

# FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE  
NILE REGION  
BETWEEN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BC  
AND THE SIXTH CENTURY AD

VOL. III  
FROM THE FIRST TO THE SIXTH CENTURY AD



Edited by  
Tormod Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce  
and László Török



FONTES  
HISTORIAE  
NUBIORUM

Vol. III



# FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE  
NILE REGION  
BETWEEN THE EIGHTH CENTURY BC  
AND THE SIXTH CENTURY AD

VOL. III  
FROM THE FIRST TO THE SIXTH CENTURY AD



Edited by  
Tormod Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce  
and László Török

Published with a grant from The Research Council of Norway

Editors' address:  
University of Bergen  
IKRR/Department of Greek, Latin and Egyptology  
Øisteinsgate 3  
N-5007 Bergen  
Fax: +47 55 58 91 91



© Institutt for klassisk filologi, russisk og religionsvitenskap

Seksjon for gresk, latin og egyptologi

Universitetet i Bergen

All Rights Reserved

ISBN 82-91626-07-3

ISSN 0804-9408

Printed in Norway 1998

John Grieg AS, Bergen

## CONTENTS

Introduction 759

A General Note to the Meroitic Texts 762

A Final Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts 764

Abbreviations 767

Periodicals, Series, Collections 767

Other Abbreviations 771

Bibliographical List 773

The Sources 801

(186) Queen Nawidemak. Evidence for reign 801

186a The toponyms of the Middle Nile Valley. Early 1st cent. AD. Juba in Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.179 804

187 Description of Aithiopia. Early 1st cent. AD. Strabo 1.2.25; 17.2.1-3 810

188 Syene inhabited by Egyptians and Aithiopians. Early 1st cent. AD. Strabo 1.2.32; 17.1.49 818

189 On Aithiopian tribes. Early 1st cent. AD. Strabo 16.4.8-13, 17 820

190 The war between Rome and Aithiopia. Early 1st cent. AD. Strabo 17.1.53-54 828

(191) Amanikhabale. Titles. Evidence for reign 836

192 Meroitic stela of King Amanikhabale from Meroe City. Mid-1st cent. AD 837

193 Description of Aithiopia. Ca. AD 40. Pomp. Mela 3.85-88; 96-101 840

194 The conversion of Candace's treasurer. Ca. AD 60-100. Acts of the Apostles 8.26-40 845

195 The sources of the Nile and the geography of Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 5.51-54 850

196 The physical appearance of the Aithiopians. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 2.189-190 855

197 The longevity of the Aithiopians. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 7.27 857

198 Aithiopian tribes. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.189-190 858

199 Nubian tribes. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 7.31 860

- 200 Elephant hunting among the Trogydytes. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 8.26 **861**
- 201 On Aithiopian minerals. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 37.69-70; 92; 126; 156; 165; 167; 169; 177; 182 **863**
- 202 On the fauna of Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.172 f.; 8.32; 8.69 **868**
- 203 On the flora of Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 13.43, 47, 90; 16.160; 17.133; 18.100; 19.161; 20.36; 23.71 f.; 27.11 f. **870**
- 204 Petronius' Nubian campaign. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.181-182 **876**
- 205 The Nubian campaign of C. Petronius. Early 3rd cent. AD. Cassius Dio 54.5.4-6 **882**
- 206 Nero's centurions in Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 6.184-187 **884**
- 207 Nero sends spies to Aithiopia. Early 3rd cent. AD. Cassius Dio 62.8.1-2 **888**
- 208 Aithiopian ebony and ivory tribute and Nero's "map". 1st cent. AD. Pliny, Nat. hist. 12.17-19 **889**
- 209 The Neronian expedition to Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD. Seneca, Nat. quaest. 6.8.3-5 **891**
- 210 Greek inscription referring to Philae and the Dodecaschoenus. AD 69-79 (?). I. Philae II 161 **895**
- (211) Natakamani. Titles. Evidence for reign **896**
- (212) Queen Amanitore. Titles. Evidence for co-regency **901**
- (213) Prince Arikankharor. Titles. Evidence **904**
- (214) Prince Arkhatani. Titles. Evidence **907**
- (215) Shorakaror. Titles. Evidence for reign **908**
- (216) Amanitaraqide. Evidence for reign **912**
- (216a) Aryesebokhe. Evidence for reign **914**
- (217) Amanitenmomide. Titles. Evidence for reign **914**
- 218 Queen Cleopatra speaks to the Aithiopians and Trogydytes in their own languages. Ca. AD 110-115. Plutarch, Life of Antony 27.3-5 **916**
- 219 On the mythical queen Aso of Aithiopia. Ca. AD 120. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 13.356B; 39.366C-D **919**
- 220 The southernmost milestone yet found in the Roman Empire. Ca. AD 103-107. CIL III 14148<sup>2</sup> **921**
- 221 Aithiopians in Alexandria. Ca. AD 71-75 or 105 (?). Dio Chrysostom 32.36; 39-41 **924**
- 222 Description of Aithiopia. 2nd cent. AD. Ptolemy, Geogr. 4.5.33, 4.7.5-7 **926**
- 223 Geography of Aithiopia. 2nd cent. AD. Ptolemy, Geogr. 8.16.8-9 **931**

- 224 Conflict between Romans, Aithiopians and Trogodytes in the 1st cent. AD. Papyrus 'della raccolta Milanese 40 932
- (225) Amanikhatashan. Evidence for reign 935
- (226) Tarekeniwal. Evidence for reign 935
- (227) Amanikhareqerem. Titles. Evidence for reign 936
- (228) Ariteñyesebokhe. Titles. Evidence for reign 938
- 229 Maharraqa. Demotic graffito of Pa[.]. 2nd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Mah. 1 939
- 230 The Dodecaschoenus in the middle of the 2nd cent. AD. Ca. AD 147-149. Aelius Aristides 36.48; 36.55-56 940
- 231 Philae. Demotic graffito of Paêse. 2nd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 251 944
- 232 Philae. Demotic graffito of Sosen. AD 190/191. Griffith 1937, Ph. 223 945
- 233 Geography of Aithiopia. Ca. 2nd cent. AD. Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia 5.28.3 947
- 234 Copy of an inscription of a king of Aksum (Adulitana II). 2nd or 3rd cent. AD. Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.60-63 948
- (235) Amanikhedolo. Evidence for reign 953
- (236) Takideamani. Evidence for reign 954
- (237) Mashaqadakhel (?). Evidence for reign 954
- 238 The last mention of the Coh. II Ituraeorum equitata at the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier. AD 205. POxy. IV 735 + V p. 315 955
- 239 A late mention of the Cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata at the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier. AD 217/18. ILS III 8919 958
- 240 Greek inscription referring to Philae and the Dodecaschoenus. AD 213-217. I. Philae II 179 959
- 241 Pestilence in Aithiopia (?) in AD 200. Early 3rd cent. AD. Cassius Dio 76.13.1 960
- 242 Silent trade on the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier. Ca. AD 220. Philostratus, Vita Apollonii 6.2 962
- 243 Philae. Demotic graffito of Makaltami. Early 3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 344 965
- 244 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Bêk. First half of the 3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Dak. 33 966
- 245 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wayekiye (A). AD 227/8. Griffith 1937, Ph. 421 968
- 246 Medik. Funerary inscription of Wayekiye (A). First half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0089 972
- 247 Medik. Funerary inscription of Taêse, wife of Wayekiye (A). First half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0088 974
- 248 Pigs in the temple of Talmis. Greek decree of the strategos of Omboi and Elephantine. AD 248/9 (?). OGIS I 210 976

- 249 Philae. Demotic graffito of Mniṭwi and Hornakhtyotef II. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 410 **978**
- 250 Philae. Demotic graffito of Hornakhtyotef II. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 257 **981**
- 251 Dakka. Hieroglyphic and Demotic graffito of Hornakhtyotef II. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Dak. 30 **982**
- 252 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wayekiye (B). Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 120 **989**
- 253 Philae. Demotic graffito of Atengeytenrie. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 411 **990**
- 254 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Qêreñ. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Dak. 31 **992**
- 255 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Shetelten. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Dak. 32 **993**
- 256 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pathorês. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 255 **994**
- 257 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pathorês. Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 256 **995**
- 258 Pestilence in Aithiopia in ca. AD 250-253. 1st half of 12th cent. AD. John Zonaras 12.21B **996**
- (259) Teqorideamani. Titles. Evidence for reign **997**
- 260 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pasan. AD 253. Griffith 1937, Ph. 416 **1000**
- 261 Philae. Demotic graffito of Tami. About AD 253. Griffith 1937, Ph. 417 **1010**
- 262 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wygte. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 254 **1016**
- 263 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wygte. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 403 **1018**
- 264 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Netewitar. Mid-3rd cent. AD. REM 0278 **1018**
- 265 Philae, Greek proskynema of Abratoeis (Abratoye). AD 260. I. Philae II 180 **1020**
- 266 Philae, Greek proskynema of Tami. AD 260. I. Philae II 181 **1023**
- 267 Philae, Meroitic Chamber. The inscriptions of a Meroitic embassy to Philae. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0097-0111 **1024**
- 268 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Khawitaror. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0247 **1031**
- 269 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Maloton. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0277 **1034**
- 270 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Abratoye (Abratoeis). Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0321; 1088 **1035**

- 271 Faras. Meroitic funerary inscription of Makheye. Second half of the 3rd cent. AD. REM 0544 **1038**
- 272 Philae. Demotic graffito of Teos (Djed-hor). AD 273. Griffith 1937, Ph. 252 **1041**
- (273) Maloqorebar. Evidence for reign **1042**
- 274 Heliodorus on Aithiopia. Ca. AD 350-375 (?). Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 8.1; 8.16.4; 10.11 **1043**
- (275) Tamelordeamani. Evidence for reign **1048**
- (276) Yesebokheamani. Evidence for reign **1049**
- 277 Meroe City, temple of Apedemak. Meroitic dedication of Yesebokheamani. Late 3rd cent. AD. REM 0407 **1050**
- 278 The defence of the Egyptian border in AD 283. Ca. AD 400. Claudius Claudianus, *Carmina minora* 25.69-82 **1052**
- 279 War between Meroe and the Blemmyes. AD 291. *Panegyrici Latini* 11.17.4 **1055**
- 280 Roman victory over the Aithiopians and the Blemmyes. AD 297/8. *Panegyrici latini* 8.5.1-3 **1057**
- 281 Diocletian marches against the Aithiopians. 1st half of 12th cent. AD. John Zonaras 12.31B-C **1059**
- 282 The intended campaign of L. Mussius Aemilianus against the Blemmyes. Ca. AD 400 (?). *Hist. Aug., Tyranni triginta* 22.6-8 **1060**
- 283 Firmus' Blemmyan friends and Aurelian's Blemmyan captives. Ca. AD 400 (?). *Hist. Aug., Quadrigae tyrannorum* 3.1-3; Aurelianus 33.4-5 **1063**
- 284 Probus liberates Coptos and Ptolemais from the Blemmyes in AD 280. Ca. AD 400 (?). *Hist. Aug., Probus* 17 **1065**
- 285 Meroe City. Greek inscription of a king of Aksum. 3rd or 4th cent. AD. SEG XXIV 1246, XXXIV 1641 **1066**
- 286 Meroe City, temple KC 102. Greek inscription of a king of Aksum. 3rd or 4th cent. AD. SEG XXXIV 1642 **1070**
- (287) (...) k(...). Evidence for reign **1072**
- (288) (.)p(...)niñ. Evidence for reign **1073**
- (289) Pat(.).rapeamani. Evidence for reign **1073**
- (290) Amanipilade. Evidence for reign **1074**
- 291 Arminna West. Meroitic funerary inscription of Sakhiye and Taysiye. 3rd or 4th cent. AD. REM 1063 **1074**
- 292 Concentration of military forces at Philae in AD 321. SB I 4223:II **1076**
- 293 Aithiopian and Blemmyan envoys in Constantinople in AD 336. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.7 **1079**
- 294 On the queens of Aithiopia. Ca. AD 311. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.1.13 **1081**

- 295 Fl. Abinnaeus on his military mission with a federate group of Blemmyes in AD 337-338. P. Abinn. 1 **1083**
- 296 Barbarian attacks in Upper Egypt. Ca. AD 390. S. Pachomii Vita Prima Graeca 85; Paralipomena 9 **1087**
- 297 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure. Latin graffito. 3rd or 4th cent. AD. CIL III, 83 **1092**
- 298 Aksum. Greek inscription of Ezana. Mid-4th cent. AD. SEG XXXII 1601 **1094**
- 299 Aksum. Christian Greek inscription of Ezana. Mid-4th cent. AD. SEG XXVI 1813 **1100**
- 300 Kalabsha. Meroitic inscription of Kharamadoye. 5th cent. AD. REM 0094 **1103**
- 301 On the king of the Blemmyes. Mid-5th cent. AD. Besa, Vita Senutii, 89-90 **1107**
- 302 Philae. Demotic graffito with a reference to Blemmyan activities in AD 372-373. Griffith 1937, Ph. 371 **1110**
- 303 Egypt and its neighbours. Last quarter of 4th cent. AD. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.2 **1112**
- 304 Hippopotamuses in the land of the Blemmyes. Last quarter of 4th cent. AD. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.2l; 24 **1114**
- 305 Blemmyes in the Dodecaschoenus in ca. AD 394. Epiphanius of Salamis, De XII gemmis 19-21 **1115**
- 306 Philae. Hieroglyphic and Demotic graffito of Esmêtakhom. AD 394. Griffith 1937, Ph. 436 **1121**
- 307 Aithiopian attack on Syene. Ca. 395 AD. Historia Monachorum 1.2 **1123**
- 308 Meroe and the habitat of the Blemmyes. Ca. AD 400. Claudius Claudianus, Carmina minora 28.15-23 **1125**
- 309 Olympiodorus in Lower Nubia. Ca. AD 423. Olympiodorus, fragm. 1.37 **1126**
- 310 Kalabsha, temple of Mandulis. Greek graffiti of King Tamal. SB I 1521-1523 **1128**
- 311 Kalabsha, temple of Mandulis. Greek graffito of King Isemne. SB I 1524 **1131**
- 312 Tafa. Greek inscription. SB I 5099. SEG XXXIV 1639 **1132**
- 313 Blemmyan cult societies at Kalabsha. Greek inscription. SB V 8697. SEG XXXIV 1631, XL 1591 **1134**
- 314 The petition of Bishop Appion. AD 425-450. PLeiden Z. SB XX 14606 **1138**
- 315 Philae. Greek inscriptions of worshippers of Ptireus. AD 434. I. Philae II 190, 191 **1141**

- 316** Roman and Christian law and the Aithiopians. Ca. AD 420-449. Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 9.13-15 **1144**
- 317** Greek triumphal inscription of King Silko at Kalabsha. Before ca. AD 450. OGIS I 201. SB V 8536 **1147**
- 318** The war of Rome against the Noubades and the Blemmyes. Last part of 5th cent. AD. Priscus, fragm. 21 **1153**
- 319** Greek letter of King Phonen. Ca. AD 450. Rea 1979, 147 ff. **1158**
- 320** Coptic letter of Viventius to Tantani. Ca. AD 450. Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50A **1165**
- 321** Coptic letter of Yahatek to Tantani. Ca. AD 450. Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50B **1171**
- 322** Coptic letter of Mouses to Tantani. Ca. AD 450. Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50B **1172**
- 323** Blemmyes participating in a Theban revolt under the Emperor Probus. Ca. AD 500. Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 1.71.1 **1175**
- 324** Philae. Greek graffiti commemorating the conversion of the temple of Isis. Ca. AD 535-537. I. Philae II 200-204 **1177**
- 325** Philae. Greek graffiti of a Christian Nubian. After AD 537. I. Philae II 205 **1181**
- 326** The Blemmyan War. End of 3rd to the middle of 5th cent. AD. P. Berol. 5003, 55-86 **1182**
- 327** The Emperor Justin threatens to send Nubian and Blemmyan soldiers through Aksum against Ḥimyar in AD 524. After AD 529. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* 5, p. 41-43 **1185**
- 328** The withdrawal of the Roman frontier in AD 298. Ca. AD 545. Procopius, *De bellis* 1.19.27-37 **1188**
- 329** The defeat of the Nubians and Blemmyes in AD 452. AD 551. Jordanes, *Romana* 333 **1193**
- 330** Dendur. Coptic inscription of King Eirpanome. AD 559 or 574. Blackman 1911, 36 f. **1194**
- 331-343** The Blemmyan documents from Gebelen. Early 6th cent. AD (?) **1196**
- 331** Donation and manumission within a family. BKU III 350 **1203**
- 332** Acknowledgement of debt. BKU III 361 **1205**
- 333** Acknowledgement of debt. BKU III 359 **1206**
- 334** Royal disposition. SB III 6258 **1207**
- 335** Acknowledgement of debt. BKU III 360. SB X 10554 **1208**
- 336** Royal disposition. SB III 6257 **1209**
- 337** Acknowledgements of debts. SB X 10553 **1210**
- 338** Acknowledgement of debt. SB III 6259 **1211**
- 339** Royal disposition. P. Köln ägypt. 13 **1212**
- 340** Acknowledgement of debt. SB X 10552 **1214**

- 341** Acknowledgement of debt. BGU III 796 **1215**  
**342** Acknowledgement of debt. BGU III 795 **1215**  
**343** Acknowledgement of debt. BGU III 797 **1216**

## INTRODUCTION

As was stated in our first volume, the aim of *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* is to present the main textual sources, both literary and documentary, for the history of the Middle Nile Region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD, in their respective original languages as well as in new English translations, each accompanied by an historical commentary. For a more detailed statement of our aims and for an account of the background of our undertaking, the reader is referred to our introduction to that volume; here only some basic facts of importance for the user will be repeated. In addition, we shall be more specific than earlier on some points particularly raised by the present selection of texts.

The scholarly translation and the historical commentary are the core of the work, whereas the publication of the texts themselves makes no claim to originality: this is true especially for the literary sources. In the case of the documentary material—the inscriptions and papyri—a more active editorial policy has sometimes proved necessary, so that the texts we present are at places not identical with those of any of the previous editions, but the result of our scrutiny of the material at our disposal, including published photos, and of our evaluation of the suggestions put forward by scholars in the field.

The scope of the collection is inevitably limited to *published* texts. We regret that we had to omit several texts in various languages discovered in the last few decades but unfortunately still withheld from general use. There is one important exception, however, in the present volume: with the kind permission of Prof. J.M. Plumley and the generous consent of Mr. W.V. Davies, President of the Egypt Exploration Society, we are able to present here an *editio princeps* of the Tantani letters from Qasr Ibrim (320-322), which, together with the letter of Phonen (319), give important insight into the historical conditions in Nubia in the mid-5th century AD.

As before, the names (titles) and the evidence for the reigns of the rulers of Kush are discussed separately, as important sources for political history, cultural contacts, and chronology. Bold numbers in bold parentheses ((186), (191) etc.) distinguish these categories of evidence from the source texts proper which bear bold numbers without parentheses (187 etc.).

We have tried to avoid the use of unclear, idiosyncratic, or controversial historical and geographical terms in our commentaries. "Nubia" is used in its widest historical sense and not as a geographical term (except for "Upper Nubia" and "Lower Nubia"). The geographical term "Middle Nile Region" includes Lower and Upper Nubia as well as the central Sudan and is not employed in a (chronologically or politically) definite historical meaning. The

terms “Kush” and “Kushite” denote the indigenous state that emerged after the withdrawal of the New Kingdom Egyptian provincial administration under Ramesses XI and lasted until the second half of the 4th century AD. They thus include the so-called Napatan and Meroitic periods as well.

The geographical and political term “Aithiopia” (in its Greek spelling, to avoid confusion with modern Ethiopia) is used whenever the classical sources we are commenting on use this notoriously vague term themselves; in these texts, reference normally is to the Nile Region south of Egypt.

Though this is in the end a team-work, a certain division of labour has been both necessary and natural. The selection of sources was made by László Török (LT), who also wrote the historical comments. Richard Holton Pierce (RHP) translated the Demotic and Coptic texts. Tormod Eide (TE) and Tomas Hägg (TH) produced the Greek and Latin translations and are also responsible for the “Introductions to source” preceding those texts and for the philological notes to the translations. These translations were also subjected to thoroughgoing discussion among TE, TH, and RHP, so the initials added there denote only who made the first draft—and had the final say. The Meroitic sources, finally, are treated by LT (of course, no consecutive translation of these can be provided).

Each source text is presented in such a way that it may be consulted separately; but the translation itself is only part of the whole, and it is necessary, in order to assess it correctly, to read the entry in its entirety, including the introduction and notes, and to follow up the internal references that are supplied. The translated text extracts, of various genre and function, can be interpreted and used for historical conclusions with some confidence only if their particular nature and context are properly understood.

For the *Greek and Latin literary sources*, there is first a “Source bibliography”, listing selected works that illuminate the nature and context of the literary work from which the extract is taken. The “Introduction to source” attempts to present to readers not familiar with Greek and Latin literature the basic facts about the particular author and his work; but there is also discussion of special source problems, with references to the scholarly debate, which may also be useful for people with a prior working knowledge of Classical texts in general. Consultation of the footnotes to the translations is likewise important since they indicate, among other things, the places where the translation given is open to doubt for various (textual or interpretational) reasons.

The *documentary sources in Greek and Latin* are presented in a corresponding way, explaining in the introduction the historical context and function or genre of the inscription or papyrus/parchment text in question, as well as giving the basic bibliographical guidance for those who wish to go further. For practical reasons, different procedures have been chosen for the reproduction of the texts themselves. Sometimes, for the benefit of the modern reader, we have divided the text and the translation into its structural parts; sometimes, particularly in the case of very fragmentary texts, we have deemed it necessary instead

to follow, line by line, their original disposition on the stone or papyrus (while mostly showing the structural division of the text in the translation). We have not, however, found it advisable, for our purpose, to try to indicate in any more precise way the probable extent of the lost parts of fragmentary texts; most lacunas, short or long, are simply marked with three dots in brackets: [...].

For the *Egyptian texts* a somewhat different format has been adopted. All the information that would correspond to what is given about the Greek and Latin sources in the "Source bibliography" and most of that which would appear in the "Introduction to source", are included in the historical "Comments". Between the "Transliteration and Translation" and the "Comments" there is sometimes inserted a "Note to the Translation" which contains further information, some of which would, in the case of the Greek and Latin sources, be found in the "Introduction to source". This difference in part reflects the less developed state of the literary analysis of the Egyptian texts from the Sudan, and in part the greater uncertainty inhering in the translations. The nature of the problem was discussed in the general "Notes to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts" in the previous volumes (pp. 13-16, 362-365); additional information concerning the Demotic and Coptic texts is supplied below under the heading "A Final Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts".

The treatment of *Meroitic texts* is another matter; the text is here immediately followed by the "Comments", in which translation of those parts that admit a rendering is integrated. The "General Note to the Meroitic Texts" from Vol. II is repeated in this volume for the convenience of the users.

The historical *comments* are similarly structured for all the various types of text. They discuss the historical implications of each text, with ample references to handbooks and scholarly works. To follow up these references, given in the form: Author's name, year of publication, and page, the reader has to turn to the alphabetic *Bibliographical list* at the beginning of the volume. At the same place, there are also lists of other abbreviations used in this volume.

Readers are kindly asked to submit to the editors suggestions for other texts that they think should have been included, as well as corrections and supplements to those published here. Such material may be included in the fourth and last volume, together with the relevant indices. We already extended the corresponding invitation in the previous volumes and are very grateful to the colleagues and friends who have taken the time and trouble to send us their observations and suggestions. We wish to express our sincere thanks to all who have contributed to making this collection as useful a tool as possible for future research.

Bergen and Budapest in May, 1998

Tormod Eide    Tomas Hägg    Richard Holton Pierce    László Török

## A General Note to the Meroitic Texts

The Kushite royal and temple inscriptions were written in Egyptian in hieroglyphics until the 3rd-2nd century BC. In the course of the 2nd century BC a hieroglyphic as well as a cursive script began to take shape in Kush, the former for the writing of monumental texts, the latter for "private" inscriptions and administrative documents in the Meroitic language. Its 23 hieroglyphic signs were borrowed from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, while the 23 cursive signs, each corresponding to a hieroglyphic one, show the impact of Egyptian "abnormal hieratic" (see, with the literature of earlier research, Priese 1973b). Unlike Egyptian script, however, Meroitic script includes vowel notations and constitutes a syllabic system in which every symbol represents a consonant plus the vowel *a*, except when followed by another symbol indicating the vowels *i*, *o*, or *e*. A symbol for the vowel *a* is only written at the beginning of a word (Hintze 1978, 93 f.). The earliest surviving Meroitic hieroglyphic inscription, the name of Queen Shanakdakheto in Temple F at Naqa (see (148)), can be dated to the late 2nd century BC; and the earliest preserved document in the cursive writing (Hintze 1959, 36, fgm. of the offering table of King Tarekeniwal) similarly dates from the late 2nd century BC.

The Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive scripts were deciphered by F.L. Griffith (1909a, 1911, 1911a, 1912) on the basis of Meroitic royal names recorded in both Egyptian and Meroitic scripts. Griffith also succeeded in identifying important elements of the grammatical structure of Meroitic, and his analysis of the Meroitic funerary texts made possible the understanding of a number of words (among them numerous loan words from Egyptian) and of some phrases.

According to the testimony of loan words in Egyptian texts, the Meroitic language was spoken in Nubia in the period of the Egyptian New Kingdom (cf. Priese 1968b). While it is generally assumed that Meroitic was originally the spoken tongue of the population(s) of the Butana region and while it may perhaps also be supposed that its northward spread started in the Napatan period, the history of the language remains, for lack of documents, unknown. Meroitic is not a Hamito-Semitic ("Afro-Asiatic") language (Hintze 1955); it is an agglutinating language and has no genders. It was suggested that it is related to the "Eastern Sudanic languages" (Trigger 1964, 1973; cf. Thelwall 1989). At the same time, with great caution, the structural parallels between Meroitic and Old Nubian already assumed by Lepsius (1880, cxxi-cxxvi) were recently reconsidered by Hintze (1989) who came, however, to the conclusion that a genealogical relationship between Meroitic and Old Nubian cannot be demonstrated. He also pointed out that the present knowledge of the Eastern Sudanic Language Group does not allow the direct comparison of Meroitic with any individual language of that Group.

Although the Meroitic language remains, in spite of the efforts of F.Ll. Griffith and of scholars of the subsequent decades, so far undeciphered,<sup>362</sup> our understanding of the structure of the mortuary texts and of certain expressions in other types of inscriptions, as well as of certain grammatical structures, and our knowledge of a number of words (mostly titles, toponyms, theonyms, and terms of family relationships) make it nevertheless possible, and also necessary, to include here some of the more important Meroitic documents on account of their obvious historical value. While of course no consecutive translations can be provided,<sup>363</sup> we republish here on the basis of the Paris *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique* (REM) partly, or fully, the more important royal titularies and inscriptions with notes on words and expressions the meaning of which can be established with a reasonable degree of confidence.

In the segmentation of the texts we follow the REM editions. In the transcription of the Meroitic cursive signs,  $\bar{n}$  is used; and the transcription *ne* of the REM is not employed on account of the widely used transcription  $\bar{n}$  in royal names (e.g., Tañyidamani). On the other hand, the transcription  $\bar{s}$  used in earlier editions of Meroitic texts is replaced by the more recent transcription *s*; while instead of the earlier *s* we have, as also used in the REM, *se*. An uncertain reading of a sign is marked by an asterisk (\*) before the sign.

As for the signs employed in Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive texts as word dividers, the three vertically arranged dots in "archaic" inscriptions are marked ,, and the two vertically arranged dots in "transitional" and "late" inscriptions are marked ,, in the transcriptions.

[LT]

---

<sup>362</sup>Cf. Griffith 1909, 1911, 1911a, 1912, 1916, 1917, 1922; for the monumental undertaking of the Paris REM see the articles by J. Leclant, director of the project, further A. Heyler and others in issues 1 ff. of MNL; and cf. Hainsworth–Leclant 1978; for further research see esp. Hintze 1960, 1963, 1973a, 1974, 1977, 1979; Hofmann 1981; Priesse 1968, 1971, 1973b, 1976, 1977a; Trigger–Heyler 1970; Zibelius 1983; for further literature see references in the studies listed above and see also Török 1988, 331 f., Bibliography 7a, b.

<sup>363</sup>For tentative "translations" of monumental texts see Millet 1973 (REM 0094, cf. 300 below); Hofmann 1981, 279 ff. (REM 1003, cf. FHN II, 177).

## A Final Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts

Among the sources included in this third volume there appear for the first time texts in Coptic, the last written form of the ancient Egyptian language. Though Coptic was truly a further—historically the final—stage in and avenue of development of the language written in Demotic, it represented in form and content a break with ancient tradition. It was written with the Greek alphabet to which were added additional letters derived from Demotic to cover phonemes not present in Greek. In particular the presence in Coptic of a full range of vowel signs made manifest dialects in Egyptian that the ancient writing system had masked. The adoption of Coptic to the exclusion of Demotic and its predecessors was intimately bound up with the fact that Coptic was chiefly a vehicle for the expression of the ideas current in Egyptian Christianity in contrast to the ancient writing system which was a pagan medium. The two systems were in contemporary use, each associated with speakers who were engaged in a bitter struggle for cultural dominance.

Though no ancient source explicitly details the reasons why Coptic emerged as the language of Egyptian Christians, it has long—and reasonably—been assumed that the old system was so imbued with the traditions of pagan cult and thought as to be unacceptable to Egyptians who were severing their links with them. Moreover, Christianity insofar as it was a book religion required of its leading practitioners, both clergy and laity, an intimate acquaintance with Scripture; and it was not to be expected either that the old pagan elite would be the first to convert or that it would place its schools in the service of its rivals. Greek, being the chief language of administration in Egypt as well as the original language of the Christian Bible, was in widespread use but was, in Egypt, itself the medium of a Hellenic pagan elite that was ultimately foreign in origin. The new writing system, on the other hand, was independent of established educational systems and untainted by pagan associations and thus became a powerful instrument for propagating the new religion among native speakers of Egyptian.

The bulk of texts surviving in Coptic are works of translation, chiefly from Greek; they include, in the first instance, the Septuagint and the New Testament but go on to embrace the full range of Christian literature. The number of literary works known to have been originally written in Coptic is much smaller; but among them are the writings of Shenute and his followers—works well known, at least among students of Christianity, beyond the circle of Coptologists (301 below). There is in addition a large and growing number of non-literary texts that reflect the range of activities in which Coptic speakers were engaged. These activities were characteristically pursued at the level of village and monastery; but as the Monophysite Church gained in influence Coptic speakers found themselves playing roles at higher levels—as is exemplified by the Tan-

tani letters in which Coptic is a medium of diplomatic communication (320-322).

Coptic texts abound in words of Greek origin, and by long-established convention these are often printed in translations in *italics*. This editorial practice, which is followed in our translations, might induce readers of translations to think that Coptic speakers themselves were conscious of the Greek origin of these words even as they were using them, and sometimes they may have been, but how frequently and in what contexts has yet to be broadly and systematically investigated. For a translator it is the meanings of Greek words in Coptic texts that poses a problem. In general, editors list and gloss Greek words separately; and, with a single exception, Coptic dictionaries do not include separate entries for words of Greek origin. Instead, one must turn to Greek dictionaries, and these do not include information about how their entries were used in Coptic. So long as it is assumed that Coptic speakers invariably used Greek words with the same meanings as did Greek speakers, translators have only the inconvenience of using two sets of reference works; but as soon as they begin to question this assumption, they must embark upon time-consuming independent lexicographical research. The Greek words used in our Coptic texts appear in narrative, administrative, and commercial contexts where their documented meanings are appropriate and where there is no expectation that they would have been used with uncommon nuances.

In general, Coptic texts were written as continuous strings of letters that were broken only by line and page divisions or by occasional marks of punctuation. There was seldom any distinction in the size or shape of a letter to indicate that it stood at the beginning of a word or sentence. Occasionally the initial letters of major divisions of a text might be written large and ornamented, but this practice was largely confined to literary texts and important official documents. It is, therefore, largely up to individual editors to decide how to segment their texts, and there is no universally accepted practice with regard to the division of words in Coptic texts. Most often Coptic words occur in combination in morpho-syntactic segments, and we have almost always printed such segments as continuous strings. In a few instances, however, a morpheme that is the initial constituent of a segment, e.g.  $\alpha\epsilon$ -, "that", or a morpheme that is the final constituent of a segment, e.g. the copula  $\pi\epsilon$ -, has been printed separated from the string of which it is a part. This has been done in order to clarify the syntax for readers with a limited knowledge of Coptic who may not be familiar with a radically synthetic segmentation.

As stated in *A General Note to the Translations of the Egyptian Texts* in FHN I, in order to accommodate our target users I have tended to give literal translations, even at the expense of being painfully inelegant. I have chosen to do so in the expectation that awkward translations would put users on their guard with respect to the interpretation of the texts and that I would thus avoid putting readers' minds to rest with regard to the messages conveyed by the an-

cient sources. At the same time, I have chosen not to signal by translation devices such as the use of cleft sentences my adherence to one or other of the currently contending theories about the nature of the Egyptian verbal system. For the record, although I was a student of Professor Polotsky and have the greatest respect for his contribution to revitalizing the study of the Egyptian verb, I do not accept his system of transpositions but regard all conjugated verb forms as inherently predicative and truly verbal. I think that the distinctive nature of the Second Tenses, which he so thoroughly explored, is fundamentally grammatical and that those verb forms are not well understood if they are considered to be devices to achieve "emphasis".

[RHP]

The following signs have been used in the transliteration and translation of Egyptian:

- [ ] Enclosing damaged words or parts of words restored by modern writers.
- ' ' Enclosing words the reading or translation of which is open to question.
- ( ) In transliterations, enclosing words not written by the scribe but probably present in the spoken language; in translations, enclosing words added by the modern writer to clarify the sense.
- < > Enclosing words omitted in error by the scribe.
- { } Enclosing words to be deleted.

In the transliteration of Egyptian we have used Peter Der Manuelian's copyrighted DyPalatino font, which we purchased from him in 1993. For the Coptic texts we have employed the CopticABG™, which we purchased from Ecological Linguistics, Washington, DC, 20003, in 1997.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Periodicals, Series, Collections*

- AA Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
- Acta Arch. Hung. Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
- Annales d'Éthiopie Annales d'Éthiopie, Paris.
- ADAW Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
- AÉ L'Année Épigraphique, Paris.
- Aegyptus Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia, Milano.
- AfP Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Stuttgart-Leipzig.
- ANM Archéologie du Nil Moyen, Lille.
- Ann. Éth. Annales d'Éthiopie, Paris.
- ANRW W. Haase-H. Temporini (eds): Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Berlin-New York.
- AW Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, Zürich.
- BAR British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- BASP Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, New York.
- BdE Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'Étude, Le Caire.
- BGU Ägyptische Urkunden (Griechische Urkunden) aus den Königlichen (*from Vol. 6* Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Berlin 1895-.
- BHG Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, Bruxelles.
- BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
- BKU Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen (*later* Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden I-III, Berlin 1904-1968.
- BO Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
- BSAA Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie, Alexandria.
- BzS Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Wien.

- Cah. Arch. Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge, Paris.
- CdE Chronique d'Égypte, Bruxelles.
- ChLA Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, ed. A. Bruckner-R. Marichal. Vol. 3-4. London.
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum I-IV. Berlin 1828-1877.
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae (Regiae) Borussiae editum, Leipzig, Berlin 1862-.
- CPL R. Cavenaile: Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, Wiesbaden.
- CRAIBL Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus, Paris.
- CRIPEL Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille, Lille.
- Der kl. Pauly K. Ziegler-W. Sontheimer (eds): Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie... München 1979.
- DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Washington.
- DÖAW Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, Wien.
- Eos Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum, Wroclaw.
- Erasmus Erasmus. Speculum scientiarum. Bulletin international de la Science contemporaine, Wiesbaden.
- ESLP B.V. Bothmer-H. de Meulenaere-H.W. Müller-E. Riefstahl: Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100. The Brooklyn Museum 1960. Reprint with corrections 1973.
- ÉtTrav Études et Travaux, Warsaw.
- FGrH F. Jakoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Berlin, Leiden 1923-1958.
- FHN I-II T. Eide-T. Hägg-R.H. Pierce-L. Török (eds), Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD. Vol. I: From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC, Bergen 1994. Pp. 1-344. Vol. II: From the Mid-Fifth to the First Century BC, Bergen 1996. Pp. 345-746.
- FuB Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.
- Geographia Antiqua Geographia Antiqua. Rivista di geografia storica del mondo antico e di storia della geografia, Perugia.
- GJ The Geographical Journal, London.
- GM Göttinger Miscellen, Göttingen.

Abbreviations

IGRR	R. Cagnat-J. Toutain et al. (eds): <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes I, III, IV</i> . Paris 1906-1928.
ILS	H. Dessau (ed.): <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin.
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> , Boston.
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London.
JS	<i>Journal des Savants</i> , Paris.
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> , Toronto.
Klio	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> , Berlin.
Kush	<i>Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service</i> , Khartoum.
LAAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool.
LD	C.R. Lepsius: <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition I-VI</i> . Berlin 1849-1859.
LD Erg.	C.R. Lepsius: <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Ergänzungsband</i> . Leipzig 1913.
LD Text	C.R. Lepsius: <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text I-V</i> . Ed. E. Naville. Leipzig 1897-1913.
LdÄ	W. Helck-W. Westendorf: <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Wiesbaden 1972-1991.
LF	<i>Listy Filologické</i> , Praha.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i> , Mainz.
MDATC	<i>Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici</i> , Pisa.
Meroe	<i>Meroe. Istoriya, istoriya kultury, yazhik drevnego Sudana</i> , Moscow.
Meroitica	<i>Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie</i> , Berlin.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen für Orientforschung</i> , Berlin.
MNL	<i>Meroitic Newsletter. Bulletin d'Informations Méroïtiques</i> , Paris.
MSAAA	<i>Marburger Studien zur Afrika- und Asienkunde Serie A, Afrika</i> , Marburg.
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del Centro per le Antichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente</i> , Roma.

OGIS	W. Dittenberger: <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> I-II. Leipzig 1903, 1905.
Oikumene	Oikumene. <i>Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et Orientalem spectantia</i> , Budapest.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1982.
OMRL	Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden, Leiden.
Or	Orientalia. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Roma.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy, London.
PG	J.P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , Paris 1857-1912.
Phoenix	The Phoenix: the Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PM VI	B. Porter-R.L.B. Moss: <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> VI. Upper Egypt: Chief Temples (Excluding Thebes). Oxford 1939.
PM VII	B. Porter-R.L.B. Moss: <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> VII. Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt. Oxford 1952.
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C, Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Dublin.
RAC	T. Klauser et al. (eds): <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart 1950-.
RE	Paulys <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart.
REM	J. Leclant (ed.): <i>Repertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique</i> . Computer outprint, Paris 1976.
RIB	<i>Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique</i> , Bruxelles.
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung</i> , Mainz.
SB	F. Preisigke et al. (eds): <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, Straßburg etc.</i> , Wiesbaden 1913-.
SDAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst</i> , Berlin.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden, Amsterdam 1923-.
SNR	<i>Sudan Notes and Records</i> , Khartoum.
SO	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i> , Oslo.
Sources Or.	<i>Sources Orientales</i> , Paris.

