Greek Inscriptions from Egypt

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GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT.

THE inscriptions here published are for the most part in the Ghizeh Museum, where I copied them last year when assisting in the preparation of the catalogue of the Graeco-Roman rooms. They do not appear to have been edited previously, and offer some points of interest. The numbers given are those of the new catalogue.

I.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9288.

~~ΕΩΠΤΗΡΙΑΣ~~
 ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
 ΗΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΟΜΑΡΚΟΥ
~~ΑΥΤΟΥ~~
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥ
 ΚΥΝΤΙΑΝΤΟ ΣΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΣΩΣΙΚΟΣ ΜΙΟΣ Ο ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΒΑΙΟΥ
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΟΙΤΩΝΤΩΣ
 ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ ΕΠΙΔΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΛΑΤΟ
 ΕΞΕΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ
 ΑΝΑΛΩΘΕΝ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΜΑ
 ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ
 ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
 ΕΤΟΥΣ ΚΑ' ΕΠΕΙΦ Ι

[Ἵπὲρ] σφωτηρίας [καὶ] | διαμονῆς τοῦ κυρίου | ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτ[ορ]ος |
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐ[ρη]λίου | [Κομμόδου] Ἀντων[νί]νον | Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσε-
 βού[ς καὶ] τοῦ | σύνπαντος αὐτο[ῦ] ρίκου, | Νεμεσιανὸς Ἀρείου τοῦ
 Π[.....] | Σωσικόςμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς [ἐναρχος] | γυμνασίαρχος τῆς
 Ξοιτῶν πόλεως | ἀνέθηκα τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Πολιέως | Σαράπιδος, ἐπιδούς
 εἰς τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ | ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενον καὶ τὸ λοιπ[ὸν] | ἀναλωθὲν δαπάνημα
 ἐκ φιλοτιμίας, | ἐπὶ [.....] ρίνου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου, | ἐπιστρατη-
 γοῦντος Αὐρηλίου Ἰάσονος, | στρατηγοῦντος Ἀρτεμιδώρου | ἔτους κα'
 Ἐπειφ ι'.

The inscription is on a columnar statue-base of limestone 88 metres high and 53 in diameter, one side having been cut flat to receive it; the remainder

of the surface is decorated with acanthus leaves. The letters are, in the first seven lines, .026-.031 high: in the rest, .015-.02. Date: 181, June 25th.

The stone was seen by Dr. Petrie about 1886 lying at Sakha (Xois), where he copied it, and appears to have been removed to the Museum three or four years ago. It is quoted by S. de Ricci in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1900, vol. xxii. p. 381.

The name of Commodus has been deliberately erased in l. 5, every vestige of the letters being cut away. A similar erasure has taken place of the name of the prefect in l. 15, but the work has been much less thoroughly done there, by merely digging a line through the letters. The traces which remain are, however, insufficient to make the restoration of the name possible. The nearest in date of the known prefects is Flavius Pris[cus], mentioned in a Berlin papyrus of the year 181/2¹: but his name will not suit.

The most interesting point in the inscription is the addition of the epithet Polieus to the name of Sarapis. So far as I know, this is a unique instance of any distinctive cult-title being given to him, apart from epithets used in poetry, and forms an exception to the general character of the worship of Sarapis in Egypt. There was a curious difference in the development of the religious conceptions of the three gods who were associated to form the local triad of Alexandria—Sarapis, Isis, and Harpokrates. They were originally the deities of the Egyptian village of Rhakotis, which stood on part of the site chosen by Alexander for his new foundation, and were, so to speak, taken over as part of the property. The fusion of Greek and Egyptian elements, which took place far more completely at Alexandria than elsewhere in Egypt, was naturally shown in the local worship: and, as the influence of the new capital spread over the country, it carried with it the supremacy of its gods; just as had been the case with the various capitals of the earlier dynasties and their particular cults. But, in spite of Greek influences, Isis remained practically Egyptian: her statues were always of Egyptian type, with Egyptian dress, and her temple at Alexandria was of Egyptian style.² To Herodotus, Isis was represented as Demeter³: but this identification does not appear to have influenced later conceptions of her: she was never equated with any other goddess, but constantly localised by a distinctive epithet. Thus, at Alexandria she was worshipped as Isis Pharia,⁴ Isis Plousia,⁵ and Isis Sothis:⁶ in the Fayum, she was variously known as Isis Neferses,⁷ Isis Nefremmis,⁸ Isis Sononais,⁹ and Isis Nanaia¹⁰: at Memphis, Isis of Malalis is mentioned¹¹: at Akoris, Isis Mochias¹²: at Pathyris, Isis Pathyra¹³: at Koptos, she was ὃ

¹ B.G.U. 12.

² *British Museum Cat. Coins*, 'Alexandria,' 540, 879.

