Abgadiyat
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Issue No. 8, 2013
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Contents

Guidelines for Contributors 8

Introduction Ahmed Mansour 11

Unpublished Four Canopic Jars from Al-Ashmunein Magazine
Abdel-Rahman Ali Abdel-Rahman 13

Philological Development of ‘šdî.t’ (Madinet el Fayoum) until the End of the Middle Kingdom
Ibrahim Abd El-Sattar - Osama Ibrahim 22

Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt
Ibrahim Abd El-Sattar - Osama Ibrahim 28

Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ or ‘Lady of Mefkat’ in the Nile Delta Textual Evidences
Ahmed Mansour 40

On Ancient Egyptian Philology
Alessandro Roccati 49

Analysing Current Egyptian Displays in the United Kingdom
Lindsay Sivier 53

A New Light on Coptic Cryptography
Hind Salah-Eldin 59

Lasso and its Role as Nets in Religious Texts
Magda Gad 67

An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis ‘Ushebtis’ Housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut, Egypt
Marzouk Al-sayed Aman 75

An Epitaph of a Roman Legionary Soldier from the Legio II Traiana stationed in Alexandria
Mohamed Abd-el-Ghani - Hasnna Mahmoud Fahmy - Aia Mohamed Taher -
Nesreen Abd-el-Kareem Tawfiq 92

The Memorial of Metrodoros Greek Stoichedon from North Africa
Patricia A. Butz 110

Une inscription du roi Djer au Sud-Sinaï : la première phrase écrite en hiéroglyphes ?
Pierre Tallet 122
The Maryannu in the Western Desert in the Ramesside Period
Mohamed Raafat Abbas 128

Présentation du manuscrit 'Aqd al-Gawhar ou Le Collier de perles
Youhanna Nessim Youssef 134
Guidelines for Contributors

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Final Submission

1- The final text (following amendments recommended by the editor or referees) must be provided on disk preferably CD, using MS Word, composed in 14 point font for Arabic and 12 point font for other languages.

2- The text should be in hard copy, printed clearly on A4 or standard American paper, on one side only, double-spaced throughout and with ample margins. Please do not justify the right-hand margin.

3- Please do not employ multiple typeface styles or sizes.

4- The Journal of Abgadiyat does not use titles such as Dr, or Prof. in text or notes or for authors.

5- Brackets should be all round-shaped, e.g. (……)

6- Use single quotation marks throughout.

7- Avoid Arabic diacriticals. Only use in quotes.

8- The numbers of dynasties must be spelled out, e.g. ‘Eighteenth Dynasty’ and not ‘18th Dynasty’ or ‘Dynasty 18’. Similarly, numbers of centuries should be spelled out, e.g. ‘fifth century BCE’, ‘second century CE’. BCE and CE should be in capitals.

9- The ‘-’ dash between dates, page references, etc. (1901/02, 133–210) is an en-dash not a hyphen.

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1- The initial hamza (ُ) is not transcribed: amāna, ka-sura.

2- The article (ال) should be connected with the word it determines through a hyphen, avoiding what is known in Arabic as ‘solar’ al, i.e. it should be written whether pronounced or not: al-sams, al-qamar.

3- No capital letter is given to the article (ال) but the word it determines, except at the beginning of a sentence where the article also must have a capital letter: al-Gabarti.

4- Arabic diacritics are not transcribed: laylat al qadr, and not laylatu l-qadri.

5- The (ت) marbuta is written as a, but if followed by genitive it should be written as al-madina, madinat al-Qahira.

6- For transliteration of plural in Arabic words use any of the following options:

   - Arabic singular: waqf,
   - Arabic plural: awqaf,
   - Arabic singular followed by (s) in Roman letters: waqf-s.
FOOTNOTES
1. Citations must be on separate pages appended as endnotes, double-spaced.
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• Cite subsequently as: Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

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Issue No. 8  9
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- Authors' initials and publication details, including full article title and/or series name and volume number should be provided in the first citation; surname alone, and an abbreviated title should be used subsequently. The use of ibid, op. cit. and loc. cit. should be avoided. Precise page references should be given.

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Please visit the Abgadiyat journal web page: http://www.bibalex.com/calligraphycenter/abgadiyat/static/home.aspx
Introduction

During the past seven years, the *Abgadiyat* journal has appeared in order to bridge the existing gap in the fields of writings and scripts studies. This gap was not on the local level only, but as well on the regional level; wherein there was no practical or precise journal concerning the affairs of writings and scripts in the world across the ages. *Abgadiyat* carries the most important goals of the Center for Studies of Writings and Scripts, including the increase of the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and to spreading the consciousness of writings and inscriptions on the level among the non-specialists.

It was planned that this issue appears on the occasion of the 11th International Congress of Egyptologists September 2014, unfortunately, the Congress has been annulled upon the decision of Ministry of Antiquities. We are greatly pleased, as an editorial team, that a number of researchers competing in publishing their papers within *Abgadiyat* journal. During the editing phases, we came across a number of papers from a wide range of disciplines.

Also among the fundamentals that *Abgadiyat* emphasizes is the support of young researchers to publish their research in the Journal. It is known to all that one of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the Journal has received papers from a number of young researchers, who hope to meet the criteria, after the peer-review.

The eighth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with a group of valuable papers, such as ‘Unpublished Four Canopic Jars from Al-Ashmunein Magazine’, ‘Philological Development of Sdi.t’, ‘Hathor: Lady of Mefkat’ in the Nile Delta Textual Evidences, ‘On Ancient Egyptian Philology’, and ‘An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis’. It might be the most interesting of these papers that speaks about the inscription of King Djer in South Sinai as the first complete sentence written in hieroglyphs.

From here, we can state that this issue might present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Writing and Scripts Center had begun nine years ago.

Writing and Scripts Center
Bibliotheca Alexandrina
أربعة أوان كانوبية غير منشورة بالمخزون المتحفي بـ الأشمونين

Abdel-Rahman Ali Abdel-Rahman

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث نشر أربعة أوان كانوبية من العصر المتأخر الموجودة بالمخزون المتحفي في الأشمونيين مركز ملوي محافظة المنيا. ويبدأ البحث بوصف علم الأوان الكانوبية الأربعة، ثم يتناول كل إنا، مع ترجمة للنص الموجود على الجزء الأمامي من الإنا، وهو عبارة عن سطرين هنودي نفسيين رأسين على كل إنا، كذلك تُمكِّنُ رأس كل إنا، على هيئة أحد أدوات حورس الأربعة: إسمتي، حاببي، وضيبي، ودوا موت إف. كما قام الباحث بعمل فاكسيميكي لكل نص موجود على أحد الأوان، مع وجود صور فوتوغرافية لكل إنا، واللافت للنظر أنه في كل نص لا بد من قراءة السطر الثاني قبل السطر الأول، حتى يستطيع النص.

والأوان الكانوبية الأربعة من الأليستر وتحمل اسم Nwb-ii.ti، لكن لا يحمل أي من النصوص إشارة إلى وظيفته أو أسرته، ثم تطرق البحث إلى تاريخ الأوان وفقًا لطبيعة وتميزات النص الموجود عليها، وهو عبارة عن صيغة انتشرت منذ الدولة الحديثة والعصر المتأخر.
The four Canopic jars published here were found by the police in year 1981, with some robbers in Maghagha, El-Minia Governorate. Then they were moved to Al-Ashmunein Magazine, and kept under the Inventory number 3204 and 5161-4 in the Magazine's register book. The original location in where these jars were found is still unknown.

Each one of those jars bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic enclosed in a frame, with the traditional formula usually written on the Canopic jars since the Saite Period. This formula invokes the protection of the four protection goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Selqet and Neit.1

**The direction of the inscription**

The text on the body of each one of the four Canopic jars consists of two vertical lines of hieroglyphic text. It is noticeable that the second line is written before the first one, as that was known from the other traditional formula. To obtain the correct meaning, we must read the second line before the first one until the formula is completed. The occasion the Canopic jars of the Saite Period onwards. It is the first time, as to my knowledge, the text comes disarranged.

On the other four Canopic jars, the date of the late Libyan period came from Gurnah district at Thebes. We find five vertical lines on each jar arranged from right to left although the direction of the text runs from left to right.2

1. **The first Canopic jar with a human headed lid**

   Inv. Nr: 5161
   Material: Alabaster
   Height: 34 cm.

   **Description**

   Yellowish alabaster Canopic jar with a human head as a symbol of $Knh-kswf$ without beard bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside, the cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone.

(Fig. 1) The first Canopic jar with a human head lid.
1) **dd mdw in Skt n k3.k skd.i s3 r’-nb hr ir mkt n Kbh-snw.f nty im.i s3 Wsr N s3 Kbh-snw.f Wsr N pw Kbh-snw.f**

Recitation by Selget for your ka, I get the protection daily to make the protection of Kbh-snw.f who is in me, the protection of Osiris N is the protection of Kbh-snw.f, Osiris N is Kbh-snw.f.

K. Sethe studied the whole formulas on the Canopic jars from the Old Kingdom to Late Period, he classified them in types, the last type (XIX) is from the Saite Period.\(^2\)

2. The second Canopic jar with a hawk headed lid

Inv. Nr: 51612
Material: Alabaster
Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster jar with a hawk head bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside; the cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone. The text in both lines is damaged in some parts.

a) **dd (n) 3st sm3.i) ð3lt spt-s3 hr Imst sy nty im.i s3 Wsr Nwb-**

b) **Selget spoke\(^6\) for your ka, the protection\(^6\) of every day is the protection of Kbh-snw.f who is in me.\(^6\)**

Comment

a. Most of the Canopic jars formula from Twenty-Sixth Dynasty begins with \(\text{[im=]'}\), however the formula begins with either sdf or sdm.f or sdm.n.f form.\(^4\)

b. The verb skd is just a written with the two signs \(\text{[im=]'}\), it is an incorrect writing of \(\text{[im=]'}\)^5 and its variations.\(^5\) The verb is a causative form of verb kdt 'to fashion, to build', so skd means 'cause to fashion'.\(^7\)

c. Adding \(\text{[im=]'}\) 'who is in me'.\(^8\)

d. The name of Kbh-snw.f is a written error as \(\text{[im=]'}\) instead of \(\text{[im=]'}\).\(^9\)

e. It appears that the formula of the goddess Selget has some errors. This appears when we compare it between and other formulas, finding on the other jars date to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onward:\(^10\)
1) [ii.tl] the justified is the protection of Imsty, Osiris Nwb-li.ti the justified is Imsty.

Comment

a. The verb 3ms 'to slay, to destroy' is written here without the sign  and without a determinative.

It is usual in this kind of text to find the verb in metatheses such as  where the letter  introduced on the letter m. The determinative of the verb varies between , , and .

b. The word  dlt 'foe, enemy, opponent' ends with the determinative or or with both determinatives. So, the scribe here was confused between the determinative and .

c. Addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

d. The first line starts with a damaged part; there is enough space to put the last part of the deceased name 3.

3. The third Canopic jar with a jackal headed lid

Inv. Nr: 51613
Material: Alabaster
Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster Canopic jar with a jackal head as a symbol of Dw3-mwtf bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame. The jar is polished outside; the cover, not polished, is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes carefully cut in the stone.

1) [image]

2) [image]

(Fig. 2) The second Canopic jar with a hawk headed lid.
2) dd n Nit sdwl.1 smlsr.1 f′-nb hr [lr] mkt n Dw3-mwt.f nty im(1) s3 Ws-

1) lr Nwb-li.ti m3′-hrw s3 Dw3-mwt.f Wsr Nwb-li.ti m3′-hrw pw Dw3-mwt.f

2) The speech of Neith: (i) spend the morning (ii) evening (iii) and everyday make protection of Dw3-mwt.f who is in (me), (iv) the protection of Os-

1) iris Nwb-li.ti the justified is the protection of Dw3-mwt.f. Osiris Nwb-li.ti the justified is Dw3-mwt.f.

Comment

a. .Stretch3 'spend the morning, make an early start' appeared in the Saite Period and was written in different ways on the other Canopic jars such as .Stretch23 and .Stretch25

b. .Stretch3 smcl 'spend the evening' appeared in the Saite Period .Stretch27 The word is written in a strange way, where the first sign .Stretch3 is unclear; it is probably that the scribe was confused between it and the sign .Stretch3. As for the two last signs of the word, .Stretch3 may intend .Stretch3 or .Stretch3, so the correct writing probably is .Stretch3 where the word appeared in the same spelling in parallel texts .Stretch28 The part after the word smcl was confused, the first preposition .Stretch21 is increased while it is suggested to be the verb .Stretch3 after the second preposition hr. the comparison of this formula with others on the Canopic jars appears that formula reads as:

(Fig. 3) The third Canopic jar with a jackal headed lid.
Recitation by Neit, i spend the morning, the evening and the day making protection of Dw3-mwt.f who is in me, the protection of Osiris N is the protection of Dw3-mwt.f. Osiris N is Dw3-mwt.f.

c. addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

4. The fourth Canopic jar with an ape headed lid

Inv. Nr: 5164
Material: Alabaster
Height: 34 cm.

Description

Yellowish alabaster jar with an ape head as a symbol of Hpy bears two vertical lines of inscribed hieroglyphic, enclosed in a rectangular frame run from right to left. The jar is polished outside. The cover is in a good state of preservation with painted eyes and mouth carefully cut in the stone.

1) [Image of hieroglyphs]

2) [Image of hieroglyphs]

2) qd n Nbt-hwt (h5)p(1) sct3 hr lr bs3 n Hpy nty lm(1) s3 Wsr

1) Nwb-ii.tl m3-hrw s3 Hpy Wsr W Nwb-ii.tl m3-hrw pw Hpy

2) The speech of Nephthys: (i) conceal(a) the secret(b) and make protection(c) of Hpy who is in (me)(d), the protection of Osiris.

1) Nwb-ii.tl the justified is the protection of Hpy, Osiris Nwb-ii.tl the justified is Hpy.

(Fig. 4) The fourth Canopic jar with an ape headed lid.
Comment

a. It is clear that the scribe wrote only the sign □ of the verb ꜩ ⦬ ⦦ ⦯,\textsuperscript{30} he forgot the sign ꜩ ⦪,\textsuperscript{31} which comes so much in the parallel texts.\textsuperscript{32}

b. ⦩ ⦪ ⦫ 'secret'. It is clear here that the sign ⦪ came later after the group ⦩ ⦪ but it came in parallel texts of Canopic jars in its normal place such as ⦩ ⦪ ⦪\textsuperscript{33} and ⦩ ⦪ ⦩ ⦪\textsuperscript{34}.

c. The verb ꜩ ꜩ ꜩ to protect\textsuperscript{35} is written with an incorrect determinative. It is probably that the scribe intended the sign ꜩ which usually comes as an end for the verb such as ꜩ ꜩ ꜩ but the great potential that the scribe confused between the determinative of the verb hip ꜩ, which is found in the oldest formula of Nephthys,\textsuperscript{36} and the determinative of verb bs3. The same occurs in other verbs such as verb sdm3 which usually ends with the determinative ⦪ or ⦪. It appears taking the determinative ꜩ.\textsuperscript{37} The verb appeared with different determinatives such as ꜩ, ꜩ ꜩ, ꜩ and ꜩ.\textsuperscript{38}

d. Addition of the suffix pronoun, first person, singular.

Dating of Canopic jars

The date of those Canopic jars is unknown; the registration of Al-Ashmunein Magazine dates them to the Saitian Period, but depending on the characteristics of the lids and hieroglyphic inscriptions, it is more appropriate to place them in the Era between the Saitian Period and the Thirtieth Dynasty. The traditional formula which occupied the Saitian Period onward and the appearance verb ꜩ ꜩ ꜩ did not permit to put these Canopic jars before this period. So, I am inclined to suggest dating them to the first occupation in Persian Period because the errors in the texts were spread in the first Persian occupation in Egypt, especially in the texts of the sarcophagi.\textsuperscript{47}

However, the formula of the four Canopic jars (CG. 4375-4378), which resembles the current jars in the opposite direction of the lines dated to the Libyan Period, is not a complete formula, so we cannot include them in the same Period.

In addition, Dolzani\textsuperscript{48} divided the formulas of the Canopic jars into seven forms. He dated the last one, which looks like ours to the Saitian Period onwards, according K. Sethe who divided the formula of the Canopic jars into nineteen types, the last one also dated to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{49}

The characteristics of the inscriptions

Apparently, there is a tendency to that the words lack the determinatives, and the signs themselves inscribed on the jars are very thin and not deep. They resemble the graffiti on the rocks, especially in some signs such as ḫhr- sign and st- sign. There is no proportion in the size among the different signs; some of them are small and the others are big: more words are written errors or decreased letters. On the texts of the four Canopic jars, the suffix pronoun first person singular is omitted, whether following verbs or following prepositions.
For example, the name of Osiris is written eight times, four of them \(\frac{\text{Osiris}}{\text{Osiris}}\) and four \(\frac{\text{Osiris}}{\text{Osiris}}\), in the eight times the name is written without the divine determinative \(\frac{\text{Osiris}}{\text{Osiris}}\). It seems that the name was a written likeness on the Canopic jars of the Saite Period.\(^{50}\)

**Notes**

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2 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4375, 4376, 4377, 4378.


4 Sethe, Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche, 13*1(1).

5 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4101, 4109, 4117, 4121, 4124, 1440, 4144, 4148, 4158, 4160, 4174, 4269; Dolzani, Vasi Canopi, n. 19001-19153: Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino IV, n. 19035.


7 Brovarski, Canopic Jars, MFA I, 160.

8 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4101, 4109, 4117, 4121, 4124, 4129, 4174, 4269, 4280.

9 See: Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4140, 4148, 4152, 4156, 4160, 4174.


11 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4121 for more examples see: Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4148, 4156, 4160, 4174, 4269; Brovarski, Canopic Jars, MFA I, 125, 160; Reisner, ZÄS 37, 71.


13 Web IV, 122, 7-123, 11; L. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II (Berkeley, 1982), 39.

14 Dolzani, Vasi Canopi, n. 19032; J. Malek, 'Imset (I) and Hepy (II) Canopic-Jars of Neferseshem-psammethek', JEA 64 (1978), 139.

15 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4102, 4106, 4114, 4140; Rarely we find the verb in its regular form. see: Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4166.

16 Sethe, Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche, 13* (2).

17 Web V, 517, 10-518, 1; Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II, 261.

18 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4106, 4122, 4277.


20 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4266.

21 Malek, JEA 64, 139.

22 Web IV, 368, 1; Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II, 98.

23 Dolzani, Vasi Canopi, n. 19030.

24 Dolzani, Vasi Canopi, n. 19034; Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4100, 4108.


26 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4100, 4512; Sethe, Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche, 14* (16).

27 Web IV, 144, 1.

28 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4116, 4143, 4159, 4279.

29 Brovarski, Canopic Jars, MFA I, 154; Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4101, 4104, 4108, 4116, 4120, 4151, 4159, 4268, 4279, 4286; Reisner, ZÄS 37, 71; Sethe, Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche, 230, 12*(c).


31 Malek, JEA 64, 139.

32 Brovarski, Canopic Jars, MFA I, 134; Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4103, 4107.

33 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4146.

34 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4282.

35 Web I, 475, 8-10; Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 84; Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I, 139; Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon (Leuven, 1997), 332.
36 Reisner, Canopic, CG, 4103, 4115; Malek, JEA 64, 139.
37 Reisner. ZÄS 37, 66.
38 Reisner. Canopic, CG, 4151.
40 H. Ranke. Die Ägyptischen personennamen I (Glückstadt, 1935), 190 (7).
41 PM VIII3, 199 (803-030-304).
42 Canopic Jar number 51602.
43 Canopic Jar number 51603.
44 Canopic Jar number 51604.
45 M. Daressy. 'Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée d'Alexandrie', ASAE 5 (1904), 117; C.R. Williams, 'The Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Art at Cleveland, Ohio', JEA 5 (1918), 40.
46 WB IV, 144, 1.
48 Dolzani, Vasi Canopi, 10-11.
50 Dolzani, Vasi Canopi. n. 19028-19036; Brovarski, Canopic Jars, MFA 1, 68, 122; Reisner. Canopic, CG, 4107, 4108, 4109, 4123, 4124, 4182 etc.
Philological Development of ‘ṣdi.t’ (Madinet el Fayoum) until the End of the Middle Kingdom

التطور اللغوي لشدة (مدينة الفيوم) حتى نهاية الدولة الوسطى

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ملخص

تهدف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة التطور اللغوي الهجائي لكلمة شدة، والتي تعني مدينة الفيوم (كيمان فارس) حتى نهاية الدولة الوسطى، ووضع ترجمة جديدة للكلمة تختلف في معناها واشتقاقها عن تلك المعاني والاشتقاقات التي أعطها كل من مورينز ومن قبله بروجش. فقد ذهب مورينز أن كلمة (شدة) قد اشقت من الفعل (شد) بمعنى (حفر)، وأن كلمة شدة تعني (الأرض التي تكونت من خلال الحفر)، بينما ذهب بروجش أن كلمة (شدة) تعني (الأرض الطبيعية) اعتناصًا على كلمة شدة التي ظهرت في الأسرة التامة عشرة والتي تعني (المدينة الطبيعية). وبرى البحث أن كلمة شدة قد اشقت من الفعل (شد) بمعنى (يأخذ أو يستسلم)، وعلى ذلك كلمة شدة تعني (المدينة، المستخلصة) معتمدًا في ذلك على كون شدة (كيمان فارس) ترتفع عن سطح البحر بمقدار 33 م، بينما كانت المياه تغطي كل المنخفض الجلي خلال العصر الحجري القديم بمقدار 30 م فوق سطح البحر. ومنذ عصر ما قبل الأسرات فإن المياه قد انخفضت عن المنخفض لتصل تحت معدل 23 م فوق سطح الأرض، وبالتالي استخلصت شدة من المياه، ولم تُظهر تلال تاريخها حتى الآن. كما قدم البحث قراءة مبكرة لكلمة شدة من عصر نعمة الثالثة من خلال اللقب سوق شدتي (سوكيت شدة) وذلك على طبقة ختم أسطوان من طرخان تحت عليه في المقبرة رقم 144 حيث يظهر شكل بيت الشمال أو السرخ يعلو رأس نور أو غزال محطم، وهو الشكل الذي يمثل حكمة كلمة شدة في نصوص الأهرام (416 0). ولنعتبر تلك القراءة سابقة على القراءة المؤكدة للكلمة منذ عصر الأسرة الثانية من خلال لقب حور شدتي، والذي ظهر على حكم للملك محبومي من بيدرس. كما تناول البحث التطور اللغوي لكلمة خلال عصر الدولة القديمة، عصر الانتقال الأول وعصر الدولة الوسطى معتمدًا في ذلك على النصوص الدينية الممثلة في نصوص الأهرام وموت التوابيت، وكذلك على نصوص كبار الأفراد الممثلة في السير الذاتية المسجلة على حدودان مقارنهم وغيرهما من النصوص ومواقع القرابين والأخام الأسطوانية.
1. The etymology and meaning of śdl.t

The etymology and meaning of śdl.t (Modern Kiman Fares in the Fayoum town) remains controversial among Egyptology scholars. It held its position as the main city and capital of the Fayoum Region as early as the Pre-Dynastic Period.1 Morenz2 translated the word śdl.t, derived from the verb śdl -graben/to dig,-3 as ‘durch graben gebildetes Land’ which might indicate the land reclamation and irrigation projects in Fayoum as early as King Narmer.4 On the other hand, Brugsch5 previously suggested that śdl.t means ‘mud town’ or ‘Schlamm Stadt’ depending on the Eighteenth Dynasty word śdl.t 8 9, which was referred to in Berlin Dictionary as ‘a wet land or a muddy area full of fishes and frogs’ or ‘a water area for purification’ in the Middle Kingdom texts.6

However, since the word śdy.t appeared lately in the Middle Kingdom following śdl.t. It is not logic to use a word displayed during the Middle Kingdom in order to interpret the meaning of śdl.t. While Morenz probably depended on Diodorus Cecillus legend of the establishment of śdl.t under King Menes which lacks evidence that it happened, or śdl.t might have already been established earlier.7

Consequently, śdl.t can be translated as ‘taken or extracted’ which is derived from the verb śdl - take/ withhold' ‘nehmen/fortnehmen/herausnehmen’8 as the town was almost completely submerged under water during the Paleolithic epoch. At that time, the water level in the Fayoum Depression was 30 m above sea level, and fluctuated between 23 m and 45 m above sea level; while śdl.t was only 23 m above sea level.9 However, from the Pre-Dynastic Period onwards, water level dropped 23 m below sea level, and kept fluctuating, but never submerged the entire śdl.t again.10 Therefore, śdl.t was naturally ‘extracted’ from water and became a good place for fishing and fowling.

The previous debate reflects how important the in-depth study of the philological development of śdl.t is. This paper aims to investigate the chronological development of śdl.t writing and orthography until the end of the Middle Kingdom. This time limitation is because the word showed no changes in its writing during the New Kingdom. Another study will be conducted on the orthography of śdl.t in Greco-Roman period.

2. Early references of śdl.t

śdl.t might be mentioned on a cylinder seal from the tomb 414 of Tarkhan since Naqqada III (?).11 It shows the crocodile Sobek with two plumages on its back standing above a stand which is surrounded by other representations of crocodiles and coiled ropes that probably indicate ‘water’. Directly before the stand, another important symbol is displayed on the seal: a bucranium/bovine’s head surmounting probably a 4serekh or 4 pr-nw12 which is used in the Pyramid Text as a determinative of śdl.t.13 This previous composition of figures can be read 4 Sbk śdl.ty.14

Certainly, the name śdl.t appeared for the first time,15 among one of the titles of Horus śdl.t(y), during the Second Dynasty as evident from the reconstruction of a seal that dates back to Khasekhemuy from Abydos.16

3. The chronological development of śdl.t writing and orthography

In the oldest instance of writing śdl.t, mentioned above, the word is written with bilateral sign śd and the consonant sign ś. This feminine t is an added ending, not an original part of the noun itself. It is noted that the phonetic complement ś d does not exist.
3.1 In the Old Kingdom

In the Fourth Dynasty, the word was written with the full unilateral signs of the word accompanied with the bilateral sign of . The word is written with the sign preceded by the two consonants and as phonetic complements, and followed by as a feminine added ending. During the Fifth Dynasty, a fragment from the Temple Userkaef bears part of a crocodile head surmounted by the hieroglyphic sign of the hand most likely what remained from the word . It is clear, from the Fourth–Fifth Dynasties examples of writing , that it has been changed to its 'common' writing . The word is written with the bilateral sign and as a phonetic complement, and followed by as a feminine added ending and as a determinative.

The common determinative of writing is the determinative which appeared for the first time on the false door of that dates back to the reign of King Senefru. This determinative continued to be used twice in the Pyramid Texts versions of the Fifth Dynasty and Pepi I of the Sixth Dynasty (Pyr.1564c). The same determinative also appeared on blocks from the south jamb of the chapel entrance in Giza (G2150).

In Pepi II's version of Pyramid Texts (Pyr.1564b), another determinative of the word takes the shape of a or a serekh surmounted by a bucranium replaced the determinative. This determinative is connected to the chapel of Sobek in during the Middle Kingdom. The or the serekh sign surmounted by a bucranium/bovine not only appeared as a determinative of in Pepi II Pyramid Texts, but also represented on the previously mentioned seal of the tomb 414 in Tarkhan. This can be regarded as the first attempt to write the word .

Reading the word of the Old Kingdom was a debate among scholars. Although Dolzani, Zibelius, Kaplon, Strudwick, and Jones in their reading to the title of both and place the weak consonant as a adj ective ending to the word , in the Pyramid Texts, can never be read as an adj ective.

3.2 In the First Intermediate Period

During the First Intermediate Period, due to the degradation of Lake Qarun to a very low level (-40 m to -50 m), the name of disappeared from literature along with the disappearance of the name of Sobek.

3.3 In the Middle Kingdom

The name started to rise again in the Coffin Texts through titles such as (B4C) and (B10C and B10C). It is obvious that the variations of that the determinative varies from coffin to coffin. Although the first variation takes the shape of a which was infrequent in the Middle Kingdom, it ends with the determinative, the common one of the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the last variation of bears a unique determinative of a seated deity which should signify Sobek in his title . It is noted that this writing was also rare in the Middle Kingdom texts. Notably, the absence of the phonetic complement occurred in many examples dating back to the Middle Kingdom whether the word is written with a determinative or without.
Almost all instances of mentioning šdi.t during the Middle Kingdom date back to the reign of Amenemhat III. The Old Kingdom traditional way of writing šdi.t appeared in some of these examples. Notably, the additional (y) of the Nisba adjective, moreover, occurred in most Middle Kingdom examples.

During the Twelfth Dynasty, especially under Amenemhat III, 𓉁 determinative has occurred in some examples whether šdi.t(y) refers to the noun or the Nisba adjective. In these instances, the word is written with the sign šd 𓋗, and 𓉁 d as a phonetic complement, and followed by 𓉂 t as a feminine added ending accompanied with this determinative 𓉂 t 𓉁 𓉁, or written with the bilateral sign šd 𓋗, followed by both 𓉂 t as feminine added ending and 𓉁 as a determinative 𓉁. However, in many other examples, šdi.t/šdi.ty has been written without any determinatives. In this case, it is written with the bilateral sign 𓋗 šd, followed by both 𓉁 d as a phonetic complement and 𓉂 t as a feminine added ending together with/or without 𓉁 y as Nisba adjective. From the reign of Amenemhat III too, the sign 𓉁, a bucranium on a pr-nw which was previously used as the determinative of šdi.t in Pepi II’s version of Pyramid Texts, implies also a determinative 𓉁. Sometimes, this sign is only used to give the phonogram šdi.t. Furthermore, the duplication of this sign 𓉁, used as a Nisba adjective of šdi.ty, occurred in the same period whether used alone 𓉁 or following the word šdi.t 𓉁 itself. This dual sign becomes the symbol of Sobek Temple in šdi.t (Kiman Fares) during the Middle Kingdom.

On the other hand, although the sign 𓉁 was used as a determinative in the word šdi.t 𓉁 𓉁 𓉁, it appeared independently and reads šdi.t. The sign is also used as a symbol of Sobek Temple in šdi.t. In a rare example in Medinet Madi inscriptions, šdi.t is written only with a 𓉁 pr-nw sign. Moreover, 𓉁 is another sign which is used as a bilateral sign šd followed by an added ending 𓉂 t. This sign might be an abbreviation of the sign 𓉂 discussed above. The duplication of this sign 𓉁 𓉁, used as a Nisba adjective of šdi.ty,

Notes

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3. Wb IV, 563.
8. Wb IV, 560.
9. GPS readings.
13. Pyr.1564c.
15. Although the Dictionary of Berlin stated that the first appearance of šdi.t was in the Pyramid Texts Wb IV, 567, 4.


18 Brovarski, 'Sobek'. LÄ V. fig.4; Zecchi, Sobek of Shedet The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period, 15.


20 James, The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stefan, I, pl.10.


22 As shown on a block preserved in Berlin Museum. L. Habachi, 'Une vaste salle d’Amenemhat III à Kham-Farès (Fayoum)', ASAE 37 (1937), fig.10; Brovarski, ‘Sobek’. LÄ V. 997, fig.2.


28 Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epiteths and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, II, 574.

29 For reading Sdl.t see: H.W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches, ÄF 18, (Glückstadt, 1954), 123, 145; E. Brovarski, 'Two Old Kingdom Writing Boards from Giza', ASAE 71 (1987), 33(8).

30 Pry. 416c (W); 1564b (P, N).


33 CT. I, sp.61, 260 d-e.


38 The oldest examples of writing sḍl.t during the Middle Kingdom date back to the reign of Amenemhat II mry sbk ḫr sḍl.t.y on a circular object in Brooklyn Museum 37.1746f; (unknown provenance). T.G.H. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII (Brooklyn, New York, 1974), 42, no. 96, pl. 33, and to the reign of Senusret II mry sbk nb sḍl.t on a cylinder seal preserved in Brooklyn Museum 44.123.56 (unknown provenance). James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscription in the Brooklyn Museum, I. From the Dynasty I to the Dynasty XVIII, 47-48, no. 108, pl. 35.


40 On block of stone dates back to Amenemhat III from Hawara. M. Chabân, 'Foulles à Achmounîn', ASE4 8 (1907), 223. In a relief that dates back to


43 Gardiner, RdE 11 (1957), pl. 2, 31; frag. C.

44 L. Farag, The Discovery of Neferuptah, 14ff. H. Wild, 'Quatre statuettes du moyen empire dans une collection privé de Suisse', BIFAO 69 (1971), 115. fig. 6, pl. 21f.


46 Gomà, Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches, I, 392.

47 On a statue of Amenemhat III from Hawara (Cairo CG. 20699). Gomà, Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches, I, 392.

48 Valloggia, RdE 16 (1964), 46.

49 Vogliano, Secondo rapporto regi scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della Regia Università di Milano nella Zone di Medinet Madi, pl. 33; Donadoni, Orientalia 16, 341-43.

50 Yoyotte, BIFAO 56, 86.

51 Yoyotte, BIFAO 56, 86.
Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt

الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في مصر القديمة

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ملخص

كان لإقليم الفيوم العديد من الأسماء؛ الأمر الذي جعله ينفرد بين أفرانه بعددتها واستخدامها معًا في نفس الفترة الزمنية، وحتى الآن لم ت تعالج تلك الأسماء لنوعية، ورغم ذلك، ومكانة في دراسة شاملة لتسهيل تلك الفجوة بالنسبة لدارسي وعلماء الآثار والمعاصرين. وتهديف تلك الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة الأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم في عصور مصر القديمة، وعمل قائمة إحصائية للكلا الأسماء، وبداية ظهور كل اسم وامتداده التاريخي، وطرح المشاكل المتعلقة بالامتداد الزمني والمكاني للكلا الأسماء. وتضم القائمة الإحصائية للأسماء التي ارتبطت بإقليم الفيوم أسماء مؤكدة ارتبطت بالإقليم؛ مثل: شي رسي (البحيرة الجنوبية)، وشي (البحيرة)، وشي (أرض البحيرة)، ومنور (البحيرة العظيمة)، واج و (الأخضر العظيم)، وميام (البحر أو البحيرة)، ومن جهة أخرى تشير أيضًا القائمة إلى بعض الأسماء غير المؤكدة ارتبطها بإقليم الفيوم؛ مثل: نب وشواب (جزيرة سوبك). ومن خلال الدراسة اتضح أن كل تلك الأسماء ارتبطت بالفوم مثل بحيرة فارون، ومن ثم اتخذ بعضها مصطلحات دالة على الماء. كما اتضح أن تلك الأسماء - مع الأخذ في الاعتبار استعداد الأسماء، غير المؤكدة - لم يحل إحداها محل آخر بل استعمل بعضها جنبًا إلى جنب. وانتهت الدراسة إلى أن من رسي، قد استمرت منذ الدولة القديمة، وطوال عصر الأسرتين الحادية عشرة والثانية عشرة ممثل إقليم الفيوم بأكمله. وفي نهاية الأسرة الثانية عشرة أصبحت كل من 'شي رسي' و 'شي محيي' تشابه قسمين بإدراوات يكونان معًا إقليم 'تاسي'. كما أوضح الدراسة أن تاسي خلال العصر البطلمي - كما جاء في كتاب الفيوم - كانت تشمل الجزء الجنوبي من واج و، بينما كانت تشمل مرور الجزء الشمالي من واج و.
A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. These names bore profound significances mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. The name ‘Fayoum’ itself, which is derived from the ancient Egyptian word ‘P3-yym’ meaning ‘the Lake’, is a clear example. This paper aims to investigate the names of the Fayoum region during the Pharaonic Period in terms of their etymologies, determinative significance, and historical extension of each name. The research also finds out whether there is any link between these names and Lake Qarun.

