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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of a Tell el-'Amarna House</strong></td>
<td>Seton Lloyd</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Open Letter to the Egypt Exploration Society on the occasion of its Jubilee</td>
<td>George Foucart</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem 14 of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus</strong></td>
<td>Quido Vetter</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dakleh Stela</td>
<td>Alan H. Gardiner</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Further Notes on a Harvesting Scene</td>
<td>Winifred S. Blackman</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An Unpublished Rock-tomb at Asyut</strong></td>
<td>Rosalind Moss</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Admission of a Priest of Soknebtynis in the Second Century B.C.</td>
<td>S. R. K. Glanville</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bull Standards of Egypt</td>
<td>G. A. Wainwright</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Statue and a Scarab</td>
<td>Percy E. Newberry</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Prehistoric Objects</td>
<td>O. H. Myers</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Astarte Papyrus and the Legend of the Sea</td>
<td>A. H. Sayce</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Stela of Seti I in the British Museum</td>
<td>Alan W. Shorter</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Classification of Egyptian Pottery</td>
<td>T. Eric Peet</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archibald Henry Sayce</td>
<td>F. Ll. Griffith</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarna, 1932–1933</td>
<td>J. D. S. Penderlebury</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Beni Hasan Coin-board</td>
<td>J. Grafton Milne</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanis and Pi-Ra-messe: A Retraction</td>
<td>Alan H. Gardiner</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Pre-dynastic Rock-drawings</td>
<td>G. W. Murray and O. H. Myers</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts—II</td>
<td>Warren R. Dawson</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Petition to an Exegetes, A.D. 36</td>
<td>A. E. R. Boak</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The so-called Ramesses Girdle</td>
<td>T. Eric Peet</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf</td>
<td>W. Stevenson Smith</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS</td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ram-headed God at Hermopolis</td>
<td>G. A. Wainwright</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transcription of Late Hieratic</td>
<td>Gilbert Bagnani</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The so-called Poem on the King's Chariot</td>
<td>W. R. Dawson and T. E. Peet</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Signs ⦃ and ⦄</td>
<td>A. J. Arkell</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography: Christian Egypt (1932-1933)</td>
<td>De Lacy O'Leary</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography: Greek Inscriptions (1931-1932)</td>
<td>Marcus N. Tod</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and News</td>
<td></td>
<td>94, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notices of Recent Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td>99, 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Illustrations in the Text</td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notices of Recent Publications, Detailed List</td>
<td></td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Model of a Tell el-'Amarna house
MODEL OF A TELL EL-'AMARNAH HOUSE

By SETON LLOYD

With Plates i–iv

The model shown in Pls. i–iv is of an Egyptian dwelling-house of the Tell el-'Amarna period, reconstructed to a scale of three centimetres to the metre. Several hundreds of these houses have now been excavated, and data in connexion with their construction and detail have gradually accumulated, so that it has now been found possible to produce an accurate representation of a typical example, including its garden, outbuildings, etc., with a reasonable amount of assurance and a minimum of conjecture.

The drawings from which this model was made were based on the plans of an actual house (T. 36.11) excavated by Dr. Frankfort in the spring of 1929, supplemented by various features from slightly different ones, with the object of embodying in the model the best and most typical examples yet found of all sections and aspects of the house and of the estate surrounding it. T. 36.11 was a large house in the north suburb of the town, standing with its subsidiary buildings in a walled plot probably staked out by the owner when the court arrived at the site of the new capital and the rush for land began. It is bounded by streets on two sides, and on the remaining two by other estates (Fig. 1). There is a small Porter's Lodge, containing scarcely anything more than a seat and a flat hearth, in connexion with the Main Entrance from the street; and the latter shows an interesting piece of reconstructed detail. The plan of these gateways is the same in almost all the larger houses. The boundary wall thickens out into two piers, and between these a stone threshold is usually found, bearing marks which show that a small projecting jamb was built up on either side in order to form a rebate for the doors themselves. Sometimes there is a raised step between two low walls on the street side. The elevation (Fig. 2, top, left) of the whole is simple to reconstruct when one examines the innumerable representations of such gateways amongst the carvings in the 'Amarna tombs (see N. de G. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna). These are in fact themselves a little difficult to understand until one has studied the plans as we find them. They invariably show (e.g. Part VI, Pl. xx) the two flanking pynlos surmounted by cavetto cornices, while the doors themselves are pivoted behind small inner piers, i.e. the jambs mentioned above; and these also are crowned with small cornices at a lower level, giving the appearance seen in the model. There would be a space between the outer edge of the doors and the main pynlos, and it is a great temptation to think that the effect thus produced when looked at from inside may have originally suggested the idea of the "broken lintel" which has always been such a mysterious feature of 'Amarna architecture. Traces of paint on a threshold suggest that the jambs and doors were painted scarlet. Inside the entrance gates there is an Avenue of small trees (House T. 36.11) spaced as indicated by the "puddles" of river mud in which they were planted; and facing one at the end of this is the Private Chapel (Pl. ii), a fairly certain reconstruction, based on a variety of evidence (Fig. 2, right). The plan of this, and other similar chapels, always suggests a small slightly raised temple in antis with a low

1 The model was made to the order of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago by Messrs. Aumonier and Sons, of Charlotte St. The photographs are by "Basil", of 100 Tottenham Court Road.
flight of steps leading up to it. Such steps were found in House T. 35. 12 together with the stone threshold of the inner and outer doorways, and in T. 36. 11 a minute column base appeared, bearing traces of red paint and fixing the size and scale of the small columns in the restoration; a section of the painted plaster cornice with its colouring and pattern also remained intact. In the chapel of a house in the main town fragments of a stone stela with scenes of Aten-worship were found, and in the centre of the inner shrine in that of

![Plan of the estate](image.png)

**Fig. 1. Plan of the estate. Scale about 1:500**

T. 35. 12 the base of a small square offering-table remained in position. In the light of all this evidence a glance at Mr. Newton’s reconstruction of Tomb Chapel No. 525 (Journal, vii, 180) is extremely helpful; and one’s knowledge of the nature of Aten-worship immediately suggests that, whereas the actual shrine would necessarily be hypaethral, the minute colonnade would probably be roofed in. The representations of obviously similar chapels in the tomb reliefs bear out such points as this and help to confirm the accuracy of the reconstruction. Between the shrine and the colonnade a little architectural detail seems necessary. A broken lintel would almost certainly occur here as being apparently closely connected with the ritual, and the treatment of the piers on either side is taken directly from the only extant examples of this type of architectural feature at ‘Amarna, namely, the south wall in the hall of the tomb of Tutu (Davies, Rock Tombs, VI, Pl. xxxvi), and the shrine in Panehsy’s house (Journal, xiii, 211); only some small details such as the red line round the inside of the shrine have been added to improve the decorative effect.
MODEL OF A TELL EL-‘AMARNAH HOUSE

On an axis at right angles to this one enters an inner courtyard, from which the house itself is accessible through a projecting porch having a brightly painted doorway with the owner's name and station incised in hieroglyphs upon the stone jambs. (Pl. iii, and Fig. 5, top, right. Cf. the House of the Vizier Nekht: see Peet, Woolley, and others, City of Akhenaten, i, Pl. vii, 4, 6.) The inscribed lintel suggested here is a smaller version of that between the North Room and Central Room inside. There is also a tradesmen's entrance

from the street to a granary courtyard full of Conical Grain-bins. These were filled from above by means of a minute staircase serving each group (cf. House T. 35. 9, where these staircases were found), and subsequently emptied through a small trap-door in the base. The south and east portions of the site are covered with a series of low outbuildings, including stables, servants' quarters, kitchens, cattle byres, etc.

The Stables (from House Q. 44. 1; Journal, x, Pl. xxv) consist of a stone-paved standing-space for eight horses with a built-up manger and a tethering-stone let into the pavement for each horse. Behind the mangers is a feeding passage accessible from the outside—an extremely modern arrangement—and parallel to the actual stalls runs a long chamber obviously for storing harness, etc. There is also a shelter for the small wooden chariot used at this period, and a compartment for manure.

The Servants' Quarters (from House T. 36. 11) are simply a large chamber with the entrance protected by a small porch and the roof supported on a series of square brick piers.

The Kitchen Group (from House T. 36. 36, etc., Journal, xvii, Pl. lxix) includes living quarters for the principal cook or steward which will be seen to be planned similarly to the main house on a very minute scale. The kitchen itself contains a range of ovens evidently exactly corresponding in function to the modern Arab woman's bread-oven, and adjoining it is a room with a built-up "rack" for storing or drying the flat loaves of bread, and another with a cement-coated slab at a convenient level in which the dough was mixed.
Behind the house are Cattle Byres with built-up mangers and a largish enclosure, a small corner of which is divided off into two Dog Kennels (T. 36. 11. At a house in the main town the bones of greyhounds were found in a similar compartment). Conveniently adjoining the service entrance to the house is a shallow well, from which the water-supply was obtained by a tiny spiral staircase leading down (from House N. 49. 18; *City of Akhenaten*, i, Pl. vii), and beyond this the north-east corner of the estate is laid out as a simple Formal Garden. This is based on traces of a similar lay-out of trees in House U. 37. 1 (see the forthcoming *City of Akhenaten*, ii), and on certain representations of gardens in reliefs.

The House itself (T. 36. 11) consists as always of a Central Room with clerestory lighting, and low outer rooms lit from the sides (Figs. 3, 4; Pls. i and iv). It is in the former,
Model of a Tell el-'Amarnah house

Below: North Hall with outer wall removed
Above: upper hall with outer and inner walls removed, revealing clerestory of Central Hall
with its four scarlet wooden pillars and many painted doors (see previous reconstructions in colour by Newton, Borchhardt, and the present writer; City of Akhenaten, i, Pl. iv; Journal, xv, Pls. xxiii, xxiv), that the indoor life of the establishment centres, for it not only has access to the more intimate and domestic part of the house on the south side, and stairs to

![Diagram of the house](image)

**Fig. 4. West and north elevations. Scale about 1:200.**

the flat roof and upper loggia to the east, but, together with the indispensable North and West Halls comprises an extremely formal and highly decorated suite of reception rooms.

Thus on arriving one immediately enters the North Hall (Pl. iii), a room used generally by the family in the summer heat, and so having arrangements for service from the kitchens, as well as service entrance from the granary side. This will account for two doors at one end and one at the other, and here the first signs of studied symmetry are seen, for the place of the fourth door is taken by a painted niche.

The ceilings in these large rooms consist of a deep main beam above the columns, brightly painted with a "block" pattern and supporting smaller beams painted pink with panels of white between them. The sizes, shapes, and arrangement of beams in this and all the other ceilings were ascertained by Dr. Frankfort and the author in the season 1929-30, and in subsequent seasons by Messrs. Pendlebury and Waddington after a lengthy investigation of fallen fragments of the mud casings of these beams (Journal, xv, 147). But the decoration of the North Hall was concentrated on the upper part of the walls, where at intervals there were small grille windows in the outside walls, and to make these less conspicuous a frieze of sham vertical bars is found in plaster presumably all round the room, striped with several colours, and combined with an elaborate running pattern of flower petals (from House V. 37. 1; see Mural Painting of Tell-el-Amarna, Pls. xviii and xxi).

From here three large doors (Fig. 5, left) led into the great Central Room, the middle one being surmounted by the great stone lintel (found by Mr. Pendlebury in the season 1930-1; Journal, xvii, Pl. lxxv) bearing again the name and qualities of the master of the house. Entering by this, one passed between the four tall columns, to arrive eventually before a slightly raised dais of mud brick covered with skin and fabrics, where the master would sit when administering his household or receiving guests. This room obtains clerestory
light through small gratings near the ceiling, sham ones again being substituted for the sake of symmetry where it was not practicable to have openings in the walls (fragments found in Houses V. 37. 1, and P. 46. 11; cf. too, City of Akhenaten, 1, Pl. vi). On one side of the room is a wide lustration slab of stone with a vessel for washing on arrival, and near the dais a saucer-shaped hearth for burning charcoal (House V. 37. 1 and many others).

The West Hall, which, together with the suite of guest chambers leading off it, and various

store rooms, completes the public part of the house, is simply a smaller version of the northern apartment and was probably used mostly in the winter, when the latter would be on the cold side of the house.

There remains the more intimate part of the house consisting of the Women’s Quarters and the Master’s Bedroom Suite, which are all grouped round a small square Inner Sitting Room. In a characteristically oriental manner, the former are considerably restricted, women and children being apparently accommodated in three extremely small cubicle bedrooms, in marked contrast to the master’s luxurious suite, which shows an arrangement worthy of a modern hotel. Here, off an ante-chamber (door, Fig. 5), is his bedroom, with a slightly raised recess at one end to form a proper setting for his bed (see City of Akhenaten, 1, Pl. xii). Note the head-rest on the latter, which shows that one slept facing the higher end, which was probably adorned with a painting. The bed itself is raised upon four small stone blocks. A second door from the ante-chamber leads into an anointing room, in which was found a piece of furniture consisting of three stone bowls cut out of a single block, one of which still had traces of crystals resembling bath salts, and a stone seat upon which the master would sit while being anointed (T. 36. 11; cf. City of Akhenaten, 1, Pl. vi).

Fig. 5. Details of the doorways and doors. Scale about 1:150.
Model of a Tell el-'Amarnah house
With roofs raised to show the internal structure
MODEL OF A TELL EL-'AMARNAH HOUSE

Beyond this is a shower-bath built in limestone, in which he would stand while a slave poured water over him from behind a low screen wall; and beyond again a closet. Here appears in position the pierced stone seat hollowed out for comfort (found in 1931; Journal, xvii, Pl. lxxi). It was supported (in House V. 36. 7; Journal, xv, Pl. xxvi, 3) between two small built-up compartments for sand. One of these contained an earthenware dipper. Anointing room, bathroom, and closet were painted white.

The doors (Fig. 5) throughout are of wood, pivoting at top and bottom and having stone thresholds, and sometimes stone jambs and lintels. They are known to have been painted red and yellow in stripes, from niches which are often painted and shaped in imitation of doors. The wooden columns stand upon stone bases, which bear traces of having been painted red. The shape and colouring of their upper parts one can only conjecture by referring to carved representations and to those in the rock-hewn tombs of 'Amarnah, and the beams are of wood encased in mud plaster. The staircase is of brick supported on wooden joists.

It only remains to justify the reconstructed upper story (Pl. iii). This is of necessity the least reliable part of the reconstruction, but as it is known that part of the roof was covered in, and that in almost all cases small column-bases fallen from above are found in and around the North Room only, it leaves very little doubt that the upper story must have taken very much the form shown in the model. Especially convincing is the evidence obtained in V. 37. 1, which will be published in full in The City of Akhenaten, II.
AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY ON THE OCCASION OF ITS JUBILEE

BY GEORGE FOUCART

To the President and Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society.

May I be allowed at the outset to offer my deepest thanks to your President, whose kindness enables me, if only in thought, to be present at your meeting. He has given me a unique opportunity—the next, your second Jubilee, will be a little too late for me—of expressing, as I now do, my gratitude for all that my career owes to the Egypt Exploration Society. I should perhaps rather say "for all that my life owes to it", for my debt of gratitude has been accumulating since I took my first steps in the study of our science, first as Inspector of Antiquities in Egypt, later as an excavator, and lastly as a university professor.

It is a long period to look back on, longer perhaps than I should like. Next month it will be forty-two years, out of the fifty which your Society can now claim. It is a privilege not untinged with sadness to be able to speak, as an eyewitness, of the earliest years of your work, as an eyewitness who was then already in Egypt. But it is also a consolation to be able to call up at this moment the personal remembrance of names revered by all of us, the names of those who in those distant days began the first methodical exploration of the Nile Valley. It is thanks to them that our science has from that time had at its disposal the tools necessary for its task. In pronouncing these names, with which personal circumstances enable me to associate, through my family connexions, those of other revered masters who were your collaborators or your colleagues, I fulfil to-day a pious duty at one and the same time to all those to whom I owe all that I have accomplished and all that my life has been.

I have to carry my memory back to November 1890 to reach my earliest relations with the Egyptian Exploration Fund. I was then completing my classical studies at Athens, where I had been educated. My father, who had just finished his time as Director of the French School, had been entrusted with the mission to Egypt which was to result in the publication of his Mystères d'Éleusis, and resolved to take me with him.

During the brief stay in Paris which preceded the journey it was decided that we should visit thoroughly and systematically the whole of Graeco-Roman Egypt—that is to say, so far as possible at that time; for I have known the days when the frontier town of Aswān echoed with the noise of arms. The name Kôm Ombo, too, stood in those days not for the temple which two years later we were to clear, along with de Morgan, Legrain, and Jéquier, but for a vast heap of sand on which a battery of British artillery guarded against a possible invasion of Upper Egypt by the Dervishes.

George Perrot and Édouard Naville were naturally the first whom I made a point of consulting. The bonds which united my father to these two scholars—all three belonged to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres—secured for me from Naville, during these

1 We print with great pleasure George Foucart's letter, sent in response to our President's request that he would, in view of our Jubilee celebrations, contribute to the Journal something in the nature of a personal reminiscence of the Society's earlier days. There was much to be said for printing the letter in M. Foucart's vivid French, and it has only been translated because it was felt that in view of its extreme interest to members of the Society it ought to be brought within the reach of one and all.—Ed.
few weeks of initiation into archaeology, my first lessons on Ancient Egypt, lessons which remain graven on my mind. In his teaching, authoritative and methodical like all his writings, one could recognize the stamp of that fine classical training, based on Graeco-Roman studies, without which no one could lay claim to be considered a real master of his science.

And so I set out, accompanied, by way of provision for the voyage, with voluminous notes and a precious box fitted up inside as a camp library, from which we were not to be parted throughout the journey. Side by side with the first volume of Perrot and Chipiez’s *Histoire de l’Art*, in which was presented for the first time a general treatment of Egyptian Art, was to be found first and foremost a complete set of all that your Society had then published. Throughout that part of the Delta with which your *Memoirs* dealt, my father and I were able to visit the excavation camps and the places referred to. With your books in our hand we traversed stage by stage, from Tell el-Yahudiyah to the Bitter Lakes, the route of the Exodus. We visited the land of Goshen and the sites of the great marsh-area of Menzaláh, so full of towns and memories of all the ages from the Shepherd Kings to the Byzantines. Never, until the time of the Egypt Exploration Fund, had this part of the Delta been archaeologically explored. At times it seemed as if one must still rely for it on the evidence of classical writers or of the earliest Christian pilgrims. It was in the light of the Fund’s investigations that I was able years ago to check Brugsch’s *Dictionnaire géographique*, the Supplement to which had then just appeared and formed, so far as Lower Egypt was concerned, the last word in our knowledge.

To read all these *Memoirs* on the spot thrilled me; it taught me, or, better, it revealed to me, the science of archaeology. It cleared up and gave life to the still somewhat confused mass of which my beginner’s knowledge consisted. Your *Memoirs* taught me then what a well-conducted excavation means. To-day they are all well conducted, at least so we are told, though I can assure you that I have seen excavations carried out in the old fashion, and a very bad fashion it was. Catalogues, plans, a day-book, classifications of objects, drawings and photographs, numbering and cross-referencing are to-day the A B C of every archaeologist worthy to conduct an excavation. But I will add, with Rabelais: “Il n’y a pas longtemps.” Such methods were a great novelty in Egypt and, among all the claims which the E.E.F. has upon our gratitude, it is not the least that its workers introduced practical archaeology to the idea that an excavation is not a mere series of holes from which objects are taken out to be sent to museums.

In Upper Egypt, where there were shortly to be carried out those splendid pieces of work associated with the names of Ehnásiyah, Deshásháh, Beni Hasan, and El-Bersháh, notes of introduction from Naville had preceded us. The visits we made enabled us to improve our knowledge of all this very up-to-date archaeology and to appreciate its methods, and also to make the acquaintance of the E.E.F.’s teams of workers, who now, after a laborious existence rewarded by well-deserved fame, are the respected *doyens* of their science. But when I would mention their names I find myself hesitating, for far too many of them are no more.

There still exists, indeed, a detailed testimony of what I owed to your Society at the time of this first journey. It is a book which is now old, the work of a beginner. Be that as it may, my *Histoire de l’Ordre Letiforme*, or at least the first half of it, shows how I had been taught to think and to co-ordinate my ideas by your excavations at Bubastis, Ahmás el-Medináh, and other places; for these excavations demonstrated for the first time the great antiquity of the Egyptian architectural orders; they recovered the correct dates of usurped monuments, and made it possible to lay down the systematic laws of development. In
remembrance of these days of the Society's beginnings, which roughly coincide with my own, I ask you to accept a copy of what was my first work in Egyptian Archaeology and the first result of the lessons which I owe to you.

I was soon to revisit the country towards which my professional career had now so definitely turned. The classical and Hellenistic archaeology towards which my earliest studies had been directed was now to be replaced by the study of the civilization of the Nile Valley. A Keepership and Inspectorship in the Department of Antiquities had just been created, and the Egyptian Government had offered it to me. My connexion with the E.E.F., to which my new post gave more effective form, was now placed on a permanent footing, for as soon as I took up my post the Giza Museum entrusted to me the general inspection of the whole of Lower Egypt and the Eastern Desert. This was, at that time, precisely the field of your Society's researches.

Once more the precious set of Memoirs departed in its box-library for a fresh tour of several months. I do not suppose that many of your readers have been able to enjoy, as I have, the pleasure of reading one by one this series of reports, each one on the site where the notes for it were drawn up. At each point in my inspection where the E.E.F. had worked or dug I was free to stop as long as was necessary, and, with the book in my hand, to follow step by step what the authors told. I mentally reconstructed their busy life; I seemed to be present with them at their discoveries, and to build up with them, in front of the monuments themselves, the structure of their deductions. I have followed with Naville the route of the Exodus; I have lived with Flinders Petrie at Tanis. I spent weeks in drawing up a survey of Bubastis, and each morning found me setting out from the old Irrigation Department house at Zakazik accompanied by my inseparable travelling companions, Bubastis and Festival Hall of Osorkon.

All this was a great pleasure to so keen a student, and an incomparable training for a beginner such as I was. I do not hesitate to say that, owing to my having read them in this way, those whose names stand at the head of these volumes have in the truest sense been my masters; and to-day I can still better appreciate all that my knowledge of Ancient Egypt owes to them. But I knew at once that they were also my friends. Often at night time, in the silence of the study, when I look at that precious set of old travelling companions, a little tired, as I too am now, after so much wandering and camping in the Egyptian plains—for travelling was not in those days the simple matter that it is now, especially round Lake Menzalah, along the Wadi Tumilat, not to speak of Naukratis or Koqjabah—I feel myself surrounded by real presences, for I could still say by heart whole pages of some of these books, if not of all of them, and in any case I could turn up at once the page where each site and each monument is described. I still know when or how it was found and where it now is; and if I happen to turn up one of those which have gone to enrich the Cairo Museum, off I go to see it again, like an old friend whom one is glad to meet once more. To stand before it calls up to me the distant years of my early archaeological life, and with these there come back to me the faces of those members of your Society whom I used to know in those days. Of all the sites I have visited that of Saft el-Hennah is still my favourite. Naville had a particular fondness for all this corner of land which was Goshen; through the scholarly formality of his description there seems to peep out that indefinable something without which one might try in vain to understand the mind and the history of those who lived there before us.

The year 1898 was to be devoted to a general inspection and an administrative reorganization of the Department in Upper Egypt and in Nubia. Here again the E.E.F. was to be my guide and companion. Cemeteries such as those of Beni Hasan and El-Bersah, of which Newberry was then preparing a critical publication, were naturally among those in which
my official duties obliged me to ascertain in detail the state of every tomb and to make arrangements for guarding and protecting them. Those who know only the Egypt of the last few years can have no idea how bad were the then existing publications of sites like these. None of them were accurate enough to make really scientific work possible, and the subject still remained exactly where the early pioneers of Egyptology had left it. One of the chief services which the E.E.F. has rendered to purely archaeological studies lies in its having undertaken, through its Archaeological Survey, the long and often difficult task of presenting complete, accurate, and fully illustrated records of the mass of material contained in these tombs, a material which nothing can replace either for what it is or for what it proves, so long (and only so long) as it is properly arranged and correctly reproduced.

It is from the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey that I first drew and transferred to slips all that had reference to funerary belief and Egyptian life, and it was with this first lot of material that I was later able to train my pupils at the University. Here too, as in the case of excavation, there was still nothing of the kind in the Egyptological literature of our university libraries.

He who wanted information about any of these great cemeteries, unrivalled in their value for our knowledge of antiquity, had in those days still to search blindly in old books dating from the very birth of Egyptology, books still poor in content, made up of excerpts—often without references—of incomplete scenes and texts, of drawings often inaccurate or so summary as to be mere sketches. Accurate work was impossible under such conditions, and you were the first to make it possible in this field of study.

I have one regret, and perhaps my many years in the profession may lend force to my expression of it; it is that this indispensable series of Memoirs, which might have rendered so many further services, should not have been carried on. I know that the work is less fascinating than that of excavation with the thrill of its discoveries. It demands great devotion. It is not all who, like our colleague N. de G. Davies, are so admirably self-denying as to devote years and years to secure a satisfactory publication of a group of tombs, sometimes even of a single tomb. At the same time I am sure there are some among us who are fully conscious of the high service they would render in this way to the progress of our knowledge. And it must be added that they would be rendering an equally great service to the task of preservation; for in many of these tombs which they publish with such irreproachable accuracy the colours will in a few years, alas, have completely faded and become indistinct, even if whole pieces of wall have not disappeared for ever. This very year, taking the books once more in my hand, I was able to compare what was still to be seen at the time of my first inspection with what one can desery to-day on sites between Beni Ḥasan and Denderah, at Shēkh Sa‘īd, at Mēr, at Dēr el-Gebrāwī, etc. The experiment was sadly conclusive; it might be said that these ancient documents have reached the point where light, the wind, and the sand-blast are inimical forces which their age can no longer resist. And that is why I express my regret, thinking of the cemeteries which still remain, both north and south of Thebes, which so badly need recording in the manner of the Archaeological Survey—that of Kaṣr es-Sayyād for example—not to mention the cemeteries of Thebes itself, where the danger is as formidable as ever.

Siūt, Dēr Rifāh, and Aḥnas el-Medīnah (Deshāshah had not yet been excavated), kept me a long time. When I reached Luxor I was destined to come into direct personal touch with the activities of the E.E.F., for there met Édouard Naville, who was busy clearing the temple of Dēr el-Bahrī. During the first complete month which my duties as inspector allowed me to spend in the true capital of the Egyptological kingdom, I was delighted to be able to be present at Naville's work and to see what emerged day by day from the sand of
the 'Asasif. Here I experienced once again the emotions felt two years previously, when I had taken part with Grébaut and Daressy in the discovery of the High Priests of Amun. It was not until nearly twenty years later, on the day when I was present with Carter at the opening of the coffin of Tutankhamun, that I felt anything comparable with what I used to feel then, at certain times, on this unique site, before the sudden emergence of some splendid relief of the great temple built by Hatshepsut. My conversations with Naville were not confined to the dig. In the evening we would return to Luxor, and long chats would continue there, in the dear old Karnak Hotel, where Naville and his family stayed. Sometimes came those clear Upper Egyptian nights when one could descry the amphitheatre of Dér el-Bahri, the cliffs of the 'Asâsif, and the plains of Western Thebes. Naville's lessons given in such a setting are not such as one forgets quickly.

The Karnak Hotel, now closed, is scarcely known to the new generation of archaeologists. Among various ambitious plans which I shall doubtless never see realized is that of turning one of those delightful old houses whose terraces are still washed by the Nile into a kind of Egyptological centre. There could be placed the souvenirs and portraits of the archaeologists who lived at Luxor in times which to-day have become almost mythical, those to whom is due the resurrection of all that monumental Thebes which one may visit to-day.

From 1899 onward it is mainly as a professor that I have been in constant contact with your Society, and in this new field I owe you no smaller a debt of gratitude. The teaching arrangements in the faculties of our French Universities include, as is well known, both a course of public lectures and other courses open only to our pupils. In preparing both these types of lecture, where the needs as well as the methods differ greatly, your publications have been very valuable to me. The general public who attended the open lectures, both in Bordeaux and in Marseilles where I was appointed subsequently, had much to learn from being brought into contact with Egyptian archaeology. For formal lessons dealing, section by section, with the history of the art and the beliefs of Ancient Egypt I decided to substitute a more direct study of these questions just as they were raised by, or modified by, the latest excavations or the most recent publications of monuments in Egypt. It will readily be seen without any further explanation that publications such as yours provided me with exactly the kind of documentation I could have wished for. My series of lantern-slides made each winter from the plates of the periodical Memoirs of the E.E.F. still constitute, in the archives of the Faculty, the nucleus of the collections dealing with Egyptian excavations and cemeteries.

Meanwhile your Society kept sending me regularly its annual Memoirs, together with those Reports in which our distinguished colleague Griffith so cleverly summed up and put before us the progress made each year in our science. I was re-reading the other day a letter in which he told me how much work this indispensable résumé cost him, and how exacting it sometimes was.

The works you sent me in those days I always received with deep gratitude, for they were studied and commented on year by year in the lectures confined to pupils. They enabled them to make their entry into Egyptology in a more concrete manner. They enabled me too, through the comptes rendus which I published of them each year in various of our learned journals, to reach a more numerous public, that of the Journal des Savants, of the Revue Archéologique, and the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, for example. In this connexion, too, I had the opportunity of entering into more personal relationship with some of my colleagues on the E.E.F. through an exchange of letters with Griffith and Alan Gardiner, with the latter of whom I had in earlier days attended Maspero's lectures at the Collège de France. These relations were continued in the very rare visits to London which I was able
in those days to pay during the holidays. Among the collaborators in and the promoters of your Society in those days I would here offer my affectionate homage to our revered colleague Sayce, to whose admirable works I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness: To see him again each year in Egypt, so unchanged from what he was in the days of my youth, convinces me that the burden of the years is lighter than I might have feared, when he can carry it with so little effort.

The courtesy of your Committee enabled me about this time to present to my University a few small Egyptian antiquities, which helped to swell the modest archaeological collection that I was trying to get together for my pupils. About the same time I had the honour of becoming a member of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. And that gives me the opportunity to call up another of the friendly faces of those from whom I was always sure to find a cordial welcome, and practical help if I needed it. I see once more among those who are gone the noble face of my friend F. Legge; I see once more, in Great Russell Street, the office where I passed hours in chatting in such friendly wise with Nash and with Miss Patterson.

And so this period of my university career was filled by a regular life of study, of scientific reports, of articles and résumés, a life which was to continue until the moment when the Great War put a stop to everything. Fresh duties in Egypt were to prevent me, from that time right up to the present day, from keeping up with you, through an academic life, relations so friendly, and so advantageous for me. Nevertheless they have been maintained in another form, perhaps more direct and more personal, a form very like that which they had at the beginning, for I am now once more able to be present each winter at your discoveries and your work in Egypt. Thus I have been able, in recent years, to follow, sometimes day by day, the activities of your expeditions at Tell el-Amarna, at Erment, and above all at Thebes. While Sir Robert Mond’s excavations at Shékh ‘Abd el-Kurnah were enriching with new tombs the unrivalled treasure of the Theban cemeteries, Mr. and Mrs. de Garis Davies still continued their excellent work there, devoting their lives to a most necessary and most praiseworthy task, that of saving for science these representations of Egyptian life, unrivalled by anything that has been bequeathed to posterity by an ancient civilization. At Thebes, whither in a few days I am going, D.V., to pass my twenty-fifth winter, the expedition sent by our Institut Français to Dér el-Medînah and that directed in recent years by Sir Robert Mond and his assistants have at times been working so near together and with such similar objects that they may almost be regarded as working in collaboration. In proof of this I need only point to the friendly terms on which the two camps stood and the readiness with which they helped each other.

Archaeology cannot, however, be confined within the walls of a University, and so, during the long period of fifteen years which preceded this definite return to my beloved Egypt, I had kept up a more direct contact with the E.E.F. than books, articles, lectures, and even visits to London could have brought about. From time to time official missions, lectures which I gave in connexion with the “Revue générale des Sciences” gave me from time to time chances to visit Egypt, the common field of all our work, chances which I accepted as often as I could. And there, for a few weeks, and when possible for a few months, I was able to be present on the site of the Society’s work as in the old days of my tours of inspection for the Department of Antiquities.

But is “to be present” the right phrase? Among all my memories of these stays in Upper Egypt the happiest is that of the winter 1906-7, when I again had Édouard Naville as my master for several months. I had been instructed that winter to copy the tomb of Menna. My assistants and I lived in the little house of Shékh ‘Abd er-Rasûl, son of the celebrated ‘Abd er-Rasûl of Royal Mummies fame, a house every Egyptologist must know.
It has sheltered a good many of us during the last fifty years or so. Édouard Naville and his
family were living a few yards away from it in a strange building tucked away at the foot of
the cliffs of Dér el-Bahri which no longer exists. It was there that he camped during the
long excavation which was to reveal the Early Theban temple of the Eleventh Dynasty,
a temple of a unique type, whose clearance has made Dér el-Bahri a site without rival in
the Nile Valley. Once again, in this winter of 1906–7, I witnessed the discovery of priceless
works of art, and gained, under Naville’s direction, practical lessons in archaeology the value
of which I shall never be able to appreciate sufficiently. Days like these, passed on the spot,
when hour by hour the earth is yielding monuments like the temple of Mentuhotpe or the
famous Chapel of the Cow, are worth, from the point of view of learning, all our library
researches. Sometimes a relief or a piece of painted wall would begin to come out of the
ground, and I had hard work to restrain my impatience to have the whole of it at once and
to learn, without having to wait, the secret that the earth still hid. But the sun might be
sinking and the end of the day’s work drawing near. I should have liked to see the work
completed there and then. Naville, however, more methodical than I, would refuse. When
the moment came for the end of the day’s work, whatever discovery might at that moment
be taking place, he would pull out his watch, and at the pre-arranged hour to the very second
he would order the foreman to give the signal with his whistle, the signal that all we excava-
tors in Egypt know so well, the signal which is instantly followed by the loud shouts of
the basket-boys, free at last for the day, and the abandonment of every movement by the
native workmen—the pick already raised would never fall to complete the cut it had begun,
the basket three parts full would never be filled. “It can wait for to-morrow,” Naville would
say with his usual calm. But what amazed me was what happened at the end of the season.
It was a question of finding out whither the famous underground passage of Mentuhotpe
would lead. Some thought that the old native legend might prove to be true, and that one
fine day we might come out through this passage into the Valley of the Kings. In any case
what could be more thrilling than this mysterious advance on and on through the solid rock.
But the fatal date of the closing-down for the season was coming. I ventured to implore
Naville to go on at all cost; the key of the mystery might be already almost within our grasp.
“And suppose”, I said, “you haven’t finished clearing the underground passage when the
time comes to close down?” “Ah well,” said Naville calmly, “we shall know the secret
next winter.”

On this anniversary, so full of splendid memories of the past and lofty example for the
future there has been gathered in London a material testimony to fifty years of work and
methodical effort. I deeply regret that personal reasons make it quite impossible for me to
come and see this collection. Grouped in this way, and taken out of the archaeological
series to which in normal times they belong, these objects would have seemed to me a part
of my very life as an archaeologist. How many of them indeed have I not seen come out of
the earth or arrive in Cairo, before being sent on to our western museums?

But you all know that this momentary re-assembly of such a precious series of
objects represents only a part of what your Society has found in half a century of work, and
I, whom fate has permitted to live so long in the Valley of the Nile, cannot help thinking of
all that you have added out there to the great Cairo Museum.

Of the various objects with which, during so many years of toil, you have constantly
enhanced the richness and interest of that museum some date back to the first years of your
work. Many, during my archaeological career, I have actually seen arrive at the museum
and followed during their subsequent movements. There are some which I helped de
Morgan, Émile Brugsch, and Daressy to place in that strange Palace of Gizah, where the
spell of an oriental system of decoration was so quaintly, and sometimes (to risk a paradox), so harmoniously allied with the objects of a collection still in course of formation. Grébaut had bequeathed to us magazines still crammed (it seems to happen in all museums) with monuments of the most varied provenance, which had to be arranged in the rooms of Gizah as best we could. They have suffered many a move since then.

I will not venture to think how it might have been possible to have, out there too, for a few days an exhibition of objects you have contributed to the Cairo collections, for perhaps after all this is but an impracticable vision in view of the material difficulties of such a scheme and of official restrictions. At the same time I may be permitted as an archaeologist and a professor to express a hope. We should like to see in this Cairo Museum, side by side with the objects, some definite reference to their finders, as has been the case for some time past in the temporary exhibit of "recent acquisitions" near the entrance. In this way the modern visitor could form a better idea of the large contribution which the E.E.S. has made to the treasures of this museum, the foremost museum of Egyptian Archaeology—a contribution of which the ordinary visitor is naturally quite unaware, and, may I add, that our younger archaeologists are often no better informed. The Department of Antiquities in Egypt owes much to the E.E.S.; it seems to me that it would have everything to gain by acknowledging its debt, for in giving honour it would also be receiving it.

But it is not only for your part in the formation of the museum that we are indebted to you. I have spoken above of the great and useful material which you have supplied through so many years for our studies and for the work of our pupils in the universities, and there is a last aspect of your work of which I want to say a few words in concluding. I have not the honour to be one of those who preside over your destinies, and if I venture on this occasion to express my appreciation of your work in yet one more direction I feel justified by my position as a teacher and a grateful friend. Through your periodical publications, so clear, so accessible to every teacher who specializes in Egyptology and to a great part of the educated public, publications the like of which had previously never existed, you have established the essential link between your science and the rest of the sciences. You have helped every one better to recognize the importance of Egypt in the sum total of human knowledge, and to follow more easily the unceasing progress of our knowledge of Egypt, in a way in which they could never have done from the technical and professional monographs in which we publish for specialist consumption the results of our investigations. You may thus rest secure in the knowledge of having passed beyond the bounds of Egyptology and made a noble contribution to the task of humanity.

George Foucart.

Paris, 24.10.32.
PROBLEM 14 OF THE MOSCOW MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS

By QUIDO VETTER

The determination of the volume of a truncated pyramid with a square base, the special values of the sides of the base and top being 4 and 2 respectively, and the height 6, by the formula $T = \frac{(a^2+ab+b^2)h}{3}$, as given in the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus No. 14, is very important for the appreciation of Egyptian mathematics, and continues to hold the interest of Egyptologists as well as of historians of mathematics. The problem has been discussed in this Journal by B. Gunn and T. E. Peet (xv, 167–85), K. Vogel (xvi, 242–9), and W. R. Thomas (xvii, 60–2). The question of greatest interest is how the Egyptians reached this determination. Of course, we must assume they could determine a whole pyramid earlier than a truncated one; they may have reached this determination empirically, as these authors have suggested. But the formula for the volume of a truncated pyramid is too complicated to be got empirically by means of simple experiments, as I showed some time ago.1

Gunn and Peet assume that the Egyptians divided a regular quadrilateral truncated pyramid by means of suitable sections into a rectangular parallelepiped, four trilateral prisms—which can be put together into a rectangular parallelepiped again—and four quadrilateral pyramids—which can be put together into a regular pyramid. The two rectangular parallelepipeds, in the opinion of these authors, were put together into a new one, so that a truncated pyramid was transformed into two solids the sum of whose volumes was determined by the expression $T = abh + \frac{1}{3}(a-b)^2 h$. It is necessary in this expression to take out of the bracket the factor $\frac{h}{3}$ and then to transform the factor $3ab+(a-b)^2$ into $a^2+ab+b^2$. Gunn and Peet assume that this latter step was taken by a comparison of planes, i.e. by the so-called Greek algebra.

Vogel objects to this hypothesis that it presupposes an algebraical skill which we cannot prove from any other Egyptian source. He therefore puts forward another hypothesis, namely that the Egyptians arrived at their formula by approximation. At the same time Vogel points out that they were well acquainted with a truncated pyramid with a square base and two sides at right angles with the base.

I do not intend to decide which hypothesis is more probable. I only wish to show how the Gunn-Peet hypothesis can be simplified by assuming that the truncated pyramid from which the formula was discovered was not regular, but had two sides perpendicular to the base. I suggested some years ago that the truncated pyramid of the Moscow Papyrus was probably2 of this form, and this is also the view of the editor of the papyrus, W. W. Struve.3

1 Q. Vetter, *Jak se počítalo a měřilo na úsvitě kultury (How they did sums and measured at the dawn of civilization)*, Praha, Melantrich, 1926, pp. 133 and 134.
If we cut such a truncated pyramid in which the edge \( AE \) is at right angles to the base (Fig. 1) by two planes \( ABGH \) and \( ADFG \), we shall get four solids, namely two quadrilateral pyramids \( V_1 = ABCDG \) and \( V_2 = EFGHA \), and two equal trilateral pyramids \( V_3 = ABFG \) and \( V_4 = ADGH \). Of these the quadrilateral pyramid \( V_1 \) is regular, because \( b = \frac{a}{2} \), a square base \( ABCD \), whose side \( a = 4 \), and with height \( h = 6 \). The two sides \( EFA \) and \( EHA \) of the pyramid \( V_2 \) are perpendicular to the base \( EFGH \), which is a square with a side \( b = 2 \); the height is again \( h = 6 \). The trilateral pyramid \( V_3 \), similar and equal to \( V_4 \), has a base \( ABF \), which is an isosceles triangle with base \( a \) and height \( h \). The height of the pyramid \( V_3 \) is \( FG = b \). Therefore the volume of the given truncated pyramid is

\[
T = \frac{h}{3} \left( a^2 + 2 \cdot \frac{b}{3} \cdot \frac{ah}{3} + \frac{h^2}{3} \right) = \frac{h}{3} \left( a^2 + \frac{b}{3} + \frac{ah}{3} + \frac{h^2}{3} \right).
\]

Now this truncated pyramid of the Moscow Papyrus is not a general one; it is a special one, in which two sides are at right angles to the base and the edge of the top is half the edge of the base, as mentioned above. There is still another way of cutting up a truncated pyramid of this special form, and it enables us to put both the trilateral pyramids (which are not equal this time) together into a new trilateral one, the volume of which is equal to the middle term of the expression for \( T \), namely \( \frac{b}{3} ah \).

The first section (Fig. 2) is \( ABGH \) again. But we shall now cut each of the newly got solids by a fresh section. We shall divide the solid \( ABCDHG \) by the plane \( BCH \) into the two pyramids \( V_1 = ABCDH \) and \( V_2 = BCGH \); and the solid \( EFGHAB \) by the plane \( FGA \) into the two pyramids \( V_3 = EFGHA \) and \( V_4 = FABG \). The base of \( V_1 \) is a square with side \( a = 4 \). One of its sides is an isosceles triangle \( ADH \) lying in a plane perpendicular to the base, so that it is possible to measure the height of the pyramid directly in it. The pyramid \( V_2 \) is the same as in the former case. Moreover, since \( b = \frac{a}{2} \) and \( ABCD \) and \( EFGH \) are squares, the point \( G \) lies on the perpendicular erected on the base \( ABCD \) at its middle
point; therefore the triangles $ABG$ and $BCG$ are isosceles and congruent. The sum of the angles $BGF$ and $CGH$ and the sum of the angles $AGF$ and $BGH$ are both equal to $180^\circ$. Therefore, if we place the triangle $ABG$ on the triangle $BCG$, they will coincide, and the edges $FG$ and $GH$ will lie in the same line. The pyramids $V_3$ and $V_4$ will thus form a new trilateral pyramid, the base of which will be the isosceles triangle $ABF$. Its edge $FG + GH = 2b = a = 4$ will be perpendicular to the base and will thus be its height. Its volume will be $\frac{2h \cdot ah}{3} = \frac{b}{3} \cdot ah$. The volume of the truncated pyramid is again

$$T = \frac{h}{3} \left( \frac{a^2}{3} + \frac{b}{3} + \frac{h}{3} b^2 \right).$$

In both these ways the truncated pyramid can be decomposed into pyramids on which the dimensions necessary for determination can be measured directly, excepting the pyramid $V_1$ in the first case; but this, being regular, need not have caused any difficulty even in the lower stages of mathematical development.

The truncated pyramid can thus be decomposed either into two quadrilateral pyramids plus the sum of two similar and equal trilateral ones, or into three pyramids, whose volumes are the three terms of which the formula for a truncated pyramid consists. By means of this hypothesis we avoid all need to explain how the Egyptians transformed the expression $3ab - (a-b)^2$, according to Gunn and Peet, or even the expression $a^2 + \frac{b}{a-b} (a^2 - b^2)$, according to Struve (op. cit., 176) into $a^2 + ab + b^2$. Nothing in our knowledge of Egyptian mathematics justifies us in assuming that the Egyptians could make such complicated transformations of mathematical expressions.

If we admit the hypothesis I have developed above, only one assumption is left, that the discoverer of the method was able to take out of the bracket the factor $\frac{h}{3}$, i.e. $\frac{6}{3}$, in the expression $\frac{h}{3} \left( \frac{a^2}{3} + \frac{b}{3} ah + \frac{h}{3} b^2 \right)$, or, better, in $\frac{6}{3} \cdot \frac{16}{5} + \frac{2}{5} \cdot 4.6 + \frac{6}{3} \cdot 4$. Whether the Egyptians knew how to make this transformation remains doubtful.
THE DAKHLEH STELA

BY ALAN H. GARDINER

With Plates v–vii

There can be few Egyptian inscriptions with as many claims to our interest as that which W. Spiegelberg published over thirty years ago under the title *Eine Stele aus der Oase Dachel.*¹ The unusual provenance alone would have sufficed to commend it to our attention, but the varied information which the document provides concerning the natural conditions, administration, cult, and topography of a distant Oasis gives it a unique place among historical texts. The period to which the stela belongs is another interesting aspect, dated texts of the Twenty-second Dynasty of Libyan rulers being of comparatively rare occurrence; moreover, as Professor Griffith has pointed out,² this is the earliest inscription in which the title of Pharaoh is prefixed to a king’s name after the model of the Biblical “Pharaoh Hophra”, “Pharaoh Necho”. Then again, we have here a characteristic example of a trial by oracle such as Dr. Blackman has discussed in more than one valuable article of this Journal.³ And lastly, the linguistic and epigraphic interest: the language is a good specimen of Late Egyptian idiom tinged with the element of formalism typical of all official records, while the gaunt and crowded hieratic characters incised upon the stone have their own peculiar difficulties to whet the appetite of the decipherer.

The stela is one of two from the same locality presented to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford by Captain (now Sir Henry) Lyons, whose account of their discovery I quote from Spiegelberg’s article: “On reaching the village of Mut (Lat. N. 25° 29’ 4”, Long. 29° 4’ 40” E. of Greenwich) in Dakhla Oasis 1st January 1894 I was shown two stelae, one of limestone and the other of sandstone, both of which were said to have been found in a mound formed of ruins of ancient buildings a short distance S.W. of the Government buildings of that village; I could hear of no others from the same place at the time and brought these two back to the Nile.” It is the limestone stela, measuring 37 inches in height by 26 in breadth, with which we are here concerned; the sandstone stela, of rather smaller size, was published by Spiegelberg in a subsequent article and deals with a gift of offerings to the local temple.⁴ For the skill shown by Spiegelberg in the reading and interpretation of these late documents I have nothing but praise, and his two articles possess a permanent value, no less for their admirable comments and illustrative notes than for the excellent photographs which they contain. Nevertheless, particularly as regards the larger stela, the progress of our knowledge makes a new treatment imperative. Intensive study of Twenty-first Dynasty texts like the story of Wenamún, the Decree of Neskhons, and the Correspondence of Butemanû has given a familiarity with the grammar and the script of the period which enables me to offer here a much improved rendering. Moreover, my opportunities have been far greater than those enjoyed by Spiegelberg. On three separate occasions between 1910 and the present year I have collated the text with the original, my task made easy by the special facilities granted first by Dr. Hogarth and again quite recently by Dr. Leeds. As a result I am fairly confident that no new readings of importance remain to be elicited, though the meaning of a few rare words must await future elucidation.

¹ *Rec. trav.,* xxii (1899), 12–21.
² *Journal,* xi, 249–55; xii, 176–85.
⁴ *Rec. trav.,* xxv (1903), 194–6.
Since the dispute upon which the god Sētekh here delivers judgement turns upon technical matters concerning the irrigation of the Oasis, it will be best to examine the terms involved before turning to the text itself. In investigating the meaning of these terms H. Ll. Beadnell’s book, *An Egyptian Oasis* (London, 1909), has served me in good stead, but I should have had little confidence in my conclusions had they not been reviewed and amplified by Sir Henry Lyons, who most kindly placed his special knowledge at my disposal. The water of the oases of the Libyan desert is derived mainly from artificial wells sunk to a great depth, by which an underground water-supply derived ultimately from the Nile is tapped and made available for agriculture. Such artesian wells driven through the sandstone produce water which as a rule flows freely and with considerable force at the surface, though in other cases the level of the ground is not attained. Sometimes a well ceases to flow on account of an accumulation of vegetable debris and drift sand around its mouth. The ownership of the wells is naturally of the highest importance, and is closely connected with the ownership of the land, though at the present day there are persons who own water but no land, and others who claim land but own no water. From the text here to be studied it would appear that, in the Twenty-second Dynasty, the possessor of a well was deemed to have good title to all the land flooded by it. Such, at least, seems to be the situation presupposed by the inscription.

Three distinct terms in connexion with “water” are used: (a) the fem. 𓊵𓊶𓊾𓊨 bnm[t] ll. 5, 7, and in the vertical line of hieratic at the top of the stela, with the variant 𓊶𓊽𓊺𓊨 bnm[t]; which serves, curiously enough, not only for the plural (l. 4–5, 11), but also for the singular (ll. 9, 10); (b) the masc. 𓊵𓊽𓊨 wbn ll. 9, 12, 14, vert., and once for plural, l. 12, with variants 𓊵𓊽𓊨 ll. 5, 6, 10, 𓊿𓊽𓊨 l. 10, and the plural 𓊵𓊽𓊽𓊨 ll. 4, 13; (c) the fem. 𓊱𓊽𓊽𓊨 hny[t] ll. 6, 9. Of these hny[t] may be rendered by “flood-water”, as it clearly refers to any sheet of shallow inundation-water overlying the ground. It is connected with a verb hny “to inundate” (*Wörterbuch der aeg. Spr.*, iii, 18), and its none too frequent occurrences (e.g. Westcar, 2. 20; Harris Mag. Pap., 7. 10; Amenemope, 4. 13; 10. 10) bear out the signification here assigned to it. The meaning of wbn² is given by its etymology, which connects it with the verb expressing the rising of the sun (cf. the name Weben-Rē below) and with the noun 𓊷𓊽𓊽𓊽, which undoubtedly means a wound from which the blood flows freely. When it occurs alone, I shall translate it as “flowing well”, the term used by Beadnell and others for the visibly active wells irrigating the oases. The term bnm[t] is the ordinary Egyptian word for a well, and in our stela must, I think, in so far as it is opposed to wbn, designate the underground water-supply which feeds the latter. That the wbn is part of a bnm[t], or at least that bnm[t] is the more general term, is indicated by two passages, ll. 5 and 9, giving the compound term 𓊵𓊽𓊽𓊽 wbn-bm[t], which I shall render as “well of flowing water”, and also by the fact that the “flowing well” is said in l. 10 and in the vertical column to “belong to” (𓊵𓊽𓊽 𓊽𓊽 literally, be “in the hand of”) a bnm[t]-well. Two other compounds of bnm[t] are employed in the general statement of ll. 4–5, where the prince Wayheset is said to have come “to inspect 𓊵𓊽𓊽 the flowing wells and 𓊵𓊽𓊽 the (other) wells which are [in] Sa-Wahet (name of the town corresponding to the modern village of Mut, see l. 8), both 𓊵𓊽𓊽 bnm[t]-hbs closed wells and 𓊵𓊽𓊽 hnm[t]-wvs irrigation wells”. In the former of these compounds the element hbs is undoubtedly the verb 𓊽𓊽 literally, “to clothe”, the

¹ See Beadnell, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² The word occurs also in the story of Apophis and Sekhemrê “the hippopotamus-pool which is in the wbn of Nê (i.e. Thebes)” 2. 5, cf. also 1. 8; 2. 8, but there the meaning can hardly be a “flowing well” in the sense here intended.
specific determinative  being replaced by the signs for "water" belonging to the whole compound. As Sir Henry Lyons points out, two possibilities here present themselves. Either ānmt-ḥbs means a well that has been deliberately stopped up by plugging, a "plugged well", or else it is one that has become "closed", or "covered up", by silting or the like (see above). The latter alternative is doubtless preferable for several reasons. In the first place, the stem ḥbs expresses less than the English word "to plug"; a plugged well is certainly "covered" or "closed", but not all "covered" or "closed" wells are plugged. Had "plugged" been meant, probably some such verb as ḥjm, "sealed", "closed", would have been employed. Secondly, ḥbs is used elsewhere of "covering" in the sense of "rendering invisible", e.g. of the sun which may become "covered" or "veiled", or again of a statue or sculptured relief which may "cover up" some earlier one. Thirdly, we shall see below that the appeal to the oracle was due to the raising of a question whether a certain sheet of inundation-water was not due to some well other than that of Weben-Rē; but if so, the second well, the suggested existence of which is negatively by the god, would have been a "closed" or "concealed" well, the waters of which might perhaps spread over the land without their source being immediately obvious. Lastly, the term ānmt-ḥbs appears to be contrasted with ānmt-wıw, which may well mean a well capable of irrigating a tract of land ʾw ṣ, wıw, older ʾwıw. That this is the meaning is perhaps borne out by the curious triangular sign here used to determine wıw. This cannot be a large and unusually made =), for the land-determinative in hieratic is always =) and not =), see in our stela the determinatives of  in l. 12, of  ʾibid., and of  l. 14. Nor in Beadnell's book I read the following (p. 69): "The position of each well is nearly always conspicuously marked by a thick clump of acacias, from which . . . the main irrigating channel generally runs in a southerly direction, the cultivated lands being of triangular form, with the apex at or near the source of the water, and raised little, if at all, above the general level of the surrounding plain." The italics in the foregoing quotation are mine.

Two more technical terms of a legal character require notice. In ll. 12-13  ʾḥm-nmḥw, "waters of nmḥ-men", are contrasted with  ʾḥm-nmḥw, "waters of Pharaoh", i.e. waters belonging to the Crown, as we should say. The antithesis demands that the former expression should be rendered "private waters", and the declaration of the god "they belong to the private person (nmḥ) who shall lead them off" (l. 18) confirms this conclusion quite apart from the exact signification to be assigned to nmḥ. But Spiegelberg and Lacau² have between them shown that nmḥ is the origin of the Coptic word  "free"; and the first-named scholar establishes beyond a peradventure that in the Saitic contracts of servitude nmḥ is the exact opposite of  bsk "slave", while the still earlier attested expression  ʾh-nmḥw, "fields of freemen",⁴ corresponds accordingly to the ḫyco  of the Ptolemaic period.

Several other nouns and verbs with technical or legal implications remain to be discussed, but it will be best now to turn to the main text (Pls. v-vii), and to leave these details to the commentary which will follow the translation.

Translation

(1) Year 5, fourth month of winter, day 16 of the king Pharaoh Shoshenk, beloved of Amun. On this day came (? the son of the prince of the Ma, (2) the chief official of lands, the priest of Hathor of Diospolis, the priest of Horus and Sakhmet (? of Pi-djôt, the priest of Setekh of the

¹ See my Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, pp. 88-9.
² A.Z., lit (1917), 116-17.
³ Recueil Champollion, pp. 722-3.
⁴ A.Z., xxxv (1897), 23 n.; Ann. Serv., iv, 185. For the juristic term  which follows the phrase in one inscription see now Spiegelberg, Die demotischen Papyri Loeb, p. 104, n. 6.
Oasis, the overseer of inundated lands, (8) the overseer of plantations (?), the prince of the two lands of the Oasis, Wayheset, he being in the town of Sa-waḥet, after Pharaoh had sent him to restore order in the Oasis-land, (4) after he had found it in a state of war and turmoil (?). On the day when he went to inspect the flowing wells and the (5) (other) wells which are in Sa-waḥet, both closed wells and irrigation wells, he arrived to see the well of flowing water of Weben-[Rër], (6) after the priest of Sētekh Nesubast, the son of Patē, had spoken before him saying: “Behold, a sheet of flood-water has been let loose, and is here in the neighbourhood of this flowing well of Weben-Rër. Examine it, namely this (7) [well of] Pi-Rër in whose neighbourhood thou art, for (it is) a private well, and it belongs to my mother Teuhenut, whose mother was Hententère.” Then the priest and prince Wayheset said to him: “Stand in the presence of Sētekh (8) [and claim] it.”

In year 5, fourth month of winter, day 25, on the day when the noble god Sētekh, great of strength, the son of Nut, this great god, was caused to appear at his feast “Beauty of Daytime”, the prince Wayheset stood in the Presence. (9) Then said Sētekh, the great god: “Nesubast, the son of Patē, is in the right. This flood-water which is to the north-west of the well of flowing water of Weben-Rër, this well of Pi-Rër, which is in Sa-waḥet, is the property of his mother Teuhenut. (10) Confirm it unto him this day.” Then said the great god: “There are not two flowing wells belonging to Weben-Rër, this well of Pi-Rër which is in Sa-waḥet, but only one well was found on that cadastral (11) register of the wells and orchards of Pi-Rër which the controller ‘Onkhaf, the son of Setnakht, issued as a copy of the register of Pharaoh Psusennes, the great god, in Year 19.”

Then said Sētekh, (12) the great god: “As for every flowing well which is in this district, those which [lie] to the west of Sa-waḥet are derivatives released from the flowing wells of Huy, as they are called. These are private waters, and there is no (13) water of Pharaoh among them. They belong to the private person who shall lead them off this day.” Then said the god: “As for the flowing wells to which Nesubast, (14) the son of Patē, has laid claim, he shall lead them off that they may ... (?) the soil, together with the flowing well of his mother Teuhenut. Confirm them unto him, they being confirmed to son of his son, (15) heir of his heir, to his wife and to his children, there being no other son of private status belonging to Teuhenut who shall have a share in them except (16) Nesubast, the son of Patē.”

Thus spoke Sētekh, the great god, before very many witnesses. List thereof:

The priest of Sētekh of the Oasis, the prince and chieftain, (17) Wayheset.
The matuasher, Pauered.
The matuasher, Waykescher.
The matuasher, Ten . . . (?) (18) te.
The matuasher, Kayham.
The captain of shield-bearers, Pete . . .
The cultivator (?) ‘Onkhaf, son of Nefenbeuwnakhte.
The divine father, the scribe of the seal, Patē, the son of Kana.
(19) The divine father, the scribe of the temple, Tjarsētekh, the son of Serhotew.
The scribe, Pekom.

......................, the son of Patē.
The divine father, T . . . .
The divine father . . . . Kersētekh, the son of ‘Onkhaf.
(20) The priest of Amenape (?) Penamun, the son of Patē.
The doorkeeper, Pronkh, the son of Penqeyby.
The doorkeeper, Pwōneskh.

...............

1 My translation involves extensive emendation of the text. On this see the commentary.
THE DAKHLEH STELA

Commentary

1. Breasted, Gauthier, and Meyer are in agreement that the Shoshenq here mentioned was the first of the name, Breasted adducing the plausible reasons that "the document mentions a revolt in the oasis, and a reorganization, which would be especially likely to occur at the advent of a new dynasty, and we find Dakhel under the control of Shoshonk I's successor, Osorkon I". No additional argument can be drawn from the fact that, as Daressy had already perceived, a cadastral register of the nineteenth year of a king Psusennes is mentioned in l. 11; we cannot even tell for certain which of the two Psusennes was intended. The absence of cartouches is without significance on a stela inscribed in hieratic and from a provincial source. The only thing that might incline us to a later reign is the use of the word "Pharaoh" before the royal name, this use being more characteristic of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty than of the Twenty-second.

1-3. For the verb preceding the princely titles we expect $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ or $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, and one of these two may have been intended. $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ would not suit, as "came" and not "went" is required. A less likely alternative to $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ is the simple auxiliary $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, anticipating $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ in l. 3.

The title $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ doubtless indicates membership of the royal family, though Wayheset was not necessarily a son of Shoshenq; neither Gauthier (op. cit.) nor Meyer (Geschichte, ii, 2, 2nd ed., 49) regard him as such. That $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, a short writing of $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, the Libyan tribe held to be identical with the Médées of Herodotus, was first pointed out by de Rouge (Mélanges d'Archéologie, i, 87), and is proved by variants of the titles of Petosiris and his father Takelot, Mariette, Serapéum, Pls. 24 and 26—Rec. trav., xxii, 9-11. The first element in "great prince of the Ma", usually written $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ (in hieratic $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, e.g. Max Müller, Egyptological Researches, 1, Pl. 88), was often read as $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, see Serapeum, no. 26—Rec. trav., xxii, 11; cf. Ann. Serv., v, 98. But it is very possibly the same Takelot whose title is given on a coffin in Cairo as $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ A.Z., xxi (1888), 69, with the Libyan word mess, "lord", as Erman pointed out ibid., but without the epithet, "great". In partial agreement with this, the prince Ankhkhot receives the title $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ in one inscription, Ann. Serv., ix, 278, and $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ in another, Rec. trav., xxxv, 136.

On the other hand, $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ is omitted in $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, Mariette, Sérapéum, Pl. 27, top, corresponding to $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{A}}$, op. cit., Pl. 26, l. 9; cf. also $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ Ann. Serv., xvi, 82. From this evidence I conclude that $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ in these titles was read ms or ur indifferently, just as we used to speak both of the "Emperor of Germany" and of the "Kaiser"; and further that the epithet "great" was occasionally omitted in either case. In other words, it appears to be the same princely rank, amounting virtually to kingship, which is meant by all the four expressions ur, ms, ur, ms. Hence we may take it that Wayheset in our inscription was a son of a ruling mess or prince of the Meshwesh, whether of Nemrat, the father of Shoshenq I, or of some kinsman.

Spiegelberg points out that the various priesthoods held by Wayheset belong either to the Oasis itself, or else to places in Egypt whence roads ran thither, with Hathor.

$^1$ Ancient Records, iv, § 725.  
$^2$ Lieux des rois, iii, 307.  
$^4$ Rec. trav., xxxviii, 10.  
$^5$ See Griffith, in the article quoted above, p. 19, n. 2.  
$^6$ Daressy notes that the name is composed of elements found in Osorkon and Mashtera. The two Twenty-first Dynasty personages of the latter name will doubtless have had Libyan blood on their mother's side.
as its goddess, is definitely located at Diospolis Parva, the modern Ḥū. In the Golénischeff glossary, the Abydos list, and the Medinet Habu cult-scenes is named as the place almost immediately following the north; it is the Coptic 𓖗𓊰𓊪𓊰𓊰, identified by Daressy with Abu Shūsha, on the west bank some five miles farther south than Abydos. An inscription quoted by Spiegelberg gives Hathor as the goddess of Pi-ḏjḏ, but at Medinet Habu (Rec. trav., xvii, 119) Horus and Sakhmet are the deities, as also perhaps on our stela. Spiegelberg's reading 𓖑𓊪𓊪𓊪 is impossible. The group here used is evidently the same as that found in the vertical line of hieratic (see below, Fig. 1), and I can see no other solution than 𓖓𓊪𓊪𓊪, which the correspondence with Medinet Habu renders very tempting. Difficulties are not lacking, however. The supposed 𓊪 would be different in form from 𓊪 just before in the name of Diospolis Parva, where the shape closely resembles that of the normal hieroglyphic sign. This disagreement could be got over by supposing that in the latter case the sistrum 𓊪 was intended, this being commonly used in that name. But a further point is that one would expect 𓊪 with 𓊪 and 𓊪, and it is perhaps also strange that two divine names should be combined in the mention of a single priesthood.

For the other titles of Wayheset see Spiegelberg's notes, to which my own are purely supplementary. As Spiegelberg has rightly seen, "the two lands of the Oasis" are Khargah and Dakhlah, the eastern and western parts of what was known in classical times as the "Larger Oasis" (Oasis Major), which the Egyptians called 𓖓𓊪𓊪 “the southern Oasis”.

3. 𓖑𓊪𓊪, misread by Spiegelberg here and for that reason wrongly interpreted by him in its later occurrences ll. 5, 9, 10, 12, is evidently the ancient name of the modern village of Mut where the stela was found. The other example of the name, quoted by Spiegelberg from a note of Maspero's, lacks the town-determinative. — 𓊪𓊪 𓖑𓊪 “restore to order”, cf. 𓖑𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪 “now when order had been restored”; Pap. Mayer A, 6. 9; also Harris, 79, 2.


5. The 𓖑 preceding 𓖇𓖑𓊪𓊪 is clearly for 𓖑𓊪. 𓖑𓊪 is a writing of 𓖑 found below in l. 11 in 𓖑𓖑𓖑. "The flowing well of Weben-Rēr" occurs again in ll. 6, 9, 10, and there is ample room for its restoration here. The name appears to belong properly to the actual flowing well in question, but the denial that there were two flowing wells belonging to Weben-Rēr in l. 10 makes it necessary to extend the designation to the neighbouring irrigated land as well.

6. In this line we encounter for the first time the name of the man on whose behalf the stela was erected, a certain Nesubast, son of Paṭē. He was a priest of the local temple of Sētekh, a rank also enjoyed, doubtless ex officio, by the newly appointed governor Wayheset. Correct hieratic writings of the name of Nesubast would have been 𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑, but the scribe has everywhere inserted the meaningless 𓖑𓖑𓖑, doubtless by some confusion of thought. In the hieroglyphic legends at the top of the stela 𓖑 is used without 𓖑. The father's name 𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑 is common in demotic, and as Griffith showed me many years ago, occurs in Greek as Harīṯ. The same spelling as here is found below in ll. 9, 14, but the variant 𓖑𓖑𓖑 𓖑𓖑𓖑 occurs in l. 16, cf. the same name in ll. 18, 19, 20. The hieroglyphic legends above are so badly cut (see below, Fig. 1) that the signs are difficult to interpret, but I believe 𓖑𓖑𓖑 is there the right reading.

𓖑𓖑𓖑 (or simply 𓖑𓖑𓖑?) is the same word as occurs below in the plural in l. 12, where the reading is 𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑𓖑, the plural strokes alone being slightly doubtful. Spiegelberg read 𓖑𓖑 here, and his failure to read the continuation in l. 12 is responsible for his rendering
there "sie sind ererbt und in Besitz genommen". The metathesis for from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards is well authenticated, and I believe that we here have the passive participle "let loose", "released" in both cases; in l. 12 the preposition m must be supplied before vbn(yw), the omission of m occurring elsewhere in our text, before dmi, l. 3; Sr-nacht, II. 5, 10; pr hrw, II. 10, 13; between 3-n-f and Stfr, l. 16.

6-7. For the restoration of P-Rc occurs in apposition to pry vbn-hmnt Wbn-Rc and simply Wbn-Rc respectively. These later passages show that is not mere anticipation of the nominal object following, after the model familiar in Coptic. Sw refers back to pry vbn n Wbn-Rc, and try hymnt n Pr-Rc is further elucidation of that expression. The topographical name Pr-Rc "Pi-Rcr" appears to refer to the entire neighbourhood to the west of Sa-wahet; in ll. 10-11 we read of "this cadastral register of the wells and orchards of Pi-Rcr", and the following line throws light on its whereabouts.

7. It would appear that has slipped out after cf. the very similar sentence in l. 12. has doubtless subordinating force in both places, and I translate it here as "for"; in the other instance it is better left untranslated.

8. The restoration is uncertain, and based upon the supposition that st can have the meaning "to claim". Str seems to have that technical sense in l. 18-14, and for the construction with direct object one may compare in the other Dakleh stela ll. 12-13 in "as for him who shall claim (?) it, he (shall fall a victim to) the sword of Amen-Rc", Rec. trav., xxv, 195. Spiegelberg there rendered "Jeder (aber) der es (das Dekret) beseitigen wird, soll dem Schwert des Amon-Rc verfallen sein", which is open to the double objection that the word for "deedee" is feminine, l. 11, and that no such meaning of st is recorded in the Berlin dictionary. The suffix probably refers to the offerings mentioned in the broken lines at the beginning of the decree.

The words beginning after this has been emended into are susceptible of literal translation as follows: "on this day the priest of this noble land caused Šéteh, etc. to appear on . . . (date) in his festival 'Beauty of Daytime'". However, a few small details of orthography render this version suspect, apart from the superfluous — already noted: the determinative after thr and ntr, and the abnormal position of the n under pr. It is strange, moreover, that hrw pn should stand before a date and not after it. Now we have seen that the scribe who designed the inscription was not above garbling a simple name like Nesubast. May he not likewise have garbled a stereotyped formula of dating? On the well-known "Stela of the Exiles" (Brugsch, Reise nach der grossen Oase, Pl. 22), we find in l. 9, after the date of "fourth month of summer, (in the) five epagomenal days, the birth of Isis, corresponding to the festival of Amun in the New Year", the words "the making to appear of the Majesty of this noble god".

1 E. Meyer (Gottesstaat, p. 6, n. 1) declares this dating to be "nach wie vor völlig dunkel". The text, kindly verified for me by Blackman from squeeze and photograph, reads with — and not —, as Breasted supposed. Well, Chronologie égyptienne, 64, has rightly seen that the last words signify "5 jours épagoménes, naissance d'Isis", though he wrongly translates what precedes as "4° mois d'Akhit" instead of "fourth month of summer". The group is explained by the entry in a Turin papyrus (Botti-Peet, Giornale della Necropoli, Pl. 4). What is really unique is (a) the treatment of the epagomenal days as part of the last month of the year, instead of standing entirely outside the year, and (b) the information that the feast of the New Year commenced two days before the actual New Year's day. The "birth of Isis" was the specific name of the fourth epagomenal day.
From this it appears to me well-nigh certain that our passage is to be corrected into ḫaḏaḏ ‘on the day of causing to appear this noble god Sêtek.’ We may go even farther, and place the date 11 = A.Z. etc. in front of 11 = A.Z. Probably there was confusion in the original draft, the date having been added in the interline.

The writing 15 rather than 16 makes it probable that the name of the festival was 15, and that we should not translate, with Spiegelberg, "at his beautiful Wršu-feast".

9. The word 16 is the technical term with which juridical verdicts were announced, the full formula being mrtw X, cfr Y; see 17. Pap. Ch. Beatty I, 18, 2, which shows how 18 is to be read in the same expression Pap. Mook, 2, 4=A.Z., lxiii, 106; Pap. Berlin 9765, 17-18=A.Z., xluiii, 39. Here the second half of the formula is absent, the suit being against the Crown.

10. Sêtek follows up his verdict with three more oracular pronouncements on the same topic. The first of them has a close parallel, as we shall see, in the column of hieratic at the top of the stela. Thence we learn that the word following wbn 2 is to be restored as 19, a substitute for the 20 more frequently found after 21 "there is (are) not", see A.Z., lxiii, 6.

For 22, common in documents of this period, see my note on Wenamün 2, 3. The reading 23 is certain, and agrees with the view of the Wörterbuch, i, 178 that 24 in Mes, N. 10 is not to be read wrt, as I had supposed in my note on that passage, but with initial 25. We have here the feminine noun 26 and it should not be confused with the masculine word 27, though this has a very similar sense.

11. Can the scribe have written 28 for 29 (see Rec. trav., xxv, 193)? A list of rvd-controllers of wells is found on the verso of the Canon of Kings at Turin, immediately before a tax-list relating to the Oases. On my showing the present passage to Griffith some years ago, he at once recognized the common demotic preposition r-h "like" in 30, the noun of which is the Coptic 31. He quoted another early instance from the Rogers Tablet (i, 15), where we read 32, 33 = 34, 35. For 36 as a writing of 37 see above, the note on l. 5. I have already referred to Daressy’s brilliant discovery of King Psusennes in this sentence, see the note on l. 1.

12. The literal translation is: "As for every flowing well which is in the region of this district, that which . . . in the region of the west of Sa-waḥet, they are heirs released [from] the flowing wells of Huy, as they are called." The too general expression "every . . . district" is qualified and limited by another relative clause introduced, quite in the Coptic fashion, by 38, which here implies selection out of a number, like 39 in l. 13. The virtual plural wbn nb is then taken up by the plural pronoun 40, after which an m of equivalence has to be supplied. The term translated "derivatives" is in the Egyptian literally "heirs". As applied to wells, i.e. e can only be metaphorical. For 41 and for the preposition 42 probably to be supplied after it, see above, the note on l. 6. The identity of the man Huy in the name of the wells is unknown; Huy is a familiar abbreviation of Amenhotep.

12-13. The antithesis of mnu Pr-r. “Crown waters” and mnu nmḥ(q)w “private waters” was discussed in an earlier part of this article.

The restoration 43 is guaranteed by l. 14, where the reading is clear, despite Spiegelberg’s notes of interrogation. Probably 44 is the equivalent of the modern technical term ‘to lead off’, for which I am indebted to Sir Henry Lyons. The
phrase is unlikely to be a mere expression for “take possession of”. Note that the preposition r is omitted here in the future relative nty lw m (r) əḏm, as often from the Twentieth Dynasty onwards. So too in the non-relative use, ll. 14, 15.

18. \(\) see above on l. 8. The god’s statement that Nesubast had claimed “flowing wells” in the plural is not borne out by the words of the petitioner in l. 6, where reference is made only to the single well of Weben-Rē. Nevertheless, we can hardly imagine that the oracle is according a right that had not been asked, and we shall later find, in the inscription at the top of the stela, a mysterious reference to a flowing well of a different name.

14. I cannot restore the words before ḫn, and the traces before this word seem definitely to exclude \(\) as suggested by Spiegelberg.

The first snn is imperative, as above in l. 10. On \(\) see now Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik, § 522; also my note on Wenamūn 2. 54.

14-15. The expression “son to son, heir to heir” is known as far back as the Decree of Antef from Koptos, ll. 6, 12, but occurs also in other inscriptions of this period, e.g. in the Decree in favour of Isiemkheb, l. 26—Maspero, Momies royales, p. 706; the Decree of Amenophis, son of Ḫapu, l. 4.

15. Note the two virtual relative clauses introduced by \(\) and \(\), respectively, and referring to the indefinite subject ky ḥr nmḥ.

16. For the strange writing \(\) Griffith long ago quoted to me a Greek equivalent 
\(\) for \(\), but whether the assimilation of these two titles is responsible for the presence of the p here I am unable to judge.

16-17. \(\) is an apparently military title common at this period, see Meyer, Gottesstaat, &c., p. 7, n. 9; p. 8, n. 1; it is thus quite distinct from the title \(\), which, as its extension in l. 3 showed, refers to his governorship of the Oasis.

17. Spiegelberg failed to realize that mātawer—the vocalization here given to the word is of course purely fictitious—is a title or name of some employment. The word looks Libyan and the meaning is unknown.

18. For \(\) “shieldbearer” see Wörterbuch, v, 59. The title “captain of shield-bearers” may possibly occur again in the address of a letter from El-Hibeh published by Spiegelberg, where I read from the photograph \(\), A.Z., liii, Pl. 2. Spiegelberg’s transcription gives \(\) and well illustrates the danger of the old and over-facile method of transcription which represents by definite hieroglyphs what the Egyptians deliberately made indefinite. This method could be safely adopted only if our knowledge of Late Egyptian were perfect, which is far from being the case.

There is reason to think, as Spiegelberg has pointed out A.Z., liii, 109, n. 2, that \(\) meant a military “recruit” or the like, who in peace time cultivated the land on behalf of some estate-owner. In stating that the term was a designation of labourers and slaves, the Berlin dictionary (r, 88) accords to the mnḥ too low a rank.

1 I take this opportunity of again (see Journal, xvi, 224, n. 1) emphasizing the fact that the future nty lw m (or hr əḏm for r əḏm) is always future. Failure to observe this grammatical detail may lead to serious historical misinterpretation. Thus the stela Mariette, Abydos, ii, 36-7, does not refer, as Meyer (Gottesstaat, p. 6) supposed, apparently on the basis of Breasted’s translation (Ancient Records, iv, § 676), to the restoration of the tomb of Nemrat which had been plundered, but merely threatens death to any men who might plunder it—nty lw ḫy, l. 3.

2 It is to be regretted that Erman, in the second edition of his Neuägyptische Grammatik, § 41, does not lend the sanction of his weighty opinion to a method of transcription which every progressively minded student must deem an essential reform.
20. Spiegelberg translates the title of Penamun as "der Priester vom Amonshause", but this would be a most unusual expression, the word _hm-ntr_ being always combined with the name of a god, not with that of a temple. We have seen in the note on l. 6 that the engraver regularly uses  in place of  or . I hesitatingly suggest that here  is written for  Amenâpe, the god of Luxor and of Djême.

For the name _Pn-Gby_ Griffith compares the Greek transcriptions Πακιβας, Πακιβας, variants of Πακιβας. The end of this name and the whole of that following are now lost and are restored from Sir Henry Lyons's hand-copy (Spiegelberg, p. 20), supplemented by the published photograph.

The expressions used in the inscription were addressed to a public well acquainted with both the natural resources and the administrative practice of the Oasis. This knowledge not being vouchsafed to ourselves, we have to base our interpretation upon such information as is available as to present-day conditions in the same region, supplementing it with a little imagination. The picture thus disclosed is as follows. At the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty troubles had broken out in the Oasis, and the new Libyan Pharaoh Shoshenq I found himself constrained to send thither as the new governor a close relative, the prince Wayheset. In times of turmoil and civil disorder property is apt to be usurped and any title to it called in question, so that one of Wayheset's first acts would naturally be to inspect the wells upon which the prosperity of the Oasis depended. When the prince was in the town of Sa-wahet, a certain priest of Sêtékh named Nesubast petitioned him to look into the ownership of the land adjacent to the flowing well of Weben-Rêr, alleging that this well had belonged to his mother. The claim was based on the fact that a new sheet of inundation water had appeared in the neighbourhood, and Nesubast contended that the area covered by it was fed by the well of Weben-Rêr and by no other. Judgements at this period being delivered by oracle, Wayheset cited Nesubast to appear before Sêtékh, the god of the Oasis, at his approaching festival. On the appointed day the prince himself put the questions to the god, who signified his verdict by movements visible to the various witnesses whose names are appended at the end of the inscription. The shrine of the deity had doubtless been carried from the Holy of Holies to the hypostyle hall, and there, resting on the shoulders of priests, was jerked upwards or downwards in the prescribed manner to betoken the divine assent or dissent. Needless to say, it was the prince Wayheset who really determined the issue. None of the parties can have been unaware of this fact, but nevertheless the verdict was devoutly accepted as coming from the god.1 Probably Nesubast put forward his claims in several separate utterances, but after his first words, which are quoted in abbreviated form, only the oracular responses are recorded. Some examination of documents, as we shall see, must have preceded the trial. The decisions are given in four distinct oracles. The first declared that the claim of Nesubast was just, and that the inundated ground to the north-west of the flowing well of Weben-Rêr did in fact belong to his mother Tewhenut, the daughter of Hententêre. The second oracle stated the grounds for this judgement: only one flowing well was connected with Weben-Rêr in this tract of land known as Pi-Rêr, and that single well was found inscribed in Tewhenut's name upon official records copied from others of the nineteenth year of one of the two kings named Psusennes, and published as authoritative by the controller 'Onkhêf, the son of Setnakhte. A third reply gave Nesubast yet further rights. It appeared that all the flowing wells to the west of the town of Sa-wahet, including of course that of Weben-Rêr, were derivatives of the wells known as those of Huy, which were not

1 See the interesting analysis in Meyer, Gottesstaat, pp. 8 ff.
Crown property and could therefore only belong to private individuals. For that reason they were at the disposal of any citizen who might lead off their waters. In a fourth and last utterance explicit authorization is given to Nesubast to take possession of all these wells, in addition to that of Weben-Rêr, and it is declared that any property thus acquired shall be confirmed to Nesubast and his descendants for ever, without right of participation being ceded to any other son of Tewhenut.

Whether the matter ended there is rendered doubtful by the scene and legends at the top of the stela. In Fig. 1 is reproduced a drawing from the original by Mr. Kennedy North, who has faithfully reproduced all that can be seen by the eye of an artist unacquainted with hieroglyphs. In the centre is an enigmatic structure, which at first sight might appear to be a shrine out of which rises a garlanded pole carrying the so-called wig of Osiris, the fetish of Abydos. Two figures of the goddess Hathor decorate the walls. But any connexion with Osiris seems so out of harmony with the inscriptions that we may at once rule out this possibility. At one moment I attempted to see in the structure the representation of a flowing well, but the accompanying legends and figures are against this supposition. The only plausible view is to regard the building as the shrine of Sêthek himself, though it remains utterly obscure what the central image may mean and what Hathor is doing here. The first figure to the right, holding a lamp, is "prince Wayheset of the Oasis-land" himself \[\text{[Hieroglyphs]}\]. Behind him, in an attitude of adoration, stands \[\text{[Hieroglyphs]}\] "the priest of Sêthek Nesubast, justified, the son of Patê". To left of the shrine stands first an unnamed woman, whom I conjecture to have been Nesubast's mother Tewhenut, and behind her another woman, described as \[\text{[Hieroglyphs]}\] "the wife of the priest of Sêthek Petebast, the son of Patê, justified".1 Who can this Petebast be? Unless the name is a mistake for Nesubast, a conjecture to which an objection will be made farther down, we must suppose it to belong to a brother of the claimant, possibly deceased, since l. 15 seems to imply that Tewhenut had no son except Nesubast. Below, to the right, two women are

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1 The lower sign in \[\text{[Hieroglyphs]}\] is possibly the surface out of which — was to have been subsequently carved. These legends are in high relief.
shown playing tambourines. Their names were indicated in the accompanying legend, of which only part is legible: "the wife, lady of the house, the songstress... justified, daughter of the songstress of Setekh... justified". The writing with $\text{pe(t)}$ "heaven" instead of $\text{pe(r)}$ "house" is an enormity. Mother and daughter appear to be here depicted, and the daughter seems likely to have been the wife of Nesubast. This would prohibit the figure in the upper register from being the same man's wife, unless, as is possible but improbable, two wives of his are shown, the one living and the other dead, or both living or both dead. No great importance can be attached to the epithet "justified" on so barbarous a monument.

