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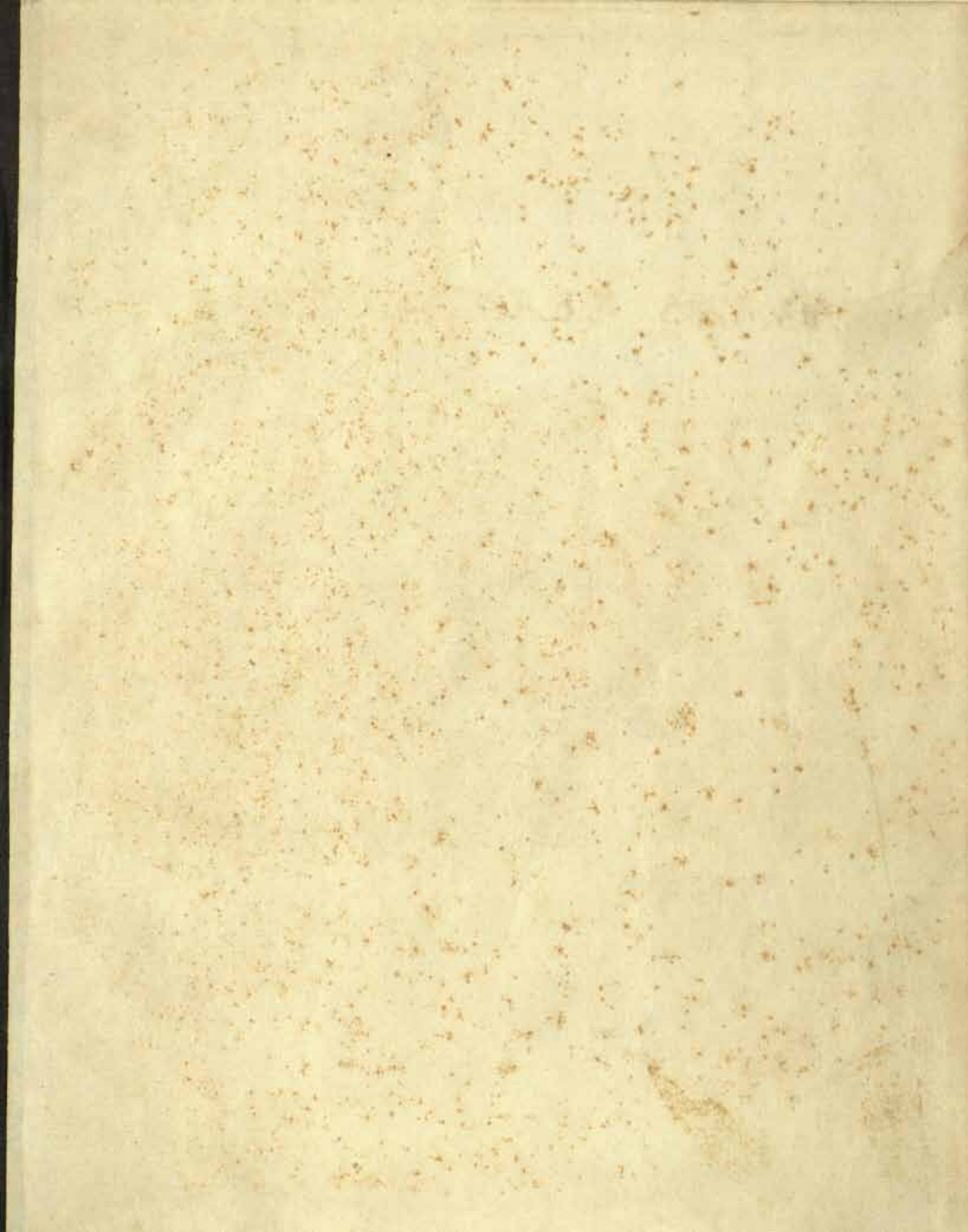
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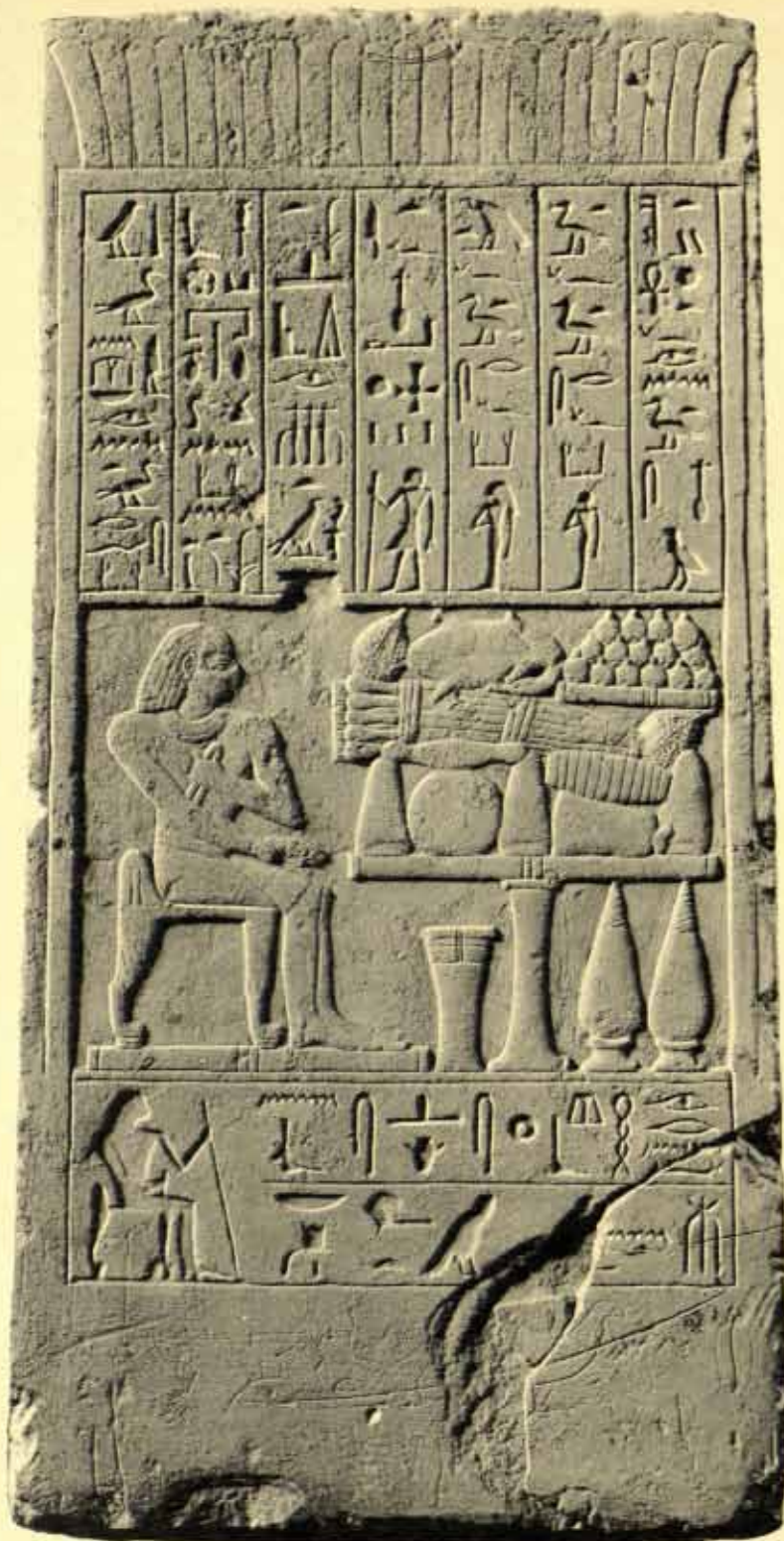
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THE STELA OF SISOPDU-IYENHAF: front.  
Pennsylvania University Museum No. E. 16012.  
Scale 2:5.



# A FAMILY STELA IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA

By PHILIPPUS MILLER

With Plates i-iii

THE stela which forms the subject of the present article was discovered by Professor Petrie during his excavations at Abydos for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1902-3. The inscription on the top surface was published by Professor Griffith in his chapter on the inscriptions of the 1902-3 season's work at Abydos.<sup>1</sup> It was acquired in 1903 from the Egypt Exploration Fund by the University Museum, Philadelphia, and bears the number E. 16012.

The stela is of limestone, flat-topped, with roughly rectangular vertical surfaces which, however, taper slightly from the bottom upwards at the front and back, so that the top part is smaller than the bottom; its maximum measurements are: height, 0.51 m.; width (at bottom), 0.255 m.; thickness (at bottom), 0.125 m.<sup>2</sup> It is particularly interesting because it is inscribed on four sides and on the flat top, a form of 'free-standing' stela of which another example is not known to the writer,<sup>3</sup> and also because of the unusual arrangement of the inscription on the back (see below).

The name of the principal person commemorated on the stela is Sisopdu-Iyenhâb,<sup>4</sup> who held the title of *wb nswt*, 'King's Priest'; he was thus perhaps a bathier and physician of the king.<sup>5</sup> All the inscriptions are incised, but the central panel on the front of the stela, showing the deceased seated before a table of offerings, is in relief. There are traces of green paint in the incisions, especially on the top, back, and two sides, showing that all the figures and hieroglyphs were originally so coloured.

## FRONT (Pl. i)

The front is in the form of the common type of rectangular stela with a cavetto cornice. Below the cornice are seven vertical lines of inscription. The text begins at the third line from the left, runs from right to left, and is continued by the four lines on the right, which read from left to right.

*An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Chief of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos; (namely)*

<sup>1</sup> See *Abydos*, II, 1903, Pl. xxx, 1, and p. 43. A popular account of this monument has been given by the writer in *The (Pennsylvania) University Museum Bulletin*, Nov. 1936, 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The three dimensions are thus as nearly as possible in the proportion 4, 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Round-topped 'free-standing' stelae inscribed in all four sides are common at Sinai (see Gardiner-Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pls. xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xxviii *et passim*). Cairo Cat. 20538, well known as containing the 'Instruction' of Sehetepibrê for his children, not only is inscribed on the front and back, but has inscriptions on the lateral edges which begin from the vertex of the rounded top; it thus resembles our stela in being inscribed all over.

<sup>4</sup> All the names which occur on the stela are to be found in Ranke, *Personennamen*, except where the contrary is stated below.

<sup>5</sup> *Wörterb.* I, 283, 5.



a funerary offering of bread, beer, oxen, and geese for the ka of the King's Priest Sisopdu-Iyenhab,<sup>1</sup> son of Sitserefkai<sup>2</sup>

His father Neferakhu;<sup>3</sup>

His mother Sitserefkai;

His daughter Sitserefkai;

The sculptor Ankhtifi,<sup>4</sup> son of Sitsnefru.<sup>5</sup>

On the left of the central panel is the deceased seated, facing right, on a lion-legged chair upon what is doubtless a mat. He wears a wig showing the strands of hair, with the ear uncovered, a collar with concentric incised lines, and a short kilt. His right arm is stretched forward, the hand with palm downward, almost touching his lap. His left arm is across his chest, the hand holding a  $\parallel$ —a folded cloth or handkerchief, a fairly common object on statues and reliefs of this period.<sup>6</sup> On the right is a well-loaded offering-table bearing a trussed goose and various vegetables and loaves. Under the table is an unguent-jar and two wine-jars on ring-stands.

The lower panel consists of two horizontal lines of inscription reading right to left, and a man, who we are told by the inscription is Sehetepibr̄sonb, the maker of the stela, seated as the figure above, holding an object which cannot be identified but which is probably also a  $\parallel$ , which rests upright in his lap in the right hand, and a long staff in the left hand. The figure is merely in outline, without details of features or dress. The inscription reads: *The Lector-priest Sehetepibr̄sonb,<sup>7</sup> born of Horemh̄t,<sup>8</sup> possessor of honour, acts for him* (i.e. on his behalf). That is to say, Sehetepibr̄sonb had the stela made for the deceased.<sup>9</sup>

The lower right-hand corner of the stela has been fractured and mended. Fortunately only the lower part of the  $\Sigma$  has been lost, and the reading has not been interfered with.

The second line of this inscription, *ms-n Hr-m-h̄t nb im̄h*, has been rudely scratched on the blank space at the bottom of this side.

#### LEFT SIDE (Pl. ii, 2)<sup>10</sup>

A single vertical column of inscription, reading right to left: *In honour with Ptaḥ, the Copyist (?)<sup>11</sup> Sehetepibr̄sonb, justified.*

<sup>1</sup> A double name: Sisopdu 'son of Sopdu' + Iyenhab 'he who has come for the festival'; the latter name being obviously an allusion to the birth of the child on a feast-day. Such double names are not uncommon in the Middle Kingdom; cf. Sisopdu-Kebu, Amenemh̄t-Renef̄onkh, [Amen]emh̄tsonb-Canti(?)emweakh̄et, Amenemh̄tsonb-Nenkhem̄sen, Ameny-Wah̄reni, Dedumontju-Senebtifi, Ius̄onb-Senwosret, Meketherhab-Yeb̄to, Montjūto-Senbefnai, Neferwih̄etep-Mentuems̄asenwosret, Ptaḥpuwah̄(sic)-Renisonb, Senwosret-Ptaḥonkh, Simontju-Diptaḥankhi, Siwad̄jyet-Ius̄onb, all from Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- u. Denksteine* (Cairo *Cat. Gén.*), III, 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 'Daughter of Serefkai.' This name is not given in Ranke, *op. cit.*; for the element *Srf-kt(i)* 'my ka is at rest' see *op. cit.*, 317. 13.

<sup>3</sup> 'The (or, my ?) braziers are good', apparently; not found in Ranke, *op. cit.* The determinative of *ḥw* seems to be a brazier seen from above; cf. *Wb.*, I, 223, 13.

<sup>4</sup> 'He who shall live', variant  $\frac{\text{ankhtifi}}{\text{ankhtifi}}$ .

<sup>5</sup> 'Daughter of Snefru.'

<sup>6</sup> Its use is not certain. On the hieroglyphic sign see Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 494, S 29.

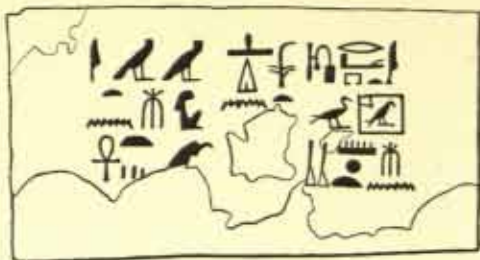
<sup>7</sup> 'Sehetepibr̄c (Amenemmes I) is well.'

<sup>8</sup> 'Horus is to the fore.'

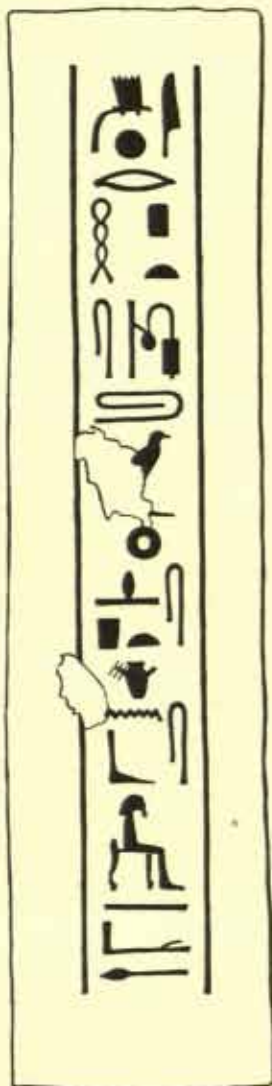
<sup>9</sup> For this interpretation I am indebted to Professor Gunn.

<sup>10</sup> Pls. ii, iii are from copies by Miss Carroll R. Young, of the Egyptian Section of the University Museum.

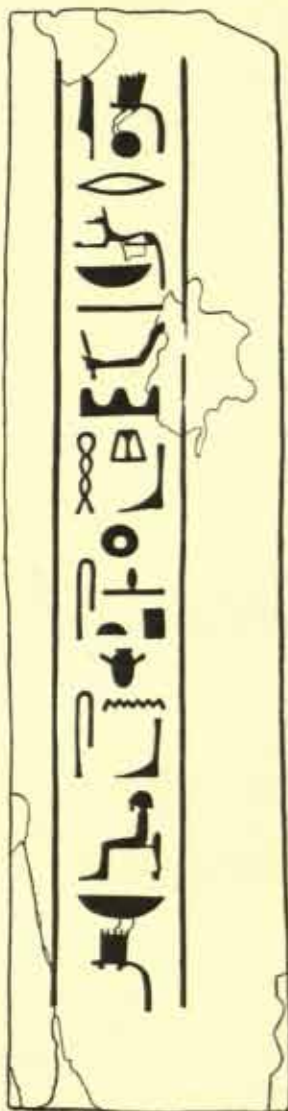
<sup>11</sup> Literally 'writer of copies (or, records)'; for this title see *Wb.*, IV, 107, 8. *Sph̄r* seems to mean both 'to copy' and 'to register'.



1



2



3

## THE STELA OF SISOPDU-IYENḤAB

Top (1), left (2) and right (3) sides

Scale 2:7





## RIGHT SIDE (Pl. ii, 3)

A single vertical column of inscription reading left to right: *In honour with Anubis, lord of the Cemetery, the Lector-priest Sehetepibrê'sonb, possessor of honour.*

## TOP (Pl. ii, 1)

The whole inscription (which is the right way up to a person facing the back of the stela) reads from right to left, but the *htp dl nsw n* [kr n] in the middle serves as beginning of each of the two groups of three horizontal lines. One might expect the right-hand group to read from left to right. There is a break in the middle, where presumably *il* originally stood. *An offering that the King gives for the kas of the House-official and Scribe, Sîhathor,<sup>1</sup> born of Menkhet, and of Memi, born of Mewwetankh.<sup>2</sup>*

## BACK (Pl. iii)

The arrangement of the inscriptions on the back is of special interest, as it contains a number of examples of the device known as 'bracketing' (*accolade*) or 'split column' (*gespaltene Kolumne*), which, while quite common in Old-Kingdom texts,<sup>3</sup> must be quite rare in the Middle Kingdom apart from the Coffin Texts, which in this, as in many other respects, show Old-Kingdom survivals. Words 'bracketed' in a 'split column' are either single words or phrases, which are co-ordinated in the sense that 'and' or 'or' is to be understood as joining them; they are written side by side in the column. The matter so treated is often 'bracketed' by a word (frequently a preposition) or words preceding it; the latter are sometimes to be repeated if each part of the bracketed matter consists of more than one word. Occasionally such matter is bracketed by a word following, such as *nb* 'every', or a suffix, which is to be repeated after each part. Simple Old-Kingdom examples are:

	'I am { the beloved of my father the favourite of my mother' = 'I am the beloved of my father, the favourite of my mother' ( <i>ink mry it-i, hsy mut-i</i> ). <sup>4</sup>
	'Every { messenger functionary' = 'Every messenger, every functionary' ( <i>wꜥꜣꜣꜣ nb, imy- st-ꜥ nb</i> ). <sup>5</sup>

On the back of our stela there are three main vertical columns, all reading from right to left, with the *htp dl nsw* formula at the head of each, the middle column having in addition *il*. Of these three columns the middle one (A) is evidently the most important, and is intended to be read first; the left-hand one (B) is presumably to be taken next, as follow-

<sup>1</sup> 'Son of Hathor.'

<sup>2</sup> 'My (?) mothers live'. The only reference for this name given in Ranke, *op. cit.*, is the stela of Hekatif in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, No. 12, 182, 1, which also came from Abydos. The writer has examined this stela, but can find no evidence for identity or relationship with the persons of that name mentioned on the stela forming the subject of this article.

<sup>3</sup> Many examples in Weill, *Décrets Royaux*, Pls. i-iv (where the bracketing is sometimes very much developed), see also *Urk.*, 1, 216-19; in hieratic, *Hieratische Papyrus aus d. . . Museen zu Berlin*, III, Pls. 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.*, 1, 216, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Weill, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii, left.



ing A in the natural order, leaving the right-hand column (C) as the last. In A almost the whole of the column is split, and is bracketed both by the formula at the top and the words *n kr-f* at the bottom; the bracketed parts<sup>1</sup> are separated by a line. Columns B and C are mostly split, the bracketing words being the formula at the top of each, the preposition *n*, a title, and, in C, the words *n kr-sn* at the bottom.<sup>2</sup> The following translation reproduces as closely as possible the arrangement of the original.

- (A) *An offering that the King gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Life*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a thousand}^3 \text{ of bread} \\ \text{a thousand of beer} \\ \text{a thousand of alabaster} \\ \text{a thousand of clothing} \end{array} \right\}$
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a thousand of oxen} \\ \text{a thousand of geese} \\ \text{a thousand of incense} \\ \text{a thousand of unguent} \end{array} \right\}$  *for the Copyist (?)*, *Sehetepibre'sonb*  $\left. \vphantom{\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a thousand of oxen} \\ \text{a thousand of geese} \\ \text{a thousand of incense} \\ \text{a thousand of unguent} \end{array} \right\}} \right\}$  *and for his ka.*
- (B) *A boon that the King gives to*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sitptah, justified} \\ \text{Sitkheperkarē} \end{array} \right\}$  *born of Haremḥēt, and to the Priest(s)*
- of Wadjyet*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kheperkarē and to his son Hor born of Inuti, justified.} \\ \text{Dja'a born of Sitsatyet, and to their kas.} \end{array} \right\}$
- (C) *A boon that the King gives to*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the Steward Nisumontju} \\ \text{his mother Haremḥab} \end{array} \right\}$  *(and) to*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sehetepibre} \\ \text{Nekhti} \end{array} \right\}$  *(and) to*
- his sister Mewwetankh, (and) to*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mewwetankh born of Inuti} \\ \text{Sitsobk born of Petyet} \end{array} \right\}$  *and to their kas.*

That is to say:

(A) *An offering that the King gives to Osiris, Lord of Life:*<sup>4</sup> *a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of geese, for the Copyist (?)*, *Sehetepibre'sonb, and for his ka. An offering that the King gives to Osiris, Lord of Life: a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of incense, a thousand of unguent, for the Lector-priest, Sehetepibre'sonb, and for his ka.*

(B) *A boon that the King gives to Sitptah,*<sup>5</sup> *justified, and to Sitkheperkarē,*<sup>6</sup> *(both) born of Haremḥēt, and to the Priests of Wadjyet (a) Kheperkarē<sup>7</sup>—and to his son Hor<sup>8</sup> born of Inuti,<sup>9</sup> justified; (b) Dja'a<sup>10</sup> born of Sitsatyet;<sup>11</sup> and to their kas.*

(C) *A boon that the King gives to the Steward Nisumontju<sup>12</sup> and his mother Haremḥab,<sup>13</sup> and to Sehetepibre<sup>14</sup> and Nekhti,<sup>15</sup> and to his sister Mewwetankh, and to Mewwetankh born of Inuti and Sitsobk<sup>16</sup> born of Petyet;<sup>17</sup> and to their kas.*

<sup>1</sup> In each of these the elements of the formula 'a thousand of a, a thousand of b . . . n' are written side by side, but are apparently not bracketed.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably these words would have been arranged in the same manner in C had there been enough room.

<sup>3</sup> The position of ḥr '1000' after the word expressing the thing numbered is unusual in this formula.

<sup>4</sup> Or, 'of the Living'?

<sup>5</sup> 'Daughter of Ptah.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Daughter of Kheperkarē' (Sesostris II).

<sup>7</sup> Named after Sesostris II.

<sup>8</sup> Named after Horus.

<sup>9</sup> 'Inw-t; cf. 'In-t, differently spelt, Möller, *Felseninschriften v. Hatnub*, Graffito 48; Pleyte-Boeser, *Beschreibung d. äg. Samml. d. niederl. Reichsmuseums . . . in Leiden*, vol. II (Stelen), Pl. xxi, right (no. 25). Cf. also *Sr-inw-t* 'Son of Inuti', Ranke, *op. cit.*, 281, 2 (and 1?).

<sup>10</sup> Word of uncertain meaning ('the hairy'?).

<sup>11</sup> 'Daughter of Satis.'

<sup>12</sup> 'He belongs to Montju.'

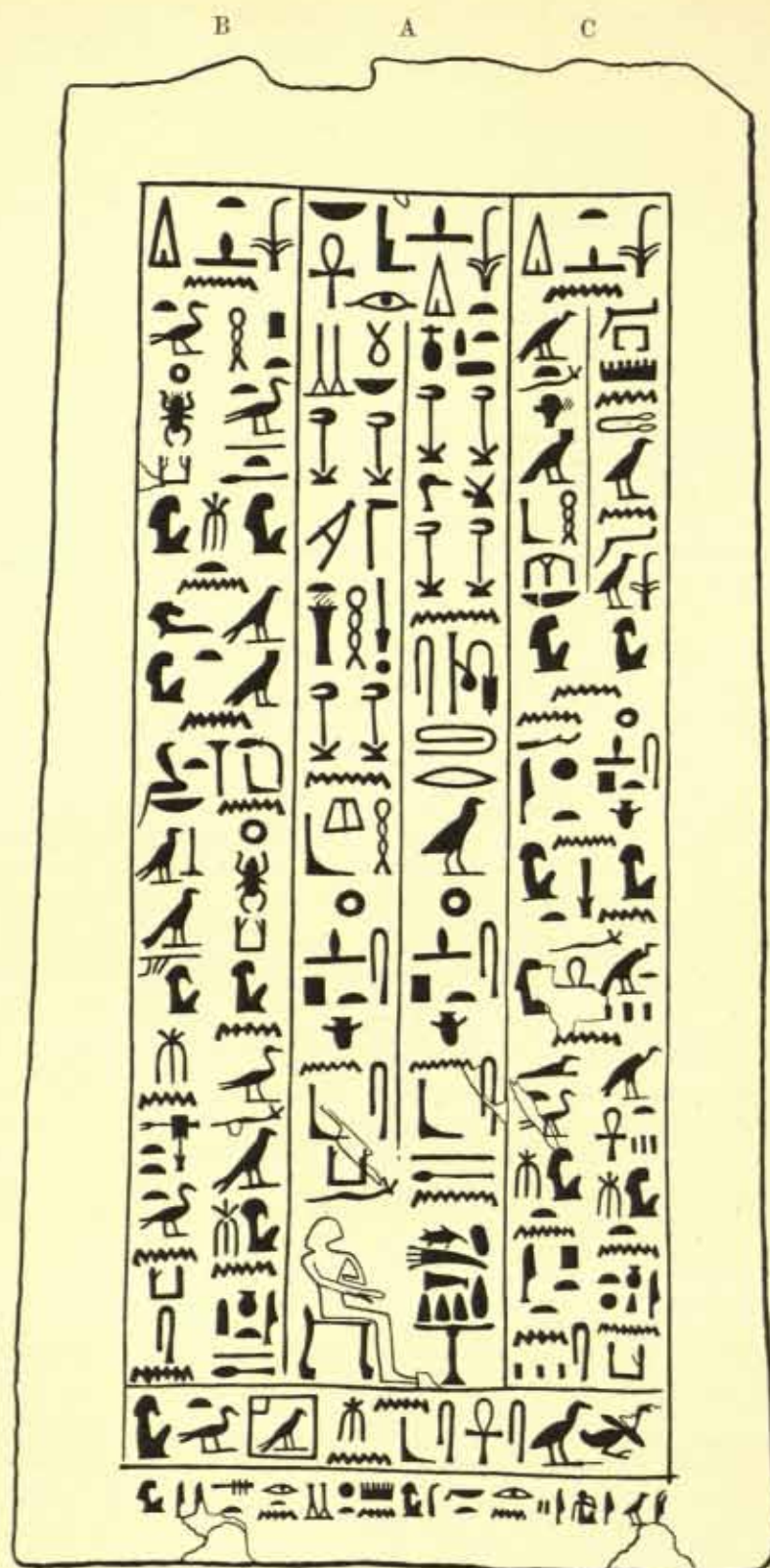
<sup>13</sup> 'Horus is in festival', an allusion to the birth of the child on a festival of Horus.

<sup>14</sup> Named after Amenemmes I.

<sup>15</sup> Probably shortened from a name of the type Harnakhti, 'Horus is mighty'.

<sup>16</sup> 'Daughter of Sobk.'

<sup>17</sup> Of uncertain meaning.



THE STELA OF SISOPDU-İYENHAB: back  
Scale 2:5





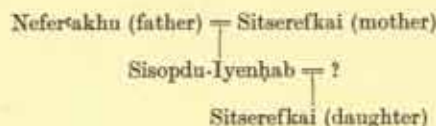
The two horizontal lines at the bottom read:

(1) *The Sculptor's Assistant (?)*<sup>1</sup> *Sonb*,<sup>2</sup> *born of Sithathor*.

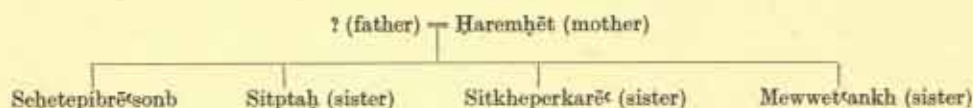
(2) *The 'Follower' Iyi*,<sup>3</sup> *son of Keti*,<sup>4</sup> *Menkhet, daughter of Ekhtay*.<sup>5</sup>

One is struck by the frequency of theophorous names compounded with  $\text{S}$  and  $\text{S}$ ; such were common at this period. It may be noted in this connexion that 'honorific inversion' occurs in every theophorous name on this stela.

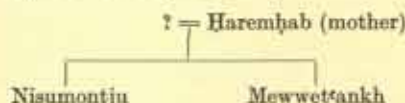
Not much of the genealogy of the various persons mentioned can be worked out, even assuming—a large assumption in view of the fact that many of the names are very common—that more than one occurrence of the same name refers to the same person (in the cases of Sitserefkai and Mewwetankh we have clearly two persons of the same name). For the family of Sisopdu-Iyenhab, the principal figure, we have



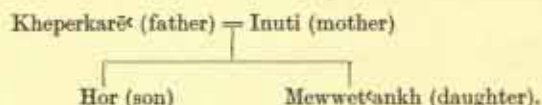
For Sehetepibr̄sonb, the person second in importance, we have:



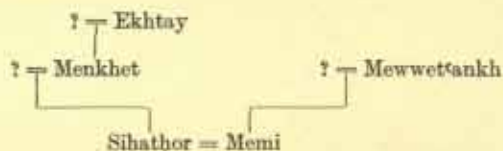
assuming that the *f* of *sntf* in Col. C of the back refers to Sehetepibr̄sonb. But if this *f* refers to Nisumontju at the top of the line, we have:



If we assume that the two mentions of 'Inuti' on the back refer to the same woman, and further that this woman had her daughter Mewwetankh by the same father as that of her son Hor, we have:



And if we assume that the Sithathor and Memi of the top are husband and wife, as seems probable, and that the Menkhet of the bottom line of the back is identical with the Menkhet mentioned on the top, we have:



Two of these families could be combined if we knew with which (if either) Mewwetankh of the back the Mewwetankh of the top is identical. A comprehensive study of the ways in

<sup>1</sup> The exact meaning of *tuv* is obscure; see *Wb.*, v, 349, 10. It probably designates a rather humble office.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an abbreviation of a name of the type Amenemhet̄sonb 'Amenemhet̄ is well'.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a hypocoristicon.

<sup>4</sup> 'The other one.'

<sup>5</sup> 'The paunchy (?)'.



which members of families are arranged in such stelae as this would be of much value, and might throw more light on the problems which beset us here. At present a number of people have no discoverable relationship with the two principal families. One may say in general, however, that the stela was made by Sehetepibre'sonb for Sisopdu-Iyenhab and himself and for their families and dependants, not forgetting the two sculptors<sup>1</sup> who actually made the stela.

<sup>1</sup> One of these will presumably have been responsible for the incised inscriptions, the other for the more difficult work of the scene in relief on the front. Judging by their positions on the stela, one might suppose that the former was done by the *ḥw stnḥ* Sonb of the back, the latter by the *gnwtj* (?) Ankhtifi of the front. Yet *stnḥ* 'he who makes to live' suggests rather the sculptor of statues and scenes, and *gnwtj* (?), if derived from *gnwt* 'annals, inscriptions', the inscription-carver.

# THE ART OF THE THIRD AND FIFTH DYNASTIES

BY KURT PFLÜGER

(Translated by ETHEL W. BURNEY)

THE architecture of the buildings in the sacred enclosure of the Step Mastaba<sup>1</sup> at Sakḥārah has been the subject of lively discussion ever since its discovery, because the delicacy and lavishness of its forms contrast sharply with the severe, massive style of the following dynasty, whose nature corresponds much more nearly with the idea that one is inclined to form of Old-Kingdom culture.

After the fall of the Fourth Dynasty, art takes a remarkable and completely unexpected course, and becomes again elegant, imaginative, bright, and facile, instead of remaining heavy and stiff. A loosening, so to speak, of the dominating style of Gīzah may well have been due to the changed political situation within the country (the strivings of the nomarchs towards independence), though this is but a partial explanation of the change.

Our first impression on considering these cultural manifestations will be that the art of the Fifth-Dynasty kings, as we know it in the Pyramid Temples of Abusīr and the Sun Temple at Abu Ghurāb, is only a further development of Third-Dynasty art, as shown in the Step-Mastaba enclosure. The absence of connecting links in the larger architecture is due to the Fourth Dynasty, which as it were with a brutal hand interrupted the normal course of evolution, at least in the explored parts of Egypt. And, indeed, formal connexions between the Third and Fifth Dynasties can be reconstructed—their spiritual affinity is so striking that it would be superfluous to demonstrate it.

One of these connexions is supplied by the sarcophagus of Mycerinus,<sup>2</sup> of which the exterior shows both the niche-structure found in the sacred enclosure of the Step Pyramid, and the torus-moulding and cavetto cornice, which in buildings appear for the first time in the Fifth Dynasty. As the sarcophagus imitates a palace, it is permissible to argue from it to architectural monuments.<sup>3</sup> Another connexion is offered by the stars painted on the ceilings of some of the Step Mastaba chambers by Djoser's artists, and furthermore by blocks bearing stars in relief which were re-used in the passages beneath.<sup>4</sup> These stars in painting and relief remind us of the star-decoration of temple ceilings from the Fifth Dynasty on, but nothing corresponding to them is known in the Fourth Dynasty.

If there really exists a historical connexion between the art of the Third and of the Fifth Dynasties, then the problem of their common origin is all the more important. Now, developing a hypothesis of Balez,<sup>5</sup> Professor Walther Wolf<sup>6</sup> has very convincingly argued that the Sakḥārah style of the Third Dynasty originated in Lower Egypt. It does not seem necessary to repeat the details, but it should be noted that according to Manetho the Third Dynasty came from Memphis, i.e. from Lower Egypt. Essentially the same origin (a little

<sup>1</sup> More often called the Step Pyramid.      <sup>2</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, I, Fig. 289.

<sup>3</sup> This does not imply that the palaces of the period were really built in this style; the form of the sarcophagus may belong to an earlier period.

<sup>4</sup> This information was kindly supplied to me by Dr. K. H. Dittmann, of Cairo.

<sup>5</sup> *Die altägyptische Wandgliederung in Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* I, 38 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Bemerkungen zur frühgeschichtlichen Ziegelarchitektur in ZÄS* 67, 129 ff.



farther to the north, at Sakhebu in the Letopolite nome) is assigned by the Westcar Papyrus to the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> and thereby the link between the art-forms of the Third and Fifth Dynasties, which at first sight appears so strange, is established. A Lower-Egyptian origin explains what was obscure to us in Fifth Dynasty art: its delicacy, liveliness, and suppleness.

The hypothesis of a Lower-Egyptian origin for the Third-Dynasty Saqqārah style, and the style of the Fifth Dynasty, is supported by the fact that in both epochs a culture of astonishing loftiness, refinement, and richness for such early times seems to have prevailed; this points again to Lower Egypt, whereas a derivation of the art in question from Upper Egypt would encounter very great difficulties.<sup>2</sup>

To Upper Egypt, however, belongs the spirit of the Fourth Dynasty, which deliberately breaks with the tradition of the Saqqārah style, and promotes the ascendancy of a simple, powerful form of art, which by all appearances had long been native to Upper Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The reverse process can be observed after the fall of this dynasty; the old Lower-Egyptian tradition is revived by the Fifth Dynasty. The art of the new dynasty has been influenced by Upper Egypt certainly in the new form of pyramid, probably also in the ground-plans of the mortuary temples, and further in its general character, which is now more austere and solid than that of the art of Saqqārah, although it appears loose and unstable in comparison with the Gīzah style.

What has taken place? It appears to me that during the Third and Fifth Dynasties reactions came about in Lower Egypt, directed against the union of the country by southern kings.<sup>4</sup> In the reign of Djoser the influence of Lower Egypt was perhaps on the whole peaceable; Djoser himself probably came from Upper Egypt,<sup>5</sup> and he may have made the art of the Delta the official art of the kingdom as a result of the insistence of Lower-Egyptian relatives. But the Lower-Egyptian Fifth Dynasty seems to have come into power following a rebellion against the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> To national dissensions were apparently added social ones.

<sup>1</sup> According to Manetho the Fifth Dynasty had its origin in Elephantine, but there is nothing to support this view, and much against it.

<sup>2</sup> It is very probable that Lower-Egyptian culture was older and higher than that of the South. How was it that the inhabitants of a country for the most part marshy, thinly populated, and barbarous, as it is often depicted, were able long before Menes to bring about a really lasting and effective union of Egypt, with important historical consequences? The very fact that they had invented a script shows that the people of Lower Egypt had reached a relatively high stage of culture—in any case higher than that of the inhabitants of the South, who were still without writing. For details compare Newberry, *Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research in British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the 91st Meeting* (93rd year), Liverpool, 1923, Sept. 12–19 (London, 1924), pp. 175–96, also in *Smithsonian Report for 1924* (Washington, 1925), pp. 435–59, translated as *Ägypten als Feld für anthropologische Forschung in Der alte Orient*, 1927; Junker, *Die Entwicklung der vorgeschichtlichen Kultur in Ägypten in Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt*, 890 ff.; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, §§ 104 ff., 139 ff., 187, 213; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, §§ 192 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, for instance, the royal tombs at Abydos, which in spite of the destruction of their superstructures may be quoted as parallels, and especially the brick mastaba of Djoser at Bêt Khallāf; see Wolf in *ZÄS* 67, 131.

<sup>4</sup> We must not picture Egypt, provisionally united as it was under Menes, as completely unified, pacified, and quiet, but we must allow for the possibility of a preponderance of power alternating between North and South. It is just in the Third Dynasty that we know of contests against Lower-Egyptian rebels (under Kha'sekhem; compare Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, III, p. 34, No. 14), and we may learn much from the Seth-name of Peryebesen (temporary limitation of the power of Upper Egypt?) in the Second Dynasty (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, I, p. 23, No. xiii).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the Upper-Egyptian style of his brick mastaba at Bêt Khallāf.

<sup>6</sup> The Westcar Papyrus tells us that the young kings of the coming dynasty were persecuted by the preceding dynasty.

Although I prefer to refrain from propounding definite theories here, because I hope in another work to be able to say something positive about Ancient Egyptian economy and society, I must at least say that in the prehistoric and archaic periods the geo-political situation of the Delta, different from that of the South, caused methods of production, of exchange, and of social life, to develop on lines somewhat at variance with those of Upper Egypt. As a visible expression of this difference—despite the fundamental elements which they have in common—we have already observed the inequality of culture in the Two Lands.

The struggle in the South for independence on the part of the nobility, held down by an absolute monarchy, and the movement towards liberation in Lower Egypt, thus worked together. As frequently happens in Oriental struggles for liberation, priests placed themselves at the head of the insurrection; the great influence of religion at that period even secured the crown for at least one of the priestly leaders.<sup>1</sup>

It is Upper and Lower Egypt struggling for power and cultural influence, the duality of the 'Two Lands' as still a fully living reality, that the art of the Third and Fifth Dynasties shows us. And when we follow the threads, the beginnings of which we can do no more than recognize, it seems that in the elaboration of 'Egyptian' culture, the North contributed to the development of the art most of the inspiration, imagination, delicacy, and charm, while the South gradually appropriated these elements, worked on them, and moulded them into shape.<sup>2</sup> What presents itself to us as 'Egyptian style' on the slate palette of Narmer has its parentage both in Upper and in Lower Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Westcar Papyrus the eldest of the three young kings was to become High Priest of Rê in Heliopolis.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, instead of freer drawing and a predominance of the decorative point of view in the filling of spaces, we find a severer composition combined with a division of the surface into bands, simultaneously with the second (or third) union of Egypt under Narmer-Menes, which came indeed from Upper Egypt.



## THE BREMNER-RHIND PAPYRUS—II

By R. O. FAULKNER

### B. THE 'COLOPHON'

THE title of 'Colophon' customarily bestowed upon the short text now to be translated<sup>1</sup> is, strictly speaking, a misnomer. Outwardly it exhibits the form of a colophon, inasmuch as it seems at first glance to give the date of the manuscript and the name of the man who wrote it; actually it does nothing of the sort, for the writer was clearly not the original scribe, as is shown by his somewhat irregular, untidy, and spaced-out hand, so different from the compact professional book-hand of the other texts, and the words 'written in year 12 . . .' have therefore no necessary reference to the writing of the book itself, but merely give the date of the addition thereto now under discussion. Nevertheless, the word 'Colophon', if kept in quotation marks to indicate its incorrect use, will serve as a convenient term to describe this text. In the original papyrus it occupies blank spaces left by the writer of the main text between cols. 17 and 18 and between cols. 21 and 22; it thus follows directly after the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, and is therefore studied here in the same order, although logically it should be the last to be dealt with.

The individual to whom we owe this addition to the original work was one Nasmin. He came of a priestly family, for his father Peteamennesuttowe was a 'prophet' (*hm-ntr*) and his mother Teshерentehe a 'sistrum-player of Amen-Rē'; that he himself was not only a priest by profession but also an extreme pluralist in the offices he held is shown by his long list of priestly titles, which suggest that he was on the staff of the temple of Karnak, though he was also connected with the temple of Diospolis parva (modern Hū), between Abydos and Denderah. As Spiegelberg points out, he thus seems to have served the gods of the two towns called Diospolis, the greater and the less.

The text itself consists of (1) the date; (2) the titles of Nasmin; (3) the names of his parents and a statement that they have achieved a happy destiny in the hereafter; (4) a curse on any foreigner who shall take the book away from him and a blessing on those who respect his property and perform his tomb-rites. The insertion of this curse against foreigners is curious, and Spiegelberg (*op. cit.* 35, p. 38, n. 4) suggests that it is due to fear lest a sacred book should get into impure hands.

#### Translation

(1) Written in year 12, fourth month of Inundation, of Pharaoh (2) Alexander, son of Alexander. (3) The Count and divine father, prophet of Amen-Rē, King of the Gods; prophet (4) of Har-Prē the great and mighty eldest son of Amūn; prophet (5) of Amūn the sharp-horned; prophet of Khonsu who dwells in the *bunt*; prophet (6) of Osiris the great one of the *isd*-tree; prophet of Osiris who dwells in (7) Ishru; prophet of Amūn the tall-plumed, who dwells in Karnak; (8) priest of Prē of the roof of the temple of Amūn attached to the second phylē; (9) scribe and god's treasurer of Amūn attached to the second phylē; deputy (10) of Amūn for the second and fourth phylai; prophet of Neferhotep the great god; (11) prophet of Neferhotep the child; prophet of Osiris, Horus, (12) Isis and Nephthys of the temple of Diospolis parva; prophet of Min; prophet of (13) Hathor, mistress of Diospolis parva; prophet of

<sup>1</sup> It has been studied in detail by Spiegelberg in *Rec. de Trav.* 35, 35 ff.



Mehyet; Prophet of (14) Atūm lord of Diospolis parva; deputy of Neferhotep for the four (15) phylai; chief prophet of Neferhotep; prophet of the gods (16) who have no (special) (17) prophet for the temple of Diospolis parva; (18) scribe of Amūn (19) of the third phylē; the prophet Nasmīn, (20) son of the prophet Pete(21)amennesuttowe, (22) born of the sistrum-player of Amen-Rē(23) Tesherentehe called (24) Irutru: (25) their names are established and enduring, without being obliterated for ever, in the presence of Osiris, (26) Horus, Isis, Nephthys, and those gods and goddesses who are in this book and in the presence (27) of all the gods and goddesses who are in the realm of the dead and the great mysterious portals (28) which are in the Netherworld; they shall go down <by virtue of ?> these names which are in the excellent Netherworld; (29) they shall be summoned into the bark of Rē; invocation-offerings shall be given to them (30) daily from the altar of the great god; there shall be given to them cold water (31) and incense as for the excellent kings of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt who are in the realm of the dead; it shall be granted (32) <to> them to come and go in the favour of Osiris, First of the Westerners; it shall be granted <to> them (33) that the rays of the sun descend upon their bodies every day.

As to any one of any country (34) of Ethiopia, Kush, or Syria who shall displace this book (35) or who shall remove (?) it from (?) me, they shall not be buried, they shall not receive (36) libations, they shall not smell incense, no son or daughter shall arise on their behalf to pour out water for them, (37) their names shall not be remembered in the entire earth, and they shall not see the rays of the (38) sun; but as to any one who shall see this book, having established my *ka* and my name in favour, (39) the like shall be done for him after he has died in reward for that which he has done for me.

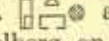

### Commentary

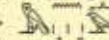
4. Ḥar-Prē is the son of the goddess *Rt-twy*, see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§ 6. 173. 196.

5. For the horns of Amūn cf. *Pap. Leiden* 350, 5, 15–16, in *ZÄS* 42, 38.

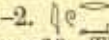
8. With the title 'priest of Rē of the roof of the temple of Amūn' compare 'the brewer Nasprē of the temple of Rē of the roof of the temple of Amūn', *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10052, 11, 1 = Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, Pl. 31; see also Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.* 35, p. 38, n. 5. Such roof-chapels have survived on certain of the temples of the Graeco-Roman period.

9.  is a late writing of ; cf. Spiegelberg, *op. cit.* 35, p. 38, n. 6.

12.  and  (17–18) are abbreviations of *Ht-shmw*, Diospolis parva, cf. Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 35, p. 38, n. 9.

16.  written for *mn mdi-w*, is pure Late Egyptian (Coptic *ete-mūtaγ gowr*), and forms a striking contrast to the Old-Egyptian *ipw* below in 26; this is a clear demonstration of the artificial nature of the language of these texts.

28. Spiegelberg, probably rightly, suggests (*op. cit.*, 35, 37) that *hr* should be supplied after *h(r)*, but I do not entirely agree with his translation 'Sie treten ein <auf> den vortrefflichen Namen jener Unterweltbewohner <hin> (?)'. In the first place, *ḥr* qualifies not *rn* 'name(s)' but *dwt* 'Netherworld', and secondly *imy* must refer to *rn ipw*, 'these names which are in . . .', since if it referred to *dwt* it would have to be preceded by the genitival adjective (*rn ipw n imy dwt*) the 'names' are presumably those of the divinities already mentioned. Note the Late-Egyptian periphrasis with *ꜥ* in *iw ḥr-sn h(r)*.

31–2.  in two successive sentences should be emended into *iw rdi-tw n-sn*, compare 30. This point has evidently escaped Spiegelberg, for he makes the sentences refer to the gods of the Netherworld and translates 'sie (the gods) gewähren ihnen' and 'sie lassen' respectively.

32. In *m hr ḥswt* 'in the favour' the *m* is superfluous, see 38.

35. The sense of *rwi* here is doubtful, owing to the use of the preposition *hn*, which seems to speak against Spiegelberg's 'und es mir wegnimmt'. Gunn, however, has pointed





- O weary Leader, come to thy *Shetjyt*-shrine!  
 O thou lord of fear who came into being of himself,  
 O weary of heart, come to thy city!  
 O thou who rejoicest, come to thy city!  
 18, 20 O thou well-beloved of the gods and goddesses,  
 O thou whose waters are great, come to thy temple!  
 O thou who dwellest in the Netherworld, come to thine offerings!  
 O thou who protectest thyself, come to thy temples!  
 O thou whose darkness is more enduring than the light of the sun!  
 18, 25 O august *kiki*-plant of the Great Temple!  
 O august rope-maker of the Night-bark!  
 O thou lord of the *Henu*-bark, youthful in the *Shetjyt*-shrine!  
 O thou excellent power who art in the realm of the dead!  
 O august controller of Upper and Lower Egypt!  
 18, 30 O thou hidden one whom the common folk know not!  
 O thou who blindfoldest him who is in the Netherworld from seeing the sun!  
 19, 1 O lord of the *atef*-crown, great in the temple of Herakleopolis!  
 O thou who art greatly majestic beside the *na'et*-tree!  
 O thou who art in Thebes, who flourishest for ever!  
 O Amen-Rê, King of the Gods, who dost perpetuate thy flesh in peaceful rising!  
 19, 5 O thou who increasest offerings and sacrifices in Rostau!  
 O thou who placest the uraeus on the head of its lord!  
 O thou who establishest the earth in its place!  
 O thou who openest the mouths of the four great gods who are in the realm of the dead!  
 O living soul of Osiris when he appears as the moon!  
 19, 10 O thou whose body is hidden in the great *Shetjyt*-shrine in Heliopolis!  
 O divine one who hidest Osiris in the realm of the dead!  
 O thou whose soul rests in heaven, whose foe is fallen!

(19, 13) Isis the divine speaks to thee with joyful (?) voice from the river (19, 14) which the pure *abed*-fish cleaves in front of (19, 15) the bark of Rê; the Lady of Horns is come into being with joy; (19, 16) the egg is come into being in the canal; the heads (19, 17) of the froward are cut off in this her name of Lady of Aphroditopolis; (19, 18) the Lady of Horns is come in peace in this her name (19, 19) of Hathor Lady of Sinai; the Lady of Thebes is come (19, 20) in peace in this her name of Hathor Lady of Thebes; (19, 21) she is come in peace (as?) Tayt in that her name of (19, 22) Lady of Heteptet; she is come in peace (?) to overthrow her foe (19, 23) in that her name of Hathor Lady of the temple of Herakleopolis; (19, 24) 'Gold' is come in peace in that her name of Hathor (19, 25) Lady of Memphis; [.....] thou being at peace in the presence of the Lord of All in this thy name of Hathor Lady of the Red Mountain; 'Gold' rises beside her father (19, 26) in this her name of Bastet; who has gone in front of (19, 27) the houses (?) beside the Sanctuary of Upper Egypt in this her name of Satis; (19, 28) who makes green the Two Lands and guides the gods in this her name of Wadjet; (19, 29) Hathor has power over those who rebelled against her father in that her name of Sakhmet; (19, 30) Wadjet has power over good things (?) in that her name of Lady of Momemphis; (19, 31) myrrh is on her tresses in that her name of Neith.

- 20, 1 Hail to (20, 2) the gods, (each) in his place;  
 20, 3 Hathor Lady of Thebes;  
 Hathor Lady of Herakleopolis;  
 20, 5 Hathor Lady of Aphroditopolis;  
 Hathor Lady of Sycamore-town;  
 Hathor Lady of Roḥesa;  
 Hathor Lady of the Red Mountain;  
 Hathor Lady of Sinai;  
 20, 10 Hathor Lady of Memphis;







18, 21.  $\epsilon$   $m\dot{h}f$  'thou whose waters are great' is yet another Osirian epithet; on the association of Osiris with life-giving water see Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 18 ff.

18, 24. An allusion to the dwelling of Sokar in the gloomy Netherworld, cut off from the light of the sun.

18, 25. The plant  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$  is doubtless the same as  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ , which Keimer (*Gartenpflanzen*, 70, 164; *Kémi* 2, 102) identifies with the castor-oil plant (Gk.  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota$ ); Dawson, however, in *Aegyptus* 10, 66, disputes this identification.

18, 26. For  $n\epsilon$  'to twist' a rope cf. Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep*, 32.

18, 28.  $N\dot{s}$   $b\dot{r}w$   $igr$  (=  $\dot{i}kr$ ) 'thou excellent power'; the plural  $b\dot{r}w$  must here have its secondary meaning of 'power' or the like; the address 'ye excellent souls' is clearly out of place in the middle of a long series of epithets of a single god. For  $igr$ , doubtless read  $\dot{i}kr$ , compare *Colophon*, 31.

18, 31.  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$  is unknown to the *Wb.*, but the existence of a verb  $nms$  'to cover with bandages', *Wb.*, II, 269, 5 suggests the rendering 'to blindfold', in which case  $r\ m\dot{s}$  will mean not 'in order to see' but 'from' or 'against seeing'. We have here apparently another allusion to the darkness of Sokar's subterranean realm.

19, 1. 'Lord of the atef-crown' is an epithet peculiarly Osirian.

19, 4. The identification of Sokar with Amen-R $\epsilon$  as sun-god is unexpected, but for evidence of the association with R $\epsilon$  see Roscher, *op. cit.*, IV, 1134.

19, 8. 'The four great gods who are in the realm of the dead' are possibly Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, see *Colophon*, 25 ff. The use of 'gods' for divinities of both sexes is possible in Egyptian; for a glaring instance, where various forms of the goddess Hathor only are concerned, see 20, 2.

19, 9. For  $n\ \dot{i}q$  read  $m\ \dot{i}q$ ; for the association of Osiris with the moon cf. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, 65, 69.

19, 12. For  $n\ pt$  read  $m\ pt$ .

19, 13 ff. From this point onward we hear no more of Sokar. As far as 20, 14 the text is devoted to the praise of Hathor and from thence to that of Osiris. Since from here to the end of the column the division into lines is independent of sentence-division, it is to be presumed that this portion of the text was regarded as prose, and this distinction is maintained in the form of the translation. The poetic form is renewed in col. 20.

19, 15. The 'Lady of Horns' is not Isis but Hathor, see 19, 18-19.

19, 16. With the cryptic sentence 'the egg is come into being in the canal ( $hnt$ )' compare the hieroglyph of a hand holding an egg, which reads  $hnt$ , see *Wb.*, III, 105.

19, 18. Note the sportive writing  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$  for  $hpt$ .

19, 19.  $Mfkt$  here and in 20, 9 is doubtless the place-name 'Sinai', *Wb.*, II, 57, 4.

19, 22.  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$  in this context should be emended into  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ ; on this title of Hathor see Erman, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Religion* (Sitzb. kgl. preuss. Akad., 1916), 1145 ff.—After  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$  we should probably supply  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ , cf. 19, 18.

19, 24. On 'Gold' as an epithet of Hathor cf. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri No. I*, p. 31, n. 1; Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, § 154, with n. 1.

19, 25. 'The Red Mountain' is Gebel Ahmar near Cairo, cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 17, where the connexion of this locality with Hathor is also noted.

19, 26-7.  $\dot{s}m\ m\ h\dot{r}w\ p\dot{r}w$  'who has gone in front of the houses (?)' is obscure.  $\dot{s}m$  must be a fem. participle referring to Hathor, despite the absence of the fem. ending, and with  $\dot{s}m\ m\ h\dot{r}w$  we may perhaps compare  $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ , 'advance-guard' (lit. 'goers in front'), *Israel Stela*, 5, but what the  $p\dot{r}w$  'houses' may be it is impossible to say.





# THE PAINTINGS OF THE CHAPEL OF ATET AT MÊDÛM

By WILLIAM STEVENSON SMITH

With Plates iv-vii

WHEN Mariette's workmen excavated the mastaba of Nefermaat at Mêdûm, the paintings in the outer corridor of the chapel of the wife, Atet (𓁿𓏏), appear to have been in a good state of preservation. Mariette describes them briefly on p. 475 of the *Mastabas*: 'Le premier couloir est orné de scènes variées de chasse et de pêche, peintes avec une grande finesse sur le stuc qui recouvre le pisé.' The famous panel with the geese in the Cairo Museum (No. J. 34571) was removed by Vassalli from one of these walls. Two other smaller fragments, Nos. J. 48850 (Pl. vi, 2) and J. 1744, seem to have been brought to the Museum at the same time. The paintings in the corridor of Nefermaat's own chapel were in bad condition, according to Mariette's statement (*op. cit.*, 473): 'Le premier couloir est bâti dans le même système. Le stuc très dégradé laisse voir encore vaguement des représentations de la vie privée. Le défunt chasse dans les roseaux; des animaux défilent devant lui.'

In 1891, when Sir Flinders Petrie examined this tomb again, there was little left of the paintings except a few fragments. Petrie does not state exactly where he found all these pieces. On p. 27 of *Medum* he writes: 'The group of geese from Medum, now in the Ghizeh Museum, is justly celebrated. It was found by Mariette's workmen in clearing the tomb of Atet, and was removed by Vassali. When I came to clear out these tombs again, I found in the open passages of Atet and Nefermat various melancholy fragments of what had been fairly perfect paintings twenty years ago. The heads had been chopped out with a pick, and the morsels shewed how barbarously the nineteenth century had treated what had remained to us from the beginnings of history.' Only one of these pieces he considered worth reproducing;<sup>1</sup> this is the fragment of a fowling scene (*Medum*, Pl. xxviii) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (No. 561—1891). On p. 28, however, he says: 'In the passage to Nefermat's chamber I only found remaining a part of Atet in a leopard-skin dress, and the legs of Nefermat. These I left on the wall.' This would seem to mean that the other fragments found by him were all from the chapel of Atet. The finding-place of two other pieces is more explicitly determined (*Medum*, 27-8): 'Another fresco that I found was in a part of the passage to Atet's chamber . . . (quotation of Mariette's description given above); when I cleared it not one piece of all this was left, except behind some of the brick-filling of the passage which the ravagers had not thought worth removing.' These two pieces, from opposite walls most probably, are the fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (*op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii, 3) which shows a man leading an addax (No. 560—1891) and the piece in the Manchester Museum with the sowing- and ploughing-scene (*op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii, 4).

Petrie also reproduces (*op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii, 1) a large fragment of painted inscription, now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (Pl. vi, 3), which he found lying at the base of the stone façade of Nefermaat. He suggested (*op. cit.*, 27) that this had

<sup>1</sup> That is, only one piece from a particular group to which he appears to be referring. Actually four pieces are reproduced from the whole mastaba: one from Nefermaat's chapel and three from that of Atet. All are reproduced *op. cit.*, Pl. xxviii.



surmounted a seated or standing figure of Nefermaat, painted on a plastered wall above the architrave of the façade. The stone inner niche had been closed by a blocking for which there was evidence in the cuttings in the side walls of the niche, near their outer edge. A fragment of the sculptured tablet of a false door and some small worked pieces were found in the debris. The ends of the side-walls, outside the cuttings into which the blocking fitted, are carved in high relief, in contrast to the inlaid technique of the rest of the decoration. These facts led Petrie to believe (*loc. cit.*) that the blocking was carved in relief to represent a false door, taking the place of the original false door hidden at the back of the niche. With the enlargement of the mastaba by a layer of brickwork, this false door and the façade panels and architrave framing it were enclosed in a crude-brick cruciform chapel, entered by a long corridor decorated with paintings. This corridor was later closed by a second layer of brickwork when the mastaba was again enlarged.

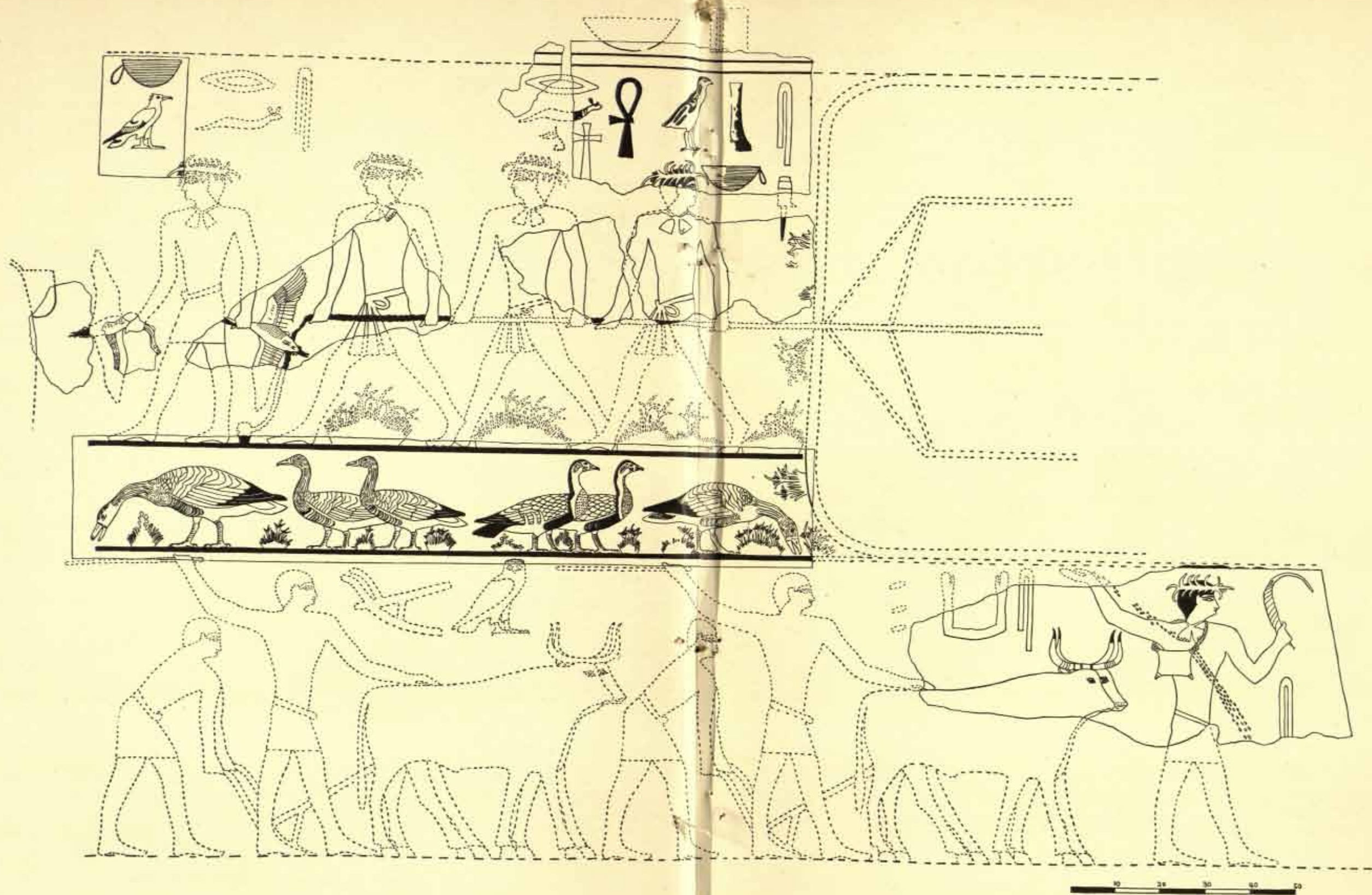
The restoration of the Philadelphia fragment as suggested by Petrie would necessitate a wall some 2 metres high above the sculptured architrave. But the top of the architrave itself was about 4.6 m. above the floor of the cruciform chapel, a room only about 0.75 m. wide, and the addition of 2 m. would place the top of the painting at a height of nearly 7 m. In so narrow a room it would have been almost impossible to see the painted wall, and such a height would be most remarkable for the roofing of an Old Kingdom chapel. A large scene above the architrave of the west wall is improbable at this period. What is more, the restoration of the painted wall in Atet's corridor suggests a height of between 3 and 4 m. for the roofing of that corridor, corresponding to the height of the stone-lined niche. It would be possible to increase this height by a metre, but hardly more than that.

The Philadelphia piece is about 2.56 m. long, but it appears to be the fragmentary portion of a much longer scene representing Nefermaat viewing the actions of smaller figures in registers to the right of him. Since it seems improbable that there was a space suitable for decoration above the architrave, there is no wall-surface of sufficient width available in the cruciform room. It is possible that this fragment was displaced from the inner end of the north wall of the corridor, and that it fell where Petrie found it in the cruciform room. The length of the corridor, over 4 m., would have allowed ample space for the completion of the scene. If the horn, placed very high behind the small figure on the right, is that of an animal standing behind the figure, this may well have formed part of the scene described by Mariette: 'des animaux défilent devant lui'. The pennant on a standard, borne by the small figure, is, so far as I know, unique. The fact that the titles on the Philadelphia fragment allow about 1.8 m. to 2 m. for the width of the space below, whereas my reconstruction of the corresponding wall in the corridor of Atet leaves only about 1 m. of remaining wall-space, suggests that the Philadelphia piece surmounted figures of both Nefermaat and his wife, while the Atet corridor contained only a single standing figure of Nefermaat. It seems possible, therefore, that the Philadelphia fragment came from the upper part of the corridor wall, where Petrie found the legs of the standing figures of Nefermaat and Atet. These would accord better with Mariette's scene of Nefermaat inspecting a procession of animals than with the one where 'le défunt chasse dans les roseaux'.

There are ten other fragments of painting, known to have come from Médūm, in various museums, all of which appear to be from the chapel of Atet. These are perhaps included in the general statement made by Petrie (*op. cit.*, 27): 'Some other lesser chips I placed in a recess in the brickwork of Atet's tomb before I earthed that over.' Possibly the fragments now in University College, London, and in Oxford, Boston, and Brussels are these pieces, re-excavated in 1910 when the sculptures from the tombs of Raḥetep and Nefermaat

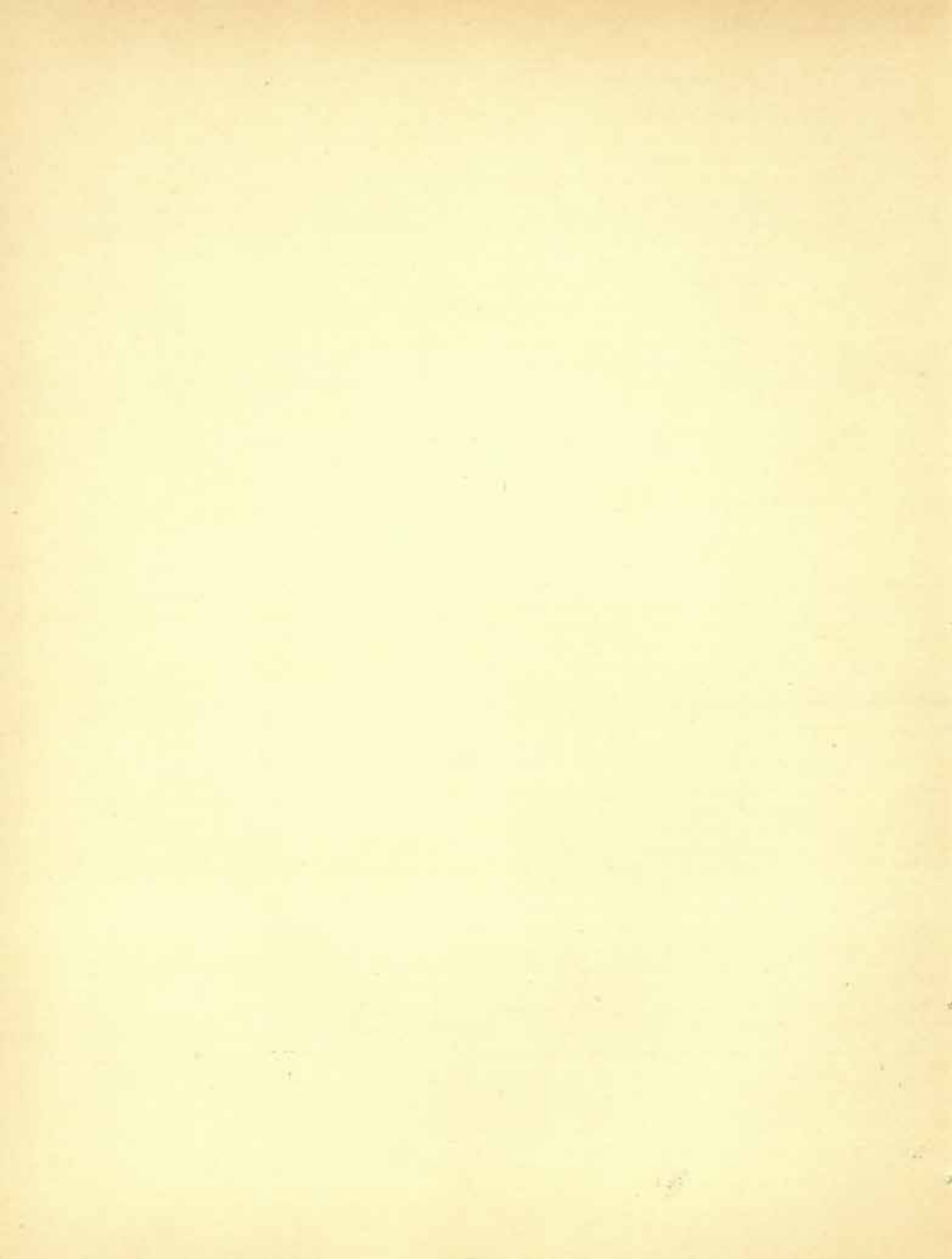






RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTH WALL OF THE PAINTED CORRIDOR IN THE CHAPEL OF ATET AT MÉDUM (see also Pl. vii)





were removed to museums for safe keeping. As far as I know only one of these fragments has been published. This is the Cairo fragment J. 48850; Capart, *Documents*, II, Pl. 84.

The Cairo panel has preserved a narrow band of the registers immediately above and below the geese. The upper register shows the feet of four figures proceeding to the left, separated by areas of green which seem to be the bases of plants. The space below has preserved only part of the hand of a figure holding a stick, the upper part of the hieroglyph *A*, and traces of a second hand.<sup>1</sup> In view of the extraordinary beauty of the workmanship of this panel and its early date, it seemed worth while to attempt, with the aid of other fragments that appeared to come from the same wall, a reconstruction which would place the geese in their proper setting. A suggestion of the appearance of the original scene was to be found in the Cairo panel of sculpture from the façade of the chapel of Nefermaat (*Medum*, Pl. xviii). Here a pair of similar geese are shown in connexion with a bird-trapping scene, while men ploughing occupy the register below.

When I began the reconstruction, I was aware only of the three Cairo pieces and the three published by Petrie. Of these, it was suggestive that the Manchester fragment was part of a ploughing-scene, while one of the Victoria and Albert Museum pieces was part of a bird-trapping scene. The man's head on the Cairo piece, No. J. 48850, and the sower on the Manchester piece wore similar crowns made of flowers like those growing between the feet of the geese. A small bit of a similar flower appeared on the other Cairo piece, No. J. 1744. The feet in the register above the geese could be reconstructed as belonging to a standing figure presenting birds, and three running figures closing the bird-trap, resembling similar figures on the relief in Cairo from the corridor of the chapel of Ratchetep (*Medum*, Pl. x).

The hand with an upraised stick in the register below the geese could belong to the man who urges on the oxen in a ploughing-scene. Finally, the plant in the geese panel which grows out horizontally from a vertical curving line could best be explained if it formed part of a fringe of plants growing along the curved edge of the pond in which the bird-trap was set out. The discovery in Brussels of the torso of a man who also pulls on the rope of a bird-trap, and of four small fragments in the Boston Museum, one of which was a part of a similar figure, made it possible to complete a large part of the upper register which would include the Cairo piece, No. J. 48850, and possibly the other Cairo piece No. J. 1744. When all these pieces had been reduced to the same size with the help of scaled photographs and tracings, it became obvious not only that the pieces belonged in style, size, and subject-matter to the same scene, but that certain of the fragments actually joined with one another.

The result of experimenting with these pieces is the reconstructed drawing reproduced on Pl. iv. I have indicated in the diagram, Fig. 1, the present location of the various fragments. The reason for the placing of each piece is obvious from Pl. iv, but there are one or two points which deserve comment. First of all is the unusual localization of the scene by the use of garlands of the same flowers which grow beneath the feet of geese and men to decorate the heads of the figures themselves. This lends an attractive unity to the whole

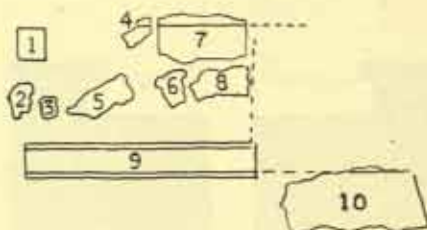


FIG. 1. Diagram of reconstructed wall-painting on Pl. iv, to indicate the present location of the various fragments. Nos. 1, 7, and 9 are in the Cairo Museum; Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6 are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; No. 5 is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and No. 10 in the Manchester Museum.

<sup>1</sup> I know of only one reproduction of the geese panel which shows all these details clearly; this is a drawing made by Miss Lenox in Loftie, *A Ride in Egypt*, 209.



wall-surface, as well as providing valuable assistance in suggesting that the various fragments come from the same piece of decoration. The curious oval space, painted yellow and surrounded by a red line, at the left of the upper register, seems to be a part of the shoulder-ornament worn by a large standing figure who surveys the whole scene. Only a small portion of his arm is preserved, and it would be necessary to reconstruct a figure either with his arms hanging at his sides, or leaning upon a staff. The latter is the more probable, but since this would be the earliest figure preserved in this common Fourth-Dynasty attitude, I have hesitated to do more than indicate the line of the arm.

The total length of the wall-surface in the outer corridor available for decoration (see

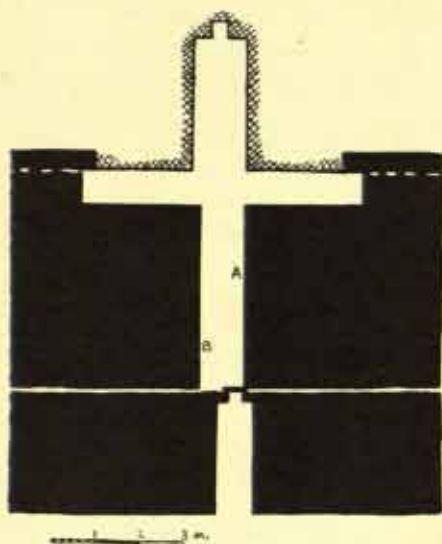
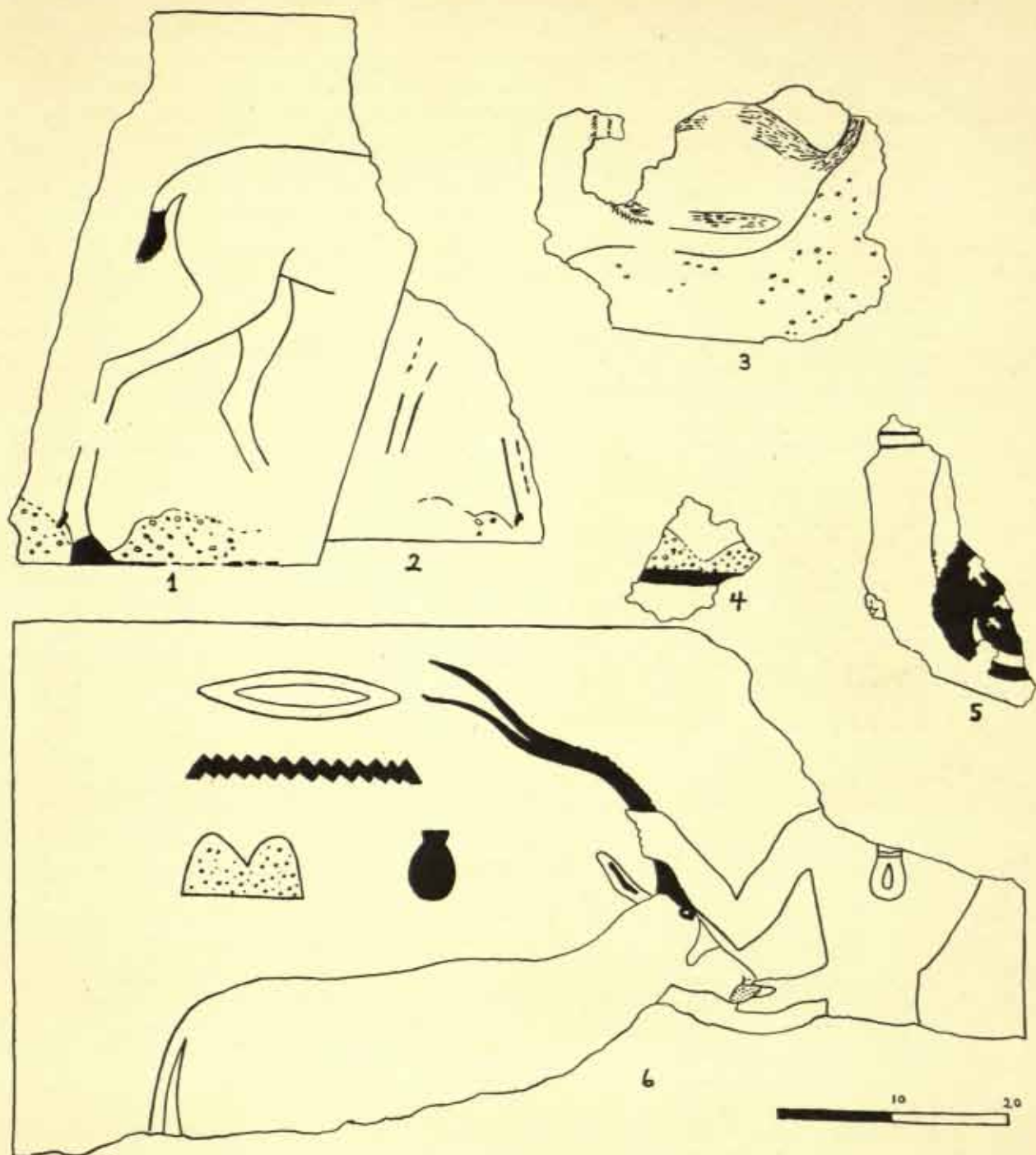


FIG. 2. Plan of the chapel of Atet, enlarged from Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gizeh and Mazghuneh*, Pl. xv. A, probable position of scene with geese (Pl. iv); B, suggested position of fragments from hunting-scene (Pl. v).

plan of chapel, Fig. 2) is about 4 m., assuming that the corridor where the paintings were found is the one in the first addition of brickwork to the mastaba. The thickness of the second layer of brick is only about 2.8 m. and would not have been sufficient to include the whole of the painted scene. It is very probable that when Petrie and Mariette refer to the 'outer' or 'first' corridor they use these terms in comparison with the inner corridor or niche lined with stone. The portion of the wall as reconstructed would fill a space of about 3.1 m. It is probable, as I have suggested above, that the remaining metre was filled by the standing figure of Nefermaat on the left. A small figure of Atet squatting at his feet might have been included. The reconstruction provides no space for the fishing-scene mentioned by Mariette. This would seem to have no place in connexion with the hunting-scene postulated for the opposite wall. It is possible that there were one or two registers below the ploughing-scene, perhaps running beneath the feet of the large figure as in the reliefs of the inner niche. The height of the painting as restored would be a little over 2 m., including the line of titles above. In the inner stone

niche the decoration occupied a space of about 3 m. from the base of the reliefs to the lower edge of the drum. The sketch of the Nefermaat niche given by Villiers Stuart in *Nile Gleanings*, facing p. 33, shows the drum in position and a disposition of the figures somewhat different from that on Petrie's Pl. xix. Thus the estate carved in relief at the top of the outer edge of the south wall was placed outside the drum at a higher level than the band of hieroglyphs which began underneath the drum and ran above the other representations on the wall. The sketch of Atet's niche on Stuart's plate facing p. 30 is not so clear, but presumably represents a similar arrangement. If we subtract 3 m. plus 0.55 m. (the height of the drum) from the total height which Petrie gives for the ceiling of the niche, the resulting 0.35 m. seems remarkably low as a base-line for the reliefs. Perhaps the paintings in the corridor had a higher base-line, and there may well have been a painted band above the wall-scenes as there was in Raḥetep's corridor. The roofing of the corridor should have been at least as high as the top of the architrave of the stone niche, which was about 4.76 m. above the floor of the cruciform chapel. This height would allow for two more registers beneath the ploughing-scene. It is curious, however, that Petrie does not mention traces of



FRAGMENTS PROBABLY FROM THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CORRIDOR OF THE CHAPEL  
OF ATET

No. 1 is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Nos. 2-5 are at University College, London; No. 6 is in the  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (= Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. XXVIII, 3)






other registers beneath the fragment of the ploughing-scene which he found in place behind the blocking of the passage. There is no indication of the height of this blocking.

Since the figure of Neferma'at faces out to right, the scene with the geese must have decorated the north wall of the corridor. The top of the wall was surmounted by a horizontal line of titles in large hieroglyphs, of which only the fragments of two signs are preserved. These may form part of the title  $\overline{\square} \text{ } \textcircled{\text{S}} \text{ } \text{iry pi nb}$ , which is held by Neferma'at. The use of such a line of titles appears in the corridor of Ra'hetep. The turning back of the head of the last of the three figures pulling the rope of the bird-trap is a not uncommon device in Egyptian drawing, and it is probably responsible for the fact that the hieroglyphs above face to the right. It seems to me more likely that the heads of the two men in front should have faced forward. The names of two of Atet's sons, *Whm-k* and *Ḥh-r-fnd-f*, appear above the heads of two of the men. The use of the title *šmr* with only the first of two names is common at Mēdūm. The reconstruction of the name *Šrf-k* over the first figure is put forward tentatively as a suggestion for the placing of the third Cairo piece. The fragment of flowered crown suggests that it belongs to this wall, and there is no room for the piece in the lower register. The name of Atet's son is written elsewhere without the  $\text{D}$ , however.

The restoration of the small black object (a stake to which the rope is tied) between the first and second figures is made plausible by its similar use at the end of the rope in the sculptures of the same chapel (*Medum*, Pl. xxii). The drawing of the feet of the second running figure is unusual, but is necessitated by the position of the feet on the geese panel and by the obviously correct placing of the torsos of the three figures as preserved. The size of the bird-trap is indeterminable, but the vertical height of the pond itself seems fixed by the position of the rope, halving it horizontally, and by the fact that the sub-register of the geese appears to have been inserted to complete the space below the rope.

The lower register is largely a matter of reconstruction, but it offers a satisfactory explanation for the position of the two hands, one preserved holding a stick, and the  in the register below the geese, as well as the hand placed on the back of one of the first pair of oxen. The closed hand and the spacing of the figures makes it impossible to place the man sowing grain directly below the geese, and necessitates the inclusion of a second pair of oxen. The introduction of a second man into each group of figures results from the obvious fact that the man guiding the oxen cannot at the same time control the plough. The grouping is a common one in Old-Kingdom wall-scenes.

It is impossible to indicate more than the subject portrayed on the opposite wall (see Pl. v). A beautiful fragment at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Pl. vi, 1), and some small pieces at University College, London (*cf.* Pl. v, 4), suggest, by their base-line of sandy desert-ground, that the animals on these pieces form part of a hunting-scene. The large fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, showing a man leading an addax (Pl. v, 6), might form part of a procession of animals led before the owner underneath the hunting-scene. This is a common accompaniment of the hunt, and has already appeared in Atet's sculptured niche. The fact that this is the piece found by Petrie hidden behind the same blocking that obstructed the ploughing-scene of the opposite wall gives an indication of its position on the south wall. It is perhaps significant that the addax is the last of a similar group of animals in Atet's inner niche (*Medum*, Pl. xxvii) which would support the suggestion, already indicated by other facts, that the sower was the outermost figure on the north wall. The sloping edge of the fragment upon which this figure appears is probably fortuitous,<sup>1</sup> but it must be admitted that the outline of this edge, if due to the sloping façade of the mastaba, could have been

<sup>1</sup> There is no trace of the border-line which should bound the outer edge of the scene.



preserved by the skin of brickwork that was added to the face of the mastaba. The front legs of an animal at University College, London, seem by the shape of the piece, the colour, size, and drawing to fit the hindquarters of the gazelle in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. v, 1, 2). The latter piece, fragmentary though it is, is one of the most beautiful, clear-cut pieces of drawing and colour that have been preserved to us (Pl. vi, 1). The restored drawing of the hound attacking an oryx (Fig. 3) may perhaps be considered a trifle too elaborate, based as it is on such scanty remains of the original (Pl. v, 3). The peculiar position of the animal, and the change from the desert-ground, beneath, to the grey background in the space circumscribed by the tail, necessitate some such reconstruction, however. This would be an early example of the grouping of hound and prostrate animal, but similar figures occur at

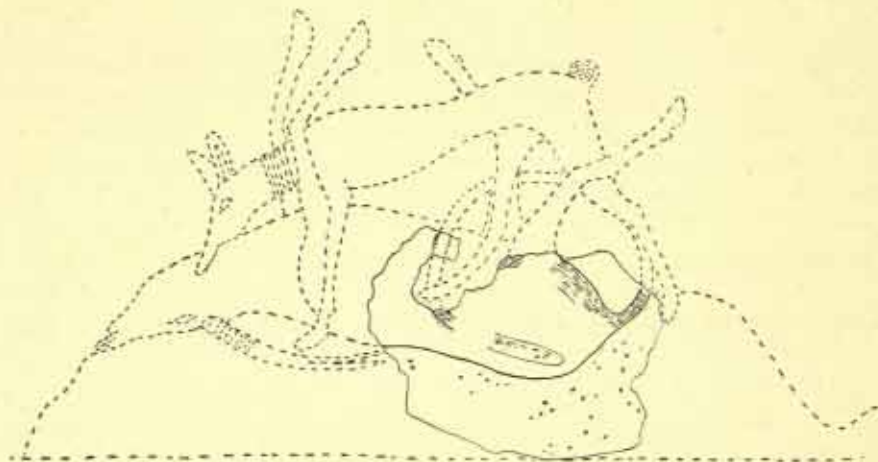
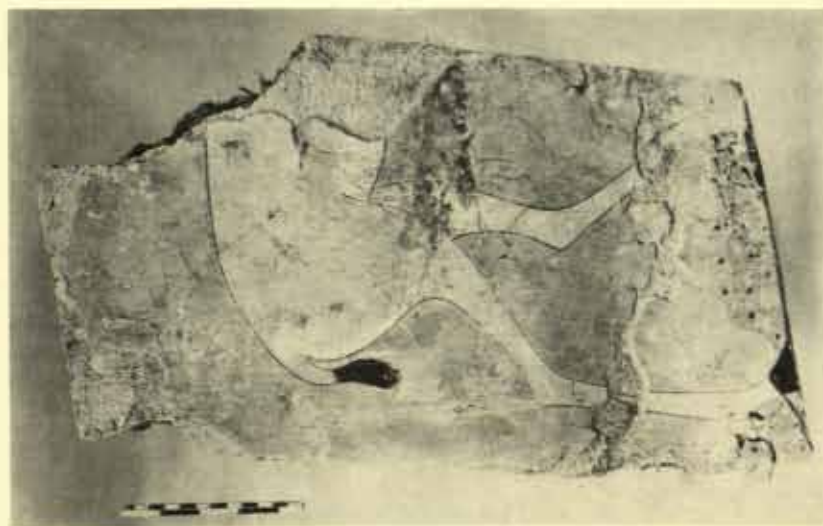


FIG. 3. Suggested restoration for fragment No. 3 on Pl. v.

Mēdūm, and the idea appears first in the fine carving on a stone disk recently discovered by Walter B. Emery in a First-Dynasty tomb at Saqqārah (*Illustrated London News*, April 25, 1936, p. 722). I am at a loss to interpret the puzzling fragment, Pl. v, 5. It is perhaps placed the right way up, for the green band bordered by orange lines resembles that which runs beneath the titles on the north wall. The former is by no means as wide, however. The space on the right is painted red, overlaid with black in the lower portion. The white splotches indicate breaks in the surface, but the crescent-shaped mark was coloured white. The background is the usual grey. The object shaped somewhat like a rosette, on the left, was white outlined in orange, with a smear of pink and yellow inside.

The hunting-scene is not a common representation in the Fourth Dynasty. Except for the fragmentary groups preserved from the corridor of Raḥetep (*Medum*, Pl. ix), the façade of Nefermaʿat (Pls. xvii, xviii), the side of Atet's niche (Pl. xxvii), and the much abbreviated scene in the chapel of Methen at Saqqārah, it is suggested only by a fragment from the Eastern Cemetery at Gīzah, showing a squatting figure apparently holding the leash of a hunting-dog. The rarity of the scene thus gives these fragmentary pieces from Atet's corridor an added value. An unusual element in the representation is the use of black, white, and green spots as well as small red flecks to indicate the stony quality of the salmon-coloured desert-ground. The Old-Kingdom artist was usually content to use red and green dots to imitate the stony surface, and perhaps the small plants, of his desert-land. Above the narrow strip of undulating desert at the base of the register the rest of the background was painted grey, as on all the fragments from the chapel of Atet.



1. Fragment in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



2. Cairo fragment, No. J. 48850



3. Fragment in Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia





Whether the restoration of the geese panel is correct to its last detail is not so important as the fact that in its general lines it suggests the composition of the original. It makes it possible to visualize in its proper position one of the finest pieces of painting ever created by an Egyptian artist, and to compare it with other more fragmentary bits no less capable in execution. The geese need be regarded no longer as an isolated work of art, but as a part of a scene typical of Old-Kingdom decoration. Scenes from life were not common in the reliefs of the early Fourth Dynasty, and at Gīzah were apparently restricted to the rooms of the exterior chapel. The paintings of Atet's corridor suggest, however, as does the earlier scene showing cattle fording a piece of water in the Third-Dynasty tomb of Ḥesirēt at Saḫḫārah (Quibell, *The Tomb of Hesy*, 10), that the plastered walls of the crude-brick chapels had for a long time been decorated with scenes of this sort betraying a capable mastery of painting.

My thanks are due to Miss Shaw, Prof. Capart, Mr. D. B. Harden, and the Egyptian Section of the Pennsylvania University Museum for providing me with photographs of the fragments in Manchester, Brussels, Oxford, and Philadelphia, and for allowing me to reproduce two of these. Prof. Glanville was good enough to allow me to trace the fragments in University College, and the Keeper of Paintings in the Victoria and Albert Museum gave me every facility for examining the pieces there. The authorities of the Cairo Museum have allowed me to photograph and draw the three paintings in that great collection, and Mr. Dunham and Miss Eaton kindly traced for me the fragments in Boston. Herr Mittelstaedt of Cairo is responsible for the photograph of the Cairo fragment No. J. 48850 reproduced on Pl. vi, 2.

#### ADDENDUM

After my manuscript was sent to the press, Professor Glanville discovered at University College, London, a box in which were packed twenty-three fragments of painting from Mēdūm. These were traced by Miss Elizabeth Eaton of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the drawings, with colour-notes, were sent to me in Cairo. A photograph of the largest fragment was also kindly supplied to me by the Egyptian Department of University College. The fragments are all small and do not seem to me to necessitate any alteration in my original article, although suggesting certain small additions.<sup>1</sup> Six of these pieces appear to belong, without any question, to the bird-trapping scene; and one, the head of a man with a crown of flowers, probably belongs to the register of ploughing below. These fragments I have now included in a supplementary plate (Pl. vii). Three of them suggest that the position and proportions of the pond and bird-trap differ from the tentative reconstruction suggested by broken lines on Pl. iv. The placing of these fragments, although it appears plausible, does not rest upon as firm a basis as does that of the pieces on Pl. iv. I have not felt justified, therefore, in altering the plate, although conscious of the necessity for indicating the new evidence, slight though it is. The other sixteen fragments, to which no definite position can be assigned, are shown in Figs. 4, 5.

The edge of the pond is indicated by a green band bordered in black; three of the new pieces show this clearly. The ornamental band separating the wall-scenes from the horizontal line of titles above is also green edged with black, but it differs in width from the border of the pond, and seems to have no connexion with the new fragments. It has been noted above that the paintings have a grey background. This is a light grey, differing markedly from a slate-gray ('a very dark purplish colour', according to Miss Eaton) which

<sup>1</sup> A statement concerning the apparent height of the pond I have allowed to stand, although it is modified by the reconstruction on the supplementary plate (vii).



seems to have been used to indicate the colour of the water of the pond.<sup>1</sup> When one finds that a short segment of the black rope passes across light grey, green border, and slate-grey at a pronounced angle, it becomes obvious that the joining of the rope to the bird-trap must have been at a lower level than the point where the rope passed through the hands of the running figures.<sup>2</sup> The tip of a lotus bud shows in the angle formed by the rope and the border of the pond. This is painted light green, but the lily pads, traces of which appear on three other fragments, were painted yellow, verging to orange on the best preserved of the leaves, according to Miss Eaton's notes. This colour variation between yellow and green is not surprising; the subject has been exhaustively studied by Mrs. Williams. The one lotus-flower that has escaped destruction evidently comes from the upper border of the pond. The inner petals are bluish white, the outer envelope green with a narrow band of yellow below.

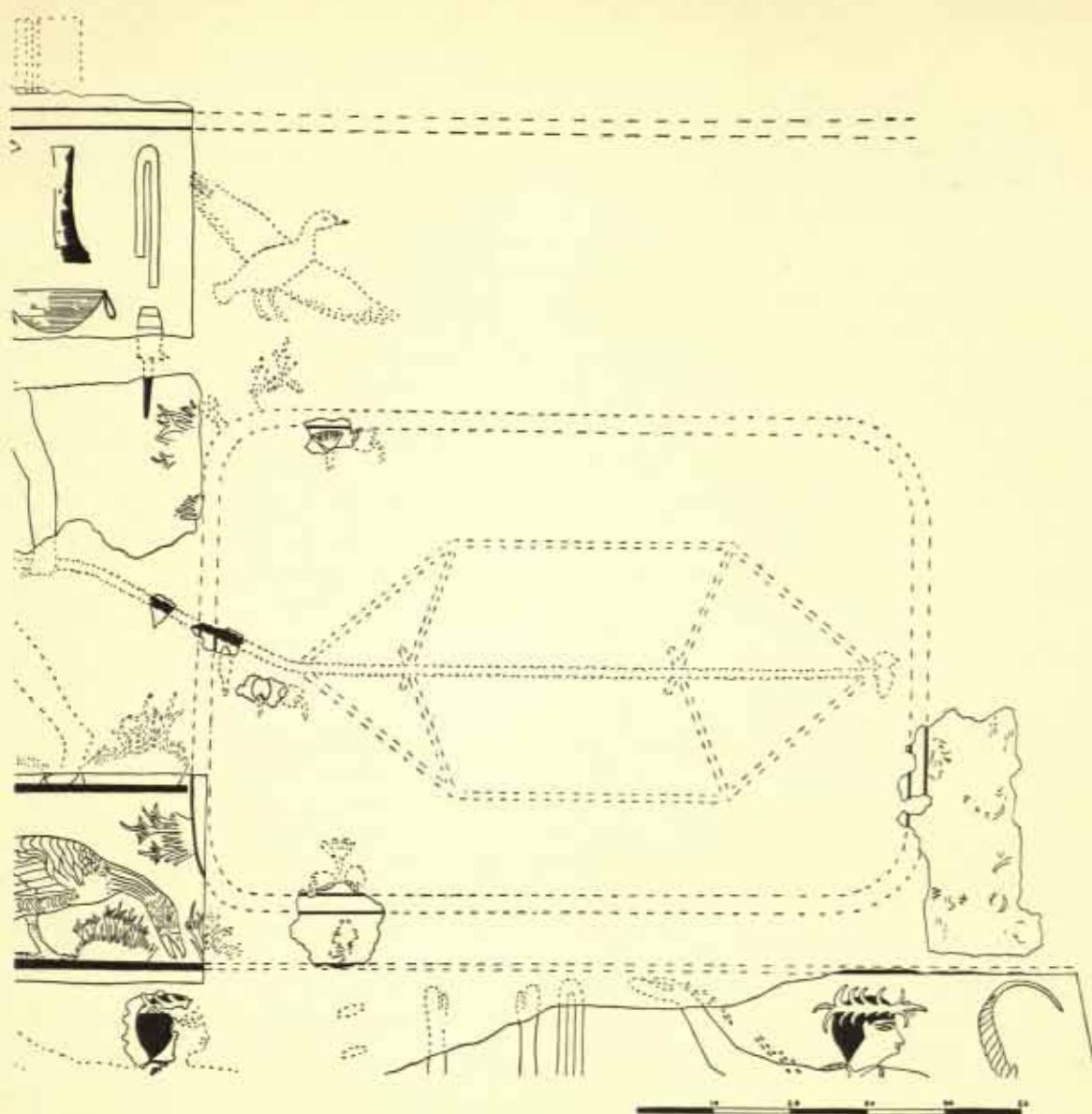
Equal in importance to the fragment showing the slanting line of the rope is the small piece which makes it clear that the line of plants between the feet of the geese continued beneath the lower edge of the pond. This fixes the exact distance between the base-line of the register and the lower border of the pond. The height and width of the pond and the size of the bird-trap are still indeterminable, but with the new fragments it is possible to suggest on the supplementary plate (vii) a plausible reconstruction, based partly on the pond in the bird-trapping scene in the chapel of Meres'ankh III, and partly on the abbreviated examples of the scene at Mēdūm itself. Birds flying above the trap or pond are found in the corridor of Raḥetep (*Medum*, Pl. x) and in the reliefs of Atet's own façade (*op. cit.*, Pl. xxiv). A more developed form of this motif is to be found in the Sixth-Dynasty chapel of Kagemni at Saḳḳārah. The placing of a flying bird above the pond in the reconstruction not only aids in solving the difficult problem of the proportions of pond and trap, but also offers an explanation for two small blobs of black paint in the upper right-hand corner of the Cairo fragment No. J. 48850.<sup>3</sup> These are very probably the tips of the bird's wing. They could form no part of the plants, and there is no reason to suppose that the hieroglyphs of the men's names continued on the right. The number of birds above the pond is problematical; three would fill the space required.

The pond will now fit within the limits prescribed by the outer edge of the wall. It seems very probable that the sowing- and ploughing-scene below is complete. There is no borderline, but the outer edge of the wall should fall not far to the right of the sloping line, probably fortuitous in its resemblance to the angle of the mastaba-façade, which appears in Pls. iv, vii. I have fitted into the imaginary angle the largest of the University College fragments,

<sup>1</sup> This has an interesting bearing upon the apparent absence of the ordinary blue pigment in the Mēdūm paintings, discussed by Mrs. Williams in *The Decoration of the Tomb of Pernēb*, 29. A chemical analysis of the 'slate-grey' on the new University College fragments would provide more accurate information concerning this early pigment. The familiar Egyptian blue occurs at Gīzah in the reign of Cheops on a fragment of relief from the chapel of his second queen (Pyramid G I b) and on a fragment from the chapel of Meryt-yet (G 7650), probably to be dated to the reign of Chephren. The colour is used freely in the chapel of Queen Meres'ankh III (G 7530) at the end of Dyn. IV.

<sup>2</sup> The presence of the sub-register with the geese makes the arrangement unusual here, as the base-line of the pond is ordinarily on a level with the feet of the men closing the bird-trap. The line of the rope is not always straight, however, in Old-Kingdom scenes. It slants down at a pronounced angle from the axis of the trap to the hands of the first man on a relief in Cairo (Dunham, *Note on Some Old Squeezes from Egyptian Monuments*, Fig. 2, *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, 56, 173-7). The line shows careless variations from the horizontal in the chapel of Queen Meres'ankh III at Gīzah and in that of Hetepherakhet in Leiden (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Pl. 103).

<sup>3</sup> These unfortunately do not show in the photograph, Pl. vi, 2; they are given in the drawings, Pls. iv, vii.



SUPPLEMENTARY RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTH WALL OF THE PAINTED  
CORRIDOR IN THE CHAPEL OF ATET (see Pl. iv)





which appears to indicate the curved corner of the pond. It must be admitted, however, that although this shows fragmentary green plants, and traces of the berry-like red elements of the flowers beneath the geese, the piece is in so complete a state of decay that little evidence can be drawn from it.

I should have liked to include in the bird-trapping scene a minute but interesting fragment (see Fig. 4) which appears to show the breast of a bird, chocolate-brown (outlined in black) with buff, crescent-shaped marks, and what I believe are parts of two lotus-buds. The background is the slate-grey of the water of the pond. I should have placed the piece as showing one of the birds inside the trap, projecting over the edge of the trap, but an inexplicable black line is drawn below the breast of the bird, and the 'buds' differ markedly from the one preserved on the fragment with the rope. The interest of the piece lies in the colouring of the 'buds', green with yellow tips. These suggest a comparison with the flower-buds (banded green and blue) which appear in the unique design of two fragmentary circlets

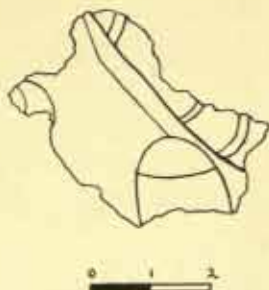


FIG. 4. Fragment at University College, London.

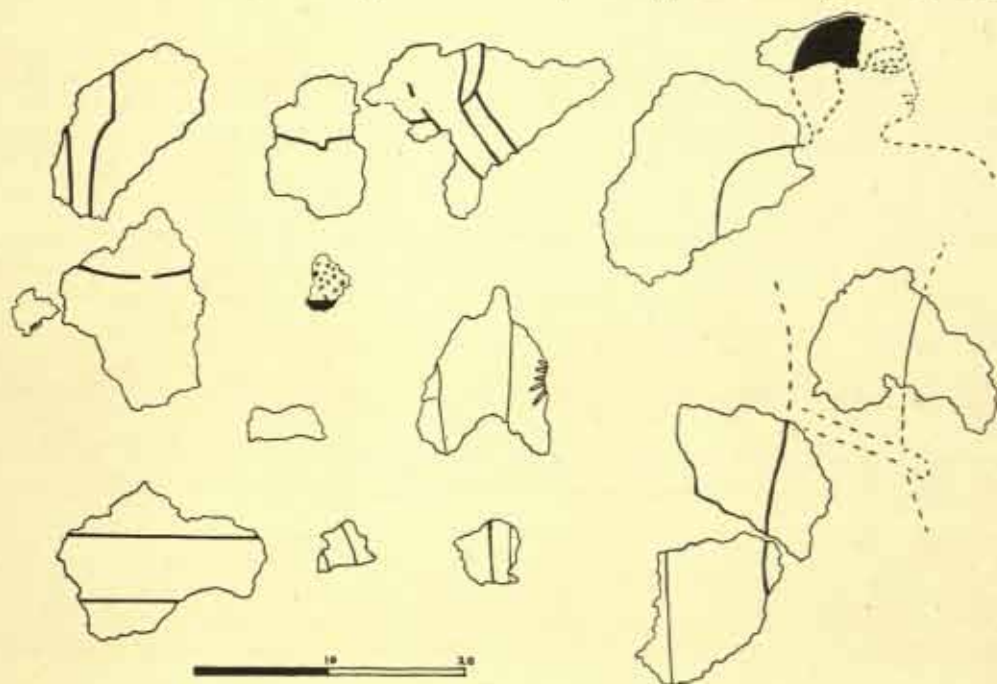


FIG. 5. Various fragments at University College, London.

from a destroyed Old-Kingdom head-band found by the Harvard-Boston Expedition at Gizah.

In Fig. 5 have been assembled the remaining fragments. The pieces of a male figure on the right perhaps do not belong together, but have been so placed to aid in visualizing the small pieces. The hair is black, the flesh red, the skirt white (with red outline), and the background light grey. Part of the red arm or leg of a figure appears on the left. The five fragments above on the left seem to form part of the hunting-scene on the south wall of the corridor. The bit of desert ground is unmistakably like others from this scene.



The leg (?) and belly (?) of an animal on the left are painted yellow; the animal on the two joining (?) fragments on the right is orange. The outlines are red-brown. It should be remembered that the Oxford gazelle is deep yellow with white underparts, a black tail, and red-brown outlines. The oryx restored as being attacked by a hound (Pl. v, 3; Fig. 3) is grey with underparts and tail olive flecked with black. The latter colour (without the black flecking) closely resembles the colour of the addax on the Victoria and Albert Museum fragment (reproduced with close approximation in *Medum*, Pl. xxviii, 3).<sup>1</sup>

The fragment below on the left shows a lemon-yellow band circumscribed with red lines, and with a grey background above and below. It may have formed a border above the titles surmounting the north or south walls of the corridor, or it could be part of the banding of the wall below the paintings. The other four fragments are entirely unintelligible to me. The largest perhaps shows part of a male figure, as the central part is painted red, but the space to the left is yellow below and white above. Possibly the green lines against the grey background on the right form part of a plant. The fragment beneath this has two orange-yellow areas divided by a red line, on the left, while on the right the remaining space is red. The piece above on the left shows only a small area of grey background, while the fourth piece, below, is red in the centre and white on each side. The latter might form part of a white loin-cloth against a red figure, but it is too large to have belonged to any of the figures of the bird-trappers.

<sup>1</sup> I should like here to support the faith which Mrs. Williams has shown (*The Decoration of the Tomb of Perneb*, 39 and *passim*) in the coloured plates of Petrie's *Medum*. In the case of the two Victoria and Albert Museum pieces, which I have examined carefully, the differences in colour between original and plate are slight, due more it would appear to difficulties with colour-printing than to accuracy in copying. The appearance of the superb reproduction of the geese panel by Mrs. Davies in her *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, Pl. i, provides a new basis for the accurate study of the colour and technical methods of the painting of the Old Kingdom. Her patient care has recorded the three faintly preserved plants, almost invisible in a photographic reproduction, which I have indicated somewhat summarily under the feet of the geese at the left-hand end of the panel in my reconstruction.

## NOTES ON MYRRH AND STACTE

By A. LUCAS

WITH reference to Dr. R. O. Steuer's scholarly and exhaustive study of myrrh and stacte (στακτή),<sup>1</sup> and to Mr. G. A. Wainwright's review of it in a recent number of this *Journal*,<sup>2</sup> I propose to explain very briefly the nature of resins, oleo-resins, balsams, gums, and gum-resins; to draw attention to a few facts concerning myrrh, frankincense, and other incense materials; to emphasize the importance (which is apt to be forgotten) of frankincense, and to discuss stacte.

### RESINS, OLEO-RESINS, GUMS, AND GUM-RESINS

All these materials are excretory products of trees and shrubs, the exudation being from fissures in the bark, either due to natural causes, or the result of wounds made by man.

When first exuded, these materials are all liquid; but with a few exceptions, such as balsams and the oleo-resins from certain trees (chiefly firs, larches, pines, and *Pistacia terebinthus*), when these are tapped artificially and the exudation is removed while still liquid, they soon harden and eventually become solid.

Resins are solid bodies, insoluble in water, but usually wholly or largely soluble in alcohol, examples being anise, colophony (rosin), copal, dammar, ladanum, mastic, and coniferous resins that have hardened naturally on the tree.

Oleo-resins and balsams are usually thick syrupy liquids, which contain resin dissolved in volatile oil, examples being Chios turpentine, Venice turpentine, Mecca balsam (Balm of Gilead), and storax.

Gums are solid bodies, insoluble in alcohol, but either soluble in water or capable of taking up sufficient water to form a mucilage, the best example being gum arabic (gum acacia).

Gum-resins are solid bodies, consisting, as their name indicates, essentially of a mixture of gum and resin, with which is associated a small proportion of volatile oil, examples being myrrh and frankincense.

The above scientific distinctions were not observed anciently, and even to-day they are often disregarded, many materials being called gums in commerce which are not gums, for example, gum copal, gum dammar, gum mastic, and gum myrrh, the first three of which are true resins, while the fourth is a gum-resin.

### MYRRH

Myrrh is a fragrant gum-resin employed from an early date as an important incense material: it occurs in commerce as reddish-brown masses of agglutinated tears covered with their own yellowish dust, and is obtained from Somaliland and southern Arabia. The ancient Egyptian word *ḥntyw* is usually translated 'myrrh',<sup>3</sup> though E. Naville,<sup>4</sup> L. J. Lieblein,<sup>5</sup> and G. Jéquier<sup>6</sup> all translate it 'frankincense'.

<sup>1</sup> *Myrrhe und Stakte*, Vienna, 1933. For a translation of this I am indebted to my assistant Zaki Iskander Effendi Hanna.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 21 (1935), 254-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Wörterb. d. äg. Spr.* 1, 206, and Gardiner, *Eg. Gramm.*, p. 537.

*Temple of Deir el Bahari*, III, 15, 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Sphinx* 16 (1912), 23-7.



## FRANKINCENSE OR OLIBANUM

Frankincense has been regarded from a very early period, and is still regarded, as the true and genuine incense-material *par excellence*, and as 'one of the indispensable ingredients of incense for religious purposes';<sup>1</sup> and it is a more important incense-material than myrrh. Like myrrh, it is a fragrant gum-resin: it occurs in commerce as large tears of a light yellow or light yellowish-brown colour covered with their own white dust, and is obtained principally from Somaliland and southern Arabia, though also from the eastern Sudan near Gallabāt<sup>2</sup> and from Abyssinia.<sup>3</sup>

On account of its importance and its provenance, it seems highly probable that frankincense was known and employed in ancient Egypt. Also, since its form and colour are so very different from those of myrrh, therefore (unless and until subjected to manipulation, such as powdering or admixture with one another or with other material), so far as their appearance was concerned any confusion anciently between them on the part of those handling them (*e.g.* merchants and priests) was practically impossible, and hence it seems likely that they had different names, though this might not have prevented them from possibly being regarded as varieties of the same material.

That *ntyw* was a fragrant resinous material from Pwenet ('Punt') used as incense is certain, but since this description covers myrrh and very probably also frankincense, may it not be that the name *ntyw* was sometimes applied to both?

I have suggested elsewhere<sup>3</sup> that the balls of incense found in the tomb of Tutankhamūn are probably frankincense.

Frankincense, as well as myrrh, was well known to the Greeks from certainly as early as the fifth century B.C., and the two materials were clearly distinguished from one another and had different names. Herodotus<sup>4</sup> (fifth century B.C.), Theophrastus<sup>5</sup> (fourth to third centuries B.C.), and Dioscorides<sup>6</sup> (first century A.D.), all describe both materials, and Herodotus states that whereas myrrh (σμύρνη) was used by the Egyptians for embalming, frankincense (λιβανωτός) was not so employed.<sup>7</sup> The Romans of Pliny's time (first century A.D.) also knew both frankincense and myrrh, and distinguished between them, and at that date, Pliny tells us, Alexandria was a depot for the distribution of frankincense.<sup>8</sup>

The ancient Egyptian word *sntr*, probably meaning incense in general, is sometimes translated 'frankincense'.<sup>9</sup>

## INCENSE TREES FROM PWENET

The trees brought by Hatshepsut's expedition from Pwenet, which are depicted on the walls of the Queen's mortuary temple at El-Dēr el-Bahari, are shown in two different conditions, in one having luxuriant foliage and in the other being quite bare, and it seems possible that they may represent two different kinds of trees. W. H. Schoff says that the trees with foliage are 'clearly *Boswellia Carteri*, the frankincense of the rich plains of Dhofar in Southern Arabia'; and again 'There can be no question that the trees . . . are the frankincense of Dhofar. . .'.<sup>10</sup> This same writer describes the myrrh-tree as 'bare, thorny, trifoliate, but almost leafless' and the Somaliland frankincense-tree as 'almost equally leafless';<sup>10</sup> if

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Parry, *Gums and Resins*, 73.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lucas, *op. cit.*, 93-4.

<sup>4</sup> Trans. A. D. Godley, II, 40; III, 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Enquiry into Plants*, trans. Sir A. Hort, IV, 4, 12, 14; IX, 1, 2, 6; 4, 1-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Materia Medica*, trans. J. Goodyer; edited R. T. Gunther, I, 77, 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 86.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, trans. J. Bostock and H. T. Riley, XII, 30, 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Wörterb. d. äg. Spr.*, IV, 180.

<sup>10</sup> *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 218.



two different trees were intended, may it not be that they were either two varieties of the frankincense-tree (the Arabian variety with foliage and the Somaliland variety without foliage), or else the Arabian frankincense-tree (with foliage) and the myrrh-tree (without foliage)?

I am informed by Dr. S. Schott that some of the heaps of incense depicted on the temple walls at El-Dēr el-Bahari are painted red, which is the colour of myrrh and not of frankincense. The separate pieces, too, are shown as large irregular-shaped lumps more like myrrh than frankincense. These facts, however, are not conclusive proof that the material represents myrrh, since Theophrastus says of frankincense, which he calls gum, that 'Some of the lumps . . . are very large, so that one is large enough in bulk to fill the hand and in weight is more than a third of a pound'<sup>1</sup> and Pliny states that the frankincense of the second gathering is 'of a red colour' and that 'The incense . . . that is most esteemed of all is that which is mammosse, or breast-shaped, and is produced when one drop has stopped short, and another following close upon it, has adhered, and united with it. I find it stated that one of these lumps used to make quite a handful, at a time when men displayed less eagerness to gather it, and it was allowed to accumulate. . . . Even at the present day, however, there are drops found which weigh one-third of a mina, or, in other words, twenty-eight denarii'.<sup>2</sup> There is no such frankincense on the market at the present day.

The *entye* trees depicted on the walls of the Ptolemaic temple of Athribis are too poorly represented and too badly preserved to be identified.<sup>3</sup>

#### OTHER INCENSE-MATERIALS

These include bdellium, galbanum, ladanum,<sup>4</sup> Mecca balsam, nard, and storax;<sup>4</sup> also almost certainly some of the coniferous resins,<sup>5</sup> and possibly the resin of *Pistacia terebinthus*.<sup>6</sup> The general argument applying to these materials is much the same as that already advanced for frankincense, namely that some of them certainly and others probably were used as incense in ancient Egypt, and that possibly they had special names. For the sake of brevity, however, any detailed discussion will be omitted.

#### STACTE

The three most ancient descriptions of stacte are those of Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Pliny, which may now be considered.

Theophrastus, who was a botanist, states that 'from the myrrh when it is bruised flows an oil: it is in fact called *stakte* (in drops) because it comes in drops slowly'. He then explains that 'Some indeed say that this is the only simple uncompounded perfume and that all the others are compound . . . but others declare that the manufacture of *stakte* (myrrh-oil) is as follows: having bruised the myrrh and dissolved it in oil of *balanos* over a gentle fire, they pour hot water on it: and the myrrh and oil sink to the bottom like a deposit; and, as soon as this has occurred, they strain off the water and squeeze the sediment in a press'.<sup>7</sup>

Theophrastus thus gives two different accounts of stacte. First, he states that it was an oil that exuded in drops from the myrrh when it was bruised, and this he calls an uncompounded perfume. The description is obscure. If by 'the myrrh' the tree and not the gum-resin is meant, and if by 'bruised' the making of incisions in the tree is signified, both of which seem to be the case from the context, then the product must have been the gum-resin, which, though liquid when it exudes from the tree, is not an oil. This misnomer, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, ix, 4, 10.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. F. Petrie and others, *Athribis* 8, 17-18; Pl. xix.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lucas, *op. cit.*, 96-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, xii, 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>7</sup> *Concerning Odours*, trans. Sir A. Hort, 29.



is of no great significance, since the classical writers often use the terms oily and fatty to describe materials that are not oily or fatty in the modern sense, but which are better described as unctuous or soapy. Thus Theophrastus himself states that a certain wood-sap was of an oily character and that certain plant-juices were fatty.<sup>1</sup> If, on the other hand, the gum-resin and not the tree is meant, there is still a mistake, since myrrh when bruised does not yield an oil. This point will be dealt with elsewhere.

But Theophrastus also states that, according to some people, stacte, which he calls myrrh oil, was prepared by bruising (*i.e.* breaking into small pieces) the gum-resin, warming it with balanos oil, then adding hot water and, after a time, straining off the water and squeezing the oily residue in a press, when a perfumed oil (stacte) was obtained. This process may now be explained.

The fragrance of myrrh is due to a small proportion (about 7 to 8 per cent. in fresh myrrh) of volatile oil, and the fresher the myrrh the more volatile oil it contains and hence the more fragrant it is, this oil being gradually lost by evaporation when the myrrh is heated or kept.

The fact that perfumes are absorbed and retained by oils and fats was known in Egypt at an early date, and later to the Greeks and Romans; it was the basis of perfume-making in the ancient world, and it is still the principle of one of the modern methods employed when dealing with certain delicate flower-perfumes.

Balanos oil, which is obtained from the seeds of *Balanites aegyptiaca*, a tree that at one time grew plentifully in Egypt and is still abundant in the Sudan (where it is called *heglig*), is a bland odourless oil that does not readily become rancid and is hence very suitable for making perfumes.

If balanos oil be warmed with myrrh, the volatile oil of the myrrh is absorbed by the fixed (non-volatile) balanos oil, which in consequence becomes perfumed, and when the extraction is finished, the perfumed balanos oil can be separated from the exhausted and useless residue by pressing.

The reason for adding hot water is not clear. I suggest that it may have been done either (*a*) with the idea that because water dissolved the gum part of the myrrh, therefore it helped to extract the perfume; or, less probably, (*b*) as a precaution against overheating, since if this occurred the fragrant volatile myrrh oil would be lost by evaporation. In the latter case the water may have been used as a tell-tale, since while it remained there could not be any serious overheating, but if much of it evaporated away (which process would be accompanied by the usual sizzling noise made when water, or a material containing it, is heated with oil or fat) the heat would be too great. In another place Theophrastus states that 'in all cases the cooking, whether to impart the astringent quality or to impart the proper odour, is done in vessels standing in water and not in actual contact with the fire; the reason being that the heating must be gentle, and there would be considerable waste if these were in actual contact with the flames; and further the perfume would smell of burning'.<sup>2</sup> This method of heating, if applied in the particular case under consideration, would of course render unnecessary any addition of water for the second purpose suggested. The statement that the myrrh and oil would sink to the bottom is contrary to fact, since it is the water and myrrh that sink, the oil naturally remaining at the top. This I have confirmed by direct experiment.

Dioscorides, a physician writing on *Materia Medica*, states that 'stacte is the name given to the fat of fresh myrrh, crushed with a little water and pressed out by means of an implement. It is very sweet of savour and valuable, and is itself an unguent, called stacte. That sort is esteemed which is unmixed with oil and is very effective in a very

<sup>1</sup> *Enquiry into Plants*, trans. Sir A. Hort, v, 9, 8; ix, 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Concerning Odours*, trans. Sir A. Hort, 22.



small quantity.<sup>1</sup> Also, after describing myrrh, he says '... from which, when it is pressed, stacte is obtained'.<sup>2</sup>

According to Dioscorides, then, stacte was made by bruising fresh myrrh (i.e. the fresh gum-resin that contained its full complement of the fragrant volatile oil) with a little water and then pressing. Such a process cannot have given a satisfactory product, and there would appear to be some mistake. The water would dissolve some of the gum from the myrrh, but it could not dissolve any of the volatile oil, though the gum-solution might form an emulsion with part of the oil (especially if the mixture were stirred), and a weak gum-solution slightly perfumed with the fragrance of myrrh might result when the liquid was separated from the solid. This I have confirmed by direct experiment. That such a solution could have been 'very sweet of savour and valuable' is impossible. The method is all the more astonishing since the manner of extracting perfumes by means of a fixed oil was well known to Dioscorides, who describes it in detail in his accounts of the making of rose oil, lily oil, and other oils. The omission of any mention of oil in the process, however, is manifestly intentional, since it is stated that that stacte is 'esteemed which is unmixed with oil'. That such a material should be 'very effective in a very small quantity' is impossible.

The further statement of Dioscorides that stacte is obtained when myrrh is pressed will be dealt with elsewhere.

Pliny (who was largely a compiler of information collected from others), after describing the artificial incisions made both in the myrrh-tree and in the frankincense-tree, says of the former that 'the tree spontaneously exudes, before the incision is made, a liquid which bears the name of stacte, and to which there is no myrrh that is superior'.<sup>3</sup> This is a plain, straightforward statement, which can only mean that, according to Pliny's information, stacte was a superior kind of gum-resin that exuded naturally from myrrh-trees that had not been tapped artificially, in contradistinction to an inferior kind that resulted from artificial tapping. This account is rejected by Dr. Steuer,<sup>4</sup> but to me it seems reasonable to suppose that the myrrh collected from trees that exuded naturally may have been thought the better kind, and may originally have been called stacte, and that at some later period this name was transferred to an artificial extract of myrrh obtained in the second manner described by Theophrastus.

Turning now more particularly to the Egyptian side of the subject, Dr. Steuer's conclusions with regard to this may be summarized briefly as follows: the Egyptians procured from Pwenet an incense-material that they called 'fresh *ntyw*', from which an oil called *mdt*, employed for anointing purposes, was obtained by pressure; that *ntyw* was myrrh, and that *mdt* was the same material as the Greek stacte.

That *ntyw* was a fragrant resinous material from Pwenet used as incense is certain; that it was sometimes myrrh appears to be equally certain, but that it was always myrrh is less certain.

That *mdt* was an oil obtained in connexion with fresh myrrh (or frankincense) by means of a process involving pressure is also certain, but I cannot agree that by simple pressure myrrh (or frankincense), even the fresh material containing its maximum content of volatile oil, can be made to yield the oil. To justify this contention a brief description of oils and the methods of obtaining them becomes necessary.

Oils are procured from three fundamentally different sources, namely, animal, mineral, and vegetable, but in connexion with the present inquiry animal and mineral oils may be omitted, thus leaving only vegetable oils, which for the purpose of this inquiry may be divided into fixed and volatile.

Fixed (non-volatile), or fatty, oils include almond oil, balanos oil, castor oil, cotton-seed

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, XII, 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 17, 24.



oil, linseed oil, olive oil, sesame oil, and many others: such oils occur in large proportion in nuts and seeds, being enclosed in cells that are disseminated throughout the tissue, from which they may be liberated by pressure. All fixed oils are greasy in character.

Volatile,<sup>1</sup> or essential, oils are the odoriferous principles, or essences, contained in small proportion in certain plants and plant products, from which (and in this respect they are unlike fixed oils) they cannot as a rule be obtained by simple pressure, exceptions being the essential oils from fruit-rinds (bergamot, orange, lime, and lemon), which are contained in the outer layer of the rind in special cells, like fixed oils, and when these cells are ruptured the oil is set free. The reason for this difference, in so far as it concerns myrrh and frankincense, is chiefly that the oil is not present in cells in the plant tissue from which it may be released by pressure, as in the case of fixed oils, but is intimately associated with the rest of the material, particularly the resin, which is partly dissolved in the oil and from which it cannot be separated by pressure.

In the absence of fresh myrrh I have been unable to make practical experiments with this material, but I have tried pressing two analogous materials, namely, Venice turpentine (the oleo-resin from the larch), a thick syrupy liquid containing about 15 to 20 per cent. of volatile oil, and Chios turpentine<sup>2</sup> (the oleo-resin from *Pistacia terebinthus*), which, as used, was a plastic solid containing about 12 per cent. of volatile oil. In each case the result was much the same: there was no separation of oil, the oleo-resins as a whole at first saturating and then passing through the cloth in which they were contained while being pressed. In the case of the liquid Venice turpentine all the material was either absorbed by, or passed through, the cloth, but in the case of the almost solid Chios turpentine only a very small proportion of the material passed into or through the cloth.

In my opinion the only manner in which a fragrant oil could be obtained from myrrh or frankincense (apart from the modern methods of steam distillation and extraction by solvents such as petroleum ether, which were unknown anciently) is that given by Theophrastus, which has already been described, namely, by warming the gum-resin with a fixed oil and, when this had become impregnated with the fragrant essential oil, separating it from the exhausted residue by pressure. This, as already stated, was a well-known method of extracting perfumes, and was practised by the Egyptians from an early date.

The method of pressing employed in ancient Egypt was, as is pointed out by Dr. Steuer, almost certainly that of wringing or squeezing in a cloth or sack, exactly in the same manner as the marc (skins and stalks) of grapes was pressed, as pictured on a number of tomb walls.<sup>3</sup> This is confirmed by the use of the word *nwd* with the determinative of such a press with drops falling from it.<sup>4</sup> That this method of pressing was indeed applied to the making of perfumes is proved by several representations, for example, one in a Middle-Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan, now apparently destroyed, but fortunately copied by Cailliaud in 1831;<sup>5</sup> another on a bas-relief of 'neo-memphite' date in the Louvre Museum,<sup>6</sup> and a third on a bas-relief of Ptolemaic date in the Museum Scheurleer, Holland.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fact that these oils are odoriferous means of course that they must be volatile, otherwise they could not be detected by the nose.

<sup>2</sup> A specimen found in a tomb of Saïte date at El-Maṭariyah near Cairo (see A. Lucas in *Ann. Serv.* 33 (1933), 187-9).

<sup>3</sup> (a) N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah*, I, Pls. xxi, xxiii; *The Tomb of Puyemré at Thebes*, Pls. xii, xiii; *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, Pl. xxx. (b) P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. xii; II, Pls. vi, xvi; *El Bersheh*, I, Pls. xxiv, xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Wainwright, *JEA* 21 (1935), 254.

<sup>5</sup> F. Cailliaud, *Recherches sur les arts et métiers* (1831), Pl. 15 A.

<sup>6</sup> G. Bénédite, *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, xxv, Pls. iv, v, vi.

<sup>7</sup> Von Bissing, *Bull. van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving*, iv (1929), 9-14.

According to the representations, the process of squeezing the marc of grapes was very laborious: although, in one scene out of eight examined, there are only two men operating the press, in three other scenes four men are shown, and in the remaining four scenes there are five men. For the manufacture of perfumes, however, the process of pressing was manifestly less arduous, since it is always women and not men who are doing the work, which, in each of the three cases referred to, is being easily performed by two women. The bulk of material pressed will have been very much less than in the case of grapes and the cloth probably finer and lighter.

The amount of oil of incense used in ancient Egypt must have been considerable, since, for example, in two different tombs in the Theban necropolis,<sup>1</sup> and doubtless in other tombs both there and elsewhere, it is shown being poured from a large jar upon a pile of offerings. As both myrrh and frankincense contain at the most about 7 to 8 per cent. of oil, the amount of incense necessary to produce the large quantity of oil required, had this been derived directly from the gum-resin by pressure (as suggested by Dr. Steuer, but which I believe to be impossible) would have been enormous and the cost prohibitive, whereas by absorbing the perfume in a locally-grown fixed oil, such as balanos oil, a small amount of incense would have perfumed a large volume of oil and the cost would have been comparatively low.

<sup>1</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, 50, Pls. xi, xii: *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes*, Pls. v, viii.



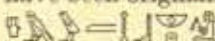

# THE PAPYRUS OF KHNEMEMḤAB IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

By ALAN W. SHORTER

With Plates viii-x.












THE fine fragments of a 'Book of the Dead' reproduced on Plates viii-x are preserved in the collection of Egyptian antiquities at University College, London, and I am greatly indebted to Professor S. R. K. Glanville for permission to study and publish them. The papyrus contains such unusual features that it has seemed to merit a full description in these pages.

## Description

The document consists, in its present state, of a number of fragments (mostly of large size) which have been mounted between glass in two separate sheets. Sheet 1 contains the major part of the vignette of Judgement, with accompanying legends. Sheet 2 contains a large portion of a remarkable vignette (to be described below), portions of the vignette of the Elysian Fields (Spell 110), and a number of smaller fragments. The texts and vignettes are enclosed at top and bottom by a double border of red and yellow, and the vignettes themselves are fully coloured. The distance between the outer edges of the upper and lower borders, preserved in Sheet 2, is 31.3 cm. The margin of uninscribed papyrus above and below appears to have measured about 4.8 cm., thus the total width of the papyrus must have been originally 40.5 cm. or thereabouts. The papyrus has been inscribed for a man called  *Hnmw-m-hb*, who bears the title  'Superintendent of Henchmen'.

## SHEET 1

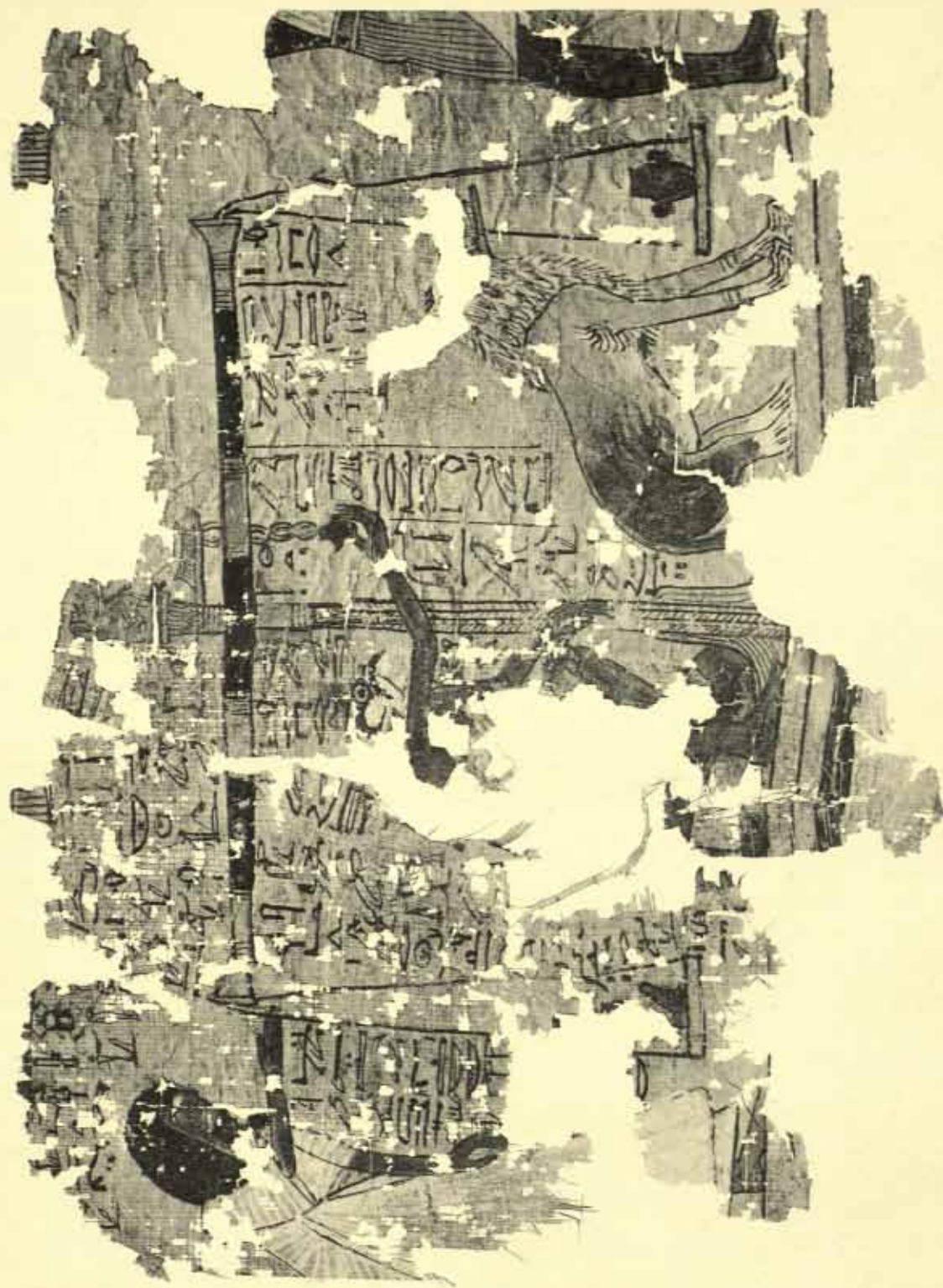
The Scene of Judgement, as now mounted, measures about 66.9 cm. in length. On the extreme left the deceased man stands watching the weighing of his heart. He wears an elaborately goffered dress, long wig, and bead collar of which a green fragment remains. He inclines slightly forward, his left hand hanging down, his right extended in the gesture accompanying declamation. Above and in front of Khnememḥab are written, in vertical lines, his words (Spell 30 B<sup>1</sup>) as follows:

(1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)  (6)   
 (7)  (8)  ..... (9)  ..... (10)   
Words spoken by the Osiris Khnememḥab. He saith: O my heart, O my heart, of [my mother! (?)]  
O my heart of my transformations (?)! Do not stand up against me as a witness . . . Behold,  
I am in thy presence, O Lord of the gods . . . [the balance (?)] is empty of (any) fault of mine  
(i.e. registers no fault on my part).

Farther to the right is depicted the actual weighing of Khnememḥab's heart, superintended by Horus, who kneels on one knee to steady the plummet. The balance is coloured mainly black and yellow, and the upright is surmounted by the ape of Thoth. In the right-hand pan is the deceased's heart (coloured red), in the left-hand one a figure of the goddess Ma'at with the feather upon her head. Beneath the right-hand beam of the balance, facing

<sup>1</sup> On the connexion of this spell with the so-called 'Negative Confession' and weighing of the heart see Spiegel's recent essay *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion*.



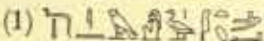
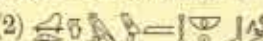
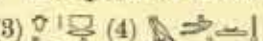



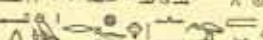


THE PAPYRUS OF KHNEMEMHAB, SHEET 1, LEFT.

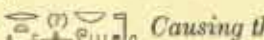




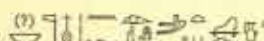




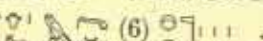
right towards Osiris, stands *Em-mut*, the Eater of the Dead. She is depicted according to the usual tradition, with the head of a crocodile, mane and mid-portion of a lion, and hind-quarters of a hippopotamus. Her jaws are coloured yellow, teeth red, the mane is red on white, central portion of body yellow, the hind-quarters are reddish. Moving to the right we find Thoth addressing Osiris on behalf of the deceased. He wears the white priestly stole across his breast, and stands with right hand extended in declamation, and holding a scribe's palette and roll of papyrus in his left hand. The palette is yellow, with wells of red and black ink and red pens; the roll of papyrus is coloured white. The speech of Horus is as follows:

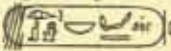
(1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)   
 (6)  Words spoken by Horus,

son of Matat: Righteous is the Osiris Khnememhab. His heart has come forth justified. The balance is empty of [any sin of his] . . . (My sic) soul has been produced (as a witness) before (me sic), and no utterance of mine (sic) upon earth has been punished.

On the left of the ape which surmounts the balance is written:  Causing the lords of the Necropolis to be satisfied (?).

The speech of Thoth is as follows:

(1) . . . .  (2)  (3)  (4)   
 (5)  (6)  . . . O beautiful and victorious god (??), Osiris. Righteous is the Osiris Khnememhab. His heart has come forth justified, and the balance is empty of (any) fault of his. Let his heart be given (back) to him in the presence of the Ennead.

The structure of the shrine in which Osiris sits cannot be accurately determined, since it is almost entirely missing, but the block-pattern and hanging clusters of grapes which adorned the roof are visible. In front of Osiris rises a cult-standard on which are ranged the four Sons of Horus; reading from left to right they are (1) destroyed, (2) Hapy, (3) Duamawtef, (4) head destroyed. Osiris himself sits upon an elaborate throne, the side of which is adorned with red, blue, white, and black chequer-pattern, and beneath are the double doors which often appear in this representation. The god is dressed from the waist downward in the usual tight-fitting feathered costume, the feathers being outlined in red, their tips accentuated with red or blue spots. The upper part of the god is swathed in red, on which blue and yellow spots are painted, and in his crossed hands he holds two sceptres, the flagellum, and, almost certainly, the crook (now destroyed). On his head is set the white crown of Upper Egypt, with sun-disk, feathers of Matat, and uraei attached. The ram's horns of the *atef*-crown may have been present. Since the god's face and hands are destroyed it is impossible to tell what his flesh-colour was. In front of Osiris are the remains of his name and titles, of which a blue cartouche containing blue signs upon a yellow ground, and a following desert-mountain sign in red, are preserved, thus: . . .  . . . Osiris, lord of the Sacred Land (*t3 dsr*).

Behind Osiris stand Isis and Nephthys, who, most unusually, are each represented wearing the queen's vulture-crown surmounted by the black cow's horns and red disk of Hathor. Their left hands are curved under the left arm of Osiris, as though to support him, while their right hands grasp his right shoulder. The farther goddess, at least, wears a red dress; that of the nearer one is destroyed. The flesh-tint of the goddesses is bright yellow, but has disappeared from their faces, leaving visible the black lines of the original draught sketch of their features. The throne of Osiris and the feet of the two goddesses rest upon a corniced plinth.



## SHEET 2

*Fragment (a).*

Upper Register.—The vignette shows the god Rē or Rē-Harakhte seated in a boat which is sailing upon a stretch of water. He wears disk and uraeus, and holds the *was*-sceptre and *ankh*-symbol. The prow of the boat is shaped as a lotus-bloom, and in the fore-part of the boat stands a scribe who is labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *The Osiris Raṣmose*. He holds a scribe's palette and a roll of papyrus in his left hand, both coloured white, and is engaged in making an entry on the papyrus with a pen. At the extreme left, facing him, stands Osiris, mummiform, wearing white crown and uraeus, bead-collar, and *mṛnḥt*-counterpoise, and holding a flagellum (?) and long crook-sceptre; he is labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *Osiris lord of Ḥḥ-twy*. Underneath the stretch of water is depicted the serpent-dragon Apopis, and beside him, coloured red, a kneeling human figure, headless, with hands tied behind him. The serpent is labelled in red,  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  'Apopis 4', and the half of another  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  sign is visible farther to the right.

Lower Register.—Four gods, each holding the *was*-sceptre and *ankh*-symbol, are shown walking towards the right. They are:

(1) Thoth, ibis-headed, with the priestly stole, coloured white, across his breast. He is labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *The Bull of the Two Truths*.

(2) A bull-headed deity, wearing an ostrich-feather between his horns, labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *Great Fighter* (this must be intended, although the bird is barely distinguishable from  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ).

(3) A crocodile-headed god labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

(4) A lion-headed god labelled  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  *Son of Bastet*, i.e. the god Nefertē, the offspring of Ptah and Sakhmet.

*Fragment (b).*

Vignette of the deceased kneeling with hands upraised in adoration. He wears a goffered white linen dress, black wig, bead-collar, and bangles. Fragments of text: (1) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  . . . (2) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  (3) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  . . . The titles read '[Chief Keeper]<sup>1</sup> of the Archives . . . [Scribe (?)] of the oarsmen (?) . . .', and perhaps belong to Raṣmose and not Khnememḥab, since it is known that the former was a Chief Keeper of the Archives (see below).

*Fragment (c).*

Vignette showing a lake of fire. Evidently the vignette of Spell 126.

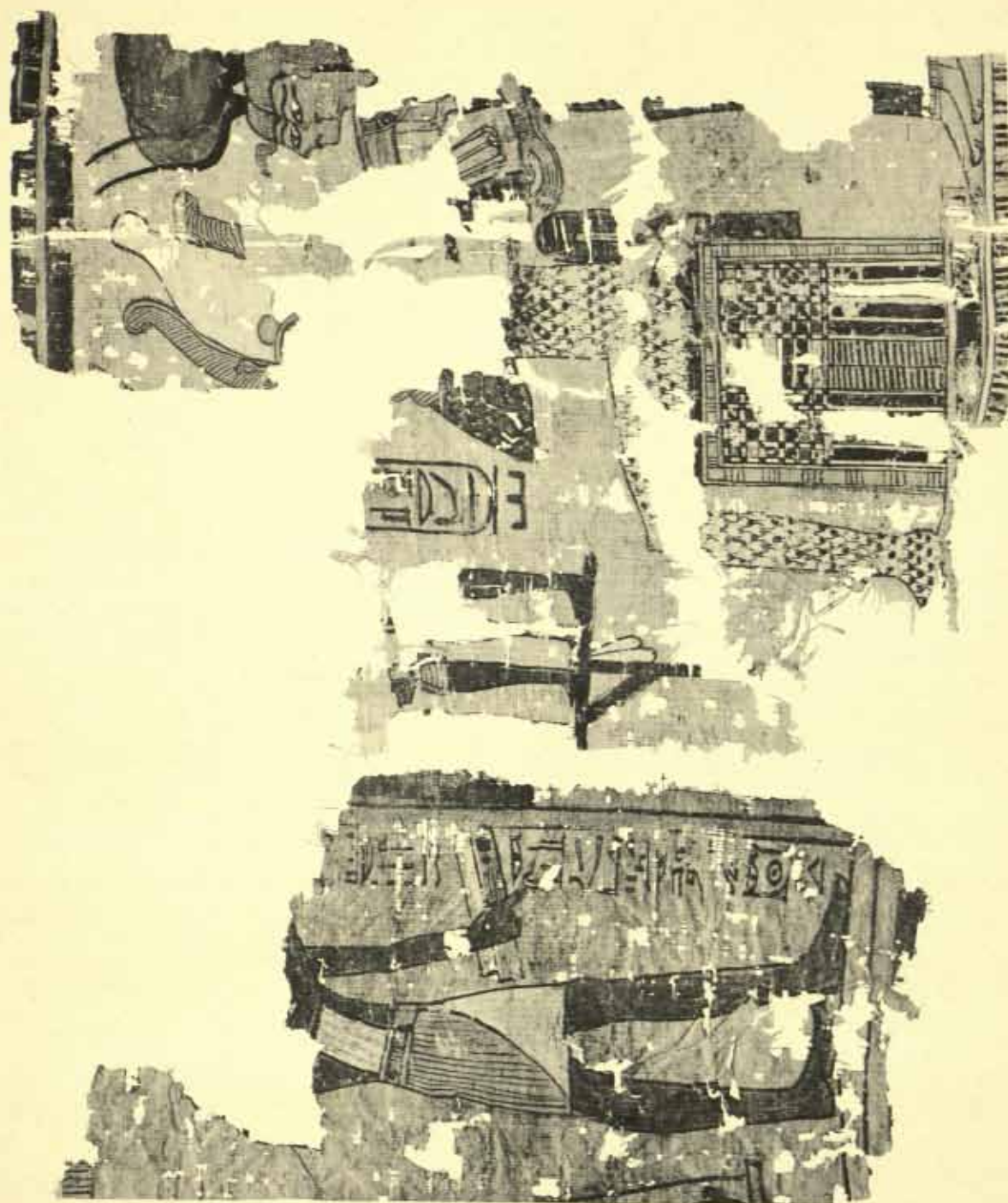
*Fragment (d).*

On the right, part of a mummiform figure, coloured red. On the left, separated by an upright yellow margin, portions of three vertical lines of text,<sup>2</sup> which I have not been able to identify:

(1) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  . . . (2) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  . . . (3) . . .  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$  . . . *that (?) . . . wherein (?) Rē is purified; I have passed by . . . like . . . Words spoken by the Osiris Khnememḥab justified: I am . . . Osiris, Superintendent of Henchmen, Khnememḥab.*

<sup>1</sup> Restoring  $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ .

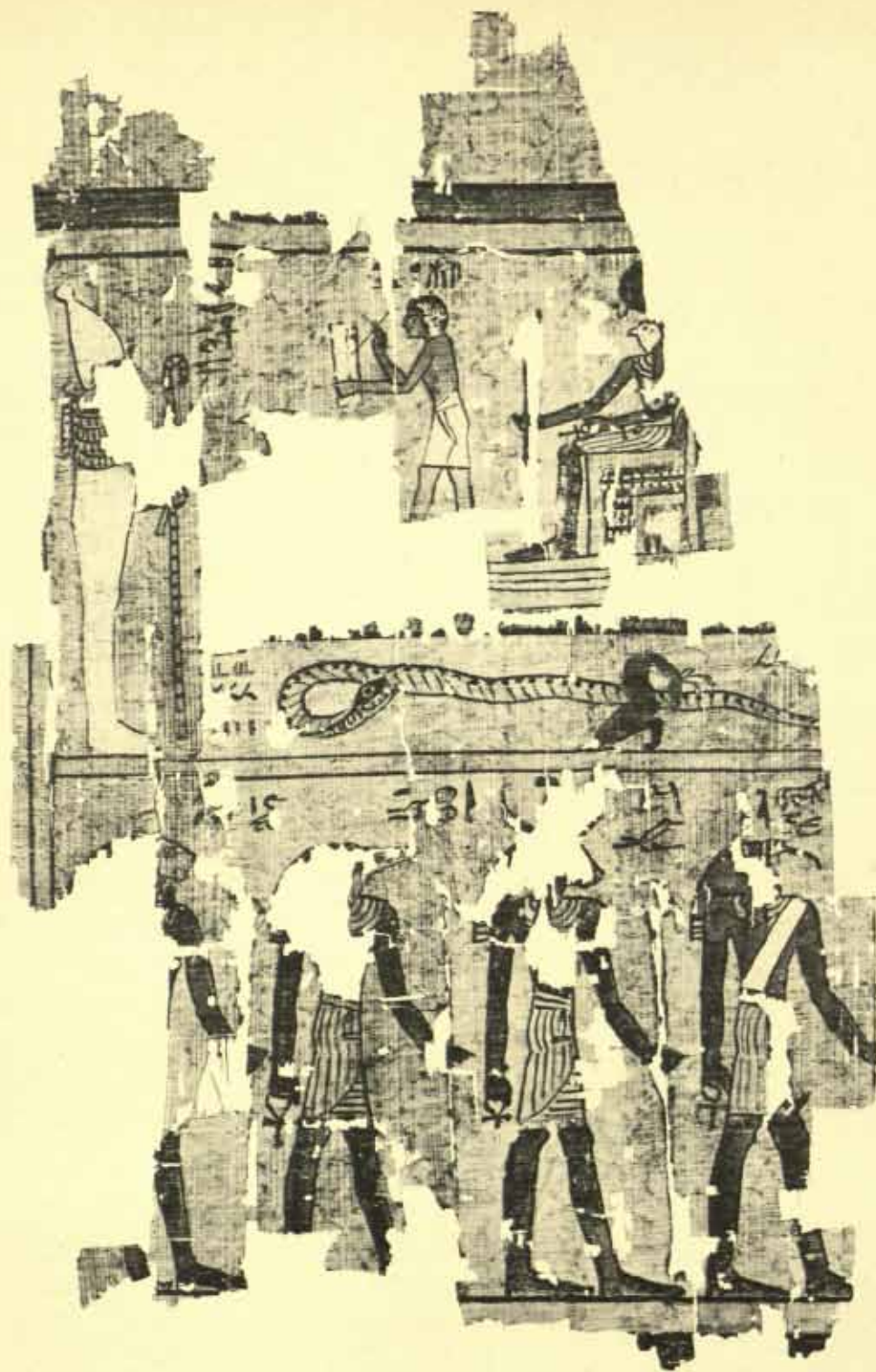
<sup>2</sup> If the text is retrograde the lines are, of course, to be read in the reverse order to that in which they are printed here.



THE PAPYRUS OF KHNEMEMHAB, SHEET 1, RIGHT.








THE PAPYRUS OF KHNEMEMHAB, SHEET 2





*Fragment (e).*

A portion of the vignette of Spell 110, showing the deceased's activities in the Elysian Fields. The vignette is of the usual type, and the deceased is only labelled once, in the ploughing-scene, where he is called  'The Osiris Raḥmose'.

*(f). Smaller fragments, unidentifiable.*

The provenance of this papyrus is not known for certain, but Professor Glanville tells me that he believes it to have come from Sedment, the necropolis of Heracleopolis Magna, excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie and Mr. Brunton in the years 1920-1. At this site a tomb of the Nineteenth Dynasty was discovered, belonging to a person called Raḥmose, who bears the titles 'Royal Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands' and 'Chief Keeper of the Archives of the Lord of the Two Lands', and is briefly described in Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, II, 26, 27. The tomb is dated by Petrie to the reign of Sethos I, apparently on the basis of the objects found in it, since no inscription recording a date is mentioned. The most important item from the tomb was the magnificent papyrus of Raḥmose (not figured at all in the publication!) which is now preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. In addition to the *ushabtis* of Raḥmose himself and his wife (?) Teye, the tomb contained a considerable number of *ushabtis*<sup>1</sup> bearing other names, which Petrie suggests are the representatives of other members of the family and household, &c. Among these are thirteen figures bearing the name of a certain Khnememḥab who holds the office of a 'Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands'. Now in our papyrus the man called Raḥmose occupies a secondary position, the owner being plainly Khnememḥab,<sup>2</sup> and therefore, if the tomb of Raḥmose at Sedment was the source of this papyrus, we are driven to one of two conclusions. Either the tomb must have contained, at one time, the burial of Khnememḥab himself in addition to that of Raḥmose, or else the tomb of Raḥmose was regarded by Khnememḥab and other members of his family and household as a suitable *cache* for their own funerary objects, placed there with the intention of sharing in the tomb-provisions of the great man. With Petrie's dating of the tomb to the reign of Sethos I the indications of the papyrus are in agreement. The style of the vignettes bears a close resemblance to that of the vignettes of the papyrus of Hunefer (B.M. No. 9901), who was an official under Sethos, and the script suits well for the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

There are several points of great interest in this papyrus. First, the mention of 'Osiris, lord of *Ḥnh-twy*', a district of Memphis, and the presence of Nefertēm, son of Bastet and Ptah of Memphis, two things plainly indicating that this copy of the Book of the Dead has been produced under the influence of Memphite theology. This fact is of importance, since nearly all the examples of the Book of the Dead preserved belong to the Theban school, few others being known. The other gods shown in the lower register of Sheet 2 are probably local forms of deities, worshipped in the region of Memphis. Secondly, in the scene of Judgment the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are both represented wearing the horns and disk of Hathor, a variation from the usual which I have not met elsewhere. They are shown as Hathors probably because of their function as the 'two nurses' of the god.

Thirdly, the vignette of Rē-Ḥarakhte on Sheet 2 is of exceptional interest. Vignettes of this god in his boat appear fairly frequently in religious papyri from the Twentieth Dynasty

<sup>1</sup> A selection is reproduced *op. cit.*, Pl. lxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> It was sometimes the custom for other members of a family to find mention in a copy of the Book of the Dead prepared for one individual. It is just possible, however, that the fragments inscribed for Khnememḥab and Raḥmose do not belong together, but the extreme similarity of style, texture of papyrus, &c., seem to make this unlikely.



onwards, but the present example is, at least to my knowledge, unique. The serpent Apopis, whom the sun-god has overthrown, is labelled 'Apopis (no.) 4', and there is reason to suppose that other serpents were depicted farther to the right; the scribe is obviously listing the number of slain enemies in the presence of Osiris. Now these four serpents must be the 'four enemies' mentioned in the ritual for destroying Apopis,<sup>1</sup> and apparently represent the four forms in which Apopis resisted the sun-god at the four principal hours of the twenty-four, i.e. dawn, midday, evening, and midnight.<sup>2</sup> The decapitated prisoner kneeling by the side of the serpent symbolizes, no doubt, the complete overthrow of the enemy. Thus the vignette provides us with a welcome illustration of the events described in the Apopis ritual.

<sup>1</sup> Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* (1910), translation, p. 22, lines 46, 53 (= Pl. xviii).

<sup>2</sup> See the lists of hours mentioned at which the ritual is to be performed, *ibid.*, pp. 10, 13, 17, and the constant repetition of imprecations, &c., 'four times'.

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE PETRIE COLLECTION OF EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS

By A. S. HEMMY

IN the final number of *Ancient Egypt*<sup>1</sup> the present writer analysed the weights of the Sumerian and Indus civilizations by statistical methods; in this article the large collection of data given by Sir Flinders Petrie in his *Ancient Weights and Measures* has been similarly treated.

The method is as follows: each weight is divided by its ratio to the unit involved, and so gives a value of that unit. The whole range of these values is divided into a series of equal steps, here throughout of two grains' range, except for weights of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, where the paucity of data has necessitated a step of three grains. The number of specimens for which the value of the unit lies within the range of a step is counted, and a curve plotted for which the abscissa is the value of the mid-point of the range of a step and the ordinate is the number of specimens included.

If only a single unit is involved and the total number of specimens is very large, then the curve should be a Probability Curve, for which the relationship between  $x$  and  $y$  is given by the formula  $y = ke^{-hx^2}$  where  $e$  is the base of Napierian logarithms,  $k$  the value of the maximum ordinate and  $h$  is a constant, called the 'Measure' or 'Modulus' of Precision. If more than one unit is involved, the curve should be the sum of the ordinates for the Probability Curves of each unit. This formula gives the relationship between the probability  $y$  of occurrence in an observation of a deviation  $x$  from the true value of some quantity, where the error of the observation is due to an infinite number of causes for variation, each in itself infinitely small, positive and negative variations being equally likely. It also expresses that if an exceedingly large number  $N$  of the observations are made, the number of observations for which the deviation from the true value is  $x$ , will be equal to  $yN$ . In the problem before us the observations are the weights of specimens belonging to a given system.

Only two assumptions are made in using this formula. One is that we know with reasonable accuracy the original weight of the specimen, hence only stone weights will be considered and not metallic ones; the other is that ancient balances did not conform to modern standards in accuracy and sensitiveness. If they are liable to appreciable errors, the mathematical Theory of Errors, which gives the above formula, is unquestionably applicable. No other theory is involved. There is, however, an important proviso: the number of specimens must be so large that the number within a given range is proportional to the probability of occurrence of the given deviation. The number practically necessary to comply with this proviso depends on the variability of the weights. It is a matter of having large ordinates; where they are small, the uncertainty considerably increases. Fortunately the maxima, which is what we want most to know, are the least affected. A multiplicity of standards naturally increases the desirable number. A minimum of 200 is usually needed.

The effect on the shape of the Probability Curve of an increase in the number of specimens belonging to the same system and having the same Measure of Precision, is worth noting. The area of the curve is proportional to this number, and each ordinate increases in length

<sup>1</sup> Hemmy, *The Statistical Treatment of Ancient Weights*, in *Anc. Egypt*, Dec. 1935, pp. 83 ff.



in the same proportion. The mean deviation remains unchanged. Hence with increase of number the curve grows sharper, for, if the maximum ordinate changes from 50 to 100, an ordinate of length 0.5 only changes to 1. So we cannot judge the precision so much by the sharpness of the curve as by the shortness of the base line, the ordinates of the ends of which have an appreciable value.

Another point to be noted is that where we have many specimens conforming to a standard, only a very small number have large deviations; these will be too few in number to be necessarily proportional to their probability of occurrence, and by chance variations we may get another small maximum simulated. So a small maximum near the extremity of the base of a large one may be fictitious. Such maxima are therefore uncertain. In any case, a standard represented by many weights, and therefore popular, will have its position better defined than one with only a few representatives.

2. There may be some dubiety at accepting the large deviations shown in curves. If, however, copies of standards are made and copies of copies, without strict regulation, errors will increase in arithmetical progression. An error of 5 per cent. will soon become 15.

Curiously enough, no evidence is apparent of systematic fraud, though we know from documentary evidence that such occurred. If deliberately short weight had been used in the balances to any large extent, we should expect the curves for prominent maxima to have a less steep slope on the lower side than on the upper. Actually, both in Egypt and other ancient countries, the evidence is all the other way.

The assumption of inaccuracy, even considerable inaccuracy, in ancient balances is amply confirmed by the investigations of Mr. F. G. Skinner of the Science Museum, London, who has studied this problem in several ancient balances in that institution. In one of his examples, a Graeco-Egyptian goldsmith's balance of about 600 B.C. requires about 3 per cent. of its load to turn, whilst the lengths of the arms differ by about 3 per cent. With such a balance an error in weighing of 6 per cent. either way is clearly possible. Another example, perhaps nearer the average, is a wood-beam balance of Dyn. XVIII which requires 2 per cent. to turn and has a difference of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the lengths of the arms. Roman balances are better, but in Mr. Skinner's opinion accurate balances do not begin till much later.

There has been much expenditure of effort, and long arguments have been put forward, on the question whether given specimens are representatives of this standard or of that. In the statistical method this is irrelevant; there are no definite limits to the range of variability of a standard, only a decreasing probability. We cannot say of an unmarked specimen intermediate between two standards that it definitely belongs to this or that, we can merely compare the probabilities.

There is this further advantage in the statistical method of analysis: a considerable latitude may exist in the assignment of weights of doubtful ratio without its affecting markedly the position of the maximum, which is what we most want to know.

Before plotting the observations, the results are smoothed by substituting the value of  $(a+2b+c)/4$  for  $b$ , where  $a$ ,  $b$ , and  $c$  are the values of  $y$  for three successive values of  $x$ . This is necessary owing to the finite number of specimens and the finite size of the jumps. In the subsequent analysis these steps are two grains, so a weight of, say, 123.9 gn. and one of 124 gn. come into 2 groups separated by 2 grains. The sharp line of division must be blurred somewhat.

The formula expresses the process of taking the mean of  $a$  and  $b$  and of  $b$  and  $c$ , and then the mean of these two means.

The smoothing has no effect upon the position of the maximum, nor upon the area of the curve. The position of the maximum for each probability-curve gives the value of the

standard, and its area is proportional to the number of specimens conforming to that standard. The smoothing has an effect, however, upon the mean deviation of the group of weights conforming to a standard, making it appear larger than actuality, though the

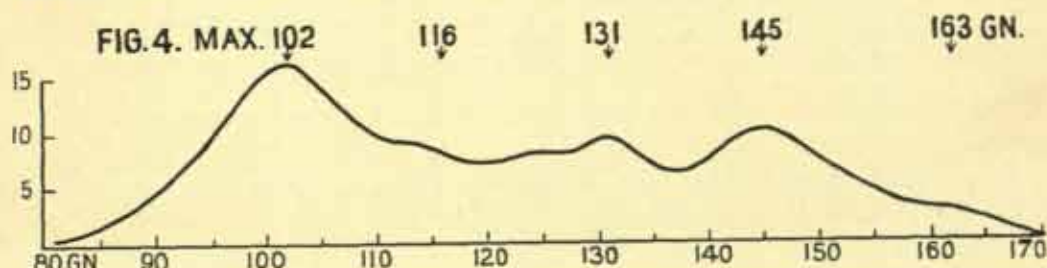
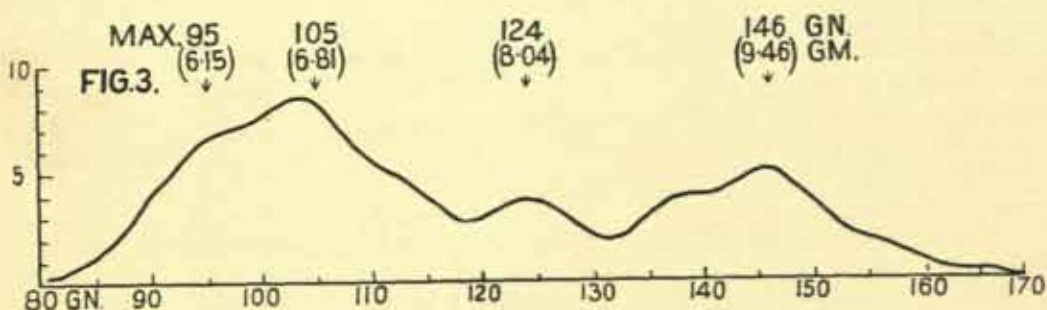
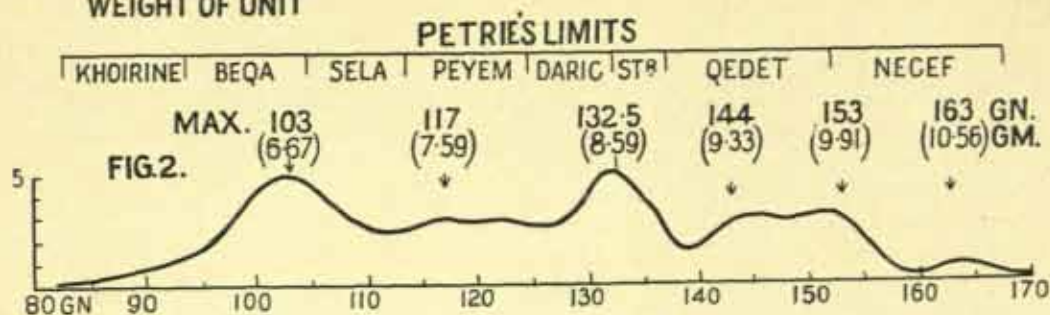
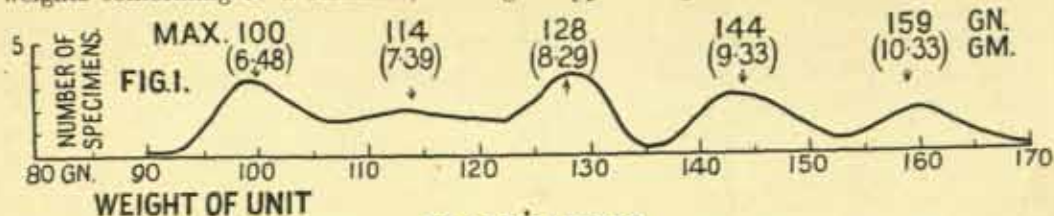


FIG. 1. Distribution Curve of Unit. Dyns. I-IV. Range of step three grains. Assigned specimens only. Smoothed observations. Weights of maxima given in grains, equivalents in grammes in brackets.

FIG. 2. Ditto. Dyns. V-X. As above.

FIG. 3. Ditto. Dyn. XII. As above, but including unassigned specimens from Kahun.

FIG. 4. Ditto. All specimens, Dyns. I-XII, including Petrie's forms Nos. 60-698. As above.

difference is not very great. This mean, as well as the so-called standard deviation, can be theoretically obtained from the measure of precision. The calculation has not been made, but the values of  $h$ , the Measure of Precision, have been stated, as they give some relative idea of the accuracy of the groups, and, moreover, enable any one to recalculate the curves.

3. In Sir Flinders Petrie's *Ancient Weights and Measures* are recorded very complete



data for by far the largest collection of Egyptian weights ever brought together. Omitting from consideration the metal weights, for which the original values cannot very well be recovered in many instances, we have over 2,750 weights in the general list collected in various parts of Egypt apart from over 200 weights from Defenneh, about 550 from Naukratis and about 170 from Gezer, besides smaller numbers from other places. The majority of the weights in the general list have been purchased from dealers and are without provenance, but of those to which definite periods are given, 101 are assigned to Dyns. I-IV, 3 to Dyns. IX and X, 96 to Dyn. XII, 243 to Dyn. XVIII, and 169 to Dyn. XXIII.

Petrie arrives at the conclusion that there are in Egypt eight standards, to which he gives the names: (1) the Peyem, with limits 114-125 gn., (2) the Darie, limits 125-132.7 gn., (3) the Stater, limits 132.7-137.5 gn., (4) the Qedet, limits 137.5-152.4 gn., (5) the Necef, limits 152.4-168 gn., (6) the Khoirine, limits 169-188 gn., (7) the Beqa, limits 188-210 gn., (8) the Sela, limits 210-228 gn. These limits cover the whole possible range of standards. His nomenclature is adopted in the ensuing analysis, but in order to bring the ends of the curves to the points where specimens are fewest and so to reduce inconveniences of overlap, units of value above 167 gn. have been halved, so that the curves run from 85 gn. to 167 gn. In some cases a few weights with units slightly below 167 have also been transferred to the lower end.

4. To assist in the assignment of specimens of unknown provenance, Petrie has made a highly discriminating analysis of the forms of the specimens from which he draws the following conclusions connecting form and period, omitting Predynastic forms not here considered:

TABLE I. *Period from form, by Petrie.*

<i>Shape.</i>	<i>Form Nos.</i>	<i>Period.</i>
Round top cones . . . .	921-927	Dyn. XVIII
Square forms, edges more or less rounded . . . .	62-64, 653-656	Dyns. I-X
Forms slightly differing . .	646-649	Dyn. XII
Pillow . . . . .	658	Dyns. IV-XII
Black quartzose cubes . . .	141-185, 55, 57	Dyns. XXII-XXX
Domed top . . . . .	24-36	Dyn. XXVI-Roman
Domed . . . . .	37-45	Dyns. XXVI-XXX
Barrel . . . . .	48-53	" XVIII-XXIII
Duck . . . . .	77-81	" XVIII-XXIII
Animal . . . . .		" XVIII-XIX

He also allots, though clearly with no great conviction, all unassigned haematite weights to Dyn. XVIII, and all black quartzose weights to Dyn. XXIII.

Further, all unassigned Kahun weights are put into Dyn. XII, those from Tell el-'Amarnah into Dyn. XVIII, and those from the Palace of Merenptah, El-Dër el-Bahri, into Dyn. XXIII.

The question was tested by an examination of the forms of all assigned weights in Petrie's list, and the number of specimens of each period for the more commonly occurring forms are given in Table II.

On the evidence here given, we have reasonable grounds for allotting Forms 48-53 (Barrel) and 77-81 (Duck) to Dyn. XVIII. Confirmation is given by a comparison of the maxima of Fig. 7, which shows the distribution curve for the former group, and Fig. 8, for the latter group, with Fig. 6, the curve for assigned specimens.

In like manner, Forms 54 and 55 can safely be allotted to Petrie's Dyn. XXIII (better

TABLE II. *Frequency of Petrie's Forms in assigned Specimens.*

<i>Form.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Number of Specimens.</i>	<i>Form.</i>	<i>Period.</i>	<i>Number of Specimens.</i>
2	Dyn. XXIII	6	367-450	Dyn. XVIII	6
	" XII	1		" XXIII	12
8	" XXIII	5	48-53	" XVIII	118
9	" XXIII	12	(Barrel)	" I-VI	2
	" XII	3	54	" XXIII	54
		(syenite)		" XII	1
10	" XXIII	21		" I-VI	1
11	" XXIII	13	55	" XXIII	19
	" XVIII	1		" XII	1
12	" XXIII	5	57	" XXIII	2
14-149	" XXIII	7		" XII	1
	Roman	3		" I-VI	1
15	" XVIII	1	60-698	" XVIII	11
				" XXIII	14
	Roman	1		" XII	76
16-169	" XXIII	7		" I-X	73
17	" XVIII	1	77-81	" XVIII	60
18	" XXIII	1	(Duck)	" XXIII	1
24-366		Nil.	Animal	" XVIII	7

Dyns. XX-XXV), and, with less certainty, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 16. The evidence is against throwing the whole of the group 141-185 into Dyn. XXIII. Confirmation is obtained from the comparison of Fig. 9, which includes all these forms, with Fig. 10, which is for weights assigned to the period only.

For the discrimination of the various dynasties between the First and the Twelfth Petrie has relied on a minute subdivision of forms between 60 and 698. The frequency of occurrence of these forms in assigned specimens is detailed in the following table:

TABLE III. *Frequency of Forms 60-698.*

<i>Form Nos.</i>	<i>Dyns. V, VI.</i>	<i>Dyn. XII.</i>	<i>Dyn. XVIII.</i>	<i>Dyn. XXIII.</i>	<i>Form Nos.</i>	<i>Dyns. V, VI.</i>	<i>Dyn. XII.</i>	<i>Dyn. XVIII.</i>
60-618	4	5		3	656	7		
62-64	21	42	3	8	657	1	1	1
642-645	6	2	2		658	2		
646-649	7	8	3		66		1	
65-652	11	9	1	2	691-694		8	
653-644	12	2	1	1	698	1		

The three specimens of the First Intermediate period belong to Forms 65-654.

Consideration of this table leads to the conclusion that it would not be safe to rely on these forms for minute discrimination. The best that can be said is that there is great probability that a specimen is earlier than Dyn. XVIII, they have therefore been combined with all weights of Dyns. I-X to construct Fig. 4.

Petrie has sometimes used form as a criterion in assigning ratios where there is a difficulty in choosing alternative standards. To estimate the value of this, we may examine the curves for Barrel forms and Duck forms, shown in Figs. 7 and 8 respectively. These, which are clearly imported forms, may be compared with Fig. 6, the curve for assigned Dyn. XVIII



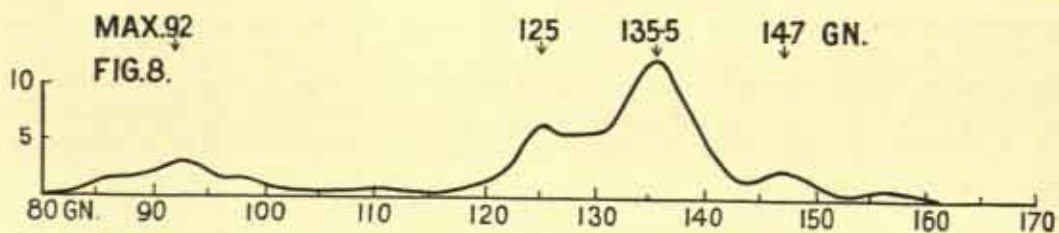
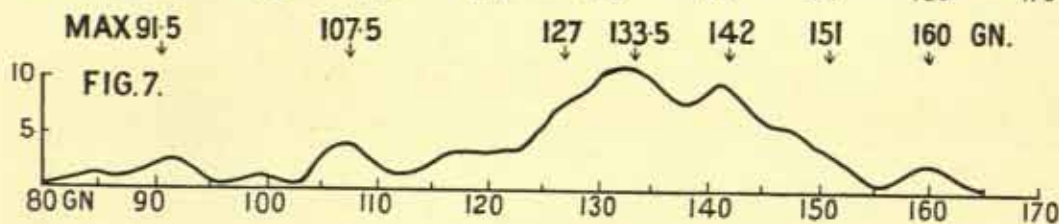
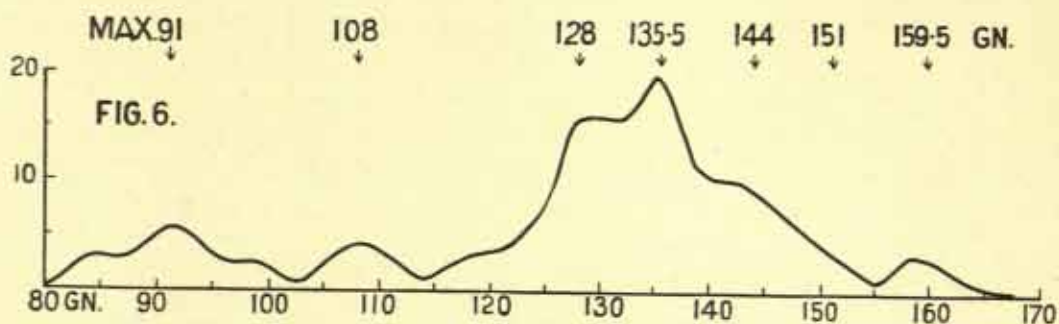
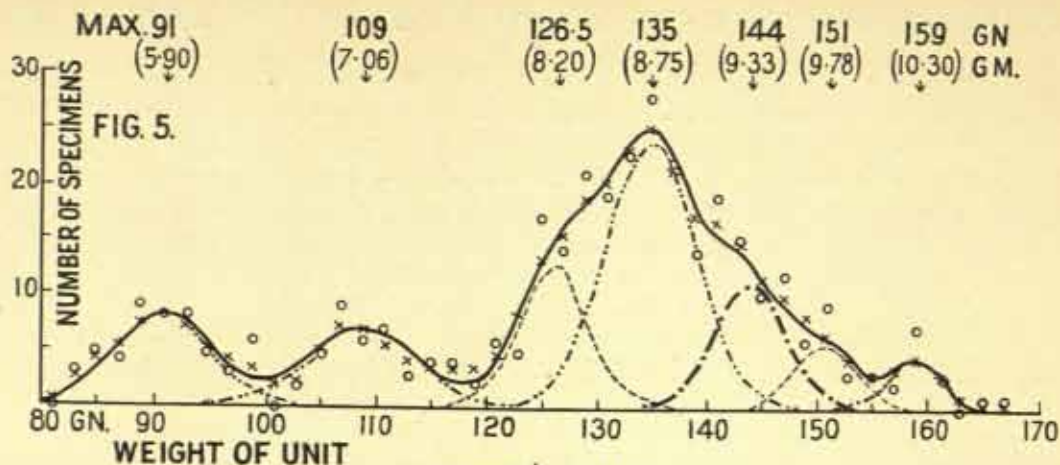


FIG. 5. Distribution Curve of Unit. Dyn. XVIII. Range of step two grains. All specimens, assigned and inferred from form, locality and material; including Petrie's forms Nos. 48-53 (Barrel), forms Nos. 77-81 (Duck), and animal forms; also all from Tell el-'Amarnah and all of haematite excluding those with forms characteristic of other periods. Specimens with ratios one-third or less excluded. Weights of maxima given in grains, equivalents in grammes in brackets. Actual observations, small circles; smoothed observations, crosses. Probability-curves for each maximum, broken lines. Sum of ordinates of probability-curves, continuous line.

FIG. 6. Ditto. Dyn. XVIII. Assigned specimens only. Smoothed observations.

FIG. 7. Ditto. All Barrel forms, Petrie's Nos. 48-53. Smoothed observations.

FIG. 8. Ditto. All Duck forms, Petrie's Nos. 77-81. Smoothed observations.

weights. The similarity of Figs. 7 and 6 shows that Barrel forms are distributed pretty evenly over all standards, so that this standard cannot be used as a means of discrimination. The curve for Duck forms, however, undoubtedly favours the Stater, the Daric, and the Khoirine, and avoids the Qedet, the Beqa, and the Sela, a fact which has a bearing on the sources of these standards.

5. With so great a variety of possible standards, alternative ratios for many of the weights have to be considered. There is room for differences of opinion as to the choice made by Petrie. Such ratios as 3-10ths, 1-12th, &c., are most improbable. Again, a good many of the specimens come to be included in the Daric group by giving them the ratio 30, yet there are very few to which the ratio 60 is given. It would be expected, if we are to follow Babylonian analogies, that the one should be nearly as numerous as the other. The Egyptians themselves seem to favour ratios which are either binary or decimal, so that it is more likely that the ratio would be, at least in many instances, 25 rather than 30. This would change the unit to values in the neighbourhood of 153.

When, however, all such changes had been made, the difference to the curves proved in practice so slight, particularly as to the positions of maxima, that it was not worth while entering into prolonged argument to justify the changes, which in any case would often rest on a matter of opinion. Sir Flinders Petrie's ratios, therefore, have been retained throughout. As weights of less than 50 gn. are likely to be less accurate than larger ones, and are multiplied by a larger factor to furnish the unit, all weights with ratios 1-3rd or under have been excluded. If sufficient numbers remain, it is better to exclude a doubtful value than retain it.

6. The weight system of Egypt was clearly very complicated, numerous standards existing simultaneously. In order, therefore, to apply the statistical method with assurance, even more specimens are required than in countries such as that of the Indus civilization where the system is comparatively simple. It is unfortunate that in this large collection so few belong to periods before Dyn. XVIII.

For the Predynastic era, specimens are quite inadequate in number and very irregularly distributed. The most that can be said is that from Gerzean and Amratian times there is a bunching within the Beqa range, and that during the period immediately preceding Dyn. I there is also a small grouping within the Daric range.

Turning to the Old Kingdom, for Dyns. I-IV there are 42 assigned specimens, for Dyns. V-X 67 and for Dyn. XII 127, including 6 from Uronarti of which Professor Glanville has kindly supplied the particulars.

By making steps of 3 grains instead of 2, some idea, though naturally not a very precise one, may be formed of the standards favoured, but the conclusions cannot be very reliable. In Figs. 1, 2, and 3 are given the curves for Dyns. I-IV, V-X and for Dyn. XII respectively. For Dyns. I-X only assigned specimens are included, for Dyn. XII all unassigned Kahun weights have been added, but specimens allotted to dynasties by Petrie from their form are excluded; such allotments, as we have seen, are unreliable.

For Dyns. I-IV maxima appear to be in the neighbourhood of 100 (200), 114, 128, 144, and 159 gn., or in grammes: 6.48 (12.96), 7.39, 8.29, 9.33 and 10.33 respectively. The Beqa and the Daric seem slightly the more prominent.

For Dyns. V-X, maxima appear at 103 (206), 117, 132.5, 144, 153, and 163, or in grammes: 6.67 (13.34), 7.59, 8.59, 9.33, 9.91, and 10.56. The same two standards are the more prominent, but with higher values; an additional standard has appeared, as if by the splitting of the previous standard of 159 gn.

For Dyn. XII we get 95 (190), 105 (210), 124 and 146 gn. or in grammes: 6.15 (12.30),



6.81 (13.62), 8.04 and 9.47. The Beqa with a high value shows decided predominance, and the Qedet has increased to second place. A secondary, low-valued Beqa is also apparent. The maximum at 124 appears to represent the Daric. Fig. 4, representing as it does a period of over a thousand years, is only of value for its general and negative implications. It shows the Beqa as predominating on the whole during that period, with the Qedet second in importance; the Necef is negligible, the Stater, the Sela, and the Khoirine seem to be absent. Throughout there is a vague suggestion of a Peyem.

7. For later periods the supply of specimens is adequate for a more detailed investigation, though the number of specimens for which a definite horizon can be given from provenance is not so large but that it remains advantageous to supplement it by adding those inferred by considerations of form to belong to the same period. By comparing curves for assigned weights only and those for the whole number we can see that no great error has been made.

In Fig. 6 is given the curve for specimens assigned by Petrie to Dyn. XVIII, and in Fig. 5 the curve when to these have been added unassigned specimens of all Barrel forms (Nos. 48-53), all Duck (Nos. 77-81) and Animal forms, as well as all haematite weights the forms of which are not characteristic of other periods. Specimens with ratios one-third and under have been omitted.

The maxima in the two figures are practically the same.

For the curve in Fig. 5 a complete analysis has been made by the methods outlined in section 1. Maxima are found at 91, 109, 126.5, 135, 144, 151, and 159 gn. and the corresponding probability curves have been drawn. The elements of these curves are as follows, percentages being arrived at by comparison of areas:

TABLE IV. *Particulars of Analysis, Dyn. XVIII.*

<i>Maximum</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
91 (182)	5.90 (11.80)	8.2	0.1590	12.5
109 (218)	7.06 (14.12)	7.0	0.1361	16.5
126.5	8.20	12.5	0.2013	15.2
135	8.75	24.0	0.1697	34.7
144	9.35	11.0	0.2280	11.9
151	9.78	5.8	0.2579	5.4
159	10.30	4.7	0.3110	3.8

Number of specimens 353.

The ordinates of the continuous curve are the sum of the ordinates of all these curves. This curve should be compared with the smoothed observations (marked by crosses) of the numbers of specimens for which the value of the unit is within one grain of the value of the middle point of the step, which is taken as abscissa. The small circles indicate the values of the actual observations.

The investigation shows that there are maxima within the range of Petrie's Khoirine, Sela, Daric, Stater, two in the Qedet and the Necef, but no maxima within the ranges of the Beqa and Peyem. The proportion of Staters far outweighs all others, including over one-third of the specimens; next comes the Sela and thirdly the Daric. The Khoirine commands a larger percentage in this period than in any other, exceeding the Qedet. The proportion of the higher value of the Qedet and of the Necef is negligible. Though there is no standard within Petrie's limits for the Beqa, it may be worth noting that in the periods here discussed the Beqa rises by stages successively through the values 200, 206, and 210 gn. The maximum



at 218 gn. may be a further stage in the rise and the possibility emerges that the Sela may be a development of the Beqa. We shall see that in the next period the Sela has risen to 222 gn.

How far these specimens belong to the assigned period is a matter for archaeological determination, but Petrie definitely assigns 235 out of a total of 353 to this dynasty. It is probably safe to say that the great majority come at least within the period of Dyns. XVIII–XX.

353 is a large number, comparing favourably with the numbers of weights for a given period found elsewhere, and they have apparently been collected in various parts of Egypt. It seems reasonable to regard them as fairly representative. If that is so, we must come to the conclusion that the Hyksos introduced the Stater as well as the Khoirine, the former standard prevailing over all others.

8. The next group of weights to be considered is that assigned by Petrie to Dyn. XXIII. This was an obscure dynasty, but Petrie in a private letter to Professor Glanville explains that it was chosen as a convenient middle point for the period of degeneration arising during Dyn. XIX and lasting until Dyn. XXV. The range Dyns. XX–XXV has here been taken as most nearly representing that of the majority of the specimens, though Dyns. XXI–XXV might have been better.

This group has been treated in the same manner as the previous one. Fig. 10 gives the curve—a very complex one—for the assigned weights. A singular feature is the complete absence of specimens in the Peyem range. Petrie adds to this group all with the cube forms 54, 55, and 57, all specimens made of a particular black quartzose, to which elsewhere he gives the range Dyns. XXII–XXX, and all unassigned specimens from the Palace of Merenptah, Dēr el-Bahri. The validity of accepting the black quartzose weights was tested by plotting a curve for the black quartzose specimens only (Fig. 11), and comparing it with a curve for all specimens allotted for other reasons to this group. The essential agreement of Fig. 12 with Fig. 11 justifies the inclusion. The question of what forms to include was settled by reference to Table 2, from which it was decided to accept forms 2, 4, 8, 9 (excluding those made of syenite), 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 54, 55, 57. An examination of the Merenptah specimens led to the following figures: assigned to Dyn. XVIII, 1; characterized by forms of (a) early, 2; (b) Dyn. XVIII, 8; (c) Dyn. XXIII, 11; (d) late, 14; (e) others 5. Merenptah specimens have only been accepted so far that specimens (e) have been included; (c) is of course accepted by reason of form.

Fig. 9 gives the result of these inclusions. Its maxima, at 88.5, (177), 96 (192), 104 (208), 111 (222), 118, 127, 133, 141, 151, and 163 gn. are much the same as those of the assigned specimens (Fig. 10), viz. 89, 96, 103, 111, 127, 133, 143, 154, and 163 gn., with, however, the important exception that, whereas the whole group has a maximum at 118, in the Peyem range, there is for the assigned specimens a complete blank at that point. There is a peculiarity about the group of assigned specimens in that hardly any have a weight below 500 gn. The group is therefore not altogether a random selection, whereas it is an essential of the Theory of Errors that it should be so.

In spite of this discrepancy, a complete analysis was made of the curve in Fig. 9. The particulars are as follows.

No standard is conspicuous. The first place is taken by the Daric at 127. The Sela (at 222), the Stater (at 133), the Beqa (at 208), and the higher Qedet (at 151) are in that order, then comes the lower Qedet (at 141) and a lower Beqa (at 192), finally we have a Khoirine (at 177) and a negligible Necef (at 163), ten maxima in all, and, save the last two, of much the same importance.



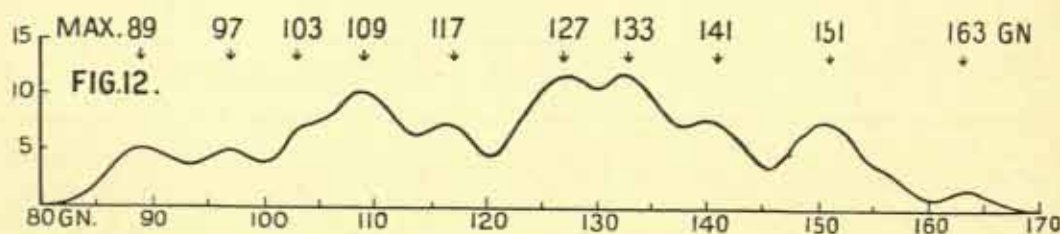
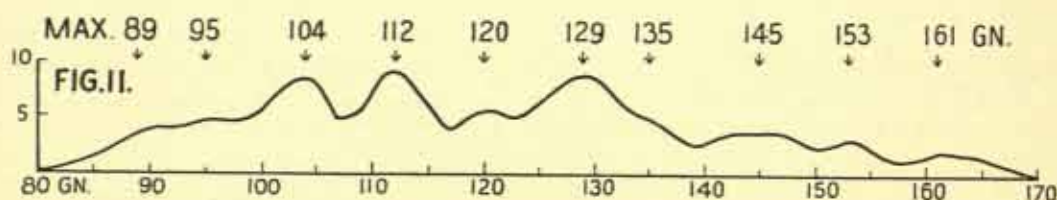
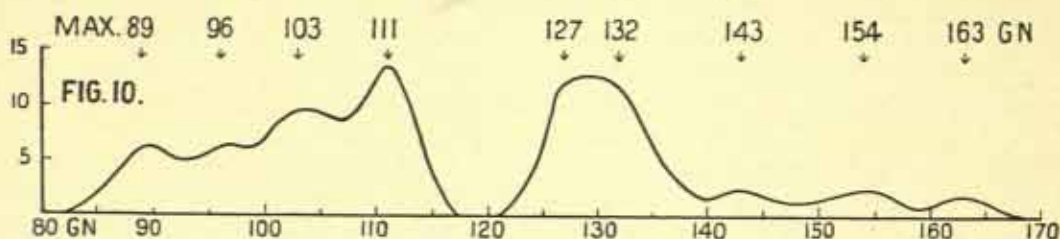
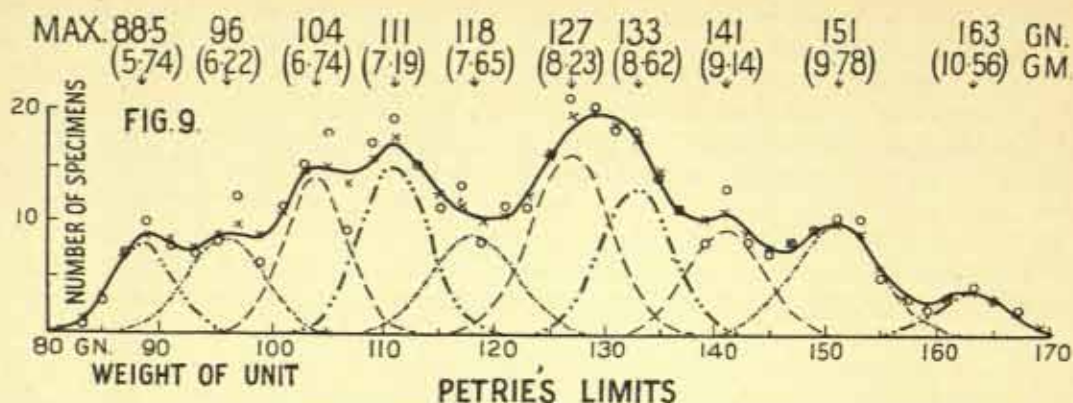


FIG. 9. Distribution Curve of Unit. Dyns. XX-XXV. Range of step two grains. All specimens, assigned and inferred from form, locality, and material; including Petrie's forms Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9 (excluding those of syenite), 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 54, 55, and 57; all from the Palace of Merenptah (El-Dêr el-Bahri) excluding forms characteristic of other periods; all of black quartzose with same proviso. Specimens with ratios one third or less excluded. Weights, observations, probability curves, as for Fig. 5.

FIG. 10. Ditto. Dyns. XX-XXV. Assigned specimens only. Smoothed observations.

FIG. 11. All black quartzose specimens. Smoothed observations.

FIG. 12. Dyns. XX-XXV, excluding all black quartzose specimens. Smoothed observations.

TABLE V. *Particulars of Analysis, Dyns. XX-XXV.*

<i>Maxima.</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
88.5 (177)	(11.48)	7.9	0.2608	6.2
96 (192)	(12.45)	8.5	0.2141	8.1
104 (208)	(13.49)	13.8	0.2472	11.5
111 (222)	(14.38)	15.0	0.2410	13.0
118	(7.65)	8.8	0.1923	9.2
127	(8.23)	16.1	0.1967	16.8
133	(8.62)	13.0	0.2221	12.1
141	(9.14)	9.3	0.2129	9.0
151	(9.78)	9.7	0.1805	11.0
163	(10.56)	3.5	0.2301	3.1

Number of specimens 434.

The collection comes from various parts of Egypt. It does not show any definite line of development from the previous period. The best conclusion to be drawn appears to be that after Dyn. XIX or XX there was much confusion in the commercial world, different parts using different standards, with a general tendency to hark back to the standards of pre-Hyksos days.

9. We now come to Dyn. XXVI. Here we have the advantage that Petrie has made a good collection of weights from undisturbed strata, so that we can be assured of their provenance. Defennah ('Defenneh') for all practical purposes started in Dyn. XXVI as a cantonment of Greek troops trading largely with Greece. It was abolished as such by Amasis towards the end of the dynasty, and at the same time Greek trade was prohibited, so that it lost most of its inhabitants and all of its importance. Its remains, including its weights, are practically confined to the one dynasty; their period must run from about 664 to 565 B.C.

In his list Petrie has already omitted all specimens of under 50 gn. weight, and there are 202 specimens left. Fig. 13 gives the distribution curve. We have reached a more normal simplicity. There are practically no specimens (actually 2) with units between 85 and 105 gn. There are only five maxima, of which the particulars are as follows:

TABLE VI. *Particulars of Analysis. Defennah.*

<i>Maxima.</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
111 (222)	(14.38)	2.5	0.2266	4.9
127	8.23	4.5	0.3703	5.8
136	8.81	10.0	0.1665	27.3
146.5	9.49	21.4	0.1794	56.0
163	10.56	3.2	0.2270	6.0

Number of specimens 202.

Practically there are only two standards, the Qedet and the Stater, and the Qedet is twice as prevalent as the Stater.

10. Petrie has made a fine collection from Naukratis also. Naukratis was given to the Greeks for trading purposes at the beginning of Dyn. XXVI, but rose to especial importance when Defennah was abandoned, Amasis giving it the monopoly of foreign trade. With



the foundation of Alexandria by the Ptolemies the prosperity of Naukratis declined, though it was still of importance until Roman times, fading away utterly after the second century A.D.

The majority of the weights found there will probably be of Dyn. XXVI, but a proportion of them are certainly Ptolemaic. The range is most likely from 650 to 100 B.C.

Petrie has omitted weights under 50 gn. from his list, but 541 remain. The distribution curve is given in Fig. 15, and the particulars of analysis are as follows:

TABLE VII. *Particulars of Analysis. Naukratis.*

<i>Maxima.</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
88.5 (177)	(11.48)	4.1	0.2814	2.4
98.5 (197)	(12.76)	6.2	0.2500	4.0
108 (216)	(14.00)	5.7	0.1816	5.1
118	7.65	8.5	0.2419	5.8
128	8.29	23.5	0.2076	18.7
135	8.75	20.4	0.1620	20.4
145	9.40	34.0	0.1570	35.5
160	10.36	9.0	0.1911	7.7

Number of specimens 541.

The simplicity of Defennah has departed, but of the eight maxima only three are important. The Qedet is again predominant, though it has not the monopoly shown at Defennah. The Daric has risen to the importance of the Stater. This may indicate that a conspicuous element of the trade of Naukratis was with ports on the Asiatic coast. As we shall see, at this period the Daric was unimportant over the rest of Egypt. The Necessarius appears to have a definite existence.

11. The majority of the specimens on Petrie's general list have forms Nos. 24-36, to which Petrie assigns the period Dyn. XXVI to Roman times, and 37-45, assigned to Dyns. XXVI-XXX.

Of the varieties of form 36, Nos. 367-9 seem to be more nearly related to No. 37 and so have been included with it, forms 36-366 being included with 36, a comparatively unimportant variation, as there are 901 specimens in the period of longer range and 413 in the other. The variations of 45: 452-9 seem to belong to earlier periods, and are not included.

In Fig. 14 is given the curve for forms 367-450; the elements of the analysis are as follows:

TABLE VIII. *Particulars of Analysis, Dyns. XXVI-XXX.*

<i>Maxima.</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
118	7.65	4.0	0.1665	5.3
128	8.29	18.0	0.2262	18.3
137	8.89	37.5	0.1715	50.3
147	9.53	17.0	0.2040	19.2
156	10.11	6.0	0.2003	6.9

Number of specimens 412.

The Stater now shows an absolute majority over all the rest. The Qedet and the Daric

are about equal. It is interesting to note that the popularity of the Stater is shown, not at the Greek city Daphnae=Defennah, but elsewhere.

12. Of Forms 24-366, assigned by Petrie to the period Dyn. XXVI to Roman times, there are, omitting the smaller weights, 835 specimens. Their greater frequency of occurrence points to their being on the whole of later date than the last, so probably the majority come after Dyn. XXVI.

Fig. 16 gives the curve, and the elements of the Probability curves are as follows:

TABLE IX. *Particulars of Analysis. Dyn. XXVI to Roman Times.*

<i>Mazima.</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
<i>Grains.</i>	<i>Grammes.</i>			
89 (178)	(11.53)	6.5	0.1465	4.6
103 (206)	(13.34)	6.5	0.2686	2.7
109 (218)	(14.12)	9.5	0.2683	3.8
117	7.59	6.4	0.1896	3.6
125	8.10	9.0	0.2044	4.6
135.5	8.78	61.5	0.1774	37.1
146	9.46	56.5	0.2523	24.0
153	9.91	33.3	0.2296	15.5
160	10.36	9.8	0.2521	4.1

Number of specimens 835.

Here the predominating standard is the Stater, accounting for over one-third of the specimens. The lower value of the Qedet accounts for under one-quarter, the standard at 153 gn., which is here regarded as the higher Qedet, amounts to nearly one-sixth, the other standards are negligible. No locality is stated for the great majority of the specimens discussed in sections 11 and 12; most of them were obtained by purchase and they probably come from all parts of Egypt.

As during Dyns. XXVI-XXX the first-named was the time when trade most flourished, it is probable that a majority of the specimens date from then, so we should expect a general resemblance in the distribution to that of Defennah. Again, the period Dyn. XXVI to Roman times is coterminous with the existence of Naukratis, and the distribution curves of these should therefore correspond. Figs. 13 and 14 on the one hand, and Figs. 15 and 16 on the other, should be comparable. There are certain resemblances. In the former pair there are practically no specimens with units of value below 120 gn. (*i.e.*, over the Khoirine, the Beqa, the Sela, and the Peyem ranges). In the latter pair there is a certain amount of resemblance over the same range. But above it, whereas at Defennah the Qedet is decidedly predominant, with the Stater second, for the rest of Egypt during Dyns. XXVI-XXX the proportions are reversed. At Defennah the Daric is of minor importance, for the rest it is nearly equal to the Qedet. At Defennah the small percentage of Necef centres on 160 gn., for the rest it centres on 156 gn.

At Naukratis the Qedet is definitely predominant, and though the Stater takes second place, the Daric is also conspicuous. For the rest of Egypt for the period Dyn. XXVI to Roman times the Qedet, whilst important, takes definitely second place to the Stater, and the Daric is negligible. Both have a small maximum at 160 gn. in the Necef range.

A definite cleavage between the weight standards for the Delta area and the rest of Egypt becomes apparent. It seems that the antiquarian zeal of the Saite kingdom for indigenous



standards was unable to overcome the preference for an extraneous standard at any great distance from the capital.

13. In Table X the results of the foregoing analysis are summarized.

TABLE X. *Summary of Analysis.*

<i>Petrie's Limits.</i>	<i>I-IV.</i>	<i>V, VI.</i>	<i>XII.</i>	<i>XVIII.</i>	<i>XX-XXV.</i>	<i>Defennah.</i>	<i>XXVI-XXX.</i>	<i>Naukratis.</i>	<i>XXVI-Roman. Forms 24-366.</i>
	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>%</i>
113gn. Peyem	114 (7.39)	117 (7.59)	124 (8.04)	118 (7.65)	9.2	118 (7.65)	5.3	118 (7.65)	5.8
125	128 (8.29)	132.5 (8.59)	126.5 (8.20)	127 (8.23)	16.8	127 (8.23)	5.8	128 (8.29)	18.3
132.7				133 (8.62)	12.1			135 (8.75)	20.8
Stater				135 (8.75)	34.7	136 (8.81)	27.3	137 (8.89)	50.3
137.5			138 (8.96)	141 (9.14)	9.0			145 (9.40)	35.5
Qedet	144 (9.33)	144 (9.33)	146 (9.46)	146.5 (9.49)	56.0	147 (9.53)	19.2	146 (9.46)	24.0
152.4			151 (9.78)	151 (9.78)	11.0			153 (9.91)	15.5
	159 (10.30)	153 (9.91)		159 (10.30)	3.8			160 (10.36)	7.7
Necof				163 (10.56)	3.1	163 (10.56)	6.0	160 (10.36)	4.1
168				177 (11.48)	6.2			177 (11.48)	2.4
Khoirine				182 (11.80)	12.5			178 (11.53)	4.6
188			190 (12.31)	192 (12.45)	8.1			197 (12.76)	4.0
Beqa	200 (12.96)	206 (13.34)		208 (13.49)	11.5				
210			210 (13.61)	218 (14.12)	16.5	222 (14.38)	13.0	216 (14.00)	5.1
Sela						222 (14.38)	4.9	218 (14.12)	3.8
228									

Maxima in grains. Figures in brackets below are equivalents in grammes. Principal maxima in italic type.

The evidence for the existence of a standard in the range of the PEYEM is distinctly uncertain. The curves for the periods of Dyns. I-IV and V-VI show a long level line in that region, and with such inadequate numbers of specimens may be merely a general spread of the Beqa and the Daric. The maximum at 124 gn. in Dyn. XII almost certainly represents the Daric slightly misplaced by inadequate numbers. The Peyem is definitely absent in Dyn. XVIII, yet in Dyns. XX-XXV there is a clear maximum when inferred specimens are

added, contradicted by the curve for assigned specimens only, which has an absolute blank in that range. It is absent at Defennah, and its presence at Naukratis and for the rest of Egypt subsequently to Dyn. XXV, as shown in Figs. 14, 15, and 16, may possibly be cases of fictitious maxima at the end of the bases of large maxima.

On the whole, the evidence is in favour of its real existence in pre-Hyksos days. In Fig. 4, where all specimens of that period are combined, there is a definite maximum in that range.

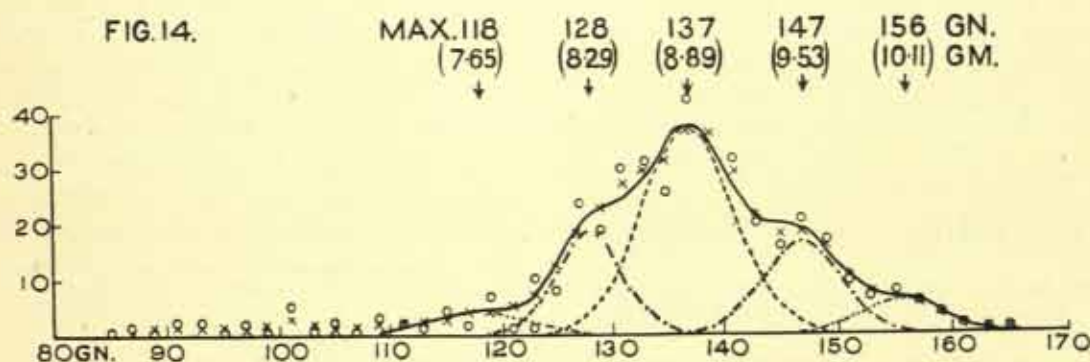
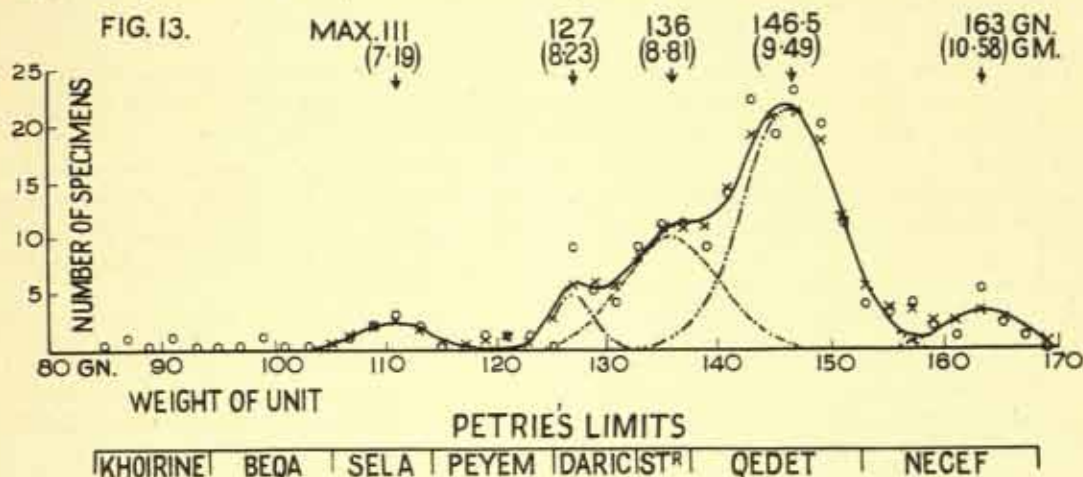


FIG. 13. Distribution Curve of Unit. Defennah. Range of step two grains. All specimens. Weights, observations, probability curves, as for Fig. 5.

FIG. 14. Ditto. Dyns. XXVI-XXX. All with Petrie's forms Nos. 367-450, excluding those with ratios one-third or less. As above.

In post-Hyksos days the most definite evidence is its maximum in the black quartzose specimens (Fig. 11). These seem to be a definite entity during Dyns. XX-XXV.

There is evidence of a standard in the Peyem range, though only to a very minor degree, in the curve for Sumerian weights of the period of about 2000 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> so it may have been introduced into Egypt from some intermediate place.

The DARIC is in evidence even in Predynastic times, entering probably towards the end of that period. During Dyns. I-VI it is second in importance only to the Beqa, but it loses ground during Dyn. XII. The variation apparent in its value may be due merely to the inadequacy of the data.

<sup>1</sup> *Anc. Egypt*, Dec. 1935, pp. 89-91.



During Dyn. XVIII it is overshadowed by the Stater, but is second in importance. In Dyns. XX-XXV it resumes a slight priority again, to be replaced in Dyn. XXVI by the

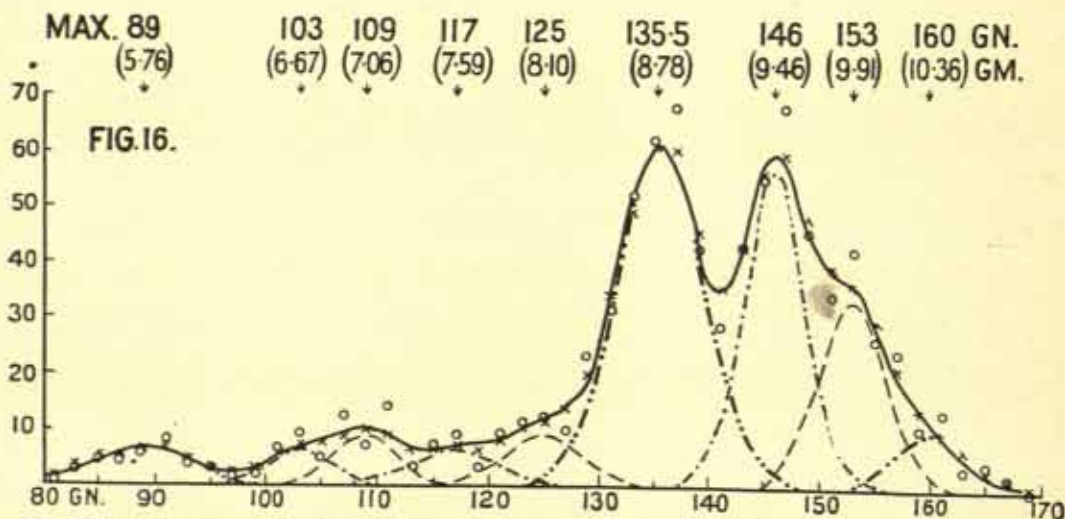
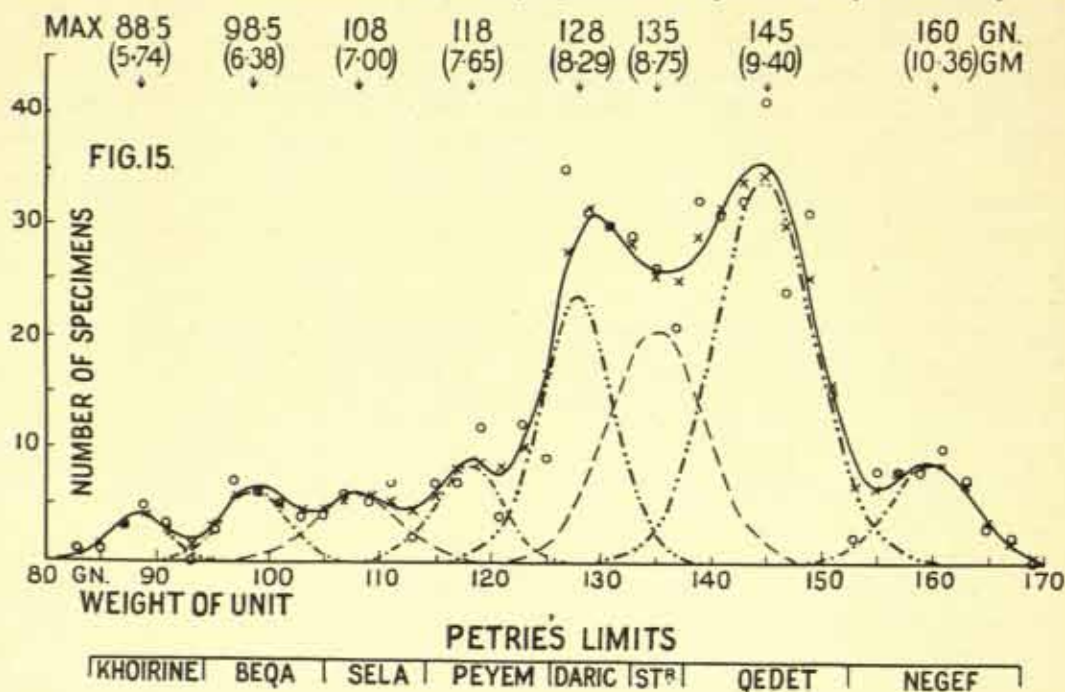


FIG. 15. Distribution Curve of Unit. Naukratis. Range of step two grains. All specimens. Weights, observations, probability curves, as for Fig. 5.

FIG. 16. Ditto. Dyn. XXVI to Roman Period. All with Petrie's forms Nos. 24-366, excluding those with ratios one-third or less. As above.

Qedet in the Delta area, by the Stater elsewhere. From Dyn. XXVI onwards the Daric is never of importance except at Naukratis.

The evidence is against the *STATER* having been present in Egypt during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, but in Dyn. XVIII, it, with the Duck and Barrel form weights, marks the effect of the foreign influences of the Hyksos period. It is the decidedly predominant standard of Dyn. XVIII, and though it loses ground during the period of the Dyns. XX-XXV, it subsequently advances once more to predominance everywhere except in the Delta area, where it is subordinate to the Qedet. Its presence and importance are unconnected with Greek influence. It was introduced centuries before the latter existed, and actually at the places where it was strongest, at Defennah and Naukratis, the Stater standard was of lesser importance, being overshadowed by the Qedet, whereas the former was markedly most prevalent over other parts of Egypt.

The Stater was present as a standard in Sumer at least as early as 2000 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> so some evidence of its presence might be obtainable in Palestine. Petrie gives a list of 170 weights found at Gezer by Macalister, but only 30 of these are assigned to Dyn XVIII or earlier, a number quite insufficient for analysis. So far as they go, they show a grouping in the Daric and another low down in the Necef range.

The *QEDET* appears to have arisen early in the Old Kingdom, and during that period two values are present which persisted, one varying about 145 gn., the other about 152 gn.; the former was usually the more important. During Dyn. XVI this lower-valued Qedet assumed decided predominance in the Delta area, though contemporaneously elsewhere it takes second place. Possibly where the Saite kingdom with its strongly anti-foreign and archaistic tendencies had a prevailing influence, it was able to secure adhesion to the native standard, but failed to alter the customs of the remainder of Egypt.

The evidence for the *NECEF* is uncertain. There is a maximum at 159 gn. during Dyns. I-IV, and during Dyns. V and VI there is one at 153 gn. and slight evidence of one at 163 gn.; during Dyn. XII there is practically no evidence of a maximum in this range. During Dyn. XVIII there is a small maximum at 151 gn. and a smaller one at 159 gn.; but these may easily be cases of fictitious maxima near large ones. During Dyns. XX-XXV there is a small maximum at 160 gn., as also at Defennah, but it is absent for the rest of Egypt during Dyns. XXVI-XXX (forms 367-450). For the period Dyn. XXVI to Roman times there is a small maximum at 160 gn., again an inconspicuous ripple at the base of a high peak. It is only at Naukratis that there seems definite evidence of a standard (at 160 gn.) in the range of the Necef. It would be curious if a standard should then be resurrected after burial since the IV Dynasty. The early existence of the Necef in Egypt must be considered very doubtful, and a late foreign introduction is a possibility.

The *KHOIRINE* is definitely not indicated before Dyn XVIII (unless the minor maximum at 190 gn. in Dyn. XII is to be regarded as the beginning of the Khoirine), but then, if only as a minor standard, it seems quite clear that it existed. This standard also presumably came in with the Hyksos. It is still present amongst the many maxima of Dyns. XX-XXV, though only to the extent of about 6 per cent. It is entirely absent from Defennah and the period of the forms 367-450, but there is a negligible indication of it at Naukratis and during the period of the forms 24-366.

The *BEGA* is certainly the oldest standard in Egypt, going back to the earliest times. During Dyns. I-VI it is predominant, but only slightly so, over the Daric. In the Middle Kingdom the predominance becomes decided, to disappear entirely during Dyn. XVIII.

During predynastic times its value was definitely lower than the Harappa (Indus) standard of 210 gn. A connexion between the two is therefore unlikely. During the earlier dynastic period its value, so far as the meagre evidence goes, appears to rise from 200 gn. through

<sup>1</sup> *Anc. Egypt, loc. cit.*



206 gn. up to 210 gn. in Dyn. XII; at this point a lower standard at 190 gn. appears, unless this is really a Khoirine.

In Dyns. XX-XXV, the Beqa reappears in its duplicated form, the major at 208 gn., the minor at 192 gn., but only occupies fourth place. The simultaneous presence of a Khoirine at 177 gn. establishes a duplication of the Beqa, and negatives the presence of the Khoirine in Dyn. XII. The Beqa is definitely absent at Defennah and for the period of the forms 367-450, its apparent presence at Naukratis and for the period of forms 24-366 may be due merely to chance variations.

The SELA shows no evidence of its presence during Dyns. I-XII, but it is quite definitely present with a value of 218 gn. during Dyn. XVIII. It is a matter of speculation whether this is a culmination of the tendency of the Beqa to rise, but the simultaneous presence during the next period of the two values of the Beqa and a Sela at 222 gn. is against such a view. If so, the Sela must also have been introduced during the Hyksos period, but if it is of foreign origin, that origin must be sought elsewhere than in Babylonia. From Dyn. XXVI onward it is present, if at all, to a negligible amount.

14. It is evident that the ancient weight systems of Egypt were extremely confused and complex, even when judged by the lenient standards of antiquity. Numerous standards of both home and foreign origin were simultaneously in use, and the degree of variability was very marked. The data, particularly for the earlier periods, is insufficient for more than a tentative outline of the history of these standards, as it would appear that the usage of different parts of the country was not always uniform.

The large accumulation of data by Petrie, however, makes it unlikely that any important element is absent, though it may be difficult to disentangle the ravelled skein. The course of the history of the weight standards of Egypt, with this *caveat*, appears to have been somewhat as follows:

In the very earliest times the Beqa, of lower value than, and unrelated to, the Mohenjo-Daro standard, makes its appearance, and at the end of predynastic times the Daric is introduced. These two standards continue in principal use during Dyns. I-VI, but the Qedet with two values and probably the Peyem arise, if the latter is not an introduction. The presence of a Necef is doubtful. During Dyn. XII the Beqa resumes predominance, but in addition to the higher value there is also a minor lower value. During the Hyksos period the Stater, the Khoirine, and the Sela are introduced, the first becoming the predominant standard during Dyn. XVIII, whilst the Beqa and Peyem disappear. This state of things continues through the next dynasty. During Dyns. XX-XXV there is a period of confusion, with a tendency to revert to pre-Hyksos standards. No less than 10 standards are present, mostly of much the same importance.

In Dyn. XXVI and later, a division of usage between the Delta area and the rest of Egypt comes into view. In the Delta area the Qedet is decidedly predominant, whereas in the rest of Egypt the Stater becomes more conspicuous than ever, though the Qedet is more prevalent than in previous periods. All the other standards become of negligible importance, except that at Naukratis the Daric is largely used.

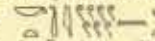
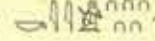
The Khoirine is important only during Dyn. XVIII, the Sela only during Dyns. XVIII-XXV. The Peyem may have been in evidence during Dyns. I-VI; it only appears again during the period of confusion of Dyns. XX-XXV. The Necef is never of importance, and only at Naukratis is the evidence of its existence definite.


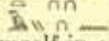
In conclusion, I desire to thank Mr. F. G. Skinner for permission to make use of the results of his researches and Professor S. R. K. Glanville for his ever-ready assistance in obtaining information.



# THE GENDER OF TENS AND HUNDREDS IN LATE EGYPTIAN

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

In Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2nd. ed.), § 244, Anm. 2, we read the following statement: 'Interessant ist, worauf auch **wer**<sup>1</sup> "zwei Hundert" führt, dass die Hunderter weiblichen Geschlechts sind, während die Zehner männlich sind:  "andere 700 Stück Holz" P. Mallet, 6, 4;  "und) andere 50 Scheffel Kohlen" *ibid.* 6, 4.'

The statement is correct as far as it goes, but the two examples chosen do not prove what they are intended to prove, at least not as simply as Erman's words would make us believe, the first example being contradicted by such a passage as  '100 *deben*', Ostr. Berlin 10610, 2,<sup>2</sup> the second by  'these 30 chapters', Amenemope, 27, 7, an example quoted by Erman himself in *op. cit.*, § 247. However, closer inquiry shows how this apparent discrepancy is to be explained.

That tens are of the masculine, and hundreds of the feminine gender is shown by the combined evidence of Middle (and Old) Egyptian and Coptic. Sethe's investigations on the subject<sup>3</sup> are well known, but for convenience sake they may be resumed here:


10 has both masculine and feminine forms: *mḏw* (\**mēḏew* > **ⲙⲏⲧ**) and *mḏt* (\**mēḏet* > **ⲙⲏⲧⲉ**).

20 looks like a feminine dual: *ḏbty* (\**debōtey* > **ⲁⲟⲩⲱⲧ**: **ⲁⲱⲧ**), perhaps from a lost substantive *ḏbt* 'ten'.

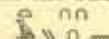
30, *mḃr* > **ⲙⲁⲁⲃ** is a masculine substantive formed by means of the prefix *m* from the stem *ḃr*.

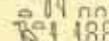
40, *ḥm*(?) > **ⲕⲙⲉ** is a word of unknown etymology.

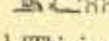
The numerals from 50 to 90 are masculine plurals of corresponding units: 50 \**dāwleu* > \**dālleu* > **ⲧⲁⲟⲩ**; 60 \**selsēleu* > **ⲥⲉ**; 70 \**sefhēleu* > **ⲩⲩⲉ**; 80 \**ḥmenleu* > **ⲕⲙⲉⲛⲉ**; 90 \**pesḏēleu* > **ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲁⲟⲩ**.

100 is a feminine substantive probably to be read *ḥt* (\**ḥēt* > **ⲩⲩⲉ**; 200 (dual) \**ḥtēi* > **ⲩⲩⲧ**), plural  (Pyr., 408b).


As far as Late Egyptian is concerned, its usual construction numeral + — + substantive can never betray the gender of tens, for if the definite article (or a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, or the adjective *ky* 'other', which are all syntactically equivalent to the definite article) is prefixed to this construction, it agrees in gender not with the numeral but with the substantive numbered. Cf. the following examples:

 'these 30 chapters', Amenemope, 27, 7.

 '50 other ships', Wenamün, 2, 1 (*br* is fem., cf. Anast. 4, 6, 11).

 'his 67 years', Mar., *Abyd.*, II, 35, 23<sup>4</sup> = Rouge, *Inscrip. hiérog.*, 159, 23.

<sup>1</sup> [This is not correct; **ⲩⲩⲧ** only is attested. J. Č.]

<sup>2</sup> Read .


<sup>3</sup> Published in *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, Pl. xxxviii.

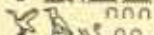
<sup>4</sup> *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 1-41; *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, passim.

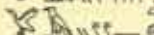
<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Sethe, *Von Zahlen u. Zahlworten*, 55.



So, too, with the numerals 100 and 200:

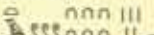
 = 'the 100 *deben*', Ostr. Berlin 10610, 2.

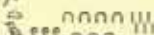
 = 'these 150 *deben*', Pap. Brit. Mus. 10383, 2, 2.<sup>1</sup>

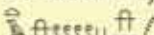
 = 'the 200 *thbst*', Pap. Harris 500, vs., 2, 12 (*thbst* is masculine).


If the definite article agreed in gender with the hundreds, it ought to be in the feminine in these examples.

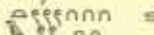
But with numerals from 300 onwards the definite article (or its equivalent) is in the feminine:

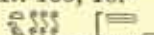
 = 'the 365 gods', Pap. Turin, P.-R. 137, 3 (quoted by Gunn, *JEA* 3, 281).

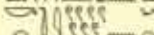
 = 'the 377 gods', Pap. Chester-Beatty V, vs., 5, 1 (I owe this example to Dr. Gardiner).








 = 'the 402 *khar* of barley', Pap. Turin, P.-R., 155, 10.

 = 'the 500 loaves', Pap. Brit. Mus. 10054, vs., 4, 1 (= Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Pl. viii).




 = 'the 550 *deben* of copper', Pap. Turin, unpubl. continuation of P.-R. 133, 10.<sup>2</sup>

 = 'the 600 *deben* of copper', *ibid.*, 15.





 = 'other 700 (pieces of) wood', Mallet, 6, 1.

Here the gender of the hundreds clearly determines that of the definite article and of the adjective *ky*. This fact may seem strange at first sight, but proves to be quite natural on closer consideration. For the numerals ,  etc. themselves are a construction which is surely to be read as 3 *st*, 4 *st* etc., '3 hundreds', '4 hundreds', etc., 3, 4, etc. being masculines, as still in Coptic, where we find (Sa'idic)  for 300 and  for 400. Now in such cases in Late Egyptian the definite article agrees in gender with the substantive, contrast  'the six carpenters', Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, Pl. 58, 6, with  'the 4 *kite* of gold', Pap. Brit. Mus. 10054, 1, 12;<sup>3</sup>  'the 7 Hathors', d'Orb., 9, 8. When we replace the substantive reckoned by the numeral 'hundred' (*st*), which is feminine, the definite article must agree with it and be always in the feminine. This did not apply, as we saw, to 200, which is not a construction, but a single word (dual).

There are, however, two passages in which numerals higher than 200 seem to be accompanied by the masculine definite article, but both these exceptions are only apparent.

The first passage is Pap. Harris 500, vs., 2, 4:  'the 500 *thbst*' quoted by Sethe.<sup>4</sup> This is also Gardiner's reading,<sup>5</sup> but he covers the numeral  with hatching and accompanies it with a query, adding, moreover, the following note: 'Much confused, and not really like 500 in 2, 7 (end). Still Maspero, followed by Peet, was doubtless right in reading thus. In any case,  must be emended as [correctly given]' in 2, 12; 200 soldiers cannot be put into 500 baskets.' It seemed therefore possible that the scribe had wrongly written 500, leaving the correct masculine article for the 200 which he should have written.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Pl. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> The  is written twice owing to a confusion of two possible constructions:   and .


<sup>3</sup> I owe the knowledge of this text to Dr. Gardiner.

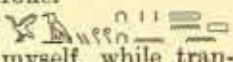

<sup>4</sup> Published by Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Pl. vi.

<sup>5</sup> *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten*, 55.

<sup>6</sup> *Late-Egn. Stories*, pp. 83 and 83 a.

<sup>7</sup> Words in square brackets are mine.

But when I examined the published photograph<sup>1</sup> I became convinced that the numeral, though a little damaged, was nevertheless certainly  $\text{xx}$  thus made: . The scribe first made two vertical strokes, but did not prolong the second stroke at once into the necessary tail. He paused and then added the tail by a new stroke of his reed. In doing this the top of the tail began too far to the right of the bottom of the second vertical stroke.

The second instance is Pap. Brit. Mus. 10383, 2, 3,<sup>2</sup> where Peet reads  'these 222 *deben* of copper', but adds ' $\text{xx}$  is also possible'. I myself, while transcribing the papyrus years ago, read  $\text{xxx}$ , but the form seemed suspect to me and I made the following facsimile of it in my note-book: . In view of the above considerations I now believe that the reading  $\text{xx}$  is the only possible one and that the sign has been made by the scribe in two strokes exactly in the same way as the 200 in Pap. Harris 500, *vs.*, 2, 4, discussed above.

In conclusion we may therefore say that the definite article (or its equivalent) can never show the gender of tens, but does sometimes show the feminine gender of the word *št* 'hundred'.

<sup>1</sup> *Hierat. Pap. B.M.*, II, Pl. xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> Peet, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxii.

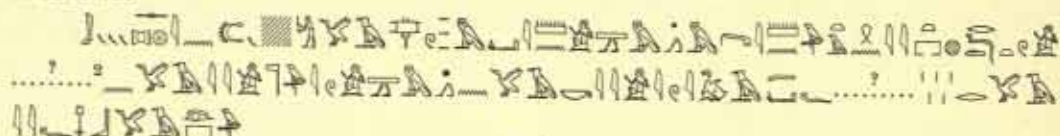


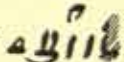



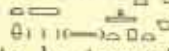



# TWO PUZZLES OF RAMESSIDE HIERATIC

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

## I

In the oracle text of Pap. Brit. Mus. 10335<sup>1</sup> there is a passage containing a difficult word left untranscribed and untranslated by the editors. The passage (rt., 5-6) relates how a certain Petjauemdiamūn, declared guilty of a theft by Amūn, the god of his village Pekhenty, decided to appeal to another local Amūn, Amūn of Teshenyt. The passage in question reads as follows:





The second puzzling word looks like  according to a facsimile which I made of it in 1924 and which agrees in all essential points with those given by both Dawson and Blackman.<sup>2</sup> The group evidently represents the name of an object of which the last sign is a determinative. Now this determinative can be only a , without the dot, as often. The two signs preceding the determinative occur again as  in Pap. Berlin P. 10494, 11,<sup>4</sup> where they are a certain  of the proper name Amenhotep, and the whole expression is identical with , for which see *Wb.*, III, 195, 17. The group of our papyrus is consequently to be transcribed thus:   , and the translation of the passage modified as follows:

*Another time the farmer Petjauemdiamūn went before Amūn of Teshenyt, saying: 'I am repugnant (?) to my own god; I will go to the other', having taken five offering-loaves to his forecourt.*

Petjauemdiamūn therefore presented to Amūn of Teshenyt five loaves, either as a bribe for the god or as a fee for the desired oracle. He deposited his loaves in the open court of the temple, probably on a stand or an offering-table similar to those erected in the forecourt of the temple of Amūn at Karnak.<sup>5</sup>

## II

(1) In Berlin ostrakon P. 10631, 9-10,<sup>6</sup> we read that there was given to a man  <sup>sic</sup>  'rhs-cakes, 1 *inr*-plate; *nht* . . . 1'. The published transcription does not offer a satisfactory solution for the group read here *nht*, but as a matter of fact the

<sup>1</sup> Transcribed by Dawson, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247-8 and Pls. xxxv-xxxviii; translated with commentary by Blackman, *ibid.*, 249-55.

<sup>2</sup> Another extremely difficult group. I would suggest the old perfective of a verb meaning 'be repugnant' or the like.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Pl. xxxvi and p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> See for these Nelson in *JAOS*, 56, 232-6, 240.

<sup>5</sup> Published *Hierat. Pap. Berlin*, III, Pl. xxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> Published by Gardiner, *PSBA* 31 (1909), 5-13.





would be I am unable to tell,<sup>1</sup> but to speak of 'living bread' is not stranger than to speak of 'living meat' or 'living dates' when neither the flesh of still living animals nor dates still on trees are meant. And if *nht* designates some kind of grain or fruit, which possibility cannot be excluded, 'living dates' affords an exact parallel. If  $\frac{0}{1}$  be the right reading of the sign, we must admit that in examples 1, 4, and 6 the measure is omitted (in 6 probably  $\frac{0}{1}$ ), in example 3 perhaps a numeral after 'fresh bread of barley'.

<sup>1</sup> M. Kuentz points out to me that *kē' nht* might be compared with French *chaux vive* (contrasted with *chaux éteinte*).

## ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ: AN ASPECT OF THE ROMAN OPPRESSION IN EGYPT

BY NAPHTALI LEWIS

A NUMBER of ostraca from Thebes and Syene-Elephantine record payments for a tax, the name of which is given only in the abbreviated form *μερισμός ἀνακ*( ).<sup>1</sup> A clue, long neglected, for the resolution of *ἀνακ*( ) is contained in SB 4338, in which we read *ἔσχο(μεν) ἀνακεχω*( ). There can hardly be any question that the abbreviations *ἀνακ*( ) and *ἀνακεχω*( ) refer to the same tax, and that Tait's resolution *ἀνακ(εχωρηκότων)*<sup>2</sup> is the indicated one. The significance of *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* seems likewise clear: it must have been an extra tax levied in order to make up the deficits in revenue caused by persons who had fled their homes and defaulted their tax payments.<sup>3</sup> Such flight was called, in the language of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, *ἀναχώρησις*, and the fugitives, *ἀνακεχωρηκότες*. In the present article, in addition to an analysis of our information on the tax, an attempt is made to reveal its place in the administrative policy of the Roman government during the first three centuries of Roman rule in Egypt.

Flight from his dwelling-place (*ἰδία*) to a sanctuary or to another town or village was from Pharaonic times the refuge of the Egyptian peasant from injustice and oppression.<sup>4</sup> But while in the Ptolemaic period these flights often partook of the nature of strikes, which ended with the return of the fugitive upon the removal of the injustice against which the flight was a protest,<sup>5</sup> under the increased and ever-increasing fiscal oppression which the

<sup>1</sup> A chronological list of these ostraca, together with the most important data contained in them, is given in the Table of Payments of *Μερισμός Ἀνακεχωρηκότων*, p. 71. In WO 556 and 564 the abbreviation is *ἀνακ*( ).

Tait, *Ostr.* I, p. 69, No. 37. Cf. also BL II<sup>1</sup>, p. 49, s. No. 135. From an unedited ostrakon Wilcken (WO I, p. 152) cites the extract *ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀνακ*( ) *χο*( ) *Χά(ρακος)* (= SB 2081). Should we not read *ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀνακ(ε)χο(ρηκότων)* (I. -χω-) *Χά(ρακος)*?

<sup>2</sup> So, too, the *μερισμός ἀπόρων*, it now seems clear (cf. P. Corn. p. 188; BL II<sup>1</sup>, pp. 67-8, s. No. 613), was 'an extra levy to make up deficiencies caused by the failure of *ἀποροι* [paupers] to pay taxes' (Grenfell and Hunt, cited by Wilcken, *Archiv* 4, 545). Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (Baltimore, 1936), 546, 547, considers that *μερισμός ἀπόρων* was merely another name, used chiefly in the Fayyûm, for the *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων*, and accordingly identifies the two. This view seems to me untenable in the light of the evidence. In the first place, WO 613 which, as Johnson himself points out, attests the *μερισμός ἀπόρων* for Upper Egypt, is a receipt for payment of that tax by the same individual who in WO 612 pays his *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* for the same year. Moreover, *ἀποροι* were not necessarily *ἀνακεχωρηκότες*. That many remained in their *ἰδία* is implied in the *ἀπόρων ἀνευρέτων* of P. Corn 24 (cf. *infra*, p. 65)—for if some *ἀποροι* were 'unfindable' because they had fled, the implication is that others could be found, i.e., still remained in the village. Corroboration for this deduction is afforded by P. Lond. 911, a copy of a *γραφὴ ἀπόρων*, which has nothing to imply that the *ἀποροι* had fled and everything to suggest that they were still living in the village and were duly registered (cf. I. 2, *κατα[κε]χωρισμένον*) and certified as *ἀποροι* and unable to pay taxes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kolonat, 73-4; F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit* (Münch. Beitr. 5. Heft [München, 1923]), 33-47.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., PSI v, 502 (257/6 B.C.); P. Strassb. II, 111 (third century B.C.); BGU VI, 1245 (third or second century B.C.); P. Teb. I, 41 (c. 119 B.C.) [and 26 (114 B.C.)]; and Kolonat, 74, 217.



Roman domination brought for the Egyptian people<sup>1</sup> these 'strikes' became definite departures, with no intention—and then no possibility, because of the impending punishment<sup>2</sup>—of return. Under the Romans fugitives became also more numerous, and flights more frequent and widespread. No longer the peasants alone, but the propertied middle-class, to escape the crushing liturgies which sapped their personal fortunes, also had recourse to this expedient.<sup>3</sup> *Πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι με ἐπιμένειν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ, ὅπως μὴ μετανάστης γένωμαι ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας*, and similar formulae were used by liturgic official and peasant alike in their petitions for relief from their duties or for the remedy of a grievance.<sup>4</sup> *εἰ φυγαδεύσομαι*, 'Shall I take to flight?' was a question frequently put to oracles.<sup>5</sup>

It was not long before the headlong flight from the terror of the debtors' prison, and the maltreatment which awaited those who fell hopelessly behind in their tax payments, had reached such proportions as to result in, or threaten to result in, the desertion of entire villages. Already Philo, writing under the first Emperors, describes the brutal treatment which the impoverished suffered at the hands of ruthless tax-collectors, their despairing flight, and the resultant depopulation of villages and towns.<sup>6</sup> In the reign of Nero we again

<sup>1</sup> Even so ardent a champion of the policies of Augustus as the late T. Rice Holmes was willing to admit that 'the rules drawn up by order of Augustus for the guidance of the official known as the *idiologus* . . . have been aptly called (a finished) instrument of fiscal oppression' (*The Architect of the Roman Empire*, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14 [Oxford, 1931], 16, citing H. Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy* [Oxford, 1920], 15). Philo (cf. n. 6 below, § 163) expressly speaks of rapacious tax-collectors as *δυσποτικοὶς πειθαρχοῦντες ἐπιτάγμασι*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BGU II, 372 (= W., *Chr.* 19; A.D. 154), I, 3–9, *πυνθάνομαι αἰτίας* . . . [τὴν] οἰκίαν ἀπ[ο]λεῖσθαι . . . ἐτέρους δὲ λειτουργ[εῖα]ς τινὰς ἐκφυγόντας διὰ τὴν [τ]ότε περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσθένειαν ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ ἐτι καὶ νῦν διατρεῖβειν φόβῳ τῶν γενομένων παραντίκα προγρ[α]φῶν; P. Lond. II, 342 (A.D. 185) (see p. 68, n. 7); P. Gen. 37 (= W., *Chr.* 400; A.D. 186), 6–10, and BGU VII, 1566 (between A.D. 198 and 209), 7–12 (for texts see p. 70, n. 5); BGU I, 159 (= W., *Chr.* 408; A.D. 216), 3–5, *ἀναδ[οθέν]τος μου εἰς δη[μο]σ[ί]α [τὴν] λειτουργίαν βαρυντάτην οὖσαν, ἀπέστ[η]ν τῆς κόμης οὐ δυνάμενος ὑποστῆναι τὸ βάρος τῆς λειτουργίας*. Cf. also P. Oslo 79, and P. Grauxa (p. 65, n. 2). Tax-farmers (who assumed their office purely voluntarily by bidding for the contract), it appears from P. Oxy. I, 44 (= W., *Chr.* 275; late first century A.D.), were also ready to flee rather than resume a collection which previously had brought them deficits and financial loss.

How serious the loss sustained by the holder of a liturgic office might be is particularly well shown by CPR 20 (= W., *Chr.* 402; A.D. 250) in which a man who not very long before had completed a term of office as *κοσμήτης*, and had used up a great part of his wealth in the fulfilment of his duties, offers to cede two-thirds of his remaining property rather than have his son named to the same office. Other noteworthy cases are: P. Flor. I, 91 (A.D. 146/7), 6–7, where a liturgic official has to mortgage part of his property to meet expenses; P. Fay. 106 (= W., *Chr.* 395; A.D. 140), 9–15, *ἀχθ[εῖς] εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν . . . ἐν τῇ χρ[εῖ]ᾳ πονούμενος ἐξησθένσα* (cf. p. 66, n. 1); and P. Oxy. III, 487 (= M., *Chr.* 322; A.D. 156), 10–12, *ἐμοῦ τε καταβαρυνθῆ[ν]τος ἐν ταῖς λειτουργίαις καὶ χρεώσθου (L. -χρε-) γενομένου*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Kolonat*, 205–6; W. *Gr.* 324, 355; and the following documents (*inter al.*): P. Fay. 296 (A.D. 113); P. Flor. I, 91 (146/7), 17–19; P. Teb. II, 439 (151); P. Oxy. III, 487 (= M., *Chr.* 322; 156), 15–18; P. Lond. III, 924, p. 134 (187/8), 18–19; P. Oxy. VI, 899 (200), 14; P. Cattaoui II (= SB 4284; 207), 10, 14–15; P. Gen. 16 (= W., *Chr.* 354; 207), 17–18.

<sup>5</sup> P. Oxy. XII, 1477 (= *Select Papyri* I, 195), 15. The papyrus contains a list of questions 'apparently intended to cover the principal subjects on which people were accustomed to appeal to the gods for information' (Grenfell and Hunt, introduction to 1477). P. Oxy. 1477 was written about the time of Diocletian, but the questions contained in the list must naturally have been current for some time.

<sup>6</sup> *De specialibus legibus* III, 30 (edd. L. Cohn and P. Wendland, Vol. V [Berlin, 1906], pp. 194–5, §§ 159–63). § 159, *πρῶτη τις ἐκλογὴς φόρων ταχθεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν δοξάντων ὀφείλουν διὰ πείναν ἐφυγον δέει τιμωρίαν ἀνηκέστων, γύναια τούτων καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γενεάν ἀπαγαγὼν πρὸς βίαν, τύπτων καὶ προπηλακίζων καὶ πάσας αἰκίας αἰκάζόμενος, ὡς ἢ τὸν φόνοντα μνηύσωσιν ἢ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου καταθῶσιν οὐδέτερον δυνάμενοι, τὸ μὲν ὅτι ἠγνόουν, τὸ δ' ὅτι οὐχ ἦσαν τοῦ φονέως ἀπόροις εἶχον, οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν ἢ βασάνους καὶ στρέβλαις τὰ σώματα κατείναν ἀποκτεῖναι κακαινουργημένοις ἰδέαις θανάτων*. 160—the tortures imposed. 161—suicide of sensitive onlookers



hear of depopulations. P. Graux 2 (= SB 7462; *Select Papyri* II, 281) is a draft of a petition to the Prefect of Egypt, Ti. Claudius Balbillus (Prefect, c. A.D. 55-9) from the collectors of the poll-tax (πράκτορες λαογραφίας) of the villages of Philadelphia, Bakchias, Nestou Epokion, Soknopaiou Nesos, Philopator, and Hieria Nesos in the Arsinoite Nome. The praktores ask the Prefect to grant them a deferment<sup>1</sup> of their payments until their case can be examined by him at the assize of the nome (with a view to a revision downward of the total amount of revenue which they must pay in), pleading that (they are short of the amount for which they contracted, since) 'the formerly large number of inhabitants in the aforementioned villages has now fallen to a few, some having fled in poverty, others having died without heirs-at-law, and for this reason we are in danger, because of the general impoverishment (of the remaining inhabitants), of having to abandon the collectorship'.<sup>2</sup> Even allowing for the fact that the praktores, in their effort to obtain relief, would paint as black a picture as possible of the situation they faced, the decrease in the population must still have been considerable. For one of the villages concerned, Philadelphia, we know from P. Corn. 24 that the number 'of poor people who fled in the first year of Nero (A.D. 54/5) and whose whereabouts are unknown' (πρώτου (ἔτους) ἀπόρων ἀνευρέτων), was 44; and this number undoubtedly increased considerably in the years immediately following. Unfortunately, however, we cannot at present estimate the importance of this figure, since we do not know the total population of Philadelphia at this period.<sup>3</sup>

who could not bear the sight of these tortures. 162, αἱ δὲ μὴ φθάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τῶν κλήρων ἐπιδικασίαις, κατὰ στοιχὸν ἤγοντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους πρῶτοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς δευτέροι καὶ τρίτοι μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ ὅποτε μηδεὶς λοιπὸς εἴη τῶν συγγενῶν, δίδρανε τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς γεινῶντας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐπὶ κόμας καὶ πόλεις, αἱ ταχέως ἔρημοι καὶ κεναὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγένοντο μετασταταμένων καὶ σκεδαννυμένων ἐνθα λήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. 163, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσως θαυμαστὸν εἰ φορολαγίας ἔνεκα βάρβαροι τὰς φύσεις, ἡμέρου παιδείας ἀγενστοί, δεσποτικοῖς πειθαρχοῦντες ἐπιτάγμασι, τοὺς ἐτησίους ἀναπράττοντας δασμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν οὐσίων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἄχρι καὶ ψυχῆς τοὺς κυδύνους ἐπιφέροντες ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων ἐτέροις.

The last sentence recalls the famous reply which Tiberius is said to have sent the Prefect of Egypt, when the latter paid in more revenue than had been called for, *κείρεσθαι μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποξέρεσθαι βούλομαι* (Dio Cassius lvi, 10. 5). Do we hear an echo of Philo's words in the Edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (OGIS II, 669, 16), *ἵνα αἱ πράξεις τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὅσι καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων*? For other devices to which rapacious tax-collectors resorted, see Princeton Pap. A.M. 8931 (middle second century A.D.), published with commentary by O. W. Reinmuth, *Classical Philology* 31 (1936), 146-62.

<sup>1</sup> *ἐπισχεῖν* μέχρι τῆς σῆς διαγνώσεως (l. 19) is not 'qu'il attente la décision' (Henne), or 'and await your decision' (Hunt and Edgar), but 'that he grant us a postponement of our payments until your decision'. Similar phrases occur in PSI I, 103, 15-16 and BGU II, 599 (= W., *Chr.* 363), 4-5 (both second century A.D.), where the meaning of *ἐπέχειν* is clearly 'to defer the payment of taxes'. Cf. also *infra*, p. 67, n. 6, and p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 7-13, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν παλαιανδρούντων ἐν ταῖς προκειμέναις κόμας, νυνὶ κατήντησαν εἰς ὀλίγους, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἀνακεχωρηκέναι ἀπάρους, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκέ[ναι] μὴ ἔχοντας ἀγχιστεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κ[αὶ] δυνεύει ἡμῶς δι' ἀσθένειαν προλιπε[ῖν] τὴν πρακτορείαν.

*Ἀσθένεια* = 'economic exhaustion': cf. W., *Gr.* 355, W., *Chr.* 395, 15 n. Does *προλιπεῖν* τὴν πρακτορείαν imply flight? Cf. Henne, 204; V. Martin, *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (Munich, 1934), 149.

<sup>3</sup> I must note here, against Henne and Wilcken, that P. Graux 1 (= SB 7461; A.D. 45) has no bearing on the question of ἀναχώρησις, and therefore must not be associated with the documents just discussed. P. Graux 1 is a letter to the strategos of the Herakleopolite Nome, probably from the strategos of the neighbouring Arsinoite Nome, who writes (ll. 3-10), *προσῆλθὲν μοι Νεμεσῆς, πρᾶκτωρ λα[ογ]ραφίας κόμης Φιλαδελφίας, λ[έ]γων ὀνόματα εἶναι ἐν τισιν κόμας τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ νομοῦ ὀφειλόντα λαογραφίαν. διὸ ἐρωτῶ σέ συνεπέμψαι τινας αὐτῶν, ὅπως τὰ ὀφειλόμενα αὐταῖς εἰσπραχθῇ καὶ χωρήσῃ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*, 'Nemesās, the collector of the poll-tax of Philadelphia, has come to me with the report that there are persons (from Philadelphia) in certain of the villages of the nome under your jurisdiction who owe their poll-tax. I therefore request you to send some (guards) with him, so that the taxes owing may be exacted by him and go to the fisc.' Henne, in his commentary (p. 195), points out that it is not stated that the inhabitants of Philadelphia in question had fled to the



In another papyrus of the first century (St. Pal. xxii, 33; provenience unknown), a son writes to his father (ll. 7-12), γινώσκει δέ, πάτερ, ὅτι πολλή θνήσκει ἐνθάδε ἐφ' ἔτους καὶ οἱ πλείονες τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνεχώρησαν, 'and know, father, that there have been many deaths here this year, and most of our people have fled'. P. Berl. Leihgabe I, 7 (Dec. 1, A.D. 162) is a list of peasant cultivators of Lagis and Trikomia (two small villages in the Arsinoite Nome), named, in view of the approaching sowing season, to work certain parcels of land 'in place of fugitive and impoverished persons' (ἀντὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότων καὶ ἐξησθενηκότων)<sup>1</sup> numbering 14 and 3 respectively. In all probability, most, if not all, of the fugitives had fled since the last harvest (May), at the end of which they had found themselves with a crop which did not suffice to meet their tax obligations; by the same token, the three ἐξησθενηκότες would be those persons who had stayed and paid their taxes, but were impoverished thereby. Certain of the carbonized papyri from Thmouis tell us of the desertion, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius,<sup>2</sup> of a number of villages in the Mendesian Nome of the Delta: we hear of populations reduced in a comparatively short time<sup>3</sup> from 128 to a few, from 85 to 10 and then to 2, from 54 to 4 and then to 0!<sup>4</sup> And other papyri, some thirty years later in date, testify to a not dissimilar state of affairs in other parts of the country. In P. Oxy. iv, 705, III (=W., *Chr.* 407; A.D. 202), addressed to Septimius Severus and Caracalla, we read (ll. 69-74), κῶμαί τινες τοῦ Ὀξυρρυγχίτου νομοῦ . . . σφ[ό]δρα ἐξησθένησαν ἐνοχλούμεναι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος λειτουργιῶν . . . κινδυνεύουσι τε . . . τὴν ὑμετέραν γῆν ἀγεώργητον καταλιπεῖν, 'certain villages of the Oxyrhynchite Nome . . . have been utterly exhausted by the burdensome demands of the annual liturgies . . . and your [i.e., the State] land runs the risk of being left uncultivated'. P. Cattaoui II (=SB 4284; A.D. 207) is a petition to the strategos παρὰ τῶν δέλτων τῶν κῆ καὶ τ[ῶ]ν λοιπῶν δημοσίων γεωργῶν κόμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου (ll. 2-6). The petitioners assert that they returned to their ἰδία and to the cultivation of their fields under the amnesty decreed by Septimius Severus and Caracalla during their visit to Egypt (A.D. 202), and complain that they are now being disturbed in their cultivation in the Herakleopolite Nome to avoid paying their taxes, but he assumes that this is so. (Wilcken, *Archiv* 8, 311, agrees.) But to read this implication into the text is entirely unwarranted. It was not in the least unusual for a person with a fixed residence in one village to be employed elsewhere. Neither the fact that the praktor of Philadelphia goes into the Herakleopolite Nome to collect from fellow villagers there, nor the request for a (police) escort to accompany him, can be taken as an indication that the circumstances in the present case were different. That this was, on the contrary, the usual procedure of collection from persons who happened to be away from their ἰδία, is abundantly clear from P. Teb. II, 391 (A.D. 99), in which the four πράκτορες λαογραφίας of Tebtynis agree to divide the work of collection as follows: two of them are to collect in the village of Tebtynis itself, the other two are to collect from πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἑτέροις (l. -αις) κώμας καταγινόμενους καὶ ἐπισκευμένους (ll. 13-14); the first two are to pay the salary of the guard (μαχαιοφόρος—l. 20) who accompanies them, the latter presumably are to furnish guards for themselves in the several villages which they visit, perhaps with the aid of just such a letter as P. Graux I.

<sup>1</sup> On the meaning of ἐξησθενηκότων, cf. p. 65, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This group of papyri (see n. 4 below) dates, as Henne (p. 206, n. 3) remarks, from sometime after A.D. 168/9. But it is possible, I think, to be more precise. PSI I, 105, 15-16, πρὸς τὸ ια (ἔτος) διαστέλλεται (present tense!) [so also 107, 10-11; cf. 104, 18-19, πρὸς τὸ ια (ἔτος) τὰ ἀργυρικὰ ἐνφ[άδε] τίθεται] seems to fix the date as the eleventh year of Marcus Aurelius, or A.D. 170/1; cf. P. M. Meyer, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 33 (1913), 869.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wilcken, *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage* (Berlin, 1903), 128; Henne, p. 201, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> SB 8, 7-12; BGU III, 902, 3-7; PSI I, 102, 8-14. Other decreases in population attested by this group of papyri:

from 27 to 3 and then to 0—PSI I, 101, 11-15.

from 25 (?) to 2 and then to 0—PSI I, 105, 2-10.

from many to a few—BGU III, 903, 9-15.

(All these passages are cited by Henne, pp. 200-1.)



tion by the violent attacks of one Orseus, ἐκφοβῶν ἡμᾶς ἔν' [ἐκ τοῦ] κατα τὸ πρότερον εἰς τ[ὴν] ἄλλο[δ]απὴν φύγωμεν (l. 10). This must not be taken literally to mean that all the δημόσιοι γεωργοί of Soknopaiou Nesos had fled their homes prior to A.D. 202, but it is evident, nevertheless, that a considerable number were in flight at the time of the amnesty.<sup>1</sup>

These depopulations of the first, second, and early third centuries were rarely, if ever, complete and permanent, it is true.<sup>2</sup> It is apparent, nevertheless, that the problem of ἀναχώρησις and of keeping the peasants on the land is one which faced the administration from the very beginning of the Roman domination of Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The obvious remedy for the evil was to lighten the tax burden of the peasants; but as such a remedy stood in direct antithesis to the Roman policy of squeezing the greatest possible revenues of grain and money from the country, the administration characteristically evaded the issue and bent its efforts, not to solving the problem proper, but to insuring the fisc against any loss in revenue. Occasionally, indeed, when the situation grew so serious as to threaten to leave the land without cultivators, some mitigation was granted. Hadrian, on his accession to the Principate in A.D. 117, decreed a substantial reduction in the rental of State land, in order to bring cultivation back to normal after the ravages of the Jewish revolt of 115-17.<sup>4</sup> The Prefect Bassius Rufus, holding his assize in the Mendesian Nome in A.D. 168/9, apparently authorized a reduction in taxes for the villages which had suffered sharp declines in population (see above).<sup>5</sup> Instead of a reduction in taxes, however, the government preferred whenever possible to grant a moratorium (ἐποχή), which did not involve any diminution of its revenue.<sup>6</sup> Another type of concession, finally, was the amnesty for fugitives, such as was proclaimed by the Prefect M. Sempronius

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W., *Chr.* 354, introduction. In BGU II, 475 (A.D. 198/9—on the dating cf. W. *Gr.* 325), certain tax-collectors report that of 8 talents 4049 drachmas assessed for collection, 1 talent 2123 drachmas remained uncollected. The causes of the deficit, one of which is ἀναχώρησις, are enumerated; but since only the total deficit is given, and the amount due to each cause is not itemized, these data remain too indefinite for our use.

<sup>2</sup> Complete and final desertion of the villages in the Fayyūm (Arsinoite Nome) did not begin until about the middle of the third century: cf. P. Teb. II, pp. 360-1. But the causes for the final desertion were the same as those which previously had led to temporary depopulations, namely, the increasing difficulty, aggravated now by the gradual breakdown of the irrigation system, in meeting the ever-increasing demands of the State; cf. P. Thead. 16, 17, 20.

Henne (p. 210) is of the opinion that the depopulations mentioned by the Thmouis papyri must also have been temporary. The scarcity of papyri from the Delta leaves us, however, without any definite information on the subject such as we have for the Fayyūm.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence, it seems to me, is too uniformly eloquent of the misery and despair which drove an oppressed peasantry to flee their homes, for us to consider that these flights were merely 'part of an urban movement to join in the industrial activity of Alexandria, where life was more varied and less precarious than in the rural sections'—A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.* (p. 63, n. 3), 354, following the thesis of E. Bickermann, *Gnomon* 3 (1927), 671-5. While the city undoubtedly had its attraction for some of the country-dwellers, the evidence leaves little room to doubt that, fundamentally, ἀναχώρησις was the result of the Roman economic policy in Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., above all, the analysis of Hadrian's decree by W. L. Westermann, *Hadrian's Decree on Renting State Domain in Egypt* in *JEA* 11 (1925), 165-78. The return demanded of the cultivators of State land was reduced from between 2 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  artabs per aroura (these, at least, are the limits attested by the group of papyri which constitute the evidence for the decree; the papyri are listed by Westermann, p. 165, n. 2, and in the introduction to P. Ryl. II, 96) to the uniform rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabs per aroura.

The ἀρδειαὶ and κομφορδειαὶ (total and partial exemptions from taxes) mentioned in the papyri and inscriptions were special privileges granted to certain land-owners, and therefore do not concern us here.

<sup>5</sup> BGU III, 903, 16-23. Cf. also II, 4-9; SB 8, 13-14; PSI I, 103, 18-24. The expenses entailed by liturgies were apparently occasionally reduced by order of the Prefect: a reduction in the expenses of the gymnasiarchy was ordered by Rutilius Lupus (Prefect A.D. 113/4-117—cf. P. Amh. II, 70 [= W., *Chr.* 149]), and again perhaps by Valerius Firmus (Prefect A.D. 245-7—cf. P. Oxy. XII, 1418, 6).

<sup>6</sup> For instances see *Wörterbuch* s.vv. ἐπέχω (4), ἐποχή (1), and cf. p. 65, n. 1.



Liberalis in his edict ordering the return of fugitives to their *ἰδία* after the uprising of A.D. 153/4,<sup>1</sup> and such as the Prefects often included in the edict which they issued in every census year, ordering all persons back to their *ἰδία* for enrolment.<sup>2</sup> For the rest, intimidation and ever-increasing oppression form the keynotes of the policy pursued by the Roman government, and the general 'reforms' of the taxation system instituted by Septimius Severus and several of his successors were nothing more than attempts 'to devise a new method of extracting money to replace the one that had proved a failure'.<sup>3</sup>

When a person left the place of his residence 'for destination unknown',<sup>4</sup> his nearest relative hastened to depose before the proper authorities a sworn statement of flight.<sup>5</sup> In this statement he declared that 'X son of Y has fled his home' (*ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν ξένην*),<sup>6</sup> and requested that his name be entered in the list of *ἀνακεχωρηκότες*. The declarant particularly stressed the fact that the fugitive had left behind no property, real or movable (*πόρος*). It was no doubt to the declarant's own interest to depose this statement of flight, for the village officials and the tax-collectors were not above belaboring people in an attempt to make them reveal the whereabouts of fugitive relatives.<sup>7</sup> Hence also the stress on the fact that the fugitive had left no *πόρος*: if he had, the declarant would no doubt have been required to take over the property, and would have been held accountable for the taxes thereon and for any liturgies which the fugitive might have abandoned or been liable to<sup>8</sup>—would have been placed, in other words, in the same intolerable financial position which had caused the fugitive to flee. In BGU II, 447 (A.D. 175), for example, a man writes in his census declaration (ll. 4-6), *ἀπογορ(άφομαι) ἐ]μαντὸν . . . καὶ εἰμὶ ὁ Πολλᾶς . . . καὶ τὸν ἀδ[ελφόν μου] Ἀρπ[ο]κ[ρ]ᾶν ὄντα ἐν ἀναχωρήσει (l. -ει), and as to property, he declares (ll. 13-15),*

<sup>1</sup> BGU II, 372 (= W., *Chr.* 19). The edict is referred to in P. Ryl. II, 78 (A.D. 157), 3-4, *ἡγεμ[όν]ι Σε]μπρωίου Λιβερᾶλι . . . περ[ὶ] τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκόντων*; and in P. Fay. 24 (A.D. 158), in which the *ἀρχέφοδος* of a village swears that he posted the *ἐπιστολὴς γραφείσης ὑ[πὸ]* . . . *Σεμπρωίου Λιβερᾶλι(ο)ς περὶ τῶν ἐπιζένων . . . ὥστε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνέρχεσθαι* (ll. 10-16).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Kolonat*, 209-10; W., *Gr.* 193; W., *Chr.* 202, introduction. Such an edict is that of C. Vibius Maximus, P. Lond. III, 904 (pp. 125-6), 18-43 (= W., *Chr.* 202; *Select Papyri* II, 220; A.D. 104). References to similar edicts: P. Gen. 16 (= W., *Chr.* 354; *Select Papyri* II, 289; A.D. 207), 18-20; P. Flor. I, 6 (A.D. 207), 11-12; BGU I, 159 (= W., *Chr.* 408; A.D. 216), 5-7. References to amnesties: SB 4284, 6-8 (amnesty decreed by Septimius Severus and Caracalla in A.D. 202—cf. *supra*, p. 66); P. Oxy. XIV, 1668, 17-18 (amnesty decreed by a Prefect in the third century). We are as yet entirely without information as to whether these amnesties carried with them cancellation of the fugitives' debt to the State. *A priori* it would seem inevitable that they should, if they were to induce the impoverished fugitives to return.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Milne, *J. Rom. Stud.* 17 (1927), 8, of Septimius Severus' 'reorganization of the machinery of government'.

<sup>4</sup> Our own English expression is paralleled in P. Oxy. XII, 1438, 14-15, *τινῶν [ἀναχωρησάντων] εἰς ἀγνωστούς τόπους*.

<sup>5</sup> The three examples which we have of these declarations come from the town of Oxyrhynchos, and are addressed to the officials who combined the duties of *τοπογραμματεὺς* and *κομογραμματεὺς*: P. Oxy. II, 251 (A.D. 44)—mother declares flight of son; 252 (= W., *Chr.* 215; A.D. 19/20) and 253 (A.D. 19)—man declares flight of two brothers. In the villages (since only the chief town of a toparchy had a *τοπογραμματεὺς*), the declarations of flight were no doubt addressed to the *κομογραμματεὺς*.

<sup>6</sup> Any person who, legitimately or not, was not in his *ἰδία*, was termed *ἐν ξένης, ἐπιζένης, ξένος*; cf. *Kolonat*, 74-5; *Fachwörter, Wörterbuch*, s.vv.; and n. 1 above.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Philo, *loc. cit.* (p. 64, n. 6), and P. Lond. II, 342 (pp. 173-4; A.D. 185), where an inhabitant of Soknopaiou Nesos protests to a *beneficiarius* that an elder of the village and his associates came and tried by force to make him produce (i.e., reveal the whereabouts of) two of his relatives who *ἐκφοβηθέντες* (of being claimed for a liturgy—cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* I, 155) *ἀφανεῖς ἐγένοντο*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. W., *Gr.* 196. That the tax-collectors did attempt to make relatives pay the taxes of fugitives is abundantly clear from Philo, *loc. cit.* (p. 64, n. 6).



ὑπάρχ(ει) δὲ μοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφ[οῖς] (i.e., Harpokrās and a sister, Ptolemaïs) μου πα[τρικ(όν)] (ἤμουν) μέρος οἰκ(ίας) καὶ αὐλ(ῆς) καὶ ἐλαιουργίας ψεῖλ(ος) τό(πος). In this case Ptolās and his sister may well have been held accountable for the taxes of their fugitive brother Harpokrās.

The *κομογραμματεὺς* drew up annual lists of fugitives and the taxes owed by each, as did the tax-collectors for their several taxes;<sup>1</sup> these lists they probably sent to the strategos' office.<sup>2</sup> In addition, as each flight was reported to him, the *komogrammateus* notified the strategos,<sup>3</sup> who proscribed the fugitive<sup>4</sup> even as he proscribed fugitives from justice.<sup>5</sup> Thus outlawed and sought by the police,<sup>6</sup> the fugitives adopted, for the most part, one of the two following courses: either they fled to the cities, in particular Alexandria, where they could hope to be swallowed up in the large and heterogeneous population, or they joined together in robber bands and led a vagabond, marauding life.<sup>7</sup> Those who fled to Alexandria constituted there a floating population without fixed means of subsistence, which the administration strove repeatedly to drive from the city.<sup>8</sup> The robbers, when caught, were duly punished.<sup>9</sup> Yet it would seem, if we may generalize from a single

<sup>1</sup> Examples of such lists which have been preserved: P. Oxy. XII, 1438 (late second century A.D.), drawn up probably by the *komogrammateus*; P. Corn. 24 (A.D. 56), drawn up by the *λογεὺς λαογραφίας*. In BGU II, 432 (A.D. 190), II, 2-4, 8-9, there is apparently a reference to similar annual lists drawn up by the *sitologoi* (cf. *infra*, p. 73).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. introduction to P. Oxy. XII, 1438 and 1434. The reports of the *sitologoi* mentioned in BGU II, 432, II, were also, it is clear from the context, sent to the strategos. On the analogy of these two documents, it may fairly safely be assumed that P. Corn. 24 was also intended for the strategos' office. For other types of documents in which fugitives are involved and which were sent to the strategos, see nn. 3 and 6 below; p. 70, nn. 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Gen. 5 (A.D. 139-40), where a *komogrammateus* announces to the strategos, *προσγίνεται τῇ τῶν ἀφανῶν γραφῇ τῆς διοικήσεως ὁ ὑπο[γ]εγραμμένος δοῦλος* (ll. 4-5).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BGU II, 372 (= W., *Chr.* 19; A.D. 154), I, 7-9 (cited in n. 3, p. 64); *Kolonat*, 207-9. The *epistategos*, naturally, also had the power of proscription: in P. Teb. II, 411 (second century A.D.), a son writes to his father to come home, *ὁ γὰρ . . . ἐπιστρατηγὸς ἰκανῶς σε ἐπεξήγησε, οἷός τε ἦν καὶ προγράψαι εἰ μὴ ἐπηγγελάμην σήμερον σε παρέσθαι* (ll. 5-10).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BGU II, 372, I, 20-1, *τοὺς ἐ[ξ] ἧς δὴ ποτε αἰτίας ὑπὸ τῶν στρατη[γῶν] προγραφέντας*, and II, 13-14, *ἀλλοις δὲ τῶν ποτε προγραφ[ε]ντων*; *Kolonat*, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. BGU II, 372, I, 18-19, *μ[ηδ]εμίαν . . . ζήτησιν εἰσεσθαι* of those who return to their *ἰδία* under the amnesty proclaimed by the edict.

P. Graux 3 (= SB 7463; A.D. 51) is an oath addressed to agents of the strategos by a *προβατοκτηνοτρόφος* of Philadelphia, who swears that 'he has not with him' a certain *ποιμήν*. Is not the explanation of this curious oath precisely this: the *προβατοκτηνοτρόφος* is suspected of sheltering a fugitive who has been proscribed by the strategos and is being sought by the police? 'Par sa date, en effet, notre texte appartient à la période critique où Philadelphie se dépeuple', remarks Henne in his introduction.

<sup>7</sup> BGU II, 372, II, 1-3, *ἐκό[ν]τας ἀπ[ο]δρᾶσι πονηρ[όν] κ[α]ί [ι] λησ[τ]ρικὸν βίον [ε]λαμ[ε]νοὺς μέγιστον[αι]* (the Prefect goes on to say that he has ordered out soldiers to suppress these bands); SB 4284, 6-8, *οἱ κύριοι . . . Αὐτοκράτορες . . . ἤθελσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διατρίβοντας πάντας κατιέναι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἐκκόψαντες τὰ βίαια [καὶ ἀν]ομία*; cf. *Kolonat*, 209, 217.

<sup>8</sup> P. Giss. 40, II, 16-29 (= W., *Chr.* 22; *Select Papyri* II, 215; A.D. 215) contain an order from Caracalla to the Prefect of Egypt. The Emperor says, in part: *Αἱ[γύπτου] οἱ πάντες οἱ εἰσὶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἀ[γ]ροικοὶ οἵτινες πεφε[ύγασιν] ἀλλοθεν . . . πόντη πάντως ἐγβλήσονται εἰς . . . τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐγβ[α]λλε, οἵτινες τῷ πλήθει [ε] τῷ ἰδίῳ κα[ὶ] οὐ[κ] χ[ρ]ήσι ταρασσόντι τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐ[κ]είνοι[ς] κωλ[ύ]εσθαι ὀφε[ί]λλουσι, οἵτινες φεύγουσι τὰς χώρας τὰς ἰδίας*; cf. Dio Cassius *epit.* lxxviii, 23, 2, and the commentary of P. M. Meyer, P. Giss. I, II, pp. 36-42. Cf. also the edict of C. Vibius Maximus (see p. 68, n. 2), in which all persons are ordered to return to their homes for the census, except those who can show a 'satisfactory reason' (*εὐλογον*—I. 30) for remaining in Alexandria; and P. Flor. I, 6, 10-12, *ὁ . . . ἡγεμὼν Σουβατιανὸς Ἀκύλας . . . καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρότερον ὄντας ἀνεπέμψατο εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τομοὺς* (in the year A.D. 202, probably).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BGU II, 372, II, 11-13, *το[ὺς] λημφθέντας ἐπ' αὐτ[ο]φ[ώ]ρῳ κακούργους μ[ηδ]έν περαιτέρω τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ληστείᾳ γενο[μ]ένων ἐξετάζειν*.



document,<sup>1</sup> that fugitives could return at any time to their *ἰδία* without further penalty if they were in a position to pay the back taxes for the period of their absence.

Another aspect of the problem of *ἀναχώρησις* concerned the land abandoned by the fugitive peasants. Since most of the peasants in Egypt were lessees of State land (*δημόσιοι γεωργοί*), and since the taxes on State land were higher than on private land,<sup>2</sup> it was the State land, naturally, which most suffered desertion. The method adopted by the government to prevent abandoned State land from remaining uncultivated was of a piece with its general administrative policy: unless persons came forward voluntarily to lease the land,<sup>3</sup> the komogrammateus designated people (perhaps other *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* only) to work the land.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, persons of property were named to take over abandoned liturgies.<sup>5</sup>

There remains, finally, what may be called the fiscal aspect of the problem of *ἀναχώρησις*, or the question of the deficits in revenue caused by the tax-default of the fugitives.<sup>6</sup> The *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότων* was, as we have said, an extra levy to make up these deficits. The tax is first attested in the reign of Trajan, but it is of course possible that this is the result of chance, and that the tax was instituted at an earlier date.<sup>7</sup> At whatever time it was

<sup>1</sup> P. Teb. II, 353 (= W., *Chr.* 269; A.D. 192) is a receipt issued to a man who returns from flight of his own free will (l. 6, ἀπ' ἀναχώρησεως κατισεληλυθώς [l. -εια-]), for payment of the taxes which have accrued during the four years of his absence. Further evidence must be forthcoming before we can determine whether this receipt reflects a regular practice or is an exceptional case.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (OGIS II, 669, 31-2), ἀδικον γὰρ ἔστιν τοὺς ἀνησημένους κτήματα καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδόντας ὡς δημοσίου γεωργοῦ ἐκφόρια ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἐδάφων.

<sup>3</sup> P. Flor. I, 19 (A.D. 248) is a proposal for the lease of a parcel of public land (πρότερον) Αὐνῇ καὶ [Σαρ]απίωνος ἀναχωρησάντων (ll. 6-7).

<sup>4</sup> P. Berl. Leihgabe I, 7 (A.D. 162) is a list, addressed by the komogrammateus of Lagis and Trikomia to the strategos, of men so impounded for the sowing of public land: κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν γεωργοῦντων ἀντὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότων καὶ ἐξηρηνηκότων κατασπ(ορᾶς) τῆς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) (ll. 5-7). BGU I, 7 (A.D. 247) is perhaps a similar list of men put to work on public land—cf. Kolonati, 195; Oertel, 95, n. 4. Cf. also P. Fay. 123 (c. A.D. 100), 17, ἤχθην ἰς γεωργίαν; and P. Amh. II, 65 (early second century), on the interpretation of which see the introduction and Kolonati, 202, and, against these, Oertel, 96, n. 2. P. Flor. III, 379 (early second century), 28 and 33 mention, among the (public) lands under cultivation and paying taxes, a parcel whose lessee has fled ((ἀρουρῶν) γ Πετώτος ἀνακεχωρηκότος).

Priests (in general?) were exempted from being named to work public lands by an edict of Lusus Geta in A.D. 54 (OGIS II, 664). A like exemption for women was decreed by Ti. Julius Alexander in A.D. 68/9 and reaffirmed by Valerius Eudaimon in 141/2 and again by the epistrategos Minicius Corellianus in 146/7: BGU II, 648 (= W., *Chr.* 360; A.D. 164 or 196), 12-14; P. Oxy. VI, 899 (= W., *Chr.* 361; A.D. 200), 28-30. Cf. Kolonati, 195 and Oertel, 95-7.

On 'Zwangspacht' in general, see W., *Gr.* 292-6 and Oertel, 94-111.

<sup>5</sup> Two notifications of such nomination are preserved: P. Gen. 37 (= W., *Chr.* 400; A.D. 186), ἀντὶ . . . τῶν δ' ἐ[ν] ὁλ[ύ]ρῳ πρακ(τορίας) ἀργυρ(ικῶν) μὴ φανομένων, δίδομεν τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ ἐπιτηδείους (ll. 6-12). These four men fled while their names were still only on the list of possible nominees [ἐν κλήρῳ], even before the selection from this list was made—cf. W., *Gr.* 353; W., *Chr.* 400, introduction; Oertel, 203 § 7); BGU VII, 1566 (between A.D. 198 and 209), εἰς ὀνηλασίαν ἀντὶ Τ[.] . . . [εἰς] Ὀρίωνος ἀ[νακεχω]ρη[κό]τος, δίδομεν τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον ἦν[α] εὐπορον καὶ ἐπιτηδ(εῖον) (ll. 7-12). These notifications are addressed to the strategos by the presbyteroi of the village, who are exercising the functions of the komogrammateus' office (παρὰ τοῦ δέιτος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβυτέρων διαδεχομένων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κομογραμματείαν).

<sup>6</sup> The treatment of returned fugitives with respect to their arrears of taxes has been discussed above, p. 68, n. 2, and n. 1 above.

<sup>7</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence, however, that the *μερισμὸς ἀπόρων*, so similar in nature to the *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότων* (cf. p. 63, n. 3), is also first attested in the reign of Trajan (P. Fay. 53, 5-6), and that from his reign, too, dates the first of the known edicts ordering the return of fugitives to their *ἰδία* (P. Lond. III, 904 [pp. 125-6] = W., *Chr.* 202; *Select Papyri* II, 220; A.D. 104—cf. p. 68, n. 2). Trajan's reign is marked also by the extension, if not the institution, of the liturgy-system; cf. W., *Gr.* 340-1; Oertel, 384-6.



instituted, however, it reflects an important change in administrative policy. Previously all tax-deficiencies had to be borne by the tax-collectors, each supplying from his own personal means the deficit in his collections. For it will be recalled that the total amount which each tax-collector was to pay in by the end of the year was fixed at the beginning of the year, and he was required to guarantee this sum with his personal property. It was precisely the fear of deficits, and of the ruin which making them up might entail, which made persons reluctant to bid for collectorships in the days of free choice; and which, when the offices had become liturgic, made the nominees to, and incumbents of, the offices abscond.<sup>1</sup> The fear of deficits must certainly be placed, too, beside greed as a motive of the brutality of some of the tax-collectors. With the institution of the *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων*, the tax-collectors were

TABLE OF PAYMENTS OF ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΟΤΩΝ

<i>Ostrakon</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>	<i>For the year A.D.</i>	<i>Paid on</i>
WO 101	Elephantine	2 dr. 2 ob.*	114/5	Sept. 4, 115
O. Strassb. 194	Upper Egypt	5 ob.	115/6?	May, 116.
SB 4338	Thebes	2 dr.	Reign of Hadrian	
WO 135	Elephantine	2 dr. ½ ob.	120/1 and 121/2	Aug. 3, 126
WO 556	Thebes-Charax	1 dr.*	132/3	June 23, 133
WO 564	" "	1 dr. 4 ob.*	133/4	June 25, 134
WO 579	" "	4 dr.*	136/7	Sept. 25, 137
WO 606	Thebes	8 dr.*	136/7	April 10, 142
Tait, <i>Ostr.</i> I, p. 69, No. 37	Thebes-Charax	8 dr.*	136/7	Sept. 23, 142
WO 585	" "	4 dr.	137/8	June 24, 138
		2 dr.	137/8	July 15, 138
WO 601	Thebes-Notos	4 dr.*	137/8	March 31, 141
WO 602	Thebes-Notos and Lips	3 dr.*	138/9	July 1, 141
PSI III, 271	Thebes-Notos	1 dr.*	138/9	July 1, 141
WO 1290	Thebes-Notos and Lips	[ ] dr.*	140/1	141/2? †
		2 dr. 2 ob.? *	141/2?	
WO 612	Thebes-Charax	1 dr. 6 ob.*	141/2	Feb. 10, 143
WO 614	" "	7 dr. 2 ob.*	142/3	July 11, 143
WO 1583	Thebes-Agora Borra	4 dr. 1 ob.*	143/4	July 9, 144
WO 1437	Thebes-Charax	6 dr. 3 ob.	143/4	Nov. 10, 144
P. Lips. I, 74	Syene?	4 dr.*	144/5	July 8, 145
WO 620	Thebes-Charax	6 dr. 3½ ob.*	144/5	Aug. 5, 145
WO 627	" "	5 dr. 4 ob.*	145/6	June 8, 146
WO 630	" "	3 ob.*	146/7	May 28, 147
WO 631	" "	3 ob.* thrice	146/7	June 11, 147
WO 635	" "	1 dr.*	147/8	July 27, 148
WO 642	" "	2 dr.*	149/50	July 3, 150
WO 651	Thebes-[ ]	4 dr. 4 ob.[* ?]	159/60 or 160/1	June 1, 161

\* signifies that the payment is stated to be in *δραχμαὶ πέντακαί*.

[ ] signifies that the datum is lost on the ostrakon.

† Cf. BL n<sup>1</sup>, p. 101.

relieved of a serious burden. Henceforth the financial responsibility for fugitives was placed upon the community, on which, in the last analysis, the responsibility for the satisfactory performance of all liturgies rested.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth the total annual deficit of each district which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 64, esp. n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BGU I, 235 (= W., *Chr.* 399; c. A.D. 137), 13-14; P. Flor. I, 2 (A.D. 265), 24-7, 55-8, 78-80, &c.; W., *Gr.* 214, 341; Oertel, 425; Henne, 202, n. 7. Cf. also P. Oxy. IV, 705, III, 69-74 (cited p. 66 above). An intermediate stage in the transition from the liability of the tax-collectors to the collective responsibility



constituted a fiscal unit was divided up among the remaining inhabitants, and was collected from them in the form of a surtax.<sup>1</sup>

The *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* was collected in money by the 'collectors of money taxes' (*πράκτορες ἀργυρικών*). It will be seen from a glance at the Table that a payment *ὑπὲρ μερισμοῦ ἀνακεχωρηκότων* of any given year was sometimes not made until as many as two, three, and even five years later. On the other hand, the more numerous cases in which the tax was paid before the year was out are even more surprising, for the year's deficit from so uncontrollable a source could not be predicted, and could not, therefore, it would be supposed, have been calculated until the year was over and the final records compiled. It is clear, however, from the ostraca of the Table of Payments that the tax for any given year was calculated at least three months before the end of that year. Perhaps the rate each year was based upon the deficit from fugitives in the preceding year. In any case, however the total annual assessments were determined, we may be sure that the interest of the fisc was never neglected.

Since *μερισμός* usually denotes an equally distributed, or *per capita* tax,<sup>2</sup> it might be expected that the total fixed for collection in each fiscal district was divided equally among the tax-payers of that district. There is indeed, as Wilcken pointed out,<sup>3</sup> some evidence which tends to support this view, namely, WO 630, where one inhabitant of the Charax district of Thebes pays 3 obols for the *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* of the tenth year of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 146/7), and WO 631, where another pays a like amount for himself and for each of two sons. But against this one case of equal payments we now have the following case, also from the Charax district, where different persons pay different amounts for the same year:

for the year 136/7: 4 dr.—WO 579.

8 dr.—Tait, *Ostr.* I, p. 69, No. 37.

Unless the larger payment be taken to include a fine for lateness (a supposition which other cases in the Table tend to discredit), this difference makes it clear that the *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* was not a *per capita* tax, but was probably assessed on a property basis—land in the case of cultivators, and some other form of property in the case of industrials and

of the community is perhaps evidenced by St. Pal. IV, p. 70. In these three columns from a long roll containing the records of an amphodarch of the city of Arsinoë for the year A.D. 72/3, we read that the two potters remaining in the amphodon, who pay an annual *χειρωναξίον* (the tax on *χειρώνες*, or artisans, on which see WO I, pp. 321–33) of 17 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob. each, are apparently required together to contribute a like amount, in year 4 and again in year 5, to make up the tax of a third potter of the amphodon who fled in year 3 of Vespasian (A.D. 70/1) (Il. 384–9, 418–24). It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that the payments of the potters are made to 'receivers of fines' (*ἀπὸ αἰρουμένων κατακριμμένων*), Il. 384, 390). In any case, if the above interpretation is correct, it shows that under Vespasian the guild bore a corporate liability for the payment of the trades-tax of each of its members. Cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* (p. 63, n. 3), 393–5, 545.

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.* (p. 63, n. 3), 545, thinks that the purpose of the *μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκότων* was to make up the deficits in the *laographia* caused by fugitives. While there is nothing in the evidence either to prove or to disprove this view, there are three considerations which seem to me to favour the interpretation that the tax was intended to cover the deficits in revenue of all (capitation?) taxes due to fugitives:

a. the very name of the tax;

b. P. Corn. 24, which lists the amount of *λαογραφία* and *χωματικόν* owed by each fugitive;

c. P. Teb. II, 353, where a returned fugitive pays the *λαογραφία*, *ζυττήρα*, *ἐκμή*, *ὀφώνιον* *μαγδαλοφυλάκων* *καὶ ἄλλων μερισμῶν, χωματικόν* (all capitation taxes) and an unknown tax,  $\epsilon\pi(\quad)\chi(\quad)$ , accumulated during his absence (cf. p. 70, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WO I, pp. 256–8; P. Col. II, pp. 11–12 (and Wilcken, *Archiv* 10, 271).

<sup>3</sup> WO I, p. 152.



professionals.<sup>1</sup> It must not be concluded from this, however, that the 3-obol payers represent the poorest class of the population, as opposed to the 8-drachma payers. For the same man who in WO 631 pays 3 obols, one 'Αμενώθης 'Αρβήχιος, the following series of payments is preserved:

for the year 133/4: 1 dr. 4 ob. —	WO 564
137/8: 6 dr. —	„ 585
142/3: 7 dr. 2 ob. —	„ 614
144/5: 6 dr. 3½ ob. —	„ 620
145/6: 5 dr. 4 ob. —	„ 627
146/7: 3 ob. —	„ 631
147/8: 1 dr. —	„ 635
149/50: 2 dr. —	„ 642

Not only, then, did the tax-rate vary considerably from year to year, but we may discern a certain trend in the fluctuation. We notice a sharp drop in the rate for the year 146/7, nor is this drop fortuitous. The preceding year, 145/6, was a census year. In census years, as we have already noted,<sup>2</sup> the Prefect frequently included an amnesty for fugitives in his edict ordering the return of all persons to their *ἴδια* for enrolment. In the months following the edict there would accordingly be an influx of people to the villages of their homes.<sup>3</sup> Fugitives in those months would naturally be few, and the low rate of 146/7, as opposed to the rate of 145/6 which is more than eleven times as high, would tend to support the suggestion made above that the rate of the *μερίσμος ἀνακεχωρηκότων* in any year was computed on the basis of the deficit from fugitives in the preceding year. In any case, the connexion of the low rate of 146/7 with the census seems indisputable. In the following year the rate again rose sharply.

The *μερίσμος ἀνακεχωρηκότων* is last attested in the last year of Antoninus Pius. This may again be the result of chance, but even if the tax continued into the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it probably was no longer in existence by the end of the second century. BGU II, 432 (A.D. 190), II, 6–10 preserve the beginning of what seems to be a ruling of the Prefect Tineius Demetrius in the matter of shortages in the amount of grain taken in by certain *sitologoi*; from the preceding document (II. 2–4), to which the Prefect's ruling is appended, it seems that the shortages were due to fugitives. In the third century, no doubt as a result of the 'reform' of Septimius Severus, the peasants were apparently forced to lodge a bond with the village officials against their possible flight. Thus, in P. Gen. 42 (A.D. 224), the *δημόσιοι γεωργοί* of Philadelphia pay 20 dr. each to the *presbyteroi* of the village as a surety for their remaining and completing their stipulated work.

All these repressive measures were consistent with the general policy of the Roman government in Egypt, for they were directed not at solving the problem of *ἀναχώρησις* (which had arisen in the first instance as a result of the Roman oppression), but at protecting the fisc against loss. The result of applying this policy to the problem in question might have been foreseen: the number of fugitives at large in the country increased steadily, and the problem facing the administration became steadily more acute. The occasional grants of

<sup>1</sup> For other *μερίσμοι* whose basis of assessment was not capitation, but property, cf. F. Blumenthal, *Archiv* 5, 333, n. 5; C. Préaux, *Les ostraca grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn* (New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1935), 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 68 and n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> M. Sempronius Liberalis, in A.D. 154 (not a census year, but cf. p. 68), allowed the fugitives three months in which to return: BGU II, 372, II, 16–18. This is the only case, however, where the time granted is known to us; we have no way of telling how much more or less time other Prefects may have granted.



reductions in taxes, the amnesties for fugitives—these were mere palliatives, not serious attempts to deal with the problem, and succeeded at best in delaying, but not in preventing, the economic exhaustion of the land.

There remain two documents which bear on our subject, but whose significance is insufficiently clear for them to have been incorporated in the foregoing discussion. Their possible implications should, however, be noted.

(1) PSI ix, 1043 (A.D. 103) would probably have been of prime importance for the problem of ἀναχώρησις if it were not in so sorry a state of preservation. At the end is a request for the deferment of certain tax payments (l. 21, ἐὰν φαύηται ἐπισχ(εῖν)).<sup>1</sup> In lines 12–17 we find the clause, customary in leases and proposals for leases, which specifies whether lessor or lessee is to pay the taxes<sup>2</sup> or defray the expenses<sup>3</sup> involved; we read τῶν δὲ ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσε(ς) ἡμέρας ὄντων πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πακῦσι(ν), τῶν δὲ μετὰ τῇ(ν) μίσθωσιν ταύτην ὄντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τῆς δὲ γεωργμέ(νης) δαπανῆς ἥτε σιτικῆς ἥτε ἀργυρικῆς κ(αὶ) . . . οὗσης πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

If we consider, with Wilcken,<sup>4</sup> that μίσθωσις is here a lease of land, τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) will, by analogy with other leases of land, be a tax, that is, undoubtedly, the μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) which we have been discussing. The papyrus would thus bring us at once our earliest known reference to the tax as well as the first from the Arsinoite Nome, and corroborative evidence for what we have already seen to be probable, namely, that the μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) was assessed on land. But the question arises: Why the specification τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) instead of the usual τῶν δημοσίων πάντων which covers all taxes? It hardly seems likely that the lessees of a piece of land would have asked for the deferment of the payment of just this one tax!

This difficulty disappears, however, and a more satisfactory interpretation of the document as a whole is possible, if we take μίσθωσις to signify a tax-farming contract.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the text itself points to this interpretation: ll. 7–9, κ(αὶ) παρὰ ἐκάστ[ο]ν γεωργοῦ ὑπὲρ δαπανῆς λόγον (l. -ου) πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(ης) μῶας, π[ρ]ὸς δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ μετρήσομεν . . ., show that the collection of grain from a group of cultivators is involved; and the mention of δαπανή here and in line 16 (cited above) is congruent rather with the transfer of an office than with a lease of land. The situation before us, then, is somewhat as follows: Certain persons propose to take over the collection of a tax (or taxes) in kind. They ask, however, for a postponement of the day when they must pay in their receipts—perhaps in view of the fact that they are entering upon their duties so late in the year (the papyrus is dated Παῦν δ = May 29). They agree to make good the deficits caused by flights from the day they take over the collection; the deficits up to that day are to be supplied by the former collectors. Τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκ(ότων) no longer presents the highly improbable situation which it did under the assumption that the μίσθωσις in question was a lease of land. The specification of the deficits caused by the default of fugitives, instead of a general provision covering deficits from all sources, may be merely an indication that the number of fugitives was increasing rapidly and the problem of ἀναχώρησις becoming a serious one—which would be in keeping with our previous findings for the reign of Trajan.<sup>6</sup> At all events, this interpretation of the papyrus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. introduction of the editors; Wilcken, *Archiv* 9, 82, 83; and p. 65, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of leases of land—τῶν δημοσίων πάντων [or similar expression] ὄντων πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of taking over of offices—e.g., P. Lond. II, 306 (= W., *Chr.* 263; A.D. 145: transfer of a πραετορία ἀργυρικῶν), 17–18, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπανῆς οὐσης πρὸς αὐτόν.

<sup>4</sup> *Archiv* 9, 83.

<sup>5</sup> As it does, e.g., in P. Oxy. I, 44 (= W., *Chr.* 275), 13.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 70, n. 7.

if correct, shows that as late as the year 102/3 the tax-collectors had themselves to make up the deficits from fugitives, and consequently places the institution of the *μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκώτων* between that year and 114/5, when it is first mentioned by the ostraca.

(2) *Archiv* 5, p. 177, No. 29, an ostrakon from Thebes (A.D. 146), is a receipt for a payment of 2 dr. 2 ob. for ἐνοίκιον, and of 2 ob. ἀ(πὸ) Περῆου(ς) Περβῶ(τος) ἐνοικ( ) ἀνακ( ). At present this entry remains unintelligible to me. Johnson<sup>1</sup> makes two suggestions, but since these are possible only if one accepts his interpretation of the ἐνοίκιον (as against Wilcken's),<sup>2</sup> decision on these must be reserved. A revision of the original ostrakon might result in an improved reading; in the absence of the original or a photograph thereof, it would be idle to speculate on possible emendations.