³ Hdt. ii. 59.

⁴ *C.I.G.* iii. 4944^b.

⁵ *Ἀθήναιον* iii. 87.

⁶ *B.M. Cat. Coins*, 1121.

⁷ B.G.U. 1.

⁸ Pap. B.M. 353.

⁹ *Hermathena* xxi. 243.

¹⁰ Pap. B.M. 345.

¹¹ *J.H.S.* xii. 384.

¹² *C.I.G.* iii. 4703^c.

¹³ *Rec. Trav.* x. 140.

τοῦ χάματος θεά¹: a graffito from a quarry opposite Gebelên gives the title Isis Resakemis²: at Hieria Sykaminos she was addressed as Rhodosternos³: and at Philae, the greatest centre of her worship, she was fitly known as Isis Myrionymos.⁴

The Greek treatment of Harpocrates was essentially different from that of Isis: he never had distinctive epithets, but was represented by distinctive types. Thus on Alexandrian coins, the forms which appear to belong to him, rather than to Horus, are the Alexandrian, as a child: as Harpocrates of Herakleopolis Magna,—where he was identified, through the local deity Harshes, with Herakles,—carrying a club: as Harpocrates of Mendes, a bearded man: as Harpocrates of Pelusium, a youth with a pomegranate: as Harpocrates of Canopus, a figure half man, half crocodile: and as Harpocrates of Buto, a child on a lotus.⁵

Sarapis, on the other hand, as has been already remarked, never, except in this inscription, appears with a distinctive epithet; and the type under which he is represented is always the same—that of the great statue, reported to be the work of Bryaxis, and to have been originally intended as a figure of Hades, which was brought from Sinope by Ptolemy I. or II. and set up at Alexandria.⁶ The special feature in the development of his worship was the way in which, instead of being locally specialised, it absorbed other local cults. The name of Sarapis was derived from the Osirian form of Apis—and the Osirian connection with the lower world justified the adoption of the Hades statue. But at Alexandria the attributes of Apis dropped out of the popular ideas, though preserved in priestly traditions, as is shown by the dedication of a statue of a bull to Sarapis in the reign of Hadrian.⁷ It was, however, probably in virtue of the Apis connection that Sarapis was installed in the great temple of Memphis, which became under the Ptolemies the second centre of his worship. At Abydos, the centre of the Osiris-cult, Sarapis became identified with, and so supplanted in name, the older deity. The votive inscriptions written on the walls of the temple of Seti by Greeks are commonly addressed to Sarapis⁸: and on the stelae of the Graeco-Roman period from the cemetery of Abydos, while the scenes show Osiris in his Egyptian form seated in state to receive the dead man, the Greek dedications are to Sarapis.⁹ And, in a trilingual inscription, probably from Abydos, the name of Osiris in the Egyptian text is translated by Sarapis in the Greek, while the Egyptian name of the dedicator's father, Psenusire, is rendered as Sarapion.¹⁰

Besides supplanting Osiris, and thus as a Chthonic god representing the Greek Hades in Egypt, Sarapis was equated with Zeus, doubtless in virtue of

¹ *R.A.* ii. 3rd ser. 177.

² *R.E.G.* iv. 56.

³ *C.I.G.* iii. 5115.

⁴ *C.I.G.* iii. 4915^c, 4922^d.

⁵ See R. S. Poole, *B.M. Cat. Coins*, 'Alexandria,' p. lxiv.

⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 83.

⁷ G. Botti, *Rapport sur le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, 1899, p. 54.

⁸ A. H. Sayce, *P.S.B.A.* x. 377.

⁹ See nos. ii. and iii.

¹⁰ *C.I.G.* iii. 4969.

the position which each held as chief of the gods of his country; and the result was a worship under the double name of Zeus Sarapis.¹ Another identification was made of Sarapis and Helios²—possibly under the influence of the priestly traditions of Osiris as a sun-god. The fullest statement of this kind is to be found in a graffito from a quarry near Ptolemais, which declares

Εἰς Ζεὺς, Σάραπισ, καὶ Ἥλιος Ἑρμάνουβις.³

In view therefore of the general character of the development of Sarapis-worship, it is interesting to find this example of a distinctive epithet applied to him, especially as the epithet is such a peculiarly Greek one. It markedly refers to Sarapis as the god of Alexandria, which was always ἡ πόλις to the Greeks of Egypt, and of which the dedicator of the statue was a citizen. No other Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian god was, or could have been, given this title: which serves to show how large an influence Greek ideas had exercised in this particular cult.

The deme-name of the dedicator is, as frequently is the case in the Roman period at Alexandria, a double one. The Alexandrian demes appear to have been curiously complicated: besides the combination in this inscription, which is not infrequently found,⁴ there occur Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς,⁵ Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος,⁶ Αὐξιμητόρειος ὁ καὶ Λήνειος,⁷ and Αἰλιαναβείτιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς.⁸ As these demes also occur singly, it seems probable that an Alexandrian citizen could belong to two demes at once.