The greatest puzzle of all is the hieratic legend before Tewfentut, if the first of the two women in front of the shrine be she. This reads "The great god said: There are not two flowing wells belonging to Tentsar, the well of the house of Horus and Sakhmet (?), but (only) one." Here we have a further oracle, couched in almost the same terms as the oracle of l. 10. But the names of the flowing well and of the subterranean waters whence it flowed are different. Can it be that this legend alludes to a claim quite distinct from, but of the same kind as, that concerning which the full details are narrated in the body of the stela? This seems an improbable hypothesis, but it is perhaps preferable to supposing that the well of Weben-Reś is here meant, though described under a wholly different name.

1 For the reading, and for Horus and Sakhmet as the deities of Pi-djodj, see above, the note on ll. 1-3
The Dakhleh Stela

Lines 1-8
The Dakhleh Stela

Lines 8-13
The Dakhleh Stela

Lines 13-20
A modern Egyptian harvest custom

1. Placing the bread on the heap of winnowed beans
2. The *kullah* of water placed on the heap
SOME FURTHER NOTES ON A HARVESTING SCENE
By WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN
With Plate viii

In this Journal, viii, 235 ff., I published a paper called Some Occurrences of the Corn-'arûsche in Ancient Egyptian Tomb Paintings. I pointed out that a particular figure, which was apparently somewhat of a puzzle to Egyptologists, was most probably an ancient 'arûset el-šamb (bride of the corn), an object made of ears of corn which is to be found in Egypt at the present day under this name. The loaves of bread represented in these ancient pictures I also explained by the modern custom of placing loaves of bread in amongst the grain after winnowing, but at the time I had not actually seen this done. The following information was given to me by three or four independent witnesses with regard to this custom, and, as will be seen, the details vary slightly.

One informant told me that when the heaps of wheat, beans, and the like are standing ready to be winnowed, the owner brings some loaves of bread, dates, and other foodstuffs in the evening and puts them in among the grain. The men who winnow it on the following day eat this food, together with any people who happen to be present. These gifts are regarded as baraka and are believed to ensure plenty, both of the grain to be winnowed and of the harvest in the following year. On the other hand, at El-Lähûn I was told that the bread was put in the heaps of wheat only, and after, not before, it was winnowed; also that the gift of bread was the perquisite of the man who did the winnowing and was not shared with others.

Again, another man said that, in the case of beans, bread and cheese are brought by the owner just before sunset, the beans having been already winnowed. These gifts remain thus buried all night, and the man who removes the beans to the owner's granaries eats this food after he has completed his work. Should the owner remove the beans he himself will eat the gifts of food.

The photographs reproduced here were taken by me at the time when some beans were being winnowed, when I myself saw this ceremony. The gift of bread was placed on the heap of beans (Pl. viii, fig. 1) when a certain amount had been winnowed, in the last process of which they had been shaken in a sieve. The mound of beans was flattened at the top, and the owner placed the bread on this; the rest of the beans were then sieved over it. The servant I had at the time, a Fayyûmî Arab, told me that cheese also is sometimes placed with the bread.

With regard to the kullah of water standing in a hollow on the pile of beans (Pl. viii, fig. 2), I was told that some of this water may be drunk during the night by mashdiykh min taht el-arûf (sheikhs under the earth); and that on the following day—for the kullah is placed on the mound before sunset when the bread is placed inside the pile—any people who happen to come to the spot and require a drink may refresh themselves from the kullah. Moreover, the water, as well as the bread, is believed to ensure a plentiful harvest.

1 N. de G. Davis, The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, 63 ff., and Pl. xviii. See also W. S. Blackman, The Fellähîn of Upper Egypt, 171-2.
2 See W. S. Blackman, op. cit., 104.
in the ensuing year, as well as a good supply for the current year, so that the owner may have sufficient for all his needs.

Thus the three objects found in the harvest scenes as depicted in the Tomb of Nakht at Thebes and in the New Kingdom Tombs Nos. 38 and 57, namely, the ancient "bride of the corn", the loaves of bread, and the vessel of water, are found still to persist in modern times in association with the harvest. What the water and loaves were used for in ancient times must, I suppose, still remain problematical, though perhaps they were offerings to the figure now called "bride of the corn", or to the harvest goddess, Ernūtēt.
AN UNPUBLISHED ROCK-TOMB AT ASYÛT

BY ROSALIND MOSS

I SHOULD like to draw attention to a rock-tomb at Asyût which has not been published as far as I am aware. It lies at the foot of the hill behind the modern slaughter-house (whence its local name of "Salkhana tomb"), and belonged to another Ḥepzefa, also nomarch of the Lycopolite nome. Planned on the same colossal scale as that of his well-known namesake, this tomb consists of an unfinished outer court with subsidiary tombs, a pillared hall, an inner hall, and a vaulted passage, beyond which is the sanctuary with three niches in the west wall. The large pillared hall is now roofless, but on the jambs of the doorway leading to the interior are remains of titles of the deceased, part of an inscribed architrave is lying on the ground, and the right (north-west) wall of the hall is still covered with inscriptions to a great height. This, however, is so badly destroyed that it is impossible to make out much, but the greater part consists of a long vertical text containing epithets of Ḥepzefa, who apparently lived in the reign of Amenemhat II, and is described as hereditary prince and overseer of prophets. Then follows the usual address to the living, and next to it is a contract (\(\text{\textcircled{A}}\)) in tabular form. It was on the floor at the south-east end of this hall that a large number of New Kingdom stelae leaning against the walls were found by Mr. Wainwright in 1922 when clearing the tomb for the Service des Antiquités; the demotic papyri described by Sottas in Ann. Serv., xxiii, 34-46, were discovered at the same time high up in the rubbish near the centre of the hall.

Opening out of the court are small tombs of one or two chambers, of about the same date, three of which have inscribed doorways, while one has remains of painted scenes in the interior. Of these, two on the north and south sides of the court belonged to overseers of sealers, named Hepzefa \(\text{\textcircled{B}}\), son of Idi \(\text{\textcircled{C}}\), and Wepu \(\text{\textcircled{D}}\), whose mother was Khety-ro \(\text{\textcircled{E}}\), respectively, and one on the west side to Idi \(\text{\textcircled{F}}\), son of Ipi \(\text{\textcircled{G}}\), lector and prophet.
THE ADMISSION OF A PRIEST OF SOKNEBTYNIS
IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

MERTON DEMOTIC PAPYRI I

BY S. R. K. GLANVILLE

With Plate ix

About three years ago Mr. Wilfred Merton acquired, together with a number of early Greek papyri, a single demotic document, the first in that script to be added to his collection of manuscripts. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Merton for his invitation to publish it here before its appearance in the projected catalogue of his collection.

The papyrus itself consists of a single narrow strip, of average height 5½ in. (14.2 cm.) and width 11½ in. (30.2 cm.). Worm-punctures and larger holes (in part due to the folding of the papyrus) give a ragged appearance to the page, but have not destroyed much of the writing. The most damaged part, the left-hand edge, is so frayed that it looks at first sight as if part of the document was missing from this end. But although the last signs of two or even three lines are destroyed, the remaining lines seem to be complete, and probably the most that has been lost is a ½ to a ¾ in. of selvage. In any case we need expect no margin, as only a narrow one—½ inch—has been left at top, bottom, and right-hand edge. The material has been economically used with long lines running right across the page.

The provenance of the papyrus is abundantly proved by internal evidence to be Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat; Umm el-Breigat) in the Fayyum. It is dated in the 29th year of Ptolemy Euergetes II (Pl. ix).

Transcription

Recto

1. P(?) [skr(?)]-mt z n wrb·w n Sbk- nb-T·tn n ntr·w sn·w n ntr·w mnh-w a n ntr·w mr· yt·w n ntr·w nt pr p ntr <a·>tny·b
2. yf f n ntr·w mr-mar·w n ntr·w mn h-w hms·w n wrb·w n Sbk-n b-T·tn t n t us/hy p r/ y d
3. mng mt n(?)/ Sbk-nb-T·tn P-te-Wsr P-te-Wsr e-the n sh·w n wrb·w Sbk-nb-Tn e-w z wr sp mty·n

a The broken and somewhat faint signs after । are the of a redundant determinative (𓊎); cf. in this line yf·w (where the two plural determinatives are separated by the sign for ।), and the irregular det. of yfrf in L. 2.  
b Probably nothing lost beyond the last (incomplete) sign visible.  
c No fem. -t in us/hy as here written; the final sign is the divine det., not the plural, cf. ṣrpy L. 7.  
d Probably nothing lost after ƥy, as that word has clearly been crowded into the available space.  
e The fragmentary signs between mt and T·tn can all be accounted for as part of Sbk-nb, with the exception of a short straight stroke which appears to have run into the beginning of Sbk; this can only be r or n.  
f Probably nothing lost.

1 I have had constant opportunities to discuss the text with Sir Herbert Thompson; my obligation to him is again much greater than would appear from the explicit acknowledgements that follow.
2 The papyrus was not in first-class condition when the document was written: a little to the left of the centre a strip ½ in. wide had been torn from the surface for about 1½ in. The text is written on the vertical fibres.
3 See below, p. 38.
ADMISSION OF A PRIEST OF SOKNEBTYNIS

4. Pa-ḫe s Pa-Ḥrp a r-f wrb swd n Sbk-nb-Tn h-sp 29 tp pr 5 p ṅn n wrb-w s tpy P-te-Wsr P-te-Wsr [p ro-n-][š] (?)
5. Ḥr-wd Pa-ḫe s 2-nw ....... 1 P-mnḥ-Sbk P-te-Mr-Rc(?) Sbk-ḥb (?) s 3-nw Wn-nfr-p-my(?) Sbk-ḥb (?) Pa-ḫe
6. Ḥm-ḫwy(?) Mr-Rc s 4-nw Wn-nfr Tšē(?) Pa-Nt(?) p ṅr Wn-nfr Sbk-ḥb(?)-p-my(?) s 5-nw Sbk-ḥb (?) P-te-Wsr
7. Sbk-ḥb (?) Tšē (?) Pa-Ḥrp p ṅr Pa-ḫe n wrb-w ṅt e mnq mt p ṅr ḫry
8. Sh P-te-Wṣr P-te-Wṣr nt ṅr n ṅw n wrb-w

Verso

... 1 Pa-ḫe Pa-Ḥrp ... ... =

6 Apparently the ṅ of ṅw ṅ written out; not an elaborate det. of ṅw; but the sign is damaged.  ḫ The traces after the large lacuna suit ṅ (“phyll”) very well.  ṅ Probably only one name lost in the lacuna.
1 Almost certain, cf. the clear reading Mr-Rc in the next line.  ṅ Very faint, but ḫṣy at least is certain.
1 Traces of four or five signs before Pa-ḫe.  ṅ Very faint trace of some six or seven signs after Pa-Ḥrp.

Translation

Recto

(1) The registration (?) namely by the priests of Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis,2 and the Brother Gods (Philadelphi), the Beneficent Gods, the Father-loving Gods, the Gods who appear, the God Who-honour- (2) his-Father, the Mother-loving Gods, and the Beneficient Gods (Energetes II and Cleopatra II and III) there were assembled3 the priests of Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis in the Court4 of the House (temple), (3) to take counsel5 with (?) Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis, (and ?) Petosiris (son of) Petosiris concerning the records of the priests of Soknebtynis; they saying together (i.e. with one accord): “We are agreed (upon)6 (4) Pakhes son of Paapis, that he shall be7 a wḥ8 priest of Soknebtynis. Year 29, Tobi 5,9 in the name of the priests: 1st phyle—Petosiris (son of) Petosiris [the phyl-]arch (?),10 (5) Haryothes (son of) Pakhes; 2nd phyle ....... (son of) Pemenkh-Sobek, Petemarres (?) (son of) Sokonopis (?)11 3rd phyle—Onnophris (son of) Pmois, (or *Onnophripmois12 son of) Sokonopis (?) (son of) Pakhes, (6) Ḥmnkhwy (?)13 (son of) Marres; 4th phyle—Onnophris (son of) Tšē (?),14 Pa-Nel (?) the elder, (son of) Onnophris, Sokonopis (?) (son of) Pmois (or (son of) Sokonoppmois);12 5th phyle—Sokonopis (?) (son of) Petosiris, (7) Sokonopis (son of) Tšē (?),14 Paapis the elder, (son of) Pakhes—(being) the councillor priests (of) the temple aforesaid.”

(8) Written by Petosiris (son of) Petosiris who keeps the records15 of the priests.

Verso

... ... Pakhes (son of) Paapis ... ...16

Notes

1. I owe the suggested reading zlḥc before mt to Sir Herbert Thompson, but it is by no means certain. Assuming p for the first sign of the line to be correct, only a bare trace of the beginning of the next word follows and little more than a trace at the end of the tear, which might be the tail of /simplex in zlḥc. If that is so the word is here written without its usual determinative ṅ (see references quoted in the next paragraph), the possible explanation being that zlḥc-mt was regarded as one word, only requiring one det. after mt, since both component parts take the same determinative, ṅ.
The reading zkr-mt, if correct, makes good sense in the context. The compound word means "record", "contract" in general (= χρηματοποιεῖν in Canopus and Rosetta: Spiegelberg, Dem. Texte d. Priesterdekrete, Gloss. no. 416; cf. Sethe, Dem. Urk. . . Bürgschaftserechte, 111 and 185–6). Note also ry n zkr-mt in B.M. 10591, 3. 15, 10. 22, etc. (unpublished); and, for the more restricted sense suggested here, the same papyrus 10. 17–19 and vs. 3. 19 zkr t ucry, "to record or register the judgement" (I owe these references to Thompson). A similar sense is perhaps to be found in P. Elephantine (ed. Spiegelberg) 7. 14, but it is not possible to make anything of the signs immediately following zkr in that passage.

2. The writing of the god's name and description shows two forms in this papyrus, apparently used without any distinction of meaning. In the longer form the town is spelt T'-tn, in the shorter it seems to be reduced to Tn. To preserve the distinction in the translation, I have called Sbk-nb-T'-tn Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis, and Sbk-nb-Tn "Soknebtunis". But in fact the pronunciation of both spellings was presumably the same. Compare the three forms found in the demotic papyri at Cairo from Tebtynis (ed. Spiegelberg, Cat. Gen.): Sbk-nb-Tn in Cairo 30612, a. 6 and b. 4; 30617, a. 4 and b. 4; 30622, 11; 30630, 6; 31223, 3 and 4; 50016, 1 and 4; Sbk-nb-T'-tn in 30620, 6; 30623, 5; 31212, 3 and 6; and Sbk-t-nb-T'-tn (cf. Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 21, n. 6) in 30605, 4; 30606, 5; 30618, vs. 5 (?); 31179, 5. There does not, however, seem to be any other example of the alternative spellings occurring in the same papyrus.

3. hms in the technical sense of an assembly of priests is found in a number of papyri from Tebtynis at Cairo; P. 30605, 4, 5; 30606, 4 and 6; 30619, 2 and 3; 31178, 3; and in Griffith, Rylands Cat., Papyrus xxxv, 4.

4. whe(t) generally in demotic of the Halls of Osiris in the Underworld (e.g. II Khamuas, 2. 2–4; P. Berlin 8851 (ed. Spiegelberg), 4. 20; Paris, Todtenbuch (ed. Lexa), passim), retains its classical use as "hall" or "court" of a temple in a building inscription from the Serapeum, Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 971, ll. 1 and 3, and in Griffith, Ryl., P. xxv, 4, where the same phrase (hms hmn t wlb) is used as in the Merton papyrus, and of a similar assembly of priests. (See Griffith, op. cit., 154, n. 3.)

5. For the meaning see the three passages in Canopus quoted by Spiegelberg, Priesterdekrete, Gloss. no. 143. That this rather special use of mnq mt is required here is shown by a second occurrence of the idiom below (l. 7) in almost precisely the same phrase as is found in Canopus. The syntax in l. 3 is, however, unexpected. Mnq mt with this technical sense in the examples quoted, including l. 7 below in this papyrus, is always used intransitively, without even an indirect object. At first sight, therefore, it seems hazardous to assume a usage mnq mtr or a "to take counsel with" in the present passage, but the context demands it, and some support is to be found in two demotic fragments in Cairo, P. 31123 and P. 50016. In both these the last line contains enough to recognize the well-attested expression n wrb-w mnq mt (as Spiegelberg, Cat., p. 309 notes); but in addition the phrase mnq mt or fragments of it occurs twice in P. 31223 and once in P. 50016 towards the beginning of the text, in the last instance followed by e-r and a personal name. Enough of these fragments is left to show that they follow in the main the scheme of our text, and it is highly probable from its position and especially from the occurrence of r-f wrb Sbk-nb-Tn in the next line that mnq mt e-r N in P. Cairo 50016, 3 corresponds closely to mnq mt n Sbk-nb-T'-tn in l. 3 of the Merton papyrus.

A more serious objection perhaps to this interpretation lies in the necessity to insert "and" between "Suchos, Lord of Tebtynis" and "Petosiris". Though by no means impossible grammatically, this relationship between the god and the priest is unexpected. But the only escape is to assume that a title of Petosiris has been lost before
Tebtynis and is to be read instead of Sbk-nb; and this seems against all reason in front of the traces.

6. *mty* here apparently used transitively, without even a preposition before the object. For only a small low sign could have been lost in the hole after *mty-n* without leaving any traces, and the scribe’s pen had practically run dry on the last stroke of *mty-n* and had been freshly filled at the beginning of the next line. Exactly the same use of *mty* is perhaps to be found in P. Cairo 50016, 2 and 5, though in each case the context is insufficient to give certainty as to the syntax, and *mty* here may even be a personal name.

The formula *e-w z wtc sp* (for *n wtc sp*—see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 412—or *ευπροσωπος*) occurs in the agreements of the priests' associations for the provision of cults, P. Cairo 30605, 5, etc. (see exx. quoted in n. 3).

7. The classical use of *try* with a title meaning “to be such and such (title)” is retained in Demotic (Griffith, *Ryl.*, P. IX, 5, 16, etc.; Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, 7, *e*, e). The present formula occurs in both the Cairo fragments, 31223, 3 *Pa-mnh* (?), *r-f wcb Sbk-nb-ln p r n wrb-mn*, and 4 *Pa... r-f wcb Sbk-nb-Tn* (rest lost); 50016, 4 *Pa-Mr... r-f wcb Sbk-nb-Tn* (rest lost), and is there taken to have its usual meaning by Spiegelberg, *Cat. Gen.*, 833. Is it possible, however, to translate “we are agreed . . . . to make him a priest”?

8. There can be no doubt of the reading *wd*, but no use of the word in connexion with the priesthood is known, nor any title. Thompson suggests a possible meaning “full” (derived from the root “be sound”), indicating that the priestship granted was the complete office of *wcb* as opposed to minor posts in the temple service. Or could it mean that the candidate was “sound”, i.e. that his claims were valid and that he had passed all the necessary tests, e.g. proved his priestly descent, etc.? We know very little of the requirements demanded in Ptolemaic times, but for the first and second centuries A.D. a detailed picture of the strict investigation of claims to the priesthood in this particular temple is to be found in the Greek papyri (Grenfell, Hunt and Goodspeed, *Tebtynis II*, 54 ff.).

9. i.e. December 31, 142 B.C.

10. I have little doubt in my mind that *s* is the correct reading of the last word. If so *ro-n-s* follows almost automatically as the restoration of the lacuna. Some title other than “secretary” (*nt r n shy-w, I. 8*) is needed to explain the very important position given to Petosiris in I. 3, and “great one of the phyle (? phyla)” is obviously suitable for the man whose name heads the list of representatives and who is the only one accorded a title. Whether phylarch is the correct equivalent of *ro-n-s* in this instance is perhaps questionable (Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, 1, 27). For although Canopus I. 9 (dem. text—= I. 33 Greek) explicitly states that each of the five phyla has (or is to have) an *ro-n-s*, which is there equated with *φυλαρχος*, in the Merton papyrus the implication is that Petosiris was the sole phylarch for the five phyla represented.

11. The equation *Sbk-hb* (?) = *ευπροσωπος* is assumed with a query by Spiegelberg in his catalogue of the Cairo papyri, where the name occurs very frequently (see under Soknopis in the list of personal names). Both there and here the second part of the name in demotic looks like *hb* and nothing like *Hrp*, which is, however, presumably the origin of the Greek form. [But cf. *Ta-Sbk-Hrp* in P. Cairo 30607, the mother of the first contracting party, in whose name *Hrp* is written out in full as we should expect it. Spiegelberg suggests the equation *παντοσωπος* (?).]

12. I cannot find any other example of this combination, but cf. the possible

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1 Griffith, *op. cit.*, 226, n. 5 suggests that in this passage *try wcb* might have the special sense “qualify as priest”, which would suit very well in P. Merton.
Sokonoppmos in l. 6, which certainly does exist—if not here, in P. Cairo 30613 (first party to contract), etc. (Spiegelberg, op. cit., index of proper names, s.v.).

13. Though very faint and slightly damaged by a worm-hole there can be little doubt that this is the same name as occurs three times in the list of priests, P. Cairo 30605, 2. 3 and 6, and 3. 1. In the first two instances the affiliation is the same as in our papyrus, but the former is distinguished as "the elder". Spiegelberg suggests Ḥm-r as the first element of the name (there is no doubt as to Ḥw) but Thompson points out that the curious sign is really a det., and that Ḥm-hw is probably the reading of the name.

14. The word occurs again, much more clearly written, in the next line, where ṭme seems to be the obvious reading. But there is no place for the only known word ṭme, "village", "town", etc., in this context. The alternatives are (1) it is an unknown title preceding "Pa-net the elder" in this case and "Pa-apis the elder" below, or (2) a phonetic variation of the ending pm- which (perhaps) completes the name Sokonoppmos above (see note 12). Some support is lent to this suggestion by the fact that ṭme in the only two cases where it occurs follows immediately on the only two names to which pm- is also (perhaps) appended; and in each case the writing with ṭme occurs after the writing with pm- If, however, pm- is a separate name in both cases (as seems most likely) this hypothesis is put out of court.

The only other possibility, and the one adopted here, is that the word is another proper name, namely one that is found (in the same affiliation: Omphriss s. T.) in P. Cairo 30605, 2. 30 and 30606, 2. 3 (Spiegelberg, Cat., pls. xii and xv respectively) and read by him Tšè(?).

15. On this specialized use of śr śb see Seth, Bûrgs., 276.

16. A docket presumably stating the title of the document. The traces before the name are 早期文字; those that follow are too faint to copy. The document appears to have been first folded four or five times horizontally, and then not less than six times vertically.

Commentary

The general intention of this short document is quite evident. It is the record of the admission, or election, of a new member to the priesthood of a temple. As such it is the only complete example of its kind among Egyptian texts of any date. Unfortunately there are important points of detail in the document the interpretation of which is uncertain.

The temple concerned is that of Suchos at Tebtynis. The lower course of this building has recently been uncovered by Signori Anti and Bagnani for the Italian Archaeological Mission, and it is highly probable that one of the courts of the sanctuary now visible is the wḥy mentioned in l. 2 of the Merton papyrus. A considerable number of papyri were found by the excavators, written in hieratic, demotic, and Greek. Of the last named some have already been published. They are all of Roman Imperial date and of no help in the present inquiry. Similarly the series of Greek papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt in the houses of the priests of Soknebtunis are confined to the first two centuries of our era. But among the large group of demotic papyri from their excavations now in the Cairo Museum, some

1 The only other similar material is that contained in the two Cairo fragments already referred to, P. 31223 and P. 50016. Spiegelberg had guessed their essential import (Cat. 333), from the hint contained in śMJ ṣW-b n Śbk-nb-Tn, but had naturally been unable to get more out of such fragmentary remains. But if the texts were almost useless by themselves (Spiegelberg did not think them worth transcribing) they become intelligible in the light of the Merton papyrus, and are in turn helpful for its elucidation.


3 Publicazioni della Società Italiana. Papyri greci e latini, x, fasc. 1, nos. 1129-49. (I owe the reference to Mr. T. C. Skeat.)

4 Tebtunis II, nos. 291-315.
half-dozen⁴ are concerned with the organization of the priests of this temple during a period from 180 B.C. (P. Cairo 31178) to 386 B.C. (P. 30618). The present text falls inside this period of forty-four years, but towards the end of it (142 B.C.). Although none of the Cairo documents is of the same date—the closest to it are 31179 at 148/7 B.C. and 30619 at 183/7 B.C.—it might be expected that some of the persons mentioned in them—each contains a list of priests’ names—should be found among the signatories to this deed. In fact, though all the individual names which occur in it are found in one combination or another in the Cairo papyri, most of them frequently, e.g. Sokonopsis, in P. 31179, the one nearest in date to ours, yet there are only three possible equations of persons identified by name and affiliation.

Ḥr-wd (s) Pa-he in I. 5 may be the man recorded in P. Cairo 30606, 2, last line (Spiegelberg, “Harythees son of Pachois [Paches?]”); date 158 B.C. Ḥm-hw (s) Mr-Rc (I. 6), in view of the rarity of the first name—it is not recorded elsewhere—must surely be one of the three following in P. Cairo 30605: Ḥm-hw p ˁsr (s) Mr-Rc (the superintendent of the temple λειμνυγς) I. 2; Ḥm-hw s Mr-Rc (title illegible but not λειμνυγς) I. 6; or Ḥm-hw p ˁsm (affiliation illegible) I. 3. The date of this text is 157/6 B.C., fifteen years before P. Merton was written, so that “Ḥm-hw the elder” is the least likely possibility. Finally if Wn-nfr (s) Ṭḥ is the correct reading in I. 6 before Pa-Net³ a third equation may be found in “Onnophris son of Ṭḥ (?)”, Cairo 30605, 2, 30, or in “Onnophris son of Ṭḥ the second”, 30606, 2, 3. It will be seen that all these suggested equations are roughly of the same date, but there are none from the two papyri nearer in date to ours. Beyond supplying a hint for the reading of Ḥm-hw in I. 6 and the possibility of Ṭḥ in II. 6 and 7, these equations offer little help towards the understanding of the document.

On examining the text in detail, it becomes clear that, apart from difficulties of actual translation, the interpretation is often ambiguous at crucial points. Thus the key to the precise nature of the document as such is lost in the lacuna at the beginning of I. 1.⁴ If we could with certainty restore zdjc before mt there would be no doubt that the text was the official record to be filed in the temple archives.⁵ Since the restoration is not certain, the most that can be said is that the missing word must have signified an occasion or statement the sense of which would have been amplified by the rest of the text, as indicated by the introductory Ṿ. It might be a form of diploma actually given or sent to the new priest; or no more than a minute of proceedings in the court of the βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς, though the latter is unlikely in view of the docket on the verso and the folds already alluded to.⁶

Whatever the technical force of the introductory phrase, it is clearly implied in the words immediately following that the event reported concerned the whole body of priests of Soknebtinis and his συνάντας θεοῖς the deceased Ptolemies. For after the protocol in the name of n wdb-xe n Sbk-nb-Tn, the protagonists of the story are carefully distinguished as the βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς of the temple.⁷ (Even if they were not specified as such in I. 7, the unaccustomed use of mnq mt in I. 3 would still be sufficient to proclaim the scribe’s intention to indicate these priests as the formal governing body described in the Canopus inscription.)

It is there laid down⁸ that each of the five phylae should elect five representatives⁹ who

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¹ Those enumerated in n. 3, p. 36, and P. 30618 and 31179.
² See n. 13, p. 38 above.
³ See n. 14, p. 38 above.
⁴ See n. 1, p. 35 above.
⁵ Though the creases in the papyrus rather suggest that the document had been folded in the manner of a letter (see Journal, xiv (1928), 302). In that case, would it be the letter to a royal or other civil official giving formal notice of the admission of Pakhes? (But the traces on the verso contain apparently no other name than “Pakhes s. Paapis.”)
⁶ See above, n. 16, p. 38.
⁷ See n. 5, p. 36.
⁸ Canopus, hierogl. text 15, 16 = demit. 8, 9 = Greek 29, 30.
⁹ Otto, Priester und Tempel, 1, 37, stresses the representational character of the councilors, implying a much larger number of priests in each phyle.
were to form this body of councillors. Was this number consistent for all the large temples, as Blackman seems to suggest? Even if not, we should still expect each phyle to supply the same number of representatives. Yet it is difficult to arrange the names here given so as to discover an equal representation on this occasion. (It can be no more than a coincidence that, if it is assumed that no affiliations were given (with the single exception of Petosiris s. of Petosiris, from which there is no escape in view of his designation both before and after his mention in the list of phyle priests), there are exactly twenty-five persons listed (i.e. the number stipulated in Canopus); for they are quite unequally divided among the phylaee.) The first two phylaee send two priests each; but to limit the number of the last three to two each also, it is necessary to admit that in each of these phylaee one man had to be distinguished by the affiliation of his father as well as himself, and to consent to tem(?) in ll. 6, 7 being part of the preceding name or a title before the name that follows. It may be simpler to suppose that phylaee 8–5 did in fact send three representatives apiece to the council. The hypothesis provokes further questions: Was this disproportion accidental? Could it have been due to the illness of some of the priests who should have been present? Was attendance at these council meetings not more compulsory than that of members of a club committee at the election of a new candidate? Is it conceivable that the full strength of the council was 20 or even 25 when only 18 at most were present?

The last and most interesting problem is the real nature of the admission to the priesthood which Pakhes received by virtue of the decision recorded in this document. It may be that it is useless to conjecture further until we know the significance of the word wof which qualifies "priest" in ll. 4. If wof here implies some distinction within the priesthood, then the document is no more than the grant by the body of priests of certain privileges in their gift to one who is already of their number. But this is not the impression given by the whole text; nor would this explanation be applicable to the Cairo fragments, where there is never any qualification of werb in the phrase γ-θ werb and the word wof does not occur. We are therefore thrown back on the assumption that this is the admission of a new member to the priesthood. But Blackman points out that the hieroglyphic text of Canopus (14 and again 34–5) states (as it were in parenthesis) that the king admitted new priests. However, neither demotic nor Greek version mentions the king, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the hieroglyphic either preserves an archaic form of words (which goes back to a time when the king as chief priest did induct new priests), or refers to a current fiction (derived from the same source as the alternative above) that the king as head of the religion of the country appointed all new members of the priesthood—a fiction which would be most appropriately expressed in the hieroglyphic account. This last procedure, however, would have been difficult in practice. The king's authority in the matter may have been delegated; and in the case of the appointment of ordinary priests the council of the temple might reasonably be entrusted with the duty. On that hypothesis the Merton papyrus would be the official record, either for filing or for transmission to some other authority, of the actual election or admission of Pakhes son of Paapis to the priesthood of the temple of Soknebtynis.

1 That of Soknebtynis is definitely stated to belong to the most important class of temple (ἰερὰ λόγος) in Roman times (Grenfell, Hunt, Goospeed, Tefnutis II, no. 292, l. 5), and we know it was one of the most important temples of Suchos in the Fayyum in Ptolemaic times from Tefnutis I, no. 60, 10 (and elsewhere), where the god is called θεὸς μέγας μεγάς.

2 Hastings, Encyc. Religion and Ethics; Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian), p. 298.

3 See n. 14, p. 38.


5 The wording of the document suggests that Pakhes had applied for admission rather than that he was the only fortunate candidate among a number up for election. Examples of such applications are
ADMISSION OF A PRIEST OF SOKNEBTYNIS

There is no indication of the tests he would have had to pass to qualify for the post. It is likely that already by this time he would have had to prove his priestly descent,¹ though there is no evidence as to whether genealogical shortcomings could as yet be atoned for by a competence in reading hieratic.²

recorded in Roman times (Tebtunis II, nos. 291 ff.). For the stages of procedure necessary to gain admission to the priesthood of Soknebtynis in the second century A.D. see op. cit., introduction to no. 292, p. 59.

¹ Blackman, op. cit., 299.
² Tebtunis II, no. 291, ll. 40–3.
THE BULL STANDARDS OF EGYPT

BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT

Four of the nomes of the Delta had standards displaying a bull accompanied by some other object. They were the Sixth Xois Ꝋ, the Tenth Athribis Ꝋ, the Eleventh the Cabasite Ꝋ, and the Twelfth Sebennytus Ꝋ. Newberry has already shown that the emblems on these standards are the sacred objects of their districts, and that the symbol in front of the bull in each case is not to be interpreted as an epithet, but is itself a sacred object.\(^1\) In fact the Ꝋ and Ꝋ represent the capital cities of their respective nomes without the help of the bull, and a god is known whose symbol was Ꝋ.\(^2\)

The cult of the bull was, therefore, widely spread in the Delta, but Egyptology does not of itself provide enough evidence to explain the meaning of the standards. Fortunately, however, numerous parallels may be found in neighbouring lands with which to interpret such scraps of information as Egypt affords. A study of these shows that throughout the Near East the bull very commonly represents the sky- or storm-god. It is important, therefore, to realize that the Ꝋ and Ꝋ which represent him elsewhere in the Near East also appear with his bull on the standards in Egypt. Moreover, the Ꝋ, another of the bull's associates here, gives evidence of being a meteorite, the missile of the storm-god. The bull standards of Egypt evidently show forth the majesty of the sky- and storm-god in his various manifestations.

In the first place it is necessary to establish the fact that, outside Egypt at any rate, the bull very widely represented the sky- or storm-god. In Mesopotamia from the time of Hammurabi (2100 B.C.) onwards the bull often acts as a support for the lightning flashes\(^3\) and for the storm-god himself, Figs. 1, 2, 3.\(^4\) Similarly in Minoan and Mycenaean art he

\(^1\) Newberry in *Ancient Egypt*, i, 7, 8.


\(^3\) Fig. 1 is drawn from Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Ramses, col. 27, fig. 2; W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, figs. 430, 468; again in the Kassite period, L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones, etc.*, Pl. xci, from which Fig. 2 is drawn; de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, viii, fig. 455, no. 16. For a useful catalogue see Schlobies, *Der akkadische Wettergott*, 27 ff. (Mitt. alter. Gesells., 1).

\(^4\) As will appear in the following pages. Fig. 3 is drawn from Ward, *op. cit.*, Fig. 461.
supports the labrys or double axe (Fig. 4). The weapon represented both the god and the goddess, just as in Babylonia the lightning had originally been held by a goddess but later passed to the god. In Crete the god was armed and descended from the sky, there was an omphalos, and double axes were dedicated in the Dictaean Cave, a spot sacred to Zeus, the storm-god. Elsewhere, both the double (Fig. 5) and the single axe (Fig. 6) are weapons of the storm-gods. The axe is, therefore, a skeuomorphic representation of the lightning, and with reason, for both it and the lightning split whatever they strike.

In fact the connexion between the bull and the lightning and the axe became so intimate that implements have been found made in the form of a bull. In them the body of the animal forms the socket while the blade occupies the space between the legs, and on the blade itself there is in each case a tripartite figure which no doubt originated in the lightning flashes. Hence it is significant that at Tyre Astarte

1 Fig 4 is drawn from Evans, Palace of Minos, II, Fig. 388. For others see Karo, Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai, I, Pl. xliii, nos. 333-4, of which about fifty-six examples were found, Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations (Sellers’ transl.), 249; A. S. Murray and others, Excavations in Cyprus, Fig. 67, no. 844; Evans, op. cit., I, Fig. 312 e shows the labrys hanging above the bull’s head.

2 Though so common, it is only twice held by a deity, once by a winged god (from Melos?), Cook, Zeus, II, Fig. 419, and once in Crete by the goddess, Evans, op. cit., I, Fig. 312 a. This would connect her with the meteorite goddess Artemis, to whom double axes were dedicated at Ephesus (Hogarth, Excav. of Ephesus, 337, 338, and Index, s.v. Double Axe) and who carries the single one at Laodicea ad Mare (Wroth, Cat. Greek Coins: Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Pl. xxxi, fig. 5, and p. 263, no. 113). Evans quotes other Artemis-like characteristics of hers, op. cit., II, 842 ff.


4 Evans, op. cit., I, Fig. 115; II, Fig. 557, and Fig. 194 e from Mycenae.

5 Id., op. cit., II, 838 ff. and Fig. 555.

6 Hogarth in B.S.A., VI, 108-9, 114.

7 Fig. 5 is drawn from Roscher, Lexikon, s.v. Dolichenus. Zeus carries the double axe on the coins of many cities in Caria, and was god of Labranda “The City of the Labrys”, Cook, Zeus, II, 572 ff. and Figs. 492, 497. At the omphalos and meteorite city, Delphi, double axes were deposited in the foundations of the temple and near the altar of Apollo the light-god, Perdrizet, Fouilles de Delphes, V, 120, 121, cf. also p. 1; for those of Artemis at Ephesus see n. 2 supra.

8 Fig. 6 is drawn from Koldewey, Die hettishche Inschrift, Pl. i (Wiss. Veröffentlichungen d. deutsch. or. Gesells. 1900, Heft i). Others are: von Luschan, Ausgrabungen in Sempach, III, Pl. xii; Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, II, fig. facing p. 451; Th. Dagem in Syria, X, Pl. xxxii (following p. 200).

9 Cf. also Zeus’ eagle, which grasps the labrys instead of the usual lightning, Cook, op. cit., II, 573.

10 Cook, op. cit., II, Figs. 542, 543.

11 Journal, XVIII, 5 ff.
set the head of a bull (ταῦτων) upon her own before going forth to find the meteorite, the "star fallen from the sky (ἀπόστειρα δαρτέα), which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre".1

In Babylonia Enil was the storm-god,2 and is addressed in such terms as "the Bull to his sanctuary", "a sturdy mountain bull", "a sturdy bull art thou".3 A hymn apostrophizes him as him "who lies in the lands like a mighty steer".4

Haddad or Ramman also has a bull, whether in Syria his original home or in Assyria his adopted home. He appears in art about the time of Hammurabi, holding his lightning flashes and riding on his bull,5 and may often be seen later.6 In many cities throughout North Syria a storm-god was worshiped in classical times whom there is every reason to identify with Haddad, and a bull, or a pair of bulls, always accompanies him. At his own city of Baalbek (Helipolis) he was called Zeus Adados as well as Jupiter Helopolitanus, and here his bulls are shown as very young with their horns only just beginning to sprout.7 At Doliche, modern Aintab, there was the famous thunder-god, whobrandished the double axe and thunderbolt, and was known to the classical world as Jupiter Dolichenus. He regularly stands upon his bull (Fig. 5).8 For the classical age the list might be greatly lengthened, but this must suffice for the present. Finally attention should be drawn to the two Assyrian words rimu, the one of which means "wild ox" and the other "thunder".9 These can hardly be dissociated from Haddad's other name Ramman "the Bellower", which is believed to have been derived from the Babylonian root ramānu, "to roar, bellow".10

Zeus, the Greek storm-god, was intimately related to the bull. He became one in order to carry off Europa to Crete,11 where later the bull-man, the Minotaur, was begotten by a bull sent by the same god.12 The "shield" found in Zeus' most holy sanctuary, the Idaean Cave in Crete, shows the god stepping upon a bull.13

Thus the bull commonly represented the sky- and storm-gods all round the eastern Mediterranean. It is therefore hardly likely that so common an idea should have been absent from Egypt. As a matter of fact there had been a bull in early Egypt, who, though he soon lost his importance, was still prominent in the Pyramid Texts. He was ⅛⅝ "The Bull of the Sky",14 who is clearly the Egyptian representative of the foregoing bulls. If confirmation of this innate probability were required, it would be found in the curious detail that the horn of the Bull of the Sky is said to "shine"15 just as in Babylonia the horn of Enil's bull is said to do.16 In Egypt the Bull of the Sky is first met in the middle of the prehistoric period, for what must be his head is represented on a palette from Gerzah dating

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2 M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, 68, 124 et passim.
4 Langdon, Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, p. 221, no. xviii, ll. 1–8.
5 Ward, op. cit., Figs. 338, 456–61, 463, 479, 482; Binkenberg, The Thunderweapon, Fig. 13.
6 de Morgan, Délég. en Perse, I, Fig. 382; Th. Dangin, in Syria, x, Pl. xxviii; von Luschan, op. cit., I, p. 18, fig. 4, and p. 23, fig. 8.
7 Dussaud in Syria, I, 3 ff. with plates. See, too, Cook, Zeus, I, Figs. 435–7, 441 and Pl. xxxiii.
8 Cf. Cook, op. cit., I, Figs. 478, 480, etc. and Pl. xxxiv.
11 Cook, op. cit., I, 464.
12 Op. cit., I, 467. Another version makes Poseidon send the bull, 464, and he is only the specialized form of Zeus, op. cit., II, 582 ff.
14 Sethe, Die Pyramidentezte, §§ 280, 283, 293, 332, 397, 803, 1432, 2059, 2080. The last passage gives his name—Geouli(i).
15 Pyr., § 283. Cf. also below, p. 52.
16 S. Langdon, Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, p. 221, no. xviii, ll. 3–8, where a Sumerian text with an Assyrian translation likens the storm-god Enil to "a mighty steer, whose horns shine like the rays of the sun-god, like the star of heaven, the herald Venus . . .."
His horns and ears are decorated with stars, and one is set upon his forehead (Fig. 7). A protodynastic fragment from Hierakonpolis preserves the tip of one of his horns with the star on it. After the Pyramid times the Bull of the Sky seems to have sunk into obscurity, though the memory of him lasted on to the end. A sculpture of Nectanebo shows among other gods a bull called "The Bull of the Sky". A relic of him is to be found in the New Kingdom name of one of the planets "Horus, Bull of the Sky", which was still known in Graeco-Roman times as "Horus, the Bull". In early times a divine bull had been a synonym for Seth the storm-god, and to the end the constellation of Mēḥtyne, our Great Bear, which the Egyptians represented as the Foreleg of the Bull, was considered to be the "Soul of Typhon". Tuthmosis III refers to "Seth, the Bull in Nubt", and the "Bull of Nubti" or the "Bull of Seth" is an epithet of valour. Just as Ramman "The Bellower" is a name given to Hadad the storm-god of Syria and Assyria, so in Egypt Seth the storm-god is said to roar, and we read that in Palestine "The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Amos i, 2). It is evident, therefore, that originally there had been a sky-bull in Egypt and that he was related to the local god of the storm just as his relatives elsewhere were to the storm-gods of their several countries. As Seth, the storm-god, was almost certainly the patron deity of one of the Bull nomes, the Eleventh, and the gods of two of the others, the Sixth and Twelfth, fall into the same category of sky- or air-gods, it is probable that the bull displayed on these standards was the "Bull of the Sky".

A study of the symbols which accompany the bull on three of these standards, the §, κ, and Ω, confirms the probability, and what little can be gathered about Athribis, the Tenth nome, does nothing to contradict it. It will be well to begin with the calf of Sebennytus, the Twelfth nome of the Delta.

On Babylonian sculptures of the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. a hornless calf is shown with the lightning flashes (Fig. 8), and therefore represents Adad-Ramman. He is

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1 Wainwright, in Petrie and others, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh, Pl. vi, 7, and p. 22. At that time I supposed it to be a head of Hathor.
2 Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, Pl. lix, 5 and p. 48=Quibell and Petrie, Hierakonpolis, i, Pl. xviii, 21 and p. 8.
3 Naville, Goshen, Pl. iv, second register.
4 Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 65, Saturn.
5 Op. cit., 67. For the fluctuation of these primitive sky-deities between Seth and Horus of historic times, see pp. 51, 52, and Journal, xviii, 170, 171.
6 Pyr., § 418.
7 Plutarch, De Isis et Osiride, § 21.
8 Petrie, Nagada and Ballas, 68.
10 Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica, Pl. xxxix.
11 Pyr., § 1150; Brugsch, Rec. de mon. ég., i, Pl. xvi a, ll. 1, 2; Lanzoni, Dix. mit. egizica, Pl. ccclxxii, l. 11; de Rougé, Inscr. hiérog., Pl. cxliv, l. 45, 46.
12 King, Babylonian Boundary Stones, etc., Pl. xii, dating to about 1187 B.C., from which Fig. 8 is drawn; de Morgan, op. cit., i, Pl. xvi, fourth register, Fig. 16 = ii, Pl. xxiv. de Morgan dates to c. 1140 B.C.
shown again on another stone. Here, though the head is considerably damaged, the text makes up for any deficiencies in the sculpture, for it speaks of the "mighty calf of Adad". On the seal dedicated by Esarhaddon early in the seventh century B.C. the compound god, Marduk-Adad, is shown brandishing his lightning flashes, and at his feet lie two animals, one being the hornless calf. Yet again on another cylinder of Assyrian date a god is shown fighting with a griffin. He is, therefore, probably the storm-god, and between the combatants lies a calf whose horns have not yet sprouted.

Yahweh himself had originally been a storm-god, who rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah "fire from the Lord out of heaven", appeared on Mount Sinai in "thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud", answered Elijah by fire on Mount Carmel, smote the offending captains of fifties for him with "fire from heaven", and finally fetched him away to heaven with a chariot of fire in a whirlwind. It is summed up magnificently in Psalm xviii, 7-15, and by Ezekiel in his vision (i, 4, 26-8). Like Adad Yahweh also had a calf, for Aaron instituted the worship of his Golden Calf by proclaiming "Tomorrow is a feast to Yahweh" (Exod. xxxxi, 5). Similarly Psalm cvi, 19, 20, explains the episode: "Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass." Later on when Jeroboam wanted to keep the people from going up to Jerusalem he substituted the worship of two calves for that at the Temple (1 Kings xii, 28 ff.). Later again Jehu continued the worship of these Golden Calves, though he stamped out false gods and their cult by slaughtering all the worshippers of Baal, destroying his images, and laying waste his temples (2 Kings x, 25-9). The word used in the Old Testament is *regel*, which means not only a young bull but also a calf, just as it is translated, and in Arabic to-day the word retains both meanings. There was probably some sort of difference between the hornless calf and the full-grown bull, for yet another Babylonian stone shows both the one and what is evidently intended for the other. They represent Anu and Enlil respectively, the one the god of the heavenly expanse and father of Adad the storm-god, and the other the old storm-god himself. Having discovered that not only the bull but also the calf is liable to represent the sky-god, we find the symbolism of the standard *dua* intelligible. Here both animals occur together just as they did in Babylonia, where they represented two different sky-gods. That the calf was an independent deity is shown by the name of the capital city *Ta-ntr* "The Divine Calf". This suggestion, if accepted, will be found to explain many difficulties. The title of the local high priest was *chruty* "The Warrior", and his cognizance was not only a pair of arrows, but also a star. The same arrows have already

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1 de Morgan, op. cit., i, Pl. xvi = ii, Pl. xxix. de Morgan dates to c. 1330 B.C.
2 Scheil, Mém. délé. en Perse, ii, p. 90, col. 4, l. 17. The word used is *büru*, which means "child, son, offspring; the young of an animal; young wild bull", Muss-Arnolt, Assyrian Dictionary, i, 187.
3 Koldewey in Mitth. d. Orient-Geselle. Nov. 1900, no. 5, p. 13, Fig. 2. Cf. Jastrow, Bildermappe, Fig. 15, where the essential particulars are given in the text. The inscription says it is "the Seal of the god Adad". For another, showing the calf only, see Delaporte, Cat. des cylindres, ii, Pl. xciii, 16 and p. 180.
4 Ward, op. cit., Fig. 572.
5 King, op. cit., ii, xix. The bull is winged, an early occurrence of this form. Date c. 1200 B.C.
6 As indicated by the shrines beside which the creatures lie, for they are otherwise known to belong to these gods, Hinke, A New Boundary Stone, 88, 96, n. 2, nos. 13, 14. A third is sometimes added which stands for Assur.
7 The published drawings are uncertain in the sex, but Gauthier emphasizes the fact that the anima is a bull and not a cow, Dict., vi, 74. See also Paget and Pirie, The Tomb of Ptah-hetep (in Quibell, The Ramesseum), Pl. xxxiv, top left-hand corner.
8 Naville, The Mound of the Jews, etc., Pls. vi, vii (Samanood).
9 Brugsch, Dict. géogr., 1368.
been seen as the insignia of the high priest of Letopolis, and this place proves to have been pre-eminently the "Thunderbolt-city". It is well known that arrows have been widely considered to be the weapons of the storm-god, whether in Babylonia, Palestine, or modern Europe and Nyassaland. Here at Sebennytus they were equivalent to a star, and the shooting star or meteorite is equally the weapon of such gods. Shooting stars, and especially the periodical fusillades of the Leonids, Perseids, and other star showers, gave rise to the idea of war in high heaven. Hence, the local god, Onuris, was called "The Good Warrior" and "Lord of the Lance". His temple was "The House of the Lance of Horus" and his sacred boat "The Warship". The equivalence of shooting stars and weapons at Sebennytus shows once again that Egypt falls into line with the other countries of the Near East.

Onuris-Shu was the god of the nome, and his nature was what would be expected under such conditions. Shu was the air-god who supported the sky, and his sister-wife was Tfn-t, whose name is derived from tfn "to spit". By the time of the New Kingdom, and often later, it is stated what she spat was fire and flame. The sky of course spits not only lightning but also meteorites. She is, therefore, comparable to Cronus, who vomited forth the famous meteorite at Delphi. Like Shu, Onuris was also an air-god. His name Ṭḥ was written with = the sky sign, and used to be read "Bringer of the Sky" or now "He who hath brought the Distance". In late times it was made to refer to the myth of the Eye of Horus, but it seems not improbable that originally it may have referred to a meteorite which fell and so brought the "Distance" or the "Sky" of which it was a piece. Meteorites consist of bit, a substance whose name acquired many meanings, one of which was "to depart from". In any case the "Bringer of the Distance" was an air-god, for he wears the stiff feathers of such gods. These approximate him to the meteorite and thunderbolt gods Min and Amun, while his high priest is related to the high priest at the thunderbolt city of Letopolis. The bull and the calf at Sebennytus clearly represented the sky-god just as they did elsewhere in the Near East.

The standard of Xois, the Sixth nome of the Delta, set a mountain beside the bull, and it is already known that in many countries the storm-god was also the mountain-god. In Babylonia Enil, the Sumerian storm-god of Nippur, was addressed as "The Great Mountain" and his temple was called E-Kur "The Mountain House". Similarly his consort, Ninlil, "The Lady of the Storm", was also described as Nin-Kharasag, "The Lady of the Mountain". A Babylonian hymn says "The great earth mountain is Enil, the mountain storm is he, etc." In Assyria Adad or Ramman is designated "The Great Mountain" just as was Enil in Babylonia. Representations of Teshub as the axe- and club-god often show Zeus the sky-god, and was therefore another Zeus Kappotaa "Zeus fallen down". For Cronus as an old sky-god see Cook, Zeus, ii, 554–8, 601. 14 Junker, op. cit., 5.

1 A.Z., xlix, 128; Journal, xvii, 194. Whereas the others only wear two feathers Onuris wears four.
12 Frazer, Pausanas' Description of Greece, Bk. x, ch. 24, § 6, and notes thereon. The stone represented Zeus the sky-god, and was therefore another Zeus Kappotaa "Zeus fallen down". For Cronus as an old sky-god see Cook, Zeus, ii, 554–8, 601.
13 Jastrow, op. cit., 124, 19, 69.
14 Langdon, Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, 221, no. xviii, ll. 1–8.
him striding on the mountain tops, and an altar has been found dedicated “To the god Adados of the Mountain-top.” As is well known, Zeus was also intimately connected with the mountains. He dwelt on the top of Olympus, and watched the Trojan War from the top of Mount Ida. Legends assign his birth, marriage, and death to the tops of innumerable mountains. Greek lands are dotted over with “Thrones of Zeus” hewn on the highest peaks of the mountains. At Emesa (Homs) in Central Syria the god was called Elagabalus, whose name is a scarcely latinized form of the native Semitic Eldāh-gabal meaning “The God of the Mountain.” The description of his sacred object answers perfectly to that of a meteorite, which, as has so often been seen, is the missile of, or represents, the sky-god.

It has just been seen that Yahweh himself was one of these storm-gods, and he was as closely identified with the mountain as the others. It was on the mountain-tops that he issued his commandments and appeared to both Moses and Elijah (Exod. xix ff.; 1 Kings xix, 8 ff.). It was on Mount Carmel that he manifested his power to send fire from heaven, and after this it was “up to the top of Carmel” that Elijah went to pray for rain, the gift of the sky-god. The Psalmist says (cxxi, 1) “I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help,” “The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills, by righteousness” (lxxii, 3). Similarly Jeremiah and Isaiah say “Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains” (Jer. iii, 23), and “it is a day of trouble, and of crying to the mountains” (Isa. xxii, 5). The Syrians said of the Hebrews “Their gods are gods of the hills” (1 Kings xx, 23; cf. 25, 28), and much else might be added in the same strain. It is evident, therefore, that all round about Egypt the mountain was symbolic of the sky- or storm-god, just as was the bull. Naturally Egypt was no different from her neighbours. She had a god ḫ, whose symbol was the mountain symbol of the Xoite nome, and the bull symbol of the sky- or storm-god. Very little is known of him, but he was identified with Horus and associated with Min and apparently with Amun also (Pyr., §§ 1712, 1013). These were meteorite, thunderbolt, and air-gods.

This makes it likely that the mountain and the bull of the Xoite nome would indicate the devotion of the nome to the sky- or storm-god. Unfortunately, extremely little is known about the worship of this district, and that only from the latest times. However, there is plenty of evidence that at that date its patron god was Amen-ṛṣ, one of the gods who may have been anciently associated with ḫ; the mountain-god. The

1 Ward, op. cit., Figs. 883, 885, 887, 895, 913, 926. Cf. Fig. 470 a, and also p. 387. Figs. 878 and 897 show him with the bull.

2 Cook, Zeus, i, 551.


5 Pauly-Wissowa, Reale-Encyclopädie, s.v. col. 2219. He was identified with Jupiter the storm-god, but by this time the solarization of religion had become almost complete. Hence, his name Elagabalus was changed to Heliogabalus, and he was called “Invictus Sol”, just as Hadad had become Zeus Adados and finally Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

6 “... its colour [is] black. They solemnly assert it to have fallen from the sky (sóser) and they point out certain small excrescences and marks...”, Herodianus, v, 3, 5. A pitch-black surface is characteristic of the stone meteorites, and the iron ones are only less black. The surface of all is also rough and irregular in varying degrees.

7 Couyat and Montet, Hammāmādī, Pl. ix, no. 30 = p. 45; Brugsch, Dict. géogr., 1367; Id., Thesaurus, 620, no. 6, 624, no. 6, where the names of the capital city are given instead of that of the nome. Ṭēḥ had been established there since the Twentieth Dynasty.

8 Curiously enough ḫ is not yet known from Xois, but from Metela its neighbour, Brugsch, Dict. géogr., 1366. Id., Thesaurus, 620, no. 7, Dømmichen, Geogr. Inscr., i, Pl. ixi, no. 77; The City of “the Mountain” is named at yet another place, Tell Muqdam, Brugsch, Dict. géogr., 1026.
nome coinage tells the same tale, showing as it does either a ram, or else a figure of Hercules holding a ram in his hand.\(^1\) The ram was Amûn’s sacred animal. Again, as Amûn was derived from Min, it is perhaps significant that the bull and the mountain appear with the latter, and in very early times. They are carved on one of his archaic statues from Koptos, when the bull is shown striding on the mountain-tops (Fig. 9).\(^2\) Another proto-dynastic carving shows the bull’s head above the mountain.\(^3\) Hence, in early Egypt the bull and the mountain had some quite definite relationship the one to the other. Further, Amûn’s presence at Xois shows that there, at any rate, they had the same significance as in other lands of the Near East.

We now come to the Eleventh nome, the Cabasite, which in late times bore \(\bigcirc\) as its standard. The bull elsewhere has proved to be symbolic of the storm- or sky-god, as have the other objects on the standards hitherto studied. A very little inquiry serves to establish the suitability of \(\bigcirc\) to appear among such emblems. It stood for the word \(\text{ḥḥb}\) which either replaces it or is named by it. Thus the tribute presented by the nome on one occasion was its \(\|\|\|\|\|\) and the name of the capital city might be written \(\|\|\|\|\|\) \(\|\|\) etc.\(^4\) \(\text{ḥḥb}\) means “to break up”,\(^5\) an action essentially characteristic of meteorites and thunderbolts, things which are not distinguished the one from the other.\(^7\) The meteorite itself often breaks to pieces with a loud report on approaching the ground\(^8\) and the thunderbolt rends and tears to pieces anything it strikes. The sign was used as a determinative of the word \(\text{ḥḥw}\).\(^9\) Thus, there is \(\|\|\|\|\) in the Coffin Texts,\(^10\) and \(\|\|\|\) in the Nineteenth Dynasty.\(^11\) \(\text{ḥḥw}\) was the thunderbolt material obtained from meteorites and used magically by the priests for breaking open the mouth which was closed in death. \(\bigcirc\) was therefore a sign eminently suitable to accompany the bull.

At present this form is not known earlier than the time of Piankhi,\(^12\) and it differs from the \(\bigcirc\) and the \(\bigcirc\) already discussed, for while they were pictures of objects the \(\bigcirc\) was only a hieroglyph representing the name of an object. Thus, “its \(\|\|\|\|\|\)” was the offering brought by the nome in one scene.\(^13\) This difference in expression would explain the discrepancy between the late form and the early one, which is so great that it is only by a process

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2. Though in our present ignorance the value of this piece of evidence may be reduced by the fact that a elephant and a hyena (?) are also shown in similar fashion, Petrie, *Koptos*, Pls. iii, iv, 3, from which our Fig. 9 is taken. Can they also be "storm"-animals? The elephant is again shown on the mountain-tops, Quibell and Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, i, Pl. xvi, 4.
6. E.g. Nakhla near Alexandria, of which it is said "this explosion was followed by vapour and by a fall of black stones", Hume in the *Cairo Sci. Journal*, 1911, 212; Pultusk in Poland, which produced detonations and a shower of stones, G. T. Prior, *Cat. of Meteorites* (1923), 144, s.v.; Ornans in France, "after detonations a stone of about 6 kg. fell and broke into two pieces", *op. cit.*, 133, s.v.; Bath Furnace in America, of which "the noise made by the 'explosion'" and "the singing of the fragments as they hurtled through the air" are emphasized, O. C. Farrington, *Cat. of the Meteorites of N. America* (Washington, 1915), 50.
7. *Journal*, xviii, 9, 10.
8. *Journal*, xviii, 9, 10.
9. Chassinat and Palanque, *Assiout*, 74, l. 9; 104, l. 9; 151, l. 9; 201, l. 9. Cf. also Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles, etc.*, plate showing the “paroi ouest” of *Le tombeau de Horhotpou* = no. 115 in the table facing p. 144 (publ. in *Mém. miss. arch. fr. au Caire*, i).
10. Schiaparelli, *II Libro dei Funerari*, Pl. Ivii b, 6, Pl. Iviii a, 3, see also Pl. ix.
of elimination that the two can be connected. Each of the three others is already known, but a standard bearing ◦ is not to be found. Instead, the form shown in Fig. 10 is seen quite commonly. This, therefore, must be the standard of the Cabasite nome, and it is well known in the Fifth Dynasty. The object that in later times is replaced by the hieroglyph ◦ is sickle-shaped, and has not yet been explained. It is fixed to the standard by what looks like a handle in this case but like a block in the others. It neither looks like, nor is there reason to suppose it to be, either the šašd of Wepwawet or the feather such as that of the Third nome of the Delta. It is, therefore, a significant fact that, although meteorites are of any and every shape, a number are known which have this sickle-shape or one very like it (Fig. 11). More significant still, they are all iron meteorites. The reason has been much canvassed why this “jaw” or “sickle” shape should be so common,

![Fig. 10](image)

![Fig. 11](image)

and it is generally accepted that such meteorites as Tucson and Joe Wright Mountain supply the answer. The former is ring-shaped, and the latter is also pierced, but only by a small hole. Like those under discussion both are of iron. Hence, if Tucson were snapped, it would provide pieces of metal of the shape of these meteorites and of the object on the Cabasite nome-standard. Seeing, therefore, what is already known of the symbolism of this standard and the similar ones, it is extremely probable that the sacred object here represented was one of the sickle-shaped meteorites. If so, it would undoubtedly have been of iron. Iron was b12, and was connected with the Cabasite standard through this word also, for the sign ◦ was common to both. The shape of this iron meteorite would make it specially acceptable to the Egyptians as the missile of the sky-god, for it is very like that

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4 E.g., *Verhandl. k. k. geolog. Reichsanstalt* (Vienna, 1887), 288, 289.

5 After *Schriften etc.*, 268, Fig. 25.

6 Hidden in *Am. Journal of Science*, 3rd ser., xxxi, Fig. 1, and p. 461.
of the throwing stick which they used from the earliest times (Figs. 12-14). Elsewhere the simile did actually occur to them. Thus, they gave the name of "Throwing Sticks" to the divine weapons at Letopolis, the Thunderbolt city, and used the hieroglyph of the throwing stick in spelling the word $\text{	extendash}h\text{'}$, a substance also cast by the sky-god.

The sacred meteorite of the Cabasite nome was clearly called $\text{Hsbt}$, "The Breaker", and this is the sort of name commonly given to sky-gods and their weapons. The epithet given to the thunderbolt- and meteorite-god at Selencia Pieria in North Syria was $\kappa\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma\nu\varsigma$, which probably originated in the Semitic root $\text{b\textasciitilde}s\pi s$, $\text{b\textasciitilde}s\nu h$, when it would mean "The Cutter, Breaker". Cronus vomited forth the meteorite of Delphi, and his name is said to be very likely derived from the same root as $\kappa\nu\iota\varphi\omega$, "I cut". If so, Cronus would have been nothing but "The Cutter, Chopper". Similarly in Scandinavia Thor's thunderweapon was called Mjölnir, a word which only means "Crusher".

$\iota$ was characteristic of the thunderbolt material $\beta\iota\iota$, iron, "which came forth out of Setesh" or, as Plutarch puts it, "iron they call 'Bone of Typhon'". It was therefore reasonable for the Egyptians to use the sign $\iota$ in writing about Seth. In late days the Enemies of Horus, i.e. Seth and his Company, are sometimes written $\beta\iota$, employing this sign. The ordinary "$\text{M\textendash}s\text{b\textasciitilde}t\iota\varsigma$ of Seth" is sometimes called "the $\text{M\textendash}s\text{b\textasciitilde}t\iota\varsigma$ of $\beta\iota$". The sign occurs again in the spelling of the name of this god, who was a form of Seth. It is, therefore, peculiarly suitable that Seth should seem to have been the original name of the horus, which displayed $\iota$ on its standard representing an iron meteorite.

The view is founded upon the strange treatment the nome receives in the lists both at Edfu and at Denderah. In one of these latter, Seth's victorious enemy, Horus, is inserted, but without titles of any sort such as all the other gods have. In another the name is omitted altogether. In yet another the name of the capital city, $\text{Hsbt}$, is replaced by that of a different city, $\text{Sdn}$, and the god named is not Seth but Horus. The full name of Horus "$\text{Lord of Sdn}$" was "Horus of the Two Eyes" $\beta\iota\iota\kappa\upsilon\xi\varsigma\iota\varepsilon\rho\iota\varsigma\varsigma\iota\upsilon$, whose name likewise had reference to his eyes. Horus-htn\textendash;irt\textendash;y was god of the thunderbolt city of Letopolis, and in some ways approximated to Seth. $\text{Sdn}$ also worshipped a bull, who was "The Strong Bull of the Gods".
was "shining in heaven and giving light on earth".\(^1\) "The Bull of the Gods" is ancient, for he was known to the Pyramid Texts, where he appears in a celestial, not solar, context (§ 925). The Bull of Sdn was therefore a relative of the "Bull of Heaven", who, as has been seen, belonged peculiarly to Seth but sometimes to Horus (p. 45). In any case his presence made Sdn peculiarly suitable to become the capital of one of the Bull nomes. Apparently, therefore, in suppressing Seth in the Cabasite nome the Osiris worshippers were able to supply his place with a form of Horus who was not too unlike him in nature. In view of these sectarians' horror of Seth, these wilful suppressions make strong presumptive evidence for the worship of the storm-god in the Eleventh nome. This in its turn provides evidence that the symbols on its standard have been rightly interpreted as the bull of the Sky-god and a meteorite his weapon.

The standard of the Tenth nome, Athribis, \(\textcircled{hnt-hty}\), should be mentioned to round off the inquiry. It is, therefore, the more unfortunate that so little should be known. The fact that the other standards which displayed the bull proved to have been connected with the sky- or storm-gods suggests \textit{a priori} that the Tenth nome will also. The god was \(\text{Hnt-hty}\), and he seems to have been a bull-god. An inscription, probably of Twelfth Dynasty date, calls him "Lord of the Bull";\(^2\) and Tuthmosis III calls him "Horus-Hnt-hty, the Bull in Athribis".\(^3\) In historic times he was identified with Horus and was, therefore, generally given the falcon's head,\(^4\) and to this Ramesses III twice adds his bull's horns.\(^5\) But once he is merely given a human head,\(^6\) and late pictures sometimes give him that of the crocodile,\(^7\) which was a Sethian creature. \(\text{Hnt-hty}\), therefore, did not fit very well into the religious system of the historic period, but vacillated between Horus and Seth.\(^8\) In this he was like the "Horuses" of Letopolis and Sdn, and was, therefore, no doubt one of the primitive sky-gods.

Studying the standard of the nome Newberry proposed to see in the \(\textcircled{hnt-hty}\) not the picture of the object itself but the hieroglyph for its name.\(^9\) In this it would be comparable to the \(\textcircled{hnt-hty}\) of the Cabasite standard, though, unlike it, it had taken this form from the beginning.\(^10\) He points out that on several occasions in the Pyramid Texts \(\textcircled{hnt-hty}\) replaces a sign which Sethe draws as a long narrow oval \(\text{[ ]}\) (§ 252, 491), and that the latter occurs with a bull (§ 227). \(\text{[ ]}\), therefore, seems to be reasonably connected with Athribis. As \(\text{km}\) is the reading of \(\textcircled{hnt-hty}\) and \(\text{km}\) is the name of a shield, Newberry suggests that the \(\text{[ ]}\) was a narrow parrying shield, and that this was the sacred object of Athribis.\(^11\) If it was, it would be suitable for a nome devoted to a sky-god, for such gods are commonly armed (pp. 43, 47, 51, above). Moreover, the young war-god in Mycenae is to be seen descending from the sky in the form of a shield,\(^12\) and other such shields were known; they were the \textit{ancilia} at Rome, the original of which had fallen from the skies to Numa.

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\(^3\) Drioton, Médamoud (1926), p. 54, l. 21.  
\(^4\) Gardiner and Peet, The Inscr. of Sinai, PIs. xliii, xlv, nos. 120, 122; Lanzone, Dic. mit. eg., Pl. xiv, left jamb top register (= Pierret, Rec. d'inscr. du Louvre, 1, p. 74); Wiedemann in Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., xviii, 272.  
\(^5\) Champollion, Not. descr., 1, 416, 737.  
\(^6\) Vyse, Pyramids, iii, plate to p. 95.  
\(^7\) Lanzone, op. cit., Pl. xvii, 621, 988; Brugsch, Thesaurus, 747.  
\(^8\) For Dyn. XX unifications of Horus and Seth, see Champ., op. cit., 1, 420, L., D., iii Pl. cccccxiv e.  
\(^9\) Ancient Egypt, 1, 8.  
\(^10\) See p. 50, n. 1.  
\(^11\) Newberry in op. cit., p. 7. It is similar to the early form of Neith's shield, which, however, is slightly hollow sided, e.g. Petrie, Royal Tombs, i, Frontispiece.  
\(^12\) Evans, Palace of Minos, ii, Fig. 194 e.
A STATUE AND A SCARAB

By PERCY E. NEWBERRY

With Plate x

M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU discovered in 1907 at Elephantine a black granite statue which is entered in the Cairo Museum Journal d'entrée, No. 39749, as a "Statue de Thoutmose III", and it is so described in Maspero's Guide du Visiteur (1915), p. 166, No. 580. The statue, however, is not of Tuthmosis III but of the King's-son Nehi, a Governor of the Southern Countries who served under Tuthmosis III, and has long been known from inscriptions at Ellesiyah near Ibrim, at Semnah, at Wādi Halfa, and in the island of Sai. A sandstone stela with an inscription naming him is at Chicago; his sarcophagus is in the Berlin Museum; and a sandstone pyramidion from his tomb is at Florence. Two of his shawabti figures are also known; one, found by Petrie at Thebes, is of wood; the other, in the Cairo Museum, is of black dolerite.

The Cairo Museum statue (Pl. x, fig. 1) seems never to have been published, yet, even though the head is broken off and lost, it is a fine monument of the art of the New Kingdom. It represents Nehi kneeling on a flat rectangular pedestal, holding in front of him a massive Hather-headed sistrum. In the small shrine at the top of the sistrum there is carved in relief a figure between two signs with the prenomen of Tuthmosis III in a cartouche above it. On the front of the handle of the sistrum is incised a vertical column of hieroglyphs:

[Diagram of hieroglyphs]

On either side of the small shrine are papyrus flowers surmounted by erect uraei crowned with disk and horns. Between the body of Nehi and the sistrum are large cartouches; that on the right gives the prenomen of Tuthmosis III, that on the left his nomen:

[Diagram of cartouches]

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1 See Reisner, Journal, vi, 30–1.
2 Champollion, Notices descriptives, i, 80; L., D., iii, 46 c; Sethe, Urkunden, iv, 983.
4 Randall-MacIver, Buhé, 25, 27; Sethe, Urk., iv, 806, 983.
5 Sethe, Urk., iv, 989.
6 From Kummah; Breasted, Amer. Journ. of Semitic Langs. and Lit., 1908, 105.
7 Roeder, Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Städtischen Museen zu Berlin, No. 17895, p. 597.
8 Schiaparelli, Catalogo generale dei Musei di antichità di Firenze, i, No. 1676.
9 Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes, Pl. ii, fig. 1.
Nehi wears a short wig and a loin-cloth fastened by a belt. At the back of the figure is a narrow plinth running from below the wig to the pedestal. On it is incised a vertical column of hieroglyphs:

![Image of hieroglyphs]

On the pedestal are two incised inscriptions, each beginning in the centre of the front and continuing along its sides, reading:

![Image of inscriptions]

In this *Journal*, xiv, 109, I published two scarab-seals of a Mayor of Byblos named that were probably derived from the French excavations at Byblos. M. Montet has since published (*Kemi*, i, 91) a monument naming this Mayor, which he discovered at Byblos, and which fixes his date to the period of the Neferhotep group of kings in the Second Intermediate Period. The scarab-seal of another Mayor of the same city named or *Tbs*, probably from the same source, is in the Blanchard Collection at Cairo (Pl. x, figs. 2–5). It is very finely carved, and has a human face with bovine ears, a between two fish above the face, and a flanked by two uraei on the back. This Mayor was already known from a monument found at Byblos and published by Montet in his *Byblos et l’Égypte*, No. 653. He dates from the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty; Montet gives his name as *Tbs*, but it more probably reads *Tbs* and may be compared with the well-known *Tbs* of Beni Hasan. (*Beni Hasan*, i, Pl. xxviii; cf. Max Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, ii (Leipzig, 1910), p. 2, No. 29.)

1 I owe the original copy of these inscriptions to my student, Pahor Effendi Labib.
1. Predynastic forked lancehead of flint. *Scale* 7: 12

2-3. Predynastic bowl of red-polished ware with design in white. *Scale* c. 2: 5
TWO PREHISTORIC OBJECTS

By O. H. MYERS

With Plate xi

Dr. H. E. Winlock has kindly given me permission to publish the three photographs of objects from Predynastic Egypt, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which are shown on Pl. xi. Figs. 2 and 3 are two views of a red-polished bowl with designs in white, no. 12, 182, 15. The figures undoubtedly represent a man "standing left" and facing two hippopotami who are "standing or advancing right". The interest of this specimen lies in the behaviour of the leading hippopotamus and the man. A wavy line descends from each hand of the man to each nostril of the animal. The impression given is that of vapour rising from the nostrils of the animal and being caught by the man, but, even allowing for a magical interpretation, this seems to be an unlikely hypothesis. It might represent a man feeding the hippopotami, but in that case there is no purpose in the wavy lines ascending from the second beast. There is another possible explanation; that the ovals projecting from the animals' noses may not be nostrils—though such would appear to be probable from the style of the drawing—but rings, and that the wavy lines are ropes by which the hippopotami are being led.

Also worthy of notice is the man's tail, clearly worn in addition to and not to be confused with the cod-piece, which is apparent. In the painted house, or tomb, at Hierakonpolis men are shown wearing leopard skins with tails, but this is much later in date. Possibly the lump behind the shoulders is the beginning of the Egyptian technique of showing the upper part of the body in full view.

Fig. 1 of the plate shows one of the so-called forked lances, or pesh-kef instruments, the finely serrated end being enclosed in a sheath, made, apparently, of reeds and grass. Presuming the instrument to have had a handle, as we may by analogy with the specimen published in the Cairo Catalogue of Stone Implements, Pl. xlvi, object no. 64868, it would have been impossible to withdraw it, even if the end of the sheath were unlaced. This suggests an object of considerable importance and for occasional use only, as the sheath would have to be destroyed and a new one made each time that the instrument was used. The lance-head is 12 cm. in length.
THE ASTARTE PAPYRUS AND THE LEGEND OF THE SEA

By A. H. SAYCE

In Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 74-85, Dr. Gardiner has an interesting article on The Astarte Papyrus of which, unfortunately, only fragments exist. They are sufficient, however, to show that the subject of the work was an epic in which the Sea appeared in a mythological form and took his place by the side of the other deities of the Egyptian Pantheon. The story at its beginning, says Dr. Gardiner, "seems cosmogonic in character", Ptah watching "over all as the supreme creator". Mention is made of "the tribute (received by) the Sea", whom Dr. Gardiner would identify with "the Ruler" who is stated to have his seat upon a "throne". To the Sea, accordingly, Astarte the daughter of Ptah was sent as intermediary between him and the gods of heaven and earth. The Sea, it appears, then demanded that Astarte should be given him as a wife along with other "tribute", the result being that he withdrew his threat "to cover the earth and the mountains" and so to fight against the gods who represented them. The papyrus was probably written at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

A very remarkable parallel exists between this Egyptian legend and a Hittite legend which also relates to the deified Sea. Like the Egyptian papyrus the Hittite tablet is unfortunately only a fragment, one paragraph alone being preserved. It is sufficient, however, to establish a relationship of some kind between the Egyptian and the Hittite stories.

Here is what remains of the Hittite text (K.U.B., xii, 49):

1. ... [ud-da]-ar is-me na-as sa-ra-a ......
2. ........ KAS-an i-ya-at na-an AN-MES-as AN UD-us ....... [da]-a-ir
3. ....... a-ru-ni kat-ta-an-da pa-it
4. AN Mu-ki-sa-nu-us AN Ku-mar-bi-ya-as ud-da-a-ar a-ru-ni EGIR-pa me-mi-is-ki-u-
   wa-an da-a-[ir].
5. e-khu kal-l-zu-is-sa-i-ic-a-at-ta AN-MES-as at-ta-as AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-ni-ma-ve-
   at-ta ...
7. e-khu-ma-wa-gan ID-za dag-na-za ka-ta-an ar-kha nu-tea-at-ta AN-MES-as AN
   UD-us
8. dag-na-as-sa AN-MES-mu-us li-e u-wa-an-zu ma-a-an sal-li-is a-ru-na-as ud-da-ar
   is-me
9. na-as-gan sa-ra-a khu-u-da-ak a-ra-a-is na-as-gan dag-na-as ID-as-sa KAS-an GUR-
   an ar-kha [i-ya-at]
10. AN-KI-ya-as sar-ra-at-ta-at na-as-gan a-na AN Ku-mar-bi sar-khu-la-az dag-na-zA
    GIS SU-A ....
    sal-li-is ...
    zi-ik-ki-iz [si] ...
15. nu-sa az-si-ig-gan-si [ak-kus] gan-si ................
16. AN Ku-mar-bi-is ud-da-a-[ar me-mi-is-ki-u-wa-an-da-a-is]
17. AN Mu-ki-as-ri AMEL É-GAL ................ [ku-ya me-mi-is-ki-mi]
19. GIS za-ak-ki-is-ma bi-es-se(?) ................ [AN Ir-si-ir-ra-as GIM-an i-it]
20. wa-ar-su-la-as GIM-an ..........................
21. [nu-wa(?)]-s] si bu-us-bu-si-in .............

Translation

1. . . . the word he heard; up he [rose] ........
2. . . . the road he took; the Sun-gods [greeted] him; ..........
3. . . . down to the sea he went.
4. The gods of the land of Mukis repeated the word of Kumbaris to the sea;
5. “Up!” the father gods shouted to thee, O Kumbaris, and at the word to thee ....
6. which they shouted, the word hastened and soon it was “Up!”
7. So it was “Up” down from river and earth away. But to thee the Sun-gods
8. and gods of earth came not. When the great sea heard the word
9. he at once rose up. Down the road to earth and river away [he went].
10. The universe was broken (in two). Then he to Kumbaris from the heart of the earth
    [and his] throne ........
11. below came up. To the sea as he sat on (his) throne they approached. So the great
    [sea]
12. sat on his throne. An offering-table was furnished for him and the food he ate . . .
13. while the wine-giver gave him wine and . . . .
14. So Kumbaris, the father gods and the great sea [sat together],
15. Then they ate and drank.
16. Kumbaris [spoke] the word
17. to the god of the land of Mukis the man of the palace .... [I say]
18. “Make a bow”; [then the strappings of the throne were dispatched]
19. and the bolt(?) ....
20. thirsty thereupon .........

Notes

1. Mukis adjoined the territory of Carchemish. A Hittite cosmogonic epic published
   by Forrer informs us that Kumbaris or Kuwarbis was the supreme god of Urkis,
   which Forrer identifies with Kermanshah,1 and at the head of the gods of Urkis made
   war on Tessup of Qummiya “the head of all the gods of Akkad”. The Hittite form of
   the legend, it is clear, must go back to the period when the dynasty of Gutium had
   conquered and were ruling over Babylonia (2550–2426 B.C.), and the names of Akkad (Uri)
   and Armenia (Tilla) were denoted by the same ideograph (BUR-BUR). Another Hittite
   legend, erroneously ascribed to the Hittite version of the epic of Gilgames (K.U.B.,
   viii, 62 and 63) mentions Kumbaris in connexion with Gilgames (62, i, R. 15) as well
   as with Khamas, who may possibly represent the Hittite hero of the Deluge (63, i, 4, 5:
   “When Khamsas had [heard] the words of Kumbaris he repeated them to his son
   Adram-Khasis”; so also 63, iv, R. 2, 11.)

2 It must be remembered, however, that Urkis is coupled with Namar or Nawar (see Speiser, Mesopo-
   tamian Origins, p. 130).
1. 5. "The father gods" are mentioned in K.U.B., xx, 93, R. 8, one of them being Nibina. In K.U.B., xvi, 7, Col. iii, 13, AN-MES-as addas must be "father of the gods".

1. 8. Ebelolff has shown that AN-MES-mus must be read karimmus (Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie, 1925, p. 313.) Karim is evidently related to Kiurum, which is stated to have been the Lulubian word for "god".

1. 12. Some verb has been omitted governing the accusative BANSUR-un. It is possible, however, that in the following line the illegible character preceding zi is an erased az which the scribe incorrectly wrote, and that we should read sikkizzi, "he sets", the translation being: "a furnished table and food he places".

1. 14. Or, in view of K.U.B., xvii, 7, 14, perhaps "father of the gods".

1. 18. In K.U.B., viii, 36, 9, 10, we have mán-gan antukhsas lagârî nas-mas-gan GIS-RU-as katta mûszi, "Again when a man stoops and down from the pole (?) he falls" (cf. K.U.B., v, 7, 18, lagan lagattari). In K.U.B., xii, 26, 11 laganas appears to signify "bent".

ll. 16-19. The words in brackets are supplied from the fragmentary text described below.

1. 19. Forer suggests "bolt" as the significnation of GIS zakkis. In K.U.B., viii, 6, R. 3, 4, however, we have: dambu[bis] ana KUR AMEL KUR-ka zakkiyas iwar tiyazi, "the barbarian (or vagrant) approaches the land of thy enemy like a zakkis". Zakkis "the unclean" (K.U.B., xiii, 1, 25) belongs to a different root, and is connected with zakkar, explained by the Assyrian zu'u and zinkhu.

1. 20. warsulas signifies "thirsty"; "Yuzgat." Tablet I.11 (warsulas SE-MES paisgataru "let them plant the thirsty seed"); K.U.B., xxiv, 14, 22-3 (warsulan avacn arkha barkhun, "I have banished (?) the thirst"); K.U.B., xvii, 35, 1, 33 (AMEL-MES ŠU-GI warsulis [sic!] NAK-zi, "the thirsty elders drink"); K.U.B., xx, 99, 21 (warsuli, "(Tessub) drinks like a thirsty man").

It is unfortunate that the Hittite story is broken off before the result of the banquet of the "Father" or primeval gods and the subsequent war of the allies against the Sun-gods of heaven and the gods of earth is made known to us. But the outlines of the Egyptian and Hittite legends are remarkably similar. Kumkarbis corresponds with Ptah, and "the word" of the "Mukis gods" takes the place of Astarte in the Egyptian account, while in both accounts mention is made of the throne upon which "the Sea" took its place.

There seems to have been more than one version of the Hittite legend. In K.U.B., xvi, no. 7, Dr. Ebelolff has published two fragments of it which present a somewhat variant text. In my transliteration and translation I have made use of one of these (ll. 16-19) and so filled up some of the missing words of the story. Elsewhere, however, there appear to be variations in the text between the copy represented by the two fragments and the copy published above.