## ADDENDA

To the Bibliography: V. Martin, *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (Munich, 1934), 143-64, and *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan, 1936), 225-50.

To p. 64, n. 3: Cf. also P. Lond. Inv. 2565 (publ. in *JEA* 21 [1935], 224-47; A.D. 250), 34, 46-7, and commentary, p. 243.

To p. 67, n. 2: Even the capital of the nome, Arsinoë, suffered depopulation in the middle of the third century; cf. P. Lond. Inv. 2565, 93-4 (and 100-2).

To p. 67, n. 3 (at the beginning): Martin (*loc. cit.*, esp. 143-50) reaches a similar conclusion, as against the older view (e.g., M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 578 [Ital. ed. 351], n. 50; A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.* [p. 63 above, n. 3], VI, 246, 354, 482, cf. 545-6) that ἀναχώρησις became chronic in the second century, and that previous occurrences were due to exceptional circumstances. Martin considers, however, that, in view of the 'continuité de l'administration ptolémaïque-impériale' which regarded Egypt as a land to exploit, ἀναχώρησις, which that administrative policy engendered, was likewise a uniform phenomenon 'de Philadelphie aux Arabes'. This latter view is untenable, and Martin himself is obliged to acknowledge (p. 144) the essential difference between Ptolemaic and Roman ἀναχώρησις (for which see above, pp. 63-4).

To p. 69, n. 4: Cf., in this light, P. Lond. Inv. 2565, 35.

To p. 70, n. 5: An edict providing for such nomination was issued by the Prefect M. Petronius Mamertinus in A.D. 134/5 (P. Oslo 79).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* (p. 63 above, n. 3), 561.

<sup>2</sup> WO I, p. 192.



# AN OXYRHYNCHUS DOCUMENT ACKNOWLEDGING REPAYMENT OF A LOAN

By PHILLIP H. DE LACY

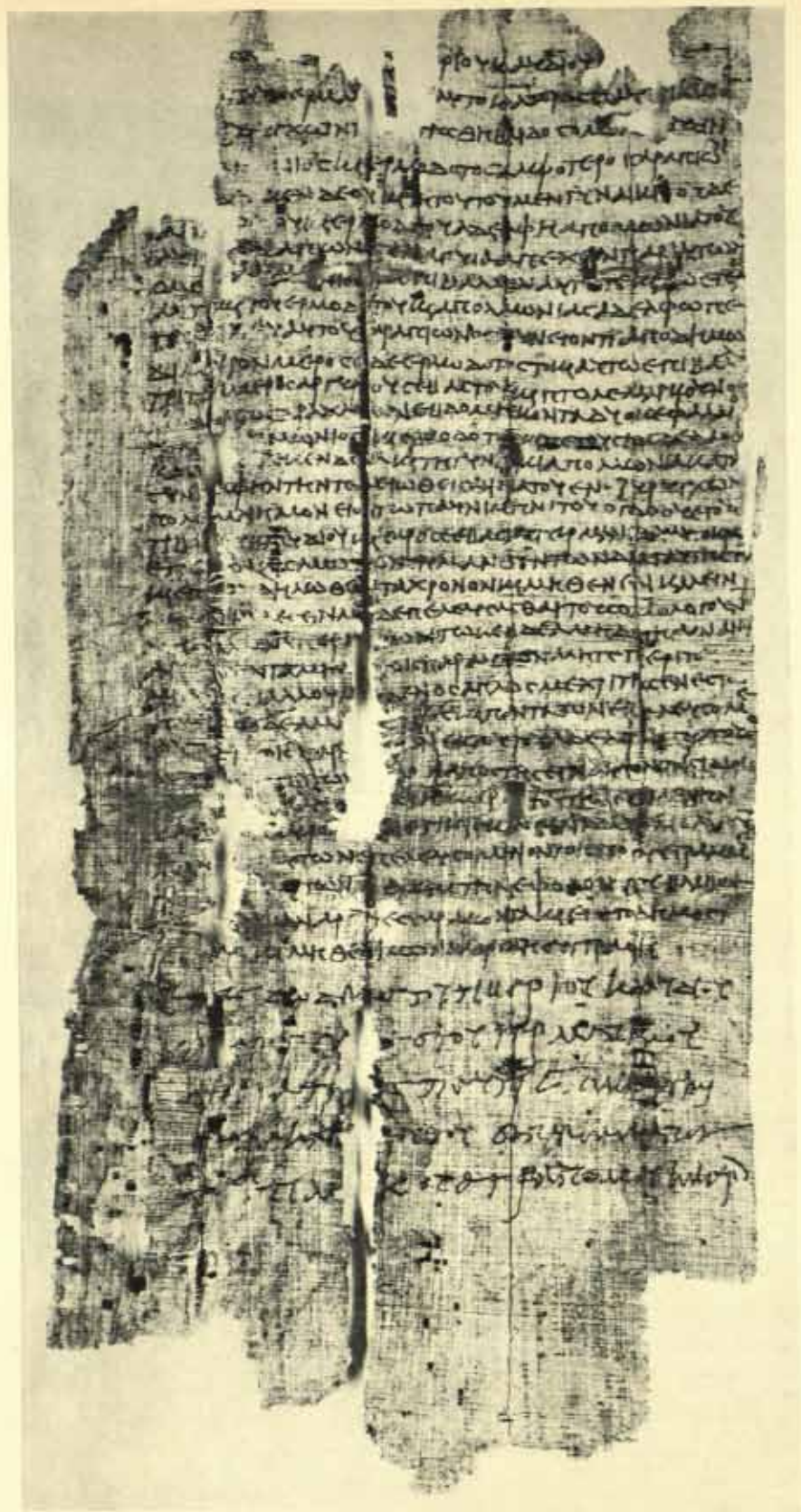
With Plate xi

THIS document,<sup>1</sup> from Oxyrhynchus, acknowledges the repayment of 72 drachmas to two brothers, Ammonius and Hermodotus. In A.D. 48 these and a third brother, Petusius, had contributed equal shares in making a loan of 72 drachmas to Kendeas and his wife Apollonia. The latter was sister to the three brothers. Four years later the loan was repaid, but as Petusius was absent Ammonius acknowledged the receipt of his share and guaranteed Kendeas and Apollonia against any claim that might be made against them on the instance of Petusius.

The loan was made for a specified period of four years. In place of interest, the creditors had the right of *habitatio* during that period of certain places designated in the original contract.

- [Ἔτον]ς δ[ωδ]εκ[άτου Τιβ]ερίου Κλαυδίου Κ[αίσαρ]ος  
[Σεβ]αστοῦ Γερμαν[ικοῦ] Αὐτοκράτορος Παινὶ ᾧ Σεβ<sup>τ</sup> (June 14, A.D. 52)  
[ἐν Ὁ]ξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαΐδος. ὁμολ[ογ]οῦσιν  
[Ἀμ]μ[ώ]νιος καὶ Ἑρμοδότος ἀμφότεροι Σαραπίων(ος)  
5 [Κεν]δέα Κενδέου καὶ τῇ τούτου μὲν γυναικί, [τ]οῦ δὲ  
Ἀμμων[ίου] καὶ Ἑρμοδότου ἀδελφῇ Ἀπολλωνία, τοῦ  
αὐτ[οῦ] Σαραπίωνος, ἐν ἀγνῷ, ἀπέχε[ι]ν παρ' αὐτῶν  
ὁ μ[έ]ν Ἀμμώνιος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτ[ῷ] τε καὶ [τ]ῷ ἑτέρῳ  
αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοδότου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας ἀδελφῶ Πε-  
10 τούσ[ι]ν τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Σ]αραπίωνος, νυνεὶ ὄντι ἀποδήμω,  
δίμοιρον μέρος· ὁ δὲ Ἑρμοδότος τὸ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιβάλλ(ον)  
τρίτ[ο]ν μέρος ἀργυρ[ίου] Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαικοῦ νο-  
μίσματος δραχμῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο κεφαλαί(ο)  
δαρε[ίου] ὁ (?) Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἑρμοδότος[ς] καὶ Πετούσιος δεδανεί-  
15 κασι τ[ῷ] τε Κενδέα καὶ τῇ γυνα[ικί] Ἀπολλωνία κατὰ  
συνγ[ρ]αφὴν τὴν τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων  
πόλει μνημονείου τῷ Παινὶ μηνὶ τοῦ ὀγδόου ἔτους (May-June, A.D. 48)  
Τιβ[ερ]ίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)  
ἐπ' ἐ[ν] οικισμῷ τῶν σημανθέντων διὰ ταύτης τ[ῆς] συγγραφῆς  
20 καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] τὸν δηλωθέντα χρόνον· καὶ μηθὲν ἐνκαλεῖν  
μηδ' ἐνκαλέσθαι μηδ' ἐπελεύσασθαι τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντ(ας)  
μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτ[ῶν] τῷ Κενδέα μηδὲ τῇ γυναικί  
Ἀπολλωνία μηδ[ὲ] τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν μήτε περὶ τοῦ[το]ν  
μηδὲ περ[ὶ] ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσ(ης)

<sup>1</sup> Papyrus No. 7741 of the Garrett Deposit Collection, Princeton. It measures about 14.5 by 32 cm., and is almost complete. It was folded lengthwise four times, and a few letters have been lost at the folds. In a few places the surface of the papyrus has peeled off. Ll. 1-33 are written in a semi-uncial script, ll. 34-8 in a cursive script.



Papyrus No. 7741, Garrett Deposit Collection, Princeton





- 25 *ἡμέρας, ὁ δὲ Ἀμμ[ώ]νιος καὶ πάντα τὸν ἐπελευσόμε(νον)*  
*αὐτο[ί]ς ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτ[ῶν] ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πετουσίου(ν) .*  
*[ . . . . . ] τούτων [χ]άρ[ι]ν ἀποστήσειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις*  
*αὐ[τοῦ] δ[α]π[αν]ή[μα]σι, ἢ χωρ[ί]ς τοῦ τῇ[ν] ἐσομένην*  
*ἔφοδ[ον] αἰκυρον [εἶν]αι ἔτι καὶ ἐκτίνῃ τ[οὺς] ὁμολογοῦντ[ας]*
- 30 *ἢ τὸν [ὑπέρ] αὐτῶν ἐπελευσόμενον τοῖς προγεγραμμέ(νοις)*  
*ἢ [τοῖς παρ' α]ὐτῶν [κα]θ' ἐκάστην ἔφοδον τό τε βλάβος*  
*[καὶ ἐπίτ]ειμον ἀργ(υρίου) [(δραχμὰς)] τεσσαράκοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιο(ν)*  
*[τά]ς [ἴσ]ας, καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν κυρία ἢ συγγραφή.*  
*(2nd hand) Ἔτους δωδε[κ]άτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου*
- 35 *Κα[ί]σ[α]ρος Σε[β]αστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ*  
*[Α]ντοκράτορ[ος] Πανι ἡ Σεβ[ασ]τ[ῆ]ς . . . ]ν καὶ*  
*[δε]ὰ Ἡρακλεῖ[δ]ου τοῦ συνεσταμένου*  
*ὑπ[ὲρ] Ἐπιμ[ά]χου ἀγορανόμου κεκχρημάτισται.*

'The twelfth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus Augustus Imperator, Pauni 20 Sebaste (?), at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Ammonius and Hermodotus, both sons of Sarapion, acknowledge to Kendeas the son of Kendeas and to Apollonia, who is the wife of Kendeas, the sister of Ammonius and Hermodotus, and the daughter of the same Sarapion, the contract being drawn up in the street, that they have received from them (as follows): Ammonius has received the part falling to him and to the other brother of himself and Hermodotus and Apollonia, Petusius, son of the same Sarapion, who is now away, two thirds of all; Hermodotus has also received the third part falling to him of the capital sum of 72 drachmas of silver of Imperial and Ptolemaic coinage, the loan which Ammonius and Hermodotus and Petusius made to Kendeas and his wife Apollonia in accordance with a contract drawn up through the record office at Oxyrhynchus in the month Pauni of the eighth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator with the right of *habitatio* of the places designated in that contract, and for the stated time, and neither those who are making this acknowledgement nor any one on their behalf make or will make any claim or will proceed against Kendeas or his wife Apollonia or their agents either about this matter or about any other matter whatever up to the present day; and Ammonius also undertakes that he will at his own expense repel any person who will proceed against them or their agents on the [instance (?)] of his brother Petusius, on account of these matters: otherwise, not only shall any future claims be invalid, but also those who make this acknowledgement or the person proceeding on their behalf shall pay to the aforesaid persons or their agents for every claim the damages and a fine of 40 drachmas of silver, and to the State an equal amount, and this contract shall be none the less valid. The twelfth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Pauni 20. . . . The transaction was made through Heraclides, appointed by Epimachus the agoranomos.'

In the interpretation of this document I am very much indebted to the criticisms of Prof. A. C. Johnson. I also wish to acknowledge several valuable suggestions which Dr. H. I. Bell and Mr. T. C. Skeat have very kindly offered.

For the most part, this receipt follows the usual formulae. The closest parallel is P. Oxy. 1282, where, as here, a loan was made through the record-office and repaid through the agoranomos.<sup>1</sup> The most significant point in the receipt is the provision that the share of the absent Petusius be paid to Ammonius. Apparently Ammonius was expected to make a settlement with Petusius on his return, for there is no indication that Petusius forfeited by his absence his share in the loan. Ammonius is probably acting as an unofficial agent of Petusius. It is evident that he is not a regularly appointed agent, since he receives the money

<sup>1</sup> This circumstance may provide additional evidence for the contention of Dr. Bell that in some cases at least the ἀγορανομῆς and the μνημονεύς are identical; see *Notes from Papyri in the British Museum in Archiv* 6 (1920), No. 2. The ἀγορανομῆς τὸ καὶ μνημονεύς, pp. 104-7.



in his own name with the guarantee that he will answer any claim Petusius might make against Kendeas and Apollonia on account of this matter. Cf. Leopold Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1906, pp. 172, 186 ff., 193 ff. Wenger does not cite any papyrus that involves a situation of this kind.

It is also noteworthy that the loan is made jointly by three creditors. Loans with more than one creditor are very uncommon, and when they do occur the creditors are often members of the same family.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes two heirs appear as joint creditors of a loan they have inherited.<sup>2</sup> In P. Oxy. 272 and possibly in PSI 700 the joint creditors are not of the same family. In none of these cases is it indicated that one of the creditors might collect on the part of another.

#### TEXTUAL NOTES

L. 2. Παννὶ ᾧ Σεβ<sup>τ</sup>. Cf. l. 36, Παννὶ ᾧ Σεβ<sup>τ</sup>[. . .]ν κατ. The date in l. 2 looks like κε rather than κ, but in l. 36 κ is quite plain, and from this it seems probable that κ was intended in l. 2. The name of the day is likewise obscure. In l. 2 the abbreviation Σεβ<sup>τ</sup> would naturally be read Σεβαστῇ, yet in l. 36 the reading Σεβαστῇ is impossible. The date in l. 36 could easily be read Παννὶ ᾧ Σεβ[αστο]ῦ Καί(σαρος), though I have found no other example of a day being designated in that way. In spite of these uncertainties it is perhaps safe to infer from this papyrus that Pauni 20 was probably one of the ἡμέραι Σεβασταί in the reign of Claudius. Such an inference would be quite in harmony with what we know of the ἡμέραι Σεβασταί. The following list includes 46 passages referring to ἡμέραι Σεβασταί, of which 24 are from the lists of F. Hohmann (*Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden*, Greifswald, 1911) and F. Blumenthal (*Der ägyptische Kaiserkult in Archiv* 5, 317-45).

#### A. ἡμέραι Σεβασταί in the reign of Claudius:

- Hathyr 20, A.D. 41. P. Oxy. 325.
- Pharmuthi 8, A.D. 42. OGIS 663.
- Thoth 17 or 27, A.D. 44. Bericht. II (1931-33) on WO 1383.
- Tybi 27, A.D. 44. (formerly wrongly assigned to A.D. 18). P. Lond. 1168.
- Epiph 21, A.D. 44. P. Oxy. 1447.
- Phaophi 8, A.D. 45. P. Mich. 123 rt. iv, 30.
- Phaophi 15, A.D. 45. P. Mich. 123 rt. v, 6.
- Phaophi 20, A.D. 45. P. Mich. 123 rt. v, 23.
- Hathyr 8, A.D. 45. P. Mich. 123 rt. vi, 26.
- Hathyr 20, A.D. 45. P. Mich. 123 vs. xi, 9.
- Mesore 15 (Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ), A.D. 45. P. Oxy. 283.
- Pauni 2, A.D. 46. P. Mich. 123 vs. vi, 18.
- Epiph 8, A.D. 46. P. Mich. 123 rt. xviii, 21.
- Mesore 2, A.D. 46. P. Mich. 123 vs. vii, 12.
- Mesore 27, A.D. 46. P. Mich. 123 vs. viii, 22.
- Tybi 11 or 21 (?), A.D. 49. P. Tebt. 464 = P. Milanesi, p. 50.
- Mecheir 17, A.D. 49. *Class. Phil.* 30, 142.
- Pharmuthi 29, A.D. 52. P. Oxy. 39 = 317.
- Mesore 15, A.D. 54. P. Oxy. 264.

#### B. ἡμέραι Σεβασταί before the reign of Claudius:

- Thoth 9, Augustus, A.D. 1. OGIS 659.
- Pauni 21 (?), Tiberius, A.D. 23. P. Oxy. 288.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Amh. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Lips. 9, BGU 1169.

- Pachon 27, Caligula, A.D. 37. P. Oxy. 267.  
 Pauni 2, Caligula, A.D. 38. P. Ryl. 144.  
 Thoth 3, Caligula, A.D. 39. P. Ryl. 167.  
 Soter 20 (Soter = Phaophi, Tait, *Ostr.*, p. 118), Caligula, A.D. 40. P. Ryl. 151.  
 Hathyr 6, Caligula, A.D. 40. P. Ryl. 230.

C. *Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* after the reign of Claudius:

- Choiak 27, Nero, A.D. 54. BGU VII, 1599.  
 Pauni 20, Nero, A.D. 56. P. Oxy. 310.  
 Pachon 18, Nero, A.D. 57. P. Oxy. 269.  
 Thoth (perhaps Hathyr) 15, Nero, A.D. 59. *Archiv* 2, 433.  
 Mecheir 27, Nero, A.D. 61. P. Oxy. 262.  
 Pachon 29, Nero, A.D. 66 and 67. P. Oxy. 289.  
 Phamenoth 29, Nero, A.D. 66. P. Oxy. 289.  
 Phaophi 1 (*Ἰουλία Σεβαστή*), Galba, A.D. 68. OGIS 669.  
 Phaophi 4, Vespasian, A.D. 73. P. Oxy. 289.  
 Pharmuthi 27, Vespasian, A.D. 73. P. Oxy. 289.  
 Thoth 8, Vespasian, A.D. 77. P. Oxy. 276.  
 Pharmuthi 8, Vespasian, A.D. 79. BGU 981.  
 Pharmuthi 20, Vespasian, A.D. 79. BGU 981.  
 Epagomenai 6, Titus, A.D. 79. P. Oxy. 380.  
 Epagomenai 6, Domitian, A.D. 91 (?). P. Oxy. 722.  
 Tybi 8, Domitian, A.D. 95. SB 7599 = *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), 456.  
 Mecheir 4, Trajan, A.D. 100. P. Oxy. 46.  
 Thoth 21, Trajan, A.D. 108. P. Ryl. 202 (a).  
 Epagomenai 4, Trajan, A.D. 117. P. Oxy. 489.  
 Mecheir 16, Hadrian, A.D. 129. PSI 40.

This list indicates that Pauni 20 was *Σεβαστή* under Nero, and that the twentieth of other months was *Σεβαστή* under Caligula and Claudius. It has been conjectured (F. Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, 340; A. Boak, *Mich. Pap.* II, 103—yet cf. P. Ryl. 144, note) that the twentieth of every month was celebrated in honour of Tiberius' birthday (Nov. 16 = Hathyr 20); and if this is correct, we would expect Pauni 20 to be *Σεβαστή* under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, as well as under Nero.

L. 5. *Κενδέας* and ll. 9–10 *Πετούσιος* are names not otherwise known in precisely these forms. Cf., however, *Κέντις*, and *Πετύσιος*, *Πετόσιος*, *Πετύσις*.

L. 14. *ἔαρε[ίου ὁ (?) Ἀ]μυώνιος*. The traces of ink at the beginning of this line are very faint. The suggested reading is not entirely satisfactory, as it is not a usual formula, and the restoration must be crowded to fit into the available space. Mr. Skeat has proposed the very attractive reading *ἀνθ' ὧν*; yet the remaining traces of ink do not seem to indicate that the line began with α. A third possibility is perhaps *κοιν[οῦ ἀς Ἀ]μυώνιος*. Cf. *κοινός*, used of a loan made by three creditors in P. Oxy. 272: *τῆς ὀφειλῆς οὐσης τῶ[ν τ]ριῶν κοινῆς*.

L. 19. *ἐ[ν]οικισμῶ*. This term undoubtedly means that in place of interest the creditors received the right of *habitatio* of certain buildings designated in the original contract. This would explain why no interest is mentioned in l. 13. No other receipts are known which mention *ἐνοικισμός*, yet it occurs in contracts of loan. See A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, p. 262–3.

*ταύτης τῆς συγγραφῆς*. Some such expansion is obviously called for.

Ll. 26–7. *ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πετουσίου(ν) | [.....]*. Dr. Bell has suggested the reading



ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πετουσίου [(e.g.) μέρους] in preference to the awkward reading ἐκ τούτου ἀδελφοῦ. His analysis seems very probable, though the particular restoration [μέρους] is questionable. μέρους would not quite fill the lacuna. Furthermore, there are some faint traces of ink at the beginning of l. 27; and though they do not clearly resemble any of the letter-forms appearing in the rest of the document, yet the first letter seems to have a horizontal bar at the base. If that is so, it could not be μ. In regard to meaning also, μέρους is not quite appropriate. In the context of this receipt it would properly refer to Petusius' share of the loan, but in that case the following τούτων[χ]άρ[ι]ν would be redundant. The translation of the phrase ἐκ μέρους as 'on the instance of' or 'on the part of' seems slightly forced.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a better restoration could be found, though none has occurred to me. The infinitive ἀποστήσειν, Dr. Bell has pointed out, depends on ὁμολ[ογ]οῦσιν in l. 3.

L. 30. τὸν [ὑπέρ] αὐτῶν. I restore ὑπέρ by analogy with P. Oxy. 1282, 36-8: ἔτι καὶ ἐκτίνειν Θνᾶν ἢ τὸν ὑπέρ αὐτῆς ἐπελευσόμενον. Mr. Skeat has suggested τὸν [παρ'] αὐτῶν, a reading which also occurs in formulae of this kind, e.g. P. Oxy. 271.

L. 32. [(δραχμᾶς)]. δραχμᾶς was probably represented by a symbol which has been lost in the break of the papyrus between ἀργ[υρίου] and τεσσαράκοντα. Cf. P. Oxy. 1282, 40.

L. 33. Understand ἔστω after κυρία. ἔστω is sometimes included and sometimes omitted. The omission is probably intentional here, since it also occurs in the exactly similar formula of P. Oxy. 1282.

L. 37. Ἡρακλεῖ[δ]ου. This restoration was made by Mr. Skeat. συνεσταμένον—'appointed'; cf. P. Oxy. 320: δι' Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ πρὶν κεχρη(ματικότης) Σεκοῦνθου τοῦ συνεσταμένου ὑπὸ τῶν μετόχων ἀγο(ρανομίας) κεχρη(μάτισται). Cf. also P. Oxy. 243, 269, &c.

L. 38. κεχρη(μάτισται). The strengthening of χ to κχ occurs elsewhere in papyri; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1906-34, vol. 1, pp. 168-9.

<sup>1</sup> [On the part of', which was the sense intended in making the restoration, seems a legitimate extension of the use of μέρος as 'Vertragspartei' (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. μέρος, 2 c.) The palaeographical objections are, however, conclusive. H. I. B.]

## ADOLF ERMAN, 1854-1937

On June 26th, after many months of failing health, Adolf Erman's long life came to an end. Mental alertness was his almost to the last and it is but a year ago that, being already past eighty and almost totally blind, he produced a book (*Die Welt am Nil*) of which any man in the prime of life might be proud. Such an achievement was, of course, made possible only by the help of others, above all of his wife, his untiring reader and scribe, ever since blindness had begun to incapacitate him.

Erman, though a born and bred Berliner, was of Swiss descent, his family—originally named Ermatinger—having migrated from Geneva early in the 18th century. Two generations of them had been conspicuously identified with the newly founded University, and though no very diligent schoolboy, Adolf had even then begun to take a lively interest in those studies which were eventually to bring him too to a professorial chair. In his young days Egyptology was scarcely a serious pursuit in Germany, but at Leipzig Georg Ebers was officially teaching the subject and to him Erman went; though what he learned from teachers was little in comparison with what he taught himself. The first published result of his studies was an article, announcing a not unimportant grammatical discovery, in the *Egyptian Zeitschrift* of 1875, and during the following sixty years not one passed unmarked by some notable book or article—almost 300 in all, exclusive of reviews—from his pen.

Although in those days the whole science of Egyptology still lay within one man's capacity and though Erman in time was to set his mark upon every branch of the subject, it was always by the problems of language that he was most attracted and it is as a philologist no doubt that he will be remembered. Those of us who recall the conditions ruling in pre-Erman days—vagueness in the grammars, chaos in the dictionaries—cannot overestimate the revolutionary effect of his work. (Compare, as an example, the chapter on the verb in Le Page Renouf's *Grammar* with the views prevalent to-day.) The most notable of Erman's investigations, that which gave a new orientation to the entire subject, was his demonstration of a primitive relationship between Egyptian and the Semitic languages. His predecessors had often recognized identity between individual roots; it was left to Erman to work out a systematic comparison, not alone in the vocabularies, but also in significant features of morphology and grammar. Further, it is to Erman that we owe the first division of the language into 'Old' and 'Late' Egyptian, with the resultant possibility of tracing a linguistic genealogy such as had not previously been contemplated. To all the three periods (Old, Middle, and Late) into which Egyptian is at present divided Erman gave his attention, starting with the latest (*Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 1880), followed then by a grammar based upon a newly unearthed Middle-Egyptian text (*Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, 1889) and, five years later, by his epoch-making *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 1894. New editions of the first and last have made them practically new books, but from their first appearance may truly be dated the beginnings of a scientific knowledge of the language. Nor was the latest of its phases neglected; indeed, Erman was the first to insist on an adequate knowledge of Coptic as an essential preliminary to the study of hieroglyphics. The crown of his philological work was the great dictionary which he planned and organized and which, thanks to the collaboration of a number of his pupils, he lived to see carried through to the completion of its first phase. Together with the grammars, the *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen*



*Sprache* forms a monument of philological learning and acumen such as it has been given to few scholars to leave to the world.

'The Berlin School', in other words Erman and those whom his teaching was attracting, remained for some time well-nigh a term of reproach; the new doctrines found sympathy at first only in a few quarters. They steadily gained ground, however, and to-day no more is heard of the views which, until Erman's advent, were current among scholars. In 1881 he began to teach at the University and he continued to do so until 1923. It may be said that all contemporary Egyptologists are, either immediately or indirectly, his disciples. His first two pupils, U. Wilcken and G. Steindorff, are themselves professors *emeritus* to-day. The next group, which I joined in 1889, consisted of L. Borchardt, G. Jéquier, H. O. Lange, H. Schäfer, C. Schmidt, K. Sethe, W. Spiegelberg and B. Turaieff. Erman was then lecturing on all branches of Egyptology: on grammar, elementary and advanced, on literature, from Pyramid Texts to Abbott Papyrus, as well as on Coptic—attention had begun, thanks to his initiative, to concentrate on Sa'idic, rather to the neglect perhaps of the traditionally more favoured Bohairic. Some classes were at the University, others he held at his house and, in summer, at a very early hour. Besides work at the University, Erman regularly held archaeological *Uebungen* at the Museum, where in 1884 he had become Keeper of the Egyptian (and Assyrian) department. He was, I should say, an inspiring teacher: enthusiastic, full of ideas and eagerly adopting promising suggestions from his hearers. He had the capacity of encouraging the timid beginner—and among us was at least one veritable tiro—and, so far as my recollection goes, no pupil of his who once got a footing in the subject but continued to pursue it and eventually to make a position for himself. In his pupils he took a paternal interest and with most of them maintained an intimate and undeviating friendship throughout life.

Erman was by no means a mere *Stubengelehrte*; his interest in all that concerned Egypt and its civilization was of the liveliest. No one who reads his fascinating description of the ancient people and their life (*Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, 1885, 2nd ed. 1923), or his autobiography (*Mein Werden und mein Wirken*, 1929), can doubt that, had not the language been his first concern, he might well have made a name as a writer in other fields.

'Out of school' he was a delightful companion, with a healthy sense of humour and never happier than on a long walk. To children he was devoted and I can recall his appreciation of the visits of Professor Naville, with whom he had this trait in common. A few years ago, on the appearance of A. A. Milne's *When We Were Very Young*, he wrote enthusiastically about it and wanted to know if a German translation could not be arranged for. There was, indeed, in his own nature, beside that vein of irony and *malice* which can be traced in his books, a very attractive simplicity, making him happy with all simple things. To his own family circle the War dealt a heavy blow: his eldest son fell in the Battle of the Somme and thenceforth a shadow lay on Erman's life which he never wholly threw off. Other events, too, contributed to cloud his latter years. By tradition and upbringing a convinced conservative, how should he appreciate the new order in a world which pays but small heed to any of the interests that had been his for half a century?

To the end of life his powerful memory held good and what was there stored of German and Latin literature stood him in good stead during those final months of enforced inactivity. The last words he was heard to speak were some lines of Horace, which he repeated only a few days before his death.

W. E. CRUM.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

## PART I: PAPYROLOGY (1936)

The work is divided as follows:

- § 1. Literary Texts. E. A. BARNER, Exeter College, Oxford.
- § 2. Religion, Magic, Astrology (including texts). H. J. ROSE, St. Andrews University, Fife, Scotland.
- § 3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts. T. C. SKEAT, Dept. of MSS., British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- § 4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, and Chronology. E. G. TURNER, King's College, Aberdeen, Scotland.
- § 5. Social Life, Education, Art, Economic History, Numismatics, and Metrology. J. G. MILNE, 23 Bel-syre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- § 6. Law. H. F. JOLOWICZ, University College, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.
- § 7. Palaeography and Diplomatic. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 8. Lexicography and Grammar. The late R. MCKENZIE.
- § 9. General Works, Bibliography, General Notes on Papyrus Texts. T. C. SKEAT.
- § 10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal. T. C. SKEAT.

The authors wish jointly to express their gratitude to all those scholars who have sent them copies of their publications, a kindness which has greatly facilitated the work of compilation.

The abbreviations used in this Bibliography will be found among those given on pp. 142-4 below.

### 1. Literary Texts

#### A. GENERAL

The most interesting additions to literary texts are contained in *Ét. de Pap.* 3 (1936), 46-92, where N. LEWIS has published eight literary papyri from the Strasbourg collection. The most noteworthy are no. 1 (3rd cent. B.C.), a prose synopsis of Iliad vi with a quotation of ll. 448-55, and no. 5, a collection of lyrics from the *Phoenissae*, the *Medea*, and the *Melanippe Desmotis* (?) of Euripides. The latter papyrus (assigned by LEWIS to the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.) was partially published by CRONERT in 1922. Of the remainder nos. 2-4 contain Homeric fragments; no. 6 a declamation against Alcibiades; no. 7 a mythological and no. 8 a medical fragment. The volume has been reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 202.

*Papyri Osloenses*, fasc. III (1936), edited by EITREM and AMUNDSEN, includes twelve literary or sub-literary papyri. Nos. 65-70 contain fragments of the Iliad; of these no. 68 (1st cent. B.C.), giving ll. iii. 458-iv. 1, is interesting as being perhaps the latest example of absence of division between books of Homer. No. 71 (1st-2nd cent. A.D.) contains Isocrates, *Paneg.* 1-54 (with lacunae). The text is eclectic, the new variants unimportant. Nos. 72-6 deal with medicine, astronomy, astrology, and magic.

In *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1936) J. E. POWELL has published a very mixed batch. Of the two larger 'New Classical Fragments' no. 1 has since been identified as Musonius Rufus in Stobaeus iv. 24 (Wachsmuth-Hense, pp. 606-7); the papyrus goes farther than Stobaeus' quotation. No. 2 is from a rhetorical treatise and deals with ἀπόφασις and κατάφασις. Nos. 3-11 contain smaller new fragments in verse, and nos. 12-16, 18-22 similar fragments in prose. No. 17 was found to come from Demosthenes, *In Meid.* Nos. 23-35 are too scanty for classification. Nos. 36-45 come from extant authors, viz., 36 (2nd cent. B.C.) from Iliad xii; 37, Iliad xv; 38 (2nd cent. A.D.), Euripides, *Medea* (interesting text of good quality); 39, Euripides, *Andromache*; 40, Herodotus viii; 41, Thucydides i; 42, Plato, *Laws* vii; 43, Demosthenes, *Fourth Philippic* (the first papyrus to contain this speech); 44 and 45 Demosthenes, *De Corona*. Finally nos. 113-22 and 123-4 contain minor fragments from the Iliad and Odyssey respectively.

I have not seen J. MANTEUFFEL's article 'Papyrus i ostraka warszawskie' in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, 1935, 42-5, nor his contribution to *Munera philologica Ludovico Cwiklinski oblata* (Poznaniae, 1936), 145-54, entitled *Wykazy Księżek w papyrusach*.



## B. EPIC, ELEGIAC, AND MIME

The Commentary to an epic poem of Antimachus published by VOGLIANO in Vol. I of the *Papiri Milanesi* (1935) has been re-edited by B. WYSS in his important book *Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1936). Wyss has included the latest discoveries of VOGLIANO and the suggestions of various other scholars and added a photograph of the papyrus. In *Hermes* 71 (1936), 240, K. DEICHGRÄBER has successfully restored Antimachus, Fr. 174 Wyss, by reading  $O[\pi\mu] \tau' \delta\beta\rho\mu[\sigma] \tau\sigma\zeta\eta\nu$ .

Several scholars have elucidated points in Callimachus' *Diegeseis*, e.g. E. ORTH in *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 221-4, would read  $\pi\rho\acute{o}s \alpha\lambda\sigma\alpha\nu$  = 'berechtigterweise' in col. 8, 7; A. VON BLUMENTHAL in *Philologus* 91 (1936), 115-16, reading  $\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma \eta\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\iota\eta\theta\sigma(\epsilon)$  in col. 3, 34, interprets 'removed the forefeet', and for 'Αλώιος hazards' *Ἀλλώδιος* (cf. Dion. Hal. *Antiq.* 1. 71. 3) or *ἄλωιος*; the same writer in *Hermes* 71 (1936), 458 finds an example of haplogy in *ἀγαλατομυχῆς* (col. 4, 23); O. KEHN in *Archiv* 12 (1936), 65-6, discusses the *μυστικός λόγος* in col. 8, 33; finally in *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 711-12, E. KALINKA reviews PFEIFFER's monograph. In *Hermes* 71 (1936), 472-3, E. DIEHL has identified Callimachus, Fr. 317, emended to *ἀλκαίαις ἀφύσαντες*, as lurking in one of the *Aetia* fragments (Pap. C. fr. 1, 23) published by VITELLI in 1934. R. HERZOG, *ibid.* 344-6, prefers  $\delta[\tau'] \phi[\iota\epsilon\epsilon]$  to  $\delta[\tau'] \theta[\rho\epsilon\epsilon]$  in l. 45 of the *Coma* fragment, and suggests  $[\epsilon\theta'] \iota\alpha$   $\mu\eta$  or  $[\epsilon\theta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon] \mu\eta$  in l. 59, reading *inde Venus* in Catullus. T. THOMANN has written as a dissertation (Tübingen, 1934) a *Versuch über das Dichterische des Kallimachos*, and in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 449-59, H. HERTER has reviewed E. CAHEN's study of Callimachus and edition of the *Hymns*, as well as J. LOEB's translation of COUAT's book on Alexandrian Poetry. Theocritus, *Id.* 2, has been edited by LAVAGNINI (Palermo, 1935). In *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 1183, W. BESCHEWLIERW interprets  $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega\nu \tau\iota$  in Herondas, i. 8 literally and refers to Bulgarian parallels for such action after long absence.

## C. LYRIC

Vol. I of DIEHL's *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* is now complete in the second edition. In *Mnemosyne* 3 (1936), 241-61, B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, writing in English, tries to interpret Aleman's *Partheneion* with a minimum of restoration. H. J. M. MILNE in *Hermes* 71 (1936), 126-8, and O. SCHROEDER in *Philologus* 91 (1936), 246-7, both write about Sappho's *Φαίveraί μοι*, the former arguing for the existence of a fifth stanza. In *Hermes* 71 (1936), 363-73, W. SCHADEWALDT discusses Sappho, Fr. 95 Diehl. In *Hermes* 71 (1936), 124-6, B. SNELL reports new readings and suggestions in Bacchylides, based on a re-examination of the papyrus. His edition of Bacchylides has been reviewed by D. M. ROBINSON in *Cl. Phil.* 31 (1936), 268-70.

## D. DRAMA

C. E. FRITSCH has collected new fragments of Aeschylus and Sophocles in a dissertation (Hamburg, 1936). W. SCHADEWALDT in *Hermes* 71 (1936), 25-69, re-edits the *Myrmidons* fragment with *app. crit.*, commentary, and essays on various points. L. A. STELLA in *Rendiconti del. R. Ist. Lombardo*, 69 (1936), 1-10, disputes the Aeschylean authorship of the fragment. In *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 508-11, R. GOOSSENS emends the *Glaukos Potnieus* fragment, and *ibid.*, 139-50 and 511-15, offers first and second thoughts on the *Telephus* prologue. In the later article he makes a palmary emendation of ll. 9-10, viz.,  $\epsilon\theta' \epsilon(\acute{\upsilon})\rho\acute{\omega}\nu \epsilon\mu\eta\nu \mid \mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$ , cf. Diod. Sic. 4, 33. The same scholar *ibid.*, 516, completes  $\pi\alpha$  in Eupolis, *Προσπάλιος* (PSI 1213), 13, to  $\pi\acute{\alpha}[\sigma\eta \tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta]$ , cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1235. In *Philologus* 91 (1936), 114-15, E. WUEST writes about the meaning of *διαστρέφειν* in Eupolis' *Demoi*. A. W. GOMME in *Cl. Quart.* 30 (1936), 64-72 and 193, discusses passages of the *Epitrepontes* and *Perikeiromene* and the plot of the *Samia*. G. RAMBELLI in *St. Ital.* 13 (1936), 130-60, analyses two scenes (i. 5; iii. 3) from Terence's *Andria* with reference to the Greek original. K. KLAUS (*Klass.-Philol. Studien* 8: Leipzig, 1936) has written on the adjectives in Menander, and in *Hermes* 71 (1936), 320-37 A. THIERFELDER discusses the motives of New Comedy. Finally W. E. J. KUIPER (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 38, no. 2, 1936*) discusses the adaptation of six plays of Menander by Plautus and Terence.

## E. PHILOSOPHY, ORATORY, ROMANCE

In *Yale Classical Studies* 5 (1935), 57-92, D. E. V. WORMELL has written an important study of *The Literary Tradition concerning Hermias of Atarneus* in connexion with the Didymus commentary on Demosthenes.

B. HASLER has published a dissertation (Berlin, 1935) on Favorinus, *Περὶ φυγῆς*, and in *Museum* 43 (1936), 139-41, A. G. ROOS has reviewed WIFSTRAND's work (in *EIKOTA*, Lund, 1932) on this author and Plutarch.



The article of DE SANCTIS in *Riv. di fil.* 14 (1936), 134-52, 253-73, *Atene dopo Ippso e un papiro fiorentino* is concerned with the fragments of a political speech published by A. PEROSA in *St. it. fil. class.* 12 (1935), 95 ff.

ZIMMERMANN has published three articles dealing with Romance. *Eine Vermutung zum Chione-Roman* in *Hermes* 71 (1936), 236-40, contains a text of col. 3 with commentary; *Die Apista des Antonios Diogenes im Lichte des neuen Fundes*, *ibid.*, 312-19, justifies his published text; *Ein Bruchstück aus einem historischen Roman* (P. Oxy. 1826) in *Rh. Mus.* 85 (1936), 165-76, contains a new text, to which HUNT and ROBERTS have contributed, and commentary.

#### F. MISCELLANEOUS

The Antinoë fragment of Juvenal (7, 149-98) has been published with two plates by C. H. ROBERTS in *JEA* 21 (1935), 199-209.

In *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 429-39, P. COLLART studies the six epigrams contained in P. Heidelberg 1271 verso (cf. Crusius in *Mél. Nicole*, 615-24) and pronounces the author a 'Nonnien fervent'. In *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 12 (1936), 1-11, R. KRYDELL emends Nonnus, Dionysius' *Bassarika* and *Gigantias* (Brit. Mus. Pap. 273), and other late epic fragments. In *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 10 (1933), 341-5, the same scholar edits some twenty lines from an iambic letter of Dioskoros of Aphroditos.

Finally attention may be called here to H. HERTER's report in *Bursian* 255 (1937), 65-217, on the literature relating to Hellenistic Poetry published in the years 1921-35. Callimachus not unnaturally claims a lion's share of the article, and HERTER has accomplished his task with characteristic thoroughness.

## 2. Religion, Magic, Astrology

### A. GENERAL

No one interested in Egyptology or ancient religion should neglect the second edition (Oxford University Press, 1936; St. Andrews Univ. Publications, XXXIX) of (SIR) D'ARCY W. THOMPSON's *Glossary of Greek Birds*. Though professedly ornithological, it continually touches on theories, old and new, of mythological and religious importance and contains not a little Egyptian material, e.g., in the articles *IBIS*, *PHOENIX*. It is the more to be regretted that it is damaged by a number of serious misprints. W. F. J. KNIGHT, in a highly ingenious work, *Cumaeum Gates* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1936), uses Egyptian evidence amongst other in support of what seems to me a hazardous theory. Some articles bearing on the subject in general are that of K. KERÉNYI in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan, 1936), 27-37, *Die Papyri und das Wesen der alexandrinischen Kultur*, a short but penetrating analysis of the different attitudes towards book-learning in antiquity; that of W. TELFER, *The Cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus* in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29 (1936), 225-344, which does not indeed treat of an Egyptian subject but shows such mastery of the methodology of hagiography that it may serve as a model to any who try to disentangle fact and legend in the histories of the Egyptian saints; finally the long and elaborate review by H. KEES in *GGA* 198 (1936), 329-39, of SETHE's posthumous edition of the Pyramid texts and some other works on Egypt takes occasion to say some interesting things about SETHE's methods.

### B. CULTS OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN EPOCH

A. PARROT begins, in *Rev. hist. rel.* 112 (1936), 149-87, an elaborate study of the idea of *refrigerium*. While fully admitting the close connexion of such formulae as *τὸ ψυχρὸν ἔδωκε* with Egypt, he believes it can be traced yet farther, into Babylonia. M. SIMON, *ibid.*, 188-206, uses Egyptian material for part of his research into the pagan and Christian uses of the formula *θάπτει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος*. Two or three reminders are given that the term 'syncretism' is not to be used too freely, nor identifications of gods, Egyptian and other, assumed without proof, especially in non-philosophical circles. Thus, T. A. BRADY, *University of Missouri Studies*, XI, 1936, no. 3: *Philological Studies in Honor of Walter Müller*, 9-20, treating of *The Gymnasium in Ptolemaic Egypt*, is emphatic in rejecting all suggestions that the Hermes and Herakles of the dedications are other than the familiar Greek figures; but M. S. DROWER, reviewing BOAK and PETERSON's *Sokopaiou Nesos* and BOAK's *Karanis*, accepts readily enough 'a composite deity . . . Zeus-Ammon-Serapis-Helios' (*JRS* 26 (1936), 116). Another review (by A. H. M. JONES, *ibid.*, 117, of MOND, *The Bucheum*, vols. II and III) criticizes the views of W. W. TARN, for whose rejoinder see *ibid.*, 136, concerning the amount of interest in the native cults taken by Kleopatra VII (cf. *CAH* x, 36). E. BRECCIA discusses *\*Un 'Cronos*

\* An asterisk before a title signifies that the reviewer knows the work only at second-hand, generally from the useful *Bibliographie papyrologique* of the Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, Brussels.



*Mitraico' ad Oxyrhynchos* in *Mél. Maspero* 2, 257-64 (reviewed by M. HOMBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 593), and O. KERN, *Zu dem neuen Mysterieneide*, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 66-7, defends WILCKEN's restoration  $\text{Ka}\beta\lambda\text{pov}$  (or  $\text{Ka}\beta\lambda\text{pov}$ ) in *PSI* 1162, 8-9, adducing evidence for the existence of a cult of the Kabeiroi in Egypt. Of more importance than these is the long and admirable work of C. ROBERTS, T. C. SKEAT, and A. D. NOCK, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29 (1936), 39-89, on *The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos*, a publication of a late Ptolemaic text with very full commentary.

#### C. RULER-CULT

S. EITREM in *Symb. Oslo.* 15-16 (1936), 111-37, continues his valuable studies *Zur Apotheose*. In this, the sixth instalment, he discusses *Kaiserbilder*; the work is of direct importance for Egypt as well as other parts of the Empire. He also, in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, 85-8 (cf. now P. Oslo III 77) discusses an interesting festal calendar from Tebtunis. It reckons by Roman months and contains nothing but festivals connected with the Imperial family. Plainly it is meant for the use of officials and their imitators, and he rightly compares it with the similar document (*feriale Duranum*) from Dura-Europos (see A. S. HOEY in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 30 (1937), 15-35).

#### D. JUDAISM

Considerable interest has been aroused by the publication of the venerable fragment of the LXX, Pap. Ryl. Gk. 458. There is now available a full edition by C. H. ROBERTS (*Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester Univ. Press, 1936; the other papyrus is a fragment of a testimony-book of the fourth century, supplemented by and supplementing P. Oslo 11). In reviewing this, P. KAZT in *TLZ* 61 (1936), 340-1, takes occasion to remark on a rare and curious use of the subjunctive, apparently Hebraising and confined to the LXX, which the new evidence supports. A. VACCARI, S.J., discusses the find at some length in *Biblica* 17 (1936), 501-4. In connexion with Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, G. BERTRAM, in a belated review of J. FISCHER, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias dem LXX vor?* (*DLZ* 7 (1936), 653-8), has some interesting remarks on the methods of ancient translators. The important study of this same subject by C. H. DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks* (see *JEA* 22, 64; *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1935, 64, 69) seems to have met with little dissension; A. D. NOCK, in reviewing it (*Am. J. Phil.* 57 (1936), 483-5), makes only a few small linguistic additions and corrections. Josephus' sources are discussed by S. BELKIN in *Jewish Quart. Rev.* 27 (1936-7), 1-32; the source of c. *Apionem* ii is either Philon or, less likely, Philon's source. As to GOODENOUGH's work on Philon (*JEA* 22, 63), I have pointed out (*JHS* 56 (1936), 108-9) some weaknesses in its philology, and R. MARCUS (*Am. J. Phil.* 57 (1936), 203-5) the author's defective knowledge of Rabbinical lore, while H. G. MARSH (*J. Theol. Stud.* 37 (1936), 64-80) indirectly refutes any attempt to make  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$  in any such writer refer to actual cult by pointing out that it generally has no such connotation in Clement of Alexandria. But the general impression seems to have been favourable. H. KORTENBRUTEL and A. BÖHLIG, *Ostrakon mit griechisch-koptischem Psalmentext*, in *Aeg.* 15 (1935), 415-18, publish a limestone flake with Ps. cxvii. 18-19 in Greek on one side, Ps. cxviii. 10-11 in Coptic on the other.

#### E. MAGIC

A. DELATTE, in his recent monograph *Herbarius* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres) treats, to use his own subtitle, of 'le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques'. It is a most useful little work, to Egyptologists as to others. There is a sketch, amusing and suggestive, of the whole subject by W. R. DAWSON, *The Magicians of Pharaoh*, in *Folk-Lore* 47 (1936), 234-62. S. EITREM has a note in *Occident and Orient* (the Gaster Anniversary Volume, London, Taylor), 107-9, on pulling by the hair, with Egyptian among other examples. J. KROLL, reviewing vol. II of PREISENDANZ's PMG in *DLZ* 57 (1936), 1185, takes occasion to correct one of that author's few mistakes (his P. vii, 260, is not a charm against *prolapsus uteri* nor has  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}$  in it the unheard-of sense 'hip'). G. W. ELDERKIN (*Hesperia* 5 (1936), 43-9) discusses and publishes the first of a number of lead tablets found in a well in the Agora at Athens. It is a *deuotio*, the formulae of which, though doubtless from a local sorcerer, might have been written in Egypt. Another bit of magic is dealt with by V. STEGEMANN, *A propos de l'amulette chrétienne de Bruxelles* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 178-9) who quotes Coptic parallels for the amulet recently published by C. PRÉAUX (*JEA* 22, 63); see also \*F. ZUCKER in *BZ* 36 (1936), 195-6.

#### F. HERMETISM (INCLUDING ALCHEMY): ASTROLOGY

At last WALTER SCOTT's huge edition of the *Hermetica* is completed by the issue of vol. IV (*Testimonia*: Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936). Having been edited by A. S. FERGUSON, it enjoys the advantage of his



saner scholarship. The inclusion of three excellent indices is due in part, I am informed, to a suggestion of E. H. BLAKENEY, who helped in the immense task of proof-reading. The admirable treatise of J. READ, *Prelude to Chemistry* (London, Bell, 1936), deals with alchemy in general, not that of Egypt in particular, though the latter subject is included. W. GUNDEL has elaborately edited very interesting astrological documents in his recent work, *Hermes Trismegistos. Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos. Funde und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der antiken Astronomie und Astrologie* (Abh. München, 1936, *Phil.-hist. Abt.*, N.F., Heft 12).<sup>1</sup> Though his texts are medieval Latin and French, he is able to show that their contents descend in large part from ancient and even specifically native Egyptian sources. A brief, suggestive, and provocative treatment of the subject is D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, *Astronomy in the Classics, Proceedings of the Classical Association of Scotland*, 1936, 38-111. O. LAGERCRANZ in *Symb. Oslo* 14 (1935), 1-5, finds all confusion in the work of 'Moses' on alchemy, p. 309, 8-9 Berthelot, and leaves all plain by simple and good emendations. It is high time he, or some other qualified person, gave us a text of these strange productions, where now *divinare non legere oportet*.

## G. NEW TESTAMENT

As was to be expected, the Unknown Gospel (*JEA* 22, 65) continues to arouse lively interest, and complete agreement on it is not yet. The balance of opinion, however, is in favour of taking it as put together from the Canonical Gospels. So M. GOGUEL, in an elaborate discussion in *Rev. hist. rel.* 112 (1936), 42-87.<sup>2</sup> He adds that this makes it one of the earliest, perhaps the very earliest, testimony to the existence of the Fourth Gospel. In agreement with him are H. LIETZMANN, *Neue Evangelienpapyri*,<sup>2</sup> in *Z. neut. Wiss.* 34 (1935), 285-93, who also discusses the fragment of St. John and the Dura Diatessaron (see below), JOHANNES BEHM, *OLZ* 39 (1936), 613-16, H. VOGELS, *Theologische Revue* 34 (1935), 312-15, E. BUONAIUTI, *Religio* 11 (1935), 370-2, and M. DIBELIUS, *DLZ* 57 (1936), 3-11. L. CERFAUX, *Parallèles canoniques et extra-canoniques de 'L'Évangile inconnu'*, *Muséon* 49 (1936), 55-77, takes the same line, agreeing with LAGRANGE and GOGUEL that it is best regarded as an anti-Jewish production. The same writer, discussing also the Chester Beatty papyri, the St. John fragment, and the Dura Diatessaron, concludes that 'ces découvertes n'ajoutent à peu près rien à notre matériel' (*Les récentes découvertes de textes Évangéliques, Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 25 (1936), 331-41). K. FR. W. SCHMIDT and J. JEREMIAS, *Ein bisher unbekanntes Evangelienfragment*, *Theologische Blätter* 15 (1936), 34-45, propose some drastic textual alterations; H. I. BELL reports on their palaeographical possibility, *ibid.* 72-4. W. G. KUMMEL in *TLZ* 61 (1936), 47-9, holds that it is not directly dependent on the Canonical texts; \*M. RIST, *Caesar or God?* in *Journ. Rel.* (1936), 317-31, thinks it may contain a pre-Markan account of that episode. \*D. W. RIDDLE in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 55 (1936), 45-55, uses it in support of his thesis that the pericope is the structural unit of a Gospel. W. WESTERN in *Expository Times*, October 1936, 43, suggests that in line 62 τὸ βάρος αὐτοῦ ἀέτατον means that the seed has perished and so weighs nothing. C. H. DODD, *The New Gospel Fragments*<sup>3</sup> (*Bull. J. Ryl. Lib.* 20 (1936), 56-96), is thoroughly judicious in his handling of this and other new documents. The liturgical fragment published in the same volume as the Unknown Gospel is reviewed by (A. FELICE), *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1936, 46-50.

The new fragment of the Fourth Gospel (*JEA* 22, 65), small though it is (the separate publication now reprinted almost verbatim in *Bull. J. Ryl. Lib.* 20 (1936), 45-56), is important as giving a hard blow to the foolish theory that that Gospel is of later origin than about the end of the first century. Besides some short accounts, originally from various newspapers, by C. H. DODD and DEISSMANN, dealing with the discovery (*ibid.*, 4-9), I notice \*G. GHEDINI in *La Scuola Cattolica* 64 (1936), *Il più antico Codice del IV Vangelo*, and, in *Thought*, 1936, 273-85, \*W. J. MCGARRY, whose article, however, is mostly concerned with the documents mentioned in the next paragraph; H. I. BELL in *JEA* 21, 266-7.

The great Beatty-Michigan papyrus (as it is now generally called) of the Pauline corpus has been published in the fullest form possible, unless some lucky find should put us in possession of the missing leaves, as fasc. III Suppl. of the Chester Beatty Papyri, a combination of fasc. III and the portions published by H. A. SANDERS (*JEA* 22, 65), in all 86 leaves of the original 104. Although about a century earlier than the great uncials, it is seen not to differ from them in any sensational or radical manner. On the whole it is an Alexandrian text. Sir F. G. KENYON (*Am. J. Phil.* 57 (1936), 91-5, in a review of SANDERS's edition) suggests that its placing of the doxology at the end of chap. 15, not 16, of *Rom.* is due to lectionary influence. Other reviews or mentions are those of S. COLOMBO in *Riv. di Fil.* 14 (1936), 387-90, E. C. COLWELL in *Journ. Rel.* 16 (1936), 96-8, \*K. W. CLARK in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 55 (1936), and H. G. OPTZ in *DLZ* 57 (1936), 391-5. In the

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed by me in *JHS* 56 (1936), 262.

<sup>2</sup> Includes full reprint of the text.



same series have appeared photographic reproductions of fasc. III and fasc. IV (respectively papyri of *Rev.* and *Gen.*).

A recent article in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29 (1936), 345-52, by R. V. G. TASKER, *The Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Caesarian Text of Luke*, gives occasion to mention, somewhat belatedly, the very full discussion by TEÓFILO AYUSO of the 'Caesarean' text (cf. *JEA* 22, 66), in *Biblica* 16 (1935), 369-415, *¿Texto Cesariense o precesariense?* in which he maintains that the text in question was very old, belonged originally to central Egypt, and, as we have traces of it now, shows indeed the hand of Origen, but only as an 'elemento recensional'. Also in *Biblica* 17 (1936), 234-41, A. MERK, S.J., reviewing the Dura Diatessaron (*JEA* 22, 65), somewhat inclines to suppose that it had a Syriac original. A fundamental question, the historical value of the Apostolic writers, is illustrated by K. S. GAPP in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 28 (1935), 258-65, *The Universal Famine under Claudius*.<sup>1</sup> He produces evidence to show that there was, not a famine in the sense of a general failure of crops, but a decided *caritas annonae*, which he holds is what ancient writers generally mean by famine, owing to successive failures of the Egyptian and the Syrian harvest in 45 and 46 respectively. *Vita e Pensiero*, 1936, 83-6, has a short article by \*A. CALDERINI, *Il Vangelo e la papirologia*.

The very elaborate new edition of the NT now in progress under the general editorship of S. C. E. LEGG (Mark has so far appeared from the Clarendon Press) comes in for frank and constructive criticism as well as praise from H. LIETZMANN in *Z. neut. Wiss.* 35 (1936), 310-12 and J. M. CREED in *J. Theol. Stud.* 37 (1936), 299-301; E. C. COLWELL, *Journ. Rel.* 16 (1936), 234-6, thinks the result not proportionate to the labour expended.

#### H. CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN HERESIES

A. D. NOCK, in a long review of H. JONAS's *Gnosis* (see *JEA* 22, 66), in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 605-12, gives an interesting sketch of what *gnōsis* was. Elsewhere (*Am. Journ. Phil.* 57 (1936), 108-9), reviewing POLOTSKY, *Manichäische Handschriften*, he stresses the importance of these fundamental documents. A. SOUTER, *J. Theol. Stud.* 37 (1936), 80, compares the mysterious Zatchlas of Apuleius, *Met.* ii, 28, with the Saclias who, according to Ambrosiaster (= pseudo-Augustine, *quaest. vet. et nou. test. cxviii*), 3, 1, p. 21 of his edition, was reputed by the Manichaeans to have made the world.

### 3. Publications of Non-Literary Texts

#### A. GENERAL

The publication of the year is undoubtedly the third volume of the Michigan papyri, *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, vol. III (= University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XL), edited by JOHN GARRETT WINTER, xviii+390 pp., 7 pls. Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1936. \$5.00. The task of editing the texts has been divided up among various members of the Faculty of Classics and students in the papyrological seminary, the chief contributors being A. E. R. BOAK, F. E. ROBBINS, H. A. SANDERS, V. B. SCHUMAN, and the editor himself, while smaller shares have fallen to CAMPBELL BONNER, M. F. MACGREGOR, and O. M. PEARL. Though not included among the contributors, H. C. YOUTIE's valuable aid is acknowledged in the Preface. In the wide range of interests and complete mastery of the technique of editing which the volume displays, it rivals the most noteworthy of the Oxyrhynchus series, and altogether may be described as a landmark in the history of American papyrology.

The Biblical, classical, mathematical, astrological, and magical papyri (nos. 131-56) must be left to other sections. Among those which concern us (nos. 157-221), the following may be noticed, a dagger being placed before those already published: †157-8, libelli, of the Decian persecution. †159 (A.D. 41-68), Latin decision in case of intestate inheritance. †162 (late 2nd cent.), Latin list of soldiers, with dates of enlistment. †165 (3rd cent.), similar list; a new reading by SANDERS gives a new Prefect [? Victorinus, in A.D. 234. Honoratianus, who was previously supposed to have held office continuously from 231-6, must therefore have served two separate terms, like Aur. Basileus a few years later. †165 (A.D. 236), bilingual request for a guardian. †166, 167, †168, †169, birth certificates, with revised texts of two more in the Cairo Museum; the problem of expanding the abbreviations is exhaustively discussed. 170-2 (A.D. 49-62), apprenticeship documents, from Oxyrhynchus. 173, petition to Antaios, epistates of Philadelphia; since BGU 1012, a similar petition, is now securely dated to the reign of Philometor (P. Teb. 779 introd.), the 12th year here mentioned must be 170-169, and the petition may well have been written during the first invasion of Antiochus. 174 (A.D. 145-7), a fine petition to the Prefect. 176-9 (A.D. 91-119), census declarations. 179-81

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Acts xi. 27-30.



(A.D. 64–131), property returns. 182, 183, 193, 200 belong, with two unpublished Columbia papyri, to the archive of an 'agricultural firm' at Philadelphia, in the last years of Epiphanes and early years of Philometor; a remarkable fact is the occurrence in 182 (182 B.C.) of the phrase, well known in later papyri, ἀργυρίου τοῦ παλαιού Πτολεμαϊκού νομίσματος. 184–99, miscellaneous contracts, mostly of the late first or early second century and exceptionally well preserved. 201–21, private correspondence, including: †203 (temp. Trajan), letter from a soldier at Pselkis. 206, 209, letters, the first probably, the second certainly, relating to the family which appears in P. Lond. Inv. 2102 = SB 6263; 209, though not by the same person as the London letter, is written in the same sentimental style, e.g. (ll. 11–13), οἶδας γὰρ, ἀδελφε, δὲ οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδελφόν σε ἔχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατέρα καὶ κύριον καὶ θεόν. †214–†221, the letters of Paniskos. Of capital importance is the demonstration, in the introduction to 220, that (a) the epanorthotes Achilles is not the same person as the usurper L. Domitius Domitianus, and (b) the title epanorthotes does not denote a usurper or 'dictator', but an extraordinary civil official subordinate to the existing emperor.<sup>1</sup> Proof of this is furnished by another Michigan papyrus (shortly to be published by BOAK) of which an extract is quoted: (at the end of a petition) . . . περὶ οὗ ἀναδιδάσκω τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἐπανορθωτοῦ Αἰρηλίου Ἀχιλλέως κτλ. . . . (ἐτους) β τοῦ κ[υρίου] ἡμῶν Λουκίου Δομντ[ίου] Δομντιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Θῶθ η.

A small collection of papyri, bought in 1922–3 by RENDEL HARRIS and presented to Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, has been edited by J. ENOCH POWELL, of Trinity College, Cambridge: *The Rendel Harris Papyri*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1936, xii+134 pp., 5 pls. 15s. Nos. 1–60 are literary; the documents (61–165) are with one exception Roman and Byzantine, and they include a number of interesting pieces. The solitary Ptolemaic document (61, between 176 and 170 B.C.) is a fragmentary πρόσταγμα of Philometor ordering a registration of slaves. 62 (A.D. 151) concerns the advertising of runaway slaves, but is also interesting from the mention of a strategus Ὀδσεως ἡ Νομῶν, which confirms the supposition that the Little Oasis was an independent nome of the Heptanomia (see *JEA* 21, 84).<sup>2</sup> 64, a transfer of the (liturgical) office of phylarch, together with the attached σαλάριον (!), is also noteworthy;<sup>3</sup> the date presents a problem.<sup>4</sup> But easily the most remarkable piece is 107, a Christian letter the beginning of which may be quoted here: τιμωτάτῃ μου μητρὶ | Μαρίας Βησᾶς | ἐν θεῷ πλίστα χαίρειν. | πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχα-|μαι τῷ πατρὶ θεῷ τῆς ἀλη-|θείας καὶ τῷ παρακλήτῳ | πνεύματι ὃς σε διαφυλά-|ξουσιν καὶ ἰσχύει σε φυλῆναι καὶ | σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα, τῷ μὲν | σώματι ὕγιαν (l. ὑγιαν), τῷ δὲ πνεύματι εὐθυμίαν, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ ζωνὴν αἰώνιον.

The decipherment of the more straightforward pieces may be thoroughly relied upon, and the comments, though rather brief, bring out the important features, while the method of presentation and typography are alike excellent. But there are rather a number of obviously impossible readings and unsolved difficulties, and some pieces (e.g. 62) need drastic revision.

The second volume of the Princeton papyri has appeared, in a larger format than its predecessor: EDMUND HARRIS KASE, JR., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, vol. II (= Princeton Univ. Studies in Papyrology, ed. Allan Chester Johnson, vol. 1). Princeton Univ. Press, 1936. xi+130 pp., 10 pls. 83. The texts (nos. 15–107) are numbered on from vol. I. 15 is a fragment of the Epistle of James, while the remainder are documents, some already published in various periodicals. The following may be noticed here: 21 (A.D. 236–7), emanating from a στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας χώρας. 24 (A.D. 21), ἀπογραφὴ of sheep and goats, the earliest of its type. 26 (c. A.D. 154), skipper's receipt, closely resembling, and perhaps by the same hand as, P. Warren 5. 29 (A.D. 258), report to the strategus by a man whose brother had been injured by falling off a house-roof while both were living away from their home at Philadelphia διὰ τὴν γενομένην . . . τῶν Λιβύων ἐπέλευσιν.<sup>5</sup> 38 (c. A.D. 264), a translation of a Roman will, fragmentary but valuable for restoring parallel documents. 96, a long account from the Apion archive. 102, a good Christian letter of condolence.<sup>6</sup> The reading and interpretation of the texts is of a consistently high standard, and Mr. KASE deserves our thanks for an interesting and valuable edition.

A third volume of Oslo papyri has been published, and the preface indicates that yet another may be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the epanorthotes Theodoros in PSI 1047.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also P. Harris 147, 1–3, where τὴν γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ τοῦ δεῖντος στρατηγοῦ Ὀδσεως | Ἐπὶ Νομῶν should probably be read.

<sup>3</sup> In ll. 17–18 προσκαρυνσω looks like a misreading of προσεδρεύσιν (i.e. -σεν).

<sup>4</sup> The 20th year in l. 6 would naturally be referred to Carnacalla (A.D. 211–12), were it not that the parties are Aurelii; can κ be a misreading for β?

<sup>5</sup> I feel rather doubtful of some of the editor's supplements; in l. 5 perhaps ἐμ[οῦ καί], removing the stop from l. 7 to l. 10 (after ἐπέλευσιν); in ll. 12–13 possibly ἡς [ἔχει or ἔχω] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ | κόμῃ οἱ κίας ἰδί[ας].

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 10–11 of this should no doubt be read δὲ (i.e. δέ) δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον φέρει(ν).



expected. S. EITREM and LEIV AMUNDSEN, *Papyri Osloenses*, fasc. III. Oslo, Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, 1936. xi+326 pp., 12 pls. in separate album. Kr. 50.00. Nos. 65-76 are literary; of the documents (77-200), for which AMUNDSEN is primarily responsible and which nearly all belong to the Roman period, the following may be noticed: 77, Calendar (*temp.* Marcus Aurelius) of festivals of the Imperial cult. 78, another copy of the edict of Hadrian alleviating taxation, very fragmentary but giving us a practically complete text. 83 (c. A.D. 300), interesting monetary problems, studied in a separate article by Heichelheim (see below). 85 (A.D. 273), letter from the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus about a forthcoming celebration of the Capitoline games. 88 (late 4th cent.), dealing with the collection of taxes and giving an equation of 1 solidus = 2,250 myriads. 93 (A.D. 212), a declaration on oath to the strategus 'Οδοσεως ('Εντὰ νομῶν),<sup>1</sup> corroborating the evidence of P. Harris 62 and 147 discussed above (the editors' note here needs revision). 111 (A.D. 235), a long roll containing a house-by-house register of all 'free men and freed men' in various quarters of Oxyrhynchus. 123 (A.D. 22), petition to Dionysodoros, στρ. 'Αρανοίτρον, about an assault at Euhemeria, supporting PREISIGKE's contention that in the early first century A.D. there was one supreme strategus for the whole Arsinoites, with, perhaps, subordinate strategi in the merides (the evidence of P. Graux 1 should have been adduced). 129 (3rd cent.) gives a new deme-name of Antinoopolis, Μουσσηγέρεως, but the phyle is unfortunately lost. 149 has an interesting dating-clause, Λζ ἔτερος Νέρωνος κτλ. The editors, taking ἔτερος as qualifying εἶρος, interpret it as 'a sort of sabbatical year'; but an ostrakon quoted by Tait, *Greek Ostr.*, p. 123, begins Λη ἔτερος Νέρωνος, so the epithet probably applies to Nero after all; see also PSI 1132, 1.

The names of the editors are sufficient guarantee for the high quality of the work, and they have shown great perseverance in handling some, on the whole, rather unresponsive material; the commentaries, as was to be expected, are particularly strong on the philological side. At the end (pp. 273-80) is a valuable collection of corrigenda to P. Oslo I-III.

A summary catalogue of hitherto unpublished papyri in Strasbourg is being published under the supervision of P. COLLOMP. The numeration continues that of PREISIGKE, and so far four instalments have appeared, in the *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 14 (1935-6), 60-3; *ibid.*, 170-2; *ibid.*, 226-9; 15 (1936-7), 58-60. Only the texts, with the briefest of notes, are given; all are Roman or Byzantine, and are of more or less familiar types; a letter from Antoninus Pius to the city of Antinoopolis (no. 131) consists, alas, of virtually nothing more than the prescript.

NAPHTALI LEWIS has published, with brief commentaries, 26 ostraca in the Cairo Museum, in *Ét. de Pap.* 3, 93-111, 1 pl. They are mostly of usual types, ranging in date from 160 B.C.<sup>2</sup> to about the third century. No. 8 contains two successive receipts for γεωμετρία, the first dated 15 'Αθῆν θ' (of Titus), the second 1α Δομνιανού, Φαμ(εὐθ) ιε. Thus news of the death of Titus on Sept. 13, 81 did not reach Edfu until some date between Nov. 5, 81 and March 11, 82.<sup>3</sup>

G. ROSENBERGER, P. Ianda VI (*JEA* 21, 84), has been reviewed by F. ZUCKER, *DLZ* 56 (1935), 320-2; M. ENGERS, *Museum* 43 (1935-6), 62-3 (lexicographical notes); C. W. KEYES, *Cl. Phil.* 31 (1936), 186.

U. WILCKEN, P. Würzb. (*JEA* 21, 84) is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Mizraim* 2, 76-7 (on meaning of δημόσιος λόγος under the Arabs).

C. PRÉAUX, O. Wilb.-Brk. (*JEA* 22, 67-8), is reviewed by K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 9-13 (important; joins issue with P. on the λαογραφία question). Some interesting general reflections on taxation are to be found in reviews by E. BICKERMANN, *Rev. de phil.* 10 (1936), 375-6, and G. PATRONI, *Boll. fil. class.* 7 (1935-6), 151-3. I have not seen N. HOHLWEIN's review in *L'Antiquité classique* 5 (1936), 226-7.

L. AMUNDSEN, O. Mich., Part I (*JEA* 22, 68), has been reviewed by B. OLSSON, *DLZ* 57 (1936), 575-6 (philological), K. FR. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 714-18 (many notes, chiefly on proper names), and J. G. M[ILNE], *JHS* 56 (1936), 97 (correction to O. Mich. 157).

G. MANTEUFFEL, P. Varsov. (*JEA* 22, 68), has been reviewed by W. SCHUBART, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 425-9 (important corrections to nos. 10 and 12, checked on the original by MANTEUFFEL; a revised text of 12 is printed), and U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 94-7 (many corrections, taking note of those proposed by SCHUBART and BELL).

A. S. HUNT and C. C. EDGAR, *Select Papyri*, vol. 1 (*JEA* 19, 74), is reviewed by C. J. KRAEMER, *Cl. Journ.* 31 (1936), 450-1 (some minor corrections).

M. HOFFMANN's *Antike Briefe* (*JEA* 22, 68) is reviewed by H. KORTENBEUTEL in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 559-60 (good description), and by H. OSTERN, *Humanistisches Gymnasium* 47 (1936), 110 (not seen).

<sup>1</sup> Better so, at this date, than the editors' ('Εντὰ νομῶν).

<sup>2</sup> No. 1 dates from the reign of Philometor; cf., e.g., Tait, O. Bodl. 156, and correct the readings accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the case of Tacitus, referred to p. 92 n. 1 below.



E. J. GOODSPEED and E. C. COLWELL, *A Greek Papyrus Reader* (*JEA* 22, 68) has been reviewed, on the whole appreciatively, by P. COLLOMP, *Rev. ét. anc.* 38 (1936), 238-9; A. M. PERRY, *J. Rel.* 16 (1936), 240; H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 148-9; C. H. ROBERTS, *J. Theol. Stud.* 37 (1936), 417; and in *Exp. Times*, July 1936, 445-6.

## B. PTOLEMAIC

GERTRUDE MALZ, *Another Zenon Papyrus at the University of Wisconsin*, *AJA* 39 (1936), 373-7, publishes a papyrus which proves to be the lower part of P. Cair. Zen. 59328, an account of goats leased from Zenon by Hermias. C. PRÉAUX, in a review (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 558-9), quotes an unpublished B.M. papyrus (P. Lond. Inv. 2084) which shows that the usurious interest exacted by Zenon had its natural result in the flight of the goatherds.

C. C. EDGAR, P. Mich. Zen. (*JEA* 17, 125) has been reviewed by E. KRIESSLING in *DLZ* 7 (1936), 1004-6.

W. SCHUBART has re-examined the Dikaionmata (P. Hal. 1) and gives a brilliant reconstruction of the lawsuit in respect of which the collection was made. *Causa Halensis*, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 27-39.

C. PRÉAUX, *Note sur le destinataire du mandement P. Tebtunis 703*, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 163-9, challenges E. BERNEKER's contention that it was addressed to the strategus, pointing out that the papyrus he quotes in evidence date from the second century B.C.

T. C. SKEAT, *The Epistrategus Hippalos*, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 40-3, shows that he was the addressee of P. Teb. 778.

COLIN ROBERTS, THEODORE C. SKEAT, and ARTHUR DARBY NOCK, *The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos*, in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29 (1936), 39-88, with pl., publish P. Lond. Inv. 2710, the foundation-statute (*vóμος*) of a local club, probably at Philadelphia, and dating from the reign of Ptolemy Auletes. Text and commentary are followed by an elaborate discussion (by NOCK), on the title Hypsistos and on such clubs in general. Reviewed by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 559-61.

W. SCHUBART and D. SCHÄFER, BGU VIII (*JEA* 20, 89) has received an important review in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 476-85, from F. ZUCKER, who gives a penetrating analysis of the contents with a wealth of comment in detail.

G. MANTEUFFEL is said to have published three Ptolemaic ostraca in *Przegląd Historyczny* 13 (1936), 385-93, with 2 pls., but this is not yet accessible to me.

## C. ROMAN

U. WILCKEN's long-projected edition of the Bremen papyri has seen the light, rich with the fruits of many years' study of the texts. *Die Bremer Papyri* (*Abh. Berlin*, 1936, *phil.-hist. Kl.* nr. 2), Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1936. 178 pp., 1 pl. R.M. 11.50. With two insignificant exceptions, the entire collection comes from the archive of Apollonios, strategus of Heptakomia; it was bought practically *en bloc* in 1902 by the *Papyruskartell* and divided between Bremen and Giessen. Several of the more important papyri, such as those referring to the Jewish rebellion in 115-17, have already been edited by WILCKEN in the *Chrestomathie* and elsewhere, but even so the editor rarely fails, by some novelty of reading or interpretation, to throw fresh light on the texts. Among those entirely new are: 5, a letter of recommendation from a Roman, Faberius Mundus, of considerable palaeographical interest. In itself a fine specimen of the 'Chancery hand', it has an autograph valediction in a hand strongly influenced by Latin cursive. 6, another letter of recommendation, brief but elegantly phrased, from Flavius Philoxenus, epistrategus of the Thebaid. 15, interesting letter from an architect supervising some building operations for Apollonios in his native town of Hermopolis. 29 is identified as the missing conclusion of P. Ryl. 82. 43, account of taxes in kind levied on the Apollinopolite nome, the total in A.D. 118-19 being the huge sum of 90,000 artabas of wheat. 48, another fine letter from Herodes the architect while on a visit to Alexandria, concluding apologetically that he had been too tired by the journey to visit the Serapeum to pray for his correspondent, but would do so the next day. All these and the other letters which make up so large a part of the volume are exceptionally interesting as specimens of the epistolography of the educated Greek class.

O. W. REINMUTH, *Two Prefectural Edicts concerning the Publicani*, *Cl. Phil.* 31 (1936), 146-62, publishes two fragmentary edicts denouncing their unjust exactions of tolls (now republished as P. Princeton II, 20 a and b).

T. C. SKEAT and E. P. WEGENER, *A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt Appius Sabinus, c. 250 A.D.*, *JEA* 21 (1935), 224-47, with pl., edit an extensive papyrus in the British Museum (Inv. 2565) recording the appeal of certain villagers claiming to have been illegally elected to the office of *cosmetes*. Though defective at the



beginning and disfigured by serious lacunae, it gives some new information about the liturgical system and the nomination of local magistrates.

The remarkable letter from one Theon to a 'comrade' and philosopher Heraclides, announcing the dispatch of certain books, edited by A. VOGLIANO in the new volume of Milan papyri (*JEA* 22, 68) is discussed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 80-1. Theon WILCKEN regards as an Alexandrian bookseller, ἐγγραφέτης ἐν Ἀλεξ., referring not to the letter but the books themselves; on the second point he is obviously right, but I do not feel that the tone of the letter, still less the use of ἐταίρου to a supposed client, suits a business man. In reviewing P. JOUTOUER's edition of a cession of catœcic land in the same volume, WILCKEN comments on the new details of the processes of registration furnished by the papyrus (*Ibid.*, 81-2).

The selection *Da Papiri della Società Italiana* published by pupils of Norsa and Vitelli in *St. it. fil. class.* 12 (*JEA* 22, 62) is reviewed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 78-9. He demonstrates that the will edited by A. PEROSA is really a copy enclosed in an application to some official by the granddaughter of the testatrix; the second document, the application to the ἐπιτηρητὴς ξενικῆς πρακτορείας edited by G. SCHÖPFELICH, he elucidates by referring to the parallel documents, especially P. Meyer 48. C. PRÉAUX, reviewing the publication in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 562-3, rather over-stresses the novelty of the second document for our knowledge of the process of execution.

The other similarly entitled selection in *Aeg.* 15 (1935), 207-29 (*JEA* 22, 69), is also minutely discussed by WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 85-91. Among his masterly comments may be noted that on the πεδίων ἐπικρίσεως, the official register drawn up on the basis of the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί. Also reviewed by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 174-5.

Perhaps the most remarkable item in this section, however, is not a new publication, but PSI xi 1183 as interpreted by WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 75-7. He convincingly shows that this is the first specimen to come to light of a return for the Roman census. He stresses the exact correspondence between the details here recorded and those required by Ulpian for Roman census-returns, and aptly observes that all the previously known returns are from non-Romans. WILCKEN also thinks that the Roman census was held simultaneously with that of the native population, though as the date of PSI 1183 is unfortunately lost this cannot yet be proved.

P. COLLOMP, *Un bail de troupeau, Mém. Masp.* 2, 335-44, with plate, publishes a lease in Strasbourg of an 'immortal' flock (ἀθάνατος), a type of contract for which another Strasbourg papyrus (no. 30) has hitherto been the chief authority. The various points in the document, which is dated in Choiak of the first year of Claudius II (268 or 269?), are carefully discussed; other papyri in Strasbourg are used to trace the history of the flock over a considerable period.

A. CALDERINI and LYDIA BANDI, *Dai papiri della Raccolta Milanese* (*JEA* 22, 69) is reviewed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 91-2.

A. E. R. BOAK, *A Petition addressed to Apollonios, Strategos of Heptakomia* (*JEA*, *ibid.*) is reviewed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 84 (pointing out that the papyrus might date from the end of 119, when Haterius Nepos, as is shown by P. Berl. Leihg. 10, was already in office), and C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 177 (suggesting Παράκιος for Παράκιος in l. 5).

C. W. KEYES, *Four Private Letters from the Columbia Papyri* (*JEA*, *ibid.*) is reviewed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 82-4, who touches on some interesting points of diplomatic; in connexion with the use of ἐχόμενα as an adverb with the genitive, attention may here be drawn to the curious word ἐχόμενα (J. G. WINTER, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 61; G. ROSENBERGER, *Gnomon* 10 (1934), 43), which is perhaps best regarded as a perversion of ἐχόμενα.

Most of the reviews of A. E. R. BOAK, *Soknopaiou Nesos* (*JEA* 22, 69), deal with the archaeology rather than the customs receipts, and are accordingly left over to § 10 below; an exception is that by C. B. WELLES, who in *AJA* 40 (1936), 285-8, makes some important comments. In particular, he points out that in nos. 1-3 BOAK's unconvincing reading ἐν αὐτοῖς δέκα β is to be corrected to ἐπαγ(ομένων) δυνάμει, β, the receipts being issued eight days in advance of the date for which they were required (Thoth 5).<sup>1</sup> He also notes that πέντη καὶ εἰς(άδι), κε', must be the true reading at the end of no. 11.

A. B. SCHWABZ's note *Zum Papyrus Osloensis 40* (*Symb. Oslo.* 14 (1935), 77-81) is dealt with under §§ 6 and 8.

It is impossible to describe in detail here the rich store of material from Dura presented by C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Non-literary Parchments and Papyri*, in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Report of Sixth Season (1932-33)* (Yale Univ. Press, 1936), 419-38, with plates of D. Perg. 21 and 22. This admirably succinct

<sup>1</sup> WELLES, by a slip, speaks of 'the second of the three intercalary days'.



catalogue is literally packed with information of the highest interest to all students of papyrology. To give some idea of the contents, no. 1 is a 'double' contract before the βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον (87 A.D., when Dura was under Parthian rule), by which a creditor returns as a gift property seized from an insolvent debtor who had already performed ἀναίρεσις of the original deed of loan, followed by a cession (ἐκδοσις) of her property executed before the same Royal Court. WELLES's discussion of these two terms is of capital importance, especially in view of the new light now thrown on the famous D. Perg. 10; the much-disputed hypothec in that document is illuminated by the second text here published. No. 7, a dissolution of an ἀγραφὸς γάμος, no. 9, a soldier's contract of marriage, and no. 10, a sale of a slave, in Syriac, are perhaps the most important of the remaining pieces, but the editor's masterly comments draw new history even from the most unpromising scraps.

## D. ROMAN-BYZANTINE

A fifth volume of P. Ross-Georg. has appeared, containing various documents left over from earlier fascicules, but not the ostraca and mummy-tickets, the publication of which is reserved for a sixth and final volume. In spite of its miscellaneous character, the present volume includes a surprisingly large number of interesting pieces, and all are edited with the same scrupulous care and deep insight which have marked its predecessors. *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen, herausgegeben von GREGOR ZERETELI: fasc. V, Varia. Bearbeitet von G. ZERETELI und P. JERNSTEDT. Tiflis, 1935. ii+280 pp. Nos. 1-3 are literary, 3-12 private letters, no. 6 being, as the editor has acutely observed, the top half of P. Iand. 13. Among documents of the first three centuries (nos. 13-26) are several references to the Apis cult, viz. nos. 15-16, receipts given by various attendants on the Apis, designated ἱεροῖθνοι, ἱεροῖαροι, and ἱεροζ(ω)μουργοί ('brewers of the sacred broth'), to the δημόσιοι τραπέζιται of the Memphite nome, for their own salaries and 'expenses of the God'; and no. 19, receipt for 4 τοκάδες for sacrifices to Apis. No. 18, an extract of proceedings before the Prefect Juncinus (A.D. 213), is of great interest in that the observations of the Prefect are introduced by the formula *Iuncinus d(icit)*, in Latin, a practice hitherto supposed to be an innovation of Diocletian. 20 is the heading of a poll-tax register dated A.D. 223—a good example of the continued existence of the poll-tax after the Const. Ant. 22 shows that the praenomen of the Prefect Valerius Firmus (A.D. 245-9) was Gaius, not Claudius, so any connexion with the Epanorthotes Claudius Firmus is now definitely out of the question; *C(aio)*, not *[C](y)audio* should be read in P. Oxy. 720, 1. No. 27 is a bilingual tablet of an unparalleled type, but hopelessly defective, while the remaining pieces (27-73) are contracts, receipts, accounts, lists, etc., mostly of the Byzantine period. U. WILCKEN's review, in *Archiv* 12 (1936), 98-102, which naturally pays special attention to the Apis documents, includes some corrected readings from copies made by himself during a pre-War visit to Leningrad.*

Miss E. P. WEGENER has edited *Four Papyri of the Bodleian Library in Mnemosyne* 3 (1936), 232-9, with pl. (of no. II). They are: I, application for lease of land, Fayyūm, A.D. 225; in the usual ἐνδόμημα form, but in place of the autograph subscription of approval by the lessor, it has only her name and *signalement*, in the same hand as the body of the document (cf. now P. Mich. 184). II, lease, Panopolis, A.D. 330, in a difficult cursive and very condensed phraseology. III, receipt for price of cummin paid in advance, A.D. 320 (?). IV (6th-7th cent.) the most novel, though least easy of interpretation, seems to be addressed to a guild of ἐλαιωπράται by a member who wished to trade 'on his own', offering (as compensation?) 300 myriads monthly ἐπὲρ λόγου ἐχ[γ]αρίου and 250 yearly ἐπὲρ τελευτίου.

E. VISSER, *Briefe und Urkunden aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung* (*JEA* 22, 69) is reviewed by U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 92-3, making some corrections in the difficult P. 16010.<sup>1</sup> In the curious phrase μνήσθητι ὅτι ὠμοσάς μοι κατὰ τῆς κυρίας θεᾶς σου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς WILCKEN interprets ἀρετῆ as the goddess rather than the *Virtus Augusti*.

## E. BYZANTINE

In *Ét. de Pap.* 3 (1936), 1-45, A. E. R. BOAK continues his publication of the archives of Aurelius Isidoros of Karanis, *Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, nos. 8-20. Nos. 8-11 are declarations of land made for the census of A.D. 297,<sup>2</sup> followed by revised editions of P. Thead. 54-5, which are similar returns, authenticated by the identical surveyors and *iuratores* who appear in the Karanis documents. No. 12 is an interesting declaration, parallel to P. Strassb. 42, of persons classified as ὑποτελής and ἀτελής respectively, and BOAK plausibly suggests that these returns were made for assessing the *capitatio humana* introduced

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, in P. 13362 Verso 4, read ἐρωτήσον Τεφέρην for ἐρωτήσοντε φερνήν, continuing περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καλ.

<sup>2</sup> BOAK's interpretation of the word χωρία in these returns as crasis of καὶ ὄρια is not very satisfactory; I prefer to treat it as simply χωρία, governed by κεκρίσθαι, τὰ μέτρα being the object of μετρησάντων.



by Diocletian. The rest are leases of land or rent receipts,<sup>1</sup> with the exception of no. 15, in which Aur. Polion contracts to undertake forced labour on the River of Trajan in place of Aur. Peras, who had originally been impressed for the purpose (A.D. 297).<sup>2</sup>

N. LEWIS, *Mummy-tickets from Achmîm-Panopolis, Mizraim* 2 (1936), 70-2, begins an account of two groups of mummy-tickets in Strasbourg, mostly published in the *Sammelbuch*, but in a very confused fashion, the same ticket sometimes appearing twice over; the only text in the present instalment is in Coptic.

F. HEICHELHEIM's note *Zu Pap. Ost. 83 (Symb. Oslo. 14 (1935), 82-5)* is of purely numismatic interest.

C. H. ROBERTS, *Two Letters of the Byzantine Period (JEA 22, 70)* is reviewed at length by C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég. 11 (1936), 565-6*, who makes some attractive suggestions for the interpretation of the first letter.

At Prof. K. KALBFLEISCH's suggestion I gladly draw attention here to the discussion of the phrase 'Ἀδρια(νῶν) καὶ Ἀμινναίων' in P. Iand. VI, 99 by KARL MÜLLER, *Die Epigramme des Antiphilos von Byzanz (Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt. Klass. Philologie, Bd. 47)*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 53-5, apropos of Anth. Pal. vi. 257, 2. MÜLLER prints a long note by KALBFLEISCH suggesting that these were 'types' of wine rather than actual imports, and referring to receipts for 'making' Aminnaean wine. The οἶνος Ἀδριανός got its name from Hadria in Picenum (mod. Atri), not from Hadria, the Adriatic, nor yet Hadria in Venetia.

#### 4. Political History, Biography, Administration, Topography, Chronology

##### A. GENERAL

In *Aevum* 9 (1935), 137-87 G. GIANNELLI summarizes literature published between 1923 and 1930 on the Hellenistic age. See, with reference to Egypt, esp. 147 ff., 161 ff. In *Archiv* 12 (1936), 1-26 W. SCHUBART writes on *Das hellenistische Königsideal nach Inschriften und Papyri*. PAOLA ZANCAN's interesting study of the fundamental ideas of the Hellenistic kingdoms, *Il monarcato ellenistico nei suoi elementi federativi*, is very favourably reviewed by W. SCHUBART, *Gnomon* 11 (1935), 513-18; also by J. HATZFELD, *Rev. de phil.* 10 (1936), 370-1 (summarizing), Th. LENSCHAU, *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 795-7 (somewhat critical), E. BICKERMANN, *Rev. ét. anc.* 38 (1936), 94-6, PIERO TREVES, *Nuova Rivista storica* 19 (1935), 399-401 (strongly critical), FR. MILTNER, *Klio* 29 (1936), 134-5 (favourable, but dissenting on some points).

##### B. POLITICAL HISTORY

W. KOLBE, in a Freiburg lecture, *Die Weltreichsidee Alexanders des Grossen* (Freiburger Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, Bd. 25; Freiburg i. Br., 1936, 24 pp.) stresses the non-national character of Alexander's 'ideology'. G. DE SANCTIS, *Riv. di fil.* 14 (1936), 134-52, 253-73, *Atene dopo Ispo e un papiro fiorentino*, refers the situation described in a fragmentary papyrus published by A. PEROSA in *St. It. fil. class.* 12 (1935), 95-7 to the struggle between Charias and Lachares, and treats afresh the history of Athens in the early years of the third century B.C. H. I. BELL and T. C. SKEAT review W. OTTO's *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers (JEA 21, 89)*, in *JEA* 21, 262-4 (on the date of the death of Cleopatra I, and the position of Cleopatra II). A. PASSEBINI in *Athenaeum* (Pavia) 23 (1935), 317-42, *Roma e l'Egitto durante la terza guerra Macedonica* re-examines the relationship in law between Egypt and Rome in the second century, and investigates the political situation in 169 and 168 B.C. Writing an *Esquisse d'une histoire des révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides* in *Chron. d'Ég. 11 (1936), 522-52*, CLAIRE PRÉAUX throws light on the forces of disintegration in Ptolemaic Egypt, on the difference in character of revolutionary movements in Alexandria, Middle Egypt and the Thebaid, and the precarious equilibrium maintained by the monarch. In *JRS* 26 (1936), 187-8, *The Bucheum Stelae: A note*, W. W. TARN defends his view (*CAH*, x, 36) that Cleopatra 'in person escorted a new Buchis bull to his home'.

H. I. BELL continues his history of Roman Egypt in Vol. XI of *CAH* (chap. XVI, 649-58, short bibliography, supplementary to that in Vol. x, on p. 927) with a notable use of new material. U. WILCKEN's edition of *Die Bremer Papyri* (cf. § 3 A) contains much of value for the history of the Jewish war under Hadrian.

Concerning questions of status, WILLY PEREMANS, *\*EAAHNEZ dans P. Paris 66 (UPZ, II, 157)* in *Chron. d'Ég. 11 (1936), 517-21* disputes WILCKEN's interpretation of l. 32 of that papyrus, and suggests

<sup>1</sup> One of these (no. 16) is, with P. Strassb. 8, 17, the latest known dating by Tacitus, 14 Payni = June 8, 276; Tacitus actually died in April.

<sup>2</sup> In ll. 26-7, where BOAK has failed to find a satisfactory reading, something like κύριον τὸ γεγραμμένον seems to be required.



that the term ἑλληγ as an official class designation applied only to the wealthy or socially important immigrants. F. HEICHELHEIM contributes a *Nachtrag II zur Prosopographie der auswärtigen Bevölkerung im Ptolemäereich* to *Archiv* 12 (1936), 54-64. A. H. M. JONES has an important paper in *JRS* 26 (1936), 223-35, *Another interpretation of the 'Constitutio Antoniniana'*. Accepting WILHELM's restoration, he translates the disputed clause 'I grant therefore to all the inhabitants of the world (without exception) Roman citizenship, no one remaining outside the citizen bodies (of the several cities which the empire comprises) except the *dediticii*'—i.e. the grant of Roman citizenship was universal, but *dediticii* (among whom the Egyptians are included) did not thereby become members of a *civitas*. This view has an important administrative corollary: it explains why an Egyptian nome did not become the *territorium* of a *metropolis*. (For the relationship between villages and *metropolis*, see the valuable commentary on P. Lond. Inv. 2565 by T. C. SKEAT and E. P. WEGENER, *A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt Appius Sabinus* in *JEA* 21, 224-47.)

## C. BIOGRAPHY

I have not been able to see W. GÖRLITZ, *Kleopatra. Bildnis einer dämonischen Frau* (Hamburg, 1936).

## D. ADMINISTRATION

A good deal of work has been done on administrative officials. In *The Epistrategus Hippalos*, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 40-3, T. C. SKEAT, from a new reading of the address of P. Teb. 778, shows that the sphere of competence of Hippalos (? 185-169 B.C.) was not restricted to the Thebaid, but extended over Middle Egypt as far north as Memphis, and in fact probably embraced the entire χώρα. Hippalos' post was an extraordinary one, but might serve as a precedent for the later appointment of epistrategi with a similar sphere of action. H. HENNE's monumental *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (*Mém. Inst. fr.* tome lvi, Cairo, 1935, pp. xxii+1\*-71\*+1-113) consists of an exhaustive catalogue, with dates, notes, discussions, and indices; there are also lists of *basilicogrammateis* supplementary to BIEDERMANN and MARTIN. The awkward form of the book, of which the main text is preceded by a supplement (pp. 1\*-71\*) embodying the latest information, with separate indices, is not the fault of the author, who has struggled heroically with the task of keeping up to date a text of which printing began in 1928. The whole work is packed with material of administrative importance, e.g. the lists of Ptolemaic oeconomes and ἐπι τῶν προσόδων on pp. 52\*-58\*. Reviewed by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 576-8. In deference to this publication T. C. SKEAT's plan for a catalogue of strategoi, announced in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 30-5, *A forthcoming Catalogue of Nome Strategoi*, has been suspended for the time being. E. G. TURNER collects the evidence for the existence and duties of δεκάπρωτοι in and outside Egypt in *JEA* 22, 7-19, *Egypt and the Roman Empire: the ΔΕΚΑΠΡΩΤΟΙ*.

J. N. COROI writes on *Le Conventus juridicus en Égypte aux trois premiers siècles de l'Empire romain* in *Actes du Congrès international des études byzantines*, 1935, 363 ff. which I have not seen. GRETE ROSENBERGER contributes a note to *Archiv* 12 (1936), 70-3, on *Die Berechnung der έκαστην vom Artaben in den Papyri*. In *Studien über Steuerverpachtung* (*Sitzungb. Münch.* 1935, Heft 4), W. LOTZ traces in broad outline the history of revenue farming in the ancient and modern world.

In *PW*, xvii/1 (1936) W. SCHWAHN writes on Νόμος τελωνικός and E. ZIEBARTH on νομάρχης.

A. C. JOHNSON's *Roman Egypt* (Vol. II in TENNEY FRANK's series *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*) is likely to prove of considerable value to the student of Egyptian administration also. See especially his fourth chapter, on taxation.

## E. TOPOGRAPHY

The first part of A. CALDERINI's *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (*JEA* 22, 71) is warmly welcomed by H. L. BELL, *JEA* 21, 267-8, and W. SCHUBART, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 282-4, though both reviewers make some criticisms of the plan of the work. The first two fascicules of G. LUMBRUSO's *Testi e commenti concernenti l'antica Alessandria* (pp. 1-32, 33-88) have appeared, a marvellous collection of passages in literature referring to Alexandria or in any way concerning it, filled out with ample references to papyri, inscriptions, etc. The names of E. BRECCIA, A. CALDERINI, and G. GHEDINI on the editorial board are sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the presentation. H. GAUTHIER, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote à la conquête arabe* (*Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte*, vol. 25, Cairo, 1935, xxiii+219 pp., 5 pls.), which I have not yet been able to see, is obviously a work of capital importance, consisting of a detailed study of the changes in number and extent of the nomes, their transformation into pagi, and ultimate survival in the limits of Coptic dioceses. It is reviewed by B. V[AN] D[ER] W[ALLE], *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1935), 403-5, and A. ADRIANI, *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 30 (1936), 142-3.



I have not yet seen A. CALDERINI, *IBIΩN nei nomi di luogo dell' Egitto greco-romano*, *Mé. Masp.* 2, 345-55.

In a note in *Rev. arch.* 8 (1936), 104-5, CH. P[ICARD] summarizes recent work on medieval Arabic accounts of the Pharos of Alexandria. The dimensions recorded in different accounts do not agree very well, but the date of the final collapse of the structure can now be fixed between A.D. 1326 and 1349.

#### F. CHRONOLOGY

In an important paper, *The Accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes: A Problem of Chronology*, in *JEA* 22, 20-34, F. W. WALBANK reviews the complicated evidence for the chronology of Epiphanes' accession, and puts forward a new theory to explain the divergent traditions. He argues that Philopator died between mid-summer and Oct. 12, 204 B.C., and that the news of his death was concealed for a period of from ten to fourteen months. The official accession of Epiphanes did not take place till c. Sept. 203, but some years later when the story of Sosibius' intrigues had leaked out, and for religious reasons, his reign was extended retrospectively to the death of Philopator, and his sixth regnal year was suppressed. The expression  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \frac{1}{2}$   $\mu\alpha\rho\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  (Rosetta stone, l. 47, dated Phaophi 17) is to be interpreted as referring to the anniversary of the beginning of Epiphanes' co-regency with Philopator, not his coronation by Agathocles.

### 5. Social Life, Education, Economic History, Numismatics, Metrology

#### A. SOCIAL LIFE AND EDUCATION

The second of ORSOLINA MONTEVECCHI's studies in Egyptian sociology appeared in *Aeg.* 14 (1936), 3-83: it deals with *Contratti di matrimonio e gli atti di divorzio*, and contains an exhaustive review of the material available.

Two articles by W. PEREMANS in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936) are important for the evidence collected as to the social standing of foreigners in Egypt: they are entitled *Égyptiens et étrangers en Égypte au III<sup>e</sup> siècle* (pp. 157-62) and *ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ dans P. Paris 66* (pp. 517-21). On the latter cf. § 4 above.

In *À l'école avec les petits Grecs d'Égypte* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 489-507) P. COLLART has provided an interesting summary of the documents which illustrate the school curriculum of Graeco-Roman Egypt, both elementary and advanced.

IBRAHIM NOSHY has just published a book on *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt*, which contains a careful and appreciative study of the respective influences of Greek and Egyptian traditions in the work of the period considered.

There is not much direct reference to Egypt in THEODORE FYFE's *Hellenistic Architecture*, but what there is is valuable.

D. B. HARDEN has made the most thorough examination of Romano-Egyptian glass that has yet appeared in *Roman Glass from Karanis* (cf. § 10).

In this connexion should be noted F. W. VON BISSING's *Aegyptische Kultbilder der Ptolomaier- und Römerzeit* (*Der Alte Orient.* 34, V<sub>2</sub>).

#### B. ECONOMIC HISTORY

Students of economic history will find A. C. JOHNSON's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, II: Roman Egypt to the reign of Diocletian* of great value. It contains a wide but judicious selection of the documents, and is well arranged.

M. ROSTOVZEV's article on *The Hellenistic World and its economic development* in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 41 (1936), 231-52 is useful for the first century of Greek rule in Egypt.

To most people the chief interest of MARIA CORIANCHI's *Ricerche di ornitologia nei papiri dell' Egitto greco-romano*, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 91-147, will be economic rather than zoological: it is mainly occupied in dealing with domestic fowls—pigeons, geese, and hens.

#### C. NUMISMATICS AND METROLOGY

In *Aegyptisches Theozenion des Jahres 167 auf einer bisher unbekannten Münze des Marcus Aurelius* (*Deutsch. Münzblätter* 56 (1936), 408) P. LEDERER describes a somewhat enigmatic type and makes suggestions for its interpretation.



H. MATTINGLY, in an article on *The Palmyrene Princes and the mints of Antioch and Alexandria* (*Num. Chron.* 16 (1936), 89-114), rather overrates Palmyrene influences in Egypt before the accession of Aurelian.

W. KUBITSCHKEK criticized some recent theories on later Roman and Byzantine currency, including that of Egypt, in *Uebergang von der vordiolettianischen Währung* (*BZ* 35 (1935), 340-74)—presumably his last appearance in a field where he has been a master for many years.

J. G. MILNE described *Coins found at Tebtunis in 1900* in *JEA* 21, 210-16.

GRETE ROSENBERGER's note on *Die Berechnung der ικατοστή von Artaben in den Papyri* (*Archiv.* 12 (1936), 70-3) will be useful to metrologists.

## 6. Law

### A. GENERAL

#### (i) Bibliography.

U. WILCKEN, *Urkundenreferat*, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 74-102. L. WENGER, *Juristische Literaturübersicht*, v, *ibid.*, 103-71 includes works up to 1935. Pp. 113-28 are devoted to the papers in *Papyri u. Altertumswissenschaft* (*JEA* 21, 91). E. SEIDL, *St. et doc.* 2 (1936), 239-50 continues his *Juristische Papyruskunde* to include publications up to Sept. 1935. A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), *Bibliografia metodica*, 178-224 (*Diritto e amministrazione* 207-9); also *Testi recentemente pubblicati*, *ibid.*, 166-8. *BZ* 36 (1936), *Papyruskunde*, 196-8, 461-4, *Jurisprudenz* 271-5, 540-2. P. COLLART, *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 501-35 (*Documents* 517-23). List of French doctorate theses relating to legal history, *Rev. hist. dr.* 15 (1936), 189-94 (*Droit oriental et dr. romain*, 189). Summaries of papers read to *Soc. d'hist. du droit*, *ibid.*, 204-11, 401-18. J. ERNST (sous la direction de J. MAROUZEAU), *L'année Philologique* 8 (1935), *Bibl. de l'année 1935* (*Papyrologie* 177-82, *Droit* 356-63, *Droit alexandrin et ptolémaïque* 967-8); 9 (1935), *Bibl. de l'année 1934* (*Pap.* 184-9, *Dr.* 380-9, *Dr. alex. et ptol.* 388-9). *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1936), 222, announces that the section *Égypte gréco-romaine* of the *Bibliothèque* will no longer be published, as its place is taken by the card-bibliography.

#### (ii) Legal history of antiquity.

##### (a) Egyptian Law.

E. SEIDL, *KVGR* 28 (1936), 310-16, continues his *Sammelbericht* of translations and treatises concerning pre-Ptolemaic law for the years 1934-6. A. H. GARDINER, *JEA* 21 (1935), 140-6 publishes with translation *P. Cairo 65739*, a fragment of a hieratic *procès-verbal* of a lawsuit arising out of the sale of two slaves, dating probably from the beginning or middle of the reign of Ramesses II. The report ends with a species of medial judgement whereby the court calls upon the defendant to acquiesce in her punishment should the case go against her by swearing that if witnesses establish the charge she will be liable to 100 strokes. SEIDL (*Sammelbericht*, 313-above) notes that this text makes it clear that Diodorus' description of Egyptian procedure as written, which was already known to be inapplicable to the beginning of the New Kingdom, does not apply to the time of Ramesses II either. J. CAPART, A. H. GARDINER, and B. VAN DE WALLE, *New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-robberies*, *JEA* 22 (1936), 169-93, publish *P. Léopold II* (cf. *JEA* 22, 77) with transcription, translation and full commentary. N. J. REICH, *The Legal transactions of a family, preserved in the University Museum at Philadelphia*, *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 13-29, gives a brief description of the demotic papyri from Dirā' abu'l Naga covering a century of the early Ptolemaic period, and, *ibid.*, 57-9, publishes the oldest of the group, a deed of gift of 317 B.C. He also publishes, *ibid.*, 36-51, the 'Field Museum Papyrus' of Chicago, a demotic promissory note of 109/8 B.C., of a type otherwise represented only by *P. Louvre 2436 b* (Revillout, *Chrest. dém.*, 110 ff.)

##### (b) Various.

L. WENGER, *Antike Rechtsgeschichte, Forschungen u. Fortschritte* 12 (1936), 1-3, explains briefly his general point of view (cf. *JEA* 15, 127), welcoming also WILCKEN's use of the phrase *antike Urkundenlehre* in *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (*JEA* 21, 93). R. TAUBENSCHLAG's *Geschichte der Rezeption des griechischen Privatrechts in Aegypten*, *Atti del IV Congr. Internaz. di Papirologia*, 1935 (1936), 259-81 (offprint) forms a pendant to his article on the reception of Roman private law in *Studi Bonfante* 1 (1930). The conclusion is that a complete reception took place only in the law of slavery, guardianship, and possession. With respect to *patria* and *materna potestas*, pledge, obligations, and inheritance, the reception was subject to Egyptian influence and the result a system composed of both elements. E. ALBERTARIO, *Le classicisme de Dioclétien*, *St. et Doc.* 3 (1936), 115-22, collects a number of instances in which a reform commonly, and also by Taubenschlag,



attributed to D., turns out in his opinion to be of later origin. In one such instance, adoption by women (cf. his article, *Mnemosyna Pappulia*, 17-27), he has the support of C. BELLELLI, *St. et Doc.* 3 (1936) 140-4, who, however, disagrees as to the extent of the interpolation in C. 8. 47. 5.

(iii) Juristic texts and comments.

U. WILCKEN, *Die Bremer Papyri*, *Abh. Berlin* 1936, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 2, publishes with introduction, notes, indices, and (in most cases) translation, the texts now in Bremen belonging to the Heptakomia group, together with an unconnected document of the fourth century. Some of the texts have been published, others mentioned in various places before, but the legal interest of the edition, even if subordinate to the historical, is very great. One may mention especially three *κατ' ολίαν ἀπογραφαι* for A.D. 117-18 (nos. 32-4), and two 'cheques' (nos. 46-7) or rather, as W. now deduces from the absence of an authenticating greeting at the end, copies of documents of which the signed originals went to the bank, for without authentication the bank would not have paid. The payee then added his receipt to the copy and left it with the bank. No. 39 confirms the view that boys ceased to be subject to guardianship on becoming liable to poll-tax at 14, girls on marriage. A. E. R. BOAK, *Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, *Ét. de Pap.* 3 (1936), 1-45, publishes a further selection from the archives of Aurelios Isidoros of Karanis, the most important of which are four declarations of land for the census of A.D. 297. From these he is able to reconstruct completely (pp. 2-3) the formula for such declarations, and also to give a revised text of P. Thead. 54 and 55, which follow the same scheme. No. 12 is a declaration of persons, in which Isidoros himself appears as taxable, whereas his three-year old son is exempt. Other documents are leases, receipts for rent in kind, and a contract whereby Aurelios Pollion agrees in return for payment to take the place of Isidoros' brother, who has been drafted for forced labour at Trajan's River for the year A.D. 297. The greater part of *Papyri Osloenses*, Fasc. III, edited by S. EITREM and L. AMUNDSEN (Oslo, 1936) consists of 'documents', public and private, mainly of legal interest. The longest is no. 111, a list of freemen and freedmen in two quarters of Oxyrhynchus of A.D. 235, of a type hitherto unknown. It is arranged by houses and each householder confirms his return by a written oath either in his own hand or that of a substitute. E. P. WEGENER, *Mnemosyne*, 3rd series, 3 (1936), 232-40, publishes with translation and notes *Four Papyri of the Bodleian Library*, a lease A.D. 225 in common form, an obscure lease or résumé of one, A.D. 330, a receipt for the price of cummin paid in advance, A.D. 320, and a contract with oil dealers of the sixth or seventh century. A note on the last by BELL with a textual correction and a suggested explanation of the transaction is added. C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Excavations at Doura-Europos. Report of Sixth Session, 1932-3* (1936), 419-38, describes fourteen parchments and papyri, nearly all of which were mentioned in *Münch. Beitr.* 19 (*JEA* 21, 91). For D.Pg. 20 cf. *JEA* 22, 85, for D.Pg. 21 below D (i). G. KLAFFENBACH, *Neue Inschriften aus Ätolien*, *Sitzungsb. Berlin* 1936, 358-88, includes a number of manumissions, an obscure gift, a lease and an arbitral award (p. 380) ending *καθώς ὁ πο[λι]τικός νόμος τῆς πόλεως τῶν Θεσσιέων* [κελεύει], which K. takes to favour PARTSCH's view of π.ν. as *die allgemeine Bürgersatzung* against SCHUBART's *das städtische Recht*. W. SCHUBART, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 425-9, reviewing G. MANTEUFFEL, *Pap. Varsovienses* (*JEA* 22, 68), makes a number of important corrections and suggestions for the reading of the two chief legal documents, no. 10 (A.D. 156), which consists of a notarial agreement, a *διαγραφὴ τραπεζῆς* and a memorandum addressed to the βεβλ. ἐγκτ., all concerning a loan of money on security, and no. 12, a fragmentary register of contracts, dating according to him from Vespasian's reign. The suggestions agree in part with those of WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 94-7. F. ZUCKER, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 476-85, reviewing W. SCHUBART and D. SCHÄFER, *Spätptolemäische Papyri aus amtlichen Büros des Herakleopolites* (*JEA* 20, 89), would read *ἀπηνίς* [ἀν] ἀνενομή[ε]ωμεν i.e. 'fail to abide by our contract', in no. 1738 I. 32, and has other suggestions. K. F. W. SCHMIDT, *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 714-18, suggests a number of corrections in the readings of L. AMUNDSEN's *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*, Pt. I (1935). M. HOMBERT and C. PRÉAUX, *Les papyrus de la fondation égyptologique*, *Chron. d'Ég.* 12 (1937), 92-100 say that the newly acquired collection includes a loan of the third century B.C., a fragmentary 'Egyptian' contract of the second century B.C., a certificate of exemption from *λαογραφία* in the name of Mettius Rufus, and other legal documents of later date. A private letter is published and the more interesting parts of the collection are to follow in subsequent numbers. *Michigan Papyri*, 3 (1936), *Miscellaneous Papyri*, ed. by J. G. WINTER, includes several documents of legal interest, some of them previously published, but arrived too late to be read. Vol. 4 (1936), *Tax Rolls from Karanis*, Pt. I, ed. H. C. YOUTIE contains the texts only. I have not seen P. COLLOMP, *Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*, *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg* 14 (1935), 60-3; review by P. COLLART, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 49 (1936), 518.



## (iv) The oath.

H. KRELLER, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 98-102, reviewing favourably E. SEIDL, *Der Eid im rom.-aeg. Provinzialrecht*, I (JEA 20, 98), suggests that the *ἐθιμος* 'Ρωμαίοις ὅρκος may not be, as S. argues, the *τέχνη* oath introduced by the Roman Government, but the true Roman oath *per Jovem et Divos Augustos et Genium principis deosque Penates*. Though Romans in Egypt might well be allowed to use the oath prescribed there for subjects generally, no imperial or prefectorial edict requiring them to do so could make it *ἐθιμος*. M. DAVID, *Tijdschrift* 14 (1936), 467-74, though also favourable, disagrees in important points. The oath formulae do not, as S. believes, mirror political facts or the attitude adopted by successive emperors. Unlike legends on coins they remain unaffected by the succession of Nero and Domitian. Nor can S.'s view be accepted that in declarations and returns the imposition of an oath was a matter for the discretion of the authorities; the declarant would have had to discover the authorities' view in each case, and BGU 1068 (W., Chr., 62) shows the contrary.

## B. LAW OF PERSONS

## (i) Status civitatis.

W. PEREMANS, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936) 517-21, contends against WILCKEN that ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνι—α in UPZ. II, 157, l. 32 does not imply that one Egyptian has acquired the status of Greek and thus become exempt from the *corvée*. The term 'Hellene' included, as KORNEMANN thinks (*Aeg.* 13 (1933), 644-50) other foreigners besides Greeks, but only those of some social standing, and the phrase quoted means merely that one foreigner has been moved from the lower to the higher category and thus obtained exemption. G. I. LUZZATTO, *St. et Doc.* 2 (1936), 210-19, reviewing A. MOMIGLIANO's *Ricerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio romano* (1934) disagrees with M.'s view that the status of *dediticius* was transitory only and incompatible with that of *stipendiarius*. A. H. M. JONES, *Another Interpretation of the 'Constitutio Antoniniana'*, *JRS* 26 (1936), 223-35, after summarizing previous views, gives a new explanation based on Wilhelm's text. Most provincials did not remain permanently *dediticii* but became 'ordinary *peregrini*' on the recognition of their 'autonomy' by Rome. Where, however, as in Egypt and Cappadocia, the government was on bureaucratic lines, the bulk of the population were *dediticii*, in the sense of *peregrini* directly governed by Rome and lacking all ordinary means of attaining Roman citizenship. The organization of the metropoleis by Septimius Severus changed the status of those who lived in these cities, but left the other inhabitants of the *nomes* unaffected, and the CA itself, though it gave the citizenship generally, maintained the exclusion of these *dediticii* from the cities. This was of practical importance, as seen from the recently published papyrus of A.D. 250 (below F), for it meant that they could not be subjected to city liturgies.

## (ii) Marriage.

A. BISCARDI, *Πολύ ἐδ' Ἑγγύσεις nel diritto matrimoniale attico*, *St. it. fil. class.* 11 (1934), 57-80, is directed chiefly against ROUSSEL's reassertion of the view that a dowry is a presupposition of a valid Athenian marriage. On the other hand a dowry, if it exists, is proof of marriage. It is always constituted by the person who carries out the *ἐγγύσεις* and necessarily presupposes *ἐγγ.*, but the two have no formal connexion, nor need they be simultaneous. O. MONTEVECCHI, *Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano*, II, *I contratti di matrimonio e gli atti di divorzio*, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 1-83, begins with a summary of divergent views on the nature of marriage in Egypt, and contains much else of legal importance. Though preserving an open mind on many points she holds definitely that γάμος ἀγραφος was a fully legal marriage. Very useful lists of documents, pp. 4-5 and 20. E. VOLTEIRA, *St. et Doc.* 3 (1937), 135-9, holds that P. Oxy. 129 (M., Chr., 296), in which a father sends a *repudium* on behalf of his daughter, refers to an engagement, not a marriage, and that, although there is no mention of *arrha sponsalicia*, the reason why he uses so formal a document and sends it through the *defensor* is that he wishes to make it clear that he did not know of the fiancé's misconduct until after the engagement, and so to escape the penalties in accordance with C.5.1.5.4.

## C. LAW OF PROPERTY

*An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. TENNEY FRANK, Vol. II, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, by A. C. JOHNSON, includes much of legal importance, particularly with respect to land and taxation. L. ZANCAN, *Il diritto di sepolcro nel Gnomon*, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 148-65, attacks the problem presented by the statement in *Gnomon* § 2, that only Romans could sell τάφοι ἀκαταχρημάτιστοι and that according to Hadrian nothing was ἀκαταχρημάτιστον to a Roman (cf. JEA 21, 93). Originally the whole extent of a family tomb was deemed to be outside the scope of the law and subject to the dispositions of the founder or failing these, the Pontiffs, but with the decay of the family and the rise of *columbaria*, in which all except niches actually



occupied could be bought and sold, a new conception arose. Trajan (Gnomon, § 1) allowed the parts surrounding the actual grave to be sold for the benefit of creditors, and Celsus (D. 11.7.2.5) expressed the new view bluntly in saying that only the place where the body lay was 'religious'. The Egyptian attitude was quite different, and to prevent trouble the Roman government permitted Romans only to be parties to the sales referred to in § 1. As against the view of Uxkull-Gyllenband, Z. holds that § 2 can be explained only as closely connected with § 1.

#### D. LAW OF OBLIGATIONS

##### (i) Loan.

A. B. SCHWARZ, *Symb. Oslo*, 14 (1935), 77-81, shows that  $\mu\eta\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota[\sigma]\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$  in P. Osl. II 401. 18 does not mean 'without having to go to law' but 'if right is not done to you', i.e. 'if you are not paid'. Some phrase of this meaning is necessary to show that the creditor can exercise his rights only if he is not repaid in due course, and is found in parallel contracts of pledge, e.g. P. Oxy. III 506. Further, the other meaning would imply that the creditor could not only acquire the pledged property in case of default without legal proceedings, but also that he could proceed to execution on his own responsibility, and for this there is no parallel. C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Z. Sav.* 56 (1936) 99-135, publishes and comments at length on D. Pg. 21 of A.D. 87 (cf. above A. III). It is, in his view, a gift *inter vivos* made before, not merely registered by, a royal court at Dura. The controversial  $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (cf. *JEA* 19, 86-7; 20, 97), now found in four of the five contracts of loan from Dura, he translates 'acknowledgement', not 'renewal', taking the particular point to be that such acknowledgement was required in the interest of the creditor to enable him to enter into possession of the mortgaged property.  $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  occurs now also in P. Oslo 118.

##### (ii) Sale.

H. J. WOLFF, *Römische Grundstücksverkäufe aus dem Vandalenreich*, *Tijdschrift* 14 (1936), 1-23, reprints and comments on two Latin documents, one a triptych (A.D. 493 or 494), the other a diptych (A.D. 494), published by E. ALBERTINI, *Journal des Savants*, 1930, 23 ff. They are evidentiary protocols, without mancipation, of a type hitherto unknown, Roman in origin, and showing traces of Eastern influence in style rather than substance. Though the sellers are evidently *coloni* they appear to dispose freely of their holdings.

##### (iii) Lease.

The upshot of H. COMFORT's article *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 293-9, may be given in the words of his own summary of his paper in *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* 65 (1934), xxxvii. 'Four papyri (*Masp.* I 67116, II 67128, 67129, 67251) dealing with leased land and the payment for it, addressed to Dioscorus of Aphrodito by his tenants A.D. 547-9 are peculiar in style. It is shown that the first and last are receipts for seed grain, while 67128 and 67129 are leases in the disguise of promissory notes. The latter pair is unique, and it is suggested that in order to be in a better legal position, D. used this device to alter his land leases from contracts *bonae fidei* to *stipulationes stricti iuris*.' For leases cf. above A. (iii). I have not seen P. COLLOMP, *Un bail de troupeau*, *Mé. Maspero* 2 (1935), 335-44. According to M. H(OMBERT), *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 563 it includes an edition of P. Strasb. no. gr. 1707 concerning the lease of 'iron' cattle and a study of six leases of animals previously published which enables us to follow the fortunes of a flock for several years.

##### (iv) Societas.

C. ROBERTS, T. C. SKEAT, A. D. NOCK, *The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos*, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 29 (1936), 39-87 (offprint), publish text, translation, and commentary of P. Lond. 2710, a fragment of the νόμος of an association dated tentatively 69-58 B.C., perhaps from Philadelphia. The association is analogous to an *eranos*, but the closest parallels are found in demotic texts. One feature is that the members undertake not to bring accusations against each other, but the main significance of the papyrus and of the commentary is for religious, not legal, history. H. LÉVY-BRUHL, *Rev. hist. dr.* 15 (1936), 211 (summary of communication to Société d'histoire du droit) holds that both the natural and the artificial *consortium* constitute a sort of joint family, differing from the normal Roman régime and characterized by the absence of succession and *patria potestas*. *Ibid.*, 337-41 he deduces from the negative phrase *ercto non cito* that division was usual. G. SCHERILLO, *St. et Doc.* 2 (1936), 203-5, reviewing C. A. MASCHI, *Disertationes* (*JEA* 21, 86) disagrees with his results.

##### (v) Delict.

M. MUHL, *Klio* 29 (1936), 113-15, finds the first trace of the principle  $\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\iota\omega\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega\iota\omega\ \delta\delta\iota\kappa\omega\iota\omega$  in Od. xvi 72— $\delta\tau\epsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\eta\eta$ .



## (vi) Discharge of obligations.

F. MAROL, *St. et Doc.* 3 (1936), 163-6, maintains that Sammelbuch 7634 (= P. Lond. Inv. 2554, *JEA* 20, 21-7, cf. *JEA* 22, 80) confirms the views expressed by SEGRE in *Bull. Ist. dir. rom.* 34 (1925), 74 ff., and makes it clear that where a chirograph evidencing a debt had been 'published', the debtor obtained the effect of a *contrarius actus*, by getting the repayment registered in the ββλ. ἐγκτ.; so also WILCKEN, *Mitteilungen aus d. Wurz. Papyrussammlung* no. 6 shows that a debt contracted by a συγγραφή ἐξαμάρτυρος is extinguished by a similar document. M. also argues that SEGRE is right in his interpretation of the 'bearer' clause, as against WEBER's criticism, *Untersuchungen zum gr.-äg. Obligationenrecht*, 31.

## (vii) Querela non numeratae pecuniae.

P. COLLINET, *L'Édit du Préfet d'Égypte Valerius Eudaemon* (P. Oxy. II 237, col. viii, ll. 7-18, 138 ap. J-C.); *une hypothèse sur l'origine de la 'Querela non numeratae pecuniae'*, *Atti del IV Congr. Internaz. di Papirologia, Firenze*, 1935 (1936), 89-100 (offprint), suggests that the *querela n. n. p.* appears from this edict to have originated as a criminal action for ψάδουπρία (to be translated 'fraud'), by which, as by a charge of forgery or περιγραφή (circumscriptio), a person sued for money on a document might seek to meet the claim, with the result that he had to deposit the sum claimed, but received it back if he was successful in the criminal action. C. also suggests that the *querela inofficiosi testamenti* may have originated as a criminal charge, but does not go into this question in detail.

## E. THE LAW OF SUCCESSION

U. E. PAOLI, *St. et Doc.* 2 (1936), 77-119, *L'εγγυρεία nel diritto successorio attico*, argues that though females, not being πόλῖται, have no share in the law of the πόλις, they have rights in family law, and that the state will see that the head of the οἶκος fulfils his duty of respecting these rights. 'Αγγυρεία is the limit within which successorial rights are allowed to the cognatic family, and, in spite of the prevailing opinion, ascendants can inherit. W. CH. KAMPS, *Rev. hist. dr.* 15 (1936), 142-55, interprets the inscription from Crimisa in which the phrase ζῶντος κ[αὶ] θανόντος occurs, and two others in the Achaean dialect from S. Italy as referring, not to *donationes mortis causa* but to trusts which will result to the donor if he survives a certain peril, and thinks that the institution thus evidenced may have been the pattern for the *mancipatio familiae*. See also summary, *ibid.*, 413-14.

## F. THE COURTS AND PROCEDURE

H. C. HARRELL, *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law, University of Missouri Studies*, xi. 1 (1936), re-examines the evidence, but comes in the main to the same conclusions as Bonner. Review by H. F. J. [OLOWICZ], *JHS* 56 (1936), 264. W. SCHUBART, *Causa Halensis, Archiv* 12 (1936), 27-39, assuming that the contents of P. Hal. 1 were prepared for the purposes of a special case, seeks to reconstruct the facts and the nature of the parties' claims. The result is a complex story. Note on ἀμφοτέρως pp. 34-5 (cf. *JEA* 20, 105). C. PRÉAUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 163-9, contests for the third cent. B.C. BERNEKER's assertion (*Sondergerichtsbarkeit*, 69-74) that the comarch and the comogrammateus are under the disciplinary jurisdiction of the strategus, and so also his view that the addressee of P. Tebt. 793 is a strategus. She also reviews the book *ibid.* 181-8 very favourably, but with some criticism. E. BICKERMANN, *Utilitas crucis, Observations sur les récits du procès de Jésus dans les Évangiles canoniques, Rev. hist. rel.* 112 (1935), 169-241, uses some papyrological material in criticizing those who criticize the Gospel narratives from the point of view of legal procedure. P. Lond. Inv. 2565 (cf. *JEA* 21, 80), published with introduction and notes by T. C. SKEAT and E. P. WEGENER, *JEA* 21 (1935), 224-47, is the record of a trial before the prefect Appius Sabinus held probably in A.D. 250, and by far the most extensive document of the sort so far known. The case concerned the validity of the appointment of certain κομμητῆς to the office of κοσμητῆς, and both the appealing villagers and the members of the Arsinoite Senate are represented by several counsel, but the editors do not discuss the points of municipal administration involved in view of Miss WEGENER's forthcoming thesis on the local senates after the reforms of Severus. The references to procedure on appeal are tantalizingly obscure, but there is clear reference to the three summonses necessary before judgement by default was allowed (*Digest.* 5. 1. 68), and the editors argue that we have here the only known example of a judgement by default pronounced by a delegate (the epistrategus). The case is decided by reference to an enactment of Severus which seems to be conclusive in favour of the villagers and against which the Senate's counsel can only say that the application of the law is limited by the city's needs. The manner in which decisions (ἐπίσεις and ἔροι) are quoted as authorities is noticeable, and in one place (l. 98) there is what looks like a stronger reference to the binding



force of precedent, unfortunately just incomplete. On pp. 239-40 the edd. show that the phrase  $\delta \delta \iota \epsilon \pi \omega \nu$  . . . must no longer be taken to refer necessarily to a substitute; it is frequently a paraphrase for the person actually in office. A. STEINWENTER, *St. et Doc.* 2 (1936), 406-12, reviewing L. ARU, *Il processo civile contumaziale* (1934—not seen) in part reaffirms and in part modifies his own original views. E. BALOGH, *Zur Datierung der Verstaatlichung des provinziellen Formalprozesses*, *Bull. Ist. dir. rom.* 43 (1935), 216-36, holds with FITTING against the more general modern opinion that the first six books of Julian's *Digesta* must have been written before A.D. 129, and therefore that the Emperor referred to in D. 1. 18. 8 must be Hadrian not Antoninus. He agrees, however, with WLAŠAK (*Provinzialprozess*, 16 ff.) in holding that the passage presupposes the disappearance of the formulary system in its original form from provincial litigation. A. E. GIFFARD, *Études sur la procédure civile du Bas-Empire*, II: *La disparition de la denuntiatio et la réforme de 450*, *Rev. hist. dr.* 15 (1936), 99-104, holds that procedure by *litis denuntiatio* was abolished in provincial governors' courts by *Nov. Marc.* 1 of 450, which was followed by an enactment of Marcian's of 451 (*CJ* 9. 39. 2) dealing with *exsecutores* and one of Valentinian's of 452 (*Nov. Val.* 35) which dealt with security for appearance. The object of *Nov. Marc.* 1 was to save defendants from being dragged into distant courts, but it exposed them to exactions from *exsecutores* and hence special constitutions were needed to secure to civil servants and ecclesiastics their traditional privileges. Such a constitution is Zeno's of 484 (*CJ* 12. 21. 8) in which the words *pro tenore generalium edictorum* refer to the provisions of *Nov. Val.* 35 § 15 regarding security for appearance. This last point is taken up again by GIFFARD, *Notes sur la date d'apparition des 'fideiussores sistendi causa'*, *St. et Doc.* 2 (1936), 16-19. The first mention of these *fideiussores* comes, not in *CJ* 1. 3. 25. of 456, but in *Nov. Val.* 35. *CJ* 12. 26. 2 of 444 shows that *scholares* had before then enjoyed the privilege of giving their own officers as *fideiussores*, and *CJ* 12. 29. 3 (after 474) speaks of the practice as 'very old'. *Nov. Val.* 35 was therefore generalizing an existing institution. It was, however, not applied everywhere in the East as Justinian tells us *Inst.* 4. 11. The new procedure thus arose in the middle of the fifth century and cannot be due to Zeno or the school of Beirut. It is also shown to have been used in the barbarian kingdoms, which would not have happened if it had originated after the fall of the Western Empire. See also summaries of papers read to the Soc. d'histoire du droit, *Rev. hist. dr.* 15 (1936), 412-13, and 418, the latter supporting, against COLLINET, the view that *litis contestatio* remained bilateral. F. DE ZULUETA, *JRS* 26 (1936), 174-86, continues his studies of the new fragments of Gaius by discussing the *legis actiones*.

#### G. PUBLIC LAW

E. G. TURNER, *JEA* 22 (1936), 7-19, uses the  $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha \rho \rho \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota$  as an instance to show how false is the assumption that Egypt was the source of much administrative practice in the Roman Empire. The  $\delta$ . were the product of a system organized independently in the Empire and depended originally on the independent administration of the  $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota \varsigma$ . When introduced into Egypt they were the agents of the central government. O. W. REISMUTH, *Cl. Phil.* 31 (1936), 146-16, *Two edicts concerning the publicani*, publishes with commentary Princeton P. A.M. 8931, which is also to appear in E. H. KASE's *Papyri in the Princeton Collection*, Vol. II. The edicts forbid vexatious exactions by the  $\tau \epsilon \lambda \acute{o \nu \alpha \iota$  and date from the middle of the second century A.D., perhaps from the prefecture of M. Petronius Mamertinus, 133-5. H. C. YOUTIE, *AJA* 40 (1936), 284, reviews favourably A. M. HARMON's *Egyptian Property-Returns*, with a few minor criticisms and suggestions. For  $\alpha \nu \omicron \gamma \gamma \alpha \phi \alpha \iota$  cf. above A (iii).

### 7. Palaeography and Diplomatic

U. WILCKEN's edition of the Bremen papyri (cf. § 3 A above) includes a remarkable palaeographical specimen in P. Brem. 5, a letter of introduction (in Greek) from a Roman of high standing, Faberius Mundus; the body of the letter shows a rather rough type of 'Chancery' hand, but the autograph valediction is in an extraordinary script, the Greek letters being so distorted by the influence of Latin cursive forms as to be almost unrecognizable. A collotype plate of the papyrus is given. Another example of this Graeco-Latin *Mischtypus* is P. Brem. 10, a letter from one Ulpius Celer (not illustrated).

WILLIAM H. P. HATCH, *The Origin and Meaning of the Term 'Uncial'*, *Class. Phil.* 30 (1935), 247-54, may be mentioned here though it does not make use of papyri. His theory is that the 'uncia' in question is neither an ounce nor an inch, but one-twelfth of a line of writing; uncial MSS. were thus books written in narrow columns about twelve letters wide, a format common in Latin MSS. of the fourth and fifth centuries. The suggestion is attractive, but it is by no means clear that such a format was characteristic of the *éditions de luxe* disclaimed by Jerome.



E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Part II: *Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1935; xii+53 pp., 45 pp. of pls.) gives facsimiles of all Latin literary papyri in British collections. One non-literary document (no. 228), an unpublished letter of recommendation in the Rylands collection, is included.

A fourth edition of WATTENBACH's *Schrifttafeln* has appeared, but I have not yet seen it: GULIELMUS WATTENBACH, *Scripturae Graecae specimina in usum scholarum collecta et explicata. Libri cui inscriptum erat 'Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte des griechischen Schrift' editio quarta*, Berlin, 1936, 17 pp., 35 pls.

A. SIGALAS, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γραφῆς' (*JEA* 22, 90) is reviewed by A. DAIN, *Rev. ét. gr.* 48 (1935), 594-5 (rather critical, but welcomes the author's break with convention), and P. MAAS, *BZ* 35 (1935), 82-3 ('the most comprehensive treatment of Greek writing since Montfaucon').

N. LEWIS, *L'Industrie du papyrus* (*JEA* 21, 99) has received a lengthy and important review from M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 46-52; with his unrivalled knowledge of ancient society, ROSTOVITZEFF makes some most valuable remarks on the distribution and popularity of different writing materials (e.g. the introduction of papyrus by the Romans at Dura, and the Roman predilection for waxed tablets). He also discusses at length P. Teb. 9 and convincingly explains the word *διακολλητικόν*, while with several other reviewers he rejects LEWIS's explanation of the *χαρτιά* as a charge for authenticating a document. H. C. YOUTIE, in *Am. Journ. phil.* 57 (1936), 217-21, concentrates on the meaning of *κόλλημα* and *σέλις*, challenging LEWIS's hard-and-fast distinction that the former always means a sheet of papyrus (whether loose, or joined to others to form a roll), and the latter a column of writing; he quotes a papyrus in Cairo in which the first two columns of a long list are numbered α and β though actually both are written on the same sheet. Other reviews by P. VIERECK, *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 1121-3 and P. CHANTRAINE, *Rev. de phil.* 10 (1936), 360. In connexion with the growth and manufacture of papyrus, we may note an interesting description, with photographs, of a modern papyrus swamp in Palestine: ROGER WASHBOURN, *The Percy Sladen Expedition to Lake Huleh, Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 68 (1936), 204-10, pls. 1-5.

RUTH STELLHORN MACKENSEN, *Background of the History of Moslem Libraries*, *AJSL* 51 (1934-5), 114-25, 52 (1936), 22-33, 104-10, includes a discussion of the Alexandrian libraries and the date of their destruction.

H. J. M. MILNE, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (*JEA* 21, 100), has again been reviewed at length by A. MENTZ in *GGA* 197 (1935), 481-7, and *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 490-6. In the former place he contests the derivation of the Roman from the Greek system; in the latter he makes the interesting suggestion that the formation of Christian *nomina sacra* was influenced by Greek shorthand (*ibid.*, 493), and also adduces arguments (*ibid.*, 494-5) for placing the invention of the Greek system in the latter part of the first century A.D., a good deal later than the Roman. Also reviewed by C. H. ROBERTS, *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 24-5, who mentions a vellum fragment of the *Commentary* in the Bodleian [actually it contains *Comm.* nos. 12-22]. MILNE himself has an interesting popular article, *Greek Shorthand*, in *Aberdeen University Review*, 23 (1935-6), 127-32, touching incidentally on the psychological background of shorthand and its influence on literature.

A. GULAK, *Das Urkundenwesen im Talmud im Lichte der griechisch-ägyptischen Papyri und des griechischen und römischen Rechts* (Jerusalem, 1935, v+162 pp.), is an important work which may be mentioned here though its interest is mainly legal. Some remarkable parallels between the forms of extant papyri and those prescribed in the Talmud are brought out, and the book will be welcomed by champions of *antike Rechtsgeschichte*. A series of preliminary studies by the same author, originally published in the Hebrew periodical *Tarbiz*, is summarized in *Ét. de Pap.* 1, 97-104, under the title *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zu Talmud und Papyri*.

G. PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* has been exhaustively reviewed by O. SEEL, *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 16-30; in spite of some criticism of details, he pays a warm tribute to the inspiring quality of the work. Other reviews, also laudatory in the main, are by E. PARATORE, *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* 18 (1934), 102-10; G. CONTINI, *Archivum Romanicum* 19 (1935), 330-40; A. MANCINI, *Ann. R. Sc. Pisa* 4 (1935), 285-91.

P. COLLART's lecture on *Les Papyrus et la tradition des textes littéraires* (*Actes du Congrès de Nice de l'Association G. Budé*, 91-102) is inaccessible to me.

## 8. Lexicography and Grammar

The expression *πολλὰ πολλῶν* in P. Oxy. 744 is very fully discussed by A. WILHELM in *Symb. Oslo* 14 (1935), 6-21. In the same volume, pp. 77-81, A. B. SCHWARZ gives convincing reasons for rendering *μή δικαιοπραγούμενῳ* in P. Oslo 40 'Dir, dem gegenüber nicht gerecht (rechtmässig) gehandelt wird'. It may be noted here that H. I. BELL had reached the same conclusion ('if you do not receive satisfaction') in



*Cl. Rev.* 46 (1932), 24 without offering arguments. I have not seen the article by P. CHANTRAINE (on the adjectives in *-ματός* and the name of the dowry) which is summarized by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 594. The uses of the moods in Chariton are described by W. E. BLAKE in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 37 (1936), 10-23. The use of the perfect tense in the fourth Gospel is the subject of an article by MORTON S. ENSLIN in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 55 (1936), 121-31. In *L'Antiquité classique* 4 (1935), 403-17 there will be found an article in Dutch (with French summary, pp. 416-17) on bilingualism in Ptolemaic Egypt by W. PEREMANS. E. MAYSER is producing a second edition of vol I of his *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*; of this volume Teil 3, *Stammbildung* has been published (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936, vii+308 pp.); it is appreciatively reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 201.

## 9. General Works, Bibliography

### A. GENERAL WORKS

L. WENGER's *Juristische Literaturübersicht* v includes two very lengthy reviews, practically summarizing the contents in each case, of *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft* (*JEA* 21, 103) and PREISENDANZ's *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (*JEA* 21, 102): *Archiv* 12 (1936), 113-28, 128-39.

A well-written summary of recent discoveries, both archaeological and papyrological, from the pen of F. ZUCKER, *Neues aus dem hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten* is to be found in *Geistige Arbeit* 3 (1936), 3-5.

H. LECLERCQ contributes a long article on *Ostraka* to the *Dict. arch. chrét.*, Fasc. cxi-cxli, Paris, 1936, cols. 70-112. After outlining the information on Church organization in Egypt in the sixth and seventh centuries provided by ostraca (chiefly CRUM's *Coptic Ostraca*), he prints a representative selection of theological or liturgical texts, both Greek and Coptic, complete with translation, notes, and bibliography in each case. While early works on ostraca are used to the full, it is to be regretted that a number of standard editions of more recent years are omitted, with the result that no references are made to such interesting Christian documents as O. Strassb. 810 or O. Tait Petrie 415. But even so the article contains a rich store of valuable material.<sup>1</sup>

A brief account of the various collections of papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, is given in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 20 (1936), 9-16. T. HOPFNER's statement concerning the Wessely papyri now in Prague (cf. *JEA* 22, 93), is repeated in German in *Archiv* 12 (1936), 68-9 under the title *Die Papyrussammlung Carl Wessely, jetzt 'Papyrus Wessely Pragensis'*.

E. VISSER, *De griekse papyrologie en oud-Egypte, Ex Oriente Lux: Jaarbericht*, 3 (1935), 80-2 I have not seen.

*Ét. de Pap.* 2, fasc. 1 is reviewed by H. BENGTSON, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 30 (1936), 128-30 (in the case of the P. Baraize strongly favouring the view that *δικάτορας* is a court title); fasc. 2 is reviewed by H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 90.

### B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliographies, etc., are continued:

P. COLLART, *Bulletin Papyrologique*, xiv (1934), *Rev. ét. gr.* 48 (1935), 551-81.

M. HOMBERT, C. PRÉAUX, and others: the bibliographical sections in *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1935), 371-416, 11 (1936), 170-207, 553-9.

*Papyruskunde*, *BZ* 36 (1936), 196-8, 461-4.

A. CALDERINI, *Bibliografia metodica*, *Aeg.* 15 (1935), 433-8 (index only), 16 (1936), 179-224; *Testi recentemente pubblicati*, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 166-8.

## 10. Miscellaneous, Excavations, Personal

Accounts of the 4th International Congress of Papyrology are given by M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 208-9 and L. WENGER, *Z. Sav.* 56 (1926), 410-14. The 5th Congress is being held in Oxford on 30 August-3 September this year, and any persons desiring information concerning it should write to Mr. C. H. Roberts, St. John's College, Oxford.

*Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-8*, (*JEA* 18, 103) and *Karanis: The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoological Reports, 1924-31*, have been reviewed by M. S. DROWER in *JRS* 26 (1936), 115-16, the latter volume alone by H. COMFORT, *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 77-8. A. E. R. BOAK, *Soknopaiou Nesos* (*JEA* 22, 93) has received reviews from A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.* 16 (1936),

<sup>1</sup> The section on Latin ostraca from N. Africa (cols. 109-110) is a fascinating by-path.



170-1; D. B. HARDEN, *JRS* 26 (1936), 118-19; C. B. WELLES, *AJA* 40 (1936), 285-8; U. WILCKEN, *Archiv* 12 (1936), 84-5; H. I. BELL, *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 204; H. N. FOWLER, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 42 (1936), 95-6; C. H. ROBERTS, *JEA* 22, 112-13.

D. B. HARDEN, *Roman Glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924-9* (= *Univ. of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, vol. xl), Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1936, xviii+349 pp., 23 pls., price \$4.00, is an outstanding work on the subject of Roman glass. Karanis has long been famous for the amount of glass it has produced, but until recently this has come from illicit digging and the activities of *sabbākhin*, and therefore has no archaeological context; here we have a catalogue of the pieces which have rewarded the Michigan expedition, and their chronology is discussed in the light of the evidence provided by meticulous excavation. Not only so, but the author, for comparative purposes, has made generous use of his wide knowledge of ancient glass as a whole. Altogether a book of great interest for all students of ancient culture.

A. VOGLIANO has produced with commendable promptitude a report on his remarkable excavations at Medinet Mādī, in the centre of the Fayyūm: *Primo Rapporto degli Scavi condotti dalla missione archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi*, 1936, vi+88 pp., 18 pls. Unfortunately this has not yet reached me, and I know only brief accounts, based on articles in the *Egyptian Gazette*, which have appeared in *AJSL* 52 (1936-7), 56-7, 127.

In *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 34-6, is a summary of a lecture given by SAMY GABRA on his excavations at Tūnah el-Gebel, the necropolis of Hermopolis Magna. Cf. also *AJSL* 53 (1936-7), 55-6.

E. PARIBENI gives a *Rapporto preliminare su gli scavi di Hibeh* in *Aeg.* 15 (1935), 385-404.

Though just outside the geographical limits of Egypt, the truly astonishing discovery of papyri by the Colt Expedition at 'Auja el-Hafir, on the Palestine-Sinai frontier about 40 m. south of Gaza, must be recorded here. The documents fall into two groups, one, wholly in Greek, dating from the middle of the sixth cent., the other, Greek, Arabic or bilingual, from round about the 50th year of the Hegira. The Greek papyri are to be edited by Mr. C. J. KRAEMER of New York University, the Arabic by Prof. L. A. MAYER of Jerusalem, and all scholars will wish them well in their exciting, if arduous, tasks. In addition to documents of all kinds—contracts, letters, accounts, etc.—some fragments of literary works appeared, notably a oodex of the Acts of St. George, and a Latin-Greek glossary to Vergil *Aeneid* iv. A popular account of the excavation is given by H. DUNSCOMBE COLT in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 68 (1936), 216-20. It may be recalled that during the war the Germans found a few papyrus scraps which SCHUBART published (reprinted as SB 7011-2).