## Abbreviations

STB	Ali Osman-R. Thelwall (eds): Sudan Texts Bulletin, Ulster.
Stud. Aeg.	Studia Aegyptiaca. Études publiées par les Chaires d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Université Loránd Eötvös de Budapest, Budapest.
Stud. Hell.	Studia Hellenistica, Louvain.
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio.
WZHU	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, Berlin.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift der Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien.
YCS	Yale Classical Studies, New Haven.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig-Berlin.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.

### *Other Abbreviations*

AD	Anno Domini, after Christ.
Bar.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery of Gebel Barkal (see <i>Bibliographical List</i> , Dunham 1957).
Beg. N.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery of Begarawiya North (see <i>Bibliography</i> , Dunham 1957).
Beg. S.	Pyramid burial in the cemetery of Begarawiya South (see <i>Bibliography</i> , Dunham 1957).
BC	before Christ.
Berlin (with Inv. no.)	Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ägyptische Sammlung.
Boston MFA (with Inv. no.)	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Cairo JE (with Inv. no.)	Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Journal d'Entrée.
cf.	confer, compare.
cm	centimetre(s).
col.	text column.
E	East.
ed.	edition.
ed.	edited (by).
edn.	edition.

eds	editors.
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example.
et al.	et alii, and others.
f.	following (page).
fasc.	fascicle.
fgm.	fragment.
fig.	figure.
ff.	following (pages).
GA	Gebel Adda (Meroitic inscr. from, see Bibliography, Millet 1969).
ibid.	ibidem, (at) the same place.
i.e.	id est, that is.
inscr.	inscription.
Inv.	Inventory.
Kawa	Kawa (inscr. from, see Bibliography, Macadam 1949).
Khartoum (with Inv. no.)	Khartoum, Sudan National Museum.
km.	kilometre.
Ku.	el Kurru (grave, see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
lit.	literal, literally.
loc. cit.	locus citatum, the place cited (above).
MFA (with Inv. no.)	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
N	North.
n.d.	no date.
No., no.	Number.
Nu.	Pyramid burial in the royal cemetery at Nuri (see Bibliography, Dunham 1955).
op. cit.	opus citatum, the work cited (above).
P	Papyrus.
Philadelphia (with Inv. no.)	The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.
POxy	Oxyrhynchus papyrus, quoted with number from B.P. Grenfell et al.: <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London 1898-.
Pl.	Plate.
S	South.
W	West.

*Bibliographical List*

- Adams 1976 W.Y. Adams: Meroitic North and South: A Study in Cultural Contrasts. *Meroitica* 2, 11-25, 119-175.
- Adams 1977 W.Y. Adams: Nubia Corridor to Africa. London.
- Adams 1982a W.Y. Adams: Qasr Ibrim. An Archaeological Conspectus. in: J.M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster, 25-33.
- Adams 1982b W.Y. Adams: Meroitic Textual Material from Qasr Ibrim. *Meroitica* 6, 211-216.
- Adams 1983 W.Y. Adams: Primis and the 'Aethiopian' Frontier. *JARCE* 20, 93-102.
- Almagro 1965 M. Almagro: La necropolis meroitica de Nag Gamus (Masma, Nubia egipcia). Madrid.
- Altaner-Stuiber 1978 B. Altaner-A. Stuiber: *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*. Freiburg-Basel-Wien.
- Altenmüller 1975 H. Altenmüller: Feste. *LdÄ* II, 171-191.
- Altheim-Stiehl 1961 F. Altheim-R. Stiehl: Die Datierung des Königs Ezana von Aksum. *Klio* 39, 234-238.
- Altheim-Stiehl 1976 F. Altheim-R. Stiehl: Die neue griechische Inschrift Ezanas von Aksum. *Klio* 58, 471-479.
- Amélineau 1889 E. Amélineau: *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris.
- Anderson et al. 1979 R.D. Anderson-P.J. Parsons-R.G.M. Nisbet: Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim. *JRS* 69, 125-155.
- Anfray et al. 1970 F. Anfray-A. Caquot-P. Nautin: Une nouvelle inscription d'Ezana, roi d'Axoum. *JS* 1970, 260-274.
- Arnold 1975 D. Arnold: *Die Tempel von Kalabscha*. Kairo.
- Assmann 1990 J. Assmann: *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*. München.
- Aufrère 1991 S. Aufrère: *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*. Vol. I. *L'influence du désert et des minéraux sur la mentalité des anciens Égyptiens*. II. *L'intégration des minéraux, des métaux et des "Trésors" dans la marche de l'univers et dans la vie divine*. Le Caire.
- Avotins 1989 I. Avotins: On the Greek of the Code of Justinian. *Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien* 17. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York.
- Ägypten und Kusch E. Endesfelder-K.-H. Priese-W.F. Reineke-S. Wenig (eds): *Ägypten und Kusch* [Festschrift Fritz Hintze]. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13, Berlin 1977.

- Badawi 1976 Fathi Afifi Badawi: Die römischen Gräberfelder von Sayala-Nubien. Wien.
- Bagnall 1985 R.S. Bagnall: Publius Petronius, Augustan Prefect of Egypt. YCS 28, 85-93.
- Bagnall 1993 R.S. Bagnall: Egypt in Late Antiquity. Princeton.
- Bagnall 1995 R.S. Bagnall: Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History. London-New York.
- Bagnall-Frier 1994 R.S. Bagnall-B.W. Frier: The Demography of Roman Egypt. Cambridge.
- Bagnall-Worp 1978 R.S. Bagnall-K.A. Worp: Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt. Zuthpen.
- Bardy 1960 G. Bardy: Eusèbe de Césarée Histoire Ecclésiastique. Introduction. Sources Chrétiennes 73. Paris.
- Barns 1964 J.W.B. Barns: Shenute as an Historical Source. in: Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologues Varsovie-Cracovie 3-9 Septembre 1961. Wrocław-Warszawa-Krakow, 151-159.
- Bastianini 1988 G. Bastianini: Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C.-297 d.C.): Addenda (1973-1985). ANRW II.10.1, 503-517.
- Bauer et al. 1979 W. Bauer: A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Transl. and adapted ... by W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, F.W. Danker. Chicago-London.
- Bauer et al. 1988 W. Bauer: Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur. Ed. K. Aland-B. Aland. Berlin-New York.
- Bauernfeind 1939 O. Bauernfeind: Die Apostelgeschichte. Leipzig.
- Beckerath 1984 J. v. Beckerath: Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen. Berlin.
- Behrens 1982 P. Behrens: Pfeil. LdÄ IV, 1005-1006.
- Bell et al. 1962 H.I. Bell-V. Martin-E.G. Turner-D. van Berchem: The Abinnaeus Archive. Oxford.
- Berger et al. (eds) 1994 C. Berger-G. Clerc-N. Grimal (eds): Hommages à Jean Leclant II. Nubie, Soudan, Éthiopie. Le Caire.
- Bergman 1968 J. Bergman: Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien. Uppsala.
- A. Bernand 1969 A. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I. Époque Ptolémaïque. Paris.
- E. Bernand 1969 E. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques de Philae II. Haut et Bas Empire. Paris.

## Abbreviations

- E. Bernand et al. 1991 E. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-Axoumite et Axoumite I. Les documents, II Les planches. Paris.
- Bersina 1977 S.Ya. Bersina: "Efiopika" Geliodora kak istochnik po istorii Meroe. *Meroe* 1, 146-190 (French summary on p. 295).
- Bersina 1989 S.Ya. Bersina: Milanese Papyrus No. 40. *Meroitica* 10, 217-224.
- Bichir 1973 G. Bichir: *Cultura Carpică*. Bucuresti.
- Bichir 1976 G. Bichir: Archaeology and History of the Carpi from the Second to the Fourth Century A.D. *BAR Suppl. ser.* 16. Oxford.
- Bingen 1997 J. Bingen: Date et genèse d'OGIS I 210 (Talmis - Kalabchah). *CdE* 72, 348-354.
- Blackman 1911 A.M. Blackman: *The Temple of Dendur*. Cairo.
- Blockley 1981 R.C. Blockley: *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*. Trowbridge.
- Blockley 1985 R.C. Blockley: *Subsidies and Diplomacy*. *Phoenix* 39, 62-74.
- Boissonade 1833 I.F. Boissonade: ANEKΔOTA. *Anecdota Graeca e Codicibus Regiis V*. Paris (facsimile edn. Hildesheim 1963).
- Bonnet (ed.) 1992 Ch. Bonnet (ed.): *Études nubiennes. Conférence de Genève. Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études nubiennes 3-8 septembre 1990. Vol. I. Communications principales*. Genève.
- Bonnet 1996 C. Bonnet: *The Funerary Traditions of Middle Nubia*. in: I. Welsby Sjöström (ed.): *Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies. Pre-prints of the main papers and abstracts*. London, 2-18.
- H. Bonnet 1926 H. Bonnet: *Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*. Leipzig.
- Borchardt 1920 L. Borchardt: *Altägyptische Zeitmessung*. Berlin-Leipzig.
- Borchardt 1933 L. Borchardt: *Die Königsjacke. Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*. Leipzig.
- Borghouts 1980 J.F. Borghouts: *Magie*. *LdÄ* III, 1137-1151.
- Boschung 1993 D. Boschung: *Die Bildnisse des Augustus. Das römische Herrscherbild I.2*. Berlin.
- Bosticco 1989 S. Bosticco: *Les récentes fouilles du complexe 1500 au Gebel Barkal*. *Meroitica* 10, 777-782.

- Bowie 1974 E.L. Bowie: Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic. in: M.I. Finley (ed.): *Studies in Ancient Society*. London-Henley-Boston, 166-209.
- Bowman 1976 A.K. Bowman: Papyri and Roman Imperial History. *JRS* 66, 153-173.
- Bowman 1978 A.K. Bowman: The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Diocletian. *BASP* 15, 26-30.
- Bowman 1986 A.K. Bowman: Egypt after the Pharaohs 332 BC-AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest. London.
- Bradley 1982 R.J. Bradley: *Varia* from Meroe City. *Meroitica* 6, 163-170.
- Bradley 1984 R.J. Bradley: Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7, 195-211.
- Bradley 1992 R.J. Bradley: Nomads in the Archaeological Record. *Meroitica* 13. Berlin.
- Bresciani 1969 E. Bresciani: Graffiti démotiques du Dodekaschène. Le Caire.
- Brinks 1983 J. Brinks: Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan) II. Baubeschreibung. Wiesbaden.
- Bultmann 1967 R. Bultmann: *Exegetica*. Tübingen.
- Bureth 1988 P. Bureth: Le préfet d'Égypte (30 av. J.C.-297 ap. J.C.): Etat présent de la documentation en 1973. *ANRW* II.10.1, 472-502.
- Burckhardt 1822 J.L. Burckhardt: *Travels in Nubia*. 2nd ed. London.
- Burkhardt 1985 A. Burkhardt: Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos. Untersuchungen zur Typologie und Bedeutung der demotischen Graffiti. *Meroitica* 8. Berlin.
- Burns 1994 T.S. Burns: *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome. A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D.* Bloomington-Indianapolis.
- Burstein 1979 S.M. Burstein: The Nubian Campaigns of C. Petronius and George Reisner's Second Meroitic Kingdom of Napata. *ZÄS* 106, 95-105.
- Burstein 1981 S.M. Burstein: Herodotus and the Emergence of Meroe. *JSSEA* 11, 1-5.
- Burstein 1984 S.M. Burstein: The Axumite Inscription from Meroe and Late Meroitic Chronology. *Meroitica* 7, 220-221.
- Burstein 1989a S.M. Burstein: *Agatharchides of Cnidus On the Erythraean Sea*. London.

## Abbreviations

- Burstein 1989b S.M. Burstein: "Kush and the External World": A Comment. *Meroitica* 10, 225-230.
- Burstein 1998a S. Burstein (ed.): *Ancient African Civilizations. Kush and Axum*. Princeton.
- Burstein 1998b S.M. Burstein: *The Roman Withdrawal from Nubia: A New Interpretation*. *SO* 73, 125-132.
- Callender 1965 M. Callender: *Roman Amphorae, with Index of Stamps*. London.
- Cameron 1982 Alan Cameron: *The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II*. *YCS* 27, 217-289.
- Cameron 1993a Averil Cameron: *The Later Roman Empire AD 284-430*. London.
- Cameron 1993b Averil Cameron: *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*. London-New York.
- Castiglione 1970 L. Castiglione: *Diocletianus und die Blemmyes*. *ZÄS* 96, 90-103.
- Černý 1976 J. Černý: *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. Cambridge-London-New York-Melbourne.
- Chantraine 1968-80 P. Chantraine: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots I-IV* 2. Paris.
- Chapman-Dunham 1952 S. Chapman-D. Dunham: *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroe and Barkal*. Boston.
- Christides 1980 V. Christides: *Ethnic Movements in Southern Egypt and Northern Sudan: Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.* *LF* 103, 129-143.
- Chrysos 1978 E.K. Chrysos: *The Title βασιλεύς in Early Byzantine International Relations*. *DOP* 32, 29-75.
- Combefis 1660 F. Combefis: *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi*. Paris.
- Conzelmann 1963 H. Conzelmann: *Die Apostelgeschichte. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* 7. Tübingen.
- Crowfoot 1911 J.W. Crowfoot: *The Island of Meroe*. London.
- Crum 1932 W.E. Crum: *A Nubian Prince in an Egyptian Monastery*. in: *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith*. London, 137-148.
- Curto 1979 S. Curto: *Krieg*. *LdÄ* III, 765-786.
- Daebritz 1912 H. Daebritz: *Hanno* 26. *RE* VII 2, 2360-2363.
- Daris 1988 S. Daris: *Le truppe ausiliare romane in Egitto*. in: *ANRW* II.10.1, 743-766.
- Daumas 1974 F. Daumas: *Choiakfeste*. *LdÄ* I, 958-960.

- Davies (ed.) 1991 W.V. Davies (ed.): *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London.
- Decker 1911 J. de Decker: *Le culte d'Isis à Méroé en Éthiopie*. RIB 54, 287-311.
- Deichmann 1966 F.W. Deichmann: *Eine alabasterne Largitionsschale aus Nubien*. in: *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*. Rom-Freiburg-Wien, 65-76.
- Demicheli 1976 A.M. Demicheli: *Rapporti di pace e di guerra dell'Egitto romano con le popolazioni dei deserti africani*. Milano.
- Desanges 1969 J. Desanges: *Le statut et les limites de la Nubie romaine*. CdE 44, 139-147.
- Desanges 1972a J. Desanges: *L'amphore de Tubusuctu (Mauretanie) et la datation de Teqêrideamani*. MNL 11, 17-21.
- Desanges 1972b J. Desanges: *Les raids des Blemmyes sous le règne de Valens, en 373-374*. MNL 10, 32-34.
- Desanges 1973 J. Desanges: *Diskussionsbeitrag zum Thema meroitische Chronologie*. Meroitica 1, 145.
- Desanges 1974 J. Desanges: *Review of A. Bernand 1969 and E. Bernand 1969*. Erasmus 26, 232-235.
- Desanges 1978a J. Desanges: *Recherches sur l'activité des méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.-IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.)*. Rome.
- Desanges 1978b J. Desanges: *Le littoral africain du Bab el-Mandeb d'après les sources grecques et latines*. Annales d'Éthiopie 11, 83-101.
- Desanges 1987 J. Desanges: *Les sources de Pline dans sa description de la Troglodytique et de l'Éthiopie (NH 6, 163-97)*. in: *Pline l'Ancien Témoin de son Temps*. Salamanca-Nantes, 277-292.
- Desanges 1992 J. Desanges: *Bilan des recherches sur les sources grecques et latines de l'histoire de la Nubie antique dans les trente dernières années*. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992, 363-378.
- Desanges 1993a J. Desanges: *Diodore de Sicile et les Éthiopiens d'Occident*. CRAIBL 1993 Avril-Juin, 525-541.
- Desanges 1993b J. Desanges: *Pline l'Ancien et Méroë*. Prace Archeologiczne 56, 27-40.
- Desanges 1994-1995 J. Desanges: *La face cachée de l'Afrique selon Pomponius Méla*. Geographia Antiqua 3-4, 79-88.
- Dessau 1910 H. Dessau: *Garamantes*. RE VII 1, 751-752.
- Dewachter 1970 M. Dewachter: *La chapelle ptolémaïque de Kalabchah II*. Le Caire.

- Dibelius 1961 M. Dibelius: Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte. 4th edn. Göttingen.
- Dihle 1965 A. Dihle: Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer. Köln-Opladen.
- Dihle 1994 A. Dihle: Die Griechen und die Fremden. München.
- Dinkler 1975 E. Dinkler: Philippus und der ANHP ΑΙΘΙΟΥ (Apg. 8, 26-40). in: E. Earle Ellis-E. Gräber (eds): Jesus und Paulus. Fs. W.G. Kümmel. Göttingen, 85-95.
- Dinkler 1977 E. Dinkler: König Ezana von Aksum und das Christentum. Ein Randproblem der Geschichte Nubiens. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 121-132.
- Donadoni 1990 S. Donadoni: Italian Excavations at the Gebel Barkal in 1987. Nubica 1/2, 149-152.
- Donadoni 1993 S. Donadoni: Excavation of University of Rome at Natakamani Palace (Jebel Barkal). Kush 16, 101-115.
- Donadoni-Bosticco 1982 S. Donadoni-S. Bosticco: Scavi italiani al Gebel Barkal. Meroitica 6, 291-301.
- Dorandi 1994 T. Dorandi: Egypt II. Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Facsimile Edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth Century. Ed. A. Bruckner-R. Marichal. Part XLII. Zürich.
- Drew-Bear 1979 M. Drew-Bear: Deux documents byzantins de Moyenne Égypte. CdE 54, 285-303.
- Drewes 1962 A.J. Drewes: Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique. Leiden.
- Dunham 1957 D. Dunham: Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal. Boston.
- Dunham 1963 D. Dunham: The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe. Boston.
- Dunham 1970 D. Dunham: The Barkal Temples. Boston.
- Edwards 1989 D.N. Edwards: Archaeology and Settlement in Upper Nubia in the 1st Millennium A.D. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 36. Oxford.
- Edwards 1994 D.N. Edwards: Post-Meroitic ('X-Group') and Christian Burials at Sesibi, Sudanese Nubia. The Excavations of 1937. JEA 80, 159-178.
- Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1979 T. Eide-T. Hägg-R.H. Pierce: Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (I). STB 1, 3-12.
- Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1980 T. Eide-T. Hägg-R.H. Pierce: Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (II). STB 2, 3-15.

- Eide-Hägg-  
Pierce 1984  
Emery-Kirwan 1935  
Emery-Kirwan 1938  
Enßlin 1933  
Enßlin 1935  
Enßlin 1948  
Enßlin 1949  
Enßlin 1957a  
Enßlin 1957b  
Erichsen 1954  
Erman-Grapow 1955  
Estigarribia 1992  
Fabricius 1926  
Feissel-Worp 1988  
Fischer 1921  
Fluss 1923  
Fraser 1971  
Funaioli 1914  
Gamer-Wallert 1983  
Gardiner 1947  
Garstang et al. 1911  
Garstang 1912  
Gauthier 1914  
Gärtner 1979  
Gelzer 1905  
T. Eide-T. Hägg-R.H. Pierce: Greek, Latin, and Coptic Sources for Nubian History (III). STB 6, 1-25.  
W.B. Emery-L.P. Kirwan: The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan 1921-1931. Cairo.  
W.B. Emery-L.P. Kirwan: The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul. Cairo.  
W. Enßlin: Moses 2-11. RE XVI 1, 375.  
W. Enßlin: Narses 13. RE XVI 2, 1759-1760.  
W. Enßlin: Valerius (Diocletianus). RE VII A 3, 2419-2495.  
W. Enßlin: Palladios 32. RE XVIII 2 A, 219.  
W. Enßlin: Priscus 35. RE XXIII 1, 9-10.  
W. Enßlin: Proterius 3. RE XXIII 1, 931-932.  
W. Erichsen: Demotisches Glossar. Kopenhagen.  
A. Erman-H. Grapow: Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. Vol. 1-7 + Belegstellen. Berlin.  
J.V. Estigarribia: Commentaries on the Historicity of Acts of Apostles 8, 26-39. BzS 5, 39-46.  
E. Fabricius: Limes. RE XIII 1, 572-671.  
D. Feissel-K.A. Worp: La requête d'Appion, évêque de Syene, à Théodose II: P. Leid. Z révisé. OMRL 68, 97-108.  
C.T. Fischer: Koloboi. RE XI 1, 1107.  
M. Fluss: Severus 13. RE II A 2, 1940-2002.  
P.M. Fraser: Ptolemaic Alexandria I-III. Oxford.  
G. Funaioli: Ravennas Geographus. RE I A 1, 305-310.  
I. Gamer-Wallert: Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan) III. Die Wandreliefs. Wiesbaden.  
A.H. Gardiner: Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. I-III. London.  
J. Garstang-A.H. Sayce-F.Ll. Griffith: Meroe, City of the Ethiopians. Oxford.  
J. Garstang: Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroë in Ethiopia. LAAA 4, 45-52.  
H. Gauthier: Le temple de Kalabchah III. Le Caire.  
H. Gärtner: Aristeides 3. Der Kl. Pauly I, 557-559.  
M. Gelzer: Altes und Neues aus der byzantinisch-ägyptischen Verwaltungsmisere, vornemlich im Zeitalter Justinians. AfP 5, 346-377.

## Abbreviations

- Geraci 1971 G. Geraci: Ricerche sul proskynema. *Aegyptus* 51, 3-211.
- Godlewski 1994 W. Godlewski: A New Approach to the Christianization of Makuria: An Archaeological Note. in: Berger et al. (eds) 1994, 169-176.
- Griffith 1911a F.L. Griffith: Meroitic Inscriptions I. Sôba to Dangêl. in: Crowfoot 1911, 45-89.
- Griffith 1911b F.L. Griffith: Karanòg. The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablûl and Karanòg. Philadelphia.
- Griffith 1911c F.L. Griffith: The Inscriptions from Meroe. in: Garstang et al. 1911, 57-87.
- Griffith 1912 F.L. Griffith: Meroitic Inscriptions Part II. Napata to Philae and Miscellaneous. London.
- Griffith 1916a F.L. Griffith: An Omphalos from Napata. *JEA* 3, 255.
- Griffith 1916b F.L. Griffith: Meroitic Studies I, II. *JEA* 3, 22-30, 111-124.
- Griffith 1922a F.L. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia VIII-XVII, Napata, Sanam Temple, Treasury and Town. *LAAA* 9, 67-124.
- Griffith 1922b F.L. Griffith: Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Faras, Nubia. in: *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à Jean-François Champollion*. Paris, 565-600.
- Griffith 1924 F.L. Griffith: Oxford Excavations in Nubia XXX-XXXIII. The Meroitic Cemetery at Faras. *LAAA* 11, 141-180.
- Griffith 1925 F.L. Griffith: Pakhoras-Bakharas-Faras in Geography and History. *JEA* 11, 259-268.
- Griffith 1929 F.L. Griffith: Scenes from a Destroyed Temple at Napata. *JEA* 15, 26-28.
- Griffith 1937 F.L. Griffith: Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus. Oxford. (Volume of Plates: Oxford 1935.)
- Griffiths 1970 J.G. Griffiths: Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary. Cardiff.
- Griffiths 1981 J.G. Griffiths: Osiris. *LdÄ* IV, 623-633.
- Grimm 1978 G. Grimm: Die Vergöttlichung Alexanders des Großen in Ägypten und ihre Bedeutung für den ptolemäischen Königs-kult. in: Maehler-Strocka 1978, 103-109.
- Grumach-Shirun 1983a I. Grumach-Shirun: Schai. *LdÄ* V, 524-526.

- Grumach-Shirun 1983b I. Grumach-Shirun: Schicksal. LdÄ V, 598-600.
- Gschnitzer 1968 F. Gschnitzer: Phylarchos als Amtsbezeichnung. RE Suppl. XI, 1067-1090.
- Gutekunst 1986 W. Gutekunst: Zauber. LdÄ VI, 1320-1355.
- Habachi 1975 Labib Habachi: Elephantine. LdÄ I, 1217-1225.
- Habachi 1977 Labib Habachi: Mentuhotp, the Vizier and Son-in-Law of Taharqa. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 165-170.
- Hainsworth-Leclant 1978 M. Hainsworth-J. Leclant: Introduction au Répertoire d'Épigraphie Méroïtique (REM). MNL 19, 3-44.
- Halkin 1932 F. Halkin: Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae. Subsidia Hagiographica 19. Bruxelles.
- Hausmann 1981 U. Hausmann: Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts. ANRW II. 12.2, 513-598.
- Haycock 1967 B.G. Haycock: The Later Phases of Meroitic Civilisation. JEA 53, 107-120.
- Haycock 1978 B.G. Haycock: The Problem of the Meroitic Language. in: Aspects of Learning in the Sudan. Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Learning 5. Khartoum, 50-80.
- Haynes 1983 D.E.L. Haynes: The Date of the Bronze Head of Augustus Meroe. in: Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani I. Roma 177-181.
- Hägg 1983 T. Hägg: The Novel in Antiquity. Oxford.
- Hägg 1984 T. Hägg: Nubicograeca I-III (Bemerkungen zu griechischen Texten aus Nubien). ZPE 54, 101-112.
- Hägg 1984a T. Hägg: A New Axumite Inscription in Greek from Meroe: A Preliminary Report. Meroitica 7, 436-441.
- Hägg 1986 T. Hägg: Blemmyan Greek and the Letter of Phonen. in: M. Krause (ed.): Nubische Studien. Mainz, 281-286.
- Hägg (ed.) 1987 T. Hägg (ed.): Nubian Culture Past and Present. Main Papers Presented at the Sixth International Conference for Nubian Studies in Uppsala, 11-16 August, 1986. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser 17, Stockholm.
- Hägg 1990 T. Hägg: Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts. SO 65, 147-177.
- Hänfling 1980 E. Hänfling: Mandulis. LdÄ III, 1177-1179.
- Helck 1984 W. Helck: Schwein. LdÄ V, 762-765.

## Abbreviations

- Helm 1979 R. Helm: Untersuchungen über den auswärtigen diplomatischen Verkehr des römischen Reiches im Zeitalter der Spätantike. in: E. Olshausen (ed.): Antike Diplomatie. Wege der Forschung 462. Darmstadt, 321-408.
- Hendrickx 1996 B. Hendrickx: A propos de trois chartes grecques (Blémyes) de Gebeleïn. *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 78/2, N.S. 7, 153-165.
- Hengel 1979 M. Hengel: Zur urchristlichen Geschichtsschreibung. Stuttgart.
- Hewes 1964 G.W. Hewes: Gezira Dabarosa: Report of the University of Colorado Nubian Expedition, 1962-1963 Season. *Kush* 12, 174-187.
- Hinkel 1981 F.W. Hinkel: Die Pyramide Beg. N 34 des Königs Aritenyebokhe. *Bulletin du Centenaire. Supplément au BIFAO* 81, 379-388.
- M. Hinkel 1990 M. Hinkel: Wasserbauten im Alten Sudan. *Das Altertum* 36, 29-36.
- M. Hinkel 1991 M. Hinkel: Hafire im antiken Sudan. *ZÄS* 118, 32-48.
- Hintze 1959a F. Hintze: Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroe. *ADAW Kl. f. Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst* 1959/2. Berlin.
- Hintze 1959b F. Hintze: Preliminary Report of the Butana Expedition. *Kush* 7, 171-196.
- Hintze 1963 F. Hintze: Die Struktur der 'Deskriptionssätze' in den meroitischen Totentexten. *MIO* 9, 1-29.
- Hintze 1964 F. Hintze: The Latin Inscription from Musawwarat es Sufra. *Kush* 12, 296-298.
- Hintze 1967 F. Hintze: Meroe und die Noba. *ZÄS* 94, 79-86.
- Hintze 1973a F. Hintze: Meroitic Chronology: Problems and Prospects. *Meroitica* 1, 127-144.
- Hintze 1973b F. Hintze: Some Problems of Meroitic Philology. *Meroitica* 1, 321-336.
- Hintze 1974 F. Hintze: Meroitische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen. *MNL* 14, 20-32.
- Hintze et al. 1971 F. Hintze-U. Hintze-K.-H. Priese-K. Stark: Musawwarat es Sufra I.2. Der Löwentempel. Tafelband. Berlin.
- Hintze et al. 1993 F. Hintze-K.-H. Priese-S. Wenig-Chr. Onasch et al.: Musawwarat es Sufra I.1. Der Löwentempel. Textband. Berlin.

- Hoffmann 1969-1970 D. Hoffmann: Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum I-II. Düsseldorf.
- Hofmann 1970 I. Hofmann: Der sogenannte Omphalos von Napata (Boston M.F.A. 21.3234). JEA 56, 187-192.
- Hofmann 1971 I. Hofmann: Studien zum meroitischen Königtum. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 2. Bruxelles.
- Hofmann 1971b I. Hofmann: Bemerkungen zum Ende des meroitischen Reiches. Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-Kunde 14, 342-352.
- Hofmann 1974 I. Hofmann: Zu einigen Nominalausdrücken in den Deskriptionsphrasen der meroitischen Totentexte. MNL 14, 33-47.
- Hofmann 1975 I. Hofmann: Wege und Möglichkeiten eines indischen Einflusses auf die meroitische Kultur. St. Augustin bei Bonn.
- Hofmann 1976a I. Hofmann: Zur Bedeutung des Titels *pelmoš atolis*. MNL 17, 36-40.
- Hofmann 1976b I. Hofmann: Ein weiteres Beispiel eines falkenköpfigen Krokodils aus dem spätmeroitischen Reich. GM 22, 29.
- Hofmann 1977a I. Hofmann: Der Feldzug des C. Petronius nach Nubien und seine Bedeutung für die meroitische Chronologie. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 189-205.
- Hofmann 1977b I. Hofmann: Zu den Titeln *ktke* und *pqr*. ZDMG Suppl. III 2, 1400-1409.
- Hofmann 1978a I. Hofmann: Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie. St. Augustin bei Bonn.
- Hofmann 1978b I. Hofmann: Getreidesträusse in der meroitischen Ikonographie. GM 29, 37-43.
- Hofmann 1978c I. Hofmann: Apedemakverehrung im Norden des meroitischen Reiches? GM 29, 33-36.
- Hofmann 1978d I. Hofmann: Die Gottheiten in der Invokationsformel der meroitischen Totentexte. MSAAA 17, 104-120.
- Hofmann 1981a I. Hofmann: Material für eine Meroitische Grammatik. Wien.
- Hofmann 1981b I. Hofmann: Kleopatra - Kandake. GM 52, 33-35.
- Hofmann 1981c I. Hofmann: Die Helfer des Kaisers Decius gegen die Blemmyer. GM 50, 29-37.
- Hofmann 1981d I. Hofmann: Zum Ende der Herrscher Lakhidamani und Maloqorebar. GM 50, 23-28.

## Abbreviations

- Hofmann 1981e I. Hofmann: *womnis* = Priester des Amun? GM 45, 15-17.
- Hofmann 1988 I. Hofmann: Der Wirklichkeitsinhalt von Apostelgeschichte 8, 26-39. BzS 3, 39-48.
- Hofmann 1991a I. Hofmann: Steine für die Ewigkeit. Meroitische Opfertafeln und Totenstelen. Wien-Mödling.
- Hofmann 1991b I. Hofmann: Der Wein- und Ölimport im meroitischen Reich. in: Davies (ed.) 1991, 234-245.
- Hofmann-Tomandl 1985 I. Hofmann-H. Tomandl: Der bärtige Triumphator (Nachtrag zu Fs Helck, SAK 11, 1984, 585ff.). GM 86, 21-23.
- Hofmann-Tomandl 1986 I. Hofmann-H. Tomandl: Unbekanntes Meroe. BzS Beiheft 1. Wien-Mödling.
- Honigmann 1931 E. Honigmann: Strabon 3. Strabon von Amaseia. RE IV A, 76-151.
- Hopkins 1980 K. Hopkins: Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt. Comparative Studies in Society and History 22, 303-354.
- Hölbl 1994 G. Hölbl: Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung. Darmstadt.
- Huntingford 1980 G.W.B. Huntingford: The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. London.
- Huxley 1980 G.L. Huxley: On the Greek Martyrium of the Negrantes. PRIA 80 C 3, 41-55.
- Jackson 1957 J.K. Jackson: Changes in the Climate and Vegetation of the Sudan. SNR 38, 47-66.
- Jaritz-Rodziewicz 1993 H. Jaritz-M. Rodziewicz: The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae. Second Preliminary Report. MDAIK 49, 107-132.
- Jasnow 1992-93 R. Jasnow: Isis, the-Mistress-of-the-road. Enchoria 19-20, 219.
- Johnson-West 1949 A.Ch. Johnson-L.C. West: Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. Princeton.
- Jones 1964 A.H.M. Jones: The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey. Oxford.
- Jones 1992 A.H.M. Jones: The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey. Reprint ed. Baltimore.
- Kákosy 1984a L. Kákosy: Sothis. LdÄ V, 1110-1117.

- Kákosy 1984b L. Kákosy: Das Ende des Heidentums in Ägypten. in: P. Nagel (ed.): Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten. Halle, 61-76.
- Kákosy 1995 L. Kákosy: Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten. in: ANRW II.18.5, 2894-3049.
- Kappelmacher 1916 A. Kappelmacher: Iordanis. RE IX 2, 1908-1929.
- Katznelson 1970 I.S. Katznelson: Napata i Meroe. Moscow.
- Kähler 1959 H. Kähler: Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta. Köln.
- Kaplony 1971 P. Kaplony: Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Königtum, vor allem in der Spätzeit. CdE 46, 250-274.
- Kees 1912 H. Kees: Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs. Leipzig.
- Kees 1931 H. Kees: Syene. RE IV A 1, 1018-1023.
- Kees 1949 H. Kees: Parembolē. RE XVIII 2 B, 1455-1456.
- Kees 1962 H. Kees: Der sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester. ZÄS 87, 119-139.
- Kemp 1983 B.J. Kemp: Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c. 2686-1552 BC. in: Trigger-Kemp et al. 1983, 71-182.
- Kendall 1982 T. Kendall: Kush Lost Kingdom of the Nile. [Catalogue of] A Loan Exhibition from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Brockton Art Museum, Brockton.
- Kendall 1989 T. Kendall: Ethnoarchaeology in Meroitic Studies. Meroitica 10, 625-745.
- Kent et al. 1973 J.P.C. Kent-B. Overbeck-A.U. Stylow: Die römische Münze. München.
- Kerler 1970 G. Kerler: Die Aussenpolitik in der Historia Augusta. Bonn.
- Kirwan 1937 L.P. Kirwan: Studies in the Later History of Nubia. LAA 24, 69-105.
- Kirwan 1939 L.P. Kirwan: The Oxford University Excavations at Firka. London.
- Kirwan 1957 L.P. Kirwan: Rome beyond the Southern Frontier. GJ 123, 1-19.
- Kirwan 1972a L.P. Kirwan: The Christian Topography and the Kingdom of Axum. GJ 138, 166-177.
- Kirwan 1972b L.P. Kirwan: An Ethiopian-Sudanese Frontier Zone in Ancient History. GJ 138, 457-465.

Abbreviations

- Kirwan 1982 L.P. Kirwan: The X-Group Problem. *Meroitica* 6, 191-204.
- Kittel 1933-1969 G. Kittel: Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament I-VIII. Berlin.
- Koenen 1983 L. Koenen: Die Adaptation ägyptischer Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof. in: E. van T' Dack et al. (eds): *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the Int. Colloquium Leuven 24-26 May 1982.* Stud. Hell. 27, 143-190.
- Kolb 1988 F. Kolb: Die datierung des ägyptischen Aufstandes unter L. Domitius Domitianus und Aurelius Achilleus. *Eos* 76, 325-343.
- Kornemann 1901 Kornemann: *Curatores.* RE 4, 1774-1813.
- Kornfeld 1967 W. Kornfeld: Aramäische Sarkophage in Assuan. *WZKM* 61, 9-17.
- Kraeling 1953 E.G. Kraeling: *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri.* New Haven.
- Krall 1898 J. Krall: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemmyer und Nubier. Wien.
- Kraus 1931 J. Kraus: Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien. Mödling.
- Kraus 1964 T. Kraus: Der Kiosk von Naga. *AA* 1964, 834-867.
- Krause 1987 M. Krause: Zur Kirchengeschichte Nubiens. in: Hägg (ed.) 1987, 293-308.
- Kroll 1922 W. Kroll: Krates 16. RE XI 2, 1634-1641.
- Kromer 1967 K. Kromer: Römische Weinstuben in Sayala. Wien.
- Kuhlmann 1976 K. Kuhlmann: Göttereigenschaften. *LdÄ* II, 679-683.
- Kurth et al. 1980 D. Kurth-H.J. Thissen-M. Weber: *Kölner Ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.) I.* Opladen.
- Láda-Rubinstein 1996 Cs. Láda-L. Rubinstein: Greek Ostraca from Pselkis. *ZPE* 110, 135-155.
- Lanczkowski 1985 G. Lanczkowski: Aethiopien. *RAC Suppl.* 1/2, 94-134.
- Lasserre 1979 F. Lasserre: *Ravennas Geographus.* Der kl. Pauly IV, 1343.
- Leipoldt 1902-1903 J. Leipoldt: Berichte Schenutes über Einfälle der Nubier in Ägypten. *ZÄS* 40, 126-140.
- Lenoble 1989 P. Lenoble: "A New Type of Mound-Grave (Continued)": Le tumulus à enceinte d'Umm Makharoqa, près d'el Hobagi. *ANM* 3, 93-120.

