in the family tree who have been mentioned in the foregoing. Further data on them and on other descendants of Phibis may be found in the family trees compiled for two families, related by marriage, from the family archives of Peteharsemtheus, son of Panobkhounis,¹ and of Horos, son of Nekhoutes.²

¹ See *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 57, and U. Kaplony-Heckel's additions, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 137-9.

² See *Adler Pap.*, p. 4, and the additions to it in *P.L.Bat.* 14 (1965), 48 n. 5.

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¹ The mark * in front of a name, denotes that it is not found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or in Pape and Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, while the mark † denotes the names of persons who appear in the family tree (p. 158). The index shows consecutively:

- (i) The proper name.
- (ii) Possible different spelling by which the name is better known.
- (iii) The indication (m.) or (f.), which denotes whether it is a man's or woman's name.
- (iv) The cases in which the name appears in the text and the way in which the name is declined.
- (v) The possible family relationship: f. (father), m. (mother), h. (husband), w. (wife), s. (son), d. (daughter).
- (vi) The numbers of the lines of the text in which the people in question are to be found.

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 † *Ταθῶτις* (f.), dat. *Ταθώτηι*—d. of Phibis, m. of Kobahetesis 1, 14, 48
 * *Ταριτεῦς* (f.?), gen. *Ταριτεῦτος*—22
 * *Τειαις* (f.?), gen. *Τειαιτος*—47
Τέλων (m.), gen. *Τέλωνος*—4, 18
Τισῦτις, *Τασῦτις* (f.), dat. *Τισύτμει*—d. of Phrasis 30, 32
 † *Τοτοῆς* (m.), gen. *Τοτοέους*—f. of Panobkhounis 17
 † *Φαγῶνις* (m.), gen. *Φαγώνιος*—f. of Kobahetesis, h. of Tathotis 16, 57, cf. 47
 † *Φίβις* (m.), gen. *Φίβιος*—f. of Thaïbis, cf. 37, 40; f. of Kollouthos 33; f. of Patous 24; f. of Patseous, cf. 19; f. of Tathotis 14
Φράσις (m.), gen. *Φράσιος*—f. of Tisutmis 30, 32
 * *Χαρίστις* (m.), gen. *Χαρίστιος*—f. of Sennesis 41, cf. 42
Ψενθώτης (m.), gen. *Ψενθώτου*—s. of Kales 25
 * *Ωρος* (m.), gen. **Ωρου*—s. of Thotortaios 39

THE GREEK VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF TEFNUT¹

By STEPHANIE WEST

THE Greek version of the legend of Tefnut, preserved in a papyrus of the third century A.D. in the British Museum (Inv. no. 274), was identified and published by Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnutlegende, Sitzb. Heidel. Ak.* 1923; he himself never saw the papyrus, but used a transcript made by Crönert. Such a method of publication is obviously imperfect, and the text presents so many oddities that the reader is reduced to the conclusion that the writer was simply baffled by much of the text which he was supposed to be translating. The papyrus has received little subsequent attention; a few revised readings were published by Milne in his *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (No. 192: pl. XII), but the text was not included in Manteuffel's collection of Greco-Egyptian works, *De opusculis Graecis Aegypti e papyris ostracis lapidibusque collectis*, Warsaw, 1930.² On re-examining the papyrus I found that, apart from minor improvements, some further joins could be made, which not only result in a better text of the passages in question, but also show that the column length was about 70 lines, not 80 or more as Reitzenstein supposed. Though I am well aware of the temerity of attempting to revise the text without a knowledge of demotic, the more modest alternative of a series of piecemeal notes on particular passages seems unlikely to render the text much more easily intelligible, not the least obstacle to clarity being the fact that Reitzenstein's line numbers will not provide a satisfactory frame of reference. The ideal would be a simultaneous revision of both texts: I offer what follows merely by way of a *δεύτερος πλοῦς*.

Though we have several Greek texts which must be either translated from or substantially based on Egyptian works, this is the only one which can be compared with its original: the latter was published from a Leyden papyrus of the second century A.D. by Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge*, Leyden, 1917. This is much better preserved than the Greek text, though both beginning and end are lost; its date of composition appears to be quite uncertain. The legend on which it is based was reconstructed by H. Junker ('Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien',

¹ In the preparation of this article I have incurred many debts; I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. F. T. Gignac, S.J., Dr. J. R. Harris, Mr. P. J. Parsons, Dr. E. A. E. Reymond, Mr. T. C. Skeat, and, especially, Professor J. W. B. Barns, without whose unflagging encouragement and help it would have remained unwritten.

² It is discussed by Rattenbury, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, III, ed. Powell and Barber (Oxford, 1933), 226-9; von Bissing, *Forschungen u. Fortschritte* 25 (1949), 227 ff.; Barns, *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses f. Papyrologie, Wien, 1955, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* 5 (1956), 34 n. 22; Brunner-Traut, *Saeculum* 10 (1959), 124-85; Gwyn Griffiths, *Class. Quart.*, N.S. 15 (1965), 76 f.

Abh. d. Kgl. Preuß. Ak. 1911); its substance is the mission imposed by Rēc on Thoth and Shu to conciliate Tefnut, his daughter, who as a result of a quarrel has assumed the form of a lioness and withdrawn to the Nubian desert; the two gods transform themselves into apes, pacify the goddess by the magic and eloquence of Thoth, and return with her to Egypt. In the Leyden papyrus there are a few variations on this basic story. Tefnut appears as a cat, though she temporarily transforms herself into a lioness in order to terrify Thoth. Shu is absent and Thoth undertakes the adventure alone, having apparently assumed the form of a wolf: though Spiegelberg translated the demotic term used to describe him as ‘der kleine Hundsaffe’ Dr. Reymond informs me that the only possible rendering is ‘the small wolf (called) *kṣw*’, and this interpretation is confirmed by the word which the Greek translator uses, *λυκόλυγξ*, an *ad hoc* creation. It appears from the demotic text (col. XXII, 12) that Thoth has given the goddess the impression that he is not Thoth himself but his son; one naturally wonders whether the deception went further, whether the explanation of his presence which he must have given Tefnut was altogether true; certain oddities in the narrative might be accounted for by a carefully manufactured alias. This narrative forms a framework for Thoth’s philosophical reflections.

In the Greek version Thoth is Hermes and Tefnut ἡ θεός: when Hermes has to address her he calls her *δέσποτι* or *θεά*. Rēc is generally equated with Zeus; in one place, however, he appears as ἥλιος.

The papyrus is written in a clear literary hand and is comparatively free from errors; the scribe has usually inserted punctuation in the form of a high or double point; change of speaker is also generally marked by a paragraphos. In two places he has added accents, in order to avoid misinterpretation. There are between 20 and 25 letters to a line, and about 70 lines to a column. Reitzenstein’s system of numbering the columns seems to me misleading, and I have abandoned it. Supplements, except where otherwise stated, are those of the *editio princeps*; my own I have marked W.

Fr. A: col. I

25	[.....]γτ[[.....]ρισειεπ[[..... ὁ] μὲν οὖν Ἑρμῆς ἦ[ν πε [ριχαρήs, ὦ]μοσεν δὲ αὐτῶι ἡ [θεός [οὗs ἠβούλ]ετο ὄρκους. ὁ δὲ [ἔφη· 30 [ναὶ τὴν κ]αλήν σου πρόσοψ[ιν, ναὶ [τὸν μεγ]αλόβουλον νοῦ[ν, ναὶ [τὰ σελα]σφόρα σου ὄμματ[α ... [.....]ιγνῶναι εἰρηκα[... [.....δ]όσιν αὐτοῦ αἰ οἰκ[ίαι 35 [οἰκοδομ]οῦνται ἵνα στολ[ίζ]... [τὴν τοῦ]του χάριν Νεῖλος [... [.....] πετηνοῖs πᾶσι σ[υν

[.....].· ενεγωια χάρις [..
 [.....] καθ' ἡμέραν συγ[....
 40 [.....] γος τὰς τῶν θεῶν [...
 [.....] ἐπιτελεῖ· τὸ ζῆν [...
 [.....] Ἀραψ{ε}ιν, ξντροφ[ον
 [.. Τρωγλο]δύταις, αὐτοπ[....
 [.....] ασι πάντων ακ[...
 45 [.....] ον. ἀκούσασα [δὲ ταῦ
 [τα καὶ πά]λιν γελάσασα ἔ[φη ..
 [.....] ας με λυκόλνγ[ξ....
 [.....] λυσιω εὐρεῖν το[..
 [.....] ν αἰνιγματώδ[ους
 50 [.....] λον ἐπισφιγγ[...
 [.. ὁ δ' ἔφ]η· πρὸς τῆς Τύχης [...
 [.....] εινεν τῶι στόματ[ι ..
 [.....] κτος ἄρτος ἐστι [..] α
 [... γάλ]ακτος· ἡ καὶ τουτ[.] τρο
 55 [φ.] ἐστιν ὁμώμοκά σοι,
 [εἴρηκά] σοι. ἐπειδὴ οὐπω συν
 [ἦκας οὐτω] ὁμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ
 [ὀνόματο]ς τοῦ σου ἀδελφοῦ Ἄρε
 [σνούφιος·] ἐὰν ἔλθῃς μετ' ἐμοῦ
 60 [εἰς Αἴγ]υπτον, οὐκ ἔάσω σε ἄ
 [ναστρέ]ψαι εἰς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ
 [θεοῦ. ἦ] δὲ ἔφη αὐτῶν· μεθόρ
 [κωσόν μ]οι ὄρκον κατὰ τ[.] α
 [.....] ν Διός. εἰ [δ'] ἐξορκίζεις
 65 [.....] ὁ δ' ἔφη]· δέσπ[ο]τι
 [.....] ον ἀδελφόν
 [.....] ἐπίσταμ]αι ὅτι οὐ παρα
 [.....] μέγα ἐστιν
 [.....] ἐξ οἴκον]ομίας θεοῦ
 70 [.....] ἐκ]γεγέ[ν]νη|[ται

Thoth has told Tefnut the fable of the vulture and the cat who exchanged oaths that neither would take advantage of the other's absence to harm her young; this agreement was violated, and though the details of the story are not altogether certain, the outcome evidently demonstrated the awful consequences of perjury. Tefnut takes an oath, the content of which is not clear; Spiegelberg supposed that she swore to spare Thoth's life.

26. ρ: only the foot remains.

27. Cf. Sp. III, 22–3: 'Da erhob sie ihr Antlitz zum Horizont vor dem Geier und leistete einen Eid, das seinem (d. i. des Affen) Herzen Wohlgefällige zu tun.'¹

¹ Throughout this article I have quoted Spiegelberg's rendering of the demotic text freely, since the Greek

28. I have preferred ἡ θεός to ἡ θεά of the *ed. pr.*, since the writer normally uses θεός; fr. C, l. 68, where the vocative θεά occurs, is exceptional, and accounted for by the fact that the vocative which θεός acquired in the Hellenistic period is used exclusively in addresses to male divinities.

30. Cf. Sp. III, 24-7: 'Bei deinem Antlitz mit seinen schönen Augen. Bei dem, welcher in deinem Leibe ist mit seinen guten . . .? . . ., bei deinen Blicken, welche von Glück glänzen, bei deinem Antlitz, dessen Freude groß ist, von dem die ganze Erde lebt, gleich den Blicken der großen Sonnenscheibe!'

33. ι: or η or ν: the upper part of a vertical is clear.

33-7. Cf. Sp. III, 28-9: 'Die in der du bist (d. h. die Gottheit in der du bist) alle Häuser sind gebaut um sie zu verbergen. Der Nil kommt, um sie zu bekleiden.'

35. στολ[ί]ωσιν Milne: the singular, with 'the Nile' as subject, would correspond more closely to the demotic; if we supply στολ[ί]η here we should probably restore a parallel purpose clause in 33-4, ἵνα στέγωσι or something similar.

36-7. πλημ(μ)υρεῖ, πληθύει, ἀναβαίνει are the usual verbs for the Nile flood.

37-40. Cf. Sp. III, 29-30: 'Sie fliegt jeden Tag zum Himmel mit den Vögeln. Sie ist täglich in dem Wasser mit den Fischen.'

38. The initial traces would suit, for example, the right foot of α. γ: or τ; Reitzenstein conjectured ἐνεστῶσα.

39. Fishes were no doubt mentioned at the beginning of the line.

40-1. γ: or τ; the right end of the cross-stroke is visible. [διαδοχὰς] ἐπιτελεῖ would be nearer to the sense of the demotic than Reitzenstein's [εὐεργεσίας], but however we supplement the lacuna this is clearly a paraphrase of a passage where exact translation would have been bizarre: 'Sie läßt die Barke der Nachtsonne Südwind machen, indem sie die Barke der Tagessonne Nordwind machen läßt.'

41-3. Cf. Sp. III, 32: 'Ihr Leben ist unter den Hgr-Völkern, ihre Speise ist in dem Lande Arabien.' I am responsible for the supplements in 42 and for the restoration of the Troglodytes in 43; ἐντροφος is a rather poetic word, but the sense is excellent and I do not think there is any alternative.

43-5. The demotic text elaborates this theme: 'Ihr Nachtlager ist in . . ., sie verbringt den Tag unter den Äthiopen, ihre Stätte ist bei den Kefto-Leuten und dabei ist sie (auch) in Ägypten zu jeder Zeit.' There is not room for all this in the Greek text.

43. The last letter is certainly π, not τ as in the *ed. pr.* Mr. Parsons suggests ἀτροπ[τ]; the sense is no doubt 'all-seeing but unmoving'.

44. π]ᾶσι *ed. pr.*

44-5. Perhaps something like ἀκ[ίνητον ἀεὶ μὲν]ον stood in the lacuna. In the demotic text Thoth apparently mentions some sort of food which he wants Tefnut to eat; it seems to be a magic food, as its effects, which are later described, evidently go beyond mere nutrition. Nothing in ll. 30-45 seems to refer to this, but the Greek text is so fragmentary in 43-5 that we cannot definitely say that it was absent from this version. Bread and milk are mentioned in Thoth's next speech, but the point is not clear.

47 ff. The interpretation of the corresponding demotic passage is evidently very uncertain: 'Das, worüber du so zornig bist, nachdem du es nicht gelöst hast, das willst du (gewaltsam) zerreißen.' Reitzenstein suggested the following restoration: ποιεῖν πειρ]αί με λυκόλυγ[ξ μὴ δυνάμενος] λύσιν εὐρεῖν το[ύτου <του> λόγου το]ῦ αἰνιγματώδ[ους τὸ εἰρημέν]ον ἐπὶ Σφιγγ[ός; the association

text is scarcely intelligible without it; I have used an underline to indicate places where he himself regarded the rendering as uncertain. On some passages where there were obvious discrepancies between the Greek text and Spiegelberg's translation I have consulted Professor Barns or Dr. Reymond, and included the information which they were good enough to give me.

of the sphinx with riddles is, as he himself observed, a purely Greek idea.¹ The conclusion that the Greek translator here introduced something for which there was no basis in his original is not absolutely irresistible: we could instead restore some part of the verb *ἐπισφίγγω*. But in either case it is hard to detect any point of contact with the version given in the Leyden papyrus, which is perhaps the less surprising in that the latter is scarcely appropriate as a comment on what Thoth has just said.

47.]ας: bases only; ς might be ι.

50.]λ: or δ or ν.

51. The supplement is due to Milne.

51 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 5–9: ‘Ich bin in der Hand des Psais. Ich sehe, daß es der Eid eines Kindes ist. Du bist, wie wenn man sagt, du seiest ein Bettler, [während] Milch und . . . dir als Speise sind. Du kennst nicht seine Hitze und seine Kälte, das heißt sein Leben (und) seinen Tod, als ob du sagtest, du seiest arm. Das, was ihn erwärmen wird und erkalten macht, das ist die Furcht, die bei ihm [ist].’ Reitzenstein’s restoration of 52 ff. is scarcely satisfactory: [τουτό μοι] ἦν ἐν τῶι στόματι ἡδ]ύ· [εὔμα]κτος ἄρτος ἐστί, ν[αί] ἄ[ρτος εὔμ]ακτος. ἦ καὶ τοῦτ[ο] τρο[φιμόν] ἐστιν. In 52]ην is impossible; the papyrus has]ειν; we should probably articulate]ειν ἐν, but]εινεν (from the aorist of, e.g., μένω or τείνω) cannot be excluded. The trace of the last letter of 53 is very uncertain. εὔμακτος is not attested; Dr. Reymond tells me that the demotic version specifies fresh bread, and so we might restore νεομάλα]κτος ἄρτος in 52/3: for νεομάλακτος, cf. Sch. Theocr. IV, 34; the reference to milk in the demotic points to γάλα]κτος in 54. ἦ or ἦ? Professor Barns suggests ἦ καὶ τοῦτ[ο] τρο[φή σου], but though this is attractive there are apparently at least two letters missing between τουτ and τρο, and the supplement is on the short side for the initial lacuna in 55. But the sense is so uncertain that there is little point in trying to restore these lines.

55 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 9–12: ‘Ich leiste einen Eid vor dir. Ich habe es dir gesagt. Die kleinen . . . Seine Stimme ebenso. Nachdem du ihn nicht so gefunden hast, so nenne den Namen des Schu, deines befreundeten Bruders. Wenn du nach Ägypten, deinem Gebiet, zurückkommst, werde ich dich nie wieder zu jenen Gottesländern zurückkehren lassen.’

55–6. What has Thoth sworn? We can only speculate. The scribe has not inserted a stop after σοι in 56, but the demotic text shows that ἐπειδή starts a new sentence. The following phrase in the demotic text, which Spiegelberg renders ‘Seine Stimme ebenso’, apparently a direction for reading aloud to indicate that the reader should imitate the character’s voice, normally marks the beginning of a new speech: cf. col. III, 23 f.; IV, 4, 22, 33; V, 10; X, 1; XIII, 1; XVI, 13; cf. V, 7 f.; there are, however, a few exceptions: V, 21; VI, 30; XVII, 7/8.

57. οὔτω Barns; μου ed. pr.

58–9. Aresnuphis—‘the good comrade’: ‘Von ägyptischen Götternamen ist in dem erhaltenen Stück einzig ein Beinamen des Gottes Schu beibehalten, vielleicht, weil der Verfasser einen entsprechenden griechischen Namen nicht finden konnte und durch eine irreführende Bezeichnung des Bruders nicht falsche Vorstellungen von der Göttin erwecken wollte, die er namenlos lassen mußte’ (Reitzenstein).

59–62. Why does Thoth say this? It seems undiplomatic to remind the goddess at this moment that she is committing herself irrevocably to a course of action which she may regret. On the other hand, we might expect the content of the oath to be specified: even if this had already been stated, it would be reasonable for Thoth to repeat it here, since he cannot afford to take chances with Tefnut. Can this, then, be what the goddess is to swear: ‘If you, wolf-lynx, come with me, Tefnut, to Egypt, I shall not let you return to Nubia’? Odd though this seems, Thoth apparently has, as

¹ Cf. Plut. *De Iside* 9 πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἐπιεικῶς ἰστάντες ὡς αἰνιγματώδη σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτῶν ἐχούσης; Clem. *Str.* 5, 5 (p. 346, 22; M. 9, 56 A) Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἰδρύονται, ὡς αἰνιγματώδους τοῦ περὶ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀσαφοῦς ὄντος

we have seen, an assumed personality to keep up; it requires no great exercise of the imagination to devise the sort of story he might have told Tefnut, in the light of which all this would be perfectly natural, and Tefnut might well prove more amenable if she were under the impression that she was in charge. But there can be no certainty here.

61 f. τοῦ [θεοῦ is nearer the demotic than Reitzenstein's τοῦ[τους.

62 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 13-14: 'Willst du mir nicht einen Eid schwören bei Phre, meinem Vater, dem Stier der Vulva, aus dem ich hervorgegangen bin?' Reitzenstein restored μεθόρκ[ωσόν μ]οι ὄρκον κατὰ τ[οῦ ὀνόματος το]ῦ Διός. τ[οῦ ὀνόματος is slightly uncertain: at the end of l. 63 is a trace which would suit the right foot of α, and there seems to be room for only three letters between τ[and]α; Mr. Parsons suggests κατὰ τ[οῦ π]α[τρὸς μο]υ. But the rest of the supplement is convincing. μεθορκώ is otherwise attested only in Appian, *B.C.* 4, 62, where it means 'bind by a different oath': ὁ Κάσσιος τὴν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατίαν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου. If this is the sense it bears here, the Greek text does not correspond to Spiegelberg's rendering of the demotic; it is therefore suggested in L.S.J. that μεθόρκωσον means 'swear with me'; but why should the translator have preferred this verb to the familiar συνόμνυμι? The interpretation of the demotic text is evidently uncertain, and as it stands Thoth and Tefnut appear to be talking at cross-purposes; if we give μεθόρκωσον the sense the verb has in Appian, the Greek text is at all events coherent and clear: Thoth says, 'Swear to me by Shu'; Tefnut replies, 'Make me swear instead by Rē'; and if you make me swear . . .', and Thoth answers, 'I know you will not violate an oath by Shu'.

64. There is no punctuation in the papyrus after Διός, nor does anything in the demotic text correspond to the sentence beginning εἰ [δ'] ἐξορκίζεις.

65 ff. Cf. Sp. IV, 14-16: 'Da sagte er: Meine Herrin, was Schu deinen befreundeten Bruder anlangt, so ist deine Liebe größer als er. Ich weiss, du willst ihn nicht kränken. Groß ist der, welcher auf einen göttlichen Wink mit dir hervorgegangen ist.' Reitzenstein suggested the following supplement: ὁ δ' ἔφη· σ]ύ, δέσποτι, [ἐπεὶ περισσότερον τ]ὸν ἀδελφόν [σου ἀγαπᾶς, οἴμ]αι ὅτι οὐ παρα- [νομήσεις εἰς αὐτόν.] μέγα ἐστὶν [ὁ ἅμα σοι ἐξ οἰκον]ομίας θεοῦ [ἐκ]γεγέννη[ται. In 65 the traces before δέσποτι are very uncertain, but are probably the remains of a double point. ἐπίσταμ]αι would be nearer the demotic than Reitzenstein's οἴμ]αι; however,]α is not entirely certain, and δίοτι might be restored instead. For another pagan example of this quasi-theological use of οἰκονομία in the sense of 'providence, divine dispensation' (L.S.J. I, 6) cf. Heliodorus IV, 9 τὴν ἐκ θεῶν οἰκονομίαν.

Fr. A: col. II

.
 δ[.]οσω[
 ε.[. . .]ογω[.]απρο[
 ται· εκ· αρουετ[
 50 ηι δὲ ὁ Ἐρμῆς· δέ[σποτι
 σεαυτῆς κέκρισαι [.
 πάντα <τὰ> προενηνεγμ[ένα ἵνα εἰ
 δῆις ὅτι τὰ ὄντα πάγ[τα οὐδὲν
 ἀγαπᾶι μείζον οὐ ἐγ[γέγονε
 55 τόπου· ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας π[ατρίδος
 ἰσχύει καὶ εὐπαθεῖ καὶ ἐ[ὔρο
 εἰ ἕκαστον. ἵνα δὴ ὁ λέγω [πρό
 δηλόν σοι γένηται, ἄκουσ[όν

60 μου· πᾶν ὄρνεον ὄπου γέ[γο
 νεν εὐλιπές ἐστὶν καὶ χ[...
 πᾶν ἀγριμαῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδ[ίας
 νομῆς εὐσαρκεῖ· τὰ ἄνθη [ὄπου
 γέγονε γῆς ἕκαστον εὐχρ[οεῖ·
 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίους χωρίοις καθ'
 65 ἕκαστον χαίρει· τὰ ἔνυδ[ρα
 [ο]ὐκ ἐν παντὶ ὕδατι ὡς ἂν [ἔχη
 διαζῆμι [...]. ἄλιμ' ἠ ὠν[
 τερα·ν[...]. ἀλμυρωδε[. ἦ
 λιμνω[δε...]. ὄν ἐφ' οὐ καὶ [...
 70 [γ]εννη[...]. αἰ πασ[...].

47-9. The lines no doubt correspond to Sp. V, 8-10: 'Es sagte ihm die äthiopische Katze, "Bekanntlich ist der Ort, aus dem man hervorgegangen ist, auch der Leib, aus dem man geboren ist. Der Gott hat nichts lieber auf der Welt als dieses."'

48-53. The reading of these lines was greatly improved by Milne, who joined to the main fragment a small piece which Reitzenstein had been unable to place (fr. A in *ed. pr.*).

49. After κ is the foot of a vertical, γ or ι. α: or ο.

50/1. Obscure, as is the corresponding demotic sentence: 'Du bist Sieger für dein eigenes Herz'; this seems to mean that Tefnut has reached this conclusion independently, without any prompting from Thoth.

51 ff. Cf. Sp. V, 11-12: 'Wahrlich, ich will die genannten Geschichten vor dir erzählen, damit du sie kennst.' At the end of 51 we might supply *διέξειμι*.

53-5. Cf. Sp. V, 12-13: 'Denn was auch auf Erden ist, nichts liebt man mehr, als meine Geburtsstätte, d. h. den Ort, an dem ich hier geboren bin.' The restoration I have suggested is slightly closer to the demotic and palaeographically more satisfactory than Reitzenstein's τὰ π[άν]τα πάν[τως ζῶια] ἀγαπᾶι μείζον οὐ ἐγ[ένετο] τόπου.

From this point onwards the way in which the theme is elaborated is completely different in the two versions.

57. The scribe has not inserted any punctuation.

60. χ[αίρει *ed. pr.*

64. The line was omitted in the *ed. pr.* but read by Milne.

66 f. [ἔχη W; Reitzenstein unnecessarily conjectured ὦι for ὡς.

67. αλιμ is a more likely reading than]καιμ of *ed. pr.*, and ἄλιμ(α) 'belonging to the sea' evidently fits the context.

68 f. ἀλμυρώδες or ἀλμυρώδει, λιμνώδες or λιμνώδει.

How much is lost between this and the next fragment is uncertain.

Fr. B

.
 ρη[
 ...[...].
 τραχη[
 πλευρ[
 5 σοντ[

.....[
 σοι ο.[
 τετ..[
 φαγερο[
 10 κήγνοει[.]αψ[..... εἰς Αἴ
 γυπτον επι[
 ..πιστηστ[
 [πα]τριδα κα[
 .ων τόπων ερα[
 15 λέγῃς εἰσερχ[..... πρόσ
 σρες διηγῆσο[μαι
 ἐνεστῶσι οικ[
 χῆν' ἰκτεῖν π[
 [κα]ὶ ἔ[π]οψ αὐτο[ῖς
 20 [... ἐ]πίσταμαι [
 [...]α τοῦ μύθου [
 [...]μοι προσχη[
 [...]χοις δὲ ενε[
 [...]. ἤμελλον δ[
 25 [...]σκοντα μ[
 [...]ν αὐτὸν [
 [...]εμφιλ[
 [...]αὐτου[
 [...]ετο πυ[
 30 [...]μμα[
 [...]μπυ[
 [...]τηι σ[
 [...]απρο[
 [...]βα[

The fragment was left unplaced by Reitzenstein.

Cf. Sp. XII, 1–20: ‘Du Edle, wende dein Antlitz (wieder) Ägypten zu, laß Jubel bei dir und Jauchzen vor dir sein, sei heiter! Möge man mit dir ein Fest feiern! Auch ich bleibe hier, bis die Vergeltung von mir satt ist. Du liebst dein Land, wie auch ich mich nach dem meinigen sehne. Mögest du rufen: Komm mit mir nach Ägypten! Höre eine Fabel! Ich will sie vor dir erzählen, indem sie auf uns beide paßt. Freundschaft schloß (einst) der Weih mit dem Geier, indem der Kukuluk¹ sich zu ihm gesellte. Ich weiß, daß du es gehört hast, wenn <du> dein Ohr mir zugewendet hast, als ich mit dir kam. Du bist es, mit dem das Hören von Anfang an festgesetzt worden ist. Man hat nicht viel, o Hörvogel, zu einem anderen außer dir gesagt. Es geschah, daß der kleine Hundsaffe sein Gesicht erheben wollte, um die übrigen Geschichten zu berichten, die er erzählt hatte. Es wußte die äthiopische Katze, daß er alle Dinge erzählt hatte, um sie zur Reise zu bestimmen, weil sie in

¹ Professor Barns has pointed out to me that this is a mistranslation; the bird is in fact not a cuckoo but a hoopoe.

seiner Wüste bleiben wollte. Da wollte meine Herrin ihn in Furcht setzen. Ihre kleine Zaubereien. Sie verwandelte sich in ihre schöne Gestalt einer wütenden Löwin, die eine ebenmäßige Gestalt hatte, indem sie dazu stimmte an Breite und Länge. Sie warf ihre Mähne vor sich. Ihr Fell rauchte von Feuer. Ihr Rücken hatte die Farbe von Blut, ihr Antlitz glänzte wie die Sonnenscheibe, ihr Auge glühte von Feuer. Ihre Blicke loderten, wie eine Flamme, indem sie Feuer auswarfen, wie die Sonne am Mittag . . . Sie glänzte davon ganz. Alle, die in ihrer Nähe waren, fürchteten sie wegen ihrer Kraft.'

- 1. ρ is very uncertain.
- 4. ψ: only the foot remains.
- 10. αψ: or σφ.
- 12. There is more space than normal between η and σ: unless σ is wrongly read, the only thing which would account for this would be a high point now rubbed away.
- 14. The space and the vestigial traces suggest σων rather than των. ἔραμαι, ἐράις, or something similar.
- 19. The supplement is due to Professor Barns; ρ might be ω.
- 22.]μ: or λ.
- 23. γ: or τ.
- 29 f. Very likely the sense of these lines was 'her eyes blazed with fire'—πυ[ρί, δ]μυα[τα.

There are two points which I find mysterious here. First, what does Thoth mean by the sentence which Spiegelberg renders 'Auch ich bleibe hier, bis die Vergeltung von mir satt ist'? Secondly, though we expect Tefnut to be capricious and impatient, there seems no sufficient motivation for her horrendous fury. What apparently rouses her wrath is the realization that Thoth's edifying conversation has simply been intended to induce her to return home. But why does this strike her at this moment? Thoth has made no secret of his intentions, yet her reaction suggests that she has suddenly divined a trick. Both these puzzles would no doubt be solved if we had the beginning of the story. But at all events they point to a certain embellishment of the familiar pattern of the narrative.

Comparison with the demotic text suggests that very little is missing between this and the next fragment, which comes from the bottom of a column; they must surely both belong to the same column.

Fr. C

.

55]α[
 κο]γιορτοδ[ν
]χνεγ[
]δ[.]ων δ[
]οσπο.[
]πιεπα[
 60 ο]ύτε ε[
]σκε.[
].νεχομ[εν
 το]ύς πόδα[ς

]ντασμ[
 65]εγονα.[.]συγκ[
]ντας άγωνι[
]. μόγισ πολμή[σας έφη·
 εἰδ]όν σε, θεά, εἰδόν σ[ε, θεά,
 ε]ἶδον έστολισμέ[νην
 70 ο]ἰνοβρεχῆ, σα..[

54–67. Cf. Sp. XII, 20 ff.: ‘Die Wüste machte Staub, wenn sie mit ihrem Schweif wedelte. Der Sand wirbelte auf, wenn sie mit ihrem Maule knirschte. Die Wüste warf Feuer aus, wenn sie ihre Krallen wetzte. Die Wälder von *huri*-Bäumen verdorrten, als ihre Nase Rauch ausblies. Sehr viele Fliegen kamen aus ihr (der Nase) hervor, und sie ließ ein brüllende Stimme ertönen mit der Kraft ihrer Stimme. Da öffnete die Wüste ihren Mund, (und) der Stein sprach mit dem Sand. Der Hügel erbebte zwei Stunden. Der Hundsaffe geriet in eine große, sehr starke Angst. In der Stunde, da er die Macht ihrer Worte sah, bedeckte die Wüste ihr Antlitz, (und) die Berge wurden schwarz. Die Sonne verfinsterte sich am Mittag, (und) er erkannte den Himmel nicht (mehr). Er preßte sein Fleisch an sich wie der Fiebernde (und) er glich einem Frosch. Er sprang wie eine Heuschrecke und verschlang seine Kraft, indem sein Leib wie der des Zwerges war. Er stand auf seinen beiden Füßen und hatte die Gestalt eines Affen der (Sonnen)barke vor der Göttin, indem er in großer Angst war und nicht (col. XIII) [irgend einen Ort der] Welt kannte, in dem er war.’

55. Read and restored by Milne.

56. Perhaps οὐκ ἴσ]χυν.

57.]δ: there is a stroke ascending to left. If a letter is in fact lost between δ and ων, space would allow only ι; ἰδίων would neatly render ‘wie der Fiebernde’.