I am afraid there is still less excuse for referring here to an even more sensational find—the group of the sixth-century Hebrew ostraca from Tell Duwēr (Lachish) now famous as the 'Lachish Letters'. Unfortunately the final publication by Prof. TORCZYNER has been held up by the friendly controversy which has raged around the date and interpretation of the ostraca; cf. *Bull. ASOR* 61 (Feb. 1936), 10-16; 63 (Oct. 1936), 36-7. There are good pictures in *Ill. Ldn. News* 10 Aug. 1935, 241-2. Particularly interesting are the clay seals of about the same date with impressions of papyrus on the back. If this is of Egyptian manufacture (and the use of ostraca for quite important communications suggests that papyrus was not being produced, at least in sufficient quantities, in Palestine itself), this is certainly the earliest direct witness to the export of Egypt's staple product. Now that Palestine has produced written documents of the sixth century B.C. and the sixth century A.D., is it too much to expect something of the sort from the Hellenistic or Roman periods?

From every quarter tributes have been paid to the memory of GIROLAMO VITELLI. First and foremost may be mentioned *In memoria di Girolamo Vitelli*, Pubblicazioni della R. Università di Firenze, Firenze, 1936, 131 pp., 3 portraits and 2 other illus. It comprises two separate memoirs, by G. PASQUALI (pp. 5-20) and M. NORSI (pp. 21-50), followed by unpublished lectures of VITELLI on Sophocles and Horace, and concluding with a bibliography (indexed) compiled by T. LODI. Other commemorative articles are by V. ARANGO-RUIZ, *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* 30 (1936), i-iv; E. BRECCIA, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 210-18; A. CALDERINI, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 176-8; M. NORSI, *Ann. R. Sc. Pisa* 4 (1935), 335-48 (with portrait); R. PHEIFFER, *Gnomon* 11 (1935), 670-2; A. VOGLIANO, *Atti della Reale Accademia Archeologica di Napoli* 14 (1935-6), 132-42; and an unsigned article in *Atene e Roma* 37 (1935), 226. U. WILCKEN's *Nachruf* in *Archiv* 12 (1936), 172-4, recalls the work of VITELLI, O. GRADENWITZ, and P. M. MEYER, while W. KUNKEL writes an article entitled *In Memoriam Arthur S. Hunt, Paul M. Meyer, Girolamo Vitelli* in *Z. Sav.* 56 (1936), 426-30. MEYER is separately commemorated by N. HOHLWEIN in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 218-21, GRADENWITZ by M. HOMBERT, *ibid.*, 221-2, P. KOSCHAKER, *Z. Sav.* 56 (1936), ix-xii, and E. KIESSLING, *ibid.*, 418-25.



ATHANASE J. SBAROUNIS, *André M. Andréadis: Fondateur de la Science des Finances en Grèce*, Paris, 1936, viii+294 pp., summarizes A.'s life and work; the only pages concerned with papyrology are 132-9, *Les Finances des Diadoques*, mainly a précis of his article on *Les Droits de douane prélevés par les Lagides* (*JEA* 20, 94).

Two veterans of papyrological studies have reached their seventieth birthdays, A. DEISSMANN and A. KÖRTE. Tributes are paid to the former by H. LIETZMANN in *Forschung und Fortschritte* 12 (1936), 402-3 to the latter by W. SCHADEWALDT, *ibid.*, 315.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *Classical Scholarship: A Roving Commission*, in *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly*, Autumn 1935, 582-93, is unfortunately inaccessible to me.

## PART II: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS (1935-1936)

By MARCUS N. TOD

THE following Bibliography, continuing that for 1933-4 published in this *Journal* 21, 104-7, contains a brief survey of the books and articles which appeared in 1935 and 1936 relative to Greek inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia, together with a few remarks on inscriptions which, although not of Egyptian origin, are of interest as attesting the spread of Egyptian political or religious influence to other parts of the Greek world. For the abbreviations used to denote periodicals see pp. 142-4 below.

Following hard upon the completion of E. MAYSER's monumental *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften* comes a revised edition of that section of the first volume which deals with 'Stammbildung' (I. 3, Berlin, 1936), enriched with the results of the discoveries, publications, and discussions of the last thirty years; it is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 201.

The year 1935 witnessed the inauguration of another ambitious work, based upon epigraphical materials as well as upon those derived from literature and papyri, in the first fascicule of A. CALDERINI's *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Cairo, 1935), an alphabetical list, fully documented, of (a) geographical names, Greek and Latin, found in Greek and Latin records of Egyptian provenance, whether the places themselves are in Egypt or elsewhere, and of (b) geographical names relative to Egypt found in Greek and Latin sources outside of Egypt down to about A.D. 1000. The present instalment of 216 pages, of which 152 fall under the heading 'Ἀλεξάνδρεια', goes down to 'Ἀλικαρνασσός'. It is reviewed by O. MONTEVECCHI (*Boll. filol. class.* 7 (1935), 58-60), A. ADRIANI (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 9, 134-5), W. SCHUBART (*Gnomon* 12 (1936), 282-4), M. HOMBERG (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 198-200), and L. WENGER (*Archiv* 12, 168-71), and the author has given a list of addenda and corrigenda in *Aeg.* 15 (1935), 321-7.

F. HEICHELHEIM has added a second supplement to his valuable register of the foreign population in the Ptolemaic Empire, containing a few names drawn from inscriptions and many from Papyri (*Archiv* 12, 54-64).

Another work of great utility, in which epigraphical evidence plays a not unimportant part, is H. HENNE's *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 56, Cairo, 1935; reviewed by A. ADRIANI in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 9, 144), containing (a) a list of the στρατηγοί of the Greco-Roman period, arranged under their nomes, with dates and references; (b) a supplement to BIEDERMANN's list of βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς; (c) special lists of the στρατηγοί and βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς of the Arsinoite and Hermopolite nomes in the Roman period; (d) a complete list of βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς, and (e) an alphabetical list of names occurring in the foregoing lists together with those of officials whose nomes are unknown. Unfortunately, the printing of the work was unduly delayed, so that the supplements (pp. 1\*-71\*) and the addenda (pp. xix-xxii) amount to all but three-quarters of the main text.

O. W. REINMUTH's monograph entitled *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (*Klio*, Beiheft 34, 1935), which has been reviewed by H. I. BELL (*Cl. Rev.* 50 (1936), 41-2) and by C. PRÉAUX (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 192-5), is based mainly on the abundant evidence afforded by papyri, but makes full use also of the available epigraphical sources, notably *OGIS* 664, 665, and 669. As a contribution to the study of the administrative relation between Egypt and the Roman Empire, E. G. TURNER has investigated the development and the functions of the δεκάπρωτος in Egypt and in other provinces and has considered their relation to the *decemprimi* found in certain cities of Italy and Sicily in the Republican period. For Egypt our sole



sources are the papyri and ostraca; elsewhere inscriptions provide almost all the available evidence (*JEA* 22 (1936), 7-19).

D. ZUNTZ has made a careful study of the material and ornament of the Coptic grave-stelae and of the formulae of the epitaphs engraved on them with a view to determining their time and place (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 2 (1932), 22-38), developing A. MALLON's article on Coptic epigraphy in *CABROL-LECLERCQ, Dict. d'arch. chrét.* III, 2819-86, and H. JUNKER's discussion of the Christian tombstones of Nubia in *ZAS* 60 (1925), 111-48.

O. GUÉRAUD publishes (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 9, 31-3) a quaint record from the plaster covering of the interior of a cistern some 7 kilometres SE. of Mersa Matrûh, the ancient Paraetonium; it consists of the impress of a right hand, made while the plaster was still soft, and a rudely scratched altar and palm, accompanied by the inscription *κοινόντος Ἰσαλάτος τύπος χερὸς* and an indication of the date, August 15th, 6 B.C. An epitaph from Paraetonium is quoted by E. COMBE (*ibid.*, 127) in a review of A. DE COSSON's *Marcotis* (London, 1935).

In *Mél. Bidez*, 1013-14, A. WILHELM criticizes the restoration of an epigram (*Sammelbuch*, 6178) from Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahūdīyah) proposed by W. PEEK in *Hermes* 66 (1931), 320, and 67 (1932), 131.

P. ROUSSEL provides (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 33-40) a greatly improved text, unhappily far from complete even now, and a masterly discussion of a decree from the Aphroditopolite nome (*Rev. Arch.* 2 (1903), 50-5; *Archiv* 3, 132, No. 9), now preserved in the Institute of Ancient History of the University of Strassburg; it was passed, in 57 or 56 B.C., by *ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃς π[όλει] γυμνασίου* in honour of a certain Herodes, who, as gymnasiarch and *ἐπιτάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν κατοίκων Ἰππέων*, had rendered signal services to the community and especially to the gymnasium, and perhaps also of his father Demetrius (*cf. Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 393).

In his interesting 'Notes épigraphiques' P. JOUGUET comments on a stele from Medinet el-Fayyûm, now in the Alexandria Museum (*Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.* 7, 283) and describes the characteristics of the Egyptian hero-cult (*Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist. Or.* 3: volume offert à J. Capart, Brussels, 1935, pp. 227-33; *cf. Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 392).

A. E. R. BOAK's report on the excavations at Socnopaei Nesos (Dimē) includes two Greek inscriptions, one of which records the dedication of a road in the second or first century B.C. in honour of a Ptolemy, while the other may also be dedicatory in character, but is unhappily mutilated beyond the possibility of restoration (*Soknopaiou Nesos* (*Univ. of Michigan Studies*, XXXIX, Ann Arbor, 1935), 34-6; *cf. AJA* 40 (1936), 285-8, *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 392-3).

F. CUMONT reports the discovery at the Kôm of Medinet Mādī, the ancient Ibium, at the south-western extremity of the Fayyûm, of a temple of Isis built by Ptolemy X Soter, on the pilasters of which a certain Isidorus inscribed four hymns to Isis, showing that the temple was dedicated to Hermuthis (assimilated to Isis) and to Socnopaeus: of two of these poems he gives a brief summary (*Rev. arch.* 6 (1935), 97-8). An account of the excavation of this site in 1935 is given by A. VOGLIANO in his *Primo rapporto degli scavi . . . nella zona di Medinet Mādī* (Milan, 1936), in which the epigraphical discoveries made there are published (pp. 23-70). These consist of (a) two dedications *Ἑρμοῦθι θεῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ Σοκονάπαι θεῇ μεγάλῃ* of the vestibule of the temple and the lions which adorned it, probably in 95 B.C. (pp. 23-7); (b) two tantalizing fragments too mutilated for restoration (pp. 52, 63-4); (c) eight dedications (pp. 22, 52-5) to Isermuthis, Hermuthis, Anubis, and Apollo, one of which is dated 12 B.C.; (d) seventeen graffiti and dipinti traced by individual worshippers (pp. 55-60); and (e) the four hymns above mentioned (pp. 27-51) numbering 144 verses in all, each bearing the signature of Isidorus, whose Egyptian nationality may be pleaded in extenuation of his atrocious metrical errors: the absence of literary quality does not, however, rob these compositions of some religious interest. VOGLIANO also re-edits (pp. 64-6) the perfectly preserved dedication of a neighbouring precinct *Ἀρουῆς καὶ θεοῦς εὐεργέταις*, between 163 and 145 B.C., now in the possession of E. KIESSLING at Berlin (*Aeg.* 13 (1933), 542-6, 690; *Sammelbuch*, 7606).

The twelve Greek inscriptions, ranging from the Ptolemaic period to the third century A.D., found by R. WEILL on the ruin-covered hill on the right bank of the Nile at Kôm el-Ahmar of Zawyet el-Mayyitîn have been published by P. JOUGUET in *Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 93-104; the longest, and one of the latest, of these is engraved on a cippus and runs: *Θεῷ μεγίστῳ ἀρχηγέρῃ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰγνάτιος Ἀμματιανὸς καὶ Λόγγος δουπλικάριοι τὴν ἐστίαν χαριστήριον ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ*, and the rest are short votive texts or epitaphs.

O. GUÉRAUD examines afresh (*Ann. Serv.* 35 (1935), 1-3) the curious monument published by J. G. MILNE (*JHS* 21 (1901), 286-90; *Cairo Catalogue* 9267, p. 48) and an inscription (*Archiv* 2, 94-5) from Abu Tig, near Panopolis (Akhmīm), showing that both refer to the same Agrius and claiming Panopolis as the provenance of both.



H. KORTENBEUTEL has published an interesting, if somewhat tantalizing, inscription, bought in Egypt about 1908 and now preserved in the papyrus collection of the Berlin State Museums, which gives us our first information regarding the relations existing between the *γυμνάσιον* and the *βουλή*. It comes, in all probability, from Ptolemais and contains a resolution passed in 104 B.C. by the members of the gymnasium relative to the erection of portraits of ex-gymnasiarchs and of the king: the *βουλή* resolves to set up a portrait of the king, to bestow on fifteen men membership of the gymnasium and citizenship, and from their entry-foes (*εἰσόδαι*) to defray the cost of the portraits of the king and of a certain Sarapion, to whom further honours are granted (*Archiv* 12, 44-53).

In *Ét. de Pap.* 2 (1934), 229-46, P. LACAU deals fully with a graffito from the chapel of Osiris in the Memnonium of Abydos (G. LEFERVRE et P. PERDRIZET, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*, No. 74), Greek in script but Egyptian in language. The king *ΥΡΩΝΑΦΟΡ* mentioned therein represents, in his view, a rebel king, of whom no other record survives and whose reign lasted for at least five years in the second century B.C. This interpretation of the text is confirmed by P. JOUGUET, who maintains that Hurgonaphor reigned at Thebes and Abydos over the natives who had revolted from the Macedonian kings, possibly in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (*Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre*, Toulouse, 1935, 265-73; cf. *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 392).

C. H. O. SCAIFE re-edits, with the aid of H. I. BELL and A. H. M. JONES, an interesting fourth-century inscription from the porphyry-quarries at Mons Porphyrites (Gebel el-Dukkhān), recording, under the title *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία Μελέριου*, the renewal of a road, or perhaps of the necessary winches, 'for the lowering of the columns of Jerusalem' by an official of the prefect (*ἐπαρχικός*) in conjunction with two chief-quarriers (*ἀρχιλατόμοι*) and other craftsmen; he also publishes a *προσκήνημα* from a neighbouring site, dated July 4th, A.D. 29 (*University of Egypt: Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, III, 2, 58-63).

In *Rev. de phil.* 10 (1936), 318-24, H. HENNE discusses the date (110 or 107 B.C.) and the historical interest of a dedicatory inscription to Isis set up over a well at Coptos by two brothers, both *στρατηγοί*, which was discovered and published by A. J. REINACH (*Rev. épigraphique* 1 (1913), 109-12).

With the help of P. MAAS, W. PEEK has provided a much-needed re-edition of the poems inscribed on the Memnon-colossus of Thebes, based on a fresh examination of the originals and of the squeezes made by LEPSIUS (*Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 5 (1934), 95-109). These include the four poems of Balbilla (O. PUCHSTEIN, *Epigrammata graeca in Aegypto reperta*, 17 ff.; KAIBEL, *Epigrammata graeca*, 988-92; O. HOFMANN, *Griech. Dialekte*, II, 124 ff., Nos. 174-7; of EDMONDS's edition in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 107-10, PEEK speaks slightly) and ten other inscriptions, two of which (Nos. 12, 14) were not seen by PEEK while on another (No. 13) he contributes a note without re-editing the text. There is a useful summary (pp. 101-2) dealing with the metre and dialect of Balbilla's poems and a translation into German of these and of one other epigram (pp. 108-9). M. AVI-YONAH points out (*Ann. Serv.* 36 (1936), 88) that in a graffito on the sixth syrtis at Thebes (J. BAILLET, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois à Thèbes*, (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 42), No. 875) *λεγι(ωνος) γ' Πα(ρθικῆς)* should be read in place of the editor's *λεγι(ωνος) Υπα(τῆ)*.

In the 'Notes épigraphiques' already referred to, P. JOUGUET also discusses (pp. 233-40) the ruins unearthed near the temple of Luxor and the Latin inscriptions found there, and examines the relation between the worship of Ammon and that of the Roman Emperors; he publishes two Greek graffiti and an inscription which proves that the cult of the great Theban deity still survived down to the third century of our era. He further edits (pp. 240-3) four inscriptions found at Apollinopolis Magna (Edfu): (a) the epitaph of a *φολακίτης* dating from about the beginning of the Christian era, (b) a tomb-inscription of the second century A.D., (c) a dedication, dated A.D. 150-60, of the *ἀρχιερεὺς* and the members of a cult-guild of Ammon, similar to one already known at Coptos, and (d) a votive stele of one whose father is described as *ἐκλουργὸς ταφῆς θεῶν μεγίστων*.

O. W. REINMUTH has examined (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 65 (1934), 248-59) the nature and the occasion of the edict of the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander, dated July 6th, A.D. 68, of which the text has survived engraved on a temple-wall in the Great Oasis (OGIS 669). He concludes that it was a fiscal edict, published not on the entry upon office of a new viceroy but at the opening of a new *lustrum*, and that it was addressed to the province as a whole and not to the Alexandrians in particular.

I may group together a number of Egyptian inscriptions whose exact provenance is unknown. On the rim of a miniature gold cup, now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, is the dedication, engraved in letters only one millimetre in height, 'Ἐλένη ἀρελφῆ (sic) Ἀφροδίτης, dated January 9th, A.D. 58 (P. PERDRIZET, *Ann. Serv.* 36 (1936), 5-10). H. SKYRIG comments (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 71-2), on the names and numbers found on the facets of a bronze icosahedron in the collection of the late King Fuād (*Bull. Inst.*



*Fr.* 30 (1930), 1-16: cf. *JEA* 18 (1932), 105), especially on *τρίβορις*, associated with the number 14, and conjectures [*Χάρις*] as the name corresponding to 3.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI has published (*C.-R. Ac. Inscr. et B.-L.* 1934, 256-61) two marble tablets from Egypt acquired by the Louvre. One of these bears an epigram accompanying a statue of Zeus Soter, erected in the second century A.D. in the *πρόδρομος* of a temple in gratitude for deliverance, with an added note in prose naming the *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς* and the *ιεροποιός* in office; the second is an interesting Christian epitaph of the fifth century. P. PERDRIZET describes (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 137-44) a bone medallion bought in Cairo and now preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, bearing an inscription in which the god Khnūm receives the magical name of *Βρονταντηνώφρις*, a solar invocation for which the editor cites many parallels from the magical papyri.

Among the recent accessions of the British Museum are two gems of about A.D. 200, probably Egyptian in origin. One of these, intended to promote good digestion, shows an ibis tied to a vase and has on the reverse a thrice repeated *ππ*, while on the other is engraved the bust of Sarapis and the legend *μύα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σάραπις* (F. N. PRYCE, *BM Quart.* 11 (1936), 33-4).

Of U. MONNERET DE VILLARD's projected work on the archaeology, the history, and the art of medieval Nubia, based on the accounts of previous travellers and on his own researches, the first two volumes have appeared (*La Nubia medioevale: Mission archéologique de Nubie* 1929-1934, Cairo, 1935); one of these contains an exhaustive inventory of the Christian monuments of Nubia and of the sites of archaeological importance from the third to the fourteenth centuries, while the second comprises a hundred photographic plates. Epigraphical evidence is constantly cited, and a considerable number of Greek and Coptic inscriptions, graffiti, and dipinti are edited, some of them for the first time; an appendix (pp. 281-4) collects twenty-four Greek inscriptions found on Nubian lamps. Graffiti and inscriptions also play an important part among the sources of the same scholar's detailed survey of the Jacobite bishops of Nubia, in which he examines the sees comprised in the kingdom of Dongola, their names, their geographical limits, and their organization (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 57-66).

Among the discoveries made by W. B. EMERY and L. P. KIRWAN between the Wadi es-Sebūa' and Adindān were eleven Greek ostraca and two inscriptions written in black ink on the shoulders of amphorae (*The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan* 1929-1931, Cairo, 1935, pp. 530-1).

I append a few notes on recently discovered epigraphical evidence of the penetration of Egyptian political or religious influence beyond the frontiers of Egypt.

T. A. BRADY devotes a monograph, largely based on inscriptions, to *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks*, 330-30 B.C. (*Univ. of Missouri Studies*, 10, 1, 1935), the four chapters of which deal respectively with (a) the creation of Sarapis, 330-285; (b) the expansion of the cult of the Egyptian gods, 285-223; (c) the reaction of the natives in Egypt and the spread of the cult in Greece, 223-145; and (d) the resort to the native cults in Egypt and the final development of the cults in Greece, 145-30. An appendix contains a list of the temples, altars, and shrines of Isis and Serapis, while a second appendix comprises a prosopographia of non-Egyptians who adopted the worship of Egyptian gods within the period under review. The work has been reviewed by H. HENNE in *Rev. ét. anc.* 37 (1935), 481-3, by P. ROUSSEL in *Rev. ét. gr.* 49 (1936), 476, and by C. PRÉAUX in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11 (1936), 579-84.

The metrical epitaph of Charmadas (cf. *JEA* 21 (1935), 107), discovered at Gaza and now in the Jerusalem Museum, has been edited and discussed afresh by L. H. VINCENT (*Mém. Inst. Fr.* 67 (1934), 41-52), who agrees with P. ROUSSEL in assigning it to the last quarter of the third century B.C.: his remarks on the palaeographical characteristics of the inscription are especially interesting. Among the inscriptions contained in the first volume of the *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome, 1935), edited by M. GUARDUCCI, are a dedication to Sarapis from Chersonesus (VII. 3), a thank-offering to Isis from Lasaea (XV. 2), a votive inscription from Lebena *Δὲ Σαράπιδος Ἀσκληπιῶ ἱατρῷ Τειτανίῳ Λεβηναίῳ* (XVII. 27), and a *χαριστήριον* to Sarapis and Isis from Olus (XXII. 11).

Among recent discoveries at Philippi are three inscriptions of the third century A.D., one of which honours a certain Clodius *ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων τῶν ἐν Μουσείῳ σειτουμένων* (the Museum referred to is almost certainly that of Alexandria), while the other two were erected by *οἱ θρησκευταὶ τοῦ Σαράπι* in honour of Q. Flavius Hermodion, benefactor of the society, and his like-named son, whom they describe as *τὸν ἴδιον ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων Ἀσκληπιῶν* (P. LEMERLE, *BCH* 59 (1935), 131-47). L. ROBERT has rediscovered and re-edited a manumission-record (*IG*. IX, 1, 66) from Daulia in Phocis, which refers to a copy of the document as lodged *παρὰ τὸν Σάραπι* and adds the name of the priest of Sarapis at Daulia (*BCH* 59 (1935), 200-5).



# BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT (1936)

By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

ONLY a few months have passed since the last Bibliography of Christian Egypt, so that this one is necessarily briefer than usual.<sup>1</sup>

## I. BIBLICAL

A. BÖHLIO, *Untersuchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte*, Stuttgart (1936), vii+80 pp., is chiefly devoted to grammatical notes on the Sa'idic, Bohairic, and Akhmimic texts of the Book of Proverbs. It is reviewed by L. TH. LEFORT in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 316-17.

F. G. KENYON, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* . . . (cf. *JEA* 20, 206) is reviewed by F. C. BURKITT in *J. Theol. Stud.* 36 (1936), 195-6, by L. CERFAUX in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 31 (1935), 572-4, by A. C. HEADLAM (Bishop of Gloucester) in *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 121 (1935), 131-5, and a summary appears in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 9-12. M. HOMBERT in *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1935), 169-71 gives an account of P. COLLOMB's paper in *Rev. hist. philos. relig.* 14 (1934), 130-43, on the same subject.

J. L. KOOLE, *Studien zum koptischen Bibeltext* . . . (cf. *JEA* 22, 94) is reviewed by L. TH. LEFORT in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 32 (1936), 650-1, who points out that this attempt to classify Coptic versions makes no solid contribution to the subject as the writer confines himself to the Pauline epistles. Koole accepts Horner's editions of the N.T. in the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt as definitively 'the Sa'idic' and 'the Bohairic' versions. But H.'s edition of the Sa'idic is, says Lefort, 'fatalement composite par suite du triste état du matériel copte dont il disposait'. To form a continuous text Horner uses a variety of fragments, not from a single version, and so produces a mosaic which cannot claim to be 'the Sa'idic', points already noted by Sir Herbert Thompson (in *The Coptic Version of the Acts*, . . . (1932), p. xxi). Lefort also reviews it in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 146-7, and W. GROSSOUW in *Biblica* 18 (1937), 135-8.

H. LIEZMANN, *Zur Würdigung des Chester-Beatty-Papyrus der Paulus-briefe* . . . (cf. *JEA* 21, 108) is reviewed by H. STELTER in *TLZ* 60 (1935), 155-6, and by LAGRANGE in *Rev. bibl.* 44 (1935), 627-9. The same author's *Neue Evangelienpapyri* appears in *Z. neut. Wiss.* 34 (1935), 285-92, and his article *Die Chester-Beatty-Papyri des N.T.* in *Die Antike* 11 (1935), 139-48.

C. H. ROBERTS, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 20 (1936), 219-44, 2 pls. and separately at the Manchester Univ. Press (1936), 62 pp., 2 pls., gives from one of these papyri the passages Deut. xxiii. 24-xxiv. 3, xxv. 1-3, xxvi. 12, 17-19, xxviii. 31-3; from the other only scattered passages. Cf. the same writer's *An unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel* . . . (cf. *JEA* 22, 91) and an article on the same in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 20 (1936), 45-55. The earlier publication is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *JEA* 21 (1935), 266-7, by P. BENOIT in *Rev. bibl.* 45 (1936), 260-70, by R. V. G. T(ASKER) in *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 121 (1936), 313-14, and by DIRRELIUS in *DLZ* 58 (1937), 4-6. Notes upon it appeared in *Allgem. deutsche Zeit.* for Dec. 3, 1935.

H. A. SANDERS, *Some Fragments of the oldest Beatty Papyri in the Michigan Collection*, in *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 75 (1935), 313-14, maintains that the text in the Chester Beatty Old Testament represents the oldest known form of the LXX. The same writer's *A Third Century Papyrus* . . . (cf. *JEA* 22, 94) is reviewed by F. C. BURKITT in *JTS* 36 (1935), 304-5, by B. BOTTE in *Rech. de théol. anc. et médiév.*, Louvain, 8 (1936), 103-4, by L. CERFAUX in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 31 (1935), 574-7, by S. COLOMBO in *Riv. di fil.* 13 (1935), 387-90, by P. COLLART in *Rev. d. gr.* 49 (1936), 97, by E. C. COLWELL in *J. rel.* 16 (1936), 96-8, very briefly noticed by J. M. CREED in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1935), 241, more fully by W. G. KÜMMEL in *TLZ* 60 (1935), 307-9, by LAGRANGE in *Rev. bibl.* 44 (1935), 625-7, by H. G. OPITZ in *DLZ* 57 (1936), 391-5, by F. C. KENYON in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 59 (1936), 91-5, by SOUTER in *Gnomon* 11 (1935), 668-9, and by P. THOMSON in *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 1255-6.

SIR HERBERT THOMPSON's *The Coptic Version of the Acts* . . . (cf. *JEA* 18, 181) is briefly reviewed by H. HYVERNAT in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 74-5.

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used will be found on pp. 142-4 below.



W. TILL, *Wiener Faijūmica*, in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 169-217, 1 pl. and separately gives 28 Fayyūmic passages from the Nationalbibliothek in Wien, the first a group of Jeremiah fragments, then fragments of Psalms and Susanna, several portions of Daniel, and Mark, two fragments of John, and also fragments of the Catholic and Pauline epistles.

WORRELL, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic* . . . (cf. *JEA* 17, 248) is reviewed by GERHARD in *Misraim* 2 (1936), 79-80.

H. I. BELL, *Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri*, Oxford (1937), 30, is the text of an inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on November 18, 1936. It gives an exceptionally full and lucid account of Chester Beatty material and other biblical papyri and a detailed survey of the information available to the present date. Note 1 on page 5 contains a complete bibliography of the biblical papyri of this collection published to the present time.

In correction of K. WESSELY, *Ein faijūmisch-griech. Evangelien-Fragment* (*JEA* 22, 94): Wessely's paper was printed in *WZKM* in 1912, the Fayyūmic portion was re-edited by W. TILL in *Mitt. Pap. Samml. d. Nationalbibl. in Wien*, 2. Folge (1934) 26, 27 among other biblical and literary pieces.

ⲛⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲓⲁⲟⲩⲛⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲓ (cf. *JEA* 21, 108; 22, 94) is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 174-5. Fasc. VI. of the *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, ed. F. G. KENYON, Lond. (1937) xiv+32 gives the text of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ecclesiasticus with W. E. CRUM's section on the old Coptic glosses.

## 2. APOCRYPHA, GNOSTIC, MANICHAEAN

### (a) Apocrypha.

H. I. BELL and T. C. SKEAT, *Fragments of an unknown gospel and other early Christian Papyri* . . . (cf. *JEA* 22, 94), and the same writers' *The New Gospel Fragments*, Lond. (1935), 33 pp., 1 pl., are reviewed by R. V. G. TASKER in *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 121 (1935), 126-31, by F. C. BURKITT in *JTS* 36 (1935), 302-4, by H. VOGELS in *Theol. Rev.* 34 (1935), 312-15, by E. F. HARRISON in *Bibliotheca Sacra* 92 (1935), 363-4, by F. ZILKA in *Archiv Orientalní* 7 (1935), 530-1, by G. GHEDINI in *Scuola Cattolica* 63 (1935), 500-12, by G. DIX in *Laudate* 13 (1935), 97-120, by A. CALDERINI in *Vita e pensiero*, 1936, 33-6, by J. BEHM in *OLZ* 39 (1936), 313-16, by A. LAMBERT in *Rev. de myst.* 1936, 26, by B. BOTTE in *Rech. de théol. anc. et médiév.* 8 (1936), 106-7, by W. G. KÜMMEL in *TLZ* 61 (1936), 47-9, by M. DIBELIUS in *DLZ* 57 (1936), 3-11. Note here also B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Fragmenten van een nieuw Evangelie*, in *Nieuwe Theologische Studien* 18 (1936), 210-14, and J. HUBY, *Une importante découverte papyrologique: fragments d'un évangile du II siècle*, in *Études*, 1935, 763-5.

C. SCHMIDT, *Acta Pauli*, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 12 (1936), 352-4.

W. SCHUBART u. C. SCHMIDT, *ΠΑΡΕΙΣ ΗΓΑΓΟΥ* nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Univ.-Bibl., Glückstadt und Hamburg (1936), viii+132 pp., 12 pl., gives Greek text, translation, commentary, and introduction.

W. GROSSOUW, *De Apocriefen* . . . (cf. *JEA* 21, 109) is briefly noted by L. TH. LEFORT in *Muséon* 48 (1935), 237.

### (b) Gnostic.

C. A. BAYNES, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise* . . . (cf. *JEA* 20, 207) is reviewed by W. BAUER in *TLZ* 60 (1935), 104-5.

### (c) Manichaean.

POLOTSKY-IBSCHER, *Manichäische Homilien* . . . (cf. *JEA* 20, 207) is reviewed by E. B. in *Religio* 11 (1935), 183-4, by FR. CUMONT in *Rev. hist. rel.* 111 (1935), 118-24, by W. BAUER in *TLZ* 40 (1935), 357-9, by W. HENNING in *OLZ* 38 (1935), 220-4, by A. D. NOCK in *Am. Journ. Phil.* 57 (1936), 108-9, by M. GASTER in *JRAS*, 1936, 133-5, and in conjunction with SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund* . . . (cf. *JEA* 19, 178) and JACKSON, *Researches in Manichaeism* . . . (cf. *JEA* 19, 178) by GOTZ VON SELLE in *GGA* 197 (1935), 182-91. SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY-BÖHLIG, *Mani-'Kephalaia'*, Bd. I, Lieferung 5-6 (1936), 98-114 has appeared (cf. *JEA* 21, 109 and 22, 95), and several more parts are in preparation. It is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 5 (1936), 396-400.

H. H. SCHAEFER, *Manichäismus und spätantike Religion*, appears in *Z. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft* 50 (1935), 65-85.

C. R. C. ALLBERRY of Christ's Coll., Cambridge, has in preparation and ready for publication *Manichaean Psalms*, vol. 1. This is another of the Coptic Manichaean books acquired by Chester Beatty in 1930. Like the Homilies and the Kephalaia it is written in the so-called sub-Akhmimic dialect. It is to be published



by Kohlhammer, Göttingen, and has the same *format* as the Homilies. It is hoped that it will appear about November.

### 3. LITURGICAL

A. BAUMSTARK, *Orientalisches in altspanischer Liturgie*, appears in *Or. Chr.* III. 10 (1935), 3-37, the author maintaining that there are traces of Egyptian influence in the old Spanish liturgy.

O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The Liturgy coram patriarcha aut episcopo in the Coptic Church*, appears in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 79-84. The same author's *The canons of Cyril II, LXVII Patriarch of Alexandria*, *ibid.*, 245-88, gives introduction, Arabic text, and translation of the canons. The same writer's *The Greek Kirugmata, Versicles and Responses and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy*, in *Or. Chr. Per.* 2 (1936), 363-94, contains notes on the modern Coptic prayer-book.

VALERIE HAŽMUKOVÁ, *Miscellaneous Coptic Prayers*, in *Archiv Orientální* 8 (1936), 318-33, 1 pl., from MS. Orient. Inst. Praha I. All these prayers are to be found in current editions of the Euchologium, but do not seem to have been identified by the editor (*cf.* 1902 edit. = A.M. 1618) pp. κē, κτ̄, κθ̄, ηη, ηθ̄, ζ̄, ζ̄ν, θ̄).

The 'Society of the Sons of the Coptic Church' (Abna'a el-Kanisah) has published an edition of the three anaphoras, ⲁⲛⲁⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲓⲟⲥ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲟⲥ . . . , Cairo, 1936, 889 pp., in Bohairic and Arabic, with ⲁⲓⲃⲉ (113 pp.) at the end. It is clearly and well printed but without rubrication.

LÖFGREN-EURINGER, *Die beiden gewöhn. äth. Gregorius-Anaphora* . . . (*cf.* *JEA* 20, 208); S. EURINGER, *Die äthiop. Anaphora des hl. Evang. Johannes* . . . (*cf.* *JEA* 21, 110), and the same author's *Die äth. Anaphora des hl. Basilios*, in *Or. Chr.* 26 (1934), 92, are reviewed by H. DE VIS in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 32 (1936), 947-9. Euringer has now published sixteen anaphoras of the Ethiopian rite, a valuable contribution to liturgical study.

H. LECLERCQ, *Orientales (liturgies)*, appears in *Dict. arch. chrét.* . . . , XII (1936), 2659-66. Sect. vi deals with Coptic and other languages used in the eastern liturgies.

H. J. M. MILNE, *An Easter-tide Fragment on Papyrus*, has been published in *JEA* 21 (1935), 217-18, 1 Fig. The papyrus is of the 6-8th cent. and contains the passage Matt. xxviii. 11-13 with citation of Ps. cxviii. 24.

### 4. LITERATURE

F. BILABEL u. A. GROHMANN, *Griechische, koptische u. arabische Texte zu Religion u. religiöser Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit*, Heidelberg, 1934, xii+452 pp., is reviewed by P. PFISTER in *BZ* 35 (1935), 387-90, and by C. PRÉAUX in *Chron. d'Ég.* 10 (1935), 399-401.

D. BUCKLE, *A noteworthy Sahidic variant in a Shenoute homily in the John Rylands*, appears in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 20 (1936), 383-4, 1 pl. The reference is to J.R.L. Coptic 70.

BLAKE-DE VIS, *Epiphanius* . . . (*cf.* *JEA* 22, 95) is reviewed by G. SARTON in *Isis* 24 (1935), 127-9, by HESTERMANN in *TLB* 56 (1935), 308-9, by F. RUCKER in *Th. Rev.* 34 (1935), 329-35, by CH. MARTIN in *Nouv. rev. théol.* 68 (1936), 310-11, and by G. DEETERS in *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 209-20.

CAMPBELL BONNER, *A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* . . . (*cf.* *JEA* 21, 110 and 22, 95) is reviewed by P. COLLAET in *Rev. de phil.* 9 (1935), 311-12, and in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 48 (1935), 467-8, and by H. I. BELL in *JEA* 21 (1935), 122.

O. H. E. BURMESTER, *The sayings of Michael, Metropolitan of Damietta*, is published in *Or. Chr. Per.* 2 (1936), 101-28.

P. CASALI, *L'Exaltation de la Sainte Croix. Homélie attribuée à saint Cyrille de Jérusalem* 313-87, Beyrouth, 1934, vi+166 pp., is reviewed by P. DEETERS in *An. Boll.* 54 (1936), 386-7. C. supposes that he has found the Arabic text of a hitherto unknown homily by St. Cyril. P. P. points out that this text is an Arabic translation of the Sa'idic homily on the finding of the Cross and the story of Isaac the Samaritan already published in Budge, *Miscell. Texts*, 1915, 183-229. It is reviewed also by G. GRAF in *Or. Chr.* III. 10 (1935), 274-6.

P. CASEY, *Der dem Athanasius zugeschriebene Traktat περὶ παρθερίας*, is published in *Sitzungsb. Berlin* 33 (1935), 1022-45.

M. CHAÏNE, *Le Triadon: son auteur, la date de sa composition*, is in *Bull. de l'Assoc. des amis de l'art copte* 2 (1936), 9-24. The author bases his argument about the date of the composition on the reference to Barsuma the Naked, a reference already fully dealt with by W. E. Crum more than thirty years ago in



PSBA 29, 136, and *EEF Report*, 1903-4, 78. The proofs of the article have not been read carefully, e.g. on p. 16, παλαμνας for παλαμνας, ὑπο for υπο, παρεμναγ for ταρεμναγ, etc.

F. J. DOLGER, *Das Lösen der Schuhriemen in der Taufsymbolik des Klemens von Alexandria*, appears in *Antike u. Christent.* 5 (1936), 87-94.

H. LIETZMANN, *Die Didache*, Berlin, 1936, 16 pp., is a handy edition with critical apparatus. An interesting article on the Didache appears in STREETER, *The much-belaboured Didache*, in *JTS* 37 (1936), 369-74, which indicates the various critical problems still remaining unsolved.

CH. MARTIN, S.J., *Un Discours prétendument inédit de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie sur l'Ascension*, in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 32 (1936), 345-50, deals with an article by Mgr. Papadopoulos the (Orthodox) Archbishop of Athens on a homily which he had discovered amongst the manuscripts on Mount Athos and which he attributed to St. Cyril of Alexandria. The homily is already printed in *PG* 64, 45-8, amongst the spurious works ascribed to St. John Chrysostom, and reference is made to it in *PG* 86, 421-2 under the heading of Eusebius of Alexandria.

M. JUGIE, *Theologia dogmatica* . . . (cf. *JEA* 13, 254) is reviewed by R. STUPPERICH in *Z. f. osteurop. Gesch.* 9 (1935), 415-19. TH. SPAČIL, *Doctrina theologiae orientis separati de revelatione, fide, dogmatica: Pars. II. Doctrina theologiae orientis examinatur*, appears in *Or. Chr. Anal.*, 1935, 104-203. A. F. MATTHEW, *The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church*, 1936, 116 pp., is reviewed by P. USHER in *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 123 (1937), 370-5.

W. TILL, *Eine koptische Bauernpraktik*, in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 6 (1936), 108-50, I have only just seen. As in other of T.'s works this renders accessible material in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek collection, in all sixteen leaves. The editor has added an introduction, critical notes, and translation. So far I have seen no review.

## 5. HISTORY

### (a) General.

D. ATTWATER, *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, . . . (cf. *JEA* 22, 96) is the subject of a review by G. GRAF in *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 169-71.

A. BÖHLIG, *Das Christentum in Ägypten*, in *Z. f. Missionskunde u. Religionswissenschaft* 51 (1936), 233-52, gives a brief outline of the history of Christianity in Egypt.

S. GASELEE, *The Copts*, in *J. R. Central Asian Soc.* 24 (1937), 27-45, gives in a few pages a very lively and sympathetic account of the Church of Egypt.

G. GRAF, *Ein arabisches Poenitentiale bei den Kopten*, in *Or. Chr.* III. 10 (1935), 100-23, is an important contribution to Coptic canon law.

J. LEBRETON et J. ZEILLER: *De la fin du 2<sup>e</sup> siècle à la paix constantinienne* (= *Hist. de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, publiée sous la direction de A. FLICHE et V. MARTIN, t. II), Paris, 1935, 511 pp. Deserving of note: ch. I, *La crise gnostique* (L. Lebreton); ch. VI, *Les grandes persécutions* (J. Zeiller); chs. IX, X, *L'école d'Alexandrie* (J. Lebreton); ch. XI, *Les apocryphes et le manichéisme* (J. Lebreton); ch. XX, *La dernière persécution* (J. Zeiller). J. R. PALANQUE, G. BARDY, et P. DE LABRIOLLE, *De la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose* (= *id.*, t. III), Paris, 1936, 539 pp. Note especially Part III, chs. I, II, *Les sources et l'évolution du monachisme primitif* (P. de Labriolle).

G. RICCIOTTI, *Roma cattolica e Oriente cristiano* (cf. *JEA* 22, 96), is reviewed by G. GRAF in *Orientalia* 5 (1936), 298-9.

E. SCHWARTZ, *Concilium Univ. Chalced.* II . . . (cf. *JEA* 20, 208), is reviewed by P. DEBOUXHAY in *Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist.* 14 (1935), 1550.

J. SIMON, *Le Dictionnaire des noms géographiques et topographiques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, in *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 132-42, is a fully developed notice of the *Dizionario* of A. CALDERINI (cf. *JEA* 22, 99), containing numerous additions and corrections of the first fascicule.

L. DEI SABELLI, *Storia di Abissinia*, vols. I, II, Rome (1936), 326 and 450 pp., is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 5 (1936), 400. D. O'LEARY, *The Ethiopian Church*, Lond., 1936, v + 79 pp., is a slight outline of the history of the Church of Abyssinia.

### (b) Hagiography.

F. CUMONT, *La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges*, appears in *Rev. hist. rel.* 114 (1936), 1-41.

P. PEETERS, *Une vie copte de S. Jean de Lycopolis*, appears in *An. Boll.* 54 (1936), 359-81. It is based on the material published by W. Till, Wien K. 391 a, b (already published by Wessely), 9453-4, 9455, and 9516, this last a part of the MS. to which belongs Paris 129, 13, 18, 19, 20, 62.



J. SIMON, *Bischof Anoub, martyr d'Égypte*, appears as an article in the *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. ecclésiastiques*, VIII, 1935, 1550. The same author's *S. Jean l'Anachorète* (in Arabic) is published in *as-Salaḥ*, Cairo, 1936, 553-4. The same author's *La Passion éthiopienne inédite de S. Hérode* (cf. *JEA* 22, 97), is reviewed by J. P. KIRSCH in *Riv. di arch. crist.* 12 (1935), 382-3, and by S. GRÉBAUT in *Aethiopica* 4 (1936), 44-45.

W. TILL, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerverlegenden* (cf. *JEA* 21, 111), is reviewed with the same author's *Koptische Pergamente . . .* (cf. *JEA* 21, 109, 111) by P. P. KETTERS in *An. Boll.* 54 (1936), 390-7, who notes several points yet waiting solution. Zenobius was a physician who lived after the days of persecution and was involved in controversy with the Nestorians: was this the Zenobius who was secretary to Shenoute and became archimandrite of the White Monastery after the death of Besa? (cf. Crum in *JTS* 5, 132). St. Nil (or Nile) was martyred in Egypt under Culcianus with St. Sakina and others—there are no details. On St. John of Lycopolis cf. P. P.'s *Une Vie copte . . .* (above). The work is also reviewed by L. TH. LEFORT in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 147-8, and *Kopt. Pergam. . .* by D. O'LEARY in *JEA* 21 (1935), 121-2.

The second volume of TILL's *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerverlegenden* has now appeared, Rome, 1936, 188 pp. (*Or. Chr. Anal.* 108), containing a considerable amount of material which deals with Matthew the Poor, Ptolemaios, Moyses the ascete, George, Leontios, and Thecla, as well as an unnamed martyr, and a supplementary passage by Constantine (of Ayyūt?), as well as additions to the lives of Timotheos, John of Lycopolis, and Theodore the Oriental, and to the letters of Severus in the first volume.

#### (c) Monasticism.

K. HEUSI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen, 1936, xii+308 pp. In this book the author examines the influences and circumstances under which monasticism commenced and developed, in view of the diversity of forms which it had assumed by the end of the fourth century.

H. LECLERCQ, *Pakhôme*, is an article in CABROL and LECLERCQ's *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, fasc. cxi-cxli, 1936, 499-510. On the life of St. Pakhom we now have L. TH. LEFORT's Latin translation of the Bohairic Life (which he edited in 1925) in *CSCO* 107 (*Scriptores coptici, versio, series 3, tom. vii*), Louvain, 1936, iv+157 pp. The same writer's *Vies de S. Pachôme, nouveaux fragments*, appears in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 219-30. F. HALKIN, *S. Pachomii vitae graecae . . .* (cf. *JEA* 19, 181), is reviewed by H. FRANK in *Or. Chr.* 10 (1935), 268-72.

HELEN WADDELL, *The Desert Fathers*, Lond., 1936, ix+312 pp., is an account of the lives and sayings of Egyptian ascetes drawn exclusively from Greek and Latin sources. S. GASELEE, in the article *The Copts* already mentioned, says (p. 39): 'It is not very complimentary to the labours of modern scholars (and much work has been done on this subject in this and the last generation) that Miss Waddell chooses to ignore them completely and translate from a Latin translation of the early seventeenth century'.

#### (d) Jurisprudence.

E. BERNEKER, *Die Sondergerichtsbarkeit im griech. Recht Ägyptens*, München, 1935, vi+195 pp., is reviewed by W. KELLER in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 485-9.

A. SCHILLER, *Ten Coptic Legal Texts . . .* (cf. *JEA* 19, 182), is reviewed by K. F. W. SCHMIDT in *GGA* 197 (1935), 409-26, the reviewer giving variants and his own translation of parts of Schiller's texts.

### 6. NON-LITERARY TEXTS

L. AMUNDSEN, *Greek Ostraca in the University of Michigan Collection*, Ann Arbor, 1935, xx+232 pp. In no. 374 (3rd cent. B.C.) *καυαί, καυαῖς* is traced to *καυαῖ, σαυαῖ* 'verstümmelt', cf. Heuser, *Personennamen*, I, 21, 33, 69. The work is reviewed by K. SCHMIDT in *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 714-18. The same writer's *Ostraca Osloensia . . .* (cf. *JEA* 20, 210) is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 77. Both works form the subject of an article by F. ZUCKER in *Gnomon* 12 (1936), 668-70.

G. GRAF, *Catalogue des mss. arabes chrétiens . . .* (cf. *JEA* 22, 98) is reviewed by N. PETERS in *Theol. u. Glaube* 27 (1935), 758-9, and by O. E. BURMEISTER in *JTS* 36 (1935), 432-4.

H. LECLERCQ, *Ostraka*, is an article in Cabrol-Leclercq's *Dictionnaire*, fasc. cxi-cxli (1936), 70-112, 1 pl. It is mainly concerned with Coptic material and, like all L.'s articles, is equipped with a very full and accurate bibliography.

N. LEWIS, *Mummy-Tickets from Achmim-Panopolis*, is published in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 70-2 (to be continued).

H. POLOTSKY, *Zwei koptischen Liebeszauber*, appears in *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 119-31. It deals with Pap. Wien K. 192 published by V. STEGEMANN, *Kopt. Zaubertexte . . .* Wien (no. 1) (cf. *JEA* 20, 210) and the



Papyrus Michigan Inv. 4932, edited by W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic Magical and Medical Texts* (no. 5) (cf. *JEA* 21, 112). The author presents some searching remarks on the text and translation of those two texts, which are of interest from the point of view of religious syncretism.

E. PORCHER, *Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131<sup>1-3</sup> de la Bibliothèque Nationale avec indication des textes bibliques*, with introduction by H. HYVERNAT, in *Rev. d'égyptol.*, Cairo, 1 (1935), 105-60, 231-78; 2, 65-123 (cf. *JEA* 20, 211) is of the utmost practical value as giving details of a large collection of fragments in which the lack of detailed guidance has hitherto often proved a serious obstacle.

K. SCHMIDT, *Zu den Leidener Zauberpapyri*, appears in *Phil. Woch.* 55 (1935), 1174-84. The same writer's *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrusammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, appears in *GGA* 198 (1936), 241-53.

V. STEGEMANN, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte in der Papyrusammlung Erzherzog Rainers in Wien*, will be found in *Sitzungsab. Heidelberg*, 1933/4, 1. It is reviewed by H. J. POLOTSKY in *OLZ* 38 (1935), 88-91.

P. SBATH, *Bibl. des mss. P. Sbath, catal. 3* . . . (cf. *JEA* 21, 111) is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 5 (1936), 369-400.

A. W. SHORTER, *A magical ostrakon*, will be found in *JEA* 22 (1936), 165-8.

A. STEINWENTER, *Die Bedeutung der Papyrologie* . . . (cf. *JEA* 21, 112) is briefly noticed by F. ZUCKER in *BZ* 35 (1935), 176.

W. TILL, *Zu dem Wiener koptischen Zaubertexte*, appears in *Orientalia* 4 (1935), 195-221.

U. WILCKEN, *Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrusammlung*, in *Abh. Berlin*, 1933 (1934), 123, is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 70-77.

S. ZANUTTO, *Bibliografia etiopica*, fasc. 1 . . . (cf. *JEA* 17, 250; 20, 211), appears in a second edition, Rome, 1936, 54 pp. This new edition is considerably augmented, instead of 80 numbers it now gives nearly 150. It is reviewed by J. SIMON in *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 175-6.

#### 7. PHILOLOGY

A. BÖHLIG, *Ein neuer Ausdruck für 'sein wie, gleichen' im Koptischen*, appears in *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 141-3.

M. CHAÎNE, *La Forme pa du verbe ipi*, appears in *Rev. ét. gr.* 2 (1935), 35-6. It contains a note on Boh. *ipi* 'make, produce', etc.—*pa* denotes habitual act as in John v. 36; Phil. i. 4, etc.

W. E. CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, is reviewed by H. HYVERNAT in *Mizraim* 1 (1935), 188-9, and 2 (1936), 75. Part IV is reviewed by Ch. KUENTZ in *Bull. de la Soc. de linguistique de Paris* 36 (1935), 161-2, who makes some interesting notes on new words found by Crum (cf. *JEA* 22, 98).

F. J. DOLGER, *Lumen Christi*, in *Antike u. Christent.* 5 (1936), 1-43, interprets *περὶ παντοκράτορος καὶ κυρίου* = *neten eppri exhnisaa tproy* 'der über allen Gewalten ist'.

ALAN H. GARDINER, *The Egyptian origin of some English personal names*, in *JAOS* 56 (1936), 189-197, deals with such names as Susan, Phineas, etc.

A. SCHARFF and W. HENGSTENBERG, *Mavepōs = manepōs?* appears in *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 143-6.

J. SIMON, *L'Aire et la durée des dialectes coptes*, in *Résumé des communications présentées au iv<sup>e</sup> Congrès internat. de linguistes*, Copenhagen, 1936, 93.

A. ŚMIESZEK, *Some hypotheses concerning the Prehistory of the Coptic vowels* (= *Mémoires de la Commission orientale de l'Académie polonaise des sciences*, no. 23), Kraków, 1936, 63 pp.

B. H. STRICKER, *Trois Études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes*, in *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1936), 1-20, is in three parts: (i) *Étymologies coptes*, (ii) *les voyelles u et o en égyptien*, and (iii) *une formation nominale dans le copte, groupe katl, kitl, kutl*.

W. H. WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds* . . . (cf. *JEA* 18, 186) is reviewed by GEHMANN in *Mizraim* 2 (1936), 80-1.

#### 8. ARCHAEOLOGY

FR. W. VON BISSING, *Christliche Fresken am zweiten Nil-Katarakt*, appears in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 12 (1936), 389-90, 4 Figs.

S. GABRA, *Caractères de l'art copte: ses rapports avec l'art égyptien et l'art hellénistique*, in *Bull. de l'Assoc. des amis des églises et de l'art coptes* 1 (1936), 37-41. P. JOUGUET, *De l'Égypte grecque à l'Égypte copte*, *ibid.*, 1-26. G. SOHRY, *Notes on the Ethnology of the Copts considered from the point of view of their descentance from the ancient Egyptians*, *ibid.*, 43-59. The new periodical in which these articles appear is published at the



Imprimerie de l'Institut Français in Cairo for the Association des Amis des Églises et de l'Art Coptes, a society founded in 1934 with Yusef Simaika Pasha as Secretary.

V. STEGEMANN, *Koptische Paläographie. 27 Taf. zur Veranschaulichung der Schreibstile koptischer Schrift-denkmäler auf Papyrus, Pergament und Papier der Zeit 3.-14. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Versuch einer Stilgeschichte der koptischen Schrift*, Heidelberg, 1936, fol., with 4 illus. and 25 pls. in portfolio. This will no doubt prove of much value in classifying and dating manuscripts.

H. J. POLOTSKY, *Suriel der Trompeter*, in *Muséon* 49 (1936), 231-43, endeavours to place Suriel as a figure in Coptic mythology.

N. LEWIS, *L'Industrie du papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris, 1934, xiii+187 pp., is reviewed by P. VIERECK in *Phil. Woch.* 56 (1936), 1121-3, and by H. C. YOUTIE in *Am. Jour. Phil.* 57 (1936), 217-21.

A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario . . .* (cf. *JEA* 22, 99) is reviewed by H. I. BELL in *JEA* 21 (1935), 267-8.

#### ADDENDA

An obituary notice and biography of LOUIS SAINT-PAUL GIRARD will be found in *Bull. Inst. fr., Cairo*, 35 (1935), 4 pp.

A notice and biography of KURT SETHE by H. KEES is given in *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1935, 66-74.

## NOTES AND NEWS

WE have received the following from Professor Blackman regarding the Society's work in Nubia last winter:

'Excavations began at Sesebi on November 1st and ended on February 17th. A considerable portion of the site enclosed in the town-walls, the four town-gates, and the whole of the New-Kingdom cemetery, have been cleared, planned, and recorded. The temple-area has been found to comprise a large forecourt, along the western side of which have been erected, upon an unusually massive substructure, three temples facing east and forming a single block of buildings. In the foundations below the central temple a crypt has been discovered, the walls of which are adorned with reliefs (unfortunately much mutilated) executed in the normal Eighteenth-Dynasty style and depicting Amenophis IV seated in the company of various Egyptian divinities. These reliefs, and the intact foundation-deposits found late in the season beneath both the north and the south ends of the west wall common to all three temples, indicate that the temples were founded and the crypt constructed and decorated before the fourth year of Amenophis IV's reign. This king's reliefs on the three standing columns were, however, executed in the characteristic 'Amarnah manner, although almost certainly before his ninth regnal year. The columns in question, which are a very conspicuous feature in all the published views of Sesebi, belong to the outer pillared hall of the central temple.

'Among the few pieces of sculpture found in the temple debris are a battered but pleasing black granite head (half life-size) of a monarch wearing the Upper-Egyptian crown, and a fragment of a relief of the finest quality displaying two life-size negro heads, which bear a strong resemblance to the well-known representations of negroes in a relief from the Memphite tomb of Haremhab (*cf.* Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Fig. 228).

'Outside the temple-area, but close to its north-east corner, is a stone structure which, in its original form (it has undergone at least one reconstruction), seems to have consisted of a small open court standing upon a square platform. Access to the court was gained by a stairway on the western side of the platform. This building resembles in many respects the "sun-temple" unearthed by Professor Garstang at Meroë in 1911.

'The magazines, situated just south of the temple-area, produced little material of importance, apart from a few hieratic jar-dockets. The cemetery and houses, however, have yielded a fine collection of scarabs, quantities of beads, faience pendants, interesting pottery, numerous articles of domestic use, and many small objects of artistic and archaeological value.

'Altogether a by no means unprofitable season's work.'

Mr. Myers sends us the following notes on last season's work of the Armant Expedition:

The season was chiefly devoted to further clearing of the temple area in Armant-el-Hêt, where about 2,000 sq. m. of the Ptolemaic temple pavement are now laid bare. The entire platform is composed of blocks from temples between the Eleventh and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. These blocks are amazingly well preserved, some of the colours being as bright as when first put on; this applies especially to those from the temple of Tuthmosis III. A particularly fine block shows the hand of the king grasping Nubian and Asiatic prisoners'



heads, magnificently carved and coloured. A Twelfth-Dynasty block shows the ceremony of founding the temple. Many other objects were found in these excavations, including three sandstone Osiride figures, one of them probably of the Eleventh Dynasty, and a limestone statue of a vizier of the Second Intermediate Period, unfortunately in many fragments.

The second large undertaking of the main expedition was the clearance on the desert edge of a mound named Kōm-el-'Abd, an adobe construction about 40 m. square by 4 m. high. The walls were thick and well built and the centre consisted of construction chambers filled with soil, on which was a brick pavement. Up one side ran a ramp about 3 m. broad. No trace of original constructions on the platform was found. Along the north side were rows of tree-pits and on the south a series of buildings in the 'Amarnah style. The bricks of the main building bore the name of Amenophis III. The purpose of the building is still unknown. No inscriptional material was found except an ostrakon giving a list of Scribes of the Barque of Amūn. Two other objects found were part of a faience vase of Pinūtem II and part of a *shawabti*-figure of Merneptah.

A 'pan-grave' cemetery was also excavated, and though badly robbed gave us new evidence about the Nubian mercenaries of the Second Intermediate Period. Semi-circular trenches were cut round the graves, and painted skulls were buried in these with the horns protruding from the ground. Burial of the skulls of animals in 'pan-grave' cemeteries is well known and must be linked with the entire ox-burials, found by us last year, associated with a Nubian intrusion about the time of the First Dynasty, and with almost identical customs among the Dinkas.

A Coptic hermitage was dug in Qal'ah-el-Ḥamra, a natural hill in the midst of the Low Desert. It was a small stone-built house with a cave behind, and a stone-paved terrace in front. A 'road' about 5 km. long and 200 m. wide leads from Qal'ah-el-Ḥamra to the cliffs of the High Desert. As half of it has disappeared in the last three years we decided to rescue what we could of the history of the site. The road is clearly of the New Kingdom, probably an unfinished project.

Another task was further search for remains of the Saharan civilization, sherds of which have been previously found here. The results show that the culture was probably a Bedouin one, settlements not being occupied for any length of time. The dead were probably buried above ground under a mound of stones; there are no bodies. The culture certainly comprises several periods, one of which, probably the latest, fell between the Protodynastic Period and the Third Dynasty.

The desert expedition by Dr. H. Winkler, assisted for part of the time by Mr. Terence Gray, had an equally satisfactory season. More than a thousand rock-drawings were photographed, and the various styles and periods are becoming clear. The expedition has explored the High Desert to the north and east of Luxor and Armant, the work on the Qus̄er road *wādī* systems and the passes to Nag' Ḥammādi being complete. The series of drawings extends from the Palaeolithic to the Arab periods, and the positions in *wādīs* of these earlier drawings may throw light on the history of the desiccation of the plateau. Five Horus-names were found in various sites, including that of Narmer and three, so far unidentified, which are possibly of unknown predynastic kings. A very interesting series of inscriptions was found mentioning a new queen and princesses of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Mr. Pendlebury reports as follows on last season's work at Tell el-'Amarnah:

'A short season sufficed to finish the work on the Central City. The Palace plan was finally confirmed. A large building south of the Temple was cleared, and proved to be in the nature of baths or a purificatory area. The Military Quarters were excavated and two



small buildings of exceptional interest were discovered to the South, one a pavilion with brightly painted walls, ceiling and columns, the other constructed to house a statue of the king in a wooden shrine.'

Dr. Gardiner writes:

'It had unfortunately become apparent, more than a year ago, that the munificent grant made by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. would not suffice to do more than cover the expense of Volumes III and IV of *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, and that even to achieve as much some economy would have to be exercised. Miss Calverley therefore proposed to the Editor of the Survey that a great effort should be made to complete all the field-work for these volumes in a single season, and by dint of unremitting industry extending from October to May she and Miss Broome have succeeded in accomplishing their object. The finishing touches have to be given to some plates of Volume III, but we have good reason to think that this will be in our Members' hands before the close of the present year. It will deal with the entire Osiris complex consisting of two halls and six smaller chambers, and will contain thirteen colour-plates, four of them double ones. The fourth volume will require a year and a half's preparation at home, but will be the largest of the four. By careful contrivance it will be possible to include the entire Hypostyle Hall, for which two volumes had previously been reserved. Here there will be four double and four single plates in colour, and with these all the colour-work worth reproducing in the Temple will have been exhausted. It is greatly to be hoped that when the time comes funds will be forthcoming to finance the remaining volume that would round off the series; it would be a thousand pities if this had to remain incomplete. For several months during the past season Mr. Leslie Greener and Mr. R. C. Martindale took a hand in the work, and once again Professor Junker has laid our Society under a deep obligation by devoting many valuable days to collating the inscriptions.'

Two lantern lectures have been given under our Society's auspices to appreciative audiences at the Royal Society's rooms, Burlington House: 'Some Recent Excavations in Egypt', by Professor Glanville, on March 2nd, and 'The Society's Excavations at Sesebi in Upper Nubia during the Season 1936-37', by Professor Blackman, on July 5th.

An Exhibition of our Society's work at Sesebi and Tell el-'Amarnah was held in the rooms of the Palestine Exploration Fund at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, from July 5th to 24th. The objects from Armant will be exhibited later.

On pp. 142-4 of this part will be found a new feature of the *Journal*, namely a comprehensive list of abbreviated references to periodicals and books frequently cited by contributors. The usefulness of this list—which is to appear in the first part of each annual volume—will be evident. Firstly, it will enable references in articles to be identified easily and certainly by readers; secondly, it will enable some common references to be given in very concise form, since the explanation of these is close to hand; thirdly, it will enable writers for our pages—nearly all of whom are, we suppose, to some extent readers of ours—to know what are the conventions adopted by this *Journal*, to their own convenience and the great saving of editorial labour. From our heart we beg our contributors to prepare their highly valued manuscripts with this list (a copy of which will be sent on application) before them, and to conform to it unless they see good reason to do otherwise. The symbols have been chosen with care; a certain lack of consistency is chiefly due to reluctance to make some



abbreviations as short as are some other widely-used ones containing the same words (e.g., *AJA*, but *Am. Journ. Phil.*). Mere striving after brevity would reduce everything to groups of capital letters, and this, in a periodical not addressed to specialists alone, seems undesirable in the interests of intelligibility. The list (which will be revised as occasion dictates) supersedes, by inclusion, the one hitherto prefixed to the Papyrological Bibliography.

For reasons beyond editorial control, it is not possible to publish the Bibliography of Pharaonic Egypt (see Vol. 22, p. 100) in this issue.

With the death of Adolf Erman on June 26th has passed away the greatest scholar in modern Egyptology, the man who, among many other achievements, gave Egyptian philology its form and direction, with immense consequences in the improved understanding of texts, and to whom every student of our science owes, and will for all time owe, an incalculable debt. For over sixty years he laboured incessantly; among living Egyptologists perhaps only the venerable Professor Golénischeff can remember the time before Erman advanced to a leading place in his field. A notice by Dr. Crum, Erman's oldest English friend, will be found elsewhere in this part.

It is with deep regret that we record the death, on June 24th, of Mr. R. McKenzie, for ten years a valued contributor to our Papyrological Bibliography.

Mr. M. F. Laming Macadam writes:

'In a recent volume of the *Journal* (Vol. 22, Pl. xxiii) there were published photographs of a bronze cone from Kawa showing in Meroitic hieroglyphic characters the name and epithets of a king *Mnhble*. These consisted of two cartouches, that on the right bearing the words (reading downwards and from right to left) *Mnhble: qēr*, which may mean "the king (or perhaps 'ruler') (A)mankhabale", and that on the left the word (reading downwards and from left to right) *utemrēšē*, the meaning of which is uncertain, but for which I suggested to Mr. L. P. Kirwan, pending further investigation, that it might be the name of a queen. Professor U. Monneret de Villard has now written an interesting note in the latest fascicule of *Aegyptus* (17, 101-3) proposing a derivation from two words which he writes *WT+M3RŠ3* (i.e. *ute+mēršē* according to Dr. Griffith's system of transliteration), with the meaning "well-living, happily living", or the like. For *ute* Professor Monneret de Villard can quote several examples, but for the second component word only one, though he mentions *utemrēši* from the stela of Tanyir(d)amani at Boston, line 17. Of this he says, "La forma è quasi simile alla nostra *WTM3RŠ3* [i.e. *utemēršē*] salvo che in un caso è vocalizzata la R e nell' altro la M." It must be pointed out, however, that the word on the Kawa cone differs from the word in the Boston stela only in the last letter, since it must be read *utemrēšē* and not, as Professor Monneret de Villard has it, *utemēršē*, the hieroglyphs being read from back to front. *13/W}4δ* occurs in another Meroitic (cursive) inscription from Kawa, not yet published, in circumstances which had already led me to the conclusion, before Professor Monneret de Villard's note appeared, that the word was an epithet of the king.'

With much pleasure, and with our congratulations to the recipient, we record that on April 29th last the University of Oxford conferred the degree of D.Litt. *honoris causa* on Walter Ewing Crum, described by the Public Orator, in the course of his presentation, as 'vir . . . cui in Musarum horto unus praeter omnes angulus riserit, quem ipse labore tam assiduo excoluit ut vix glaebam ullam reliquerit vertendam', and again, with the playful



touch expected on these occasions, as ἐν τοῖς Κοπτικοῖς ἀεὶ προκόπτειν. The ceremony in Convocation was attended by a number of friends; a humble admirer was heard to exclaim, in the words of a Bishop of Coptos, Τῇ υποθέσει ἀπαύται ἀφ' οὗ μερ ἡρασι περ οὐνοῦ.

It is with mixed feelings, we fear, that students of Egyptian will have heard that the Editors of the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* are not continuing the publication of the 'Belegstellen' in the form in which a fascicle, covering a little more than Vol. I of the main work, appeared two years ago, namely printed references to passages in which the words occur. It has been decided to proceed at once to the publication (intended from the first, but as following on the short references) of the 'volle Belege', consisting of select passages in hieroglyphic (autographed by the indefatigable Herr Erichsen) giving full contexts of the words. These will begin with passages illustrative of words in Vol. II, and are to be issued in parts of about 100 pp. each, the first to appear shortly. The immense superiority of this form of citation over the one now abandoned is obvious, especially since many texts which have been used as material are unpublished, and since also some of the publications used are not easily accessible to Egyptian students in general—two points emphasized by Prof. Grapow in his communication of last March to the Berlin Academy of Sciences on the progress of the *Wörterbuch*. But it is to be feared that to complete the publication of the 'volle Belege' will take many years, in view of the immense labour of compilation and autographing, and meanwhile the *Wörterbuch* will remain—though to a diminishing extent—but half a dictionary. We can but hope that Prof. Grapow and his helpers will be able to give us this essential part of their great undertaking with all possible speed.

Dr. Bell writes:

'Professor Adolf Deissmann, who died last April, was primarily a theologian, not a papyrologist, but the science of papyrology profited very greatly by his labours. His *Licht vom Osten*, in successive editions and translations of which he kept abreast of the progress of discovery, was in its way an epoch-making work; it was rich in the power of stimulating and suggestive interpretation, and the documents incorporated in it were so studied, from a standpoint unfamiliar to most papyrologists, as to yield a great many valuable new results. It was addressed, however, mainly to the non-papyrologist; both in this volume and in his other papyrological studies Deissmann was first and foremost an intermediary between papyrology and other branches of research, particularly New Testament studies. Probably nobody has done more than he to bring the evidence obtained from the papyri and ostraca into the range of knowledge of the wider public interested in antiquity, to give general currency to the new knowledge won by the papyrological specialist. And since the true and ultimate aim of every papyrologist is to provide the evidence from which the historian, the linguist, the jurist, and many another type of scholar may derive his general survey, Deissmann must be reckoned among the most eminent servants of the study. He was a protagonist in the school of New Testament scholars who maintained the view that the language of the New Testament was no peculiar diction produced in the attempt to translate Aramaic modes of thought into Greek speech, but simply the colloquial κοινή of ordinary life, as opposed to the artificial literary κοινή of contemporary pagan authors. As was natural in a pioneer, he tended to exaggerate this point of view, ignoring or minimizing real peculiarities, due either to Aramaisms or to the special needs of theological exposition; but this one-sidedness did not destroy the fundamental justice of his general point of view.

'A man of attractive personality, with a youthful zest and enthusiasm which he carried



into old age, Deissmann had a gift for friendship. After the War he exerted himself in the cause of international goodwill and reconciliation, restoring old ties and forming new ones; and his death is mourned by friends in many countries.'

The University of Michigan has produced two volumes which are to be known as, respectively, P. Mich. iii and P. Mich. iv. P. Mich. i is the volume of Zenon papyri edited by Mr. Edgar, P. Mich. ii Professor Boak's *Papyri from Tebtunis*, Part i. This last volume brought the current numeration of the texts to no. 128. Nos. 129-30 appeared in Professor Campbell Bonner's *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, and the numeration is continued in the two new volumes, of which P. Mich. iii covers nos. 131-221, while nos. 223-5 appear in P. Mich. iv; no. 222 is the codex of the Pauline Epistles previously published by Professor H. A. Sanders as *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul*. The two new volumes will be reviewed in this *Journal*, but this explanation may be useful to those who see references to 'P. Mich. x', and do not know where the papyrus in question is to be found.

Vol. i of 'P. Merton' is in the press and should be out in the course of the present year. It contains fifty texts, of which two are literary (Homer), one is Biblical, and the rest are documents, ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the Arab period. These papyri, edited by H. I. Bell and C. H. Roberts, are selected from the collection formed by Mr. Wilfred Merton. They are arranged in chronological order, and a collotype facsimile of each will be given. It is hoped later to issue a second volume containing at least as many texts.

The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has recently acquired on permanent loan a small collection of Greek papyri, varied both in type and period; none of these texts has as yet been published and it is intended that they be kept available for those who wish to take up the study of Greek papyrology. It is hoped that beginners especially may find it easier to acquire the rudiments of Greek palaeography by working with originals, even if fragmentary, instead of with facsimiles.

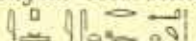
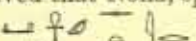
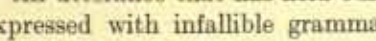
The third volume of the Catalogue of Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, will be published near the end of this year. Like the first volume it will contain only literary and theological texts and will be divided into five sections: (1) theological texts (Greek); (2) Latin literary and juristic texts; (3) new classical fragments (Greek); (4) scientific and technical texts; (5) fragments of extant Greek authors. The texts, which number nearly a hundred, will be edited by Mr. C. H. Roberts.

We are informed by the Keeper, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, that the Students' Room of this department on the upper floor was opened on May 10th, 1937, and will be open regularly, with the exception of the usual holidays, for the use of students of Egyptian papyri and Assyrian and Babylonian tablets. Other classes of written documents, and the archaeological material, will be made available as the re-arrangement of the collections is completed. Students who desire to continue their use of the room should renew their tickets immediately, and are requested to give notice of their requirements before presenting themselves.


Sappho is one of the authors our knowledge of whom has been substantially increased by finds of papyri. The latest example of her work to be discovered is preserved not on



papyrus but on an ostrakon. This, possibly written by a schoolboy, for the text is very corrupt, is also the earliest manuscript of the poetess yet discovered, dating from the second century B.C. Portions of five stanzas of an ode remain, which include two existing fragments. These fragments, previously, as is now apparent, recorded in a corrupt form, are at last to be read in their context, and the poem, apparently written in Crete, is an important addition to our stock of Sappho's verse. It is edited by Professor Medea Norsa in the *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Serie II, Vol. VI (1937), Fasc. I-II.

Much have we heard lately about certain claims as to the recovery by 'supernormal' means of the vocalization of Egyptian—a piece of news which hits us, if we may so express ourselves, just where we live. A lecture on the subject was given in Oxford, and we believe that gramophone records of Egyptian thus resuscitated were heard by a much impressed audience, which, to our lively regret, we were not privileged to join. However, the whole story is now set forth in a book called *Ancient Egypt Speaks*, by A. J. Howard Hulme, Hons. Cert. in Egyptology, Univ. of Oxford, and Frederic H. Wood, Mus. Doc. Dunelm, Hon. R.C.M. No copy has been received for review, but this must not debar our readers from some information about researches which have 'completely restored the spoken language of ancient Egypt'. There is a young medium called Rosemary, and through her the Lady Nona, who was the Babylonian wife of Amenophis III, and came to a bad end, has been giving revelations of Egyptian wisdom (confirming theosophical text-books), largely with the very laudable aim of staving off another world-war. After using plain English for some time she began to utter phrases in a strange tongue, and Dr. Wood sent transcriptions of these to Mr. Hulme, who had already compiled an Egyptian-Esperanto grammar and dictionary—a remarkable form of Egyptological (or is it Esperantist?) propaganda. Mr. Hulme said they were Egyptian, and to prove it has turned many of them, not without 'rigorous test as to grammatical construction', into hieroglyphic (the book contains pages of this, which will greatly impress non-Egyptologists too), with pronunciation and translation complete. Nona said, for instance, *ā vā'stee vōng tu*. Most scholars would have made nothing of that; but Mr. Hulme saw that it must be  meaning 'to enumerate, now, the items'. But he saw also that Nona's pronunciation was not quite all it should be (after all she was a foreigner), or else that Dr. Wood hadn't got it quite right—we do not know which; for he emends this utterance to *eph ē'stirf ō(ng) tu*. Again, confronted with *ah dōnk zēet y ra vōn(k)*, he perceived that Nona, speaking as always with 'infallible use of Egyptian grammar', had said  'so that the ear may give it life', which she ought to, or must, have really pronounced *ā(r)dī onkh zī't, iraf, (ng)ā'nkh* (*ā* as in mart), and that this of course referred to the rebirth of Egyptian through the discovery of the vocalization. An utterance that has held our attention, as showing how emphatic assurance may be expressed with infallible grammar, is  'It really is I. The man has put the word. It is really I therein', although we don't know what putting the word is. Although Nona has vouchsafed over 900 such little gems of Egyptian prose, her attempts at hieroglyphic writing have been trifling; this is because she is a Babylonian lady, Mr. Hulme says. It seems a real pity that while learning to speak Egyptian with infallible use of grammar, though perhaps always with a marked Babylonian accent which Mr. Hulme is fortunately able to rectify, Nona could not have picked up the writing too and so have spared him much arduous labour. Mr. Hulme sets forth the main features of Nona's diction with impressive technicality (that a Babylonian would have adopted easily the Old Perfective, that 'quaint style of almost prehistoric age', with its relation to the Akkadian Permansive, is a most happy observation), and is able to refute, with



crushing effect, several of the 'inferences' of less favoured students. He is careful to point out that the words '*can be checked* by anyone' with Budge's dictionary, and that Gardiner's Grammar is accessible for checking the grammatical structure. And he gives us, though with modest indirectness, the necessary assurance (apart from that Hons. Cert. in Egyptology) as to his competence in these delicate matters. On one page Nona is stated to speak Egyptian, when in spate, seventy-three times as fast as he can compose it; on the next she is stated to speak at a speed of seventy times the capacity of the world's best Egyptologists. We are no mathematician, but Mr. Hulme looks to us as near the world's best Egyptologists as makes no difference. What further guarantees can the layman require? Turning from philology, we do but mention the vivid description of Thebes, *temp.* Amenophis III, with people travelling in tents on camels' backs; the 'temple-memories', showing that the dances in *Aïda* are all wrong, and giving the 'exquisite devotional melody' to which *eést-y, eést-y, óovan-ée tah* (no translation) is set; how horribly the river smelt, and how easily great blocks were moved by 'weight-adjustment'; for we are not strong in archaeology. Rather would we linger on the salutation *s'ānkh* 'here's Life for you!', the rare phraseology that no one on Earth is capable of framing spontaneously, and the clincher *zit* ('that's it!'); but we must end, and how more appropriately than with Nona's 'closing-down formula'  *ä quón* 'indeed, completion!'?

We invite readers to help us to increase the usefulness and interest of 'Notes and News' by sending us any information which they think might suitably appear under this heading.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*The Desert Fayum.* By G. CATON-THOMPSON and E. W. GARDNER. London, The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1934. 4to. xiv + 167 pp., and vol. of 114 pls. and maps. 30s. net.

Miss Caton-Thompson set out to study Palaeolithic and Neolithic man in the Western Desert, a study which entailed the assistance of a geologist, Miss Gardner. In this district the whole question revolves around climate and the history of the Fayyūm Lake, and this in turn introduces various problems of historic times. Only an excavator can realize how annoying can be the appearance of evidence as to unwanted periods, distracting one from the main subject of inquiry, and 'wasting' the time of far too short a season. But fortunately Miss Caton-Thompson approached the subject in a spirit of broad-mindedness only too rare among investigators, and she never disdained to give attention to the numerous archaeological details which continually turned up, although they were outside the real purpose of her inquiry. Hence, she and Miss Gardner have produced a compendium of man's history in the Fayyūm from its beginning right down to Ptolemaic times. Their herculean efforts in spite of every difficulty will at least have brought them the satisfaction of knowing that their work will be the permanent foundation of any further researches in this area. Probably any more work will only elaborate the details of the scheme, of which they have drawn in the main outlines.

The Egyptologist, if he thinks about it at all, is apt to lump Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilizations together in the comprehensive phrase 'The Stone Age'. Hence, the importance of this publication is apparent on its very first page. We find there were two Fayyūm lakes: there was first a vast Pleistocene one, 278 feet higher than the surface of the present one, and this was succeeded by a smaller, but still large, one of the Neolithic Age, with a maximum level 206 feet above the present lake-level. The Pleistocene lake was fed partly by the Nile of those days and partly by the rainfall, which at that time was considerable. The climate has become progressively drier, a process which, with the sinking of the Nile below the connecting Hawāra gorge, caused this ancient lake nearly to dry up. It was round the shores of this dying lake, with its palaeo-arctic fauna, that Middle and Late Palaeolithic man lived and hunted.

After this the history of the lake is obscure for a time. When it is discovered again at the 206-foot level its fauna is totally different and 'modern', and when man was attracted to its northern shores he also was of the 'modern' type, and brought his Neolithic civilization with him. Another indication of the great lapse of time between mid-Palaeolithic (Levalloisian) and Neolithic times is provided at 'Kōm K'. Here Levalloisian man had lost his tools on the beach of his lake. But Neolithic man did not come and sink his granary-pits into it until sufficient time had passed for the whole, beach and tools, to become cemented into a hard conglomerate, for a gypsum layer to form on top of it, and for a layer of gravel to spread itself on top of that. Though great changes had taken place between Palaeolithic and Neolithic times, there has been little change, except increasing aridity, between the latter period and the present day. In Neolithic times the silt deposited by the old Pleistocene lake had already been eroded into miniature cliffs. In one of these a shelf had been formed, and on this a 'Neolithic A' man had kept his pot and its contents. Its position to-day is still as convenient as it evidently was then, for it is about four feet above the present ground-level.

Between the 'ancient' Palaeolithic lake and the 'modern' Neolithic one the neighbourhood seems to have been deserted. The newcomers arrived when the Neolithic lake had dwindled from 206 to 180 feet above the level of the present lake. In its shrinking the lake left behind a widespread area of silt on what had been its bed, but is now desert. The hollows in this area were kept as lagoons by the still sufficient rainfall, and round them and the creeks of the lake Neolithic man lived his life. He was still a hunter, but was also an agriculturist, and lived in settlements, growing barley and emmer wheat on the moist edges of the lagoons, and fishing and hunting in the creeks, the shallow lagoons, and the swamps on their fringes, and in the dry park-land in which they were situated. Stone arrow-heads associated with the carcasses of a hippopotamus and an elephant probably testify to the people's prowess in this respect. Their corn they stored in pits lined with straw baskets, looking for all the world like gigantic bee-skeps inverted. The number of these, as well as of the flint implements collected from this desert, give the impression of a large population. No evidence



has yet come to light that the people had domesticated any animals. Why should they, with game so abundant? There is no evidence that they knew anything of metals.

It must be emphasized that the Neolithic civilization did not grow up in the Fayyūm area, but was introduced in a fairly advanced stage, though from what direction is quite unknown. There is nothing to suggest that it came from the East. Conditions favoured the growth of a stable and definite social organization. However promising the start may have been, degradation set in, civilization relapsed into barbarism, and it seems that corn ceased to be grown. Concomitantly the lake was still falling towards its Early Dynastic level at 140 feet, but though this steady diminution of area and volume may explain much, it will not explain all.

Apparently, shortly after the passing of the decadent 'Neolithic B' community, there intruded the Nilotic civilization of the Gerzean (Early Second Predynastic) Age with its flint implements, which in Upper Egypt would be dated to S.D. 40-50. Miss Caton-Thompson puts forward as her private opinion the view that Neolithic man probably entered the Fayyūm area about 5000 B.C., and that the two groups A and B did not last longer than 800 years or so. After this came the Gerzean Age, which on this view would come at about 4200 or 4000 B.C. Such dates as these seem more satisfactory than Scharff's extremely reduced estimates (ZÄS 71, 89) of 4000 and 3400 B.C. respectively.

At least as late as the Old Kingdom the people continued the original type of cultivation round the various damp depressions, which contained soil composed of ancient lake silt. There was a colony of Middle-Kingdom Egyptians whose cemetery was found at Kaṣr eṣ-Ṣāgha, but from the Old Kingdom until Ptolemaic times, so far as the evidence goes at present, quarrying was the chief activity in the 'desert' north of the Fayyūm.

In the third century B.C. the ancient populousness of what is now the high desert was revived on a vast scale. Ptolemy Philadelphus then undertook the part of the rain-god, and watered the cultivable pans of silt. This he did by a system of canals bringing the Nile to the desert. His new province thus proves to have been reclaimed from the desert itself, not from the lake as has hitherto been vaguely supposed. The Ptolemaic scheme was similar to that carried out at Kôm Ombo a generation or so ago. The photographs on Pl. xci show what clues Nature in her favourable moods will sometimes offer the observant archaeologist.

Another series of doubts and questions has also been cleared up. This arose from Herodotus' stories about Lake Moeris, which he supposed to have been a vast reservoir used to supplement the inundation in the Nile Valley. A careful combination of the geological and archaeological remains, co-ordinated by an extensive series of levels, proves that throughout historic times the Fayyūm lake was always below the level of the river. For this reason alone its waters could never have flowed back into the Nile Valley. Moreover, there is the rock bed of the passage connecting the Fayyūm with the Valley; the water of the supposed reservoir would have had to pass back over this to re-enter Egypt. The section giving the profile of the district on Pl. cvii (and cf. p. 11) shows that this exit is higher than the level of the Twelfth-Dynasty and Graeco-Roman cities at Medīnet el-Fayyūm. It is higher still than the Twelfth-Dynasty site at Biahmu. Hence, water sufficiently high to run back into the Nile would have permanently drowned what we know to have been flourishing cities, and also a building site.

The authors do not deal with the work of Amenemhêt III, for that would have taken them too far outside their province. But their geological work lays to rest an archaeological incubus which has haunted the conception of what he did. The great bank at El-'Edwah looks astonishingly like a man-made dyke, and various visitors have been deluded into thinking that it must have been thrown up by Amenemhêt. However, it proves conclusively to be natural, in fact to have been the beach of one or more of the Stone Age lakes. On looking at the map, Pl. cviii, it seems probable to the reviewer that Amenemhêt instituted some sort of drainage work on the land round about Medīnet el-Fayyūm, which would at that time have been a soggy expanse on the eastern side of the ever-shrinking lake. If he did so, his work would have been comparable to that carried out by the land companies in the northern Delta, and the opposite of that carried out by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and in modern times at Kôm Ombo.

Though Dimai, as we know it at present, is entirely a Graeco-Roman city, the abundance there of flints of the Old Kingdom suggests that the site was already occupied at that time. The main problem here has always been the supposed 'quay'. It is now shown to have been far above the level of the Ptolemaic lake, and no boat could ever have approached it. Though some of its features are still difficult of explanation, it was clearly a great paved roadway into the city, with a gateway at which taxes were collected. The city of Dimai was never on an island, but there prove to have been great areas of basin irrigation to the north and west. These, together with the lake, though this was at least a mile and a half away to the south, might have provided the idea of an island contained in the Greek name of the place, Soknopaiou Nesos.

Another site upon which Miss Caton-Thompson was kind enough to spend thought and time was the



mysterious little temple of *Ḳasr eṣ-Ṣāgha*, with its seven shrines. She publishes references to such literature as there is on the subject, a plan, and a number of good photographs which show all there is to be seen of the building. She even ran a trench in front of the temple, in the hopes of elucidating the date of its foundation. Unfortunately, owing to the disturbance due to treasure-seekers, the results were inconclusive, but like so much else they suggested an Old-Kingdom date. The occupation periods of this part of Egypt were Neolithic, Old Kingdom, and Middle Kingdom, after which the district was deserted until Ptolemaic times. Miss Caton-Thompson's conclusion on general grounds is probably the right one: that the temple was built in the Old Kingdom, and was kept up during the Middle Kingdom. The one fragment of inscription found is probably later than the Old Kingdom.

Not far from the temple are a number of stone-capped ridges and hillocks, and these in their turn have been called 'quays'. In historic times, at least, they never could have been such; actually they are natural formations, surfaced over by man with rough stone slabs, and in one case topped with a wall. The one or two objects found in the interstices of the stones were of Old-Kingdom date, and the hillocks were no doubt primitive citadels of that period, strong enough for what would have been rather desultory warfare.

The above remarks by no means include all that should be said of this valuable publication. They do, however, give some indication of the wide field covered by the authors. It is greatly to be regretted that such devoted labours should have been hampered by the difficulties described on pp. 6 ff.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

*Einiges zur dritten Bauperiode der grossen Pyramide bei Gise.* By L. BORCHARDT. Berlin, Julius Springer, 1932. 4to. 21 pp., 12 pls. 9 Rentenmark.

As becomes an Egyptologist who is also an architect, Dr. Borchardt has made a special study of the Pyramids and the building problems which they present. He began to publish his observations as long ago as 1892, in the *Zeits. für äg. Sprache* of that year, and since then he has time and again given the world a further sample of his results; in *ZÄS*, 1894, 1897, and in 1928 in a separate work entitled *Die Entstehung der Pyramide*. Now in 1932 we have another study which is a valuable addition to the already large literature on the archaeological problems of the Pyramids. Those discussed here are concerned first with the Great Gallery and then with the so-called Antechamber, which is really the Porticulis Chamber. Though most of the details discussed have been known since the days of Perring and Vyse, now, thanks to the better lighting available, Dr. Borchardt has been able to observe some that he had overlooked before.

As every one knows, the ascending passage suddenly changes its nature from a low rectangular passage to a high corbel-roofed gallery. This fact has always attracted attention, whether of the pyramidological theorists or of the students of antiquity. The ascending passage is blocked at its lower end by three granite plugs weighing about seven tons apiece. Fitting the passage as they do, they could not have been pushed up from the outside. Where, therefore, were they kept inside the building until they were put in place after the funeral? Borchardt replies: in the Great Gallery itself, on a wooden scaffolding above the heads of the workmen passing backwards and forwards. The Gallery was heightened to provide room for the stones, and having heightened it the architect had to taper it off gradually to spread the weight. This is a remarkable conclusion, but on the evidence provided it seems unavoidable, and shows what careful measurement and observation will yield to the competent observer.

At the foot of the walls of the Great Gallery is a series of carefully cut holes in pairs which would take posts. These, however, were given up, and stopped with plaster. In the floor of the passages, in front of each of the first set of holes, another socket had been cut three times as big. These would take three of the beams suitable for the first set, and by enabling them to stand more upright would give not only greater strength but also more space for movement between them. Also, in the third corbel is a groove running parallel with the floor, which is evidently intended to receive something. By combining all this it is not difficult to postulate a strong platform raised up above the passage. It is on this that Dr. Borchardt supposes that the granite plugs were stored till needed. The pairs of sockets stop short of both the upper and lower ends of the Great Gallery. Dr. Borchardt reasonably supposes that this was to give access to the platform, and to enable the stones to be removed at the lower end. The stones would have to be put on the platform before the Gallery was roofed over, which gives one more indication of the forethought expended by the ancient architect—a thing not always sufficiently appreciated by students of Ancient Egypt.

This all seems very satisfactory to the reviewer, who, however, is neither architect nor engineer. But he does not feel that the means have been demonstrated by which the plugs were put into place when let down



from overhead on to the floor of the Great Gallery. Perhaps, however, there is no evidence left for this. The 'well' is a tunnel mined through to the original subterranean passage, and Perring (*The Pyramids of Gizeh*, I, pp. 2, 3, notes to Pls. ii, viii) could not decide whether it was contemporary with the pyramid or the work of plunderers. Dr. Borchardt supports Perring's first view, namely that it was used as a means of exit for the workmen after the plugs were put in place. But it may be asked, why trouble laboriously to block up the main entrance if a way round was to be left open?

Before leaving the Ascending Passage mention must be made of the set of three pairs of double sockets shown in Fig. 1. These are evidently intended for a strong tripod astride the passage. Such an apparatus was no doubt used as a crane.

In the Porticulus Room (Antechamber) Dr. Borchardt notes the crutches which on the west wall are situated over the slots in which the three porticuli were slid down into place. They have always been accepted for what indeed they visibly are, i.e., crutches for rollers over which passed the ropes in which the porticuli were slung and finally let down. But even after long consultation with an engineer, Dr. Rieke, he is still unable to give a satisfying explanation of the absence from the east wall of what should be the corresponding set. That four ropes were used is shown by the four grooves cut in the south wall palpably to receive them. The author calculates that rollers of 45 cm. diameter and palm-fibre ropes of 5 cm. diameter would be quite sufficient for the manipulation of the porticuli, weighing, as they do, some 2½ tons apiece.

Knowing of the grooves for the ropes in the Great Pyramid, Dr. Borchardt has been able to point to similar ones in Snefru's pyramid at Mēdūm. These explain the presence above them of the beam, which projects a foot or more from the wall immediately over the well: it was the block over which ropes ran. When Maspero entered the chamber in the early eighties the ropes were still hanging over it. It is fortunate that he mentions the fact, but unfortunate that he gives no drawing or details of the size or material of the ropes. The reviewer would suggest, however, that the apparatus was one for hoisting up into the chamber, not one for letting down a porticulus. There is no porticulus in this pyramid, and it would be a simple matter to slide plenty of plugs down the sloping passage. In fact this is how the great mastabah, No. 17, was sealed just outside Snefru's pyramid; cf. Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, III, Pl. xii, top.

A contrivance of ropes passing over rollers seems to have been the regular method of letting down the porticuli in the pyramids at Gizeh. Indications of it remain in the Third Pyramid. Dr. Borchardt does not deal with one difficulty which troubles the reviewer. The ropes are conceived as encircling the stones, and would no doubt be safe so long as they were at rest. But on letting down the stones the edges would begin to fray the ropes, which sooner or later would break. In any case how were the ropes got out from under the stones once they had descended into place? Can it be that the builders trusted to the ropes breaking before the descent was completed, and so freeing themselves? In Nefermaat's mastabah at Mēdūm the extraction of the ropes was arranged for: in this case the much smaller porticulus was bored with three holes at the top, and two channels were cut at the bottom for the withdrawal of the ropes from underneath the stone; the holes were 10 cm. (4 inches) in diameter, and the porticulus had been let down into the well over a beam (cf. Petrie, Wainwright and Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gizeh and Mazghuneh*, Pl. xv, top, and p. 26).

Dr. Borchardt quotes the well-known passage in the Westcar Papyrus as to Khufu's desire to copy in his pyramid details from the temple of Thoth. The story, however, does not refer to the blocking of the passages as used to be supposed, but, as Gardiner showed (*JEA* 11, 4), to the number of the chambers. It should read Khufu 'had spent (much) time in searching for the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth in order to make the like thereof for his horizon', i.e., his pyramid. This information Djedi was not able to impart, but he did tell him where it could be found.

Dr. Borchardt apparently no longer supports the old theory of Lepsius of far-reaching reconstructions and accretions. It was always strongly combated by Petrie and Maspero, who maintained that the Great Pyramid was originally laid out to be of its present size. The supposed evidence of enlargements now reduces itself to evidence of the means by which the mass of the Pyramid was piled up, and the reconstructions to nothing more than change in the position of the burial-chamber. It is even possible to say at what stage of the building the alteration was made; this emerges from a study of the joints of the masonry in the ascending passage. The lower part has been quarried through the existing masonry, and passes through four faces of the successive coatings by which the body of the structure has been constructed. In this part the masonry is that of the core of the Pyramid; it is comparatively rough, and the joints are wide and not at right-angles to the slope of the passage. At about thirteen metres above pavement-level all this changes. The walls of the passage are properly built, with joints fine and sharp, running at right angles to the slope. As already noted, the mass of the Pyramid is constituted of a series of coatings, each enclosing the previous



one. This is somewhat in the style of Snefru's pyramid at Mēdūm, and like his each of these coatings is ten cubits thick.

Dr. Borchardt supposes that the sarcophagus was extracted from the chamber of the second building scheme, the Queen's Chamber, and was put into that of the third, the King's. But is it necessary to suppose that it was ever put into the Queen's? If the change was made when the building was only thirteen metres above pavement-level, this chamber was probably not then roofed in.

The method of constructing the underground chambers at Gizah is not that so often used. They are mined out of the native rock, whereas a vast pit was often dug, in which the chamber was built. This method was employed before Khufu at Zāwiyet el-'Aryān, and after him at Abu Rawāsh; it was also the method by which Sethos I constructed his 'underground' Osireion at Abydos.

In conclusion Dr. Borchardt draws attention to a number of questions yet to be solved, but they do not include one which has always exercised the reviewer. Possibly it has already been answered elsewhere; possibly to an engineer it is no problem at all. It is: how did the builders keep so vast a construction so perfectly true that the apex came out correctly over the centre of the base?

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

*History and Significance of the Great Pyramid.* By BASIL STEWART. London, John Bale, Sons & Danielsson Ltd., 1935. 8vo. xvi+224 pp., frontispiece and 2 diagrams. 6s. net.

Pyramidology is not so much a science as a state of mind. For those who are in that condition this is no doubt a useful book.

There is, however, one point in it of interest to Egyptologists. That is the frontispiece, which reproduces a Japanese colour-print dating from about 1820 to 1825. In the accompanying inscription the artist describes it as 'New edition perspective picture after the Dutch: Pointed Towers in the land of Egypt (Ye-gip-tu)'. The picture shows a couple of Dutchmen discussing and admiring a pyramidal structure, which, like almost all early reproductions of pyramids, is much too high for its base. Mr. Stewart remarks in his description of it that at that time Japan was utterly cut off from the outside world, yet, even so, the hermit empire was not proof against the wonders of Egypt and its pyramids.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

*Die Thebanische Gräberwelt.* By GEORG STEINDORFF and WALTER WOLF. (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 4.) Glückstadt and Hamburg, J. J. Augustin, 1936. 100 pp., 24 pls.

This book is one of those summaries of existing knowledge on one aspect or other of Egyptology of which a number has emanated from Germany in recent years, and it is the fourth of its own special series. The subject with which it deals, the history of the Theban necropolis and the principles underlying the construction and decoration of the various types of tomb, is of great interest not only to the student but also to the intelligent tourist, and it may be said at once that the present work admirably fulfils its function of describing this famous city of the dead.

After dealing with the history and topographical distribution of the various cemeteries of which the necropolis as a whole is composed, the authors devote nearly a third of the book to a description of the arrangement and decorations of the tombs of Dyns. XVIII-XX, endeavouring successfully to indicate the underlying principles, and illustrating their descriptions with many plans of extant tombs and reconstructed perspective drawings of the main types.

From the architectural aspect of the tombs the authors turn to the scenes sculptured or painted on the walls, and discuss their purpose, arrangement, and technique. With regard to the much-debated question of the magical purpose of the wall-scenes, they assume an eminently reasonable position. While admitting that the magical reproduction after burial of scenes of daily life and religious rites was an important motive in covering the walls with paintings, they point out that a considerable part was played by the desire for a memorial of the outstanding incidents of the earthly career of the deceased or of the general tenor of his life, and also by the aesthetic desire for decoration (see also Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhät*, 19-21; the authors do not refer to this discussion). The account of the technique of the paintings is brief, and might have been expanded without disadvantage, though it must be remembered that the full account of the technique in Nina M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, III, xxii ff. was not available when this book was written.



The last chapter is devoted to the royal tombs of the Bibān el-Mulūk and the Bibān el-Ḥarīm, and here again the text is illustrated by a number of plans of the more important tombs. It is shown that the royal tombs of Dyn. XVIII were either curvilinear or angular in plan, whereas those of the post-'Amarnah period, with the exception of the tomb of Tutankhamūn—a law unto itself—favour the straight line, a change which is attributed to a desire that the rays of the sun should illumine the interior, a legacy of the 'Amarnah sun-worship. It is further pointed out that in these later tombs the walls nearer the entrance, where daylight could penetrate, generally bore texts and scenes of a solar character, while those of the inner chambers were appropriately devoted to representations of the Netherworld and the relative texts, such as the Book of That which is in the Netherworld and the Book of Gates. The peculiar change of axis found in the tombs of Ḥaremḥab, Sethōs I, and Ramesses III is ingeniously explained as being due to a desire to exclude all daylight from the 'Netherworld' of the tomb.

The book includes lists of references for the text-figures and for the twenty-four well-chosen photographic plates, as well as a table showing the topographical distribution of the private tombs. Slips and misprints are almost non-existent, though it is surprising to find Siptah and Queen Tawesret placed at the end of Dyn. XX (p. 78). In short, this work may be heartily recommended to both students and travellers, and one would like to see an English version available for tourists in this country.

R. O. FAULKNER.

*Das ägyptische Märchen. Ursprung und Nachwirkung ältester Märchendichtung bis zur Gegenwart.* BY MAX PIEPER. (Morgenland, Heft 27.) Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1935. 89 pp.

In this little book Pieper continues his studies in Egyptian literature, briefly summarizing Ancient Egyptian stories, analysing them into various stock motives, and endeavouring to trace their influence on the folk-tales of other lands. His purview includes the whole range of Egyptian fiction from the Middle-Egyptian stories down to those written in demotic, but since his concern is primarily with the folk-tale he omits such texts as *Sinuhe* and *Wenamun*, as well as mythological narratives. The author performs similar analyses of a number of primitive folk-tales from other parts of the world and compares them with their Egyptian counterparts; however, he comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian stories which have survived are not folk-tales in the strict sense of the word, despite a certain similarity of content, but that they rather fulfilled a function comparable to that of the novel in modern life. With this view it is hard to quarrel, since the Egyptian tales were written down for the entertainment of the educated classes, whereas it is the essential quality of the folk-tale that it circulates orally among the illiterate, and is generally of a very unsophisticated character.

Finally Pieper traces the occurrence of Egyptian motives in the stories of Greece, later Europe, and India, though how far similarity of plot and incident is due to actual Egyptian influence and how far to independent invention is a question difficult to decide. Despite the author's commendable caution, it seems to the present reviewer that insufficient allowance has been made for the latter factor. But whatever opinion one may hold on this matter, this book undoubtedly contains a great deal of interesting material for the comparative study of the folk-tale and is a valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals.

R. O. FAULKNER.

*Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other early Christian Papyri.* Edited by H. IRENE BELL and T. C. SKEAT. London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1935. x+63 pp., 5 pls. 4s.

*The New Gospel Fragments.* London, The Trustees of the British Museum, 1935. 33 pp., 1 pl. 1s.

Hitherto the dating of New Testament books has depended on the weighing of 'internal' and 'external' evidence, where 'external' evidence meant, for the most part, quotation of the document concerned in other more securely dated documents. With the publication of these fragments and of *P. RyI. Gk. 457* palaeography becomes a factor having a direct bearing on the question of the date of the Fourth Gospel. For if *P. RyI. Gk. 457* is correctly dated about A.D. 150, we have a definite *terminus ad quem* fixed on purely palaeographical grounds. The new Gospel fragments (*Egerton Papyrus 2*), which occupy the first place in Bell and Skeat's volume, are also dated c. A.D. 150; and if, as seems likely, the Fourth Gospel was employed in the composition of the document of which we have here a fragmentary copy, palaeographical evidence again becomes an important factor in fixing a date for the writing of John. For New Testament scholars this is perhaps the



most interesting and exciting point raised by these publications. Before yielding to its seductions it is proper to notice the other early Christian Papyri published along with the Gospel Fragments.

No. 2 (*Egerton Papyrus 3*) is dated early in the third century, and consists of fragments of what may have been a Gospel Commentary. There are recognizable quotations from Matt., John, and Philippians. The editors also find a reference to 2 Tim., but this is more doubtful. Unfortunately the papyrus is too fragmentary to allow any sure inferences as to its character and authorship.

No. 3 (*Egerton Papyrus 4*), assigned to the third century, is the remains of a single leaf of a codex of 2 Chronicles. The fragments cover xxiv. 17-27, and are chiefly interesting for the light they shed on the history of 'a glaring corruption in A' (v. 27).

No. 4 (*Egerton Papyrus 5*), fourth-fifth century, is a leaf from a liturgical book. It is well preserved and easily legible; but the text does not seem to resemble any known early Christian liturgy, indeed there is nothing specifically Christian about it. It is one of those provoking fragments that arouse a curiosity which they do nothing to satisfy. In some respects it reminds one of the Jewish prayers embedded in *Const. Apost.* vii. 33-8.

To return to No. 1. The Trustees of the British Museum have issued two editions of this text, both of which are essential for the proper study of the document, the first for its full and scholarly introduction and commentary, the second for its new readings and supplements as well as for its further discussion of the problems raised. These problems may be divided into three classes: (1) restoration of the text, (2) determination of the character and purpose of the document, (3) its relation to the canonical gospels and in particular to John. There is already a considerable literature dealing with these questions.<sup>1</sup>

1. The text as set out by the editors contains the following pericopae: (A) Conversation of Jesus with the lawyers and the rulers of the people (Fr. 1 verso), leading up to (B) an attempt on the life of Jesus (Fr. 1 recto). Both passages have close affinities with John. (C) The healing of a leper; this has distinct echoes of Mk. i. 40-4. (D) A question about tribute-money (Fr. 2 recto). The question is similar to that raised in Mk. xii. 14 f.; and the answer of Jesus, which is incomplete, begins with the quotation from Isaiah employed in another connexion in Mk. vii. 6 f. (E) A miracle performed on the bank of the river Jordan (Fr. 2 verso); this incident has no parallel elsewhere. The beginning of A (ll. 1-5) and the whole of E are extremely mutilated, and afford ample scope for conjectural restoration. There are at least three very ingenious attempts on E (by Dibelius, Dodd, and Lagrange), which, while they differ in detail, agree on the main point that what is described is a miracle by which the growth of a plant from seed to fruit-bearing is made to take place in a few moments. The meaning of the story as restored may be that it is an acted parable symbolizing the way in which 'the word, or the Spirit, of God quickens the heart of man' (Dodd), or that it is a symbol of the resurrection (Lagrange).

In A, Lagrange would see two separate discussions, one with the 'lawyers' and the other with 'rulers of the people'. The end of the former is preserved in ll. 1-5, which Lagrange restores thus:

[απο  
 λυετε παντα τον πα[ρ]απραση[οντα  
 τον νο]μον και μη εμε' [ει τις κατα  
 κρηνη] ο ποιει πως ποι[ει];

He thinks that this may be the end of a dispute about the Sabbath similar to that recorded in Lk. xiv. 1-6. This seems to me the best suggestion made so far for dealing with these lines (another, in my opinion less likely, is made by Dibelius); but it cannot be called a certain restoration. The remaining sections of the text do not present serious difficulties to the restorer, and the editors' supplements are generally accepted.

2. The fact that only two mutilated leaves of the codex are available for study makes it difficult to judge what the whole document was. It has affinities both with the Synoptic Gospels and with John, and that fact would suggest that we have here an early harmony of the Gospels. But an examination of the text shows clearly enough that, whatever it may be, it is certainly not a harmony in the sense in which that word may be applied to the Diatessaron or, for that matter, to the still earlier labours of Matthew, who did for his sources what Tatian later did for the canonical Gospels. The editors regard the document as a gospel, a

<sup>1</sup> The following articles may be mentioned (the list does not pretend to be exhaustive): M. Goguel in *Rev. d'Hist. et de Phil. Rel.* 1935, 459 ff. and in *Rev. hist. rel.* 113 (1936), 42-87; H. Lietzmann in *Z. neut. Wiss.* 34 (1935), 285-91; M. Dibelius in *D. Lit.-Z.* 57 (1936), Sp. 3-11; W. Bauer in *GGA* 198 (1936), 24-30; C. H. Dodd in *Bull. J. Ryl. Libr.* 20 (1936), 56-92 (obtainable separately); F. C. Burkitt in *JTS* 36 (1935), 302-4; M.-J. Lagrange in *Rev. Bibl.* 44 (1935), 321-43; K. F. W. Schmidt and J. Jeremias in *Theol. Blätter* 1936, Nr. 2.



view which has the support of Dibelius. On the other hand, Lagrange lays emphasis on the fact that the matter preserved is almost entirely polemical, and draws the conclusion that 'l'auteur avait un but spécial: mettre en lumière l'hostilité des Juifs contre Jésus, et la manière dont il avait triomphé de leurs objections'. Bauer also suggests that if the existing fragments are a fair sample, a suitable title for the work would be 'Jesus and His Opponents'. There is a certain amount of evidence in the Synoptic Gospels that polemical matter of this kind was collected together from an early date; and, in view of that evidence, the suggestions of Lagrange and Bauer should not be overlooked.

3. Most difficult and important of all is the question of the relation of the fragments to the canonical gospels. The possibilities are very fully and carefully stated by the editors, and, in this connexion, the detailed study of the language of the fragments undertaken by Dodd has special value. But, so far, there is little sign of unanimity in critical opinion. The fragments have affinities with the Synoptics and with John. Lagrange and Lietzmann find the new document to be the borrower in all cases; Dodd finds it directly dependent on John, but not, or not necessarily, on the Synoptics; Bauer also seems to be doubtful about dependence on the Synoptics; Dibelius, though with reserve due to the discovery of *P. RyI. Gk. 457*, would regard the document as based on the so-called 'wild' tradition. The crucial question is the relation of the fragments to John. The complexity of the problem may be illustrated by a single example.

The text of Jn. v. 39 is given as follows in Westcott-Hort and Tischendorf: *ἐραυνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζῶντι αἰώνιον ἔχειν καὶ ἐκεῖνα εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ*. The new text (ll. 7-10) has:

εραυ  
[vare τ]ὰς γραφάς· ἐν αὐς ὑμεῖς δο  
[κετε] ζῶντι εἶναι ἐκεῖνα τ[ι]σ[ι]ν  
[αἱ μαρτ]υροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ

Hitherto this form of the text has been known only in versions, and this in a curious way. The Old-Latin MSS. *b* and *a* and the Curetonian Syriac have a double rendering of the verse. It begins with a rendering of *ἐραυνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς*, in which the verb is taken as an imperative, followed by a rendering which, in the main, agrees with the text of W.-H. This is followed by a second rendering which agrees with the text of the fragments from *εν αὐς* to *περὶ ἐμοῦ*. There are here not only variants in detail but also two quite different constructions of the sentence. The one connects *ἐραυνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς* closely with what follows, and puts a major stop after *ἔχειν*; the other puts the major stop after *γραφάς* and treats the rest of the sentence as a single thought. This is not made clear in the translation offered by the editors, which disregards the punctuation of the papyrus and renders: 'Search the scriptures, in which ye think that ye have life; these are they which bear witness of me.' But what the papyrus offers is: 'Search the scriptures: those (scriptures) in which you think that you have life, they it is that bear witness of me', a construction which has the direct confirmation of the second version in *a b* and *Syr<sup>cu</sup>* as well as support in the omission of *καὶ* by Cyprian and Irenaeus. Further, this way of construing the verse demands that *ἐραυνᾶτε* should be treated as an imperative (and it is so treated by *a b* *Syr<sup>cu</sup>* Pesh and the early Fathers); whereas the text and punctuation of W.-H. allow, if they do not require, the verb to be taken as an indicative (so Cyril and most modern commentators).

We have thus two distinct types of text in this verse: one represented by *BN* and accepted by most modern editors and commentators; the other represented by the new document, the ancient versions, and the early Fathers. If, as I am inclined to think, the latter type gives the true text of John, then the dependence of the new fragments on John is as near certain as makes no matter. In that case the date of John must be put far enough back to allow for the dissemination of the work, the incorporation of matter from it in the new document, and the dissemination of the latter; and the question is how much time ought to be allowed for these processes. If, on the other hand, the *BN* text is the true text of John, there seem to be two possibilities: either the text of our fragment is a corruption of the true text, in which case we should have to increase the period between John and the papyrus in order to allow time for the corruption of the Johannine text; or the text of our fragment is independent of and parallel to the Johannine text, in which case we should probably have to fall back on some hypothesis like that of 'wild' tradition suggested by Dibelius.

Enough has been said to show the intricacy of the problems with which the editors have had to deal. If there is hesitation on the part of New Testament scholars about the conclusions to which they incline, there is unanimous and thoroughly deserved praise for the promptitude with which the material has been made available for study and the altogether exemplary way in which it has been presented by the editors. Their work is a model of how this sort of thing should be done.

T. W. MANSON.



*A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul.* Edited by HENRY A. SANDERS. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XXXVIII.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1935. xii+127 pp., 3 pls. \$3.

Papyrologists are accustomed to their work being continually supplemented by fresh discoveries; indeed, the feeling that no problem need be finally despaired of as long as there is papyrus in Egypt is in part responsible not only for the attraction that the study exercises on its devotees, but also for the salutary caution that it induces in them. But it cannot often happen that the 'missing link' has turned up so quickly as in the present case, or that the discovery should cause so little disturbance to the views of the earlier editor. In 1934 ten leaves of the Chester Beatty codex of the Pauline Epistles were published by Kenyon in his third fascicule. In the present volume are published thirty more leaves, acquired by the University of Michigan between 1931 and 1933 and published in the knowledge that other leaves might well be offered for sale—a generous decision which deserves the thanks and imitation of other scholars. Finally (or may we hope that the remaining eighteen leaves will yet come to light?), in an important review of Prof. Sanders' book in the *American Journal of Philology*, 57 (1936), 1, pp. 91 ff., Kenyon announced the acquisition of another 46 leaves of the same codex by Mr. Chester Beatty. In a supplementary volume to his third fascicule, Kenyon has not only published the new material, but has also included the original ten Chester Beatty leaves and the thirty leaves edited in this volume; the willingness of the University of Michigan to allow the immediate republication of that part of the codex which is in their possession is a notable example of co-operation among scholars. To say that any student of Prof. Sanders' book must have Kenyon's supplementary volume at his elbow implies no reflection on the former, only on the methods of the Egyptian *sabbākhs* and antiquity-dealers; if only for the elaborate introduction which proceeds the text, Prof. Sanders' book remains of value.

The result is that we now possess a codex of the Pauline Epistles, nearly complete (only eighteen leaves out of a total of a hundred and four are missing) and some hundred years earlier than the Vaticanus or the Sinaiticus; the portion in the possession of the University of Michigan and published here contains Romans, xi to end, Hebrews to ix. 26, 1 Corinthians, ii and iii (in part), 2 Corinthians, ix. 7 to xiii. 13, Ephesians to vi. 20, and Galatians to vi. 8. The position of Hebrews in the codex immediately after Romans is very striking; as Kenyon well points out (Supplement, p. xii), at about the time that this MS. was written Hebrews is frequently cited as Pauline by Clement of Alexandria. The most interesting problem raised by the codex is that of the contents of the missing ten pages after 2 Thessalonians. It is quite certain that there is not room enough for a complete text of the Pastoral Epistles, and Prof. Sanders suggests that they contained an abbreviated text of 1 and 2 Timothy (Philemon would have to be omitted). It must be said that in view of the fact that no such text exists, and that there is not even a tradition affirming its existence, such a theory appears highly improbable. Prof. Sanders is unwilling to believe that they were left blank, because from page 140 onwards the scribe starts crowding his text, presumably realizing that the space at his disposal was inadequate; but all we need infer is that he was yet farther out in his calculations than he at first supposed, and omitted the Pastoral Epistles, to be included, perhaps, in another codex. Of textual variations in the codex perhaps the most interesting is that which places the doxology, Romans xvi. 25-7, at the end of chapter xv; here again, Kenyon's view that these verses were placed in this position for convenience of reading in church (cf. Prof. Sanders' note on the reading-marks in the papyrus, pp. 17 ff.) seems more likely to be correct than the editor's view that chapter xvi formed a separate letter.

The introduction contains much palaeographical matter of interest. The irregularities of the scribe, both in the number of lines to the page and in the number of letters to the line, pointed out on p. 5, are well worth noticing, if only as a warning against too exact calculation, and the varieties of *nomina sacra* are interesting evidence that at this date there were no fixed rules (incidentally the *αμα* in Hebr. ix. 14 can be paralleled by *ο παπαυαλος* Θς in a Rylands papyrus of the late third century). Prof. Sanders' analysis of the method of punctuation by spacing, which is found in the Ptolemaic papyrus of Deuteronomy, P. Ryl. 458, also deserves attention. But his arguments as to the date of the MS. from the position of the papyrus in the (alleged) Coptic graveyard are not convincing, in view of our ignorance of the circumstances both of the discovery and the deposition—the MS. may even have been placed in the graveyard for safety. The importance of the MS. lies, of course, in its contribution to the history of the text of the Epistles; in this connexion one cannot do better than quote Kenyon's verdict (Supplement, p. xvii): 'The papyrus ranges itself quite definitely with the Alexandrian rather than with the Western group, though the preponderance is much less strongly marked in Romans than in the other Epistles. . . . The result is to confirm the belief, to which other evidence seems to point, that while the Alexandrian group is on the whole the most trustworthy



authority for the text of the New Testament, readings supported by the Western group are at times to be preferred, and should receive consideration on their merits.'

C. H. ROBERTS.

*Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri.* By H. I. BELL. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1937. 8vo. 30 pp. 2s.

Both students of the New Testament and papyrologists should be grateful to Dr. Bell for publishing his inaugural lecture as Honorary Reader in Papyrology in the University of Oxford. Discoveries in this field have been numerous in recent years, and just as it is easy for the latter to exaggerate the importance of any particular find, so the former sometimes ignore the evidence provided by the papyri. Dr. Bell's pamphlet should serve as a corrective to both these errors; his survey is exceptionally readable and lucid, contains references to the relevant literature, and (though this goes without saying) is eminently judicious. The greater part of the pamphlet is descriptive, though the description is interspersed with some lively comments, and pride of place is very properly given to the Chester Beatty papyri; Dr. Bell's account of this great *corpus* of biblical texts is of particular interest from the bibliographical standpoint and is of importance for the related question of the formation of the Canon. From the Chester Beatty papyri Dr. Bell goes on to discuss other recent discoveries, among them the Unknown Gospel (P. Egerton 2) in the British Museum, and attention must be drawn to his revised conclusions on this important text. Recent apocryphal and non-canonical discoveries are then discussed more briefly.

Dr. Bell concludes his lecture with reflections on more general issues occasioned by these discoveries. He deals in the first place with the much-discussed problem of roll and codex and the surprising predominance of the latter, confirmed by all recent discoveries, in early Christian literature. He inclines to the view that Christians in the West took up the vellum codex because it was less expensive than the roll, and that this was followed by the adoption of the papyrus codex in the East; but while it is very probable that the decisive factor in the adoption of the codex was economic (it provides much the cheapest way of utilizing a given amount of papyrus), it is by no means certain that vellum was used earlier in this form than papyrus; indeed, in matters of organization and propaganda we should rather expect the Christian West to follow the lead of the East. Secondly, Dr. Bell points out that these discoveries should make us conservative in handling the text of the N.T.: 'however far back we go,' he writes, 'we find always a text which is substantially the same as that formed by modern scholars from the best of the later manuscripts'. In this connexion it may be worth pointing out that papyrus texts of non-canonical works (e.g. that of *The Shepherd of Hermas* mentioned on p. 23) do not exhibit the same consistency. Finally, Dr. Bell points out that these papyri taken collectively provide us with substantial evidence for the spread of Christianity in Upper Egypt during the second century—a development on which the documents, public and private, are silent—and draws the moral that papyrology must not become too sectional (it is also, incidentally, another proof of the danger in these studies of the *argumentum ex silentio*).

A small misprint, which might mislead some readers, should be pointed out: on p. 17, eleventh line from the bottom, for 'third' read 'second'.

C. H. ROBERTS.

*European Civilisation, its origin and development.* By various contributors. Under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. In seven volumes. Volume 1: Prehistoric Man and Earliest Known Societies. Reissue. Oxford University Press, 1935. 8vo. 844 pp., 19 maps. 25s. net.

This historical work, to be completed in seven volumes, planned and directed by Mr. Eyre, will be received with great interest. It is cast on a grandiose scale, beginning its survey of European History with an examination of many of the fragmentary traces of prehistoric Mediterranean and Near-Eastern civilizations. There is perhaps a slight unevenness in the first volume, but this would have been difficult to avoid in work on matters still so little understood. Without doubt it is a most courageous and praiseworthy attempt to define an extremely difficult and obscure subject.

Professor Schmidt gives an account of Primitive Man in which he adversely criticizes Darwin's theory of evolution, and appears to believe in a high standard of primitive morality. He is more concerned with theory than with fact—unfortunately, perhaps, for had that not been so some of his statements might have been supported by some additional evidence. His paper will certainly arouse great interest. Professor Myres contributes two remarkable chapters, entitled 'The Ethnology and Primitive Culture of the Nearer East and the Mediterranean World' and 'The Ethnology, Habitat, Linguistic and Common Culture of Indo-Europeans



up to the Time of the Migrations'. In these he gives a very wonderful display of knowledge and of the subtlety of a brilliant mind by the fascinating way in which he arranges facts and statements. One may not agree with all his conclusions, or even accept all his facts, but this does not diminish the stimulus of his all-embracing vision and versatility of mind. In such work as this we see, and if we are wise accept, a manner of approach to prehistory of the highest value for these times; for here, whether scientifically valid or not in its development in this place, is the humanist method, almost forgotten to-day, but nevertheless of proved value. M. Jean's contribution, 'The East', is perhaps not quite up to the standard of others in this volume. Such dogmatism as is met with here does not, at least with the present reviewer, command confidence in the writer. Much in this chapter is of value, and more of interest, but it could not be recommended that such a paper be read except with caution, and by those already sufficiently equipped with the necessary knowledge to withstand an undue influence from such work upon their minds. The late Professor Peet's chapter on 'Ancient Egypt' will naturally be of the first interest to readers of this *Journal*. Here is a typical piece of work by that very great scholar, clear, restrained, and simple. The reviewer believes, however, that Egyptian history cannot, as Professor Peet's treatment seems to suggest, be divorced almost entirely from Greek and Near-Eastern prehistory, but this is perhaps but a personal opinion. Nobody could deny that this paper is the best introduction to Egyptian prehistory that has yet been written. It is magnificent. Mr. Gomme's contribution, entitled 'The Greeks', is probably very much better as regards classical history than in its exposition of the history of the preceding period. It is almost certain that present-day knowledge of the Greek Bronze Age is not, and cannot possibly be, as precise as Mr. Gomme suggests. And as there are problems of vast significance, such as the geographical position of the home of the Achaeans, about which Mr. Gomme appears to be indifferent, the general effect of this chapter is not entirely convincing, despite the fact that much here is excellent and beautifully written.

In such a work as this the reader is confronted with history viewed mainly in outline. Whether this is a justifiable course to follow in studying the sequence of events in world-history before the Greek Classical Age is a disputable point. Prehistory is a subject of which the very framework is but ill-defined, and in which the few facts known are perhaps made to illustrate and express too much, and for these reasons it may perhaps be considered difficult or even impossible to study it in broad outlines. Particularly is this so since the human mind has a dislike of uncertainty, for it seems improbable that any balanced general survey of prehistory can be made by an archaeologist intent on avoiding doubtful questions.

This volume cannot hope to meet with universal assent. But it is most deeply to be hoped that the dissent which will inevitably be roused by some of the statements in this volume will not, like so many archaeological dissensions of the past, prevent the proper use of the contrasts offered by differences of opinion. Are not such contrasts to be desired, for surely prejudice cannot grow very powerful when many and various views are put forward? Is it not more reasonable to welcome, than to castigate or ignore, views which are not necessarily held by others than their exponents?

THEODORE BURTON BROWN.

*Les Ostraca grecs de la Collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn.* By CLAIRE PRÉAUX. New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1935. 8vo. 125 pp., 2 pls.

The Wilbour collection of ostraca is not a large one (only 78 texts appear in this volume), and, having been bought in the years 1882-92, at the time when the collections at Berlin and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, with which it has close connexions, were being formed, it consists in the main of types already familiar and offers little in the way of novelty. In any case, ostraca, if taken singly or in small doses, are rather dull and uninspiring fare; it is from the cumulative evidence of a long series rather than from isolated examples that the most fruitful results are obtained. It might be expected, then, that this volume would be of no great importance. To form any such preconception would be, however, to reckon without Mlle Préaux. She brings to her task the qualities conspicuous in all her stimulating articles: a fresh and perceptive eye, an independent judgement, and the gift of educing from a mass of trivial detail a principle of general import. These qualities give to the present volume a value quite out of proportion to the intrinsic interest of the individual texts.

The ostraca are arranged by classes, first the money payments and then those in kind; and to each class is prefixed an introduction, in which, with wide knowledge and great acuteness, Mlle Préaux discusses the evidence of ostraca and papyri already published. She is thus able to throw new light on many knotty problems and to review accepted conclusions from a novel angle. Even in her general introduction to the



volume she uses the mass of individual tax-receipts to illustrate a far-reaching principle of administration: 'les impôts de taux invariable', she writes, 'semblent caractéristiques du système fiscal romain' [in contrast to the Ptolemaic system]; and to this fact she attributes in part, here and elsewhere (e.g., pp. 43-4), the rake's progress which made Roman rule, for all its efficiency, in the long run so ruinous to the economy of Egypt. She is perhaps inclined to over-stress the unfavourable aspects of the system. There is evidence of a reasonable degree of prosperity even as late as the closing years of the second century; but it can hardly be disputed that the Roman fiscal system in Egypt was based on unsound principles and that its results were disastrous.

There is an excellent discussion of the salt-tax (ἀλική). Mlle Préaux leaves it undecided whether the receipts for this were addressed by the banker to the collector or by the collector to the tax-payer. The arguments seem to her preponderantly in favour of the first hypothesis, but she is impressed by the difficulty, on this assumption, of explaining the demotic subscriptions found in so many of these ostraca. But such subscriptions do not occur in all; and, even though the bankers were Greeks, may not some of their clerks, who subscribed the receipts, have been more at home with demotic? Is it possible, indeed, that the intention was that the receipts should, on demand, be shown to the tax-payers, who would normally be Egyptian-speaking?

In the introduction to Nos. 5-13, which are receipts for λαογραφία, there is an important discussion of the poll-tax. Contrary to the view now generally held, Mlle Préaux argues, and argues well, against the existence of such a tax under the Ptolemies, but I confess that she has not convinced me. Her criticisms of the ruling view may be briefly summarized and answered as follows:

(1) The existence of 'personal' (census) returns, which occur in the Ptolemaic period, does not prove the existence of a poll-tax; there is a decennial 'recensement par ménage' in modern Belgium, but it has no connexion with an 'impôt personnel'. But it is surely rash to argue from modern to ancient practice; a registration in ancient states was normally linked with fiscal considerations.

(2) P. Tebt. 103, a list of tax-payers headed λαογραφία . . . τελού[ν]των σύνταξιν and dating from 94 or 61 B.C., proves nothing, for σύνταξις could have, and probably has here, a quite general sense, 'contribution'. When the poll-tax was meant, the adjective λαική had to be added; in P. Grenf. I, 45 (19 B.C.) τελών σύνταξιν, if it refers to poll-tax at all, which is not certain, was probably used vaguely [as one might say 'subject to tax']. This is forcing the evidence. The fact that the full term (when λαογραφία was not used) was λαική σύνταξις does not make it impossible that σ. was on occasion used alone with the same sense. If σ. in P. Grenf. I, 45 did not mean poll-tax it must have referred to some particular liability, or there would have been no point in the phrase at all; and if it had meant any particular tax except poll-tax the writer would surely have specified this or at least have written τῇ σ. σύνταξιν. So, too, in P. Tebt. 103: a list of men τελούντες σύνταξιν must have reference to a particular tax; if it was an extraordinary levy τῇ must have been inserted; only if σ. had come to be used of one tax *par excellence* is it at all likely that the article would be omitted; and the occurrence of λαική σύνταξις, combined with the obvious affinity between P. Grenf. I, 45 and similar returns of a later date which contain λαογραφούμενος, makes it clear that the tax in question must be the poll-tax.

(3) The poll-tax was a mark of defeat, imposed on the vanquished. It was introduced, therefore, at the moment of conquest, as the Romans introduced it when Egypt was annexed to the Empire, as the Arabs revived it after their conquest (here Mlle Préaux refers to my introduction to P. Lond. IV, 1419, but she has misunderstood me; my point was not merely that διάγραφον in texts of the Arab period meant poll-tax but that a similar meaning, and hence the same tax, is to be recognized in late Byzantine instances of διαγραφή). There is, however, no trace of poll-tax in early Ptolemaic times; only in the later period is there any evidence which could suggest such a tax. Hence there is no room for it in the Ptolemaic period; the Roman poll-tax 'remonte à l'époque même de la conquête'. This seems a very flimsy argument. Since all the inhabitants of Egypt, Greek and Egyptian alike, were equally conquered by Augustus, why did the Greeks of the self-governing cities and perhaps the katoikoi pay no poll-tax? Why did the privileged metropolitans pay the tax at a reduced rate? Are we to regard them as only half-conquered?

There is indeed strong reason to doubt whether the poll-tax was so much a mark of politically inferior status as has been supposed (cf. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla*, 22-3). Bickermann is probably right in holding that in strict legal theory all the native-born inhabitants of Egypt outside the Greek citizen-bodies were 'Egyptians'; the real distinction made by the Romans was not between Greek and Egyptian but between the urban and the rural classes, and this has nothing to do with any status derived from the fact of conquest. The whole subject of the poll-tax is beset with difficulties and badly needs a detailed



investigation. I cannot pretend to have undertaken this, but I venture to make some observations on the problem, rather by way of propounding queries than of attempting any dogmatic answer.

The word *λαογραφούμενος* has usually been taken as meaning 'subject to poll-tax'; but there is evidence that it really meant 'paying the full poll-tax' (or perhaps in strictness 'taxed as one of the *λαοί*'; for the use of *λαοί*, *λαϊκός* to mean 'native' cf. PER Inv. No. 24, 552 gr., ed. H. Liebesny, *Aeg.* 16 (1936), 257 ff., col. 1 l. 34, ἀγοράκασιν σῶμα λαϊκ[ό]ν ἐλευθέρων). In P. Bouriant 42 we find (verso, cols. iv ff.) landholders described as alternatively ἀπὸ μητροπόλεως (always abbreviated, but a comparison of instances makes the expansion certain) or *λαογραφούμενος*, the implication being that the terms were mutually exclusive; yet we know that metropolitans paid poll-tax, though at a lower rate. Hence *λαογρ.* cannot mean simply 'subject to poll-tax'. In l. 461, indeed (perhaps, too, in l. 442 f., where Collart reads ἀπὸ μ. καὶ . α . .), a man is described as ἀπὸ μ. καὶ *λαογρ.*, but this does not disprove the view just stated; it tends to confirm it, for the καὶ shows that ἀπὸ μ. and *λαογρ.* were distinct categories. The man in question was living in the metropolis but did not belong to the privileged class. Nor is the view disproved by the fact that the tax was called *λαογραφία* and the census officials were *λαογράφοι*. In essence the tax was one imposed on the Egyptians as opposed to the members of the Greek citizen bodies and the *katoikoi* (cf. *λαοκρίτας*), the census being primarily and originally a fiscal measure, to determine who was liable to the tax; and the partial exemption of certain classes did not entail an alteration of nomenclature, though it did, if I am right, cause a specialization of the word *λαογραφούμενος* to mean 'paying the full poll-tax'. The *λαογραφούμενοι* ἐπιτεκρινέμενοι of whom we hear occasionally were no doubt privileged metropolitans (cf. W. Chr., 252, 253), and here *λαογρ.* retains its more general sense (unless we take the phrase as meaning 'exempted from among the class of *λαογρ.*'). The preference, in the third century, for the term ἐπιτεκρίλων over *λαογραφία* may have been due to a feeling that *λαο-* was now inappropriate, the Egyptians having by the *Constitutio Antoniniana* become Roman citizens. Since this was the effect of the CA, the poll-tax, if it was a mark of inferior political status, should then have disappeared, but it clearly did not. It is true that there is a curious dearth of poll-tax receipts in the third century which, so far as I am aware, has never been explained and indeed has hardly been commented on; but there is enough evidence to show that poll-tax continued to be paid, as witness the following instances (these might, I think, be supplemented, but they suffice for my present purpose): SB. 5677 (Hermopolis according to Preisigke, with a query, but the quarter, Νοτ' δρομ' ἀπὸ, does not suit Hermopolis, A.D. 222), *λαογρ(αφίας) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α* (ἔτους) (δρ.) ιβ (so, too, for the 2nd year in col. 3; the man was perhaps a μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος); P. Ross.-Georg. v, 20, 5 (Heracleopolis, A.D. 223), κατ' ἄνδρα *λαογρ(αφίας)*; P. Oxy. 1157, 14 f. (late third cent.), ὅτι τὸ ἐπιτεκρίλων ἀπαιτοῦσαν κτλ.; PSI 164, 14 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 287), (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου; P. Corn. 18, 13 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 291), (δωδ.) [ἀπὸ] γυμνασίου. These, it is to be noted, refer chiefly to the privileged rates. Did the class of *λαογραφούμενοι* as 'paying full poll-tax' disappear after the CA? The point calls for investigation.

My conclusion would be that the poll-tax was primarily a means of raising revenue rather than a mark of political status; and though the special rates granted to metropolitans suggest some social discrimination, that is far from proving that the tax was regarded as in its essence degrading. And just as the Arabs appear to have taken over their διάγραφον or ἀνδρισμός from their Byzantine predecessors, so I would infer from the evidence that the Roman *λαογραφία* was an adaptation of an institution existing under the later Ptolemies. When Diocletian reorganized the taxation-system, the *capitatio humana* continued, in another form, the *λαογραφία*, with no suggestion of political inferiority; but note the words of the ordinance itself (P. *Ét. Pap.* 2, 4 ff.): πόσα οὖν ἐκάστη ἀρούρε πρὸς τὴν ποιότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπεβλήθη καὶ πόσα ἐκάστη κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀγροικῶν. This suggests a direct connexion of the *capitatio* with the *λαογραφία* as primarily a tax on the rural (Egyptian) populace.

This review is already too long, but attention must be called to Mlle Préaux's excellent remarks (pp. 18-21) on the assignment of revenues εἰς τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους δωρεάν; on the χωματικόν (pp. 43-4); on μερισμοί (pp. 49-53); on the χειρωνακίον and trade guilds (pp. 59-62); and her attractive explanation of the γῆ προσόδου (pp. 105-6). Finally, I may mention that the peculiar form of No. 3, in which the number of livestock is specified and the dues on them are certified as paid but with no statement of the amount, offers some analogy to the fourth-century receipt published by me in *Mé. Maspero*, II, 105-111; that in the transcript of No. 20, l. 3, two letters appear, from the facsimile, to have been overlooked before δδ . . . , though I am unable to suggest a reading of them; that the peculiar dating formula of No. 29, to which Mlle Préaux calls attention on p. 63, is best explained as due to the accidental omission of Οὐλοσσαιωνοῦ; and that the date, '207 av. J.-C.', of No. 2 is apparently a misprint for 206.

H. I. BELL.



*Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.* Edited by C. H. ROBERTS. Manchester, The Manchester University Press, 1936. 8vo. 62 pp., 2 pls. 2s. 6d.

The gods continue to smile on Mr. Roberts. His brilliant discovery of a fragment of St. John's Gospel (*Journal* 21, 1935, pp. 266-7) has quickly been followed by a find hardly less notable and even more unexpected. The St. John was when found, and still is, the earliest piece of the New Testament ever discovered; the fragments of Deuteronomy in Greek which form the first item in the present volume are the earliest manuscript of any portion of the Bible in any language at present known. It is therefore the more gratifying that they do not stand alone, as the St. John fragment did, but are accompanied by witnesses to their early date. They were found in pieces of cartonnage from a mummy-case, consisting of fragments of various papyri. Round one of the Deuteronomy fragments was wrapped a strip from a roll containing the first book of the *Iliad*, of which there were also other scraps, and besides these there were fragments of three other literary papyri, part of an account in Greek cursive characters, and a number of Demotic fragments. Lastly, the verso of the Deuteronomy roll had itself been used at a later time for a Greek account or register.

Not one of these manuscripts is dated (for the 'second year' mentioned in the account on the back of the Deuteronomy is not determinable), but their combined evidence is very strong. The hand of the *Iliad* looks later than that of the Deuteronomy but seems to belong to the second rather than the first century B.C., and the cursive on the verso of the Deuteronomy also suggests the latter part of the second century. The other evidence combines with this to indicate for that manuscript a date not later than the middle of the century. It is generally agreed that the Septuagint version was begun in the third century B.C., and that the Penta-teuch was certainly the first portion of the Bible to be translated into Greek. Thus the present manuscript may safely be described as written within about a century of the translation itself. It was, of course, a roll, and is written in a regular and handsome uncial hand, recalling that of the Hyperides papyrus in the British Museum, P. Lond. 134 (not at Berlin as Mr. Roberts by a slip describes it; he has confused it with the Berlin papyrus of Menander mentioned along with it on p. 110 of W. Schubart's *Griechische Palaeographie*). A curious feature of the manuscript is the wide spacing at the ends of *κῶλα*; the end of a verse is apparently marked by a yet wider space and a high point. There are no other lectional signs, and probably (but this is not absolutely certain) *κύριος* was written in full, not represented by the compendium *κ̅*.

The textual evidence of so early a manuscript is, of course, extraordinarily interesting and important. The scraps are small enough in all conscience, but insignificant as they may seem they provide some basis for judgement. There are, naturally, several novel readings, of which those in ll. 19-23 (Deut. xxv. 2-3) are particularly interesting; but on the whole the text shows a remarkable tendency to agree with A and Θ against B. Now P. Beatty VI (second century A.D.), in Deuteronomy (the position is reversed in the Numbers portion of this manuscript), agrees far more often with A and Θ than with B; P. Baden 56 (Exodus, second century) also shows a preference for A readings; and the fourth-century Coptic papyrus of Deuteronomy in the British Museum (Or. MS. 7594) exhibits a similar tendency. It seems clear that the tenderness for B felt by several modern editors must now be called in question, as regards some books at least.

The second item in the volume is much less attractive and exciting at first sight. It is a fragment, containing portions of two leaves, from a fourth-century codex, written in a coarse and ugly hand in the reddish-brown ink so unpleasantly familiar in Byzantine papyri. But it has, on further acquaintance, a considerable interest. Mr. Roberts is almost certainly right in describing it as a portion of a book of 'Testimonies'—extracts from the Old Testament interpreted by Christian apologists as prophecies of Christ. Mr. Roberts recognized it as part of a previously published papyrus, P. Oslo. II, 11. He publishes the two fragments together; and every one of the extracts contained in them can, without too much forcing, be made to serve as a 'testimony'. As a work of this kind the papyrus certainly deserved such separate and careful editing as it has received.

Besides the error concerning the Hyperides papyrus mentioned above I have noticed one other slip of the pen. In l. 4 of p. 35 'younger' should clearly be 'older'.

H. I. BELL.

*Die Sondergerichtbarkeit im griechischen Recht Ägyptens.* By ERICH BERNEKE. (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, No. 22.) München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935. 8vo. viii+195 pp.

This is a very useful treatise on special jurisdictions in Ptolemaic Egypt. The subject is a complicated one, and as most of these jurisdictions were exercised by permanent officials, it demands a thorough know-



ledge of Ptolemaic administration, of the spheres of authority of each of the officials concerned, and of the changes which their functions underwent in the course of three hundred years. Dr. Berneker has collected all the available evidence and has given us a lucid exposition of the different kinds of cases for which the many different tribunals were severally competent. There are not a few debatable points in his arguments, but certainly his work is of much interest and value, not only to jurists but to all students of Ptolemaic papyri.

The present reviewer is not competent to discuss the book from the jurist's point of view, but feels impelled to make one criticism of a general nature. Dr. Berneker is too hasty and too prone to draw conclusions from inadequate evidence. One of his worst lapses is in a previous treatise (*Ét. de Pap.* II, p. 64), in which his interpretation of a difficult text rests on the assumption that *διότι ἐν λόγῳ* means 'weil er weiss'. Here are a few examples of the same carelessness from the present book. On p. 65 his explanation of P. Tebt. 778 is pure fantasy, nor does *παρὰ πρᾶξιν* mean 'Amtsunterschlagung'. On p. 148 we are told that the decree quoted in P. Amh. 33 and written in the 27th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus proves that Apollonius the dioecetes was still in office in the reign of Euergetes I; and with the aid of this remarkable discovery he identifies the Apollonius of P. Frankf. 7 with the dioecetes, rejecting Wilcken's demonstration that the latter text belongs to the reign of Philopator. Again, we find on p. 170 an assertion that P. Ryl. Zen. 17 refers not to a case of robbery but to 'Abgabenrückstände', because it was only in such matters that the nomarch had jurisdiction. Yet the reason for the arrest is definitely stated in l. 2; it was a question of *λεία*; and in fact PSI 366, 367 (discussed, but misinterpreted, on p. 112) afford a similar example of a nomarch taking action in a case of stolen cattle. There are too many inaccuracies of this sort, and one must regret that the author has not taken more pains to make his book as reliable as it is interesting.

C. C. EDGAR.

*By Light, Light. The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism.* By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. Yale University Press. Humphrey Milford, 1935. 4to. xv + 436 pp. \$5.00 net.

The chief aim of this research into the mystical writings of Hellenistic Judaism is to show how much they were influenced by the 'Mystery' conceptions of Platonic philosophy, clad in the dress of mystic notions from Orphism, Persia, and the Egyptian Isis. Professor Goodenough is interested not so much in the rituals or even the mythology of the Mystery-cults, as in the use of the myths as symbols of metaphysical truth. This use is 'due to the passionate desire of the Hellenistic man to experience emotionally the concepts he has learned from Greek rationalism' (a desire which was supremely satisfied by Alexandrine Christianity, with its *φωτισμός* and mystic meal). It was owing to its connexion with the Mysteries that Greek rationalism survived to influence Syria, Rome, and Egypt; and yet it was only as symbolic expressions of philosophical thought that the myths themselves lived on.

Professor Goodenough finds a similar fusion of myth and metaphysic in Judaism, especially Philo. In contrast to the 'literalist' interpreters of the O.T., Philo has changed the Torah into an allegory, through whose disconnected flights runs a great unity of thought and purpose—namely the mystic presentation of a Platonic or Neo-Pythagorean metaphysic. The Patriarchs are the great revelations of the higher way. The first step upwards from the life of the passions is symbolized, e.g. by Abraham's leaving Chaldaea, or the Israelites' flight from Egypt. The second stage—the killing of the body—is marked by the drowning of the Egyptians. At Elim it is hinted that they enter the cosmic mystery, and they come into the Higher Mystery of Union with the immaterial world at 'the song of the well', which represents divine Sophia (p. 221). The chief hero and hierophant is Moses, who, like Isaac, is 'self-taught', the ideal King, Lawgiver (*ὁ νόμος ἐμφύνητος*), Prophet, and Priest—here Philo has to distort the Pentateuch, where Aaron, not Moses, is the priest, in order to make Moses the perfect Mystagogue, offering an eternal mediation of which the temple *cultus* was only a reflection. His wife Zipporah (like Abraham's Sarah), also represents Wisdom. He gets his commission as supreme hierophant at the burning bush, where he is trying to find the name (i.e. the nature) of God. On Sinai he sees *τὸ ὄν* itself, beyond the Logos. As giver of the Mystic Torah he is a priest superior to Aaron. And at his Assumption—'after he had shed his body which grew around him like the shell of an oyster, while his soul . . . desired its migration thence' (*De Virtutibus*, § 79)—he experiences the supreme union with the Absolute, but continues to be the eternal Saviour *par excellence* of the Israelites. Professor Goodenough suggests that these four episodes in the life of Moses may be the subjects of the frescoes in the synagogue at Dura, recently discovered by the Yale Expedition under Rostovtzeff (p. 242). To these he intends to return in a later volume, which will also discuss the influence of the Mystery in early Greek Christianity.