- Lenoble 1994 P. Lenoble: Du Méroïtique au Postméroïtique dans la Région méridionale du Royaume de Méroé. Recherches sur la période de transition I-V. Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation Paris.
- Leonhard 1900 R. Leonhard: *Commercium*. RE 7, 768-769.
- Lesquier 1918 J. Lesquier: L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien. Le Caire.
- Littmann 1913 E. Littmann: Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften. Deutsche Axum Expedition IV. Berlin.
- Littmann 1950 E. Littmann: Äthiopische Inschriften. *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* II.2. Berlin, 97-127.
- Livrea 1976 E. Livrea: Chi è l'autore della Blemyomachia? *Prometheus* 2, 97-123.
- Livrea 1978 E. Livrea: Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemyomachia (P. Berol. 5003). Meisenheim am Glan.
- Lloyd 1976 A.B. Lloyd: Herodotus Book II. Commentary 1-98. Leiden.
- Lloyd 1983 A.B. Lloyd: The Late Period, 664-323 BC. in: Trigger-Kemp et al. 1983, 279-348.
- Longo 1987 O. Longo: I mangiatori di pesci: regime alimentare e quadro culturale. *MDATC* 18, 9-53.
- Loprieno-Behlmer 1985 H. Loprieno-Behlmer: *Stern*. LdÄ VI, 11-14.
- Macadam 1955 M.F.L. Macadam: The Temples of Kawa II. History and Archaeology of the Site. London.
- Macadam 1966 M.F.L. Macadam: Queen Nawidemak. *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 23, 42-71.
- MacCoull-Worp 1990 L.S.B. MacCoull-K.A. Worp: The Era of the Martyrs. in: M. Capasso et al. (eds): *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*. *Papyrologica Florentina* 19, 375-408.
- Maehler-Strocka (eds) 1978 H. Maehler-V.M. Strocka (eds): *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*. Mainz.
- Maenchen-Helfen 1973 J.O. Maenchen-Helfen: *The World of the Huns. Studies in Their History and Culture*. Edited by M. Knight. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Maspero 1909 J. Maspero: Théodore de Philae. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 30, 299-317.
- Maspero 1942 J. Maspero: *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*. Paris.

Abbreviations

- Mathew 1975 G. Mathew: The Dating and Significance of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. in: H.N. Chittick-R.I. Rotberg (eds): East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times. London, 147-163.
- Mayerson 1989 P. Mayerson: The Meaning of the Word *Limes* (λίμνον) in the Papyri. ZPE 77, 287-291.
- Mayerson 1991 P. Mayerson: The Use of the Term *Phylarchos* in the Roman-Byzantine East. ZPE 88, 291-295.
- Meeks 1973 D. Meeks: Liste des mots méroïtiques ayant une signification connue ou supposée. MNL 13, 3-20.
- Meyboom 1995 P.G.P. Meyboom: The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy. Leiden-New York-Köln.
- Meyer 1961 H.D. Meyer: Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung. Köln-Graz.
- Millet 1969 N.B. Millet: Meroitic Nubia. Ph.D. thesis Yale University. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Millet 1973 N.B. Millet: The Kharamadoye Inscription. MNL 13, 31-49, with an appendix of 7 tables.
- Millet 1977 N.B. Millet: Some Meroitic Ostraca. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 315-324.
- Millet 1981 N.B. Millet: Social and Political Organization in Meroe. ZÄS 108, 124-141.
- Milne 1898 J. Milne: A History of Egypt under Roman Rule. London.
- Monneret de Villard 1938 U. Monneret de Villard: Storia della Nubia cristiana. Roma.
- Monneret de Villard 1960 U. Monneret de Villard: Testi meroitici della Nubia settentrionale. Kush 8, 88-124.
- Müller 1961 D. Müller: Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien. Berlin.
- Nagel 1991 P. Nagel: Lycopolitan (or Lyco-Diospolitan or Subakhmimic). in: A.S. Atiya (ed.): The Coptic Encyclopedia. Vol. 8. New York, 151-159.
- Nagl 1937 A. Nagl: Timotheos 25. RE VI A 2, 1357-1358.
- Nautin 1967 P. Nautin: La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne. Cah. Arch. 17, 1-43.
- Neugebauer-Parker 1960-1964 O. Neugebauer-R. Parker: Egyptian Astronomical Texts I-III. London.

- Nixon-Rodgers 1994  
C.E.V. Nixon-B.S. Rodgers: In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin Text of R.A.B. Mynors. Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford.
- Opitz 1934  
H.G. Opitz: Theodoretos 1. RE V A 2, 1791-1801.
- Osing 1985  
J. Osing: Stundeneinteilung, -beobachter. LdÄ VI, 100-101.
- Otto 1905  
W. Otto: Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus I. Leipzig-Berlin.
- Otto 1908  
W. Otto: Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus II. Leipzig-Berlin.
- Papadopoullos 1966  
T. Papadopoullos: Africanobyzantina. Byzantine Influences on Negro-Sudanese Cultures. Athens.
- Paschoud 1971-1989  
F. Paschoud (ed. transl.): Zosime. Histoire Nouvelle I-III. Paris.
- Patsch 1899  
C. Patsch: Carpi. RE III 2, 1608-1610.
- Pekáry 1976  
T. Pekáry: Die Wirtschaft der griechisch-römischen Antike. Wiesbaden.
- Pestman 1994  
P.W. Pestman: The New Papyrological Primer. Leiden-New York-Köln.
- Pietschmann 1894  
R. Pietschmann: Aithiopia. RE I, 1095-1103.
- Plumley 1966  
J.M. Plumley: Qasr Ibrim 1966. JEA 52, 9-12.
- Plumley 1971  
J.M. Plumley: Pre-Christian Nubia. ÉtTrav 5, 7-24.
- Plumley et al. 1977  
J.M. Plumley-W.Y. Adams-E. Crowfoot: Qasr Ibrim, 1976. JEA 63, 29-47.
- Preisigke 1931  
F. Preisigke: Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluß der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten III. Berlin.
- Priese 1968  
K.-H. Priese: Nichtägyptische Namen und Wörter in den ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch. MIO 14, 165-191.
- Priese 1971  
K.-H. Priese: Notizen zu den meroitischen Totentexten. WZHU 20, 275-286.
- Priese 1973  
K.-H. Priese: Artacula. ÉtTrav 7, 155-162.
- Priese 1977  
K.-H. Priese: Notizen zu den meroitischen Totentexten 2. Meroe 1, 37-59.
- Priese 1984a  
K.-H. Priese: Orte des mittleren Niltals in der Überlieferung bis zum Ende des christlichen Mittelalters. Meroitica 7, 484-497.

## Abbreviations

- Priese 1984b K.-H. Priese: Der Isistempel von Wad Ban Naqa. *Meroitica* 7, 347-350.
- Priese 1984c K.-H. Priese: Wad Ban Naqa 1844. *FuB* 24, 11-29.
- Priese 1992 K.-H. Priese: Das Gold von Meroe. Mainz.
- Quagebeur 1978 J. Quagebeur: Reines ptolémaïques et traditions égyptiennes. in: Maehler-Strocka (eds) 1978, 245-262.
- Rattisti 1956 C. Rattisti: *I Goti in Occidente*. Spoleto.
- Rea 1979 J. Rea: The Letter of Phonon to Aburni. *ZPE* 34, 147-162.
- Reisner 1923 G.A. Reisner: The Meroitic Kingdom of Ethiopia: A Chronological Outline. *JEA* 9, 34-79, 157-160.
- Rémondon 1965 R. Rémondon: Le P. Vindob. inv. 25838 et les commandants militaires en Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et au V<sup>e</sup>. *CdE* 40, 180-197.
- Revillout 1874 E. Revillout: *Mémoire sur les Blemmyes à propos d'une inscription copte trouvée à Dendour*. Paris.
- Roeder 1911 G. Roeder: *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche I-III*. Kairo.
- Rohden 1896 P. v. Rohden: Aurelius 46. *RE* II, 2434-2453.
- Romm 1992 J.S. Romm: *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*. Princeton.
- Russmann 1974 E.R. Russmann: *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 3. Bruxelles-Brooklyn.
- Russmann 1979 E.R. Russmann: Some Reflections on the Regalia of the Kushite Kings in Egypt. *Meroitica* 5, 49-53.
- Russmann 1995 E.R. Russmann: Kushite Headdresses and 'Kushite' Style. *JEA* 81, 227-232.
- Sallmann 1979 K. Sallmann: *De Pomponio Mela et Plinio maiore in Africa describenda discrepantibus*. in: *Africa et Roma*. Roma, 166-167.
- San Nicolò 1913-1915 M. San Nicolò: *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer I-II*. München.
- Satzinger 1968 H. Satzinger: *Urkunden der Blemmyer*. *CdE* 43, 126-132.
- Satzinger 1985 H. Satzinger: Anmerkungen zu einigen Blemmyer-Texten. in: E. Ploeckinger-M. Bietak et al. (eds): *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft, Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Hermann Vetters*. Wien, 327-332.

- Satzinger 1992 H. Satzinger: Die Personennamen von Blemmyern in koptischen und griechischen Texten: orthographische und phonetische Analyse. in: E. Ebermann–E.R. Sommerauer–K.É. Thomanek (eds): *Komparative Afrikanistik. Sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukharovsky. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik 44.* Wien, 313-324.
- Sauneron 1966 S. Sauneron: *Le monde du magicien égyptien.* Sources Or. 7, 29-65.
- Säve-Söderbergh-Troy 1991 T. Säve-Söderbergh-L. Troy: *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The Finds and the Sites. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Vol. 5.2.* Uppsala.
- Schäfer 1895 H. Schäfer: Nubische Ortsnamen bei den Klassikern. ZÄS 33, 96-100.
- Schlichting 1979 R. Schlichting: *Leben.* LdÄ III, 949-951.
- Schmaltz 1986 B. Schmaltz: *Zum Augustus-Bildnis Typus Primaporta.* RM 93, 211-243.
- Schmitthenner 1969 W. Schmitthenner: *Augustus' spanischer Feldzug und der Kampf um den Prinzipat.* in: W. Schmitthenner (ed.): *Augustus.* Darmstadt, 404-485.
- Schneemelcher 1962 W. Schneemelcher: *Epiphanius von Salamis.* RAC V, 909-927.
- Schneider 1974 R. Schneider: *Trois nouvelles inscriptions royales d'Axoum.* in: *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici.* Roma, 767-786.
- Schneider 1976 R. Schneider: *L'inscription chrétienne d'Ezana en écriture sud-arabe.* Ann. Éth. 10, 109-117.
- Scholz 1986 P. Scholz: *Kusch-Meroe-Nubien Teil 1.* AW 17 (Sondernummer), 1-76.
- Scholz 1987 P. Scholz: *Kusch-Meroe-Nubien Teil 2.* AW 18 (Sondernummer), 77-152.
- Scholz 1988 P. Scholz: *Frühchristliche Spuren im Land des ANHP ΑΙΘΙΟΨ.* Historisch-archäologische Betrachtungen zur Apostelgeschichte 8:26-40. Diss. Bonn (1985). Bonn.
- Scholz 1994 P. Scholz: *Nubien. Theologische Realenzyklopädie 24.* Berlin-New York, 682-698.
- Schumann 1930 G. Schumann: *Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros.* Diss. Leipzig.
- Schur 1923 W. Schur: *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero.* Leipzig.
- Schwabe 1929 M. Schwabe: *Σπερματοφάγοι.* RE III A 2, 1632.

## Abbreviations

- Schwartz 1899 E. Schwartz: Cassius 40. RE III 2, 1684-1722.
- Schwartz 1907 E. Schwartz: Eusebios 24. RE VI 1, 1370-1439.
- Schwartz 1953 J. Schwartz: Les Palmyréens et l'Égypte. BSAA 40, 63-81.
- Schwartz 1975 J. Schwartz: L. Domitius Domitianus. Bruxelles.
- Seeber 1976 C. Seeber: Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten. Berlin-München.
- Seeck 1894 O. Seeck: Ammianus 4. RE I, 1845-1852.
- Seeck 1900 O. Seeck: Comites. RE IV 1, 622-679.
- Seeck 1906 O. Seeck: Florus 6. RE VI 2, 2761.
- Seeck 1916 O. Seeck: Indictio. RE IX 2, 1327-1332.
- Séguenny 1982 E. Séguenny: Quelques remarques sur la couronne des souverains kouchites. in: P. van Moorsel (ed.): New Discoveries in Nubia. Leiden, 117-119.
- Sethe 1901 K. Sethe: Dodekaschoinos, das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Ägypten und Nubien. Leipzig-Berlin.
- Shahid 1984 I. Shahid: Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs. Dumbarton Oaks.
- Shaw 1992 B. Shaw: Explaining Incest: Brother-Sister Marriage in Graeco-Roman Egypt. Man 27, 267-299.
- Sherk 1974 R.K. Sherk: Roman Geographical Exploration and Military Maps. ANRW II.1, 534-562.
- Shinnie 1959 P.L. Shinnie: A Gold Statuette from Jebel Barkal. Kush 1, 91-92.
- Shinnie 1961 P.L. Shinnie: A Late Latin Inscription. Kush 9, 284-286.
- Shinnie 1967 P.L. Shinnie: Meroe: A Civilization of the Sudan. London.
- Shinnie-Bradley 1977 P.L. Shinnie-R.J. Bradley: A New Meroitic Royal Name. MNL 18, 29-31.
- Shinnie-Bradley 1980 P.L. Shinnie-R.J. Bradley: The Capital of Kush I. Meroe Excavations 1965-1972. Meroitica 4. Berlin.
- Silberman 1988 A. Silberman (ed.): Pomponius Mela, Chorographie. Paris.
- Snowden 1970 F.M. Snowden, Jr.: Blacks in Antiquity. Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience. Cambridge (Mass.).
- Speidel 1988 M.P. Speidel: Nubia's Roman Garrison. ANRW II.10.1, 767-798.
- Spiegelberg 1917 W. Spiegelberg: Varia 15. Der Name des astronomischen Visierstabes. ZÄS 53, 113-114.

- Steier 1938 Steier: Pfeffer. RE 19, 1421-1425.
- Stein 1931 A. Stein: Syllaios. RE IV A 1, 1041-1044.
- Stein 1950 A. Stein: Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Bern.
- Steindorff 1938 G. Steindorff: The So-called Omphalos of Napata. JEA 24, 147-150.
- Stern 1881 L. Stern: Fragmente eines griechisch-ägyptischen Epos. ZÄS 19, 70-75.
- Strong 1966 D.E. Strong: Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate. London.
- Strouhal 1984 E. Strouhal: Wadi Qitna and Kalabsha South I. Archaeology. Prague.
- Stroux 1953 J. Stroux: Das historische Fragment des Papyrus 40 der Mailänder Sammlung. SDAW 1952/2. Berlin.
- Szymusiak 1958 J.-M. Szymusiak: Athanase d'Alexandrie, Apologie à l'empereur Constance. Apologie pour sa fuite. Sources chrétiennes 56. Paris.
- Taubenschlag 1955 R. Taubenschlag: The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D. Warszawa.
- Thissen 1983 H.-J. Thissen in: Zibelius 1983, 38-40.
- Thissen 1994 H.-J. Thissen: Varia onomastica. GM 141, 89-95.
- Thomas 1976 J.D. Thomas: The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus. ZPE 22, 253-279.
- Thomas 1977 J.D. Thomas: A Family Dispute from Karanis and the Revolt of Domitius Domitianus. ZPE 24, 233-240.
- Thompson 1994 S.E. Thompson: The Anointing of Officials in Ancient Egypt. JNES 53, 15-25.
- Till 1935-1936 W. Till: Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrerlegenden I-II. Roma.
- Timbie 1986 J. Timbie: The State of Research on the Career of Shenoute of Atripe. in: B.A. Pearson-J.E. Goehring (eds): The Roots of Egyptian Christianity. Philadelphia, 258-270.
- Tomandl 1987 H. Tomandl: Lepsius' Angaben zu den Pyramidenkapellen von Bar 5 und 6. VA 3, 277-280.
- Tomaschek 1896 W. Tomaschek: Azania 2. RE II, 2639-2640.
- Totti 1987 M. Totti: ΒΡΕΙΘ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΔΟΥΑΙΣ (In den Pap. Graec. Mag. und einer Inschrift aus Talmis). ZPE 67, 263-265.

## Abbreviations

- Török 1972 L. Török: A Special Group of Meroitic Property Marks from the 1st to 2nd Centuries A.D. *MNL* 10, 35-44.
- Török 1974 L. Török: An Archaeological Note on the Connections between the Meroitic and Ballana Cultures. *Stud. Aeg.* 1, 361-378.
- Török 1977a L. Török: Inquiries into the Administration of Meroitic Nubia: I-II. *Or* 46, 34-50.
- Török 1977b L. Török: Some Comments on the Social Position and Hierarchy of the Priests on Karanog Inscriptions. in: *Ägypten und Kusch*, 401-420.
- Török 1978 L. Török: Two Meroitic Studies: The Meroitic Chamber in Philae and the Administration of Nubia in the 1st to 3rd Centuries A.D. *Oikumene* 2, 217-237.
- Török 1978b L. Török: Bemerkungen zum Problem der 'römischen' Gräberfelder von Sayala (Nubien). *Acta Arch. Hung.* 30, 431-435.
- Török 1978c L. Török: Money, Economy and Administration in Christian Nubia. in: J. Leclant-J. Vercoutter (eds): *Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly 2-6 Juillet 1975.* *BdE* 77, 287-311.
- Török 1979 L. Török: Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia (A Study in Territorial Administration of the Late Meroitic Kingdom). *Studia Aegyptiaca* 5. Budapest.
- Török 1984a L. Török: Zur Datierung des sogenannten römischen Kiosks in Naqa/Sudan. *AA* 1984, 145-159.
- Török 1984b L. Török: Meroitic Religion: Three Contributions in a Positivist Manner. *Meroitica* 7, 156-182.
- Török 1984c L. Török: Economy in the Empire of Kush: A Review of the Written Evidence. *ZÄS* 111, 45-69.
- Török 1985 L. Török: A Contribution to Post-Meroitic Chronology: The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia. *MNL* 24. Paris.
- Török 1986a L. Török: Der meroitische Staat 1. Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum. *Meroitica* 9. Berlin.
- Török 1986b L. Török: An Early Christian Silver Reliquary from Nubia. in: *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet III.* Mainz, 59-65.

- Török 1987a L. Török: The Historical Background: Meroe, North and South. in: Hägg (ed.) 1987, 139-229.
- Török 1987b L. Török: The Royal Crowns of Kush. A Study in Middle Nile Valley Regalia and Iconography in the 1st Millennia B.C. and A.D. Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 18. Oxford.
- Török 1988a L. Török: Geschichte Meroes. Ein Beitrag über die Quellenlage und den Forschungsstand. ANRW II.10.1, 107-341.
- Török 1988b L. Török: Late Antique Nubia. History and Archaeology of the Southern Neighbour of Egypt in the 4th-6th c. A.D. With a Preface by Sir Laurence Kirwan. Budapest.
- Török 1988c L. Török: Additional Remarks. in: Updegraff 1988, 97-106.
- Török 1989a L. Török: Kush and the External World. Meroitica 10, 49-215, 365-379.
- Török 1989b L. Török: Meroitic Art-Information and Illusions. Meroitica 10, 535-548.
- Török 1989-1990 L. Török: Augustus and Meroe. Orientalia Suecana 38-39, 171-190.
- Török 1990 L. Török: The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe. Remarks on Its Origins and Significance. ANM 4, 151-202.
- Török 1991 L. Török: Iconography and Mentality: Three Remarks on the Kushite Way of Thinking. in: Davies (ed.) 1991, 195-204.
- Török 1992a L. Török: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History. A Study on the Contribution of Archaeology to Meroitic History. in: Bonnet 1992, 111-126.
- Török 1992b L. Török: Post-Meroitic History and Archaeology. in: Bonnet 1992, 141-143.
- Török 1995a L. Török: The Birth of An Ancient African Kingdom. Kush and Her Myth of the State in the First Millennium BC. CRIPEL Suppl. 4. Lille.
- Török 1995b L. Török: Kush: An African State in the First Millennium BC. PBA 87, 1-38.
- Török 1995c L. Török: Egyptian Late Antique Art from Nubian Royal Tombs. in: C. Moss-K. Kiefer (eds): Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann. Princeton, 91-97.

- Török 1996** L. Török: The End of Meroe. In: I. Welsby Sjöström (ed.): Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies. Pre-prints of the Main Papers and Abstracts. London, 104-131.
- Török 1997** L. Török: Meroe City An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan. The Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 12. London.
- Treidler 1979** H. Treidler: Castorius. Der kl. Pauly I, 1079-1080.
- Trigger 1967** B.G. Trigger: The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West. New Haven-Philadelphia.
- Trigger 1968** B.G. Trigger: Two Notes on Meroitic Grammar. MNL 1, 1-4.
- Trigger-Heyler 1970** B.G. Trigger: The Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Arminna West. With Comments and Indexes by A. Heyler. New Haven-Philadelphia.
- Trigger-Kemp et al. 1983** B.G. Trigger-B.J. Kemp-D. O'Connor-A.B. Lloyd: Ancient Egypt. A Social History. Cambridge.
- Troy 1986** L. Troy: Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History. Uppsala.
- Turayev 1912** B. Turayev: Neskol'ko egipetskih nadpisei iz moei kollektcii i iz Moskovskavo Rumiantsevskavo Muzeia. Russkoye Arkheologicheskoye Obshchestvo, Klassicheskoye Otdieleniye. Zapiski 7, 1-19.
- Updegraff 1978** R.T. Updegraff: A Study of the Blemmyes. Ph.Diss. Brandeis University. University Microfilms Ann Arbor.
- Updegraff 1988** R.T. Updegraff: The Blemmyes I: The Rise of the Blemmyes and the Roman Withdrawal from Nubia under Diocletian. ANRW II.10.1, 44-97.
- Vantini 1981** G. Vantini: Christianity in the Sudan. Bologna.
- Vermeule 1968** C. Vermeule: Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor. Cambridge (Mass.).
- Vincentelli 1989** I. Vincentelli: Notizie preliminari sulle cretule del palazzo di Natakamani. OA 28, 129-153.
- Vincentelli 1992** A Group of Figured Clay Sealings from Jebel Barkal (Sudan). Or 61, 106-121.
- Vincentelli 1993** I. Vincentelli: A Discharge of Clay Sealings from the Natakamani Palace. Kush 16, 116-141.
- Vogliano 1940** A. Vogliano: Un papiro storico greco della raccolta Milanese e le campagne dei Romani in Etiopia. Milano.

- Vollmer 1899 F. Vollmer: Claudius Claudianus. RE III 2, 2652-2660.
- Volkman 1971 H. Volkman: Ägypten unter römischer Herrschaft. Handbuch der Orientalistik I.2.4. Leiden.
- Vycichl 1977 W. Vycichl: Heliodors Aithiopika und die Volksstämme des Reiches Meroe. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 447-458.
- Vycichl 1983 W. Vycichl: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte. Leuven.
- van de Walle 1972 B. van de Walle: Une base de statue-guérisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet. JNES 31, 67-82.
- Walser-Pekáry 1962 G. Walser-T. Pekáry: Die Krise des römischen Reiches. Bericht über die Forschungen zur Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts (193-284 n. Chr.) von 1939 bis 1959. Berlin.
- Wb A. Erman-H. Grapow: Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I-IV. Leipzig 1926-1931.
- Weber 1979 M. Weber: Lebenshaus I. LdÄ III, 954-957.
- Welsby 1995 D.A. Welsby: The Medieval Kingdom of Alwa. in: R. Gundlach-M. Kropp-A. Leibundgut (eds): Der Sudan in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Frankfurt, 179-194.
- Welsby-Daniels 1991 D.A. Welsby-C.M. Daniels: Soba: Archaeological Research at a Medieval Capital on the Blue Nile. London.
- Wenig 1967 S. Wenig: Bemerkungen zur Chronologie des Reiches von Meroe. MIO 13, 1-44.
- Wenig 1971 S. Wenig: Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten an den Pyramidenkapellen des Nordfriedhofes von Begarawiya (Meroe). WZHU 20, 267-273.
- Wenig 1973 S. Wenig: Noch einmals zur 1. und 2. Nebendynastie von Napata. Meroitica 1, 147-160.
- Wenig 1977 S. Wenig: Der meroitische Tempel von Amara. in: Ägypten und Kusch, 459-475.
- Wenig 1978 S. Wenig: Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan II. The Catalogue. The Brooklyn Museum.
- Wenig 1981 S. Wenig: Das Verhältnis von Wandrelief und Raumfunktion am meroitischen Amuntempel von Naqa. in: Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham. Boston, 200-210.

Abbreviations

- Wenig 1992 S. Wenig: Ein "neuer" alter Königsname. Pre-print of paper delivered at the Seventh International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Berlin.
- Whitehead-Addison 1926 G.O. Whitehead-F. Addison: Meroitic Remains. SNR 9, 51-67.
- Wilcken 1901 U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und christliches aus Ägypten. AfP 1, 396-436.
- Wilcken 1912 U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil. in: H. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde II. Leipzig-Berlin.
- Williams 1985 B.[B.] Williams: A Chronology of Meroitic Occupation below the Fourth Cataract. JARCE 22, 149-195.
- Williams 1991 B.B. Williams: Meroitic Remains From Qustul Cemetery Q, Ballana Cemetery B, and a Ballana Settlement. Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier, Part 8. Chicago.
- Winkelmann 1991 F. Winkelmann: Euseb von Kaisareia. Der Vater der Kirchengeschichte. Berlin.
- Winter 1972 E. Winter: Abaton. LdÄ I, 1-2.
- Winter 1978 E. Winter: Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln. in: Maehler-Strocka (eds) 1978, 148-160.
- Winter 1982 E. Winter: Philae. LdÄ IV, 1022-1027.
- Wissmann 1964 H. v. Wissmann: Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien. DÖAW 246.
- Wissmann 1976 H. v. Wissmann: Die Geschichte des Sabäerreiches und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus. ANRW II.9.1, 308-544.
- Wolska-Conus 1968-1973 W. Wolska-Conus (ed. transl.): Cosmas Indicopleustès, Topographie Chrétienne. Paris.
- Woolley 1911 C.L. Woolley: Karanög. The Town. Philadelphia.
- Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1909 C.L. Woolley-D. Randall-MacIver: Areika. Philadelphia.
- Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910 C.L. Woolley-D. Randall-MacIver: Karanög. The Romano-Nubian Cemetery. Philadelphia.
- Worp 1991 K.A. Worp: Observations on Some Military Camps and Place Names in Lower Egypt. ZPE 87, 291-295.
- Yellin 1979 J. Yellin: A Suggested Interpretation of the Relief Decoration in the Type B Chapels at Begarawiyah North. Meroitica 5, 157-164.

- Young 1993 D.W. Young: Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenute. Wien.
- Yoyotte 1954-1957 J. Yoyotte: Le toponyme Napata comme témoin linguistique. *Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 7, 106-108.
- Yoyotte 1989 J. Yoyotte: Le nom égyptien du "ministre de l'économie" de Sais à Méroé. *CRAIBL* 1989, 73-88.
- Žabkar 1975 L.V. Žabkar: A Hieracocephalous Deity from Naqa, Qustul and Philae. *ZÄS* 102, 143-153.
- Zach 1978 M. Zach: Einige Bemerkungen zum Widder von Soba. *GM* 95, 85-87.
- Zanker 1990 P. Zanker: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus. *Ann Arbor*.
- Zibelius 1972 K. Zibelius: Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten. Wiesbaden.
- Zibelius 1983 K. Zibelius: Der Löwentempel von Naqa in der Butana (Sudan) IV. Die Inschriften. Wiesbaden.
- Ziegler 1951 K. Ziegler: Plutarchos. *RE* XXI 1, 636-962.
- Ziegler 1972 K. Ziegler: Zonaras. *RE* II 10 A, 718-732.
- Zoega 1810 G. Zoega: *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manuscriptorum*. Roma (facsimile edn. New York 1973).
- Zucker 1911 F. Zucker: Die griechischen Inschriften zwischen Debod und Taifa. Vol. III of Roeder 1911.

## THE SOURCES

### (186) Queen Nawidemak. Evidence for reign.

Queen Nawidemak is attested (1) in the cursive Meroitic inscription REM 1089 engraved on the detached basis (in the Melvin Gutman Loan Collection of Ancient and Medieval Gold in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio) of a gold statuette (Khartoum 5457, Shinnie 1959, Pls XX, XXI; 1967 Pls 29, 30; Wenig 1978, Cat. 137; Török 1990, fig. 37); (2) in the relief representations in the funerary cult chapel of her pyramid tomb Bar. 6 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 13 A, B) in one of which (N wall) her figure is accompanied by a cartouche inscribed with Meroitic hieroglyphs and reading *Nwidemk* (REM 0077A; for the reading see Macadam 1966, 63 fig. 7; on the relief on the S wall her figure is accompanied by a vertical inscription field in which, however, no traces of an inscription are preserved), and (3) in the inscription on an incompletely preserved mortuary offering table, scattered fragments of which were found in Beg. N. 2, 4, and 6 (REM 0073; Hintze 1959a, 42 No. 5, cf. (191)).

Nawidemak was doubtless the Queen's "personal" name (cf. *Comments on FHN II, (150)*). Text 1 on the statuette base reads *Amnpti,, Nwidemk hidete,, qorelo,, mlo,, qe yidew\*i id\*e* and indicates that the statuette was a votive dedicated to Amûn of Napata. The word *qore* (Meroitic for "ruler") refers to Nawidemak as ruling queen (see *FHN II, Comments on (150)*). Her mortuary chapel representation was inscribed (text 2) with a single cartouche consisting of her personal name. In text 3 the same name occurs in cursive Meroitic as the name of the mother of the owner of the offering table. The use of the Meroitic title *qore*, "ruler", in a dedication and the lack of a second, Throne, name in the mortuary chapel clearly reflect the new tradition of Meroitic royal titularies emerging in the late 2nd and 1st cent. BC (cf. *FHN II, (150)*) and we have no reason to suppose that Nawidemak would have adopted a five-part titulary in her other, now lost, monuments.

Nawidemak was represented, both in the gold statuette in Khartoum and in the reliefs in her mortuary cult chapel,<sup>364</sup> wearing the insignia and the costume of ruling kings and queens. The statuette shows her wearing the three costume elements that had been canonical since the 3rd cent. BC, viz., the royal coat, the sash, and the tasselled cord. The fastening knot of the coat and the cord are protected by a deity in the form of a couchant animal (lion or ram, see Török 1990, fig. 37), an iconographical device referring to the act of the fastening of the royal coat as a coronation rite (Török 1990, 158 ff.) and introduced, probably together

<sup>364</sup>For a correction of erroneous localisations of the reliefs in LD V 19 see Tomandl 1987.

with the tripartite costume, in the early 3rd cent. BC.<sup>365</sup> Its latest preserved occurrence is in Nawidemak's representation. Similarly to the iconography of the first three female rulers, Queen Shanakdakheto (see FHN II, (149)), Queen Amanirenas (FHN II, (175)), and Queen Amanishakheto (FHN II, (177)), Nawidemak's representations emphasize her status as ruler, thus determining the displaying of such insignia and costume elements traditionally connected with the male ruler as, e.g., the *atef*-crown of Osiris (Shanakdakheto: Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 8 A; Török 1987b, No. 128; Amanishakheto: LD V, 40; Török 1987b, No. 127; Nawidemak: Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 13 B) and the tripartite costume with the tasselled cord, the latter being closely associated with the concept of the ruler as warrior and hunter (cf. Török 1990, 164 ff.).

In a unique manner, however, the N wall relief in Bar. 6 represents the Queen wearing a long haltered skirt leaving her bosom bare. This costume, which occurred in the fashion of royal ladies in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period (cf. ESLP, Cat. 12), was apparently selected in order to show the Queen's pendulous breasts which emphasize her fertility as ruler and, probably, as mother of a ruler (cf. also the representations of King Natakamani's co-regent Amanitore [see (212)] in the Amûn temple at Naqa, Török 1987b, 49 ff. and fig. 117). The fragment of an offering table quoted above mentions Nawidemak as mother of a *qore*. On the other hand, representations of fat ladies with pendulous breasts appear in the mortuary chapels of Amanishakheto in Beg. N. 6 (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 16 A) and Amanikhabale (?) in Beg. N. 2 (ibid. Pl. 15 B) in the place which was, traditionally, occupied by the representation of the mother or the wife of the deceased king.

Reisner (1923, 76) noticed the typological similarities between the pyramid group consisting of Bar. 1-6 in the N section of the Gebel Barkal Cemetery and tombs Beg. N. 20-Beg. N. 6 in the Begarawiya North cemetery and, suggesting their contemporaneity, put forward the theory of a 1st cent. BC collateral dynasty ruling in the Napata region contemporary with the main line ruling in the Meroe region. He proposed a similar interpretation for the S group of pyramids at Gebel Barkal (Bar. 11-15, 24) which he regarded as burials of a (first) collateral dynasty ruling in the Napata region in the 3rd cent. BC. Reisner's hypothesis was accepted by Hintze (1959a, 22 f.), who, however, changed his mind (Hintze 1973a, 134 f.) after Wenig (1967, 10 ff.; 1973) convincingly demonstrated that the burials of the two "collateral dynasties" are close in date to, but not contemporary with, their typological parallels and that individual rulers belonging to the "main" or the "collateral" line are in fact attested in both halves of the kingdom. As a consequence of Wenig's investigation, both "collateral dynas-

<sup>365</sup>Earliest preserved representations: King Amanislo in Beg. S. 5, and her mother (?) Kanarta Sar...tiñ in Beg. S. 4, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pls 3 F and 3 A, respectively, cf. FHN II (115); see also the King's Mother and Candace (?) Bartare in Beg. S. 10, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 4 A. From the late 3rd cent. BC: wives of King Arqamani in Beg. N. 7, ibid. Pls 4 E, 5 A. In the 2nd cent. BC: Queen Shanakdakheto in Beg. N. 11 (now in Khartoum); Török 1990, fig. 32, cf. FHN II (149). 1st cent. BC: King Horus *k3 nht* in Beg. N. 20; Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 12 B.

ties" of Reisner and Hintze are now included into the main line and hence Queen Nawidemak too is regarded as a ruler of the entire kingdom.

Apart from the above-mentioned statuette, no monument survives from Nawidemak's reign. While REM 0073 seems to indicate that she had a son who became king and was buried in the Begarawiya North cemetery, in the reliefs of her mortuary cult chapel it is a prince bearing the name Etretey, i.e., a name of apparently non-royal character, who presents the mortuary offerings for her. In the accompanying cursive Meroitic inscriptions reading, with slight variation, uniformly *Etreteyqo,, pkrtrl,, widelo,, stmdeselo,, qorpselo,, pnqoselo,,* (REM 0077, 0078) he bears four titles known from the *cursus honorum* of high officials. The title *pktrtr*<sup>366</sup> first occurs in the Tañyidamani inscription (FHN II, 152 line 8, as *pktrtr qori-se*, "pktrtr of the king") and is attested later in the titulary of prince Arikankharor (in a cartouche, see (213)). It seems to represent a variant of the more frequent title *pqr* (cf. FHN II, 152 line 38: *pqr qori-se*; for Akinidad as *pqr qori-se* see *ibid.* (179)) that also occurs in the titulary of Arikankharor and is attested in later *cursus honorum* inscriptions as the highest official title of the realm (cf. Török 1977a; 1988a, 248 f.). The meaning of the title (?) or relationship term (?) *stmdese* is entirely obscure (cf. Hofmann 1981a 65; for *stmdese peseto-li-se* see 271; Gebel Adda inscr. No. 4, Millet 1969, 305). The title *qorpse/qorbse* is unattested elsewhere, while *pnqose/pñqose* occurs as a priestly title in a later mortuary stela (REM 1082, line 3, from Nag Gamus). So Etretey seems to fit into the line of the princes playing a distinguished, though in its details obscure, role in the legitimation of the (female) ruler and/or in the government of the kingdom. These men range from Shanakdakheto's and Amanishakheto's anonymous companions (cf. FHN II, (149), (177)) through Akinidad (*ibid.* (179)) to the princes represented in the company of Natakamani and Amanitore (see in this volume, (213), (214)).

In general terms, Nawidemak's chronological position is indicated by the topographical and typological similarity of her pyramid burial (Bar. 6, Dunham 1957, 97 ff.) in the NW part of the Gebel Barkal royal cemetery to Bar. 2 (Teriteqas?) and 4 (Amanirenas? cf. FHN II, (172), (175)). Though the attribution of these latter graves is doubtful, it at least seems certain that the preserved part of their inventory consisted of import objects datable to the late first cent. BC (for Bar. 2 see Török 1989a, 125 Nos 38-41, Bar. 4 *ibid.*, 124 f. Nos 31-37); while in Nawidemak's tomb import objects of late Augustan date were discovered (*ibid.*, 125 f., Nos 44-48). It would thus seem that the sequence Bar. 6 (Nawidemak)–Bar. 2 (Teriteqas)–Bar. 4 (Amanirenas) suggested by Hintze (1959a, 27), Wenig (1967, 43) and Hofmann (1978a, 84 ff.) is not compelling and that Nawidemak's reign should rather be dated to the period after Amanirenas. Though it may be tempting to regard her as the immediate successor of the rulers buried in Bar. 2 and Bar. 4, a sequence Teriteqas (Bar. 2?)–Amanirenas (Bar. 4?)–Aman-

<sup>366</sup>Hofmann 1981a, 62 suggests that it does not refer to Etretey himself but to a person with whom he is in a *wide*-relationship.

ishakheto (Beg. N. 6) is to be preferred on the basis of the evidence discussed in FHN II, (177). Nawidemak is thus dated here, as successor of Amanishakheto, to the early 1st cent. AD (differently from the sequence suggested by Török 1988a, 180).<sup>367</sup> According to Hofmann (1978a, 107) the offering table fragments listed above as text 3 come from Beg. N. 2 which she identifies as King Amanikhabale's burial (cf. (191)). Consequently, she regards Amanikhabale as Nawidemak's son.

The dating of Nawidemak suggested above implies that the royal burial place was changed two times more than if we opt for Hofmann's suggestion. In the latter case the following changes would have occurred: *Begarawiya North*: King Horus *k3 nḥt*; *Barkal*: Nawidemak, Teriteqas, Amanirenas; *Begarawiya North*: Amanishakheto, Amanikhabale etc. In the other case: *Begarawiya North*: Horus *k3 nḥt*, Akraqamani (?) (cf. FHN II, (161)), *Barkal*: Teriteqas, Amanirenas; *Begarawiya North*: Amanishakheto, *Barkal*: Nawidemak, *Begarawiya North*: Amanikhabale etc. Since, however, owing to insufficient data the reasons for the actual changes of the royal burial place are not understood (cf. Hintze 1973a, 135 f.; FHN II, Comment on (83)), the attempts in the literature to create sequences only allowing a minimum of changes of this kind appear forced.

[LT]

**186a The toponyms of the Middle Nile Valley.** Early 1st cent. AD.

Juba in Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.179.

*Source bibliography*

Jacoby 1940

F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil. A. Leiden.

Mayhoff 1906

C. Plini Secundi *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1. Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.

Rackham 1942

Pliny, *Natural History*. Vol. 2: Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

*Introduction to source*

Juba, son of King Juba I of Numidia, was taken to Rome as a captive by Caesar after his victory at Thapsus (North Africa) in 46 BC. He was given a Roman education and became part of the circle around Augustus, who gave him Roman citizenship and bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mauretania in 25 BC; he is therefore known as King Juba II.