The statement by the dedicator that he had provided the balance of the cost of the statue beyond the usual contribution is one to which I have not been able to find a parallel in Egypt. It appears from the receipts on ostraka, that the expenses of erection of statues to the Roman emperors were commonly met by a levy on the inhabitants of the district⁹; but there is no evidence that any similar practice obtained in regard to the statues of deities, nor would it appear to suit the phraseology of this inscription. Possibly a man who had only contributed a certain part of the cost of a statue was allowed by custom to have his name inscribed as dedicator: and in this case Nemesianus would wish it to be recorded that his gift was not limited merely to the amount which entitled him to such honour.

¹ *C.I.G.* iii. 4863c.

² *C.I.G.* iii. 4962.

³ U. Bouriant, *Mém. Miss. Arch. Franç.* viii. 3, 366.

⁴ *e.g.* B.G.U. 193: O.P. 95.

⁵ O.P. 273.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ O.P. 261.

⁸ Pap. B.M. 298 Wilcken corrects the first word to Τειχαναβάτιος (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* i. 159).

⁹ Wilcken, *Griech. Ostr.* i. c. iv. § 15.

II.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9210.

Τάκυβις Ἡρακλήου ἀνέ[θηκε] θεῷ μεγιστῶ Σεράπ(ιδι).

The inscription, in letters '012--'017 high, is on a sandstone stele '335 × '25 from Abydos.

III.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9208

[.]απραιδου Ταήτης θυγα(τρὸς) | [᾿Α]νούβι(ο)ς μητρὸς Σεντούνι(ο)ς |
[πα]ρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Σεράπιδος | [τοῦ] ἐν ᾿Αβύ(δω)· Φαμεν(ὠθ) ι'.

On a similar stele to the last, $\cdot 3 \times \cdot 26$, from Abydos: letters $\cdot 009\text{--}\cdot 012$ high.

These two stelae are of a type commonly found at Abydos, and are given here to illustrate the point mentioned above with regard to the identification of Osiris of Abydos with Sarapis. The relief is a debased copy of the earlier representations of the presentation of the mummy to Osiris and Isis by Anubis, and the characteristic adjuncts of the Egyptian scene are preserved—the winged disk and pendent uraei crowning the stele, with the mummy lying on the sacred boat below, guarded by two jackals; and was-sceptres flanking the relief. But the god named in the inscription is Sarapis, whose name has assumed its Roman form of Serapis.

IV.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9300.

Σιταπνέβουαν | Τνεβούατος | θεᾶ μεγίστη | Σισίνης Παρεν|βάστιος
Συηνι | της ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ | καὶ τῶν τέκνων | εὐχὴν σωτηρίας.

This inscription is in fairly good letters $\cdot 006\text{--}\cdot 011$ high, on a small limestone altar $\cdot 23 \times \cdot 13 \times \cdot 13$. The Museum records do not show where it was found. Date: about 200 B.C.

The name of the goddess to whom the altar is dedicated is noteworthy, as an Egyptian title appears to be given almost completely in transcription by the Greek. Mr. F. Ll. Griffith has suggested as a probable rendering, assuming that the endings of the words were slightly modified ' Daughter of

the daughter of the Sole Lord, the Sole Mistress, the great goddess.' Such a transcription is very unusual: as a rule, when an Egyptian name is given in Greek characters, it is altered so as to present a Greek form; while the Egyptian gods are habitually addressed by the names of their supposed Greek equivalents, as will be seen in the next inscription.

V.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9246.

Ἐπερ βασιλέως Πτολε]μαίου καὶ Βασ[ιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | τῆς καὶ
 Τρυφα]ίμης [τῆ]ς γυναικὸς κ[αὶ ἀδελφῆς θεῶν φιλοπατόρων | καὶ φιλα-
 δέ]λφων, Ἑρμεί Ἡρακλεῖ· ἐπ[ι..... |] α[...]ου
 [..... |] καὶ [ι]ππάρχου ἐπ'
 ἀνδρῶν ἐπ[..... |] τ[ο]ὺς ἡμίσεις ἔδοξεν τῷ
 [..... |]ς τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγ[ένεσι |
 καὶ πολε]μάρχης τοῦ Παθυρίτου καὶ τοῦ Λατοπολίτου(?) | καὶ ἡγεμῶν(?)
 ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τὸν νό[μον οἰκοῦντας ... |] εἰς τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην
 [..... |] τ[ο]ὺς δὲ βουλομένοις τη[..... | ...
 πεπ]ο[ι]ήκεν εὐχρηστα πολλὰ |]ο[.] καὶ πο-
 λ[ε]ιτικὴν [..... |]ων [δ]εατελεῖ τοῖς [..... |
 κ]αὶ ἴδια [.....] θρ[..... |

This inscription, unfortunately much mutilated, is carefully cut in letters .006–.008 high between ruled lines on a slab of limestone, the remaining part of which measures .26 × .22. According to the Museum Journal, the stone

came from Erment. It is noticed by S. de Ricci in *Rev. Arch.* 3rd ser. xxxviii. p. 308. Date: 80/69, B.C.