66. τὰς άγωνί[ας ed. *pr.*; there are other possibilities.

68–70. Cf. Sp. XIII, 2 ff.: ‘Siehe, [das sind die] Worte, welche er sprach: “Ich sehe dich, [ich] sehe dich, [ich] sehe dich (*oder* ich habe dich gesehen) Smithis-Sachmis. Ich sehe dich, du (Göttin) des Sumpfes von *Ḫrh*- Ich sehe dich in [deiner Barke] mit deiner Lotusknospe und dei[nen Blumen] der Zufriedenheit, indem du geschmückt bist mit deinem Halskragen mit Fayence-Besatz, indem dein Perlhalsband aus Grünstein ist [und dein . . .] aus Fayence, indem ihr Kranz us [. . .] Blumen an deinem Hals ist mit seinem [. . .] und deinem . . . aus [. . .], indem] deine Stöcke aus Ebenholz [gelegt sind] in die Hand deiner Aufseher mit [. . .]. Deine Rinderaufseher haben ihre [. . .] aus Gold. Deine Lautenspieler haben [ihre Lauten], indem ihre Kränze aus . . . , indem sie ein Fest veranstalten . . .”’ Thoth elaborates his theme at some length.

70. ο]ἰνοβρεχῆ was suggested to me by Professor Barns. The word is attested in only two other places, A.P. 7, 428, 18 and Cyrill. Alex. *ador.* 17 (I. 623 B) (-βραχ-).

Σάχμι could be read, but the last two letters are very uncertain.

Probably only one column is missing between this fragment and the next.

Fr. D: col. I

[. . . . τὴν ἀ]σπίδα εἰς θάλα[α]σ
 [σαν ἔ]χων κατέπητη. εἶπερ [. . .].
 [. . . .]·s ἐμοῦ μάλλον ο[. . .]·συ
 [. . . .]αρ ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ [ἔ]ν τῷ βυθῷ
 5 [. . .]·ις ὡς λέγεις, [τί] τῆι ἀσπί
 [δι καὶ τ]ῷ ἀετῷ ἐν [τῆ]ι θαλάσ

[σηι γέγ]ονεν λεγετ[...]ε Ὁρασις·
 [ἀληθῆ λ]έγεις ὅσα [... εἴ]ρηκας
 [..... ἐ]στιν· τὸ[ν ἀετὸν] καὶ
 10 [τὴν ἀσπίδ]α συγκα[τ.....]ν
 [..... ἰ]χθῦς [... ..]πιεν
 [.....]ρο. [... ..]απα
 [.....]μ[.....]ροσεπε
 [.....]ην[... ἰ]χθὺν δα
 15 [.....]εσρ.[..]ς ἀμφο
 [τερ.....]ασα.[..]μῦαν ε
 [.....]εικεσ[...]την γῆν
 [.....]ει·ε[...]εδο
 [.....]μ[.....]ελθε
 20 [.....]. ε

 [.....]α[
 [.....]φανε[
 [.....]τεσορ[
 [.....]ι· κατῆ[λθον
 25 [.....]. πρὸς αὐτ[
 [.....]μετρον φησ[
 [.....]ν· φανερόν ἐ[στι
 [.....]εν ἀπλῶς επ[
 [.....]εν τουτο[
 30 [.....]. ναι οδ[....]σ
 [.....]καὶ προσ[....]α
 [.....]ώσαύτως [...].
 [.....τ]οῦ λέοντο[s...]αι
 [.....]. ατομνεγ[...]τε
 35 [..... ἔφη δ]ὲ Ἀκοή· ἀληθῆ λέ
 [γεις θα]νάτου ἐστὶν ει
 [.....]αι τὰ ὄντα πάν
 [τα.....]. .. το πάντα δα
 [.....]ευπ[ο]μείται ὑπ' ἄλ
 40 [λ.....]ος ἐστὶν ἀε
 [τ.....]ως πυρίπνους
 [.....]ος ὑπόπτερον
 [.....]ν τῶι στόματι
 [.....]. ωι ἀσπίδος φο
 45 [λίσι.....]ε αὐτῶι θάνατος
 [.....]. πάντων κυριεύ[ει
 [.....]. ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ .

[.]ηρπασμένης μύ[α]ς
 [μέχρι το]ῦ λέοντος οὐ μείζον
 50 [οὐδέν] ἔστιν οὐδὲ δυναμικῶ
 [τερο]ν τετράπουν. πάντ' ἔφο
 [ραὶ ἦ]λιος καὶ δικάζει καὶ οὐ
 [δέν] λανθάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ὄν
 [τ]ων ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γινο
 55 [μ]ένων. ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ ἂν
 ταπόδοσιν δίδωσιν. καὶ νῦν
 ἐγώ, μεγαλότιμε, εἰ καὶ τῆι πε
 ριοχῆι τοιοῦτός σοι φαίνομαι,
 ἀσθενής τις ὢν καὶ ἀγεννής,
 60 ὁ Ζεὺς ὡς σε ἐπιβλέπει καμὲ
 κα̣φορᾶι. ἐν παντὶ ζώωι πνεῦ
 μα αὐτοῦ ἔστιν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς
 τοῦ ὠιοῦ τίνα ἔστιν ἐπίσταται
 τὸν ὠιὸν συντρίψ[αν]τα ὡς
 65 φονέα μετέρχεται, ὃ δὲ φο
 γεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐγκεχά
 ρακται. ἴν[α δὲ μ]ὴ δοκῆις με
 ψεύδεσθα[ι, βλέπε] τὸν στολισ
 μὸν ὡς ἐγ[κεχάρα]κται. ἀσε
 70 βῆ αἰμ[α.]ει ὄλωσ
 [τ]ῶν τ[.]ατ' ἐτόλ

Col. II

μῆσεν ἐκ τῶν β[ρα]χέντ[ων]
 λίθων. μετὰ τελ[ε]ντήν ο[.]
 σπῶντες τὰ αἰών[ια] περι[.]
 α χαράσσουσιν. ἃ ζ[ῶν]τας ἀ[ποκα
 5 λύπτει, ἀποθανοῦσιν συμ[μέ
 νει αὐτοῖς. θεῶν <καὶ ἀνθρώπων> στολίσμα
 τα χαράσσεται, ἴν' εἰδó[τε]ς [θε
 οὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι εὐφραίνω[νται
 ὅτι Ζεὺς πάντας με[τ]απορ[ε]ύ
 10 εται τοὺς καὶ εἰς τ[ὸ ἐλ]άχι[στον
 ἄμαρτάνοντας, γινώσκον[τες
 ὅτι φόνου κηλὶς οὐδ[έ]ποτε ἀνί
 ησι. ἀλλὰ ζῶντι μ[έν]. [·]. η[.]
 ἀποθανόντι δὲ συμπ[αρ]αμέ[νει
 15 τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ στέλλοντα[ι.]
 τες τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτελεῖν. ἐπί[στα
 μαι ὅτι ἀθάνατογ ὄγομά σ[ου

οὐδὲ δεινότητι ὑποπέπτ[εις
 τῶ[ν τε]λευτῶν σου[.....]τοι[
 20 .α.[...].[...].τον γ[ινώ]σκω: η[...
 τε[...].[...].ρα[...].υτο εφ[
 ...[.....].υτ..ι[
 νη εἶπεν [.....]σει οὐ μ[ή
 σε ἀποκτεν[ῶ οὐδὲ π]οιῆσαι ἄ[λ
 25 λωι ἐπιτρέ[ψω·]τον γὰ[ρ ἐ
 μοῦ ἐστιν [ἄδικον] ἐπιγρ[α
 φῆναι, ἀγα[θὰ δὲ μ]ἄλλον [πολ
 λὰ ποιήσω· ε[ὕεργε]σίας ἢ ἀ[δικί
 ας μάρτυς εἰμί. πῶ[ς] δέ σε ἀδ[ικῆ
 30 σαι προαχθῆ[σομαι
 μ' ἄχων ἀπ[έλυ]σας .ο[.....
 μου λύπην [....]επ[.....
 ξειρησαιαλ[...].χλ[..... πε
 πλήρ[ω]κας: ἐπιδυσ[.....
 35 εἰς Α[ἴ]γυπτον ἀκο[ύσας δὲ ὁ
 θεὸς [ἰ]λαρώς προέτ[ρεχεν αὐ
 τῆ[ς] ἢ δὲ χαίρ[ε]ι, ὥστ[ε
 το[.].]δε ἔφη· δέσπο[τι, ἦδε μὲν ἢ ὁ
 40 δὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὀ[δεύει, εἰ δὲ
 ὀδεύεις εἴκοσιν ἡ[μέρας ἐπ' ὄρε
 σι, διάνυσαί σε ποιή[σω. ἢ δὲ γε
 λάσα[σα εἶ]πε· διὰ [τί
 ...[.....]κ[
 45 ερμ[...].]λω[..... τὸ
 συμβά[ν]....[
 γὰρ ἐπὶ το[
 ενιονομο...αγγ[
 τῶι δὲ ἄλλωι ἰλάσκετ[ο καὶ
 οὐκ ἀφίσταντο ἀλλήλ[ων, κατὰ δὲ
 50 δύο πάντοτε ἑαυτῶ[ν ἀχώρι
 στοι ἦσαν, κοινῶς ἐ[σθίοντες κ]α[ἰ
 ἅμα πίνοντες· ο[ὗτοι παρ' ὁ
 ρ[ε]ινὸν δένδ[ρ]ο[ν κεκ]λ[ι]μ[έ
 νοι, ἰδόντες λέ[ον]τα ὑπερ
 55 βολῆ[ι] μέγιστον ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 φ[ε]ρόμενον, ἀναστάντες οὐ
 κ [ε]φευγον ἀλλὰ ἔστησαν, ὁ δὲ
 λέων ἔφη αὐτ[ο]ῖ[ς· ἐπ]ερχόμε
 {μ[ε]}νον [ε]μέ ετ[.... ἰ]δού, ἐ
 60 ζήτουν τὰ πρό[ς τὴν κ]υνηγί

αν· ἐρχομεν· εν
 ἐνέβλεπετε πρ[.] φερό
 μενον δρόμωι ἐθε[ω]ρήσατε·
 τί νοοῦντες ἔστητ[ε] μὴ φυγόν
 65 τες; οἱ δὲ τρέμοντες εἶπον·
 ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἰδόν[τ]ες [πρὸς
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐλογ[ισ]άμ[εθα] ὅτι ἐὰν
 φύγωμεν καταλη[φθη]σόμεθα·
 πολλῶ<ι> οὖν βέ[λ]τ[ιὸν] ἔστιν

We have here three fragments: (i) contains the upper parts of the two columns; (ii) preserves the lower parts; (iii), a fragment which Reitzenstein left unplaced, joins on to the upper part of (ii) col. I; I have underlined the letters which it preserves. Reitzenstein did not see that (i) and (ii) can be fitted together; this placing is confirmed by a stain on the verso, and shows that the column was about 70 lines in height.

The text begins half-way through Thoth's account of the philosophical conversation of *Ἀκοή* and *Ὁρασις*, represented in the demotic version as two birds, on the subject of the *lex talionis*: every creature in turn falls victim to a stronger: the fly is eaten by the lizard, which is consumed by a bigger lizard; the latter is swallowed by a snake, which is then carried off by an eagle.

1–6. Cf. Sp. XIV, 15 ff.: 'Der Adler warf die Schlange in das Meer. Da sagte der Hör-Vogel zu dem Seh-Vogel: Wenn du in das Meer siehst, und das siehst, was in dem Wasser ist, was ist der Schlange und dem Adler geschehen?'

1. ὁ ἀετός no doubt preceded.

2. ἔ]χων W; βρέ]χων *ed. pr.* There is no punctuation after *κατέπτη* in the papyrus.

2/3. [σὺ δέδορκα]s *ed. pr.*

3. The trace before *σν* suggests *a* or *σ*.

4.]αρ is much more likely than]αι of *ed. pr.* παρ' ἐμέ, 'by comparison with me', would suit the context.

5. ὀρᾶ]ις *ed. pr.*

7. Does the sentence end with *γέγονεν* or with *λέγε*? There is no punctuation; though only the left tip of τ[is visible, it is impossible to interpret this as a high point. I cannot think of anything better than Reitzenstein's suggestion that we should punctuate after *γέγονεν* and assume that *λέγετ[αι δ]έ* was written by mistake for *λέγει δέ*. Alternatively, one might, I suppose, restore *λέγε· τ[ἀδ]ε Ὁρασις*, assuming the omission of *ἔφη*. *λέγ'*· *ἔφ[η]* cannot be read.

8 f. Cf. Sp. XIV, 17–19: 'In Wahrheit, alle Dinge, welche du gesagt hast oder von welchen du erzählt hattest, die glaube ich. Sie sind alle vor mir wahr.'

For *ἀληθῆ λέγεις* cf. D, I, 35 f.; II, 66; it is simply a formula of agreement, and need mean no more than 'Yes indeed'. ὅσα [τε σὺ εἶ]ρηκας [πάντα ἔ]στιν *ed. pr.* Instead of *πάντα* we might consider *φανερά* or *πρόδηλα*.

9–24. Cf. Sp. XIV, 19–28: 'Siehe, die Schlange und der Adler, welche in das Meer gefallen sind, die verschlang ein ε-Fisch mit seinem Maul. Siehe, der ε-Fisch, ihn fraß auch (wieder) der ντ-Fisch, als er an das Ufer schwamm. Siehe, ein Löwe kam an den Fluß und zog den ντ-Fisch ans Land. Da roch (witterte) sie ein Greif und schlug seine Krallen in sie beide, indem er sie unter den Glanz der Sonnenkreise des Himmels trug. Dann legte er sie nieder und zerriß sie auf dem Berge

vor sich und verspeiste sie. Sollte ich eine Lüge sagen, so komm mit mir zu dem Wüstenberg! Ich lasse dich sie sehen, wie sie zerrissen und zerstückt vor ihm liegen, und er sie verspeist.'

10. *συγκα*: *συγκα Π* (not *σχηκα* as *ed. pr.*). *συγκα*[τέφαγεν or *συγκα*[τέπιεν would suit the context well. One might fill the rest of the lacuna with εἶν [θαλάσσησι.

15. Probably the griffin, which drives its claws into both lion and fish (ἀμφοτερ-), is mentioned here.

16. *μῦαν*: a reference to the fly with which the whole process began: cf. below, 48.

18 f. Perhaps εἰ δ' ἐμὲ δοκεῖς ψεύδεσθαι: cf. below, 67 f.

20. Fr. (iii) does not actually join fr. (i), though the interval between them cannot be more than the space between two lines; it is possible that the first line of fr. (iii) is in fact identical with the last line of fr. (i).

22. *φανε*[ρόν, perhaps.

23. *ορ*[: probably some case of ὄρος.

24-35. Cf. Sp. XIV, 28-33: 'Da eilten die beiden Geier zu [dem] Berge. Sie fanden, daß alles das, was die beiden gesagt hatten, Wahrheit sei. Da sagte der Seh-Vogel zu dem Hör-Vogel: Vernimm, es geschieht nichts auf Erden als das, was der Gott des Himmels bestimmen wird, er der (nur) Gutes tut. Wenn es (aber) zu ihm zurückkehrt, ist es etwas . . . Schlechtes. Ferner (sagte der Seh-Vogel zu) dem Hör-Vogel: 'Was wird mit dem Leichnam des Löwen geschehen, den der Greif überwältigt hat? Wohin legt man ihn?'

27-35. The speaker must be Ὀρασις; perhaps the speech begins in 26.

28. οὐδ] ἐν ἀπλῶς ἐπ[ὶ γῆς?

29. ἄν] εὐ τοῦτο[υ?

34. *νεγ*[: or possibly *νεπ*[, not *νεκ*].

35-51. Cf. Sp. XIV, 33-XV, 11: 'Da sagte der Hör-Vogel zu dem Seh-Vogel: "In Wahrheit, weißt du nicht, daß der Greif der . . . [. . .] ist, der Hirt von allem, was auf Erden ist, der Vergelter, dem kein Vergelter vergilt? Sein Schnabel ist der des Adlers, seine Augen die eines Menschen, sein Leib der eines Löwen, seine Ohren wie die des Chenfi-fisches¹ oder des ibh-Fisches des Meeres, sein Schwanz der einer Schlange. Die fünf Lebewesen sind auf [ihm]. So sieht er aus. Er hat Macht über alle Dingen auf Erden gleich dem Tode, dem Vergelter, welcher auch der Hirt von allem ist, was heute auf Erden ist. Wahrlich, der, welcher tötet, wird (wieder) getötet. Wer den Tod befiehlt, dessen Untergang wird befohlen werden. Ich habe die genannten Worte gesagt, um es in dein Herz gelangen zu lassen, daß es kein [Ding] gibt, das dem Gotte verborgen bleiben kann, Phrê, der Sonne, dem Vergelter der Götter. [Er] übt Vergeltung an allem, was auf Erden ist, von der Hundsflye an, dem kleinsten Wesen, das existiert, bis zu dem von ihm am meisten verabscheuten, dem Greif,² dem größten Wesen [auf Erden].'"'

35. The supplement is due to Milne.

36/7. Professor Barns suggests εἰ[κῶν or εἰ[δῶλον.

39. *π*: or *τ*; *ι*: or *ν*; but *π[ο]ιεῖται* seems the only possible restoration. Mr. Parsons suggests ἀντ]εὑποιεῖται.

39 f. ἄλ[λων or ἄλ[λου.

40 ff. For detailed descriptions of griffins cf. Philostratus, *VA* 3, 48; Aelian, *NA* 4, 27; Paus. 1, 24, 6.

44. Before *ωι* there is apparently the foot of a vertical.

44 f. Reitzenstein restored *τιμωρεῖ δὲ] τῶι ἀσπίδος φόν[ωι*, but nothing in the demotic

¹ Here again I am indebted to Professor Barns, who has exploded the Chenfi-fish idea: the clause should be translated 'its ears are as the scale of the ibh-fish of the sea'.

² Evidently a scribal error; the lion must be meant here.

corresponds to this. Professor Barns suggests that we have here some case of *φολῖς* 'scale' (of a reptile): presumably this forms part of the description of the griffin's tail.

45. ὄνομα δ]ἔ αὐτῶι θάνατος *ed. pr.* But in the demotic text the griffin and death remain distinct, and perhaps we should rather restore something like σὺν δ]ἔ αὐτῶι or ἄμα δ]ἔ αὐτῶι.

47. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς would fill the initial lacuna; ἀπὸ τῆς Barns. The trace of the last letter is very indistinct: ἀ[σκαλάβου? Barns.

48–50. Here again the supplements are due to Professor Barns.

61. κάφορῶι W: κλοῖαι I. καθορῶι *ed. pr.*

65 f. φονεύς W.

67–col. II, 16. Cf. Sp. XV, 16–24: 'Wenn ich eine Lüge sage, so sieh (die Spur) auf dir. Seine Spur ist auf deinen Kleidern. Das Blut der Feinde, die gemordet haben, das man nicht heimgesucht hat an ihnen, das schreit [nach ihrem Leben]. Nachdem sie gestorben waren, hat man nach ihren Gebeinen geforscht, um an ihnen Rache zu nehmen nach ihrem Tode, indem die Kleider der Götter und der Menschen durch ihr Blut gezeichnet sind, um ihr Herz zu erfreuen. Denn die Vergeltung nimmt Rache an dem, dem vergolten werden soll. Sie hat ihre Kleider bezeichnet, um die Erdenbewohner vor ihnen zu bewahren. Denn die Spur des Mordes wird in Ewigkeit nicht abgewaschen, da sie (die Vergeltung) hinter dem ist, der ihn verübt hat, ob er lebt oder tot ist. Nie entfernt sie sich wieder von ihm.'

69 ff. The scribe has inserted no punctuation between col. I, 67 and col. II, 13; however, comparison with the demotic indicates that there should be a stop after ἐγκεχάρακται in 69 and that μετὰ τελευτήν in col. II, 2 begins a fresh sentence. The intervening lines are puzzling, but presumably form a single sentence. ἀσεβῆ seems certain, but the position of β would suggest that it is the second letter of its line; perhaps the scribe made a mistake; or the line ranging with this one in the preceding column may have extended further to the right than usual. Reitzenstein supplied ἀσεβῆ ἀμ[ατα, which would, I suppose, have to be translated 'wicked deeds of bloodshed', an incredibly Aeschylean-sounding expression. Since ἀσεβῆ may just as well be masculine accusative singular as neuter plural, it seems better to keep an open mind as to what follows. In 71 a letter is almost certainly lost at the beginning of the line; τ]ῶν τ[εθνηκότων] suggests itself. There is no need to follow Reitzenstein's assumption that the scribe wrote τετόλμησεν by mistake for τετόλμηκεν if we articulate the letters slightly differently. τῶν βραχέντων λίθων is odd: is the idea that the stones have been drenched in the victims' blood?

Col. II, 2 ff. The subject of the sentence is apparently left unexpressed. The last visible letter of 2 is a or o or ω. Reitzenstein's ἀ[να]||σπῶντες produces rather a short line and I would therefore restore ὁ[στὰ ἀνα]||σπῶντες, in view of the reference to bones in the demotic text.

3. Reitzenstein emended *περι* to *παρα* and supplied *παρασημεία*, but if one restores, e.g., *περι[-βλήματα]* or *περι[βόλαια]* a reasonable sense emerges—'they mark their shrouds for ever'.

4. Without a stop after *χαράσσουσιν* the sense is chaotic.

6. We must punctuate after *αὐτοῖς*. Something seems to be missing in the papyrus: Reitzenstein inserted *οὕτως καὶ τὰ τῶν* before *θεῶν*; it would perhaps be better to add *(καὶ ἀνθρώπων)* after *θεῶν*.

7. Since the writer uses both *χαράσσω* and *ἐγχαράσσω* there is no reason to alter *χαράσσεται* here.

10. The supplement is Milne's.

15. *στέλλονται*, for which Reitzenstein conjectured *στέλλωνται*, presumably means 'they are appointed' or something similar. *πάν]τες ed. pr.*

16. *τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτελεῖν*, I suppose, means 'to exact vengeance' here, but it is the sort of safe but empty phrase which one might well use in translating if one were not wholly certain of the meaning of the text before one. No punctuation is visible after *ἐπιτελεῖν*, but the surface is in poor condition.

16–30. Cf. Sp. XV, 24–33: ‘Ich weiß, daß die Katze dein Name ist. Denn sie ist die, über welche die Vergeltung keine Macht hat. Ich weiß, daß sie das Glied des Todes und auch die ist, welche nie stirbt. Du bist das Glied der Vergeltung und der Rache, nämlich die Tochter des Phrê. Man nennt dich die Flüster-Katze, denn sie ist es, welche in das Ohr der Erdenbewohner flüstert. Da lachte sie, nämlich die äthiopische Katze. Ihr Herz war fröhlich über die Worte, welche der kleine Hundsaffe gesagt hatte. Sie lobte ihn sehr, indem sie sagte: Ich werde dich nicht töten und dich nicht töten lassen. Mein Abscheu ist es, Zeuge einer Schlechtigkeit zu sein, vielmehr soll man dir nur Gutes tun. Was soll es, daß ich dir Gewalt antue, da du mir nichts Schlechtes getan hast, sondern nur Gutes? Du hast mein Herz von Trauer befreit, du hast es wieder in Freude hervorgehen (erstrahlen) lassen.’

17. σ[ου]: σ[οι] or σ[ον] would also be possible. ἀθάνατος ὀγομάσ[αι] cannot be definitely excluded.

18f. οὐδὲ δεινότητι ὑποπίπτ[ο]ν τὸ [τε]λευτῶν σου *ed. pr.*, which Reitzenstein explains thus: ‘δεινότης ohne den Zusatz τῆς εἰμαρμένης, τοῦ θανάτου oder dergleichen und τὸ τελευτῶν σου für den Infinitiv oder das Substantiv mag auf Übersetzung orientalischer Formeln zurückgehen.’ But nothing in the demotic text would account for this oddity. The second letter of 19 could easily be ω, and τῶ[ν τε]λευτῶν suits the space slightly better; this provides the required genitive after δεινότητι and eliminates the strange τὸ τελευτῶν σου; the meaning presumably is ‘the terror of mortality’. One might be tempted to insert τῆι at the end of 18, but this would produce an unusually long line.

23–9. The beginnings of these lines are preserved on fr. (ii), the latter parts on fr. (i); Reitzenstein did not realize that the two fragments overlap.

23. θαρ]σεῖ, perhaps; ι, however, might be a double point. οὐ μ[ή] or οὐ μ[ήν] W.

25. μήκισ]τον? Cf. Philodemus, *Rh.* I, 270 S: μήκιστον ἀφέστηκεν τοῦ πείθειν. γὰρ W.

26. ἄδικον Barns, ἐπιγραφῆναι W.

28. ε[ὐεργε]σίας ἦ W; ἦ after a word not implying comparison is rare but quite in order: see L.S.J. s.v. ἦ B 1.

29–31. The supplements are my own. μ’ ἄχων seems more likely than μάχων, though ἄχος is rare in prose. In 29 no stop is now visible after εἰμί, but the surface is in poor condition.

33/4. πε]πλήρωκας W; the ι which the editors read after this is in fact a double point. ‘You have filled me with happiness’ or something of the sort.

The paragraphos under 34 marks the end of Tefnut’s speech. In the demotic text the goddess continues with various moralizing reflections (XIV, 33–XVI, 1); a second speech (XVI, 2–8), which is also assigned to Tefnut, consists partly of further commonplaces of the same sort and partly of a eulogy of Egypt. There is nothing corresponding to this section in the Greek version.

34–43. Cf. Sp. XVI, 8–12: ‘Es bewirkte die schöne Rede, daß ihr Antlitz Ägypten (wieder) gnädig wurde. Da trat er eilig vor die Göttin, um sie zu belustigen, so daß ihr Herz sehr froh war. Er sagte zu ihr: Meine Herrin, der Weg des Gehens nach Ägypten ist dieser. Nicht ist es das Wüstengebirge, auf dem du deine Reise viele Tage machst. Ich will sie dich in zwanzig Tagen machen lassen. Da lachte sie, indem sie sagte: Weshalb hast du das nicht von Anfang an gesagt?’

35/6. W ([ι]λαρῶς Milne).

37/8. We might supply ὥστ[ε] ‘Ερμη]ς] το[ι]ά]δε εἶφη.

38. ἦδε μὲν ἦ W; αὐτη <ἦ> *ed. pr.*

39. δὲ W; γὰρ *ed. pr.*

41. Reitzenstein restored διανύσεις (διανουσαι II) ἐπ’ οἴ[κου]. The supplement I have suggested makes emendation unnecessary and is slightly closer to the demotic, though there Thoth’s proposed itinerary seems not to involve a journey over the mountains of the desert at all.

42–4. The beginnings of these lines are in very bad condition; no paragraphoi are now visible.

42. εἶ]πε: Milne.

42 f. διὰ [τί μοι πάλαι οὐ]κ [εἴρηκας; *ed. pr.*

44–69. Cf. Sp. XVI, 13–26: ‘Es öffnete der kleine Hundsaffe [seinen] Mund. Er sprach, indem er sagte: Wohlan! Höre die Geschichte, welche zwei Schakalen begegnete. Es waren nämlich zwei Schakale in der Wüste, welche sehr befreundet waren, so daß sie eifersüchtig waren, [indem einer zum] andern sagte: Wirst du etwa gehen und mit einem andern Freundschaft schließen? Und nicht verließ ein Schakal den andern, indem sie tranken und aßen [miteinander] zu zweit . . ., zu ihnen, indem sie sich abkühlten unter dem Wipfel eines Wüstenbaumes. Da sahen sie [einen] wüten[den Löwen], der auf Beute ausging, wie er auf sie zürnte. Da blieben sie stehen [und wagten nicht zu] fliehen. Da holte der Löwe die beiden Schakale ein. Er sagte: Wahrlich, [eure Glieder] sind alt geworden. Seht ihr nicht, wie ich auf euch zukomme? Warum flieht ihr nicht vor mir? Da sagten sie: In Wahrheit, unser Herr, wir sahen dich in Wut. Da überlegten wir, daß wir nicht vor dir fliehen wollten. Wenn du uns einholst, so ist es besser, daß du uns frißt, wenn unsere Kraft noch auf uns ist, ohne daß wir Not gelitten haben, als daß du uns ermüdet verzehrst.’ (The lion is so taken with this reply that he spares their lives; Thoth then points out the application of this fable to their own case, though unfortunately this is not entirely clear.)

44. The traces of two letters after ερμ would be consistent with ης.]λ: only the right leg is visible.

44 f. τὸ] συμβά[ν τοῖς δυοῖς λύκοις· οὗτοι] γὰρ *ed. pr.*

46. το[ῖς ὄρεσι? W.

47. Scarcely εἴν<a>ιον: the papyrus is almost free from orthographic errors of this sort, and the word is found only in poetry. δμ[ό]νοιαν?

50. The traces favour δύο, which would be nearer to the demotic than διό of *ed. pr.*; probably εἰς δέ] or κατὰ δέ] stood at the end of 49.

52. What I have interpreted as a high stop after πίνοντες might be part of a letter.

52/3. δ]ρ<ε>ωνόν Barns.

53/4. κεκ]λ[ι]μ[έ]νοι W: παρω]κλασ[μέ]νοι *ed. pr.*

58. αὐτ[ο]ῖ]ς can be read as easily as αὐτ[ο]ῦ]ς of *ed. pr.*, and makes it unnecessary to insert πρὸς.

58 ff. I have not arrived at a satisfactory restoration of this passage; Reitzenstein suggested the following: ἐπε]ρχόμε⁵⁹μενον ἰδ[όντες με ἐθε]ά[σ]ασθε ⁶⁰ζητοῦντα <τὰ> πρὸ]ς κ]υνηγίαν⁶¹· ἐρχομένου [οὐ μέμ]ηλεν, ⁶²ἐνεβλέπετε πρ[οθύμω]ς, ⁶³φερόμενον δρόμωι ἐθε[ω]ρήσατε.

ἐπ]ερχομενον: it seems more likely that there was a dittography of με than that ἐρχομαι was mis-spelt ἐρχομε; but the final ν, if that is what it is, is very odd. What followed was certainly not ἰδ[όντες. τ]: or π]. At the end of 59]δουε seems a more probable reading than]ασ.ν of the *ed. pr.*; the interjection ἰδού would obviously be in place and if we read ἐζήτουν instead of Reitzenstein's ζητοῦντα it is unnecessary to insert another τα before πρὸς. In 60 we must supply τὴν before κυνηγίαν in order to fill the space. At the end of 61 an adverb ending in -θεν such as πρόσθεν or πῶρρωθεν seems most likely. In 62 one might guess at πρ[ότερον or πρ[οπετέ].

65. Reitzenstein, believing that the papyrus read τρέχοντες, conjectured τρέμοντες; this was in fact written.

68 f. The last letters of these two lines may be preserved on the left edge of the next fragment, E (col. I); there seems no reason for Reitzenstein's assumption that these line ends must belong to the following column, which would mean, as he himself observed, that the Greek text was much fuller than the demotic at this point.

In the lacuna Thoth starts to tell another story: there was once a lion which lived in the desert and in the course of his wanderings met various animals—a panther,

a horse, a bear, a cow, and finally another lion—which all bore the marks of ill-treatment; the lion inquired the cause, and the answer in each case was ‘Man’. The next fragment deals with the meeting of the two lions.

Fr. E: col. II

.

[.....].
 [.....]νθ[
 60 [.....]ε[.]καιε[.....] λέ
 [οντα ἔτε]ρον ὑπὸ ξ[ύλον]
 [.....]μενον και μῆ δ[υνά]με
 [νον]]ν πορίζειν και
 [.....] δ]ιὰ τί και σοι γε
 65 [.....]τω κατα
 [.....] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λέ
 [ων ἔφη· ἄνθ]ρωπος· σεαυτὸν ἄ
 [πὸ τοῦ ἀνθρ]ώπου φύλαξον· ἄ
 πὸ τοῦ [γ]ένους σεαυτὸν τη
 70 ρεῖ· λο[ι]μὸν ζῶιόν ἐστιν

Cf. Sp. XVII, 33–XVIII, 2: ‘Da traf er einen Löwen, der zwischen einem Wüstenbaum [(so) eingeklemmt war,] daß das Holz über seiner Tatze geschlossen war, indem er sehr [traurig] war, da er nicht weglaufen konnte. Da sagte ihm der Löwe: Wie kommst du in diese schlimme [Lage], in der du bist? Wer hat dir das getan? Da sagte ihm der Löwe: (Es ist der Mensch.) Hüte dich. Traue ihm nicht. Der Mensch ist schlecht.’

59. θ: or perhaps ε.