This paper presents an inventory of the Pharaonic names of Fayoum region known from monuments and texts. It studies the texts in which these names occurred, their historical extension, their determinatives and finally discusses the outcomes. The emerged inventory of the Fayoum region names included seven names: Š-rsy, T3-š, Mr-wr, W3d-wr, P3-yym, Tš-sbk, and Bnt.

1. Introduction

The Fayoum region is basically below sea level. It is a depression bounded by scarps and plateaus in most parts. Lake Qarun occupies the north-western section of the Fayoum Depression. It is 43 meters below sea level, while the remaining of the Depression slopes towards the Lake from south-east to north-west.¹

A variety of names were allocated to the Fayoum region throughout ancient Egyptian history. Most of them bore profound significances, mostly connected with Lake Qarun existence. During the Old Kingdom, the region was named Š-rsy ‘the Southern Lake’. In the Middle Kingdom, it was known as T3-š ‘Land of the Lake’ and T3-š sbk ‘Land of the Lake of Sobek’. During the New Kingdom, the names P3-yym the Sea’ and Mr-wr ‘the Great Lake’ appeared. From the sixth to the second centuries BCE, the Fayoum region was named p3 tš n p3-yym in Demotic texts. During the Fifth Century CE, Fayoumi residents probably continued to call the region P3-yym – Peim (Sahidic), Phiom (Bohairic), and Piam (Fayumic) from which the modern name Fayoum derived. The previously-mentioned names are all linked to water.² Furthermore, other names doubtly refer to the Fayoum region, but are also linked to water existence, and will be tackled in this paper, such as š ‘the Lake’, š sbk ‘the Lake of Sobek’, šw sbk ‘the Island of Sobek’ and Bnt (unknown).³

2. Š-rsy

Š-rsy, meaning ‘the Southern Lake’, was referred to, for the first time, in the autobiographical inscriptions of Meten who was entitled ḫk3 nw wr hw.t T3.t n(yla) t Š-rsy ‘Overseer of towns (settlements) of the great state of Š-rsy’.³ Another title of Meten, included the emblem of a crocodile on a stand as a sign, reads: lmy-r wp.t sbk lbty.³ This title, according to Cwick, was possibly connected to the Fayoum region.⁶ Among the blocks from Royal Funerary Temples re-used in the Pyramid of Amenemhat 1 at Lish, was a fragmentary architrave⁷ from a private tomb with a title ḫk3- ṅsw.t hry-mdw lmy-r šnd nb n Š-rsy of an ‘estate’ manager of the king.⁸ Holder of the staff bearer(?),⁹ overseer of all the acacia trees of Š-rsy. This fragment has been dated by H. Goedicke to the Third/early Fourth Dynasties and probably came from Saqqara,¹⁰ if not from Meidum or Dahshur as Cwick suggested.¹¹

Through the profound analysis of Š-rsy determinatives, an important question arose: Was Š-rsy a province or a town? As indicated by the absence of the ‘town’ determinative in writing Š-rsy, it was used as a designation of the entire Fayoum region¹² during the end of the Third, Fourth and probably Fifth Dynasties.¹³ Another example that supports the result of the designation of Š-rsy as a province appeared in a brief list of names in an Old Kingdom
tomb of *Khenti-wi-qai* at Tehna El-Gebel, dating back to mid-Fifth Dynasty, where *ś-rsy* occurs as a nome.14

From the title of *Meten, ḥk3 nsw.t hw.t f3.t n(y).t ś-rsy*, it is evident that *ś-rsy* consisted of a group of settlements overlooked by *Meten*. While from the other title *ḥk3 nsw.t hry-mdw imy-r šnd nb n ś-rsy*, it can be deduced that the region was producing acacia trees that were supervised by the holder of this title.

It is worth mentioning that *ś* 'the Lake', as the name of the Fayoum region in the Old Kingdom, was interchangeably used with *ś-rsy* due to the existence of water covering the whole region. Most probably the name was an abbreviation of *ś-rsy* as Gardiner suggests.15

Contrary to the previous result, *ś-rsy* also referred to a particular town in the Fayoum region, as indicated by the appearance of determinative, existed in the list of towns mentioned in Wilbour Papyrus.17

By the end of the Fifth Dynasty, it is noted that *ś-rsy* disappeared from ancient documentation. Then, it suddenly reappeared during the Middle Kingdom in several variations including: *ś-rsy n(y) Sbk*, *ś-rsy n(y) S*, *ś-rsy n(y) S*, *ś-rsy n(y) S*, *ś-rsy n(y) S*, *ś-rsy n(y) S*. Worth mentioning, the first appearance of *ś-mḥty* also appeared in the Middle Kingdom. Although no determinative of *ś-rsy* has occurred during the Old Kingdom, this determinative has dominated the writings of *ś* and *ś-rsy* during the Middle Kingdom. The same determinative has also occurred in the name of *T3-S* which appeared also during the Middle Kingdom. The appearance of this determinative is quite logical and copes with the location and topography of Fayoum. The Region is located in the Western Desert of Egypt and surrounded by scarps and plateaus; therefore, it is quite an expressive determinative that most probably indicates *ś-rsy* as a reference to the entire Province. It is also noted that the names *ś* and *ś-rsy* during the Middle Kingdom are connected to Sobek, whether as a direct or indirect genitive.

By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Fayoum region was probably divided into two administrative sections. A statue belongs to *Semenekkhare* from Madinet Madi bearing the title *imy-r šn[w ś-rsy mḥty* 'the overseer of the desert-rangers of *ś-rsy* and *ś-mḥty*'.17 That division is emphasized from the New Kingdom onwards; as *Sobekhotep*, son of *Kapu*, was entitled on a statue in Marseilles either as *ḥṣty - wr m T3-S* or *ḥṣty - n ś-rsy ś-mḥty*.18 The indirect genitive of the latter title refers to two different geographical places that are inferior comparing to *T3-S* in the propositional predicate of the former title. If this deduction is judged correctly, it means that *ś-rsy* and *ś-mḥty* were merely parts of *T3-S* which, in turn, indicates that they were two geographical divisions in the Fayoum region and did not imply the whole region *T3-S*. On another statue of *Sobekhotep* in Berlin, he was entitled *ḥṣty - n ś* like his father whose title was *ḥṣty - wr m ś*. On the other hand, another *Sobekhotep*, whose father was the chief treasurer of Min and who owned tomb 63 at Thebes, was entitled *ḥṣty - n ś-rsy ś n Sbk*. Thus, it may be noted that *śn sbk* and *ś-mḥty* were identical.19

The inscriptions on a black granite stela, discovered in Quta by Daressy, and probably dating back to the Ptolemaic period, was used as a boundary stela between *ś-mḥty n Sbk* and *ś-rsy n Sbk*. It can be deduced that *ś-rsy* and *ś-mḥty n Sbk* are identical, and that *ś-rsy* was a name, not only of a town, but also of an entire district located to the west and south-west of Lake Qarun.20 In contrast of the above-mentioned deduction regarding *ś-rsy* and *ś-mḥty*, Brugsch
previously believed that they were the two main drainage canals ending in Lake Qarun, known now as El-Batn (بحر الوادي) and El-Wadi (بحر الوادي) drainage canals. Literature reveals other opinions; one of them is that *Š-n-mhty* and *Š-rsy* are identified with *Š-n-sbk*. Furthermore, in the Middle Kingdom, *Š-n-sbk* has occurred and may refer to *Š-sbk*. Gauthier and Griffith suggested that *Š-sbk* refers to the Fayoum region and *Šd.t* its main harbor.

Eventually, Gardiner was the first to assume a kind of relationship between *Š* (as a town in the Fayoum region and not as a whole Fayoum region) and *Mr- wr* (Kom Madinet Ghurab). In the town list of Golénisheff Onomasticon (5, 7), *Š*, *Rbn*, and *Mr- wr* are inscribed following Heracleopolis. Therefore, Gardiner concluded that not only both *š* and *Mr- wr* were towns, but that they were different, and that *š* was probably inscribed to the south of *Mr- wr*. Contrary to what is written in Golénisheff Onomasticon, some evidence indicate that *š* and *Mr- wr* were used interchangeably. Brugsch noted that a coffin from the Nineteenth Dynasty was found at Kom Madinet Ghurab of an official who describes himself as ‘Deputy-overseer of the harem in *š*’, substituting *š* for *Mr- wr*, in another inscription from the same site. Moreover, Wilbour Papyrus (A 18, 7) mentions a ‘Scribe of the king’s apartments in *š*’ with a title parallel to *Mr- wr*. The same case of the father of the early Eighteenth Dynasty mayor of Thebes, Tetake, was an ‘Overseer of the harem of *š*’. A third evidence from a late Eighteenth Dynasty legal document of Kom Madinet Ghurab, mentions a woman who was likely an inhabitant of *š*. The previous three evidences conclude that *š* was another name for *Mr- wr*.

3. *š* | *š* T3-š

The first mentioning of T3-š as a name of the Fayoum region was during the Middle Kingdom, more specifically in the Twelfth Dynasty. That Dynasty is distinguished by the flourishing of the Fayoum region due to the transferring of Egypt’s capital from Thebes to Tjtt-t3wy ‘the modern El-Lish’. The name continued to be mentioned until the end of the Greco-Roman Period by side with other Fayoum region names. Most of our sources of T3-š are mainly from the titles of Osiris and sometimes from the titles of Horus, Sobek and other deities. The Dictionary of the Egyptian Language of Berlin and Gardiner translated T3-š as ‘Lake Land, the Fayoum region’.

As *š-rsy* and *š*, the determinative of T3-š in most cases is a determinative. In the Middle Kingdom, this determinative appeared in almost all inscriptions of T3-š; for instance, a text inscribed on a block from Memphis, a relief of the reign of Amenemhat III from Fayoum preserved in Berlin Museum (16953), an inscription from Madinet Madi, a fragment of Renefankh from Hawara, and a statue of Nanner of the Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasties. On the other hand, T3-š was sometimes written without any determinatives during the Middle Kingdom, as it is written on a pearl of queen Neferuobek.

The sign *š* continued as a determinative of T3-š during the New Kingdom as occurred in the title of Sobekhotep, son of Kapu, on his statue in Marseilles ‘š-h3ty-š wr m T3-š’ (discussed above). The same determinative appeared in another New Kingdom example, a Nineteenth Dynasty limestone statue preserved in Manchester Museum (5376) and discovered in Hawara.

However, most probably in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, T3-š was sometimes written using the ‘town determinative’ which highlights the same dilemma debated in *š* and *š-rsy* and investigated above.

During the same period, however, T3-š was written with the two determinatives and together. For
example, titles of Osiris in *hpt di nsw* formula on a set of canopic jars belonged to two sons of a man named *Hor-Uidia* from Hawara and dates back to the Thirteenth Dynasty; titles of Osiris in *hpt di nsw* formula too on some coffins from Hawara, date back to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. Although, in the Late Period Hieroglyphs orthography, the appearance of more than one determinative is quite common, this odd representation of *T3*-§ determinatives is hard to be interpreted as it is difficult to accept the idea that *T3*-§ was a town and a district at the same time. However, it raises an important question about whether the name means the entire region including its towns and desert areas(?) [97].

Among the titles of Osiris in *hpt di nsw* formula written on a wooden coffin from Hawara, dating back to the Late-Ptolemaic Periods, *T3*-§ mentioned three times; one of them with determinative and determinative together. The second time is written with determinative and probably also with determinative, but unfortunately it is completely damaged. The third time is written with determinative. [98]

As far as we know, it is the first time that *T3*-§ was written with determinative. The reason for the existence of three different determinatives of *T3*-§ in one text remains a controversial issue that needs much more research. However, the two determinatives may refer to the region and its (temple/towns) at the same time, while determinative used to emphasize the meaning of the word 'Lake Land'(?). Moreover, *T3*-§ is written, in the same period, with determinative.

Neither nor determinatives of *T(3)-§* were written in the text of *Biankhy* which reads: *hd pw l i r n h m f r wp t s* (another reading *wp T3-s*) *r(gs) r-hnt gm n fn pr Šm hr-p-R* "It is sail downstream which his majesty has made to the entrance of the lake (T3-s) beside the mouth of the lake (Lahun). He found the settlement of Sekhemkheperre". [99] *T3*-§ was written here with the determinative which represents the irrigation canal. [100] On the other side, the text implies that *T3*-§ refers to the entire Fayoum region with Lahun gap as its entrance as clear in the phrase *wp T3-s* which is equivalent to the phrase *r gs r-hnt* as the entrance to the Fayoum region. [101]

In the New Kingdom, the statement *‘iw w hry-lb T3-s* ‘Islands in the middle of T3-s’ indicates that *T3*-§ refers to the entire Fayoum region including the Lake with its islands. Furthermore, the title of Sobek, appeared in the Middle Kingdom, ‘Bsr ndy nb T3-s ‘Sobek who belongs to Shedet, Lord of T3-s’ emphasizes this idea. Further evidences from the Late Period confirmed that *T3*-§ refers to the entire Fayoum region; the statement *‘s wr m T3-s* ‘the great lake in T3-s’ appears. It is clear that *S-wr* refers to Lake Qarun while *T3*-§ refers to the entire Fayoum. This statement copes with the description of *T3*-§ in the Book of the Fayoum mentioned above. Notably, both (§ - Šy) and (T3-s – p3 T3-s(y) – T8 – T8e) are mentioned in Demotic literature of the eighth century BCE onwards. [102]

Finally, in the Late Period onwards, *T3*-§ is identified with another name of the Fayoum *W3d-wr*. In his study on Fayoum localities, Yoyotte addressed some examples that confirm this conclusion such as *gnw.t m T3-s st.k nfr m Km-wr*. This text emphasized, on one hand, that *T3-s* region consists of towns such as *Gnw.t; and on another hand is identified with *Km-wr* which in turn, confirms the identification of *T3-s* with *W3d-wr.*

Another proof of this identification between *T3*-§ and *W3d-wr* appeared in the Ptolemaic Period, as attested in a text from Ghurab stated that: *Ws sir ity hry-lb T3-s nfr-s3 hk3 W3d-wr Skr m T3-s ‘Osiris, the sovereign who is in the middle of T3-s, the great god, ruler of W3d-wr, Soker in T3-s’.[103] Moreover, in the
Greco-Roman period, Ṣ was regarded as part of T3-Ṣ as clear in a title of Hathor nb.t im₃w m Ṣ wr m T3-Ṣ. Obviously, the Lake in this title named Ṣ wr 'the great lake' in T3-Ṣ. Another title of Sobek Shedit Ṣnh₃ f m Ṣ htp f m T3-Ṣ confirmed the previous conclusion. Finally, T3-Ṣ personifies the Fayoum region which is divided into two administrative parts; Ṣ-rṣy and Ṣ-mḥty. The region itself had towns and cult centers, while the Lake Ṣ or the Great Lake Ṣ wr with its islands was part of this region.

4. Mr-wr, Wṣḏ-wr, Pṣ-y₃m

4.1 Mr-wr

Berlin Dictionary translated Mr-wr as 'Lake Moeris of the Fayoum', He sometimes added variations to it without determinatives or with the 'town' determinative. Moreover, Mr-wr is sometimes written with determinative, and in other examples with and determinatives. Since T3-Ṣ is identified with Wṣḏ-wr and Km-wr as discussed above, Mr-wr is also identified with the northern side of Wṣḏ-wr as evident in the following text Wṣḏ-wr mḥt Mr-wr pw. However, we should not neglect that Mr-wr refers to the town of Madinet Ghurab too.

According to Gauthier, Mr-wr refers to the twenty-first nome of Upper Egypt. Moreover, in the geographical texts of Edfu Temple which date back to the reign of Ptolemy IV Philapator, Mr-wr was referred to as the nome Arsinoeite followed by the twenty-second nome. It is difficult to state whether Mr-wr refers to Lake Moeris, Kom Medinet Ghurab or the entire Fayoum region as attested in the Demotic texts (Ṣ-wr, Mr-wr, Mw- wr, M-wr, Ms-wr).

In the Book of the Fayoum, Lake Moeris was hand-dug following the theory of the Ogdoood as Lake Qarun emerged from the Primeval Water, Nun. This idea was also highlighted by Herodotus who mentioned that Lake Moeris was hand-dug artificially too.

4.2 Ṣ-ḥr Wṣḏ-wr

The literal meaning of Wṣḏ-wr is the 'Great Green'. It is a moatpoint among scholars; some of them believe that it indicated any large body of water such as the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. However, the idea that the word means 'the sea' has been completely rejected by others. While other scholars assume that the term has never had such significance and it means instead 'a fertile, lush and wet by water river' which concurs with the nature of the Fayoum region. Other meanings of Wṣḏ-wr have been launched by other scholars, including Lower Egypt.

The oldest link between the Fayoum region and Wṣḏ-wr was through the name of a person Wṣḏ-wr probably lived during the Twelfth Dynasty whose name was written in a title ḥṣy Ṣ-rṣy on a fragment of offering stela from Kahun. In the New Kingdom, a stela, belongs to the Prince Khaemwaset the son of Rameses II, was dedicated to the god Wṣḏ-wr, which in this context cannot be more than a personification of the Fayoum region, and Osiris 'the ruler who resides in T3-Ṣ'. Most of our sources of Wṣḏ-wr as a name of Fayoum region date to the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. All these sources are methodological but lack information about the administration and geography of Wṣḏ-wr as the Fayoum region. The echo of the Osirian Myth is clear in most of these sources as Osiris was connected to the Lake of Wṣḏ-wr in which he drowned. These sources stated that the primeval ocean Nun was part of Wṣḏ-wr where the Ogdoood came into existence and some essential gods and goddesses such as
$R^c$, $Mht$ Wrt, and $Śd.i$ also came into existence in W3d-wr ym. Likewise, $R^c$-Hr-3hty, the elder son of goddess $Mht$ Wrt emerged from W3d-wr which is described as $ḥm s$ 'the divine lake'.

The god $Skr$ of Illahun, the soul of Osiris, passes W3d-wr to see the god Osiris in his lake ($Sf$). This text differentiates between W3d-wr which personifies the Fayoum region and its lake $s$. The previous text rooted in the hymns honoring Sobek Shedyt in pRamesseum VI of Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasties, in which Sobek, who will be replaced later by Sokar, goes on the road in the lake $s$, passing (hns) the W3d-wr in order to find the body of his father Osiris. However, the former text located the lake of Osiris, $Sf$, to the ($r gs rṣy n hnt$) southern side of hnt of the lake; while, god Sokar rests ($hps f m mn-nsw.t$) in Herakleopolis, modern Ehnasia El Medina. This conclusion is also evident in another text; Sokar of Illahun as mentioned above passes W3d-wr to see Osiris in his lake, which is in the side of hnt while he rests in Herakleopolis. Therefore, $gs rṣy n hnt$ personifies the site of Illahun.

In the autobiographical text on the coffin of Ankhrtuy of the Thirteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, he was entitled $Wsr h3ty- $nḫ rwty $T3-$ $imnty W3d-wr$ 'Osiris, the mayor, Ankhrtuy of T3$-$ in the west of W3d-wr'. In spite of the above-mentioned evidences of the identification between $T3$-$ and W3d-wr, Ankhrtuy text located $T3$-$ in the west of W3d-wr. Ankhrtuy was also entitled $Wsr h3ty- $T3-$ $imy-r$ $T3$-$ W3d-wr $imy-r$ $iw wp s$. Obviously, $T3$-$ W3d-wr portal of W3d-wr' equals wp $s$ 'the beginning of the lake' and at the same time, we could assume that $r gs rṣy n hnt$ identifies both $T3$-$W3d-wr$ and wp $s$. Furthermore, W3d-wr is also associated with ym. Some gods and goddesses, as mentioned above, came into existence from W3d-wr ym. In the Demotic text from the Eighth Century BCE onwards, Lake Moeris is known as $s y W3d-wr n N3 nfr ir sty-t$- $s y w t w r$. Notably, the Demotic texts differentiate between W3d-wr as the name of the Fayoum region and $s$- W3d-wr as the name of the Lake.

Finally, all W3d-wr determinatives including $|$- $|$ refer to 'water'. As far as we know, W3d-wr was not written, contrary to $s$, $s-rṣy$, $T3$-$, and Mr-wr' with $|$ determinative.

4.3 $\text{\begin{figure}\centering\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}}\end{figure}$ P3-ym

$ym$ is originally a Semitic word adopted in Egypt from the New Kingdom, especially the Eighteenth Dynasty, to indicate 'the sea'. Gauthier proposed different meanings of this word such as 'sea, river, canal, lake, pool, swamp, or a body of water in general'. Gardiner gave only the 'sea' meaning to the word. Both Meeks and Wilson in their Dictionaries translated the word ym 'the sea' although Meeks translated Rammesside statement 'P3-Im n s Sbk' as 'the Lake of the Fayoum'. Wilson agreed with Gauthier that the word ym bears the meaning of a large body of water such as a lake, a sea or a basin/ depression full of water. In Demotic and Coptic literature, the word probably means a basin or a depression full of a liquid.

Furthermore, P3-ym was sometimes used as a name for the entire Fayoum region. Apparently, the name was used by the inhabitants of the Fayoum region as a name for their province. However, notably, it seems that neither Sobek nor any other deity worshipped in the Fayoum region are associated with P3-ym.

During the reign of Rameses III of the Twentieth Dynasty, P3-ym was mentioned...
among the areas conquered by this king, and it was inhabited by the Sherden tribes. Moreover, inscriptions in Medinet Habu asserted that these tribes settled in the Fayoum region and took the title Šrdn Pš-yvm.\textsuperscript{98}

In Demotic texts, the Fayoum region is known as pš ṭs n Pš-yvm ‘the name of Pš-yvm’ (pHermopolis 1, 2 [b]; 2, 2 [b]; 3, 3 [a]; pLille Dem. 1, 32, 13; pCairo 2, 30623, 2 [b]; pOxf. Griffith 1, 28, 2),\textsuperscript{99} Pš-yvm\textsuperscript{100} or yvm.\textsuperscript{101}

In the Book of the Fayyum, yvm appears in the myth of the heavenly cow, in which the goddess is said to come into existence in Wît-wr of yvm.\textsuperscript{102} It appears also in another text that is located in the Book of the Fayyum that reads pš bnt šm n Pš-yvm n ntr ir smn n Pš-yvm n ntr which means ‘the foundation of the southern bank of the sea of god and making the strip of land of the sea of the god’.\textsuperscript{103}

5. Uncertain Names of the Fayoum Region

5.1 Tw-Sbk

Tw-Sbk may represent a name of the Fayoum region as Cwiek\textsuperscript{104} suggested, or of a place that might be located in the region. On the other hand, a suggested opinion proposed that the significance of the name as the island of Sobek cannot definitely state that it is located in the Fayoum region.\textsuperscript{105} –<relation>– Tw-Sbk appeared during the Old Kingdom, on a stela of ntr ṣprf, the owner of the mastaba 11/1 in Dahshur from the Fourth Dynasty which was found in the so-called Valley Temple at the Bent Pyramid.\textsuperscript{106} It was also found in a Fifth Dynasty mastaba of Kai-em-re at Saqqara –<relation>–.\textsuperscript{107} In two previous cases, Tw-Sbk was written with the ‘town’ determinative; thus, it is uncertain to state it was the name of the entire Fayoum region.

5.2 Bnt

Although the location of Bnt is unknown, some scholars have associated it with the Fayoum region.\textsuperscript{108} It may signify a name of the Fayoum region, or a name of a place that might exist in the region. Friedrich von Bissing and Edward Brovarski suggested that Bnt was a locality or an island in, or in the vicinity of, the Fayoum region.\textsuperscript{109} However, Jean Vandier suggested that Bnt was an island in the vicinity of Shedet,\textsuperscript{110} while Elmar Edel proposes that it was a place of ramification of Bahr Yusuf connecting the Nile.\textsuperscript{111}

A scene in the solar temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab (Relief Berlin 20039), represents a crocodile, probably a reptile’s mummy lying on the ground, with its head emerging from the mummy wrappings. It is located in a temple or an island known as Bnt and surrounded by water.\textsuperscript{112}

Conclusion

This paper discussed the Fayoum region names, and the texts in which these names occurred, their historical development, and their determinatives. As an outcome, an inventory including seven of the Fayoum region names Ṣ-rsy, T3-s, Mr-wr, Wît-wr, Pš-yvm, Tw-Sbk, Bnt was reached.

All the Fayoum region names are linked to water existence; however, only three names - Mr-wr, Wît-wr, Pš-yvm - were written with ṣ-rsy, determinatives. Other names were written with either Ṣ, Ṣ, Ṣ, or Ṣ determinatives of which the last four determinatives were assigned for T3-s and the first two were often used for Ṣ and Ṣ-rsy.

In terms of Fayoum region names historical development, it is noted that, except the uncertain names, no one name replaced the other; for instance, Ṣ-rsy continued during the Middle Kingdom despite the appearance of T3-s. Also, they continued into the
New Kingdom onwards side by side with Mr-wr, W3d-wr and ym.

Discussions also revealed that S-ry. and S-mhty are two administrative parts of T3-s at least during the Middle and New Kingdoms. In the text of Ankhruyt and in the Book of the Fayyum of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, T3-s was identified with the southern part of W3d-wr; while, Mr-wr was also identified with the northern part of W3d-wr ym. Moreover, W3d-wr and ym are in some texts written as identical geographical sites.

More importantly, it is clear from the historical development of the Fayyum region names that the most debating name is S-ry. This paper offered a concrete understanding to the development of this particular name. It is now obvious that from the Old Kingdom to the Eleventh/Twelfth Dynasties, it referred to the entire Fayyum region. However, at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and during the Thirteenth Dynasty, it probably composed, together with S-mhty, a half-part of T3-s. Furthermore, in the New Kingdom, S is identified with Mr-wr (Kom Madinet Ghurab) or a town in the vicinity of Mr-wr, and that S referred to the water-part of the region. Undoubtedly, the Fayyum region names are chaotic and overlapped, especially the names and titles associated with gods and goddesses. The issue that led to the study of these names is a real dilemma. For instance, Osiris is entitled 'W3ir hry-ib T3-s', 'W3ir ity hry-ib T3-s' or 'W3ir nfr 3 hry-ib T3-s', 'hnty T3-s', 'm T3-s', 'ity m T3-s', 'ity W3d-wr', 'hnty S', 'nb S.r.'.

Notes

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5 Urk. I, 2, 6; cf. also hwt shk with the determinative of 'town'. Urk. I, 5, 4.

6 Cwick, GM 160, 19, no.18; see also: H.G. Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. (New York, 1968), 3-5.

7 This architrave fragment is preserved in Ontario Royal Museum in Toronto (958.49.1). It belongs to an unknown person.

8 Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, II, 669.

9 Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, II, 780; Wkh III, 39, 8.


11 Cwick, GM 160, 19.


13 Cf. K. Zibelius, Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches (Wiesbaden, 1978). 232. Uncertainty of the sign s-ry. was mentioned between the twenty first and the twenty second names of Upper Egypt. Fraser, ASAE 3, 76: Gomaa, Die Besiedlung Ägyptens, 389 in this list of names. Zibelius, Ägyptische Stellungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches, 232; Cwick, GM 160, 19. The reason of uncertainty is that the sign s-ny. was mistakenly written instead of s-ry.


15 A.H. Gardiner, The Name of Lake Moeris, JEA 29 (1943), 39f.
Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt

16 Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, 44.

17 A. Fakhry, 'A Forty Nights Digging at Madinet Qita (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 904; Gomaa, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.


21 Brugsch, 'Der Möris-See', *ZÄS* 31 (1893), 18; Fakhry, *ASAE* 40, 904; Gomaa, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens*, 389.


30 L. Habachi, 'Vaste salle d’Amenemhat III à Kiman-Fâres (Fayoum)', *ASAE* 37 (1937), 95, fig.10; Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum*, 236-238.


33 *WB* V, 226.


35 S. Farag, 'Une inscription memphite de la XIIe dynastie', *RdE* 32 (1980), 80.

36 Habachi, *ASAE* 37, 95, fig.10.


38 Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890), 18, pl. 11, Nr.9.

39 Wild, *BIFAO* 69, 106ff, fig. 5, 107, pl. 20.


42 For more Third Intermediate Period and Late Period texts mentioned T3-t- see: Zecchi, *Sobek of Shedet*. 135-152.

43 On an offering table preserved in Cairo Museum CG.23240 discovered in Hawara from the Ptolemaic Period, T3-t was written with = determinative in a title of Sekhem (shm1 m T3-t) A. Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes* (Cairo, 1909), 157: PM IV, 101; Zecchi, *Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayyum*, II, 96.

44 *WB* V, 226.


47 According to texts of the *Book of the Fayyum*, the Fayoum region encompasses a canal which flows into T3-t. Both the canal and the lake are surrounded by cult-centers. Zecchi, *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), 128.


49 Petrie, *Hawara*, 21, pl. II.


52 Moreover in the same text, *Piankhby* mentioned that on his way to T3-t, he found pr *Shm-hpr-R*, a military
settlement most probably not far away from Lahun and Gurob and a part of the territory of Hierakleopolis and dates back to Osorkon I of the Twenty-Second Dynasty. Zecchi, Sobek of Sheset. 135.

53 Wb V, 226, 6-7.
54 Wb V, 226, 8.
55 Wb V, 226, 9-10.


57 Yoyotte, BIFAO 61, 116.
58 Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, pl. XXI; Brugsch, ZÄS 30, 70.
59 Zecchi, Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum, 237-238.
60 Wb II, 97.
61 Brugsch, ZÄS 30, 72.
62 Arnold, LÄ II, cl.87-88; Gardiner, JEA 29, 37; Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus. II, 30.
63 Gauthier, Dictionnaire géographique III (Le Caire, 1925), 46.
65 Vereth, A Survey of Tophonyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period, 56, 59.
67 Wb I, 269.
68 Wb I, 269. 13-14; Montet, Géographie de L'Egypte ancienne, 206; Zecchi, Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum, 239; Zecchi, Fayyum Studies 2 (2006), 127.

70 Cf. Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr. Un autre aspect de la vallée du Nil, 75; Zecchi, Fayyum Studies 2, 127.
71 Favard-Meeks, SAK 16, 50-58; Zecchi, Fayyum Studies 2, 127.
72 Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, pl. 11, Nr.14; Gomaa, Die Besiedlung Ägyptiens, 390; Zecchi, Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum, 239.
73 Zecchi, Fayyum Studies 2, 127.
76 Lanzone, Les papyrus du Lac Moeris. 3, 9, 22; Brugsch, Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh, 23; Beinlich, ZÄS 124 (1997), 152, line 141-142; Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 242.
77 Lanzone, Les papyrus du Lac Moeris. 6, 17; Beinlich, ZÄS 124 (1997), 154, line 178; Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 243.
78 Lanzone, Les papyrus du Lac Moeris. 8, 3; Beinlich, ZÄS 124 (1997), 140, line 30; Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 244.
79 Sobek Shedit  mentioned here was identified with Horus the son of Osiris in the Osiran Myth.
81 Lanzone, Les papyrus du Lac Moeris. 2, 5, 1-3; Beinlich, ZÄS 124 (1997),140 line 129; Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 241.
82 Petrie, Hawara, 21, pl. II; Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 65.
83 Petrie, Hawara, 23, pl. III, 4; Yoyotte, BIFAO 61, 91 no.2, Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, 65.
85 Vereth, A Survey of Tophonyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period, 56.
86 For more information, discussions and opinions about ym. see Vandersleyen, Ouadj our Wid-wr, ch.6 ff.
88 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar. 556; Gardiner, Wilbour Papyrus. II, 47; Montet. Géographie de l’Egypte ancienne. 206; Arnold, LA II, cl.87.
90 Gardiner, Onomastica, I, 7*.
94 Wilson, A Protohieratic Lexicon. 129-30.
95 Wilson, A Protohieratic Lexicon. 129-30; Vandersleyen, Ouedj ou Wd-jwr, 94.
96 Montet, Géographie de l’Egypte ancienne. 206; Zecchi, Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum, 238f.
97 Zecchi, Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum, 238f.
98 Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 196*.
99 Vereth, Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts from the 8th Century BC till the 5th Century AD. 379; Vereth, A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period, 56.
100 M.A. Stadler, Ibis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung, neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayyum nach dem Papyrus Wien D.12006 Recto (Wien. 2004). 47-84, col. 3, 12; 28; 29; 47-84, col. 4, 26, 30, 47-84, col. 7, 16; Vereth, Toponyms in Demotic and Abnormal Hieratic Texts, 379; Vereth, A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period, 56.
104 Cwick, GM 160, 19.
105 Zibelius, Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches, 30-32.
107 Zibelius, Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches, 30.
112 Von Bissing, ASAE 53, 19; Edel and Wenig. Die Jahreszeitsreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligum des Königs Ne-user-re, pls. B, 15, 38, 40a; Brovarski, LAV, cl.997, fig. 3; Zecchi, Sobek of Shedu, 14.
113 Petrie, Hawara, 9, 23, pl. 5. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10; Zecchi, Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Fayyum, II. 83-87.
Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ or ‘Lady of Mefkat’ in the Nile Delta
Textual Evidences

حتحورية دلتا النيل: هل هي سيدة الفيروز أم سيدة مفكات؟
الشواهد النصية

Ahmed Mansour*

ملخص

عُثر على شواهد نصية تشير إلى عبادة حتحور سيدة الفيروز خارج جزيرة سيينا، وهو المكان الطبيعي لمسارعة تلك العبادة. ولقد عُثر على هذه الشواهد في أربع مناطق; هي: جبل أبو حصى، كوم أبو بلو، سرابوم الإسكندرية، منطقة ماريا. ولقد وردت كلمة الفيروز أو مفكات. مصصصات مختلفة مما أدى إلى اختلاف آراء العلماء حول تفسيرها. وناقش هذه الورقة البحثية هذه الشواهد النصية التي تشير إلى حتحور؛ بهدف الوصول إلى أرجح التفسير الخاصة بهدراها في دلتا النيل.
It has been noted that Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was worshipped outside Sinai—the normal place where such adoration was practiced. This idea is probably accepted by a major part of the scholars. Nevertheless, the epithet ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was found outside Sinai in four places, which chronologically date back to the period from Nineteenth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. The aim of this paper is to explore the textual evidences of Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ in the Nile Delta. In the meantime, the paper displays that such epithet ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was determined by two different signs, which leads to a possible different translation. This paper is not an exclusive list of the textual evidences of the occurrence of such epithet. It is an attempt to discuss the occurrence of such epithet in the Nile Delta.