In spite of the damaged state of the stone, there can be little doubt as to the restoration of the names of the king and queen in the first three lines, which gives the first instance of the use of the name Tryphaena in an inscription of Ptolemy XIII and his wife.¹ The remainder of the text is only sufficient to show that it has contained an honorary decree to some polemarch of the Pathyrite nome.

An important point is illustrated by the dedication of the stele to Hermes-Herakles. As soon as the Greeks had established, through their settlement at Naukratis, a regular trading connection with Egypt, the information which they gathered concerning the gods of the country was conveyed to their old homes, and furnished materials for reflection to the philosophers there. This information was, however, of the most superficial kind; the names of the gods, the forms by which they were represented, the manner in which their festivals were conducted, whatever outward appearances presented themselves most strikingly, were reported; and upon this basis was built a theory of the identity of most of the Greek and Egyptian gods. There was never in Greece any true philosophy of religion, or any attempt to inquire into the underlying principles and ideas of theological systems; and, consequently, the slightest resemblance in outward forms was accepted as sufficient ground for an identification; until the absurdity went so far as to allow Herodotus to state that practically all the names of the Greek gods came from Egypt.

The result of this theory was that, as soon as the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, and its organisation by Ptolemy, led to the settlement of considerable numbers of Hellenic or Hellenised veterans in different parts of the country, they found themselves quite at home in regard to matters of religion. They had no need to build temples or appoint priests of the gods whom they had been accustomed to worship, when there were ready to hand temples and priests of gods whom their philosophers had declared to be the same, though under different names. So they saved trouble and expense by worshipping with the Egyptians.

These Egyptians, on their side, found no difficulty in accepting the identification of gods proposed by the Greeks. The existing Egyptian religion was, in fact, a fusion of many systems; the bases composed probably of successive strata of negro and Libyan, Mesopotamian, and Punite theologies, upon which had been built an edifice composed of portions taken from all these, and varied by fragments of Hittite, Syrian, Persian, and Indian ideas.² The Greek gods could readily be fitted into this miscellaneous collection: many of the Egyptian deities already had three names—for instance, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris; the addition of a fourth would cause no confusion.

The alteration in the position of the Egyptian priests probably contributed to the amalgamation of the gods. Under the native kings of the

¹ Jouguet restored the name in an inscription from Hermopolis Magna in the Ghizeh Museum, no. 9296, published in *B.C.H.* xx. 197.

² See Petrie, *Religion and Conscience*, p. 26.

old and middle kingdoms, the power of the priesthood seems to have grown steadily, and their wealth increased, till the culminating point of the priest kings of the twenty-first dynasty. While they occupied this commanding position, it would probably be to their advantage to adopt and multiply gods: as every new god could be made an excuse for demanding fresh endowments. But the position was entirely reversed when Egypt began to be overrun by foreign invaders, who took less interest in the gods than in their treasures; and when foreign kings ruled the country, each of whom appropriated as much of the temple property as possible. The priests were faced by the problem, what to do with their plethora of gods; they had more than they could worship in proper style on their diminished income; and yet, when a god was once created, he could not be annihilated. So they adopted the expedient of amalgamation.

The dedication to Hermes-Herakles now under consideration is explained by this process. In pure Greek theology, there obviously could be no connection between these gods. But in the Graeco-Egyptian fusion, Hermes represented Thoth, and Herakles Khonsu. Thoth and Khonsu were both lunar gods, and therefore easily identified: and the fact of their identification in the district about Pathyris and Hermonthis is testified by the occurrence of the proper name Khonsthout, which is found in Greek papyri¹ and also, Mr. Griffith informs me, in demotic. So the Greeks of Pathyris worshipped Thoth-Khonsu as Hermes-Herakles.

Another instance of 'translation' of Egyptian deities into Greek may be cited to show the utter confusion to which the theology of Egypt had been reduced. There is in the Berlin Museum a dedication,² dated in the fifth year of Augustus, to Herakles-Harpokrates: where Herakles doubtless represents Har-shef, the local form of Horus at Herakleopolis Magna, with whom he was there usually identified: and so it was a simple matter to equate him further with another Horus, and make a compound Herakles-Harpokrates out of two gods who originally had no single attribute in common.

VI.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9223.

ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣΚΑΙΕΠΙΓΑΘΩΜΑΡΚΩΙΑΥΗΛΙΩΝΑΙΚΚΑΛΩΝΙΤΩΙΚΑΙΘΕΟΦΙΛΩ
 ΕΝΑΡΧΩΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΩΙΚΑΝΩΝΟΒΕΤΗΑΠΟΤΗΓΙΕΡΑΣΘΥΜΕΛΙΚΗC
 ΚΑΙΧΥCΤΙΚΗCΥΝΟΔΟΥ+ΗΦΙCΜΑΤΙΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΩΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΩC
 ΑΛΙΦΟΝΤΙΥΝΩΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙΟΥ
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗCΑΝΤΟCΚΑΙΓΩΝΟΒΕΤΗCΑΝΤΟCΥΙΩΝΩΜΑΡΚΟΥ
 ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥCΔΑΙΜΟΝΟCΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΦΡΟΔΙCΙΟΥΤΙΜΗCΙΑΡΧΗCΑΝΤΟC
 ΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΟΒΕΤΗCΑΝΤΟCΥΓΑΤΡΙΔΩΜΑΡΚΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΙΕΡΑΚΟCΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΟCΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗCΑΝΤΟCΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΟΒΕΤΗCΑΝΤΟC
 ΑΤΑΝΤΩΝΑΠΟΤΗΓΙΕΡΑΣΘΥΜΕΛΙΚΗCΚΑΙΧΥCΤΙΚΗCΥΝΟΔΟΥ
 ΠΡΟΤΟΝΩΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΚΟΤΩΝ+ΗΦΙCΜΑΤΙΤΕΤΙΜΗΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΤΟΥCΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘΑ

¹ *E.g.* Louvre pap. 5511.² No. 10231.

Ἵπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος | [Δο]μιτ[ιανοῦ] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι|κοῦ
 τύχης καὶ τοῦ πάντος οἴκου | αὐτοῦ Ἥρα θεᾷ μεγίστη Ὀρος καὶ | Παίως
 ἀμφότεροι Πάωτος | Κολλούθου ἱατροὶ τὴν ἀνοικο|δομήν ἐπ[οι]ήσαντο κατ'
 εὐ|σέβειαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ· | ἔτους ἐβδόμου Αὐτο|κράτορος Καίσαρος | [Δομι-
 τιανοῦ] Σεβαστοῦ | [Γ]ερμανικοῦ, Παχὼν ιη'.

The limestone stele on which this inscription is cut, in letters .018-.023 high, is of Egyptian shape, with rounded pediment, in which is the winged disk with pendent uraei, and measures .79 × .52. Under the disk are two roughly cut cows, facing each other. The date is May 13th, 88 A.D.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the dedication to Hera, which is almost unique in Egypt. It is true that at Naukratis the Samians built a temple to Hera the great goddess of their home¹: but the early cults of Naukratis were isolated from the rest of Egypt. In Graeco-Egyptian theology Hera hardly ever appears. Herodotus states that she was one of the Greek deities whose names did not come from Egypt²: in other words, that she did not resemble any particular Egyptian goddess. Only in the extreme south, at Elephantine, she was equated with the cataract-goddess Sati³; and the temple of Sati there was known to the Greeks as the Heraion⁴: and at Thebes there was also a building called the Heraion in Greek documents⁵. But at Alexandria, where it might have been expected that traces of her worship would be found, there is no mention of her in inscriptions and no representation of her on terracottas or coins, except for a single type of Hera Argeia on a tetradrachm of Nero.⁶ It is therefore somewhat remarkable to find two physicians, who, to judge by their names, were of Egyptian race, dedicating a building to Hera, apparently as a purely Greek goddess, and with the Greek associations of the cows given in the relief.

In the second and eleventh lines of the inscription, the name of Domitian has been erased, as usually occurs.

VIII.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9230.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ

ΠΕΡΓΑΙΗΣ

Ἀρτέμιδος | Περγαίης.

This inscription is cut on a roughly panelled slab of blue marble .29 × .35, in letters .02-.028 high. Date—fourth century B.C.

The find-spot of this stone is unfortunately not recorded: but the only place in Egypt from which it is likely to have come is Naukratis. In any case, it represents a local Hellenic cult transported into Egypt by Greek colonists: Artemis of Perga would stand for any Pamphylian settlers, in the same position as Zeus for the Aeginetans, Apollo for the Milesians, and Hera for the Samians at Naukratis.

¹ Hdt. ii. 178.

² Hdt. ii. 50.

³ *C.I.G.* iii. 4893; M. L. Strack, *Dyn. Ptol.* p. 251, no. 95; *C.I.L.* iii. 75.

⁴ J. P. Mahaffy, *Hermathena*, 1896, p. 273.

⁵ Turin pap. 1.

⁶ *B.M. Cat. Coins*, 'Alexandria,' 132.