Juba was a prolific writer and compiler of works on historical, geographical, and institutional matters. He wrote books on Assyria, Libya, Arabia, and Roman history and a comparative work on Greek and Roman customs and insti-

<sup>367</sup> Hofmann 1978a, 85 ff., 100 dates Nawidemak's reign to the period after 50 BC.

tutions, as well as books on literary style and on the history of theatre and of painting.

His works are known only through quotations in later authors; Pliny in particular made use of him on African matters in his *Naturalis historia*, cf. 195. The fragments of historical interest are collected by Jacoby (1940) 127-55, whose text we reproduce here (No. 275, F 37, p. 141f.).

*Text*

6 [179] Juba aliter: oppidum imum(?) Megatichos inter Aegyptum et Aethiopiam, quod Arabes Mirsion vocaverunt; dein Tacompson, Aramum, Sesamum, Pide, Mamuda, Orambim iuxta bituminis fontem, Amodata, Prosda, Parenta, Mania, Tessata, Gallas, Zoton, Grau Comen, Emeum, Pidibotas, Endondacometas, Nomadas in tabernaculis viventes, Cystaepen, Madagalen, † proaprimii, Nups, Dicelin, Patingan, Breves, Magasneos, Egasmala, Cramda, Denna, Cadeum, Atthēna, Batta, Alamam, Macua, Scammos, Goram in insula, † ab iis, Abale, Androgalim, Serem, Mallos, Agocem.

*Translation*

6 [179] Juba gives a different list:<sup>368</sup> he says that the lowest(?)<sup>369</sup> town between Egypt and Aithiopia is Megatichos<sup>370</sup> ("Great Wall"), which the Arabs call Mirsion; then Tacompson, Aramum, Sesamum, Pide, Mamuda, Orambis, which lies close to a tar pit, Amodata, Prosda, Parenta, Mania, Tessata, Galles, Zoton, the village of Grau, Emeus, Pidibotae, Endondacometae, the Nomads,<sup>371</sup> who live in tents, Cystaepe, Madagale, † proaprimii,<sup>372</sup> Nups, Dicelis, Patingas, Breves, Magasneos ("New Magas"), Egasmala, Cramda, Denna, Cadeus, Atthēna, Batta, Alama, Macua, Scammos, Gora on an island, † thereafter,<sup>373</sup> Abale, Androgalis, Seres, Mallos, Agoces.

[TE]

<sup>368</sup>I.e., from the one given by Bion; for the immediately preceding text see FHN II, 108.

<sup>369</sup>For *imum* Rackham (1942) adopts Mayhoff's conjecture *munitum*, "fortified". *imum* may, however, translate κάτω in Pliny's Greek source, "below", "seaward", i.e., with reference to Egypt: "northernmost".

<sup>370</sup>The syntactical context indicates that the names in the Latin text are in the accusative case; the nominative forms cannot always be determined with certainty. Several of the names have differing spellings in the manuscripts.

<sup>371</sup>Or, by taking *Nomadas* with the preceding: "the Endondacometas, who are nomads living in tents".

<sup>372</sup>For *proaprimii* Mayhoff (1906) reads *Parvam Primim* ("Little Primis"), Rackham (1942) reads *Prumin* ("Prumis").

<sup>373</sup>Or, by taking *in insula* with the following: "and on an island off these places Abale...", so Rackham (1942).

*Comments*

Juba's list of placenames, starting with the unidentified town of Megatichos ("Great Wall")/Mirsion<sup>374</sup> in the region of the First Cataract, is closely related to Bion's list compiled in the 3rd cent. BC and similarly preserved in Pliny's work (see FHN II, 108); and it may have been based partly on a source deriving from Bion's itinerary or directly on Bion's list of placenames. It also contains, however, a number of toponyms unknown to Bion, which may have been taken from a now lost work of Aristocreon written around 300 BC (cf. *Comments* on 189 and see Desanges 1978a, 314 with note 38). Some of these may be identified as settlements already occurring in Middle Kingdom or Napatan sources, others occur in the description of Petronius' campaign (cf. 204, 205), or in the description of the Neronian expedition (cf. 206, 207), or would occur later in the Geography of Ptolemy (cf. 223), while still others are known from no other source. As shown in Table A below, Juba's toponym list closely follows Bion's list of the settlements on the E bank of the Nile and comprises only a few settlements which occur, without having a counterpart on the E bank, in Bion's W bank list.

The toponyms are preserved in the manuscripts of Pliny in various forms, and it would seem that already Pliny himself used a somewhat corrupted copy of Juba's work. The placenames were restored by Priese (1984a 487 ff.). Here we follow his renderings. The segmentation of Juba's list is, accordingly, the following:

Tacompon / Aramum / Sesamum / Pide Ma / muda / Orambim iuxta bituminis fontem / Amoda / ta Pros / da Paren / ta Mania / Tessata / Gallas / Zoton / Grau comen / Emeum / Pidibotas / Endondacometas / nomadas in tabernaculis viventes / Magasneos / Egasma / la Cramda / Denna / Cadeu / m Athe / na Batta / Alanam / Macua / Scamos / Goram in insula / † ab iis, Abale / Andro / galim / Serem / Mallo / s Agocem.

The following placenames, which are absent from Bion's lists, indicate that Juba used other different sources:

**Table A**

JUBA	<i>The placename occurs in other sources (after Priese 1984a)</i>					
	<i>Middle Kingdom</i>	<i>Napatan</i>	<i>Petronius</i>	<i>Nero</i>	<i>Ptolemy</i>	<i>Ezana inscr.*</i>
Tamania			X			
Tessata			X			
Graucomen	X					
Endondacometas	X (?)					

<sup>374</sup>Perhaps identical with the big Roman wall between Syene (Aswan) and Philae which protected the portage road, also mentioned by Strabo 17.1.50, connecting the harbours located on the two ends of the unnavigable First Cataract. The wall was dated by Lesquier 1918, 475 and Speidel 1988, 773 to the late Roman period; recent investigations have shown, however, that it was built in Pharaonic times during the Twelfth Dynasty (Jaritz-Rodziewicz 1993 112 ff.).

The Sources

(S)egasma	X			
Lacramda/Tarcanda	X	X		
Macua			X	
Scammos			X	
Abale			X	X
And(a)ro			X	X
Se(se)rem	X			
Sagocem	X		X	

\* Ezana inscription = Littmann 1913, no. 11, AD 4th cent. inscription in vocalised Ge'ez of Ezana, king of Aksum, cf. 298 f.

In Table B we compare Juba's list with the itinerary in Bion (FHN II, 108), adding the Meroitic and modern placenames whenever a plausible identification can be offered. For references see Priese 1984a. For the identification (P)nups = Kerma see Bonnet 1996, 5. Hieroglyphic equivalents are omitted but can be found in Priese 1984a as well as in Table A attached to the *Comments* on FHN II, 108.

**Table B**

<i>JUBA</i>	<i>BION</i>		<i>Meroitic</i>	<i>Modern</i>
	<i>East bank</i>	<i>West bank</i>		
<i>1. Between the First Cataract and Maharraqa</i>				
<b>Tacompon</b>	Tacompon Thaticen	Tacompon		Maharraqa Maharraqa
<i>2. Between Maharraqa and the Second Cataract</i>				
<b>Aramum</b>	Aramam	Mogore S(a)ea	Sye/Siye	Ikhmindi Mediq Wadi el Arab/ Šaturma
<b>Sesamum</b>	Sesamos/Sesamum	Sedosa (?) Plen Ariae (?) or Sapele (?)	Sdose  Simlo (?) Adere/Dor	Wadi el Arab/ es Sebu'a  Shablul (?) ed Dirr
<b>Pidema</b>	Andura	Ariae (?) Pindis Magassa	Nlote Pedeme	Aniba/Karanòg Qasr Ibrim Masmas (?)
<b>(A)muda</b>	Andumana(s)	I(n)doma	Adomn	Arminna Abu Simbel

<b>(C)orambim</b>	Curambeta come Arabeta (?) Bogghi		Qrbe Beqe/Boqh	Abu Hoda (?) Ballana
<b>Amoda</b>	Analeu (?)		Amod	Qustul
<b>Tapros</b>	Phitor[..?]		Phrse	Faras
<b>Daparen</b>	Tantarene		Tketore	
<b>Tamania</b>			Tmñ	Dabarosa
		Buma		Buhen
		(A)lintuma		Abka West
<b>Tessata</b>				Abka (?)
 <i>3. Between the Second and Third Cataracts</i>				
		Spintum		region of Semna (?)
<b>Gallas</b>				Atiri or Gelli Island (?)
<b>Zoton</b>		Sidopt		Ambikol (?) region of Sonki or region of Dal (?)
<b>Graucomen</b>				Akaša or Kulb (?)
<b>Eneum</b>	Emeae			Firka
		Gensoe		Ginnis
<b>Pidibotas</b>		Pindi(mis?)	<b>Pedeme</b>	Amara West
	Chiindit(a)			
<b>Endondacometas (inhabitants of Endondacome)</b>				
<b>Nomads who live in tents</b>				
	Noa / Ataea	Citior/ C(i)tora	Atiye	Sedeinga
	Golpoa/Goploa			
<b>Cistaepen</b>	Gistate			
<b>Mada(ga)/ (Magada)</b>	Megada			
<b>Galen</b>	Gale			
		Achug/Gugo		Koka
 <i>4. South of the Third Cataract</i>				
<b>Paroa</b>				Fareig
<b>Primii</b>	Aremni		Arme	Kerma (?)
<b>(P)nups</b>	(P)nups			Kerma (?) ez Zawatat (?)
		Orsum		

The Sources

<b>Direlin</b>	Direla		Agada (?)
<b>Patingan</b>	Patigga		Kawa
		Suara	Sor-tod
		Maumarum	Sagaba (?)
		Urbim	Urbi
		Mulon	Ḥandak
<b>Breves</b>			Bugdumbuš (?)
<b>Maga(da)s</b>			
<b>ne(s)o(s)</b>	Bagada		Megauda
		Pago	el Baga
		Artas/Arte	Argi
<b>(S)egasma/(S)egasam</b>			Tangussi (?)
<b>Lacramda/Tarcanda</b>			Tergis
		Zamnes	Tamba(narti)/
			Tergis (?)
		Mambli	Ganetti (?)
<b>Denna</b>	Dumana		Duffar (?)
		Beressa	
<b>Cade(t)u(m)</b>	Cadata/R(h)adata		
		Coetum	Korti
<b>Matthe(n)</b>			
<b>(N)abatta</b>			Napata/Barkal
<i>5. Between the Fifth Cataract and Meroe City</i>			
<b>Alanam</b>			ʿAbidiya (?)
<b>Macua (Saco[l]a?)</b>			Dunqeil (?)
<b>Scammos (S[a]candos?)</b>		Skdi	Berber (?)
<b>Goram</b>			
<b>in insula</b>	Boron		Darmali (?) on
			Gareb Isle (?)
<b>Abale (Al[a]be)</b>			<i>Eth.</i> <sup>375</sup> <i>Alwa</i> , El
			Moqren
<b>And(a)ro</b>			<i>Eth. Daro</i> ,
			Shadinab
			(Darru)
<b>Galim</b>			Gelissi Isle (?)
<b>Se(se)rem</b>			Zeidab (?)
<b>Mallo</b>	Mallo		ʿAliab (?)
<b>Sagocem (Sacolcem)</b>			Mutmir (?)

[LT]

<sup>375</sup>In Littmann 1913, no. 11, inscription of King Ezana of Aksum, see *Comments* on 298.

**187 Description of Aithiopia.** Early 1st cent. AD.

Strabo 1.2.25 and 17.2.1-3.

*Source bibliography*

- Aly 1957 W. Aly: Strabon von Apameia. Untersuchungen über Text, Aufbau und Quellen der Geographika (= W. Aly, Strabonis Geographica. Bd. 4). Bonn.
- Aly 1968 Strabonis Geographica. Recensuit W. Aly. Vol. 1 (Libri I-II). Bonn.
- Aujac-Lasserre 1969 Strabon: Géographie. Vol. 1.1 (Introduction générale. Livre I). Introduction par G. Aujac et F. Lasserre. Texte établi et traduit par G. Aujac. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Canfora 1989 L. Canfora: The Vanished Library. London.
- Dicks 1971 R.D. Dicks: Review of Aujac-Lasserre (1969). *Classical Review* 21, 188-194.
- Jones 1917, 1930, 1932 The Geography of Strabo. Vols. 1, 7, and 8. With an English translation by H.L. Jones. London-Cambridge, MA. (The Loeb Classical Library.)
- Kramer 1852 Strabonis Geographica. Recensuit commentario critico instruxit G. Kramer. Vol. 3. Berlin.
- Lasserre 1975 F. Lasserre: Strabon. In: *Der Kleine Pauly* 5, 381-385.
- Meineke 1913 Strabonis Geographica. Recognovit A. Meineke. Vol. 3. Leipzig [1853].
- Pothecary 1995 S. Pothecary: Strabo, Polybios, and the Stade. *Phoenix* 49, 49-67.
- Radt 1991 S.L. Radt: Eine neue Strabonausgabe. *Mnemosyne* 44, 305-326.

*Introduction to source*

Strabo, historian and geographer, was born ca. 64/63 BC in Amaseia in Pontus (= today's Amasya in northern Turkey) and died after AD 23. He was a Greek by culture and wrote his works in Greek; he was also a Roman citizen, lived for a period in Rome, and travelled widely within the empire. Of special interest in our connection is his journey, in 25/24 BC, to Egypt, where he accompanied his friend Lucius Aelius Gallus, then Prefect of Egypt, up the Nile as far as Syene and Philae (17.1.50), i.e., to the Nubian frontier (2.5.12). Besides his home town and Rome, Egypt is perhaps the part of the empire he knew best by personal experience (cf. Aujac 1969, xxxv).

Of Strabo's literary works, his *History* (*Historika hypomnemata*) is lost, except for a number of small fragments. It was a history of the Graeco-Roman world in continuation of Polybius' work covering the period 145/44 BC to ca. 30 BC and seems to have been completed ca. 25 BC. Strabo's other great work, with

which he appears to have been occupied in periods unevenly distributed over the remaining 50 years of his life, is the *Geography* (*Geographika [hypomnemata]*), which is extant and comprises 17 books. He no doubt collected much of his material during his journeys, though the details are not known; it is also a fair guess that part of his research was carried out in the Alexandrian library. It is possible that the *Geography* was not published until after Strabo's death.

Books 1-2 discuss theory and method, with criticism of Strabo's Hellenistic predecessors as geographers, among them Eratosthenes. Books 3-6 describe western Europe, Book 7 northern Europe, Books 8-10 Greece, and Books 11-14 various parts of Asia. Book 15 brings us to India and the Persian Gulf, Book 16 to Assyria, Syria and Arabia. Book 17, finally, deals with Egypt as well as Libya and Mauretania. Passages concerning Nubia occur in Book 1, in Book 16 and, in particular, in Book 17.

Strabo's knowledge, as he himself stresses (cf. 2.5.11), derives from what he has seen, what he has heard, and what he has read. His reliability consequently depends on the extent of his personal experience of a country and the quality of his oral and written sources in each case. As mentioned, Egypt is in a favoured position in all three respects: he stayed there for a long time, he had friends (not least Roman officials) from whom he could directly obtain information about places he did not visit himself, and he had access to an excellent library when working in Alexandria.<sup>376</sup> Nubia too, though Strabo never visited the country, will have profited from his special ties and acquaintance with Egypt.

Among the written sources—which no doubt provided him with most of his factual information—Strabo prefers the more recent and more scientific to the older and legendary ones. He relies heavily on the Hellenistic geographer Eratosthenes (see FHN II, 109) and also makes much use of the philosopher and geographer Posidonius, the astronomer and geographer Hipparchus, and the historian Polybius. He often names his source, but it is not always clear whether he really has first hand knowledge of it or quotes it indirectly. There are many inconsistencies and contradictions in details to be found in Strabo's work, obviously because the different sources he used gave him different information and he did not always care to—or did not feel competent to (cf. 6.3.10)—harmonize them. (This is of course a trait which increases Strabo's value to us as a transmitter of information from earlier, lost sources, and one should beware of modern editorial efforts to carry out the harmonization which Strabo himself "neglected".)

---

<sup>376</sup>Canfora (1989, 68-71, 81 f.) states that, contrary to common belief, the royal library in the Mouseion must have remained unaffected by the fire which ravaged Alexandria during Caesar's capture of the city in 48/47 BC. Among other evidence, he quotes Strabo's description of the Mouseion, some twenty years after its alleged destruction by fire. Cf. also FHN II, 142, *Introduction to source*, with n. 301.

Strabo's own main concern as a geographer and writer was to establish a literary framework for an enormous number of factual details and to blend geography (as he found it in his more scientific predecessors) with cultural history, aiming both at readability and at reliability in matters of more general importance. He was a cultivated Greek with a great curiosity about peoples and places and traditions, he was widely read and had travelled extensively, but he was no scientist, even by the standards of his own time, rather a respectable popularizer (cf. Aujac 1969, xli sq.).

No modern critical edition of Strabo's whole work exists (see Radt 1991). Three new critical editions of the first books were published in the 1960's, but none of these editorial enterprises has yet reached the last books.<sup>377</sup> Our translation is thus based on the edition by Aujac & Lasserre in the Budé series, as far as the passages from Book 1 are concerned; the editions by Sbordone and Aly have also been consulted. For Books 16-17—i.e., for most of Strabo's account of the "Aithiopians"—we have had to take Meineke's old and less reliable Teubner text (1853) as our point of departure; we have also consulted the critical notes in Kramer's edition of 1852, on which Meineke relied to a great extent (Radt 1991, 305 f.). Any deviations from the texts of Aujac & Lasserre and Meineke, respectively, are indicated in the philological notes to the translation.

#### *Text*

1.2 [25] (p. 116.18-117.7 Aujac) τί δ' ἄλλο ἢ Αἴγυπτός ἐστι πλὴν ἢ ποταμία νῆσος, ἣν ἐπικλύζει τὸ ὕδωρ; Αὕτη δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κεῖται πρὸς ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ἢ Αἰθιοπία ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐστὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ παραπλησίως ἔχει πρὸς τε τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φύσιν τῶν τόπων· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη στενὴ τέ ἐστὶ καὶ μακρὰ καὶ ἐπίκλυστος· τὰ δ' ἔξω τῆς ἐπικλύστου ἔρημά τε καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ σπανίως οἰκείσθαι ἕνθα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἔω, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν κεκλιμένα. Πῶς οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ δίχα διήρηται; Ἡ τοῖς μὲν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης διαιροῦσιν ἀξιόλογον τοῦθ' ὄριον ἐφάνη ὁ Νεῖλος, μῆκος μὲν ἀνατεινῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων σταδίων, πλάτος δέ, ὥστε καὶ νήσους ἀπολαμβάνειν μυριάδους, ὧν μεγίστη ἢ Μερὴ, τὸ βασιλείον καὶ μητρόπολις τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν οὐχ ἱκανὸς ἦν διαίρειν δίχα;

<sup>377</sup>In all likelihood, two of the editions will remain torsos: that of F. Sbordone with three volumes (1, Rome 1963; 2, 1970; 3, not yet published) and that of W. Aly, E. Kirsten and F. Lapp with two volumes (1 [Books I-II], Bonn 1968; 2 [Books III-IV], 1972); only the French enterprise seems to have a fair chance of reaching fulfilment (1:1-2 [Books I-II], Paris 1969; 2 [III-IV], 1966; 3 [V-VI], 1967; 4 [VII], 1989; 5 [VIII], 1978; 7 [X], 1971; 8 [XI], 1975; 9 [XII], 1981). A fourth critical edition, with German translation and commentary, has been announced by a Dutch team; in 1991 it was reported to be well on its way, but the whole work will be published all at once, and this will not happen until about the year 2000 (see Radt 1991).

17.2.1-3 (p. 1145.16-1148.7 Meineke) [1] Πολλὰ δ' εἶρηται περὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον, ὥστε συμπεριωδευμένα ἄν εἴη τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὰ τούτων. Ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ παρακείμενα τῇ δυσκράτῳ καὶ ἀοικήτῳ διὰ καῦμα ἢ ψύχος ἀνάγκη ἀποτεύγματα εἶναι τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ ἐλαττώματα· ταῦτα δ' ἐκ τῶν βίων δῆλα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς ἀπορίας. Κακόβιοί τε δὴ καὶ γυμνήτες εἰσι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ νομάδες· τὰ τε βοσκήματα αὐτοῖς ἐστι μικρά, πρόβατα καὶ αἴγες καὶ βόες· καὶ κύνες μικροί, τραχεῖς δὲ καὶ μάχιμοι. Τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυγμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς τούτων μικροφυίας ὑπενόησαν καὶ ἀνέπλασαν· ἑωρακῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐξηγεῖται τῶν πίστεως ἀξίων ἀνδρῶν.

[2] Ζῶσί τ' ἀπὸ κέγχρου καὶ κριθῆς, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ποτὸν ποιοῦσιν· ἔλαιον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι βούτυρον καὶ στέαρ· οὐδ' ἀκρόδρυα ἔχουσι πλὴν φοινίκων ὀλίγων ἐν κήποις βασιλικαῖς· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόαν σιτοῦνται καὶ κλῶνας ἀπαλοὺς καὶ λατὸν καὶ καλάμου ρίζαν· κρέασι δὲ χρῶνται καὶ αἵματι καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τυρῶ. Σέβονται δ' ὡς θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλέας κατακλείστους ὄντας καὶ οἰκουροὺς τὸ πλεόν. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖον ἢ Μερόη, πόλις ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ· τὴν δὲ νῆσον θυρεοειδῆ φασὶ τὸ σχῆμα, τό τε μέγεθος τάχα πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν εἶρηται μῆκος μὲν ὅσον τρισχιλίων σταδίων εὖρος δὲ χιλίων. Ἔχει δ' ἡ νῆσος συχνὰ καὶ ὄρη καὶ δάση μεγάλα· οἰκοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν νομάδες οἱ δὲ θηρευτικοὶ οἱ δὲ γεωργοί· ἔστι δὲ καὶ χαλκωρυχεῖα καὶ σιδηρουργεῖα καὶ χρυσεῖα καὶ λίθων γένη πολυτελῶν.

Περιέχεται δ' ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Λιβύης θισὶ μεγάλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κρημοῖς συνεχέσιν, ἄνωθεν δ' ἐκ νότου ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ἀσταβόρα καὶ τοῦ Ἀσταπόδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀστασόβα· πρὸς ἄρκτον δ' ἡ ἐφεξῆς ρύσις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν πρότερον σκολιότητα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αἱ οἰκῆσεις ἐκ φοινικίνων σχιζῶν διαπλεκόμεναι <...> τοίχων ἢ πλίνθων· ὄρυκτοὶ δὲ ἄλλες καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἄραβι· πλεονάζει δὲ τῶν φυτῶν ὃ τε φοῖνιξ καὶ ἡ περσέα καὶ ὁ ἔβενος καὶ ἡ κερατία· θήρα δὲ καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐστὶ καὶ λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων· εἰσι δὲ καὶ δράκοντες οἱ ἐλεφαντομάχοι καὶ ἄλλα θηρία πλείω καταφεύγει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπυρωτέρων καὶ αὐχμηροτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδρηλά καὶ ἐλώδη.

[3] Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Μερόης ἡ Ψεβὼ λίμνη μεγάλη νῆσον ἔχουσα οἰκουμένην ἱκανῶς. Συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν μὲν δυσμικὴν παραποταμίαν ἐχόντων τῶν Λιβύων, τὴν δὲ πέραν Αἰθιοπῶν, παρὰ μέρος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν εἶναι τῶν νήσων καὶ τῆς ποταμίας, ἐξελαυνομένων τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ παραχωρούντων τοῖς κρείττοσι γενομένοις. Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τόξοις Αἰθιοπεὺς τετραπήχεσι ξυλίνοις πεπυρακτωμένοις· ὀπλίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὧν αἱ πλείους κεκρίκωνται τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ στόματος χαλκῶ κρίκῳ· κωδιοφόροι δ' εἰσὶν, ἐρέαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τῶν προβάτων αἰγοτριχούντων· οἱ δὲ γυμνήτες εἰσιν, οἳ καὶ περιέζωνται μικρὰ κώδια ἢ τρίχινα πλέγματα εὐυφή.

Θεὸν δὲ νομίζουσι τὸν μὲν ἀθάνατον (τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν αἴτιον τῶν πάντων) τὸν δὲ θνητὸν ἀνώνυμόν τινα καὶ οὐ σαφῆ· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ βασιλικούς θεοὺς νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας κοινούς ἀπάντων σωτήρας καὶ φύλακας, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας ἰδίως τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τῇ διακεκαυμένη τινές καὶ ἄθεοι νομίζονται, οὓς γε καὶ τὸν ἥλιόν φασιν ἐχθαίρειν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν ἐπειδὰν προσίδωσιν ἀνίσχοντα, ὡς καίοντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καταφεύγειν τε εἰς τὰ ἔλη. Οἱ δ' ἐν Μερῶῃ καὶ Ἑρακλέα καὶ Πάνα καὶ Ἰσιν σέβονται πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ βαρβαρικῷ θεῷ. Τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκρίπτουσιν, οἱ δ' οἴκοι κατέχουσι περιχέαντες ὕαλον· τινές δὲ ἐν κεραμέαις σοροῖς κατορύττουσι κύκλω τῶν ἱερῶν, ὄρκον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ πάντων ἀγιστεύουσι μάλιστα.

Βασιλέας τε καθιστᾶσι τοὺς κάλλει διαφέροντας ἢ ἀρετῇ κτηνοτροφίας ἢ ἀνδρείᾳ ἢ πλούτῳ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μερῶῃ κυριωτάτην τάξιν ἐπεῖχον οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιόν, οἱ γε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταττον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἀποθνήσκειν πέμπαντες ἄγγελον καὶ καθίστασαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον· ὕστερον δὲ κατέλυσέ τις τῶν βασιλέων τὸ ἔθος, ἐπιὼν μεθ' ὄπλων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ὅπου ὁ χρυσοῦς νεῶς ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀποσφάζας πάντας. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔθος Αἰθιοπικόν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν τῶν βασιλέων πηρωθῇ μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος ὀπωσοῦν, τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ μάλιστα, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ συναποθνήσκουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φυλακῆ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶ πλείστη παρ' αὐτῶν. Περὶ μὲν Αἰθιόπων ἀρκέσει ταῦτα.

#### Translation

1.2 [25] ... What else is Egypt but riverain land<sup>378</sup> which the water inundates? It is situated on both sides of the river, to the east and west. Now Aithiopia lies in a straight line with Egypt and is very similar with regard to the Nile and the topography in general. For Aithiopia too is narrow, long and subject to inundation, and what lies outside the area inundated, both eastwards and westwards, is just a waterless desert, allowing only sparse habitation. Why then should we not describe it as divided in two?<sup>379</sup> The Nile has been deemed a good enough boundary for those who separate Asia from Africa (*Libya*), in length stretching southwards more than ten thousand stades,<sup>380</sup> in breadth sufficient to accom-

<sup>378</sup>The Greek word νῆσος, "island", unanimously transmitted by the manuscripts, was removed by Kramer and Meineke from their texts, but rightly reinstated by Sbordone and Aujac. The papyri show that this was the term employed for "land flooded (by the Nile)" (Liddell-Scott-Jones s.v. 2); Aujac's translation ("une île fluviale") and complicated explanation (in Aujac-Lasserre 1969, 116 n. 1) are thus hardly to the point.

<sup>379</sup>Namely, as Homer does, *Odyssey* 1.23.

<sup>380</sup>The length of Strabo's "stade" is probably 185 m according to Dicks (1971, 194); the length of the Nile, according to Strabo, would thus be "more than 1850 km". But the matter is disputed, cf. our footnote to Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2, FHN II 109. Potheary (1995) now contends that all the geographical writers from Eratosthenes to Strabo did in fact use the same stade, namely, that of 185 m.

moderate populous islands. The largest of these is Meroe, the royal seat (*basileion*) and capital (*metropolis*) of the Aithiopians. Should the Nile then not be enough to divide Aithiopia itself in two?

17.2 [1] Much has already been said about Aithiopian matters above, so that one might say that Aithiopia has been traversed together with Egypt. Generally speaking, the outskirts of the inhabited world, lying next to the parts which are ill-fitted and uninhabited due to heat or cold, must necessarily be defective and inferior to the part with a temperate climate. This is obvious from the way people live there and their lack of human necessities. They lead a miserable life, go poorly clad for the most part, and are nomads. Their domestic animals are small: sheep, goats and cattle. The dogs too are small, but rough and full of fighting spirit. It may even be that the Pygmies were invented and made up from the short stature of these people; for no credible person ever reported having seen them.

[2] They (the Aithiopians) live on millet and barley, from which they also make a beverage. Butter and suet serve as their olive oil.<sup>381</sup> Nor do they have fruit trees except for a few date-palms in the royal gardens. Some even eat grass, soft twigs, water-lily [*lotos*], and reed root. They make use of meat, blood, milk, and cheese. They worship as gods their kings, who are mostly shut up in their residence. Their greatest royal seat [*basileion*] is Meroe, a city with the same name as the island. The island is said to be shaped like an oblong shield. Its dimensions have perhaps been overstated: about three thousand stades long and one thousand stades wide.<sup>382</sup> The island has many mountains and large forests, and it is populated partly by nomads, partly by hunters, and partly by farmers. There are also copper, iron and gold mines, and various kinds of precious stones.

It is surrounded on the Libyan side by large deserts, on the Arabian side by continuous cliffs, and upstream, or southwards, by the confluences of the rivers Astaboras<sup>383</sup> [= Atbara], Astapous, and Astasobas. To the north, the course of the river Nile, with its above-mentioned windings, continues all the way to Egypt. In the towns the dwellings are made of material split from palm trees ... plaited ... of walls or of bricks.<sup>384</sup> They use quarried salt, as in Arabia. With re-

<sup>381</sup>The transmitted Greek text (... ποτὸν ποιούσιν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν· ἔλαιον δὲ βούτυρον ...) is defective, but the general meaning seems clear. Some (Corais, Jones; see the Loeb text) omit one word (ποιούσιν) and add one (ἀντί, comparing Strabo 3.3.7), producing the text: ποτὸν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν· ἀντ' ἐλαίου δὲ βούτυρον ..., meaning: "Instead of olive oil they have butter and suet". We suggest a simpler emendation, keeping all the words while just changing the word order: ... ποτὸν ποιούσιν· ἔλαιον δ' αὐτοῖς ἔστι βούτυρον καὶ στέαρ.

<sup>382</sup>Probably equivalent to 555 x 185 km (cf. n. 380 above).

<sup>383</sup>All mss. adduced by Kramer except one (F) read *Astabara* instead of *Astabora*.

<sup>384</sup>The text is defective. The Loeb translator follows an emended text, which omits the word for 'walls', and translates: "... of palm-wood woven together, or of brick". The corruption probably lies deeper, however; one would perhaps rather expect a more pointed observation like "[even] in

gard to trees, there are plenty of date-palms, perseas, ebony- and carob-trees. They hunt elephants as well as lions and leopards. There are also serpents—the elephant fighters—and many other wild animals; for these take refuge from hotter and more arid regions to the watery marshes.

[3] Beyond Meroe lies Psebo,<sup>385</sup> a large lake with an island which is amply populated. Since the Libyans hold the land on the west side of the river Nile and the Aithiopians that on the opposite, they alternate in having the mastery over the islands and the riverain land, as one party is driven out and yields to those who have got the upper hand. The Aithiopians use bows, four cubits long and made of wood hardened in fire. They even arm the women, most of whom have a bronze ring through their lip. They wear clothes of sheepskin, but they have no wool, since their sheep bear goat's hair.<sup>386</sup> Some are naked, and some are girded with small sheepskins or well-plaited garments of hair.

They have as gods one who is immortal—he is said to be the cause of all things—and another who is mortal and without name or identity. For the most part, however, they have as gods their benefactors and royalty [*basilikoi*]; of these the kings [*basileis*] are considered the common saviours and guardians of all, while the others<sup>387</sup> are gods attached individually to those at whose hands they have fared well. Of those living near the torrid zone some are considered atheists. They are said to hate even the sun and to abuse it when they see it rising, on the grounds that it burns them and makes war against them, and so they take refuge in the marshes. The people in Meroe worship Heracles, Pan, and Isis, in addition to some barbarian god. Some throw their dead into the river, others keep them at home, having enclosed them in glass. Still others bury them in clay coffins around the temples; they exact observance of what has been sworn by the dead deeming such an oath the most sacred of all.<sup>388</sup>

They appoint as kings those who are distinguished by beauty or skill in cattle-breeding or courage or wealth. In ancient times the priests held the principal rank in Meroe. Sometimes they even sent a messenger ordering the king to die, and appointed another king instead. Later one of the kings abolished the custom by marching under arms against the temple in which the golden shrine is, and slaughtering all the priests. The Aithiopians also have the following custom. If a king is mutilated in any part of his body, whatever the circumstances,

---

the towns the houses have walls made of plaited material split from palm trees rather than of brick”.

<sup>385</sup>All mss. adduced by Kramer read *Pseboa*.

<sup>386</sup>For this description, cf. Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.8.4-5, FHN II, 143.

<sup>387</sup>The Greek has the word *idiotēs*, meaning ‘private person’, ‘individual’, but in this context simply ‘all those [benefactors] who are not kings’.

<sup>388</sup>For this description, cf. Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.9.2-4, FHN II, 143.

those who are together with him suffer the same thing, and they even die with him. Therefore they guard their king scrupulously.<sup>389</sup>

[TH]

### Comments

While the introduction to Strabo's description of Aithiopia presents a generally correct comparison with Egypt, the Geographer must have been ignorant of the actual, significant, differences in the breadth of inundated land in the two countries as well as of the extent and climate of the southern parts of Aithiopia. The mention of "populous islands" is similarly correct in general terms, but the "island of Meroe", i.e., in reality, the Butana bordered on the W by the Nile and on the E by the Atbara, is erroneously described as an actual island in the Nile. A more nearly correct description is offered in 17.2.2, however. Both in 1.2.25 and 17.2.2 Meroe (City) is mentioned as a royal seat; in the latter passage, however, it is defined as the "greatest royal seat" of the Aithiopians, which may perhaps indicate that Strabo's source had some vague notion of the plurality of the Aithiopian "capitals" (the same information seems to have existed in the background of the mentions of Napata and Meroe [City] as equivalents in the descriptions of the Roman-Aithiopian war, cf. FHN II, 166, and 190 in this volume; for the actual plurality of the capitals of the kingdom see Török 1992a; *Comments* on FHN I, 39, and see also Török 1995a, 65 ff.; 1995b, 29 f.).

Strabo's division of Aithiopia into two parts, an "African" (or Libyan) part W of the Nile and an "Asian" part E of the Nile, closely follows ancient Greek tradition (cf. Honigmann 1931, 147 ff.) and reflects an image of Africa which would be still prevalent in Pomponius Mela's (cf. 193) and Pliny's (*Naturalis historia* 5.43 and cf. 195) work (cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 1.23, cf. Romm 1992, 49 ff.; for Agatharchides, Artemidorus, and Diodorus cf. Desanges 1993a 525 ff.; Desanges 1994-1995). The suggestion that the Nile stretches southwards more than ten thousand stades attempts to indicate the correct extent of the country which was described in vague terms in Strabo's sources (cf. Pietschmann 1894, 1095 ff.). On the other hand, the description of the "island of Meroe" in 17.2.2 as inhabited partly by nomads, partly by hunters and partly by agriculturalists seems correct and reinforces the evidence of archaeology and settlement history (for the ecological background see Jackson 1957; Edwards 1989; Bradley 1992).

In Book 17.2.1 Aithiopia is depicted as on the outskirts of the inhabited world where the inferior quality of life was determined by the hot climate. The explanation of the way of life and stage of culture by an environmental theory points towards Herodotus as one of Strabo's (indirect?) sources (Herodotus, 2.22; Hippocrates, *On Airs Waters Places* 12.17-23, 24, cf. Snowden 1970, 172 f.) as does the, however sceptical, mention of the Pygmies (cf. Herodotus 2.32). The mention of the rivers in 17.2.2 presents a somewhat corrected rendering of the text of Eratosthenes quoted in 17.1.2 (FHN II, 109): Strabo's Astapous is the Blue

<sup>389</sup>For this description, cf. Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.6-7, FHN II, 142.

Nile, Astasoba is the White Nile (cf. Schäfer 1895). References to the mining of precious stones, of iron and gold, to the hunting of lions and leopards and to the elephant-fighting serpents match those in early Hellenistic literary works.<sup>390</sup> Early Hellenistic sources also underlie the description of lake Psebo. Psebo originally occurred in the late 4th cent. BC as a name for southeastern Aithiopia (Aristagoras, FGrH, 609 F 10; Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* 6,34); the lake Psebo of Strabo and later of Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Psebo) may refer to Lake Tana (cf. Burstein 1989a, 145 f. note 4; we do not follow Burstein here in his assumption that "Psebo might be explained as a transcription of an Egyptian toponym consisting of the article *Pa* + *Sebo* and be interpreted as referring to the Sabaeans whose presence along the coast of Eritrea is attested in Hellenistic sources", *ibid.*).

The notes on Aithiopian religion and customs in 17.2.3 derive from the Herodotean tradition (cf. FHN I, 62, 65) and also bear the distinctive stamp of Hellenistic ethnography (see FHN II, 143; cf. Desanges 1993a, 532 f.). The story about the abolition of the priests' supreme power in the kingdom repeats the Ergamenes story of Agatharchides (FHN II, 142). The notion of the king's vulnerability, as a consequence of which he is guarded by his subjects as a sort of *roi fainéant*, also appears, in connection with the king of the Sabaeans, in Agatharchides' work (*On the Erythraean Sea* fgm. 102, Burstein 1989a, 165 f. = Strabo 16.4.19). The seclusion of the Sabaean king is, however, contradicted by the South Arabian historical evidence (Burstein 1989a, 166 note 1). It cannot be decided whether Strabo followed another source when applying Agatharchides' remark to Aithiopia. Whatever its source may be, the remark on the seclusion of the Aithiopian king and the mutilation of his courtiers clearly sounds invented (cf. Hofmann 1971a, 31).

[LT]

**188 Syene inhabited by Egyptians and Aithiopians.** Early 1st cent. AD.  
Strabo 1.2.32 and 17.1.49.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 187.