**Textual Evidences**

The textual evidences where Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was worshipped in the Nile Delta are:

- **Fragment of Stela found at Gebel Abu Hassa**

  A fragment of the right half of the upper part of a round-topped stela. It was found in the Temple of Ramses II. It is cut off limestone. It was discovered in the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa. The text reads:

  \[ Hwt-Hr nbt m[fkt] \]

  ‘Hathor, Lady of Turquoise’.4


  **Date:** Nineteenth Dynasty

- **Sarcophagus of Kom Abu Billo**

  A sarcophagus from the collection of Baron Amherst of Hackney, found in the Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo. The concerned phrase was engraved in the third column of the text. It reads:

  \[ SS lry n Hwt-ntr n Pr Hwt-Hr-nbt-Mfk3t ‘The priest Sesh-Irt3 of the Temple of Hathor. Lady of Mefkat’. \]


  **Date:** Ptolemaic Period

- **Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen, EABM 23**

  \[ Ms n Thy(t) n Hwt-Hr-nbt(M)fk3t ‘Born of the Musician of Hathor, Lady of Turquoise’. It was discovered at the Serapeum of Memphis, currently is in the British Museum. \]


  **Date:** Ptolemaic Period

- **Vatican Statue inv. 22689**

  \[ Hwt-Hr nb(t) Mfk3t ‘Hathor, Lady of Mefkat’. \]

  **Bib:** Turajeff. Boris ‘Die naophore Statue Nr. 97 im Vatikan’, *ZAS* 46 (1909), 74-77.

  **Date:** Ptolemaic Period

- **Donation Stela JE 30972, Cairo Museum**

  It was found at the area of Mariout Lake, and currently is conserved in the Cairo Museum.

  \[ Rnpt 18 hr hm n Nswt-bity ‘3-Hpr-R’ dl snb lw Kr 3 Pr-s W33llhtwst3 n Wjs3illk33nw mwt.f Tntsht3llw hnk 3ht stt S r Pr-n-Hwt-Hr-nbt-Mfk3t. \]
'Year 18 under his majesty of Lower and Upper Egypt '3-Hpr-R' (Sheshonk V) endowed of life. The great shield bearer of the Pharaoh (King) Weshti-het son of Weherkeni,\textsuperscript{13} whose mother is Tashaerihad offered of 5 aurora\textsuperscript{14} of land to the Temple of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{15}


**Date:** Twenty-Second Dynasty

This Stela is a crucial masterpiece that refers to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' i.e. Kom Abu Billo. The city was named after Hathor; Pr Hwt-Hr nbt mfkt 'Hathor Residence, Lady of Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{16} The Stela dates back to the reign of Sheshonk V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty. It proves that the cult of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat, flourished in the western part of the Nile Delta in the first Millennium BCE. In addition, it concludes that Ptolemy I Soter rebuilt an ancient temple that was destroyed during the time of Sheshonk V. Furthermore, the donation stela reveals the powerful authority conveyed to the Libyans during the Third Intermediate Period.\textsuperscript{17}

- **A raised relief represents Ptolemy I before Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' offering her incense**

Hathor holds her emblem: the papyrus scepter. However, only traces of such inscription are preserved; it may suffice to point out the ends of the two cartouches above the King which contained cartouche of Ptolemy I, followed by an invocation to the deity. In the column of inscription to the left of Hathor, it reads: her wish that she may take possession of the land as far as the Great Green.

It was discovered at Hathor Temple, Kom Abu Billo, and is in *Boston's Museum of Fine Arts*.


**Date:** Ptolemaic Period

- **Epithet of Osiris**

Text: Wsir Mrythnt (M) fkt 'Wsr of the bank who is in front of Mefkat'. In some instances, the name of Mefkat loses the m at the beginning of the word Fkt Wsir-Mrythnt(m)fkt 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{19} Mryt\textsuperscript{20} is, probably, identified with the city of Marea, which lies at the south of Lake Mariout. Osiris of Mariout was connected with Hathor of Mefkat, and probably Osiris had a chapel in Mefkat. On a stela in the Museum Yverdon-les-Bains, Switzerland, Osiris is mentioned Wsir-Mry ntr 3 hnt [M] fkt 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{21}

**Bib:** Monnet, *Geographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 63.

- **Limestone statue of P3-Sr-n-Pth 'Psenpaits I'\textsuperscript{22}**

It was found at Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco-Roman Museum, no. 17533 and 17534.

\textsuperscript{s} s n Hwt-Hr nbm fkt 'Scribe of Hathor Lady of Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{23}

**Bib:** E. Breccia, 'Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d'Alexandrie en 19051906-', *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65.

**Date:** Ptolemaic Period
P3-Sr-n-Pth 'Psenptais I' was contemporary with two monarchs of the Lagide family: Ptolemy V (204–181 BCE) and Ptolemy VI (181–145 BCE). He has two naophoros statues that were found by Breccia in the Serapeum of Alexandria. The two statues are now in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. The first is under no. Alex. 17533 and is made of basalt. The second is under no. Alex. 17534 and is made of basalt. Psenptais is represented standing, wearing the traditional robe of high priests of Ptah. He holds a naos in front of him. An inscription of three columns is engraved on the dorsal pillar that lists the different titles borne by Psenptais, of those is $\text{ḥrp.} \ s^s \ n \ Hwt-Hr \ nbt \ Mfkt\'t$ 'scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat'.

- **Torso of limestone statue of P3-di-B3ttt 'Petobastis I':** It was found at the Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco-Roman Museum no. 27806.

  Text: $\text{ḥrp.} \ s^s \ n \ Hwt-Hr \ nbt \ mfkt\'t$ 'scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat'.


  Date: Ptolemaic Period.

P3-di-B3ttt 'Petobastis I' was contemporary with Ptolemy II (283–246 BCE) and Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE). A torso of his statue is conserved in the Greco-Roman Museum no. 27806, and is made of basalt. It was found during 1946, in the district of Ghorbal in Alexandria. Petobastis I was like 'Psenptais I' a scribe of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'.

The two priests exercised various functions such as god’s father, Sem priest, Priest of Ptah in Memphis, Superintendent of confidential affairs in the domain of Ptah, Rostas, Serapeum, Rutaset, and Scribe of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. The latter is an important title as it assumes the geographical sphere on which Psenptais I and Petobastis I exercised their sacerdotal duties. This assumption leads to an eventual sacerdotal connection between the clergy of Ptah at Memphis or Alexandria, and that of Hathor at Mefkat. We may conclude that the clergy of Hathor Temple at Mefkat (Kom Abu Billo) was dependent on that of Memphis. Moreover, the excellent location of Mefkat on the Nile facilitated the transportation between it and Memphis and Alexandria. It is worth noting that the two priests are natives of Memphis not of Alexandria, although their two statues were found in the Serapeum.

R. Giveon believes that there was a temple dedicated to Hathor at Gebel Abu Hassa, on the way to Sinai. The mention of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' in such a temple, dedicated to other divinities, is comprehensible as she is a divinity from the vicinity, she is the divinity of turquoise mines in Sinai. In addition, the expeditions passed by the temple site to reach the mines in Sinai. Therefore, a stela was dedicated to her. During the Ramesside Period, it was common to use the route between Pi-Ramses and the Gulf of Suez. Such route started from the royal residence at the Eastern Delta, passing across Wadi Tumilat, passing either by Pi-Sopedu (Saft el-Henna) or by Tikw (Tell el-Rataba) heading southward to reach el-Markha plain, then continues along the same route to reach the turquoise mines. An inscription of Year 7 from the reign of Thutmose IV reported an expedition sent to Sinai under the commandment of a certain Amenemhat who was $\text{ḥrp.} \ pdt \ n \ Tikw 'The commander of the archers of Tjeku'. Consequently, a small chapel from the Ramesside Period, dedicated to Hathor, a stela from the reign of Seti I, and a stela from the...
reign of Ramses II mentioning Hathor as a Lady of Turquoise, was found at Gebel Abu Hassa.\textsuperscript{39} proving the importance of this route to cross the Peninsula.

On one of the reliefs known as 'neo-Memphite' in the Baltimore Museum, dating back to the mid of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, a certain title is mentioned $\text{\textgreek{h} \textgreek{w}} \text{\textgreek{w} \textgreek{d}}$.\textsuperscript{40} Such title occurs on sarcophagus EABM 23 which belongs to Hapmen in addition to his administrative and religious titles, of which $s(\text{\textgreek{k}}) \text{\textgreek{h} \textgreek{t}}$ appears. On the other hand, his mother is $\text{\textgreek{l}} \text{\textgreek{h}} \text{\textgreek{y} \textgreek{t}} \text{\textgreek{n} \textgreek{Hw} \textgreek{t} \textgreek{Hr} \text{\textgreek{n} \textgreek{b} \textgreek{t} \textgreek{Mfk} \textgreek{k} \textgreek{t}}$ 'Musician of Hathor, 'Lady of Mefkat' (Kom Abu Billo).\textsuperscript{41} Consequently, such priest is attested exercising a cult to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' received a special cult exercised by a priest bearing the title $s(\text{\textgreek{k}}) \text{\textgreek{h} \textgreek{t}}$ 'That who unites the superior part of the body'.\textsuperscript{42}

Horus $\text{Sm3-T3wy}$, the child deity of Mefkat’s triad, is also attested at Mefkat. A limestone block dating to the reign of Ptolemy I in the British Museum, reads: $\text{\textgreek{h} \textgreek{r} \text{\textgreek{S} \textgreek{m} \textgreek{T} \textgreek{3} \textgreek{w} \textgreek{n} \textgreek{r} \textgreek{3} \textgreek{h} \textgreek{n} \textgreek{t} \textgreek{Mfk} \textgreek{t}}$ 'Horus who unifies the two Lands, the great deity who is in front of Mefkat'.\textsuperscript{43} The importance of Horus $\text{Sm3-T3wy}$ in the city of Mefkat is assured by his mention on the stela Montgeron 2007. 4.\textsuperscript{44}

The dedication of 5 auroras by a certain Weshtethet son of Wetheterkeni, whose mother is Taseheri, is considered important evidence. Weshtethet was the great shield bearer of King Sheshonq V. His great dedication indicates the surface of the Temple. Moreover, the dedication, probably, refers that Hathor was a powerful divinity in the Western Delta, as she was worshipped by both Egyptians and Libyans.\textsuperscript{45} The Libyans at Western Delta were of considerable power and control to be able to dedicate such a large surface of land. Furthermore, the epithet borne by the dedicator is quite questionable $\text{\textgreek{k} \textgreek{r} \text{\textgreek{n}} \text{\textgreek{t}} \text{\textgreek{p} \textgreek{r} \textgreek{s} \textgreek{3}}$ 'The shield bearer of the Pharaoh'.\textsuperscript{46} He is of Libyan origin, attached to the service of Sheshonq V, as a guide or chief of caravans.

**Conclusion**

The word $\text{\textgreek{m} \textgreek{w} \textgreek{t}}$ 'nb(t) Mfk3t' was written with the determinative of $\text{\textgreek{O}49}$.\textsuperscript{47} Breccia translated it 'Lady of Turquoise', but the author believes that the correct translation is 'Lady of Mefkat, Kom Abu Billo', as the determinative refers to a place not to a mineral.\textsuperscript{48} Finally, Gionon explains that this epithet does not have any relation with the Temple of Hathor, and at this late period, the epithet became general for the goddess without reference to mining. However, the author believes that the epithet retained its religious importance until the days of the Ptolemies.\textsuperscript{49}

The oldest mention of such epithet dates back to the reign of Ramses II, from the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is found at the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa, in the Eastern Delta. However, the oldest mention of the epithet Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' in the Western Delta dates back to the reign of Sheshonq V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

During the Ptolemaic Period, a temple was re-built in favor of Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. The determinative $\text{O49}$ is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Mefkat. Such a temple is probably among the few temples established by Ptolemy I Soter. There was a clergy devoted to her cult.

In addition, a triad composed of Osiris $\text{Mryt}$, Horus $\text{Sm3-t3wy}$ shared the Temple with Hathor, since they were mentioned in different documents, for example stela Montgeron 2007. 4.

Gionon and Yousef believe that due to the demise in turquoise mining during the reign of Ramses VI,
and the return of large numbers of miners looking for other opportunities in the Nile Delta, it was perhaps due to those workmen that the cult of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' spread in a number of places in the Nile Delta. In addition, Montet suggests that Hathor was a powerful deity whose worship flourished in the Nile Delta. This worship was spread over all parts of the Nile Delta because of her followers who worshipped her in the Western part, as well as her worship in the Eastern part.

Finally, I believe that the two epithets are different, as the two deities are of different forms. Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' is the principal deity of Mefkat, Kom Abu Billo. She has a particular form worshipped under epithet 'The Golden' or 'The Golden had come'. Sometimes, she is represented with a cow's head. She is related with the local mythology where she was decapitated, and her head was replaced by Thot. She played the same role of Isis, as was represented in the middle of the triad on the stela of Montgeron. Meanwhile, Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' was mentioned once in the Eastern Delta in Gebel Abu Hassa. It has no relation with the Western toponymy Mefkat. In some instances, the orthography of the word 'mfr3t' was determined by Ö49 or N33. The use of determinative refers either to the town of Kom Abu Billo, or to the mineral itself.

Following table shows the attestations of the epithet Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' in the Nile Delta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Place of Discovery/Conservation</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Circular-topped stela</td>
<td>Gebel Abu Hassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sarcophagus from the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney</td>
<td>Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen</td>
<td>EABM 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vatican Statue no. 97.</td>
<td>Vatican Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cairo Museum</td>
<td>Donation Stela JE 30972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A raised relief</td>
<td>BMFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Epithet of Osiris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Two limestone statues of are $\text{P3-}Sr-n-Pth$ 'Psenptais I'</td>
<td>Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, nos. 17533 and 17534.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Torso of limestone statue of $\text{P3-di-Bistt}$ 'Petobastis I'</td>
<td>Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, no. 27806</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes

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1 Hathor was represented in Serabit el-Khadim as $\text{nḥt mfk}$; 'Lady of Turquoise' in different textual forms. She was ascribed as 'Lady of Turquoise' or 'Lady of Turquoise land'. Inscriptions are also found at 'Ayn el-Suhkna which was a stop in the long road to Serabit el-Khadim. The inscriptions mentioned the Royal orders to send an expedition to bring turquoise, copper and all the good products of the mountain. Similarly, at Serabit el-Khadim, the epithet 'Lady of Turquoise' appeared in the reign of Amenemhat I without the determinative of 'foreign country'. In another example from Serabit el-Khadim, she was mentioned as Hathor $\text{nḥt lps-nlfz}$ 'Lady of lapis-lazuli' as in IS 102, since the two precious stones (turquoise and lapis-lazuli) were linked together, and was mentioned consecutively in other inscriptions in Dendera Temple. See: Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinait II (London, 1955), 86; Giveon, The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO 20 (Fribourg, 1978). 65.; M. Abd el-Raziq, G. Castel, P. Tallet, V. Ghica, Les inscriptions d'Ayn Suhkna, MIFAO 122 (Cairo, 2002). 40; D. Valbelle, Ch. Bonnet, Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise Serabit El-Khadim au Moyen Empire (Paris, 1996); A. Mansour, Turquoise in Ancient Egypt: Concept and Role, BAR 2602 (2014).

2 A Ramesside temple was discovered in the area between Qantara and Gaza. This temple was dedicated to Hathor and Horus. The site was, firstly, excavated by J. Clédat. However, in recent years, Lionel Schmitt re-excavated it, and revealed a shrine housing the great divinities of Ancient Egypt as well as the Asiatic god, Rechepou. It is probable that such a temple was designated as a frontier temple between the Nile Delta and foreign lands. L. Schmitt, 'Le temple du Gebel Abou Hassa', BIFAO 105 (2005), 357-358.


4 Giveon, The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO 20, 66.

5 It lies north of Khataba and south-west of Menuf, at 60-70 km from Cairo. It is famous for its Greco-Roman necropolis; however, its origins date back to Pharaonic times. S. Dhennin, 'Térénouthis – Kom Abou Billou : une ville et sa nécropole', BIFAO 111 (2011), 106.

6 In 1887-1888, the late E.L. Griffith excavated the site, which lies at 4023 km south of Kaf Dawoud. During his excavation, Griffith found in both Kom Abu Billo and Terranah some limestone blocks that formed together part of a Temple wall of Ptolemy I. The Temple was principally dedicated to Hathor 'Lady of Meftak'. F. L.J. Griffith, 'The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh, and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt During the Years 1887-1888', in: E. Naville, The Mound of the Jews and the City of Onias (London, 1890), 60-64, pl. XX; V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic reliefs II: Temple decorations of Ptolemy I Soter', Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, vol. L. No. 218 (Boston, 1952), 51. Such a temple was probably a temple of Hathor that might date back to Ramses II. It is assumed that the Temple was reconstructed during the reign of Ptolemy I. R. Caminos, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', JEA 50 (1968), 92. Nowadays, a French mission is carrying on excavations under the supervision of Sylvain Dhennin.

7 The determinative $\text{nḥt}$ (O49) is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Meftak.

8 The Sesh-Ity priest is still of unknown functions. According to Prof. Paolo Gallo, the title could be translated as 'the priest who does what should be done'. Personal communication with Prof. Paolo Gallo during the lectures of Egyptology Master at Turin University, 2009. However, Prof. el-Sayed Mahfouz suggested to translate it 'scribe of Ity priests'. Personal communication with Prof. el-Sayed Mahfouz.


10 The Stela was first translated by Maspero. However, Yoyotte retranslated it and corrected some mistakes. I adopted the translation of Yoyotte.


13 The names of the Chiefs of the Rebu can be divided into two groups: those that adopt Egyptian names (In-Amun-nifnebu, Ankh-Hor, Tjerpet, Tefnakht) and those whose names continue to appear to be foreign (Niunatoped, Tiatu). The names of the Rebu are differentiated from those associated with either the Meshwesh or Ma. W. Cooney, Egypt's Encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity, (Ph.D, Durham University, 2011), 304. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/.

14 About 1.375 hectares.

Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise' or 'Lady of Mefkat' in the Nile Delta

16  J. Vandier, Le papyrus Jumilhac (Paris, 1961), 64.

17  The History and Geography of the Rebu References to the population known to the Egyptians as the Rebu begin quite suddenly during the reign of Ramesses II. The sudden appearance of Rebu in Egyptian sources, however, provides us with no indication as to their origins. While the Egyptians often encountered this group to the West of Egypt, in the region they know as Tjemehu-land, there is no indication that the Rebu originated from this region. And the close association which this group had with other so-called Sea Peoples suggests that they are most likely associated with this larger heterogeneous population group of equally mysterious origin. W. Cooney, Egypt's encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity, (PhD, Durham University, 2011), 167–168. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/.

18  For the omission of the prefix 'm.', cf. Ph. Collombert, GM 227 (2010), 21.

19  Ch. Leitz, et al., Lexikon der ägyptischen Göter und Göttnerbezeichnungen V, OLA 111, 547; Montet, Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne I, 63.


25  Reymond, From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis I, AA 38, 105.

26  Quaegebeur, in: Crawford et al. (eds.), Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica 24, 50, 72.


29  H.S.K. Bakry, A family of High Priests of Alexandria and Memphis', MDAIK 28 (1972), 75.

30  Quaegebeur, in: Crawford et al. (eds.), Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica 24, 48, 49, and n. 4.

31  Bakry, MDAIK 28, 77.

32  Gieve, The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO 20, 66.

33  Schmitt, BIFAO 105, 383.


35  H. Godedick, 'Tjeku', LÁ VI, 609.

36  P. Tallet, 'Notes sur la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï au Nouvel Empire', BIFAO 103 (2003), 475; G. Mumford, S. Parack, 'Pharaonic ventures into South Sinai: el-Markha plain site 346', JEA 89 (2003), 83. Wadi Tumilet constituted a traffic route of choice between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. This a deep, steeply-sloping Wadi, that runs from East to West, between the Eastern side of the Upper Delta and the Lake of Timah. The Wadi is a strip of land of 58 km, situated between Saft el-Henna and Ismailiya: and it represented a corridor of easy access between the Delta and the central and southern part of the Sinai Peninsula. See: D. Fabre, Seafaring in Ancient Egypt (London, 2004), 67; El-Sayed Mahfouz, La politique des souverains du Nouvel Empire au désert oriental, (Ph.D Diss., University of Lille III, 2002). 440.

37  محمد حسن حامد، لوحات الدولة الحديثة في منطقة سواحل الجادم، دراسة علمية (رسالة ماجستير، جامعة حلوان: 2007) 110.

38  Mumford, Parack, JEA 89, 89.

39  Gieve, The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO 20, 60.


41  L. Limme, 'Deux stèles inédites du Sérapeum de Memphis', Câ 47 (1972), 93.

42  Limme, Câ 47, 100.

43  Limme, Câ 47, 101; Daressy, ASAE 16, 229, l. 12.

44  S. Dhennin, 'Une stèle de Mefkat (Montgeron 2007)', Râ 63 (2012), 67-82.

45  During the reign of Sheshonkides, there were many high officials of Libyan origin. For example 'The ruler of Dakhleh Oasis'. Gardiner, JEA 19 (1933), 27; Hoyotte, RAPH 34, 34.
Ahmed Mansour

46 Wb IV, 59, 12-14; L. Lesko. A Dictionary of Late Egyptian (2004), 126. However, Maspero translated it: 'Le grand convoyeur' i.e. 'The chief of caravans'. See: Maspero, Révue de travaux XV, 84-86.


48 Notice that the word mfkₜ is written in the same orthography, with two different determinatives: ꝉ, which refers to a toponym, and ꝑ that refers to a metal. According to the classifier system adopted by Goldwasser, in the first example, the word mfkₜ takes a metonymic classifier ꝉ to indicate the 'Land of Turquoise/Merkur i.e. Kom Abu Billo', meanwhile the second example takes a taxonomic classifier ꝑ to indicate turquoise itself. Cf. Orly Goldwasser, 'A Comparison between Classifier Languages and Classifier Script: the Case of Ancient Egyptian'. The early orthographic examples for the word mfkₜ are found at both Wadi Maghara and Serabit el-Khadim. The word was written 𓊩𓊨𓊨 (Denkm. II, 116 a. 137 i. g. 6). The forearm was added later to make a ligature with the m, to be ꝉ𓊨𓊨 or ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Lepsius, Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes, 35; Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, 1895, IS23). The word mfkₜ witnessed an orthographic change; it was written with the complement (t ꝉ), ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 1; Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS23, IS94b, IS345) ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS51, IS56, IS74, IS78, IS303), ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 2) ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 2), ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 3) ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 4; Wilson, Ptolemaic Lexicon, 421), ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wb II, 56, 4). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS26, IS47, IS48, IS519). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS58, IS72). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS121, IS122). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS155). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS104, IS112). On the other hand, it was mentioned in some other texts without the complement (t ꝉ) as mfk in ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon, 421), or ꝉ in ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS123A, IS423). ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS120) or ꝉ in ꝉ (Hannig, Handwörterbuch, 638). ꝉ (Wb II, 56, 1; Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon, 421), or with the sign ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS302, IS295), or with (forearm with hand holding bread ꝉ) ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS317b). ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS408. IS421, IS426), ꝉ𓊨𓊨 (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS426, (R & L) or ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS502), or ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS267), occasionally, the determinative 'stone' ꝉ accompanies the word in its feminine form (Lepsius, Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes, 36). The word was written during the Old Kingdom as mfkₜ, then in the Middle Kingdom mfkₜ, and in the New Kingdom mfkₜ, and sometimes the word mfkₜ occurs terminating with determinative ꝉ, which is dedicated to designate place and foreign land, ꝉ (Gardiner, et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai I, IS17, IS27, IS28).

49 Giveon. The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO 20, 67.

50 Daresty, ASAE 16, 228 (4) et 229 (16-17).

51 Dhennin, RdE 63, 70-71.
On Ancient Egyptian Philology

بعض الملاحظات على علم الفُيلولوجيِّ للغة المصرية القديمة

Alessandro Roccati*

ملخص

This essay is due to a recent paper that has been published in the *ZÄS*, a sanctuary of modern Egyptological philology. As a result, I present a defence of the ancient Egyptian philology, discussing especially the last point it dealt with, which is the difference between the phonetic analysis that ancient sources provide a logogram, and its unexpected Coptic outcome.

\( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) is listed in the Wörterbuch as *whm*: the first and last consonants are often (especially the last one) specified in writing by uniliteral signs. The middle one, very seldom indeed, is consistently rendered by the sign \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \), and this disagrees with the established phonetic rules. Accordingly, the Bohairic Coptic outcome *oyaw3* would require an \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \)-sound, namely the one registered in the Wörterbuch. Although in a Pyramid Text a thorough phonetic spelling, as *whm*, was provided, this feature was explained by Lacau as an error by of the craftsman, who would have replaced \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) by \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \). Indeed, this kind of error is not exceptional, see: S. Hassan, *Giza I* (Oxford, 1932), 92 where ‘*nfr*’ replaces ‘\( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \)’ mistakenly beyond any doubt.

This issue was raised again and again by additional examples of \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) replaced by \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \), and never by \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \), perhaps owing to the resemblance of the vertical signs. Now Schweitzer attempted to dismiss them in the same way Lacau did with the Pyramid Text, assuming that the requirements of phonetics are stronger than the skills of any craftsman.

Even if I too am concerned by the antinomy between the written evidence of hieroglyphs and the Coptic outcome, and cannot find any satisfactory explanation, however, I must draw attention to the nature of the hieroglyphic documents, whose testimony cannot be simply dismissed, lest some important cultural implications are overlooked.

The Pyramid Texts provided just one example; therefore, it could be attributed to ignorance of the stonecutter. Otherwise it ought to be admitted that the stonecutter was aware of his task to the point of being able to replace a logogram \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) with the required (middle) consonant in a full phonetic writing of the word.

It is observed that the latter possibility is not far-fetched. Why this was done by the craftsman is not apparent, whether consciously or not, but it was repeated throughout the history of hieroglyphic writing.

Let us turn our attention to the case of the Saite Period. It was too easy for Schweitzer to dismiss the example from the Theban tomb of Sheshonq (TT27), owing to the confusion between both sounds \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) in the Late Period, which had already started perhaps during the Ramesside Dynasties. What Schweitzer failed to consider, is the knowledge and the awareness displayed in the monument of an outstanding learned man, who lived in the heart of the Egyptian culture during its Renaissance. The wall in the entrance staircase where the concerned word was beautifully engraved displays a collection of ancient sentences mostly reproduced by means of a kind of alphabetic rendering, regardless of the shape and pronunciation they had in older times. There is no reference to Pyramid Texts. It would be strange that such a learned man, wanting to write ‘alphabetically’ \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \), would be incorrect in choosing the correct \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \).

At this point the example from the Second Intermediate Period, coming from a provincial town as Gebelien, would say the final word. It is on a fragment from a private stela, where the text runs in horizontal lines, and the expression *whm* \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) ‘Repetition of life’ is spelt *whm* with uniliteral signs only. Once more it would be very odd that the incorrect \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) was chosen by an ordinary speaker in a not particularly erudite environment, while the choice never fell on \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \).

A written example \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) \( \text{\textsuperscript{}} \) from the chapel of a private mastaba of the Fifth Dynasty, would be even
older than the one quoted in a Pyramid Text, but it has been disregarded through a different interpretation of the involved words. However, the reading *whm* may not be certain here, though the reading proposed by Altenmüller *hmsi* is altogether questionable, a confusion of *s2z* sounds could likewise be exceptional at that time. The paronomasia in that instance with *hmww* 'craftsman' is similar with the reading *hmsi* as well, but I also pointed out a palindrome of *whm* with *mhw* in the Middle Kingdom, again supporting the *h* sound.

Gardiner had already envisaged a solution of the problem with Coptic, showing that some transformation of the sound *h* into *h* could have occurred since the Ramesside times. Anyhow, we should be much more confident about the knowledge and precision the ancient Egyptians were accustomed to, albeit from a different perspective from ours.

Back to the Saitic example of Sheshonq, one should place its occurrence in its cultural environment. The inscription on the right side wall of the access stairs is an outstanding attempt to render ancient biographical clichés through a new application of the hieroglyphic writing adapted to the model of contemporary alphabets (both Aramaic and Greek). That performance, not unusual in the Late Period, was not without remembering the way of writing in the Old Kingdom, especially in the Pyramid Texts, where the components of a logogram were quite often spelt individually. Most likely the learned people in the Late Period, inspired by the spread of contemporary alphabets, had forgotten the syllabic nature of the ancient 'uniliteral' signs, similar to the structure of the coeval cuneiform writing. Much like a modern Italian can read the words of a Latin text, which are often written exactly the same, according to the rules of modern Italian orthography, but these do not correspond entirely to the Latin ones.

The absence of written vowels may not have embarrassed those learned people, who could check only consonants, because the same was a customary occurrence in the fashionable North-West Semitic alphabets, although in the writing of some foreign personal names some hieroglyphs were redefined to express vowels.

In my opinion, this was the main difference between the phonetic spellings of *whm* in the Pyramid Age and the Late Period. In comparison to them, the Coptic outcome may have represented a phonetic development in the current speech.

Eventually none of the writers of the phonetic occurrences of *whm* were aware of any other, and could not be influenced by any known model, as far as we know, but they reproduced individually every time the same spelling. It is now unlikely to question whether it was established each time according to the actual pronunciation or school rules. In any case, no doubt remains about the very nature of the logogram.

**Notes**

1. Emeritus Professor of Egyptology, University of Turin, Italy.
3. *CT* II 379 *whm* (determined by the flame) has nothing to do with *whm* 'repeat', and is a mere variant of *whm* (*Wb* 1 345, 15); but Schweitzer shows that it can be also spelled later *whm*. cf. note 7 below.
6 A. Roccati, '\( \text{š} \) se lit \( \text{whm} \)', *RdE* 25 (1973), 254-255.


Analysing Current Egyptian Displays in the United Kingdom

تحليل المعروضات المصرية الحالية في المملكة المتحدة

Lindsay Siviter*

ملخص

يوجد بالمملكة المتحدة عدد من المتاحف التي تمتلك مجموعة مميزة من الآثار المصرية تركز في حوالي 17 متحفًا. على الرغم من وجود ما لا يقل عن 200 مجموعة تحتوي على معروضات مختلفة من الحضارة المصرية، فإنه في السنوات القليلة الماضية قد بدأت عدة محاولات لتحديد ومقارنة المعلومات للحصول على نظرة فاحصة تتعلق بطبيعة المجموعات المصرية.

هناك عدة عوامل يمكنها أن تحدد وتؤثر في طريقة وخط عرض وتوضيح المعروضات. أهم هذه العوامل التي لها تأثير كبير على أسلوب عرض المعروضات المصرية هو سيطرة فكرة الموت والحياة؛ نظرًا لأن معظم المقتنيات جاءت من مقابر وجبانات. وقد استخدمت أساليب توضيحية مساعدة عند عرض المعروضات المصرية، لعل أهمها هي البطاقات التعريفية الملائكة بكل فئة من المعروضات. وتوجد أيضًا وسائل إرشادية أخرى تمثل في النشرات والكتب. كما كان لا استخدام التكنولوجيا دور هام متمثل فيما يُعرض من أفلام ومقاطع فيديو. واستخدمت عدة متاحف أسلوب اللمس لتعليم وتفتيص زائريها، هذا بالإضافة للاستخدام أساليب الإضاءة كوسيلة إيضاحية مساعدة.
The UK has a large number of excellent museums with remarkable Egyptian collections. Reading about them is one thing, but there is no substitution for seeing the real things.1

**Introduction**

Despite there being over 200 collections in the UK containing Egyptian material, it is only within the last few years that attempts have been made to actually locate and collate this information to gain insights into the state and nature of Egyptian collections in the UK. Since 1988, the British Museum has been researching this topic, sending questionnaires to museums, institutions, universities, schools and historic houses across the UK to discover information about the Egyptian and Sudanese objects they have on display or in storage.2 In 2006, The Petrie Museum in London, funded by the MLA researched and compiled a report entitled *Past, Present and Future: an Overview of Ancient Egyptian and Sudanese Collections in the UK.*3 Based on the results of a survey sent to curators across the UK, it contains information on the scope and content of Egyptian collections currently in the UK. An analysis of this report’s statistics reveals that:

- 195 collections containing Egyptian material were traced in the production of the report.

- The report presents the following figures for the approximate number of objects in UK collections: England 348,000; Scotland 18,275; Wales 5,500; Northern Ireland 2,000.

- 93% of the ancient Egyptian objects located in the UK are concentrated in only 17 collections and the remaining 7% are distributed between 178 collections dispersed across the UK.

England holds the highest number of Egyptian objects, and a distribution map reveals the greatest number of objects is in Greater London, which has 167,110.4

**Methodology**

We chose to look at 20 Egyptian displays across the UK and compiled analysis sheets which helped us to look at the displays and analyse how they were created and presented. We also created a questionnaire which had numerous questions regarding the interpretative techniques used in the displays, and asked 100 Museum visitors to fill these in.

**Case Studies**

Galleries and exhibitions from the following 19 sites were chosen for the study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Museum/display</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No of Egyptian objects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The British Museum</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Science Museum</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>1387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Museum</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>National</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol City Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham City Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>7898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton City Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Walk Museum &amp; Art Gallery</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swansea Museum</td>
<td>Swansea</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushey Museum</td>
<td>Herts</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrie Museum, University of Central London</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garstang Museum, University of Liverpool</td>
<td>Liverpool</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester Museum, University of Manchester</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge</td>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford</td>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Egypt Centre</td>
<td>Swansea</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>5321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutankhamen &amp; the Golden Age of the Pharaohs</td>
<td>O2 London</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutankhamen &amp; Mummies Exhibitions (2)</td>
<td>Dorchester</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highclere Castle</td>
<td>Berkshire</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horniman Museum</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above illustrates the chosen case study displays, which have been divided into four categories: National, Local/Provincial, University and Independent. This has been done intentionally as one of this project’s objectives was to see if the ‘type’ or category of museum or venue-influenced display and approaches to interpretation. An attempt has been made for an equal distribution of displays within the categories where possible.

