

# **PERSPECTIVES ON PTOLEMAIC THEBES**



Pre-conference warm-up at Lucky Strike in Chicago.

Standing, left to right: Joseph Manning, Ian Moyer, Carolin Arlt, Sabine Albersmeier, Janet Johnson, Richard Jasnow  
Kneeling: Peter Dorman, Betsy Bryan

OCCASIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF  
THE THEBAN WORKSHOP

PERSPECTIVES ON PTOLEMAIC THEBES

*edited by*

PETER F. DORMAN *and* BETSY M. BRYAN

Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006



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Part of a cosmogonical inscription of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II at Medinet Habu (MH.B 155).  
Photo by J. Brett McClain

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## GENERAL

|          |                                       |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| c.       | century                               |
| Cairo CG | Catalogue Général of the Cairo Museum |
| Cairo JE | Journal d'Entrée of the Cairo Museum  |
| cf.      | <i>confer</i> , compare               |
| cm       | centimeter(s)                         |
| col(s).  | column(s)                             |
| DN       | deity name                            |
| et al.   | <i>et alii</i> , and others           |
| e.g.     | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example   |
| esp.     | especially                            |
| etc.     | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth       |
| fig(s).  | figure(s)                             |
| fr.      | fragment                              |
| ibid.    | <i>ibidem</i> , in the same place     |
| i.e.     | <i>id est</i> , that is               |
| n(n).    | note(s)                               |
| NN       | personal/royal name                   |
| no(s).   | number(s)                             |
| O.       | ostrakon                              |
| P.       | papyrus                               |
| PN       | personal name                         |
| p(p).    | page(s)                               |
| pl(s).   | plate(s)                              |
| vol(s).  | volume(s)                             |

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| <i>L.D.</i>      | Karl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> . 6 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1849–59.                                                             |
| <i>L.D. Text</i> | Karl Richard Lepsius. <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Text</i> . 5 volumes. Edited by Edouard Naville. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897–1913.                          |
| <i>LGG</i>       | Christian Leitz, ed. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . 8 volumes. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–03.                    |
| <i>MH.B</i>      | Harold H. Nelson. <i>Key Plans Showing the Locations of Theban Temple Decorations</i> , plate 3. Oriental Institute Publications 56. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. |

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- PM I/1<sup>2</sup> Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 1: *The Theban Necropolis*, Part 1: *Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- PM I/2<sup>2</sup> Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 1: *The Theban Necropolis*, Part 2: *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
- PM II<sup>2</sup> Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Volume 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
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# PROGRAM OF THE THEBAN WORKSHOP 2005

“THEBES AND THE REIGN OF HATSHEPSUT”  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

OCTOBER 22, 2005

DIMITRI LABOURY, *University of Liege*

“Hatshepsut: a Mean Stepmother or a Gentle Manager for Young King Thutmosis III?”

LUC GABOLDE, *Centre National de Recherche Scientifique*

“Hatshepsut Between Queen and Pharaoh: New Light on the Regency Shed by the Limestone Documents of Karnak”

CATHLEEN KELLER, *University of California at Berkeley*

“Probing the Boundaries of Power: Images of Hatshepsut and Senenmut”

CATHARINE ROEHRIG, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*

“Hatshepsut’s Two Tombs”

PETER F. DORMAN, *Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*

“Thutmoside Alterations in the Temple of Amun at Medinet Habu: Intentions and Agendas”

BETSY M. BRYAN, *Johns Hopkins University*

“Temple Ritual Revelry in the Reign of Hatshepsut”

RENEE DREYFUS, *Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco*

“Hatshepsut Lives Again—in San Francisco”

## PREFACE

PETER F. DORMAN, THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
BETSY M. BRYAN, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The region of Thebes during the Ptolemaic period has been regarded by many writers, with amply argued justification, as a province that was separate both politically and culturally from the direct influence of the ruling dynasts resident in Alexandria and the north. The distinctive nature of the population of the Thebaid seems most notably signaled by the violence of the two Theban revolts at the end of the third century and the beginning of the first century B.C., which required significant military force to quell successfully and left considerable destruction in their wake. Support for a certain separateness might also be seen in the economic situation of the city of Thebes, which boasted a markedly lesser enjoyment of Ptolemaic endowments, for example, as compared with the greater focus on vast royal agricultural developments elsewhere, such as those in and around the Fayum. By reason of such contrasts, the political and economic topography of the country would seem to point to the diminishment of importance, even marginalization, of the great city of Thebes itself.

The nature of the separateness of the Thebaid and the context of interaction between the civilizations presented by the Macedonian rulers and their Egyptian subjects are the themes that unify the papers published in this volume, which is the second to appear in the SAOC series under the subtitle "Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop." Seven scholars gathered at the University of Chicago on October 14, 2006, through the co-sponsorship of the Franke Institute for the Humanities of the University of Chicago. Their contributions are presented in this volume according to thematic content, framed by the papers of Joseph Manning and Ian Moyer, each of whom offers an overarching perspective to the cultural brew of Ptolemaic Egypt and how it can be approached.

Joseph Manning deals directly with the dilemma of the early Ptolemaic kings in the creation of a ruling cadre in proximity to the throne and, at the same time, the partial co-optation of an existing native elite that was, necessarily, at some degree removed from it. Thebes, a center of regional power for centuries even under Egyptian pharaohs, had long enjoyed inherent political and economic importance of its own, especially through its temple hierarchies. Yet such institutions, which could be viewed as potential centers of resistance, were vital to the Ptolemaic economic system. The "capture" of the Thebaid, suggests Manning, had as much to do with the strategy of rebuilding major temples under royal patronage and establishing economic centers and bases in the south that would supplant Theban influence as effectively as the military suppression of the two great revolts.

Carolyn Arlt provides a thorough examination of several scribal offices and Theban stemmae to examine family longevity in office, which had a decidedly nepotistic basis, as well as the thorough domination of official functions in Thebes by resident Egyptians. Ptolemaic efforts to promote cooperation with existing administrative structures were in place at an early time, and she traces disruptions in certain scribal families and the rise and fall of documentation to two periods of crisis, corresponding roughly to the time of the two Theban revolts.

Christina Di Cerbo and Richard Jasnow discuss the recording of a large number Demotic graffiti at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, in particular those inscribed on roofing blocks of the first court of the great temple. Distributed over large areas of the roof but concentrated in discrete areas, these modest texts contain the names and titles of officials, with the occasional votive formulas, and shed light on the nature of devotion in the Thebaid of this period.

Sabine Albersmeier takes as her subject matter a distinctive type of priestess statuette that appears at Thebes in the Ptolemaic period. These sculptures are carved from limestone and show traces of polychrome and gilding, and the lily scepter and long flowing garment that are distinctive attributes of this group have clear antecedents in the iconography of the God's Wives of Amun during the New Kingdom. Entirely pharaonic in outward form, the statuettes are clearly products of a local workshop and are expressive of a strong priestly community in Thebes that deliberately harked back to the great years of sacerdotal pre-eminence.

Brett McClain's contribution explores the transformation of a single monument in western Thebes: the renovations to the small temple at Medinet Habu by Ptolemy VIII, which crystalizes its cultic function in definitive ways. At this time, the façade of the temple was recarved and the main axis expanded and redecorated to accommodate new

religious texts, while preserving, as much as possible, the original New Kingdom figural decoration. McClain analyzes these largely unpublished texts, which attest to the powers of resident god, Amen-Ra, lauded as the local demiurge, together with his Ogdoad. The cosmogonical aspects of the inscriptions, though hymnic in structure, are couched within what are functionally banal compositions.

Robert Ritner turns a fresh spotlight on a neglected aspect of the Ptolemaic period: royal protocols and the importance of accurately recording them. The central concern of his paper is the split reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II, whose prenomen in particular was modified for propagandistic reasons following his return to power. As Ritner demonstrates, meticulous attention to the reading of royal titles can lead to significant revision of historical conclusions. In this case, the previously assumed monumental absence of Soter II in Thebes following the second Theban revolt is clearly in error.

Ian Moyer's paper characterizes prior approaches to the Ptolemaic period as efforts to understand the often uncomfortable melding of two cultures — one Greek and one Egyptian — that were separate and distinct by virtue of irreconcilable political, economic, religious, and legal traditions. He argues that, instead of two dialectically opposed poles that could only clash head on, the cultural dynamic may have operated differently, and in more productive ways, to find an accommodation, or "middle ground," that would serve respective interests on a mutual basis. Moyer proposes that a different historiographic approach may yield greater insights into the nature of Ptolemaic Thebes, one that would eschew traditional notions of separateness, dualistic dichotomies, or varying degrees of assimilation, in favor of models of self-presentation and identity among populations in flux.

# THE CAPTURE OF THE THEBAID

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This paper has two aims. First, it seeks to correct the idea, as far as I know first suggested by Rostovtzeff in his great work on Hellenistic history, that Upper Egypt was not a “constituent part” of the Ptolemaic state (1941, 1053).<sup>1</sup> A quick glance at new Ptolemaic foundations in the Fayum as compared to Upper Egypt would indeed tend to give the impression of less direct interest in the Nile Valley by the Ptolemies. That, however, was not the case. The south was not only a constituent part of the Ptolemaic state, despite major revolts, but was in fact economically and politically vital to it. Building projects at ancient temple centers, and the creation of new fiscal institutions, for example, coinage, banks and tax receipts, are sufficient to demonstrate this. Late Ptolemaic royal visits to the area, as Ritner (this volume) highlights, show continued interest.<sup>2</sup> The building program, an ancient pharaonic practice, and the new Greek fiscality went hand in hand, perhaps part of the bargain, in coalition building between local elites and the new state.

The second aim is to set the context of Ptolemaic political and economic action within the framework of what Butzer (1976, p. 103) has termed Egypt’s “regional particularism.” Unlike the Fayum, an area that was reclaimed and extensively settled in the third century B.C., land in Upper Egypt was historically dominated by major temple estates. Although the political control of this region required the same basic strategy of building (settlements, roads, temples), the far lower density of Ptolemaic foundations in the south (Mueller 2006, pp. 60–61, 84) and the serious revolts in Upper Egypt, especially the great revolt between 205 and 186 B.C., show that these two regions followed different historical paths.<sup>3</sup> The political exigencies of coalition building that the Ptolemies, as all authoritarian rulers, had to undertake altered the political map, and indeed the landscape itself, of Upper Egypt. Thebes had been the political center of the south in the New Kingdom, and a powerful theocratic state under priestly warlords in the early first millennium B.C. The Ptolemies faced new realities and had to accommodate both old and new social groups. The new political center established at Ptolemais, just above modern Sohag, reflects the new Hellenistic realities. This shift in political economic geography, perhaps already underway in the Saite period, explains in part (the serious unrest and subsequent treatment of the city by the Ptolemaic army in the 80s B.C., discussed by Ritner in this volume, had no small role either) how Thebes devolved from a great imperial center under the New Kingdom pharaohs to a “ville-musée” (Vandorpe 1995, p. 235) by early Roman times.<sup>4</sup>

## THE THEBAID AS A REGION

Thebes, and its vast hinterland, was a distinctive region, historically dominated by the temple of Amun at Karnak and its priesthood. The entire region supported a dense population (Butzer 1976), a significant reason for the lack of new Ptolemaic foundations. On the west side of the river an entire district of temples and tombs dedicated to the memory of the kings of the New Kingdom was situated. On the east side, the settlement side of The-

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<sup>1</sup> “... the upper course of the Nile retained its pre-Ptolemaic social structure and cultural features. These regions [he also refers in the previous sentence to Arabia and Iran], however, were never, or only for short periods, constituent parts of the Hellenistic monarchies.”

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I assume that by “upper course of the Nile” Rostovtzeff meant the Egyptian, and not the Nubian, Nile Valley.

<sup>2</sup> For a full study of Ptolemaic rulers’ travels to the interior, see Clarysse 2000. On later Ptolemaic activity in temples, see also Cañor-Pfeiffer 2008.

<sup>3</sup> On the Theban revolt, see Vêisse 2004.

<sup>4</sup> I explore Ptolemaic state formation at length in Manning 2010.

bes, lay the mighty temple of Amun-Re, “king of the gods.” Throughout much of its history the temple, and the priests who administered it, controlled a significant percentage of the natural resources of the southern Nile Valley.<sup>5</sup> The control of the resources of the Nile Valley by priesthoods reached its height in the late New Kingdom.

The ancient temple city of Thebes, prominent in Egyptian history indeed since the Middle Kingdom, was the center of an important region known in Greek sources as the Thebaid. The entire stretch of the Egyptian Nile Valley from roughly Asyut up to Aswan was governed as a single territory, called in Egyptian *P3-tš-n-Niw.t*, “the district of Thebes,” a phrase that retains the historic echoes of the importance of the city throughout Upper Egypt. The extent of the Thebaid and its institutions of governance probably varied historically. The Persian administration, for example, divided the southern Nile Valley into two districts (with uncertain boundaries between them), with centers at Thebes and Elephantine (Briant 2002, p. 472; Porten 1996, p. 82). Under the Ptolemies, it seems that while the term “Thebaid” could be used informally to refer to the Nile Valley as a whole, in Ptolemaic administrative geographic vocabulary it referred to the region south of Hermopolis (Thomas 1975, appendix 2).

The Ptolemies continued basic administrative practice. The extensive documentary material from the Theban area, including the large family archives of low-level (Choachyte) priests, certainly informs us of the continuity of religious and economic practice.<sup>6</sup> The restoration of ancient buildings, and the building of new gates at the ancient temple complexes, beginning in earnest under Ptolemy II, are only the most obvious signs of Ptolemaic-period building activity.<sup>7</sup> Brian Muhs’ 2003 study of early Ptolemaic tax receipts from Thebes clearly demonstrates Ptolemaic success in establishing Ptolemaic fiscal institutions by the reign of Ptolemy II at the latest.

Whatever attention various temple towns in the south received, Ptolemaic interest in them was driven by the twofold concern of controlling resources and trade flows (e.g., taxation, gold, elephants, and other commodities via the Red Sea and Elephantine) and obtaining loyalty from key constituent groups of society. The ancient tradition of kingship, on display in Thebes as few other places in Egypt, was a major mechanism of both. The Ptolemaic attitude toward kingship suggests a special connection to New Kingdom royal ideology, the last imperial age of Egypt. It should come as no surprise then that Ptolemaic texts suggest a conscious borrowing, or remembering, of the language and imagery of the imperial pharaohs. The behavior of Ptolemy IV in the Raphia decree (217 B.C.) reads like the much earlier description of Ramesses II’s battle of Kadesh.<sup>8</sup> In a similar fashion, reading Polybius (*Histories* 5.85.8) one almost has the feeling that the historian had been studying the Abu Simbel reliefs of Ramesses II when he was writing his description of the battle. In Kallimachos’ *Hymn to Delos*, to move from narrative to poetical circles, we read that Ptolemy II is described as a king “beneath whose crown shall come — not loth to be ruled by a Macedonian — both continents and the lands which are set in the sea, far as where the end of the earth is.”<sup>9</sup> At the opposite end of the social spectrum, a religious recluse living in the Serapeum at Saqqara ends his petition to the king by saying:

Therefore I ask you, O Sun King!, not to overlook me, who is in seclusion, but, if it seems right to you, to write to Poseidonius the body guard and *strategos*, to make him (the petitioner’s brother) be free from his duties of service so he can be with me. May Isis and Serapis, the greatest of the gods, give you and to your children the domain of every land on which the sun shines forever (*UPZ* 1 15).<sup>10</sup>

This imagery of the Egyptian king ruling over every land on which the sun shines occurs in a variety of texts and contexts, from priestly decrees to the historical account of Polybius, and clearly goes back to New Kingdom imperial ideology, and, finding its way into a royal petition, it must have been part of the *zeitgeist* under the Ptolemies.<sup>11</sup> This is a fascinating reminder of the strong currents of culture that are not always present in our documentation, but which were certainly part of the political and cultural landscape.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the economic reach of the temple and its subsidiaries even in the first millennium B.C., see Vleeming 1991.

<sup>6</sup> A good orientation to the large *Choachyte* family archive is provided in Pestman 1993.

<sup>7</sup> On Ptolemaic temple-building activity, see Arnold 1999, pp. 154–224 and 320–23. For activity at Thebes, see Golvin 1995; McClain 2002. For new settlements along the Red Sea coast, see Mueller 2006, pp. 151–57.

<sup>8</sup> Raphia decree: Thissen 1966; Simpson 1996, pp. 242–57.

<sup>9</sup> Translation from Mair 1921. On this fourth hymn of Kallimachos, see, inter alia, Mineur 1984.

<sup>10</sup> For the background to this text, see Thompson 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Such imagery of course was also carefully adapted by earlier invaders. The Piye stela, an important document of the Nubian king and again borrowing directly from New Kingdom texts, is one such parallel. On the Piye stela (Cairo JE 48862, 47086–47089), see Grimal 1981; Gozzoli 2006; and the transliteration and English translation in Eide et al. 1994, pp. 62–119.

<sup>12</sup> On the New Kingdom ideology, see, for example, the Horemheb coronation inscription (Turin 1379 = *Urk.* IV, 2119, line 8–2120, line 17) treated in Gardiner 1953. The famous Adulis inscription (*OGIS* 54), originally dating to the reign of Ptolemy III, now lost but preserved by the sixth-century geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Christian Topography* 2.58–59), is not without historic echoes of

## PTOLEMAIC STRATEGY

The early kings (and their queens, who had no small role throughout the period) had two primary aims (in addition to fending off rivals): (1) mobilizing support for the new politically centralized state and (2) mobilizing resources. The bureaucracy and the military were the two organizations necessary for the stable extraction of surplus (Chaudhuri 1990, p. 90). In a sense, Ptolemaic Egypt was as much a “soldier state” (Brett 2001, p. 342) as the Fatimid state was.<sup>13</sup> Outside of their realm, the Ptolemies faced a highly competitive and fluid international environment that at times put them under severe pressure. The kings needed to recruit a new bureaucratic elite, maintain an army, and create a monopoly of prestige, for which Egyptian priests and temple ritual were important.

The end result of the early kings’ promotion of a new bureaucratic and military elite was mixed. By the end of the Ptolemaic period, an entrenched elite, often associated with temples, was clearly well established in positions of local authority. What is altogether less clear from the evidence that we have is the extent to which this reflects a social evolution (as it clearly did under the Fatimids when the military grew in strength because of the *iqta* system, stipendiary grants of revenue from the land) or the status quo throughout the period.<sup>14</sup> In any case, early Ptolemaic strategy was based on well-established patterns of coalition building.

## COALITION BUILDING

In Haber’s analysis of authoritarian governments, a political takeover is analyzed as a game played between the ruler and key constituent groups:

Neither side in this game plays from a state of nature: they inherit a pre-existing set of political institutions and organizations, along with an economy and society. This means that the game has multiple outcomes. A close reading of the case study literature indicates, however, that the set of the dictator’s winning strategies is small. He may terrorize launching organization’s leadership, co-opt them by providing them with private goods, or raise their costs of collective action by proliferating yet more organizations. Each of these strategies generates quite different property rights systems, and each of those property rights systems have consequences for economic growth and distribution (Haber 2006).

The launching organization that Haber refers to was the military, already clearly established in the army’s declaration of Ptolemy as king in 306 B.C., and at least some of the key priesthoods. All three strategies, terror, cooptation, and raising the cost of collective action, may have been in play. To be sure, Ptolemy co-opted elites and created parallel institutions that competed against each other, thus making coordination at the local level difficult.<sup>15</sup> Such strategy is revealed across the gamut of Ptolemaic society, in the military sphere, in warfare and military privilege, in the support of temples, and also in the economic and legal spheres.<sup>16</sup> Such a system created, at least to the modern observer, “structural tensions” in Ptolemaic society and the conflicts between

the interests of the agricultural administration, the financial administration, the controllers who supervised this financial administration, the more or less independent businessmen who farmed the royal revenues, the small local contractors, and all the guarantors who were involved in the tax-farming system of the third century (Bingen 2007, p. 191).

A new Greek bureaucratic order was established to re-align loyalties of the key constituent groups of the ruling classes.<sup>17</sup> There was the inner circle of the court, the “friends” of the king as they were called, the Greco-Macedonian bodyguard and the military class generally, and high officials in charge of diplomatic matters, correspondence, and military and civil administration.<sup>18</sup> This Greco-Macedonian “ethno-class,” to borrow Briant’s term

New Kingdom military glory. The text records the extensive conquest of Ptolemy III during the Third Syrian War, reaching eastward as far as Bactria. Recent English translations may be found in Burstein 1985 (text 99); Bagnall and Derow 2004 (text 26); and Austin 2006 (text 268).

<sup>13</sup> Details in Fischer-Bovet 2008.

<sup>14</sup> On Fatimid state formation, see Lev 1991; Sanders 1998; Brett 2001.

<sup>15</sup> It is possible to see in the increasing exemptions from the salt tax that some collective bargaining between groups and the state was at work here; see Clarysse and Thompson 2006, vol. 1, pp. 56–59.

<sup>16</sup> Soldiers received a kind of diplomatic immunity from lawsuits in Alexandria, a law preserved in P. Hal. 1 124–65 (mid-third century B.C.).

<sup>17</sup> For a general comparative analysis, see Eisenstadt 1993, pp. 13–32. For state formation in the Hellenistic context, see Mileta 2002.

<sup>18</sup> On the king’s inner circle in the Hellenistic kingdoms, see Habicht 1958; Mooren 1977; Herman 1980–81; McKechnie 1989, pp. 204–15.

of the Achaemenid ruling elite, was clearly the power surrounding the throne initially.<sup>19</sup> We know little about this inner circle beyond the literary representations of some of the more notorious figures (Rowlandson 2007).

Ma (2003), following Briant's analysis of Hellenistic kings extending the traditions of the Persian kings in ruling over diverse local populations, makes much use of the images of ruling elite power even in local Egyptian contexts such as the depiction of Ptolemy IV in the Raphia stela. But how much impact this really had on local populations is anyone's guess. The point is that the Ptolemies, as other Hellenistic kings, created a uniform ideology that associated their rule with ancient traditions. Thus Ptolemy IV, shown in Macedonian military dress on a rearing horse in the Raphia decree, is the visual equivalent of the text of Manetho's Egyptian history that inserted the Ptolemies into the long line of legitimate Egyptian kings, and the Ptolemaic "gating" of the ancient temples at Thebes. Image-making was one aspect of the broader strategy of building of political coalitions.

Details of the first fifty years of Ptolemaic rule are few and far between, but a general outline can be established. Between the years 321 and 305 B.C., Egypt went from a "splinter" of the Persian empire to a nascent independent state with two new political centers. What sources we have, for example, Kleomenes' behavior regarding Egyptian grain, hint at the continuation of the traditional Egyptian economic structure despite the political disturbances that rocked Egypt in these heady days between revolts, Persian retreat from Egypt, Alexander's invasion, and the formation of the new state by Ptolemy.<sup>20</sup>

Ptolemy quickly replaced Kleomenes as satrap, thus making him, not Alexander, "the last of the Achaemenids."<sup>21</sup> There were certainly Egyptians in the inner circle (the "launching organization") at the capital (Lloyd 2002). Greeks had after all served in the Saite administration and been an important military force for them, and the Athenian Chabrias, served as advisor to Egyptian kings in the fourth century B.C. (Falivene 1991). There were men of action, too, who must have helped Ptolemy, not the least among whom was the military commander Nectanebo, a relative of King Nectanebo I (380–362 B.C.).<sup>22</sup> Greek culture was not unfamiliar to the highest level of Egyptian priests in the early Ptolemaic period (Derchain 2000).<sup>23</sup> Priests and soldiers were the two principal landholding classes (the king being in a class by himself; see Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica* 1.73). Egyptian priests, many of whom were literate, were the mediators between the ruler and his circle on one hand, and between temples and agricultural production on the other. The priests, at least a certain percentage of them, were actively involved in the formation of the dynasty, in the acceptance of the ruler cult within the temples, in gathering in the king's honor, even in collecting revenues.<sup>24</sup> Egyptian priests were probably not a unified political body although the Ptolemaic creation of synodal meetings may have promoted at least this possibility. They were a very important element in the first millennium B.C. when politics was so fragmented and uncertain, acting as guardians of tradition. They were also those responsible for literary texts such as the literary tradition of *Chaosbeschreibung* that may have fomented certain sentiments against foreign rule (Dillery 2005).<sup>25</sup> Later on, in the synods or statewide meetings of priests, the politics between ruler and the body of priests shows itself in the clear light of day. We can hope to know more about this elite, and their relationships to the rulers, when more of the biographical inscriptions are studied.<sup>26</sup> But we shall perhaps never know the extent of Egyptian (and others') involvement with the highest level of state administration because of the practice of many persons adopting and using Greek names (Clarysse 1985).

## UPPER EGYPT

To establish sovereignty throughout Egypt, the Ptolemies needed to "overcome the rule of regional institutions and elites" (Barkey 1994, p. 3). "Regional institutions and elites," in the Egyptian context, meant temples

<sup>19</sup> Briant 2002, with Ma 2003.

<sup>20</sup> On Kleomenes, see Vogt 1971; Seibert 1979; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oikonomika* 2.2.33; Demosthenes, *Against Dionysodorus*.

<sup>21</sup> Briant 1982, p. 330; Briant 2002, p. 876.

<sup>22</sup> On Egyptian elite in the early Ptolemaic period, see Peremans 1977; Lloyd 2002; and, more broadly, Baines 2004.

<sup>23</sup> See further Falivene 1991, p. 205, on the pre-Ptolemaic Greek involvement with the Egyptian economy.

<sup>24</sup> On Dynastic/temple relations, see Thompson 1988, pp. 106–54; among important priests, Somtutefnakhte and Manetho no doubt

the most famous. For the former, see *Urk.* II, 1–6 (Naples Museum 1035), translated in Lichtheim 1980, pp. 41–44. On Manetho, see Verbrugge and Wickersham 1996; Dillery 1999; Gozzoli 2006, pp. 191–225.

<sup>25</sup> The literary tradition originates in New Kingdom literature and has a long history well beyond Ptolemaic times. See further Venticini 2006 and the literature cited therein. On the ambiguous role of religious groups, see Eisenstadt 1993, pp. 189–93.

<sup>26</sup> Lloyd 2002; Baines 2004.

and priesthoods in Upper Egypt. This “overcoming” operated on many different levels among the most important of which was re-inscription of the landscape in order to claim it as Ptolemaic territory. Such examples of the process abound and occurred throughout the period.

An examination of Upper Egyptian temples, for example, shows how intimately connected culture and economics were. In some areas, new temples were built, in other areas, Karnak in Thebes for example, sacred precincts were enclosed by Ptolemaic gates. A claim to legitimate royal territory went hand in hand with economic development. Ptolemy II’s expansion into the Western and Eastern deserts and Red Sea coast shows that southern Egypt and the roads out to the coast, and through the oases, were vital to the early Ptolemaic state’s interests. In both cases, it was the control of trade flows, just as was the case of Ptolemy I’s expansion west of Cyrenaica was about caravan trade flows (Hölbl 2001, p. 18), that the rulers wanted to secure.<sup>27</sup> The building of road networks in the deserts (not entirely new with the Ptolemies, but there was certainly extensive new activity, particularly by Ptolemy II, for example, the important Edfu–Berenike highway; Strabo, *Geographica* 17.1.45), and the founding of towns on the Red Sea coast, show just how important the southern Nile Valley and the Eastern Desert was to Ptolemaic trade traffic, especially in gold and elephants (and the related ivory).<sup>28</sup> In turn, peoples such as the Blemmyes, well known in the Eastern Desert, were incorporated into the state in various capacities. All this aided in “connectivity” between southern Egypt, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean.<sup>29</sup> Cultural politics and economic development were not separate processes but indeed one and the same.

New foundations and settlement of soldiers throughout the Nile Valley were fundamentally important for Ptolemaic control of the region and expansion into the Eastern Desert to secure Red Sea trade routes. Greek soldiers were certainly established at the key military town of Elephantine/Aswan, but probably elsewhere as well, although early documentation is lacking. The entire process of gaining control of the region seems to have been gradual and targeted. When faced with serious resistance, I think in part because of this political process of gaining control, the Ptolemies responded in a stronger way by placing more officials there to monitor the area, and by establishing more military settlements.<sup>30</sup> Thebes, the site of the great Amun temple, seems to have had only a small number of Greeks, and little new building activity except, importantly, for gates at several important temples.<sup>31</sup> Thebes itself, from an economic and presumably therefore also from a religious point of view, may have been less important to the Ptolemies than were sites such as Edfu, an important terminus for Eastern Desert traffic, and of course the Ptah temple at Memphis, which had been a vital nexus between Egyptian priests and the legitimacy of Persian provincial government and played a vital role under the Ptolemies.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless the changes in Thebes, while perhaps subtler than elsewhere, reflected a profound transformation of Upper Egypt into Ptolemaic imperial territory.

## PTOLEMAIS

An early and important step in the process of controlling the Thebaid was the foundation by Ptolemy I of the new city of Ptolemais Hermiou (Demotic *Pa-Sy*, modern el-Manshah).<sup>33</sup> A Cyrenaean city of the same name was also established by Ptolemy (Kraeling 1962; Mueller 2006, pp. 143–46).<sup>34</sup> Akhmim (Panopolis), a large and important Egyptian city with a mixed Greco-Egyptian population (Lloyd 1969, p. 85), was nearby but we do not know much about the connections between the two.<sup>35</sup> Panopolis was the site of major unrest in the second century B.C. and was seemingly excluded from rebuilding its houses and temples in the amnesty decree of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II and III in 118 B.C. (P. Tebt. 5 136–38).

<sup>27</sup> On the troops used to secure the desert roads, see Hennig 2003.

<sup>28</sup> Murray 1967; Scullard 1974, pp. 123–37; Krebs 1973; Burstein 1996; Mueller 2006, pp. 151–57. On the Eastern Desert road network, see Sidebotham and Wendrich 1996; Bagnall et al. 1996; Sidebotham 2000; Alcock, Gates, and Rempel 2005; and Gates-Foster 2006.

<sup>29</sup> On the issue of connectivity to the Mediterranean, see Bresson 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Settlements at Pathyris and Krocodilopolis are good examples of the new military foundations.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, P. Grenf. 1 21 (second century B.C. = P. L. Bat. 19 4 ii 1–25; *Select papyri* 1, 83), mentioning very few Greeks avail-

able to write Greek. On building activity at Karnak specifically, see Aufrère 2000. On Greeks at Thebes, see Clarysse 1995.

<sup>32</sup> On the temple of priests of Ptah at Memphis, see Crawford 1980; Thompson 1988.

<sup>33</sup> See Mueller 2006, pp. 166–67, on the founding of Ptolemais.

<sup>34</sup> Laronde 1987. On Ptolemy and Cyrenaica, see Mørkholm 1980.

<sup>35</sup> For Akhmim and its environs, see the very general survey by Kanawati 1990; Kanawati 1999; Kuhlmann 1983; Egberts, Muhs, and van der Vliet 2002. Akhmim was a center of textile production and quarrying. On Ptolemais, see Plaumann 1910; Vandorpe 1995, p. 210; Abd el-Ghani 2001.

The founding of a new administrative center at Ptolemais was probably not intended to counterbalance Thebes, nor is it likely that its primary purpose was to “Hellenize” (if we mean by the term the specific policy of spreading Greek culture) the Thebaid (Abd el-Ghani 2001), although Greek cultural influence was obviously reinforced in this region as a result. The founding of a new royal city in the south mirrors in many ways the history of Hellenistic Asia Minor, where “colonies had often been founded on, or adjacent to, the site of a pre-existing indigenous village or city” (Mileta 2002, p. 166). The main purpose was to establish a “royal area” in strategic locations. Political, legal, and economic control was the main issue, not Hellenization. Ptolemais would appear to be another case of this Hellenistic practice, certainly serving as a foothold of Ptolemaic control of Upper Egypt.

Whether we follow Leo Africanus (*Descrittione dell’Africa* 1.734) in believing that Akhmim was the oldest of Egyptian cities, it was certainly in this region that Egyptian civilization originated, as the important and very ancient town of Thinis (modern Girga) and the Abydos necropolis on the west bank of the river confirm. Limestone quarries, whence stone to build Ptolemais came, are located across the river on the east bank, especially in the vicinity of Sheikh Musa.<sup>36</sup> Hints of a pre-Ptolemaic Greek settlement on the site are found in a famous passage in Herodotus (*The Histories* 2.91), which mentions a “new city” (*Neapolis*) situated very near Akhmim. The name suggests a Greek foundation, and Lloyd has cogently argued (1969, p. 80) that the reference to a Greek city located near Akhmim must indicate that a pre-Ptolemaic settlement was located on the future site of Ptolemais.<sup>37</sup> If this thesis is correct, and we have no way of confirming it at the moment, it would be another example of the Ptolemies continuing cultural and economic patterns established during the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. An administrative center for the south at a site where there had already been Greek settlement would be both logical and the path of least resistance in establishing a Ptolemaic presence in the south. The fact that Greeks, probably soldiers, were settled earlier in the millennium, perhaps under the Saites, at the future site of Ptolemais points to an important Ptolemaic strategy. Because Ptolemais sat at an important terminus into which trade routes came from the western oases chain, which led west and north out to Cyrenaica, and from Nubia to the south, the kings “gated” key trade junctions along the Nile River in the south at an early date. Such “gating” is also clearly seen at Edfu, with its new temple begun in 237 B.C., and at Philae, both important termini of key trade routes from the east and south.

Rostovtzeff (1941, p. 156) believed that the city was intended to become a second Alexandria. It never became quite that. Whether it was built on a Hippodamian grid plan or not we do not know but it would seem likely that it was. Ptolemy is reported to have built a wall around the town itself, but the town was not walled off from its surroundings. Its institutional “Greekness” and status as a *polis* is certain (Plaumann 1910; Fraser 1972). It had tax-free land, a theater, a cult of the founder Ptolemy I, and was a seat, from the time of Ptolemy IV, of dynastic priests in whose names both Greek and Demotic legal instruments were usually dated. The lost history of Ptolemais by Istrus might have been written to support the Greek community there just as the new priesthood did (Fraser 1972, p. 512). Ptolemais effectively sat at the crossroads of Greek, Egyptian, and Nubian culture, no doubt a reflection of the trade flow. Its early population may well have reflected that fact. Although much of the early history of this city remains shrouded in darkness, Ptolemaic intentions in founding and settling Greeks there are clear: to establish control of the south. The city became the seat not only of a garrison but also of all the Ptolemaic regional administrators including an important branch of the *chrematistai*, a royal court that received petitions from throughout the Thebaid. From Strabo’s description of the city in the first century B.C., the foundation, at least in his day, was sizeable:

Then one comes to the city of Ptolemais, which is the largest of the cities in the Thebais, is no smaller than Memphis, and also has a form of government modeled on that of the Greeks (*Geographica* 17.1.42).

There are hints of the origins of the Greeks who settled the city, but it seems increasingly unlikely that it had a “purely Greek character” (Fraser 1972, p. 512).<sup>38</sup> Rather, Ptolemais appears similar to Naukratis and Alexandria in the north as a Greek city and trade center, but with an Egyptian temple precinct and a mixed population.

<sup>36</sup> Morgan, Bouriant, and Legrain 1894. Demotic, Greek, and Latin graffiti are documented in the quarries.

<sup>37</sup> There were certainly close economic connections between Akhmim and Ptolemais and other parts of Upper Egypt. See, for example, P. Berlin 13534 (= Martin 1996, text C34, 2 B.C.), a sale of

shares of houses in Akhmim and in Ptolemais by a priest of the god Khnum at Elephantine.

<sup>38</sup> The location of the Isis temple outside the city walls remains to be proven. Plaumann (1910, p. 58) made the suggestion on the basis of St. Petersburg inscription Golenischeff, a granite stela found at the site and dated 76/5 B.C.

There were, from a legal point of view, clearly defined social lines drawn between citizens of the new city and non-citizens, but the purpose of the foundation (or re-foundation) was the interaction between government representatives of the state and local populations in the region.

The founding of the city is sufficient to show that Ptolemy understood that the Thebaid required a separate administrative center to govern Egypt as a whole. Just as Thebes counterbalanced Memphis in antiquity, so too Ptolemais served (theoretically) as a stabilizing counterweight to Alexandria in the north. The massive and ugly revolt, and the formation of an independent state in the Thebaid between 205 and 186 B.C., is sufficient evidence to show that there were natural fault lines between the upper Egyptian Nile Valley and the north.

## EGYPTIAN TEMPLES AND PTOLEMAIC FISCAL INSTITUTIONS

Clearly Egyptian temples as institutions remained vital for the legitimization of Ptolemaic rule, and the Egyptian priesthoods as a body, through a series of synods and multilingual decrees, showed support for the rulers. The kings allowed the priesthoods and the temples to be maintained in exchange for loyalty to the regime. The Canopus decree, issued in 238 B.C. by Ptolemy III Euergetes and his consort Berenike II, provides important evidence on the one hand for the royal piety toward temples, toward the maintenance of temple rituals and public processions associated with many of the local religious festivals, and, on the other hand, for the deliberate Ptolemaic policy of incorporating the temples within the state structure.<sup>39</sup> The decree established that the priests should all add as part of their priestly titles the epithet “Priest of the Beneficent gods (i.e., Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenike II),” rules for a new *phylai* of priests in each temple, an annual procession in honor of the king and queen, the reform of the calendar in order to establish a regular time for festivals, and a new festival in honor of the royal couple’s deceased daughter Berenike. The new temple building in the Thebaid, I believe, was a means by which the Ptolemies gained control of the south.

One year later, in 237 B.C., the town of Edfu received special attention with the re-building of the Horus temple. The temple and the surrounding town was already an important place, as the pre-Ptolemaic land donations show (Meeks 1972). One cannot help but think that the rebuilding of the temple was a strategic move, given the importance of the town in controlling trade flows from the Eastern Desert.<sup>40</sup> The finances of the temple were placed in charge of a *praktor*. The direct interest of the crown with the temple finances is shown in two letters from Euphronios,<sup>41</sup> *praktor* of temples (of the entire Thebaid?), writing from Thebes,<sup>42</sup> to his assistant Milon, *praktor* of the temples in Edfu,<sup>43</sup> dated August 222 B.C. The first suggests that the financial administration had institutions of banking and granaries within the temple itself, and that the financial information gathered by Milon from them should be forwarded to “the city,” presumably Alexandria:

Euphronios to Milon, greetings. As soon as you read this letter, having taken the deposits from the bankers in the temples, for the temple in Edfu, and as much also of the measured grain from those in charge of the granaries, from the earliest time up to the present, by month and year, let them also specify the years for which payment (was made). Having done this carefully, send to us on account of this succession so that we may not be therefore prevented from sending down to the city the accounts of the rest of the things that are ready. The payments are to be inspected by Theos and Andron. Fare[well. Year] 25 Payni 24 (P. Berlin 13516 (= P. Eleph. 10; Wilcken *Chrest.* 1 182).

Verso: To Milon

<sup>39</sup> Pfeiffer 2004. The decree is preserved in two main exemplars, one from Kom el-Hisn, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 22186, and one from Tanis, CG 22187. There are four fragmentary stelae, Louvre C 122, one now erected at the third pylon at the Karnak temple, another in Cairo, temp. number 17/3/46/1, and a fourth in the Port Said Museum, inv. no. 493. A new copy of the text was discovered in 2004 at Bubastis. See Tietze, Lange, and Halloff 2005. For a grammatical analysis and an English translation of the Demotic text, see Simpson 1996.

<sup>40</sup> On Ptolemaic Edfu and its documentation, see Manning 2003a.

<sup>41</sup> *PP* III 7399.

<sup>42</sup> The second letter, P. Berlin 13519, written one week later (15 August), rather plaintively asking Milon to stop delaying sending the accounts, mentions that Euphronios is in Thebes. At the same time, on the 14th of August, we learn that Milon had been attacked (P. Berlin 13518).

<sup>43</sup> *PP* III 7419.

There are several other features of the Ptolemaic financial administration of the south that appear to change at about the same time as these letters from Euphronios that, taken together, suggest that there was a connection between these events, a connection perhaps linked to the financing of the new temple and the establishment of Ptolemaic financial control of the Thebaid. These financial institutions become regular features of the state structure of the Thebaid. It may be that some of this activity began earlier and can be associated with the new reign of Ptolemy II and his reforms, but the evidence associated with Edfu suggests that at least here the royal interest may be connected to the temple. The first mention of the public auction, a method of disposing of unclaimed or derelict land and other property introduced by the Ptolemies, occurs in 223 B.C. at Edfu.<sup>44</sup> The announcement may be related to other texts from the same archive (the archive of Milon) in which land had been purchased by priests from Edfu and subsequently transferred to another party.<sup>45</sup> In 221/220 B.C., an agreement for the acquisition of land between sixteen parties also took place at Edfu (P. Hausw. 16). The auction was in charge of the *thebarch*, a financial official based in Ptolemais, with the proceeds going to the king's privy purse, the *idios logos*, known to have been in existence in the second century, but this text suggests that it may have been functioning by the end of the third. The harvest tax receipts (Demotic *šmw*) and the closely associated receipts of land holding (Demotic *r-rḥz-w*) are also first attested at Thebes in 220 B.C.<sup>46</sup> Presumably, the temples themselves were used to collect and book the harvest tax receipts before this date, but the new receipts show that the state, the "scribes of pharaoh," was now collecting this tax on grain land.<sup>47</sup> Katelijin Vandorpe's fastidious study of Demotic and Greek tax receipts from another community in Upper Egypt, Pathyris, demonstrates the strong link between the political economy of Upper Egypt, language, and tax collection. The institution of tax collection was complex, and we can follow, occasionally in some details, the flow of taxes in this period because of the issuance of tax receipts, an innovation associated with royal banks, and perhaps used to protect taxpayers from predatory tax collectors. The switch from the use of Demotic to Greek in the tax receipts may perhaps be linked to the imposition of stronger state control of the south in the wake of a series of rebellions. Vandorpe derives the following historical scheme:

1. After the revolt of the Thebaid (205–186 B.C.) when the region was recaptured, taxes were again collected, by Egyptian officials.
2. After another brief period of unrest in the 160s B.C. (the effects of the invasion of Antiochus IV), Greek officials were in charge of tax collection while Egyptian scribes were reduced to counter-signing the tax receipts.
3. By around 160 B.C., the collection of taxes was split into several different collection points. But the collection of taxes never appears to have been stable over the long run, with problems emerging again in the early first century B.C.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have argued that Upper Egypt was a constituent and important part of the Ptolemaic state for much of the history of the dynasty. The Ptolemaic state, indeed, was very active in the south, supporting the building of temples as well as roads, and founding new settlements in the Nile Valley and along the Red Sea coast. Despite unrest and revolt, and occasionally the loss of tax revenue, the image of the kings throughout the region on temple walls, the presence of the state and its officials in the collection of taxes and tolls, and in the installation of banks and the issuance of tax receipts, and the trade routes (and trade flows) coming in from the Eastern Desert prove unequivocally that the upper reaches of the Egyptian Nile, regions that the kings themselves sometimes visited, were successfully captured by the Ptolemaic state. At the same time, the emphasis on the new political center at Ptolemais, and the control of Red Sea trade via towns like Edfu, may have hastened the decline of the old capital of the south, Thebes.

<sup>44</sup> On the auction, see Manning 1999.

<sup>45</sup> For an excellent précis of the Milon archive, see Clarysse 2003.

<sup>46</sup> O. Tait Bodl. 1 147, O. Wilck. 1253. For the tax and the land receipts, see the study of Vandorpe 2000.

<sup>47</sup> Vandorpe 2000, p. 177.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OGIS            | Wilhelm Dittenberger. <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae: Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 2 volumes. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–05.                                                       |
| O. Tait Bodl. 1 | John Gavin Tait, ed. <i>Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and Various Other Collections</i> , Volume 1. Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 21. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1930. |
| O. Wilck.       | Ulrich Wilcken, ed. <i>Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien</i> , Volume 2. Berlin: Giesecke & Devrient, 1899.                                                                                              |
| P. Berlin       | Papyrus Berlin, cited by inventory number.                                                                                                                                                                         |
| P. Eleph.       | O. Rubensohn. <i>Elephantine-Papyri</i> . Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen in Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, Sonderheft. Berlin: Weidmann, 1907.                                                      |
| P. Grenf. 1     | Bernard P. Grenfell. <i>An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, Chiefly Ptolemaic</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.                                                                              |
| P. Hal. 1       | Graeca Halensis, ed. <i>Dikaiomata: Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen, in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1913.                       |
| P. Hausw.       | Joseph G. Manning. <i>The Hauswaldt Papyri: A Third Century B.C. Family Dossier from Edfu</i> . Demotische Studien 12. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich, 1997.                                                         |
| P. L. Bat. 19   | E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman, eds. <i>Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues</i> . Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 19. Leiden: Brill, 1978.                                                                           |
| P. Tebt.        | Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and J. Gilbert Smyly. <i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> 1. Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 4. London: Henry Frowde, 1902.                                               |
| PP III          | Willy Peremans and E. Van 't Dack. <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica 3: Le clergé, le notariat, les tribunaux</i> . Studia Hellenistica 11. Leiden: Brill, 1956.                                                        |
| Select papyri 1 | Arthur S. Hunt and Campbell C. Edgar. <i>Select Papyri</i> , Volume 1: <i>Private Affairs</i> . Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.                                                 |
| UPZ             | Ulrich Wilcken, ed. <i>Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)</i> , Volume 1: <i>Papyri aus Unterägypten</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927.                                                                        |
| Wilcken Chrest. | Ludwig Mitteis and Ulrich Wilcken. <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> . 2 parts. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912.                                                                                    |

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# SCRIBAL OFFICES AND SCRIBAL FAMILIES IN PTOLEMAIC THEBES

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper examines different scribal offices, attached to the state as well as to the temple, and thus tries to reveal the power structures at the middle level of administration in Ptolemaic Thebes. Being a scribe and holding one or more of these offices surely must have implied a certain social rank and power within the community. Especially certain changes in the organization of the offices over time can tell us how their status and power developed during the Ptolemaic period.

The focus of this paper is on several Egyptian scribal offices and one Greek office, the office of the *agoranomos*. These Egyptian offices, all but one of which existed already in pre-Ptolemaic times, demonstrate that in Thebes at least they became less powerful over time, until there is no evidence for them any more at the end of the Ptolemaic period. If and how much the state was responsible for this development, and whether there is a way to determine that, is discussed in the concluding remarks.

The Egyptian offices that I chose are the notary offices, the scribes of Amun, the royal scribes, and the land scribes. Whereas the first two were attached to the temple, the other two were state offices. It seems that hereditary tenure prevailed in traditional offices such as the notaries, royal scribes, and scribes of Amun, already before the Ptolemaic period. This shows that these offices were managed locally. Non-hereditary tenure, however, appears to have been the norm for offices established by the Ptolemies, such as the state land scribes and the *agoranomoi*, which suggests that these offices were controlled by the state. Although there were many more scribal offices attached to the temple or to the state, we have the most evidence for these four offices.<sup>1</sup>

## THE NOTARY OFFICES

Two notary offices can be identified in Ptolemaic Thebes, the notary office of the priests of Amunrasoether and the office of the prophet of Djeme. Although the notaries of the office of the prophet of Djeme did not write in the name of priests of a certain god, as was the case in most other notary offices throughout Egypt, it is clear that they were also attached to a temple because they write in the name of a priest. In short, there was one notary office in western and one in eastern Thebes, both connected with the temple (Arlt 2009).

The Egyptian title of the notary was *sh qnb.t*, often just *sh*; in Greek he was called *μνογράφος* (Zauzich 1968, 1 and 245, n. 8).<sup>2</sup> In *Die Schreibertradition*, Zauzich states that this title indicates that just one notary at a time had the right to write the so called *sh*-documents (Zauzich 1968, p. 2). Those documents have certain char-

\* I would like to thank Andrew Monson for his helpful remarks and for correcting my English. I am also indebted to Sabine Albersmeier for making me aware of a scribe of Amun and for sharing her notes with me, as well as to Günter Vittmann for several valuable comments, for checking references to books that were unavailable to me, and for pointing out to me another scribe of Amun.

<sup>1</sup> Since the focus of this paper is on the scribes, the priestly titles that probably all the scribes held are not discussed.

<sup>2</sup> Pestman views this issue differently. In his opinion a *qnb.t*-scribe was only responsible for writing *qnb.t*-documents, in contrast to a *sh*-scribe, who wrote *sh*-documents, though he was unable to explain the differences between these two kinds of documents. He also assumes that the Greek title *μνογράφος* is the equivalent of *sh qnb.t* (Pestman 1968, p. 110). Zauzich, however, proposes to call these kinds of documents *qnb.t*-documents instead of calling them *sh*-documents.

acteristics that other documents usually do not have, such as the large sign for the regnal year in the beginning, a lengthy date mentioning the eponymous priests, and sixteen signatures of witnesses, usually on the verso of the contract. However, there are too many scribes attested at one time for them to have been real *μνογράφοι*. There were often two, sometimes even three notaries working together. Nevertheless, those scribes most of the time belonged to one family and there were usually not more than two persons responsible for writing the contracts in the notary office, sometimes father and son, sometimes two brothers. The custom that a son was the representative of his father before, in most cases, becoming a notary himself is mainly attested in Thebes. In the notary office in Djeme there were even two different families at one time in office (Arlt 2009).

To summarize, there were monographic families already from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period that sometimes held the office within their family for up to a century, or in one case probably even longer. The job was usually inherited by the son from his father, sometimes with one generation left out, but that may also be due to a lack of sources. It is conceivable that this last generation was working as a different kind of scribe. This clearly shows that there were strong family ties within the notary office (Arlt 2009).

Before examining other scribal offices in Thebes it is worthwhile considering whether those notaries also mentioned other scribal titles in their documents. Among the forty-seven notaries from Thebes that I have collected so far, only very few seem to have held other scribal titles. However, one cannot be sure if other titles were just not mentioned in the documents that survive. What is relevant here is only their titles as scribes and not their priestly titles. Most of them of course held priestly offices as well. Nechtmonthes (*PP 7763*) son of Osoroeris, who is attested as notary in one document in 317 B.C., acted as “scribe of the seal” (*sh htm*), though the reading is not entirely sure (P. Fam. Theb. 1). Harmais (*PP 7704*), son of Sminis, signed as “scribe of the people from Thebes” (*sh rmt Nw.t*) in two of the three contracts written by him in the years 252 and 251 B.C. (P. Ehevertr. 14 and P. Fam. Theb. 16). The signatures of Psenchonsis (*PP 7834a/511a*), son of Harnuphis, are attested in just one document from 220 B.C. (P. Ehevertr. 22). First he wrote the same formula that the other notaries wrote. Then he signed a second time stating that he was the representative of his father, who was a scribe of pharaoh, or royal scribe. The name of his grandfather is also given and he was also royal scribe, as we know from other sources.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, another title of Psenchonsis is not given but we learn that his grandfather was a royal scribe. This occurrence of a second signature by the notary is otherwise only attested once in 223 B.C. There, Herieus (*PP 7729a*), son of Harsiesis, acts as representative of the royal scribe from the district of Thebes (P. Ehevertr. 20). The fact that only four out of forty-seven attested Theban notaries bore another scribal title, and that all four belong to the early Ptolemaic period, is remarkable.

There is some evidence that Theban notaries did not only write *sh*-documents but other documents as well. As far as one can tell, this seems to have been rather the exception than the rule. However, no one else but a *μνογράφος* himself or his representative wrote *sh*-documents. There might be just one exception to this rule so far attested during the Ptolemaic period in Thebes. Pares (*PP 7781d*), son of Plus, who in 119 B.C. wrote a document for the notary office of the priests of Amunrasonth, does not belong to the family that was at that time — already for a period of almost seventy years — responsible for writing the contracts in this office (P. Tor. Botti 11). Just one year later this monographic family is attested again for another twenty years (Arlt 2009).<sup>4</sup> For this period, probably not more than a year, Pares most likely was the notary, or one of the notaries, of this office.

## THE ROYAL SCRIBES

Whereas the notaries were attached to a temple, the scribal office of the royal scribe was clearly attached to the state. This title, rendered in Egyptian as *sh nsw* or *sh pr-ʿ3* and in Greek as βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, is already known from pre-Ptolemaic times. Royal scribes in Thebes are attested during the whole Ptolemaic period. Oates, in his work *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus* (1995), collected all royal scribes that appear in papyrological documents.<sup>5</sup> However, just taking into account papyri, he missed many Theban royal scribes from the early Ptole-

<sup>3</sup> See the section on the royal scribes below.

<sup>4</sup> The notary family of Phabis; see also Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos 1977, pp. 154–58.

<sup>5</sup> See the notes of Kruse (1997, pp. 149–58) on Oates’ book. For a good overview of the office of the royal scribe in the Ptolemaic period, see also Kruse 2002, pp. 11–22.

maic period who are attested by inscriptions on statues and other objects or in Books of the Dead (de Meulenaere 1962, pp. 66–69; Quaegebeur 1995, pp. 152f.). Considering this other evidence is important for understanding the power of the scribal families in early Ptolemaic Thebes.

There are nine royal scribes attested in Thebes in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period to 220 B.C. All but one very likely belong to a single family. The royal scribe not belonging to the family is Peteharpres (*PP* 5733/7582/7583), son of Sminis (*PP* 6094), and is discussed in the following section on the scribes of Amun. There is also another royal scribe and two representatives of royal scribes not belonging to this family and not mentioned in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, and who are described below. This family was discussed in detail by Quaegebeur, who also gives the sources (Quaegebeur 1995, pp. 152–55).<sup>6</sup> The two missing royal scribes of this family appear in the following genealogies. The royal scribes in the genealogy below (fig. 2.2) are highlighted in bold letters.

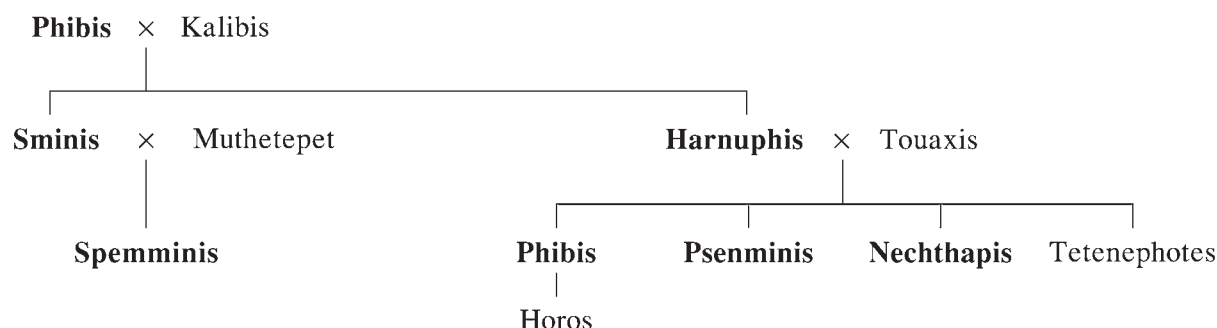


Figure 2.1. A family of royal scribes

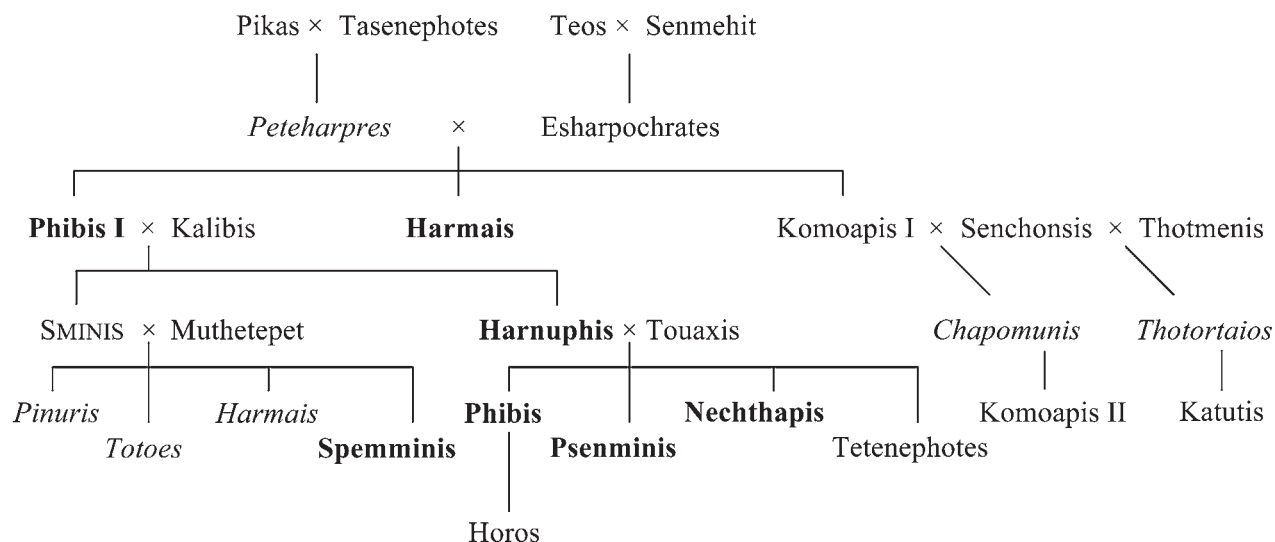
Quaegebeur was able to assign about ten different monuments to this family, including *hypokephaloi*, Books of the Dead, sarcophagi, and a situla (Quaegebeur 1995, pp. 152–53). He was also the first one to see the link between this family and another Theban family of notaries that had been elaborately discussed by Pestman (1987, pp. 276–80). Surprisingly, this connection had been overlooked even though the royal scribe Sminis (*PP* 5569a), son of Phibis (*PP* 5848b), was identified with a Sminis (*PP* 7738), son of Phibis, who acted as notary for at least forty years, from 304 to 264 B.C., and is attested in nine documents.<sup>7</sup> However, his father Phibis, who bore the title *sh n p3 tš n Nw.t* “scribe of the district of Thebes” in one papyrus (P. Fam. Theb. 10,3, 280 B.C.) had not been recognized as being the same person as the just-mentioned Phibis (*PP* 5848b), a royal scribe. Putting together both family trees, we get one enormous genealogy of a family of scribes that reaches back into pre-Ptolemaic times, who must have been influential and powerful (fig. 2.2).<sup>8</sup> The royal scribes are again highlighted in bold letters and the notaries in italics, whereas the scribe Sminis, who was notary and royal scribe, is capitalized.

<sup>6</sup> A complete list of all royal scribes with fathers’ names and *PP* numbers is provided at the end of this article. For further information on the other persons in the genealogies, see Quaegebeur 1995.

<sup>7</sup> P. Schreibertrad. 97, P. Schreibertrad. 4, P. Brit. Mus. I 10528, P. Brit. Mus. I 10524, P. Brit. Mus. I 10525, P. Schreibertrad. 108,

P. Fam. Theb. 12, P. Schreibertrad. 11, P. Fam. Theb. 14 = P. Ehevertr. 13.

<sup>8</sup> For the papyrological sources, see Pestman 1987, p. 276.