*Text*

1.2 [32] (p. 129.18-22 Aujac) Τάχα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλησιαιτέροι ἦσαν ταῖς Θήβαις οἱ τότε ὄροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νῦν πλησίον εἰσίν, οἱ κατὰ Συήνην καὶ τὰς Φίλας· ὧν ἡ μὲν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστίν, αἱ δὲ Φίλαι κοινὴ κατοικία τῶν Αἰθιοπίων καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

<sup>390</sup>For giant snakes fighting with elephants: Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.37.8-9, FHN II, 143; see also Strabo 16.4.16; Aelian, *History of the animals* 17.45; for the relationship of elephant with serpent in Meroitic religion cf., e.g., the now destroyed wall painting in the "water sanctuary" at Meroe City, Hofmann-Tomandl 1986, fig. 52; Török 1997, Ch. 23, Pls 27, 29, 30) appear to derive from sources of the Hellenistic period (for the stones cf. FHN II, 137, in this volume see 201; for the fauna see Meyboom 1995, 20 ff.; 224 f. note 12).

17.1 [49] (p. 1140.29-1141.4 Meineke) Τοῦ δὲ καταράκτου μικρὸν ἐπάνω τὰς Φιλὰς εἶναι συμβαίνει, κοινήν κατοικίαν Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, κατασκευασμένην ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἴσην, ἱερὰ ἔχουσαν Αἰγύπτια.

*Translation*

1.2 [32] For perhaps the frontier (between Egypt and Aithiopia) at that time<sup>391</sup> was closer to Thebes, even though the present frontier too is close enough, i.e., the one at Syene and Philae. Of these, Syene belongs to Egypt, while Philae is a settlement common to the Aithiopians and the Egyptians.

17.1 [49] A little beyond the cataract lies Philae, a settlement common to Aithiopians and Egyptians, built like Elephantine and of equal size, and with Egyptian temples.

[TH]

*Comments*

In the terms of the peace treaty concluded in 21/20 BC on Samos after the war between Rome and Meroe (cf. FHN II, 163-166, 168; in this volume 190, 204, 205) the stretch of the Nile Valley called Dodecaschoenus, extending from Syene/Aswan to Hiera Sycaminos/Maharraqa (cf. FHN II, 112, 135, 137; Sethe 1901; Desanges 1969), was annexed to Egypt. The textual documents relating to the administration and military defence of the Dodecaschoenus clearly show that this territory remained under firm Egyptian control until the middle of the 3rd cent. AD (cf. 220, 230, 238-240, 242, 247; Török 1979, 93 ff.; 1986a 72 ff.; 1988a, 145 ff., 275 ff.). The Dodecaschoenus was, however, settled by a non-Egyptian population which was traditionally distinguished as "Aithiopian" (cf. FHN II, 140 and see also *Comments* on (129), 133, 135) and, though subordinate to the administration of the Thebaid, it was governed on the settlement level by officials belonging to local élite families of "Aithiopian" origin (cf. FHN II, 180-185). These facts, as well as the memory of the earlier history of this territory which Kush had repeatedly annexed in the course of the previous millennium or so (cf. FHN I, 1, 4, (6), 9, FHN II, (70), (77), (83), (129), (131)), contributed to the maintenance of the ancient Egyptian notion that Egypt ends at Elephantine, the "doorway to the foreign lands" (cf. Kemp 1983 99). It was in all probability this tradition that gave rise to the expression "the limits of Egypt ... in the face of Aithiopia" in connection with Philae (FHN II, 170) and which explains why Pliny speaks about Syene as the "end of the empire", i.e., of Rome (208), and why Aelius Aristides defines Egypt's southern border with such a vagueness (230).

[LT]

<sup>391</sup>I.e., when Menelaus arrived in Aithiopia, according to Homer, *Odyssey* 4.84.

**189 On Aithiopian tribes.** Early 1st cent. AD.

Strabo 16.4.8-13, 17.

For Source bibliography and Introduction to source see 187.

*Text*

16.4.8-13 (p. 1075.14-1079.10 Meineke) [8] Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ ἐκδίδωσιν ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα καλουμένου ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ λίμνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων μέρος μὲν τι ἐκδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ πλεόν συμβάλλει τῷ Νείλῳ· εἶτα νῆσοι ἕξ Λατομίαι καλούμεναι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ Σαβαιτικὸν στόμα λεγόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ φρούριον, Τοσοῦχου ἴδρυμα· εἶτα λιμὴν καλούμενος Ἐλαία καὶ ἡ Στράτωνος νῆσος· εἶτα λιμὴν Σαβὰ καὶ κυνήγιον ἐλεφάντων ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ· ἡ δ' ἐν βάθει τούτων χώρα Τηνεσις λέγεται· ἔχουσι δ' αὐτὴν οἱ παρὰ Ψαμμιτίχου φυγάδες Αἰγυπτίων· ἐπονομάζονται δὲ Σεμβρίται, ὡς ἂν ἐπήλυδες· βασιλεύονται δ' ὑπὸ γυναικός, ὕφ' ἣν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Μερόη, πλησίον τῶν τόπων οὕσα τούτων ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσος, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄλλη ἐστὶ νῆσος οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, κατοικία τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων φυγάδων. Ἀπὸ δὲ Μερόης ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλατταν εὐζώνῳ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. Περί δὲ τὴν Μερόην καὶ ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ τε Ἀσταβόρα καὶ τοῦ Ἀστάπου καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Ἀσταγάβα πρὸς τὸν Νείλον.

[9] Παροικοῦσι δὲ τούτοις οἱ Ῥιζοφάγοι καὶ Ἐλειοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ παρακειμένου ῥιζοτομοῦντας ἔλους κόπτειν λίθοις καὶ ἀναπλάττειν μάζας, ἠλιάσαντας δὲ σιτεῖσθαι· λεοντοβότα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ χωρία· ταῖς δ' ὑπὸ κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴν ἡμέραις ὑπὸ κωνῶπων μεγάλων ἐξελαύνεται τὰ θηρία ἐκ τῶν τόπων· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Σερμοφάγοι πλησίον, οἱ τῶν σπερμάτων ἐπιλιπόντων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκροδρύων τρέφονται, σκευάζοντες παραπλησίως ὥσπερ τὰς ῥίζας οἱ Ῥιζοφάγοι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλαίαν αἱ Δημητρίου σκοπιαὶ καὶ βωμοὶ Κόνωνος· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καλάμων Ἰνδικῶν φύεται πλήθος· καλεῖται δὲ ἡ χώρα Κορακίου· ἦν δέ τις ἐν βάθει Ἐνδέρα γυμνητῶν ἀνθρώπων κατοικία, τόξοις χρωμένων καλαμίνοις καὶ πεπυρακτωμένοις οἰστοῖς· ἀπὸ δένδρων δὲ τοξεύουσι τὰ θηρία τὸ πλεόν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς· πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πλήθος τῶν ἀγρίων βοῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων κρεοφαγίας ζῶσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ μηδὲν θηρεύσωσι, τὰ ξηρὰ δέρματα ἐπ' ἀνθρακιάς ὀπτῶντες ἀρκοῦνται τῇ τοιαύτῃ τροφῇ. Ἔθος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνα τοξείας προτιθέναι τοῖς ἀνήβοις παισὶ.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κόνωνος βωμοὺς ὁ Μήλινος λιμὴν· ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτοῦ φρούριον Κοράου καλούμενον καὶ κυνήγιον τοῦ Κοράου καὶ ἄλλο φρούριον καὶ κυνήγια πλείω· εἶτα ὁ Ἀντιφίλου λιμὴν καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτου κρεοφάγοι, κολοβοὶ τὰς βαλάνους καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἰουδαικῶς ἐκτετμημένοι.

[10] Ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν οἱ Κυναμολγοί, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἄγριοι καλούμενοι, κατάκομοι, καταπώγωνες, κύνας ἐκτρέ-

φοντες εὐμεγέθεις, οἷς θηρεύουσι τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐκ τῆς πλησιοχώρου βόας Ἰνδικούς, εἴθ' ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐξελαυνομένους εἴτε σπάνει νομῆς· ἡ δ' ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν μέχρι μέσου χειμῶνος.

Τῷ δ' Ἀντιφίλου λιμένι ἐξῆς ἔστι λιμὴν καλούμενος Κολοβῶν ἄλσος καὶ Βερενίκη πόλις ἢ κατὰ Σαβὰς καὶ Σαβαί, πόλις εὐμεγέθης, εἶτα τὸ τοῦ Εὐμένους ἄλσος. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ πόλις Δάραδα καὶ κυνήγιον ἐλεφάντων τὸ πρὸς τῷ φρέατι καλούμενον· κατοικοῦσι δ' ἐλεφαντοφάγοι, τὴν θήραν ποιούμενοι τοιαύτην· ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἰδόντες ἀγέλην διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ φερομένην τῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, τοὺς δ' ἀποπλανηθέντας ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν λάθρα προσιόντες νευροκοποῦσι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτοὺς χολῇ βεβαμμένοις ὄφρων· ἡ δὲ τοξεία διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συντελεῖται, τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποσί, τοῦ δ' ἔλκοντος τὴν νευράν· ἄλλοι δὲ σημειωσάμενοι τὰ δένδρα οἷς εἰώθασι προσαναπαυέσθαι, προσιόντες ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τὸ στέλεχος ὑποκόπτουσιν· ἐπὰν οὖν προσιὸν τὸ θηρίον ἀποκλίνη πρὸς αὐτό, πεσόντος τοῦ δένδρου πίπτει καὶ αὐτό, ἀναστήναι δὲ μὴ δυναμένου διὰ τὸ τὰ σκέλη διηνεκὲς ὅστουν ἔχειν καὶ ἀκαμπές, καταπηδήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἀνατέμνουσιν αὐτό· τοὺς δὲ κυνηγούς οἱ νομάδες Ἀκαθάριτους καλοῦσιν.

[11] Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἔθνος οὐ μέγα Στρουθοφάγων, παρ' οἷς ὄρνεις εἰσὶ μέγεθος ἐλάφων ἔχοντες, πέτασθαι μὲν οὐκ οὐκ δυνάμενοι, θέοντες δὲ ὀξέως καθάπερ οἱ στρουθοκάμηλοι· θηρεύουσι δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τόξοις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν στρουθῶν σκεπασθέντες τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν καλύπτουσι τῷ τραχηλιμαίῳ μέρει καὶ κινουῦσιν οὕτως ὥσπερ τὰ ζῶα κινεῖται τοῖς τραχήλοις, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ σπέρμα προχέουσιν ἀπὸ πύρας παρηρητημένης, καὶ τούτῳ δελεάσαντες τὰ ζῶα εἰς φάραγγας συνωθοῦσιν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐφεστῶτες ξυλοκόποι κατακόπτουσιν· καὶ ἀμπέχονται δὲ καὶ ὑποστόρννυται τὰ δέρματα ταῦτα· πολεμοῦσι δὲ τούτοις οἱ Σιμοὶ καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες, κέρασιν ὀρύγων ὄπλοις χρώμενοι.

[12] Πλησιοχώροι δὲ τούτοις εἰσὶ μελανώτεροί τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βραχύτεροι καὶ βραχυβιῶτατοι Ἀκριδοφάγοι· τὰ γὰρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη σπανίως ὑπερτιθέασιν, ἀποθηριουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς σαρκός· ζῶσι δ' ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων, ἃς οἱ ἑαρινοὶ λίβες καὶ ζέφυροι πνέοντες μεγάλοι συνελαύνουσιν εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους· ἐν ταῖς χαράδραις δὲ ἐμβαλόντες ὕλην καπνώδη καὶ ὑφάσαντες μικρὸν <...> ὑπερπετάμενοι γὰρ τὸν καπνὸν σκοτοῦνται καὶ πίπτουσιν· συγκόψαντες δ' αὐτὰς μεθ' ἄλμυρίδος μάζας ποιοῦνται καὶ χρώνται.

Τούτων δ' ἔρημος ὑπέρκειται μεγάλη, νομάς δαμιλεῖς ἔχουσα, ἐκλειφθεῖσα δ' ὑπὸ πλήθους σκορπίων καὶ φαλαγγίων τῶν τετραγνάθων καλουμένων, ἐπιπολάσαντός ποτε καὶ ἀπεργασαμένου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φυγὴν παντελεῖ.

[13] Μετὰ δὲ Εὐμένους λιμένα μέχρι Δειρῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἔξ νήσους στενῶν Ἰχθυοφάγοι καὶ Κρεοφάγοι κατοικοῦσι καὶ Κολοβοὶ μέχρι

τῆς μεσογαίας. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θῆραι πλείους ἐλεφάντων καὶ πόλεις ἄσημοι καὶ νησία πρὸ τῆς παραλίας· νομάδες δ' οἱ πλείους, ὀλίγοι δ' οἱ γεωργοῦντες· παρά τισι δὲ τούτων φύεται στύραξ οὐκ ὀλίγος.

Συνάγουσι δὲ ταῖς ἀμπώτεσιν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι τοὺς ἰχθῦς· ἐπιρρίψαντες δὲ ταῖς πέτραις κατοπτῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, εἴτ' ἐξοπτήσαντες τὰς ἀκάνθας μὲν σωρεύουσι, τὴν δὲ σάρκα πατήσαντες μάζας ποιοῦνται, πάλιν δὲ ταύτας ἠλιάζοντες σιτοῦνται· χειμῶνος δ' ἀδυνατήσαντες συνάγειν τοὺς ἰχθῦς τὰς σεσωρευμένας ἀκάνθας κόψαντες μάζας ἀναπλάττονται καὶ χρώνται, τὰς δὲ νεαρὰς ἐκμυζῶσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς κόγχας ἐχούσας τὴν σάρκα σιτεύουσι, καταβάλλοντες εἰς χαράδρια καὶ συστάδας θαλάττης, εἴτ' ἰχθύδια παραρριπτοῦντες τροφήν αὐταῖς χρώνται ἐν τῇ τῶν ἰχθύων σπάνει· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰχθυοτροφεῖα παντοῖα, ἀφ' ὧν ταμιεύονται.

Ἐνιοι δὲ τῶν τὴν ἄνυδρον παραλίαν οἰκούντων διὰ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδρεῖα ἀναβαίνουσι πανοίκιοι μετὰ παιανισμοῦ, ρίφέντες δὲ πρηνεῖς πίνουσι βοῶν δίκην ἕως ἐκτυμπανώσεως τῆς γαστροῦς, εἴτ' ἀπίασιν ἐπὶ θάλατταν πάλιν· οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν σπηλαιοῖς ἢ μάνδραις στεγασταῖς ἀπὸ δοκῶν μὲν καὶ στρωτήρων τῶν κητείων ὀστέων καὶ ἀκανθῶν, φυλλάδος δ' ἐλαίνης.

16.4 [17] (p. 1082.12-1083.14 Meineke) Νομαδικὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ βίος τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν, τυραννοῦνται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα πλὴν τοῖς τυράννοις, τῷ δὲ τὴν τυράννου φθείραντι πρόβατον ἢ ζημία ἐστί· στιβίζονται δ' ἐπιμελῶς αἱ γυναῖκες, περικεῖνται δὲ τοῖς τραχήλοις κογχία ἀντὶ βασκανίων. Πολεμοῦσι δὲ περὶ τῆς νομῆς, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν διωθόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, εἴτα λίθοις, ὅταν δὲ τραῦμα γένηται, καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μαχαίρισι· διαλύουσι δ' αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς μέσους προιοῦσαι καὶ δεήσεις προσενέγκασαι.

Τροφή δ' ἐκ τε σαρκῶν καὶ τῶν ὀστέων κοπτομένων ἀναμίξ καὶ εἰς τὰς δορὰς ἐνειλουμένων, εἴτ' ὀπτωμένων καὶ ἄλλως πολλαχῶς σκευαζομένων ὑπὸ τῶν μαγείρων, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἀκαθάρτους· ὥστε μὴ κρεοφαγεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀστοφαγεῖν καὶ δερματοφαγεῖν· χρώνται δὲ καὶ τῷ αἵματι καὶ τῷ γάλακτι καταμίξαντες. Ποτὸν δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀπόβρεγμα παλιούρου, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις μελίκρατον, ἀπ' ἄνθους τινὸς ἐκπιεζομένου τοῦ μέλιτος.

Ἐστί δ' αὐτοῖς χειμῶν μὲν ἤνικα οἱ ἐτησῖαι πνέουσι κατομβροῦνται γάρ, θέρος δ' ὁ λοιπὸς χρόνος. Γυμνῆται δὲ καὶ δερματοφόροι καὶ σκυταληφόροι διατελοῦσιν· εἰσὶ δ' οὐ κολοβοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ περιτετηγμένοι τινὲς καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι. Οἱ δὲ Μεγαβάροι Αἰθίοπες τοῖς ῥοπάλοις καὶ τύλους προστιθέασι σιδηροῦς, χρώνται δὲ καὶ λόγχαις καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὠμοβυρσίνοις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Αἰθίοπες τόξοις καὶ λόγχαις.

Θάπτουσι δὲ τινες τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν ῥάβδοις παλιουρίναις δῆσαντες τὸν ἀυχένα τῶν νεκρῶν πρὸς τὰ σκέλη, ἔπειτα εὐθὺς καταλεύουσιν

ίλαροί, γελῶντες ἅμα, ἕως ἄν τοῦ τὴν ὄψιν σώματος ἀποκρύψωσιν· εἶτ' ἐπιθέντες κέρασ ἀίγειον ἀπίασιν.

Ὀδοιποροῦσι δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρρένων θρεμμάτων κώδωνας ἐξάψαντες, ὥστ' ἐξίστασθαι τὰ θηρία τῷ ψόφῳ· καὶ λαμπάσι δὲ καὶ τόξοις ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία χρώνται, καὶ διαγρυπνοῦσι τῶν ποιμνίων χάριν ᾧδῆ τινι χρώμενοι πρὸς τῷ πυρί.

*Translation*

16.4 [8] In between<sup>392</sup> there debouches a branch of the river Astaboras (Atbara), which starts from a lake and discharges part of its water here; but it lets most of it flow into the Nile. Then there are six islands called Quarries (*Latomiiai*). There follow the so-called Sabaïtic mouth (*Sabaitikon stoma*) and, inland, a fortress founded by Tosouchos.<sup>393</sup> Then there is a harbour called Elaia<sup>394</sup> and Strato's (*Straton*) Island, then a harbour called Saba and a hunting-ground for elephants with the same name. The hinterland of these places is called the Tenessis<sup>395</sup> and is occupied by the Egyptians who fled from Psammetichus. They are called Sembrites (*Sembritai*),<sup>396</sup> as being immigrants, and are ruled by a woman, to whom Meroe too is subject.<sup>397</sup> Meroe is an island in the Nile situated close to this region, and beyond it, not far away, in the river there is another island, which is a settlement of the same fugitives. From Meroe to this sea (the Red Sea) there is fifteen days' march for a man who travels light. In the neighbourhood of Meroe is the confluence of the Astaboras and the Astapos and furthermore the outlet of the Astagabas<sup>398</sup> into the Nile.

[9] Along these rivers live the Root-eaters (*Rhizophagoi*), or Marsh-dwellers (*Heleioi*), as they are also called because they gather roots from the neighbouring marshes, pound them with stones and form cakes which they dry in the sun and eat. Lions frequent this region, but in the dog days<sup>399</sup> the beasts are driven out of their haunts by big mosquitoes. Nearby are also the Seed-eaters

<sup>392</sup>The context shows that we find ourselves south of Ptolemais of the Hunt on the Red Sea coast.

<sup>393</sup>The mss. differ in reading τοσούχου ἴδρυμα (E) or τὸ σούχου ἴδρυμα (the other mss. consulted by Kramer), which means that the name in question may be either *Tosouchos* (or *-es*) or *Souchos*. The latter name occurs also in Strabo 17.1.38, as the name of the holy crocodile in Arsinoe.

<sup>394</sup>Both here and in [9], several mss. have the variant reading *Elea*.

<sup>395</sup>One of the mss. (F) adds the variant *Timissos*.

<sup>396</sup>The mss. read *Sabritai* (E) or *Sebritai* (the rest); but cf. Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2 (FHN II, 109), where the mss. have *Sembritai*.

<sup>397</sup>Cf. Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2, FHN II, 109 (with footnote), for another version.

<sup>398</sup>All the mss. consulted by Kramer read *Astagaba*, only one of them (F) adding in the margin the variant *Astosoba* (sic); all editors, on the other hand, have followed Corais in adopting *Astasoba* as the supposedly correct reading, comparing Strabo 17.1.2 (FHN II, 109) and 17.2.2 (above, 187). Though the palaeographical difference between the two readings is minimal, we prefer not to harmonize; the present text may carry independent information from a different source.

<sup>399</sup>Lit., "in the days in which the Dog-star (= Sirius) is visible".

(*Spermophagoi*); when there is a shortage of seeds, they feed on nuts which they prepare in almost the same way as the Root-eaters prepare their roots.

After Elaia come Demetrius' Peaks and Conon's Altars. Inland there grow Indian reeds in abundance. The land is called Korakion Country.<sup>400</sup> In the hinterland there was a settlement of naked men called Endera. They used bows of reeds and arrows hardened in the fire, mostly shooting the wild animals from the trees, but sometimes also from the ground. There is in their country wild cattle in abundance, and they live on the meat of these and other wild animals; but when they have no meat from hunting, they roast the dry skins over charcoal and are satisfied with that kind of food. They have the custom of setting up a contest in archery for boys who have not yet reached manhood.

After Conon's Altars comes the Melinos Harbour, and beyond it lies Koraos' Fort as it is called and Koraos' Hunting-ground, as well as another fort and more hunting-grounds. Then there is Antiphilus' Harbour, and beyond are the Meat-eaters (*Kreophagoi*) who have their penises mutilated and their women circumcised in the Jewish fashion.

[10] Further beyond these towards the south are the Dog-milkers (*Kynamolgoi*), who are called Wild Men (*Agrioi*) by the locals. They grow long hair and beards and raise large dogs, with which they hunt the Indian bulls coming in from the neighbouring country, driven out either by wild animals or by lack of pasture; they come in from the summer solstice until the middle of the winter.

Next to Antiphilus' Harbour is a harbour called the Grove of the Mutilated (*Kolobon alsos*), then the city Berenice of the Sabai and Sabai itself, a large city, and then Eumenes' Grove. Beyond lie the city Darada<sup>401</sup> and a hunting-ground for elephants called the "Hunting-ground by the Well". It is inhabited by the Elephant-eaters (*Elephantophagoi*), who hunt in the following way. When from the trees they observe a herd making its way through the bush, they do not attack it, but come stealthily from behind to hamstring the animals that have strayed away from the herd. Some also kill them with arrows dipped in snake poison, the shooting being performed by three men, two holding the bow and steadying themselves with their feet, while the third draws the string. Others still mark the trees against which the elephants are wont to rest; then they go and cut through the trunk from the other side. Thus, when the animal comes and leans against it, the tree falls and so does the elephant. Because its legs have a continuous and inflexible bone, it cannot rise, so the men jump

---

<sup>400</sup>The meaning of the name *Korakion* is uncertain; it may be the diminutive of *korax*, 'raven', or the name of a plant (according to Aristotle, *Mir.* 837a20, the same as *hierakion*, 'hawkweed'). It may also be masculine, *Korakios*, but that does not help us further; it does not seem to be recorded in Greek sources as a personal name, only as the designation of various mountains and rivers, none of them in Africa. In our context, it may be no more than the nearest Greek-sounding equivalent of an indigenous name.

<sup>401</sup>The variant *Daraba* is recorded.

down from the trees and cut it up. The nomads call the hunters Unclean (*Akathartoi*).

[11] Beyond these is a small tribe of Ostrich-eaters (*Strouthophagoi*), in whose country there are birds as big as deer; they cannot fly, but run fast, just like ostriches (*strouthokameloi*). They hunt them, some with bow and arrows, some covered with ostrich skin: they hide the right hand in the neck part and move just like the animals move with their necks, while with the left hand they pour seed from a bag hanging at their sides. With this bait they attract the animals and herd them into narrow clefts, where men with sticks stand by to strike them down. They use their skins both for clothing and to make their beds. Against this people fight the so-called snub-nosed (*simoi*)<sup>402</sup> Aithiopians, who use gazelle horns as weapons.

[12] In the country next to them live the Locust-eaters (*Akridophagoi*), who are blacker than the others, shorter and most short-lived. For they seldom exceed forty years of age, since their flesh becomes filled with parasites.<sup>403</sup> They live on locusts which in springtime the strong south-west and west winds drive together into this region. They place smoke-producing wood in the ravines, set fire to it and ...;<sup>404</sup> for when they fly over the smoke they are blinded and fall down. They mash them together with salt and make cakes which they use for food.

Beyond these there lies a large empty area with abundant pasture, but abandoned because of a multitude of scorpions and poisonous so-called four-jaw spiders, which once got the upper hand and caused people completely to desert the region.

[13] After Eumenes' Harbour as far as the Neck (*Deire*)<sup>405</sup> and the Straits of the Six Islands live the Fish-eaters (*Ichthyophagoi*) and Meat-eaters (*Kreophagoi*), and the Mutilated (*Koloboi*) further in the interior. There are also more elephant hunting-grounds and insignificant cities (*polis*) and small islands off the coast. The majority are nomads, the farmers few. Among some of them the Styrax tree grows in some quantity.

The Fish-eaters gather their fish at ebb-tide; they throw them on the rocks and bake them in the sun. When the fish are thoroughly baked, they pile up the backbones, while they tread on the flesh to produce cakes, which they again bake in the sun and eat. In wintertime when they are unable to gather the fish they pound the bones which lie piled up, form cakes and use them for food; the

<sup>402</sup>The mss. have *silloi*, "squint-eyed"; but in one ms. (E) the scribe has corrected himself into *-moi*, and *simoi* is the designation we also find used by Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.8.2 (FHN II, 143) and in other texts.

<sup>403</sup>The Greek is less specific, using a verb ἀποθηριώω meaning, in the passive, 'be filled with wild beasts'.

<sup>404</sup>Something is obviously missing in this sentence; one of the mss. inspected by Kramer (E) has a lacuna of ca. 10 letters here, which would suffice for a verb meaning "catch" plus the personal pronoun "them" (θηρεύουσιν or λαμβάνουσιν αὐτάς).

<sup>405</sup>The variant *Dere* (δήρη) occurs in ms. E.

fresh bones they suck. Some farm the mussels which contain flesh; they cast them into (tidal) pools or reservoirs of sea-water, then also throw in minnows as food, and so they eat the mussels when there is a shortage of fish. They also have fish-ponds of various kinds, from which they dispense fish.

Some of those who live on the coast where there is no (fresh) water, every four days walk with the whole family up to the reservoirs, solemnly singing; there they throw themselves down flat and drink like oxen until their stomach is like a drum, and then walk back to the sea. They live in caves or in enclosures roofed over with beams and cross-beams of whale<sup>406</sup> bones and backbones of fish, and with leafy olive-tree branches.

16.4 [17] The Troglodytes (*Troglodytai* = Cave-dwellers)<sup>407</sup> lead a nomadic life, each tribe having its own ruler. They have their wives and children in common, except the rulers; for the seduction of the ruler's wife one pays a sheep as a penalty. The women carefully paint their eyelids black and wear necklaces of small shells as amulets. They fight about the pasture, first using their hands to drive each other back, then stones, and, when people are injured, also arrows and knives. The women put an end to the fighting by stepping in and entreating them.

Their food is a mixture of meat and pounded bones which is wrapped in the hides, then baked and prepared in many other ways by the butchers,<sup>408</sup> whom they call "unclean". So they are not only meat-eaters but bone-eaters and hide-eaters as well. They also use the blood and the milk, mixing them together. For drink the people have an extract from the jujube, while the rulers drink a mixture with honey, the honey being squeezed out of a flower.

They have winter when the Etesian (monsoon) winds blow, for these bring heavy rain, and summer the rest of the time. They are always lightly dressed and wear hides and carry clubs. They are not just mutilated, but some are even circumcised in the Egyptian manner. The Aithiopian Megabaroi put iron knobs on their clubs, but they also use spears and shields of rawhide, while the rest of the Aithiopians use bows and arrows as well as spears.

Some of the Troglodytes have the following burial custom: they bind the neck of the corpse to the legs with the help of jujube twigs, at once afterwards they throw stones over it, all merry and laughing, until they have hidden the body from sight. Then they place a goat's horn on top and leave.

They travel by night, having bells attached to their male animals so that the wild beasts are scared away by the noise. They also use torches as well as bows

<sup>406</sup>The Greek word here translated as "whale" (adj., κήτειος) might refer to any large fish or sea monster; but the more detailed account in Strabo 15.2.2 of the use another tribe of "Fish-eaters" makes of various materials from the animal in question, makes "whale" a reasonable assumption.

<sup>407</sup>Cf. Herodotus 4.183.4 (FHN I, 66) and Agatharchides in Diodorus Siculus 3.33.2 (FHN II, 147), with *Comments*.

<sup>408</sup>Or: "cooks"; the Greek word means both, implying that the same person often performed both functions.

and arrows against the beasts, and stay awake during the night to protect their flocks, singing a song by the fire.

[TH]

### Comments

The description of the Red Sea coast and its hinterland, called here *Tenassis*, derives from an early Hellenistic source as is indicated by its close affinities with Aristocreon's description (around 300 BC) preserved in Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (see FHN II, 104) and with the version presented by Eratosthenes (in Strabo, see FHN II, 109). It also owes much to Artemidorus' lost work (see below and cf. Desanges 1993a, 525 ff.). The descriptions presented here are embedded in Strabo's Book 16 in a description of the African coast of the Red Sea, which reflects the Hellenistic image of Africa, a continent which was, as also Strabo, Pomponius Mela (cf. 193) and Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 5.43), incorrectly, maintained, allegedly completely circumnavigated and hence sufficiently known.<sup>409</sup>

The mention of the Sembrites or Deserters repeats in both descriptions a legend about which we also may read in Herodotus (FHN I, 56). While in Herodotus' work the Deserters are subjects of the kings of Aithiopia and inhabit a land at a distance of two months' travel from Meroe, according to Aristocreon they are to be found in a distance of 17 days of travel. To their land also belongs an island which is subject to a queen. According to Eratosthenes they live "above Meroe" and "their ruler is a woman, but they are subject to Meroe". It would thus seem that the variant presented by Strabo in 189 is a somewhat misunderstood "synthesis" of what he read in his various sources. The figure of the female ruler probably derives from the lost work of Bion of Soloi (see FHN II, 105, *Introduction to source*); and it already occurred as Queen Candace of Aithiopia in the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes (FHN II, 85).

The description of the tribes inhabiting the hinterland of the Red Sea coast likewise derives from early Hellenistic geographical and ethnographical literature (cf. FHN II, 102, and see in this volume 198). Geographical information concerning the coastal region N of Adulis, modern Massawa (cf. Desanges 1978a, 295 f.), the site of a Ptolemaic settlement probably identical with the Berenice of the Sabai and/or the Sabai of Strabo (cf. the Greek inscription OGIS 54 [known only from a copy made by Cosmas Indicopleustes at Adulis in the 6th cent. AD = *Monumentum Adulitanum*, Wolska-Conus 1968-1973 377]; Desanges 1978b; Burstein 1989a, 9 f. with note 5; for Cosmas cf. 234) is embellished first of all with data excerpted from Agatharchides' work *On the Erythraean Sea* (cf. fgms 51 ff., Burstein 1989a, 89 ff.) and from Artemidorus of Ephesus'

<sup>409</sup>Pomponius Mela (3.90 f.) as well as Pliny (2.67, 168) quote Hanno's Periplus (cf. Desanges 1978a, 39 ff.) in order to give the (false) impression that Africa had been completely circumnavigated, as had also the other parts of the *oikumene* or the *orbis terrarum*, already at a much earlier date (for Pliny's vague dating of Hanno to the 6th-5th cent. BC cf. *Naturalis historia* 2.169; cf. Daebritz 1912, 2360). For the conceptual connection of the geographers' vision of the circumnavigated world with the idea of the "island *oikumene*" see Romm 1992, 121 ff.

(around 100 BC) lost world geography (on Artemidorus' dependence on Book 1 of the *On the Erythraean Sea* concerning the region in question see Burstein 1989a, 39 with note 1) as is indicated by the sequence of the tribes as well as by individual details in the description of their ways of life.<sup>410</sup> The reality of the individual tribes and their customs is, in spite of the realistic geographical context, frequently doubtful as is indicated, e.g., by the Dog-milkers who were adopted from Ctesias' book on India (cf. *Comments* on Dalion, FHN II 102).

[LT]

**190 The war between Rome and Aithiopia.** Early 1st cent. AD.  
Strabo 17.1.53-54.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 187.

*Text*

17.1.53-54 (p. 1142.18-1145.15 Meineke) [53] Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἡ Αἴγυπτος εἰρηνικὴ τὸ πλέον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ αὐταρκες τῆς χώρας καὶ τὸ δυσείσβολον τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄρκτων ἀλιμένῳ παραλίᾳ καὶ πελάγει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ φρουρουμένη, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἕω καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐρήμοις ὄρεσι, τοῖς τε Λιβυκοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν· λοιπὰ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότον Τρωγλοδύται <καὶ> Βλέμμυες καὶ Νοῦβαι καὶ Μεγάβαροι οἱ ὑπὲρ Συήνης Αἰθίοπες· εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι νομάδες καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ οὐδὲ μάχιμοι, δοκοῦντες δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ τὸ ληστρικῶς ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολλάκις· οἱ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ Μερόην ἀνήκοντες Αἰθίοπες, οὐδ' οὗτοι πολλοὶ οὔτε ἐν συστροφῇ, ἅτε ποταμίαν μακρὰν καὶ στενὴν καὶ σκολιὰν οἰκοῦντες, οἷαν προείπομεν· οὐδὲ παρεσκευασμένοι καλῶς οὔτε πρὸς πόλεμον οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον βίον.

Καὶ νῦν δὲ διάκειται παραπλησίως ἡ χώρα πᾶσα· σημεῖον δέ· τρισὶ γοῦν σπείραις οὐδὲ ταύταις ἐντελέσιν ἰκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ χώρα φρουρεῖται· τολμήσασι δὲ τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν ἐπιθέσθαι κινδυνεύσαι τῇ χώρᾳ συνέπεσε τῇ σφετέρᾳ. Καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οὔτε τοσαῦταί τινές εἰσιν οὔτε ἀθρόαις ἐχρήσαντο οὐδ' ἅπαξ Ῥωμαῖοι· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πολεμισταί, καίπερ ὄντες παμπληθεῖς, οὔτε τὰ περίξ ἔθνη. Γάλλος μὲν γε Κορνήλιος, ὁ πρῶτος κατασταθεὶς ἔπαρχος τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, τὴν τε Ἡρώων πόλιν ἀποστᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν δι' ὀλίγων εἴλε, στάσιν τε γενηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι διὰ τοὺς φόρους ἐν βραχεῖ κατέλυσε. Πετρώνιός τε ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέων πλήθους

<sup>410</sup>Cf. esp. for the Sperma[to]phagoi Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.24; for the Dog-milkers see Dalion, FHN II, 102, Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.31, Pliny 6.195; for the Grove of the Mutilated (i.e., circumcised) see Ptolemy 4.7.2; for the Elephant-eaters see Agatharchides fgm. 55; Diodorus 3.26; for the Ostrich-eaters and the snub-nosed Aithiopians Agatharchides fgm. 58; Diodorus 3.28.1-6; for the Locust-eaters see Agatharchides fgm. 59; Diodorus 3.29.1-7; for the Trog[ly]odytes see Herodotus 4.183.4 = FHN I, 66; Agatharchides fgm. 64 = Diodorus 3.33.2 = FHN II, 147.

τοσούτων μυριάδων ὀρμήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ λίθων βολῆς, αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν στρατιώταις ἀντέσχε, καὶ διαφθείρας τινὰς αὐτῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔπαυσε. Γάλλος τε Αἴλιος μέρει τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φρουρᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλὼν εἴρηται τίνα τρόπον ἐξήλεγξε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολέμους ὄντας· εἰ δὴ μὴ ὁ Συλλαῖος αὐτὸν προὔδιδου, κἄν κατεστρέψατο τὴν εὐδαίμονα πᾶσαν.

[54] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Αἰθίοπες καταφρονήσαντες τῷ μέρος τι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυνάμεως ἀπεσπᾶσθαι μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας, ἐπήλθον τῇ Θηβαίδι καὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τῶν τριῶν σπειρῶν τῶν κατὰ Συήνην καὶ ἐλόντες ἔφθασαν τὴν τε Συήνην καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φιλὰς ἐξ ἐφόδου διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο, ἀνέσπασαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντας, ἐπελθὼν ἐλάττοσιν ἢ μυρίοις πεζοῖς Πετρώνιος, ἰπεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις πρὸς ἄνδρας τρισμυρίους, πρῶτον μὲν ἠνάγκασεν ἀναφυγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ψέλχιν πόλιν Αἰθιοπικὴν, καὶ πρεσβεύεται τὰ τε ληφθέντα ἀπαιτῶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἦρξαν πολέμου· λεγόντων δ' ὡς ἀδικοῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν νομάρχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔφη τούτους ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα· αἰτησαμένων δ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς εἰς βουλήν καὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐχρῆν ποιούντων, προσβαλὼν ἠνάγκασε προελθεῖν εἰς μάχην, ταχὺ δὲ τροπὴν ἐποίησε συντεταγμένων τε κακῶς καὶ ὀπλισμένων· μεγάλους γὰρ εἶχον θυρεοὺς, καὶ τούτους ὠμοβοῖνους, ἀμυντήρια δὲ πελέκεις, οἱ δὲ κοντοὺς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ξίφη. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνηλάθησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἔφυγον, τινὰς δὲ νῆσος πλησίον ὑπεδέξατο ἐμβάντας εἰς τὸν πόρον· οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ κροκόδειλοι διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν. Τούτων δ' ἦσαν καὶ οἱ τῆς βασιλείσσης στρατηγοὶ τῆς Κανδάκης, ἣ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἦρξε τῶν Αἰθιόπων, ἀνδρική τις γυνὴ πεπηρωμένη τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· τούτους τε δὴ ζωγρία λαμβάνει ἅπαντας ἐπιπλεύσας σχεδίαις τε καὶ ναυσί, καὶ καταπέμπει παραχρῆμα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπελθὼν τε τὴν Ψέλχιν αἰρεῖ· προσαριθμουμένου δὲ τοῖς ἐαλωκόσι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πεσόντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τοὺς σωθέντας ὀλίγους παντάπασι γενέσθαι συνέβη.