IX.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9301.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
 ΑΣΣΥΝΕΦΗΒΩΝ
 ΕΡΜΗΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

] Ἀρτεμιδώρου | [] ας συνεφήβων | [] Ἑρμῆν
 ἀνέθηκε.

Only half of the black granite statuette base, on which this is cut remains: it measures .07 high × .18 in diameter. The letters, .006 — .01 high, are apparently of the early part of the second century B.C.

The adoption in Egypt of the Greek associations of ephebi belonging to the same year has been known previously from inscriptions found at Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayum.¹ There, the dedications were to the local god Soukhos: in this instance the object of worship was Hermes, doubtless in his Greek character as patron of the gymnasium rather than as identified with any Egyptian deity.

X.—GHIZEH MUSEUM, No. 9267.

¹ See Mahaffy, *Hist. of Egypt*, iv. 219.

INSCRIPTIONS DOWN SIDES OF PANELS.

(1) <i>Left.</i>	<i>Right.</i>	(2) <i>Left.</i>	<i>Right.</i>	(3) <i>Left.</i>	<i>Right</i>	(4)
(lost)	MI	K	K	Z	(lost)	(lost)
	AI	Λ	Υ	EY		
	ΦO	Υ	A	KY		
	NE	ΘI	N	Δ		
	TI	ΠO	O	IC		
	XE	CI	X	TE		
	CI	Δ	A	ME		
	Π	A	I	ΓIC		
	ΛH	ON	T	TE		
	TA	Γ	A	KE		
		AI		AA		
		HO				
		X				
		E				

INSCRIPTIONS BELOW.

- (1) ΕΙΜΙΜΕΝΕΣΙΕΡΗΣΣΤΡΑΤΙΗΣ
ΟΠΛΟΙΣΙΝΑΡΩΓΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
ΕΝΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΣΗΔΑΡΕΟΣΘΕ
ΡΑΠΩΝ>ΠΟΛΛΑΔΕΝΕΥΣΕ
ΒΕΕΣΙΘΕΩΝΕΡΓΟΙΣΜΕΜΟΓΗΚ
ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΑΙΘΥΜΩΓΗΡΑΟ
ΚΑΛΕΓΩΝ>ΟΥΝΕΚΕΠΑΙΝ
ΣΑΝΤΕΣΕΠΕΥΤΑΚΤΟΙ
ΝΤΕΣΑΟΦΡΟΣΥΝ'
- (2) ΤΡΕΙΣΓΑΡΤΕΚΡΟΝΟΥΕΝ
ΜΕΝΑΔΕΛΦΕΟΙΟΥΣΤΕΚΕ
ΤΟΡΕΑ>ΖΕΥΣΚΑΓΩΤΡΙΤΑ
ΤΟΣΔΑΙΔΗΣΕΝΕΡΟΙΣΙΝΑ
ΝΑΣΣΕΙ>ΤΡΙΧΘΑΔΕΠΑΝ
ΑΔΕΔΑΣΤΑΙΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ
ΕΜΜΟΡΕΤΙΜΗΣ>ΗΤΟΙ
ΣΝΕΛΑΧΟΝΠΟΛΙΗΝ
ΝΑΙΕΜΕΝΑΙΕΙ>ΠΑ/
ΣΝΑΙΔΗΣΔΕΛΑ
ΝΗΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ>
- (3) ΕΙΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΜΕΓΑΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ
ΤΩΡΕΙΣΚΟΙΡΑΝΟΣΕΣΤΩ>ΕΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΩΕΔΩΚΕΚΡΟΝΟΥ
ΠΑΙΣΑΓΚΥΛΟΜΗΤΗΣ
>
ΖΗΝΑΜΕΓΑΝΚΡΟΝΙΑΗΝΥΨΙ
ΖΥΓΟΝΑΡΓΙ ΚΕΡ
ΑΜΑΠΡΟΦΡΟΝ
ΠΟΝΕΝΝ
ΑΙΝΕΦΙΛ
ΙΝΑ
- (4) ΑΓΡΙΟΣΙΣΤΙΑΕΙΚΑΤΕΤΟΣ
ΔΙΣΔΗΜΟΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ>ΠΑ
ΝΟΣΟΡΕΣΣΙΝΟΜΟΙΟΚΑΤΕΙ
ΛΑΠΝΑΣΦΟΙΒΟΙΟ>ΑΝΔΡΕ
ΔΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣΚΑΛΕΩΝ
ΚΑΤΑΕΘΝΟΣΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ>
ΕΝΟΥΣΙΕΡΗΑΣΕΩ
ΚΩΝΤΕΣΥΝΕΡ
ΕΙΣΕΚΑΤΟΝΔΙΣΠΑΝ
ΣΛΥΚΑΒΑΝΤΟΣ
ΛΙ

- (1) [^τΑρες, "Αρες βροτολογιῇ] μαιιφόνε τ(ε)ιχεσιπλῆτα.