Figure 2.2. A family of royal scribes and notaries<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, Quaegebeur proposed the identification of a notary and representative of a royal scribe and his father, who might have belonged to the same family (Quaegebeur 1995, p. 154). This identification concerns Psenchonsis (*PP* 7834a/511a), the son of Harnuphis (*PP* 7710/7505b/428c), both of whom have already been discussed because of Psenchonsis' signature underneath the only contract in which he is attested.<sup>10</sup> Luckily, in this signature he also mentions the name of his grandfather Psenminis. This Psenminis could be the royal scribe (*PP* 5880d/7630a) and son of Harnuphis I (*PP* 5476a/7505a), son of Phibis I (*PP* 7825/5848b/7620a), who was a royal scribe as well, considering the fact that it was very common to name a son after his grandfather. In this family, the different scribal offices were inherited from one generation to the other. It is very likely that Psenchonsis is the last attested scribe of this family. Therefore, this important family can not only be traced back for at least 120 years, but it also shows how the offices of the royal scribes and the notaries were linked. We have at least eight notaries and nine royal scribes and one representative of a royal scribe attested in the family; figure 2.3 shows the suggested complete family tree. Two scribes, the Sminis just mentioned and Psenchonsis, held both offices but it is unclear whether Sminis worked in both at one time or whether one office followed the other. Psenchonsis was the representative of his father Harnuphis, the royal scribe, as his signature in P. Ehevertr. 22 shows.<sup>11</sup> He therefore worked in both offices at the same time. Since the royal scribes of this family are hardly ever attested in papyri, it is hard to say whether just one person held the office at a time or how long he was in office. However, it seems that in the early Ptolemaic period there was usually a group of royal scribes in office at the same time (Kruse 2002, pp. 12–13). This is also suggested by the genealogy of the family of royal scribes where there are several family members from the same generation known by that title.

<sup>9</sup> The *PP* numbers of the notaries mentioned in the genealogies are given at the end of the article. The first generation in this genealogy is known from P. Schreibertrad. 1. For the papyrological sources in which this family is attested, see Pestman 1987, pp. 276–80. Ko-

moapis II is the scribe of the witness copy P. Schreibertrad. 109. The contract was composed by Sminis.

<sup>10</sup> See the section on the notary offices, P. Ehevertr. 22.

<sup>11</sup> See the section on the notary offices.

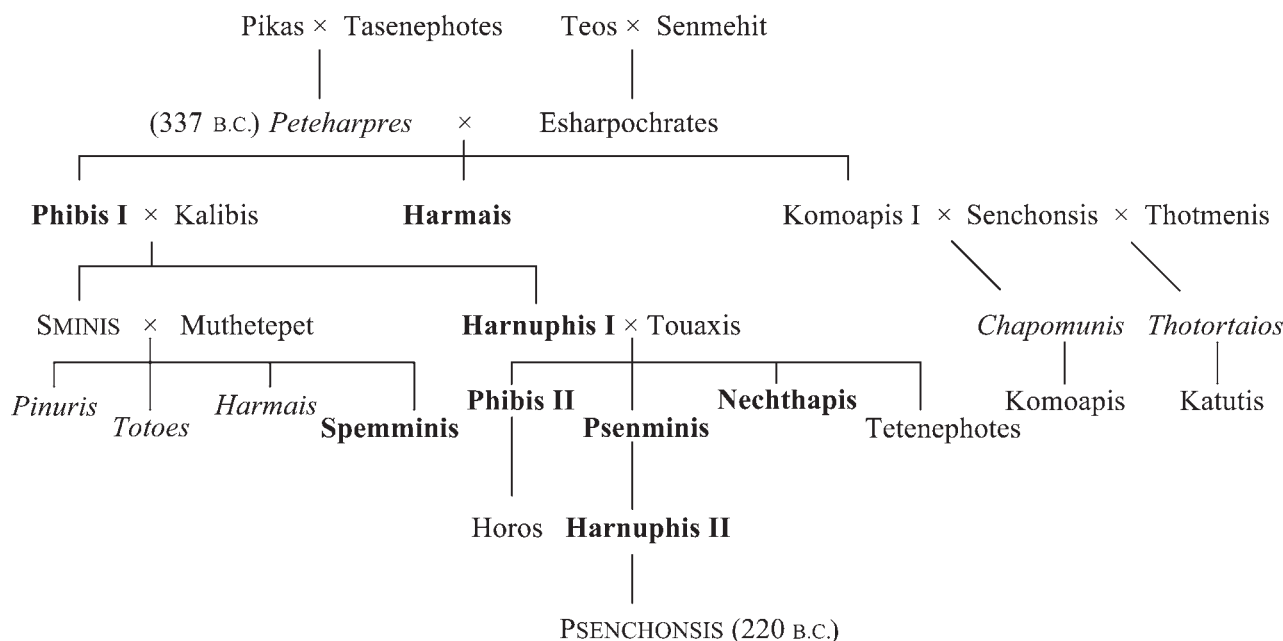


Figure 2.3. Possible extended family tree of family of royal scribes and notaries

In P. Ehevertr. 22, which has already been mentioned several times, another signature of a representative of a royal scribe follows after both signatures of Psenchonsis as notary and as representative of his father Harnuphis II, the royal scribe. The name of the representative is Sesosis, son of Herieus, and that of the actual royal scribe is Haryothes (*PP* 431a/7512a), son of Teos. They do not seem to be related and the reason for those three signatures underneath a contract remains unclear. In P. Ehevertr. 20, however, the notary Herieus (*PP* 7729a), son of Harsiesis, also states that he is the representative of the royal scribe of the district of Thebes, who in this case is Harnuphis II.<sup>12</sup>

Looking at the other evidence for royal scribes during the second and first centuries there are some important transformations that attract attention. Starting in the second century the royal scribes are mainly attested in Greek documents and they often bear Greek names (see the list of names in Oates 1995, p. 85). The first one, a certain Ἀρενδῶτης (*PP* 426), dates to 188 B.C. (BGU III 992). They do not seem to be related to each other anymore. Unfortunately, the documentation for Thebes is not very good. It ranges from 188 B.C. to 118 B.C. (Oates 1995, pp. 84–85). However, these changes lead to one important question. Did the Egyptian title *sh nsw* or *sh pr-ʿ3* and the Greek βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς designate the same scribal office?

Oates has shown that the office of the royal scribe changed over time and that the position became increasingly important. In the third century B.C. the royal scribes were responsible for the measurement and registration of land in all categories. They were native Egyptians and capable of using both Greek and Egyptian. Oates even states that “they remained almost aggressively Egyptian” (1995, p. 31). In the beginning, the royal scribes quite likely were a group of officials, but they did not have a physical office. In the course of the third century they gradually became in charge of the management of tax-farming. Around 250 B.C. the sources show that the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς had an office, and from this time on one can follow the evolution of the royal scribe as a state functionary. At the end of the third century he was responsible for records which lay behind the control of land use and royal revenues (Oates 1995, p. 35). In the second and first centuries the range and importance of the office increases even more. The βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς was still in charge of the registration of land and the activities that go with that; but now he also had oversight of the grain crops and the tax payments, he was working with bankers and involved in money deposits and disbursements from the state bank (Oates 1995, pp. 96–97; Kruse 2002, pp. 20–22).

<sup>12</sup> The reading of the name is unsure; see Harnuphis II in table 2.2 below.

It is evident that the responsibility for keeping the registers, which was the duty of the royal scribe from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, put him in a strong position because it gave him powerful knowledge and authority over property rights and taxation. The following conclusions can thus be drawn for our family of royal scribes and notaries. Already in pre-Ptolemaic times this family must have been among the most influential and prominent families in Thebes, as the list of their priestly titles and other scribal titles indicate.<sup>13</sup> The new Ptolemaic state had to build on previously existing structures. As seen above, at the beginning of the third century B.C. the royal scribes were a group of people who shared the duties of measuring and registering the land. It seems that in Thebes most royal scribes belonged to this single family. This picture, of course, might change when other sources are published. Since the position became more powerful over time, the state had an interest to prevent one family from controlling the office and consequently an important part of the administration of Thebes. Interestingly, but maybe again just by accident of preservation, the last record of a royal scribe from this family dates to 220 B.C., a time around which the duties of a royal scribe were enlarged beyond the measurement and registration of land. It is likely that the Ptolemaic state did not want such a powerful office to stay hereditary within one family.

Summarizing, I would say that the titles of royal scribe and βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς actually referred to the same office in the Egyptian and Greek sources during the Ptolemaic period. The office just went through a substantial development until the beginning of the Roman era. Nevertheless, the information about the evolution of the office of the royal scribe mainly comes from the Fayum. It might well be that the situation was different in Upper Egypt, where the sources are few, especially during early times. One finds, for example, fundamental differences between the notary traditions in Upper Egypt and Memphis compared to the Fayum (Arlt 2008). However, the royal scribe as a state office was probably based on stricter rules than the notaries.

## THE SCRIBES OF AMUN

In this section, I compare the notary scribes and the royal scribes with another Theban scribal office, the scribe of Amun. This office was clearly attached to the temple, though not much is known about its duties and organization. It already existed in pre-Ptolemaic times but only seems to be documented during the early Ptolemaic period. The family discussed above not only generated many royal scribes and notaries but also scribes of Amun. Four of them bear this title and, interestingly, all four were royal scribes as well. The last person holding this title, Phibis (II) (*PP* 7620b/5848d), son of Harnuphis (I), can likely be dated to the middle of the third century B.C.<sup>14</sup>

However, this office was shared with at least one other scribal family, one of whose members, Peteharpres, briefly mentioned above, was a royal scribe as well. One can trace this family over five generations, back into the Thirtieth Dynasty. The last attested member is Peteharpres II (*PP* 5733/7582/7583), son of Sminis (*PP* 6094), who was a royal scribe, a scribe of Amun and Month, and scribe of the treasury of Amun, besides his other priestly titles. He can be dated quite precisely because he signed a contract as witness in 281 B.C. (P. Ryl. Dem. 12).<sup>15</sup> The other four scribes of Amun in this family bore other priestly titles but no additional scribal ones (de Meulenaere 1959, pp. 66–69; 1962, p. 247).<sup>16</sup>

Three further scribes of Amun not belonging to one of these families are known from two statues and one priest's seat (Cairo JE 37075, Cairo JE 37026, and Cairo RT 2/2/21/5). The first statue can be dated around 246–221 B.C. (Quaeghebeur 1995, pp. 148–49).<sup>17</sup> The scribe of Amun mentioned on the statue was Amasis (*PP* 5426/7483) and he was scribe of Amun of the fourth phyle, whereas all but two of the other

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, the following section on the scribes of Amun. For further scribal as well as priestly titles most of the scribes held, see the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*.

<sup>14</sup> The four scribes of Amun of this family are Phibis I and II, Harnuphis I, and Sminis. A list of all scribes of Amun with *PP* numbers is provided at the end of the article (table 2.3).

<sup>15</sup> De Meulenaere (1959, p. 247; 1962, p. 69) still dated the contract to 279 B.C.

<sup>16</sup> For a complete genealogy, see de Meulenaere 1962, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> For the statue, see Fairman 1932. The statue previously was dated to around 300 B.C.; see de Meulenaere 1960, p. 97. Quaeghebeur (1995, pp. 146–51) discusses the genealogy of Amasis' family and the sources in which it is attested.

scribes of Amun were just called scribes of Amun with no additional specification.<sup>18</sup> This may indicate that Amasis' position was different from those of the other scribes of Amun. Further, he was scribe of the god's seal of the second phyle and bore other priestly titles, as did his mother Tanub (*PP* 7245) and his father and son (*PP* 5556), both named Zbendetis.

The other scribe of Amun (of the third phyle), Sminis, was mentioned on the statue of his daughter Sachperis (*Š<sup>c</sup>-hprj*). He was the husband of Esoeris, whose name is given in the inscriptions as well (Albersmeier 2002, pp. 129–30, cat. 68, pls. 7 and 77a–b). Both women were sistrum players of Amun-Re, and Sminis held priestly but no other scribal titles. Albersmeier dated this statue to the second century B.C. because of stylistic criteria, the name of the statue owner, and the invocation *hj (n) Hw.t-ḥr* (O Hathor (of)) NN.<sup>19</sup> However, according to my hypothesis, Sminis as a scribe of Amun should rather date to the third century B.C. The evidence of the name Sachperis (*Š<sup>c</sup>-hprj*) shows that it is already attested in the third century B.C.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the usage of Hathor to address a deceased woman can be found already as early as the Middle Kingdom (Riggs and Stadler 2003, p. 81 (B)).<sup>21</sup> The formula *hj (n) Wsṛ/Hw.t-ḥr* existed already in earlier times, but in an inscription on statues it seems to indicate a later date, which, nonetheless, cannot be exactly specified. According to Albersmeier, the style of the statue, which is the oldest one among the type of statues of priestesses holding a frond, does not require a date in the second century B.C. and she could imagine dating the piece earlier, into the second half of the third century B.C. (Albersmeier this volume). Therefore, a date from about 250 B.C., or perhaps even down to the beginning of the Theban revolt for this statue and consequently for this scribe of Amun, seems reasonable.

The third scribe of Amun not belonging to one of the two families is Osoroeris, son of Amenotnes. He is attested in a priest's seat that has not been dated more precisely than to the Late Period. Osoroeris did not bear any other scribal but many priestly titles (Coulon 2006, pp. 2–4).

Bearing in mind that new sources might change this picture, the following conclusions can be drawn about the scribes of Amun. Like the notaries and the royal scribes, the scribes of Amun already existed before the Ptolemaic period. The office was mainly divided between two families in early Ptolemaic times, which seems to indicate that it was an important office within the temple. I would guess that there were several scribes of Amun in office at a time. The office perhaps ceased to exist around the middle of the third century B.C., because there are nine scribes in one single generation attested in our large family and all but one was a scribe of Amun, while the rest were notaries and royal scribes. In the two generations that followed no scribes of Amun can be found anymore.

## OTHER SCRIBAL OFFICES

So far the notaries, the royal scribes, and the scribes of Amun have been discussed. All these offices were dominated by a few families in early Ptolemaic Thebes. To get a fuller picture one should also look at other scribal offices attested in Thebes during the Ptolemaic period. Unfortunately, there are not enough sources to draw conclusions similar to those concerning the preceding scribal offices. There are just not enough scribes attested with titles such as “scribe of the treasury of Amun” (e.g., *PP* 7597e/5775f or 7587c/5745f), “scribe of the nome” (*PP* 460 and 505), “scribe of the god's seal” (e.g., *PP* 7486/5435 or 7597f/5775), or “scribe of the divine book” (*PP* 7497b/5379a and 7510a/5489a).

There seem to be no hereditary scribal titles other than the ones previously discussed. The scribes that were notaries, royal scribes, or scribes of Amun repeatedly held other scribal offices as well, but other scribes not belonging to one of the well-known scribal families can hardly be found in any of the offices just

<sup>18</sup> Except Harnuphis (*PP* 5476a/7505a), son of Phibis, who was scribe of Amun of the first phyle.

<sup>19</sup> This statue was first published by de Meulenaere and Bothmer, who put forward the arguments for a late date of this statue (besides the style and the bad epigraphic quality of the inscriptions) based on the name of the statue owner and the invocation (1974, pp. 111–12 with n. 13).

<sup>20</sup> The first two records in the *Demot.Nb.* 963 even date to the first half of the third century B.C.

<sup>21</sup> See also Verhoeven and Witthuhn 2003, 315, where a stela addressing the deceased as Hathor is dated to the fourth century or beginning of the third century. For an overview of the various sources on the address of the deceased with Hathor, see Smith 2005, pp. 246–47.

mentioned. It seems that these three offices were among the most powerful, at least in early Ptolemaic Thebes, and that the scribes holding these offices had an incentive to keep it within their family.

## THE LAND SCRIBE

In this section the three hereditary offices are compared to the land scribe, who is attested only in sources that date after 200 B.C. There are some similarities, especially to the notary. These land scribes, who wrote the so-called *r.rh=w* ostraca, were termed land scribes by Kaplony-Heckel, but a Demotic or Greek equivalent is not known (Kaplony-Heckel 1993, p. 42). Although her interpretation of those texts was not correct, as Vandorpe (2000, pp. 182–85, esp. 184) has shown, these scribes can still be called land scribes. They were responsible for determining the harvest taxes based on the quality and the measurements of the fields (Vandorpe 2000, pp. 185–91). Those documents are attested from Ptolemy VI to Augustus (Kaplony-Heckel 1993, p. 43). Kaplony-Heckel was able to identify two different state offices, one in western and one in eastern Thebes, where they employed different formulas and arranged the parts of the text differently (Kaplony-Heckel 1990, pp. 544f.; 1993, p. 43; Vandorpe 2000, pp. 189f.). In addition, there are some *r.rh=w* documents issued by the temple. They were composed by different scribes, employed a different formula, and are not as accurately written as the documents of the state office (Kaplony-Heckel 2001, pp. 24–26). The governmental land scribe apparently was not long in office, since different scribes are attested from one year to the next, sometimes even within one year (Kaplony-Heckel 1993, pp. 45–47). Titles are never mentioned, and these scribes are apparently not to be found in other scribal offices (Kaplony-Heckel 2001, p. 43). Sons of land scribes often became land scribes themselves, but it was not the same as with the notaries, where the office was passed down for generations and the office stayed within the family. There were scribes from other families who intervened. Various numbers of witnesses signed these receipts; some of them later became land scribes themselves.

Comparing the land scribe with the notary shows that both offices were divided into a western and an eastern office in Thebes and that the scribes wrote only for one of the two and evidently did not change offices. However, the notary office was probably occupied by quite powerful monographic families that held the office within the family for many years. It seems to have been hard for someone outside that circle to enter the monographic “group.” The office of the land scribe on the contrary was apparently easier to obtain and therefore might have been an office that implied less power. On the other hand, it might well be that it was influential and that the state therefore tried to prevent the office from becoming hereditary. Being responsible for determining taxes definitely entailed some power, a fact that can already be seen with the royal scribe.<sup>22</sup>

## THE AGORANOMOS

The last scribal office discussed in this paper is clearly a non-Egyptian office, the *agoranomos*. So far, the focus primarily has been on scribal offices of Egyptian origin. The Greek *agoranomos*, whose function it was to write contracts, is already attested in the third century B.C., but did not play an important part in the administration before the middle of the second century B.C. Then the number of the office-holders grew and they were responsible for a smaller area than before (Pestman 1978, p. 203). The main difference between the *agoranomos* and the Egyptian notary was that contracts written by the *agoranomos* did not need any signatures of witnesses other than the one of the *agoranomos* himself. This means that his name was sufficient to guarantee the accuracy of the document (Pestman 1978, p. 204).<sup>23</sup> The contracts were writ-

<sup>22</sup> See the section on the royal scribe above.

<sup>23</sup> Pestman argues that only the *agoranomos* and not the Egyptian scribe responsible for writing contracts could be called a notary because his contracts did not need witnesses and he alone guaranteed the correctness of what he wrote (Pestman 1978, p. 204). Neverthe-

less, since only one or maybe two persons per office at a time had the right to write the Demotic *sh*-contracts, they too probably added notarial authenticity to the contract, even if it had to be supplemented by witnesses.

ten in Greek and, Pestman argues, by Greeks, never by Egyptians, based on their names. However, there is evidence that at least some of them were Egyptians bearing Greek names. Pestman identified a family of *agoranomoi* in Gebelein who were clearly of Egyptian origin and had both an Egyptian and a Greek name (Pestman 1978, 207–08). There was also an *agoranomos* at Thebes named Apollonios whose mistakes in the Greek text make it probable that he was Egyptian as well (Pestman 1978, p. 205). Unfortunately, it is hard to tell whether the office was hereditary or not because the *agoranomoi* never gave their filiation in their signatures. Whether the family of *agoranomoi* from Gebelein was exceptional cannot be decided. Looking at the *agoranomoi* from Thebes it seems that they were in office for only a short period, hardly more than five years (*PP* III 265–73; *PP* IX 253f). That speaks more for a non-hereditary office like the office of the land scribes, which suggests that after 200 B.C. non-hereditary offices became more important.

The differences between the Egyptian notary and the Greek *agoranomos* are striking. The *agoranomos* is only in office for a short period compared to the notary, for which one finds the same scribe for a period of up to forty years and more. Among the *agoranomoi* no such scribal families can be found over more than one generation. It also has to be noted that whereas the profession of the *agoranomos* became more important over time, the notary lost his significance. The use of Greek in the agoranomic documents contributed to this decline and so did the rule introduced from 145 B.C. onward, that every Demotic contract needed a Greek registration (Pestman 1993, pp. 337–41, §6).

### THE DECLINE OF THE SCRIBAL FAMILIES

This paper has examined different Theban scribal offices: the notary and his Greek counterpart the *agoranomos*, the land scribe, the royal scribe, and the scribes of Amun. A considerable change in the organization of scribal offices took place between the early Ptolemaic period and the second century B.C. In the beginning of the Ptolemaic period one finds administrative structures that already existed in pre-Ptolemaic times, as some scribal families can be traced back into the Thirtieth Dynasty. Some members already bore the same scribal titles as in the later generations of their family in the following Ptolemaic period. This is consistent with the more general thesis that the Ptolemaic state first had to rely on and work with these well-established powerful scribal families because it had no other means. In the course of the third century, however, those few families might have become too influential and the government wanted to change two important things: the first was to separate the offices that were attached to the temple from the ones attached to the state and to limit the time the latter could be held; and the second was to keep these well-known Egyptian scribal families from dominating governmental offices by making them non-hereditary or even by eliminating them from these offices.

However, this distinction between hereditary and non-hereditary offices may to a certain extent also be ascribed to different cultural and institutional practices. The notaries and the scribes of Amun are both connected to the temples, which probably had a long tradition of hereditary tenure. In contrast, the *agoranomoi* may be an example of a Greek polis-style official whose tenure was typically limited to a specific term (often a one-year term).

Taking into consideration the change from hereditary to non-hereditary state offices and the general decline and loss of importance of the early Ptolemaic scribal families, there is a major break to be observed at the end of the third century in the Theban scribal tradition. Only the monographic traditions seem to have survived this break, in contrast to the traditions of the royal scribes or the scribes of Amun. One suspects that the first Theban revolt was somehow linked with the break in these strong third-century traditions. It is unclear whether the failure of the revolt facilitated these measures or whether these measures were among the causes for the revolt. In any case, it seems likely that we have a second major break at the beginning of the first century, which probably was caused by the Egyptian revolt in the Thebaid in the years from about 90 to 88 B.C., after the return of Ptolemy IX. I suppose that the priests and scribes were not only involved but played a somewhat leading part in this rebellion, something one would expect considering their influence on at least the non-Hellenized part of society. The suppression of the uprising seems to have meant the destruction of almost all Theban scribal traditions that had survived the first break (see also Ritner, this volume).

This can be illustrated if we look at the distribution of all Demotic documents from Thebes during the Ptolemaic period. I was able to search for these through my work on Mark Depauw's project Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, where we have entered (almost) all published Demotic texts. The search resulted in 2,262 files, of which those that cannot be dated less precisely than the range of one century were deleted. This left 1,169 documents, 1,017 of which are dated to an exact year, month, or even day. It consists of 785 ostraca and 300 papyri; the rest are of stone, wood, or linen. Figure 2.4 gives the distribution of exactly dated Demotic Theban documents in ten-year increments. The considerable change cannot simply be explained by the lack of documents due to preservation. Interestingly, the first striking decline can be observed during the first Theban revolt at the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C. On the other hand, it is not surprising that in times of disturbances the documents were few.

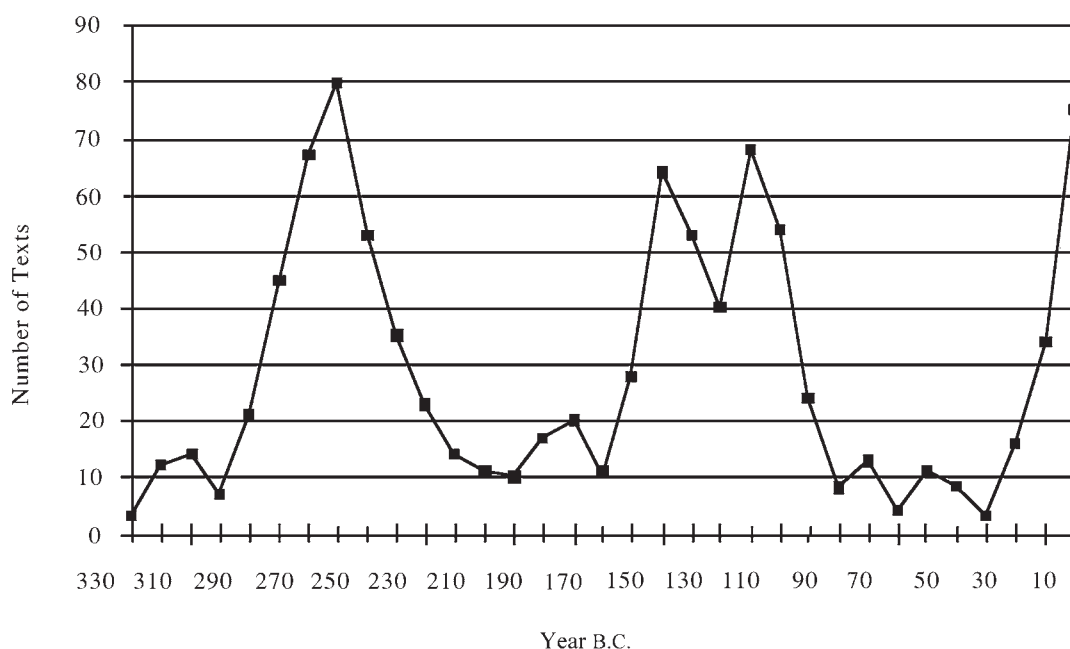


Figure 2.4. Chronological distribution of all Ptolemaic Demotic texts from Thebes

However, looking only at the papyri, it seems that contracts never stopped being written. After some years of recovery after the first Theban revolt, the number of documents increases even more. Figure 2.5 shows the distribution of the papyri during the Ptolemaic period in thirty-year increments. There is little decline to note during the first Theban rebellion, but the “crash” around 90 B.C. is striking and there are hardly any papyri to be found in the early Roman period. This probably cannot be explained simply by a lack of preservation, but rather indicates an end to the monographic scribal tradition in the late Ptolemaic period.

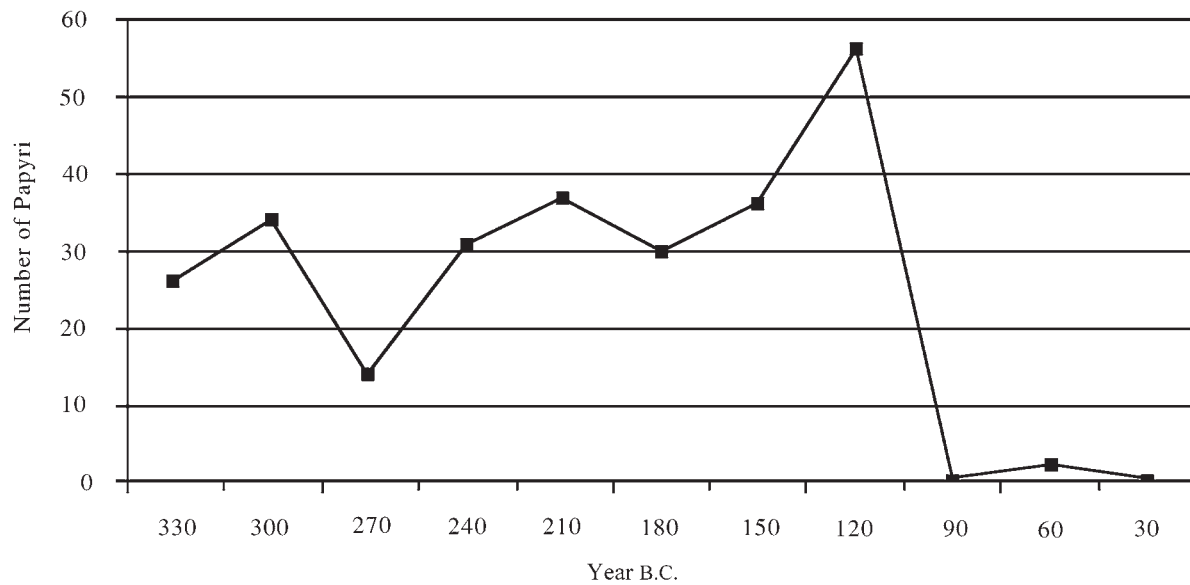


Figure 2.5. Chronological distribution of the Ptolemaic Demotic papyri from Thebes

Figure 2.6 demonstrates in twenty-year intervals how the 785 Demotic ostraca found in the database influence the run shown in figure 2.4. Here an almost complete end of the documentation can be observed during the time of the first revolt; around 90 B.C. a decline is obvious, but it is not as pronounced as the decline of the papyri, and a recovery takes place about 40 B.C. with a steep rise at the beginning of the Roman period.

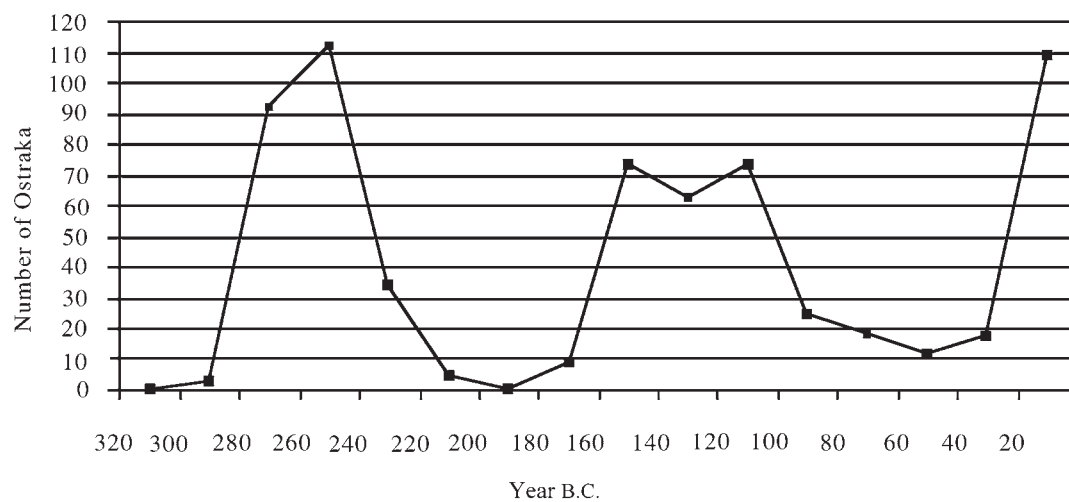


Figure 2.6. Chronological distribution of the Ptolemaic Demotic ostraca from Thebes

To give a fuller picture one should also consider the distribution of Greek documents from Thebes and compare it with the Demotic sources. Figure 2.7 shows the 560 files that are dated to an exact year, month, or day. Here one can observe a somewhat similar decline to the Demotic papyri, but it is not as steep and the recovery takes place within about thirty years. This decline in chaotic times is not surprising and in itself

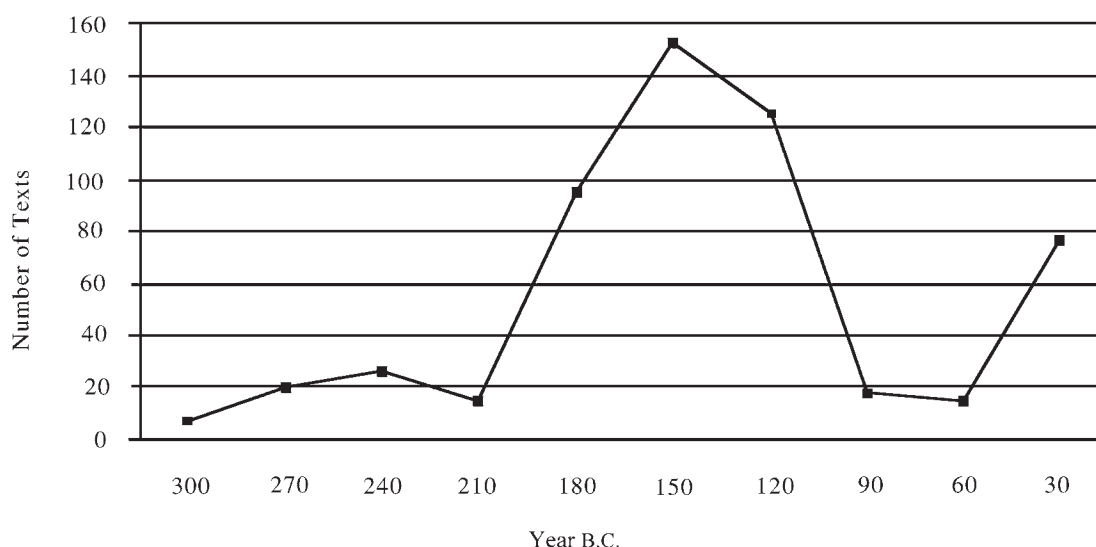


Figure 2.7. Chronological distribution of the Ptolemaic Greek documents from Thebes

does not say much about the Demotic contracts. However, the important factor is that a rise in documentation takes place after some years — but not for the Demotic papyri.

There seems to be a connection between this later Theban revolt and the end of the ancient Egyptian scribal traditions of the notaries. The last Theban notary is attested in 98 B.C.<sup>24</sup> and there is just one contract known from Thebes that is dated after 90 B.C. (P. Ehevertr. 52).<sup>25</sup> The notary families just disappear and, with them, their tradition. No *sh*-contracts seem to have been written anymore after that, or at least they have not been found. Something similar can be observed for the land scribes. Although the office does not cease to exist, none of the former scribes are attested after 90 B.C. and the names that used to reappear frequently, especially within families, are no longer to be found (Kaplony-Heckel 1990, pp. 523f. and 534; 1993, p. 43). The almost complete disappearance of the Theban scribal tradition may reflect the intention to obliterate the institutions that were thought to be responsible for or supportive of the uprising in Thebes.

## CONCLUSION

To summarize, there were two major breaks in the Theban scribal tradition in Ptolemaic times. The first took place at the end of the third century and might somehow be related with the first Theban revolt. However, it is unclear whether this resulted in the disappearance of scribal offices as well as scribal families and in the evolution of mainly non-hereditary governmental offices, or whether this process caused the revolt. Nevertheless, the notaries survived this break. The second major break happened at the beginning of the first century. The rebellion of around 90 B.C. seems to have caused the notary offices to disappear and, with them, the scribal families and their traditions.

The development of the Egyptian scribal offices, especially in a city as important as Thebes, shows us how the Ptolemaic state on the one hand tried to work with the native Egyptians elites. On the other hand, it wanted to reduce their power by changing long-existing structures and creating new ones. The fate of these scribal families was not only crucial for the history of Thebes but also illustrates an important aspect of Ptolemaic state formation.

<sup>24</sup> P. Tor. Choach. 7, written by Osoroeris (PP 7773 = 7845), son of Kolluthes (PP 7751).

<sup>25</sup> The lower part of this contract is lost; therefore, the signature of the scribe is not preserved.

TABLES<sup>26</sup>

Table 2.1. The notaries mentioned in figures 2.2 and 2.3

| <i>Name</i>                                     | <i>Name of Father</i>               | <i>PP Number</i> | <i>Date<sup>a</sup></i>                                                                                                                         | <i>Papyrus</i>                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Peteharpres<br><i>P3-dj-Ḥr-p3-r<sup>c</sup></i> | Pikas<br><i>P3-ḥ3<sup>c</sup>-s</i> | 7795             | 337, Jan/Feb<br>330, Dec 14<br>327/28, Dec/Jan<br>324, Dec 11                                                                                   | Ehevertr. 9 = Libbey<br>Schreibertrad. 1<br>Teos 1<br>Stras. Dem. 1                                                                                                               |
| Thotortaios<br><i>Dḥwtj-i.ṯr-dj-s</i>           | Thotmenis<br><i>Dḥwtj-mn</i>        | 7740             | 313, June 07/July 06<br>311, Sept 05/Oct 04<br>302, Nov 07<br>301, Oct 02<br>294<br>293<br>292<br>288, Sept 29/Oct 28<br><br>287, Jan 02<br>285 | Teos 2<br>Teos 3<br>Fam. Theb. 5<br>Fam. Theb. 6<br>Schreibertrad. 100<br>Moscow 115, 116<br>Schreibertrad. 5<br>Brit. Mus. I 10526,<br>10527<br>Fam. Theb. 7, 8, 9<br>Moscow 113 |
| Sminis*<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                         | Phibis I<br><i>P3-hb</i>            | 7738 = 5569a     | 304<br>291, June 02/July 01<br>290, Dec 04/Jan 02<br>284, Aug 29/Sept 27<br>277<br>277, Jun 28<br>267<br>264, Sept 04                           | Schreibertrad. 97, 4<br>Brit. Mus. I 10528<br>Brit. Mus. I 10524<br>Brit. Mus. I 10525<br>Schreibertrad. 108<br>Fam. Theb. 12<br>Schreibertrad. 11<br>Fam. Theb. 14               |
| Anchefamunis<br><i>ḥnḥ-f-n-ṯmn</i>              | Komoapis<br><i>Gm-zw-ḥp</i>         | 7700a            | 284, May                                                                                                                                        | Ryl. Dem. 11                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Pinuris<br><i>P3-iwṯw-Ḥr</i>                    | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>              | 7805 = 7806      | 282<br>281<br>274, June <sup>b</sup><br>273, June<br>273<br>270, Jan 28                                                                         | Fam. Theb. 10<br>Ryl. Dem. 12, 13<br>Bürgsch., 756f. <sup>c</sup><br>Lesestücke II, 99–102 <sup>d</sup><br>Fam. Theb. 13<br>Brit. Mus. IV 14                                      |
| Totoes<br><i>Twtw</i>                           | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>              | 7818             | 281, Mar 01                                                                                                                                     | Fam. Theb. 11                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Harmais<br><i>Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>                       | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>              | 7704             | 252, Jan/Feb<br>251, June 22<br>249, Mar 23                                                                                                     | Ehevertr. 14<br>Fam. Theb. 16<br>Schreibertrad. 14                                                                                                                                |
| Psenchonsis*<br><i>P3-šr-ḥnsw</i>               | Harnuphis II<br><i>Ḥr-nfr</i>       | 7834a/511a       | 220, Oct 18                                                                                                                                     | Ehevertr. 22                                                                                                                                                                      |

<sup>a</sup> The slash between two months or two exact dates refers to the time period between these two months/dates.<sup>b</sup> For the dates of P. Louvre 2434 and 2437, see Pestman 1987, p. 273.<sup>c</sup> = P. Louvre 2434.<sup>d</sup> = P. Louvre 2437.<sup>26</sup> Scribes appearing in several lists are marked with an asterisk. P. for papyrus is not written. All dates are B.C.

Table 2.2. The royal scribes<sup>27</sup>

| <i>Name</i>                                          | <i>Name of Father</i>                            | <i>PP Number</i>     | <i>Date</i> |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| Harmais <sup>a</sup><br><i>Hr-m-ḥb</i>               | Peteharpres<br><i>P3-dj-Hr-p3-r</i> <sup>c</sup> | 426a/7703            | ca. 304–245 |
| Harnuphis I*<br><i>Hr-nfr</i>                        | Phibis I<br><i>P3-hb</i>                         | 7505a/5476a          | ca. 300–250 |
| Harnuphis II <sup>b</sup><br><i>Hr-nfr</i>           | Psenminis<br><i>P3-šr-mn</i>                     | 428c/7710a/7505b     | 223–220     |
| Haryothes<br><i>Hr-wd3</i>                           | Teos<br><i>Dd-hr</i>                             | (431a/7512a)         | 220, Oct 18 |
| Herieus<br><i>Hrj-w</i>                              | Harsiesis<br><i>Hr-s3-Is.t</i>                   | 7729a                | 223         |
| Nechthapis<br><i>Nḥt-ḥp</i>                          | Harnuphis<br><i>Hr-nfr</i>                       | 7559a/5648a          | ca. 280–230 |
| Peteharpres II*<br><i>P3-dj-Hr-p3-r</i> <sup>c</sup> | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                           | 5733/7581/7582/17174 | ca. 281     |
| Phibis I*<br><i>P3-hb</i>                            | Peteharpres<br><i>P3-dj-Hr-p3-r</i> <sup>c</sup> | 7620a/55848b         | ca. 300–250 |
| Phibis II*<br><i>P3-hb</i>                           | Harnuphis<br><i>Hr-nfr</i>                       | 7620b/5848d          | ca. 280–230 |
| <i>Psenchonsis*</i><br><i>P3-šr-ḥnsw</i>             | Harnuphis II<br><i>Hr-nfr</i>                    | 7834a/511a           | 220, Oct 18 |
| Psenminis<br><i>P3-šr-mn</i>                         | Harnuphis<br><i>Hr-nfr</i>                       | 7630a/5880d          | ca. 280–230 |
| <i>Sesosís</i><br><i>Sn-wsr</i>                      | Herieus<br><i>Hrj-w</i>                          | —                    | 220, Oct 18 |
| Sminis*<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                              | Phibis I<br><i>P3-hb</i>                         | 7738/7536c/5569a     | 304–264     |
| Spemminis<br><i>Šp-mn</i>                            | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                           | 7603a/5810a          | ca. 280–230 |

<sup>a</sup> According to Clarysse (*PP IX 257, 7703*) this scribe also was a notary scribe. He refers to *PP III*, xxi n. 1, where it is argued that, because his father Peteharpres was a notary scribe, Harmais very likely was one as well. This is not necessarily the case, since there are several notaries attested in the following generation of this family. Therefore, it could well be that in Harmais' generation there was no notary scribe in this family because Peteharpres was in office for a long time and his grandson's generation was already trained enough as notary scribes when he died or quit the office (between Peteharpres and his grandson Thotortaios there are only nine years without attestation of a contract). However, it cannot be excluded and the same is true for his brother Phibis I.

<sup>b</sup> This royal scribe is attested in a contract written by his son (P. Ehevertr. 22) and in P. Ehevertr. 20, where the reading of his name is not entirely sure. The name could also be read *Hr-dḥwtj* or *Hr-m-ḥb*, *Demot.Nb. 864*, which would mean that a brother of Harnuphis II, who is so far unattested, was also a royal scribe. The entry 7702b has to be deleted since the scribe in question, however his name is read, was not a notary but a royal scribe. I am grateful to Brian Muhs for making me aware of this papyrus.

<sup>27</sup> The dates in tables 2.2 and 2.3 are based on the dated documents and in addition on the reconstructed genealogies, assuming twenty years per generation. Representatives of royal scribes are in italics.

Table 2.3. The scribes of Amun

| <i>Name</i>                              | <i>Name of Father</i>                  | <i>PP Number</i>     | <i>Date</i>    |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| Amasis<br><i>ʿIḥ-ms</i>                  | Zbendetis<br><i>Ns-bʒ-nb-dd</i>        | 5426/7483            | ca. 246–221    |
| Harmachoros<br><i>Ḥr-mʒ-ḥrw</i>          | Spotus<br><i>Ns-pʒ-zw-tʒ.wj</i>        | 7503a/5470c          | ca. 350        |
| Harnuphis I*<br><i>Ḥr-nfr</i>            | Phibis I<br><i>Pʒ-hb</i>               | 7505a/5476a          | ca. 300–250    |
| Osoroeris<br><i>Wsr-wr</i>               | Amenothes<br><i>ʿImn-ḥtp</i>           | —                    | ca. 400–300(?) |
| Peteharpres I<br><i>Pʒ-dj-Ḥr-pʒ-rʿ</i>   | Harmachoros<br><i>Ḥr-mʒ-ḥrw</i>        | 5731b/7580           | ca. 320        |
| Peteharpres II*<br><i>Pʒ-dj-Ḥr-pʒ-rʿ</i> | Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                 | 5733/7581/7582/17174 | ca. 281        |
| Petemestus<br><i>Pʒ-dj-imn-nsw-tʒ.wj</i> | Harmachoros<br><i>Ḥr-mʒ-ḥrw</i>        | 7586a                | ca. 300        |
| Phibis I*<br><i>Pʒ-hb</i>                | Peteharpres<br><i>Pʒ-dj-Ḥr-pʒ-rʿ</i>   | 7620a/5848b          | ca. 300–250    |
| Phibis II*<br><i>Pʒ-hb</i>               | Harnuphis<br><i>Ḥr-nfr</i>             | 7620b/5848d          | ca. 280–230    |
| Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                   | Peteharpres I<br><i>Pʒ-dj-Ḥr-pʒ-rʿ</i> | 7538/6094            | ca. 300        |
| Sminis*<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                  | Phibis I<br><i>Pʒ-hb</i>               | 7738/7536c/5569a     | 304–264        |
| Sminis<br><i>Ns-mn</i>                   | unknown                                | —                    | ca. 250–210(?) |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BGU III           | Königlichen Museen. <i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i> , Volume 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903.                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Cairo RT          | Registre temporaire, temporary register                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| P. Brit. Mus. I   | S. R. K. Glanville. <i>A Theban Archive of the Reign of Ptolemy I, Soter</i> . Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 1. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1939.                                                                                                                                                 |
| P. Brit. Mus. IV  | Carol A. R. Andrews. <i>Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area</i> . Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 4. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1990.                                                                                                                                                   |
| P. Bürgsch.       | Kurt Sethe and Josef Partsch. <i>Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerrechtsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit</i> . Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 32. Leipzig: Teubner, 1920.                                                                                  |
| P. Ehevertr.      | Erich Lüddeckens. <i>Ägyptische Eheverträge</i> . Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960.                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
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## RECENT DOCUMENTATION OF MEDINET HABU GRAFFITI BY THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

CHRISTINA DI CERBO, EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, AND  
RICHARD JASNOW, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

### INTRODUCTION

The Oriental Institute is, of course, a fitting venue to discuss the graffiti of Medinet Habu. These graffiti are associated with the names of two distinguished scholars: William Edgerton (1937) and Heinz-Josef Thissen (1989). The former was a pioneer figure at the Oriental Institute, and the other is a good friend to Chicago Demoticists. The current sub-project of the Epigraphic Survey, greatly encouraged by the Field Director, W. Raymond Johnson, supplements their fundamental work. It began with a task of Di Cerbo's at Chicago House, namely, that of identifying the graffiti negatives from the 1920s in the photographic archives there. As she progressed, she noticed that there were more graffiti negatives than were in the Edgerton publication. This in itself is hardly surprising, since Edgerton plainly states in his preface that he omitted those deemed not worth publishing (Edgerton 1937, p. 1). Undeniably, many graffiti at the Great and Small Temples are irrecoverable, mere sad traces, ghosts. Still, equally certain is that a scholar working in Edgerton's time, the 1930s, would apply different criteria from those of today: that is, he discarded texts which we now would include.<sup>1</sup> Di Cerbo's project consists of systematically examining the graffiti, digitally recording them, and organizing the material. The joint project is still a rather young one. She has worked intermittently on the project for about three seasons, while Jasnow has visited Chicago House for two weeks in the winter so as to collate texts. In this article we present some initial sample results, but the real goal is to explain the rationale behind the project. We believe that this endeavor well exemplifies, in a modest way, how modern technology can take advantage of the rich photographic archives of the Epigraphic Survey. The ultimate goal is to make this material easily accessible to interested scholars. Obviously, there is no need to recopy inscriptions in Edgerton or retranslate what is in Thissen. We envision rather an Oriental Institute monograph, with additional key plans, especially taking account of the figured graffiti, comments on details of graffiti in Edgerton and Thissen, the publication of previously unrecorded texts, and general discussions. We have used digital drawings made on a Wacom tablet in order to produce the "facsimiles" of graffiti not in Edgerton's volume (fig. 3.1).

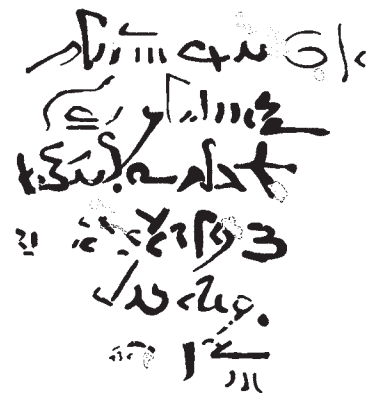


Figure 3.1. Example of Demotic graffiti from the Small Temple drawn on the Wacom tablet

<sup>1</sup> The situation of the graffiti resembles that of the Medinet Habu Demotic ostraca, although it is rather less dramatic. Miriam Lich-

theim published just 160 of the several thousand Demotic ostraca from Medinet Habu (Kaplony-Heckel 1992, p. 166).

## HISTORY OF WORK ON MEDINET HABU GRAFFITI

Egyptologists have shown ever-increasing attention to graffiti, as may be seen from Alexander Peden's recent overview of pharaonic texts (Peden 2001). The Oriental Institute itself has lately produced two noteworthy collections, by the Darnells (Darnell 2002) and Helen Jacquet (Jacquet-Gordon 2003).<sup>2</sup> Despite their often unpretentious appearance, these inscriptions preserve much cultural, religious, historical, and prosopographical information. The remarkable frequency with which Thissen's book is cited, and not just by Demoticists, amply attests to the significance of the graffiti. In the Quaegebeur memorial volume Claude Traunecker, for example, has discussed at length the appearance in Medinet Habu graffiti of members of priestly families well documented in Karnak Temple (Traunecker 1998, pp. 1209 and esp. 1211–13).<sup>3</sup> Herman de Meulenaere has identified the writer of no. 235 with one of the individuals buried in the tomb of Ankhhor (TT 414).<sup>4</sup> One easily understands how such wonderfully elaborate titles in the Medinet Habu Demotic graffiti — “embracer of the Udjat-Eye” and “servant of the White One, of Horus, great one of the Two Uraei” — would attract the attention of a scholar with de Meulenaere's interests.<sup>5</sup> The graffiti also contain tantalizing historical tidbits. In no. 239 from the Small Temple we find, for example, the enigmatic statement: “I went from the Romans (*Hrwmys.w*) to Egypt in year 26” (Thissen 1989, p. 176). Less dramatically, no. 43 (dated to 55 B.C.) records the visit of a *strategos* from his residence in Ar-mant to Medinet Habu, during which the priests petition him regarding temple business (Chauveau 1995, p. 252; Limme 2003, pp. 54–55).

Our own project has thus far been concerned chiefly with the numerous Late Period graffiti, particularly those located on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple. However, it should be emphasized that the earlier Medinet Habu graffiti also merit attention.<sup>6</sup> For example, one notes with pleasure within the Second Court of the Great Temple the beginning of the Instruction of Amenemope in a very good hieratic hand (fig. 3.2).

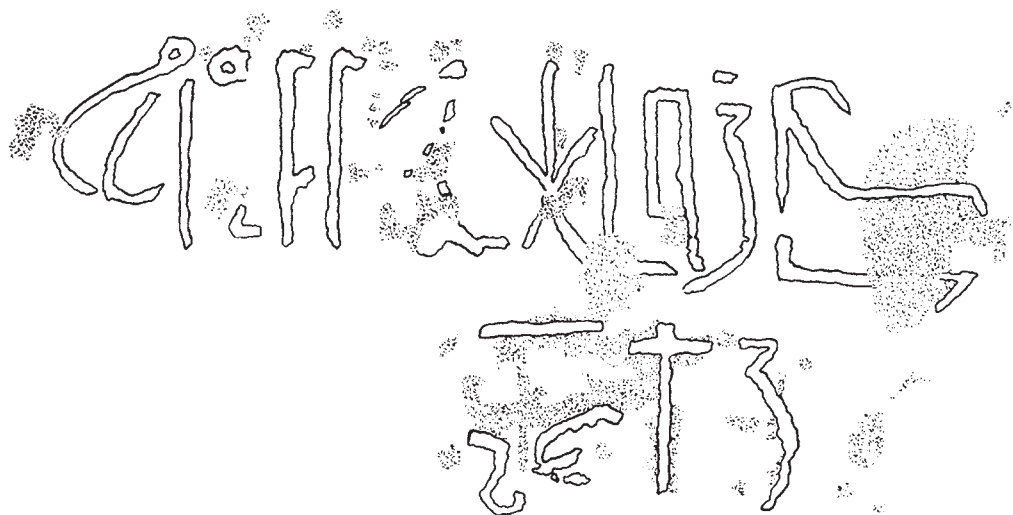


Figure 3.2. Graffito no. 30 with the beginning of the Instruction of Amenemope, from the Second Court of the Great Temple at Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, pl. 10)

<sup>2</sup> Eugene Cruz-Urbe and Steve Vinson are currently undertaking documentation campaigns in the Valley of the Kings and elsewhere (Vinson 2006).

<sup>3</sup> The lamented Quaegebeur himself beautifully analyzed the connection between no. 51 and the owner of the Book of Breathing called “Papyrus Denon” (Coenen and Quaegebeur 1995, pp. 52–64). See also Coenen 2000, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> De Meulenaere (1989) reconstructs the genealogy of the Theban family of *Pꜣ-hr-Hnsw*, son of *D-Hnsw-iwz-f-ḥh*, attested in nos. 86

and 235 (Thissen 1989, p. 143; see also Jansen-Winkel 2001, pp. 215–23; Selim 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Thissen 1989, pp. 184–85. For *hpt wdꜣ.t ḥm ḥd.t* and *ḥm Hr wr wꜣd.ty*, see Ziegler 2003, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> There are numerous New Kingdom hieratic graffiti, especially in the Slaughterhouse and Treasury (Edgerton 1937, pls. 7–13). Thissen (1989) only deals, of course, with the Demotic graffiti.

In a few cases the designation “graffito” hardly does justice to some specimens, as with a finely executed image of Khonsupakhered in the First Court (Edgerton 1937, no. 1) (fig. 3.3).

*Hnsw-p3-hrd 3 wr tpy-imn nswt 3 hrd.w nb ir s3 n iy-m-htp s3 Hr-s3-is.t ms n ip.t-wr.t*

Khonsupakhered, very great one and first-born of Amun, the great king of all children,<sup>7</sup> makes protection for Imhotep, son of Harsiese, born to Ipetweret.<sup>8</sup>

The history of research on Medinet Habu graffiti is curious. Breasted sent Edgerton to Germany to study Demotic with Wilhelm Spiegelberg so that he could document these texts. Edgerton (1937, p. 2) writes that Spiegelberg “read with me and criticized such facsimiles as I had then made” (by 1929). Edgerton magnificently fulfilled his task (fig. 3.4), but apparently hardly attempted to translate the texts which he copied.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the material slumbered. Christiane Desroches Noblecourt’s detailed survey of the graffiti does not mention his volume (Desroches Noblecourt 1972). Fortunately, Heinz-Josef Thissen decided to take this subject for his *Habilitationsschrift*, published in Karl-Theodor Zauzich’s *Demotische Studien* in 1989. He spent a month at Chicago



Figure 3.3. Graffito no. 1 with scene of Khonsupakhered from the First Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, pl. 1)



Figure 3.4. William Edgerton documenting graffiti at the Great Temple of Medinet Habu in the 1920s

<sup>7</sup> For this interesting epithet, Leitz (*LGG* 4, 323) quotes only this graffito, with the remark, “reading uncertain.”

<sup>8</sup> We owe the reading *ip.t-wr.t* to Günter Vittmann. Vittmann cites Thissen 1989, p. 91. As Vittmann notes, the variation between *p* and *b* is not a problem. He points out that a variant, *ib-wr.t*, occurs elsewhere in the Demotic graffiti. This is, of course, *ip.t-wr.t* “The great *ip.t*,” the Hippopotamus-deity, whose temple is just west of the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak (*LGG* 1, 218–19).

<sup>9</sup> John Larson has kindly informed us that records with Edgerton’s notes on the Medinet Habu graffiti have recently entered the archive of the Oriental Institute. These were not available to Thissen (1989, p. 6). We also thank Larson for the beautiful photograph of Edgerton published as figure 3.4.

House in 1986 collating the texts. He naturally focused on the important long inked graffiti in the Small Temple, and could only devote a limited time to examining the inscriptions on the roof of the Great Temple. Moreover, he never saw the original large-format photographs, which had not yet been cataloged at that time. Despite this, the quality of both Edgerton's facsimiles and Thissen's philological work is so high that there is no point to duplicating their efforts. As already mentioned, the present project is best conceived of as a supplement to their editions and discussions; in relatively few cases has collation warranted a change in the facsimiles or translations.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MEDINET HABU GRAFFITI AND AIMS OF THE PROJECT

Before discussing our specific project we should describe briefly the corpus of Medinet Habu graffiti on both the Small Temple of *Dsr-s.t* (the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple) and the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III (the Great Temple).<sup>10</sup> The Medinet Habu graffiti are either incised or inked (generally in black, but occasionally in red). Many of the most impressive graffiti appear in the Small Temple, as may be ascertained from the location plan from Edgerton (fig. 3.5).<sup>11</sup>

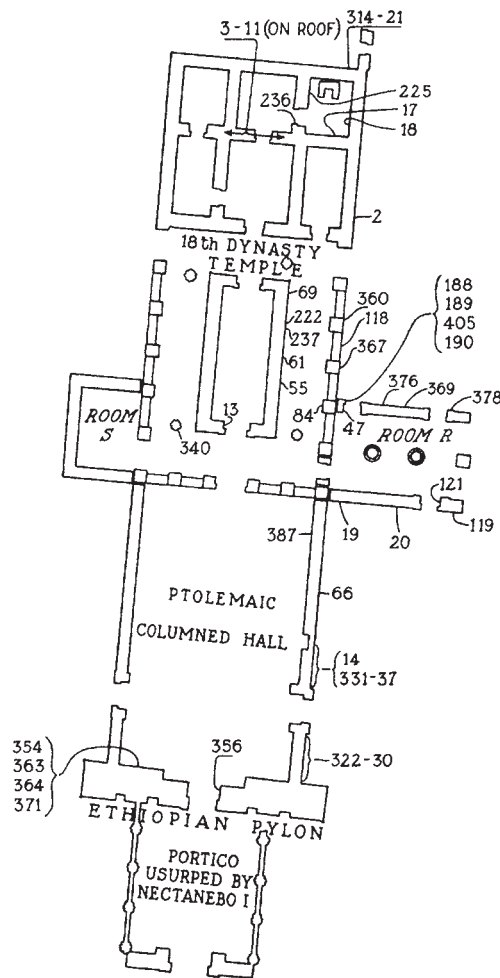


Figure 3.5. Key plan of graffiti in the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (after Edgerton 1937, fig. 7)

Within the Great Temple graffiti appear especially in the Treasury<sup>12</sup> and the Slaughterhouse<sup>13</sup> (fig. 3.6). The dated texts range from year 2 of Nektanebo II (359 B.C.) through year 14 of Cleopatra and Caesarion (37 B.C.) (Thissen 1989, pp. 179–83; Chauveau 1995, p. 251). With the exception of a few administrative or account texts (e.g., no. 265, Thissen 1989, p. 159), most of the inscriptions exhibit a votive character (Thissen 1989, pp. 218–22). There are also numerous Coptic period texts and designs. Edgerton included in his publication careful copies of the impressive “formal decoration of a Christian chapel” from the Small Temple (nos. 395–98). As with the scene showing Khonsupakhered, this decoration certainly deserves more than the appellation “graffito.”