But perhaps the chief question of this volume is: 'Did Philo, as is commonly asserted, stand alone? Was he a pioneer in this thought?' And Professor Goodenough answers convincingly in the negative. The Jews always borrowed much from their neighbours: only an occasional prophet saw this taking over of attractive ideas from the Gentiles as apostasy from Yahweh; only a few purists objected to the 'idolatry' of Solomon—the reputed 'founder' of 'Wisdom'. After the Exile, even the few loyalists who returned and made the *cultus* at least exclusive 'brought back a mass of angelology and Babylonian mythology'. The Pharisees, themselves full of foreign notions about angels, determinism, and the future life, 'had a terrific struggle to pull the Jews away from their fascinated preoccupation with Greek ways and ideas'. Even in Palestine their legalistic Judaism nearly collapsed under the remote Greek influence of the Seleucids in Antioch. Outside Palestine even the Pharisees admitted that the Law could not be kept according to their standards. Many apostatized, including Philo's nephew Alexander. Small wonder that the dispersed Jews, like the Egyptians, borrowed much from the philosophy of Greece. Many could read the O.T. only in the Septuagint. Every Hellenistic Jewish writer has a Greek name, except the second-century tragic poet Ezekiel, and he makes up for this, as it were, by portraying a mystic Moses, who, after seeing the Logos in the burning bush, beheld and ascended the throne on Sinai, and saw the whole universe, and the stars doing obeisance. In the same century *Artapanus* identifies Moses with Musaeus, 'who invented ships . . . Egyptian arms . . . and philosophy, divided Egypt into nomes, with a god for each, and invented the priestly writing', and was therefore called Hermes-Tat; similarly *Aristobulus* wrote to Ptolemy VI to prove that the Peripatetic philosophy was derived from the Law of Moses, and interpolated passages into a genuine Orphic Hymn so as to make Moses the real founder of Orphism. The *Sibylline Books*, in addition to their Greek form, use the absolutist language of neo-Platonism, and 'Wisdom' in its 'Mystery' sense. By the time of the *Book of Wisdom* there is no longer any need to compare or identify things Jewish with their pagan counterparts. The syncretism is now unconscious. It has become natural for the hierophant 'Solomon' to win 'Sophia' (= Light) as his god-given bride, and, so to learn the secrets of the universe (7<sup>17-21</sup>), become immortal (8<sup>13-17</sup>), and the friend of God (7<sup>14-27</sup>, 9<sup>17</sup>); while the 'Mysteries of God' (2<sup>22</sup>) are denied to the wicked. Besides many other scraps of evidence, the argument is clinched by the convincing suggestion that the Pseudo-Justinian *Oratio ad Graecos*, and the *Jewish Liturgy* isolated by Bousset from its Christian setting in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, are not Christian, but also witness to this Hellenistic Judaism. Finally, it is suggested that the Kabbalah was the true descendant of this Jewish Mysticism in the Middle Ages.

At times the evidence is admittedly scanty: and there are gaps that have to be filled in by hypothesis. But the reconstruction of the evolution of thought here given is on the whole convincing. And if positive evidence is sometimes lacking, there seems to be an equal absence of proof to the contrary: and although the case might perhaps have been strengthened by pointing out the remarkable similarity of the beliefs and practices of the Essenes, as recorded by Philo, to those of the Orphics, who are now known to have survived far longer than was formerly thought, there is enough positive evidence to give great weight to the main contentions here advanced. It is a book which no student of Philo can afford to ignore; and its successor promises to be still more arresting and important. Perhaps one may express the hope that it may pander somewhat more to the frailties of human nature by the use, if possible, of a larger type, more italics, cross-references, summaries, and headings, and consequently rather less repetition of the argument. In other respects this volume, with its excellent Indices, is well arranged and worthy of its publisher and its subject.

H. P. KINGDON.

*Untersuchungen über die Koptischen Proverbientexte.* By ALEXANDER BÖHLIG. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1936. 8°. Pp. 80.

Among the Old Testament books in Coptic *Proverbs* has been one of the most fortunate. While the Sa'idic version of many others is but fragmentarily preserved, and while in Akhmimic hardly any of them have reached us, we have of *Proverbs* complete texts in both these dialects and, so far as the partial Bohairic version goes, in that dialect also. Moreover, both Sa'idic and Bohairic are to-day available in thoroughly adequate editions and surely we may now hope that this highly interesting study by Dr. Böhlig is an indication that he is to be entrusted with the long-postponed publication of the Akhmimic text. His Dissertation shows at any rate that he would be exceptionally well equipped for the task.

Its first part is devoted to a comparison of the Sa'idic and Bohairic versions, in respect of syntax and vocabulary, the conclusion reached being that, in general, the latter (as was indeed to be expected) stands

closer to the chief Greek manuscripts, while in the former several more or less divergent texts can be recognized, the version as a whole giving the impression of a freer, more subjective type of translation, which aimed rather at offering the best sense than at verbal exactitude.

The second and more important half of the book is concerned with the Akhmimic version and its relation to the Saïdic, whence, following Prof. C. Schmidt (*Z. neut. Wiss.*, 1925, 228), Dr. Böhlig regards it as being derived. The characteristics of its vocabulary are examined and many interesting instances cited to show how A. deals with the Greek words met with in S., as well as with S. words non-existent (so far as we at present know) in A. and therefore necessarily replaced by others; and how the translator shows a wish not to produce a mere transcript of S., but to write in his own dialect idiomatically. There follows an investigation of the relation of A. to the variant readings of S. and after that—the longest section of the book—a series of examples illustrative of the numerous doublets, additions, and errors in S. and A. respectively. These problems, as regards S., were to some extent discussed by Ciasca (*Sacr. Bibl. Fragm.* II, pp. xl ff.), but Dr. Böhlig's treatment of them, based upon far wider material, is of course more adequate.

Perhaps a word in self-defence may be allowed on one or two small points. On p. 41 our *Dictionary* is said to equate  $\pi\omega\tau\eta$  with  $\pi\omega\tau\eta\eta$ . The instances under the former in which both appear merely record variants as found in the manuscripts; they represent no opinion of mine. On p. 52 a note says that  $\eta\eta\omega\alpha\alpha$  does not correspond in the LXX to ἀνέμωσθαι γίνεσθαι. It seems to me that in the verse under discussion (x. 5) the two are unquestionably equated, whatever be the normal meaning of the Coptic word (see *Diet.*, 377 a). But perhaps I fail to grasp the bearing of Dr. Böhlig's remark.

W. E. CRUM.

The following works have also been received:

*Altbabylonische Personenrechte und Erntearbeiterverträge.* By JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER. (*Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, Vol. I.) Leiden, 1936. xx+262 pp. Fl. 10.

*The Bornu Sahara and Sudan.* By Sir RICHMOND PALMER. London, 1936. 4to. viii+296 pp., 30 pls., map. 42s.

*Cumaean Gates: A Reference of the Sixth Aeneid to the Initiation Pattern.* By W. F. JACKSON KNIGHT. Oxford, 1936. 8vo. xv+190 pp., drawings by L. J. Lloyd. 7s. 6d.

*The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region, 1934-5.* By M. E. L. MALLOWAN. (Reprinted from *Iraq* 3, part I.) Oxford, 1936. 4to. 59 pp., 29 figs. 10s. 6d.

*Die neuen ΔΙΗΘΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten.* By RUDOLF PFEIFFER. (Sitzungsb. München, 1934, Heft 10.) Munich, 1934. 50 pp. RM. 3.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS, ETC.<sup>1</sup>

(See the note on pp. 119-20 above)

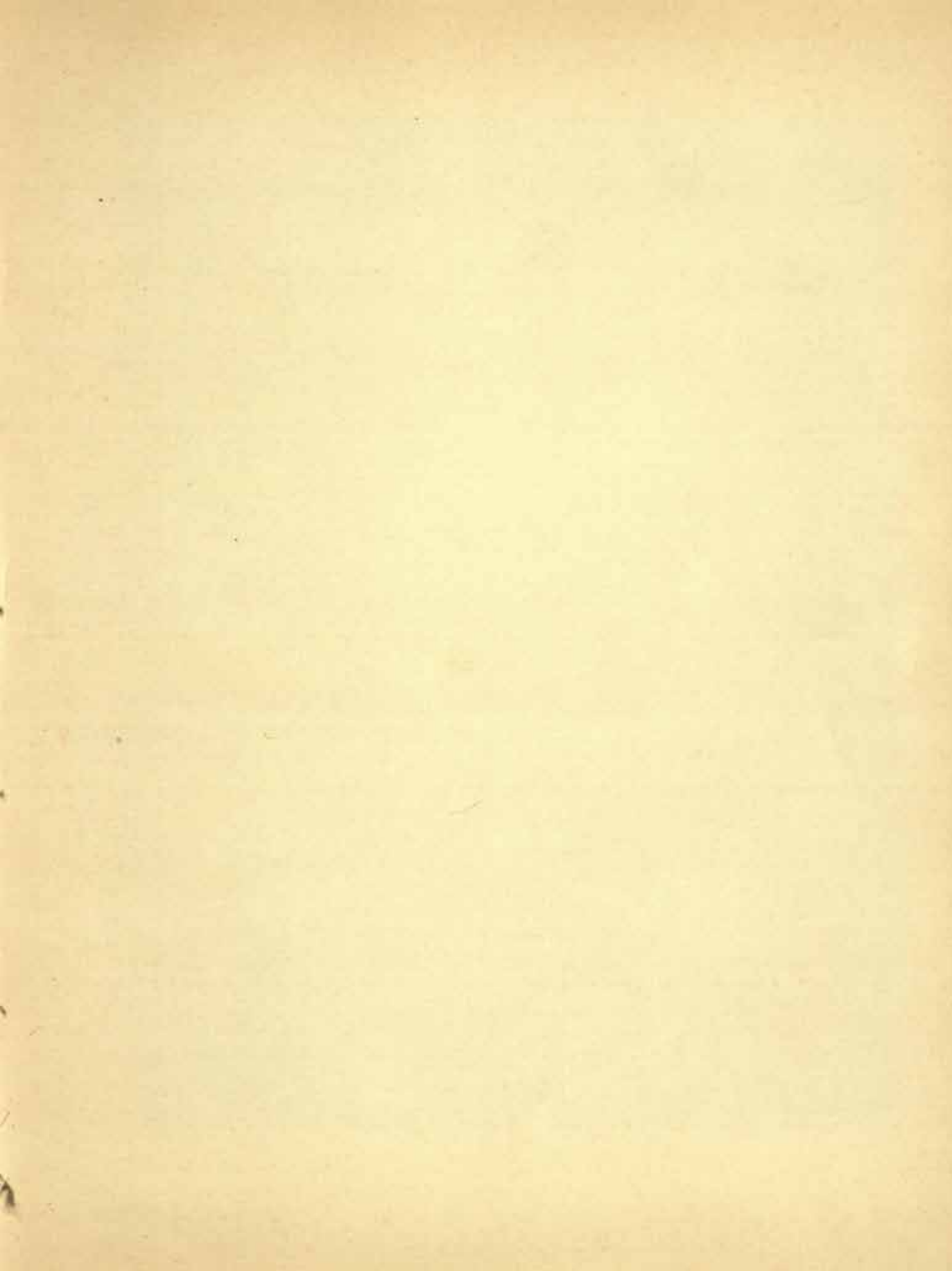
- Abh. Berlin (München, etc.)* = *Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- Acta Or.* = *Acta Orientalia*.
- Aeg.* = *Aegyptus*.
- Aeg. Inschr. Berlin* = *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den . . . Museen zu Berlin*.
- Aeg. Mon. Leiden* = *Leemans, Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*.
- AJA* = *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.
- Am. Hist. Rev.* = *American Historical Review*.
- Am. Journ. Phil.* = *American Journal of Philology*.
- An. Boll.* = *Analecta Bollandiana*.
- Anc. Egypt* = *Ancient Egypt*.
- Ann. Arch. Anthr.* = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.
- Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* = *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*.
- Ann. R. Sc. Pisa* = *Annali della Reale Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Lettere, Storia e Filosofia), Serie II*.
- Ann. Serv.* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
- Ann. Univ. Roma* = *Annuario della R. Università di Roma*.
- Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* = *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*.
- Arch. f. Rel.* = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*.
- Arch. f. R. u. W.* = *Archiv für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*.
- Arch. Giurid.* = *Archivio Giuridico*.
- Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.
- Ath. Mitt.* = *Mitteilungen des . . . deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung ('Athenische Mitteilungen')*.
- BCH* = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.
- Beschr. Leiden* = *Pleyte-Boeser, Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums . . . in Leiden*.
- Bibl. égyptol.* = *Bibliothèque égyptologique*.
- Bk. Dead* = *Book of the Dead*.
- BL* = *Preisigke-Bilabel, Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*.
- BM Quart.* = *British Museum Quarterly*.
- Boll. fil. class.* = *Bollettino di filologia classica*.
- Botti-Peot, Giornale* = *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*.
- Breasted, Anc. Rec.* = *Ancient Records*.
- Bull. Acad. Sci. URSS* = *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes: Classe des Sciences Sociales*.
- Bull. ASOR* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.
- Bull. Inst. fr.* = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*.
- Bull. Ist. dir. rom.* = *Bollettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano*.
- Bull. MFA* = *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)*.
- Bull. MMA* = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)*.
- Bull. Ryl. Libr.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*.
- Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex.* = *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*.
- Bursian* = *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- Byz. - neugr. Jahrb.* = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*.
- BZ* = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
- CAH* = *Cambridge Ancient History*.
- CCG* = *Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général*.
- Ch. Quart. Rev.* = *Church Quarterly Review*.
- Chron. d'Ég.* = *Chronique d'Égypte*.
- CIA* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*.
- CIG* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.
- Cl. Journ.* = *Classical Journal*.
- Cl. Phil.* = *Classical Philology*.
- Cl. Quart.* = *Classical Quarterly*.
- Cl. Rev.* = *Classical Review*.
- Cl. Weekly* = *Classical Weekly*.
- CPHerm.* = *Corpus papyrorum Hermopolitanorum*.
- CPR* = *Wessely, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae*.

<sup>1</sup> The alphabetical arrangement of the abbreviations ignores stops and spaces. The abbreviations used in references to editions of papyri may be found in *CAH*, VII, 889-91; X, 922-4; XI, 927.

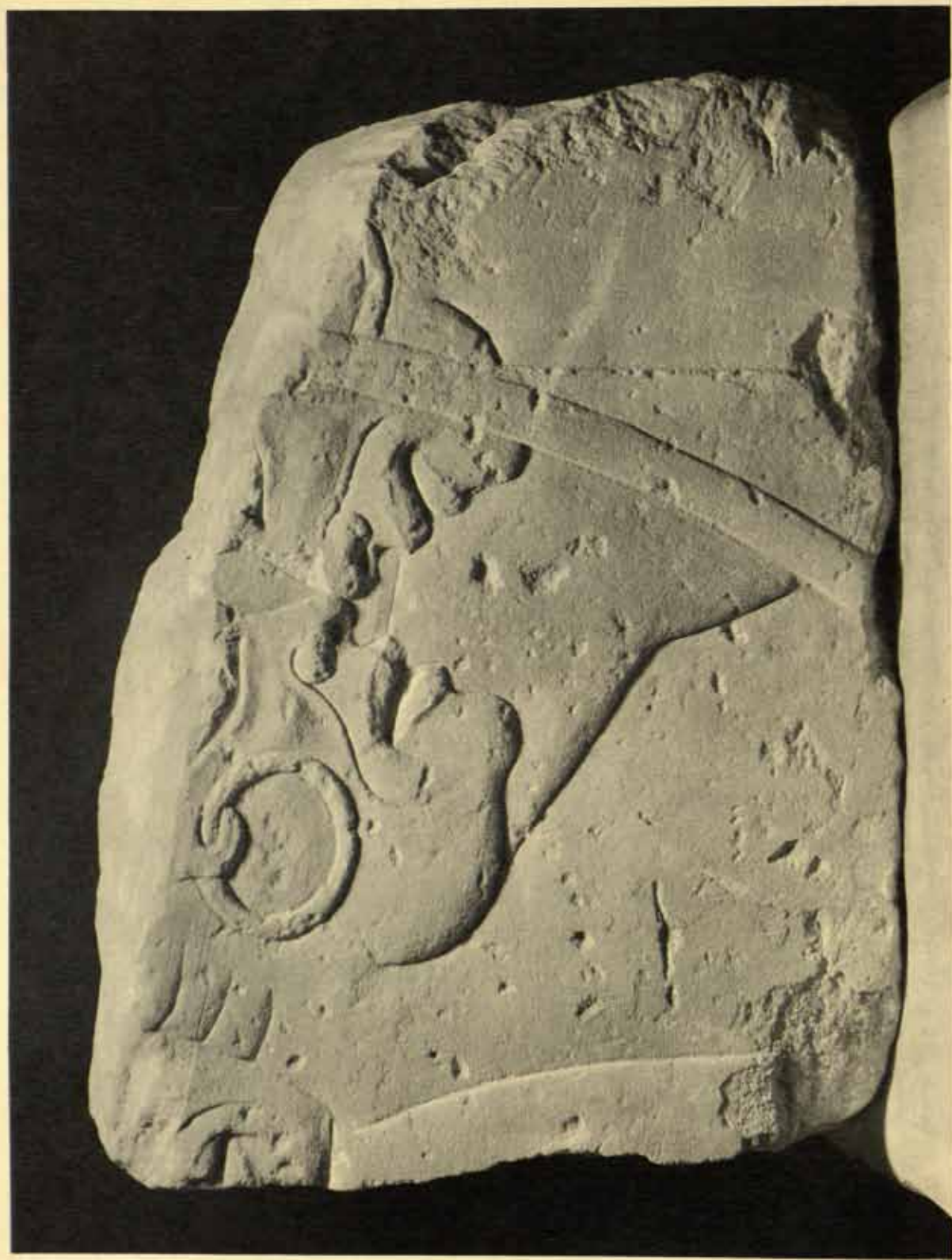
- C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L. = *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.  
 Crum, Copt. Dict. = *A Coptic Dictionary*.  
 CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.  
 Dict. arch. chrét. = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*.  
 DLZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.  
 EEF = *Egypt Exploration Fund*.  
 EES = *Egypt Exploration Society*.  
 Erman, Äg. Gr. = *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 4th ed.  
 Erman, Lit. = *Die Literatur der Aegypter*.  
 Erman, Neuäg. Gr. = *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed.  
 Ét. de Pap. = *Études de Papyrologie*.  
 Études = *Études: revue catholique d'intérêt général*.  
 Exp. Times = *Expository Times*.  
 f. p. 81 f (e.g.) = pp. 81-2.  
 Gard., Eg. Gr. = *Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar*.  
 Gardiner-Weigall, Top. Cat. = *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*.  
 Gauthier, Dict. géog. = *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*.  
 GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.  
 Gr. = *Grammar, Grammatik, Grammaire*.  
 Griffith, Ryl. Pap. = *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*.  
 Griffith Studies = *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*.  
 Harv. Theol. Rev. = *Harvard Theological Review*.  
 Hierat. Pap. Berlin = *Hieratische Papyrus aus den . . . Museen zu Berlin*.  
 Hierat. Pap. BM: I, II = *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (First and Second Series); III = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (Third Series)*.  
 Hierog. Texts BM = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*.  
 Hist. = *History of Egypt*.  
 Hist. Z. = *Historische Zeitschrift*.  
 IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*.  
 IGR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*.  
 Ill. Ldn. News = *Illustrated London News*.  
 Inscr. hiérog. = *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*.  
 Jahrb. f. Liturg. = *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*.  
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.  
 J. as. = *Journal asiatique*.  
 J. Bibl. Lit. = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.  
 JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.  
 JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.  
 JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.  
 J. Rel. = *Journal of Religion*.  
 JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*.  
 J. Sav. = *Journal des Savants*.  
 JTS = *Journal of Theological Studies*.  
 Kah. Pap. = *Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*.  
 KVGR = *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*.  
 Lacau, Textes rel. = *Textes religieux*.  
 Lep., Dkm. = *Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.  
 LQR = *Law Quarterly Review*.  
 M., Chr. = *Mitteis, Chrestomathie (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde, II, 2. Hälfte)*.  
 MDOG = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.  
 Mél. Beyrouth = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth (Liban)*.  
 Mél. Maspero = *Mélanges Maspero (Mém. Inst. fr. 66-8)*.  
 Mém. Inst. fr. = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*.  
 Mém. Miss. fr. = *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*.  
 Meyer, Gesch. Alt. = *Geschichte des Altertums*.  
 M., Grdz. = *Mitteis, Grundzüge (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde, II, 1. Hälfte)*.  
 Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo = *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*.  
 Müller, Hierat. Pal. = *Hieratische Paläographie*.  
 Mon. Piot. = *Fondation Eugène Piot, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Monuments et mémoires*.  
 Münch. Beitr. = *Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*.  
 n. = *note*.  
 Nachr. Göttingen = *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*.  
 Nouv. rev. théol. = *Nouvelle revue théologique*.  
 Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*.  
 OGIS = *Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*.  
 OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.  
 Or. Chr. = *Oriens Christianus*.  
 Or. Chr. Anal. = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*.  
 Or. Chr. Per. = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.  
 P. = *Papyrus*.  
 PG = *Patrologia Graeca*.  
 Phil. Woch. = *Philologische Wochenschrift*.  
 Porter-Moss, Top. Bibl. = *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*.  
 Proc. Am. Phil. Ass. = *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.  
 P.-B., Pap. Turin = *Pleyte-Rossi, Papyrus de Turin*.  
 PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.



- PW = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.  
 Pyr. = Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*.  
 Rec. Champ. = *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion*.  
 Rech. sc. rel. = *Recherches de science religieuse*.  
 Rec. trav. = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.  
 Rend. Pont. Acc. = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia (Serie III): Rendiconti*.  
 Rend. R. Ist. = *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*.  
 Rev. arch. = *Revue archéologique*.  
 Rev. bibl. = *Revue biblique*.  
 Rev. crit. = *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*.  
 Rev. d'égyptol. = *Revue d'égyptologie*.  
 Rev. de myst. = *Revue de mystique*.  
 Rev. de phil. = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*.  
 Rev. d'hist. eccl. = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*.  
 Rev. Ég. anc. = *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*.  
 Rev. égyptol. = *Revue égyptologique*.  
 Rev. ét. anc. = *Revue des études anciennes*.  
 Rev. ét. gr. = *Revue des études grecques*.  
 Rev. ét. juives = *Revue des études juives*.  
 Rev. ét. lat. = *Revue des études latines*.  
 Rev. hist. = *Revue historique*.  
 Rev. hist. dr. = *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*.  
 Rev. hist. philos. rel. = *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*.  
 Rev. hist. rel. = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*.  
 Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum*.  
 Riv. di arch. crist. = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*.  
 Riv. di fil. = *Rivista di filologia classica*.  
 Riv. indo-greco-ital. = *Rivista indo-greco-italiana*.  
 Riv. stor. dir. ital. = *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*.  
 SB = Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*.  
 Sethe, Erläut. Lesest. = *Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*.  
 Sethe, Lesest. = *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*. 2nd ed.  
 Sethe, Unters. = *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*.  
 Sitzungsb. Berlin (München, etc.) = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Bayerischen, etc.) Akademie der Wissenschaften*.  
 Spiegelberg, Dem. Gr. = *Demotische Grammatik*.  
 Spiegelberg, Kopt. Hdwb. = *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*.  
 St. Albertoni = *Studi in Memoria di Aldo Albertoni*.  
 St. econ.-giurid. Univ. Cagliari = *Studi economico-giuridici della R. Università di Cagliari*.  
 St. et Doc. = *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*.  
 St. it. fil. class. = *Studi italiani di filologia classica*.  
 St. Pal. = *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, ed. C. Wessely.  
 St. Riccobono = *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono*.  
 Sup. Gard. Eg. Gr. = *Supplement to Gardiner's Egyptian Grammar*.  
 Symb. Frib. Lenel = *Symbolae Friburgenses in honorem Ottonis Lenel*.  
 Symb. Oslo. = *Symbolae Osloenses*.  
 TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.  
 Theol. Rev. = *Theologische Revue*.  
 Theol. St. Kr. = *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*.  
 Tijdschrift = *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*.  
 TLB = *Theologisches Literaturblatt*.  
 TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*.  
 TSBA = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.  
 Urk. = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, ed. G. Steindorff.  
 Wb. = *Ermann-Gradow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*.  
 W., Chr. = *Wilcken, Chrestomathie (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, 1, 2. Hälfte)*.  
 W., Grdz. = *Wilcken, Grundzüge (Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde, 1, 1. Hälfte)*.  
 W., O. = *Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*.  
 WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.  
 ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.  
 ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.  
 Z. f. kath. Theol. = *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*.  
 Z. f. Kirchengesch. = *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*.  
 Z. f. neut. Wiss. = *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.  
 Z. f. Numism. = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*.  
 Z. f. vergleich. Rechtsw. = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*.  
 Z. Sav. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung (Romanistische Abteilung)*.







Fragment of relief, displaying two life-sizes negro heads.  
(Photograph by *The Connoisseur*).

EXCAVATIONS AT SESEBI, 1936-7.

# PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT SESEBI, NORTHERN PROVINCE, ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN, 1936-37

By A. M. BLACKMAN

With Plates xii-xix

THE ruins of Sesebi have been known to Egyptologists for many years past, and a drawing of the four rather squat columns, now reduced to three (Pl. xv, 2), which rose above the debris covering the temple-area, was published as long ago as 1849 by Lepsius in his *Denkmäler*, I, Pl. 118.<sup>1</sup> No one, however, had observed that the reliefs of Sethos I which decorate the surviving three columns are imposed upon erased reliefs of Akhenaten till the late Professor J. H. Breasted visited Sesebi early in the year 1907 in the course of carrying out his survey of the ancient sites in Upper Nubia.

In consequence of this discovery Breasted identified Sesebi with Gematen, the town founded by Akhenaten in Upper Nubia for the propagation of the new religion in his southern dominions. But this identification is not correct, for the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith's excavations at Kawa in 1930-1 have definitely shown that that place and not Sesebi is the site of Gematen. Nevertheless, on account of its evident association with Akhenaten the Egypt Exploration Society decided to undertake the excavation of Sesebi last winter, a decision that the results of one season's work have amply justified.

The excavations began on November 1 and ended on February 17. The staff consisted of Professor A. M. Blackman (Director), Messrs. H. W. Fairman (Chief Assistant), E. A. Green (Architect), and J. G. Griffiths (Fellow of the University of Wales), all four of them being members of Liverpool University. Support was received from the Brooklyn Museum, H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Musée du Louvre, Sir Robert Mond, Dr. A. H. Gardiner, Mrs. Griffith, and the Manchester Museum.<sup>2</sup> Here be it stated firstly that the Society is much indebted to Messrs. Alfred Holt & Co. for giving the Director a free return passage from Liverpool to Port Said in the Blue Funnel Line, and secondly that without an additional and most generous donation from Sir Robert Mond the excavations would have had to cease before the end of January. It was his welcome and quite unexpected gift that enabled the particular investigations which resulted in our most interesting discoveries to be undertaken.

Sincere thanks are also due to many officials of the Sudan Government for much friendly advice and valuable assistance, and in particular to Mr. Purves, Governor of Northern Province, Mr. B. K. Cooke, Governor of Kassala Province, Mr. Buchanan, Assistant District Commissioner at Halfa, Mr. G. W. Graham, Director of Antiquities, and the Chief Medical Officer of our district, Dr. Aldridge, all of whom did everything in their power to facilitate our work and to make our stay in the Sudan pleasurable.

<sup>1</sup> Views of the four columns appear also in Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, II, Pl. viii; Wilkinson MSS., XX, E 1; Prudhoe MSS., Atlas, 32 (b) [view from east]. This information has been kindly supplied by Miss R. Moss from *Top. Bibl.* material yet unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> The money obtained through this Museum was raised by the efforts of Mr. Rollo Worthington.

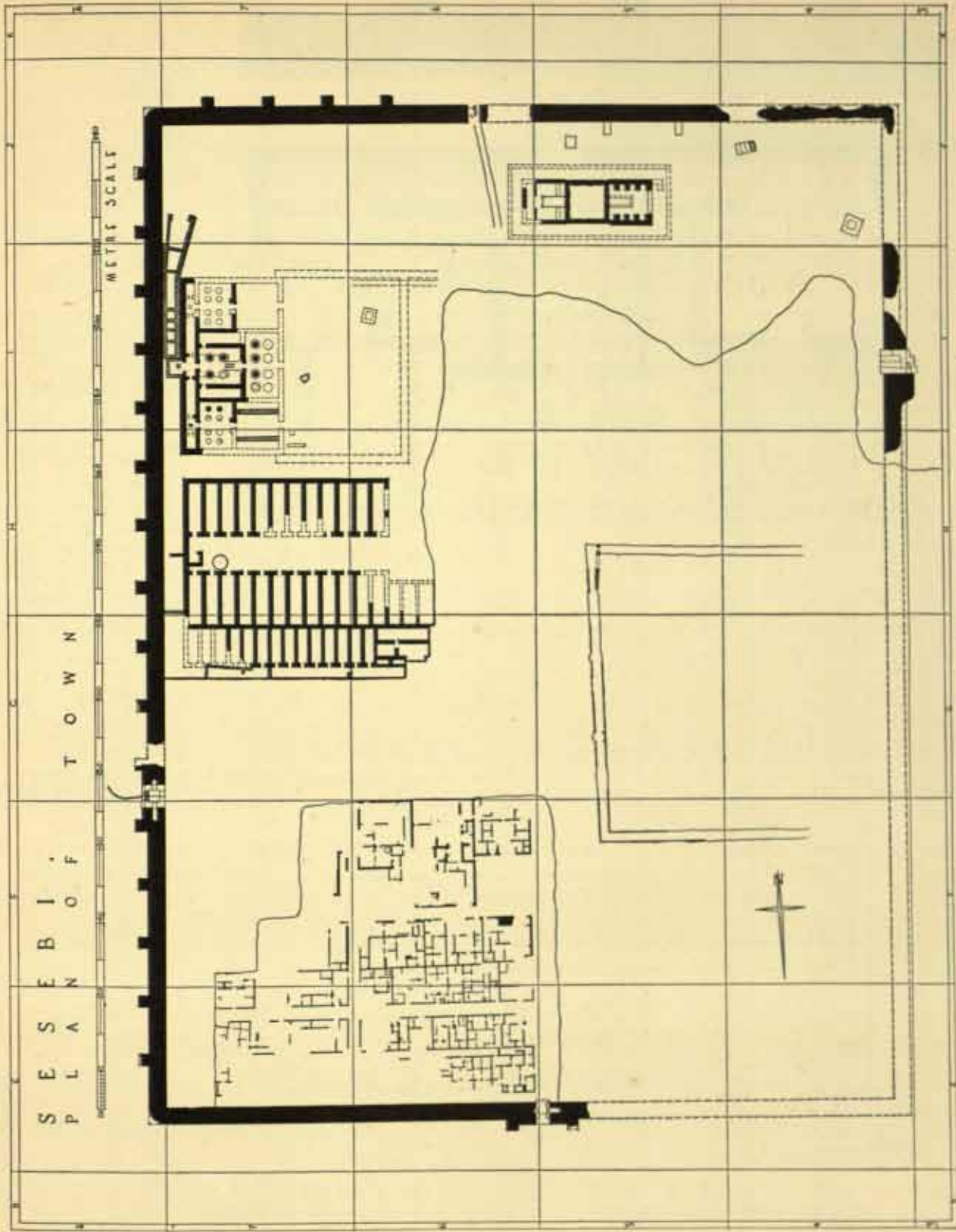


The fortress-town of Sesebi, or Sese as the local inhabitants call it, is situated between the Second and Third Cataracts, some 180 miles south of Wady Halfa. It lies on the west bank of the Nile opposite Delgo, the capital of the district, its east wall being about 200 m. distant from the river's edge. The crude-brick buttressed walls which surround the town enclose an area of  $270 \times 200$  m. (see plan, Pl. xiii). They are about 4.60 m. thick, and in some places still stand 4 to 5 m. high. The width of the buttresses is approximately 3.15 m., and they project 2.65 m. from the face of the wall itself (Pl. xiii). In each of the four walls have been found the remains of a well-constructed gateway, paved and faced with stone. A feature of all these gateways is the channel beneath the paving for carrying away water (Pl. xv, 1), an indication that the rainfall was very heavy in this district at the time when the town was founded. These climatic conditions must have prevailed for a long period subsequent to that date, for the site has been denuded not only by the heavy sand-laden winds, but by torrents of water which have cut deep channels in various parts of the town and have apparently been largely responsible for the almost complete destruction of most of the east wall. This denudation is particularly noticeable in the north-eastern quarter, where all traces of buildings, if ever there were any such, have disappeared. It is possible, however, that this quarter was left unoccupied in the Pharaonic period.

The north-west portion of the town contains three contiguous temples facing east and erected upon an unusually solid substructure (Pls. xiii, xiv, and xv, 2). In front of them is a large open court measuring north to south 48.20 m., and east to west 31.50 m. This court was once enclosed in massive stone walls, of which the foundations are clearly traceable on the north and south sides (Pls. xiii, xiv, and xv, 2), though they have entirely disappeared on the east side, except at the north end, where they can be traced for about 7 m., and at the south end, where the turn northwards is still discernible. All traces of a gateway or pylon, which must once have stood in the centre of the eastern wall, have completely vanished. The very irregular surface of this open space was once artificially levelled with masses of sandstone chips (*kabs*) mixed with earth.

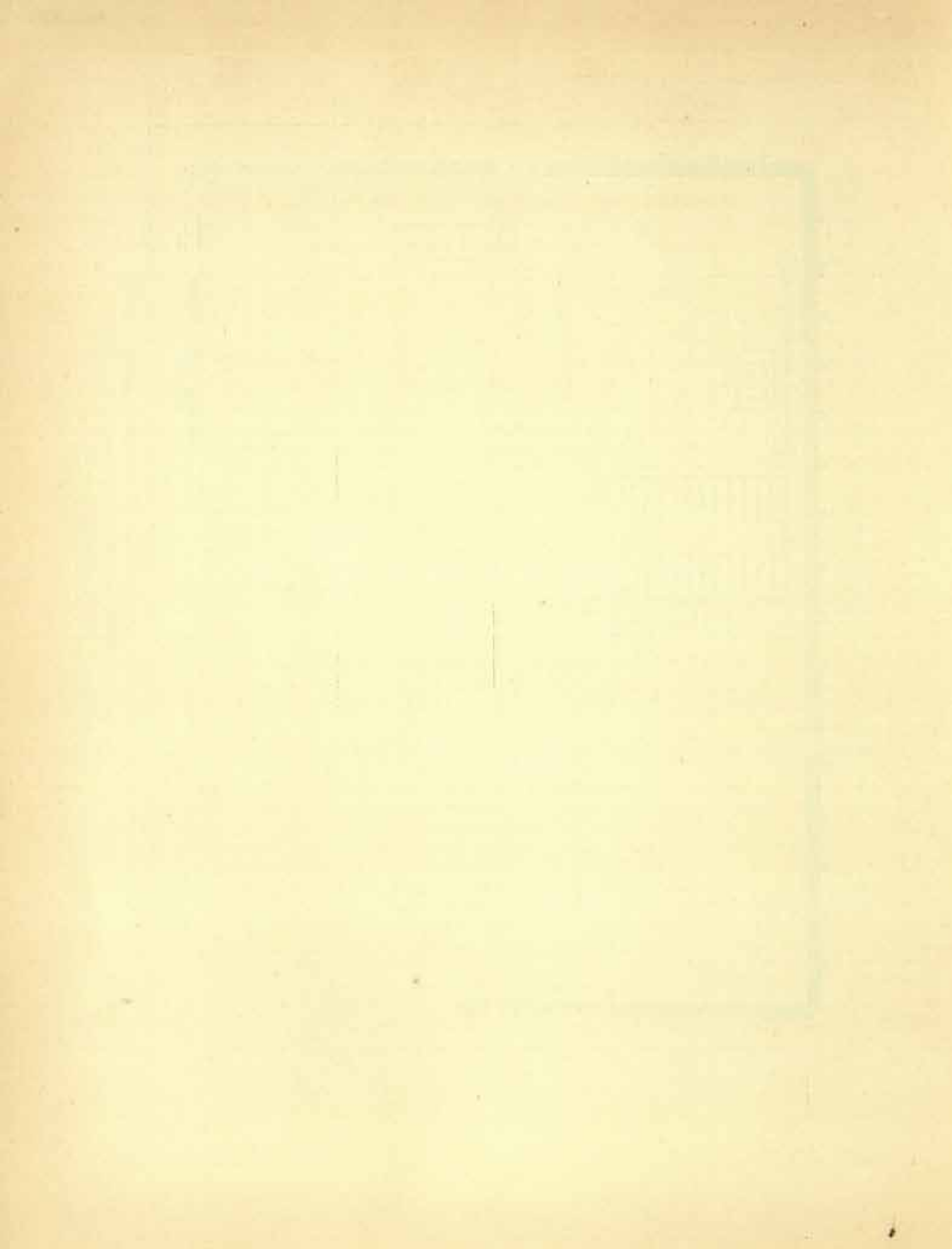
The substructure on which the three temples stand is composed of four enclosing walls and cross-walls of massive sandstone blocks (some measuring  $2 \times 0.90 \times 0.50$  m.) and rubble filling (Pl. xiv). These underlying walls coincide with the walls of the temples, which had to sustain the weight of heavy roofing-blocks. The columns stood on special foundations of their own, constructed of blocks of stone embedded in the rubble filling. The substructure rose about 1.20 m. above the artificially levelled ground at the back of the temple, and about 50 cm. above the same flooring of the court in front.

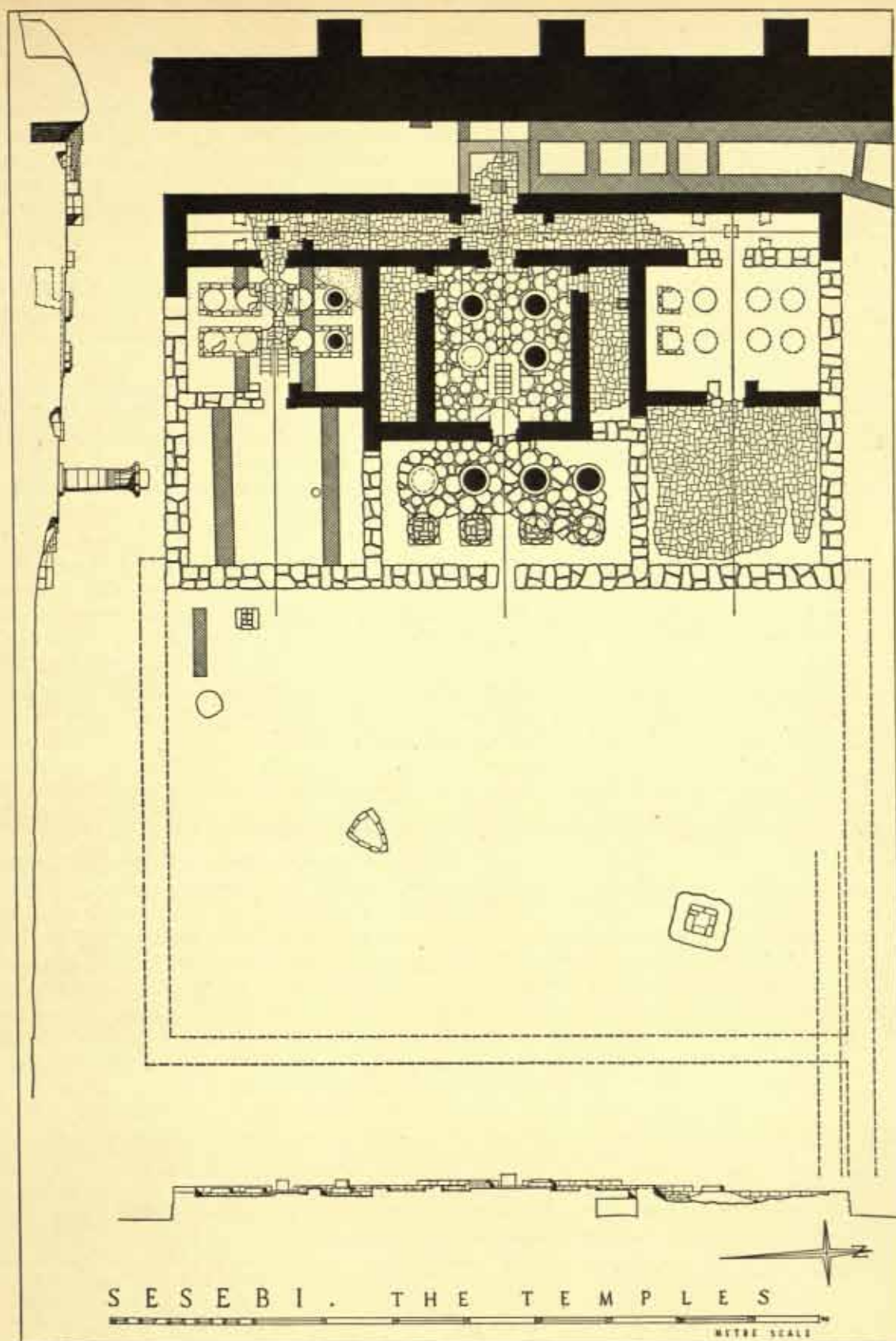
The temples have evidently been used as a quarry for building-material at some time or other, and, apart from the three standing columns, little now remains except the bases and bottom drums of the other columns and the lowest courses of the walls. The central temple consists of an inner and outer hypostyle hall, a sanctuary, and some subsidiary chambers. The present sanctuary, in which the pedestal for the boat-shrine is still in position (Pl. xv, 3), is a later addition, possibly due to Sethos I, which turned the original sanctuary into the pronaos. The masonry of the new sanctuary, which consists of small, fairly well-dressed sandstone blocks, is distinctly inferior to that of the rest of the central temple and that of the temple on either side of it. These two latter temples are very similar in plan to the central one, the main difference being that in them the place of the outer hypostyle hall is taken by a walled-in open court. Mr. E. A. Green thinks that the east wall of all three temples was continuous, the flat, uniform surface of the façade, which was probably covered with reliefs and surmounted with a cavetto cornice, being broken by the three entrances. The thresholds of these entrances cannot have been raised more than



General plan of the town, showing walls, gates, temples, magazines, and excavated section of the south-west residential quarter  
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Plan and section of the three contiguous temples  
EXCAVATIONS AT SESEBI, 1936-7






about 50 cm. above the floor of the forecourt, and were possibly reached by a short flight of shallow steps, such as is to be seen in the inner hall of the central temple (Pl. xv, 3). But of such constructions no traces survive, except in the case of the last-mentioned temple. Here a break in the front wall of the substructure, directly on the line of the temple's central axis, suggests that a ramp or ascent of some sort may have been removed by the quarrymen.

In the sanctuary of the southern, as in that of the central, temple the pedestal for the boat-shrine is still in place. Since it bears on its front traces of the prenomen of Ramesses II, cut in plaster above a deep erasure, the pedestal may originally have been inscribed with the names and titles of Amenophis IV. The northern temple has been much more damaged than the southern, but what is left of it suggests that both were practically identical in their plan.

A noteworthy feature in the central temple is the flight of shallow steps in the inner hall (Pl. xv, 3), rising to the level of the platform upon which the columns stand. A similar flight is preserved in the hypostyle hall of the southern temple. This last-mentioned building may, anyhow in the Nineteenth Dynasty, have been dedicated to the goddess Mût, for during the clearing of it a fragment of a door-jamb was found bearing the words 'beloved of Mût, mistress of the sky'. If this surmise is correct, then the northern temple would have been dedicated to Khons and the central to Amenrê.

Judging from the fragments found during the excavation of the temples, the walls of these must once have been adorned with reliefs of the finest quality. Conspicuous among these fragments is one displaying two life-size negro heads (see Pl. xii)<sup>1</sup> which remind one strongly of the representation of negro captives in a relief from the Memphite tomb of Haremhab.<sup>2</sup> The two heads must come either from a procession of prisoners of war, or else from a great battle-scene, such as those painted on the wooden casket of Tutankhamûn or those carved on the walls of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Dynasty temples. It would be interesting if the earliest known example of this particular development of Egyptian pictorial art dated from the reign of the 'pacifist' Akhenaten! Another fine fragment (Pl. xviii, 4) shows a queen (?) holding two palm-branches which have been stripped of their leaves () and from the upper end of each of which a heart-shaped object is suspended. Immediately in front of the queen (?) can be seen the left shoulder of a king, evidently wearing the *hprš*-helmet, of which only a lappet is preserved. Do these figures come from a scene depicting some episode in the Jubilee (*hb-sd*) festivities? I have so far found no other example of the heart-shaped pendant attached to the palm-branch emblem.

Among other objects found in the debris of the three temples are part of a blue faience votive tablet (dedicated by a 'general'—*mr-mš*), mentioning the 65th regnal year of Ramesses II, and the half life-size head of a black granite royal statue (Pl. xvi, 1). This head distinctly resembles the heads of some of the statues of Hatshepsut found by the Metropolitan Museum of New York's expedition at Dêr el-Bahârî, and so may be a portrait of that famous queen. From the debris of the central temple came the pair of rams in steatite, unfinished (Pl. xviii, 3, bottom right).

A discovery of some importance is the stone structure that lies just outside the temple-area (Pls. xiii and xvi, 3), but close to its north-east corner. In its original form (it has undergone at least one reconstruction) it seems to have consisted of a small open court raised upon a platform, which is about 11.70 m. square and about 2 m. high. A lower court of about the same dimensions contains a stairway built into the platform and giving access

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the editor of *The Connoisseur* for kind permission to publish this photograph.

<sup>2</sup> See Hedwig Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1920), 156.



to the upper court. The stairway is furnished with a balustrade surmounted with a torus and a cavetto cornice. At a later date, probably during the reign of Sethos I, another stairway and a small colonnaded court were constructed on the east side of the platform. That these are an addition is clearly shown by the fact that the masonry of this stairway, unlike that of the stairway on the west side, is not bonded into the masonry of the platform. Another addition, also possibly dating from the time of Sethos I, is that of the four walls enclosing the whole edifice. The original building is almost certainly the work of Akhenaten, for the blocks composing it, in contrast with those of the later additions, are covered with a thin coating of plaster, and in the debris was found a similarly plastered block bearing part of the 'dogmatic name' of the Aten in its earlier form. It is not impossible, therefore, that this building of Akhenaten was a small sun-temple, specially constructed to suit the changes in ritual occasioned by the new religion; in this connexion it should be observed that the officiating priest, on entering the little temple at dawn by the western stairway, would have faced the east and the rising sun. Professor Garstang has pointed out that the building bears a striking resemblance to the much larger sun-temple unearthed by him at Meroë in 1911.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the three temples. Under the north-west and south-west corners of the substructure were found four intact sets of foundation-deposits, which had been placed in four small pits, two at either corner. Above the southernmost of both pairs of pits were laid four ceremonial crude bricks<sup>2</sup> (Pl. xvii, 1). The four deposits comprised two blue faience plaques and a blue faience scarab (Pl. xvii, 2, centre and top right), all bearing the name *Imn-htp-ntr-hkꜣ-Wꜣst*, 'Amenophis-the-God-Who-Rules-Thebes', and thus showing that the three temples were founded by Amenophis IV before the 6th<sup>3</sup> year of his reign, that is, before he changed his name to Akhenaten, and also another and larger blue faience scarab bearing the same king's prenomen, *Nfr-hprw-Rꜥ*, '(One-)Beautiful-of-Forms-is-Rꜥ', followed by the epithet *ḥn-mt-Ttn*, 'Glittering-like-the-Sun's-Orb' (Pl. xvii, 2, right, bottom). This epithet is apparently not applied elsewhere to Akhenaten.<sup>4</sup> Among other objects found in the four pits are a small scarab, two small plaques, the model of a cartouche, all in blue faience and all inscribed with the prenomen *Nfr-hprw-Rꜥ* (Pl. xvii, 2, left); models of a brick-mould and of three bricks in wood, two wooden objects of uncertain purpose<sup>5</sup> (Pl. xvii, 3); models of two double-barbed harpoons, two axes, two knives, an adze, and other tools in copper (Pl. xvii, 4); about one hundred small pottery vessels (*cf.* Pl. xviii); and lastly quantities of variously coloured beads, which lay scattered about the bottom of each pit and among the objects placed therein.<sup>6</sup>

The most interesting event of the whole season occurred on January 14. While the workmen were clearing away the debris from the central temple, a small shaft was found in the floor of the room that lies on the north side of the inner hypostyle hall (Pl. xiv). Three very irregular steps on the east side of the shaft give easy access to a low doorway admitting to a chamber constructed in the temple-substructure. This crypt measures 2.75 m. from north to south, 2.67 m. from east to west, and is 1.80 m. high, the distance

<sup>1</sup> See J. Garstang, *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians* (Oxford, 1911), Pl. xxvii, pp. 25 ff.

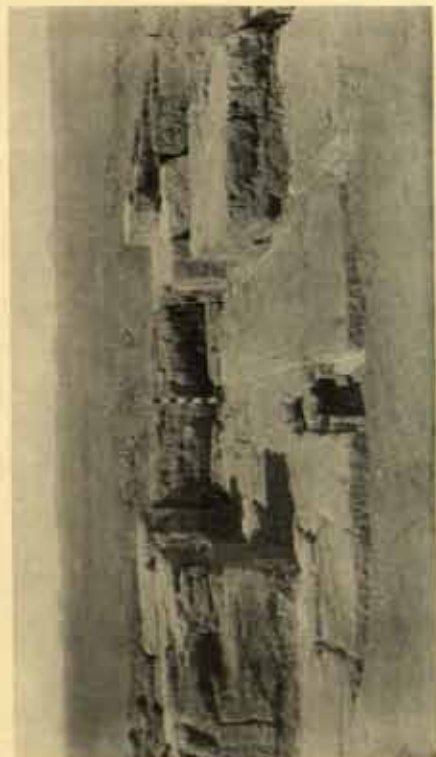
<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* de Rochemonteix, *Temple d'Edfou*, II, 61 f. and Pl. xl<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 345; Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II (London, 1917), 210.

<sup>4</sup> But *cf.* the name of the boat in which Amenophis III sailed when inaugurating the lake which he had had dug for Queen Teye (*ZÄS.* 39, 62).

<sup>5</sup> Professor Glanville has suggested that they are models of pottery cones, for the architectural use of which see L. Borchardt, *Friesziegel in Grabbauten*, in *ZÄS.* 70, 25 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1274.



1. Gateway in W. wall : water channel below paving (the brick blocking is from a later occupation).



2. The temples after excavation, showing substructure, also foundations of N. wall and N. end of forecourt.



3. Central temple after excavation : view looking W. showing inner hypostyle hall and sanctuary.



4. View of houses looking E. from F.7.1. In foreground are two plastered bins.







1. Head of statue.



2. Faience vase.



3. Small sun-temple (?), showing remains of W. stairway and later enclosure wall (photograph by G. W. Grabham, Esq.).

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of its floor from that of the temple beneath which it lies being 1.90 m. Its walls are decorated with reliefs depicting Amenophis IV (sometimes with the Queen) seated in the company of various Egyptian gods, amongst whom are Geb, Shu, Osiris (?), Atūm, and Mēet-Rē.<sup>1</sup> The subject of the reliefs and their style, which is the ordinary style of the Eighteenth Dynasty, not that of the 'Amarnah Age, suggest that the crypt and its reliefs date, like the foundation-deposits, from before Amenophis IV's sixth regnal year. It should be pointed out that in no other temple, save that of Denderah which was built in the Ptolemaic period, is a subterranean chamber of this character known to exist.

Immediately to the south of the temple-area lie three rows of well-built magazines (Pl. xiii), and south of these again the south-west section of the residential quarter of the town. In a cellar in one of the magazines was found a sandstone door-jamb inscribed for the vizier Amenemōpe who held office under Amenophis II.<sup>2</sup> This door-jamb, the possible portrait-head of Hatshepsut, and two scarabs found in the cemetery, the one bearing the name of Tuthmosis III<sup>3</sup> and the other that of Tuthmosis IV, lead one to suppose that some sort of an Egyptian settlement existed at Sesebi many years before the accession of Akhenaten. That the town was still flourishing well into the Nineteenth Dynasty is indicated by scarabs and other objects, found in the cemetery and elsewhere, which bear the name of Ramesses II. In the magazines were also found a few hieratic jar-dockets, not yet transcribed.

Most of the houses so far dug (Pls. xiii and xix) are small and were evidently the dwellings of the less important members of the community. We had reached the site of the larger houses, but had only cleared very few of them, when the season's work came to an end. The original plans of all these houses have been much altered by successive occupations, their walls have been badly damaged by torrential rains and tearing sand-laden winds, and finally the ground has been turned upside down by *sabbākhīn*, the scourge of Egyptian town-sites. The debris was consequently shallow, and consisted of loose potsherds, mostly of very late date, and comparatively little decayed brick. However, these confused ruins (Pl. xv, 4) produced a supply of pleasing and interesting material, including typical 'Amarnah pendants and beads, pottery toy-animals, a representation in sandstone of two monkeys embracing<sup>4</sup> (Pl. xviii, left), a steatite kohl-vase in the form of a monkey holding a jar (Pl. xviii, 3, top right), various articles of domestic use, and several fragments of Late Helladic IIIa pottery, such as has been found by Pendlebury at 'Amarnah.<sup>5</sup> It was somewhat of a surprise to find that these small Mycenaean oil-flasks had travelled so far south into Africa as Sesebi!

The following remarks on the houses are derived from the notebook of Mr. Fairman, who, at my request, made a special study of these buildings while I was busy copying the reliefs and inscriptions in the crypt and on the columns of the central temple.

All the houses (Pls. xiii and xix) are in a bad state of preservation, and it is difficult to establish the true ground-plan and history. This condition is due to (a) successive periods of desertion and

<sup>1</sup> Mēet-Rē, 'Truth-of-Rē', here given the title 'Lord of Nubia' (*Tt-sty*), is not a goddess but a god, and is depicted several times in the same form at Šulb. For another instance of Truth appearing in male instead of female guise see *The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood* in Dr. A. H. Gardiner's recently-published *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 30 ff. — *P. Brit. Mus.* 10682.

<sup>2</sup> A. Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches*, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Capart suggested that this scarab is late and belongs to the time of Menkheperre of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Professor Glanville, however, was of the opinion that it might well date from the Eighteenth Dynasty and be contemporary with Tuthmosis III. It is not unlike certain Eighteenth-Dynasty scarabs figured in P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. xxvii, No. 25 (*Mt-k-r*); Pl. xxviii, No. 7 (*Mn-hpr-r*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II, 99; Pl. xxxi, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. xlv.



reoccupation; (b) the extremely severe denudation caused by water and wind. These two factors have caused great confusion: houses have been altered again and again, doors have been blocked up and new ones made, walls have been tampered with, rebuilt and pulled down, and streets blocked up—till the original ground-plans have been largely hidden or destroyed. The action of wind or water, or of both, has swept away levels, cut them through, jumbled them up, and caused almost hopeless confusion.

*Area excavated.* Between the south gate and the west wall of the town, and from the south wall northward for a distance of rather less than 100 m. (see Pl. xiii).

*Planning.* This area shows signs of careful, regular, and economical planning. The streets and cross-streets are remarkably straight, and are laid out more or less at right angles to one another. The area seems to have been divided into four great squares, of which the two northern ones have been only partially excavated. The squares are further intersected by streets running from north to south and from east to west. It is especially noticeable that the 'estates', so typical of the good-class 'Amarnah houses, have no counterpart at Sesebi, even the largest houses so far excavated having no grounds at all. The houses are laid out in long rows, each house joining its fellow to east or west: sometimes the rows are separated by narrow alleys, but sometimes the houses of each row are built back to back. Space was undoubtedly a most important consideration. The houses are separated from the town wall by a wide street, a necessity from the point of view of the defence of the town.

*Architecture.* All the houses are made of mud brick, but even in the smaller ones there is a common use of stone, usually of poor quality, for practically all thresholds. The floors are of beaten mud, never of mud-brick. Walls of rooms often bear signs of mud plaster, and occasionally of whitewash. No trace is anywhere to be found of wall-decorations of any sort, nor of any elaborate ceilings or roof beams. In most houses the rooms are small, there are no traces of columns, and it is exceedingly probable that there were no upper stories. The roofs in these cases may well have been merely of straw, or of palm-ribs and mud, laid over logs or rough beams.

Upper stories can only be deduced in a few of the larger houses. In F. 6. 13 there are remains of stairs to the roof. In F. 6. 3+19+20 was found a column-base evidently belonging to an upper-story room. There was presumably an upper story in F. 6. 22 and F. 7. 2; less certainly in F. 6. 16+21. Kitchens with pottery ovens seem to be quite frequent, but sanitary arrangements, bathrooms, &c., are almost entirely lacking. There is no single instance of the typical 'Amarnah type of bathroom. No sign of a well has so far been discovered.

A conspicuous feature of the area is the large number of cellars and storage-places within the houses. The cellars are of two types: (a) With small square mouths of dressed stone, usually with a stone covering slab. The interior is small as a rule, beehive-shaped, and whitewashed. It would seem that all these date from the original occupation of the town—the cellar in room 5, F. 6. 8+9 seems conclusive as regards this, for its mouth was still closed with a slab, and in it was found a large blue faience scarab of Amenophis III. (b) Large, deep, irregular pits, the mouths of indefinite shape. They are of frequent occurrence, but most of them, at least, were made by the later occupants. Not uncommon, too, are small plastered receptacles. They were apparently mainly intended for storage purposes, but sometimes, possibly, for work. The date of these is not certain: they are possibly late rather than early.

Most of the houses are small. The simplest type consists of a large outer room with four or more inner ones. Next comes a slightly better type with an ante-chamber and hall, or, sometimes, only a hall, a larger inner living-room, and a varying number of smaller rooms grouped around.

The few big houses so far excavated approximate more closely to the 'Amarnah type of big house, see especially F. 6. 22 and F. 6. 13, F. 6. 22. F. 6. 22 is the best-preserved example. The entry seems to be on the north side through an ante-room into a hall, and thence into the central living-room. In F. 6. 22 this room still preserves the site of a single column (there can only have been *one* column in this room), the usual charcoal-brazier, and a mastabah against the west wall. Small rooms open off to east and west of the living-room, and in the south wall a single door leads to the 'master's apartments'. In each instance these consist of three rooms, the two

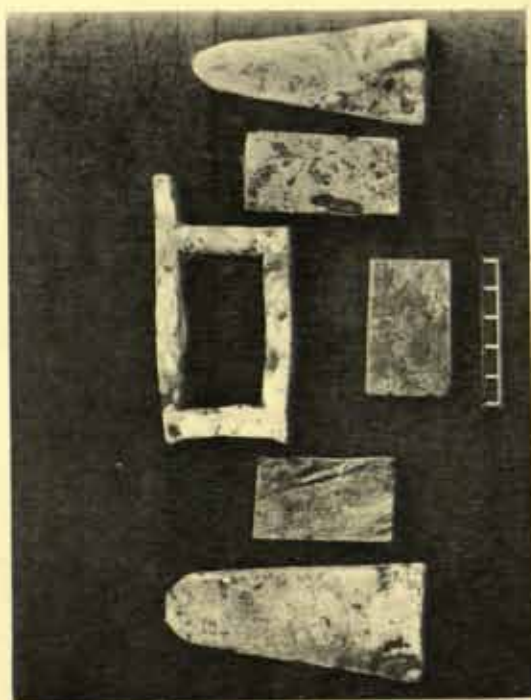




1. Southern foundation-deposit pit, S.W. corner of substructure.



2. Blue faience objects.



3. Wooden objects.



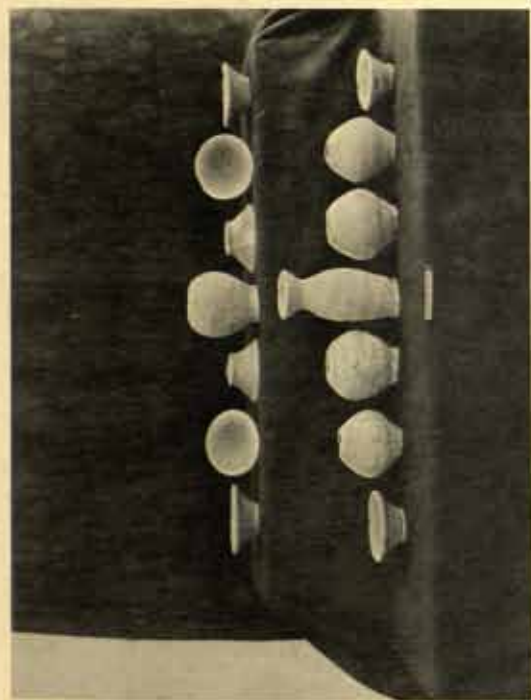
4. Copper models of implements.

Foundation deposits.

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1. Pottery from southern foundation-deposit pit, N.W. corner of substructure.



2. Nineteenth-dynasty scarabs from cemetery.



3. Objects from the debris.



4. Fragment of relief from temple debris.











outer ones being presumably bathroom and dressing-room, the inner one (approached only from one of the outer rooms and situated always in the south-west corner) being clearly the bedroom, having the characteristic thickening of the walls to form the bed-niche along the south wall, and the raised floor of mud-brick.

*History.* It is hard to arrive at chronological conclusions when various factors have combined either to destroy or to confuse and mix the data upon which we depend. But there is evidence that after the original occupation there was a period in which the town was inhabited by poor squatters, who lived anywhere and anyhow. Later they moved or died and the town was entirely abandoned. Eventually it was reoccupied by more prosperous people with a better standard of living. The exact dates of these occupations are a matter for conjecture, for no objects were found in any definite and certain datable contexts and associations.

The New-Kingdom cemetery, situated a little to the west and south-west of the town, seems to have been subject to continuous depredations, all the tombs having been robbed, and many of them reused and then robbed again! But the systematic clearing of these plundered burial-places was no waste of time, as is shown by the fine collection of scarabs with which they supplied us (see, *e.g.*, Pl. xviii, 2), besides a quantity of pottery and various other objects of archaeological and artistic value. Conspicuous among these are a white faience vase for unguent, decorated with a floral design in bright blue and dark purple (Pl. xvi, 2), a little green felspar pendant of beautiful workmanship, representing the god Thoth in the form of a cynocephalus-ape crowned with the moon, a small millefiore glass disk still in its gold setting (possibly the centre-piece of a necklace), a large copper bowl, and three fine copper mirrors. Only one other such faience unguent-vase is known to exist, and that is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, having formerly been in the late Lord Carnarvon's collection of Egyptian antiquities. A number of glass eye-pendants found with the millefiore glass disk date that object to any time between the late Eighteenth and the Twentieth Dynasties.

To clear the rest of the town, and that is all that remains for us to do at Sesebi, will be the work of about half a season. If the necessary funds are forthcoming, the expedition will then move farther north to Western Amāra, a large and important New-Kingdom site consisting of a temple, a walled town, and an extensive cemetery—a site which promises to produce museum material which in quality and quantity should fully satisfy the requirements of the Egypt Exploration Society's subscribers.



## THE JUDICIAL PAPYRUS OF TURIN

By A. DE BUCK

YEARS ago Gunn and Gardiner began in this *Journal*<sup>1</sup> a series of new renderings of Egyptian texts, rightly defending their enterprise with the argument that workers in the field of Egyptian philology should never forget that the real end of their labours is, or should be, translation. 'Egyptian studies', so they argued, 'are rapidly progressive. Every month brings its harvest of philological discoveries, points of small, perhaps even trifling significance taken separately, but together enabling us to transpose an Egyptian writing into our own tongue with ever greater force, colour and sensitiveness—in a word, with greater truth. It may safely be said that there is no version whatever more than ten years old which cannot be greatly improved upon. In ideal conditions Egyptologists would be compelled to re-translate all their inscriptions and papyri as frequently as revised editions of the great European encyclopaedias are now accustomed to appear.'

The text of which a fresh translation is given in the present article offers a striking confirmation of their contention. It is a papyrus which has been known since the early days of Egyptology. Devéria published it as far back as 1865, and it is deservedly famous because its contents are such as to interest not only the pure philologist, but also the student of history and law, and above all because it is one of the few texts which afford us a glimpse into the interesting and picturesque villainies that took place behind the curtain, whereas we are usually allowed to see only the stage on which the highly ceremonious but somewhat boring life of the son of Rê drags along from his divine birth to his heavenward flight and ultimate reunion with his father.

Small wonder that a text with such vivid contents is quoted in every history of Egyptian culture and serves to lend colour to every picture of Egyptian life. Hence the Egyptian philologist may well feel himself in duty bound to place a reliable translation at the disposal of the exceptionally wide circle of those interested in this document.

Curiously enough, philologists do not seem to have been very strongly attracted by our papyrus, for apart from the early translations and discussions<sup>2</sup> no philological commentary has ever appeared. Breasted published a complete translation of the document in his *Ancient Records* (iv, §§ 423-53), and it is this translation which is apparently regarded as the standard one by all whose work brings them into contact with our papyrus, especially the historians.

For these the papyrus, and the first three pages in particular, acquired a special interest through the remarkable article which Struve wrote on the great Harris Papyrus<sup>3</sup>—an article in which he showed that famous text to have been really composed on behalf of Ramesses III's successor Ramesses IV, the son for whose benefit and welfare the dead father addresses gods and men out of his abode in the Netherworld. Now Breasted had already observed<sup>4</sup> that in the *Lee Papyrus*, a document bearing upon the same conspiracy as the Judicial

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 4, 241.

<sup>2</sup> See the bibliography in Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iv, § 416, to which may be added an article by Erman in *ZÄS* 17, 76, in which several passages were translated and discussed.

<sup>3</sup> *Aeg.* 7, 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Anc. Rec.*, iv, § 455.



Papyrus, Ramesses III was referred to as a dead person, being there called 'the great god', a name never given to the living king at this time. He had also seen that pages 2 and 3 of our papyrus presuppose that the king did not expect to see the end of the trial. 'It would almost appear', so Breasted concluded,<sup>1</sup> 'that he knew his days were numbered when he gave instructions for the prosecution of the conspirators. . . . That the plot went so far that the king was injured, and survived his injuries only long enough to direct the prosecution of his assassins, is improbable, in view of a remark in the records,<sup>2</sup> that Rēc did not permit the hostile plans to succeed; but we may easily believe that it hastened the old king's end, even if he escaped unscathed.' Breasted's objection is not very strong. It is true that this statement implies that the enterprise was not ultimately successful, yet would the conspirators have succeeded if the king was wounded or even murdered, but the crowning of Pentawēre and the rise to power of all concerned had not been attained? Surely not. Struve in his above-mentioned article therefore took the further step which Breasted was not prepared to take, and declared the whole situation which these pages presuppose to be a fiction. In reality Ramesses IV commissioned the court, but he had the clever idea of letting the entire proceedings emanate from his dead father. Thus the authority of the dead king, and all the support this could afford his living son, was behind it all, and the new king escaped the odium of beginning his reign with so bloody an affair.

Struve's idea has met with considerable success. Ed. Meyer,<sup>3</sup> for example, quotes him with unrestricted approval, and it must be admitted that Struve has made out a very strong case indeed, provided that the correctness of his translation, which is substantially that of Breasted, is conceded.

Now when, some time ago, I had to study Struve's article more closely, and in this connexion had to read the Judicial Papyrus again, I was astonished to find that my impression of what the document as a whole contained could not be reconciled with his translation, which a superficial search for other renderings showed me to be the generally accepted one even in more philological quarters—both Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* and a recent article by Spiegel<sup>4</sup> follow it, at least as regards the most important and crucial passages. Still, a more thorough consideration of my own views convinced me that my translation must be correct with respect to these points, and as it exhibited not only a few trifling corrections interesting only to a small number of specialists, but also threw a somewhat different light on the problems regarding the background of this important document, it seems worth while to publish a fresh translation of the papyrus with a few short notes in its defence and some concluding remarks on the historical aspects of my new rendering. The translation is made from the admirable hand-copy published by Devéria.<sup>5</sup> Red writing in the original is represented by small capitals.

## TRANSLATION

(I, 1) [King Usermarēc-Meriamūn, l.p.h., son of Rēc: Ramesses] Ruler of Heliopolis [l.p.h. said]<sup>a</sup>  
 . . . . (2) . . . . . the land . . . . . (3) . . . . . the who[le] land . . . . . (4) . . . . .  
 [thei]r cattle . . . . . (5) . . . . . to bring them . . . . . (6) . . . . . all . . . . before  
 them . . . . . (7) . . . . . the . . . . . (8) . . . . . people, saying: . . . . . (9)

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, § 418.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted refers to the following passage in *P. Rollin (Anc. Rec., iv, § 454)*: 'the evil (deeds) which he did, in which Re did not permit that he should succeed'.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesch. Alt.*, II, 1, 600, n. 2: 'Die volle Konsequenz hat dann Struve . . . gezogen; sie ist in der Tat ganz unabweisbar'.

<sup>4</sup> See the notes on the translation.

<sup>5</sup> In *Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin*, in *J. as.*, 1865-8 = *Bibl. Égyptologique*, vol. v, pp. 97 ff.



..... they being (II, 1) the abomination of the land. I commissioned<sup>b</sup> the overseer of the treasury Montemtowe; the overseer of the treasury Pefrowe; (2) the standard-bearer Kara; the butler Paibēse, the butler Kedendenna; the butler Ba'almaḥar; (3) the butler Peirswēne; the butler Dḥutrekhnēfer; the king's adjutant Penernūte; the clerk Mai; (4) the clerk of the archives Prēm-ḥab; the standard-bearer of the infantry Ḥori; (5) saying: 'As for the matters which the people—I do not know who<sup>c</sup>—have plotted, go and examine them'. (6) And they went<sup>d</sup> and examined them, and they caused to die by their own hands<sup>e</sup> those whom they caused (so) to die,<sup>f</sup> (7) though [I] do not know [wh]o, [and they] also punished [the] others,<sup>g</sup> though I do not know who. But (8) [I] had charged [them strictly],<sup>h</sup> saying: 'Take heed, have a care lest you allow that [somebody] be punished (9) wrongfully [by an official] who is not over him'.<sup>i</sup> Thus I spoke to them again and again.<sup>j</sup>

(III, 1) As for all this that has been done, it is they who have done it.<sup>k</sup> (2) May (the responsibility for) all that they have done fall upon their (own) heads, (3) while I am consecrated and exempted<sup>l</sup> for ever, while I am (4) among<sup>m</sup> the just kings who are before (5) Amen-rē, King of the Gods, and before Osiris, Ruler of Eternity.

*(First List of Accused)*

(IV, 1) PERSONS brought in because of the great crimes which they had committed, and placed in the Court of Examination before the great officials of the Court of Examination in order to be examined by the overseer of the treasury Montemtowe, the overseer of the treasury Pefrowe, the standard-bearer Kara, the butler Paibēse, the clerk of the archives Mai, the standard-bearer Ḥori; they examined them; they found them guilty; they caused their punishment to overtake them; their crimes seized them.

(2) The great criminal, Paibekkamen,<sup>1</sup> who was (then)<sup>n</sup> chief of the chamber. HE WAS BROUGHT IN<sup>o</sup> because he had been in collusion with Teye and the women of the harem;<sup>p</sup> he had made common cause with them;<sup>q</sup> he had begun to bring out their words to their mothers and their brothers who were there, saying: 'Stir up the people! Incite enmity in order to make rebellion against their lord!' He was placed before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found that he had committed them; his crimes seized him; the officials who examined him caused his punishment to overtake him.

(3) The great criminal Mesedsurē, who was (then) butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had been in collusion with Paibekkamen, who was (then) chief of the chamber, and with the women, to stir up enmity in order to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(4) The great criminal Penok, who was (then) overseer of the royal harem<sup>r</sup> in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had made common cause with Paibekkamen and Mesedsurē to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(5) The great criminal Pendua, who was (then) clerk of the royal harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had made common cause with Paibekkamen, Mesedsurē, and this other criminal,<sup>2</sup> who was (then) overseer of the royal harem, and the women of the harem to make a conspiracy with them to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(6) The great criminal Ptewentamūn, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had heard the matters which the men had plotted with the women of the harem, and he had not reported them. He was placed before the great officials of the Court of Examination; they examined his crimes; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(7) The great criminal Kerpes, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS

<sup>1</sup> It has often been pointed out that many of the names of these criminals are fictitious.

<sup>2</sup> The title shows that this is not in apposition to Mesedsurē, but a third criminal, perhaps Penok of the preceding line.



BROUGHT IN because of the matters which he had heard, (but) concealed.\* He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(8) The great criminal Khaemōpe, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the matters which he had heard, (but) concealed. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(9) The great criminal Khaemmale, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the matters which he had heard, (but) concealed. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(10) The great criminal Sethoyemperdhowti, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the matters which he had heard, (but) concealed. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(11) The great criminal Sethoyemperamūn, who was (then) inspector of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the matters which he had heard, (but) concealed. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(12) The great criminal Weren, who was (then) butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had heard the matters from this chief of the chamber with whom\* he had been together; (but) he had concealed them, he had not reported them. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(13) The great criminal Ashahebsed, who was (then) assistant of Paibekkamen. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had heard the matters from Paibekkamen with whom\* he had plotted; (but) he had not reported them. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(14) The great criminal Pelnka ('the Lycian') who was (then) butler and clerk of the treasury. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had been in collusion with Paibekkamen; he had heard the matters from him, (but) he had not reported them. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(15) The great criminal, the Libyan Inini, who was (then) butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had been in collusion with Paibekkamen; he had heard the matters from him, (but) he had not reported them. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(V.1) Wives of men of the gate of the harem, who had united with the men who plotted the matters, who were placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found them guilty; they caused their punishment to overtake them. Six women.

(2) The great criminal Paiera, son of Ruma, who was (then) overseer of the treasury. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had been in collusion with the great criminal Penhuibōyen; he had made common cause with him to incite enmity, to make rebellion against their lord. He was placed before the officials of the Court of Examination; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

(3) The great criminal Beyenemwēse, who was (then) captain of archers of Nubia. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because his sister who was in the harem in the suite had written to him, saying: 'Stir up people, make enmity and come (back) to make rebellion against your lord'. He was placed before Kēdendenna, Ba'almaḥar, Peirswēne, and Dhutrekhnēfer; they examined him; they found him guilty; they caused his punishment to overtake him.

*(Second List of Accused)*

(4) PERSONS brought in because of their crimes, because they had been in collusion with Paibekkamen, Paia, and Pentawēre. They were placed before the officials of the Court of Examination in



order to be examined; they found them guilty; they left them on their own hands in the Court of Examination; they took their own lives, no harm having been done to them.<sup>1</sup>

(5) The great criminal Pāis, who was (then) commander of the army; the great criminal Messui, who was (then) clerk of the university; the great criminal Prēkamēf, who was (then) magician;<sup>2</sup> the great criminal Iroi, who was (then) overseer of the priests of Sakhmet;<sup>3</sup> the great criminal Nebdjefa, who was (then) butler; the great criminal Shatedmasdjer, who was (then) clerk of the university; total 6.

*(Third List of Accused)*

(6) PERSONS brought in because of their crimes to the Court of Examination, before Keden-denna, Ba'almaḥar, Peirswēne, Dḥutrekhnēfer, and Mertusiamūn. They examined them concerning their crimes; they found them guilty; they left them where they were;<sup>4</sup> they took their own lives.

(7) Pentawēre, to whom had been given<sup>5</sup> that other name.<sup>1</sup> HE WAS BROUGHT IN because he had been in collusion with Teye, his mother, when she had plotted the matters with the women of the harem concerning the making rebellion against his lord. He was placed before the butlers in order to be examined; they found him guilty; they left him where he was; he took his own life.

(8) The great criminal Henutenamūn, who was (then) butler. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the crimes of the women of the harem among whom<sup>6</sup> he had been which he had heard, (but) not reported. He was placed before the butlers in order to be examined; they found him guilty; they left him where he was; he took his own life.

(9) The great criminal Amenkhatu, who was (then) deputy of the harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the crimes of the women of the harem among whom he had been which he had heard, (but) not reported. He was placed before the butlers in order to be examined; they found him guilty; they left him where he was; he took his own life.

(10) The great criminal Paiere, who was (then) clerk of the royal harem in the suite. HE WAS BROUGHT IN because of the crimes of the women of the harem among whom he had been which he had heard, (but) not reported. He was placed before the butlers in order to be examined; they found him guilty; they left him where he was; he took his own life.

*(Fourth List of Accused)*

(VI, 1) PERSONS punished by cutting off their noses and their ears because they had forsaken the good instructions given to them; the women had gone; they had reached them at the place where they were; they had caroused with them and with Pāis. Their crime seized them.

(2) The great criminal Paibēse,<sup>2</sup> who was (then) butler. This punishment was executed upon him; he was left alone; he took his own life.

(3) The great criminal Mai,<sup>2</sup> who was (then) clerk of the archives.

(4) The great criminal Tainakhte, who was (then) officer of infantry.

(5) The great criminal Nanai, who was (then) captain of police.

*(Fifth List of Accused)*

(6) PERSON who had been connected with them. He was scolded<sup>3</sup> sternly with bad words; he was left alone, no harm having been done to him.

(7) The great criminal, Hori,<sup>2</sup> who was (then) standard-bearer of the infantry.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

(a) What remains of the first line of the narrow strip of papyrus which is all we have of the first page is just enough to show that the name of Ramesses III stood here. In all

<sup>1</sup> According to Breasted this means that not Pentawēre but 'that other name' was his real name. It is, however, more probable that Pentawēre was his real name and that 'that other name' refers to the royal titulary which was given him by the conspirators when they proclaimed him king.

<sup>2</sup> These three men were members of the Court! See II, 2-4.











'now when he had completed many years . . . , his Majesty flew', etc.; ZAS 53, 108, l. 5, *iw dd-j n-k* 'I had said to you . . .'; *ibid.*, l. 21, 'Go to the scribe' *iw tj-k tj st* 'after you have taken this letter'; *Aeg. Inschr. Berlin*, II, 161, l. 14, 'I shall make this stele . . . ' *iw šdj-k N.N.* 'after you have saved N.N.'; *Horus and Seth*, 7, 3, *iw trj-s hprw-s* 'after she had changed herself into a girl, she said to me'; *ibid.*, 9, 12, 'This is Isis' *iw rwj Hr* . . . *šdj-s* 'after Horus has removed her head'; *ibid.*, 10, 10, 'Horus has been found' *iw gwb sw Stš m irt-f* 'after Seth had deprived him of his eyes'. A particularly good example is the passage *Wenamün* 1, x+5 ff., where the forms *iw irt* and *iw irt-f* follow one another alternately: 'as the prophet was raging (*iw irt pr hwt hwt*) in this night, when I had (already) found (*iw gmj-j*) a ship, when I had loaded (*iw stp-j*) it with all my possessions, and as I was awaiting (*iw irt-j nw*) the darkness . . . the harbourmaster came to me', etc. It is clear that *iw irt-f sdm* is here the clause of circumstance referring to something which is contemporaneous with the principal sentence, i.e. that it has the function of, and very likely is Coptic *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν*,<sup>1</sup> whereas *iw sdm-f* is relative past tense, i.e. has the function of Middle Egn. *sdm-n*<sup>2</sup> and Coptic *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν*. Another instructive example is to be found in the passage *P. Br. Mus.* 10054, rt. 2, 8-10: 'We brought away the silver and the gold which we had found there in the tombs, and the offering-vessel which we had found in them, having taken (*iw trj-n*) my chisels of copper in our hands and opening (*iw irt-n wn*) the outer coffins with the chisels of copper which were in our hands'. A comparison of *P. Léopold II*, 1, 3 with 4, 8 shows the same distinction between these constructions. The former passage reads 'The examination of the men found to have violated', etc. (*iw wth-w is*); the latter, 'he belonged to the seventeen thieves who were found (in the act of) robbing (*iw irt-w hwt*) the tombs'. See also the examples of *iw sdm-f* in Erman's *Neuäg. Gr.*, §§ 521, 523, 524. Only one of these examples seems to demand a translation as relative present tense, namely *Doomed Prince*, 5, 2: 'He travelled in the desert' *iw nh-f m tp n inet nb n hst*: 'while he lived upon game'. It is, however, very doubtful whether this passage, which would contradict the rule here advocated, is really a case of the construction *iw sdm-f*. Gardiner, in a note on this passage in his *Late-Egyptian Stories*, says that *nh-f* is a correction of *nhw*. Is it not possible that the *f* was inserted in the wrong place and that *iw-f nhw* is what was intended? Or if *nh-f* be correct, *nh* may be the substantive 'nourishment' as in the expression *nh*  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$ , the correct rendering then being: 'while his nourishment existed of game'. Be this as it may, this passage is certainly not of sufficient weight to throw doubt on the general rule.

The translation of the words *iw hn-j* as pluperfect confirms my view that the commission of the Court and the king's instructions to it are events of the past which are here narrated. Moreover, it is not at all necessary, on the contrary it is rather improbable, that the king should have been already dead when he delivered these warnings to his officials. Hence Struve's reconstruction of the situation becomes very doubtful, for although the assumption that the dead king here alludes to things which he did previously, but nevertheless after his death, may not be absolutely impossible, it is much more natural to suppose that he narrates events which happened when he was still alive.

<sup>1</sup> The passage is therefore even more interesting for the difficult problems connected with the *irt-f sdm* than for the much simpler *iw sdm-f*. Though a discussion of the former is not within the scope of this article, it may be pointed out that all the examples of *iw irt-f sdm* quoted by Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 526 allow of translation as the relative present tense. [After writing the above I discovered that Erman gives more examples of this construction in § 551, where he also remarks on its connexion with the Coptic circumstantial *εἰς τὸν καιρὸν*. His view is rather different from that which I am inclined to take.]

<sup>2</sup> See *Sup. Gard. Eg. Gr.*, p. 15 (ad p. 389, § 468, l. 16).







chief of the chamber, is no longer in that office at present. Our 'who was (then) chief of the chamber' implies, I fancy, the same thing, though the expression itself does not explicitly state that the person referred to is no longer what he was.

(o) Note that in Late Egyptian the verbal form *sdm.f* (used here) seems to be employed to state a fact in the past ('I have heard'), while the construction *iw.f hr sdm* is used for narrative ('I heard'). This distinction is unfortunately obscured by our translations in this and other cases, because English, and many other Teutonic languages for that matter, cannot say, 'He has been brought in . . . , he was placed', etc. In this particular case the distinction could be brought out in a Dutch translation, Dutch putting the first verb in similar sentences in the Present Perfect, and continuing with verbs in the Imperfect, thus saying, e.g., 'I have seen him yesterday in London, and we went and did', etc. On the whole, however, a comparison with the tenses in our own languages seems to be confusing rather than helpful. On the one hand they often have a different range of meaning in the different languages, on the other hand these distinctions are often a matter of very subtle shades of meaning; not seldom they are even uncertain. The best analogy is perhaps to be found in the Greek Perfect and Aorist and the French Parfait and Passé défini, though the Parfait has nowadays practically superseded the Passé défini.

Erman makes the distinction in his *Neuäg. Gr.*, very clearly in §§ 721, 722, but he does not seem to attach enough importance to it in other parts of his book. Thus he writes, e.g., *op. cit.*, § 284, 'Das so ausgesagte ist oft eine abgeschlossene Handlung'. And in § 286 he attributes the use of *sdm.f* on the stela which the prince of Byblos is urged to erect (*Wenamün*, 2, 55 ff.) to its being 'altertümlich und feierlich'. The real reason is that the contents of the stela are not conceived of as narrative but as a series of statements, 'Amonrē has sent . . . , I have felled', etc.<sup>1</sup> In the same way Ramesses III in *P. Harris* I, 3, 11 ff., makes a long series of statements, all in *sdm.f*, about his benefactions to the gods, 'I have multiplied . . . , I have made . . . , I have built', etc.

The negative counterpart is *bwꜥw.f sdm*, as Erman rightly observes, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 779, 'Man braucht die Negation  $\text{J} \text{e} \text{f}$  in verneinenden Aussagen, die sich auf die Vergangenheit beziehen, nicht aber in der Erzählung'. Hence also the similar function of *iw sdm.f* and *iw bwꜥw.f sdm*, see note (h) above.

The negative construction corresponding to the narrative *iw.f hr sdm* is *iw.f hr tm sdm*. A comparison of *d'Orbiney*, 4, 9, 4, 10, and 5, 2 is instructive. 'The wife of the elder brother did not pour water (*iw.s hr tm rdjt mw*) on his hands', etc. 'She said to him: "Nobody has talked with me (*bwꜥw wꜥ mdt mdj.j*) except your younger brother."' This is an answer to a question, a very common case in which *sdm.f* is used. Narrative again, 'I did not listen to him' (*iw.j hr tm sdm n.f*).

(p) The papyrus uses two expressions, *pr-hnr* and *ipt nsw n pr-hnr*. Their relation and exact meaning are unknown. See *Wb.*, III, 297. The latter expression is followed by *hr šms*, for which Gardiner suggests 'itinerant'.

(q) It seems necessary to translate thus ('he had made', 'he had begun', etc.), though the original uses the same construction (*iw.f (hr) sdm*) that it uses for ordinary past narrative ('he was placed', 'they examined', etc.). Apparently there is only one construction for absolute and relative past narrative. Contrast the difference between absolute and relative past statements, notes (h) and (o).

(r) I owe the suggestion that *iw.f (hr) hꜥw* be translated as a second relative to Gunn. He proposes to take it as a circumstantial clause (so also Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 495) and

<sup>1</sup> So Erman rightly in his *Literatur der Aegypter*, 235, 'Amon Re . . . hat . . . geschickt . . . Ich habe es gefällt', etc., whereas he translates in his *Neuäg. Gr.*, 'Amun sandte . . . ich fällte es', etc.



refers me to Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*, § 243, *d*, for the Coptic usage of continuing a Relative Form with a circumstantial clause. Till there writes, 'Sehr häufig ist die Fortsetzung durch einen Zustandssatz', e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}\alpha\ \alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\varphi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$  'wer mein Wort hört und glaubt'. Although I accept Gunn's translation, which to my mind is obviously right, his grammatical explanation of the construction is open to several serious objections. In the first place there seems to be an objection to taking  $\iota\omega\text{-}f$  (*hr*)  $\eta\rho\omega$  as a circumstantial clause ( $\epsilon\varphi\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\alpha}\alpha$ ). In V, 8 ff., occurs the negative counterpart of this construction, and I doubt whether the construction there employed,  $\iota\omega\text{-}f$  (*hr*)  $t\bar{m}\ s\bar{d}m$ , can be a circumstantial clause, the normal type of such a clause in Late Egyptian seems at all events to be  $\iota\omega\ bn\ sw\ hr\ s\bar{d}m$ .<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Doomed Prince*, 7, 8, 'She began to keep watch over her husband very carefully',  $\iota\omega\ bn\ sj\ hr\ rdjt\ prj\text{-}f\ r\ bl$ , 'not allowing him to go out of doors', as compared with the narrative  $\iota\omega\text{-}f\ hr\ t\bar{m}\ s\bar{d}m$ , *d'Orbiney*, 4, 9 (see note (o)). In the second place, is it mere chance that Till's examples of the Coptic construction are all in the present tense? What is stated below about relative sentences with past tense rather suggests that this usage follows a definite rule.

In view of these difficulties I would propose a different grammatical analysis, namely to take  $\iota\omega\text{-}f$  (*hr*)  $\eta\rho\omega$  as the narrative form, and to compare our construction with the Coptic construction recorded by Till, *op. cit.*, § 243, *b*: the continuation of perfective relative sentences with the 1st Perfect, e.g.  $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\mu\omega\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\text{-}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\varsigma\ \tau\omega\gamma\eta\alpha\varsigma\chi\iota$  'who had died and whom Jesus had raised'.<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that all Till's examples of this construction have past meaning. The same holds true of a few examples which I noted in the Sa'idic Acts of the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> As this construction seems to have escaped all grammarians except Till,<sup>4</sup> it may be useful to quote those examples here. Acts iv. 10,  $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \mu\epsilon\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\bar{\eta}\varsigma\text{-}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\phi}\omega\gamma\ \bar{\alpha}\mu\omega\gamma\ \cdot\ \alpha\pi\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\epsilon\ \tau\omega\gamma\eta\alpha\varsigma\chi\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omega\lambda\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\tau\mu\omega\sigma\gamma\tau$ ,  $\bar{\delta}\nu\ \bar{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\bar{\delta}\nu\ \bar{\omicron}\ \theta\epsilon\bar{\omicron}\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\kappa\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\bar{\omega}\nu$ . *Ibid.*, iv. 20,  $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\pi\eta\eta\alpha\chi\ \epsilon\rho\omega\gamma\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\eta\sigma\tau\mu\omega\gamma$ ,  $\bar{\alpha}\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\delta\alpha\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \kappa\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ . *Ibid.*, xiv. 15, 16,  $\pi\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon$  etc. . . .  $\alpha\gamma\eta\omega\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma\ \tau\eta\rho\omega\gamma\ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\omega\kappa\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ ,  $\bar{\delta}\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \tau\bar{\omicron}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\nu$  etc. . . .  $\bar{\delta}\varsigma\ . . .\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \pi\bar{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\bar{\alpha}\ \epsilon\bar{\theta}\eta\eta\ \pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \omicron\delta\omicron\bar{\iota}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\nu$ . Although this Coptic construction does not offer a cogent analogy to the Late-Egyptian construction here discussed, the preceding verb being a Relative Form in the latter case and a totally different form in the former,<sup>5</sup> it seems nevertheless significant that Coptic does not continue a relative verb with past meaning with the circumstantial clause expressing the relative present tense.

Be this as it may, my first objection to taking  $\iota\omega\text{-}f$  (*hr*)  $t\bar{m}\ s\bar{d}m$  as a circumstantial

<sup>1</sup> Coptic seems to point in the same direction; it does not use  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\alpha$  in the circumstantial clause with  $\epsilon$ . For Late Egyptian see Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 531. The only examples which Erman gives of  $\iota\omega\text{-}f\ hr\ t\bar{m}\ s\bar{d}m$  as a circumstantial clause are the cases in the Judicial Papyrus.

<sup>2</sup> We should, of course, always bear in mind that this does not alter the fact that Coptic in such cases does not use two relative sentences, but disliking such a sequence of more than one relative sentence uses several devices to avoid them, saying, 'he who hears my word and while he believes' in one case, 'who had died and Jesus raised him' in another, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Not as the result of a systematic search, be it noted, but in the course of reading the Acts (ed. Thompson) with some pupils.

<sup>4</sup> I have not been able to find a discussion of this construction except in Till, *op. cit.*, and an all-too-short paragraph in the same author's *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, § 72. [So however already *ZAS* 62, 67.]




<sup>5</sup> It has also been suggested to me that  $\alpha\gamma\ . . .$  would be a natural continuation of  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ . . .$  (=  $\bar{\eta}\tau + \alpha\gamma\ . . .$ ). I have, however, little doubt that  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ . . .$  was not thus analysed by speakers and writers. Surely it was felt as an indivisible verb-form. And Egyptian does not as a rule like to carry on the force of words like the relative words, negations, prepositions (conjunctions) over more than one dependent word.




clause remains, and it is mainly for this reason that I prefer my explanation. However, my knowledge of the facts on the sides of both Late Egyptian and Coptic is regrettably incomplete. Clearly the problem needs further and thorough investigation. The publication of this translation, however, cannot be delayed until the question raised by Gunn is finally settled. Therefore my hypothesis is put forward here with due diffidence in the hope that the point may attract other scholars to further study of Gunn's interesting suggestion and the related problems.

(s) *Wnw-f* (here and 4, 13; 5, 7-10), is of course relative form. See the examples Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 393.

(t) For the construction see Edgerton's article in *AJSL* 48, 29.

(u) , doubtless the old ; see Spiegelberg, *Demotica*, I, 4 ff., and for its identity with the  of the Old Testament see Stricker's article in *Acta Orientalia* 15, 6. *Ibid.*, p. 20, he quotes a good example from *P. Harris Mag.*, 6, 10. Magical expedients are very prominent in *P. Rollin* and *P. Lee*. The priest of Sakhmet, the doctor, is also a kind of magician.

(v) Literally 'on their place' and similarly ll. 7-10 below.

(w) Apparently he was not quite innocent. For the meaning of  cf. *d'Orbiney*, 10, 9; *Bol.* 1094, 4, 9.

#### CONCLUSION

Let us now hark back for a moment to the question how far this new translation affects the historical background of the document. The principal novel point is, of course, that the accepted name 'the Judicial Papyrus' appears to be wrong. It is not a judicial document at all, but a narrative, which in the present rendering tells a clear and consistent tale. The contents may be summed up in a few words. The dead king gives an account of his dealings with the participants in a conspiracy. He tells how he commissioned a court for their prosecution, and he lays considerable stress upon the fact that he is not responsible for the punishments which have been inflicted. He had strictly charged the Court to be careful, so that it is their responsibility, not his, if mistakes have been made.

Does this story correspond to reality, or is it fiction? The whole trend of the papyrus suggests that Ramesses III died as a result of the conspiracy, or else was expecting soon to die at the moment when it occurred. But did he live long enough to appoint the court as he says he did, or is this mere invention? I see no reason to reject the historicity of this story. There is nothing impossible or illogical in the situation as the papyrus reveals it to an unprejudiced mind. It would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to convince somebody who is bent on being sceptical at all costs, but the burden of proof would lie upon those who should take the view that it is all a fiction contrived by Ramesses IV. This king may indeed have been very glad that the prosecution of the conspirators had been already ordered by his father and that their punishment had been none of his business, so that he could begin his reign with clean hands.<sup>1</sup> Thus Ramesses IV may have had political reasons which made it desirable and wise to record this course of affairs. It is, however, also possible that the document had no political intention at all, but was meant to be Ramesses III's vindication before the divine tribunal, so that he could appear there with a clear conscience and confident that he too would be one of the righteous kings before Amen-rē and Osiris. Both Ramesses III and his son were very religious men, and this reconstruction of the background

<sup>1</sup> Is it by mere chance that a poem on the coronation of Ramesses IV describes with much detail a general amnesty proclaimed on this occasion? The text is to be found in *Rec. Trav.* 2, 116.



of our papyrus is thoroughly in keeping with what one may conjecture about their mind and psychology.

Finally, it may be asked what light this result throws upon the problem of that related document, the great Harris Papyrus. To my mind Struve's view of that document must be modified. It seems probable that the Harris Papyrus was not a selfish fiction contrived by Ramesses IV. The prayers for the benefit of this king which are so prominent in that papyrus may well be a genuine expression of the father's own wishes. The long and detailed statement of Ramesses III's benefactions to the gods seems to show that the book was primarily intended to secure the favour of the gods for him and through him for his son, the object of his prayers being both his own well-being in the hereafter and the welfare of his son upon earth. Surely it is not an unreasonable assumption that Ramesses III himself ordered the composition of the long letter of introduction to the gods of the Netherworld in the short interval<sup>1</sup> which was apparently granted him between the moment he knew with certainty that he would die soon and the day of his death, an interval diligently used by him to adjust his temporary and eternal affairs.

<sup>1</sup> While correcting the proofs of this article Černý's discussion of the date of the death of Ramesses III (*ZAS* 72, 109 ff.) came to hand. He proves that Ramesses III died on the 15th day of the 3rd month of summer; he discusses also the discrepancy between this date and that of the great Harris Papyrus, and suggests several possible ways in which the two dates may be reconciled. My interpretation of the Judicial Papyrus seems to yield an argument in favour of the second suggestion (the assumption of such an interval), which Černý himself ultimately rejects. The third suggestion, which he prefers, requires a textual alteration which, however probable it may be, should be adopted only as a last resource.







FRAGMENT OF THE STELA OF IPWET.

## A TOILET SCENE ON A FUNERARY STELA OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

With Plate xx

THE fragmentary stela of the Lady Ipwet,<sup>1</sup> which is published here (Pl. xx) for the first time by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, is of a kind which displays a welcome variation from the very stereotyped pattern of Egyptian funerary stelae. Nothing is known of its provenance, nor is there any conclusive proof of its date, but in character and technique it strongly suggests the work of the Eleventh Dynasty.

The texts, which have no feature of special interest, may be translated as follows:

Three large horizontal lines (←): [*An offering which the king gives to*] *Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos in all his beautiful and pure places, that the voice (of the offerer) may go forth (with) bread and beer for the Royal Lady, King's Acquaintance, beloved of her lord, revered with the Great God, Ipwet.*

Above and by the side of the offering-table: [*A thousand of*] *bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl, a thousand of gazelle<sup>2</sup> and oryx, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, for the revered Ipwet.<sup>3</sup> The requirements [of the offering table].<sup>4</sup>*

Below the main inscription the surviving portion of the relief contains a scene which is perhaps unique among the illustrations on Middle-Kingdom stelae.<sup>5</sup> Ipwet is shown, in the conventional manner, sitting before a table of offerings, but, instead of holding a fly-whisk or a lotus-flower, as we might expect, she holds in her left hand a mirror—a sign of nobility, and in her right she has a cloth, with which she applies unguent to her face. A mirror is frequently included in the tomb-furniture of this period, but only two other cases in which the dead person is represented in the act of using it have been recorded to my knowledge.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 1658. The measurements are: height, 36.5 cm.; width, 50 cm.; thickness, c. 6 cm. There are no visible traces of colour.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *ghs*.

<sup>3</sup> It is noticeable that the upper parts of several signs in this inscription are not separated from the ground of the main inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *dbht-htp*.

<sup>5</sup> The best-known toilet-scenes of this period are: (i) the coffin of the princess Kawit (Neville and Hall, *Deir el-Bahari*, I, Pl. xx); (ii) the coffin of 'Int-it's (Steindorff, *Grabfunde des mittl. Reiches in d. Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, II, Pl. iii); and (iii) on the wall of the tomb of Sebeknakht at El-Kâb (Tylor, *Sebek-nekht*, Pls. v, viii).

<sup>6</sup> Klebs, *Die Reliefs u. Malereien d. mittl. Reiches*, 40.



## THE BREMNER-RHIND PAPYRUS—III

By R. O. FAULKNER

## D. THE BOOK OF OVERTHROWING APEP

THIS, by far the longest section of the manuscript, consists of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  columns of text, each containing on the average 25 lines which vary in length from 20 cm. in col. 24 to 29 cm. in cols. 26 and 28. It is split up into a number of subsections, each of which is prefaced by the words  $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$  'the book of ...'. The main purpose of these texts is the magical protection of the sun-god in his daily course across the sky from the attacks of the storm-demon 'Apep, see especially 23, 13-15, but they are secondarily directed to the protection of Pharaoh, the earthly representative of the solar divinity, from his foes also, 'whether dead or alive'. The titles of the 'books' ( $\overline{\text{𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏}}$ ) are as follows:

(1) 'The book of the felling of 'Apep the foe of Rē and the foe of King Onnophris, justified, which is performed daily in the temple of Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who dwells in Karnak', 22, 1. This serves also as a general title to the whole work.

(2) 'The first book of felling 'Apep the foe of Rē', 23, 16-17. This is followed by a 'second chapter' in 24, 21.

(3) 'The book of felling the foe of Rē daily', 26, 7.

(4) 'The book of the repelling of 'Apep the great enemy which is done at morning-tide', 26, 11-12.

(5) 'The book of knowing the creations (hprw) of Rē and of felling 'Apep', 26, 21. This book, by far the most interesting of the whole collection, begins with a monologue by the sun-god in which he describes the process of the Creation, but ends with the usual spells against 'Apep.

(6) Another version, much more corrupt, of the Creation-story, which also concludes with the usual spells, 28, 20. The title is the same as (6).

(7) 'The stanza of conjuring their names', 29, 16, is really a continuation of the magical spells of (6).

(8) 'The book of felling 'Apep', 32, 3.

(9) 'Another book of felling 'Apep', 32, 6. This, the last in the collection, is said at the end to be 'the book of the Lord of All'.<sup>1</sup>

The final and shortest section of the original manuscript is that entitled 'The Names of 'Apep'. The translation of this will follow the Commentary on the second instalment of the present section.

The texts giving an account of the Creation (nos. 5 and 6 above) have received brief mentions here and there in general works on Egyptian religion and mythology, but no translation of the whole has appeared apart from those of Budge in *Archaeologia*, vol. 52, and in *Hierat. Pap. BM*, 1 (London, 1910). Roeder, however, has translated considerable portions in his *Urk. z. Religion d. alten Ägypten* (Jena, 1915).

As before, words and sections written in red ink in the original manuscript have been printed in small capitals in the translation. In this connexion it is interesting to note how

<sup>1</sup> Owing to considerations of space, only items 1-5 are dealt with here; the remaining portion will be published in the next issue of this *Journal*.



extensively red ink was employed in writing the texts now to be translated. In the first place, it is used for the titles of the different sections and for the first words of the instructions for the performance of the various rites. Secondly, there are a few cases where specially important passages are thus emphasized, a particularly striking case being 31, 4–10. Thirdly, the names of 'Apep and other evil beings are written in red because that is a malefic and unlucky colour,<sup>1</sup> while conversely the name of Rē is written always in black, even when it occurs in the middle of a rubric, as in 22, 1.<sup>2</sup> The injurious nature of red accounts for the writing in this colour of the list of the names of 'Apep in 32, 13 ff. and the instructions for making images of demons in 32, 43 ff. It is interesting to note that the name of Seth is also written in red, although in this text he appears in a good role as protector of the sun-god.

### Translation

22 1 HERE BEGINS THE BOOK OF THE FELLING OF 'APEP THE FOE OF Rē AND THE FOE OF King Onnophris, the justified, which is performed daily in the temple of Amen-Rē, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, who dwells in Karnak.<sup>1</sup>

2 THE SPELL OF SPITTING ON 'APEP. RECITE: BE THOU SPAT UPON, O 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*—this is (done) for Rē and his *ka*, this is (done) for Pharaoh and his *ka*. Rē has come in power, Rē has come in <sup>1</sup> victory, Rē has come exalted, Rē has come prepared, Rē has come in joy, Rē has come in happiness, Rē has come as King of Upper Egypt, Rē has come as King of Lower Egypt, Rē has come in rejoicing, <sup>1</sup> Rē has come in triumph. Come thou to Pharaoh that thou mayest crush all his foes for him even as he fells 'APEP for thee, (as) he cuts up the 5 ILL-DISPOSED ONE for thee, (as) he gives praise to thy might, <sup>1</sup> (as) he extols thee in all thy manifestations in which thou shinest for him, even as he fells all thy foes for thee daily.

THE SPELL OF TRAMPLING ON 'APEP WITH THE LEFT FOOT. RECITE: Raise thee up, O Rē, <sup>1</sup> 6 and crush thy foes. Shine thou out, O Rē, for thy foes are fallen. Behold, Pharaoh crushes all thy foes for thee; O Rē, crush thou all his foes, dead or alive. Behold, Rē has power over thee, 7 O 'APEP; <sup>1</sup> his flame rages against thee, it has power over thee, its fiery blast is sharp against thee, and its fire falls on all the foes of Rē—*FOUR TIMES*—may <its> fire fall on all the foes of 8 Pharaoh. Be mighty, O Rē, against thy foe, go thou to and fro, O Rē, in thine horizon; may those who are in the Night-bark adore thee, may the crew of thy bark serve thee joyfully, and 9 mayest thou reappear rejoicing within the Day-bark. <sup>1</sup> Praise to thee, O Rē-Ḥarakhti—*FOUR TIMES*.

THE SPELL OF TAKING THE SPEAR TO SMITE 'APEP. RECITE: Horus has taken his spear of iron, 10 he has battered <sup>1</sup> the heads of the foes of Rē. Horus has taken his spear of iron, he has battered the heads of the foes of Pharaoh. Behold, Horus has taken his spear of iron, he has smitten <sup>1</sup> 11 the heads of the rebels in front of his bark. Raise thee up, O Rē, chastise him who rebels against thee and cut 'APEP to pieces that the confederacy of the ILL-DISPOSED ONE may fall. Raise 12 thee up, O Pharaoh, <sup>1</sup> chastise him who rebels against thee and cut to pieces thy foe, that his confederacy may fall. Come, O Rē, in thy splendour, that those who are in their shrines may 13 serve thee and that they may adore thee <sup>1</sup> in thy beauty. Arise and shine, for thy foe is not, thy magic power being a protection for thy body. Pharaoh, he adores Rē and thrusts his spear 14 into 'APEP; he takes a flaming brand and sets fire to him; <sup>1</sup> he chastises the body of thy foe. Fire is in thee, its flame is in thee; fire is in you, ye foes of Pharaoh, and it shall devour you. 15 Raise thee up, O Rē, chastise him who rebels against thee, and set fire <sup>1</sup> TO 'APEP; he is bitten in the middle of his back. Oho! Fire is IN 'APEP, (but) Rē sails with a (fair) breeze and his 16 crew are possessed with joy, those who are in the horizon <sup>1</sup> exulting at the sight of him, for he has felled the rebels, the fire has power OVER 'APEP, THE ROARER, THE ILL-DISPOSED ONE, and 17 they have no peace, no peace. O Rē-Ḥarakhti, turn thy fair countenance to Pharaoh, <sup>1</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> The few cases where the name of 'Apep is written in black are obvious oversights.

<sup>2</sup> The same comment applies to the words *nb* 'every day', owing to the identity of the words for 'day' and for the name of the sun-god. A particularly clear instance occurs in 28, 16.



thou mayest crush all his foes for him, so that he may adore Rē in very deed. Rē is triumphant over 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*—Pharaoh is triumphant over his foes—*FOUR TIMES*.

18 THE SPELL OF BINDING 'APEP. RECITE: 'They who should be bound are bound, 'APEP THAT FOE of Rē is bound; mayest thou not know what is done to thee, O 'APEP. Turn thee back, 19 there being testimony (?) against thee. As for (?) him who flees in his time, he injures ' his own self, when (?) his throat is released. Beware, ye who are bound! Ye are bound by Horus, ye are fettered by Rē, ye shall not become erect, ye shall not copulate, ye shall not be removed ' 20 from under his fingers; ye are condemned by Rē, ye are fettered by Horus Mekhantenirti.

21 THE SPELL OF TAKING THE KNIFE TO SMITE 'APEP. RECITE: Seize, seize, O butcher, 'fell the foe of Rē with thy knife. Seize, seize, O butcher, fell the foe of Pharaoh with thy knife. These 22 are your heads, ye rebels, this is that head of thine, O 'APEP, which are cut off by ' the warrior-priest with his knife. Be sharp, O Sothis, O flame of Asbyt who has authority over fire, fell ye 23 THE ILL-DISPOSED ONE with your knives, cut ye up WENTY ' with your knives. Be ye cut to pieces because of your evil, be ye cut up because of what ye have done, there being testimony (?) against you; be ye dealt with according to the evil ye have done. Rē is triumphant over you and Horus cuts you up.

24 THE SPELL OF 'SETTING FIRE TO 'APEP. RECITE: Fire be in thee, O 'APEP, THOU FOE of Rē. May the Eye of Horus have power over the soul and the shade of 'APEP; may the flame of the 23 1 Eye of Horus devour that foe ' of Rē; may the flame of the Eye of Horus devour all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive.

THE MAGIC SPELL TO BE UTTERED WHEN PUTTING 'APEP ON THE FIRE. RECITE: Be thou 2 utterly spat upon, O 'APEP, 'get thee back, thou foe of Rē; fall, creep away, take thee off! I have turned thee back, I have cut thee up, and Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'APEP— 3 *FOUR TIMES*. Be thou spat upon, O 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*. 'Get thee back, thou rebel; be thou annihilated! Verily I have burned thee, verily I have destroyed thee, I have condemned thee to all ill, that thou mayest be annihilated, that thou mayest be utterly spat upon, that thou 4 mayest be utterly non-existent. 'Mayest thou be annihilated, be thou annihilated, mayest thou be utterly spat upon. I have destroyed 'APEP THE FOE OF Rē; Rē is triumphant over thee, 5 O 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*—and Pharaoh is triumphant over his foes—*four times*. 'Now afterward thou shalt trample on 'APEP *FOUR TIMES* WITH THY LEFT FOOT AND THOU SHALT SAY before Rē with thine arms bent when he rises:—Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*— 6 'Rē triumphs over thee, O 'APEP, in very truth; be thou destroyed, O 'APEP.

THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN OVER (a figure of) 'APEP drawn on a new sheet of papyrus in 7 green ink, and there shall be made (an image of) 'APEP WITH WAXEN 'BODY WITH HIS NAME INSCRIBED ON IT IN GREEN INK, TO BE PUT ON THE FIRE that he may burn before Rē when he 8 manifests himself in the morning, at noon-tide, and also in the evening when Rē sets ' in the West; at the sixth hour of the night, at the eighth hour of the day, at the end of the evening, 9 down to every hour of the day and night, at the festival of the new moon, 'at the day of the monthly festival, at the sixth-day festival, at the fifteenth-day festival, and likewise every day. 'APEP THE FOE OF Rē IS FELLED in storm by the shining of Rē, 'APEP is felled in very truth. ' 10 He is to be burnt in a fire of bryony and his remains placed in a pot of urine and pounded up into one mass. Thou shalt do accordingly at the sixth hour of the night ' and at the eighth hour of the day, placing 'APEP on the fire and spitting on him very often at the beginning of every 12 hour of the day until the turning of the shadow. After this, at the sixth hour ' of the day, thou shalt place 'APEP ON THE FIRE, SPITTING ON HIM and trampling on (him) with thy left foot, and 13 driving off the roarer Neḥaḥer. Thou shalt do accordingly ' at the eighth hour of the day, driving off 'APEP that he may not attack the Night-bark. Thou shalt do accordingly when 14 storm brews in the east of the sky and when Rē sets ' in the west in order to prevent the (storm-) red from growing in the east of the sky. Thou shalt do accordingly very often in order to prevent 15 bad weather from growing in the sky and to prevent ' thunder-storms from growing in the sky. Thou shalt do this very often against storm so that the sun may shine and 'APEP be felled in 16 very truth; it will be well with whoso does it upon earth, and it will be well ' with him in the



realm of the dead, strength shall be given to that man to (attain) the office of his superior, and it will be his salvation from all evil and harmful things in very truth; I have seen it come to pass in mine (own) case.

- 17 THE FIRST BOOK <sup>1</sup> OF FELLING 'APEP THE FOE OF Rē. RECITE: FALL ON THY FACE, O 'APEP  
 18 THOU FOE OF Rē; get thee back, thou enemy, thou rebel who hast neither arms nor <sup>1</sup> legs, or  
 thy snout shall be cut off from the rest of thy face. Thou art fallen and felled, for Rē-Harakhti  
 has felled thee, he has crushed thee, he has condemned thee, the Eye of his body chastises thee, <sup>1</sup>  
 19 and thou art fallen into the fire which issues from it, the flame which issues from its fiery blast,  
 which comes forth in its moment (of action); its fiery blast is on thee. Thy raging is dispelled  
 20 by Isis through the spells of her utterance, thy soul is cut up, <sup>1</sup> thy vertebrae are severed; Horus  
 has made thee impotent, the Children of Horus break thee up, for thou art destroyed in their  
 moment. Back! Get thee back! Off! Take thee off! Thou art fallen, driven off and turned  
 21 back, O 'APEP. <sup>1</sup> The Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis drives thee off, Horus has repelled  
 thy rage, SETH has rendered THY MOMENT (of action) impotent. Isis repels thee, Nephthys cuts  
 22 thee up, the Great Ennead <sup>1</sup> which is in the prow of the bark of Rē drives thee off, SETH has  
 stabbed AT THY NECK, the Children of Horus set their spears in thee, those gods who guard the  
 23 doors of the mysterious portals repel thee, <sup>1</sup> their fiery blast goes forth against thee in fire. Take  
 thee off at their blast of flame which goes forth from their mouths, fall down and creep away,  
 24 1 O 'APEP; take thee off, <sup>1</sup> thou foe of Rē, for thou art fallen at this his moment, and they who are  
 2 in his bark fell thee. Get thee back, for thou art exorcised, crushed and repelled <sup>1</sup> in thy moment.  
 Fall down! Thou art turned back, thy soul is turned back, thy flesh is taken away, and thou art  
 made impotent. Thy execution and the cutting of thee to pieces are achieved, thy rage is  
 3 crushed, <sup>1</sup> thy (power of) movement is taken away, thy flesh is beaten from thy body, thy soul  
 4 is parted from thy shade, thy name is destroyed, thy magic is crushed, <sup>1</sup> and thou art destroyed.  
 Fall down, for thou art felled! Thou shalt nevermore come forth from this thine hell. Thou art  
 5 made impotent; once again thou art bound, for thou hast been broken <sup>1</sup> by (?) those who break  
 up ills. Thy moment is averted, thy rage turned back, thy (power of) movement taken away,  
 6 thou art ousted from this thy place. Fall down, for thou hast been driven off <sup>1</sup> and condemned  
 to evil; he who should be broken is broken and his deeds shall not succeed. Thy soul is annihi-  
 7 lated, thy shade is destroyed, for thou art allotted to the fiery Eye of Horus; <sup>1</sup> it shall have  
 power over thee, it shall devour thee utterly. Be thou annihilated, O 'APEP! It has pierced  
 8 thee, it has turned thee back, it has destroyed thee, it has annihilated <sup>1</sup> thee.

TO BE RECITED IN CONTINUATION OF THE ABOVE SPELL: FALL UPON THY FACE, O 'APEP, THOU  
 FOE OF Rē; the fire which issues from the Eye of Horus comes forth against thee, the great  
 9 flame which issues <sup>1</sup> from the Eye of Horus comes forth against thee, it presses on thee with a  
 blast of flame, the fire comes forth against thee, and fierce is its flame against thy soul, thy  
 10 spirit, <sup>1</sup> thy magic, thy body and thy shade; the Mistress of Burning has power over thee, her  
 11 fiery blast makes chastisement in thy soul, she annihilates thy shape, <sup>1</sup> she chastises thy form,  
 and thou art fallen to the Eye of Horus which is enraged against its foe. Wepes the great parches  
 12 thee, the Eye of Rē has power over <sup>1</sup> thee, the devouring flame consumes thee, and there is no (?)  
 remnant to (?) fall. Get thee back! Thou art cut up, thy soul is despoiled (?), thy name is  
 13 obliterated. <sup>1</sup> May thy name be unheard, may thy name fall; be thou forgotten and driven back  
 that thou mayest be forgotten. Retire, turn thee back, for thou art cut up and far removed <sup>1</sup>  
 14 from those who are in his shrine. Be thou utterly destroyed, be thou annihilated, O 'APEP THOU  
 FOE OF Rē. Thou shalt not be, thy soul shall not be in thee, for the Eye of Rē shall have power <sup>1</sup>  
 15 over thee and it shall consume thee every day, even as Rē commanded should be done to thee,  
 O 'APEP. Thou art fallen to the flame of fire, and the furnace shall consume thee; thou art  
 16 condemned <sup>1</sup> to the devouring flame of the Eye of Horus, and the fiery one has parched thee;  
 it consumes thy soul, thy spirit, thy body and thy shade, and thou shalt not become erect nor  
 17 copulate <sup>1</sup> for ever and ever. Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'APEP—FOUR TIMES—Horus is  
 triumphant OVER HIS FOES—FOUR TIMES—Pharaoh is triumphant over his foes—four times.  
 18 Retire, turn thee back at <sup>1</sup> this magic which issues from my mouth on behalf of Pharaoh for



ever. This thy <...> is crushed, and thou shalt not come <because of> its influence (?) for ever,  
 19 O 'APEP THOU FOE OF RĒ. BE THOU SPAT UPON, ' THOU ENEMY, THOU REBEL—FOUR TIMES.  
 TO BE RECITED BY A MAN who is pure and clean. Thou shalt depict (?) THE NAME OF 'APEP, IT  
 20 BEING WRITTEN ON A NEW SHEET OF PAPYRUS, AND IT SHALL BE PUT ' IN THE FIRE WHEN RĒ  
 manifests himself, when RĒ is at noon-tide, when RĒ sets in the West, by night, by day, at  
 21 every hour of every day, at the monthly festival, at the sixth-day festival, at ' the fifteenth-day  
 festival, and likewise every day when the foes of RĒ-Ḥarakhti are felled.

THE SECOND CHAPTER OF FELLING 'APEP THE FOE OF RĒ. Fall upon your faces, ye foes of RĒ,  
 22 all ye rebels, ' foes and children of revolt, ye froward ones and nameless rebels, doomed ones  
 23 whose hell is prepared, for it has been commanded to make a slaughter of the froward, ' the foes  
 and rebels who create warfare and make tumult. Fall ye, fall ye at the moment of RĒ; he will  
 25 1 annihilate you, fell you, ' make fall your heads. On your faces! He will destroy you, making  
 a slaughter of you. O ye who ought to be annihilated, be ye annihilated, be ye destroyed! O ye  
 who have naught (?), ye shall possess naught (?), ye shall not exist, ye shall not be; your heads  
 2 shall be removed, ' your necks shall be hewn asunder, your vertebrae shall be severed, <ye> shall  
 be made impotent, ye shall be slaughtered, <ye> shall fall to the Eye of Horus, for its flame is  
 sharp against you, its fiery blast shall have power over you; the Eye of RĒ shall appear against  
 3 you, ' his might shall have power over you, his Eye shall have power over you, it shall consume  
 you and chastise you in this its name of 'Devouring Flame'; it shall have power over you in this  
 4 its name of Sakhmet; ye shall fall to ' its blast, and fierce is the flame of fire which comes forth  
 from its blast; it shall destroy you, O ye who are doomed to destruction. The fire comes forth  
 against you, ye foes of RĒ, ye who rebel against Horus, and against your souls, your bodies and  
 5 your shades; ' the fire comes forth, it cooks you, its glow (?) bakes (?) you, its burning burns  
 you, Wepes the great divides you, she devours you, she parches you, she destroys your souls, ' her  
 6 fiery blast makes chastisement in your shades. O ye who ought to be annihilated, be ye  
 annihilated; ye are crushed, crushed! Ye shall be burned, ye shall be cut down, ye shall be  
 7 slaughtered, ye shall be condemned to the great furnace of fire, the mistress of heat, and ' its  
 glow shall consume your souls, its blast shall make chastisement in your bodies, it shall press on  
 you with its great flame, it shall cut you with its knife, it shall rage against you with its wrath,  
 8 consume ' <you> with its flame, shrivel you with its fire, blast you with its blaze, scorch you  
 9 with its heat, burn you with its burning; it shall break you in this its name ' of fire, it shall  
 divide you in this its name of Wepes the great; ye shall fall to its flame, for sharp is the great  
 flame which is in its blast, and its glow shall devour your souls.  
 10 O ye who ought to fall, fall ' ye, fall ye! Ye are fallen and felled! Fall ye to RĒ, fall ye to  
 the rage of his moment, be ye annihilated for him, be ye annihilated! He shall destroy you, fell  
 11 you, cut you up; he shall condemn ' you, execute you, obliterate your names and cut up your  
 souls; he shall imprison you, destroy you, crush you, chastise you, fell you. Ye shall fall to the  
 12 devouring flame, and it shall destroy ' you; may ye not be! O ye who ought to be annihilated,  
 be ye annihilated, annihilated! Be ye annihilated, be ye annihilated, be your souls annihilated;  
 be ye annihilated, be your bodies annihilated; be ye annihilated, be your shades annihilated; be  
 13 ye annihilated! Ye shall not be, and ' your souls shall not be; ye shall not be, and your bodies  
 shall not be; ye shall not be, and your shades shall not be; ye shall not be, and your lives shall  
 not be; ye shall not be, and your generative power (?) shall not be; your heads shall not be knit  
 14 to your bodies. ' Get you back because of him; retire, ye rebels! May ye not be, may Thoth  
 make conjuration against (?) you with his magic. The great god is mighty against you, he has  
 15 crushed you, he has caused men to hate you, the fire which is on his mouth ' comes forth against  
 you, so burn, ye rebels! May ye not be; may Thoth make conjuration against (?) you with his  
 magic; may he fell you, cut you up, destroy you, condemn you to the fiery glance of Horus  
 16 which comes forth from the Eye of Horus; it shall consume ' you utterly, it shall destroy you  
 through the greatness of its heat, and it shall not be repelled in the moment of its heart's  
 desire in that its name of Meret-goddess. Be ye annihilated because of it, turn ye back because  
 17 of it, turn ye back because of it, ' get ye back because of it, O all ye foes of RĒ and all ye foes of



- Horus; it shall pierce you, it shall turn you back, it shall destroy you. Be ye annihilated because  
 18 of it, be ye destroyed because of it; may ye neither become erect nor 'copulate for ever and ever.
- Rē<sup>c</sup> triumphs, and justice is upon you, O 'APEP AND YE CHILDREN OF REVOLT, YE GREATLY  
 REBELLIOUS! Rē<sup>c</sup> is triumphant over his foes—*four times*—Horus is triumphant over his foes—  
 19 *four times*—Osiris, 'First of the Westerners, is triumphant over his foes—*four times*—Pharaoh  
 is triumphant over his foes—*four times*. I HAVE OVERTHROWN 'APEP, THE REBEL, THE TORTOISE,  
 THE ILL-DISPOSED ONE AND THE CHILDREN OF REVOLT FROM ALL THEIR SEATS IN EVERY PLACE  
 20 WHERE THEY ARE; 'I have overthrown all the foes of Rē<sup>c</sup> from all their seats in every place  
 where they are; I have overthrown all the foes of Horus from all their seats in every place where  
 21 they are; I have overthrown all the foes of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, 'Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands  
 who dwells in Karnak, from all their seats in every place where they are; I have overthrown  
 all the foes of Ptaḥ who is south of his wall, Lord of 'Ankh-towe, from all their seats in every  
 22 place where they are; 'similarly all the foes of Atūm; likewise all the foes of Thoth, Lord of  
 Khemūnu; likewise all the foes of Yusa<sup>s</sup>, Lady of Iden (?), and of Hathor, Lady of Hetepet,  
 23 the Hand of Atūm; all the foes of Horus Khentekhtay, Lord of Athribis; all the foes 'of Khuyet,  
 the wife of the god; all the foes of Bastet the great, Lady of Bubastis; all the foes of Osiris, Lord  
 of Busiris; all the foes of Banebbedd, the great god, the life of Rē<sup>c</sup>; I have overthrown all the foes  
 24 of Onūris-Shu, son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, and of 'the strong-armed Horus; all the foes of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> of Sma-  
 Beḥdet; all the foes of Anubis, Lord of Asyūt; all the foes of Sopd, Lord of the East; all the foes  
 of Ḥor-merty, Lord of Shednu; all the foes of Horus who dwells in Three-hundred-town (?); '  
 26 1 all the foes of Horus the Uniter of the Two Lands, Lord of Tided; all the foes of Horus in Pe  
 and of Wadjet in Dep; all the foes of Haroeris, Lord of Upper Egypt, from all their seats in  
 2 every place where they are; I have overthrown all the foes of Pharaoh 'from all their seats in  
 every place where they are. TO BE RECITED BY A MAN WHO IS PURE AND CLEAN. THOU SHALT  
 DEPICT (?) EVERY FOE OF Rē<sup>c</sup> and every foe of Pharaoh, whether dead or alive, and every accused  
 3 one whom he has in mind, (also) the names of their fathers, their mothers 'and their children,  
 every one of them (?), they having been drawn in green ink on a new sheet of papyrus, their  
 names written on their breasts, (these) having been made of wax, and also bound with bonds (?)  
 4 of black thread; they are to be spat upon, 'and (they are) to be trampled with the left foot,  
 felled with the spear and knife, and cast on the fire in the melting-furnace of the coppersmiths.  
 Afterwards, THE NAME OF 'APEP IS TO BE BURNT IN A FIRE OF BRYONY when Rē<sup>c</sup> manifests him-  
 5 self, when Rē<sup>c</sup> is at noontide, 'and when Rē<sup>c</sup> sets in the West; in the first hour of the day and  
 of the night and in the second hour of the night down to the third hour of the night; at dawn,  
 and likewise every hour of the night and every hour of the day; at the festival of the New Moon,  
 6 at the sixth-day festival, 'at the fifteenth-day festival, and likewise at the monthly festival,  
 felling the foe of Rē<sup>c</sup>, FELLING 'APEP in very truth in order to fell the foe of Rē<sup>c</sup>. THIS BOOK IS  
 TO BE EMPLOYED in this manner which is in writing, when the sacred bark ferries over to fell the  
 7 foe 'of Rē<sup>c</sup> and every foe of Ḥor-merti in Yat-Pega. It will be well with the man who makes  
 conjuration for himself <from> this book in the presence of this august god—a true matter,  
 (tested) a million times.
- 8 THE BOOK OF FELLING THE FOE OF Rē<sup>c</sup> daily. RECITE: Fall 'upon thy face, O 'APEP THOU  
 FOE OF Rē<sup>c</sup>, submerge, submerge, go forth unrecognized (?), creep away, away! Hasten (away),  
 hasten when he hastens (?), that he may (?) come and go; be thou upside down in the Lake of  
 9 Nun, 'for Rē<sup>c</sup> has commanded that <thou be> cut to pieces and the great flame appears against  
 thee, the Sharp One is gone forth from the brow of Ḥike who opens eyes that the Two Lands  
 may see. Neḥebkau (?) the great goes forth against thee from the booth of those who are in his  
 10 shrine, the Marvellous One (?) goes forth 'against thee, the uraei rage, and fire goes forth against  
 thee from the mouths of the wardens of the mysterious portals; the foe and rebel is annihilated,  
 11 'Apep is crushed, (but) Rē<sup>c</sup> rests on his standard within his shrine. 'Hail to thee, O Rē<sup>c</sup>, in the  
 midst of (the coils of) thy *mehen*-serpent; thou art triumphant over 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*—thou  
 art triumphant over all thy foes—*four times*—and Pharaoh is triumphant over all his foes—*four*  
*times*. BE THOU BROUGHT TO NAUGHT, O 'APEP—*FOUR TIMES*.



12 THE BOOK OF THE REPELLING OF APEP THE GREAT ENEMY WHICH IS DONE AT MORNING-TIDE. RECITE: BE THOU BROUGHT TO NAUGHT, O APEP THOU FOE OF RÊ—*four times*—get thee afar off from him who is in his shrine! Be thou annihilated, thou rebel; fall on thy face! May  
 13 thy face be destroyed! Get thee back from thy place, for thy roads are blocked, thy paths are stopped up; thou art imprisoned (?) in thy former place, thou art powerless, thy heart is miser-  
 14 able, thy body is feeble, thou art maimed and canst not escape, for thou art committed to those who are in the place of execution. The sharp-knived butchers cut off thine head, they sever thy neck, they do execution on (?) thee again and again. They cast (?) thee to the raging fire, they  
 15 remove thee to the flame in its moment, and it shall have power over thee, it shall devour thy body, consume thy bones and chastise thy members, and Khnum shall take away thy children to his place of execution, thy body being brought to the fire; it shall chastise thy soul, which  
 16 shall not travel on earth, and thine arms shall not be stretched out (for offerings) in this land, O APEP THOU FOE OF RÊ. Haroeris son of Isis shall destroy thee, and thou shalt not conceive, thou shalt not bring to birth, thy soul shall not journey to the 'Supports of Shu', thou shalt  
 17 neither see nor behold, for thou art destroyed and thy shade is not, O APEP THOU FOE OF RÊ. Be thou brought to naught, O rebel! Thy name shall be annihilated and thou shalt be remembered no more, for I have (?) laid hold on thee; thou shalt be spat upon whenever thou art  
 18 remembered. RÊ shall make thee impotent, Isis shall fetter thee, Nephthys shall bind thee, the spells of Thoth shall destroy thee, thy soul shall not be among the souls, thy corpse shall not be at the head of the corpses, for the fire shall bite thee and the flame devour thee, the furnace  
 19 shall be satisfied with thee, O APEP THOU FOE OF RÊ. RÊ rejoices, Atum is glad, Haroeris is happy, for APEP IS BROUGHT TO THE FLAME, NEKI IS BROUGHT TO THE FIRE, AND HE SHALL BE UTTERLY NON-EXISTENT AND HIS SHADE SHALL BE NEITHER IN HEAVEN NOR ON EARTH. O APEP  
 20 THOU FOE OF RÊ, be thou brought to naught! Be annihilated, O APEP—*FOUR TIMES*. TO BE RECITED OVER AN (image of) APEP MADE WITH A WAXEN BODY AND ALSO DRAWN ON A NEW SHEET OF PAPYRUS; TO BE PUT ON THE FIRE before RÊ every day, and likewise on the day of  
 21 the monthly festival and the days of the sixth-day festival and the fifteenth-day festival, (in order to) fell APEP on water, land, and river-bank.

THE BOOK OF KNOWING THE CREATIONS OF RÊ and OF FELLING APEP. RECITE: Thus spake the Lord of All after he had come into being: It was I who came into being as Khopri. When  
 22 I came into being, 'Being' came into being, and all beings came into being after I came into being; manifold were the beings which came forth from my mouth ere the sky had come into being, ere the earth had come into being, ere the ground and reptiles had been created in this  
 23 place. I created (some) of them in Nûn as Inert Ones when I could as yet find no place where I could stand. I considered (?) in mine heart, I surveyed with my sight, and I alone made every shape ere I had spat out Shu, ere I had expectorated Tefenet, ere there had come into being  
 24 any other who could act with me. I planned with mine own heart and there came into being a multitude of forms of living creatures, namely the forms of children and the forms of their  
 27 1 children. I indeed made excitation with my fist, I copulated with mine hand, I spat with mine own mouth; I spat out Shu, I expectorated Tefenet, and my father Nûn brought them up, mine Eye following after them since the aeons when they were far from me. After I had come into  
 2 being as sole god, there were three gods in addition to myself. I came into being in this land and Shu and Tefenet rejoiced in the Nûn, in which they were. They brought back to me mine Eye with them after I had united my members; I wept over them, and that is how men came  
 3 into being from the tears which came forth from mine Eye, for it was wroth with me when it returned and found that I had made another in its place, having replaced it with the Glorious  
 4 (Eye). So I promoted it in my face, and when it exercised governance over this entire land, its wrath died away (??), for I had replaced what had been (?) taken from it. I came forth from  
 5 the roots, I created all reptiles and all that exists among them. Shu and Tefenet begat Gêb and Nût, and Gêb and Nût begat Osiris, Horus Mekhantenirti, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys from the womb, one after the other, and they begat their multitudes in this land.  
 6 What the Great Enchanters spoke, it was the very essence of magic; they were commanded



to destroy my foes by means of the spells of their utterance, and I dispatched those who came into being through my body TO FELL THAT EVIL FOE. HE IT IS WHO IS FALLEN TO THE FIRE, (even)  
 7 'APEP with the knife in his head, and he cannot (?) ' see, and his name shall not be in this land. I have commanded that obstacles be implanted against him, I have chastised his bones and destroyed his soul daily, I have severed his vertebrae at his neck, they having been broken with  
 8 a knife ' which has hacked into his flesh and cut through his skin. He is put on the fire, and it has power over him in this its name of Sakhmet; its glow is on him in this its name of Glorious  
 9 Eye; its foe is burnt up and his soul is chastised, ' his bones are burnt and his members brought to the fire. Horus has given command, and he who is most mighty in the prow of the bark of Rē has stabbed him with his lance of iron, that he might make his body to be as though it did  
 10 not exist. His moment (of action) is nullified when ' he rages, he is made to vomit from his heart, he is guarded, bound, and fettered, Aker has taken away his strength, I have cut away  
 11 his flesh from his bones, I have broken his legs, I have cut off his arms, ' I have closed his mouth and his lips, I have drawn his teeth, cut away his tongue from his gullet, taken away his speech,  
 12 blinded his eyes, taken away his hearing, and cut out ' his heart in (?) his place, his seat, and his tomb; I <have> made him as one non-existent, and his name shall not be, his children shall not be. He shall not be and his family shall not be; he shall not be and his false door shall not be; he  
 13 shall not be and his heirs shall not be; ' his egg shall not grow nor his seed create—and *vice versa*—his soul shall not be, (nor) his body, his spirit, his shade, his magic; his bones shall not be,  
 14 his skin shall not be, for he is fallen and felled; he shall not be, for he is fallen to the fire ' of the glance of Horus, to the slaughterers and the sharp-knived butchers; they perform their office  
 15 on him and he is fallen into this evil impotence. I have made command daily against him ' on account of this his evil character, and they cut off his face with sharp knives, his head is severed from his neck, Sakhmet cuts out his heart, she puts him in the flame on her finger, she puts him  
 16 in the fire and her flame ' is on him in this her name of 'Fire'; the flame of Wosret the great is on him, she sunders his soul from his body and she has power over him in this her name of  
 17 Sakhmet; she acts as a spirit (?) against him in this her name of 'Glorious Eye', and the flame consumes his heart, she burns him with the fiery breath of her mouth; Wadjet parches him, he is fallen into his hell, and he shall not escape from it for ever and ever.  
 18 Those who are among (?) ' the watchers (?) guard him, they cut off his soul, his body, his shade, his spirit, and his magic power, they cut out his heart from its place; his name is erased and he is fallen and shall not be, for I have commanded that he be despoiled (?) and that his  
 19 soul be despoiled (?); ' he shall have neither seat nor place. The troops (?) of Shu have laid hold of him in the place of the Flesh-eater, Pekhat has put him in her fire (??), Sothis has destroyed  
 20 him in the moment of her rage, and Sakhmet has put him ' in the fire on her mouth. His heart is fallen through her cutting to pieces, and he is blind, for he is fallen and felled, (even) 'APEP. Rē himself FELS HIM, Rē triumphs OVER 'APEP in the presence of the Great Ennead, and the  
 21 knife shall be ' stuck fast in his head in the presence of Rē every day. The gods of the south fell him, the gods of the north fell him, the gods of the west fell him, the gods of the east fell  
 22 him, Orion binds him ' in the southern heaven, the Great Bear<sup>1</sup> overturns him in the northern heaven, those who are in the starry firmament fetter him, fire attacks him, flame devours him,  
 23 it chastises his bones and his hair, it consumes ' his flesh, it burns his skin, it overthrows him on to the hands of the gods, and his name shall not be in the mouths of men, he shall not be  
 24 remembered in the hearts of the gods, he shall be spat upon whenever he is remembered, ' for Rē has rendered him impotent.

Annihilate him, annihilate him! fell him, fell him, (even) 'APEP! Fell him into the fire! Fell him for the *henbu*-serpent! He shall not rage, not rage! He shall not snuff the wind, the wind!  
 25 He is (condemned) to the fire, and it shall blaze (?) at the sight of him, ' the fire of her who is on his<sup>2</sup> brow shall slay him, the gods who are in his bark desiring to attack him.

The tears which came forth from mine Eye are against you, ye are made impotent because  
 26 of this his evil character. The gods behold you, ' and the gods shall not grant <to> you to be

<sup>1</sup> The constellation.

<sup>2</sup> Rē's.



- in his place or his tomb; the gods shall not grant <to> you that his name exist; the gods shall not grant <to> you that his soul, his spirit, his shade, his bones or his hair exist; the gods shall not grant <to> you that his arms be extended, <sup>1</sup> and his children and his heirs shall not come into being; the gods shall not grant <to> you that [ . . . ]<sup>1</sup>, and his seed shall not grow, nor his egg create; the gods shall not grant <to> you that his magic come into being; the gods shall not grant <to> you that he be in heaven or that he be on earth; the gods shall not grant <to> you that he be <sup>1</sup> in the south, north, west, or east; the gods shall not grant <to> you that he be in the entire world; he is (condemned) to the fire of this uraeus of Horus and it shall have power over him daily, it shall be in him, and it shall not be extinguished in him for ever <sup>1</sup> and ever. It shall take away his moment, it shall repel his wrath, and he shall be consumed so that he may not be. It fells 'Apep, it fells <him> into the fire; Rē himself fells him.

Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'Apep; behold, I have cut thee up, behold, I have erased thy name, <sup>1</sup> and thou art given over to the fire every day as Rē commanded should be done to thee. Behold, O Rē! Hearken, O Rē! Behold, I have crushed thy foe, I have trampled on him with (my) feet, I have spat on him. Rē is triumphant over thee—*variant*, over all his fallen <sup>1</sup> foes, and they shall not be. His name is burnt up, I have removed his place, his seat and his tomb, I have destroyed his soul, his spirit, his body, his shade, his magic, his seed, his egg, his bones and his hair, these being cast into the fire every day, as Rē <sup>1</sup> commanded should be done to him. Crush, chastise, burn all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive. He shall cut them (?) down, their flesh shall be pierced even through their skins, the lords of Heliopolis shall deal with them, they being destroyed daily in <sup>1</sup> thy presence, O Rē.

- Burning be on you! They shall have no souls thereby, nor spirits nor bodies nor shades nor magic nor bones nor hair nor spells nor utterances nor words. They shall have no grave <sup>1</sup> thereby, nor house nor hole nor tomb. They shall have no garden <thereby>, nor tree nor bush. They shall have no water thereby, nor bread nor light nor fire. They shall have no children <sup>1</sup> thereby, nor family nor heirs nor tribe. They shall have no head thereby, nor arms nor legs nor gait nor seed. They shall have no seats upon earth thereby. None shall pour libations <sup>1</sup> for them in this land among the living or in the realm of the dead among the spirits of the dead, for thou commandest them to the execution-block of Sakhmet the great, Lady of Ishru, thou fellest them in the moment of the great maiden, thou committest <sup>1</sup> them to those who are among (?) the watchers (?) in the West. Their souls shall not be permitted to come out of the Netherworld and they shall not be among those who live upon earth, on no day shall they behold Rē, (but) they shall be bound and fettered in the hell <sup>1</sup> in the lower Netherworld and their souls shall not be permitted to come forth thence for ever and ever. It is thy command which has come into being against them; Rē has exorcised them from his shrine and the gods who are in it are witness against them, for they belong to the heirs (?) of 'Apep. <sup>1</sup> The Eye of Horus has power over them, and they burn upon the altar of Sakhmet in the place of the Flesh-eater, they being chastised daily in thy presence, O Rē, according to the command to the great god to deal (so) with them, O Rē, for ever and ever. (But) thou art in thy shrine, <sup>1</sup> thou travellest in the Night-bark, thou restest in the Day-bark, thou crossest thy two heavens in peace, thou art mighty, thou livest, thou art hale, thou makest thy spirits to endure, thou crushest all thy foes at thy command, for these have done evil against Pharaoh <sup>1</sup> with all manner of evil words, namely all men, all nobles, all plebs, all sun-folk, etc., all Easterners of the deserts, and all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive, WHOM I HAVE CRUSHED AND DESTROYED. BE THOU BROUGHT TO NAUGHT WHEN THOU ART FALLEN, O 'Apep. Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'Apep—*FOUR TIMES*—Pharaoh is triumphant <sup>1</sup> over his foes—*four times*.

THIS SPELL IS TO BE SPOKEN OVER (a figure of) 'Apep DRAWN UPON A NEW SHEET OF PAPYRUS IN GREEN INK AND PLACED WITHIN A BOX (?) WITH HIS NAME INDICATED UPON IT, HE BEING BOUND AND FETTERED, TO BE PUT ON THE FIRE every day, TRAMPLED WITH THY LEFT FOOT AND SPAT <sup>1</sup> UPON FOUR TIMES DAILY. THUS SHALT THOU SPEAK WHEN THOU PUTTEST HIM ON THE FIRE: Rē is triumphant over thee, O 'Apep—*FOUR TIMES*—Horus is triumphant over his foes—

<sup>1</sup> Clause omitted by the scribe.








four times—Pharaoh is triumphant over his foes—four times. AND WHEN THOU HAST WRITTEN  
 18 THESE NAMES OF ALL FOES, <sup>1</sup> MALE AND FEMALE, WHOM THINE HEART FEARS, NAMELY ALL THE  
 FOES OF Pharaoh, dead or alive, the names of their fathers, the names of their mothers, and the  
 names of <their> children, within the box (?), (they) are to be made (?) in wax, put on the fire  
 19 after the name of 'Apep, and burnt <sup>1</sup> when Rē manifests himself; thou shalt <do the like of?>  
 the first time at the middle of the day and when Rē sets in the West, when the sunlight flees  
 to the mountain. This shall be better for thee than any other act in very truth, and it will be  
 20 well with whoso does it upon earth and in <sup>1</sup> the realm of the dead.

(To be continued)





### Commentary



22, 1. For  read , see *Urk.*, vi, 4, n. a.