Ἐκ δὲ Ψέλχιος ἦκεν εἰς Πρῆμιν ἐρυμνὴν πόλιν διελθὼν τοὺς θίνας, ἐν οἷς ὁ Καμβύσου κατεχώσθη στρατὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀνέμου· προσβαλὼν δὲ ἐξ ἐφόδου τὸ φρούριον αἰρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Ναπάτων· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ βασιλεῖον τῆς Κανδάκης, καὶ ἦν ἐνταῦθα υἱὸς αὐτῆς· καὶ αὐτὴ δ' ἐν τινι πλησίον ἴδρυτο χωρίῳ. Πρεσβευσασμένης δὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ ἀποδοῦσης τοὺς ἐκ Συήνης αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ἐπελθὼν λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ Νάπατα φυγόντος τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ κατασκάπτει· ἐξανδραποδισάμενος δ' ἀναστρέφει πάλιν εἰς τοῦπίσω μετὰ τῶν λαφύρων, δύσοδα κρίνας τὰ προσωτέρω· τὴν δὲ Πρῆμιν τειχίσας βέλτιον, φρουρὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τροφὴν δυεῖν ἐνιαυτῶν τετρακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφυροπώλησε, χιλίους δὲ Καίσαρι ἔπεμψε νεωστὶ ἐκ Καντάβρων ἦκοντι, τοὺς δὲ νόσοι διεχρήσαντο.

Ἐν τούτῳ μυριάσι Κανδάκη πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπήλθε· Πετρώ-  
νιος δ' ἐξεβοήθησε καὶ φθάνει προσελθὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον, καὶ πλείοσι  
παρασκευαῖς ἐξασφαλίσάμενος τὸν τόπον, πρεσβευσαμένων, ἐκέλευσεν ὡς  
Καίσαρα πρεσβεύεσθαι· οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ φασκόντων ὅστις εἶη Καῖσαρ καὶ  
ὅπη βαδιστέον εἶη παρ' αὐτόν, ἔδωκε τοὺς παραπέμψοντας· καὶ ἦκον εἰς  
Σάμον, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος καὶ μέλλοντος εἰς Συρίαν ἐντεῦθεν  
προιέναι, Τιβέριον εἰς Ἀρμενίαν στέλλοντος. Πάντων δὲ τυχόντων ὧν ἐδέ-  
οντο, ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὓς ἐπέστησε.

*Translation*

17.1 [53] Egypt, then, for the most part remained at peace from the outset, since the country was self-sufficient and difficult to invade for people coming from outside. On the north it was defended by a harbourless coast and the Egyptian Sea, on the east and west by the desert mountains of Libya and Arabia, as we already mentioned. There remain, to the south, the Troglodytes, Blemmyes, Noubai and Megabaroι, the Aithiopians beyond Syene.<sup>411</sup> These are nomads and neither many nor warlike, although they were believed to be so by the ancients because of their frequent raids on defenceless people. As regards the Aithiopians who extend towards the south as far as Meroe, they too are not numerous, nor do they live closely together, for they inhabit a long, narrow and winding river valley, as we already described. Nor are they well prepared either for war or for life in general.

Even now the whole country is in a similar state, as is indicated by the following. With only three cohorts, and not up to full strength at that, the country is adequately guarded by the Romans. When the Aithiopians dared to make an attack, they in fact put their own country at risk. Moreover, as far as the remaining forces in Egypt are concerned, neither are they so great nor have the Romans even once used them all together. For neither the Egyptians themselves, in spite of being very numerous, nor the surrounding peoples are warriors. Now Gallus Cornelius, appointed the first prefect of the country by Caesar,<sup>412</sup> attacked Heroöpolis, which had revolted, and captured it with just a few men, and he also quickly put an end to a tax revolt in the Thebaïd. Later on Petronius, after the Alexandrian mob which numbered tens of thousands had attacked him throwing stones, managed to resist them with just his own guard and by killing some of them made the others stop. I have already told (Strabo 16.4.23) how Gallus Aelius, after invading Arabia with part of the Egyptian garrison, discovered that this people was unwarlike. If Syllaios had not betrayed him, he would even have conquered the whole of Arabia Felix.

<sup>411</sup>It is impossible to decide from the Greek of this passage whether the apposition "the Aithiopians beyond Syene" only defines the Megabaroι or belongs to all four peoples enumerated.

<sup>412</sup>I.e., Octavian. For this whole description, cf. the inscription of Cornelius Gallus at Philae, FHN II, 163-165.

[54] Disdainful because part of the (Roman) forces stationed in Egypt had been detached to follow Gallus Aelius on his expedition against the Arabs, the Aithiopians attacked the Thebaïd and the garrison of three cohorts at Syene. They managed to take Syene, Elephantine and Philae unawares and on the first attack; they enslaved all the inhabitants and even pulled down the statues of Caesar. Then Petronius attacked them with less than ten thousand foot and eight hundred cavalry against thirty thousand men. First he forced them to retreat to the Aithiopian town of Pselchis (Dakka) and sent envoys demanding the return of what had been taken and asking about their reasons for starting a war. They said that they were being wronged by the nomarchs,<sup>413</sup> but he told them that these were not the rulers of the country, but Caesar. They requested three days for deliberations; but since they did not do any of the things they should, he attacked and forced them out into battle. He rapidly put them to flight because of their poor battle formation and armament. For they had large oblong shields, and of raw oxhide at that, and for weapons axes; others had pikes, others still swords. Some were forced back into the town, some fled into the desert, while others found refuge on an island nearby, wading across the river, for the crocodiles were not numerous there on account of the current. Among these were also the generals of Queen Candace, who ruled the Aithiopians in my time, a manly woman who had lost one of her eyes. All these Petronius captured alive, having crossed over on rafts and boats, and immediately sent them down to Alexandria. He also attacked and captured Pselchis. If the number of men killed in the battle is added to those taken prisoner, it emerges that those who escaped were very few indeed.

From Pselchis Petronius arrived at Primnis (Qasr Ibrim), a fortified city, having crossed the sandbanks at which Cambyses' army had been overtaken by a stormwind and buried in the sand. He attacked and took the fortress on the first assault, and then marched off for Napata. This was Candace's royal seat, and her son was there; she herself had taken residence in a place nearby. Although she sent envoys asking for friendship and returned the prisoners taken from Syene and the statues, he attacked and captured Napata as well, after Candace's son had fled, and razed it to the ground. Having enslaved the inhabitants, he withdrew again with his spoils, deeming the land further on too difficult to traverse. He had Primnis better fortified, placed a garrison there with a two years' supply of food for four hundred men, and then departed for Alexandria. Of the prisoners he sold some as booty and sent one thousand to Caesar who had recently returned from Cantabria (in northern Spain); some also succumbed to disease.

Meanwhile, Candace marched against the garrison with many thousands of men. Petronius, however, went to its assistance, arrived before them at the fortress, and reinforced the place with more armaments. When they sent envoys, he told them to do so to Caesar instead; and when they said that they did

<sup>413</sup>Probably referring to district financial officers.

not know who Caesar was or where to go to reach him, he gave them an escort. They came to Samos, where Caesar was staying in preparation for proceeding to Syria, while he sent Tiberius to Armenia. After they had achieved all they asked for, he even exempted them from the taxes he had imposed.

[TH]

### *Comments*

The Roman conquest of Egypt opened a new chapter in Aithiopian-Egyptian relations. As a first move, in 30 BC Meroe tried to exploit the opportunity presented by an Upper Egyptian revolt to re-conquer the entire stretch of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley as far north as Syene. The Upper Egyptian revolt was swiftly crushed by Cornelius Gallus, Egypt's first Roman praefect who, annexing to Egypt the entire stretch of Valley between the First and Second Cataracts, revived the Ptolemaic governmental unit called the Triacontaschoenus. The government of the Triacontaschoenus was, as it seems, organised similarly to the Ptolemaic administration of the region as had been established in the 2nd cent. BC after the crushing of the Upper Egyptian revolt (for the Ptolemaic administration cf. FHN II, (128), (129), 133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 141; for the campaign of Cornelius Gallus *ibid.* 163-165).

In the summer of 25 BC Augustus ordered Aelius Gallus, second Roman prefect of Egypt (26-24 BC, cf. Bureth 1988, 475), to launch an expedition against Arabia Felix. The expedition was motivated by the wealth of Arabia and the commercial capacity of the Red Sea and may be regarded as one of the last acts of an expansive Roman foreign policy (for the Arabian campaign see also literature quoted in the *Comments* on FHN II, 166). At the same time, a new prefect was appointed in Egypt in the person of C. Petronius (for his career see Bagnall 1985; Bureth 1988, 475). Aelius Gallus went to Arsinoe to join in the preparations for the Arabian expedition, then proceeded, after some months, to Leuke Kome, whence he departed for the expedition, taking with him almost half of the forces stationed in Egypt. Following Aelius Gallus' departure, armed Meroites crossed the First Cataract, attacked Philae, Syene/Aswan and Elephantine, and carried off prisoners and statues of Augustus (for the events see also FHN II, 168, and in this volume 204, 205).

Strabo's account of the reasons for the Arabian venture in Book 16.4.22 gives the impression that the expedition against Arabia was planned together with an expedition against Meroe as part of a larger project. However, before the intended expedition against Meroe could have been properly prepared, the Meroites acted first and, as it seems, directly on receiving the news about the withdrawal of considerable military forces from Egypt. The subsequent description of the course of events in Arabia and Aithiopia bears, however, the stamp of personal bias: Strabo, as protegé and friend of Aelius Gallus, was not only informed by his protector but also conveyed his defence for his actions (for the

real course of the Arabian war see *Comments* on FHN II, 166; for the actual role of Syllaios cf. Stein 1931; Wissmann 1976, 313 ff., 433 ff.).

The Aithiopian attack on Syene, Elephantine and Philae provoked a counter-attack led by Aelius Gallus' successor C. Petronius (Josephus, *A.J.* 15.307; Cassius Dio, 54.5.4; Brunt 1975, 142; for his career see Bagnall 1985; Burreth 1988, 475). As to the chronology of the events, we know that the Aithiopian attack took place some time in late summer or early autumn of 25 BC and that by late winter 24 BC Augustus had already received the prisoners taken by Petronius in the battle at Pselchis/Dakka.

Strabo records that when Petronius asked the Meroites why they attacked Philae, Syene and Elephantine, they answered that they had been mistreated by the nomarchs, i.e., tax-collectors (for the nomarch as tax-collector see literature cited in the *Comments* on FHN II, 166). Considering this detail together with Strabo's description of their primitive equipment and more than insufficient "army" organisation, we may well conclude that the first act of the war between Augustus and Meroe was nothing but a popular uprising in the Triacanthoschoenus against the Roman vassallage established as a result of Cornelius Gallus' campaign; it seems, however, that at the same time a Meroitic army also departed from the south, under the command of King Teriteqas (cf. FHN II, (172)), to give support to the rebels. Teriteqas' progress is marked by his graffito in the Dakka temple (FHN II, 174). Teriteqas died suddenly, however; for according to Strabo, already at the battle of Pselchis/Dakka Petronius met as his opponents the generals of "Queen Candace"<sup>414</sup> whom we may identify with Teriteqas' successor Queen Amanirenas who accompanied Teriteqas to Lower Nubia (see FHN II, (175)). After his victory at Dakka, Petronius captured Qasr Ibrim and set forth, so Strabo, for Napata, the royal seat of the Queen. According to the historian, Petronius reached Napata and, disregarding the Queen's offer of peace,<sup>415</sup> attacked, captured, and razed it to the ground. On his way back he

<sup>414</sup>Note that Strabo, like earlier and later authors, believed the title Candace to have been the name of the queen, see FHN II, 85, 105; in this volume see 194 and cf. also Hofmann 1981b.

<sup>415</sup>The bronze head of the Primaporta type from a monumental statue of Augustus, now in the British Museum (Inv. 1911.9.1.1), found buried in front of Chapel M 292 at Meroe City (for the find see Török 1997, § 36, Pls 107, 109, 110), is usually regarded as part of the loot plundered in 25 BC (cf. Adams 1977, 340) and accordingly dated to before 25 BC. Such a dating would strongly support the dating of the development of the Primaporta type to the period between c. 30-25 BC (so Haynes 1983; Schmaltz 1986; Boschung 1993, 160 f. Cat. 122). However, Hausmann (1981, 571 ff.) has recently shown that the type first emerged on coins issued in 27/6 in the East but did not become dominant before c. 25-23 BC. Consequently, the statue to which the Meroe City head belonged was more probably made after 25 BC (cf. Török 1989-1990) and set up during the period of the Roman occupation of Qasr Ibrim between 24 and 21/20 BC whence it was taken to Meroe and buried as an act of triumph after the Treaty of Samos when Qasr Ibrim was again under Meroitic supremacy (for the supposed Qasr Ibrim provenance see first Plumley 1971). Though it cannot be entirely excluded that the head was taken from Egypt in the course of a later, unrecorded, Meroitic raid, it at least seems certain that it had been buried at Meroe City before the middle of the 1st cent. AD (cf. Török 1997, § 36). If, however, we are not mistaken in connecting the setting up as well as the removal of the statue with the Roman occupation of Qasr Ibrim between 24 and

placed a garrison at Qasr Ibrim with provisions for two years, establishing a Roman fortress at a point which is situated far beyond the southern limit of the Dodecaschoenus where the Roman frontier line would be drawn in 21/20 BC (cf. 188): it would thus seem that the Roman garrison at Qasr Ibrim was intended to control the restored Triacontaschoenus.

The historicity of the Petronius campaign was questioned by Inge Hofmann (1977a, 198 ff.), who presented a detailed discussion of the topography of the Aithiopian expedition as reported by Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.181 f. (= 204) and came to the conclusion that Petronius could not have completed the whole campaign to Napata from Alexandria and back again between the late summer or autumn of 25 BC, when the Meroites attacked Philae, Syene, and Elephantine, and the late winter of 24 BC, when, on his return from Spain, Augustus received in Rome the Meroitic prisoners, which Petronius took in the battle at Dakka and first sent to Alexandria (Cassius Dio 53.28.1; cf. Schmitthenner 1969, 459 note 238; it is, however, also possible that the expedition was already concluded by the winter of 25 BC, when the temple of Janus was closed in Rome, *ibid.*, 455). While the expedition could thus have lasted 6-7 months at the most and 4-5 months at the least, the march from Syene/Aswan to Napata alone would have taken more than 2 months (cf. Hofmann 1977a, 198 ff.). Hofmann's suggestion that Napata was in fact not reached is also supported by the list of towns reported by Pliny to have been taken by Petronius: Pselchis (Dakka), Primis (Qasr Ibrim), Bocchis (Ballana), Forum Cambusis (Faras), Attena (Mirgissa)<sup>416</sup> and Stadissis, identified with Saras (Meroitic *Sdose*) at the Second Cataract (204 and see Török 1979, 8 f., 16 f.). Still, according to Hofmann's discussion of the evidence, the sack of Napata was added only propagandistically, but contrary to historical fact, to the reports on the war; and in fact Petronius' army had to return from the Second Cataract region for the same reason that Aelius Gallus' army had to from Arabia (cf. FHN II, 166 and, in this volume, 205).

The above reconstruction of events, first suggested by Hofmann (1977a) and followed by Török (1989-1990), is opposed by Burstein (1979; 1989b, 226 f.) and Desanges (1992, 369; 1993, 30 ff.). While, as indicated above, their acceptance of the historicity of the Nubian campaign as it is described in FHN II, 166 is greatly influenced by their acceptance of the historicity of Augustus' statement concerning the Arabian campaign, the interpretation of the reports on C. Petronius' success seems in fact to depend on the evidence of the toponyms: for, according to Desanges, *Bocchis* is identical with the *Bôgkhis* of Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v.) in the region of the Third Cataract, while Priese (1984a, 489)

---

21/20 BC, all datings of the Primaporta type to after 20 BC, i.e., the return of the trophies by the Parthians (so, e.g., Kähler 1959; Zanker 1990, 188 f., also accepted by Hofmann 1977a, 200), become improbable.—The taking and returning of divine images in the course of wars occurs frequently in the literature of the Egyptian Late Period, see Kaplony 1971, 257 with note 1.

<sup>416</sup>For the identifications cf. Priese 1984a; the remarks made by Desanges 1993b, 31 on the identification of Bocchis are not compelling.

identified it with Ballana, a place north of the Second Cataract—an identification which is in accordance with the identification of Pliny's *Stadissis* with a place at the Second Cataract (Török 1979, 8 f., 16 f.: Meroitic *Sdose*; Priese 1984a, 490: New Kingdom *T3-c-s3-tj*, Ptolemaic *Tasitia*, at modern Abka). It seems probable, however, that Stephanus' identification of *Bôgkhis* was based on a confusion of the Third with the Second Cataract.

Meroitic resistance to the re-establishment of Egyptian supremacy in the Triacontaschoenus was strong and determined. In 22 BC, i.e., when the provisions left behind for two years by Petronius in the fortress of Qasr Ibrim were exhausted (cf. Cassius Dio 54.5.4-6 = 205, who reports the events under the year 22 BC; and see Hofmann 1977a, 201), the Candace, i.e., Queen Amanirenas, marched against the Roman fortress of Qasr Ibrim. Petronius was, however, the first to arrive there, whereupon the Aithiopians started negotiations. Strabo's remark about their alleged ignorance about who Caesar, i.e., Octavian, was, fits well into the general tenor of the narrative: in fact, it is difficult to imagine that the Aithiopians who, as Strabo's story itself shows, were well-informed about events in Egypt would have been so ignorant. The poisonous small detail, which may have been invented by Aelius Gallus or Strabo or any Roman informant of the latter, was intended to give a striking example for how far Aithiopia and the Aithiopians were from the civilized world.

Peace negotiations were finally conducted on the Island of Samos where Augustus was staying in the winter of 21/20 BC (cf. Cassius Dio 54.7.1-4). They resulted in the remission of the taxes imposed upon the Aithiopians (these were presumably the taxes that had provoked the revolt in 25 BC) and in the annexation of the Dodecaschoenus and the establishment of the southern Egyptian frontier at Hiera Sycaminos (modern Maharraqa). There can be no doubt that, however cleverly balanced the Roman policy of the subsequent period in the Dodecaschoenus, an area inhabited mainly by Aithiopians, was, the annexation of this region was intended to hinder any further Aithiopian attack on Egyptian territory and to establish an effective frontier defence. The Dodecaschoenus was regarded mainly as a military zone; its civil administration was only loosely attached to Egypt and was left in the hands of the local, non-Egyptian, élite (cf. 229-232). On the other hand, the Treaty of Samos also marks the new foreign policy traditionally termed *Pax Augusta*, i.e., the establishment of world hegemony within the frontiers of the empire, as opposed to Republican expansionist policy that had still been prevalent in 29 BC when the Aithiopian-Roman conflict had started (cf. Meyer 1961 3 ff.); for the story started with the plan to subdue the whole Meroitic kingdom, continued with attempts to occupy at least what had been the Ptolemaic Triacontaschoenus between the First and Second Cataracts, and concluded with a Roman victory resulting in a modest frontier correction.

[LT]

**(191) Amanikhabale. Titles. Evidence for reign.**

Titles

Sources: 1. Throne name (?) in mixed Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs and Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs in cartouches on a small lion statue from the W side of a reservoir (*hafir*) at Basa, REM 0046, Griffith 1911a 70, Pls XXVI, XXVII; 2. Throne name and Son of Rê name, with Meroitic title *qore* in the cartouche, in Meroitic hieroglyphs on a bronze cone (top of flag-pole?) from Kawa (Temple B? cf. Macadam 1955, 236) now Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1936.438, REM 1026, Macadam 1955, Pl. CVI; 3. Name on the fragment of an offering table from Beg. N. 3, REM 0802, Dunham 1957, 54 fig. 27; the same, not in cartouche: 4. on the fragment of a stone vessel from Naqa, REM 1040, Hintze 1959a, 45, Pl. IX fig. 49; 5. Name [*Mnh*]ble and title *qore* in cursive Meroitic, on a stela from the Amun temple M 260 at Meroe City, REM 1038 = 192, Shinnie 1967, Pl. 32, Wenig 1978, Cat. 122.

For a careful separation of the monuments of King Amanikhareqerem (see (227)) from those of King Amanikhabale (correcting Hofmann 1978a, 107 ff. and Török 1988a, 180) see Wenig 1992.

*Titles/documents*

	1.	2.
Throne name (?)	Nb-twy-qor-ꜥnh (?)	wtemroso
Son of Rê name	Mnhble	Mnhble qore

Evidence for reign

The filiation and family relationships of Amanikhabale remain unknown, unless we accept Hofmann's suggestion (1978a, 107) according to which the inscribed fragment of a table with the name of Amanikhabale from Beg. N. 3 (REM 0802, see above) can be fitted together with fragments found in Beg. N. 2 and 4 and originating from an offering table inscribed for a ruler (*qore*) whose mother's name was Nawidemak (see above, (186)). It is generally assumed (Dunham 1957, 7; Hintze 1959a, 33; Wenig 1967, 43; Hofmann 1987, 108 f.) that he was buried in Beg. N. 2 (Dunham 1957, 103 ff.).

*Comments*

Amanikhabale's direct descent from Nawidemak also seems to be supported by the close paleographical relationship between the cursive Meroitic inscriptions in Nawidemak's tomb and on the base of her gold statuette (cf. (186)) on the one hand, and, on the other, on the Amanikhabale stela (192) and on the fragments of the offering table hypothetically attributed to Amanikhabale (see (191) and cf. Macadam 1966, 64). In this case, his reign could be dated in general terms to the middle or second half of the 1st cent. AD. A similar dating may follow from

the, albeit tentative, identification of Beg. N. 2 as Amanikhabale's burial place (Dunham 1957, 7; Hintze 1959a, 33; Wenig 1967, 43; Hofmann 1978a, 108 f.; Török 1988a, 180). In Beg. N. 2 there was found a splendid silver drinking vessel (MFA 24.971, Dunham 1957, Pl. LIII, Török 1989-1990, figs 7-10) with repoussé decoration representing an enthroned king with the features of Augustus as they appeared on an eastern *aureus* from 17 BC (Kent et al. 1973, 96 No. 140; Török 1989-1990 fig. 12; for other, less close analogies cf. Vermeule 1968, 143 f., fig. 68) in a judgement scene from a legend probably related to the Hellenistic Bocchoris/Bakenranef stories. This representation seems to represent (see Török 1989a, No. 130) a refined and flattering iconographical message hinting at Augustus' Solomonian dilemma when establishing a just peace between Egypt and Aithiopia (cf. *Comments* on 190). The vessel was probably made in the Augustan period (so Strong 1966, 137), perhaps in Alexandria (so Vermeule 1968, 143 f.), and had been sent to Meroe as a diplomatic present. While it is highly doubtful that its message was correctly understood, it provides a *post quem* for Beg. N. 2. A chronological closeness, and perhaps also a manifestation of dynastic descent and/or political-religious affinity, to Queen Amanirenas may be indicated by the adoption of the Meroitic Throne name *wtemroso*, which is attested in the titulary of this queen inscribed on a bronze naos from Kawa (REM 0628, cf. FHN II, (175)).

The character and distribution of the inscribed monuments of Amanikhabale indicate temple building and/or restoration work and donations at Meroe City, Kawa, Naqa and Basa; their fine craftsmanship reflects high cultural standards. The use of both Meroitic hieroglyphic and cursive writing for royal monuments as well as the clever renderings of the King's names indicate a flourishing period; and, if we place Amanikhabale correctly into a chronological framework, his adoption of Meroitic Throne name(s) indicates, on the one hand, the survival of a tradition started in Tañyidamani's reign (see FHN II, (150)) and, on the other, foreshadows the re-emergence of Egyptian Throne names in the course of the subsequent century (cf. (211)-(215), (217), (225) etc.).

[LT]

## 192 Meroitic stela of King Amanikhabale from Meroe City. Mid-1st cent. AD.

A. Khartoum 522 (lunette and fragments of lines 1-2: REM 1038, Shinnie 1967, Pl. 32, Wenig 1978, Cat. 122) and B. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, Inv. no. unknown (so-called Turayev Stela, 21 lines from the text, REM 1001, Turayev 1912, Pl. I, Monneret de Villard 1960, Pl. XXVIII).

### *Introduction to source*

The fragment of a round-topped steatite stela measuring 18.9 cm (width) x 20.3 cm (height) was discovered in 1911 by John Garstang in Room 272 of M 260, the late Amûn temple, at Meroe City (cf. Garstang 1912, 47; PM VII, 236; Török 1997,

127 find 272-1). The circumstances of the find of the Turayev Stela are unknown. For the script and language of the text cf. General Note to the Meroitic Texts in the Introduction.

*Text*

A

(1) semlo,, kditede [...] (Mnh)(2)ble,, qor[...]

B

(1)[...]\*atkelw [...] (2)[...]nse,, yinnid(te,,)  
 (3) (a)pte mlo,, ydekel,, nse(,,) (4) yinnidte,,  
 \*ht,, yykel,, (5) (n)se,, yinnidte,, arite(6)(ñ)l,, nse,, yinnidte  
 m\*k,, \*l(7)tomosewi,, yinnidte,,  
 \*m(8)[.]tereq\*osewi,, yinni(9)dte,,  
 mk,, \*mrtewi,, yin(10)nidte,,  
 mk,, krdt\*i\*se[.](11)wi,, n\*se,, yinnidte,,  
 [..](12)mk(i/l),, yinnidte\*,\*,  
 seb(13)abhli,, ñte(li/wi,,) tnki(14)tkkte,,  
 eñte,, ñtel,, etkk(15)te,,  
 tdhe,, tdhel,, etkke(16)te,,  
 \*dtemplodete,, lh̄te  
 (17)sebqesewi,, etewi(18)e\*to,, yidwkte,,  
 a\*tw[.](19)di\*,\*, hebo,, mesole [...](20)[...]\*n[.],, irnon [...]  
 (21)[...], \*i[...]

*Comments*

Of the stela, part of the lunette with the beginning of the two first lines of the inscription (fgm. A) and a fragment of the text of the stela with 21, mostly completely preserved, horizontal inscription lines (fgm. B) are preserved. The finely executed cursive Meroitic signs were engraved between incised horizontal lines.

The lunette of the delicately carved miniature stela is decorated with two symmetrical scenes in bold raised relief. The top of the lunette is bounded by the winged sundisc from which two uraeus serpents, wearing the Red (right) and the White (left) Crowns, respectively, hang down. In an unusual manner, the two scenes are separated by a long garland-like object which is fastened to the Double Crown of the goddess enthroned in the right half of the lunette and hangs down almost to the ground line of the scenes in the lunette. The scene in the right half represents King Amanikhabale standing before the goddess Mut. The goddess sits on a traditional throne the side of which is decorated with the figure of a winged female sphinx of the Greek type. The goddess is dressed in a tight skirt decorated with vulture figures and wears the vulture headdress and the Double Crown, apparently with a uraeus above her forehead. To the top of

the Double Crown is attached the above-mentioned long, narrow object which appears to have been a bunch of long thin cords of textile (?) tied together at equal distances.<sup>417</sup> The King offers Mut a three-strand necklace. He wears the Kushite skullcap with diadem, one (?) uraeus and streamers and a crown superstructure consisting, over ram's horns, of the two tall plumes of Amûn with sundisc and flanked by uraei (Török 1987b, Type A XIV). He also wears a necklace with a ram's head pendant and anklets (cf. Török 1987b, No. 85). He is dressed in an ankle-length haltered garment decorated with the image of the Horus falcon,<sup>418</sup> and wears sandals. In the relief on the left side the King, whose figure is almost completely destroyed, is shown in an apparently identical attire offering a three-strand necklace to the ram-headed Nubian Amûn enthroned back to back to Mut in the pendant scene. The god sits on a throne decorated with a star pattern. He wears a feather-patterned haltered garment, and, over his wig, two tall plumes with sundisc and holds in his right hand a crooked staff (?) and in his left an *ꜥnh*-sign.

The incomplete preservation of the first lines does not allow much speculation about the character of the inscription. It is at least certain that the introduc-

<sup>417</sup>A similar headdress, worn, however, in the manner of the superstructure of a crown over a Kushite skullcap, also occurs in the representation of the triumphal goddess Tly on the Arikankharor tablet (Wenig 1978, Cat. 125, cf. (213)), in the depiction of an anonymous goddess on one of the columns of the Meroitic temple at Amara (Wenig 1977, Pl. 9; Török 1987b, 28, No. 69/3 in fig. 69), and on a pair of gold ear studs from Beg. W. 127 (Dunham 1963, 170 fig. 22/i, 171 fig. 123: kneeling nude goddess touching her breasts and wearing, similarly to 192, the Double Crown). This fashion Hofmann and Tomandl (1985, 22) have associated with the long, thin, bobbing devices (according to Kendall 1982, 25 plumes) emerging from the skullcaps of lesser queens and soaring over their heads and arching backwards. One such device is worn by a wife of Mentuhotep, Governor of Thebes under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (on a stela in Cairo, Habachi 1977, figs 2 f., misinterpreted as hair collected on the top of her head); at Kawa (Temple T, loose blocks, Macadam 1955, Pl. LXIV/e-i) two queens of Taharqo were shown wearing one and three such accessories, respectively. Three queens of Atlanersa (2nd half of the 7th cent. BC) wear this type of accessory in the now lost pylon scene from temple B 700 at Gebel Barkal (Griffith 1929, Pl. V; cf. FHN I, (30)). One of them, bearing the titles "king's wife, king's daughter, king's sister" was shown there wearing three objects, two lesser queens titled king's wives and king's daughters were represented with two objects hanging down from their skullcaps (cf. Török 1995a, 106 f.). The fashion re-occurs in the reliefs on the Aspelta shrine at Sanam (Griffith 1922a, Pl. XLV) and again in the archaizing mortuary cult chapel reliefs of King Arqamani (late 3rd-early 2nd cent. BC, Beg. N. 7, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 4 C, cf. FHN II, (129)). While the formal resemblance of the accessory, as represented on 192, the Arikankharor tablet, and in the Amara temple, to the much shorter objects worn by the wives of Atlanersa and Arqamani is small and the iconographical relationship may indeed be doubted on this account (so Török 1987b, 28, 94 note 149), a conceptual comparison may nevertheless be made. In 192 the strange crown accessory is worn by Mut; in the Amara relief it is the crown prince Sorkaror (cf. (215)) who is shown before the goddess with the long pendant accessory; and in the ear studs from Beg. W. 127 the crown of Mut is worn by a fertility goddess: it may thus have been associated with goddesses who legitimated the royal power in their function as divine mothers.

<sup>418</sup>For the remarkable dress cf. the relief fragment from Meroe City M 281, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII/6; Török 1997, § 32, Pl. 204; and the statue fgm. of Natakamani from Meroe City, Török 1997, § 94, find 998-1, Pl. 191, and cf. the Egyptian falcon jacket also adopted in Meroitic royal iconography, Borchardt 1933; Russmann 1974, 25; Török 1990, 174.

tion named the king and gave his Meroitic title *qore*, "ruler"; and it may perhaps be presumed with Hintze (1961, 278 f.) that the stela was dedicated by Amanikhabale for the benefit of his wife: the words *sem* ("wife", Griffith 1911b, 60, 68; Hofmann 1981, 348) and *kdi* ("woman", Hofmann 1981, 348) may indeed speak for such an interpretation. The preserved section of the main text (fgm. B) gives the impression of being a hymn with the series of brief utterances ending with the words *yinnidte* (nine "sentences" preserved) and then *tkkte/etkkte/etketete/kte* (four "sentences" preserved; for the word cf. *etktete* in REM 0412 = HN II, 174 [?]). Words as *ariteñ* (*ari*, "heaven": Priese 1971, 282 § 31.2; Meeks 1973 14, *ariteñ*, "deity": Priese 1968, 175; "lord": Hofmann 1981, 348), *mk* ("deity", Hofmann 1981, 348) and *tdhe fit*, of course, in most general terms into the context of a votive stela text and do not help us to determine its contents with any precision.

[LT]

### 193 Description of Aithiopia. Ca. AD 40.

Pomponius Mela 3.85-88; 96-101. FGrH 673.24.

#### Source bibliography

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Gisinger 1952  | F. Gisinger: Pomponius Mela. RE XXI.2, cols. 2360-2411. Stuttgart.   |
| Jacoby 1958    | F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil. C 1. Leiden.   |
| Meyboom 1995   | P.G.P. Meyboom: The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Leiden-New York-Köln.   |
| Silberman 1988 | Pomponius Mela: Chorographie. Texte établi, traduit et annoté par A. Silberman. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |

#### Introduction to source

Pomponius Mela is known only through what can be gleaned from his geographical work *De chorographia* ("Description of places"), written during the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54), the earliest surviving work of this kind in Latin. He was a native of Spain, but lived in Rome and writes from a Roman standpoint (Gisinger 1952, 2361).

His work consists of three (short<sup>419</sup>) books, written in the style of a *periplus*, or sailor's handbook, in that it follows in the main the coast line, largely neglecting the inland areas. After a general survey it starts with the Mediterranean coast of Africa, then the Eastern Mediterranean, the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. In Book 2 follow Macedonia, Greece and further westwards Spain, the Mediterranean islands being added at the end. Book 3 describes the Atlantic coast from Spain to the Baltic Sea, and passes, via the peoples of North and East

<sup>419</sup>The whole work consists of ca. 70 pages in modern print.

Europe, to the "Eastern Ocean" and India, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Gulf, and Aithiopia.

*De chorographia* is a sketchy and selective work; frequently, phrases reveal that the author is abridging a more detailed source (Gisinger 1952, 2389 f.). Mela rarely names his authorities; when he does, it appears that his citation is taken from an intermediate source. Thus the whole work is a compilation from a variety of sources, something that the unevenness of its style also indicates. To identify Mela's sources is often impossible (see Gisinger 1952, 2398-2405). His work does have the value of giving in some cases information not found in other authors.

For much of the material in the present text cf. FHN I, 52 and 65 (Herodotus). Our text is based on Silberman (1988). For an introduction to Mela see Gisinger (1952); Silberman (1988) VII-XLIII.

*Text*

3 [85] Aethiopes ultra sedent; Meroen habent terram quam Nilus, primo ambitu amplexus, insulam facit. Pars, quia vitae spatium dimidio fere quam nos longius agunt, Macrobiani, pars, quia ex Aegypto advenere, dicti Automoles. Pulchri forma atque corporis viriumque veneratores, veluti optimarum alii virtutum. [86] [in] Illis mos est, cui potissimum pareant, specie ac viribus legere. Apud hos plus auri quam aeris est; ideo quod minus est pretiosius censent: aere exornantur, auro vincla sontium fabricant. [87] Est locus adparatis epulis semper refertus; quia ut libet vesci volentibus licet, Helium trapezan adpellant, et quae passim adposita sunt adfirmant innasci subinde divinitus.

[88] Est lacus quo perfusa corpora quasi uncta pernitent; bibitur idem; adeo est liquidus et ad sustinenda quae incidunt aut immittuntur infirmus, ut folia etiam proximis decisa frondibus non innatantia ferat, sed pessum et penitus accipiat. Sunt et saevissimae ferae, omni colore varii lycaones et quales accepimus sphinges. Sunt mirae aves, cornutae tragopanes <et> equinis auribus [et] pegasi.

3 [96] Tunc rursus Aethiopes, nec iam dites quos diximus, nec ita corporibus similes, sed minores incultique sunt et nomine Hesperioe. In horum finibus fons est quem Nili esse aliqua credibile est: Nunc ab incolis dicitur, et videri potest non alio nomine adpellari sed a barbaro ore corruptus. Alit et papyrus et minora quidem eiusdem tamen generis animalia. [97] Aliis annibus in oceanum vergentibus solus in mediam regionem et ad orientem abit, et quonam exeat incertum est. Inde colligitur Nilum hoc fonte conceptum, acutumque aliquandiu per invia et ideo ignotum, iterum se ubi adiri possit ostendere; ceterum spatio quo absconditur effici, ut hic alio cedere, ille aliunde videatur exurgere.

[98] Catoblepas non grandis fera, verum grande et praegrave caput aegre sustinens, atque ob id in terram plurimum ore conversa, apud hos gignitur, ob

vim singularem magis etiam referenda, quod cum impetu morsuque nihil umquam saeviat, oculos eius vidisse mortiferum. [99] Contra eosdem sunt insulae Gorgades, domus ut aiunt aliquando Gorgonum. Ipsae terrae promunturio, cui Hesperu Ceras nomen est, finiuntur.

[100] Inde incipit frons illa, quae in occidentem vergens mari Atlantico adluitur. Prima eius Aethiopes tenent, media nulli; nam aut exusta sunt, aut harenis obducta, aut infesta serpentibus. Exustis insulae adpositae sunt, quas Hesperidas tenuisse memoratur. [101] In harenis mons est Atlas, ...

*Translation*

3 [85] Inland<sup>420</sup> live the Aithiopians. They inhabit the region Meroe, which the Nile makes into an island by encircling it with its first embrace. One part [of the people] is called Macrobiani ["the Long-lived"], because they live longer than us by about half a life's length, the other is called Automoles ["the Deserters"] because they are immigrants from Egypt. They have good looks and are admirers of bodily strength, just like others are of moral qualities. [86] They have the custom of choosing their leader according to his beauty and strength. Among them there is more gold than bronze; accordingly they consider the scarcer metal the more precious: they adorn themselves with bronze, and make fetters for the criminals from gold. [87] There is a place always filled with ready made meals, and since everyone who wishes is permitted to eat as much as he pleases they call it "the Table of the Sun" and contend that what is set forth around this place is replaced forthwith by divine agency.

[88] There is a lake which makes bodies shine as if oiled when washed with its water; they also drink from it; it is so fluid and so lacking in strength to sustain things that fall or are thrown into it that it cannot even keep afloat leaves fallen from the foliage nearby but let them sink to the bottom. There are also the wildest of beasts, *lycaones*, displaying all the colours,<sup>421</sup> and creatures such as we have heard the *sphinges* are.<sup>422</sup> There are wondrous birds, horned *tragopanes*<sup>423</sup> and *pegasi* with horse's ears<sup>424</sup>.

<sup>420</sup>*Ultra* in the Latin text means "beyond", i.e., seen from the viewpoint of a person on the coast.

<sup>421</sup>Apparently a kind of wolf. It is also associated with Aithiopia by Gaius Iulius Solinus, who wrote a kind of summary of remarkable pieces of information from various parts of the world (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, after AD 200). Solinus says that the *lycaon* "is a wolf with a mane, with so many different appearances that they say it lacks none of the colours" (30.24). Neither Mela nor Solinus makes it clear whether the variety of colour of the *lykaones* refers to single individuals or to the species.

<sup>422</sup>Probably the guenon, see Meyboom (1995) 22, 227 f. (n. 19), and, for a pictorial representation, Pl. 11.

<sup>423</sup>Believed by Pliny to be a fabulous bird, "of which some say it is bigger than the eagle" (*Naturalis historia* 10.136).

<sup>424</sup>Another fabulous bird; Pliny even says it was reported to have a horse's head (*ibid.*). Jacoby (1958) punctuates this sentence differently; his text will give the following translation: "There are wondrous horned birds, *tragopanes*, and ...".