Our conclusions are based on data compiled and collected from gallery analysis record sheets and staff questionnaires which we created. We have then used these as evidence for our examination into the analysis of current Egyptian displays in the UK.

**Results and analysis of displays of Egyptian collections in the UK as a whole**

There are many factors that can affect and determine the display and interpretations of collections. However, Egyptian displays are governed by one main factor. Nearly all displays of Egyptian artefacts in the UK are dominated by objects representing death and the afterlife. This is because the majority of Egyptian objects that have survived have been recovered from burial and tomb sites. Objects used in Egyptian daily life do not exist in the same capacity, sometimes being quite rare. Therefore, one could argue that the predominance of burial objects presents a selected version of Egyptian culture, not representing or providing a full accurate record of life in ancient Egypt, but edited highlights. Archaeologist Gemma Tully also believes this to be the case, asking ‘Was there more to life in ancient Egypt than the preparation for death? Looking at most Egyptology shows, you wouldn’t think so. In order to discuss the results from data from the case studies we chose to examine them via a set of criteria used by historian Stephanie Moser in her pioneering analysis, of past Egyptian displays at The British Museum. In her display analysis, Moser identifies the following criteria:

1. How much space is dedicated to presenting the collection.
2. Where the collection was located in the museum.
3. How it was structured and organised.
4. The manner in which objects were displayed and spatially arranged.
5. The architectural and interior settings they were featured in.
6. The interpretive aids that were used to present them.

Due to the lack of space this essay sadly only has time to look at the final one on Moser’s list of criteria: The Interpretative aids used to present Egyptian displays.

Also please note that most display names will be abbreviated due to lack of space, e.g. Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery will often be referred to simply as Bristol.

**Interpretive aids used in Egyptian displays in the UK**

Text panels and object labels are still the most commonly used method of interpretation in museums today, yet there are many ways in which written information is used in exhibitions. These include hand-outs, books, guides, as well as more creative uses of text. Several new galleries, including those at Bristol and Liverpool, have chosen to integrate captions and quotations from ancient historical documents and sources, inviting discussion within the galleries. Some displays are attempting a multi-layered approach to information that focuses on object and imagery rather than text. Indeed, Bristol City Museums’ new gallery is unique as it contains no object labels, all the information being available on adjacent touch screens; thus, computers become information rich, layered graphic panels.10

Computer and digital interactives are used in just under half of the case studies, and tasks include unwrapping virtual mummies and writing names in hieroglyphs.11

Other media technology is used in Egyptian displays in the UK, including video and film, projections, sound effects and music. Different sounds are used in several displays. The O2 Exhibition has a different ambient musical soundtrack in each room reflecting the tone and mood of that particular section. At World Museum Liverpool visitors can ‘Listen to a 3500 year old voice’, as a sound wall displaying hieroglyphics produces animal noises and other voices which help the text to be translated. On entering the Egypt Gallery in Bristol, visitors hear whispers of Egyptian names all around them, as though they are entering the realm of the Underworld with spirits of Egypt’s past nation all around them.

One way we interpret the world is through our bodies and, in particular, through our senses.12 The sense of touch is often used by museums as a medium through which to educate visitors, its successful didactic elements being used in many museums today.13 Younger children especially learn through play whether dressing up, using props or playing games and other hands-on activities. Participatory devices are used in exactly half of the displays investigated. These include puzzles, question flaps and drawing activities. Both the Egypt Centre and Bushey Museum include a dummy mummy and other toys in their galleries. At Highclere Castle, visitors can ‘Do Some Excavating’ in a makeshift archaeological sandpit complete with seven artefacts to discover. At the Egypt Centre, visitors have the chance to play with a huge scale version of the Egyptian board game Senet. Museums in Egypt clearly also believe in the constructivist ideas of the power of play and touch to engage younger visitors. Above the entrance to The Children’s Museum, Luxor, is an Arabic proverb which reads:

’If I hear I may forget, when I see I will remember, but when I do with my hands I will understand’.14

In the final gallery of the O2 Tutankhamen exhibition, visitors are invited to ‘Touch the Boy King’ through touching a bronze cast of the famous Pharaohs’ reconstructed head. Here, visitors who have been unable to touch any other object in this art-based
approach exhibition can at last through touching this object, become close to the King himself. This object should have been positioned as the very last object which visitors touched on their way out, almost as a parting gesture of admiration to the Boy King, whose objects they had just spent two hours looking at. Instead, it was badly positioned being hidden in a corner with hardly any visitors noticing it. Replicas can also provide access to objects that are too fragile to travel and can be touched and handled by visitors. Thirteen out of the twenty Egyptian exhibitions investigated use them in their displays. Some provide teaching tools; others help to fill in gaps in the narrative and provide visitors the chance of seeing a famous object normally residing in a display abroad. Reproductions can also be seen as representations of craftsmanship, human ingenuity in their own right and the Tutankhamen Exhibition in Dorchester is very proud of their facsimiles of the famous King's treasure:

'All the exhibits have been carefully crafted with meticulous reference to the original artefacts, photographic records, detailed measurements and diagrams.'

Results also reveal that nearly half of the displays within the study use the interpretive device of historical scene reconstructions in Egyptian galleries. These include a tomb chapel at Liverpool, a workman's tool bench and 'your dream kitchen' in Leicester and an underground burial grave revealed through a glass floor area complete with grave goods at Brighton. However, the venue that uses this interpretive idea the most is the Tutankhamen Exhibition in Dorchester where visitors can see the moment when Howard Carter breaks through the wall to reveal the treasure. Exterior and interior scenes of the antechamber and the actual burial chamber complete with golden sarcophagus are also recreated, for here 'sight, sound and smell combine to recreate in superb facsimiles the world's greatest discovery of ancient treasure.'

Lighting is also used to aid interpretation. At Leicester and Swansea, light is used to internally illuminate large wall light boxes on which mummy X-rays are shown. In the O2 Exhibition coloured lighting is used very dramatically, creating colour symbolism reflecting the nature and content of the gallery themes. Providing contrast from dark to lighter areas, red coloured gels are used in the area titled 'Revolution'. Even a replica gold treasure dazzles with lighting effects cleverly emerging from the darkness through spotlighting in Dorchester.

Exhibitions must also be physically accessible to visitors. Museums have many different types of visitors, and all should be accommodated for. Visitors' with visual and hearing impairments are sadly often not catered for. However, The British Museum, the Egypt Centre and the Fitzwilliam have Braille books, labels and large print books in their galleries, thus endorsing the guidelines for accessible exhibition design suggested by the Smithsonian Institute. Wheelchair users also need consideration. Ideally, labels should be mounted at a height suitable for standing and sitting levels; however, only a few displays such as the Fitzwilliam and Birmingham do this. The O2 Exhibition cleverly placed labels high up at the top of showcases to allow more visitors to see. Most museums in the UK do not cater for foreign visitors, having only English text; however, Egyptian displays at Swansea Museum and the Egypt Centre had labels and panels in both English and Welsh.

Many of the above interpretative aids support both Behaviourist and Constructivist approaches to learning. Twelve case studies have both elements within their display strategies. However, thirteen of the displays reflect a transmission mode of communication with the other seven displays having elements of both transmission and cultural modes. Interestingly, all University displays endorse the transmission mode while most of the local museums use both modes of communication in their displays.
To conclude, Egyptian displays in the UK until recently tended to be similar in their traditional didactic approach. However, museums and galleries are now using new and innovative approaches in their displays, and many technological advances are being used to interpret Egyptian collections. Many museums recognise the popularity of their Egyptian objects and many more are planning to update their displays. There is no doubt that visitors in the UK share with the Egyptians themselves a great passion for their history, and will wish to see objects from your great country. How future displays of Egyptian material will be displayed in the UK will remain to be seen, but no doubt, our admiration and fascination will continue forever.

Notes

** Independent researcher.
2 Much of this information is now accessible having been placed on a website which provides useful knowledge about collections in the UK www.cornucopia.co.uk.
3 The primary aim of the project was to make information about the content and scope of Ancient Egyptian and Sudanese collections in the UK fully publicly available for the first time'. It was also hoped the information produced would assist the newly formed ACCES network (Association of Curators for Collections from Egypt and Sudan) in their planning of increased access to such material.
4 The overall percentage of collections which currently exist on display in the UK is very low, there being a high percentage of collections which have no objects at all on permanent display.
6 The choices of displays were governed not by a particular strict rationale but by a variety of factors including fame, popularity, wanting to see brand new ideas and locations, which due to time and money, was a big restraint, sadly preventing the chance to visit many museums in several parts of the UK.
7 Though many displays do include daily life objects, many were found in tombs, often not actually used but placed near the deceased for use in the afterlife.
11 Bushey Museum, World Museum Liverpool, The Egypt Centre and the Petrie Museum all offer opportunities for visitors to write their names in hieroglyphs.
12 Author Susan Pearce argues our contact with objects starts with our bodies and extends to the world of things. See Anon. PG Dip/Masters degree in Museum Studies by Distance Learning Module 2. Objects of Interpretation (Leicester: University of Leicester, Department of Museum Studies, October 2005).
13 The Science Museum, The Egypt Centre and Manchester Museum all organise 'Egyptian Touch Tables' and 'Object Handling Sessions' allowing visitors to experience objects close up.
14 A. Wäbby, A Special Workshop for Children in Luxor Museum, Ancient Egypt Magazine, April/May 2007, 35.
15 According to the designer I spoke to, they did not want to include this statue, but had to as it was part of the sponsor's agreement. The designers themselves, however, hatred it and therefore placed it round a corner and out of the way of most visitors immediate vision!
17 La Pensée, Ancient Egypt Magazine, 45.
18 M. Ridley, Tutankhamen Exhibition Guide (Dorchester, 2007), 14. This is the only display outside Egypt to include accurate replicas of the gold death mask and Tutankhamen's mummy.
19 Leaflet from the Tutankhamen Exhibition, Dorchester, date unknown.
20 The Smithsonian Institute Guidelines For Accessible Exhibition Design, http://www.si.edu/opa/accessibility/exdesign/sectionb.htm#ld, p.6. These guidelines suggest that 'label design must present main exhibitions copy legibly for all visitors and that such exhibition label information must be available within the galleries in alternative formats, e.g. Braille.'
A New Light on Coptic Cryptography

عرض جديد للكتابات الطلمسية القبطية

Hind Salah-Eldin

ملخص

تعد الكتابات الطلمسية القبطية أحد أهم مظاهر الخط القبطي؛ وذلك نظرًا لما يمكن أن تكشف عنه من أسرار هذا الخط. كما تلقى تدفق من الضوء على تاريخه وعلى حياة الرهبان المصريين الذين استخدموا خطًا في العديد من الأهداف والأغراض المختلفة. فقد استخدم الرهبان الأقباط الكتابة الطلمسية القبطية لإخفاء المعرفة المخفية في الأسرار والكتابات والرسائل التي تداولها خلال حياتهم الرهبانية. ولقد تم تسجيل ما يقرب من ثلاثين نموذجًا حتى الآن من الكتابات الطلمسية القبطية، والتي توزعت ما بين الكتب الدينية المختلفة، أو على جدران وأعتاب بعض الكنيسات والأضرار، وكذلك على بعض الصخور والأحجار المشرقة فوق التلال المنشرعة في الصحراء المصرية.

وتهدف هذه المقالة إلى نشر قطعتين فريدة من فقعت شفافية القبطية من الصحراء الغربية المصرية، والتي تحتويان على بعض نماذج الكتابات الطلمسية القبطية. ولقد جاءت الشفافية الأولى من متحف الحضارة بالقاهرة والتي تُحمل رقم 408. ومن الجدير بالذكر أن هذه القطعة تُشكل واحدة من مجموعة الشفافات القبطية التي تحصلت عليها من متحف الحضارة من أجل إعداد أطروحة الدكتوراه الخاصة بي وهي قد نُشر حاليًا. أما القطعة الثانية فقد جاءت من نافذة محتوى التي جرى تنفيذها في منطقة البحر الأحمر عام 1926، وهي محفوظة حالياً بالمتحف القبطي بالقاهرة، وتتم الرقم 4563.

وتتعلق هذه الشفافات جميعًا بفردة من الكتابات الطلمسية القبطية. وتشمل أهمية فيما أنموذجي بالذيل من الضوء على أنظمة الكتابة الطلمسية القبطية، وكذلك على حياة الرهبان في الصحراء المصرية خلال العصر المسيحي.

Issue No. 8
Coptic cryptography is one of the most important aspects of the Coptic script, for it can reveal its secrets, shed light on its history as well as the lives of the Egyptian monks who used it for different aims and purposes. Only about thirty examples of Coptic cryptography have been recorded so far which were scattered in religious books, the walls and the doorposts of churches and the monasteries, as well the cliffs of the Egyptian deserts.

The aim of this paper is to publish two unique Coptic ostraca from the Western Desert of Egypt which contains some forms of the Coptic cryptography; the first one is from the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC) under the number 408; the second one came from the excavations at Deir El-Bahari in 1926, and is now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo under the number 4563.

Text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1-</th>
<th>Λ</th>
<th>2-</th>
<th>ζ</th>
<th>3-</th>
<th>//</th>
<th>4-</th>
<th>Π</th>
<th>5-</th>
<th>γ</th>
<th>6-</th>
<th>Ψ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>κ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1-</th>
<th>Λ</th>
<th>2-</th>
<th>ζ</th>
<th>3-</th>
<th>//</th>
<th>4-</th>
<th>Π</th>
<th>5-</th>
<th>γ</th>
<th>6-</th>
<th>Ψ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>κ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment:

Subject: This ostracon holds an exercise for the first system of Coptic cryptography. The First system of the Coptic Cryptography was a familiar system which was used by the Copts in writing their texts. It was borrowed from a Greek system which was based on the division of the Greek alphabet into three portions and then inverting the letters of each row to replace the normal row by the inverted one as follows: α β γ δ ε ζ η θ becoming θ η ζ ε γ δ α, i.e., the Greek letter α replaced by θ, β replaced by η, and δ replaced by ζ and so on as follows:¹

O. 408: (Plate I)

Provenance: Qurna.

Material: Ribbed Pottery.

Color: Reddish Brown.

Dimensions: L = 7cm, W = 7.8 cm.

General Description: The text partly is in a good condition of preservation, because the ostracon had been broken from the upper left side, which in turn has damaged the text there. Also, there are some scratches on the surface of the ostracon, which has damaged some parts from the extant text, especially between the second and the third lines. Accordingly, the text is not complete; it only comprises six lines of writing which were rendered by the scribe in black ink in a regular, clear handwriting.

Dialect: The dialect of the text can be either Sahidic or Bohairic because the extant text displays
only the Coptic letters of the Greek origin without the borrowed native Demotic alphabet.

**Line 1:** The scribe did not write an equivalent for the Coptic letter η in the second line, and he did not write the stigma over its equivalent in the second line, i.e. the Coptic Λ.

**Line 3:** 'The Coptic vertical Cryptogram Nu' ///: As the first system of Coptic Cryptography was not able to modify ε, η, and Φ which were located in the centre of each row, so they were either left as they are or they were replaced with Cryptogrammic ones: for instance, the Coptic letter η was replaced with /// 'Coptic Vertical Cryptogram Nu' as has been stated on this ostraca while the Coptic letter ε was replaced with 'Coptic Horizontal Cryptogram Eie'. But here the scribe encrypted only the Coptic letter η and left the rest of the two letters, i.e. ε and Φ as they are.

**Line 4:** The scribe did not write the Sampi ꝙ in the third line over its equivalent, i.e. the Coptic letter ρ in the fourth line.

**Conclusion**

This ostraca had revealed some remarkable results:

1. The importance and significance: This ostraca is important for the study of the Coptic Cryptography because it contains a clear evidence for what we can call 'A Key' for the scribe rendered the original letter over its cryptographical equivalent. As far as I know, this ostraca is unique, for only about thirty published examples of Coptic cryptography texts have been recorded until now as had been mentioned above, and no one of them holds this 'Key' by this form, but further studies and publications in this field will reveal other texts like this 'Key' because this type of text served as an exercise by the writer to himself or to someone in order to memorize the alphabets in their Cryptographical form.

2. Date and provenance: To determine the date and provenance of this ostraca, I depended on the results that were obtained from the PhD research. In fact, this ostraca belongs to a community of monks who lived since the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century at Sheikh Abd El-Qurna, probably in TT 85 or TT 87, the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Amenemhab and Nakhtmin, or the area around them. This community revered two superiors among them: Father Ananias and Father Pisrael. They were well known characters who lived in Thebes since the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the seventh century. The community
contained some personalities involved with Father Ananias and Father Pisrael in various matters, i.e. in religious and daily matters as, for example, 'Andrew' Ἀνδρέας, 'Enoch' Ἔνωχ, 'Elizabeth' Ἐλίζαβητ, 'Benjamin' Ἐβαμιλ, 'Shenoute' Ἔμωνοῦτε, 'Petronius' Πέτρωνιος, 'Frane' φράντε, 'Anoute' Ἀνοῦτε, 'Patermouthius' Πατερμούτε, 'Papnoute' παπνοῦτε, 'George' Γεώργιος, 'Samuel' Σαμουήλ, 'Isaac' Ἰσαάκ, 'Zacharias' Ζαχαρίας, 'Arianos' Αριάνος, 'Ebrahim' Ἔβραημ, and 'Bes' Βές, in addition 'Johannes' Ἰωάννης, 'Pesenthalius' πεσένθαλιος 'Ananias' Ἀνανίας, 'Peter' πέτρος, 'Victor' βίκτωρ. Thus, this ostracoon was a cultural aspect for the Coptic monks who were teaching themselves the first system of Coptic cryptography in their solitary life, and also maybe it was written by either Father Ananias or Father Pisrael or some welcomed monk from the community who lived at Qurna, or these two tombs, and that he wrote this ostracoon as an exercise for the first system of Coptic cryptography for him in order to learn by heart the letters of the Coptic alphabet in this form.\(^3\)

O. 4563: (Plates II-III)

Provenance: Deir El-Bahari.

Material: Limestone.

Color: Yellowish.

Dimensions: L = 8 cm, W = 10.5.

General Description: The text is in a good condition of preservation. It is complete, and was written on both sides of the ostracoon: the recto and the verso. The recto comprises four lines of writing which were written by the scribe in black ink, while the verso comprises four lines of writing which were written by the scribe in black ink as well as red ink, and the latter was used specifically at the beginning of the third and the fourth lines. The scribe has a good, regular, and clear handwriting.

Text:

Recto:

1- αβγδεξζηθικ
2- ηςφωνοπρς
3- τσφψω
4- ρσκτ

Verso:

1- αω υψοσχάφ
2- εν ντ ιο φπ
3- κο σκ ιπ
4- πασορφ

Comment:

Subject:

Recto: The Coptic alphabet.

Verso: The Coptic numerical system which was borrowed from the encoded Greek numerical system
for numbers based on the principle of attaching a numerical value to the letters of the alphabet which runs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1=α</th>
<th>10=ι</th>
<th>100=ρ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2=β</td>
<td>20=κ</td>
<td>200=σ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3=γ</td>
<td>30=λ</td>
<td>300=τ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4=δ</td>
<td>40=μ</td>
<td>400=ν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5=ε</td>
<td>50=ν</td>
<td>500=φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6=ζ</td>
<td>60=ξ</td>
<td>600=χ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7=η</td>
<td>70=θ</td>
<td>700=Ψ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8=θ</td>
<td>80=π</td>
<td>800=ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9=η</td>
<td>90=ı</td>
<td>900=φ or: λ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dialect: Sahidic.

Verso:

Line 1-2: It is notable that the scribe rewrote some letters, for we can see some traces of writing above the first line and at the background of the second line, but unfortunately, the latter has disappeared. As for the former, it is still visual, and by examining it revealed that the faint traces over the end of the first line were the Coptic letters 𓊑 𓊋 𓊒 which were then written by the scribe in their right order at the beginning of the second line.

The scribe did not write the Stigma ζ for 6, the Qobba ULATOR for 90, as well the Sampi 𓊒 for 900.

Conclusion:

This ostracon is very interesting. It holds in its recto the complete Coptic alphabet which can imply that the scribe was learning by heart the alphabet of the Coptic script according to his dialect. For it was common between the Egyptians and not among the monks only, in the Christian time, to do so as a kind of memorizing. The verso holds the serial of the Coptic alphabet as well the Coptic numbers respectively: the units, the tens, and the hundreds as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Σω</th>
<th>Вψ</th>
<th>𓊒</th>
<th>Χφ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+800</td>
<td>2+700</td>
<td>3+600</td>
<td>4+500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+400</td>
<td>啉</td>
<td>8+200</td>
<td>9+100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+80</td>
<td>20+70</td>
<td>30+60</td>
<td>40+50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80, 1</td>
<td>200, 70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8, 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, it is obvious from the recto and the verso combined together the fact that the scribe was learning by heart the Coptic alphabet as well the Coptic letters’ numerical values. I want to add a supposition here concerning verso, i.e. the Coptic numerical serial. I think that the scribe was not only aiming to memorize the value of the Coptic letters as numbers, but also he aimed at the significance behind the numbers, and this latter is a science in the Bible by itself. This supposition has come to my mind according to some points which can be classified as follows:
1- There is a unique recorded example from the Monastery of Epiphanius on which the Coptic letters of the Greek origin were used as a long key for the First System of Cryptography as mentioned above, through a conventionalized phrase as follows:

Αφροδισίων το φυλαξ θαραγικαμ
Ψιμετοπος
αβροχιτων δ ο φυλαξ
θηροζυγοκαμμετοπος

This was the Grotesque formula from Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina (Book IX, No. 538), and it was transcribed below it as follows:

ομεζερα ινομουμκ ΨΨ ψς ψς ψς

Thus the scribe of this verse aimed to use the twenty-four letters of the Greek origin to render a sentence with a specific meaning. This happened in our ostraca also because the scribe did not write the stigma ζ for 6, the qobba Ʞ for 90, as well the sampi Ꞡ for 900, and preferred the twenty-four letters only without the added letters which were used to indicate the numerals 6, 90, and 900.

2- The scribe used red ink when he alerted himself by the repeated numbers, i.e. at the beginning of the third line he wrote the group in ι and κο in red ink because they have the same numbers with the same significance and not the same values, with the group αω and ΨΨ.

3- The scribe did not mean by his significance the numerical added value of the two letters that he grouped them under a superliner stroke because although the numerical value of the first group αω is 1+ 800 is 801, which corresponds to the dove as both the value of its letters Περιστερα and the value of the two letters as numbers is 801 and also the αω is the famous symbol of the Christ as the beginning and the end of the world from (Revelation 22:13) 'I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end' the rest of the numerical values has no significance in the Bible, i.e. the values 405, 504, 603 has no significance.

4- I presume that the scribe meant the significance behind the unit number, and thus I gathered the closest significances to my work from many sources from that field as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number One:</th>
<th>Unity, New beginnings, The One God</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Two:</td>
<td>Union, Witnessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Three:</td>
<td>Divine Perfection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Four:</td>
<td>Creation of the world or the Creative works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Five:</td>
<td>Grace of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Six:</td>
<td>Application of works, Manifestation of sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Seven:</td>
<td>Completeness or Father perfection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Eight:</td>
<td>New birth or New beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Nine:</td>
<td>Divine Completeness, Eternity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So I suppose that the numbers can be read as follows:

a- αω: The one of the New beginning of the world's end. i.e. The God Father.
b- ΨΨ: The two in perfection i.e. the Second person of the Trinity or the God and the Son in their perfection.
c- ϋο: The third (three) in totality, i.e. the Holy Spirit or the Trinity (Son and the Father-the Holy Spirit) in one person.
d- Αψ: The creation of the Earth by the Grace of God.
e- Εε: The Redemption of the world.
f- ΒΓ: The application of the work of the Trinity.
**General Conclusion**

Both ostraca are of great importance for the history of the Coptic Script, as well as the Christian communities and their cultural aspects in Western Thebes in the Western Desert of Egypt, for they can shed light on the life of the Coptic monks in their solitude, in addition to the systems of scripts they preferred to use during the Christian period.

From these two ostraca besides the published ones in the field of the Coptic cryptography, one can advance some hypotheses: first of all, the First System of the Coptic Cryptography was frequently used among the Christians in the Christian time. Secondly, the Coptic exercises can hold significance behind the letters and the numbers, and this will be proved from further publications and excavations. Finally, Egyptian monks in that part of the Desert, i.e. the Western Desert of Thebes, were connected with a mutual system of learning in order to communicate with each other in their daily lives and their faith, and that they were concerned with teaching themselves and the neighborhoods around them the Coptic language with its forms, as well as the Christian religion.

**Notes**


5 Doresse, *CE* 8, 65 f.


7 Kiss, *CE* 7, 2160.

Lasso and its Role as Nets in Religious Texts

الأنشطة ودورها كشبكة في النصوص الدينية

Magda Gad*

ملخص


ينillis الأنشوطة هي من أكثر الوسائل المستخدمة التي بها يتم شل حركة العدو سواء في العالم الأول أو العالم الآخر لانتزاع قوته. وبغض النظر عن هذا الدور، فإن هذا البحث يفهم في المقام الأول بالأنشطة كأداة تستخدم عوضًا عن الشبكة في الصيد. ومن خلال دراسة النصوص والمناظر يمكن القول إن الأنشوطة كانت تستخدم فقط في:

- صيد الموئل:
  أ- صيد الموئل أثناء الصعود للسماء.
  ب- استخدام الأنشوطة لتحويل المدنيين لأماكن العقاب.
  ج- صيد الموئل وتفتيتهم كوجبة للملك.

- صيد أعداء الآلهة:
  أ- صيد أعداء الآلهة أوزير.
  ب- صيد أعداء الآلهة رع.
Many words referring to the action of to ‘tie’, or to the ‘names of the tools’ with which any undesirable things could be bounded, were used in the Egyptian texts.

These words could be classified into two categories; the first of which are the words that could be translated into ‘bonds or fetters’ and as also ‘to tie or to bind with ropes or bonds’.¹

The other is that which bears the meaning of ‘to lasso or to capture/constrain with the lasso’ next to the previous meaning and which is to be the focus of this study.

In his article, Ogdon has mentioned that ‘lasso’, which was a prehistoric ‘weapon’ as an element of the chase-equipment,² is one of the most recurrent means to paralyze the action of an enemy whether of this or the Otherworld; and this opinion depends on his interpretation of the word ‘lasso’ as ‘any tied cord that binds’.

So, the essential function of the lasso is to ‘tie’ the prey,³ to immobilize its movement, deprive of its power, to make it impotent and unable to act.⁴

Apart from that role; the current paper is mainly concerned with the ‘lasso’ as an instrument, used instead of the ‘net’, whereby one can catch.

Accordingly, to that, and through studying texts and scenes, it can be concluded that Lassoes are confined and involved only in:

1. Catching the deceased.
2. Catching the enemies of the gods.

1. Catching the deceased

The dangers that face the deceased being caught, are not confined to nets,⁵ but also to lassoes; one of the ways used by fishermen, fowlers and hunters⁶ to capture fish, birds, and animals.

The soul of the deceased is exposed to be lassoed, as is the case with the net, in many incidents, the first of which is:

1.1 Lassoing the deceased while ascending to Heaven

The deceased always wishes not to get entangled with a lasso, lest he should be prevented from his ascension to the afterlife.⁷ An ascension text of the Pyramid Texts starts with a speech of the goddess Nut. She asserts that her son, the king, is coming in peace, without being withheld:

\[ n \ hry \ ndkt^n \ hr \ sf \ n \ hry \ ht \ dwt \ hr \ sf \]

‘On whose back no lasso has fallen, on whose arm nothing bad has fallen’.⁸

1.2 Inside the realm of the deceased

The soul of the deceased could be exposed to be caught by a lasso, carried out through the demons, with whom the underworld is swarmed:

\[ 1 \ spht^{10} b3w \ m \ hrw \ m-hnw \ dw3t \]

‘O, you who lassoes the souls at the daytime in the interior of the Netherworld’.¹¹

So a god who is responsible for protecting the deceased, is now threatening those demons saying:

\[ lwy \ r \ sph \ nn \ dl.i \ sph.k \ iy \ r \ wdi \ n.i \ nn \ dl.i \ wdi. \]
\[ (k) \ lw.i \ r \ wdi \ t(w) \ lw.i \ r \ sph \ t(w) \ lw.l \ m \ sf \ n \ NN \]

‘O you who come to lasso, I will not let you lasso: O you who come to harm, I will not let (you) to do harm, I will harm you, and I will lasso you: for I am NN’s protection’.¹²

A similar spell is found on an amuletic papyrus dating back to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, where the potential enemies or rather the demons are not personified but identified.
This text links the action oflassoing with further sanctions that could be carried out on the sinners.

\[
\text{sp\,n\,spk\,hm-ntr\,tpy\,n\,tmm\,s3 - nsw\,Hr-m-bht\,i\,wdl\,nn\,wdl\,k\,r\,f\,i\,w3\,nn\,w3\,k\,sw\,i\,sd\,ib\,nn\,sd\,k\,hsfy\,f\,i\,shm\,nn\,shk\,k\,m\,wt\,f}
\]

‘O, he who lassos, you will not lasso the high priest of Amun, the king’s son Harmakhis (the son of Shabaka). O, he who injures, you will not injure him. O, he who robs, you will not rob him. O, he who tears out the heart, you will not tear out his heart. O, he who has power, you will not have power over his members.’\(^{13}\)

1.2.1 Using lassoes to assign the sinners to the places of punishment

In punishing the deceased, as evil-doers, the god \textit{Hr-Hnty-n-irty}.\(^{14}\) in his demonic aspect, lassoes them in order to be assigned later to the slaughter places.

Therefore, in this case, the action of \textit{spk} is a prelude to be slaughtered and eaten by foes just as it may have been for cattle:\(^{15}\)

\[
i\,R\'\,\ldots\,\text{nhm,k\,w\,m\,-\,ntr\,pw\,s3\,irw\,w\,nnw\,in\,w\,f\,m\,rmnw\,m\,\text{sh},\,hrw\,p\,n\,hsbt\,w3\,dd\,shw\,m\,lsfy\,r\,nmt\,f\,r\,dnt\,b3w}
\]

‘O, Re’..., may you save me from that god whose shape is hidden and whose eyebrows are the two arms of the balance, on that day of reckoning the robbers, which puts lassoes on the evil-doers (to assign them) to his slaughter-house, to slay the souls’.\(^{16}\)

The deceased could be safe from that danger of being caught by a lasso when reciting the proper spell:

\[
di\,k\,h\,t\,p\,\text{wt}f\,tm\,m\,hr-t\,ntr\,ky-dd\,lg\,t\,lw\,f\,nty\,h\,t\,f\,tm\,tw\,lw\,f\,wd3\,r\,h3-bjn\,n\,sp\,f\,sw
\]
1.2.2 Using lassoes to catch the deceased being a repast for the King

In a Cannibalistic passage, the deceased fears that he could be caught with the lasso like a cow to be offered to the king, who eats men and gods, and through this way he estimates their strength:

N pw wn m ntrw .... In hm
wpwt imy khsw sps sn n N

'The king is one who eats men and lives on the gods ..... It is the Grasper-of-top knots who is in khsw, who laisses them for the king'.

2. Catching the enemies of the gods

In his biography Rekhmire speaks about the king depicting him with some qualities as being god Re, lord of the sky, and king of the two lands .... the black and red lands (coming) to his place, the Greats of which are subjugated to him, and too:
Rmt nbt p't nbt rhyt nbt m hyhnw h s ph shw sn sw

'All men, all patricians, and all subjects are in jubilation when lassoing (catching with a lasso) those who dare to approach him, surrounding him'.

According to that, people who might form a threat are to be considered enemies, equated sometimes with demons as in a Late-Period text:

Shm mtnyw n Shnt im.k sp há tw imyw sphw di.n.tw sbh n h3tyyw rntpt

'(Now), the Nomads of Sekhmet have power over you, and those who are in sphw- fetters lasso you. Harm was given to the h3tyyw - demons of the year (at the epagomenal)'.

This idea of catching people with a lasso to make them impotent and unable to act, deprived of their power lest they hurt others; is the concept upon which the deceased, classified as enemies through this tool might be punished.

As stated, there is a twofold judgment of the deceased; the righteous are protected, and the sinners are punished.

So the deceased who have sinned generally on Earth, being classified later when judged as enemies of the god Osiris or of the god Re, are among other punishments, caught with a lasso and taken to the slaughter places as cattle:

Tr.i shrw n ntw m dlst sp[p].l h3tyw r Hmtyt

'I take care of those who are in the Netherworld. I catch the enemies with the lasso for Hmtyt - the Place of Destruction'.

2.1 Lassoing the enemies of the god Osiris

Lasso, as a net, might be also a tool with which the enemies of the god Osiris could be caught. Horus, the son and the defender, is lassoing the enemies of his father:

h3 Wsir ink s3.k Hr l3.n.i spah.n.i n.k h3tyw.k m w3w sn

'O Osiris! I am your son Horus; I have come, having lassoed your enemies for you with their own ropes'.

One of those butchers, known as nmytw represented in the upper register of the fifth hour of the Amduat and whose roles are to protect Osiris, is entitled as: 'mn h r sphwt 'that with turned face, who catches with a lasso'.

Then gripping the god Seth and his gang could have been carried out, not only by nets, but also lassoes.

The annihilation of the enemies of Osiris is well represented in the seventh hour of the Amduat, upper register (Figs. 1 and 1a).

Here Osiris is seated on a throne under a canopy formed as a great cobra. His foes are in two groups, the first of which are beheaded and bound kneeling before him, entitled as h3tyw Wsir 'the enemies of Osiris'. The second group is of three figures, described as wty 'the bound', lying on the ground and being lassoed by a standing god who bears the title of nikw 'the one who punishes'.

The text accompanying the scene highlights the punishments carried out on those enemies as a final destination, after being caught with those lassoes:

In hm n ntr pn wt r Wsir h3kw r hnty-dw3t ntw n 'wy-tn ... htm n b3w.tn ... nik tn nikw m nkyt f

'So says the majesty of this god: you who acted wickedly against Osiris, who rebelled against hnty-dw3t, chains are to your arms .... destruction is to your souls .... the chastiser chastises you with his knife'.