60. κ: right half only; only the lower part of ι can be seen, but if it were τ some of the cross-stroke should be visible.

60/1. λέοντα ἔτε]ρον W.

61. ξ[ύλον] W; ξ[ύλου] *ed. pr.*

61/2. ξ[ύλον] ὀρεινὸν κατεχόμενον would probably give the sense.

63. ἀπόλυσι]ν perhaps.

64 ff. [ἔρωτῶι αὐτὸν · δ]ιὰ τί και σοὶ γέ[γ]ονε κακόν; τίς σε οὔ]τω κατα[κείσθαι ἐποίησεν; *ed. pr.*

67. ἔφη W; λέγει *ed. pr.*, which is rather long. The scribe has not inserted any punctuation after ἄνθρωπος.

69. <τούτου> τοῦ *ed. pr.*

70. There is no need to emend λοιμόν, since the word is used as an adjective in Hellenistic and later Greek: see L.S.J.

Thoth describes how the lion swore to take vengeance on man. We come now to a fable within the fable, the famous story of the mouse and the lion (Aesop, fable 155, Hausrath):¹ the lion one day found under his paw a mouse which he would have eaten without further thought, but he was so much amused by the mouse’s suggestion that if he let it go it might one day be able to save his life that he spared it; when soon

¹ As Spiegelberg noted, the fable is also known from India: see Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, B 371.1.

after he fell into a hunter's net the mouse was able to rescue him by gnawing a hole in it. Thoth evidently detects a certain similarity between the mouse's role and his own. Reitzenstein suggested that the few surviving words from the bottom of the next column, to which nothing in the demotic text corresponds, come from the second encounter of the lion and the mouse.

Fr. E: col. III

60	δ[ι] λε.[ερ[[[
65	[ι[.]οδ[κισ[ανε[.....]..ωσ[θεός [ό π]αντεπόπτ[ης και παμ 70 μέγιστος και ήλι[ος

70. ήλι[ος Milne.

Unless the Greek version was much fuller than the demotic here, fr. F, col. I, which corresponds to Sp. col. XIX, followed E III immediately. This section of the narrative is puzzling: the two travellers have now left the desert and are, apparently, obstructed by a series of trees, beginning with the date-palm, which attempt to delay them. It is curious that it is Thoth who is the more easily distracted from the journey.

Fr. F: col. I

60	[.....]α [.....]οροσ [..... θ]εός: κα [.....] βα [λαν.....]ο.ψω [.....].δι.κω 65 [.....]εν βαλανι [.....βα]λανίνωι [.....]εστιν: εα [.....]ητος ενη [.....]ογα θέλω 70 [.....]ματα εφησ

Cf. Sp. XIX, 11-23: 'Eine Dattelpalme [kam] ihnen entgegen. Da lief der kleine Hundsaffe zu der Palmfrucht. Es geschah, daß [er] die Palme [. . .] und die Palmfrucht aß, indem sein Gesicht an seinem Finger lag, indem er nach seinem Land schaute. Da sagte die Göttin zu ihm: Komm

herab! Ich habe gegeben, daß du Dattel trinkst. Ich habe gegeben, daß du Dattel ißt. Ich habe gegeben, daß du von Datteln trunken bist unter dem [. . .] Schatten eines Palmbaumes, indem du mit Palme (Palmöl) gesalbt bist, indem du von [dem Saft der] Palme trinkst, indem ein Kranz von Palm(blättern) an deinem Leibe ist, indem Palme dein Haupt bekränzt, indem du [mit] dem [Blatt] der Palme [geschmückt bist.] Da sagte er zu ihr: Laß ab von mir! [Du hast gegeben], daß ich von [ihr] satt bin, meine . . . Palme, indem ich nach meinem Land schaute, nach meiner [Wüste . . .] kommen in ein fernes Land. Nicht können Millionen von Palmen des [Landes . . .] in einer [. . .].¹ Wenn ich sie esse, ist mein Herz fröhlich, [wenn ich sie trinke,] ist mein Herz froh, und ich schaue nach meinem Land, indem ich Ägypten [. . .] Mund [. . . Sand] auf meine Füße, indem er kam [. . .], um sie zu belustigen, indem ihr Gesicht nach Ägypten gerichtet war, indem ihr Herz sehr froh war.'

61. ἔφη δὲ ἡ θεὸς· κατέλαθε, perhaps. The goddess's speech evidently continues to 66.

67. Presumably Thoth is the speaker.

In the demotic version there are three more such encounters, occupying the rest of col. XIX and col. XX; the translation was evidently more concise. Then Thoth and Tefnut come to Egypt, first to El-Kab, the city of the vulture-goddess Nekhbet (Eileithyia), where Tefnut appears as a vulture. Fr. F, col. II deals with events at their next stopping-place, the name of which is lost.

Fr. F: col. II

[...] λ[ε][.]·ρ·[
 [...] δ[ο][.]ε[ι]
 ...[έ]βη δὲ .δ[.....] δορκά
 60 dos τρόπον, με[τέ]βα[λε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς
 καὶ οὐκέτι λυκόλυγξ ἀλλὰ
 λυγξ ἦν ὀράσθαι· κοιμηθε[ί]
 σης δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπεναν[τί
 ον Διοσπόλεως ἀσεβῶν [πλή
 θος ἄφνω ἐπέστη καὶ ὡς δορ
 65 κάδα κυνηγεῖν ἡμελλον·
 τὴν δὲ ὁ λυγξ ἐγείρας, ἐναλ
 λόμενος τὸ προθμείον παρ
 ὠρμισεν, τῆς δὲ ἐναλλομέ
 νης ἀφώρμισεν καὶ διέσω
 70 σεν· ἐν δὲ τῷ προθμείω ε

Cf. Sp. XXI, 8–15; as most of this fragment is perfectly straightforward I shall quote only the beginning and end of his rendering: 'Sie verwandelte sich in eine Gazelle. Siehe, sie [war] sehr [froh,] während der Affe vor ihr jubelte. . . . 14 f. Es geschah aber, als sie in dem Fährboot war, da dachte sie an die Worte, welche ihr der kleine Hundsaffe in der Wüste gesagt hatte.'

58. Only the feet of the first three letters remain: μετέβη suggests itself.

60. λυκόλυγξ: λυκολυγγ II. No such metamorphosis is described in the Leyden papyrus.

¹ 'Ergänze etwa "Nicht können Millionen Palmen Äthiopiens sich mit einer ägyptischen Palme messen"': Spiegelberg.

67. The spelling *προθμείον* is very common in papyri.

69. *ἀφώρμισεν: ἐφώρμισεν Π.*

70 f. *ἐ|[μνήσθη ed. pr.*

There is a further fragment preserving some letters from the tops of two adjacent columns, which Reitzenstein placed first as he believed that it came from an earlier part of the narrative where the demotic version is lost; he saw in col. II a reference to the magic food which Thoth offers Tefnut: see note on A I, 45. But this location is anything but secure. It is conceivable, but no more, that these are the tops of the columns of which fr. F preserves the bottoms; *τροφιμωτερ[* would suit the topic of dates.

Fr. G

col. I

col. II

]εισαίγυ

βελτειοναγη[

]ουκα

τροφιμωτερ[

]η

σοι καὶ υ[.]ηρ[

]ε

μετε[.]ψτ[

]α

υ[

I, 1-3. *εἰς Αἴγυ[πτον ὅταν ἔλθω μετὰ σοῦ] οὐκ ἀ[ναστρέψω ed. pr., cf. A I, 59 ff.* But obviously there are other possibilities.

II, 4. *ψτ*: a tall vertical followed by a horizontal stroke.

All in all, one cannot but be impressed by the general competence of the translator. Whether the Greek version is always a correct rendering of the demotic I cannot say, but it is coherent and intelligible; the translator was at all events aware of the principle that nonsense is never right. It is clear, however, that in places the Greek text differs substantially from that of the Leyden papyrus. Does this mean that the demotic text which the translator had before him differed correspondingly,¹ or is the Greek version rather a paraphrase than a translation?² The riddling sphinx of A I, 48 ff. has been cited as a demonstrably Greek element, but this restoration is not certain; though Reitzenstein firmly laid the responsibility for the striking divergences of A II, 55 ff. at the door of the Greek translator,³ there is nothing in the passage which could not go back to an Egyptian original. I take it that the author did not shift at random from exact translation to free paraphrase; it seems rather that his intention was to produce a readable version free from the oddities of its zoolatrous original

¹ On the textual fluidity of the more popular types of Egyptian prose fiction cf. Barns, loc. cit.

² Cf. the introduction to a translation of the life of Imuthes-Asclepius, P.Oxy. 1381, 174-81: *καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀλῃ γραφῇ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον προσεπλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περίσσεον ἀφείλον, διήγημα δὲ που μακρολογούμενον συντόμως ἐλάλησα, καὶ ἀλλαττολογο[ύμενον] ἀπαξ ἔφρασα.*

³ 'Statt der echt ägyptisch empfundenen Aufzählung von Einzelbeobachtungen die nach Kategorien geordnete Übersicht über alle Lebewesen (vgl. etwa bei Achilles Tatios die Schilderung, wie die Liebe in der ganzen Natur waltet). Einen richtigen Eindruck von dem Umfang der Umgestaltung wird freilich nur der Leser empfangen, der sich selbst aus der Übersetzung des ganzen demotischen Textes einen Eindruck von der Fülle seltsamer Formeln und Schilderungen gewinnt, welche der Übersetzer überspringen mußte, weil sie seine Leser zu fremdartig berührt hätten.'

which might puzzle or scandalize a Greek reader, and that the element of paraphrase in the composition does not much exceed what was strictly necessary to this purpose.

Von Bissing suggested that the translator was Eudoxus of Cnidus: cf. D.L. VIII, 8, 89: *φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν* (sc. Eudoxum) *Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Βάτωνα* (FGH 241 F22) *καὶ Κυνῶν διαλόγους συνθεῖναι· οἱ δὲ γεγραμένοι μὲν Αἰγυπτίους τῇ αὐτῶν φωνῇ, τοῦτον δὲ μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλλησι*; see Lasserre, *Die Fragmente des Eudoxos von Knidos* (Berlin, 1966), fr. 374. This view seems to me so very implausible that I should have ignored it had it not met with approval elsewhere. No dogs are mentioned anywhere in the papyrus; Thoth appears not as a dog or dog-headed ape, but as a wolf-lynx. Nor would anyone, however vague or confused his memory, describe Thoth's story of the two jackals and the lion (D II, 44 ff.) as a dialogue of dogs: this is obviously a fable, not a dialogue, and though we do not know what word the Greek translator actually used for these animals, Greek does not lack a word for 'jackal' and it is temerarious to suppose that the translator turned them into dogs. For a much more probable view of the *Κυνῶν διάλογοι* see Gwyn Griffiths, loc. cit. Moreover, though this is not the place for a detailed analysis, vocabulary and style suggest that the translation was made much nearer to the date at which the papyrus was written. For some reason there was in the second and third centuries a demand for this Greco-Egyptian literature, and most of the papyri containing translations or adaptations of Egyptian works were written then—the Invocation of Isis, P.Oxy. 1380, the Life of Imuthes-Asclepius, P.Oxy. 1381, the three copies of the Oracle of the Potter, P.Graf, P.Rain. Inv. 19813, P.Oxy. 2332, and the fragments of other such prophecies, P.S.I. 760, 982. The coincidence should not be pressed, since the date of composition may be considerably earlier; I merely note it for what it is worth.

THREE GREEK POPYRI IN WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

By D. J. CRAWFORD *and* P. E. EASTERLING

THE three Greek papyri in the Library of Westminster College form a very minor part of an extensive manuscript collection bequeathed to the College by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis (1843–1926). Mrs. Lewis was primarily concerned with biblical and theological texts, and the main strength of her collection is in Hebrew, Syriac, and Christian Arabic; it is very likely that these Greek documentary papyri were acquired quite incidentally during one of her visits to Egypt, and it is perhaps not surprising that they have remained unpublished. A brief note about them appeared in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4. 3 (1966), 189. No record survives of when and where they were purchased.

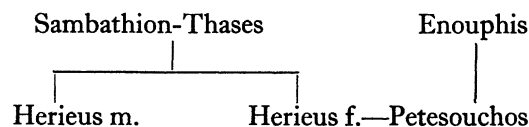
Mr. P. J. Parsons, Dr. John Rea, Mr. A. F. Shore, and our Cambridge colleagues Miss J. M. Reynolds and Mr. J. A. Crook have all given us criticism and advice which we gratefully acknowledge; we have also received much courteous help from the Librarian of Westminster College.

P. Westminster College 1

Soknopaiou Nesos (Faiyûm) 28.5 × 11.4 cm. May 18, A.D. 45

The text, which is broken on the right, consists of the acknowledgement by Herieus, daughter of Sambathion, of the receipt from her brother Herieus of a share in the family inheritance of furniture, effects, and looms (ll. 1–24), followed by the signatures for the two parties (ll. 25–37), and the notes of the registry official.

The receiving party of this papyrus is known from *BGU* 854 = *CP* 483, a Demotic deed of sale with Greek subscriptions, dated three days earlier (May 15, A.D. 45). Herieus, daughter of Sambathion (acting in the later papyrus with her husband Petesouchos, who was only two years older than herself), seems to have been amassing property in the village. She already possessed a house of her own (*CP* 483, 8) and on May 15 bought a two-storeyed house with appurtenances. It is now possible to draw up the following family tree:



1 Ἔτους πέμπτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτ[οκράτορος μηνὸς
 Παχῶν τρίτη καὶ εἰκάτι [ἐν τῇ Σοκνο-
 παίου Νήσου τῆς Ἑρακλεΐδου μερίδος
 5 τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ ὁ[μολογεῖ Ἐριεὺς
 τῆς Σαμβαθίωνος ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα
 ὀκτὼ οὐκ ἴσως φακὸς μετόπου ἐξ ἀριστερᾶ[ς
 μετὰ γυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς Πετεσοῦχου
 τοῦ Ἐνούφιδος ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκ[οντα οὐκ ἴσως
 10 ῥινὴ μέσου Ἐριέως Σαμβαθίου[ος] ὡς
 ἐτῶν εἴκοσι ἐξ οὐκ ἴσως μετόπου ἐξ ἀριστερᾶ(ς)
 ἀπέχων παρὰ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐπίβαλλον νοῦ
 μέρος πατρικῆς καὶ μητρ[ικῆς] σχευῶν
 καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ εἰστῶν γερδιακῆν καὶ
 15 μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μὴ ἐγκαλέσιν μηδὲ
 περὶ τούτων μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλον μηδὲ περὶ ὀ-
 φιλήματος μηδὲ γράφου καὶ ἄγραφον μηδ[ὲ
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ παρὰ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ
 περὶ οὐδένος ἀπλῶς πράγματα τῷ κα-
 20 θόρου ἐάν τις τούτων παράβι ἐκτίσῃ ἐπί-
 τιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς φεντακουσίας καὶ
 εἰς τὰ δημόσια τὰς εἴσας ὑπογραφ[ε]ῖς το ὄμ[ο-
 λογία Ζωσιμᾶς Φιλαδέλφου (ἐτῶν) με (οὐκ ἴσως) καστροκν(ημία)
 ἀριστ(ερᾶ) καὶ Στοτοῆτις Σαταβ(ούτος) (ἐτῶν) μ (οὐκ ἴσως) κόνατι ἀμφοτ(έροις)
 25 (m. 2) Ἐριεὺς τῆς Σαμβαθίωνος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς
 ἀνδρὸς Πετεσοῦχ[ου τ]οῦ Ἐνούφιδ[ος] ἀπέχων παρὰ
 Ἐριεὺς τοῦ Σαμβαθίωνος τὸ ἐπίβαλλον [μοι μέ]ρος πατρ[ικῆς]
 καὶ μητρικῆς σχευῶν καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ ἰστῶν
 γερδιακῶν καὶ οὐθέν ἐγκαλῶ περὶ τούτῳ[ν
 30 οὐτὲ περὶ ἄλλου οὐδένος ἀπλῶς πράγ[μ]ατος ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπαρ[τα χ]ρόνον καθῶ[ς
 πρόκειται ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ζωσιμᾶς Φιλαδέλ[φου]
 διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐ[τούς] γράμματα (m. 3) Ἐριεὺς Σαμ-
 βαθίωνος γέγο[ν]ο εἰς μὴ ἢ ὁμολογία
 35 καθὼς πρόκειται ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτ[οῦ]
 Στοτοῆτις Σαταβούτος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέ-
 νε [αὐτὸν] γράμματ[α (m. 1) ἔτους ε Τιβερίου]
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]
 Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Παχῶ[ν] κχ [ἀναγέγρα-]
 40 πται διὰ τῷ ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαί[ου] Νή[σ]ου [γραφείου]

1. L τους παρ. 3. 1. εἰκάδι 5. 1. Ἀρσινοῖτου 6. 1. ἢ Σαμβαθίωνος 7. 1. οὐκ ἴσως, μετώπω
 8. 1. κυρίου, ἀνδρὸς 9. 1. Ἐνούφιδος (?), οὐκ ἴσως 10. 1. ῥινὴ ἐν μέσῳ Ἐριεὶ Σαμβαθίωνος
 11. 1. οὐκ ἴσως, μετώπω 12. 1. ἀπέχων, τὸ, μοι 13. 1. πατρικῶν (?), μητρικῶν (?), σχευῶν

14. 1. ἐπίπλων, ἰστών γερδιακῶν
ματος μηδ' ἐγγράφου, ἀγράφου
κα|θόλου, δέ, παράβη ἐκτείσω
23. (ἐτών): L pap.; με: μ ex corr., fort. λ a.c.; (οἰλή): ὄ pap., 1. οὐλή; 1. γαστροκνημία
L pap.; (οἰλή): ὄ pap., 1. οὐλή; 1. γόνασι
28. 1. μητρικῶν (?)
πρόκειται
15. 1. μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν
18. 1. ἐπ' αὐτῶ, τοῖς παρὰ
21. 1. πεντακοσίας
29. 1. ἐγκαλῶ
37. 1. εἰδέ|ναι
16. 1. ἄλλου
19. 1. πράγματος
22. 1. τὸ δημόσιον (?), ἴσας, τῆ
24. (ἐτών)
27. 1. Ἐριέως, πατρικῶν (?)
34. 1. γέγονε, με
35. 1.
40. 1. τοῦ

Translation

'5th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pachon 23. At Soknopaiou Nesos in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome; Herieus, daughter of Sambathion, about 38 years old, having as a distinguishing mark a mole on the forehead to the left, with her guardian, her husband Petesouchos, son of Enouphis, about 40 years old, having a scar on the middle of his nose, acknowledges to Herieus, son of Sambathion, aged about 26, having a scar on the forehead to the left: I have received from him my due share of both my father's and my mother's furniture and effects and weaving looms, and (I undertake) not to institute proceedings against him or to make any claim, whether in connection with these matters or with anything else, or about any debt, whether written or unwritten, whether against him personally or against his representatives, or about any matter whatsoever. And if anyone violates any of these terms I will pay a fine of 500 silver drachmas and an equal sum to the public treasury. The witnesses to the agreement are Zosimas, son of Philadelphos, aged 45, having a scar on his left calf, and Stotoetis, son of Satabous, aged 40, having scars on both knees. (Second hand) Herieus, daughter of Sambathion, with her guardian, her husband Petesouchos, son of Enouphis, (acknowledges): I have received from Herieus, son of Sambathion, my due share of my father's and mother's furniture and effects and weaving looms, and I make no claim in connection with these matters or any other matter whatsoever, from the present day for ever, as aforesaid. Zosimas, son of Philadelphos wrote for them because they are illiterate. (Third hand) Herieus, son of Sambathion: The acknowledgement has been made to me as aforesaid. Stotoetis, son of Satabous, wrote for him because he is illiterate. (First hand resumes) 5th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, on the 23rd of the month Pachon. Registered through the record office at Soknopaiou Nesos.'

Notes

- 3-4. Sc. ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου κώμη, cf. *CPJ* 483, 7.
6-7. τριάκοντα ὀκτώ: cf. *CPJ* 483, 9.
13 (cf. 27 and 28). Conceivably πατρικῆς and μητρικῆς agree with κληρονομίας understood.
20. Perhaps τίς (τι) τούτων παράβη?
23. ὄ pap.: the evidence of this papyrus suggests that ὄ at *CPJ* 483, 9 should be read as οὐλή, not ὁμοίως.
33. The third hand writes in capitals.
34. γέγο[ν]ο: it is impossible to read what remains of the last letter as part of an epsilon.
40. διὰ τοῦ ... γραφείου: cf. *CPJ* 483, 11.

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Soknopaiou Nesos (Faiyûm)

23·1 × 14·0 cm.

August 24, A.D. 158

The text is a letter accompanying a return from the temples of Soknopaiou Nesos. It is similar in form to *BGU* I, 296 (A.D. 219-20) and P.Lond. II, 353, p. 112 (A.D. 221), from the same village.

The letter, from the five *πρεσβύτεροι ιερέων*, is addressed to the *παραλήμπται βιβλίων ἐκλογιστοῦ καὶ ἰδίου λόγου*, who are recorded as the recipients of this type of document in P.Yale 362 (August 28, A.D. 187) = E. H. Gilliam, 'The archives of the temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias', *Yale Classical Studies* 10 (1947), 235, no. ix. For the form of these declarations, which were drawn up in Mesore at the end of the Egyptian year, and for the officials involved, see Gilliam, *op. cit.* 181–281. The letter was signed by the official to whom the *γραφὴ* was submitted and then returned to the temple, where it would be kept as a receipt, *ἀποχὴ* (Gilliam, *op. cit.* 233).

On the verso, in the top right-hand corner, is a Demotic docket (pl. XXXII, 1) written lengthwise so as to be visible when the document was rolled. Mr. A. F. Shore of the British Museum has kindly looked at it and offers the following tentative transliteration:

1. *t3 wnwt(?)¹ t3 grphn (?)*
2. *n stbh n ht-sp 22 (?)*
1. The staff-list and the writing (?)
2. of utensils (?) of (?) year 22 (?).

A Demotic docket to this type of document is unparalleled; it was presumably added when the return was filed by an Egyptian temple clerk some time after the end of Mesore, i.e. in Year 22.

Θέωνι καὶ Σουχίωνι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς παραλήμ(πταις)
 β[ι]βλίων ἐκλογιστοῦ καὶ ἰδίου λόγου
 π[α]ρὰ Στο[το]πήτιος Ἀρπαγάθου πρεσβ(υτέρου) ιερέων
 α φυ[λ]ῆς καὶ Ἰεκύσεως Σαταβοῦτος πρεσβυ(έρου)
 5 ἱερέ[ων] .] φυλ(ῆς) καὶ Ἐριέως Σαταβοῦτο[s] πρ[ε]σβ[υτέρου]
 ἱε[ρέων] .] φυλ(ῆς) καὶ Ὀννώφρεως Στω .]
 [. . . . πρεσ]β(υτέρου) ἱερέων β φυλ(ῆς) [καὶ]
 [. . . . πρε]σβ(υτέρου) ἱερέων δ φυλ(ῆς) τῶν ε πρε[σ-
 β[υτέρων] ἱε[ρέων] Σοκνοπαίου θεοῦ μ[εγά-]
 10 λοῦ με[γ]άλου καὶ Εἴσιδος Νεφοροσῆτος καὶ
 Εἴσιδος Νεφρέμμεως καὶ ναοῦ Καίσαρος
 θεοῦ [Σ]εβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν
 μεγ[άλων] ἱεροῦ λογίμου κώμης Σοκνο(παίου)
 Νήσ[ου] κατεχωρίσαμεν ὑμῖν ὥστε
 15 τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ ἐκλογιστῆ κατακομίσαι
 γραφὴν χειρισμοῦ τῶν προκειμένων
 ἱερώων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κα (ἔτους) Ἄντων(νίνου) Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου (m. 2) Θέων σεση(μείωμαι) (ἔτους) κα
 20 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ
 Εὔσεβοῦς Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων ᾧ

2. 1. ἐκλογιστοῦ 10, 11. 1. Ἰσιδος 14. 1. ὑμῖν 15. 1. ἐκλογιστῆ 17. (ἔτους):
 § pap. 18. (ἔτους) L pap.

¹ The *w*-like mark above the initial *wn*-sign on the photograph is a loose fibre.

Translation

'To Theon and Souchion and the other receivers of the documents of the *eklogistes* and the *idios logos*, from Stotoetis, son of Harpagathes, presbyter of the priests of the first *phyle*, Pekusis, son of Satabous, presbyter of the priests of the [. . .] *phyle*, Herieus, son of Satabous, presbyter of the priests of the [. . .] *phyle*, Onnophris, son of Sto[toetis?], presbyter of the priests of the second *phyle*, and [. . . son of . . .], presbyter of the priests of the fourth *phyle*, all five presbyters of the priests of Soknopaios the twice great god, of Isis Nephorses and Isis Nephremmis and the shrine of the deified Caesar Augustus and the associated great gods of the famous temple of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos. We have submitted to you to forward to the nome *eklogistes* a copy of the inventory of the aforementioned temples for the current year, the twenty-first of our lord Antoninus Caesar.

(2nd hand) I, Theon, have signed this. The twenty-first year of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mesore, the first intercalated day.'

Notes

6-7. Στωτοή/τιος?

11. A ναὸς Καίσαρος θεοῦ σεβαστοῦ does not feature elsewhere among the shrines of Soknopaiou Nesos.

16. The usual declaration was a γραφή ἐπέων καὶ χειρισμοῦ (*Yale Class. Studies* 10 (1947), 191); the demotic docket seems to render this phrase.

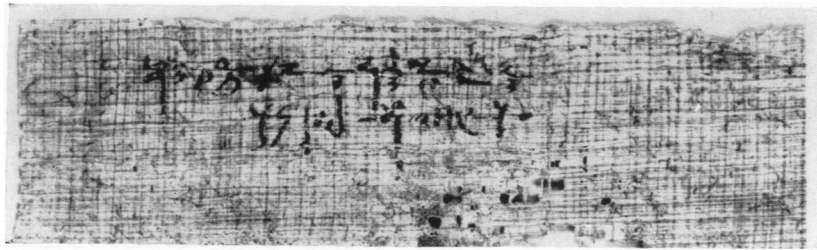
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Recto (pl. XXXII, 2)

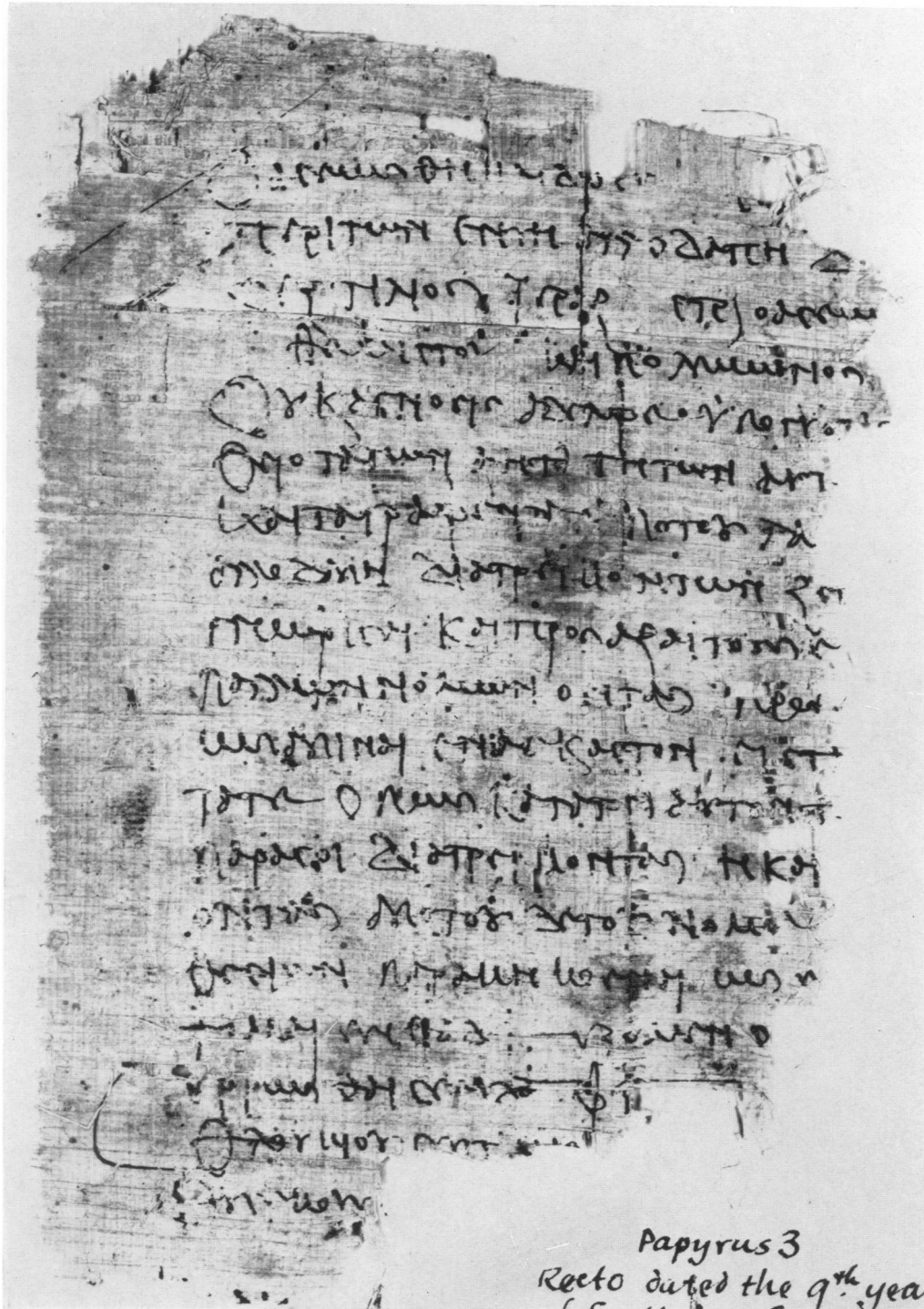
18.5 × 12.5 cm.

A.D. 200-1

This interesting document, unfortunately broken on the right, is the headed copy of a letter from the strategos of the Great Oasis to a colleague of the Themistes and Polemon divisions of the Arsinoite nome, dated Year 9 of Septimius Severus, A.D. 200-1. It concerns men who have left their homes and perhaps settled in other parts of Egypt, and asks that the natives of the writer's nome should be returned from the Arsinoite nome in accordance with a recent decree of the emperors Severus and Caracalla. The same decree, made during the emperors' visit to Egypt in 199-200, is mentioned in P. Cattaoui II = *SB* I, 4284 (A.D. 207), and it was later reinforced by written instructions on the same lines from the prefect Subatianus Aquila. (See P. Gen. 16 = *W. Chrest.* 354, 17-21 (A.D. 207); P. Flor. I, 6, 10-13 (A.D. 210), to bring people back for the harvest; *BGU* II, 484.) Subatianus was prefect of Egypt at least from Athyr (October-November), A.D. 206 (P. Oxy. 1100); the prefect of Year 9, who may be referred to in line 7 of the present papyrus, was Q. Maecius Laetus, who held a census in Year 10 (P. Oxy. 1111; 1548). The emperors' decree may have been a preliminary to this census of A.D. 201-2 (*BGU* II, 484, 2). Similar decrees of other dates are extant: P. Lond. III, 904, p. 125 = *W. Chrest.* 202, 18 f. (A.D. 104), census edict of C. Vibius Maximus; *BGU* II, 372 = *W. Chrest.* 19 (A.D. 154), edict of M. Sempronius Liberalis; *BGU* I, 159, 5-7 (A.D. 216), census edict of Valerius Datus. These continual attempts of the government to tie the peasants to their birthplaces show only how in practice many left their homes and work to evade the heavy government



1. P. Westminster College 2. The demotic docket on the verso



2. P. Westminster College 3. Recto

dues. The present document serves to illustrate the efforts required of local officials after such decrees had been promulgated.

Sextilius Hierax is not otherwise known, but he must have been the strategos of the Oasis for 200-1, and it seems likely from the tone of the letter (ll. 5, 12, 17) that the addressee was of the same rank. We are not able to supply a name.

The extent of the missing portion of the document cannot be determined for certain, but from the sense of the letter about half seems to be missing. There are traces of letters at the foot of the papyrus which may perhaps belong to a second document; possibly this roll contained copies of the correspondence received in the strategos's office.