22, 2. The verb  var. , 23, 2, is doubtless identical with  'to be spewed out', *P. Ch. Beatty VII*, vs., 5, 10; the translation 'be spat upon' is, however, more in accord with the title of the spell.

22, 3-4. For  read , see the textual n.<sup>1</sup>

22, 5. *Sin*, here rendered 'trample on', is literally 'to rub out'; presumably the left foot was rubbed to and fro over an image of 'Apep until it was destroyed. For the use of the left foot see also *Urk.*, vi, 5, 14, where *dgs hr* 'to tread on' is used instead of *sin* 'to rub'.

22, 9. For the reading of  as *mbr* see the variant , 31, 17. On the derivation of the group  from the hieratic form of  see Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 94 (n. on p. 43, line 6). On *bir* = 'iron' see Wainwright in *JEA* 18, 6 ff.; *Antiquity*, 1936, 11-13.










22, 11.  is a corrupt writing of *m-brh wir-f*; for the sense compare  'he slew them in front of the bark of Rē', Chassinat, *Edfou*, vi, 119.<sup>2</sup>

22, 12.  is shown by the suffix in *sm-yf* to be singular, despite the plural strokes. For *dwr-n-sn* read *dwr-sn*.

22, 14. *Sdt im-k, nsrt-s im-k*, 'fire is in thee, its flame is in thee'; the context shows that the suffix must refer to 'Apep.

22, 15. *Iw Rē m msw n msw*, lit. perhaps 'Rē is in the wind through wind'; for the expression 'to be in the wind' in the sense of 'to sail', cf. *Wb.*, ii, 23, 16.

22, 16. With *hmhmty* 'roarer' as an epithet of 'Apep compare the description of Seth as a roaring (*hmhm*) serpent, Chassinat, *op. cit.*, vi, 121.<sup>2</sup>

22, 18. *Im-k rh ir n-k* 'mayest thou not know what is done to thee' doubtless means 'mayest thou be smitten senseless'; for  read probably .—The meaning of *mtr* in *hsf r-k mtr im-k* is uncertain, and in regarding it as the word for 'testimony' I may be very wide of the mark; compare however 28, 12. It occurs again in a similar context below, 22, 23.  is probably a miswriting of  *Wb.*, iii, 337, 11-13.—The  in  cannot be the interjection 'O!' because the sentence is in the third person; it may be prothetic *i*, as in  and  23, 23 (imperatives), or possibly a miswriting of  'as to'; in any case *hm* is here a participle in anticipatory emphasis.

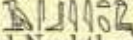




22, 19. On the expression *srk ihty*, older *srk htw*, see *PSBA* 39, 35. The sense of the whole passage is that 'Apep is doomed in any circumstances; if his opponent relents and lets go his hold on 'Apep's throat, he will still suffer self-inflicted injury.—The distinction between *bmbn* and *ttt* is not very clear; my translation of the former word depends upon a possible etymological connexion with *bmbn* 'pyramidion'. On *ttt* see Sethe's n., *ZAS* 57, 116.


<sup>1</sup> Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 42, note d.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this reference to Mr. H. W. Fairman.



22, 20. *Mnhw* 'butcher' is a term applied to the executioners who serve Osiris, cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 170; the 'butchers' are mentioned again in 26, 14.

22, 22. The goddess  is doubtless identical with  of *Pyr.* § 556a, who is associated with Isis and Nephthys.—The demon  appears as a serpent of hostile nature in *P. mag. Harris*, 5, 7; he does not seem to be connected in any way with the god  of *Pyr.*, § 661b, who occurs again as  in Budge, *Bk. Dead* (1898 ed.), 38, 5; 298, 4.

22, 23. The suffixes in *šd·tn hr dw·tn* 'be ye cut to pieces because of your evil' must refer to the 'Ill-disposed One' and to *Wnty*, not to Sothis and Asbyt.—On *mtr im·tn* see the n. on 22, 18.—On , 'be ye dealt with', see the n. on 26, 14.

23, 1. For the expression *qd(t) m hkrw*, lit. 'what should be said consisting of magic', see also *P. Westcar*, 6, 8, 12.

23, 2. On *hr sbn* 'fall, creep away', see the n. on 23, 23.


23, 4. Note the continual play on the word *tm*.




23, 6. *Shtmt* is probably the old perfective 2nd sing. in its exclamatory sense (Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 313), a usage not infrequent in this text.

23, 6-7. With the instructions for preparing the image of 'Apep compare the similar directions for making an image of Seth in *Urk.*, vi, 5, 7-10.

23, 9-10. *Snwh pw*, lit. 'it is a burning', is shown by the context to be a ritual instruction for disposing of the image of 'Apep.

23, 10. On the identification of *hsrw* with bryony see *JEA* 20, 45.—For *smn* (older *zmn*) 'to pound' see *Beschr. Leiden*, i, 10; Steindorff, *Ti*, 85.

23, 11. With *phr hrybt* 'the turning of the shadow' compare 'as the leaders reached the exit of the pass  the shadow turned' *Urk.*, iv, 655, 9; noon-tide is clearly the time indicated. The same expression occurs in *Urk.*, i, 185, 3 (Gunn).

23, 12. For   read .

23, 16. *Iw m·n·i hpr m·i* 'I have seen it come to pass in mine (own) case' (lit. 'by me'). The same expression occurs as testimony to the efficacy of a prescription in *Hearst*, 2, 10; *Eb.*, 66, 17; for *hpr m·i* see also Breasted, *Ed. Smith Surg. Pap.*, i, 320.

23, 18. *Šd hnty·k kw(= r) ht hr·k*, lit. 'thy front shall be cut off from the things of thy face', apparently means that the part to be cut off is the foremost part of the serpent's head, its snout, as distinct from the other organs contained therein, its eyes, etc. Possibly the thought is that the 'Apep-serpent is to be rendered harmless by the amputation of that portion of its 'face' which contains its greatest potentialities for mischief, its poison fangs.

23, 19. In this spell there is a play upon the words *st* 'moment' and *sd* 'rage'; it is possible that in some cases the former is a miswriting for the latter, as perhaps in *pr m st·s* 'which came forth in its moment', but lacking any clear indication to the contrary *st* 'moment' has been taken literally.

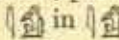

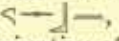
23, 20. According to Gunn, *Ann. Serv.* 27, 227, *wd sdb* means 'to put an impediment in someone's way', hence the rendering 'to make impotent'; for the use with suffix after *sdb* see *Wb.*, iv, 382, 12.—*Srw* here and below in 24, 4, 5, 6 means clearly not 'to guard' but 'to break' (*Wb.*, iii, 419, 4); for *srw* 'to guard' in this spell see *srw qrw* 'who guard the doors'. 23, 22.—*Sht·tw n st·sn* 'thou art destroyed in (read *m*) their moment'; *n st·sn* might possibly be a miswriting for *m sd·sn* 'in their rage'.

23, 21. Note that Seth here and in 23, 22 is acting in his role of protector of the sun-god, cf. Nagel's article in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 28, 33 ff., and is not, as might be expected, associated with 'Apep in his capacity of storm-god.

23, 22. With the fire-breathing gods who guard the mysterious portals compare the fire-



spitting serpents who protect the gates of the netherworld, Bonomi and Sharpe, *Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah*, *passim*.

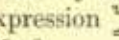
23, 23.  in  and in  is the prothetic *i* of the imperative; in the latter case this is proved by the collocation , which occurs, likewise in the imperative, in *Pyr.*, § 237b in the form , similarly §§ 418b, 430b, in each case in a spell against serpents; for the fish-determinative of *snb* < *zbn* see also *Peas.*, B1, 126, 221.

24, 4. *Dlt sdb* is clearly nothing but a variant of *wd sdb*, for which see the n. on 23, 20 above; it occurs also in *Urk.*, vi, 9, 6.—For *whm kris-k* 'once again thou art bound' *Urk.*, vi, 9, 7 has *whm-sn nkn-k* 'once again they execute thee'.

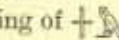
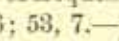
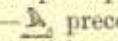
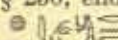
24, 4-5. *Snw-tw* (old perfective) *m sw mrw* 'thou hast been broken by (?) those who break up ills'; if this passage has been correctly understood, *m* must be an error for agential *in*.

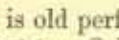
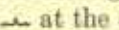
24, 6. *Snw snw-tw-f* is lit. 'he who is (to be) broken, he is broken'.—*Nn pr sp-f*, lit. 'his deed shall not go forth', doubtless means that all the actions of 'Apep shall fail'.

24, 7. The curious expression *r-dr n hr-s*, lit. 'to the limits of its face (i.e. vision)' is used of the Eye of Horus again in 25, 16. Since presumably the Eye was all-seeing, this phrase must be intended to convey the idea of 'without limit', 'utterly'.

24, 8. For the expression  'to be recited in continuation of the (above) spell' see *Wb.*, v, 629, 9.

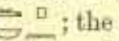

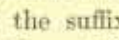
24, 9. For *mdd-n* read *mdd-s*; the scribe has omitted the cross-stroke which distinguishes — from — in hieratic.

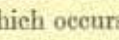
24, 12. The reading of  as *wnmy(t)* 'the devouring flame' is assured by the clear paronomasia with *wnm* 'to eat'; the word is of frequent occurrence, see below 24, 16; 25, 11; 30, 21; 31, 24; 33, 7; *Urk.*, vi, 9, 8; 17, 6; 53, 7.— for *luty spy* read either *luty spy-k* or, more probably, *nn spy*, and for *n hr* read perhaps *r hr*. The sense is doubtless that 'Apep is burnt up even to the last fragment'.— preceding *shn* is the particle *my* used to reinforce imperatives; for its use as a non-enclitic see *Gard.*, *Eg. Gr.*, § 250, end; *Junker*, *Gr. d. Denderatexte*, § 245, second example.—For the sense of *hnt* in  cf. *Wb.*, iii, 296, 2.

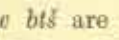
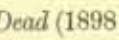
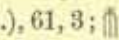

24, 13.  is old perfective 2nd sg. in exclamatory use, cf. *Gardiner*, *op. cit.*, § 313. Note the eccentric writing  at the end of the sentence.

24, 14. The suffix in *kri-f* 'his shrine' refers back to 'Rē' in 24, 11.

24, 17. For *hftyc-s* read *hftyc-f* in *mr-hrw Hr r hftyc-s*; the scribe has become confused between the masc. 'Horus' and the fem. 'Eye of Horus'.

24, 18. ; the noun which should be the object of *dr* has been omitted, with the exception of its determinative  and the suffix.— should have a preposition, probably *hr*, before *sp*, which should most likely be regarded as having its sense of 'deed' with reference to the 'effect' or 'influence' of the previously mentioned magic.

24, 19.  which occurs again in a similar context in 26, 2, is not known to the *Wb.* It is just possible that it may be a miswriting of *sn-k* 'thou shalt erase', but the sense seems to demand the exact opposite; one would expect a verb with some such meaning as 'to depict'.

24, 22. The *msw btš* are well known; examples are  *Urk.*, v, 51, 9;  Budge, *Blk. Dead* (1898 ed.), 61, 3;  *ibid.*, 74, 13 (note the serpent-determinative); with *bdš* instead of *btš*, *ibid.* 2, 8; 316, 8. The expression appears to mean literally 'children of faintness' or the like; in translating these words as 'children of revolt', a rendering which suits the present context better, a confusion of *bdš* 'to be faint' and *bdš* 'to rebel' has been assumed, the latter verb being not infrequently written  or







been omitted after  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ , and for  $\text{𓂏𓂐}$  as a late writing of the name of Thoth cf. Boylan, *Thoth*, 3.

25, 16. On  $r \text{ dr } n \text{ hr-s}$  'to the limit of its vision' see n. on 24, 7.— $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  'heat' is unknown to the *Wb.*, but it may possibly be connected with  $\text{𓂏𓂐}$  'to boil'.

25, 17. The sign  $\text{𓂏}$  after  $\text{bnbn}$  is obviously a corruption and should be disregarded.

25, 18. On  $\text{msw bds}$  see n. on 24, 22.

25, 19.  $\text{Tw shr-ni opp}$  'I have overthrown 'Apep'; the pronoun 'I' must refer to the officiating priest. Note the writing of  $\text{tw}$  as  $\text{𓂏}$  in 25, 20.

25, 21.  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  occurs frequently as a name of Memphis or of a quarter of that city.

25, 22. The town of  $\text{𓂏𓂐}$  (read 'Idn?') occurs again 33, 17; Chassinat, *Edfou*, II, 94, but its situation is unknown.—On these epithets of Hathor see Erman, *Beitr. z. äg. Religion* (*Sitzungsb. Berlin*, 1916), 1145 ff., where other examples of the association of this goddess with Yucas will be found.

25, 23. On 'Khuyet the wife of the god' see *JEA* 17, 227.—With the epithets of Banebdjed 'the great god, the life of Rē' compare 'the great god, the living one' *Horus and Seth*, 2, 2-3, and on Banebdjed as the incarnation of Rē see Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyri No. I*, 14, n. 8.

25, 24.  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  was perhaps a name for the necropolis of Edfu, see Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, v, 35.— $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ , identified with modern Horbêt, was the capital of the XIth nome of Lower Egypt, see Gauthier, *op. cit.*, v, 151.—The reading of the place-name at the end of the line as  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  is not certain; other references for the unknown locality 'Three-hundred-town' in Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III, 113, n. 1.

26, 1.  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ , unknown elsewhere, is apparently the place-name read as  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  by Gauthier, *op. cit.*, IV, 165, quoting Budge, *Eg. Dict.*, 1025; Gauthier hints at a possible identity with  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  near Denderah. The association of Harsomtūs, worshipped at Denderah, with the locality under discussion would seem to support this suggestion, but the hieratic reading is certainly  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  (Budge's transcription has  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$ ). Since, however,  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏}$  are closely similar in hieratic of this period, it is possible that corruption has occurred and that  $\text{𓂏}$  was the original reading,<sup>1</sup> though if the scribe had meant to write  $\text{Hdd}$  he would almost certainly have spelt it  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  with the phonetic complement  $\text{𓂏}$ .

26, 2. On  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  see n. on 24, 19.— $\text{Srhj nbt nty m ib-f}$  'every accused one whom he has in mind' (lit. 'in his heart');  $\text{nty m ib-f}$  here clearly does not possess its usual connotation of affection, and the whole expression must refer to those wicked persons to whom Pharaoh proposes to deal their just deserts.

26, 3.  $\text{M lbt}$  is difficult. The most probable explanation is to regard it as a writing of  $\text{m sbut}$  'in form' with a meaning similar to  $\text{mi kl-f}$ . This would yield good sense, and is apparently the view taken by Budge in his translation 'each and all', but no such expression  $\text{m sbut}$  appears to be known elsewhere.— $\text{Snhw m šnty nt mnw km}$  'bound with bonds (?) of black thread'; according to *Wb.*, IV, 518,  $\text{šnty}$  is but a late variant of  $\text{šny}$  'hair', but 'hairs' of thread cannot be taken literally, so that it would seem that the bonds of thread with which the evil images were bound were called 'hairs' on account of their thinness.


26, 7.  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  was situated in the XIth nome of Lower Egypt, according to Gauthier, *op. cit.*, I, 25.— $\text{Šnty n-f mđst tn}$  'who makes conjuration for himself from this book'; the preposition  $\text{m}$  should be supplied before  $\text{mđst}$ , since according to *Wb.*, IV, 496 this verb is not found with direct object of the means of conjuration.

26, 8.  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  probably means 'go forth as one unknown' the ending  $\text{𓂏𓂐𓂑}$  having been borrowed from  $\text{šmt}$  'bank', 'shore', but there is a possibility that this word was intended, in which case it would be necessary to translate 'go forth from the shore'.


<sup>1</sup> For a good example of  $\text{𓂏}$  in our text see  $\text{hrt}$  'widow' in 4, 3.




The objection to the latter alternative is that *ihmt* occurs in a normal spelling in 26, 21; otherwise it would suit the context better.—*Sin tw sin m sin f tkf prf*; this sentence, with its play on the verb *sin*, is difficult; it is not even certain with which of the two verbs *sin* we have to deal, whether with that meaning 'to wait' or with that meaning 'to hasten', though the context suggests the latter. *Sin tw* is doubtless an imperative with reflexive object addressed to 'Apep, while the second *sin* may be either another imperative or a participle 'thou who oughtest to hasten'; in the translation the former alternative has been adopted. It is probable that the suffixes in *sin f tkf prf* refer to the sun-god Rē, the sense of the whole passage being that 'Apep is to hurry out of the way when Rē is performing his diurnal evolutions in the sky.
























26, 9. The suffix *k* should be supplied after *šd*.—On the god Hike, the personification of magic, here written , see Gardiner in *PSBA* 37, 253.—For *Nh-kw* read probably *Nhb-kw*; on this god see Shorter in *JEA* 21, 41.—The suffix in *kri f* apparently refers to Rē, cf. 26, 10–11.—The suffix in *Bir-k* should be deleted.





26, 10. The fire-breathing guardians of the mysterious portals have been mentioned previously in 23, 22, see the note thereon.—*Htp Rē hr ist f m-hnw-n kri f* 'Rē rests on his standard within his shrine'; the allusion is to the figures representing the sun-god as a falcon on a perch.





26, 11. *Ind hr-k Rē hr-lb mht f* 'Hail to thee, Rē, in the midst of (the coils of) thy (lit. 'his') mehen-serpent'; the image is that of the solar disk encircled by a serpent, as in the hieroglyph .—*Šp-k* 'be thou brought to naught'; for the sense of *šp* here cf. *Wb.*, iv, 444, 5.



















26, 12. *Kr hr-tw* 'get thee afar off'; the construction of this sentence with *kr* and old perfective 2nd sg. is quite unexampled, since according to the grammars *kr* can be used in verbal sentences only with *šdm f*. Since, however, *hr-tw* is clearly used in the exclamatory sense of Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 313, to express an injunction, and *kr* before a verbal sentence may have similar force (*op. cit.*, § 242), it seems likely that *kr* is used here as a reinforcing word to make it quite clear how *hr-tw* is to be understood.


26, 13. For the sense of  see *Wb.*, ii, 33, 4.—For *gmwt* 'feebleness' see *Wb.*, v, 169, 16.

26, 14. On the butchers who act as executioners see n. on 22, 20.—*Iry-sn tw m whm sp sn*, lit. 'they do thee again and again'; one would expect *iry-sn r-k* 'they act against thee', but a similar use of  occurs above in *ir-tn hr bw-šw irw-tn* 'be ye dealt with according to the evil ye have done', 22, 23, with passive *šdm f* instead of *ir-tw r-tn*. For the expression *m whm sp* cf. *Wb.*, iii, 436, 5; whether the numeral in  was actually to be read is perhaps doubtful.—The verb *hr* in                   'they cast (?) thee to the raging fire' is probably identical with the transitive verb    of *Wb.*, ii, 475, 4.

26, 15.     is clearly a corrupt writing of *šr(l)s* 'to travel'. The same writing occurs again in 30, 12.

26, 16.     is a writing of *shr* (later *šsr*) *wy-k* with *šsr* instead of *šsr*; for the expression *shr wy* 'to stretch out the arms' see *Wb.*, iv, 294, 8.—*Nn nmty br-k m šsw Šw*; for *nmt m* 'to journey to' a place see *Wb.*, ii, 270, 13. By the 'supports of Shu' we should doubtless understand the four corners of the world where the sky was deemed to be supported on the earth.

26, 17.                  ; the first word is perhaps to be understood as *ir-n-i*, the *šdm-n-f* form of *irt* as an auxiliary verb, with following infinitive and object-suffix.—*Tnw šht-k* 'whenever thou art remembered' is lit. '(at) every remembering of thee', the construction being that of Gardiner, *op. cit.*, § 88.—On *huc šdb* see *Ann. Serv.* 27, 227.

26, 18. For *hmt-tw-k* read *hmt-k* (infinitive); the scribe has repeated the ending  from



*sh-tu-k* and *sh-t-k* above in 26, 17; the like comment applies also to *psh-tu-k* below, where, however, *psh tu* should be read.

26, 21. On 'The book of knowing the creations of Rē', with its description of the state of affairs before the Creation, see *ZÄS* 67, 34 ff.; see also the discussion in W. Max Müller, *Eg. Mythology*, 68 ff. The word *hprw*, lit. 'forms', 'shapes', in this title refers not to the forms assumed by Rē but to those made by him, and it has therefore been translated as 'creations'.

26, 21-2. The next few sentences consist of a continual play upon the word-stem *hpr*, as again in 26, 24.

26, 22. In *š hprw m pr m r-i* the function of the first *m* is by no means clear, but there is no doubt as to the sense of the passage. It is possible that *pr* here may be the infinitive, but Gunn calls my attention to a construction with *m* + masc. participle *pr* in Sethe, *Lesest.*, 77, 16 which is not dissimilar to the present instance.—*Nn hpr pt*, *nn hpr t* 'ere the sky had come into being, ere the earth had come into being'; *nn hpr* here corresponds to the old construction *n šdm-t*, see the parallel passages from the Pyramid Texts quoted in *ZÄS* 67, 35. *Nn km* in the next sentence represents the passive form of this construction, cf. Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 404.—*š* 'ground' is possibly a corrupt writing of *ss-t* 'snake', but the literal rendering has been retained in the translation.

26, 22-3. *ts-n-i im-sn m nwn m nww* 'I created (some) of them in Nūn as Inert Ones'; for *ts* in the sense of 'to create' see *Wb.*, v, 398, 2 ff.; Lacau, *Textes rel.*, xvii, 9. 'Nūn' is the watery chaos which preceded the settled order of the world. *Nww* 'inert ones', a term usually applied to the dead, must here mean such supernatural beings as could exist (in a state of suspended animation?) before the cosmos was organized; the word is here brought in primarily to make a pun with 'Nūn'. The version found in 28, 24 is slightly different, see the note thereon.

26, 23. *sh-ny-i m ib-i* is difficult. The parallelism with *snt-n-i m hr-i*, lit. 'I planned with my face', i.e. surveyed the outlook, indicates that a sense of planning or designing lies in the first sentence also, but no verb *sh* with this meaning is known. On the other hand, the usual meaning of this idiom, exemplified by *sh-n-⟨i⟩ m ib-f* 'I found favour in his heart' *Sin.*, B 106, does not suit the present context. The suggestion that *sh-n-i m ib-i* means something like 'I considered in mine heart' finds some support, however, in the fact that in 26, 24 we have *snt n-i ib-i* 'I planned in mine heart', with *snt* 'to plan' replacing *sh*, and the passage in question has therefore been translated in this sense. For the expressions *snt m hr* and *snt m ib* see *Wb.*, iv, 178, 13.

26, 24. *Hpr š hprw nw hprw, m hprw nw msw, m hprw nw msw-sn* is another jingle based upon the stem *hpr* which it is difficult to translate intelligibly. The first word is certainly the *šdm-f* form of the verb *hpr*, with subject *š*, which in its turn is in direct genitival relation with the first *hprw*. Since the second *hprw*, following *nw*, must have a different nuance from that following *š*, I suggest that the first of the two means 'forms' or 'shapes' and the second 'beings' in the sense of 'living creatures', the latter being parallel to *msw* in the second phrase. *Msw* presumably refers to the first children of men to come into being on earth.—*š* is unknown to the *Wb.*, but it is obviously a late writing of *š* *Urk.*, iv, 219, 16. Its sense is clear.—On *š* see the textual n. This creative act is described in other words in *Pyr.*, § 1248.

27, 1. *š* is unknown to the *Wb.*, but here also the sense is clear.—*Dr hnty wr-sn r-i* 'since the aeons when they were far from me'; *hnty*, which has no very exact equivalent in English, is a term expressing a long period of time, and often is used as a word for 'eternity'. The use after *dr* 'since' is not noted in the *Wb.*, but for *m-ht hnty* 'after a long age', 29, 1,



see *Wb.*, III, 106, 14. *Wr-sn r-i* 'when they were far from me' must be a reference to the legend of the wandering of the Eye of Rē, which is said in 27, 2 to have been brought back to the god by Shu and Tefēnet. There is evidently some confusion with the story of the wanderings of Tefēnet in Nubia, whence she was brought back by Shu and Thoth. The most recent treatment of these inextricably entangled myths is by Junker in *Die Onurislegende*.

27, 2. *Ntr 3 pw r-i* 'there were three gods in addition to myself'; the three gods must be the just-created Shu and Tefēnet, and Nūn, the personification of the primeval watery chaos.—*Rm-n-i hr-sn* 'I wept over them'; for *pw* read *pw* or possibly *pw*, see the n. on 2, 1. It is not quite clear to what the suffix *sn* refers, but it most probably belongs to *pw* 'my members'; the god apparently wept because he was lacking an eye from the tale of organs, for we learn from 27, 3 that he made a substitute, and that the original Eye was wroth when it returned and found its place occupied. In the next sentence 'that is how men came into being from the tears which came forth from mine Eye' we have the well-known paranomasia of *rmw* 'tears' and *rmt* 'men'.

27, 3. *Ir-n-i shnty irf st-s m hr-i* 'so I promoted it (lit. 'its place') in my face'; the wrath of the displaced Eye is appeased by its becoming the uraeus on the brow of Rē and so exercising authority over the whole land. On this particular version of the legend of the wandering Eye of the sun-god see Junker, *op. cit.*, 158.

27, 4. *pw* is unintelligible as it stands, but a comparison with the parallel passage *hr-tu dndn-s hr wsbw-s hr wsbw* 29, 4 suggests that we should emend into *pw* (= *r*) *pw* 'its wrath fell to its roots'; the expression *hr r wsbw* is unknown to me elsewhere, but it may possibly be a metaphor for 'came to nothing', 'died away', or the like. Roeder's translation 'fiel seine Wut ins Gras (?)' supports the emendation *pw* for *pw*.—*pw* seems to be likewise corrupt, since the literal translation 'I replaced what it took from it' makes no sense. The simplest emendation is to omit the suffix in *itt-s* and to render 'I replaced what had been taken from it', meaning the rank and position which the wandering Eye had lost by having had another set in its place. The parallel in 29, 4 has *qbr-n-i im-s*; possibly *itt* should be supplied in the latter version.—*Pr-n-i m wsbw* 'I came forth from the roots' is obscure, but the following sentence suggests that it is to be taken literally. Perhaps the meaning is that plants were created first, and after them the reptiles and such creatures as live in vegetation. The word *wsb* 'root' seems to have some special significance in this text, for the variant version of 29, 3-4 employs it several times with doubtful meaning.

27, 4-5. The text now describes how the original pair of deities whom the sun-god created, namely Shu and Tefēnet, became the ancestors of the entire Heliopolitan Ennead. Note the use of the *sdm-in-f* form *ms-in*.

27, 5. *M ht* 'from the womb' apparently indicates that this family of gods was born in the natural way, and not by the miraculous means described in 26, 24-27, 1.—*Ddw wrw hkw* 'what the Great Enchanters spoke'; *ddw* is doubtless a writing of the old neuter relative form *ddw*. *Wr hkw*, lit. 'great of magic', is a common epithet of deities; here the plural suffixes in the following sentences show that all the gods so far mentioned are comprehended in this term. The parallel text of 28, 20ff. is quite divergent from this point onward (29, 6ff.).

27, 6. The construction of *pw* 'I despatched those who came into being through my body' is curious, inasmuch as the demonstrative *nn* seems superfluous, the participle *hpr* being by itself adequate to convey the sense, but there can be little doubt as to the translation.—*Hr sw* is apparently the participial construction of Gardiner, *op. cit.* § 374.

27, 6-7. Restore *bn mrf*? The negative *bn* is not absolutely unknown to this papyrus,













27, 21-2. For *n pt rst* read *m pt rst* as in the next sentence (*m pt mhtt*).

27, 22. On *msht(yw)* as a name for the constellation of the Great Bear see *JEA* 18, 11, 163, and on *hwbis* 'the starry firmament' see *JEA* 21, 5, n. 3.


27, 23. For  read  as before.

27, 24. For *tm* (here written *dm*) as transitive verb see *Wb.*, v, 302, 1, and for the transitive use of *hr* see *Wb.*, III, 321, 4.—'Iw:f *m sdt* 'he is (condemned) to the fire' is lit. 'he is for the fire'; this usage has a modern analogy in the military slang expression 'to be for it', some punishment or unpleasant experience being implied.—For the protecting serpent *hnb* see also *Urk.*, vi, 15, 5.





27, 25. For  read *smw sw ht*.—The suffix in *imt wpt:f* 'she who is on his brow' (i.e. the fiery uraeus) and in *ntrw imyw w:f* 'the gods who are in his bark' clearly refers to Rē.—*Rmw pr m irt-i r-tn* 'the tears which came forth from mine Eye are against you'; the sun-god suddenly speaks in the 1st sing., and his foes are addressed in the 2nd plur. As this is quite in disaccord with the preceding context, it seems likely that a portion of the text has been omitted by the copyist. That the suffix *tn* refers to the confederates of 'Apep seems quite clear in this passage, though in the often repeated  it is necessary to emend into  in every case if the reference, as seems probable, is still to the foes of the sun-god. On the other hand, if in these sentences *tn* refers not to the foes of the sun-god but to the gods themselves, then *ntrw* must be in apposition to *tn* in every case. This is in itself improbable and also raises other difficulties, so that in the translation the emendation *n-tn* has been adopted. For a similar omission of the preposition *n* after (*r*)*dī* see the *Colophon* 31-2 (*JEA* 23, 11), with the n. thereon. *Rmw pr n irt-i* 'the tears which came forth from mine Eye' is a periphrasis for 'human beings', see also the n. on 29, 8.

28, 1.  is a writing of *scht* 'egg', compare 28, 5.


28, 3. Delete the second suffix in *tm:f wnn:f*.—For *hrs n sdt*, *shrs Rē ds:f* read *hrs sw n sdt*, *shrs sw Rē ds:f*.

28, 4. The context shows that  should be translated as a singular, despite the plural determinative, as also above, 22, 12.



28, 5-6. For *iw wd-n Rē* read *mī wd-n Rē*, compare 28, 4.

28, 6. For  read , compare 25, 6, and for *tw* read probably *sn* or possibly *tn*, as the pronoun must refer to 'all the foes of Pharaoh' mentioned just previously.—The  in  is simply a space-filler.





28, 7. *Nn wn br-sn . . . im* 'they shall have no souls (etc.) thereby'; the adverb *im* 'thereby' in this and the following sentences alludes to the punishments just described.

28, 9.  is a writing of *utw* 'heir(s)', compare 29, 18.

28, 11. Note the use of the Late-Egyptian pronoun *st* varying with the more regular *sn*.—The obscure expression *imyw sw* 'those who are among (?) the watchers (?)' occurs also above, 27, 17-18.

28, 12. *Nn rdit pr br-sn im-sn*; for *im-sn* read simply *im*, the suffix being due to mechanical repetition.— is probably a writing of *utw* 'heirs', compare 28, 9. The reading 'arms' yields poor sense, and the determinative  supports the former reading.

28, 14. The roles of the *mskt* 'Night-bark' and *mnwt* 'Day-bark' have been reversed; clearly the text should read 'thou travellest in the Day-bark, thou restest (i.e. settest) in the Night-bark'.—'The two heavens' are the celestial sky and the sky below the earth; for the 'two heavens' see also *Pyr.*, §§ 406c, 541c.

28, 15. For the abbreviated writing  of *rmf nb*, *pct nb*, *rhyt nb*, *hnmmt nb* 'all men, all nobles, all plebs, all sun-folk' see also 32, 6, 11; 32, 11 shows the reading of  to be *rmf*.  is the determinative of *pct* 'nobles',  in this context can only stand for *rhyt*





# RESTITUTION OF, AND PENALTY ATTACHING TO, STOLEN PROPERTY IN RAMESSIDE TIMES

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

IN the Leiden Museum there is a small papyrus measuring 17 cm. high × 20 cm. broad, numbered 352<sup>1</sup> and bearing on one side, namely on that where the vertical fibres run over the horizontal ones, the following text:

(1)			
(2)			
(3)			
(4)			
(5)			
(6)			
(7)			
(8)			
(9)			
(10)			
(11)			

The text, which belongs in all probability to the Nineteenth Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> may be translated as follows:

- (1) List of property stolen by the female servant of the charioteer Pekhari:
- (2) I wash-basin of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 20 deben, makes penalty 40 deben of copper.
- (3) I . . . <sup>3</sup>vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, makes 6 deben, " " 18 " "
- (4) I spittoon of ḥsmn-bronze, " 6 " " " 18 " "
- (5) I kt-vessel of ḥsmn-bronze, " 3½ " " " 10½ " "
- (6) I wd-vessel<sup>4</sup> of ḥsmn-bronze, " 1 " " " 3 " "




<sup>1</sup> Published in facsimile in natural size by Leemans, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*, II, Pl. clxviii. My transcription is based on a collation with the original made in 1930.

<sup>2</sup> This date, rather than the Twentieth Dynasty, is suggested by the use of and , which are not forthcoming in non-literary texts after the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.












<sup>3</sup> On the original I saw , which does not permit the reading , attested as a bronze vessel (e.g. unpubl. Ostr. Turin 9639, 4).

<sup>4</sup> For this word *Wb.* I, 399, 10 quotes only the present passage.

- (7) 2 *ds*-garments of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth of first quality, (makes penalty) 6.  
 (8) 2 *sdy*-garments of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth, " " 6.  
 (9) 1 *mss*-shirt of fine Upper-Egyptian cloth, cast off, " " 3.  
 (10) 17 *clews* of yarn, makes penalty 51 *clews* of yarn.  
 (11) 1 *hair* of . . . . ., <sup>2</sup> makes penalty 3.

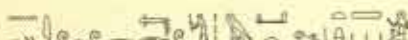
The text thus represents a list of stolen objects with a    appended to each item. This *trct* is threefold throughout (except in the first entry, where it is double): in the case of bronze vessels, the price of which is indicated in the usual way by a weight of copper, the *trct* amounts to a threefold quantity of the copper; in the case of garments, yarn, and the obscure 'hair', the *trct* is represented by thrice the number of the objects stolen.

The word is known—apparently only from the above-quoted document—to the *Wörterbuch*,<sup>3</sup> which gives as its meaning 'Wiedererstattungswert für gestohlenen Gut'; this seems to imply that *trct* included the stolen object itself as well as the fine amounting to the double of the object or of its value. As a new text treated below shows, however, the *trct* represents the amount of the fine only, quite apart from the original stolen object.

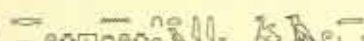
The determinative of the word *trct* in Leiden Papyrus 352 is considered doubtful by the *Wörterbuch*. In its three occurrences it has the following forms:  (l. 2),  (l. 10), and  (l. 11); and the connexion of the word with the verbs   and   'steal', which probably will not be questioned, suggests *a priori* that the doubtful determinative is to be transcribed as . As a matter of fact, an identical cursive group is found in a ligatured group  in Pap. Mayer, A 5, 11; 6, 1; 12, 8. It is nothing else than the cursive form of , i.e.  with the lateral stroke omitted. That this explanation of the determinative is correct is confirmed by the second document, now to be discussed.


This is a potsherd inscribed in hieratic belonging to the Oriental Institute of Chicago University and measuring 8.5 cm. high × 10 cm. broad.<sup>4</sup> It is written on both sides, and the text runs as follows:


*Recto.*

(1) 






















































































































































































































































































































































































(2) 

(3) 

(4) 

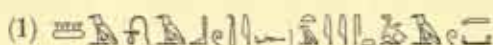
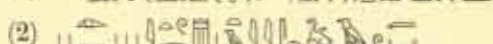

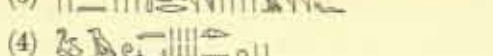
(5) 

(6) 

<sup>1</sup> A quantity of yarn measured by *kpt* occurs also in Ostr. Gardiner 197, vs., 5, where the word is written                                                           

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

        



Verso.

- (1)   
 (2)   
 (3)   
 (4) 

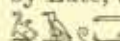
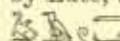

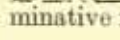
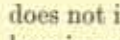
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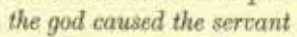
Recto.


- (1) What will be exacted from Lute (2) in order to be given to the chief workman Hay:  
 (3) 20 hin of fat, its penalty (4) 40 hin, makes  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a khar;  
 (5) 1 sdy-garment, its penalty 2, (6) makes 3 sdy-garments;


Verso.

- (1) 1 stick, its penalty (2) 2, makes 3;  
 1 itrt-box,<sup>1</sup> its penalty (3) 2, makes 3;  
 4 canes,<sup>2</sup> their (4) penalty 8, makes 12.

Here we have a list of objects to be exacted from Lute, who was a workman of the Royal Tomb, and to be given to his chief Hay.<sup>3</sup> It is not said that these objects have been stolen by Lute, but they are clearly in some way due from him, and the word used for penalty  is undoubtedly identical with the  of the Leiden Papyrus.<sup>4</sup> The determinative is clear this time, , and beside this the additional words show that  does not include the original object which is due. Unlike the first document, the  here is equal only to the double of the original object.



In the present writer's opinion there is finally a third mention of a penalty which has been hitherto misunderstood, namely in Brit. Mus. Pap. 10335, vs., 21.<sup>5</sup> This papyrus is concerned with oracles issued with regard to five mss-shirts stolen from the servant Amenemwia. The oracles name as the thief a certain Petjauemdiamūn, who first denies but finally confesses the theft and promises to give back the stolen garments. The text concludes: *And the god caused the servant Amenemwia to utter an oath, saying:* .

The words of the oath have been translated 'the stolen goods have not been recovered from him', by Blackman, who rightly rejected an old translation by Spiegelberg.<sup>6</sup> But even the new rendering can hardly be defended. Apart from the fact that 'have been recovered' would have undoubtedly been expressed by means of the usual passive in *-tuc*, the negation  is frequently found with the *sdm.f* form in oaths and promises, where *sdm.f* invariably refers to the future.<sup>7</sup> So, too, in the present case we have only to admit the omission of the

<sup>1</sup> *Itrt* is a box in the form of , used as a container for *shawabtis*. This is expressly stated in Ostr. Turin 9592, 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> For *turt* cf. Keimer, *Bulletin de l'Inst.* 31 (1931), 229-32. Our passage shows that the word is masculine, against *Wb.*, v, 252.

<sup>3</sup> The latest dated mention of Hay is year 17 of Ramesses III, Ostr. Cairo, *Cat. gén.* 25584; the earliest is year 5 of Sethos II, Ostr. Cairo 25556. This places our piece at the transition from the Nineteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties.

<sup>4</sup> It may be remembered that  is the infinitive of the verb  'steal'. The final *t* was no longer pronounced at this period.

<sup>5</sup> Published by Dawson, *JEA* 11, Pl. xxxviii; translated by Blackman, *ibid.*, 253.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ich habe (es) ihm nicht gestohlen' (*Studien und Materialien*, 77).

<sup>7</sup> Especially clear examples are: Pap. Salt, vs., 1, 14; *Mes*, N. 21; *JEA* 21, Pl. xv, 27; Pap. Turin, *P.-R.*, 47, 3; Botti-Peet, *Il Giornale*, 12, 5.

suffix of the 1st person singular  $\text{𓂏}$  after the verb  $\text{šd}$ , an omission of which many examples could be quoted,<sup>1</sup> and taking the oath as referring to the future and substituting for  $\text{t}$  the meaning 'penalty' found in the Leiden papyrus and Chicago ostrakon above quoted, we obtain a clear translation: 'I will not exact a penalty from him'. This naturally means that Amenemwia declared himself content with the restitution of the five stolen garments, and renounced the exaction of the penalty, which would have been double or treble the value of the things stolen.

As my friend Dr. Cvetler has pointed out to me, a close analogy can be quoted from Roman law, where the penalty was equal to the quadruple value of the goods stolen in the case of *furtum manifestum* (i.e. when the thief was caught red-handed) and to double the value in the case of *furtum nec manifestum*. A quadruple fine was also exacted from any one who resisted a domiciliary search and in whose house the stolen property was subsequently found, whereas in the case of unopposed inquiry the eventual penalty was only threefold. Here also the penalty did not affect the question of compensation for the damage, namely restitution of the stolen goods themselves and the making good of any incidental damage.

From the preceding we are probably entitled to consider the following points as established, at least as far as the Ramesside period is concerned:

- (1) A convicted thief was obliged to give the stolen property back to the person robbed, and in addition to pay him a penalty which amounted to double or treble its value.
- (2) This penalty was called  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  or  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$ , a feminine word.
- (3) The person robbed sometimes renounced his claim to the penalty, perhaps in cases where the stolen goods were not actually found with the thief.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* (2nd ed.), § 62.



## THE EGYPTIAN CORRESPONDENCE OF ABIMILKI, PRINCE OF TYRE

By W. F. ALBRIGHT

IN spite of all the research which has been expended on them during the past half-century, the Tell el-'Amarnah Tablets have by no means yielded up all their secrets. Thanks to the admirable edition of the texts by the Norwegian scholar, J. A. Knudtzon, with elaborate notes and glossary from the hands of Weber and Ebeling, assisted by Ranke and others (1907-15), we have had a first-class repertory at our disposal for twenty years.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the careful collation and edition of the Berlin tablets by the late Otto Schroeder in 1915 was accompanied by a number of sound observations and discoveries by this gifted young scholar. The publication of the contemporary Hittite records in Accadian from Boğazköy, beginning in 1916, has helped to clear up a number of obscurities. From time to time new letters from the 'Amarnah collection have been published: six by Thureau-Dangin in 1921,<sup>2</sup> one by Dossin in 1934,<sup>3</sup> and two (with a short description of the contents only) by Gordon in 1934.<sup>4</sup> The other texts subsequently discovered at Tell el-'Amarnah, such as the narrative poem of the King of Battle, the Egyptian vocabulary, and various Accadian vocabularies, are interesting in themselves, but do not belong to the group represented by the letters. Discoveries in Palestine and Syria have also furnished contemporary documents, including a number of Accadian and Canaanite letters, found at Taanach, Shechem, Ugarit (Râsh-esh-Shamrah), and elsewhere.

Owing perhaps partly to the definitive character of Knudtzon's treatment in many respects, as well as to the fact that the linguistic monographs of Böhl,<sup>5</sup> Ebeling,<sup>6</sup> and Dhorme<sup>7</sup> seemed to exhaust the immediate possibilities of linguistic analysis, there has been no serious published effort to advance the philological interpretation of the documents as a whole during the past twenty years. For some years the writer has been devoting much time to this task, with very gratifying results. To illustrate the situation, it may be said that the principal gains have come in two directions, namely, in the improvement of the translation of words and passages, and in a more minute grammatical analysis, with emphasis on the distribution of linguistic influences between Accadian, Hurrian, Canaanite, Egyptian, etc. As is well known, the 'Amarnah Tablets are nearly all written in what purports to be Accadian cuneiform, but the latter is only grammatically and stylistically correct when written by Babylonian scribes. The Canaanite scribes (whose letters form the overwhelming majority), for example, write an execrable Accadian, full of Canaanitisms in both vocabulary and grammar. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the letters written by Hurrian and Hittite

<sup>1</sup> *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Vol. II), abbreviated *EA*. Note also *Vocalization* = Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (Am. Orient. Soc., Vol. IV, New Haven, 1934).

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. d'Assyr.* 19, 91-108.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. d'Assyr.* 31, 125 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 20, 137 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, Leipzig, 1900.

<sup>6</sup> *Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe* (Beiträge zur Assyriologie, VIII, 2, pp. 39-79), Leipzig, 1910.

<sup>7</sup> *La langue de Canaan* (also *Rev. Bibl.* 1913, 369 ff.; 1914, 37 ff., 344 ff.).



scribes (whose peculiarities also appear in the Accadian documents from Boğazköy). Some of the Egyptian letters (which include two not yet known when the Knudtzon edition appeared) were certainly written by native Egyptians who had learned Accadian cuneiform at school; this is also true of the Egyptian letters found at Boğazköy.<sup>1</sup> Most interesting is the fact, hitherto unrecognized, that an Egyptian cuneiformist served as official scribe at Tyre, where he wrote some ten letters to the Egyptian court. This will be proved below by examination of the Egyptian glosses, Egyptianisms in style, word-order, and phonology, as well as by giving direct translations from Egyptian.

Before taking up the detailed examination of this material, we wish first to call attention to a hitherto unrecognized Egyptian royal name, which occurs eight times in *EA*, No. 155, the tenth letter (following Knudtzon's order) of Abimilki (Abimelech) of Tyre. This name is written four times (*det. for woman*) *Ma-ia(ya)-a-ti* and another four times (*det. for personal name, det. for woman*) *Ma-ia(ya)-a-ti*. Misled by the second group of writings, all previous scholars have read (*det. for personal name*) *SAL<sup>2</sup>-ma-ya-a-ti*, which they transcribe *Shal-mayāti*, influenced by the Canaanite verb *sh-l-m*, 'to be well, be at peace'.<sup>3</sup> The formation is hardly possible in either Canaanite or Accadian, and is completely out of the question in Egyptian. We must, therefore, consider the reading *Mayāti* or *Maya-ati*, taking the feminine determinative, which always occurs, as an indication of sex, and the occasional personal determinative as an honorific, indicating that the person in question was too important to be treated as a mere woman.<sup>4</sup> We need only remind the reader of phenomena such as Hatshepsut wearing a beard, or the goddess Ishtar given masculine attributes and even addressed with words in the masculine gender. The name occurs in the following connexions. Four times Abimilki calls himself the servant of Maya-ati (*arad* <sup>(m)</sup>/*Ma-ya-a-ti*), once as servant of both the king and of Maya-ati (lines 7-10): 'The king has commanded that grace (lit. breath) be given and that water (be given) to his servant and the servant of Maya-ati'. Three times Tyre is called 'the city of Maya-ati', whereas in the other letters Tyre is spoken of as 'the city of the king', in accordance with the general custom among Canaanite princes when mentioning their cities to Pharaoh. In one passage (lines 29-30) Abimilki says 'Maya-ati is my life (or my strength) night and day'.

There is obviously only one solution of this problem; Maya-ati must be the reigning queen, preferably one of exceptional relative importance, like Hatshepsut or possibly Teye. Since it is agreed that the Abimilki letters are among the latest ones in the 'Amarna' archives (see below), Maya-ati must naturally be *Mryt-itn*, the eldest daughter of Akhenaten and wife of his coregent and ephemeral successor Semenkhkherē. We shall consider the historical bearing of this new reference to her below, after we have studied the identification phonetically.

The name *Mryt-itn* is composed of the perfect passive participle feminine *mryt* as *nomen regens* and the name of the solar disk, *itn*, following it as *nomen rectum*. Fortunately we have several contemporary cuneiform transcriptions of the masculine form of the same participle. We are therefore not working in the dark, as sometimes happens in the field of

<sup>1</sup> See Friedrich, *OLZ* 27 (1924), 707; Labat, *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi*, pp. 80-2.

<sup>2</sup> In order to identify a cuneiform character in transcription it is customary for Assyriologists to employ capitals, which indicate its conventional value, but which may or may not be an actual phonetic value.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the discussion by Weber, *EA*, 1254 ff. Riedel, *Untersuchungen zu den Tell-el-Amarna-Briefen* (Tübingen, 1920), 20-23, gives an explanation which is as forced contextually as it is linguistically, and can only be called fantastic.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. C. H. Gordon has called my attention to the fact that the nearly contemporary documents of Nuzi, belonging to a Hurrian community which wrote in Babylonian cuneiform, not infrequently place the determinative for male names before names of women; cf. Gordon, *Zeits. f. Assyriol.* 43, 161, n. 2.



Egyptian vocalization. The name of the official *Mry-r* is written *Ma-i-re-ya*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. *May-rēē*, abbreviated to *Mry* = *Ma-a-ya* (*Māya*). The familiar appellation *Maḥmouf* of Ramesses II appears as *Ma-a-i-<sup>d</sup>A-ma-na* and as *Ma(!)-a-ya-<sup>d</sup>A-ma-na*<sup>2</sup> in the Boğazköy transcription. The slight variation is very helpful, since it enables us to reconstruct an original *\*māryē* > *mā'yē*, which could be shortened to *māy* (with quiescing of the glottal catch in the preceding *ā*).<sup>3</sup> As is well established, the feminine form fell together with the masculine in New Egyptian, at least in practice. The feminine *mryt* must accordingly have been vocalized *\*māryē(t)* > *mā'yē*, shortened to *māy*, in full agreement with cuneiform *ma-ya*. The second element, *a-ti*, must reflect an Egyptian divine name *\*Ātī(ē)*, which is evidently the name of the solar disk. The loss of *n* in pronunciation may be due to a hypocoristic tendency; we cannot explain it as the result of a Canaanite analogy with the old feminine ending *ātī* (preserved in North Canaanite and probably in Amorite), since the scribe was himself an Egyptian, as we shall see below. There is a good Coptic parallel; N. E. *mtn* (old *mtn*), 'road', appears as ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧ : ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧ for *\*māti(ē)n* > *\*māti(ē)* > *\*māitī* (> *\*māit* > ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧ) > *\*māit* (> ⲙⲟⲩⲏⲧ). We must, accordingly, vocalize 'Aten', not 'Aton'. It must be emphasized that neither the Canaanite place-name *Hinnatūna* (Heb. *Hannatōn*) nor the Hurrian *Atn-prln* (for which cf. *Bull. ASOR*, No. 63, p. 25) has anything to do with the Aten.—If, however, the feminine *t* was preserved in a compound name like *Mrytln*, we may explain the form *Mayātī* as standing by haplology for *\*Mayātī(n)*, just as *Naphureya* is a haplological form of the alternative and more correct *Naphurureya*.

Since 1928 there have been many interesting discoveries and discussions bearing on the career of queen Meritaten, which begins to assume historical form. Thanks to the reports of Griffith,<sup>4</sup> Gunn,<sup>5</sup> Fairman,<sup>6</sup> and Pendlebury,<sup>7</sup> and to their discussion of the material, supplemented by important articles by Newberry<sup>8</sup> and Wolf,<sup>9</sup> we are in a very favourable position. During the seventeen<sup>10</sup> years of the feeble Akhenaten he seems to have been almost constantly under female influence (or under that of male personalities working through the king's female relatives). Teye was followed by Nofretete, who in any case was a more vigorous character than her husband. Before the end of Akhenaten's reign, however, his eldest daughter, Meritaten, succeeded in depriving her mother of much of her prestige, and the feud between them continued until the death of the daughter's husband, Semenkhkerē, and

<sup>1</sup> For this name see Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. d'Assy.* 19, 100.

<sup>2</sup> For this spelling, which was not available to Ranke, see *Keilschr. Urk. aus Boghaz-köi*, III, 124, obv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the Old Egn. vocalization was *\*mīrī'ī* > *\*mīry*, for the following reason. Gardiner, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 195, n. 28, has pointed out that S. ⲉⲛⲏⲕ ⲛⲉⲁⲥⲓⲉ 'to be drowned' (explained by Griffith in *ZAS* 46, 132 ff.) contains the perfect passive participle ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲉ, Egn. *hay* (*hzy*). The Bohairic form ⲉⲥⲓⲉ makes it probable that ⲉⲁⲥⲓⲉ goes back, according to rule, to *\*hīsyē*(), since this dialect is, in general, rather more conservative in its vocalization than Sa'idic, though it does not go nearly so far in this direction as Akhmimic. The later vocalization of *mry* with *ā* would be paralleled by the still later Coptic tendency to prefer *ā* before an *r* which has changed to *i* (Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 40 bis, 3). In this connexion it may be observed that the first element of *Mri-n-Pth*, cuneiform *Marniptah* of the Boğazköy documents, is the perfective relative (so also Gunn) and not the perfect passive participle as supposed by Friedrich (*OLZ*, 1924, 706) and Sturm (*Wiener Zeits.* 41 (1934), 171); it means 'He whom Rē loves', not 'Beloved of Rē'. Similarly, as Prof. Gunn points out, *Stp-n-Rē* = *Satepnarēa* means 'He whom Rē has chosen'. The forms in question were then pronounced approximately *mārnē* and *sātepnē* (the obscure vowel *ē* was transcribed by a dissimilatory tendency as *i* between two *a* vowels and as *a* between two *e* vowels).

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 17 (1931), 183 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In Peet-Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, I, 147 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In Frankfort-Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II, 108-9.

<sup>7</sup> *JEA* 17, 243; 18, 144 f.; 19 (1933), 116 f.

<sup>8</sup> *JEA* 14 (1928), 3-9; 18, 50 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *ZAS* 65 (1930), 100 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Fairman in *City of Akhenaten*, II, 103, n. 3; Pendlebury in *JEA* 19, 117.



the accession of Tutankhamūn. This is proved partly by monumental representations in which Meritaten displaces her mother, and partly by numerous erasures of the mother's name, which is sometimes replaced by that of her daughter.<sup>1</sup> That Akhenaten and Semenkherē were co-regents has been shown by Newberry,<sup>2</sup> so that the relation between the older queen and her daughter was bound to lead to trouble, especially when intriguing courtiers attached themselves to each party. After Akhenaten's death his widow, presumably in order to forestall the succession of her daughter, actually wrote to the Hittite king Suppiluliuma, asking him for one of his sons as consort, 'for my husband is dead and I have no son, while thou art said to have many sons'.<sup>3</sup>

EA, No. 155 must therefore have been written to the Egyptian court during the brief reign of Semenkherē, which seems to have lasted at least two full years, since the third year of his reign is recorded in the hieratic graffito from the tomb of Pere, published by Gardiner.<sup>4</sup> To his reign belong then the ostraca from Tell el-'Amarnah which are dated in years one and two, since they cannot belong to Akhenaten's reign, as shown by several scholars.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, possible that the first year of Semenkherē really belongs to his co-regency with Akhenaten, as suggested by an ostrakon dated by years seventeen (the last year of the latter) and one (of the former).<sup>6</sup> In agreement with this is an ostrakon from Thebes recently described by Hölscher and Anthes, which apparently proves that Harmais was already on the throne in the twenty-seventh year (after Akhenaten's accession).<sup>7</sup> Since the highest recorded regnal years of Akhenaten, Tutankhamūn, and Aya are, respectively, the seventeenth, sixth, and fourth, it follows that they must have reigned at least twenty-four years together, a result which would leave a maximum of two years and several months to cover the reign of Semenkherē and the odd months at the end of the reigns of the other three. If this is correct, Semenkherē reigned less than two years, but more than one, in all probability, between 1361/0 and 1359/8.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gunn in *City of Akhenaten*, I, 155; Griffith in *JEA* 17, 183; Pendlebury in *JEA* 19, 116.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 14, 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the translation and commentary by Zimmern and Friedrich in *Zeits. f. Assyr.* 35 (1923), 37 ff. The identification of the Egyptian king is discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> *JEA* 14, 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Fairman, *op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>6</sup> Pendlebury in *JEA* 19, 117.

<sup>7</sup> Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 15, 1932)*, 52-3.

<sup>8</sup> This date and others in this paper are based primarily on the new astronomical-calendric chronology of Borchardt (*Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, Cairo, 1935, especially pp. 84 ff., 121 f.). There seems to be little doubt that Borchardt is right in fixing the dates of the death of Tuthmosis III at 1436 B.C. (—1435) and of the accession of Sethos I at 1319 B.C., in view of his unrivalled competence in employing astronomical data to fix the Sothic cycle. His date for the accession of Amenophis III (1413 B.C.) also appears to be solidly established. The dates between 1413 and 1319 are, however, unsatisfactory, as he himself admits (pp. 81, 84 ff.), since the astronomical and calendric material is ambiguous, to say the least, and since several of the regnal years are wrong (e.g. the supposed ninth year of Tutankhamūn was an error, the reign of Akhenaten is four years too long and that of Harmais two years too short, as we know from the new Theban ostrakon). While it is now certain that Amenophis III and his son Akhenaten were co-regents (see Glanville, *Antiquity*, 1936, 82-3, and Pendlebury, *Ill. Ldn. News*, Oct. 10, 1936, p. 620), there is no need to suppose that any of the former's thirty-six years were contemporary with the latter's seventeen. Had they been contemporaneous, we should expect some double datings, as in the Twelfth Dynasty or in the case of Akhenaten and Semenkherē. We suggest the following dates, starting those which are taken from Borchardt's work:

Amenophis III \*1413-1377  
Akhenaten 1377-1361/0  
Semenkherē 1361/0-1359/8

Tutankhamūn 1359/8-1354/3  
Aya 1354/3-1351/0  
Harmais 1351/0-1319



It is possible that Tyre had been designated to provide revenue for Meritaten's pin-money, but the repeated references to Tyre as the 'city of Maya-ati' may be simply intended as flattery to a powerful queen. In itself the idea is plausible, since it was customary for the Egyptian king to designate foreign revenues for specified temples, and there is no reason why the queen might not have been similarly favoured; cf. Diodorus I, 52 (Gunn).

The discovery that EA, No. 155 dates from the years immediately following the death of Amenophis IV has some importance for the chronology of the 'Amarnah Tablets'. Since W. Riedel's dissertation, *Untersuchungen zu den Tell-el-Amarna-Briefen* (1920), many scholars have been inclined to assign practically all the letters to the second half of the reign of Amenophis III and the first few years of his successor. The discovery of the synchronism between Suppiluliuma's fifth-from-the-last year and the death-year of Pharaoh Pipkhurureya(s) has led to a reaction, generally in the direction of spreading the 'Amarnah records over a period of from forty to fifty years.<sup>1</sup> This view cannot be correct. Since the dated documents of Akhetaten stop with the second year of Akhenaten's successor,<sup>2</sup> after which the court moved back to Thebes, it is in the highest degree improbable that any tablets were received there more than a year after that date, i.e. some three years after the death of Amenophis IV. This alone makes the identification of Pipkhurureya with either Tutankhamun<sup>3</sup> or Aya<sup>4</sup> quite impossible. Nearly all scholars therefore identify Pipkhurureya with Akhenaten,<sup>5</sup> which identification the writer regards as certain. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that Forrer<sup>6</sup> and Sturm<sup>7</sup> are right in following Ranke's identification of the name *Pipkhurureya* with the prenomen of Tutankhamun, *Nb-hpru-r*, which would be pronounced \**Nipkhurureya* or the like, in Hittite.<sup>8</sup> The solution is probably to be sought in a direction already sketched by Forrer,<sup>9</sup> namely in a confusion on the part of the Hittite scribe between the names *Napkhurureya* and *Nipkhurureya*. We must remember that the so-called 'Annals' of Suppiluliuma were written in the reign of his son Mursilis II, who ascended the throne about the time of Tutankhamun's death or very soon afterwards. A confusion of the kind suggested would be most natural.

The pivot of the argument for a relatively early date of the great mass of letters from local chieftains, addressed merely to the 'king', is found in the fact that two of them, from a comparatively late period as proved by their contents, are supposed to be addressed specifically to Amenophis III. If this is true, it would follow that nearly the whole correspondence, aside from royal letters, belonged to the reign of Amenophis III. However, the name

<sup>1</sup> A relatively moderate view is represented by Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens* (1927), *passim*; the most extreme position is that of Cavaignac, *Suppiluliuma et son temps* (1932).

<sup>2</sup> Fairman, *op. cit.*, 103.

<sup>3</sup> The most recent and best effort to establish this identification is that of J. Sturm, *Wer ist Pipkhurureya?* in *Rev. Hittite et Asiatique*, Nos. 13-14 (1934), 162-76. The writer formerly held this view, mainly for the same linguistic reasons as those given by Sturm.

<sup>4</sup> See Cavaignac in *Kēmi*, 3 (1930), 33-8. This view is linguistically impossible, quite aside from all the other difficulties; cf. Sturm's discussion.

<sup>5</sup> So especially Eduard Meyer, *Gesch. Alt.*, II, 1 (2nd ed.), 337 ff.; Forrer, *Forschungen*, II, 24-32; Götze in *Klio*, 19, 347, n. 1 and *Die Annalen d. Mursilis* (1933), 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 26-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.* In addition to Sturm's arguments, it may be observed that a confusion between the full name in its Hittite form \**Nipkhurureyas* and a hypocoristic \**Bibey* (pronounced \**Pipe* by the Hittites) would also come into consideration. Names beginning with the element *nb* often formed a hypocoristicon *Bbi*; cf. Junker in *ZAS*, 63, 63.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps it should be remarked that the Hittites regularly confused the Semitic and Egyptian voiced and voiceless stops, following a well-known Anatolian isogloss, also found in other languages of this region.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, 26, below.



of the addressee in the letters of Akizzi of Qatna, *EA*, Nos. 53 and 55, has hitherto been misread by all historians (so far as we can find); we should read the group *NAM-ḪUR-ia* as Namkhureya, not as Nammuriya with all previous students except Sturm, who has corrected the error (*WZKM* 41 [1934], 167). The cuneiform value *hur* is much more common than *mur* in the documents from 'Amarnah and Boğazköy. Moreover, the vowel of the first syllable is wrong; the name of Amenophis III appears as *Ni-ib-mu-u-wa-re-ia*, *Ni-ib-mu-a-re(i)a*, *Ni-mu-wa-re-ia*,<sup>1</sup> *Ni-im-mu-u-re-ia*, *Im-mu-u-re-ia*, *Mi-im-mu-(u)-re-ia*, *Mi-mu-re-ia*, all representing various attempts to reproduce \**Nib-mūre-rē* in cuneiform, with secondary assimilation or dissimilation of the first consonant. Akizzi's *Namḫuria* stands undoubtedly for *Naphuria* (Amenophis IV); cf. the spellings *Na-ap-ḫu-(u)-ru-re-ia*, *Na-ap-ḫur-re-ia*, *Nap-ḫu-u-re-ia*, etc. The nasalizing is common in Hurrian territory; cf. the alternation between the forms *Kidša* and *Kinza* (originally *Qidšu*) of the name of Kadesh on the Orontes, only a few hours' travel from Qatna. The letters of Akizzi were clearly written shortly before the final destruction of the city, either in the second or the third Syrian campaign of Suppiluliuma, i.e. either about the middle of the reign of Amenophis IV or at the very end of it.

This observation eliminates the chronological strain which we find in all recent attempts to rearrange the events of the 'Amarnah period in chronological order, whether made by Forrer,<sup>2</sup> Götze,<sup>3</sup> Bilabel,<sup>4</sup> or Cavaignac.<sup>5</sup> We can now place the entire career of Aziru, the principal ruler in Amurrū in the second part of the period covered by the 'Amarnah Letters, after the accession of Akhenaten, and can date the second Syrian campaign of Suppiluliuma, described in the Mattiwaza Treaty, late in the reign of Akhenaten, instead of before his accession. All scholars agree that the letter of Aziru's *locum tenentes* (*EA*, No. 170) gives an explicit account of the beginning of Suppiluliuma's third Syrian campaign, in which a great Hittite army was led by Zitas and Lupakkis. This campaign began a year or two before the mission of the queen of Akhenaten to the Hittite king, described briefly above. Hitherto this has been regarded as the latest datable 'Amarnah letter, belonging to about the year 1362-1361 (present chronology). The letter which mentions Meritaten must be a little later, since it probably belongs to the year 1360-1359 B.C.

That this is approximately correct becomes clear from an examination of all ten letters of Abimilki of Tyre. Dated relatively to the voluminous correspondence of Rib-Adda of Byblus, they seem very late. Rib-Adda's sixty-five letters may be distributed into four periods: (1) under Amenophis III, while Abdi-Ashirta of Amurrū was the great enemy; (2) after the latter's death, when his place was taken by his sons; (3) under Amenophis IV, when Aziru of Amurrū was sole ruler; (4) after the final victory of Aziru over Rib-Adda. Weber says correctly: 'In general the Abimilki letters give the impression of belonging to the latest of the entire El-'Amarnah correspondence, and they certainly presuppose the complete success of Aziru.'<sup>6</sup> But the final success of Aziru took place well after the second campaign of Suppiluliuma in Syria, as is clear from a careful comparison of the Hittite documents with the 'Amarnah Letters. We are thus brought down to the very end of the reign of Amenophis IV, in any case. Since the ten letters of Abimilki were all written by the

<sup>1</sup> One occurrence (*EA*, No. 31, 1) has hitherto been erroneously read *Ni-mu-ut-re-ia*, a form which is linguistically impossible, but it should certainly be read *Ni-mu-ua(!)-re-ia*, with a change which does not involve anything but the separation of the horizontal wedge that distinguishes *WA* (*PI*) from *UT*, from the first horizontal wedge of *RI* (read *ri*, *re*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Forrer, *Forschungen*, II, 21 ff., where the latter part of the period is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> See *Klio* 19, 347-50.

<sup>4</sup> *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, *passim*, with table on pp. 93-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 73 ff., 227 ff., 296 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, *EA*, p. 1245.



same Egyptian scribe (unless we wish to postulate two Egyptian scribes with the same peculiarities, even of handwriting), we can hardly spread them out over too long a period, and can tentatively date them all between c. 1365 and 1358 B.C., by which year Akhetaten had probably been abandoned by the Egyptian court.

#### ADDENDUM: EGYPTIANISMS IN THE ABIMILKI CORRESPONDENCE

Since it has not been recognized hitherto that the letters from Abimilki, prince of Tyre, were actually written by an Egyptian scribe, we must devote some space to a demonstration of this. First, we shall consider the Egyptian words and glosses, the five clearest of which were previously known, while four others may now be added. Then come direct translations from Egyptian, which include two whole poems and several words and constructions. Several morphological and syntactic peculiarities may also be explained as due to the scribe's ignorance of idiomatic Canaanite or Accadian. Finally, a study of certain phonological peculiarities of the scribe's cuneiform prove that he was either Egyptian or Hurrian—certainly the former, since there is nothing else whatever to suggest a Hurrian origin.

Three Egyptian words had already been recognized when Ranke wrote his valuable monograph on cuneiform material for Egyptian vocalization:<sup>1</sup> *wē(h)u*, 'soldier, petty officer' (EA, No. 150: 6, 9; 152: 47, 50) = *wēw* (pronounced \**wēē[w]*);<sup>2</sup> *pawēra(i)*, 'foreign chieftain, prince' (EA, No. 149: 30; 151: 59) = *pr-wr(w)* (pronounced \**pē-wērē[w]*);<sup>3</sup> *uput(i)*, 'envoy' (EA, No. 151: 20; 152: 56)<sup>4</sup> = *wputi* (pronounced approximately \**ēwpuw-tē[t]*).<sup>5</sup> While the second and third words occur only in the Abimilki letters, the first is found elsewhere, but is, e.g., six times as frequent here as in any other body of Canaanite letters in the 'Amarnah collection. The same year that Ranke's monograph appeared (1910) Ebeling pointed out two additional cases:<sup>6</sup> *akuni(u)*, 'amphora'<sup>7</sup> (EA, No. 148: 12; cf. No. 14: III, 36) = *i-ku-na*; <sup>8</sup> *hapš(i)* (EA, No. 147: 12; cf. 147: 54, 64) = *hps*, 'arm, sword, strength'

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *Keilschr. Mat. zur altäg. Vokalisation*, 19, 24, 26.

<sup>2</sup> For the vowel *ē* (which has nothing to do genetically with Coptic *ē* derived from *ā* [*Vocalization*, pp. 17-18]) in \**wēē[w]* and \**Rēē[w]* see *Rec. Trav.* 40 (1923), 67, where these words are explained as fossilized participles of the *fā'il* type (not connected with any Egyptian participial formations, all of which are neoplastic in Egyptian), analogous to the fossil *pi'el* participles collected by Grapow. To the three illustrations given there add \**wērē[w]*, 'great', discussed here; it may be added that the vocalization is preserved by Coptic *ⲟϣⲓⲣ*, 'how much' (Spiegelberg, *Kopt. Hdwb.*, 170, n. 10). A fifth case may be \**nēbē[w]*, 'lord'; cf. cuneiform *neb(nib)-ta-wa* = *nb-trwl* with *nnē* : *nnē*.

<sup>3</sup> For the vocalization see the preceding note; it should be added that the cuneiform spelling *Pa-WA-ra(i)* should be read *Pa-we-ra(i)*, not *Pa-wi-ra(i)* with Knudtson and Ranke.

<sup>4</sup> In 152: 56 we should perhaps read *u-pu-ta* (*ta<sup>m</sup>*) for *u-b(p)u-ut*. In 151: 20 the word is parallel to the abstract *mirātu*, which must mean 'mission', so Ranke's hesitation in making the identification with *wputi* was not unwarranted. However, confusion between the name of an office (or collective body) and that of the official (or member of the collective body) was so common in the Ancient Orient that it need occasion no surprise.

<sup>5</sup> In view of the writing *wputi(a?)* we can hardly vocalize *wputi* otherwise. Since the latter is derived from *wput*, preserved in Coptic as *ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉ*, it may follow that the original form of the latter was \**wdpūwīt*, whence in Late Egn. (under the influence of the accent) \**wdpwē(t)* > \**wdpwē* > \**yōpwē*.

<sup>6</sup> *Das Verbum d. El-Amarna-Briefe*, 78.

<sup>7</sup> The meaning is established by the fact that it is said to be used for carrying water; it accordingly designates a two-handled water-jar, in agreement with the Egyptian hieroglyph. The word is not Canaanite and has nothing to do with Heb. *'aggān* = Accad. *ag(g)annu*, Aram. *aggānā*; the Egyptians may have borrowed it from an African source.

<sup>8</sup> For the transcription see *Vocalization*, p. 60, XVII. C. 1.



(pronounced *hāpeš*).<sup>1</sup> We propose four additional cases: *panimu* (EA, No. 155: 46) = *bu-nb*, 'everywhere' (pronounced \**bānībē[w]* or \**bānīmē[w]*);<sup>2</sup> *arū*, 'contented, happy' (EA, No. 147: 28) = *hrw(w)*, 'he is contented, satisfied' (pronounced \**hāricē[w]*);<sup>3</sup> *quna* (EA, No. 147: 36) = *qny*, 'be ye valiant';<sup>4</sup> *yāyaya*, an exclamation denoting approval (EA, No. 147: 38) = *y*, 'yea verily, etc.' (repeated for emphasis).<sup>5</sup> There are several other damaged glosses which may be Egyptian, but the context is nowhere sufficiently clear to permit of a convincing suggestion.

Much more impressive than these scattered words and glosses is the fact that two rather long poems in EA, No. 147 (lines 5-15, 41-56), are unmistakably inspired by Egyptian models, as is clear from ideas, idioms, word-order, and especially from Egyptian parallels. On the other hand, nothing comparable has been discovered either in Hebrew poetry or in the Canaanite literature of Ugarit (Rās esh-Shamrah), nor are there any parallels in Accadian texts. It does not, of course, follow that our scribe translated these poems for the purpose

<sup>1</sup> Correctly combined by Ebeling with Coptic ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲙⲓ. The ideogram ZAG does not, however, mean 'arm', as thought at first by Knudtzon and Ebeling (contrast EA, p. 1412), but 'might, power' (*emūqu*); see *J. Pal. Or. Soc.* 4, 169; 6, 106.

<sup>2</sup> The cuneiform text reads: *amāta(m) šarri* (sign of foreign word) *panimu* [il]lak, 'The word of the king goes *panimu*'. Ebeling, *op. cit.*, 78, proposed to explain *panimu* as identical with Heb. *pānēmō* (Psalms xi. 7), comparing *maḥzīramu* (EA, No. 287: 16), and translating, 'das Wort des Königs geht vor ihnen her'. This is both phonetically and morphologically possible; *pānēmō* stands for \**pānīhimū* (Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, § 29 p'), but this form of the suffix is only found in very late, strongly archaistic passages, and is often used for the singular as well as for the plural (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 91 l). However, the meaning simply cannot be made to fit into the context here (the following line has 'the king is the sun-god forever'). Since *p* and *b* are constantly confused, and the quantity of vowels is hardly ever indicated in the Abimilki letters, there is no difficulty whatever in explaining *panimu* as *bu-nb*, 'everywhere'. The equation *ba = bu*, 'place', if correct, explains the syllabic value  $\text{𐎧} = ba$ , which so puzzled the writer (*Vocalization*, § 41); we must derive it from the word  $\text{𐎧} = bu$ , 'place', considering  $\text{𐎧} = bu$  as alphabetic. The word *nb*, 'all, every', appears in Coptic as ⲡⲓⲛⲓⲙⲓ: *uḥē(n): nūḥi* (Fayyūmic), and was undoubtedly pronounced \**nībē()* or \**nīmē()*; for the interchange between *b* and *m*, especially in the presence of *n*, cf. Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 210, 4 and note the pronunciation of *Hnūm* as *Hnūb* at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The cuneiform text reads: *u ḥatiāti dannis u* (sign of foreign word) *a-ru-ū ina ūmi u ū[mi]ma* = 'and I rejoiced (*ḥadū*) greatly and *arū* day by day'. 'Amarnah usage demands that *arū* be connected with the preceding; it cannot possibly be Egn. *hrw*, 'day', but must be an adjective or preferably a verbal form. Since we find no little confusion here between persons, which are shifted in bewildering fashion, we can hardly be wrong in identifying *arū* with the stative (old perfective) of *hrw*, 'be satisfied, happy', third person masculine singular, to be vocalized \**hāricē(w)*. For the consonantal structure and the relation with the secondary Coptic stative ⲉⲣⲣⲓⲙⲓ see Sethe, *Verbum*, II, §§ 112, 84. For the final *w* in Late Egn. see Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 332.

<sup>4</sup> The context offers: *enūma iqbi šarru bēliya* (sign indicating foreign word) *qū-na ana pāni ummāni* (so, EA, p. 1538) *rabiti, u iqbi ardu ana bēlišu* (sign of foreign word) *ia-a-ia-ia* = 'When the king my lord says *quna* before the great army, then the servant says to his lord *yāyaya*'. Since we are very poorly informed about the vocalization of the old Egyptian imperative (cf. Gard., *Eg. Gr.*, § 335; Erman, *Äg. Gr.* (4th ed.), § 380; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, § 350), this interpretation cannot be regarded as certain, especially since the Canaanite explanation (imperative of *kun*, 'be, stand') remains possible, though unlikely. If correct, we should vocalize the imperative plural of *qni* approximately \**qūnēy* for \**qūnēl*. It should perhaps be added that the sign *KU* (*Qū*) equally represents *qu* in the 'Amarnah orthography; cf. numerous cases s.v. *qūlu* and *laqū* (EA, pp. 1446, 1451-3).

<sup>5</sup> For the cuneiform context see the preceding note. Our suggestion is that it represents Late Egn.  $\text{𐎧} \text{𐎧} \text{𐎧}$ , repeated for emphasis (Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, §§ 717, 588). Such reduplication is apparently unknown in Accadian, Canaanite, or Biblical Hebrew.



of letter 147; it is much more likely that he had used the Accadian version frequently, and had perhaps obtained it originally from official Egyptian sources in translated form. The poems in question were considered by Winckler, Böhl, and Jirku as Canaanite compositions;<sup>1</sup> in 1918 Gressmann showed that their background, imagery and, in part, their wording were Egyptian, though he did not yet recognize that they were practically direct translations from Egyptian.<sup>2</sup> Gressmann's work was resumed by Alt in 1932,<sup>3</sup> with important additions, but, strangely enough, was totally disregarded by Jirku in 1933, as was Alt's contribution of the year before.

The first poem (lines 5-15) may be translated:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 5. My lord is the Sun-god   | who rises over the lands day after day, <sup>4</sup> |
| 8. as ordained <sup>5</sup> by the Sun-god,                       | his gracious father,                                 |
| 9. who gives life by his sweet breath <sup>6</sup>                |  |
| 10. and diminishes <sup>7</sup> when he is hidden, <sup>8</sup>   |  |
| 11. who sets <sup>9</sup> the whole land                          | in peace by his might, <sup>10</sup>                 |
| 13. who utters his battle-cry in heaven like Ba'al, <sup>11</sup> | so that the land quakes with his cry. <sup>12</sup>  |

No Egyptologist can fail to see the strong Egyptian colouring of the poem, which may be translated into Egyptian, as we have attempted to do, with ease, and with good parallels almost throughout. Some of the phrases are so common as to require no illustration;

<sup>1</sup> See the discussions by Alt in *ZDMG* 11 (1932), 33 ff., and Jirku in *J. Bibl. Lit.* 52 (1933), 109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Beihfte zur Zeitschr. f. d. Alttestamentl. Wiss.*, XXXIII (Baudissin volume), 207-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> The expression *ina ūmi u ūmi-ma* is unknown in Accadian, which employs *ūmišam*, 'daily'. It could reflect Canaanite (Hebrew) *yōm yōm* or *yōm wa-yōm* but is a more direct equivalent of Egypt. (m) *hrw* (*hr*) *hrw*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cuneiform *kīma šimat ūšamaš*, lit., 'like the ordinance (destiny) of the god Shamash'. The expression is very strange Accadian, but is quite understandable as a rendering of Egn. *mī šit-n R*, since *šrw*, 'fate', is the exact equivalent of *šimtu*.

<sup>6</sup> Egyptian parallels from the New Kingdom are legion; cf. Grapow in *EA*, p. 1606; Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 208 f. The idea is unknown in Accadian.

<sup>7</sup> The line reads: *u i-za-ĤAR ina šapānišu*, which has proved to be a *cruz interpretum*, with Knudtzon proposing *i-za-ḥar* from *šahāru* (then written *zahāru*), 'to turn', and Delitzsch preferring *i-za-mur* from *zamāru*, 'to sing', which does not fit into the passage at all. We must naturally read *i-za-ḥir* for *u-za-ḥir*, 'he makes less, diminishes, decimates, etc.', just as we have *ibališ* for *ubališ* in the previous line. The Egyptian cuneiformist simply confused *qal* forms with *pi'el*. For other occurrences of the word in letter 147 see below.

<sup>8</sup> The verb *šapānu* is Canaanite, not Accadian, but the conception is pure Egyptian, where *imn* is commonly used of the gods. There is nothing comparable in Accadian.

<sup>9</sup> The verb *ittasab* is Accadianized Canaanite (Heb. *hityasēb*, *niṣṣāb*, North Canaanite *nsb* in various forms), but the form is wrongly used in an active sense; for the correct use see the following letter (No. 148: 42).

<sup>10</sup> See n. 1 of p. 197 above.

<sup>11</sup> For numerous Egyptian parallels see Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 197 ff. The earliest occurrence of the god Ba'al, identified with Sūtaḥ, in Egyptian literature seems to be in a poem describing a Syrian campaign of Tuthmosis III (cf. Alt in *ZDMG* 11 [1932], 38).

<sup>12</sup> To illustrate the thoroughly Egyptian character of this poem we offer a translation into Middle Egyptian (which was still the literary norm), nearly every phrase of which is fixed by parallels (Prof. Gunn has improved several renderings, but is not responsible for line 11).

- |                                   |                  |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 5. <i>Rt pw nb-i</i>              | <i>wbn hr tw</i> | (m) <i>hrw r hrw</i>         |
| 8. <i>mī šit-n Rt</i>             | <i>itf nfr</i>   | <i>dī tnh m tw-f nqm</i>     |
| 11. <i>dī trgr-f m ḥtp m ḥp-f</i> |                  |                              |
| 13. <i>dī hrw-f m pt mī Bt</i>    |                  | <i>iw t hr mnma hr hrw-f</i> |



Grapow and Gressmann have already given numerous parallels to lines 9 and 13 ff. Two additional quotations will give a good idea of the close resemblance in tone and details. In the great Abydos inscription of Ramesses II the courtiers are represented as eulogizing the king with the words: 'Behold we are now before thy majesty, that thou mayest ordain to us the life which thou givest, O Pharaoh, l.p.h., breath of life, who givest life to all men when thou shinest on them'.<sup>1</sup> Tutankhamūn is addressed as follows: 'Give us the breath which thou givest, O lord; tell us thy victories; and there shall be no rebels in thy time, but every land shall be in peace.'<sup>2</sup>

The second poem is even more interesting, though it is harder to find exact parallels for some of it:

41. As for him who hearkens to the king his lord
42. and serves him in his place,<sup>3</sup>
43. the Sun-god shall rise over him,
44. and sweet breath from the mouth of the king my lord shall give him life(!)<sup>4</sup>
45. But as for him who hearkens not to the word of the king his lord,
46. his city shall perish,<sup>5</sup> his house shall perish,<sup>6</sup>
47. his name<sup>7</sup> shall not exist in the whole land for ever.<sup>8</sup>
- See, as for the servant who hearkens to his lord,
50. it shall be well with his city, it shall be well with his house,
51. his name shall exist for ever.
52. Thou art the Sun-god who rises over me,
53. and a brazen wall<sup>9</sup> which is reared for me(!)<sup>10</sup>
54. and because of the mighty power<sup>11</sup> of the king my lord
56. I am tranquil.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, III, § 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, § 1033.

<sup>3</sup> Accad. *ina ašrānišu* stands unquestionably for *m ist-f*; again the Egyptian phrase is common while the Accadian is *recherché*. No similar expression is known in Hebrew or North Canaanite.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of correct *uballit* (*uballat*), which our scribe would have written *iballit*, as in line 9, he uses the verb which occurs in line 10, by a polar association of ideas familiar to all writers.

<sup>5</sup> The sequence of tenses (preterite in the protasis, stative in the apodosis) is possible in Accadian, though rare in all periods. The form of the statives in line 50 (*šulmu*) is foreign to both Accadian and Canaanite, and belongs to the artificial language of the Syrian cuneiform scribes.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 'his house shall not exist' in Egyptian curse formulae of the seventh century (Möller, in *Sitzungsber. Berlin* 47 [1910], 945), which presumably reflect older usage, as ordinarily in the Saite period. There do not seem to be any close parallels from curse formulae in western Asia.

<sup>7</sup> This use of *šumu* in the exact sense of Egn. *rn* appears to be foreign to both Accadian and Hebrew-Canaanite. Of course, there are related uses there, but the connotation is always different (reputation in life, offspring, etc.).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 'his name shall not exist among the living for ever' (*nn wn rn-f mm 'nhw n dt*), in an Egyptian curse formula of the Saite period (Möller in *op. cit.*, 946). 'In the whole land' is naturally a direct translation of *m ti (r) dr-f*.

<sup>9</sup> This expression, of pure Egyptian origin, has been fully discussed by Alt in his admirable paper *Hic murus aeneus esto* in *ZDMG* 11 (1932), 33-48.

<sup>10</sup> The text has *ša izqupū (tū) ana šūšu*, 'which they have raised for him', but there can be no doubt that we have here one of the confusions between the first and third person which are so common in these letters.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. n. 1 on p. 197 above.

<sup>12</sup> The scribe was at a loss for the Accadian equivalent, so he employed two Canaanite verbs, both preceded by the sign for a foreign word, and doubtless both supplied to him by Abimilki, who either dictated most of the text or told the scribe what to say, leaving details to his skill. The second word, *ba-ti-i-ti*, stands for *bašitū*, 'I am confident', as pointed out by Ebeling.





The best parallel which the writer can find comes, it is interesting to note, from the generation immediately after the period of the Abimilki letters. In a hymn to Amūn which clearly alludes to the Aten heresy,<sup>1</sup> we read:

O Amūn, thou brazen rampart(?)!<sup>2</sup> . . .  
 The sun of the one who knows thee not, O Amūn, sets.  
 As for the one who knows thee, he rises (*sw wbn*).  
 . . . . .  
 The whole earth is in light.  
 He who puts thee entirely into his heart, O Amūn,  
 Behold, his sun rises.

Curses and blessings from the New Kingdom are found, e.g., in the hieratic inscription of Amenophis son of Paapis, dating in its present form from the Twenty-first Dynasty,<sup>3</sup> but presumably based in part on an original from the reign of Amenophis III. The parallels cited above, though all later than our period, undoubtedly reflect formulae which were already familiar.

Throughout the Abimilki correspondence there are words and expressions which betray their Egyptian origin. We have already called attention to the use of *šumu* (found four times) and *šehu* (found ten times, and only in these letters) in the pure Egyptian sense of *rn* and *fnw*. Since *šumu* occurs only seven times in all the other Canaanite letters, and never in the meaning here found, while *šehu* is otherwise known only from cuneiform vocabularies, the peculiar use of these words is most significant. The strange expression *šaknātani ina rābiši* (EA, No. 149: 47 f.) is evidently a direct translation of a Late-Egyptian (*mk*) *dī-k wī m mḥ-ib*, 'thou hast made me a commissioner'.<sup>4</sup> The even more curious word-order in the

<sup>1</sup> See Erman in ZÄS 42 (1905), 106-9, and *Literatur*, 381-3.

<sup>2</sup> The text clearly offers *šbht n bit*, 'brazen gate' (British Museum: *Inscr. in the Hier. and Dem. Character*, Pl. xxvi, line 7), but we may safely suppose that a scribe wrote  for  at some stage in the transmission of the poem.

<sup>3</sup> See Möller, *Sitzungsber. Berlin* 47 (1910), 932 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Since the Egyptian equivalent of Accad. *rābišu*, Canaanite *šōken* (EA, No. 256: 9; Thureau-Dangin in *Rev. d'Assyr.* 19, 94, line 69) has not hitherto been recognized, some discussion is necessary. We have the cuneiform transcription of this Egyptian term in two passages in EA. In a letter of Burra-buriash of Babylon to Amenophis IV the former complains that his caravans have been twice robbed, the second time by *Pa-ma-ḥu[-u]* [*šā*] *kīn mātika ša māt kiṣri* (EA, No. 7: 76-7), 'Pamaḥū, a governor of thy land, of a land under (thy) military power'. *Pamaḥū* may be either a proper name or a misunderstood Egyptian title, but since Ranke does not list any Late-Egn. name which could be identified with it, the latter alternative becomes quite possible. It is made certain by EA, No. 162: 74, in a letter from Egypt to Amurrū where the Egyptian court demands the delivery of a number of malefactors, including a certain Mania (or rather, his family, since he seems to have escaped), who is accused of deeds belonging apparently to the category of *lèse majesté*. Mania is called the *anet-pa-ma-ḥa-a*, that is, the *pamaḥū*-official. Since the latter is nominative, not accusative, while *pamaḥū* in the Babylonian letter is nominative, we may prefer the Egyptian writing *pamaḥā* to the possibly Babylonized *pamaḥū* (but see below). Mania himself bears an Egyptian name, possibly identical with *Ma-ni-e*, the name of another, much more distinguished official in the foreign service. The difference in the ending, however, suggests that *Mania* represents Late-Egn. *Mny* (*mn-jj*, Ranke, *Personennamen*, 151, No. 4), whereas *Manē* is *Mniw* (*loc. cit.*, Nos. 5, 6).

The Babylonian term *šaknu* naturally corresponds to 'Amarnah *rābišu* and Canaanite *šōken*, which also appears in the Aḥirām inscription (c. 1100 B.C.) in the sense of 'prefect, governor'. One of the 'Amarnah *rābišūti* is probably known from contemporary Egyptian inscriptions; see Spiegelberg, *Der Rabiš Maia der El-Amarna-Tafeln in einer ägyptischen Inschrift in Zeits. f. Assyr.* 30, 299 f. In his own inscription, however, Māya does not bear any title which could be equated either with *rābišu* or with the transcribed *pamaḥā*; *wpuṭi naet m ḥst* is hardly an equivalent. Search through the titularies of New Kingdom foreign officials



expression *ša ittaši amāta*<sup>m</sup> (155: 43) is only explicable to the writer as an attempt to reproduce an Egyptian *wd-mdw* literally (*amātu* = *mdw*, 'word'); lines 43-4 then mean 'And what has been commanded from (= by) the mouth of the king'.

The morphology of the Abimilki letters is very interesting. The scribe avoids some of the ubiquitous errors of his Canaanite *confrères*, found in all letters written by Canaanite scribes. For example, in the ten letters of this group there is not a single case of imperfects beginning with *y* as in Canaanite, though they are scattered by the hundred through the tablets composed by Canaanite scribes. Our scribe shows numerous traces of having been influenced by the language spoken at Tyre, in which the letters that he wrote were dictated, so his abstention from this particular type of error shows that he reacted deliberately against it as a vulgarity. He does not confuse tenses or verbal endings more than Canaanite scribes, who were very helpless in these respects owing to the fact that there was a radical difference between the corresponding phenomena in Accadian and Canaanite. However, many of his mistakes in using verbs are precisely in points where Accadian and Canaanite agree, and where the Canaanite scribes show remarkable accuracy. He uses singular for plural (e.g. 149: 60), first person for third (e.g. 149: 42), *qal* for *pi'el* (e.g. 147: 9-10), transitive for intransitive (e.g., 147: 11 contrasted with 148: 42 and 151: 42). A particularly bad mistake has already been discussed in n. 10 on p. 199. There are a number of flagrant errors in the use of case-endings, which are easily explicable when made by an Egyptian scribe, since case-endings had long since vanished in Egyptian. It must be said, however, that Canaanite scribes also make occasional mistakes in case-endings, which were beginning to become confused in the Canaanite of the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout these ten tablets we find confusion between the voiced and voiceless stops (*mediae* and *tenues*) *b-p*, *g-k*, *d-t*, a confusion practically unknown in the Canaanite letters (*b* for *p* is a question of transcription, since *BI* was read both *bi* and *pi*, *PI* being reserved

yields a plausible explanation; *pamahā* is *pi mē-ib* (*n nset*, *n nō twi*, etc.), 'the plenipotentiary (lit., the one who fills the heart) of the king'. In the fifteenth century Nēhāsēy, viceroy of Nubia, is the *mē-ib n nset*, *mē-ib mnh n nō twi*, etc. Dēhāwtēl is the *mē-ib nset hr hst nb(t)*. The title seems to be much more common with military officers than with civil officials, who were seldom employed in foreign service.

The vocalization of *pi mē-ib* demands careful analysis of the evidence. The element *mē* is evidently an active participle denoting habitual or professional activity, i.e. an imperfect according to Erman (*Äg. Gr.*, §§ 389-90 a) and probably perfective according to Gardiner (*Eg. Gr.*, §§ 359, 272), though the latter gives examples of imperfectives with this meaning (§ 357). One clear vocalized case has survived into Coptic, ⲉⲙⲱⲧ for *iqdī(w)*, regarded by Erman as imperfect and by Gardiner as perfective. Fortunately *iqdī(w)*, 'mason, builder', is also derived from a biconsonantal verb, so we may vocalize them similarly, \**iqdādī(w)* and \**idmādādī(w)*. The plural ⲉⲙⲱⲧⲉ stands for \**iqdādīw*. For *ib*, 'heart', we have an indication in the name of the city Athribis, Coptic ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲃⲉ: ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲃⲓ and Assyrian *Hatharebi* (seventh century), Arab. *Atrib* (there was no *ē* in classical Arabic), for original *Ht-t-ḥr(-)ib*. The long vowel of the penult proves that the last element in the name was not *ḥry-ib*, as commonly supposed, but *ḥr-iby* (so already *Wb.*, III, 137, lines 24 ff.). Prof. Gunn has also pointed out that the name of the decan *ḥr(y)-iby-wl* appears in Greek as ῥῆνοια (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 148), *iby* corresponding to *ē*, with the loss of *b* of which examples were collected by Sethe in *ZAS* 50, 80 ff. If *iby* became *ēbe*, the original pronunciation may be assumed to have been \**ūbe*, and that of *ib*, \**iāb*, going back to \**iūbb* < \**libb* (just as in Arabic, where common Semitic *libb* has also become *iābb* through the influence of the following labial). *Pi mē-ib* may then have been pronounced \**p(ā) 'āmāhā' ū(b)* or the like. Though we have suggested above that cuneiform *pamahā* was more correct than *pamahū* it may be that both are attempts to reproduce a word sounding something like \**pāmāhā' ū*. The loss of final *b* in pronunciation is on a par with that of final *b* in *Pareamahū* = *Pr-ḥ-m-hb* (cf. Ranke, *Keilschr. Mat. zur altäg. Vokalisation*, 16, n. 1), the name of a personality whom the writer hopes to discuss elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vocalization*, pp. 18 f.; *J. Pal. Or. Soc.* 14, 110 f.



for *wa*, *we*, etc.).<sup>1</sup> Since we have exactly the same confusion (though in proportionately greater abundance) in the letters written by Hurrian and Hittite scribes, it follows that our letters might on this ground alone be assigned to Hurrian writers. But the overwhelming Egyptian colouring which we have been describing, combined with the total lack of the Hurrianisms and Hurrian glosses which characterize all letters from central and northern Syria, are sufficient to demonstrate the error involved in such a deduction. Moreover, our phenomenon is characteristic of nearly all the Egyptian letters found at 'Amarnah and Boğazköy; cf. especially *EA*, Nos. 14, 99, 162, and *Rev. d'Assyr.* 19, 100 f.

By far the best study of Egyptian consonantal sounds is found in Worrell's recent work, *Coptic Sounds* (1932), with which the writer's review (*Language* 10, 220-4) may be compared; Czermak's *Die Laute der ägyptischen Sprache* (1931-4) is practically unusable, since even the material on which he bases his speculations is uncritically collected. While the interpretation of this complex mass of data is difficult, the solution appears to be that Egn. *b*, *d*, *g* were half-voiced, while *p*, *t*, *k* were voiceless. It is also possible that, as the writer formerly believed,<sup>2</sup> *b*, *d*, *g* were voiced while *p*, *t*, *k* were half-voiced, though this view seems to offer more difficulty than the other. In any case, as convincingly shown by transcriptions from Canaanite into Egyptian and the reverse, the values of the stops had become quite different in nuance: Egn. *d* is used for Semitic *d* and *t*, while *t* is used for *d* and *t*; Heb. *t* is used for Egn. *d*, while *t* = Egn. *t*.

In the course of our study of the Abimilki letters we have made numerous observations on the interpretation of the text which do not properly belong to this paper; since, however, several of them are important for the understanding of the letters, we shall discuss them in a footnote.<sup>3</sup> In conclusion we wish to thank Professor Gunn

<sup>1</sup> Another striking difference between the letters from Tyre and those from all other Canaanite cities is that our scribe always writes *amātu*, 'word', with *m*, whereas all other Canaanite scribes write *awātu* (with *w*), as in Old Accadian *awātum* and Canaanite (Ugaritic) *hwt*. Contemporary Mesopotamian scribes write *amātu*, which was usually employed by Egyptian cuneiformists.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Language* 10, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Our new interpretations of the following passages do not include material already presented and discussed in this paper, but are supplementary. We give the cuneiform text of each passage in connected form.

(1). All difficult passages in letter 147 have been treated above except lines 16-24: <sup>16</sup>*annū išpur ardu ana belišu* <sup>17</sup>*enūma išmē m[ār] šipri damqa* <sup>18</sup>*ša šarri ša igāšad ana ardišu* <sup>19</sup>*u šēhu jābu ša ittaši* <sup>20</sup>*ištu pi šarri beliya* <sup>21</sup>*ana ardišu u išāhir šēhušu* <sup>22</sup>*lam gašād amēl(!) šipri šarri beliya* <sup>23</sup>*lā išāhir šēhu izākir* <sup>24</sup>*amāt abbiya* = <sup>16</sup>'Behold the servant has written to his lord <sup>17</sup>that(!) he has heard the auspicious messenger <sup>18</sup>of the king who comes to his servant, <sup>19</sup>and (that he has received) the sweet breath which went forth <sup>20</sup>from the mouth of the king my lord <sup>21</sup>to his servant, whose (!) breath is feeble <sup>22</sup>before the coming of the messenger of the king my lord <sup>23</sup>(whereas now) he will not be feeble of breath but will remember <sup>24</sup>the words of my fathers (quoted in the following lines)'. For the meaning of *šēhēru* (not *šahāru* or *zamāru*) and *šēhu* see nn. 6, 7, p. 198; other divergences from Knudtzon's translation have been indicated, where important, by exclamation marks. We have already called attention to the confusion between the first and third persons.

(2). 148: 34-40: <sup>34</sup>*enūma* <sup>35</sup>*ipuš nukurtu* <sup>36</sup>*lā itter* <sup>37</sup>*māmīta* <sup>38</sup>*iānu LÚ-[G]R sanū* <sup>39</sup>*ša išha[f] māt šarri* <sup>40</sup>*šar al Sidūna* = 'Though (the king of Sidon) has made war (against me) he has not returned the oath of peace (i.e., he is still nominally at peace). There is no one else; it is the king of Sidon who attacks the land of the king'. *Enūma* is used in all the Canaanite letters in *EA* as the equivalent of Heb. *kī*, all of whose values it shares; one of the writer's students is preparing a thesis on the use of *enūma* in *EA*. *Itter* is used in its normal sense; *LÚ-GIR* is regularly used in the sense of 'man, person' in the Abimilki letters, but occurs nowhere else; *sanū* = *šanū*, since confusion in sibilants is not uncommon in these tablets (cf. *samē* for *šamē*, 147: 13).

(3). 149: 11-17: <sup>11</sup>*u aštapar šuppa ḥamuṭa(!)* <sup>12</sup>*ana šarri beliya u lā* <sup>13</sup>*išter amāta* <sup>14</sup>*ana iāsi* <sup>15</sup>*anāku rābiš* <sup>16</sup>*šarri beliya* <sup>17</sup>*u anāku ša ubal amāta* <sup>18</sup>*lāba u anā-ma līmna* <sup>19</sup>*ana šarri beliya* = 'And I sent a tablet quickly(!)



for helpful advice and several corrections, and Mr. A. Sachs for aid in the preparation of this paper.<sup>1</sup>

to the king my lord, but he has not returned any word to me. I am the governor (commissioner) of the king my lord, and am I one who brings good news, but withholds (!) evil (news) from the king my lord ?' At the end of 11 the text has *ū-mu-ṭa*, which is unquestionably a mistake for *ḥamuṭa*, presumably influenced by the writing of *ū-mu*, 'day'. In 16 *anā-ma* is naturally *anā'-ma*, from *nā'u*, 'withhold'. It is possible, but not likely, that lines 15-17 should be translated as a statement rather than as a rhetorical question. Since, however, these letters are full of bad news for Pharaoh, our interpretation is probably correct.

(4). 149: 74-5: [*ī*ṣtu *ṣatti-gati nukurt*]<sup>50</sup> [*ī*na *muḥḥiya* = 'since last year (!) there is hostility to me' (i.e. I am at war). In line 27 *ša-an-ti-ga-ti-ma* also means 'last year', i.e. since 'last year I have desired to see the face of the king my lord'. Knudtzon left the expression *ṣatti-gati* or *ṣanti-gati* untranslated, and Ebeling (*Verbum d. El-Amarna-Briefe*, 78; *EA*, p. 1249) tried to explain it as a misunderstanding of *MU-KAN*<sup>51</sup>, an awkward 'Amarnah orthography for *ṣatti*, 'year', which he took without justification as standing for *ina ṣatti anniti*, 'in this year'. However, the expression is naturally identical with Old Babylonian *šaddaqdam*, 'last year', *īṣtu šaddaqdim*, 'since last year' (cf. Ungnad, *Babyl. Briefe*, 383) which became *šaddagdiš*, *šad-dagdiš* in the late Assyrian dialect (Ylvisäcker, *Zur babyl. u. assyr. Gramm.*, 67-9), and appears as 'ēteqad in Jewish Aramaic, as pointed out by Pick in *OLZ* 1909, 165. All these corruptions go back ultimately to *ṣatta*<sup>52</sup> *qādīmta*<sup>53</sup>, 'last year', by a series of successive dissimilations and assimilations, an interpretation which was disputed at first by Landsberger (*ZDMG* 69, 514), but later accepted by him (*OLZ*, 1923, 74). Our interpretation is confirmed by a unique occurrence of the word in the contemporary Nuzian documents, to which Dr. C. H. Gordon has called my attention; in the *Publications of the Baghdad School*, Vol. v, No. 546, line 7 we find (*ša*) *ṣattagti* correlated with *ša ṣatti anniti*, 'of this year'.

(5). 151: 55-63: <sup>54</sup>*u bit* (!) <sup>55</sup>*ṣarri āl Ugarit* <sup>56</sup>*ikul iṣdūm miḥi* [*ī*ṣu <sup>57</sup>*ikul u miṣi*]<sup>58</sup> *īṣu iānu* <sup>59</sup>*u amēlūt ummān māṭ ḥatti iānu* <sup>60</sup>*Etagama paucēre* (!) <sup>61</sup>*āl Qidḥi* <sup>62</sup>*u* <sup>63</sup>*Azira nukurtu*<sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup>*itti Namyawaza* <sup>66</sup>*(ēpuṣū)* = 'and the house of the king of Ugarit fire has devoured; half of it it has devoured and half not (!). And the men of the army of the land of the Hittites are not (in Syria). Etagama prince of Kadesh and Azira are fighting with Namyawaza'. That *bit*, not *qar*, should be read in line 55 was seen later by Knudtzon (*EA*, p. 1597), and Ebeling pointed out the correct translation of line 57 (*ibid.*, p. 1253). This is probably the destruction in which the alphabetic cuneiform tablets of Rās esh-Shamrah came to grief (c. 1365 B.C.). Line 59 has been misunderstood by all; it certainly does not mean 'Etagama is (has just become) prince of Kadesh', as generally interpreted. The Abimilki letter in question is probably considerably later than Etagama's accession. In line 63 the scribe has written *nukurtu*<sup>67</sup>, 'warfare', again, whereas he undoubtedly meant to write *ēpuṣū*, 'they have made'.

<sup>1</sup> The following important points have been noted since the completion of the paper. Mr. A. Sachs calls attention to the use of the masculine and feminine determinatives together before names of women in certain Middle-Assyrian juristic texts (fourteenth century B.C.), a fact which bears on the writing of the name *Maya-atī* (p. 191). Of even more direct importance is his observation that the tablets from Ḳatna in Syria (Virolleaud, *Syria* II, 311 ff.) containing the inventory of the temple treasure of the goddess Bēlitekalli (Ninegal), and dating from before 1370 B.C., write all female names with both personal and feminine determinatives; e.g., <sup>68</sup>*Šemunni*, <sup>69</sup>*Bizzallu*, etc. For the disappearance of the final *n* in 'āten, etc. (p. 192) Scharff's discussion in *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarē* (Munich, 1936), p. 22, is of interest, since he makes it probable that the *n* of *mtn* had disappeared by the fifteenth century B.C., i.e. a century before the 'Amarnah Tablets. Prof. Gunn calls attention to Clère, *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 2, 66 ff., on the loss of *n* in the pronominal suffixes *šn* and *fn*, beginning in the Middle Kingdom.—For the double origin of the *ē*-vowel discussed in n. 2, p. 196, see now W. Vycichl in *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 6 (1936), 171 ff., on his remarkable discoveries at Zēnīyah, which prove that the writer was correct in separating Coptic *ē* in *ⲡⲏⲥ* (*Rec. Trav.* 40, 67) and *ⲡⲏⲁ* from the *ē* which was originally *ū*.



## SOME OXFORD PAPYRI

By E. P. WEGENER

OF the documents printed below, which I had an opportunity of studying during a four weeks' stay in Oxford in the month of August 1936, the first belongs to the Roman Catholic College at Heythrop, Oxon., the others are recent acquisitions of the Bodleian Library.

I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Mr. E. Lobel for his permission to publish the documents and for verifying a few readings in Nos. I and IV, to Dr. H. I. Bell and Mr. T. C. Skeat for kindly discussing with me some difficult problems and for many profitable suggestions, and last but not least to Mr. C. H. Roberts, who not only encouraged me to undertake the study of them, but also undertook to verify readings and alterations made after I left Oxford and kindly charged himself with the difficult task of correcting my English.

## I

## A LOAN OF MONEY IN THE OXYRHYNCHITE NOME

Pap. of Heythrop College.

12×11 cm.

A.D. 131.

It is in commemoration of one of the greatest English papyrologists, the late Professor A. S. Hunt, who himself, as Mr. Lobel told me, studied this document with the intention of publishing it, that I place this text at the head of my article. Unfortunately his transcript was not to be found, so that I could make no use of it, but if my publication, which can by no means compete with what Professor Hunt's would have been, is a tolerable one, I owe it in part to the provisional transcript of the papyrus made by Mr. Roberts and, as far as the notes are concerned, to the use of the Grenfell and Hunt Memorial Library, now systematically arranged and accessible in the Ashmolean Museum.

To the right of the last lines of the papyrus the beginnings of some lines of a second column are visible, apparently in the same very small and difficult handwriting; hence our document most probably formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλησίματος* of the grapheion at Talao in the Oxyrhynchite nome, of which it was the 240th *κόλλημα*. Among the many contracts of loans published up to the present time, the closest parallel to our document, as far as I know, is P. Flor. 81 [Herm. A.D. 103]; the text printed below, however, differs sufficiently in form and contains new points (discussed in the notes) of sufficient interest to justify its publication. In the present deed of loan we may distinguish two parts. The first (ll. 2-8 and 20 ff.) is what we may call the real contract, dated November 20, A.D. 131, through which Panouphis, son of Dieuches, borrows from Horus, son of Horus, a further sum of 210 silver drachmae; the other part consists of a résumé of a former loan of 408 silver drachmae dating from the month of August A.D. 129, which had not yet been repaid (ll. 8-20), with details about the mortgage (*cf.* notes on ll. 8 and 9). At line 22, where one might expect stipulations about the repayment of the total sum of 618 drachmae, the document breaks off.

Σμ

Ἐτους] ἐκκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ  
Ἀδριανοῦ ἔμηνος Νέου Σ' ἑβαστ' ο' ὃ κδ ἐν κώμῃ  
μῇ Ταλα]ῶς τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὁξύρρυγχ(ίτου).

- 5 Ἐδάνεισε]ν Ὡρος Ὡρου τοῦ Ἡρακλίου μητρὸς Νεφερσοῦτ(ος)  
 Πα]νούφει Διεύχους τοῦ Πανοῦφιος μητρὸς Τεθεῦτος  
 Πέρση] τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης κώ-  
 μης Ταλ]αῶι, ἐν ἀγνιᾷ, χωρὶς ὧν ἄλλων ἐδάνεισεν αὐτῷ  
 καθ' ἑτέρ]ον δάνειον διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γρ[α]φ[ε]ίου τῷ μηνὶ Σεβαστῶι  
 10 τοῦ τεσσ]αρεσκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 ἀργυρίου]ν δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων ὀκτῶι ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ περὶ  
 τὴν αὐ]τὴν Ταλαῶι ἐκ τοῦ Κόνων[ο]ς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κλήρων  
 κατοικι]κῶν ἀρούρης μίας ἡμίσεως, ἣν περ κατακειμένην ἐν δη-  
 μοσίῳ] κατρίκων τὴν ὅλην μίαν ἡμισυ τῇ δὲ φύσει κα-  
 15 τὰ τη]ν μὲν ἀρουραν μίαν χερσαμπέλου (τῆς) δὲ ἀρούρης ἡμίσεως  
 . . . ]. δι' οὗ ἀνήνεγκεν ὁ Πανοῦφης πρὸς τὸν Ὡρον  
 διὰ τ]ραπεζῆς χειρογράφου τῷ αὐτῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτ(ω)  
 L μην]ι Ἐπειφ ἐδηλώθη, τῆς δὲ ὅλης ἀρούρης μίας ἡμίσεως  
 κατ]οχὴν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ Ὡρος εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐ(γ)κτῆσεων βιβλιο-  
 20 φυλ]ά[κιον, καὶ νῦν ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας δέκα,  
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ]τ[ὸ] ἁ[ρ]γυρίου δ[ρα]χμὰς ἑξακοσίας δέκα ὀκτῶι  
 ] . . . [

1. Instead of  $\mu$  it is not impossible to read  $\epsilon$ , but less likely; after this letter there is a gap in the papyrus, so that there may have been one letter more. 3. l. κώμη. 5. The  $\omega$  of Ὡρος is written twice, perhaps in consequence of a splitting of the pen. 7. l. προκειμένης. 11. l. ὀκτώ: so too 21. 12-13. l. κλήρου κατοικικοῦ. 16. l. ἀνήνεγκεν.

### Translation

The sixteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus, 24th day of the month Neos Sebastos, in the village Talao in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite (nome). Horus son of Horus, son of Heracleus, his mother being Nephersous, has lent to Panouphis son of Dieuches, son of Panouphis, his mother being Tetheus, Persian of the Epigone, both inhabitants of the aforesaid village Talao, in the street—apart from the other four hundred and eight silver drachmae, which he lent to him in respect of another loan drawn up through the said record-office in the month Sebastos of the fourteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord upon the security of (his) one and a half arourae near the said Talao in the catocic holding of Conon and the others, which, the whole one and a half, is registered in the archives of the catocici, and which is by its nature, with regard to the one aroura, barren vineland, but to the half aroura . . . , as was stated by the contract, which Panouphis issued to Horus through the bank in the said fourteenth year in the month Epeiph, and Horus registered his mortgage on the whole one and a half arourae at the property registration-office—now again two hundred and ten other silver drachmae, and the total of six hundred and eighteen silver drachmae [Panouphis has to repay to the creditor . . .]

### Notes

1. On the archives of the grapheia see Boak in P. Mich. II, Introd., 2.
4. For the village of Ταλαῶ cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 1285, 131.
5. The name Νεφερσοῦς is not to be found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, but names such as Νεφερσοῦκίς (or -χίς) and Νεφερσώους are recorded there.
7. On the Persians of the Epigone see Modona in *Aeg.* 13, 472 ff., Boak, P. Mich. II, 22, and the works referred to by them; for loans made to them cf. the list of Pringsheim, *Z. Sav.* 44 (1924), 419 ff.
8. ἐν ἀγνιᾷ: see Meyer, *Juristische Pap.*, note on 24, 3 and p. 88.



χωρὶς ὧν ἄλλων ἐδάνεισεν κτλ. This mode of reference to a former loan is not in itself unusual and may be compared with the parallel expression χωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφείλει κτλ., which occurs in several deeds of loan after the execution-clause; cf. P. Osl. 39 [Theadelphia, A.D. 146], 21, n. The position of these words, however, at the beginning of the document, introducing a résumé with details about the mortgage of the former loan, is remarkable and without parallel; the reason is most probably that the present loan is secured by the same mortgage; cf. P. Flor. 81 (προσεδάνεισεν — — ἄλλας ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος κεφαλαίου δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας — —) line 6 πάσας ἐπ' (l. ἐφ') ὑποθήκη αἷς προϋπέθετο αὐτῷ καθ' ἑτέρας συγγραφὰς δανείων κτλ., and the next note.

9. διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γρ[α]φ[ε]ίου: i.e. the same record-office as that in which the present loan was drawn up; cf. von Woess, *Unters. über das Urkundenwesen*, 55.

The unusual word-order τῷ μηνὶ Σεβαστῷ instead of τῷ Σεβαστῷ μηνί may be due to a τῷ ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Σεβαστῷ in the original contract.

The most obvious grammatical construction of this part of the document is, when we compare P. Oxy. 506 [A.D. 143], 50 ff. μ[η] ἐλ[α]ττουμένου τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεδανεικότος ἐν τῇ πράξει [ὧν ἄλλων ὀφείλει] αὐτῷ — — καθ' ἑτέρον δά[νειον γεγόν]ος διὰ τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ] μηνιμονεῖου τ[ῷ] ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Ἀδριανῷ — — ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ ταῖς προκειμέναις σειτικαῖς [ἀρούραις δέ]κα τέσσαρσι ἡ[μί]σει ἀργυρίου ταλάντων ἐνὸς καὶ δραχμῶν ἑξακοσίων κτλ., to include ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ κτλ. (l. 11) in the relative clause χωρὶς ὧν ἄλλων (ll. 8 ff.), i.e. in the month Sebastos of the fourteenth year (August–September A.D. 129) Panouphis had borrowed on mortgage from Horus 408 silver drachmae. This explanation seems, however, to be in contradiction with l. 18, where it is stated that the details about the mortgage (ll. 13–16) were described in a contract issued to Horus in the month Epeiph of the said fourteenth year (June–July A.D. 130), i.e. ten months after the deed of loan. The suggestion made to me by Dr. Bell, to take ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ as a separate clause and to suppose that the loan of 408 drachmae, which Horus had given to Panouphis in the month Sebastos apparently without security, was ten months later secured by a separate deed of mortgage, is perhaps the right one, but makes it difficult to explain διὰ τ[ῆ]ς ραπέζης χειρογράφου in l. 17 (cf. note *ad loc.*). I am therefore inclined to think that in ll. 17–18 the words are misplaced and that ἐδηλώθη (l. 18) ought to have come after χειρογράφου (l. 17) and that the date (ll. 17–18) belongs to ἀπεγράφητο in l. 19 (cf. note *ad loc.*).

11. After ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ<sup>1</sup> we might insert τῆς or even τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, but it is not necessary; cf., e.g., P. Vars. 10, i, 16 and P. Oxy. 2134, 14, where, however, there is the additional phrase ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν μοι (in P. Vars. 10 Schubart also, *Gnomon*, XII (1936), 427, thinks the insertion of τῶν necessary).

12. That a piece of land of only one and a half arourae was situated in several holdings is unlikely and without parallel; consequently κλήρων [κατοικι]κῶν must be a mistake of the scribe for κλήρου κατοικικοῦ occasioned by ἄλλων. We may even suppress τῶν before ἄλλων; cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 270, 24 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἄλλων (sc. κλήρου), P. Oxy. 633 ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνδρου καὶ ἄλλων κλήρου.

13–14. Owing to the unusual badness of the handwriting the last three words of l. 13 and the first one of l. 14 are extremely difficult to read and are still very doubtful; it is, however, not possible to read after κατὰ μὲν to correspond with δέ in l. 14, so a suggestion like κατὰ μὲν ἄλλην (or τὴν μὲν) εἰδή[αν] (l. εἰδέαν) κατοίκων (for κατοικικὴν or γῆς κατοικικῆς) (for which cf., e.g., Stud. 20, 120, 10) ἄρουρα Χ ἰδιωτικῆς εἰδέας, must be rejected on palaeographical grounds. Further, κατοίκων seems to me to suit the sense better (see below), whereas κατοικικῶν (or κατοχίμων) is impossible.

<sup>1</sup> For the tax to be paid on mortgaging catocic land cf. P. Iand. vii, 137.



The construction of the relative clause with the accusative ἥνπερ as object of the impersonal ἐδηλώθη (l. 18) is abnormal, but intelligible. The verb κατακεῖσθαι, which is used in the sense of lodging or registering a deed in the archives (*e.g.*, τὸ χειρόγραφον κύριον ἔστω ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ (ἀρχεῖῳ) κατακείμενον (or κατακεχωρισμένον); *cf.* Jörs, *Z. Sav.* 34 (1913), 112, P. Oxy. 1257 [3rd. c. A.D.], 11 τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τὸ ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακείμενον), suggests at first sight that ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ (l. 11) should be the antecedent of ἥνπερ, but the attributive adjunct τὴν ὅλην μίαν ἡμῶν (l. 14) proves decisively that the antecedent is ἀρούρης (l. 13). Consequently we are justified in holding that the relative clause contains particulars concerning the mortgaged land of 1½ arourae, as was stated (ἐδηλώθη) in the contract. In the most explicit deeds of loan on mortgage we find the following statements about the mortgaged land:

1. The category to which the land belongs, *e.g.*:

P. Oxy. 506 [A.D. 143], 23 ff. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐταῖς ἐξ ἴσου περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Πέλα ἐκ τοῦ Διοκλέους καὶ Πτολεμαίου Πέρσου ἱππικοῦ κλήρου τρίτου μέρους.

P. Oxy. 2134 [± A.D. 170], 14 ff. ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ κατοικικῆς — ἐξ [δ]ρθ[ο]γωνίου ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν μοι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν χύσιν ἐν Ἐρμποπολείτῃ γῆς ἐν ἀφέσει ἐκ τοῦ Πανσανίου κλήρου κτλ.

2. The kind of cultivation, *e.g.*:

P. Oxy. 506, 25 τὸ πρὶν ἀμπελικὸν κτήματος νυνεὶ δὲ χερσαμπέλ[ου].

P. Oxy. 2134, 14 κατοικικῆς σιτοφόρου σπορίμου.

3. The adjacent areas, *e.g.*, P. Oxy. 2134, 17 ff.

Of these particulars we find here the first in ll. 11 (περὶ)—13 (μῆδ' ἡμῶν) and the second in ll. 14 (τῇ δὲ φύσει)—16 (beginning; see below), so the rather enigmatic words κατακείμενην ἐν δημοσίῳ κατοίκων replace by a reference to a former contract what in other documents is expressed in some such phrases as BGU 1158 [Alexandria, 9 B.C.], 11 ὧν αἱ γειννῖαι διὰ τῆς(ς) σ(ν)χωρή(σεως) δηλοῦνται, P. Flor. 81, 9 ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐσα[ι]ς γεινν[ί]αις. This implies that the words refer to the registration of the land in an archive, where the tenants of the plots of land were designated. Of the two offices of Roman Egypt the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων did not record such details, but the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων was the land-registration office, where detailed information about the plots was kept for fiscal purposes; *cf.* von Woess, *op. cit.*, 77, 302, Flore, *Sulla βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων* in *Aeg.* 8, 88, Déleage, *Les Cadastres antiques* in *Ét. Pap.* 2, 139–45. Therefore the word δημόσιον refers to the cadaster; *cf.* the reference for tenants to the δημόσια βιβλία in BGU 94, l. 8, von Woess, *ibid.*, Déleage, *op. cit.*, 144. And the addition κατοίκων proves for the first time, as far as I know, that the cadaster of catocic land formed part of the general cadaster, as suggested doubtfully by von Woess, *op. cit.*, 91.

τῇ δὲ φύσει: this use of the word φύσις has not been found till now, but we may compare P. Tebt. 288 [A.D. 226], 4 ff. καὶ ἀναγράφασθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐσπαρμένην γῆν ἐν τε πυρῶ καὶ ἄλλοις γ[ένεσ]ι καὶ τὰ [ὀνό]ματα τῶν κατὰ φύσιν (γε)γεωργηκ[ό]των δημοσίων γεωργῶν καὶ κληρ[ο]νύχων.

15. χερσαμπέλου: *cf.* Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 17 ff.

16. The lacuna at the beginning of the line presumably contained an indication of the nature of the half-aroura; it may have been either vineyard or arable land.

ἀνήνεγκεν: for ἀναφέρειν in the sense of issuing a contract *cf.* P. Hamb. 62 [A.D. 123], 4, n.

17. διὰ τ[ρ]απέζης χειρογράφου: the reading τραπέζης is pretty certain and the restoration of διὰ is justified by P. Oxy. 104 [A.D. 96], 20–22 περὶ τῶν ὀφειλομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ



τῷ αὐτῷ [ἀ]νδρὶ Ἀτρῇ κατ' ἀσφάλειαν διὰ τραπεζῆς ἐνοικισμοῦ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς] οἰκίας καὶ αὐ[λ]ῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑξακοσίων (cf. ll. 29–30). On the supposition that ll. 11–18 refer to a separate mortgage (cf. note on l. 9) these words are unintelligible, for even if we suppose that the bank had the function of a mere record-office (cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 96), although this would be a rarity at this date (cf. von Woess, *op. cit.*, 314, n. 1, Flore, *op. cit.*, 58), it is not possible to call such a deed a handwritten contract. No more is it possible to suppose that the loan of Sebastos A.D. 129 ought to have been repaid in Epeiph A.D. 130 and that Panouphis, instead of repaying, ceded the one and a half arourae to Horus through the bank, for l. 21 proves that the sum was still due to the creditor, and, moreover, such a deed is called διαγραφὴ (cf., e.g., P. Lond. III, pp. 166 ff., No. 1164 k). And the suggestion that there might have been a second loan in Epeiph through a χειρόγραφον followed by a διαγραφὴ τραπεζῆς is disproved by ll. 9–11 and 21. Therefore the most probable explanation, although not satisfactory, seems to be that the date is misplaced (cf. note on l. 9) and that the word χειρόγραφον is improperly used. The words διὰ τραπεζῆς χειρογράφου indicate an *unselbstständige διαγραφὴ*. On such a διαγραφὴ the bank did not make payment before the contract written in the record-office was produced, and the contract, in which the mortgage was described, the διαγραφὴ, and the ὑπογραφὴ formed one single document; cf. von Woess, *op. cit.*, 308–15 and, e.g., P. Flor. 1 = Meyer, *op. cit.*, No. 68. It is therefore possible that in the present case the contract of loan drawn up through the record-office in Sebastos A.D. 129 was followed at the same date by a διαγραφὴ τραπεζῆς and by reason of that is referred to as a contract issued to Horus through the bank.

18–20. In these lines we find for the first time the quite interesting statement that the creditor has registered his mortgage at the property registration-office, as was prescribed in the edict of Mettius Rufus A.D. 89; see P. Oxy. 237, viii, 31 κελεύω οὖν πάντας τοὺς κτήτορας ἐντὸς μηνῶν ἑξ ἀπογράψασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κτῆσιν εἰς τὴν ἐνκτῆσεων βιβλιοθήκην καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἂν ἔχωσι ὑποθήκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσα ἔχωσι δίκαια, and cf. the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander in A.D. 69 (OGIS, 669, 21 ff.) and the entry of the mortgage on the διάστρομα of the creditor in P. Oxy. 274, 8 ff. It is not certain whether the registration was made in Epeiph, but this date would suit here very well (cf. nn. on ll. 9 and 17), for we know that the ἀπογραφὴ was very often made much later than prescribed; cf. Flore, *op. cit.*, 65, Déleage, *op. cit.*, 145, and also P. Osl. 40 [A.D. 150], 50, with the introduction of the editor, ἐξόντος σοι διὰ σφραγίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ὅποτε ἐὰν αἰρῇ κατασχεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς [τῶν ἐνκτῆσεων βιβλιοθήκης, P. Oxy. 2134, 24 ff. ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ νῦν (καὶ) (may be omitted) ὅποτε βούληται ἐξεῖναι σοι τῆς ὑποθήκης κατοχὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρουρ[ῶν] κατοχὴν ποι[ῆ]σθ[αι] διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐνκτῆσεων τοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου βιβλιοφυλακίου μὴ προσδεθέντι παρουσίας [μο]υ μηδὲ συνεπιγραφῆς, and P. Oxy. 506, 49.

For κατοχὴ see Flore, *op. cit.*, 60; cf. also Roberts, *Two Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, in *JEA* 20, 26, n. on ll. 42–3.

For ἀπογραφὴ see Flore, *op. cit.*, 64–8.

εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐ(γ)κτῆσεων βιβλιοφυλάκιον proves the existence of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτῆσεων at Oxyrhynchus for A.D. 130; cf. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n. on l. 1.

21. One might restore γίν(εται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, but it seems more probable to me, as no interest is mentioned either in l. 11 or in this line, that both the former loan and this one were ψιλὰ δάνεια (cf., e.g., P. Hamb. 14, 14), on account of which the word κεφάλαιον is omitted, and that in this and the next lines the day of payment was stated; we may even insert a καὶ before or a δέ after τὰς, and the beginning of the next line may have been ἀποδότω ὁ Πανούφης τῷ δεδανεικότη; cf. P. Flor. 81, 9, stipulation of the payment of the last loan, and for a single loan, e.g., P. Oxy. 2134, 18.



## II

## A LOAN OF MONEY IN THE ARSINOITE NOME

MS. Gr. Class e 129 (P).

19.3 × 6.8 cm.

A.D. 837.

The top of this document, containing the date and one line of the address, is lost, also the left side, comprising about 13-16 letters, of the remaining lines. As one of the parties was an inhabitant of the village of Philadelphieia, the provenance of the papyrus is most probably the Arsinoite nome. For the date see note on l. 9.

.....  
 .....] Αὐρη[λι .....  
 ..... ἀπ]ὸ κώμη[ς] Φιλ[αδελφείας  
 τοῦ Ἀρσινόϊτου νομ]ο[ῦ] χαίρειν. Συγχ[ωρῶ  
 ἐσχηκέναι καὶ δεδαν]ε[ῖ]σθαι παρὰ σοῦ εἰς ἰδίαν μου  
 5 καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεία]ν διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου παρα-  
 χρήμα ἀργυρίου] Σεβαστῶν νομίσματος  
 τάλαντα ὀγδοήκοντ]α ἑπτά, / (ταλ.) πξ, ἀπερ ἐπά-  
 ναγκες ἀποδώσω τῷ] σῷ λόγῳ μηνὶ Μεσορῇ ἅ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κ]αὶ καὶ γ καὶ δ καὶ βς ἀνπερ-  
 10 θέτως ἄνευ πάση]ς ἀντιλογίας, τοῦ δὲ χρόνου  
 ἐνστάντος καὶ τ]ῆς ἀποδόσεως μὴ γενομένης  
 ἐκτίσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερ]πεσόντος χρόνου τὸν συνή-  
 θη τόκον, γινομένη]ς σοι τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ  
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχ]όντων μοι πανταχῇ παν-  
 15 τοίων πάντων πρ]άσσοντι {σοι} καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.  
 τὸ γραμμάτιον κύριο]ν ἔστω καὶ ἔννομον ἐπὶ  
 ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ ὑπέρ] ἐμοῦ γράφοντος καὶ ἐπε-  
 ρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγ]ησα. (2nd H.) Αὐρήλιος Ροῦφος Λον-  
 γίνου ὁ προκείμε]νος δεδάνευσμαι καὶ ἡρίθμη-  
 20 μαι παρὰ σοῦ τὰ τοῦ] κεφαλαίου σὺν τόκοις τάλαντα  
 ὀγδοήκοντα ἑπτά], ἧ καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ προθεσ-  
 μίᾳ, ὡς πρόκειται]. Αὐρήλιος Ἀφροδείσιος Ἀλλων-  
 νίου ὑπογραφ]εὺς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 ἀγραμμάτου ἀξιω]θεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου.

## Translation

[Aurelius Rufus, son of Longinus to . . .], greeting. I acknowledge that I have borrowed from you for my own pressing need from hand to hand out of the house directly eighty-seven talents of the Imperial silver coinage, say 87 tal., which sum I am bound to repay to your account on the 30th of the month Mesore of the current 21st, 13th, 4th, and 2nd year without delay or excuses. And if the time has arrived and the repayment has not been made, I will forfeit to you the usual interest for the excess time, for which you are to have the right of execution upon me and all my property everywhere of all sorts, proceeding as if in accordance with a legal decision. Let the contract be valid and legal with the subscription of him who is writing on my behalf, *et interrogatus spondi*. (2nd H.) I, Aurelius Rufus, son of Longinus, the afore-named, have borrowed and received from you the eighty-seven talents of the sum with interest, which I will repay on the appointed day, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Aphrodeisios, son of Allonius, the subscriber, have written for him, because he cannot write, at the request of the 'teacher'.



## Notes

1-2. *Αύρη*[λι may be the *gentilicium* of the addressee, whose name is not mentioned in the following lines, or of the debtor, in which case we may restore *Αύρη*[λιος *Ρούφος* | *Λογγίνου* ἀπ]δ (or τῶν ἀπ]δ), but there is nothing to show which alternative is preferable.

3. There is no reason to suppose that the column either extended to the right or projected to the left, so there is no room for τῆς *Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινότου*.

*συγχ[ωρῶ*. The σ and υ were written much larger than the rest of the document, and the γ is very doubtful, but *ὁμολογῶ* can certainly not be read. The verb *συγχωρεῖν* is generally used only in the Alexandrian *συγχώρησις*-deeds, but the greeting proves that the present text cannot belong to that class of documents; cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, pp. 92-3. The use of the verb here as a synonym of *ὁμολογῶ* corroborates the opinion of von Woess, *Unters. über das Urkundenwesen*, 315-16, that the *συγχώρησις*-deed CPR 156 is not an Alexandrian deed; he compares the non-technical use of the verb in P. Oxy. 273, 10, and P. Ryl. 174, 21.

4. For the supplement *ἐσχκέναι καὶ δεδαν]ε[ῖσθαι* cf., e.g., P. Cairo Masp. 67162 [A.D. 568], 12.

6-7. For the depreciated value of money at this date cf. P. Osl. 41 [A.D. 331], note on l. 11, and Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, 127 sqq.

8. τῶ] σῶ λόγῳ is not to be found in other loans, as far as I know, but the meaning is clear; cf., e.g., ὁ τῆς πόλεως λόγος (CPHerm. 119 R, vii, 21 = Meyer, *op. cit.*, no. 38) or ὁ λόγος τῆς δεκαπρωτείας (P. Oxy. 1257, 19).<sup>1</sup>

9. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κ]αῖ καὶ ιγ καὶ δ καὶ βῖ: this is the only date occurring in the document, but it is possible to find the year by comparing documents in which the same proportional difference between the years occurs; for the references to these I am indebted to Dr. Bell. The difference of eight years (κα and ιγ) occurs also in P. Osl. 44, 13 (ἐτους) ιθ καὶ ἑνατον καὶ αῖ *Ἐπειφ* λ (July 24, A.D. 325) and P. Osl. 41, 14 *Τῦβι* τοῦ ἐνε]στῶτος ἔτους κς (ἐτους) ις (ἐτους) η (ἐτους) (December 31, A.D. 331); cf. note of the editor on 44, 14. It is found again together with a difference of nine years (ιγ and δ) in PSI 805, 6 κθς ιθς ιας βς *Μεχεῖρ* ις (February, A.D. 335), the 29th year of Constantinus, the 19th of Constantinus II, the 11th of Constantius, and the 2nd of Constans, as stated by the editor in his introduction; a document with the complete subsequent differences of eight, nine, and two years is not known. The difference of two years between the last three years of PSI 805 and the first three years of this document proves that the date of our text is A.D. 337 and that the years mentioned are the 21st of Constantinus II Caesar (accession March 1, A.D. 317), the 13th of Constantius Caesar (accession November 8, A.D. 324), the 4th of Constans Caesar (accession December 25, A.D. 333), and the 2nd of Dalmatius Caesar (accession September 18, A.D. 335; cf. F. Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, sub anno 335). This dating by regnal years of Caesars alone illustrates very clearly the fact that after the death of Constantinus Magnus on May 22, A.D. 337, there was no Augustus until the accession of Constantinus II with his brothers Constantius and Constans on September 9, A.D. 337; cf. *RE* iv, 1027.

It is not stated in the existing part of the document when Rufus borrowed the sum which he had to repay on the 30th Mesore (August 23, A.D. 337), but by the regnal years mentioned here we know that the *terminus post quem* for the issuing of this contract is the 26th Pauni (May 22, A.D. 337); it was therefore a short-term loan repayable in three months at most; cf. P. Osl. 41, 13, where the term is one month only.

10-11. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου [ἐνστάτος] κτλ.: cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, No. 67 [Alex. B.C. 9], 12

<sup>1</sup> For stipulations concerning the repayment of loans in general see Weber, *Unters. zum gräko-ägyptischen Obligationenrecht*, 123-9.



ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ χρό(νου) ἐνστάτω(ς) ὁ ὦλος μὴ ἀποδιδῶ τὰς τοῦ ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμὰς) π and note. Instead of ἐνστάτω(ς) we might also supply διαγενομένου as in P. Cairo Masp. 67167, 12 [VI A.D.], or διελθόντος as in P. Oxy. 485 [A.D. 178], 27 τῆς δὲ προθεσμίας διελθούσης.

12-13. ἐκτίσω κτλ.: cf. P. Osl. 41, 15 ff. εἰ δὲ [μή, ἐκτείσω σοι] τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου [. . . . .] διάφορον ἐκάστου τα[λάντου τοῦ μη]νός ἐκάστου with note on l. 16, Berger, *Strafklauseln*, 118 ff.

τὸν συνήθει τόκον: cf. BGU. 362, 13 ἐπὶ τῷ συνήθει τόκῳ; perhaps we may restore in P. Osl., *ibid.* τὸ σύνθετες] διάφορον or τὸ κἀθηκον] διάφορον.

14-15. παν[τοίων πάντων]: cf. SB 5146 [A.D. 193], Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, No. 30, 22, n. = P. Hamb. 2 [A.D. 59].

15. πράσσουντι [σοι] καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: cf., e.g., P. Amh. 46 [113 B.C.] and Meyer, *op. cit.*, No. 30, 23 πράσσουντι κυρίως, where κυρίως, not (as Meyer suggests in his note) the whole expression, is synonymous with καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης.

16-17. For the sanction-clause in general see Meyer, *op. cit.*, No. 35, ii, 13, n.; *ἐννομον* is unusual, but we may compare P. Grenf. II, 75 [A.D. 305], 13 ἡ ἀσφ[ά]λεια [χειρὸς] γραφὸς [ἡ] δὲ ἐφ' ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ ὑπογρ[ά]φοντος κυρία ἔστω καὶ βεβαία ὡς ἔ[ν]νομος ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακειμένη, also P. Grenf. I. 60, 51 [A.D. 581].

18. One might suggest συνεχώρησα instead of ὁμολόγησα in accordance with l. 3, but it is more probable that the fixed stipulation-clause was used.

19-20. ἡρίθμημαι: cf., e.g., P. Grenf. II, 72, 6 ὁμολογῶ ἡριθμησθαι παρὰ σοῦ.

20. σὺν τόκοις. We learn here in the subscription that the sum was lent out on interest, a fact mention of which in the contract itself (ll. 6-7) is omitted; cf. P. Osl. 41, 16, n.

21-2. τῇ προθεσμίᾳ] is not very common in the subscription, but perhaps we may restore it in P. Osl. 38, 18 καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ προ[θεσμίᾳ ὡς πρόκ(ε)ται] instead of the editor's τῇ προ[γεγ(ραμμένη) καθὼς πρόκ(ε)ται]; cf. P. Oxy. 1041 [A.D. 381], 25 κ[αὶ ταύτας σοι ἀποδώσω ἐν τῇ [προθεσμίᾳ ὡς πρὸς] κ(ε)ται].

24. ἀξίω]θεις ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου. The doubtless notarial function of the διδάσκαλος in this document is a good corroboration of Boak, *Early Byzantine Papyri*, in *Ét. Pap.* 3, No. 8, ii, 20, *Αὐρήλιος Ἡρώδης διδάσκαλος παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐτελέσθη*, another Arsinoite document, to which Dr. Bell kindly called my attention. Aurelius Aphrodisios was most probably a clerk of the record-office.

### III

#### ENGAGEMENT ON OATH TO APPEAR BEFORE THE PREFECT'S COURT ADDRESSED TO THE LOGISTES OF THE ARSINOITE NOME

Ms. Gr. Class d 143 (P).

15.8 × 21.5 cm.

± A.D. 324-5.

This document, together with the texts published here as Nos. II and V-IX, belongs to a group of papyri presented to the Bodleian Library by Dr. W. D. Hogarth, May 11, 1935. It consists of two pieces of papyrus, which, when the document was mounted, were placed one below the other. The upper piece contains the ends of the lines of a first column and the text printed below, Col. ii, the lower piece the ends of ll. 9-14 of Col. ii and Cols. iii and iv, each in a different handwriting. Cols. iii and iv were actually published as No. 79 in P. Grenf. II, each being a declaration of surety, while Col. i also, in which the word ὁμολογῶ occurs, may be a declaration similar either to Col. ii or to Cols. iii and iv. The document forms part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* from the office of the logistes of the Arsinoite nome, containing a series of declarations of sureties and of engagements to appear in court addressed to him,



and elucidates very well the juridical competence of the logistes, of which up till now we have had only scanty evidence. On the verso is a letter in a handwriting of a later date than the recto, addressed by a person, one of whose names is *Σερηναιῖος*, to the *λογιστῇ καὶ ἐκδίκῳ καὶ ἐξάκτορι καὶ ἐπόπῃ Ἀρσινόϊτου*. The occasion of the letter may have been the negligence of these magistrates (l. 4, *σφαλέντας τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὰς*), which threatened to lead to a trial (*ἵνα σὺν ὑμῖν ἀνέλθω* at the end of the letter).

In the part of the document printed below Aurelius Eudaemon declares on oath to the logistes that he will appear before the prefect's court to contest an action brought against him by a certain Aurelia for the recovery of a debt owed by him to her late father Aurelius Chaeremon, the existence of which he denies.

Col. ii<sup>1</sup>

Οὐαλε]ρί[ω Σωτᾷ      ]λ[ογιστῇ]      Ἀρσινο[είτου  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Εὐδαίμ[ονος τῶν] βουλευσάντων[. . . . .  
βουλευτοῦ τῆς Λεοντοπολειτῶν πόλεως. Ἐπὶ ἀδικεῖ με Αὐ[ρηλία . . . . . Χαιρή-  
μονος βουλευτοῦ Λεοντοπολειτῶν διὰ τοῦ ἀν[δ]ρός Αὐρηλίου Ἀπ[. . . . . τοῦ  
5 καὶ Διοσκόρου χ[ε]ι[ρο]γραφία παραθεμένη τῇ με[γαλο]π[ρε]π[ε]ίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου [τοῦ  
δια]σημοτάτου ἐπάρχου [τ]ῆς Αἰ[γ]ύπτου Ἰουλί[ο]υ Ἰρ[υ]λιανοῦ ὥστε τὰ ὁμολ[ο]γου-  
μ[έν]ως αὐτῇ ὀφειλόμενα [ἀ]ποδοθῆναι αὐτῇ [κ]αὶ [δ]ιὰ [τ]οῦ [α]ὐτῇ[ς]  
ἀνδρὸς ῥυφοκινδύνως ἐπῆνεγ' κεν χειρόγραφον, οὔτε γὰρ [ρ] ἐστίν μου  
γραμμάτιον οὔτε ὑποσημίωσις οὐδέποτε ἐμὲ χρῆ[σιν] ἐχ[ε]ι[ν] παρ' Αὐ[ρηλίου]  
10 Χαιρήμονος, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων κατεθέμεν ὡ[ς] αὕτη ἐμοὶ ἐπην[έ]γ' κατο  
τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένον ὡς πλαστὸν εἶναι. Ἐατ[ὰ] τ[ὸ] ἀκόλουθον ἐκέ-  
λευσας αὐτὸ σφ[ραγίσας (?) πρὸς τὸ κατ' ἀπεμφθῆναι πρὸς τῇ[ν] ἡγε[μ]ονίαν  
ἐγ' γινᾶσθαι ἀμφ[οτέρους] κατὰ χ[ε]ιρογραφίαν ἐ[σ]θαι ὑπευ[θύνους] καὶ εἰς τὸ  
ἡγεμονικὸν δι[καστήριον] ἀπαντήσ[ει]ν. Ὁμολογῶ ὅμ[ν]ς [τὴν τῶν δεσπο]τῶ[ν]  
15 ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρα[τόρων] Σεβαστῶν τῇ[ν] τὴν ἐνθάναν μ[ου] ποιήσε-  
σθαι ἐν τῷ ἡγεμ[ονικῷ] δικαστηρίῳ, ἀ[τὰρ] ἵνα συ[στάσης] τῆς δίκης λέγω  
πλαστὸν εἶναι τὸ γραμμάτιον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ τὴν ἐμφαν[ίαν] μου ποιήσωμαι, ὅπότεν  
ἐπιζητηθῶ, ἔνοχος ἔσομαι τῷ θεῷ ὅρ[κῳ] καὶ τῷ [περὶ] τούτου κινδύνῳ  
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα      ]-[

1. 1. Ἀρσινόϊτου. 3. 1. Λεοντοπολιτῶν: so too in 4. 1. ἐπεί. 15. 1. ἐμφανίαν.

## Translation

To Valerius Sotas, logistes of (the) Arsinoite (nome), from Aurelius Eudaemon, ex-senator [of Arsinoe, now (?)] senator of Leontopolis. Seeing that Aurelia . . . daughter of Chaeremon, senator of Leontopolis, wrongs me through her husband Aurelius Ap . . . . . alias Dioscorus, setting before the majesty of my lord the most distinguished prefect of Egypt, Julius Julianus, an affidavit to get payment of the acknowledged debt owed to her, and has presumptuously produced a deed of hand through her husband—for there exists neither a deed in my hand nor a subscription that I ever have received a loan from Aurelius Chaeremon—I have placed on record that she has produced against me what was not written by me and is consequently a forgery. Conformably with this, you, having sealed the document to be sent to the prefecture, ordered both of us to pledge ourselves by affidavit to be liable and ready to appear before the prefect's court. I acknowledge, swearing by the fortune of our masters the Emperors Augusti, that I will appear in the prefect's court, but

<sup>1</sup> I wish to emphasize that the restoration and interpretation of ll. 9-13 is the joint work of Dr. Bell, Mr. Skeat, and the authoress, as the result of a thorough discussion by letter on the difficulties. For verifying doubtful readings I am greatly indebted to Mr. Roberts.



in order to say, when the action is brought in, that the deed is forged. And if I do not appear when wanted, I shall be liable to the divine oath and its consequences, *et interrogatus spondeo*.

## Notes

1. This line is restored on the analogy of Col. iv, 1 = Grenf. II, 79, ii, 1, where *Ξωτᾶ λογιστῇ* must be read instead of Grenfell's *καταλογίστη*. That the space between the words is as indicated is proved by a blank in the papyrus before *Ἀρσινω[είτον]*.