Issue No. 8
The lasso also shared the role of the net in capturing the enemies of the nṣmt – bark:33

\[ \text{i sby} \ldots \text{ḥt n nṣmt} \ldots \text{ḥṭyty sw m ḥṭyt (Var. ḥḥt sw m ḥḥt)} \text{ṣnh sw m tm} \]

'O, rebel \ldots, you the enemy of the nṣmt - bark, \ldots, (Speech directed to the executioners) catch him with the ḥṭyty - net (or the ḥḥt - trap), and bind him with the tm - lasso.'34

2.2 Lassoing the enemies of the god Re

Punishing Apophis, the eternal adversary of the sun-god Re, being caught with a lasso, is evident too in the seventh hour of the Amduat, middle register (Figs. 1 and 1b).

Facing the bark of Re, on the prow of which stands the goddess Isis pronouncing incantations, the goddess Srkt-ḥtyt 'She who gives breath' and a god hṛy-dsw.f 'he who is over his knives', have lassoed Apophis whose body is transfixed with knives. Behind are four goddesses, whose functions are referred through their epithets.35

The purpose of that action shows apparently, through the accompanied text:

\[ \text{wdl.hr Srkt-ḥtt sḥhw m ṭp Hṛy-dsw.f dlt sḥhw nykt m rdwfy.f m-ḥt nḥm ṭst Ḥk3-smsw pḥty.f m ḥk3w.sn} \]

'Then the goddess Srkt-ḥtyt 'She who gives breath' places lassoes on the head, and the god Hṛy-dsw.f 'He who is over his knives', he puts lassoes (whose names) to nykt 'The punished (one) on his feet after having Isis and 'The Great magician' have deprived his strength through their magic'.36

Conclusion

Lasso, in its role as nets, carries only the name Sph referring to the action of catching; and so the tool itself apart from using the word ndḥ in one case, and tm in another case, as a name of the lasso-rope.

The word Sph may be a causative of ph 'to cause to reach' of a rope.37 Other texts use this word with a more extended meaning, to become a general term for 'to capture' or 'to constrain'.38

Lasso was used as a net in many roles, but on a smaller range, and in a very small number of texts.

Unlike the texts that show the role of the nets that have been developed through different periods, lassoes were confined only to two roles, the first of which focused on the obstruction of the deceased to reach heaven, being in one case a repast for the king and assigning the sinners to the Place of Destruction. The second is concerned with punishing the enemies of god Re and god Osiris.

Notes

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1 About the ropes and bonds with which the deceased is bound see, CT 11 112c: T kš tnl.1 ttw k 1 kš rdī.l.t n.k lnrtw snpyšḥ 'O Bull, I lift up your bonds: O bull, I give you your loosened fetters'; CT 170 b-d: n ddh.t(w).k n hnr.(t.w).k n int.(t.w).k 'you shall not be imprisoned, you shall not be restrained, you shall not be fettered'. The verb kšś is one of the most recurrent words denoting this idea, cf. PT 349a-350c; as usual the objects of the verb are foes of the god Horus or the king: the god Seth is brought in kšś; enemies are tied kšś in a ntt -rope, see: P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon (Leuven, 1997), 1047. See too the fetters with which Apophis is hindered in CT V 245c: smt nftw in ntw 'his fettors have been made firm by the gods'. For more about bonds, ropes, fettors see: J. Zande, Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions (Leiden, 1960), 78-80, 108, 125-132.


3 Here we can recall the rite of lassoing the Ngt-bull. In his study of hunting rituals, Otto suggested that the term ngt means 'lassoed cattle' which had been captured with the lasso ritual: see: E. Otto, 'An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual', JNES 9 (1950), 164-177. This ritual is depicted in monumental proportions in the temple of Sery I at Abydos. In this relief we see the male Upper Egyptian Ngt-bull lassoed by the King.
Ramesses II, accompanied by the crown-prince who grasps the animal by its tail. In this rite which takes place before the god Wp-wt on is titled as sph ngt ʒjy ʃmːw in nswt lassoeing the male Upper Egyptian ngt-bull by the king’, he says: sph j nkg ʒjy ʃmːw ‘I lasso for you the male Upper Egyptian ngt-bull’. That day of finding a new ngt-bull is to be a day of happiness as it is evident from CT V 23j-24a iw n nkg imnyw mwt hw pw n sph ntht nfr m hʃw ‘Those who are in the sky have come to you on that day when the Ngt-bull was lassoed, while the Beautiful-West is in joy’. At Edfu (Wilson, Prolemaic Lexicon, 552), the Ngt-bull is one of the bulls which was sacrificed in the temple to represent Seth as a wild bull. This was one of the most prestigious sacrifices.

4 Ogdon, DE7, 30.

5 See: M. Gad, ‘Catching with Nets & Traps in Religious Texts 1 – The Origin of the Rite of catching the Enemies of the King’, ASAE 86.


7 Zandee, Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions, 232.

8 Hannig, GWB 476 [17212]: it is not authenticated in Leitz, Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Güterbezeichnungen, OLA 110.

9 PT 1021c.

10 Cf. H. Beinlich. Buch vom Ba (Wiesbaden, 200), S.67, n.2: where he approaches this word to shp ‘Verbergen’, to hide!

11 Beinlich, Buch vom Ba, S.66, ZL 81.


14 About that god see: M. Gad. Blindness, its Social and Religious Conception in Ancient Egypt, (unpublished MA, written in Arabic), Cairo University, 1993, 222-418.

15 Wilson, Prolemaic Lexicon, 829. Cf. Zandee, Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions, 233

16 UkB V 55, 10-14. (= CT IV 299a-301a).


18 BD CLXV (Lepsius, Tüddenbuch, pl. 79, 6-7).

19 ‘Grasper-of-top knots’ well illustrated by such pictures as Seti I smiting the enemy, whom he seizes by the hair of the head.

20 Cf. Imy kḥw translated as ‘Kessel’ in: Leitz, OLA 110, VII S. 293.

21 PT 400a, 401a: cf. Zandee, Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions, 233.

22 It is a variant of hw: cf. FCDME, 159.

23 UkB IV, 1075, 13-1076, 1: the translation is little different from that of (الله، الحرام، الفدرة، الجزع, الجزع, الفدرة, 1993), 356.

24 htyw as a kind of demons see: Hannig, GWB 536 (19359). This word could be derived from the word htyr ‘Krankheit/ disease’, thereupon the htyw are to be the demons who might cause people to fall ill.


26 This word is derived from the stem htm meaning to perish or to destroy and could be compared to ‘the heart’ a name of the Hell, mentioned in Quran.

قال قانون اللجوء إلى الهوى (الآيات 1-7): (كلو ليبدى، في الحزيمة، وما أدرك ما الحزيمة).
(Nay! Verily, he will be thrown into the crushing Fire. And what will make you know what the crushing Fire is), see: Muhammad Taqvi-ul-Din Al-Hilali; Muhammad Muhsen Khan. The Noble Qur’an, with an English translation and translation of the meanings. Darussalam, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 723. Cf. Gad, Netherworld and its Location in the Ancient Egyptian Conceptions, 374-439.


28 BD CLXXIII (Budge, III, 65, n.28): Faulkner, BD, 172.

29 See: E. Hornung, Amduat, Teil I Nr.354. Cf. Leitz, OLA 110 ;VI 270 where one of the protective gods in the retinue of Horus bears that epithet, sph (see EV 104, 9; X, pl.112).


31 Hornung, Amduat, Teil I. n. 499.

32 Hornung, Amduat, Teil I, S.121; Teil II S.128.

33 The nṣmt – bark is the sacred boat of the god Osiris, which carries his body to his burial in Peger, destined for his final glorification in Abydos. This journey is an episode of the Ostriyan myth, in which the boat was
attacked by the Sethian enemies. According to CT V 227a-b, this boat was the first Re built. And Peper is the name of a district in Abydos to which the god Osiris, in his bark, departed during his feast; see WB II 561, 6. The burial district of Osiris in Abydos; now: Umm el-Qaab.


35 dmyt; dmyt; nykt; hmtyt 'she who unites; she who cuts; she who wounds; she who destroys'.

36 Hornung, Amduat. Teil I S.125; Teil II S.133, n.9. Cf. E IV 237, 13 where the king is slaying Apophis: sph lbw mnyt m dmmyt; '(he) lassoes hearts and pierces foes in his hand'. sph has become a general term for to 'capture or to constrain', see: Wilson, OLA 78, 829.

37 Wilson, Ptolemaic Lexicon, 829. In a corrupted text (CT III 395b), there is an appeal to a catcher with a lasso: swh...irr.k m ntr 'O you who lassoed ....act as a god!'.

38 Wilson, Ptolemaic Lexicon. 829.
An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis ‘Ushebtis’ Housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut, Egypt*

مجموعة جديدة من الأوشابتي محفوظة بمتحف مدرسة السلام بأسيوط، مصر

Marzouk Al-sayed Aman**

ملخص

يتناول البحث جزءًا مهمًا جدًا من المعدات الجنائزية في مصر القديمة، ويفتقر الضوء على هذه المجموعة من الأوشابتي المحفوظة في هذا المتحف. وفي هذا البحث يحاول الباحث إظهار السمات الشخصية لكل قطعة على حدة، ومحاولة تأريخها من خلال الملامح الفنية لكل قطعة، وترجمة النصوص التي تحتويها معرفة أصحابها. كذلك فإن الألقاب التي وردت في نصوص هذه المجموعة قد توضحها. ويبدو من خلال دراسة تلك الألقاب أن بعضًا من تلك الأوشابتي كانوا من ذوي المكانة العليا في المجتمع المصري القديم. وهذه المجموعة تتمي إلى عصور مختلفة من الحضارة المصرية القديمة؛ عصر الدولة الحديقة، وعصر الانتقال الثالث، وخلال الأسرة الثلاثين وما بعدها. وقد أمكن تأريخ كل قطعة حسب السمات المميزة لصناعة الأوشابتي لكل فترة زمنية على حدة، وكذلك أنماط الكتابة على تلك القطع، وكذلك الرمزية وباروكات الشعر والأدوات التي يحملها كل أوشابتي، لكني تمكننا من أن يؤدي دوره الموظف به في العالم الآخر. وتمكنت الدراسة من إعادة تأريخ تلك المجموعة تاريخيًا علميًا جدًا على غير ما كان معتقداً وموجودًا في سجلات المتحف.
The paper entitled ‘An Unpublished New Collection of Shabtis ‘Ushebtsis’ Housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut, Egypt’ deals with an important part of the funerary equipment. In brief, it draws attention to a collection of shabtis currently housed in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut.

In this paper, the author attempted to publish an unpublished new collection of shabtis. Their iconographical features and date are examined. Some owners are identified, from the inscribed texts, which present the name of the deceased. The titles that were mentioned in the inscriptions of these shabtis are noted.

Introduction

Among the Al-Salam School Museum’s collections of ancient objects can be found a collection of shabtis. The major part of Museum collections was donated by F. Petrie and Sayed Khashaba to the Museum. However, it was not mentioned in the catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, who dedicated the group of shabtis to the Museum. Probably, Petrie donated some of these shabtis to the museum from Thebes or from his excavations in Deir Rifeh in Assiut, where he excavated a collection of shabtis. In addition, probably, Sayed Khashaba donated some of it to the museum from his excavations in Deir Dronka and Mountain of Assiut, where he excavated some shabtis too.

Many studies about shabtis were conducted; hence, I wish this simple paper to be an addition to these studies, and to add more knowledge on the shabtis. The researcher in this paper shows a new collection of shabtis exhibited in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut to explain different types of shabtis in this collection and to date them according to their industrial features, writing styles, and comparison. The author will study and classify these objects into three categories: New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Thirtieth Dynasty, and one more shabti, which can be dated to Ptolemaic period.

Group 1: New Kingdom Period

Object 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>260.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. is 8.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Limestone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>The lower part of this statue is missing; only the face without a beard and the duplex wig can be seen, without inscriptions. The face of the figurine is perfectly sculpted; the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare. The side parts of the wig continue along the chest, hands not shown. Maybe it was a Shabti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the industrial features, and the style of the wig, the duplex wig, normally associated with the dress of the living, although sometimes found also on mummy-form figures. This style became increasingly fashionable from the time of Amenophis III; this object can be dated to the New Kingdom period (Fig. 1).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76  Abgadiyat 2013
Object 2

| Reg. no. | 263. |
| Dimensions | H. 8.5cm. |
| Substance | Green faience. |
| Text | It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and sides. |
| Description | This shabti is in mummy-like form. It is carrying a \( \text{mr} \)-hoe in each hand. Arms are crossed on the chest. The shabti is beardless, with lappet 'tripartite' wig, the style of the end of the New Kingdom period. |
| Dating | It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period, where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities and the industrial features, mummy-form, beardless, with lappet wig, two hoes held in front, the inscription, in lines, or in one column. This object can be dated to the New Kingdom period (Fig. 2). |

Group 2: Third Intermediate Period

Object 3

| Reg. no. | 254. |
| Dimensions | H. 12 cm. |
| Substance | Light blue faience. |
| Text | It is inscribed with a column of hieroglyphs in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wsir i nfr-nfr hnsw p3 nb im3h w fr nb 'Osiris, O, good god, khonsu-ba-nb, revered with the lord'.}
\end{align*}
\]

| Description | This shabti is in mummy-form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face visible as the great majority of shabtis. The face of the shabti is not perfectly preserved: the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare, as if gazing at eternity. Arms are crossed right over left on the chest. This shabti was provided with little model tools which is required for his work in the other world, a \( \text{mr} \)-hoe in each hand and a basket with crossed fibers on his back. They were painted on the statue in black ink. An amuletic sign in black ink was inscribed on the right side of the front of the shabti. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with \( s\hat{s}d \) headband knotted behind. The latter was painted in black ink, and it was used as a fillet to retain hair in its place. The side parts of the wig continue along the forearms, curving slightly and reaching down to the palms of the deceased, running almost parallel to the agricultural tools he is holding. |
It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig, the bag, and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased. This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 3). Great numbers of shabtis have been found from the Third Intermediate Period, when they were mass-produced, primarily in faience with a blue-green glaze. In general, the features of these shabtis were briefly treated, and the details were enhanced with black paint, the same industrial features apply to shabtis numbers 256, 257, 258, 259, 264, and 265.

Object 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>256.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. is 6 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Blue faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It has an unclear inscription except the title: Wsir 'Osiris'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. This shabti has an inscription, in black ink, and shows that the statue is holding a hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag on his back. The shabti wears a lappet ‘tripartite’ wig with headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink. The wig is straight and simple, where the hair comprises three parts, two hanging at the front of the shoulder and one at the back.

Object 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>257.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. is 5.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Blue faience, a part of the base has a white appearance, as it lost its blue paste coating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: Wsir l k3l m3 hrw 'Osiris l k3l'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Justified one'.
Description

The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. The face of the shabti is round with visible eyes and eyebrows. The shabti has a \( \text{mr-} \) hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag\(^{26}\) on his back. They were drawn in black ink. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with \( \text{s} \text{sd}^2 \) headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.

Dating

It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,\(^{28}\) and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.\(^{29}\) The author can date it to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 5). See the shabti number 254.

Object 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>258.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 9.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Painted limestone with pale green color.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Text        | It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading:
|             | \( \text{Wsr ns hns nw m hb m} \text{t} \text{hrw 'Osiris ns hns nw m hb' the soldier, justified one'}. \) |

Description

The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. The face of the shabti is almost perfectly preserved; the eyes seem as if gazing at eternity. It has an inscription similar to the previous one, a \( \text{mr-} \) hoe in each hand and a bag upon his back, in black ink. A bag with crossed fibers is suspended by one robe from the left shoulder.\(^{31}\) The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with \( \text{ssd}^2 \) headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.

Dating

It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,\(^{33}\) and the industrial features, it was fashioned of green-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.\(^{34}\) This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 6). Revise the shabti number 256. Two shabtis were found from the Second Cache of Deir el Bahari at Thebes with a similar name (\( \text{ns hns} \))\(^{35}\) and (\( hns \text{ nw m hb} \)). Maybe these shabtis belong to the same person. Therefore, maybe, the provenance of shabti no. 258 is Deir el-Bahari.\(^{36}\)

Object 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>259.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 9.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Pale blue faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, reading: 𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪. 𓍀 rt nb i ḫns ḫ m nb rḥt 3ψ 3ψ 3ψ ḫw ‘Osiris nb 3ψ ḫns ḫ m nb rḥt 3ψ doer 3ψ of good thing, justified one’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. Arms and hands are represented in the classical position, crossed right over left. The face of the shabti is almost perfectly preserved; the eyes seem as if gazing on eternity. It has inscription, in black ink, similar to the previous one, a 𓊪 mr- hoe in each hand and a bag with crossed fibers 𓊪 on his back. The shabti wears a lappet ‘tripartite’ wig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig, the bag, and the industrial features, it was fashioned of blue-colored faience with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased. This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 7). See the shabti number 254. A shabti was found at Deir el Bahari in Thebes dated to the Third Intermediate Period with a similar name (w nb-hnsw). Maybe this shabti belongs to the same person. Therefore, probably, its provenance is Deir el Bahari.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Object 8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>264.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 10.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Limestone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, but his name is not quite clear, reading: 𓊪𓊪𓊪𓊪. 𓍀 rt nb i ḫms ḫ m nb rḥt 3ψ 3ψ 3ψ ḫw ‘Osiris------- overseer of receiving of the wealth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form. Arms crossed on the chest. The shabti has a 𓊪 mr- hoe in each hand and a bag with crossed fibers 𓊪 on his back. They were drawn in black ink. The face of the shabti is perfectly preserved; the eyes stare, as if gazing at eternity. The shabti wears a lappet ‘tripartite’ wig with 𓊪 ss sḏt headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig, the bag, and the industrial features, it was fashioned limestone with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased, this object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 8). See the shabti number 254.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Object 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>265.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 5.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Blue faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink at the front.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>This shabti is in mummy-like form, similar to no. 256. The shabti is carrying a ( \text{mr-} ) hoe in each hand and a plain trapezoid bag(^{50}) on his back. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig with ( \frac{ss}{sd}d^{31} ) headband knotted behind. The headband was painted in black ink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. From the style of the wig,(^{52}) and the industrial features, it was in limestone with details in black with only the title and the name of the deceased.(^{53}) This object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period (Fig. 9). See the shabti number 254.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Object 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>261.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 11 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Red granite. Some of its parts are missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>It was inscribed with a text in horizontal lines:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{shd Wsir pō ḫnsw mw ms nt tō wsir ḫrw ddt n .s wsby lpn snr ntrw whr rs m wi is r h₃wty sdb (sdb) Wsir im iht kǔt nbt im m s r h₄t f (m) s i₃l nfr ḫt nb w - - -}
\]

"The illuminated one, Osiris, \( pō ḫnsw mw\)**\(^{54}\) who was born to \( tō wsir, \) a voice called: ‘O this shabti take care of the divine distribute rations of me. concerning an unpleasant task (literally obstacle) or a hindrance is imposed on Osiris (the deceased one) there and for any work that is to be done yonder in the netherworld, as a man in his duties, as a man, make well everything...’."
**Description**
The shabti is fashioned in the traditional mummy form, where the body is enveloped in bandages with only head and hands visible. Arms and hands are represented in the classical position, crossed right over left. The face of the shabti is perfectly preserved; the eyes have the characteristic Egyptian stare as if gazing at eternity.

This shabti wears a long divine beard with the normal headdress, the lappet ‘tripartite’ wig, so called because the hair was divided in two lappets in front with the remainder at the back. This was the traditional coif of gods.\(^{55}\) Both ears protrude over the wig. The eyes, lips, and nose are very prominent and well sculpted. This shabti holding a \(\rt{mr}\) hoe in one hand and a pick \(^{56}\) in the other,\(^{56}\) and had a small seed bag, a Sait trapezoid bag with crossed oblique pattern and loop,\(^{57}\) suspended from a cord slung over the left shoulder.\(^{58}\) This statue has a back pillar on statuary.

**Dating**
It was dated to the New Kingdom period in both the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and where the object is exhibited. From the industrial features,\(^{59}\) the bag and the spilling of the word shabti \(\rt{\|m\|wty}\) which occurs on this statue, this object can be dated to the Twenty-Fifth or early Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Fig. 10). In the Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, the shabti underwent another major transformation. A new arrangement of tools is found consisting of a pick, hoe and small seed bag suspended from a cord slung over the left shoulder. The figure takes on a new shape with a back pillar and base.\(^{61}\)

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**Group 3: Thirtieth Dynasty onwards**

**Object 11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>255.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 6.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Light blue faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description**
It is similar to no. 266. This shabti is in mummy-form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face visible, without inscription. The deceased wears the divine beard, and holds a \(\rt{mr}\) hoe in each hand. The tools are incised in high relief, as are bread and the facial features of the deceased. The hands and part of the forearms protrude from the chest and the upper part of the body is more voluminous in shape, reminiscent of the swollen type of coffin characteristic of the second half of the Late Period.

**Dating**
It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities this object can be dated to Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE); indeed, the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief the reminiscent of the style of shabti models during that period\(^{62}\) (Fig. 11). In the Thirtieth Dynasty the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are bread and the facial features of the deceased.\(^{63}\) The same industrial features apply to shabtis numbers 262 and 266.
Object 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>262.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 11 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>White faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>This shabti is in mummy-like form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible. The beard and the facial features sculpted in high relief. The shabti wears a lappet 'tripartite' wig. This shabti is holding a ( \sqrt{m} ) hoe in one hand and a pick in the other. The tools are incised in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased. The hands and part of the forearms protrude from the chest and the upper part of the body is more voluminous in shape, reminiscent of the swollen type of coffin characteristic of the second half of the Late Period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE)(^6) (Fig. 12). In the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE) the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased. See the shabti number 255.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Object 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>266.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 8.5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Blue faience, a part of the body and the wig have a white appearance, having lost their blue paste coating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>It is similar to no. 255, but some of its parts are missing. This shabti is in mummy-like form, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible without inscription. This shabti wears a long divine beard with the normal headdress, the lappet 'tripartite' wig. This shabti is holding a ( \sqrt{m} ) hoe in each hand. The tools are incised in high relief, as are a beard and the facial features of the deceased. It has a back pillar, on statuary, which starts where the wig ends and stops at the base, the Shabti takes on a new shape with a back pillar and base since the Twenty-Fifth and early Twenty-Sixth Dynasties(^6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE)(^7) (Fig. 13). In the Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BCE), the agricultural tools sculpted in high relief, as are beard and the facial features of the deceased. See the shabti number 255.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Object 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reg. no.</th>
<th>267.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H. 5 cm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance</td>
<td>Pale blue faience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>This shabti's features are unclear; it has a crude aspect of the manufacture, without inscription. The summary treatment of the underlying features is not entirely finished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>It was dated to the Greco-Roman period in the handwriting catalogue of Al-Salam School Museum, and it was dated to the New Kingdom period where the object is exhibited. Based on stylistic similarities, this object can be dated to Ptolemaic period69 (Fig. 14). Shabtis continue to be used in burials in the Ptolemaic period, but disappear with the onset of Roman times.70 In the Ptolemaic period, shabtis are consistently in mummy-form; examples in the dress of the living are exceedingly rare, if at all existent. So numerous were the figurines in each burial that in many instances there were 'overseer' figurines designed to control the gangs of workers.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Titles mentioned in the study

1 𓀩𓅌𓢌 Wstỉr 'Osiris' this title was mentioned on shabtis no. 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261 and 264. Osiris was a ruler of the netherworld the deceased king became Osiris. After the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, all transfigured deceased became Osiris who himself was a symbol of resurrection.72

2 𓂚𓅃 nfr ntr 'the good god', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 254. It was used as an epithet of god or (usually) dead king.73

3 𓆱𓆰𓅃 𓢩 im3hw hỉr nb 'revered with the lord', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 254. The lord here may refer to Osiris nb ỉbdw, nb ỉmntr the lord of Abydos, the lord of the West.74

4 𓃋 mỉt hỉrw 'justified one',75 this title was mentioned on shabti no. 257.

5 𓆱𓆰𓆰 A nmy-r šsp n ikr 'overseer of receiving of the wealth', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 264.

6 𓆱𓆰𓆰 shỉd 'The illuminated one', this title was mentioned on shabti no. 261. It was used during the New Kingdom Period, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period on shabtis for deceased men and women.76

In conclusion, the author published in this paper a new collection of shabtis exhibited in Al-Salam School Museum in Assiut from register number 254 to 267; explained different types of shabtis in this collection; classified and dated them according to their industrial features, writing styles on them, and comparison. These objects have different measurements and styles, and they did not belong to one person. They can be dated to different periods.
(Fig. 1) Statue no. 260, limestone, h. 8.5 cm. The lower part of this statue is missing, only the face without beard and the wig can be seen. It has no inscription. Maybe it was a Shabti. New Kingdom Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 3) Shabti no. 254 of Khonsu-ba-nb, in light blue faience, h. 12 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 2) Shabti no. 263 this shabti is mummy-like form, green faience, h. 8.5 cm. It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and the two sides. New Kingdom Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 4) Shabti no. 256, blue faience, h. 6 cm. It has unclear inscription except the title: Wsr 'Osiris'. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.
(Fig. 5) Shabti of *khi* no. 257, blue faience, h. 5.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 7) Shabti of *nh *khsw *ns rhp* no. 259, pale blue faience, h. 9.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 6) Shabti of *ns *khsw *nh *pb* no. 258, painted limestone with pale green color, h. 9.5 cm. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 8) Shabti no. 264, limestone, h. 10.5 cm. It has a column of inscription in the middle of the front, in black ink, but his name is not quite clear. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.
(Fig. 9) Shabti no. 265 this shabti is mummy-like form, similar to no. 256, blue faience. Height is 5.5 cm. It has remains of unclear inscription in black ink in the front and sides. Third Intermediate Period. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 11) Shabti no. 255, blue faience. It is similar to no. 266. h. 6.5 cm. Thirteenth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author's photograph.

(Fig. 10) Shabti no. 261 of priest pt hnw mm, red granite, h. 11 cm. Some of its parts are missing. This statue has a back pillar, occurred on statuary, 25th or early 26th Dynasty. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 12) Shabti no. 262, white faience, h. 11 cm. This shabti is mummy-like form, similar to the previous one, showing the body wrapped in bandages with only the face and hands visible without inscription. Thirteenth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author's photograph.
(Fig. 13) Shabti no. 266, blue faience. Parts of the body and the wig have a white appearance. They lost their blue coating, h. 8.5 cm. It is similar to no. 255, but some of its parts are missing. Thirtieth Dynasty (380-343 BCE). Author’s photograph.

(Fig. 14) Shabti no. 267, this shabti has unclear features, it is poorly manufactured. It is in pale blue faience, without inscriptions, h. 5 cm. Ptolemaic Period. Author’s photograph.
Notes

I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the Ministry of Antiquities and Al-Salam School Museum for giving me permission to publish these objects. Further thanks are due to the theoagauyaity referees for their comments; the present text owes much to their recommendations. I would also like to thank Marwa Abdelmotaleb (for checking my English). Naturally, I remain responsible for any errors in this paper.

Lecturer of Egyptology, Egyptology Department, Faculty of Arts, Assuit University.


4 \( \text{swthbl, also swbl} \), shabti, Book of the Dead. \( \text{wshbl ushthbl, Late Period.} \)

5 deterrinatives, WB IV, 435(15). The linguistic origin of the word shabti 'ushthbl' is of unknown meaning since the end of the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians themselves interpreted it to mean 'answer'. Lurker, An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, (London, 1996), 125. Some Egyptologists suggest that the origin of the term shabti is the verb \( \text{swthbl, ushbl} \) in ancient Egyptian language WB I, 371(6): R.O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1976), 70. It means 'to answer', this verb has one of these determinatives \( \text{swthbl, ushbl} \), or \( \text{wshbl} \) in the Greco-Roman period. WB I, 371(6): Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 70.

6 Most of these determinatives represent a man with his finger or hand referring to his mouth to show response. A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, (Oxford, 1926), 442(A2). The other determinative \( \text{swthbl} \) maybe, referring to that shabti does his duties of work powerfully. This verb was written in Coptic: qwswbl. WB I, 371(6): W.E. Crum, A Concise Dictionary (Oxford, 1939), 474b. Besides, others suggest that the origin of the term \( \text{swthbl} \) shabti (shabti) may have been derived from the name of the wood of the persia tree. Schneider, Shabti, An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. 2-3.

7 \( \text{swbl, swb, Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 263, which frist shabti was thought to be made of. M.R. Bunson, 'shabti (shawbti, ushabti)', in: Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt (New York, 2002), 370. Schneider says that the origin of shabtis can only be explained (interpreted) from their relationship to the servant statues. H.D. Schneider, Shabti, An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (Leiden, 1977), 3. The translation seems plausible concerning shabtis for they were meant to answer for the mummy and their name comes from their function, as these servant figures were to answer 'I am here when their master was called. see: H. Schlogl, 'Uschebi', LÄ VI (Wiesbaden, 1986), 896; D. O’Conner and E.H. Cline, Amunhotep III, Perspectives on his Reign (New York, 2004), 122. This was mentioned in chapter six of the book of the dead See. E.A.W. Budge, The Book of the Dead, the Chapters of Coming forth by Day (London, 1898), Chap VI, 28-29.

8 G. Janes, Shabti, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections (Paris, 2002), 234; Compare this shabti with shabtis in: Petrie, Shabti, 14, pl. 27.

9 Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 35, fig. 35; Janes, Shabti, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections, 234.

10 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London' in: www.digitaegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf

11 Compare his shabti with the shabti of Borely Museum N1369/2. See ; J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica II (II-III) BHA FO 77 (1977), pl. 11(A.B).

12 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London' in: www.digitaegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf


This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, but a similar name with some deference was mentioned hnsw-pri-siw. See: Ranke, PN, 271, 1.

Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 33; Andrews, Egyptian Mummies, 59.

In the Early New Kingdom the shabti was provided with little model tools of the implements required, a hoe, a pick and a basket. Later the objects were painted or molded onto the figurines. Lurker, An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, 126.

Shabtis often carried amuletic signs and were inscribed with a prayer to provide food offerings. Andrews, Egyptian Mummies, 59.

See: Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 249.

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 35, fig. 35.

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 37(D).

Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu, from Dra' Abul Naga, which bears the same industrial features and was dated to the same period, Third Intermediate Period. D.B. Spanel, 'Funerary Figurines', in: D.B. Redford (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, I (Cairo, 2001), 569, 569.

Haynes, 'shawabtis, servant figures and models'. 888.

See: Janes, Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections, 245(13a).

See: Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 249.

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 35, fig. 35.


This name was derived from the verb ḫl, which means 'be high'. See: A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (Oxford, 1957), 445 (A28). It was not mentioned in: Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen.

See: Janes, Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections, 245 (13a).

See: Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 249.

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 35, fig. 35.

Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) khonsu. from Dra’ Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, I, 569, 569.

See this name with the name of hnsw-m-hb in: Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I, 271, 273.

See: Janes, Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections, 245(8).

See: Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 249.


See: Aubert, Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari, 78.

See: Aubert, Les statuettes funéraires de la deuxième cachette à Deir El-Bahari, 86.

Suffix pronoun 1st person common. In inscriptions sometimes  see: Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 39(34).

This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen.


See: Janes, Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European private collections, 245(13b).

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 35, fig. 35.

See: Stewart, Egyptian Shabtis, 37(D).


See: Janes, Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections, 245(13b).

See: Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, 249.
47 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35, fig. 35.


49 Compare this shabti with the shabti of Paw(y) kholso, from Dra' Abul Naga, Third Intermediate Period. Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 1, 569, 569.

50 See: Janes, *Shabtis, A Private View, Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes in European Private Collections*, 245(13a).


52 See: Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, 35, fig. 35.


54 This name was not mentioned in: Ranke, *DIE ÄGYPTISCHEN PERSONENNAMEN*.


58 Compare Stewart, *Egyptian Shabtis*, fig. 30.

59 'Index to the Named Shabtis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London', in: [www.digraegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf](http://www.digraegypt.ucl.ac.uk/downloads/shabts.pdf)

60 See: Wb IV, 435(15); Spanel, in: Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt*. 1, 569.

61 Haynes, 'shawabris, servant figures and models', 888.


64 Compare it with Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4; http://www.archive.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf


66 Haynes, 'shawabris, servant figures and models', 888.

67 Compare this shabti with Maravelia, *Journal of Banking & finance* 2, 21, figs. 3, 4; http://www.archive.gr/publications/Egyptology/Maravelia_Benaki.pdf


69 Compare it with V. Carpano, 'Une collection particulière', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 54. fig. 22.

70 Haynes, 'Shawabris, servant figures and models', 888.


75 Wb II, 17 (15).

An Epitaph of a Roman Legionary Soldier from the Legio II Traiana stationed in Alexandria

ملخص

يتناول هذا البحث دراسة أثرية وتاريخية ولغوية في نشر علمي لأول مرة لشاعر جندي روماني من جنود الفرقة الراجانية الثانية التي كان مقرها الإسكندرية. ويبرز النص وشاعر الغر بالقرن الثاني الميلادي. وينقسم البحث إلى قسمين رئيسين: القسم الأول يركز على الدراسة الأثرية لشاعر الغر وما يحتويه من مشهد متكامل بالنحت البارز. أما القسم الثاني من البحث فيتناول النشر العلمي للنص الراجاني في أسفل اللوحة الموصوفة أثريا.

وهي هذا النشر في القسم الثاني من البحث تعليق تاريخي مستفيض يتناول جانبيين: الأول: تعليق خاص بالنقوش المكتشفة موضوع البحث وأهميته. الثاني: تعليق تفصيلي تاريخي عن الفرقة الراجانية الثانية في مصر.
This paper is an archaeological, historical and linguistic study of a tombstone of a Roman legionary soldier from Alexandria, dated to the second century CE.

It is divided into two main sections:

1. The Archaeological Section includes:

1.1 The Provenance, its archaeological finds, and the characteristics of the location.

1.2 An Archaeological Description, commentary and conclusions of the depiction of the deceased soldier in the upper part of the slab.

This section has been prepared by Hasnaa Mahmoud Fahmy, Chief Archaeological Inspector of the Eastern District of Alexandria, together with Inspectors Aia Mohamed Taher and Nesreen Abd-el-Kareem Tawfiq.

2. The publication of the accompanying inscription on the lower part of the slab. This section includes the publication of the Latin text with an English translation and linguistic and explanatory notes. This is followed by detailed commentaries on the discovered inscription and on the Legio II Traiana in Egypt. This is the work of Prof. Mohamed Abd-el-Ghani.