As mentioned, we have so far focused our own collation efforts on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple (fig. 3.7). Most of the preserved graffiti are on the west side of the roof. Still, there are a fair number at the axis of the Second Pylon and on the southern roofblocks. The northern row of roofblocks is much damaged, and so graffiti there may have been lost. The roof graffiti are generally modest texts, comprising titles and names, with an occasional votive formula. The majority (about 66) of these roof texts display a pattern which Thissen had designated *hnk*-formula. He renders this *hnk* as “Opfer,” that is, “offering.”

De Meulenaere (1991, col. 466) has instead interpreted this *hnk* as being the title *hnk-nw.w/nwn* “of-

<sup>10</sup> We refer the reader to Thissen 1989 for a detailed discussion.

<sup>11</sup> For a full discussion of the range and nature of the graffiti, see Thissen 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Thissen (1989, p. 13) remarks with regard to no. 29 that the “former ‘Treasury’ of the Great Temple was used (in the Ptolemaic period) as a storeroom for grain.”

<sup>13</sup> See the comments in Thissen 1989, p. 220.

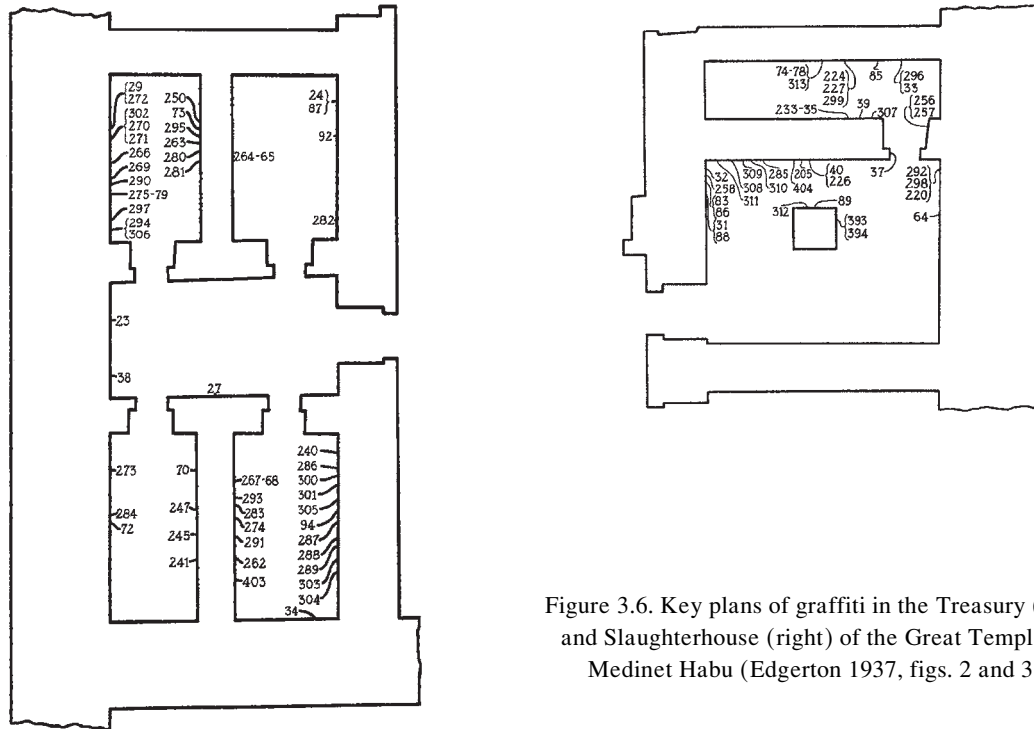


Figure 3.6. Key plans of graffiti in the Treasury (left) and Slaughterhouse (right) of the Great Temple at Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, figs. 2 and 3)

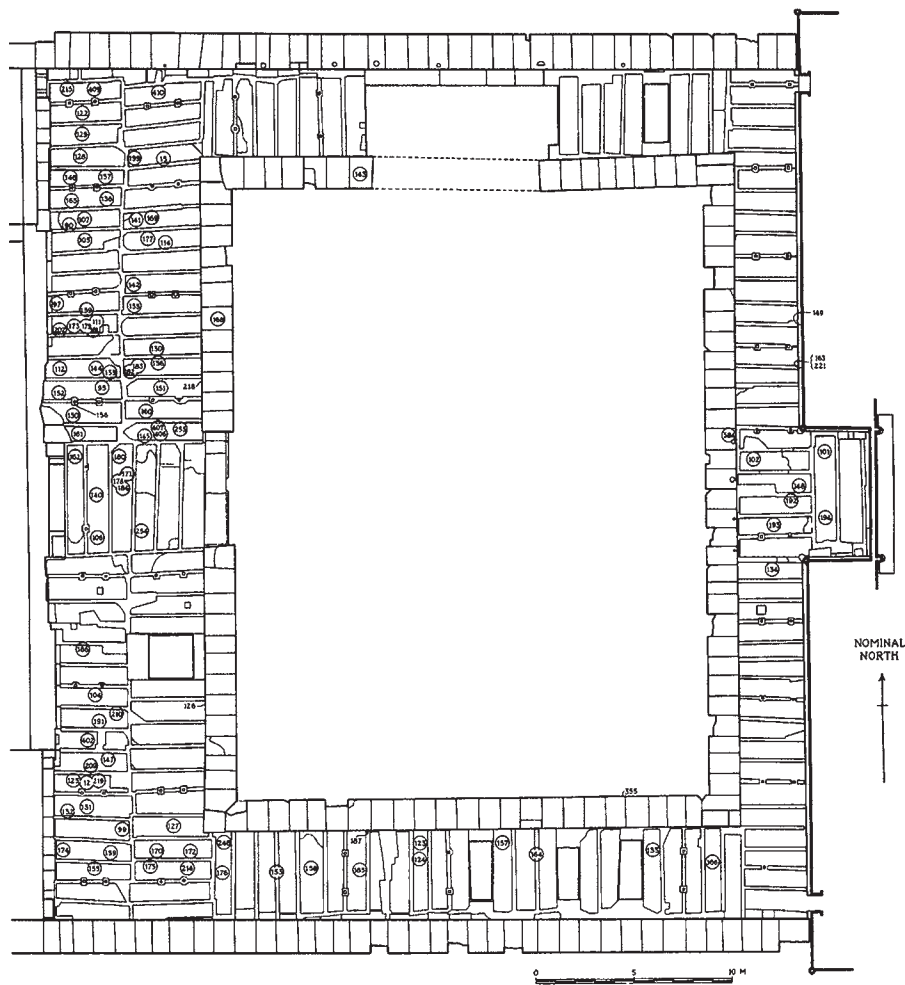


Figure 3.7. Key plan of graffiti on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, fig. 6)

ferer,” specific to the Buchis cult in Armant.<sup>14</sup> No. 186, illustrated in figure 3.8, is a typical example of such a graffito: *hnk Pꜣy-kꜣ sꜣ Dḥwty-ms* “(The) Offerer, *Pꜣy-kꜣ*, son of *Dḥwty-ms*.” One observes the strongly hieroglyphic form of *hnk*. This term, *hnk*, is basically found only on the roof (Thissen 1989, p. 199). Similarly, de Meulenaere has proposed that *qbḥ* is not “libation,” as translated by Thissen (1989, p. 199), but rather a title, “libationer.”<sup>15</sup> Both patterns, *hnk* PN, and *qbḥ* PN, would then be in fact the sequence title plus personal name, with occasionally a quantifier.

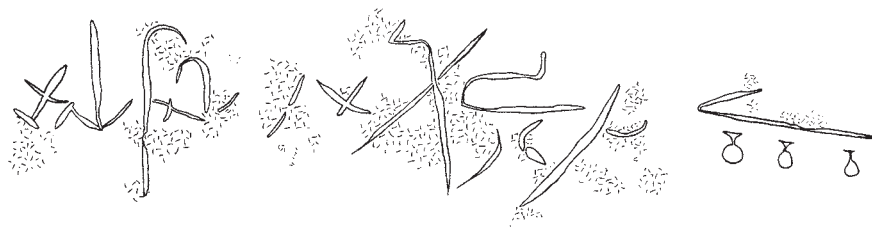


Figure 3.8. Graffito no. 186

Typical *rn nfr* (“good name”) formulae or simple names also appear in the roof graffiti (Thissen 1989, pp. 197–98). Occasionally one sees short invocations to the deity (*pꜣyꜣy nb* “O my lord”) (Thissen 1989, pp. 121–22). Such formulae as *tꜣ wꜣt.t* PN “The Adoration of PN,” so common at Dodekaschoinos and Gebel Silsile, hardly occur at Medinet Habu (Thissen 1989, p. 202). Significantly, the *rn nfr* ... *mn* formulae turn up on both the Great and Small Temples, while the *ꜣnh by* formula (“May the *ba* live”) only occurs in the Small Temple (Thissen 1989, p. 219).<sup>16</sup>

The Medinet Habu graffiti naturally attest to the wide range of deities venerated in the Greco-Roman period (Thissen 1989, pp. 187–95). The writers of the roof graffiti particularly esteem Min (Thissen 1989, p. 215) and Mont (Thissen 1989, p. 216).<sup>17</sup> Min is only found in the Great Temple (Thissen 1989, p. 216), where he receives such epithets as *mn-kꜣ-šyt* “Min, high of feathers” (no. 191), “Min and the Ogdoad” (no. 95), “Min (in) Ruler of Heliopolis” (no. 144). This latter epithet of Ramesses III, *Hqꜣ-iwnw* “Ruler of Heliopolis,” came to designate the Great Temple itself (Thissen 1989, p. 213).<sup>18</sup> Mont is certainly popular, too; scholars have often emphasized the impact of the gods of Armant on Medinet Habu (Thissen 1989, p. 216). Such priestly names on the roof of the Second Court as *Pꜣ-ti-Wsir-Bḥ* (no. 128) and *Pa-Bḥ* (no. 145)<sup>19</sup> further demonstrate this close connection with Buchis and Armant.

Thissen (1989, pp. 184–86) has collected the titles attested in the texts on the roof. The writers of these graffiti particularly held offices within the cult of Mont, such as: “chief priest of Mont” (no. 155); “third prophet” (no. 153); “fourth prophet of Mont (nos. 112, 135); “prophet of Mont, scribe of offerings, of the fourth phyle, overseer of sacred bandages” (no. 159); “prophet of Mont, lord of Southern Heliopolis, scribe of the divine book of Mont, scribe of the first phyle” (no. 105). Among other titles may be mentioned: “god’s father and embracer of the Udjat-eye” (no. 129); “prophet of Arsenouphis” (no. 130);<sup>20</sup> “prophet of Mut” (no. 133); “prophet of Nebethetep” (no. 155).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> De Meulenaere cites *hnk nw.w* “belegt als Titel eines Priesters in Hermonthis: der den Nun schenkt,” *Wb.* 3, 118/8. A student of Thissen’s, Goldbrunner, now follows this view in his useful dissertation on the Buchis cult: “Eine Eigentümlichkeit des Buchis-Kultes ist der Titel *hnk*, der laut Wörterbuch bestimmte Priester in Armant bezeichnet und dem wohl, nach der Schreibung zu urteilen, die Bedeutung ‘Opferer’ zugrunde liegt” (Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 253–54 and 258–67 = list of persons with this title).

<sup>15</sup> De Meulenaere 1991, col. 466, citing *Wb.* 5, 27/6, “der Wasserspender,” as a “Priestertitel.” See also Wilson 1997, p. 1054, “water pourer.”

<sup>16</sup> The Small Temple, of course, possessed a greater underworldly importance than the Great Temple, as the “burial place” of the Ogdoad (Murnane 1980, p. 76).

<sup>17</sup> Mont, who appears occasionally as a “hypostasis of Amun,” can be associated with the Ogdoad and Medinet Habu (Borghouts 1982).

<sup>18</sup> Although this ancient designation of Medinet Habu, *Hnm.t-nḥḥ* “United with Eternity,” does not occur in the graffiti, it is still preserved in Theban papyri, in the name *Ns-Mn-hnm-nḥḥ* (den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming 2005, pp. 826–27).

<sup>19</sup> Clarysse (1984) has profoundly studied the onomastic connections between Armant and Thebes.

<sup>20</sup> One recalls the *ry.t* “cell of Arsenouphis” in Djeme in the Deir el-Medina Demotic papyri, published by Botti (*LGG* 1, 409).

<sup>21</sup> While most closely associated with Atum in Heliopolis, Nebethetep, identified with Hathor, also enjoyed a cult in Thebes (Guglielmi 1982; *LGG* 4, 110; Gestermann 2005, p. 119).

## AIMS OF THE PROJECT

There are six aspects to our documentation project, which itself must be understood within the context of the return to Medinet Habu by the Epigraphic Survey, after years of concentration on Luxor Temple. These are:

- A. Documentation of graffiti not included by Edgerton; that is, “new” graffiti.
- B. New or corrected readings provided by the benefit of collation.
- C. Graffiti facsimiled in Edgerton’s volume, but not translated in Thissen’s book.
- D. New possibilities offered by computer enhancement of negatives from the 1920s.
- E. Documentation and presentation of graffiti, both images and texts, in a way which better reflects their actual placement on the monument.
- F. Monitoring the state of preservation of the graffiti.

Di Cerbo has provided the basis for the Medinet Habu graffiti research with a set of FileMaker databank entries. Figure 3.9 offers selected examples of these entries. As an initial step, Di Cerbo scanned all of Edgerton’s publication, but there are also numerous unpublished graffiti. In FileMaker she has a graffiti list of approximately 1,600 records. These databanks provide considerable information. In the first column is the Edgerton number, where available. In figure 3.9 only no. 410 is found in Edgerton; the other designations for the still unpublished graffiti are assigned by Di Cerbo. In the second column is a scanned image. The third and fourth columns provide information based on the Nelson numbers, where available. The fifth column is a brief description, while in columns six, seven, and eight there is further information regarding the location of the graffito. In column nine is the type of graffito, while in column ten there are comments regarding the nature of the graffito. Thus, the foot on Roofblock 027/08 (a Di Cerbo designation) may be the largest incised foot-graffito in Egypt. Column eleven contains the Chicago House negative number. Finally, where applicable, we have the original graffito number in the 1920s photograph. This is useful since the numbers were changed from what was shown in the old photograph to the number found in the final Edgerton publication. Needless to say, one can conduct all sorts of searches in this FileMaker databank.

### A. “NEW” GRAFFITI

We begin with examples of graffiti not in Edgerton, and, therefore, not in Thissen’s publication. Thus, Edgerton copied only a few of the graffiti, mostly figured, on the exterior of the north wall of the Ptolemaic/Kushite Columned Hall of the Small Temple; in figure 3.10 the unpublished graffiti are marked by an “x.” In the Small Temple scribes numbered blocks in Demotic so as to expedite their dismantling and reassembling for whatever reason. One sees such markings in the back of the Small Temple, where the granite shrine was brought into Room V.<sup>22</sup> Edgerton published these (Edgerton 1937, nos. 314–21). However, the north wall of the Ptolemaic/Kushite Columned Hall was also dismantled at some point, presumably in connection with the addition of the lintel, jambs, and thicknesses of Pedamonopet (Hölscher 1939, p. 57; Gestermann 2005, p. 107). Edgerton copied the numbers on the exterior of the north wall (Edgerton 1937, nos. 322–37), but not those on the interior of the north wall (fig. 3.11).

Somewhat precariously placed (fig. 3.12), but certainly worth copying, is this graffito on Roofblock no. 99. (fig. 3.13)

1. *pꜣ rn nfr ḥnk Dḥwty-rs<sup>23</sup> sꜣ Dḥwty-sḏm sꜣ Pꜣ-ḥtr*
2. *... ḥ.t sw 26 Dḥwty-rs sꜣ Dḥwty-sḏm ...*

1. The good name of the Offerer *Dḥwty-rs*, son of *Dḥwty-sḏm*, son of *Pꜣ-ḥtr*
2. ... inundation, day 26. *Dḥwty-rs*, son of *Dḥwty-sḏm* ...

This individual also appears in no. 126 (Thissen 1989, p. 96).

<sup>22</sup> Designation after Porter and Moss. For a discussion of the red granite naos and the Demotic inscriptions associated with its installation, see Hölscher 1939, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> For this name, meaning “Thoth-is-watchful,” see *Demot.Nb.* 1304.

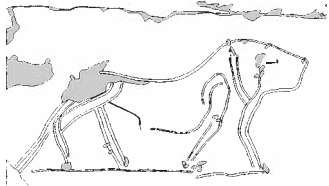
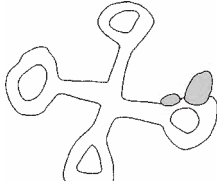
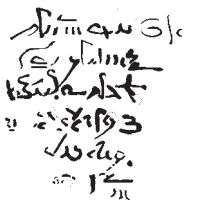
| Edgerton           | Image                                                                               | MH  | Nelson   | Description      | Location 1                             | Location 2                      | Location 3                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------|------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 410                |    | MHA | —        | Boat             | Second court                           | Roof; Roof-block 076            | Northwest/East corner              |
| Kushite Wall D x26 |    | MHB | —        | Lion             | Ptolemaic Columned Hall/Kushite Wall D | Exterior                        | North wall; West section           |
| Roof-block 074/02  |    | MHA | —        | Hieroglyphic     | Second court                           | Roof; Roof-block 074            | Northwest/East corner              |
| Roof-block 027/08  |    | MHA | —        | Foot             | Second court                           | Roof; Roof-block 027            | West side; East part               |
| Kushite Wall D x34 |  | MHB | —        | Cross            | Ptolemaic Columned Hall/Kushite wall D | Exterior                        | North wall; West section           |
| Column III/1       |  | MHF | —        | Coptic           | Column                                 | Exterior; south of Second Court | Not in situ; found in Second Court |
| MHB 028/03         |  | MHB | 28       | Demotic          | Statue room (Room I/ Room L)           | Interior                        | North wall                         |
| MHB 045/01         |  | MHB | below 45 | Demotic/Hieratic | Naos room (Room V/ Room P)             | Doorway                         | South wall/ West jamb/ East face   |
| MHA 386/02         |  | MHA | 386      | Cross            | Slaughterhouse (Room 5)                | Interior                        | North wall                         |

Figure 3.9. Sample entries from the FileMaker databank for the Medinet Habu graffiti

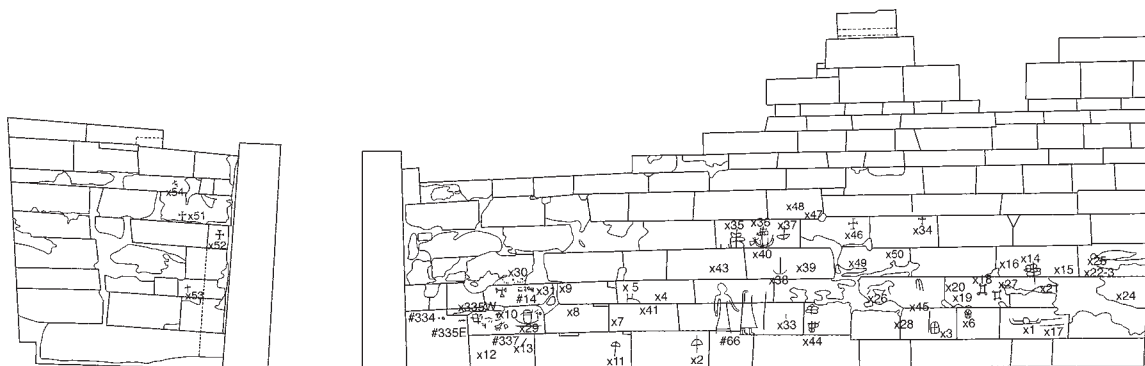


Figure 3.10. Key plan of graffiti on the exterior of the north wall of the Ptolemaic/Kushite Columned Hall

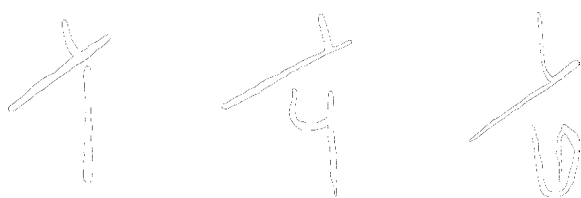


Figure 3.11. Examples of Demotic numbers ("first," "second," and "third") from the interior of the north wall of the Ptolemaic/Kushite Columned Hall (N.B. each numeral is actually on a separate block)

Figure 3.12. Richard Jasnow studying a Demotic graffito on the northern roofing blocks of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu

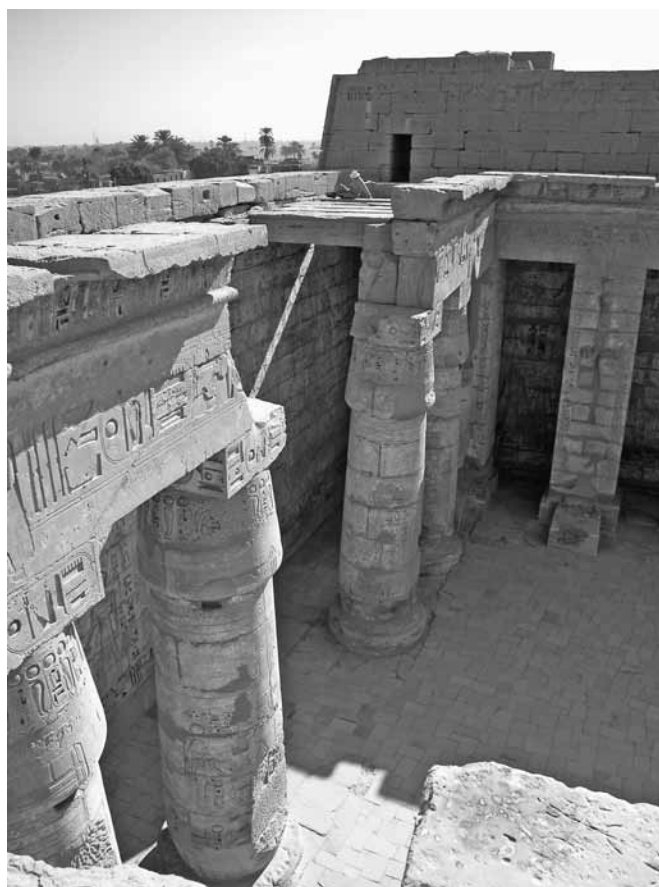


Figure 3.13. Unpublished Demotic graffito on Roofblock no. 99, on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu



Edgerton only copied very selectively the Coptic period designs; not improbably he deemed them of lesser intrinsic value than the inscriptions. Examples of these are shown in figure 3.9. Still, this Coptic material obviously complements nicely the church built right below in the Second Court, and deserves more complete documentation.<sup>24</sup>

There are also several nineteenth-century visitors' graffiti on the roof, which have apparently not been copied previously. Examples of such are inscriptions of Pietro Ruga (1841)<sup>25</sup> and Girolamo Segato (1820)<sup>26</sup> (fig. 3.14).

## B. GRAFFITI BENEFITTING FROM COLLATION

Naturally, the opportunity to study these inscriptions in situ under different lighting conditions may result in new readings.

No. 132 (Thissen 1989, pp. 100–01) (fig. 3.15), offers an interesting combination of hieroglyphically influenced writings.

1. *hmk hm-ntr Mnt nb iwnw-Šm<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr ihy hm-ntr Nb.t-htp*
2. *p3 'n-w<sup>c</sup>b P3-ti-nfr-htp s3 P3-htp*



Figure 3.14. Examples of nineteenth-century travelers' graffiti from the west face of the Second Pylon, southern side, roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu

1. The offerer, prophet of Mont, lord of Southern Heliopolis, prophet of *ihy*, prophet of Nebethetep,
2. the chief priest, *P3-ti-nfr-htp*, son of *P3-htp*

Thissen had already suspected that there was a title after *iwnw Šm<sup>c</sup>*, and we propose to read *hm-ntr ihy*. Another “prophet of *ihy*” appears in Dem. Stele CG 31083 (*LGG* 1, 542–43). For a further example of the title *'n-w<sup>c</sup>b*, see Den Brinker, Muhs, and Vleeming 2005, p. 514 (no. 155).

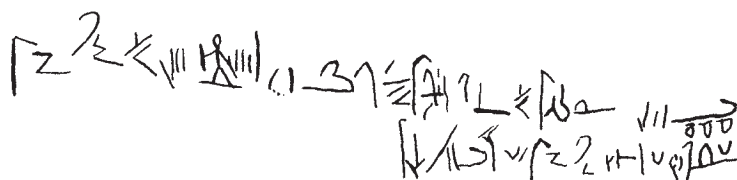


Figure 3.15. Graffito no. 132 on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu

<sup>24</sup> On the church in the Second Court, see, e.g., Grossmann 2002, pp. 25–26.

<sup>25</sup> For another example of this name in the Small Temple, see De Keersmaecker 2006, p. 36.

<sup>26</sup> For this traveler, see Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 1995, p. 384. For another example of this name, see De Keersmaecker 2006, p. 18.



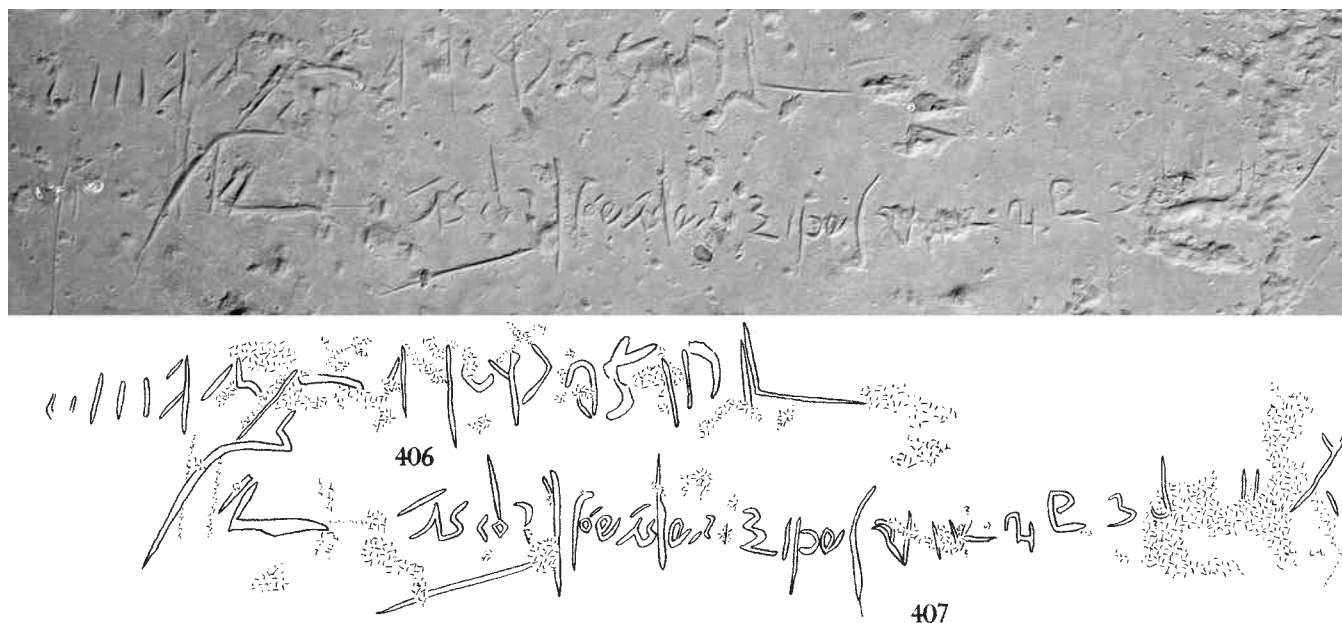


Figure 3.18. Photograph and Edgerton facsimile of nos. 406 and 407 on the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu

Edgerton mistakenly designated no. 406 as Semitic.<sup>28</sup> The inscription reads:

*Ns-šw-Tfne*<sup>29</sup> *šḥ n ḥ.t-sp 26 ibt 2 pr.t ...*

“*Ns-šw-Tfne*, written in year 26, second month of winter ...”

If taken with *P3-w3ḥ-mw*’s graffito, the year 26 may be that of Ptolemy III, that is, 222–221 B.C. (Pestman 1967, p. 37).

We might also add here that nobody has treated the hieratic graffiti of Medinet Habu (nos. 22–41), insofar as we know. No. 41, for example, is a very sophisticated hieratic inscription with beautiful Ptolemaic spellings in Room R of the Small Temple. The graffito is closely associated with its Demotic neighbors.

#### D. NEW POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY COMPUTER ENHANCEMENT OF NEGATIVES FROM THE 1920S

Edgerton and Thissen justifiably omitted inscriptions in extremely poor condition. Clearly, even once noble texts can have just enough missing to render them incomprehensible. It is a hard call as to when to give up on a text. In any case, there are several graffiti, both published and unpublished, which, to our mind, warrant close study of the recently available 1920s negatives. This generally concerns only ink graffiti; the incised inscriptions have obviously suffered much less over the years. The enhanced negatives may also inspire Demoticists to devote further time to examining damaged graffiti published in Edgerton.

One example of such a text is no. 121 (Thissen 1989, pp. 92–93), inscribed in the northern annex (Room R) of the Small Temple (fig. 3.19). This rather poorly preserved text has been only accessible in the facsimile of Edgerton.

The pattern *qbḥ PN* “libationer PN,” is followed by a problematic phrase. This has been transliterated and translated:

*Qbḥ PN (n) p3y ʿnḥ n ʿḥ*

“Libation des NN (in) dieser Lebenszeit” (Thissen 1989, pp. 92–93)

<sup>28</sup> He speaks of “the Semitic texts, nos. 406 and 408” (Edgerton 1937, p. 1). <sup>29</sup> For *Ns-šw-Tfne*, see *Demot.Nb.* 691.

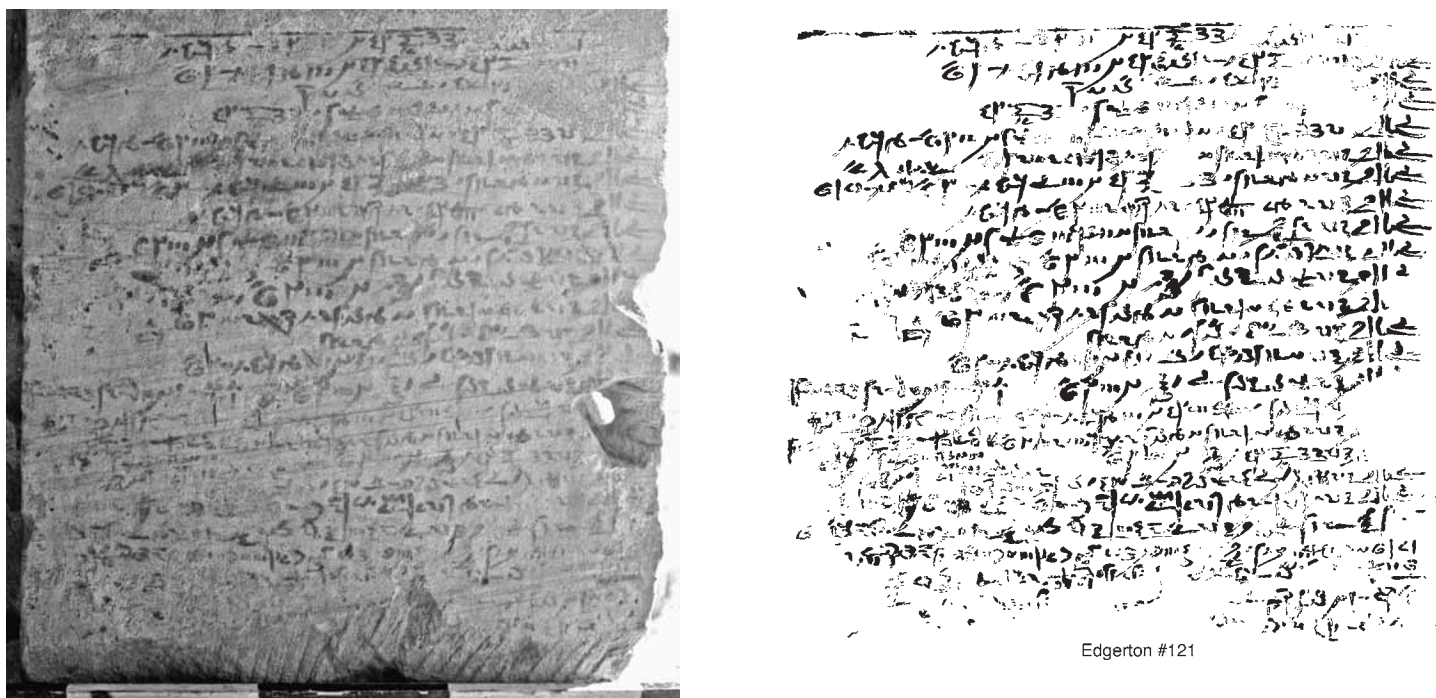


Figure 3.19. Enhanced photograph and detail of Edgerton facsimile of no. 121

Thissen remarked already that  $\text{'nh n 'h'}$  would be a strange way to render  $\text{'h' n 'nh}$  “Lebenszeit” (Thissen 1989, p. 93). As mentioned earlier, de Meulenaere (1991, col. 466) observed that this  $qb\text{h}$  is probably the title “libationer, water-pourer.” Study of the enhanced photograph suggests that  $p\text{'y}$  may be the copula, and that the group hitherto read as  $\text{'nh}$  is perhaps  $rmt\text{ rh}$  “wise man,” or even “deceased one” (LGG 4, 675).

Line 9, for example might then be read as:

“The water-pourer  $N\text{'-ht.w}$ , son of  $P\text{'-ti-Hnsw-p\text{'-ir-syh}$ , is a  $rmt\text{-rh}$ , (“wise man”) [in (his?) lifetime]”

In any case, examination of the negative, unavailable to Thissen, encourages one to propose new readings of this text, for example:

Lines 4 and 5:  $P\text{'-sr-Hnsw-p\text{'-ir-syh}$

Line 6:  $qb\text{h } T\text{'-sr.t-p\text{'-ti-Hnsw-p\text{'-hrt } t\text{'y=f mw.t } t\text{'y=s sn.t ... is.t r s 16}$

Line 14:  $P\text{'-dw}$

Line 19:  $T\text{'-gm.t}$

This is merely one example, but certainly Demoticists will welcome the opportunity of consulting the photographs in addition to the facsimiles.

#### E. DOCUMENTATION OR PRESENTATION OF GRAFFITI, BOTH IMAGES AND TEXTS, IN A WAY THAT BETTER REFLECTS THEIR ACTUAL PLACEMENT ON THE MONUMENT

Figure 3.20 is an example of one of Di Cerbo’s composite key plan drawings. The reader quickly perceives how many graffiti were omitted by Edgerton; the “new” graffiti, often feet and designs, are shown in solid gray. One may, however, also see, particularly on Roofblock no. 74, how many textual graffiti were not recorded. Thus, one notes the  $hnk\text{ iw-H'p s\text{' } imn\text{-htp}$  and  $Hnk\text{ imn\text{-htp s\text{' } P\text{'-hb}}$  in hieroglyphs, as well as the rather large Demotic  $Hr\text{-s\text{'-is.t}}$  in the middle of the block (they are upside down in the figure, which reflects the actual orientation of the roof, Roofblock no. 76 being at the north). It is also instructive to see how the impressive boat which was copied by Edgerton as no. 410 is accompanied by several Coptic designs and crosses.

A natural, but much debated question is whether graffiti display a clear pattern of placement (Thissen 1989, p. 220; Cruz-Urbe 2002, p. 179).<sup>30</sup> We hope that these composite drawings and photographs will provide material to scholars interested in this intriguing problem. Whether as photograph or as drawing, this documentation will certainly provide a better idea of how the graffiti relate to one another. On the composite key plan drawings every graffito will be indicated; only significant hitherto undocumented graffiti will receive individual facsimile drawings.

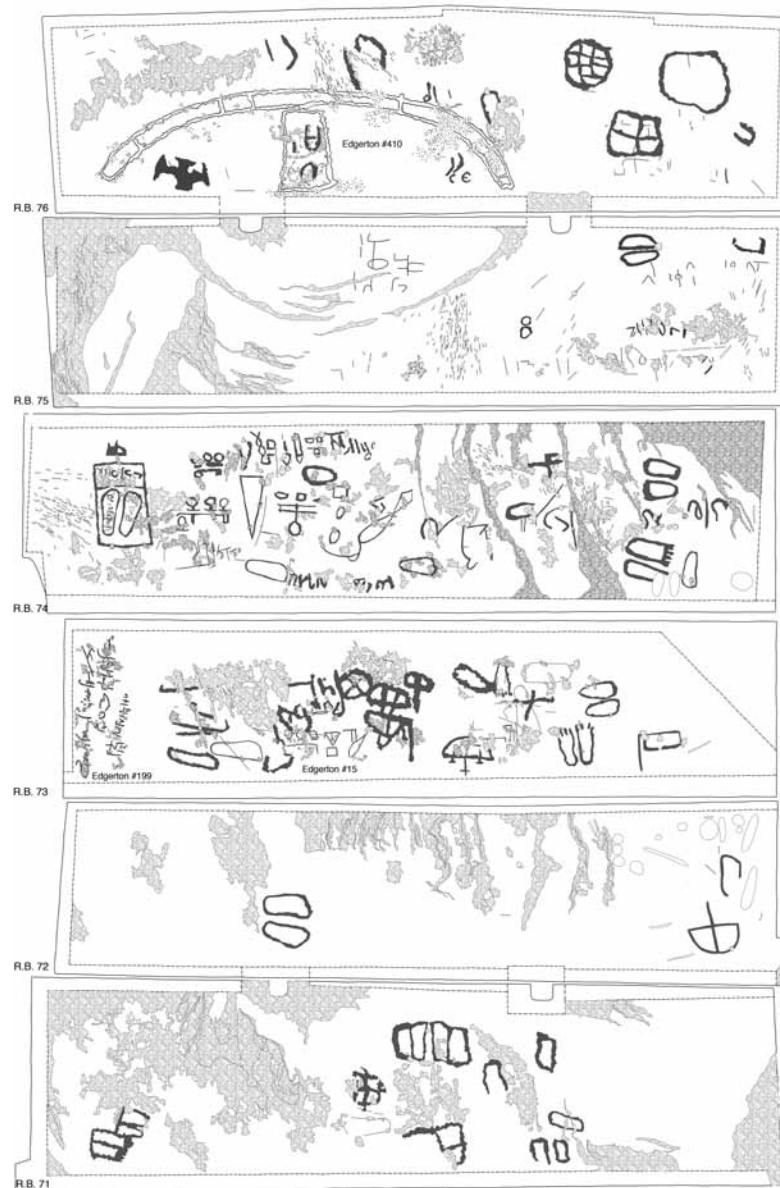


Figure 3.20. Composite key plan drawing of Roofblocks nos. 71–76 from the roof of the Second Court of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu

## CONCLUSION

We Egyptologists know that temples are living creatures. These graffiti are, as it were, the visible markings of their fate, for better or worse. The work of Edgerton and Thissen both encourages and challenges us to engage with texts hitherto neglected. With computers we can now easily manipulate masses of data, enhance images, and vividly illustrate the complex relationship between monument and graffiti. Examination of the graffiti has

<sup>30</sup> One notes that Jacquet (Jacquet-Gordon 2003, p. 7) remarks: “We are left with the impression that their [the graffiti’s] positions are due more the hazards of chance than to the compelling demands of the priests’ daily occupations.”

made it clear that numerous inked texts visible to Edgerton have suffered greatly in the past few years. This is especially apparent in the Slaughterhouse of the Great Temple. During the course of our project we should be able to study such “endangered” graffiti, with the hopes of recovering whatever one can before the texts are irretrievably lost.

As a student-epigrapher at Chicago House in 1981, Jasnow was lucky enough to meet Labib Habachi, the famous Egyptian Egyptologist. In a grandfatherly fashion, he warned him not to waste time on graffiti. He could never understand, Habachi said, why Jaroslav Černý had been so fascinated with them. Well, to paraphrase Papyrus Insinger: “One should not despise even little texts.”<sup>31</sup>

## ABBREVIATION

TT                      Theban Tomb

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<sup>31</sup> “The small document has great benefit,” 24, 13 (Lichtheim 1983, p. 222).

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# PTOLEMAIC STATUES OF PRIESTESSES FROM THEBES

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Among the statues and statuettes of priestesses from the Ptolemaic period, a group of seventeen small-scale statuettes from Karnak stands out because of remarkable similarities in size, style, iconography, and inscriptions (table 4.1). They are all made of limestone, and many bear traces of paint and gilding. Their original height varies between about 18 and 50 cm with the exception of no. 13, which reached a height of 81 cm. Ten of the statuettes were found at Karnak — mostly in the Cachette — while no. 15 comes from Medamud. The provenance of the remaining six pieces is unknown, but the iconographic and stylistic parallels as well as the lack of evidence for statuettes of this type from elsewhere make it likely that they also originated in the Theban region.

Besides the tripartite wig worn by all the women, two attributes in particular unify the group and set it apart from other Ptolemaic statues of priestesses: the so-called lily scepter and a garment derived from a dress first introduced in the New Kingdom.

## THE LILY SCEPTER

With the exception of no. 1 (fig. 4.1), all the statuettes under discussion here hold a so-called lily scepter in their left hand so that it crosses the upper body diagonally curved to the left with the three long ends coming to lie on the upper left arm. The lily scepter — a primarily female attribute — is known since the Middle Kingdom. It consists of a long flexible stem terminating in a lily bud, which gives the scepter its name. Attached to the flower are three long elements of unknown material.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been some kind of fly whisk, which evolved into a scepter carried by many queens and God's Wives of Amun during the New Kingdom. In the Late Period, it remains a common female attribute in relief and sculpture that is now also carried by priestesses.<sup>2</sup>

## THE NEW KINGDOM-STYLE GARMENT

The New Kingdom-style garment was introduced during the later Eighteenth Dynasty and became the dominant female dress during the Amarna period and the later New Kingdom. Characteristic elements are the thin pleated fabric wrapped around the body and one or two long belts, which are knotted below the breasts to hold the dress together. The garment appears in many variations, for which the wrapping technique and number of layers are not always easily determined. The lower layer is mostly a simple bag tunic (*mss*) also worn by men, covered by a second layer of fabric, which creates characteristic diagonal folds at the arms. The left edge of the wrap-around fabric is sometimes visible on the left leg and can be decorated with fringe.

\* At time of writing, at Walters Art Museum. I am very grateful to Peter Dorman for the invitation to the workshop and the opportunity to revisit this topic. Unless stated otherwise, images are courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

<sup>1</sup> Fischer 1977; Mace and Winlock 1916, pp. 94–102.

<sup>2</sup> Montrose (Angus, Scotland) Antiquarian and Natural History Society, limestone, from Thebes(?), Dynasty 26; Albersmeier 2002, p. 32 n. 180; Delos, Museum, inv. no. A 379, gray schist, height 90 cm, Dynasty 30, early Ptolemaic period (Leclant and de Meulenaere 1957; Albersmeier 2002, no. 46).

Table 4.1. Ptolemaic statuettes

| No. | Location                                      | Figure | Preservation             | Height (cm) | Date             | Dress                | Attribute: Right Hand | Attribute: Left Hand | Paint | Gilding | Inscription | Provenance                  | Reference                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------|---------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 18/6/24/2             | 4.1    | Complete                 | 35.4        | 2nd c. B.C.      | New Kingdom garment  | None                  | Flower               | X     | —       | (X)         | Unknown                     | Albersmeier 2002, no. 56                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 2   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 25/12/26/10           | 4.2    | Upper part               | 10.8        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment  | Not preserved         | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | ?           | Unknown                     | Albersmeier 2002, no. 58                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 3   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 25/12/26/11           | 4.3    | Upper part               | 13.0        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment  | Not preserved         | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | (X)         | Unknown                     | Albersmeier 2002, no. 59                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 4   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 25/12/26/12           | 4.4    | Upper part               | 17.2        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment  | Not preserved         | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | X           | Unknown                     | Albersmeier 2002, no. 60                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 5   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33319 (= JE 33975) | 4.5    | Base only                | 8 × 12      | Ptolemaic        | —                    | Not preserved         | Not preserved        | X     | —       | X           | Karnak, Osiris chapel, 1899 | Legrain 1900, p. 146, cf. PM II <sup>2</sup> , 205f.; Edgar 1977, p. 7, pl. 6; PM II <sup>2</sup> , 284; Quaegebeur 1983, p. 123 n. 84; Albersmeier 2002, no. 66; Parlasca 2005, p. 182                          |
| 6   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37026 (= K 179)    | 4.6    | Complete                 | 48.0        | ca. 250–220 B.C. | New Kingdom garment  | Cloth                 | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | X           | Karnak, Cachette, 1903      | PM II <sup>2</sup> , 156; de Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974, p. 112 no. (f) with n. 19; Quaegebeur 1983, p. 123 n. 85; Albersmeier 2002, no. 68; Azim and Réveillac 2004, pp. 310f., pl. 242; Parlasca 2005, p. 183 |
| 7   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37027 (= K 241)    | 4.7    | Complete                 | 18.3        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment? | None                  | Lily scepter         | X     | X       | X           | Karnak, Cachette            | Bianchi 1980, p. 18 n. 33; Albersmeier 2002, no. 69; Azim and Réveillac 2004, p. 316, pl. 254; 297; Parlasca 2005, p. 183                                                                                        |
| 8   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37452              | 4.8    | Head missing             | 45.0        | 2nd c. B.C.      | New Kingdom garment  | Flower                | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | X           | Karnak, Cachette            | De Meulenaere 1955, pp. 147f.; PM II <sup>2</sup> , 159; de Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974, p. 112 no. (e) with n. 18; Albersmeier 2002, no. 71; Parlasca 2005, p. 183                                              |
| 9   | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37453              | —      | Lower part, feet missing | 32.7        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment  | Flower                | Lily scepter         | —     | —       | X           | Karnak, Cachette            | PM II <sup>2</sup> , 159; Bianchi 1980, p. 18 n. 33; Albersmeier 2002, no. 72                                                                                                                                    |
| 10  | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37844 (= K 556)    | 4.9    | Complete                 | 27.4        | 2nd–1st c. B.C.  | New Kingdom garment  | Flower                | Lily scepter         | X     | —       | (X)         | Karnak, Cachette            | Albersmeier 2002, no. 73; Azim and Réveillac 2004, p. 325, pl. 272                                                                                                                                               |

Table 4.1. Ptolemaic statuettes (*cont.*)

| No. | Location                                             | Figure | Preservation             | Height<br>(cm) | Date                    | Dress               | Attribute:<br>Right Hand | Attribute:<br>Left Hand | Paint | Gilding | Inscription | Provenance             | Reference                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------|---------|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11  | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38017 (= K 649)           | 4.10   | Complete                 | 38.2           | 1st c. B.C.             | New Kingdom garment | None                     | Lily scepter            | X     | X       | X           | Karnak, Cachette, 1905 | Bianchi 1980, p. 18 n. 33; Albersmeier 2002, no. 74; Azim and Réveillac 2004, p. 329, pl. 286f.                                                                                                       |
| 12  | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38582                     | 4.11   | Complete                 | 48.0           | 2nd half of 3rd c. B.C. | New Kingdom garment | Cloth                    | Lily scepter            | X     | X       | (X)         | Karnak, Cachette, 1906 | Brooklyn Museum 1960, p. 117; PM II <sup>2</sup> , 160; Bianchi 1980, p. 1 n. 11; Capriotti Vittozzi 1998, p. 55 with n. 8 and pl. 7d; Association Paris Musées 1998, no. 8; Albersmeier 2002, no. 75 |
| 13  | Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 39406 (= 28/5/25/3)       | 4.12   | Lower part, feet missing | 81.0           | 2nd c. B.C.             | New Kingdom garment | Flower?                  | Lily scepter            | X     | —       | —           | Karnak, Cachette, 1907 | Albersmeier 2002, no. 76                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 14  | London, British Museum, EA 58417                     | —      | Feet missing             | 20.0           | 2nd c. B.C.             | New Kingdom garment | None?                    | Lily scepter            | X     | —       | —           | Unknown                | Quaegebeur 1989, p. 103 n. 63; PM VIII <sup>2</sup> , 926 no. 801-775-130; Albersmeier 2002, no. 87                                                                                                   |
| 15  | Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 15391                      | —      | Torso                    | 10.5           | 2nd c. B.C.             | New Kingdom garment | Not preserved            | Lily scepter            | —     | —       | —           | Medamud, 1933          | Albersmeier 2002, no. 117                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 16  | Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MM 15376                 | —      | Upper part               | 11.0           | Early Ptolemaic         | New Kingdom garment | Not preserved            | Lily scepter            | —     | —       | —           | Unknown                | Bianchi 1980, p. 11 n. 12; Albersmeier 2002, no. 129                                                                                                                                                  |
| 17  | Paris, Despras (ex-Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37984) | —      | Upper part               | 26.5           | 2nd-1st c. B.C.         | New Kingdom garment | Not preserved            | Lily scepter            | —     | —       | X           | Karnak, Cachette, 1905 | Albersmeier 2002, no. 157                                                                                                                                                                             |



Figure 4.1. Statuette no. 1.  
Egyptian Museum 18/6/24/2



Figure 4.2. Statuette no. 2.  
Egyptian Museum 25/12/26/10



Figure 4.3. Statuette no. 3.  
Egyptian Museum 25/12/26/11



Figure 4.4. Statuette no. 4.  
Egyptian Museum 25/12/26/12



Figure 4.5. Base of statuette no. 5.  
Egyptian Museum CG 33319



Figure 4.6. Statuette no. 6.  
Egyptian Museum JE 37026



Figure 4.7. Statuette no. 7.  
Egyptian Museum JE 37027



Figure 4.8. Statuette no. 8.  
Egyptian Museum JE 37452



Figure 4.9. Statuette no. 10.  
Egyptian Museum JE 37844



Figure 4.10. Statuette no. 11.  
Egyptian Museum JE 38017



Figure 4.11. Statuette no. 12. Egyptian Museum JE 38582 (author's photograph)

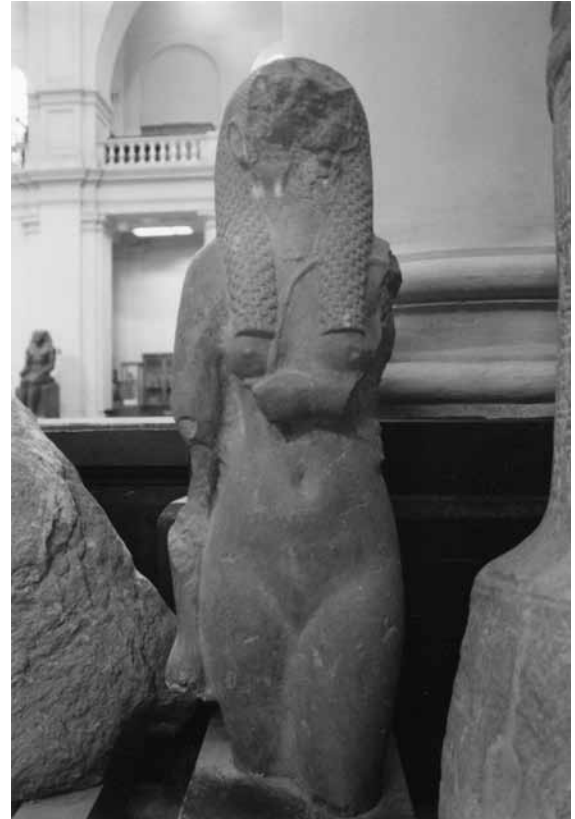


Figure 4.12. Statuette no. 13. Egyptian Museum JE 39406 (author's photograph)

In the Ptolemaic period, women depicted on stelae and papyri continue to appear in this dress. Statues of queens wearing this garment are rare (see below), but it is dominant among the statuettes of priestesses. The statues often show a simplified version of the dress indicating only the outline of the garment and largely omitting the pleating and the belt(s). More than half the statuettes show no folds at all, while for the rest at least some kind of folds or pleating is indicated.<sup>3</sup> No. 1 (fig. 4.1) appears to show a woman dressed in the tunic only, without any upper garment. The dress of no. 7 (fig. 4.7), a late Ptolemaic statuette, can not be identified with certainty as either the simple sheath or the New Kingdom-style garment because the crucial part from the left elbow to the left hip is missing and no folds are indicated. A base, no. 5, is nevertheless included in this discussion due to other connections with the group. Nos. 3, 12, and 13 show one belt, while no. 14 has two belts. No. 11 (fig. 4.10) shows no visible belt, but only three vertical bands terminating in lotus bud, which are likely meant to designate one or two belts.

### OTHER ATTRIBUTES AND JEWELRY

The attribute held in the right hand varies among the statuettes. Where it is still visible, the women either carry a flower resting on the right thigh, close their fist around a piece of cloth, sometimes also interpreted as “negative space,”<sup>4</sup> or have the hand simply placed flat against the outer thigh without any attribute. Most of the priestesses wear a horizontal headband on the tripartite wig, which is knotted in the back and in many cases bears traces of color or gilding.

<sup>3</sup> With pleating: nos. 1, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14; with few folds at the arms only: nos. 10, 13.

<sup>4</sup> For the interpretation as piece of cloth, see Fehlig 1986.

Jewelry typically appears on Ptolemaic statues, which are close to the pharaonic tradition in style and iconography. Therefore, it is not surprising to find collars, necklaces, and bracelets on almost all the examples under discussion here. The breasts of no. 7 (fig. 4.7) are covered with rosettes in raised relief, possibly illustrating the term *šḥb mnd.tj* “with festively decorated breasts.”

## STATUES OF QUEENS WITH THE NEW KINGDOM-STYLE GARMENT AND THE LILY SCEPTER

The New Kingdom-style garment appears on only seven statues of Ptolemaic queens, two of which can be identified by an accompanying inscription. A triad in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria shows Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II seated on either side of Amun.<sup>5</sup> Although only her lower legs and feet remain, the queen is clearly wearing a New Kingdom-style garment: it is pleated and shows a vertical fringed border on the left leg as well as the two ends of a ribbed belt.

The second statue was created about a hundred years later and depicts Cleopatra II with this garment.<sup>6</sup> Christophe Thiers matched the two fragments of this statue with another limestone statue in Cairo depicting Ptolemy VI, which once formed a group erected in Karnak. Cleopatra II wears the typical pleated dress with a ribbed belt and a border running diagonally across the left hip. Parallel to the statuettes of the priestesses, she holds a lily scepter in her left hand and wears an elaborate collar.

The other five pieces, in Alexandria, Berlin, Gotha, Paris, and Turin,<sup>7</sup> cannot be linked with a specific queen but indicate that the garment does appear, though rarely, throughout the Ptolemaic period in a royal context. Three of them (Karnak, Paris, and Turin) also hold the lily scepter, with which Ptolemaic queens occasionally appear in reliefs, too.<sup>8</sup>

There is an obvious correlation between the New Kingdom-style garment and the lily scepter, which are almost always combined with each other in Ptolemaic statues or statuettes, regardless of whether they represent a priestess or a queen.<sup>9</sup> This indicates that their combination was not random but was a deliberate choice and was likely meant to create a visual connection between the Ptolemaic statues and the representations of queens and God's Wives of Amun of earlier periods.<sup>10</sup>

Thereby, the group under discussion differs distinctly from another type of female statue mostly from the third century B.C., which follows iconography already known for female statues of the Old Kingdom: the women are shown wearing a simple, tight-fitting sheath, which is often only recognizable at the neckline and the seam above the ankles, and hold no attributes but have both hands placed flatly against the outer side of the thighs. A good example is the statue of Takhibat from the Karnak Cachette.<sup>11</sup> The facial features of the woman with almond-shaped eyes, long delicate cosmetic lines and eyebrows, and a slight smile is comparable to the statues

<sup>5</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. no. 11261, dark granite, 63 × 180 × 130 cm, ca. 270 B.C., found in 1900 in Alexandria-West (Sauneron 1960; Albersmeier 2002, no. 8).

<sup>6</sup> Karnak, Karacol, inv. no. R 177, limestone, 99 × 54 × 36 cm, and Sheikh Labib, inv. no. 94CL1421, limestone, 88 × 43 × 44 cm; Cairo Egyptian Museum, inv. no. JE 41218, limestone, 126 × 49 × 47 cm (Thiers 2002; Albersmeier 2002, no. 78).

<sup>7</sup> Alexandria, Maritime Museum, inv. no. SCA 280, red granite, height 490 cm, from Herakleion (Goddio and Clauss 2006, pp. 162–69, 178–79, 417 no. 107); Berlin, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. 21763, graywacke, height 69 cm (PM VIII<sup>2</sup>, 926 no. 801-775-020; Albersmeier 2002, no. 35); Gotha, Schlossmuseum, inv. no. Ae 4, granodiorite, height 35 cm (Wallenstein 1996, pp. 91, 98f. no. 31; PM VIII<sup>2</sup>, 1006f. no. 801-808-150; Albersmeier 2002, no. 53); Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 13102, steatite, height 36.3 cm (Ashton 2001b, pp. 102f. no. 40; Albersmeier 2002, no. 116); Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 1386, sandstone, height 101.7 cm (Donadoni Roveri 1989, pp.

181, 184, fig. 274; Capriotti Vittozzi 1998; PM VIII<sup>2</sup>, 1001 no. 801-8-5-280; Albersmeier 2002, no. 135).

<sup>8</sup> For example, the deified Arsinoe II on the Philadelphos gate in Philae (Brooklyn Museum 1988, p. 47, fig. 17) and Berenike II on a sandstone block in Cairo (Egyptian Museum, inv. no. 2/4/80/1, 33.0 × 41.2 cm, from Karnak or Medamud; Saleh 1981).

<sup>9</sup> For example, a torso in London shows a woman with the lily scepter in combination with the so-called Isis garment (British Museum, inv. no. EA 985, basalt, height 39.5 cm, from Alexandria, ex-coll. Harris, first century B.C.; Bonomi 1875; PM IV, 6; Quaegebeur 1983, p. 119; Capriotti Vittozzi 1998, p. 65 with fig. 2; Albersmeier 2002, no. 85).

<sup>10</sup> For the correlation between the lily scepter and New Kingdom-style garment, see also de Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974, pp. 112f.; Capriotti Vittozzi 1998; Albersmeier 2002, chapters 5.2.2 and 7.10.6.

<sup>11</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. JE 37451, limestone, height 48.3 cm (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 159; Quaegebeur 1983, p. 123; Albersmeier 2002, no. 70; Azim and Réveillac 2004, p. 318, pl. 257f.; Parlasca 2005, p. 183).