- 1 Ὁάσεως Θεβαΐδος σ[
περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων
Σεξτίλιος Ἰέραξ στρατηγός) Ὁάσεως
Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος [μερίδων
- 5 Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ἀδελφεὲ ὑπόγονοι .[τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν μεγίστων καὶ
θειοτάτων ἀηττήτων αὐτ[οκρατόρων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
ἀλλοδαπῇ διατριβόντων ξέν[ων
γνωρίσαι καὶ προσάξει τοὺς ἐ[± 25 ἀ-
- 10 π' ἄλλων νομῶν ὄντας προσ[
ως ἀπίναί ἕνα ἕκαστον εἰς τῆ[ν ἰδίαν ± 20 φίλ-
τατε ὅπως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τ[ρόπον
παρά σοι διατρίβοντας ἢ καὶ [
οντας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ [± 25 νομο-
- 15 θεσίων παρακηκοέναι ὡς ε[
τομαι ἐνθάδε ἔξομεν ο[
ἐρρωσθαί σε εὔχο(μαι) φίλ(τατε) [
(ἔτους) θ Λουκίου Σεπτιμίῳ[ν Σεουήρου
Εὐσεβοῦς [

3. ἰέραξ pap. 5. ὑπογονοι pap. 6. ἀηττήτων pap. 7. ὑπο pap. 8. 1. διατριβόντων
11. 1. ἀπίναί 13. 1. διατρίβοντας 18. (ἔτους) : L pap.

Translation

'Of the Oasis of the Thebaid [. . .] on those residing away from home.

Sextilius Hierax strategos of the Oasis [of the Thebaid to strategos of the Arsinoite nome] for the Themistes and Polemon divisions.

You are well aware, my friend, of the recent [orders of Severus and Antoninus, our great lords,] our divine and unconquerable emperors, and of the written instructions of our [illustrious prefect, on the subject of those] natives residing away from home, [telling us] to take cognizance of these [men living away from home and] being [from] other nomes, [and to see to it] that they go back home, each man to his own [birthplace. Therefore make sure,] my friend, in the same [way . . .] that [you repatriate] those who are residing in your neighbourhood or [have settled there . . .] and

who are from this area [. . . lest we be held (?) to] have neglected the decrees, so that [. . .] here. We shall be [most grateful (?).] I hope all is well with you, my friend.

9th year of Lucius Septimius [Severus.] Pius [. . .]'

Notes

5-6. Cf. *SB* I, 4284, 6-7.

7. ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου . . . : cf. *BGU* II, 484, 5-6, 8. The prefect's name may also have appeared here.

11. εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν: cf. *P.Gen.* 16, 20 (A.D. 207); *SB* I, 4284, 8 (A.D. 207).

18. The shortest supplement would be *Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου*. (P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales* (Brussels, 1964), 96.) If our supplement of ll. 5-7 is correct the emperors' names must have been much abbreviated here. *Σεβαστῶν* would then be the appropriate supplement after *Εὐσεβοῦς*.

Verso

Fragments of two columns of accounts, mentioning *δίχωρα* (of wine) at 24 drachmas.

col. 1]πατων

col. 2 'Ορσενούφισ κοσμ[
δίχωρον α (δραχμῶν) κ[δ
στρατιώτη ορμ.[

5 μετὰ Καταβελ[
ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τὴν [δίχω-
ρα β̄ ἐκ (δραχμῶν) κδ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μη[

 εἰς τὴν καταπα[
ὁμοί(ως) μετ' αὐτῆ[δί-
χωρα β — ἐκ (δραχμῶν) κ[δ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μη
10 δίχωρον α (δραχμῶν) κδ[

 ὁμοίως μετὰ χ[
ὁμοί(ως) Ἄρσινοη[
ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τὴν[
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν π[
 [ὁ]μοί(ως) εἰς τὴν[

2, 6, 9, 10. (δραχμῶν), (δραχμαὶ): ∫ pap.

6. (γίνονται): ∫ pap.

8. μετα'υτη pap.

A RHODIAN AUCTION SALE OF A SLAVE GIRL

By JOHN F. OATES

THIS papyrus text was found at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt in their excavations there during the early part of this century. Its interest and importance justify publishing it in advance of its appearance in the series of publications of texts from Oxyrhynchus in which it will receive a serial number.¹

In the publication of a text such as this, full of palaeographical, historical, and juridical difficulties, I remain responsible for the readings and interpretations presented; none the less I am hopeful that my tentative conclusions can be amplified, improved, or corrected and that full consideration of the text by others will solve many of the problems it presents.

This piece of papyrus is at present in rather bad condition, but it is clear enough that it contains parts of two columns of writing, the first of which records the sale of a slave girl by auction through a bank. The transaction was almost certainly carried out on the island of Rhodes and this text written there and subsequently brought to Oxyrhynchus. There are at present two major fragments which do not join. The larger measures 24.2 cm. at its greatest preserved width and 25 cm. high. It preserves the complete left side and almost all the area covered by col. i as well as a great deal of the lower part of col. ii. The other large piece preserves the upper right-hand corner of the document which is 7 cm. wide by 7.1 cm. high. The margins at the top range from 1.0 to 1.5 cm., that at the bottom is 2.7 cm. There appears to be 0.5–1.0 cm. left between the two columns of writing. The margin of the left hand side is variable: in the upper text 1.7 cm. in l. 1 and 2.7 cm. in l. 5. The lower text has a margin of *c.* 1.0 cm. throughout. The length of the lines of writing is also variable: in the upper text it varies from 9 to 12 cm. and in the lower from 11.8 to 12.8 cm. In the lower text of col. ii the preserved line length varies from 8 to 10 cm., and we might conjecture that something like 3–5 cm. of the document have been lost from the right edge of col. ii in ll. 17–24. In addition to the major fragments there are two small pieces, one blank, whose exact location is uncertain but which probably belong to the area in the lower right-hand corner of col. ii.

¹ I wish to thank the Egypt Exploration Society and Professor Eric G. Turner for permission to publish this text and for the opportunity of working on it. Professor Turner has also been of great help in discussing the text and its problems with me. Professor J. A. C. Thomas of University College London helped me a great deal with the legal situation, and Mr. Peter Fraser of All Souls College, Oxford, took the time to examine the text and discuss it with me, as did Professor C. Bradford Welles of Yale University. Mr. W. E. H. Cockle helped me in all technical matters and Mr. Hitchcock of University College London made the admirable infra-red photograph. I must also express my gratitude to the Director and staff of the Institute of Classical Studies at the University of London for the excellent working conditions provided there, to Professors Turner and Webster and others of the faculty at University College London for welcoming me there during my stay in London, and to Dean Georges May and the Morse Fellowship Committee of Yale College who made my stay in London possible by granting me a Morse Fellowship and a year's leave from my teaching duties.

Besides the lacunae so evident in the photograph, over a large section of the text the ink has badly faded and in some cases completely disappeared. The beginnings of the lines have almost all been lost and a great deal of the lower text in col. i has disappeared. In some places ink traces remain and, as can be seen, if we knew what to expect, reading might be possible. In other cases enough ink remains to check proposed restorations even if it does not encourage them. In many places, however, nothing remains and no traces of ink appear to the naked eye, in the infra-red photograph (see pl. XXXIII), or under magnification. In a few places the encrustation of earth or dirt, which is impossible to remove, and the wrinkling of the surface make reading of any remaining ink traces difficult or impossible.

Diplomatic transcript of the text

Because of the difficulties of interpretation and reading involved in the presentation of this text, it seems best to provide a diplomatic transcript to make clear what I see on the papyrus. This diplomatic transcript follows and is itself followed by a commentary. It is difficult to present in printed form the physical appearance of a papyrus text; I hope the combination of this diplomatic transcript, the commentary, and the photograph will go some way toward accomplishing this. I have used standard editing symbols with the following refinement: dots on the line represent unreadable letters where ink traces remain or estimates of the approximate number of letters for which ink traces remain; where the ink has entirely disappeared I have left blanks and have not tried to indicate how many letters have been lost although I have tried to give a rough indication of space. In ll. 21 and 22 of col. i, I have used a bar to indicate the approximate end of the line of writing. It is clear, however, that the lower text of col. i in ll. 16–23 had originally about 25 to 30 letters in each line.

Column i

	<i>επικτιστουκαισωτηροστ[</i>
	<i>αυτοκρατοροσκαισαροσ.[</i>
3	<i>αντωνιουγορδιανουεν[</i>
	<i>σεβαστου επιδεϊερεωστουηλ[</i>
	<i>μαρκου αυρηλιου αθαναγορ[</i>
6	<i>καθυ μηνος δαλιου [</i>
	<i>απεδοτοδιατασενγαιουτραπεζασ</i>
	<i>υποκαρκαμαρκοनावρηλιονδιονσυ</i>
9	<i>οντριστοναγ. . . . τουαυρηλιο.</i>
	<i>χοσιλαρουκαισαρευστη.[</i>
	<i>. . . [.]. . κορασιονονοματιβικ.[</i>
12	<i>. . . [.]. . . υφ. ρ. ανω[.]ετεωνδε.[</i>
	<i>. μαυροντειμησδηναρ. . .</i>
	<i>. τηκοντα</i>
15	<i>. . . αυρηλιοσεπιμαχοσκ[</i>

2nd Hand	α . [][]..
	χιρ.....[...].
18	αυρηλι [].....
	ουροδ.. [] [].....
	υπαρχε. [].....
21	διονυσιω [ ]... |
	λικρατειθ... [ ] |
	ματισατε []
24	δε ^α μαυρ ^η διονυσιουσιασον[]χρη
3rd Hand	α
	αρχωντραπεζειτησ[]κεχηρη
4th Hand	δε ευτυχησινεω[]οσ.....τησπο
	α
27	λεωσκεχηρη

Column ii

1st Hand	]νγαιου
	]οστησπολεωσ
3	]ροσμαρκου
	]...ευσεβουσευτουχου[
	]ερεωστουηλιου
6	]αθαναγοραδη
	]..υ
	]..χουκαιωσχηρη[
9	]αμ[
]..... [
12	]ωσετε [
	]κολουθ[
	]ριαυτου[
15	]..[ ]αδη.[
	]..τα [
2nd Hand?	α[.]ρηλιουσ.υσ.[...].ει.[
18	χηρησαμενοσπ[.]ραμ.. [
	ρηλιουειρηνη.ωνοσ[
	διονυσιουρο.διουδ[
21	εμεαγραμ ματον[
	..ιναρκουαυρη.[
	νυσιωειασονοσκα.[
24	καλλικρατειθε.[
	.α..ειωχηρη.ματισατ[

3rd Hand	δε μ̄ ᾱ διονυσιοσῑασονοσκαθ̄χρη[α
27	αρχωντραπεζειτησενγαιουκε[] .
4th Hand	δε ευτυχη[] . οροσ . [. .] . ο α τησπολε . [

Commentary to the diplomatic transcript

Column i

1. First Hand. This professional hand wrote the upper text in this column (ll. 1-15) and the upper text in col. ii (ll. 1-16). It is firm, sure, and professional with many decorative touches. Normally ligatures are avoided.

In this line the initial letter is placed in the left margin and capitalized; an additional flourish reaches to the top of the κ, the fourth letter in the line. Large letters are used also to begin the next four lines. In l. 7 again the initial letter is placed in the left margin.

2. At the end of the line there is high ink after σ.

4. Spacing is used for punctuation. At the end of the line before οηλ, τ or ι is possible, on the basis of the preserved vertical stroke; there does not seem to be enough room for γ or ρ. Preceding this there is a low curved stroke, part of σ or ε, since it is too long for ο.

5. Forms of α are different but certain in this line. Wrinkling of the papyrus makes the photograph less clear than the original, particularly towards the end of the line. The letters αθαν are clear; γορ could conceivably be read differently as σορ; ρ is certain and only ο seems possible before it. There are compelling reasons for reading γορ as will be seen.

6. The first ν is clearer on the papyrus or better: from the papyrus other possibilities are ruled out. There is a thin vertical worm-hole at the edge of which the papyrus has wrinkled. This causes a shadowy vertical line which appears in the photograph as ink, but is not. This ν would have had something of the form of that at the end of the combination αυρηλιου in the line above.

In δαλιου the letters αλ are consistent with the strokes and in fact are clear under strong magnification. The join of λ and ι is similar to the same combination in col. ii. 5. The letters ου cannot be seen with the naked eye. The final stroke which goes horizontally to the left is, however, similar to the final strokes seen in col. ii. 1, 3, and 5. Under strong magnification I found it possible to reconcile the ink traces with the reading δαλιου. No other possibility suggested itself.

7. For the final stroke cf. particularly the σ in col. ii. 2.

9. There are many difficulties and uncertainties in this line. The letters οντριστονα at the beginning seem clear. After α the dark vertical and horizontal resemble γ and there does appear to be a finial at the end of the horizontal. The only other possibility is π if the dots of ink below the horizontal are the remains of the final stroke of π. These dots of ink continue to the right, rising to the level of the horizontal stroke and then continuing horizontally to the next clear stroke. The papyrus fibres are disarranged and rubbed which accounts for the dots instead of continuous strokes; α and ο are possible interpretations. The following letter appears to be a ν; the first vertical is small and the last large and it does not resemble other examples in this text. These strokes may be parts of two letters but no suggestions are evident.

After this difficult space which contained three or four letters, the writing becomes clearer with του; before τ, η may be possible; cf. the η in τειμης, i. 13. There is a dot of ink preserved above the line which could represent the vertical hasta. Before τ, σ is also possible but, if so, there is another short letter between it and the supposed preceding ν.

Επισημειωτορ ηκουρηρορ
Χρηματ-ροουηαρορ
Ληρωτορρορρορρορ
ΟΕΒΑΤΟΡ Εηδεηερεα-ιορ ηη
Ληρωρ ρηηηορ ρηηηηη
Ληρωρ Ληρωρ Δ.Γ.

Ληρωρορρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορρορ

XII
Δ.Γ.
ΕΡΡΑΔ
ΥΠΕΡΧΕ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ
ΛΗΡΩΤΕΙ
ΑΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩ

Δε Ληρωρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ

ΟΕΒΑ
ΟΕΒΑ
ΟΕΒΑ
ΟΕΒΑ

ΧΡΗΜΑΤΟΡΟΟΥΗΑΡΟ
ΡΗΛΗΡΩΤΕΙΡΟΗΗ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩΡΟΑΔ
ΡΗΛΗΡΩΤΕΙΡΟΗΗ
ΡΗΛΗΡΩΤΕΙΡΟΗΗ
ΡΗΛΗΡΩΤΕΙΡΟΗΗ
ΡΗΛΗΡΩΤΕΙΡΟΗΗ

Δε Ληρωρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ
Ληρωρορρορρορρορ

10. The top loop of ρ is visible. After η , the clearly visible ink most likely represents a connecting stroke to the next letter although σ is possible.

11. The papyrus is wrinkled here; from examination of the papyrus itself the ω in the combination $\kappa\omega\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ are seen to be clearly separated. At the end of the line, for κ , cf. those in i. 14 and 16 and, for the β , cf. those in i. 4 and ii. 4. For κ , β might be read, but the openness of the visible part of the loop and the length of the stroke which extends below the line suggest that κ is more likely. Between these two letters is the end of a vertical stroke that could be part of ι , ρ , τ , or γ . If β and κ are correct, ι is the most likely and at the bottom it shows the slight hook of ink characteristic of ι in this hand. Following κ , there is another vertical stroke which might be part of the same letters; this, however, shows the finial at the bottom that is more characteristic of τ or ρ .

There are faint traces of ink from the left margin edge to the κ and room for six or seven letters; but no single letter can be discerned.

12. There are ink traces at the beginning of the line and space for eight or nine letters. Superficially it appears that one could read $\phi\phi$ instead of $\phi\rho$ but close examination of the papyrus shows this cannot be so. We should expect to see the top of the hasta on the second ϕ ; ρ seems to be the best reading. At the end of the line the ink trace suggests the lower left corner of a κ although δ is possible also.

13. There are very faint ink traces before μ and room for nine to ten letters. The second hasta of the first ν is lost in a wrinkle.

14. Slight ink traces as indicated by dots. Otherwise whatever ink there was nearer the left margin has faded out completely. The final stroke on the α indicates that this was the last letter in the line.

15. Again there are ink traces as indicated by dots. Enough is preserved of π to exclude any other possible reading.

After this line it appears that a space equivalent to one line of writing was left blank.

16. Second Hand. This hand is unpractised, making separate letters in ill-formed strokes. The hand of col. ii. 17-25 is similar and, while it sometimes appears to be better formed, it is really so ill-formed that it is impossible to distinguish between the two or to say certainly that they are the same hand.

I have already discussed the difficulties in reading this section of the papyrus. The lacunae and the disappearance of ink and the discolouring of the surface of the papyrus are responsible for this. We can, however, determine the ends of the lines, and from 25 to 30 letters would fill each line.

After the clear initial α , the ink has faded or disappeared completely. There is room for four letters and again dark ink which could represent ϵ or ρ . Towards the end of the line more ink appears representing six or seven letters, the last of which appears to be \omicron . The other strokes do not suggest any reasonable possibilities.

17. At the end of the line $\cdot\tau\cdot\delta\cdot\cdot\cdot[\cdot]\cdot\nu$ might be discerned.

18. For λ , cf. that at the beginning of l. 22. The η is nearly invisible; ρ is difficult, for the hasta ought to curve in the opposite direction; ϵ is possible but we would expect the curve at the bottom to extend further to the right; cf. the one in l. 20.

Following these letters, the ink has faded, but after a small hole traces of dark ink are preserved to the end of the line and Turner thinks $\nu\kappa\alpha\delta\iota\omicron\iota$ or $\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\sigma$ might be read.

19. The letters $\omicron\nu\rho\delta$ are clear. In the photograph, a fold creates a shadow line which runs through ll. 16-23 but distorts only the \omicron in this line. After δ there are traces of ink. At the end of the line there are again letter traces: $\cdot\cdot\cdot\alpha\tau\rho\cdot$; δ could be substituted for α and π for $\tau\rho$.

20. *Υπαρχε* is clear; the ink trace after ϵ could be the bottom of an ι . Again there are faint and faded letter traces at the end of the line, perhaps ρ . λ . σ .; π could be substituted for ρ .

21. After *διονυσιω* there are very faint ink traces. After the lacuna $\tau\epsilon\alpha$ would be compatible with the remains. At the end of the line where the papyrus has darkened badly there is space for approximately three more letters but no ink can be seen.

22. After θ to the end of the line there is but an occasional dot or trace of ink.

23. After ϵ it appears that no further writing was inscribed on this line.

24. Third Hand. This is an attractive and practised hand similar in style to the First Hand. The same hand wrote col. ii. 26–7. Towards the end of the line after the lacuna, which held four or five letters, there is writing, but the surface of the papyrus is very dark; $\chi\rho\eta$ is faintly visible with the tail of the ρ extending far below the line. It is impossible to see anything after these letters although there is space for three to five more.

25. After the lacuna $\kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\eta$ are clear on the papyrus and can be discerned on the photograph; the letters $\chi\rho\eta$ are complete, and most of the κ and the top part of the ϵ can be seen.

26. Fourth Hand. This is an example of the chancery hand; cf. P.Oxy. 2227 and other examples cited there. The same hand wrote ll. 28–9 at the foot of col. ii.

Between $\rho\sigma$ and *τησπο* the papyrus is dark and the ink is faint, but it should be readable. I have no suggestions; see the discussion of col. ii. 28.

Column ii

1. First Hand again. Note the final trailing strokes used at the ends of ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7.

4. There is space for two letters and part of a third before ϵ ; these letters have faded out but the stroke before ϵ appears to be part of the top stroke of ν .

5. The letters $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ are faint but clearly discernible.

6. At the end of the line a final decorative stroke has been added to η ; σ does not seem likely.

7. The final ink strokes seem clearly ν ; cf. those at the end of ll. 1, 3, and 5. There are ink traces just before and joining it but they are unreadable now.

8. The letter preceding χ appears to join it at the bottom; α is possible. At the end of the line part of the loop of ρ and the vertical of η can be seen.

10. There is a line totally missing here.

11. At the end of the line λ is possible followed by high ink, the beginning of a horizontal stroke; ν or τ is possible.

13. The initial letter is most likely κ not μ ; cf. the κ in i. 14. We should expect the final part of the letter to rise much higher if it were μ .

14. At the end of the line, after σ , the high ink resembles the beginning stroke of ν ; cf. particularly the one in the preceding line.

15. On the piece of papyrus projecting upward from the line below are traces of ink belonging in this line; the first is a low loop and the second a vertical; not enough remains, however, for me to suggest any letters. The letters $\alpha\delta$ are clear and η is possible following them, for the top of a vertical hasta is preserved. There is a final dot of ink low on the line.

16. The fibres are somewhat disarranged here; the long final stroke of the α is visible to the right, but only the joining ink of the letter preceding τ has been preserved.

17. Second Hand again; see comment on i. 16.

There is a vertical stroke before ν and the bottom of a vertical following σ . After the lacuna low ink precedes ϵ and a trace of ink follows the ι .

18. After μ there is only a faint trace of the next letter as it joins what is preserved of the last letter which could be ρ , in which case we can see the vertical and the bottom of the loop.

19. There is a dot of ink between ι and ω . Actually a strip has been lost from the surface of

the papyrus in ll. 19–24 and perhaps above l. 19 also. In two places, in ll. 21 and 23, this flaw, which seems to have been on the papyrus when it was inscribed, has been left blank; in ll. 19, 20, and 25 there are ink traces which may well be abortive attempts to form letters on a bad surface. Only in l. 22 has the writer made use of this area of the papyrus.

20. The letter between \omicron and δ might be δ or an attempt at one.

22. The possibilities before ν are ϵ , σ , or \omicron . Appearances of ink on the photograph are misleading and the traces appear differently on the papyrus. There is an initial letter before these three which cannot be χ or ζ ; ϵ or ν is barely possible.

23. The last stroke visible is a foot of a curve facing right; θ , \omicron , ϵ are all possibilities.

24. After ϵ at the end of the line there are three high dots of ink; ω is possible; the first two could also represent \omicron with the top left open.

25. There is difficulty at the beginning of the line; α is clear although the final part of this letter is broken by a small hole in the papyrus. Before ϵ the loop with vertical probably represents ρ . At the very beginning of the line there is an oblique straight line compatible with χ . There appears to be room for a letter between α and ρ , but no trace of any remains.

26. Third Hand again.

28. Fourth Hand again.

There are difficulties here after the first lacuna; first there is the last vertical of a letter which could be κ although μ or ν are also possible. The letters $\omicron\rho\omicron$ are clear and are followed by σ . The top stroke of this σ joins the next letter, which makes it peculiar, but, once distinguished, it is precisely like other examples of σ in this hand. This following letter could be \omicron or β or κ or part of a letter, the rest of which is lost in the small lacuna which follows. After that lacuna the oblique stroke could be part of λ or δ . The last letter in this line appears to be \omicron . The ink stroke which follows it trails down from the line above.

Provenance of this text

One of the most important features of this text is that, although found at Oxyrhynchus, it was actually drawn up outside Egypt and only subsequently brought there. This is not an unknown occurrence, particularly in contracts concerning the sale of slaves, for such contracts would follow the slave. These contracts written at the point of purchase would be brought along by the buyer in order that he might prove ownership or provide clear title in a future sale. Three well-preserved slave sales which were drawn up outside Egypt have previously been published; these are *BGU* 887 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 272, *FIRA*² III, 133) of A.D. 157, drawn up in Side of Pamphylia, *BGU* 913 of A.D. 206, drawn up in Myra of Lycia, and *BGU* 316 (Mitteis, *Chr.* 271, *FIRA*² III, 135) of A.D. 359, drawn up in Askalon in Syria. A further contract is P.Mich. Inv. 5474 (*Archiv* II (1935), 110 = *SB* 7563) of A.D. 207, drawn up in Pompeiopolis of Paphlagonia. This is not well preserved and is appended to a petition of A.D. 207/8. Only the end of the preceding text is preserved and so circumstances and place of the action are unknown. In addition to these there is a Latin text, P.Lond. 229 (Meyer 37, *FIRA*² III, 132) of A.D. 166, drawn up in Seleucia in Pieria, and a Latin text written on a wax tablet in Greek letters published as *SB* 6304 (*FIRA*² III, 134) from Ravenna and written in a second-century hand. In Egypt too such contracts move around and as examples found in places other than that in which they were drawn up one can mention P.Strass. 79 of 16/15 B.C., drawn up in Syene, P.Oxy.

2582 of A.D. 49, drawn up in Euergetis above Memphis, P.Hamb. 63 of A.D. 124/5, drawn up in Thebes, and *SB* 6016 of A.D. 154, drawn up in Alexandria.

A few other contracts involving the sale of slaves are also known from sites outside Egypt. There are three among the Dacian wax tablets published in *CIL* III; the texts are most easily available in *FIRA*² III: Nos. 87 of A.D. 139, 88 of A.D. 142, and 89 of A.D. 160. Two other slave sales can be found in the papyri from Dura: P.Dura 25 of A.D. 180 and P.Dura 28 of A.D. 243 from Edessa and written in Syriac.

Our text is an addition to this group of documents for it records the sale of a slave at auction on the island of Rhodes. This provenance is established because the contract is dated by the eponymous priest of the sun. It is further confirmed by the appearance of a few Doric forms and by the occurrence of ethnic 'Ρόδιος.

The use of the annual Helios priest to date documents is known only from Rhodes and specifically from the city of Rhodes itself. This fact alone would be enough to establish the provenance of this text, but fortunately further evidence is provided because the priest himself is known from two other inscriptions from Rhodes. This is Marcus Aurelius Athanagoras who is honoured by the Rhodians in an inscription published by A. Maiuri in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* 8/9, 1925/6, 321, No. 4; the text of which is as follows:

Ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
 Μ(άρκον) Ἀὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀθαναγόραν Β τοῦ
 Οὐλιάδου Λαδ(αρμίου) [κ]αθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) Δημη-
 τρίου, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἰλίου
 τᾶς Λινδίας Ἀθάνας
 τοῦ Ὑετίου διὰ βίου
 τὸν σεμνὸν καὶ φιλότιμον
 θεοῖς

Athanagoras is also mentioned in an inscription from Lindos published by Blinkenberg, *Lindos* II, *Inscriptions*, No. 494; ll. 1 to 3 of this inscription refer to him as follows:

Ἱερεὺς Ἀθάνας Λινδίας καὶ Διὸς Πο-
 λίεως καὶ Ἀρτάμιτος Κεκοίας καὶ Ἀπόλ-
 λωνος Μά(ρκος) Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀθαναγόρας Β̄ Λαδαρμί(ου)

Both inscriptions make clear that Athanagoras' native city was Lindos. He may well be the same man referred to in a metrical inscription on a statue base (for a statue dedicated to him) published as *IG* XII, 1, 837. In any case Athanagoras and his antecedents were important men on the island of Rhodes. He was not, however, listed in the latest compilation of Rhodian sun-priests in *Hesperia* 22 (1953), 122 f., but the date of his tenure of office was completely unknown previously; we can now limit it to the years A.D. 238-44.

Further connection of this text with Rhodes is established if the letters ρο.διου in col. ii. 20 are rightly interpreted as the ethnic 'Ροδίου, 'Rhodian'. This fits the context although we might expect on Rhodes itself not the ethnic but the deme and tribe affiliation.

Finally the few Doric forms found in this text show us that it comes from an area which used a Doric dialect, and they are compatible with a Rhodian provenance. They are also of interest in themselves since it is surprising to find even these few traces surviving at this date. The doricisms are: col. i. 5 the name *Ἀθαναγόρα*, which also appears in col. ii. 6; col. i. 6 the month name *Δαλίου*; col. i. 7 the phrase *διὰ τῆς ἐγγαίου τραπέζας*; col. i. 8 the word *κάρυκα*; and perhaps col. i. 12 *ἐτέων*. A general survey of the grammar of the Rhodian inscriptions can be found in Otto Hoffman, 'Grammatik und Wortregister zu den rhodischen Inschriften', in Collitz, *Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften*, IV, iii (1910), 579–675. Names of months, institutions, and personal names are, of course, more conservative than general vocabulary and the Doric forms of our text fit for the most part into these categories. It is surprising, however, that we find *ἡλίου* and not *άλίου*. On the form of the genitive plural *ἐτέων*, we note that the genitive plural of *ἔτος* occurs only one other time in a Rhodian text (*GDI* 3758, 132) and there it is *ἐτῶν*; but in the Rhodian dialect $\epsilon + \omega$ follow no regular pattern of contraction or failure to contract and the genitive plural varies among words between *εων* and *ων*; see Hoffman, *op. cit.* 593. The determination of the grammar of the Greek dialects is an empirical science, and there is no possibility of predicting what the form should be in this case.

The heading

The heading or prescript which contains the dating formula presents problems and an interest of its own apart from the main concern of the text, and it is best discussed separately. There are two formulas here, the standard Rhodian dating by the eponymous priest of the sun, and before it a heading which follows the style of a dating formula using the name of the Emperor Gordian III, but in which no real date appears. I have already discussed the sun-priest, Marcus Aurelius Athanagoras, and pointed out that our text narrows the range of his tenure of this priesthood to the years A.D. 238–44. The occurrence of this dating is standard in Rhodian documents and we need say nothing further about it here. Of much greater interest and puzzlement is the mention of Gordian III. We can divide our interest into two aspects: one, the fact that Gordian is cited at all; and two, the exact titles used of him, *κτίστης* and *σωτήρ*.

Dating contracts by the regnal year of an emperor is, of course, the standard practice in Egypt and is also found in Palestine and Syria, but cities which are *coloniae* or *municipia* use generally the consular dating and free and autonomous cities use their own local system. So in Rhodes we find the priest of the sun, at Athens, the archon, etc. Sometimes era datings are used and combinations of different types are found, but, generally speaking, we can say that the Greek cities go on under the Empire using whatever dating system they had developed before the Roman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean world.¹ None the less, here we find Gordian and he is given his official designation: Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix

¹ See also the comments of J. Goldstein, *JNES* 35 (1966), 8 n. 24.

Augustus (*Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ* to cite our text); this is exactly as Gordian is styled in the Egyptian documents,¹ where the imperial titles are used, however, as a dating formula and occur with a regnal year.

The specific words used, *κτίστης* and *σωτήρ*, must also be noted. These two words along with *εὐεργετής* form a group; they were applied to gods and men throughout Greek antiquity but were commonly applied to Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors. *Σωτήρ* is the most commonly used followed by *εὐεργετής*; *κτίστης* is a very close third.² Again, loosely speaking, we can divide the use of these words into three groups. They are applied to gods and heroes, to kings and emperors, and to ordinary men. In regard to the application of these epithets to the emperors, no complete survey on a chronological or other basis has ever been made. In fact no study has been made of the honorific titles given at different times to the emperors and it is not pertinent to do so here; however, a survey of only the inscriptions published in the *IGRR* can serve as the basis of a few general remarks which in turn can serve to place our text in some sort of context. *Σωτήρ* and *κτίστης* appear separately as attributions of the emperors from Augustus on, particularly in the Greek cities of Asia Minor.³ In particular favour was the expression *σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης* or *τοῦ κόσμου*.⁴ In the case of Hadrian we find the two words used together.⁵ After the second century the use of such epithets appears to be much less frequent.

It is difficult to say if the use of these epithets here represents any specific direction of imperial propaganda. One other inscription from Perge in Pamphylia calls Gordian *σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης*,⁶ but our text uses the words *τῆς πόλεως* and this should relate these epithets to some specific event concerning Rhodes itself. For the general situation inscriptional evidence for the reign of Gordian III is sparse; Gordian reigned from 238 to 244, but it is clear he never ruled, having been only thirteen in 238.⁷ We know little enough about his reign, not even who the actual rulers at Rome were.⁸ Perhaps Gordian conferred some benefit or favour on the Rhodians, and their gratitude took the form we find here, which was a way in which they could acknowledge and honour the emperor without at the same time compromising their legal status as an

¹ See P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (1964), 113.

² On *σωτήρ* see F. Dornseiff, *RE* II 3 (1927), 1211–21, and on *κτίστης* Preku, *RE* II (1922), 2083–7. Cf. also the article, 'Kaiser kult', by Herzog-Hauser in *RE*, suppl. Band 4 (1924). The best comments I have seen on the spirit in which these epithets were used are by A. D. Nock, 'Soter and Euergetes', in *The Joy of Study: Papers on New Testament and Related Subjects Presented to Honor F. C. Grant*, ed. by S. E. Johnson (1951), 127–48.

³ For Augustus, *IGRR* I, 1294, and IV, 311 and 314. For *σωτήρ* see *IGRR* IV, 584 (Claudius), I, 1124 (Nero), I, 1296 (Vespasian), III, 729 (Domitian), I, 607, 830, 953 (Hadrian), and I, 126 (Septimius Severus). For *κτίστης* see I, 978, 982, 984, 987–91 (Trajan), and III, 114 (Marcus Aurelius).