1. The Archaeological Section

1.1 The Provenance, its archaeological finds, and the characteristics of the location

This epitaph is one of the recent discoveries that were found in an unearthed graveyard during the process of digging trial trenches to the foundations (as a part of the required procedures by the municipalities to build or rebuild an empty space of land) at 219, Tiba (Thebes) St., Sporting district, Alexandria. The measurement of the trenched open area is 551.64 square meters, the digging of the trial trenches began in February and ended in June 2013, the epitaph in question was discovered during April 2013. The location of the unearthed graveyard clearly indicated that it was one of the graveyards constituting the Eastern Cemetery of Alexandria during the Greco-Roman Era (Map 1) which was situated beyond the city walls. This Cemetery was the burial place of the Macedonians, Greeks and Romans in Alexandria; it included the graveyards of Chatby, Ibrahimia, Cleopatra, Sidi Gaber, Tigran, El Hadara, Mustafa Pasha to the east of the barracks known as the Roman camp of Mustafa Pasha.

The epitaph in question was discovered above one of the tombs hewn in the rock in the trench

(Map 1a) General Map of Alexandria.
(Map 1b) The Location of the Excavation by SCA.

no. 7 (Map 2) at the depth of 4.70 m. (Fig. 1b). One of the significant features of this particular tomb is that the shape of the skeleton of the buried person inside which appears, though in a bad state of preservation, putting his left hand on his chest (Fig. 2). As will be shown later in this paper the tomb and its epitaph, the subject of the present study, belonged to a legionary soldier, a horn-blower of the Legio II Traiana in Alexandria from the second century CE. The graveyard in question was a burial place for many others, as is attested by the discovery of several other skeletons in tombs of the graveyard; such tombs differ in architectural styles and burial techniques. Several other archaeological finds were unearthed in such tombs such as burial jars (which contained the mortal remains of the deceased) close to the right of the deceased's head, as well as lacrimal tubes in the size of a finger, close to the burial jars (Fig. 3).
The location of the graveyard (Map 2) is a slope far from the flume (gully) of water; it might have been overlooking the domicile (estate) of the grave-owner. It is remarkable that the skulls of the deceased persons were oriented towards the East (the sunrise direction), while the feet were oriented to the West; the difference of the directions might be attributed to the seasons in which the burials took place. It is also observed that most of the burials in this graveyard were not deep in the soil, they almost do not exceed the depth of about 1.20 m except in few cases for the purpose of misleading, camouflage (mystification).
or protection against grave-robbers; in such cases the depth of the burials range between 2.20 m and about 5 m from the earth surface.

1.2 The Archaeological Description and Commentary of the Epitaph

1.2.1 Description

The epitaph in question is a rectangular slab of veined dark grey marble, one of the most well-known types of Attic marble. Its dimensions are 59 cm tall, 34 cm in breadth, 3 cm thick, a small part of the upper right corner is missing and its rims are uneven. It is in a good state of preservation, it was treated in the restoration lab of the Roman Amphitheatre of Kom el-Dikka, and transferred recently to the National Museum of Alexandria where it is on display there. (Fig. 5)

(Fig. 4) The relief before restoration.

(Fig. 5) The relief after restoration.

The marble slab of the epitaph is divided into two sections: the larger one on the upper part of the slab is outlined on its two vertical sides by a thin frame encircled from above by a semi-circular (crescent) shape and contains the depiction of the deceased soldier in relief; while the smaller one on the lower part contains the commemorating inscription engraved in 5 lines in Latin. (Fig. 6 and its enclosed facsimile)

In the upper section the deceased legionary soldier is depicted from the front, standing and resting the weight of his body on his right foot; while his left foot rests slightly backwards. He is wearing the Roman tunic, and above this tunic he is depicted wearing a cloak called the Paludamentum,
which originated from the Greek 'Himation

 This cloak here is known as
 sagum: it is a military cloak which the officers
 and soldiers used to wear; it was rectangular
 in shape, folded above the tunic and fixed
 with a clasp above the right shoulder. In
 this depiction the soldier in question is seen
 extending his sagum to cover his left arm,
 while fixed on his right shoulder with a clasp
 (ponannular) and hanging down his back
 until below the knees; remains of yellow color
 could be seen on the sagum. The soldier
 (in his capacity as a horn-blower/cornis) is
 holding a horn (cornu) with his left hand and
 carrying it on his left shoulder. His right arm,
 however, is extended down with a sacrificial
 plate (patena) used to pour wine on a burning
 altar underneath.

 1.2.2 The Archaeological Commentary
 and Conclusions

 The depiction of the deceased soldier in
 this epitaph represents one of the examples
 which express the characteristics of the
 Trajanic era sculpture. The Trajanic sculpture
 is considered the actual start of the integration
of the art of Roman sculpture, apart from the artistic dualism which combined the characteristics of the Hellenistic sculpture with those of the Roman. In this example of the Trajanic sculpture in this epitaph the realistic lines in depicting the personal portrait of the soldier are clearly observed: the wrinkles of the face and front, the prominence of the cheekbones as if he had no flesh, and the swollen eyes\textsuperscript{10} show the soldier older than his actual age (40 years as is shown in the inscription), and he seems to have been in fact so. His hair is well groomed in the Trajanic style which was represented as if it were a crown above the head, with an ideal representation of the beard and moustache, a reflection of the political peculiarity of the Trajanic age. In the depiction of the soldier's portrait one can notice the disappearance of light and shadow (although a trace of shadow appears near the end of the left foot). One can also observe the disappearance of the nervous expressions\textsuperscript{11} which dominated during the Flavian era, here there is a return to the absolute simplicity which could amount sometimes to immobility (inertness).\textsuperscript{12} The artist here carefully observed the symmetry and conformity of the proportions and measurements of the body and the other elements of the portrait.

If we have a closer look at the deceased soldier's clothing as represented on the tombstone we notice that the tunic here is different from the tunic of the Republican era which had short sleeves or without sleeves.\textsuperscript{13} The folds of the clothes indicate the interest in
the decorative aspects in an elaborate way. It is a continuation of the decorative sides of the Flavian era and were maintained during the Trajanic age (some of the best examples, apart from the current epitaph, are the decorations of the clothes of the horn-blowers represented on the famous pillar of Trajan).\textsuperscript{14} (Figs. 9-10) The cloak \textit{sagum} was also represented with meticulous and realistic folds (plies) which conform with the movements of the hands; this is a good representation of the \textit{sagum}.\textsuperscript{15} Although the Roman \textit{toga} was the official Roman uniform during the Roman Empire, it was used only in times of peace during the festivals and other similar occasions. Such official uniform required special skills for its manufacture and was exclusively confined to the Roman citizens.\textsuperscript{16} Necessity imposed, however, the use of a less sophisticated cloak \textit{sagum} to replace the \textit{toga} in the time of military service, and in military and civil life at large.\textsuperscript{17} There were two types of the \textit{sagum}: a regal one for the Emperor and highest magistrates, and a regular one to be worn by the soldiers and ordinary people. This latter is the one worn by the soldier in our epitaph, and the same cloak is worn by the soldiers represented on Trajan Pillar.\textsuperscript{18} The \textit{sagum} was in various colors such as purple, red, white, yellow, blue and violet; here the \textit{sagum} appears to have been in yellow.

Various opinions were stated about the significance of the use of this yellow color in the manufacture of the military cloaks \textit{saga}. Some viewed it a normal color grading of the wool (or linen) from which the \textit{saga} were made, this color was worn, according to this viewpoint, by men of higher esteem.\textsuperscript{19} Other views would think that it expresses sobriety and dignity.\textsuperscript{20} while others suggest that the colors of the \textit{saga} differed in the Roman army according to the rank: the \textit{saga} in white pertain to commanders, those in red to ordinary soldiers, while those in yellow to the military who were entrusted with special tasks.\textsuperscript{21} Others would view the yellow color a symbol of the light and the sanctity of the gods.\textsuperscript{22} It is fortunate that all such views are in accordance with the qualities of the soldier in our epitaph: his special task as a horn-blower, his sobriety and piety are apparent in the depiction and the inscription, as we are going to see later on.

Finally, as regards the Roman clothing, as is obvious in the depiction of this epitaph, two remarks are noteworthy 1) although the Romans were influenced by the Greek costumes, the artist in our topic managed to distinguish between the Greek costumes which were characterized by the straight lines and the right angles, and the Roman ones which became characteristic with their curves and folds which bestow upon the costume luxury, clarity and realism;\textsuperscript{23} 2) the artist seems to have been influenced by the Spanish art. This could be attributed to the fact that Trajan was one of a few Emperors who did not belong to the Italian Peninsula; although of Italian origin, he was born and brought up in Spain. This Spanish effect appeared clearly in the military cloak \textit{sagum} which was of Spanish origin.\textsuperscript{24}

As for the musical instrument (the horn/\textit{cornu}) held by the deceased soldier in the depiction and referred to in the inscription, a covering commentary will be found later on in the notes and comments on the text of the inscription. A simple description of that musical instrument can be put forth as follows: 'It had a narrow, even conical bar
in the shape of a round letter G with a slender bell; a wooden crossbar, forming the diameter, rested upon the player’s left shoulder and was grasped by his left hand. While the right hand pressed the mouthpiece against his lips.25 (Figure 7) It is noteworthy, however, to highlight the distinguished position which the horn-blowers enjoyed in the Roman army. In addition to their significant role in the Roman barracks and camps, the sacrifices and libations to the gods took place in the presence of trumpeters and horn-blowers as is attested in the sacrificial scenes of Trajan Column.26 (Figs. 9-10) The soldier in our epitaph is represented holding the cornu on his left shoulder and the patena the sacrificial plate) with his right hand, thus achieving the full functions of a Pius (note on line 3 of the text, and the further subsequent commentary) horn-blower. The scenes of horn-blowers on Trajan Column commemorated the events of the Dacian Wars and their battlefield, while here the scene is meant to commemorate the deceased horn-blower of our epitaph.

The piety (piousness) of the horn-blower in our case is apparent through representing him pouring a libation of wine from his patena on a burning altar as an expression of glorification and gratitude to the gods; that sort of libation was of milk, wine or water27 to be poured over a burning altar or hearth. Most of the cities had public hearths where the sacred fires blaze. In Roman religion, Vesta was the goddess of the sacred hearth. She was a peaceful goddess who did not take part in conflicts nor strifes, she even extended her protection on those who sought the refuge of her sacred hearth. Every meal of food would begin and end with an offering for her sake, her name was the first to be uttered in prayers and in oath, and it was believed that her sacred fire secured peace and tranquility for Rome.28 The altars of the public hearths of Vesta were erected in open areas, since the ritual of burning sacrifices or libations or throwing incense would make the fire blaze even more.

1.3 Additional Notes

1. In spite of the accuracy and precision of the artist in carving the details of the soldier’s body one can find fault with him in that he did not manifest the details of the soldier’s toes, if he meant to represent him barefooted although this is unusual to the Romans. If
the artist's intent was to represent the soldier wearing shoes, there is nothing of lines or shades to confirm that.

2. The artist used a deep perspective and produced a background void of any representation. It seems that the artist here resorted to fanciful architectural elements: he made the frame (outline) carry the crescent ceiling instead of the columns in real architecture. Perhaps this representation is further evidence, as proposed earlier, of erecting the altars of the public hearths of Vesta in open areas, and not in the precincts of the goddess temple.

3. This apparent libation to Vesta in our epitaph, in addition to the yellow cloak *sagum* of the soldier in question: yellow, as the symbol of light and sanctity, according to some; as well as the crescent ceiling, make the soldier appear surrounded with an aura resembling that of Christian saints in Byzantine art.

4. The soldier is represented without his armour nor the full military uniform. This might imply some sort of focusing on his peculiar task as a horn-blower or just to commemorate his personal memory without highlighting certain particular military exploits.

2. Publication of the Enclosed Inscription (with translation, notes and commentaries)

2.1 The Text

D (iis) (vac.) M(anibus)  
Pribius Bulbasianus cornix leg(ionis) II  
Traianae For(tis) Ger(manicae) (centuriae) VIII. Pii pos(uerunt).  
Mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI vix(it) an(nos) XXXX  
(vac.) Fr(ater) L(egionis) (centuriae) fecit  
b(ene) (vac.) M(ereunte)

2.2 Translation

To the sacred spirits of the deceased Pribius Bulbasianus, the horn-blower of the Legio II of Trajan, the strong, the Germanic, of the ninth century. The pious (fellows) erected it. He spent 21 years in military service, lived 40 years. His brother in the legio and centuria made it (the tombstone), well deserving.

2.3 Notes

Line 2 Cornix-ics, f., crow: in this context, it is certainly equivalent to ‘cornicen-cinis, m., horn-blower. This is absolutely confirmed by the (cornu/horn) carried by the deceased on his left shoulder and held by his left hand, in the depiction accompanying the inscription from above on the slab.

Line 3 › or › is a sign used for the word ‘centurio'; a centurion or commander of a century; or ‘centuria': a division of 100; a company of soldiers, especially as a military technical term, a century or one-sixtieth of a legion. This meaning is clear and frequently included in the inscriptions, although the origin of the sign is uncertain.29

*Pii pos(uerunt)*: From the full-length representation of the deceased legionary soldier in his uniform and equipment, it is obvious that he led a pious life as is clear from the *patera* (the libation dish or saucer) in his right hand, and the burning altar beneath. This is what he wished his comrades and the future generations to remember him by. This explains the phrase *Pii pos(uerunt)* which means that his fellow comrades, and in particular, the pious among them, cared to erect this fitting tombstone to commemorate this pious fellow.
Line 5: if the fellow comrades of this deceased soldier were so careful to erect (ponere) this tombstone for him, his brother who survived him and was still serving in the same unit (the same Legion and centuria) was the most appropriate person to prepare the draft work of the sheet of paper to be handed to the stonecutter (faber lapidarius) and the writer of the text of the inscription (scriptor titulorum) in the stonemason's workshop (officina titulorum) to execute as an end-product of the gravestone. If this understanding is correct, the phrase fr(ater) l(egionis) (centuriae) fecit' does not literally mean that this brother executed the tombstone himself, but rather took the preparatory steps to its execution and supervised the manufacture until its end product. This makes sense, as the brother is supposed to be the closest one to his deceased brother, and the most capable to satisfy his wishes as to the best way of his commemoration. This evidence comes to confirm L. Keppie's statement (n. 29, loc. cit.) that: 'the epitaphs were erected sometimes by a brother also serving, or by a fellow soldier designated as an heir'.

The space left between the two abbreviated words b(ene) and M(erente) is most likely intentionally done as a way of decoration and coordination on the part of the (scriptor tituli) to complete the last line. The same could be said of the large space left between the two words of the first line: D(iii) and M(anibus) at the beginning and end of that line, just below the full-length depiction of the deceased soldier.

A further and final note in this concern is that the writer of the inscription reflected the importance of some of the abbreviated words by writing the letter of the abbreviation in larger size (Capital Letter): D M in the first line which is traditional on tombstones in general to express the sanctity and supplication to the souls of the deceased; and M(erente), the last word of the last line, to express and emphasize the worthiness of the deceased of the commemoration.

2.4 The Commentary

2.4.1 On the Discovered Inscription

E. Breccia published, early in the 20th century, more than a dozen funerary inscriptions from Alexandria pertaining to members of the Legio II Traiana, the principal—and almost the only—Roman legion in Egypt during most of the second and Third centuries CE. Those deceased soldiers, for whom the tombstones had been erected, were of different military ranks: most of them were soldiers milites, while a few were of specific functions assigned to them in their units, such as the signifer/standard-bearer (in nos. 480 and 484 in Breccia), and the imaginifer/bearer of the bust of the emperor (no. 483 in Breccia). Our inscription is unique, however, in that it is the only military tombstone in Egypt, so far as I know, which testifies the occurrence of a cornicen/horn-blower of the Legio II Traiana from its main headquarters in Alexandria, although the term used for that rank in our current inscription is different in form cornix (see note in line 2 above).

Among the points of interest in the present inscription is to find two brothers performing their military service in the same unit (note on line 5). Their ethnic origin is not stated in the contents of the inscription, nor even the name of the brother who supervised the manufacture of the tombstone. One cannot know for sure their province of
origin from the name of deceased: Pribi(us) of Bulbasia(nus.) if my reading is correct.

It is noteworthy that if a group of pious fellows Pii, comrades of the deceased horn-blower, erected this tombstone for this late Pius fellow, as his representation clearly portrays, this might raise a probable question: Did such collegia within the Roman army units ever exist? In case of their actual existence, did they take an official form which was being overlooked by the authorities so long as they adhered to the Roman traditional religion and the imperial cult? L. Keppie alludes in a quick reference to a sort of clubs that might have paid attention to the burials of the fellow military members, who happened to pass away while in harness away from their homeland; soldiers in such units paid contributions to such clubs to ensure their proper commemoration following death.34

Finally, in relation to the present inscription, it might probably, date back to the second century CE. The Legio II Traiana in our inscription simply bears the traditional titles and identification of the second century CE: Legio II Traiana Fortis Germanica, with no other (additional) titles indicating any of the Emperors of the third century CE. Such titles as Antoniniana, Severiana, Gordiana, Philippiana, Galliena, and more, were frequently added and employed in the documents in the identification of that Legio in the third century to link it closely to the ruling emperor.35

2.4.2 On the Legio II Traiana in Egypt

First, I agree with M.P. Speidel's statement that 'Egypt is not only the richest of all provinces in sources for the Roman army, its army is also the best researched. Nevertheless, its wealth

of sources is far from fully put to use'.36 This is confirmed by the increasing researches on the topic, the latest of which is the current publication as a slight contribution in a large field.

Immediately following the Roman occupation of Egypt, one year following the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the Roman army was well established in that province during 29 BCE, at the latest. The Roman rulers of Egypt tightened their grip over the country in a way quite contrary to their weak Ptolemaic predecessors. The security and pacification of the province was ensured through the deployment and effective use of three Roman legions which were, at first stationed in Nicopolis near Alexandria, Babylon and Thebes.37 These legions were namely: the Third Cyrenaica, the Twelfth Fulminata, and Twenty-Second Deiotariana. Under Tiberius in 23 CE the legion 12 Fulminata left Egypt, and the same happened with the Third Cyrenaica later, possibly under Hadrian (since it is attested in Egypt in a letter sent by Hadrian to the prefect Rammius Martialis in 119 CE: B.G.U. 140, l. 6). Thus, for most of the first century CE, two Roman legions were stationed in Egypt, mostly concentrated at Nicopolis. Furthermore, the Twenty-Second Deiotariana was destroyed during the second century,38 but after that there still remained at Nicopolis the Legio II Traiana, which was created by Trajan at the start of the second century; and from that time onwards the destiny of that legion became the same as that of Egypt.39 Nicopolis camp was the principal headquarters of the Roman army legions, mostly composed of the Legio II Traiana during the late second and
third centuries CE. From there detachments were sent upriver, as and when necessary, to various key places: frontiers, road junctions, depots of grain supply, mines and quarries.40

In addition to the local functions assigned to the Legio II Traiana of securing peace and tranquility within Egypt, it also played a significant role in campaigns and expeditions outside Egypt. Since its creation by Trajan, at the beginning of the second century CE, the Legio II Traiana played a significant role in the suppression of the Jewish revolts of 115–117 and 132–135 CE. This issue has been thoroughly dealt with in various previous studies.41 This legion, or at least considerable detachments of its troops—must have taken a significant part in the Roman confrontations against the Parthians (161–166 CE) under the titular command of Lucius Verus, the Co-Emperor with Marcus Aurelius, and the active and actual command of the Roman General Avidius Cassius. It must also have shared the troops of Marcus Aurelius in their extended war against the Danubian and Germanic tribes of the Quadi, Marcomani and Sarmatiani (167–175 CE).42 Their partial absence from Egypt at the time must have encouraged and prompted the serious revolt of the Egyptian farmers and shepherds (Bucolici) in the northern parts of the Egyptian Delta (170–172 CE); a revolt which had actually been crushed by the above-mentioned General Avidius Cassius, the defender of the eastern Roman frontiers against the Parthians.43

On account of his distinguished war against the Parthians, and later against the Bucolics; Cassius, on a false report of Marcus Aurelius’ death on the Danube front, was proclaimed Emperor in the East for three months in 175 CE, before he was murdered and beheaded by one of his officers. It seems clear, from the sequence of events, that Cassius seized the opportunity of the absence of a large part of the Legio II Traiana beyond Egypt during the hard times of the Danube confrontations to suppress the Bucolic revolt. His success in that mission, as well as the extended absence of the Legio II Traiana, were apparently among the factors which nurtured the ambition and greed that led to his rash step of claiming the imperial throne for himself. Thus, the absence of a large part of the Legio II Traiana from Egypt during the hard times of the decade of the seventies of the second century CE might have played some role in enhancing such serious events such as the Bucolic revolt and its consequences, both in Egypt and in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Now, we refer to the Legio II Traiana in Alexandria to shed some light on its constitution, activities and its relations with the supreme authorities of Egypt and the Empire (the prefect and the emperor). Some epigraphical evidence from Alexandria cast some favorable light on such aspects. Most significant of this evidence is an inscription published for the first time by A.A. Aly in 1955,44 and thoroughly commented and cited by many subsequent scholars.45 It is a large statue-base of white marble found in 1939 at Mustafa Pasha (the legionary Roman Camp of Nicopolis) in honor of Emperor Antoninus Pius by a number of Roman veterans of the Legio II Traiana who were honorably discharged from service in 157 CE,46 after 26 years of active service.
Those discharged veterans, at least 130 in number, were inscribed on the slab, each with his name and place of origin. The majority of them (89) were from Africa and the Danube, a minority (25) from the Eastern provinces, and only 15 from Italy, including 3 from Rome itself. G.F. Gilliam raised an issue in need of interpretation concerning the ratios of such ethnic origins of the veterans listed in the inscription. Such ratios are in obvious contrast with the other epigraphic evidence which generally asserts the attitude (or policy) of the Roman army of local recruitment of enlisted soldiers from the province in which a legion is stationed, or from nearby places, which is not at all the case in the document in question! Gilliam suggested as a solution to this paradox and odd case the date of the release of the former soldiers in the document, 157 CE. It means that their recruitment took place 25 years or 26 years earlier, 132 or 133 CE. This latter date corresponds with the outbreak of the second Jewish Revolt in Palestine which the Legio II Traiana took part in crushing. Thus, necessity and emergency imposed the resorting to unusual sources of recruitment of new troops. It is a logical and convincing assumption which some other scholars adopted.

The difference in this specific point is quite clear in an inscription which is similar in content, though smaller in size, from Alexandria, and from Nicopolis in particular. It is also a dedication by a group of honorably discharged former soldiers of the Legio II Traiana to the Emperor Septimius Severus, early in his reign during 194 CE. While the recruitment of newly-enlisted soldiers in the former inscription of 157 CE came from faraway provinces, the majority from the West: Africa, the Danube lands, and a few from Italy; the case in the present document of 194 CE is totally different. The released former soldiers who had been enlisted as new recruits, as is manifestly stated in the inscription—in the consulship of Apronianus and Paulus, 168 CE, came from local origins in their majority, and few from near places. To reflect this situation explicitly and statistically from the numbers of the released as shown in the document, about 40 names enumerated whose origins are stated and known: 31 among them came from Egypt, 6 from Syria, 2 from Africa, and one from Bithynia, a striking contrast with the case of 157! A closer look to those recruited from Egypt in the document of 194 CE reveals that 23 from the 31 cases are designated as castris, belonging to the camp, 3 from Alexandria, 3 from Paraetonium, one from Tanis and one from Thebes. Those under the category ‘castris’ could probably be citizens of the Greek cities of Egypt such as Naucratis, Ptolemais and Antinoopolis, who were permitted to enlist in the Roman legions after being granted registration in the Roman tribe of Pollia, before the Constitutio Antoniniana of Caracalla in 212 CE. The Alexandrians were naturally allowed to join the Roman legions; and Paraetonium might have enjoyed, under the Romans, a privileged status, somewhat like the Greek cities. Ambiguity involves, however, the two cases of the legionary former soldiers from Thebes (col. I, line 10) and Tanis (col. I., line 15), whose towns of origin were beyond the sphere of the Greek cities in Egypt. This indicates that the rule (of the Greek cities) was not always strictly applied.
A final point of interest in the present inscription of 194 CE is to encounter among the released veterans a ‘tubicen/trumpeter’ (col. 1, line 7); his city of origin is Antioch in Syria. This brings to our attention the ‘cornix = cornicen/horn-blower’ in line 2 of our epitaph, the topic of this article.

In addition to the two above-commented most significant inscriptions of 157 CE and 194 CE, from the headquarters of the Legio II Traiana at Nicopolis, Alexandria, that legion honored the emperors, prefects and other eminent personalities in other varied occasions. In another inscription from Alexandria dated 174 CE,52 a dedication is offered to Emperor Marcus Aurelius on the occasion of the restoration of a fortress praevidium which had collapsed due to its antiquity vetustate dilapsum. This renovation was performed under the auspices of Gaius Calvisius Statianus, prefect of Egypt at that time, the implementation of the work was performed by Valerius Maximus, one of the centurions of the Legio II Traiana. F. Kayser suggests that at that time, 174 CE, that legion was, no doubt, outside Egypt, taking part in the wars of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomani; and that the remaining soldiers, left to maintain peace and security of the province, undertook the task of renovating the collapsing fortress, by orders of the prefect of Egypt.53

There are two other dedications left by the Legio II Traiana from Alexandria to some eminent magistrates in Alexandria and Egypt: the first is erected by Titus Voconius, prefect of the Legio II Traiana in 185 CE to honor Titus Longaenus Rufus, prefect of Egypt, a Praetorian prefect and a very eminent man. This dedication might have taken place in the occasion of his nomination to the magistracy of Praetorian prefect while he was still prefect of Egypt between January and October 185.54 The second is dedicated, 223 CE by a certain Pacilius Tychianus, a centurion of the ‘Leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) f(ortis) [G(ermaniae) Sever (ianae)] to Lucius Domitius Honoratus, the Praetorian Prefect and Very Eminent Man. The occasion of this dedication is most likely similar to the previous one, the promotion and nomination of Lucius Domitius Honoratus, who held the prefecture of Egypt in 222 CE to the higher magistracy and the title of vir eminentissimus in 223 CE.55

I hope that such sketches and stations of the Legio II Traiana in Egypt during the second and early third centuries CE are adequate in shedding some light on its existence, recruitment and some of its activities within and outside Egypt.

Notes

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1 The address is inaccurately recorded in the archives of the Eastern District of Alexandria as being in Sporting area; in fact it is located near the Mosque of Al-Tawheed in Cleopatra Hammamat.

2 The teamwork members of the trenches and excavation of this discovery are: Hasnaa Mahmoud Fahmy, Chief Inspector of the Eastern District of Alexandria, together with Inspectors: Aia Mohamed Taher, Eman Mohamed Abd-el-Zahir, Mahmoud Ahmed Mahmoud, Marian Samir Moreid, Marwa Adel Hussein and Nesreen Abd el Karim Tawfiq (in alphabetical order).


4 M. Haggag, Lectures in Hellenic Architecture (in Arabic) (Alexandria, 1998), 30. This sort of marble was cut from

5 The Roman tunic is a loose shirt composed of two pieces of cloth, one above the other, sewn together. It had long sleeves and a belt tied to the waist. See: O. Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art* (New York, 1895), 660.


7 Abd-el-Rahem, *The Aesthetic Values of Fashions in the Roman Mural Painting from the 2nd century BC to the 4th Century AD*, 44.

8 S. Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages, A Study in Plastic Arts* (PhD Diss., Alexandria University, 2007), 418.

9 The yellow color was, unfortunately, removed by mistake in the Conservation Laboratory.

10 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 414.


12 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 420, 425.


14 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 428.

15 Ashour, *Presentation of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman Ages*, 428.


31 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris, 1989), (in its English translation: R. Bare, *The Imperial Roman Army* (New York, 1994), 49. 'Each maniple (composed of two centuries) had a signifer kept by a signifer, who led the way on the march and in combat, and who supervised in camp the money deposited under the shrine of the ensigns and also the market where soldiers bought their provisions'.

32 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, 49, ‘... mention must also be made of the imaginifer whose duty was to present the imperial bust or busts in ceremonials. It is not known whether there was one for each legion or for each defiled Emperor'.

33 Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, 49-50. 'Music was used for reveille and the changing of the guard, but its main function was tactical. In combat three
instruments were used: the straight trumpet tuba had to be obeyed by every soldier as it gave the signal to charge, or to retreat as well as to leave the camp. It was also used for sacred ceremonies. The horn cornu, a curved tube reinforced with a metal bar, was obviously different. In combat it was blown for the bearers of the signa. Normally, trumpets and horns were played together to order the soldiers to advance towards the enemy or engage in hand-to-hand combat ...'. For a more detailed, though simplified, description of the peculiar and specific functions of certain soldiers and officers of the Roman legions, see the account provided by Flavius Vegetius, from the Fourth century CE, in his 'Epitoma Rei Militaris' (OCD under Vegetius) in a passage cited by Y. Le Bohec, 46-47.


35 For the details of this point see: P. Sanger, 'Die Nomenklatur der Legio II Traiana Fortis im 3. Jh. n. Chr.', ZPE 169 (2009), 277-286.


39 Y. Le Bohec, L'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire, 174.


42 For a brief account of the Roman wars against the Parthians, and later against the Germanic tribes across the Danube during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus see: M. Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York, 1985), 88-95.


44 A.A. Aly, Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University 3 (1955), 113-146.

45 For the list of scholars who further studied this important inscription after its first publication by A.A. Aly see: E. Birley, 'Some Legionary Centurions', *ZPE* 79 (1989), 114-128, 120; F. Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines* (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (1°–III° s. apr. J.-C.), (Le Caire, 1994), no. 102, 305-306.

46 F. Kayser, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (1°–III° s. apr. J.-C.), II. 7-15 (of the dedicatory introduction): V e c e r a n i | leg(ionis) II Traianae Fortis | qui militare coeperunt | Augurino et Sergiano co(n)s(uli)bus | stip(endiorum) XXVI | et Hiberi et Isisena co(n)s(uli)bus, stip(endiorum) XXVI | missi honesta missione sub | M(arco) Sempronio Librale | (vac.) praef(eceto) AEgypti (vac.) | L(ucio) Iulio Crescente praef(eceto) castror(um).


50 F. Kayser, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (1°–III° s. apr. J.-C.), commentary p. 333.

51 F. Kayser, Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (1°–III° s. apr. J.-C.), commentary p. 333.


55 E. Breccia, no. 160 = F. Kayser, no. 19.
ملخص

يقدم هذا البحث تحليلًا للأثر الجنائزي الذي يعتمد على التصوير المرئي للنسج المكتوب والمُهدى للمروحي. يعتقد أن المصدر الذي جاءت منه هذه اللوحة المصنوعة من الحجر الجيري التي تذكر اسم متروودورس من بيفونيدس من ميليتوس هي مدينة نوفراتيس القديمة، مركز الوجود اليوناني قبل غزو الإسكندر الأكبر بسنتين طويلة. ويتميز النص المكتوب عبر ستة أسطر Stoichedon والذي يعزز المستطيل الكلي للحجر بالإطار البارز، تميز النقوش في التكوين الشبكي للدجاج بين النحاس المكونة للنص والخطوط الشبيكية الخلفية. تتميز أشكال الحروف المكونة على الحجر بأنها كبيرة الحجم دقيقة التنفيذ، إلا أن الشكل التخطيطي ودقة علامات الترقيم تشير إلى محتوى أعمق للكاتب البساطة الظاهرة. ويرجع أن اللوحة تعود للقرن الخامس قبل الميلاد، ويتناولها هذا للمرة الأولى.
The memorial of Metrodorus is, on its simplest level, a six-line inscription written in Greek commemorating the deceased by name: Metrodorus; with patronymic: son of Apollonides; with demotic: of Miletus (figs. 1-2). Many, if not most, Greek funerary monuments when charted across all periods of Greek epigraphy limit the commemoration to precisely these three elements. They may be accompanied by some other relief embellishment, which the Metrodorus monument does not have beyond the plain raised border that carefully frames the inscription a full 2.5 cm on all four sides. The outer dimensions of the limestone plaque are 38.4 cm high and 36.4 cm wide, almost a perfect square. The inscription is written in the first person. The monument itself is speaking, not the deceased, again not unusual, but we observe that it necessarily includes the nomenclature in the genitive and hence privileges the monument to the fullest extent.