For the function of logistes see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 349 f., and the forthcoming thesis of the authoress on the local senates of Egypt, Chapter VII. The line of the verso of this document quoted in the introduction is remarkable, as we have no parallel instance of these four magistrates acting together. Documents addressed to the logistes and another magistrate are P. Oxy. 1426 [A.D. 332], l. 3, *Φλαυῖν Ἑρμείᾳ λογιστῇ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀχιλλίῳ ἐκδίκῳ καὶ Πτολεμίῳ γραμματεῖ Ὀξυ(ρυγχίτου)* (is an abbreviation of *ἐξάκτορι* or *ἐπόπτῃ* possible instead of *γραμματεῖ*?), and PSI 285 [A.D. 294], l. 1, ] . . . *λο[γιστῇ καὶ ἐξάκτορι Ὀξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν*. For the logistes and *ἐπόπτης* (*εἰρήνης*) we may perhaps compare P. Harr. 67, ll. 3 and 15 [A.D. 342].

Other declarations on oath addressed to a logistes are: engagement to appear before the prefect's court, P. Oxy. 87 = Chrest., I, 446 [A.D. 342]; acknowledgement of being surety, P. Grenf. II, 79, P. Harr. 67; cf. also P. Oxy. 83 = Chrest., I, 430 [A.D. 327], declaration on oath of an egg-dealer. For declarations of appearance in general, see for the Roman period Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, I, 110, for the Byzantine period Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, 88 f.

2. After *Εὐδαίμονος* there is no room for a patronymic, so *τῶν* is the most satisfactory supplement; the lacuna at the end of the line is less easy to restore. In the lacuna one would expect *υἱοῦ τοῦ δέινος* (cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 1415, 5), as a mere patronymic in the genitive is unusual after a title; but such a supplement creates more difficulties than it solves. In the first place, we should not then be told of which city Eudaemon was an ex-senator, nor would there be any explanation of the fact that the son was no longer senator—for neither the aorist participle of *βουλεύω* nor of any other verb with the meaning 'discharge a magistracy' is ever used as 'having entered on', as far as I know—while his father was still entitled senator. Eudaemon could not have been removed from the senate either by the census, which would have been in contradiction with the *patria potestas*, while his father was still senator, or as a penalty, for in that case he would not be authorized to call himself ex-senator; moreover, a declaration on oath, such as the present one, was accepted only from respectable people, cf. Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, 90, Wenger in *Racc. Lumbroso*, 327. But as a patronymic may be omitted in the address (cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 900 [A.D. 322]), I would propose the restoration *παρὰ Ἀρήγιον Εὐδαίμωνος τῶν βουλευσάντων [τῆς Ἀρσινωειτῶν πόλεως νυνὶ | βουλευτοῦ τῆς Λεοντοπολεωτῶν πόλεως*. Dr. Bell and Mr. Skeat suggest [*ἐνθάδε* (or *ἐνταῦθα*) καὶ (τὸ) νῦν]. Thus restored the line is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the function of bouleutae, for we learn that Eudaemon on removal from Arsinoe to Leontopolis had lost his rights as bouleutes at Arsinoe, while fulfilling the same function at Leontopolis; cf., e.g., P. Oxy. 2106 [early fourth cent.], 17–20.

The name Leontopolis is known to us as another name of Alexandria from P. Oxy. 1660 [fourth cent. A.D.], 2, *εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦτοι Λεοντόπολιν* (see note of the editors), and as the capital of the Leontopolite nome (cf. P. Oxy. 1380 [early second cent.], 58, n.). It is, however, improbable that either of these two cities is referred to in this document. The fact that the present declaration is addressed to the logistes of the Arsinoite nome, while in the address it is not stated that Eudaemon was only a temporary resident in that nome, and



the fact that the father of the accuser was also senator of Leontopolis—unfortunately the domicile of her husband is not stated, but the omission may indicate that he, too, was an inhabitant of Leontopolis—seem to me to indicate that the Leontopolis in question is a hitherto unknown city in the Arsinoite nome. We may compare such Arsinoite names as *Λητοῦς πόλις* and *Νεῖλου πόλις*, villages in the division of Heracleides, and *Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις* and *Ἀφροδίτης πόλις*, villages in the division of Polemon; see P. Tebt. II, pp. 356 ff. Leontopolis was, however, not a village but most probably a new city<sup>1</sup> founded about A.D. 307, when with the institution of the *pagi* the *nomos* had lost its administrative importance; cf. Boak, *The Date of the Establishment of the Office of Praepositus Pagi in Egypt* in *Mél. Maspero* 1934. We may suppose it to have been populated by citizens of Arsinoe, including a group of senators to compose the *βουλή* of the new city; this may explain the plural *τῶν βουλευσάντων*.

3-8. These lines refer to the *ὑπόμνημα* sent by the accuser Aurelia . . . to the prefect, when Aurelius Eudaemon had failed to repay the loan which he owed, or was alleged to owe, to her father Chaeremon. This postulatio, handed to the prefect not by Aurelia herself but by her husband (ll. 4 and 7), who was her representative (*ὁ διεπεσταλμένος*), contained (a) a statement of the claims she had against Eudaemon for repayment of the loan (ll. 6-7), (b) a demand to delegate the logistes to conduct the pre-judicial inquiry (cf. notes on ll. 10-11 and ll. 11-14), (c) an affidavit that her allegations were true (l. 5). In presence of the representative alone, and not, as yet, of the defendant, the case was treated by the prefect; the deed, on which the claims of Aurelia were based, was produced by her representative and examined. After that the *litis denuntiatio* follows. See Steinwenter, *Studien zum römischen Versäumnisverfahren*, 113 ff. (cf. *Archiv* 7, p. 58), Jörs in *Z. Sav.* 39, 65-9; 40, 11-12 (cf. also 36, 231-3, 268, 288-301), Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, pp. 282-3, Weber, *Unters. zum gräko-äg. Obligationenrecht*, 171.

3. The reading *ἐπὶ* (l. *ἐπεὶ*) *ἀδίκει* I owe to Mr. Roberts. The more usual commencement is *ἐνέτυχεν* or *ἐπεὶ ἐνέτυχεν ὁ δεῖνα*.

Of the name of the father of Aurelia only the ending is preserved, but *Χαιρήμονος* may safely be restored, for otherwise the occurrence of this name in ll. 9-10 can hardly be explained. Most probably Chaeremon was no longer alive and therefore the action was brought against Eudaemon by his daughter, who was his heiress.

4. The last two letters *Απ* were read by Mr. Roberts, who judged my own reading *Οὐτιψήμιος* (?) impossible; instead of *Απ* it is possible to read *Αγα*, but this is less probable, as he wrote to me. It is impossible to determine whether Dioscorus is an alternative name of Aurelius Ap . . . . . himself or of his father.

5. *χ[ει]ρογραφίαν παραθεμένη*: for the Roman period see Jörs, *op. cit.* 36, 300 (cf. 40, 90), who doubts if it was possible for the accuser to issue an affidavit in his dwelling-place to be handed over in the court by his representative; for the Byzantine period we have here at least one example; cf. Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, 114. On the meaning of *χειρογραφία* cf. Seidl, *op. cit.*, 56 ff.

*με[γαλο]π[ρε]πίε[ι]α*: the title, as well as that of *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος*, is rare at this period and is unknown for the prefect; see Preisigke, *Wb.*, s.v. and Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate*, s.v. It is, however, impossible to read *φιλανθρωπεία*, a point which Mr. Roberts verified for me; *μεγαλεία* is also impossible, since the ending *-εια* is quite certain. Mr. Roberts thinks the *π* fairly certain and states that the word was a little cramped; I myself had read *αλ* instead of *π*, for which the initial space seemed too large.

<sup>1</sup> We may compare P. Oxy. 888, 8, which proves that at the end of the third century the small Oasis was joined to the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. Wilcken, *P. Würzb.*, p. 57, n. 4.



6. δια]σημοτάτου: the usual appellation of the prefect from A.D. 270 to 334; cf. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, 10.

Owing to the occurrence of the name of the prefect in this line it is possible to give the document an approximate date. The prefect Julius Julianus, whose name occurs here for the first time, as far as I know, in the papyri, was the uncle of the Emperor Julian the Apostate; he had been *praefectus praetorio* under Licinius from 316 to 324, and was most probably prefect of Egypt from 324 to 328; cf. Cantarelli, *La Serie dei Prefetti*, II, pp. 21 ff. Therefore, the Augusti mentioned in the oath (ll. 14-15) must be Licinius and Constantine. When Licinius died in September 18, A.D. 324, Constantine became sole emperor; so the date of the document may be not long after September 324, although an oath to the Emperors occurs as late as A.D. 326 in P. Amh. 138; cf. Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 6.

8. ῥαβοκινδύνως is explained by οὔτε γὰρ ἐστὶν μου κτλ.

ἐπὶνεγ' κεῖ χειρόγραφον: cf., e.g., BGU 378 [A.D. 147], 19 = Chrest., II, 60, Jörs, *op. cit.* 34, 143-51; 36, 290-6, Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 108, P. Osl. 18 [A.D. 162], l. 7.

9. γραμμάτων: i.e. a χειρόγραφον in the strict sense of the word written by Eudaemon, while ὑποσημείωσις refers to a χειρόγραφον written by a third party, but subscribed by Eudaemon; cf. Meyer, *ibid.*

χρη(σιν) ἔχει[ν]: the only possibility of getting any sense out of this line is to suppose an omission on the part of the scribe, for χρῆσασθαι cannot be read, as Mr. Roberts confirmed. He wrote: 'χρηε is quite certain (the χ of course being doubtful). After ε it looks like πη to me. There might be room for ἐπι[φέρειν], with ὑποσημείωσις as object—if it would give any sense.' For the restoration proposed in the text, we may, however, compare l. 7; see note on l. 3.

10-11. The *litis denuntiatio* was handed over to Eudaemon through the logistes (cf. Steinwenter, *Versäumnisverfahren*, 114-16), and within the fixed term both the accuser and defendant appeared before the logistes (cf. Steinwenter, *op. cit.*, 116, Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 283). During this pre-judicial inquiry the deed of hand may have been produced again by Aurelia (cf. l. 12, note) and examined. Eudaemon, however, states that it is a forgery and refuses to pay (i.e., ἀντίρρησης on record of the logistes; cf. for the Roman period Jörs, *op. cit.* 39, 58-9).

10. ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων: cf. P. Lond. 2565 (*JEA* 21, 224 ff.), iv. 95 and note.

κατεθέμην: cf., e.g., P. Lips. 35 [A.D. ±375], 16 καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων καταθεμένων ἐν ὑπομνήμασι.

ἐπὶν[ε]γ' κατο: the reading of the ending of the word is very doubtful; moreover, the middle form is unusual. Mr. Roberts reads ἐπὶνεγκε ε.χε and certainly not -κατο; unfortunately we have no idea at all what the word is.

11. πλαστόν: cf. P. Oxy. 237 [A.D. 186], viii, 14 and Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht*, 91-2.

11-14. The logistes was only competent for the pre-judicial inquiry (διάλυσις); when the parties failed to come to an agreement, he had to refer them to the prefect; cf. the works referred to in note on ll. 3-8, and for διάλυσις cf. also P. Berl. Möller No. 1.

12. αὐτό refers most probably to the disputed χειρόγραφον, which was to be produced again in the trial before the prefect, and therefore to be sent to him. The restoration of the first lacuna is very tentative; as no exact parallel is known, it seemed the best course to follow the preserved text as closely as possible and not to assume any omission, orthographical mistake, or word-forms not yet known in the papyri. One might join αὐτὸς φ[ ], but then it would be impossible to get a satisfactory restoration. The only verb, or word, beginning with σφ, known from papyri, is σφραγίζειν; as other words are impossible in this context, we propose the restoration printed in the text. An alternative to it might be



σφ[ραγισθῆναι καὶ κατ]απεμφθῆναι, but this must be rejected, because we should then have to insert καὶ at the end of the line.

σφ[ραγίσας: for this 'act of sealing' I have not been able to find an exact parallel, but although they are not the same, we may perhaps compare the words of the strategus in P. Hamb. 29 [reign of Domitianus], 23 παρήγει]λα καὶ ταβέλλας ἐσφράγισα]; cf. introduction of the editor. There is a possible corroboration of the word in the first line of the verso of the present document, where some letters which I have been unable to read are followed by εσφ' Ἐπεὶφ υγ, where the contraction may be expanded into ἐσφ(ράγισα) or ἐσφ(ραγίσθη).

κατ]απεμφθῆναι: cf. P. Oxy. 1115 [A.D. 284], 18, (2nd H.) Αὐρήλιος Φιλίαρχος ὁ καὶ Ὡρίων στρατηγός) Ὁξυρ[υ]γχ(ίτου) ἔσχον τὴν αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχὴν συμφωνοῦσαν πρὸς τὸ προτεταγμένον ἀντίγρα(φον) ἦν καὶ κατέπεμψα ὡς ἐκελεύσθη. This parallel gives some support to our supposition that the logistes had to send the deed to the prefect.

13. ἐγ'γυᾶσθαι ἀμφ[οτέρους: since the accuser and defendant had not come to an agreement, they had to deposit in the office of the logistes an affidavit that they would appear in the prefect's court; cf. Steinwenter, *op. cit.*, 86, also Jörs, *op. cit.* 36, 297. An example of a χειρογραφία of both parties is P. Oxy. 260 [A.D. 59] = Chrest., II. 74; cf. Wenger, *Rechtshist. Papyrusstudien*, 61-70. Unfortunately in the present document the traces of the first column are too slight to show whether it was the affidavit of the accuser Aurelia. An example of the oath by an accuser of the Byzantine period is afforded by P. Oxy. 1456 [A.D. 284-6] addressed to the strategus; cf. Seidl., *op. cit.*, 88, and see also my note on l. 1.

κατὰ χ]ειρογραφίαν: perhaps διὰ χειρογραφίας would have been more usual.

ὑπευ[θύνους: for the use of this word in declarations of sureties cf., e.g., Col. iii = Grenf. II, 79, i, 9 ὑπεύθυνος ἔσομαι] τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν [ζη]τουμένοις; see also P. Osl. 18 [A.D. 162], 4 καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἀνδροφόνος [ἐ]κεῖνος λημψείη, οὐ δεῖ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι].

14. ἀπαντήσ[ει]ν: cf., e.g., Preis. 4 [A.D. 320], 20, ἀπαντησάτωσαν [ἐπ]ὶ τὸ ἡγ[ε]μονικὸν δικαστήριον; here and in l. 15 (ποιήσεσθαι) the future infinitive seemed more suitable to me than the often used aorist infinitive; cf. ἔσεσθαι in l. 13.

14 ff. These lines contain what is really the essence of the document, the affidavit of Eudaemon that he will appear before the prefect's court. It is, however, not a mere engagement to appear, but at the same time a written confirmation of his ἀντίρρησις (ll. 16 ff., cf. note on ll. 10-11). As the authoress is not competent to decide regarding questions of law, it remains for experts in this field to give their opinion as to whether such a confirmation was required. Cf. Jörs, *op. cit.*, 39, 56-69, P. Oxy. 1881 [A.D. 427] with introduction, Weber, *op. cit.*, 71-2, with the articles referred to in his note, Seidl., *op. cit.*, II, 88-9.

[τὴν τῶν δεσπο]τῶν κτλ.: these two lines could confidently be restored from Col. iii, 5 and iv, 6-7 = Grenf. II, 79 i, ii; cf. Seidl., *op. cit.*, II, 6. The date of the document being ±324-5 (cf. l. 6, note) it is remarkable that the Caesars mentioned in the other documents are omitted here.

16. For this and the next lines, of which only a few letters are preserved, I have given a restoration which may render the sense of the passage, although I am aware that it is very tentative.

ἵνα συ[στάσης τῆς δίκης κτλ.: for this restoration cf. P. Oxy. 237 [A.D. 186] viii, 13 ff. ὡς εἴ τις χρηματικῆς . . . συστάσης δίκης ἀπαιτηθεὶς καὶ μὴ παραντίκα ἀρνησάμενος ἀφείλιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, μὴ παραντίκα πλαστὰ εἶναι τὰ γράμματα εἰπὼν καὶ κα[τ]ηγορήσιν γράφας εἰ εἴτε πλαστῶν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥαδιουργίας ἢ περιγραφῆς ἐγκαλεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ. Instead of λέγω we may suggest ἀποδεικνύω; cf. P. Grenf. II, 78, 26.

17. εἰ δὲ μὴ κτλ.: ἐμφαν[ῆς ὦ, ὅπ[ο]ταν (cf. P. Oxy. 1196 [A.D. 211-12] 15, ἐμφανῆς ὦν, ὅπ[ο]ταν ἐπιζητηθῶ) would be too short.



18. *ἐνοχος ἔσομαι* κτλ.: cf. Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, 135. The  $\tau$  of  $\tau\omega$  is more like a  $\gamma$ , but  $\gamma$  does not lend itself to any possible restoration.

19. After *ὡμολόγησα* the subscription may have followed.

## IV

SALE OF LAND IN THE HERMOPOLITE NOME<sup>1</sup>

Pap. Bodl. Uncatal.

25.2 × 29.7 cm.

Time of Justinian.

Of this deed of sale, written in a beautiful Byzantine hand, about a third is preserved. At the top the date and address are missing, at the bottom the *βεβαίωσις* clause and the subscription. For parallel documents see the list in Seidl, *Der Eid*, II, 116 and cf., e.g., P. Berl. 16046 in *Aeg.* 15, 274, sale of a slave A.D. 300 (?), and Pap. Soc. It. in *Aeg.* 15, 224, No. 9, sale of the third part of a house, A.D. 430.

... καὶ ἀ]γάγ[ης] καὶ πάσης περιγρ[αφῆς] κατὰ τήνδε τ]ήν ὁμολ[ο]γ[ίαν] βουλήσει  
 αὐθαιρέτω καὶ ἀμετανόητω καὶ ἀδόλῳ προαιρέσει βεβαίῳ συνειδήσει ὀρθῇ διανοίᾳ ἅμα δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπομνύμενος θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκη[ν] τοῦ] δεσπότου ἡμῶ[ν]  
 5 Φλ[αυίου] Ἰο]υστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγουστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πεπρακ[έναι] σήμερον σοι τῷ  
 θαυμασιωτάτῳ Βίκτορι τῷ ὠνούμενῳ (ἐκπεποιηκέναι καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκέναι κ[αὶ] . . . . .) ἐκ-  
 κεχωρηκέναι καὶ ἐκπεποιηκέναι καὶ ἀντιδεδωκέναι πληρεστ[ά]τῳ παντὶ δεσποτείας  
 νομίμῳ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῇ πίστ[ει] π]άσῃ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ αἰωνίᾳ κατοχῇ κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος κυριότητος  
 κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπλήν ἐ[γγ]ραφὸν ἀσφάλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰὲ καὶ ἐξῆς ἐσόμενον  
 ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰ διαφέροντά μοι καὶ περιελθόν(τα) εἰς ἐμὲ ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικαταλλαγῆς . .  
 10 παρὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμωτάτου Βίκτορος τοῦ ὠνούμενου ἅμματα δέκα δέμοιρον σπόρι[μα]  
 ἀνδρα ἀτελῆς γῆς καὶ μὴ ὑποκείμενα τελέσμασι τὸ σύνολον ἀπὸ ἀρούρης ἡμίσεως (σ)πο-  
 ρίμης γῆς  
 ἀνδρον κατὰ κοινωνίαν Ἀλῆτος καὶ Θέκλας ὁμογενεῶν μου ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα  
 ἅμματα εἴκοσι μία τρίτον εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμιαούρης διακείμενα ὑπὸ τὴν  
 παραφυλάκην τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ἐνσεῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑρμουπολίτου νομοῦ γείτονες αὐτῆς  
 15 ἡμιαούρης νότου τῆς μίας ἀρούρης βορρᾶ γῆδια τῶν ἀνθρώπων Λεοντίου ἀπληρώτ[ου]  
 γῆδια Ἀλῆτος λιβὸς ἡ δημοσία ὁδὸς ἡ οἱοι ἂν ὦσι γείτονες πάντῃ παντόθεν τιμῆς τῆς  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημένης καὶ συναρεσάσης καὶ συνδοξάσης μεταξὺ ἐμοῦ κ[αὶ] ἰ]σοῦ  
 σύμφωνα χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων δεσποτικὸν δοκιμὸν ἐν τρίτον παρὰ κεράτια ὀκτω

traces of one other line.

11. l. ἀτελοῦς. 12. l. ἀνδρον. 13. l. ἐν. 15. Perhaps (τὸ ὑπόλοιπον) τῆς μιᾶς ἀρούρης.  
 18. l. νομισματίου δεσποτικοῦ δοκιμοῦ ἐνὸς τρίτου.

## Translation

[I acknowledge without . . .] and compulsion and fraud of any kind on this acknowledgement of my own free will, with irrevocable and infallible decision, reliable conscientiousness, and in my right senses, and at the same time swearing by God Almighty and the piety and the victory of our master Flavius Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus Imperator, that I have sold to-day to you the most marvellous Victor, the purchaser, surrendered, alienated, and exchanged with every fullest legal right of ownership, good faith, every authority, and eternal claim, in accordance with every kind of proprietary rights in virtue of this single written deed from this moment for ever and for

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the publication of this document I am particularly indebted to Mr. Lobel, who kindly prepared the papyrus for me to work on.



all the coming future time the ten and two-thirds 'ammata', seed-land, unwatered, which I possess and which have been transferred to me by right of exchange by the most honoured Victor, the purchaser, belonging to untaxed land and not liable to taxes at all, consisting of a half aroura of unwatered seed-land, in partnership with my full brothers Hales and Thecla in regard to the twenty-one and one-third 'ammata' forming the rest of the said half-aroura, being under the custody of the inhabitants of the village Enseu of the said Hermoupolite nome, the areas adjacent of the said half-aroura being on the south the remaining part (?) of the one aroura, on the north the plots of the *coloni* of Leontius, on the east the plots of Hales, on the west the public road, or whatever may be the adjacent areas anywhere in any direction, at the price, on which we have come to an agreement together, agreed and determined in accordance with the agreement between you and me, of one and one-third imperial solidi at full value of gold minus eight siliquae. . . .

### Notes

1. καὶ ἀ[νάγκης] may have been preceded by ὁμολογῶ δέχα παντὸς δόλου καὶ φόβου καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης; cf., e.g., *Archiv* 3, pp. 415 ff. (sale of a slave [A.D. vi]), ll. 8 ff. The word-order of this clause is not a fixed one; δέχα κτλ. may either precede βουλήσει αὐθαιρέτω as here, or follow it as in the text just cited.

κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὁμολ[ογ]ίαν: these words may seem superfluous here, as the deed is mentioned again in l. 8; they have, however, a parallel in *Archiv*, *ibid.*, ll. 10–11 διὰ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς ἐγγράφου ὠνιᾶκῆς συγγραφ[ῆ]ς, l. 21 κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπλὴν ἐγγραφὴν ὠνίην.

2. ἅμα δέ: perhaps ἅμα may be now restored in *Stud.* xx, 110 [A.D. v], 2, instead of ἔτι; cf. *Aeg.* 3, 102, No. 282.

3. ἐπομνήμενος κτλ.: this form of the oath to the Emperor Justinian may be added to the variants in Seidl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 9. For the oath in contracts in general see pp. 114 ff. of the same work.

4. σήμερον: cf., e.g., *SB* 5112, 21.

5. θαυμασιωτάτω: for the alternative use of this title with εὐδοκιμώτατος (l. 10) see Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate*, 13.

ἐκπεποιηκέναι κτλ.: as the same words are repeated in l. 6, we may suspect a dittography at the end of the line; there is, however, no room for ἀντιδεδωκέναι.

6. In most deeds of sale we find only πεπρακέναι καὶ καταγεγραφήκέναι; for ἀντιδεδωκέναι I have not been able to find a parallel; perhaps it means to exchange the land for the price paid for it.

7. κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος κυριότητος: this is the first clear occurrence of this expression in the papyri, and we may now restore it in *Archiv*, *pap. cit.*, l. 11, instead of the editor's κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος κυριε[υ]τ[ικ]ός. For the meaning of κυριότης cf. P. Cairo Masp. 67151, 283; the whole expression may be compared with *SB* 5112, 45 καὶ δεσπόζειν κατὰ πᾶν δεσποτείας ἀναφαιρέτου δίκαιον, although not quite the same.

9. ἀπὸ δικαίου ἀντικαταλλαγῆς κτλ.: the expression ἀπὸ δικαίου (or only ἀπό) followed by the form of a deed in the genitive is often used to indicate the legality of the proprietary rights; cf. the note of Miss Visser on P. Berl. 16046, 3, and see also von Woess, *op. cit.*, p. 290. For ἀντικαταλλαγῆ cf. *PSI* 34 [A.D. 397], 11 ἐλθούσας εἰς γέ ἀπὸ ἀντικαταλλαγῆς Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]φοῦ αὐτοῦ. There is no reason to suppose that the word is used here metaphorically for deed of sale, although it would not be impossible, when we compare ἀντιδεδωκέναι in l. 6; it is not clear, however, which kind of exchange was referred to; perhaps it was stated in the letters after ἀντικαταλλαγῆς, which I was not able to read; it is not impossible that the vendor had exchanged it for another plot, so as to get the one adjacent to the plots of his brothers.



10. ἄμματα: one αουρα contained 64 ἄμματα; cf. Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 38 and § 41, 5, Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria*, 44.

11. ἀτελής γῆς: the adjective ἀτελής is probably indeclinable here, as Dr. Bell suggested to me; we should expect ἀτελοῦς. For the land-taxes cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, 75-9 and 87-92.

12. κατὰ κοινωνίαν: we must not take these words too literally, for we see in this deed that one of the brothers can sell his third part.

15. γήδια τῶν ἀνθρώπων Λεοντίου: the meaning of ἀνθρωποι is here *coloni*, as Dr. Bell suggested to me; cf. Preisigke, *Wb.*, s.v., and also Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, 224 ff.

16-18. τιμῆς κτλ.: in most contracts we find τιμῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημένης καὶ συναρεσάσης μεταξύ ἡμῶν ἀμφοτέρων, e.g., P. Grenf. i, 60, 30, Stud. xx, 110, 12 (without μεταξύ κτλ.), SB 5112, 29-30 (combined with ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ καὶ ἀμεταθέτω λόγῳ). For σύμφωνα in this clause I have been unable to find a parallel; the word as written here can hardly be right. Either it may be a mistake for συμφώνως, to be taken with συνδοξάσης, or we must suppose an omission on the part of the scribe and restore after συνδοξάσης, (κατὰ τὰ) μεταξύ ἐμοῦ κ[α]ὶ σοῦ σύμφωνα, which may be compared with P. Oxy. 914 [A.D. 486], 8 κατὰ τὰ μεταξύ σύμφ[ω]να χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο.

For the coinage in the time of Justinian see Segrè, *op. cit.*, 464-72.

## V

PRIVATE LETTER CONCERNING A PETITION TO THE PREFECT<sup>1</sup>

MS. Gr. Class d 147 (P).

17.6 × 20.1 cm.

Late 3rd cent. A.D.

This worm-eaten papyrus apparently contains the letter of a son who writes from Alexandria to his father. The document is written in a not very practised school-hand, with many orthographical mistakes and several omissions, of which only one (l. 9) has been corrected. The last lines and the part written along the right-hand margin are hopelessly mutilated, but just enough is preserved for the subject of the letter, a matter of some interest, to emerge. I have not been able to find any exact parallel to this text.

The father had been injured by some one, and the son was anxious to get news from him and to hear details about the injury, so that he might be able to deliver a petition to the prefect on behalf of his father.

] . . [ . . . ] . . . τῷ πατρὶ  
 πλείστα χαίρει]ν. πρὸ παντ[ός] εὐχομε σε ὑ-  
 γιαίνειν, ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίνω κὲ τὸ  
 προσκύνη]μά σου ποιῶ κατ' ἐκάστην  
 5 ἡμέραν πρὸς τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι. γινώσκιν  
 σε θέλω ὅτι ἐγραψά σου ἄλλην ἐπιστο-  
 λὴν εἰδὼν τί πέπραχες, καὶ οὐκ ἀντέ-  
 γραψές μοι [ἐ]πιστολὴν. ἐτόμεν πε-  
 ρὶ τούτων, ᾧ αὐτὸς μερίμ[η]νον περὶ σοῦ, γρά-  
 10 ψον μοι, τί[ς] ἐστὶν ὁ[ς] τις ἐ(λ)θὼν παρὰ  
 σε κὲ ὕβριν σου πεποίηκεν, ἵνα δώσω  
 ἀναφό[ρ]ον τῷ [ἡ]γεμόνι κα[ὶ] γράψω

<sup>1</sup> Owing to lack of time I was unable to revise my first transcription of this document; therefore I owe more readings to Mr. Roberts, who also kindly checked my own readings, than I can state in the notes. I am also indebted to him for the dating.



μοι ἢ προσήλθες τῷ ἐπ[ι]στρα-  
 τήγῳ, ἄλλες γὰρ <δ> ἐπισ[σ]τράτη-  
 15 γος ἄσθενεῖ [. . .]α[.]ο[.]σ[.]σοι καὶ  
 σ' ἐπ[ε]τιλ' αὐτῷ προσ[ε]λ[θ]εῖν κ[ε] (?) ὃ μὲν  
 γὰρ συνποδὶ τὴν μ[.] . . .]τα[ν] τ[ο]ῦ υ-  
 ἰ[ε]ος [. . .]ειμαρ[ε] . αν δελ[ε] . . .]το ἐμαν-  
 τῷ σω . [.]αλ[.] . .]τεσμ[ε] . [ . . .]σησω  
 20 δ[.] . .]σε[.]τ[.] . . . . .]αστ[.]  
 .[ . . . . .]δρια[.]  
 ] ω . [

Along the right-hand margin

]νβολ[ . . .]νω ὡς ἂν δύνασε μοι παρ[ε]χεσ[θαι]  
 παντα μοι (?)] παράσχου, οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ἀποδημίας ἄς ἀσπα[  
 25 ]αν μ[.] . . .]πολλά ἐρωτῶ σε, ἀλλὰ . [  
 ]παρὰ [σοῦ] πρὸς ἐμέ τινα εἰδῆ[ς]  
 ] . ευ δε [σ]σε Σεραπία τῇ[  
 ] . α [ . . . . .]ο . αχα με[  
 ]ος ἐνβε . [  
 30 ]τα . [  
 ]χ[

2. l. εὐχομαι. 3. l. καί, so too 11, 16. 4. l. καθ'. 5. l. Σεραπίδι, γινώσκειν. 6. l. σοι, id. 11.  
 7. l. ἰδεῖν. 8. l. ἀντέγραφας, αἰτοῦμεν (or perhaps αἰτῶ μὲν (?)). 9. l. ἐμερίμων. 13. l. εἰ.  
 16. l. σοι ἐπέτειλ'. 23. l. δύνασαι.

### Translation

11. 1-16 . . . his father best greetings. First of all I pray that you may be in good health, and I make obeisance for you every day before the lord Sarapis. I want you to know that I wrote to you another letter (being anxious) to know how you are, and you did not write a letter to me in reply. I beg you, write to me on that matter, concerning which I myself was anxious about you, who it is who came to you and maltreated you presumptuously, that I may give a petition to the prefect. And write to me whether you applied to the epistrategus, . . . for the epistrategus is not able to . . . for you and ordered you to apply to him . . .

### Notes

2-5. For these formulas see Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, 107-8. (Since Exler's book was not accessible, I owe this reference to the article of Keyes in *Cl. Phil.* 30 (1935), 143.)

5. For Σεραπίδι instead of Σαράπιδι cf. Mayser, *Gramm.*, 1, 56-7.

6-8. For failure to answer letters cf. Winter, *Life and Letters*, 83-4.

7. εἰδῖν may be a confusion of ἰδεῖν and εἰδέναί; the latter was certainly meant, and is an infinitive of purpose after γράφω, as Mr. Roberts, who read the second ε, suggested to me.

11. ὑβρῶν: for ὑβρις = personal injury in general cf. Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht*, 81-4.

ἵνα δώσω: after ἵνα the verb δώσω cannot be future, but is necessarily the conjunctive of the weak aorist ἔδωσα; cf. the modern Greek νὰ δώσω (Pernot, *Gramm. du Grec moderne*, 1, 177).

12. For the restoration ἀναφύ[ρ]ω cf. Bror Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe*, No. 17 (= P. Oxy.

294) [A.D. 22], 10-14 ὁ ἐμ[ὸς] οἶκος ἡραύνηται — — εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις γράφας μοι ἀντιφώνη[σ]ιν περὶ τούτων εἶνα καίγῳ αὐτὸς ἐπιδῶ ἀναφόριον τῷ ἡγεμόνι with note. For the different kinds of petitions sent to the prefect see Reinmuth, *The Prefect*, 87-9. Unfortunately it was unnecessary for the writer of this letter to mention the name of the prefect, which would have enabled us to date the document more exactly.

13-16. These lines clearly illustrate how well the Greeks of Egypt knew the juridical incompetence of the Roman magistrates, for they confirm what is known to us, that petitions might be sent to the epistrategus, as to the strategus and other local magistrates, but that his competence was only that of an arbitrator; he could try to achieve an agreement between the parties, but they were not obliged to obey, and for a final decision he had to refer them to the prefect; cf. Martin, *Les Épistratèges*, 160-1, also Taubenschlag, *op. cit.*, 83-4.

14. ἄλλες: I thought that *v* was possible instead of *s*, but Mr. Roberts writes that the *s* is certain. The meaning of the word is obscure; either it may be a mistake for ἄλλως, as Mr. Roberts suggested to me—a mistake for ἄλλά seems hardly possible—or the writer has omitted some letters; perhaps he intended to write ἀλλ(ᾶ προσῆλθ)ες (ὁ) γὰρ ἐπισ(σ)τράτης, i.e. 'I ask you to write to me whether you applied to the epistrategus; but (I am sure) you have applied (to him. Write now details about the injury to you, that I, as your representative, may hand over a petition to the prefect), for the epistrategus is not able to administer justice for you and has ordered you to apply (to the prefect, who alone is competent to make a final decision)'; this restoration is, however, rather tentative.

16. σ' ἐπ(ἐ)τιλ': this reading is doubtful; Mr. Roberts would read σε (ἐ)ρετιλ', but admittedly there is not much space for *v*. The subject of the verb is most probably ὁ ἐπιστράτης (l. 14); the first person ἐπέτειλα seems less likely to me.

αὐτῷ: i.e. τῷ ἡγεμόνι.

προσ[ελ]θ[εῖν: cf., e.g., P. Osl. 62 [A.D. III], 6 τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι π[ρο]σῆλθον. πρ[ο]σεδέξατο τὸ πρῶ(μα) εἰπὼν ἀκούσεσθαι τῷ κατ[α]πλόῳ.

ὁ μὲν refers most probably to the prefect.

17. συνποδι: the reading of the δ I owe to Mr. Roberts, who suggests as a possibility ευνποδι = ἐμποδ(ι)ς; συνποιῖ = συμποιεῖ cannot be read.

τὴν μ[ε]ρίδα: perhaps τὴν μ[ε]ρίδα[ν] = τὴν μερίδα. This and the next line may refer to the fact that the son, the writer of the letter, was allowed to act as representative of his father in the prefect's court; cf. ll. 11-12.

21. ]δρια[.]: perhaps Αλεξάν]δρια[ν].

22. After this line the writer may have gone on for some lines before turning his sheet, as is indicated by a lacuna at the beginning of the lines along the margin.

23. ]νβολ[.]: perhaps σύ]νβολ[α = σύμβολα; if this is right, it suggests that the injury consisted of illegal claims to sums already paid, perhaps a loan; the writer may have asked his father for the receipts in order to show them to the prefect.

24. ἀσπα[ may be some form of the verb ἀσπάζομαι.

25. πολλὰ ἐρωτῶ σε: these words refer probably not to personal requests, such as occur so often in letters, but to requests for documents and details about the petition to the prefect.

26. Perhaps ἐὰν ἴοντα] παρὰ [σοῦ] πρὸς ἐμέ τινα εἶδῃ[ς 'if you know any one going from you to me'; cf., e.g., P. Columb. Inv. 318 (*Cl. Phil.* 30 (1935), 143), 18 ἐὰν τινα εὕρηται καταβαί[ε]ντα.

28. ]ρ. αχα: perhaps μ]ραχά(?), the single deeds or receipts.

31. This line may contain the end of the letter, ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖ]χ[ομαι.



## VI

## ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO THRACIAN HORSEMEN

MS. Gr. Class d 146 (P).

18.5 × 10 cm.

Early 1st cent. B.C.<sup>1</sup>

At the top of the papyrus the greater part of the right-hand side is lost, but at the left side the upper margin proves that *ἔτους* is the first word of the document; at the bottom a line is drawn under the last line and at its left side.

*ἔτους* [ . . . . .

εἰς[οστοῦ . . . . .

Διονυσίῳ β[ασ(ιλικῶ)] τ[ραπεζίτη].

Ἱπποθράϊζιν εἰς Χοίαχ

5 ὀφώνιον ἀργυρίου δισχιλίας

ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα

καὶ χαλκοῦ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν

τεσσαράκοντα (δραχμας) δισχιλίας

ἑνακοσίας πενήκοντα,

10 | ἀργ' Βρςθ, χ' α ρμ ∠ Βρν

## Translation

The 2-year . . . To Dionysius the royal banker. (Pay) to the Thracian horsemen for wages for the month Choiak two thousand one hundred and ninety-nine silver (drachmae) and one hundred and forty talents two thousand nine hundred and fifty drachmae copper coinage, say 2199 silver (drachmae) 140 talents 2950 drachmae copper coinage.

## Notes

1-2. One letter of the word *ἔτους* projects to the left, as compared with the other lines. After *ἔτους* there is a considerable space, so we may restore *δευτέρου* or *τετάρτου καὶ* εἰς[οστοῦ followed by the month, perhaps *μηνὶ Χοίαχ* λ. If *εἰκοστοῦ* is right the document belongs to the latter part of the reign of Ptolemy Soter II.

3. This line can safely be restored as proposed in the text, for we know that a request for payment was sent to the royal banker by the *γραμματεὺς*; cf. Lesquier, *Les Institutions militaires*, p. 102. A royal banker of the name Dionysius is known to us from P. Amh. 31 and 54 [Hermonthis B.C. 112]; it is not impossible that it is the same banker, in which case the provenance of the present document would be the Thebaid.

4. *Ἱπποθράϊζιν*: this is the first time, as far as I know, that this compound name to denote the Thracian horsemen has occurred in a papyrus. It refutes the statement of Lesquier, *op. cit.*, 90 and 178, that the hipparchies with gentile names disappear in the first half of the second century; here at least we have one example to the contrary.

5. *ὀφώνιον*: for wages paid to soldiers cf. P. Tebt. III<sup>1</sup>, 722 and 723 [B.C. 137] with introduction; Wilcken, UPZ, No. 14, 26, note with references.

## VII

## LAND-SURVEY

MS. Gr. Class f 107 (P).

13.2 × 9.3 cm.

Early 3rd cent. A.D.

Two entries of a land-survey are preserved on this small scrap of papyrus; the first is broken off at the top and the right-hand side of both is missing. The provenance of the document is probably the Delta (cf. note on l. 2); where it was found is unknown, but it

<sup>1</sup> For the dating I am indebted to Mr. Roberts.

can hardly have been in the Delta; most probably an official took his archives with him on removal from the Delta, or else it was brought to some other part of Egypt by papyrus-dealers in ancient times. The document, however, has no writing on the verso. The present land-survey differs from those hitherto known (*cf.* Délégé, *Les Cadastres antiques*, 115 ff.), which may justify its publication. It contains two entries of unwatered land; the first hand, a cursive script comparable with Schubart, *Tab.* 34 [A.D. 216], has written the data of the entries, a second hand, of the chancery style, *cf.* Schubart, *Tab.* 35 [A.D. 209], adds the result of the ἐπίσκεψις of each parcel entered in the name of the village. Between the two entries there is a blank of 3.6 cm. and at the bottom is a blank of 3 cm., so that the document most probably formed part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of the land-survey of the village of Perkoinis (or perhaps of the νομός); there was a space of 3.6 cm. between the different entries.

.....  
 ἡ [ἐξ]ῆς ἰσαγ(ομένη) σφρ(αγίς)  
 2nd H. Ἐπίσκεψις Π[ερκοίνεως]  
 (ἄρουραι) δύο ἀβρόχου  
 blank

1st H. θ σφρ(αγίδος) λιβός ἐχόμεναι ἰδιωτικ(ῆς) γ(ῆς) ὁμ(οίως) ἀβρ(όχου) (ἄρουραι) γ[  
 5 γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ποτίστρ(α) μεθ' (ῆν) ἡ ἐξῆς ι σφρ(αγίς) β[ορ(ρᾶ) καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου)  
 λιβός ἐπι(κείμενα) ἐδ(άφη)

2nd H. Ἐπίσκεψις Περκοί[νεως (ἄρουραι)  
 1. 1. εἰσαγομένη. 5. 1. γείτονες.

### Translation

... the next entered parcel. (2nd H.) Land-survey of Perkoinis, two arourae of unwatered land. (1st H.) Of the ninth parcel at the West side of private land also three unwatered arourae [ ], the areas adjacent being on the south a water-channel, after which is the next tenth parcel, on the north [and the east . . .] on the west the adjoining landed properties. (2nd H.) Land-survey of Perkoinis [three arourae unwatered land].

### Notes

1. For the abbreviation ἰσαγ(ομένη) *cf.* Stud. 17, pp. 9 ff., *Un Document administratif du nome Mendes*, ll. 346 and 501 ἡ ἐξ(ῆς) εἰσαγ(ομένη) κοί(τη).

σφρ(αγίς): in the other document of the Delta, the carbonized papyrus cited above, the word κοίτη is used instead of σφραγίς; *cf.* the note of the editor, p. 30. After σφρ(αγίς) the line is blank.

2. Π[ερκοίνεως is here restored from l. 7. A village of the name Perkoinis occurs in a carbonized papyrus of Thmuis, P. Ryl. 216, 158, in the Πτεμπαθιώ toparchy.

4. θ is very doubtful.

(ἄρουραι) γ: the γ is very doubtful; it may be also ι or τ[ρεῖς; after γ at least eleven to twelve letters are lost, and what may have followed is not clear—perhaps a reference to the number of the folio of the entry.

5. ποτίστρ(α): *cf.* Kalén, *Berl. Leihgabe* 13, 8, n.

μεθ' (ῆν): for this abbreviation *cf.* P. Oxy. 918 ii, 4, n., xi, 6.

ἡ ἐξῆς ι σφρ(αγίς): no sign of abbreviation is visible after the ι, nor is there a stroke above it, but the number 10 seems more likely to me than the unmarked abbreviation for ἰσαγομένη.

β[ορ(ρᾶ) κτλ.: after ἀπηλ(ιώτου) we expect the adjacent area, perhaps abbreviated; the restoration as proposed gives the smallest number of missing letters required by l. 2.

6. ἐπι(κείμενα): for the meaning see P. Tebt. 50, 6 [II B.C.].

ἐδ(άφη): *cf.* P. Oxy. 918, ii, 12 and xi, 7; after this word the line is blank.



7. At the end of this line there is hardly room for (ἀρουραι) τρεῖς ἀβρόχου; perhaps ἀβρ(όχου).

## VIII

## CUSTOM-RECEIPT FOR A CAMEL

MS. Gr. Class g 74 (P).

6.4 × 7.5 cm.

A.D. 156.

The present receipt may be added to the four *Kamelsymbole* treated by Fiesel in his article *Geleitszölle im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (Nachr. Göttingen, 1925), pp. 94–5. It is issued by the same farmer Castor as P. Rain. 42 [A.D. 153–4] and P. Lond. 318 [A.D. 156–7], the only difference being that this document is not in the form of a letter and is issued by the farmer himself, not through one of his officials.

Κάστωρ μισθ(ωτής) ἐρημοφ(υλακίας) κ(αί) παροδ(ίον)  
 Προσω(πίτου) κ(αί) Λ[ητ]οπ(ολίτου) διαγεγρ(αμμένας) παρὰ  
 Ἀγχώφιος ἀπὸ Νήσου ὑπὲρ συμ(βόλου)  
 καμῆλ(ου) ἐνὸς δραχ(μὰς) ἕξ } 5.  
 5 Ἡ Ἰθ' Ἀντωγίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου Παῦν κς.

## Translation

I, Castor, farmer of the desert-guard tax and the transit-tax of the Prosopite and Letopolite nomes, have received through the bank from Anchophis inhabitant of Soknopaiu-Nesos in receipt of the tax on one camel six drachmae, say 6 drachmae. The nineteenth year of the Emperor Antoninus the lord, Payni 26.

## Notes

1. ἐρημοφ(υλακίας) = ἐρημοτελωνίας; cf. note 1. 4.  
 παρόδιον is a transit custom-duty of 3 per cent. = 2 drachmae per camel paid each time on passing the custom-house of a νομός; cf. Fiesel, *ibid.*, and P. Lond. II, p. 87.
2. In the parallel documents we find before διαγεγρ(αμμένας) the verb ἐχ<sup>ο</sup> = ἔχω; cf., e.g., P. Lond. II, No. 330, p. 88, which is of the same form as our document; the word is, however, in a lacuna.
3. σύμβολον; cf. the references cited above.
4. δραχ(μὰς) ἕξ; this is the tax paid for the whole distance from the Prosopite via the Letopolite to the Arsinoite nome, i.e. for each nome two drachmae per camel; cf. Fiesel, *ibid.*

## IX

## RECEIPT FOR WHEAT

MS. Gr. Class g 75 (P).

6.2 × 5.5 cm.

A.D. V/VI.

The provenience and the date (only the indiction year is mentioned) are both unknown. It is probably a receipt for the annona, on which see G. Rouillard, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, 121 ff.

Μεσορή θ σίτου  
 δ' Ἰνδι(κτίονος) Ἀμμόνιος  
 διάκ(ων) ἀποφ( ) ἀρ(τάβην)  
 μίαν ἡμισοί τρεῖς  
 5 τον δυοδέκατον  
 / α } Γο S  
 4. 1. ἡμισυ.

## Translation

The ninth of Mesore. Delivered by Ammonius the deacon for the wheat of the fourth indiction one and a half and a third and a twelfth artabae, say  $1\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ .

## Notes

3. For the abbreviation  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa(\omega\nu)$  cf. Kalén, *Berl. Leihgabe*, 4 verso, ix, 16, n.

The abbreviation  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\phi( )$  is unknown; most probably it is  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\phi(\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota)$ , but as in *Berl. Leihg.* 4 we find  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa(\omega\nu) \Theta\epsilon(\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ , it may be the abbreviation of the name of the village occurring in Stud. x, 247 [A.D. vii/viii], 3  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\phi[ ]\eta\varsigma$ .

6.  $\Gamma\omicron = \frac{1}{3}$ ; cf. P. Lond. 1760, 2, 3.  $\text{S} = \frac{1}{12}$  is new; the sign is nearly the same as that for  $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ .



## NOTES ON THE BAHRĒN, NUWĒMISAH, AND EL-A'REG OASES IN THE LIBYAN DESERT

By ANTHONY DE COSSON

With Plates xxi-xxiv

It has been suggested that a short article on the uninhabited oases of Baḥrēn, Nuwēmisah, and El-A'reg, situated in the Libyan Desert, south-east of Sīwah, might be of interest.

No book devoted to these oases exists, although El-A'reg and Baḥrēn are mentioned by Rohlfs, Steindorff, Bates, and Belgrave.<sup>1</sup> The Light Car Patrols 'blazed' motor trails to them in 1916-17, and the Egyptian Desert Survey know them well, but recent expeditions into the Libyan Desert such as those of Major Bagnold and Mr. Kennedy Shaw were interested in the country farther south. Our own visit to Baḥrēn, Nuwēmisah, and Sitrah was made in October 1934,<sup>2</sup> and we were followed in the spring and summer of 1935 by an entomological expedition sent to Sīwah and the neighbourhood by the Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Baḥrēn, El-A'reg, Wāṭiyah, Nuwēmisah, and Sitrah do not rightly belong to the Sīwah depression, but are named the 'Areg Group' in the latest 1:500,000 Map of Egypt, Sheet 4, Cairo, 1935.

### BAHRĒN

Baḥrēn, the central oasis of the three, is 75 miles south-east of Sīwah and 140 miles west of El-Baḥariyah Oasis. As it did not lie directly on the trade-route from El-Baḥariyah to Sīwah, which ran through Sitrah, Wāṭiyah, and El-A'reg, it was isolated and seldom visited by European travellers. Rohlfs and Jordan on their return journey from Sīwah in 1874, and Steindorff and Grünau in 1900, passed north of it along the trade-route and missed seeing Baḥrēn.

The two salt lakes of Baḥrēn are of great beauty, with a bulwark of somewhat decaying date-palms and tamarisk cones fighting against the encroachment of the Great Sand Sea from the south, while on the north the escarpment of the Gebel Baḥrēn rises to about 150 metres above the lakes, which themselves are below sea-level and were no doubt once of greater area and joined together.

Scooped out of a soft stratum in the escarpment above the western lake is a large group of caves of ancient origin (Pl. xxi).<sup>3</sup> In the harder stratum, west of these caves, are the square-cut tombs of a later epoch, possibly Ptolemaic.<sup>4</sup>

The caves are all on one level, whereas the tombs are in two or more tiers. The burials in all have been desecrated by the Bedouin, and in front of most of them lie hard red sandstone slabs which obviously had been used to seal up the entrances.<sup>5</sup> Where this red sandstone came from is still to be ascertained.

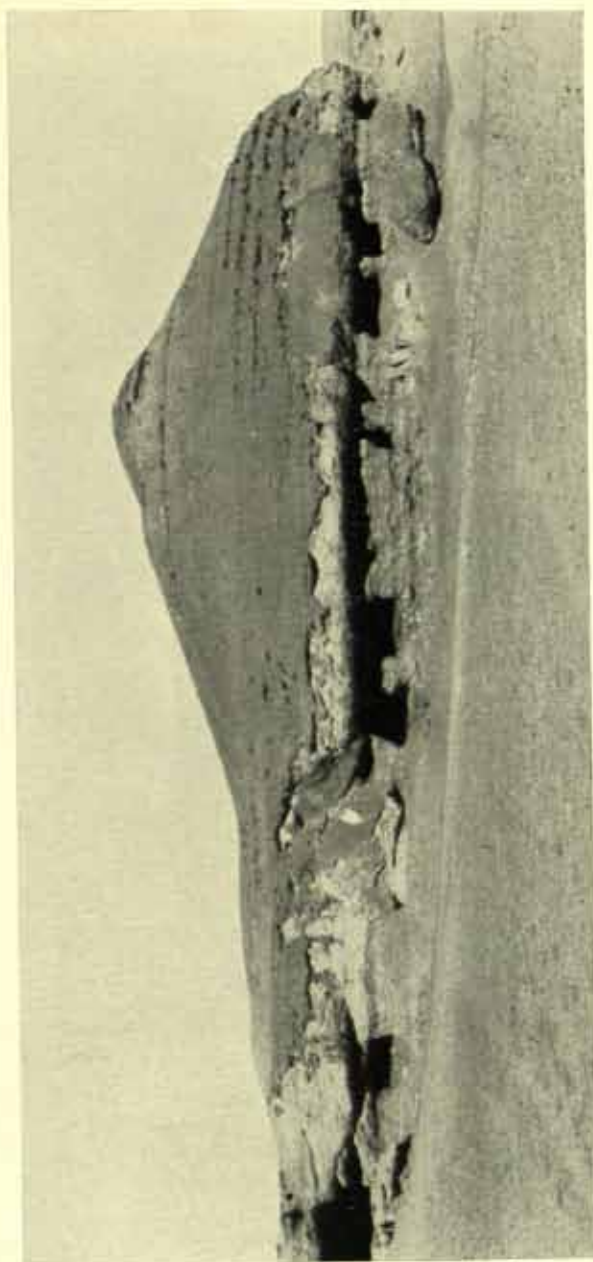
<sup>1</sup> G. Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der Libyschen Wüste*, Cassel, 1875; G. Steindorff, *Durch die Libysche Wüste*, Leipzig, 1904; Orie Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, London, 1914; Belgrave, *Siwa*, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> *Ill. Ldn. News*, March 30, 1935, pp. 530-1.

<sup>3</sup> See Bates, *op. cit.*, 168, for a reference to Libyan troglodytes.

<sup>4</sup> There are similar tombs at Sīwah (Gebel el-Mōtah), Gīrbah, and El-A'reg.

<sup>5</sup> Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, 194, remarked similar slabs for closing tomb entrances at El-A'reg.

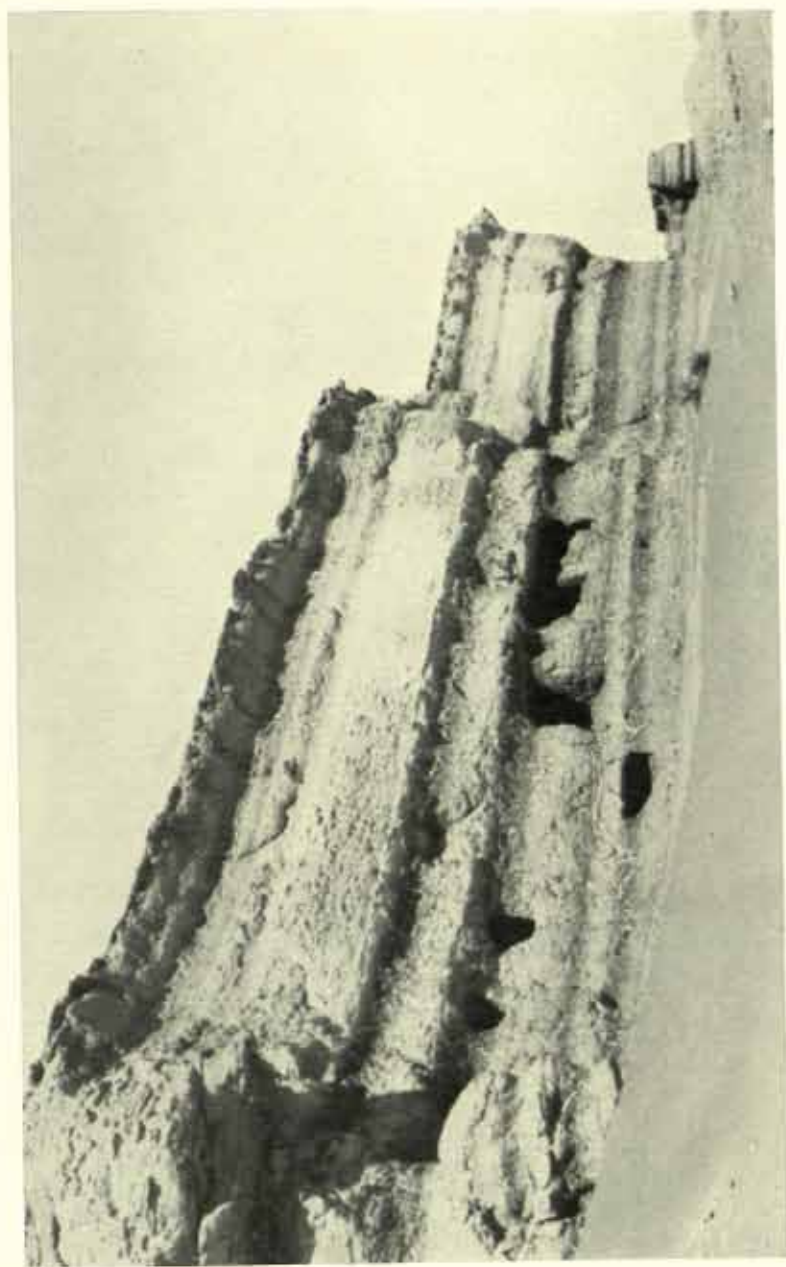


Some of the caves at Baḥrēn (Photo, by Dr. H. Maurer).

OASES IN THE LIBYAN DESERT







A section of the caves at Nuwēmisah (Photo. by Dr. H. Maurer).

OASES IN THE LIBYAN DESERT





The caves show signs of comparatively recent occupation by the date-harvesters, but near one of them we picked up a very fine neolithic scraping implement (Pl. xxiii, 3), and in an isolated cave on the south-east of the escarpment we found some fragments of ancient pottery.<sup>1</sup>

The tombs were perhaps of a later people occupying Bahrēn as an outpost on the ancient trade-route, but in our short visit we were unable to discover vestiges of any buildings.

The Gebel Bahrēn scarp is fairly rich in fossil sea-shells.

#### NUWĒMISAH

Although Nuwēmisah is only 13 miles east of Bahrēn nothing is known about it, and it was not shown on any map, as far as I can ascertain, until 1932. There are two small salt lakes, with sand-dunes on the south and a low sandstone escarpment to the north. In this escarpment there are a large number of caves (Pl. xxii). Many are choked with sand and they need careful exploration. The period of occupation may perhaps be estimated when I mention that near by we found a fine flint, apparently palaeolithic, and in the debris fallen from one of the caves we discovered a small earthenware pot of late date (Pl. xxiii, 1, 2).

Ten miles east of Nuwēmisah is the depression of Sitrah, which contains the largest lake in the group, lying 16 metres below sea-level. This lake shows signs of having receded considerably in comparatively recent times.<sup>2</sup> North of it is a fine high escarpment with fossil sea-shells, but there were no signs of caves or tombs in the cliffs.

All these lakes have a fringe of sand-encumbered date-palms and tamarisks on the south side, deep green in colour in contrast with the blue of the water and the white sand of the dunes. The water appears to be shallow and brackish, and there is a pervading atmosphere of unhealthy decay. Camps should be selected as high up as convenient on the *gebel* to the north, to avoid the pest of flies and mosquitoes which infest the lakes.

#### EL-A'REG

El-A'reg lies twenty miles north-west of Bahrēn, on the old caravan-route from El-Bahariyah to Siwah along which passed the early European travellers Cailliaud<sup>3</sup> and Letorzee in 1819 and Pacho<sup>4</sup> in 1826. When the great German explorers Rohlfs and Jordan visited El-A'reg in February 1874 they noted the paintings on the walls of the rock-

<sup>1</sup> Miss G. Caton Thompson, who has kindly examined these sherds, informs me that their very worn condition makes determination difficult, but that she is confident that none of them are prehistoric; the pieces of which the method of making can be identified are wheel-made. Two impressed sherds resemble in ware sherds, undated but probably Nubian, that she has found in Khārgah Oasis.

<sup>2</sup> This is confirmed by Cailliaud, who writes (p. 140), 'Kouroum [his guide] m'assura avoir entendu dire que le lac que nous avons vu la veille s'étendait autrefois jusqu'ici . . .'—that is as far as Haḥiyet Ṭimāṭā which is the 'Timata Sebcha' of Jordan's map, at the east end of the Sitrah depression.

<sup>3</sup> Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé*, Paris, 1826, Vol. 1, pp. 134-9. I agree with Rohlfs' identification of Cailliaud's El Aray with El-A'reg and his El Bahreyn with Sitrah. Cailliaud's description of his route bears this out.

<sup>4</sup> Pacho, *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique et la Cyrénaïque*, Paris, 1827. On his return from Cyrenaica and Siwah (according to the map published with this rare book), Pacho passed through Haradjeh or 'Baharen', 'Setra', 'Temetah', etc. Unfortunately there is no description of these places in the text, as the book was never finished on account of Pacho's last illness. M. Henri Munier, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt, tells me that Pacho's original manuscript and notes of his journey no longer exist.



tombs there and concluded from the scattered bones and mummy-cloths that the tombs had been rifled. But the most important discovery made by Rohlfs was the foundations of a circular temple with a floor paved with marble slabs.<sup>1</sup> The positions of the now vanished columns, twelve in number, were identified, but as no subsequent traveller noted this interesting relic it is presumed that it has been buried by blown sand.

The next explorer to visit El-A'reg was Mr. Wilfred Jennings-Bramly in October 1896,<sup>2</sup>

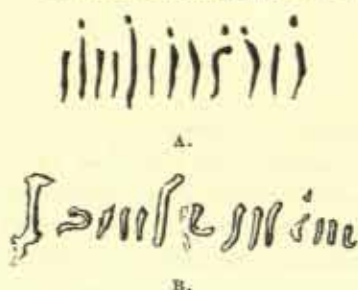


FIG. 1.

A. Painted on wall of tomb at El-A'reg.

B. Incised on fragment of marble at Burg el-'Arab.

and he counted, in two groups, no less than thirty-six tombs cut in the cliff at the side of the depression. He copied the paintings and, as only one has been reproduced before, I take this opportunity to publish, with his permission, Mr. Jennings-Bramly's drawings (Pls. xxiii 4-7, xxiv, 1-4).<sup>3</sup>

Steindorff dates the paintings of Nūt (Pl. xxiv, 2) and of Anubis and Osiris (Pl. xxiv, 1) as late as the second century A.D. On the wall of one of these late tombs some desert artist has painted a primitive man wielding his stone hatchet (Pl. xxiii, 4), which Rohlfs mistook for a cross. This artist was carrying on the art of the earlier rock-painters of the Libyan desert, examples of whose work are now well known.<sup>4</sup>

When the late Professor Sayce saw Mr. Jennings-Bramly's drawings he agreed that the curious vertical characters in Pl. xxiii, 5 might be writing—some form of Libyan script, presumably. In Fig. 1 I have reproduced this writing from El-A'reg (A) together with a similar inscription (B) incised on a fragment of marble recently found on Mr. Jennings-Bramly's land at Burg el-'Arab, near Alexandria. These inscriptions may prove interesting to palaeographers.

The figure in Pl. xxiii, 5 is the same as Rohlfs's rather poor plate 14,<sup>5</sup> and it was the subject of one of Steindorff's fine photographs,<sup>6</sup> which confirms the accuracy of Bramly's drawing.

Unfortunately we were not able to visit El-A'reg in 1934, but travellers who know it say that it is the most beautiful oasis of the group,<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Jennings-Bramly tells me that he would not be surprised if there were other tombs existing there unopened.

<sup>1</sup> Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, 194-5.

<sup>2</sup> Jennings-Bramly, *A Journey to Siwa in September and October 1896*, in *Geographical Journal* 10 (1897), 597-608.

<sup>3</sup> The drawings shown Pl. xxiii, 4, 5, 7, and the design on the block, Pl. xxiii, 6, are red. The two figures, Pl. xxiv, 1, have black outlines and details (except the collar of Osiris, which is green), and are filled in with yellow. The figure of Nūt, Pl. xxiv, 2, is yellow, except the marks on each side of the O-sign on her head, and the four curved marks on her wig, which are green. The cornice, Pl. xxiv, 4, has black uraei on a red ground.

<sup>4</sup> See, among other works, W. B. Kennedy Shaw, *An Expedition in the Southern Libyan Desert*, in *Geographical Journal* 87, No. 3 (March 1936), 195, and an article in *Antiquity* of June 1936 by the same author. Also de Almásy, *Récents explorations dans le désert libyque 1932-1936*, Cairo, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> Rohlfs, *op. cit.*, 195.

<sup>6</sup> Steindorff, *op. cit.*, Pl. 92 and p. 123. Steindorff was at El-A'reg on January 10, 1900.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries*, London, 1919, pp. 321-5. The late Mr. Blunt, on his journey from El-Bahariyah to Siwah, stayed at Sitrah and passed through Bahrēn and El-A'reg in February 1897. He makes no mention of the caves and tombs, but he was struck by the beauty of these oases, which he found totally uninhabited.

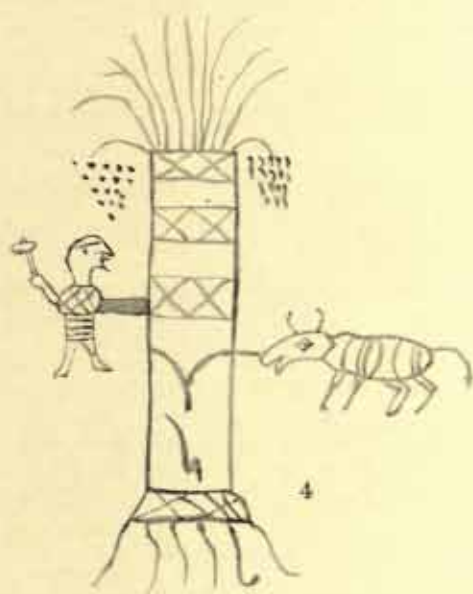


1

2

3

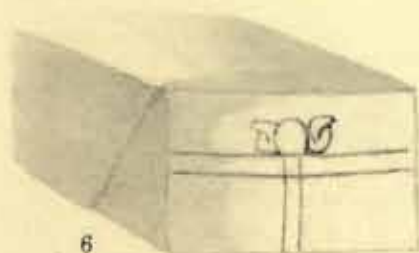
1, 2, Implement and pot from Nuwēmisah 3, Implement from Bahrēn.  
(The scale is in inches)



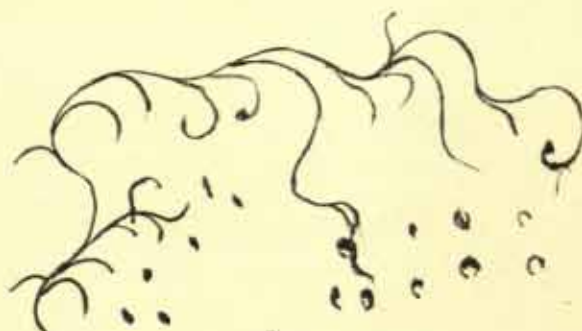
4



5



6



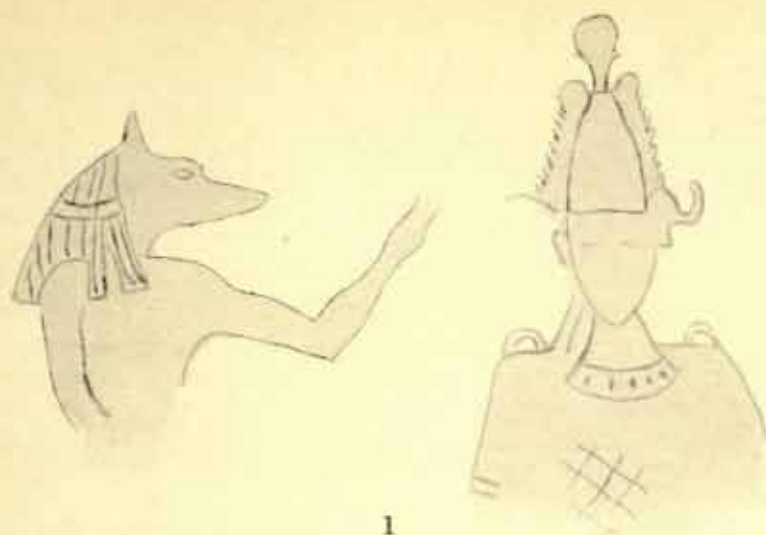
7

From tombs at El-A'reg. 4, 5, Drawings and inscription (?) from Tomb 12B.  
6, Stone block in right-hand corner of Tomb 6A. 7, Drawing from Tomb 13B.

OASES IN THE LIBYAN DESERT.







1



2



3



4

Tomb 16B at El-A'reg. 1, Paintings of Anubis and Osiris. 2, Painting of Nüt, at x on No. 3.  
3, External view of the tomb. 4, Detail (cornice of uraei) at © on No. 3.

OASES IN THE LIBYAN DESERT.





Although these oases are now uninhabited they are visited occasionally by a few Bedouin from the coastal belt, who come to pick the dates from the tax-free palms or to graze their camels on the *argul* thorn. At Bahrēn in October 1934 we found a solitary tent belonging to two men who were collecting dates and making palm-fibre ropes, and with them were a woman and two children, all of the Sammālūs tribe, from the coast nearly two hundred miles away. At Nuwēmisah water-hole two men, both looking ill with malaria, were grazing their camels, while at Sitrah we could see nobody at all.

Have we at Bahrēn and Nuwēmisah the cave-dwellings of an early neolithic people driven in to settle by these lakes when the process of desiccation was nearing completion?<sup>1</sup>

And have we at Bahrēn and El-A'reg Libyan fastnesses which later became outposts of Greek or Roman occupation on the ancient trade-route between Middle Egypt and the West?

These and many other questions will be answered when a competent archaeological and anthropological expedition examines these interesting and little-known oases.

The season for exploration would be between October and February. Even in October we experienced high temperatures of 35° C., whereas in December and January it sometimes freezes at night.<sup>2</sup> After February the season of bad sandstorms begins.

Mosquitoes and flies stop their torment at night, but the openings in tents should be netted to enable one to work inside by day. Somewhat brackish water suitable for washing is to be found fairly close to the sites, but good drinking-water and supplies can be obtained from Siwah or Mirsa Maṭrūḥ, provided suitable transport is available; not less than two cars should always travel together, however.

Probably Bedouin labourers, although brought from the coast, would be cheap, and they would obtain their drinking-water from the local wells; also, in their case, camel transport would be more economical and would have the additional advantage of being useful for general purposes in cases of emergency such as break-down of the mechanical transport owing to abnormal rain in December or January.

Apart from its heavy petrol consumption, the 1936 Ford V 8 'pick-up' model, equipped with 7.50 balloon wheels, is the best car for desert work. A light canvas movable hood should be provided instead of the standard fixture. The following additions are recommended also: an oil-bath air filter, a water economizer,<sup>3</sup> a supplementary petrol tank to feed into the standard tank, and a strong hydraulic jack, in addition to the standard equipment and spare wheels, springs, and parts, &c. Finally, rope-ladders should be carried for getting across soft sand such as exists at Kāret el-Ḥemēmāt.

In conclusion I may mention that the railway from Alexandria terminates now at Mirsa Maṭrūḥ, and that there are a post office, a wireless station, and a landing-ground at Siwah.

<sup>1</sup> See K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell, *First Report of the Prehistoric Survey Expedition*, University of Chicago Press, 1928, pp. 7, 24. 'Upper Paleolithic times work a great change in Egypt. In the first place, the copious rainfall of earlier times ceased and the country gradually became a desert. Until this epoch Man had wandered where he listed over the plains and plateaus, but now he was forced to keep closer and closer to the Nile and to certain of the Oases.'

<sup>2</sup> Cailliaud, *op. cit.*, I, 137, and Steindorff, *op. cit.*, 134.

<sup>3</sup> Bagnold, *Libyan Sands*, London, 1935, p. 83, also in *Geographical Journal*, July 1931, p. 29; September 1933, pp. 230-3. Major Bagnold gives some very useful hints to desert motorists. Michael H. Mason in *The Paradise of Fools* (London, 1936), publishes in his Appendix I even fuller information on 'The Use and Care of Cars' by W. B. Kennedy Shaw and R. N. Harding-Newman.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY: PHARAONIC EGYPT (1936)

EDITED BY A. M. BLACKMAN

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SUPPLEMENT TO 'LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS, ETC.',  
PP. 142-4 ABOVE.<sup>1</sup>

*Alte Or.* = *Der Alte Orient*.*An. Or.* = *Analecta Orientalia*.*Antiq.* = *Antiquity*.*Arch. f. Or.* = *Archiv für Orientforschung*.*Arch. Orient.* = *Archiv Orientalní*.*Bibl. Aeg.* = *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*.*Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*.*Eg. Rel.* = *Egyptian Religion*.*Ffles. Inst. fr.* = *Fouilles de l'Institut français*.*JMEOS* = *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*.*MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft*.*Mém. Inst. d'Ég.* = *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte*.*PEFQS* = *Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement*.

The Editor of this Bibliography would be very grateful if scholars would facilitate the work of compilation by kindly sending to him at The Institute of Archaeology, 11 Abercromby Square, Liverpool 7, offprints of their articles, and, so far as is possible, copies of their books. He also wishes to take this opportunity of offering his sincere thanks to those colleagues who have co-operated with him in this undertaking and who,

<sup>1</sup> Considerations of space have necessitated compression of the text of this Bibliography by abbreviation of many frequently recurring words. It is hoped that the abbreviations will be self-explanatory, but to avoid any possible obscurity a list of them is given here: anc. = ancient, ancien, -s, -ne(s); Antiq. Dept. = Antiquities Department (Service des Antiquités); archaeol. = archaeolog-y, -ical; art(s). = article(s); BM = British Museum; comm., -s. = commentar-y, -ies; dem. = demotic; Eg. = Egypt, -ian; Ég. = Égypte; ég. = égyptien, -s, -ne(s); ét. = étude(s); fragm(m). = fragment(s); Gk. = Greek; hierogl. = hieroglyph(ic); hist. = histor-y, -ical; illust(s). = illustration(s); inscr(r). = inscription(s); Inst. = Institute; Inst. fr. = Institut français; MFA = Museum of Fine Arts (Boston); M.K. = Middle Kingdom; MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York); mus. = museum, musée(s); n(n). = note(s); N.K. = New Kingdom; not., -d., -s. = notice, -d., -s; O.K. = Old Kingdom; ostr(r). = ostrac-on, -a; Ptol. = Ptolemaic; publ., -d., -n(s), -s. = publi-sh, -shed, -cation(s), -shes; ref(s). = reference(s); rev., -d., -s. = review, -ed, -s; transcr. = transcription; transl., -s., -d. = translat-ion, -ions, -ed.—EDITOR, JEA.



in so doing, have sacrificed much time that they might otherwise have devoted to publishing the results of their own researches.

The date '1936' is omitted in the case of books, periodicals, etc., published in that year.

### 1. Archaeology

Two more works have appeared in the *Excavations at Saggara* series; FIRTH and QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid*, with plans by J.-P. LAUER, and LAUER, *La Pyramide à degrés: L'architecture*. In the first QUIBELL has done what he could before his own death with the material of FIRTH who had already died. LAUER's work has the advantage of being the results of his own study and observation, which he has worked up with many refs. to the pertinent literature. A few random points may be mentioned here. He begins with an account of the evolution of the royal tomb and a classification of those of Dyn. 3. The Step 'Pyramid' differs essentially both from a maṣṭabah and from a pyramid. In the great well LAUER distinguishes the timbering of Djoser's time, that of a ceiling to protect the O.-K. plunderers from the fall of stones, and that of the Saite workmen. Three different woods turn out to have been used in the astonishing coffin of 6-ply wood found in the pyramid. The temenos wall at Šakḳārah is panelled like the sides of the Naḳādah maṣṭabah, and also turns out to be exactly ten times as large. LAUER points out cases where the craftsmen had profited by experience in the new art of building in stone, and before the end of their work were already using improved techniques. The author goes very thoroughly into the question of the use of paint, and finds that the parts of stone buildings derived from wooden originals were painted with red ochre. Like FIRTH and QUIBELL before him LAUER also exercises his ingenuity on the purpose of the Southern Tomb.

JEA 22: 1 f., WIJNGAARDEN, *Objects of Tutankhamūn in the Rijksmuseum*. . . Leiden; 46 ff., W. B. K. SHAW reports what seem to be burials of predyn. age from the depths of the S. Libyan desert; 141 ff., LUCAS discusses *Glazed Ware in Eg., India, and Mesopotamia*. He goes into all the relevant evidence in fullest detail; points out that it is utterly mistaken to speak of Eg. 'glazed pottery'; discusses the origin of glazing in Eg., and gives dates for the appearance of the different kinds of glazes, etc. 108 f., SELIGMAN revs. SANDFORD, *Palaeolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Upper and Middle Eg.*; 110 ff., WAINWRIGHT revs. MACKAY, *The Indus Civilization*; 216 ff., BRUNTON revs. WINLOCK, *The Treasure of El Lāhūn*; 220 f., M. S. DROWER revs. BRUNS, *Der Obelisk u. seine Basis auf d. Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*; 221, A. N. DAKIN revs. *Walters Art Gallery: Handbook*, and M. F. L. MACADAM revs. *Les antiquités ég. du Mus. de Vienne (Isère)*.

PETRIE has publ. another vol. of his catalogue of the University College collection. This time it is *Shabtia*, containing photos. of 656 figurines dating from Dyns. 12-30. He gives analyses of the formulae, hand-copies of the inscrs., lists of the names and titles of the owners, and a series of refs. by which one can build up a complete description of any specimen. This last is in tabular form, which, after a little study, is much easier to follow than lengthy descriptions appended to each example. As always his own collection is illustrated by such comparative material from elsewhere as has come under his notice. Rev. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 438 ff.

A sale of Eg. antiquities was held at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on March 25 and 26.

*Bull. MMA* 31 includes the following: 115 f., C. R. C. on the restoration of Senebtisi's bead collar; 192 f., H. E. WINLOCK, *The Hist. of Glass: an Exhibition* of specimens in the Mus. beginning with Eg. of the 15th cent. B.C.; 221 ff., M. S. DIMAND, *A Gift of Syrian Ivories*, showing the mixture of Eg. and other motifs usual in this art. The ivories presumably date to the 13th or 12th cent. B.C. 274 ff., H. E. WINLOCK, *A Discovery of Eg. Jewelry by X-ray* on the 11th-Dyn. mummy of Wah from Thebes, now in the Mus.

*Bull. MFA* 34 includes D. DUNHAM, *Notes on Some Recent Acquisitions from Tell el Amarna*, 22 ff.

*Ill. Ldn. News*: Feb. 29, Sir C. MARSTON illustrates in colour a bowl from Lachish bearing a 'Sinaitic' inser.; Apl. 18, C. MAYSTRE publs. photos. of the treasure of Amenemmes II from Et-Tūd, much of it of Asiatic origin; Apl. 25, W. B. EMEKY gives photos. of objects from the tomb of Hemaka at Šakḳārah; June 20, G. LOUD shows the bust of a 12th-Dyn. Eg. statue found at Megiddo and mentions others; Sept. 12, H. FRANKFORT shows a number of pear-shaped mace-heads comparable to, yet differing from, late predyn. and archaic ones from Eg.; Sept. 26, some of the cats from Mr. LANGTON's collection shown at the EES Exhibition; Oct. 3, J. L. STARKEY shows sundry Eg. objects from Lachish, and another graffito in the 'Sinaitic' script; Dec. 5, photos. of a number of masterpieces from the Gulbenkian Collection now on loan at the BM., among them the famous obsidian head of Amenemmes III originally in the MacGregor Collection; Dec. 26, H. A. WINKLER studies rock drawings from the Eastern Desert and begins a classification of them; C. WERTZ figures many forerunners of the Christian Mother and Child, mostly from Eg.



REISNER, *The Development of the Eg. Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops*, derives the mastabah from the predyn. grave mound and the pyramid from the mastabah, though the two latter, at any rate, are quite different in form. He denies any influence of religion in the choice of the pyramid, though it arose at the time of the advance of sun-worship. CAPART revs. the book in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 421 ff., and rightly asks whether we shall get a true view of the development until we know something of Lower Eg. DUNHAM has a short appreciation of the book in *Bull. MFA* 34, 61.

ZÄS 72: 121 ff., KEIMER, *Bemerkungen zu altäg. Bogen aus Antilopenhörnern*; 131 ff., BOSSE, *Zwei Kunstwerke aus d. äg. Sammlung d. Eremitage*; 135 ff., STOKAR, *Untersuchung eines Körbchens u. einer Schnur d. Badarikultur auf ihre Bestandteile* finds that both are made of the bast of the raphia-palm which to-day no longer grows so far N.

*Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* 66: 65 ff., M. AMER gives a sketch of Ma'adian civilization and its probable position in Eg. civilization.

Man includes a letter from PETRIE on the hist. of the spoon in anc. Eg., No. 291; HORNBLLOWER revs. GARDINER's *Attitude of the Anc. Egyptians to Death and the Dead*, No. 8; LEAKEY revs. SANDFORD and ARKELL, *Palaeolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Nubia and Upper Eg.*, No. 62.

*Bull. Inst. fr.* 36: 71 ff., M. PILLET, *L'Extraction du granit en Ég. à l'époque pharaonique*; 85 ff., L. KEIMER, *Sur quelques représentations de caméléon de l'anc. Ég.*

*Antiq.* 10: 5 ff., WAINWRIGHT, *The Coming of Iron*, shows that iron was first known through its occurrence in meteorites. Smelted iron was used in Mesopotamia before 2800 B.C., though then very rare. Since the publ. of this art. MALLOWAN has found another piece of man-made iron of the same age, see *Iraq* 3, 11, 26 f. The knowledge of smelted iron certainly came to Eg. from the N., and Eg. was the last country of the Near East to enter the Iron Age. 355 ff., HAWKES, *Early Iron in Eg.*, says that the Pyramid piece definitely has no nickel in it. Similarly, in the 6th-Dyn. piece from Abydos, no nickel was found in the metallic core, but there were 'minute traces in the outer rust'; these are evidently adventitious. HAWKES corrects the mistaken report on this in the *Antiquaries' Journal* 7, 193. 175 ff., W. B. K. SHAW, *Rock Paintings in the Libyan Desert*, shows that some of these have connexions stretching from Spain to Abyssinia and S. Africa; those that he describes probably date to Eg. predyn. times. 261 ff., BISHOP, *Origin and Early Diffusion of the Traction-plough*, gives some information on Eg. examples; 478, a £50 Prize for an archaeol. and ethno-logical essay on Eg. is advertised.

*Eg. Rel.* 4: 1 ff., ROEDER, *Das Ichneumon in d. äg. Religion u. Kunst*, gives a valuable collection of material, marred, however, by failure to distinguish between the ichneumon and shrewmouse. Figs. 3-11 are quite clearly ichneumons, but figs. 13-15 are equally clearly shrewmice. Figs. 12, 16, 17, though not so completely characteristic, are tolerable versions of shrewmice. A number of the shrewmouse-statuettes have dedications to 'Horus, Lord of Letopolis'; the ichneumon on the other hand, was sacred to Atūm. 71 f., SCHARFF revs. WINLOCK's two books, *The Tomb of Queen Merjet-Amūn at Thebes* and *The Treasure of El Lāhūn*.

*Ann. Serv.* 36: 1 ff., LUCAS, *The Wood of the 3rd-Dyn. Ply-wood coffin from Saqqara*, gives Dr. CHALK's study which is now incorporated in LAUER's *La Pyramide à Degrés*; 77 ff., CHEVRIER, *Plan d'ensemble de Karnak* makes some additions to the older maps; 89 ff., KEIMER, *Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers ég.*; 158 ff., CHEVRIER, *Note sur la manipulation des blocs du monument de la reine Hatšepsout*, studies the method by which the blocks were very simply and efficiently manoeuvred into place; 161 ff., STEINDORFF, *Skarabden mit Namen von Privatpersonen d. Zeit d. M. u. N. R. aus d. Sammlung S.M. d. Königs Fuād I*; 187 ff., LOUKIANOFF, *Une Statue parlante ou oracle du dieu Ré-Harmakhis*, describes a bust of the god of the Roman period with a hole at the back of the head leading to an orifice under the right ear; 197 ff., LUCAS and BRUNTON, *The Medallion of Dahshūr*, show that it is painted, not inlaid, and that the cover is rock-crystal; 201, BRUNTON, *Ramesseid Stelae from the Eastern Desert*, gives particulars of the provenance of one now in Cairo and of another now in Munich.

A. VOLTEN publ. BORCHARDT's *Statuen und Statuetten v. Königen u. Privatleuten*, Teil 5: *Nachweise*, consisting of the fullest possible indices of every sort.

E. DOW in *Technical Studies* (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard Univ.), 65, 3 ff., publ. a valuable art., *The Medium of Encaustic Painting*. After many experiments the medium used for painting the Fayyūm mummy-portraits is still undetermined, but is pretty clearly beeswax prepared in some such manner as Pliny describes for the making of Punic wax. As PETRIE originally stated, it was applied in a pasty, not liquid, state.

G. G. SIMPSON has a general account of the horse in relation to man, including naturally some of the Eg. evidence. He also shows a photo. of an 18th-Dyn. statuette of a man riding a horse, and of an ivory figurine of a galloping horse, both in the MMA. *Horses and Hist. in Natural Hist.* (New York) 38, 277 ff.



*Chron. d'Ég.* 11 includes the following revs. or mentions of archaeol. works not recorded elsewhere in this Bibliography:

85 ff., E. MOUNIER-LECLERCQ gives a useful rev. of DUNBAR, *Some Nubian Rock Pictures in Sudan Notes and Records*, 1934. Certain classifications can already be made, e.g. into pictures worked with a stone point, and with a metal one; those which represent animals long extinct in the area, and those which represent the surviving fauna; those which show boats of a predyn. type; those which give indications of belonging to the C-group period. 93, H. RANKE, *The Origin of the Eg. Tomb Statue*, by J. CAPART. RANKE derives these statues from the Delta, not from the predyn. culture we know so well, although only in Upper Eg. *Encyclopédie fotogr. de l'art*, Fascicules 1-5, by J. CAPART, a useful collection of photos. of little known Eg. antiquities; 94, A. HERMANN, *Führer durch d. Mus. d. äg. Altertümer zu Kairo*, by O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN; H. E. WINLOCK, *The Private Life of the Anc. Egyptians*, by O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN; 96, LÉFEBVRE DES NOËTTES, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne*, by H. DE MORANT; 401 ff., R. COCHE, *Les Figurations rupestres du Mertoutek* (Central Sahara), by CAPART. Comparing these drawings with the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis COCHE thinks of a civilization extending all over the Sahara and lying at the root of the Eg. 410 ff., W. C. HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dyn.*, by J. CAPART; 415, rev. of FOUCART, *Le Tombeau d'Amon-mos*, to which it may be added that this tomb is a terrible example of the destruction that has taken place during the last hundred years; 425 f., G. BRUNS, *Der Obelisk u. seine Basis auf d. Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*, by J. CAPART; this seems to be an exhaustive work on the subject, and SCHARFF traces its hist. and translates the inscr.; 440 f., H. BALCZ, *Die Gefäßdarstellungen d. A. R.*; 443 f., I. LEXOVA, *Anc. Eg. Dances* (transl. by K. HALTMAR, Praha, 1935), by E. BILLE-DE MOT; 468 ff. and 2 figs. some remarks are added to M. S. DROWER's art. in *Antiq.* 9 (1935), on two O.-K. blocks built into the Bâb el-Futûh at Cairo; 487, another attempt to grow mummy wheat has failed; 487, Capart publs. an Osiris-statuettes found at the depth of a metre in the Belgian Congo.

The *Semaine égyptol.* was held at Brussels in July 1935 and the following reports of archaeol. papers then read appear in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 21 ff.: 29 f., KOEFOED-PETERSEN, on *L'ouvrage encore inédit de M. Carl V. Solver sur les bateaux ég.*; 31 f., Mlle. STAVNIK on *Un Ornement de tête de la XIIe dyn.* i.e. that of Sit-hathor-yūnet from El-Lāhūn; 33 f., H. DE MORANT on *Quelques objets d'art en forme d'antilope*; 45 f., Mlle M. SANDMAN on *Scarabées trouvés en Chypre*; 48 ff., S. R. SHERMAN showed slides of the neighbourhood of Tell el-Amarnah, including the splendid road leading to the quarries. The alabaster proves to have been obtained at Hatnub by mining in the usual manner, and not by quarrying in the open air as the general appearance to-day would lead one to suppose.

*L'Anthropologie* 46, 205, partially reproduces HORNBLOWER's valuable evidence that the domestication of cattle began with the cows and calves, not with the bulls. The semi-tamed cows would be visited seasonally by the wild bulls. PEAKE and FLEURE had already stated the probability of this, and HORNBLOWER is able to quote evidence from the wild ibex of to-day. His art. appeared in *Man*, 1935, 176, No. 195. 206 ff., R. VAUFREY, *Pierres émaillées*.

M. SCHMIDL's valuable art. *Die Grundlagen d. Nilotenkultur in Mitt. d. anthropol. Ges. in Wien* 65 (1935), 86 ff., is revd. shortly in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 80 f. The study is naturally largely based on evidence from Eg.

In *OLZ* 39, 602 ff., F. W. v. BISSING revs. at some length BRUNS, *Der Obelisk u. seine Basis auf d. Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*.

In *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), 233 ff., KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Aegypterinden ved Toiletten*, publs. pictures of some toilet-spoons; 434 ff., KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *En Stormandsgrav fra det Gamle Aegypten*, describes the mastabah of Kaemrohu in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

*Bull. des Mus. royaux d'art et d'hist.* (Brussels), 129 ff., SPELEERS discusses some Syro-Cappadocian cylinder-seals now in the Mus., decorated with Eg. motifs, especially one showing the purification of a man by Horus and Seth.

KOENIGSBERGER, *Die Konstruktion d. äg. Tür*, treats in fullest detail the Eg. gateway, door, methods of hanging, bolting, etc., with illustrs. and full bibliography. Rev. by HÖLSCHER in *OLZ* 39, 729 f.

H. BRUNNER, *Die Anlagen d. äg. Felsgräber bis z. M. R.*, studies at length the disposition of the early rock-tombs.

STEINDORFF and WOLF's *Die thebanische Gräberwelt*, a description of the cemetery, classified according to date, with a table, pls. and plans, is revd. by KEES in *OLZ* 39, 680 ff., and in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 414 f.

BOBART, *Basketwork throughout the Ages*, compiles a good deal of miscellaneous information about basketry. What he knows of Eg. baskets is to be found on pp. 11-15. Rev. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 441 f.



R. J. FORBES, *Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity* (Leiden), an excellent collection of information geological, chemical, and archaeol., though naturally very little from Eg.

L. and J. HEUZEY, *Hist. du costume dans l'antiquité classique: L'Orient*, is revd. by CONTENAU in *L'Antiquité classique* 5, 234 f.

*Museums of the Brooklyn Inst. of Arts and Sciences: Report for the Year 1935* (Brooklyn, N.Y. 1936), 32 ff., reports progress and figures acquisitions—mostly from El-'Amarnah.

*Hull Mus. Publs.* No. 190: *Record of Additions* includes an account of reproductions of some of Tutankhamun's furniture; they were made under WEIGALL's supervision for the Wembley Exhibition and have now been presented to the Mus. by Mr. A. L. RECKITT.

*University Mus. Bull.* (Philadelphia) 6 (May), 118 f. and Pl. v, *An Eg. Mummy Cloth* painted crudely with gods and of Roman date; (Nov.), 7 ff., Pls. i, ii, *Stela of Sisopduyehab and his Relatives*, a 12th-Dyn. stela from Abydos.

*Walters Art Gallery* [Baltimore]; *Handbook*. The Eg. collection is mentioned on pp. 1-19, which also include a number of figs. The head and bust on p. 18 is surely neither of O.K. workmanship nor a copy of such work, but is in the naturalistic style of the Ethiopian period.

*The Antiquaries Journal* 16: 223 f., G. CHILDE revs. A. LUCAS, *Anc. Eg. Materials and Industries*.

LEFEBVRE DES NOËTTES, *De la marine antique à la marine moderne* is revd. in *Les études classiques* (Nîmes) 5, 176 f., and in *Bull. Monumental of the Soc. fr. d'Archéologie* 138 f.

J. HEUZEY has a good art. in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 16 (Paris), 21 ff., *Le costume des femmes dans l'Ég. anc.*, with 12 figs. He reproduces with real material on living models the folds shown in anc. representations. Unfortunately most of the examples discussed are Ramesside or later.

*BM Quart.* 10: 118 f. and fig., SMITH, *A Glass Figure of Anubis*, publi. a well-made example of the usual black figures for inlay; 172 ff., SHORTER shows that the Hathor-capital now in the BM, and originally from Bubastis, was made by order of Osorkon II from a block of Ramesses II.

*Bull. des Mus. de France* 8: 51 f., BOREUX publi. a little ivory plaque carved in the 'Amarnah style'; 74 ff., BOREUX gives some description of the re-arrangement of the Eg. galleries of the Louvre with photos.; 130 f., S. TENAND writes on *Les jardins dans l'Ég. antique*.

*Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 18: 131 ff., A. POCHAN makes calculations to show that FOURTAU's calculations were wrong about the quantity of water delivered by the Bahr Yūsuf into 'Lake Moëris'. He considers Miss CATON THOMPSON's and Miss GARDNER's interpretation of their evidence to be 'très aléatoire, voire manifestement fausse'. He has some useful suggestions as to the dyke at Minya el-Hēt, which he believes to be Ptol.

*Berliner Museen: Berichte aus d. Preuss. Kunstsamml.* 57: 46 ff., ANTHER describes the newly arranged Predyn., O.K., and M.K. Rooms.

*DLZ* 57: 1855 ff., WILCKEN revs. at great length KEES' *Ägypten*. He remarks on the absence of a chapter on art, and finds the best chapter to be the last, which treats of Eg. science and its relationship to Gk. philosophy. WILCKEN rightly says that Eg. thought should be compared with other Oriental thought, not with Gk., which was of quite different calibre: the one was 'knowledge' while the other was 'science'.

DEMEL, *Einige äg. Porträtköpfe d. Spätz.*, in *Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Samml. in Wien*, N.F. 10, 1 ff., publi. a number of heads of the late period now in Vienna, Berlin, and Turin.

M. BAUD, *Les Dessins ébauchés de la nécropole théb.* is revd. by M. D. B. in *Syria* 17, 186.

*C.-R. Ac. Inscr. B.-L.*: 23 ff., CAPART explains a predyn. slate as a corn-'arūsah'; 27 ff., CAPART publi. a cylinder-seal of Hyksos type showing a donkey playing the harp to a dancing monkey, and collects other instances of animal musicians in the Near East.

In *La Nature* (Paris), 518 ff., H. DE MORANT has a short account of the remarkable growth and the present condition of the Eg. Collection at Brussels, and of the Fondation Reine Élisabeth, illustrated with 8 figs. *Bull. mensuel de l'Union Civique Belge* 12, 2, 19 ff. and figs. has an account of *Une visite aux collections ég. des Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Hist.*, also with illustrs.

WINLOCK in *MMA Studies*, 5, 147 ff., publi. *An Eg. Flower Bowl*. This is the one of the three found in the rubbish of the tomb of Rekhmirēt that is now in New York. He shows by convincing photos. the delightful use that the Egyptians made of it with lotus-flowers.

G. HERMES, *Das gezähmte Pferd im alten Orient* in *Anthropos*, 364 ff., gives a good hist. of the horse in the Near East, including of course Eg. It now proves to be much older than used to be thought. The various types of chariots are discussed and the differences pointed out between the Eg. and Assyrian bridles.

WESTERLING has an art. (illustrated with 12 figs.) in *Apollo* (London), 257 ff., entitled *Nailsea Glass and*



its Ancestry. He shows how the combed patterns of the anc. Eg. glass occur again in eighteenth-cent. English glass, though of course the technique is entirely different.

M. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN has a *Note sur la provenance asiatique d'un tambour ég.* in *Archaeol. Mitt. aus Iran* (Berlin) 8, 53 ff. A scene at Nihawand in Persia shows a square object which is probably a tambourine. This dates to about 2200 B.C., whereas rectangular tambourines are not yet known in Eg. before Dyn. 18.

*Rev. d'égyptol.* 2: 135 ff. (3 pls. and figs.), MASSOULARD, *Lances fourchues et Peseshkaf*; 165 ff., E. STAVNIK, *Une suggestion au sujet de la couronne de la princesse Sat-Hathor-Yount*; 173 ff., A. VARILLE, *Un colosse d'Aménophis III dans les carrières d'Assouân*.

The following books and arts. were inaccessible to me: the report on S. R. K. GLANVILLE's lecture *Brick and Stone in Anc. Eg.* in *JMEOS* 20, 11; P. D. RITCHIE, *An examination of some Predyn. Pottery Pigments* (*Technical Studies*, 4 (1935-6), 234 ff.); J. DE LA ROCHE's *Concordance entre les techniques levallaisiennes de Berranaghia (Algérie) et des environs du Caire (Ég.)*, in *Bull. de la Soc. préhist. franç.* 33, 490 ff.; M. SCHMIDT's *Die Grundlagen d. Nilotenkultur* in *Mitt. d. anthropol. Ges. in Wien* 65, 86 ff.; and *Basic Elements of Nilotic Civilization in Africa* 9, 291 f., a short not. of the last mentioned art.

## 2. Art and Architecture

### A. GENERAL

The event of several decades past, in the provision of material for the appreciation of Eg. art, is the appearance of *Anc. Eg. Paintings* by NINA M. DAVIES, with the editorial assistance of A. H. GARDINER, Univ. of Chicago (Oxford, Vols. I, II, fol., 104 coloured collotype pls., and Vol. III, 4to, descriptive text, \$50). The fine pls. are derived largely from Theban tombs of Dyns. 18 and 19. They come in the main from GARDINER's collection of Mrs. DAVIES's paintings, and as colour reproductions are mostly new. The copies show meticulous fidelity, though they have had to submit to a second reflection through the medium of colour-printing. The employment of colour in anc. Eg. can now be studied with little serious disqualification. In the vol. of text Mrs. DAVIES, assisted by GARDINER, sets forth briefly the hist. setting, the nature of the artist's task, and the means he used to cope with it, his tools and materials, and the deterioration his work has suffered. She has also given a brief and non-technical description of each pl. (*Rev. Times Lit. Supp.*, 537.)

*Les Dessins ébauchés de la Nécropole Théb.* (au temps du Nouvel Emp.), by M. BAUD (*Mém. Inst. fr.*, 63, 1935), is revd. *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 90 ff. The same author has arts. on *La décoration intérieure en Ég. anc.* (*Annales de l'Inst. Techn. du Bâtiment* for July, August, 61, 67), and on *Le Dessin par Ombre portée en Ég. d'après le texte de Pliny l'anc.*, a paper summed up in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 43 ff. In the latter she points out that a misconception of Pliny's statement has led to the anc. idea that the Egyptians employed the device indicated.

Sketches on ostraca (not included in the publn. just cited) by happy chance are provided by J. VANDIER D'ARBAUD in *Catalogue des Ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* (*Documents des filles. Inst. fr.*, II), 52 pp., 36 pls. (8 in colour), P.T. 140, which adds a large number of facsimiles of these products of the colony of artists at Dêr el-Medînah to those previously publd. by SCHAEFER. For the first time we have reproductions of the colour which these skilled men often added to their trial-pieces or to the products of their idler moments. This first part is confined to animal subjects.

In *Die menschliche Figur in d. Rundplastik d. Äg. Spätzeit von d. XXII. bis z. XXX. Dyn.* (Rm. 12) K. BOSSE surveys the statuary of the periods indicated and gives descriptive and critical nn. on each example. Unfortunately her personal acquaintance with them is far from complete, and the book suffers in consequence. In Pt. II the special contribution of each dyn. and the development from one to the other is set forth in detail and given careful estimation. Finally, the fidelity as portraits and the freedom from tradition of these statues are discussed. Altogether a useful book of an excellent type.

H. SCHAEFER, *Das altäg. Bildnis*, Leipz. *ägyptol. Stud.*, 5, 46 pp., 45 pls., Rm. 7.20. An eminently satisfactory treatment, by one whose intimacy with the material is probably unsurpassed, of the very difficult problem of portraiture. It penetrates to the fundamental implications of the problem and to the traditions and motives which govern or modify the production of personal likenesses. Conditional conclusions such as those to which the author tends can alone lead to approximate truth on the subject. In a few supplementary pp. the author defines and defends his views on the essential characteristics of pre-Gk. art.

In *The Art of Anc. Eg.* (Phaidon Press. The English form of a supplement to H. RANKE's transl. of BREASTED's *Hist. of Eg.*, with 22 pp., 333 photographic and 8 coloured pls.; 7s. 6d.) we have yet another



attempt, not markedly differing from its predecessors, to present Eg. art by adequate photos. The illustrs. are often very good indeed, and nearly always on a generous scale. Though the publishers' claims are hardly justified, and though the 8 colour-pls. are not a great asset, the wonderful value given silences criticism. RANKE writes a brief and bright introduction. A rev. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 93, points out that Pls. 187, 188 are from the tomb of Mereruka, not of Ti, and that Pl. 4 shows, not the entrance of the Great Pyramid, but its S. face, with a reconstructed tomb in the foreground.

Of great value for students is *Encyclop. Photogr. de l'Art* (Fasc. 1-5, 160 illustrs. with short text to each; 69 frs.). The fine photos. are of certain classes of objects in the Louvre and are of exceptional size, with magnification of detail. The subjects have, however, not been chosen for purely artistic reasons. The datings in the descriptive nn. must not be given too implicit credence.

#### B. CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESTRICTED SCOPE

In *Une Tête 'amarnienne' en Bois* (*Mon. Piot.* 35, 17 pp., 2 pls.) C. BOREUX presents a remarkably attractive and exceptional acquisition of the Louvre. This separate head may well have adorned the top of a harp. The author does not feel obliged to defend its genuineness, and indeed, save for the negligent treatment of the hair and its perfect preservation, there are no obvious reasons for suspicion.

F. W. v. BISSING publ. a little figure of special interest from the Florence Mus. in an art. *Über eine Frauenstatuette d. A. R.* (*Aeg.* 16, 84 ff.).

D. DUNHAM in *Bull. MFA* 34 provides good illustrs. and comments in *A statuette of Two Eg. Queens* (pp. 3 ff.) and in *Nn. on some recent acquisitions from Tell el Amarna* (pp. 22 ff.).

A. STEELKOV, *Portraits du Fayoum* (in Russian), I have not seen.

H. SENK in *Zum Wandel d. Ausdrucksform in d. Aeg. Kunst* (*ZÄS* 72, 71 ff.) draws attention to the degree in which free or restricted space influences the form given to objects in design. This must be taken into account in judging deviations from natural or traditional presentations.

In *Aeg. Säulenmasse* (*ZÄS* 72, 68 ff.) H. RIEMANN gives reasons why a scheme of proportions of a papyrus-bud column at Philae should be formulated otherwise than by Borchardt.

*Die Thebanische Gräberwelt* of G. STEINDORFF and W. WOLF, *Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 4, 100 pp., 25 pls., Rm. 10, contains on pp. 59-72 a succinct and well-balanced statement of the conditions and principles governing the paintings and reliefs in Theban tombs and their characteristics in each of the three main periods represented there.

#### C. REVIEWS OF WORKS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1936

Of F. W. v. BISSING, *Aeg. Kunstgeschichte* in *Arch. f. Or.* 11, 169 ff. and *Mizraim* 2, 95 ff.

Of A. CARLIER, *Souplesse et Liberté dans . . . les Plans Ég.*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 88.

Of N. DE G. DAVIES, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê* in *OLZ* 39, 2, 221f.; *J. Sav.* 4, 36; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 412 ff.; *Burlington Mag.*, 197 f.

Of E. SENK, *Der Proportionskanon*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 442.

Of É. SUYS, *Réflexions sur la loi de frontalité*, in *Muséon* 49, 142 f.

Of V. WANSCHER, *Principles of great Art*, in *Phil. Woch.* 56, cols. 13 ff.; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 95.

#### D. MATERIAL INDIRECTLY PUBLISHED

Some works may be cited which afford in special degree well-illustrated material for the study of Art.

For O.K. reliefs see W. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur alt-ägypt. Kulturgesch.*, III, ed. H. SCHAEFER. Also, less important, R. MACRAMALLAH, *Le Mastaba d'Idout*. For other periods see *BM Quart.* 11, 32 (a bronze head); W. C. HAYES, *Royal sarcophagi of the XVIII Dyn.*; C. MAYSTEE, *La Tombe de Nebenmât* (a typical tomb of Dêrel-Medînah). For architecture see J.-P. LAUER, *La Pyramide à Degrés* and H. STECKEWEH, *Die Fürstengräber v. Qaw*. The *Ill. Ldn. News* provides, as is its wont, admirable illustrs. of recent discoveries, from which the following may be selected: Jan. 18, Nubian bronzes (L. P. KIRWAN); April 11, Finds at Gîzah (S. HASSAN); April 25, 1st-Dyn. tomb-furniture (W. EMERY); June 20, Finds at Megiddo (C. LOUD); July 4, Sculpture from Armant (Sir R. MOND and O. H. MYERS) and ebony statuette, Cairo Mus.; Oct. 10, Sculpture from El-Amarnah (J. D. S. PENDLEBURY); Dec. 5, Gulbenkian Collection at the BM.

### 3. Conservation

In *Ann. Serv.* 36, 77 ff., H. CHEVRIER describes his work of conservation at Karnak during the season 1935-6. The wall S. of the entrance to the vestibule of the Great Hypostyle Hall has been reconstructed. The



foundations of the two leaning columns, which had been shored up two years ago, were completely renewed. Pylon III has been cleared, as has also the ground around the Sacred Lake. There has been further excavation of the monument of Amenophis IV, and the temple of Khons has been generally consolidated. Blocks found E. of the 'Museum' have been put in order, and the sculptured and inscribed blocks of Queen Hatshepsut, which had been removed to Cairo, were brought back to Karnak and replaced. The ambulatory round the sanctuary of the boat-shrine has also been repaired.

A. FAKHRY's art. (*Ann. Serv.* 35 (1935), 35 ff.), entitled *Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Luxor (suite): Bas-reliefs d'Akhenaton*, is revd. by J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 415 f., who observes that F. has overlooked fragmm. of reliefs of Akhenaten built into Pylon X. CAPART also draws attention to n. 3 on p. 41 of F.'s art. and duly points a moral for the benefit of would-be restorers.

G. JÉQUIER in his *Monument funér. de Pepi II (Fouilles à Saqqarah): I, Le tombeau royal*, Cairo, 36 pp., 28 pls., records the clearance and subsequent consolidation carried out in the corridors and chambers beneath the pyramid. During the clearance many inscribed fragmm. were found, and these have been as far as possible replaced. As a result the Neferkerê-versions of the *Pyr. Texts* are not quite so full of lacunae as they were.

D. DUNHAM in *Bull. MFA* 35, 3 ff., describes the restoration and preservation of the statuettes of Queen Hetepheres II and her daughter Queen Meresankh III, which are now on view in the MFA, Boston.

J.-P. LAUER's *Note sur divers travaux de protection et d'entretien effectués à Saqqarah en 1935 et 1936* (*Ann. Serv.* 36, 72) is a modest account of valuable operations. He has made the maṣṭabah of Ankhnihor accessible to visitors and has protected with a wooden roof the pillared hall in the maṣṭabah of Nefersehemrê. The maṣṭabah of Khentika can also be visited, having been cleared of debris, roofed, and otherwise consolidated, while various inscribed blocks have been replaced in the walls where they belong. L. has done fine work in the passages and chambers below the great maṣṭabah erected on the massive wall surrounding the precincts of the Step-Pyramid. They have been made safe from collapse for many years to come and are now open to the public. Under L.'s supervision electric light has been installed in the Serapeum.

#### 4. Demotic Studies<sup>1</sup>

G. BOTTI, *I Papiri ierati e dem. degli scavi ital. di Tebtunis* (Comunicazione preliminare), in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan), 217 ff., gives a first impression of a large collection of fragmentary papyri found in the temple of Suchos at Tebtunis and dated, mainly by the dem. specimens, from the 1st cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. Most of the dem. fragmm. seem to be parts of a continuous narrative. Others contain passages from a lost romance; and there are pieces dealing with the ecclesiastical affairs of the temple, part of what is probably the ritual of embalming, medical invocations, and a number of legal documentary fragmm.

W. F. EDGERTON, *A Wooden Tablet from Qaw* (*ZÄS* 72, 77 ff.), publ. good photos. and a new transliteration and transl. of the badly-written tablet publ. by SPIEGELBERG in *Demotica*, I (*Sitzungsb. München*, July 1925, 6. Abh.), 39 ff. The content is an invocation to Osiris-Sokar and Isis to cast a spell on a man, but the transl. is for the most part very uncertain.

A. H. M. JONES, *JRS* 26, 117 f., revs. MOND and MYERS, *The Bucheum*, with valuable comments on the long series of accounts in dem. on a jar. He shows that the unit of measurement read in these was in all probability the *choenix*, not the *artaba*; and that the accounts do belong to the Bucheum, the editors' contrary opinion being no longer valid.

C. F. NIMS, *The Demotic Group for 'Small Cattle'* (*JEA* 22, 51 ff.), shows that this is not to be read *izet* but *tp n izet*, which was probably already regarded as one word in Late Eg., and which was the origin of Coptic τῆνν, τῆνοογε 'beast(s)'.

G. ORT-GEUTHNER, *Gramm. dém. du pap. magique de Londres et Leyde* (Geuthner, Paris, xiv + 256 pp.), provides an exhaustive analysis based on the ed. of GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, whose system of transliteration he follows very closely in preference to the so-called historical transliteration. The arrangement of the grammar follows the lines of SPIEGELBERG's. Middle and Late Eg. sources of dem. forms and their Coptic descendants are given wherever possible, the primary object of the book being to illustrate the close relationship between Roman (3rd cent.) dem. and Coptic.

<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of Demotic Studies in this bibliography is to some extent improper, since most of the material included under this head will usually pertain to the post-Pharaonic period. However, pre-Christian texts in the Egyptian language are clearly more fittingly dealt with here than in the Papyrological Bibliography.—EDITOR, *JEA*.



N. J. REICH (see also Graeco-Roman Bibl. (Papyrology), p. 97 above, sect. 6, ii (a)), *Barter for Annuity and Perpetual Provision of the Body* (Mizraim 3, 9 ff.), publs. the second document (important for the dating of early Ptol. papyri), from the reign of the young Alexander (Pennsylvania Univ. Mus. 873) in the archive from Dirā' abū 'l-Naga. *Op. cit.*, 26 ff., *Terms for Repayment of a Seed-loan*, he publs. a Turin pap. of 107 a.c., of which the comm. is to be continued; and *op. cit.*, 31 ff., *Witness-Contract-Copies in the Univ. Mus. at Philadelphia*, a description of the external characters of all the documents of this type in the Dirā' abū 'l-Naga archive, and of others similar to it.

## 5. Excavations and Explorations

### A. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

*Kawa (Sudan)*. The excavations, suspended since 1931, were resumed by the Oxford Univ. exped. New discoveries included the N.E. corner of the great mud-brick temenos wall of Taharka and a group of well preserved mud-brick houses ranging in date from the sixth to the fourth cents. B.C. S. of the Temple of Taharka was another large group of superimposed storehouses and magazines with well marked levels dating from the Napatan period to about the fourth cent. A.D. Remains of the temple gardens were also found, and, running E. and W. below the Temple of Taharka, the foundations of an earlier temple, possibly that of Amenophis III. See *JEA* 22, 200 ff.; *AJSL* 52, 259 f.

*Libyan Desert*. W. B. K. SHAW publs. in *JEA* 22, 47 ff., an account of the finds made by his expedition near the Selimah Oasis in 1935. He concludes that the Wādi Hāwa culture, as shown by these finds and others, is not, as has been supposed, Meroitic, but probably much earlier, possibly predyn. For the rock-paintings found in the Gilf Kebir see W. B. K. SHAW in *Antiq.* 10, 175 ff. Antiquities and rock drawings found by P. A. CLAYTON and the S.W. Desert Survey Exped. in 1930-1 were examined by BOVIER-LAPIERRE; see *Bull. Soc. Roy. de Géogr. d'Ég.* 19, 241 ff.

*Edfu*. The Inst. fr. report the discovery of a tomb dating from the beginning of Dyn. 6, and of statues and inscribed objects; see *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 58.

*Gebelén*. For a report on the work of the Univ. of Turin at Aphroditopolis in 1935, see *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 58.

*El-Tūd*. The excavations of the Inst. fr. have revealed the existence of a temenos wall of Ptol. date encircling the Temple of Montju. Two periods are recognizable in the temple building, those of Sesostri I and of Ptolemy VII. The chief discovery of 1936 was made in the sand of the foundations of the M.K. Temple, where four bronze caskets were found containing Asiatic tribute deposited in the name of Amenemmes II. The treasure includes objects of gold, silver, lead, and lapis-lazuli, and two of the largest caskets each contained a cylinder inscribed in cuneiform. The presence of such a treasure may suggest a hitherto unsuspected expedition by Amenemmes II to a country E. of Egypt. Outside the temenos enclosure was found a Roman bath building of about the fourth cent. A.D. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 379 f.; *Ill. Ldn. News*, April 18, 682 f.; *AJSL* 52, 263 f.; H. DE MORANT, *Récentes Découvertes françaises en Ég.: Les temples de Medamoud et Tōd*, in *La Nature*, Nov. 15, 433 ff.

*Armant*. The Sir R. Mond Exped. of the EES excavated in the town of Armant el-Hēt. The site of the Lake of Cleopatra was identified. A pylon of Tuthmosis III was found, preserved to a height of about 2 m., along the N. face of which was a procession of negroes headed by a rhinoceros with its dimensions inscribed below it. The foundations of the great Ptol. temple were also laid bare, and a *sondage* between the pylons and the temple floor revealed levels of all periods. Three foundation-deposits of Hatahepsut and one of Dyn. 12 were discovered. A new combed pottery is thought to belong to an intrusive people of the Protodyn. Period in whose graves were also a number of agate lunates, set in plaster and hafted to form arrows, similar to those recently found in the tomb of Hemaka at Šakḫārah. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 390; *Ill. Ldn. News*, July 4, 860.

*Armant (Bucheum)*. Two revs., containing detailed discussions, of *The Bucheum*, by Sir R. MOND and O. H. MYERS, have recently appeared, one by A. H. M. JONES in *JRS* 26, 117 ff.; one by L. P. KIRWAN in *Antiquaries' Journal* 17, 92 ff. The same work is revd. by A. M. BLACKMAN in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 23, 57 ff.

*Karnak*. For the fragm. of a stela found by the Antiq. Dept. during the work of restoration in 1934-5, and bearing the same text as *Carnarvon Tablet 1* (The Expulsion of the Hyksos), see n. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 381.

*Thebes (Shēkh 'Abd el-Ḳurnah)*. The MMA Exped. report the discovery of the intact tomb of the mother and father of Senmūt, the architect of the Temple of Dēr el-Baḥri, and chief steward of Hatshepsut.



The tomb was cut in the rock face below that of Senmût (No. 71). In the ravine in front of the tomb was found the mummified body of a horse, wrapped and placed in a large coffin, and probably dating from Dyn. 18. Two jars in the tomb are dated to year 7 of Tuthmosis III, while some of the linen and jar sealings bear the name and titles assumed by Hatshepsut as Pharaoh. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 381 ff.; *Ill. Ldn. News*, March 21, 490; *AJA* 40, 551 and Fig. 1.

*Thebes (Dêr el-Medīnah)*. *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 329 f., gives a summary, with illustr., of the work of the Inst. fr. during the seasons 1934-6. See also C. MAYSTRE, *Tombes de Deir el-Médīneh: La Tombe de Nebemât* (No. 219), Cairo.

*Thebes (Kôm el-Hellân)*. For an account of the documentary evidence leading to the excavations of 1934-5 and for a full account of the architecture of the funerary temple, accompanied by admirable plans and reconstruction drawings, see C. ROBICHON and A. VARILLE, *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 1 (*Filles. Inst. fr.*, 11), Cairo. For a general account of the excavations see *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 177 ff.

*Thebes (Medamûd)*. See R. COTTEVILLE-GIRAUDET, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Medamoud* (1932): *Les reliefs d'Amenophis IV Akhenaton* (*Filles. Inst. fr.*, 13), Cairo.

*Kift (Koptos)*. A large number of rock-pictures and graffiti from the desert valleys along the Kift-Kuşêr road have been examined by H. WINKLER, *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* 12 (No. 19), 237 f. Also *Ill. Ldn. News*, Dec. 26, 1173.

*Abydos*. An interesting discussion on a faience rhyton from Abydos, found by D. RANDALL-MACIVER and A. C. MACE in 1900, is publ. in *AJA* 40, 501 ff. The rhyton, which owes its form and chief decoration to Cretan pottery, has been since 1900 in the Boston MFA.

*Kâw (Antaeopolis)*. The final vol. of the *Veröffentlichungen d. Ernst v. Sieglin-Exped.* deals mainly with the architecture of three great tombs of 12th-Dyn. princes of the 10th Upper-Eg. nome at Kâw el-Kebîr. See H. STECKEWEH, *Die Fürstengräber von Kâw* (mit Beiträgen von G. STEINDORFF), Leipzig. Revd. by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 38 ff.

*Tell el-'Amarnah*. Excavations in the Palace by the EES yielded many relief fragments, trial-pieces and much unfinished sculpture including a head of Akhenaten. Part of a limestone statue from a sculptor's studio is inscribed with the name of the Aten, flanked on one side by the name of Akhenaten and on the other by that of Amenophis III; this is cited as further proof of a co-regency. *JEA* 22, 194 ff. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 383 ff.; *Ill. Ldn. News*, Oct. 10, 620 f.

*Tûneh el-Gebel (Hermopolis)*. The Eg. Univ. exped. continued the clearance of the temenos enclosure with its surrounding fence of limestone pillars. On the W. side this fence ran below the denuded foundations of a Ptol. temple, apparently dedicated to Thoth. Below the existing temple pavement was another earlier pavement where a fine statue of black granite, about 60 cm. high, was found. At the S. end of the temple was a large well about 15 m. deep, leading down to a smaller well about 18 m. deep. The surface superstructure of the well presents many unusual features. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 393 ff.; also *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 34 ff., for a paper read by S. GHARA at the Semaine égyptol. of the Fondation Reine Élisabeth.

*Girgah*. C. BACHATLY reports (in *Man* 36, 15 f.) two apparently unknown prehist. sites, one at Nag' ed-Dêr, the other near by at Khôr Hardân. The first, a Mousterian site of about 200 m. square, contains flint implements of the Middle Palaeolithic period. The second, a surface site, is said to contain Capsian implements (Upper Palaeolithic), mixed with Mousterian.

*Fayyûm*. The work of the Geolog. Survey of Eg. continues and O. H. LITTLE reports that the Pottery B and A levels are dynastic, not neolithic, as hitherto supposed. In the sandrock of Pottery A level a fossil human skull and the skull of a camel were found. See *Bull. Inst. d'Ég.* 17, 201 ff.

*Medinet Mādî*. The Archaeol. Mission of the Royal Univ. of Milan began the 1936 excavations in the Temple Area, where it was discovered that a Pharaonic building had been incorporated with the Ptol. temple. It is thought that the original temple was begun by Amenemmes III and completed by Amenemmes IV. Both walls and columns were consolidated by the Ramesides, and a Ptol. sanctuary was later added to the back of the Pharaonic one, the builder of the former being probably Euergetes II. Of the other monuments found, one group was reached by an avenue with sides in the form of steps and flanked by sphinxes and lions. Of the statuary found, one especially fine piece may be of Amenemmes III. See *AJSL* 53, 56 f.; *JEA* 22, 215. For the earlier excavations see A. VOGLIANO, *Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Miss. Archeol. d'Eg. della R. Univ. di Milano nella zona Madinat Mādî* (campagna inverno e primavera 1935), Milan.

*Sakkārah*. A notable discovery was made by the Antiq. Dept. during the re-examination of the plundered tomb of Hemaka, vizier of the 1st-Dyn. Pharaoh Den (or Wedimu), which had been excavated in 1931.



There were found in the superstructure 42 intact storage-chambers containing a variety of unique objects. A fine collection of flint knives was recovered, wooden sickles, an ebony tablet with the name of Djer, and a collection of curious disks of stone, bronze, wood, and ivory, plain and decorated, whose use is unknown. See *Ill. Ldn. News*, April 25, 722; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 269 f., 370. Two further reports on the excavations at North Šakḳārah have appeared: FIRTH and QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara: The Step-Pyramid*, 2 vols., Cairo; LAURIE, *Fouilles à Saqqarah: La Pyramide à degrés*, 2 vols., Cairo.

For a n. on the recent excavations at South Šakḳārah, see *AJA* 40, 556.

*Gīzah*. The Eg. Univ. exped. has discovered a number of important tombs. One, the tomb of Baefkhnūm, son of Khaṭefrēt, contained a statue bearing the name of this prince. Another tomb, that of a woman, possibly a princess, contained a fine collection of gold ornaments and was intact. A third tomb contained the mummy of the wife of a noble, Sekhemnefer, attached to the court of Khaṭefrēt. See *Ill. Ldn. News*, Apr. 11, 639; May 2, 765; May 16, 860; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 372 ff.

The same exped. has uncovered near the Sphinx a limestone stela erected by Amenophis II in year 2 of his reign. A second stela of the same king and a statue of the queen were also found. See *Ill. Ldn. News*, Nov. 21, 921; *JEA* 22, 213 ff. The Harvard-Boston Exped. have found a re-used limestone slab with 10 lines of inscr. recording the burial of a dog with honours at the command of the king. It is believed to have come from a maṣṭabah of Dyn. 5 or 6. See *Bull. MFA* 34, 99 ff. For the first vol. of a series of studies devoted to the Gīzah necropolis, see G. A. REISNER, *The Development of the Eg. Tomb down to the accession of Cheops*, Cambridge, Mass. The vol. forms a résumé of all the work carried out by foreign archaeologists in Eg. as far as it concerns the period before Cheops. For a critical rev., see J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 422 ff.; also D. DUNHAM in *Bull. MFA* 34, 61. Two revs. of H. JUNKER's *Giza II*, Bd. II: *Die Mastabas d. beginnenden V. Dyn. auf d. Westfriedhof*, have appeared. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 88 f.; B. GROTERJAHN in *WZKM* 43, 286 ff.

*Ed-Dākhlah Oasis*. See WINLOCK, *Ed Dākhleh Oasis: Journal of a Camel Trip made in 1908* (with an appendix by L. BULL). *The MMA, Dept. of Eg. Art*, v, ed. L. BULL, New York. For revs. of this work see CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 420 f.; D. B. HARDEN in *JRS* 26, 139 f.

*Ma'ādi*. For a summary of the 1935 excavations of the Eg. Univ., see *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 54 ff.; also *JRAI* 66, 65 ff.

*El-Māi*. At this village, near Shibīn el-Kōm, a member of the Eg. Univ. staff reports the existence of a granite pillar bearing an inscr. of Dyn. 19. *Eg. Gazette*, Sept. 25.

*Tanis (Šān el-Hagar)*. The excavations of the French Mission continued in the Great Temple. On one door-jamb the name of Khaṭefrēt was visible. Four foundation deposits of Siamūn were found below the ruined gateway of the temenos-wall. To the N. of the temenos, the excavation is in progress of a large brick building whose date and purpose are as yet unknown. See *Syria* 17, 200 ff.; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 385 ff.; for an extensive report of the excavations see *Kémi* 5, 1 ff.

*Sarābiṭ el-Khādīm*. For the excavations of Harvard Mus. and the Milton Fund, see STARR and BUTIN, *Excavations and Protosinaitic inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadem (Studies and documents, ed. K. and S. LAKE, 6)*, London.

*Anthedon (Shēkh Zuṣcēd)*. At this site, between Rafa and El-'Arish in N. Sinai, PETRIE, excavating for the Br. Sch. of Eg. Arch., has now identified 12 levels ranging from the first cent. A.D. to about 1200 B.C. See *Syro-Egypt* 1, 3 ff.; *PEFQS*, Jan., 1.

#### B. OUTSIDE EGYPT

*Palestine (Megiddo)*. A broken Eg. statue, with hierogl. inscr., has been found reused as a building-stone in a temple; *AJSL* 42, 267.

*Crete (Cave of Amnisos)*. DR. MARINATOS reports many objects of Eg. faience in the lower filling of the sanctuary, indicating close relations with Eg.; cf. *AJA* 40, 525.

*Crete (Cave of Trapeza in Lasithi)*. PENDLEBURY reports the discovery of an early 12th-Dyn. scarab; *AJA* 40, 371.

*Greece (Perachora)*. Excavations in the shrine of Hera by the Brit. Sch. of Arch. at Athens have yielded a large number of scarabs and statuettes of Eg. faience; see *Ill. Ldn. News*, Oct. 17, 689.

*Cyprus (Hagia Eirene)*. Out of a collection of 350 scarabs found recently on a temple site by the Swedish Exped., a large number were imported scarabs of Eg. manufacture. While most were of the Ramesside and Saite periods, there were in addition several of the N.K., including one of Amenophis III. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 45 f.

*Belgian Congo*. An extraordinary discovery of a bronze figurine of Osiris in the village of Mulengo is



reported by M. GRAUWET of Brussels. This Eg. figurine is said to have been found at a depth of a metre below the present ground-surface. See *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 487 (with illust.).

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS

The following general arts. are concerned with excavation and exploration in Eg. and the Sudan: S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *Some recent excavations in Eg.*, in *Antiq.* 10, 83 ff.; H. DEHÉRAIN, *Les Résultats archéologiques de l'expédition ég. au Soudan en 1820-1822* (reproduced from *J. Sav.*, July-Aug. 1935, 176 ff.), in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 341 ff.; see also M. PERNOT in *Rev. des deux Mondes* 32, 676 ff.

### 6. Foreign Relations

#### A. EGYPT

E. BRÜGELMANN, *Noch einmal: Die Hyksosfrage*, ZDMG 90 (N.F. 15), 441 ff., disputes the Semitic origin of the Hyksos favoured by DUSSAUD in *Rev. hist. rel.* (1934), 113 ff., and MONTET in *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (1929-32) and sees, with MIRONOV, *Acta Or.* 11 (1933), traces of Indian influence.

FR. CALICE, *Grundlagen d. aeg.-semit. Wortvergleichen (Beihefte z. WZKM, H. 1)*, Wien, 278 pp. A vocabulary of Eg. words with their Semitic and Hamitic parallels.

J. CAPART, *Un Grand Personnage palestinien de la cour de Merenptah*, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 37 f. A summary of the lecture delivered at the Semaine égyptol. (Brussels, July 1935), in which a person named Ra'meses-emperré who figures on a small relief at Brooklyn is identified with a court official, the son of a foreigner probably from Transjordan, mentioned on a stela from Abydos.

H. CHEVRIER, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 155, reporting on operations at Karnak during 1935-6, announces that reliefs, dating from Amenophis III, of a procession of prisoners from conquered countries have been found on blocks forming the pedestal of a colossus.

W. F. EDGERTON and J. A. WILSON, *Hist. Records of Ramses III*, Chicago Univ. Press, translate with full comm. the hist. texts in *Medinet Habu*, I, II, dealing with contacts between Eg. and her neighbours.

P. C. LABIB, *Die Herrschaft d. Hyksos in Äg. u. ihr Sturz*. In a short account of the Hyksos rulers and their monuments the author also deals with the Semitisms which were introduced into Egyptian in the Hyksos period.

A. LUCAS, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 1 ff., reports on a 3rd-Dyn. ply-wood coffin which was found (1932-3) in fragment in the Step Pyramid. Only one of the four kinds of wood of which it consists was cultivated in Eg.; the remainder are probably derived from N. Syria.

C. MAYSTRE, III. *Ldn. News*, Apr. 18, 682 f., describes treasure of Asiatic origin found by the Inst. fr. in four bronze chests under the foundations of the temple of Sesostri I at Tūd. (Also described in *AJSL* 52, 263 f.; C. BOREUX, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 377 ff.; H. DE MORANT, *La Nature*, Nov. 15, 433 ff.; E. ZIFFERT, *Arch. f. Or.* 9, 180 ff.)

J. SIMONS, *Palestijnische Steden op Egyptische Tempelmuren*, 'Ex Oriente Lux', Leiden Rondschriften 19, Feb. 15, 2 pp.

*Tanis*. In the report of the excavations of the Univ. of Strasbourg some limestone blocks carved with heads of foreigners and some pottery of Syrian style are described. *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 62 (*Antiq. Serv. communiqué*, *La Liberté*, June 5, 1935).

G. A. WAINWRIGHT in *Antiq.* 10, 37, 5 ff., discusses the occurrence of iron in Eg. and the Near East and quotes the instances of iron being sent to Amenophis III and Akhenaten, which are recorded in the Tell el-Amarnah letters.

R. WEILL, *Expéditions de guerre en Asie sous la Ie dyn.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 36). A summary of the lecture delivered in Brussels in July 1935 during the Semaine égyptol.

#### B. LIBYA, NUBIA, AND THE SUDAN

A. M. BLACKMAN, *Some Nm. on the Story of Sinuhe and other Eg. Texts* (*JEA* 22, 35 ff.), suggests that *imye Thne* (Sin. R 13-14) means exiled Egyptians who had sought safety among the Libyans when the throne was seized by Amenemmes I.

R. COTTEVILLE-GIRAUDET, *L'Ancien Ég. et les langues africaines* (*Rev. anthropol.* 46, 56 ff.).

J. FRIEDRICH, *Himmelszeichen in äg. u. hethitischen Kriegsberichten* (*OLZ* 39, 135 ff.), discusses a passage in a stela of Tuthmosis III, found at Napata and publ. by G. A. and M. B. REISNER (*ZAS* 69, 24 ff.), dealing with his campaign against Mitanni. The passage describes the remarkable appearance of a star, and the



writer compares this with a similar incident in the Annals of the Hittite king Muršiliš II. The art. is revd. by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 445.

H. GAUTHIER, *Une Fondation pieuse en Nubie* (*Ann. Serv.* 36, 49 ff.), describes two stelae, which show Pesiūr, the viceroy of Nubia, adoring Ramesses II.

L. P. KIRWAN, *Prelim. Report of the Oxford Univ. Excavations at Kawa 1935-6*; *JEA* 22, 200.

G. LEFEBVRE, *Sur l'origine de la langue ég.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 266 ff.), believes that Semitic tribes may have spread over Africa producing what we know as the Hamitic languages by the mixture of their own languages with the native dialects.

E. MOUNIER-LECLERCQ, *L'Art préhist. de l'Afrique du Nord: Quelques découvertes récentes* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 324 ff.), shows that details on paintings and sculptures from the Central Sahara and elsewhere in N. Africa agree with those on predyn. vases and palettes, Nubian rock-drawings, and paintings in predyn. tombs at Hierakonpolis.

M. SCHMIDL, *Die Grundlagen d. Nilotenkultur*, in *Mitt. d. anthropol. Ges. in Wien* 65, 86 ff., considers that the apparent Eg. influences in Africa are most probably to be ascribed to a common cultural basis rather than to later contact.

W. B. K. SHAW, *Two Burials from the S. Libyan Desert* (*JEA* 22, 47 ff.), found pottery in the first grave resembling some Badarian ware, and beads of the type of the Second Predyn. Period. In the second grave were stone axes suggesting that 'Wādī Hāwa' culture is earlier than Meroitic, since stone axes are not found at Meroë.

E. ZYLHARZ, *Das geschichtliche Fundament d. hamitischen Sprachen* (*Africa* 9, 433 ff.). The author traces the affinities of the Hamitic with the Semitic languages through the medium of anc. Eg.

#### C. PALESTINE AND SYRIA

W. F. ALBRIGHT in *Bull. ASOR* 63, 8 ff. contributes an art. on *The Early Evolution of the Heb. Alphabet*, in which he discusses many recently-found examples of alphabetic script from Phoenicia and Palestine and expresses agreement with GARDINER's view that the Proto-Sinaitic characters were imitations of misunderstood Eg. hieroglyphs.

*Syria in the Third and Fourth Millennia* (*Antiq.* 10, 88 f.) is an extract from ALBRIGHT's art. in *Bull. ASOR* 60 (1935), 3 ff. reporting a paper read by DUNAND at the XIXth Internat. Congr. of Orientalists (Rome, Sept. 1935), in which he stated that skeletons found during excavations in the chalcolithic cemetery at Byblos (1931-2) bore a resemblance to those of the Badarians.

A. ALT, *Völker u. Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum* (*Alte Or.* 34, H. 4), Leipzig, 38 pp. Eg. artists of the Second Millennium, when representing Syrians, often portray four or more different types, intending no doubt to indicate the mixed population of that country. The excavations at Byblos and Ugarit have shown that the coastal region was far more under the influence of Eg. than the central and Eastern parts. The division of Syria into petty states was probably not the work of the 18th-Dyn. Pharaohs, for it seems to have existed during Hyksos times, if not earlier.

In *Neues aus d. Pharaonenzeit Palästinas* (*Palästinajahrb. d. deutsch. evangel. Inst. f. Altentumswiss. d. heil. Landes zu Jerusalem*, Berlin), the same author discusses some of the recently discovered or reinterpreted Eg. accounts of the hist. of Palestine under the Pharaohs.

R. BUTIN, *Some Eg. Hieroglyphs of Sinai and their Relationship to the Hieroglyphs of the Protosinaitic Semitic Alphabet*, *Mizraim* 2, 52 ff.

M. S. DIMAND, *A Gift of Syrian Ivories* (*Bull. MMA* 31, 11, 221 ff.). Among a group of Syrian ivories presented to the Mus. by Mrs. G. D. PRATT are a number showing marked Eg. influence.

R. DUSSAUD, reviewing *Le site archéol. de Mishrifé-Qatna* by COMTE DU MESNIL DU BUISSON in *Syria* 17, 83 ff., does not agree with the author's view that Qatna formed the concentration base of 'the great Mitannian army' which was to invade Eg. under the name of the Hyksos.

O. EISSFELDT, *Philister und Phönizier* (*Alte Or.* 34, H. 3), gives many refs. to religious and cultural influences interchanged by Eg. and Phoenicia in the course of their trading relations.

J. GARSTANG, *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 23, 68 ff., has found in the chalcolithic levels of his excavations at Jericho two objects of late predyn. Eg. type, a slate palette and a macehead, which have enabled him to date the beginning of the bronze age in Pal. as contemporary with Eg. Dyn. 1. The results of the excavation indicate that the city was overthrown by Amenophis III. (Also reported by R. S. HARDY, *AJSL* 52, 260; P. THOMSEN, *Arch. f. Or.* 11, 177.)

A. GÖTZE, *Hethiter, Churriter u. Assyrer*, Oslo, contains much information about the ethnic movements



which led to the Hyksos invasion, and deals with conditions in the Near East during the Amarna Age. It also briefly mentions the influence which Eg. exercised over the coast of Syria.

L. HENNEQUIN, *Fouilles et champs de fouilles en Palestine et Phénicie: Dict. de la Bible* (suppl. fasc. 13 f., cols. 318 ff., Figs. 217 ff.), describes relations with Egypt and Eg. objects found in Palestine and Phoenicia.

G. LOUD, *Ill. Ldn. News*, June 20, 1108 ff., records that fragmm. of four M.K. statues, made of basalt or diorite, and some Hyksos scarabs were found during the excavations of the Or. Inst. of Chicago at Megiddo.

H. G. MAY, *AJSL* 52, 197 ff., describes a lapis-lazuli scaraboid seal found at Megiddo, bearing the name אֵלְאָמַר (Elamar) in Phoenician characters and showing Eg. affinities in its motifs.

*Sarabit el-Khadim. Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 63 f. (Antiq. Serv. communiqué, *La Bourse Ég.*, July 10, 1935), reporting on the excavations of Harvard Univ., states that a large number of small Eg. fragmm. were found in clearing the temple. Many new inscr. were discovered and those already known and published by PIET and GARDINER were collated.

C. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *La 7me Campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra (Ugarit). (Printemps 1935). Rapport sommaire* (Syria 17, 105 ff.), shows that Mycenaean culture gained ground at Ugarit at the time when Eg. influence declined. Eg. objects found there included fragmm. of M.K. vases and offerings sent to the sanctuaries by 12th-Dyn. kings; the lotus design is a common motif in decoration. Many local gods are represented in the forms of their Eg. counterparts.

In *Ill. Ldn. News*, Feb. 22, 307 ff., 348, the same author gives a photo. of a bronze statuette of a god wearing Eg. dress which was found at Rās esh-Shamra, and of some scarabs belonging to the end of the M.K.

J. L. STARKEY, *Ill. Ldn. News*, Oct. 3, 573, gives photos. of six amulets, a cylinder seal bearing the *ankh* and a gaming-board containing a set of blue-paste playing-pieces shaped like halma- and draughts-men with bone inlay, all either Eg. or showing signs of Eg. influence, from a late Bronze Age tomb at Lachish.

R. F. S. STARR and R. F. BUTIN, *Excavations and Protosinaitic inscr. at Serabit el-Khadem. Report of the exped. of 1935. Studies and documents*, 6, London, 32 pp.

P. THOMSEN, *Arch. f. Or.* 9, 94, reports that during the excavations of the Or. Inst. of Chicago at Megiddo a bronze base of a statue of Ramesses VI was found, which indicates that the city was at that period still under Eg. rule.

H. E. WINLOCK, *The Hist. of Glass: An Exhibition* (Bull. MMA 31, 10, 192 ff.). In an art. on the hist. of glass the author remarks that the Eg. method of making glass vessels around a core may have been derived from Syria.

G. E. WRIGHT, *The Chronology of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age* (Bull. ASOR 63, 12 ff.), dates 3 phases of pottery by means of Eg. parallels.

#### D. THE AEGEAN AND CYPRUS

C. W. BISHOP, *The Traction-plough* (Antiq. 10, 39, 269), suggests that the slade or sole shown on some of the later dyn. ploughs is possibly derived from the 'Sea-Peoples', because its use was already known in the Aegean.

F. W. v. BISSING, *Die angeblich beschnittenen Akaiwascha* (ZÄS 72, 74 ff.), commenting on the view put forward by F. SOMMER that the Akaiwascha and Akkhiyava were identical, but differed from the Achaeans, agrees with the identification of the Akaiwascha with the Akkhiyava, but believes that they may also have been Achaeans.

J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, *Ill. Ldn. News*, Nov. 28, 960 f., describing his discoveries in the Cave of Trapeza in Crete, includes a photo. of the figure of a monkey, dating from E.M. II, which is made of ivory and shows Eg. influence.

Mlle M. SANDMAN, *Les Scarabées trouvés en Chypre* (Chron. d'Ég. 11, 45 f.). A summary of the lecture given at the Semaine égyptol. (Brussels, July 1935) refers to scarabs of the Hyksos, N.K., and Saite periods which were found at Cyprus.

G. SARTON, *Minoan Mathematics* (Isis 24, 375 ff.), makes comparisons with Eg. hieroglyphs.

#### E. MISCELLANEOUS

J. CAPART, lecturing to the Ac. Inscr. B.-L. (Paris, Jan. 24), described a cylinder-seal which had recently been acquired by the Mus. Royaux d'Art et d'Hist., Brussels. The object, which dates from the Second Millennium B.C., shows, among some clearly Eg. motifs, an ass playing on a harp. This motif is also found on objects from Ur and Tell Halāf, and its occurrence in Eg. may be due to a common origin or may simply indicate an independent development of the same theme (Arch. f. Or. 11, 279).



L. DELAPORTE, *Les Hittites* (Bibl. de Synthèse hist. L'évolution de l'humanité. Paris, 371 pp., 4 pls., figs.). The author gives many refs. to relations between the Hitt. and Eg.

M. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, *Note sur la provenance asiatique d'un tambour ég.* (Archaeol. Mitt. aus Iran 8, 53 ff.), deriving the Eg. tambourine from W. Asia, cites an instance of its appearance on a copper vase, dating from Dyn. 3 of Ur, found by HERZFELD at Nihawand.

J. PRZYLUSEKI, *La Colonne ionique et le symbolisme oriental* (Rev. arch. 7, 3 ff.), discusses the occurrence of the lotus-flower and winged disk as motifs in Indian art and traces the connecting links in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran.

## 7. Geography and Topography

J. ČERNÝ, *Datum d. Todes Ramses' III. u. d. Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV.* (ZÄS 72, 109 ff.), states (p. 113) that *Št* 𓄏, the 'Great Field', is probably the name of the level ground in front of the entrance to Bibān el-Mulūk.

J. FRIEDRICH, *Himmelszeichen in äg. u. hethitischen Kriegsberichten* (OLZ 39, 135 ff.), points out that a passage in the long inscr. of Tuthmosis, publ. by G. A. and M. B. REISNER in ZÄS 69, 24 ff., shows that the land of Mitanni was rightly located by HROZNÝ on the left (E.) bank of the Euphrates, between it and the Khabūr.

*Štḫ-nṯrw* (Faras) is mentioned on the two stelae from Abū Simbel publ. by H. GAUTHIER, under the heading *Une Fondation pieuse en Nubie*, in Ann. Serv. 36, 49 ff.

A. H. GARDINER in *New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies*, JEA 22, 181, suggests that 'the Island of Amenōpe' (P. Léopold II 3, 13) is simply a name of the cultivable lands round Karnak or between Karnak and Luxor.

The value of R. HENNIG's *Terrae Incognitae, eine Zusammenstellung u. kritische Bewertung d. wichtigsten vorkolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand d. darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte: Altertum bis Ptolemäus* (Leiden) is adequately expressed, so far as Eg. records of travel are concerned, by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 399 ff. The work is also revd. by E. W. GERSTER, *Phil. Woch.* 56, 1088 ff.

According to G. JÉQUIER, *Le Monument funér. de Pepi II*, Tome I: *Le tombeau royal*, 6, *nḥ-trwy* is a name for the part of the necropolis where the pyramid of Pepi II is situated.

A 26th-Dyn. stela at Copenhagen (see H. KEES, *Die Kopenhagener Schenkungsstele aus d. Zeit d. Apries*, in ZÄS 72, 40 f.) mentions two hitherto unnoticed place-names, *Pi-grg-br-nb-gdt* and *Ni-bwt*. KEES takes the view that *Tbw*, capital of the 10th Upper-Eg. nome, is not Abutīg but Apollonopolis Parva = Kōm Asfaht, which lies in the N. part of the nome. He points out that *trgḥḥḥḥḥḥ* is an exact parallel to *tr ḥḥ-tbw*, the name of the town alone being different. With *Ni-bwt* he compares *naḥḥwt*, a town-name occurring in the *Giessener Papyri*, documents which are closely connected with the 10th Upper-Eg. nome.