The two fragments are as follows:

**Fragment I** (Obe. col. II)

6. . . . . . [AN-]MES-as ad-da-as e-es-zi
7. . . . . AN Ku-mar-bi-in a-us-ta
8. . . . a-ru-ni i-ya-an-ni-es
9. . . . KA-MES-ar a-ru-ni EGIR-PA
10. . . . [da?-]a-is EN-YA-mu-gan ku-it
11. . . . at nu-pa-gan a-ru-na-an

6. . . . [Kumbarbis] is father of the gods
7. . . . he saw Kumbarbis
8. . . . to the sea he made his way
9. . . . the word to the sea again
10. . . . he repeated(?). Then my lord to me what
11. . . . so then the sea
THE ASTARTE PAPYRUS AND THE LEGEND OF THE SEA

Fragment I (Obv. col. II)—cont.
12. ... gan ša u(??)-u=an-nu-un
13. ... [AN Kus] mar-bi-is AN-MES-as ad-da-as e-es-zi
14. ... ri-ya-as KA-MES-ar is-me
15. ... EGIR-PA me-mi-is-ki-u=an-an da-is
16. ... ar-ta ku-i-is
17. ... wa-an pa-ra-a
18. ... da-as-za-u=aa

Fragment II (Rev. col. III)
2. ... [li]-e u=an-an-zii
3. ... UR-SAK-li-us SARRU-us
4. ... [a-ra-nu-]an a-us-zi
5. ... gan-ta-as SAL-as
6. ... GIM-an ar-kha li-[u-]awanzi
7. ... [UDD]-[ar] me-mi-is-ki-u=an-an da-a-is
8. ... ku-ya me-mi-is-ki-mi
9. ... la-ga-an an khar-ak ŠU-A
10. ... šu(sic)-ma-zaz SU-E-SIR-KHIA-us li-li-i=an-an-du-us
11. ... AN Ir-si-ra-as GUR-an i-it
12. ... KA-MES-ar AN Ir-si-ra-as bi-an me-mi
13. ... [khalzis]-za-i=wa-as-ma-as AN Ku-mar-bi-is AN-MES-as ad-da-as
14. ... ku=wa-as-ma-as ku-e-da-ni khal-zies-sa-i
15. ... nu-wa khu-u-da-ak ku=wa-at-tin
16. ... us da-an-zi TUR-an na-an a-bu-u-us
17. ... i ki bi AN Ir-si-ir-ri-us-ma-gan
18. ... [UR]- SAK-li-(KHI +A)-us U-UL-ma-as sal-la-yas

12. ... I caused to come (?)  
13. ... [Ku]marbis is father of the gods.
14. ... heard the word
15. ... afterwards took up the speech
16. ... who
17. ... forward
18. ... strong (?)

2. ... come not
3. ... hero kings
4. ... sees the sea (?)
5. ... the women
6. ... thereupon do not come away
7. ... the word he spoke
8. ... I say
9. ... make obeisance, a throne
10. ... Then the leathers of the throne being dispatched
11. ... The god Irssiras went down
12. ... the word I Irssiras speak out
13. ... Kumarbis shouted to them: the father gods
14. ... what he shouted
15. ... so (come) soon wherever you are.
16. ... takes the boy; him they
17. ... Then the belongings of the god Irssiras
18. ... the heroes, but not the great ones.

The Sea-god (AN Arunas) is mentioned in a ritual text (K.U.B., xx, 1) together with god Khutumas and the city of Tyana (Tawanuwa). As for “the Father gods”, we may perhaps find a reference to the attas AN-MES-[as], which could be read karimmiyas, in the legend of the dream of the hero Kissis or Kissiyas (K.U.B., xvii, 1, 7: V-anna-zu-gan Zaskhin aust [nu] Kissiya be (??) attas AN-MES-[as] pakhkar lapnuskiwcan dáir; “Then a fifth dream he saw: for Kissis the father gods kindled a fire.” Lap-nu, “cause to burn” or “shine”, claims relationship with the Greek λάμπω, λαμπάς).
A STELA OF SETI I IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By ALAN W. SHORTER

The inscription of which a hand-copy appears in Fig. 1 is to be found upon a sandstone stela (No. 1665) acquired by the British Museum in 1930, and I am indebted to the Keeper of the Department for permission to publish it.

The object in its present condition is only a fragment of the original stela, a very considerable portion being missing. The surviving portion, which measures 68-7 cm. (27 in.)

in height by 56-6 cm. (22\frac{1}{2} in.) in breadth, contains the bottom right-hand corner of the scene and parts of all the nine lines of hieroglyphic inscription beneath, the amount of the lines preserved increasing in length as we descend. It is impossible to tell what was the nature of the scene, but presumably it was of the usual kind, showing the king in the presence of the gods. The remnant of text may be translated as follows:

(1) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . given life, stability and well-being (?) like Re for ever
(2) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . the Chief of their princes being fallen upon
(3) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . of the Sjtw, making them as that which exists not.
(4) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [be]fore the hawk, every one who escapes his fingers
A STELA OF SETI I IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

(5) ........ life from him. Lo, His Majesty causes the charioteers to become
(6) ........ he causes them to enter upon the labour of Month, leading (them)
as far as
(7) ........ like a hawk, their colours are mingled in the sight so that one
knowest not
(8) ........ His Majesty commanded (?) that there should be performed anew the
custom of the festival which takes place on the tenth day of the fourth month of
Prt in Thebes
(9) ........ Seti-mer-en-Ptah, beloved of Amen-Rêr King of Gods, given life,
stability, and well-being (?) like Rêr for ever.

Notes on the text

Line 1. The missing portion of this line contained, of course, the date and the names
of Seti I.
2. hr, Old Perfective? After hr restore — or similar?
4–5. Compare the passage in the Karnak reliefs of Seti (L., D., iii, 126 a); wh nb hr-tp
dbrw-f hr dd etc. only m-r-f in line 5 of our stela seems to conclude the speech of the
fugitives. After hr-tp dbrw-f hr restore $ (5) [ $ ]$ or some more likely verb. $ = A^{x}$
must be a mistake for hm-f.
6. The “labour of Month” is a poetic expression for “battle”, “fighting”.
7. The general sense of the sentence henu-sn hr rb etc. must be: “the confusion into
which the enemy is thrown is so great that it is impossible to distinguish the various tribes”.
8. Restore [wfl hm]-f?

As far as can be guessed from the text in its present incomplete state lines 1–7 and part
of 8 consist of a eulogistic description of the Pharaoh’s warlike attainments in general,
without reference to a particular campaign. The main object of the inscription will then
be the recording, in line 8, of the re-establishment of some festival which, at present, I
cannot identify.
THE CLASSIFICATION OF EGYPTIAN POTTERY

By T. ERIC PEET

The moment when the Egyptologists of five countries are launching a scheme for an International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery seems a good occasion to plead once more for the adoption of a more intelligible and scientific system of classification and nomenclature than that which at present prevails, especially for the Predynastic period. Predynastic pottery is still, by most writers, classified under the headings Red Polished Ware, Black Topped Ware, Cross Line Ware, Black Incised Ware, Decorated Ware, Wavy-Handled Ware, Rough Ware, Late Ware, and Fancy Forms. These terms were for the most part evolved nearly forty years ago in camp at Ballās, and no doubt formed convenient labels for use on the spot. But they should never have got into print. The classification to which they belong is everything which a classification ought not to be. A sound classification of pottery should as a rule be based primarily on one principle, preferably that of material, and the classes so formed should be subdivided by secondary principles, such as nature of surface or decoration, after which such elements as form, or shape of handles, may be brought in to complete the task.

The classification of Predynastic pottery complained of above is based on no one principle of division. Shape, handles, material, decoration, surface, and even date are all used indiscriminately. We are told, however, that these names have been in use so long that it is too late to alter them. But surely it is never too late to put wrong right, and never will there be a better opportunity to do so than in the forthcoming Corpus. We are told, too, that the names are expressive. Why, so they may be; but they mostly express the wrong thing. To give the name “Cross Line” to a vase which bears a hippopotamus and two trees may be expressive, but it is not descriptive, and, except to him who has an intimate knowledge of the Egyptian Predynastic period, it is misleading. We want names that will help the general archaeologist, not names which are only intelligible—and that merely by association of ideas—to two Egyptologists exchanging dig memories of thirty years ago. And “Decorated”. Is this expressive too? Was ever name worse chosen? Here are three classes of pottery in all of which designs are applied to the prepared surface of the vase. The first is—not unreasonably—called Black Incised; the second has designs in white paint on a polished red ground; the third has designs in reddish-brown on a buff or grey background, and we are asked to believe that the most expressive name that can be found for it is Decorated Ware. Are not all three decorated? And what claim has the last to be called Decorated par excellence?

But why analyse this faulty classification farther. Its defects are apparent to the

1 In the plates of the Ballās volume “Cross Line” ware was described as “Polished red pottery, white cross lines”. Recent writers, however, seem to have dropped even the word “white”. The term “Cross Line” was originally adopted because one characteristic of this pottery was the use—occasional, not invariable—of hatching to fill in the surfaces of units of the design, especially when these were animals. The adoption of this characteristic, seen only on a small proportion of these vases, as a label for the ware as a whole, was unfortunate. If a shorthand name was needed—and such names are convenient for speech and even for writing—“white-on-red” would have served the turn. Similarly “Decorated” ware might have been spoken of as “red-on-buff”.
schoolboy. The mistake lies not in the fact of its coming into existence. We can see how it arose: among the first white-on-red pots found were some which showed the use of crossed lines to fill up the bodies of animals and other units of design, and the first red-on-buff vases found would naturally strike their finders as being, in contradistinction to other vases of the same body material, decorated. The names suggested themselves naturally as the excavation proceeded, and at the time and in the circumstances they were expressive and had a value. The mistake lay not in the invention of these names, but in their being allowed to pass into the literature of Egyptian archaeology. The chronological classification of which they were ultimately made to form a part, due to the genius of Sir Flinders Petrie, is one of the finest examples in the history of archaeology of the application of the typological method.¹ If any improvement could have been suggested in it it would have been the replacement of the rough useful type-names of the dig² by others more accurately descriptive and scientific. Yet can we blame Petrie for failing in this? All of us who dig know how natural it is for the jargon of the camp dinner-table, sanctified by sunshine, healthy open-air life, and good fellowship, to become fixed so firmly in our minds that it obtrudes itself into the cold severity of our reports, so that what was Cross Line in sunny Naḥadah remains Cross Line in the fog of Gower Street.

This tendency to use “expressive” rather than intelligible names for classes of pottery has unfortunately persisted in Egypt, though it has never again bloomed so luxuriantly as in the Predynastic period. Soberer counsels came into play. Reisner and Mace, for instance, in the archaic cemeteries of Naḩ ed-Der applied to Egyptian pottery the scientific principles which outside Egypt had long been part of the training of every beginner in the art of excavation. The examples set by these pioneers have not been thrown away, and it may be said that pottery now generally receives adequate treatment in Egypt, even when found in the disparaging proximity of “pretty-pretties” of gold, carnelian, and alabaster.

Then must we still carry the burden of Cross Line, Decorated, Fancy Forms, and the rest of that monstrous brood? Must they continue to arouse the smiles of our colleagues who dig in Greece and Mesopotamia? Has Egyptology no limbo to which they can be consigned, or must we be as conservative as the ancient people who made these very pots? Can we not apply to the Predynastic period the same principles of classification which we now apply almost universally to the other periods of Egyptian history?

As long ago as 1914 Professor J. P. Droop and the writer, publishing the pottery which we had found in certain excavations at Abydos, pointed out the defects of the old classification, and, after very careful examination of our finds, suggested a new one based on more scientific principles of division,³ principles which we had both been taught on various sites outside Egypt as part of the ordinary routine of excavation. We did not suppose that our scheme was perfect, that it was incapable of being improved, or that it would not be modified by later discoveries. But, in our innocence, we did at least believe that the defects of the old system had only to be pointed out for it to be abandoned in favour either of our scheme or of another based on similar lines. But we had reckoned without the force of tradition. No one paid the slightest attention to our protest, and to-day, nearly twenty years later, white hippopotami and trees on a red polished vase are “Cross Line”, pots with red designs on buff alone may rank as “Decorated”, and “Fancy Forms” still have a corner to themselves in the hearts of their finders as well as in the show-cases of certain museums.

¹ Petrie, Diospolis Parva, 4 ff.
² For an amusing example of such names see J. P. Droop, Archaeological Excavation (Cambridge, 1915), p. 28.
³ Cemeteries of Abydos, ii, 10-13.
How much longer must this go on? How much longer shall we give outsiders the excuse for the wholly unfair charge that in Egypt we only play at archaeology?

The answer seems to the writer to lie in the hands of those responsible for the International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery referred to above. The catalogue slips sent out to contributors have been drawn up in such a way that, if properly filled in, they will provide a sound scientific description of each vase, and render a proper classification possible. We have every confidence that the classification will be worthy of the magnitude of the scheme, that the pottery of the various periods will be classified by its essential, not its accidental, characteristics, and that to the various types there will be given names which, if not "expressive", will at least be suitable and descriptive. To the dogs with expressiveness! Cross Line and Decorated and Fancy Forms are the paraphernalia of the Dark Ages. Let us have none of them.
ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE

ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, who died on February 4 of this year, was born on September 5, 1845, and thus, having studied Oriental languages when very young, formed a connecting link between the early decipherers of lost languages of the Near East and the most recent writers on the grammar and ancient history of the same region. His name appears on the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund at its first general meeting, in 1883, along with those of Sir Erasmus Wilson (President), Miss Amelia B. Edwards and Reginald Stuart Poole (Hon. Secretaries), Sir Charles Newton, and other famous people. At that time the Egypt Exploration Fund was especially devoted to the excavation of biblical sites, a field of exploration which is no longer fashionable. Indeed, as everybody knows now, the chosen people were so few and weak by the side of the great powers of the Near East that their material monuments, even in their own country of Palestine, hardly affect the general view, and their ancient presence in Egypt has left scarcely a mark of any kind, however great has been their religious and literary influence on the whole world in comparatively recent days.

Sayce was never an enthusiast for exploration of biblical sites, his orthodoxy even was questionable, but having been a member of the Revision Committee of the Old Testament (1874–81) it is not surprising to find that he served on the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund at least as early as 1890. He was also among the earliest members of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

Sayce had an amazing visual memory, so that a tablet or a page of text once read was as it were photographed on his mind, and though the photograph might fade after a few days, the leading features of it would remain. His delightful Reminiscences, published in 1923, show how vivid and picturesque was his memory of far-off things, and incidentally what a happy life was his, in spite of weak lungs and eyes. His health compelled him to winter in the sunny south, and he loved travel and meeting with people on his travels; and, since he possessed an adequate income, to which he added by his constant writing, in part as fellow of The Queen’s College, there was nothing to prevent his indulging his love of travel to the full. In his early years he confined his wanderings to the Mediterranean shores and hinterlands. Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor he visited time after time with kindred souls, and saw all the famous ruins, and the ancient sites which were beginning to be opened up by Schliemann and a few other explorers. His first landing in Egypt appears to have been in the year 1879, and in the genial climate of Upper Egypt he tells us that he experienced for the first time a sensation of pleasure in mere existence. In the course of his long life he seems to have seen everything and everybody that was interesting, and having an unlimited capacity for assimilating knowledge, must have acquired a vast experience of men and things and places. One cannot but feel that his marvellous gifts were out of proportion to his accomplishment. His vivid imagination and insight framed pictures of events and of interpretation in which he too often mistook the sharp lines of the picture for fact, and before he could establish or subvert his discoveries by argument, he had passed to some other field of research. His was the joyful existence of a brilliant butterfly tasting the delicious flowers of a great garden but never dwelling long enough in one spot to realize wholly its sweetness. His width of knowledge and interests was amazing, and he had little liking for the laboriousness of a specialist. Thus he attacked or swept aside the fine scholarship of the Higher
Critics of the Bible by arguments which perhaps satisfied himself, but did not touch the real matter of their criticism, although the results of archaeological research could well have been utilized for improving the background of their knowledge and the detail of their discoveries. At the same time he could at a stroke open up vistas in Oriental History as by the inspiration of a Prophet, as when he recognized in 1879 that the so-called Hamathite inscriptions were to be found throughout Asia Minor and that the Hittites, their authors, had once formed a great empire in the Near East, a conclusion which has since been fully confirmed. In his early days he was more like a specialist, and did very remarkable work in deciphering the Vannic and Elamite inscriptions as well as in interpreting the religious and astronomical texts of Assyria and Babylonia. Only twenty years ago, too, he attacked the Meroitic inscriptions with marvellous acumen and considerable success. But it was fortunate that when he edited the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, his insight and strange learning were directed and controlled by the fine judgement and scholarship of the late Sir Arthur Cowley.

Sayce's life was both laborious and joyous; his disposition was eminently kindly and on the whole optimistic. His attitude to life was that of a fastidious ascetic, almost one may say of an austere sybarite. He had no inclination for games, yet his spare figure had great powers of endurance, and he could support the hardships of travel without a murmur. In bad Oxford weather he would never drive, but preferred walking in galoshes. Quick and generous in recognition of merit in younger men, he was impatient of the claims, the pride, and the reticence of exact scholarship. He was himself quite accustomed to making mistakes, for progress in new fields is only possible by the process of trial and error. If Sayce ever had enemies, he ignored their enmity and seldom wrote a harsh word in answer to attacks. The final pages of his Reminiscences, however, express more doubt of his own infallibility than might perhaps have been expected, and reveal a consciousness of failings. He has left no lasting monument either in the laborious edition of a text or in any school of disciples. His true function was to break new ground, to excite public interest in exploration, to divert attention from the beaten paths of learning to its beauteous side-walks, and to keep the world informed of new developments in the archaeology of all lands. He was an ardent collector of ostraca in Egypt (at a time when their importance was as yet unrecognized), and of Chinese and Japanese works of art. Some Egyptian antiquities he presented to the Cairo Museum, when he gave up his dahabiya on the Nile. The rest of his collections, and his library, including notebooks filled with hard-won copies of inscriptions, he has given or bequeathed to his College and his University.

F. Ll. G.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT
A. PAPYRI (1931–1932)

The work is again divided as follows:

§ 4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography and Chronology. J. G. MILNE, 20 Bardwell Road, Oxford (Ptolemaic and Graeco-Roman Periods), and N. H. BAYNES, Fitzwalters, Northwood, Middlesex (Byzantine and Arab Periods).
§ 10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal. H. I. BELL.

The authors wish jointly to express their gratitude to all those scholars who have sent them off-prints of their articles, a kindness which has greatly facilitated the work of compiling this bibliography.

The following abbreviations have been used in quoting periodicals:

A.J.A. = American Journal of Archaeology.
Anc. Egypt = Ancient Egypt.
Arch. f. Rel. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Arch. Giurid. = Archivio giuridico.
Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
Ä.Z. = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
Boll. fil. class. = Bollettino di filologia classica.
Bursian = Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der kaiserlichen Altertumswissenschaft.
B.Z. = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
Chron. d'Ég. = Chronique d'Égypte.
Cl. Phil. = Classical Philology.
Cl. Quart. = Classical Quarterly.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
Cl. Weekly = Classical Weekly.
D. Lit.-Z. = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Hist. Z. = Historische Zeitschrift.
Journal = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
L.Q.R. = Law Quarterly Review.
N.G.G. = Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
O.L.Z. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Phil. Woch. = Philologische Wochenschrift.
Rev. ae. relig. = Recherches de science religieuse.
Rev. arch. = Revue archéologique.
Rev. belge = Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.
Rev. de phil. = Revue de philologie.
GENERAL. First of all we must greet the new series of Rainer Papyri, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussamm- 
zung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, under the editorship of Hans Gerstinger. The first issue promises well, 
and includes: Stereometry, Homer, epic and bucolic frs., Aecolian scrap, History of the Diaochi, Demothenes, 
Lyasias, Isaeus, Encomion, philosophy, mythology, schoolboy essay on preliminaries to the Trojan war, grammar, 
metres, notes on later dithyrambs, scholia to Pindar's Pythics i. 87, tragic commentary, and 

P.S.I. x, fasc. 2 (see § 3 below), consists of literary texts, nos. 1169-81, viz.: Job, Jonah, Acts of 
Apostles (xxii. 11-29, Western Text, in hand similar to Brit. Mus. Dio Chrysostom), Apocalypse, Iliad, 
Herodotus, Aristophanes (Nubes, 577-635), Argonautica i. 1195-1221, 1 cent., Scholia to Odyssey, [Corinna 
(Orestas), Old Comedy, New Comedy, Romance (Antonius Diogenes ?)], Manuals of augury, Medical Receipts 
from Tebtunis, Odes (Bacchylides ?). Nos. in square brackets already published. The richness of Oxyrhynchus 
as a literary site is again upheld.

A new publication, Études de Papyrologie, was launched in 1932 by the Soc. Royale Égyptienne de 
Papyrologie, forming a supplement to the "Textes et Documents" of the same Society.

In Bursian, 236 (1932), 115-226, A. Derrunner writes a "Bericht über die Literatur zum nachkla.
Griechisch, 1904-29". Köze continues his report on Literary Texts in Archiv, x, 217-37. In Études de 
Papyrologie, 1 (1932), 11-18, W. G. Waddell publishes "Some Literary Papyri from Oxyrhynchus" in the 
Cairo collection, viz.: frs. of Iliad, xvii, xxiii, xxiv; Odyssey, xiii; Callimachus, H. to Artemis, 46-84 with 
scholia; Thucydides, 1; Euripides, Orestes, 754-64; three texts for school use. P. Collomp in Chron. d'Ég., 
vii (1932), 237-42, writes on La Critique Textuelle et la Papyrologie. Ibid., 243-55, G. von Manueffel 
discusses Die Papyri als Zeugen Griech. Kleineiteratur. Powell has edited a Third Series of New Chapters in the 
History of Greek Literature, 1933, with chapters by various authors on Earlier Lyric and Elegiac, Tragedy, 
Comedy, Later Elegy, etc., Romance, and Appendix.

Epic and Elegiac. In Cl. Phil., Lxxvi (1932), 151-6, Barbara P. McCarthy writes on Line Omissions in 
Homeric Papyri since 1925, i.e. since Bolling's External Evidence.

P. Collomp discusses the papyri of the Iliad in Rev. de Phil., 3 sér., vi (1932), 315-49, vii (1933), 33-61. 
Wessely is represented in Griffith Studies by an article De Callimacho Bibliothecario, 38-41.

In the Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein, 1931, 23-69, E. Reitzenstein discusses passages from the Aitia. 
R. Preiffer writes on Berenike Plokamos in Philologus, lxxviii (1932), 179-228. Rev. by G. Coppola 
in Boll. di Fil. Class., N.S., ii (1932), 272-5.

Milne in Cl. Rev., lxxvi (1932), 250, regards *levos* *epelos* in the Lambi scholia (P.S.I. 1094), l. 39, as 
certainly a lemma. Incidentally, is not *ē τὰ Ἀγέαρα* in l. 38 simply a gloss on the unusual *μετὰ Ἀγέας* 
potrot? 
A. Wipstrack edits two Argonautica fragments from Berlin in Eraros, xxx (1932), 1-6. The second 
consists of scholia to iii. 1075-1127, and contains interesting readings.

Tyrtaeus forms the subject of an article by F. Schachermeyr in Rh. Mus., lxxxi (1932), 129-42.
W. Jäger also writes on Tyrtaeus in Sitzungsber. Berl. Ak., 1932, 537-68.

In Chron. d'Ég., vii (1932), 256-7, G. Méautis writes on Une réminiscence Homérique dans un Pap. 
d'Oxyrhynchus, i.e. P. Oxy. 1794. Thinks the author a disciple of Callimachus.
§ 1. LITERARY TEXTS


B. LAVAGNINI restores Σαφήνη 5 (Lobel) in Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica, XVI (1932), 1–5. In l. 19 ἐρωθήμονει = ἕοι ἔρως is nearer the traces than L.’s Ἡφάστιος. L. has also published a Nuova Antologia dei frammenti della lirica greca, Turin, 1932.

A new scrap of Corinna is published by G. COPPOLA in his Introduzione a Pindaro, 1931, 231–42. The end of one poem and the first lines with title (Orestes) of a second are preserved. The new Bacchylides (?), P.S.I. 1181, consists of two fragmentary odes, the second entitled Leucippides. These were the wives of the Dioscuri, whose legend (or something similar) is obviously referred to in l. 27–9 of the first ode. In ll. 13–14 read: Αἵ μὲν ἐκατονεάρης ἱερὰς | κυβέρνα ηλικῶν, and in l. 17 οἰδίπολοι καὶ οἰδίπολας ἔθηκεν. The end of the poem, ll. 21–37, can be restored with practical certainty. In l. 36 read ἔρωτις μὴ ὡς, and in l. 29 ὡς ἔρωτις ὡς ἔρωτις?

K. LATTE in Philologus, LXXXVII (1932), 271–2, interprets Bacchylides XVI. 112.

In Phil. Woch., 52 (1932), 87–102, K. MÜNSCHER writes on the new Hymns from Epidaurus.

Drama, etc. Three new fragments of Aeschylus have been found by the Italians at Oxyrhynchus; two, from the Niobe and the Dichtyoulkoi, are published by NORSKA and VITTELLI in Bull. Soc. Arch. d’Alex., 28, 107–21.


I learn from Cl. Rec., XLVI (1932), 145, of two studies of Menander by TSERETELI.


A. V. PREMEREKSTEIN writes on Das Datum des Prozesses des Isidoros in den sogenannten heidnischen Märtyrerakten, in Hermes, LXVII (1932), 174–96. He also reviews UXXULI-GYLLENBERG’S “New fragment”, in Gnomon, VIII (1932), 201–6.


There is a long review of F. by P. PLECHTE in Gnomon, VIII (1932), 561–72.


I learn from Cl. Rec., p. 145, that TSERETELI has published a papyrus of Isocrates, Ad Demonium.

F. SOLMSEN in Hermes, LXVII (1932), 141–3, essays Rekonstruktionen zur antiken Rhetorik und Poetik.

Philosophy. K. V. FRITZ reviews in detail VOGLIANO’S Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta, in Gnomon, VIII (1932), 65–84.

VOGLIANO in Festschrift zu F. Polanids 75, Geburtstag (nos. 35–8 of Phil. Woch.), 111–14, discusses col. 13 of P. Hercul. 1005 under the title Vox Philodemii.

W. G. WADDELL writes On the Oxy. Papyrus of Philo in Études de Papyrologie, I (1932), 1–6, and identifies the unplaced fragments.


In Phil. Woch., 1932, 1458–61, R. PHILIPSON replies to criticisms of K. V. FRITZ on Book 28 of Epicurus, νεπὶ φιλοσ."
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT (1931-1932)

Romance. F. Zimmermann in Hermes, lxvii (1932), 91-116, restores two columns of the Ninos romance.

In Festschrift für G. Leitinger, 1930, 102-8, A. Hartmann publishes from a Munich papyrus of the fourth century a drawing representing a dramatic scene. Cf. § 3.

2. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY.
( Including Texts.)

General. The new volume of Papiri greci e latini (P.S.I. x, 1932) includes 1147, a census record of priests of the temple of Sekhebtynis at Tebtunis (A.D. 202/3); 1161, a fourth-century Christian letter; 1162 ("? 3rd cent. A.D.") a very curious oath to preserve τὰ μετα- (rather παρα-) δεδομένα μοι μυστήρια, and mentioning a πνεύμα and a λεοματίς, clearly the oath of a cult society of an esoteric kind, not unlike the sort of society which might have arisen in connexion with Hermetic literature (the opening formula has the Jewish tinge which we find in C.H.I.). [For some Biblical texts, see § 1 above.—Ed.]

P. Jouguet, Inscription de Deir-Cheloult (Griffith Studies, 241-4, pl. 24a), is a re-edition of S.B. 4023, a graffito by a stolister with a notable use of εἰς αἰώνα after the Imperial names which date it 15 June 200.

G. Klaffenbach, Eine Weihung an Isis (Archiv, x (1932), 215-16), gives a curious text from Antinoupolis. The phrase Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων καὶ Ἀγαθὴ Τεχνὴ δόξα [... ἀγὴ κυρίας Ἰση] is thought by K. to indicate that these deities, perhaps represented on the relief, were regarded as interceding with Isis for the dedicant. But it is just possible, if unlikely, that 'A.D. and 'A.T. are both personal names.

Fr. W. von Bissing, Eine "panthetistische" Bronze in der ägyptischen Sammlung zu Florenz (Aegyptus, xii (1932), 339-45), publishes a puzzling Ptolemaic representation of a human-headed bird, with long tail, its feet on two small rams, a uraeus crown, etc.

J. G. Milne, Arsinoe and Ammon (Griffith Studies, 13-15), makes the interesting suggestion that the doctrine that Alexander was son of Ammon was developed into a popular romance by Lysimachus and brought to Egypt by his widow Arsinoe.

Herbert Thompson, Eponymous Priests under the Ptolemies (Griffith Studies, 16-37), is an invaluable supplement to Plaumann's article Hieræis in Pauly-Wissowa.

O. Montevchi, Γραφαὶ ἱερῶν (Aegyptus, xii (1932), 317-28), deals with the personal lists annually presented to the civil authority by temples.

Ch. Picard, Les influences étrangères au tombeau de Pétosiris: Grèce ou Perse? (Mélanges V. Lorid; Bull. Inst. Fr. arch. orient., xxx (1930), 201-27), confirms excellently the hypothesis of Greek influence in the relief decorating of this tomb, as against the hypothesis of Persian influence, and shows new points of contact with Hellenistic art.

L. Gernet-A. Boulander, Le Génie grec dans la Religion (Bibliothèque de synthèse historique, 11 ; La renaissance du livre. Paris. 1932. Pp. xiii + 528. 40fr.), includes by the second of its two authors, pp. 393-517, an excellent survey of the religious history of the Hellenistic period. The warning, p. 461, against belief in the supposed Mithraeum at Eleusis will be noted.

Fritz Saxl, Mithras, Typologische Untersuchungen (Verlag Heinrich Keller, Berlin. 1931. Pp. xi + 125 with 43 plates), is as useful and important a book as it is beautiful. It is a very serious contribution to the study of the interplay of Greek and Eastern factors as well as to art-history. The fresco from Pefiro, which is so instructive a parallel to that from Karanis, is discussed p. 21 and figured Abb. 62.

H. Mattingly, A Mithraic tessera from Verulam (Num. Chron., 5th ser., xii (1932), 54-7), publishes a queer disk showing the birth of Mithras from a rock (produced by altering the Tarpeia type on a denarius of Augustus), and on the other side ΜΙΘΡΑΣ ΑΡΩΜΑΣΑΗΘΛ read in a circle with ΦΗΝΙ across the circle, which indicates a curious blending of Egyptian and Persian elements.

Hans Hering, De Priape (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, xxix (1932). Pp. 334 with 3 plates. Töpelmann, Giessen), is another admirable study, giving as it does a complete collection of the material literary and monumental, and throwing light on the general processes of Hellenistic development.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament in Verbindung mit ..., herausgegeben von Gerhard Kittel (Kohlhammer, Stuttgart. 1932. 7 parts published at RM 2.90 each, 64 pp. each) is an outstanding enterprise. Intended to take the place of Cremer, it is the product of intimate collaboration by a staff of specialists, and gives a unique series of monographs on words of interest for religious history; it is already indispensable to all workers in this field. In this connexion I may mention E. von Dobschütz, Zur Lexikographie des Neuen Testaments und seiner Umwelt (Theol. Stud. u. Krit., civ (1932), 238-54), which surveys recent work and
§ 2. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY

remarks, p. 240, on the notable phenomenon of the development of specific Jewish terminology between the LXX and the N.T.

J. Bidez, La cité du monde et la cité du soleil (Bull. acad. roy. Belg., 5th ser. 18 (1932), nos. 7–9, pp. 244–94; also issued separately by Les Belles Lettres, Paris), is an eloquent and illuminating study of the interpretation of Greek and Eastern ideas in Stoicism. B. has also produced Vol. 1, pt. 1 of his Budé edition of Julian, including the political speeches; this fulfills a long-felt need.

Fr. Cumont, Tête de marbre figurant la Lybie (Mon. Piot, xxxii (1932), 1–10 with 1 pl. and 3 figs.), incidentally explains a torso from Cyrene as Isis or an Isis priestess and remarks on a gem signed by Lycomedes as showing a princess reigning at Cyrene with the attributes of Isis. In his L’adoration des mages et l’art triomphal de Rome (Mem. pont. Acad. Rom. di Arch., Ser. III, 3 (1932), 81–109 with 9 pls.), he proves conclusively that a group of reliefs wrongly connected with Magi comes from a triumphal arch set up to celebrate a victory over the Parthians and decorated in a traditional style, shows the effect of this tradition on later Christian representations of the adoration of Christ by the Magi, and gives a new and illuminating discussion of the custom of veiling the hands which we know in monuments illustrating Egyptian worship as practised in the Graeco-Roman world at large (not in ancient Egypt).

H. J. Rose, Mithra-Phaithon chez Nomnus (Rev. hist. rel., cv (1932), 88–101), and Cumont’s postscript, ibid., 102–5, are supplementary to the paper by C. on La fin du monde noticed in Journal, xviii (1932), 81.

W. W. Tarn, Alexander Heios and the Golden Age (J.R.S. xxii (1932), 135–60), argues that Orac. Sib., iii, 350 ff. is a prophecy relating to what was expected of Cleopatra, and notes, 139 ff., parallels with the Praises of Isis. He explains the fourth Eclogue, convincingly to my mind, as a prophecy connected with the son expected from Antony and Octavia.

G. Mantuffel, In Oraculum figuli observationes (Eos, xxxii (1930/1), 391–4), supplies parallels from the Old Testament.

B. Olsson, Zwei Papyrusselten besprochen (Aegyptus, xii (1932), 355 ff.), handles secondly an extra leaf of P. Holmiensi, a formula for seeing the Sungod.

L. R. Taylor, The divinity of the Roman Emperor, is reviewed by A. D. Nock, Gnomon, viii (1932), 513–18; what is there said about Agathos Daimon should be supplemented by reference to the remarks of M. P. Nilsson, Die Götter des Symposion (Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae, Uppsala 1932, 218–30) about Zeus Philios, whom he regards with reason as little more than a konkretisierter Begriff, taking shape in the time of the Peloponnesian war as an outgrowth of the rise of individualism, and about the toast of Agathos Daimon himself; also G. H. Macurdy, The grammar of drinking healths (Am. Journ. Phil., lxxi (1932), 168–71).

S. Etrem, Zur Apotheose (Symb. Oslo., x (1932), 31–56; xi (1932), 11–34; to be cont.), is illuminating on the assumption of divine costume by rulers, etc., on the Gytheion inscription, on Caligula, and on "Die heilige Ehe".


G. S. Snidder, Ein Priestcr der Magna Mater aus Smyrna (Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit’s Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden; Nuntii ex museo antiquario Leidensi, Nieuwe Reeks, xiii, i (1932), 1–13), deals with priestly crowns in general. His very interesting Antique and medicael gems on bookcovers at Utrecht (Art Bulletin, xiv (1932), 5–52) includes p. 36 remarks on Egyptian and other types of Bacchus.

O. Weineck’s survey, Volkskunde (1925–31) (Arch. f. Rel., xxxix (1931), 44–84), should be consulted for parallels to the popular tales of the Empire, on which there are valuable observations in the brilliant paper of E. Schwartz, Unzeitgemässe Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen (Z. neut. Wiss., xxxii (1932), 151–99). On one folk-tale which comes into our period there are excellent observations by W. Kroll, Des Märchen von Amor und Psyche (Pädagogisches Zentralblatt, Heft 5 (1932), 253–6; valuable criticisms of Reitzenstein’s views).

F. J. Dölder, Drei Theta als Schatzsicherung u. ihre Deutung durch den Bischof Theophil von Alexandrien (Antike u. Christentum, iii (1932), 189–91), treats the legend of the treasure in Alexander’s tomb. In the same journal he discusses a head of an Isis priest with a cross on his forehead, and decides that it is a scar (iv (1930), 291–6).

H. Kees, Die Himmelsreise im ägyptischen Totenglauben (Vorträge Bibliothek Warburg, 1928/9, pub. 1930), 1–20, is of use to students of this period. The same volume includes R. Reitzenstein, Heilige Handlung (21–41), which sums up the Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe of the great scholar whom we all mourn.
In the previous volume (1927–8, pub. 1930) we may note J. Kroll, Zur Geschichte des Spielens von Christi Höllelfahrt (257–301).

A. D. Nock, Cremation and burial in the Roman Empire (Harv. Theol. Rev., xxv (1932), 321–59), argues that the change from cremation to burial which took place in Italy and the West in the second century A.D. was due not to religious changes but to the fact that the sarcophagus became fashionable and thus made burial customary. He further draws conclusions as to the character of the hellenization of Egyptian and other Eastern cults in the Graeco-Roman world.

O. Lassally, Anusetu und Tötouerungen in Ägypten (Arch. f. Rel., xxxix (1931), 130–8), may be mentioned although not bearing directly on these times.

A. Storch–F. Heichelheim, Zum Traumgläuben u. Traumverständniss in der Antike auf Grund urkundlicher Traumbriefe aus der Ptolemäerzeit (Zentralbl. f. Psychotherapie u. ihre Grenzbobiete, iv (1932), 559–69), is known to me from Aeg. xii (1932), 417, no. 87.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Der Glaube der Hellenen, i, is reviewed by Fr. Pfister, Theol. Lit.-Z., lvi (1932), 148–53; ii by M. P. Nilsson, D. Lit.-Z., 3 f., iii (1932), 2065–74, which includes a reference to a stele inscribed Ἁρπώ found at Goritza in Thessaly (B.C.H., lv (1931), 487 ff.) near a building which may be a sanctuary.


R. Marcus, Divine names and attributes in Hellenistic Jewish literature (Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research, 1931–2, 43–120), is a very valuable piece of lexicographical investigation.

J. S. Boughton, The idea of progress in Philo Judaeus (New York, 1932. Distributed by the Jewish Publication Society of America; pp. 292. $1.50), shows a close acquaintance with Philo and his modern interpreters, and emphasizes well the peculiarly Jewish element in his work and the definite point of view to which Philo adapts the concepts of popular philosophy. E. R. Goodenough, A Neopythagorean source in Philo Judaeus (Yale Classical Studies, iii (1932), 117–64), gives an excellent analysis of quis rerum divinarum heres, 130 ff.


K. Preisdanz, Amuletum inedinit (Phil. Woch., 1932, nos. 35–38, 101–8, in a number described as Festschrift für Franz Poland, who has deserved so well of the journal) publishes a Berlin haematite probably meant to be heart-shaped incised, with a spell and drawing of an anchor. P. has published also Mumientum auf Papyrus (Études de papyrologie, i (1932), 19–22) which is notable because ἀλαμαθέας and ἠρμάχαιμας have passed from being nomina to being gods. His Papyri graecae magicae, i, has been reviewed by K. Fr. W. Schmidt, G.G.A., cxviii (1931), 441–90; ii by H. J. Rose, Cl. Rev., xlvi (1932), 84–5; A. Calderini, Aegyptus, xii (1932), 80–1; Fr. Pfister, Phil. Woch., 1932, 916–26; M. Norsa, Boll. fil. claus., xxxviii (1932), 365 ff.; Th. Hoffner, Gnomon, viii (1932), 393–5.

For reviews of P. Oslo, ii, see § 3.


A. Delatte, La catopromanie grecque et ses dérivés (Bibl. fac. phil. lett. Univ. Liége, Fasc. 48 Imp. H. Vaillant-Carmanne, Liège, and E. Droz, Paris, 1932. Pp. 221 and 13 pl.), is a most important study of this method of divination, distinguishing between it and lecanomania, and investigating fully the Oriental connections and medieval and modern survivals. It is a thoroughly illuminating and interesting piece of
§ 2. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY

research. The same writer in his Fabæ Pythagoræae cognatae (Serta Leodiensia, in the same Bibli. XlIV (1930), 33-57) has a noteworthy explanation of that well-known superstition and reproachments with magical practice. His first topic is handled also by Th. Hoffner, Mittel- und neugriechische Lexikos, Lychnos, Katoptris- and Onychomantien (Griffith Studies, 218-32), with great knowledge.

Campbell Bonner, Demons of the bath (ibid., 203-8), gives an interesting collection and discussion of material bearing on this superstition.

In his Liturgica fragments on Gnostic amulets (Harv. Theol. Rev., XXV (1932), 362-7), he publishes an amulet with part of the hymn which closes Corp. Herm. i and another of Chnubis with the phrase διὸ τὸν δοκεῖ ἀμώνια τοῦ τινος ὑπὲρ ἡγεῖται i which is presumably a series of διὸ τὸν ἀμώνια.

For an analogy to the use of magical papyri cf. Heinrich Lewy, Beitrage zur Religionsgeschichte und Volkskunde (Arch. f. Rel., XXXIX (1931), 187-99), pp. 189-93, on naming after the mother in prayers.


S. Eitrem’s excellent article Moira (Paulus-Wissowa, xv, 2449-97), handles, 2473-5, the relevant passages in the magic papyri.

Outside Egypt we may note K. Latte, Randbemerkungen (Philologus, LXXXVII (1932), 265-76), for remarks, 274-6, on Isaiah prophetic against magicians; a reference which J. Toutain makes, Rev. histor. Rel., CIT (1931), 114, to new tabellae produced by Audollent which were put in a spring to stop its use for a bath; Velllőfoxd’s edition of Jules Africain: Fragments des Cestes (Les belles-lettres, Paris; 1932); Fr. Pfister’s review of L. Radermacher, Griechische Quellen zur Faustmagie in B.Z., XXXII, 82-5; and G. Walter, Die babylonische Gebetsbeschworung, reviewed by A. Gustav, Theol. Lit.-Z., LVII (1932), 481-2.

J. Freundorfer, Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie, is reviewed by H. Windisch, Theol. Lit.-Z., LVII (1932), 81-3.

C. O. Zuretti, Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum, XI, 1 (Codices Hispanienses: pars prior, Codices Scotienses), published shortly after its author was taken from us, is noticed by Fr. Curnon, Bull. (classe lettres) acad. roya. Belg., 5e sér., XVIII, nos. 7-9 (1932), 241-2.


A. Bludau, Die ägyptischen libelli u. die christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius (Röm. Quartalschr., Suppl. 27) is reviewed by K. Heussi, Theol. Lit.-Z., LVII (1932), 495. [Cf. also § 3.]

H. I. Bell, A Christian stele from Qau el-Kebir (Griffith Studies, 199-202, pl. 22), publishes an interesting text opening with the Trisagion and including the phrase διὰ τοῦ ἠμῶν τοῦ χριστοῦ τῆς ἁγίως ἁγίως ἀναστάσεως of Holy Saturday, probably in a.D. 601.

S. G. Mercatt, Osservazioni sul testo e sulla metrica di alcuni papiri cristiani (Chron. d’Ég., VII (1932), 183-201).

P. G. Rabau, Les enseignements des papyrus; Christianisme et sociologie (Rev. Thomiste, XXXVI (1931), 865-73), discusses Arango-Ruiz, Lineamenti del sistema contrattuale, and Ghedini, Lettere cristiane.

C. Schmidt, Das Kloster des Apa Menas (Á. Z., LXVIII (1932), 60-8), publishes a Coptic legal document.


E. Peterson, Die Haretiker der Philippus-Akten (Z. Neut. Wiss., XXXI (1932), 97-111), and Zum Messalianismus der Philippus-Akten (Oriens Christianus, 1932, 172-9) do not touch Egypt directly but are to be commended to the attention of all students of Christian asceticism.
3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts:

(N.B. Notes on and corrections of miscellaneous documents previously published are referred to in § 9. Notes on single documents will be found here; so too all reviews, when sufficiently important for mention.)

General. I have not at the time of writing had an opportunity of seeing what is certain to prove a very important and interesting addition to the well-known Loeb series, namely a selection of the more noteworthy papyri texts chosen and edited by Hunt and Edgar. Apparently only the first of two volumes, by the latter, has yet appeared. Select Papyri. With an English Translation. By A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 vols. 1. Private Affairs. London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam, 1932. Pp. xx+452. Cloth, 10s. (leather, 12s. 6d.).

F. Oslw. ii (Journal, xviii, 83) has been reviewed by H. C. Youche (Cl. Phil., xxiv (1932), 86–95; rather unsympathetic); K. PREISSENDAX (O.L.Z., xxxv (1932), 554–5; Phil. Woch., liii (1932), 227–34); K. F. W. SCHMIDT (G.G.A., cxxiv (1932), 279–86; detailed, many suggestions); and H. I. BELL (Cl. Rev., xliii (1932), 23–4; Mizraim, i (1933), 190–1).

Büttner’s edition of papyrus letters from the collection of the Giessen University Library (Journal, xviii, 84) has been reviewed by B. OLSSON (D. Lit.-Z., 1932, 879–80); F. ZUCKER (B.Z., xxxii (1932), 158); Wilcken (Archiv, x, 273–5); and Schubart (Gnomon, viii (1932), 552).

During the year under review a whole new volume of P.S.I., issued in two parts, has appeared, and it ranks among the most important of the series, despite the fact that, unlike several of its predecessors, it contains no texts from the Zenon archive. The second part (pp. 105–323), which included the indices and a graceful dedicatory poem in Greek elegiacs by VITELLI to Wilcken on his seventieth birthday, consists entirely of literary or theological texts, and therefore does not fall within the scope of this section; but the first is purely documentary. There are two texts of the Ptolemaic period, but the rest are Roman or Byzantine (almost entirely the former), and they include some very interesting documents, e.g. 1100, an extract from the ενεπιγραφων of the epistrategus Vedius Faustus; 1103, in which a man of over seventy asks for relief from a liturgy on that ground and also because his eyesight is weak; 1105, a petition which throws light on the position of the nomographos; 1119, an interesting sale of live stock [in the subscription only τουρμακω και βωκω are mentioned, whereas ωκω occurs in I. 8; should we therefore read II. 7 f. τουρμακω και B and in I. 12 (e.g.) πανω των των ρεγω]; 1123, important for the ekleisis of Alexandria; 1125, a letter-book of the procurator usiacus; 1128, an interesting agreement for a temple oath, one party being a ιερουπλευς και φημιας; 1132, an appren十条ship to a mat-maker [Mr. Tait, for the note on I. 1, refers to his note on Ostr. Petrie, 288]; 1146, important for the poll-tax of priests; 1149, a very interesting but unfortunately very imperfect document about priests; 1161, a moving Christian (!) letter; and 1162, a most notable oath of a probably pagan mystes. A review of the second part of vol. ix by P. COLLART has appeared in Rev. de phil., ser. 3, vi (1932), 77–8. The first part of x has been reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 249–59; very important as usual) and F. ZUCKER (B.Z., xxxii (1932), 408).

Ptolemaic. P. Cairo Zenon, iv (Journal, xviii, 84) has been reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 238–41) and P. Mich. Zenon (Journal, ibid.) by P. COLLART (Rev. de phil., ser. 3, vi (1932), 411–12); W. L. WESTERMANN (A.J.A., xxxvi (1932), 75–6); H. I. BELL (Mizraim, i (1933), 186–7) and anonymously (J.H.S., liii (1932), 145). Two articles which deal with the Zenon papyri may here be mentioned. Elizabeth GRIER (Accounting in the Zenon Papyri, in Cl. Phil., xxvii (1932), 220–31) discusses the methods of account-keeping illustrated by some of the documents from the archive, and W. SCHUBART publishes translations of seven letters from it, with a general introduction and some explanatory comment (Griechische Briefe aus Ägypten, in Die Antike, viii (1932), 113–37).

O. GUÉRANDE’s masterly work, Ευρείσις (Journal, xviii, 84), has been completed by the appearance during the year of the second part, containing (pp. 129–296) the concluding portion of no. 52, nos. 53–113, an appendix containing four fragments which, though of a different character from the Ευρείσις, are of juristic interest, and the indices, additions, and corrections, etc. The whole volume is a work of the first importance, and its merits have been generally recognized. Part I has been reviewed by W. SCHUBART (O.L.Z., xxxv (1932), 106–9); P. COLLART (Rev. et asc., xxxiv (1932), 83–7); K. PREISSENDAX (Phil. Woch., 1932, 609–13); P. CHANTINAS (Rev. crít., lxvii (1932), 103–5); M. HOMBERT (Rev. belge, xi (1932), 231–2; not seen); P. COLLART (Rev. de phil., ser. 3, vi (1932), 413–14); part II by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 241–8).

C. C. EDGAR, continuing his valuable studies of the Petrie Papyri, has published much improved texts

1 In 1126, 15, qu. ως διά καθ(α του καθ') καθελευών 'ιαθέτουν;
of four of them, viz. P. Petr. ii, 4, 9 (= iii, 42 C, 2); ii, 4, 8 (= iii, 42 C, 1); ii, 4, 1 (= iii, 42 C, 3); ii, 4, 6 (= iii, 42 C, 11). All refer to the quarrymen, and the last two were among those which were lost and only recently found again. Four Pehrie Papyri Revised, in Griffith Studies, 209–13.

For Westermann’s Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt see below, § 6, B. ii.

N. J. Reicn comments, republishing the texts, on U.P.Z. 12 and 13: The Tsepheios viol and their Quarrel with Apollonios in Mieiram, l (1933), 147–77 (seen as this goes to press). Reich also reviews U.P.Z. (ibid., 191–3).

Various reviews of the Loeb demotic papyri (Journal, xviii, 85) have appeared. The following call for mention: by L. Wenger and E. Seidt (Z. Sav., lii (1932), 430–8); E. Seidt (K.V.G.R., xxv (1932), 297–306 [see also § 6]); Wilcken (Archiv, x, 248–9); F. Ll. Griffith (Journal, xviii (1932), 194–5); and A. Calderini (Aegyptus, xii (1932), 78–9). Seidt has, further, published a separate article on no. 12 (see § 6 below): Zu Pap. Strasb. dem. 12, in Z. Sav., lii (1932), 326–8.

A reference must here be inserted to what is evidently an important article, seen as this goes to press: N. J. Reicn, New Documents from the Seirepeum of Memphis, in Mieiram, l (1933), 9–129 (to be continued).

Roman. Johnson and Van Hoesen’s P. Princ. Univ. (Journal, xviii, 85) has been reviewed by H. A. Sanders (J.J.A., xxxvi (1932), 209); P. Collomé (B. et. anc. xxxiii (1931), 398–9); M. Norsa (Boll. Fil. Cl., xxxviii (1932), 190–3); M. Homuet (Musée belge, xi (1932), 141–5); and H. L. Bell (Cl. Rev., lxvi (1932), 22–3, and Mieiram, l (1933), 189–90). Collomé’s P. Achnim (Journal, xvii, 85) has been reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 267–71).

P. Collomé has found among the Reinach Papyri (now belonging to the Paris Faculté des Lettres and housed in the Institut de Papyrologie) the lost beginning of P. Ryl. 178, and publishes the complete document (A.D. 26). Un papyrus Reinach inédit et P. Rylanda 178, in Mélanges Glotz, l (1932), 241–7.

Reviews of Lossch’s Epistula Claudiana continue to appear. In the year under review I have noted the following: by G. Hoennicker (O.L.Z., xxxv (1932), 310–11); G. Girdini (Aegyptus, xii (1932), 72); and P. de Labriolle (Rev. de phil., ser. 3, vii (1932), 418–20).

H. Janne in an article on the concluding section of the letter of Claudius (P. Lond. 1912) brings new arguments, by no means conclusive indeed but certainly interesting, in favour of S. Reinach’s view of that passage as containing a reference to Christian propaganda at Alexandria. He differs from Reinach on one point: for him the “Jews from Syria” were not Christian missionaries but anti-Christian emissaries of the Pharisees. Un passage controversé de la lettre de Claude aux Alexandrins, in Rev. Arch., ser. 5, xxxv (1932), 268–81. See also § 4 below.

Uxkull-Gyllenband’s fragment of the Acta Isidori (Journal, xvii, 126) has been reviewed by A. von Premerstrin (Gnomon, viii (1932), 201–6), who attacks his view that the trial occurred in A.D. 41; for a fuller statement of the same point by the same scholar see § 1 above and § 4 below. The fragment published by H. I. Bell (Journal, xviii, 86) is the subject of an article by A. Nepti Moronda, who reprints the text: Il nuovo frammento di una redazione variata degli “Attii di Isidoro”, in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 333–8. With which fragment A. Momigliano deals in an article, not yet accessible to me, entitled Un nuovo frammento dei cosiddetti “Attii dei martiri pagani” (Rend. Pont. Acc. Arch., vii (1932), 119 f.; see Aegyptus, xii, 291, no. 9711), I am unable to say.

V. Martin publishes a small fragment of a land-tax register (P. Genev. Inv. no. 125) which seems to date from the end of the first century and the names in which are mostly those of Romans. Propriétaires romains en Egypte sous l’Empire, in Mélanges Glotz, 551–5.

An important volume published by W. L. Westermann and C. W. Keyes is to be known as P. Columba, ii, vol. 1 being Westermann’s Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt. This volume contains the texts of a group of six papyri dating from the first half and middle of the second century and all of them, according to the editors (but see Wilcken, Archiv, x, 272 f.), from Theadelphia. The first three are taxation rolls, relating mostly to poll-tax and the related taxes, the fourth is a series of receipts for payments for transport service, etc., from the same roll as Frisk’s Bankkisten (Westermann on an inserted slip explains that his and Keyes’s work was done independently but that on becoming acquainted with Frisk’s volume he was able to make the necessary alterations in their own transcripts in proof), the fifth is a list of donkey-drivers, the sixth is an account of taxes in kind. It will be seen that there is much material of a useful if not sensational character, and it is handled with the editors usual care and provided with an elaborate commentary. Tax lists and transportation receipts from Theadelphia. New York, Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. xi + 219, 2 plates. Reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 270–3).
Sanders's articles on birth-certificate, etc., in the American Academy's Memoirs (Journal, xviii, 86) have been reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 276–8).

E. Kornemann publishes an interesting example of an Elterliche Teilung für den Toodesfall (Archiv, x, 213–15) from the Giessen collection (P. Giss. Inv. Nr. 235). It is a notarial homologia, with six witnesses, from Tebtunis, and is dated in a.d. 139.

H. Kortenbeutel, who is working in the papyrus collection at Berlin, has published from that collection an oath document of a somewhat noteworthy character. Dated in a.d. 153, it is a deposition to witnessing the scourging of a Roman citizen by order of Hierax, strategus of the Heracleides Division. It is a double deed, with six witnesses. Kortenbeutel adds a valuable commentary on the many interesting questions which it raises. Ein Kaisereid, in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 129–40, with facsimile.

A private letter published by Vitelli seems to prove that T. Flavius Victorinus entered Alexandria as prefect on 10 July a.d. 159. It adds a new street-name to those already known at Alexandria, ἁρών Ὅργυστος, and is addressed to γραμματεύς γεράδων. Lettera di MAXIME a CHAIROMON ed EUDAIMON suoi figliuoli, in Stud. ital. di fil. cl., N.S., ix (1932), fasc. iv, 4 pages of off-print. In a brief notice (Archiv, x, 276) Wilcken agrees with Vitelli's inference.

The Vatican roll, edited by Norsa and Vitelli, which contains on one side Favorinus's Ἱούν Ὀσερς and on the other land registers from the Marmarica (Journal, xviii, 79, 87) has received notice from several reviewers. The following may be noted here, the first of which, as the review is not accessible to me, I take from the bibliography in Aegyptus, xii (1932); C. Gallavotti, Il papiro Vaticano greco II, in Historia, v (1921; sic, l. 1931 ?), 644–7 (see p. 84, no. 9112); and A. G. Amatucci (Boll. fil. cl., xxxviii (1931), 4–7). See too § 1 above, and Aegyptus, xii, 82, Intorno al papiro Vaticano Greco II.

W. L. Westermann, publishing a contract between a group of professional musicians and two residents of Alabastrine, appends, besides a brief discussion of the document itself, an interesting and useful appendix on "The Pleasure Clubs of Common People in Egypt". Entertainment in the Villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt, in Journal, xviii (1932), 16–27.

A. E. R. Boak publishes a noteworthy appeal by an Antinoite for relief from a guardianship, which offers several points of special interest. It includes copies of judgements bearing on the case. Boak takes the date as a.d. 172–3. [I may say that I cannot believe in Boak's interpretation of ll. 35–8; Hunt's view, quoted in the note, seems much more probable.] A petition for relief from a guardianship: P. Mich. Inv. No. 2922, in Journal, xviii (1932), 69–76.

An important papyrus of the Geneva collection, published by V. Martin throws new light on the arrangements for entry among the Alexandrian ephebi. It dates from about the end of the second century and appears to be an extract from the protocol of the proceedings preliminary to such entry. It consists of a series of questions addressed to the candidate. It is interesting to note what these questions are; and furthermore the text is of value as proving that, whatever the ἡλύσης so often mentioned in connexion with ephebi may have been, it was not the detachment to which the new ephebe was assigned, for the boy here interrogated names the ἡλύσης to which he (already) belonged. It is further interpreted, both by the editor and by Wilcken in a review (Archiv, x, 275–6), as proving that enrolment in a deme preceded, and did not follow, admission to the ephebate; but I am not convinced that this is a necessary inference. It is true that the boy is here called Σωιατίδαμος Ὀ καλὲ Ζευς[ος, but these words occur in the heading. The text is an extract, and the heading may have been no part of the original protocol and may refer to the ephebe at the time (perhaps considerably later) when the extract was made. I should therefore prefer to regard the evidence of this papyrus as neutral on the point. Un document relatif à l'éphèbe, in Chron. d'Ég., vii (1932), 300–10, with facsimile.

S. Ettrem contributes to the volume, Griffith Studies (Two Greek Papyri, pp. 214–17), copies of two papyri from his own collection. The first is a second-century list of names, of no great importance, but offering some intriguing problems; the second, of the third century, is a customs receipt for λα(/[f]ος Mi]/φ[ε]ος issued at the σωκη of Philadelphia, and it gives Ettrem occasion for an interesting excursion on such receipts, on the "harbour of Memphis", and on the mysterious ἕφος which occurs in certain customs registers.

L. Amundsen has published from the Oslo collection a Latin military papyrus which he regards as a brevis or matricula. The unit to which it refers was probably an ala but is unidentified. Amundsen takes the date as probably c. a.d. 238–42. A Latin Papyrus in the Oslo Collection, in Symb. Oslo., x (1932), 16–30. Reviewed by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 270), who also reviews (ibid., 278–9) Sanders's Papyrus 1894 (Journal, xviii, 87–8).
§ 3. PUBLICATIONS OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS

BLUDAU’s Die ägypt. Libelli (Journal, xviii, 88) is reviewed by E. GROAG (Hist. Vierteljahrschr., xxvii (1932), 631–3. [Cf. also § 2.]

An exceptionally interesting private letter, dating from the third century, is published by V. MARTIN from the Geneva collection. Its value lies in its pronounced literary flavour and its educational interest. The writer, after preliminary greetings, falls into a somewhat sententious reflection on the advantages of a liberal education and refers in a remarkable phrase to those τος κοινωνία τα μυθήματα ταλαίτες. Here unfortunately the fragment breaks off, but even what remains makes it a notable addition to the remains of ancient epistolography as revealed by the papyri. A Greek Papyrus Letter to a Student, in Griffith Studies, 245–7, plate 246.

Roman-Byzantine. An important volume of non-literary texts comes from the University of Uppsala and illustrates the value of co-operation both between individual scholars and between institutions. During the years 1920–5 a collection of fifty-eight papyri was deposited on loan by the Staatliche Museen at Berlin in the Greek seminar at Uppsala, for the purpose of papyrological study. As explained by the general editor, T. Kalén, the original idea of publishing the whole collection in a single volume was abandoned owing to various circumstances, the literary texts in particular being reserved for later treatment. The volume now issued, which is the joint work of the seminar under the direction of Kalén (who has himself contributed very largely to the whole), contains twenty-five texts, ranging in date from the second to the fourth century. To the last century indeed (A.D. 309) only one text belongs, all the others being of the Roman period. The first four are the rolls previously published by THUNELL in his Sitologen-Papyri. They are published unchanged as regards the text (corrections being relegated to the commentary or the Berichtigungen und Nachträge) but with a new commentary (of course founded on Thunell’s) by Kalén. The other texts are of various types but with a preponderance of official documents or documents of a semi-official character (returns, etc.). They are the usual indices and three excellent facsimiles. Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri: herausgegeben vom griechischen Seminar der Universität Uppsala. I. Uppsala, A.-B. Lunds-quistaka Bohkandeln, 1932. (Upps. Universitets Årsskrift 1932.) Pp. viii+363, 3 plates.

Another important publication is that of the third volume of P. Ross-Georg., edited by G. ZERETELI and P. JERNSTEDT, which embraces texts of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. It contains a wealth of interesting and valuable material, and the names of the editors are sufficient warrant for the merits of the commentary. The first twenty-three texts are letters, the remaining thirty-four private contracts or official documents. In the first class may be mentioned two very interesting letters to a certain Antonius, the first, from a physician named Marcus, referring to a battle (μάχη) in which the Roman army had suffered appreciable loss; and, at the other end of the series, to a letter from the well-known Arab pagarch Ἀτιγγα to the ριπαρίως of Arsinoe bidding him bring certain ἕθουσα. In the second part may be mentioned nos. 28, a marriage contract of A.D. 343 or 358; 34, a receipt from the defensor of Antaeopolis to the protecometes of Aphrodisio for ἕθουσα; 35, another receipt from the same to the same which furnishes the editors with the occasion for a discussion of the ordinarius; and 46, a receipt from a πρακτηρήσ τοῦ ἕθουσος πραγματοφέρως. Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen [P. Ross-Georg.], III. Spratämische und byzantinische Texte. Bearbeitet von G. Zereteli und P. Jernstedi. Tiflis, Universitatslithographie, 1930. Pp. 300, 4 plates. Reviewed by F. ZUCKER (B.Z., xxxii (1932), 85–9, and WILCKEN (Archiv, x, 259–61).

Frisk’s Bankakten (Journal, xviii, 88) has been reviewed by WILCKEN (Archiv, x, 267–70); M. SAN NICOLÒ (O.L.Z., xxxv (1932), 464–6); K. FR. W. SCHMIDT (Phil. Woch., 1932, 562–5); and P. COLLATT (Rev. de phil., ser. 3, vi (1932), 410).

G. ZERETELI publishes a list of corrections to vol. xx of Wessely’s Studien: Berichtigung zu Wessely, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusskunde xx, in Aegyptis, xii (1932), 372–7.


B. OLSSON confirms the correctness of Manteuffel’s explanation of δέων τροφή [, , , , ] μύγα as = ὀφω (ο)πτομέ[ν]ο [ν] μύγα in no. 1 of his Epistulae privateae ineditae (Zwei Papyrussstellen besprochen, in Aegyptis, xii (1932), 355).

W. G. WADDLELL has done a useful piece of work in examining some of those papyri in P. Oxy. xvi of which the texts, because the originals were at Cairo, could not be checked when the volume was being prepared, and he publishes the results of his collation (Some Cairo Papyri in P. Oxy. xvi) in the new Études de papyrologie, 1 (1932), 7–9.

A fragment of papyrus at Munich bears an interesting drawing which represents a woman with a Phrygian
4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, and Chronology.


As last year, reference may be made to L. Wenger's Juristische Literaturübersicht in Archiv, x (1932), 279–313, for notices of many works mentioned in this and previous Bibliographies.


1 I have considerable doubts as to the correctness of some of Grohmann's readings, extensions, or interpretations, and think it well to record them here. No. 1 (p. 41) he interprets as a receipt for supplies obtained for the army, which, instead of making them an extra charge on the inhabitants, 'Abdallāh credits to his tax quota. "En d'autres termes: le général nourrit ses soldats sur le trésor public"; and Grohmann uses the text as evidence for the humanity and clemency of the conquerors. It certainly would be if his interpretation were correct, but I can see no warrant for it in the endorsement, on which it rests. Grohmann translates this: "Document concernant la remise de brebis aux Magarites et à d'autres gens qui arrivèrent, a titre d'acompte sur les impôts de la première indiction." I should myself render it: 'Receipt for sheep delivered to the Magarites and others who came up to collect the taxes of the first indiction'...and explain the transaction as an instance of the use of troops (common even under Byzantine rule) to collect the taxes, their maintenance being charged on the taxpayers. The Arab invaders had taken the precaution to secure the taxes due to the government against which they were fighting.

In no. 2 (p. 44), l. 2, for Grohmann's οἰκῆ (as) read presumably oikē: not "de mon train" but "accompanying me".

In no. 3 (p. 45) Grohmann finds evidence for the rule (agreed to by the Copts in their treaty with the Arab conquerors) by which troops passing through a district were entitled to three days' maintenance. This view rests on his reading in l. 3, ἅπαξ ἀντίθετος τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτῶν, which he renders "un [re]pas de trois plats" (he has to admit in another document "des repas de 4 plats chacun", which weakens the case for his version here). In the absence of a facsimile it would be rash to be dogmatic, but I feel fairly certain that the true reading is πᾶλαις αἰτίσεως, for which see P. Lond. 1447, 13, note. In the endorsement I suggest for Grohmann's κομψοὶ τινὶ (sometimes) κομψοὶ τῶν ("villagers") or (more probably) κομψοὶ τῶν ("village dues") the first 1 being in either case for η; in l. 3 read ἀρμ. (ἀρμ. in l. 2 ἀρμ. ἦς) and, possibly, ἐκ ἀρμ. (ἐκ ἀρμ.), ἐκ ἀρμ. ἦς ἢ ἐκ ἀρμ. (ἐκ ἀρμ. τοῦ) followed by ἀρμ. (ἀρμ.). The meaning of l. 2 is not entirely clear to me, but I suggest as the probable rendering of the whole: "Sell to 'Amir b. Aṣa' of the tribe Kouta [or is it possible to read Koqo and explain as "of the Kurshish"]' for three solidi hay at the rate of two aorouses per solidus and stabling (!) and maintenance of three attendants at the rate of one artaba of bread per month to each." The endorsement may be rendered "By the people of Sophthis for village dues three solidi and (maintenance of) three attendants".
§ 4. POLITICAL HISTORY, ETC.


Fr. Heichelheim has discussed Strukturprobleme des Alexandereiches und des Reiches der ersten Kalifen, Chron. d’Ég., VII (1932), 172–82. He draws a parallel, and at the same time points out contrasts, between the two empires, finding the essential unity between them in the conception of a maritime empire round the Mediterranean and a maritime empire round the Indian Ocean connected by a land-bridge through Nearer Asia. The Khalifs can be regarded as in a sense executing the political and to some extent also the cultural testament of Alexander.


Contributions to Ptolemaic history will be found in O. Neppi Modona, Studi Diaetici, I. Chi fu il primo vero “reggente” dopo la morte di Alessandro Magno? in Athenaenum (Pavia), N.S., x (1932), 22–36; B. A. van Groningen, Iterum de Clemene Naucratita, in Mnemosyne, LX (1931), 306–8; G. de Sanctis, Una lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete, in Riv. fil. cl., LXI (1931), 330 f.; J. G. Milne, Arsinoe and Ammon, in Griffith Studies, 13–15 [see also § 2]; P. Fréaux, La valeur historique des papyri de Zénon, in Chron. d’Ég., VII (1932), 291–9; A. Prilik, Weiteres zum Mitregenten des Ptolemaios II Philadelphos, in Klio, XXV (1932), 72–85; and A. Momigliano, Per la data e la caratteristica della lettera di Aristea, in Aegyptus, XII (1932), 161–72.

Graindor’s La guerre d’Alexandrie (see Journal, XVIII, 89) is reviewed by T. Lesschau in Phil. Woch., 1932, 17, 479–82.


P. Jougouet’s paper entitled Inscription de Deir-Chelouit in Griffith Studies, 241–4, is historically useful for the reign of Septimius Severus. [See also § 2.]


Administration. A. Calderini has published Le schede di censimento dell’Egitto romano secondo le scoperte più recenti, Roma, 1932, pp. 26; and Nuove schede di censimento romano d’Egitto, in Aegyptus, XII (1932), 346–54.

W. Schubart discusses Παρακάτωνοι in der hellenistischen Amtsprache in Festschrift für Franz Polad, 133–40.

O. W. Reinmuth, of the University of Nebraska, has written a Thesis on the Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian.
Further reviews of works already noticed in the Journal are: of JOUQUET'S *Politique intérieure* (see xvii, 89), by P. COLLART in Rev. de phil., 3. vi (1932), 415; and of GOODENOUGH'S *Jewish Courts* (see xvii, 89), by M. SAN NICOLÒ in Journal, xviii (1932), 116-18, and by E. SEKOL in Z. Sav., lii (1932), 428-50. [See also § 6.]

E. R. HARDY, JR., *The large estates of Byzantine Egypt* (Journal, xviii, 90) has been reviewed by H. I. BELL in Cl. Rev., xlvi (1932), 236.

G. R. ROLLARD, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* has been reviewed by J. G. MILNE in J.H.S., lii (1932), 161-2.

A. GROHMANN, *Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermine im arabischen Aegypten in Chron. d'Ég.*, vii (1932) 275-84, traces the survival of several administrative technical terms in Arabic. Two of the most noteworthy are *dimūṣiya* (*byōusa*) and *ūṣiya* (apparently *ōōiša*). The last is particularly interesting, as it seems to indicate the survival of the great domains into the Arab period, and *Ūṣiya* 'Abd al-Malik may, as Grohmann remarks, be compared with (e.g.) *ōōiša* Tīrov.

A. GROHMANN, *Aperçu de papyrologie arabe*, Études de papyrologie, i (1932), 23-75, pls. i-ix, contains much matter of historical importance; for this see § 3.

*Topography.* For reviews of BOOK and PETTERSON'S *Karana* (see Journal, xviii, 89), see § 10.

The second part has appeared of the publication of the results of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Egyptian Expedition to *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'n Natrūn: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* by H. G. EVELYN WHITE edited by WALTER HAUSER, New York, 1932. Pp. xliv, 495, 8 plates. Section I. The Roman period, a.d. 315-451. (i) The origins of monasticism; (ii) The topography of the monastries of Nitria and Scetis; (iii) The monastries of the monastic settlement of the monastries of Nitria; (iv) The foundation and early history of Scetis; (v) The monastries of Nitria and Scetis in the Arian period; (vi) The monastic life of Nitria during the last quarter of the fourth century; (vii) The rise of the four monasteries of Scetis and the close of the fourth century; (viii) The Origenist and the anthropomorphic strife at the monastries of Nitria and in Scetis; (ix) The monasteries of Nitria during the first half of the fifth century; (x) Scetis in the first half of the fifth century; (xi) The monastic system during the fourth and early fifth centuries; (xii) Particular aspects of monastic life during the fourth and early fifth centuries. Section II. The Byzantine period: a.d. 451-641. (i) The Monophysite schism and the monasteries; (ii) The Gaianite heresy and the rise of the Theotokos monasteries; (iii) Scetis as the metropolis of the Monophysite church; (iv) The life and times of Daniel the Hegumen; (v) The Heraclian persecution (a.d. 631-41); (vi) The monasteries of Nitria, Cellia and Scetis in the Byzantine period. Section III. The early Arab period a.d. 641-880 etc. This citation of chapter headings will give some idea of the scope of this important work so far as this bibliography is concerned.

*Chronology.* H. THOMPSON has collected the evidence supplementary to previous lists of *Eponymous priests under the Ptolemies in Griffith Studies*, 16-37. [See also § 2.]

Reference may be made here to W. REUSCH, Zur datierung des papyrus Giessensis 40. 1, in Hermes, lxvii (1932), 473-7.

SCOTT'S *Honourific Months* (see Journal, xviii, 89) is reviewed by G. CORBARI in Boll. fil. cl., xxxviii (1932), 218-20.

G. VITIELLI'S *Lettera di Maximos a Chairemon ed Eudaimon suoi figliuoli*, in Stud. it. di fil. cl., N.S., ix (1932), fasc. iv, is of value for the chronology of the reign of Antoninus Pius. It is reviewed by U. WILCKEN in Archiv, x, 270. [See also § 3.]


General. ROSTOVTZEV'S *Social and Economic History* (see Journal, xvii, 129) has been published in a German translation by L. WICKERT under the title *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit*: the translation is reviewed by E. HOHL in D. Lit.-Z., 1932, 4, 179-80.

M. GUIDI has published a useful *Bollettino Bizantino-Arabico* in Byzantion, vii (1932), 396-432, and P. COLLINET in *Chronique du droit byzantin*, ibid., 489-94. It is serviceable to have all the papyrological articles which have appeared in the Journal of Theological Studies collected in *Papyrus and Osyrrhynchus Sayings in the Index to the J.T.S. vols. I-XXX* published in October 1932. 21s.

*Social Life.* Under this head reference may be made to W. F. EGGLETON, *Notes on Egyptian marriage, chiefly in the Ptolemaic period*, Chicago, 1931 (see Journal, xviii, 95, § 6); it is reviewed by J. A. O. LARSEN in Cl. Rev., xxvii (1932), 110.

A. CAMERON, writing on *The exposure of children and Greek ethics* in Cl. Rev., xlvi (1932), 105-14, uses some papyrus evidence.
§ 5. SOCIAL LIFE, ETC.

W. L. Westermann deals with *Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt* in *Journal, xviii* (1932), 16–27. [See § 3.]

C. Gini, *La pigmentation degli abitanti dell’Egitto nell’età greco-romana*, may be noted in this connexion.

A. Toll, *Ampolle inedite di S. Mena nel Museo Egizio della Città del Vaticano*, in *Aegyptus, xii* (1932), 230–43 publishes these “Ampolle” with photographs: they are of the “Kleiner Typ” of Kaufmann’s classification save one which is of larger dimensions than any yet found. T. considers that the mysterious animals represented on the “ampolle” are to be interpreted as an attempt to reproduce the “animali orribili dal collo alto e lungo con una testa simile a quella dei camelli” of the legend “che dopo essersi inchinati davanti al Santo ripresero la loro via” (see Chaine, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1909, 71 ff.). On one ampulla S. Menas is shown as a negro—"the representative of the black race" (Kaufmann).

A. Steinwender, *Byzantische Mönchtextamente*, in *Aegyptus, xii* (1932), 55–64, is a very interesting paper read at the International Byzantine Congress (1930). Particularly suggestive is the treatment of the wills of Hegumenoi of monasteries which in the form of a private testament devise the monastery as a whole, and thereby appoint a successor to the headship of the monastery. [See also § 6, B, vi.] With these wills Bruck (p. 330 f.) has compared the wills of the heads of Greek schools of philosophy. His paper on *Das Erbrecht der byzantinischen Kirche* (brief résumé in *Actes du IIIme Congrès international d’Études byzantines*, ed. A. C. Orlandos, Athens, Imprimerie Hestia, 1932, 191–2) will appear in the *Studi Ricobono*. S. stresses the need for co-operation between students of history and papyrology in conjunction with jurists and canonists: only so can a new history of the Institutions of Byzantine law be constructed.

For monasticism in Egypt see also § 4. Topography.


W. Peremans writes on *De Handelsbetrekkingen van Egypte met het Middellandse-zegezicht in de 3e eeuw n. Chr.* in *Philologische Studien*, ii (1931–2), 23–31, 81–94.

Reference may further be made here to H. Kortenbeutel’s study *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*, Hoffmann, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1931, pp. 80, which covers the whole period of the Roman Empire down to the Arab conquest of Egypt, and to a useful bibliographical summary of recent criticism of *Les travaux de M. Henri Pirenne sur la fin du monde antique et les débuts du moyen âge*, in *Byzantion*, vii (1932), 495–509 compiled by H. Laurent: this is important for the consideration of the extent of Egyptian trade connexions.


Elizabeth Gries discusses *Accounting in the Zenon papyri*, in *Cl. Phil.*, xxvii (1932), 222–31. [See also § 3.]


With this study should be compared the article by G. Ostrogorsky on *Löhne und Preise in Byzanz*, B.Z., xxxi (1932) 293–333: the titles of the sections of this article are (i) Arbeitslöhne; (ii) Beamten- und Offiziersgehälter; (iii) Geldstrafen. Ämter- und Titelkauf. Der Zinsfuss; (iv) Bodenpreise (Acker-, Wein- und Ölland); (v) Getreidepreise; (vi) Verschiedene Preisangaben; (vii) Preise für Haustiere.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT (1930–1931)

For the administration of the great estates of Byzantine Egypt and other matters bearing on economics see § 4, Administration.

Education, Science, and Art. Here may be noted G. von Manteuffel's Die Papyri als Zeugen griechischer Kleinliteratur in Chron. d'Ég., 1932, 243–55. [See also § 1.]


E. Cavaignac deals with L'argent et le cuivre sous les derniers Ptolémées in Chron. d'Ég., VII (1932), 288–90.

J. G. Milne writes on The nome coins of Egypt in Ancient Egypt, 1932, 73–8, and on Coin-moulds for Egyptian Feudal currency, ibid., 1931, 73–4.


6. LAW.

A. General.


M. HOMBRET, Chron. d'Ég., Nos. 13–14 (1932), 227–36, announces the project of a general bibliography of Egyptian papyrology widely understood. He is also responsible for a very comprehensive current card-index, which has been in circulation for about a year. Cf. L. WENGER, Archiv, X (1931–2), 293–4.

E. Albertario, Arch. Giurid., CVII (1932), 88–95, at the end of a necrology of S. Perozzi, gives his bibliography.


iii. Legal history of antiquity. An admirable general orientation continues to be given by L. WENGER in his above-mentioned Literaturüberbicht. The problems of method and scientific aim are discussed by M. SAN NICOLO in a reply to W. EILERS' criticism (Journal, XVIII (1932), 91–2), Z. Sav., LII (1932), 328–33, and also in a Rektonstarede of 23 Nov. 1931 (cf. Forschungen u. Fortschritten, 1931, 140 ff.). He insists on the necessity of studying as a whole the legal history, as well as the other aspects, of the cultural unity which we call antiquity. See also J. G. LAUTNER, Die methoden einer antikrechtlichen Forschung, Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw., XLVII (1932), 27–70.

Cuneiform law. It would be out of place to repeat here what can be found in the general reviews of L. WENGER, Archiv, X (1931–2), 283–5, and P. M. MEYER, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 379–81. The latter announces that the Z. Sav. will in future provide a regular Bericht on the literature of this department. A clear, brief and thoroughly readable account of problems and results so far reached is given by G. BOYER, Les études
§ 6. LAW

d'assyriologic juridique, Rev. hist. dr., xi (1932), 501–15. A very interesting beginning of the study of Hittite private law has been made by V. Korošec, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 156–69: Beitr. z. hethitischen Privatrecht.

Jewish law. We note A. Gulaś, Rechtsgleicht. Stud. zu Talmud u. Papryr., Eb. de pop., i (1932), 97–104 (not seen), and reviews of E. R. Goodenough, The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt (Journal, xvii (1931), 131; xviii, 94) by E. Seidl, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 428–30 and by M. San Nicolò, Journal, xviii (1932), 116–18. The former, though appreciative, thinks that the author goes too far in the view that Philo reflects the law of the contemporary Jewish courts in Alexandria; such reflection as there is, is unconscious.

Greek law. What is evidently an important book (not seen), U. E. Paoli, I Studi di diritto attico (Florence, 1930), containing studies of the Attic maritime loan, ἐναντία—ἀνατρίσμα, and citizenship, is highly praised by E. Weiss, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 441–7. The reviewer, who has himself published a short characterization of Greek law in the Encycl. of the Social Sciences (New York, 1931–), considers Paoli's separate treatment of Attic law to be justifiable, provided that, like him, one relates it to the laws of the other cities. V. Arangio-Ruiz, Arch. Giurid., cvii (1932), 245–53, is equally laudatory, especially of the third study, in which a new view of Attic marriage is proposed, but differs from the author as to ἐναντία and ἀνατρίσμα. The next volume of the Arch. Giurid., 161–78, however, publishes a remarkable answer by Paoli.

Demotic law. E. Seidl, K.V.G.R., xxv (1931–2), 219–49, continues his Sammelbericht (Journal, xvii (1931), 131), the first part of which has been welcomed by L. Wenger, ibid., 285–6, and P. M. Meyer, ibid., 360. Here he completes and brings up to date his previous article, and then deals with public law and administration. He considers that M. San Nicolò's Beiträge (Journal, xviii (1932), 91–2) have opened up to Egyptologists the best comparative material, but takes exception to his chronological table, in which the column Egypt ought to begin not with 1400 or even 710, but with the Fourth Dynasty (2729–2560). In Zu Pap. Strassb. dem. 12, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 326–8, E. Seidl disagrees with W. Kunzel's interpretation of this papyrus (Journal, xviii (1932), 93, 99). L. Wenger and E. Seidl, Z. Sav., lii, 430–8, and E. Seidl alone, K.V.G.R., xxv (1931–2), 297–306, review W. Spiegelberg's Die dem. Papyr. Loeb (cf. F. L. Griffith, Journal, xviii (1932), 194–5). In both reviews attention is drawn to Pap. 43 as throwing light on the Ptolemaic ὀγγογοι ὀξεανευοαι; both in fact lay stress on points of demotic law elucidating the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and this is ex professo the aim of E. Seidl's Die dem. Zivilprozesordnung und die griech. Rechtsurkunden, Chron. d'Ég., Nos. 13–14 (1932), 210–26, to which, space forbidding details, the attention of students of the Greek Ptolemaic texts is strongly recommended. Cf. L. Wenger, Archiv, x (1931–2), 286; U. Wilcken, ibid., 248–9.