There are two things, however, that begin to distinguish this monument and elevate it in our estimation. The first is its provenance, important for the North African focus of the conference. The inscribed plaque most likely is from the site of ancient Naukratis, located in the western Delta, core of the Greek presence in Egypt from the period of the Saïte pharaohs. Under Pharaoh Amasis II, the port of trade was officially awarded to the Greeks for their loyal military service towards the king, although archaeological evidence indicates Greeks inhabited Naukratis from the foundation of the Saïte Dynasty by Psammetichus I in the mid-seventh century BCE. Among other colonial groups, a population of transplanted Milesians resided there. Strabo, in fact, credits the Milesians with the actual foundation of Naukratis (17.1.18), while early graffiti recorded by W.M.F. Petrie in the precinct of Apollo Milesios date just after the first quarter of the sixth century BCE (c. 569).1 Naukratis would boast ‘temples’ to Amun-Re and Thoth in addition to an array of Greek deities connected to the individual polis contingents. The most famous temple establishment, according to Herodotus (2.178-179), was the Hellenion, and it was co-founded by a full range of poleis, including Miletus, with the earliest archaeological evidence likewise dating back to the first quarter of the sixth century, namely during the reign of Amasis II.2

It is interesting to consider our inscription in the organizational context of the Catalogue Général for Egyptian Antiquities in the Cairo Museum, where it exists today (JE 31183). In the volume Greek Inscriptions edited by J.G. Milne and published in 1905, which must still serve as a fundamental resource for this subject, there are a total of seventy-two funerary stelae and inscriptions in Greek from locations throughout Egypt—a large category compared to State decrees (ten in number), honorific inscriptions (fourteen), religious regulations (thirty-eight). Out of the seventy-two grave markers, thirty-five are from Delta sites, with another eight from Alexandria. Out of the thirty-five, only two are considered from Naukratis. The Metrodorus monument is so judged on the basis of its alphabet and dialect, as well as the claim on the part of the original seller to the Giza Museum that the piece had been brought from Damimage, ancient Hermopolis Parva, just to the northwest of Naukratis.3

The date in Milne for Metrodorus is given as fourth century BCE.4 The other monument (JE 27753) commemorating Apollos, son of Thalinos, is far more secure, with Petrie’s own label showing Naukratian provenance.5 Milne dates this stele to the fifth century BCE.6 The design of the Apollos monument is very different from that of Metrodorus, and this is instructional. Rectangular rather than squared in format, decorated with the relief of a
double-leaved door set within a post-and-lintel framework, and crowned with cavetto molding, it is reminiscent of an Egyptian false door as well the door motif most popular in later Ptolemaic loculus slabs.\textsuperscript{7}

I suggest that the Metrodorus memorial, and perhaps the Apollos memorial as well, served as loculus slabs in the cemetery at Naukratis. As a consequence, both monuments would directly supply valuable information in determining one important method of burial at the site during that period. As pointed out by Marjorie Venit, loculuslike burials are well attested in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt. They are a feature of Late Period necropolises of defied animals at North Saqqara, the necropolis (and cult center from the late New Kingdom onward) of Memphis, through much of Egyptian history the most important city in Egypt. Memphis was early connected with both Greeks and Macedonians.\textsuperscript{8} The tooling of the sides and back of the Metrodorus monument deserves special mention in this regard. All four sides, which are 5.8 cm deep, are finished with strong parallel grooves running at right angles to, or at a slight angle to, the edge of the stone (figs. 3-4). The grooves are made with the flat chisel, executed regularly and with care. The back has more of a rough-hewn appearance, but the eveness and depth is consistently maintained (fig. 5). The impression that the inscribed stone was custom-made to fit, sliding into an opening and closing it effectively, is very strong. While one might have expected more funerary comparanda from such a site, the location of Naukratis in the Delta environment and the extreme archaeological difficulties incumbent on that topography from the time of Petrie and Gardner onwards, are well known.\textsuperscript{9} The very survival of something like the Metrodorus monument is in itself noteworthy. However, interest in the cemetery has reasserted itself, especially now with the work of the British Museum Naukratis Project, which completed a season of fieldwork in October 2012, at the very time of the Forum itself.\textsuperscript{10} The second distinguishing aspect concerns the exceptional treatment of the simple elements composing this memorial. We are speaking of the palaeography and layout of the stone. The alphabetic letterforms of the inscription are arranged in a gridded stoichedon formation that reinforces the overall square of the plaque with its raised frame. Stoichedon inscriptions are characterized by the manipulation of the written elements composing a text with respect to an underlying grid. The Greeks made this layout the hallmark of their most distinct epigraphic style, flowering in the fifth century BCE but continuing well into the fourth and in various revivals or attempts at archaising in later periods. It has been the aim of my research on the subject to understand the geometry of this style and its manifestations, particularly at the point of origin. I have recently argued that Egypt should be considered as the motivating impulse behind the Greek experimentation with the grids that ultimately characterize the stoichedon style.\textsuperscript{11} The full Egyptian grid system, canonized for treatment of the human body as early as the Middle Kingdom and used for the organization of hieroglyphic inscriptions as well, continued into the New Kingdom, Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman Periods. What subtle changes in the canon of proportions that occurred at various points along this timespan are very important, but so is the continuity of the grid as the device for proportional composition. In the sixth century BCE, it would have been easily transmittable through just such a trading center as Naukratis to the larger Greek culture beyond.

The description by Diodorus Siculus (I.98.5-9) of the methodology employed by the sixth century Samian sculptors Theodoros and Telekles, each making half of the cult statue of Pythian Apollo following the Egyptian canon of proportions and then successfully joining the parts, attests to the Greek interest in modular proportion at this critical
moment. The earliest Greek stoichedon probably occurs in Samos, not in Athens, ca. 560 BCE as evidenced by the inscribed dedication by Cheramyês (fig. 6) from the Samian Heraion in the Vathy Museum.12 Even if the story of Theodoros and Telekles is anecdotal, as suggested by J.J. Pollitt,13 the principle of modular proportion is not. The transmittal of the principle of canonization from Egypt through Samos makes sense, especially since the Samians were among the first colonists at Naukratis. There are important early examples of Miletus’ interest in alignment and lettering as well, the most exceptional being the remains of a calendar of offerings reused in the later Delphinion at Miletus and tentatively dated by L.H. Jeffery 525-500 BCE.14 Despite the governance of the strong horizontal guidelines seen on the boustrophedon inscription, the careful spacing and alignment of the letterforms suggest that this, too, is stoichedon. Even the label for the inscription at Berlin’s Altes Museum describes it this way: ‘The characters are evenly distributed like in a grid and the lines are to be read alternately left to right and right to left’.15 In my definition of the style, I make a distinction in how the alignment can be manipulated. The even placement of letterforms within the grid matrix, each letterform within its unit, or stoichos, with no empty spaces, and hence aligned with the one above and below, to the right and to the left, I define as rectified stoichedon.16 If the centering changes in any way, up to the alternation of a full space on the grid, still deploying the letterforms in alignment but not directly below each other, this I define as offset stoichedon.17 The effect is in the manner of an isodomic wall construction. For Greek epigraphy in general, this format has never before been recognized as stoichedon. Despite privileging the horizontal drive of the text by means of guidelines and boustrophedon arrangement, the Miletus calendar nevertheless demonstrates the principle of offset stoichedon.

The power of the stoichedon layout of the Metrodorus inscription lies in its perfection of numbers and spacing. The letterforms are arranged in six vertical rows and six horizontal rows, thirty-six total stoichoi or units with no visible guidelines, painted or incised. The height and length of each row, whether vertical or horizontal, is 25.0 cm, making the dimensions of the stoichos unit 4.2 sq. cm. The average letterform height, and it is extremely consistent for both rounded and upright forms, is between 3.0 cm and 3.5 cm; only the omega is short, measuring 2.5 cm on average. The Metrodorus inscription is rectified stoichedon in its entirety, one of the finest and most regular that I have ever seen.

The palaeography is in accord with the scrupulous alignment of the layout. These are monoline letterforms with no variation intended in the width of the stroke, which stands at 3 mm. This means the ratio of the width of the stroke to the height of the letterform is around 1:10. There is no appreciable swelling of the stroke at any point along its length, and no serif, and the strokes are deeply cut. Noticeable also is the peculiar, plaster-like inclusion in the channels of numerous letterforms, visible in several of the photographs and noted in my facsimile drawing as well.18 As mentioned above, the letterform height is remarkably consistent; whatever variation there is, is also consistent, creating families of letterforms. Tabulating the dynamic between letterform height and width is how I begin the analysis of the alphabet of any given inscription, the full treatment of which is not possible here. It is worth mentioning as a starting point, however, that the omega, already identified as the only letterform that drops significantly from the common height, is also the widest letterform, the horizontal extent of its arms even occupying the full width of the stoichos unit the first time we read the letterform at the beginning of line two. Of the three occurrences of omega in the inscription, this example
best demonstrates the form with perfect clarity and balance. Omega is the quintessential Ionic letterform, a family unto itself.

In any Greek alphabet, the two most basic geometric shapes, the line and the circle, stand in their own right as vowels in addition to contributing to the formation of all other letters or grammata. In the Milesian alphabet of the Metrodorus inscription, the basic vertical orthostat is the iota and the full circle is the omicron. These letters help set and refine the 3.0-3.5 cm range. Interestingly enough, both of them measure at the low end of this range for the majority of their occurrences (four each) over the inscription. This might not be surprising for the omicron, which traditionally is a smaller letterform in the development of Greek epigraphy; but it is surprising for the iota. Yet the ultimate and penultimate letters of the inscription are an iota and an omicron at the end of line six, and both are clearly and deliberately outsized: 3.7 cm for the iota and 3.9 cm for the omicron (fig. 7). The entire last line gives the appearance of added height: the sigma (fig. 8) is a full half-centimeter taller than its only other occurrence in line three. The result is a strong, magnified sense to the closing line completing the genitive for the family’s demotic origins, with the ‘matching’ iota and omicron at the end doing their full share in creating an emphatic visual closure.

The large scale and careful geometric sensibility of the overall inscription recalls the high quality of IG 134, the Hekatompedon inscription itself (fig. 9), dated early fifth century BCE from the Athenian Acropolis, and with which I have spent much time in study and drawing. Over and over, it is said we cannot date by letterform, yet we can certainly ballpark and with proper caution, certain letterforms are considered diagnostic in the chronological sense, especially for an epichoric alphabet. In the first publication of the Metrodorus plaque by P. Jouguet in the BCH of 1896, the inscription is not dated. Subsequently, the Catalogue général dates it to the fourth century BCE, but with no discussion why. The Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscriten, also published in 1905, leaves out the date but points to the epsilon ‘still’ rendered with equal-length horizontals, and the smaller omega.19 A. Wilhelm, picturing an ‘Abklatsch’ of the inscription in his Beiträge of 1909, introduces it as an example of the pure, fieldlike-quality that stoichedon is capable of achieving, which any admission of word or line break will destroy, something he finds that Attica does early in the history of the style,20 but still no date for the Metrodorus inscription. The JE entry just calls it ‘Late’, clearly in relationship to the Pharaonic timeline. This is the full bibliography I have compiled on the stone, yet the issue of date has not been adequately addressed for this, one of the most important Greek inscriptions in all of Egypt.

Something else that recalls the Hekatompedon inscription is the grand-scale use of the three-point interpunct: and as with the Hekatompedon, the punctuation of the Metrodorus inscription furnishes the key to how the inscription really works. Here is where literal content and visualization come face-to-face. This funerary monument may not have relief, but it has punctuation, very strategically placed. Yet we find it only in the first three lines (fig. 10). Three-point interpuncts occur three times within these three lines, the first securing the exact center of line two, between the omicron signalling the end of Metrodorus’ name in the genitive and the epsilon of εἰμί (fig. 11). No additional stoichos is ever added to accommodate the punctuation. The second and third interpuncts are symmetrically placed in line three between the first and second stoichoi and between the fifth and sixth stoichoi. They separate εἰμί and σῶμα in the first case (fig. 12), and σῶμα and the genitive for Apollonides, Metrodorus’ father, in the second (fig. 13). The placement of these two
interpuncts is structurally symmetrical and perfectly frames the word σήμα, yet the one on the left is cut vertically between the iota and sigma, while the one on the right is cut diagonally between the alpha and tau, following the right oblique of the alpha. That variation is nothing short of brilliant, as the triangular shape, which has been symmetrically blocked out, is composed asymmetrically by the treatment of the two lower interpuncts in relationship to the first: two vertically composed, one on the diagonal. Word by word, Μητροδώρο εἰμὶ σήμα takes on special power precisely because of these three-point interpuncts (fig. 11). Likewise, the power of the pyramidal triangle now imbedded within the inscription created by the punctuation framing the word σήμα is no accident. Directly underneath the triangle, the patronymic fused with its demotic, occupies three lines, just like the first half of the inscription, but without punctuation (fig. 14). Just as surely, this is no accident. The very foundation for exactly who Metrodorus is and for the σήμα that consequently speaks for him—that is to say his identity vis-à-vis the first generation behind him, namely his father, and the ancestral polis behind that—is the subject matter of the second set of three lines and is treated as a solid mass of letterforms. There can be no punctuation allowed in the second half of the inscription, both from the standpoint of content and visual display. The perfection of the placement of the three-point interpuncts in the first three lines penetrates and begins to explicate the whole display. What occurs here qualifies for the definition of concrete poetry: where the shape and formation of a piece of writing fuse with the literal content of its text to produce meaning beyond what each is capable of producing separately.

To what purpose in the memorial of Metrodorus is this phenomenon taking place? Granted that the palaeography and layout are remarkable, a model indeed of the rectified stoichedon style, but this is more. Beginning with the perfect square, the six-by-six horizontal rows crossed by vertical columns, the ample accommodation of the thirty-six letterforms in proportion, the first-person address in three words, separation of these three words and the flagging of the word σήμα using three three-point interpuncts, the resultant triangle crowning the three lines of massed text below—all of these elements have been numerically orchestrated for the perpetuation of the memory of this man on a completely different level. This level may be understood better by the host culture than the Greeks settling in Naukratis: it involves concretization of form, however real or abstract the composing elements may be and the role of magic in activating them. In no area is this more critical, as evidenced from the whole of Egyptian civilization, than the funerary. I believe that this inscription was intended as something akin to a magical word square. R.P. Austin, who wrote about the stoichedon style in the late 1930s, described a word square or crossword as 'a group of letters set out in such a fashion that they make straight lines horizontally and columns vertically, and form intelligible words when read in either direction'. While the Metrodorus inscription is stoichedon rectified, it is not a bona fide word square, nor is it an acrostic. It is, however, utterly preoccupied with mathematics and proportion and replete with what can only be termed numerological symbolism from its sheer repetitiveness of the number three. It is a unique take on a magical word square, playing with the positioning of letterforms to some degree as though they were numbers. The presence of the magical word square is known on Egyptian soil, most famously in the much later Stele of Moschion, a bilingual Greek and demotic dedication that has been dated end of second century, beginning of third century CE. That date, like the Metrodorus inscription, needs reevaluation. I am hard pressed not to say more here about the Stele of Moschion, especially as it undoubtedly is from
Sakha. Today, the body fragment is in Berlin (fig. 15) and the lunette portion is in Cairo (fig. 16); but assuredly the stele continues to be a critical player in my study on the stoichedon style because of its nearly intact Greek grid and the rare occurrence of the word stoichedon in its text that explicates and justifies the offset definition I have given.

John Onians in his classic study, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, references the phenomenon of fusing form with literal content as occurring frequently in the development of the epigram in the Hellenistic period, one of the best examples being 'Ο Βευτός' or 'The Altar' by Dosidas. Such a visual interplay between word and image, where the shape of the poem imitates its contents, is known as a technopaignion or a 'game of skill'. Onians prefers the word symbolon. Dosidas' technopaignion or symbolon, composed of iambic rhythms, sets itself up as a dedication made by the mythic hero Jason. Even more importantly, Onians suggests that the Hellenistic period was disposed towards this flourishing play on words and images because 'the essential characteristic of these poems is their reference to a system of written communication relying not on an alphabet but on the use of representations of men, animals, plants, and other objects'. The writing system which by its nature incorporated the model of this interface at its foundation was the Egyptian hieroglyphic, known to the Greeks from their earliest contact with the host culture, even as the grid must also have been. Ultimately, the Hellenistic world, whose acknowledged capital was Alexandria in Egypt, could intensify in a highly sophisticated, multi-cultural environment, that 'essential equivalence between word and image', as Onians puts it, which in the end produced such a prodigy as an alphabetized hieroglyph: something like the altar epigram of Dosidas. Despite its simplicity, the Metrodorus inscription has this kind of sophistication.

Would this suggest, then, that the Metrodorus inscription is Hellenistic in date? Far from it, in my opinion. I am disturbed even by the fourth century date in the *Catalogue Général*. The Metrodorus inscription has a significant affinity to one Milesian inscription in particular that we have already seen, the religious calendar extracted from the Delphinion at Miletus. By definition, the calendar qualifies as an early example of offset stoichedon, probably late sixth century as already stated. While more archaic in appearance because of a mixing of diagnostic forms, the generous size and spacing of its letters and the powerful omicron are strongly reminiscent of the Metrodorus memorial; of equal importance is the prolific use of triple interpuncts, strategically placed in accordance with the needs of the text. Just as in the Hekatompedium inscription, the triple interpuncts are accompanied by more complex punctuation, in the case of the calendar a five-point interpunct. Indeed, as Jeffery states, the calendar 'has been well compared with that of the famous 'Hekatompedium' inscriptions from the Acropolis in Athens'. The fact that the Metrodorus, on its own terms, bears comparison with both the Milesian calendar and the Hekatompedomed says much for the inscription. Its ties to the late Archaic and early Classical are strengthened even more through another fragmentary stele with sacred content built into the Delphinion at Miletus. This inscription is much tighter and irregular in format than the calendar, more densely inscribed on four sides and combining pockets of offset and rectified stoichedon, but still directly comparable in palaeography to certain diagnostic letterforms of the Metrodorus memorial, notably the even-barred epsilon that attracted attention in the 1905 *Sammlung* publication. On another trajectory which may, in fact, prove to bring all of this together, Jeffery refers to the so-called 'Milesian' alphabetic numeral system, found as early as the sixth century BCE in
vase graffiti. More work is needed to substantiate Miletus' actual role in the development of the Ionic alphabetic numeral system, which will eventually replace the acrophonic system in Attica; but the equation of letterforms with numerals is an activity definitely to be associated with the polis of Miletus at an early stage; and numerology, as we have seen, is to be associated with this inscription.

In conclusion, the claim this funerary inscription has for a significant role in the development of the stoichedon style in Egypt is great. It is earlier than the fourth century BCE, very likely early fifth century, and a precursor through its image-creating punctuation of nothing less than a Hellenistic technopaignion, some two-hundred years ahead of its time. Even as the owner of the memorial himself is so grounded, the inscription appears very well-grounded in its Milesian epigraphic heritage, which includes evidence for the burgeoning stoichedon style in the late Archaic period. The Metrodorus inscription demonstrates the true perfection of the rare stoichedon arrangement in Egypt because of its unique properties as a would-be word square using numerological symbolism that may require the host culture to fully decipher. On one level, the Metrodorus inscription is all about letters, numbers, and proportions and we observe it fulfils its job very well. But the Egyptian necessity for a memorial that functions effectively on more than one level of reality, one of those being the magical, takes the letterforms in their stoichedon matrix and weaves in the eternal.

Notes


2 J.M. Hall, A History of the Archaic Greek World ca. 1200-479 BCE (Malden, MA, 2007), 243-244. The Hellenion may be described as an emporium as much as a temple or sanctuary, under magisterial administration by the poleis involved.


5 Milne, Catalogue général, no. 9220, 59, and plate 2.

6 Milne. Catalogue général, no. 9220, 60.


8 Venit. Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria, 16.

9 Hall, A History of the Archaic Greek World, 243.


I am grateful to Ross Thomas of the British Museum excavation team presently working at Naukratis for referring me to their newly-published 2012 field report that includes updated information on the cemetery and where it was located, and to both Alexandra Villing.
and Ross Thomas for speaking with me at the site in October 2012 on the last day of their season there.


12 Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style*, 93. The Prasikleia inscription, considered a major contender in Attica for early stoichedon, is dated by Jeffery to 540 BCE, hence twenty years later than the Cheramyes dedication (*The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Attica no. 29, 78).


14 Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Miletos no. 33, 335.

15 Bilingual label for the calendar of offerings from Miletus in the Altes Museum, Berlin (English text). Transcribed by the author, August 2012.

16 P.A. Butz, 'The Double Publication of a Sacred Prohibition on Delos: ID 68, A and B', *BCH* 118 (1994), 93. n. 64. This is the first publication in which I introduced my definitions of rectified and offset stoichedon. They are further explained in *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription*.

17 Butz, *BCH* 118, 93, n. 64.

18 Attention was brought to the staff at the Egyptian Museum about this phenomenon, and further examination and testing of the substance by the Conservation Department is recommended to determine the age of the substance and what it is. There is a faint bluish cast to some of the inclusions, suggesting that the infill was deliberate, but at what time? There is no other presence of a plaster-like substance, as would occur in a reuse capacity, on the stone.

19 H. Collitz, and F. Bechtel (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscriiien*, vol. 2, part 2 (Göttingen, 1905), no. 5513. The cursory remarks call the lettering 'Gewöhnliche Schrift'.


21 R.P. Austin, 'Across and Down', *Greece and Rome* 8 (1939), 129.

22 *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 8.464; see also Butz, *The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription and the Birth of the Stoichedon Style*, 106-111.

23 O. Guéraud, 'La stèle gréco-démotique de Moschion', *BSA Alex.* 31 (1937), 163. Sakha, of course, qualifies as a North African location as well.


26 Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic World*, 112.


(Fig. 1) The memorial of Metrodorus (JE 31183) in the storerooms of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Plaque positioned to show raised frame on all four sides. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 2) The memorial of Metrodorus. Close up of inscription. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 3) View of the top edge of the plaque showing parallel groove marks. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 4) View of the left side of the plaque showing parallel groove marks. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 5) View of the back of the plaque showing texture and consistency of treatment over the roughened surface. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 6) Detail of the dedication of the Cheramytes kore at Samos, where the inscription turns stoichedon. Pictured also in Butz, The Art of the Hekatompedon Inscription, 95. Author's photograph.
(Fig. 7) Author's facsimile drawing of lines 3-6.

(Fig. 10) Metrodorus interpuncts. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 8) Detail of line 6. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 11) First interpunct, line 2. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 9) IG IV 4, B. Epigraphical Museum photograph and Butz, x.

(Fig. 12) Second interpunct, line 3. Author's photograph.

(Fig. 13) Third interpunct, line 3. Author's photograph.
(Fig. 14) The last three lines of the memorial of Metrodorus with no punctuation, crowned by the word σῆμα. Author’s photograph.

(Fig. 16) Detail of the ‘Cairo Lunette’ (JE 63160), Stele of Moschion in the Egyptian Museum. The picture is cropped, but the curve of the lunette is seen on the left. A variant on the word stoichedon appears on the lunette as well (in last line of longest section of text pictured). Author’s photograph.

(Fig. 15) The ‘Berlin Fragment’ (ÄM 2135) of the Stele of Moschion with the two gridded texts, one in Demotic Egyptian and one in Greek, still partially preserved on the upper left and right at the breakline. Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin photograph. Pictured in Butz, The Art of the Hekatontpedon Inscription, 107.
Une inscription du roi Djer au Sud-Sinaï :
la première phrase écrite en hiéroglyphes ?

 نقش الملك جری جنوب سيناء؛ هل يعتبر أول جملة مكتوبة بالهيروغليفية؟

Pierre Tallet*

ملخص

يعتبر وادي الحُجر في جنوب سيناء منطقة أثرية حديثة الكشف، ثم العثور في هذا الوادي على أسماء للملوك مصريين تعود لأواخر عصر ما قبل الأسرات؛ حيث عثر على أسماء للملوك: 'ييري حفر', 'كاس', 'عمرى'. وظهر لنا إحدى اللوحات المتحوطة على الصخر علامة السرخ الخاصة بالملك 'جر' (ثالث ملوك الأسرة الأولى)، بالإضافة إلى العديد من العلامات الهيروغليفية التي تُسمى بعض موظفي هذا العصر. وربط بهذا الملك نص قصير مكتوب بالخط الهيروغليفية، ومن المحتمل أن يكون أول جملة مكتوبة كُتب بالهيروغليفية على الإطلاق.
La dernière campagne archéologique effectuée au Sud-Sinaï par la mission jointe de l’Université Paris-IV Sorbonne et de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale a permis en septembre 2012 la découverte d’un nouveau site pharaonique, jusqu’ici totalement inconnu, au ouadi ‘Ameyra (nord du ouadi el-Homr) (Fig. 1). Le site se caractérise par la présence d’une grande quantité de petits cairns de pierre qui ont été aménagés, sans doute pour des raisons votives, sur un plateau rocheux qui marquait peut-être aux yeux des Égyptiens un point d’entrée dans la zone minière d’extraction du cuivre et de la turquoise. A l’est du site, sur une paroi de grès qui se trouve à la limite de ce plateau, apparaît une série exceptionnelle d’inscriptions qui commémorent sans doute les toutes premières expéditions qui ont été envoyées au Sinaï depuis la vallée du Nil aux origines de la civilisation pharaonique. On relève ainsi, entre autres, les représentations de grandes barques, surmontées de serekh et de noms royaux, qui témoignent de la présence sur le site d’équipes contemporaines des règnes de Iry-Hor, Ka et Narmer, respectivement les deux derniers souverains connus de la « dynastie 0 », elle-même contemporaine de la naissance de l’État égyptien, et le premier roi de la 1ʳᵉ dynastie (Fig. 2). Cette documentation, en cours d’étude, est dans son ensemble très importante pour mieux connaître les premiers temps de l’histoire égyptienne, et plus spécifiquement l’histoire de la région du Sud-Sinaï elle-même, où les Égyptiens ont sans doute été présents cinq siècles plus tôt que l’on ne le pensait jusqu’ici. A gauche des inscriptions de ces rois, un dernier panneau rocheux a été gravé au temps de Djer, deuxième successeur de Narmer et troisième roi de la 1ʳᵉ dynastie. Le serekh de ce souverain, où son nom

(Fig. 1) Carte montrant la localisation du nouveau site du ouadi ‘Ameyra.

(Fig. 2) Vue générale du rocher inscrit depuis le sud.
est encore bien lisible en dépit de l'érosion. apparaît à droite de la composition (Fig. 3). Le faucon qui est perché dessus brandit dans ses pattes une massue, et l'on trouve devant lui la représentation d'un ennemi réduit à l'impuissance, dans une attitude suppliante. Une cité vaincue du nom de P apparait également dans ce tableau. Sur le reste du panneau rocheux, de très nombreuses légendes hiéroglyphiques permettent également d'identifier des personnages de l'entourage de ce roi, au premier rang desquels on compte la reine Neith-Hotep, qui exerça sans doute une régence au début de son long règne (Fig. 4). Mais le plus exceptionnel est probablement la formule qui apparaît, cette fois-ci, à l'extrémité gauche du rocher et qui pourrait être l'une des plus anciennes phrases à avoir été notée dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique (Fig. 5). On lit ainsi la séquence suivante, dans une écriture de gros module parfaitement lisible, bien que la partie inférieure du p ait été endommagée par l'érosion :

Cette légende peut paraître énigmatique à première vue, mais une confrontation de ces quelques signes avec le reste de la documentation correspondant au règne de Djer permet sans doute de trouver sa signification. En effet, le nom propre It apparait clairement sur une empreinte de sceau contemporaine du règne de ce roi : il est placé sur ce document en association étroite avec le serekh de Djer (Fig. 6). L'opinion développée par P. Kaplony, dans son ouvrage de référence sur les inscriptions archaïques, est que ce nom pourrait désigner dans ce cas précis l'héritier présomptif de la couronne, associé ainsi à son père. D'autres chercheurs pensent cependant que l'association des deux noms sur le sceau est plus simplement un moyen d'établir un rapport entre le nom de naissance du roi (It) et son nom d'Horus, adopté lors du couronnement (Djer). Cette deuxième option nous semble beaucoup plus séduisante et elle pourrait d'ailleurs trouver une confirmation dans une documentation bien plus tardive. La table des rois qui figure dans le temple abydénien de Séthi Ier fait en effet
Une inscription du roi Djer au Sud-Sinaï : la première phrase écrite en hiéroglyphes ?

(Fig. 6) Empreinte de sceau du roi Djer associant son nom à celui de It.

(Fig. 7) Extrait de la table d’Abydos de Séhi 1re enregistrant les noms des rois de la 1re dynastie. Le roi Djer y apparaît sous le nom de III.

apparaître, au début de sa première ligne, les noms des rois de la première dynastie.10 Si l’on admet que Djer est bien le troisième roi de cette lignée à avoir régné sur l’Egypte, son nom est enregistré, de façon un peu surprenante, sous la forme de III, à la suite de deux autres souverains, qui sont appelés Mni et IIt, qui doivent quant à eux correspondre respectivement à Narmer et Aha (Fig. 7). La documentation égyptienne a donc manifestement conservé le souvenir de ce nom de naissance de Djer pendant près de deux millénaires, entre le règne du souverain en question (c. 3150 av. J.-C.) et celui du deuxième roi de la XIXe dynastie (c. 1290 av. J.-C.). A la lumière de tous ces éléments, la traduction de cette inscription de Djer nous semble être clairement $Hr p(w) \, It$ : « C’est Horus, It », une affirmation qui pourrait avoir une raison d’être tout à fait logique – celle d’une véritable proclamation –, si le panneau rocheux qui la porte a été précisément gravé au tout début de la règne de ce roi, ce que la présence du nom de la régente Neith-Hotep dans le même ensemble d’inscriptions semble démontrer. Nous aurions donc ici, peut-être pour la première fois, un véritable énoncé autonome – une « proposition à prédicat substantival » reposant sur l’emploi d’un pronom $pw$ invariable, servant de sujet,11 et non seulement des mots servant de légende à une scène figurée ou d’éléments d’identification dans un processus comptable.

Car, comme l’a souligné depuis longtemps P. Vernus,12 et plus récemment J. Baines,13 le processus de développement de l’écriture a été extrêmement long en Égypte. Le système de notation des hiéroglyphes est déjà en germe à la période de Nagada IIIA (c. 3250 av. J.-C.), comme en témoigne la découverte récente dans la tombe Ud j’Abydos de plusieurs centaines d’étiquettes inscrites de motifs qui sont souvent parfaitement identifiables comme les prototypes de signes bien connus par la suite dans l’histoire égyptienne.14 Les premiers textes véridiques suivis, présentant un énoncé complexe, ne sont en revanche pas attestés avant la IIIe dynastie (c. 2700 av. J.-C.). Dans l’intervalle de plus de cinq siècles qui s’étendent entre ces deux dates, on voit progressivement se développer la pratique d’insérer des « énoncés-titres » dans une documentation essentiellement d’ordre iconographique à des fins d’identification des faits, des objets et des personnages mis en jeu. A la fin du prédynastique et au début de la 1re dynastie, sous la « dynastie 0 » et dans le matériel associé notamment à Narmer et Aha, ces énoncés se limitent le plus souvent à un mot isolé, placé en relation étroite avec la représentation d’un personnage. A partir du règne de Den, ces formules ont tendance à devenir
plus complexes, comme par exemple sur l’étiquette de ce roi conservée au British Museum, où la représentation du souverain en train de massacrer un ennemi réduit à l’impuissance se lit *sp tpi skr lbh* : "la première fois de frapper l’Orient".\(^{15}\) De telles formulations deviennent de plus en plus fréquentes, au fur et à mesure que l’on avance dans le temps, sur les étiquettes commémoratives de bois et d’ivoire qui ont été régulièrement produites jusqu’à la fin de la 1\ère dynastie – celles qui sont attribuables aux règnes de Semerkhet et Qaa, derniers roi de cette séquence, reposant presque exclusivement sur l’usage de l’écriture pour noter de cette façon les événements qu’elles enregistrent.\(^{16}\)

L’inscription de Djer dont il est question ici se distingue toutefois assez clairement de ces "énoncés-titres". Si sa formulation demeure très simple, elle n’en est pas moins, de façon indiscutable, un énoncé autonome, véhiculant une affirmation simple sur l’identité du roi mis en jeu ; et ce sans être placée en relation directe avec une représentation à laquelle elle servirait de légende. Elle est à notre connaissance, au tout début de la 1\ère dynastie, la première phrase *stricto sensu* à avoir été notée dans l’écriture hiéroglyphique.

**Notes**

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4 Cette mise en œuvre "agissante" du nom royal semble caractéristique du début de la 1\ère dynastie ; l’exemple le plus manifeste est celui qui figure sur une étiquette de Narmer récemment découverte dans la nécropole d’Abydos par l’équipe du DAI (cf. G. Dreyer et al., "Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königfriedhof 9/10. Vorbericht", *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 139).

5 W.M.F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs II* (Londres, 1901), pl. X, n° 2 ; XI, n° 2.

6 *LĀ IV*, 394-395.


9 J. Cervello-Autoru, "Was King Narmer Menes?", *Archéopolis* 15, 31-46, sp. 42-43.
Une inscription du roi Djer au Sud-Sinat : la première phrase écrite en hiéroglyphes?


11 M. Malaise, J. Winand, Grammaire raisonnée de l'Egyptien classique (Liège, 1999), 463-466 ; sur cette écriture du pronom pw à l'époque archaïque, cf. J. Kahl, Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch I (Wiesbaden, 2002), 149. Ce type de construction grammaticale semble attesté par ailleurs sous ce même règne de Djer, mais dans la construction d'un nom de particulier, non dans un énoncé autonome comme vraisemblablement ici, cf. Kaplony, IAF 1, 419 (lm3-pw).


16 E.g. l'étiquette de Semerkhet, qui est l'objet d'un déchiffrement et d'un commentaire détaillé par les soins de Vernus, Archéonil 3, 95 sq.
The Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period

الماريانو في الصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعاسة

Mohamed Raafat Abbas*

ملخص

ذُكر النصوص المصرية القديمة عن ذكر المرابين كأعداء للجيش المصري. وكان الحدث عن صحراء المصرية، وكما وقعت في أديفرارن، يوجد نوعًا من التباين والتفاوخر يتبكن أعداء مصر من الآسيويين خسائر فادحة بسقوط أسراء العدو وقوائم وأبرز عمليات في أديفرارن في القتال، خلال تلك الحقبة التي شهدت قمة التوسع العسكري المصري في منطقة الشرق الأدنى القديم. وقد تمكن ذلك بوضوح في تصوٍّر الآلهة الثامنة عشرة من خلال حودات الملك تحت رعوس الثالث عشر ملك مصر المحاربين في حديثه عن حملته الحربية الأولى الشهيرة في بعده، وكذلك من خلال النصوص المتعلقة بحملات خليفته الملك المحارب أمتحب الثاني. وقد أجمع آراء المؤرخين ولكنلون على أن الماربى هو طاقة من المحاربين الذين تخصصوا وبرعوا في القتال بواسطة العربات الحربية، والذين كونوا طاقة على البلاد في المدن الكبيرة خلال العصر البرونزي المتأخر أي في النصف الثاني من الألف الثاني قبل الميلاد. وتثير غالبية الآراء التاريخية إلى أنهم كانوا ينحدرون من أصول هده أوروبية.