Table 4.2. Inscriptions

| No. | Object               | Name           | Title                                                      | Father           | Title of Father                                                            | Mother       | Title of Mother                     | hij Wšjr / H.t-H.r |
|-----|----------------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 4   | Cairo JE 25/12/26/12 | —              | ihj.t n ʾImn [...] kʾ n mw.t=f                             | —                | —                                                                          | —            | —                                   | hij Wšjr           |
| 5   | Cairo CG 33319       | Mw.t-Mnw       | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup>                                | Pʒ-dj-ʾImn-ʾIp.t | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ n ʾImn m ʾIpt-šw.t                                             | ʾIs.t-wr.t   | —                                   | —                  |
| 6   | Cairo JE 37026       | Šʒ-ḥpr.t       | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup>                                | Nš-Mnw           | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup> njšwt nṛ.w sš n ʾImn sš ḥmt-nw             | ʾIs.t-wr.t   | nb.t pr ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup> | hij H.t-H.r        |
| 7   | Cairo JE 37027       | ʾIs.t-m-ʒb-bjt | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup>                                | Pʒ-šrj-tʒ-lh.t   | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ ʾImn m ʾIpt-šw.t ḥm Hṛ-wr wʒḏ.tj                               | [...]        | nb.t pr ihj.t [...] [...]           | hij H.t-H.r        |
| 8   | Cairo JE 37452       | Tʒ-lhj-bjʒ.t   | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup> n Hṛ-ʒh.tj ḥm.tj n Hnšw-pʒ-ḥrd | nh-pʒ-ḥrd        | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ ʾImn m ʾIpt-šw.t it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ Wšjr sš Pr-Hḏ it-nṛ Dḥwtj Pr-ʾImn | Tʒ-ktm       | nb.t pr                             | hij Wšjr           |
| 9   | Cairo JE 37453       | Tʒ-wʒ.t        | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup> šmʿ.j.t n ʾImn                 | Hṛ-sʒ-ʾIs.t      | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ Wšjr njšwt nṛ.w                                                | Tʒ-wʒ.t      | nb.t pr                             | —                  |
| 11  | Cairo JE 38017       | Tʒ-Hr          | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup>                                | Šr-Dḥwtj         | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ ʾImn m ʾIpt-šw.t                                               | Tʒ-šrj.t-Mnw | nb.t pr ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup> | hij H.t-H.r        |
| 17  | Paris, Déspras       | Tʒ-lhj-bjʒ.t   | ihj.t n ʾImn-R <sup>c</sup>                                | [...]            | it-nṛ ḥm-nṛ [...]                                                          | —            | —                                   | hij Wšjr           |

of Arsinoe II in the Vatican<sup>12</sup> and of the Memphite priestess Heresankh in the Louvre<sup>13</sup> — both dated to the first half of the third century B.C.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

More than twice as many statues and statuettes of Ptolemaic priestesses are inscribed, in comparison to the statues of queens. The inscriptions are mostly much shorter than texts on male statues of the periods, and none of them are in written in Demotic (table 4.2).

Half of the statuettes in this group bear an inscription on the back pillar and on the base, if preserved. While some pieces are too damaged to determine whether they once bore an inscription (nos. 2 and 13–16), there are at least traces left on the statuettes marked with (X) in the inscription column of table 4.1 (nos. 1, 3, 10, 12). Only no. 8 (fig. 4.8) has a more extensive inscription covering two columns on the back pillar and one row on the base, while all other statuettes show just one column. Several back pillar inscriptions (nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 17) are surmounted by a *p.t*-sign, and no. 6 also shows the winged sun disk.

## TRANSLATIONS<sup>14</sup>

No. 4      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, 25/12/26/12 (fig. 4.4)

**Back pillar:** O Osiris, sistrum player of Amun [...]

No. 5      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 33319 (fig. 4.5)

**Base:** *ḥtp di ny-sw.t* for Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, that they may give a *pr.t-ḥrw* (offerings) for the ka of the sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Mutmin*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, *Padiamenipet*, justified, born by *Isetweret*.

**On top of the base in front of the right foot:** *Tasheritre*, daughter of the god's father *Padiamenipet*.

No. 6      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37026 (fig. 4.6)

**Back pillar:** O Hathor, sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Shakhepered*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of gods, the scribe of Amun of the third phyle, *Nesmin*, justified, born by the mistress of the house, *Isetweret*, justified, [...] who may rejuvenate eternally(?).

**Base:** *ḥtp di ny-sw.t* for Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, that he may give a *pr.t-ḥrw* (offerings) for the sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Shakhepered*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun-Re, king of gods, *Nesmin*, justified.

<sup>12</sup> Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. no. 22681, red granite, height 2.7 m (Ashton 2001a, pp. 149–51, fig. 5.3; Albersmeier 2002, no. 136; Stanwick 2002, pp. 98–99, 157–58 nos. A3–4, figs. 2–5).

<sup>13</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. N 2456, limestone, height 39.4 cm, from the Serapeum at Saqqara, ca. 264–63 B.C. (Quaegebeur 1983; mentioned in Brooklyn Museum 1988, pp. 123, 181; Thompson 1988, pp. 131, 143 n. 171; Walker and Higgs 2001, no. 50 [errone-

ously with the date “mid-second century B.C.”]; Albersmeier 2002, no. 120).

<sup>14</sup> The translations are abbreviated in some parts, especially for the lists of offerings on the bases. For the full translations, transliterations, and discussions of the inscriptions, see Albersmeier 2002, chapter 6.2; and Parlasca 2005.

- No. 7      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37027 (fig. 4.7)  
**Back pillar:** O Hathor, sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Isetemakhbit*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, of the prophet of Horus of the Two Crowns, *Pasheritaihet*, justified, born by the mistress of the house, the sistrum player [...].
- No. 8      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37452 (fig. 4.8)  
**Back pillar:** O Osiris, sistrum player of Amun-Re and of Harakhte, nurse of Khonspakhered, *Takhibiat*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, of the god's father and prophet of Osiris, of the scribe of the treasury, the god's father of Thoth in the house of Amun, *Ankhpakhered*, justified, born by the mistress of the house, *Taketem*, justified, excellent in the temple of Osiris-the-falcon in the *H.t-nwb* [...] eternally.  
**Base:** *h̥tp dī ny-sw.t* for Osiris, Horus and Isis, that they may give a *pr.t-hrw* (offerings) for the ka of the sistrum player of Amun-Re and Harakhte, *Takhibiat*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, *Ankhpakhered*, justified, born by the mistress of the house, *Taketem*, justified [...].
- No. 9      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 37453  
**Back pillar:** The sistrum player of Amun-Re, a servant of her master, whose heart is placated by the sistrum of the singer of Amun, *Tawat*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun, king of gods, *Harsiese*, justified, born by the mistress of the house, *Tawat*, justified.
- No. 11      Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38017 (fig. 4.10)  
**Back pillar:** O Hathor, sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Taheret*, daughter of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak, *Serdjehuty*, born by the mistress of the house, the sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Tasheritmin*, your name may last in Thebes as long as the gods exist.  
**Base:** *h̥tp dī ny-sw.t* for Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, that they may give a *pr.t-hrw* (offerings). (O) Hathor, the sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Taheret*, daughter of the god's father *Serdjehuty*, born by the mistress of the house, the sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Tasheritmin*, your ba may live eternally.
- No. 17      Paris, Déspras  
**Back pillar:** O Osiris, sistrum player of Amun-Re, *Takhibiat*, justified, daughter of the god's father and prophet [...].

This survey of the inscriptions reveals a number of common traits. Except for no. 4 (fragmentary) and no. 11, all women are characterized as *mꜣꜥ hrw* “justified.” Although this term was not exclusively used for the deceased, it nevertheless makes it likely that the statuettes were erected for the priestesses after their death. This assumption is confirmed by the *hjj Wśjr* or *hjj H.t-Hr*, which is only used to address a deceased person and can be found on six of the eight statuettes with inscriptions. Since the First Intermediate Period, every deceased person became Osiris and could be addressed as “Osiris DN.”<sup>15</sup> H. de Meulenaere dates the few Ptolemaic examples for *hjj Wśjr* to the second and first centuries B.C.<sup>16</sup>

More than half the women mentioned in inscriptions of non-royal Ptolemaic statues bear the title *ihj.t*, sistrum player, almost always in the service of Amun-Re. The title first appears in the Twenty-second Dynasty for royal women. It gains importance as a title for priestesses during the Late Period and becomes the most common

<sup>15</sup> For example, Morenz 1969, pp. 75–91, esp. 81–83; Smith 1987, pp. 75–79.

<sup>16</sup> De Meulenaere 1997, pp. 19–21; de Meulenaere and Bothmer 1974, pp. 111–12. I am very grateful to Carolin Arlt for discussing this term and sharing her results with me, which actually give no chronological relevance to this term; see her article in this volume.

title for non-royal women honored with a stele or a statue during the Ptolemaic period.<sup>17</sup> The duties of an *ihj.t* are hardly known, and, as none of the statues or stelae show the women carrying a sistrum, their role was likely not restricted to playing the sistrum during rituals but may be more that of a musician in general. On Ptolemaic stelae, the title is often extended to *ihj.t nfr.t* “goodly musician,” which, however, only appears once among the statues, on the aforementioned statue of Heresankh from Saqqara, which lists an *ihj.t nfr.t n Mnw*.<sup>18</sup>

Only two of the priestesses discussed here bear a second title. Statuette no. 9 holds the traditional female title *šm‘j.t n ‘Imn* “singer,” while statuette no. 8 is also a *hnm.tj n Hnšw-p3-hrd* “nurse of Khonspakhered.” In both cases, they are listed secondarily to *ihj.t n ‘Imn-R‘*.

Most of the mothers are addressed as *nb.t pr* “mistress of the house,” which Janet Johnson calls a “status indicator.”<sup>19</sup> If a second title is listed, they are again *ihj.t n ‘Imn-R‘*, preceded by the *nb.t pr*. This could indicate that the title was inherited from the mother or that the priestesses belonged to a certain class of priestly families at Thebes, for which this title was common.<sup>20</sup>

This is supported by the analysis of the patriarchal titles: all of the fathers are listed as *it-ntr hm-ntr ‘Imn-R‘* “prophet and god’s father of Amun-Re,” except for no. 9, where the father serves Osiris. It is not surprising that families who could honor their female members held a higher level in the priesthood as no lower priestly ranks like *w‘b*-priests are mentioned. Much more often than for the female members, a second title is listed for the fathers. The small number of priestly titles listed on this group of statuettes in general may also be explained by space restrictions due to their small scale.

A survey conducted by Janet Johnson on the titles for men and women mentioned on funerary stelae is helpful for evaluating the inscriptions on the statuettes:

[...] of the 75 made for men, about 60 of the owners (almost 80%) are identified by title, 45 of them (60%) having two or more titles and many having long title strings. [...] almost all the titles by which male owners of funerary stelae were identified are religious titles or are titles associated with a specific deity or temple and many reflect high rank within the temple hierarchy. [...] By contrast, of the 50 stelae made for women, only one owner was identified by two titles (*ihyt DN hnm.t DN* “musician of DN, nurse of DN” [BM 1139]), about 20 owners (40%) were identified as *ihyt (nfr.t) (DN)* “(goodly) musician (of DN),” one was identified as *hmt-ntr DN* “prophetess of DN,” and one was called *nbt pr* “mistress of the house.” The rest, over half, were given no title at all.

The same trend is found in the titularies of parents mentioned on the stele. About 1/3 of stele owners, both male and female, did not give any title for their father but most women owners gave one or two titles, of which the commonest were *it-ntr* “god’s father” and *hm-ntr DN* “prophet of DN.” These two titles were among the most common that men used to identify their fathers, as well, although here, as in the titles attributed to male owners of stelae, these titles were as or more likely to occur in combination with other titles as by themselves. [...] Over a third of the mothers of the stele owners, both men and women, were identified as *ihyt (nfr.t) (DN)* “(goodly) musician (of DN).” One was identified as *hmt-ntr DN* “prophetess of DN” (Louvre C 124) and one as *šm‘yt DN* “singer of DN” (Cairo 22054). Many of these women and many others who were identified by no title were called *nbt pr* “mistress of the house.” In all cases where a mother was identified by two titles, one of the two was *nbt pr* (Johnson 1998, pp. 1398–1400).

These results show a greater variety of female titles than given on the statues, but also many parallels. The more consistent use of certain titles in the group under discussion here can be explained by both the larger geographical distribution of the stelae and by a slightly higher position of the women honored with a statuette than that of many female owners of stelae. They also confirm the generally much higher number of titles given for male priests than for priestesses.<sup>21</sup>

It remains to discuss the significance and date of the statuettes. While one can establish a relative chronology of this group of statuettes, it is not easy to place them within the absolute chronology.<sup>22</sup> The small scale makes it hard to judge facial features and the New Kingdom-style garment covers up body features. Statuettes 12 and 13

<sup>17</sup> Naguib 1990, p. 17; Gauthier 1931, pp. 109–20 esp. 114–16; Troy 1986, register B no. 3/21 = register A no. 22.18 (Dynasty 22) and no. 25.11 (Dynasty 25).

<sup>18</sup> Albersmeier 2002, no. 120; see above, note 12.

<sup>19</sup> Johnson 1998, p. 1397 n. 16.

<sup>20</sup> See Colin 2002, pp. 60ff., for the discussion of whether titles of priestesses indicate a real function in the cult or whether they were just honorific.

<sup>21</sup> Colin (2002, p. 118) makes the same observation for the Demotic sources.

<sup>22</sup> See Albersmeier 2003, pp. 259–73, chapter 7.10.3–8.

(figs. 4.11–12) are high-quality examples, which are datable to the third century B.C. on stylistic grounds, while the features and oddities of no. 11 (fig. 4.10) suggest a date in the first century B.C. This is also the only statuette that can be linked with certainty to a specific family. A limestone group in Cairo showing three standing male figures next to each other likely represents her father and two brothers.<sup>23</sup> The inscription names not only the same mother, Tasheritmin, but also the daughter Taheret herself. The faces of the three men are almost interchangeable with the features of Taheret, which makes it likely that both statuettes come from the same workshop.

Carolin Arlt, in her discussion of the scribes of Amun (see in this volume), places statuette 6 (fig. 4.6), whose father is a *sš n 'Imn s3 hmt-nw* “scribe of Amun of the second phyle,” before 220 B.C., when the scribes of Amun seem to disappear.<sup>24</sup> This supports the assumption that this type of statuette existed for most of the Ptolemaic period, although most of them seem to have been created in the second and early first century B.C.

The group attests to a strong priestly community in Ptolemaic Thebes, where higher-level priestly families still had the influence and means to dedicate statuettes of their female family members throughout the Ptolemaic period. The uniformity of the statuettes makes it likely that they were produced by local workshops. The statuettes betray no foreign influence and follow pharaonic tradition in all aspects. The royal statues with the New Kingdom-style garment in Alexandria and Karnak discussed above are also very conservative in style and were obviously meant for an entirely Egyptian context. Both of the identifiable pieces have ties to Amun and Karnak: the group in Alexandria shows the royal couple side-by-side with Amun, while the group with Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VI was found there.<sup>25</sup> The statue of Cleopatra II in particular follows the iconography of the statuettes of the priestesses. The deliberate choice of combining the lily scepter with the New Kingdom-style dress links the queens as well as the priestesses with the queens and god’s wives of Amun of earlier periods and therefore serve as a visual reminder of the great days of Karnak.

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<sup>23</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. no. JE 37376, limestone, height 39 cm, from the Karnak Cachette (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 158; Zayed 1962; Vittmann 1978, p. 127).

<sup>24</sup> Arlt 2007, forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> The colossal statue from Herakleion was found near a temple of Amun-Gereb (Goddio and Clauss 2006, p. 417, no. 107).

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## 5

# THE COSMOGONICAL INSCRIPTIONS OF PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II AND THE CULTIC EVOLUTION OF THE TEMPLE OF *DJESER-SET*

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In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in Late Dynastic and Greco-Roman hieroglyphic temple inscriptions concerning Amun-Re and the cosmology of Thebes, a corpus that had been accorded insufficient attention since the appearance of Sethe's initial study in 1929.<sup>1</sup> Exemplifying the renewed emphasis on this material are publications by Aufrère and Sternberg-el Hotabi on the propylon of Montu-Re at North Karnak,<sup>2</sup> by Cruz-Uribe and Mendel on the cosmogonical inscriptions from the inner sanctuary of Khonsu Temple,<sup>3</sup> by Klotz on hymns to the creator Amun of Hibis in Kharga,<sup>4</sup> and, most recently, by Zivie-Coche on the origins of the Theban Ogdoad.<sup>5</sup> A certain impatience has been expressed for the publication of related material from the Small Temple of Amun at Medinet Habu,<sup>6</sup> an understandable sentiment, as the Medinet Habu inscriptions occupy a significant place within the corpus of texts describing the late theology of Amun, the "Hermopolitan"-Theban Ogdoad, and the Theban creation myth. Since the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey is currently engaged in the facsimile recording and analysis of this material, particularly the lengthy inscriptions added to the core Eighteenth Dynasty temple as part of its restoration during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, it is appropriate, as a contribution to this series of papers on Thebes under the Ptolemies, to offer some preliminary observations on the character of these largely unexamined texts.<sup>7</sup> Assessment of their contents and of their architectural context within the Small Temple reveals the significance of Euergetes II's inscriptional modifications as evidence for the evolution of the temple's cultic function, a process already apparent in inscriptions of the Twenty-first, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-ninth Dynasties, but fully manifested through the addition of these lengthy texts during the latter half of the second century B.C., as the venerable fane was explicitly incorporated into the sacred topography of Ptolemaic Thebes and its cosmogonical system, centered upon the worship of Amun as primordial creator.

An overview of the modifications to the New Kingdom temple carried out under Ptolemy VIII suggests a carefully conceived program of iconographic and textual elaboration focused on the bark shrine and the axial approach thereto (fig. 5.1). The initial feature of this axis of passage was the central portal of the Small Temple's

<sup>1</sup> Sethe 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Aufrère 2000; Sternberg-el Hotabi 1993.

<sup>3</sup> Cruz-Uribe 1994; Mendel 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Klotz 2006. Also of note is the same author's 2008 doctoral dissertation (Yale University), in which he examines in a comprehensive fashion the theological inscriptions of Roman Thebes.

<sup>5</sup> Zivie-Coche 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Mendel 2003, p. 2; Klotz 2006, p. 10 n. 69.

<sup>7</sup> It should be understood that the presentation and the interpretation of the texts given here are of a highly provisional character. The accompanying hand-copies have been rendered partly on the basis of preliminary copies and notes made during the 1980s by the Survey's epigraphic staff, under the supervision of the late William J. Murnane. These have been checked carefully at the wall by the author in the course of collating, with the assistance of Harold M. Hays and Randy Shonkwiler, the facsimile drawings of those same texts,

resulting in numerous improvements to the reading of the inscriptions; yet the copies as presented here are in no way intended as a substitute for the photographs and facsimiles ultimately to be published in the volumes of the Epigraphic Survey's Medinet Habu series. The texts themselves merit, and will ultimately form the subject of, a dedicated monograph; nevertheless it is hoped that the following preliminary translations and comments will make their essential content available to, and invite an informed response from, those among our colleagues whose research is concerned with related subject matter. The author wishes here to acknowledge in particular the contribution of Robert K. Ritner of the Oriental Institute, who kindly agreed to join him at Medinet Habu in reading and re-reading each of these texts at the wall, offering crucial recommendations for improving the translations thereof. Thanks are also due to W. Raymond Johnson and Virginia L. Emery for helpful comments on the manuscript of this paper.

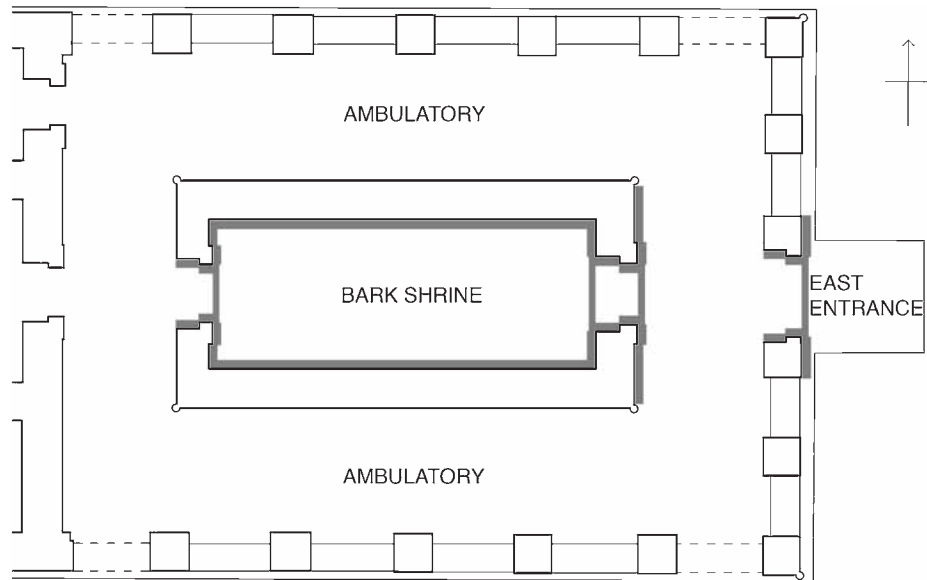


Figure 5.1. The ambulatory and bark shrine of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, showing areas recarved under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (in gray). Plan by Christina di Cerbo

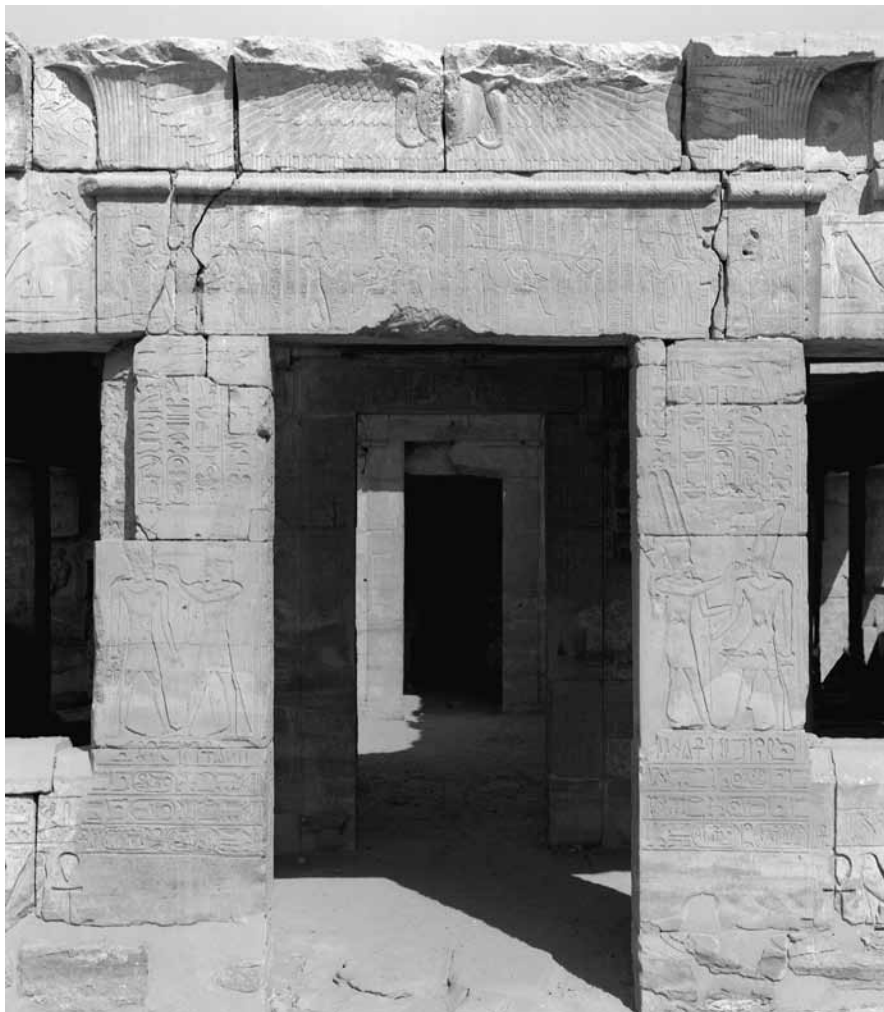


Figure 5.2. The east entrance of the ambulatory of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. Chicago House photo no. 14838, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey

eastern façade.<sup>8</sup> As constructed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, this entrance (fig. 5.2) was flanked by two pillar faces,<sup>9</sup> forming the doorjambs, that bore sunk-relief scenes of Thutmose III in the presence of Amun-Re. In the time of Euergetes II, these two scenes were recarved in the Ptolemaic style, but the original decorative scheme and texts, including Thutmose III's names and titles, were retained in the reworked version. Unlike the remaining four pillar faces of the façade<sup>10</sup> (and indeed, in contrast to the other exterior decorated surfaces of the New Kingdom temple exclusive of this gate, which were not recarved, but were extensively repainted in the typical Ptolemaic color palette), these two scenes are devoid of painted details. Moreover, pre-existing restoration inscriptions of Horemheb and Seti I, along with texts containing the names and titles of Amenmesse, located below each scene, were also reworked in Ptolemaic style at this time.<sup>11</sup>

The decorative scheme of the architrave above the portal, forming its lintel, was, by contrast with that of the jambs, completely transformed from the Eighteenth Dynasty original. Whereas previously it had been inscribed with a large-scale winged solar disk, labeled *Bḥd.t(y)* at either wingtip,<sup>12</sup> upon which were centered the large hieroglyphic texts with the titulary of Thutmose III extending along the architraves at left and right,<sup>13</sup> under Euergetes II the lintel's surface, after being made architecturally distinct from each of these side architraves with a deep vertical notch in the stone,<sup>14</sup> was smoothed down and then wholly recarved with four sunk-relief scenes in small scale, each showing that Lagid monarch (accompanied in the leftmost and rightmost scenes by one of his queens Cleopatra) performing rituals in the presence of a pair of deities (fig. 5.3). The selection of these gods, and of the descriptive epithets accompanying them, is the first indicator, as one enters the Eighteenth Dynasty ambulatory, of the presence of an expanded coterie of divine beneficiaries, whose residence here at *i3.t t3.w mw.wt*, the mound of Djeme, and whose protogenerative attributes, the texts explicitly state. Thus, in the leftmost scene,<sup>15</sup> the king offers wine to Amunopet "of Djeme" accompanied by Amunet; in the adjoining scene<sup>16</sup> he offers *Ma'at* to Amun-Re, king of the gods, who is also called *...it it.w n Hmny.w* "father of the fathers of the Ogdoad," and Mut the Great, Lady of Isheru, *...pr.t m Nwn* "who has gone forth from Nun." In the third scene<sup>17</sup> the king presents wine jars to Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris, *ntr 3 hr(y)-ib i3.t t3.w-mw.wt* "the great god who dwells



Figure 5.3. The recarved lintel over the east entrance of the ambulatory.  
Chicago House photo nos. 16302–03, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey

<sup>8</sup> Prior to the reign of Euergetes II, this façade was fronted by a columned portico and a small pylon, dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, which was centered on the axis of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (see Hölscher 1934, pl. 6, but cf. Jacquet and Jacquet 1996); to the reveals of the pylon's gateway there were added dedicatory inscriptions (at MH.B 234; cf. Chicago House neg. nos. 1490, 17169) during the time of the king's shared reign with his elder brother Philometor (170–164 B.C.), these forming the earliest datable Ptolemaic inscriptional evidence from the Small Temple complex.

<sup>9</sup> MH.B 110, 114.

<sup>10</sup> MH.B 102, 106, 118, 122.

<sup>11</sup> Visible at Hölscher 1939, pl. 20B. These inscriptions are numbered MH.B 212, 213; compare L.D. III, 202d, and L.D. Text III, 154, also *Urk.* IV, 2135.

<sup>12</sup> Traces of the name *Bḥd.t(y)* may be seen in the leftmost of the Ptolemaic scenes (MH.B 207a), in the area now occupied by the

figures of the king and queen, while a trace of the left pinion of the winged disk is observable in the adjoining scene, second from left (MH.B 207b).

<sup>13</sup> MH.B 207 S, 207 N.

<sup>14</sup> These grooves are visible at either side of the lintel in the photo at Hölscher 1939, pl. 20B. Above the lintel there was carved a delicate torus molding with incised detail, separated from, and forming a marked contrast to, the original Thutmoside torus, which was larger and detailed in paint only. Atop this new molding was sculpted, out of the big Eighteenth Dynasty cavetto cornice, a smaller, more elaborately detailed cornice with winged solar disk, flanked by heraldic images of Nekhbet and Wadjet. See discussion in Hölscher 1939, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> MH.B 207a.

<sup>16</sup> MH.B 207b.

<sup>17</sup> MH.B 207c.

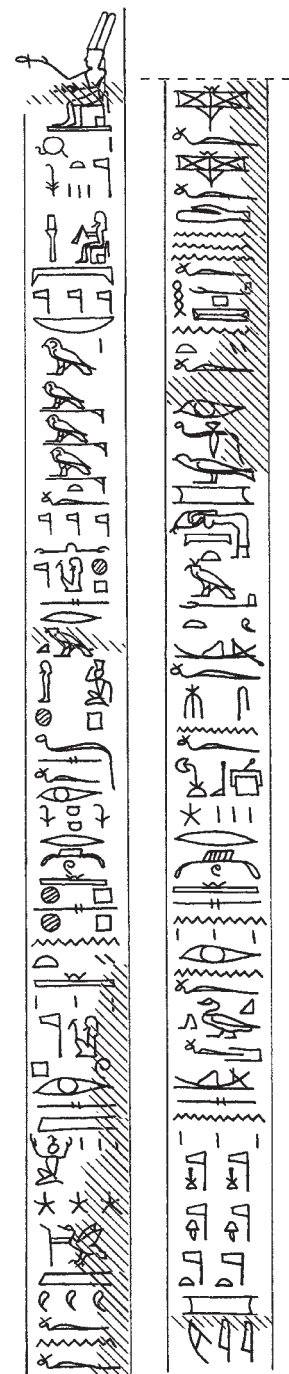


Figure 5.4. Text of the east entrance of the ambulatory, south reveal (MH.B 111, line 2)

in the Mound of Djeme,” and Isis the Great, God’s Mother, *hr(y.t)-ib i3.t t3.w-mw.wt* “who dwells in the Mound of Djeme”; in the rightmost scene,<sup>18</sup> we find the king again presenting *Ma’at* to Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, called *wr hpr m-h3t... it it.w n Hmny.w* “the Great One who came into being at the beginning... father of the fathers of the Ogdoad,” accompanied by Khonsu-in-Thebes, *d3w r i3.t t3.w-mw.wt... r sh3p ib n 3Imn* “who crosses over to Djeme... to satisfy the heart of Amun.” In each scene, moreover, the two framing columns of text (“colonnes divines”) contain, as is common in offering scenes of this period, series of descriptive epithets relating to the theological function of the beneficiary deity: in the middle left scene we find Amun-Re described as *hpr m-h3t nbi d.t3f m 3wy3f(y) shp(r) Nwn...* “he who came into being at the beginning, who fashioned his (own) body with his hands, who brought Nun into being....”<sup>19</sup> In the far right scene Horus is described as *h3p d.t3f m dw3.t dsr.t m i3.t t3.w mw.wt r-gs it3f 3Imn* “he whose body is hidden in the sacred netherworld in the Mound of Djeme beside his father Amun.”<sup>20</sup> The other framing columns of text are similar in content and include reference to the “pouring out of water every ten days” (*kbh mw tp sw md nb*), better known as the tenth-day or decade festival.<sup>21</sup> This group of scenes thus declares the presence of the main Theban deities: Amun, Amunet, Mut, and Khonsu, along with resident manifestations of Horus and Isis, within the context of the “Mound of Djeme” at Medinet Habu and introduces their respective roles in the primordial system that is to be described in greater detail within the temple.

Architectural revision of this portal continued with the cutting back of the reveals, which had once contained scenes in incised relief similar to those of the adjoining pillars, to allow the insertion of a two-leaved door, whereas previously there had been no door emplacement here.<sup>22</sup> The remaining projecting area of the reveal on each side was reworked with a raised-relief inscription in two columns of text. The outer (east) column of each bears the complete five-fold titulary of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, along with the cartouche of his sister-wife Cleopatra II and the royal couple’s *Beinamen*. The corresponding inner (west) text column consists of a formula *mry 3Imn-R3... “beloved of Amun-Re...”* with reference to the king (to whose Horus-name in the first column the god extends the *ankh*), but continues with elaborate sequences of descriptive epithets of Amun, expressing his characteristics as primordial creator of the cosmos. Thus on the south side (fig. 5.4) the king and queen are:<sup>23</sup>

*mry 3Imn-R3 (ny)-sw.t ntr.w*  
*sh3m sh3s*  
*hry ntr.w nb ntr.w (i)t ntr.w*

*n(n)<sup>24</sup> ntr shpr<sup>25</sup> ki3f*  
*hp(r) ds3f*  
*ir Hmny.w r-3w*

Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods,  
 the powerful and worthy one,  
 chief of the gods, lord of the gods, father of  
 the gods,  
 whose form no (other) god brought into being,<sup>26</sup>  
 who came into being of himself,  
 who made the Ogdoad entirely,

<sup>18</sup> MH.B 207d.

<sup>19</sup> MH.B 207b, right text column.

<sup>20</sup> MH.B 207d, left text column.

<sup>21</sup> MH.B 207a, right text column. On the decade festival, see Doresse 1971–79.

<sup>22</sup> A few faint traces of the feet, legs, and crown of the original Thutmose king figure in sunk relief on the south side (MH.B 111), and one or two traces of the king’s feet on the north side (MH.B 113), may be observed among the signs of the Ptolemaic texts. As the king faced inward (to the west) in each case, no trace of the corresponding divine figures, if any, is preserved, since the rest of the surface was entirely cut back for the later door emplacement.

<sup>23</sup> The interpretation of this text (MH.B 111), along with that of the north reveal (MH.B 113), owes much to the observations of Harold Hays, with whom the author collated these inscriptions in 2002/03.

<sup>24</sup> Understand *n(n)*, negating a noun phrase.

<sup>25</sup> This is an atypical orthography of *shpr*, written with the two low, narrow medials preceding the low broad causative *-s*, with the final *r* in its proper place.

<sup>26</sup> The phrase expresses Amun’s “unbegotten priorness,” which point is reinforced by the following expression *hp(r) ds3f*.

*hp(r) shp(r) nty.w*

*ntr [‘?]<sup>28</sup> p[w] ir s(w) m hh.w*

*km<sup>30</sup> h‘w=f*

*nf=f t:w*

*fd=f h‘p(i)*

*nt[y?] f[...]*

*ir<sup>32</sup> w:d-wr gb.t<sup>33</sup>*

*nh(p)<sup>34</sup> t=f im=f*

*ms.n=f h:bs.w<sup>35</sup> r-zw=sn*

*ir.n=f k pr im=sn*

*ntr.w sn.w ntr.w mnh.w ntr.w mr.(w) it.w*

who came into being and brought into being  
the things that are;<sup>27</sup>

th[is great?] god who made himself into millions,<sup>29</sup>  
who created his flesh,<sup>31</sup>

the wind (being) his breath,  
the Inundation (being) his sweat,  
who [...],

who made the sea and the sky,  
who mo(ld)ed his limb(s) from him(self) —  
he having borne the decan stars<sup>36</sup> in their  
entirety;

he having made the entering in and the going  
forth among them;

and (beloved) of the *Theoi Adelphoi*, the  
*Theoi Euergeteis*, and the *Theoi Philopatores*.

While the text on the north reveal (fig. 5.5) indicates the king and queen as:

*mry ‘Imn-R‘ dsr-s.t Nwn wr hp(r) m-h:t<sup>37</sup>*

*k: (‘)‘ Nwn ttf h:(i)w.t<sup>38</sup>*

*nbi nbi.w kd kd.w ipy n=f ki=f<sup>40</sup> m ib=f*

*dfn{t}y<sup>42</sup> dfn.t n.t ntr.w ntr.wt*

*(i)t=s sn pw š:‘ [mw.t]<sup>43</sup> = sn*

*b: ‘ md.t-dsr m ntr.w*

*p:pty ir n=f p:pty.w*

*ntr.w pr.w p(‘) ntr r-tnw i[t]=f p(‘) ntr (mr)  
mw.t=f*

Beloved of Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, Nun the el-  
der one who came into being at the beginning,  
the bull who ejaculated Nun,<sup>39</sup> who flooded  
the marshes,

who fashioned the fashioners, who built the  
builders,<sup>41</sup> who reckoned for him(self) his  
form in his heart,

the ancestor and ancestress of the gods and  
goddesses;

he is their father who created<sup>44</sup> their [mother],  
the *ba* great of sanctity among the gods,  
the primaevial one who made for him(self) the  
primaevial ones,

and (beloved) of the *Theoi Epiphaneis*, the  
*Theos Eupator*, and the *Theos Philometor*.

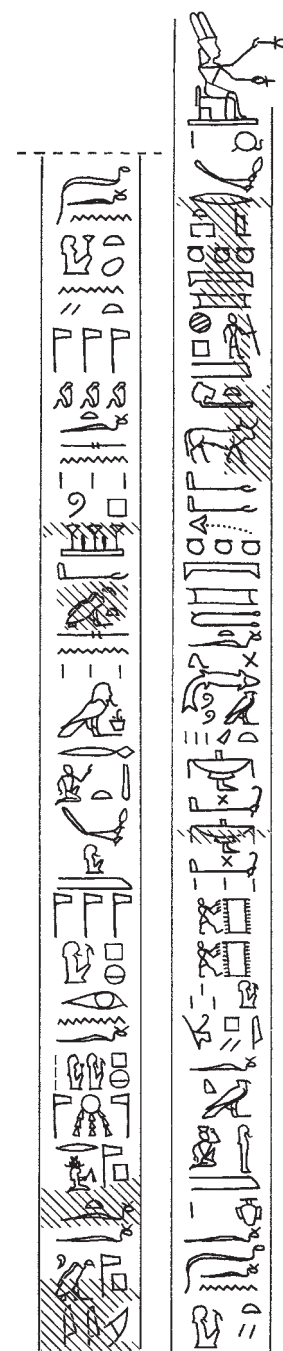


Figure 5.5. Text of the east  
entrance of the ambulatory,  
north reveal (MH.B 113, line 2)

<sup>27</sup> For *nty.w* “the things that are,” compare *Edfou* IV, 376, 5.

<sup>28</sup> There are no traces of a sign here, but the expected ‘ (◁) would fit vertically in the available space.

<sup>29</sup> Meaning millions of gods, hence the star-determinatives (★).

<sup>30</sup> Wilson 1997, p. 1056.

<sup>31</sup> Or read alternatively *tn m ‘.w[t]=f* “they being exalted in his limbs.”

<sup>32</sup> The lower left corner of the sign, including the canthus, is visible just below the broken area above the sign for *w:d*.

<sup>33</sup> Or *nw.t*; compare Wilson 1997, pp. 499 and 1097–98.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson 1997, pp. 533–34.

<sup>35</sup> From *h:bs=s* “her souls are a thousand,” an allusion to the stars in the body of Nut; see Wilson 1997, p. 704.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Klotz 2006, p. 141 note *c* and footnote 27.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Sethe 1929, p. 69, §139 (Theb. T. 254b/c) and p. 70, §140 (= *L.D. Text* III, 118). This is a commonly attested epithet of Nun; see also Sethe 1929, p. 74, §145.

<sup>38</sup> Written *h:wt*; for the writing with two *w*-signs (Ⓚ), see *Wb.* 3, 360.

<sup>39</sup> For a well-referenced discussion of this epithet, see Klotz 2006, pp. 23–25.

<sup>40</sup> Written *k:zf*; compare *Wb.* 5, 15.

<sup>41</sup> Both “fashioners” (*nbi.w*) and “builders” (*kd.w*) are epithets of the Ogdoad.

<sup>42</sup> For *dfn* with *y*, see *LGG* 7, 622–23. The *t* is certain, but perhaps an error for the usual *nw*-pot phonetic complement.

<sup>43</sup> Repeated examination of this broken sign has failed to clarify its details definitively; nevertheless the general outline of the damaged area and the few remaining bits suggest the vulture-hieroglyph (𐀀). For the concept here expressed, compare *Urk.* VIII, 87b, where Amun is called *ir mw.t* “the father who made the mother.”

<sup>44</sup> For this use of *š:‘*, see Wilson 1997, p. 988.



Figure 5.6. The east doorway of the bark shrine. Chicago House photo no. 1548, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.7. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II/III before Amun and the Ogdoad. Lintel over the east doorway of the bark shrine. Photo by the author

Thus, in language redolent with indications of his cosmogonic function, do these texts introduce the principal beneficiary deity of the temple: Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, as of old, but to whom are now ascribed a greatly expanded selection of demiurgic attributes, which are expressed here, at the entrance to the ambulatory, for the benefit of the arriving divine visitor, Amunopet of Luxor, whose image would pass through this doorway every ten days.

Although the ambulatory to which this portal gave entry, as originally conceived and decorated under Thutmose III, bore on its pillars the images of a pantheon of the deities of Upper Egypt, and though the north and south exterior walls of the bark shrine contained elaborate series of scenes depicting the temple foundation and dedication rituals, at the time of the monument's redecoration under Ptolemy VIII it seems that these features were irrelevant. With its decoration hidden by heavy layers of plain plaster and shrouded in darkness thanks to the insertion of blocking stones into the windows,<sup>45</sup> the peripteral passage could be ignored as an ancillary feature when the new decorative scheme was executed. Of the exterior walls of the bark shrine, only the east façade was recarved.<sup>46</sup> To the right and left of the portal in this wall, scenes showing Thutmose III before Amun-Re<sup>47</sup> were heavily reworked and repainted in Ptolemaic style, the name of the original builder, along with all the New Kingdom texts, being retained in the final version. As on the exterior portal, this included the recarving of original *smꜣwy mnw* texts of Horemheb before the god-figure on each side. In this fashion the two flanking scenes were incorporated into the revision of the axial approach to the central shrine.

The lintel, jambs, and reveals of the shrine's east gateway were, by contrast, recarved according to a completely new decorative scheme (fig. 5.6). The lintel was surmounted, like that of the exterior portal, with a new, highly detailed cavetto cornice and winged solar disk and was itself inscribed with a pair of scenes in small-scale raised relief, arranged back-to-back, each showing Euergetes II with a Cleopatra (II or III) before a series of five seated deities (fig. 5.7). This provided a pictorial introduction of the most significant characters in the evolution of the temple's iconographic and textual program, the seated deities being none other than the Ogdoad, grouped four and four, with Amun-Re depicted at the head of each group. The Ogdoad, mentioned already on the lintel of the outer gateway and in the texts on its reveals, are here shown and named individually. In the left (south) scene behind Amun-Re sits *ꜣImn-Nwn*, followed by *ꜣImn.t-Nwn.t*, then *[Kk]w* and *[K]k.t*, who receive incense and a libation from Ptolemy VIII; in the right (north) scene, Amun, to whom the king presents wine, is accompanied by *[Hh]* and *[Hh.t]*, then *[Ni]w* and *N(iw).t*. This conception of the members of the Ogdoad is itself rather unusual, emphasizing the Amun/Amunet dyad by identifying them with the *Urwasser*-deities Nun and Nunet, and filling the place of the fourth pair with the mysterious gods Niu and Niuet.<sup>48</sup> Each male deity is further denominated with a series of cosmogonic epithets, for example, *hꜣpr m-ḥꜣt* "who came into being in the beginning," *imn rnꜣf* "whose name is hidden," and the like, while their female counterparts are designated in similar terms: *šps.t bꜣi.(t) m Tꜣ-tnn* "noble one who flowed forth from Tatenen," *pr.t m Rꜥ* "who emerged from Re," and so on. Although this is the only instance in the redecoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple under Euergetes II where their figures are shown,<sup>49</sup> the prominent depiction of this demiurgic assembly over the entrance to the bark shrine reinforces the textual indications of their presence inscribed at various locations within the shrine and along the approaches thereto.

Below the lintel, each of the wide doorjambs<sup>50</sup> was completely reinscribed with a long text in three columns, leaving no visible trace of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration. Each of these two texts concludes with the optative *diꜣsn* "may they give" millions of jubilees, the lifetime of Re, et cetera, to the triple monarchy of Ptolemy VIII and his two wives. The *ꜣsn* in each text refers, appropriately, to the gods of the Ogdoad depicted on the lintel above, a description of whose attributes and cosmogonical actions occupies the bulk of the text preceding. On the left (south) jamb (fig. 5.8) the Ogdoad are described thus:

<sup>45</sup> Hölscher 1939, pp. 20, 55.

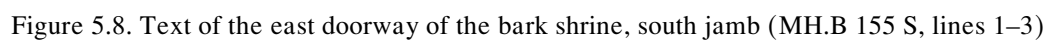
<sup>46</sup> The west exterior wall of the bark shrine was restored, with heavy plastering in some areas, and repainted, but not re-inscribed.

<sup>47</sup> MH.B 154, 156.

<sup>48</sup> Sethe 1929, pp. 67–70, §§133–39, and pp. 77–78, §§151–53; for occurrences, see *LGG* 3, 520a–b.

<sup>49</sup> More figural depictions of the eight gods were added later, on the gateway of the great pylon (MH.B 300, 306; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 462 [10 a–b, g–h]), dating to the reigns of Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, and also on the gate of Domitian (MH.E 80, 81; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 475), located west of the Small Temple.

<sup>50</sup> MH.B 155 (left and right sides).



<sup>1</sup>*ntr.w smsw.w h.t tp(y).t<sup>51</sup> hp(r.t) hnt*  
*hh.(w) sbz.wy tp(y).w n.w dwz.t imnt.t iw*  
*shn R<sup>c</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> Wsir*  
*(i)t.w is hn<sup>c</sup> mw.wt m-sz<sup>c</sup>*

*pzt(y).w hp(r.w) m-hzt*  
*(i)t.w n R<sup>c</sup> msw Tz-tnn<sup>53</sup>*  
*dd.(w) šps.w is ts<sup>54</sup> bnn.t m<sup>2</sup>wsr=sn*

*grg tz m pr.t zht*  
*ntr.w wr.w p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup> s.t Tz-tnn m Wzs.t nht.(t) m*  
*ip.t rsy.(t) m-hzw dwz.t dsr.t{t} m iz.t tz.(w)-mw.(w)t*

*Hmn(y).w wr.w nht.w m ip.t sw.t*  
*dzdz.(t)<sup>56</sup> szdm.w n.w Wzs.t nht.(t)*  
*hpty.w nh.w m iz.t tz.(w)-mw.(w)t*  
*di=sn hh.(w) n (hb).w-sd hfn.w n rnp.wt n*  
*n(y)-sw.t-bi.t(y) iw<sup>c</sup>-n-ntr.w-pr.(w) stp-n-Pth*  
*ir-mz<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> shm-nh-Imn hn<sup>c</sup> sn.t=f hkz.t*  
*nb.(t) tz.wy klzwpdrz.t hn<sup>c</sup> hm.t=f nb.(t)*  
*tz.wy klzwpdrz.t ntr.w mnht.w*

<sup>1</sup>The elder gods, the first body that came into being aforetime,  
 who passed through the chief gates of the western  
 netherworld when Re united with Osiris;  
 the fathers, indeed,<sup>52</sup> along with the mothers from the  
 beginning,  
 the primaeval ones who first came into being,  
 the fathers of Re, the children of Tatenen,  
 the enduring noble ones, indeed, who have planted the pri-  
 mordial seed<sup>55</sup> with <sup>2</sup>their power,  
 who established the earth with the seed of the cropland,  
 the great gods whom Tatenen bore in Thebes, in  
 southern Opet, in the vicinity of the sacred netherworld in the  
 mound of Djeme;  
 the great Ogdoad, the mighty ones in Karnak,  
 the council <sup>3</sup>and the judges of victorious Thebes,  
 the blessed dead who live in the mound of Djeme:  
 may they give million(s) of jubilees and myriads of  
 years to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of  
 the *Theoi Epiphaneis*, chosen of Ptah, who does the  
 justice of Re, living image of Amun, along with his  
 sister, the ruler and lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, along  
 with his wife, the lady of the two lands, Cleopatra, the *Theoi*  
*Euergeteis*.<sup>57</sup>

The parallel text on the north jamb (fig. 5.9) gives further details:

<sup>1</sup>*it.w m-sz<sup>c</sup>*  
*hp(r) shp(r) wnn.t*  
*ir szp<sup>58</sup> swzy kk(w)*  
*nb.w hr(y).w szz*  
*gr[g].w<sup>61</sup> dr[t]y.w<sup>62</sup> nht.w<sup>63</sup> szw.[w]<sup>64</sup> wr.w-šfy.(t)*  
  
*pzt(y) ir n=f<sup>65</sup> pzt(y).w*

<sup>1</sup>The ancestors in the beginning,  
 who came into being and brought into being that which exists,  
 who made the light (and) distanced the darkness;<sup>59</sup>  
 the lords and masters of wisdom,<sup>60</sup>  
 the founders(?), the ancestor gods, the mighty ones, who pro-  
 tected those great of majesty,  
 (and) the primaeval one<sup>66</sup> who made for (himself) the pri-  
 maeval ones,

<sup>51</sup> The tether (≡) serves as the feminine ending -t.

<sup>52</sup> The use of the enclitic particle *is* to emphasize nouns is attested; cf. Gardiner 1950, p. 185 (§247.3), but the phrasing seems rather awkward here.

<sup>53</sup> Compare Sethe 1929, pp. 51–52, §100.

<sup>54</sup> The ts-sign (⤵) appears to have been modified during the carving process, its central protrusions and upper outside corners having been made less prominent. The sign is nevertheless similar enough to that in the second column of the right jamb to confirm the reading here.

<sup>55</sup> For discussion of the meaning and associations of *bnn.t*, see Sethe 1929, pp. 118–19, §253.

<sup>56</sup> For this spelling, see Wilson 1997, p. 1222.

<sup>57</sup> Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II with his sister-wife, Cleopatra II, and his niece-wife, Cleopatra III; the inscriptions on this doorway are thus dated to either 140–131 or 124–116 B.C.; see Hölbl 2001, pp. 201, 204.

<sup>58</sup> The reed leaf, frequently attested with this word, is a common miswriting for the tall-s (𐀓); see Wilson 1997, pp. 923–24.

<sup>59</sup> Compare *Edfou* I, 168, 1: Horus “... who gave out light (and) distanced darkness.”

<sup>60</sup> For *szz*, see *Wb.* 4, 16/1, 3; also Wilson 1997, p. 786. The epithet *nb szz.t* “lord of wisdom” is known (*Urk.* VII, 64, 10), and the similar

*hr(y).w szz* “masters of wisdom,” though otherwise unattested, fits the context here.

<sup>61</sup> Reading uncertain, since the determinative is not visible and the writing does not match that seen on the second column of the left jamb. *grg* fits the context here.

<sup>62</sup> The tie at the right side of *dr* (𐀢) is visible just to the right of the break.

<sup>63</sup> The presence of a *p*-sign within the otherwise perfectly standard writing of *nht.w* cannot confidently be explained. It may be that a small group of three plural strokes was intended here, and the block-shape in which they were initially carved was left unfinished, though one is reluctant to suggest a carving error in this otherwise carefully executed text. Nevertheless no word that reads *nh?p* or *ht?p* is known, and *nht.w* “mighty ones” suits the context.

<sup>64</sup> Compare Wilson 1997, p. 782. The missing sign to the right of *sz* could be 𐀓 + 𐀓, 𐀓, or simply plural strokes.

<sup>65</sup> Compare the text of MH.B 113 for the dative reference with this expression.

<sup>66</sup> The reference to the single creator-god here in a text otherwise exclusively devoted to the Ogdoad is incongruous, but the text is clearly written so.

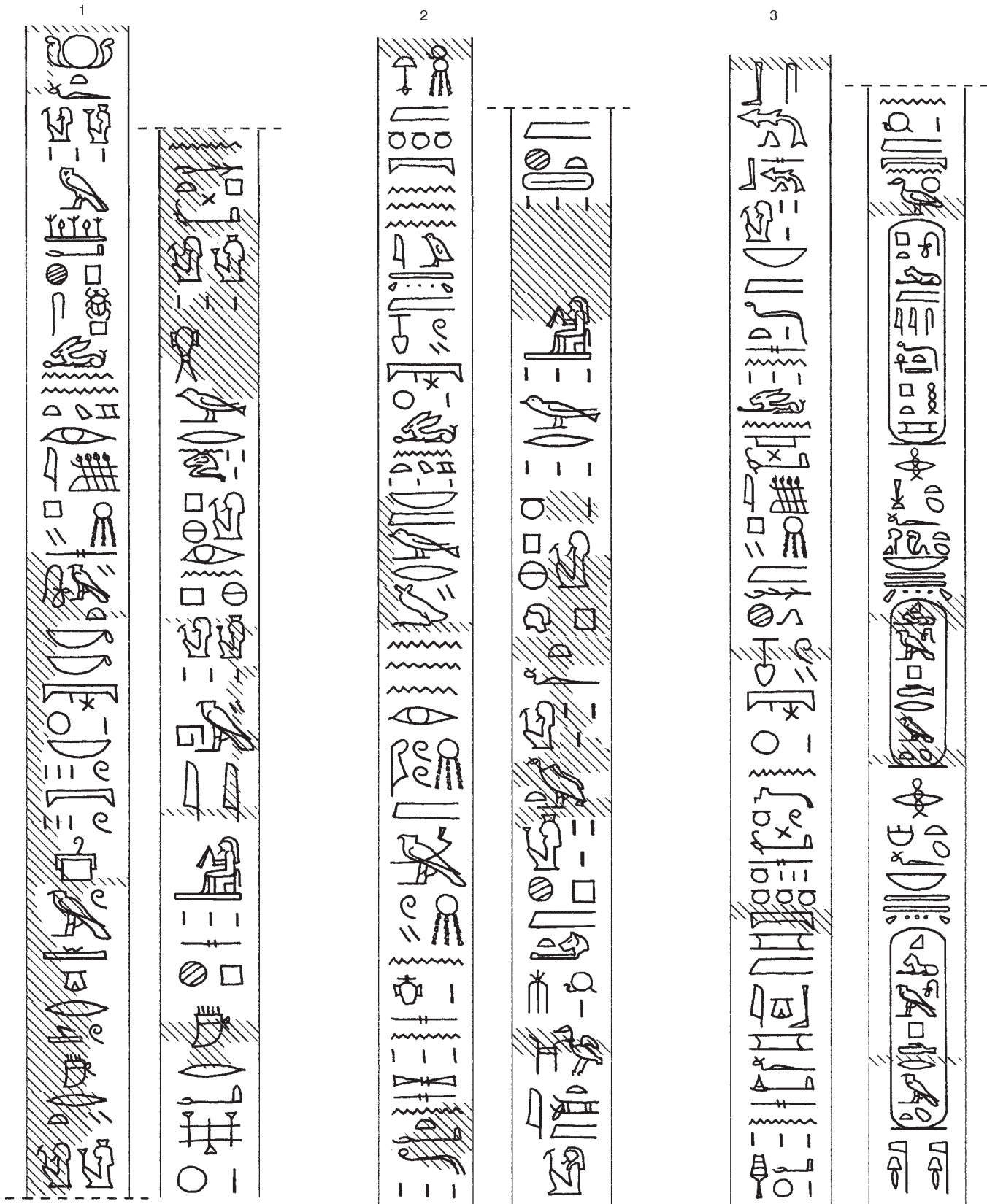


Figure 5.9. Text of the east doorway of the bark shrine, north jamb (MH.B 155 N, lines 1–3)

*h3y.(w)*<sup>67</sup> *šps.w šhp(r) ḏr-ε*

<sup>2</sup>*wbn m nnw iw t3 m sm3wy wnn.t nb.(t) m wrm*<sup>69</sup>

*ir šww m m3wy n ib=sn*

*ts nt(y).w-ε m ih.t [...]*<sup>71</sup>

*šps.w wr.w n.w p3t t[py]*

*it.w mw.wt hp(r.w) m-h3t*

*ms(w) Rε km3 3Im*

<sup>3</sup>*bs bs.w nb.(w) m ḏ.t=sn*

*wn šsp m-ht sm3wy nw=sn nnw m igb=εf*<sup>73</sup>

*ḏi=sn εhε n Rε m p.t n s3 Rε Ptwlmys εnh-ḏ.t*

*mr(y)-Pth hnε sn.t=εf hk3.t nb.(t) t3.wy*

*[kl]3wpdr3.[t] hnε hm.t=εfnb.(t) t3.wy*

*kl3wpdr3.t ntr.w mnḥ.w*

the noble fathers who brought into being the beginning,<sup>68</sup>

<sup>2</sup>who shone in Nun when the land was in utter darkness and every existing thing was flooded,

who made the light as the brilliance of their heart(s),<sup>70</sup>

who assembled the rituals with offerings [...],

the noble and great ones of the first primaeval one,

the fathers and mothers who came into being at the beginning,

who bore Re and created Atum,

<sup>3</sup>who introduced all the transcendent images<sup>72</sup> into their bodies,

who opened the light after the utter darkness when they brought<sup>74</sup> Nun in his cloudburst:

may they give the lifetime of Re in heaven to the son

of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, along

with his sister, the ruler and lady of the two lands,

[Cl]eopatra, along with his wife, the lady of the two

lands, Cleopatra, the *Theoi Euergeteis*.

Although these inscriptions are not liturgical — that is, they cannot be categorized as hymns or invocations, being rather greatly elaborated third person *ḏi=εf εnh* formulae — they nevertheless rank alongside the “Great Amun Hymn” from Hibis<sup>75</sup> and the creation texts from the interior of the Temple of Khonsu<sup>76</sup> as among the most significant of the texts relating to the divine Ogdoad, giving their place in the cosmogonical sequence as “fathers of Re” and “children of Tatenen,” specifying their birthplace “in Thebes, in southern Opet (Luxor Temple), in the vicinity of the sacred netherworld in the mound of Djeme,” and locating their mortuary resting place, as “the blessed dead who live in the mound of Djeme,” here at the sacred precinct of Medinet Habu itself. The texts on the jambs and the scenes on the lintel function together as a unit, depicting and describing the college of deities who are to receive the offerings presented within the shrine. Like the portal of the east façade, the lintel, jambs, and reveals of this doorway are completely devoid of any painted color.

In passing through this door into the shrine, one encounters another pair of texts, one on each reveal, similar in structure and content to those on the reveals of the outer doorway of the ambulatory. They likewise declare Euergetes II, here named along with both of the queens (Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III) who simultaneously shared his reign, beloved of the demiurge Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, whose characteristics are enumerated in the inner (west) column of text in each inscription. On the south the royal trio are said to be (fig. 5.10):

<sup>67</sup> Understanding *h3y.(w)* “male progenitors,” “fathers” (*Wb.* 2, 475), but the absence of the expected phallus determinative makes the reading not completely certain.