Eastern Hellenistic law. P. Koschaker's important book (Journal, xviii (1932), 93, 94, 96–7) is reviewed by M. San Nicolò, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 400–6 (cf. O.L.Z., xxxiv (1931), 1015–18), by F. de Zulueta, Law Quart. Rev., xlvii (1932), 275–6, and by L. Wenger, Archiv, x (1931–2), 290–90. The fundamental question raised by the Avrom and Dura finds, namely how far Hellenistic law took effect in the interior of Asia, which is touched on by San Nicolò in his review, is the subject of P. Koschaker's Leyden address: Die rechtsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der griech. Perpetuurnurkunden aus Dura, Chron. d'Ég., Nos. 13–14 (1932), 202–9. There is a gap of about 200 years between the earliest Greek texts and the latest cuneiform. The private law of a Greek ἔθος like Dura was doubtless at first Greek (cf. P. Dura 5, Journal, xviii (1932), 98), but how long did it remain pure, and how far was it received by the mixed native population of the district? In P. Dura 10 and in the Avrom parchments we find, as in Egypt, Greek documentation extended to non-Greeks, but is this only form? The question is difficult, because we do not know the contemporary native law and because Greek law has not the specific, easily distinguishable quality of Roman law. From P. Dura 10 the natural conclusion is that Greek law is applied to oriental parties, but antichrestic self-pledge is also found in cuneiform sources from 2000 B.C., and probably the native institution persisted. Thus we cannot infer reception of Greek law; still, Greek juristic thought and form are dominant. But in Z. Sav., lii (1932), 340–2, Zu P. Dura 10, E. Schönbaar denies the cogency of the oriental parallels, earlier by centuries, and maintains that P. Dura 10 exhibits pure Greek law, antichrestic debtor-bondage, which is a common Indo-Germanic institution, and the best parallel to which is the Roman municipii causa, etc. He develops this view further in an article in Archiv, x (1931–2), 201–10, to which we shall return (below Bili and C); L. Wenger is not unfavourable, Archiv, x, 280. E. Bickermann, reviewing Yale Class. Stud., ii (1931), in Gnomon, viii
(1932), 572–7, regards P. Dura 10 as a diplomatic hybrid, in form neither Greek nor Babylonian, but Parthian, like the two other Greek documents from Parthia. The witnesses are to the transaction, not to the document, which therefore, unlike the cuneiform document, is simply evidentiary. The combination with the sealed double form is due to reception. Cf. Jeremiah, xxxii, 9 f. It is suggested that the borrower, since he retains property of his own, is to be the lender’s military retainer, more Parthico, rather than his serf.

The Berytus question. Byzantine law. The Milan Conference (Journal, xviii (1932), 92) are reviewed by F. de Zulueta, Law Quart. Rev., lvii (1932), 272–4. See also L. Wengen, Archiv, x (1931–2), 291 and A. Levet, Rev. hist. dr., xi (1932), 539–43. H. F. Jolowicz, Academic Elements in Roman Law, Law Quart. Rev., lvii, 171–90, maintains that till after the end of the classical period academic influence is negligible, but that in the later period it is a factor, the results of which have in a number of points been demonstrated. F. Pringsheim, Bonum et aequum, Z. Sav., lxi (1932), 78–155, argues that the phrase was hardly ever used by the classical jurists save with reference to the formulation in which it occurred, whereas in interpolated texts of Justinian it appears almost always in the form ex bono et aequo, as an expression of the new Byzantine equity. E. Levy, Zur Infamie im röm. Strafrecht, Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono, ii, 79–100 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), shows the effect on the classical edictal principle, which made infamia an automatic consequence of condemnation in certain cases, first of the extension of the cognitio and secondly of the late imperial tendency to remove the penalty from the discretion of the judge. Incidentally he reveals a poignant phase in the life of Papinian and a characteristic piece of Byzantine scholasticism. F. Dölger, B.Z., xxxi (1932), 245–6, announces the publication (Athens, 1931, edd. J. and P. Zepos) of eight volumes which are mainly a reprint of Zacharias von Lengenthal’s scarce Ius graeco-romanum, but contain interesting additions. Although Dölger does not praise the execution of the work highly, he considers it useful, as does L. Wengen, Archiv, x (1931–2), 292. In fasc. 2 (1931) of the new ’Ap. B.Z. (above i), 437–40, I. C. Tornarités, reviewing G. Ferrati, Diritto Bizantino, Encicl. Ital., vii (1930), 141–48 (not seen), contends that in spite of its Roman skeleton the spirit and social character of the Byzantine law is Greek. Apart from this dissent, the review is favourable. There is a discussion of the meaning of ἕμφραξια in medieval texts.

iv. Juristic texts. J. C. Naber, Schola ad Pandectas Graecas in integram restituta tria, Studi in memoriam di Aldo Albertoni, i, 21–3 (Padua, 1932, offprint), after announcing a forthcoming demonstration that certain fragments published by Seymour de Ricci in Et. Girard, i, 273 ff. (1913) give a text from the first edition of the Cod. Just., attempts, by the aid of scholia on the Basilica, a conjectural restoration of other fragments published in the same place. They are Greek scholia on D. 19, 2, 54, 1; 55, 1.3, written later than Nov. 120 (544). The discovery of a scholium on L. 55, 3 is of interest, because this text is omitted by the Florentine MS. of the Digest, though its existence has been inferred from Greek sources.

v. Diplomatic. B. Küberl, Pariculum exemplum, St. Riccobono, i, 437–53 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), finds the clue to the enigmatic word periculum in the rubric De sententia ex periculio recitandis of C. Theod. 4, 17 and C. Just. 7, 44, and in Cie. lii in Verrem, iii, 183. It is a mistake for periculum and should properly mean T, o...<br>\[...\]

At the very last moment W. Kunkel kindly sends Zur Gräko-ägyptischen Doppelursunde, St. Riccobono, i, 415–33 (Palermo, 1932, offprint).

B. Law of persons.

i. Juristic persons. New documents: P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 363. G. Beseler, ibid., 284–7, Zu dem Briefe Hadrians an Plotina vom Jahre 121, returns to a subject recently treated of by A. Steinweh (Journal, xviii (1932), 94). He interprets Hadrian’s letter as a permission to a Roman citizen, Theodimus, to make a will in Greek and according to Greek law, and thereby to regulate the succession to the headship of the Epicurean school, which was corporate owner of the school property, and an Athenian corporation was subject to Greek law. Hadrian may or may not have doubted the capacity of a díadochos, who happened to be a Roman citizen, to act under Athenian law; at any rate, he removed all doubt in the present case. See below, vi.
§ 6. LAW

ii. Slavery and bondage. E. Seidl, K.V.G.R., xxxv (1931-2), 306-13, reviewing V. Arango-Ruz, Persone e famiglia, etc. (Journal, xvii (1931), 135, 136) adduces in confirmation of the author's conception of Graeco-Egyptian slavery (possibility of half-freedom) E. Weisse, Communio pro indiviso und pro diviso, Archiv, iv (1908), 330 ff. and P. dem. Löeb 41 and 47. He also states that Egyptian law permitted sale of self and sale of one's children into slavery, a point on which P. Koschaker had expressed doubt. As noted here last year (p. 94), there is a difference of opinion with regard to the effect on this question of P. Colomb, 480, published by W. L. Westermann, Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt (summarized by P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., lxxi (1932), 367-8, and reviewed, chiefly with reference to its fiscal side, by F. Oerter, Gnomon, viii (1932), 647-50). E. Schönbauer, Archiv, x (1931-2), 182-5, produces very strong confirmation of Koschaker's interpretation, which is that ll. 23 ff. of the papyri are not concerned with bondage or enslavement of free persons, but with slaves given as security. The contrast between ἱππήραξ πώματα and ἱππηράξ is between slaves already pledged and those clear of encumbrance (ἀδύναμα). This involves that the editorial completion is wrong, and another is proposed. The royal ordinance as a whole thus dealt with the acquisition of slaves by private purchase (ll. 1-14), with auction-sales by the State and its organs (ll. 15-22), and with hypothecation and forfeiture (ll. 23 ff.). On the other hand, as noted above (A. iii. Eastern Hellenistic law), Schönbauer in the same article differs from Koschaker with regard to P. Dura 10. See also below, C.

Colonnate. F. Zucker, B.Z., xxxii (1932), 85-9, reviewing P. Ross, Georg. III, draws attention to the importance of Pap. 8 for the history of patrocinium.

iii. Civitas. See P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., lxxi (1932), 368-70; U. E. Paoli, Studi di diritto attico, no. 3 (above, A. iii. Greek law).

iv. Family. E. Seidl, in the review of V. Arango-Ruz just mentioned (ii), while approving of the author's conception of the proprietary organization of the Egyptian family (children have expectant iura ad rem), observes that this conclusion rests on particular marriage-contracts, and that we do not know the common law. He thinks that there is demotic evidence of a far-reaching patria potestas (P. Louvre E. 7832 = Corp. Pap. I, 8).


R. Taubenschlag, "Εὐνομον Ἐχειν νέλ δίριτο παπηρί, Aegyptus, xii (1932), 141-4, inquires into the age of majority in Graeco-Egyptian law, which, as A. Berger in his important recent article Minores in Pauly-Wissowa (cols. 1883-4) observes, is uncertain. Taubenschlag shows that the evidence has greatly increased since his article Die patria potestas im Recht der Papyri, Z. Sav., xxxvii (1916), 177-230, where he had concluded that the age was 18, though for Περιεικα τῆς ἐνεμογῆς it was probably 20. P. Oxy. 2134 (a.d. 170) with B.G.U. 1068 (a.d. 101) perhaps reduces the former figure to 14. For Romans the 25 years of the l. Platoriadi were kept to: P. Oxy. 2111 (a.d. 135), but after the Const. Antonini ofer there is trace of persistence for a time of the Graeco-Egyptian age; the Byzantine P. Lond. 1, 113 (p. 201), however, shows that ultimately the official law here won the day. To the recently published documents concerning guardianship and minority recorded by P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., lxxi (1932), 373-4, should now be added P. Mich. Inv. 2922 (c. a.d. 172/3) published by A. E. R. Boak, Journal, xviii (1932), 69-76. It is a petition for executio tutelae, on which some further slight juristic commentary might be desirable; but the most interesting point, the citation of precedents (e.g. M., Chr. 85), is obvious.

R. Taubenschlag, Die Alimentationspflicht im Rechte der Papyri, Studi Riccobonii, i, 193-18 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), contributes a systematic study of the papyri in which any sort of duty of maintenance appears. As between parents there seems to have been no such duty apart from contract in national Egyptian law, but only a social duty. After the Const. Antonini the case was altered: e.g. P. Lond. 1708 (a.d. 567), from which it may further be inferred that the law of Justinian imposed no duty as between brother and sister. There may have been in one respect of a wife divorced when pregnant: P. Fay. 22 (M., Chr. 291, first century B.C.) and P. Flor. 93 (a.d. 567). But the most frequent source of the duty is contract, either as an incident of service-contracts of all kinds, including παραμομολογητικα, or as a principal term in family-contracts on marriage or adoption, or parental divisions of property. We find, in particular, cases in which a parent parting with property to a child imposes a duty of ἡγεσίακενη. Reservations of life-rents for maintenance are also common in wills. A curious case is seen in B.G.U. 1024 (fourth century): the mother of a murdered girl is awarded one-tenth of the murderer's property in lieu of her lost right to maintenance, an idea which recurs in late Byzantine law. With this study may usefully be compared Un contratto vitalizio del tempo di Dario I, Aegyptus, xii (1932), 55-47, in which M. San Nicolò expounds a neo-Babylonian gift of a temple-
prebend made in consideration of a defined alimnt to be rendered periodically. Such agreements are common in Babylonian documents of all periods, and recall both the γεγραμμένοι of the Greek papyri and the demotic papyri published by W. SEEBERG, Sitzungsb. Heidelberg, 1923, 6.

v. Marriage. A condensed summary of W. F. EDGERTON'S Notes on Egyptian Marriage chiefly in the Ptol. Period (Journal, xviii (1932), 95) is given by P. M. MEYER, Z. Sav., lii (1932), 374–5, and 420–8. E. SKIDL reviews the work. The principal question is of the interpretation of the demotic marriage-contracts, which EDGERTON regards as purely patrimonial, the marriage itself being in Egyptian law simply consensual. SKIDL, on the other hand, thinks that they at any rate strengthened the marriage by securing almost penal advantages for the wife in the event of undeserved divorce, and that they perhaps even indicated marriage as against concubinage. There are parallels in Hammurapi and the Syro-Roman Lawbook. But he does not regard these patrimonial contracts as essential to marriage, so that he is prepared to admit that the γάμως δύσραφος of Roman times may be a survival of national custom. At any rate the distinction δύσραφος and δύσραφος does not occur in Egyptian documents, and there is no sure trace of grades of marriage. SKIDL ends by discussing the reading and interpretation of P. Tor. 18 (U.P.Z. 118). In his review of V. ARANGIO-RUIZ (above, B ii) he is of opinion that this writer's discussion of Egyptian marriage is superseded by EDGERTON'S.

F. ZUCKER, in his already mentioned (B ii) review of P. Ross. Georg. III, comments on Pap. 28, which is the first fourth-century marriage-contract to come to light.

vi. Monks. P. COLINNET, La règle de saint Benoît et la législation de Justiniens, Rev. hist. rel., civ (1931), 272–8, draws attention to ch. 2 of Abbot CHAPMAN'S Saint Benedict and the sixth century (London, 1929), in which the relation of the Rule to Justinian's legislation was first observed and the conclusion drawn that the Rule must precede C. 1, 3, 46 (a.d. 530). Justinian, a western Christian like Justin, was in close relations with the Pope even before the reconquest of Italy; he may have obtained the Rule from the Pope or from St. Benedict; as for jurisprudence, so for the reform of eastern monasticism, the indefatigable legislator turned to the West.

A. STEINWEXER, Byz. Mönchtestamente, Ägypten, xii (1932), 55–64, develops in greater detail one of the topics of his Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen u. Klöster nach den Papyri, Z. Sav. (Kol. Abb.), xix (1930), 1–50 (Journal, xvii (1931), 135; xviii, 94, 96). Byzantine legislation did not entirely deprive monks of power to dispose of their property mortis causa, and in any case only applied to regular coenobites in the full sense. It is clear that monks did make wills, for there are precedents in the Byzantine formularies, though examples of actual practice are few. The Egyptian examples are not against the law, because they are either anterior to Justinian or made by hermits; seldom by coenobites. In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries there are many Byzantine wills of monks, but nearly all in favour of the monastery. The wills of Superiors show a patrimonial conception of their rights over the monastery, but they may also be regarded, like the philosopher's wills, as exhibiting the birth-struggle of juristic personality (see above, B i).


Conveyance. The most important work for papyrologists is E. SCHÖNBAUER'S Rechtshistorische Urkundenstudien, Archiv, x (1931–2), 177–210; cf. Z. Sav., lii (1932), 340–2. Its accessibility justifies brevity here. The four sections deal respectively with P. Colomb. 480, P. Freib. III, 30/7, P. Ent. 14 and 15, and P. Dura 10, the connecting thread, apart from incidental excursus (B ii above), being the explanation of the problematic διάκρισις by the doctrine of καταγραφή which was propounded by the author in his Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Liegenschaftsrechtes im Altertum (1924). Καταγραφή is based on the Greek principle that for the sale of certain kinds of property, regarded as of special social importance, the co-operation of the community through its organs was necessary. It was therefore not a mere registration of a private act, written or oral, but a registration of the seller's declarations to which the State gives its co-operation. The form is derived from the ἐνορία of a party to a dispute made before the magistrate, which put an end to contentious procedure, but which, as P. Ent. I shows, were enforceable by execution. Compare (and contrast) in ἱπτική ἀποφασία. This requirement of public co-operation applied equally to hypothecation of catagrapheable property, and hypothecation was at the date of P. Ent. I, 15 (P. Magd. 31) only allowed for a fixed term, probably one year. The creditor, if unpaid on the due date, could claim the thing as forfeit (ἐκκατάληξις) without regard to excess-value, if any. But if he failed to exercise his right, the property would be freed, and he would be remitted to the ordinary process of execution of debt. Thus, if both creditor and debtor wished to adjourn the due date, either or both might have an interest in renewing the hypothec. Renewal was διάκρισις, which, like the original hypothecation, required an act of public co-operation in the nature of καταγραφή.
This would not be given without the agoronomus having satisfied himself of the existence of the antecedent hypothec between the parties and of the consent of both to renewal. P. Freih. III. 36–7 are documents of an ávárías; the reason for the petition to the king in P. Ent. I. 15 is that there was no time for ávárías, to which both creditor and debtor's heir were agreeable. P. Ent. I. 14 is a case in which ápmávacoj had taken place upon property on which the petitioner's horse had happened to be quartered. In P. Dura 10 the hypothec of property is not general; it may be that it was of the debtor's invenca e illata (L. WENGER, Arché, x (1931–2), 133). The ávárías clause, which probably covered the yapapayd as well as the hypothec of property, can be explained quite simply by this doctrine of Ptolemaic ávárías. The Egyptian papyri of the Roman period suggest that the doctrine had been modified in certain respects.

In Zur Frage der Eigentumsübergang beim Kauf, Z. Sav., lxi (1932), 195–250, E. SCHÖNBAUER uses his publicity principle for the solution of a vexed question of Roman law. F. PLENSHEIM, as is well known, holds that the rule, that ownership of a thing sold did not pass to the buyer unless the price had been paid, was introduced into Roman law in the early Byzantine period, by reception from Greek law. As SCHÖNBAUER remarks elsewhere, the burning question of the Roman or Graeco-oriental character of Justinian's law can only be settled by further study of Greek law. Here he denies that the rule was Greek. A seller who allowed yapapayd to take place before the paid must provide himself with an actionable acknowledgement of debt in the form of a fictitious loan. Mancipatio, like yapapayd, embodied social control of alienation, but in it the exchange of the thing against aes weighed out was essential. But later Roman law diverged from Greek. The 12 Tables allowed exprimissio (probably sponso of a third party) as a substitute for payment; then the creation of the consensual contract of sale made the buyer debtor of the price, and the exprimissor came to be regarded as security; exprimissio was then generalized as any form of satisfacio, and finally, not later than Dioctetian, property was allowed to pass if seller chose to rely merely on buyer's personal credit (fidem emporis segui). In Inst. 2, 1, 41 Justinian combines various strata of texts, but substantially he adopts the latest development. The original rule of the 12 Tables and its developments appear to have been applied to traditio.

Still more purely Romanistic are three articles on the problem of the causal or abstract character of traditio (cf. Journal, xvii (1931), 137); J. HUPKA, Z. Sav., li (1932), 1–30 (very conservative); F. SCHULZ, ibid., 535–49 (reviewing five recent works; radical); and E. SCHÖNBAUER, K. V. G. R., xxv (1931–2), 136–218 (not yet digested; seems conservative).

G. FERRARI, La donazione nei popoli di Ravenna, St. Ricobono, i, 457–83 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), reacts against some of H. STEINACKER's doctrines in Die antiken Grundlagen der frühmittelalterlichen Privatrecht. In these documents, which date from the end of the fifth century, as in P. Lond. III, p. 254 (M. Chr., 367, sixth century), even nominal reservation of usufruct rendered traditio rei unnecessary for conveyance; this is Theodosian and earlier law, not a Byzantine anomaly. When usufruct was not reserved, traditio was necessary, but in Justinian's sense there was donatio perfecta by mere agreement to give, which was enforceable by personal action (Inst. 2, 7, 2). Traditio cartae cannot be explained by the absolutio of Nov. 44, for it is found earlier. The fact that this act, put in high relief by the Ravenna documents, is not mentioned in eastern documents, does not prove that it did not take place in the East. It is a natural act in many cases, e.g. when the document is epistolary. Again, observance of the law of insinuatio at Ravenna and in Egypt does not prove that donation was perfected by insinuatio alone. Cf. Journal, xvi (1930), 138; xvii, 134.

P. TORELLI also, in Studi Medievali, nuovo ser., 604–8 (offprint, n.d.), is decidedly critical of STEINACKER. The study of the function of writing in legal life is beyond the scope of diplomatic, which is merely an auxiliary discipline. So long as Greiser's doctrine of the pure consensuality of Greek contract and Brande-Leone's (Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital., i and ii) of the persistence of true stipulation in the West are unfretted, the question of the dispositive nature of the Roman document is open. So also is that whether the exceptio non numeratas pecuniae is purely Roman or only a Roman formulation of a Greek idea (cf. J. C. NABER, Aegyptus, xii (1932), 247–8). There are other criticisms, but final judgement must be deferred till we have heard STEINACKER on the medieval period.

P. S. LEICHT, Le ultime vicende della mancipatio in Italia, Riv. Stor. Dir. Ital., v (1932), 19–27, contends that the continuance of mention of mancipatio in Italy, according to locality, till the Bolognese renaissance, is a pure matter of routine and ignorance, and no proof that mancipatio and the distinction between res mancipii and nec m. survived after their suppression by Justinian and indeed by earlier desuetude.

Real security. M. SAN NICOLI, Preroga Babylonica, i–v, Archiv Orientalni (Journ. Czechosolowskih Oriental Inst., Prague), iv (1932), 34–40, 179–92. The second of these studies (38–40) offers some material for comparison; it notes the relative rarity in late Babylonian law of real security being substituted for personal
liability; real security tends, in fact, to become mere security, additional to personal liability. Further and less remote material is supplied by the second of U. E. Paoli's studies in Attic law mentioned above (A iii, Greek law).

D. Law of obligations.

i. General. E. Levy, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 512-23, in a review of the Freiburg collection of Partsch's posthumous and smaller works (Journal, XVIII (1931), 91), treats chiefly of the unfinished study of Synallagma. A very careful account of Partsch's views is given, and the conclusion is reached that the developed Byzantine theory of synallagma had only a very limited importance.

F. Weis, Untersuchungen zum griko-aegyptischen Obligationenrecht. Modalitäten der Leistung im Recht der Papyri (Münch. Beitr., Heft 15, 1932), starts from the position (A. B. Schwarz's against A. Segre's) that in Graeco-Egyptian law performance of an obligation was a discharge of liability without further formality, and considers the question: when was performance effective? Must it be rendered to the creditor, by the debtor, and at what time and place? What was the effect of partial performance? To which of several obligations of the same debtor to the same creditor was a performance, which did not satisfy them all, to be appropriated? These Modalitäten form the subject of successive sections, which are preceded by a survey of sources and followed by a summary of conclusions, with excellent indexes. A cursory examination of the book makes a good impression. The conclusion is that the Gr.-Eg. law of contract was modern in character, and that the Romans found in Egypt substantially the same commercial law as their own. The solutions, for example, as to performance by a third party, or as to appropriation of payments are the same, and there is the same tendency to construe payment by a third party as purchase of the debt. In short, we have in Egypt a continuous development, to which neither the Roman conquest nor the Const. Antoniniana made much difference; divergences between local and imperial law are only occasional. Special attention is drawn to new conclusions in regard to depositum and to leases at will in late law (Journal, XIV (1928), 154).

The third of M. San Nicolò's above-mentioned (C, l.c., 179-88) Parerga Babylonica illustrates from late Babylonian documents the construction of substituted performance, datio in solutum, as sale, a construction which is found also in Hellenistic law, though some of the papyri, which are our chief evidence, have given rise to controversy as to what the underlying transaction really was: datio in solutum, sale with price prepaid, or a form of usury. Cf. F. Weis, op. cit., 14 and R. Taubenschlag, St. Bonifate, I, 420. The construction as sale was ultimately admitted by Justinian, and the importance of the late Babylonian documents is that they suggest a persistence in nearer Asia of Babylonian ideas even through Roman times. Hellenization was probably superficial and temporary. Cf. above, A iii, Eastern Hellenistic law.

ii. Sale. See above, C. Conveyance; also P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 386-8, noting new documents.

M. San Nicolò. Parerga Bab., I (above, C, l.c., 34-8) announces the discovery in one or two Cappadocian documents (Eissler-Levy) of a word, used in connexion with pledge, related to the Hebraic erabon, which, in spite of the traditionally Semitic origin of ἀρραβών (arrhab), has up to the present been the only parallel. It is suggested that the term may have been specially western Semitic.

F. Wiegand, Lex Commissoria. Erfüllungszwang u. Widerruf im röm. Kaufrecht (Freib. Rechtsgesch. Abb., III, Berlin, 1932). This book, treating of the very difficult subject of reservation by seller of right to call the sale off, if not paid by a certain date, has not yet been reviewed, but certainly it shows recent talent and thorough training in modern critical methods. The conclusions with regard to the main lines of the Roman evolution do not appear to be revolutionary, but the handling of the embarrassing collection of texts in the Corpus Iuris is original. What most concerns us here is that the ultimate state of Roman law is explained as a result of Hellenistic influence (79-115). Hence a considerable treatment of Greek sale (89-103), which is mainly papyrological, but is too technically expressed for rapid summarization. The author follows Pringsheim's doctrine as to the introduction of the rule in Inst. 2, 1, 41, but unfortunately he could not join issue with E. Schönbauer's article in Z. Sav., LII (1932), 195-250 (above, C. Conveyance).


iii. Societas. Two important articles are to be noted: R. Taubenschlag, Die societas negotiationis im Rechte der Papyri, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 64-77, and A. Steinwender, Aus dem Gesellschaftsrecht der Papyri, St. Ricobono, 1, 487-504 (Palermo, 1932, offprint). The first is a systematic survey of the sources, the second raises special points. Both deal with partnership for the farming of public taxes and land, for farming private land, and for trade and handicraft. Steinwender differs from M. Rostovtzeff, Gesch. der Staatspacht (Philologus, Suppl. IX, 1902) as to the relation of the μετρόν of the ἄρραβων to the Ptolemaic State,
holding that they were directly liable to the State and distinct from the ἐγγεγ. He also draws attention to a group of cases in which it is difficult to say whether there was partnership, colonia partitaria, or both. In the Byzantine partnerships between artisans he notes the express mention of affectus societatis and the fact that the standard of care is culpa in abstracto.

iv. Depositum. In Phil. Woch., LII (1932), 1078–84 (Festschr. Polak, 133–40), W. Schubart summons the use of ἄναπαλαθησθαι and related terms in the papyri to the aid of the interpretation of the will of Ptolemy the Younger of Cyrene (below, H). C. Strucq, Rev. bibl., XI (1931), 481–502, adopts the same course in regard to the ἄπαλαθης of 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 12, 14, but carries his point too far.

v. Dialysis. A. Steinwender, Das bgs. Dialysis-Formular, St. Albertini, 1, 73–94 (Padua, 1932, offprint), applies the diplomatic method recommended by H. Steinacker to dialysis, which for his purpose he understands with Partsch primarily in the sense of contract for ending or avoiding a lawsuit. Such contracts, in sixth-seventh century papyri, agree in external form with early (Justinian) and later Byzantine law. They agree also in style with the Byzantine literary formularies (σχόλια τοῦ Βασιλικοῦ), but the coincidence does not extend equally to the substantive lex. What is the source of the documentary unity? Hardly imitation by the eastern Empire generally of the practice in Egypt, as supposed by A. Segeře in sale, nor yet imperial constitutions, but rather the influence of the law schools, which is seen, for example, in the Byzantine formulary of the stipulatio Aquiliana (cf. P. Lond. 2017). We must omit many interesting details.

vi. Delict. E. Rabel, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 466–81, in the course of a dissenting but appreciative review of F. De Visscher’s Études de droit romain (Journal, XVII (1931), 138; XVIII, 98), differs from him both as to the interpretation of P. Hal. I and as to the development of the actio inuiuirium nostris. The book is favourably reviewed by B. Biondi, Bull. Int. Dir. Rom., XI (1932), 225–31 (see 226 ff.), and by R. Montier, Rev. hist. dr., XI (1932), 161–3. The connexion between the ἄνακ αἰωσ and the actio inuiuirium (nominatio in bonum et aequum) is considered by F. Pringsheim, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 86 ff.

E. Law of succession.

See P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 375–7, especially for new documents; also above, B i and vi.

E. Kornemann, Elterliche Teilung f. d. Todesfall, Archiv, X (1931–2), 213–15, publishes P. Giss. Inv. 255 in advance of P. Giss. II. Of the reign of Hadrian, it is a division of property (μειαῖα: cf. H. Kreller, Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen, 242; M., Chr., 306) made by a mother between her two sons, with effect post mortem. F. De Zulueta, Reichsrecht ou Volksrecht dans l’es P.S.I. 1927, Rev. hist. dr., XI (1932), 491–501, accepts H. A. Sanders’s view that the tablet is the first of a diptych (Journal, XVIII (1932), 98), and contends that the testament in question is a record of proceedings which can be explained by pure Roman law. His chief point is that very young children were allowed to make creatio, of course with auctoritas, as soon as they could speak, before they could understand (D. 29, 2, 9).

M. David, Über die Form des ordentlichen, schriftlich abgefassten Privattestaments zur Zeit des Dominates, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 314–23, deals with a neglected subject. In the legal texts of the period we find civil and praetorian wills distinguished. It is explicable by classical law that the former require 5 and the latter 7 witnesses, but what was the determining difference? Not the solemnization of the municipatio familiae, which was quite dead, but possibly that the civil will was holograph and the praetorian allograph. The papyrological evidence is assembled p. 318, n. 1. The same writer’s Studien zur hereditis institutio ex re certa (Leipzig, 1930) are briefly summarized by R. Montier, Rev. hist. dr., XI (1932), 163–4, and papyrological points in them are picked out by P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 377.

F. Lawcourts and procedure.

See P. M. Meyer, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 395–407, where a full account is given of E. Bernker’s and E. Schild’s books (both Journal, XVIII (1932), 99). Attention has been drawn (A iii, Demotic law) above to the latter’s Die demotische Zivilprozes ordnung, etc. A point of procedural terminology is cleared up by U. Wlken, Archiv, X (1931–2), 246–7, in his Referat of P. Ent. II, 64 (διενεργος γραφήσθαι) and 74 (διενεργος λέγεσθαι).

R. Düll, Der Gutgedanke im röm. Zivilprozessrecht (Journal, XVIII (1932), 99), has been reviewed shortly by E. Grupe, Phil. Woch., LII (1932), 843–5, and F. J. Klein, Archiv R. W. W., XXV (1931–2), 567–8. H. Levy-Beuhl, Rev. hist. dr., XI (1932), 777–81, is more critical; indeed the conception of the praetor’s function advanced by him in various well-known studies is diametrically opposed to Düll’s. E. Schönbauer’s article, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 251–81, bears the same title as this book, and is in part a review of it. While agreeing that the original role played by the State in private suits was not that of the brachium secundare of the private interest and that cases were more often than not settled in iure, Schönbauer holds that the State’s purpose was not conciliation (Gutgedanke?), but order. Düll carries Wlassak’s doctrine of the
original nature of the exceptio too far and too late. There is no parallel between the intermediate arbitral sentence of the index in an actio arbitraria (which is the peculiar feature of such actions) and the decision of the Greek διάρρηξ, which was final, though subject to ἔνεργημα.

R. Düll, Über die Bedeutung des Verfahrens de plano im röm. Zivilprozeß, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 170–94, combats the idea that de plano means simply not pro tribunal, and that de plano and in transitu (Gaius, 1, 20) are interchangeable. The sources show that de plano is connected with minor matters delegated to the court-staff; it developed ultimately into the institution of indices pedanei (χαρακταμόρι, χαράκτας, de plano).

P. Collinet, La procédure par libelle, Ét. hist. sur le droit de Justinien, IV, Paris, 1932. This substantial volume, which is the first detailed study of the libellary procedure as a whole since Bethmann-Hollweg, requires a special review. We note here the emphasis laid on the new evidence, especially the documents of P. Oxy. XVI and P. Lips. 33 and 38. The conclusions are not lacking in originality and will provoke discussion; they are the fruit of much reflection and meticulous study of the texts. Undoubtedly the book fills a long-felt want.

G. Criminal law.


E. Cuq, Le recueil d'Auguste sur les violations de sépultures, Rev. hist. dr., XI (1932), 109–26, maintains his interpretation of the Nazareth (?) inscription against L. Wenger's (Journal, XVIII (1932), 100, etc.); see now the mainly summarizing article (two textual suggestions; full literature) of F. de Zulbia, J.R.S., XXII (1932), 184–97.

H. Public law.

That the organization of the Macedonian army throws light on the early Ptolemaic constitution was maintained by F. Schönbauer, Z. Sav., XLIX (1929), 345 ff. (Journal, XVI (1930), 134). F. Granier's Die Makedonische Heeresorganisation (Münch. Beitr., Heft 15, 1931, not seen) has had several short reviews. P. Treves, Riv. di fil., LX (1932), 397–402, does not accept the contention that the original constitution survived in the orientalized monarchies of the Diadochi. U. Kähstedt, G.G.A., CCXIV (1932), 208–11, makes the same criticism, but regards the collection of materials as valuable, as does W. W. T[arn], J.H.S., LIII (1933), 307.

C. Oliverio, La Stelle di Tolomeo Neoteros re di Cirene (Documenti antichi dell'Africa italiana, I, Cirenaica, Bergamo, 1932). The interest of this inscription is political: cf. § 4, but because of its form it has an accidental legal interest. On this aspect see L. Wenger, Zum Testament des Ptolemaios Neoteros von Kyrene, St. Riccobono, I (?), 529–48 (Palermo, 1932, offprint), E. Buckmann's essay in Πολιορκία, viii (1932), 424–30, and U. Ratti (†), Nota su testamento di Tolomeo Neoteru, Riv. di fil., LXX (1932), 375–7. Cf. above D.iii. The only substantial question is whether the παραπολεμήσεις was meant to and did take effect in Ptolemy's lifetime. The legal answer can only be negative: so Wenger, though U. Ratti, in a very sensible argument, dissents. But this is a political gesture, not a legal act.

On the bowy-f-papyrus, P.S.I., x, 1160, see § 4.

J. Stroux and L. Wenger's book on the Augustan Cyrenaean inscription (Journal, XVIII (1930), 100, etc.) is the subject of a learned review by A. Flinders, Rev. hist. dr., X (1931), 715–24.

E. Levy, Zwei Inschriften auf den Jurist Maceianus, Z. Sav., LII (1932), 352–5, draws attention to C.I.L., xiv, 5347, 5348, which confirm the fact, already practically proved by papyri, that the jurist L. Volusius Maceianus was prefect of Egypt at the end of Pius' reign and at the beginning of the next. His interesting career is commented on.


7. PALAEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATIC.

F. G. Kenyon's Books and readers in ancient Greece and Rome (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932, pp. vii–136) is the outcome of three lectures delivered at King's College in 1932. He deals with the use of books in Greece and Rome, the history of the roll and codex, and the use of papyrus and vellum as materials. There are several good photographs.
§ 7. PALAEOGRAPHY AND DIPLOMATIC

W. Weinberger in Bear. 236 (1932), 85–113, Bericht über Paläographie u. Papyrologie 1926–1930, gives a detailed review of contributions to the palaeography of papyri which have been made during this period. He discusses particularly the various studies of tachygraphy. From this article I learn for the first time of C. Johne, Allgemeine Geschichte d. Kurzschrift (Berlin, 1928), which apparently contains a section on Greek stenography.

K. Ohly’s Stichometrische Untersuchungen is reviewed by F. Zucker in Gnomon, viii (1932), 383–8. I have not yet been able to see this.

A. Böckh, Die Schrift und ihre Entwicklung (Handb. d. Bibliothekswiss., i (1931), cap. II, 27–149 is also inaccessible to me.

8. LEXICOGRAPHY AND GRAMMAR.


A. Grohmann’s article, Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Agypten, in Chron. d’Ég., vii (1932), 275–84, is not accessible to me (see § 4). D’Arcy W. Thompson has contributed an essay On Some Greco-Egyptian Bird and Beast Names to Griffith Studies, 249–53. W. Schubart’s article, Παπακορίοθεν in der hellenistischen Amtsprose, in the Festschrift für Franz Poland = Phil. Woch., 1932, 35(8), 133–40, is a discussion of the meaning of this word in the testament of Ptolemy Euergetes II and of the purport of the whole document (see also §§ 4, 6, D iv). In Cl. Rev., lvii (1932), 12, W. B. Sedgwick discusses the phrase σαλά καλών (Pap. Oxy. 744) without being aware that his conclusions were anticipated by Einar Heikel in Ermos, xvii, 1917, 91–6.

The complete title of the dissertation by H. Glitsch which was mentioned in Journal, xvii (1931), 141 is De Ptolomaei et Apollonii, Glauciae filiorum, chartis questiones linguistae, and it is a study of papyri contained in Wilcken’s Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, vol. 1. F. Zucker has reviewed it in Gnomon, viii (1932), 577–84.

H. Liungvik, Beiträge zur Syntax der Spätgriechischen Volksprose (Skrifter utg. av K. Humanist. Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, 27; 3), Uppsala and Leipzig, 1932, is not yet accessible to me. It is favourably reviewed by G. Ghedini in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 381–2; by R. M. Dawkins in Cl. Rev., lvii (1932), 236; by P. S. Costas in Cl. Phil., xxvii (1932), 293–5, and by A. Debrunner in Indogermanische Forschungen, i (1932), 255.

E. C. Colwell, The Greek of the Fourth Gospel, Chicago, 1931, is devoted to proving that the idioms of this gospel which have been claimed as Aramaic are found in papyri which are free from Aramaic influence and must be admitted to be genuine Greek. The book is favourably reviewed by P. S. Costas in Cl. Phil., xxvii (1932), 193–5.

G. Ghedini reviews, in Scuola Cattolica, lvi (1930), 81–90, lxx (1931), 315–24, several works on the Greek of the N.T. or on similar subjects.

In Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrbücher, viii (1931), 317–26 the late Carl Wessely has given a sketch of the language of the Zenon Papyri, with the object of showing that the beginnings of many modern Greek developments can be observed in them.

K. F. W. Schmidt mentions in Phil. Woch., 1932, 323, footnote, that he has long been engaged on a Konträrindex der griechischen Sprache arranged on the same plan as Fape’s Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache, i.e. by grammatical categories, and within these by alphabetical order beginning from the end of the word.

9. GENERAL WORKS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON PAPYRUS TEXTS.

W. G. Waddell has published a very pleasant paper on The lighter side of the Greek papyri: A talk to the St. Andrew’s Society, Cairo, Egypt (C. F. Cutter, Low Fell, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1932, Pp. 21, 1 plate). J. Manteuffel publishes, in Polish, another article of a general character: Rozwój i potrzeb papyrologii, in
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT (1931–1932)

Nauki Polskiej, xv (1932), 287–90. For an article by P. G. Rabau on Les enseignements des papyrus: Christianisme et sociologie see § 2, Christian.

Reviews of the Kontrarindez are referred to in § 8 above.

M. Homberz has continued his excellent Bulletin papyrologique in Byzantion, vi (1931), 722–36 (part v, for 1930) and vii (1932), 433–56 (part vi, for 1931–2). The bibliography in B.Z., xxxii (1932), 146–251, 395–477, is valuable as usual; papyri are dealt with on pp. 157–9 and 406–9. K. Preisandt’s Zur Papyruskunde (Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, ed. Fritz Milicaz, i (1931), cap. v, pp. 300–31) will be found useful not only as a general survey but in particular from a bibliographical point of view. M. Homberz in his Projets de bibliographie papyrologique (Chron. d’Ég., vii (1932), 227–36), read to the Section of Papyrology at the Leyden Congress of Orientalists, sketches the plans formed by himself and van Hoesen, with the collaboration of S. de Ricci, for the projected international bibliography on slips, which, I am glad to be able to record, has now become a reality. See also Bibliographie papyrologique sur fiches in Rev. belge, xi (1932), 393–4 (not accessible to me).

Bilabel’s Berichtigungslisten, ii, 1, and Sammelbuch, iv, are reviewed together by E. Keissling in D. Lit.-Z., 1932, 1499–1503.

In his Varia (Symb. Oslo., x (1932), 153–6) S. Eitrem deals with the following documentary papyri: 63. S.B. 6944; 64. B.G.U. 372; 65. P.S.I. 1655; 68. P. Oxy. 119; 72. P. Oxy. 44 = W. Chest. 275. J. C. Naber proposes new readings for several of the Cairo Zenon papyri in Ad papyrus quosdam Cairo-Zenonianos (Asyllum, xii (1932), 48–54, 243–9); but Edgar, on the strength of an examination of the originals by Gérard, points out (ibid., 371) that many of these suggestions are irreconcilable with the papyrus evidence.

10. MISCELLANEOUS, EXCAVATIONS, PERSONAL.

In Z. S., lxi (1932), 552–5, E. Sæd publishes a Bericht über den 18. internationalen Orientalistentagung zu Leiden (7–12 Sept. 1931), following this with the Entschluß über die Edition koptischer Papyri und Ostraka. The papers read in the papyrological section are published in Chron. d’Ég., vii (1932), and several of them have already been referred to in their proper place. The following general surveys of work done or in contemplation call for mention here: N. Höhnein, Notes sur quelques papyrus inédits du Caire, 317–23; H. I. Bell, Papryrology in England, 134–6; K. Kalbfleisch, Die Fortschritte der Arbeit an den Griechischen Papyri, 151–2; Fr. Bilabel, Über den Fortschritt der Arbeiten an neuen Heidelberger Papyrusunternehmungen, 311–16; L. Weekend, Mitteilung über den Stand der Münchner Papyrusammlungen, 335–48; L. Amundsen, Papryri and papyrology in the Scandinavian countries, 324–31; A. Calderini, Proposta per la compilazione di un censimento delle persone nominate nei documenti dell’Egitto greco-romano, 258–61; Fr. Heichelheim, Bericht über ein Papyrusverzeichnis nach Gauen, Archiven und Jahrhunderten geordnet, 137–50; A. Steinwenter, Ein Vorschlag zur Publikation koptischer Rechtsurkunden, 153–6. With these articles may be classed, though it appeared elsewhere, a survey by M. Homberz of papyrology in the United States of America: Les Études papyrologiques aux États-Unis, in Bull. des Alumni, iii (1932), 229–34.

The same number of Chron. d’Ég. contained (262–9) B. A. Van Groningen’s Projet d’unification des systèmes de signes critiques, in which, following up the brochure of Ridez and Drachmann on the unification of the dactylic usage in the matter of critical signs and apparatus criticus, he outlines a scheme suitable for use alike in papyri, inscriptions and literary texts. Elsewhere in the number H. I. Bell (Note on methods of publication, 270–1) accepts Van Groningen’s scheme and pleads for greater uniformity in certain other matters of editorial usage; and A. S. Hunt (A note on the transliteration of papyri, 272–4) unfavourably (and, in the present writer’s opinion, very justly) criticizes the practices of (a) dotting letters within square brackets, (b) underlining broken letters. On pp. 285–7 (Essai d’unification des méthodes employées dans les éditions de papyrus) are stated the conclusions arrived at by the Congress. Weck in Archiv, x, 211–12, Dos Liefelner Kammernystem, accepts the new system, and so does A. Calderini in Asyllum, xii (1932), 276–9 (Unificazione dei metodi usati nell’edizione dei papi); the proposals are also stated by Van Groningen in Mnemonyne, lxv (1931), 362–5 (De signis criticis in edendo adhibendis).

Ev. Breccia has published a very useful survey of the museum over which he presides: Le musee gréco-romain 1925–1931 (Municipalité d’Alexandrie, Istituto italiano di arti grafiche, Bergamo, 1932, pp. 102, 62 plates).

Boek and Peterson’s Karonis (Journal, xviii, 103) has been reviewed by J. A. O. Larsen (Cl. Phil., xxvii (1932), 420); Ev. Breccia (Bull. Soc. Arch. d’Alex., 27, 78–83); D. Zrust (Gnomon, viii (1932), 107–9); D. M. Robinson (Journ. Am. Or. Soc., lii (1932), 63–5); and H. I. Bell (Mizraim, i (1933), 187–8).

Several obituaries have been mentioned in §6 above. The following call for mention here: On Wilamowitz-Moellendorff by Wilcken (Archiv, x, 314); on Wessely by H. Gerstinger (Aegyptus, XII (1932), 250-5), Wilcken (Archiv, x, 314-15), and J. Capart (Chron. d'Ég., VII (1932), 115-16); on Spiegelberg by J. Capart (ibid., 116-17) and Cl. P[BÉAUX] (ibid., 117-18); and on Dessau by A. Stein (Klio, XXV (1932), 226-44).
NOTES AND NEWS

The year 1932 brought the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which was the parent of the present Society. To mark this occasion, by the courtesy of the Trustees, an impressive exhibition was arranged in the British Museum to display the objects which have been added to the National Collections by the Society's excavations, and the many visitors found convincing evidence in the exhibits of the good work wrought by the Society during the first half-century of its career.

In addition to this, a special Jubilee Meeting was held in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House on October 31, 1932. The proceedings were designed to provide a brief reminder of the Society's history and of its achievements as a whole. The President, Sir Robert Mond, who took the Chair, recalled the many generous benefactors on whom the Society had largely depended, and paid special tributes to some of the most outstanding. The various branches of the Society's activities were surveyed in greater detail by three special papers offered by Professor F. Ll. Griffith on the Excavations, by Professor P. E. Newberry (in whose absence his contribution was read by Sir H. G. Lyons) on the Archaeological Survey, and by Professor A. S. Hunt on the work of the Graeco-Roman Branch.

Work began at El-'Amarna on December 1, 1932, and continued until January 25, 1933. Though a very short season, it was a most successful one, and the results and finds exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

Throughout the season the main work was concentrated on the Great Temple of the Aten, and the store-houses to the north of Hat-Aten. In spite of the exceedingly difficult nature of the work, a work which was rendered all the more difficult by the fact that the original destroyers of the Temple had sealed in the whole area with a layer of concrete, the plan and a reconstruction of the greater part of the temple area have been obtained. The excavated area consists mainly of two high, pillared platforms leading to a series of sunken courts, which were open to the sky, and were surrounded and traversed by promenades at a higher level. The courts themselves were originally filled with a very large number of stone bases for offerings. The names of these two sections of the Temple appear to be "The House of Rejoicing of the Aten" and "Gem-Aten". The actual finds were somewhat disappointing, but included two magnificent trial pieces. Next season it is hoped to undertake the final clearance of the Sanctuary, which lies at the eastern end of the temenos.

The most profitable part of the season's work was the outcome of a chance discovery in the course of the survey linking up the previous work of the Society with that of the German expedition. In the grounds of a house excavated by Petrie, which had themselves been partially cleared by the Germans, a plaster mask of Nefretiti was found lying quite uncovered on the top of a wall. As the complete plan of the house and grounds was necessary for the survey a small party of men was set to work. The result was the discovery of another sculptor's workshop, and a large number of objects which do not compare at all unfavourably with the best that have ever been found at El-'Amarna. Among the most notable pieces were plaster masks of the king and queen, an exquisitely modelled sandstone inlay head of Akhenaten, and a magnificent but incomplete portrait head of Nefretiti.

Photographs, plans, reconstructions, and casts of all the objects will be shown at the
Summer Exhibition. In addition it is hoped to arrange for a special Exhibition illustrating the architecture of El-'Amarnah, to be held in June at the Architectural Association.

The first of the winter lectures was given on December 14 by Mr. Alan W. Shorter on "Egyptian religion at the end of the New Kingdom". The lecturer traced briefly the gradual development and expansion of religious beliefs down to the time of Akhenaten. On January 25 Mr. S. R. K. Glanville gave an interesting description of "The beginning of building in Ancient Egypt", illustrating how the Egyptians had begun to build with wattle and daub, and though discovering new materials in which they could work, yet carried on the traditions of the earlier material, imitating features of the older buildings even when they had become structurally unnecessary. He also pointed out that some of these traditions are still traceable in the stone buildings being erected to-day. The next lecture was on March 29 by Mr. R. W. Sloley entitled "Thoth, the Great Magician". He explained that Thoth was originally a moon-god and hence the measurer of time; he was represented by a dog-headed ape—a particularly astute animal—as the patron deity of learning, and by the ibis suggestive of research and wisdom. Knowledge is power, and hence he came to be regarded as the Master of Magic, and the books of Thoth were supposed to contain all learning and magic.

Once again, by the courtesy of the Council of the Royal Society, the lectures were all held in its Meeting Room at Burlington House. All were illustrated by lantern slides.

The present year, in which the Society enters on the second half-century of its existence, will be marked by a change in its address. The lease of the premises in Tavistock Square which have been its home since 1918 is due to expire in June; and, as the library has long outgrown the available accommodation, the Committee decided to seek more suitable headquarters without delay. Fortunately, it has proved possible to secure a lease of the first floor and front basement of No. 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, a house which belongs to the Palestine Exploration Fund and contains its offices and library. This will be the Society's address from June 25, 1933. It is the hope of the Committee that the presence under a single roof of the large and growing libraries of the two Societies will provide a useful centre in London at which students of the history and antiquities of the Nearer East may carry on their work.

The fifth and not improbably last memoir of the Theban Tombs Series will have been published before this number of the Journal appears. It deals with four tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, two of them belonging to the High Priest of Amun Menkheperrasonb, and the other two belonging to less well-known personages. The line plates and the coloured frontispiece are from the skilful hand of Mrs. Davies, the explanatory text being by Norman de Garis Davies, whose editions of other Theban tombs are famous. Of altogether exceptional interest are the scenes of foreigners in the upper tomb of Menkheperrasonb, here reproduced with complete fidelity for the first time. The tomb of Amenmose is remarkable for the unique picture of a castle in the Lebanon, while the anonymous owner of the much destroyed but beautifully painted tomb No. 226 was the tutor of four royal princes, quaintly depicted sitting on his lap. They were probably four sons of Amenophis III, who is shown seated in a magnificently decorated baldachin. As with other volumes of this series, this one is offered for a limited period to members and associates of our Society at the special price of 28s. The price to the public generally will be two guineas.
The Editor regrets that this number is late in appearing. The delay has been caused by a change in the arrangements for the printing of the Journal, which will in future be done by the Oxford University Press.

Beginning with this number there will be a return to the custom of giving a certain number of free offprints to authors of articles. Each author will receive twenty free copies of his contribution; an offprint of four pages or less will be issued without cover, and the grey cover issued with a longer article will bear not the title of the separate article but merely the title and date of the number of the Journal in which it appeared.

The hope expressed in Notes and News of Journal, xvii, 108, that the financial stringency would not cause any very serious reduction in the size of the Journal has been partly realized. It has been found possible to reduce costs so considerably that the quantity and quality of the Journal will both remain practically unaltered. Part of the saving is due to the kind response of contributors to the appeal made to them to reduce corrections and additions in proof to a minimum. The Editor thanks them for this response and hopes for their continued collaboration in this matter.

In Journal, xvii, 254, we wrote of a circular letter sent out by Mr. O. H. Myers, the Society's Director of Excavations at Armant, to all excavators in Egypt, calling attention to the need for a Corpus of Graeco-Roman pottery in Egypt. The scheme then envisaged by Mr. Myers is now in being. Two meetings were held in Cairo, one on November 11, 1931, and the other on March 2, 1932, and at these the formation of an International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery was decided on. A Committee consisting of Messrs. Brunton, Gauthier, Junker, and Myers was appointed on November 11, 1931, to consider the details of the scheme, and the report made by it was accepted by the full meeting on March 2, 1932.

The material for the Corpus is to be collected by asking all excavators to provide drawings to certain specified scales of their pottery finds, both future and, so far as possible, past. Printed cards have been issued on which the drawings are to be made and the required information about the size, material, provenance, &c., of each pot filled in. Mr. Lankester Harding has undertaken to act as Honorary Editor of the Corpus. Several of the institutions which conduct excavations in Egypt have already agreed to collaborate, each paying a share of the cost proportionate to the material it provides, and it is hoped that others will eventually find themselves able to come into line.

Publication will be made from time to time according as the Editor considers that he has sufficient material from a particular period to justify it.

Some such scheme for the classification of Egyptian pottery has long been needed. The one now promulgated promises to be adequate in scope and sound in detail.

The following is the distribution of the tomb-groups found at Armant in the season 1930–1; see Journal, xvii, 223 ff.

B = Chadwick Museum, Bolton; Br = Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brussels; C = Egyptian Museum, Cairo; L = Free Public Museums, Liverpool; M = Manchester Museum, University, Manchester; T = Toronto University Museum; W = Welcome Historical Medical Museum, London.

103, 110, 112, textiles, B. 200, bronze stylus, ear-rings, and bangles, W. 201, Kohl pot and beads, L; flint mauls, W. 202, beads, flint mauls, M; flint mauls, T. 203, limestone bull’s-head, beads, amulet, T. 204, bronze ring, beads, L. 205, necklace with bull’s-head amulets, C; clay figurines, beads, amulets, W. 206, Sekhmet and Taurt, beads, L. 207, bronze armour scales, iron nails, T. 208, bronze armour scales, seals, weight, bangles, rings,

The death of Professor Sayce deprives the Society of one of its oldest and most valued members, and Egyptology of one whose acquaintance with Egypt covers the whole period of systematic excavation there. He had become so much a part of Egypt that it is difficult to believe that we can never again happen upon him in the Cataracts Hotel, on the shore at Ramleh, or in some desolate tomb in Upper Egypt. We publish in this number an appreciation of his work and scholarship by a friend and colleague of his, Professor F. Ll. Griffith, who is an Honorary Fellow of the same college of which Sayce was a Fellow for no less than sixty-two years.

We learn from Professor Griffith that Matthia Efendi, who has been studying Demotic under him at Oxford for some time past, now has two years extension of his Mission from the Egyptian Government to enable him to read for the degree of D.Phil. It is hoped that this will give him opportunity to publish a large monograph on Demotic ostraca, more particularly on the good collections of these in Oxford made by Sayce, Petrie, and others.

Professor F. Ll. Griffith writes:
"It might interest some of your readers to know that the Dodgson Demotic Papyrus is now in the Ashmolean Museum, having been presented by the family of its former owner, Mr. Aquila Dodgson."

We learn that the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale will dedicate a volume of its Mémoires to the memory of Gaston Maspero and of his son Jean Maspero, who was killed at Vanquois in 1915. The volume is to appear in 1934 and will bear the title Mélanges Maspero.

The post of Assistant Keeper in charge of the Egyptian collections in the Manchester Museum, left vacant by the death of Miss Crompton, has been filled by Miss Mary Shaw. Miss Shaw was granted her M.A. some time ago at Manchester University for a thesis dealing with an Egyptological subject. Since then she has been engaged in Egyptological research in Oxford and in Liverpool.

Among books which have been sent to us and which we are glad to be able to notice here, though their content is not sufficiently Egyptological to enable us, with our limited space, to give them a full review, are the following:


A. Lucas’s valuable book, Antiques, their Restoration and Preservation, has reached a second (revised) edition bearing the date 1932.
Professor A. H. Gardiner writes:

"It may be remembered that I recently sought to interpret the so-called Astarte papyrus as a story about the inexorable demands of the Sea (Griffith Studies, 74 ff.). Towards the end of the tale the name of Seth appears for the first time, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the gods, at a loss for any other remedy, may have called upon the strongest amongst themselves to put an end to the intolerable tyranny. This possibility was suggested in a letter from Professor Sethe, who reminded me of the well-known scene of Seth spearing a human-headed monster with a wave-like body on a Leyden stela republished not long ago by M. Nagel (Bulletin, xxviii, 38). I am not at all certain that the curves of the body represent a wave, for they might be a rather clumsy depiction of the coils of the serpent Apōpis; this is, indeed, the usual explanation. However, the conjecture was interesting enough to send me on a search for confirmation, and I was fortunate enough to light upon a passage in the Hearst Medical Papyrus where a conflict between Seth and the Sea is explicitly mentioned. This occurs in a spell directed against a malady called the Asiatic malady, which reads as follows (Hearst Pap., 11.12–14): "Who is knowing like Rēr? Who is knowing like Rēr? Blacken the body with charcoal so as to capture the god on high. Even as Seth contended with the Sea, so doth Seth contend with thee, thou Asiatic one, so that thou shalt not perceed the limbs of X, the son of Y." Speculation about so damaged a papyrus as the Astarte Papyrus is naturally very problematic, but it cannot be gainsaid that Professor Sethe’s suggestion obtains considerable plausibility from the passage above quoted."
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS


Der Eindruck dieser Bilder war so stark, dass die Beurteilung der Gesamtanschauung und dieses und jenes einzelnen Zuges der Gefahr der Einseitigkeit und Übertreibung nicht immer ganz entging. Daher war es ein treffender Gedanke von E. R. Hardy, eine Darstellung zu geben mit dem Hauptzweck “to collect material on which may be based a judgment as to the nature of these estates” (p. 17).


In Kap. II “The Apion family” hat Verf. die Geschichte der Apionen unter Zugrundelegung der zu P. Oxy. XVI, 1829 von den Herausgebern gemachten Feststellungen durch Heranziehung der literarischen Quellen ausgebaut, die über das Wirken einzelner Familienmitglieder im Reichsdienst unterrichten. Wenn ihm dies nur möglich war die Verzicht auf die Zurückhaltung, die der Herausgeber von Oxy. 1829 in zwei Fällen hinsichtlich von Identifikationen geübt haben, so glaube ich ihm nicht unrecht geben zu sollen. Auf Grund der somit wesentlich bereicherten Familieneschichte werden die Apionen in ihren Beziehungen zu Staat und Kirche zusammenfassend gewürdigt (pp. 36 ff.).


Nach einem Hinweis auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass im Bereich der Bewässerungsarbeiten Aufgaben der Regierung von den Grossgrundbesitzern übernommen worden sind, wird die Verwendung der famosen bucellarii geschickt; ich benutze die Bezeichnung nur in Anlehnung an die Vermutungen zu erinnern, die ich B. Z.,

1 Ich möchte nicht versäumen, auf das Konsulardiptychon des Apion II v. J. 539 aufmerksam zu machen, dessen schöne Abbildung als frontispiece beigegeben ist.

2 Belege für ἀνάρχοντα = free, independent action bei Liddell-Scott aus philosophischer Literatur.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS


In dem weit kürzeren zweiten Teil wird die Stellung der ἐκποίησεις γεωργιῶν = colonii adscriptii beleuchtet, insbesondere durch die aus Oxyrhynchus vorliegenden Bürgschaftsurkunden—den Rechtsbüchern etwas Unbekanntes—and durch Berichte über Flucht von der Scholle.

Kap. V "Estate management" beschreibt, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Apionen-Dokumente, eingehend den grossen Apparat an höheren und niederen Beamten und Angestellten; die Organisation der Finanzen und die Verwaltung des Naturaleinkommens, wobei Verf. p. 52 und 100 die bedeutsamste Feststellung macht dass die Apionen auf Überschuss an Korn wenig Wert legen und die Geldesinstitute bevorzugen; die Einrichtung der Transportdienste und der Schnellpost.

Kap. VI "The estates in the social and economic life of Egypt" teilt sich wieder in zwei Abschnitte. Der erste untersucht das Verhältnis der grossen Gutsverwaltungen zum Betrieb der einzelnen Wirtschaftszweige; zunächst also die unmittelbare Betätigung im Betrieb der verschiedenen Zweige der Bodenkultur und der Viehwirtschaft. Was die Beziehungen zum Handwerk betrifft, so tritt uns einerseits das Vorhandensein ständiger Lohnangestellter der Gutsverwaltungen entgegen, andererseits die Heranziehung unabhängiger Handwerker, und zwar dieses letztere, wie H. p. 129 als interessantes Ergebnis findet, im allgemeinen für qualifizierte Arbeit, wie wir sagen würden. Bäder, Ölküchen, Mühlen und Bäckereien werden teils in eigener Regie betrieben, teils verpachtet.

Der zweite Abschnitt handelt von dem Verhältnis der Gutsländerreien zu den Dorfländereien und der Gutsverwaltungen zu den Dorfverwaltungen sowie zu den Verwaltungen der Gaue und Provinzen. Von der einen Seite her wirkt sich die wirtschaftliche und soziale Prämponderanz der Grossgrundbesitzer aus, von der andern her wird das Verhältnis dadurch bestimmt, dass eben diese "Feudalherren" häufig die Ämter eines Pagaren oder Tribunen oder Provinzialstatthalters bekleiden. In vielfachen Beziehungen zur Kirche finden wir in den Urkunden die Grossgrundbesitzer, die Beurteilung der überaus häufigen Zuwendungen an Kirchen und Klöster unterliegt aber noch manchen Zweifeln.


So berechtigt nun die eingangs zitierte Formulierung des Hauptzwecks der Schrift ist, so notwendig scheint mir energetisch eindringende Detailforschung und statistische Aufarbeitung als nächste Aufgabe, und auch dafür bildet H.s zuverlässige Zusammenfassung einen brauchbaren Ausgangspunkt. Der Verf. hat übrigens selbst wiederholt auf die Unsicherheiten und Unklarheiten unserer bisherigen Kenntnisse hingewiesen. Darüber hinausgehend möchte ich im Folgenden einige m. E. vordringliche Aufgaben konsequent machen. Ich versuche Grundsätzliches herauszuhoben und durch Beispiele zu beleuchten, wobei mir Hinweise auf die Arbeitsmethode besonders wichtig sind. An den Schluss meiner Besprechung werde ich einige Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen stellen, die vorher keinen Platz gefunden haben.

Zunächst einiges von dem, was ich "statistische Aufarbeitung" genannt habe. Wir brauchen eine Tabelle der στηρίγμα των Apionen und der übrigen γεωργιῶν (die ἀμβλεπόντων der Apionen hat Verf. p. 318 zusammengezogen) sowie der zu den grossen ὁικῶν irgendwie in Beziehung stehenden, aber nicht zu ihnen gehörenden Dörfer; ferner eine Prosopographie der Beamten und Angestellten—bei der häufigen Namensgleichheit umso...
notwendiger; sodann eine Klassifikation der Verwaltungsdokumente, insbesondere der grossen Rechnungsauflustellungen und eine Übersicht über deren Anlage.


Zu der häufigen Formel διὰ Μηναῦ οίκου των (Artikel fehlt vereinzelt) ἐπροσφυγας καὶ προσπρομοιος τοῦ διὸ δεσποτή τῆς αὐτή πανοέργων ἐπερ οἰκίας καὶ ἐνεχόμενος τοῦ διὸ δεσποτή τῆς αὐτή πανοέργων ἐπερ οἰκίας καὶ ἐνεχόμενος ist Folgendes zu bemerken: l. Wenger, Stellvertreterung, 262 ff. (in dem Abschnitt: Vertragsabschluss durch Sklaven); Mitteis, Gr. Z., 263; P. M. Meyer, Jurist. Papyr., p. 167 (Einl. zu Nr. 81) fassen mit aller Entscheidlichkeit οίκος als "Sklav" auf; ich wüsste nicht, was dagegen mit Erfolg gelangt gemacht werden könnte. Es ist höchst beachtenswert, dass ein Sklave sozusagen General-Procura für die grossen Besitzungen der Apionen in den Gauen von Oxyrhynchos und Kynopolis hat und dass Angehörige einer Sklavengesellschaft etwa 100 Jahre lang bei der Verwaltungsr hineinnehmen. Der Verf. musste, pp. 84 und 112, entweider die Tatsache des Sklavenerstehens gebührend hervorheben oder etwaige Zweifel oder eine gegenteilige Ansicht kenntlich machen. 2. Die Übersetzung der Formel, wie sie zuerst im I. Bd. der P. Oxy., erscheint, ist von den Herausgebern des xvi. Bdes und so auch von H. beibehalten worden, obwohl schon Wenger die präzise juristische Bedeutung der einzelnen Termini klar

1 Hardy, p. 40: "the title is that regularly used for estate owners."
2 Merkwürdig ibid. l. 20 ff. der δῆμους ναυτίς τοῦ έδρων olou. Man denkt an einen mit der Versicherung der δῆμους Beauftragten.
3 Ζευγιατρικής, ibid. 1. 80, τοῦ δημοτοῦ ναυτίς τοῦ έδρων olou. Αντίος καί, θείος, διαλ. 1. 127. 80 και θείος τοῦ δημοτοῦ έδρων olou.
4 Herausgeber: Διά οίκον, Διά οίκον, ibid. 1. 127. 80, όλοί καί καθίσταναι τοῦ δημοτοῦ έδρων olou.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

herausgestellt und (p. 262, n. 3) die verallgemeinernde englische Übersetzung als nicht befriedigend bezeichnet hat. Ich möchte für das Recht der auch von P. M. Meyer übernommenen und durch Parallelen erläuterten (i.e. Einl. und n. ad l. 6 ff.) juristischen Interpretation unsmehr eintreten, als die in Preisigkes W.B. gebotenen Erklärungen wenig glücklich sind.


1. P. Oxy. 2027 (6. Jahrh.). Recto I, 1–6 ἔποδος(ἡ) κρασο(κάνι) ... ἐποχ(ίοι) Κρήσων ... κόμης Δικαθέου ... ἔπολεων Μάττου ... ist die Stellung des Dorfes, wie es dem Wortlaut nach scheinen könnte, in seiner Gesamtheit die gleiche wie die der beiden ἔπολεων oder erstreckt sich die ἔποδος κρασοκάνιν in diesem Fall nur auf innerhalb der Dorfländereien gelegene Besitzstücke des ὁλος? Da als Betrag für das Hof nur etwa 3/4 des Betrages für das ἔπολεος ᾨτ. Cr. und nur etwa 3/4 des ebenen für das ἔπολεος ᾨτ. angegeben ist, so wird man das letztere annehmen; der Ausweg, dass es sich um Teilzahlungen handeln könnte, wird durch die nachfolgende Abrechnung über die Ausgaben verschlossen.

2. P. Oxy. 1894 v. J. 573. Der Aussteller der Urkunde verpflichtet sich gegenüber einem προονήτῃ τῆς ἄγας ἐκκλήσιας den Posten einem Lohnhelferbeamteten für die προονήτῃ zu übernehmen ἐν προστασία τῆς κόμης—Name—and alle Natural- und Geldabgaben abzuliefern, die er empfängt παρὰ τῶν ἐποδομών γεωργίων τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς συνθαμβοτης ἐν τῷ ἐφιμὴ (ἐν) κόμη. Der Wortlaut weist gewiss, um den Herausgebern zu reden, auf "the management of a whole village, evidently included in the domain of the church". Werden wir aber im Hinblick auf Zeugnisse wie sub I nicht einen Vorbehalt machen müssen, da die übrigens unvollständig erhaltene Urkunde keinen Sachverhalt als Kontrolle liefert? Möglicher ist jedenfalls dem Wortlaut nach, dass es sich nur um einen Teil der Dorfbewohner handelt.

3. P. Oxy. 1835 (6. oder 7. Jahrh.). Viktor, chartarius in der Verwaltung des Apostel, hat unter seinem Siegel eine Steuersumme dem μείξων des Dorfes Muchis übergeben. Gehörte das ganze Dorf dem ὁλος oder gehörten ihm nur Teile, deren Bewirtschaftung unter einem μείξων standen? Oder war das Dorf παγωροχθέμεν und trifft die vom Verf., p. 54, für unsere Urkunde aufgestellte Vermutung das Richtige, "that some member of the Apion family was pagarch at that moment and used estate officials for public business?" Notwendig ist diese Erklärung für den vorliegenden Fall nicht, den wir entschieden lassen müssen; in anderen Fällen gibt sie die zutreffende Lösung.

4. Ein lehrreiches Problem bieten einige an Apion II und III gerichtete Schriftstücke, in denen einzelne Dörfer bezeichnet werden als παγωροχθέμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁλού τῆς ἡμῶν ἐνδοφήτης,—παρὰ τοῦ ... [ ... ] ... ὅν ὁλοῦ oder—ὑπὸ (παρὰ) τῆς ἐμιτρέπου ἐπηρεκτείας. Vom öffentlichrechten Standpunkt aus ist παγωροχθέμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁλοῦ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐνδοφήτης eine contradictio in adiecto. Ich glaubte die Untersuchung in dieser Besprechung führen zu können, musste sie aber als zu verwirklicht zurückstellen, und so kann ich nur eben auf das Problem hinweisen.


In P. Oxy. 1806 v. J. 577 verpflichten sich 8 coloni adscriptionici eines dem Apion II gehörenden ἔπολεων

1 Also ist H., p. 89, im Recht, wenn er die Urkunde als Beispiel dafür anführt, dass "each pronoetae had under his charge one or more κτήμαta of the Apion family, to which would often be attached their scattered property in villages."
unter Korreallhaftung zur Ablieferung von 3,000 Krügen Wein aus der kommenden Ernte, einschließlich der Begleichung des Rückstandes aus der vorausgegangenen Ernte. Man fragt: inwieweit wurden die Forderungen der Gutsherrschaft an die Kolonen in Vertragsform festgelegt, inwieweit rein 
verwaltungsmaßig in Verordnungsmode? Bedeutet die Vertragsform nur, dass der status libertatis der Kolonen zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll? Ich darf mich mit diesen Andeutungen für die sich hier aufdrängenden Fragen begnügen und füge nur hinzu, dass in den grossen Einnahmeaufstellungen als Kontrahenten viele Einzelpersonen neben κοινα γεωργίων und kleineren Compagnons-Gesellschaften\(^2\) erscheinen und dass nicht zu 
vergessen ist, dass ausser den Kolonen zahlreiche Vollfreie an der Bewirtschaftung der Latifundien 
be teiligt sind.

Den Schluss sollen, wie angekündigt, noch einige Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen bilden. Es wäre 
wünschenswerth gewesen, auf p. 41 aus den Listen P. Oxy. 2020 und 2040\(^6\) alle Personen aufzuführen, die als 
γεωργιοί anzusprechen sind. Ich glaube ausserdem noch folgende Personen namentlich machen zu sollen: 1. den 
unbekannten Besitzer der κτήματα P.S.I. 948 v. J. 345/6, s. o. meine Bemerkungen über γεωργιοί. 2. Ἰάκωβος 
(5. Jahrh.), s. o. über οὐσία. Der Kassenbesamte und die προσωρία sichern wohl dem, wie es scheint, sonst 
unbekannten Ἰάκωβος einen Platz unter den γεωργιοί. 3. Φίλος ουδέντος ἵδι καλεδηνάδος P.S.I., VIII, 935 
(5.-6. Jahrh.) aus Aphrodito; l. 6 ausdrücklich als γεωργιός bezeichnet, ein προσωρία quittiert für ihn. 
Besitz in der Gemarkung des Dorfes Φθα wo wir nach seinem Tod seinen Sohn noch als Besitzer finden 
(P. Flor. 281 v. J. 517). 4. Φίλος ουδέντος δό εἰκα τοῦ λαμπρού P.S.I. 963 v. J. 581; l. 9 ἵδι τοῦ σοφοτάτου καὶ 
ἀλλογούνοντα) σημάεια-γάλακτοι (sic) ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδου ἐμφατισθείσα (ex) und ἵδι ἄρχοντων . . . γεωργιόν καὶ ἄντιδα 
τῆς καλεδηνάδος Οἶκους (τῆς) σόλα (ex). Vgl. meine Bemerkung B.Z., XXVIII, 178; die Anzeigung von ἁμαρ 
φόρος kann ich freilich nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten. Nun erscheint P. Oxy. 2020 (ca. 570 nach Hardy, 
p. 41, n. 1) l. 30 δ(α) τοῦ ἐκδοτος(τού) Ιακώβου σοφήτου. Ich bin sicher, dass die beiden zu identifizieren 
sind. Johannes ist offenbar als philosophisch gebildetem Rhetor anzusehen; beachte auch P.S.I. 963, 18 
[. . . τῆς ὑπ' ὑμεῖς αὐτής. Er hat Grundbesitz auch ausserhalb des Oxyrhynchites. 5. Flavius Athenasius, 
P. Oxy. 1902 (frühes 6. Jahrh.); ausdrücklich als γεωργιός bezeichnet (l. 3); sein Vertreter ein προσωτι 
(l. 2). An Identität mit dem patricius Athenasius, dux und Augustalis der Thebais, kann wegen des Zeitunter 
schiedes nicht gedacht werden. Übrigens müsste der letztere doch wohl in der Reihe der Grossgrund 
besitzer des Südens, p. 43 bei H., erscheinen; vgl. pp. 111 f. und 138. Sollte die Anwesenheit des patricius 
und seines grossen Gefolges in Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 1920) mit dem Vorhandensein von Grundbesitz im 
Oxyrhynchites zusammenhängen?

Zu p. 75: bei der Erwähnung von P. Oxy. 1900 sollte es statt "the church of Oxyrhynchus" genauer heissen 
"the cathedral church" oder "the principal church", da im Text (l. 3, 9 f.) καθεδρικὴ ἐκκλησία steht, wie l. 7 
καθηδρικὸς ὑποκρίτος "the principal steward"; s. Übersetzung und Note ad 1. Zu p. 140: hier ist u. a. von 
den Zuwendungen "to the churches of the district" die Rede, die regelmässig in den Abrechnungen der 
προσωναταı erscheinen. Vielleicht wäre es nicht überflüssig hervorzuheben, dass es sich in der Regel offenbar 
um kleine Kapellen handelt, die meist kleinen Zuwendungen erhalten. Und vielleicht wären da auch 
Bewilligungen zu erwähnen wie (P. Oxy. 1910, 4) εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἀνθ. ἤ τοῦ κτῆμα ἀνθ. Λαου 
also also die im Bereich des κτήμα wie die Märtyrerbegräbnisstätte; deutlicher P. Oxy. 1911, 92, wo der hl. Serenus 
as Inhaber des μαρτύριον genannt ist. Heutzutage entspricht einem solchen μαρτύριον etwa ein Sechgrab.

**FRIEDRICH ZUCKER.**

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\(^1\) In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch daran erinnert, dass z. B. in P. Oxy. 1982 v. J. 497 anlässlich einer Quittung 
über den Empfang eines Rades für eine Stiftung der Kolone Ernährung aller Obliegenheiten verspricht.

\(^2\) Beide Listen erfreulicherweise vom Verf., p. 41, n. 1, genauer auf etwa 570 n. Chr. datiert.
surprise, and near the end he found himself murmuring the well-known statement that there are nine-and-sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, and every single one of them is right. Nine-and-sixty would, however, be an understatement applied to Mr. Faulkner's material. One is tempted at first to think that, like the redactors of the Graeco-Roman temple texts with words in general, the Old Kingdom scribes took a pleasure in writing these grammatical forms in as many ways as possible; the truth is of course that they found or devised numerous means of expressing them, and did not, by selection, develop any consistent rule. You could gain your end by repetition of the phonetic elements (if any), or some of them, or by repetition of the ideogram, or the determinative, or by the use of one of the various forms of the specific determinatives of plurality or duality, or even (for this seems to have been less favoured by writing out the respective endings phonetically; or by various combinations and permutations of these devices. The reviewer, originally for his own amusement, wrote out the subjoined table, putting a single plural word through as many as possible of the paces marked out by Mr. Faulkner, with references to the book. It is of course merely schematic, nearly all the writings, as regards are, being theoretical; still, it may give a not misleading idea of the extraordinary fluidity, as well as the ingenuity, of Old Kingdom orthography. And although it comprises (having regard to the various forms of the "plural determinative") 109 possibilities, it omits a number of combinations possible with words written in a different way in the singular, e.g., those containing biliteral phonograms with phonetic complements.

Special studies of this sort, in which a clearly-demarcated group of phenomena in a given period is analysed exhaustively, are of much value in our science, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Faulkner will give us more of them. The form of the book leaves nothing to be desired; although autographed, the text is as clear as print, and the hieroglyphic writing is very pleasing.

The following are observations on various points in the volume which seem to call for criticism or other comment:

§ 2 a, e. The writings \[\text{administrators of the necropolis}\], \[\text{embalmers}\], should hardly have been quoted without it being pointed out that they evidently result from mechanical suppression of the determinatives \[\text{in each case. Similarly, no doubt, with}\] in 2 c. The factor of superstitious suppression of signs has hardly been given its due importance in this book.

§ 4. The use of singular nouns denoting parts of the body or the like before plurals in the genitive is found also in Semitic: Akkadian, \text{zumur\textasciitilde}nuu "their body", \text{pagan kud\textasciitilde}\textasciitildenuu "the corpse of their warriors"
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

(Ungnad, Bab. Ass. Gramm., §§ 25 g, 24 i); Hebrew, e.g. בָּדֶק “their throat”, בָּדֶקְו “their tongue”, Ps. 5, 10. In the ex. from Pyr. 262 a, the Ennead is perhaps personified as one woman; cf. such writings as בָּדֶק, Lacauf, Textes religieux, iv, D. 195.

§ 9 e. It is noteworthy that when the suffix precedes the triple determinative (another ex. Teti Cem., 155, n. 1) the plural ending is not written, as though the triple determinatives served to indicate the plurals בָּדֶק, בָּדֶקְו of בָּד, בָּדֶהו.

§ 10. בָּד is probably ideogram.

§ 11. These exx. might have been subdivided. In the first the determinatives are replaced by the picture below; in the third and fifth there is suppression of the determinatives; the fourth has no determinative in any case.

§ 12. The word בָּד is perhaps so written because the latter part of it, בָדֶה, was pronounced similarly to the plural of ב. So also with בָדֶה, where perhaps בָדֶה was pronounced like the plural of ב — “mouth.” If this surmise be correct we have in these writings interesting sporadic attempts to indicate vocalization.

§§ 14, 16. It seems more likely that מַדְתע 2 “2 false doors” is to be read than the dual מַדְתע.

§ 19. I think that the one-sidedness of our material leads us to over-estimate the influence exerted by the graphic peculiarities of religious texts upon the secular script. It seems likely that the use of the “determinatives of number,” found already in Dyn. I, first became common in hieratic, in which their great convenience would very naturally secure them an extended use, which would then have invaded hieroglyphic through hieratic drafts of inscriptions. It is indeed possible that their use in the Pyramids came from this source, and that the singular signs מ, מ, replacing harmful determinatives, were secondary creations from מ, מ, מ, מ.

§ 20. The writings of מַדְתע, מַדְתע, מַדְתע, have had their determinatives suppressed; מַדְתע has the picture below.

§ 25. It is noteworthy that there are no determinatives in four out of the five exx. given with plural ending מ following the singular ending מ; without the plural ending there would be no indication that the plural was intended.

§ 27. מַדְתע 2 “2 door-jambns” is the reading more probably than the dual, since מַדְתע I “1 offering-tablet” follows.

§§ 27, 33, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 61, 62, 65. It is a striking feature of Old Egyptian orthography that it usually omits an ending מ also when followed by the plural מ—e.g. in the dual, masculine and feminine (sometimes written in the latter as the only indication of the dual), nisiwa-forms (except often in masc. pl.), מַדְתע: מ, prospective relative form, old perfective, מ dependent pronoun, מ (later מ) “one”, and the suffix מ. Is this because the Old Kingdom scribes felt it to be more vocalic than consonantal, or had it indeed already disappeared, the writings in Middle Egyptian (and to some extent in Old Egyptian) with מ, מ, מ, indicating the final vowel rather than the consonant?

§ 30. The reading of the word מ, usually מ, is not given by Mr. Faulkner. We have the choice between מ and מ; in view of the rarity in Old Egyptian of the former word (an ex. Pyr. 231 c), it would seem that מ is usually to be read מ, which word will then not be so rare in the singular as is asserted in § 31.

§ 32. The not infrequent association of מ and מ, so written, may express two different constructions, מַדְתע מ “two houses of gold”, and מַדְתע מ “two white-houses”; מ having on this view become virtually one word, cf. the oft-cited מַדְתע מ “their white-bread”.

§ 34. In writing collective nouns, grammatically singular, the scribes were faced with a dilemma; they had the alternatives either (a) of writing a triple determinative, as in the exx. quoted in this section, which made the words look like grammatical plurals, or (b) of writing one determinative only, as in מ, the normal writing of מ, “troop” (references Ann. du Serv., xxv, 248), which made the word appear to denote a single person.

§ 36. מ is מ, not מ, the מ being taken over from the wood מ.

1 The same is possibly the case with the writing of מ (מ) given in § 26, hardly, however, with that of מ מ מ there quoted.

2 The plural determinative is almost the only way of expressing the plural in the hieratic documents of Dyn. VI published in Berl. Hier. Pap., iii.
§ 37. The writing of *nieša*-forms of feminine words as though they were feminine duals, *§ and the like, was perhaps actuallly by a similarity not only of the consonants but of the vocalization. *Nješij* "two towns" would, on the analogy of *νερήτεη* ("wateress") "two legs", be vocalized *nejšešij*; and *nješij* "one who is of a town", would, on the analogy of *γενήη* (*γεπήη*), *nieša* of *γεπήη*, be vocalized *nejšešej* also. The data bearing on this question are unfortunately scanty.  

§ 38. "An adjective . . . cannot be represented in hieroglyphic by a picture or an ideogram." But what of e.g. *ע"י* "pure", *ע"א* "eldest", *ע"ב* "small"?  

§§ 53, 54. "Adjectives used attributively", "participles used adjectivally", "adjectives used as nouns substantive", "participles used as nouns". For this deplorable terminology, with its implication that we could parse a given word as a participle used as an adjective used as a noun substantive, the author is not responsible, for he is but using terms and ideas which are common in general grammar, but which certainly do not suit Egyptian. When the student is told in a text-book, for example, that *nieša*-forms are adjectives, and is then told that many examples of them are adjectives used as nouns, it is too much like telling a student of zoology that cattle are bulls, but that bulls often take the form of cows. *M�η* "northern(er)" is not more "adjective" than "noum" or "substantive"; nor is *nfr* "good (one)"; nor are the participles. Our classification here clamours for reform. Excluding those the use of which is *solely* attributive (nfr "every" is the only one I can think of), I suggest that Egyptian words now called adjectives be called nouns, or quality-nouns when it is required to distinguish them from other nouns. Such words differ from other nouns in the respect that, in addition to their independent use, they, by their nature as expressing primarily a quality or attribute, are frequently used in apposition. When used independently (nfr "good one") they are used substantivally; when used in apposition (pr nfr "house, good-one", i.e. "good house") they are used attributivelly, or adjectivally, the difference between the independent and attributive uses being obviously one of function, not of nature. The same point of view holds good of participles. This is not the place to inquire how far such a revision of terms would be of value in the grammar of some other languages. In Egyptian grammar, however, its introduction would have far more than theoretic importance, for it would much facilitate the learning and teaching of the language.  

§ 56. *Urk., i*, 134, 10, is, I think, not the dual. In the same inscription we have (op. cit., 133, 13) *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* and in the passage cited by the author *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l* *l*. It looks to me as if there had been in each case a faulty resolution of an *accolade* of a common type:  

§ 57. The evidence seems to be all against the word *l* *l* being an "adjective". In all occurrences of the word known to me, other than the one quoted here, it precedes a verb in *šfm-f*, *šfm-n-f* or *šfmt-f*; in the Pyramids it varies with *l* *l* and it is to me indistinguishable from the latter in meaning and function. I therefore take it as a negative participle, not used predicatively, and I take *l* *l* here as a verb in *šfm-f*.  

BATTISCOMBE GUNN.  


This is an extensive and somewhat surprising addition to the known magical texts, coming from the Egyptian Department of the British Museum amongst the valuable acquisitions purchased from the collection made in Egypt by the Swedish Consul Anastai a full century ago. It appears to have been in the same group as the well-known magical papyri of Paris, London, and Leyden, and is thus datable about the third century A.D., when magic was most widely practised and creeds had become strangely mixed. Such magical devices are numerous, but are of little interest to the modern student, who is not likely to penetrate to their inner meaning.  