ويتفق هذا البحث قضية تاريخية هامة تتعلق بظهور المرابين كأعداء للصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعاسة، وعلى وجه التحديد خلال أحداث الحرب الليبية في العام الخامس من حكم الملك مرتيناج (حوالي 1207 ق.م.). رأى ملك الأسرة الثامنة عشرة، الذي واجه مصر فيها هجومًا ضخمًا من الليبيين وشعوب البحر من ناحية الصحراء الغربية، بذلك منح أحد المصادر التاريخية الهامة المتعلقة بحروب الملك مرتيناج ضد الليبيين وشعوب البحر، وهي بردية أنسامي الثانية، حيث ذكر المرابين من ضمن أعداء مصر الذين اشتروا في هذه الحرب. لكن الأمر المثير للاهتمام والتساؤل هذه المرة هو تواجده كعداء للصحراء الغربية للمرة الأولى والأخرى في تاريخهم، وليس في مناطق سوريا وفلسطين كما اعتادت المصادر المصرية الحديثة منهم دائمًا طوال عصر الدولة الحديثة. ومن ثم فالبحث ينطلق من خلال الأدلة النصية المتعلقة في بردية أنسامي الثانية ومن خلال الآراء التاريخية المختلفة - كيفية ظهور المرابين كأعداء لمصر في الصحراء الغربية خلال عصر الرعاسة للمرة الأولى والأخرى في تاريخهم.
The Egyptian military texts of the New Kingdom often highlight the capture of some numbers of mryn 'maryannu', which was equivalent to the capture of a high-level military official, whose loss would be greatly felt by the opposing force. For example, we find such historical phenomena in the Annals of King Thutmose III, where we read that after the fall of Megiddo in the first campaign of Thutmose III, the elite Asiatic Maryannu warriors were held prisoners to Egypt.\(^1\) Similarly, we find in the biography of the Egyptian officer 'Amenemhab' important information about the capture of mryn 'maryannu' as living prisoners in the campaigns of Thutmose III, during his sixth campaign in Year 30 of his reign,\(^2\) and during his last campaign in Year 42 of his reign.\(^3\) Furthermore, the military texts of King Amenhotep II refer to the capturing of a great number of mryn 'maryannu' in his Syrian expeditions.\(^4\)

In Wb II term ꝏ>'myny ꝏ>'maryannu' or ꝏ>'myny ꝏ>'maryannu' referred to the elite Syrian warriors.\(^5\) On the other hand, E.A.W. Budge considered that mryn 'maryannu' are the captive chiefs.\(^6\) Both A. Badawi and H. Kees agree that mryn 'maryannu' are Asiatic princes warriors.\(^7\) R.O. Faulkner, in his Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, agrees that mryn 'maryannu' means Syrian warrior,\(^8\) and A.H. Gardiner mentioned that the term mryn 'maryannu' used to refer to the Asiatic chariot-warrior.\(^9\) Moreover, in his Dictionary of Late-Egyptian, L.H. Lesko noted that mryn 'maryannu', which was mentioned in some Ramesside texts as ꝏ>'myny ꝏ>'maryannu in pAnastasi II, ꝏ>'myny ꝏ>'maryannu in Pap. Harris I, and ꝏ>'myny ꝏ>'maryannu in the Great Inscription of Sea Peoples campaign of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu, means warrior or knight.\(^10\) E.F. Wente noted from the 'story of the capture of Joppa', which registered on Pap. Harris 500 that the Maryannu warriors, which was mentioned in the story are elite Indo-Aryan chariot warriors associated with the Hurrian movement into Syro-Palestine.\(^11\)

The term Maryannu probably derives from a Sanskrit term for 'young man; hero', and appears to have designated in the Hurrian world an important class of 'knights', paid for their services and given authority over a particular territory, after the feudal fashion.\(^12\) R.T. O'Callaghan published a survey of what was then known about the Maryannu and of the various opinions regarding this social class. He agreed with the conclusions of previous scholars that this class was of Indo-Aryan origin. He mentioned that the term Maryannu (Egyptian mryn) is to be understood primarily as 'a noble man; a chariot warrior of a high status', according to sources from the second half of the second millennium BCE relating to the Syro-Palestinian region. O'Callaghan maintains that the Maryannu had lived in an area from the Kingdom of Mitanni in north to south Palestine, in the cities of Lachish and Ascalon, from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-twelfth centuries BCE. He also points out the connection between the Maryannu and the use of harnessed horses with warfare chariots, which first became widespread in the Syro-Palestinian region in the third century of the second millennium.\(^13\)

According to the accepted view, the Maryannu were a class of warriors whose expertise in handling chariots and caring for horses were an ancestral tradition which made them the nobility or the aristocracy of the Canaanite societies during the Late Bronze Age. They owned estates on the countryside and dominated the society of the rural towns. Membership in this nobility could be secured through inheritance, although the king could also promote favored lackeys to the Maryannu rank. The privileges and advantages enjoyed by this class and their role were rewards for their ability to use chariots in battles, which had been previously unknown in this area. The military heritage and social distinction of this class are strongly emphasized in Egyptian and Hittite sources.\(^14\)
In the fifth year of Merenptah’s reign (about 1207 BCE), Egypt was faced with threats from the Western Desert, and was attacked by a coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples at the border of the western Delta. These events are described in four texts: The Great Karnak Inscription of Merenptah, the Cairo Column, the Atribis Stele, and the Hymn of Victory, otherwise known as the Victory Stela of Merenptah (or Israel stela) at Cairo Museum. According to these texts, King Meryey, the son of Dedy of the Libyans, formed a coalition with several groups of the Sea Peoples (Sherden, Teresh, Shekelesh, Ekwesh and Lukka), and they pushed forward into the Delta. As soon as Merenptah discovered what was happening, he mounted a military campaign against the invaders and defeated them after six hours of fighting, at the border of the western Delta.

pAnastasi II, dating to the reign of Merenptah, is one of the important historical sources of Merenptah’s war against the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples in the 5th year of his reign. The Maryamnu were mentioned in a section of this papyrus as:

\[ m\text{r}\text{n}\text{t}\text{i}\text{w}\text{h}\text{n}\text{w}\text{f}\text{m}\text{n}\text{n}\text{t}\text{h}\text{w}\text{r}\text{h}\text{r}\text{s}\text{m}\text{n}\text{h}\text{t}\text{r}\text{i}\text{s}\text{d}\text{r}\text{k}\text{r}\text{t}\text{y}\text{w}\text{d}\text{s}\text{f}\text{n}\text{r} \text{m}\text{r}\text{y}\text{n}\text{n}\text{t} \text{s}\text{r}\text{d}\text{n}\text{i}\text{n}\text{k}\text{h} \text{r}\text{h}\text{p}\text{s}\text{k}\text{h}\text{i}\text{k}\text{w}\text{sn}\text{m}\text{h}\text{w}\text{t}\text{h}\text{s}\text{w}\text{t} \text{s}\text{r}\text{d}\text{n}\text{h} \text{r}\text{w}\text{d}\text{w}\text{r}\text{t} \text{n}\text{y}\text{t}\text{m}\text{h}\text{k}\text{w}\text{h}\text{m} \text{t}\text{n}\text{h}\text{w}\text{d}\text{3} \text{s}\text{n}\text{b} \text{Sherden of the Great green (i.e. the Mediterranean) who are captives of his majesty, l.p.h.} \text{.} ^{22} \]

The victorious army came after he has triumphed, in victory and power. It has set fire to Isderekitiu and burnt the Meryna (Maryamnu). The Sherden whom thou hast taken by your strong arm have plundered the tribes of foreign lands. ^{17}

It is noticeable in the text that the Sherden have plundered the tribes of foreign lands. Sherden are one of the Sea Peoples whose name has probably survived in the name ‘Sardinia’. They were first mentioned in the Amarna letters, where Sherden are mentioned as belonging to an Egyptian garrison at Byblos. ^{18} Undoubtedly, the Sherden here were fighting as part in the Egyptian Army. A.H. Gardiner mentioned that the Sherden was a contingent of the Egyptian Army in this section of pAnastasi II. Sherden raiders had attacked the Nile Delta some time before Ramesses II’s northern campaign. A very fragmentary inscription on a stela from Tanis describes ‘Sherden, rebellious of heart … [and their] battleships in the midst of the sea’. Ramesses ‘destroyed warriors of the Great Green [the Mediterranean], and Lower Egypt spends the night sleeping peacefully’. After the attack of Sherden on Egypt, they were captured and were enforced into the Egyptian Army and became one of the best troops employed by the Egyptians. ^{20} In pAnastasi I, at the beginning of Ramesses II’s poetical account of his campaign against the Hittites, he recounts how ‘he made ready his army, his chariotry and the Sherden whom his Majesty had captured’; here the exclusive mention of these foreign people shows the important part they already played in the Egyptian army. ^{21} In another section of pAnastasi II, the Sherden were mentioned as captives of Merenptah as the following:

F.J. Yuco assumed that Merenptah may have impressed Sea Peoples captures in his Libyan war of Year 5 against the Libyans and the Sea Peoples. ^{23} Moreover, J.H. Breasted thinks that the Sherden have been sent as Egyptian mercenaries against the tribes of the Desert. ^{24} It is not surprising to find the Sherden in Merenptah’s war fighting both for and against Egypt. The mercenary and adventurer acts as a spy for his free relatives. ^{25}
Accordingly, the Maryannu was one of the enemies of Egypt during the invasion of Libyan tribes, dominated by the Libu, allied with groups of the Sea Peoples, in the Fifth Year of Merenptah’s reign (about 1207 BCE). This provides us with an indication of the presence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period, for the only time in their history. They appeared as enemies of Egypt, as usual as we found them in the Egyptian military texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Furthermore, we have another textual evidence from the Hymn of Victory of Merenptah. We read that ‘the wretched, fallen chief of Libya, fled by favor of night alone, with no plume upon his head, his two feet [failed]. His women were taken before his face, the grain of his supplies was plundered, and he had no water in the skin to keep him alive. The face of his brothers was hostile to slay him, one fought another among his leaders. Their camp was burned and made a roast, all his possessions were food for the troops’. I think that what is mentioned in the previous text about the burning of the Libyan camp is in concurrence with what is mentioned in pAnastasi II as ‘The victorious army has come after he has triumphed, in victory and power. It has set fire to Isdertekiu, and burnt the Meryna (maryannu)’. This gives us another indication that both of Isdertekiu and Maryannu were enemies to Egypt in the Libyan war of Merenptah, and emphasizes the presence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period.

The question here is: How did the mryn ‘maryannu’ fight against Egypt for the first time of their history in the Western Desert of Egypt, and not in Asia as usual when we found them in the Egyptian military texts of the New Kingdom? Additionally, we have to enquire, how did the mryn ‘maryannu’ travel from Asia to the Western Desert?

The groups of the Sea Peoples involved in the Libyan war of Merenptah were the Sherden, Teresh, Shekelesh, Ekwesh and Lukka. The majority of the force were, however, Libyans; and the Sea Peoples were less than one-third of the total number. In this instance, it seems most likely that the Libyans were the prime movers, accompanied by the other groups as mercenaries. Some scholars observed from the records of the Libyan war of Merenptah that the casualties of the Sea Peoples groups are relatively small, compared with the Libyan casualties. This suggests that the Sea Peoples are, in this case, mercenary troops. Therefore, I think that the Maryannu warriors, who fought with the Libyans against the Egyptians in the Western Desert during the Libyan war of Merenptah, were mercenaries like the Sea Peoples groups. N.K. Sandars thinks that the Maryannu were superior to the usual type of mercenary. The term ‘mercenary’ is a vague one, since in the later second millennium BCE it can cover a variety of classes from the aristocratic Maryannu, barely distinguishable from feudal vassals, down to unruly groups of nomads. This is the answer to the first question.

On the other hand, it is known historically that the Sea Peoples groups started a migration around and across the Mediterranean Sea over a period of at least fifty years in the later twelfth and early eleventh centuries BCE. This was accompanied by widespread destruction of individual settlements and the collapse of wider political entities from Greece to the Levant. Therefore, I think that there is a great probability that some of the Maryannu warriors emigrated with some groups of the Sea Peoples from the Levant to North Africa throughout the Mediterranean Sea. Afterwards, all of these groups were mercenaries for the Libyans in their invasion on Egypt, in the fifth year of Merenptah’s reign.
Conclusion

Anastasi II proved the existence of the Maryannu in the Western Desert during the Ramesside Period, for the only time in their history. The Maryannu was one of the enemies of Egypt during the invasion of the Libyan tribes, dominated by the Libu, allied with groups of the Sea Peoples. It seems that the Maryannu warriors who fought with the Libyans against the Egyptians in the Western Desert during the Libyan war of Merenptah were mercenaries like the Sea Peoples groups, and there is a great probability that some of the Maryannu warriors emigrated with some groups of the Sea Peoples from the Levant to North Africa across the Mediterranean Sea. Afterwards all of these groups were mercenaries for the Libyans in their invasion on Egypt, in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign.

Notes

1. PhD of Egyptology, the Ministry of Antiquities.
26 BAR, III. §, 610.

27 Caminos mentioned that Isdorektiu probably mentioned only here in the Egyptian texts. Despite the lack of a human determinative, he thought that Meryna (maryannu) is like Sherden which follows, not a place name but an ethnical name. Hence, I think despite the lack of a human determinative, that Isdorektiu is also an ethnical name for a group of people which attacked Egypt with the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples at the border of the western Delta, in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign. See Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 46.


29 Morkot, Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Warfare, 127, 142.


Présentation du manuscrit ‘Aqd al-Gawhar
ou
Le Collier de perles

عرض لخطوطة عقد الجوهر (قلادة من الخرز)

Youhanna Nessm Youssef

ملخص

في هذه المقالة نقدم عرضًا موجزًا عن المخطوطة وتاسسه ثم نقدم نصًا من هذا المخطوطة؛ وهو أعجوبة منسوبة للسيد المسيح في لغاتها الأصلية بدون تدخّل بالتصليح إلا في الرواية مع ترجمة فرنسيّة للنص، ثم تعليل على النص؛ حيث نحاول أن نجد العلاقة بين هذا النص وقصة المنتقم (الفينكس) التي وردت في كتاب الفيزيولوجيا، وهذا الطائر مثلك في الفن القيطي. ونستخلص أن هذا الكتاب وإن كتب باللغة العربية فإن له أصولاً قديماً.
Dans son livre monumental sur l'histoire de la littérature arabe, G. Graf n'a pas inclus cet ouvrage, qui est une interprétation rimée et rythmée de quelques extraits des Évangiles. Les sujets choisis viennent des quatre Évangiles canoniques, mais également des apocryphes. Nous avons démontré dans notre étude sur la fuite de la Sainte Famille en Égypte que l'auteur de ce texte s'est référé à une tradition très ancienne mentionnant seulement deux sites en Égypte, à savoir, Memphis et Aṣmūnayn. Nous n'y trouvons pas les autres lieux tels que le monastère de Muharraq, Dayr Gebel al-Tayr et autres.

Nous pouvons noter les homéotéletes (سم) dans tout le texte qui permettent d'affirmer que ce livre fut originellement rédigé en langue arabe.

Manuscrit

Ce manuscrit fait partie de la collection de l'église de la Vierge Marie à Bani Soueif.

Le scribe a écrit une note après chaque chapitre.

Fol. 31r

أذكرنا حكايات الناسج منصور بالإسم سماح ومن قال شيا له أضاف
في ملكوت السماوات ومن وجد غفلة وأصالحها يصلح الرقب شانه وان
فاغبة عاجز خاطر.

Souvenez-vous de l'humilité du scribe, Mansûr, qui est un diacre par nom, et celui qui dit quelque chose aura autant au royaume des cieux. Celui qui trouve une faute et la corrige, le Seigneur améliorera sa situation parce que son copiste est un incapable pécheur.

Fol. 129v

"الباب الثاني بعمن الله تعالى يوم السبت الثامن والعشرين من شهر بانية المبارك سنة 1457 قبطية بسلام من الربيع الأمين."

Le deuxième chapitre a été terminé, avec l'aide de Dieu, qu'il soit élevé, le samedi 28 du mois bêni de Bâbah de l'année copte 1457 (1741 apr. J.-C.) dans la paix du Seigneur. Amen, Amen !

Fol. 146v

"الباب الثالث في يوم السبت الثامن من شهر أمير المبارك سنة 1457 قبطية وتغلال الله يهله بسلام من الربيع الأمين."

Le troisième chapitre a été terminé le samedi 8 du mois bêni d'Amisir de l'année copte 1457 (1741 apr. J.-C.). Que le Sublime Dieu facilite sa copie, dans la Paix du Seigneur. Amen, Amen, Amen !

Fol. 214r

"الباب الرابع بسلام من الربيع الآخر من شهر أمير المبارك حيث
لعيشين من شهر مسير المبارك ولربنا المحد دكا وعليها رحمته الأمين.

ابن الأفاري بمحب الوُهَان في الجهد وعند ذلك النقل إلى هذا المصطف
الشريف ومن وجد غفلة وأصالحها يصلح الرقب شانه ومن قال شيا فله
امثاله عوض الواعدا ثلاثون وستون وثمانية.

Le quatrième chapitre a été terminé le samedi bêni, le 22 du mois bêni de Miskâ, dans la paix du Seigneur Dieu. Amen ! Gloire à notre Seigneur éternellement et que Sa miséricorde soit sur nous. Amen !

Fol. 357r

"الباب الخامس في يوم السبت المبارك غرة ايب المبارك سنة 1458 قبطية بسلام من الربيع الأمين." يقال للمنير النبي العظيم اماً لقلبه ونافنها وسامها برحمتني يا ارحم
الراحلين الأمين.

Le cinquième chapitre a été terminé le jour du samedi bêni, le premier jour du mois d'Abib de l'année copte 1458 (1742 apr. J.-C.), dans la paix du Seigneur. Amen !

Ô Dieu, qui pardonne le grand péché du lecteur, du copiste et de celui qui écoute par Ta miséricorde, car Tu es le plus compatissant des compatissants. Amen !

Dernier folio

"أم وكم بعمن الله تعالى في يوم الثلاث المبارك نحن عشرين على
المبارك جمع الفارسية وثامن لمانية وخمسين للشواهد الأطهار السعداء الآبار
بشفاعتهم وبركمهم يكون معنا إلى الآبد سنة الأمين"
Vous êtes en train de lire une page du livre "La vie de Dieu" de Youhanna Nessim Youssef. Le texte est en arabe et contient des citations du Coran et de la Bible, ainsi que des commentaires sur la vie spirituelle et la charité. Le texte est écrit de manière formelle et respectueuse des traditions religieuses.
Traduction

Miracle du coq bouilli où il lui a ordonné de parler et il (le coq) a prononcé (des paroles) sur la nappe.

On lui a offert un coq bouilli dans une nappe et un récipient en or.

Et le Christ dit au coq : « Parle28 comme celui qui lit dans les livres et informe par miracle le propriétaire de ce lieu à propos de sa femme car dans sa maison il y a une grande impiété ».

Le coq répondit à la requête et parla en langue, doué de la parole, disant : « Tu es le Christ qui connaît les suspicions et rien ne t’est caché à propos de ce monde. Cela sera promptement manifesté et Tu sais que la femme d’Autibisqûn est une idolâtre et n’adore pas Dieu comme les adorateurs. Voici qu’elle a une idole en or, semblable à un oiseau, placée dans une cage avec ses vêtements somptueux et l’idole en est couverte et elle l’adore en cachette de son mari. Ô Seigneur, délivre-moi ! ».

Et le coq (disait) ce discours et la femme entendit ses paroles. La femme a eu extrêmement peur quand son cas fut révélé en ce qui concerne les coqs.

Elle sortit vers le Christ et lui dit : « Tu es le roi des rois. Pardonne-moi, mon Dieu et fais de moi un parmi Tes fils et fais de ce jour le premier de ma vie et conduis-moi dans Tes chemins de conduite ».

Elle se prosterna à terre en pleurant. Et Il lui dit : « Lève-toi. Et si tu persistes en ceci, tu persisteras à jamais. Nous avons pardonné tes péchés, jeune désormais et tu séjourneras dans la bêtitude et tu auras ce que tu veux ».

Elle est rapidement partie à son palais et a amené l’idole en or et la totalité de ses parures en orfèvrerie et autres (choSES). Elle la pourfendit en (leur) présence et elle dit : « Je donne ces choses en aumône pour les fautes et j’ai eu de Toi miséricorde ».

Elle cracha sur l’idole et elle se renversa. Elle dit : « Malheur à Toi, ô démon, et malheur à celui qui a une idole chez lui, car il est contre lui-même comme un pécheur et il est injuste contre lui-même. S’il a de l’or ou autre chose, il abandonne son Seigneur dans ce qu’il a commandé ». Le Christ après cela a fait venir du feu brûlant et y a jeté l’idole et, sur le champ, elle est devenue un beau lingot. Il l’a donné pour que l’homme l’emporte et Il lui a dit : « Garde ceci dans le pays jusqu’à ce que la femme aille au Jourdain pour (recevoir) le baptême de la main de Jean afin que vous deveniez sains (et) sans corruption.

Et il dit : « Qu’est-ce que je crée avec l’or porté ? ».

Et Il (le Christ) lui dit : « donne-le à un orfèvre qui connaît toute représentation pour qu’il en fasse une coupe et écrive sur elle Mon nom et le nom de Mon Père au complet ».

Puis Il dit au coq : « Je t’accorde deux longues ailes semblables aux ailes du paon pour que tu voles au moyen d’elles vers le ciel. Et nul (homme) ne pourra t’attraper jusqu’à l’accomplissement de mille ans ».

A l’instant, le coq se leva de la table et s’envola comme le Christ lui a indiqué et ceux qui étaient présents regardaient et il (le coq) volait, disant : « Crois au Fils de Dieu qui vient en vérité aux hommes ».

Et Il (le Christ) dit au maître de la maison : « Fais un effort et va chez Jean et réfléchis. Il (Jean) vous baptisera et vous deviendrez croyants et, lors de ma visite, je vous informerai de la (bonne) nouvelle. Donne en aumône ce que tu trouves aux pauvres ».

Et Il leur donna la paix et se leva. Il partit à Joseph et Marie et les informa de ce qui s’était passé. Joseph se mit extrêmement en colère contre Lui et Lui dit : « Combien de fois T’ai-je dit de ne pas (Te) révéler devant ce peuple injuste car je suis anxieux pour Toi, vois-Tu ? ».
Le Christ lui dit : « Sois en paix, comment aurais-Je peur et Mon Père (Me) voit ».

**Commentaire**

Le mot coq n'est attesté par Saint Athanase que dans l'interprétation de Matthieu 26 : 34.

L'histoire d'un oiseau qui brûle et revient en vie n'est qu'une christianisation du phénix de l'ancienne Égypte. Parmi les textes concernant le *Physiologus*, il y en a un qui est particulièrement intéressant :27

27 ΤΕΡΟΝΙΣ ΩΝΙ ΥΠΑΓΓΙΟΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΗΦΗΕΙΕΝ
ΑΥΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΠΑΤΩΤΕ ΙΩΑΚΙΜΟΣ ΠΟΥΝΙΟΥ
ΠΡΟΤΟ ΑΥΣΙΕΝΤΑ ΙΝΟΥΕΙΝΕΝ ΕΝΕΠΩΝ ΑΙ ΠΕΡΟΙΝΟΙΣ
ΡΩΚΩΝ ΕΙΛΙΚΡΙΝΙΣ ΠΝΟΕΝΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΒΗΕΙΣ ΩΝΙ
ΠΗΕΝ ΠΡΟΤΟ ΕΝ ΟΥΝΟΟΥ ΕΙΣΧ ΤΑ ΤΙΑΡΘΕΟΕ ΕΙΝΟ
ΠΟΙΝΟΕΠΙ ΑΧΙΝΙΤΙ ΙΠΝΟΙ ΕΙΩΝΙ ΕΠΙβΗΕΙΣ
ΕΤΙΛΟΟΥΚΑΙ ΕΙΩΝΙ ΠΑΙΝΟ ΦΡΟΤΙΙΙΕΙΣ
ΕΝΕΠΩΝ ΕΝΕΠΩΝ ΕΙΣΧ ΕΙΣΧ ΕΝΥΝ ΕΤΙΛΩΕ
ΕΙΩΝΙ ΕΠΙΒΗΕΙΣ ΤΙΑΡΘΕΟΕ ΕΙΩΝΙ ΕΠΙβΗΕΙΣ.

En l'année donc que Dieu naquit à Bethléem, et le jour dans lequel le prêtre Zacharie fut tué et Simon fut mis à sa place, le phénix se brûla de lui-même sur l'aile du temple à Jérusalem. Le huitième jour depuis que la Vierge eut mis notre Sauveur au monde, elle le mena avec Joseph au temple en vue d'offrir un sacrifice pour lui, en tant que premier-né. On appela son nom : Jésus. Depuis ce moment-là, on ne revit plus cet oiseau jusqu'au jour d'aujourd'hui.

Nous trouvons donc quelques ressemblances avec notre texte :

Les deux mettent en rapport l'Enfant Jésus avec le phénix, mais dans *Le Collier de perles* Jésus est jeune.

Le nom de l'oiseau dans le texte copte est le phénix, tandis que dans le miracle arabe c'est un coq.

Il est à noter que le phénix est assez fréquent dans l'art copte, ainsi que l'a bien noté Pierre du Bourguet : « Le paon qui est dépeint dans la chapelle 18 a hérité le phénix de l'époque pharaonique qui symbolise l'éternité »,28 Or notre coq a hérité les ailes du paon et la promesse d'éternité (vivre mille ans).

Notons avant de terminer que le scribe a copié à partir d'un autre texte plus ancien et a dû lors commis plusieurs fautes d'orthographe.

**Conclusion**

Bien que *Le Collier de perles* soit un manuscrit récent, il renferme des traditions très anciennes ancrées dans la mentalité égyptienne. Ce texte a été directement rédigé en arabe, et il doit donc dater de l'époque où les Coptes maîtrisaient cette langue – après le XIᵉ ou le XIIᵉ siècle.

La publication du texte intégral permettra de souligner plusieurs influences de l'Égypte ancienne, des apocryphes et de l'Islam.
(Fig. 1) Photo du manuscrit traitant de l'épisode.

(Fig. 2) Photo du colophon.
Notes

* Université Catholique Australienne, Melbourne.
1 G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen litteratur* (Città del Vaticano, 1944).
2 Lire (حفارة).
3 Litt. « corrige ».
4 Lire (حفارة).
5 Litt. « corrige ».
6 Lire (المحو).
7 Lire (السلوق).
8 Lire (لوجة).
9 Lire (خفية).
10 Lire (فقال).
11 Lire (محملا).
12 Lire (بوي). 
13 Lire (قلات).
14 Lire (أصدق).
15 Lire (رحم).
16 La dernière lettre est à l’envers car c’est le nom de Satan.
17 Lire (إن كان).
18 Lire (بصبر).
19 Lire (خفيفة).
20 Lire (تصد).
21 Lire (تظهر).
22 Lire (تري).
23 Lire (ببهر).
24 Litt. « pronoce ».
Over the past three decades, John Baines, Emeritus Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University, has published numerous fundamental studies on Egyptian cultural literacy, a field that Egyptologists paid very little attention to prior to his significant contributions. In the book under review, Baines compiles eleven of his heretofore published essays alongside chapters from several journals and monographs, together with three other hitherto unpublished ones written specifically for this volume. These include ‘Orality and Literacy’, of which an abridged version will appear in The Oxford Handbook for Egyptology. Nevertheless, all chapters have been revised to a certain extent, and substantial bibliographic data has been added at the end.

In general, these essays are on two separate but interrelated subjects, writing and art. In his preface, Baines expounds that these works have not only been compiled together for ease of access, but also to highlight intellectual connections between the various topics discussed in them. The whole book is a good source for cross-cultural treatment of several issues and phenomena he discusses, and it presents for Egyptologists a ‘broader theoretical and interpretive framework’, which he masterly delineates throughout the entire book.

As pointed out above, this book is divided into two major parts: ‘Written Culture’ and ‘The Visual Culture’. These are preceded by a prologue entitled ‘Visual, written, decorum.’ Baines outlines in this
introductory essay (pp. 3–30), his overall conceptual background for studying the uses of the two representational modes of 1) image depiction, and 2) writing and the connection between them within the social context where they emerged from. Artistic productions and writing which should not be separated, according to Baines, were very critical devices used to convey information and knowledge, and were of great importance in organizing State administrative activities. Therefore they were an effective tool for the elite who had more interest in appropriating privileged matters rather than disseminating them. Baines questions how far writing was used beyond the small core of the elite, as most cultural materials are from the prestigious contexts of royal burials and the arrangements surrounding them, at least from the early stage of Egyptian history. We hope the ongoing excavations in several sites in Egypt, more specifically in Abydos, may in the future answer this question.

In the last part of this interesting and brilliant introduction, Baines reviews 'decorum', a term he first introduced to Egyptology in 1976, and it is not a coincidence the Essays presented in his honor in December, appeared under his favorite terms ‘Decorum and experience’. Decorum, which can be traced back to Late Predynastic times, was a set of rules which constituted ‘what maybe represented pictorially with captions, display, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form' (p. 15). Decorum was not a fixed canon, but slightly changed over time. Baines argues that change or development of any phenomena (such as the increase of representing individuals in direct contact with deities as demonstrated on private stelae of Late New Kingdom), should not only be considered as a change of religious values, but it is more plausible to interpret the new forms as at least in part as exhibiting a change in decorum and rules of display as well.

The first part of this book, ‘Written Culture’ is a revised edition of 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', ‘Four Notes on Literacy’ (originally co-authored with Chris Eyre), ‘Literacy, Social Organization and the Archaeological Record: The Case of Early Egypt', ‘Writing and Society of Early Egypt’, and ‘Orality and Literacy.’ In these articles (Chapters 2–6), Baines provides documentary and quantitative evidence from all historical periods of Ancient Egypt for the theory about the nature and extent of ancient Egyptian literacy, with a few updated texts and references. He argues writing, which arose from an oral context, and had its primary meaning within that context, was developed by a core of the elite for administration and self-presentation purposes. Nevertheless, the spread of uses of writing in Egypt were very slow, and its spread is not a significant indicator of the distinctions between literate societies. He states that only one percent of the Egyptian society were literate, which ranges from 10,000 in the Old Kingdom to 50,000 in Greco-Roman period. Baines and Eyre based their calculation on numbers of elite tombs in the Memphite necropolis during the Old Kingdom, including representations of scribes found in the tombs, and figures Karl Butzer represents in his book Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology (Chicago, 1976). This percentage was criticized by Jan Janse in his article ‘Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina’, in R.J. Demaree and Arno Egberts (eds.) Village
Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium ‘Texts from Deir el-Medina and their Interpretation’, Leiden: CNWS Publications, 1992, pp. 81-94.’ Janssen points out that there are other groups of written materials that should be considered before calculating the literate segment, such as notes, communication between women in the villages, and men working in the royal tomb. He correctly argues it is more plausible to think of different levels of literacy at that community ranging from basic ability of reading to composing highly literary texts, thus he proposes that 30 percent of the entire community of Deir el-Medina were literate. In return, Baines in this book acknowledges Janssen’s point of view, but does not agree with him about the percentage. Baines argues at Deir el-Medina, far more people were called scribe than were ever officially employed as scribes, and the ‘title’ scribe was often an abbreviated form for ‘draughtsman’, literary ‘outline scribe’; therefore arguing titles do not seem to make a sharp distinction between writing and drawing.

Chapter 6: ‘Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past’, is the last reprinted essay in this section which reviews the ancient Egyptian notion of time and eternity. Following this Baines lists at length evidence demonstrating ancient Egyptian attitudes toward the past, illustrated in pictorial and textual sources from the Third Dynasty down to Ramesside period.

Part two on ‘Visual Culture’ begins with a short ‘Introductory Note’ followed by ‘Theories and Universal of Representation: Heinrich Schafer and Egypt Art’ (Chap. 9); and ‘Schafer’s Mottoes and the Understanding of Representation’, (Chap. 10). Both are reprinted from earlier publications, as is the rest of this part, but with updated notes and bibliography. Baines re-introduces the theory of Heinrich Schafer, an eminent German art historian, which is still vital to modern scholars in reading non-perspective art and has evolutionary and cognitive implications for a better understanding and classification of the representational system.

‘Colour Terminology and Colour Classification: Ancient Egyptian Colour Terminology and Polychromy’, with a postscript (Chap. 11), and ‘Stone and other Materials: Usage and Values’, (Chap. 12) discusses Egyptian terminology which is attested in Egyptian sources as an organizing principle from the mid-third millennium BCE to the Middle Ages, alongside colour uses in relation to the theory of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, which is represented in their leading study, Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution (Berkeley, 1991). Baines adds a development of colours in paint demonstrates an enormous and prestigious investment and must have had very strong cultural motivations. He analyses the role of stone together with artificial materials as a single complex in the elaboration and display of Egyptian high culture.

Chapter 13 on ‘Communication and Display: The Integration of Early Egyptian Art and Writing’ is a different approach of studying the system of representation and writing during the Predynastic Period compared to his other article in this volume entitled ‘Writing and Society in Early Egypt’. In the former he focuses more on the development of compositional and iconographic norms, such as palettes and the mace head of Narmer which had a symbolic meaning, therefore not only recording an
historical event, but also being used to enforce the role of the King in dominating the ordered world in the name of Gods that defeated external disorder.

This meaning is displayed in variant forms and compositions from the formative period of Egyptian State down to the Greco-Roman period.

The final study ‘On the Status and Purposes of Ancient Egyptian Art’ (Chap. 14), first discusses the notion of art, and if the ancient Egyptians had a term that could be linguistically rendered as ‘Art’. Baines then explores the social significance of aesthetic display, and assures us that artistic productions and architecture in Ancient Egypt, as in any other complex societies, were of and for the elite, who had the ability to commission works or receive them as largesse, and could in principle read what was written on them. For most of the period of Egyptian history, non-elite daily activities were unlikely to have included much that was artistic, except amongst those who made artistic products or served the elite.

This book is an unusual full treatment of several aspects of Egyptian culture in a single handsome monograph by an unusual scholar. It possesses valuable sources for any reader interested in understanding the development of the history of ancient Egyptian representational modes. Its mastery of the ancient sources and its careful presentation of current scholarship make it an important addition, specifically to the ever growing body of studies on ancient Egyptian writing.
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مج. 1 سم.

سـ.م.

حولية سنوية محكمة تصدر عن مركز دراسات الكتب والمخطوط، مكتبة الإسكندرية.
1- الأدبية - دوريات. 2- الخِـطـ يـمـيـد - تاريخ - دوريات. 3- التفوق - تاريخ - دوريات.
4- مكتبة الإسكندرية. مركز دراسات الكتب والمخطوط.

ديوي 411 2013 87872

تدمك 8280 1687

ISSN 1687-8280

رقم الإصدار بدار الكتب: 2012/307872

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تم إنتاج المعلومات الواردة في هذه الحولية باستخدام الشخصية والمفهوم العامة لأغراض غير تجارية، ويمكن إعادة إصدارها كلياً أو جزء منها أو بأية طريقة أخرى، دون أي موانع ولا تنصب أي خير أو مبلغ من مكتبة الإسكندرية، وإنما تقوم الرابطة في إعادة إصدار المصادر.

• يتم استخدام المعلومات ضمن نطاق المعهد المعماري.
• الإشارة إلى مكتبة الإسكندرية بصفتها مصدر تلك المعلومات.
• لا يتم تداول محتوى المراقبة من إعادة الإصدار نسخة رسمية من المواد الأصلية، ويرجى أن تأتي من مكتبة الإسكندرية.

لا يتم تحميل منحني

الاستغلال التجاري

يجب أن يتم نسخ متعددة من المواد الواردة في هذه الحولية، كلها أو جزء منها، بغرض التنزيل أو الاستغلال التجاري، إلا بموجب إذن كاباني من مكتبة الإسكندرية، وللحصول على إذن إعادة إنتاج المواد الواردة في هذه الحولية، يرجى الاتصال بمكتبة الإسكندرية:
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الاستغلال غير التجاري

يعتبر المستقبليون مرسالون الدقيقة في إعادة إصدار المصادر.
أبحثي