<sup>68</sup> Literally “limit”; here “the limit of the past,” “the beginning of time”; compare Wilson 1997, p. 1239.

<sup>69</sup> This writing of *wrm* “flood, high-point of inundation” (Wilson 1997, p. 244; *Wb.* 1, 332/19) with the headless bird hieroglyph having the value *m* (*Valeurs phonétiques* II, 340) is otherwise unknown, but the reading suits both the determinative and the context.

<sup>70</sup> Compare Sethe 1929, p. 52, §100: “... die das Licht machten als einen Gedankenblitz ihres Herzens.”

<sup>71</sup> Approximately one group missing; perhaps [*n it=sn*] or the like could be suggested here.

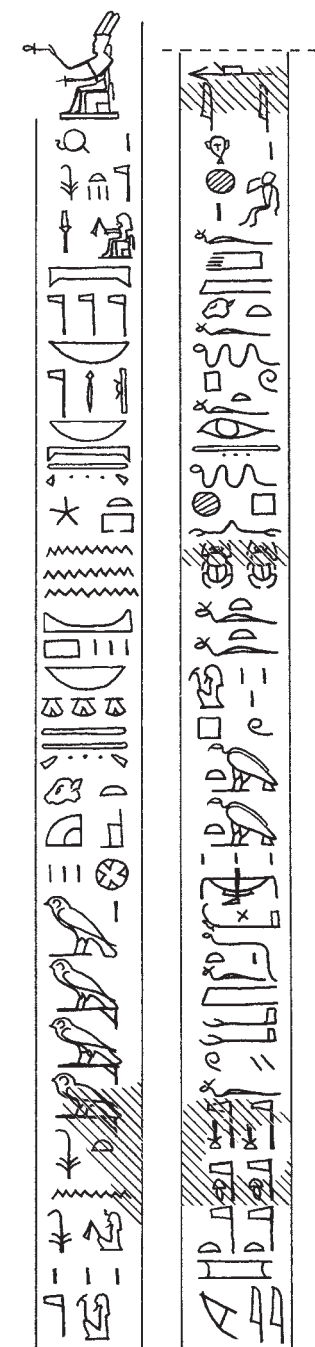
<sup>72</sup> For this specific sense of *bs.w* with reference to cult statues, see Kruchten 1989, pp. 157–59. “Transcendent image” is the best English rendition of Kruchten’s idea of the “image jaillissante,” explained as “la forme particulière du dieu, chargée de cette énergie qui lui permet de passer d’un monde à l’autre” (p. 157).

<sup>73</sup> *igb* is written for *igp* “rain-clouds,” “cloudburst”; see Wilson 1997, p. 118.

<sup>74</sup> Compare *Wb.* 2, 220/10.

<sup>75</sup> For the most up-to-date translation and analysis, see Klotz 2006, pp. 67–133.

<sup>76</sup> Treated comprehensively in Mendel 2003; compare also Cruz-Uribe 1994.



*mry* 'Imn-*R*<sup>c</sup> (*ny*)-*sw.t ntr.w*

*šm šps*

*hr(y) ntr.w nb.(w)*

*ntr* '3

*nb p.t t3 dw3.t nwn d.w.w*

*nb ns.wt t3.wy hnt(y) 'Ip.t-s.wt*

*Hr Hr.w n(y)-sw.t (ny).w-sw.t*

*ntr w'y hr hw=f*

*Km-3.t=f pw it 'Ir-t3*

*hpr(r) n hpr hpr.(w)*

*it it.w pw mw.t mw.wt*

*nbi d.t=f m 'wy=f(y)*

*ntr.w sn.w ntr.w mnh.[w] ntr.w*

*mr.(w) it.w*

While the north text, incompletely preserved, yields the following attribution (fig. 5.11):

*mry* 'Imn-*R*<sup>c</sup> *dser-s.t*

*'Imn wr hpr m-h3.t*

*ir n=f p.t m h(3)y.t n b3=f[... ...]*<sup>79</sup>

*[i3h]w*<sup>80</sup> [...] *n ir.t=f*

*ntr s3=f m ntr.w ntr.wt*

*ntr itn=f snhm(?)*<sup>81</sup> *itn=f*

*nhh 'h'* [...] <sup>82</sup>

*ntr.w pr.w p(3) ntr r-tnw it=f p(3)*

*ntr mr mw.t=f*

Beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods,

the powerful and noble one,

chief of all the gods,

the great god,

lord of heaven, the earth, the

netherworld, the Nun, and the

mountains,

lord of the thrones of the two

lands, foremost of Karnak,

Horus of Horuses,<sup>77</sup> king of kings,

the god sole in his uniqueness:<sup>78</sup>

he is Kematef, the father of Ir-ta,

who existed when those things

that exist did not exist,

father of fathers and mother of

mothers,

who fashioned his body with his

(own) two hands;

and (beloved) of the *Theoi Adel-*

*phoi*, the *Theoi Euergeteis*, and the

*Theoi Philopatores*.

Beloved of Amun-Re *Djeser-set*,

Amun, the great one who came

into being at the beginning,

who made heaven for himself as

the chapel for [his] *ba* [... ...]

[sunlight]t [...] of his eye,

the god whose protection is the

gods and goddesses,

the god whose disk preserves(?)

his disk,

the long-lived one<sup>83</sup> [...];

and (beloved) of the *Theoi Epi-*

*phaneis*, the *Theos Eupator*, and

the *Theos Philometor*.

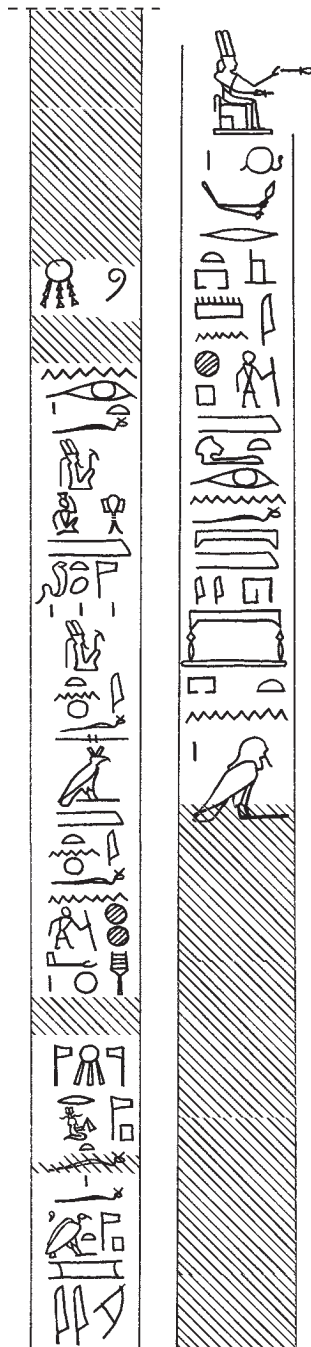


Figure 5.11. Text of the east doorway of the bark shrine, north reveal (MH.B 176, line 2)

Figure 5.10. Text of the east doorway of the bark shrine, south reveal (MH.B 175, line 2)

<sup>77</sup> For the significance of this epithet with respect to Amun, see Klotz 2006, pp. 38–39.

<sup>78</sup> On this expression, see Malaise 1989, pp. 116–18.

<sup>79</sup> There is space for approximately fifteen word-squares in the destroyed area of the text between *b3=f* and the signs [...] 𓂏 9 below.

<sup>80</sup> The restoration is conjectural; see Wilson 1997, p. 34, for the possible writings of this word.

<sup>81</sup> This word is extremely problematic. Though it would rather suit the context provided by the previous phrase, an *s*-causative of *nhm*

“to rescue,” “to preserve” (*Wb.* 2, 295–97) is not otherwise known. On the other hand, to read ... *itn=f snh m itn=f* “whose disk is bound in his disk,” is unlikely, since *snh* usually has a negative connotation (Wilson 1997, p. 867). In the absence of a known parallel for this epithet, the reading must remain a mere guess for the present.

<sup>82</sup> There is room for a low broad sign here, but no determinative is necessary after *'h'*. Perhaps a phonetic complement 𓂏?

<sup>83</sup> For *nhh 'h'*, see *LGG* 4, 309b–c.

These texts on the reveals can be understood as referring to the figures of the king and queens, and that of Amun seated in front of the gods of the Ogdoad, in the lintel scenes overhead, and thus function alongside the doorjamb texts as complements to the pictorial representation of the temple's divine occupants (Amun and the Ogdoad) and their royal benefactors (Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, Cleopatra III). The decoration of the whole gateway is thus a unified composition, identifying and declaring the nature of the occupants to whose shrine it forms the entrance.

Entering the interior of the bark shrine, one encounters the principal objective of Ptolemy VIII's renewal project in this temple. In contrast to the whitewashed pillared ambulatory and the shrine's north and south exterior walls, its interior surfaces were completely recarved in the high, rounded relief typical of this period, and then repainted in the Ptolemaic style and color palette. On the lateral (north and south) interior walls and on the east end wall, the content of the Thutmoside ritual scenes was mostly retained, including the hieroglyphic texts<sup>84</sup> and the cartouches of the original builder, Thutmose III (fig. 5.12), and the subsequent restorer, Seti I (fig. 5.13). The decoration of the west interior wall, however, was completely transformed, as discussed below. The shrine was also modified architecturally, its east and west doorways being substantially enlarged and its roof raised by two courses of blocks, with the interior walls topped with an elegant new cavetto cornice.<sup>85</sup> This increased height

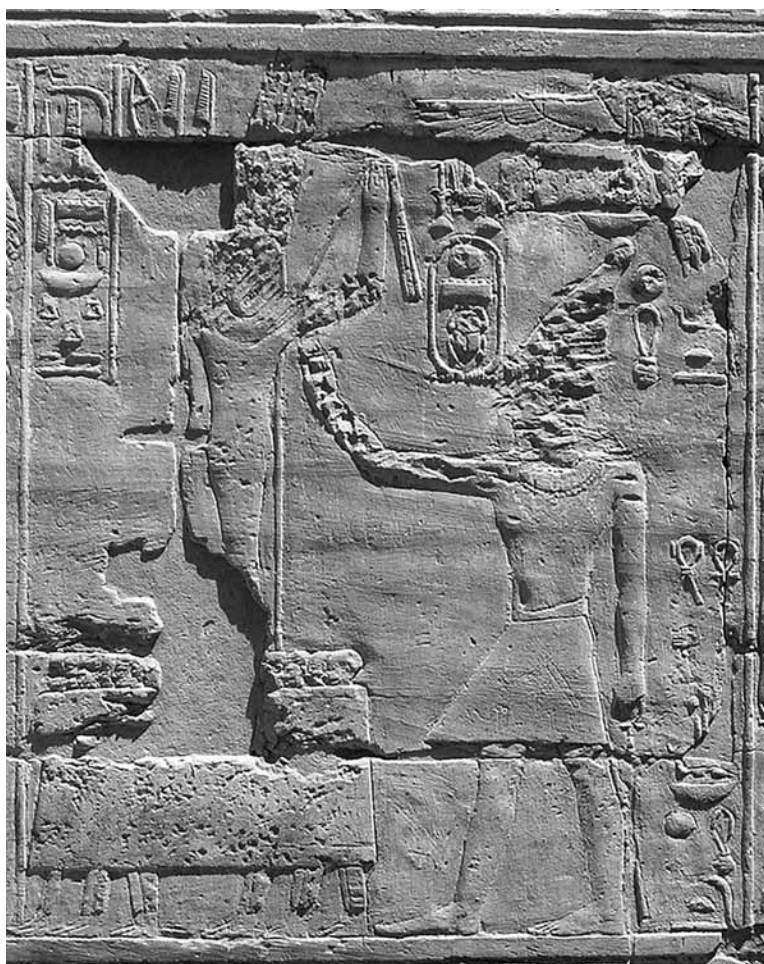


Figure 5.12. Recarved processional scene in the bark shrine, north interior wall (MH.B 186). Photo by the author



Figure 5.13. Recarved *sm3wy mnw* text of Seti I in the bark shrine, north interior wall (MH.B 187). Photo by the author

<sup>84</sup> A few (apparently) intentional modifications were made to these texts, such as the insertion of the epithet *T3-ynn smsw Psd.t*, written figuratively  above Amun's figure at MH.B 188, but in many

other places corruptions were introduced by the apparently illiterate sculptor or sculptors whose task it was to rework the inscriptions.

<sup>85</sup> Hölscher 1939, pp. 17–18, 57.

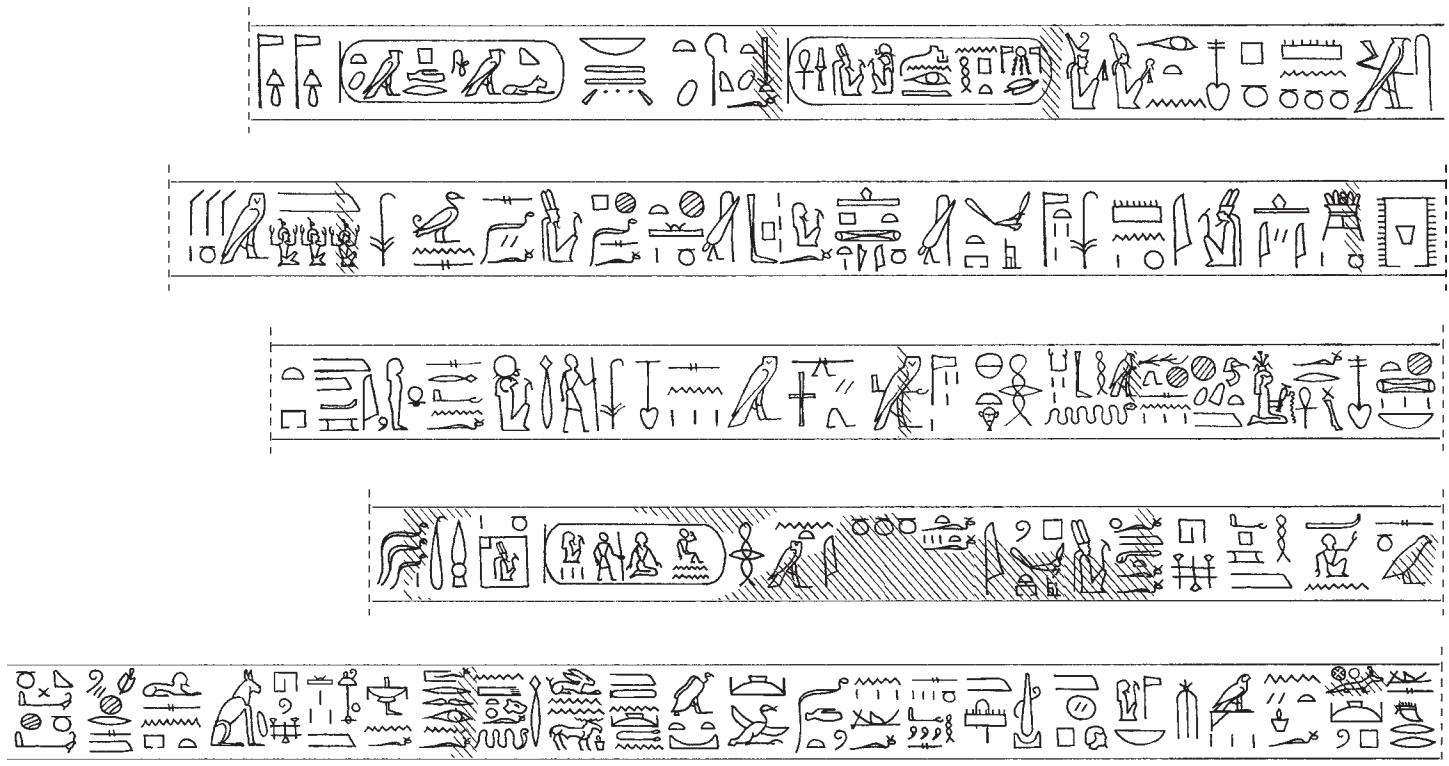


Figure 5.14. Text of the frieze in the bark shrine, south and east walls (MH.B 195/178)

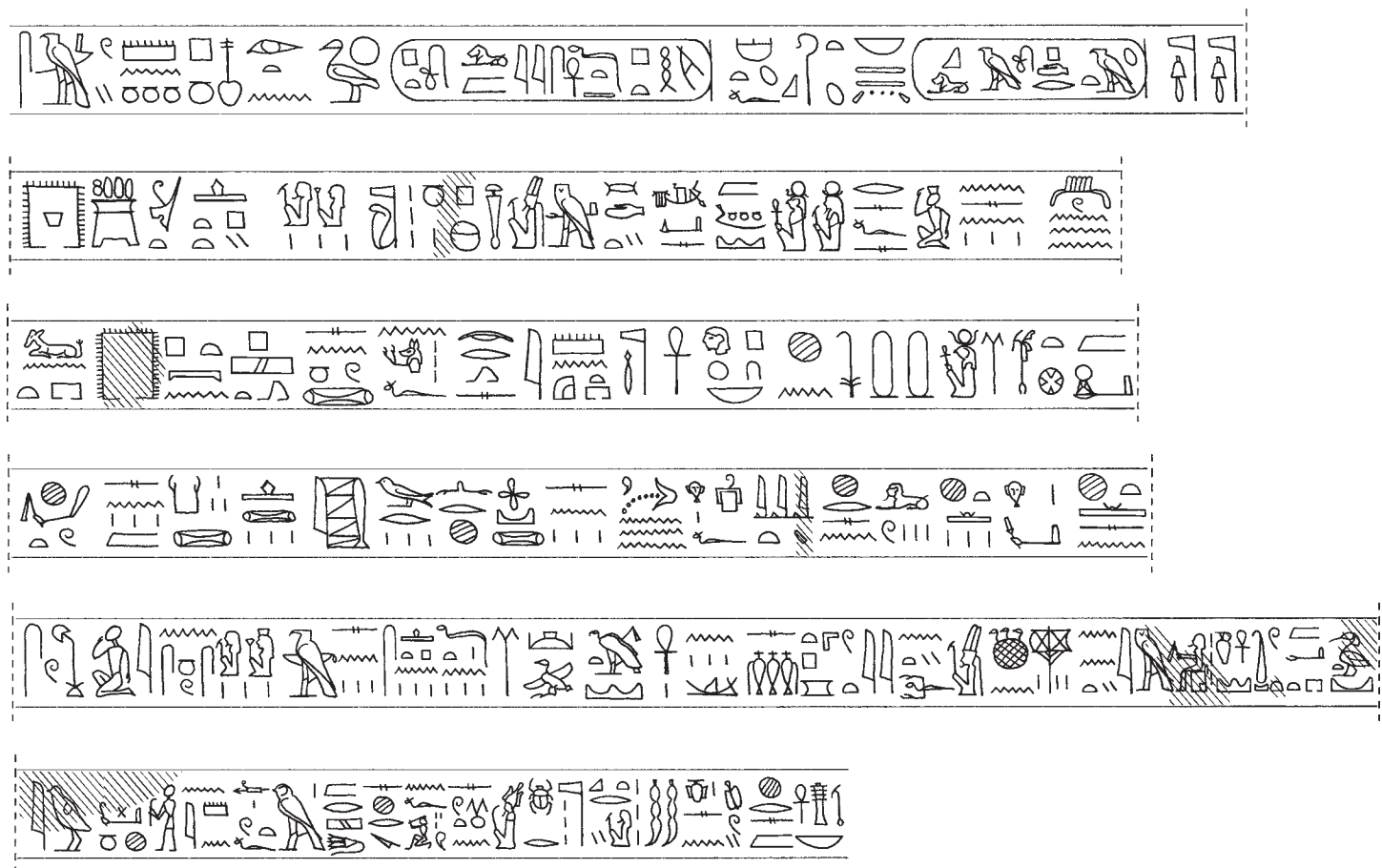


Figure 5.15. Text of the frieze in the bark shrine, north and east walls (MH.B 179/178)

allowed for the insertion of a long restoration inscription of the form *smꜣwy mnw* on each side just above the *kheker*-frieze; both the north and the south texts extend onto the respective adjoining sections of the east wall. As one might suspect, however, these texts are concerned with far more than just the “renewal of the monument” by Euergetes II. The text on the south (fig. 5.14) identifies and describes the demiurgic deities who received funerary offerings within the bark shrine:

*smꜣwy mnw pn nfr ir.t.n ny-sw.t-bi.ty iwꜥ-n-  
ntr.w-pr.w stp-n-Pth ir-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ shm-ꜥnh-ꜣImn  
sn.t=f hkꜣ.t nb.(t) tꜣ.wy klꜣwpdrꜣ.t ntr.w mnḥ.w*

*wsh.t wdḥw n ḥtpy ꜣImn-Rꜥ (ny)-sw.t ntr.w  
ḏsr-s.t  
sšm ḥtp.w n is.t=f  
bw sšm ḥ.t n ḥp(r) ḏs=f*

*sḏfꜣ.n=s n m ḥḥ.w m ḥfn.w n ḥ.t nb.(t) nfr.(t)*

*whm-ꜥnh ꜣḥ.t m-ḥt=s n  
Nhḥ-kꜣ.w ḥnꜥ Psḏ.t ḥr ms im(y)=s n  
smsw ꜣꜣ  
sꜣꜣ.n=f sꜣḥ=f m imḥ.t  
snḥ.n=f<sup>92</sup> ḥꜣpy m ḥꜣw=f m-bꜣḥ it=f  
ꜣImn pw ḏsr-[s.t] it it.w [pr m] Nwn*

*nt(y) im ḥnꜥ Hmny.w<sup>93</sup> n.w ḥw.t-ꜣImn  
ḥts.ti ḏr=(sn) im  
sḏr.(w) r iꜣ.t tꜣ.w-mw.wt  
bw n{ty} it ntr.w ms ntr nb m sp tp(y)*

*wḏꜣ m ḥbs=s n ḥꜣ.w=s n im=f  
ḏḏ=tw iꜣ.t tꜣ.(w)-mw.(w)t m rn n iꜣ.t tn wnn  
bꜣ ꜣꜣ n Km-ꜣ.t=f pr r=s  
ir.n=f nbḥ n=f ḥmw.(t=s?) m ḥꜣw=s r sn(y).t*

*iwꜣy ḥr=s m kni.(t) nḥt*

Renwal of this beautiful monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the *Theoi Epiphaneis*, chosen of Ptah, who does the justice of Re, living image of Amun, and his sister, the ruler and lady of the two lands Cleopatra (II), the *Theoi Euergeteis*, made, (being) the hall of the offering table of the reposing one,<sup>86</sup> Amun-Re, king of the gods, he of *Djeser-set*, (for) distributing food offerings to his company, the place of distribution of offerings for the one who came into being of himself, they<sup>87</sup> having provided with millions and myriads of all good things, the floodwater<sup>88</sup> of the field following after them, while Nehebkau<sup>89</sup> and the Ennead present what is in them. (As for) the Great Elder One,<sup>90</sup> even as he enlarged his mummy in the netherworld, so also he opened<sup>91</sup> the inundation in its time in the presence of his father: it is Amun *Djeser-set*, the father of fathers [who has gone forth from] Nun, who is therein along with the Ogdoad of the domain of Amun, the burial of all of (them) being completed<sup>94</sup> therein, (namely) those who sleep at the mound of Djeme, the place of the father of the gods, who bore every god at the first occasion, interred in their wrappings, their members being within it,<sup>95</sup> the mound of Djeme being called by the name of “this mound at which the great *ba* of Kematef shall come forth”; he<sup>96</sup> having carried out the fashioning for himself of (its?) workmanship<sup>97</sup> in its time, to be a chapel;<sup>98</sup> the reward thereof being valor and victory.

<sup>86</sup> Compare *LGG* 5, 566a–67a, with this example cited at [38]. Amun is here designated as being among the “blessed dead” (*ḥtpy.w*), who are in this context himself and the Ogdoad, identified in the corresponding part of the text on the north wall.

<sup>87</sup> Presumably referring to the *is.t* “company” of Amun-Re.

<sup>88</sup> On the mortuary/purification connotations of this term, see Wilson 1997, p. 253.

<sup>89</sup> On Nehebkau in late texts, see Klotz 2006, pp. 47–50, and esp. 49 n. 288, with reference to his appearance in this inscription.

<sup>90</sup> The sun god is referred to here; compare *LGG* 6, 350b, with this text cited at [4].

<sup>91</sup> For *snḥ* “to open,” see *Wb.* 4, 169/4; this seems to make more sense than *snḥ* “to bind,” which usually has a hostile connotation, but the interpretation of this phrase remains uncertain.

<sup>92</sup> The orthography is odd; the reading suggested here supposes  written for , and  seems to have been carved without the pot on the man’s head.

<sup>93</sup> On this writing, see Sethe 1929, §§88–89.

<sup>94</sup> For *ḥts* “to complete the burial” of divine beings, see Wilson 1997, p. 690.

<sup>95</sup> “It” refers to the mound of Djeme.

<sup>96</sup> That is, the king.

<sup>97</sup> Of the shrine itself? The text is difficult to understand here.

<sup>98</sup> *Wb.* 4, 156 and 179; again, the interpretation is conjectural.

The inscription on the north side (fig. 5.15) relates further details about the theological function of the refurbished chamber:

*smꜣwy mnw pn nfr ṛr.t.n sꜣ Rꜥ Ptwlmys ꜥnh-ḏ.t*  
*mr(y)-Pth ḥm.t ꜣf ḥkꜣ.t nb.(t) tꜣ.wy kꜣwpdrꜣ.t*  
*nṯr.w mnḥ.w*

*wsh.t wdhw n{t} ḥtpy.w n.w psḏ.t tp(y.t)*

*ꜣImn m mꜥnd.t di s.(t) m mꜣnw ḥꜣi.ty r sfsf*  
*n ꜣsn ꜣw.w*  
*ṛwn.t p.t n.(t) p(s)š.t snw n psḏ.t ꜣf*

*spr s.(t) ꜣImn-ṛp.t nṯr ꜣꜣ ꜥnh tp sw mḏ nb*

*Ḥnsw-Šw m Wꜣs.t m ḥr.t-hrw*  
*ḥwi ꜣt(w) sn m kꜣw ḥtp.w ꜣb.w(t) wr.w(t) n*  
*rḥ(w) wnd.w ꜣsn*

*ḥꜥpy ḥr-sꜣ ꜣf*  
*ꜣḥ.t ḥr ꜣs n nb.w ḥ.t ḥr ḥrp ḥt ꜣsn*

*shꜣw.(w) in Ḥmny.w*  
*kꜣ(i) ꜣsn shṯp ꜣn ḏ.t ꜣn m iꜣ.t tꜣ.w mw.(w)t*  
*ꜥnh ꜣn m shn.t twy n.t ꜣImn*  
*sš n tꜣw n nty im*  
*špss.w ḥnm-ꜥnh mnw m ꜥ.t iḡr.t<sup>106</sup>*

*ṛw nh.n ꜣImn wꜥty nb m ršw*  
*shṯr.n ꜣf ḥfty.w ꜣf ...<sup>110</sup> Wsir ḥpr.w nṯr.w*  
*kꜣr(r)ty.w nḏm ṛb ꜣsn*  
*ṛwꜣy ḥr ꜣs m ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs nb*

Renewal of this beautiful monument that the son of Re, Ptolemy ever-living, beloved of Ptah, and his wife, the ruler and lady of the two lands Cleopatra (III), the *Theoi Euergeteis*, made, (being) the hall of the offering table of the reposing ones<sup>99</sup> of the first Ennead, and of Amun in the evening bark, when the two lights<sup>100</sup> set it in the western mountain,<sup>101</sup> in order to present offerings,<sup>102</sup> a shrine of heaven for the sharing out of offerings to his Ennead when Amunopet the great living god reaches them every tenth day, and Khonsu-Shu in Thebes every day — they<sup>103</sup> having been exempted from alimention, offerings, and great oblations, since their (previous) provisionings were unknown<sup>104</sup> — while the inundation is beside him, the field being therewith for the possessors of offerings, who are consecrating their offerings, which are acknowledged by the Ogdoad, so that they say, “In the mound of Djeme we shall satisfy our bodies; in this resting-place of Amun we shall live, the nest of the wind<sup>105</sup> of he who is therein, and (of) the noble ones of the necropolis<sup>107</sup> in the necropolis-chamber.”<sup>108</sup> For Amun protected his unique one, the lord,<sup>109</sup> in joy, he having overthrown his enemies, while Osiris had ... the forms of the cavern gods, (so that) their hearts rejoiced — the reward thereof<sup>111</sup> being all life, stability, and dominion.

As an expanded description of the purpose for the shrine’s renewal (*smꜣwy*), these texts illuminate the characteristics of the *Urgott* Amun, in particular as the father of the Great Elder One (Re), and as the great *ba* of Kematef who “comes forth” here at the mound of Djeme to receive funerary offerings, present in the shrine as a *ḥtpy*, a “reposing” deceased being. We learn also of the cult of the Ogdoad, also *ḥtpy.w*, who “sleep at the mound of Djeme,” “interred in their wrappings, their members being within it,” and who declare that this mound of Djeme, the “resting-place of Amun,” is their funerary abode; in the text on the north side, the primordial

<sup>99</sup> *ḥtpy.w* is to be understood here as the rather commonly attested writing of *ḥtpy.w*, the “blessed dead” (Wilson 1997, pp. 687–88). The usage of this term is in parallel with *ḥtpy*, referring to Amun, in the corresponding place in the text on the south wall. This example is read as *ḥtpy.w* “those provided with offerings,” at LGG 5, 565c [23].

<sup>100</sup> That is, the sun and moon; compare De Wit 1958, p. 99; De Wit 1968, pp. 49 and 131 n. 191.

<sup>101</sup> The syntax here is quite odd, with *m mꜣnw* before the subject *ḥꜣi.ty*, and the translation is thus uncertain; another possibility would be to read *di ꜣs m mꜣnw ḥꜣi.ty* “when it (i.e., the evening bark) sets the two lights in the western mountain,” but this leaves a similar syntactic problem.

<sup>102</sup> The phrase *sfsf ꜣw.(wt)* is employed similarly, with reference to the tenth-day feast, in the leftmost scene of the lintel on the east façade (MH.B 207).

<sup>103</sup> That is, the Ennead.

<sup>104</sup> A suggestion only as to the interpretation of this difficult, apparently parenthetical, passage; it might be supposed that the renewal

of the shrine involved the reservation of the offerings to the Ennead for their own periodic cult therein, and the protection or exemption (*ḥwi*) of those endowed offerings from being used for other offering requirements.

<sup>105</sup> *Edfou* 1, 16/4.

<sup>106</sup>  is apparently written for , to be read *ikꜣr>iḡr* (*Wb.* 1, 137).

<sup>107</sup> *Wb.* 3, 379/1.

<sup>108</sup> The *ꜥ.t iḡr.t*, literally “chamber of the place of silence,” is located at the Mound of Djeme according to the Khonsu cosmogony; see Mendel 2003, p. 38, pl. 3 (line 13) and p. 67, pl. 6 (lines 30–31).

<sup>109</sup> This is perhaps a reference to the king, given the subsequent reference to “his enemies” and to the king’s “reward.”

<sup>110</sup> The word written  has thus far defied interpretation. A causative *\*sdmḏ* “to cause to be assembled,” not otherwise known, would perhaps suit the context, but the suggestion is purely speculative.

<sup>111</sup> That is, for the renewal of the monument by the king.

Ennead are also indicated as recipients of this cult. The bark shrine itself, named a *wsh.t wdḥ.w*, as renewed by the *Theoi Euergeteis*, is thus in these texts declared unequivocally to be the locus of the mortuary cult for these “deceased” creator deities.

In contrast to these north and south side walls of the bark shrine, reworked stylistically as part of Ptolemy VIII’s “renewal,” its west interior end wall (fig. 5.16) retains none of its original Thutmoside decorative elements, and, somewhat surprisingly, no trace of earlier carving is visible to suggest what the previous scheme might have been. The western portal, whose configuration was modified under Euergetes II by inserting a large re-used block into the jamb on either side, was provided with an elaborate new cavetto cornice with winged solar disk, surmounted by a frieze of cobras carved in high relief.<sup>112</sup> On either side of the cornice appears a pair of composite, criocephalic animal deities, each of these figures being labeled as one of the four winds; these are comparable to a similar group of creatures depicted in the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina, where they are fully identified as the gods *Hdꜣy*, *Hnw-ḥss*, *Šhb*, and *Kb*.<sup>113</sup> Below these elements, the lintel and jambs of the doorway, along with the tall vertical wall sections to either side of it, were completely recarved with scenes and texts that are purely Ptolemaic both in composition and in style.

To the left and right of the doorframe, filling the side wall sections, are two long texts of three columns each. Unlike the relatively well-preserved inscriptions on the east doorway to the shrine, these have suffered some damage and are in several places poorly carved and difficult to read. Careful examination nevertheless allows these inscriptions to be read as texts of acclamation addressed to the demiurge Amun, the “senior” recipient of

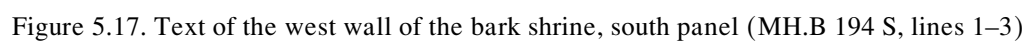


Figure 5.16. The west doorway of the bark shrine. Chicago House photo no. 1360, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey

<sup>112</sup> Compare the comments of Hölscher (1939, p. 18), who notes that the lintel and the courses above, containing the new cornice and frieze, were built by Euergetes II’s masons out of reused stones. The original decoration of the blocks inserted into the doorjambs can be

seen on the west side of the doorway; on the east side, the uppermost small scene on each jamb neatly occupies the surface of the block inserted therein.

<sup>113</sup> Du Bourguet 2002, p. 106 (§112) and 324.



cult service within the bark shrine. Each text begins with the vocative particle , followed by an extended series of declarations, names, and descriptive epithets concerning the god's role in the origin of the cosmos. On the left (south) panel may be read (fig. 5.17):

<sup>1</sup>*i ntr(y) d.t*<sup>114</sup> *n(n) sn-nw* *z f*<sup>115</sup>  
*n(y)-sw.t ntr.w dsr-s.t nb ns.(w)t t3.wy hnty*  
<sup>2</sup>*Ip.t-s.wt*  
*b3 imn*<sup>116</sup> *hp(r) ds* *z f*  
*dfny wtt n* *z sn*<sup>117</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>*Ir-t3 it m s3* *c*  
 [...]<sup>118</sup>  
*shpr hpr.[w] n rh* *z tw hprw* *z f*

*Hr i3k*  
*b3 c3 wr (n) sp3(w).t*<sup>121</sup>  
*bik nn k(y) hr-hw* *z f*<sup>122</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>*Km-3.t* *z f km3 wnn.wt n si3.n* *z tw ti.t* *z f*

*tw3 bnw hr-s3* *z f*<sup>124</sup>  
*wts-hr-mn*<sup>125</sup>  
*in t3 dr* *z f r pr* *z f m tph.(t)* *z f b3h m Nwn wr*

*wr3* *z f r mr* *z f*<sup>127</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>*bh m t3 hr ndb* *z f m rn* *z f n d.t*<sup>128</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>*ntr.ty* *z f (y)*<sup>129</sup> [...] <sup>130</sup>*i3h*  
*wn [h]nw s3r*<sup>131</sup> [*m*]<sup>132</sup> *itm* *z f*  
*tw*<sup>134</sup> (*m*) *dt* *z f*<sup>135</sup> (*m*) *wh3*<sup>136</sup>

O divine-of-body, of whom there is no equal!  
 King of the gods, (he of) *Djeser-set*, lord of the  
 throne(s) of the two lands, foremost of Karnak,  
 hidden *ba*, who came into being of himself,  
 ancestor of those to whom there is an offspring,  
 Ir-ta, the father in the beginning,  
 [...]  
 who brought into being the thing[s] that exist when his forms  
 were unknown,<sup>119</sup>  
 Horus the bent one,<sup>120</sup>  
 great *ba*, great one of the nomes,  
 the falcon, beside whom there is no other,  
<sup>2</sup>Kematef, who created the things that are, though his likeness  
 could not be perceived,<sup>123</sup>  
 who carried the phoenix on his back,  
 who elevated the world,  
 who brought the whole earth at his going forth from his  
 source, who has overflowed as the great Nun,<sup>126</sup>  
 as he watched at his canal,  
 who joined with the whole earth in his name of “eternity,”  
 his two divine eyes [...] the moon,  
 who opened the interior, who enlightened [with] his disk,<sup>133</sup>  
 who was perfect (in) his body (in) the (primordial) darkness,

<sup>114</sup> *ntry d.t* seems otherwise to be unattested as an epithet of Amun. In this case, however, the determinative  of *ntr(y)* identifies its referent, as it does with *dfny* below.

<sup>115</sup> LGG 3, 502a.

<sup>116</sup> LGG 2, 674a, lists this as *b3 w3b*, with , instead of  as written here.

<sup>117</sup> For this phrase, see Barguet 1962, pp. 234–35. A different reading is offered in LGG 2, 603a: ...*wtt s3w-n* *z sn* “der die Schutzgötter *S3w-n* *z sn* erzeugt.”

<sup>118</sup> The damaged word here, whose second sign is , followed by a small circular sign, has not yet been identified.

<sup>119</sup> The *n* is to be taken literally here for a circumstantial *n sdm* *z f*.

<sup>120</sup> Reading uncertain; see LGG 1, 113c; *ntr i3k* is also possible.

<sup>121</sup> The reading is highly conjectural, the title being attested (LGG 2, 459b) but not for Amun, and also requiring that  be understood as a writing for , with  below as an anomalously placed phonetic complement (or perhaps as an error for ).

<sup>122</sup> Compare LGG 3, pp. 505c–506a.

<sup>123</sup> I translate the *n sdm.n* *z f* strictly here (Gardiner 1950, §418; Hoch 1997, §108); whether in reality a distinction was intended between this form and the earlier *n sdm* *z f* in line 1 (*n rh* *z tw hprw* *z f*) is difficult to guess, the substance of the two phrases being similar. For this epithet, see LGG 3, 501a–b.

<sup>124</sup> LGG 7, 369b.

<sup>125</sup> Reading and translation uncertain; see LGG 2, 612c–613a.

<sup>126</sup> Restore *t3* with  and the determinatives ; see Wb. 5, 212. On *tph.(t)*, see Sethe 1929, p. 71, §140. For *b3h m Nwn wr*, see LGG 2, 781a; the determinative indicates that Amun-Nun is understood here.

<sup>127</sup> This reading is highly speculative, requiring an assumption that the order of the signs has become confused here. The problem is that there are too many -signs. Since there is no known word *wrf*, I take the signs preceding the second  to be a writing of *wr3*

“to watch,” common in divine epithets, a clue to the reading being given by the tiny -sign behind  (Wilson 1997, p. 245). Though unattested, the resulting epithet “who watches at his canal” seems to make sense as an attribute of Amun-Nun.

<sup>128</sup> See LGG 1, 12a; this epithet appears otherwise to be unattested. For *3bh* “to join, to mix,” see Wb. 1, 8/8–19.

<sup>129</sup> The top left sign in the word *ntr.ty* was carved as  but painted in red as .

<sup>130</sup> There is only enough room for a low broad sign here; perhaps restore  and read “his two divine eyes being [as] the moon.”

<sup>131</sup> The  of *s3r* is erroneously carved and painted as .

<sup>132</sup> There is space for the  here.

<sup>133</sup> For *wn hnw* with the sense of “opening the (closed/hidden) interior” as an attribute of the sun god, see Wb. 3, 369/12; for *s3r m itm* *z f* “who enlightens (lit. ‘informs, specifies’) with his disk,” see Wb. 4, 548/16, and compare Wilson 1997, p. 1030. These two elements are elsewhere found together as epithets of Amun-Re, as in *Urk.* VIII, 59b, 65c, also *Edfou* I, 96,3; or of Horus, in *Edfou* VII, 79,3. The determinative of *s3r* here, , is also attested at Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 112).

<sup>134</sup> A curious modification is seen in the text here. As carved, the word was originally  , which, of course, can be read *tw.(t)*. When painted, however, the lowest  of the three was replaced with , which yields a different, more standard writing of the same.

<sup>135</sup> The reading is somewhat conjectural, since the sign below  cannot be read clearly, and there is no space for the expected preposition *m*. The suffix *z f* is written . Compare the examples cited at LGG 7, 379a.

<sup>136</sup> Both  and the following  are visible, almost certainly an anomalous writing of the word *wh* or *wh3* (Wb. 1, 352). As just above, there is no space for the preposition *m*, which must nevertheless be supplied for the sense of the phrase.

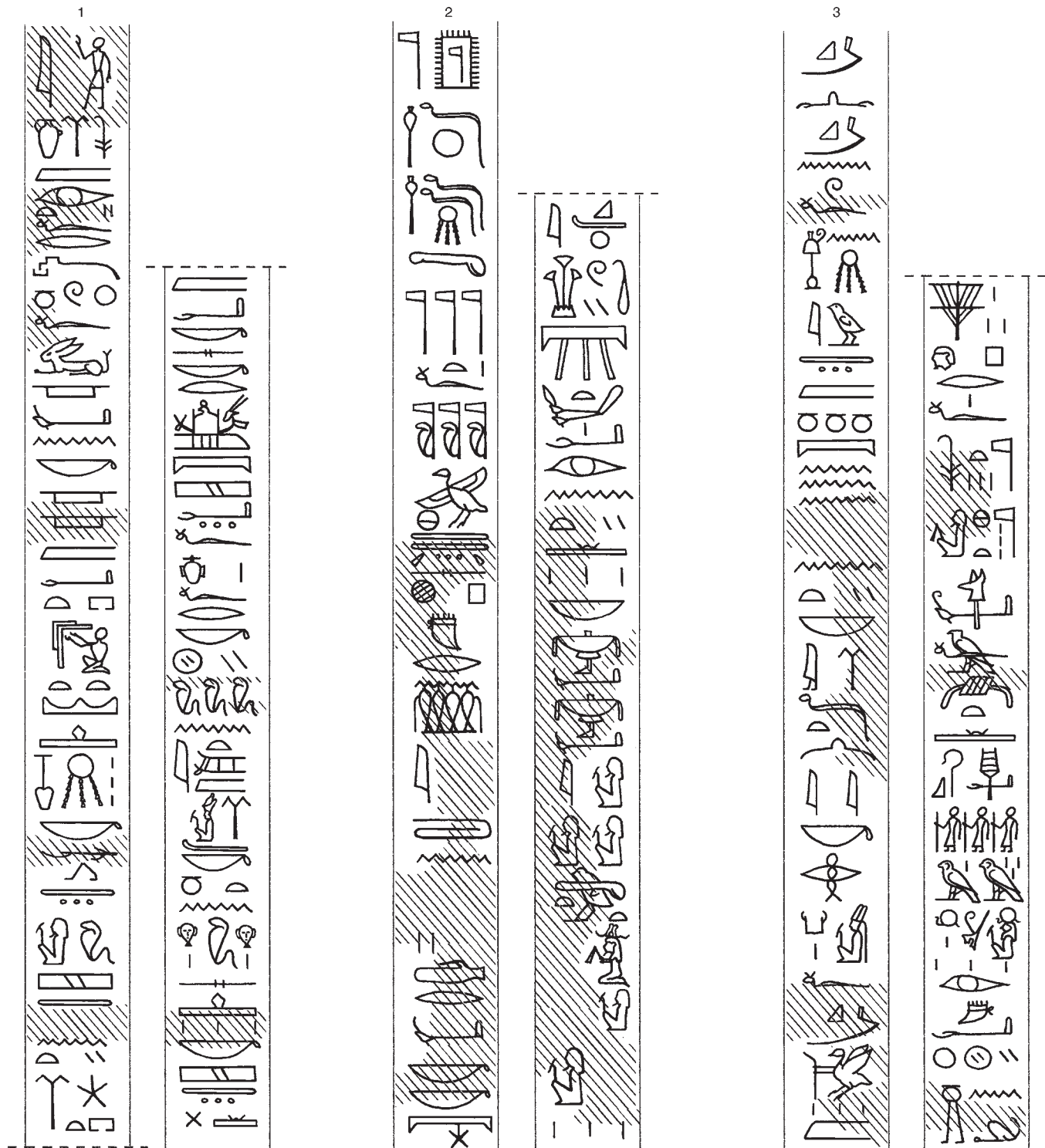


Figure 5.18. Text of the west wall of the bark shrine, north panel (MH.B 194 N, lines 1–3)

*nb psd.t*<sup>137</sup>  
*nn ntr twt s(w) r d.t=f*  
*wty d.t=f m dwz.t t imn.t*

*štš šhr.w=k*  
*kzy*<sup>140</sup> *šw.ty=k*  
*mn [n]t-<sup>c</sup> zhw=f wdq*<sup>142</sup>

lord of the Ennead,  
 there being no god like him<sup>138</sup> with respect to his body,<sup>139</sup>  
 whose body has been wrapped in the netherworld, (in) the  
 hidden chamber,  
 your counsels being secret,  
 your plumes being exalted,<sup>141</sup>  
 enduring [of rituals],<sup>143</sup> whose creative power is ordained.

On the right (north) panel appears a text of similar type (fig. 5.18):

<sup>1</sup>*i hnm sw m hnm.[ty] z f(y)*<sup>144</sup> *r nw z f*

*wn n=k z.[wy] m t imnt.t*  
*htp ššp.w*<sup>147</sup> *z k ht t*  
*nb nb.t*<sup>148</sup> *štš nty m dwz.t*  
*mk Skr hr šcy z f ib z f ršrš*<sup>149</sup>  
*i r.wt n.(wt) Itm m-b z h z k*  
*Nw.t nhrhr*<sup>151</sup> *z s htp.[w] z k štš.(w)*  
<sup>2</sup>*ntr ntry hq hdd.wt tzy ntr.w it ntr.wt*

*p z wty t z.[wy sh] p(r) dr n-hnt*

[...]<sup>153</sup>

*dr kkw ikh hzy.t dsr-<sup>c</sup> ir n[t]y.w nb.(w) nbi*  
*nbi.w wt [...]*<sup>154</sup>

<sup>1</sup>O you who united yourself with your two lunar eyes at your  
 time!<sup>145</sup>

Let the door[s] open for you in the hidden chamber;<sup>146</sup>  
 let your radiance rest throughout the land,

(O) lord and lady of the secret that is in the netherworld,  
 (for) behold, Sokar is upon his sand; his heart is joyful,  
 the uraei of Atum<sup>150</sup> are in your presence,

(and) Nut as she makes your secret offering[s] jubilant,

<sup>2</sup>(O) divine god,<sup>152</sup> he of the bright rays, the progenitor of the  
 gods, the father of the goddesses,  
 primaeval one of the [two] land[s], who created since afore-  
 time,

[...]

who drove out the darkness, entering the brightness of He-of  
 the-sacred-arm, who made all the things that are, who fash-  
 ioned the fashioners, who engendered [...]

<sup>137</sup> Written unusually in honorific transposition.

<sup>138</sup> *twt* is used verbally here.

<sup>139</sup> As written, though otherwise unattested; apparently a variant of *nn ntr twt sw r kd z f* “there being no god like him with respect to his form” (LGG 3, 491).

<sup>140</sup> The  appears to be a graphic error for , while  here serves as a phonetic complement *i*.

<sup>141</sup> The switch to the second person here, though it suits the overall context, is locally incongruous, but the two -signs allow no other interpretation.

<sup>142</sup> The decipherment of this last section, starting with , is highly speculative. For *mn* with , see *Wb.* 2, 60; I presume  has here the simple phonetic value *m*. A  can perhaps be suggested above  to yield *nt-<sup>c</sup>*, the plural strokes for which would have occupied the lacuna at left, as also to the left of *zhw*. Reading the last three signs as a verb *wdq* or *wzdd* “to decide,” “to ordain,” the action performed by the snake deity of the same name (Wilson 1997, p. 209; LGG 2, 266c–267b), is little more than a best guess; if so, the  is otiose.

<sup>143</sup> Similar to *nt-<sup>c</sup> z f mn*, attested for Amun; see LGG 4, 387b.

<sup>144</sup> The beginning of the text is badly damaged, and the reading of some signs is uncertain. The bottom and right side of  can just be made out, allowing the restoration *hnm*, with , whose base is visible, for the phonetic complement *m*. The iris of  below is uncarved, having perhaps been rendered in paint, but the identity of the sign is secured by its color (blue) and by the second of a conjectured pair of strokes below its lower right corner, which must have been balanced by a  below the canthus. If the restoration of dual strokes after  is accepted, then this must be an expression similar to that found in an obscure epithet of Re-Horakhty from Edfu (LGG 6, 18a; *Edfou* III, 11/10–11; cf. Gasse 1984, pp. 200–01). On *hnm.t(y)*, see Wilson 1997, p. 771. Since the Edfu litany concerns the

sun god as demiurge, such an epithet is not entirely unsuitable in the present context. Alternatively, one could restore only a single stroke after the , yielding *hnm sw m ir.t z f* “who united himself with his eye,” an epithet otherwise unattested.

<sup>145</sup> Translated here in the second person; literally “O he who united himself with his two lunar eyes at his time!”

<sup>146</sup> This could also be translated “chamber of the hidden place.” More normally written *t imnt.t*; the writing here seems also to indicate the idea of *imnt.t* “western”; see comments in Wilson 1997, p. 77.

<sup>147</sup> Assigning  the value *s* (*Valeurs phonétiques* I, p. 277) as phonetic complement.

<sup>148</sup> Or, if the feminine-deity ideogram  serves rather as a determinative, it certainly indicates that *nb* is to be understood in both the male and female sense, in line with other similar expressions of the dual nature of the *Urgott* throughout these texts.

<sup>149</sup> Reading very uncertain, with the assumption that  here is simply an error for . For *ršrš*, see *Wb.* 2, 458; the word suits the context here.

<sup>150</sup> LGG 1, 146b.

<sup>151</sup> The interpretation of the signs is difficult here; the divine determinative  is best taken with  above the  for *Nw.t*, leaving the obscure word *nhrhr*, on which see Wilson 1997, pp. 535–36. Its application to *htp.w* “offerings” would seem to be unprecedented.

<sup>152</sup> LGG 4, 432a–434a.

<sup>153</sup> The section beginning with , including , and ending with two strokes visible above *dr*, is too broken to be read, and no reconstruction can at present be suggested.

<sup>154</sup> The broken condition of the stone along the block line renders this section also difficult to interpret. From the arrangement of the remaining seated-god determinatives, it would seem that two or more groups of deities, including Tatenen, were indicated here as the object of *wt*, thus the offspring of Amun.

<sup>3</sup>*km̐ n km̐.n.(t)w̐f wbn iw t̐ m Nwn [...]*

[...] <sup>157</sup> *nty nb ii m d̐.t nm̐<sup>158</sup> k(y) hn̐ k̐f̐*

*km̐ km̐.w m t̐.w tp-r̐(̐)̐f̐<sup>160</sup>*

(ny)-sw.t ntr.w hk̐ Psd̐.t wsr f̐.w.t<sup>161</sup> hk̐ ̐h̐.w

Hr Hr.w R̐ n R̐.w ir̐ dr̐-̐ sp-sn<sup>163</sup> inw ph̐.(wy)

<sup>3</sup>the creator who was not created,<sup>155</sup> who arose when the land was in Nun,<sup>156</sup>

[...] everything that is, who is come as a cobra,<sup>159</sup> with whose *ka* there is no other,

he who created the creators with the breath of his utterance, the king of the gods, the ruler of the Ennead, powerful of splendor, ruler of the standing ones,<sup>162</sup>

Horus of Horuses,<sup>164</sup> Re of Res,<sup>165</sup> who made the very beginning, who brings the end.<sup>166</sup>

Of the epithets given within these texts, many are familiar from various theological inscriptions in Karnak, Hibis, or elsewhere referring to Amun-Re, and others are common in Greco-Roman temples of other deities (Dendera, Esna, Edfu), with reference to the demiurge or to the processes of creation. Some of the epithets used here are less common, such as the expression *dfny wtt n̐sn* “the ancestor of those to whom there is an offspring,” or the combination *in t̐ dr̐f̐ r̐ pr̐f̐ m tp̐.t̐f̐ b̐h̐ m nwn wr* “who brought the whole earth at his coming forth from his source, who has overflowed as the great Nun.” What is most significant, for a general understanding of the evolved role of the shrine, is the overall selection of epithets and expressions; focusing upon the theme of Amun’s role as uncreated creator, as creator of the Ogdoad, and as the source of light, matter, and the beneficial things of the cosmos, the two texts precisely enumerate the characteristics of the demiurge Amun *Djeser-set*, invoking his presence at the focal point of the cult — the western doorway of the bark shrine.

The jambs of the doorway, immediately adjoining these texts, were inscribed with eight small-scale ritual scenes showing Ptolemy VIII making offerings to Amun-Re in his various forms. On the south jamb the divine recipients are, from top to bottom: (fig. 5.19) ram-headed Amun-Re-Horakhty with solar disk, *hp(r) ds̐f̐ Hr̐ dsr-hpr.w m sp tp̐(y)* “he who came into being of himself, Horus sacred-of-forms in the first occasion”; (fig. 5.20) ithyphallic Amun-Re Kamutef; (fig. 5.21) Amun-Re, king of the gods, in human form; (fig. 5.22) Amun-Re, king of the gods, also called *Nwn wr... nb p̐.t t̐ dw̐.t̐* “Nun the great one... lord of heaven, the earth, and the netherworld.” On the north jamb we find: (fig. 5.23) ram-headed Amun-Re, again with solar disk, whose names are partly damaged, but who is called *hnty m̐nw m i̐.t̐ t̐.w mw.wt* “foremost of the western mountain in the Mound of Djeme”; (fig. 5.24) ithyphallic Amunopet *n i̐.t̐ t̐.w mw.wt* “of the Mound of Djeme”; (fig. 5.25) Amun-Re in human form, called *hk̐ psd̐.t̐* “ruler of the Ennead”; (fig. 5.26) Amun-Re, “lord of the thrones of the two lands,” in human form. This selection of images — the ram-headed, ithyphallic, and ordinary human forms of Amun-Re — indicates the presence of each of his main manifestations within the shrine; the choice of names and epithets emphasizes on the one hand his demiurgic characteristics, and on the other hand, his importance at this site, the mound of Djeme, a location that is contextualized specifically in the necropolis by means of the epithet “foremost of the western mountain (*hnty m̐nw*) in the mound of Djeme.”

The connection between *i̐.t̐ t̐.w mw.wt* and the western netherworld is reinforced by two scenes preserved above, on the broken lintel over the doorway. The first of these (fig. 5.27) shows the king offering to a mummy-form, ram-headed figure wearing an elaborate *atef*-crown. The accompanying text names this god Osiris *nb p̐.w.t dsr̐.t̐* “lord of the primaeval time of the Necropolis”; by its distinctive iconography, however, we may suggest a more specific identification of this figure as Amun-Re-Osiris. He is accompanied by Isis *hry̐.(t̐)-ib rwy̐.t̐ imnt̐.(t̐)* “who dwells at the western doorway,” a simultaneous reference to the entry-point of the necropolis and to this doorway itself, at the western end of the bark shrine. In the second scene (fig. 5.28), immediately to the right,

<sup>155</sup> LGG 7, 194c–195a.

<sup>156</sup> LGG 2, 324b, reads *wbn-r̐-t̐-m-Nwn* “Der auf der Erde aus dem Nun aufgeht.”

<sup>157</sup> A verb of making or creation was doubtless written here, but no trace of the word remains.

<sup>158</sup> The form of the sign is unusual, lacking hands, but the reading *nm* makes sense in context.

<sup>159</sup> LGG 1, 130a.

<sup>160</sup> LGG 7, 205c–206a gives only *km̐-m-t̐.w-tp-r̐(̐)̐f̐*, with the note “Deutung der Pluralstriche bei *km̐* unsicher.” In the context of several similar expressions in these texts, for example, *nbi̐ nbi̐.w*, *kd̐ kd̐.w*, etc., the reading *km̐ km̐.w* may be suggested with confidence.

<sup>161</sup> Normally without *.t̐*; see LGG 2, 574a.

<sup>162</sup> LGG 5, 502b–c; this seems to be the only attestation of this epithet.

<sup>163</sup> Or perhaps understand *dr̐-̐ dr̐-̐* “the beginning of the beginning”

<sup>164</sup> LGG 5, 274c–275b.

<sup>165</sup> Compare *Wb. 2, 401/7, R̐ nb R̐.w* “Re der Herr der Sonnengötter”; also LGG 4, 628c.

<sup>166</sup> The text seems to end abruptly here; in this context one would expect *in ph̐.wy d̐.t̐* (LGG 1, 375b) or something similar.

the king offers to the Theban triad, at the head of which sits Amun-Re, *n(y)-sw.t ntr.w šhm špss nb ns.(w)t t3.wy m s.t Wsir* “king of the gods, the powerful and noble one, lord of the throne(s) of the two lands, who is in the place of Osiris.” The presence of this last epithet, seldom attested, reinforces the mortuary character of the cult of Amun carried out within this chamber. Taken together, the descriptive and decorative elements of the western gateway of the bark shrine emphasize the most important aspects of Amun-Re *Djeser-set*: his role as self-created



Figure 5.19. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re Horakhty. West doorway of the bark shrine, south jamb, first scene. Chicago House photo no. 17269, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.20. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re Kamutef. West doorway of the bark shrine, south jamb, second scene. Chicago House photo no. 17269, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.21. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re, king of the gods. West doorway of the bark shrine, south jamb, third scene. Chicago House photo no. 17267, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey

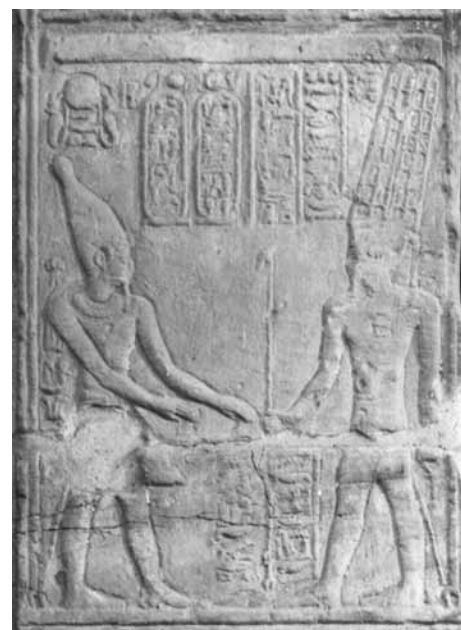


Figure 5.22. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re-Nun. West doorway of the bark shrine, south jamb, fourth scene. Chicago House photo no. 17267, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey

demiurge, his presence at this site, the mound of Djeme, and his identification with Osiris. The textual and iconographic identification of Amun-Re *Djeser-set* with Osiris is localized at this doorway, explicitly referred to as the “western doorway,” *rwyt imnt.t*. That this portal functioned as the focus of divine service is further reinforced by the inscriptions on its reveals, which consist of texts of the form *wn ʿ3.wy p.t...* “Let the doors of heaven open...,” the declaration commonly associated with the daily unsealing and opening of the doors of statue-shrines, but indicating in this case the point of cultic contact with the deceased *Urgott* in the invisible beyond.