⁴ For *σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης* or *τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης* see *IGRR* III, 770 (Hadrian), 386 (Antoninus Pius), 390 (Marcus Aurelius), 348 (Septimius Severus), 443 (Caracalla); for *σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου* see *IGRR* III, 752 (Hadrian) and 504 (Antoninus Pius). Cf. also the expression *κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης* in *IGRR* I, 978 (Trajan), and III, 114 (Marcus Aurelius).

⁵ *IGRR* IV, 268, 1594, 342–7.

⁶ *IGRR* III, 792; cf. also 791 of Gordian I and II.

⁷ So Herodian viii, 8, 8; otherwise he is said to be 11 or 16.

⁸ For a discussion of the administration of Gordian III see Prescott W. Townsend, *Yale Class. Stud.* 4 (1934), 59–132.

autonomous city in any formal way. Even in this case, it is odd to see these titles cast into a quasi-dating formula with ἐπί; for this is a formulation which stretches the concepts in κτίστῆς and σωτήρ beyond any use which they had had before this time.

The transaction

Our understanding of the transaction recorded in this text must be based on the upper text in col. i, the only section of the papyrus which is well enough preserved to admit of consistent interpretation. Here we discover that one Aurelius Epimachos, a Caesarean, has sold a slave girl at auction, financial arrangements being handled by a bank. The girl is a Mauretanian between ten and nineteen years of age and the price is in excess of 50 denarii. The slave's name was also given but cannot be read in the present state of the text. This was the totality of information given in this part of the text, a relatively simple objective protocol statement.

The information thus provided must be the basis of any reconstruction of the total situation and of what occurs in the other sections more mutilated and fragmentary. Background information which can provide some help is available from other contracts of sale of slaves and from knowledge we possess of auction sales in general during antiquity. A list of sales of slaves found in Egypt is given by Montevecchi, 'Ricerche sociologia . . . III', *Aegyptus* 19 (1939), 13 f. Another list less complete on documents concerning slavery and emancipation is given by A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (1939), 277–86. To Montevecchi's list should be added P.Oxy. 2582 (A.D. 49), P.Oxy. 380 (A.D. 79); P.Strass. 264 (A.D. 277–82), SB 9216 (A.D. 285), SB 8007 (c. A.D. 300). Note also that No. 21 in her list is now published as P.Vindob. Bosw. 7. I have already discussed the relevant contracts found outside Egypt. Information on prices can be found in Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (1955), 96–102. Westermann nowhere gives a complete list of documents but most are cited on these pages.

For auction sales, we possess no parallel documents, for no full contract of an auction sale has hitherto come to light¹ although we learn a certain amount from indirect references in literature, juridical sources, papyri, and inscriptions; in the last case there are notably the Vipasca mining inscriptions and the Pompeian inscriptions in *CIL* IV Supplementband 1. These have recently been discussed in detail by Talamanca.² The evidence of the papyri was discussed by Pringsheim, 'The Greek sale by auction', *Scritti Ferrini* 4 (1949), 283 f. This is primarily evidence concerning the use in Ptolemaic Egypt of the auction by the state to sell confiscated property. A general survey of the Roman sale at auction is given by J. A. C. Thomas in the *Juridical Review* (1956), 42–66. His general description of the Roman auction sale derived from literary sources is worth quoting here:

Of the general course of the Roman auction in its developed form we get a fair picture mainly from the literary sources. Intimation of the intended auction was given both by public announcement by a praeco (herald) and by a written proscriptio (notice). The sale would be held in an

¹ The much mutilated P.Strass. 79 (16/15 B.C.) probably records a sale at auction, likewise of a slave.

² 'Contributi allo studio delle vendite all'asta nel mondo classico', *Mem. Acad. Linc.* ser. 8^a, vi, 2 (1954), 35–251.

atrium auctionarium—where quite possibly the lots or samples thereof were previously available for inspection—under the auspices and control of an argentarius (banker), styled in this connection the argentarius coactor, who was responsible for the arrangements and conditions of sale, e.g. whether credit would be allowed to the buyer, whether goods might be delivered before payment, etc. The conditions of sale were doubtless indicated in the proscriptio and also intimated at the sale itself. In the actual sale, the praeco was again prominent: it was he who put up the lots for sale, intimating the reserve price, if any, stimulated and acknowledged bids and eventually knocked down the lot to the successful bidder. . . . The sale was recorded in the argentarius' records and the emptor became liable to the banker for payment, promising by stipulation to give him the sum. . . .

Thus there were four parties actually involved in a Roman auction—the dominus or person on whose behalf the property was sold: the argentarius who organised, regulated and financed the sale: the praeco who advertised the sale and conducted the bidding: and the emptor whose bid was successful. (Pp. 43–5.)

The situation as described fits very well with what we find in our text with buyer, seller, banker, and auctioneer involved; however, any direct or even indirect influence of Roman on Rhodian law may be illusory. We may instead simply have similar institutions and similar practices arising from the commercial *koine* of the Mediterranean in antiquity. On the other hand, the relations of Rome and Rhodes had been close particularly in the commercial sphere for more than 400 years by this time and it would not be surprising to find some mutual influence. Whatever the case, it is possible to say that Thomas's remarks do describe the commercial situation as we find it in this transaction.

Thomas goes on in his article to describe the relationships among the parties and concludes that in the Roman law of sale, in the sale by auction, the buyer and the seller are in direct relationship, that the banker merely arranges the financing and the auctioneer the sale, and that neither has a specific legal part in the sale itself. Thomas's argument is probably borne out and supported by our contract in which the motive word is ἀπέδοτο (and perhaps ἐπρίατο in col. ii; see below), and where the emphasis is on the transaction and where the bank and the herald or auctioneer are mentioned in subordinate positions in prepositional phrases dependent on the main verb. The supporting nature of this material relies of course on either the interconnections or parallel development of Roman and Rhodian law.

This general background both brings to light and explains one feature of the upper text of col. i. We have noted the contents above: the verb ἀπέδοτο, the statement of the agency of the bank, the name of the auctioneer and that of the vendor, the object of sale, the slave, her name, age, origin, and finally the price. Compared to the majority of slave sale contracts in the lists cited above, this sale omits such things as the guarantee against hidden defects, the vendor's guarantee of the sale and any listing of previous owners. Undoubtedly these were covered in the auctioneer's advertisement of the sale or intimated by him at the time of the auction itself. In such a case he would, of course, assume responsibility for the valid ownership of the slave and for her condition. Likewise the banker would assume charge of the financial arrangements and they would not be mentioned here apart from the statement of price. We may also

safely assume that the transaction was regulated and governed by the highly articulated commercial and civil code of Rhodes.

This understanding of the content of the upper text of col. i must now be related to the rest of the papyrus; the following features can be noted directly: there are two columns each of which has an upper text written in the same professional hand and a lower text written or laboriously printed in crude fashion which ends in both columns with the imperative *χρηματίσατε*, each column contains the signatures of the same two persons who state that they have registered the transaction. First of all, to deal with the upper text of col. ii, we must recognize two possible bases for understanding its existence. It is either a separate transaction, in this case undoubtedly the sale of another slave, or it is part of the same transaction as that in col. i, in which case, it would almost surely be the statement of the buyer that he has purchased the slave. Taking the latter situation first, we can note a few items from this excessively mutilated portion of the papyrus. L. 8 must contain the verb *ἐπρίατο* plus the name of the purchaser. L. 12 may be part of the description of the slave and indeed we might well expect the same provisions to be repeated in this statement as apparently the price is in ll. 15 and 16. There are differences of course; *τιμῆς* does not precede *δην[αρίων]* in l. 15 as it does in col. i, and ll. 13 and 14 apparently introduce a provision not found in col. i, and perhaps we could expand to *ἀ]κολούθ[ως τοῖς νόμοις]* or some closely similar expression.

The chief problem with this solution lies in the use of *ἐπρίατο*. Pringsheim has discussed the form of the Greek sale in his *Greek Law of Sale* (1950), 103-11, where he distinguishes three types of sale contract:

1. That which uses both verbs, *ἀπέδοτο—ἐπρίατο*;
2. That which uses *ἀπέδοτο*;
3. That which uses *ἐπρίατο*.

The first type occurs only among the sales from the Pathyrite Nome in the late second and early first centuries B.C., a closed group chronologically and geographically, and Pringsheim doubts that they represent a Greek type; rather he would call them Graeco-Egyptian.

The second group is limited to six documents or groups of documents which have peculiar circumstances including sale by auction where the initiative comes from the vendor.

The third group represents for Pringsheim the original and truly Greek form of sale contract. It should be noted that homologies are in his view the result of Roman influence.

Our contract must in any case fit into category 1 or 2. A statement of sale with the verb *ἀπέδοτο* would be perfectly understandable in his category 2, for this is an auction where the initiative comes from the vendor. We cannot, however, on this analysis alone exclude the possibility of statements by buyer and vendor, but we must recognize, as does Pringsheim, that our knowledge of the sale-form depends entirely on Egypt and the forms that are found in the papyri. And while it is certainly true that

the norm seems to be the statement of the purchaser, we must be aware of the limitations of the evidence. We have no parallels from Rhodes and precious little from elsewhere in the Greek world.¹

If this discussion leads to no certain conclusion, it is equally impossible to ascertain whether or not we have two separate documents of sale here. To find two sales of two different slaves on one sheet of papyrus would be unique, and would also be surprising, since it would be necessary for the papers to go with the slave in any future sale. This papyrus does, however, present some tantalizing evidence on slave trading. If Aurelius Epimachos the vendor of col. i is from Caesarea in Mauretania bringing a Mauretanian girl for sale in Rhodes, and if she were purchased by another in the same business for future transport and sale to Egypt where this text was found, there is every reason to suppose that the buyer bought more than one slave and that at least two of his purchases were recorded on the same piece of papyrus cut from a larger roll. This is, of course, conjecture, if not fancy, and on the face of it less satisfactory than the restoration of ἐπρίατο in l. 8.

Turning to the lower texts in cols. i and ii, we can ascertain their general nature, although specific problems remain, and they do not contribute anything to the question of whether or not one or two transactions are recorded on this papyrus. Most of our reconstruction depends on the preserved portions of col. ii where no more than three to five letters have been lost at the right. They are both clearly ὑπογραφαί, statements by the contracting party that the transaction in the upper text is recorded correctly, and here also orders to some officials to record the transaction. It seems probable that each began with a name, and we might restore Aurelius Epimachos in col. i and understand the Aurelius whose cognomen has resisted interpretation as the buyer (or at least as the contracting party) in col. ii. These seem to be statements in the first person on the basis of ἐμέ in l. 21 of col. ii, although the use of this word remains otherwise puzzling in context. Each statement ends with the imperative χρηματίσατε, and we may plausibly restore in col. i the χαίρειν which precedes it in col. ii. Thus these hypographai assume an epistolary form and are addressed in both cases to Marcus Aurelius Dionysius and Kallikrates son of The. . . .; it does not seem possible to find room for Marcus Aurelius to be added to Kallikrates' name. Marcus Aurelius Dionysius does indeed sign the text at the foot of both columns in his function as archon trapezites, but Kallikrates does not, and his place is taken by one Eutyches, a neokoros.

Why Eutyches signs and states that he has registered the document is puzzling, as is the significance of his designation as a neokoros, both in itself and as a part of the question of why a neokoros should be registering a document. Dionysius' role in so doing as archon trapezites is not made clear by the document, but it at least appears more reasonable and undoubtedly has some connection with the role of the banker in the transaction. It may be of some significance also that Eutyches and Kallikrates are the only two men in the document who are not Marci Aurelii. Inscriptions from

¹ M. I. Finley in a review discussion of Pringsheim's *Greek Law of Sale*, to be found in *Seminar* 11 (1951), 72-91, documents this observation and stresses the diversity of Greek law in the different city-states.

Rhodes bear out the situation which can be observed in the papyri, that everyone, after Caracalla's edict, particularly in situations where full designations are called for, is an Aurelius if not already a Roman citizen. I have no ready answer to these particular questions. Where used of persons in the inscriptions from Asia Minor, *νεώκορος* is one of the many honours listed for some of the more powerful and influential people. At present no one seems to have set forth its significance and perhaps it would be best studied in its context along with other honours; such a study might disclose any precise functions it had in connection with the temples. In our document we cannot tell whether Eutyches' designation as *neokoros* means that he registers the contract in this function, perhaps in some temple archive, or that he has an honorific or functional title which would be attached to his name wherever he appeared, and is thus merely identificatory here.

There are other specific problems in col. ii: the use of the expression *χρησάμενος παρά* in l. 18 and the expression *ἐμὲ ἀγράμματον* in l. 21. *Χρησάμενος παρά* must mean 'having borrowed from', but what or for what purpose is either lost or not clear although one thinks naturally of the bank and its role in the transaction. *Ἐμὲ ἀγράμματον* causes difficulties because it is paradoxical to find someone writing down that he himself is illiterate. The case of *ἐμὲ ἀγράμματον* also causes trouble, and the letter traces at the beginning of l. 21 resist interpretation so that no reasonable solution is evident. None the less, the general fact that this lower text of col. ii contains an epistolary styled request to two officials to register the transaction is clear and it is highly probable that col. i contained the same kind of statement.

In sum, then, we can offer, however tentatively, a probable explanation for all that we find on this papyrus, for its format and context. It records an auction sale of a slave girl conducted through a bank on the island of Rhodes and treated as two separate acts, that of selling and that of buying, with two protocol statements attesting these acts. Below each of them, the vendor and buyer confirm the transaction by ordering it to be registered and each column is signed by what are presumably the proper officials who state that they have registered the transaction.¹

The further question of exactly what judicial form this document represents remains uncertain, for we cannot be sure if this is the actual contract or an abstract from the official records attesting the contract. The latter case would account for the lack of surety clauses and the expected fuller description of the parties to the transaction. It might also account for the presence of the archon trapezites as well as for Eutyches, the *neokoros*, as the recording officials acting officially on behalf of the state. If this text does represent an official attestation of the transaction, it might well be a *καταγραφή*, a form which occurs in Egypt in the case of sales of real property and slaves. Much controversy has centred on the meaning and legal force of the *καταγραφή* in Egypt and over its precise nature. The essential study is that of Schoenbauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Liegenschaftsrechtes im Altertum* (Leipzig-Graz, 1924). A summary of the controversy and of different views is given also by Schoenbauer, 'Eine wichtige

¹ This sale involving both acts of selling and buying can best be compared to the similar situation in P.Dura 25.

Katagraphe-Urkunde: P.Graec. Vindob. 19853', in *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), 253-74. However, even if our text can be classified as a *καταγραφή*, it does not solve any of the juridical problems concerning its legal value, whether or not it was used in every transfer of real property or slaves, and whether or not it was essential to complete such a transfer or sale and give it full legal validity.

Restored text

Column i

	Ἐπὶ κτίστου καὶ σωτήρος τῆς πόλεως	
	<i>Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου</i>	
3	<i>Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς</i>	
	<i>Σεβαστοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ ἱερέως τοῦ ἡλείου</i>	
	<i>Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Ἀθαναγόρα</i>	
6	<i>καθυ μηνὸς Δαλίου</i>	
	Ἄπέδοτο διὰ τῆς ἐνγαίου τραπέζας	
	<i>ὑπὸ κάρυκα Μάρκον Ἀυρηλίον Διονύσι-</i>	
9	<i>ον τρις τοῦ Ἀγ. νητου Ἀυρηλίου Ἐπίμα-</i>	
	<i>χος Ἰλάρου Καισαρεὺς τη.</i> [
	...[.]... κοράσιον ὀνόματι βικ. [
12	...[.]... υφ. ρ. αν ὠ[ς] ἐτέων δέκ[α	
	..... Μαῦρον τείμης δηναριῶν	
	<i>πεντήκοντα</i>	
15	... Ἀυρηλίου Ἐπίμαχος κ[
2nd Hand	α	
	<i>χιρ</i>	
18	<i>Ἀυρηλι</i>	
	<i>ου Ῥοδ</i>	
	<i>ὑπαρχε</i>	
21	<i>Διονυσίω</i>	[Καλ]-
	<i>λικράτει Θ</i>	[χρη]-
	<i>ματίσατε</i>	
3rd Hand	<i>ΔΕ Μά(ρκος) Ἀυρή(λιος) Διονύσιος Ἰάσον[ος]]χηρη</i>	
	α	
	<i>ἄρχων τραπεζεῖτης [ἐνγαίου] κεχηρη(μάτικα)</i>	
4th Hand	<i>ΔΕ Εὐτυχῆς νεώ[κορ]ος τῆς πό-</i>	
	α	
27	<i>λεως κεχηρη(μάτικα)</i>	

Column ii

ἐ]νγαίου

Ἐπὶ κτίστου καὶ σωτήρ]ος τῆς πόλεως

3	<i>Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα]ρος Μάρκου</i> <i>Ἰαντωνίου Γορδία]γοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς</i> <i>Σεβαστοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ] ἱερέως τοῦ ἡλίου</i>
6	<i>Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου] Ἀθαναγόρα ΔΗ</i> <i>μηγὸς Δαλ]ίου</i> <i>]μαχου καὶ ὡς χρη-</i>
9	<i>ματίζει</i> <i>]αμ[</i>
12	<i>]... χ[</i> <i>]ὡς ἐτέ[ων</i> <i>]κολουθ[</i> <i>]ριαντου[</i>
15	<i>]..[]α δηγ[αρίων</i> <i>πεντήκο]ντα</i>
2nd Hand?	<i>A[ὐ]ρήλιος .υσ.[...].ει.[</i>
18	<i>χρησάμενος π[α]ρὰ Μάρ[κου Αὐ-</i> <i>ρηλίου Εἰρηνίωνος [</i> <i>Διονυσίου 'Ρο{.}δίου δ[</i>
21	<i>ἐμὲ ἀγράμ μστον[</i> <i>..ιν Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ί.. Διο-</i> <i>νυσίω Εἰάσονος καὶ [</i>
24	<i>Καλλικράτει Θεο.[</i> <i>χαίρειν χρη{.}ματίσατ[ε</i>
3rd Hand	<i>ΔΕ Μ(άρκος) Α(ὐρήλιος) Διονύσιος 'Ἰάσονος καθ' χρη[</i> <i>α</i>
27	<i>ἄρχων τραπεζίτης ἐνγαίου κε[χρη(μάτικα)</i>
4th Hand	<i>ΔΕ Εὐτυχή[ς νεώ]κορος ...ο</i> <i>α</i> <i>τῆς πόλεως κεχρη(μάτικα)</i>

Commentary

Column i

4. 'Ηλ[ίου] instead of *άλίου* is surprising but certain, as I have mentioned above.

5/6. The Doric genitive of *Ἀθαναγόρας* is *Ἀθαναγόρα*. In col. ii. 6 the letters *δη* follow this form. In col. i. 6 we find the letters *καθν* which, in a Rhodian text, we would expect to stand for *καθ' ὑοθεσίαν*, as they regularly do in the inscriptions, and to be followed by an adoptive father's name. No such name occurs in col. i. 6 and at the end of i. 5 there is only space for two to three letters. The letters *δη* of ii. 6 would fit the space exactly, and, further, the lacuna at the beginning of ii. 7 can be filled by *[καθν μηγὸς Δαλ]ίου*. We can thus restore col. i and col. ii so that they correspond exactly.

In seeking some clue to interpret the scribe's meaning we can turn to the inscription I cited above (p. 198) which designates Marcus Aurelius Athanagoras as follows:

Μ(άρκων) Αὐρ(ήλιων) Ἀθαναγόραν Β τοῦ Οὐλιάδου Δαδ(αρμίου)
[κ]αθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) Δημητρίου.

Thus Marcus Aurelius Athanagoras does have an adoptive father and one whose name is Demetrius; the best interpretation of the scribe's meaning could be to see the letters $\delta\eta$ as an abbreviation for $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$. This is certainly an odd manner of designation, but it does make the letters $\kappa\alpha\theta\upsilon$ understandable as an abbreviation for $\kappa\alpha\theta' \upsilon\theta\eta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$.

Μηνὸς Δαλίου. There is no indication of what day of the month. Dalios is of course a Rhodian month and belongs generally to the Doric calendar.

7. *Τὰς ἐνγαίου τραπέζας*. This is an otherwise unknown Rhodian institution. Perhaps its Doric form indicates that it was one of long standing in Rhodes. No bank of this designation is attested elsewhere, but it is clearly a state institution, which is confirmed by the designation (col. i. 25 and ii. 27) of Marcus Aurelius Dionysius as *ἄρχων τραπεζίτης*. Dionysius is thus an archon, a public official of Rhodes, and his archontic function is to head the bank, or, to say it another way, his role as *τραπεζίτης* carries the rank of archon. In any case he is a public official. Evidence on banks and bankers is collected by Ch. Lécivain, art. 'trapezitai', Daremberg-Saglio, v, 407-10, and by E. Ziebarth, art. 'trapeza', *RE* A12, col. 2194 ff. (1937). Ziebarth gives a list of state banks, not a long one, but occurrences are frequent enough particularly in the Asia Minor and Greek island area. He also cites a *τραπεζίτης τῆς πόλεως* (*CIL* 3679) at Kyzikos, a *τραπεζίτης* (*IG* xii, 5. 880-6) on Tenos; in a list of public officials on Naxos a man is described as *γραμμα[τεὺς καὶ τραπε]ζίτης*.

**Ἐγγαίος* may admit of two interpretations. It can mean landed property, as it does in *SEG* 3. 674 of the second century B.C. from Rhodes; it can also mean property not necessarily landed but located in the particular site mentioned. Thus in *SIG* 955 (of the fourth or third century B.C.) *ἔγγαίος* and *ὑπερπόντικος* simply mean property in Arcesina on Amorgos and property held elsewhere. See the comment of Dittenberger ad. loc. and also Xenophon, *Symp.* 4. 31, and the definitions given in Liddell-Scott-Jones. The second meaning seems more pertinent here and we might understand *τὰς ἐνγαίου τραπέζας* as the local bank. This does not necessarily clarify the role of the bank in this transaction, but clearly we are not dealing with a real-estate bank. Here the bank is acting as agent for the auction sale of a slave which might or might not be considered real property, but it is unlikely. Pertinent is the comparison with the Roman practice in auction sales which were arranged through a banker; see above, pp. 201-3. It is also possible that the bank serves here as the recording agent or registry and its concern in the transaction may not go beyond keeping the records straight.

8. *Τρίς* signifies that Marcus Aurelius Dionysius had a father and a grandfather named Dionysius. He is thus M. Aurelius Dionysius, son of Dionysius, grandson of Dionysius, and great-grandson of Agnetus; he is unknown apart from his appearance in this text. I have been unable to read in full his great-grandfather's name; see above in the commentary to the diplomatic transcript for the problems in reading. Also I have found no attested name which fits any of the possible interpretations of the writing. The citation of several generations of forebears is common practice in Rhodian documents. In the inscriptions a numeral is used to indicate homonymous generations; thus for a man with a father of the same name we find a *B* and for one with a father and a grandfather a *Γ*. Perhaps the best example is *Ἀρίστευς Β τοῦ Δ* who also appears in Lindos inscription No. 494; he is thus Aristeus, son of Aristeus, grandson of Aristeus, great-grandson of Aristeus, great-great-grandson of Aristeus, and great-great-great-grandson of Aristeus.

9. *Ἐπίμαχος* is faint; the reading is confirmed if the Aurelius Epimachos of l. 16 is the vendor.

10. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965), cites Hilarus and related names as among the most common cognomina during the Empire; see his index for references.

Καισαρεύς. There is many a Caesarea in the Roman world. The letters *τη* may be part of a phrase identifying its location although more logically they would go with the following phrase; see comment on l. 11. In any case the ethnic is used for identification not as a legal indication of citizenship, for Aurelius Epimachus is a Roman citizen. On the basis of the use of *Μαῦρον* in l. 13 to

identify the slave, it is possible that the Caesarea here is the one in Mauretania, in which case we might see Epimachus as a slave trader with an African source of supply and using Rhodes as an entrepôt.

11. At the end of l. 10 and at the beginning of this line we should expect a phrase such as *τὴν ὑπάρχοντα* (or *-ουσαν*) *αὐτῷ*; confusions of gender do occur with such neuter-in-form but feminine-in-fact nouns like *κοράσιον*. *Κοράσιον* is the standard *koine* word for little girl and thus slave girl; it is so used in the New Testament as well as in other slave sales: P.Strass. 79 16/15 B.C. (*κοράσιον δουλικόν*), *BGU* 887, A.D. 151; *BGU* 913, A.D. 206; inscriptions, *IG* VII, 3325, 3328, 3331, 3332, and 3353 (Boeotia, all of freed slaves); also *IG* VII, 190 (Megara, of slave girls); *GDI* 1705 (Delphi, of a freed slave). Ages of *korasia* are generally under twenty.

11/12. At the end of l. 11, the slave's name may begin, and *βικ*. [might possibly be read there. The girl has either a long name or else a double name, for the letters *αν* in l. 12 must represent the end of a name.

Ἐτέων I have explained above as the genitive plural of *ἔτος*. *Δέκ*[a may be the girl's age but anything up to nineteen is possible.

13. We should expect *γένει* or *γένει δέ* before *Μαῦρον*, but there does not seem to be any possibility of fitting the faint ink traces which remain into any pattern of letters.

14. The price of this slave is undoubtedly more than 50 drachmas, but all traces of ink have disappeared before *πεντήκοντα*.

15. There are traces of letters before Aurelius, perhaps the praenomen Marcus, but it is difficult to find the letters. Probably *Κ[αισαρεύς]* should be restored at the end of the line.

16. An examination of the photograph and my comments on the diplomatic transcript will make clear the difficulties of reading the greater part of ll. 16–23. The barest interpretation and restorations are presented in this version of the text.

17. The second of the lower text in col. ii begins *χρησάμενος*, but here it is hard to make anything of the ink after *χ*.

18. Possibly *Ἀνρηλίου* or *Ἀνρηλίω*.

19. Probably the end of *Διονυσίου Ῥοδίου*. After *Ῥοδ-* there are some ink traces which do not however, resemble *-ιου*.

21. Perhaps *Διονυσίω Ἰάσονος καὶ Καλ-*; this would fill out the line. I have bracketed *Καλ-* here and *χρη-* in the next line because I cannot find any trace of them on the papyrus in its present state.

22. Kallikrates' father's name plus *χαίρειω χρη-* would be enough to fill this line.

24. The abbreviation at the beginning of this line appears four times in the text before each of the signatures at the foot of both columns and is, each time, in the same hand as the signature which follows. I have no interpretation of its significance to offer.

26. It ought to be possible to read the four or five letters between *νεώκορος* and *τῆς πόλεως*, for they are visible on the papyrus even if somewhat dimly. Col. ii. 28, where Eutyches' designation appears again, is also puzzling. There we have traces of three letters but no interpretation gives anything meaningful. This is frustrating, particularly since one remains hopeful that these letters might do something to explain the problem of Eutyches' presence here.

Column ii

1. There seems to have been a heading or title to this column which does not occur in col. i.

6. See discussion of col. i. 5/6.

7. Perhaps *καθυ* should be restored in the lacuna at the left; see comment on col. i. 6. Here also it seems clear that no day of the month was given.

8. The letters]μαχου suggest a phrase such as [ἐπρίατο παρὰ Ἐπι]μάχου, but it is more likely that these letters belong to the purchaser's designation, perhaps the end of his father's name.

9. If we look for parallels from the first column, the two letters]αμ[can only be part of [ὑπὸ κάρυκ]α Μ[άρκον], but this is not enough to fill the space after χρηματίζει and does not leave enough room for the bank to be mentioned.

10. No trace of this line remains.

12. Ὡς ἐτέ[ων] suggests the description of the slave girl.

13. Probably [ἄ]κολούθ[ως], and we might expect τοῖς νόμοις or the like to follow it.

14. It is possible to suggest [πε]ρὶ αὐτοῦ[.

19. Τοῦ is probably sufficient to fill the lacuna at the end of the line.

20. In the damaged surface of the papyrus the writer apparently attempted a δ and when this failed he ignored his abortive attempt and put the δ on the better surface after the break. For this defective strip see the commentary to the diplomatic transcript.

21. For this puzzling statement see above, p. 205.

22. For Μάρκον read Μάρκω.

23. Read Ἰάσονος. This is, of course, the banker who signs at the foot of each column.

26. For the abbreviation or monograph see comment on col. i. 24. The letters καθ χρη[at the end of the line are not clear to me. They are undoubtedly of technical significance relating to Dionysius' designation.

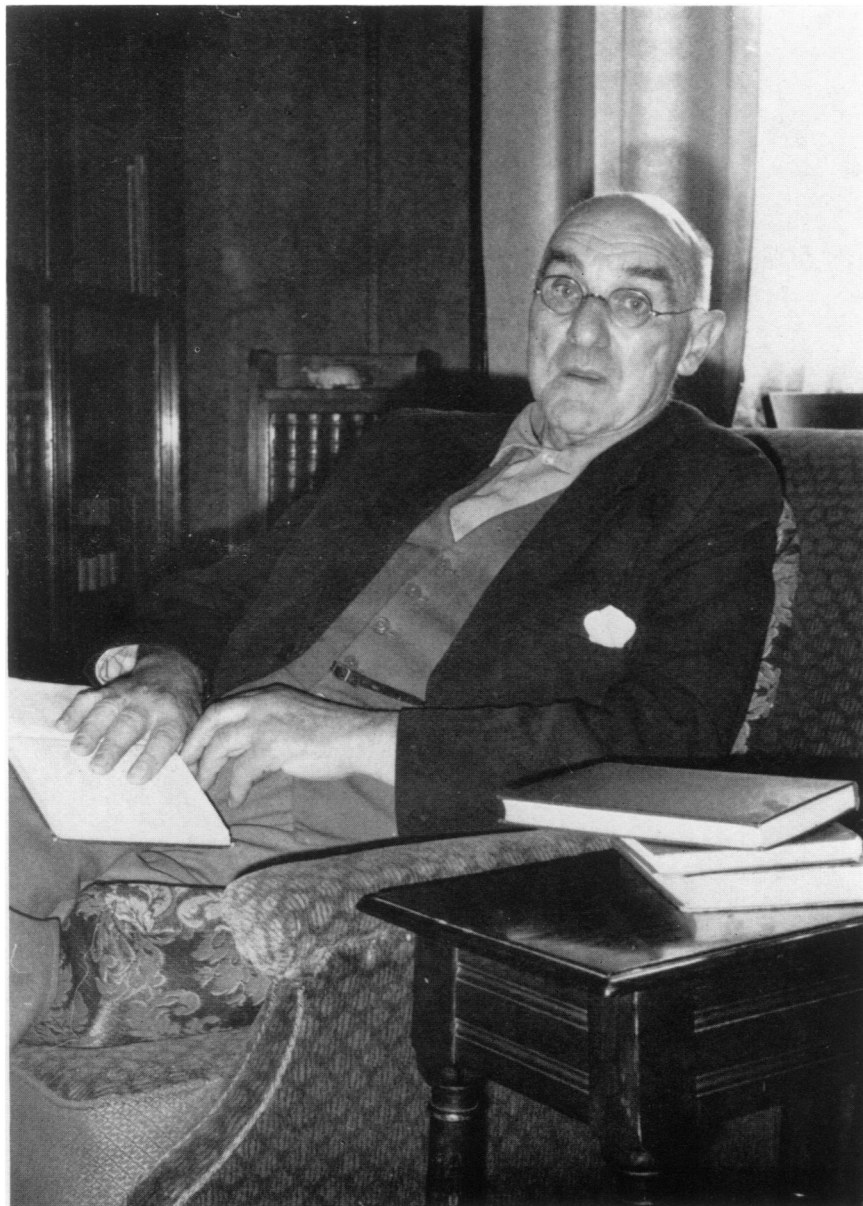
28. See comment on col. i. 26.

W. R. DAWSON

WARREN ROYAL DAWSON, an Honorary Member of the Egypt Exploration Society and, from 1917 until 1922, its Honorary Treasurer, died at his home in Bletchley, Buckinghamshire, on May 5, 1968. A man of unusually wide scholarly interests, who made important contributions to several branches of knowledge, he began his adult career with no formal academic qualifications. Nevertheless, a disposition well suited to steady research, coupled with a disdain for social activities and sporting pastimes, enabled him to develop a regular habit of work which in the course of a long life resulted in a notable output of articles and monographs.

Dawson was born in Ealing on October 13, 1888, the youngest son of Charles R. Dawson. He was educated at St. Paul's School, Hammersmith, and it was his father's intention that he should follow his two older brothers to Oxford University. Unhappily his father died in 1903 when Dawson was only fifteen, and the boy was obliged to leave school and earn his living. After several years of modest occupation in various jobs in the provinces, he returned to London in 1909 to take up an appointment in the Royal Insurance Company. In 1912 he married Alys Helen Wood who remained his constant and much loved companion for the rest of his life. A turning-point in his career came in 1913 when he went to Lloyd's as an employee of the firm Bray, Gibb and Co. Ltd. During the Great War of 1914-18 he remained at Lloyd's, being rejected from the army on medical grounds. In 1918 he became a deputy underwriter for Messrs. E. R. R. Starr and Co., and in 1922 he was able to form his own underwriting agency.