3 [96] Then Aithiopians come again, no longer the rich ones I mentioned earlier, nor like them in stature, but smaller in size and uncouth, and called Hesperians.<sup>425</sup> In their territory is the spring that may well be believed to be the source of the Nile; it is called Nunc<sup>426</sup> by the inhabitants, and it might seem that this is not another name given to it but a distortion of its name in a barbarian language. Papyrus grows in it; and the animals there are smaller [than they are normally], but still of the same species. [97] While other rivers turn towards the ocean, this is the only one that flows inland and towards the East, and it is not known where it reappears. This has caused people to infer that the Nile takes its beginning from this source, is led for some time through inaccessible terrain and therefore is unknown, and again shows itself where it can be approached; but the stretch where it is out of sight gives the impression that the one goes in one direction and the other has another origin.

[98] The *catoblepas*<sup>427</sup> is found among these peoples; it is an animal of no great size, but it can barely sustain its large and heavy head, and it therefore has its mouth mostly turned towards the ground. It is even more deserving of mention because of a peculiar quality, for it never threatens by attacking or biting, but to have looked into its eyes is fatal. [99] Opposite them are the Gorgades islands, once the home (they say) of the Gorgons. The mainland itself ends in a promontory named Hesperu Ceras ("Horn of the West").

[100] Here begins the coastline that turns towards the West and is washed by the Atlantic ocean. The first part of it is inhabited by the Aithiopians, the middle part by nobody; for it is either scorched, covered by sand, or infested by snakes. Off the scorched land are some islands that they say were the home the Hesperides.<sup>428</sup> [101] In the sands is the mountain Atlas...

[TE]

### Comments

3.85-88 and 96 present an extremely abbreviated version of Herodotus' description of the land and customs of the "long-lived" Aithiopians (cf. FHN I, 56, 62, 65, 66), elements of which were repeatedly included in the works of later Greek and Roman authors (cf. FHN II, 101-107, 142 f., in this volume 187, 189, 197); and it does not consist of correct and independent data, except for the basic geo-

<sup>425</sup>Greek, "The Westerners", in contrast to the eastern Aithiopians described above, § 85.

<sup>426</sup>*Nunc* (not mentioned anywhere else in ancient literature) is the reading of the principal manuscript (V); editors other than Silberman have *Nuchul* following two later manuscripts derived from V. The context implies that it is the name 'Nile' (Νεῖλος) that has been distorted in the local language; in that case 'Nunc' is a less probable distortion than 'Nuchul'. It is tempting to interpret 'nunc' as the Latin adverb ('now') and suppose a lacuna: "it is *now* called [...] by the inhabitants"; the reading 'Nuchul' might then be the result of an attempt to render the passage more understandable. For the identification of the spring see the note by Silberman (1988) 319.

<sup>427</sup>Greek, "looking downwards".

<sup>428</sup>In Greek mythology the Hesperides were the sisters (of various names and number) who guarded a tree which bore golden apples.

graphical setting of the region of Meroe. The excerpts presented here constitute part of a description organised in the form of a *periodos ges*, a "journey round the earth" or, more precisely in the actual case, a *periplus* or voyage along the coastline (see Romm 1992, 26 ff.). Structuring a description in this way makes it easy to organise geographical information. The geographer's perspective is from the sea and his eyes are turned inland.

The image of Africa Mela presents rests upon his belief that the data available to him derived from a complete circumnavigation of the continent. On the voyage to which Mela invites his reader, we are starting towards the S on the Red Sea and reach the southernmost point of our voyage at the cape of the Panchai, whence we sail westwards along the coast behind which live the Pygmies and several other peoples, pass by the place called Theon Ochema, then the land of the Satyri Aegipanes (Book 3.89-95, not quoted here) and reach the land of the Hesperian Aithiopiens. From here, i.e., the "Horn of the West", we sail NW on the Atlantic ocean (Mela: W) and, shortly after reaching the height of Atlas mountain, we reach the Libyan Sea, i.e., the Mediterranean and can complete the continent's circumnavigation (see the map reconstructions presented by Sallmann 1979, 167; Silberman 1988, reproduced by Desanges 1994-1995, figs 1, 2).

The Pygmies (cf. Herodotus 2.32; and see 187), whom Pomponius Mela calls Hesperians, are placed at the same time in "western" Aithiopia (cf. 187) and in a fabulous land where the source of the Nile is said to be found. Every ancient geographer was occupied by the problem of the location of the headwaters of the Nile which were not reached by ancient explorers (and which fed a river that rose in summer and fell in winter as opposed to other rivers). The problem could only be solved by theories. The most successful of these was suggested by Eudoxus of Cnidus in the 4th cent. BC (cf. Diodorus 1.40.1, Romm 1992, 150), according to whom the source of the Nile lay in the Antichthonos, i.e., an antipodal continent (separated from the known world by the Equator and the Ocean), which would account for the reversed seasonal pattern of the river. The river then reached the known world through an underground channel running under Ocean. In his Book 1.4 Pomponius Mela accepts this theory; in 3.96, however, he also presents an alternative in which the river also has to pass beneath a desert (as is also described, on the basis of Juba's work, by Pliny 5.10.52, cf. Romm 1992, 150 note 70). From the shores of the Hesperians the geographer continues his voyage, as already indicated in the foregoing, on the Atlantic ocean. The fabulous descriptions in 3.98 are based on Hanno's *Periplus*; and several details will recur in Pliny's work (e.g., on the Gorgades islands see 6.200; for Statius Sebosus as a probable source for Pliny in the description of these isles see, however, Desanges 1978a, 58 f.). The *catoblepas* also comes from Hanno; and this mythical animal is also referred to, in various contexts involving the Gorgons, elsewhere in ancient geographical literature

(cf. Alexandros of Myndos quoted by Athenaios, *Deipn.* 5.221b, see also *ibid.* 5.221 f.; cf. Desanges 1978a, 63).

[LT]

**194 The conversion of Candace's treasurer.** Ca. AD 60-100.

*Acts of the Apostles* 8.26-40.

*Source bibliography*

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Aune 1988         | D.E. Aune: <i>The New Testament in its Literary Environment.</i> Cambridge.                                    |
| Conzelmann 1987   | H. Conzelmann: <i>Acts of the Apostles : a Commentary.</i> Trans. J. Limburg et al. (Hermeneia.) Philadelphia. |
| Metzger 1994      | B.M. Metzger: <i>A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament.</i> 2nd ed. Stuttgart.                       |
| Nestle-Aland 1985 | <i>Novum Testamentum Graece.</i> 26th ed. Stuttgart.   |

*Introduction to source*

The *Acts of the Apostles* follows immediately after the four Gospels in the New Testament and recounts what happened to the followers of Jesus Christ after he was executed in Jerusalem ca. AD 33 and how the Christian faith was spread by the missionary travels of the various apostles, especially Paul, in the next three decades. According to its Prologue (1.1-2), it was composed by the same man who wrote the *Gospel of Luke*; and this is supported by stylistic considerations. The author, traditionally identified as the physician Luke (*Loukas*) who was a companion of the Apostle Paul, must have received a good Hellenistic education, as is evident from the literary traits of his Koine Greek and from his rhetorical skill.

The book is usually dated in the 80s or 90s of the first century; but some, pointing to the fact that no events later than the early 60s are narrated, prefer a much earlier date (cf. Conzelmann 1987, xxxiii). Opinions also differ widely as to its historical reliability and accuracy. As a literary work, it belongs to the historiographical genre, but has no close cognates in surviving works in Greek (cf. Aune 1988, 77-115). It is sometimes described as a piece of narrative propaganda that takes advantage of techniques and motifs typical of Greek novels of travel and adventure, while others prefer to emphasize the authenticity of many of its concrete details. Its apologetic purpose, however, is beyond doubt; the apostles are the heroes in the success story of the spread of the Gospel among Jews and Gentiles.

Our extract is part of the story of the mission of one Philip—probably not the Apostle by that name (cf. 1.13), but one of the Seven appointed as helpers to the Twelve in 6.5 (cf. also 21.8)—who successfully preaches the Christian message in the city of Samaria in the district of the same name between Judaea and Galilaea in Palestine.

Our text is based on the 26th edition of Nestle-Aland (1985). Among many commentaries, we mention the concise one by Conzelmann (1987, 67-69) where further bibliography may be found.

*Text*

8 [26] Ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου ἐλάλησεν πρὸς Φίλιππον λέγων· Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. [27] καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης Αἰθιόπων, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς, ὃς ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ, [28] ἦν τε ὑποστρέφων καὶ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν.

[29] Εἶπεν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ Φιλίπῳ· Πρόσελθε καὶ κολλήθητι τῷ ἄρματι τούτῳ. [30] Προσδραμών δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ γὰρ γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις; [31] Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐὰν μὴ τις ὀδηγήσει με; Παρεκάλεσέν τε τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναβάντα καθίσαι σὺν αὐτῷ. [32] Ἡ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς γραφῆς ἦν ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἦν αὕτη·

Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη  
καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος,  
οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

[33] Ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη·  
τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται;  
ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.

[34] Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ Φιλίπῳ εἶπεν· Δέομαί σου, περὶ τίνος ὁ προφήτης λέγει τοῦτο; Περὶ ἐαυτοῦ ἢ περὶ ἑτέρου τινός; [35] Ἀνοιξας δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

[36] Ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τι ὕδωρ, καὶ φησιν ὁ εὐνοῦχος· Ἴδου ὕδωρ, τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; [38] καὶ ἐκέλευσεν στήναι τὸ ἄρμα καὶ κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ τε Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτόν. [39] Ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, πνεῦμα κυρίου ἤρπασεν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτὸν οὐκέτι ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐπορεύετο γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων. [40] Φίλιππος δὲ εὗρέθη εἰς Ἀζωτον· καὶ διερχόμενος εὐαγγελίζετο τὰς πόλεις πάσας ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Καισάρειαν.

*Translation*

8 [26] An angel of the Lord said to Philip: "Get up and go at noon<sup>429</sup> to the road leading down from Jerusalem to Gaza." This is a desert road. [27] He got up and went. And look, there came an Aithiopian man, a eunuch who was a high-

<sup>429</sup>The words can also mean "toward the south".

ranking official at the court of Candace,<sup>430</sup> the queen of Aithiopia, and in charge of all her treasure.<sup>431</sup> He had come to Jerusalem to worship [28] and was now on his way back, sitting in his carriage reading the prophet Isaiah.

[29] The Spirit said to Philip: "Go up close to this carriage!" [30] Philip ran up and heard him reading<sup>432</sup> the prophet Isaiah. He asked: "Do you understand what you are reading?" [31] The man answered: "How could I, unless someone guides me?" He asked Philip to come up and sit with him. [32] The passage of Scripture which he was reading was the following:

Like a sheep led to slaughter,  
like a lamb silent before him who shears it,  
he does not open his mouth.

[33] Through his humiliation his sentence was reversed.

Who can tell his offspring?

For his life is lifted from the earth.<sup>433</sup>

[34] The eunuch said to Philip: "Please tell me, about whom does the prophet say this? About himself or about somebody else?" [35] Philip opened his mouth and began, starting from this scriptural passage, to tell him the good news about Jesus.

[36] As they drove along the road, they came to a source of water,<sup>434</sup> and the eunuch said: "Here is water, what prevents my being baptized?"<sup>435</sup> [38] He ordered the carriage to stop and they both stepped down into the water, Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him. [39] When they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord snatched Philip away, and the eunuch, happily continuing his journey, did not see him any more.

[40] But Philip, it appeared, had come to Azotus.<sup>436</sup> There he went around spreading the good news in all the cities until he came to Caesarea.

[TH]

---

<sup>430</sup>The word *Kandake* is written without the definite article in the Greek text; whatever the historical reality (see FHN II, 85 *Comments*), it thus seems as if the author regarded it as a proper name.

<sup>431</sup>The word *gaza* should probably be translated "treasure" rather than the traditional "treasury", with implications for the man's office.

<sup>432</sup>It was customary to read aloud in antiquity.

<sup>433</sup>A literal quotation from Isaiah 53.7-8 in the Greek version of the Septuagint.

<sup>434</sup>The well referred to has been variously identified, either as one situated between Eleuthero- polis and Ashkelon, or as one close to Ain Dirweh between Jerusalem and Hebron (Conzelmann 1987, 69 with n. 14).

<sup>435</sup>Some New Testament manuscripts and versions add a verse at this place: "[37] He [Philip] said to him: 'If you believe with all your heart, it is possible.' He answered: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.'" This is no doubt an insertion into the original text "due to the feeling that Philip would not have baptized the [Ai]thiopian without securing a confession of faith, which needed to be expressed in the narrative" (Metzger 1994, 315). The baptismal confession appears first in a 6th-century Greek manuscript, but the tradition is much earlier, as shown by a quotation in Irenaeus (2nd cent.), *Adversus Haereses* 3.12.8.

<sup>436</sup>Ashdod, a Philistine city (7 km south-east of mod. Ashdod), north-east of the city of Gaza.

*Comments*

The story about the conversion of the queen of Meroë's treasurer was much commented on in theological literature on the New Testament and in works on the history of early Christianity. It also attracted the attention of historians of the Middle Nile Region. Surveys of the relevant literature are presented by Bauernfeind (1939), Bultmann (1967, 412 ff.), Haenchen (1971, 313 ff.) and Dinkler (1975). In earlier literature on the history of the Middle Nile Region Kraus (1931, 41), and in more recent studies Hengel (1979, 69), Vantini (1981, 33), Scholz (see first of all Scholz 1988 and cf. 1986, 6; 1987, 112 ff., 131) and Estigarribia (1992), put forward the view that **194** is to be accepted as evidence for the beginning of the conversion of Nubia to Christianity in the 1st cent. AD.

The historicity of the *Acts of the Apostles* 8.26-40 is strongly doubted in modern exegetical literature (see Bauernfeind 1939, 129; Dibelius 1961, 20 f.; Conzelmann 1963, 55; Haenchen 1971, 309 ff.; Dinkler 1975, 88) where, however, the question about the place of Candace's treasurer in the Meroitic evidence is not raised.

Philip's Aithiopian convert is characterised in *Acts* as ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης Αἰθίοπων, a description which has been understood and translated differently by different scholars. While the expression ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ, "Aithiopian man" is unproblematic, εὐνοῦχος has traditionally been translated as castrate (Plutarch, *Demetrios* 25.5; Bauernfeind 1939, 127 f.; Bauer et al. 1988, 654; Dinkler 1975, 92; cf. Chantraine 1968-80 II, 385 f. s.v. εὐνή); but an interpretation as "court official" (in Luther's translation of the Bible: "Kammerer", "high political or military officer"; Haenchen 1971, 310: "chamberlain", with reference to the Septuagint; cf. Kittel 1933-1969 II, 764) might be considered. The text also says that he was a δυνάστης, another term denoting a high court office ("court official", cf. Bauer et al. 1979, 208; Haenchen 1971, 310; Bauer et al. 1988, 419) and that he was in charge of all the treasure of his sovereign, Candace, Queen of the Aithiopians: whence his definition as "treasurer" in the scholarly literature. All these Greek ranks and functions sound general enough to be regarded as referring to actual Meroitic court titles; but they cannot be identified, either individually or as a title-complex, with titles or titularies known from the Meroitic evidence (for Meroitic titles and titularies see Hintze 1963; Millet 1969; Török 1977a; 1977b; 1979; Hofmann 1981; Török 1988a, 245 ff.; cf. also Meeks 1973). Consequently, they cannot in themselves form a basis for deciding whether the author of the story described an actual Meroitic dignitary with these titles, or used current expressions which signified in general terms court dignitaries in the contemporary Near East.

Nevertheless, Scholz specifically identifies the δυνάστης of the queen with the *pqr* of the Meroitic inscriptions. The latter title, frequently qualified in its early occurrences as *pqr qori-se*, "*pqr* of the king" (see FHN II, **152**, (**179**), in this volume (**213**)), is associated with a prince of the royal house who may be, in one case, identical with the crown prince (see (**215**)). In later documents, dating

from the 2nd through the 4th cent. AD (cf. Török 1977a, 34 ff.; 1988a, 248 f.), the title denotes the highest office in the *cursus honorum* of high officials in the territorial government and in the administration of the temples, and no longer seems to be restricted to members of the royal family. Hence, Scholz's suggested identification is most unlikely, especially under the conditions obtaining in the 1st cent. AD (cf. also Hofmann 1988, 40 f., who, however, interprets the office of the *pqr* in a different way, see *Comments* on FHN II, 152 and (179)).

The next question that arises about the identity of the Aithiopian of *Acts* 8.26-40 concerns his religious conviction before his meeting with Philip. If we accept the historicity of the story, it must also be accepted that the Aithiopian made a pilgrimage from Meroe to Jerusalem and that he possessed a copy of the Book of Isaiah which he studied on his way home. Though the narrative of *Acts* seems to have been composed as a parallel to Luke's account of the first conversion of a Gentile (i.e., a non-Jew and non-Samaritan; Haenchen 1971, 314 f.), it is nevertheless rather clearly indicated by his pilgrimage as well as by his reading material that he confessed the Jewish faith. Accordingly, Scholz suggests (Scholz 1988; recently: 1994, 687) that the Aithiopian's journey may be explained as a consequence of his Jewish background: in the cautious formulations of Scholz, he "bekannte sich zum Judentum" (1987, 124) and "die Existenz der jüdischen Diaspora in Kusch für die Pilgerschaft [i.e., of the Aithiopian] ... nach Jerusalem eine ausreichende Grundlage lieferte" (1994, 687). Estigarribia offers a more romantic explanation, viz., that the Aithiopian's conversion was an episode in the course of a "diplomatic or commercial" journey to "some kingdom in the east", thus attesting to the extensive contacts maintained by Meroe with the contemporary world. Furthermore, if he was of Jewish origin, he could have purchased Isaiah's book in Hebrew or Aramaic in Jerusalem; otherwise he could have read it in Greek (Estigarribia 1992, 43 f.).

Scholz treats the existence of a Jewish diaspora in ancient Kush as a fact (see Scholz 1987, 116, 123); but in reality it is not supported by any evidence. The suggestion derives from an idea put forward by some exegetes (for literature see Hofmann 1988, 41) according to whom the supposed "Jewish monotheism" of Candace's treasurer derived from the traditions of the colony of Jewish mercenaries settled during the Persian occupation (cf. Lloyd 1983, 280 ff.) of Elephantine in Egypt.<sup>437</sup> However, that colony increasingly displayed signs of syncretism during the period in which it is attested (cf. Kornfeld 1967, 9 ff.; Hofmann 1988, 42); and it disappears from the record by the 3rd cent. BC (cf. Kraeling 1953; Habachi 1975, 1221). So far, the textual and archaeological material

---

<sup>437</sup>It was also supposed, again without any genuine evidence, that members of the Jewish colony on Elephantine emigrated to Aksum and there converted some tribes to their religion; from these tribes would then have descended the Abyssinian Jews, the *Falasha*. On this matter see Lanczkowski 1985, 120 f.

from the Middle Nile Region has failed to produce any evidence that the Jewish colony of Elephantine emigrated to, or influenced, Aithiopia.

It would thus seem that, for lack of evidence, the treasurer of Candace cannot be identified as a Meroitic dignitary, though, on the other hand, the description of him in *Acts* does, of course, not in itself exclude the possibility that a Meroitic court official went to Jerusalem and was converted on his way home.

To accept the historicity of *Acts* 8.26-40 would also imply that the spread of Christianity in the Middle Nile Region started as early as the 1st cent. AD. While admitting that one cannot speak about Aithiopia as a Christian kingdom solely on account of the treasurer's conversion, Scholz nevertheless suggests (1987, 131) that "it justifies the assumption that also Christianity arrived, among other religious currents, in the empire [of Kush] in the Middle Nile Region" in this period. He refers, however, as his earliest evidence for the presence of Christianity in Nubia, to objects from the post-Meroitic period, i.e., at the earliest from the late 4th cent. AD.<sup>438</sup> In fact, no evidence for the existence of Christian communities is known from the Middle Nile Region from the period before the official conversion of the Nubian kingdoms in the 6th cent. (cf. 331). 319-322 indicate, however, that there may have occurred isolated conversions in the upper strata of Nobadian society around the middle of the 5th cent.

[LT]

**195 The sources of the Nile and the geography of Aithiopia.** 1st cent. AD.  
Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.51-54.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Conte 1994         | G.B. Conte: Genres and Readers. Transl. G. W. Most. Baltimore-London.   |
| French 1994        | R. French: Ancient Natural History. Histories of Nature. London-New York.   |
| Jacoby 1916        | F. Jacoby: Iuba II. RE IX <sup>2</sup> , cols. 2384-2395. Stuttgart.  |
| Kroll 1951         | W. Kroll: C. Plinius Secundus der Ältere. RE XXI <sup>1</sup> , cols. 271-439. Stuttgart.   |
| Rackham 1942       | Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 2: Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.                    |
| Winkler-König 1993 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch V. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von G. Winkler in Zusammenarbeit mit R. König. München. |

---

<sup>438</sup>On the problem of the imported objects (which Scholz does not identify) with Christian symbols and their irrelevance for post-Meroitic religion see Török 1988b, 69 f.

*Introduction to source*

Pliny the Elder, born in AD 23/24 in Comum (modern Como in Northern Italy), was educated in Rome, practised for some time as a lawyer, and pursued a political career as procurator (financial administrator) in Spain, Germania, Gallia, and Africa. At the end of his life he commanded the Roman fleet stationed at Misenum (near Naples) and lost his life during the great eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 when, out of scientific curiosity, he ventured too close to the scene. His last hours are described by his nephew and admirer Pliny the Younger (*Letters* 6.16), who also has given an account (*Letters* 3.5) of his uncle's working habits as an avid reader and tireless excerptor ("He read nothing without making excerpts. He used to say that no book was so bad that it could not somehow be useful").

Pliny's career as a writer produced works on the use of the javelin in the cavalry, a laudatory biography of his friend Pomponius Secundus, an account of Rome's wars with Germania, a rhetorical handbook, a book on orthographical matters ("On doubtful language"), and a history of his own times.

His only surviving work, however, is the great encyclopaedia *Naturalis historia*<sup>439</sup> (*Natural History*, including geography, medicine, and art) in 37 books. Book 1 gives an index of contents, with lists of his sources for each book. His habit of regularly naming his authorities is a notable trait of the work (he even criticizes those who pillage predecessors without acknowledgments, *Praef.* 22 f.); in all, he names more than 400 authors, Greek and Latin. On Pliny's sources see most recently French (1994) 218-30. Book 2 deals with astronomy and meteorology, Books 3-6 with geography, Book 7 with anthropology, Books 8-11 with zoology, Books 12-19 with botany and agriculture, Books 20-32 with medicinal effects of products from animals and plants, Books 33-37 with metallurgy and mineralogy, including art connected with metals and stones, as well as colours and the history of painting.

The *Naturalis historia* is a result of compilation, not independent study. Pliny did not sift, compare, or evaluate his sources, he simply collected them, with a minimal attempt to edit or integrate his material. His uncritical attitude led him also to include numerous factual errors, as well as marvels and fabulous tales (which, incidentally, are themselves valuable sources for folklore, superstition, and popular beliefs in antiquity). Although it is easy to point out weaknesses and shortcomings in the *Naturalis historia*, the work is by virtue of its size and completeness an invaluable storehouse of information on numerous aspects of the ancient world.

For an introduction to Pliny see Kroll (1951). Conte (1994, 67-104) discusses the attitudes and principles that shaped Pliny's work. French (1994, 196-255) places the work within the framework of ancient science.

---

<sup>439</sup>The conventional title; Pliny the Younger, however, refers to the work as *Naturae historiae*, "Investigations into nature" (*Letters* 3.5.6); this may therefore well be the original title.

The text of the *Naturalis historia* has been edited in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* by Mayhoff (1892-1909, repr. 1967), in the English bilingual series *Loeb Classical Library* by Rackham-Jones-Eichholz (1938-63). The edition of the French bilingual series *Collection des Universités de France* and of the German bilingual series *Sammlung Tusculum* (Heimeran Verlag, München) are both slowly approaching completion.

The present extract is marked by its flowery and metaphoric style, in particular the consistent personification of the Nile. This trait is probably due to Pliny's source, which is here King Juba of Mauretania, named in section 51 (for Juba see **186a**, *Introduction to source*).

Our text is based on the edition of Winkler-König (1993). The relevant volume in the Loeb Classical Library is edited by Rackham (1952).

### *Text*

5 [51] Nilus incertis ortus fontibus, ut per deserta et ardentia et immenso longitudinis spatio ambulans famaue tantum inermi quaesitus sine bellis, quae ceteras omnes terras invenere; originem, ut Iuba rex potuit exquirere, in monte inferioris Mauretaniae non procul Oceano habet lacu protinus stagnante, quem vocant Nilitidem. Ibi pisces reperiuntur alabetae, coracini, siluri. Crocodilus quoque inde ob argumentum hoc Caesareae in Iseo dicatus ab eo spectatur hodie. Praeterea observatum est, prout in Mauretania nives imbresve satiaverint, ita Nilum increscere.

[52] Ex hoc lacu profusus indignatur fluere per harenosa et squalentia conditque se aliquot dierum itinere, mox alio lacu maiore in Caesariensis Mauretaniae gente Masaesylum erumpit et hominum coetus veluti circumspicit, iisdem animalium argumentis. Iterum harenis receptus conditur rursus XX dierum desertis ad proximos Aethiopus atque, ubi iterum sensit hominem, prosilit fonte, ut verisimile est, illo, quem Nigrim vocavere.

[53] Inde Africam ab Aethiopia dispescens, etiamsi non protinus populis, feris tamen et beluis frequens silvarumque opifex, medios Aethiopus secat, cognominatus Astapus, quod illarum gentium lingua significat aquam e tenebris profluentem. Insulas ita innumeras spargit quasdamque tam vastae magnitudinis, quamquam rapida celeritate, ut tamen dierum V cursu, non breviori, transvolet. Circa clarissimam earum Meroen Astabores laevo alveo dicitur, hoc est ramus aquae venientis e tenebris, dextra vero Astosapes, quod lateris significationem adicit; nec ante Nilus quam se totum aquis rursus concordibus iunxit, sic quoque etiamnum Giris ante nominatus per aliquot milia, et in totum Homero Aegyptus aliisque Triton.

[54] Subinde insulis impactus, totidem incitatus iritamentis, postremo inclusus montibus, nec aliunde torrentior, vectus aquis properantibus ad locum Aethiopicum, qui Catadupi vocantur, novissimo catarracte inter occursantes scopulos non fluere inmensa fragore creditur, sed ruere. Postea lenis et con-

fractis aquis domitaque violentia, aliquid et spatio fessus, multis quamvis faucibus in Aegyptium mare se evomat. Certis tamen diebus auctu magno per totam spatiatum Aegyptum fecundus innatat terrae.

*Translation*

[51] The Nile springs from sources not identified with certainty, as it flows through deserts and burning heat for an immensely long stretch, and has attracted interest through peaceful reports only, not wars, by which all the other countries have been discovered. It has its origin, as King Juba was able to ascertain, on a mountain in Lower Mauretania, not far from the Ocean, where first a lake is formed which they call Nilides. There fishes are found like the *alabeta*, the *coracinus*, and the *silurus*.<sup>440</sup> As a proof of this<sup>441</sup> one can today even see a crocodile from this lake that Juba dedicated in the temple of Isis in Caesarea.<sup>442</sup> Moreover, it has been observed that the Nile increases as it is satiated by snow and rainfalls in Mauretania.

[52] As it streams forth from this lake it disdains to flow through sandy and parched regions and hides during several days' journey, then it bursts forth in another, greater lake where the tribe of the Masaesydes lives in Mauretania Caesariensis and surveys so to speak the people assembled, having the same animals as proof (of its identity). Then it is a second time received by the sands and is again hidden in the deserts for twenty days (until it comes) to the nearest Aithiopians and, when it again senses man, rushes forth as the source which probably is the one they have given the name of Nigris.

[53] From there, dividing Africa from Aithiopia, it cuts right through the (land of the) Aithiopians, although in the first part not many people live alongside it, but many wild animals and great beasts,<sup>443</sup> and it also causes forests to grow. It bears the name of Astapus, which in the language of the peoples there means "water flowing forth from darkness".<sup>444</sup> It strews numerous islands on its course, some of them so vast that although it flows with great speed it takes five days, not less, for it to pass them by. Round Meroe, the most famous of these (islands), it is called in its left channel Astabores, which means "branch of water coming from darkness", to the right, on the other hand, (it is called) Astosapes, which (name) adds the meaning 'side (branch)'. Nor is it called the Nile until all of it is again united in one common stream, and even

<sup>440</sup>Nilotic fishes.

<sup>441</sup>I.e., that this lake in fact belongs to the Nile.

<sup>442</sup>In Mauretania. Whether this remark, with the time indication "today", also derives from King Juba or from another, later, source, is a matter of disagreement among scholars: from a contemporary source (Emperor Claudius?) according to Winkler-König (1993, 165, with bibliographical references), against Jacoby (1916, 2390 f.) who emphatically rejects the idea of an intermediate source.

<sup>443</sup>*Belua*, properly "monster", "beast", "big animal", is sometimes used for "elephant".

<sup>444</sup>Referring to the subterranean passage of the Nile.

then it was earlier called *Giris* for a stretch of several miles; moreover Homer called all of it *Aegyptus*,<sup>445</sup> others *Triton*.

[54] Now and then it runs into islands and is then spurred on by the hindrances; finally it is hemmed in by mountains and becomes more violent than ever, being carried on with rushing waters to the country of the Aithiopians called the *Catadupi*, where, at the last cataract,<sup>446</sup> it forces its way past rocks (in the river-bed) and seems not to flow but to crash down with a thundering noise. Afterwards it becomes slow, its waters broken and its violence tamed, also somewhat exhausted by the long distance, and empties itself into the Egyptian Sea, although through numerous outlets. But on certain days it overruns the whole of Egypt with a great inundation and covers the land with its fertile waters.

[TE]

### Comments

In the description of the Nile presented in his Book 5 Pliny drew on several sources (cf. his source list in his Book 1): first of all *Juba's Arabica* (cf. 186a and see Desanges 1987), but also on works by Herodotus (cf. FHN I, 56), Hanno (cf. *Comments* on 193), Eratosthenes (cf. FHN II, 111), Artemidorus (cf. *Comments* on 187, 189), Diodorus (cf. FHN II, 167), and Pomponius Mela (cf. 193). In 5.53 Aithiopia is initially viewed in an African perspective: the description proceeds from the south towards the north, starting from sparsely inhabited regions with elephants and other wild animals along the river *Astapus*, i.e., the Blue Nile (cf. FHN II, 109; in this volume see 187). With the mention of the "island of Meroe", however, another source is introduced, for the perspective is altered. Now it is from a northern viewpoint so that the *Astaboras* (= *Atbara*) is to the left and the *Astosapes* (*Astasoba* = White Nile) to the right of the observer. *Asta*, as noted by Desanges (1978a, 313 note 32), occurs in the river names *Astaboras*, *Astapous*, *Astasobas* and seems to have the meaning "river water" or the like in a language spoken in the region in the Hellenistic period (cf. Meroitic *ato*, "water"; and see Yoyotte 1954-1957, 106 ff.). Both *Astapus* and *Astaboras* "come from the darkness", i.e., arrive through an underground channel passing under the desert (cf. *Comments* on 193). The origins of the name *Giris* for a section of the White Nile south of its confluence with the *Atbara* are obscure (it may perhaps be compared with the name *Eger* given to the western Nile by the Anonymus geographer of Ravenna 3.2 [cf. 233], with the *Agger* issuing from the Atlas in Vitruvius 8.2.6 and with the *Ger* of Suetonius Paulinus [Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.15], similarly connected to the Atlas; for the context cf. 193 and see Desanges 1987a, 137 f. note 101). The "hindrances" in Ch. 54 are the Cataracts; while the mysterious *Catadupians* come from the Nile

<sup>445</sup>*Odyssey* 4.477.

<sup>446</sup>i.e., the northernmost.

itinerary preserved by Pliny (FHN II, 108) from Bion's lost *Aithiopica* (cf. FHN II, 105, Introduction to Source).

[LT]

**196 The physical appearance of the Aithiopians.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.189-190.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Beaujeu 1950       | Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, livre 2. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. Beaujeu. Paris.                             |
| König-Winkler 1974 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch 2. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München. |
| Mayhoff 1906       | C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1. Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.                                  |
| Rackham 1938       | Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 1. Libri I-II. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge MA.                        |

For *Introduction to source* on Pliny in general see 195. The present extract follows a section on the relationship between the duration of daylight and the reckoning of time in different parts of the world.

Our text is based on the edition of Beaujeu (1950).

*Text*

2 [189] Contexenda sunt his caelestibus nexa causis. Namque et Aethiopas vicini sideris vapore torreri adustisque similes gigni, barba et capillo vibrato, non est dubium, et adversa plaga mundi candida atque glaciali cute esse gentes, flavis promissas crinibus, truces vero ex caeli rigore has, illas mobilitate sapientes, ipsoque crurum argumento illis in supera sucum revocari natura vaporis, his in inferas partes depelli umore deciduo; hic graves feras, illic varias effigies animalium provenire et maxime alitum multas figuras igni volucres;

[190] corporum autem proceritatem utrobique, illic ignium nisu, hic umoris alimento. Medio vero terrae salubri utrimque mixtura fertiles ad omnia tractus, modicos corporum habitus magna et in colore temperie, ritus molles, sensus liquidos, ingenia fecunda totiusque naturae capacia, isdem imperia, quae numquam extimis gentibus fuerint, sicut ne illae quidem his paruerint, avolsae ac pro immanitate naturae arguentis illas solitariae.

*Translation*

2 [189] There are things bound up with these celestial causes that deserve to be linked to this discussion. For there is no doubt that the Aithiopians are scorched by the heat through the closeness of the sun; they have a burnt appearance when they are born, and their beards and hair are curly. On the other

hand, people living in the opposite zone of the earth have a white and ice-like skin and long blond hair. The freezing cold makes the latter savage, whereas the mobility of the air makes the former wise. Even their legs prove this point: among those in the hot region the quality of the heat draws the bodily juices to the upper parts of the body, in the others they are driven to the lower parts by the downwards movement of the moisture. Here [in the cold region] ponderous wild animals are brought forth, there a variety of animals, in particular a multitude of different birds that are fast flyers because of the heat.<sup>447</sup>

[190] Bodies, however, are tall in both regions, in the one by the effect of the heat, in the other by the nourishment from the moisture. In the middle region of the world, on the other hand, tracts of land are fertile for everything because of the salutary mixture of both: bodies are of moderate stature and also their colour has just the right blend; customs are mild, the senses unimpeded, the intellects productive and able to encompass the whole of nature; it is also they who control empires, something that the peoples on the extremities of the world never have done; on the other hand, they have not submitted to these empires either, since they live so cut off and are so isolated through the vastness of nature that oppresses them.

[TE]

#### Comments

In 2.189-190 Pliny deals with the connections between racial difference and latitude according to the environmental theory also prevalent in Strabo's image of Aithiopia (cf. 187) and also applied to the Aithiopians by Herodotus (2.22), Lucretius (6.722, 1109), Vitruvius (6.1.3-4), Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 2.235 f.) and, later, by Lucan (10.221 f.), Seneca (4a.2.18, cf. 209) and others (cf. Snowden 1970, 258 note 6). In this theory, physical appearance, mentality, and cultural development are determined by the environment; and as a topical example Pliny contrasts the black, wise Aithiopians with the white, savage inhabitants of the opposite, northern, zone of the world (for this contrast cf. the numerous quotations from ancient authors in Snowden 1970, 262 note 32; for the legs cf. Aristoteles, *Problemata* 14.4.909a; *De generatione animalium* 5.3.782b; Diodorus 3.8.2; for the curly hair of the Aithiopians cf. the authors quoted by Snowden 1970, 6 f. with notes 46-58). While the limitations of the environmental theory are obvious to the modern reader, the correctness of the anthropological observations conveyed by Pliny's sources as to the few basic features that were taken into consideration cannot be denied.

[LT]

---

<sup>447</sup>The text may be corrupt here. "Heat" translates *igni*, properly "fire". Most manuscripts have *gigni*, "are born" or "produced", a reading adopted by König-Winkler (1974), who assume a lacuna after *volucres*. Other editors bracket the words *in ...volucres* as an intrusion into the text, so Rackham (1938); this would give the following end to this sentence: "... a variety of animals, in particular of birds".

**197 The longevity of the Aithiopians.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7.27.

*Source bibliography*

- König-Winkler 1975 C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München.
- Schilling 1977 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle. Livre VII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Schilling. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Rackham 1942 Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 2. Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge MA.

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* on Pliny in general see **195**. This extract is from the section in Book VII (§§ 9-32) on curious details concerning the bodies of different peoples, particularly on the fringes of the known world. In an introduction (§ 8) Pliny comments on the credibility of his reports: "But I will not myself vouch for the truth in most of these things, rather I shall refer to the sources that are given for all doubtful matters. We should not, however, scorn the Greek authors; their diligence is the greatest and their tradition of research the oldest." For another excerpt from this section in Pliny see **199**.

Our text is based on the edition of Schilling (1977). Bilingual editions are also available in English (Rackham 1942) and German (König-Winkler 1975).

*Text*

7 [27] Aristoteles in cavernis vivere Pygmaeos tradit, cetera de his ut reliqui. Cynnos Indorum genus Isigonus annis centenis quadragenis vivere, item Aethiopas Macrobios et Seras existimat et qui Athon montem incolant, hos quidem, quia viperinis carnibus alantur; itaque nec capiti nec vestibus eorum noxia corpori inesse animalia.

*Translation*

7 [27] Aristotle relates that the Pygmies live in caves; otherwise his information on them is the same as in the other authors. Isigonus<sup>448</sup> reckons that the Cynnians, an Indian people, live for 140 years, similarly the Long-lived Aithiopi-ans, the Chinese,<sup>449</sup> and those who live on Mount Athos. In the case of the

<sup>448</sup>Isigonus (from Nicaea, Asia Minor, 1st cent. AD?) wrote a (lost) work *On Wonders* (*Peri apiston*).

<sup>449</sup>The *Seres* in Latin, a people in Eastern Asia, the Chinese or their neighbours.

latter he says it is because snake meat is part of their diet, and therefore their head and clothes are not infested by creatures harmful to the body.

[TE]

*Comments*

For the Utopian origins of the "Long-lived Aithiopians" see Herodotus 3.114 (FHN I, 62), 3.22.2 (ibid. 65 and cf. Burstein 1981, 3 f.). For the Pygmies cf. 187, 193.

[LT]

**198 Aithiopian tribes.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.189-190.

*Source bibliography*

Brodersen 1996

C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VI. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von K. Brodersen. (Sammlung Tusculum.) Zürich.