In his art. *Niṯopolis in Äg.* (PW, xvii, 1, 590) KEES maintains that Nilopolis (= Copt. Tilodj, Arab. Dallās) lay in the Heracleopolitan nome between the Nile and the Baḥr Yūsuf, 13 km. N. of Beni Suwēf, E. of Gebel Abuḡīr. BRUGSCH was incorrect in identifying it with *Smn-Hr*, the capital of the old 21st Upper-Eg. nome. Nilopolis is also the name of a small town situated probably on the E. or W. bank of Birket Kārūn.

In PW, vi, A1, KEES writes on *Thinis*, *Thinites* (282 ff.); *Thmuis* (294 ff.); *Thomu* (329); *Thonis* (330); and *Thou* (388 f.). The Eg. name of the capital (site uncertain) of the Thinite nome is *Tny*, 'the Uplifted (Land)'. Thmuis, a town of importance in Roman times, is the modern Tmai el-Amdīd. Thomu, a Roman station in the Thebaid, lay on the E. bank of the Nile not far from Akhmīm. Thonis is the name of two localities, the one in the Hermopolite nome and the other, a haven, on the Canopic mouth of the Nile. Thou is perhaps Šaft el-Hīnah which is near the entrance to the Wādi et-Ṭumilāt.

P. MOSTER's *Avaris, Pi-Ramses, Tanis* (Syria 17, 200 ff.) is a short art. supporting, against WEILL, his own and GARDINER's view that Avaris, Tanis, and Pi-Ra'messe are one and the same place, and that *Sekhet Dja'* (*Dja'net*) 'Field of Dja'net' designates the territory surrounding the city. From this designation the city later (in Dyn. 21) acquired the name of Dja'net (= Zoan (So'an), Tanis).

A. POCHAN in his *Note au sujet de la gorge d'Ilakun, déversoir discuté du lac Mœris* (Bull. Inst. d'Ég. 18, 131 ff.), sets out to show that Lake Moëris was not an invention of Herodotus, as is often stated nowadays, and to refute R. FOURTAU's *Le Nil et son action géol.*, 2<sup>e</sup> partie: *Le Fayoum et le lac Mœris* (Bull. Inst. d'Ég. 1895), who is shown to have committed among other mistakes a serious error in his mathematical calculations.

H. RICKE in *Der Hohe Sand in Heliopolis: Nachtrag* (ZÄS 72, 79) refers to DE BUCK's thesis *De egyptische voorstellingen betreffende den oerhevel* (Leiden, 1922) and points out that DE B. is incorrect in suggesting that the 'High Sand in Heliopolis' was still visible in Piankhi's time.



H. D. SCHAEDEL, *Die Listen d. grossen P. Harris: Ihre wirtschaftliche u. politische Ausdeutung* (Leipzig. ägyptol. Stud., 6. 73 pp.). On pp. 15 ff. S. sets out to identify and locate the various temples mentioned in the lists. On pp. 17 ff. he discusses the geogr. position of the fortress named 'Town-of-Usermarê-Meriamün-who-has-repelled-the-Timju' and suggests a reason for its name being changed after the second Libyan war.

### 8. History

V. G. CHILDE's *New Light on the Most Anc. East* is revd. by V. CHRISTIAN in *Mitt. d. Anthropol. Ges. in Wien* 46, 144 f. *L'Orient préhistorique*, a French transl. of this work by E. J. LÉVY, is revd. by R. L[ANTIER] in *Rev. arch.*, 6e. sér., 7, 141, and by E. MOUNIER-LECLERCQ in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 81 ff.

BORCHARDT studies the years and days on which the kings celebrated their jubilees. Though the evidence is necessarily incomplete, it seems probable that in the N. K. the later jubilees were celebrated at regular and fixed intervals after the first celebration in the 30th year, and possibly on the same day of the year. In the case of Amenophis III the ceremonies seem to have lasted 8 months. *Jahre und Tage d. Krönungs-Jubiläen* in *ZÄS* 72, 52 ff. CAPART revs. BORCHARDT, *Die Mittel z. zeitlichen Festlegung v. Punkten d. äg. Gesch. und ihre Anwendung in Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 434 ff. I have not seen BREASTED, *Origins of Time Measure* in *Journ. of Calendar Reform* 6, 97 ff.

The new ed. of BREASTED's *Gesch. Aeg.* is, as far as the actual text goes, a reprint of the first German ed. A valuable addition is a special supplement on Eg. Art. The 2nd ed. of BREASTED's *Anc. Times* is revd. by J. C[APART] in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 404; S. R. K. G.[LANVILLE] in *Antiq.* 10, 252 f.; B. HROZNÝ in *Arch. Orient.* 8, 370 f.

In the *Hist. Générale* publ. under the direction of G. GLOTZ, A. MORET is responsible for two admirable vols. on the anc. hist. of the Near East: *Hist. de l'Orient, I: Préhistoire: IVe et IIIe millénaires; II: IIe et Ier millénaires: rivalités des Ég., Sémites, Indo-Européens*. Vol. I ends with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Eg., and Vol. II carries the story from the beginning of Dyn. 18 down to the time of Alexander the Great. Revs. by G. RADET in *Rev. et. anc.* 38, 353 ff.; R. M. in *Rev. de folklore franç.* 7, 196.

In J. CAPART et G. CONTENAU, *Hist. de l'Or. anc.* the first sect. (pp. 5-145), *L'Ég. des Pharaons*, is by CAPART; the remainder, *L'Asie occidentale anc.*, with numerous refs. to Eg., is by CONTENAU. Certain sections of the Eg. portion of this work have been reprinted in various journals: the introductory (p. 5 f.) and concluding portions (p. 142 f.) in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 404 ff.; *Les Sources de l'hist.* in *Conférences et Théâtres* 3, 69 ff.; Ch. XI, *La Civilisation ég.*, in *Rev. Cathol. des idées et des faits*, 20 mars, 5 ff. The whole work is revd. by R. PAUTREL in *Études* (Paris), 409 f.

*Précis de l'hist. d'Ég. par divers historiens et archéologues* is revd. by O. MONTVECCHI in *Aeg.* 16, 172 ff. WEIGALL, *Hist. de l'Ég. anc.*, is revd. by J. C[APART] in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 408 ff.

No. 9 in that excellent little series *The Corridors of Time* by PEAKE and FLEURE is *The Law and the Prophets*, and contains numerous refs. to Eg.

CAPART, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 370, refers to an ebony tablet, found in the tomb of Hemaka, resembling that of Aha but bearing the name of Djer.

A précis of a paper read by R. WEILL at the Semaine égyptol. in Brussels in July 1935, and dealing with Eg. expeditions to nearer Asia during Dyn. I, is printed in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 36, under the title *Expéditions de guerre en Asie sous la Ie dyn.*

SCHARFF, *Der hist. Abschnitt d. Lehre f. König Merikare in Sitzungsab. München*, Heft 8, is an interesting and valuable paper. The text is transl. with comm. and a sketch is given of the hist. of Eg. during the 1st Intermediate Period, and the chronology of the period is discussed.

NEWBERRY, *On the Parentage of the Intef Kings of the Eleventh Dyn.* in *ZÄS* 72, 118 ff., discusses the mothers of four rulers of this name. The mother of Intef-6 was Ikwi, Nefru was mother of Intef I, and a second Nefru (= Nefru-kayt?) was mother of Intef II. Yet a third Nefru, it is suggested, was the sister and wife of that Intef who was co-regent with Mentjhotpe III.

E. BRÜGELMANN, *Noch einmal: Die Hyksosfrage* in *ZDMG* 90 (N.F. 15), 441 ff., briefly discusses some points in connexion with the Hyksos.

ANTHES, *Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in d. 18. Dyn.* in *ZÄS* 72, 60 ff., collects, with a comm., the insert. of some officials of Dyn. 18, all of whom bear the name of Ptahmose, and attempts to arrange those of the reign of Amenophis III in chron. order.

EDGERTON's *The Thutmosid Succession* is revd. by LEXA in *Arch. Orient.* 8, 144.

III. *Ldn. News*, Nov. 21. *New Records of a Sporting Pharaoh*, with reproduction of a limestone stela



of yr. 2 of Amenophis II in which the king records a pious visit to the Pyramids and boasts of his athletic prowess. See also *JEA* 22, 213.

VARILLE republs. some inserr. relative to a colossal statue of Amenophis III from Aswān, and adds some nn. on an interesting title of that king, 'Sun of Princes', which he suggests is that of a deified form of Amenophis III. *Un Colosse d'Amenophis III dans les carrières d'Assouan* in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 173 ff.

The interest in Tell el-'Amarnah remains unabated. A transl. of WEIGALL's well-known study of Akhenaten has been issued in French under the title *Le Pharaon Akh-en-Aton et son époque* (transl. by H. WILD); revd. by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 408 ff. PENDLEBURY, *Summary Report on the Excavations at Tell el-'Amarnah*, 1935-6 in *JEA* 22, 194 ff., announces the discovery of an inscr. suggesting that the co-regency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten lasted at least 8, and possibly as many as 11 years, with the result that it is possible for Tutankhamūn to have been a son of Amenophis III. I have not seen BRISTOWE, *Naphuria: The hist. of the true Akhnaton*.

PLÜGER, *Haremhab u. d. Amarnazeit*, publs. the first portion of his thesis on Haremhab. It deals only with H.'s career before his accession, without throwing much new light on his hist. It is a pity it was not possible to publ. the complete thesis.

It has frequently been stated that between the death of Ramesses III and the accession of Ramesses IV elapsed an interval due to the necessity of celebrating the accession on the day of the New Moon. ČERNÝ, *Datum d. Todes Ramses' III. u. d. Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV.* in *ZÄS* 72, 109 ff., produces documents which prove these ideas to be wrong. Ramesses IV officially ascended the throne on the day of the death of Ramesses III, without waiting for the day of the New Moon.

POSENER's *La Première Domination perse en Ég.* is a valuable collection of the chief inserr. of the reigns of Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, with transl., comms., a hist. summary, and good indexes.

Social and economic conditions and organization in Eg. continue to interest students. DAIRAINES's *Un Socialisme d'état quinze siècles avant J.-C.: L'Égypte écon. sous la XVIIIe dyn. pharaonique* is revd. by LEXA in *Arch. Orient.* 8, 143 f. There is much that is useful and suggestive in DYKMAN'S, *Hist. écon. et soc. de l'anc. Ég.*, I: *Des Origines aux Thinites*; II: *La Vie écon. sous l'Anc. Emp. Ég.* The first vol. is revd. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 402 f. PIRENNE, *Hist. des Institutions et du Droit privé de l'anc. Ég.* is revd. by DYKMAN'S in *Rev. des sciences économiques* 10, 109 ff. (under the title: *J. Pirenne et l'évolution juridique de l'anc. Emp. Ég.*); the first two vols. are revd. by E. STEIN in *Rev. de philol.*, 3e sér., 10, 43 ff.; the third vol. only is revd. by H. D[UESBERG] in *Rev. Bénédictine* 48, 88 f. I have not seen PIRENNE, *La féodalité en Ég.* in *Rev. Inst. de Sociologie* 16, 15 ff. A. WEBER, *Kulturgesch. als Kultursociologie* is revd. by CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 398 f.

Finally, it is not without importance for the study of Eg. hist. to record that BANNISTER and PLENDERLEITH, in *Physico-chemical Examination of a Scarab of Tutmosis IV bearing the Name of the God Aten*, *JEA* 22, 3 ff., have established beyond all reasonable doubt the authenticity of the object publ. by SHORTER in *JEA* 17, 23 ff.

## 9. Law

I omit those publs. cited in the Graeco-Roman Bibl. (Papyrology) for this year, § 6, Law (cf. especially sub-sect. ii (a)) p. 97 above, and those already cited in § 4, 'Demotic Studies', above.

J. ČERNÝ, *La Constitution d'un avoir conjugal au Nouvel Empire (Chron. d'Ég. 11, 39 ff.)*, gives a preliminary reconsideration of the hierat. *P. Turin 2021* (cf. *JEA* 13 (1927), 30 ff.), in the light of GARDINER's correction of 'one-eighth' to 'one-third', and adduces other evidence for the proportion 2:1 in a man's division of his property as between the children of two successive wives. He also cites an ostr. at Oxford as evidence for (a) a man's right to protect his married daughter, and (b) the existence of financial arrangements at marriage similar to those known to have been in use in Dyns. 22-25.

G. DYKMAN'S rev. of PIRENNE's *Hist. des institutions et du droit privé de l'anc. Ég.* (*Rev. des sciences économiques* 10, 109 ff.) has not been accessible to me.

## 10. Literature

A. M. BLACKMAN has made a number of important new suggestions concerning various passages in well-known literary texts in *Some Nn. on the Story of Sinuhe and other Eg. Texts* in *JEA* 22, 35 ff.

A. DE BUCK, in a résumé, publ. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 41 ff., of a lecture delivered at the Semaine égyptol. in Brussels in July 1935, expresses the view that the author of the *Instructions of Amenemmes* was really



the Akhthoy to whom this work is attributed in *P. Ch. Beatty IV*, and that King Amenemmes was actually slain in the revolt described therein.

A. H. GARDINER, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus* (London, 1931), is revd. by SARTON in *Isis* 25, 476 ff. The same author's *Hierat. Pap. BM, III* (London, 1935), is revd. at length by BLACKMAN with valuable additional nn. by DAWSON, *JEA* 22, 103 ff.; by BONNET, *OLZ* 39, 90 ff.; CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 75 ff.; GLANVILLE, *Antiq.* 10, 369 ff.; SARTON, *Isis* 25, 467 ff.; VOGELSANG, *DLZ* 57, 738 ff. It is also notd. in *AJSL* 52, 118 ff.

H. GRAPOW has written a valuable study of the literary devices and the external disposition of Eg. documents under the title *Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung äg. Texte* (*Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 7).

G. LEFEBVRE discusses the discrepancies of the dates in the *Story of Wenamun* and proposes emendations, *Sur trois dates dans les Mémoires d'Ounamon* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 97 ff.).

M. PIEPER, *Das äg. Märchen* (*Morgenland* 27, Leipzig, 1935) is revd. by v. BISSING in *Phil. Woch.* 56, 755 ff.; by RORDER in *OLZ* 39, 18 f.; and anonymously in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 74.

G. POSENER publs. the literary fragm. on ostr. discovered in the excavations of the French Inst. in the Theban Necropolis in *Catalogue des ostr. hiérat. littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (*Documents de l'Inst. fr.*, tome 1, fasc. 2, Cairo). The texts represented are mostly *P. Anast. I* and *P. Sall. II*, but extracts from *Sinuhe*, *P. Lansing*, *P. Anast. IV*, and the *Satire of the Trades* also occur.

A. ROSENVASSEN's work *Nuevos textos literarios del antiguo Egipto. I: Los textos dramáticos* (*Círculo de Historia. Bibliot. de Conferencias y Estudios*, I, Buenos Aires) is inaccessible to me.

J. SPIEGEL, *Die Prämisse d. Amenemope und d. Zielsetzung d. äg. Weisheitsliteratur* (Glückstadt, 1935) is briefly notd. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 427 f.

É. SUYS, *La Sagesse d'Ani* (*An. Or.* 11, Rome, 1935) is revd. by BONNET, *OLZ* 39, 506 f.; CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 71 f.; LEFORT, *Muséon* 49, 142; and MERCIER, *Eg. Rel.* 4, 74 f. The same author's *Ét. sur le conte du fellah plaideur* (*An. Or.* 5, Rome, 1933) is revd. by SCHARFF in *Eg. Rel.* 4, 73 f. SUYS's lecture to the Semaine égyptol. in Brussels in 1935, entitled *Un problème de critique littéraire: le conte du Fellah Plaideur*, is summarized in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 36 f.

V. VIKENTIEV has made a praiseworthy attempt to extract a metrical scheme from *The Shipwrecked Sailor* in *Bull. Inst. fr.* 35, 1 ff., but our knowledge of Eg. accentuation is hardly sufficient for this study to carry full conviction.

## 11. Palaeography

R. BUTIN in his art., *Some Eg. Hieroglyphs of Sinai and their Relationship to the Hieroglyphs of the Proto-sinaitic Alphabet* (*Misraim*, 2, 52 ff.), comes to the conclusion that 'the Eg. hieroglyphs (in the inscrip. of Sinai) are not so conventionalized as we are led to believe'. Though 'there is rather a close resemblance between the Eg. and Semitic hieroglyphs' in that region, nevertheless 'the Semitic engravers exhibit a certain independence and spontaneity'.

MÖLLER, *Hierat. Pal., Ergänzungsheft zu Band I u. II*, autographiert von A. PRZYBYLA (Vorbermerkung von H. GRAPOW), Leipzig, 2 pp., 15 pls., autogr. The new sources for signs in this useful vol. comprise the still unpubl. *P. Šarona* and *P. Berlin 10482*, *P. Leningr. 1115*, *P. Leningr. 1116 A*, *1116 B* (rt. and vs.), *P. Greenfield* and *P. Gatschne*. A. HERMANN in his rev. (*OLZ* 39, 682 ff.) regrets that no examples have been taken from the Ch. Beatty Papyri.

MÖLLER, *Hierat. Pal., III: Von d. 22. Dyn. bis z. 3. Jahrh. n. Chr.* 2. Auflage. Leipzig, 15+72 pp., 11 pls. This new ed. is the work of H. GRAPOW, who has added considerably to the list of signs and corrected certain refs. It has been revd. by A. HERMANN, *loc. cit.*

In his rev. (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 447 f.) of L. JOLEAUD's *Les Ruminants cervicornes d'Afrique: Mém. Inst. d'Ég.*, 27, Cairo, 1935, ANDRÉ CAPART draws attention to J.'s suggestion that the hierogl. designating the god Min is the stylized form of the head of a stag impaled on the end of a pike.

SETHE's *Das hierogl. Schriftsystem: Ein Vortrag*. *Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 3 (1935), is revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 438) and A. HERMANN (*OLZ* 39, 606 f.). The former remarks that 'le "pictogramme" de la palette de Narmer ne me paraît plus primitive que les hiéroglyphes animés de la tombe de Ouahka à Qaou ou des soubassements de temples ptolémaïques ou romains', while the latter suggests that their system of writing throws light on the character of the Eg. people.

R. WEILL in a paper entitled *Expéditions de guerre en Asie sous la 1<sup>e</sup> dyn.* (reported in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 36) insists on the importance of the plaques of Wdī-mw, the palette of Narmer, and the bas-relief of Šmr-ht at Maghārah, for the hist. of the Eg. system of writing.



## 12. Personal Notices

In *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 21 ff., under the heading *Semaine égyptol. du 7 au 13 juillet 1935*, appears a list of the scholars present at this gathering in Brussels together with a programme and an account of the various meetings.

G. B. BELZONI: M. BATTISTINI has written a short account of this explorer and adventurer entitled *La fama di Giovan Battista Belzoni nel Belgio*. Padova, 11 pp.

P. A. A. BOESER. An obituary not. by G. VAN DER LEEUW appears in *Eg. Rel.* 4, 72. See also *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 455, which refers to W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN's art., *Van Heurnius tot Boeser. Drie eeuwen egyptologie in Nederland (1620-1935)*. *Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen*, N. 2 van 'Ex Oriente Lux'. Leiden, 1935, 26 pp., 2 pls.

F. CHARLES-ROUX's *Bonaparte Gouverneur d'Ég.*, Paris, is revd. by J.-J. BROUSSON in *Les nouvelles littéraires*, Paris, March 14.

Very appreciative accounts of the late J. H. BREASTED and his work appear in the following journals: *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 20, 188 f.; *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 458 f.; *JRAS*, 179 ff., by W. R. DAWSON; *Syria* 17, 204, by R. DUSSAUD; *Klio* 29 (N.F. 11), 146, by C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT; *Arch. f. Or.* 11, 99 f., and *The New Orient (The Open Court)*, 1 ff., by A. T. OLMSTED; *ZÄS* 72, iii-iv, by G. STEINDORFF; *L'Anthropologie* 46, 195, by R. VAUFREY.

F. H. WEISSBACH writes on the late Sir ERNEST BUDGE in *Z. f. Assyriol.* N. F. 9, 303 f.

L. VOLKMAN in *Goethe u. Äg.* (*ZÄS* 72, 1 ff.) discusses GOETHE's views on Eg. and on her contributions to western civilization.

W. R. DAWSON's *Charles Wycliffe Goodwin 1817-1878: A Pioneer in Egyptology*, London, 1934, is revd. by M. PIEPER in *OLZ* 39, 13, who speaks with appreciation of GOODWIN's contributions to the study of Eg. philology.

A long account of the late F. LL. GRIFFITH's life and work by W. R. DAWSON appears in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 125 ff. An appreciative obituary not. by Sir F. KENYON is printed in *Mizraim* 3, 7 f.; and one by W. E. CRUM in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 20, 16 ff., is referred to in *JMEOS* 20, 53 f.

A tribute by J. ČERNÝ to F. LEXA on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday appears in *Arch. Orient.* 8, along with a portrait of this distinguished savant and a list of his publns.

W. D. VAN WIJNGAARDEN contributes to *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 427 ff. an art. (with portrait) entitled *À l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de C. J. C. Reuvs.*

In the last-mentioned periodical, pp. 459 ff., there is also a long and appreciative obituary not. on the late É. SUYS (1894-1935) by Fr. G. LAMBERT, and a French transl. of the obituary not. on J. E. QUIBELL which appeared in *JEA* 21 (1935), 115 f.

## 13. Philology

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Canaanite God Haurón (Hôrón)*, in *AJSL* 53 (1936-7), 1 ff., points out that this god's name appears on a statue from Tanis and in four passages in *P. Mag. Harris*, vs.<sup>1</sup> He renders *šr* in the same pap. vs. 1, 7, by 'fangs', *šr*, according to him, being a Semitic loanword corresponding to the Arabic *فتر*, 'front teeth', 'incisors'.

Of ALBRIGHT's important work, *The Vocalization of the Eg. Syllabic Orthography* (*Amer. Or. Ser.* vol. v, New Haven, Conn., 1934), a short not. appears in *AJSL* 52 (1935-6), 118, and it has been favourably revd. by B. COUROYER (*Rev. bibl.* 45, 480 f.), by F. LEXA (*Arch. Orient.* 8, 142 f.), and at great length, with criticisms and suggestions, by N. J. REICH (*Mizraim* 3, 61).

In his rev. (*Rev. bibl.* 45, 454 ff.) of *Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* 3 (vol. offert à JEAN CAPART, Brussels, 1935), B. COUROYER refers to CHASSINAT's art. on  $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{O}}$  = *mnw*-vase and to DRIOTON's on Eg. cryptography. G. CONTENAU also revs. the vol. in *L'Antiquité Classique* 5, 236 ff.

G. A. BARTON's *Semitic and Hamitic Origins Social and Religious* (Philadelphia, 1934) is unfavourably revd. in *Arch. Orient.* 8, 141 f., by F. LEXA, who maintains that the author's material is often of doubtful value and his conclusions, accordingly, equally dubious. Revd. also by N. J. REICH, *Mizraim* 2, 91 ff., who 'read the book with great interest and profit'.

F. W. v. BISSINO, *Die angeblich beschnittenen Aquinascha* (*ZÄS* 72, 74 f.), deals at length with the word

<sup>1</sup> See also COUROYER, *Rev. bibl.* 45, 451, n. 2, who refers to H. RANKE, *Personennamen*, 254, n. 1.



*krnt*, and shows that it probably means neither 'foreskin' nor 'uncircumcised' but 'cod-piece'. Accordingly the two texts with which the art. is concerned, in the Medinet Habu temple, state not that the Akaiwaasha are circumcised but that they did not wear cod-pieces. BISSING contributes to the same journal (p. 79) a n. entitled *Aristeides Rhetor u. d. Name v. Kanopos*, explaining why Aristides' Eg. guide assigned to Canopus the meaning *χρυσὸν ἔδαφος*.

A. M. BLACKMAN's *Some Notes on the Story of Sinuhe and other Eg. Texts*, in *JEA* 22, 35 ff., contains a number of interesting comments and new interpretations. Especially worthy of notice is B.'s elucidation of the difficult passage *Sin. B 163-4=R 188-9*.

L. BORCHARDT's *Statuen u. Statuetten v. Königen u. Privatleuten im Museum v. Kairo Nr. 1-1294, Teil 5* (*CCG. Berlin*, vi+145 pp.), contains useful indices of personal names, titles, names of divinities and geogr. names—the work of a Danish egyptologist, A. VOLTEN.

E. BRÖGELMANN in *Noch einmal: Die Hyksosfrage* (*ZDMG* 90 [N.F. 15], 441 ff.), claims on philological as well as on other grounds that the Hyksos have Indo-European affinities.

H. BRUNNER's *Das Gesetz d. Polarität*, in *ZÄS* 72, 139, is a short explanation of how *n sdm-f*, *n sdm-n-f* and *nn sdm-f* gained their meanings in Old and Middle Eg.

B. BRUYÈRE, *La Nécropole de Deir el-Medineh* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 329 ff.) assigns to the words *nb n fhn nfr*, the attribute of Amunrê as worshipped in a little shrine at Dêr el-Medmah, the meaning 'de la bonne venture.'

A. DE BUCK, *Een merkwaardige passage in de 'Coffin-Texts'* (*Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland: Verslag van het achtste Congres gehouden te Leiden op 6-8 Januari* [Leiden], 24 f.). The passage in question (no refs. given) occurs on certain coffins found at el-Bersah, with representations of boats.

L. BULL, *Four Eg. Inscribed Statuettes of the M. K.*, in *JAOS* 56, 162 ff. A number of useful philological nn. accompany the transl. of the not uninteresting inscr.

*New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies* by J. CAPART, A. H. GARDINER, and B. VAN DE WALLE (*JEA* 22, 169 ff.) is an important contribution to the hist. of the later Ramesside period. GARDINER's transl. and accompanying comm., which is full of valuable philological information (see especially the nn. on *wš ls*, p. 173, the auxil. vb. *hpr*, the adverbial phrase *m dwn m dwn*, p. 175, and the vb. *nwl*, 'collect', p. 179f.), will be much appreciated by students of Late Eg. Reference is made to the document (*P. Léopold II*) with which this art. deals in *Un Nouveau Document sur la spoliation des tombes royales égypt.* (*Rev. arch.* 7, 115f.).

J. ČERNÝ discusses the unusual words *gmgm*, 'seek' (?), *sd*, 'bore', and *hr-mrḥ*, 'burial equipment', in his *Datum d. Todes Ramses' III. u. d. Thronbesteigung Ramses' IV.* (*ZÄS* 72, 109 ff.).

R. COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET, *L'Ancien Ég. et les langues africaines* (*Rev. anthropol.* 46, 56 ff.). The writer, having compared the Eg., Negro-African, and Bushman-Hottentot languages, takes the view that the Eg. and Bushman-Hottentot languages are separate descendants of the earlier Capsian language embracing all Africa, Eg. being later contaminated by Semitic.

B. COUBOYER under 'Égypte', in *Rev. bibl.* 45, 150 f., contests MONTET's view, expounded in *La Stèle de Tan 400 retrouvée* (*Kémi* 4 (1935), 191 ff.), that *pr*, 'house', is to be understood after the genetical *n* in such combinations as *Imn-n* (*Ramessu-mry-Imn*). He also discusses the epithet *k Stḥ* applied to Ramesses II on an obelisk unearthed by MONTET at Tanis.

É. DRIOTON, *Le Cryptogramme de Montou de Médamoud* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 21 ff.). A very ingenious and interesting explanation of two reliefs from Medamūd which express by rebus and acrophony the words *Mnfr-R nb Wst kr hry-b M(r)dw*.

M. S. DROWER's *Eg. Fragm.* (*Antiq.* 9, 350 f. and Pls. 8 f.) receives not. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 468 ff., where it is pointed out that the words *hb hdt*, accompanying the representation of a hippopotamus, show that the fragm. in question comes from a scene like that discussed by H. KEES, *Re-Heiligtum d. Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, III, 30.



W. F. EDGERTON and J. A. WILSON, *Hist. Records of Ramses III. The Texts in 'Medinet Habu' I and II transd. with Explan. Nn.* (*Or. Inst. of the Univ. of Chicago: Studies in Anc. Or. Civilization*, 12). Chicago, xv+159 pp. The numerous philological nn. will prove invaluable to students of Late Eg. Revd. appreciatively by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 416 ff.

ERMAN's *Neuäg. Gr.*, 1933, is revd. at length and very favourably in *Mizraim* 3, 53 ff., by N. J. REICH, who regrets, however, that the hieroglyphs are not transliterated into Roman characters.

R. O. FAULKNER's transl. of part of *P. Bremner-Rhind* (*JEA* 22, 121 ff.) is admirable and the accompanying comm. contains much interesting philological matter. The art. will be especially acceptable to those who are working on texts of the Ptol. period.




W. FEDERN, *Die Königin Sescheschet* (*Orientalia* [Rome], N.S. 5, 379 ff.), in which the writer attempts to show that *Sesht* is a daughter of Teti and wife of Pepi I, and that she afterwards married Mereruka, contains some matter of philological interest.














C. M. FIRTH and J. E. QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid*. With Plans by J.-P. LAVER. *Serv. des Antiq. de l'Ég. Excavations at Saqqara*. Cairo, 1935 (cover 1936). I. Text, viii+144 pp., frontisp., figs.; II. vii pp. 110 pls. The somewhat enigmatic group  (for which see H. SCHAEFER, *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. Kairo* 4, 6 ff.), the difficult *hb-sd* inscr., and the title  are discussed or alluded to in I, 51, 59 f., 72. The graffiti are dealt with on pp. 78 ff. of the same vol.; other material of philological interest occurs sporadically on pp. 113 ff.

S. GABRA suggests in *Les Fouilles de l'Univ. Ég. à Tounah el-Gabal* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 34 ff.) that the short inscr. there publ. gives 'la solution longtemps cherchée du problème de la dualité *ḥmwn* ou Ashmounein'; but see H. KEES, *ZÄS* 72, 49, n. 5.

A. H. GARDINER, *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III. A long rev. by A. M. BLACKMAN containing a number of suggestions and comments is followed by a series of illuminating remarks by W. R. DAWSON on various passages in *P. Ch. Beatty VII, VIII, XII*. Revd. also by S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *Antiq.* 10, 369 ff.; J. CAPART, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 75 ff.; H. BONNET, *OLZ*, 90 ff.; G. SARTON, *Isis* 25, 476 ff.; F. VOGELSANG, *DLZ* 57, 738 ff.; see also *AJSL* 52 (1935-6), 118 f.

In *Nn. on a New Pap.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 27 f.) GARDINER points out that the group  — in *P. Wilbour* (Brooklyn) clearly signifies 'imposition of tax by' so and so.

The supplement to GARDINER's *Eg. Gr.* by that scholar himself and M. GAUTHIER-LAURENT is revd. by N. J. REICH in *Mizraim* 3, 57, where R. points out that the identification *Paḥamnāta* (a personal name in the 'Amarnah letters') = the *Eg. P: ḥm-ntr* cannot, as SETHE has shown, be maintained.

Two recently found stelae, the subject of H. GAUTHIER's *Une Fondation pieuse en Nubie*, in *Ann. Serv.* 36, 49 ff., present points of philol. interest. How, for instance, is  in      to be read?  apparently synonymous with *ḥt* 'field', demands notice, as does       'glebe'.

H. GRAPOW contributes a long and important art., *ZÄS* 72, 12 ff., entitled *Studien zu d. theban. Königsgräbern*, the greater part of which is concerned with the enigmatic portions of the *Book of 'Amduat'* and with discussions as to the age, structure, and content of this strange compilation and of the abbreviated version of it.

In *ZÄS* 72, 76 f., GRAPOW deals with the word *ḥrp* in the well-known passage in *Anii* 4, 2-4, and compares it with *ḥnp* in a similar context in the *Lament of Taimḥōtep*. He decides that *ḥrp* in the *Anii* passage should be emended to *ḥnp*.

The appearance of Pt. II of GRAPOW's *Unters. über d. altäg. mediz. Papyri*, in *MVAG* (E.V.) 41, 1 ff., will be warmly welcomed, not only by Egyptologists, but by all who are interested in the hist. of medicine. Revd. by M. MEYERHOF in *OLZ* 39, 730 ff. (at length), *DLZ* 57, 13 f.

Another work by GRAPOW, *Sprachliche u. schriftliche Formung äg. Texte* (*Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 7; 66 pp., 12 pls.), though dealing mainly with the form and style of *Eg.* literary texts, contains matter of considerable philological interest.

R. HARRIS, *The Migration of Culture* (Two Essays, with Maps. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 60 pp.). All that need be said of these two fantastic essays is contained in J. CAPART's rev. in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 449.

H. JUNKER, *Giza II: Die Mastabas d. beginnenden V. Dyn. auf d. Westfriedhof*. Vienna, 1934. This learned and important record is revd. by B. GROTERJAHN (*WZKM* 43, 286 ff.), who draws special attention to J.'s remarks on the titles *st nsw*, *st nsw* and *rh nsw*; also by B. VAN DE WALLE (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 88 ff.) who refers to J.'s interpretation of the phrase *imḥw hr ntr*.

H. KEES, *Die Kopenhagener Schenkungsstele aus d. Zeit d. Apries*, in *ZÄS* 72, produces evidence that in Bubastite and Saite inscr. *ḥḥt* and *tš* can mean *νός* and *τοπαρχία* respectively. This meaning of *ḥḥt* is also found in dem. texts and even survives in Copt. compounds such as *ἡραστῆν* and *ἡραστῆναιον*. Another art. by the same author, entitled *Statue eines Veters d. theb. Gouverneurs Monthemhet* (*ZÄS* 72, 14 ff.), contains a n. on the priestly title *ḥm wn* 'servant for opening (a god's shrine)'.

In a long art., *Sur l'origine de la langue ég.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 266 ff.), G. LEFEBVRE concludes that *Eg.* like other Hamitic languages is a composite one, partly African and partly Semitic. It has perhaps preserved its independence more than the Berber and Cushitic dialects, despite strong Semitic influences, and has retained more traits than they of its African substratum. A brief résumé in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 151.

F. LEXA, *Les Participes indéclinables de la langue anc. ég.*, I and II (*Arch. Orient.* 8, 98 ff. and 210 ff.).



L. discusses the uses of the active 'indeclinable participle' *šm-w*. His disregard for generally accepted conclusions is exemplified in his exx. 14a, 14b, and 27. This 'participle' is, L. maintains, negated by *im* and *tm*, also by *n* and *nn* (in L.E. by *bw* and *bn*). He also deals with *in*, *hr*, and *kr* as employed independently and with certain verbal forms. He evidently does not regard *in* as the *šm-n-f*-form of the verb *i* (see FAULKNER in *JEA* 21, 177 ff.). L. has collected a great mass of exx., his transls. of many of which will not be accepted by most Egyptologists, to whom his views on the active 'indeclinable participles' and the passive 'indeclinable participle' will appear fantastic.

C. MAYSTRE, *Tombes de Deir el-Médineh: La tombe de Nebemât* (No. 219). *Mém. Inst. fr.*, 71, Cairo, viii+43 pp., 9 pls., figs. In addition to the texts a few nn., chiefly on names, are of some philological interest.

DU MESNIL DU BUISSON's *Les noms et signes ég. désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935) is briefly revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 440 f.), who points out one or two errors and omissions and indicates how this useful publi. might have been amplified and improved.

R. MOND and O. H. MYERS, *The Bucheum*, 3 vols., 1934, is revd. by A. M. BLACKMAN (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 23, 57 f.) who refers favourably to FAIRMAN's philological contributions; also by A. H. M. JONES (*JRS* 26, 117 f.); by M. S. S. (*JMEOS* 20, 49 f.); and by N. J. REICH (*Mizraim* 2, 88 ff.).

P. MONTET, *À propos de la statuette de Sanoussrit-Ankh* (*Syria* 17, 202 f.), discusses BREASTED's restoration and rendering of the inscr. on the statuette of Senwosret-onkh found at Rās esh-Shamra. He thinks B.'s reading *m Hrw* is attractive, but objects that the word *Hrw* has not been found in inscr. earlier than Dyn. 18.


PETRIE's *Shabtis* (London, 1935) is critically revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 38 f.), who rightly expresses surprise at P.'s rendering of *šbt dbt* by 'weaving clothes' instead of by 'making bricks'.

According to J. PIRENNE, *Le Sens des mots 'rekhit' et 'pat'* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 38 f.), *rhyt* in the predyn. period denoted the riverine inhabitants of the Delta, incorporated by Menes into his kingdom as a special class. By Dyn. 5 *rhyt* had come to mean 'townsmen', and by the N.K. '(Eg.) subjects'. The earliest meaning of *ptt* is 'nobility', *r-ptt* being the title borne by the great overlords. In Dyn. 6 *r-ptt* is again applied to the feudal barons, *ptt* designating the aristocratic class immediately beneath them.

G. POSENER, *La Première Domination perse en Ég.* (*Bibliothèque d'Étude*, 11, Cairo, xv+206 pp., 17 pls.). This important work, apart from the hierogl. texts and transls., contains admirable nn. dealing with points of grammar, topogr., etc., personal names, and titles. There are good indices.

H. RANKE's *Les Noms propres ég.* (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 293 ff.) is an interesting account of the nature and forms of Eg. personal names. A résumé appears on p. 252 of the same vol. under the heading '*Comment s'appelaient les Ég. ?*'. RANKE's *Personennamen* is revd. by W. FEDERN (*WZKM* 43, 140); by H. O. LANGE (*Acta Or.* 15, 76); and by POHL (*Orientalia* 5, 302 ff.).

The importance of H. RICKE's *Eine Inventartafel aus Heliopolis im Turiner Mus.* (*ZÄS* 71, 111 ff.) is pointed out in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 424.

C. ROBICHON and A. VARILLE's *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou, I* (*Flles. Inst. fr.*, 11, Cairo, v+56 pp., 48 pls., figs.) contains a new transcr., transl. and comm. of the 21st-Dyn. BM Stela 138. The comm. contains interesting nn. on the word  and the compound prep. *r-šrr* (cf. A. H. GARDINER, *JEA* 9, 18, n. 8).

In *Das Ichneumon in d. äg. Religion u. Kunst* (*Eg. Rel.* 4, 1 ff.), G. ROEDER refers to the ordinary name for ichneumon, *q̄*, and to the loanword, *htrw*.

In his art. *Thoris* (*PW*, VI, A1, 303 ff.) A. RUSCH devotes a column and a half to discussing the Eg. name and its various forms in Neo-Babylonian, Aramaic, Copt., and Gk. This art. is somewhat critically revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 428 f.), who draws attention to certain oversights.

In C. E. SANDER-HANSEN's important art., *Über einige sprachliche Ausdrücke f. d. Vergleich in d. Pyramidentexten*, in *Acta Or.* 14 (1935-6), 286 ff., he maintains that in clauses of comparison in the *Pyr. Texts* the word following *mi* is defined, while that following *m* is undefined. He suggests that in clauses of comparison employing the archaic *ld* the word to which it is attached is sometimes defined and sometimes undefined.

In *Μαῖνερως* = *μαῖνερος*, an art. by A. SCHARFF and W. HENSTENBERG in *ZÄS* 72, 143 ff., the former scholar cites two occurrences in hierogl. of the word *gm* (*gmy*) with meaning 'herdsman' = dem. *gm*, Copt. *gme*.

SETHE, *Übers. u. Komm. zu d. altäg. Pyr.-texten*, II, Lfg. 1-3. Glückstadt, 288 pp. These first three pts. of vol. II deal with Spells 261-306, and are, needless to say, crammed with philological matter of first-rate importance. An appreciative rev. of vol. I by J. CAPART in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 65 f., and one by DE BUCK in *OLZ* 39, 363 ff.



*Tilt*, the name for some flying insect not to be found in *Wb.*, occurs in a new magical text on an ostr. publ. by A. W. SHORTER in *JEA* 22, 165 ff.

E. STAVNIK (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 31 f.) suggests that in the diadem of the princess Sithathoryunet, which imitates that of the god Nefertē, the flower surmounted by the double plume is the *snw* (?) -plant mentioned in certain mythological texts (see esp. NAVILLE, *Rev. Ég. anc.* 1, 31 ff.). An art. by her of 8 pp. on the same subject appears *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 165.

É. SUYS's *Ét. sur le conte du fellah plaideur* = *An. Or.* 5 (Rome, 1933) is revd. by A. SCHARFF (*Eg. Rel.*, 73 f.) who points out that the author's standpoint seems to be: 'Even a half-intelligible transl., at the expense of grammar if need be, is better than no transl. at all'. The same scholar's *La Sagesse d'Ani: Texte, traduction et commentaire* = *An. Or.* 11, 1935, is revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 74 f.), who considers S. somewhat bold in his elucidations of difficult passages in this very corrupt text; by S. A. B. MEBKER (*Eg. Rel.* 4, 74 ff.), who draws attention to the discussion of the word *sn*; by H. BONNET (*OLZ* 39, 506 f.), who considers the book on the whole of doubtful value; and by L. TH. LEFORT (*Muséon* [Louvain] 49, 142).

J. VANDIER's art., *Une tombe inédite de la Vie Dyn. à Akhmim* (*Ann. Serv.* 36, 33 ff.), contains nn. on *hmt* = 'female (animal)', on derivations from the word *bn*, possibly 'be round', and on the phrase

— (𓂏𓂏) — . . . . .

Another art. by him, *Quatre stèles inédites de l'Anc. Emp. et de la première époque interméd.* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 44 ff.), contains useful philological nn. Especially valuable are those on personal names and on the orthography of the late O.K. and 1st Interm. Period.

A. VARILLE, *Un Colosse d'Amenophis III dans les carrières d'Assouân* (*Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 173 ff.), discusses the epithet *Rt n ḥḥrw* 'Sun of princes' bestowed on Amenophis III and Ramesses II.

R. WEILL's book, *Le Champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale* (*Ét. d'égyptol.* 1, Paris, xi+176 pp.), is concerned mainly with the Eg. religion, but contains a certain amount of philological matter. It is revd. by J. CAPART (*Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 426 f.), who disagrees with W.'s view that there is no documentary evidence for the existence of the bull-fight in anc. Eg., and draws attention to the words *mḥnw* and *imrw* and quotes EDGERTON and WILSON, *Hist. Records of Ramses III*, p. 1, n. 3a. He also criticizes the statement that in the *ḥtp-di-nsw*-formula 'normalement la "traversée du bjt" n'apparaît point', and refers to the sarcophagus of Djefi found at Kurnah.

In a lecture, referred to in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 28 f., WEILL maintained that Sēth bore the designation 'golden' long before Horus, and that evidence for the primordial 'gold-quality' of Sēth is to be found in inserr. of King *Pr-ib-en* of Dyn. 2, and in the *Pyr. Texts*.

I have not been able to lay hands on E. ZYLHARZ's *Das geschichtliche Fundament d. hamitischen Sprachen* (*Africa* 9, 433 ff.).

#### 14. Publication of Texts

(Of the revs. only those which critically discuss publms. of texts are included.)

##### A. FROM SITES IN EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

*Abū Simbel*. Photos., with texts, transl., and comm., of two recently discovered stelae of the Governor of Nubia Pesiūr II at Abū Simbel, publ. by H. GAUTHIER in *Ann. Serv.* 36, 48 ff. (*Une fondation pieuse en Nubie*).

*Assuân*. A new revision of a small text near the Aswân-Shellāl road, mentioning the making of a large statue of Amenophis III, by J. VARILLE in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 173 ff. (*Un Colosse d'Amenophis III dans les carrières d'Assouan*).

*Thebes (Dēr el-Medīnah)*. C. MAYSTRE, *La Tombe de Nebenmât* (Cairo). Photos. and printed texts, with index of names and titles. G. POSENER, *Catalogue des ostr. hiérat. de Dēr el-Medīnah*, I, fasc. 2, see § 10 (p. 247). An ostr. of unknown provenance but probably from Dēr el-Medīnah. A. W. SHORTER, *A magical ostr.* in *JEA* 22, 165 ff.

*Thebes (Karnak)*. H. H. NELSON, *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, parts i, ii. Drawings and photos. of texts, one of which is further publ. by K. C. SERLE with photos., drawings, transl., and comm. in L. G. LEAHY, *From the pyramids to Paul*, 224 ff. (*A hymn to Amonet on a tablet from the temple of Karnak*).

*Thebes (Luxor)*. J. CAPART revs. A. FAKHRY, *Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor (suite), bas-reliefs d'Akhenaton* (*Ann. Serv.* 35, 35 ff.) in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 415 ff.



*Thebes* (Shêkh 'Abd el-Kurnah). Texts from two unnumbered tombs (*Nb-mhyt* and *H(w)-nfr*) publ. by A. FAKHRY, *Three unnumbered tombs at Thebes*, in *Ann. Serv.* 36, 124 ff.

*Abydos*. É. DRIOTON explains six cryptographic texts from the temple and cenotaph of Sethôis I in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 1 ff. (*Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos*).

*Akhmîm*. J. VANDIER: *Une Tombe inédite de la VI<sup>e</sup> dyn. à Akhmîm*, in *Ann. Serv.* 36, 33 ff. Photos., facsimiles, transl., and comm. of short inscrr. from the hitherto unpubl. tomb of *Krri*.

*Kâw*. Inscrr. from the tombs of *Wih-k I*, *Tbw*, *Wih-k II*, and miscellaneous inscrr. from Kâw, collected from various museums, publ. by Profs. STEINDORFF and GRAPOW in H. STECKEWEH, *Die Fürstengräber von Qâw* (Leipzig).

*Gizah*. Inscrr. recording the burial of a dog with ritual ceremonies. G. A. REISNER: *The Dog which was honored by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt*, in *Bull. MFA* 34, 96 ff. (photo. only of text).

#### B. FROM MUSEUMS, ETC., OUTSIDE EGYPT

*Brussels*. An art. in *JEA* 22, 169 ff., by J. CAPART, A. H. GARDINER and B. VAN DE WALLE (*New light on the Ramesside tomb-robberies*) records the discovery by Prof. CAPART of the missing upper half of *P. Amherst*. This new and interesting text has been named *P. Léopold II* and is here publ. in transl. with photos. and with philological comm. by GARDINER.

*Buffalo*. Corrected text on a statue of *R-m-mr-hrw*, now in the Buffalo Fine Arts Acad. but originally, according to Prof. KEES, in the Cairo Mus. (Cairo 42249). H. KEES, *Statue eines Veters d. Theban. Gouverneurs Monthemhet*, in *ZÄS* 72, 146 f.

*Copenhagen*. O. KORFOED-PETERSEN publ. autographed texts from monuments in the Ny Carlsberg Mus. presenting documentary or linguistic interest. *Recueil des inscrr. de la Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg* (*Bibl. Aeg.*, vi). H. KEES: *Die Kopenhagener Schenkungsstele aus d. Zeit d. Apries*, in *ZÄS* 72, 40 ff. Photo., text, transl., and comm.

*Florence*. Newly collated texts in Gk. and Ptol. hierogl. on basalt statue Florence 4021, with photo. F. BILABEL, *Die bilingue Inschr. d. Kaisers Vespasian im Flor. Mus.*, in *Neue Heidelb. Jahrb.*, 20 ff.

*Hannover*. Texts from 29 objects, mostly stelae, several hitherto unpubl. M. CRAMER, *Äg. Denkmäler im Kestner-Mus. zu Hannover*, in *ZÄS* 72, 81 ff., and Pls. iv-ix. Many are photographed with similar objects, some with texts, for comparison.

*London*. REVS. of GARDINER, *Hierat. Pap. BM III*, see § 10 (p. 247).

*New York*. A. LANSING, in *Bull. MMA* 31, 12 ff., publ. a photo. with transl. of a new text on a scarab reporting the construction of a lake for Queen Teye (*A commemorative scarab of Amon-hotpe III*). Four painted wooden statuettes of *Mrr* in the MMA, believed to be from Asyût, inscribed on the bases, girdles, and kilts, and apparently unique, are publ. by L. BULL in *JAOS* 56, 162 ff. (5 pls. with printed texts, transl., and comms.).

*Paris*. The first complete publ. of the Pap. of Tentamûn in the Bibl. Nat. A. PIANKOFF, *The Funerary Pap. of Tent-Amon*, in *Eg. Rel.* 4, 49 ff. Printed text with photos.

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS

A. DE BUCK, *The Eg. Coffin Texts*, I, is revd. by H. BONNET in *OLZ*, 607 ff.

G. POSENER, *La Première Domination perse en Ég.*, *recueil d'inscrr. hiérog.* (Cairo). Inscrr. from Cambyse to Artaxerxes I, not hitherto collected into one vol. All the texts are transl. and discussed, and the hist. information contained in them summed up. Photos., with indices of names, titles, &c.

É. SUYS, *La Sagesse d'Ani* (*An. Or.* 11, 1935); revs., see § 10 (p. 247).

J. VANDIER, *Quatre stèles inédites de la fin de l'Anc. Emp. et de la première époque interméd.*, in *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 44 ff., has photos., with texts, transl., and comms., of stelae of *Hnni*, *Nfrn*, *Tmw*, and *Tntf* son of *Snb*, in private ownership in Eg. *La famine dans l'Ég. anc.* (Cairo), by the same author, contains many texts, not necessarily complete, but each with its own bibliography, and some unpubl. texts, having reference to famines in Eg.

### 15. Religion and Magic

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *AJSL* 53, 1 ff., discusses the nature of the Canaanite god Haurôn (Hôrôn) and his adoption by Eg. He criticizes the views put forward by MONTET and BUCHER in *Rev. bibl.* 1935, 153 ff.

T. G. ALLEN, *JAOS* 56, 145 ff., analyses the rubrics of Spell 148 and studies parallels elsewhere in the *Bk. Dead*.



G. A. BARTON, *JAOS* 56, 155 ff., considers the practice of lustral washing in Eg., Babylonia, Israel, etc. in relation to the thought-pattern of Baptism.

F. W. v. BISSING, *Äg. Kultbilder d. Ptol.- u. Römerzeit. Alte Or.* 34, Heft 1-2, 38 pp., 23 figs. Leipzig.

B. BRUYÈRE, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 335 f., describes an arrangement apparently intended for ancestor-worship in private houses at Dér el-Medīnah.

A. DE BUCK, *Een merkwaardige passage in de 'Coffin Texts'*, in *Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland: Verdrag van het achtste Congres gehouden te Leiden op 6-8 Januari 1936*, 24 f. (Leiden).

M. A. CANNEY, *JMEOS* 20, 25 ff., studies the idea of the primordial mound in anc. Eastern countries, also in Islamic theology &c.

M. CHAMER, *ZÄS* 72, 95 f. and Pl. 7, publs. a stela (Dyns. 19-20) showing the moon-god *Tch-Dhuty* between two star-goddesses who are perhaps hours of the night. On pp. 98 f. and Pl. 8, the same writer publs. a private stela at Hanover, dedicated to the Mnevis bull (Dyns. 19-20).

W. F. EDGERTON, *ZÄS* 72, 77 ff., republs. and translates a dem. label from Kāw containing a spell of uncertain meaning.

O. EISSFELDT, *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* 12, 407 f., deals with Zeus Ammon.

R. O. FAULKNER, *JEA* 22, 121 ff., gives a transl., with comm., of the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, in *P. Bremner-Rhind (B.M. 10188)*.

A. H. GARDINER's Frazer Lecture, *The Attitude of the Anc. Egyptians to Death and the Dead*, is discussed by J. SPIEGEL, *OLZ*, 147 ff. The same scholar's *Hierat. Pap. BM*, III: important nn. by W. R. DAWSON, *JEA* 22, 107, upon the episode of Sēth and 'Anat in *P. Ch. Beatty VII*.

H. GAUTHIER, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 49 ff., publs. two stelae recording a pious foundation by Pesīūr, Viceroy of Nubia, in support of the cult of the pillar (?) sacred to Amūn of Faras.

P. GILBERT, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 255 ff., discusses the solar royal names of the O. K., and their significance for the hist. of the Eg. gods at that time.

H. GRAPOW, *ZÄS* 72, 12 ff., discusses the selection and arrangement of relig. texts upon the walls of the royal tombs at Thebes, enigmatic writing, and the hist. and nature of the Book 'Amduat'.

W. GUNDEL and S. SCHOTT, *Dekane u. Dekansternebilder. Ein Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Sternbilder d. Kulturvölker. Mit e. Untersuchung ü. d. äg. Sternbilder u. Gottheiten d. Dekane. Stud. d. Bibl. Warburg*, 19, Glückstadt, x+451 pp., 33 figs.

F. HEICHELHEIM, *Tierdämonen*, in *PW*, VI A1, deals with Eg. in cols. 866-8, 871, 874, 882, 888.

M. HILZHEIMER, *Antiq.* 10, 199 f., in an art. on sheep, distinguishes the two breeds known in anc. Eg., with ref. to the rams of Amūn, Mendes, and Arsaphes.

M. O. HOWEY's *The Cat in the Mysteries of Religion and Magic* (London, 254 pp., 1 pl., figs.) includes a study of the cat in Eg. and throughout the anc. world. Revd. by A. STEENS in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 430 ff.

III. *Ldn. News*, April 18, 1933, reproduces photo. of a lapis-lazuli infant-god (= the later Harpocrates?), apparently of foreign workmanship, from the M.K. treasure found at Et-Tūd.

G. JÉQUIER, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 17, publs. a private stela of Ramesside date, showing an unusual scene of the weighing of the heart in a hand-balance by Anubis.

H. KEES, *ZÄS* 72, 40 ff., publs. a stela of the time of Apries at Copenhagen, recording an endowment by a certain *Nsw-Hr* in favour of *Bs-nb-gdt*. Discussed with special ref. to that god, names of localities mentioned, and the topogr. of the 10th Nome of Upper Eg. He also contributes to *GGA*, 49 ff., an art. entitled *Grundsätzliches z. Aufgabenstellung d. äg. Religionsgesch.* (on the appearance of ERMAN's *Religion der Ägypter*, 1934).

L. KÖSTERS' art. *Priester* in *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirche* hrsg. v. M. Buchberger, 2. Aufl., Bd. 8, cols. 462 ff., figs., deals with Eg. in col. 464.

C. KUENTZ, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 120 ff., shows that an Eg. inscr., formerly supposed to be a transcr. of the epithet *χρυσόμαρτος*, applied to Harpocrates, is a forgery.

N. LANGTON, *JEA* 22, 115 ff., in an art. on small figures of Eg. cats gives useful nn. on Bastet, Sakhmet, and the cult of cats in general.

A. LASSING, *Bull. MMA* 31, 12 ff., publs. a new specimen of the 'lake-scarab' of Amenophis III, on the back of which is a cartouche in which A. is called 'beloved of Horus of Buhen'.

I. LEVY, *Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* IV (*Mél. Franz Cumont*), in discussing the *Contendings of Horus and Sēth*, deals with Hathor, Baubo, and Uzumē; Isis and Aphrodite; Isis, the prophet Nathan, and the woman of Tekoah.

Dr. MASSOULARD, *Rev. d'égyptol.* 2, 135 ff., writes on *Lances fourchues et Peseshkaf. À propos de deux acquisitions récentes du Mus. du Louvre*.



H. H. NELSON, *JAOS* 56, 232 ff., discusses three decrees of Ramesses III from his small temple at Karnak, which throw light on the furniture used in temple-ritual.

P. PERDRIZET, *Ann. Serv.* 36, 10 ff., and pl., discusses a gold bezel showing Harpocrates-Triptolemos between Demeter and Koré.

A. PLANKOFF, *Eg. Rel.* 4, 49 ff., publs. an important late N.K. funerary pap. in the Bibl. Nat., Paris.

J. PIBENNE, *Ann. Inst. phil. hist. or.* IV (*Mél. Franz Cumont*), studies the hist. of the funerary cult during the O.K.

H. RANKE, *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 293 ff., in a paper on Eg. personal names deals with the theophoric variety.

H. RICKE, *ZÄS* 72, 79, adds a n. to his essay on 'primordial mounds', *Der Hohe Sand in Heliopolis*, publ. *ZÄS* 71, 107 ff.

C. ROICHON and A. VARILLE, *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*, I. *Flles. Inst. fr.*, v+56 pp., 48 pls., figs.

G. ROEDER, *Eg. Rel.* 4, 1 ff., publs. an exhaustive essay with illu. on the ichneumon in Eg. rel. and art.

A. ROSENASSER, *Nuevos textos literarios del antiguo Egipto*. I: *Los textos dramáticos*. *Círculo de Historia. Bibliot. de Conferencias y Estudios*, I. Buenos Aires, 61 pp., 4 pls.

A. RUSCH, *PW*, VI A1, contributes sections on Thoëris and Thoth, cols. 303 ff., and 351 ff. respectively.

H. D. SCHAEDEL's *Die Listen d. grossen P. Harris. Ihre wirtschaftliche u. politische Ausdeutung* (*Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 6, 73 pp., 4 illu.) contains important material for the study of temple property and foundations.

H. SCHÄFER, *ZÄS* 72, 129 ff., publs. a unique late bronze statuette at Hanover of a divinized man wearing lunar disc and crescent upon his head. He is perhaps the deified *Dd-hr* (Teōs).

SETHE, *Übers. u. Komm. zu d. altäg. Pyr.-texten*. Bd. II, Lfg. 1-3. Glückstadt, 288 pp. These three parts deal with Spells 261-306. A. DE BUCK revs. Bd. I, Lfg. 1-4, in *OLZ*, June, 363 ff.

A. W. SHORTER, *JEA* 22, 165 ff., publs., with transl. and comm., a magical text from an ostr. belonging to Mr. E. ARMYTAGE, containing a spell of unusual nature, to be employed against an enemy. It includes an important passage in which Osiris is expressly equated with triumph over death.

J. SPIEGEL's *Die Idee vom Totengericht in d. äg. Rel.* (*Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 2, 1935) is discussed and criticized by A. RUSCH, *OLZ*, June, 415 ff.

G. STEINDORFF and W. WOLF, *Die Thebanische Gräberwelt* (*Leipz. ägyptol. Stud.*, 4, 100 pp., 25 pls., figs.) is a valuable general and hist. account of the Theban necropolis.

J. VANDIER D'ARBADIE, *Bull. Inst. fr.* 36, 117 ff., discusses representations of bats from Eg., and whether or no they were considered sacred animals.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *Antiq.* 10, 5 ff., in an art. on the hist. of iron in the anc. world, enumerates the mythological connexions of iron in Eg.

L. WALK's art. *Religion in Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirche* (hrsg. v. M. Buchberger, 2. Aufl., Bd. 8, cols. 758 ff.) deals with Eg. in cols. 768 f.

R. WEILL's *Le Champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale* (Paris, Geuthner) is an important study of the localization and significance of the *Sht-irru* and *Sht-hip* in the religious texts. In *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 28 f., appears a précis of a paper by WEILL on the royal title 'Golden Horus', in which he shows that Sēth also, from early times, was considered to be 'golden'. To *Bull. Inst. fr.* 36, 129 ff., he contributes an art., entitled *Bélier du Fayoum et 21e nome de la Haute-Ég.*

J. A. WILSON, *JAOS* 56, 293 ff., publs. nn. on the ceremony of 'illuminating' the two thrones at the *Sed*-festival, as depicted in reliefs in the temple of Amenophis III at Šulb.

H. E. WINLOCK, *MMA Studies*, 5, pt. 2 (Sept.), 147 ff., publs. a bronze flower-bowl in the middle of which is a statuette of Hathor in cow-form.

E. ZIPPERT, *Arch. f. Or.* 10 (1935-6), 393 f., gives a summary of results of excavations at Gizah by the Eg. Univ., including a short description of the dwellings of priests, the solar barques, &c.

## 16. Science, Mathematics, &c.

### A. ASTRONOMY

G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *Orion and the Great Star* (*JEA* 22, 45 ff.). The evidence for the identification of the 'Great Star' with Sirius is discussed in connexion with passages from the *Pyr. Texts* and representations on coffins of the Heracleopolitan type.



H. D. CURTIS and F. E. ROBBINS, *An Ephemeris of 467 A.D.* (Univ. Mich. Press, 1935) is revd. by R. W. SLOLEY in *JEA* 22, 218 f.

#### B. CALENDAR

A. POGO, in *Isis* 24, 429, compares an example of an astronomical calendar of the Battak (Northern Sumatra) described and illustrated by J. WINKLER in *Z. f. Ethn.* 45 (1913), with calendars from Asyūt. In both the month is subdivided into three decades. An appeal is made for further examples of the Battak calendars, which are used for determining 'lucky' and 'unlucky' days.

A. POGO, in *Three Unpublished Calendars from Asyut* (*Osiris* 1, 500 ff.), after giving some account of the Eg. decans and the construction of calendars, discusses in detail the three hitherto unpubl. exx. from Asyūt. The craftsman responsible was unintelligent and completely ignorant of the meaning of his work, which is characterized by gross inaccuracies. The one redeeming feature is the mention of the constellation of the (three) Tortoises, a decan missing in all other Asyūt calendars accessible. The constellation of the (two) Tortoises appears, however, on the ceiling decoration in the tomb of Senmūt.

#### C. MATHEMATICS AND METROLOGY

E. BORTOLOTTI, in an art. on *L'Algebra in Osiris* 1, 206, discusses certain problems in the Rhind and Moscow Math. Papp.

G. SARTON, in *Isis* 24, 375, discusses the ch. in vol. 4 of Sir ARTHUR EVANS' *Palace of Minos*, devoted to numeration and addition, and points out that the numeration symbols differ from those of the Egyptians, but that the principles were the same, and he infers Eg. influences. The systems were both decimal, but without the principle of position. The Minoans stopped at thousands and later at tens of thousands, and their fractional system was more primitive than the Eg. The most striking feature of Minoan arithmetic is the occurrence of the system of percentages. An example of addition is given. Eg. influence on Minoan mathematics was strangely limited, even when it was strongest.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE, *Weights and Balances in Anc. Eg.* (*Proc. Royal Inst. of Great Britain* 29) 31 pp., 5 pls. An important hist. study (illustrated) of the evidence offered by weights and balances and their pictorial representations, as to the actual practice of buying and selling in Anc. Eg. PETRIE's division of standards is followed and this does not altogether accord with HEMMY's recent statistical investigations, which bring out the stater as the most important standard in Eg. during the early N.K. (See *Anc. Eg.*, 1935, 83, and below.)

G. SARTON discusses *A curious subdivision of the Eg. cubit* in *Isis* 25, 390. Fragm. of measuring-rods show the digits ( $\frac{1}{2}$  palm =  $\frac{1}{16}$  cubit) divided successively into 2, 3, 4, and so on up to 16 parts. The object of the subdivision bears relation to the use made by the anc. Eg. of simple fractions. One fragm. with 4 adjacent digits divided thus is illustrated.

#### D. SCIENCE—GENERAL

B. FARRINGTON, *Science in Antiquity* (Home Univ. Series), London, 257 pp. An excellent summary is given in ch. 1 of scientific knowledge in anc. Eg. and Babylonia. The author points out that the Greeks themselves acknowledged a heavy debt to Eg. for the elements of their mathematical and astronomical knowledge, and recent research tends to bear out the truth of the old Gk. tradition. The astonishing achievements in technique of the anc. civilizations must be recognized as a step in the attainment of science, though not science in the full sense for it contains no hint of an intellectual appreciation of a system of natural law—the kind of curiosity and gift of speculation necessary for the creation of science in the full sense were lacking.

#### E. TECHNIQUES: METALS

G. BRUNS, *Der Obelisk u. seine Basis auf d. Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel*, Istanbul, 1935, viii+92 pp., 102 figs., is revd. by M. S. DROWER in *JEA* 22, 220.

H. CHEVRIER, in *Ann. Serv.* 36, 158 ff., publs. a *Note sur la manipulation des blocs du monument de la reine Hatshepsout*. He discusses the object of a number of recesses of different forms on the lateral faces of the blocks, and illustrates by diagrams how they were probably employed to engage the ends of the levers used for placing the stones in position with greater precision and precaution.

C. HAWKES, in *Antiq.* 10, 355 ff., refers to analyses of pieces of iron from the Great Pyramid and Abydos (Dyn. 6, c. 2500 B.C.) and concludes that neither piece is of meteoric origin, but that both may be taken as evidence for the occasional smelting of terrestrial iron-ores in the Near East as early as the third millennium B.C.

G. A. WAINSWRIGHT, *The Coming of Iron* (*Antiq.* 10, 5 ff.). A full and well-documented account of specimens of early iron and refs. in literature. Originally known through its occurrence in meteorites, iron was considered to be dangerous by association with the idea of thunderbolts, and was used magically in Eg. long before smelting was practised. The early name is *biz*, and the epithet *n pt* ('of the sky') was not added until the 15th cent. B.C., to distinguish meteoric from smelted iron. Until 1100 B.C. iron was rare, although meteoric iron was known in Mesopotamia before 3000 B.C. and smelted there before 2800 B.C. By the 8th cent. the Assyrian Sargon had in store 150 tons, in ingots of shape similar to those which came into France and Germany in the La Tène period.

## F. TIME MEASUREMENT

A. POGO, *Eg. Water Clocks*, in *Isis* 25, 403. The unusual features of the scale of the Edfu inflow clock are discussed and derived from a prismatic prototype, using the simplest fractions and drawing straight lines only. The new diagram points to an Eg.—not Gk.—origin of several passages in classical literature dealing with the rate of increase of the length of the day. Some hitherto unpubl. items connected with water-clocks are reproduced and discussed, including the prismatic model in the MMA and the Medinet Habu astronomical ceiling. It is shown that the decanologue of the Karnak outflow clock is more closely related to the Senmût decanologue than to those of the Ramesseum and of Medinet Habu.

A. POGO, in *Isis* 24, 150, reproduces two pages of A. KIRCHER's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, III (Rome, 1654), one of which is apparently borrowed from NARDI, and concludes (in *Isis* 25, 430) that KIRCHER, and not NARDI, deserves full credit for recognizing fragmn. of clepsydrae in the items represented in NARDI's illustrations.

## G. ZOOLOGY

HILZHEIMER in a comprehensive art. on *Sheep* (*Antiq.* 10, 195 ff.) describes the domestic breed known as far back as the second prehist. culture in Eg., and the characteristic types at various periods, of which two are illustrated in Pls. 1 and 2.

Other refs. are:—

ANDRÉ CAPART's rev. of L. JOLEAUD, *Les Ruminants cervicornes d'Afrique*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 11, 447 f.

G. D. HORNBLOWER's evidence about the domestication of cattle in *L'Anthropologie* 46, 205, see § 1 (p. 233).

L. MEGRET, *Kha, chat ég.* (*Rev. mod. des arts et de la vie*, Paris).

*Catalogue of Exhibition of recent work of the EES with a collection of Cat Figures lent by Mr. and Mrs. Langton.* London. 14 pp. See also *Ill. Ldn. News*, Sept. 26, 536.

G. HEEMES, *Das gezähmte Pferd im alten Orient* (*Anthropos* 31, 364 ff.), see § 1 (p. 234).

G. G. SIMPSON, *Horses and Hist.* (*Natural Hist.* 38, 277 ff.); see § 1 (p. 232).

G. ROEDER, *Das Ichneumon in d. äg. Relig. u. Kunst* (*Eg. Rel.* 4, 1 ff.); see § 1 (p. 232).

F. HEICHELHEIM, *Tierdämonen* in *PW*, VI, A 1, 886 ff. 871, 874, 882, and 888.



## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Note on *t hyr(.t)* in Boundaries of Ptolemaic Conveyances of Land

One of the most frequent boundaries set out in Ptolemaic conveyances of lands and houses is *p hyr Pr-ty* 'The King's highway', or 'King Street'. *Hyr* is a N.-K. word (*Wb.*, III, 232) frequently occurring in demotic and Coptic (ⲭⲓⲣ), and always a masculine word. Hence not unnaturally in 1902 Spiegelberg expressed great surprise when he found a *t hyr n pr* between two houses, which he rendered doubtfully by 'die Strasse (??) des Hauses', more particularly as it was immediately followed by the familiar *p hyr Pr-ty* (*Pap. dem. Berlin* p. 11, No. 3113, l. 5). Both words had the same determinative of place. This deed is dated in the year 141 B.C. and is a Theban document.

Now the same group occurs in a deed of 146 B.C. in a papyrus in the Bodleian (C), published in Young's *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. xxxv and deciphered by Revillout in his *Procès d'Hermias*, 74. It is a sale of land in which a boundary is described as four houses with *t hyr (sic) n pr* between them, and once more, 20 years later, the same land and boundary reappear twice in a Vienna papyrus No. 26 published by Revillout in his *Nouvelle Chrestomathie dém.*, pp. 92, 96-7 as *t hyr n pr*.<sup>1</sup>

The next three examples come from Siūt (*A Family Archive from Siut* ed. Thompson Glossary No. 252) of 181 to 173 B.C. all relating to the same piece of land. The boundary is described once as *t hyr*, with determinative of place, and twice as *t hre* with determinative of plants—and always with the addition of *n hb.w* 'of the ibises'.

Further examples are furnished by two papyri from Thebes of 210 B.C., one *BM. 10392* ll. 3-4 *t hr.t n hb.w* (det. of plants), the other at Bologna *t hre.t* (det. of food) *n n hb.w*, both published by Revillout in *Rev. égyptol.* 3, Pls. 1 and 2 and revised by me on the originals. The two conveyances are made between the same parties and refer evidently to adjacent plots.

Thus we have the writings *hyr*, *hry* as variants in the first group, *hry* and *hre* as variants in the second, and *hr.t*, *hre.t* in the third, all with the feminine article. The determinatives are of place, plants, and food. The solution is found in some place-names in Greek papyri, in which τροφή is used for τροφείον as a place where sacred animals and birds were kept and fed. τροφαὶ ἰβίων (or ἰβείως) are referred to in P. Tebt. 1 42, P. Reinach 133, Spiegelberg *Pr. Joach. Ostraka* 24-5 and in Preisigke *Wb.* 621 and cf. *Wb.*, III, 390. In connexion with oxen τροφή is used in P. Rein., 188, and in BGU, VI, No. 1216 we read c. 110 B.C. . . εἰς τροφήν ἑσείτος (*hry.t* 'sacred cow') ἀειζώλου Ἰσιος θεᾶς μεγίστης and applied to a shrine at Memphis.

There can be little doubt, I think, that *t hyr* and its variants are the same as the word *hre.t* 'food' frequently found in demotic, and in Coptic as ⲭⲣⲉ, and are the equivalent of τροφή 'a feeding place'.

HERBERT THOMPSON.

## On P. Oslo 83 and the Depreciation of Currency

The fragmentary condition of this papyrus makes it difficult to determine the precise meaning of ll. 10-15; but there is evidently a question of exchange values involved, and the editors rightly recognize that there is some analogy to the position in the Rylands papyrus first quoted by P. M. Meyer on *Jur. Pap.* 73. Here there is fortunately less doubt: the papyrus contains a letter, the writer of which tells his correspondent that the Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα had been officially devalued to half the νοῦμμος, and advises him to get rid of all his 'Italian' coin. Clearly the reference is to the kinds of coinage in ordinary circulation; and from the middle of the third century to the beginning of the fourth, there were only two kinds of coinage circulating in Egypt—the Alexandrian tetradrachm

<sup>1</sup> *Pr* in all these instances denotes the precincts of a temple. Though applied to an ordinary 'house' in Persian and early Ptol. times, it was superseded later by the word *ty* (ⲧⲏⲩ); and *pr* was used only of temples, the royal palace, and in one or two set legal phrases. Cf. Griffith, *Ryl. Pap.*, 228, n. 6.



and the Roman bronze (or washed) radiates. The former was the nummus or standard coin of Egypt, the latter would naturally be called the Italian coin. Now the bronze radiates were the lineal descendants of the Roman denarius, and the denarius had always been officially regarded as the equivalent of the Alexandrian tetradrachm; when an order was issued reducing its exchange value to half, obviously any holders of 'Italian' coin would be well advised to get rid of it.

In P. Oslo 83 it appears that some coin valued at twenty-five 'Attic' drachmas—a term which was occasionally used about A.D. 300 to describe the 'Alexandrian' drachmas—had been officially written down to twelve and a half. It is not probable that this refers to the same order as that of the Rylands papyrus, which for several reasons seems to be earlier; but it is possible that the devalued coin may be the bronze follis of the Diocletianic reform, which might conceivably have been rated at its first issue at twenty-five drachmas of the old currency. The depreciation of the currency values in Egypt was so rapid in the early years of the fourth century that the follis may have had to be written down very shortly after its issue. In any case it is practically certain that the question is one of internal and external values, and has nothing to do with gold or silver; gold played very little part in Egyptian circulation about the time of Diocletian, and silver none at all.

J. G. MILNE.

### The First Egyptian Society

In 1741 the physician, antiquary, and divine, William Stukeley, took a leading part in the foundation of a society, known as 'The Egyptian Society' (sometimes spoken of as 'The Egyptian Club'), the object of which was 'the promoting and preserving Egyptian and other antient learning'. Stukeley was greatly interested in hieroglyphic writing, and I have elsewhere given some account of his labours in this regard (*Griffith Studies*, 465-73).

The Egyptian Society had its origin (as so many other societies have had) in a dinner. This was held at the Lebeck's Head Tavern, Chandos Street, Charing Cross, on December 11, 1741. Lord Sandwich presided, and there were present also Dr. Pococke, Dr. Perry, and Capt. Norden, all three of whom had travelled in Egypt. They appointed Stukeley secretary, and nominated as associates Folkes, Milles, Stanhope, Dampier, and Mitchell. On January 22, 1741/2, the Dukes of Montagu and Richmond were admitted. At this second meeting the President's staff of office—an Egyptian sistrum—was laid before him, and Stukeley gave a learned dissertation upon it. His conclusion was that the sistrum was a 'rattle' to scare off birds of prey when sacrifices were made!

The Society's life was not of long duration, and in 1743 it was dissolved. Some account of its history is contained in a letter from Stukeley to Maurice Johnson, published by T. J. Pettigrew in his paper on the Spalding Society of Gentlemen in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 7 (1852), 143-58. Some further references to the Egyptian Society will be found in Stukeley's *Medallie History of Carausius* (1757-9), Preface, vi, and in John Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, v (1812), 334.

I give below brief particulars of the persons named in the foregoing note.

Dampier, Dr. Thomas, late Master of Eton.

Folkes, Martin (1690-1754), well-known antiquary. Pres. S.A., 1750-4; Pres. R.S., 1741-53.

Johnson, Maurice (1688-1755), lawyer and antiquary; founder of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding.

Milles, Jeremiah (1714-84), antiquary; President S.A., 1768.

Mitchell, probably Andrew Mitchell (1708-71); afterwards knighted. Elected F.R.S., 1735.

Montagu, John, 2nd Duke (1688-1749). Elected F.R.S., 1717.

Norden, Frederick Ludwig, Captain in the Danish Navy. Travelled in Egypt and Nubia, 1738.

His valuable *Travels* have been published in many editions and in several languages. Less well known is his *Drawings of some Ruins and Colossal Statues at Thebes, with some account of the same, in a Letter to the Royal Society*, London, 1741, 4to.

Perry, Dr. Charles (1698-1780), medical writer and traveller. His *View of the Levant*, 1743, folio, contains much interesting information on Egypt.



Pococke, Richard (1704-65). Visited Egypt, 1737-8, and proceeded to a long tour in the Near East. Published *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 vols., London, 1743-5, folio.

Richmond, Duke of, Sir Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of the fourth creation (1701-50). Elected F.R.S., 1724.

Sandwich, Lord. John Montagu, 4th Earl (1718-92). Elected F.R.S., 1740; afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty.

Stanhope, Charles (1673-1760), statesman.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

### Note on Overbuilding and Intrusive Burials at Gīzah

At the north-west corner of the Cheops pyramid, on the eastern edge of the Western Field of the Gīzah Necropolis, stands a complex of five mastababs. The chapels of all these mastababs open on a stone-paved court approached by a sloping ramp leading up to the west from the pyramid-plateau. All these chapels have east-west offering rooms with a false-door stela (hollow cornice). The burial-chambers are all approached by a sloping passage from the east. The mastababs and the burial-chambers belonged to eight men representing four generations: (1) Senedjemib-Yenti, (2) his sons, Senedjemib-Mehi and Khnumenti, (3) the grandsons, Merptah'ankhpepy and Nekhebū, and (4) the great-grandsons, Impy and Ptahsabū. Seven of these (excepting Ptahsabū) acted as *imy-r kst nbt nt nsut* from the time of Isesy to that of Pepy II. The first mastabah was constructed in the latter part of the reign of Isesy, and Yenti appears to have been buried in the first year of Wenis (Unas) in a white limestone coffin provided by that king.

The examination of the subsoil of the area and the surrounding structures proves that the secondary cemetery of mastababs of officials and funerary priests had already extended over this area. In constructing the mastabah of Yenti (G. 2370), the eastern side of an older crude-brick mastabah was ruthlessly cut away. Under the filling we found several small mastababs completely buried out of sight. The eastern part of this mastabah, the communal court, and the mastabah of Nekhebū were found on about a metre of old debris resting on the rock as it was left by Cheops's quarrymen. The rock rises under the court from south to north, and the southern part of the mastabah of Mehi is founded on rock. Under the filling of the northern part we found on the rock crude-brick walls which also belonged to mastababs of an older date. In the north-western part of the complex stands an older mastabah belonging to a man named Akhetmehū having no connexion with the Senedjemib family. The mastabah of Mehi was built against the eastern face of the open court of Akhetmehū while the mastabah of Khnumenti was built against the southern side of the mastababs of Akhetmehū and Mehi. Later two additions to the mastabah of Mehi were built on the west and partly covered the court of Akhetmehū. These constructions closed all access to Akhetmehū's chapel. Yet the latter's tomb must be dated to the reign of Isesy himself or not long before his accession.

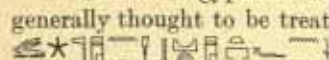
West and north-west of the mastabah of Akhetmehū stands a field of small ruined mastababs earlier than that mastabah but still from the second half of Dyn. 5. These contained decorated chapels and *serdābs*, but the whole area had been occupied at the end of Dyn. 6 by intrusive burial-places, which had chambers and shafts built of stone taken from the ruined mastababs. While recording these built burial-places we recovered a large number of inscribed stones taken from decorated chapels. In one case nearly the whole decoration of a chapel was recovered from the intrusive shafts found in the chapel itself and in the street east of it.

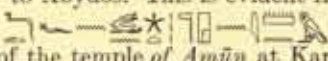
In the case of the Senedjemib-complex, a powerful family, favourites of kings, ruthlessly overbuilt tombs of persons whose descendants were still alive. In the case of the intrusive built burial-places, the tombs of men of little importance were destroyed little more than a century after their death by the poverty-stricken remnant of the Gīzah community.

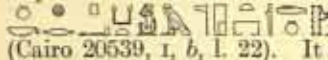
G. A. REISNER.



## A Note on the Grammatical Gender of the Names of Towns

In a Middle-Egyptian text on a stela from Abydos (Brit. Mus. 101) the name of a town has been generally thought to be treated exceptionally as masculine. The passage in question——is translated by Gardiner (*Eg. Gr.*, p. 169): 'He [the deceased] says to the priesthood of the temple of Abydos, and (of) its chapels of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt'. Gardiner (*Eg. Gr.*, p. 168, n. 3; see also p. 69, n. 6) comments that 'the suffix [*f* of *hwt-f*] perhaps refers exceptionally to Abydos, though names of towns are usually feminine'. The same view has been formulated by Sethe (*Erläut. Lesest.*, p. 149, to 89, 16) and Blackman also translates 'its chapels' (*JEA* 21, 4).

In reality the masculine suffix *f* does not refer to Abydos. This is evident from the following parallel text (Thebes, tomb No. 36, Dyn. 26):<sup>1</sup>  'He (the deceased) says to the priesthood of the temple of Amūn at Karnak, and (of) his chapels of the Divine Consort', in which the suffix *f* clearly goes back to Amūn, and not to *Ipt-swt*, a word of feminine form which there would be no reason to consider as masculine.

The same interpretation must surely be applied to the Abydos text. The suffix *f* of this text, though the name of the god does not appear, refers to Osiris and not to Abydos. It is perhaps not impossible to refer the suffix to the word *ntr* 'god' of *ht-ntr* 'temple', lit. 'chapel of the god'—cf.  'I conducted the work in the temple, constructed his house' (Cairo 20539, I, b, l. 22). It is also possible that we have here a corrupt or awkwardly modified text, the original reading having been *wnwt ht-ntr nt Wsir m (or nb) ibdw* 'priesthood of the temple of Osiris at (or Lord of) Abydos'.

Whatever may be the truth, the suffix *f* certainly does not refer to Abydos, and consequently the exception—which, I think, would be quite unique—to the grammatical gender of the names of towns is non-existent.

J. J. CLÈRE.

## On P. Lille I. 4

The last line of this important text is printed thus in the original edition: *ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα γέγραφεν Στρατοκλῆς ὁ τακ[τόμ]ισθος καὶ ὁ Λαμίσκος ἐπιγέγραφεν*. But in the *Additions et Corrections* *τακτόμισθος* is said to be very doubtful, as in fact is evident from the facsimile on Pl. iv. Moreover, as two letters in the same text are addressed *Στρατοκλεῖ καὶ Λαμίσκῳ*, it may be presumed that the former was of superior rank to the latter. Lamiscus held the post of *ἐπὶ συντάξεως*, which ranked next to that of *γραμματεὺς* in the military administration. Now there exists in the Cairo Museum a small fragment which was acquired along with some Zenon papyri, though I have noted on my transcript that it is probably later than these. It is the beginning of a memorandum from a cleruch, *Μακεδόνης τῆς β' ἐν(παρχίας) (ὀγδοηκονταρούρου)*, who says *ἐπέδωκα Στρατοκλεῖ τῷ γενομένῳ γραμματεῖ*. There seems little doubt therefore that in the Lille papyrus we should read *Στρατοκλῆς ὁ γρα[μμ]ατεὺς*. What follows between this and *Λαμίσκος* is not clear, at least in the facsimile, but *καὶ ὁ* does not seem appropriate. One would expect *ὅτι Λαμίσκος ἐπιγέγραφεν*, the meaning being 'Since subsequently the secretary has written that the official *ἐπὶ συντάξεως* has assigned the land to the son or sons of the defunct'. Or it may be that *καὶ ὁ Λαμίσκος* is right, but that the following word should be *ἐπιγεγραφέν[αι]*. But the only object of this note is to make the text more intelligible by showing what was the real position of Stratocles.

C. C. EDGAR.

<sup>1</sup> Collated with original; cf. Scheil, *Le tombeau d'Aba* (*Mém. Miss. fr.*, 5), 632; Champollion, *Not. Descr.*, I, 857.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding context runs: 'Now as for him who shall mention my name favourably (*shrtj-fy rn-i nfr*), I will be his protector at the side of the Great God, Lord of Heaven, and at the side of the Great God, Lord of Abydos'. It is grammatically difficult to attach the suffix of *pr-f* to *ntr* or *nb ibdw*; the two sentences seem to be entirely separate, and this is confirmed by the fact that *ht-ntr* is without suffix.



## NOTES AND NEWS

PROF. BLACKMAN being prevented by another engagement from leaving England, our Acting Field Director at Sesebi and El-Amāra this winter is Mr. H. W. Fairman, who is accompanied by Mr. I. E. S. Edwards, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and Mr. David Bell, son of Dr. H. I. Bell.

Mr. O. H. Myers is again at Armant, directing the Sir Robert Mond Expedition; his staff includes Mr. John Grant MacDonald and four technical assistants recruited in Egypt. Dr. H. A. Winkler is continuing his photographic survey of the High Desert of Upper Egypt on behalf of Sir Robert.

Miss Calverley and Miss Broome have not gone out to Abydos this winter (see p. 119), but are actively engaged at home in the preparation of Vol. IV of *The Temple of King Sethos I.*

An exhibition of antiquities found recently at Armant by the Sir Robert Mond Expedition was held at the Institute of Archaeology, Regent's Park, London, from September 1 to 25. The objects on view were of all periods from Badarian to Arab, and came from the ancient city of Hermonthis and its temples, from cemeteries, from a mound called Kōm el-'Abd and from a Coptic hermitage. In addition was shown a very remarkable collection of photographs of rock drawings and inscriptions ranging in date from predynastic to modern times, taken by Dr. Winkler in the course of his desert survey.

Under the auspices of our Society, Dr. Dora Roberts is giving a lecture on January 17 at the Royal Institution on 'Coptic Art: Its Development and Influence'.

Ever desirous of effecting such improvements as are possible in the periodical committed to our charge, we introduce with this Part a new feature, 'Brief Communications'. A circular letter on the subject sent last summer to all contributors brought unanimous encouragement to create a section which, resembling the 'Miscellen', 'Notes', 'Kleinere Beiträge' and the like of similar journals, should offer hospitality to communications on the one hand too short to merit the full status of an article, and on the other not suitable to be incorporated in 'Notes and News'. Contributions should not exceed one page of the *Journal* in length (in the somewhat smaller type used for the new section), and should only in quite exceptional cases be accompanied by illustrations other than line figures in the text.

Of Indexes. This year there are additional ones, of the Egyptian, Coptic, and Greek words discussed. The first two are from the hand of Mr. A. N. Dakin, Fellow of University College, Oxford; the third is by Miss D. M. Vaughan, the able Indexer of this *Journal* for seven years past. These indexes will appear annually. Mr. Dakin, who is most kindly sharing the editorial load, has prepared an index of Egyptian and Coptic words discussed in volumes 1-20, which the world shall have shortly. It is our intention to publish with vol. 30 what we hope will be the first of a series of decennial indexes, similar in scope to those at the end of vol. 20, but including the philological indexes.

Mr. Alan W. Shorter has kindly undertaken to deal with reviews (except those on papyrological or other Graeco-Roman matters) for this *Journal* in future. Correspondence on this subject should be sent to Mr. Shorter at his home address, 7 Rotherfield Road, Carshalton, Surrey.

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The death of Nora Christina Cobban Griffith, widow of Prof. F. Ll. Griffith, on October 21, of peritonitis after an appendectomy, at the age of 64, is deeply felt by her many friends in this and



other countries. As some memorial to her in these pages, we cannot do better than transcribe a notice by Mr. N. de G. Davies, one of her closest friends, which appeared in *The Times* of October 25:

'She was the daughter of Surgeon-Major James Macdonald, of Aberdeen, and sister of Sir Ronald Macdonald. A visit to Egypt in 1906 interested her in that country's past, and, having become a pupil of Griffith at Oxford for a short time, she married him in 1909. Thenceforward she spent her life in devoted co-operation with him in all his archaeological and linguistic enterprises and in his campaigns in Egypt, Nubia, and the Sudan in 1910-13, 1923, 1929, and 1930. Since his death in 1934 her life was consecrated with the utmost devotion to superintending and herself labouring at all the unfinished projects of her husband in the same spirit of exact scholarship that marked his work. Two volumes of *Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, all the 70 plates of which are by her conscientious hand, appeared this year, and three other undertakings of considerable scope are well under way. She was indefatigable in spending time and money on this work, in supporting further excavations at Firka and Kawa in the Sudan in connexion with the Oxford University Excavations in Nubia (founded by Prof. Griffith in 1910), in assisting the Egypt Exploration Society, and in keeping up to date the splendid Egyptological library at Sandridge, Boars Hill, which now passes by trust-deed to the Ashmolean Museum.

'But if this activity was the admiration of her wide circle of friends at home and abroad, it was her hospitality and goodness, her wide sympathies, sense, humour, and courage that gained their love. She was working determinedly to the last and ignoring the remonstrances of her friends and of her mental and bodily forces. For the first time she is really at rest.'

Mrs. Griffith, by her will, has added her considerable fortune to her husband's as a bequest to the University of Oxford for the creation of an Archaeological Institute, attached to the Ashmolean Museum, which will contain the Griffith Library, and rooms for teaching and research in Egyptology, and also accommodation for other branches of the archaeology of the Near East. Building will begin very soon, and it is expected that the new Institute will be completed by the end of 1938. Meanwhile the library will remain at the Griffiths' house (which has also been bequeathed to the University), Sandridge, Boars Hill, Oxford, and will be open to accredited readers. It is earnestly hoped that those who have hitherto presented their works, whether books or offprints, to this, the finest private Egyptological library in existence, will continue to do so, and thus contribute to making Oxford an important centre of Egyptological activity.

Dr. H. I. Bell kindly sends us the following lines:

'The Fifth International Congress of Papyrology was held at Oxford from the 30th August to the 3rd September last, the head-quarters being at St. John's College. The absence of Professor Wilcken was a great disappointment to the Committee, as to all concerned, and it was much regretted also that Professors Schubart, Medea Norsa, and Calderini, and one or two others who had announced their intention of being present were prevented from attending; but there was a good attendance, 161 out of over 175 who had enrolled being present. The weather was for the most part favourable, and the Congress was much enjoyed by all who took part in it. Foreign members particularly appreciated the opportunity of staying in college and thus seeing English University life from the inside.

'The proceedings began on the Monday evening with a reception by the Warden of Wadham College, as Pro-Vice-Chancellor, in the Ashmolean Museum, kindly thrown open for the occasion by the Keeper. This was followed on Tuesday evening by a Government reception in the Hall of The Queen's College. The guests were received by Sir Stephen Gaselee, K.C.M.G., representing the Foreign Office. For Wednesday afternoon an excursion by charabanc to the Cotswolds had been arranged, the Roman villa at Chedworth (where Miss M. V. Taylor kindly explained the topography of the site), and the town of Burford being visited; this was enjoyed by a large party. On Thursday The Queen's College generously entertained the Congress at a Garden Party; and on Wednesday evening the garden front of St. John's College was flood-lit, refreshments being provided in the cloisters.

'The Bodleian Library arranged a special exhibition of papyri and granted free admission to



members. Similar facilities were accorded by the libraries of Merton, Queen's, Corpus Christi, and St. John's Colleges, and an exhibition of papyri was also opened at the British Museum.

Many interesting papers were read, and Mr. Colt on Thursday evening gave a lantern lecture, which was much appreciated, on his excavations in southern Palestine. At the final meeting, on Friday, it was decided that the next Congress should be held at Vienna in 1939. A generous offer by the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth to publish the proceedings was accepted so far as was compatible with the facts that arrangements had already been made for the publication of several communications elsewhere and that some members did not wish to publish their papers, which were of a provisional and temporary nature only. The projected volume will contain the full text of such papers as are available with brief summaries of the others and notifications of the publications in which they are to appear.

'The Committee is much indebted to all who helped, in particular to the authorities of St. John's College, The Queen's College, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Bodleian Library.'

The Chair of Egyptology in the University of Berlin, vacant since the death of Kurt Sethe in July 1934, has at last been filled. Prof. Hermann Grapow, to whom we offer our congratulations, was appointed to this position last October.

Other news from Germany will be received with mixed feelings. On December 1 Prof. Hermann Ranke vacated the Chair of Egyptology at Heidelberg. He is succeeded by Prof. Siegfried Schott. We are informed that Prof. Ranke will carry on his private work at Munich, on his return from Madison, Wis., where he is to teach and lecture for a semester as Visiting Professor in Archaeology to the University of Wisconsin. Professor Georg Steindorff, who has most ably edited the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* for forty-three years past (with Erman, 1895-1906, since then as full editor), has recently found it necessary to resign his direction of that journal. The new editor will be Prof. Walther Wolf, whose name has appeared on the title-page as assistant since 1935.

At the end of October the following were dismissed from the Antiquities Department of the Egyptian Government: Mr. Walter B. Emery, who replaced the late C. M. Firth at Şakḥārah, and has been excavating a very important First-Dynasty cemetery there; M. J.-P. Lauer, whose admirable work, during the last ten years, in the restoration and technical study of the buildings forming the Step Pyramid complex is well known; Prof. Gustave Jéquier, who since 1924 has been excavating and publishing with notable success the pyramids and tombs of South Şakḥārah; and M. Henri Gauthier, formerly Secretary General of the Department, the scholar to whom we owe the *Livre des rois d'Égypte*, the *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, and many other valuable works. We understand that, after representations made to the Egyptian Government by the British and French Embassies, Messrs. Emery and Lauer have been reinstated temporarily; we earnestly hope that their contracts will be renewed, and that M. Jéquier will also be able to resume his work, for otherwise the result can only be a deplorable diminution of the archaeological activity of the Egyptian Government.

Dr. Heinrich Balcz, Haizingergasse 19, Vienna 18, and Dr. Egon Ritter v. Komorzynski, Währingerstrasse 160, Vienna 18, announce that in the beginning of 1938 they will bring out the first number of a new monthly periodical, *Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie*, which will contain short articles, communications regarding field activities, reports from museums, societies and other institutions, and also personal and literary news. Contributions, which should if possible not exceed ten typewritten sheets, may be in German, English, French, or Italian; authors will receive ten off-prints. Each part will contain about 25 pages; the annual subscription will be 30 Austrian schillings, the price of a single part 3 schillings. We wish the new venture all success, and shall watch with interest the progress of an Egyptological monthly.

The Roman periodical *Orientalia*, having acquired a fount of Dr. Gardiner's hieroglyphic type, is now in a greatly improved position to publish articles on Egyptian matters.

We have pleasure in publishing the following announcement by the Bavarian Academy of Sciences:

'Die Friedrich Marxstiftung bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, Neuhauserstrasse 51 setzt einen Preis von 1.500 RM aus für die beste Bearbeitung des Gegenstandes: 'Die Stellung der Eingeborenenbevölkerung im staatlichen Leben Aegyptens zur Ptolemäerzeit.'

'Frist bis zum 1. April 1940.'

We offer our congratulations to Prof. G. A. Reisner, who attained his seventieth birthday on November 5. We learn that the occasion was celebrated with fitting ceremony at Harvard Camp, Gîzah Pyramids, by the entire personnel, native and other, of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, who presented the 'Mudîr' with a gold repeater watch.

'And these Danish sentences have the solemn beauty of Assyrian prose at its best.' From a recent review in *Zeitschr. f. Orientforschung*. Fortunate Assyriologists, to be able to make such a statement!



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Papyri Osloenses*, Fasc. III. Edited by S. EITREM and LEIV AMUNDSEN. Oslo, Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, 1936. xi+326 pp., 12 pls. Kr. 50.

The third fascicule of the Oslo papyri is, like its immediate predecessor, a volume of miscellaneous texts, and, though purists may argue that publication should respect differences of period and subject-matter, there is much to be said from the point of view both of editor and reader for the older method. Specimens of almost every type of text, the theological papyri excluded, are to be found in this volume, and although the Ptolemaic age, with the exception of a single Homeric scrap, is unrepresented, as is also the later Byzantine period, the texts are well divided between the intervening centuries. The editors are to be congratulated on their thorough handling of this miscellaneous material, much of which, especially some of the important public documents, is badly mutilated; texts of all kinds meet at their hands with the same careful editing and copious annotation, though it may be remarked, without prejudice to the rest, that their notes on religious matters are particularly valuable. Attention should also be drawn to the useful general discussions which accompany some of the texts; those on the procedure and function of public physicians (pp. 101-2) and on the state of the population of Oxyrhynchus in the third century (pp. 143 ff.) may be instanced. On questions of method two complaints may not be out of place: the first is that the description and discussion of a particular papyrus always follows instead of preceding the text itself, surely an inconvenient method for the ordinary reader, and the second is that no translations accompany the texts, whereas in two or three cases a translation would have been a considerable help. It would also be a slight assistance if those texts of which facsimiles are given bore some indication of it. English and American scholars, however, may well be grateful to the editors for publishing their work in English which, if not quite faultless, never fails to be intelligible.

Of the literary papyri the most interesting is a long fragment of Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, of the usual so-called eclectic type; it is interesting to note that sometimes a hiatus is found in the Oslo text which the mediaeval MSS. avoid. The other literary papyri are all Homeric texts and call for no comment, with the exception of the small late Ptolemaic fragment, 68, which contains the final verses of Bk. III of the *Iliad* and the initial ones of Bk. IV without any indication of the break. The semi-literary texts include a medical and an astronomical fragment, each edited with a very full commentary, and another fragment of the magical cryptogram, the Michigan portion of which was edited by Hunt in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* for 1929 (it may be noted that to the small list of magical papyri prior to the third century should be added P. Harr. 55 and 56, ascribed by their editor to the second century or earlier).

But the real importance of this volume lies in the official documents. The first is a very interesting religious calendar of the imperial cult from Tebtunis, dated to the second half of the second century; this is followed by a fragmentary copy of the already known edict of Hadrian granting a postponement of the payment of taxes because of an exceptionally low Nile (in the still uncertain l. 6 οὐδε τ[ε]λ[ε]ίας, picked up by the τ[ε]λ[ε]ίας later in the sentence, would be a possible supplement), and an unfortunately very fragmentary edict of Petronius Mamertinus prohibiting ἀναχώρησις on the part of those appointed to liturgies and apparently suggesting that more care be taken to appoint men with the necessary means for the position. In a much better state of preservation is 85, an appeal from the exegete of Oxyrhynchus to the high-priest (also described as τριαστής—a new word—Καπιτωλίων) and the xystarch of the local club to whip up as many of the champion athletes as possible for the forthcoming *Agon Capitolinus*. 88 is a letter of the late fourth century concerned with the collection of taxes; in this (ll. 7 ff.) the writer says that unless the arrears of λῶον are paid in full by the next day at latest, the pledges are forfeit and adds οἱ γὰρ λυσιφάτοι ἐξελαύνονται. The editors suggest that this means that the linen-weavers are the debtors and are to be driven out of their factories which are in fact the pledges for their payments. But it is possible here that λῶον means *flax* rather than *linen* and that the writer is pointing out that things are so bad, owing to the arrears of payment by the growers, that the weavers are being dismissed from the factories because there is no work for them to do; this would suit better both the γὰρ and the present tense of the verb. On the formal side 93 is of interest, as it is a declaration by A that he will fulfil his duties as night-watchman combined with an oath by B, the father of A, that he will go surety for him, the document forming a single whole with no break



or distinction between the two parts. 107 is a fragment of a roll of abstracts of documents in the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλήσεων*. In the surviving portion a woman apparently complains that a part of a small house belonging to her is not entered in her name in spite of the fact that she had sent the deed of sale to the registry and that the previous registrar had recognized her claim *δηλώ(ν) κατὰ τὰ μεταβλ[ηθέντα] αὐτῷ ὡς λελοιπ(ο)γγ( ) διαστρώματα* τῆς οὐκ ἐστῆς ἐξ(μης) καὶ κατὰ τὰς γενομ(ένας) ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκ(ο)νομίας μὴ διαστρώσθ(αι) τὸν Ψευδοσί(μν) . . . The editors take *μεταβληθέντα* and *διαστρώματα* together and are unable to assign a meaning to *λοιπογραφεῖν* in this context; but a possible translation would be 'making it clear both that, in respect of the changes registered by him, the lists of the village in question were not up to date and that according to the documents included in the *διαστρώματα* Psenosiris (from whom she had purchased the house) was not registered as possessing it', i.e. her complaint is that in spite of this minute the village registers have not yet been put in order (the confusion of construction after *δηλῶν* is intelligible and not without parallel). But probably the most important document in the volume is 111, an extensive list of free men and freedmen resident in two quarters of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 235, each entry being attested by an oath and no details regarding the age or the dependents or profession of those listed being given. These returns appear to have no parallel; we may presume that they were drawn up with a view either to a new tax or a new distribution of liturgies; but their importance for the social and economic state of Oxyrhynchus at this period is greater than might appear at first sight and is very well brought out by the editors, e.g. in their analysis of the number of unoccupied houses (in one quarter it appears that the proportion of occupied to unoccupied houses was 22 to 27).

The private documents are less remarkable; but there are one or two letters of some interest and two other documents which throw some light on the social life of the period. The first, 143, is an account of expenditure incurred by a club of *pastophori*; one of the items, which the editors are at a loss to explain, is *ιστιατορίας κοινῶς* ( ) where *κοινῶν* may perhaps mean, as also in the Michigan ostrakon cited in the note, *prostitute*. One of the payments is to the *γραμματεὺς*, presumably of the club; this official also occurs in an unpublished Rylands papyrus dealing with a *σύνδοκος οὐνοκρατιωτῶν*. (Incidentally, in their discussion of the literature of the subject reference should have been made to P. Lond. 2710, the law of a guild of Zeus Hypsistos, published in *Hare. Theol. Rev.*, 1936, pp. 39 ff.) The second is a list of subscribers to the association of *ἱερονίκα* at Oxyrhynchus which includes men of a considerable variety of trades and, we may presume, of social status. There is in addition a fair number of contracts, several of which provide points of interest.

In conclusion, a few minor points may be noted. On p. 22, 1. 2 for *γγ* read *γν*; p. 71, note to 1. 2, the reading *Μερκουριανῆς* in P. Theod., 20, 1 as an early variant (if a mistaken one) for the regular *Ἡρκευλίας*, which the editors of P. Osl. III would correct, is confirmed beyond any doubt by an unpublished Rylands papyrus; in l. 3 of 107 *ἐπιβάλλον* should presumably be read for *ἐπιβάλλον*; in l. 11 of 129 *μηδεὶς* should be supplied rather than *οὐδεὶς*. And Schubart's *Einführung* is several times referred to as *Einleitung*.

C. H. ROBERTS.

*Bible and Spade*. An Introduction to Biblical Archaeology. By STEPHEN L. CAIGER. London, Humphrey Milford, 1936. 8vo. xii+218 pp., 24 illusts. 5s. net.

Addressing itself primarily to the intelligent layman, this book offers a concise account of the most important of the information which archaeology and kindred Near Eastern studies can supply in elucidation of Old Testament problems. Egyptology and Assyriology are largely drawn on, and the whole conveys a surprising amount of information, yet the reader is never bored, thanks to the lively style in which the book is written. It should certainly prove useful in supplying a background for the reading of the Old Testament. At the same time the book cannot be recommended without reservation, and many statements in it should not be accepted without reference to other authorities. At any rate, among the information about Egypt certain misleading statements are made; e.g. it is hardly true to say (p. 2) of hieroglyphics that 'each individual character represented not a single letter, but a whole syllable, or even a whole word'. Nor is it usually held that the 'secret of the Egyptian hieroglyphics' was unravelled in 1830 (p. 12); and to say that *Sinuhe* is written on a papyrus found in 1895 (p. 44) is true but conceals the fact that another manuscript of the story had been known already half a century. Egyptian chronology is notoriously uncertain, but surely the majority of historians would reject the view that the Hyksos rule was already well established in Egypt in 2000 B.C. (p. 43). Again, it would have been more convenient if the name which appears on p. 59 as 'Senusert', on p. 60 as 'Sesostris', and on p. 61 as 'Useresen' had been consistently



spelled. These matters should not trouble the reader who consults other authorities, as Mr. Caiger hopes many will, but for the sake of such as do the list of abbreviations might have given *JEA* and *PSBA* in their more usual form, with correct expansions. The book is well printed and copiously illustrated.

A. N. DAKIN.

*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, edited by Adriaan de Buck and Alan H. Gardiner. Vol. 1, texts of spells 1-75, by ADRIAAN DE BUCK. University of Chicago Press, 1935. 4to. xix+405 pp. \$7.00.

The appearance of the present volume represents the approach to completion of a project first envisaged by Dr. A. H. Gardiner and the late Prof. J. H. Breasted, namely that of hand-copying, photographing, and ultimately publishing in autographed form all the existing Coffin Texts—the link between the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and the funerary texts of the New Kingdom known collectively as the Book of the Dead—with the parallel texts of the spells arranged in vertical columns side by side. Dr. de Buck was first associated in this work in 1925, and during the last few years the final editing has been solely in his hands though most of the texts have been collated by Dr. Gardiner as well.

The arrangement in vertical columns renders possible the preservation of the direction of writing of the originals together with the relative positions of the signs, and by its adoption it is hoped to render unnecessary the publication of supplementary volumes dealing with these details at such length as those compiled by the late Prof. Sethe for his publication of the Pyramid Texts.

The spells here tabulated for study come from coffins from Aswān, El-Bersah, Beni Hasan, Gebelēn, El-Lisht, Mēr, Thebes, Asyūt, and Šakkārah. In all, fifty-seven coffins are represented, and of these forty-one are in the Cairo Museum, the remainder being for the most part in the British Museum, in the Louvre, at New York, and at Boston. The organization and history of this great undertaking are instructively described by one of its originators in J. H. Breasted, *The Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 1933), Chap. VII. It must be remembered that many of the coffins are of such a size and weight as to render the copying of the texts an exceedingly long and difficult task, and although the nature of the texts—to quote the introduction—'makes it probable that they will not be welcomed with joy by all Egyptologists', yet their appearance together in print fills a great gap in the series of published Egyptian funerary texts. A supplementary volume of details of palaeography and other information will be issued after the volumes of text are complete.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

*Medinet Habu Graffiti: Facsimiles*. By W. F. EDGERTON. (University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, XXXVI.) Chicago. The University Press, 1937. Fo. xi+6 pp., 11 figs., 103 pls.

In the present work Dr. Edgerton publishes a long series of graffiti in hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, Coptic and even Semitic, which have been recorded during the work of the University of Chicago Expedition at Medinet Habu; according to the Introduction it includes all those scratchings and scribbles which are worth recording, omitting only those which are hopelessly effaced. Besides actual inscriptions there are rough sketches of gods and various designs, including the common pairs of 'footprints', as well as coloured and photographic facsimiles of some badly damaged Coptic wall-paintings, which, though not graffiti in the strict sense of the word, were well worth including, especially as they bear short Coptic inscriptions in ink. An interesting item is the ink-drawn cryptographic inscription on Pl. 6 (No. 21, not No. 6 as stated in p. 1, n. 1), which was found on the lintel of a doorway particularly rich in graffiti.

As might be expected, the condition of the inscriptions varies greatly; while some are fairly clear, others are well-nigh illegible at first glance. The author promises us a volume devoted to the interpretation of these miscellaneous writings, which will add greatly to the interest of this valuable publication. A word of praise is due to the excellent sketch-plans of figures 1-11, which show as far as is possible the exact position of each graffiti on the walls of the temples.

R. O. FAULKNER.

*The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead*. By ALAN H. GARDINER. (The Frazer Lecture for 1935.) Cambridge University Press, 1935. 8vo. 45 pp. 2s.

This lecture is a carefully considered answer to the question which the students of comparative religion may often have wished to put to the Egyptologist, namely, did the Egyptians exhibit much fear of their dead? To this query Dr. Gardiner replies with a qualified negative, and he proceeds to expound the subject



with great lucidity. To the Egyptian the universe was peopled by three sorts of beings, men, gods, and the dead; and their attitude to all three classes was substantially the same. An Egyptian saw no special reason to fear a dead person unless the latter happened to be a dead person of bad character, in which case he would fear him as he would a living man, except that the invisibility of a spirit rendered him rather more dangerous. To the malignity of such black sheep among the departed would be ascribed illnesses of which the cause was not apparent, and magic would be employed to repel the evil influence. Again, as Dr. Gardiner points out in the second part of his essay, it is impossible to say that the Egyptians, except in a few cases, ever really troubled themselves deeply about the funerary cults of their relations or predecessors. Their attitude towards death was an intensely personal and indeed selfish one. They nursed a continual anxiety concerning the tomb-ritual and paraphernalia which would make possible their own survival after death, without realizing that the cultivation of a sense of duty towards the needs of others in this respect would result in the maintenance of their own funerary cults. Had they done so they might, as the author says, 'have saved themselves from that sense of futile effort which may be read between the lines of almost every funerary inscription'.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

*Sprachliche und Schriftliche Formung Ägyptischer Texte.* By HERMANN GRAPOW. (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 7.) Glückstadt, J. J. Augustin, 1936. Svo. 66 pp., 12 pls. 8 Rm.

In the present work Professor Grapow to some extent breaks new ground. His book falls into two parts; an account of the various literary devices employed by the Egyptians, and a discussion of the arrangement of written texts. In other words, he inquires how the *contents of texts* strike the reader and how those texts appear to the eye.

Turning first to the question of style, he points out that the main devices employed, apart from straightforward narrative, were (1) similes and metaphors, (2) paronomasia, and (3) alliteration, the two latter being closely bound up together; the association of like-sounding words in puns had, however, often as much a magical as a literary purpose.

The Egyptians did not generally employ any methods for punctuating texts during the earlier period, and even later, when the verse-point had come into use, its employment was by no means universal, so they invented a stylistic method of dividing up long texts into paragraphs, one which appealed to the ear rather than to the eye. Thus in narrative we have the common formula *hr ir m-ht hrw knw aw hr nn* and its variants introducing new stages in a story, and *qt-n* and *wn-in* often serving the same purpose; in order to strike the eye as well as the ear these formulae were often written in red ink, which was also commonly used for titles, headings, and the like. The same end was achieved in non-narrative literary texts by similar repetition of other formulae or introductory words. An allied system is the 'parallelism of members' found in Egyptian as in Hebrew poetry marking off strophe from strophe, and here, too, alliteration may play a part; Grapow gives an interesting analysis of the developments of this poetic style. Yet another mode of splitting up a text into larger sections was the insertion of the word *hct* 'stanza', 'chapter', followed by its number, at the head of each main division. It is found both in poetry (e.g. Leyden Hymn to Amūn, Beatty Love-Songs) and in prose (Teaching of Amenemope); when used in poetry the opening and closing words in each verse had to make some kind of pun with the verse-number.

Dealing with the outward arrangement of texts, the author points out that the Egyptians usually made no distinction between poetry and prose when writing a manuscript, so that it is only possible to tell one from the other by actual perusal; he quotes the *Lebensmüde* as a case in point. On the other hand, the later verses of the Kahun Hymn to Sesostris are clearly marked off as such by their arrangement, though such a distinction is exceptional. It is impossible in a review to describe all the methods employed, but the author has submitted to a detailed analysis all such scribal devices, whether for distinguishing poetry from prose or for saving space by avoiding the constant repetition of a frequently occurring sentence, and has illustrated his account with a number of excellent Plates showing typical arrangements. The general effect is often decidedly diagrammatic, see especially Pls. 4 and 7, and Grapow has acutely observed that such arrangements are ultimately based on those of lists or inventories.

Punctuation did not come into common use until the New Kingdom, when we find the verse-point often, though not universally, employed to mark off sentences and phrases in literary and semi-literary texts; the sign  $\rightarrow$  is not infrequently used to denote the end of longer sections. Grapow's statement that  $\rightarrow$  is lacking in old texts is, however, subject to modification; this sign is found occasionally in the Coffin Texts, e.g.



at the end of Spells 6, 13, and 14 of de Buck's edition in certain variants, though here a single or double horizontal line in red is more often employed, such being quite suitable for texts written in vertical columns. The fact that in the Coffin Texts  $\neg$  is used in vertical lines tends to support the older view, rejected by Grapow, that it is ultimately derived from, or at least suggested by, the  $\neg$  of the Pyramid Texts, though doubtless his own view of its connexion with *arh* 'to cease' is true in part.

In such a work as this, where a large field is covered in a small space, it is inevitable that here and there the author will express an opinion with which not all will agree, but taken as a whole this is an admirable piece of work which should be studied by all who are interested in Egyptian literature. One slip of the pen has been detected on p. 25, where the stanzas of the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* are quoted as beginning with  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ ; actually the formula employed is  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ .

R. O. FAULKNER.

*Ancient Egyptian Dances.* By IRENA LEXOVA. Translation by K. Haltmar. Praha, Oriental Institute. 1935. 8vo. 86 pp., 78 figs. 5s.

This book is more a collection of material than an interpretation; and much of the text could have been spared where it is merely description of the plates. But it is a useful addition to our knowledge of Egyptian recreation, and although Erman, Wilkinson, Wiedemann, and others have written about the subject, this is the first time that it has been treated really scientifically.

The authoress has perhaps been rather too imaginative in some of her descriptions, and in some cases I disagree with her: for example, Figs. 10 and 41 surely show only momentary actions, nor indeed is the posture in Fig. 10 such a difficult one as she imagines—it could be, and frequently is, performed by modern dancers. Also I very much doubt whether her Fig. 53 represents a dance; it seems to depict merely a group of musicians. The stress that the authoress lays on the smooth movements of Egyptian dancers is welcome after the peculiar stiff postures which are used in modern 'Egyptian' dances, and which she rightly censures.

Not the least valuable part of the book is the short chapter on the social status of the dancers, a subject on which we are very badly informed; she divides them into three main groups: harem-dancers, temple-dancers, and groups of itinerant dancers.

The translation is, with one or two exceptions, in accurate English.

P. L. SHINNIE

*A Scheme of Egyptian Chronology; with notes thereon including notes on Creton and other Chronologies.* By DUNCAN MACNAUGHTON, M.A., LL.B. London, Luzac and Co., 1932. Svo. xii+402 pp., 18 pls. 25s.

This remarkable book gives some measure of encouragement to those who believe, or hope, that definite dates can be assigned to events in the prehistory of Egypt and other parts of the Ancient World. The system of dating given therein is based chiefly on astronomical and mathematical data, and is possibly a little too concisely expressed to be easily intelligible to the layman. The conclusions to which Mr. Macnaughton comes are slightly unusual, for he dates the beginning of the three greatest Dynasties of Egypt as follows: First Dynasty, 5776 B.C., Twelfth Dynasty 3373 B.C., and Eighteenth Dynasty 1709 B.C. From the purely archaeological point of view there is little for the reviewer to say, for monuments of human activity are not discussed to any great extent, except certain literary records. The reader may perhaps question the accuracy of some of the translations of texts, and may also feel more doubtful of what was meant by the latter than Mr. Macnaughton appears to be.

The reviewer would suggest that, while almost anything may be true in prehistoric archaeology, such an (implied) statement as that the level of the soil of the place where the Palace of Knossos was built has risen at a steady rate from the first day it was inhabited until the present time is probably incorrect. The soil covering ancient sites is formed almost entirely by the destruction of habitations, not by the decomposition of natural things, and there is no evidence to suggest that the site of the Palace itself was occupied by men after about 1000 B.C.

New ideas are always valuable in archaeology, and this book, with its careful calculations from the rather scanty evidence at present available, may be welcomed as a courageous attempt to assist prehistorians in their difficult task.

THEODORE BURTON BROWN.



*Musée de l'Ermitage, Société pour les études de l'ancien Orient. Publications 2 (9). Leningrad, 1935. 8vo. 68 pp., 5 pls. 4r., 50k.*

This little publication contains some interesting articles, notably that by A. Matchinsky, *À propos de la gamme musicale égyptienne*; he proposes a sounder classification of Egyptian musical instruments than that of Sachs, who merely divided them according to the playing position. His most important conclusion is that in the Old Kingdom the scale had intervals of a complete tone, and that the semi-tone scale came into use in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Tichonoff in his description of the cleaning of the Magic Bowl in the Hermitage Museum assures us that the inscription can now be read; unfortunately he gives no copy of it, and the photograph is useless from this point of view. Lourie, who shows that the word *ḥd* 'silver' also means 'money' in several cases, has apparently not noticed that Peet covered the same ground in *Griffith Studies*, pp. 124-5.

It seems a pity that the articles in English should suffer from many errors in spelling and some unusual grammar.

P. L. SHINNIE.

*Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. V. Upper Egypt: Sites.* By BERTHA PORTER and ROSALIND B. MOSS, B.Sc. Oxon. Oxford, Humphrey Milford, The Clarendon Press, 1937. 4to. xxiii+292 pp., plans and maps. 35s.

This fifth volume of the *Topographical Bibliography* covers the whole of the Nile Valley between Asyût and Philae, with the exception of Thebes, which was dealt with in the first two volumes. It excludes, however, the temples of Sethôs I and Ramesses II at Abydos, the Osireion, and the standing Graeco-Roman temples of Upper Egypt, all of which are to be included in Vol. VI. This monumental *Bibliography* has been so often and so justly praised that little remains to be said except that the present volume fully maintains the very high standard of its predecessors and is an indispensable instrument for Egyptological research.

R. O. FAULKNER.

*Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Dér el Médinah.* By G. POSENER. (Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, tome I.) Premier fascicule, Cairo, 1934. 4to. 8 pp., 39 pls. P. Eg. 65. Deuxième fascicule, Cairo, 1936. 4to. 8 pp., 32 pls. P. Eg. 45.

A number of literary hieratic ostraca which have accumulated in increasing yearly quantity from the excavations of the French Institute at Dér el-Medīnah since 1917 are published here. M. Posener's two fascicules have no introduction, and for information concerning them the reader must at present turn to Professor J. Černý's introduction to his publication of the non-literary ostraca from the same source (tomes III and IV of this series, Cairo, 1935). There is no attempt to discuss the texts represented, but each ostrakon is transcribed in full according to the principles enunciated by Dr. Gardiner, each transcription being accompanied either by a hand-drawn facsimile or by a photograph.

The texts concerned are young scribes' exercises of varying merit, dictated, as usual, chiefly from the three compositions known collectively as Pap. Sallier II, namely the 'Instruction of Amenemhêt', the 'Satire on the Professions' and the 'Hymn to the Nile', but in addition several ostraca quote passages, some without hitherto published parallels, from Pap. Anastasi I, in some cases admitting of the restoration of lacunae and so leading in a small way to a better understanding of this difficult composition, and in others showing the existence of important divergences between the text employed by the ostraca and that of the papyrus. This point has been the subject of an interesting article by M. Posener in the *Mélanges Maspero*.

Of Sallier II we have no complete transcribed edition, and it is difficult for the student when reading it to carry in his head at one time all the parallels provided. He has first to look through the list of ostraca to discover how many there may be and then to examine each one closely, since the lines of a broken ostrakon, when compared with the main text, appear and disappear like the stitches of a needle. Where there is a transcribed edition, such as Dr. Gardiner's of Anastasi I, it is possible for the references to the freshly discovered ostraca to be written in, but it would greatly help the student if publications of this kind included tables arranged not merely under catalogue numbers but under the page and line numbers of the parent texts, and it is to be hoped that such tables will appear in the last fascicule of literary ostraca or in the final volumes of indices described by Dr. Černý. The present arrangement of the plates with the corresponding transcriptions opposite is very convenient and leaves nothing to be desired.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.



*The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians.* Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1935. 4 pp., 20 pls. 25c.

This little book is one of a series now being published by the Metropolitan Museum under the heading of 'Picture Books' at a very low cost. It is an example which might well be followed by the larger museums in this country, for there are many visitors whose interest has been sufficiently aroused to encourage them to buy an attractively bound collection of pictures, but who would hesitate before purchasing a guide-book filled with letterpress and with few illustrations. For the instruction of classes from schools there could be nothing more admirably devised than this booklet. The pictures themselves are good photos, well chosen to cover the most interesting phases of Egyptian life, while Dr. Winlock's introductory description is a masterpiece of enlightened brevity.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

*Das hieroglyphische Schriftsystem.* By KURT SETHE. (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 3.) Glückstadt and Hamburg, Augustin, 1935. 8vo. 25 pp., 2 pls., 8 tables. RM. 2-00.

The third volume of the recently instituted series of handbooks published under the title of 'Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien', and edited by Prof. Walther Wolf, comes posthumously from the pen of the late Prof. Sethe. This is not a lengthy treatise, such as one might have been led to suppose from the title and the distinguished name of the author, nor, as the editor warns us, does it seek to propound any new theories about the origin and development of Egyptian writing. Thanks to the Egyptians' peculiar custom of preserving side by side with new developments in the graphic art the original forms from which those developments sprang, there remains little that is fresh for us to learn to-day about the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. The pamphlet, which is well illustrated with tables and photographs, is a short and convenient summary for the student wishing to compare the Egyptian with other hieroglyphic systems.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

*Le Champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale.* By RAYMOND WEILL. (Études d'Égyptologie, III.) Paris, Geuthner, 1936. 8vo. xi+165 pp. 90 fr.

In this monograph the writer investigates exhaustively the history of two regions of the Other World which play an important part in Egyptian funerary literature: the Field of Reeds (*shyt idw*) and the Field of Offerings (*shyt htp*), the location of which requires a close examination if the confusion of Egyptian theology is to be penetrated and the original conception grasped. Dr. Weill proves clearly that both regions are essentially solar, and are intimately connected with the Sun-god's daily journey across the Heavens, the former being situated in the eastern horizon and the latter in the western horizon. With the general acceptance of the Osirian cult, however, these two regions shared in the process of Osirianization undergone by several departments of the solar religious system, but in this case the blend remained an entirely artificial one, Osiris being by his very nature foreign to these districts of the horizon. The author discusses the subject in great detail, following the treatment of the two 'fields' from the Pyramid Texts, through the Coffin Texts, to the Book of the Dead, and collecting a considerable amount of material which should prove valuable to the student of Egyptian funerary literature. The book is exceedingly well indexed, with a complete table of all the religious texts quoted in the thesis.

ALAN W. SHORTER.

*Travels in Egypt.* Letters of CHARLES EDWIN WILBOUR. The Brooklyn Museum, 1936. 8vo. xvi+614 pp., 25 pls.

These letters, written from Egypt, form the bulk of Wilbour's daily correspondence with members of his family in Paris and America between 1880 and 1891. As their editor, Prof. Capart, confesses, they were not intended for publication, and there is, of course, a good deal of family gossip which will not be appreciated by the uninitiated reader. From the purely scientific point of view, too, only a few have any interest, and the single-minded Egyptologist, avid for precise information about the epoch-making discoveries in the eighties and nineties of the last century, will not easily find it in this massive volume. But to the historian of Egyptology these letters will have value, and as social documents they are frequently very entertaining.

Wilbour was first and foremost a journalist, and his eye for the picturesque fortunately remained un-

dimmed by his enthusiasm for Egyptology. As an Egyptologist he gained a considerable reputation—Sayce among others thought highly of his work—and he will be remembered for his discovery of the Famine Stela on the Island of Sehel and for the Hood-Wilbour Papyrus in the British Museum. Nowadays, no doubt, he would be called a dilettante, and his cynical criticism of Maspero, that 'he works only on what he can make an article about', would be reckoned a poor excuse for his own lack of published work. But his solid services to Egyptology must not be overlooked. By his tireless energy in visiting ancient sites and by his persistent prodding of dormant officialdom, he saved many monuments from destruction, and by his timely purchase of antiquities he formed the nucleus of a fine collection which is now to be seen at Brooklyn.

As a whole these letters paint a very vivid picture of Egypt at a time when scientific archaeology in the country was still in its infancy. The modern excavator will read with envy of innumerable rich sites which might then have been at his disposal, unhampered by considerations of national *amour propre*; a little wistfully, of *gallabiyahs* stuffed with antiquities and fragments of papyri; and with a silent tear, of ancient settlements set upon with magnificent abandon in a feverish scramble for the inscriptions which would give the clues to Egypt's past. Across the scene pass the figures of many of the then young Egyptologists—of whose subsequent renown we are reminded in a series of reverent footnotes—who were to bring order out of chaos; notably Petrie, the founder of scientific archaeology in Egypt.

Wilbour, like most men of character, was not above prejudice. This and a sly sense of humour add considerable spice to his writing. He disliked the English, for instance, especially the Government officials—one gets the impression from his letters of a society distinguished by a very successful blend of snobbery, hypocrisy, and low cunning; and his accusation that the Department of Public Works gave out contracts for building, the stones to be taken from the Great Pyramid, may (or may not) be taken with a grain of salt. Nor did the eccentricities of his colleagues escape his journalistic eye. De Rochemonteix's triumphant arrival from France with two children, two nurses, and two goats is a pleasant picture. Emil Brugsch's genial offer to his friends 'of any of the less prominent small things in the Museum' (to be sent to their hotel next morning) is reported without comment. And, last but not least, a picturesque but quite libellous anecdote of the Abbé Amélineau who, we are told, in his lust for Coptic manuscripts, tried to burgle the White Monastery, having previously drugged all the monks.

But such frivolities in no way detract from the value of these letters as sources for an important period in the history of Egyptology. Our thanks are due, therefore, to Prof. Capart for their publication, and for the accompanying number of excellent plates illustrating antiquities in the Wilbour Collection at the Brooklyn Museum.

L. P. KIRWAN.





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*Inet*, pr. n. (Miller), 4, n. 9.  
*inr*, plates as receptacles or measures of *rhs*-cakes (Černý), 61, n. 1.  
*ir*: with dir. obj. of person, 'deal with', 'act against' (Faulkner), 180; *ir(r) n-f*, on a stela, = 'had it made for the deceased' (Gunn), 2, n. 9.  
*ikdi(w)*, vocalization of (Albright), 200, n. 4 (201).  
*ʿtn*, 'solar disk' = cuneiform *a-ti* (Albright), 192, 203, n. 1.  
*ibrt*, box used as container for *shawabtis* (Černý), 188, n. 1.  
*ʿfi*, 'to steal', not in non-literary texts after end of Dyn. 19 (Černý), 186, n. 2.  
*ʿt stl*, 'at whom men tremble greatly' (Faulkner), 14.  
*ʿy (cuy)* supersedes *pr* in meaning 'house' in later Ptol. times (Thompson), 258, n. 1.  
*ntyw*, perhaps applied to both frankincense and myrrh (Lucas), 28.  
*ʿhw*, with unusual det., perhaps of brazier seen from above (Miller), 2, n. 3.  
*wput*, *wputt*, early pronunciation of (Albright), 196, n. 5.










- waw*+simple adverbial predicate in L. Eg. has sense of absolute past (Gardiner), 160.
- Wnuty*, demon, not connected with god *Wnty* (Faulkner), 176.
- ur*: early pronunciation of (Albright), 196, n. 2;  
*pr-ur(w)* = cuneiform *Pa-ur-ra(i)* (Albright), 196, n. 3.
- buc-nb*, early pronunciation reconstructed from cuneiform (Albright), 197, with n. 2.
- bn* with *sdm-f* in oaths and promises, invariably future (Černý), 188.
- bnbu*, 'become erect', perhaps etymologically connected with 'pyramidion' (Faulkner), 175.
- bts*: *maw bts*, 'children of revolt', assuming confusion of *bts* and *bst* (Faulkner), 177.
- pr*, of ordinary 'house' till early Ptol. times, afterwards of temples or palace (Thompson), 258, n. 1.
- pbr n nbw*, meaning unknown (Faulkner), 14.
- pbr hrybt*, 'turning of the shadow', of noon-tide (Faulkner), 176.
- ps*, very large kind of loaf (Černý), 61.
- mnhc*, 'butcher', of executioners who serve Osiris (Faulkner), 176.
- Mri-n-Pth*, contains perfective relative form (Albright), 192, n. 3.
- Mry-Tmn* (Gk. *Μαυρουν*) = cuneiform *Māy-Amāna* (Albright), 192.
- Mry-r* = cuneiform *Māy-rē* (Albright), 192.
- Mryt-ltn* = cuneiform *Maya-ati* (Albright), 191 f.
- (*pr*) *mb-ib* = cuneiform *pamahā* (Albright), 200, n. 4.
- mki*, with *huc*, used of what is property of the gods, and so *tabu* (de Buck), 160.
- mtr*, uncertain whether same as word for 'testimony' (Faulkner), 175.
- mdt*, an oil connected with fresh myrrh (Lucas), 31.
- ni n*, not in non-literary texts after end of Dyn. 19 (Černý), 186, n. 2.
- nb*, early pronunciation of (Albright), 196, n. 2.
- Nb-m-R*, has *i* in first syllable (Albright), 195.
- Nb-hprw-R*, prenomen of Tutankhamūn, perhaps \**Nipkhureya* in Hittite, used of Akhenaten (Albright), 194.
- Nfr-tyc-i*, n. pr., 'The (or, 'my') braziers are good' (Miller), 2, n. 3.
- nms*, perhaps 'to blindfold' with *r mtr*, 'against seeing' (Faulkner), 15.
- Nnc*, of supernatural beings existing before cosmos was organized (Faulkner), 181.
- nbp*, 'generative power (?)', perhaps related to *nbp*, 'beget' (Faulkner), 178.
- Nbt*, n. pr., probably shortened from name of type Harnakhti (Miller), 4, n. 15.
- nbt*, some material of bread-like nature (Černý), 61.
- nbc*, a bronze vessel (Černý), 186, n. 3.
- rci hnt*, 'remove from the possession of' (Gunn), 11 f.
- rmw pr n irt-i*, periphrasis for 'human beings' (Faulkner), 184.
- rh*: *bw rh-i st*, 'I do not know who they are' (de Buck), 157, (c).
- hr*, transitive, 'cast (?)' (Faulkner), 180.
- hd*, late writing of *hd* (Faulkner), 181.
- hrw(w)* = cuneiform *arū* (Albright), 197, with n. 3.
- Ht-tr-hr(-ib)*, Athribis, equivalents of (Albright), 200, n. 4 (201).
- hpt*, 'clew', for measuring yarn (Černý), 187, n. 1.
- hr: nty hr-f*, 'within whose jurisdiction he comes (?)' (de Buck), 160.
- huc* and *mki*, used of what is property of the gods and therefore *tabu* (de Buck), 160.
- hnfy*, 'glow (?)', 'bake (?)', perhaps connected with *hnfw*-cake (Faulkner), 178.
- hr* with det. *hr*, 'spit' (Faulkner), 181.
- hr r wbu*, lit. 'fall to the roots', metaphor for 'die away' (?) (Faulkner), 182.
- Hty*, n. pr., 'The paunchy (?)' (Miller), 5, n. 5.
- hyr(.t)* = Gk. *τροφῆ*, a 'feeding-place' for sacred animals (Thompson), 258.
- st Bstt*, name of a lion-headed god, = Nefertēn (Shorter), 36.
- [*st hm-ntr*], 'son of the prophet' possibly a term for Horus (Faulkner), 16.
- St-Spdu-Ty-n-hb*, n. pr., 'Son of Sopdu—He who has come for the festival' and other similar M.-K. double names (Miller), 2, n. 1.
- Sit-Srf-kr-i*, n. pr., 'Daughter of Serefkai' (Miller), 2, n. 2.
- st-tr*, 'worship' (Faulkner), 16.
- sin*, lit. 'rub out', 'trample on' (Faulkner), 175.
- sikn*, probably causative of *nik* (Faulkner), 178.
- snh*, suggests a sculptor of statues and scenes (Miller), 6, n. 1.
- sphr*, both 'to copy' and 'to register' (Miller), 2, n. 1.
- smn* (older *zmn*), 'to pound' (Faulkner), 176.
- snwh pw*, 'it is a burning' as ritual instruction (Faulkner), 176.
- snb*, 'creep away', from *zbn*, with fish-determinative (Faulkner), 177.
- Sub*, n. pr., probably shortened from e.g. *Tmn-m-hst-snb* (Miller), 5, n. 2.
- sntr*, probably 'incense' in general (Lucas), 28.
- sd sphrw*, 'writer of copies (or, records)' (Miller), 2, n. 11.
- Stp-n-R*, 'He whom Rē has chosen' (Gunn), 192, n. 3.
- sd*: *wd sd*, 'make impotent' (Faulkner), 176; *dit sd*, variant of above (Faulkner), 176.
- sdm-f* in L. Eg. states a fact in the past, 'I have heard' (de Buck), 161.
- sm m hrw prw*, obscure phrase, 'who has gone in front of the houses (?)' (Faulkner), 15.
- šms*: *hr šms*, 'itinerant' (Gardiner), 161.
- šnty*, of 'bonds', not literally 'hairs' (Faulkner), 179.
- kni*, 'be valiant', vocalization reconstructed from cuneiform (Albright), 197, with n. 4.
- kr* as reinforcing word before exclamatory old perfective (Faulkner), 180.
- kkwt*, a plant, probably = *kkr*, perhaps castor-oil plant (Faulkner), 15.
- Kti*, n. pr., 'The other one' (Miller), 5, n. 4.
- gnuty* (?), suggests an inscription-carver (Miller), 6, n. 1.
- twri*, 'a stick', masculine (Černý), 188, n. 2.
- tp*, see *dp*.
- [*tp-ht n pr Tmn*], 'of the roof of the temple of Amūn', in titles (Faulkner), 11, (8).











*trw*, of a rather humble office, 'assistant (?)' (Miller), 5, n. 1.  
*trwt*, amount of fine when stolen goods are restored (Černý), 187 ff.  
*dp*, var. *tp*, 'be spat upon', = *tpi* (Faulkner), 175.

*ddn* as transitive verb, 'rage against' (Faulkner), 178.  
*Dr*, uncertain meaning, 'The hairy (?)' (Miller), 4, n. 10.  
*dr*: *r-dr n hr-s*, of the Eye of Horus = 'utterly' (Faulkner), 177.

## II. SIGNS AND GROUPS

 as qualification of *t*-bread, for *gnn*, 'soft' (Černý), 61, n. 5.  
 marking end of section, derived from or suggested by similar sign in *Pyr. Texts* (Faulkner), 270.  
 cursive hieratic group for (Černý), 187 f.  
 sportive writing for *hnp* (Faulkner), 15.  
 *Idn* (?), town of unknown situation (Faulkner), 179.  
 abbreviation of *pt* 'nobles' (Gunn), 184.  
 possibly miswriting of *sn-k*, or perhaps for verb = 'depict' (Faulkner), 177.

 abbreviation of *hnmmt* 'sun-folk' (Gunn), 185.  
 abbreviation of *tr* (Faulkner), 14.  
 form in Ramesside hieratic in use as adj. with various materials (Černý), 60 ff.  
 place-name, perhaps for *Hdd* (Faulkner), 179.  
 unusual writing of in late hieratic (Černý), 59.  
 in Ramesside hieratic (Černý), 60.  
 abbreviation of *rhyt* 'plebs' (Gunn), 184.  
 to be read *wmy(t)*, 'the devouring flame' (Faulkner), 177.

## B. COPTIC

*ⲁⲓϣⲱⲧⲁⲗ*, continuing relative sentence (de Buck), 162.  
*ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲉⲩⲧ*, from \**māli(ē)n* (*mtn*) (Albright), 192.

*ⲙⲓⲱⲥⲁⲗ*, corresponding to *ἀνεμόφορος γίναται* in LXX (Crum), 141.

## C. GREEK

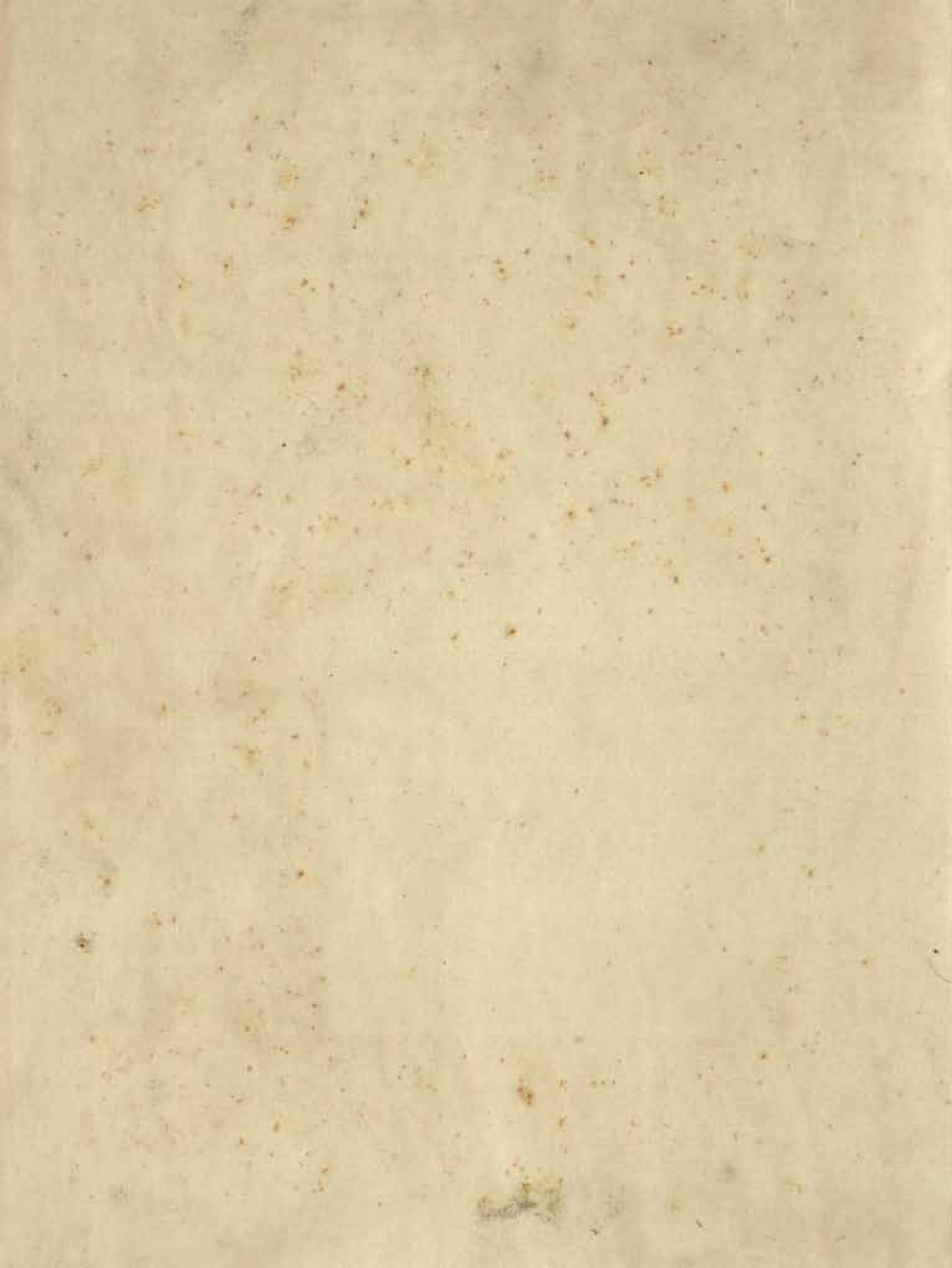
*ἀνακεχωρηκότες*, see *μερισμός*.  
*ἀναφέρειν*, of issuing a contract (Wegener), 207.  
*ἀναχώρησις*, flight from home involving default of tax payments (Lewis), 63.  
*ἀποροι*, not necessarily *ἀνακεχωρηκότες* (Lewis), 63, n. 3.  
*ἀποφ( )*, unknown abbreviation: possibly place-name (Wegener), 225.  
*ἀσθένεια*, economic exhaustion (Lewis), 65, n. 2.  
*διδάσκαλος*, his notarial function (Wegener), 211.  
*ἐξησθενηκότες*, persons who had stayed and paid their taxes, but were impoverished thereby (Lewis), 66, with n. 1.  
*ἐπέχειν*, to defer the payment of taxes (Lewis), 65, n. 1.  
*ἐρανῶντε τὰς γραφάς*, etc., (Jn. v. 39), support for variant rendering (Manson), 132.  
*ἔστω*, sometimes included and sometimes omitted (de Lacy), 80.  
*ἡμέραι Σεβαστῶν*, incidence, Augustus-Hadrian (de Lacy), 78 f.  
*Ἰπποβραΐζιν*, first occurrence in a papyrus (Wegener), 222.  
*κατακείσθαι*, of lodging or registering a deed in the archives (Wegener), 207.  
*κεκχυ(ρημάτισται)*, strengthening of *χ* to *κχ* in (de Lacy), 80.  
*κυριότης* (κατὰ πᾶν εἶδος κυριότητος), first clear occurrence in the papyri (Wegener), 218.  
*λαογραφούμενος*, usually taken as meaning 'subject to poll-tax', really meant 'paying the full poll-tax' (Bell), 137.

*λαοί*, *λαϊκός*, use as meaning 'native' (Bell), 137.  
*λίβανωτός*, frankincense (Lucas), 28.  
*μεγαλοπρέπεια*, title rare [A.D. 324] and unknown for the prefect (Wegener), 214.  
*μερισμός ἀνακεχωρηκόντων*, extra tax to make up deficits in revenue caused by persons who had fled their homes and defaulted their tax payments (Lewis), 63 ff.  
*μερισμός ἀπόρων*, an extra levy to make up deficiencies caused by the failure of *ἀποροι* (paupers) to pay taxes (Lewis), 63, n. 3.  
*μέρος*: *ἐκ μέρους*, 'on the part of' (de Lacy), 80, n. 1.  
*μισθωσις*, tax-farming contract rather than lease of land (Lewis), 74.  
*Νεφεροῦς*, name not found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Wegener), 205.  
*Σ = 1/12* (Wegener), 225.  
*μύρρη*, myrrh (Lucas), 28.  
*στακτή*, stacte (Lucas), 27, 29 ff.  
*συγχωρεῖν*, generally only in the Alexandrian *συγχώρησις*-deeds, but here as synonym of *ὁμολογῶ* (Wegener), 210.  
*συνεσταμένος*, 'appointed' (de Lacy), 80.  
*σύνταξις*, *λαϊκή σύνταξις*, 'poll-tax' (Bell), 136.  
*Τριαστής Καπιτωλίων*, new term applied to high priest (Roberts), 266.  
*τροφή*, for *τροφεῖον*, 'place where sacred animals and birds were kept and fed' (Thompson), 258.  
*φύσις*, new use of (Wegener), 207.



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