Εἰμί μιν ἐξ ἱερῆς στρατιῆς | ὅπλοισιν ἄρωγός,
Καίσαρος | ἐν πολέμοις ἡδ' Ἄρεος θε|ράπων·
πολλὰ δ' ἐν εὐσε|βέεσ(σ)ι θεῶν ἔργοις μεμόγηκ[α] |
σώματι καὶ θύμῳ γήραο[ς οὐ]κ ἀλέγων·
οὐνεκ' ἐπαιν[ή]|σαντες ἐπ' εὐτάκτοις [βίοιο |
νοῦ]ν τε σαοφροσύνη[ν] τ' ἀστοὶ ἐπεκλείσαν.

- (2) Κλυθι Ποσειδάον γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα.

Τρεῖς γάρ τε Κρόνου ε(ι)μὲν ἀδελφοὶ οὓς τέκε|το Ῥέα,
Ζεὺς καὶ γὰρ, τρίτα|τος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀ|νάσσει·
τριχθὰ δὲ πάν| [τ]α δέδασται, ἕκαστος | [δ'] ἔμμορε τιμῆς·
ἦ τοι | [ἐγ]ὼν ἔλαχον πολίην | [ἄ]λα ναιέμεν αἰεὶ,
παλ|[λομέν]ων, Ἀΐδης δ' ἔλα|[χε ζόφο]ν ἡρ[ό]εντα.

- (3) Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελα[ινεφές αἰθέρι ναίων.

Εἰς Καῖσαρ, μέγας αὐτοκρά | τωρ, εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω·
 εἰς | βασιλεὺς, ὃ ἔδωκε Κρόνου | παῖς ἀγκυλομήτης· |
 Ζῆνα μέγαν Κρονίδην ὑψί | ζυγον ἀργικέ[ραννον
 . . .] | ἄμα προφρον [.] | πον ἐνν . . [.
] | . αἰνεφιλ[.] | .] ηνα[.

- (4) []

* Ἀγριος ἰστιάει κατ' ἔτος | δις δῆμον ἅπαντα
 Πα | νὸς ὀρεσσινόμοιο κατ' εἰ | λάπ[ι]νας Φοίβοιο
 ἄνδρε | δυ' ἄρχοντας καλέων | κατὰ ἔθνος ἔκαστον· |
 [τοῦτ' ἔ]θνους ἱερῆας ἔω | [θε] χοῶντε συνέρ | [γους]
 εἰς ἑκατὸν δις παν | [τὸς ὁμῶ]ς λυκάβαντος | [ἀγῆλαι].

These inscriptions are carved on the four faces of a limestone stele .975 × .45 × .36: on each face there is a sunk panel, with reliefs, and a line of lettering down either side of the panel: below these, a row of 'Canopic' figures, and, lower again, the main inscription. The stele comes from Alexandria, and may be dated to the end of the first century B.C.: the letters are .015-.03 high.

The reliefs in the panels are obviously connected in idea with the epigrams below them. The first side, the text on which is addressed to Ares, shows the bust of a soldier with a shield and crossed spears below: the second, in honour of Poseidon, has below a similar bust a sea-horse: the third, in honour of Zeus, an eagle: while the fourth has some creature too damaged for recognition.

So far, the conception of the whole work is Greek, and the motives obvious. But the rows of 'Canopic' figures below are more puzzling: and neither Mr. Griffith, who has assisted me in identifying the figures, nor I, can suggest any connexion between them and the rest of the composition. The following, according to Mr. Griffith, are the gods represented—passing on each side from right to left.

- (1) Osiris: Horus: Isis: [Nephthys?]
- (2) Thoth: Amon: Mut.
- (3) []: Shu: Tefnut: Hathor.
- (4) Ra: Atum: Nut.

He suggests that the underlying idea is probably astrological: thus, the opposite sides (4) and (2) are headed by Ra and Thoth for Sun and Moon: (1) has Osiris, possibly for the planet Jupiter, and the lost figure in the front of (3) may have been Geb, the planet Saturn. To each of these leaders were then added his usual associates in Egyptian religious tradition.