1 See Sethe's articles (where, however, the above combination is not suggested) in *A.Z., xliii*, 93 ff.; *xlvii*, 42 ff.  

It need hardly be pointed out that by the etymology of the word, the grammarians' definitions, and such phrases as "adjective used as noun", the attributive use is the distinguishing feature of the "adjective".  

2 Note further that the author can point to no feminine forms of the word, and has to assume that the writings of masc. sing. and masc. pl. are identical.
remains are of special value for the religious ideas and superstitions embodied in them at a time when Christianity was gradually permeating the lands of the Near East, and for the light they throw on the psychology of the peoples under the Roman Empire.

The roll contains Greek texts on the verso, demotic on the recto; the committee which has edited the roll combines the best scholarship necessary to deal with it in all its aspects. The demotic is not only admirably transcribed and translated by Sir Herbert Thompson but is also reproduced entire on the plates, while for the Greek we have to depend on a transcription by the impeccable Mr. Bell, though a small sample is seen in the photographs of the recto.

The magical papyri often contain vocalized transcripts of demotic words in Greek characters. Unluckily there is nothing of the kind in this papyrus, and even all the gibberish “words of power”, though they comprise several hitherto unknown, have but the very slenderest Egyptological interest. On the other hand there is the usual amount of superstition in the miscellaneous spells (few of which are incomplete) to attract or repel lovers, to win favour and praise and so forth, and the pamphlet forms a valuable addition to the literature of the subject.

F. W. GRIFFITH.


Dr. Till has made his great reputation by a number of publications of texts and grammatical works on Coptic, especially concerning the less-known dialects, Fayumic and Achaemic. He has now given us a very handy little book, a comparative grammar of all the dialects, summarized in 91 pages of print, followed by a chrestomathy on 29 pages and a glossary in 19 pages, all autographed. Such a work has long been a desideratum and will be welcomed accordingly. The variable and strange “Old Coptic” of the pagan period is not here dealt with. Readers should be warned against the impossible extension (in Bohairic) of σον for σοκ on p. 4. It should of course be σοικ. Such a lapetus calami is an isolated blemish; but here and there in his desire for extreme conciseness Till allows a misleading phrase, such as on p. 7 in τωιν- “in” (seltener ξυνι), which seems to imply that ξυνι was a form of the preposition τωιν-; “seltener in ξυνι” would have been quite clear and not too long. On p. 44 επιγγον is an obvious misprint for επιγγον.

As a complement to Till's work Professor Worrell's Coptic Sounds, Part I, The Main Currents of their History, ought here to be mentioned. For the first time it brings a systematic treatment of Coptic phonetics to bear upon the subject of the dialects, and it reaches very valuable results.

F. W. GRIFFITH.

The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition. By CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, Jr. Brown University, Providence, 1932. Pp. 81, 4to, 1 map. $3.00.

It is generally agreed that the Ephemerides (Official Journal) of Alexander were the original source of much or most of what is credible in the history of his conquests; but the extent to which each of our surviving sources has drawn upon them remains a matter for discussion. In the present volume Professor Robinson has thrown new light upon this question by tabulating in parallel columns the place-names by which various authors mark the stages of Alexander's progress. From this concordance he demonstrates that down to the summer of 327 B.C. the order and spelling of these names is almost identical, and that from the summer of 326 they are set forth in substantially the same form and sequence; but that in the intervening period the lists show considerable discrepancies. He concludes that all our extant sources derived their account of the earlier campaigns of Alexander from the court historian Callisthenes, who no doubt made systematic use of the Journal; for the interval from 327 to 326 they fell back upon a variety of other sources, because at this point Callisthenes' work came to a stop and the Journal itself was destroyed by fire (Plutarch, Eumenes, ch. 2); for the remaining years of Alexander's reign a new Journal was compiled and preserved, but was not thrown into historical shape by a single standard authority like Callisthenes, and therefore filtered through to our surviving sources by different channels.

The key which Professor Robinson has thus ingeniously applied might be used to resolve other problems. It might serve to explain the sudden gap in our best and fullest authority, Arrian, for the years 328-327, and the unusual wealth of detail with which that very inferior writer, Quintus Curtius, fills the gap.

Professor Robinson discusses in an appendix the chief chronological difficulty in the history of Alexander's campaigns. Putting together the time-data supplied by various ancient authors, we arrive at the conclusion that in the summer and autumn of 330 Alexander moved from the Caspian to Cabul, say 1,300 miles in 100
marching days. This feat, though not quite incredible—Lord Roberts covered 313 difficult miles from Cabul to Candahar in 22 days—appears impossible to Professor Robinson. But instead of prolonging Alexander’s march into 329 (as is done by some modern scholars), he gives it an earlier start, in the spring of 330. This compels him to reject Plutarch’s remark that Alexander spent four months at the beginning of 330 in Persepolis, and Arrian’s statement that the death of Darius (which befell a few days after Alexander’s start from the Caspian) took place in midsummer. We need not hesitate to reject Plutarch’s unsupported assertion, which indeed is highly improbable on the face of it. If it can be shown that Arrian’s date does not derive from Callisthenes and the Ephemerides, we need not scruple to reject this also.

Professor Robinson’s monograph makes us look forward to his forthcoming larger work on the sources for the history of Alexander.

M. Cary.


Those who, as makers of books, are sensitive to the verdict of those who use them would do well, unless themselves already experts in the difficult art, to study this work as a model of its kind, both for fastidious correctness, clarity of presentation, solicitude for all possible requirements of readers, yet with every valid economy of space and diagram. It is a technical as well as a bibliographical achievement in no less degree than the preceding volumes, and this in spite of the hampering condition that most of the monuments that it records are buried beyond consultation, sometimes unpublished, or described with exasperating disregard of the precision in which the authors take pride.

Miss Moss speaks of the fire of queries under which she has brought the still living archaeologists concerned with this section of the prolific valley of the Nile. She has in truth forced us to regard it as a point of military honour to acquit us valiantly under this fusillade and to silence it if we can; for our writings stand or fall at this analytical test of a practised reader.

It would be a prolonged task to probe this haystack of references for the sharp prick of an error; ten to one it would, if found, prove to be a visitation of the sins of the forefathers. It is better to give some consideration to what the volume as a whole reveals.

The mass of material which this one of several sections records for us will, I think, come even to most Egyptologists first as a surprise and then as an oppressive weight. One feels as Khufu should have felt, in anticipation of his burial under that almost incalculable number of blocks. The items still to be discovered and recorded in Egypt are not likely to prove less in bulk than those that have already been noted or enumerated. Ought we not to resolve that this bibliography of Egyptian publications must be followed up as soon as possible by a still greater feat of compression and orderly survey? If we are not to miss the use and beauty of the wood by reason of the number of the trees in it, ought we not to set about the compilation of a Subject Catalogue, no less clearly demarcated and organized than this, of all the human thoughts, hopes, and fears, and the consequent rites and practices which Ancient Egypt reveals? It would be like the gift of an alphabet to the Chinese, and afford to the narrow, book-sodden specialist some hope of finding sufficient time and elasticity of spirit to be a humanist as well.

The coming Oriental Congress at Rome might avert all danger of futility if some such scheme could be worked out beforehand and participation in it invited. The vast utility of the present publication at least suggests the inquiry whether there is not another, or other directions in which mere organization of the material amassed up to now would be the best endowment of our science. The moment when the stream of discovery and books tends to run low under economic stress is one for taking intelligent and accurate stock of what we have.

N. DE G. DAVIES.


This magnificent volume, dedicated to King Fuad, forms the first publication of the Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie, lately founded by His Majesty. A preface by M. Jouguet explains the aims and projects of the society, of which he is the active president. As he was also, along with M. Lefebvre, the discoverer and to a large extent first editor of the texts here printed, we can appreciate his pleasure in seeing his own admirable work so brilliantly completed after thirty years by a member of his own school.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The texts, both the new and the old, consist of the petitions found by Jouguet and Lefebvre at Ghora and Magdola. Fifty of the latter were published by the finders and re-edited by the late J. Lesquier in Vol. III of the *Papyri grecs de Lille*. M. Guéraud by carefully working through the remaining material has now succeeded in completing not a few of those already published and in adding sixty new pieces, whole or fragmentary. He has also improved upon the readings of his predecessors in many passages, especially in the very difficult docketts. In many cases the papyri are badly preserved and hard to read, and I doubt if any one else could have deciphered so much as he has done; one cannot but admire the skill and scrupulous care with which the text has been established.

Apart from their legal interest the Magdola petitions are among the most attractive and picturesque of Greek papyri, and the newly recovered pieces are not inferior to the old. To give the reader a specimen I select, almost at random, the complaint of the Arab barber (no. 47) about a client called Malichos, evidently another Semite, on whom he had practised his art for several years for a fixed annual fee. A question having arisen about the last year's payment, Malichos made him swear in a temple of Athena (no doubt in this case an Egyptian goddess) that he had not received it. But though the barber took the required oath to the disagreeable surprise of his client, he failed to obtain his money; hence his request for an inquiry and, if necessary, for a trial and judgement. What an odd mixture of Greek, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements in this little problem!

M. Guéraud remarks, what is evidently true, that in the matter of commentary his edition does not aim at superseding that of Lesquer, but merely at correcting and completing it. But this modest claim scarcely prepares us for the great amount of original comment contained in the introduction and notes. In the former the author discusses (1) the formal characteristics of the petitions, (2) the method of presenting them, (3) the consequent procedure, administrative and legal, and (4) the relative positions of the various srravavv who appear in these and other contemporary documents; and all these questions, by a careful analysis of the material, he has undoubtedly made far clearer than they were before. The notes also are full of interesting remarks and show a delicate appreciation of the language used by the scribes. Very instructive, for instance, is the way in which he brings out the implications of such common words as *συνωστρεμέει* and *καταβαθρίου*.

There is no important point on which I find it possible to dispute the views of the editor, but here are a few trivial suggestions with regard to the text. No. 6, 6: *συνε[λθέ]σας, depending on a δια in the writer's mind (cf. P. Cairo Z. 53535. 5, καὶ δ ... τετευρακά without δια), seems preferable to *συνε[λθέ]σας in the sense of *συνεκτέθεσας*. No. 26, 6–7: the textual note suggests that we might read *ἐρωταμένην* αὐτή, which seems a more natural phrase than *ἐρωταμένη αὐτή*. No. 48, 3: it is difficult to see how βασιλεία Πτολεμαίου can be attached to *σοφραφίς*, and as the letter after the lacuna is very doubtful, [*τῶν καμάθου πα]ρὰ Πτολεμαίου strikes one as a possible alternative. The fact that in the next line the editor does not incorporate in the text the very probable restoration which he himself suggests, *ἐν τοῦ μὲ αὐτές καταβαθρίου, is an instance of his care to admit nothing that is at all doubtful. No. 63, 10: I should prefer *καταλελομέων to τετευρακά, especially as the letter after the lacuna is said to suggest μ;* for *καταλελομέων is the correct epithet for a deputy left in temporary charge (e.g. P. Petrie, III, 13, 19, I. 11, O.G.L.S., 773, 2), whereas *τετευρακά is more appropriate to a permanent appointment. No. 80, 9–10: perhaps [ἐν θήκῃ καμάθες, a conical storage-bin below the level of the floor, like those found at Karanis; it would have made a convenient hiding-place for the terrified lady. In 48, 7 *καταφορ[ῶν μο[δ]] τῆς δοθενίας would be more normal than διὰ τῆς δοθενίας; so too in 26, 9.*

The new documents contain a few more of the remarkable double dates which have given rise to so much discussion. The editor does not comment on these except incidentally; but he rightly notes that “Year 24, Gorgiasios 22 = Chosiac 22” agrees very closely with the double dates of year 25 on the assumption that an intercalary month had intervened; and from other evidence it seems probable that there was an intercalation at the end of year 24 (see P. Mich. Zon. 56. 55). More disturbing and quite irreconcilable with the theories of Beloch and Ernst Meyer are “Year 26, Daisios 23 = Phaophi 5” and “Panemos 7 = Phaophi 2 [ ],” which at first sight seem to make the chronology of Euergetes’ reign more unintelligible than ever. The main difficulty would be removed if we could suppose that the year employed by the writers of the docketts was the financial year; unfortunately the datings of Philopator seem to form a decisive argument against such a supposition. But anything that I could say on this question would merely prove that it would have been wiser to follow M. Guéraud’s example and say nothing.

May the succeeding volumes of this series of Textes et Documents come up to the high standard set by the first, and may M. Guéraud soon have another opportunity of exercising his exceptional skill as decipherer and editor.

C. C. Edgar.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS


This, the second papyrological work that has issued from the Columbia University Press, is a publication of a group of papyri acquired by the library of Columbia University in 1923. There are six rolls, all dated between the years a.d. 130 and 160, and all apparently filed together in the office of the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίου λόγων at Theadelphia. Although they can hardly be said to be an epoch-making contribution to our knowledge of taxation in Roman Egypt, they clear up one or two previously doubtful points.

The first four rolls deal with payments of λαογραφία. The editors have demonstrated that the poll-tax was itself a μετρητός. The poll-tax payments of 134–5 all fall within the months Phaophi and Hathyr, so Rabel’s view (P. Basel, pp. 48–9) that all payments in the first five months of the year are arrears needs revision. From the summary statement of receipts of poll-tax and μετρητοί for half a year it appears probable that only half the normal sum was paid on behalf of men who died during the first five months of the year. This would explain the rather puzzling 125½ men in B.G.U., i, 21.

A group of receipts of wages by guards and transport men (a.d. 155) was pasted together into a roll and sent in to the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίου λόγων. It is interesting to observe that all the police officials who figure in it are illiterate. A new word—ἀποθεώμελεια (if indeed this is an admissible reading)—should be noted by lexicographers.

The last two documents in this group are a list of donkey-drivers and numbers of donkeys used in the state transport of grain (136–50) and sitologus-records of payment in kind, which give the relative values for official purposes of wheat, barley, and lentils.

This book has been produced with great care and accuracy. Some of the details, such as the reconstruction of the ledger from the journal entries (recto 1 a) might perhaps have been omitted without great loss. The two facsimiles are good.

M. E. DICKER.

Constantine the Great and the Christian Church. By NORMAN H. BAYNES, F.B.A. (The Raleigh Lecture on History.) British Academy, 1929.

Professor Baynes has a peculiar right to speak on Constantine the Great, for he has studied the man and his times with a sympathetic yet critical understanding and a fullness of knowledge which there are few who would not envy. In this lecture he deals not with Constantine’s career as a whole, but with one aspect of it, his attitude to the Christian Church. He claims, and the claim seems justified, to have rid his mind as far as possible of prepossessions and to have based his study on Constantine’s own letters and edicts. To this resolute refusal not to be misled by a priori considerations as to what, from the point of view of a modern critic, Constantine ought or might be expected to have said, done, or thought is no doubt to be attributed the convincing nature of the portrait which he draws. Many modern views of Constantine, some of them presented by historians of the first rank, have erred by over-simplification. “Der Wille zur Macht”, hypocrisy, an astute use of the Christian Church to further his political ends—it is tempting for men imbued with modern rationalism to seek in such conceptions the explanation of his career. It is tempting, but, when we remember the part which religion played, with pagans and Christians alike, in that world of the early fourth century, it is very dangerous. Professor Baynes seems to the present reviewer perfectly right in refusing such facile theories and in recognizing in Constantine’s religious policy an essential sincerity. Masterly soldier, forceful man of action, far-sighted statesman, Constantine was yet a man of his time, a time when religion was inextricably worked into the fabric of life, and he can never be properly explained on a merely rationalistic basis.

The lecture would be noteworthy if it did no more than state thus brilliantly and convincingly the above conception of Constantine; but its value is enormously increased by the remarkably full critical bibliography with which Professor Baynes has furnished it. This will be a mine of information for students of the period.

H. I. BELL.

Between the covers of this little book Dr. Schäfer has succeeded in compressing the story of the 'Amarnah period, and in doing so has robbed the subject of none of its interest. On the contrary his account is infused with life from beginning to end, and the full significance of Akhenaten's revolution, both religious and artistic, has been brought out with great skill. The essay is complemented by 64 plates illustrating the finest works of art discovered at El-'Amarnah, each being accompanied by a short description, and reference to these plates being made throughout the text.

To the reviewer the most interesting among the questions raised by this essay is the much vexed one of Akhenaten's beliefs concerning the nature of Aten. From the over-romantic ideas of earlier writers on the subject the pendulum has swung away very far indeed, and it is now customary for us to see in the Aten an entirely materialistic conception, the physical disk of the sun and nothing more. Dr. Schäfer, however, holds to the view that the Aten was essentially a spiritual being, whose soul dwelt in the sun-disk and through this manifested his power. "Ein Mann wie Echnaton", he says "ist kein Materialist." Without further discussion of the question, which would be out of place here, may one suggest that a careful reconsideration of the evidence may lead us to modify our opinion, at least to some extent, in favour of this view?

A. W. Shorter.


This monumental work gives the results of excavations at Gizeh conducted by Dr. Reisner between 1906 and 1924 on behalf of the Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and is stated to be the first of a series of reports on this expedition's work. The present volume is concerned with the clearing of the pyramid temple of Mycerinus, the valley temple of the same king, and the temples of the three small pyramids within his precinct, and each of these sites has a chapter devoted to it describing the course of the excavations and disentangling the history of the buildings concerned, while a chapter on the building materials and the methods of construction forms a valuable contribution to the study of Egyptian architecture.

The discussion and classification of the objects found occupy the next five chapters. The most remarkable finds were the already well-known statuesque groups of the king with his queen and of the king with the nome-deities, many of which are in an excellent state of preservation. A large number of stone and pottery vessels came to light and are dealt with at considerable length, besides being fully illustrated with figures in the text and photographic plates. The inscriptions found consisted mainly of the remains of five royal decrees of the type already made familiar by Weill, apart from the numerous builders' marks and gang-names written on the blocks of stone employed in the constructions. A portion of the pyramid temple had been utilized in the Roman period as a communal burial-place, whence came a large number of beads, amulets, and other small objects; these are catalogued in the second of six appendices, two others being devoted respectively to the builders' marks and to the other inscriptions.

The last chapter is occupied with a discussion of the family history of the Fourth Dynasty and the succession of its kings. On the latter point Dr. Reisner follows the order of the Abydos king-list in placing Dedefré before Chephren, but in order to find a place for the otherwise unknown kings named by Manetho Bikheris, Thamphthis, and Seberkerhes (who, as R. points out, can hardly be Shepseskaf) he conjectures that these personages belonged to a secondary branch of the family headed by Dedefré and at feud with the direct line, and that they came to the throne as pretenders whom the later annalists did not recognize as legitimate rulers. His theory is admitted to be conjectural and is certainly a possibility, but the caution must be added that there does not seem to be a particle of real evidence pointing in that direction; in the first place, until the parentage of Dedefré is known with certainty it is impossible to say whether he was of the full blood royal or not, and secondly, there is nothing whatever to show the connexion, if any, between this king and the three unknowns of Manetho's list.

The text is completed by six appendices. In addition to the three already mentioned, one is concerned with a discussion of the word gs found in the expression $\text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet}$ Urk. 1, 18, 11 in the inscription of Debehem. In view of his identification of the name of the Third Pyramid as Nfr, Reisner rejects the usual rendering "beside the pyramid Hr" and renders "to the works of the pyramid cemetery". regarding gs
as a word for "works", "administration" and the like, and ḫr as a word akin to ḫrt "tomb". He bases his rendering of gs on evidence afforded by quarry-marks, but the reviewer must confess to remaining unconvinced. The crux of the passage is the interpretation of ḫr. If this be no longer regarded as a name of a pyramid but either as a name of the pyramid cemetery (Reisner) or of the plateau on which the pyramids stand (Wb. d. aeg. Spr., III, 143), then there would appear to be no difficulty in giving to ṛ gs the rendering "beside", which one would normally expect it to have. Of the two appendices not yet mentioned, one consists of a "provenience-list" of the objects from the valley-temple; the other, which is supplementary to the chapter on building materials and constructions, is concerned with a discussion of the building operations on the Second Pyramid in opposition to Holscher's reconstruction of the methods employed. The book is completed by an index and seventy-eight photographic plates, while twelve excellent plans are supplied loose in a pocket, an arrangement which adds materially to the convenience of the reader.

The full publication of these important excavations has been long awaited, and Dr. Reisner is to be congratulated on having now achieved it, but there is one respect in which his book is open to serious criticism. While all will agree that the results of excavations should be published as fully as possible, it is equally important that such publications should be produced at a price within the means of those who are likely to use them, even, at the cost, if necessary, of some condensation of matter and sacrifice of appearance. The present volume is excellently printed and produced, but its bulk is somewhat unwieldy and, what is worse, its heavy cost puts it beyond the reach of the great majority of scholars and students, the very public for which it is presumably intended, and thus to a large extent stultifies the value of the work. There can be no doubt that considerable economies in the cost of production could have been made without loss of scientific value; is there, for instance, any real gain in devoting fifteen photographs on six plates (Nos. 55–60) to the illustration of one statuary group? Is it too much to ask that this matter of cost may receive fuller consideration in any future reports on the expedition's work?

R. O. Faulkner,
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Lifesize head of a princess in quartzite.

Scale 2:5.
PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-'AMARNAH, 1932–1933

By J. D. S. PENDLEBURY

With Plates xii–xix

The season was a short one, lasting only from December 1 to January 25. For it we have mainly to thank the Brooklyn Museum, New York, although Mrs. Hubbard by another generous donation has made possible the publication of City of Akhenaten, II, without which we should not have been justified in continued excavation.

The staff was the same as last year with the exception of Mrs. Pendlebury and Miss Chubb, but with the addition of Mr. P. B. Chubb, who was responsible for the photography, and Mr. C. Brasch. Mr. J. H. S. Waddington, now with the Antiquities Department of Palestine, very generously spent his leave in doing the much needed tying up of the plans of the 1924 season, while Mrs. Waddington was directly responsible for the discovery of the sculptor’s workshop, to be described below.

It is again my pleasant duty to thank the whole of the staff for their untiring work, without which the solution of the many problems connected with the Temple would never have been achieved. An excavator is indeed fortunate when he is presented with the plan complete of one of the most difficult buildings at ‘Amarna.

Thanks are also due to ‘Abd el-Monim Efendi Mustapha, ‘omdah of Tell el-‘Amarna, now a member of the Society, for the help and support which he continues to give us.

The Great Temple

The first intention of the expedition was to clear the Sanctuary of the Great Temple, already worked by Petrie, on which Dr. Frankfort had also spent part of a season. Prior to the arrival from Armant of the light railway, however, it was decided to begin work on the west end of the vast enclosure, where, except for trial pits by Petrie, no work had been done.

By the time this part was cleared the season was well advanced, and it was therefore decided to leave the Sanctuary for another year in the hopes that further study, criticisms, and suggestions would assist us to disentangle what was after all the centre of the life of the whole city. The latter part of the season was, therefore, spent in linking up the Temple with the Royal Estate to the south.

The results here given are our conclusions. The steps by which we arrived at them and the plan of the existing remains are more suitable to the final publication in City of Akhenaten, III. Mr. Lavers’s plan shows, beyond doubt, I think, the correct restoration. We were further fortunate this year in that we were able to correct last year’s plan of Hat Aten, for the deep depressions in the inner court of that building, which we had taken to indicate square piers fronted by statues, must on analogy have received the bases of offering tables in an open court; the columns of which we found traces there must then have been confined to a small colonnade preceding the inner court, as they are here.

Mr. Lavers has convincingly made out the history of the building. Before any construction was set up, before the temenos wall was built, there must have been some foundation
ceremony, perhaps out in the desert where the Sanctuary now stands. As an approach to this a temporary gateway was set up, resting on four heavy oblong bases just inside where the main entrance now lies (Pl. xiv, 1). From here an avenue of sphinxes, two deep, led eastwards. They now disappear under the walls of the westernmost building, where they can still be traced (Pl. xiv, 2). On the main axis were a number of plaster-lined "baths", receptacles perhaps for liquid offerings (Pl. xiv, 3). Fragments of small sculpture which may have decorated the gateway, as well as of a sphinx, were found west of the temenos wall. The most interesting fragment is a very battered limestone head which must certainly be that of Amenophis III, a further indication of his living on into the 'Amarnah period. The floor of trampled mud resting immediately on the desert sand can be made out all over the site in section at the side of the wall-trenches.

The construction of the temenos wall and of the Sanctuary at the east end now took place. For some reason or other the original gate was not used as the main entrance, which lay a few yards to the west. It would seem, however, that it was still undestroyed, for the new main door was approached by a ramp from outside, while inside another ramp descended to the old gate (Pl. xiv, 1). At this period, then, we have a huge enclosure with a sanctuary at the extreme east end, and nothing else but a ceremonial gate, awkwardly placed just inside the real entrance, and an avenue of sphinxes of indeterminate length.

Then came a big outburst of building resulting in the plan as it is shown in Pl. xiii. The gate and avenue were torn down and the entrance ran across on a level with the top of the ramp (Pl. xiv, 1), covering gate, avenue and plaster "baths" to a depth varying from 0-80 to 1-00 m. Fresh "baths" and circular depressions were sunk in this higher level (Pl. xiv, 3), which to north and south sloped down very gradually until it reached the old level. The westernmost buildings, the pavilion immediately inside the entrance, Per Hai and Gem Aten, were constructed, while in the temenos to the north and south were erected the hundreds of square brick piers which may have served as the bases for the offerings either of common folk who did not attain to the dignity of a stone base within the buildings, or—the more attractive suggestion of Dr. Frankfort—as the bases for the offerings of every town and city in the kingdom to the new god.

Last of all came the reaction. Practically every stone was taken from the buildings, leaving, as in Hat Aten, only the marks in the cement foundations; and up to a level with the platforms (see below), Horemheb or another filled in the whole building with clean sand and ran a layer of cement right over, sealing in the infection of the accursed place.

It is fortunate, therefore, that enough remains to make the reconstruction certain (Pl. xiii). Immediately within the entrance and to the north of it lie the massive foundations of a pavilion (Pl. xiv, 4). The position of the columns, of which fragments were found, is indicated by the heavy cement piers which descend a metre, down to the original floor of the first period. Leaving this on your left you proceeded to the stone-faced façade of Per Hai, the House of Rejoicing. This consists at present of two vast foundations of solid cement, a metre and a half deep, mentioned by Petrie (Tell el Amarna, 19, Pl. xxxvii). Between these platforms ran a causeway merely consisting of sand thrown down between the shuttering of the two platforms and paved over (Pl. xiv, 5). Per Hai then seems to have consisted of two columned pavilions with a causeway between, the arrangement of the columns being clear from the markings in the cement. It was probably at the east end of these that the altars of limestone, of which fragments were already in the Cairo Museum, occurred. Here also are steps descending to two small open courts on either side of a prolongation of the causeway.

Now comes the part called Gem Aten. (One would like to think of a game among the forest of offering tables called "Hunt the Aten"). This name appears to cover all the part
RESTORED PLAN OF GEM-ATEN AND PER-HAI-ATEN
TELL EL AMARNA, SEASON 1932-33
Great Temple.

1. Main gate of temenos from within.
2. Earlier bases below pylons of Per Hai.
3. Two periods of entrance system.
4. Entrance Pavilion.
5. Concrete platforms of Per Hai.
which lies east of Per Hai. The arrangement is simple in the extreme. The causeway from Per Hai first ascends to north and south on to the platforms which surround the open court. These platforms consist of a sand filling between the outer wall of the building and a stone facing which has completely disappeared. That they are preserved to their original height with much of the cement bedding for the paving still in situ is due entirely to the filling in and sealing up of the temple. In the first court the causeway descends to the paving of the court between long bases, perhaps for sphinxes. At the east end of the same court a flight

Fig. 1

of steps leads up to it again and continues unbroken between the innumerable lines of square offering tables, gradually getting lower, like the platforms, as the level of the courts rises in a series of steps, until it stops short of the final court (Pl. xiv, 6). Here was a small colonnade of large columns with offering tables between, which made a break before the new system of the east court.

Here, as in Hat Aten, the High Altar is surrounded by a series of small rooms, and in this case enough is left to show that in each room were two or more altars or offering tables. Fragments of the altar were already in Cairo.

It would seem that funds began to run short, for near the east end of the platforms and of the causeway mud brick is used for facing instead of stone. The whole place, indeed, except for Per Hai, gives every evidence of the frantic haste which we connect everywhere with Akhenaten and his mushroom city.

So far so good, but there were a number of points still uncertain, e.g. how did you get from one platform to another? Were there any doors between the courts and what were the small open spaces between the platforms? Here Mr. Lavers has been able to reconcile in every particular the existing remains with the scene in the tomb of Meryra (Fig. 1, after Davies, El Amarna, i, Pl. xxv). This scene gives us exactly the details we want to know. Here are shown doors between the platforms; here are the offering tables both within and without the walls. Here are the columns in their proper place and the altar at the east end, and here are the two pavilions of Per Hai, their columns cunningly shown through the pylon towers. This discovery is very heartening, for one had despaired of getting any definite facts from these drawings. With their help one should now be able to tackle with confidence the Sanctuary at the east end, also shown in the tomb.

It is also interesting to note that we have now accounted for everything not only in
the tomb scene but also among the existing remains. Where then is the Sunshade of Ty which Huya shows in such detail (Davies, El Amarna, iii, Pl. viii)? It can only mean that it was never built; that Huya was preparing his tomb when her visit occurred in Year 12 and was determined to include everything possible. He must, therefore, have commissioned his artist to prepare drawings to show the proposed Sunshade, which Akhenaten had doubtless ordered and which was doubtless shelved for lack of funds or other reasons.

Now for the first time we have some idea of what the temple of the Aten really looked like. It was a completely new plan. Nothing built before or after it resembles it in the slightest, and when the Sanctuary is cleared, as it is hoped, next year we shall at last be able to realize what kind of house Akhenaten intended to build for his god.

As might be expected, the objects from the Temple were few. The sculpture had been smashed and defaced. In any case the decoration of the Temple had been hastily and carelessly done, though some of the figures and faces cannot help showing that distinction and grace which is the privilege of 'Amarna. The finest objects came from the trenches where the walls had been. The first was a sandstone head of the king for inlay into a wall (Pl. xvi, 1). It resembles those found by Woolley at Maru-Aten (City of Akhenaten, 1, Pl. xxxv), and like them had the eyes and eyebrows inlaid in blue glass. Part of a head-dress in granite which may have belonged to it was also found.

Next comes an unfinished sculptor's trial piece (Pl. xv, 3), showing the head of Nefertiti. The way in which the blocking out has been done, on the original lines sketched in ink, is worth noting.

Besides this was found another trial piece showing two royal heads (Pl. xv, 1). Here the interest lies in the difference between the two heads. There are three possibilities. (1) Are they the work of one man, a trial at the head of the king and an improvement on it? (2) Are they the work of one man showing two portraits, each of a different man? (3) Is one the work of a master and the other his pupil's copy? With regard to (1) it is difficult to believe that a man who could do such fine work should not have had the king's portrait at his finger tips. In any case one would expect the less successful head to be on the left. (2) The head on the left is certainly like Akhenaten, while that on the right, though it bears a strong family likeness, resembles more some of the shawabti figures from the tomb of Tutankhamun. It might well be Smenkhkherê, but against that we have to put the fact that it looks like the head of a man at least as old as the original of the other head, which must be Akhenaten, and none of the portraits which have with reason been assigned to Smenkhkherê show him as other than young and rather soft. There remains (3). It has this to be said in its favour, that with a slight alteration of the angle of the face, making it long instead of protruding, the right-hand head would be a good copy of the other. On the other hand there is nothing in it from the point of view of technique between the two. If they were on different stones, instead of on the same, one would certainly see the same hand in both. On the whole, after talking it over with Dr. Frankfort, I am inclined to the second view, and would assume it to be a portrait of Akhenaten and Smenkhkherê when the latter had only just been co-opted and before his features were so well known.

The last piece, one of the most beautiful trial pieces ever found at 'Amarna (Pl. xv, 2), shows the head and shoulders of Nefertiti. On the other side is sculptured a kneeling figure.

A great number of fragments of inscriptions were found, most of them consisting of a wearisome repetition of the royal and divine names. In several cases, however, Nefertiti's cartouche had been erased. In one case it had been smoothed over preparatory to being inscribed for Meritaten. On another inscription the words "born of the great royal wife"
4. Plaster cast of Nefertiti's head. *Scale 1 : 5.*
2. Quartzite head for inlay. Scale 2:1.


1. Fragments from the sculptor's house. Scale 2:5.

3. Fragments from the sculptor's house. Scale 2:5.
had been hacked away after Meritaten’s name, and a clumsy attempt made to alter the cartouche so that Meritaten’s name should appear twice.

The area immediately to the south of the Temple is occupied by long rows of magazines as in the case of Hat Aten. The excavation of these has still to be completed. Between them and the Royal Estate come more storehouses, some of them apparently forming the “Storehouse of Great Provision” and the Magazine of the Shade of ‘Ankh-Rē. They seem to have been divided into sections for wine and meat and other offerings, according to the ostraca, of which two hundred or more were found in three days; the most interesting of the ostraca was originally dated “Year 17” with a later addition of “Year 1”, presumably Akhenaten and Smenkhkhrē.

From farther east comes the bronze weight in the shape of a bull (Pl. xvi, 4), weighing 487 gr. and marked “5 deben”.

**Houses 0.47.16a and 0.47.20.**

While the work at the temple was progressing, Mr. and Mrs. Waddington were staying down at the South Expedition House resurveying the area excavated in 1924, and tying it on to the excavations of the Germans and of the Society in 1921–2. There was a small area left inexplicably unexcavated on the opposite side of the road to Ramose’s house, between it and a house dug by Petrie. While walking over this area Mrs. Waddington overturned a brick and a sherd lying on one of the walls and discovered beneath them part of the plaster head shown in Pl. xv, 4. Further surface examination produced a number of worked fragments of stone. Since the news of the discovery would certainly have meant illicit digging in the summer, and since in any case this area left an awkward gap in the general plan, it was decided to clear it. A company was therefore sent down from the Temple, and Mr. Brasch went to assist Mr. and Mrs. Waddington.

The area contains two or three small houses, apparently dependent on Petrie’s house, or at least occupying ground originally taken up by the owner. Architecturally they present no unusual features. The finds come mainly from the eastern half, some of them only a metre or two from where the Germans had stopped digging.

Most impressive of the finds was undoubtedly the life-size head in quartzite (Pls. xii and xviii, 3, 4). This is unfinished, the ink marks are still there for guiding lines and part of the left-hand side of the face is still rough. The sculptor, however, was unable to resist painting the lips, even before he had finished. At the base of the neck is a dowel for fitting on to a body of a different material. The head-dress was evidently intended to cover the ears, for there is no room left to sculpture these. Discussion as to whom it is meant to represent is perhaps unfruitful. It must surely be either Nefertiti or one of the Princesses. On the whole the face looks too soft for Nefertiti as we know her, and certainly it bears more resemblance to some of the heads in Berlin which have been with reason ascribed to the older Princesses. The objection that the head is not deformed is hardly serious. We cannot tell what sort of a head-dress would be worn, and a wig would cover a multitude of deformities. The other objection, that the princesses never wore head-dresses, is also of doubtful value. Meritaten and Ankhkempaaten certainly did when they came to the throne; we have no means of telling whether this is not a portrait of one of them after she became queen or, indeed, whether they did not begin to wear head-dresses before. But all we can do is to admire the work of art.

Next comes a small group in steatite on a limestone base (Pls. xvi and xviii, 1, 2). It shows the Ape of Thoth, crowned with the horns and disk, sitting on an altar, while before him squats a scribe as if inspired by his patron. It is a wonderfully detailed little work only about 15 cm. high.
Another inlay head in quartzite was found (Pl. xvi, 2). It is remarkable for the extraordinary delicacy of work, whereby only in one particular light can all the exquisite detail be seen. I do not know of any other case where such a light touch has been used. It is of course possible that it is the preliminary blocking of such another head as that shown in Pl. xvi, 1, but we should be very sad to think that.

More fragments of inlay were discovered, mostly in the shape of hands and arms, one of which has not been cut away from the parent block. With them was a small white limestone torso which is completely archaic Greek in feeling.

A small sphinx in painted limestone about 5 cm. long occurred in the house. It is the first of its kind to be found at 'Amarnah, where it must be a relic of an earlier date. The face resembles that of the earlier kings of the dynasty.

Pl. xvi, 3 shows three small pieces, a little panel of alabaster incised with a bound negro captive, a small stele and part of the head of a statuette in sandstone. This head is almost certainly that of Amenophis III. The fleshy cheeks and blunt nose show that.

The rest of the cast of the head (p. 117) was found (Pl. xv, 4). Surely it must be Nefertiti. Whether this and the next are life-masks or death-masks it is hard to say, since they have been worked over after casting. The other head is that of Akhenaten (Pl. xix, 1, 2). We have only to compare it with the plaster head (Schäfer, Amarna in Religion und Kunst, Pl. xiii), representing him as a young man. This and the "Death Mask" found by Petrie and the lower part of a head from the temple make an interesting group (Pl. xix).

This short account is perhaps enough to indicate the extraordinary wealth of material yet awaiting excavation at 'Amarnah. Next year, funds permitting, we shall tackle the Sanctuary of the Temple, finish the part between the Temple and the Royal Estate, and begin a systematic clearance of the Records Office, on which much remains still to be done. We have not given up all hope of fresh tablets. In two or three seasons the central part of the city should be finished and published to show in detail the official and royal quarters of the capital of the Egyptian Empire.
Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe.

Scale 1:1.
1 and 2. Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe. *Scale 2: 3.*
3 and 4. Lifesize head of a princess in quartzite. *Scale 4.*
1 and 2. Plaster cast of head of Akhenaten. *Scale c. 1:2.*
3. Part of limestone head from Temple. *Scale 1:3.*
4. Plaster cast of head from Petrie's excavations. *Scale 2:5.*
THE BENI ḤASAN COIN-HOARD

By J. GRAFTON MILNE

In the Revue Archéologique, 1905, 257–61, I described a hoard found at Beni Ḥasan by Professor John Garstang which in some respects is unlike any other Egyptian coin-hoard that has been published. Apart from this one, fourteen hoards have been described, in more or less detail, which appear to have been deposited before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great: in two cases the information is too scanty for any conclusion to be drawn, but the rest all appear to belong to the class of what may be called bullion-hoards—that is, hoards made up of coins of various states and different standards, which were evidently taken simply as metal. Most of them contain a substantial proportion of pieces which have been cut to test their quality, and some an admixture of rough silver. In the Beni Ḥasan hoard, on the other hand, together with an assortment of coins or pieces of coins similar to those in the hoards mentioned, there were 54 tetradrachms of Athenian type in perfect preservation and apparently uncirculated, such as would be found in a currency-hoard of coins which the holder designed to use at their face value. An explanation of this difference seems to be worth seeking.

The two largest of the fourteen hoards in question have been fully described by H. Dressel and K. Regling in Zeit. f. Num., xxxvii; and, though it is not certain that these hoards came intact into the hands of the writers, it is probable that the coins seen by them were representative of the whole, and their lists may be taken as giving a typical survey of the composition of bullion-hoards from Egypt. One of these two is reported to have been found at Damanhûr, and the total number of coins examined was 165, of which 22 could not be definitely ascribed and 3 were illegible: the remaining 140 were issues of places in various parts of the Greek world, the area most extensively represented being Northern Greece: there were 54 Thraco-Macedonian, 12 of Thasos, 4 of Neapolis, 3 of Dikaiopolis, and 1 each of Akanthos and Skione; 16 were of Aegina and 6 of Corinth; 7 came from the Cyclades, 4 being of Paros, 2 of Naxos, and 1 of Delos; in the Asiatic area, 19 were of Miletus, 1 of Teos, 5 of Chios, 3 of Samos, 1 each of Cos, Ialysos, Lydia, and Phaselis, 8 other Lycian, 1 of Selge (?); there were 4 of Salamis and 9 other Cypriote; and 1 each of Barke and Cyrenaïca. The second hoard came from Zağazılık, and consisted of 84 coins, from an even wider range of origin; Northern Greece was well represented, as in the other hoard, with 3 Thraco-Macedonian, 1 of Thasos, 2 of Akanthos, 2 of the Derrones, 1 of Dikaiopolis, 4 of Mende, 4 of Potidaea, and 3 of Terone; there were 9 of Aegina and 1 of Corinth, and also 1 of Delphi and 34 of Athens, which did not occur at Damanhûr: the farthest travelled piece was 1 of Sinope; the remainder were from the same areas as at Damanhûr, 1 of Paros, 2 each of Teos, Chios, and Samos, 1 each of Poseidion, Kamiros, and Phaselis, 3 Lycian, 1 of Salamis, and 1 of Cyrenaïca. All the coins, in each hoard, are such as might have been found in circulation at one time, and have received similar treatment; there is nothing to suggest that they were specially selected, or that the holders of the hoards had any preference for coins of a particular standard. It would have been a most complicated task to value either of these hoards in terms of any Greek currency, even if that would have had any meaning in Egypt; and it is hardly imaginable that they can have been regarded as anything more than metal and have
been traded otherwise than by weight. This conclusion is supported by the evidence of the only one of these fourteen hoards obtained under scientific conditions—the “Silversmith’s hoard” from Naukratis, described by B. V. Head in Num. Chron., 1886, 1–18: in this coins of Syracuse, Athens, Aegina, Samos, Chios, Lycia, and Mallos were associated with a number of lumps of rough silver. Similar lumps or “ingots” of silver are noted as occurring in two or three other hoards, and it is possible that they may have been present in most cases, and have been thrown out by the dealers into whose hands the hoards passed; but, even if this were not so, there is no reason for supposing that the coins which were not mixed up with uncoined metal were regarded differently from those that were so mixed.

The Beni Hasan hoard was found farther up the country than any of those previously mentioned, which are chiefly from the Delta, with two from Memphis; and it is later in date, having probably been deposited about 860 B.C., while the others seem to range from late sixth century to about 440. This naturally explains the difference in composition of that part of the hoard which otherwise resembles the Delta hoards: the coins, or pieces of coins, 24 in number, which from their condition appear to have been taken from circulation and treated as bullion, are of Tyre, Sidon, and Gaza, not of Greek cities: in the early part of the fourth century Egypt would derive its silver supply from Persian territories, most readily from Phoenicia. The singularity of this hoard is in the other part of it, the Athenian tetradrachms: while the Phoenician coins all show traces of wear, in addition to the gashes which were made to test their quality, the Athenian, although of types earlier than the majority of the Phoenician, are absolutely fresh.

When the hoard was exhibited in London with the rest of the finds from Beni Hasan, Sir Arthur Evans suggested to me that the Athenian tetradrachms might have been struck in Egypt; and certain facts which have been published since then support his suggestion. In Corolla Numismatica, 285–95, J. N. Svoronos described a die of an Athenian tetradrachm found in Egypt, which was also the subject of an article by G. Dattari in Journ. Int. Arch. Num., vrr (1905), 108; and in Num. Chron., 1922, 14, G. F. Hill recorded a pair of similar dies which had been shown at the British Museum in 1910. These discoveries presumably mean that the dies had been sent over for use in Egypt; and an occasion for their use is indicated by the gold stater, of Athenian types but with the name of Tachos, the Egyptian rebel leader of 361 B.C., which was published by Hill in Num. Chron., 1926, 130–2. As Hill remarks, this stater must be a relic of the money coined by Tachos to pay his mercenary army; and, if he was striking gold with Athenian types to satisfy the wishes of his Greek auxiliaries, it is quite reasonable to suppose that he would also strike silver of the same character. He could probably obtain old tetradrachm dies from Athens through Chabrias, and so save himself the trouble of making fresh ones: Athenian dies for gold would hardly be available, which explains why he produced his own.

The dates of the Phoenician coins in the Beni Hasan hoard agree with the idea that it was collected in the time of Tachos: they belong to various issues, but the latest date assigned to any of these by J. Rouvier in his study of Phoenician coinage is 370 B.C. All of them are of types which might have been passed into Egypt in the course of trade by 361; and they may conceivably represent part of the proceeds of the levy which Tachos, according to the Aristotelian Oeconomica (ii, 26), made on the gold and silver of the Egyptians. It is consistent with this that the hoard included two rings and a bead of silver, which evidently were destined to the same fate as the Phoenician coins; and what that was is indicated by several lumps of roughly cast metal, two at least of which were clearly coins which had only been partially melted.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Phoenician coins and miscellaneous silver were being melted down to be turned into new coins of the types of the Athenian tetradrachms;
and this explains at once the remarkable difference between the condition of the tetradrachms and that of the other coins in the hoard. The former are not only free from the gashes and rubbing which are shown in a greater or lesser degree by the latter; this might be explained by the supposition that they were coins which had actually been struck at Athens in the fifth century and brought out of a reserve store; but, moreover, they do not bear any of the scratches which are generally found on coins that have been stored or packed in bulk, and which would almost certainly have been made on these if they had been shipped from Athens to Egypt. In all probability they represent the products of a local workshop at Beni Hasan, which was charged with the duty of minting the silver collected in the levy of Tachos.

It was suggested by Dattari, in the article cited above, that the Athenian die described by him had been used to strike a number of tetradrachms found with it at Athribis. The objection to this idea is that the Athribis coins are not in mint condition, like the Beni Hasan tetradrachms, but are mostly worn and freely stamped with the small punch-marks which are common on coins of the latter half of the fourth century in Egypt, and which served to denote that the pieces on which they occur were demonetized and treated as bullion. It may well be the case that the tetradrachms found at Athribis were intended to be restruck with the die that was with them, but they cannot be regarded as products of that die or of a shop in which it was used.

The fact that the Beni Hasan hoard was unearthed in surroundings which did not suggest a regular mint, but rather the workroom of a village silversmith, is not against the explanation of it suggested above. Objection has, it is true, been taken to the description of pre-Alexandrine hoards of coins found in Egypt as silversmiths’ hoards, on the ground that they should be regarded rather as currency, in the sense of silver passing by weight; but all that this amounts to is that the term bullion-broker should be substituted for silversmith, and, as the functions of the two were probably identical in Egypt at this time, it matters little which word is used. The first persons to whom any one who, like Tachos, wished for a supply of coin would turn would naturally be the silversmiths; just as for instance, the gold-smiths of England played a leading part in the work of coinage under the Norman kings: they were the chief mercantile holders of stocks of metal, and were skilled in the operations necessary for making the metal up in the form required. And the silversmiths of Egypt probably, like their compatriots in many parts of the East to-day, carried out their work with a very slight apparatus in any convenient corner.

There does not seem to be any exact parallel to the Beni Hasan hoard recorded, but an interesting comparison may be found in the Taranto hoard published by E. Babelon in Rev. Num., 1912, 1–40. Unfortunately, this hoard was discovered and marketed under conditions which make it difficult to estimate its real intention, but it seems to have consisted of two groups of coins, together with a quantity of ingots and miscellaneous silver. There was a heterogeneous collection of pieces from all parts of the Greek world, like those in the Delta hoards of Egypt, and, as in those, many of the pieces were cut: this group might be regarded as a bullion-hoard. But about three-quarters of the coins were from neighbouring towns of South Italy—about 150 of Metapontum, over 100 of Sybaris, about 80 of Croton, and about 100 of Velia; and these, which were in normal condition, could have been a currency-hoard. As there were no coins of Tarentum itself, however, it can hardly be taken to be representative of the ordinary circulation of the place, and more probably was the foreign section of the reserve of a money-changer; but its dual character is worth comparing with that of the Beni Hasan hoard.

1 There is a serious difficulty in the way of the theory that these hoards of silver were used for making payments: silver was not an ordinary measure of exchange in Egypt, as gold and copper were, before the time of Alexander.
TANIS AND PI-RA'MESSE: A RETRACTATION

By ALAN H. GARDINER

When some twenty years ago I began to collect the evidence relating to the Delta Residence of the Ramessides, I regarded the enterprise as one solely of parochial Egyptological interest. To distinguish, and if possible to locate, the various places the names of which were compounded with the name of Ramesses seemed a task well worth undertaking, the more so since much confusion of thought evidently prevailed in connexion with them. On tackling the subject in real earnest, I discovered that the Biblical questions involving Raamses, Zoa, and Shihôr were vital to my own problems, so that willy-nilly I found myself involved in a perhaps insoluble controversy. I will admit that the lack of logic and impertinence to facts shown by those who treat the book of Exodus as a good historical document soon ranged me upon the other side, but at least I can absolve myself of any desire to attack traditional beliefs merely for the pleasure of doing so. My purpose was simply to draw the inferences dictated by the evidence, and the location of the town of Ramesses at or near Pelusium appeared to me so likely a conclusion that I felt bound to point out how topographically impossible this would make the narrative of the Exodus, as recorded in the book bearing that name. I have now to confess that my identification of Pi-Ra'messe with Pelusium was a mistake, and that Brugsch's old identification of the Ramesside capital with Tanis, if perhaps not finally demonstrable at present,1 is at least a thousand times more defensible. I owe my conversion partly to the new discoveries of M. Montet, the present excavator at Tanis, and partly to other considerations which I shall set forth below. M. Montet has had the kindness to put at my disposal some of the new inscriptions substantiating his contention, and I herewith tender to him my cordial thanks. I shall refer to his important article on Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramessés in Recuei Biblique for January 1900 under the letter M., and shall quote under the title Bull., followed by the date, the short reports on his excavations in four successive November numbers of the Bulletin de la faculté des lettres de Strasbourg for 1902, 1929, 1930, and 1931. I shall also use the following abbreviations for my own articles: D.R. = The Delta Residence of the Ramessides, in Journal, v, 127-38, 179-200, 242-71; G.E. = The Geography of the Exodus, in Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion, Paris, 1922, 209-15; G.E.2 = The Geography of the Exodus, an answer to Professor Naville and others, in this Journal, x, 87-96.

It is useless to reiterate the grounds upon which Brugsch in 1872 proposed the identification of Pi-Ra'messe with Tanis,2 the investigation having now, through the discovery of new material, passed into a far more complex stage. Still, it is due to that great scholar to acknowledge the acumen with which he arrived at the right conclusion, though we need hardly go so far as to regard, with M. Montet, all subsequent discussions on the subject as aberrations from the true faith. For if for a time scholars did allow Tanis to suffer an unjustifiable eclipse, at least much other knowledge was acquired by way of compensation.

1 My identification of Pi-Ra'messe with Pelusium was always expressed with some qualification of doubt, but since M. Montet has read it otherwise (see M., 2, "où M. Gardiner estime qu'il l'a fixée pour toujours"), I feel I must safeguard myself more securely in putting forward my revised view.

2 A.Z., x (1872), 18.
Among the most important reasons which led me to deny the identity of Pi-Rašmese with Tanis three stood out pre-eminent: (1) in the geographical list of the Gélésisheff Glossary (D.R., 198, no. 38) Pi-Rašmese and 𓊳𓊩𓊬 S-Hr, the Biblical Shihôr, are mentioned in such a way as to make it highly probable that they represent the Pelusiac Nile-arm; but on the one hand, S-Hr is intimately connected with Pi-Rašmese, and on the other hand, this is the name of the "river" of the fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt which had as its metropolis Thel, classical Sile, Selle, known now to be Tell Abu Séfah near El-Kanîtah; and Tanis is a full thirty miles to the north-west of Tell Abu Séfah; (3) the gods of Tanis did not appear to be identical with those of Pi-Rašmese. Besides these arguments there were others of a less tangible kind, e.g., statements to the effect that Pi-Rašmese lay "between Zahi (Phoenicia) and Egypt" and that it was "the harbourage of thy ship's troops", whence it seemed necessary to place the city as far east and as near the sea as possible. For these various reasons the location of Pi-Rašmese near Pelusium seemed infinitely preferable to Brugsch's identification with Tanis.

The evidence that has now swung my opinion in the opposite direction is M. Montet's discovery that the gods of Pi-Rašmese were really the gods of Tanis.¹ M. Montet has unearthed the continuations of the column-inscriptions of which the upper parts were published in Petrie, Tanis, ii, Pl. v, nos. 102, 103. These continuations read as follows: no. 102, l. 4 (marked by Petrie as buried), 𓊳𓊩𓊬 [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] "He made (it) as his monument to his father Ptaḥ-of-Ramesses, (he the) beloved of Ptaḥ, lord of strength"; no. 103, 𓊳𓊩𓊬 [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] [R] "He made (it) as his monument to his father Pṛc-of-Ramesses, (he the) beloved of Horus of the horizon". Now Ptaḥ-of-Ramesses and Pṛc-of-Ramesses are known to have been deities of Pi-Rašmese, where they shared the honours with Amün and Sêtech similarly qualified (D.R., 255). Here then we find Ramesses making a dedication in Tanis to gods who are indisputably gods of Pi-Rašmese. I very much doubt whether any monument obviously in situ and bearing the formula ḫ-n-f m mnw-f could anywhere be found except in the city of the god named upon it. When, for example, this formula followed by the name of Arsaphes is found on the temple wall of Ehnasya (Petrie, Ehnasya, Pl. xvii), we may conclude, quite apart from previous knowledge, that Arsaphes was the local deity. Nevertheless, since the validity of this argument may be questioned, I will supplement it by contending that in such matters cumulative evidence counts for a great deal. If the name of a certain god occur once or twice or three times on a given site, this may be due to chance, particularly in view of the catholicity which the later Pharaohs showed as regards the divinities of their worship. The more often, however, the name of a deity is encountered in the same locality, the greater the likelihood that he is there at home. Now on the columns of the temple discovered by M. Montet and provisionally called by him the temple of Anat, Ramesses II repeatedly describes himself as beloved of Amün-of-Ramesses, Sêtech-of-Ramesses, Horus-of-Ramesses, and Ptaḥ-of-Ramesses (Bull., 1930, 5).

In M. Montet's copies of column-inscriptions from this same temple I find also Atum-of-Ramesses and Buto-of-Ramesses, designations apparently not hitherto noted. Nor must it be forgotten that a late statue from Tanis assigned the title "priest of Amün-of-Ramesses of Pi-Rašmese" to its owner, the general Teōs (D.R., 199, no. 39), while the famous Stela of the Year Four Hundred, likewise found at Tanis (see now Sethe's article A.Z., lxv, 85),

depicts Ramesses II making offerings to Sêtekh-of-Ramesses. The name of Sêtekh-of-Ramesses occurs also on a sphinx from Tanis usurped by Ramesses II and now preserved in the Louvre, Petrie, *Tanis*, i, Pl. iv, no. 25 a, with p. 10. Accordingly the verdict pronounced by Professor Griffith in 1888 that "the search for a local mythology and really local worship (in Tanis) has not been successful" (see *D.R.*, 250) is rapidly becoming untrue in the light of more recent excavations.

It must not be overlooked that the gods qualified by the epithet "of-Ramesses" are occasionally mentioned elsewhere than at Tanis; references are given in *D.R.*, 256. But the important points in this connexion are (1) that on the various sites in question the Ramessides play only an insignificant role beside some other local divinity, and (2) that the allusions to them are in each case only few in number. I now believe, moreover, that the true significance of the Stela of the Year Four Hundred cannot be grasped unless it be assumed that Tanis is identical not only with Pi-Ràrimesse but also with Avaris. The important article by Sethe quoted above makes it exceedingly probable that the unique dating in the four hundredth year of Sêtekh-great-of-strength refers to the founding of Tanis, and the same scholar points out that four hundred years back from the reign of Ḥaremhab, in which the imaginary act of worship ascribed to his father Sethos, then holding the rank of vizier, is probably to be placed, may easily bring us to the beginning of the Hyksos period. Well worth consideration is Sethe's further suggestion that the stela was intended as a rehabilitation of the ill-famed god Sêtekh so closely connected with the name of the oldest known ancestor of the Ramessides. But the various conclusions suggested by Sethe would lack their essential foundation, as it seems to me, unless the Sêtekh-of-Ramesses depicted in the scene at the top were identical with the Sêtekh of Avaris, and unless Tanis, where the stela was found by Mariette, were the city having both Sêtekh-of-Ramesses and Sêtekh-of-Avaris as its local god. In other words Avaris and Pi-Ràrimesse and Djarnet are three successive names of one and the same city, that which to Egyptologists is better known by its Greek name of Tanis or its Arabic one of Ṣan-el-Hagar.

If to the monuments which mention Sêtekh-of-Ramesses be added those naming "Sêtekh, lord of Avaris" (*D.R.*, 255) and the others found at Tanis referring to Sêtekh as "great of strength" (*P.t* 1) or without epithet, the predominance of this god over all others who can be connected with Tanis becomes very marked. It is by no means improbable that one or two of these monuments which have been discovered on other sites have been removed from Tanis by some later usurper. This seems particularly likely in the case of the palm-leaf column of Ramesses II, usurped by Osorkon II, now in the British Museum (no. 1065). Alike in form, height, and the general arrangement of its inscriptions, this column, which comes from Bubastus and names the Sêtekh-of-Ramesses, closely resembles those found by M. Montet in his "temple of Anat". Nothing could have been easier than for the Bubastite king to transport this column from Tanis to his own capital. The discovery at Tanis of a statue of Ramesses II under the protection of Anat reinforces M. Montet's insistence on the predominant position of Sêtekh in that city, since Anat was the wife of Sêtekh. The establishment of this fact is an important link in the chain that is ever more firmly binding together the names of Tanis, Pi-Ràrimesse, and Avaris.

I must refer my readers to M. Montet's article for the evidence that the great fortified wall of Tanis was of Hyksos, or at least Palestinian, construction; and I shall not dwell upon

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1 Wrongly translated by me "great of valour", *D.R.*, 255.
2 See *M.*, Pl. iv, fig. 1, for a photograph of one of the Tanis columns. In *Bull.*, 1930, 5, the height is given as 7 metres, while the column in the British Museum measures 20 ft. 8 in. M. Montet's copies of the Tanis columns agree closely, though not exactly, with the inscriptions on the example from Bubastus.
his interesting demonstration that the statement of Manetho (in Josephus) placing Avaris ἐν νομῷ τοῦ Ζαίτη strongly confirms the identification of that city with Tanis.\(^1\) In the same passage the further indication πρὸς ανατολὴν τοῦ Βουζατίτου ποταμοῦ must probably, as M. Montet says, refer to the Tanitic branch now represented by the canal of el-Murizz, and he also makes it clear that the close proximity of the Tanitic and Pelusiac branches in the neighbourhood of Bubastus might easily lead to confusion in the designation Βουζατίτις ποταμοῦ. Evidence seems to be accumulating (though on this point I write with great diffidence, conscious of the obscurity of all questions connected with the mouths of the Nile) that the Tanitic branch was of preponderating importance in Pharaonic times. The Golenischeff Glossary mentions only three main river-arms (D.R., 198), of which the easternmost, Υπάρξεως τοῦ Ζαίτη, must now be equated with the Tanitic branch, there seeming to be fairly strong evidence that "the Waters of the Sun" ran through Pi-Ra'amesse, see D.R., 257. On the important ostracon in my own possession mentioned in my article G.E.2, 92, again only three "rivers" are mentioned, the easternmost of them being called Υπάρξεως τοῦ Ζαίτη, the name which neatly rounds off the argument that Tanis is Avaris, and that the Tanitic branch was that called by the Egyptians "the Waters of the Sun". But the transference of the latter designation from the Pelusiac to the Tanitic branch leaves the Pelusiac branch without a native Egyptian name. This is one of the problems I must leave to later investigators.

M. Montet has produced fresh testimony to prove that Tanis was, after all, situated in the fourteenth nome of Lower Egypt, not in the nineteenth, where I attempted to place it. Here again cumulative evidence counts for much, and the discovery of a statue on which the owner Pikha's, the son of Pakem, declares himself to be "prince du nome de Khent-Abet, prince de Tanis, faisant les travaux à Silé" (M., 10), enhances the importance of the similar testimony quoted by Brugsch. I still feel the difficulty of assigning to the same nome two places as far apart as Tanis and Thel-Silé. Nevertheless, the advantages arising from the acceptance of that view are, as we shall see, so great that I have now little doubt about the matter. M. Montet is right in pointing out (M., 7) that the greater proximity of Tanis and Nebāshah is no valid reason for placing the former in the nome of which the latter is the metropolis; such an argument would only carry weight if Nebāshah lay in the direct line between Tanis and Silé, which is not so. I do not, however, share M. Montet's scepticism with regard to the identification of Nebāshah with Σάκε, the capital of the nineteenth nome. The monuments found upon the site seem amply sufficient to prove this identification. The charioteer Merenptah, on his statue in the temple (Petrie, Nebahshah and Defennah, Pl. xi, no. 16), explicitly states of himself Σάκε "I belong to Imet", and his son is high-priest of Buto. This document does not stand alone, but if it did, it would in my opinion suffice to show that Imet and Nebāshah are identical—unless, indeed, it could be made plausible that the statue had been brought to Nebāshah from elsewhere. The frequency, moreover, with which Buto of Imet is mentioned at Tanis, e.g. on the Ptolemaic stele published in Petrie, Tanis, ii, Pl. x, on the Stela of the Year Four Hundred, i, 9, and in the column-inscription mentioned above (p. 124), would lead us to expect Imet somewhere in the neighbourhood. It passes my understanding how M. Daressy can place this city at Tell Mokdam, the ancient Leontopolis (Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'Arch. or., xxx, 625 ff.); his evidence appears to consist merely of one bronze hinge on which "Buto, lady of Imet" is named.

\(^1\) For those who have no means of consulting M. Montet's article I will merely say that he rejects the usual emendation of Σάκε to Σαβρεῖα, quotes Hdt. ii, 17 and Strabo, xvii, i, 20 in support of his view, and gives numerous examples to illustrate a hesitation between Σ and Τ as the Greek transcription of the Egyptian Σάκε. Thus Σάκε becomes in his view a variant form of Ταβρεῖα.
When once we have convinced ourselves that Avaris, Pi-Ra'messe, and Tanis are names of the same city, the advantages of attributing that city to the fourteenth nome are apparent. The Edfu nome-list mentions 𓊱𓅓𓅓, also called 𓊱𓅓𓅓𓅓, “the field of Djarnet” or “Zoon” (D.R., 247) as the pehu of the fourteenth nome, and I am prepared now, in my new enlightenment, to discover some temerity in my former attempt to allot to a different nome the very region which conferred upon Pi-Ra'messe its later name of 𓊱𓅓𓅓 @ Djarnet, Tanis. M. Montet must surely be supported in his contention that “Field of Djarnet” lay all around the city named after it (M., 8–9). I have already mentioned (p. 123) that Š-Hr, the Biblical Shihôr, is described at Edfu as the “river” of the fourteenth nome, and is also mentioned in close connexion with Pi-Ra'messe in the papyri. If Pi-Ra'messe is Tanis, then the location of Tanis in the fourteenth nome follows almost of necessity. I believe M. Montet to be mistaken in denying that Š-Hr was part of the Nile. Either it was the name of the Tanitic branch in its lowest reaches, or else it was the name of a larger sheet of water through which the river flowed. Thus much seems proved both by its designation of “river” (𓊱𓅓𓅓) and by a passage quoted by me D.R., 251, bottom. The safest course seems to be to regard Š-Hr as the equivalent of whatever corresponded in Pharaonic times to Lake Menzalah. This view takes into account M. Montet’s objection that 𓊱𓅓 is not a term appropriate to a branch of the Nile. A more troublesome point in connexion with Š-Hr is the apparent implication in the Biblical references (D.R., 252) that this formed the eastern boundary of Egypt, which would be true of the Pelusiac Nile-arm, but not of the Tanitic.

That the Golénischeff Glossary mentions Tanis and Pi-Ra'messe separately is a fact for which I have no explanation, but its demonstrative force shrinks into insignificance in comparison with another fact entirely overlooked in my earlier articles—one which even M. Montet has not presented in its full cogency. The latter scholar has rightly insisted upon the extent and importance of the Ramesside buildings at Tanis. Ruinous as is their present condition, no Egyptian city but Thebes itself can boast a greater number of stelae, statues, sphinxes, and architectural remains bearing the cartouches of Ramesses II and his successors. And yet unless Tanis is Pi-Ra'messe, not one single mention of Tanis would be forthcoming in all the papyri, ostraca, and hieroglyphic inscriptions surviving from the Ramesside period. Perhaps one might be ready to admit so strange a silence were it not for the great Harris Papyrus. Atribbis and Bubastus are there mentioned among the Delta cities which enjoyed the benefactions of Ramesses III, besides Pi-Ra'messe and an unlocated town having Mu't-khant-rabui-en térérew as its deity. Is it thinkable that Tanis should have been completely overlooked in this ostensibly complete survey of the Pharaoh’s acts of piety, even if the number of monuments at Tanis dating from the reign of Ramesses III remains small?

For the reasons above detailed I am completely won over to the conviction that Šan el-Hagar marks the site of the city successively called Avaris, Pi-Ra'messe, and Tanis, and I now think that even the changes of name can be plausibly explained. Avaris (𓊱𓅓𓅓) may well have been the name by which Tanis was known in the Old and Middle Kingdoms; there is nothing to suggest that it originated with the Hyksos. The history of the city in the Eighteenth Dynasty is a blank. It is hardly likely that the Tuthmosides would favour a place of which the local god had been adopted as their own by the abhorred foreign invaders. This reason alone might account for the absence of Eighteenth Dynasty remains at Tanis. That the Sety who was the father of Ramesses I was of Tanite origin is a conjecture of Sethe’s which can barely fail to win our concurrence, and if it be correct, here we have a consideration which may well have influenced Ramesses II in choosing the site for his Delta city of Residence. The egotism which prompted Ramesses II to usurp the monuments of his predeces-
sors was not improbably the main motive for this decision to name that city after himself, the same egotism being displayed also in the addition of the epithet “of-Ramesses” to the names of the gods to whom he dedicated temples at Tanis.\(^1\) So closely associated with the power and fame of the Ramessides did the name Pi-Ra’messe become that it was obviously unsuitable for retention at the beginning of a new dynasty arising from a different stock. We shall not go far wrong in surmising that it was Smendes himself who first decreed the adoption of the name \(\text{Sekhett-Djar} (D.R., 246-8)\). At all events it is a fact that the name Djarnet does not occur before the beginning of the Tanite Twenty-second Dynasty.

I now turn to my article on the geography of the Exodus, and find in the identification of Avaris and Pi-Ra’messe with Tanis new confirmation of my contention that the Ramesses (the Masoretic pointing has \(s\) and not \(ss\)) from which Exod. xii. 37 (cf. also Num. xxxiii. 3) states the flight of the Israelites to have started was none other than the Hyksos and Ramesside capital. For now we grasp the true inwardness of the Psalmist’s reference to the “marvellous things” which God wrought “in the field of Zoan” (\(\Psi\) lxxviii. 12, cf. \(\text{ibid.}\), 48). I will go further, and suggest that the identification of Tanis with Avaris adds new probability to my conjecture that the historical background for the Biblical exodus was the expulsion of the Hyksos. Commentators have been at a loss to explain the remark in Num. xiii. 22, that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt. How irrelevant would be this reference to an Egyptian city unless the building of it were in some way connected with the history of the Israelites. But now at Tanis M. Montet has found definite evidence that the great fortifications were built by the Hyksos. Tanis and Tell er-Refatbah are apparently the only sites in Egypt where the well-authenticated Palestinian custom of burying an infant beneath the walls has been observed, and M. Montet in the one case (\(M., 14-15\)), and Sir Flinders Petrie in the other (Petrie, \(Hyksos\) and Israelite Cities, 29), have recorded their opinion that these fortifications were built by the Hyksos. Now I have shown reason for thinking that Tell er-Refatbah, and not Maskhutah, is Pithom (\(D.R., 269\); \(G.E.2, 96\)), and Mr. Jack (\(The Date of the Exodus\), 24-5) has expatiated upon the case with which ancient writers use anachronistic terms. Putting these considerations together, does it not seem fair to argue that when the author of Exod. i. 11 affirms that the Israelites “built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamases”, the translation of this into modern historical phraseology is that the Hyksos built Avaris and whatever may have been the more ancient name of Pithom and Tell er-Refatbah?

My former contention that the ascertained position of Pi-Ra’messe renders impossible the geographical details of the book of Exodus must be unreservedly withdrawn. In the Biblical story the town of Ramesses is represented as distant two days’ march from “the edge of the wilderness”. If Pi-Ra’messe were Pelusium it would actually have been at the edge of the wilderness. Accordingly I conjectured (\(G.E., 210\)) that the Biblical chronicler had wrongly identified Pi-Ra’messe with Tanis. It now turns out that Tanis was the right location of Ramesses, and to that extent the topography of the Hebrew writer is not open to

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1 M. Montet is certainly wrong in taking “of-Ramesses” as referring to the town, not to the king. He overlooks the fact that Menephtah named these same gods “of-Menephtah” (\(D.R., 255\)), though we have no authority for a Pi-Mer-enephtah as a name of the city replacing Pi-Ra’messe. Lastly, he has forgotten the existence of a “\(\text{Piub-of-Menes}\)”, \(A.Z., XXX, 44\). Cf. also an “Amen-R’r-of-the-Prince-of-the-Two-Lands” at Kandir, \(Annale\), XXX, 39. At the last moment I notice that M. Montet himself quotes a Buto-of-Sethos-beloved-of-Ptah from the north wall at Karnak (Gauthier, \(Dict. G\)éog. 1, 181). This surely settles the point.

2 I hope to find another opportunity of discussing this well-written book, the care expended upon which I cannot but admire, although I do not agree with its conclusions.
criticism. If I continue to regard the narrative of Exodus as legendary, it is on entirely
different grounds.

It does not seem desirable to extend this article dealing with a purely geographical topic
into a systematic discussion of the Exodus problem, but I will put it on record that I still
believe the expulsion of the Hyksos to be the great historical event which gave rise to the
story of the oppression and flight. Ingredients of later date, such as the escape of a few
Hebrew prisoners of war, may possibly have been blended so as to lend the story a slightly
different colouring, but the narrative as it stands does not read to me like history, nor do I
think that either its details or its implications correspond to fact. It is for such reasons that
I employ the term "legendary" in connexion with it.

I take this opportunity to make one or two additions and corrections to my previous
articles:

(1) Mahmūd Hamza's attempt (Annales, xxx, 31) to identify Pi-Ra'messe with the
castle of Ramesses II discovered by him at Ḫanṣīr, some 25 kilometres south of Tanis,
rests upon no serious grounds at all. The potsherds mentioning Pi-Ra'messe are fragments of
wine-jars and merely indicate the geographical position of the vineyards in question.

(2) The fuller texts of the Poem on the battle of Kadesh published by M. Kuentz
establish the fact that the reference to a town of Ramesses shortly after the narration of the
passing of the fortress of Thel really concerns a place in the Lebanon; see Kuentz, La Bataille
de Qadech, p. 118, Poem L2, II. 10–11, confirmed in part by the remains of several of the
duplicates. The text is very interesting: "Now when many days had passed over these things
\[\ldots\] whilst [His Majesty] was at Ramesses, the town which is in the Valley of the Pine, His Majesty proceeded northwards;
now when His Majesty had reached the hill of Kadesh, etc." The "Valley of the Pine" (or
"Cedar", to use the conventional rendering) is an appellation which forcibly recalls the
Tale of the Two Brothers. From the historical Poem it emerges that this "Valley of the Pine" where Bata hid his heart (d'Orbinea, 7.2 ff.) was a real locality situated, no doubt,
in the Lebanon.\(^1\) Thus Prof. Breasted (following Max Müller) was right in taking this town
of Ramesses to be a settlement in Phoenicia (Anc. Records, iii, 187, n. h), whereas my own
attempt (D.R., 180, no. 2) to find it in it the Delta Residence was a blunder.

(3) A casual and not particularly interesting reference to the capital of Pi-Ra'messe
will be found in Pap. Chester Beatty V, verso, 2.4, to be published before long by the Trustees
of the British Museum.

(4) M. Montet (M., 20) is evidently not wholly convinced by my evidence (D.R., 258)
showing that \[\ldots\] in Harris, 62 a. 2, is Bubastus. For my own part I have no doubt, and for another example of the name of Bast written with \(r\) I can now quote from the Ramesside tomb of \(\ldots\) at Thebes (no. 341): \[\ldots\] "fourth month of winter, day 5, the day of the festival of Barset (Bast)."

\(^1\) This disposes of M. Vikentiev's speculations published in Journal, xvii, 74 ff.
1. Earthenware cylinder and disk from neighbourhood of rock-drawings.
2. Drawing of elephant; early period.
3. Drawings of boat and animals; later period.
SOME PRE-DYNASTIC ROCK-DRAWINGS

BY G. W. MURRAY AND O. H. MYERS

With Plate xx

The rock-drawings described in this article lie not far from the railway station of Khaṭṭārah, which is about eight miles north of aşwān. They are in a short wady which runs north-west and debouches into the Wadi Abu Subeira just east of the line of longitude 32° 55', and are marked "Rock Drawings" in the 1:50,000 Government Survey map. They were found in December 1930 by Mr. G. W. Murray of the Desert Survey of Egypt, and it is hoped that some one will find time to visit the spot and make a more complete record than it has been possible to obtain so far. The pictures are all on open rock faces, slightly protected by overhang, and are near a depression in the wady where water remains after there has been rain.

Two clearly defined periods can be observed. The earlier pictures, comparatively few in number, consist of animals only: two elephants, of which one is shown in Pl. xx, fig. 2, and some geckos. The patination of these is so dark that the stone has returned to its original colour, and it was necessary to whiten the elephant with flour in order to get a satisfactory photograph. The pictures were hammered out, no cutting tool having been used. Other heavily patinated pictures, similar to these, were seen twenty miles or so farther up the wady.

The later and more interesting set (Pl. xx, fig. 3) has been drawn with the same technique, but the patina is considerably lighter. The chief subject is a boat, shown about 10 feet long, with eight people on board, being towed by thirty-three men. In the drawing (Fig. 1), only four of the men pulling are shown. There are also a number of animals and two empty boats (Figs. 2 and 8). All our line illustrations have been copied from rough drawings made on the spot. In Fig. 1 some slight alterations in detail have been made after close comparison with the photograph.

In Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, 627 ff., Dr. G. Schweinfurth discussed a large number of rock pictures in the Wadi Abu Agag near aşwān. Many of them are similar to those illustrated here. He attempts to classify the drawings by various criteria: patina, technique, artistry, subject, and attached writing. Of these only the last named yielded him any satisfactory results, and he assigned several examples (including, curiously enough, a man leading a camel) to the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period. Some of these
appear to be similar in style to those at Khaṭṭārah, but Dr. Schweinfurth's conclusions are, generally speaking, so negative that this evidence is not of great account. He admits that many of the different styles into which he has classified the pictures are to be found at all periods from the prehistoric to the time of the Arab conquest.

There is another hammered picture of an elephant on the rocks on the north side of the Wadi Abu Subeira, where it reaches the cultivation just north of Khaṭṭārah Station. Otherwise we have been unable to trace any hammered pictures of elephants in North Africa,

![Fig. 3.](image)

with the exception of one at El-Kāb; and this, for reasons that will be stated later, is of no value for dating the present specimens. The dating of the earlier set of pictures must therefore remain uncertain until further investigation of the subject has been undertaken.

The second set provides more opportunity for comparison. The resemblance of the boat to those on the pre-dynastic pottery with designs in red on a buff background is obvious, but there are differences worthy of notice. There is no gap in the oars as is generally, though not invariably, the case on the pottery (Prehistoric Egypt Corpus, D. 40n, 41c, u, and 47g). All the normal types of pre-dynastic boats have two cabins, whereas ours has only one. The foreign boats with one cabin, occasionally depicted at that date (Frankfort, Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, 1, 198 ff.), have almost vertical sterns and prows, totally unlike the rock picture, as will be seen from the illustrations.

The Cairo Catalogue, Models of Ships and Boats (Reisner), illustrates a boat, No. 4803, similar in shape to that in the Khaṭṭārah picture, and having a single mast, two rudder posts, a single cabin, and a crew of nine men. If, however, the two uprights on the left of our boat are rudder posts, as they would be by analogy with the dynastic specimen, then it is being towed backwards.

The standard frequently seen in the boats on pre-dynastic pottery, is not unlike the upper half of the mast in the rock picture, except that it is always smaller in proportion to its boat.

On the evidence of the form of the boat alone, therefore, it is difficult to decide the period in which the artist lived. It appears to be a pre-dynastic picture, but there is nothing inherently impossible in the suggestion that it may have been drawn by descendants of the pre-dynastic peoples, who carried on the old traditions during the dynastic age in this part of Egypt. That this type of boat was not portrayed on pre-dynastic pottery does not prove that it was not then in use. Many animals which are known to have played a daily part in the lives of the people, such as dogs, cattle, and goats, are seldom or never depicted on pots.

We have a further subject for comparison in the animals seen below the boat, which resemble closely the ibex on the pre-dynastic ware. It should be mentioned, however, that among the pictures at Abu Agag attributed by Dr. Schweinfurth to the Middle Kingdom are similar representations of ibex.
The two empty boats, each with an object like a palm-tree on the prow, are unique. The only petroglyph of a boat that we have for comparison is that found by Mr. F. W. Green at El-Kâb and published by him in P.S.B.A., xxv (1903), pl. facing p. 371, which is in the same technique as the present example, and is similar in design, though the hull somewhat resembles a papyrus bark. It is certainly intended to represent the same kind of boat that is painted on the walls of the house (or tomb) at Hierakopolis (Quibell and Green, Hierakopolis II, 21). Quite close to the El-Kâb picture is another representation of a boat, definitely dated by cartouches to Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty, which is engraved in the rock with a cutting tool and bears no resemblance, either in form or technique, to the hammered specimens. This rules out a date in the Old Kingdom for the hampered pictures and leaves two alternatives: either both sets of pictures are Middle Kingdom, the El-Kâb example being the work of "Pan-Grave" people, or they are both pre-dynastic. Keeping in view the close resemblance of the El-Kâb picture to the Hierakopolis painting, the latter is much the more likely hypothesis.

The locality of the Khâṭṭârah picture, and the fact that it shows a very large number of men hauling a boat (which has a crew on board and is plentifully supplied with oars), leads us to believe that it represents a boat being towed up the First Cataract. We know that the pre-dynastic peoples extended well south of this point (Reisner, Archaeological Survey of Nubia), but this implies no more than a culture common to peoples of the same race, who were living contiguous in the Nile valley. Politically they might be divided into many units, and their trade might have passed indirectly from tribe to tribe, but the inference that they were negotiating the cataracts with fair-sized ships points to settled conditions, and indicates an extensive authority on the part of the "Pre-dynastic Dynasties".

The Khâṭṭârah boat drives the last, if unnecessary, nail into the coffin of the idea that the "Boat-Pots" do not show boats at all, but fenced enclosures. Men do not tow about the desert zarebas and their inhabitants.

Again, if the pre-dynastic people near Ašwân were portraying boats on the rocks it at least casts some doubt upon the theory that all the red-on-buff pottery showing such boats was made in the Delta.¹

Two other points are worthy of notice: the resemblance, though it is slight, between the empty boats at Khâṭṭârah and the black boat in the painted house at Hierakopolis; and the animals accompanying the boat at El-Kâb. The latter appear to belong to the same date as the boat, and amongst them is an elephant, which, as far as can be seen in the photograph (P.S.B.A., xxv, pl. facing p. 371), is not very different from that shown in Pl. xx, fig. 2. The difference in patina, whether evidence of the passage of a long period of time, or of an intervening rainy period, definitely places the two sets of drawings at Khâṭṭârah in different eras, and the presence of an elephant with the boat both there and at El-Kâb must be regarded only as a coincidence.

Fig. 4 illustrates a picture found about 60 km. up from the Nile in the Wadi Abu Agag, which runs east of Ašwân. These may be self-portraits of members of the 'Twentie, of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, or similar tribes in the pre-dynastic period. In either case, the men represented appear to be at a lower stage of civilization than those shown with the boat at Khâṭṭârah.

¹ The question of the provenance of the different pre-dynastic wares is not likely to be solved until a systematic series of analyses is made of the wares, and of the clay deposits in different parts of Egypt.
In the immediate neighbourhood of the Khaṭṭārah pictures there was found on the top of a hill, under an overhanging rock, a curious object, now in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, Oxford. It is a coarse earthenware cylinder, containing a pierced disk of rather better pottery (Fig. 5 and Pl. xx, fig. 1). Two similar objects, eroded down to mere rims by sandblast, were found west of 'Uweinat in the Libyan Desert by Mr. P. A. Clayton of the Desert Survey of Egypt. Several people have seen these objects and have been able to venture no guess as to their date or probable cultural connexions.

We wish to express our gratitude to Mr. Brunton for some suggestions included in this article.

1 Dr. Balfour kindly supplied the photograph and the necessary information for the construction of the scale diagram.
STUDIES IN THE EGYPTIAN MEDICAL TEXTS—II

By WARREN R. DAWSO

(Continued from Journal, xviii, 150-4)

5. The herb  

In 1894, M. Victor Loret devoted a detailed study to the plant mtt, which he identified with four different herbs according to the epithets attached to the word. He examined the former identifications of Brugsch, Lüiring, Lieblein, Stern, and others, of mtt with the Coptic meoian, Crocus hortensis, and gave good reasons for relinquishing this supposed equivalence. M. Loret finally arrived at the conclusion that mtt is the Coptic amt, equated in the Scaelei with the Arabic الکروم, celery of various species. For the grounds upon which M. Loret based his conclusions, reference must be made to his paper.¹

On carefully re-examining the occurrences of the word in the medical and other Egyptian texts, I find myself unable to agree with M. Loret's identification and now have to submit another alternative which appears to me to suit the requirements of the case better. The clue which led me to the identification I now propose is to be found in a text hitherto overlooked by those who have interested themselves in the identification of mtt. The text to which I refer is in the Leiden magical papyrus I, 348. In this text there is a list of the parts of the body, each ascribed to a god; it begins on vs. 5, 5 and extends to 6, 2. In lines 5, 8 to 6, 1 the following series occurs:

"His phallus is Bebo; his thighs are Isis and Nephthys" etc.