The abrupt ending of his formal schooling was much regretted by Dawson, but he made every effort to continue his education by studying privately in such spare time as he could make available. His growing interest in ancient Egypt received a fillip from a meeting with Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. The encouragement which Budge provided was essentially practical; he introduced Dawson to the riches of the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum and allowed him to work on material there in unusually favourable circumstances. In 1914, according to Dawson himself, he began to study Egyptian hieroglyphics seriously. From that time, under Budge's guidance, he devoted much of his leisure to the study of papyri, particularly those in the hieratic script, and he achieved considerable success in mastering the hands of the New Kingdom and later periods. It was Budge also who opened the door for him to the world of Egyptologists both dead and alive. Drawing on his memories, Budge, who was a fine raconteur, told Dawson much about his predecessors at the British Museum, and the great foreign and British Egyptologists of the late nineteenth century. The interest he aroused remained with Dawson all his life; biographical writing was to form a substantial part of his published work. The 'Lives' of Pettigrew (1931) and Sir Grafton



WARREN ROYAL DAWSON

Elliot Smith (1938) sprang naturally from his studies of mummification; that of C. W. Goodwin (1934) drew attention to the life of a notable early British Egyptologist. His biographical work culminated in *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (1951), a much-needed and much-used work of reference. It has sometimes been criticized on the grounds that too many minor figures are included, and that the great are treated rather briefly. Dawson, however, realized that the lives of the 'lions of Egyptology', as he called the great, are easily accessible in good obituaries in well-known journals; the lives of the lesser figures present difficulties which he tries to overcome in his 'biographical index'. The success of his volume was demonstrated by the rapid sale of the whole edition. A revision is now being prepared, many of the changes and additions being based on Dawson's own supplementary notes.

Closely allied to his passion for biography was a consuming interest in documents and correspondence. For him a *Nachlaß* or an archive provided a challenge and a task which particularly suited his talents. As Honorary Librarian of Lloyd's, a position he occupied from 1927 until 1948, he published four volumes on the collections and library of that corporation. Catalogues of the manuscripts of the Medical Society of London (1932) and the Linnaean Society (1936), and of the Huxley Papers in the Imperial College of Science (1946), earned him honorary fellowships of those three institutions. In 1958 he published on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum a calendar of the correspondence of the naturalist Sir Joseph Banks, a massive work containing summaries of over 7,000 letters. In recognition of his services to science he was elected to a Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and in 1959 he received the O.B.E. His Egyptological endeavours in this field were considerable, though less well known. In his later years he catalogued on behalf of the Griffith Institute the papers and correspondence of Newberry, Griffith, Edward Hincks, and E. W. Lane, the Arabist.

Among Dawson's earliest special interests was the practice of mummification in Egypt, with which was closely linked a more general concern with ancient medicine. He had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, the anatomist, not long after the latter's return to England from Egypt in 1909. Elliot Smith produced his catalogue of the royal mummies in the Cairo Museum in 1912, and this work stimulated Dawson to seek out opportunities for the examination of mummies both by himself and, later, together with Elliot Smith. After the war Dawson and Elliot Smith agreed to collaborate in producing a general work on mummification. At an early stage Smith indicated that he would be unable to participate to the extent he had hoped because of other commitments, but he urged Dawson to write the book on his own. *Egyptian Mummies* appeared in 1924, wholly the work of Dawson apart from the last two chapters which he managed to persuade Elliot Smith to write. Dawson freely admitted that much of the book's content represented a synthesis of the many articles written by Elliot Smith; but the presentation was his own, and the book remains to this day the most comprehensive work on mummification. His continuing interest in this special field resulted in many articles, and led him to compile his useful *Bibliography of Works relating to Mummification in Egypt* in 1928, while his very last published work, written in collaboration with Dr. P. H. K. Gray, was the *Catalogue of the*

Mummies and Human Remains in the British Museum. He was happily able to see a copy of this last volume a few days before his death.

In many ways Dawson's most original work was *Magician and Leech* which was published in 1929. This general study of ancient medicine and medical practices, including magic, was based on the information provided by ancient Egyptian medical, magical, and religious texts, and by the physical examination of ancient bodies. His knowledge of the ancient texts and his acquaintance with modern medical literature made him eminently equipped to understand the strange mixture of real knowledge, sensible practice, and mumbo-jumbo of which ancient medicine consisted. In many subsequent articles he further elucidated the intricacies of the ancient pharmacopoeia, making a number of important identifications of drugs.

In 1929 Dawson took Sir John F. Crowder into partnership in his underwriting agency, and thereafter he found he was able to spend most of his time on his private interests and pursuits. The decade between then and the outbreak of war in 1939 represented his most fruitful period, and it was during these years that he produced the three biographical studies and most of the calendars and catalogues already mentioned. Ill-health, however, led him in 1936 to retire from London into the country, but the move in no way led him to modify his long-established habits of early rising and regular work. His home in Bletchley provided a fine seclusion in which he could work, although he found the absence of libraries a constant handicap. This disadvantage became increasingly irksome in his last years when he was unable to travel to London or to Oxford. Nevertheless, his pen was rarely idle, and he had usually completed a day's correspondence by the time when most people think of getting up.

Throughout his life Dawson remained acutely aware of his lack of formal education beyond a relatively modest point. In consequence he both consciously tried to make himself a good formal scholar, and also, perhaps unconsciously, limited his endeavours to spheres of scholarship which were traditionally regarded as those of the gentleman scholar and old-fashioned antiquary. Practical work on mummies, papyri, and other ancient objects was gradually abandoned for activities which could be mostly carried on in the study. His own study became a retreat in which he could compile his works, filling scores of notebooks with notes and extracts written in an admirably neat hand which remained firm and legible until his last days. His study became his world, a place where he could do all he wished. He was proud of his insular nature, and boasted of the fact that he had never been abroad. Visitors were ever welcome, especially if they could tell him about Egypt. He never desired to visit Egypt, but he talked of it as if he had known it well. Much of his knowledge of the land he had acquired directly from the best guides—the great Egyptologists of the last generation, Budge, Griffith, Gardiner, Petrie, Newberry, Gunn. He never considered himself a member of the academic circle, but he moved freely within its ambit. Thus he formed part of the select group, which included Glanville and Faulkner, and for a time, Gunn, on whom Gardiner tested his *Egyptian Grammar* before it was published. His enjoyment of the company and talk of distinguished scholars, and his admiration for their scholarship (he particularly revered Griffith), led him to accept, sometimes uncritically, statements

which they made about events in the past. By nature he was a man who believed what he was told, especially if it was told by someone whom he admired. He was therefore inclined even in scholarly writing to place undue reliance on hearsay evidence. His memories of past encounters with long-dead Egyptologists were vivid, and his talk to younger scholars and friends evoked an age of giants and great achievements. He was generous and always ready to give information to others if he was in a position to do so; he equally expected to receive information if he needed it—by return of post if possible.

The diversity of his own activities was remarkable, and even within the field of Egyptology his books and articles only partly reflect the wideness of his interests. His collected papers, which demonstrate the scope of these interests in the many branches of learning he chose to study, have been deposited in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum.¹





T. G. H. JAMES


¹ The photograph of Dawson reproduced on pl. XXXIV was kindly supplied by Mr. F. Filce Leek. It was taken in Dawson's study about one year before his death.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The Nomarch Khnumhotep at Pelusium

IN the historical text from Tomb 14 at Beni Hasan, the nomarch Khnumhotep I boasts that he has gone to war under his sovereign Ammenemes I; the location of these hostilities has long been a problem. I propose the following reconstruction of the pertinent passage: *hꜣ-kwi hnc hm-f r Im(·t m) rꜥ-w n rš 20; rꜥ-n-f iw hr Snw; dr-n-f sw (m) Idb-wy-Hr*.¹ These words suggest that two place-names are included, *Im·t* and *Snw*, though only the latter can be proposed with assurance.

Snw, here written , must be the ancient name of Pelusium at the mouth of the eastern branch of the Nile.² While this name is spelled *Swn(w)* in later times, it appears as  in Old Egyptian texts and  in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, in both cases in references to 'wine of *Snw*'.³ A late Middle Kingdom scarab has the title *imy-r s·t Snw*, 'Overseer of the Storehouse of *Snw*', in which the name is written  enclosed by a fortress-sign.⁴ The Beni Hasan spelling is thus validated by contemporary evidence and we may conclude that Khnumhotep's expedition had Pelusium as its ultimate goal.

I have tentatively reconstructed the group of signs  as *r Im(·tm)* since the text makes no sense as it stands and something has obviously dropped out. According to Newberry's transcription there are no lacunae at this point and I assume that in copying either he or the ancient scribe skipped from the *m* of *Im·t* to the preposition, omitting several signs. Now 'wine of *Im·t*' is listed with 'wine of *Snw*' in both Old Egyptian texts and the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, which at least shows the two towns were traditionally linked in other contexts. Finally, *Im·t* is the modern Tell Nabêsha, about 20 km. north of Fâqus on the route to Šân el-Ḥagar,⁵ and would thus be on the way to Pelusium. If we grant that *Snw* in this text is Pelusium, the restoration of *Im·t* is possible even though tentative.

The passage can thus be rendered: 'I went down with his majesty to Imet (in) twenty ships of rš-wood.⁶ Then he came to Senu and expelled him⁷ (from) the Double-Banks-of-Horus.⁸ The historical context of this campaign is the vigorous programme of Ammenemes I to regain complete control of the Nile Valley and especially to consolidate his eastern Delta frontier.⁹ The line of

¹ Based on the hand-copy of P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893), pl. xlv, l. 5. The emendations to this passage in *Urk.* vii, 12, 3-4, made without a collation of the original, are unnecessary.

² W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 81-4; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 253-4; the name is perhaps to be read *Sinw*.

³ K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen (Untersuchungen x; Leipzig, 1928)*, 177 (l. 71).

⁴ P. E. Newberry, *JEA* 18 (1932), 141; Newberry translates *s·t* as 'office', but 'storehouse' makes better sense.

⁵ P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1 (Paris, 1957), 180-2.

⁶ It is probable that 'ships of rš-wood' means ships outfitted with masts, etc., of this timber; cf. the contemporary text studied by T. G. H. James, *The Ḥekanakhte Papers* (New York, 1962), no. xx, 9, which mentions masts of rš-wood. On this wood cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), 1, 8 n. 1.

⁷ 'Him' in the sense of 'the enemy' referring to the *Nhsyw* and *Sttyw* of the next line.

⁸ I.e. Egypt; Newberry's copy gives *Hr* followed by *idb·wy* in honorific transposition as in *Urk.* iv, 501, 1.











⁹ The troubled situation in the eastern Delta during the years preceding his accession is described in *The Prophecy of Neferty*; cf. G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e dynastie* (Paris, 1956), 35 ff.

fortresses constructed along this frontier¹ represents one aspect of his policy to which the Beni Ḥasan text adds one more detail. Khnumḥotep's fleet sailed up the eastern branch of the Nile to clear out pockets of resistance to the new dynasty, to drive out of Egypt the remnants of the foreign tribes who had settled in the region. It was men like Khnumḥotep and his contemporary, General Nesumontu,² who allowed Ammenemes himself to boast in his political testament that his Delta policy had been a success.³

W. A. WARD

The names of the pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty

SOME time ago I compiled a list of the names of the pyramids (*JEA* 52, 174). Since then, looking more closely at those of the Twelfth Dynasty, I have discovered certain discrepancies in the publications. I therefore append a revised list here.

<i>Imn-m-ḥst</i>		'Ammenemes I's pyramid, the places rise in splendour.'
<i>Imn-m-ḥst</i>		'Ammenemes I's pyramid, the high and beautiful.'
<i>S-n-wsrt</i>		'Sesostris I's pyramid, which overlooks the Two Lands.'
<i>Ḥpr-kj-Rc</i>		'Sesostris I's pyramid, most favoured of places.'
<i>Imny</i>		'Ammenemes II's pyramid, the mighty.'
<i>S-n-wsrt</i>		'Sesostris II's pyramid, the resting-place.'
<i>Imn-m-ḥst</i>		'Ammenemes (?)'s pyramid, the glorious and the favourite place.'
<i>S-n-wsrt</i>		'Sesostris (?)'s pyramid, the splendid.'
<i>S-n-wsrt</i>		'Sesostris (?)'s pyramid, the pure.'
<i>Imn-m-ḥst</i>		'Ammenemes (?)'s pyramid . . .'

JOHN BENNETT

Negative sentences in a Letter to the Dead

IN vol. 52 (1966), pl. IX of this *Journal* W. K. Simpson published a Letter to the Dead which contains a group of interesting negated sentences. Since it appears that their importance had escaped the author's notice, I should like briefly to draw attention to it here.⁴

The negations under discussion are those of the nominal sentence, adjectival sentence, and cleft sentences⁵ which are of the same pattern, i.e. \neg -A $\bar{\bar{}}$ B, $\bar{\bar{}}$ being a constant morpheme in it.⁶ The function of this pattern is to negate the predicative nexus between subject and non-verbal predicate.⁷

¹ The 'Wall of the Ruler', found only in literary texts; G. Posener, in S. Donadoni (ed.), *Le fonti indirette della storia egiziana* (Rome, 1963), 15.

² Cf. the stela of Nesumontu: '(I) destroyed the nomad beduin and the sand-dwellers'; K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (reprint Darmstadt, 1958), 82, ll. 12-13. Nesumontu may also have been involved in clearing the eastern Delta of foreigners.

³ A. Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften* (Copenhagen, 1945), 113, 115.

⁴ I deal extensively with these negations in my Ph.D. dissertation, and 'Enclitic Particles in Middle Egyptian', written under the guidance of H. J. Polotsky at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

⁵ I.e. Participial Statement and Emphatic Sentence; cf. Polotsky, *Études de Syntaxe Copte*, 53-68, 69-96.

⁶ A fact which has not been overlooked entirely, but its importance and implications have somehow evaded the attention of scholars; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* §§ 824, 1088-9; Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, chap. 20.

⁷ Thus it is the ancestor of *bn. . . . iwnr* and $\bar{\bar{}} \Delta\bar{\bar{}}$.

sk in is k̄d:f dr sw d̄s:f
sk n h̄pr·n is [nm]¹ h̄pr rf n ɛ n b:k im
n dr is p̄w n h̄prt nb
sk n ink is p̄ wdt st̄[ɣw rf]
iw ir·n kywy hr-h̄st·i

'Look, it is (was) his own character which punishes (?) him.'²

Look, it was not through my agency (or: action) that what happened to him³ has happened, and it is not the end (limit) of all that is going to (or: may) happen.⁴

Look, not mine⁵ is the infliction of (his) wound.⁶

Others acted in my presence.'⁷

Such a collection of negations is a most fortunate occurrence.

Note. After the submission of this short communication for publication, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* (Berlin, 1968) by H. Satzinger appeared. In §§ 42–6 he discusses the combination of the negative word *n* with the particle *is*, and finds that *n . . . is* negates nominal sentences and emphatic sentences.

MORDECHAI GILULA

The Egyptian Harpedonaptai

THE philosopher Democritus, describing his studies abroad, boasts that in composition of geometrical figures, with a demonstration, no one ever yet surpassed him, not even those of the Egyptians called Harpedonaptai: "γραμμέων συνθέσιος μετ' ἀποδείξεως οὐδείς κώ με παρήλλαξεν, οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οἱ καλεόμενοι Ἀρπεδονάπται", Democr. ap. Clem. Al. 357 (repeated verbatim in Eus., *P.E.* 472).

¹ *nm* appears to be a more probable restoration than Simpson's [𓏏]. The upper right-hand corner of one 𓏏 is clearly to be seen in the photograph. Perhaps *p̄*, the anaphoric demonstrative article, might have been also suitable here (cf. l. 5. For the writing 𓏏 without 𓏏 cf., e.g., Edel, § 195), but, I am afraid, it should be rejected on palaeographical grounds. 𓏏 before *n sdm·n:f* and *n sdm:f* is exceptional.

² The meaning 'to punish' appears in some cases to be suitable for *dr*. The supposition that the character of a person may destroy or punish himself is not so 'curiously modern' since the ancient Egyptians occasionally viewed their change in status as a result of their traits of character; e.g. Clère and Vandier, *Textes Prem. Pér. Int.*, 24, 8 *in k̄d:f [rd̄i mr] wt:f sh̄nt st̄f m pr ns̄w* 'it was his character which caused him to be loved and which advanced his position in the King's house'. *dr* may be the opposite of *sh̄nt*: 'to remove, discharge', as was tentatively suggested by Simpson.

³ Or, less probably, 'what happens to him'. *h̄pr* is a passive perf. part.

⁴ *h̄prt* is a fem. (neut.) prospective part. It can also be either a perfective or imperfective part, but neither a *sdm·ty·fy* form nor *sdm·t·f*. *nb* for *nbt* is by no means unusual and may be a graphic abbreviation; cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 84, 1. Apart from the well-known *ht nb* 'every thing' cf., e.g., *Urk.* 1, 134, 2 *wpt nb h̄bt·n:f wi im·s* 'every mission on which he has sent me'; *ibid.* 221, 5 *k̄st nb h̄bt·n wi hm·f hr·s*, 'every work concerning which His Majesty had sent me'; after a fem. (neut.) relative form cf. *ibid.* 107, 13 *m̄i wdt·n nb hm·f im*, 'in accordance with whatever His Majesty had commanded therein'. All these examples are cited by Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 668.

⁵ I.e. 'by me, by my agency'. *ink* is the possessive pronoun, this being the earliest example of such writing. During this period it was usually written 𓏏 (but only in the affirmative), cf. my article, to be published in one of the forthcoming issues of *Revue d'Égyptologie*.

⁶ *p̄* is not the verb 'have done in the past' (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 484; Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 903), since such a meaning is not suitable here, but it is the anaphoric demonstrative article referring as a rule to something which had been explicitly mentioned before or is implicitly known, as it is in the case under discussion. *wdt st̄w rf* or *st̄w:f* as proposed by Simpson is probably correct. The sentence can also be translated, 'it was not I upon whom an injury was inflicted' (*p̄ wd·t(w)*), but it does not suit the context.

⁷ *hr-h̄st* probably used locally 'in front of' (Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 178) as it seems to be more suitable in the present context.

REVIEWS

Le Débat sur les écritures et l'hieroglyphe aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, et l'application de la notion de déchiffrement aux écritures mortes. By MADELEINE V.-DAVID. Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 168, illus. 25. Price NF 30.

In their conception of the history of writing and the origin of the Ionian alphabet the ancient Greeks and Romans came very close to the opinions entertained by modern science. Openly acknowledging their dependence on their 'barbaric' predecessors, the Greek scholars generally attributed to the Egyptians the invention of the art of writing. In the *Philebus* Plato states how 'a certain Theuth' was the first to observe that 'the infinity of sound' could be divided up into distinctive elements, such as consonants, vowels, and mutes; and in the *Phaedrus* we are told that this Theuth was the Egyptian god of wisdom, the original inventor of the arts, and, 'most important of all, of letters'. From the evidence of other writers such as Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch, Pliny, and Tacitus it is clear that the Ancients, although acknowledging the priority of the graphic tradition of the Egyptians, did not necessarily consider them the inventors of phonetic writing, an achievement generally attributed to the Phoenicians, who were supposed to have learned the basic principles of the art in Egypt, to have simplified it into an alphabet, and, in the words of Tacitus, to have imported the knowledge into Greece.

Since no classical scholar, except perhaps Pythagoras, knew Egyptian or had any first-hand knowledge of the hieroglyphs, their conception of the script remained obscure, and none of them ever realized its phonetic character, understood the proper function of the various categories of signs, or was able to distinguish between hieroglyphs, hieratic, and demotic, in spite of fairly accurate reports by authors such as Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry. In most accounts the Egyptians were supposed to have used two different systems of writing: the hieroglyphs, reserved for 'philosophical' purposes to express the legendary esoteric wisdom of Egypt, and an ordinary script called demotic, epistolographic, hieratic, or enchorial, for the ordinary purposes of daily life. In a vague way the latter was occasionally described as being phonetic. The hieroglyphs were always considered sacred and symbolical, a divine invention presented to the Egyptians as a reward for their piety by the grateful gods. The signs were not supposed to be read, but to reveal their esoteric meaning to the initiates by contemplation and divine inspiration, a conception confirmed by allegorizing expoundings of the signs in the treatises of Chairemon and Horapollo, and by the examples quoted by other classical authors.

However, throughout the greater part of Classical Antiquity the interest in the hieroglyphs remained academic and historical; but two centuries after the start of our era this attitude was radically changed by Plotinus who introduced them into the philosophical debate as illustrations of a Neoplatonic conception of the materialization of ideas. In Plotinus' opinion the Egyptians had succeeded in discovering a 'metaphysical method' by which they could make allegorical pictures of material objects, i.e. hieroglyphs, reveal not merely the symbolical qualities of things, but their very essence and true nature as manifestations of the sacred realm of ideas.

Thus defined, the hieroglyphical allegories became integral elements of Neoplatonism, illustrating its conception of the nature and function of art itself, and destined to exert a profound influence on the artistic and literary symbolism of late Antiquity and early Christianity, an influence which waned away with the disappearance of Neoplatonism as an independent religious and philosophical movement, but was still felt as a symptom of its underground survival throughout the Middle Ages.

The Neoplatonic revival of the Renaissance, based on Ficino's editions of Plato, Plotinus, Iamblichus, and the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of esoteric treatises supposed to contain the doctrines of Egyptian philosophy, was followed by an upsurge of interest in the hieroglyphs, furthered by the discovery and publication of a copy of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*. During the last decades of the fifteenth and throughout

the sixteenth century hieroglyphic allegories became integral parts of artistic symbolism, not merely in its praxis, as iconographic and ornamental motifs, but in theory as well, because the artists as well as the theorists, to an extent which we can hardly fathom, considered the symbolical qualities of the hieroglyphs a dynamic principle of art itself, essential for the expression of its metaphysical and esoteric purpose.

In the complicated process of transformation which turned Renaissance into Baroque, the de-platonization of the former was one of the characteristic symptoms of the change, and in the orthodoxy and dogmatism of the latter the hieroglyphs lost their metaphysical significance, but lived on as more or less conventional elements of iconography and emblematics. In the learned debate the hieroglyphic problem was transferred from a philosophical sphere, to become almost a discipline of its own within the framework of the dominant humanistic movement of the period, the all-pervading *philologia sacra* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which originated in theological efforts to trace and republish the hitherto ignored versions of the Testaments preserved in various oriental idioms, but slowly developed into independent philological and historical studies.

About the last phase of this long evolution, the period from the disintegration of the Neoplatonic myth of the hieroglyphs, such as was supported by its last advocate Athanasius Kircher, until their decipherment by Champollion, Miss David has written a learned and instructive book. Relying on an extensive study of the original material, she has given a clear account of the complicated and frequently confused debate on language and writing carried on with such zeal and fervour by the learned orientalisists of the period. The debate represents the prehistory of modern philology and that of the great decipherments as well, and Miss David has demonstrated the extent to which it was influenced by speculations about the hieroglyphic problem. However, the period's strong urge for universality and completeness was unbridled by the systematic limitations of a historical and methodical approach, and the debate became stifled by the complexity of its problems and stagnated into learned quarrels about details. Its historical significance is consequently not based on its, mostly vain, attempts to solve the problems, but in its brave efforts to pose them, in which respect it prepared the way for the philological break-through of the early nineteenth century and the final decipherment of the hieroglyphs and cuneiform writing.

Miss David's extensive collection of material and her careful analyses of the individual contributions to the debate have shown how hieroglyphic and linguistic problems were used to illustrate each other, and how the discussions about the hieroglyphs reflected on the general attitude towards linguistics in general. The theoretical debate about the origin of language inspired Kircher's basic contribution to Egyptology, his identification of Coptic with the ancient language of the Egyptians, which other scholars nevertheless tried to associate with Greek, Chinese, Armenian, and various Semitic languages. In a parallel development the interest in graphic problems was furthered by the growing knowledge of the non-alphabetic scripts of the Far East and the Americas, as well as by the constant occupation with the Near Eastern alphabets, all of which reflected on the discussions about the graphic nature of the hieroglyphs, and their relation to the cursives, which gave rise to fanciful theories about their connection with Chinese characters, Mexican pictographs, and Armenian initials. It is the great merit of Miss David's book to have traced and outlined the various phases of this process which resulted in the disintegration of the belief in the symbolical nature of the hieroglyphs and their introduction into philology. At the same time Miss David has convincingly demonstrated how the dying myth was still able to inspire the plans for the creation of an international script of universal symbols, intended, in the definition of Leibniz, to express 'with mathematical clarity' the basic concepts of philosophy and thought, unobscured by the ambiguity of words and languages. Less convincing is her theory that cryptography and the decoding of secret writings should have influenced decipherment, since no serious efforts were made to decipher the hieroglyphs between Kircher and Åkerblad, and the methods employed by Barthélémy and Champollion had very little in common with the principles of decoding.

It cannot be denied that the debate was a failure so far as the solution of the hieroglyphical problems was concerned, and, after Barthélémy's revision of the material, what was considered the factual knowledge of the hieroglyphs could be recapitulated in four hypotheses: (1) that Coptic was probably identical with old Egyptian; (2) that Egyptian might be related to the Semitic languages; (3) that the cartouches, as proposed by de Guignes, contained royal names; (4) that some of the signs of the cursives were directly derived from the hieroglyphs. To these four theses a fifth should be added, that the cursives were generally considered

phonetic or even alphabetic. The theses represent the epitaph of the myth about the symbolic hieroglyphs, and Miss David's book is the most systematic and complete contribution to the history of their formulation since the appearance of Miss Hartleben's biography of Champollion.

Where so much is given it seems ungrateful to demand more; but in limiting her investigations to the last, and certainly the least productive and inspired period of a tradition which at its height exerted a universal influence on European philosophy, art, and literature, Miss David has deprived her subject of some of its charm; and by concentrating on the purely graphic aspect of a problem which for most participants in the debate had a wider scope, she has also limited its historical perspective. By judging the entire tradition from the decipherment, its final result, she sees the entire debate as a slow but steady evolution from superstition to enlightenment, almost as a Darwinistic battle between prejudiced believers in *le préjugé hiéroglyphique* and enlightened anti-symbolists, thus obscuring the fact that, hieroglyphically seen, the entire debate between Kircher and Åkerblad was merely marking time, and that even Barthélémy, the period's decipherer *par excellence*, was convinced of the symbolic nature of the hieroglyphs; and so was Champollion until the very eve of the decipherment. The same attitude makes Miss David exaggerate the influence of the Chinese discussions, at the expense of the general influence from the *philologia sacra*, the development of which determined every changing aspect on the hieroglyphic problem. Her tendency to ignore the ungraphic background of the graphic discussion is clearly illustrated by her account of Warburton whose fascination for the hieroglyphs and demands for a historical approach to the history of writing did not spring from an enlightened inclination to the graphic problem as such, but from a purely theological attempt to demonstrate the direct influence of God on the course of history in order to provide a historical confirmation of the Christian message. His demand for a historical approach is moreover directly based on the ancient discussions about the relative age of the graphic traditions of Egypt and Palestine, which again were offshoots of the age-old debate about the Pagan or Christian origin of true scholarship and learning. In this respect it would certainly have been appropriate to mention Reuchlin, not merely for his contributions to this particular debate, but as one of the founders of the *philologia sacra*, who combined a Neoplatonic attitude to metaphysics with a sober approach to linguistic problems, and until the nineteenth century remained a key figure in the entire debate on hieroglyphs and writing. It is also characteristic that Miss David refers to the Runic theories of Rudbeck without mentioning the more sober contributions of Wormius on which the entire revival of the Runic studies is based, and that no mention is made of Goropius's curious attempts to prove that Flemish was the original language of Paradise, although all of them illustrate an important, although generally ignored, trend in the debate: the efforts of the scholars from the new nationalistic protestant States to establish new graphic and linguistic traditions of their own.

It cannot be denied that a somewhat broader outlook would have added to the charm and the scope of Miss David's book, and in concentrating on the individual contributions to the debate, rather than on its theoretical and historical background, she has not entirely avoided the pitfall of modern historians: to obscure history with facts; but since it is certainly the fundamental right of books as well as of people to be judged by their positive contributions, no criticism can detract from or diminish the valuable results of Miss David's erudite and scholarly investigations.

ERIK IVERSEN

Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan. II. Abteilung. Die althieratischen Topfaufschriften. I. Band. Die Topfaufschriften aus den Grabungsjahren 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 und 1965. I. Teil. Zeichnungen und hieroglyphische Umschriften. By ELMAR EDEL. Wiesbaden, 1967. Quarto. Pp. v+8, pls. 198. Price DM 40.

Professor Edel has been working on the rock tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa near Aswân for some years past and has now begun to publish his results. The publication is planned to appear in three parts; the first to contain a detailed archaeological record, the second and third to be devoted to studies of the material found.

The initial volume of the second part lies before us now. Its contents are made up of 470 Sixth Dynasty hieratic inscriptions derived from 902 food-offering vessels found in these tombs. The selection has been made so that nothing of palaeographical, philological, or historical importance has been excluded. Facsimiles of the hieratic inscriptions, sometimes accompanied by an outline drawing of the vessel concerned, are placed on the right-hand plate, whilst the left-hand one has a transcription into hieroglyphs of the texts concerned.

Apart from these plates this book contains only the briefest introductory matter, all other information and comment being reserved for future volumes. The standard of production is excellent, but nevertheless I cannot refrain from remarking upon the quite astoundingly lavish use of space, which has resulted in a book of at least twice the thickness that is really necessary.

The inscriptions are brief; the name of the owner of the tomb, the name of the offerer, a title or two, the contents of the vessel. Sometimes all this information is present, but more often only some, or even one, of these items.

It is interesting to dwell in more detail on what these inscriptions have to tell of the names of the vessels and their contents. Twenty-one words can be listed in this respect. Some are new, others are obviously derived from already known words, a few are to be found outside the offering-list and the medical texts. These words can be divided into four classes:

1. Names of Vessels.

nitt (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *dnt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏).

Both are unknown to the *Wörterbuch* (unless the second is a writing of *dnit*, *ḏnit*) and both are here used to hold fruit or the grain preparation *šht*.

2. Names of Preparations from Grain.

ntt (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *nd* 'flour', *ddw* 'meal(?)', *ḏw* (𓂏𓂏𓂏).

Nd always occurs alone without any qualification, but the other terms are ways in which *pct* and *šht* can be prepared. *Ntt* is unknown to the *Wörterbuch*, *ddw* is a rare word,¹ whilst *ḏw* is not otherwise known but appears from its manner of occurrence here to be a variant of *ddw*.

3. Forms of Grain.

bšs, *pct*, *mmt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *šht* and *šht wšdt*.

Pct I have placed here because it occurs as a qualification of *ntt*, *ddw*, and *ḏw* exactly as does *šht*. *Mmt* is unknown but is probably a form of the word *mmi*.

4. Various Kinds of Fruit.

šcr (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *imst* (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *išd*, *išdt*, *cnwyt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *wšm*, *wšh* 'carob beans', *bnr* 'dates', *nbs* 'zizyphus', *hmšyt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏), *šnft*.

šcr is unknown but may be a form of the *šcr* of *Wb.* I, 3 (5). *imst* is likewise unknown but is probably derived from the *imš* of *Wb.* I, 79 (3-8). It occurs only once following upon *šnft*, but whether one word qualifies the other or two separate items are involved is not clear. *Cnwyt* is probably derived from the *cnw*-tree of *Wb.* I, 192 (12). *Hmšyt* must, I think, in view of the way in which it is spelt and of the generally edible nature of the contents of these vessels, be the fruit *hmšyt* of the *Wb. der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 344-8, Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 21, and now also the *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 51A, 2a, where it is spelt 𓂏𓂏𓂏 and occurs amongst fruit and other foodstuffs.

This necessarily short account of but one aspect of the information that can be gleaned from these inscriptions will, I think, serve to indicate how valuable and interesting is the material published in this book.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Altägyptische Grammatik, Elmar Edel, Register der Zitate. Prepared by ROLF GRUNDLACH and BARBARA SCHWARZKOPF. (German Computer Centre.) Rome, 1967. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. Quarto. Pp. ix+55. Price L. 900, \$1.50.