Such a wealth of 'Canopic' figures is quite novel, and may throw some light on the nature of these representations. The earlier vases, which were made in sets of four to take the viscera of dead bodies when extracted during

the process of mummification, and were crowned with heads of the four genii of Amenti, are well-known. But, though these may have suggested the form of the later 'Canopi,' there does not appear to be any other connection. The name Canopus for this class of figures is derived from Rufinus, who described them as earthenware vases with heads of deities.¹ But he does not mention any relationship between them and funeral ceremonies. Hitherto, the types known have all been ascribed to Isis and Osiris, whose place in the lower world might justify tracing the origin of the form to the older class: these types occur on coins,² in terracotta, and, in one instance at any rate, in bronze.³ But the collection of deities represented on this stele goes strongly against the theory, as the majority of them are not connected in any way with the dead. It seems to me probable that these vases with heads of gods were a local product of Canopus, and got their name from the place of their origin. That great pleasure resort of the Alexandrians may well have supplied these grotesque forms of gods, the particular shape of which may have been first adopted at a venture, and afterwards perpetuated as it caught the public fancy. The figures of Osiris and Isis would naturally be the most popular: but this stele shows that any deity might be treated in this manner.

The Homeric quotations offer some points of interest. The lines down the sides of the panels are respectively from Il. ε. 31, Od. ι. 528, and Il. β. 412. The epigram on the second face is taken bodily from Il. ο. 187 ff., and in the first line has the reading *τε Κρόνου* rejected by Aristarchus, as well as *τέκετο Πέα* like most MSS.; while in the second line it varies from the received text, which gives *ἀνάσσω* as the last word. The epigram on the third side contains a line and a half from Il. β. 204-5, the only noticeable variant in which is *ἀγκυλομήτης* for *ἀγκυλομήτεω*.

To the foregoing inscriptions from Ghizeh I desire to add two others of interest.

XI.

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 26.

² See R. S. Poole, *B.M. Cat. Coins*, 'Alexandria' p. lxvi.

³ Berlin Museum, no. 9008.

Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ | Ἀρτέμιδι Φωσφόρῳ | Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐνοδίᾳ | Ἀθηνοῖ
 Εὐτέκνῳ | Ἡρακλεῖ Καλλινίκῳ | Ἀπολλώνιος | διοικητής.

This inscription is beautifully cut, in letters .014--018 high of the latter part of the third century B.C., on a slab of fine limestone, which was bought by Professor Petrie in 1899, and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. He considers that there is little doubt that the stone was found at Koptos.

The group of gods to whom this dedication is addressed is purely Greek, alike in association and in epithets.

XII.

ΤΑΥΤΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΝΟΣ
 ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΕΓΙΩΝΟΣ | ΔΕ ΓΕΜΙΝΗΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΕ
 ΓΕΜΙΝΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΑΚΟΥΙΤΑΝΙΚΗΣ
 ΕΠΙ ΚΗΝΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΜΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΩ ΕΠΙ
 ΘΡΑΚΗΣ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΛΜΑΤΙΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ
 ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΖΗΤΑΣ ΕΤΗ ΝΕ

Τ. Αὐρήλιος Καλπουρνιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίδης, | χιλίαρχος λεγίωνος ἰδ' Γεμίνης, χιλ(ίαρχος) λεγ(ίωνος) | υγ' Γεμίνης, ἐπίτροπος Γαλλίας Ἀκουιτανικῆς, | ἐπί(τροπος) κήνσων, ἐπίτροπος Μυσίας τῆς κάτω, ἐπί(τροπος) | Θρακῆς, ἐπί(τροπος) Δελματίας, ἐπί(τροπος) Αἰγύπτου ἰδίου | λόγου. | ζήσας ἔτη νέ'.

The stone—a slab of marble—on which this inscription is cut was offered in 1882 by a Greek dealer to M. Maspero, who made a copy of it; but, before he could conclude negotiations, the dealer disappeared. Maspero's copy was published by E. Miller in the *Rev. Arch.* i. ser. 3, p. 207: but no more was heard of the stone till 1899, when it turned up in a dealer's shop in Cairo, from which I got a squeeze by the aid of Mr. J. E. Quibell. It was stated by the first dealer to have come from Senballaouin (Mendes). As there were two small errors in the original publication, ΑΣΓΙΩΝΟΣ in l. 2, and ΘΡΑΚΣ in l. 5, and the lines were wrongly divided, it seems worth while to republish it in facsimile.

The date of the inscription is about 200 A.D.: it is valuable as giving the official career of a man who held ultimately the post of Idilogus of Egypt, as to which very little is known, except that the holder was a Roman, probably of equestrian rank, appointed directly by the emperor to supervise the financial administration of Egypt; while nominally subordinate to the prefect, he was virtually independent of his control, in view of the manner of his appointment; and thus could keep a check on the prefect's management of the revenue, in the interests of the emperor.

I have to thank the authorities of the Ghizeh Museum for permission to publish nos. i.-x. and of the Fitzwilliam Museum for no. xi.: also M. Seymour de Ricci for looking over the proofs of this article, and comparing my readings of the Ghizeh inscriptions with those of M. Jouguet and, in the case of no. x., of M. Buriant, which are in his hands. The restoration of the epigrams on sides 1 and 4 of no. x. is mainly due to the assistance of Professor Ernest Gardner.

J. G. MILNE.