It may be noted that kṣw, "testicles", corresponds to ḫn in the similar lists at Bībān el-Mulūk.² In the Leiden list, as in all others,³ each part of the body is associated with a god or a goddess, and it is therefore very significant that in the passage just quoted, the name of a fruit should rank as equal to a divinity. This fact of itself suggests that the fruit in question is one of outstanding magical significance. There was indeed a goddess mtt, as we know from a passage inscribed upon a middle-kingdom coffin from Beni Ḥasan, published by M. Laca. The passage in question reads as follows:

"Oh Mtt, daughter of the gods, bursting into leaf (lit. "making a growing") to shield me."

Probably also it is this goddess who is referred to in the Pyramid Texts (§ 1440 e):

P. 650. ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn etc.
P. 727. ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn etc.
M. 751. ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn ḫn etc.

The determinatives in these parallel texts are significant, as we shall see.

In the Leiden text, however, the actual plant is referred to, not its personification as a goddess. Not only is the god-determinative absent (though invariably present elsewhere), but a particular part of the plant, its fruit, is specified. We have accordingly to find a magical plant the fruit of which resembles the testicles of a man. In the Syriac medical manuscript

¹ Rec. de trad., xvi (1894), 4-11. ² E. Naville, Litanie du Soleil (Leipzig, 1875), PIs. 14, 20, 21, and 32.
³ I have given a complete list in my Magician and Leech (London, 1929), p. 60.
published by Sir Ernest Budge, a long and interesting passage is devoted to the magical virtues of a plant which can be none other than the mandrake. In this passage it is said: “and after the flower of this root ... hath died away, there remain on the top thereof two little balls which are like the testicles of a man.” One of the Arabic names of the mandrake is “devil’s testicles”, and the “male mandrake”, well known in folk-lore, thus receives a plausible explanation. It seems to me not impossible that the association with testicles accounts for the determinatives in the Pyramid Texts, and may have influenced the New-Egyptian writings $\wedge 3$ and $\wedge 5$ which often occur.

In the temple of Edfu, it is stated that mtt grows in the Delta, and in a stela of Ramesses IV occurs the phrase “I have not cut the corn before it was ripe [lit. “in its smallness”] nor the mtt before it was counted”. This would seem to imply that mtt was a cultivated plant.

In the medical papyri mtt generally occurs without any qualification, but sometimes an epithet is added, i.e. $\wedge 3$ (var. $\wedge 5$) and $\wedge 5$ “of the Delta”, and $\wedge 7$ “of a foreign country”. There are thus two kinds of mtt, one indigenous (or introduced and acclimatized) in Egypt, and growing in the Delta, the other imported from a foreign country. These two species I propose to equate provisionally with Mandragora autumnalis, Bertol., of the Mediterranean region, and M. officinarum, L., which is common in Syria and Palestine. In the following references to mtt in the medical papyri, the letters D (Delta) and F (foreign) are added whenever these distinctions are indicated in the texts themselves. The letters E, B, H, and L refer respectively to the Ebers, Berlin, Hearst, and London Medical Papyri, and the numbers in brackets to the sections of Wreszinski’s edition of these texts.

**External Uses**

- For burns: E 68. 6 (487) = L 15. 5 (51); E 69. 10 (502) D.
- For the rectum: E 32. 1 (145).
- For the eyes: E 57. 12 (352); E 58. 20 (363), mtt brayed in cold water.
- For sore tongue: E 85. 20 (701).
- For mouth (mouthwash for gumboils or similar): E 72. 17 (555).
- For toothache (mouthwash): E 89. 13 (748).
- For the ear: B 12. 7 (200).
- For “heat” (? fever): B 7. 11 (87).
- For pain in right side: E 90. 8 (768) D + F.
- For the stomach: E 39. 20 (198 c), $\wedge 3$ mtt.
- For vaginal contraction: E 96. 8 (822), mtt pounded in cow’s milk.
- For stiff joints or muscles: E 82. 5 (655) = H 9. 4 (124), prt mtt; E 84. 2 (675) prt; E 84. 7 (677) prt; E 84. 17 (682); for ditto in leg E 77. 13 (610) prt; E 79. 21 (634).
- For $\wedge 23$: E 76. 6 (594).
- For sft n mt (? varicose veins): H 8. 13 (113), mtt pounded with fat.
- For wrst: E 26. 5 (111); E 26. 8 (112).

2. R. Campbell Thompson, Assyrian Herbal (1924), 189.
3. J. de Rougé, Inscr. et notices recueillies à Edfou, Pl. cvi.
4. K. Fiehler, J.Z., xxxii (1884) 39, II, 18–19. Dr. Gardiner informs me that the det. of $\wedge 6$ should be $\wedge 3$ and not $\wedge 2$ as in the text, and that $\wedge 2$ is to be taken temporally as $\wedge 9$.  

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**Footnotes:**

4. K. Fiehler, *J.Z.*, xxxii (1884) 39, II, 18–19. Dr. Gardiner informs me that the det. of $\wedge 6$ should be $\wedge 3$ and not $\wedge 2$ as in the text, and that $\wedge 2$ is to be taken temporally as $\wedge 9$.  

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Internal Uses

For pain generally: B 13. 2 (158) F; in belly, B 14. 2 (157), D+F.
For induration of right side E 43. 6 (209), D+F.
For bladder and urination: E 50. 13-14 (282) = H 5. 2 (68), D+F.
For contraception: B vs. 1. 2 (192).
For \(\text{\textcircled{}}\) E 55. 17 (334).
For influence \(\text{\textcircled{}}\): E 45. 23 (236); E 45. 14 (231), D; E 45. 4 (226), D; E 45. 7 (227); E 45. 9 (228); E 35. 13 (182) = H 1. 17 (16), prt.

The above-named medicinal uses of the plant mitt are consistent with those to which the mandrake was put by ancient medical writers. It would be out of place to discuss here the many interesting references to the medical and magical uses of the plant, as these have frequently been dealt with by various authors.\(^2\) The medicinal uses indicated by the Egyptian papyri postulate a sweet, palatable, mildly astringent herb, and other texts define it as growing in the Delta or imported from foreign lands. The magical uses to expel the "influence" of gods, the dead, adversaries, and other malign beings are also noteworthy.

Actual specimens of mandrake-fruits were identified in the floral wreaths on the mummy of Tutankhamun,\(^3\) and it is possible that some of the fruits represented in numerous banquet scenes may be intended for those of the mandrake.

It was formerly believed that \(\text{\textcircled{}}\) was the Egyptian word for mandrake, an error first made by Brugsch, who sought to identify it with the Hebrew dudaim.\(^4\) This was long ago shown to be erroneous by M. Henri Gauthier,\(^5\) who demonstrated that \(\text{\textcircled{}}\) was not a plant but a mineral, and more recently I have tried to define more closely its real nature.\(^6\)

In conclusion, I might throw out the suggestion that the word mitt may possibly be akin to \(\text{\textcircled{}}\), a word meaning some part of the body, which occurs in a magical text.\(^7\) It seems also possible that this word may mean testicles, a meaning appropriate to the context, and that it may be the same as the word \(\text{\textcircled{}}\). “Hoden”, quoted in the Wb. d. aeg. Spr., ii, 28, but which I cannot investigate in the absence of references.

(See additional note, below, p. 137.)

6. The drug \(\text{\textcircled{}}\).

In the medical texts this drug occurs in various prescriptions for external application. It is never used for internal doses, and was therefore unpalatable or poisonous. Two kinds are mentioned, those of Upper Egypt and the Delta. In the following references, these are specified as U and D respectively.

For muscles and joints: H 7. 15 (94), U; H 16. 2 (237), U.
For pain in fingers and toes: H 12. 8 (174) = E 78. 9 (617); U + D.
For dressing for excised tumour: E 104. 4 (857 c).
For the rectum (suppository): E 31. 9 (144).

1 See Journal, xxvi, 153, n. 2.
For the eyes: E 55. 21+56. 2 (326), U+D; E 57. 3 (345), U; E 59. 2 (366) U; E 59. 5 (367), U; E 59. 13 (399), U; E 59. 14 (370), U; E 59. 19 (374), U; E 60. 2 (377), U; E 61. 5 (388) U; E 61. 16 (394), U; E 63. 5 (419), U+D.

The uses of this drug suggest one of the arsenic salts, orpiment or realgar (σαρᾶδχη and ἀρανθυκόν of Greek writers). Orpiment was known to the Egyptians, and it was used by them as a pigment.1 As the mineral does not occur native in Egypt, it must have been imported. In this case the varieties from Southern and Northern Egypt would be those imported respectively from Ethiopia and from Asia and marketed in the commercial centres of the two regions. Both kinds (red and yellow) were used by the Assyrians in medicine.2

7. The word \( \text{bmf} \) (dets. \( \odot \), \( \odot \), \( \odot \))

In the medical texts the bmf of the ox, \( \text{iβdual} \)-fish, and tortoise is used as a drug. The uses are as follows:

**External Uses**

For leucoma (fish): E 62. 6 (405).
For \( \text{ləny} \)-t of scalp (fish): E 65. 6 (449).
For skin-disease (ox): E 87. 10 (718).
For ear-ache (ox): B. verso, 2. 8 (200).
For boil or swelling (ox): E 104. 5 (857 c).
For \( \text{̃} \text{v} \) and pains (ox): E 26. 20 (117).
For inflamed wound (ox): S 14. 4 (41); S 16. 9 (46). In the first of these “ox” is omitted in error, but evidently intended.
For aphrodisiac (anoint phallos) (tortoise and fish): Mag. Pap., unpublished, vs. 5.

**Internal Uses**

For vermifuge (ox): E 22. 7 (75).
I do not know of any occurrence of the word outside the medical texts3 save in one passage only, which occurs in a Middle Kingdom Coffin-text: \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{ləny} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \) \( \text{bmf} \)

"I am the bmf of Bd, the Lord of Serpents". Bd was a bull-god.4

The medicinal uses of bmf are (save one) all external, which suggests a bitter and unpalatable drug. The only internal use is significant, for it is a vermifuge, for which bitterness is most appropriate. The uses of bmf correspond to a remarkable degree with those of \( \text{udd} \), "gall"; the \( \text{udd} \) of the ox, \( \text{iβdual} \)-fish, and tortoise being especially frequent. The identification and uses of \( \text{udd} \) I have dealt with elsewhere.6 There can be little doubt that bmf and \( \text{udd} \) are synonymous and both mean "gall". The determinatives of bmf have become generalized, but originally \( \odot \) and \( \odot \) meant the gall-bladder, and \( \odot \) its secretion.

The latest discussion of bmf is that of Prof. Breasted,7 who considers that it means dung or excrement. This interpretation, however, is inadmissible, for it does not take into account the most frequent determinatives \( \odot \) and \( \odot \), nor the impossibility of collecting the excrement of a fish.

In connexion with the aphrodisiac use of gall mentioned above, it may be noted that the

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2 R. Campbell Thompson, The Chemistry of the Assyrians (1925), 43. Cf. E. Chassinat, Un papyrus médical copte (1921), 82.
3 Cf. P. Lacau, Textes Religieux, lxxvi, line 7 (= Rec. de Trans. xxxi, 31).
4 A. Z., lx (1926), 21.
5 Cf. A. Z., xlvi (1906), 79.
6 Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, i, 381.
gall of a goat is used in exactly the same way in the London-Leiden Magical Papyrus (verso, 18. 7).

8. The fish ḫỉ  통해서

This fish is best known from its frequent mention in mythological texts as piloting the boat of the sun-god.¹

M. Victor Loret considered that the ṣbdu is not a fish at all, but a species of tortoise (Trionyx aegyptiacus).² His demonstration, however, is unconvincing, for the word always has the fish-determinative; never ḫỉ or ḫỉ. His hypothesis, moreover, ignores the mythological association of the fish with the sun-god³ whereas the tortoise was the deadly enemy of Ṛēr. (Cf. the frequent expression "Ṛēr lives: the tortoise is dead".) The pictures of the ṣbdu-fish swimming in front of the sun-god's boat, frequent on coffins, etc., are too conventionalized to enable us to fix the species, but it can at least be said with certainty that ṣbdu is a fish and not a reptile.

¹ See, e.g., the hymns to Ṛēr, Pap. Ani, sheet 1, l. 15; sheet 20, l. 44; Pap. Keni (Leiden) 2, line 13; Book of the Dead, 100 (Pap. Nū, line 9).
² A.Z., xxx (1882), 25.
³ In the "Litany of Seker" (Pap. B.M. 10188, 2. 14) it is called the "pure ṣbdu-fish". Cf. also Pap. Berlin 3027, 2. 5.

Additional Note on ḫỉ

Since Section 5 of the foregoing article was printed, Dr. Gardiner has shown me his transcription of an unpublished magical papyrus in Budapest, in which a prominent part is played by a magical plant called ḥỉ ḫỉ ḫỉ ḫỉ ḫỉ. Until the text is available for study, it cannot be known whether my conclusions will need modification, but it seems likely that ṃtt, originally the name of a specific herb, may have become a generic term for magical plants of various kinds, just as ḫỉ, originally the sycamore tree, became a generic term for trees, and was compounded with the indirect genitive with the names of other trees, e.g. nḥt ṃt ḫỉ; nḥt ṃt ṅtītēv.
A PETITION TO AN EXEGETES, A.D. 36

By A. E. R. BOAK

This papyrus, Inv. No. 695 in the Michigan collection, is one of a considerable group of
documents coming from the archives of the grapheion of Tebtunis. It is a large sheet
measuring 37-5 by 28 cm. Unfortunately, it has suffered considerable abrasion along the
vertical creases formed by the ancient folds and has been entirely worn through along two
of these, so that it is divided into three parts of approximately equal width. Otherwise the
papyrus is in good condition and the writing is, on the whole, very well preserved. The first
and third hands are medium-sized cursives with quite different characteristics, but the second
is a large, elegantly written, upright semi-uncial with letters about 0-5 cm. in height. The
text contains the following parts:

(1) Ll. 1 and 2. An order (ἐπιστολαίμα) from Chairemon the exegetes of Arsinoe to Kronion
the clerk of the grapheion at Tebtunis, with the date of issue, Choiak 3 of the twenty-
third year of Tiberius = Nov. 29, A.D. 36.

(2) Ll. 3-28. A copy of a petition (δέξομαι) addressed to Chairemon by Taoroes, a widow
of Tebtunis who is acting as guardian for her three sons who are under age. This copy doubt-
less was prepared in the office of the exegetes, which explains the elegance of the script. It
is undated.

(3) Part of l. 28. The subscription of Chairemon to the effect that a decision had been
rendered in the case, dated the same day as (1). On the papyrus this subscription occupies
part of the space left by the writer of the petition in l. 28 between the closing words of the
request at the left of the line and the formal έχειτικός(εις) at the extreme right.

In chronological sequence, naturally, the petition came first, next the subscription, and,
finally, the order to the clerk of the record office.

The petition reveals an interesting situation. A certain Galates was joint owner with
his three brothers, Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, and Lusimachos, of a catoecic
allotment of eighty-two ourores comprising several estates near the villages of Tebtunis,
Theogonis, and Kerkesis. The four brothers mortgaged this allotment to one Kastor and
his brother Lusimachos for the sum of two talents and 1,200 drachmas in silver. Unfor-
nately, owing to the abrasion of one of the numerals, the exact date of the execution of the
mortgage is uncertain and we can only say that it fell between the tenth and the twentieth
years of Tiberius. At some time between the drawing up of the mortgage and the twenty-
first year of Tiberius, Galates died, leaving three sons who were still minors, namely,
Lusas, Lusimachos, and Eutuchos. Thereupon, their mother, Taoroes, upon application to
Chairemon the exegetes, was appointed their guardian (ἐπιστροφη). Neither the principal
of the mortgage nor the interest thereon was paid by Galates and his brothers and,
consequently, in the twenty-first year of Tiberius the two creditors, Kastor and his brother
Lusimachos, laid claim to the mortgaged property by virtue of a transfer of title (μετεπιγραφή)
executed through the bureau of registration of catoecic holdings, and subsequently ceded
part of it to their own brothers. But, even though the mortgaged property had been seized
by the creditors, the heirs and brothers of Galates were still liable for unpaid public taxes
and other dues assessed against the eighty-two ourores. Of these charges, the three young
sons of Galates were responsible for one-sixth. Accordingly their mother, in her capacity of guardian, asked Kastor and Lusimachos to accept 2,500 silver drachmas in settlement of the obligation resting upon her sons and offered on their behalf to resign all claims to the estate and formally to approve the transfer of title and the cessions made to the brothers of Kastor and Lusimachos. Apparently her proposal met with the approval of the two mortgagors and also with that of the brothers of the deceased Galates. Hence she petitioned the exegetes to order the clerk of the grapheion to prepare with her the agreement of surrender (ἀφολογία ἐκστάσεως) and of approval (εὐδοκίσεως) which were to be guaranteed mutually by her and the brothers of Galates.

As we learn from parts (3) and (1) of the text, the petition was approved and the clerk of the grapheion was ordered to draw up the necessary documents.

The two points of special interest raised by this petition concern the transfer of title to the catoeic estates and the competence of the exegetes in the case.

According to ll. 15–18 of the text, Kastor and Lusimachos had already laid claim to the mortgaged estates and had been able to secure a transfer of title through the bureau of registration of catoeic lands. Furthermore, by virtue of this step they had ventured to cede a portion of this property to their brothers. We must infer that the authorization for the transfer of title was furnished by the mortgage. But from the fact that Taorses proposed (ll. 20–2), in return for their acceptance of her offer regarding the taxes, to furnish them with a contract of renunciation of the property and of approval of the cessions they had made from it, it seems justifiable to conclude the title of Kastor and his brother to the lands in question was not completely valid until they had received the δ. ἐκστάσεως, and the cessions which they had made while their title was still subject to challenge required the εὐδόκισεως.

If this interpretation is correct, our papyrus offers some support for the view of Preisigke, Girouesens, 499 ff. (particularly 512), that the μετεπιγραφή had to be preceded by a contract of cession and followed by a contract of renunciation, as against the view of Mitteis, Grundz., 112 (cf. also P. Oxy., xii, 1462, intro.), that only a single contract between the parties was required.

The right of the exegetes as representative of the strategos to appoint guardians (ἐπίτροποι) for minors is well known, cf. P. Jouguet, Vie municipale, 317; Mitteis, Grundz., 254; Meyer, Jur. Pap., 83. It is, however, something out of the ordinary to find this official entertaining a petition to authorize the clerk of the grapheion to prepare certain documents affecting the transfer of catoeic lands and issuing an order to that effect. The regular authorities to whom petitions of this sort were addressed were the βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης or, later, the βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκυρίως (Preisigke, Girouesens, 511 ff.; Mitteis, Grundz., 111–12; Meyer, Jur. Pap., 211–12), who are not mentioned in this text. The explanation may lie in the early date of this papyrus (A.D. 36). So far as I am aware, the earliest reference to the activity of the βιβλιοφύλακες in authorizing the action of the grapheion is found in B.G.U., 379 of A.D. 67. Perhaps they did not exercise this function until after the death of Tiberius.

Text

1. First hand. Χαρήμων τῶν τὸ γραφόν πραγματευόμενον τοῦ Ἰταλίου Κρονίου τοῦ ἔπιστολον ἦμιν ἀξιόματος ἀντὶ ἑγγραφὸν ὑποτέσσαρται. καλῶς ὁ δὲ
2. ποιήσας κατακαλοήσας τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς δηλομένης ὡς καθ' ἑκατοντάρχῃ, ἐρρ[ω]ζο[ν] ἐτοὺς τρίτου καὶ εἶκοστοῦ Τιβερίου Καλασόρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χώαρα τρίτῃ.
3. Second hand. Χαρήμων ἐγγραφής
4. παρὰ Ταορσείου τῆς Εὐπολίου μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ συνενθέτως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Χαρήμωνος. ὁ συμβιβάσας μοι
5. Γαλάτης Λυσιμάχου ἔτελεύτησεν ἀποληπτῶν ἐξ ἔμου ἐνός ἀφήλως τρεῖς Λυσίντων καὶ Λυσιμαχῶν
6. καὶ Εὐνυγίαν ὠν καὶ ἀπεγραφήμην διὰ σοῦ ἐπίτροπος. τοῦ δὲ Γαλάτου ὁφελοῦντος, σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτῷ ἀδελφοῖς
7. Διδύμων πρεσβύτερων καὶ Διδύμων νεωτέρων καὶ Λυσιμάχου, Κάστορι καὶ Λυσιμάχου ἀμφότεροι Λυσιμάχος(ν)
8. ἐπὶ μεσευτεία τελευτησία τοῦ [●] (ἐτεί) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁ παρχῶν ἄνω
9. καὶ κατοικικῶν ἐδαφῶν κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀρουρῶν ὁδοίκαπτα δύο ἐν τῇ Πολέμανος ἡμέρα, ἄν ὁν
10. περὶ μὲν Τεβτύνιον ἐν δυσὶ σφρ[α]χίς ἄρουρα τριὰκοντα ἐπὶ περὶ δὲ Θαυμόνια ἐν μῇ σφραγὶδα ἄρουρα
11. εἶχον πέντε πρὸ τεραν Λευκίων Τε[ρ]ντίαν καὶ περὶ Κερήσιν ἐν ἑτέρα σφραγισθεὶς αἱ λοιπαὶ ἄρουραι εἶχοι,
12. ὁστ' εἶχα τὰς προκειμένης τοῦ κλήρου ἄροιρας ὁδοίκαπτα δύο ἢ ὅσα εἰ ἔναν ὅσο, ὅν ἐκάστης σφραγίδοις
13. αἱ γινόμεναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τῆς σημαιομονής μεσο[τι]εῖας δηλούντα, πρὸς τὰ δ[ι'] αὐτής δανεισθέντα
14. ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίον τάλαντα δύο καὶ τρια[χὲς] κεφαλαίον διακοσίας καὶ τοὺς ἐπισυνηγήμενος ἀπὸ τῆς σημαιο-
15. μένης συναλλάξεως μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τόκου, τοῦ δ[ι'] Κάστορος καὶ Λυσιμάχου ἐνεποιημένον τόν σημαι-
16. νομέων τοῦ κλήρου ἀρουρῶν ὁδοίκη[κ]οντα δύο ἄρ' ἂς ἐποιησαντο ἐν τῶν καὶ (ἐτεί) Τιβερίου
17. Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ διὰ τῶν καταλοχαμών τῶν καταλόχων μετεπιγραφῆς καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους παρακηγορίατος τοῦ ἐν-
18. τῶν ἀδελφῶν δὴ[ε]ι ἐδεικθημεν τοῦ τοῦ Κάστορος καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτόν Λυσιμάχου φαινω-
20. ὀφλώσων[ε]ν ὅ τε Γαλάτης καὶ οἱ τοῦτον ἀδελφοὶ δημοσίων ἑθῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐκστήνει ἡμᾶς
21. καὶ εὐδοκήσασα τῇ γεγονοῦσι διὰ τῶν καταλοχαμών μετεπί[γ]ραφῆ καὶ τάς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
22. τῶν περὶ[λ] τῶν Κάστορα παρακηγορίας, καὶ αἱ[ξ]ιῶν συντάξασα γραφὴς τοῦ τοῦ γραφοῦ πραγ-
23. μετα[ε]ν
24. ομέιοις συνοριηματίζεως μοι ἀναφεροῦσα ἐκ τούτων ἐδημών μοι ἀφήλως ἐν
25. διαμάχων μετ' ἐπιτρόπου ἐμοῦ συνναποῇστων μοι καὶ τῶν τοῦ Γαλάτου ἀδελφῶν Διδύμων
26. πρεσβύτερων καὶ Διδύμων νεωτέρων καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Ἀριστότερον τής τις ἐκκατάκοις καὶ
eυδοκη-
27. σεως ὁμολογίαν κατά τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τοῖς ἀφήλως μοι νῦν μέρος ἔκτον, τῆς βεβαιοπαί
tο
28. ἐκαθαρισθῆναι μοι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Γαλάτου ἀδελφοῖς ἐξ ἀληθειαν, ὥς ὁ σῷ τὸς σωίδιος
29. εἰςκαθημένης. Third hand. dieγίνωστα (ἔτους) ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Χοὶ(ακ)
γ. Second hand. εὐτύχ(α).

Notes
1. Κρο[γ]ίων(ε). An official of this name was in charge of the record office of Tebtunis during the period A.D. 46–9 (P. Mich., II, Tebtunis Papyri, Pt. I, p. 4, cf. P. Tebt., II, 888, 60–2), but he is not to be identified with this Kronion.
2. ποιήσεις . . . ὡς καθήκει. Compare the instructions to the clerk of the record office
A PETITION TO AN EXEGETES

at Karanis in B.G.U., 379 (=Mitteis, Chrest., 219 = Meyer, Jur. Pop., 69), 20–3 ending with the words τελείωσο άς καθίσσει. In each case the clerk is authorized to carry out the request.

3. ἐξηγήση. The presence of this document in the files of the graphicion at Tebtunis indicates that the exegetes in question was an official of Arsinoe, the metropolis of the nome.

4. με[τ]ά κυρίου. Although Taorses, as a woman, required a guardian of her own (κόρως) for the performance of such acts as the making of this petition, nevertheless she could act as a guardian for her minor children (ἐπίτροπος), cf. Mitteis, Grundz., 252–3.

5. μεσετία. The μεσετία was the special form of mortgage used in connexion with catecic lands, Mitteis, op. cit., 131. τῶν κ.ARGV (ἐπεῖ). It is hardly possible to distinguish any traces of the missing numeral which lay right in one of the vertical folds of the papyrus, but possibly it was an η.

11. Λευκίου Τε[ρ][ε]νίου. This Lucius Terentius, a Roman probably of equestrian rank, may have received the twenty-five arouras near Thegonis as a gift from Augustus, or he may have obtained permission to purchase them, and then later sold them to the father of Galates, cf. Wileken, Grundz., 298, on the οὐσιακή γῆ.

Κερκεσίος. For the location of this village, also called Κερκεσίος, cf. P. Tebt., II, 383.

14–15. τῆς συμμακρομένης συναλλάξεως. This is the μεσετία referred to in ll. 8 and 13.

17. τῶν καταλογισμῶν τῶν κατοίκων. On this bureau cf. Preisigke, Girouesen, 496 ff.; Mitteis, Grundz., 111.

παρακεχορηκτών. In the sale of catecic lands the term παραχωρεΐν was used in preference to πράττειν, Mitteis, op. cit., 180–1.

18–19. φιλαυθρωπήσατε ἤμας. This rather indefinite expression derives its meaning from the context, which indicates that the favour conferred is the acceptance of 2,500 drachmas in full satisfaction of the claims that are outstanding against the share of the property inherited by the sons of Galates.

19. εἰς μέρος. In view of the fact that the sons of Galates inherited one-sixth of the catecic allotment (l. 26), they would naturally be liable for a corresponding share of the obligations resting upon it.

20. ὁφλοιν[τ]ον δε Γαλάτης κτλ. For Galates we must understand “the sons of Galates”.

ἐκτίμησε ἤμας πάντας. On ἐκτίμησις = cessio honorum cf. Mitteis, Chrest., 31, iv, 10 note. Under ἤμας πάντας we should probably understand both the sons of Galates and his brothers since the latter concur in the petition (ll. 24–35) and join in the guarantee to the contracts to be executed (l. 27), although these contracts only affect the share of the sons.


22–3. δέξωσαν συντάξατε γράφων ... συνχρηματίζειν μοι. συνχρηματίζειν is for συνχρ. With this request we may compare B.G.U., 379, 18–19: προσαγγέλλαμεν, ὅπως ἐπιστεύηται τῷ τῶν γραφῶν Καρα[ν]δο[ς] συνχρηματίζειν ἤμεν.

25. Ἀρνώτου. Haroutes is not mentioned with the other brothers of Galates in l. 7 as one of the joint owners of the allotment. The appearance of his name here may be explained in one of three ways. It may have been omitted accidentally in l. 7; it may be another name for Lusimachos, in which case we should read τοῦ καὶ Ἀρνώτου; or it may have been included here in order to make it clear that he would raise no objection to the action of his brothers and nephews.

26–7. τῆς ψεβασίσεως ἔξακολουθοῦσας μοι. For parallels to this clause cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v.
Translation

(1st hand.) Chairemon to the clerk of the grapheion, Kronion, greeting. There is subjoined the copy of a petition that has been presented to us. You will do well, then, to follow up what is set forth therein as is fitting. Farewell. The twenty-third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak third.

(2nd hand.) To Chairemon the exegetes, from Taorses daughter of Eutuchos with, as guardian, her relative Ptolemaios son of Chairemon. My husband Galates son of Lusimachos died, leaving by me three sons under age, Lusas, Lusimachos, and Eutuchos, of whom I have had myself appointed guardian by you. Since Galates, together with his brothers Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, and Lusimachos, was indebted to Kastor and Lusimachos, both sons of Lusimachos, in accordance with a mortgage executed in the...teenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus affecting the cataeche estates belonging to them by inheritance from their father of a cataeche allotment of eighty-two arouras in the division of Polemon, of which there are in the vicinity of Tebtunis thirty-seven arouras in two parcels, and in the vicinity of Theogonis twenty-five arouras in one parcel formerly the property of Lucius Terentius, and in the vicinity of Kerkesis the remaining twenty arouras in another parcel, so that the aforesaid arouras of the allotment are eighty-two or however many they may be, of which the neighbouring properties of each parcel and the other details are set forth in the above-mentioned mortgage, for the sum of two talents and one thousand two hundred drachmas borrowed through it and the interest that has accrued from the time of the aforementioned mortgage up to the present; and since Kastor and Lusimachos have laid claim to the aforesaid eighty-two arouras of the allotment on the basis of the transfer of title which they caused to be made in the twenty-first year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus through the bureau of registration of cataeche lands, and have made a partial cession to their own brothers, on account of which we entreated both Kastor and his brother Lusimachos to indulge us on condition that we shall give them two thousand five hundred silver drachmas towards a share of the public taxes and other things which Galates and his brothers owe and all of us resign our claims and approve the transfer of title effected through the bureau of registration and the cessions to the brothers of Kastor and his relatives; I petition you to give orders to write to the clerk of the grapheion to prepare with me, petitioning as I do in these said names of my sons who are under age with me as their guardian, fellow petitioners being also the brothers of Galates, Didumos the elder, Didumos the younger, Lusimachos and Harmotes, the agreement of renunciation and approval concerning the sixth part which was inherited by my sons who are under age, the guarantee resting upon me together with the brothers of Galates under conditions of mutual surety, in order that I along with my sons may be benefited. Farewell.

(3rd hand.) It has been decided. The twenty-third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Choiak 8.
THE SO-CALLED RAMESES GIRDLE

By T. ERIC PEET

The object familiarly known as the Ramesses Girdle has lain in the Liverpool Free Public Museums since 1867, under the number M. 11156. Some time ago the Director of the Museums, Dr. D. A. Allan, told me he felt it to be a pity that the origin of one of the rarest objects in the Museums' collections and one of the most remarkable that ancient Egypt has bequeathed to us should remain wrapped in obscurity and uncertainty, and he begged me to put together and place on record what could be learned about its early history before the slender evidence still available for this purpose should have disappeared. This task I accepted the more readily because I had just read an article in Deutsche Frauenkultur for 1931, pp. 157–63, by Prof. Dr. Fritz Krause in which the following passage occurs (p. 157): "... a hieroglyphic group... The English scholar P. E. Newberry thought in 1911 that he could recognize in it a trace of the name of Ramesses III.² On the ground of this opinion the scarf has since been known as the 'Ramesses Girdle'." Now it seems clear from Professor Krause's illustration to this text that the hieroglyphic group to which he refers is the roughly written Ꝡ [(參)] clear in our Fig. 1, bottom, right, and that he is unaware of the existence of the much longer and more carefully written inscription which is the real ground for the name "Ramesses Girdle". Professor Krause goes on to say that documentary evidence shows that the girdle was in the Museum as early as 1867 and came from Memphis, and he therefore assigns it not to the Ramesside age but to the Old Kingdom, adding that it is in consequence 4,500 years old, and the earliest piece of weaving of this kind known to us from Egypt.

This, is, I believe, the most recently published account of the object, and it is so incorrect that it does indeed seem time that some one should put on record what is known about the matter.

The Egyptologists who have seen the "girdle" can probably be numbered on the fingers of one hand. And yet among all the treasures from the tombs of Yuia and Tuyu and of Tutankhamun there is not one that is more living than this. Here is a scarf which was worn by an ancient Egyptian, perhaps a king, certainly a person of royal rank. It is in such perfect condition that it might be worn to-day without damaging it. It is solid and firm to the touch, and yet perfectly flexible; it retains its colours in all their brightness; it is perhaps the one piece of ancient Egyptian woven linen of which the phrase "it might have been made yesterday" can legitimately be used. Of its technical perfection I do not intend to speak here. When no two of the experts on ancient weaving who have examined it can agree as to the method by which it was produced² the layman may well be content to admire the neat perfection of the design and execution, and the mathematical ingenuity with which a single decorative scheme is evenly tapered from a breadth of 5 inches to that of 1½ in a length of 17 feet.

The literature of the scarf begins, so far as I can determine, with a book of which very few copies seem to be known. It bears the title Egyptian Antiquities | collected | on a voyage

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¹ The statement contained in this sentence is probably based on Liverpool Annals, v, 84, second paragraph.
made in Upper Egypt | in the years 1854 & 1855 | and | published by | Revd. H. Stobart M.A. | Queen's College Oxford. It bears the date 1855, and the publishers are Benj. Duprat of Paris and F. Schneider & Co. of Berlin. There is no letterpress and the work consists of five plates, at the bottom of each of which we read “Berlin, Värsc & Happe, lithogr. fac-sim. under the direction of Dr. H. Brugsch”.

On Plate i of this work appear two illustrations which are of importance to us here. The first comprises two lines of hieroglyphic inscription (reproduced here in Fig. 1) and labelled “Portion of a linen Belt, found at Thebes, with the date of the 2nd year of Rameses III”. The second shows a mummified hand, now in the Liverpool collection under the number M. 11438; it is labelled “Mummy hand of a female with 4 rings”.

The linen belt is the object known as the Ramesses Girdle. Although the inscriptions have deteriorated since 1855 enough remains to place the identification beyond all doubt. It would therefore seem that in 1855 Dr. H. Brugsch, who directed the making of these plates, believed that the girdle had been found, or at any rate bought, in Thebes. Where did Brugsch get this idea? Surely from Stobart himself, for it must have been he who asked Brugsch to direct the making of the plates for his book. There seems, therefore, a considerable probability that the provenance here assigned to the belt, namely Thebes, rests on the authority of Stobart himself. It is disappointing that on the plate no provenance is given to the mummified hand, which from this point onward, as we shall see, is to be closely associated with the belt.

In 1857 Mr. Stobart offered his collection to the British Museum but, becoming impatient at the Trustees’ delay in deciding, he sold it to Mr. Joseph Mayer, a goldsmith who was in business at 68-70 Lord St., Liverpool, and had got together a collection of valuable antiquities of various kinds, which he housed in rooms in Colquitt St. On February 4, 1858, the belt and the mummified hand were exhibited at a meeting of the Archaeological Section of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. We find the following account of the matter in the Society’s Transactions, x (1857-8), 343-4.

“The following objects of interest were exhibited: By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. The hand of a female mummy, remarkable from having four rings on the fingers; one of plain gold, with a trumpet-shaped head, on the little finger; a scarabæus of lapis-lazuli, with a gold shank, on the third; and on the middle and fore fingers two very large obelisks, the shafts formed of lapis lazuli, the apex of each being of plain gold, and the bases of the same, but delicately worked with filagree. These are the only specimens of obelisk-rings hitherto discovered. Also, a waistband which was wrapped round the body of the mummy seven times; it is about six inches broad at one end, tapering gradually to about two inches wide at the other, and is finished by the ends of the threads being tied into an ornamental plait. The material is cotton, and the pattern of the weaving extremely beautiful, being formed of the flower of the full-blown lotus, with a stem and leaves composing the edge, within which are a sort of egg and dart, with portions of circles. These ornaments run on the outer edges of both sides, and down the centre is a plain piece, of the graduating form of the whole, with plain lines of red colour on each side, the other ornaments being coloured blue and yellow. Altogether it is a most beautiful piece of work, and displays well the extraordinary perfection at which the art of weaving had arrived in Egypt at that time. Both specimens were found at Mem-

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1 Mr. W. R. Dawson tells me of a copy with the imprint “Berlin, 1855” alone.
2 They lie one on each face of the “belt” in the plain central strip, and near the broad end; each begins about 4 cm. from the end.
3 See the letter from Birch to Stobart quoted below.
4 The evidence for this is a note by C. T. Gatty attached to the same letter.
5 A wholly incorrect description of the design.
phis, and brought to this country by the Rev. H. Stobart. They now form part of Mr. Mayer's Museum."

In this passage the first sentence referring to the "waistband", with its reference to "the body of the mummy", would lead the reader to suppose that the "waistband" belonged to the same mummy as the hand. That the writer, however, did not intend to give that impression seems clear from a later sentence "Both specimens were found at Memphis". And indeed, if the belt really belongs to the time of Ramesses III, as we shall see later that it does, the two objects cannot possibly come from the same mummy, for it needs only a glance at the hand to see that it is of much later date than that.

Much more disturbing than the false association of the hand with the belt is the provenance assigned to both, namely Memphis, which is a direct contradiction of that given in the plate of Stobart's book. The account given in the Transactions was presumably written by the Historic Society's Secretary, but it must surely have been based on information provided by the exhibitor, Mr. Mayer, and we should expect that he in his turn obtained what information he had from Mr. Stobart, from whom he bought the objects.

Let us, however, follow the story a little farther. In 1867 the Mayer Collections came to the Free Public Museums of Liverpool as part of the Mayer Bequest, and the Museums were faced with the task of cataloguing them from such information as was available. Mr. Mayer had indeed published a catalogue of his Museum in Colquitt St., but as it was printed in 1852 it did not help with the Egyptian objects bought from Stobart in 1857. Nevertheless a good deal of information, correct or incorrect, seems to have been available, for here is a copy of the card drawn up by C. T. Gatty for the Stock Catalogue of the Museums.

"M. 11156. Woven band from a mummy, found at Memphis, and brought to England by the Rev. H. Stobart—"

"The label attached to this says 'A sevenfold band worn by the High Priestess, taken from the mummy to which the hand belonged'—I believe this to be mistaken for two reasons—1, because the acet given in the Trans of the His Soc does not warrant it; and 2, because from Dr. Birch's letter on p. 4 of the Mayer Coll. guard book I judge that Mr. Stobart offered the British Museum the hand, and no mention is made of this band—is it likely that Dr. Birch would have separated them if they were found on one body (?)—Certainly the acet in the His Soc's Proc is ambiguous. (Charles T Gatty)—I believe the label to be Mr Clarke's writing—"

"The hand referred to is No. 11498—"

"Dr. Birch described this as a woven linen belt, edged with pattern of symbols of life—at one end the name of Ramases III, and date of the 2nd year of his reign."

In compiling this card Mr. Gatty clearly had before him (1) a label attached to the belt, which he believed to be in the handwriting of a Mr. Clarke,² (2) the account quoted above from the Transactions of the Historic Society, the reference to which is quoted in the margin of the catalogue card, (3) a letter from Dr. Birch preserved on p. 4 of the guard book, and (4) a description of the belt by Dr. Birch the origin of which I have been unable to trace.

The curious point about the history of the belt is that the older it grows the more circumstantial the information about it seems to become. Mr. Clarke's label tells us that it was "a sevenfold band worn by the High Priestess, taken from the mummy to which the hand belonged". It is, however, not difficult to see how these details were arrived at. A belt

¹ *Sic; read Transactions.*

² Mr. Clarke was apparently a caretaker and assistant to Mr. Mayer. Only a few days ago a boy called Clarke brought to the Museums some objects which he said had belonged to his grandfather, Mr. Mayer's caretaker.
seventeen feet long would enwrap a female body about seven times. The hand bears two rings with obelisk bezels, which, in view of the connexion of the obelisk with sun-worship, might reasonably have been worn by a priestess of the sun-cult; and since the belt and hand came, for Mr. Clarke, from a single body, the belt is also that of a High Priestess.

Gatty was critical enough to doubt this. He rightly saw that the account of the Transactions does not warrant the close association of hand and belt. He further quotes in support of his doubts a letter from Dr. Birch, which he says makes no mention of the band (belt). This, however, is not true, for the letter, which is from Dr. Birch at the British Museum to Mr. Stobart, dated 80 September, 1857, gives a list of objects in the Stobart Collection which Birch had proposed to buy for the Museum. No. 5 in the list is "Mummy hand with obelisk rings", and No. 8 is "Belt with name of Rameses III". Thus the belt is mentioned, and Gatty was wrong, though the conclusion he drew from his incorrect premisses was probably right.

Gatty's card for the hand (M. 11438) is also instructive. It contains the following statement:

"The hand is labelled 'The hand of a Royal Priestess of Temple at On. Found at Thebes'—(This label must be incorrect for the hand was found at Memphis)"

The label referred to will be that which was found on the hand when it reached the Museums, doubtless in Mr. Clarke's handwriting. It goes even farther than that on the belt. The High Priestess has now become a Royal Priestess of the Temple at On. Here again we are accumulating fresh detail, but this time the original label at least gives a provenance, and it is not Memphis but Thebes.

The information contained in these two card-catalogue cards is repeated in Charles T. Gatty's Catalogue of the Mayer Collection, Part I, 1879, p. 39, where, under the number 192, the "woven linen belt" is described, and we find the words "said to have been found on a mummy at Saqqara". This is at first sight an advance on the Memphis of the Transactions, but in reality it is probably nothing but another version of the same story, for if we look at the description of the hand in this same catalogue, pp. 29-30, we read that it was found "at Saqqara, the Necropolis of Memphis", and references are given to "Dr. Brugsch's account of Stobart's antiquities", Pl. i. fig. 4, and to the passage in the Transactions (here wrongly called Proceedings) of the Hesoric Society for 1857-8. As the former gives no provenance for the hand, the authority for Memphis, and hence Saqqara, is still solely the account in the Transactions.

What are we to make of all these contradictions? On the question of the provenance the position is fairly clear. Stobart's publication in 1855 gives no provenance for the hand, but assigns the belt to Thebes; it gives no hint that the two came from the same body or were even bought in the same place. The labels which came to the Public Museums on the objects from the Mayer Collection in Colquitt St. associate the hand and belt as coming from the same body and give the provenance of the hand as Thebes.

Thus the first reference to Memphis occurs in the account in the Transactions of the exhibition of the belt and hand in 1857, and this is undoubtedly the source of Gatty's assignment of both to Memphis or Saqqara in the printed Catalogue of 1879. It is hard to see why he here rejected in complete silence the evidence of Stobart's publication, which assigned the belt to Thebes,¹ and that of the Clarke labels, which assigned the hand, and by implication the belt also, to the same place.

¹ Note, however, that on the Stock Catalogue cards made in 1867 he gives no reference to Stobart's plate, and so probably he had not seen it. Moreover, in the printed Catalogue of 1879 he mentions the plate in connexion with the hand (to which it gives no provenance) but not in connexion with the belt (which it
THE SO-CALLED RAMESSES GIRDLE

The evidence as a whole is thus distinctly in favour of Thebes rather than of Memphis as the provenance of the belt and even as that of the hand. Mr. Warren R. Dawson, who has been working on the private papers of some of these early collectors in Egypt, tells me that, so far as he knows, all Stobart's antiquities were bought from a dealer in Thebes. This evidence is to my mind supported by the fact that Stobart calls his book *Egyptian Antiquities collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt*. I am well aware that Memphis is, strictly speaking, in Upper Egypt; but objects found at Memphis, at any rate those of such value as the hand, would certainly have been bought from dealers in Cairo, and had Stobart intended his book to include things bought there we should have expected him to speak of a voyage made in Egypt rather than in Upper Egypt alone.

So much for the question of provenance. The question of the archaeological detail which we have seen gradually gathering round the objects is even simpler. The results may be summed up as follows:

1. There is no reason for believing that belt and hand belong to a single body, for the former dates from the reign of Ramesses III, and the latter is probably as late as the Ptolemaic Period. This unhappy association of the two has been responsible for many of the later errors.

2. The belt has, since the publication of Brugsch's plates to Stobart's book in 1855, been known to bear a date in the reign of Ramesses III.

3. The connexion of the hand with a High Priestess of the Temple at On is probably a pure figment. The hand was first said to be that of a woman because it bore rings. Since two of the rings had obelisk bezels a connexion with sun-worship was suggested, and from this the transition to Heliopolis and a High Priestess was simple. It is most unlikely that any authentic information about the body from which the hand came can ever have been forthcoming. Stobart bought a hand alone, not a mummy, and the native robbers who found the mummy and broke it up were in no position to determine from the inscriptions on it, if there were any, the status of its owner.

Let us now return to the inscription on the belt (Fig. 1). It is clear that since these copies, presumably by Brugsch, were made the condition of the inscriptions has badly deteriorated. In fact they have almost completely disappeared. What remains of the inscribed area is now stained a dark brown, and is more friable that the rest of the girdle, which is in remarkably sound condition; what is worse, most of this inscribed area has crumbled away to dust. It is no longer possible to apportion the blame for this disaster. It may be that the ink used was of a kind which, while remaining comparatively harmless in the dark, underwent some rapid change when exposed to the light—as it was at one time during its museum history—which rendered it destructive to the linen. Yet the suspicion that the damage was due to assigns to Thebes). It is probable that he did not recognize the inscriptions figured in the plate as being part of the Ramesses Girdle, and so missed the earliest and best evidence for the Theban provenance of the belt.

\(^1\) This is Professor P. E. Newberry's opinion as recorded on the relevant card of the modern Catalogue.
some substance used by a decipherer to enhance the contrasts will not be stillled. In either case eighty years of life in museums have destroyed what had survived three thousand years of life in the tomb.

The miserable traces which remain of these ink inscriptions are:

A. Of the inscription running from right to left (Fig. 1, lower line):

The sign and a small trace of the cartouche and the sign immediately to the left of the sign. Part of the top line of the second cartouche and small traces of the tops of two or three signs within it.

B. Of the inscription running from left to right (Fig. 1, upper line):

Part of the top line of the first cartouche. Parts of the right half of the second cartouche and some signs within it: seem quite clear, and I do not believe that the shown by Stobart after was ever there; for left of (reversed by Stobart) are the bottom ends of three vertical strokes needed for , and left of these are horizontal traces at the bottom which can only fit . After the cartouche is still to be read, and under the are two small traces, which are, however, too extensive for the three dots of . To the right of this group, at the top, and about 10 mm. distant from the tail of the , is a clear trace of black. Although this is probably ink, I believe it to be an accident, for the space beneath and to the left of it, though stained, shows no trace of ink whatever.

The remains then, so far as they go, confirm, except in one insignificant detail, the copy in Stobart's plate. But they do not go very far, and some puzzles are left. In both lines of inscription the date 11 "Year 2" is clear. In the lower line in Fig. 1 this year date is followed by a — which must surely be an error of copying for — and the word for the season , correctly written. This would give us "first month of the inundation", a month date with no day, such as is common enough at this period (cf. Gauthier, 'Livre des rois', III, fasc. 1, p. 157). This month date is correctly followed by nb true "Lord of the Two Lands", and the king's first cartouche name. A date followed by a king name without any preposition or prepositional phrase between is also not unusual (e.g. Gauthier, op. cit., p. 161).

In the other line of inscription the Year 2 is followed by or at least . The horizontal line may have been meant for, or miscopied from, a —. The which follows can hardly be right; we expect nb true, and perhaps this is what stood here. Even then, the length of the gap which follows is puzzling.

The inscriptions on the two faces of the linen thus give a date, Year 2 in the reign of Ramesses III. They were probably identical, except that on the one face a month as well as a year was given. Of the larger and more roughly written to the right of the lower inscription in Fig. 1 I can give no explanation. It is not likely to be a modern imitation, for the two signs did not occur in this order in the original, and in fact the combination did not occur at all, if in the lost line, as in that which has survived, the writer used for .

The nature of the object remains uncertain. It has been called a scarf, a band, a belt, a girdle. Van Gennep and Jéquier identified it with the scarf which they thought they could discern wrapped round the upper part of the body of the king in his war chariot in representations such as that of Ramesses III on the walls of Medinet Habu. Borchardt has, however, recently made it clear that this is no scarf but a very short

1 The bearded man with the sun's disk on his head in Stobart's copy is clearly an error for this.
2 Le Tissage aux cartons, 96.
3 Medinet Habu (Or. Inst. Univ. Chicago), vol. 1, Pl. 25.
4 Allerhand Kleineigkeiten (Privatdruck, 1933), 13-18.
jacket with long ribbon-like points in front, which are passed round the back and tied again in front. I have no suggestion to make.

How did so rare an object, and in such perfect condition, come to be in the hands of a dealer or robber in Thebes in 1854 or 1855? Its condition shows that it came from a tomb, and probably from a coffin which was not only tightly sealed but contained a body so well mummified as to remain perfectly preserved, and therefore probably the body of a personage of very considerable importance.

Further, this scarf is a very remarkable and rare specimen of the weaver’s art, and however much skill one may attribute to the Egyptians in the art of weaving it seems hardly likely that the private individual had such rare specimens as this at his command. In fact everything goes to indicate that it came from a royal burial.

We think at once of the body of Ramesses III himself, in whose second year it is dated. But there are difficulties. The mummy of Ramesses III was found in the cache at Dér el-Bahri, and though the ‘Abd er-Rasûl family appear to have been looting the cache at intervals for some years before their exposure in 1881 it has never been suggested that they had known it as early as 1854; in fact Maspero, who took part in the judicial inquiry, suggests that 1871 was probably the date of their first visit to the cache.

What is more, the Twenty-first Dynasty re-wappings of the mummy were found quite intact, and if the scarf was ever with the body it must have been placed outside these wrappings, which is not very probable. On the whole the probability that the scarf came from the cache is not very high.

But we are now in the realm of conjecture, and the avowed purpose of this article was to attempt to ascertain facts. This would therefore seem to be a suitable point at which to end it.

\(1\) Les Momies royales, 563 ff.  
THE COFFIN OF PRINCE MIN-KHAF

By W. STEVENSON SMITH

With Plates xxi–xxiv

The red granite coffin of Prince Min-khaf now in the Cairo Museum was found during the clearing of the pit of his mastaba at Gizah by the Service des Antiquités. Mr. Quibell in the Guide to the Cairo Museum, 1903, p. 24, writes that the sarcophagus was brought to the Museum in 1902, and adds that “the right side, which had been broken and put together in ancient times, has been restored with the original fragments by M. Barsanti”. Dr. Reisner has since established the fact that this coffin came from the northern pit of mastaba G 7430 + 7440 in the great eastern cemetery at Gizah. This is the mastaba recorded by Lepsius under the number 61, but Lepsius only partially cleared the inner room of the elaborate chapel at the northern end of the mastaba. From the construction and the relation of the mastaba to the neighbouring tombs in the cemetery, Dr. Reisner dates the casing and the chapels to the reign of Chephren. The inscriptions of the chapel and of the southern niche give the titles of Min-khaf as: sr nswt n h.t-f, rtr hnty-\(r\), tnyy wsd tyy, ... pr D\(\ddot{h}\)nty, mny r\(k\) ktn nbt nswt, swt nh\(n\), r\(\nu\) P nb, smr w\(r\)ty, hry h\(b\), hry tp. On the coffin Min-khaf is also called sr nswt n h.t-f, mny r\(k\) ktn nbt nswt, hry h\(b\) and smr w\(r\)ty.

The box of the sarcophagus measures 2-08 m. in length by 1-11 m. in width, and 0-805 m. in height. It is panelled on the sides and ends, having seven “doors” alternating with eight vertically inscribed “panels” on the sides, and three “doors” separated by four vertically inscribed “panels” on each end. Above the paneling, at the top of the box, a horizontal line is inscribed on each side and both ends. The lid is uninscribed. It is of the usual form for coffins of this type, slightly vaulted, with end-bars. The end-bars are 8 cm. high, giving a total height for the coffin of 88-5 cm. The eastern side of the coffin has been broken in, evidently by thieves, and is in a very fragmentary state. I do not understand Mr. Quibell’s reference to ancient mending. It seems to me that this would have been most extraordinary and difficult to find an explanation for. The rest of the coffin is in very good condition. The inscriptions are incised in the granite.

The east side (as it lay in the grave) of the coffin (Pl. xxvi)\(^1\) is badly broken, as has been stated above. Across the top of the paneling runs a horizontal inscription beginning at the right:

\[ dy \, nswt \, htp \, dy \, Inpw \, htp \, \ddot{h}nwy \, ty \, \ddot{d}sr \, kr \, m \, imnt \, lw \, nfr \, w\(r\)\(t\) \, m \, nb \, [\, m\(n\)h\(t\)\,] \, ... \, (long \, break) \, \, hry-\[h\]b \, ss \, [\, m\(d\)rt\,] \, nfr \, Mnw-hcf \]

If a comparison be made between this inscription and that on the west side, which is completely preserved, it will be seen that the inscriptions appear to have been practically identical. But the east side of the coffin is not correctly repaired. The fragment with \[ lw \, nfr \, w\(r\)\(t\) \, m \, nb \, \] ... should be placed two panels to the right, immediately following the broken sign imnt. With the present reparation there is not sufficient space between \[ m \, nb \, \] ... and \[ hry-\[h\]b \] for either of the formulas \[ nb \, imnh \, hr \, h\(t\)-f \] or \[ nb \, imnh \, hr \, ntr \, \(r\) \]. Both of these appear on the other side and there would be sufficient room for them here if the fragment were

\(^1\) The excellent photographs of the coffin were supplied to me by the Cairo Museum, through the courtesy of Mr. Brunton.
Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.
South end.

The sarcophagus of Queen Meresankh II (see Dunham, Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, December 1927) from Mastaba G 7410+7420, adjoining the tomb of Min-khaf on the north, is also inscribed with a list of granaries. The east and west faces of the box are inscribed with a "palace façade" flanked by vertical columns giving the name and titles of the queen. The south end has a horizontal line of inscription with the titles and name of Meresankh, and below this seven granaries in a horizontal row with a thousand-sign beneath each. The granaries are inscribed, reading from the right: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. On the north end is again a horizontal line giving titles and name, while beneath is written (from right to left): *sq* 1 2 3 4 5 6. The flat lid of the coffin is inscribed with a large figure of Anubis with a *dy nswt htp* formula and again the titles of the queen. This is, as far as I know, the only other stone sarcophagus of the Fourth Dynasty which is inscribed with a list of offerings. A number of others have the *dy nswt htp* formula in addition to the titles and name of the owner.

Col. 3: *h n wr h pr h sb nh mnwt.* 1000 *r* geese, 1000 *trp* geese, 1000 st-geese, 1000 *smn-geese* (or ducks), 1000 doves.

Col. 4: *h sbr h wht* (det. *r* flower and boat).

This is a rare occurrence of a list of boats. The representation on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-mankh is rather different (see Junker, Vorbericht, 1926). There the ship-yards itself is shown, and beneath, workmen with tools. The names of the boats given in the Ka-mankh scene are all different from these above. In fact the Min-khaf names seem to be new, with the exception of *sbrt.* The kind of boat which the latter represents is not known. *nhbt* seems to be the word for lotus flower and *smn* a very suitable name for a light reed boat.

Col. 5: *h sbw h htmw nb.* A thousand provisions, a thousand of htz-bread, every day.

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1 The word for dates is very difficult to make out. There appears to be another sign under the *sq.* It looks like *sq,* but this should not be beneath the other sign. It may simply be a scratch.

2 The word *sq* occurs on the tablet of Nofer (Weill, La II et III Dynastie, Pl. iv) and on the sarcophagus of Meresankh II.
Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.
North end.
THE COFFIN OF PRINCE MIN-KHAF

Col. 6: =findViewById  psn  kmw  t-twy. A thousand  psn-bread, a
thousand of  kmw-bread, a thousand of the two breads (?).

Col. 7:  tr nb  stt  tr  nhrw. A thousand of wine, a thousand of nb-fruit, a thousand
stt-cakes, and a thousand of nhrw-bread (cf. Mariette, Mastabas, B. 16).

Col. 8: dy nset  htp  Inu  htp  sny  sh  wht  nf  nn  Mnu-hcf  rr  nb  snm(?)  kmt  kr. May
the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering, foremost of the shrine, may there be estab-
lished for him these, for Min-khaf every day, the offering(?) of the kmt  kr priest.

The north end of the sarcophagus (Pl. xxv) has a horizontal line of inscription
at the top: dy nset  htp  dy  Inu  htp  sny  tr  dpr  pr  rrw  nf  nn  wnt  rmpt  tpy  rmpt  tpy  R
wty  tr  nb  nt  rmpt  Mnu-hcf. May the king give an offering, may Anubis give an offering,
foremost of the beautiful land, offerings for him on New Year's day, the first of the year, the
first of the month, the first of the half-month, the Wag festival, the Thoth festival, every season of
the year, Min-khaf.

Beneath are four vertical columns of inscription on the panels alternating with the three
false doors as on the south end. Beginning from the left:

Col. 1: _IB  sty  nn  Bk  kmw  Bk  stt. A thousand of festival perfume, a thousand kmw-oil, a
thousand stt-oil.

Col. 2: Unmount  Bk  idmy  Bk  ssr  Bk  ss  (?). A thousand unmount-strips, a thousand idmy-linen,
four hand-breadths wide, a thousand ssr-linen, four hand-breadths wide, and a thousand ss  ss  (?)-
linen, four hand-breadths wide. It has been suggested elsewhere1 that the sign  represents the
width of the linen. It is quite possible that the number  has become here
simply a conventionalized sign for linen. Four hand-breadths may have been a standard
width that was much used, although this is not indicated by the linen lists, where
every possible variation in width is shown. The occurrence here of unmount with the
other linens is unusual. It is never found in the linen list proper (the compartment list).
On the tablet of Prince Duwa-n-ra, from the Western Cemetery at Gizah (G 5110),
it is written beside the sign  idmy, which probably stands for idmy, and it appears on
the south wall of the tomb of Prince Seshat-hetep at Gizah (Lepsius 36 = G 5150), again
with idmy. In the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, when the linen list is found very rarely
on the walls of offering chapels, unmount generally appears alone in the large offering lists.

Col. 3:  mhtyn  (?).  cmr  Bk  mib  Bk  tps  Bk  mh. The first word seems to be the same
as mhtyn, a kind of hook used to open the mouth of the dead. cmr is a word which means
adze, and is not supposed to be found until the Middle Kingdom. However, it appears in
the list of tools on the west wall of the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh and on the slab
shown on Plate xxi of Mogen, La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. The other words are more
common: mib, usually spelt  mib, meaning axe; tps, saw; and mh, chisel. Lists of tools are
rare in the Old Kingdom. The scene in the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh (Junker, Vor-
bericht, 1926) gives a list of tools in addition to the only other list of boats which I have been
able to find and a late example of the linen list. The tools are not only named but craftsmen
are shown working with them. The list consists of  nt, mib (written  mib, tps,  mh),  mib. The last two are missing from the Min-khaf list. The broken slab, mentioned
above, in the Copenhagen Museum gives another list of tools, this time in the compartment

1 See Jequier, Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, 31 ff., and my article, The Old Kingdom
Linen List.
form in which the offerings are represented on the niches of the early Old Kingdom. The first three words in the register are determined by vessels of different kinds (although the spelling of the third, \( \frac{\text{==}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{eq} \), apparently determined by a bowl, suggests analogies with the words \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \) and \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \) (M.K.). The fourth word is \( \text{nt} \), then \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \), \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \), \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \), \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \). The last three are difficult to make out in the photograph.

The boat-building scene in the tomb of Ti (Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 119) shows \( \text{mtb} \) as a long-handled axe with which men are smoothing the log of a tree. The \( \text{m\text{nby}} \) chisel is also being used in this scene, as well as the adze, although the latter’s name is not given. I have not been able to find the names of any of the other tools in scenes of craft-work. In the Gizah tombs of the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties actual copper tools and models of tools are found.

Col. 4: \( \text{hj \text{bsm} \text{hj \text{nrt}} \text{hj \text{hdd} hj mst} \text{(det. garment with vertical lines)}}. \)

\( \text{bs smr} \) occurs the most frequently of all these garments. It appears alone in the compartment lists of Rahotep and Methen, and with other garments in the lists of Seshat-sekhentyuw (G. Street, 2100), G 4260 (Junker, ii, n.), Junker’s slab-stela of unknown provenance, Khabauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Sneferu-w-seneb (G 4240), the tablet from G 2352, and is probably to be restored in the list from the Covington tomb\(^2\) and on the Copenhagen slab (Mogensen, op. cit., Pl. xciii). In the chapel of Khufu-khaf the label \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}} \) appears over a garment carried by two men (Fig. 1). The \( \text{nrt} \) garment appears on the tablet of Sneferu-w-seneb and is perhaps to be restored in the case of \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}} \) on the slab-stela from Junker, ii n. \( \text{hdd} \) is to be found in the Covington Tomb list, on the tablet of Sneferu-w-seneb, and in the lists of Khabauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep. \( \text{mst} \) is next to \( \text{bs smr} \) the most common. It is found on the slab-stela of Seshat-sekhentyuw, Junker, ii n., the slab-stela of unknown provenance, Hathor-Nefer-hetep, Khabauw-sokar, Mogensen, Pl. xciii, Sneferu-w-seneb, the list in the burial chamber of Ka-m-ankh, the tablet from G 2352, and over a garment carried by two men on the east wall of the chapel of Khufu-khaf, \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}} \) \( \text{\text{-}} \).

There are several other words not included in the Min-khaf list which appear elsewhere: \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) on the Hathor-nefer-hetep list. A word which seems to be \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) on the Sneferu-w-seneb tablet is perhaps the same. The signs for the \( t \) and the \( \text{eq} \) are carefully made, but do not resemble very closely any other examples of these signs, which I think they must be meant for. A word \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) is also on the Copenhagen tablet and the Sneferu-w-seneb list. The \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) of the Copenhagen tablet is determined by a wolf \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) \( \text{\text{-}} \) \( \text{\text{-}} \) \( \text{\text{-}} \) in the Covington Tomb list. Finally there is a word \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \) on the Sneferu-w-seneb tablet. The tomb of Hesy-r\( \text{\text{-}} \) (Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Pl. xx) seems to show the earliest of these lists of garments, but the representation is broken and obscure. Two of these garments, from their names, seem to be made from animal skins, \( \text{bs smr} \) a panther skin and \( \text{wnt} \) a wolf skin.

In the Khabauw-sokar and Hathor-nefer-hetep compartment lists (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Pls. i and ii) the squares containing the names of these garments are headed by a horizontal register containing the word \( \frac{\text{\text{-}}}{\text{\text{-}}} \text{\text{-}} \text{\text{-}} \). This word is usually translated “apron”, but I believe that it may be applied to garments of an apron or mantle-like shape of varying lengths. Junker (Giza, 1, 188) has already suggested this possibility. It seems to me that there is a great similarity between the representations of these garments such as appear on the walls of the tombs of Khufu-khaf (G 7130 + 7140), Merytyttes (G 7650), Nesewt-pw-neter (Porter and Moss, *Memphis*, 61), Lepsius G 20 (Ergänzungsband, Pl. viii), and the garment worn by figures in the reliefs, usually shown as a long robe, passing diagonally across across

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1 The determinative has a saw edge.

2 This list is preserved in a tracing in the possession of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, made by Mr. N. de G. Davies in one of the tombs excavated by Dow Covington on the ridge south of the Third Pyramid of Giza (see *Ann. Serv.*, vi, 193. No mention of any inscribed chamber is given).
the upper part of the body and fastened on one shoulder with ties, the other shoulder being left bare. There are a number of variations in this garment, differences of length and material, the elaboration of the fastening, and the manner in which one of the arms is covered or left bare, which might correspond with the different names in the lists. The word *mšt* would suggest that it was a knee-length skirt or apron, and one of the other names may refer to the long skirt which reached well down the leg and is shown often in the reliefs. There are great difficulties in the way of properly understanding the representation of Old Kingdom costume. Conventions in drawing and the caprice of the artist, combined with the paucity of material for comparison in the case of some of the more unusual examples, make the interpretation of the material somewhat tentative. For example the length of the garments shown in the Khufu-w-khaf, Memyyetes, Nesuwt-pw-neter and LG 20 scenes of the presentation of the *ḥr* garments for inspection is not to be trusted without reservations. On

Fig. 1. From the east wall of the chapel of Prince Khufu-w-khaf.

...
in Fig. 4) the garment is not spread out to its full width but held forward in one hand by an attendant. The garment is long, reaching to the ground, and has two ties at each upper corner which are somewhat suggestive of the more elaborate tie of the garment of Akhet-a'et. Above is written \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \), so that there seems to be no doubt that this is a folded representation of the garment usually stretched to its full width. In the offering lists themselves the garment is sometimes represented as spread out with a tie hanging down from each of the two upper corners (Junker, ii, n., Sneferu-seneb, etc.), or else as if folded over with the ties tied (?) on one side (Kha-bauw-sokar, Hathor-nefer-hetep, Rahotep, etc.). The sign \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) occurs in two well-known Old Kingdom titles, \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) and \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \). In the case of the Sahure relief (Sahure, ii, Pl. 12) the word occurs alone \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) as the title of an officer of the ship’s crew. The hieroglyph \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) is in this case painted yellow. In the title \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) in the chapel of Kanofer (G 2150) the garment is shown with vertical lines suggesting pleating. The determinative of \( \text{ḥ̣̥w} \) on the Min-khaf coffin seems to show these lines.

There are two main types of the long garment as it is worn by figures in the reliefs. In
both the robe is long, reaching down almost to the ankles, and it is tied on either the right or the left shoulder by the ends of a strip which is shown bordering the top edge of the garment and which passes diagonally across the upper part of the body. This border is shown plainly in the garments carried by the Khufuw-khaf attendants. But in the case of one of these types of dress both arms are left free by the garment, whereas in the other the material is folded over one of the arms and covers it to the wrist while the other shoulder and arm are left bare. There are several clear examples of the first arrangement. The huntsman on the east wall of the chapel of Ptahhotep (Davies, Ptahhetep, i, Pl. xviii) wears a brilliantly striped garment of this sort which in his kneeling position does not quite reach to the knees. In another representation the figure is standing and the garment is again short. It is possible that the garment worn by the man in the hieroglyphic sign for sww on Plate xxviii of Petrie’s Medium is a cloak of this sort. It is striped similarly and has a band running along the top edge with what appears to be one of the ties hanging down behind. It is wrapped completely around the body. The standing figure of Akhet-ara on the door-jamb from his chapel in the Louvre (Weill, op. cit., Pl. vi) wears one of these garments, although in his case it is decorated with a panel in front held at the top by an ornamental tie. The man represented on Plate 11 of von Bissing’s Re Heiligtum who has ḫḫ written above him is also dressed similarly. His robe is longer in the back than in the front. At least one seated figure is shown with this costume. This is the figure of Seshem-nofer, seated on the south wall of his chapel (G 4940 = LG 45, I., D., 29b).

There seems to be an error in the Lepsius’ drawing of the figure of Methen seated in the tablet of his false door (L., D., ii, Pl. 3). He is shown with a long skirt with a tie at the waist, but with the ribbons of his shoulder tie hanging down in front. These would seem to be unnecessary, and perhaps the diagonal line of the upper part of the garment has disappeared. This may be true of the figure of Methen seated on the south wall of his chapel (L., D., ii, 6).

The second type of garment is almost entirely confined to the seated figures of the early offering niches. In several cases it is represented as being made of panther skin (the tablet of Rahotep (Medium, Pl. xiii), the niche of Hathor-nefer-hetep, the slab stelae of Wep-menofret (Steindorff, Die Kunst der Aegypter, 194) and Nefert-ibyt (Schafer, Von aegyptischer Kunst, Pl. 10), and the standing figure of Atet (Medium, Pl. xviii)). The ties at the shoulder are generally formed by simple strips as in the case of the garments represented in the offering lists and the Khufuw-khaf scene, but in the case of Nefermaat (Medium, Pl. xx) there appear semi-elliptical ornaments which hang down apparently from knots on each shoulder. The representation of Atet on the niche of her husband Nefermaat is the only standing figure I have been able to find wearing this garment. The upper part of the figure is damaged, but it seems from the traces of ties on her shoulder and the bent position of her arm that her right arm is covered as it is in the seated figures.

1 Unless the figure on Pl. xxviii of Hemamieh is wearing a similar dress. It is made of panther skin, and seems to leave both arms uncovered. In the old drawings of Villiers Stuart in Egypt After the War, 406, 410, the seated figure of the man in the tablet of the niche of the tomb of Afa is shown in a garment with panther spots.

2 On p. 96 of Klebs, Reliefs des Alten Reiches, Fig. 76, is pictured a relief in Leipzig which shows a female attendant holding out an apron-like garment with panther spots to her mistress.
The representation of the panther spots and the similarity of the ties make it seem quite possible to me that this second type of garment is the *bv šmrt* of the offering lists and the *šr bv šmrt* of the Khufuw-khaf representation. The appearance of the semi-elliptical ornaments on the shoulders of Nefermaat brings up one other interesting point. In one of the scenes from the Sun Temple of Neuserre at Abu Ghurab (Fig. 5, reproducing a detail of Pl. 12 of the *Re Heiligtum*) the sem-priest is shown taking off the *bv* garment. Here and in the scene below, where it is laid out in front of the squatting figure of the *sem*-priest, it is shown with a form similar to the "apron"-like *šr* garments, and it is ornamented with the curious ornaments shown on the shoulders of Nefermaat. The exact nature of these objects is difficult to determine. In the upper scene they are at the ends of a strip by which the man is lifting the garment, and seem to attach the strip to the upper corners of the garment. But in the lower scene they hang down at the end of the two strips that usually appear at the corners of this garment. A still more curious fact is that throughout the rest of the Abu Ghurab reliefs where the sem-priest is represented, although he is wearing the ornaments, they hang down from the knot by which an ordinary panther skin is fastened. This panther skin is entirely different from the other garment we have been discussing. It is drawn with the outline of an animal skin and has the claws and tail, sometimes the head, of the animal. None of the representations of the long panther-skin garment show the claws and tail. The standing figure of Nefermaat wears the ordinary panther skin held up by the knot with the pendant ornaments (*Medum*, Pl. xxiii). The standing figure of Iye-nefer (*Ann. Serv.*, III, Pls. i and ii) in one case wears the whole skin spread out across the front of his body with the head at the top. It is held up by the clearest representation I have been able to find of the knot and shoulder ornaments. In another representation he wears two panther skins (probably the artist meant to show one in the front and one at the back) which overlap, the legs of the skins crossing one another with the claws of the leg of one skin reaching the right shoulder and the claws of the other the left. Again the shoulder ornaments seem to hold the skins up in some way. This clear representation of the two skins must account for the curious appearance of two tails on the panther skin worn by the goddess Seshat on Plate i of *Sakura*, iii, and in a number of other examples where there seems to be only one skin. In every other case where the semi-elliptical ornaments are...
shown they are worn with the usual type of panther skin. The goddess Seshat and the sem-priest wear them in the Sahurê reliefs, they appear on figures of Mereruka in his tomb at Saqqârah, and at Beni Hasan in the Middle Kingdom (see Beni Hasan, iv, Pl. xiv). The seated figure wearing the ordinary panther skin usually worn over another garment seems to me to be a later type of representation than the seated figure wearing the long panther garment, although a few examples of the latter appear after the later type has become established as the ordinary representation. Can the artist who drew the Abu Ghurab scene have confused the earlier garment with the usual panther skin of the sem-priest? Apparently the word br was applied to both garments. It is just possible that in the chapel of Hesy-rê the differentiation was meant to be shown, as on the right are animal skins and on the left what seem to be the br garments.

The inscriptions of the sarcophagus of Min-khaf thus present strong analogies with the offering lists of the early Old Kingdom, particularly with the compartment lists of the false doors such as those of Rahotep and Kha-bauw-sokar, and the slab-stelae of the Western Cemetery at Gizah. Two important features of these lists are missing—the furniture and the various kinds of stone vessels common in the compartment lists. The use of the word wrw in the linen list seems on the other hand to anticipate in at least one detail the large offering lists of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, where the full linen list generally disappears and wrw appears alone. It has been noted that the only contemporaneous stone coffin which has offering lists is that of Queen Meresankh II. These lists in the middle of the Fourth Dynasty anticipate the elaborate painted inscriptions and offerings of the wooden and stone coffins of the late Old Kingdom, the Intermediate Period, and the Middle Kingdom.
THE RAM-HEADED GOD AT HERMOPOLIS

BY G. A. WAINWRIGHT

The second of the pleasing volumes on Hermopolis has just been published by the Pelizaenus-Museum, and it contains a careful study of the sculptures on Amenemhat II's pylon. That which interests us here is the upper one on the right-hand side of Fig. 13 (our Fig. 1). It shows a ram-headed god who is merely called "He in Hermopolis", but without any proper name. Messrs. Balcz and Bittel concentrate upon the possibility of its representing Amūn, but without attaining any very satisfactory results. Curiously enough they do not consider the question of its being a form of Khnum. Yet unless there should be irrefragable proof of the contrary this, which was the original one, seems to be the natural interpretation.

If this were really the ram-headed figure of Amūn, it would from many points of view be a discovery of the first importance. Not only are these figures extremely rare in Egypt proper, but it would be by far the earliest of them. These improbabilities are made certainties by the fact that the ram is not that of Amūn. Amūn's horns, being those of Ovis Platypora Aegyptiaca, curve downwards round the cheek with the points often extending below the jaw. The ram at Hermopolis is, on the contrary, the one sacred to Khnum, Ovis Longipes Paleaeocynpticus, whose horns stretch horizontally above the head.

The ram with these horns had become widely worshipped in Middle Egypt from quite early times. Under Udymu (Den) in the earliest First Dynasty we have a tablet showing this breed of sacred ram in a temple. The name of the city is lacking, but is supplied by the Palermo Stone, which gives it as Nn-nwaset, Heracleopolis. Hence the worship of the horizontal-horned ram was already established in Middle Egypt at the beginning of the dynastic period.

In the Old Kingdom Khufu took the name Hw-f-ynmw, and under this name dedicated a statue now broken, but which appears to have been that of a ram. In so doing he shows himself to have been devoted to another of the rams of this breed. As Khufu probably came from Menat-Khufu, a town not very far from Beni Hasan, it is likely that Khnum was settled in Middle Egypt by that time. Elsewhere in the Old Kingdom he is definitely named as belonging to Herur, a city which remained one of his chief sanctuaries throughout history. It was situated somewhere in Middle Egypt in the neighbourhood of Beni Hasan, hence

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1 E.g., Borchardt, Šasuare', 11, Pl. 18.
2 Petrie, Royal Tombs, 11, Pl. vii, 8 = Newberry and Wainwright in Ancient Egypt, 1914, p. 151, fig. 9.
3 Newberry and Wainwright in op. cit., p. 150, fig. 2, no. 9.
5 Mariette, Mastabas, p. 88; Borchardt, ibid.
quite close to Hermopolis itself. By the Twelfth Dynasty, the time of the Hermopolite sculpture, Khnum's worship was widely spread in the Hermopolitan neighbourhood. "Khnum Lord of Herur" is named on a Twelfth Dynasty maṣṭabah,¹ and at this time, at Beni Ḥasan itself, the same god is continually mentioned.² These inscriptions show that yet another form of the god "Khnum Lord of the place" was honoured there as well.³ Beni Ḥasan is a little to the north of Hermopolis, but at this time Khnum had travelled considerably to the south. He had become the nome-god of Shashetep, "Khnum, Lord of Shashetep" being often named at Rifah.⁴ Hatshepsut's restorations in Middle Egypt included those "for the Eight, for Khnum in his forms, for Heqt, Renenet, and Meskhenet".⁵ If this does not actually suggest a worship of Khnum at Hermopolis, it at least associates him closely with the gods of that city. By the Nineteenth Dynasty "Khnum Lord of Herur" was worshipped at Antinoë on the river bank exactly opposite Hermopolis.⁶ By the end of Pharaonic days high priests of Hermopolis were also priests of this form of Khnum.⁷

Thus, even if the figure itself were not sufficiently conclusive, there is plenty to suggest the worship of Khnum, or one of his forms, at Hermopolis. The figure belongs to a time when the god was enjoying special honour all about that district.

¹ de Morgan and others, Fouilles à Dahchour, 1894, p. 20, fig. B.
² E.g., Newberry, Beni Ḥasan, 1, Pls. vii, ix.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, Pls. xiii and xiv; Griffith, Siūt and Dér Rifeh, Pl. 18 often.
⁵ Sethe, Urk., iv, pp. 387, 389, ill. 31, 32. In l. 22 she has already mentioned Herur and Hermopolis, but no information remains.
⁶ Gayet, L'Exploration d'Antinoë, Pls. iii, xvi (publ. in Ann. du Musée Guimet, xxvi, Pt. 3).
⁷ Lefebvre, Le Tombeau de Petosiris, ii, p. 4, no. 11, p. 5, no. 129, etc.
THE TRANSCRIPTION OF LATE HIERATIC

By GILBERT BAGNANI

The usefulness of the forthcoming Oriental Congress in Rome would be greatly enhanced were it to furnish an opportunity for the discussion of a certain number of topics of general interest with a view to securing a greater degree of uniformity in the work that is being done by various countries. Professor Peet's remarks on the English terminology for pottery types\(^1\) might open the way to the establishment of an intelligible international nomenclature. The translation into the various languages of the few technical terms employed on the cards of the *Corpus* was no easy task. Mr. N. de G. Davies pleads for a general stocktaking of publications;\(^2\) Professor Ranke wishes to review our transliterations.\(^3\) Yet surely one of the subjects on which general agreement is most to be desired is that of the transcription of hieratic. Even if it were found impossible to reach an agreement on general principles, those who agreed on one set of principles might agree on how they should be applied.

It is unfortunate that the rules laid down by Dr. Gardiner for New-Kingdom hieratic\(^4\) have not encountered the approval of Professor Erman,\(^5\) whose argument, however, against the use of certain forms—"it is no better than if one were to print a Byzantine author in the ancient Greek script of the sixth century B.C."—is hardly convincing. A comparison with the practice in Greek is entirely beside the point. At the present day we print any Greek author, from Homer to Venizelos, in exactly the same way, in a typographical dress which does not represent the usage of any particular time and would have been repudiated alike by Sappho and by Anna Comnena. This does not prove it to be a good practice. It would certainly be far more logical if we were to print Homer without accents or breathings, and revive the cursive Aldine type for medieval texts. Our modern type is certainly not convenient if one wants to reproduce spoken Romaic. But these considerations are of no practical importance, since hardly any person who can read printed Greek has, or indeed need have, the slightest knowledge of Greek palaeography. With hieratic we are dealing with quite another problem. Any person who can even begin to use a transcription must have a certain knowledge of hieratic; then, as Dr. Gardiner pointed out, the hieratic and hieroglyphic systems "are not immediately translatable the one into the other". It is quite impossible to transcribe a hieratic text into hieroglyphic in the way a contemporary Egyptian would have done. We are thus obliged, in transcribing, to follow some perfectly arbitrary system, which can, therefore, be made to suit our needs. The renderings can thus be made as objective as possible with the ideal in view of allowing a reader with a sufficient knowledge of hieratic to visualize for himself the actual text. The printing of Early and Middle English texts presented a somewhat similar problem, solved by the Early English Text Society in a manner which, if not typographically beautiful, is no doubt convenient. We are therefore justified, if necessary, in adopting arbitrary symbols to render the text, but such symbols should be as few as possible and should be agreed upon by all those who agree upon the general principles.

Dr. Gardiner has dealt with the New Kingdom and has promised to deal with the Middle Kingdom, but no one has dealt so far with the peculiar problems presented by late hieratic,

\(^1\) *Journal*, xix (1933), 62 ff.  \(^2\) *Journal*, xix (1933), 108.  \(^3\) *O.L.Z.*, xxxv (1932), 655.  
the script of Ptolemaic and Roman times. The present writer's apology for raising such a question himself is that he is at present engaged in editing a hieratic papyrus discovered at Tebtunis by the Italian Archaeological mission.

The text is a half-theological, half-geographical treatise on the crocodile god Sobk, and it was written, as a colophon declares, in the twentieth year of the Emperor Hadrian, that is to say in A.D. 187. The script has close affinities only with the papyri in Berlin P. 7809/104 but these affinities are frequently very close indeed. It was undoubtedly copied from a hieroglyphic papyrus, with vignettes, very similar to the well-known Papyrus du Lac Moeris² and the Amherst fragments. It thus illustrates the way in which an Egyptian scribe of the second century A.D. translated hieroglyphic into hieratic. A perfectly objective transcription is thus absolutely essential, more especially in the case of the numerous geographical names, the exact spelling of which may conceivably be of some importance.

By far the greatest difficulty in late hieratic is to distinguish between WithValue of 0 and WithValue of 0, a difficulty which has been dealt with slightly by Mr. Faulkner.³ Already in Ptolemaic times the two letters had lost their separate identity, being both pronounced like t, and in hieroglyphic inscriptions they are, or they appear to be, used indifferently. The important point, however, is that both continued to be used, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an accurate study of late orthography might not discover some principles underlying a usage which at present seems to be absolutely indiscriminate. We cannot thus burke the problem when transcribing from the hieratic by saying that it matters but little since the signs are practically equivalent: it is our duty to put the reader in possession of the facts, of the actual writing. In late hieratic WithValue of 0 has two forms, a long closed form, indistinguishable from the hand sign, and a short open one, which is often, though not quite so frequently, used also for the hand sign. To transcribe as WithValue of 0 only the open forms is obviously impossible, as Mr. Faulkner points out: we should be forced to write WithValue of 0 when the scribe certainly wrote WithValue of 0 as in the hieroglyphic papyrus from which he copied. To adhere to the etymologically correct spelling would also very often misinterpret the original, would introduce into the transcription that subjective element that is to be avoided as far as possible, and is of no help in rendering place-names which are otherwise unknown. These two last objections are also valid as against Mr. Faulkner's own solution of the difficulty by judging each doubtful case independently on its own merits.