Figure 5.23. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re, “Foremost of the western mountain in the mound of Djeme.” West doorway of the bark shrine, north jamb, first scene. Chicago House photo no. 2538, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.24. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amunopet of the mound of Djeme. West doorway of the bark shrine, north jamb, second scene. Chicago House photo no. 17262, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.25. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun, ruler of the Ennead. West doorway of the bark shrine, north jamb, third scene. Chicago House photo no. 17265, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.26. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun-Re. West doorway of the bark shrine, north jamb, fourth scene. Chicago House photo no. 17265, used by permission of the Epigraphic Survey



Figure 5.27. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Osiris, “lord of the primeval time of the Necropolis,” and Isis, “who dwells at the western doorway.” West doorway of the bark shrine, lintel, first scene from left. Photo by the author

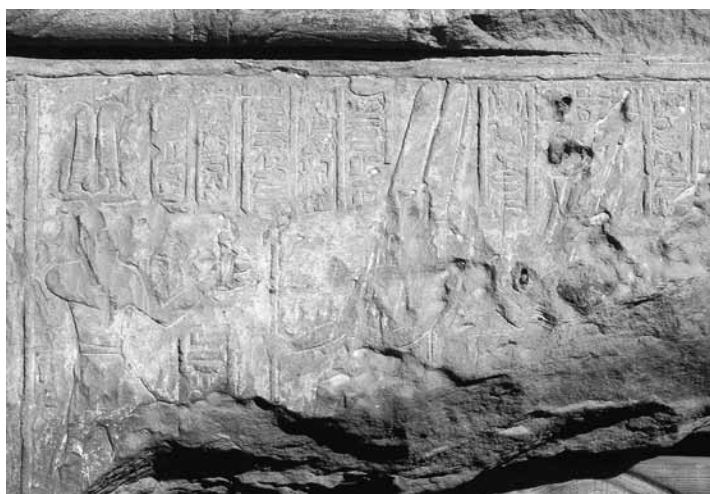


Figure 5.28. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II before Amun “who is in the place of Osiris.” West doorway of the bark shrine, lintel, second scene from left. Photo by the author

This doorway was the terminus of the textual and iconographic revision in the Small Temple during the reign of Ptolemy VIII. Beyond, within the temple’s inner chambers, no modifications were made to the inscribed wall decoration; the offering scenes showing Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, with traditional New Kingdom forms and the texts containing his epithets, were left intact. The insertion of a large granite naos within the northwest chamber, sometime before or during the reign of Ptolemy IX Philometor,<sup>167</sup> indeed demonstrates that the inner sanctuaries continued to be used for the service of the daily statue cult of Amun, and the numerous Demotic graffiti inscribed by priests in these chambers<sup>168</sup> also indicate that they continued to be in active use. These inner rooms, however, were not the focus of the temple’s theological reconfiguration. It was the bark shrine with its axis of approach that was, by means of these textual and iconographic modifications, specifically designated as the locus of the mortuary cult of the Amun and the Ogdoad as primordial creator-gods. The west wall of the shrine with its doorway was thus of particular theological significance. The *rwy.t imnt.t* was the point of contact with the netherworld that, figuratively, lay beyond: the liminal point at which the demiurge Amun-Re *Djeser-set*, who was here, and only here, identified specifically with Osiris, came forth every tenth day, as the divine deceased, to receive funerary offerings from his godly descendant. The door and its surrounding decoration — the scenes showing Amun in his various aspects, with the lengthy texts acclaiming his attributes as creator of the cosmos, surmounted by the regenerative avatars of the four winds — function as a theological treatise on the nature of this divine recipient of mortuary service. That the shrine had become the periodic scene of this service, both for Amun and for his Ogdoad, whose nature and role are already extensively related in the texts and images on the shrine’s east entrance,

is made clear by the renewal texts atop its side walls. That the image of Amun of Opet was brought to this shrine for this purpose *tp sw md nb* “at the beginning of every ten days,” with all of the theological implications that texts from Karnak and other locations ascribe to the Decade Festival, is also manifestly demonstrated by Euergetes II’s inscriptions.

The foregoing brief survey of those inscriptions is sufficient for a basic appreciation of the shrine’s theological significance as newly specified therein. Yet there are other features of the shrine that are not yet satisfactorily understood. Foremost among these is the way in which the decoration of the inner (north and south) side walls, the content of whose ritual scenes and offering-lists, dating back to the reign of Thutmose III, was deliberately retained, remained valid in the context of the altered cultic function of the shrine described by the new texts. Not until the original meaning of this selection of ritual episodes, as conceived in the Eighteenth Dynasty and as reflected in other Thutmoside-period bark shrines,<sup>169</sup> has been fully investigated can the question of their meaning

<sup>167</sup> See Epigraphic Survey 2009, pls. 111–12.

<sup>168</sup> Epigraphic Survey 2009, pls. 100–04.

<sup>169</sup> These are the subject of a dissertation currently being prepared by E. Arnaudès-Montélimard.

in the later reconfiguration of the monument be explored with satisfactory results, leading, perhaps, to a determination of whether these recarved scenes and texts can be related explicitly to the shrine's function as the locus of the Decade Festival offerings. Other questions arise in the wider context of the Small Temple precinct as a whole, keeping in mind that the texts presented here, those of the reign of Euergetes II, are relatively few in comparison with those inscribed later, in the eastern extensions of the complex, under the last Ptolemies and the Roman emperors. Related material from outside Medinet Habu, and, indeed, from outside Thebes,<sup>170</sup> bears upon the ideas expressed *in extenso* in Ptolemy VIII's inscriptions: can, for instance, a meaningful connection be drawn between the reconceived theology of the Small Temple, as expressed in the late texts added thereto, and what is known from other sources concerning the Decade Festival and the rites of Djeme?<sup>171</sup> It is certain that, at the very least, the late "Hermopolitan"-Theban cosmological system, first elucidated by Sethe, will be understood more fully based on a more complete evaluation of the whole corpus of the Medinet Habu cosmogonical texts. We are only now beginning to undertake the necessary research on these inscriptions, a pursuit in which this author, the staff of the Epigraphic Survey, and our academic colleagues studying the rich, and as yet largely un-mined, corpus of theological materials from the Late and Greco-Roman temples of the Theban region, will be engaged for some time to come. For the present, it is hoped that these preliminary remarks on Euergetes II's cosmogonical inscriptions from Medinet Habu are of interest and utility to scholars with an interest in the textual and iconographic arcana of Ptolemaic Thebes.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Edfou I</i>             | Maxence de Rochemonteix and Émile Gaston Chassinat. <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , Volume 1. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française 10. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1892. |
| <i>Edfou III</i>           | Émile Gaston Chassinat. <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , Volume 3. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française 20. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1928.                             |
| <i>Edfou IV</i>            | Émile Gaston Chassinat. <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , Volume 4. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française 21. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1929.                             |
| <i>Edfou VII</i>           | Émile Gaston Chassinat. <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , Volume 7. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française 24. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1932.                             |
| <i>Valeurs phonétiques</i> | François Daumas, ed. <i>Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine</i> . 4 volumes. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1988–.                                       |

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<sup>171</sup> See, for example, Herbin 1984, pp. 105–26.

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## 6

## PTOLEMY IX (SOTER II) AT THEBES

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The divided reign of Ptolemy IX, Soter II, from 117 to 107 B.C. and again from 88 to 80 B.C., marked both a tumultuous period in the declining years of the Ptolemaic dynasty and a pivotal era in the history — and ultimate decline — of the ancient city of Thebes.<sup>1</sup> The present study examines one aspect of that era: the phraseology of the royal Prenomen and its modification for propagandistic reasons. While this is admittedly a highly traditional Egyptological concern for earlier periods, the student of Ptolemaic titularies is poorly served by available studies. Selective examples were collected by Gauthier for his valuable series *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, and there are studies of the royal epithets in the Demotic, Greek, and, most recently, the hieroglyphic texts.<sup>2</sup> The full phraseology of the hieroglyphic cartouches, in contrast, has received little attention, probably on the assumption that these formal titles in then-arcane script were of little historical importance. When reproduced, the cartouches are only rarely transliterated or translated.<sup>3</sup> Greater interest in the epithets is readily comprehensible, since Demotic and Greek documents use only the epithet, and the Prenomen itself, after Ptolemy III, invariably begins with the declaration that the king is “the heir of” a predecessor’s epithet. In the case of Ptolemy IX, however, published translations of his Prenomen have been inaccurate, and historically influenced modifications have not been highlighted.

For about a year after the death of his father in September 116 B.C., Ptolemy IX, although king, was in fact the most junior partner of a three-generation royal triad composed of his grandmother, Cleopatra II, her daughter, former rival and Ptolemy’s mother, Cleopatra III, and least significantly, Ptolemy himself.<sup>4</sup> The pecking order is clear from the Demotic text P. Rylands 20, which preserves the unique record of this odd arrangement by being dated in the reign of “the Queen Cleopatra and the Queen Cleopatra and the King Ptolemy, her son, the mother-loving and the savior” (*t3 Pr-3.t Glwptr3 irm t3 Pr-3.t Glwptr3 irm Pr-3 Ptlwmys p3yεs šr p3 mr-mw.t p3 swtr*).<sup>5</sup>

Ptolemy, from the beginning of his reign, was designated “the savior” (*p3 swtr* “the Soter,” *nty nhm* “who saves,” or *nty rk hb* “who removes injury”), while his mother, Cleopatra III, changed her epithet from “the beneficent goddess” (*t3 ntr.t mnḥ.t*), her title with her deceased husband and uncle Ptolemy VIII, to “the goddess who loves her mother and who saves” (*t3 ntr.t mr mw.tεs nd.t*), and the pair together were “the gods who love their mother(s) and who save.”<sup>6</sup> The origin of these titles came from the elder Cleopatra II, who had used “Thea Philometor Soteira” (“the mother-loving and savior goddess”) during her civil war against Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III.<sup>7</sup> The royal epithets were particularly ironic, since neither Cleopatra III nor Ptolemy IX had cause to love their respective combative mothers, and both brought destruction and instability to Egypt. Although civil war and internal revolt were hardly new to Ptolemaic Egypt, previously Thebes had escaped serious consequences. The policies of “the saviors” would produce a different result.

<sup>1</sup> This enumeration of the Ptolemies follows now standard practice, as found in Pestman 1967. Earlier studies numbered Ptolemy Soter II variously as VIII, IX, or X. The following article is the result of my comments on the Medinet Habu examples with J. Brett McClain at Chicago House in 2004. I am indebted to Brett for discussion and initial access to Chicago House images and to John Larson for archival photography and collation sheets now housed in Chicago.

<sup>2</sup> For these epithets, see Gauthier 1916; Pestman 1967; and Minas 2000.

<sup>3</sup> F. Ll. Griffith contributed an appendix with translations to Mahaffy 1899 (pp. 255–56). Griffith’s appendix was dropped from the re-edition by Bevan in 1927, and no list of cartouches appears in Hölbl

2001. W. Spiegelberg did provide a complete translation of the hieroglyphic titles of Ptolemy V on the Rosetta Stone (Spiegelberg 1990, p. 78). Some attention has been paid to the individuality of special epithets adopted for ritual scenes; see Götte 1986.

<sup>4</sup> A brief overview of Egyptian reliefs from the coregency is found in Murnane 1977, pp. 99–101.

<sup>5</sup> Pestman 1967, pp. 64 and 66. There is no need to discount the Demotic evidence as an “inadvertent repetition,” contra Bevan 1927, p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> See Pestman 1967, pp. 66 and 68 n. f. For the title *nd.t* as an epithet of Isis-Hathor, see *Wb.* 2, 375/7.

<sup>7</sup> Hölbl 2001, pp. 197 and 205.

Native revolts against Ptolemies IV and V from 206 to 186 B.C. spawned a rebel dynasty with the support of the Theban clergy.<sup>8</sup> Despite the “ethnic” aspect of the revolt, Horwennefer (205–199 B.C.) is attested in one of the first attempts to render Egyptian into phonetic Greek. A graffito on the left jamb of the Osiris chapel “N” at Abydos records in Greek letters the “fifth year of Pharaoh Horwennefer, beloved of Isis and Osiris, beloved of Amon-Re, king of the gods, the great god.”<sup>9</sup> The prominence of Theban Amon is notable. Under the earlier misreading of his name as “Harmachis,” he served as the prototype for the conflicted native hero of H. Rider Haggard’s 1889 novel *Cleopatra*. Horwennefer was succeeded by Ankhwennefer (199–186), under whom both Abydos and Thebes were occupied by the forces of Ptolemy V in 199. Ankhwennefer regained Thebes by 195 only to lose it again in 187 before being defeated and captured in the Thebaid in 186. Ptolemaic reprisals against Thebes were muted: Ankhwennefer was pardoned, the Theban temples replenished, and a general amnesty declared. Ptolemy V still had Delta rebels to defeat and found it politic to adopt — not suppress — the valuable pharaonic ideology of Thebes. His dependence upon Egyptian clerical support had been evident from his Memphite coronation; it is the political subtext of the Rosetta Stone.

Revolt flared anew in the generation preceding Ptolemy IX, from 132 to 124 B.C. Cleopatra II fought against her brother and second husband, Ptolemy VIII, who had instigated domestic quarrels by taking Cleopatra’s own daughter, Cleopatra III, as his second (but preferred) wife. As Ptolemaic allegiance splintered, a new native rebellion in Thebes elevated the Egyptian Harsiese as pharaoh in late 132. “Pharaoh Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris” is securely attested in only two documents. The Greek papyrus Berlin P. 1389 from November 10, 131, records efforts to correct the (mis)appropriation of funds from the royal bank at Thebes by the “enemy of the gods, Harsiese,” who had just been driven from the city.<sup>10</sup> Like the expelled high priest Osorkon in the Twenty-second Dynasty, Harsiese seems to have fled to the northernmost area of the Thebaid at El-Hiba, where he is attested in his second year in P. Heidelberg Aeg. nos. 10–11, a Demotic marriage contract from neighboring Karara.<sup>11</sup> The brief uprising and swift recapture of Thebes by Ptolemaic forces probably spared the city much more than financial consequences. Ptolemy VIII and the two Cleopatras were reconciled in 124 and began, in the apt phrase of Günther Hölbl, a “bizarre triple monarchy.”<sup>12</sup>

With the death of Ptolemy VIII on June 28, 116,<sup>13</sup> the kingdom was willed not to the eldest son of the deceased monarch, but to the formidable Cleopatra III and to “whichever of the two sons she would choose.”<sup>14</sup> Although her preference was for the, presumably more pliant, junior son,<sup>15</sup> opposition from Cleopatra II, the army and the citizenry compelled her to accept the elder son, Ptolemy IX, though she soon forced him to divorce his wife and sister, Cleopatra IV, who would flee with an army to Seleucid Syria to engage her sister in yet another civil war there. Back in Egypt, Cleopatra IV was replaced by a younger sister, Cleopatra V Selene, who was excluded from the standard protocols.<sup>16</sup> Ptolemy’s younger brother was sent to Cyprus as “strategos,” or military governor. Ptolemy IX’s early *Nebty*-name, attested at Edfu and the Theban Khonsu and Deir el-Medina temples, explicitly acknowledges his dependency upon his mother; he is designated as *sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f hr ns.t it=f it iw<sup>c</sup> t3.wy m m<sup>3</sup>.<sup>c</sup>-hrw* “the one whose mother placed him upon the throne of his father, who has seized the inheritance of the Two Lands in justification.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Pestman 1967, pp. 41–45; and Hölbl 2001, pp. 154–57. Horwennefer’s formal reign began in 205, the year following the beginning of the revolt; see Pestman 1995. The degree of Theban support is questioned by K. Vandorpe (1995, pp. 232–33).

<sup>9</sup> Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos 1977, pp. 102–05, no. 11.

<sup>10</sup> See Wilcken 1957, pp. 218–21, no. 199; Koenen 1959; Pestman 1967, pp. 59–61; Hölbl 2001, pp. 198–99 (wrongly cited as UPZ I, no. 199).

<sup>11</sup> Lüddeckens 1960, nos. 11D and 11Z on pp. 176–81 and pls. 6–8 (= P. Karara I and II).

<sup>12</sup> Hölbl 2001, p. 201.

<sup>13</sup> As attested by the “Great Building Inscription” of Edfu temple; see De Wit 1961a, pp. 293–94; and Kurth 2004, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> The evidence is found in Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* 39.3.1: “... moritur rex Aegypti Ptolemeus, regno Aegypti uxori et alteri ex filiis quem illa legisset relicto.” See also <http://www.the.latinlibrary.com/justin/39.html> and the 1994 transla-

tion by J. C. Yardley. The term *relicto* (< *relinquo* “to leave”) includes the legal nuance “to bequeath.”

<sup>15</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.9.1, trans. W. H. S. Jones, pp. 40–43.

<sup>16</sup> For the few exceptions, see Gauthier 1916, pp. 364–65. A rare depiction of her has been suggested for one of two Queen Cleopatras accompanying Ptolemy IX at Philae, but these queens may be instead Cleopatras II and III; see below.

<sup>17</sup> The Khonsu Temple titulary replaces *sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f* with *sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f*. See Gauthier 1916, pp. 359–60 (on p. 360, the Deir el-Medina example is miscopied as *sh<sup>c</sup>.f* for *sh<sup>c</sup>.n* and the following *it=f* *t3.wy* is miscopied for *it iw<sup>c</sup> t3.wy*); and von Beckerath 1984, p. 292, N1 (*it=f* *t3.wy* is miscopied for *it iw<sup>c</sup> t3.wy*). The significance (but not the errors) is noted in Hölbl 2001, p. 219 n. 123. For the Deir el-Medina mammisi and inscriptions, see du Bourguet 2002, pp. 167–71 and 357–58 (nos. 181–83).

Like all of his ancestors since Ptolemy V, the new Ptolemy IX displayed public reverence for native religion, and he traveled alone in 115 to officiate at the annual festival of the rising Nile at Elephantine.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps associated with this Upper Egyptian visit is a scene carved at the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. At either end of the lintel of the doorway leading from the north wall of the hypostyle hall into the sanctuary, Ptolemy Soter II follows a series of deities in adoring the central moon disk.<sup>19</sup> In the position of lesser importance at the far right of the scene, Ptolemy appears in the Upper Egyptian crown alone behind the deities, perhaps, as just noted, a reflection of the fact of his individual visit to Upper Egypt in 115. However this may be, the dominant, lefthand edge of the scene depicts the more important “underlying reality” of Ptolemy’s role.<sup>20</sup> Here Ptolemy is shown in the Lower Egyptian crown *following* his mother Cleopatra III, effectively reversing the traditional, iconic positions of king and queen.<sup>21</sup> Cleopatra’s theological precedence clearly reflects her political dominance as senior co-ruler and dynastic “king-maker” (and in the now-dominant north). The *visual* implication corresponds to the layout of the *textual* dedication below the lintel on both sides. In each case, the “female Horus, the Lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra” is invoked prior to “her son, the Horus ... Ptolemy,” and his *Nebty*-name, as previously noted, stresses her role in his accession.

The scene and texts have been copied by the Epigraphic Survey in *The Temple of Khonsu*, Volume 2, as plates 190–91.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the Survey’s publication contains inaccuracies in its copy, translation, and even the designated location of these reliefs. Assuredly by typographical error, the introductory schematic diagram (figure 7) links the position of the gateway to the southern (figure 5), rather than to the northern wall (figure 6).<sup>23</sup> By editorial decision, the lintel itself appears only in an oversized plate (190), without subdivisions for individual sections. While this is understandable for the majority of the brief texts, it is less defensible for Ptolemy’s shrunken cartouches, which are largely illegible. Photographs made prior to the drawings show that chalked divisions were made, but these questionably placed lines actually bisect the lefthand cartouches and other texts. Surviving collation sheets are equally discouraging, with initial artistic renditions as indistinct lumps later improved by instructions to just copy the tracings. The latter also survive and lack clear internal detail. Certainly the copying goals of the Survey incorporate a tension between the shapes still present and the signs once carved, but it is unlikely that any earlier dynastic cartouches would have been treated so dismissively. Cartouches can show variations, and Egyptologists are usually sensitive to the issue. The overview in plate 190 would have benefited from the inclusion of additional, detailed sections.

The treatment of the lintel cartouches is particularly curious since those in the lower dedication texts of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX are rendered more clearly in two examples (by the same artist) on plate 191.<sup>24</sup> Laudably, the accompanying pamphlet does suggest a translation for these examples of the royal titulary (Epigraphic Survey 1981, 60–62). It is all the more unfortunate then, that the published translation is wildly inac-

<sup>18</sup> The visit is known primarily from Greek texts; see Hölbl 2001, pp. 205–06 and 219 nn. 130–32. To these attestations should be added the study by de Meulenaere (1961). As suggested by de Meulenaere, an image of the king at Philae followed by two Cleopatras (all termed “the gods who love their mothers”) may be linked to this early visit; see PM VI, 212 and 219, no. 117 (as Ptolemy X). Gauthier (1916, p. 357 n. 1, and 364 n. 2) identified the two queens as Cleopatras III and IV (or V), as had R. Lepsius (*L.D. Text IV*, 148a). As Cleopatra II probably died in 115, the scene could as easily represent the triple monarchy established after the death of Euergetes II, with Cleopatras II and III beside Ptolemy IX. In any case, Ptolemy’s precedence over his mother is striking; his visit alone in 115 may explain it. De Meulenaere suggested (1961, pp. 104–05) that the visit included Ptolemy’s mother and wife. Murnane (1977, p. 100) considers the scene to depict “a now apparently mature Ptolemy IX.” Murnane argues that the position of Cleopatra III determines whether images from the coregency are from the youth or maturity of Ptolemy IX, but this is unlikely as Cleopatra III remained the dominant partner. The reason for the discrepancies in the representations must lie elsewhere.

<sup>19</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 235, no. 36 a–b and pl. 20.2.

<sup>20</sup> For the right-facing orientation as dominant in Egyptian art, see the remarks of Gay Robins (1994, p. 21) and H. G. Fischer (1976, pp. 127–28).

<sup>21</sup> For the normal position of women in two-dimensional art, see Robins 1994, p. 19. The image reversal is noted in Hölbl 2001, p. 219 n. 133.

<sup>22</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981, pp. 60–62 and pls. 190–91.

<sup>23</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981, unnumbered sheets, figs. 5–7. See Nelson 1941, pl. 17, section M, fig. 12, 319 a (for Epigraphic Survey 1981, pl. 190) and 319 h (pl. 191 West) and 319 b (pl. 191 East). Nelson’s section M is now generally cited as “Kh” for “Khonsu Temple.”

<sup>24</sup> These scenes are included in Minas 2000, pp. 32–33 and pl. 21, as Document 59. Minas recognizes the significance of Cleopatra’s precedence on the lefthand scene, but suggests (p. 33) that by her absence from the righthand scene “ihre Übermächtigkeit reduziert wird.” I prefer to see the depictions as illustrative of “two truths.” The same pattern is found at Deir el-Medina; see below.



(and during the Ptolemaic era in particular). The close bond between the Memphite “papacy” and the Ptolemaic dynasty is underscored even earlier by the regular addition of the phrase *mri Pth* “beloved of Ptah” to almost every Ptolemaic Nomen from Ptolemy III onward.<sup>31</sup> The now secondary position of Re accords with the recently recognized incorporation of ancient Heliopolitan materials into the city of Alexandria, as shown by the underwater excavations by Frank Goddio. The placement of Amon last signals both the continued importance of the god’s cult and the diminution in the status of Thebes, first encountered under the Delta-based Ramessides. The relative political isolation of Thebes made it a ready base for revolt, with recent historical and religious ties to Nubia rather than to the North.

The appearance of Cleopatra III and her mention in Ptolemy’s Prenomen conclusively link this wall decoration to the earlier reign of Ptolemy IX. The same conclusion can be applied to a relief series on the Theban west bank on the exterior south wall of the temple of Deir el-Medina.<sup>32</sup> As at the Khonsu Temple, the dedicatory inscription begins by invoking, “Long live the female Horus, the Lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, together with her son ... Ptolemy.” Below the dedication, in the dominant lefthand scene, Cleopatra III precedes Ptolemy in offering to the Theban triad, while in the righthand scene Ptolemy appears alone offering to Hathor and Maat. In all instances, Ptolemy’s Prenomen is identical to the four examples at the Khonsu Temple (see fig. 6.3). Aside from minor changes, Ptolemy’s *Nebty* name (and the rest of his titulary) also duplicates the texts at Khonsu Temple.<sup>33</sup> The identity of the texts and the similarity in the spatial hierarchy accorded queen and king suggest that the reliefs on both banks were commissioned at the same time.<sup>34</sup>

Whatever domestic harmony had prevailed at court ended in 107, when Cleopatra III accused her eldest son of attempting to kill her. Ptolemy IX was driven from Egypt to Cyprus, leaving behind his wife and sons. Cleopatra’s troops forced him from Cyprus to Seleukia in Pereia, where he at last repulsed them. Cleopatra’s commander was executed for failing to kill the son “who loved his mother,”<sup>35</sup> and Ptolemy IX returned to Cyprus and ruled the island independently from 106 until 88.<sup>36</sup> The younger Ptolemy X, Alexander I, exchanged positions with his brother and became the new monarch of Egypt:

*iw<sup>c</sup> (n) ntr mnḥ ntr.t mnḥ.t R<sup>c</sup>.t stp n Pth ir m<sup>c</sup>.t (n) R<sup>c</sup> snn nḥ n ’Imn*

“Heir of the beneficent god and the beneficent goddess and female Re, the chosen of Ptah, who performs Maat for Re, the living image of Amon.”<sup>37</sup>

Like his elder brother, Ptolemy X was designated “the one whose mother placed him upon the throne of his father” (*sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f hr ns.t it=f*), but now this significant epithet was promoted from the *Nebty* to the Horus name.<sup>38</sup> The triumphal arrival of Ptolemy X was celebrated in the “Great Building Inscription” of Edfu as a king “who entered Egypt in peace, his soldiers rejoicing, the gods and goddesses as his protection, to whom very numerous Sed-festivals were given by Ptah-Tenen, the father of the gods, to whom kingship was given by Re-Atum, and valor and victory by Amon.”<sup>39</sup> The relative positions of Ptah, Re, and Amon are again notable. This enco-

<sup>31</sup> The exception is Ptolemy IV, who is “beloved of Isis,” the chief goddess of the state cult in Alexandria. The last few Ptolemies are “beloved of Ptah and Isis.”

<sup>32</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 407, no. 34 and plan 40.2 (the interior north wall of the brick mammisi); and Chicago Oriental Institute photos 8955–56. These scenes are included in Minas 2000, pp. 29–31, as Document 57. Contra Minas, pp. 30–31, the epithet in the ancestor list *t<sup>3</sup> ntr.t mr mw.t=s* should designate Cleopatra II, not Cleopatra III who is already noted in the following *ntr.wy mr.wy mw.t*. Cleopatra II is indicated separately from her two husbands and by the very epithet “Philometor” which she had used individually and imposed on her daughter and grandson. The mammisi reliefs and texts are now published in du Bourguet 2002, pp. 167–71 and 357–58, but the published arrangement of the texts inverts the intended status of queen and king, numbering the king and his titles first (no. 183, 2–3), although in fact they follow the queen and her cartouche (no. 183, 6).

<sup>33</sup> Epigraphic Survey 1981, pl. 191, copies in the Horus name only *dsr ms.w* instead of the expected *dsr msh<sup>c</sup>.w* found at Deir el-Medina; see similarly Gauthier 1916, p. 360. As noted above, the *Nebty*-name

at the Khonsu Temple uses a *sḏm=f* rather than a *sḏm.n=f* relative (*sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f* vs. *sh<sup>c</sup>.n sw mw.t=f*).

<sup>34</sup> Both scenes were briefly noted in Murnane 1977, p. 100, with the suggestion that they “probably date to the extreme youth of the king.”

<sup>35</sup> Justin 39.4.

<sup>36</sup> Alexander began his regnal years in 114 while in Cyprus, so his twenty-seven years of rule represent only nineteen years in Egypt.

<sup>37</sup> See Gauthier 1916, pp. 366–90, esp. pp. 386–87; and von Beckerath 1984, pp. 292–93. Gauthier’s defective copy from Edfu on p. 390, no. LXXXVIII, substitutes *’t* for *mnḥ.t* and *mri* for *iw<sup>c</sup>*. The former, but not the latter, error is corrected in von Beckerath 1984, p. 292, T2. For the correct form, see De Wit 1961a, p. 294.

<sup>38</sup> See Gauthier 1916, 386; von Beckerath 1984, p. 292; De Wit 1961a, p. 277; Kurth 2004, p. 45; and Hölbl 2001, p. 207 at n. 137.

<sup>39</sup> Chassinat 1932, p. 10; De Wit 1961a, p. 296; and Kurth 2004, p. 54: *’q=f T<sup>3</sup>-mri m ḥtp mnfy.t=f m ḥ<sup>c</sup> ntr.w ntr.wt m s<sup>3</sup>w=f rdi.(w) n=f ḥb.w-sd ’š<sup>3</sup>.w wr.w in Pth-Tnn it ntr.w rdi.(w) n=f ny.t-sw.t (i)n R<sup>c</sup>’Itm qn nḥt in ’Imn.*

mium was considered sufficiently stylish for an invading usurper that it was adapted on the exterior bandeau texts of the Karnak Opet temple to describe Octavian's later invasion of Egypt.<sup>40</sup>

Soter's attempt to invade Egypt in 103 was repulsed, but the feuding Ptolemies convulsed Seleucid politics from 103 to 101, as evidenced not only by Greek and Latin sources but by a statue erected at Karnak by Padiim-hotep, the Egyptian general of Cleopatra III.<sup>41</sup> In 101, the "more pliant" Ptolemy X had Cleopatra III murdered, and he took his brother's daughter, Cleopatra-Bernice III, as queen. A decade later, in 91, Demotic records indicate that much of Upper Egypt was in revolt,<sup>42</sup> and in 89 an Alexandrian revolt expelled Ptolemy X Alexander I and recalled Ptolemy IX Soter II to the throne.<sup>43</sup> Ptolemy X died while attempting to take Cyprus.<sup>44</sup> The reentry of Soter II in 88 entailed active warfare not against a Ptolemaic opponent, but against the continuing native revolts. Witness to the conflict survives in five letters of Platon, *epistrategos* of the Thebaid, written between March and November 88 to the native Egyptian commander Nakhthor and the inhabitants of besieged Pathyris (Gebelein) encouraging them to hold out on behalf of the king (first Alexander then Soter).<sup>45</sup>

#### Letter 1 (P. London 465 = SB 3 6300)

Platon to the inhabitants of Pathyris, greeting and good health. Having marched out from Latopolis (Esna) in order to take in hand the situation in accordance with the interests of the state, I have thought it well to inform you and to exhort you to keep up a good courage yourselves, and to rally to Nechthyris who has been given command over you, until I come to your district, with what haste I can. Farewell. Year 26 (of Alexander), Phamenoth 16 (March 28, 88).

#### Letter 2 (P. Bouriant 10 = SB 3 6643)

Platon to Nechthyris, greeting. I have marched out from Latopolis in order to take in hand the situation in accordance with the interests of the state, and I have written to the inhabitants, bidding them to rally to you. You will do well to hold the place and to exercise your command. Those who show a tendency to disobey you [...] until I come to join you, with what haste I can. Farewell. Year 26 (of Alexander), Phamenoth 16 (March 28, 88).

#### Letter 3 (P. Bouriant 11 = SB 3 6644)

Though fragmentary, the letter from Platon to Nakhthor (March 30, 88) discusses provisions and may indicate that Platon was preparing for a siege.<sup>46</sup>

#### Letter 4 (P. Bad. II 16 = SB 3 7180)

Platon to the priests and the other inhabitants in Pathyris, greeting. You will do well to rally [to Nechthyris] in order that the place may be kept safe for our lord the king. For if you do so, and maintain your loyalty to the realm ... from those above us you will meet with the fitting gratitude...

<sup>40</sup> De Wit 1958, p. 232 line 2, and p. 264 line 2; De Wit 1968, pp. 109 and 119; and De Wit 1961b: 'q=fT'-mri hri.w mnyf.t m h'c' ntr.w ntr. wt it m shm=f mi R' psd m 3h.t "He entered Egypt happily, the soldiers rejoicing, the gods and goddesses seized by his power like (that of) Re shining in the horizon." De Wit's translation differs (inter alia) in restoring (m-s'z=f) "behind him" after ntr.w ntr.wt on the basis of the Edfu text of Ptolemy X, but he does acknowledge that other scholars insisted on a passive (stative) translation for it; see De Wit 1961b, p. 66 nn. e-f; and De Wit 1968, p. 139 nn. 440-41. The Opet bandeau texts lack m-s'z=f in both exemplars. Octavian's suppression of the Memphite "papacy" (probably including the murder of the incumbent High Priest) is indicated by the switch from stp n Pth to stp n Nwn (transitionally stp n Pth-Nwn at Kalabsha), and the encomium is further modified at Kalabsha and Esna; see De Wit 1968, p. 139 n. 439.

<sup>41</sup> Turin 3062 (formerly linked to Tell el-Balamun and the reign of Ptolemy III or IV) + Karnak Karakol 258; see Jan Quaegebeur in Van 't Dack et al. 1989, pp. 88-108; Stricker 1959, p. 14 and pl. 7:1; and Hölbl 2001, p. 209.

<sup>42</sup> Spiegelberg 1930 (P. Dem. Berlin 13608 in year 24 = 91 B.C.). See also P. Cairo 30963 (92/91 B.C.).

<sup>43</sup> Emery 1971, pp. 5-6 and pl. 5:4; properly read in Zauzich 1977, p. 193: "regnal year 26 which equals year 29, month 3 of ..., Pharaoh being outside of Egypt." For the expulsion of Ptolemy X and the return of Ptolemy IX, see the overview in Préaux 1936; and Van 't Dack et al. 1989, pp. 136-50.

<sup>44</sup> Chassinat 1932, pp. 1-20; De Wit 1961a, pp. 277-320; and Samuel 1965. Ptolemy X reigned only a few days into his 19th (officially the 26th) year. News of the change of kings reached Pathyris between September 6 and October 5; Soter was in Memphis by November 1.

<sup>45</sup> Wilcken 1939, pp. 221-22 (SB 3 6300, 6643, 6644, and 7180 and Wilcken, *Chrest.* 12). See Collart 1922, pp. 273-82; Van 't Dack et al. 1989, pp. 146-49; and the bibliography in Préaux 1936, p. 548 n. 4. The following translations are adapted from Hunt and Edgar 1934, 568-71; Bevan 1927, pp. 335-36; and Collart 1922, pp. 274-77. For likely Demotic attestations of Nakhthor (P. Dem. Heidelberg 746 and 650a = 750a), see Spiegelberg 1905, pp. 47-50 and 52-53; and Van 't Dack et al. 1989, pp. 65-69 and 147-49. On pp. 147 and 149 n. 157, Van 't Dack has wrongly cited Pestman, *Chronologie* (1967), rather than Pestman, *P. L. Bat. XIV* (1965).

<sup>46</sup> Samuel 1965, p. 383.

**Letter 5 (P. Bouriant 12 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 12)<sup>47</sup>**

Platon to the priests and the other inhabitants in Pathyris, greeting. Philoxenus my brother has informed me in a letter which Orses has brought me that the Greatest God King Soter has come to Memphis and that Hierax has been appointed to subjugate the Thebaid with very large forces. In order that this news may keep up your courage, I have thought it well to inform you. Farewell. Year 30 (of Soter), Phaophi 19 (= November 1, 88).

The subjugation of the Thebaid required three years, and its impact on Thebes itself was disastrous. On the basis of comments by the Greek author Pausanias, Bevan concluded that the town “remained a mere shadow of its former self, a place of ruins.”<sup>48</sup> In a frequently cited historical overview, Pausanias writes as follows:

Alexander fled in fear of the citizens, Ptolemy returned and for the second time assumed control of Egypt. He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them three years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks (Pausanias 1.9.3).<sup>49</sup>

The destruction of Thebes was a vivid image for Pausanias, and in a later book he again uses the city as emblematic of catastrophic reversal of fortunes. Rarely noted, the second passage is equally striking in describing the new poverty of the city.

Of the opulent places in the ancient world, Egyptian Thebes ... [is] now less prosperous than a private individual of moderate means (Pausanias 8.33.2).<sup>50</sup>

The three-year campaign noted by Pausanias should probably be dated from the return of Soter II, that is, from 88 to 85.<sup>51</sup> Corroboration for the campaign and its destructive impact on the Thebaid can be found in the surviving record of papyri and ostraca. While not exhaustive, the selection of Demotic texts in P. W. Pestman’s study of Egyptian chronology reveals a clear pattern.<sup>52</sup> In year 29 (of Soter) = year 26 (of Alexander), corresponding to September 14, 89, to September 13, 88, six documents are noted, of which five derive from the Thebaid with the usual subjects (temple oaths and tax payments) and are dated exclusively to Ptolemy Alexander I. The other document from this year, P. Dem. Cairo 30614, derives from farther north, in Tebtunis, and dates by both kings but employs only the epithet appropriate for Soter: “the gods who save.”<sup>53</sup> The following, concluding year of Alexander (30 of Soter = 27 of Alexander, corresponding to September 14, 88, to September 13, 87)<sup>54</sup> is attested by a single document from Pathyris, which now introduces double dates with that of Alexander first (year 27 which amounts to year 30, 21 Thoth = October 4, 88), but the protocol names only Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy, the Soter (*pꜣ swtr*). On 22 Thoth (October 5, 88), the very day after this last, implied reference to Alexander I, the Pathyrite temple oath P. Strassburg 12 now gives *only* the regnal year 30 of Soter II. On Phaophi 19 (= November 1, 88), Platon’s fifth letter to Pathyris warns of the impending invasion by Soter’s army. While this series of documentation has often been cited as evidence for both the change of reigns and the transmission of this information to the south, the series also marks another, more ominous development. In Thebes, a land measurement (*r rḥz w r*) document is attested from year 30, Mesore 2 (August 11, 87) of Ptolemy Soter II,<sup>55</sup> and then no further Theban documents are dated to his reign. As Clarysse has noted, after 88 B.C., “Theban papyri become very scarce indeed and our information on the town stems mainly from a continuing stream of ostraca, most of them tax receipts. No doubt this situation partly reflects the decline of the town, by Strabo’s time reduced to a cluster of villages on both sides of the Nile.”<sup>56</sup> A similar situation prevails at nearby Pathyris. As succinctly stated by Katelijjn Vandorpe,

<sup>47</sup> Mitteis and Wilcken 1912, part 2: *Chrestomathie*, p. 22; and cf. part 1: *Historischer Teil*, p. 22.

<sup>48</sup> Bevan 1927, p. 337.

<sup>49</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 1, pp. 42–43. Jones mistranslated three years (ἔτει τριῶν) as two years.

<sup>50</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 4, pp. 66–69.

<sup>51</sup> In contrast to most other scholars, Hölbl (2001, 211) dates the suppression of the rebellion to about 90–88 B.C., but Pausanias’s frame of reference (“after 3 years”) is more likely to be the known return of Soter II and not the actual outbreak of hostilities. The destruc-

tion of Thebes is placed in 88 B.C. by Wilcken (Mitteis and Wilcken 1912, part 1, p. 22), but in 85 B.C. by Barguet (1962, p. 23).

<sup>52</sup> Pestman 1967, pp. 74–77. See also Samuel 1965, pp. 381–82.

<sup>53</sup> Contrast P. Dem. Cairo 30615 of year 17 of Ptolemy X Alexander, without double dates, created for the same parties (Pestman 1967, p. 73).

<sup>54</sup> In reality, Alexander’s final year 27 lasted no more than a few days; see Samuel 1965, p. 382.

<sup>55</sup> Thompson 1913, pp. 44–45 (D 23). For the correct dating, see Pestman 1967, 76. The impact of Soter II’s invasion on the Theban choachyte documentation is noted in Bataille 1952, p. 263.

<sup>56</sup> Clarysse 1984, p. 25.

“Documentation, so abundant from c. 186 B.C. onwards, ended abruptly: no Pathyris papyri or ostraca are found after 88 B.C.”<sup>57</sup> Actually, one last document does survive from Pathyris, dated to 80 B.C., just after the death of Soter II.<sup>58</sup> The termination of Greek and Egyptian business records suggests more than the removal of a local garrison (as suggested by Pestman);<sup>59</sup> the economic life of the Thebaid was imperiled.

Though diminished, Thebes certainly was not totally destroyed. A bilingual priestly decree from Karnak under Cleopatra VII (issued March 18, 39) celebrates the local *strategos* Kallimachos as “savior of the city” during a recent period of famine, when he “took religious care of all that appertained to the worship of the gods, as his grandfather had done.”<sup>60</sup> This reference to an earlier protection was linked by Mahaffy to the invasion of Soter II forty years before. For Mahaffy, the text “seems to imply that by the interference of this grandfather the privileges of the city had been spared more than our other sources admit.”<sup>61</sup> Bevan found this argument unconvincing as he knew of no benefactions by Ptolemy IX after his return: “The traces which Soter has left of himself in Egyptian buildings seem to belong to his earlier reign (116–107).”<sup>62</sup>

The same opinion had been given earlier by Gauthier in his *Livre des rois*: “Il est probable que presque tous, sinon absolument tous les travaux de Ptolémée ... en Haute Égypte datent de son premier règne ..., car la plus grande partie de son second règne ... a été consacrée à la répression de la révolte de la Thébaïde et ne devait pas lui laisser le loisir de songer à des constructions ou restaurations de monuments.”<sup>63</sup>

Examination of Soter’s cartouches in Thebes, however, shows these conclusions to be wrong. Paralleling his earlier Theban attestations, Soter is again represented at one site on each bank of the river, but now at central Karnak and on the first and second pylons at the small temple of Medinet Habu. The issue is particularly significant for the disputed construction history of the little temple of Medinet Habu, which includes cartouches of both Ptolemy Alexander I and Soter II. In 1939, Hölscher noted the work of both rulers at the site and assigned the heightening of the gateway of the second (Ethiopian) pylon to Alexander I. The flanking renewal texts of Soter II are mentioned, but Hölscher lists both periods of the king’s rule without preference.<sup>64</sup> Regarding Soter’s more extensive attestation on the western, or first, pylon, however, he concluded that this king’s work dated to his second reign. His decision was based simply upon the proximity, not the content, of cartouches:

Cartouches found on the east side and interior of the gateway mention Ptolemy ... Soter II, the older brother of Ptolemy ... Alexander I, who reigned before and after the latter ... On the rear of the gate appear only empty cartouches at the top, as the sculptor was probably ignorant as to who would next come to the throne. Below, however, the name of Ptolemy ... Neos Dionysus, called Auletes (80–51 B.C.), who succeeded Soter II, appears in the cartouches. It is thus probable that Soter II, in the second period of his reign, was the actual builder and that Auletes only added nonessential details to the decoration.<sup>65</sup>

Hölscher’s assessment differs from that of Somers Clarke, who in 1899 had insisted that Soter’s cartouches were themselves mere additions to the uncompleted work of his father: “Until refuted by better and more direct evidence, I shall consider the unfinished west pylon to be the work of Ptolemy [Euergetes II], arrested in the days of Ptolemy [Soter].”<sup>66</sup> By implication, it was the eviction of Soter in 107 that prompted the curtailment of the project.

The “better and more direct evidence” demanded by Somers Clarke has been “hiding in plain sight” in the unexamined Prenomen of Soter II. Although Murnane once sought to distinguish youthful from mature depictions of Ptolemy IX Soter II on the basis of the relative position of Cleopatra III in joint scenes, the true distinguishing

<sup>57</sup> Vandorpe 2002, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> See Pestman 1965, p. 51 and n. 28: “Contre 300 documents environ datant des 60 années précédant l’an 88 av. J.-C., nous en connaissons un seul de la période de 60 ans suivant cette date: P. dém. Cairo 30752 (80 av. J.-C.).” This Cairo papyrus (from Gebelein/Pathyris) is dated to the first year of Cleopatra-Bernice III and Ptolemy XI Alexander II.

<sup>59</sup> So Pestman 1965, p. 51.

<sup>60</sup> *OGIS* 194; Bernand 1992, pp. 106–09, esp. 108–09 lines 23–26; and Mahaffy 1899, pp. 244–46 (quote on p. 245).

<sup>61</sup> Mahaffy 1899, p. 46; and Bevan 1927, p. 337 (who doubts Mahaffy’s interpretation). The Kallimachos stela is noted by Hölbl (2001, pp. 239–40), but he makes no mention of the grandfather’s benefactions.

<sup>62</sup> Bevan 1927, p. 337. The stela is cited by Vandorpe (1995, p. 235) as evidence of Pausanias’ exaggeration, but she notes only the subsequent construction under Ptolemy Auletes, not Soter II (*ibid.*, n. 241).

<sup>63</sup> Gauthier 1916, p. 362. Eliminated from the quotation are Gauthier’s numbering of Soter II as Ptolemy X and his incorrect dates for the two periods of rule.

<sup>64</sup> Hölscher 1939, pp. 27 and 30.

<sup>65</sup> Hölscher 1939, pp. 57 and 59 (quote on p. 59). Hölscher identifies Ptolemy Soter II as Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemy Alexander I as Ptolemy IX, and Ptolemy Auletes as Ptolemy XI.

<sup>66</sup> Mahaffy 1899, pp. 209–11, quote on p. 211. Mahaffy and Somers Clarke use Ptolemy IX for Euergetes II and X for Soter II. In contrast to Mahaffy, Bevan (1927, p. 339) also attributes the construction of the western pylon to Soter II, but before his expulsion.

In room XVa at Karnak, part of a suite of Eighteenth Dynasty rooms north of the granite sanctuary, Ptolemy Soter II appears three times offering to Amon, to the Theban triad, and to Ptah, Imhotep, and Amenhotep son of Hapu.<sup>73</sup> Although the full scene remains unpublished, one portion of it was reproduced by Wildung in photograph and line drawing in his study of the deified Imhotep and Amenhotep.<sup>74</sup> My own photographs of the wall (figs. 6.6–9) accompany this study and prove the consistency of the orthography of the Prenomen. Aside from the dam-

<sup>74</sup> Wildung 1977, pp. 211–14 and pls. 54–55.

aged example in the offering scene before Amon, Ptolemy's Prenomen clearly contains the initial element *iwꜥꜣ* *n ntr.w mnḥ.w* "Elder heir of the beneficent gods," with the *ꜣ*-pillar elongated and rotated horizontally. Wildung's copy is the only accurately published facsimile of Soter's later Prenomen (fig. 6.5), but while he identified the king correctly he did not comment on the text of the cartouche or on its significance for the dating of the relief.

The title "eldest heir" was not chosen capriciously for the hieroglyphic titulary; it is meaningful precisely because it creates a deliberate contrast to the prior "interloper" and junior heir Ptolemy Alexander I. Moreover, the terminology is far more than a simple statement of biological fact or a translation of the Greek *πρεσβύτερος*.<sup>75</sup> It is a conscious selection based on longstanding *Egyptian* concepts. Parallel usages appear in the "Great Building Inscription" of Edfu temple in propagandistic passages describing both the accession of Ptolemy Soter and his return after the flight of Ptolemy Alexander I:

*wp bik dnḥ.w zfr p.t sꜣzfr wr dī zfs(w) ḥr ns.t zf*

"The falcon (Euergetes II) opened his wings toward heaven (i.e., died). As for his eldest son, he placed himself upon his throne."<sup>76</sup>

*wꜥꜣr zfr Pwn.t sn zfr wr šsp zfr Bꜣk.t whm.n zfr ḥꜥ m ny-sw.t*

"He (Alexander) fled to Punt. As for his elder brother, he took possession of Egypt. He again appeared as king."<sup>77</sup>

By anticipatory emphasis, the text stresses Soter's legitimacy first as "eldest son" and then as "older brother." Although the Edfu inscription retains the older Prenomen of Soter II with its titles of Cleopatra III, the text notes that Soter "placed himself upon his throne" and concludes its praise of the restored king by noting that it was Horus who "established him on his throne forever."<sup>78</sup> While such remarks may seem mere platitudes, they do effectively refute Soter's early *Nebty*-name "the one whose mother placed him upon the throne of his father." The title "eldest son" is a technical term in Egyptian legal texts, signifying the proper legal heir and trustee. The designation occurs throughout the Hermopolis Legal Code, cols. VIII/30–X/17, copied during the Ptolemaic era: "If a man dies ... without having deeded shares to his children while alive, it is his eldest son who takes possession of his property."<sup>79</sup> "No man can say, 'The property is mine, it is my father's,' except the eldest son. He is entitled to say, 'The property is mine, it belongs to my father.'"<sup>80</sup> The same code contrasts the legal authority of the "older" versus any "younger" brother: "If the younger brothers bring action against their elder brother ... he (the elder brother) is given the share he prefers."<sup>81</sup>

The authority of the oldest son as primary heir is fundamental in Egyptian law and is even enshrined in Egyptian religious and popular literature. In the Nineteenth Dynasty "Tale of Truth and Falsehood," Truth is the elder brother, ultimately vindicated after being expelled from the company of the gods by his younger brother Falsehood.<sup>82</sup> Similarly, in the contemporary "Tale of Horus and Seth," the inheritance of Osiris is disputed on the question of whether Horus is properly the eldest son of Osiris or the younger brother of Seth.<sup>83</sup> In the Edfu texts and Soter's revised Prenomen, the divine victory of Horus as eldest son becomes Soter's own vindication as the earthly incarnation of Horus and elder heir of his father Euergetes II, who has merged with Osiris. There can be no question regarding the rationale for the revisions of the Prenomen, nor for their chronological implications.

Following the sack of Thebes, Soter II did invest in select reconstruction of the area. On the west bank, he or his agents chose the most important cultic installation available, the burial site of the creator deities at Medinet Habu,<sup>84</sup> completing his brother's renovation of the second pylon and erecting and decorating a far more impressive outer pylon. On the east bank, Soter left images of himself revering the trinity of Thebes and the popular healing deities of the local Ptah temple at Karnak. These choices, like his revised Prenomen, have an obvious

<sup>75</sup> For a use of "elder brother" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) questionably linked to Ptolemy IX Soter II in Diodorus (see *Diodorus of Sicily*, trans. F. R. Walton, 1967, pp. 108–09).

<sup>76</sup> Chassinat 1932, p. 9; De Wit 1961a, pp. 293–94; Kurth 2004, p. 53; and Gauthier 1916, pp. 346–47 n. 4.

<sup>77</sup> Chassinat 1932, p. 9; and De Wit 1961a, p. 294 line 8. Punt is here substituted for Cyprus. On pp. 294–95, De Wit has misidentified the earlier Prenomen of Ptolemy Soter II as that of Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II. See the correct identification in Kurth 2004, pp. 53–54.

<sup>78</sup> De Wit 1961a, p. 295; and Kurth 2004, p. 54.

<sup>79</sup> Column VIII/30–31 in Mattha and Hughes 1975, pp. 39–43 (quote adapted from p. 39). The title is not merely a reflection of chrono-

logical birth, but of legal designation; see *ibid.*, p. 123, n. to lines 30 and 32.

<sup>80</sup> Column IX/32–33 in Mattha and Hughes 1975, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> Column VIII/31–33 in Mattha and Hughes 1975, p. 39. Cf. also the statement in 'Onchsheshonqy, column 10/14–15: "Would that it were the 'elder brother' of the town who was assigned to it! Would that it were the charitable brother of the family who acted as 'elder brother' for it!"; in Simpson 2003, p. 509 and n. 22.

<sup>82</sup> Lichtheim 1976, pp. 211–14.

<sup>83</sup> Lichtheim 1976, pp. 215, 216, and 223 n. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Sethe 1929.

propagandistic nature and were surely tailored to placate the Theban clergy, which had long been a primary support of insurrection against the weakened Ptolemaic dynasty. In Thebes, Soter's record is not simply one of avenger; by his later benefactions he has some legitimate claim to the religious title of "Savior."

## POSTSCRIPT

Since this original lecture in 2006 and its online publication in 2007, the Theban attestations of Ptolemy Soter II have now been gathered in Jochen Hallof (2010), *Schreibungen der Pharaonennamen in den Ritualszenen der Tempel der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens*, Part 1: *Die griechischen Könige*, pp. 170–71 (Medinet Habu, T.1–15),<sup>85</sup> 183 (Karnak, T.124),<sup>86</sup> and 185 (Deir el-Medina T.143–44).<sup>87</sup> In every case, however, Hallof has miscopied Ptolemy's critical, later epithet *iwꜥ ʿ3* as *iwꜥ mnḥ*, thus perpetuating the early errors discussed above. Hallof does cite available Chicago Oriental Institute photo numbers where relevant and the published copy by Wildung (1977, 212) for Karnak, but without benefit to his transcriptions. Further, Hallof's arrangement of Ptolemy's "Throne name" reverses the actual chronological order of the evolving title: the king's title in his second reign (*iwꜥ ʿ3 n nṯr.w mnḥ.w* "elder heir of the beneficent gods") is placed at the beginning of the list (T.1–15), ahead of the previous forms that stressed the epithet of his once dominant mother, Cleopatra III. Thus the earlier Deir el-Medina texts are listed well after the Medinet Habu and Karnak examples. The Khonsu texts are not included in Hallof's list.



Figure 6.6. Ptolemy IX at Karnak (room XVa), general view (photo by author)

<sup>85</sup> See also pp. 190–91 (E.5), 195–96 (E.18–19), 197 (E.33 and 41).

<sup>86</sup> See also p. 191 (E.9) and pp. 197–98 (E.42); and 201 (B.15–16).

<sup>87</sup> See also p. 188 (E.1); and 201 (B.18–19).



Figure 6.7. Ptolemy IX at Karnak (room XVa), offering to Ptah, Imhotep, and Amenhotep, son of Hapu (photo by author)



Figure 6.8. Ptolemy IX at Karnak (room XVa), offering  
Maat to the Theban triad (photo by author)



Figure 6.9. Ptolemy IX at Karnak (room XVa), detail with cartouche  
(photo by author)

## ABBREVIATIONS

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>SB</i> 3 | Friedrich Bilabel. <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , Volume 3. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1926.                                                                         |
| <i>OGIS</i> | Wilhelm Dittenberger. <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae: Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 2 volumes. Lipsiae: S. Hirzel, 1903–05.                                |
| Thesaurus   | Heinrich Karl Brugsch. <i>Altaegyptischer Denkmäler in hieroglyphischer, hieratischer und demotischer Schrift</i> . Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum 5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1891. |

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## 7

# FINDING A MIDDLE GROUND: CULTURE AND POLITICS IN THE PTOLEMAIC THEBAID

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The Rosetta Stone, arguably the most recognizable icon to survive from the polyglot, multicultural world of Ptolemaic Egypt, documents a remarkable moment of communication: a decree promulgated in Greek, Demotic Egyptian, and hieroglyphs by Egyptian priests in honor of a Greek-speaking Macedonian king. The discovery of this document by Napoleon's soldiers took place against a background of European intervention in Egypt that has served as a parallel for the Hellenistic situation, and in explaining the ancient relations behind this document, modern histories have often recapitulated narratives of assimilation or indigenous resistance drawn from more recent experiences of colonialism and empire. The validity of these parallels has been increasingly open to debate, and my aim in this paper is to explore a dimension of Greek-Egyptian relations that is sometimes obscured by such comparisons: the creation by the Egyptian elite and their Hellenistic rulers of a cultural and political "Middle Ground" through which indigenes and immigrants negotiated their interests and their positions within the Ptolemaic state. I propose to approach this subject through two examples connected with the troubled Theban region: the mutilation of the Karnak and Elkab versions of the Canopus decree (an antecedent to the Rosetta Stone), and the *mítra* of the "kinsman," an honorific emblem of affiliation that connected elite Egyptians with the Macedonian court later in the Ptolemaic period.

## CULTURE AND POLITICS: THE TERMS OF THE DEBATE

Questions, debates, and narratives about the relations between Egyptians and their foreign rulers in the Ptolemaic period are conventionally structured by two parallel dichotomies: political cooperation or opposition, and cultural assimilation or persistence. Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century histories of Ptolemaic Egypt emphasized "Hellenization," the subordination and assimilation of Egypt to the dominant Greek culture and political regime.<sup>1</sup> After the mid-twentieth century and decolonization, a countervailing reaction posited cultural separatism in Ptolemaic Egypt and the independent persistence of both Egyptian and Greek culture.<sup>2</sup> As scholars became more aware of contemporary critiques of colonial rule they became less likely to associate Ptolemaic rule in Egypt (implicitly or not) with a European "civilizing" mission. Some scholars have taken this a step further and analyzed Egyptian reactions to "colonial" domination, but these responses are often reduced to binary categories of collaboration or nationalistic resistance.<sup>3</sup> Such models have, in turn, occasioned discontent,<sup>4</sup> and some have pressed for more subtle explorations of Greek-Egyptian rapprochement and cultural interchange, especially with regard to the cultural politics of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the analogy to modern colonial states. One of the most prominent metaphors of cultural negotiation that has emerged, however, is one of cultural duality: the "two faces" of Ptolemaic Egypt, or the "Janus-head" of Ptolemaic kingship.<sup>5</sup> The latter image usually describes a double ideology emanating from the court that attempted to harmonize aspects of the Greek *basileus* and the Egyptian pharaoh, each side of which was directed at discreet target audiences: a Greek face for Greeks; an Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Bevan 1927; Rostovtzeff 1941. Even studies of syncretic religious phenomena tended to put Greek culture in the dominant position. See, for example, Nock 1933, pp. 37–38.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Préaux 1978; Samuel 1983 and 1989.