Although partial sets of references to the texts cited in Edel's *Altägyptische Grammatik* had previously appeared,² nothing comprehensive existed. Edel himself was engaged upon the onerous task when he was relieved by the welcome offer of Dr. Grundlach to utilize the equipment of the German Computer Centre

¹ See *Wb.* v, 502 (8-10); *Wb. der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 584-5. A new instance is *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 34A, 2b, 5.

² *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 1-24; 66 (1966), 225-50.

at Darmstadt to undertake the project. The present little book is the fruit of this offer. It is a demonstration of what can be accomplished today by mechanical means to the very great saving of the time of scholars.

The references to all the texts quoted in this grammar are listed in this book. The lists are divided into four sections as follows:

1. *Urkunden* 1,
2. *Pyramid Texts* (a) As published by Sethe,
(b) Others,
3. All other quotations that appear in hieroglyphs,
4. Quotations that appear in transcription only.

Offset methods have been used to reproduce the actual print-off made by the computer. This has the disadvantage that the information is given in very small type and that items in transcription have to be in the Egyptian alphabet as coded for the computer. These are, however, very minor matters compared with the advantage of having so useful a tool in the hands for immediate use. C. H. S. SPAULL

Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III. Bonner biblische Beiträge, 25. By E. EDEL. Bonn, 1966. Pp. xv+101, 3 folding plates. Price DM 59.50.

This exemplary volume contains the first-fruits of the excavations conducted in 1964 by Dr. Ricke on the site of the long-destroyed funerary temple of Amenophis III in Western Thebes.¹

Fragments of topographical lists on the bases of destroyed statues had been known from the site ever since the days of Wilkinson and Rosellini. In the interval between their day and Ricke's exploration, several scholars have added to the known material, but it was a major result of Ricke's excavations that the number of toponyms recovered rose from the 33 put together by this reviewer in 1963–5² to some 70 names here published by Edel in a special study issued in advance of the full excavation-report. A debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Ricke for authorizing this advance treatment, and to Professor Edel for his prompt and able handling of this invaluable material. The book is well-produced and well-indexed, and the only serious criticism is that the price (about £6) is out of all proportion to the size of the volume.

Originally, the funerary temple of Amenophis III had a vast colonnaded forecourt similar to, but much larger than, that of the temple of Luxor.³ Ranged between the columns at the rear (West) side of the court, to north and south of the main axis, there once stood a series of statues whose bases were inscribed with topographical lists. Of the southern series almost nothing has survived,⁴ but in the northern series (naming northern peoples) at least five bases could be distinguished and labelled A_N to E_N with 'F' for a few unplaced fragments. Edel's publication is bipartite. The first chapter gives a running commentary on the place-names, seeking to identify them geographically. The second chapter deals with the contribution of the new lists to the vexed question of Egyptian 'group-writing' or 'syllabic orthography'.

The first list (A_N) names major powers and North Syrian states, e.g. Sangar (Babylonia), Naharin (Mitanni), Carchemish, Aleppo, Nuhasse, Barga, Dunanapa, Hatti, Hau-nebu, Arzawa, and Assur. Apart from Taḥši, the second list (B_N) touches South Syria (Damascus), parts of East Palestine (Edrei, Boḡruna, Qanu, Aduri, Qaṭwa, Amšuna, Dion (?), Ashteroth), and a few places in West Palestine, both north (Yanu'am) and south to the Negeb (Sharon, Šir in Judea, 'Aqrabuta, Ḥaradat, Milḥ).

The remains of list C_N cover both the Phoenician coast (Ammia and Irqata of the 'Amarna letters) and the Syro-Palestinian hinterland (Dothan, Šamḡuna, perhaps Shikker(on) in Palestine; perhaps Mudu'e near Alalakh). The list D_N offers a series of completely new and often mysterious names, five being prefixed by p'. The most noteworthy by far is Aram—a new, early mention of the Aramaeans, plus a new orthography for Ashur (so), and a mention of Babylon.

¹ On these excavations see H. Ricke in S. Schott (ed.), *Göttinger Vorträge*, 1965, 199–204.

² Recorded on the spot in Jan. 1963, well over a year before the Swiss dig, and published in *Orientalia* 34 (1965), 1 ff.

³ Cf. Ricke, *op. cit.*, 200–2, with plan.

⁴ The base Louvre A. 18 (*BIFAO* 35 (1935), 161 ff.) is probably a lone survivor from the southern series, as noted by Edel.

However, by far the most remarkable list of the entire series is E_N ,¹ which names in Egyptian for the first time a whole series of familiar places in Crete, Greece, and the Aegean world: Amnisos, Phaistos, Cydonia, Mycenae, *Dk̄is* (= ?), Messenia, Nauplia, Cythera, Ilios, Knossos, Amnisos (second mention), and Lyktos.

While the first four lists reflect the usual world of Near Eastern great powers and petty kingdoms, the fifth throws a vivid light on Egyptian knowledge of Crete and the Aegean. The historical value of this list is considerable, and its implications fascinating. In the first place, the only *general* 'regional name' in the entire list is Keftiu, commonly taken to refer to Crete (plus perhaps the Aegean area), but placed by Wainwright in Asia Minor, specifically Cilicia.² And this list shows pretty clearly what the Egyptians themselves understood by Keftiu: five cities in Crete (one, twice), the isle of Cythera, and three centres in Mycenaean Greece, plus the enigmatic *Dk̄is*. If *Wiliya* is indeed (W)ilios or Troy, this is no exception to the rest; the Troad had plenty of links with the Aegean world in the second millennium B.C.³ Thus, if Vercoutter's comprehensive and careful survey of the artistic and archaeological evidence had not already sufficed, then this list would have dealt an irrevocable *coup de grâce* to Wainwright's Cilician theory. And to make assurance doubly sure, each of these indubitably Aegean name-rings is surmounted by the head of a long-haired, bearded Semite.⁴ In other words, Semitic or other Near Eastern features associated with Keftiu data reflect nothing more than artistic carelessness (cf. Vercoutter), and are not evidence for a Near Eastern location for Keftiu (as Wainwright wished it).

Secondly, this list furnishes us with the *first* contemporary and indubitable written evidence for the early date and use of a series of famous place-names in the Aegean as early as the mid-second millennium B.C.—other than their attestation in the Mycenaean Greek Linear B tablets. Our list and the Linear B tablets share in common: Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, Phaistos, Cydonia (all Cretan), Messenia (mainland), and Cythera. The decipherment of Linear B may by now be considered as a fact, and this Egyptian evidence closely supports the presence of these names in the tablets and points towards the validity of the decipherment.

Thirdly, the list illustrates Egyptian geographical knowledge of the Aegean area, and gives background to Egyptian objects found in this region (including some of Amenophis III) and to Mycenaean pottery found in Egypt, as is discussed by Edel (pp. 56–60), with some reference to the controverted date of the 'fall' of Knossos, c. 1400 (?) B.C. As Edel also notes, we have nothing like this list from any earlier reign, and this applies also to list D_N (with Aram); so, these lists probably do reflect actual knowledge and conditions under Amenophis III and not necessarily an earlier state of knowledge.

The second half of Edel's book is devoted to the problem of the extent to which 'group-writing' may be considered to express vowels of specific quality. Consideration of his new data leads Edel on to review critically the vocalization-systems of Albright and Helck, verifying their results in part, but proposing simplification and modification of their views. A detailed review of this topic is out of the question here,⁵ but some results can be summarized. There can be no real doubt that, in the new material as in the old, certain sign-groups clearly include expression of specific vowels. This is clearest for *u*-vowels for original *u* or *o*, applies to many *i*-vowels, and more restrainedly to *a*-vowels, although Edel has eliminated some examples perhaps over-cautiously. Thus far, various results of Albright and Helck can be retained. But their systems include sign-groups which in practice represent 'consonant plus any vowel'; one such group can be read *ba*, *bi*, *bu*, for example. In such cases of polyphony the group has obviously no specific and exclusive vowel-quality, and is nothing more than, for example, *b*+vowel. In some such cases (esp. *t*-signs), the group is merely consonantal, much as Burchardt maintained long ago in his *Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte*. The long series of homophonous 'syllables' (e.g., *ba*₄, *tu*₅, etc.) in Helck's system—which the new data would still further extend—can thus be in large measure dispensed with. Edel's contribution to the study of the 'syllabic orthography' is of the first importance, and his results are in the main acceptable;

¹ First published in part by the reviewer, *Orientalia* 34 (1965), 5–6, with pls. ii (4), ix. Cf. further Kitchen, *BASOR*, No. 181 (1966), 23–4, and Astour, *Am. J. Archaeol.* 70 (1966), 313–17.

² For a full treatment of the whole problem cf. J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (1956).

³ Cf., e.g., C. W. Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans* (1963), 140–6.

⁴ Five such heads are clearly visible even in my photograph (*Orientalia* 34, pl. ix), taken before the excavations. Cf. also Edel, p. 56.

⁵ For a fuller but provisional discussion cf. my remarks in *Bi. Or.* 25 (1968), in press.

only a study of the entire material available for Egyptian 'group-writing' of foreign words and names' would bring any significant modifications.

It is a pleasure to commend Professor Edel's work to all who are interested in Egypt's relations with the external world; the book is a masterly treatment of valuable data whose importance far exceeds its modest size.

K. A. KITCHEN

Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet, ou la fin d'une dynastie. By ROBERT HARI. Geneva, 1964 [1965]. Pp. 450, frontispiece, 69 pls. in 83; 86 figs. Price 40 Swiss francs.

This bulky thesis by a young Genevan scholar covers the careers of Horemheb and his queen Mutnodjmet, perhaps the least-studied figures of the 'Amarna period. The plates and figures contain a comprehensive series of photographs and textual hand-copies of monuments (real and alleged) of the royal pair.

From **Part One** it emerges that there are no clearly identifiable private monuments of Horemheb and his family from before the move to El-'Amarna. The Horemhebs of (1) Louvre C. 68-70, (2) a Leiden stela [no number], and (3) Tomb 78 at Thebes seem to be provably related neither to the future king nor to each other. Hari's attempt to identify (1) and (2) does not satisfy; and if Horemheb really hailed from the Hatnub district, then the owner of Theban tomb 78 is unlikely to be an ancestor of his. At El-'Amarna it is perhaps conceivable (with Hari) that Pa-aten-em-ḥeb is Horemheb in Atenist guise, but it seems an unnecessary assumption. Not every dignitary in 'Amarna Egypt had a tomb at El-'Amarna, especially if serving elsewhere (e.g. Memphis). Later royal monuments of Horemheb at El-'Amarna (pp. 36-40) merely vouch for minor works there during his reign, and support Hari's contention that the real destruction of El-'Amarna and of memorials of 'Amarna kings came only in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

In chapter iii the early post-'Amarna monuments of Horemheb are five: Leiden stela V. 29, the Zizinia fragment, the statues Cairo 42129 and New York MMA.23.10.1, and probably his figure on the relief Berlin 12411 (on which cf., latterly, Schulman, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 55 ff. and pl. 30). In chapter iv Hari turns to the famous Memphite tomb of Horemheb, effectively pruning down the excessive number of reliefs hitherto attributed to that monument (cf. his list, p. 70). He then attempts to reconstruct (pp. 80-5) the original disposition of walls and reliefs; space limits forbid any discussion here. Hari's treatment of Syrian affairs before Horemheb's accession seems a little superficial. Apart from allusions to 'Bikhourou' in the 'Amarna letters and 'Ankhsenamun's appeal to Suppiluliuma I, no real use is made of the cuneiform data—e.g. no reference to Egypto-Hittite clashes in the 'Amq (plague-prayers of Mursil II, Pritchard, *ANET*, 395a) on pp. 123-4, 140. But with Hari one may note the prominence of Heliopolitan deities and lack of stress on Amun on Horemheb's post-'Amarna private monuments (pp. 126-7). Hari would sum up Horemheb's career before accession as initially military, passing over into the higher civil administration and rising to the role of royal deputy under Tutankhamun and Ay.

In **Part Two**, turning to Queen Mutnodjmet, Hari rightly classes her as a neglected figure in the study of this epoch, sorting out her monuments from those of homonyms. (His treatment of the Twenty-first Dynasty Mutnodjmet should be corrected by reference to *Bi. Or.* 23 (1966), 275). Hari argues strongly against Sethe's reading Mutbenret, preferring the reading Mutnodjmet (or, Nedjem-Mut) for the name of Nefertiti's sister, and hence revives the old identification of the latter with Horemheb's eventual queen (pp. 157 ff.), additionally attributing an 'Amarna head (Louvre E. 14715) to her. If correct, then Horemheb married the last representative of the Eighteenth Dynasty; otherwise, Mutnodjmet's origins remain unknown.

In chapter vi of Part Two Hari offers his most novel and daring suggestion: that Queen Mutnodjmet was briefly Pharaoh between Ay and Horemheb (cf. pp. 225, 226-33). For this, he argues firstly on the nature of the double statue of Horemheb and Mutnodjmet at Turin (of Coronation Decree fame), emphasizing the prominence of Mutnodjmet, and suggesting that the apparent recutting of the throne panel (pp. 223-5, fig. 61) beside the king may indicate that someone other than Horemheb was Mutnodjmet's original companion here—perhaps Ay, as senior coregent whom she succeeded. However, Mutnodjmet is no more prominent here than is Queen Tiye with Amenophis III in the colossal group in Cairo Museum (e.g. Maspero, *Art in Egypt* (1912), 166, fig. 319), and the incomplete recutting of a panel may have other

¹ A task begun by the reviewer some years ago.

explanations; perhaps the whole monument is a reused piece, for which the recutting provides the only trace. Hari's second appeal is to Manetho, identifying a second Akherres (and variants) with Mutnodjmet as Pharaoh. But probably spurious duplications of this kind are no sufficient evidence. What, for example, may be made of the additional Amenophath inserted after Ramesses I, and of both of them wrongly inserted at the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty? In short, the reviewer sees no real justification for Hari's bold hypothesis. On the other hand, Hari's further idea that Tomb 37 in the Valley of the Queens belonged to Mutnodjmet is attractive and might repay eventual investigation on the spot some day.

In **Part Three** Hari covers the actual reign of Horemheb. Here he presents at length (over 150 pages) a highly convenient survey of this king's monuments, the plates here matched in his text by translations of texts, etc., needing no long enumeration here. In various details, one may differ from his treatment of data, of course. In dealing with the Opet Festival in the Luxor reliefs, Hari rightly questions assumptions about their dating (more of Horemheb's reign than of Tutankhamun's?), but his treatment of the festival leaves much to be desired. Far from beginning the civil year and being celebrated only under special circumstances (esp. a coronation), p. 339, this festival is firmly dated to the second month of Akhet, Day 15 ff. (Dyn. XVIII), or 18 ff. (Dyn. XIX-XX), cf. Schott, *Festdaten*, Nos. 38 ff.; and it is explicitly an annual calendar feast (*tp-trw*) as shown by the great civil decree of Horemheb himself (ll. 24 ff. esp. 28-9—noted by Hari, p. 314 and n. 89). And on the river the large King's ship precedes Userhat-Amun, and not the barge of Mut as erroneously contended by Hari (p. 189 n. 131; p. 342 n. 126), where with Wolf one must see the Queen's vessel. However, issues of this kind do not detract from the basic value of Hari's work.

In his **Conclusions** Hari summarizes both the older views of Horemheb's reign (i.e. persecutor of 'Amarna, zealot of Amun, etc.) and his own findings. With considerable justification he dismisses the conventional picture of Horemheb. Instead, we see a king who acceded not as a usurper but possibly by marriage to a last heiress, a king who began his career in military circles but had risen to the highest civil powers and to be king's deputy. While his buildings paid due honour to Amun, other gods also benefited, and the real execration of 'Amarna was the work of the Ramessides. Horemheb's reuse of 'Amarna blocks at Karnak is no different from the reuse of other discarded buildings by other kings; and his 'usurpation' of others' works was more limited and special than formerly realized. In all this Hari's picture of the reign certainly seems more accurate than earlier views of the matter. Thus, this volume is a handy compendium of data on Horemheb, and marks a useful advance in our appreciation of that king's role in history.

K. A. KITCHEN

Seth, God of Confusion. A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion. By HERMAN TE VELDE. Pp. xiv+168, pls. 12, text-figs. 16. Leiden, 1967. No price given.

This comprehensive study of an important Egyptian god is a welcome addition to the few such monographs as we already have. The first chapter discusses the name and animal of the god; the other four are devoted respectively to Seth as the enemy and friend of Horus, as the murderer of Osiris, as the repeller of Apopis, and as the foreigner. It is clear that the emphasis is rather more on mythology than on other aspects of religion, but no facet is neglected. The author shows a sound acquaintance with both the ancient sources and the modern literature. Another manifest merit of his work, which has been ably translated by Mrs. G. E. van Baaren-Pape, is that, when he disagrees strongly with the views of other scholars, he does so without rancour.

There are two basic matters on which the present reviewer disagrees with Dr. Te Velde. First, there is the central formulation, incorporated even in the title. Its first explicit appearance is in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, where it is offered also as an explanation of the name of Seth. Dr. Te Velde invokes various Egyptian etymologies which might be consonant with Plutarch's theory, but none of these is early. The general picture offered in this book tends to obscure the fact that Seth was a major god and as such must have been regarded, originally at any rate, in a favourable light. On p. 11 Zandee's view is quoted (only to be rejected), according to which Seth was at an early stage the beneficent god of a large part of Egypt's population. Whereas the application of this view to the Naqada I culture cannot be proved, an early primacy of the Seth-cult in Upper Egypt can be amply demonstrated, and to this extent Zandee is basically right. Seth's role in the myths of Horus and Osiris should not blind us to the auspicious functions assigned to him.

They include his membership of the Heliopolitan Ennead; his incorporation, at first, in the theological concept of kingship, on which see my *Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 23 ff.; his prominent role in rites of purification, such as the 'Baptism of Pharaoh', and in the symbolism of the unity of the Two Lands; his function as supporter of the sky (see Te Velde, p. 90); his astral identification with the Great Bear; and his position as chief champion of Rē in the sun-god's successful fight against Apopis. It is incredible that a god who fulfilled these functions was primarily regarded as a 'god of confusion', unless we think only of the late stage of his utter degradation. Nor is Dr. Te Velde so lacking in the sense of historical religious development as to begin from the end and project the end-product backwards. His explanation of Seth's beneficence is threefold: it is a mark of ambivalence, or it is an element subsumed in a totality of opposing contrasts (see p. 71), or it is explained away altogether. The last of these approaches is obviously the least satisfactory. While the chapter on Seth's fight against Apopis is perhaps the best in the book from the point of view of documentation, the meaning given to Seth's shiningly valiant role is not at all convincing: he was chosen, we are told, because he was more aggressive and vicious than any other god: 'as the notorious rowdy and thunder-god, the opponent of Horus and the slayer of Osiris, he was eminently suitable to do the dirty work.' Seth's equation with the Great Bear does indeed involve some unfavourable nuances, but the beneficent aspect is paramount, although that is not conceded here. On pp. 87 ff. the idea that the Great Bear is 'guarded' by the four sons of Horus (*BD* 17) is taken to imply that it is evil and dangerous; *m-s* is the expression used, and a favourable meaning is possible. Further, it is conceded that the 'foreleg of Seth' has life-giving properties in a ritual context. The author's determination to see the bad side of Seth is shown, again, by his explanation of the royal name Sethos as embodying the idea of the god as the 'divine foreigner' (p. 109); yet on p. 129 we are rightly reminded of the army of Sethos I that went to Palestine with its three divisions assigned to Amūn, Rē, and Seth.

The interpretation of the central myth is the second stimulus to disagreement. On this matter Dr. Te Velde is at least highly original. He thinks that the key to the myth is the homosexual theme, hitherto regarded as a somewhat isolated episode. Even the injury to the Eye of Horus is explained as part of the homosexual encounter of the gods, since the Egyptians are said to have believed that 'an affection of the eye may be caused not only by a blow, but also by rape'. At the same time, Seth's sexual injury is said to be merely loss of seed. Here emerges the main weakness of the theory, for it is denied that any of the sources imply the castration of Seth. The fundamental contrast, it is argued, is between light and sexuality, an antithesis which is said to occur also in Tibetan religion.

If one turns from questions of interpretation, one is grateful for the useful information gathered in this book, and also for the valuable text-figures and plates. The list of words (pp. 22 f.) which have the Seth-animal as determinative is welcome; so is the list of proper names (pp. 135 f.) which have Seth as an element. Dr. Te Velde does not attach much importance to the historical background of the myth, and of course he vigorously denies that its essence can enshrine a political and historical experience. Even the 'portions of Horus and Seth' are to him a cosmological concept (p. 62) although a text he has just quoted (the *Memphite Theology*) expressly uses political terms in designating Seth as king of Upper Egypt. My own impression is that the author begins with a too rigid idea of the nature of myth. He states with feeling (p. 78) that 'it is a mistake to degrade religion to a political epiphenomenon' and he says of the myth in question that 'from the phenomenological point of view it is the record of revelation'. Such statements have a fine sweep about them, but they do little justice to the considerable variety attested in ancient myths. Here, of course, I am using the term in the broadest sense to include saga or legend or a mixture of several types. In his aspect of storm-god Seth was certainly regarded as causing cosmic disorder, but much of the disorder otherwise associated with him may well have been the result merely of his being on the wrong side, politically, in the early struggles attending the emergence of Egypt as a united nation-state. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens. Introduction, traduction, commentaire. By PAUL BARGUET. (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient, Textes égyptiens, ed. F. Daumas.) Pp. 307, numerous line-drawings. Paris, 1967. Price not stated.

The big event in recent work relating to the Book of the Dead has been the publication by Dr. T. G. Allen of the relevant material in the Oriental Institute, Chicago. Professor Barguet's aim is necessarily more

modest: he is here contributing to a series intended for the cultivated lay public, and he presents a very useful translation of all the spells with brief running comments at the bottom of the page. There is a serviceable index, including one that gives references for the black-and-white reproductions of the vignettes, most of which have been taken from papyri in the Louvre. The latter restriction may perhaps be regretted. In Spell 125, for instance, the translation follows the texts of Ani and Nu, so that some of their illustrations would also have been appropriate.

The translation is preceded by a valuable bibliography of texts, translations, studies, and commentaries, and the translation itself is accompanied by references to the texts on which it is based, as well as, occasionally, to related literature. A synthetic approach has been made in the translation: 'le texte le plus correct' has been sought, generally in the Theban recension, but more than one source has been deployed. What is very welcome is the constant indication of the spells found in the Coffin Texts; these early versions have also been wisely used, when need arises, to surmount difficulties of translation.

An informative guide to the texts is provided in the general introduction and also in the introductions to the five thematic sections into which the spells are here apportioned. On pp. 22 and 100 f. it is suggested that the account given by Diodorus Siculus (I, 92, 1-6) of the terrestrial judgement of a dead man by a council of his fellow-citizens finds support in the Book of the Dead. It is argued that in Spell 125, which is concerned with judgement before the gods, the deceased appears to have been justified and glorified already. Again, an expression which occurs more than once is *As for him who knows this spell, it means that he is justified on earth (and) in the necropolis*, which is taken by Barguet to imply a double tribunal, including one on earth. But in each case a different interpretation is possible. A single divine tribunal, before which the deceased appears supported by his identification with Osiris, may be explained as effecting justification on earth as well as in the afterworld.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II. By HERBERT RICKE, GEORGE R. HUGHES, and EDWARD F. WENTE.

Campagne internationale pour la sauvegarde des monuments de la Nubie. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, volume I. Joint Expedition 1960/1 with the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo. Chicago, 1967. Text, quarto; plates in portfolio. Pp. xvii+39, pls. 49 (three in colour), figs. 6. Price \$20.00.

In 1938 Roeder, after a lapse of over thirty years since the actual work of recording, published in the series *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie* the little rock-cut temple of Beit el-Wali. His book contained a detailed description of the temple, a copy of every inscription with a translation, and a complete photographic record.

Nevertheless when the campaign for the saving of the archaeological remains in Nubia before the completion of the High Dam was mooted, it was decided that the first piece of work that the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago would undertake would be to record this temple in the same way as had been done for Medinet Habu and Karnak. The help of Dr. Ricke was secured and with it that of the Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, a joint expedition being agreed upon.

The result lies before us now in the shape of a portfolio of plates which give an outline drawing of every decorated surface, plans and sections of the whole structure, and a number of photographs including some in colour.

Accompanying this portfolio is a slender paper-bound volume of text. This contains a preface by Keith C. Seele, a short account of the architecture and construction by Herbert Ricke, another on the epigraphic record by George R. Hughes, a translation of all the inscriptions by Edward F. Wente, and finally a note on the superimposed cartouches in the entrance hall, also by Wente.

The inevitable question as to what more could be desired after all that had already been published about this temple is answered by the fact that this is a piece of work which is, in the words of Dr. Ricke, a 'supplement' to Roeder's book. The detailed drawings, wall by wall, scene by scene, make clear the inevitable obscurities of Roeder's fine photographs. A fresh study of the inscriptions has resulted in improved translations, to which much valuable commentary has been added. Roeder's detailed descriptions are not repeated, nor for the most part are his photographs.

Small as this temple is it presents several intriguing and intractable problems. Why was there a change from raised to sunk relief in mid-career? Why were there at one stage three doors leading from the entrance hall to the columned hall and at another only a central door with the other two not yet in existence or walled up? What are the reading and significance of the superimposed cartouches on the northern wall of the entrance hall? Even within the confines of this book two solutions to the problem of the doors are put forward. Dr. Ricke thinks that originally there was one central door, the other two being cut through later. George R. Hughes thinks that all three doors were part of the original plan and that the side ones were closed later. I am inclined to agree with this latter conclusion.

I cannot conclude this review without drawing attention to the scenes which appear on the flank walls of the entrance hall, if only because coloured casts of some of them have adorned the Egyptian Department of the British Museum since the middle of the last century: on the one hand the capture of a Syrian stronghold, on the other a battle with the Nubians and the bringing of Nubian tribute—illustrations from the opposite ends of the Egyptian world presented with many a picturesque detail.

This first result of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's efforts on behalf of the antiquities of Nubia fully lives up to the standard that we have come to expect from the body that has for so many years been publishing *Medinet Habu* and *Karnak*.
C. H. S. SPAULL

Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. By RAINER STADELMANN. *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck, Bd. 5. Pp. x+150. Leiden, 1967. Price 42 guilders.

It was in the middle of the second millennium B.C. that contact first became close between Egypt and the area of Syria and Palestine. At this time and afterwards there is plentiful evidence of the cultural and artistic interchange that resulted from the rule of the Hyksos and from the subsequent Egyptian domination of Syria and Palestine in the New Kingdom. That religious ideas and cults were also involved in this two-way traffic is very natural, and the present study is devoted to the religious cults brought into Egypt from this region of the Near East in the period mentioned. The Late Era is expressly omitted; so is the consideration of cults established by colonies of immigrants such as the Jewish colony in Elephantine.

A short introductory chapter deals with the evidence from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. A problem which has to be faced here is whether the early worship of Ḥathor in Sinai reflects the cult of a local goddess who has been reinterpreted by the Egyptians as Ḥathor—a suggestion made by Allam in his *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*. Intrinsically attractive though this idea is, it is rejected by Stadelmann as lacking circumstantial support. Ḥathor was certainly connected, as he shows, with precious materials in other regions, and the association fits in with her aspect as goddess of festive decoration; further, one would expect traces, in Sinai and elsewhere, of the assimilated local deities if these had been present.

Then comes a detailed and objective analysis of the early evidence relating to Byblos and Egypt, followed by a discussion of the cults which penetrated Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. A degree of syncretism is usually involved in these; thus the naked goddess Qudshu is depicted partly as Ḥathor; other equations include that of Ba'al and Seth, and in this connection we are told (p. 16) that an earlier autochthonous Seth-cult is not attested in the Eastern Delta. It is surprising, to say the least, that no mention is here made of Junker's claim that Seth was worshipped at Sethroë in the Fourth Dynasty. Some scholars have firmly rejected the claim, but it was accepted by Stock and supported with further evidence by Černý: see the references in my *Origins of Osiris*, 91. Further, how is one to explain the manifest syncretism of the Hyksos cult of Seth in the Eastern Delta if there was no previous cult of the god in the area? Stadelmann wants to ascribe it entirely to the Asiatics, who were originally Ba'al-worshippers; here, he suggests, perhaps for the first time, they consummated an equation of Ba'al and Seth, the latter being known as the Egyptian god of the desert and of foreign lands. There must be a strong *a priori* assumption, however, deriving from the regular pattern of such syncretisms, that they encountered in the Eastern Delta a well-established cult of Seth.

The long second chapter, which is the core of the book, deals with the deities introduced in the New Kingdom. An admirable plan is followed here: in the case of each deity there is a discussion first of his or her function and cult in Syria or Palestine. Clearly this procedure is most helpful in an assessment of any modifications which attended the cults when they were adopted in Egypt. A basic change in the New

Kingdom was that Syrian deities were now openly and undisguisedly given cult-centres in Egyptian temples. Even the Pharaoh is occasionally linked with the foreign religions, as when Ramesses II calls himself 'the nursling of 'Anat'. In his introduction to the second chapter and also in his last chapter, which is devoted to a general classification and interpretation, Stadelmann probes the possible reasons for the popularity of these cults in Egypt. He notes one factor which arises from a changed situation: Egyptian officers and soldiers who had served in Syria might well bring back with them habits of veneration for some Syrian deities; this would apply even more to the women, slaves, and prisoners of war who accompanied them. But there was an attraction for people outside these circles too. Stadelmann rejects Grdseloff's view that deities like Rashap and 'Anat appealed to the Pharaohs because they embodied athletic and cavalier ideals in a way that provided also the allure of a foreign and mysterious cult. The basic reason for their veneration, it is argued, was rather the Egyptian habit of assigning to various gods their distinctive domains; this approach meant that in Syria and Palestine the native deities were regarded as having supreme power, so that the Pharaoh was not deemed to be able to rule there without their help. An element of political prudence is also conceded. Then a process of transfer occurred, aided by returning Egyptians. The general argument is certainly acceptable; it does not, however, exclude Grdseloff's view, even if it must be denied primacy. We may well believe that the special appeal of certain cults included psychological factors.

The detailed handling of the separate cults shows qualities of both judgement and imagination. In some ways, at the same time, the book provokes minor irritations, as in its lack of consistency in modes of reference and its careless treatment of the names of modern scholars. (Among the sufferers are Schafiq Allam, G. R. Driver, T. H. Gaster, J. R. Harris, and H. De Meulenaere.) On the other hand, to write 'Wn-jmn' (p. 7) seems needless pedantry, especially as 'Wenamun' occurs in an adjacent footnote; 'w3b-Priester(s)' (p. 108 n. 2) is a different case—it is wrong. But the work remains a valuable and stimulating contribution, particularly in the wealth of the comparative material it adduces from the other areas of the Near East. A good example of the difficulties of interpretation which can result in spite of this is seen in the discussion of a stela that derives from the Theban necropolis (pp. 112 ff.). The stela figures a goddess standing on a lion, and it was published by Edwards in *JNES* 14 (1955), 49–51. Since the concomitant inscription mentions not only Qudshu but also Astarte and 'Anat, Edwards explained the representation as implying a triune goddess, adding that 'it may be assumed that the three-fold syncretism developed in Egypt'. Stadelmann (p. 113) quotes an Ugaritic poem where *lqdš* means 'the holiness' (of a goddess); he would therefore translate the Egyptian inscription as 'the holiness of 'Anat (or, of Astarte)', and as a result would explain every occurrence of Qudshu in Egypt as involving merely a hypostasis of Astarte and 'Anat. He also emphasizes that the Egyptian inscription is arranged with Qudshu written above, and the other names on the sides of the figure; from this he infers that the first word is to be taken with each of the others separately. I do not find this a conclusive argument. They may equally well be taken together on a par. Nor is Stadelmann's theory much strengthened by the fact that the instance cited from Ugaritic is apparently the only reference to Qudshu in the inscriptions of Western Asia. In this case the Egyptian evidence is more important, and Edwards (op. cit. 49) is able to point to thirteen examples of the representation, four of which supply the name Qudshu in hieroglyphs. Egypt can of course provide other examples of threefold syncretism, and in view of this the interpretation offered by Edwards still seems the most satisfying. An ingenious addition is contributed by Stadelmann in another way. Qudshu is named in the Memphite stela of a certain Takeret, a name explained as 'the prostitute' (cf. *Wb.* v, 101 and 107). Stadelmann thinks that it looks like a translation of the Canaanite *qedēšah*, 'the consecrated prostitute'. If so, it could have emanated from an Asiatic temple-prostitute who dedicated the stela to the goddess Qudshu in the temple of Ptaḥ—a remarkable, but apparently not impossible, situation.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Byblos through the Ages. By NINA JIDEJIAN; with a Foreword by Maurice Dunand. Beirut, 1968. Pp. xxi + 221. No price quoted.