The matter would be relatively simple were it a definite rule—as distinct from merely a marked tendency—that the long closed forms are used with long signs and the short open ones with short ones. The student would be able to know at once which sign had been used in hieratic, if he were careful to remember that long signs in hieratic are not necessarily long in hieroglyphic and vice versa, e.g., , . In the name ( ) the reader would know that the sign above the long r is the long closed form and that the transcription stryns, instead of an equally possible studyns, is dictated by the forms found in contemporary hieroglyphic inscriptions. Unfortunately, however, the rule is by no means consistently applied, even in the same word. In the Tebtunis papyrus the word WithValue of 0 n is written indifferently with the long and the short form, with only a slight preference for the former. The word WithValue of 0 is always spelt thus except for one occasion when we find it beginning by WithValue of 0. This might be thought to be a lapsus calami did it not happen to come almost directly underneat a normal form in the line above. Since in this papyrus the open form is always t the

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¹ G. Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, III, p. 12 of the Einleitung and Pl. viii.
² Pleitje, Drie Handschriften op Papyrus, and Lanzone, Le Papyrus du Lac Moeris.
variant solves the problem, although the original word is śdi. It is obviously desirable that the transcription should inform the reader of these differences in the writing of the same word, but how is the information to be conveyed? Not in a note, since that would mean greatly increasing the notes, in themselves a necessary evil to be kept strictly within bounds. I suggest with the greatest diffidence that we have here a problem that can only be resolved by a conventional sign. We could retain α for the closed t, and use—at least in autographic transcriptions—an open form < for the open forms. The hand sign would always represent the long form: in the cases in which the small open form certainly represents this sign we could indicate the fact by leaving the tip of the hand open. These slight modifications would be easily understood and would not be liable to confusion with other signs.

While the problem of the open and the closed t is the most general one presented by late hieratic, since it has to be faced in all manuscripts even if of very different dates, there are a number of other troublesome and puzzling problems which change with each text but which can be reduced to the question: what are we to do with the “fancy forms”? These annoying signs are due to the nature and origin of late hieratic. It is in many ways a pity that we have extended the term “hieratic”, which was coined in Graeco-Roman times and correctly describes its use at that period, so as to comprise the cursive script of earlier days. In the Middle and New Kingdoms there is nothing particularly “hieratic” about hieratic, in fact, apart from the Coffin Texts, its use for ritual and sacred works is the exception rather than the rule. Such works were written either in hieroglyphic or in cursive hieroglyphs. The chief use of hieratic was for literary and civil purposes, and the script slowly but surely develops into demotic, which, in Roman days, must be considered the representative of New Kingdom hieratic. Roman hieratic on the other hand replaces the cursive hieroglyphics of the New Kingdom but has no genetic connexion with them: it is based on earlier hieratic but does not develop from it. To put it in another way, the genetic originals of most of the late hieratic forms are not hieroglyphs but earlier hieratic writings. Only in a few easily recognizable cases are they directly derived from hieroglyphs. Late hieratic is thus, even more than the earlier scripts, completely divorced from contemporary hieroglyphic, with the great advantage that it is almost entirely immune from its aberrations; but at the same time this fact raises some very curious problems.

Dr. Gardiner laid down as a general rule that “there seems to be no excuse for not adhering to the genetic original of a hieratic sign”. This perfectly sound rule is, however, difficult to apply to Roman hieratic since the genetic original is an earlier hieratic sign. Of course in the vast majority of cases we can use the genetic original of the earlier sign without the slightest difficulty. The really puzzling cases are those where the late sign can be shown to be a misinterpretation of an earlier one. This misunderstanding is of two kinds: the scribe may know the meaning of an earlier sign or group and its hieroglyphic equivalent, but entirely mistake its origin and character, or he may believe that it represents a certain character when as a matter of fact it represents another. The only satisfactory rule I can think of for dealing with such cases is to give the sign or signs that the scribe thought he was writing, irrespective of what he actually did write. This would seem to introduce that subjective element which is to be avoided in transcriptions, but only apparently, since there is hardly ever any doubt as to what the scribe meant to write. Since in the majority of cases the writer was copying from a hieroglyphic original he thought that the signs he was using corresponded to those in the exemplar before him. If we were to transcribe exactly what he wrote we should gravely misinterpret his intentions.

A few examples culled at random from the Tebtunis papyrus will help to illustrate the

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1 The spelling with ṭ is known in late times: Wb. d. aeg. Spr., iv, 560.
2 Journal, xv, 51.
THE TRANSCRIPTION OF LATE HIERATIC 165

point. The word $\wedge \:\|\:\|\:$ is invariably written $\wedge \|$ $\|\:$, which is certainly a misinterpretation
of the new-hieratic groups. To transcribe it, however, by $\wedge \:\|\:\|\:$ would be obviously absurd,
even though this must have been the scribe's interpretation of the group, since everywhere
else in the papyrus the sign $\wedge$ has a perfectly normal form. Again, $\wedge$ is invariably
represented by $\wedge$. In studying a new-hieratic form $\wedge$ such as we find in the d’Orbigny
Papyrus (e.g., 5.5, 6.3), the scribe interpreted the straight stroke as the vertical line $\|$, and
imagined that the rest of the sign represented some kind of snake! The group $\wedge$ stands
for and means $\wedge \:\|\:$, as is shown by the vertical stroke behind it. The lower moon sign is a mis-
interpretation of $\wedge$, which elsewhere in the papyrus has a normal form. To transcribe
it by $\wedge$ would, however, be a mistake, since the hieroglyphic original certainly had $\wedge \:\|\: n\: b$, and
the scribe used that group to represent it. He probably knew that it meant $\wedge \:\|\: n\: b$ but
he must have thought, if he thought at all, that the signs stood for "by day and night" as
an elegant equivalent for "every day".

An example of the second tendency mentioned above is $\wedge$, always without the central
tick, for $\wedge$. By this date the sign had entirely replaced $\wedge$, although the two were still
distinct in the New Kingdom. The form without the central tick must derive from the latter
sign, but it would be absurd to transcribe it so. A curious form of uncertain origin is
$\wedge$, identical with $\wedge$, for $\wedge$, perhaps due to a mistaken interpretation of the very long
forms to be found in new-hieratic.

A very puzzling sign is $\wedge$ for Sopd. In the corresponding passage in the Papyrus du Lac
Moeris the word is written $\wedge \:\|\:\|\:$. It is very difficult to know whether the hieratic sign is
meant to represent the triangle or the hawk. In favour of the latter we might urge that the
tick stands for the flagellum, and I think it highly probable that the scribe was so used to
writing $\wedge \:\|\:\|\:$ for Horus that he had come to believe that the hieratic triangle was the equiva-
Ient of the hawk sign. When he came to the name of Sopd in the hieroglyphic text he was
copying from, he may have thought that it was a case of dittography, due perhaps to a stupid
scribe who had mixed up hieratic and hieroglyphic forms. He thus thought it unnecessary
to copy out both signs and simply added a tick to the triangle in order to indicate the
flagellum. He can hardly have meant to write the leaning triangle, which is a determinative
and has usually a double tick. Such a confusion of ideas cannot be rendered even in an
autographic transcription unless we were to write a triangle and add the flagellum. It seems
to me that we should write what the scribe himself thought he was writing, that is to say
$\wedge \:\|\:\|\:$. When signs have become practically identical in hieratic we should transcribe as the
context requires; any necessary explanations could be given in a note or in the preface. In
the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus the scribe certainly thought he was writing $\wedge$ when he
actually wrote $\wedge \:\|\:\|\: \:\|\:\|\:$, the differentiation between the two signs being of the slightest. Of
course it is quite impossible to evolve any really logical scheme when dealing with things
Egyptian, and even consistency is perhaps unattainable.

Quite apart from these practical questions of transcription, these late-hieratic writings

1 The equivalence is proved by its use in Nsw-nsw, Heracleopolis, and by comparison with parallel
passages in the hieroglyphic papyri.
2 Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, p. 70, no. 71.
3 Cf. op. cit., p. 6, no. 79, and, for late-hieratic forms, iii, p. 6, no. 79.
4 Op. cit., iii, p. 68, no. 34.
7 Pleyte, Pl. vii, 36; Lanzone, Pl. vi, 60 has a slightly different form.
8 For a clearer example see Möller, op. cit., iii, p. 14, n. 3.
9 Faulkner, op. cit., p. v.
are of remarkable interest for the light they throw on the practice of the scribes and on their knowledge of the language. The Tebtunis scribe copied from a hieroglyphic original in front of him, and transcribed the signs quite automatically, without bothering in the least about the sense of what he was writing, if, indeed, he was capable of understanding it, which is highly doubtful. He copied not only the text itself, but also all the legends over the vignettes, without pausing to think that they were merely explanatory and were sheer nonsense without their illustrations. They confirm moreover the known fact that by the second century A.D. hieroglyphic and hieratic were completely divorced from the spoken language, which was written in demotic. The great majority of the scribes could not read the earlier scripts, although they were able to write and perhaps understand them, or, to put it less paradoxically, they knew the meanings of the various words and signs but were not able to render them phonetically. Their knowledge was purely visual and mnemonic.

The Tebtunis scribe had patiently learnt the hieroglyphic signs and their hieratic equivalents from sign-lists such as the Tanis Papyrus, but, had he known the phonetic value of the signs he was learning, he would have avoided a good many blunders. He quite evidently knew that certain hieroglyphic signs represented a word which meant "king"; he also knew, or thought he knew, that certain hieratic signs corresponded to the hieroglyphic ones; what he did not know was whether these signs were to be pronounced nsw or itn. This blunder is particularly instructive, since it is perhaps possible to establish its origin. While it is obviously highly improbable that the Tanis sign-list is the actual work from which the Tebtunis scribe learnt to write, it certainly represents one of the school-books current at that time. Now the Tanis list defines hieroglyphic nsw by hieratic 𓊪𓈎𓊨𓊪 nsw: ; the t has the long form with a very small upper tick—at least in the published facsimile—so that at first it might be taken for an n. A little farther down (xiii, 11 and xiv, 1), the word is repeated but with the short open t instead of the long form, thus producing a group at first sight not unlike nsw. The muddle-headed scribe is not quite clear in his mind as to these two writings, so adopts them both, mixes up the result with the nsw group, and to make confusion worse confounded adds a dot which may or may not be taken for the disk sign. It seems quite impossible to devise any system of transcription which would adequately convey to the reader this splendid example of confusion; we can only try to interpret what he meant to write. He used the group as an equivalent for nsw, not as an equivalent for itn, and therefore we should transcribe nsw.

It might be argued that at Tebtunis, a definitely Graeco-Roman town on the outskirts of the Fayyum, the standard of knowledge was low and that the scribe was singularly ignorant; but such a judgement is certainly not borne out by the style of the handwriting, which shows much practice and is well formed, not to mention the general consistency in the orthography. It seems quite clear that the scribe considered both hieratic and hieroglyphic as perfectly arbitrary systems of writing, about the origin of which he knew little and cared less. If he gave any thought at all to the reasons for the system and why certain signs represented certain things or ideas, he probably had recourse to symbolism, metaphor, or elegance as in the case of Ṝ nb. In the larger cities and the greater temples there were, no doubt, a few priestly scholars who still knew the phonetic value of the signs and to a certain extent the structure of the language, and who were thus able to transliterate the names of the emperors when necessary, but such knowledge must have been rare even by the end of the first century B.C. Plutarch certainly had access to comparatively good authorities, who furnished him with a lot of quite accurate information, but not about the language. It is greatly to be feared that, had any one asked the Tebtunis scribe for an explanation of the characters he was writing, he would have received an answer not very different from the statements of Horapollo.

1 Griffith in Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis.
2 No. xiii, 9, on Pl. iii and p. 15.
THE SO-CALLED POEM ON THE KING'S CHARIOT

BY W. R. DAWSON AND T. E. PEET

With Plates xxv–xxix

The ostraca which forms the subject of this paper has long been known to science as containing an important and interesting literary text of the New Kingdom. It forms part of the extensive collection of antiquities made by Alexander Henry Rhind during two winters that he spent in Upper Egypt (1855–6 and 1856–7). Nearly the whole of Rhind’s collections (amounting to about a thousand objects) was bequeathed by him to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, where they are well arranged in a special gallery. In the Rhind collection there are six ostraca and two writing-boards (Reg. Nos. 912–919); three ostraca and one of the boards bear hieratic texts, the rest Coptic. The ostracon with which this paper is concerned bears the number 916, and is a flat flake of limestone measuring 21.5 x 9.5 cm., inscribed with thirty-one lines of text, fifteen on the recto and sixteen on the verso. It has suffered no damage, and every sign save one is legible, in spite of a certain amount of fading. Like most of the objects in Rhind’s collection, this ostracon is almost certainly of Theban origin.

As almost full-size photographs of the original are here reproduced (Pls. xxv and xxvii), we need not discuss the palaeography of the text, but it may be noted that the forms of the signs approximate to those of the Nineteenth rather than to those of the Twentieth Dynasty. Black ink only is used, and there are no verse-points, although the text is one in which we should expect to find them.  

The Edinburgh ostracon was first made known by Dr. Adolf Erman, who in 1880 published a transcription (made from photographs) and a translation. Erman perceived the nature of the text at first sight, namely that it is a poetical composition on the royal chariot (see, however, below), and that each verse contains a pun, or play on words, a literary artifice dear to the Egyptians of all periods. Examples of the play on words are very numerous, and many will at once occur to the minds of students of Egyptian texts. Erman gave a revised translation in his Literatur, but his original communication has hitherto remained the sole published edition of the text. In 1922, by the kind permission of Dr. Graham Callander, Director of the National Museum of Antiquities, photographs were made for one of us (W. R. D.) of several of the ostraca in the collection, and from these photographs

1 Rhind was born at Wick, Caithness, in 1833. He studied for the Scottish bar, but ill health compelled him to relinquish a sedentary life, and he devoted much of his time to excavations in Scotland, and to traveling. For many years he wintered abroad, thrice in Egypt. At his death, which occurred in 1863 on his way home from Egypt, he made, in addition to charitable bequests, large gifts to archaeology and established the lectureship at Edinburgh that bears his name.

2 Several important papyri (the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, a mathematical leather-roll, and the funerary papyrus of Nesmin) were acquired by the British Museum in 1864 from David Bremner, into whose hands they had passed after Rhind’s death.

3 In another fragment of the same or a similar text, the Turin ostraca 9588, the verse-points are also lacking.

4 A.Z., xviii, 93–6.

5 A few examples will suffice: Pup. Leiden 1. 350 (= A.Z., xlii (1905), 12 ff.), where the puns on the names of the numerals were first noticed by C. W. Goodwin, A.Z., ii (1864), 38; Pup. Berlin 3927, 2. 4; Book of the Dead, 83; Pup. Turin P.R. xxiii, 1.

a transcription of the text was made, which has been collated with the original in 1927 and in 1932. The examination of the original and of the excellent photographs has naturally resulted in some improvement on the text of Erman, who worked from photographs only, and from photographs certainly less clear than those now at our disposal. A re-examination of the text by the other collaborator has resulted in further improvements, and the transcription here published is the result of our joint work thereon.

The hieratic text is on the whole easy to transcribe, and the readings are for the most part scarcely in doubt, but the translation is a matter of great difficulty. Actually the text, at first sight so legible and straightforward, bristles with difficulties. There are, in addition to the problems of lexicography, orthography, and syntax which always confront the translator of a literary text, special obscurities arising out of the use of so many technical terms (some of which are Semitic loan-words), the significance of which is most difficult to grasp. Furthermore, any translation is bound to fall flat because of the impossibility of reproducing in English the puns on the Egyptian words that are the most essential feature of the text.

Until recently, the Edinburgh ostracon has been the sole surviving fragment of this little poem, but in 1927 Dr. Černý published an ostracon in the Turin Museum (Reg. No. 9588) which contains what is, in all probability, another portion of the same composition.¹ The Turin fragment certainly contains the concluding portion of a poem, for it ends with the words ḫw-š prw, "it has come to the end"; a formula with which the Egyptian scribe indicated that he had reached the end of the composition he was copying. The Edinburgh fragment, if indeed it be a portion of the same poem—and the close similarity of the matter and style strongly suggests that it is—must therefore be placed before the Turin portion. There is unfortunately a lacuna between them of indeterminable length, for the Edinburgh fragment ends in the middle of a sentence. Since it also begins in the middle of a sentence, the commencement of the work is clearly lost to us.

The work has long been known as the "Poem on the King’s War-Chariot". This name is not strictly correct. It is true that in the Edinburgh ostracon the objects whose names are punned upon are all parts of the chariot, but the person addressed in the second person singular is the king. Moreover, the fact that the name of every object punned upon is followed by the words "of thy chariot" might in itself have aroused the suspicion that elsewhere in the poem objects were mentioned which were not parts of the chariot. The Turin ostracon shows that this is in fact the case; there we find "the bow that is in thy hand", and "the tip (?) of thy staff". It is true that here again the chariot plays a considerable role, but it is nevertheless clear that the composition is a hymn addressed to the king in his panoply of war, in which, as numerous battle-reliefs attest, the chariot would be included as a matter of course.

We have referred above to the difficulty of translating the composition, partly because it contains so many unknown words, partly because its puns are often obscure. From the lexicographical point of view, we have a little help from three other passages which deal with parts of chariots, namely Pap. Koller, 1. 3 to 2. 2; Pap. Anastasi I, 26. 5 to 9, and Pap. Anastasi IV, 16. 7 ff.; often, however, the parallels afford us not the slightest assistance in determining the meanings of words. The puns, moreover, are of varying types. In some cases they are phonetic: thus the bt of the chariot (whatever they may be), are said to be Bata, Lord of Saka; or the club (twn) of the chariot is said to plunder (twn) a distant land. In other cases, especially when the object whose name is punned upon is one which can be, and is, used quite apart from the chariot, the play is on the sense and not on the sound; thus

¹ Rev. de l’Ég. ancienne, 1 (1927), 224–6.
we read "the thong (mah) of thy chariot binds (mahj-f) those who are evil". In yet other cases we have a play upon sense which entirely eludes us, possibly because it has a mythological origin; thus, we cannot see why the "hands" (bit) of the chariot should be Astarte and Anath, unless it be for no better reason than that they are a pair.

The syntax of the clauses containing these plays upon words and meaning is also variable. Generally we have a non-verbal sentence in which some part of the chariot is simply said to be something else (see the pun on Bata quoted above). Or again, the part of the chariot may serve as the anticipated subject to a verbal sentence whose verb, in the edm-f form, contains a play on the subject (see the play on the thong quoted above). More rarely, the clause contains an anacoluthon: the part of the chariot stands at the head, introduced by the particle ir; the construction is then broken off, and a sentence follows which contains its own subject: "the knife (sft) of thy chariot—when thy right arm smites (sft), the hills collapse".

Since the chariot was not introduced into Egypt until the Hyksos Period, the poem cannot be earlier in origin than the New Kingdom. This accords well with its language, which is definitely Late Egyptian. Non-verbal clauses with noun subject and noun predicate are used without any copula, and the L.E. possessive adjective pronoun prf is, except with parts of the body, preferred to the suffix. The suffix of the third person is, however, -sn, not -w.

We may perhaps hazard a guess that the work was written by a court poet for one of the great conquerors of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti I, Ramesses II, or Merenptah.

Translation

Recto (Pls. xxv and xxvi).

(1) see (?) every land, while its yoke (?) (2) is iron. The (3) lm of thy chariot—the chiefs are well disposed (4) to thee. As for the r dr of thy (5) chariot, ⟨they⟩ ... every land. The (6) 1 of thy chariot, (7) it takes away the courage and boastfulness of troops. As for the bt (8) of thy chariot, they are Bata Lord of (9) Saka when he is in the arms of Bast (?), (10) cast away into some foreign land. The hymn of thy ⟨chariot⟩ (11) are oars at the stern (? of foreign lands. The javelin of thy chariot—(12) thy terror enters into them (i.e. the lands). The (13) sword of thy chariot (14) terrifies those who are in thy hand, it devours (15) the land of Syria, it carries off

Verso (Pls. xxvii and xxviii).

(1) the land of Kush. The knife of thy (2) chariot—when thy right arm smites, the hills (3) collapse; they fall in splinters. (4) As for the tail-piece (?) of thy (5) chariot—thou breakest down their impassable places. (6) As for the hb of thy (7) chariot—they make obeisance to thee for victory (?). As for (8) the basket (?) of thy chariot—(9) thou art as wise as Thoth. As for the club of thy chariot (10) it plunders a distant land. (11) It aims at one, and a thousand fall; (12) it leaves no survivors. As for the hands (13) of thy chariot they are Anath (14) and Astarte. As for the thong (?) (15) of thy chariot, it (16) binds those who are evil. As for the ... .

Notes on the Translation

ro. 1. mww looks like a reduplicated formation from mw, "to see"; it is here doubtless in the infinitive with hr preceding.

ro. 1–2. hr-sfyt is a name for the head of a ram with twisted horns, so often used in the New Kingdom as a symbol of Amun. The two horn-signs which follow are probably to be taken as a determinative or word-sign to hr-sfyt. A glance at such a picture of the chariot-yoke as that given in Davies, The Tombs of Menkheperresou, etc., (Theban Tombs Series, v), Pls. xi, xii, and xxi, shows how remarkable a resemblance the yoke bears to a pair of these horns and how suitably it might have been known by the name of hr-sfyt.

The sign which follows the two horns looks at first sight like a small ligature (not plural strokes, however), but none seems possible here. It also resembles very closely the upper part of a, and on close examination is seen to end quite abruptly at the bottom, precisely at the point where there is a slight ridge in the limestone. It looks indeed as if the scribe set out to write a, but his pen was pushed off the surface by the ridge. There is an admirable parallel in the writing of mt in line 1 of the Turin ostracon (see below).

The comparison ir trišt hr-šyt, etc., differs from all others in the ostracon, first, because it is introduced by ir (or no introductory word at all, being the usual practice), and secondly because the words “of thy chariot” do not occur, the simple “its” (trišt) taking their place. Both these facts suggest that the clause was subordinate to that which preceded, perhaps in the sense of continuing the same thought. We should therefore translate “while”, or “and its yoke”, etc.

It contains no discernible pun. This may have lain in the lost clause which preceded, or again, it may be so obscure as to elude us, being based on association of thought and not on sound.

By m br n pt is to be understood “like iron”, i.e., with the qualities of iron, not “made of iron”.

Note that the scribe has written the possessive pronoun trišt, where we should have expected the masculine, to agree with the masculine noun hr. The writing of the determinative  with bt is an indication of the amount of reliance that may be placed on his accuracy.

ro. 2–3. The masculine noun im occurs only here and Pap. Anastasi IV, 16. 10. In the latter passage it is plural, has clearly the determinative —, and is stated to be made of, or worked with, —. The passage runs: iu pht m dšr.w, trišt ūt m šb, ntršn imw m šjt, “the block (?) being worked in dšr.w-wood, its joint (?) in ivory, their (i.e., the chariots’) imw in šjt”. It is not possible from this to determine the nature of im. Its determinative is certainly neither — nor yet a ligature for —, which would give redundant plural strokes. It cannot be —, because of the detached top, and — is inconceivable in hieratic. The most likely transcription is —. The form is not impossible, for the detached top occurs in it in the Story of Horus and Seth. The sign — is commonly followed in L.E. by the vertical stroke, which may or may not drop out when plural strokes follow. Even in the singular, however, the stroke can be omitted, e.g., in ghst, Horus and Seth (Pap. Chester-Beatty I), 10. 7. That this word im should have the determinative of leather here, and that of wood in Anastasi IV, suggests that it was made partly of the one material and partly of the other.

A very similar, probably identical, sign determines bt in ro. 8 (where it is again followed by the plural strokes), and crk in vs. 8. In neither case does there seem any justification for reading — or —.

If the determinative really is —, the word may well be identical with a word —, Wb. d. aeg. Spr., 1, 78, known only from Lepsius, Todtenbuch, Ch. 165, where we cannot guess its meaning.

The group following mbrbt cannot be read — — ; the first sign is a clear —, and, moreover, the word im or iwm is needed here to form the play upon words with the preceding im. The sign after — must be —, despite the fact that this is nowhere else in the ostracon written in its longer form. What follows seems to be clear, —, but translation is not easy. im is an intransitive verb meaning “to be pleasant”, or “pleasing”, and wr we cannot therefore be its object. Nor can it be its subject, for this is the suffix -šn. Is it possible that wr we resumes this: “They are well disposed to thee, the chiefs”? If this is right, we have one of the cases mentioned above where the punning clause contains an anacoluthon: “The im of
thy chariot—they are well disposed to thee, the chiefs." The effect of the pun may be envisaged if we suppose some such vocalization as *pyam en tekherqari yamsen nak nuīrē. It is possible that the status constructus of the verb would not have given the correct vocalization for the pun, and that this is why the status pronominalis with the clumsy resumptive noun wew was used. Or were the puns not carried out so perfectly as this?

ro. 4. rdfr. The word rdfr, in which Burchardt 1 (No. 303) recognized the Semitic root "yw, "to help", seems to be established in L.E. as a loan-word meaning "a helper". The parts of the chariot called here rdmw must surely be derived from the same root and be some kind of supporting or strengthening pieces, perhaps those which brace the top edge of the car to the pole.

ro. 5. rdmw. The scribe has written what can only be a plural or collective noun. Burchardt (No. 282) assumes, perhaps rightly, that what we need here is a transitive verb, and suggests a connexion with rwm, "to frighten". If the scribe's writing is not hopelessly wrong, the pun here involves the metathesis of two consonants.

ro. 6. br as part of a chariot is unknown.

ro. 7. nmr may perhaps be a writing of rdbr, "boasting".

ro. 7–8. bt. The group rkm given in the Wb. d. aeg. Spr., 1, 483 for the sign following *mr does not seem very likely. Cf. above, on the determinative of br in ro. 3. Read probably rkm.

ro. 9. The scribe has written rkm, which might be read "the son of Bast". It seems more natural, however, to suppose that he intended to write rkm, though the diaritical dots are carefully inserted over the former sign both in ro. 7 and in ro. 8. Although we know of no legend that connects Bata with the arms of Bast, it is hard to understand why Vikentief in Journal, xvii, 78–9, proposes to emend mned to rkm, or how he would translate the passage thus emended.

Gardiner, Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., xxvii, 185–6, was the first to perceive the meaning of this passage.

ro. 10. The trace at the beginning of the line is puzzling. nmr is just possible, though its form must have been rather abnormal and the construction thus given would be unusual. The sign is too short horizontally for br, and nmr, which is possible palaeographically, is impossible grammatically. A very short nmr is not out of the question, but it is very difficult to believe that rkm can have been crowded into the small space that precedes it.

ro. 10. Between this line and the next the scribe seems to have omitted mrdbr.

ro. 11. It is difficult to see what m phyy ḫswt, "by the might of the foreign lands", can mean here. The emendation m phyy ḫswt suggests itself, "at the stern of the foreign lands", an allusion to the abaft position of the steering-oar of a boat.

ni is a common L.E. word for "javelin" (e.g., Pap. Bibl. Nat. Paris 196, ii, 5 and 9, iii, 9; B.M. 10052, 6, 10). It is used in connexion with the chariot in Pap. Koller, 1, 6. The punning of ni with nmr in ro. 12 suggests that the r of the latter was not pronounced.

ro. 12. If we translate "the javelin of thy chariot is the fear of thee", regarding m ni ... nr-k as a non-verbal clause, it is difficult to parse cr, for to use a participle here, "which has entered into them", would not be a usual L.E. construction. Probably the pun is of the anacloulthi type (cf. br, 1, 3, ro. 3), and we must render: "The javelin of thy chariot—the fear of thee has entered into them"; taking cr as Old Perfective. br, 1, 3, doubtless refers to ḫswt in l. 11. There is, perhaps, a play upon meaning as well as on words; the fear of the king is to pierce his foes in the moral sense, just as his javelin does in the physical.

ro. 13. The mhrp of the chariot is mentioned in Pap. Koller, 1, 5, and in Pap. Anwartski I,

1 Max Burchardt, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen: zweiter (Schluss-) Teil, Listen der syllabisch geschriebenen Worte, Leipzig, 1910.
17.1. Burchardt (No. 686) identifies it with the Hebrew הָרֵם, “a sword”, doubtless rightly.
If the pun between הָרֵפ and the verb הָרֵפ in the next line is to be complete and not merely a
play on the first two consonants הָרֵ, it would suggest that the consonant written כּקָו is
here a fricative not an explosive, i.e. f or v, not p.

ro. 14. הָרֵ must here be the verb “to terrify”, not “prepare”. For מְלֹּ תִּמ, “to eat” or
“devour”, cf. Eloquent Peasant, B. 1, 9-10 and 15.


vs. 2. If we take the determinatives of מְלֹּ תִּמ in this line at their true value, the word must
be a noun, and we can only translate: “The sword of thy chariot is the sword of thy right
arm.” This is unlikely to be right because the play upon words never allows the punned
word to be used again in exactly the same sense, and, what is more, the following words are
left cut off from what precedes them. מְלֹּ ת must therefore be a faulty writing of the verb “to
cut” in the שָׁדֶ-י form, with its subject הָרֵ-ק following it: “When thy right arm cuts, the
hills become weak.”

vs. 3. בּּוֹד. The length of the sign under נ favors the reading נ rather than נ. The
first determinative כּוּ is taken from בּּו, “to vomit”; but this makes no sense here, and it is
certain that we have to do with the common late metathesis בּּוֹד for בּּוֹד, “to be weak” or
“to become weak”.

קְרָךְ. Here used of the small pieces into which the hills crumble under the king’s stroke.

vs. 5. מְשָׁכָה must be, as Erman (Lit., p. 349) saw, a writing of the word now given by
Wb. d. aeg. Spr., v, 152, as meaning “impassable places” (e.g. Anast. I, 23. 7, 24. 6). מְשָׁכָה
refers to the hills.

vs. 6. מְשָׁכ or מְשָׁכ. Whatever the determinative may be, the מ of Wb. d. aeg. Spr., iii, 229
is surely impossible. מ (the rib) may be intended, though we should expect מ after it.
Cf. the determinative of מְשָׁכ in l. 2 of the Turin ostracon.

vs. 7. מְשָׁכָה. The scribe has failed us badly here. The pun requires a verb whose con-
sonants are מְשָׁכ or מְשָׁכ. The scribe either misread its determinative as כּוּ, or, if writing from
dictation, failed to recognize the verb and read the כ of its suffix כּ to its stem, having in
mind the common word מְשָׁכ, “a lamp”. It is difficult to guess which of the various verbs
suggested by the combination מְשָׁכ or מְשָׁכ was meant. Perhaps מְשָׁכ, “to bow down to”, is the
most likely in view of the need for an intransitive which can be followed by a dative of the
person (מְשָׁכ).

n מְשָׁכ is very difficult. It might be taken literally as “by reason of victory”, though we
should have expected “thy victory”. מְשָׁכ might be the word used of “booty” or “prisoners
of war” (Wb. d. aeg. Spr., ii, 317): “They bow down to thee as prisoners.” But here we
should have to suppose that the n before מְשָׁכ stands for מ.

vs. 8. מְשָׁכ. Wb. d. aeg. Spr., i, 218, gives the determinatives of this word as כּוּ, כּוּ.
For כּ we should certainly read כּ, the form being suitable, and it being probable that the word here
used of the chariot is by origin the common כּ כּ, a basket used for holding or measuring
such things as fruit. Is it the large weapon-case carried at the side of the chariot? The
group read by the Wb. as כּ כּ is very like that discussed in connexion with מ in ro. 8. The
fact that the noun has the singular article is an argument against the plural strokes, though,
with a scribe of this calibre, not a fatal one, as the cases of מ in ro. 2-3, and מְשָׁכ, vs. 14, where
plural strokes are separately written, show. The alternative to כּ כּ would be כּ כּ ; cf. on מ, ro. 2-3.

vs. 9. Since מְשָׁכ in line 8 is masculine, we must read מְשָׁכ tw, “wise art thou”, rather than
the Old Perfective מְשָׁכ tw, “is wise”.

כּּּ may conceivably be the pole of the chariot, but is more probably the club which is
carried in it. The pole seems to have been called the "arm" (r); see Gardiner, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom (Anastasi I)*, 28*, n. 6.

vs. 13-14. There can be no doubt that in the mention of Anath and Astarte we are to see a reference to the Asiatic origin of the chariot. For the latest work on this subject see H. Schäfer, *Armenisches Holz in ägyptischen Wagereißen* (Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1931, xxv).

For *dt* as a part of the chariot, cf. *Pap. Anast. I*, 24. 5 and 6, and Gardiner’s note thereon (op. cit. supra, 26*, n.14). He reasons that since in the Anastasi passage there is one horse and only one *dt*, whereas in the royal chariot of our ostracon, which would naturally have two horses, there are two *dt*, the *dt* must be part of the harness of the horse rather than of the chariot proper.

There seems to be no discernible play upon words in this comparison; there may, however, have been some good reason why the two goddesses should be equated with the *dt*; possibly the goddesses bore some nickname which resembled the word *dt*. Or were the *dt* commonly adorned with the heads, figures, or emblems of the two? For the occurrence of Anath and Astarte together in Egyptian literature, see Gardiner, *Chester-Beatty Papyri No. I*, p. 15, n. 10.

The Turin Ostracon

Our article would not be complete without a translation of the Turin Ostracon No. 9588, and a very tentative one is here given. We have used Černý’s transcription,¹ which is reproduced in Pl. xxix with one or two small modifications which we have tried to justify in the notes. We have to thank Professor Farina of the Reale Museo di Antichità in Turin for admirable photographs of a very difficult subject, which have enabled us to verify Černý’s readings of almost every sign. The few groups in which the photograph does not enable us to control Černý’s text are underlined in our transcript by dotted line.

The ostracon is much rubbed on the surface, and a triangular piece has been broken off at the top left-hand corner in such a way that six or seven groups have been lost in l. 1 and progressively fewer down to l. 7, which is perhaps complete. The scribe has made some awkwardly formed signs, not to mention two probable corruptions, *mnu* in l. 1 and *wntw* in l. 6. The date of the ostracon is the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty.

Translation

(1) *The bow that is in thy hand is a mḏt of...* The shield that is upon... (2) upon the... *The thy of thy chariot treads upon Syr[i]a...* (3) [The] tip (?) of thy staff is the end of every land. As for the rm of thy [chariot (?)]—(4) thou makest havoc (?) in Naharin and destroyest their cities. The... (5) of thy chariot are Isis and Nephthys. As for the stick that is in thy hand—[thou]... est [the Asiatics (?)]; (6) they come running to pray for peace to thy divinity. *The whip [that] is (?) in thy hand is the horns of Horsiese when he destroys (?) the Hill of Copper and...* (8) in the Lebanon. The hyrw of thy chariot (9) are the chief among four... It has come to the end.

Notes on the Translation

1. 1. *mḏt* (or *mḏt*) is unknown, and *mnu* written without determinative must surely be corrupt. The pun would seem to be between *pḏt* and *mḏt*, but it can hardly have been very close phonetically.

¹ Rev. de l’Ég. anc., 1 (1927), 224-6.
To emend -scroll to  and  to  , "the month of Month", is obvious, but, on the principle of *difficilior lectio*, probably wrong.

1. 2.  *nu*. The reading seems certain, though the group is badly made; the determinative might be the lip, the rib, or the crescent moon. Cf. Edinb. Ostr., vs. 6.

*ḥnd*  *m*. The Wb. *d. aeg. Spr.*, iii, 318, gives authority for  *ḥnd*  *m* instead of the more usual  *ḥnd*  *ḥr*.  *ḥnd*, however, in view of its dets., may not be the verb of motion at all. The pun is wholly obscure.

1. 3.  *phuy*  *n*. Perhaps to be taken as an example of the L.E. prepositional phrase  *ph*  *n*, "behind" (Pap. *De Bergh*, B.M. 10388, 3, 7; Turin, P.R. 43. 2; 44. 11 and 46. 15).


1. 4.  *ḥfṯ*. A not unusual writing at this period of  *ḥṯ*, "to destroy".

1. 6.  *ḥḏ*  *m*. The curious determinative  (no other reading seems possible), must be taken from  *ḥḏ*  "knee", and in fact this noun, and not the verb at all, may have been intended: "they come to thee on (bended) knee".

*iḥbr*. Černý read  ṣ for the last sign of the line, but, so far as one can judge from the photograph,  would suit the trace equally well and give the well-known word for "whip".

1. 7.  *ps*  *ḏw*  *ḥmṯ*, written thus with the article, must be the name of a place, though it is unknown. For such names, cf.  *t r ṣ*  ṣ  (above, p. 128).

At the end of the line Černý read doubtfully  ṣ. Yet  ṣ also seems possible, and would give us the beginning either of  *ḥy w*, "to exterminate", or of  *ḥy ṣ*, "to tear in pieces" (Wb. *d. aeg. Spr.*, 1, 579).

1. 8. After the  ṣ at the beginning, Černý seems to have omitted a ṣ.

*R-b ḫn-bḥw*, in which  *ḥn-bḥw* may well stand simply for  *ḥn* preceded by a vowel, seems to lack the fourth consonant shown in the usual writings of Lebanon, but the tree-determinative makes the identification practically certain.

II. 8–9. The pun is between  *ḥry w* in l. 8 and  *ḥry (ḥry w)* in l. 9.
Turin Ostracon 9588.
THE SIGNS Ⅱ AND Ⅲ

By A. J. ARKELL

With Plates xxx–xxxi

In the Blue Nile Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the graves of men with any pretensions to holiness, however recently buried, are invariably marked to-day by one or more white flags, of which examples are shown in the accompanying photographs (Pls. xxx–xxxi). Similar flags are equally common north of Khartum, and are found to a lesser extent in the White Nile Province south of Khartum. They are even occasionally found as far west of the Nile as Darfur, though there they are undoubtedly due to comparatively recent riverain influence.

In an article entitled Fung Origins in Sudan Notes and Records, xv, 201 ff., I have given my reasons for believing that the Fung kingdom which sprang up at Sennar about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., just when Islam was being introduced by the Arabs into that part of the world, did not cause, as has hitherto been believed, a complete break with the past, but was simply the kingdom of Aloa rejuvenated by a new dynasty of foreign (Shilluk) blood. The kingdom of Aloa, which stretched along the Blue Nile at least as far south as the modern Roseires, was, as has always been recognized, culturally the child of Meroe, and so but the grandchild of Ancient Egypt. There are therefore reasons, which I have given in greater detail in the article to which I refer, for not being surprised if one finds traces of religious beliefs surviving to-day which can be attributed to the cultural influence of Ancient Egypt, although the country has been nominally Moslem for over 400 years and was nominally Christian before that.

It is now generally recognized by Egyptologists1 that the sign Ⅱ is in origin a flag and not an axe; and I suggest that in the flags found on the graves of Sudanese holy men to-day we have a survival of the flag which must in pre-dynastic times in Egypt have marked the grave of the ancestor whose spirit his descendants considered it advisable to honour.

On the Blue Nile to-day such a flag is looked on as the outward and visible sign of recognition of the holiness or spiritual power of the deceased, or, as the Mohammedan natives would perhaps prefer to put it, of his efficacy as a mediator with Allah. As superstition is still by no means dead, a small portion of a flag that has flown on such a grave is looked on as an invaluable talisman especially for the healing of sickness or wounds; but in native opinion it is unpardonable to remove even a small piece of such a flag, unless at the same time a new flag is erected as an addition to those already flying.

It seems to me, therefore, that in her article The Sign Ⅱ,2 Miss Murray has unnecessarily stressed the significance of the pole. I readily agree with her that another common African idea, also no doubt prevalent since very early times, is that of the tree as "the container which holds the divine spirit". I am not, however, familiar with the idea of attaching some object to a shrub or tree exactly as a means of communication with the deity, which she states is well known among primitive peoples; although it is common to find trees associated with grave shrines even on the Blue Nile, and to those trees one may find attached small

1 A. M. Blackman, Man, x (1910), no. 11; Meir, ii, 35; A. H. Gardiner, Eg. Gramm., 489.
2 Griffith Studies, 312.
bundles of human hair (usually the lock of youth cut off at manhood, and hung up by the lad's mother as a proof that the saint has granted her prayer for a son), or of bones from a sacrifice vowed to the saint should he grant some other request. Such trees may be seen in Pls. xxx, 3 and xxxi, 1, 2.

Numerous survivals of the cult of trees could be quoted from the pagan Sudan to-day, distinct from the cult of the deceased ancestor, of which many examples are given in Professor Seligman's *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*.

But the simpler explanation of the sign  in the light of the above considerations would appear to be sufficient—that the pole is only an incidental and not the essential part of the sign, which merely represents the flag erected over the ancestor's grave lest his spirit should feel neglected and so punish his descendants for their neglect of him. In time certain famous ancestors developed into gods, and hence the flag marking the revered ancestor's grave came to stand for the god.

Miss Murray, in her article to which I have already referred, has pointed out that the practice of setting up flags in front of the primitive shrine to indicate the house of the god was continued in Pharaonic times in the pennons on the slender masts set up in front of the entrance pylons of the temple. In this connexion I would draw attention to Pls. xxx, 3 and xxxi, 1, in which it will be seen that in the Sudan to-day, where any form of building has been erected over a holy man's grave, the flags are always placed in front of the entrance and not in any other position, as would probably have been the case had these flags and the temple pennons not sprung from a common origin. An even closer parallel to the temple pennons may be seen in the flags at the east end of the wood and grass shelter which forms the Ya'qubah mosque.  

While thus the sign  is seen to have been in origin the flag placed on the grave of a deceased ancestor, and so to have stood for the deceased ancestor of spiritual power before it denoted the god, so also I suggest that the sign  and indeed snake goddesses, such as Ernutet, the deity of the month in which the great harvest festival was held,  and Kerhēt , a goddess of primeval time, who was also guardian goddess of a temple,  have a similar origin in a primitive belief that the female ancestor (also of course associated with fertility or vitality) appears in the form of a snake.

The survival of such a belief among the pagan Bari of the southern Sudan to-day is mentioned by Seligman (op. cit., 274–6), who, besides stating that the cult of the dead plays such a large part in the life of the Bari that every grave is a potential shrine, mentions that a superhuman power known as Ngun lo kak ("Ngun Below"), and confused with the spirits of the dead, is believed to manifest itself in a snake not infrequently seen about houses, which people are delighted to see, and to which they give milk, believing it is probably their yakanye, i.e. grandmother.

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1 *Sudan Notes and Records*, xv, 240, and Pl. xi, fig. 2.  
2 *Id.*, in *Journal*, ii, 125.  
4 Dr. A. M. Blackman, to whom I am indebted for this allusion to Kerhēt, has also pointed out to me that Kerhēt, spelt  or , very significantly designates "the early ancestor".
1. Grave shrine of Bannaqa el-Darir: c. 1500-1570 A.D.

2. Two graves near the Segadi-Arakiin road. Sennar.

3. Gubba of Shëkh Talha.


5. Graveyard round shrine of Shëkh Farah Tuktuk near Sennar Dam.
Gubba of the Ya'qubab Shēkh Muhammed
Tom Bannaqa. Sennar District.

Grave shrine of Shēkh Farah Tuktuk,
a mile N.E. of the Sennar Dam.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1932-1933)

BY DE LACY O'LEYARY, D.D.

The following abbreviations are used in this Bibliography:

A.B. = Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.
Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
A.S. = Annales du Service, Cairo.
Ä.Z. = Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache.
B.Z. = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
D.L.Z. = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeiger.
H.T.R. = Harvard Theological Review.
Journal = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.A. = Journal asiatique.
O.C. = Oriens Christianus.
O.L.Z. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
R.B. = Revue Biblique.
R.H.E. = Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.
T.L.Z. = Theologische Literaturzeitung.

1. BIBLICAL.

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A 8
BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1932–1933)

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2. Apocryphal, Gnostic, etc.


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(b) Hagiology. A. SARA, La passione di San Giorgio Martire in due codici dell'Ambrosiana, in Aevum, viii (1933), 3-22 deals with two Latin texts, only the subject, so prominent in Coptic martyria, introduces an Egyptian connexion. E. W. BUDGE, St. George of Lydilo (cf. Journal, xvi (1930), 252), is reviewed by I. HAUSHER in O.C., xxii (1931), 256-7.

H. GRÉGOIRE et M. A. KUGNER, Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre... (cf. Journal, xviii (1932), 184), is reviewed by G. DE JERPHANDON in O.C., xxii (1931), 170-9, and by J. LEBON in Muséion, xlvi (1932), 327-8.

J. SIMON, Passio S. Abraham lapicidae ex apographo aethiopicno, in A.B., xlxi (1931), 313-52, gives text with Latin translation and commentary. This Ethiopic passion is translated from the Arabic and relates the martyrdom of Abraham the stone-cutter, an Egyptian saint and native of Abu Kūrkās, who was put to death at Minyā by the Muslims at a date not clearly defined. The text is from the sole extant manuscript Paris B.N. d'Abbadie, 170.

A. N. MODONA, Il nuovo frammento di una relazione variata degli "Atti di Isidoro", in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 333-8, and UKELL-GYLENBIAN in Sitz. Preuss. Ak., xxviii (1932), 664 (the latter reviewed by PREMBERG in Hermes, lvii (1932), 174-8, and Gnomon, viii (1932), 201-6). The new fragment deals with the so-called heathen martyrs of Alexandria as do the "Acta Isidori" from P. Lond. 2785 given by H. L. BELL in Archiv, x (1931), 5, and does not refer to any Christian martyr.

For monastic saints see below.


F. HALKIN, S. Pachomii vitae gracae, Bruxelles (1932), 105*+474, gives a full corpus pachomianum, altogether five lives, the older Bollandist material with entirely fresh additional matter. It is reviewed by
BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1932–1933)

Lefort in R.H.E., xxix (1933), 424–8, and by P. P. in A.B., lxi (1933), 131–3: Lefort draws attention to the fact that the Greek source saw the day “dans un milieu qui fut longtemps en contact direct avec le monde arabe” (428).

F. Halkin, L’histoire Lausique... (cf. Journal, xvi (1930), 251), is reviewed by W. H. Hengstenberg in B.Z., xxxii (1932), 94–96.

H. Dörries, Mönchum und Arbeit, in the Forschungen zur Kirchengesch... (Joh. Ficker am 12. xi. 1931 als Festgabe zu s. 70 Geburtstage...), Leipzig (1931), 17–39, is a special study on the use of manual work in the early monastic communities.

P. Oppenheim, Das Mönchskleid im christl. Altartum, Freiburg i/B. (1931), xiii–173, 20 pls. and the same author’s Symbolik des Mönchskleides im chr. Altartum, vornachlich nach Neuzugriffen, Schriftenzettel der Ostkirche, Munich i/W. (1932), xxvi–187, have been reviewed, not favourably, by Lefort in R.H.E., xxviii (1932), 831–3: L. points out that no reference is made to the Coptic ḫaḏara, γυμνος πρωτος, ḫaḏra, το ὅρμιον, το ἔλοιμον, of the Ptolemaic rule: in each work there is a “présentation tumultuante”.

P. Resch, Le doctrine ascétique... (cf. Journal, xviii (1932), 184), is reviewed by Dörries in T.L.Z., lxxiii (1933), 101–2.


A very useful article Monachisme appears in Carrol-Leclercq’s Dict. d’arch. chrét., xi (1933), 1774–1831 (not complete); the earlier sections (1774–1817) treat of the origins of monasticism and the monastic life in Egypt in some detail.

6. NON-LITETARY TEXTS.

A. A. Schiller, Ten Coptic Legal Texts, N.Y. (1932), xiii–103, 6 pls., is a study of texts from Jeme now in the Metropolitan Mus. of Art, New York. This edition gives texts, translations, commentary, and indices. It has been reviewed by W. E. Cram in Journal, xviii (1932), 196–7, by W. Till in W.Z.K.M., xl (1932), 142–3, and by P. P. in A.B., lxxiii (1933), 169–70. The same writer’s Coptic Law... (cf. Journal, xviii (1932), 185), is reviewed with the preceding by L. Wenger in Archiv, x (1933), 288, who refers also to Steinwenter’s Proposition... (cf. Journal, xviii (1932), 185), given in Chron. d’Égypte, vii (1932), 153–6. A. Segré, Tre papiri giuridici inediti, in Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante, iii (1930), 419–36, deals with a petition of the exarch of Alexandria, who ask for the ἀναγγελία of the property of Sahina Apollonaria and enclose a copy of her will. This is reviewed by Wilcken in Archiv, x (1931), 93. W. Till and A. Steinwenter, Neue koptische Rechtsursachen, appears in Ägyptus, xiii (1933), 305–22, and is based on Schiller’s Ten Coptic Legal Texts.


S. G. Mercati, *Osservazioni sul testo e sulla metrolica di alcuni papiroti cristiani*, in *Chron. d'Égypte*, xvii (1932), 133–201, is mainly concerned with British Museum papyri published by Milne and Kenyon-Bell, and P. Cairo 44689 (= Copt. 49), an alphabetic hymn.


7. PHILOLOGICAL.


W. E. Crum, *Dictionary*, Part iii (1932), vii, 253–401; covers Ṣoyṭ-תרגום. Part ii (cf. *Journal*, xvii (1932), 252), has been reviewed by S. Gaselel in *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, vii (1933), 243, and briefly by Lefort in *Muséon*, xlv (1932), 174–5: Parts I and ii by H. Hyvernat in the new periodical *Mizraim*, i (1933), 188–9, of which I have not been able to see a copy.


8. ARCHAEOLOGY, ART, FOLK-LIFE, ETC.

†H. G. E. White, *The monasteries of the Wadi 'n-Natrūn*, Part ii (ed. by W. Heuser), N.Y. (1932), xliv+495, 8 pls. History of the wady and its vicinity, Macarius the Great visits of St. Jerome, Palladius, etc. Troubles due to heresies, to barbarian raids, the monastic life, Monophysite schism; Patriarchal seat moved to Abu Makar; the wady under Muslim rule; Syrian, Armenian Ethnopic monasteries. A complete and detailed history. Special reference to liturgical peculiarities (373 ff.) W's theory, "it is suggested, then, that the ruin of the monasteries was due to the economic results of the Black Death, aggravated by the subsequent famine and plague of 1374" (401). Excursus, "Library of the Syrian Monastery" (439–58). Reviewed by P. F. in *A.B.*, li (1933), 152–7: a very detailed review, a few defects noted (115); by F. C. Burkitt in *J.T.S.*, xxxiv (1933), 188–92, and in an unsigned article in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 22 June 1933.

C. Schmidt, *Das Kloster des Ama Mena*, in *A.Z.*, lxvii (1932), 60–8, deals with the sanctuary (Apolinaria polis) in the Fayyum, not Kaufmann's "Menasstadt". Coptic text of 33 lines (P. Berl. 11937. 8–9), transl.
notes: contract by actual (new?) μποτοκίσι of the monastery and its διακομή or legal representative: undertaking to perform all the duties of a prior and to abide by the wishes of the brethren: monastery = Jeme (?) as in another contract (ed. Schmidt, A.Z., lxvii, 162).


J. Maspero, E. Drioton, Fouilles exécutées à Bawit, fasc. i in Mém. de l'Inst. français, lix (1932), xvi+183, describes the site, gives 550 graffiti (ed. Drioton), with indices of names, etc.


The Illustrated London News (1931), 14–16, 10 illust., describes the photographs, etc., in the “International Exhibition of Byzantine Art” in Paris: these show paintings of the twelfth to fifteenth centuries from the Kalala Hills.


M. S. Dimand, Arabic wood-carvings of the ninth century, in Bull. of the Metrop. Mus. of Art, N.Y., xxvii (1932), sect. 2, 135–7, deals with material on which, no doubt, Coptic craftsmen were employed.


G. Duthuit, La sculpture copte . . . (cf. Journal, xvii (1931), 187) is reviewed by R. H. in J.H.S., lii (1932), 326–9, the article supporting Duthuit as against de Villard and Dom Leclercq; by S. R. in Rev. Arch., xxxv (1932), 344–5; by J. H. Schmidt in D.Z. (1933), 739–42; and by P. Dondoe in Études, ccxiv (1933), 248–9.

Sir Denison Ross, Art of Egypt throughout the ages (cf. Journal, xvii (1931), 253), is reviewed by Faulkner in Journal, xvii (1932), 113–14, but without reference to Coptic art.

L. Borchardt, Eine Holzschnitt mit Darstellung einer ländlichen Szene in Nubien, appears in Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith (1932), 257–62, plates 25, 26, 1 fig. in text.


R. Pfister, Les débuts du vêtement copte. Les premières soies sasanides, in Études . . . à la mémoire de Raymond Le Mossier, Paris (1932), viii+568, is an important contribution to the history of Coptic textiles.


E. Breccia, Municipalité d’Alexandrie. La Musée Gréco-Romain (1925–31), Alexandria (1932), 102, 62 pls., makes occasional reference to some Christian antiquities added to the museum; no plate contains Christian material except some crosses in Pl. 38. It is reviewed by A. Calderini in Aegyptus, xii (1932), 272.

D. Cockrell, The development of book-binding methods. Coptic influence, appears in The Library, xiii (1932), 1–19, 6 pls. The article is connected with an exhibition of book-bindings of which an account will be found in the London Times of 10 September 1932.


In folklore we note E. Bonner, Demons of the Bath, in Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith (1932), 203–8, and H. Lietmann, Ein chriechisches Amulett auf Papier, in Aegyptus, xiii (1932), 225–8. Noteworthy also in connexion with the Takla Háymánőt cult is E. Cerulli, Inni della chiesa abissinica (Ge’ez, Text, Trans., and notes on Takla Háymánőt, etc.), in Riv. Stud. Or., xii (1931), 361–407.

A. Schiller and W. H. Workrell, Tentative Directory of persons interested in Coptic Studies, appears in Aegyptus xii (1932), 393–404.

I have only just now received the third volume of H. G. E. White and W. Hauser, The Monasteries of the Wadi ’n-Natrūn; Part III. The Architecture and Archaeology, New York (1933), xxvii+372, 93 plates. In form and general character this volume obviously maintains the high standard set by its two predecessors (cf. Journal, xiii (1927), 258 and above), and a cursory survey shows that it contains a large fund of interesting and valuable material.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1931–1932)

BY MARCUS N. TOD

In the following Bibliography, which continues that for 1929–30 published in this Journal, xviii, 105 ff., I attempt a brief survey of the books and articles published in 1931 and 1932 relative to Greek inscriptions found in Egypt and Nubia, mentioning also such reviews as are likely to be of special assistance in their study and adding a few notes on inscriptions which, although discovered elsewhere, are concerned with Egyptianological questions.

A fourth volume of F. Preissigke’s invaluable Sammelbuch has been edited by F. Bilabel (Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, iv, Heidelberg, 1931). Of the 245 documents, all previously published, which it contains, 107 are papyri, 27 ostraca and leaden or wooden tablets, 37 graffiti, and 74 inscriptions in the narrow sense; in this last group the two largest classes are formed by epitaphs and dedications numbering 43 and 17 respectively. G. Manteuffel’s De opuscula Graecae Aegypti et papyri ostraca lapidibusque collecta (Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, Classe t (1930), No. 12), consists of two parts, in the first of which (pp. 1–46) the main classes of opuscula are separately discussed, while in the second (pp. 67 ff.) forty-four texts are edited with notes and a full apparatu criticus. All these texts are derived from papyri or ostraca save one, the acrostic poem, painted on a wall of the temple of Talmis in the first or second century a.d., recording the vision of Mandulis vouchsafed to the decurio Maximus and the short hymn composed by him in honour of the god (pp. 15 ff., 198 f.). A chapter of the prolegomena is, however, devoted to a general characterization of the epigrams—epitaphs, prosymnemata, dedications and hymns—which have survived on stone (pp. 5 ff.). W. B. Dinsoor’s impressive work on The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), contains many references to Egypt (see Index D, s.vv. calendar, Egypt, Egyptians), and in particular a long and detailed study of the Macedonian calendar in Egypt (Appendix G, pp. 471 ff.; cf. W. S. Ferguson, Athenian Tribal Cycles, 132 ff.), which includes a table (pp. 478 f.) showing the New-Year Days, expressed according to the Julian system, of the fiscal, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, and the regnal years from 268 to 188 B.C. Among the inscriptions utilized in this connexion are that on a Hadra vase (O.G.I., 30), the Canopus decree (O.G.I., 56), and the Rosetta stone (O.G.I., 90): for the references see p. 536. The sections devoted to the Greek inscriptions of Egypt and to the Christian epigraphy of Egypt in the new edition of A. Ma’u’s Catalogue of the Library of the German Institute in Rome will be found useful for bibliographical purposes (Katalog der Bibliothek des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Rom, ii, bearbeitet von F. Matz, 1207 ff., 1442).

Among the rich and varied contents of the Griffiths Festschrift (Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, London, 1932), three articles call for notice here. H. I. Bell discusses (pp. 199 ff.) a grave-stele of A.D. 601, found at Kāw el-Kebir (Antaeopolis) and now preserved in the British Museum, commemorating one who died “on the holy Saturday of Easter at the tenth hour, when the Sunday of the Resurrection of Christ was dawning”—a phrase which raises an interesting and difficult problem. P. Jouguer devotes a detailed examination (pp. 241 ff.) to the inscription (Sammelbuch, 4023) found in the temple of Isis at the south-west end of the lake Déç-Khélouit, recording the appointment of Pammontakysis as oρατικός of the goddess in A.D. 200, and to a companion text relating to the same man. J. Capart calls attention (pp. 277 ff.) to a limestone relief at Bāle showing precisely the double crown which the text of the Rosetta decree (O.G.I., 90) describes as occupying the place of honour on the χρυσ containing the statue of Ptolemy V.

W. Peek has undertaken the task of editing a collection of Greek epigrams preserved on stone which have come to light since the appearance of G. Käberl’s classic Epigrammata Graeca (Berlin, 1878), and has published five new inscriptions of this class, three of which (including one in dialogue form) are in the Museum at Alexandria and two in that at Cairo (Bull. Soc. Arch. d’Alex., viii, 53 ff.). He has also dealt with a considerable number of epigrams previously published, offering new readings, restorations,
interpretations, as shown in the table below (in which H. = Hermes; B. = Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.; Sam. = Preisigke-Bibl., Sammlung griechischer Urkunden; Breccia = E. Breccia, Catalogue du Musée d'Alexandrie: Inscriptions grecque e latine, Cairo, 1911; Milne = J. G. Milne, Catalogue du Musée du Caire; Greek Inscriptions, Oxford, 1905; Botti = G. Botti, Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée gréco-romain, 1900; I.B.M. = Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum).

P. Rousseau has pointed out (Rev. ã. gr., xlv, 230 f.), that in several cases Peek's suggestions have been anticipated by other scholars, and it may be added that Peek has assigned to Egypt (Hermes, lxvi, 317) an epigram (Sammlung, 5873) which in reality comes from Cyrene (A.J.A., xvii, 161 f.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Peek's discussion</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam. 4312</td>
<td>Schedia (Kom el-Ghizeh)</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 321 f., lxvii, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5829</td>
<td>Terenuthis</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 317 ff., 336, lxvii, 130 f.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6190</td>
<td>Tell el-Yehódiyáh</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 319 f., 336, lxvii, 131</td>
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<tr>
<td>6178</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 320 f., lxvii, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6699</td>
<td>Terenuthis</td>
<td>B. viii, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breccia 219</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>279</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 322 f.</td>
</tr>
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<td>320</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 323 ff., lxvii, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 334 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 325 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Schedia</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 321 f., lxvii, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td>Alexandria?</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botti, 540, No. 11</td>
<td>Hassaia</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 327 ff., 336, lxvii, 131 f.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milne 9203</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>B. viii, 60 f.</td>
</tr>
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<td>9204</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>B. viii, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9205</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>B. viii, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9224</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>B. viii, 61 f.; H. lxvi, 334, note 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9253</td>
<td>Tell el-Yehódiyáh</td>
<td>B. viii, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9237</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>B. viii, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9290</td>
<td>Mollawi</td>
<td>B. viii, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.B.M. 1084</td>
<td>Naucratís</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 331 ff., lxvii, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. ép., i, 145, No. 4</td>
<td>Egypt (now at Braunsberg)</td>
<td>H. lxvi, 333, lxvii, 132</td>
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<td>No. 5</td>
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<td>H. lxvi, 333 f.</td>
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In his full and admirably illustrated survey of the activities and acquisitions of the Alexandria Museum during the year 1925 to 1931 (Le Musée Gréro-Romain 1925-1931, Bergamo, 1932; cf. Bull. fil. class., n.s., xi, 35 ff.) E. Breccia includes thirty-two inscriptions added to the Museum during that period. Five of these—a base of a statue of Zeus Helios, a fragmentary dedication in honour of the prefect Magius Maximus, a votive to Helios Sarapis, a mutilated epigram, and a Christian grave-inscription—come from the excavations of the Iseum and Serapeum at Canopus (pp. 18 ff.), while twenty-two are Alexandrian epitaphs—seven from Mustafa Pasha (pp. 21 f., Pl. x), thirteen from the great necropolis of Hadra (pp. 24 ff., Pls. xii, xiii, xvi), and two from the western cemetery (pp. 35 f.). Other acquisitions include an interesting altar, or votive basis, brought to light in a trial excavation in the district of Maryût, bearing in relief figures marked by the legends ἱροῦς, ἔγγος, and ἱερόν together with a still undeciphered text (pp. 57 f., Pl. xxxvi), a fragment of a statuette found by G. W. Murray among the ruins of a small temple, 35 km. south of el-Dab'a in Marmarica inscribed with a dedication to Isis (pp. 58 f.; cf. G. W. Murray, Journal, xvii, 82), a bronze cross, dating from the fifth or sixth century A.D., discovered by Prince Omar Toussoun in the Oasis of Dalla, about 500 km. south-south-west of Alexandria (p. 59, Pl. xxxviii), an inscription of the Ptolemaic period honouring a Macedonian who had been gymnasiarch "for the seventeenth year", found by illicit digging at Mendes or Thmuis (p. 68), and a mosaic from the latter site signed Σώφρους ἐνίκησ (p. 65, Pls. A, liv). Elsewhere also (Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vii, 276 ff.; cf. Rev. ã. gr., xlv, 229 f.) Breccia publishes recent accessions to the Museum, to the growth and development of which he has made an invaluable contribution. These comprise, in addition to some items to be mentioned below, (a) a stele, acquired at Cairo, bearing a dedication of 94 n.c. to the crocodile god, Σωκρατίδες θεώς μεγάλως μεγάλου, erected in honour of Ptolemy X Alexander and indicated as τόπος τῶν ταύτων ὁ ἐφαρμοσμένος τῆς Παραβάτου
BIBLIOGRAPHY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1931–1932) 187

αἰσχρος (pp. 277 ff.); its provenance is probably Kôm el-Baragát (Tebtunis), from which comes also a simple epitaph (p. 290); (b) a votive basis of uncertain provenance, dating from the second or first century B.C., dedicated "Αρκοδήτης, Αεραίος, Αρωμίνα (p. 289); (c) a curious record on a statue-base from Bahmah, telling how a certain θεομυθόφοβος, ἄνωθεν ἄνωτος ἐκάπω ἀποθεμένος, ἔχοντας (p. 288); (d) three short epitaphs from Hadra, and one from Kôm el-Ahmar dated in the thirty-second year of Augustus (pp. 288 ff.); (e) a circular bone tessera and a Latin epitaph from Hadra (p. 291), and (f) the epitaph of an Alexandrian deacon, found 5 km. south-west of Abu Mena (pp. 292 ff.). In the same article Breccia describes a rectangular gold leaf, alleged to have been found at Hadra, inscribed βασιλεῖς Πτολεμαίως βασιλικὸς Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερεινῆς θεῶν εὐφημίην Ἀρκοδητίνι Οἰδηπίῳ, and the base of a statue of queen Arsinoe erected at Canopus by a priest of the Nile (pp. 276 ff.). In Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad., 1932, 812, A. Wilhelm restores the last two lines of an Alexandrian epigram (Sammelbuch, 4315), and in Πρακτικαί τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, vi, 333, discusses two short inscriptions found between Silibus and Heschán, in which the name Ἀρκοδήτης appears (Sammelbuch, 244 ff.).

The excavations conducted in 1931 by Samy Gabra in the necropolis of Touna el-Gebel (Hermopolis Parva) resulted in some interesting epigraphical finds, published by P. Graindor (B.I.F., xxxii, 97 ff.; cf. A. Brouwers, Rev. Belge, xli, 959 ff.). Among them are two perfectly preserved poems in elegiac couplets painted on the tomb of Isidora, who in the second century A.D. was drowned in the Nile and so became assimilated to Isis and also, it would appear, to one of the seasons. The verses betray, in Graindor's view, evidences of familiarity with the poems of Callimachus. A third epitaph, painted on another tomb, is less well preserved and teems with orthographical, grammatical, and metrical errors. The remaining items are a prose epitaph of the second century A.D., two curious "square words", a dedication to Isis an ostraka bearing a receipt, and three names painted on vase-handles.

We have seen above that Peek has discussed three epigrams from Tell el-Yehâdíyah (Leontopolis). One of these (Sammelbuch, 6160) has also received detailed treatment from A. Wilhelm in a valuable article devoted to a series of inscriptions, for the most part metrical, relating to doctors (Jahreshefte, xxvii, Beiblatt, 89 ff.). A fresh epigram, apparently from the same cemetery, recently acquired in Cairo for the Alexandria Museum, has been published by M. Nosba (Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vii, 243 ff.); it dates from the first century B.C. or A.D. and takes the form of a dialogue between the reader and the dead Arsinoe, who would appear to have been a Jewess. A. Momigliano stresses the pagan character of its language and thought, to which he knows no parallel in any Jewish epitaph of the Greco-Roman period (Aegyptus, xi, 171 ff.).

P. Perdrizet has published a basis in blue faience, of unknown provenance, now in the Cairo Museum: it was dedicated about A.D. 200 to some divinity, probably Nemesis-Isis, by a duplicarius, a soldier receiving double pay (Ann. Sacr., xxxi, 25 ff.).

Three recent accessions of the Alexandria Museum were acquired at Medmat el-Fayyûm (E. Breccia, Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vii, 280 ff., 290). In one τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄνωτος τῆς θραπείας honors a certain Ptolemaeus τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ ἐξαντάλλητος τῷ Ἀρωμίνῳ at some unknown date later than the reign of Ptolemy V, while the second, dated 1 B.C., records the permanent inalienability of a σεβηὲς and the surrounding property, and the third is a simple epitaph. E. Pekopulos has discussed an epigram (S.E.G., xi, 874) found in the Fayyum (Bzg.-Neugr. Jahrb, viii, 184 ff.), together with another whose provenance is not specified (G. Arvanitakis, Quelques inscriptions grecques inédites, Cairo, 1904, p. 12 ff., No. xi). A circular altar of mummeiotic limestone, found at Ashmunê (Hermopolis Magna) and now preserved in the Alexandria Museum, bears the words βασιλεῖς Πτολεμαίων in letters not later than the early second century B.C. (Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vii, 279 ff.).

To G. Klaffenbach we owe the discovery of an interesting, if puzzling, dedication to Isis belonging to the second century A.D., inscribed on a base found at Shékî Abâde (Antinoopolis) and now in private possession in Berlin (Archiv, x, 215 ff.). E. Breccia draws attention to an article published by J. Maspero in 1915 on some inscriptions from Denderah, and gives a facsimile of one, now in the Alexandria Museum, honouring a distinguished official who was τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ αὐτουμάχων ἀντικρότητος (Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., vii, 293 ff.). Four texts discovered by Reisner in his excavations at Coptos have also found their way to the same Museum (op. cit., vii, 284 ff.). One is in honour of an ἐνθρόνιστος of the Thebaid, the second of an Alexandrian whom it describes as ἠγαθὸς γενόμενος ἐγγονός, the third, dated October 12, A.D. 222, is a dedication for the safety and victory of Severus Alexander, and the fourth is a votive altar, erected on October 4, A.D. 159, Ἐπάτεια μαρινώμοιον τῷ Φθείρα Ἱσσακίῳ.

A dedication of the second or third century A.D., discovered at Medamûd in the course of the excavations
carried on by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, has been studied in detail by P. Jouguet with the assistance of M. I. Rostovtzeff (B.I.F., XXXI, 1 ff.; cf. Rostovtzeff, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich, i, 131, 302, Storia economica e sociale dell'impero romano, 181 ff.; Rev. Arch., XXXII, 331; Archív, x, 160). The text runs thus: ἄγγοι ἔθει μέγεθος (perhaps the Egyptian Rā'a-Tau) [Ἀδεία Ἰαννόρα καὶ Αἴαντα[α]] Ὄλμοντα ματρώων τοπίαν, ναόπλος καὶ || ἀμφοτέρων, ἄγαν ναόπλος καὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα, ἀμφότεροι ἄμφοτέρων ἄγαν ναόπλος. Rostovtzeff restores the latter part of the inscription thus: ἄγαν καὶ σάν Αἴαντα [Ἀδεία] Ὄλμοντα ἐκ πλῆθος ὑποκλίσεως ἄγαν ναόπλος καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἄμφοτερων ἅμα. Jouguet accepts this restoration, though not without misgivings, and suggests as a possible alternative in II 7-9 ἄγαν τὰ ἅμα, ἀμφότεροι ἄμφοτερων καὶ ὕποπλος [ἄγαν ματρώων] Ὀλμοντα. P. Grandinor (B.I.F., XXXI, 31 ff.) proposes to delete the comma after ἄγαν ναόπλος; in Rostovtzeff’s version and to insert it after [Ἀδείας], seeing in Apollinarius the commandant of the trading flotilla of Olympia and Isidora, and also to substitute [κυρίῳ] for [ἄγαν ναόπλος]. With this view J. Stroux agrees, though he would restore ἄγαν ναόπλος in place of ἄγαν ναόπλος (op. cit., XXXI, 32). Finally, A. Wilhelm restores II 7-10 as follows: ἄμφοτερων ὄλμοντα καὶ Ὀλμοντα καὶ ἄμφοτερων ἅμα ὁ ἄγαν ναόπλος καὶ ἀμφότεροι [ἐκ πλῆθος ναόπλος καὶ ἀμφότεροι] (Wien. Anzeiger, 1932, 25 ff.). Jouguet further devotes an article (Mélanges Goltz, ii, 493 ff.) to some unpublished graffiti cut in the rock of Mount Karnah, near Thebes: one of these, apparently of the second century A.D., runs πάρε τῶν θεῶν μεγάλοι ἐν λεπτοῖς χρόνοις, and there are also three προσανεμάτου αἰώνας and an oracle of Amenothis. F. Hiller von Gaertingen proposes two modifications in Wilhelm’s restoration of a Theban inscription (Archív, x, 17 f.; cf. Journal, XVIII, 106).

A large slab of limestone, sent from Aswān to the Alexandria Museum and published by E. Breccia (Bull. Soc. Arch. d’Alex., vii, 291 ff.), records the rebuilding of a wall on the island of Philae, probably in the seventh or eighth century.

To W. Ruffel we owe a careful publication of the Latin and Greek graffiti and inscriptions of the temple of Dakke in Nubia (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie: Der Tempel von Dakke, iii, Cairo, 1930): these are for the most part προσανεμάτα or tituli memoriales and of those in Greek 40 are here published for the first time. The actual texts are preceded by a general survey of the material under the following heads—script, structure of the prosocynema, language, names and status of the writers, dates, administration, military data and cult. U. Monneret de Villard has published a fragmentary Christian inscription from Nag’ esh-Shēkhr Sharaf (Maḥárāk) in Nubia (Ann. Serv., XXXI, 17).

L. Robert has shown (Rev. ét. gr., xliv, 201 ff.) that a votive inscription copied by T. Wiener at Smyrna (Ath. Mitt., xxxiii, 156, No. 14), and on his authority attributed to Thyatira (I.G.Rom., iv, 1190), came in reality from Egypt to the Museum of the Evangelical Church at Smyrna (Mun. καὶ Βεβουθύπερ, i, 85, No. 60) and thence found its way to Braunsburg Academy (Rev. ép., iv, 144, No. 3). To two other Egyptian texts in the Braunsburg collection reference has been made above. A. Jacoby gives a full account (Archív. f. Rel., xxviii, 269 ff.) of a “gnostic” amulet in the Berlin Museum (Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägypt. Altertümer, Berlin, 1894, p. 296, No. 9865), completing the text and adding a detailed discussion, with ample parallels, of all the component elements of the inscription.

I have noticed but few references to Egypt and to Egyptian cults in inscriptions found elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world. P. Rousselet’s valuable article on the καπνοί in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Rev. ét. gr., xliv, 361 ff.) deals first with the καπνοί who found a special corps in the Ptolemaic army, and in this connexion discusses an inscription from Citium in Cyprus (O.G.I., 20). O. Marcelli has published a curious epitaph in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican, commemorating one who had formerly been a beneficarius of the prefect of Egypt (Rendic. Pontif. Acad., ser. III, vi, 43 ff.). The remarkable discoveries made in the wreck of an ancient vessel located off Mahdia on the Tunisian coast include an inscription dated 363–2 B.C. consisting of a decree followed by an enumeration of the gifts made by the Athenian people to the sanctuary of Ammon in the Pireus, in which the stone itself was originally erected (Rev. ét. gr., xliv, 292). Unfortunately the text of this valuable document has suffered so severely from its long submersion that it has not yet been sufficiently deciphered to warrant its publication.

Among a group of texts published by D. Evangelides are a thank-offering to Sarapis in the Museum of Chios (Διώρ Αξιός, xi, para. 27, No. 10), a dedication to Apollo by Ὠρος Φάιως Κανωτής in the Museum of Vathy (Samos), and a slab recently discovered in the same island bearing the inscription τοῦ Αρρανοῦ Φαλάθδου (op. cit., xi, para. 31 f., Nos. 2, 4, cf. W. Otto, Kulturgeschichte des Altertums, 113). For the Egyptian cults at Delos see W. A. Laydlaw, A History of Delos, 223 ff.
NOTES AND NEWS

The removal of the Society's offices to 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1., was effected in June. In these new quarters the Society has for the first time adequate accommodation for its books, and it is hoped that the reading-room will soon become a recognized centre of work on Egyptology and kindred subjects. The Library Committee hopes that some of the books most urgently needed may be purchased, if funds permit, and the list of periodicals now taken extended. Exchanges of periodicals might be of considerable benefit not only to the Society but also to those institutions willing to enter into such an arrangement.

An exhibition of the results of last season's excavations at Tell el-'Amarna was held at the Architectural Association in Bedford Square, by the courtesy of the Council, from June 25 to July 22. A large number of visitors was attracted and a considerable amount of interest was aroused not only by the beauty of the finds but also by the architectural features of the work, particularly among the members of the Association. Besides the objects themselves, excellent casts of those retained by the Cairo Museum were shown, the quartzite head in particular arousing enthusiasm. The success of the exhibition was due largely to the excellent arrangement of the room by Messrs. Lavers, Sherman, and Brasch, who were indebted to the staff of the Association for much assistance.

Two lectures were given by Mr. Pendlebury in connexion with the exhibition. The first was delivered at a general meeting of the Architectural Association on July 11, and dealt with the general problems of 'Amarna architecture. The second, dealing specifically with the last season's work, was given in the Royal Society's rooms in Burlington House on September 13.

Next season's work, it is hoped, will begin on December 1. The primary object of the expedition will be to re-examine the Sanctuary of the Great Temple, but fresh ground will be broken in the Central City round about the Record Office and the other public buildings. The continuance of the excavations has been made possible by a further donation from the Brooklyn Museum.

Dr. Gardiner reports on the Abydos work as follows:

"The copying of the temple of Sethos I has made progress in spite of sundry mishaps. The three members of our staff, Miss Calverley, Miss Broome, and Mr. Little, arrived at Abydos at the end of November, but owing to various causes it was only Miss Broome who stayed there continuously until camp was closed down at the end of April. In January Miss Calverley had to go to hospital in Cairo for treatment of sinus trouble following upon influenza. Mr. R. Lavers spent most of February at Abydos making a plan of the temple for inclusion in our first volume. In the middle of March an end was put to Mr. Little's work for the season by a very severe attack of typhoid, from which he has now happily recovered. Operations this year were concentrated upon the inner Osiris hall and the three small chambers leading out of it. Miss Calverley and Miss Broome were mainly engaged in making paintings, but only five were completed, owing to the large size and wealth of detail in the scenes chosen. Mr. Little was engaged in touching up photographic enlargements and making
tracings from photographs and line drawings. Thus the third volume of the series is well on its way. The two preceding volumes are practically complete, and the first will be ready for distribution in the course of this autumn."

It may be added that the title of the work is *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, and that the price of vol. 1 will be £5 to the public and £4 to members of the Society and subscribing libraries.

In conjunction with the University of California, the Society will shortly publish *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. iii, pt. 1, edited by Professor A. S. Hunt and Professor J. G. Smyly. This volume, which will be the twenty-third of the Society’s Graeco-Roman Memoirs, will be distributed gratis to members of the Graeco-Roman Branch, and will be on sale at the price of 28s. (post free) to other members of the Society and to subscribing libraries. The Society will not be able to supply this volume to the general public. Orders for copies from members and subscribing libraries, other than those enrolled in the Graeco-Roman Branch and thus entitled to receive the volume without charge, should be sent to the Secretary.

*The City of Akhenaten II* will be published in the autumn. It contains the results of the excavations in the North Suburb and the Desert Altars at Tell el-‘Amarnah from 1926 to 1932. It contains eighteen plans, one coloured plate, thirty-nine half-tones, and eight figures in the text. Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury is the author, and there is also a chapter by H. W. Fairman. The price is to be 42s.

In the matter of publication the year promises to be a notable one in the Society’s history. In addition to the works already mentioned it will see the publication of the *Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*. This work, which is, indeed, already available, forms the report on the excavations of the Society begun in 1913 and completed in 1930 in the building formerly known as the Osireion. It is in two quarto volumes, and is written by H. Frankfort with chapters by A. de Buck and Battiscombe Gunn. The price is 52s. 6d. to the public and 37s. 6d. to members of the Society if ordered through the Secretary.

The University of Oxford sees a great change this year in the retirement of Professor F. Ll. Griffith from the Chair (originally a Readership) which he has occupied for so long. Fortunately Oxford is not to lose him, for though he will discontinue most of his teaching work he is to be no farther away than Boar’s Hill, where his house and library will certainly continue to be as active a centre of work and as favourite a meeting-place of Egyptologists as his earlier home in Norham Gardens. We may rest assured that he has not retired to a life of mere leisure, for he looks forward to the opportunity of having more time free for his own research, and his promised work on the Demotic Graffiti of Philae is already in an advanced stage of preparation.

The Readership rendered vacant by his retirement has been filled by T. Eric Peet, formerly Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool. The Chair of Egyptology thus left vacant in Liverpool is still to be filled.

By a curious coincidence a long and notable chapter in the history of Egyptology was also closed in London this summer, when Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie retired from the Edwards Chair of Egyptology at University College. He has not, however, completely severed his connexion with the College, for he remains Honorary Curator of the Egyptian Collection in the Edwards Library for the purpose of completing the catalogue.
Professor Petrie’s place has been taken by S. R. K. Glanville, Laycock Student in Egyptology at Worcester College, Oxford, lately Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, who has been appointed Reader in Egyptology as from the beginning of the October Term.

Dr. H. Frankfort, who for some time directed the Society’s excavations in Egypt, has been appointed Professor in the Archaeology and History of the Ancient Near East at the University of Amsterdam. He will continue to excavate for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, but will lecture at Amsterdam during one month on the way out and again on the way back. He has further been appointed Research Professor in Oriental Archaeology in Chicago.

We congratulate Sir Herbert Thompson on his election to be a Fellow of the British Academy.

Professor P. E. Newberry has resigned his Chair of Egyptology in the Egyptian University. He is succeeded by Dr. H. Junker, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo.

Our contemporary Ancient Egypt, issued by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, the only other Egyptological journal published in this country, is to enlarge its scope under the altered title of Ancient Egypt and the East. Its field will thus include the whole of Asia. Sir Flinders Petrie will share the Editorship with Professor Margaret Murray and Mrs. Mackay.

On the occasion of his seventieth birthday Dr. Ludwig Borchardt has had the happy thought of presenting his friends and acquaintances with a volume of studies from his own pen entitled Allerhand Kleinigkeiten. The variety of its contents is a striking testimony to the width of his interests in the Egyptological field.

We had hoped to review in this number no fewer than three publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, namely N. de Garis Davies’s Tomb of Neferhotep, H. E. Winlock’s Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun, and Caroline Ransom Williams’s The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-nêb. Unforeseen events have made it necessary that these reviews should be held over until the next number. This, however, makes it the more necessary to take this opportunity of congratulating the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum on the speed with which they are now bringing out the results of their long years of excavation and tomb-copying at Thebes, of assuring them of the satisfaction which students of Egyptology regard the appearance of these extremely important works, and of expressing the hope that the present speed may, if it cannot be accelerated, at least be maintained.

Two new periodicals have made their appearance in the Egyptological field during the present year. The first is Egyptian Religion, described as a quarterly dealing with the religion of ancient Egypt. It is published under the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, and edited by Samuel A. B. Mercer, Trinity College, University of Toronto. The other is Misraim, described as a “Journal of Papyrology, Egyptology, History of Ancient Laws, and their Relations to the Civilizations of Bible Lands”. It is edited by Professor Nathaniel Julius Reich. The Editorial Foreword makes it clear that the journal will consist mainly of the publication of documents on papyrus. The first issue, which constitutes vol. 1, dated 1933, is in great part
devoted to a study by Professor Reich of three demotic contracts from the Serapeum now in the possession of the New York Historical Society. We hope to review this volume in our next number.

On the eve of going to press we have received a copy of a volume by Professor J. H. Breasted entitled *The Oriental Institute*. It forms vol. xii of the *University of Chicago Survey*. It contains an account of all the activities, in exploration, excavation, research, and publication, of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. The book has 455 pages, with over two hundred illustrations, and is an impressive testimony to the magnitude and the success of the Institute's "organized endeavour to recover the lost story of the rise of man".