<sup>3</sup> Will 1985; Anagnostou-Canas 1989/90; 1992; 1994.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Ritner 1992; Bagnall 1997.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Peremans 1987; Clarysse 1991b; Koenen 1993.

face for Egyptians. Over the last two or three decades a number of important studies have revealed that the separation between Greek and Egyptian was not always so clear-cut, especially in the case of relations between Egyptian elites and the Ptolemaic army and administration.<sup>6</sup> Despite such work, recent monographs that have examined the relations between the Ptolemaic state and the indigenous elite in detail have tended to maintain anachronistic institutional distinctions in examining political collaboration and opposition between the Ptolemaic state and an Egyptian “church” (the indigenous priesthoods).<sup>7</sup> Other discussions of opposition to Ptolemaic rule have continued a debate over whether the revolts in Egypt were manifestations of an Egyptian nationalism. The use of this concept by historians of Ptolemaic Egypt suffers from a lack of critical definition, but at a minimum it implies a shared sense of Egyptian ethnic or cultural identity and antagonism toward the Greeks, whose rule over Egypt was considered illegitimate by virtue of their foreign “nationality.”<sup>8</sup>

What is often obscured by these models is a Middle Ground. I borrow this term from Richard White, who in *The Middle Ground*, his history of Indian-European relations in the Great Lakes region of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, used it in two senses: on the one hand, his Middle Ground was a “common, mutually comprehensible world” created through a search for accommodation in a particular historical place and time; on the other hand, he also uses the term to describe a narrative that finds a more complex route between teleological narratives of assimilation and resistance, or as he puts it “between the historical foreground of European invasion and occupation and the background of Indian defeat and retreat.”<sup>9</sup> It is a story about cultural change through accommodation and negotiation in a time and place where, for a long period and despite the eventual outcome, whites did not have sufficient power to dictate terms to the Indians and could not do without them. The particular historical and political circumstances of White’s Middle Ground offer only the most general parallels to the relations between the Macedonian dynasty and the indigenous elite in Ptolemaic Egypt, but the cultural categories and narratives that have been used to explain each situation are closely related. White’s Middle Ground is a fruitful heuristic model for Ptolemaic Egypt in that he replaces notions of unidirectional assimilation or nativistic resistance — models that generally presume separate, coherent, and discrete cultures — with an interest in the processes and results of generative interactions that involve the perceptions and reactions of both cultures. White’s classic formulation of his model goes like this:

On the Middle Ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort both the values and the practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices — the shared meanings and practices of the Middle Ground.<sup>10</sup>

Following this methodological lead, it may be possible to trace the history of a Ptolemaic Middle Ground between Greeks and Egyptians, one created between foreigners and indigenes in the overlapping social, cultural, and political worlds of the native elite and the Ptolemaic state.

In adopting the Middle Ground as an analytical category, a few caveats and stipulations are in order, in relation both to the term itself and to its use in this essay. White’s evocative phrase has clearly become a traveling concept. In the opinion of its originator, it has been applied (and perhaps misapplied) to such a wide range of historical situations that it is at risk of losing its specificity and analytical power and becoming a portmanteau for

<sup>6</sup> For example, Clarysse 1985; Blasius 2001.

<sup>7</sup> The major study by W. Huß (1994) is a direct descendent of a much earlier formulation by W. Otto, who argued that under the Ptolemies the Church became subordinate to the State in an early example of “Caesaro-papism” (Otto 1905–08, vol. 2, p. 309). Unlike Otto, Huß does consider the reactions of the priests to foreign rule, but his method is simply to divide various actions between the categories of opposition and collaboration. He has eschewed more thorough analysis in favor of a “provisional orientation” (cf. Billows’ 1997 review), but the analysis he does undertake reinforces conventional binary approaches to Greek-Egyptian political relations, while at the same time minimizing the role played by Egyptian priests in the Ptolemaic state (see especially Huß 1994, pp. 185–86). The more recent study by G. Gorre (2009), on the other hand, argues against a different

strand of earlier interpretations that outlined a struggle between Ptolemies and priests and a relative rise in the power of the priesthood concomitant with a decline of state power. Nevertheless, church and state are still central and mutually exclusive categories for Gorre. He posits a gradual Ptolemaic state intervention in and control of the temples, and the prosopographical analysis on which this narrative is based categorizes individuals according to a dichotomy between state and temple officials. Those individuals who clearly held positions in both the state and the temple are forced to one side of the ledger or the other for the purposes of his argument.

<sup>8</sup> See McGing 1997; McGing 2006; Vélisse 2004 and the further discussions below.

<sup>9</sup> White 1991, pp. ix–x.

<sup>10</sup> White 1991, p. x.

various forms of cross-cultural negotiation and compromise.<sup>11</sup> The Middle Ground was, after all, intended to describe a particular historical space: the *pays d'en haut* of French Canada. Nevertheless, White has acknowledged that the processual dimension of the Middle Ground may be found in other historical situations where there was a mutual need or desire for what the other party possessed, and a rough balance of power in which mediation was more likely to succeed than compulsion. The body of scholarship on the relations between the Ptolemaic dynasty and the indigenous elite in Egypt suggests that in broad terms, White's conditions pertain at least to this limited subset of the interactions between Greeks and Egyptians. As I suggested above, however, I am not intending to use White's Middle Ground as a historical analogy, but as an inspiration for methodological and historiographical reflection. This has two main aspects. First, I am interested in the Middle Ground as an approach to the troubled category of culture, since it provides an alternative to models of acculturation and resistance along with their concomitant assumptions about cultural boundaries in encounters between different peoples. White's intention in writing *The Middle Ground* was, in part, to resist late twentieth-century fascinations with cultural purity and otherness by exploring generative encounters in which the needs, strategies, perceptions, and misperceptions of two groups contributed to the creation of a world of ideas and practices shared by both sides.<sup>12</sup> As with other concepts such as hybridity, transculturation, creolization, diaspora, and so forth, the Middle Ground provides a paradigm for exploring the histories of in-between worlds that would otherwise be lost in the interstices of bounded and fixed ideas of nations or cultures, their rise, and their decline. And this historiographical dimension is the other aspect of White's approach that I consider potentially fruitful. By writing the complex story of a transcultural subject, the historical narrative must confront the limitations of traditional narratives that have taken as their main subject and historical agent one or the other of the usual cultural-national subjects. My aims in the present study are much more preliminary, of course, and certainly do not pretend to develop any sort of narrative. I propose, rather, to explore the potential for writing a history of the Ptolemaic Middle Ground through two case studies: (a) the phenomenon of the sacerdotal decrees, especially the damaged exemplars of the Canopus decree found in Thebes, and (b) identities and affiliations of elite individuals who were symbolically attached to the court in the second century by honorific titles. Both provide revealing examples, since interpretation of their significance has often been tied to one of the major crises in relations between the Ptolemaic dynasty and the indigenous population: the major revolt centered on the Theban region of Upper Egypt in 207–186 B.C.

## A POLIS OF PRIESTS

The Canopus decree was issued by priests gathered at Canopus to the northeast of Alexandria in 238 B.C. The decree praised Ptolemy III for his benefactions to the temples and sacred animals, his return of divine statues taken by the Persians, and his care for Egypt in times of food shortage. These were all deeds that appealed to a traditional Egyptian image of a "good pharaoh." Various measures were decreed by the priests in honor of the dynasty: establishment of dynastic cult titles, the addition of a fifth tribe of priests, a leap-year reform of the calendar, and elaborate honors based on the worship of Osiris for the princess Berenike, who died while the assembly was being held.<sup>13</sup>

Of the seven known versions of the Canopus decree, two were found in the Theban region: one at Karnak and one about sixty miles to the south at Elkab. Both of these, unlike those from Lower Egypt, appear to have been intentionally defaced. The Karnak example, a large slab of pink granite, had been buried under the pavement of the hypostyle hall during the course of repairs in the Roman period. Though recognized as a Ptolemaic decree as soon as it was discovered in 1929, it was not precisely identified for another thirty years owing to the damage that had been inflicted on its surface with a hammer or some other instrument.<sup>14</sup> The engraving of the text, moreover, had

<sup>11</sup> White 2006; Deloria 2006. This model has already been used in ancient studies by Malkin (2002) in exploring a situation that more closely parallels the one White describes.

<sup>12</sup> White 2006, p. 14; cf. Deloria 2006, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> For an overview of the fragments of the Canopus Decree, and a brief history of scholarly work on the text (with special emphasis on the Demotic portion), see Simpson 1996, pp. 2–3, 15–18. This decree has also recently been the subject of an extensive study and

commentary by Pfeiffer, who also provides an overview of the main lines of the debate over the significance of the decree (Pfeiffer 2004, pp. 13–15). To the exemplars of the decree treated in these works must be added the new version discovered at Tell Basta; see Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005.

<sup>14</sup> See the brief account in Simpson 1996, p. 18. Serge Sauneron fully identified the slab as a copy of the Canopus Decree in Lauffray et al. 1970, pp. 73–75.

not been completed. Only the hieroglyphic version and the first few lines of the Demotic text had been inscribed on the stone's surface before it was mutilated, suggesting that the damage occurred not long after the decree was issued. The Elkab version, discovered in 1946, is a relatively small fragment broken away from a larger stone, but the text was more easily recognized.<sup>15</sup> One face of the fragment bore four partial lines of the hieroglyphic version, and another, perpendicular face bore nine partial lines of the Greek. While the hieroglyphic side appears to have been obscured by natural wear and accident, the Greek shows signs of being intentionally chipped and scraped away with a chisel. One of the edges of the fragment also bears the marks of a chisel used to break it away from the rest of the monument. It is impossible to tell when this damage occurred. The scholars who originally published or identified these finds connected the mutilation of the inscriptions with nationalistic resistance to the Ptolemies that eventually resulted in the Theban revolts about thirty years after the decree was issued. Likewise, W. Huß in his book on relations between the Macedonian king and the Egyptian priests classified the act as a form of opposition to the Ptolemies on the part of Theban priests.<sup>16</sup>

These interpretations all imagine the mutilation of the Canopus decree as a violent gesture of resistance — a gesture in which the decree is a symbol of the Ptolemaic regime and its assailants are Egyptians (possibly priests) motivated by resentment of foreign rule. Such interpretations reveal two ideas that have frequently shaped the interpretation of the sacerdotal decrees as documents of the relations between the Ptolemies and the indigenous elite: (1) that they were implicated in a struggle between Egyptian and Greek “national” cultures within the Ptolemaic state, and (2) that the decrees, with their honors and praise for the king, were directed by the court at Alexandria while the Egyptian priests served as mere mouthpieces for the dissemination of court policy and ideology.

The characterization of the Theban revolt of 207–186 B.C. as a nationalist uprising has been the subject of debate for some time now, but these troubles and the weakening of the Ptolemaic state are frequently linked with changes in the cultural character of the decrees and of Ptolemaic kingship ideology. According to a widely accepted theory, the relative influence of the Egyptian priests increased between the Canopus Decree (238 B.C.) and the Memphis Decree (196 B.C.), and this mounting influence (the theory has it) is evident in changes from the “more Greek” Canopus decree to the “more Egyptian” Memphis decree inscribed on the Rosetta Stone. Very briefly put, the main changes cited are as follows: the dating formula goes from using only the Greek name and titles of the king to using the full five-part pharaonic titulary; the venue of the synod of priests shifts from Canopus near Alexandria to the ancient Egyptian capital of Memphis; the synod occurs on the anniversary of Ptolemy V's coronation as pharaoh there; and there is also a perceived increase in concessions made to the Egyptian temples.<sup>17</sup> Particularly important to this argument is the image of Ptolemaic kingship in the decrees: Greek and Egyptian aspects are thought to diverge rather than fuse together as the king became assimilated more and more explicitly to the ideals of pharaonic kingship. The decrees, in other words, are interpreted as evidence that the priests asserted their Egyptian traditions at a time of rebellion and relative political weakness in the Ptolemaic state, and that the Ptolemies moved toward promoting a pharaonic ideology within the Egyptian context as a cultural concession intended to “win the hearts and minds” of the priests and the Egyptian people.<sup>18</sup> This explanation of perceived changes in the cultural character of the decrees and the relationship between these changes and the great Theban revolt will undoubtedly have to be revised in light of the recent discovery at Akhmim of the complete hieroglyphic and Demotic text of the sacerdotal decree of 243 B.C., in which Ptolemy III Euergetes — five years before the Canopus Decree — is given the full pharaonic titulary.<sup>19</sup> In this aspect at least, and perhaps in

<sup>15</sup> Bayoumi and Guéraud 1947.

<sup>16</sup> Lauffray et al. 1970, pp. 74–75; Bayoumi and Guéraud 1947, p. 382; Huß 1994, pp. 142–43.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of this interpretation of the differences between the Canopus and Memphis decrees, see Hölbl 2001, pp. 106, 164–69. Some fundamental developments of this argument are Taeger 1957, vol. 1, pp. 419–26; Thissen 1966, pp. 80–82; and Onasch 1976. Though Clarysse is critical of this approach, he points out (2000, p. 53) that there appears to be a greater tendency to mark the difference between Demotic and hieroglyphic in the Memphis decree as opposed to the Canopus (this observation is based primarily on the work of Daumas 1952; see also Clarysse 2000, pp. 58–59).

<sup>18</sup> See Hölbl 2001, pp. 164–66. The idea is succinctly formulated in Thissen 1966, p. 82: “Überspitzt könnte man sagen: je schwächer der

König, desto überschwenglicher die traditionellen, altägyptischen Vergleiche, desto unterwürfiger und orientalischer der Ton.” McGing (1997, pp. 287–88) generally argues against the idea that the Theban revolts were entirely nationalist in origin even if this was an element; he nevertheless considers the terms and concessions of the Rosetta decree to be an attempt to win the loyalty of the priests and through them a measure of legitimacy. Vêisse (2004, pp. 197–220) (rightly, I believe) sees in the sacerdotal decrees of this period a community of interest between the king and the priests, rather than concessions to an opposed political force.

<sup>19</sup> This new text is to be published by Yahya el-Masri, Hartwig Altenmueller, and Heinz-Josef Thissen. I would like to thank Jacco Dieleman for drawing this discovery to my attention.

others, the story of an “Egyptianization” of Ptolemaic kingship ideology linked to waxing priestly influence and waning Ptolemaic power is now more open to question.<sup>20</sup>

Though there is some support for what might be called a “nationalist” dimension in the great Theban rebellion (and other revolts), as an explanation of the cause it has long had to compete with others based on local social and economic conditions.<sup>21</sup> In a much cited passage, Polybius linked the unrest in Egypt with the return of Egyptian soldiers who had fought in the Ptolemaic army against Antiochus III at Raphia in 217 B.C. He said they were no longer disposed to take orders, having been emboldened by their success to seek independence and a new leader.<sup>22</sup> The evidence relating to the Theban revolt does reveal that its political coordination appealed to Egyptian traditions, since a rival dynasty was established in the south that survived for about twenty years. A certain Haronnophris (Egyptian *Hr-wn-nfr*) was crowned as pharaoh at Thebes in 205 B.C., and he was succeeded by Chaonnophris (Egyptian *‘nh-wn-nfr*), who led the resistance and controlled areas of southern Egypt until his defeat in 186 B.C.<sup>23</sup> Other evidence, however, argues against nationalist antagonism as the principal motivating factor. As many scholars have pointed out, Greeks and Greek institutions were not the only targets. The temples were attacked, and there were reports of violence against Egyptians.<sup>24</sup> There were also some prominent Egyptians, like the nobleman Hakoris,<sup>25</sup> who clearly sided with the Ptolemies. If the conciliatory measures taken by Ptolemy V in the Memphis decree (196 B.C.) and in the amnesty decree issued after the defeat of Chaonnophris are any guide, a number of social and economic ills had also contributed: after the revolt, some taxes were abolished, others lightened; the king remitted debts owed to the crown, and released people from prison; police powers of arrest were curbed, and restrictions placed on the requisition of ships.<sup>26</sup> Changes in the regional administration of the Thebaid may also have contributed to the revolt. As J. Manning has pointed out, the Ptolemies, around 220 B.C., began to assert more control over the finances of the Theban region, an area in which the temples and their estates continued to be important economic institutions. Ptolemaic control of public property auctions, the collection of harvest taxes by state officials, and the issuance of receipts for land measurements represented an increase in administrative activity and perhaps greater economic and bureaucratic pressures on the region in the period just before the revolt.<sup>27</sup> Carolin Arlt’s study in this volume may also shed light on the Ptolemaic intervention in traditional administrative practices, depending on whether one interprets the decline in powerful Theban scribal families and the shift from traditional hereditary scribal offices to non-hereditary government offices as a cause of the unrest or the consequences of a Ptolemaic reaction to the troubles in the Theban region. Traditional pharaonic ideology clearly did play a part in the Theban revolt of 207–186, but as many have argued, regional resistance to the forces of bureaucratic centralization, exasperation with tax burdens and/or abuses by local agents of the state could well have created other types of social tension that were just as salient as “nationalist” resentment of foreign rule.

The second idea that I pointed out was that resistance to the decrees was resistance to the Ptolemies, on the assumption that the impetus for the promulgation of the decrees came largely from the court at Alexandria and that the priests merely served as mouthpieces for Ptolemaic ideology.<sup>28</sup> In a similar vein, the fact that the leap-year introduced in the Canopus decree never caught on is sometimes interpreted as the resistance of Egyptian priests to a Ptolemaic attempt at imposing a “rational” Greek reform on the Egyptian calendar.<sup>29</sup> W. Clarysse, in an important article, has opposed such views by arguing that the priests themselves played an active role in composing the decrees, and that the presumed distinction between the world of the Ptolemaic court and the Egyptian elite is too sharply drawn.<sup>30</sup> He takes up an argument, which dates back to Letronne in the mid-nineteenth century, that in concept and form the decrees were and remained Greek — in contrast to the theory that they

<sup>20</sup> The persistent narrative of a decline in Ptolemaic state power has been questioned (in very different ways) in Gorre 2009 and Manning 2010.

<sup>21</sup> There is an extensive literature on this subject, on which see McGing 1997, p. 273, and the key studies he cites. There is a relatively balanced account of the factors contributing to the Theban revolt in Hölbl 2001, pp. 153–59. For the most recent state of the question of “nationalism,” see Véisse 2004 and McGing 2006; Véisse rejects the concept as anachronistic, while McGing argues for its continuing usefulness and proposes a more careful definition of the term as it applies to ancient contexts.

<sup>22</sup> Polybius 5.107.

<sup>23</sup> Pestman 1995.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, McGing 1997, p. 283.

<sup>25</sup> See Clarysse 1991a, pp. 241–43.

<sup>26</sup> McGing 1997, pp. 288–89.

<sup>27</sup> Manning 2003, pp. 163–64.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Onasch 1976, p. 154.

<sup>29</sup> Huß 1994, pp. 138–39; this idea goes back at least as far as Taeger 1957, vol. 1, p. 421. Cf. the criticism of Clarysse 2000, pp. 56–58.

<sup>30</sup> Clarysse’s argument about supposed concessions to the Egyptian priests is introduced toward the end of his essay (2000, pp. 59–62).

became culturally “more Egyptian.” He compares their structure to the basic elements of honorific decrees found elsewhere in the Hellenistic world which praise a king or other important benefactor. On the other hand, he does not assume on the basis of this Greek idiom that the decrees were dictated by the court; on the contrary, Clarysse argues, they were (as they state) composed by Egyptian priests who were perfectly competent in this Greek idiom — certainly by the time of the Canopus decree, almost a century after Alexander’s conquest.

Clarysse runs the risk of pushing the argument to the other extreme of assimilation with his characterization of the priests as “Hellenized” and his emphatic assertion that the decrees were “essentially Greek” (especially given the portrait of pharaonic virtues, and the Egyptian religious ideas they convey),<sup>31</sup> but his move is important for questioning the implicit connections between the cultural characteristics of the decrees and the identity of the political force behind them, as well as the presumed divide between the institutional and cultural identities of the Egyptian priests and the Ptolemaic government. Several important studies have shown that the Egyptian elite, often the holders of priestly offices, were much more integrated into the Ptolemaic army and administration than previously imagined.<sup>32</sup> I would like to develop these observations on the Hellenistic form of the decrees not from the point of view of Hellenization, but from the perspective of the Middle Ground negotiated between the Egyptian elite and the Ptolemies.

In passing these decrees, the priests were formally assuming the role that the citizens of a Greek polis would in many other places in the wider Hellenistic world.<sup>33</sup> The sacerdotal decrees begin with an elaborate dating formula, including the regnal year of the king, and the names of the eponymous priests at Alexandria. The latter, of course, parallel the pattern found in many Greek cities of dating years according to eponymous magistrates. The term ψήφισμα follows the dating formula, identifying this as a decree, and falling in the place where a sanction formula is often found. An individual or a particular board of magistrates is not mentioned as the mover of the motion, but all the priests assembled for the synod formally assume this role and “speak” the motion. Then, as was the common pattern of Hellenistic honorific decrees, the motives for the decree are enumerated, introduced by the conjunction ἐπειδὴ “since.” I have already mentioned several of the considerations included in the Canopus and Memphis decrees for which the priests honored Ptolemy III and V. These are followed by the propitiatory formula (ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ) “with good fortune” and the introduction of the resolution itself using the verb δεδόχθαι “it seemed best” or “resolved by,” with the passers of the decree in the dative, in this case the priests rather than the council and people. Dependent on this verb are a series of infinitives outlining the actions to be taken in honor of the king. It is common in Greek decrees for instructions concerning the engraving of the decree to be included at the end of the primary enactments, and that is certainly the case in the sacerdotal decrees with the notable difference that they are to be engraved in Greek, Egyptian (i.e., Demotic), and sacred letters (hieroglyphs). Though there has been debate over what the original language of composition was, and what the process of redaction might have been,<sup>34</sup> it is quite clear that the structure of the decrees, which is the same in all three languages, followed the pattern of Hellenistic decrees.

In the Canopus decree these engraving instructions are connected with a purpose clause conveying the “hortatory intention” of the honors, a demonstration of fitting gratitude and encouragement to future benefaction that is critical to the economy of praise embodied in Hellenistic honorary decrees. Copies of the decree are to be set up in temples of the first, second, and third ranks, “in order that the priests in the country may be seen to honor the Benefactor Gods and their children, as is just.” A similar sentiment is included in the last of the main provisions of the Raphia decree of 217 and the Memphis decree of 196. In other contemporary Hellenistic decrees, this type of expression is more commonly connected to resolution formulae, but they could also be connected with the publication provisions and other elements of the decree.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Clarysse describes them as part of the background, or “ornaments” (2000, pp. 50–51, 59). Cf. Onasch (1976, p. 154), who concedes that the decree is Greek in form, but opposes an earlier view (of Taeger 1957, vol. 1, p. 420) that the decrees were entirely Greek; cf. also Simpson 1996, p. 22: “the decrees are on the whole more Egyptian than Greek in content and attitudes, particularly with respect to the processes of worship in the temples and to the roles ascribed to the king and various gods ....”

<sup>32</sup> A topic to which I return below.

<sup>33</sup> Clarysse 2000, p. 62. In the subsequent analysis, I have expanded on that of Clarysse (2000, pp. 48–49). This basic point has also been

made in various ways by others. See, for example, the discussions in Simpson 1996, p. 22; and Pfeiffer 2004, pp. 50–52. A convenient overview of the structure of Hellenistic honorific decrees may be found in McLean 2002, pp. 229–32.

<sup>34</sup> See the overview in Simpson 1996, pp. 22–24. Cf. Clarysse 2000, pp. 52–56.

<sup>35</sup> McLean 2002, pp. 230–31, but also note the examples connected with publication provisions provided by Henry (1996, pp. 107–08, 114–16).

The correspondence between Ptolemaic sacerdotal decrees and the general pattern of honorific decrees in the wider Hellenistic world has been much commented on, but frequently gets lost in discussions that focus on the pharaonic role that the king assumed in the decrees. The Egyptian priests, for their part, adopted the role of a Greek polis in voting honors for a Hellenistic king in exchange for benefactions. Usually, this has been understood as the mere adoption of the formal dimensions of an epigraphical genre, but the possibility that the priests were representing themselves — perhaps even imagining themselves — as a political body should not be overlooked. One of the best-known honors accorded to Ptolemy III in the Canopus decree is the creation of a fifth tribe (φυλή “phyle”) of Egyptian priests, named after the ruling couple, the Θεοὶ Εὐεργετοί. This particular enactment runs as follows in the Greek version of the decree:

δεδοχθαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερεῦσιν ... προσαποδειχθῆ- | να[ι] δὲ πρὸς ταῖς νῦν ὑπαρχούσαις τέσσαρσι φυλαῖς τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἱερῷ καὶ ἄλλην, ἣ προσονομασθήσεται πέμ- | πτη φυλή τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ τῶν θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν συμβέβηκεν | γενέσθαι τῇ πέμπτῃ τοῦ Δίου, ἣ καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχὴ γέγονεν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· εἰς δὲ τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην καταλεχθῆναι τοὺς ἀπὸ | τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους γεγεννημένους ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς προσκαταταγισμένους ἕως μηνὸς Μεσορῆ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἔτει, καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἐκγόνους εἰς τὸν αἰὶ | χρόνον· τοὺς δὲ προϋπάρχοντας ἱερεῖς ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους εἶναι ὡσαύτως ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς φυλαῖς, ἐν αἷς πρότερον ἦσαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς | ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καταχωρίζεσθαι εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς φυλάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ πατέρες εἰσίν. ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν εἴκοσι βουλευτῶν ἱερέων τῶν αἰρουμένων | κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν προϋπαρχουσῶν τεσσάρων φυλῶν, ἐξ ὧν πέντε ἀφ’ <ἐ>κάστης φυλῆς <λ>αμβάνονται, εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε τοὺς βουλευτὰς | ἱερεῖς εἶναι, προσλαμβανομένων ἐκ τῆς πέμπτης φυλῆς τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν ἄλλων πέντε. μετέχειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πέμπτης | φυλῆς τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν τῶν ἀγνείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ φύλαρχον αὐτῆς εἶναι, καθὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεσσάρων φυλῶν ὑπάρχει.

It has been resolved by the priests throughout the land ... for there to be created, in addition to the now existing four tribes of the main body of priests in each temple, also another (tribe), which shall be named the fifth tribe of the Benefactor Gods, since it has happened with good fortune that the birth of the King Ptolemy (son) of the Brother-and-Sister Gods also occurred on the fifth of Dios, which has also been the beginning of many good things for all men; and for there to be enrolled in this tribe those who have become priests since the first year and those who are to be assigned until the month Mesore of the ninth year and their descendants for all time, but for those who were already priests before the first year to remain in the same tribes in which they previously were and likewise for their descendants henceforth to be registered in the same tribes in which their fathers are; and instead of the twenty councillor priests chosen each year from the pre-existing four tribes, of whom five are taken from each tribe, for the councillor priests to be twenty-five, another five being taken from the fifth tribe of Benefactor Gods; and also for those from the fifth tribe of the Benefactor Gods to share in the observances and everything else that pertains to those in the temples; and for it to have a phylarch, just as there is also for the other four tribes.

(OGIS 1 56A = A. Bernand 1992, no. 9, lines 20, 23–33)

The Greek term φυλή, loosely translated as “tribe,” is equivalent to the Egyptian *sʿ* in both the Demotic and hieroglyphic versions of the decree.<sup>36</sup> Owing to the Canopus decree, the Greek word is still used as a modern translation for the Egyptian term, which as early as the Archaic period of Egyptian history (ca. 3100–2250 B.C.) designated groups of people providing part-time service in temples, work crews, and mortuary cults, usually in some sort of rotation system.<sup>37</sup> The equivalence between the two terms was probably based on perceived structural and functional analogies. The Greek tribes, the largest divisions within the citizen body of a polis such as Athens, served (among other purposes) as constituent groups for the selection of magistrates and councilors, and also for the rotation of service in the prytanies (the executive committee of the council). For certain magistracies and priesthoods, the fixed order of the tribes was used as the basis for the rotation of office.<sup>38</sup> To my knowledge, the use of φυλή in the Canopus decree is the first attestation of this translation, so it may well have been invented for this very occasion (though that is, of course, impossible to verify with absolute certainty).

<sup>36</sup> Daumas 1952, p. 186.

<sup>37</sup> See Roth 1991 for the origins and early history of the Egyptian phyle system.

<sup>38</sup> Hansen (1991, pp. 105–06) provides a brief overview of the main political functions of the Athenian tribes.

The creation of a new tribe named after the king in itself suggests that the Egyptian priests adopted this translation not just as a convenient approximation, but as a term whose political significance suited their purposes. This was an honor that had precedent in the wider Hellenistic world of honorific decrees.<sup>39</sup> In 307/6 B.C., in the excitement following the expulsion of Demetrius of Phalerum from Athens, the citizens there passed a decree proposed by a certain Stratocles, adding two new tribes to the traditional ten that had been created in Cleisthenes' day. No inscribed text of this decree survives, but it would undoubtedly have taken the form of an honorific decree. They named the new tribes Antigonis and Demetrias in honor of their Macedonian liberator, Demetrius the Besieger and his father, Antigonos the One-Eyed. The total membership of the council (βουλή) to which each tribe sent fifty members annually was correspondingly increased from 500 to 600.<sup>40</sup> This bears comparison to the arrangements made in the Canopus decree (see above): instead of the twenty councilor priests drawn from the four pre-existing tribes, there were now twenty-five, another five added from the fifth tribe. Over the course of the Hellenistic period, and into the Roman Empire, the Athenians developed a habit of awarding this high honor, and one can follow this history in changes to the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Agora,<sup>41</sup> which the Athenians had to keep modifying and rearranging in order to make room for more statues or to displace figures who had fallen out of favor.<sup>42</sup> The number of tribes and eponymous heroes reached its peak of thirteen in 224/3 B.C. when Ptolemy III — the same king who had been honored fifteen years earlier by the Egyptian priests — was admitted to this exclusive Athenian club.<sup>43</sup>

Word of this accolade may well have reached the shores of Egypt, but could not of course have stimulated the earlier deliberations at Canopus — if anything, it was perhaps the other way round. Whatever the case may be, there is a striking parallel in this aspect of diplomatic relations as conducted between Ptolemy and the Athenians and between Ptolemy and the body of Egyptian priests. The two Macedonian tribes had been in existence at Athens for about seventy years by the time of the Canopus decree. Given the knowledge of Greek civilization evident in such figures as Manetho, the Egyptian priest who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek under the first Ptolemies, it is plausible that some priests in contact with the court in Alexandria understood the political significance of Greek tribes (φυλαί) in connection to this honor. That they at least understood the religious dimensions of what they were proposing is suggested by the context in which this provision occurs. The creation of the fifth tribe is part of the same extended expression that instituted cult honors in the form of priestly titles for the Euergetai, the Philadelphoi, and the Soterai (Ptolemies III, II, and I).<sup>44</sup> These honors were the beginning of an Egyptian parallel to the Greek dynastic cult in Alexandria with its eponymous priesthoods that served to date documents, and this was an important moment in the development of the Ptolemaic ruler cult and its incorporation in the Egyptian temples, as J. Quaegebeur, L. Koenen, and others have shown.<sup>45</sup> On the Greek side, the concept of the dynastic cult was related to the tradition of hero cults for city founders and benefactors. The Egyptian version of dynastic cult developed along a different trajectory and had antecedents in Egyptian royal cult, but from a Greek perspective, the creation of a new tribe in honor of the rulers would be a logical extension of its connections to hero cult.<sup>46</sup> Each time the Athenians expanded the number of tribes in the Hellenistic period, they also instituted offerings and festivals for the eponymous hero (the divinized king) of the tribe and appointed a priest for his cult.<sup>47</sup>

There was also a point of reference closer to hand than Hellenistic Athens for the Egyptian priests assembled at Canopus. A short distance away in Alexandria, the citizen-body was probably divided into five phylai (tribes).<sup>48</sup> The evidence for this is a fragmentary Greek text (P. Hibeh 28) dated to ca. 265 B.C. that gives regulations for the organization of an unnamed city. It appears to discuss a calendar for the introduction of new members into phratries and the accompanying sacrifices:

<sup>39</sup> Otto (1905–08, pp. 27–28) made a tentative connection between this honorific measure in the Canopus decree and its Hellenistic precedents, but like later authors saw it primarily as a move made by the king to create a connection between the Egyptian priesthood and the royal house.

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius* 10–12; Diodorus Siculus 20.46.2–3.

<sup>41</sup> Changes were also made to the Marathon monument at Delphi. See Pausanias 10.10.2 and Shear 1970, pp. 198, 221–22.

<sup>42</sup> Shear 1970, pp. 196–203.

<sup>43</sup> Pausanias 1.5.5, 10.10.2. Polybius (5.106.6–8) is also alluding to these honors when he criticizes the Athenians' adulation of Ptolemy (Habicht 1992, pp. 74–75; Habicht 1997, p. 182). For the place of the

tribe Ptolemais in the history of the monument, see Shear 1970, pp. 198–99. For the dating, see Pritchett 1942, pp. 413–23.

<sup>44</sup> *OGIS* 1 56A.20–33; *OGIS* 1 56B.16–26.

<sup>45</sup> See Quaegebeur 1989; Koenen 1993, and their respective discussions of previous scholarship.

<sup>46</sup> For discussion, see Koenen 1993, pp. 46–57.

<sup>47</sup> See Habicht 1997, p. 68. Plutarch in *Demetrius* 10 incorrectly asserts that in creating a priest of the savior gods (i.e., Antigonos and Demetrius) the Athenians abolished the office of the eponymous archon; in fact, the latter office did continue.

<sup>48</sup> For the following discussion, see Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 39–41.

εἰς τὰς φράτρες[α]ς κ[αὶ] | γνωρίζεται ὑπὸ τῶν | φρατόρων θυέτωσαν κα[ὶ] | συνέστωσαν το[.]πε[... | ....] πὸ  
 φυλῆς ἐκάστης | ἡμέρας φράτραι δύο. | ἐπ[εἰ-] | δὴ γὰρ [ὅ]παρχουσιν φυ[λαί] | μὲν πέντε τούτων [δὲ] | ἐν  
 ἐκά[σ]τῃ φυλῇ δὴ[μοι] | μὲν [δὲ]δεκα φράτρα[ι] δὲ | [δὲ]δεκα τῶ[ι] δῆμω[ι] [ἐκα- | στῶι] ὥστε | γίνεσθαι  
 μ[ὲν] | δῆμους ἐξήκοντα φ[ρά-] | τρας δὲ ἑπτακοσίας εἴ[κοσι,] | ὑπαρχουσῶν [δὲ εἰς] [τὸν] | ἐν[ι]αυτὸν [ἡ]  
 μερῶ[ν] τρια- | κοσίων ἐξήκοντα, συ[μβή-] | σεται τῶν ἑπτακοσίων | εἴκο[σι] φρατριῶν ξ[. . . .] | σεσθαι  
 τὴν ἡμέρα[ν] .... | δύο τοῖς [.....]

... to the phratries and be recognized by the members of the phratries, let them sacrifice, and let 2 phratries from a tribe associate each day. For since there are 5 tribes, and in each tribe 12 demes, and in the deme 12 phratries, it follows that there will be 60 demes and 720 phratries; and as the year consists of 360 days it will result that 2 of the 720 phratries will ... each day ...

(P. Hibeh 28, lines 5–21, trans. Grenfell and Hunt 1906, pp. 158–59)

In the city described in this papyrus, there are five tribes (φυλαί) which are further subdivided into demes and phratries. For the present argument, it may not make a difference which city the text describes, but scholarly opinion has inclined toward Alexandria, which was also divided into five quarters or neighborhoods designated A–E, and there is some evidence (from the fragmentary historian Satyrus) that the Alexandrian tribes were numbered and perhaps also given alphabetic designations.<sup>49</sup> Proper names are also known for three of the Alexandrian tribes, and (like the fifth tribe of priests) two of them are dynastic names: Ptolemaïs and Berenike. The other possible interpretations of the identity of this city do not diminish the interest of the parallel. Ptolemaïs, the Upper Egyptian capital that Ptolemy Soter established, could just as well be the city described. Like Alexandria, it had a tribe with the dynastic name Ptolemaïs.<sup>50</sup> Alternatively, the description of the city in the papyrus may belong to a work of literature or utopian philosophy.<sup>51</sup> If so, it is worth pointing out that the text's figure of 360 days for the year harmonizes better with the Egyptian solar calendar, which consisted of 360 days, plus five epagomenal days. The Macedonian lunar calendar had 354 days. In any case, the city of this papyrus, with its five tribes, especially if it was indeed Alexandria, as seems likely, was a model on which the Egyptian priests could well have drawn in representing their position in relation to the king.

When the content and form of the decrees are thought to be directed by the court, it is customary to read them as an attempt to conciliate the population through the medium of the priests by projecting a pharaonic image — one half of the Janus-head of the Ptolemaic king.<sup>52</sup> Along similar lines, some view the creation of the fifth phyle as a Ptolemaic intervention in the structure of the priesthoods. To quote G. Hölbl: “This group of priests appointed exclusively by Euergetes I, and therefore loyal to him, increased the king's authority and his influence with the clergy.”<sup>53</sup> Such interpretations entirely exclude the possibility that this decree — and this provision in particular — was part of a process of mutual recognition (or misrecognition) and invention in which the priests played a significant role. Through the praise that the priests bestowed on Ptolemy III, they did indeed portray the Macedonian king in the image of a good pharaoh, but they also portrayed themselves to this pharaoh as a Greek political body. This was, I would argue, an effort at forming and maintaining a cultural and political Middle Ground. The fact that the priests used the language of the Greek polis should not be taken simply as evidence of assimilation or “Hellenization,” since the result is a hybrid of Greek and Egyptian forms — it is something new. The creation of the fifth tribe recombines existing social and political structures for this Middle Ground of symbolic exchange between the king and the priests. Egyptian groups of *w' b*-priests were a long-standing institution, and even the increase in number could be seen as returning to the pattern of the five tribes of the Archaic period and the Old Kingdom of Egypt. But now they were quite explicitly reimagined as analogous to the tribes of a polis community. Seen in this light, the priests were not passive recipients of or mouthpieces for a neo-pharaonic ideology cre-

<sup>49</sup> Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 2.7 (= *FGrHist* 631 F 1); P. Oxy. 2465, fr. 1, col. ii. See Fraser 1972, vol. 1, p. 40; vol. 2, pp. 113 n. 10, 119 n. 40, 120 n. 48.

<sup>50</sup> *OGIS* 49 (= A. Bernand 1992, no. 7), a decree dating to the reign of Ptolemy III, honors Antipholos with citizenship at Ptolemaïs and assigns him to the phyle Ptolemaïs and the deme of Berenike (lines 15–16).

<sup>51</sup> See West 1983.

<sup>52</sup> See Hölbl 2001, p. 107, on the benefactions of the Ptolemies that are praised in the Canopus decree: “Deeds of this type were a com-

mon theme in the ideology of the ancient Egyptian king; the Ptolemies had subsequently appropriated this motif for their own purposes and had promulgated the message of their accomplishments by means of the priests.”

<sup>53</sup> Hölbl 2001, p. 107. Onasch 1976, p. 144: “Mit den genannten Maßnahmen [i.e., the introduction of the fifth phyle] will sich der König in die Organisation der ägyptischen Priesterschaft hineindrängen, um sie fester in die Hand zu bekommen.”

ated by the Ptolemaic court. Rather they were active participants in the creative process, who asserted a political identity in terms recognizable both to the Greek-Macedonian element at court and to themselves. Conversely, the reciprocal nature of these representations suggests that the Ptolemaic kings recognized the priests at least symbolically as a quasi-polis.

Reconstructing the sentiments behind hammer blows or chisel marks on a stone is a dicy business at the best of times, and the preceding discussion has, I hope, only made it more difficult to interpret the mutilation of the Canopus decree in the Theban region. Scholars have often imagined for the Egyptians a national community that could revolt against foreign domination, and that the Ptolemies needed to co-opt through pharaonic gestures made, in part, through the sacerdotal decrees. Examining these decrees from the perspective of the Middle Ground suggests that there was another “imagined community” at play, not one based on the cultural nationalism that B. Anderson described (1991) — which was quite unlikely to develop in the laterally insulated agrarian communities of Egypt.<sup>54</sup> The “imagined community” of the sacerdotal decrees was much more limited, consisting of the indigenous elite, constituting themselves partly as citizens and partly as priests, and as having a common voice through the decrees. Given the presence of these elites in the administration and army, and their control over ideological, economic, and social power at the local and regional level, this group formed an important intermediate class between rulers and ruled in the Ptolemaic state. If this view is accepted, the decrees could symbolize this indigenous group as much as the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the mutilation of the Karnak and Elkab versions of the decree, if indeed it was an act of revolt, could just as well be interpreted as regional dissent from an imagined priestly political community or opposition to this class (depending on who held the hammer). Indeed, it could represent the same divisions that led to attacks on temples during the disturbances in the reign of Ptolemy IV and V, that are mentioned in the priestly decrees, and which (as I mentioned earlier) have been important pieces of evidence in complicating the idea of nationalistic rebellions in the Thebaid.<sup>55</sup> There is only equivocal evidence that the priests themselves supported the rebels. They certainly do not seem to have been the object of any reprisals or punitive measures after the revolt, even though the temple notaries (rather pragmatically) dated their documents according to whichever side happened to be in control of the area at any given time.<sup>56</sup> When viewed from this vantage point, the damaged decrees may have been a site of struggle, but a struggle that cannot necessarily be overwritten with the language of cultural nationalism.

Much more important, however, as I have been arguing, is the fact that these decrees represented a formal medium of communication and negotiation that contributed to maintaining an alliance between the Ptolemaic dynasty and a political body that, in theory at least, represented the Egyptian elite, even during the course of the major Theban revolt. These decrees continued to be passed at least until the middle of the second century B.C. The last securely identified (albeit fragmentary) example is dated to 162/1 B.C. and another possible example dates to 112 B.C.<sup>57</sup> The priests continued to convene for this purpose even after Ptolemy V remitted the requirement that they travel downstream to Alexandria each year, an act recorded in the Memphis decree of 196. They passed decrees at synods held both in Alexandria and Memphis in the years immediately following the end of the Theban revolt, and indeed there appears to have been a proliferation of priestly assemblies in this period, which may be interpreted as efforts on the part of Ptolemy V and the collectivity of priests to reaffirm and consolidate their politics of alliance.<sup>58</sup> Though the evidence of sacerdotal decrees tails off after the middle of the second century B.C.,

<sup>54</sup> Manning (2003, pp. 130–33) draws on the work of E. Gellner in arguing that these conditions in which the Egyptian population lived hindered the development of a popular nationalism. For a discussion of the cultural basis of modern nationalism and its difference from earlier religious and dynastic formations, see Anderson 1991, pp. 9–36. Critical to Anderson’s explanation of the development of nationalism and a nationalist collective consciousness that allowed people to sacrifice their lives for such an idea is the advent of print capitalism and relatively broad vernacular readerships. This was also clearly not part of the Ptolemaic Egyptian situation. On the other hand, the bilingual Egyptian elite could be considered a parallel to the bilingual intelligentsias of the colonial world, products of a “Russifying” education program who played critical roles in the development of indigenous nationalist movements (see Anderson 1991, pp. 113–40). Both had access to the political ideas of their respective “colonizing powers” and acquired a certain collective identity

through their common experiences working in the governmental bureaucracy. But the differences are telling: in Ptolemaic Egypt, there was no centrally coordinated educational program that trained the bilingual intelligentsia; the “new” political ideas were not national in content; and there was no distinct metropole to highlight the contradictions between a national ideal and an imperial reality in the status of the colonial.

<sup>55</sup> McGing 1997, p. 283; Vélisse 2004, pp. 207–09.

<sup>56</sup> Vélisse 2004, pp. 228–37.

<sup>57</sup> Clarysse 2000, pp. 42–43; Huß 1991.

<sup>58</sup> Vélisse 2004, p. 204. There were decrees issued in 186 (Philae II), 185 (Philae I), ca. 185–180, and 182 (decree of year 23). For the texts, see Huß 1991, pp. 202–03, along with the recent publication of the Cairo stela bearing parts of the hieroglyphic text of Philae II (Eldamaty 2005).

there is a remarkable coda to the history of this practice in the bilingual (Greek and Demotic) decree enacted in the reign of Cleopatra VII by the priests of Amonrasonter (Amon-Ra, “king of the gods”) at Thebes in honor of the general Kallimachos II. The decree, in its praises for this high military and civil official of the Theban region, closely parallels the pattern of the earlier sacerdotal decrees, and Kallimachos is assimilated to the figure of a pharaoh.<sup>59</sup> The sacerdotal decrees and perhaps the synods of priests drawn together from throughout Egypt may have ceased, but the discourses and practices related to this form of negotiation apparently persisted and continued to be meaningful at a more local level.

These changes in practice did not, of course, mean that negotiations between the Ptolemaic court and the priestly elite withered away after the reign of Epiphanes. A number of other forms of stylized or symbolic communication and negotiation assumed the functions of the sacerdotal decrees,<sup>60</sup> and I next examine one such phenomenon that emerged in the period after the sacerdotal decrees had all but ceased.

## THEBAN PRINCES

In this second example, the view shifts from the collective self-representations of indigenous elites in the cultural and political dialogue of the Ptolemaic Middle Ground to the voices of some remarkable individuals who lived and exercised authority in the Thebaid in the later Ptolemaic period. These individuals were members of prominent families who held priestly offices in the temples of Edfu and Denderah, but they also served as high officials in the Ptolemaic administration, and even held the rank of συγγενής (*syngenēs*), or “kinsman,” the highest Ptolemaic court title. By virtue of their dual roles, these individuals would have constantly moved between milieux that were relatively more Greek or more Egyptian, thus shaping the practices of the Middle Ground in their daily lives. Much of their activity remains invisible, however, and only in death — through grave markers and commemorative statues — are the complex roles of these individuals evident.<sup>61</sup>

Perhaps the best known of these documents are the dual Greek and Egyptian stelae which were found at Nag el-Hassaia and commemorate the so-called Edfu princes, who lived in the late second century B.C. In a remarkable article, J. Yoyotte showed that members of an important Edfu family were honored with separate Greek and Egyptian tombstones under different names.<sup>62</sup> Apollonios, whose twenty-two-line epitaph was written in Greek

<sup>59</sup> See the excellent discussion of Kallimachos II and the decree in his honor in Blasius 2001.

<sup>60</sup> For example, ceremonial royal visits to Memphis on significant religious and political occasions and the close contacts between the Ptolemies and the high priests there, as attested in such documents as the stela of Pasherentah III (on which, see Thompson 1988, pp. 138–39, 148–53), or decrees guaranteeing the rights and protections of *asytia* to particular temples. For the debate over these decrees, which (like the sacerdotal decrees) have been inserted into the historical calculus of waxing and waning powers attributed to the king and the clergy, see Dunand 1979; Bingen 1989, pp. 24–30; Huß 1994.

<sup>61</sup> The observations on the “middle-ground” practices I present here may serve as complements to the recent work by Baines 2004 on the identities and modes of self-presentation of Egyptian elites.

<sup>62</sup> Yoyotte 1969, pp. 294–303; see also Clarysse 1985, pp. 62–64. The Greek stelae of this family are most recently published in É. Bernard 1969, nos. 5, 6, and 35. The Egyptian stelae are in Kamal 1904, pp. 19–20, 21–23, 46, pls. 7–8, 15 (= Cairo CG 22018, 22021, 22050); see also Yoyotte 1969 and Derchain-Urtel 1989, pp. 19–25, 27–28. The genealogy of this family, as it has been reconstructed so far, is sketched below in figure 7.1. Gorre (2009, p. 17) presents a different version of the family tree, in which he considers Apollonios and Pasais to be two different individuals (brothers), and Apollonios the Benefactor to be the same as Apollonios/Pasais. Gorre makes no arguments for his version despite the fact that it differs from previous interpretations. In my opinion, these aspects of his reconstruction are improbable. As I note below, the Greek epitaph of Apollonios the Benefactor makes special mention of the dead man’s grieving

brother as the one who has performed the funerary duties. According to the pattern of the other epigrams (also composed by Herodes), this would be Ptolemaios/Pamenches, and not his son Apollonios/Pasais. The latter identification (on the basis of similarities of position and genealogy) is discussed further below and is also made probable by the fact that in both the hieroglyphic stela of Pasais and the Greek epigram of Apollonios, the son has predeceased the father.

In all, seven members of the family have been securely identified, some of whom are included in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (PP) and Gorre 2009. **Apollonios/Pasais** (son of Ptolemaios/Pamenches): PP II 1847, VI 15181, VIII 301c, 2110a; possibly also = VIII 301a, d, and e; Gorre 2009, nos. 5 and 6; the identification of Apollonios/Pasais with a priest of Ptolemy V Epiphanes in 138/7 B.C. (PP III 5009) has been refuted by Clarysse in Van ‘t Dack, Van Dressel, and Van Gucht 1989, p. 86 n. 9. **Ptolemaios/Pamenches** (father of Apollonios/Pasais son of Pasais): PP II 1997, III 5689, VIII 292a, VIII 2134b; Gorre 2009, no. 4. **Pasais** (father of Ptolemaios/Pamenches): PP III 5707, VIII 301b. **Apollonios the Benefactor** (brother of Ptolemaios/Pamenches): Mooren 1975b, no. 228; Gorre 2009, no. 5; see also below. **Euagoras** (father of Aphrodisia/Hathoretis): Cairo CG 22018, line 9; 9206, line 1 (= É. Bernard 1969, no. 35, line 1; see also below). **Aphrodisia/Hathoretis** (wife of Ptolemaios/Pamenches, mother of Apollonios/Pasais): Cairo CG 9206, 22018; see also below. **Ima** (wife of Euagoras, mother of Aphrodisia/Hathoretis): Cairo CG 22018, line 9. There are also four other individuals who may be related to this family: Pashaï, Khor, Tahor, Pasais. Yoyotte (1969, pp. 134–35) connected the stela of a certain “Pashou fils de Khor” to this family (Cairo CG 22021; see also PP VIII 2130i), but the connection seems open to doubt. Yoyotte sug-

elegaic couplets, appears as Pasais (*Pa-šw*) on his hieroglyphic stela, and his father, Ptolemaios, had the Egyptian name Pamenches (*Pʒ-mnh*).<sup>63</sup> Aphrodisia, Ptolemaios' wife and the mother of Apollonios, was also commemorated in Greek epigrammatic verse, but on her hieroglyphic stela she is named Hathoretis (*H.t-Hr-ī.ty*).<sup>64</sup> The clue that clinched the identification, and allowed the reconstruction of the family tree, was the name of Aphrodisia's father, Euagoras, which occurs on the Greek stela, but also in a phonetic rendering on its hieroglyphic counterpart as  *ʾIwwrs* (a slightly confused writing of *ʾIwks* = Εὐαγόρας).<sup>65</sup>

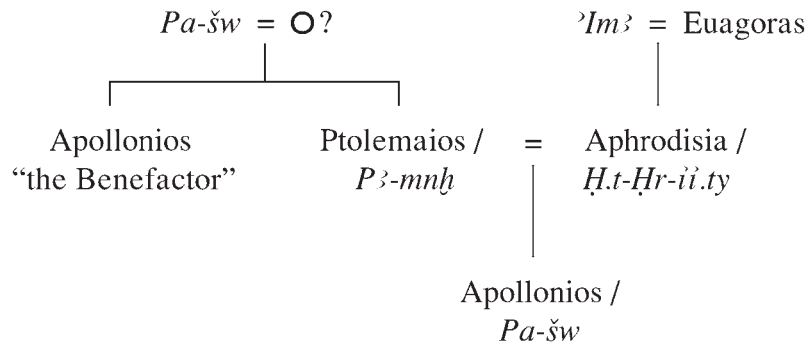


Figure 7.1. The genealogy of the Edfu princes

This group of interrelating funerary stelae, with their separate languages and names and also their distinct visual styles and funerary idioms, provides rich evidence of double identities among Greco-Egyptian individuals in the Ptolemaic government. W. Clarysse used this and other material to argue that Apollonios/Pasais and Ptolemaios/Pamenches were representatives of a group of ethnic Egyptians who had adopted Greek names, language, and culture in adjusting to a national identity that they assumed by virtue of their official functions.<sup>66</sup> Because of the fragmentary nature of the documentary evidence and the difficulty of connecting archives in different languages, such clear examples of this duality are relatively rare. Nevertheless, these cases do cast doubt on the value of personal names for determining identities and drawing ethnic boundaries among members of the Ptolemaic army and administration. Use of onomastic evidence alone would result in the under-estimation of the ethnic Egyptian presence in this milieu where the predominance of Greek language and culture could obscure Egyptians who had adapted to this context. These are important and valuable observations, but the idea of linguistic, onomastic, and cultural “code-switching” is not the whole story, and it leaves out those situations where the contextual alternation of language and identity is accompanied by “creole” or transcultural phenomena.<sup>67</sup>

gested that “Pashoi,” the grandfather of this “Pashou fils de Khor” was in fact Apollonios/Pasais, but the names are not necessarily the same ( *Pa-šw* versus  *Pʒ-n-šy(y)*). Quaegebeur (1975, pp. 54, 201–02) notes that *šw* and *šy* are sometimes confused, but his primary example of this problem in onomastics is the case in question here (see also de Meulenaere 1962, pp. 46–47). There is a possible Demotic attestation of the name *Pʒ-šw* (*Demot. Nb.* 511; compare *Pʒ-šy*, *Demot. Nb.* 220), so perhaps some caution should be exercised in assimilating the latter to *Pʒ-šy*. A second potential difficulty is the name of “Pashou fils de Khor.” On the stela, his name is written together with the epithet *mʒ-ḥrw* as , and de Meulenaere (1962, p. 47) suggested that this should be read *Pʒ-n-šw mʒ-ḥrw*, assuming a haplography of the sign . On the other hand, the name could also be read as an abbreviated writing of *Pa-nw(t)* “He of the city,” that is, Thebes (cf. Ranke 1935–77, vol. 1, p. 108.20; vol. 2, p. 353; *Demot. Nb.* 438). Cf. Derchain-Urtel 1989, p. 24, who simply reads the name as *Pn*. The other figures mentioned in this stela are: Khor (*Hʒrw*, father of Pasais): Cairo CG 22021, lines 4, 9; Tahir (*Ta-Hr*, wife of Khor, mother of Pasais): Cairo CG 22021, lines 5, 10.

<sup>63</sup> The Greek stela of Apollonios/Pasais: Cairo CG 9205; É. Bernand 1969, no. 5 = Peek 1955, no. 1151. The Egyptian stela: Cairo

CG 22050; Kamal 1904, p. 46. Ptolemaios/Pamenches, the father of Apollonios/Pasais, is mentioned in both texts. At the site of the Nag el-Hassaia necropolis where the stelae were discovered, there were also the remains of some painted cartonnage belonging to the general and cavalry officer Pasais (*mr mšc mr smsm Pa-šw*), who is probably Apollonios/Pasais. See Maspero 1884, p. 4; and cf. Cairo CG 22050, lines 5–6, 9.

<sup>64</sup> Aphrodisia: Cairo CG 9206; É. Bernand 1969, no. 35 = Peek 1955, no. 1150; Hathoretis: Cairo CG 22018; Kamal 1904, pp. 19–20; Hathoretis is also named on her son's stela (Cairo CG 22050, line 10).

<sup>65</sup> See Yoyotte 1969, pp. 135–36. This may be the same individual who appears in O. Edfou 233 and 237 as an official of the state granary at Edfu (Clarysse 1985, p. 63 n. 20; Yoyotte 1969, pp. 136–37).

<sup>66</sup> Clarysse 1985; on the Edfu princes, see esp. pp. 62–64.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Clarysse (1985, p. 64), who compares representations of the Edfu princes to the “two faces” of Ptolemaic kingship: “Because of the high social standing of the family the parallelism with the double role of the Ptolemaic king himself is especially striking here. Like the Edfu strategi, the Ptolemies were depicted in the traditional Egyptian style, functioning as pharaohs and high-priests in the temples, but at the same time they were Greek monarchs to their Greek

On the face of it, such phenomena are not obvious in the stelae of the Edfu princes. The Greek stela of Apollonios/Pasais, for example, is topped with a decorative pediment in Greek architectural style, complete with cornice molding and the remains of acroteria,<sup>68</sup> while his hieroglyphic Egyptian stela is illustrated with a winged sun-disk, uraei, and recumbent jackals, below which the embalming of a mummy is performed by Anubis, and attended by Isis, Nephthys, and the four sons of Horus.<sup>69</sup> The Greek and hieroglyphic texts were each composed within the expectations of their respective genres. The Egyptian funerary inscription is in clear, reasonably well-carved hieroglyphs and uses the traditional *hṯp di ny-sw.t* offering formula in praying that Osiris of Abydos (*Wsr Hnty-imnty.w*) and also the local gods of the Edfu necropolis at Nag el-Hassaia<sup>70</sup> grant peace to the soul (*bꜣ*) of the deceased. Apollonios/Pasais appears, of course, under his Egyptian name in this stela, and his identity is fleshed out in the usual manner of an Egyptian biographical text by referring to his honorific, official, and priestly titles, and by providing genealogical information: the names of his father (Pamenches), his grandfather (also called Pasais), and the mother who bore him (Hathoretis). The father and the grandfather are both qualified by the phrase *mī nn* “like these” or “ditto,” an expression typical of Late Period and subsequent Egyptian genealogies and used to indicate that the father and other ancestors had the same titles and positions as their descendant, thus suggesting (accurately or not) the uniformity of father-son succession.<sup>71</sup> The Greek inscription, on the other hand, is composed in elegaic couplets that would pass for decent, if not particularly elegant, Hellenistic poetry.<sup>72</sup> Since the poet signed his name to his works, he can be identified as a certain Herodes, who was not only the author of Apollonios’ epigram, but also of one honoring his mother, and of a fragmentary text honoring Apollonios “the Benefactor,” who is likely the brother of Ptolemaios/Pamenches.<sup>73</sup> Herodes mixes epic and literary Doric forms, as do other Hellenistic poets, and though he uses relatively few learned poetic words, some of his expressions are reminiscent of Homer. The verses scan perfectly well for the most part, and Herodes made use of some quantitative licenses that are poetically correct.<sup>74</sup> In content, there is relatively little connection between Apollonios’ Greek epitaph and its Egyptian counterpart. Indeed, the Greek stela makes hardly any explicit reference to the Egyptian homeland of the deceased or its religious traditions, referring allusively to Edfu as “this steep, sacred city of Phoebus” (αἰπ<υ>είας Φοίβου τῆσδ’ ἱερᾶς πόλεως, line 10).<sup>75</sup> The poem is a brief narrative in the voice of the dead Apollonios, who says that he was inspired by the glory that his father earned in Ptolemaic service, and so led a contingent to Syria in a “War of Scepters,” during which he died.<sup>76</sup> The one significant shared element between the Greek and hieroglyphic texts of Apollonios/Pasais is the mention of the military and civil roles that he and his forefathers held, as well as the rank of *συγγενής*, to which I return shortly.

In the other matching pair of stelae, those of Aphrodisia/Hathoretis, there is somewhat more evidence of cultural overlap and common themes despite a similar distinction between the Greek and Egyptian funerary genres. The epitaph on Aphrodisia’s Greek stela, like her son’s, is in elegaic couplets and addresses the passer-by in the voice of the deceased. In this case, however, the poet Herodes makes specific reference to the local context at Edfu under its ancient Egyptian name, Bakhthis (Bάχθις), a Greek rendering of Behdet (*Bḥd.t*).<sup>77</sup> This connects the Greek text to the hieroglyphic one, in which Behdet and its local funerary divinities are prominent.<sup>78</sup> On the

subjects both in the chora and in Alexandria. The two aspects did not merge, but were kept separate like the two faces of a Janus-statue.” In a later article (Clarysse 2000, pp. 54–56) a more subtle version of the general argument about two faces of Ptolemaic Egypt is presented. In contrast to Clarysse, Yoyotte himself stressed the commonalities and intercommunication between the Greek and Egyptian funerary representations of the Edfu princes; see especially 1969, pp. 137–41.