Mme Jidejian, whose first book this is, received her graduate training in ancient history at the American University of Beirut.

The text of *Byblos through the Ages* covers the history of the city and port of Byblos, on the coast of

modern Lebanon, from its beginnings as a Neolithic settlement (c. 5000 B.C.) to the medieval period (1300 A.D.).

From the earliest times the city had diplomatic and commercial contacts with Egypt. From the French excavations, first under Ernest Renan in the middle of the nineteenth century, more recently under Pierre Montet and Maurice Dunand, has been recovered a wealth of important objects—some of them gifts from the Middle Kingdom monarchs Ammenemes III and Ammenemes IV, which equal in quality the better-known products of the Egyptian royal workshops, found at Dahshûr and El-Lâhûn. The special value of Mme Jidejian's work is that it places this kind of material before the general reader, for the first time in English, in a well-documented and illustrated scholarly account. Some of her plates are better than those in the fundamental publications. That of the famous sarcophagus of Ahiram, shown in the frontispiece, is particularly good, especially when one remembers the miserable quality of the local limestone of which it is made. One would have appreciated, though, a detailed plan of the site as it now stands excavated, to complement the fine aerial views of the town shown in the book.

There are one or two minor errors of no consequence. For the 'LeClercq' Collection in the Louvre (pp. 28, 210) read 'De Clercq'. Only the scarab of Ima-ipi or Ilima-yapi (?) is in the Louvre. That of the Lady Sat-user, apparently also found in Royal Tomb IV, was not received at the Louvre with the other De Clercq Egyptian antiquities.

To the useful list of Byblite princes (pp. 209–12) add now the name of prince Ka-in, published by the present reviewer in *JNES* 27 (1968), 141–2. The bibliography is full, and takes account of all publications which appeared up to 1967.

G. T. MARTIN

Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279. By J. C. GOYON. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'Étude, T. 42. Pp. xxi+92, pl. 1. Cairo, 1966. No price given.

Here edited for the first time, P. Louvre N. 3279 is a hieratic papyrus of the Roman era which is related in content to the (*Second*) *Book of Breathings* and to the texts which Lieblein published under the title *Le Livre que mon nom fleurisse*. The text is accompanied by vignettes which for the most part are quite unconnected with the content of the writings below them; this odd circumstance, which occurs elsewhere in the Late Period, appears to indicate a lack of liaison between two groups of artisans—the scribes and the illustrators.

M. Goyon's edition is well planned and executed. After introductory chapters on the rubrics and vignettes, and on the language and date of the papyrus, he has a further chapter on palaeographical matters before proceeding to a transcription and translation of the text itself. There are abundant notes on palaeographical, linguistic, and conceptual points; a neat arrangement is followed by which the points relating to palaeography are discussed after the transcription and the others after the translation. Then come further chapters on the main ideas and significance of the text; an index follows and the book ends with a photograph of the papyrus.

M. Goyon is able to show that in the Roman era briefer compositions of this kind tended to replace versions of the *Book of the Dead* in funerary usage. Their purpose, of course, was similar, and indeed they drew heavily on the *Book of the Dead* for their material. A valuable list of equivalences is given on pp. 77 f. The last sentence of the text sums up the desired goal: *The rays of Re, the breezes of Amûn, the water of Hrahy, all these belong to me for ever*. Here the locution *ink st*, 'they belong to me', exemplifies the use of the independent pronoun to denote possession, as the editor points out.

The expression *šrt n nsn*, usually translated 'Book of Breathings', does not occur in this text, but P. Florence 3662, a parallel work, uses it as a title, as do some other similar texts. On p. vii n. 3 M. Goyon accepts Stricker's view that *šrt* here means 'letter, missive' rather than 'book', but on p. 75, in spite of a sympathetic footnote, he himself writes 'Livre des Respirations'. The truth is that 'letter' in this context is not precisely meaningful, even if the general purpose may correspond to a 'letter of recommendation'; nor is there any trace of epistolary diction. On p. 42 n. 4 we are told that the *išd*-tree was the *Balanites aegyptiaca*, with no suggestion that the view has been hotly and effectively contested: see Keimer, *CASAE* 5 (1947), 33 ff.; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie*, 276; Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, 234 ff. (The last two works may not have been accessible to the author.)

It is stated in a note on *mꜣ hrw* (p. 49 n. 5): 'c'est le terme consacré pour désigner la victoire du soleil sur son ennemi nocturne.' While the phrase is admittedly used in this connection, its main and original association is with Horus and Osiris. The reference then made to the article by Anthes in *JNES* 13 (1954), 21-51, is also rather misleading, since Anthes derives the term from the 'acclaim' given to the deceased King as Osiris and to the youthful Horus-King on his accession. On p. 54 n. 1, Hermopolis in the fifteenth Lower Egyptian nome in the Eastern Delta is wrongly described as 'El Ashmounein de nos jours'; the latter place is the site of Hermopolis Magna in the fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome; nor is it helpful to speak of 'l'Hermopolis du Delta', for the Greeks used the name with reference to two Delta towns: in addition to the one mentioned above there was Hermopolis Parva near Damanhûr. There is something to be said for M. Goyon's point (p. 39 n. 4) that 'necropolis', used by Gardiner and others as a translation of *hrt-ntr*, is too restricted a term. M. Goyon himself renders it as 'l'empire-des-morts' in his translation; I should prefer the term he uses in his footnote—'domaine-du-dieu'—following Allen, since it is closer to the Egyptian. On the other hand I do not much like 'seigneur de l'Hadès' for *nb dst*; the Greek Hades has very different associations. A small matter of criticism about M. Goyon's pleasing and accurate hieroglyphs is that he often writes \ominus with a pointed top, inviting the unwary to confuse it with Δ .

Short as it is, this text contains many divine self-equations on the part of the deceased, and M. Goyon's commentary brings out their import very well. The deceased is a woman and she is identified initially with Hathor. She claims identity too with Nefertem, Osiris-Khentamenthes, Haroëris, Horus, Amûn, Khepri, Rē, Rē-Ḥerakhty, and Ḥꜣpy. The last-named is called 'the eldest son of Osiris' (l. 56), but the Osirian element is not prominent. *Grant that I may take the role of a follower of Osiris* (ll. 18-19) probably indicates, as M. Goyon suggests, participation in the procession of Osiris-Sokar to Rosetaw near Memphis.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit. By HANS-ALBERT RUPPRECHT. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 51. Heft. München, 1967. Pp. 182. No price quoted.

After a long period during which not a single papyrologist worked on Greek papyri from Egypt dealing with loans, this subject has in recent years relatively suddenly become again a source of attention. In 1945 N. Lewis headed the list with an article on a certain problem with regard to interest: 'The Meaning of *σὺν ἡμοσίᾳ* and kindred expressions in loan contracts', *TAPA* 76 (1945), 126-39. Next, in 1962, a dissertation and an article by two German papyrologists appeared—*Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* by H. E. Finck and 'Zinsätze und Zinsgeschäfte im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri' by J. Herrmann, *JJP* 14 (1962), 23-31. In 1965 their countryman H. Kühnert's book entitled *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* saw light, whilst in 1967 Dr. Rupprecht's book which is the subject of this review was published. The manuscript of Dr. Rupprecht's book was already completed when he learnt about his predecessor, Dr. Kühnert's, book, which makes the comparison of the two works very interesting.

While Dr. Kühnert goes chiefly into the economic aspect of the loans and of all kinds of other agreements whereby credit is given, Dr. Rupprecht is clearly interested in the juridical aspects of the loans. He discusses in detail at what moment and how a loan comes into being; the function which a written record has in it; the contents and the effect of the various juridical clauses, etc. On each of these points Dr. Rupprecht discusses in a most conscientious way the different theories which have been defended in the course of time and he tests them with the available data. Since these theories are often of a more generalized nature and are not limited to loan agreements alone, the reader obtains a most interesting insight into a great number of juridical questions and theories, although one must say that not all the theories are always worth the attention which the author gives to them. In my opinion the drawback in this method is that Dr. Rupprecht does not get as far as considering what the function of the loan was in daily life—the reader is not much wiser about the loan itself—but, fortunately, this deficiency is made good in Dr. Kühnert's book.

Dr. Rupprecht has made it his aim to investigate the juridical structure of the loan agreement in Graeco-Egyptian law and, for this reason, closes his research in the year 30 B.C. at the moment, therefore, when the influence of Roman law was theoretically possible because of the assimilation of Egypt into the Roman Empire. He purposely limits himself thus to the Ptolemaic Period and in particular to the Greek papyri

from this era. Dr. Rupprecht, because he himself does not know Demotic, was forced to leave out of consideration Egyptian law which is found in Demotic texts. Of necessity, then, the accent falls on the Greek component of Graeco-Egyptian law and this is further strengthened by the considerable space given by the author to the law of ancient Greece—probably because most of the theories dealt with were originally propounded and defended for Greek law. There are objections as regards method to be made to this way of working. One cannot deal with the law of ancient Greece and Graeco-Egyptian law in the same breath. It would have been better if the writer had in the first instance confined himself to the investigation of loans in Greek papyri from Egypt. After that he could have referred for comparison to data from ancient Greece. This brings me to a difficulty which, generally speaking, is always attached to monographs of this kind: the results of such investigations are necessarily always unsatisfactory considering that one would so gladly learn just how Graeco-Egyptian law developed and what influences other juridical systems have had on it, in particular those of the Greek legal systems and that of native Egyptian law, and, finally what influence Roman law had. To tackle satisfactorily the study of a law-system in this way requires essentially co-operation between various scholars in this subject. It is to be hoped that in the future a co-operative effort of this nature may sometime be set in train.

The previous remarks show that the picture which Dr. Rupprecht paints is of a static situation in which there is no place for eventual development. Without doubt this is linked up with the fact that he hardly ever mentions from what year a certain text he is dealing with dates. It may be that the year is indeed irrelevant but not in all cases. In this way he concludes from the fact that the interest on loans of money is 2 per cent per month that this 'therefore' was 25 per cent per annum. This conclusion is only applicable to the second half of the third century B.C., for the maximum interest of 2 per cent per month was introduced by a διάγραμμα round about the year 250 B.C., while 2 per cent per month only means 25 per cent per annum when one calculates with the Macedonian year of 12–13 months which was superseded about 200 B.C. by the Egyptian year. Finally we mention here another case in which the static view of the writer leaves much to be desired. On p. 69 he remarks that regional differences are to be found with reference to the months in which loans of grain had to be repaid. He gives a survey of the Egyptian months in which this happens in different areas but forgets thereby to take into account the shifting of the Egyptian year which, of course, results in the fact that in 331 B.C. the month Thot begins on November 14, but three centuries later on August 31. One can therefore only speak of differences when one converts all the Egyptian months into the months of our calendar so that one gets comparable periods in which possible regional differences only acquire substance when, at the same time, data are available with reference to the moment at which the harvest was gathered in the different areas.

It would take us too far to follow Dr. Rupprecht's argument point by point, while merely and only to quote his conclusions would not give him his full due. Let it therefore be said here in conclusion that the book reviewed contains an excellent study of some juridical aspects of the loan in the Greek papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt and that, because of this, it forms a first-rate complement to Dr. Kühnert's book which goes particularly into the economic aspects of the problem.

P. W. PESTMAN

Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos. Ed. by R. HUTMACHER. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 17. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1965. Pp. x+74, with 3 plates. Price DM. 9.80.

The stela in the Turin museum on which are recorded honours bestowed on a certain Callimachus, a member of an influential family in Upper Egypt at the end of the Ptolemaic Period, has been known since its first publication by Peyron in 1829. For a text of this interesting inscription we have hitherto had to make do with that printed by Dittenberger, *OGIS* 194, even though it was clearly susceptible of substantial improvement, as Wilhelm pointed out (*Sb. Akad. Wien*, 1946, 24 ff.). From squeezes and a re-examination of the original Hutmacher has produced a completely revised text to which he has added an extensive commentary on the subject-matter.

The introductory section includes a discussion of the family of Callimachus, which brings out well the dominant position attained by these viceroys in Upper Egypt as the central power of the Ptolemies crumbled (pp. 1–7). To this Hutmacher has added a republication of eight inscriptions relating to the family, *SB* 2264 (dated 78 B.C.), 3926, 4084, 8398 (= *OGIS* 186), 8404 (= *OGIS* 190), 8652–3, *Arch. f. Pap.* 2, 557 f.

The notes, which occupy pp. 26–74, are especially strong on the literary and religious features of the decree, as would be expected in a pupil of Merkelbach. Parallels drawn not only from Greek inscriptions and papyri but from Egyptian sources and a wide range of Greek literature are freely introduced, and help greatly to further our understanding of the text. The comments on ἔθαψε κηδεμονικῶς (pp. 38–9), the responsibility for ‘Maʿat’ which lay with the Egyptian ruler (pp. 43–5), δαίμων ἀγαθός (pp. 54–8), and σωτήρ (pp. 64–7) are particularly illuminating. On the dating of the inscription Hutmacher has little difficulty showing that there is no real evidence for the traditional 42 B.C., and himself opts for 39 B.C. (pp. 28–9). His comments on the historical problems are not usually very penetrating and are here and there misleading, e.g. on p. 1, where he implies that Hippalos was *epistrategus* of the Thebaïd only, and the note on [γ]υμνασίαρχος (p. 35), which might seem to indicate that the gymnasiarchy was a government post (and fails to discuss where Callimachus may have held this office).

The new text of the inscription is a great advance on earlier versions. Hutmacher has been able to confirm on the stone several readings only advanced conjecturally before, and to establish securely the correct length of the line and the size of the lacunas. He has made many new readings, often on points of substance. They cannot all be enumerated here, but the revised text of the last two lines may be quoted as an example, which, when set against Dittenberger’s version, will indicate the extent of the changes made: [καὶ ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ] τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ, ὡς καὶ δημοσίαι τέτευχεν αὐτὸς τῆς παρὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ [Ἄμωνα] ρασωνθῆρ εὐμενείας, ὅπως εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα αἰείμνηστοι αὐτῶι ᾧσιν αἱ εὐεργεσίαι. Parts of lines 7, 9, 15, 16, and 26/7 have not been solved as yet and many of the lacunas are only filled *exempli gratia*, but the decree is now for the first time intelligible as a whole. It is a pity that Hutmacher has not included a translation; this might have shown among other things how he would construe φιλανθρωπίαι in l. 9, and why καί is inserted before πᾶντων in l. 17. The bibliography of the inscription is not as full as could have been wished and in particular does not mention that part of it is to be found in *IGRR* (I, 1208). In the footnote on p. 21, l. 13, Dittenberger’s reading should be given as χρόνον. In l. 16 παντελῶς δέ was not in the early editions but is due to Wilhelm, and Bilabel’s γενεσίω<ν> in l. 27 (*SB* 8334) was perhaps worth recording.

Hutmacher has not included more than the briefest epigraphical comment and he has hardly ever introduced parallels specifically in order to support his new readings, even when they differ radically from what others had thought might be on the stone. This would not matter if the edition had been accompanied by facsimiles which could act as a control, but those which are provided are far too poor to be of any use for this purpose. There is no reason to suppose that Hutmacher’s text is in any way unreliable. But it is unfortunate that the reader cannot confirm for himself its accuracy, since it makes such substantial advances on earlier versions as to supersede them and so form the basis from which future research will have to proceed.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Greek Papyri. An Introduction. By E. G. TURNER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968. Pp. xii+220, with 8 plates and 2 maps. Price £1. 15s.

The aim of this book is to describe the history, scope, and importance of the study of Greek (and Latin) papyri, and in so doing to make the discipline less esoteric for the outsider and above all to ‘facilitate a profitable approach to the originals’. It is intended to be of interest and readily intelligible to the non-specialist, in particular the classical scholar but also the ‘inquiring layman’. In writing such a book Turner has met a very real need and the result will be assured of a warm welcome, the more so as he has contrived to make his book generally readable, without in any way sacrificing conciseness or thoroughness. His own wide interests and deep scholarship are to be clearly seen throughout.

The first chapter treats of papyrus as a writing material, its physical nature and manufacture, the use of the roll and the codex, the meaning of the terms protocol, *selis*, *collema*, etc., and the make-up of a papyrus ‘book’; much of the discussion is highly technical, but the exposition is clear. In the main the ground covered is familiar (though the remarks on recto and verso may be less so, pp. 14–15), but the approach is often new and illuminating.

This is followed by two chapters on the rediscovery of papyri in modern times—a brief sketch covering all the main points. Turner rightly lays stress on the fortuitous nature of so many papyrus discoveries, while contrasting the systematic excavation for papyri which followed the earlier finds. There is a reasonably

optimistic *Ausblick* for the future on pp. 40–1. The next chapter deals with the sites at which papyri have been found in Egypt (illustrated by two maps at the end), with the emphasis placed on the uneven scattering of the finds in place and time. The author examines how far what has survived may be regarded as representative and stresses the difficulties inherent in the use of statistical methods to interpret the papyri. There are special discussions of archives (pp. 47–8), papyri written at Alexandria (pp. 49–50), and the provenance of the Bodmer Menander (Panopolis? pp. 51–3).

The fifth chapter, 'How a papyrus text is edited', is in a sense the kernel of the book: it is here especially where Turner has succeeded in making the study of papyri less of a mystique. He deals with the technique of preparing a text for reading, the main difficulties in the reading itself (palaeographical, linguistic, etc.), and the whole business of transcription, interpretation, and reconstruction. There are some excellent comments on the avoidance of error and on editorial practice in general. On the attraction of the discipline Turner has this to say: 'It is exhilarating to realize that the last word has not been said, that a new and immediate contact has been reopened with the ancient world' (p. 54).

Before turning to consider the content of the papyri the author has inserted a chapter (chapter vi) on 'Persons who owned the papyri in antiquity'. The first section, which deals with the evidence of archaeology, including 'philological archaeology', and the testimony of the texts, incorporates interesting remarks on the Faiyûm villages, education and illiteracy, and the place of the gymnasium in Egyptian society. It is followed by a section on the palaeography, which includes a valuable discussion of school texts (pp. 89–92). This part of the book is entirely devoted to literary papyri and leads on naturally to the next chapter, which seeks to assess the value of the papyrological contribution to Greek literature. This chapter, much of the substance of which has already appeared in French in *Chr. d'Ég.* 37 (1962), 135–52, goes far beyond a mere introduction and is an important contribution to scholarship. The bulk of it is taken up with a detailed and closely reasoned examination of Alexandrian scholarship and of *hypomnemata*, ancient commentaries on literary texts. Turner lays particular stress on the way the papyri have enabled us to form a much fuller and fairer picture of ancient learning. The treatment of the methods of Callimachus and others in the heyday of the Alexandrian Museum brings out the difference between the somewhat chaotic texts of the third century B.C. and the much saner versions current later, as well as the relationship to medieval manuscripts. Turner also discusses the meaning of the word 'edition' as applied to literary papyri, and the use of punctuation and critical signs. He argues persuasively that the appearance of the latter proves the existence of a separate *hypomnema* and that the text in question was a scholar's copy. The content of *hypomnemata* is illustrated by a penetrating analysis of three Homeric examples (P.Oxy. 1086, 1087, 221), of Didymus on Demosthenes, and of others, concluding with a judicious evaluation of their worth and of their relationship to medieval scholia.

Chapter viii, which surveys documentary papyri, is heavily biased towards the Roman period and, like the rest of the book, comparatively weak on the late Byzantine period. Apart from this, however, the chapter is exceedingly comprehensive and it is amazing how much Turner has been able to get in. Virtually all the different categories of papyrus document receive a mention in this succinct survey, and a well-balanced attempt is made to assess their importance. This is followed by a postscript on the state of papyrological studies today and a list of editions of papyri.

Only eight plates are provided, but this meagre ration is understandable, since a fully illustrated companion volume, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, (as well as a general reference work on papyri) is under preparation by the author. The choice of the plates, like that of the examples with which the book is liberally provided throughout, has been made with great care, so as to illustrate exactly the points required. Moreover, as most of the examples are drawn from recent editions, the hackneyed are generally avoided. Turner has perhaps not been as helpful as he might have been to the non-classicist interested in the papyri, in particular the specialist in theology (though cf. pp. 150–1) and in ancient law; otherwise the book admirably does its job as an introduction. There is also a great deal in it that is of value for the specialist, e.g. the section on Alexandrian scholarship (pp. 100 ff.), and chapter v, which should be required reading for all editors of papyri. In the preface (pp. vi–vii) Turner attacks those who would suppose that literary texts alone are worthy of the scholar, and that 'documentary papyri may be left to a humbler kind of investigator', and urges both types of papyrologist to come together for the good of their subject. This reproof is well made, but it is not one that can be brought against the author himself; this book taken as a whole shows his

complete mastery in both these main branches of the discipline. If his words here are heeded there is no doubt that papyrology will benefit. If this book can also succeed in convincing the non-specialist scholar that the evidence of the papyri in his own field is something which should never be neglected and can sometimes be of central importance, and if it can convince him further that he both can and should make greater use of this evidence, the benefit not only to papyrological studies but also to scholarship in general will have been considerable.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Part IV. *Great Britain* (except British Museum). Ed. by A. BRUCKNER and R. MARICHAL. Urs-Graf Verlag, Olten and Lausanne, 1967. Price not stated.

The reviewer must declare an interest in the work here reviewed, since the volume is dedicated to him. The dedication was a generous reaction by the sponsors of the series to a critical appraisal he wrote of Part III. He is writing this notice *sine ira et studio*. It is right and proper that several of his editions of texts are ameliorated between these covers.

The volume is one of a series not previously reviewed in this *Journal*. Its purpose is to collect all Latin documentary texts written before A.D. 800, to offer facsimile photographs of superb quality accompanied by authoritative commentaries and transcripts. Parts I and II collected texts in Switzerland, Part III texts in the British Museum, and Part IV now gathers together the texts in other libraries in Great Britain. Forty-seven of the 52 pieces in this book are papyri found in Egypt, many of them in the excavations of the Society. The distribution is: 8 pieces in Aberdeen, 2 in Cambridge, 1 each in University College London and Edinburgh, 19 in the John Rylands Library (3 of them superb pieces), 5 in the Ashmolean, 10 in the Bodleian. One (no. 275 = P.Oxy. 735) cannot be found. Members of the Society will find it topical that a re-reading of no. 265, l. 9 as *Actum Prem[is]* is taken to show that there was a detachment of legio ii *Traiana fortis* at Primis = Qaşr Ibrîm in A.D. 247. The re-reading of the letters is certainly right. Interpretation is another matter. A misspelling as *Premis* would be egregious, and the conclusion depends too much on the negative argument, that no other place beginning *Prem[is]* is known, to be entirely cogent.

The total number of texts known from Egypt at present is fewer than 500. Their interest, however, is great. The documents usually emanate from the highest administrative circles, or else give valuable insight into the Roman army and the workings of Roman law. There are special risks of error in their publication, quite apart from their frequently tattered condition. Their editors have usually been sure in their reading of Greek handwriting; this very familiarity with Greek has unfortunately only too often led to tracing out a Greek *ductus* in a Latin sequence and to consequent error (the same scribe may even write both languages). M. Marichal, who has borne the lion's share of work for this volume, and is alone responsible for the reading of the texts from Egypt, is a specialist in Latin palaeography. This has alerted him to the errors of others, and he has been able to make valuable corrections on almost every text and the work of every previous editor. Scholars who quote these documents in future without reference to *ChLA*, IV (as it is familiarly abbreviated) will do so at their peril.

Perhaps I may register some comments and disagreements on readings: No. 246, 3: to force the traces that open the body of this text into [*Cum*] *opdulero* (= *obtulero*) is not a happy solution; it is not what my eyes seem to see; it does not account for the past subjunctive sequence in l. 4, and it lies outside the canons of the formal style which avoids using the first person singular (cf. *edictio mea praecipit*, 5). In 250, 8 the correct reading is *Syneroti* (suggested by J. E. Dunlap to H. C. Youtie, published in *Essays in Honour of C. Bradford Welles* (1966), 39). 264: more of this text (here published for the first time) is to be expected in *PSI* 119, which carries on its back the same copy of the *Gorgias* as P.Oxy. 454.

Many of the texts are drawn up in Greek, with perhaps a few words of Latin. An attempt is made to deal faithfully with these also, but they come off much less well. Nos. 254 and 255, including the Latin portions of both, have benefited enormously from the corrections and reinterpretation of H. C. Youtie in *TAPA* 89 (1958), 395-400, which have escaped attention. A valuable pointer to the date of 255 has also been missed (before A.D. 336, B. R. Rees in a note to P.Oxy. 2344). M. Marichal could have found this bibliography if he had looked in his *Berchtigungsliste*.¹

¹ So also in 237, from which Maspero's correction of ll. 1 and 2 and verso κομμω[νι]τώρ(ιον) Πα[ύ]λῳ
 Cιλλᾶ γρ(αμματεῖ) should have been extracted.

The reviewer is glad to note far fewer slips in English than there were in Part III. 'Colons' (= columns), 'destinary' (= addressee), Théadelphie (a Gallicization) may prove worrying. The term 'tilda' is used several times by M. Marichal to describe a horizontal stroke over a letter. Webster and *OED* know only the form 'tilde', restricted to the diacritic mark of palatalization over a Spanish *n*, e.g. in señor. Du Cange, Niedermeyer, Latham's *Revised Mediaeval Word-List* have not heard of 'tilda'. There are a few misprints, e.g. p. 58, l. 8, read *chomatepictae*, l. 5 *ῥίθρον*, crit. app. 8 *προσχων-*; p. 68, l. 3, *advocatus*.

Apart from the texts from Egypt, the volume contains two seventh-century Latin papyri from Ravenna, edited by J.-O. Tjäder, three English charters on vellum, and a scrap of a Merovingian tax-roll. The introduction includes a detailed survey by A. Bruckner of the external characteristics of earlier Anglo-Saxon documents, their origins and originality, which I am incompetent to assess.

E. G. TURNER

Die Bildnisse des Antinous (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana vi). By CHRISTOPH W. CLAIRMONT. Swiss Institute in Rome, 1966. Pp. 62, pls. 38. No price given.

The portraiture of Antinous is one of the most admired achievements of Roman art, an original creation inspired by the living tradition of classical art. This was the only occasion when artists of the Roman age really succeeded in transforming a mortal into a god. In his book Clairmont tackles the important and much debated question of the origins of the Antinous portrait: who was its creator and when and where did he work? The aim of the book, therefore, is not to provide a comprehensive study of the portraits; a number of important examples are omitted and some of those that are included are very summarily treated. An introduction of 36 pages deals with the various problems of the origin and spread of the portraits, and a catalogue of 22 pages lists, and briefly describes, 66 portraits in various materials and attempts to arrange them in groups according to type. It is worth noting that Marconi in *Monumenti antichi* 19 (1923) listed 129, but many of those were insignificant and some were not Antinous; but Clairmont has notable omissions like the Marbury Hall statue which was, a few years ago, still mouldering in the garden after the disposal of the collection, or the Aquileia Antinous (*Arte e civiltà romana nell'Italia Settentrionale*, pl. cliii, 1323).

Clairmont takes the view that we have no portraits of Antinous before his death in Upper Egypt in A.D. 130; there has been little support for suggested early portraits in the past, and he is probably right that all the surviving examples are posthumous, and more or less ideal. Artists in Hadrian's entourage must, as he points out, have known Antinous' features and, therefore, there is an element of genuine portraiture in the heads. It may be supposed that the establishment of a canonical Antinous portrait came not long after his death by drowning. He was quickly divinized by the Egyptians and worshipped as Antinous-Osiris; but Clairmont thinks it unlikely that the *Urbildnis*—the Antinous prototype—was created there, though an early 'Egyptianizing' Antinous is possible. He would rather follow Hadrian to Asia Minor and then in the winter of A.D. 131/2 to Greece where the canonical Antinous took form. In general, of course, the provinces do not take the lead in Roman portraiture, but in Hadrian's reign it was different, and especially in this case since the cult of Antinous seems to have established itself first in the eastern provinces.

The basis of Clairmont's argument is a group of portraits from Greece which includes the certainly early statue of the Hero Antinous from Delphi, two busts found in Patras, and a head in Athens; these he establishes as 'direct copies of the prototype' from which most Antinous portraits derive. The group is most minutely examined and compared and clearly shown to derive from a single original. It is tempting to accept Clairmont's view that this original was created in Greece. He shows that it lies behind the Peloponnesian coin-types struck in A.D. 134/5, and is the basis of the series of copies which he calls A I and A II. Twenty-nine of the portraits listed fall into these two series. The personality of the sculptor who created the 'Urbildnis' is also discussed. Was he a member of the school of Aphrodisias which was so influential in Roman art during Hadrian's reign? Clairmont examines Seltman's development of this thesis in which he grouped together the famous Antinous-Silvanus relief signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias, a sardonix with a bust of Antinous, and some medallions and coin types. Clairmont accepts the reading of the fragmentary inscription on the gem which makes Antonianos possible, but rules out the group as the work of a single artist on stylistic grounds. The spread of the Antinous type to the west is a problem which deserved a fuller treatment. Clairmont's B series of replicas, led by the Antinous Farnese, is the basis of his argument here, with the Farnese as the archetype of a specifically Italian Antinous. But the problem seems much more

complicated than he will allow, with several clearly important portraits not fitting into the proposed scheme. No. 47 in the catalogue is still a problem, and the Mondragone type is only briefly discussed.

The Catalogue is carefully composed but the entries are curiously uneven in length. Descriptions of several important portraits are very brief while the longest description is devoted to an alabaster bust in a private collection in Kifissia which is said to come from Egypt. This is a strange piece and most suspect, to judge at least from the photographs. The catalogue is backed by good illustrations of most of the key pieces and there are some carefully arranged comparative plates. It goes without saying that the book is an important contribution to the story of Roman art. Its main thesis is very plausible, but one is left with the suspicion that it oversimplifies several of the problems involved and that the final word on the origins and development of Antinous portraiture has not yet been said.

D. E. STRONG

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- wbs* 'inspect, make a round', 52, 23 ff.
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- hnt* 'hand-breadth', 54, 236 ff.
- ḥnk* 'donate', 51, 24.
- hry irw nbw pšḳ* 'chief of the makers of thin gold', i.e. 'chief of the gold-beaters', 51, 51.

hry-r 'domestic servant' (?), 54, 170.
hri 'appear' (of a king), 55, 77.
hrw 'low-lying land', 54, 53.
hrp rprw 'director of the crew', 54, 24 f.
hb 'be crooked', 54, 18.
hdb 'kill', 54, 116.
sw 'guard', 54, 19.
sbgs 'cause injury', 52, 47.
sfr a female privilege, 54, 152 ff.
sm a priestly title, 51, 111 ff.; 53, 104.
sm in *wšd s.* 'fresh vegetables', 52, 84.
smr 'justification' (?), 54, 180.
smr for *s. wty* 'unique friend', 54, 17.
shkk a demon, 54, 158.
shp 'pacify', 52, 29 ff.
shy 'appear', like simplex *hy*, 51, 117.
ššs for *šs* 'know', 51, 36.
ššd 'lightning flash', 54, 41.
sgnn 'oil', 52, 84.
šdy a garment, 52, 85.
šdm-rš 'servant', 54, 145.

τεῖν 'obol', 51, 158.
 οἴρω, ἀρω 'lubja-beans', 52, 88.

ἀδελφός = συγγενής 55, 141.
 ἀλληγορία, 'allegory', 53, 80 ff.
 Ἀρπεδονάπται Egyptian title (?), 55, 217 f.
 ἀρυτῆρα 'irrigation', or for ἀροτῆρα 'ploughing' (?),
 53, 130.
 ἐγκάτοχος 'temple detainee', 51, 222 f.
 ἐγγαίος 'local', 55, 208.
 ἐνιαύσιος 'one-year-old', 52, 137.
 ἐπιχωρέω 'grant a sub-contract', 52, 179.

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 štm 'insolence', 54, 18.
kt 'upland', 54, 53.
kī 'strike', 54, 41.
kmd 'reflect', 51, 43.
ky dd introductory phrase, 53, 97 f.
knw 'throne', 52, 91.



t hry 'excrement', 54, 158 f.
tbn 'head', 54, 158.
tbr 'obol', 51, 158 f.

ifrr 'blue', 54, 42.

dbn 'dung', 54, 159.
dmi as border town, 52, 73.

dsr 'clear, raise', 53, 65.
ddh 'tether', 52, 89.

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C. GREEK

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 μερίς 'share', 55, 142 f.
 μέρος 'share', 55, 142 f.
 μέτεστι 'have a share in', 55, 148.
 μυροποιέω 'manufacture perfume', 52, 180.
 παραμονή 'service obligation', 52, 197 f.
 σωτήρ 'saviour', 55, 200.
 τέταρτος 'a quarter', 54, 216.

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