The following information, which will not be wholly news to those who attended the Leiden Congress, is taken from a letter, dated May 20, received from Mr. W. F. Edgerton of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in answer to an inquiry. Mr. Edgerton is working on the production of a Demotic Dictionary based partly on material collected by Spiegelberg. The latter, about two months before his death, actually began the writing of a *Kleines Demotisches Wörterbuch*, intending to proceed later to a more monumental work already planned. Mr. Edgerton, who had agreed to help him in both these projects, is taking over the whole of the material, and hopes to be at work on the smaller dictionary early in 1984, and to devote possibly two years to its completion. He will then start work on the larger project, which, he estimates, may take from fifteen to twenty years to accomplish.

Clearly a dictionary of demotic is one of the most urgent needs of our science, and its appearance will open the study of demotic to many who have not felt the courage to come to close quarters with it in the absence of a dictionary and even, until recently, of a grammar. The eventual publication of the major work will be a fitting tribute to the memory of its originator, who amidst the constant strain of producing work of the highest quality found time to do so much to smooth the path of the beginner both in demotic and Coptic.

Professor Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, writes:

"In his necessarily brief mention of a paper of mine in the last Bibliography of Greek Papyri (Journal, xix, 73) my friend Professor Nock has departed slightly, and certainly unintentionally, from the usual practice of a bibliographer. Without giving my interpretation of an object published by me, he offers one of his own, and one which, as it happens, I cannot accept. In Harr. Theol. Rev., xxxv (1932), 362-7, I gave a description of two amulets belonging to the British Museum, the second of which (No. 56260), a Chnumis stone, is inscribed, as Mr. Nock has it, 'with the phrase ἀφαντή ἀφήνεις πεινή πῦρ ῥήγοι, which is presumably a series of δούνατα'. The accents are his, and that is all he tells of the inscription. It is an interesting view of the words, but it is his, not mine. As his accents indicate, he takes the second, fourth, and sixth words to be verbs. I took them all as nouns, the second of each pair in the dative case, assuming an uncommon but not unknown error, ον for ον, in the last. They seemed to me to make a litany-like triad of praises of Chnumis, 'Water for thirst, bread for hunger, fire for cold'; and I cited some fairly apposite parallels.

"Those who incline to Mr. Nock's interpretation should, I think, be prepared to show the appropriateness of a series of δούνατα on an amulet of this kind, and, further, they must face a difficulty in the language. One would naturally expect an inscription on such an amulet to exhibit Koine forms; but in the Koine, the verbs ἀφαντή and πεινή contract in α, not in η as in Attic. The following illustrations are in point: Deut. xxv. 18; Prov. xxv. 21; Isa. xxix. 8; John vii. 37; Rom. xii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 21 and 84; Phil. iv. 12; Epist. Barn. x. 3. If
it were possible to hold that Attic influence persisted in the case of this inscription, consistency would lead us to expect the Attic ὑγοῖ rather than ὑγοῖς."

The Director of the British Museum asks us to publish the following notice "in order to save disappointment to Egyptological or Assyriological scholars seeking to make use of the British Museum collections during the period in which they will be unavoidably out of use":

An extensive scheme of reconstruction on the northern wing of the British Museum will involve the closing of all the rooms on the upper floor in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, save the First, Second, and Third Egyptian Rooms. The objects from these exhibition galleries will for the most part have to be packed away, and will be inaccessible until the reconstruction is completed. The attention of scholars is requested to this point, and they are informed that these galleries will be shut on October 1.

This reconstruction will also necessitate the demolition of the present Students' Room. It is hoped to provide temporary accommodation elsewhere, so that scholars may have access to tablets and papyri; but this work will take several months. The Students' Room will be shut as from Monday, October 16, 1933; a statement as to reopening may, it is hoped, be made in the British Press in March, 1934.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS


The late Mr. Evelyn White's vast work on the Western Monasteries of Lower Egypt will be completed in three parts or volumes, of which the first appeared in 1926 and contained the new fragments of Coptic texts which he himself obtained amid appalling discomforts in a final gleaning of the library in the Monastery of St. Macarius, edited, after the author's lamentable death, by Crum and Winlock. The second is the present volume on the History, and the third, devoted to the Architecture and Archaeology, is to be produced under the care of the same editor. When one considers what Evelyn White accomplished in regard to this group of monasteries, one realizes what he might have done for the other great monastic groups in Upper and Lower Egypt had his life been spared. His industry and enthusiasm in the collection of material were inexhaustible, and the experience and knowledge acquired in this task would have fortified him for the immense and profitable labours which faced him in allied fields.

Mr. Hauser evidently shouldered a heavy burden in preparing to edit the materials left by Mr. Evelyn White. Scattered notes had to be revised and connected with the text, the latter had to be purged of repetitions, and all had to be knitted together into a consistent whole. This seems to have been done very successfully; Evelyn White was a good scholar of the ordinary type but knew almost nothing of Arabic and Coptic (except the Boheiric dialect), which were among the principal sources. For these he was dependent either on the printed translations or, failing such, on the generosity of his scholarly friends, and it is marvellous how wide and rich the field is from which he gathered. As might be expected, his few excursions into Coptic etymology are generally unsuccessful and not to be recommended to the student. But, so far as I am able to judge, his historical deductions from what is too often very doubtful material are good. By nature he was sympathetic with the monastic view of life, but he recognizes the tragic disappointments and inconsistencies involved in the practice of it. Those who withdrew from the world, if they were true saints, soon found that, against their will, their sanctity attracted the like-minded and the curious to consort with them, and their poor possessions were always open to the raids of nomadic robbers. Perhaps the most embarrassing situation of all was created when a devout lady of the imperial house applied for admission and could not be refused; yet the saint contrived to admit her as a "monk" without the slightest breath of scandal ensuing, and she died in the fullest odour of sanctity. To begin with the brethren were without a rule, but endeavoured to imitate the saintly Antony (A.D. 251-355), who was the first Christian anchorite. According to White these anchorites and the later monasteries had no historical connexion with any sort of pagan predecessors. Macarius, a disciple of Antony, was the first to gather followers into a coenobium or community at Scete near the middle of the fourth century. He followed the simple but edifying teaching of St. Antony and died in 393-4. There has been considerable confusion, both in early and modern writers, between neighbouring groups of monasteries, but White is able to distinguish three localities in the Nitriote region, (1) the Mount of Nitria or the Desert of Baramūq (in Arabic Barmūq), on the edge of the Delta south of Damanhūr, (2) Sactis or Shiēt, the Wādī on-Natrūn within the desert, where three monasteries still survive, and (3) Cellina, a place of anchorites rather than monasteries, in the desert region between the other two. A careful investigation on the spot would doubtless reveal remains of both (1) and (3). Nitria and Cellina were the earliest groups; Sactis, more remote from the varying policy of Alexandria and therefore more secure from religious persecution, rose to power in the course of the fourth century and shared with Alexandria and Memphis the ecclesiastical leadership of Egypt, the patriarchs themselves being generally elected from amongst the monks of Sactis, where also were preserved the bones and relics of the patriarchs, especially after the Arab conquest.

This great volume seems to contain all the known material for the history, and treats it from every point of view—organization, daily and religious life, doctrine, periodical distress and ruin, decay of religious enthusiasm combined with seeking after preferment and privileges, coming almost to extinction in the
seventeenth century, learning, growth, and eventual sale of the libraries to European travellers and collectors. The final revival of learning and prosperity towards the end of the nineteenth century lies outside the limits of the work. We look forward with impatience to the appearance of the third volume, which will contain some of the most important evidence for the history in a description of the architectural remains.

Having had the privilege of editing one of the most unexpected archaeological finds made by Evelyn White, namely an inscribed Nubian tray for offerings in the Syrian monastery, I hoped to see a section devoted to the connections of the Nitrian monasteries with Nubian Christianity. The only references for "Nubians" in the excellent index are of little importance, but a footnote on p. 368 refers to the tray and suggests an explanation for its presence, namely that Nubians shared in the Abyssinian monastery of St. Elias, and one gathers that a fuller account is to appear in vol. III.

F. L. GRIFFITH.


Although a considerable body of Egyptian religious texts has been published since the beginning of the science, comparatively little has been written which treats of their general history, and at the present there is no up-to-date and comprehensive account to which the student may turn. He will be all the more grateful, therefore, for the skeleton of such an account provided by Professor Sethe in this short paper, and should find it extremely useful in co-ordinating his own views upon the subject. Within the compass of twenty-four pages the author has skilfully followed the development of the custom of providing the dead with magical literature from the days of the Pyramid Texts down to the Roman period, discussing briefly the history, content, and purpose of each cycle of mortuary texts. In the beginning of things he deduces a long period during which this literature was preserved upon papyrus before it eventually made its appearance upon the walls of the tomb, the process thereafter being one of increasing popularization, culminating during the New Kingdom in the wholesale manufacture of papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead for all and sundry. Unus, last ruler of the Fifth Dynasty, and first king to cause the Pyramid Texts to be inscribed upon the walls of his resting-place, was urged so to do, the author thinks, by gloomy reflections upon the uncertainties of funerary endowment, especially as he himself stood at a turning-point of history, the end of a dynasty. Thus he made certain that those powerful spells, which under normal circumstances would be recited for him by a mortuary priesthood, should also be close at hand within his pyramid, ready for the dead monarch whenever he wished to make use of them, or even able to read themselves on his behalf and thus ensure the eternal welfare of his soul.

A. W. SHORTER.

The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi. By OSWALD MENGHN and MUSTAFA AMER. Egyptian University, Cairo, 1932, P.T. 60.

This "Preliminary Report" (with 78 plates) on the Predynastic village is so full of detail that one wonders what can be left for a final publication. It is to be hoped (1) that the photographs may be improved upon, as many of them are poor owing, no doubt, to the local printing; and (2) that some line drawings may be added of pottery, and especially of flint implements. The plates would have been easier to use if a general description, at least, had been printed on each. For instance Pl. xxv might have been headed "Black Polished Ware", and so on. References to the text in the list of plates would also have been useful. We must thank the authors for writing in English, a language foreign to both of them; the result is admirably clear on the whole. But what is meant by "holster" on p. 33? Should not this be "halter"? On p. 48 copper "oxide" is no doubt a slip for "carbonate". Most reviewers seem to think that their work is not complete without reference to a misprint. Let us then suggest that LX on p. 36 would be better XL.

As to the conclusions arrived at with regard to the date and context of this new culture there can be no disagreement. Though almost entirely new in its main features it has enough links with the well-known Predynastic civilization of Middle Egypt to make its chronological position certain. The fact that it is so individual is a great interest of the discovery. We can hardly suppose it to be very local; if it extended over the Delta this would tend to negative Scharff's suggestion that the Gerzean culture first flourished in Lower Egypt and thence spread southward. On the other hand the entire absence of the white-on-red painted pottery ("Cross-line"), and of the black-topped wares makes it certain (as had always been supposed) that their origin was not a northern one. M. E. Leclercq, reviewing this report in Chronique d'Égypte (July 1933, p. 227), thinks it impossible to suppose that such a primitive culture could exist so close to the (supposed)
advanced civilization of Heliopolis at this age; he would push the date of the Ma'adi site back to much earlier times. But any one who has, for instance, seen a Beduin, or even an Egyptian village close to Ma'adi itself at the present day in the vicinity of modern Cairo would have no such objections to offer.

There are some small criticisms which may be made. Firstly, when it is known that these people of early Ma'adi apparently possessed large quantities of copper (p. 48), is it still justifiable to label their culture "Neolithic"? Next, with regard to the water supply and climatic conditions (p. 8), must we not suppose that the level of river water was lower then than now? The heavier rainfall might have allowed cultivation to some extent on what is now desert, and the now dry wadys could have supplied the needs of the settlement. This heavier rainfall rather invalidates the suggestion that the hut-shelters had no roofs (p. 16); probably there were roofed huts as well as sheltered yards. Denudation by rain may just possibly account for the absence of a cemetery in the immediate vicinity. There is a site near Ma'tmar, south of Asyut, where a large Predynastic cemetery, on a nearly flat plain, has been denuded almost completely away, so that some half-dozen only of the deeper graves remain, while bones and sherds are scattered over or just below the surface.

The possibility of there having been a trade-route to Sinai at this time can hardly be questioned when it seems certain that timber was being imported from the far more distant Syria in the Gerzean period, judging from the specimen of coniferous wood from Badari grave 4606 (Bad. Civ., 62).

The comparison of the Ma'adi pottery with that of Middle Egypt is not very satisfactory. Two types are singled out (p. 54) as being similar. One, L 58 from Nakadah in Petrie's Corpus, is apparently a unique specimen; its history cannot now be traced; I have found nothing like it in Predynastic cemeteries; it may quite well be of dynastic date like L 78e and c in the same Corpus. Further, this Nakadah form is not much like the Ma'adi "base-ring" pots. Still more unlike is the other type quoted, L 68, which has a round base, not at all like the flat-bottomed "squar" pot of Ma'adi (Pl. xxxvi, 2). It may be pointed out here that Petrie's new terminology (Amratian, etc.) is intended by him to replace the expressions Early, Middle, and Late Predynastic, and not to supersede the Sequence Dating, though recent workers are agreed that that system cannot be relied on in every detail.

Two of the points of relation between the Ma'adi and the Merimdeh cultures (p. 56) apply equally well to the Badarian and Predynastic of Middle Egypt. The use of potsherds as lids is a very common custom in early and even in dynastic times; and pig-bones were found at Hemamia (Bad. Civ., 77, 85). Further, the size of the settlements has no special significance when the great Predynastic city at Hierakonpolis is considered. Predynastic pots, inverted and placed together in holes, were frequently found at Badari; the suggestion that these were stores of unused vessels (p. 19) is doubtless correct. Whether pottery was polished with the stones shown on Pl. lxxii, 2, may be questioned (p. 56). The native hand-made pottery of South Africa is burnished with small water-worn pebbles.

That the wavy-handled pots (p. 26) were made in Palestine and traded to Egypt seems to be indicated by their presence in Petrie's early settlements at Tell Fara, where they are more plentiful than in any of the Egyptian Predynastic villages.

The painted pottery, small in quantity and fragmentary as it is, is of great importance. Its rarity need cause no surprise; painted sherds in Middle Egyptian settlements are equally scarce. There is nothing in this fact to militate against the theory that these wares have their origin in the Delta. The point of special interest is the discovery of styles of decoration unlike any from Upper Egypt. One sherd with a highly polished yellow surface (p. 28) is particularly remarkable. It is to be expected that further research will elucidate the origin of these wares.

The excavators are to be congratulated not only on the method and quality of their field work, but also on the very full account they have published of the results of their first season's digging. Only a few years ago no Egyptologist would have been interested in such a site. Now we have the young Egyptian University devoting its time, talent, and resources to work which is of the greatest interest and importance but which cannot be expected to yield any of the inscriptions or "artistic" objects which have been the aim of so many excavators in the past. Let us hope that the Egypt of the near future will continue to throw an ever-increasing light on the origins of its people and their culture.

GUY BRUNTON.


English readers need no announcement regarding the great find of Manichaean documents in Coptic since Sir Herbert Thompson's descriptive account in The Times (April 20 of this year). There the immense
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

importance of the text was pointed out and all relevant facts given: how a box was recently unearthed, in the ruins of a private house in the Fayyum, containing seven independent papyrus volumes, all in a desperate state of dilapidation; how Professor Schmidt quickly recognized the nature of their contents, and how they were eventually partitioned between Mr. Chester Beatty in London and an anonymous buyer in Berlin. The publication of this official Report has been accompanied by two less technical articles by Professor Schmidt. Scholars may indeed congratulate themselves that texts of first-rate importance should once more have fallen to him to edit.

Now at last we are to have the authentic books of this long-lived and widely spread religion, known hitherto either from the hostile descriptions of adversaries or from the poor remnants of Asiatic versions. Two works of Mani himself these new papyri promise us—to make them available, however, will require the skill and patience of years—the Kepalaan, dogmatic and cosmological dialogues between him and his disciples, and a collection of his letters, the recipients of which are in some cases already known from other sources. A third volume is a book of hymns, some addressed to Jesus, others to Mani, and numbering at least 230—perhaps, Professor Schmidt suggests, the very hymns known, in a Latin version, to Augustine. A fourth is a collection of miscellaneous narrative pieces, telling inter alia of Mani’s death, which event is recounted again in a fifth, also miscellaneous volume, bearing the title Homilies. A sixth volume promises us commentaries upon Mani’s Living Gospel, while one volume at least remains, not yet in a condition to be described.

To those who saw the papyri before they had had Dr. Ilscher’s marvellously skilful treatment it would have seemed scarcely credible that so much should ever have been made of them by Dr. Polotsky, who has by now succeeded in reading a large number of leaves and who assuredly has the good wishes of all scholars for his further progress in a very trying task.

Professor Schmidt would assign the papyri, the fine quality of which, as well as the script, should indicate a relatively early date, to the latter part of the fourth century. I have not succeeded in finding any Coptic manuscript with a script more than vaguely similar to that shown on the plate. Brit. Mus. Catal., Pl. 10, 967, and Pl. 12, 1102, should belong to the same period, whereas Rylands Catal., Pl. 5, 352, would be a less literary example (dated, if so, too late in the publication). That the Coptic is but a translation of a Greek version from the Aramaic originals would be taken for granted, but Dr. Polotsky appears to have found reason for assuming direct translation from the Aramaic—rare, if not unique, though this would be in Coptic literature.

To the Report are appended specimens of the dialect in which all the texts are written. We see the idiom at present known as sub-Achmimic (A), here leaning now towards the peculiarities of the Acts Pauli, now towards those of the St. John; sometimes, indeed, agreeing with A against both. Where this dialect should be ultimately located still appears to me quite uncertain. It is now represented by three MSS., no more, whereof one (St. John) was unearthed at Khaw, another (these Mani papyri) in the Fayyum, the third (Acts P.) at an unknown place—the bulk bought at Akhmim, but one fragment at Edfu. What relation there may be between place of finding and dialect can be estimated by the following indisputable facts. An Achmimic MS. was found in the Fayyum; two or three Fayyumic MSS. at Balawzah, south of Asyut, not to mention those from the White Monastery; several Fayyumic ostraca at Thebes, while Sa‘idic MSS. made their way to Nitraria. Moreover, a number of features regarded as characterizing A (and indeed several of A) are to be met with in so-called Sa‘idic texts (S in our Dictionary) from Thebes. It might be maintained that the relations between A and A are hardly closer than those between A and S, if not S.

It may be of interest here, since in this Journal one regards things primarily from the Egyptian standpoint, to collect what small evidence has survived—or, more accurately, what of it I have noted—as to Manichaeanism in Coptic literature. The “heresy”—for so these authors generally term it—had early got a footing in Egypt. Legend says that the “apostle” had inherited his doctrines from predecessors who had

1 In Forschungen u. Fortschritte, 1932, 354, and Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., 1933, 1.
2 On these and their importance for rightly estimating the nature of Mani’s religion v. Burkitt, Religion of the Manichees, 1925 (cf. Bardy in Vacant, Dictionnaire, ix, col. 1890), also Schaeder’s review, Gnomen, 1933, 337.
3 I do but repeat here what was said in Mon. of Epiphanius, i, 234. For Prof. Schmidt’s argument at length v. D.L.Z., 1928, 706. See also Till in Asyutina, viii, 250 ff.
4 My Coptic Manuscripts, no. 2.
5 Bodleian Capt. e 24, f 7 (v. Petrie, Gizeh and Rijfah, 39).
6 My Coptic Ostraca, nos. 500–10, Short Texts, no. 440.
7 Wadi Sarga, p. 8.
8 What follows is a development of the few facts recorded in J.R.A.S., 1919, 208. The evidence from sources other than Coptic has already been brought together in De Stoop’s Essai sur la diffusion, etc., p. 73 ff.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

assimilated the wisdom of the Egyptians and that later in his career he sent missionaries, Papos¹ and Thomas, to proselytize Egypt. Be that as it may—and it has been suggested that this “western” form of the story possibly had its origin there²—the earliest known polemic against the new faith comes from Egypt and that from a non-Christian philosopher, Alexander of Lyceopolis, who is thought to have written about the year 300, within a generation after Mani’s death. About the same time the hermit Antony had learned to know and studiously to avoid the sectaries,³ whilst various doctors of the Alexandrian church in the fourth century—Athenæus, Serapion, Didymus—attacked them, and even the hermits in the western desert found themselves at times confronted with Manichean neighbours.⁴

With the fifth century we reach the writer in every respect the most remarkable to use the native language: Shenoute (ob. 451, ad. 100+). In his works Mani and his doctrines are several times positively named and are probably referred to in various other places. To begin with the well-known allusion to the Disputatio Archelai;² this is an excerpt, which opens with a reference to “Archelaeos, bishop of Karchara in Mesopotamia”, opponent of “Manes, the root of the Manicheans”,⁶ and commenting on the meaning of Lu. v. 37, perhaps as against the perverted interpretation of Mani. Into immediate connexion with this must be brought that passage, published by Professor Lefort,⁷ which Dr. Polotsky has shown to contain a series of quotations from the Disputatio.⁸ For there is no doubt that here too the writer is Shenoute: the other texts preserved from this same MS. are demonstrably his.⁹ The extant leaf next in sequence to Professor Lefort’s deals with those who denied that the Baptist knew Jesus as the Christ;¹⁰ but since its place was eleven pages farther on, we cannot be positive that Manichean errors are here in question. Heretical views as to the Baptist are again condemned in another MS.;¹¹ his “unworthiness” (Mk i, 7) had been ascribed to sins committed by his soul in some previous incarnation; for God, they maintained, had created all souls at once and each at death passes into another body. Heretical fables about the Creation are quoted from another writer (“he said ”),¹² who held that God had made 12 worlds (σωματα), unknown to the very angels, then 7 more, outside of these again 5, and beyond them yet other 3: in all 27 worlds beyond ours. The Manichean repudiation of the Old Testament is clearly referred to in what Shenoute “had found in those books”, where Mt. xi, 13 was quoted with the following apostrophe: “Desist here, O Moses, with thy Law that thou broughtest to the wicked Jews”. “Such”, he adds, “are the words of Manes, the impious Manichean, that despiseth law and prophets.”¹³ As to the New Testament, those heretics who said that there had been twelve gospels and forty aeons¹⁴ may well have been Manicheans. Again, Shenoute deplores the pervertency of those “whose eyes the wickedness of Manes had shut” and who questioned the possibility of God being born of a woman,¹⁵ or who deny that the risen body will be the same as that which died.¹⁶ Elsewhere he reproves the Manicheans for their contemptuous attitude regarding Christ’s miracles.¹⁷ Excepting where, in the above citations, Mani or his followers are named, one would not of course be justified in presupposing them; Shenoute attacks Origenists, Arians, and Nestorians often enough, and I must leave it to others to say in these cases to which group the views reprobated are to be attributed. If the day should ever come when the countless, scattered leaves of Sinmithian MSS. shall have been sorted and palaeographically reordered, then only could we hope to know more precisely to whom his many attacks upon the heresies of his day refer.

Chronologically the next authentic writer to name the Manicheans seems to be Rufus, bishop of Shōtep-Hypsela, who lived apparently in the early seventh century.¹⁸ In his commentary on St. Luke he refers to

¹ Schmidt (Mani-Fund, 14), citing Alfaro, Écritures, ii, 117, suggests a foreign etymology. But Πανθειος is a common Egyptian name (v. Preisigke, Namenbuch), surviving in Coptic as Ἡακγ (B.M. 1086). Ἡακγ (Ryl. 361); even as Πανθαε is Egyptian. Alexander does not say that he was a foreigner, though a stranger at Lyceopolis (?).
² Nöldeke in Z.D.M.G., 43, 541.
³ P.G., 26, 940.
⁴ Preuschen, Pallad. u. Ref., 61; R.O.C., xiv, Hist. des Solitaires, § 289 = Rosweyde, p. 469; P.G., 65, 204 a (perhaps).
⁵ One wonders whether “root” is used here in allusion to the special Manichean significance of that word (v. Epiphanius, ed. Holl, iii, 39 n.).
⁸ Musson, 45, 18.
⁹ For instance Paris, 1314, 86-93, where (90 b), the piece beginning “Righteous art Thou, O Lord”, occurs as no. 43 in the catalogue of S.’s epistles (Wessely, Stud., ix, 167).
¹¹ Wessely, op. cit., 144.
¹² Zoega, p. 623. But it is not very probable that Mani’s doctrines are here referred to.
¹³ Amelémeau, i, 194.
¹⁴ Wessely, op. cit., 143. For this gospel cf. Alfaro, ii, 173.
¹⁵ Amelémeau, ii, 176 (var. i, 333), B.M. 194, 4.
¹⁶ Wessely, op. cit., ii, 192.
¹⁸ He figures as contemporary with Constantine of Siit (v. below, Annal. Boll., xxxii, 407). If so, he cannot be the bishop Rufus, “confessor, theologian and . . . ” (cf. P.O., v, 204, with Seybold’s Hamburg text 203, 16). On the relics of one or other see Abū Ṣalīb, 88 a.
the heretical gospel of Marcion and that of "the Manichean" (Μανιχεαίος), "who had dared to say words that the Lord never spake." 1 Marcion, Valentinus, and Μανιχεαίος (leg. ? Max. as above) are named in another fragment, probably by Rufus. 2 That a bishop of Hypsele should still have to speak of them is hardly more than an accident, though one may remark the coincidence when reading what Professor Schmidt has to say respecting Hypsele and the introduction of Manicheanism into Egypt. 3

The tradition which Eutychius (ob. 940) repeats as to the widespread Manichean leaven in the Egyptian church 4 has been used by all modern historians, though none, from Renaudot onwards, 5 has given much credit to such sweeping and obviously ill-informed statements. And yet Benjamín’s story (c. below), and the insinuation by Nestorius as to Cyril’s clergy 6 might show that the imputation was not without foundation.

His contemporary, Severus of Ashmunain, compiler of the first part of the Patriarchal History, draws, for his account of Mani, upon Archelaus; the Coptic chronicle which he translates embodies an abstract of the Disputatio. 7

What Abül-Barākât (ob. 1324) has to say upon the subject (P.O., xx, 686) is but an abstract of Maruta’s catalogue.

On turning to those “pseudo” authors who figure so largely in extant Coptic literature, I have met with only three references to Mani or his religion. The title of a λόγος ascribed to Gregory Nazianzen 8 tells us that it was written in response to an inquiry from Eusebius, archimandrite of “Mount Ararat in Armenia, whereon the ark rested”, 9 as to the belief of the Manicheans, that Michael had replaced the devil in the angelic hierarchy. The conclusion of Gregory’s long reply is that the devil had never been an archangel. 10

The sermon of the patriarch Benjamín (ob. 662) on the Marriage at Cana 11 is hardly less suspect than that of Gregory. It contains an anecdote of certain priests, who trafficked in the sacred elements, confessing themselves to be Manicheans, and whom the patriarch had delivered over to the civil arm, to be burned alive.

Finally Constantine, bishop of Siút (early seventh century), in an Encomium upon Athanasius, 12 finds occasion to reprobate the usual series of ancient heretics, to the Manichean maniascope down to Julian of Halicarnassus, “that miserable old man”, whom he classes with the Manichean phantasists.

As a postscript one may mention—though the piece is Coptic only in having been translated into that language—a Homily (or Epistle) of Severus 13 wherein we read of a backslider “who had abandoned the books of the Scripture, the breath of God, and read those written by the fabulists, those of the foul heresy of Manē and Thomas his disciple, and who, forsaking the Apocalypse that John, the son of thunder, beheld . . ., had himself contrived books called “Apocalypse”” [text breaks off]. 14

These Coptic vestiges of Mani and his followers certainly do not amount to much. But if they do little else, they at least contribute to the arguments for paying yet more attention to Shenoute—to his religious entourage and his relations to earlier religious literature. His is the one great figure in the literature of his language and a great deal of his extant work still lies unpublished.

W. E. CRUM.

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1 Vienna Staatsbibl. K 9658. I am indebted to the Director for leave to cite this from Professor Till’s copy.
2 Ζώγραφος, p. 618.
3 Μανι-Ψυγή, 13.
4 P.G., iii, 1015, 1023.
5 Hist. Patr. Alex., 102. For Est. “Manichean” meant the obscure Manichaean and Severians as well (J. Maspero, Hist., 213), while Severus on his part applies the abusive name to Julian Halic. (op. cit., 68) and to Eutyches (Lebon, Monophysisme, 493).
6 E. Schwartz, Acta Concil., i, 22 = Mani, iv, 897 n. τὰ Μανιχαίον φρονήσεις τῆς τῆς σαρκὸς θανάτωσιν Κληρικόν.
7 Y, P.S.B.A., xxiv, 73; P.O., i, 193.
8 Cod. P. Morgan, xxxii, 15 = Budge, Aporia, xxxiv.
9 How far Eusebius and his monastery are mythical I know not. There have been (and are) monasteries on and around Ararat; there were also other claimants for the ark’s resting place, e.g. the Phrygian Apanas. There may thus be confusion in various directions.
10 A hint by the late Abbé Nau (B.O.C., xxx, 112) tempts one to suggest that Satan’s fall here might be a reminiscence of Mani’s “Book of Giants”.
11 De Vis, Hyméis, i, 81 ff.
13 Cairo, 8010 (v. Catal. Gén., Coptic Monuments), where the other foll. of this MSS. are given.
14 I have not found this passage in any published work of Severus. It is of course not from the homily ed. Kugener and Cumont.
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-songs and other miscellaneous texts, being The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1. By Alan H. Gardiner, F.B.A.


Dr. A. H. Gardiner’s publication of The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1 will be welcomed with gratitude by all who are interested in Egyptian literature and the Egyptian language.

The chief contents of this papyrus, which evidently was written about 1160 B.C., are the story aptly designated by the editor The Contendings of Horus and Seth, and a collection of quite admirable love-songs. The story, which is fortunately quite complete, is a valuable accession to our not over-large collection of Egyptian literary works; indeed, apart from a few fragmentary tales, such as that of Astarte (see p. 9) it is a complete novelty.

The ancient Egyptians, like their medieval and modern descendants, were lovers and born tellers of stories, and there can be little doubt, judging from the style in which the Contendings of Horus and Seth is written, that it, like other late-Egyptian tales which we possess, such as the Two Brothers, the Doomed Prince, and the Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, formed part of the probably large repertory of the professional story-tellers of Nemeside Egypt. But the vivid manner in which the Contendings is written, the author’s sense of humour and his constructive ability, place it on a much higher literary level than the other stories of the same period that have survived. The reader will assuredly acknowledge that Dr. Gardiner has justification for his assertion that the half-contemptuous directness with which the follies and foibles of the gods are related is truly Homeric.

Students of Egyptian mythology have in the Contendings, to quote Dr. Gardiner again, “a wonderful field for study which will doubtless occupy them for a long year”.

The position given to Neith, “the god’s mother”, is very interesting in the light of what Sethe has to say about that goddess in his Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter, §§ 81 ff.

As Dr. Gardiner points out, Papp. Anastasi V, 9, 2, designates Thoth letter-writer of the Ennead. In our tale the god plays a role exactly like that of the modern Egyptian professional letter-writer, composing letters for one god to send to another and reading aloud those sent back in reply.

We here find it explicitly stated, apparently for the first time in an ancient Egyptian text, that Osiris made the corn (p. 25, n. 1), and we also meet with a conception of the West which is certainly not the usual one, namely that it is a place of exile for the wicked, corresponding to the Christian hell (p. 25, n. 3). In this connexion it will be recalled that ḫnḥ usually appears in Coptic as ḫnkh. The passage 12, 7 ff., reminds one of Miss W. S. Blackman’s description in her Fellâbin of Upper Egypt, p. 232, of the exorcising of an ‘afri by a sheikh.

Quite new is the episode of the god Ḥanti forswearing gold, indicating that there was some taboo of gold in connexion with the god’s native town Hierakopolis, capital of the twelfth Upper Egyptian nome. About this taboo it is to be hoped that further information may be forthcoming, possibly from some out-of-the-way text of the Ptolemaic period that has so far escaped the notice of scholars.

Dr. Gardiner remarks (p. 10) that the vocabulary of the writer of the Contendings is “small and commonplace” and that it contains “only one new word, or at the outside two”, those two being 𓊕ʼ่วน (13, 4), a verb meaning “sail round”, “cruise about”, and 𓊕 𓊕 𓊕 𓊕 (12, 8), a noun possibly meaning “fen”. Is not, however, 𓊕 𓊕 𓊕 𓊕 “bulb”, (10, 4–5), a new word? It is anyhow not given in Wb. d. aeg. Spr.

Rare words and rare usages are to be found in this text which well deserve a reviewer’s notice.

1, 10; 13, 4. 𓊕 m “prevail over”. Wb. d. aeg. Spr. does not record this meaning of 𓊕, which occurs elsewhere only in Binding of Truth, 5, 1–2, and in a series of personal names (A.Z., LXIV, 84, Revue de l’Égypte ancienne, 1, 218 ff.).

8, 1. trkh meaning “forswear”, with reflexive suffix and hr before the object forsworn, seems to occur elsewhere only in Papp. Anastasi IV, 12, 1 (Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories, p. 47 n). This meaning of trkh is not given in Wb. d. aeg. Spr.

10, 4. ḫnkh, “eye-ball”, has hitherto, according to Wb. d. aeg. Spr., been found only in Ptolemaic texts in the dual form ḫnh. This is the form in the first two lines of the passage.

10, 7. “to milk”, is used instead of the usual ṣfr. According to Wb. d. aeg. Spr., which gives the verb only in the writing ṣfr, it has hitherto not been found outside magical texts.

1 Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 53.
The following comments and suggestions may perhaps be of some interest.

1, 7. gdtn N., used not infrequently in legal documents with the meaning “deposition of N.” (See e.g. Pap. Abbott, 5, 21), has here a strange narrative use, “Then said N.” Closely parallel, of course, to this use of the fem. rel. form sgdnt-wt is that of nswtn, nswtnq, in Coptic. That the origin of the form gdtn had been forgotten, and that it was regarded as a noun, seems clear in Pap. Mayer A, 13 a, 1, where we find wr

1, 7–8. In šš pyt-ta ir-t-season wr-ta, “what signifieth your action yourselves alone?”, wr-ta corresponds exactly to the Saridic oγaαq (Steindorff, Kopt. Gramm., p. 173). In lswf

1, 8. In the translation on p. 17, insert “there” after “and judge ye between them”, the Egyptian being msw-t nwn-n wrm. wrm 6, 3. The description assumed by Isis, wr ššt-i nswrt n hwr-n, “a maiden beauteous in her body”, finds an exact parallel in the at-huwet 29 m sfrqet at hrw-en (Pap. Westcar, 5, 9–10), “twenty women who are beauteous in their bodies”. Why, by the way, does Gardner throughout the whole of this publication translate hwr as “limbs”? Does not hwr, pl. of hwr “flesh”, mean “body”, the members or limbs thereof being rwt (sing. rti)?

10, 5. lsw-ššt n swt n wrm “and they grew into lotuses”. For rd m “grow into”, see Pap. d’Orbiney, 16, 10, and eur-ncsma tnrp pfš hλλ “her whole body is grown into tongue” (Steindorff, Kopt. Gramm., pp. 26–27).

10, 6. “And he spake unto Pfr-Harakhit falsely, lw-pw her hwr n swt n wrm “And I did not find Horus—although he had found him.” Another example of hr lw sgm-t with exactly the same meaning occurs in Pap. Abbott, 7, 10, hr lw swr-šŠ I m pr sfy n pr tr, “Although I was there as vizier of the land.”

10, 8. lsw-dit-ššt n lwšt n lstm. Is not “milk” treated as a plural here because it was put into Horus’ eyes in drops? Possibly we should translate: “and she put the (drops of) milk therein.”

15, 1. Well worthy of notice is the construction tch-n lsw-t twf, of which I know no other instance.

11, 11. msw lsw r nh pr gpy. Would not “Shall we not ascertain (who is) the guilty one?” suit the context better than Gardner’s “We shall not be able to discern the guilty one”? For mn = Latin nonne see Gardner, Late-Egyptian Stories, p. 65 a.

6, 6. lsw-n Slk br dwn lwf lsw hwr nswm lw tsw twst ltv. Should not this be rendered: “Thereupon Seth arose from sitting eating (or, as we should say, “from where he sat eating”) bread with the great Ennead?” This translation suits the preceding sentences better than Gardner’s “Thereupon Seth rose up and he sat and ate bread with the great Ennead.” Compare the somewhat analogous Coptic construction αγωγος ευμνογος “he is already dead.”

8, 13. lsws hntf pr mw tr at hpr ltv Hr hwr Slk. Gardiner renders this: “She threw it into the water in the place in which Horus and Seth had made.” Is not the correct translation: “She threw it into the water at the place where Horus and Seth had plunged in”? This construction occurs again in Doomed Prince, 7, 9, only with ir-n instead of ltv: ir-tw ltv pr hwr n byt ltvn pr hrd m pr tr n Kmt, “Now on the day when the lad came from Egypt”, and cf. also Pap. d’Orbiney, 6, 8. It is common in demotic, e.g. pr mcr n by a’r N. a’r pr yr n pr twf, “the place where N. had fallen into the river” (Senen, 4, 13); tr wrn n sftq a’r pr wrh “in the hour in which the priest had spoken” (Ibid., 4, 10; see also Spiegelberg, Demot. Gramm., § 551).

9, 1. In msw n lw-m-tw twt. Is not “Help me”, preferable to “Come unto me”? Cf. the French à moi.

13, 4. lwf ltv pr nyt lwf k swt m pr sfy ltv. “And whose shall prevail over his fellow”. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories, p. 64 a, n. 13, 4 a, would delete the lwf before sfy, as in all other instances of this expression twt and not twt is the verb. But cannot stand here for the r, Coptic e, of the lwf(r) sgm form, which we certainly have here? Cf. Gardiner, op. cit., i, p. 27, 15.

14, 13. lw fn ltv tr m msw must surely be “seeing it is I who have made you strong”, not “who make you strong”. Are not Coptic participles always past?

p. 14, n. 6. For “the claims of Re” read “the claims of Seth.”
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

While all the love-poems will deeply interest the student of ancient literature, three of them (verse, G1, 1–G2, 5), if not more, will appeal to any lover of poetry, ancient or modern. He cannot fail to be delighted with the similes of the royal envoy travelling post-haste, of the proud steed from Pharaoh's stable, and of the hunted gazelle bounding over the desert hills. Such language has hitherto been unknown in pre-Hebraic love-poetry.

I would now like first to draw attention to, and in some cases comment upon, a number of rare and interesting words and expressions occurring in the poems, and then venture upon a few suggestions with regard to translation.

C1, 4. If meaning "surpass", with direct object, apparently occurs once or, at the most, twice elsewhere; see pp. 30–1, n. 3.

C1, 5. "midst" or "waist", has hitherto, according to Wb. d. aeg. Spr., only been found in Ptolemaic texts.

C2, 7. Gardiner points out that ṣwśn is also used transitively in Maximes d'Antin, 6, 113.

C3, 1. lw ṣwśn bḥn “I do not attire myself with my fan”. Judging from Wb. d. aeg. Spr. this word, Coptic ṣwśn, appears here for the first time outside Ptolemaic texts, in which it is only to be found in the combination ḏḥn ṣwśn “protect”. The usual word for “fan” in Late Egyptian is ḏḥt or ṣwśh, and to “carry a fan” is ḏḥn ṣwśh. Here ṣwśh, “put on”, a garment or ornament, takes the place of ḏḥn.

C4, 6–C5, 2. In the poem about the love-sick swain several technical medical words are employed. Some of them such as mi ṣwśh ṣwśh “the master physicians”, ḫpḥt “remedy”, ṣwśh ṣwśh “the entire compendium of medicine”, are known from other sources. But far less common, if not altogether new, in this particular employment are ṣrḥk “creep on” some one (of a malady), ṣwśh “diagnose” a disease, ṣwśh lit. “way”, i.e. “method” of curing. It might here be observed that ṣf “seize”, “take”, is used in the first poem (C1, 8) of “catching” a complaint; only in Egyptian, be it noted, the complaint “catches” the person, not the person the complaint.

G1, 1–2. The expression ṣwḥ ṣḥt n ṣr, “N. is impatient for” something, is not recorded in Wb. d. aeg. Spr. Gardiner notes one other instance, but without ṣr, i.e. n ṣr ṣḥt “I have not been impatient” (Naville, Todtenbuch, 125, 31).

G1, 2. With the use of ṣḥḥ here in the sense of “requisition”, a meaning which Gardiner (p. 35, n. 1), considers unique, compare, perhaps, its use in the expression ṣḥḥ n ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “one whose rank the lord of the Two Lands assigned” or “appointed” (Sethe, Dramatische Texte, p. 63); see also ṣḥḥ w ṣḥḥ n ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “in m ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “I appointed my own heralds to my goats” (Ann. Serv., xv, 207, l. 4, qu. Journal, xvi, 197).

G1, 5–6. ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “steeds”. Gardiner, p. 35, n. 2, says that this is an unknown word. The compilers of Wb. d. aeg. Spr., however, record a variant form ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ. Gardiner observes that ṣḥḥ, which occurs in the same poem, is possibly a Hittite word meaning a warrior who drives a chariot. Is ṣḥḥ of similar origin? If so, seeing that the Hittite language is now thought to have certain Indo-European affinities, ṣḥḥ might just possibly be compared with the Latin equus. Mr. H. W. Bailey of the School of Oriental Studies, London, has given me the following note, which somewhat supports the suggestion. The Armenian for “horse” is ḫ (j = dc). The Sanscrit hāya-s is usually explained as from *ghyeja or *ghaio (ḡh = palatal aspirate g).

While on the subject of horses it is worth noting that, thanks to the two poems contained in G1, 1–8, we now know that in Egyptian “crack of the whip” is ḫw ṣḥḥ (G1, 7), “draw level with” a galloping horse is ṣr ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “resting place” (G1, 2).  

G2, 1. ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “like a gazelle bounding over the desert”. ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “bound” is, according to Gardiner, a new word. Can it be the same word as ṣḥḥ, which occurs in Papyri, 21, 1, and Pap. Anastasi IV, 12, 3? ṣḥḥ does occasionally become ṣḥḥ, though not nearly so frequently as does ṣḥḥ. In all three examples “bounding”, “leaping”, or “flinging oneself about”, gives the required sense.

G1, 8–G2, 1. ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ “how well knoweth the heart of the sister that he is not far from the sister.” ṣḥḥ followed by the possessive article and infinitive and meaning “know that some one is doing such and such a thing” is a use not recorded in Wb. d. aeg. Spr. The same construction apparently

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1. In Contendings 6, 6, ṣḥḥ ṣḥḥ is used of Seth overtaking Isis. The expression seems not to occur outside these two texts.

2. In G2, 3, it means a “resting place” for a hunted gazelle. Neither use of the word is recorded in Wb. d. aeg. Spr.
occurs with cm. {tw-1 br tm mu dit i-ir-t vd-1 te mu el n Pr-ct "I know that thou (fem.) didst cause the cedar-tree of Pharaoh to be cut down" (Pap. d'Orbiney, 17, 7).

Recto, 16, 10. Can the obscure word  possibly be the same as "gateway", "keep" (Peet, Tomb Robberies, p. 51, n. 20)?

Recto, 17, 8. This is apparently the first time that [ ] occurs in an Egyptian text with the meaning of the Coptic verb τομε, "knock" on a door.

Recto, 17, 11. ms hmine "carpenter lad". This use of ms is not uncommon in Late-Egyptian, e.g. ms hs "slave boy" (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 2, a, 4), ms svb "young priest" (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10053, vs. 2, 17). The use is not recorded in Wb, d. aug. Spr. The construction ms hmine is analogous to that of hurew n r/fwy "wretch of a washerman" (Peasant, B 169); the difference is that in the former the direct genitive is employed, in the latter the genitival is.

Verso, B1, 31–2. It is interesting to find once more the phrase "cry aloud unto the Lebanon", hitherto only met with in Wenamun.

Gardiner supplies here a useful note on the last word s7h, which, he suggests, means "writhe in birth pangs".

Cl, 3–4. Why is wbh khyt translated "radiant of nipple"? Though ḫnḫfkhf can mean nipple, it more commonly means "breast" (Crum, Copt. Dict., p. 54). Surely it is the breast rather than the nipples of a woman that would be described as "radiant" or "smooth".

Cl, 5. gz mnth-s nfr-w, "her legs show forth her beauty". Gardiner remarks in a note (p. 31) that "show forth" is a little doubtful. The usual meaning of gz is "stretch out", "extend". It will be observed that the poet in enumerating the physical charms of his lady-love begins with her eyes and lips (ll. 2–3) and ends with her feet: "Fair of gait she treadeth upon the earth" (l. 3). I would suggest that the expression under discussion means "her legs extend her beauty", i.e. carry it on, prolong it, from her waist and buttocks, which are mentioned in the immediately preceding passage.

Cl, 6. divs n nḥw n tИg n mb nh n mfr. Ought not this to be translated: "She maketh the necks of all men to be turned round at the sight of her"? The poet surely means that when the girl passes them in the street all the men turn their heads round to get another look at her, and not, as Gardiner supposes, turn their faces away dazzled by her beauty.

C2, 2–3. burh hfrf sryb kpt-f mtr-f hbr n tИ-fr ftr. "He knoweth not my desire to embrace him or he would send to my mother." So Gardiner translates the passage. But I venture to suggest that it should be rendered: "He knoweth not my (frequent) desires to embrace him and that he would send to my mother," my view being that mtefrf continues the governing force of sryb—"my desires to embrace him and for him to send."

C2, 6. br rfrf n rfrf m brf sryb hfrf w wstn. Pfr ltr vh wst, n vh n rfrf st rfrf-l. May I suggest a slight change in Dr. Gardiner's translation and render: "I know not how to get me from his presence, so that I may pass him boldly by. Lo. river is like road, I know not a place for my feet"? The girl is so overcome by her love for the young man that she cannot drag herself away and pass him boldly; she is in a state of confusion and cannot distinguish river from road, and does not know how to put one foot before the other.

C2, 10. br didfrf shr n mr. Gardiner translates: "nor suffereth me to walk in human wise." I would suggest, however, that mr rfrf has the same meaning here as sbr in-nās in modern Egyptian Arabic, i.e. "properly", "as I (you or she) should"—a meaning that suits the context.

C3, 2–3. Is the emendation hms(,) necessary? Is not the imperative hms equally satisfactory?

Can what Gardiner, pp. 32–3, n. 2, regards as an utterly unintelligible sentence be rendered "(though my glance(s) are many likewise" (or "moreover")? The girl has just bade her heart "sit still and keep cool when the brother comes to thee," and then goes on to tell it not to let people say she is a woman distraught with love. In a parenthesis, however, she confesses that she keeps casting glances—to see if her lover is coming or, perhaps, at him when he has arrived. For ltr "glance" cf. the use of br in the same sense in Doomed Prince, 6, 4. One great objection to this rendering is that kwnf would have to be old perfective, and I cannot recall any instance of kwnf occurring as an adjectival verb.

C4, 9. ph dwn nr sfrf ph ntr sfrf. Gardiner translates: "That which I have said, behold it is what reviveth me", though the love-sick young man has said nothing yet to which the words "That which I have

1 There is no need to insert ir before ph dit i-ir-t, as Gardiner suggests (Late-Egyptian Stories, p. 27 n, n. 17, 7 b).

2 Written  masturbate, as also in l. 10.
said "can bear any reference. Have we not here the infinitive ḫḥ preceded by the article ḫḥ, and should not the passage be rendered: "To say to me, Here she is," is what reviveth me"? This remark is exactly parallel to that which follows: "Her name it is that can lift me up."

Recto 17, 10. Can the word אִ֥דֵּל אֵשֶׁר, 'd, which Gardiner leaves untranslated, be the name of that peculiar ancient Egyptian bolt, still found in use in Abyssinia, which is discussed and illustrated by D. Krencker and H. Schäfer in Ἀ.Ζ., XLIII, 60 ff.? The string and the wood determinatives give some support to the suggestion.

One last remark. The printing and plates are of the first quality, Dr. Gardiner's translations are masterly, and his introduction and general notes most illuminating. The sole matter for regret is that the publication does not include a full philological commentary, which, coming from such an authority, would have been invaluable to those of us who want to know a great deal more than we do about Late-Egyptian syntax and grammar. It is to be hoped that such notes will appear elsewhere in the not too distant future.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

1 Cf. C3, 7 (end of line).
# List of Plates

**Model of a Tell el-'Amarna House.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Model of a Tell el-'Amarna house. Frontispiece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Model of a Tell el-'Amarna house. 1. The chapel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. View from north-west.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Model of a Tell el-'Amarna house. Below: North Hall with outer wall removed. Above: upper hall with outer and inner walls removed, revealing clerestory of Central Hall</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Model of a Tell el-'Amarna house. With roofs raised to show the internal structure</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Dakleh Stela.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The Dakleh Stela. Lines I-8.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>The Dakleh Stela. Lines 8-13.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>The Dakleh Stela. Lines 13-20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Further Notes on a Harvesting Scene.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>A modern Egyptian harvest custom.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Placing the bread on the heap of winnowed beans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The <em>kultah</em> of water placed on the heap.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Admission of a Priest of Sennedjem in the Second Century B.C.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>The Merton Demotic Papyri: No. 1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A Statue and a Scarab.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>1. Statue of the King's-Son Nebi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-5. Scarab-seal of Iuba, a mayor of Byblos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Two Prehistoric Objects.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>1. Predynastic forked lancehead of flint.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3. Predynastic bowl of red-polished ware with design in white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarna, 1932-1933.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Plate Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Lifesize head of a princess in quartzite</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Restored plan of Gem-Aten and Per-Hai-Aten</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Great Temple.</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Main gate of temenos from within.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Earlier bases below pylons of Per Hai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Two periods of entrance system.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Entrance Pavilion.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Concrete platforms of Per Hai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Gem Aten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Sculptor's trial piece.</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Sculptor's trial piece.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Sculptor's unfinished trial piece.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Plaster cast of Nefertiti's head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Quartzite head for inlay.</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Quartzite head for inlay.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Fragments from the sculptor's house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Inscribed bronze weight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>1 and 2. Steatite statuette of monkey and scribe. 3 and 4. Lifesize head of princess in quartzite</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX</td>
<td>1 and 2. Plaster cast of head of Akhenaten. 3. Part of limestone head from Temple. 4. Plaster cast of head from Petrie's excavations</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some pre-dynastic rock-drawings.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>1. Earthenware cylinder and disk from neighbourhood of rock-drawings. 2. Drawing of elephant; early period. 3. Drawings of boat and animals; later period</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The coffin of Prince Min-khaf.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. East side</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. South end</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. West side</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV</td>
<td>Coffin of Prince Min-khaf. North end</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The so-called poem on the king's chariot.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Recto</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Recto</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII</td>
<td>Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Verso</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>Edinburgh Ostracon 916. Verso</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>Turin Ostracon 9588</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The signs  \( \equiv \) and  \( \overset{\text{a}}{\equiv} \).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>1. Grave shrine of Bannaqa el-Darir: c. a.d. 1500–70. 2. Two graves near the Segadi-Arakiin road. Sennar. 3. Gubba of Shékh Talha. 4. One of two flags on the grave of Fiki Ahmed Wad Derdab (died 1931). Dinder River. 5. Graveyard round shrine of Shékh Farah Tuktuk near Sennar Dam</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI</td>
<td>1. Gubba of the Ya‘qubab Shékh Muhammed Tom Bannaqa. Sennar District. 2. Grave shrine of Shékh Farah Tuktuk, a mile north-east of the Sennar Dam.</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Model of a Tell el-‘Amarna House.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Plan of the estate</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2</td>
<td>Entrance gateway and chapel in grounds</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 3</td>
<td>Plan and section of the house</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 4</td>
<td>West and north elevations</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 5</td>
<td>Details of the doorways and doors</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Problem 14 of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 1 and 2</td>
<td>Methods of dividing a truncated pyramid into sections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Dakhleh Stela.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Upper part of the stela</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Bull Standards of Egypt.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 1, 2, and 3. The Mesopotamian storm-god</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 4</td>
<td>Cretan bull’s-head supporting double axe</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 5</td>
<td>Zeus bearing the double axe</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 6</td>
<td>Hittite god bearing the single axe</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 7</td>
<td>The Egyptian Bull-of-the-Sky</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 8</td>
<td>Adad-Ramman as a calf with lightning flashes</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 9</td>
<td>The bull and mountain, from a statue of Min</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 10</td>
<td>Egyptian bull-standard</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 11</td>
<td>Sickle-shaped meteorites</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 12, 13, and 14. Egyptian throwing-sticks</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Stela of Seti I in the British Museum.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Hand-copy of the stela</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-‘Amarna, 1932–1933</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>The Great Temple, from the tomb of Meryra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Some Pre-dynastic Rock-drawings.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figs. 1, 2, and 3. Drawings of boats</td>
<td></td>
<td>129, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 4</td>
<td>Rock drawings in the Wadi Abu Agag</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 5</td>
<td>Pottery vase from Khaššara</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The so-called Ramesses Girdle.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Early copy of the inscription on the girdle</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Coffin of Prince Min-khaf.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Scene from the east wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 2</td>
<td>Scene from the west wall of the chapel of Prince Khufuw-khaf</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 3</td>
<td>Scene from the north wall of the chapel of Merytyetes</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 4</td>
<td>Detail of the chapel of Methen</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 5</td>
<td>Relief from Sun Temple at Abu Ghurāb</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Ram-headed God at Hermopolis.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fig. 1</td>
<td>Relief from a temple-pylon at Hermopolis</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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Page
99
103
106
107
107
108
108
110
110
111
111
194
195
195
196
200
INDEX

A
'Abd el-Monim Efendi Mustapha, 113.
'Abd er-Rasul, 13, 149.
Abu Ghurab, 158.
Abu Shuafa, 24.
Abydos, work at, 189.

Ahnas el-Medinah, 9, 11.
Akhenaten, sandstone head of, 94, 116, 118, 189.
Akhet-ara, 155, 156, 157.
Akkad, 57.
Allan, Dr. D. A., 143.
Alos, kingdom of, 175.
Amenpe, god of Luxor, 28.
Amenemhet II, sculptures of his pylon, 160.
Amenemose, important painting in tomb of, 95.
Amenophis III, 95, 114, 118.
Amer, Mustafa, with Oswald Menghin, The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi (reviewed), 195-6.
Amun, 47, 48, 49.
Amun's horns distinct from those of Khnum, 160.
Amun-of-Ramesses, 123.
Anat, Montet assigns Tanis temple to, 123, 124.
Anath coupled with Astarte, 169, 173.
Ancient Egypt, changes regarding, 191.
Ankhenspataaten, 117.
Anti, Signor, 38.
Antinoe, 161.
Ape of Thoth, small sculpture, 117.
Apophis, 98.
Architectural Association, 189.
Architecture, of El-Amarnah, Exhibition illustrating, 95; lecture on, 189; early developments in Egypt, 95.
Arman, distribution of tomb-groups from, 96-7.
Armenia, 57.
Arrows, weapons of the storm-god, 46, 47.
Arsaphes, god of El-Amarnah, 129.
Astarte, 58.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
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Astarte, 129.
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Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Astarte, 129.
Bitter Lakes, 9.
BLACKMAN, AYLMARD M., review by, 200-4; 19, 40.
BLACKMAN, WINTFRED S., Some Further Notes on a Harvesting Scene, 31-2.
Blanchard Collection, scarab in, 54.
Blue Nile Province, 175.
Boat-building scene, 154.
"Boat-pota" compared with rock-drawings, 130, 131.
Boats in rock-drawings, 129, 130, 131.
Bonner, Professor Campbell, letter from, 192.
Borchardt, Dr., 148, 191.
Braesch, Mr., 189.
Breasted, Prof., 23, 128, 192.
Bremmer-Rhind papyrus, 165.
"Bride of the corn", 51, 32.
British Museum, temporary closing of Egyptian and Assyrian galleries, 193.
Brooklyn Museum, 113.
Broome, Miss, 189.
Brugsch Pasha, 9, 14; first to identify Pi-Ramesse with Tanis, 122, 123, 125, 133, 135, 144.
Brunton, G., on Pottery Corpus Committee, 96; 132; review by, 195-6.
Bubastus, 9, 10, 124, 125, 126, 128.
de Buck, A., 190.
Budge, Sir Ernest, 134.
"Bull of the Sky" in Egypt, 44-5.
Bull throughout Near East represents sky- or storm-god, 42-3, 44; connected with mountains, 49.
Burchardt, 171, 172.
Buto of Imet, 125.
Buto-of-Ramesses, 123.
Byblos, 53.

C
Cabasite nome, features of its standard, 49-52.
Cairo Museum, 15, 53, 66, 114, 150, 189.
Calf as well as bull represents sky-god, 45, 46.
Callender, Dr. Graham, 167.
Calverley, Miss, 189.
Calves of Yahweh, 46.
Canopus decree, 36, 37, 39, 40.
Carter, Mr., 12.
Cary, M., review by, 107-8.
Catoecic estates, regulations concerning, 139, 141.
Cerny, Dr., 168, 173, 174.
Chabrias, 121.
Charriot-parts, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173.
Chnumis stone, incised, 192.
Chubb, Miss, 113.
Chubb, Mr. P. B., 113.
Clarke, Mr., 145, 146.
Clayton, Mr. P. A. 132.
Clermont-Ganneau, 53.

Coffin Texts, 164.
Costume of Old Kingdom, 155, 156.
Covington Tomb, 154.
Cowley, Sir Arthur, 66.
Cromus, 47, 51.
Crum, W. E., review by, 190-9.
Cylinder, earthenware, containing pierced disk, 132.

D
Damahûr, composition of coin-hoard from, 119.
Daressy, 12, 14, 23, 24, 26, 125.
Darfur, 175.
Dattari, G., 120, 121.
Davies, N. de G., 11, 13, 95, 162, 191; review by, 108.
Delta, bull-cult and bull-standards in, 42.
Delta, chief source of coin-hoards in Egypt, 120.
Demotic Dictionary, proposed, 192.
Denderah, 11.
Dér el-Bahri, 11, 12, 13, 149.
Dér el-Gebrawi, 11.
Dér el-Medina, 13.
Dér Rifah, 11.
Deshahshah, 9, 11.
Dicker, Miss M. E., Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. A Papyrus (1931-2):
7. Palaeography and Diplomatic, 90-1; review by, 110.
Dictaean Cave, 43.
Djarnet, Tanis, 123, 124, 126, 127.
Doddson, Mr. Aquila, presents Demotic Papyrus to Ashmolean, 97.
Dressel, H., 119.
Droop, Professor J. P., 63.
Duwa-n-ra, Prince, 153.

E
Eifus, nome-list, 126; 134.
Edwards, Miss Amelia B., 65.
Egerton, Mr. W. F., continuing Spiegelberg's work on Demotic, 192.
Egyptian Religion, new periodical, 191.
Ehhol, Dr., 58.
Ehnsayh, 9, 123.
El-'Amarnah, season at (1932-3), 94, 113-18.
El-Bersah, 9, 10.
El-Kâb, rock-drawings at, 130, 131.
El-Lâhum, 31.
el-Mu'izz, Canal, 125.
Elagabalus of Enessa, 48.
Elephantine, 53.
Elephants in rock-drawings, 129, 130.
El-èsîyâh, inscription at, 53.
Ennil as bull, 44; as mountain, 47.
Epagomenal days, 25.
Erman, Professor, 162, 167.
INDEX 211

Erment, 13.
Ernutet, harvest goddess, 32, 176.
Euergetes II, 34, 35.
Evans, Sir Arthur, 120.
Exegetes, petition to an, 138–42.
functions of, 139.
Exodus, Book of, its unhistorical character, 122, 128.
geography of, 9, 10, 127.

F
Farina, Professor, 173.
Faulkner, Raymond O., The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian (reviewed), 103–6; review by, 111–12; 163.
First Cataract, 131.
Flags on graves of holy men, 175, 176.
Forrer, 57, 58.
Frankfort, Dr., 113, 114, 116, 190; new appointments, 191.
Fung Kingdom, 175.

G
Gall, uses of, 136–7.
Gardiner, Alan H., 12, 56, 162, 164, 189.
The Dakkheh Stela, 19–30.
on the Astarte Papyrus, 98.
Tanis and Pi-Ramesse: a Retraction, 122–8.
Garments in Fourth Dynasty Tombs, 154–9.
Garstang, Professor John, 119.
Gatty, C. T., 145, 146.
Gauthier, 22, 96, 135.
Gems Aten, 94; its plan, 114–15.
Gerzah, palette from, 44.
Gizah, 150, 155, 159.
Gizah Museum, 10, 15.
lecture by, 95.
succeeds Petrie, 101.
Golenischeff Glossary, 123, 125, 126.
Goschen, 9.
Grébant, 12, 14.
Greek coins in Egyptian hoards, 119.
Green, Mr. F. W., 131.
retirement from Chair, 190.
Guardians, appointment of, 139, 141.
Gunn, Battscombe, review by, 103–6; 16, 18, 190.

H
Haddad or Ramman, bull-god, 44, 47, 48.
Harding, Lankester, Honorary Editor of Pottery Corpus, 96.
Hardy, Edward Rockie, The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt (reviewed), 98–103.
Harris Papyrus, 126.
Harvest customs, modern, 31.
Harouter, priest of Soknebtynis, 35, 39.
Hat-Aten, 94, 113, 114.
Hatior, 24, 29.
Hathor of Diospolis, 21, 23–4.
Hathor-efer-hetep, 154, 156, 157.
Hatshepsut, 12.
Head, B. V., 120.
Heart Medical Papyrus, 98.
Hemkhuy, priest of Soknebtynis, 35, 39.
Hepehfa, nomarch (another), 33.
Hepehfa, overseer of sealers, 33.
Heqt, 161.
Heracleopolis, 160.
Hermes, on xoite coins, 49.
Hermopolis, Khnum worshipped at, 160–1.
Hermopolis, Khnum worshipped at, 160–1.
Hesy-rajk, 154, 159.
Hierakonpolis, 45, 55, 131.
Hieratic in relation to hieroglyphic, 163, 164.
Hill, G. F., 120.
Hippopotami on pre-dynastic bowl, 55.
Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Transactions, 144, 145, 146.
Hittites, 66.
Hogarth, Dr., 19.
Homer, 162.
Horapollo, 166.
Horemheb, 114, 124.
Horus, 48, 51, 52.
Horus and Sakhet, deities of Pi-di-jödj, 24, 30.
Horus of Amun, 160, 169.
Horus of-Ramesse, 123.
Horus the Bull, 45.
House at Tell El-Amarnah, model of, 1–7.
chapel in, 2.
stables, 3.
kitchens, 3.
public rooms, 4–6.
bedrooms, 6.
lathrooms, etc., 7.
"House of Rejoicing of the Aten", 94.
Hubbard, Mrs., 113.
Hunt, Prof. A. S., 94, 190.
Huy, 22, 26, 28.
Huya, tomb of, 116.
Hykaos at Tanis, 124, 126, 127.
their expulsion the basis of Exodus-story, 128.

I
Iaouen Cave, 44.
Idi, lector, 33.
Imet, probably Nebeshah, 125.
Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, 97.
International Corpus of Egyptian Pottery, 62, 64, 96.
Isis and Nephthys, 133.
INDEX

J

Jack, Mr., 127.  
Jéquier, S. 148.  
Exhibition and Meeting, 94.  
Junker, Dr. H., on Pottery Corpus Committee, 96.  
succeeds Prof. Newberry, 191; 154.  
Jupiter Dolichenus, 44.  
Jupiter Heliopolitanus, 44.  

K

Kadesh, Poem on the battle of, 128.  
Ka-mankh, scenes in tomb of, 152, 153, 154.  
Kanofer, 156.  
Kantir, 128.  
Kasr es-Sayyâd, 11.  
Kayham, witness, on Dakhleh stela, 22.  
Kerbet, 176.  
Kersâteh, witness, on Dakhleh stela, 22.  
KEYES, CLINTON WALKER, with WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN. Tax Lists and Transporta- 
tion Receipts from Theadelphia (reviewed), 110.  
Kha-bauw-4okar, 154, 156, 159.  
Khamas, Hitite hero, 57.  
Khattarah, rock-drawings near, 129, 130.  
Khnum, worshipped near and in Hermopolis, 160-1.  
Khufu dedicates ram-statue, 160.  
Khufu-khaf, 154, 155, 157.  
Koqda-bah, 10.  
Köm Ombo, 8.  
Krause, Prof. Dr. Fritz, 143.  
Kuenz, M., 128.  
Kumarbis, Hitite god, 57, 58, 59.  

L  
“Labour of Month”, poetic phrase for battle, 61.  
Lavers, Mr., his reconstruction of Hat Aten, 113-14, 115; 189.  
Lebanon, 173, 174.  
Leeds, Dr., 19.  
Legge, F., 13.  
Legrain, 8.  
Leiden Magical Papyrus, 133.  
Lepsius, 150.  
Leopolis, Thunderbolt City, 47, 51, 52.  
Libyan titles, 23.  
Lightning as weapon of storm-god, 43.  
Linen lists, 153.  
Little, Mr., 189, 190.  
Liverpool Free Public Museums, 143, 145.  
Loret, M. Victor, 133, 137.  

Luxor, 11, 12.  
Lyons, Sir Henry, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 94.  

M  
Mackay, Mrs., 191.  
Magazine of the Shade of Ankh-Râ at Amarna, 117.  
Mahmud Hamza, 128.  
Mandrake, 134, 135.  
Manetho’s location of Avaris, 125.  
Marduk-Adad, 46.  
Mariette, 124.  
Maskhûtah not Pithom, 127.  
Maspero, Gaston and Jean, volume dedicated to, 97; 12, 149.  
Mattha Efendi, writing on Demotic ostraca, 97.  
Maturehes, Libyan word, 27.  
Mayor, Mr. Joseph, 144.  
his Collections and Bequest, 145.  
McKenzie, R., Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri (1931-2):  
8. Lexicography and Grammar, 91.  
Memoirs, Foucart’s appreciation of, 9, 10, 11, 12.  
Memphis assigned as provenance to Ramesses Girdle, 145, 146.  
Menhet-Khufu, 160.  
Mennin, Oswald, with Mustafa Amr, The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the  
Neolithic Site at Moudâ (reviewed), 195-6.  
Menkauperesamkh, scenes of foreigners in tomb, 95.  
Menna, tomb of, 13.  
Mentuhotpe, temple of, excavation by Naville, 13.  
Menzalah, Lake, 9, 10.  
Mehr, 11.  
Merce, Samuel A. B., 191.  
Merenptah, 169.  
Merenptah, charioteer, statue of, 125.  
Mereruka, 159.  
Meroes Delta, 152, 159.  
Meryetaten, 116, 117.  
Meroe, 175.  
Merton, Mr. Wilfred, 34.  
Merry, his tomb-paintings valuable evidence for  
Atem-Temple, 115.  
Meryyetes, 154, 155.  
Meskheti, 161.  
Mescaros, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50.  
Metem, 154, 157.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art, publications, 191.  
Meyers, 23.  
MILNE, H. J. M., Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri (1931-2):  
1. Literary Texts, 68-70.  
4. Political History, Biography, Administration,  
Topography, and Chronology, 78-80.  
5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic His- 
tory, Numismatics, and Metrology, 80-2.  
Min, 47, 48, 49.  
Min-khaf, coffin of, discussed, 150-9.
INDEX

Miriam, new periodical, 191.
Mjölnir, Thor's thunder weapon, 51.
Model of a Tell El-Amarneh House, SETON LLOYD, 1-7.
Mond, Sir Robert, 13, 94.
Montet, 53; on the identification of Tanis, 122, 123, 125, 126.
de Morgan, 8, 14.
Moscow Mathematical Papyrus, previous discussions of criticized, 16, 18.
Moss, ROSALIND L. B., with BEERTHA PORTER, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III. Memphis (Abu Rasash to Dahshur) (reviewed), 108.
Mountains associated with storm-gods, 47, 48.
Mukis, 57.
Mummified hand with rings in Liverpool Free Public Museums, 144, 146, 147.
Murray, G. W., with O. H. MYERS, Some Pre-Dynastic Rock-drawings, 129-32.
Murray, Professor Margaret, 175, 176, 191.
Mut, village, 19, 20, 24.
Mut-khant-rabu-entêrew, deity, 126.
Myers, O. H., Two Prehistoric Objects, 55.
organizes Pottery Corpus, 96.
Myers, O. H., with G. W. Murray, Some Pre-Dynastic Rock-drawings, 129-32.
mêt, identified with mandrake, 133-5.

N
Nag' ed-Dér, 63.
Nagel, M., 98.
Nakht, Tomb of, 32.
Nash, 13.
Naukratis, 10; coin-board at, 120.
Naville, Edouard, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
Nebeshah, probably Imet, 125.
Nefermaat, 157, 158.
Nefertari, 157.
Nefertiti, new head of, 94, 116, 117, 118.
Nehi, king's son, statue of, 53-4; distribution of his other monuments, 53.
Nesubast, son of Patê, 22, 24, 28, 29.
Neswut-pw-neter, 154, 155.
Neuserre's Sun Temple, 158.
Newberry, Percy E., A Statue and a Scarab, 53-4; 52, 94; resignation of, 191.
Newton, Mr., 2.
Newton, Sir Charles, 65.
Nock, A. D., Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri (1931-2):
2. Religion, Magic, Astrology, 70-3; 102.
Nock, A. D., with H. I. Bell and HERBERT THOMPSON, Magical Texts from a bilingual papyrus in the British Museum (reviewed), 106-7.
Nomes having bull-standards, 42.

O
Oeconomica of Aristotle, 129.
Offering-lists, 151-4, 159.

Offprints of Journal, free, resumed, 96.
O'Leary, De Lacy, Bibliography: Christian Egypt, (1932-3), 177-84.
Onkh, controller, 22, 28.
Onkh, witness, on Dakkheh stela, 22.
Onnophris, priest of Soknebytys, 35, 39.
Onyurs, titles and nature, 47.
Open Letter to the Egypt Exploration Society on the Occasion of its Jubilee, GEORGE FOUCART, 8-15.
Orpiment, uses of, 135-6.
Osiris, 29.
Osorkon II, 124.
Ostraca collected by Sayce, 66, 97.
at Amara, 117.
in Rhind collection, 167.
Ostracoon from Turin Museum, 168, 173.

P
Pakheh, son of Paapis, 35, 40.
Palermo Stone, 160.
Palestine Exploration Fund and E.E.S. now under same roof, 95.
Panab at, 2.
Panther-skin garments, 158, 159.
Papyry du Loe Moeres, 163, 165.
Papyry Koller, 168, 171.
Parallel between Egyptian and Hittite legend of Sea, 56, 68.
Patê, witness, on Dakkheh stela, 22.
Pawerad, witness on Dakkheh stela, 22.
The so-called Ramesses Girdle, 143-9.
on pottery, 162.
succeeds Prof. Griffith, 190; 16, 18.
Pekoom, witness on Dakkheh stela, 22.
Peliseus Museum, 160.
Pelusiac Nile, without native Egyptian name, 125.
Pelusium not Pi-Ramesses, 123, 127.
Penamun, witness on Dakkheh stela, 22.
Pennons on entrance pylons of temples, 176.
Per Hai, House of Rejoicing, 114, 115.
Periodicals, new, for Egyptology, 191.
Perrot, George, 8.
Peek-kof instrument, 55.
Pet, 29.
Petosiris, phylarch, 35, 37.
Petrie, Prof. Sir W. M. Flinders, retirement of, 190, 191; 10, 53, 63, 94, 97, 113, 114, 117, 118.
Pharsob, unusual use of title, 19, 21, 23.
Phoenician coins in Beni-Hasan hoard, 120.
Pi-djìdji, deities of, 21, 24.
Pi-Ramesses not Pelusium, 122.
INDEX

Pi-Rēr, topographical name, 22, 25, 28.
Pikha'a, son of Pakem, prince of Tanis, 125.
Pithom, Tell el-Resḥabah, 127.
Pitt-Rivers Collection, 132.
Plutarch, 51, 166.
   "Poem on the King's War-chariot", new transcription, 169–74.
Polotsky, H. J., with Carl Schmidt, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler (reviewed), 196–9.
Princk, witness, on Dakhleb stela, 22.
Poole, Reginald Stuart, 63.
Porter, Bertha, with Rosalind L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III. Memphis (Abu Rawaash to Dahshur) (reviewed), 108.
Pottery, need for better classification of, 62.
Predynastic pottery, requires fresh terminology, 62–3.
Prē-of-Rameses, a god of Pi-Rameses, 123.
Priesthood, qualifications for, 37, 40, 41.
Problem 14 of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus, Quido Vetter, 16–18.
Ptolemaic Texts, cadastral register of, 22, 23, 26, 28.
Ptah, 56, 58.
Ptahhotep, 157.
Ptah-of-Rameses, a god of Pi-Rameses, 123.
Punch-marks denoting demonetized coins, 121.
Puns beloved of Egyptians, 167, 168.
Pwones, witness, on Dakhleb stela, 22.
Pyramid Texts, 44, 52.

Q
Quibell, Mr., 150.

R
Raamses, 122, 127.
Rahotep, 154, 156, 157, 159.
Rameses II, 123, 124; his many monuments at Tanis, 126; 169.
Rameses III, 145, 148, 149.
Rameses IV, 134.
Rameses Girdle, The so-called, T. Eric Peet, 143–9
Rameses, town in the Lebanon, 128.
Ramman "the Bellower", 44, 45.
Ranke, Prof., 162.
Regling, K., 119.
Reich, Professor Nathaniel Julius, 191, 192.
Reisner, G. A., Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza (reviewed), 111–12; 150.
Reisner and Mace, their scientific treatment of pottery, 63.
Renenet, 161.
Rhind, Alexander Henry, 167.
Rifāh, 161.
"Roaring" of storm-gods, 45.
Robinson and Oesterley, A History of Israel, 97.
Rock-drawings, pre-dynastic, 129–32.
Rostovtzeff, M., 97.
de Rougé, 23.
Rouvier, J., 120.
Royal Society, lends Meeting Room for lectures, 95.

S
Saft el-Hennah, 10.
Sahurāf reliefs, 155, 156, 159.
Sai, island, inscription at, 53.
Sakkara, 146, 159.
San-en-Hagar, Tanis, 124, 126.
Sa-waḥet, town in oasis, 22, 25, 28.
Sayce, A. H., The Astarte Papyrus and the Legend of the Sea, 56–9; 12.
Scarab of Mayor of Byblos, 53.
Schäfer, Heinrich, Amarna in Religion und Kunst (reviewed), 111.
Schweinfurth, Dr. G., 129, 130.
Scribes' education and methods, 166.
Sculptor's workshop at 'Amarna, 113, 117, 118.
Sculptures recently found at 'Amarna, 116–18.
Sea defiled, 56, 98.
Sebennytus, symbolism of its standard, 42, 46; 47.
Seleucia Pieria, divine title at, 51.
Seligmann, Professor, 176.
Sennah, inscription at, 53.
Sem-priest's garments, 158, 159.
Sennar, 176.
Seshat, 158, 159.
Seshat-hetep, Prince, 153.
Seshat-sekentlyw, 154.
Sēṭekh, 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29.
Sēṭekh-of-Rameses, 123, 124.
Seth as bull, 45; 51, 52; his conflict with Sea, 98.
Sethe, Kurt, Die Totenliteratur der alten Ägypter. Die Geschichte einer Sitte (reviewed), 195.
Sethos I's temple, copying of, 189.
Sethi I, 61, 169.
Sety, father of Ramesses I of Tanite origin, 126.
Shashetep, 161.
Shaw, Miss Mary, appointment at Manchester, 97.
Shēkh 'Abd el-Kurnah, 13.
Shēkh 'Abd er-Rasūl, 13.
Shēkh Sa'id, 11.
Sherman, Mr., 189.
Shields as sacred objects, 52.
Shihor, 122, 123, 126.
Shorter, Alan W., A Stela of Seti I in the British Museum, 60–1; reviews by, 111, 195.
lecture by, 95.
Shoshenq I, 21, 23, 28.
Shu, 47.
Sile, Tell Abu Sefāh, 123, 125.
Silversmiths' functions, 121.
Siu, 11.
INDEX

215

Sloley, R. W., lecture by, 95.
Smendes, perhaps re-names Pi-Ramesses Tanis, 127.
Smenkhkarê, possible portrait, 116; 117.
Smith, W. Stevenson, The Coffin of Prince Min-
khaat, 150-9.
Smuly, Professor J. G., 190.
Snake goddesses, 176.
Snefer-unet, 154, 156.
Spiegelberg, W., on the Dakhleh Stela, 19, 21, 23,
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 37, 38, 192.
Sobk, 163.
So-called Poem on the King's Chariot, the, W. R.
Dawson and T. E. Peet, 167-74.
Soknbytis, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39.
Some Further Notes on a Harvesting Scene, Wint-
fred S. Blackman, 31-2.
Some Pre-dynastic Rock-drawings, G. W. Murray
and O. H. Myers, 129-32.
Soq, hieratic sign for, 165.
Stela of Seti I in the British Museum, A. Alan W.
Shorter, 60-1.
"Stela of the Exiles", 25.
Stela of the Year Four Hundred, 123, 124, 125.
Stobart, Rev. H., 144, 145, 147, 148.
"Storehouse of Great Provision" at 'Amarna, 117.
Storm-gods associated with the bull, 42, 43, 44;
with mountains, 47, 48.
Struve, W. W., 16, 18.
Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts. II. Warren
R. Dawson, 133-7.
Suchos, lord of Tebytis, 35, 36.
discoveries in his temple, 38.
Sunshade of Ty, probably never built, 116.
Svoronos, J. N., 120.

T
Tachos, uses Athenian coin-dies, 120, 121.
Tail on human figures, 55.
Takelot, Libyan prince, 23.
Tale of the Two Brothers, 128.
Tanis and Pi-Ramesses: a Retractation, Alan H.
Gardiner, 122-8.
eglected by XVIIIth Dynasty, 126.
Tanis, deities of, 123.
provenance of Seeck at, 124.
its walls of Hyksos construction, 124.
in fourteenth not nineteenth nome, 125.
numerous Ramesside monuments, 126; 10.
Tanis Papyrus, 166.
Taorson, widow, petitioner, P. Mich. Inv. No. 695,
138, 141, 142.
Taranto, coin-hoard at, 121.
Tebytis, papyri from, 34-41; 163.
Tell Abu Sehah, Siile, 123.
Tell El-‘Amarna, 13.
Model of a House, 1-7.
plan of gateways at, 1.
excavations at, 1922-3, 113-18.
exhibition of objects from, 189.
Tell er-Rehahab, perhaps Pithom, 127.
Tell el-Yahudiya, 9.
Tell Mokdam, Leontopolis, 125.

Temple councillors elected from phylae, 39-40.
Teos, general, 123.
Tessup of Qummiya, 57.
Tewehemut, claimant to well, 22, 28, 29, 30.
Theban Tombs Series No. V, 95.
Thebes, 11, 13, 126, 128.
Thebes, 'Rameses Girdle' said to come from, 144,
146.
Thel-Sile, 123, 125, 128.
Thomas, W. R., 16.
Thompson, Herbert, with H. I. Bell and A.D.
Nock. Magical Texts from a bilingual
Papyrus in the British Museum (reviewed),
106-7; 35, 37, 38, 191.
Thoth, the Great Magician, lecture on, 95.
Thunderbolt material, 49, 51.
Ti, Tomb of, 164.
Till, Walter, Koptische Dialekzygmamik mit
Lesestücken und Wörterbuch (reviewed), 107.
Tjarsetekh, witness, on Dakhleh stela, 22.
Tod, Marcus N., Bibliography: Greek Inscriptions,
(1931-2), 185-8.
Tools represented in tombs, 153, 154.
Transcription of Late Hieratic, The, Gilbert
Bagnani, 162-6.
Tree-cults in Sudan, 175, 176.
Trial by oracle, 19, 22, 28.
Turin Museum, ostraca from, 168, 173.
Tutankhamun, 12, 116, 135.
Tuthmosis neglect Tanis, 126.
Tuthmosis III, 53.
Tutu, tomb of, 2.
Twenty-second Dynasty, texts from, 19, 20.
Two Prehistoric Objects, O. H. Myers, 55.
Typhon, 45, 51.
Tyre, 43, 44.

U
Udymu (Den), 160.
Unpublished Rock-tomb at Asyût, An, Rosalind
Mose, 33.
Urkit, perhaps Kermanshah, 57.
‘Uweinat, 132.

V
"Valley of the Pines", or Cedar, in Lebanon, 128.
Van Gennep, 148.
Vetter, Quido, Problem 14 of the Moscow Mathem-
atical Papyrus, 16-18.
Vogel, K., 16.

W
Waddell, W. G., 97.
Waddington, Mrs., at El-‘Amarna, 113, 117.
Waddington, Mr. J. H. S., 113.
Wadi Abu Agag, 129, 130, 131.
Wadi Abu Subeira, 129, 130.
Wadi Halfa, inscription at, 53.
Wadi Tumilat, 10.
"Waters of the Sun", Tanite branch of Nile, 125.
INDEX

Water-supply in Libyan oases, 20.
Wayheset, Libyan royal personage, 22, 23, 28, 29.
Waykesher, witness on Dakhleh stela, 22.
Wegen商业模式, claimant to well, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29.
Weight, bull-shaped, at Amarna, 117.
Wells, different Egyptian names for, 20-1.
Wep-m-nofret, 157.
Wepu, overseer of sealers, 33.
Westermann, William Linn, with Clinton Walker Keyes, Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Thedelphia (reviewed), 110.
White, Hugh G. Evelyn, The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Sycis (Part II of The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun) (reviewed), 194-5.
White Nile Province, 175.
Wilson, Sir Erasmus, 65.
Winlock, Dr. H. E., 55.
Woolley, L., 116.
X
Xois, its worship, 42, 47, 48, 49.
Y
Yahweh as storm-god, 46, 48; as mountain-god, 48.
Ya'qubab mosque, 176.
Z
Zağazik, composition of coin-hoard from, 119.
Zeus Adados, Hadad's title at Baalbek, 44.
Zeus as bull, 44; connected with mountains, 48.
Zoan, 122, 126, 127.
Zuecker, Friedrich, review by, 98-103.
Zuluet, F. de, Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt: A. Papyri (1931-2):
6. Law, 82-90.
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