<sup>68</sup> See É. Bernand 1969, pl. 56.

<sup>69</sup> See Kamal 1904, vol. 2, pl. 15.

<sup>70</sup> Literally, “the ennead foremost in The One who Embraces the People” *psd.t hnt(y) shn-rhy.t* (Cairo CG 22050, line 1). On the connections between this stela and the theology of the Edfu temple, see Derchain-Urtel 1989, pp. 20–24, 27–28.

<sup>71</sup> Brunner 1975, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Cairo CG 9205; Peek 1955, no. 1151; É. Bernand 1969, no. 5.

<sup>73</sup> É. Bernand 1969, no. 6 = Peek 1955, no. 1152. Apollonios “the Benefactor” = Mooren 1975b, no. 228 (see note 62 above). Two other fragmentary verse inscriptions survive that can be attributed to Herodes owing to their origin and verbal echoes of the better pre-

served epitaphs: Alexandria cat. no. 316 (inv. 249) and Cairo CG 9204 = É. Bernand 1969, nos. 7–8.

<sup>74</sup> For the details of this assessment, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1901, pp. 223–25. The latter holds Herodes to rather high standards and, not surprisingly, finds him lacking in many regards. Nevertheless, even he permitted himself to write “Dichter ist er nicht, aber Verse machen kann er noch” (p. 223). Fraser (1972, vol. 1, p. 616) is also critical, but grants Herodes his place in the literary history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

<sup>75</sup> This phrase is, of course, not without some indirect resonance in an Egyptian context as Yoyotte (1969, p. 133) points out.

<sup>76</sup> On this war, see Van ‘t Dack, Van Dressel, and Van Gucht 1989. The death of Apollonios/Pasais can, therefore, be dated to the very end of the second century, around 103–101 B.C.

<sup>77</sup> Yoyotte 1969, p. 132; see also É. Bernand 1969, pp. 178–79.

<sup>78</sup> Similar to the stela of Apollonios/Pasais, the funerary offering is made to “the ennead lords of The One who Embraces the People” *psd.t hnt(y) shn-rhy.t* (Cairo CG 22018, line 1); this inscription also prays for a fine burial “on the western necropolis of Behdet” *hr stꜣ.t imn.t Bḥd.t* (line 7). On the connections between this stela and the

other hand, the “peaks of mountainous Behdet,” where Aphrodisia dwells in the afterlife, are referred to as the sacred seat of Persephone, thus evoking the Greek mythology of the underworld.<sup>79</sup> As Yoyotte pointed out in his original publication, moreover, there are shared themes and expressions in the two texts: the wishes of the deceased that her house abide on earth forever, and praise for a mother who has brought prosperous and successful children into the world.<sup>80</sup> Though these are relatively modest examples of crossover, they are a reminder that there were some variations in practice, and that strict linguistic, onomastic and formal separation between Greek and Egyptian funerary representations was not the only possibility for these individuals who lived between two worlds.<sup>81</sup>

The most striking common feature of all these Greek and Egyptian stelae, however, is the presence of Ptolemaios/Pamenches, the father of Apollonios/Pasais and the husband of Aphrodisia/Hathoretis. Though he has no stela of his own in this group of discoveries, he grabs as much of the limelight as the persons to whom the monuments are devoted. In all the texts, the family’s prestige is on display, but the titles and accomplishments of Ptolemaios receive particular attention in the Greek stelae. When the inscribed voice of Apollonios addresses the reader who chances on his monument, his identity and achievements are framed and defined by those of his father:

Εἰμι γὰρ εὐκλειοῦς Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Πτολεμαίου  
κοῦρος, ὃν Εὐέρκται μίτρα ἐπηγλάισαν,  
συγγενικῆς δόξης ἱερὸν γέρας· εὖνοια γάρ μιν  
βαῖνε καὶ εἴσω γὰς ἄχρι καὶ ὠκεανόν.  
Τοῦνεκα κάμε πατρός καλὸν κλέος εἰσορόωντα  
τῆς αὐτῆς ψάυειν θυμὸς ἔθῃγ’ ἀρετῆς,

...

I am Apollonios, son of famous Ptolemaios, whom the Benefactors honored with the *mítra*, the sacred perquisite of the kinsman’s dignity. Loyalty took him even into the inner parts of the country and up to the ocean. Therefore, gazing on the fine fame of my father, I felt the urge to reach the same excellence ...

(Cairo CG 9205, lines 3–8)

Toward the end of the epitaph, Ptolemaios is referred to as the father who has buried his son with due honors (πατρὶ τῷ κτερίσαντι, line 19), so it seems likely that he was the patron who commissioned Herodes to write Apollonios’ epitaph. Ptolemaios also fares rather well in Aphrodisia’s Greek epitaph, for which he was no doubt ultimately responsible as the devoted husband who has buried his wife (καὶ με συνάορον οὔσαν ἔμὸς πόσις ἐκτερεῖξεν, Cairo CG 9206, line 17). The poem for Aphrodisia praises her husband’s virtues in ways that recall Ptolemaios’ service as a military man and government official and that also stress his high rank:

οὔνομά μοι ’στ’, ὧ ξεῖν’ Ἀφροδισία, ἣν Πτολεμαῖος  
γῆμεν, ὁ καὶ βουλᾷ καὶ δορὶ θαρσαλέος,  
καὶ στρατιᾷ Φοίβου δ<ε>ικνὺς σέλας αἰὲν ἄμωμον,  
συγγενικῆς τε φορῶν δόξαν ἰσουρανίαν·

...

My name, stranger, is Aphrodisia, whom Ptolemaios married, he who is daring in council and with spear, always showing an unblemished brilliance in the army of Phoebus, and bearing the heaven-high honor of the kinsman ...

(Cairo CG 9206, lines 7–10)

theology of the temples of Edfu and Denderah, see Derchain-Urtel 1989, pp. 20–24.

<sup>79</sup> Lines 3–4: Βάχθεος ἐν σκοπέλοις ὀρηάδος ἧ με λαχοῦσα | θάλπει Φερσεφόνης ἧδ’ ἱερὰ κλισία; lines 19–20: ... ὧ καλὰ θυμῷ | ῥέξας καὶ ζώσῃ κα<ι> παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ; lines 23–24: μένοϊτ’ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀμάραντοι, ὅσσον ἐγὼ ναίω δώματα Φερσεφόνης.

<sup>80</sup> See Yoyotte 1969, pp. 137–38.

<sup>81</sup> For the sake of comparison to the relative separation of approaches to funerary representation, note the late Ptolemaic or early Roman stela for a boy named Apollos(?) from Lykopolis, who died at

Alexandria, but was buried at Abydos (Louvre inv. 329 = É. Bernand 1969, no. 73, pls. 50–51). This little monument is bilingual. Above a scene of the deceased being presented to Osiris is a brief hieroglyphic inscription, which is difficult to make out in the published photo, and below the scene is a longer Greek verse epitaph that makes a dual appeal to Greek and Egyptian traditions of the afterlife. See the commentary in Bernand 1969, pp. 294–303. There are also other possibilities: a certain Dioskourides, an individual with a Greek name and official titles, had an Egyptian sarcophagus created for him. See Collombert 2000 and Baines 2004, pp. 42–43.

The descriptions of Ptolemaios/Pamenches in the hieroglyphic stelae are somewhat less magniloquent. On his son's stela, a list of titles is applied only indirectly to Ptolemaios/Pamenches by the use of the phrase *mī nn* (see above), so it is difficult to separate his presentation from that of his son, but in his wife's inscription, he is described as the "general, brother of the king, great one in the southern land" (*mr mš' sn ny-sw.t wr m t' rsy*, Cairo CG 22018, line 8). In neither hieroglyphic stela is he qualified as *mš'-hrw* "justified of voice," the usual epithet of the deceased. This too suggests that he was still alive at the deaths of his son and his wife, and in charge of their funeral preparations.<sup>82</sup> The dual representations of the family of the Edfu princes are, therefore, primarily the product of one individual and manifest his concern that his family be given funeral honors and religious provisions for the afterlife according to both Greek and Egyptian traditions. They also manifest his interests and choices in his own self-representation.

Although Ptolemaios/Pamenches was behind the decision to provide separate Greek and Egyptian funerary monuments for members of his family, the traces he has left behind reveal his own intermediate position at the intersection of two cultural worlds. That position was, of course, the result of his dual status: on the one hand, he was a prominent member of the local community at Edfu and (if the phrase *mī nn* in Apollonios/Pasais' stela is given some credence) a priest of the Egyptian gods there; on the other hand, he was a high-ranking member of the Ptolemaic army and administration. He was capable of communicating in two cultural and linguistic worlds, and could switch between his Greek and Egyptian names depending on the context or function in which he was operating. In terms of the self-image that Ptolemaios/Pamenches projected, however, there were some elements that were functional and comprehensible in both worlds, and which can be identified as practices and discourses of a Ptolemaic Middle Ground. Though the elaborate priestly offices attested in the hieroglyphic stelae are not mentioned in the Greek texts, both the Greek and Egyptian representations highlight the military, administrative, and court positions of Ptolemaios/Pamenches. In the Greek poetical passages cited above, these are described allusively: he is "daring in council and with the spear," and he won fame for himself in expeditions to the Ocean (probably the Red Sea). The hieroglyphic texts are more straightforward in calling him a general with power in southern Egypt, and in combination with the title of συγγενής, they reveal that he most likely held the Ptolemaic military and administrative position of στρατηγός (*stratēgós*) of the Thebaid.<sup>83</sup> The transcultural nature of his position is most evident in the μίτρα (*mítra*), the fillet worn on the head as the insignia of the συγγενής, as described in the Greek stela of Apollonios/Pasais (Cairo CG 9205, lines 4–5; see above). This high rank is consistently mentioned in both sets of stelae: in the Greek texts as συγγενής and in the Egyptian texts as "brother of the king" (*sn ny-sw.t*), a close approximation of the Greek title. The visual sign of the rank, however, was common to both the Greek and the Egyptian milieu.

Though the image of Ptolemaios' μίτρα only occurs in the words of Herodes' poetical homage, a small number of late Ptolemaic statues show that this one textual reference was part of a more widespread phenomenon of

<sup>82</sup> Note especially Cairo CG 22050, lines 9–10, in which both Apollonios/Pasais and his grandfather Pasais are *mš' hrw*, but not Ptolemaios/Pamenches. The latter seems also to have been responsible for the epitaph of his brother Apollonios "the Benefactor" (Cairo CG 9203 = É. Bernand 1969, no. 6), which was composed by Herodes. See lines 13–20 (a long address in the voice of Apollonios "the Benefactor" to his brother), especially 19–20: ὃς μ' ἔτι καὶ ζῶντα περίσχεο καὶ γε θαυ[όντα] | [φρ]οντίδι χρυσείῃ σῇ με κατεκτέ[ρ] | ισ[ας] "You who embraced me while I was still alive, have with your golden care buried me with due honor."

<sup>83</sup> Cairo CG 22018, line 8: *mr mš' sn ny-sw.t wr m t' rsy* "general, brother of the king, great one in the southern land"; cf. also the titles of his son Apollonios/Pasais (Cairo 22050, lines 5–9, omitting the religious titles): *mr mš' wr h'w.ty smr w' ty | mr smsm kn m sky idnw tpy n hm=f | ir shrw=f m- rsy ... sn-ny-sw.t Pa-šw ...* "great general and commander, unique friend, chief of the cavalry, brave in battle, top deputy of his majesty, who accomplishes his decisions in the south ... brother of the king, Pasais ...." The equivalence of the terms *mr mš'* and στρατηγός is proved, in part, by the inscriptions on the statue of Pamenches (*PP* I 265, 990, III 5711, VIII 301) discussed below, in which the title appears both in the hieroglyphic form and in a phonetic transcription from the Greek into Demotic (as *srtygws*). On this equation, see also de Meulenaere 1959, p. 2.

Ptolemaios/Pamenches was, therefore, the στρατηγός of a nome at the very least, but since he held the rank of συγγενής, the highest in the hierarchy of honorific court titles that was created in the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, his authority was almost certainly wider. The hieroglyphic texts say that he had authority in the "southern land." Since the epitaph of his son mentions that he was granted the *mítra* of the kinsman by the Εὐέρεται (i.e., during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II), the date of this award can be narrowed to 145–116 B.C., but the first known στρατηγός of the Thebaid to attain the title of συγγενής did not do so until about 135 B.C. His immediate subordinates in the administration, that is, στρατηγοί with authority over multiple nomes, did not achieve this title until the very end of the reign of Euergetes II, around 117 B.C. (Mooren 1977, pp. 84–88, 108–21). Given the temporal gaps in the recorded στρατηγοί of the Thebaid, Ptolemaios/Pamenches could have served in this role ca. 134–130 (between Boethos and Paos; Mooren 1975b, nos. 053 and 054 = *PP* I/VII 188 and *PP* I/VIII 197) or about 129–127/6 B.C. (between Paos and Lochos, Mooren 1975b, nos. 054 and 055 = *PP* I/VIII 197 and I/VIII 195). Cf. Clarysse in Van 't Dack, Van Dressel, and Van Gucht 1989, pp. 86–87. On the στρατηγοί of the Thebaid, see also Mooren 1973. Another alternative is that Ptolemaios/Pamenches was among the very first στρατηγοί with authority over multiple nomes in the Thebaid to attain the rank of συγγενής.

visual representation, and referred to a symbol that was current in the world of the Egyptian temples as well as the “Greek” world of the higher administration.<sup>84</sup> A statue discovered in excavations at Denderah in 1918 and now in Cairo depicts the high official and priest Pamenches, son of Hierax/Pachom, wearing a *μίτρα* decorated with rosettes.<sup>85</sup> The statue, which probably dates to the very end of the Ptolemaic period (ca. 30 B.C.), is of the “striding draped male” type.<sup>86</sup> He steps forward with his left foot, while the left hand clasps part of a fringed outer garment at the front of his body, and the right hand is clenched at his side. Though the statue exhibits stylistic elements that are generally considered Egyptian, R. Bianchi has pointed out that headbands of this type are worn in a Greek fashion, at a diagonal to the horizontal line of the eyes, whereas an Egyptian crown or headress would normally be parallel to this line.<sup>87</sup> The Greek-style headband matches the rank of this individual. Like Ptolemaios/Pamenches, he was a *συγγενής*, although by this late date it had become possible for individuals lower down in the Ptolemaic administrative hierarchy to hold the title.<sup>88</sup> While this Pamenches from Denderah was not *στρατηγός* of the entire Thebaid, he did have authority over a considerable area. His positions are listed in the hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillar of his statue, beginning with his honorific and administrative titles: “The hereditary noble, prince, royal treasurer, the unique friend, beloved of the king, the great noble in front of the great ones, great of favors in the temple of Horus, the great general (*mr mš<sup>c</sup> wr*) in Edfu, Denderah, Nubia (i.e., the Dodekaschoinos), Philae, Eleithyiaspolis (Elkab), and Hierakonpolis (Kom el-Ahmar), the *συγγενής*...”<sup>89</sup> There follows a list of religious titles which reveals that Pamenches held priesthoods in the temples of each place in which he served as *στρατηγός*. The writing of the administrative and honorific titles combines different approaches to representing Greek words in Egyptian. In this hieroglyphic text, *συγγενής*, rather than being translated into the equivalent Egyptian expression *sn ny-sw.t* (𓂏𓂐𓂱) “brother of the king,” as in the hieroglyphic stelae of Apollonios/Pasais and Aphrodisia/Hathoretis, is written as *snyns* and followed by a determinative indicating that it is a foreign word (𓂏). The title of *στρατηγός*, however, occurs in translation (*mr mš<sup>c</sup> wr*). Oddly, this is reversed in a shorter Demotic inscription on the front of the statue base, which reads “Pamenches, son of Hierax, the *στρατηγός*, the brother of the Pharaoh, the prophet of Horus, the prophet of Hathor, the prophet of Horus Sematawy.” The title of *στρατηγός* occurs in phonetic transcription as *srtgws*, while *συγγενής* is translated as *sn n Pr-<sup>c</sup>* (“brother of the Pharaoh”).<sup>90</sup> The Demotic inscription faces the viewer of the statue and is quite large and

<sup>84</sup> In the discussion that follows, I refer only to published examples of statues in which the title *sn ny-sw.t* appears in their inscriptions, thus helping to identify the *μίτρα* worn on the head of the statue as a sign of honorific rank. There are, however, a number of other sculptures with similar headbands, for example, New York, Metropolitan Museum no. 65.119 (see Lilyquist 1975, p. 66; Bianchi 1978, p. 100, figs. 55–57), and Philadelphia, University Museum no. E975 (Stevenson 1895, pp. 348–50; Petrie 1896, p. 22; Stricker 1959, pl. 7, fig. 2; Stricker 1960, p. 29; Bothmer et al. 1969, p. 166). There are also bands on heads that have been separated from the bodies of statues (e.g., Dumbarton Oaks no. 37.13; see Bothmer et al. 1969, pp. 156–57, figs. 301–02), which cannot therefore be securely identified with the *μίτρα* of the kinsman.

<sup>85</sup> Cairo JE 46320 / CG 50047, most recently published in Abdalla 1994, pp. 5–8, pls. 4, 7c, fig. 2, though there are some minor errors in the transcription and translation of the texts (see below). For earlier discussions of this statue, see Daressy 1919, pp. 186–88; Spiegelberg 1922, pp. 88–90; Spiegelberg 1932, pp. 19–20, pl. 11; Rowe 1940, pp. 17–18, fig. 2; de Meulenaere 1959, pp. 3–6; Bothmer et al. 1969, p. 157. Clarysse (in Van ‘t Dack, Van Dressel, and Van Gucht 1989, p. 87) appropriately draws a connection between this *μίτρα* and the one mentioned in the epitaph of Apollonios/Pasais, but then appears to conflate the Pamenches of this statue with Ptolemaios/Pamenches. For the prosopography, see Mooren 1975b, pp. 121–22, no. 128; *PP* III 5688, VIII 292b; Gorre 2009, no. 10; and also the additional information on the family provided in Farid 1990. Hierax/Pachom, the father of Pamenches, is discussed below.

<sup>86</sup> Bianchi 1976, vol. 2, pp. 296–304, cat. no. 23 F; see also Bianchi 1978, a brief summary of his dissertation. On the emergence of this sculpture type around 125 B.C., see Kaiser 1999.

<sup>87</sup> Bianchi 1978, pp. 99–100. This is the only concession that Bianchi makes to the idea of Greek influence in this type of Ptolemaic

sculpture. Otherwise, he firmly resists the concept. For more recent and plausible reassessments of these arguments, see Vandersleyen 1985 and Baines 2004, pp. 51–55. The significance of the *μίτρα* is discussed below.

<sup>88</sup> From about 117 B.C., it was possible for a *στρατηγός* of multiple nomes to be awarded the title of *συγγενής*. See Mooren 1977, pp. 118–21.

<sup>89</sup> Column 1: *rp<sup>c</sup>(.t) h<sup>3</sup>.ty(-<sup>c</sup>) sd<sup>3</sup>.w b<sup>3</sup>.ty smr w<sup>c</sup>.ty mry n ny-sw.t sr<sup>c</sup> m-h<sup>3</sup>.t wr.w wr hsw(.t) n pr Hr mr mš<sup>c</sup> wr n W<sup>3</sup>.t Sty<sup>c</sup> I<sup>3</sup>.t-rk Nhb.t Mhn.t snyns ...* In Abdalla 1994, p. 5, this last word (*snyns*) has been mistranslated as Esna, but the fault no doubt lies with Gauthier 1925–31, vol. 5, p. 38, and Daressy 1919, p. 188. Spiegelberg (1922, p. 89) correctly translated this word as *συγγενής* and had made the case for this reading in an earlier article (Spiegelberg 1917, pp. 128–29), when he remarked on the Demotic spelling *snyns* in O. Straßburg 631. This word is terminated with the foreign-land determinative, and a similar practice has been followed in the writing of *snyns* in the inscription of the Pamenches statue under discussion, though the line drawing in Abdalla 1994 (fig. 2) has obscured the form of this sign. To judge by the photograph and earlier transcriptions, the spelling of the title on the statue of Pamenches is very similar to that on the statue of Pachompsais discussed below (see Farid 1989, pp. 157–59, text col. 1, and especially the commentary on p. 159).

<sup>90</sup> The text: *P<sup>3</sup>-mn<sup>h</sup> s<sup>3</sup> Hyrgs p<sup>3</sup> srtgws p<sup>3</sup> sn n Pr-<sup>c</sup> p<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr n Hr p<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr n H<sup>3</sup>.t Hr p<sup>3</sup> hm-ntr n Hr sm<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup>.wy*. See Spiegelberg 1922, pp. 88–89; Spiegelberg 1932, pp. 19–20, pl. 11 (= Cairo CG 50047). The remark in Abdalla 1994, p. 8, that “the Greek words *strategos* and *syngenes* are retained, simply being transcribed into Demotic characters; *srtgws* and *sn-gns*” is incorrect and should be disregarded. For a list of Demotic attestations of the title *συγγενής*, see Farid 1989, p. 160.

neatly carved. This text and the floral  $\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\rho\alpha$  that the statue wears would have displayed Pamenches' rank very clearly to those who visited Hathor's temple at Denderah.

A statue of Hierax/Pachom, the father of Pamenches, now in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 7.2), exhibits similar iconography, though the statue appears rougher and may not have been finished.<sup>91</sup> The findspot of this statue is unknown, but it was also probably intended to stand in the temple of Hathor at Denderah, and it has been dated about 50 B.C. Like the Edfu princes, he has a Greek and an Egyptian name, and he may have switched between the two depending on the social context. In the hieroglyphic inscriptions on his own statue and that of his son he appears as Pachom ( $P\delta\text{-}\acute{\eta}m$ ), but in the Demotic inscription on his son's statue his name is



Figure 7.2. Figure of Pachom/Hierax, 50–30 B.C. Detroit Institute of Arts 51.83. Founders Society Purchase, William H. Murphy Fund (Photograph © 2000 The Detroit Institute of Arts)

<sup>91</sup> This statue (Detroit Institute of Arts 51.83) was first published in de Meulenaere 1959, pp. 12–17; see also Stricker 1959, pl. 4, no. 6; Stricker 1960, p. 28; Bothmer et al. 1969, pp. 178–79, pls. 128–29, figs. 340–41, 343; Bianchi 1978, pp. 98–100, figs. 59–60; Brooklyn

Museum 1988, pp. 126–27; Walker and Higgs 2001, pp. 180–82. For the prosopography of this figure, see *PP* I 265, 990, III 5711, VIII 301; Mooren 1975b, pp. 119–20, no. 0127; Gorre 2009, no. 9; see also the additional information on the family provided in Farid 1990.

Hierax (*Hyrgs*; see above) “Falcon,” an approximate Greek translation of his Egyptian name.<sup>92</sup> The biographical text on the back pillar is shorter, and therefore perhaps less detailed than his son’s inscription, but it does reveal that father and son held several titles in common, including those of στρατηγός and συγγενής.<sup>93</sup> Owing to the unfinished state of the statue, it is difficult to tell what the final appearance of the μίτρα would have been. In its present condition, it is simply a rounded band resting on the head at an angle (as on the statue of Pamenches), though it is possible that rosette ornaments were meant to be added later.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, parallels in iconography suggest that the sculptor intended to depict Hierax/Pachom wearing the μίτρα of the συγγενής.

The statue of Pachompsais, another στρατηγός and συγγενής from Denderah, provides traces of a third possible depiction of the μίτρα.<sup>95</sup> Though the head of this statue has been broken off, there are two flat strips which fall down the back of the neck and drape over the pyramidal top of the back pillar. R. Bianchi identified these as the loose ends of a fillet, which would have been tied around the missing head of the statue.<sup>96</sup> This statue is of the same “striding draped male” type as the statues of Pamenches and Hierax/Pachom, and also has a lengthy hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillar. The inscription lists the numerous titles of Pachompsais, beginning with his governmental and honorific titles: “The hereditary noble, prince, royal treasurer, unique friend, συγγενής (*snyns*), general (*mr-mš*), great governor in Denderah ....” A votive stela with a Demotic inscription erected by Pachompsais provides some additional information on his titles,<sup>97</sup> several of which he had in common with Hierax/Pachom and his son.<sup>98</sup> Since Pachompsais was active at the end of the Ptolemaic period and the beginning of Roman rule, it appears that he was a colleague or immediate successor to Pamenches in his administrative and religious duties.<sup>99</sup> The second part of the name Pachompsais suggests a possible relationship with the family of Apollonios/Pasais and his ancestors, and the name of Pachompsais’ father makes an explicit connection to the home of the Edfu princes: he is named “Pachom, the man of Behdet” (*Pz-ḥm-rmt-Bḥd.t*).<sup>100</sup> The record from these monuments is fragmentary and much work remains to be done in order to assemble all the available evidence, but tantalizing impressions are emerging of a small, interconnected world of Theban elites in the late Ptolemaic period.

The Greek poetical description of the μίτρα and its significance in the epitaph of Apollonios/Pasais has a hieroglyphic counterpart in the back-pillar inscription on the statue of yet another Pachom.<sup>101</sup> This statue, which was also discovered in excavations at Denderah, has been attributed to the period roughly contemporary to the Edfu

<sup>92</sup> The word *ḥm* refers to the falcon cult image of Horus (e.g., kept in the temple at Edfu), or to Horus in falcon form (see Wilson 1997, p. 178, for references), thus the Greek Ἴεραξ is a close equivalent.

<sup>93</sup> This was observed by de Meulenaere (1959, pp. 16–17) in his commentary on the inscription of Hierax/Pachom. The nine titles that Pamenches and Hierax/Pachom share are as follows: hereditary noble (*rp*); prince (*h*); general (*mr mš*); royal treasurer (*sd*); unique friend (*smr*); kinsman (*snyns*); prophet (*ḥm-ntr*); of Isis Lady of Philae; first prophet or prophet (*ḥm-ntr tpy*); of Hathor, eye of Re, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods; prophet of Horus Sematawy (or of Horus Sematawy, son of Hathor); first prophet or prophet of Horus of Edfu, great god, lord of the sky; overseer of the treasury (*mr pr-ḥd*) of Horus of Edfu (and of Hathor of Denderah, in the case of Hierax/Pachom).

<sup>94</sup> The head of an Egyptian-style statue in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (no. 37.13) bears a headband into which holes have been drilled, perhaps in order to mount metal rosettes. See Bothmer et al. 1969, pp. 156–57, pl. 112, figs. 301–02.

<sup>95</sup> Cairo 6/6/22/5, published in Farid 1989, pp. 156–63, fig. 1, pl. 10; Gorre 2009, no. 32. Note also the traces of a *mitra* on the back pillar of the statue of Pamonthes-Plenis (Louvre E 20361; Daressy 1893, p. 162; Farid 1995, pp. 296–97; Gorre 2009, no. 12).

<sup>96</sup> Bianchi 1976, vol. 1, pp. 100–01, vol. 2, p. 271, cat. no. 23 A. There may be a head to this statue in the Cairo Museum (listed in Bianchi’s catalog as 23 A, 1), but the identification remains to be confirmed. In Hellenistic portraits of the Ptolemies, the ends of the *mitra* or diadem are often shown hanging from the knot at the back (see, e.g., Kyrieleis 1975, pls. 8, 16, 29, 30). There are also parallels in Ptolemaic portrait sculptures carved in an Egyptian style or with Egyptian elements. The head of a Ptolemaic portrait statue in Warsaw is carved in an Egyptian style complete with back pillar, but the figure wears

a diadem, the ends of which descend from the knot at the back and lie on either side of the neck, near where it joins the remains of the back pillar (Kyrieleis 1975, cat. no. B 5: pp. 166–67, pl. 11). A small alabaster head in Berlin depicts a youth wearing the double crown of Egypt, a Horus side-lock, and a diadem, which is tied at the back with the ends hanging down the neck (Kyrieleis 1975, cat. no. E 1: p. 172, pl. 41). I would like to thank Robert Ritner for pointing out these parallels to me.

<sup>97</sup> Berlin 22468, published in Farid 1989, pp. 163–65, pl. 11:d.

<sup>98</sup> The titles of Pachompsais are most similar to those of Pamenches. The following are the governmental and honorific titles held in common by these two individuals: hereditary noble (*rp*); prince (*h*); royal treasurer (*sd*); unique friend (*smr*); general (*mr mš*); kinsman (*snyns*). The following are the religious titles common to them: first prophet / prophet (*ḥm-ntr tpy* / *ḥm-ntr*) of Isis; of Isis at Denderah (in the case of Pachompsais: of Isis the great, the mother of the gods, the mistress of *Ḥt-dy* in Denderah); of Hathor, eye of Re, mistress of heaven, ruler of the gods; of Ihy, son of Hathor; of Horus Sematawy; of Horus of Edfu, great god, lord of the sky; overseer of the treasury of Hathor of Denderah and of Horus of Edfu (Pamenches was only overseer of the treasury of Horus, though Hierax/Pachom was overseer of both).

<sup>99</sup> The Demotic stela Berlin 22468, line 7, refers to Pachompsais as *p* *rt Gysrs* “the agent of Caesar” (i.e., Augustus), but his statue does not mention this title, so it seems probable that he was active in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods; Farid 1989, pp. 163, 167–68.

<sup>100</sup> This has been suggested by Farid (1989, p. 168).

<sup>101</sup> Cairo JE 46059. Daressy 1917, pp. 91–93; de Meulenaere 1959, pp. 3, 10–11, 24; Känel 1984, pp. 142–45, no. 64; Abdalla 1994, pp. 8–11, fig. 3, pl. 5.

stelae<sup>102</sup> and depicts a high official in the now-familiar striding draped style, but in this case the left hand, rather than clasping his fringed shawl, holds a small bouquet of lotus flowers. Though found at Denderah, the lacunose inscription indicates that this Pachom was στρατηγός in Edfu (*mr mšꜥ wr m Wts.t*, col. 1). He also bears the title of συγγενής (*sn ny-sw.t*). As is the case with so many of these statues, the head and feet have broken off, so it is impossible to tell whether he was depicted wearing the μίτρα. The second column of the inscription, however, gives a brief description of the career and royal rewards that Pachom received and mentions a fillet or headband that the king granted him in return for his military and administrative service:

*iw=f pw hf r-ꜥ ht hꜣi r ptri tp-ꜥ mnfty.w ... wdꜣ pr(=f) pr-ny-sw.t n itn.n.tw=f ꜥhꜥ hms m-bꜣh hꜣm=f twn.n=f  
sdd=f m tr n hrp=f (m) hkr.w ny-sw.t iw.ty sn.nw rdi.n=f mh n sꜣ.wy r hꜣ.t=f ...*

It is thus he goes, viewing the combat, descending to the battlefield at the head of (his) troops ... whole. (When) he goes forth from the palace, he is not hindered — standing and sitting in the presence of His Majesty. He [i.e., the king] rewarded his speech in the time of his administration (with) royal ornaments without peer. He placed a fillet of gold on his brow ...

(Cairo JE 46059, col. 2)

The word for the “fillet” (*mh*) given to him by the king is written with the μίτρα-like hieroglyphic sign ,<sup>103</sup> and its association with the phrase “royal ornaments without peer” suggests that this emblem was the same one that was granted as the privilege of the συγγενής, the kinsman of the king at the top echelon of the Ptolemaic court hierarchy.<sup>104</sup> The award is also clearly associated with his administrative and military service, rather than his various religious distinctions, just as one would expect of the emblem of the συγγενής, an honorific rank that was closely connected to the bearer’s position in the hierarchy of Ptolemaic state functionaries.<sup>105</sup> Pachom’s biographical inscription is comparable in these respects to the accounts of Ptolemaios’ career in Ptolemaic service and the royal reward of the μίτρα recorded in the Greek stelae erected for Aphrodisia and Apollonios.

In making these connections between the μίτρα of a Greek poetical epitaph, the  (*mh* / *mdh*) of a hieroglyphic Egyptian biographical text, and the visual representations of headbands on certain late Ptolemaic statues from the Thebaid, I am arguing that the μίτρα of the kinsman was a transcultural emblem that circulated between Greek and Egyptian contexts, rather than an independent element of the identity of one or the other discrete culture or ethnicity. While it is impossible to know for certain whether Theban στρατηγοί such as Ptolemaios/Pamenches wore the μίτρα on ceremonial occasions or in conducting their day-to-day business, it seems probable that they did wear it at some time; otherwise, reference to it in texts or images would have had little communicative value. In the absence of evidence for its actual use, it can at least be traced to two different representational contexts. In the Greek stela of Apollonios/Pasais, a passerby is imagined, a visitor to the necropolis at Nag el-Hassaia who is able to read Greek verse. This passerby is a literary convention of Greek funerary epitaphs (and of Egyptian funerary texts as well),<sup>106</sup> but periodic visitors to the cemetery were a reality. How many could actually read Greek verse is impossible to know, but they were the readers for whom Ptolemaios/Pamenches hired Herodes to write a poem: people who knew what a μίτρα was and the honor of being a συγγενής.<sup>107</sup> The numbers of those who could view and potentially comprehend the iconography of the statues would have been less restricted by ancient literacy rates. Those would include visitors to the more accessible areas of a Ptolemaic

<sup>102</sup> De Meulenaere (1959, p. 24) suggests the late second or early first century B.C., but since he is a συγγενής and his inscription only mentions one nome in which he serves as στρατηγός, a date in the later half of that range seems more likely.

<sup>103</sup> Since the word is written with this sign alone, it is difficult to know exactly how to read it. In my opinion, the most likely possibilities are *mh* or *mdh*, which are written at Edfu with the  sign or a variant of it (see Wilson 1997, pp. 451–53, 483). Yoyotte (1969, p. 139), in noting this passage from Cairo JE 46059, read the word as *wꜣh* by comparison with the phrase *wꜣh.w* () *n nbw* on the statue of a certain general (*mr mšꜥ*) Teos (*Dhr*), son of Apries from Tanis (Cairo 689; see Montet 1938, pp. 129–31), but at Edfu, *wꜣh* is usually written phonetically with the sign  (Wilson 1997, p. 196).

<sup>104</sup> The phrase “royal ornaments without peer” is not unlike the “heaven-high honor of the kinsman” (συγγενικῆς ... δόξαν

ἰσοπαρίαν) in the stela of Aphrodisia/Hathoretis (Cairo CG 9206, line 10; see above).

<sup>105</sup> As demonstrated in Moeren 1977.

<sup>106</sup> On the literary development of this basic convention in the Hellenistic period, see Hunter and Fantuzzi 2004, pp. 306–28. On the “address to the living” in Egyptian funerary texts, see Müller 1975. In the Greco-Roman period, however, this address was usually limited to priests (Derchain-Urtel 1989, pp. 162–63).

<sup>107</sup> Estimates of ancient literacy are debatable but generally low. Nevertheless, since poetical classics were at the core of Greek teaching in Egypt, any reader with an education that extended beyond the rudiments would have been capable of comprehending Herodes’ verse. See Cribiore 2001, pp. 185–210.

temple, the gateways and enclosure at the temple of Hathor at Denderah, for example.<sup>108</sup> Indeed, the statues of Hierax/Pachom, Pamenches, Pachompsais, and Pachom would probably have stood not far from the propylaion of the temple of Denderah, the monumental entryway to the sanctuary where, in life, these indigenous elites may well have received petitioners and exercised judicial functions as στρατηγοί.<sup>109</sup> Here, in this space that mediated between the profane world and the more secluded parts of the temple proper, an area accessible on at least some occasions to the wider population as well as the priests of the temple, the μίτρα was in fact more visible and legible than the inscriptions carved on the back pillar of a statue.

But how did viewers of the statues “read” the μίτρα? With the exception of the brief reference in the epitaph of Apollonios/Pasais, there is no evidence to answer this question, but the various conjectures made by modern scholars suggest a range of plausible possibilities. It is perhaps not surprising that these can be divided roughly into “Greek” or “Egyptian” interpretations. Some, for example, may have connected this headband with the royal diadem worn by the Ptolemies, a sight that would have been relatively familiar from coins, if not Hellenistic portrait sculpture. The μίτρα could have been understood as an extension of the royal symbolism of the diadem to include the “kinsmen” of the ruler.<sup>110</sup> As I mentioned earlier, some may also have seen it simply as “Greek” in a more general sense, a style of wearing a headband regardless of its particular significance.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, there were also Egyptian parallels and antecedents with which an imagined ancient viewer could associate the μίτρα. A floral wreath was an attribute of the deceased in Egyptian funerary rites, texts, and representations, but evidence from Ptolemaic reliefs shows that this usage was part of the broader symbolism of the “crown of justification” (*mḥ n mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*). These fillets or headbands, in a variety of forms, were presented to Horus in a symbolic rite of investiture that celebrated the god’s victory over his enemies and assumption of his father’s rule over Egypt.<sup>112</sup> If, as the inscription on the statue of Pachom (Cairo JE 46059) suggests, the μίτρα was sometimes made of gold, it would also be possible for the grant of this insignia to be understood in terms of other royal gifts of gold, such as the “gold of valor” (*nbw qnw*) or “gold of praise” (*nbw ḥsy*), which were traditionally granted as favors and tokens of distinction.<sup>113</sup> Each of these reference points could well have been available to one or another visitor who looked at the statue. For the scholarly viewer, however, interpretations have often come with more or less explicit assumptions about the originary culture of the μίτρα or *mḥ*, and therefore the proper frame of reference for working out its significance. This emblem becomes either an act of assimilation to Greek culture, or the persistence of an Egyptian tradition. Such approaches do not adequately address the newness of this μίτρα. Without precluding any of the interpretative possibilities just mentioned, there are advantages to recognizing that

<sup>108</sup> See Sourouzian 1986, pp. 412–13, and Wildung 1982, pp. 1115–16. The discovery of the new version of the Canopus decree at Tell Basta also gives insight into this zone of interaction, since the stela with the decree was placed in the outer wall of the temenos or the pylon that gave entry into the forecourt of the temple (Tietze, Lange, and Hallof 2005, pp. 3–7). Cf. also Baines 2004, p. 54, on the outer areas of the temple as sites of display for more culturally hybrid works. The statue of Pamenches (Cairo JE 46320), for example, was found in the *sebbakh* of the temenos of the temple of Denderah, seventy meters southeast of the temple (Abdalla 1994, p. 5).

<sup>109</sup> On the Ptolemaic and Roman continuation of the traditional practice of hearing cases in the forecourt and at the propylaia of Egyptian temples, see Quaegebeur 1993; Allam 1991, p. 111 n. 7, pp. 119–20; Sauneron 1954; Coulon 2001, p. 107.

<sup>110</sup> For the diadem in Ptolemaic coins and other portraits, see Kyrielleis 1975, *passim*. Brandenburg (1966, pp. 156–57) connects the *mītra* of Apollonios/Pasais with the royal diadem, noting in addition some references in Hellenistic poetry: Callimachus *Hymn* 4 166; Theocritus *Idylls* 17.17. Note also Clarysse in Van ‘t Dack, Van Dressel, and Van Gucht 1989, p. 87. In Brooklyn Museum 1988, p. 127 the headband of Hierax/Pachom (Detroit 51.83) is interpreted as a “blatant appropriation of the royal Alexandrian wide diadem both in its form and its positioning on the head.” The irony, of course, is that the diadem was earlier a transcultural sign of kingship assumed by Alexander in the context of his sovereignty over Persia.

<sup>111</sup> Bianchi 1978, pp. 99–100; Baines 2004, pp. 42, 52–53. Fraser (1972, vol. 1, p. 103; vol. 2, p. 187 n. 74) briefly notes this insignia, but only in the context of Hellenistic court hierarchies. In broader

terms the *mītra* could have varying significance, Dionysian religion, for example, or athletic victory. See Brandenburg 1966.

<sup>112</sup> Rowe (1940, p. 17) compared the rosette fillet of Pamenches (Cairo JE 46320) with that of the *ḥsy*, the special divinized dead who had drowned, in a series of Roman-period images from Nubia, but the contexts are clearly different, and these crowns were not, in any case, the sole prerogative of the drowned but applied to the deceased in general (Quaegebeur 1977, p. 141; idem in Bianchi 1978, p. 102). For the rite of presenting the “crown of justification,” see Derchain 1955, where the author compares one version of the crown that appears in the scenes of this rite at Edfu with the statue of Pamenches.

<sup>113</sup> This was suggested by Bianchi (1976, pp. 102–03). On royal gifts of gold, see Feucht 1977. Much of the evidence for these gifts is from the New Kingdom, but a later example is found in the gold bracelets given by Psammetichus I to the Greek mercenary Pedon (Ampolo and Bresciani 1988; Masson and Yoyotte 1988), and the phrase *nbw ḥsy* is also attested in a Demotic literary papyrus of the first–second centuries A.D.: P. Petese (= Ryholt 1999) col. 8?, line 8. A possible piece of evidence for the currency of this idea in the Ptolemaic period is the mention of a reward of gold for soldiers who fought at the battle of Raphia. This reference occurs in the Raphia decree as part of a list of mostly pharaonic virtues for which Ptolemy IV is honored (Greek: A. Bernand 1992, no. 14, lines A.20–22; Demotic: Gauthier and Sottas 1925, p. 38, line 29; Simpson 1996, pp. 252–53). In this context, it is interesting to note that the Demotic word *krm* “crown” is used in a phrase that approximates the sense of the Greek verb στεφανῶ. See Gauthier and Sottas 1925, p. 78; Simpson 1996, p. 23.

the μίτρα was at some point stipulated as the mark of the συγγενής in the Ptolemaic hierarchy and developed its own significance as it was granted, worn, and represented in various contexts; it was, therefore, as new as the title itself and can be examined in the political context in which it was created.

The title was part of a hierarchy of honorific court titles, which was first created early in the second century B.C., during the reign of the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes, and which underwent various additions and modifications down into the first century B.C.<sup>114</sup> The title of συγγενής itself is first attested in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.) in a dedicatory inscription found at Aswan, and it is not entirely certain whether it was part of the original system, or a later addition.<sup>115</sup> The hierarchy of titles, perhaps initially the work of the guardian and regent Aristomenes and other members of the Alexandrian court, included ranks that were familiar from earlier Macedonian and Ptolemaic courts. There were “friends” (φίλοι), “bodyguards” (σωματοφύλακοι), “successors” (διάδοχοι), as well as variations on these concepts, most of which can be related to the various companions (ἑταῖροι) that served as Alexander’s court. There were, however, differences in the new hierarchy of titles. The most obvious one is the title of συγγενής itself. Royal kinship did exist, obviously, and there were literal kinsmen of the king who were important at court, but this was not conferred as a fictive status in the Ptolemaic empire before the second century.<sup>116</sup> Indeed, the new system as a whole was largely fictive. Though relations between highly placed courtiers and the king no doubt continued, the new hierarchy extended the ranks and titles of the court beyond the royal entourage in Alexandria to include a wider range of individuals in the Ptolemaic administration of the *chora* and the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt. The new titles evoked different grades of proximity to the king, whether or not there was any actual relationship, and by around 145 B.C., titles were granted to individuals on the basis of their administrative positions.

Like the μίτρα of the συγγενής, the expanded fictive court hierarchy of the second century can also be distinguished from the earlier Macedonian system by its transcultural dimensions. Though most of the Greek names of the honorific titles have Macedonian antecedents, these symbolic positions could be represented within Egyptian linguistic and cultural frameworks. As we have seen, the title of συγγενής (as *sn ny-sw.t* or *snyns*) was readily used in Egyptian texts, as were (to a lesser extent) other titles in the hierarchy.<sup>117</sup> Fictive royal affiliation, friendship, or proximity, moreover, had long been part of the Egyptian titulary idiom in expressions such as “king’s son” (*sʿ ny-sw.t*), “unique friend” (*smr wʿ.ty*), “king’s acquaintance” (*rh-ny-sw.t*).<sup>118</sup> The existence of such titles may simply have made the new hierarchy familiar and accessible in Egyptian terms,<sup>119</sup> but some scholars have argued that the new creation was developed with Egyptian traditions in mind.<sup>120</sup> There is evidence, moreover, that the Greek terminology for the rank of “kinsman” in particular was sometimes fluid and could more closely approximate the idiom of its Egyptian counterpart. In a Greek inscription recording a series of royal letters and documents that granted privileges to the priests of Khnum at Elephantine (*OGIS* 168, dated to 115 B.C.), Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Soter II sent instructions to two successive “kinsmen” who governed the Thebaid, one of whom had a Greek name and the other an Egyptian name. The ruling couple greeted each of the governors, who

<sup>114</sup> For the introduction and development of this hierarchy, see Mooren 1977, pp. 19–73; and for a brief overview of its creation in the reign of Ptolemy V, see Huß 2001, pp. 524–25. In another article (Moyer 2011), I discuss the transcultural dimensions of the court in greater detail.

<sup>115</sup> The earliest securely attested συγγενής is Ptolemaios Makron, a στρατηγός of Cyprus around 176/5–170 B.C. during the reign of Ptolemy VI (Mooren 1975b, no. 0350 / 00210), but the court hierarchy may have evolved differently outside of Egypt (Mooren 1977, p. 37). The attestation from Aswan is the earliest in Egypt, though the name of the titleholder is incomplete (*SB* 1 4526 = Bernand 1989, no. 224; cf. Mooren 1975b, no. 0312). Mooren (1977, p. 21) suggested that συγγενής was part of the original hierarchy despite the absence of earlier evidence either within or outside Egypt, but the hierarchy does seem to have undergone further development in the reign of Ptolemy VI and afterwards (Mooren 1977, pp. 21–24), so the later addition of συγγενής cannot be excluded.

<sup>116</sup> Mooren 1977, pp. 39–41.

<sup>117</sup> In Philae II (186 B.C.), one of the sacerdotal decrees, the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων is translated into hieroglyphs as *nty im imy.w-ib tp n hm=f* “who is among the first friends of his majesty” (*Urk.* II

217, p. 6). Another remarkable example is the case of Dioskourides, who held the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ and is well attested in other sources dated around pp. 163–46. This title was transliterated phonetically into hieroglyphs in the biographical inscriptions of his Egyptian-style sarcophagus as *ʾrkysmtpyrks* (Collombert 2000, p. 48). A more comprehensive study of the Egyptian versions of these titles and their use in various contexts would be enlightening, but it is beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>118</sup> See *Wb.* 3, 409; *Wb.* 4, 138; *Wb.* 2, 446–47.

<sup>119</sup> Baines 2004, p. 43.

<sup>120</sup> Trindl (1942, pp. 55–58, 91, 134–38, 148–49) tentatively discusses some Egyptian analogies to the Ptolemaic court titles. She argues that although the titles were not introduced as a concession to the priests (contra Strack), they were introduced with a view to adding luster to the status of Ptolemaic officials in a way that would appeal to Egyptian traditions. See also the brief discussion of Huß 2001, pp. 524–25. Mooren (1975a) discusses such theories, but argues that the entire Ptolemaic court hierarchy is “purely Greek” (p. 237). His arguments against the connection between the titles συγγενής and *sn ny-sw.t* are, however, flawed (see below).

both held the title of συγγενής, as ἀδελφός (*adelphós* “brother”), a formal nicety that parallels the more specific kin terminology of the Egyptian *sn ny-sw.t* “brother of the king.”<sup>121</sup> Though this rank and the hierarchy as a whole undoubtedly originated with the Ptolemaic court, the evidence of an interrelationship between Greek and Egyptian terms, the reception of Ptolemaic honorific titles in Egyptian contexts, and the parallels between the new hierarchy and earlier Egyptian honorific titles, all suggest that Egyptian ideas and practices may have contributed to shaping the new hierarchy, whether through the perceptions of those at court who initially created the hierarchy, or in its subsequent development in the Egyptian context of the Ptolemaic kingdom. However that may be, the expression *sn ny-sw.t* “brother of the king” did not derive from any specific Egyptian honorific court title any more than συγγενής derived from a Greek or Macedonian one.<sup>122</sup> The Ptolemaic honorific position of “kinsman” was, in effect, doubly new. This was an invention that did not simply continue earlier Greek or Egyptian practices, but was created and at some point developed into a transcultural symbol at the very pinnacle of the court hierarchy.

As I mentioned above, “kinsmen” first appear in texts dated to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor as part of the system of court titles originally created under Ptolemy V Epiphanes — a system that extended the nomenclature of royal affiliation beyond the effective relations of the Alexandrian court to include the upper levels of the administration. The creation of this new hierarchy of honorific titles in the early second century B.C. has long been understood as part of an internal political reform undertaken in response to the difficulties that the Ptolemaic kingdom faced at the time. In addition to the major Theban revolt of 207–186 B.C. and the loss of power and revenue that it entailed, Egypt under the rule of the child-king Epiphanes was threatened from without by the cooperation of Philip V of Macedon and the Seleucid king Antiochus III, who stripped the Ptolemaic empire of most of its holdings on the west and south coasts of Asia Minor as well as its territory in Phoenicia and Coele Syria during the Fifth Syrian War (202–195 B.C.). In such turbulent times, when the stability of the dynasty was made even more precarious by a series of under-age successions, the hierarchy of court titles, as several historians have argued, served to bind the upper levels of the administration to the court and thereby to encourage the loyalty of Ptolemaic officials. Conversely, the royal connections advertised by these new honorific titles symbolically extended the king’s prestige and power into the *chora* and confirmed the authority of the officeholders who were carrying out his business there.<sup>123</sup>

This symbolic effort was perhaps especially important for the Thebaid itself — alongside, of course, the more substantive changes in its administration that followed the restoration of Ptolemaic control in 186 B.C.: the creation of an ἐπιστράτηγος based in Ptolemais with authority over the *chora*, and the administration of the Thebaid as a single unit by a στρατηγός who was superordinate to the στρατηγοί governing its various nomes.<sup>124</sup> Starting in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145–116 B.C.), local indigenous elites regularly held this high position as the governor of the Thebaid or served as στρατηγοί of multiple nomes and therefore played crucial mediating roles in the extension and maintenance of Ptolemaic power in the south. Among the earliest of these was the “Edfu prince” Ptolemaios/Pamenches discussed above, but other individuals are attested who chose to go by Egyptian names, even in the Greek documents in which they appeared in the course of carrying out their duties in the Ptolemaic

<sup>121</sup> A. Bernand 1989, no. 244 (= *OGIS* 168), line 29: [βασιλίσσα Κλεοπάτρα καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος] Φομμοῦτι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν ...; line 36: [Βασιλίσσα Κλεοπάτρα καὶ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖ] ος Ἑρμοκράτει τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν ... Phommous: *PP* I/VIII 202 (= Mooren 1975b, no. 058); this name is a Greek transcription of *P3-in-mw.t* (see *Demot.Nb.* 157). Hermokrates: *PP* I/VIII 191 (= Mooren 1975b, no. 057). The use of both συγγενής and ἀδελφός to refer to these individuals was noted in Huß 1994, p. 86 n. 54.

<sup>122</sup> Mooren (1975a, pp. 236–37) has argued against a connection between the titles συγγενής and *sn ny-sw.t* on the basis of possible attestations of *sn ny-sw.t* before the creation of the new Ptolemaic court hierarchy, but his position is no longer tenable. In the first place, his assumption appears to have been that if there was a connection between the titles, the Egyptian must have been a translation of the Greek (therefore the prior existence of the Egyptian title would disprove the connection). This is obviously a prejudgment. The actual evidence he cites for the earlier existence of the term *sn ny-sw.t* as an honorific court title can also be rejected. The attestation of the term *sn ny-sw.t* on a Thirtieth Dynasty statue of Tjayhepimu (Met-

ropolitan Museum 08.205.1) occurs in the phrase *sn ny-sw.t it bi.ty* “the brother of the king and the father of the king” and refers to actual familial relationships with Teos and Nectanebo II (see Petrie et al. 1909, p. 13, pls. 31–32; Ranke 1953, p. 197 n. 2; de Meulenaere 1959, p. 22 n. 2; 1963, p. 91). The dating (on stylistic grounds) of the statue of the *sn ny-sw.t* “Amphiomis, son of Pelaias” (Cleveland 48.141) to the reign of Ptolemy II (Bothmer et al. 1969, pp. 122–25), has been pushed to the late second century B.C. by Yoyotte (1989, pp. 82–84) (as originally proposed in Ranke 1953). Yoyotte also points out that the use of the expression *sn ny-sw.t* before the Ptolemaic period was restricted to blood relations of the king (1989, p. 83). See also Guermeur 2000, p. 74; Gorre 2009, pp. 461–62.

<sup>123</sup> See Mooren 1977, pp. 56–58, a survey of previous discussions.

<sup>124</sup> For these reforms as aspects of the Ptolemaic response to the Theban revolts, see Véisse 2004, pp. 181–83. Later in the Ptolemaic period, the offices of ἐπιστράτηγος and στρατηγός of the Thebaid may have been combined, or alternatively they were separate but commonly held by a single person. For a brief discussion, see Huß 2001, pp. 525–26.

administration. The Egyptian Paos, for example, was a kinsman and στρατηγός of the Thebaid around 130–129 B.C. and led an army against the rebellious town of Hermonthis (Armant), perhaps as part of a campaign against the Egyptian rebel Harsiesis.<sup>125</sup> Of even higher standing was Phommous, a kinsman as well as ἐπιστράτηγος and στρατηγός of the Thebaid around 115–110 B.C.<sup>126</sup> In the first century B.C., other Egyptian kinsmen, among them the individuals discussed above whose statues provide evidence for the μίτρα, could hold the rank of συγγενής and occupy positions lower down in the hierarchy, though they still held considerable authority as governors of one or several Theban nomes. In this context, the honorific rank of συγγενής and the fillet that served as its insignia became a transcultural emblem of affiliation to the Ptolemaic court. Given the mix of Greek and Egyptian identities in the top levels of the Ptolemaic administration of Thebes in this period, the display of this rank was not simply a sign that Egyptians Hellenized in adapting to a predominantly Greek context. Even classifying the administration and the court hierarchy as “predominantly Greek” leaves a substantial unexplained remainder.<sup>127</sup> The rank of συγγενής in particular, along with its emblem, clearly had significance beyond the notionally Greek world of the Ptolemaic administration in more traditionally Egyptian contexts such as the temples. The salient features of the μίτρα were not culturally exclusive, nor was its social and political purpose to indicate affiliation with a single, bounded culture. It was not as a symbol of Greekness that the μίτρα was displayed by Theban elites, but as a source of ideological power that helped to reinforce or sustain a local position of authority, and as a token of formal alliance, asymmetrical though the relations of power were, between the king and his officers.

## CONCLUSIONS

The diverse self-representations of Ptolemaios/Pamenches and Pamenches, son of Hierax/Pachom, indigenous “kinsmen” of the Ptolemies who in earlier periods could have belonged to a quasi-polis of priests passing decrees in honor of the king, show that culture did not always function as a pure, static category. In explaining the position of these individuals in Ptolemaic society and their cultural and political strategies, it is productive to follow the lead of James Clifford (among others) in considering cultural identity not in terms of fixed boundaries, but as “a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject.”<sup>128</sup> Greeks and Egyptians were capable not only of exploiting their respective cultural ideas, practices, and identities for creating difference or justifying conflict, but also for generating new cultural phenomena in an attempt at mutual comprehension and reinvention. These new phenomena — sacerdotal decrees in which Egyptian priests made a Hellenistic *basileus* into a pharaoh and themselves into a Greek polis, or the use of the titles and insignia of fictive royal kinship as transcultural emblems of affiliation — are not the outcomes of passive acculturation nor objective criteria through which to gauge the persistence or decline of a particular culture. They were practices created by two groups attempting to maintain mutually beneficial relations in the particular social and political conditions of Ptolemaic Egypt. When set in the context of our changing knowledge of the place of Egyptian elites within the Ptolemaic state, this understanding of cultural change and innovation can help develop a different cultural history of Ptolemaic Egypt — one that centers on a Middle Ground created between Greeks and Egyptians.

<sup>125</sup> *PP I/VIII 197* = Mooren 1975b, no. 054 (see also Mooren 1973, p. 127, no. 6). The name Παῶς is the Egyptian *Pa-Hr* (*Demot.Nb.* 401). Although names are not necessarily a reliable indicator of ethnicity (see the discussion above), the fact that this individual bears an Egyptian name even in the “Greek” context of the Ptolemaic administration is striking. Either this individual is actually an Egyptian, or he is of Greek or another ethnic background and was given an Egyptian name. The former seems more probable in this case. In a letter from the Dryton archive, Paos is mentioned as the general preparing an expedition against rebels in Hermonthis (Chrest.Wilck. 10, lines 8–12). The revolt of the pharaoh Harsiesis has been cast into doubt recently by Vêisse (2004, pp. 48–52) and McGing (2006, pp. 59–60).

<sup>126</sup> *PP I/VIII 202* = Mooren 1975b, no. 058 (see also Mooren 1973, pp. 130–31, no. 10). Φομμοῦς = *P'-in-mw.t* (*Demot.Nb.* 157).

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Mooren 1978, p. 53: “Es ist deshalb möglich, daß seit Euergetes die nationale Exklusivität des φίλοι-Kreises durchbrochen

wurde. Aber die Beweise fehlen und allem Anschein nach ist auch in dieser Zeit die höhere Administration überwiegend griechisch geblieben.”

<sup>128</sup> In his discussion of Native American identity in Mashpee, Clifford writes: “Stories of cultural contact and change have been structured by a pervasive dichotomy: absorption by the other or resistance to the other. A fear of lost identity, a Puritan taboo on mixing beliefs and bodies, hangs over the process. Yet what if identity is conceived not as a boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject? The story or stories of interaction must then be more complex, less linear and teleological. What changes when the subject of ‘history’ is no longer Western? How do stories of contact, resistance, and assimilation appear from the standpoint of groups in which exchange rather than identity is the fundamental value to be sustained?” (1988, p. 344).

## ABBREVIATIONS

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>FGrHist</i> | Felix Jacoby. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–                                                                                                     |
| <i>OGIS</i>    | Wilhelm Dittenberger. <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae: Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 2 volumes. Lipsiae: S. Hirzel, 1903–05                                |
| O. Edfou       | K. Michalowski, J. de Linage, J. Manteuffel, and J. Sainte Fare Garnot. <i>Tell Edfou 1938</i> . Fouilles Franco-Polonai, Rapports 2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1938 |
| O. Straßburg   | Paul Viereck and Wilhelm Spiegelberg. <i>Griechische und griechisch-demotische Ostraka der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1923           |
| P. Oxy.        | E. G. Turner. <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , Part 27: Nos. 2452–2480. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 39. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1962                                                      |
| <i>PP</i>      | <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> , I–IX (to date) (Studia Hellenistica, volumes 6, 8, 11–13, 17, 20, 21, 25, Louvain, 1950–1981)                                                             |
| <i>SB 1</i>    | Friedrich von Preisigke. <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , Volume 1: <i>Urkunden Nr. 1 bis 6000</i> . Strassburg: Trübner, 1915                                          |

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