Desanges 1962

J. Desanges: Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique. (Université de Dakar. Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines. Publications de la section d'histoire. 4.) Dakar.

Mayhoff 1906

C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1. Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.

Rackham 1942

Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 2. Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge MA.

*Introduction to source*

For Introduction to source on Pliny in general see 195. Our text is based on the edition of Mayhoff (1906).

For the continuation of this text see FHN II, 104.

*Text*

6 [189] Trogodytis et Rubro mari a Meroe tractus omnis superponitur, a Napata tridui itinere ad Rubrum litus, aqua pluvia ad usum compluribus locis servata, fertilissima regione quae interest auri. Ulteriora Atabuli, Aethiopum gens, tenent. Dein contra Meroen Magabarri, quos aliqui Adiabaros nominavere; oppidum habent Apollinis. Pars eorum nomades quae elephantis vescitur.

[190] Ex adverso in Africae parte Macrobbii, rursus a Megabarris, Memnones et Dabelli dierumque XX intervallo Critensi. Ultra eos Dochi, dein Gymnetes, semper nudi, mox Anderae, Mattitae, Mesaches; hi pudore atri coloris tota corpora rubrica inlinunt. At ex Africae parte Medimni, dein Nomades, cyno-

cephalorum lacte viventes, Alabi, Syrbotae, qui octonum cubitorum esse dicuntur.

*Translation*

6 [189] Located beyond the Trogodytes and the Red Sea is the whole region after Meroe. From Napata to the coast of the Red [Sea] shore is a journey of three days. Rainwater is stored in several places for the use [of travellers], and the intervening district abounds in gold. The country further on is inhabited by the Atabuli, an Aithiopian tribe. Then, opposite Meroe, live the Megabarri, whom some have called the Adiabari; they have a town [named] Apollo's [town]. Some of them are nomads, who eat elephants.<sup>450</sup>

[190] Opposite, on the African side [of the Nile], are the Macrobbii ("The Long-lived")<sup>451</sup>, further, after the Megabarri, the Memnonnes and the Dabelli and, after 20 days' journey, the Critensi. Beyond them the Dochi, then the Gymnetes, who are always naked,<sup>452</sup> thereafter the Anderae, Mattitae, Mesaches; these, ashamed<sup>453</sup> of their black colour, smear their whole body with red ochre. But<sup>454</sup> on the African side are the Medimni, then the Nomads, who live on milk from the dog-faced baboons,<sup>455</sup> the Alabi, the Syrbotae, who are said to be eight cubits tall.<sup>456</sup>

[TE]

*Comments*

In contrast to most remarks made by Pliny on Aithiopia, no direct or indirect source can be named for the information presented in his Book 6.189-90 (cf. Desanges 1993b, 30). The description starts with the region between the "island of Meroe" and the Red Sea Coast, where the Trogodytes are traditionally placed (cf. FHN I, 66, II, 147, in this volume 189 and cf. Demicheli 1976, 30 ff.). In general terms it is this region from which some of the Nubian gold originated (cf. FHN II, 146). While the mention of the elephant-eaters and other fabulous peoples derives from a Hellenistic ethnographical source, the remark made on the storage of rainwater (referring perhaps to the reservoirs [Arabic, sing., *hafir*]

<sup>450</sup>Pliny's Greek source may have mentioned the *Elephantophagoi*, "Elephant-eaters", cf. 189 (Strabo 16.4.10) and Desanges (1962) 196.

<sup>451</sup>For the "long-lived Aithiopians" cf. FHN I, 65 and Desanges (1962) 190 f.

<sup>452</sup>*Gymnetes* is from Greek *gymnos*, "naked".

<sup>453</sup>For the first two words in this sentence (*hi pudore*) the manuscripts have another tribe's name (with various spellings); the text printed and translated here is a correction by Mayhoff (1906), involving only a slight change of letters. The correction is adopted also by Rackham (1942) and Brodersen (1996).

<sup>454</sup>"But on the African side" seems to contradict "Opposite, on the African side..." in the beginning of this paragraph.

<sup>455</sup>Also here Pliny's information may be due to a Greek tribe's name in his source, the *Cynamolgi*, "Dog-milkers", cf. Desanges (1962) 191.

<sup>456</sup>About 3.5 m.

on the “island of Meroe”, cf. M. Hinkel 1990; 1991) for travellers may perhaps indicate that here direct information from the material collected by the Nero-  
nian expedition is included (see 208). Kendall (1989, 694 ff.) also suggests that  
6.190 contains correct ethnographical information, and compares Pliny’s de-  
scription with modern data from the southern Sudan (tribes not normally  
wearing clothes; the application of red ochre as body decoration; extraordinary  
tallness of the Raik Dinka; for literature see op. cit., loc. cit.).

[LT]

**199 Nubian tribes.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7.31.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| König-Winkler 1975 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München.               |
| Schilling 1977     | Pline l’Ancien: Histoire naturelle. Livre VII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. Schilling. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| Rackham 1942       | Pliny: Natural history. Vol. 2. Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.                                    |

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* on Pliny in general see 195. This extract is from the section in Book VII (§§ 9-32) on curious details concerning the bodies of different peoples, particularly on the fringes of the known world, cf. 197.

Our text is based on the edition of Schilling (1977). Bilingual editions are also available in English (Rackham 1942) and German (König-Winkler 1975).

*Text*

7 [31] Trogodytas super Aethiopiam velociore equis esse Pergamenus Crates, item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere, Syrbotas vocari gentem eam. Nomadum Aethiopum secundum flumen Astragum ad septentrionem vergentium gens Menisminorum appellata abest ab oceano dierum itinere viginti; animalium quae cynoscephalos vocamus lacte vivit, quorum armenta pascit maribus interemptis praeterquam subolis causa.

*Translation*

7 [31] The Trogodytes beyond Aithiopia are swifter than horses, says Crates from Pergamon, and he also says that there are Aithiopians taller than eight cubits; the name of that tribe is the Sybotae. Of the nomad Aithiopians, along the river Astragus towards the north, there is a tribe called the Menismeni, who live

twenty days' march from the ocean; they live on milk from the animals we call cynocephali, of which they keep flocks, killing the males except for the sake of breeding.

[TE]

*Comments*

This passage is quoted from a survey of some curious varieties of the human species, where remarks also made elsewhere in the *Natural History* are repeated. Thus in 6.189-90 (see 198) and 191 we may also meet with, partly fabulous, tribes placed in a geographical context which may be called realistic within the limitations of the Africa-image of the 1st cent. AD, e.g., the Medimni (in 199 Menismini) and the Syrbotos "who are said to be eight cubits tall". In 6.191 there are also mentioned Nomads who live on the milk of the cynocephaluses: these are doubtless Dalion's Dog-milkers (FHN II, 102) who were included in Strabo's description as well (189) and declared fabulous by Pliny himself in his Book 6.195. For the Trogodytes see 200. Crates of Pergamon (or of Mallos) was a 2nd cent. BC philosopher who also treated geographical questions in connection with his commentaries on Homer (cf. Kroll 1922). His Aithiopian "data" probably came from his commentary on the Odyssey (Kroll 1922, 1635) from which Pliny may also have adopted other fabulous details, the sources of which are obscure to us.

[LT]

**200 Elephant hunting among the Trogodytes.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 8.26.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Ernout 1952        | Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle. Livre VIII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par A. Ernout. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| König-Winkler 1976 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VIII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München.            |
| Rackham 1940       | Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 3. Libri VIII-XI. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.                                  |

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* on Pliny's *Naturalis historia* in general see 195. This extract is from Pliny's treatment of the elephant (8.1-34).

Our text is based on the edition of Ernout (1952). Bilingual editions are also available in English (Rackham 1940) and German (König-Winkler 1976).

*Text*

8 [26] Trogodytae contermini Aethiopiae, qui hoc solo venatu aluntur, propinquas itineri eorum conscendunt arbores; inde totius agminis novissimum speculati extremas in clunes desiliunt. Laeva adprehenditur cauda, pedes stipantur in sinistro femine: ita pendens alterum poplitem dextra caedit ac praeacuta bipenni hoc crure tardato, profugiens alterius poplitis nervos ferit, cuncta praeceleri pernicitate peragens.

Alii tutiore genere, sed magis fallaci, ingentes arcus intentos defigunt humi longius; hos praecipui viribus iuvenes continent, alii conixi pari conatu contendunt ac praetereuntibus sagittarum venabula infigunt, mox sanguinis vestigiis secuntur.

*Translation*

8 [26] The Trogodytes, who border on Aithiopia, live by this [i.e., elephant] hunt only. They climb up into the trees along their [the elephants'] trails; from there they wait for the last of the herd and then jump down on to its hind parts. With the left hand they cling to the tail and brace their feet against the left haunch. While hanging in this manner the hunter cuts the hock of one leg with his right hand, and when this has been lamed with his sharp two-edged axe he strikes at the sinews of the other hock as he makes his escape.<sup>457</sup> All this he performs with greatest speed.

Others use a safer but less reliable method. They string huge bows which they fix in the ground at a long distance. These are held by especially strong young men, while others with a similar great effort draw the bow and shoot spear-like arrows at the animals as they pass. Then they follow their bloody trail.

[TE]

*Comments*

In Chapters 1-34 of his Book 8 Pliny presents a rich collection of literary information about elephants. Chapter 26, from which we learn about the skill of the Trogodytes as elephant hunters, derives from a description of the Aithiopian Elephant-hunters in Agatharchides' work *On the Erythraean Sea* (see fgms 53 f., Burstein 1989a, 94 ff.) which was quoted by Diodorus (3.25.1-4, 3.26.1-4) and Strabo (16.4.9-10, cf. 189). The description given by the latter authors is embedded in a detailed picture of the ethnographical map of the region between the "island of Meroe" and the Red Sea coast; Pliny connects it only with the Trogodytes whom Agatharchides distinguished from the minor peoples to whom the Elephant-hunters also belonged.

---

<sup>457</sup>"as he makes his escape" translates the participle *profugiens* (nominative case); Rackham (1940), followed by König-Winkler (1976), changes to *profugienti* (dative case), thus making it go with the animal instead of with the hunter: "as it tries to flee".

Pliny's elephant hunters kill the animal; so do Agatharchides' Elephant-hunters, who are, on this account, sharply distinguished from their colleagues in India and Arabia, who were able to capture the animals alive in order to train them as extremely valuable war elephants (cf. Hofmann 1975, 54 f.). As Agatharchides says in his fgm. 57 (Burstein 1989a, 99 f.), Ptolemy II (?) tried to persuade the Aithiopian elephant-hunters "to refrain from slaughtering the beasts in order that he might have them alive", but the hunters from the tribe of the Elephant-hunters refused to change their ways. The unwillingness of the native elephant hunters to learn the methods of capturing elephants alive contributed to the Ptolemaic efforts to organise the elephant supply from Aithiopia so that hunting was carried out by Egyptian experts and the beasts were transported from Ptolemaic ports established on the Red Sea coast (cf. FHN II, 119-122).

[LT]

**201 On Aithiopian minerals. 1st cent. AD.**

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 37.69-70; 92; 126; 156; 165; 167; 169; 177; 182.

*Source bibliography*

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Baldwin 1995        | B. Baldwin: Michael Psellus on the Properties of Stones. <i>Byzantino-Slavica</i> 56, 397-405.  |
| De Saint-Denis 1972 | Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, livre 37. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par E. De Saint-Denis. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| Hopfner 1926        | Th. Hopfner: Λιθικά. RE XIII.1, cols. 747-769. Stuttgart.   |
| Eichholz 1962       | Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 10: Libri XXXVI-XXXVII. Ed. D.E. Eichholz. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge MA.                                |
| König-Hopp 1994     | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch XXXVII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Hopp. München.                   |
| Mayhoff 1897        | C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 5. Lipsiae.  |
| Roszbach 1910       | O. Roszbach: Gemmen. RE VII.1, cols. 1052-1115. Stuttgart.  |

*Introduction to source*

For Introduction to source on Pliny's *Naturalis historia* in general see 195. The present extracts are from Pliny's treatment of stones in Book 37. For this part of Pliny's work see Roszbach (1910, 1106-1113), who gives reasons (1106 f.) why we should regard Pliny a connoisseur in this particular field. For the ancient literary tradition on the properties of stones see most recently Baldwin (1995). For the numerous treatises on the medical and magical power of stones in particular see Hopfner (1926).

Our text is based on the edition of De Saint-Denis (1972). Bilingual editions are also available in English (Eichholz 1962) and German (König-Hopp 1994).

*Text*

37 [69] Ab his Aethiopici laudantur ab Copto dierum itinere, ut auctor est Iuba, XXV, acriter virides, sed non facile puri aut concolores. Democritus in hoc genere ponit Thermiaeos et Persicos, illos intumescentes pinguius, Persicos vero non tralucidos, sed iucundi tenoris visum implere, quem non admittant, felium pantherarumque oculis similes; namque et illos radiare nec perspici, eosdem in sole hebetari, in umbra refulgere et longius quam ceteros nitere. [70] Omnium horum etiamnunc vitium, quod fellis colorem aut acris olei habent, dilucidi quidem ac liquidi, sed non virides.

37 [92] Principatum habent carbunculi a similitudine ignium appellati, cum ipsi non sentiant ignes, a quibusdam ob hoc acaustoe appellati. Horum genera Indici et Garamantici, quos et Carchedonios vocavere propter opulentiam Carthaginis Magnae. Adiciunt Aethiopicos at Alabandicos in Orthosia Cariae nascentes, sed qui perficiantur Alabandis.

37 [126] Hyacinthos Aethiopia mittit et chrysolithos aureo fulgore tralucentes. Praeferuntur his Indicae et, si variae non sint, Tibarenae. Deterrimae autem Arabicae, quoniam turbidae sunt et variae, fulgoris interpellati nubilo macularum.

37 [156] Chloritis herbacei coloris est; eam in ventre motacillae avis inveniri dicunt Magi congenitam ei et ferro includi iubent ad quaedam prodigiosa moris sui. Choaspitis a flumine dicta est, ex viridi fulgoris aurei. Chrysolampsis in Aethiopia nascitur, pallida alias, sed noctu ignea.

37 [165] Heliotropium nascitur in Aethiopia, Africa, Cypro, porraceo colore, sanguineis venis distincta; causa nominis, quoniam deiecta in vas aquae, fulgorem solis accidentem repercussu sanguineo mutat, maxime Aethiopica. Eadem extra aquam speculi modo solem accipit deprenditque defectus, subeuntem lunam ostendens. Magorum impudentiae vel manifestissimum in hac quoque exemplum est, quoniam admixta herba heliotropio, quibusdam additis precationibus, gerentem conspici negent.

37 [167] Hexecontalithos, in parva magnitudine multicolor—hoc sibi nomen adoptavit—reperitur in Trogodytice. Hieracitis alternat tota miluinis nigrisque veluti plumis. Hammitis ovis piscium similis est, et alia velut e nitro composita, praedura alioqui. Hammonis cornu inter sacratissimas Aethiopiae gemmas aureo colore arietini cornus effigiem reddens, promittitur praedivina somnia repraesentare.

37 [169] Haematitis in Aethiopia quidem principalis est, sed in Arabia et in Africa invenitur, sanguineo colore, non omittendis promissis ad coarguendas Magorum insidias. Zacharias Babylonius in iis libris, quos scripsit ad regem Mithridatem, gemmis humana fata adtribuens hanc, non contentus oculorum et iocineris medicina decorasse, a rege etiam aliquid petituris dedit, eandem litibus iudiciisque interposuit, in proeliis etiam exanguis salutarem pronuntiavit. Est et alia eiusdem generis, quae vocatur menui, ab aliis xuthos; ita appellant Graeci e fulvo candicantes.

37 [177] Ostracias sive ostracitis est testacea, durior ceramitide, achatae similis, nisi quod illa politura pinguescit; huic tanta duritia inest, ut fragmentis eius aliae gemmae scalpantur. Ostritidi ostrea a similitudine nomen dedere. Ophicardelon barbari vocant, nigrum colorem binis lineis albis includentibus. De opsiano lapide diximus priore libro; inveniuntur et gemmae eodem nomine ac colore non solum in Aethiopia Indiaque, sed etiam in Samnio et, ut aliqui putant, in Hispania litoribus eius oceani.

37 [182] Sideritis ferro similis est; maleficio illata aliquis discordiam facit; nascitur in Aethiopia.

*Translation*

37 [69] Next in esteem to these [emeralds] come the ones from Aithiopia found, according to Juba, at a distance of 25 days' journey from Coptos.<sup>458</sup> They are bright green, but rarely limpid or uniform in colour. Democritus reckons to the same type those from Therme and Persia; the former have opaque intumescences, whereas the Persian ones are not translucent, but let the eye see a pleasant uniformity of colour, he says, without allowing it to see through, like eyes of cats or leopards; for like them they are bright but not transparent, and they also become dull in the sun but radiant in the shade, and shine farther than the others. [70] All these have moreover one defect, in that they have the colour of gall or rancid oil; they are clear and bright enough, but not green.

37 [92] First in rank are the carbuncles (*carbunculi*),<sup>459</sup> so called because of their likeness to fire;<sup>460</sup> they are not affected by fire, however, and some have therefore given them the name *acaustoe*.<sup>461</sup> There is an Indian and a Garamantic variety, the latter also called Carchedonian [Carthaginian] because of the opu-

<sup>458</sup>For Juba of Mauretania see 186.

<sup>459</sup>"Pliny's *carbunculi* include rubies, red garnet (pyrope and almandine), and possibly red spinel. His Indian *carbunculi* probably include all three" (Eichholz 1962).

<sup>460</sup>Lat. *carbunculus* means "(live) coal".

<sup>461</sup>Greek *akaustos* means "unburnt", "incombustible". Pliny's "remark that *carbunculi* are unaffected by fire applies generally only to rubies" (Eichholz 1962).

lence of Great Carthage<sup>462</sup>. They add the Aithiopian ones and the Alabandian, which are from Orthosia in Caria, but are worked in Alabandae.<sup>463</sup>

37 [126] Aithiopia exports *hyacinths*<sup>464</sup> and chrysolites, which have a golden translucent brilliance. Preferred to these are the Indian kind, and also the Tibarenian,<sup>465</sup> provided they are not variegated. The Arabian ones have the poorest quality, they are opaque and variegated, and their brilliance is interrupted by clouds of spots.

37 [156] The chlorite (*chloritis*) has the colour of grass; the Magi<sup>466</sup> say that it is found in the stomach of the bird white waterwagtail where it is formed already at its inception, and they have this stone set in iron for one of their traditional wonder performances. The *choaspitis* is named after the river;<sup>467</sup> it has a golden brilliance with a tint of green. The *chrysolampsis* is found in Aithiopia; it is pale except at night, when it is fiery.

37 [165] The heliotrope is found in Aithiopia, Africa, and on Cyprus. It has the green colour of the leek, embellished by blood-coloured veins. The reason for its name<sup>468</sup> is that when it is immersed in a water jar and the sunshine falls on it, the reflexion becomes blood-coloured; this is particularly the case with the Aithiopian variety. Out of water this stone receives the sunlight like a mirror and captures eclipses, showing the moon taking the place (of the sun). It also provides a most manifest example of the brazenness of the Magi, for they pretend that a person carrying it mixed with the plant heliotrope and in addition uttering certain prayers is rendered invisible.

37 [167] The *hexecontalithos*, which shows a multitude of colours in a small quantity (this is how it has its name<sup>469</sup>), is found in Trogodytice. The *hieracitis* has all over a hue that changes like feathers between the kite's colours and black. The *hammitis* resembles fish roe, and another variety seems to be composed of soda, but is otherwise extremely hard. *Hammon's* (Amûn's) horn be-

---

<sup>462</sup>In Tunis, so called to distinguish the city from Nova Carthago ("New Carthage") in Spain, today Cartagena.

<sup>463</sup>Another town in Caria.

<sup>464</sup>Greek *hyakinthos*, a precious blue stone, probably sapphire or aquamarine.

<sup>465</sup>The Tibareni were a people on the south coast of the Black Sea.

<sup>466</sup>A class of Persian priests and soothsayers.

<sup>467</sup>The Choaspis, a river which debouches into the Persian Gulf east of the Tigris.

<sup>468</sup>From Gr. *helios* "sun" and *trepo* "turn". When used of the *plant* heliotrope, the name refers to the fact that it turns its leaves according to the position of the sun throughout the day (as Pliny himself describes 2.109). Here, however, speaking of the *stone*, Pliny seems to interpret the name as "returning (reflecting) the sun".

<sup>469</sup>From Greek *hexekonta*, "sixty", and *lithos* "stone".

longs to the most sacred gems of Aithiopia; it has a golden colour and the shape of a ram's horn. They guarantee that it will induce prophetic dreams.

37 [169] The *haematitis* belongs primarily to Aithiopia, but it is also found in Arabia and in Africa. It has a blood-like colour.<sup>470</sup> I ought not to omit the following information, which is sure to demonstrate the treacherous ways of the Magi. Zachalias from Babylon, in the books he dedicated to King Mithridates, ascribed man's fate to gems, and did not content himself with crediting the *haematitis* with the power to heal eye and liver ailments, he even gave it to those who were to ask a favour from the king;<sup>471</sup> he let it interfere in law suits and court cases, and also pronounced it beneficial for a man losing his blood in battle. There is also another gem of the same kind which is called *menui*, by others *xuthos*; this latter name is given by the Greeks to whitish gems with a shade of yellow.<sup>472</sup>

37 [177] The *ostracia* or *ostracitis* has the colour of burnt clay, and is stronger than the *ceramitis*; it resembles the agate, except that the latter acquires an oily appearance when it is polished. It is so hard that one can use pieces of it to engrave other gems. The *oistritis* has its name from its similarity in appearance to the oyster.<sup>473</sup> *Ophicardelon* is the name barbarians give to a gem in which a black colour is encircled by two white lines. Of the *obsidian* I spoke in the previous book; gems with the same name and colour are found not only in Aithiopia and India, but also in Samnium and, as some believe, in Spain, on the coasts of its ocean.

37 [182] The *sideritis* resembles iron.<sup>474</sup> By using it with evil intent a person can cause strife. It is found in Aithiopia.

[TE]

### Comments

From Book 37 of the *Natural History*, in which Pliny presents the astonishingly rich information (he states in Book 1: Summa: res et historiae et observationes MCCC, "Total: 1300 facts, investigations and observations") which he had collected about precious stones, some excerpts are given here in order to indicate the wide knowledge possessed by the Greek and Roman world of what was for them the most important feature of the Middle Nile Region, namely, the materials and wares that were obtainable from the Aithiopians. The sorts

<sup>470</sup>*Haema* is the Greek word for "blood".

<sup>471</sup>The meaning seems to be that he recommended to the King's petitioners the use of the gem's powers.

<sup>472</sup>*Xouthos* is in Greek used for a golden yellow colour.

<sup>473</sup>Greek *ostreon*.

<sup>474</sup>Greek *sideros*.

of stones described by Pliny complement the lists of Nubian tribute and the mentions of products from Aithiopia preserved in FHN II, 135 and 137. The identification of the sources for his notes on the individual stones cannot be attempted here. So much seems obvious, that his sources preserved many of the ancient Egyptian metaphysical conceptions concerning precious stones (cf. Aufrère 1991 II, 797).

[LT]

**202 On the fauna of Aithiopia.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.172 f.; 8.32; 8.69.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Brodersen 1996     | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä., Naturkunde. Buch VI. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von K. Brodersen. (Sammlung Tusculum.) Zürich.                       |
| Ernout 1952        | Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle. Livre VIII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par A. Ernout. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| König-Winkler 1976 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VIII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München.            |
| Mayhoff 1906       | C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1. Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.  |
| Rackham 1942       | Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 2. Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.                                  |

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* on Pliny in general see 195. The first of the texts given below is from Pliny's description of the coasts of the Red Sea in Book 6 (163-175), the two following are from his treatment of land animals in Book 8. For Book 6 our text is based on the edition of Brodersen (1996), for Book 8 on the edition of Ernout (1952).

*Text*

6 [172] Hinc Azanium mare, promunturium quod aliqui Hippalum scripsere, lacus Mandalum, insula Colocasitis et in alto multae, in quibus testudo plurima. Oppidum Sace, insula Daphnidis, oppidum Aduliton; Aegyptiorum hoc servi profugi a dominis condidere.

[173] Maximum hic emporium Trogodytarum, etiam Aethiopum; abest a Ptolemaïde V dierum navigatione. Deferunt plurimum ebur, rhinocerotum cornua, hippopotamiorum coria, chelium testudinum, sphingia, mancipia.

8 [32] Elephantos fert Africa ultra Syrticas solitudines et in Mauretania, ferunt Aethiopes et Trogodytae, ut dictum est; sed maximos India bellantesque cum his perpetua discordia dracones tantae magnitudinis et ipsos, ut circumplexu facili ambient nexuque nodi praestringant. Commoritur ea dimicatio, victusque corruens complexum elidit pondere.

[69] Harum aliqua similitudo in duo transfertur animalia. Nabun Aethiopes vocant, collo similem equo, pedibus et cruribus bovi, camelo capite, albis maculis rutilum colorem distinguuntibus, unde appellata camelopardalis; dictatoris Caesaris circensibus ludis primum visa Romae. Ex eo subinde cernitur, aspectu magis quam feritate conspicua, quare etiam oviferae nomen invenit.

*Translation*

6 [172] Next [after Ptolemais] come the Azanian Sea, the promontory to which some writers have given the name Hippalus, the lake of Mandalus, the island of Colocasitis and further out at sea many islands where there is an abundance of turtles; then the town of Sace, the island of Daphnis, the town of the Adulites—Egyptian slaves who ran away from their masters had founded this town.<sup>475</sup>

[173] Here is the most important trading centre of the Trogodytes, and of the Aithiopians as well; it lies at a distance of five<sup>476</sup> days' sailing from Ptolemais. They bring here a great quantity of ivory, rhinoceros horns, hippopotamus hides, turtle shells, *sphingia*,<sup>477</sup> and slaves.

8 [32] Africa, beyond the deserts of the Syrtes and in Mauretania, produces elephants, so do the Aithiopians and the Trogodytes, as has been said. But India produces the biggest, and also serpents that war against them in perpetual enmity; these are so big themselves that they easily reach around the elephants with their embrace and strangle them by the hold of their coil. This struggle leads to the deaths of both of them, for the elephant, vanquished, collapses and crushes by its weight the serpent that has encircled it.<sup>478</sup>

[69] Two other animals have a certain similarity with these [i.e., the camels]. One is called the *nabus* by the Aithiopians;<sup>479</sup> its neck resembles the horse's, its feet and legs the ox's, and its head the camel's. Its reddish colour is dotted by

<sup>475</sup> The Greek name could be interpreted as meaning "Ex-slaves". The form *Aduliton* is a Greek genitive plural, and presupposes a Greek source. See the note of Brodersen (1996).

<sup>476</sup> The manuscripts are divided between "five" and "two", the Roman numerals V and II having been confused, see the textcritical appendix in the edition of Mayhoff (1906).

<sup>477</sup> A kind of ape, see 193 (Pomponius Mela 3.88 with note).

<sup>478</sup> König-Winkler (1976) give references to similar stories in ancient literature.

<sup>479</sup> The giraffe is meant.

white spots, and for that reason it is called the *camelopardalis*<sup>480</sup>. It was first seen in Rome during the circus games of the dictator Caesar. It has since been seen from time to time; it is remarkable more for its appearance than for its ferocity, and has therefore also been given the name "wild sheep".

[TE]

*Comments*

From the rich data pertinent to Aithiopian fauna Pliny presents several places in his work, and especially in Book 8, only a small selection is given here. While most of the data are chiefly the concern of zoologists and only indirectly historians, the samples quoted above also contain direct historical information.

Complementing the descriptions in 195, in Book 6.171-173 Pliny speaks about the East African coast starting from Ptolemais of the Hunts and proceeding southwards towards the Bab el-Mandeb. In ancient geographical literature Azania signified the entire coastal region as far south as the farthest point reached by ancient seamen, i.e., Rhapta south of the Equator (cf. Ptolemy 1.17.6.9 [cf. 222]; *Periplus maris Erythraei* 15, 16, 18; Tomaschek 1896, 2639). In 8.32 Pliny lists the places where elephants live (cf. 195, 200); 8.69 informs his readers about the first appearance of the giraffe, called *nabu* by the Aithiopians and *camelopardalis* by the Greeks, in circus games at Rome. The compound *Camelopardalis* conveys the idea of a "spotted camel", and the name was coined because of the resemblance of the giraffe to the Arabian dromedary (Meyboom 1995, 119). The two animals were easily and generally confused, as is demonstrated by the Palestrina mosaic, which, relying on early Hellenistic descriptions, presents a wealth of correct pictorial information about Aithiopian fauna. In this mosaic it is the representation of a dromedary that is inscribed in Greek as NABOYC (ibid., fig. 12; besides Pliny 8.69 this is the only known occurrence of the word).

[LT]

**203 On the flora of Aithiopia.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 13.43, 47, 90; 16.160; 17.133; 18.100; 19.161; 20.36; 23.71 f.; 27.11 f.

*Source bibliography*

André 1962

Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XVI. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

André 1964

Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XVII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

<sup>480</sup>Greek, from *kamelos*, 'camel' and *pardalis* 'leopard' (the African panther [*Felis pardus*]), the latter by reason of the animal's spots.

- André 1964a Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XIX. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- André 1965 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XX. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- André 1971 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XXIII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par J. André. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Ernout 1956 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XIII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par A. Ernout. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Ernout 1959 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XXVII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par A. Ernout. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Jones 1951 Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 6: Libri XX-XXIII. With an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.
- Jones 1956 Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 7: Libri XXIV-XXVII. With an English Translation by W.H.S. Jones. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.
- König-Hopp 1991 C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch XVI. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Hopp. München.
- König-Hopp 1991 C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch XVII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Hopp. München.
- König-Hopp 1993 C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch XXIII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Hopp. München.
- König-Hopp-Glöckner 1995 C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch XVIII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Hopp und W. Glöckner. München.
- Le Bonniec-Le Bœffle 1972 Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle, Livre XVIII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par H. Le Bonniec avec la collaboration de A. Le Bœffle. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Rackham 1945 Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 4: Libri XII-XVI. With an English Translation by H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.
- Rackham 1950 Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 5: Libri XVII-XIX. With an English Translation by H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

*Introduction to source*

For *Source Bibliography* and *Introduction to source* on Pliny in general see **195**. Below are gathered the passages where Pliny mentions the flora of Aithiopia in his treatment of botany and agriculture (Books 12-19) and of medicinal plants (Books 20-27).

Our texts are based on the editions in the French bilingual series Collection des Universités de France. The relevant volumes in the English series Loeb Classical Library and the German series Sammlung Tusculum (when available) have also been listed above.

*Text*

13 [43] Pomum ipsum grande, durum, horridum et a ceteris generibus distans sapore quodam ferinae in apris evidentissimo, quae causa nominis. Quarta auctoritas sandalidum, a similitudine appellatarum. Iam in Aethiopiae fine quinque harum, qui plurimas, arbores tradunt, non raritate magis quam suavitate mirabiles.

[47] In totum arentes Thebaidi atque Arabiae macroque corpore exiles, et adsiduo vapore torrente crustam verius quam cutem obducunt. In ipsa quidem Aethiopia friatur haec (tanta est siccitas) et farinae modo spissatur in panem. Gignitur autem in frutice ramis cubitalibus, folio latiore, pomo rotundo, sed maiore quam mali amplitudine; coïtas vocant. Triennio maturescunt, semperque frutici pomum est subnascente alio.

[90] Aethiopia Aegypto contermina insignes arbores non fere habet praeter liniferam, qualis Indorum atque Arabiae dicta est. Propior tamen huic natura lanae maiorque folliculus granati modo mali, similesque et inter se arbores ipsae. Praeter hanc palmae, quales retulimus. Insularum arbores ambitu Aethiopiae et nemora odorata in mentione earum dicta sunt.

16 [160] Ac si quis Aethiopas, Aegyptum, Arabas, Indos, Scythas, Bactros, Sarmatarum tot gentes et orientis omniaque Parthorum regna diligentius computet, aequa ferme pars hominum in toto mundo calamis superata degit.

17 [133] Coos insula et vites tunc serit, ceteri apud Graecos inoculare et inserere non dubitant, sed arbores non serunt. Plurimumque in eo locorum natura pollet; namque in Aegypto omni serunt mense et ubicumque imbres aestivi sunt, ut in India et Aethiopia, necessario post haec autumno seruntur arbores.

18 [100] Milio Campania praecipue gaudet pultemque candidam ex eo facit. Fit et panis praedulcis. Sarmatarum quoque gentes hac maxime pulte aluntur et cruda etiam farina, equino lacte vel sanguine <e> cruris venis admixto. Aethiopes non aliam frugem quam mili hordeique novere.

19 [161] Nascitur in summa tellure vix haerens et in sublime tendens in putribus et calidis maxime locis, medio serendum vere. Alterum eius genus silvestre, quod rusticum vocant, alii Thebaicum, si tritum ex aqua potetur, in dolore stomachi <prodest>. In Carpetania nostri orbis maxime laudatur, alioqui Aethiopico Africoque palma est; quidam <in> hoc Aegyptium praeferunt.

20 [36] Et quoniam plerosque similitudo nominum Graecorum confundit, contextimus et de sili, sed hoc est vulgatae notitiae. Optimum Massiliense, lato enim grano et fulvo est, secundum Aethiopicum nigrius. Creticum odoratissimum omnium. Radix iucundi odoris est. Semen esse et vultures dicuntur. Prodest homini ad tussim veterem, rupta, convulsa in vino albo potum, item opisthotonicis et iocinerum vitiis et torminibus et stranguriae duarum aut trium lingularum mensura.

23 [71] ... Sucus fruticis recentis accensi destillans sanat lichenas, furfures, manantia ulcera. [72] Nam lacrima quae ex arbore ipsa destillat, Aethiopicae maxime oleae, mirari satis non est repertos, qui dentium dolores inlinendos censerent, venenum esse praedicantes, atque etiam in oleastro quaerendam. E radice oleae quam tenerrimae cortex derasus in mel crebro gustatu medetur sanguinem reicientibus et suppurata extussientibus. Ipsius oleae cinis cum axungia tumores sanat extrahitque fistulis vitia et ipsas sanat.

27 [11] Aethiopsis folia habet phlomo similia, magna ac multa et hirsuta ab radice, caulem quadriangulum, scabrum, similem arctio, multis concavum alis, semen ervo simile, candidum, geminum, radices numerosas, longas, plenas, molles, glutinosas gustu. Siccae nigrescunt indurescuntque, ut cornua videri possint. [12] Praeter Aethiopiam nascuntur et in Ida monte Troadis et in Messenia. Colliguntur autumno, siccantur in sole aliquot diebus, ne situm sentiant. Medentur volvis potae in vino albo, ischiadicis, pleuriticis, faucibus scabris decoctae potui dantur. Sed quae ex Aethiopia venit, eximie atque ilico prodest.

*Translation*

13 [43] The fruit itself [i.e. the date of the *syagrus*, "wild boar date"] is large, hard, and has a rough surface; it differs in aroma from the other varieties by a certain taste of game, most prominent in boar's meat, whence its name. Fourth in esteem are the *sandalides* (dates), so named by their likeness (to the shape of sandals). Moreover, they say there are five of those (date palms), at most, on the border of Aithiopia, admired just as much for the sweetness (of their fruit) as for their rareness.

[47] In the Thebais and in Arabia (the dates) are wholly of the dry kind; they are thin and have a meagre pulp, and because of the constant scorching heat they

are covered by a crust rather than a skin. And in Aithiopia they are actually crumbled (that is how dry they are) and made into bread as if from flour.<sup>481</sup> They grow on a bush with cubit-long branches and rather broad leaves; the fruit is round, in size larger than an apple; these dates are called *coix*. They take three years to mature, and there is always fruit on the bush, as new fruit comes in its stead.

[90] Aithiopia, which has a boundary common with Egypt, barely has any remarkable tree except the one which yields flax, like the one in India and Arabia that I have mentioned.<sup>482</sup> But (its produce) is closer to wool in quality, and the pods are larger, like the pomegranate; the trees themselves, however, are similar to each other. In addition, there are (in Aithiopia) palm trees, like the ones I have described.<sup>483</sup> The trees on the islands along the coast of Aithiopia and their fragrant groves I mentioned in my description of these (islands).

16 [160] And if one carefully reckons the Aithiopians, Egypt, the Arabs, the Indians, the Scythians, the Bactrians, the numerous tribes of the Sarmatians and the Orient, and all the kingdoms of the Parthians, about one half of the population of the whole world lives under the domination of reeds.<sup>484</sup>

17 [133] On the island of Cos they also plant vines at that time [i.e., when the etesian winds blow], while elsewhere in Greece they do not hesitate to graft both buds and scions, but they do not plant trees. The nature of the region plays an important role in this matter; thus in Egypt they plant in any month; and wherever there are summer showers, as in India and Aithiopia, trees are of necessity planted afterwards, in autumn.

18 [100] Campania is particularly blessed with millet, from which they make a white porridge. Also a very sweet bread is made. For Sarmatian<sup>485</sup> tribes too this porridge is an all important part of the diet, as well as coarse flour, mixed with horse's milk or blood from the veins of its leg. The Aithiopians know of no other grain than millet and barley.

19 [161] It [the cumin] grows in the upper layer of the soil, it scarcely establishes roots, and stretches upwards particularly in loose soil and warm growing

---

<sup>481</sup>Pliny's Latin does not make clear whether he is speaking of the inside of the date (so Ernout 1956) or its skin (so Rackham 1945).

<sup>482</sup>The cotton plant, described Book 12.38 f.

<sup>483</sup>In § 36 f.

<sup>484</sup>This remark follows a mention of the importance of reeds for military use, i.e., for arrows, among the peoples of the East.

<sup>485</sup>The Sarmatians consisted of several nomad tribes in various regions in present day Poland and South Russia.

places; it should be sown in the middle of spring. There is another, wild, variety, which they call 'country cumin', others call it Thebaic; pounded and drunk with water it is beneficial (when one is) in stomach pain.<sup>486</sup> In our part of the world Carpetania<sup>487</sup> yields (the cumin) most appreciated, otherwise the Aithiopian and African take the first prize; of the latter some prefer the Egyptian cumin.

20 [36] And since most people are confused by the similarity of the Greek names, I add here something about the *sil*, though this plant is generally well known.<sup>488</sup> The best variety is the one from Marseilles, for it has a large grain, of yellow-brown colour; the second best is the Aithiopian, which has a darker colour. The Cretan variety has the strongest aroma. The root has a pleasing smell. Even the vultures are said to eat its seeds. For men it is beneficial, when drunk in white wine, against chronic cough, ruptures and dislocations, similarly for people with spasms, liver ailments, colic, or strangury, in doses of two or three spoonfuls.

23 [71] ... The sap that exudes from the green [olive] tree when burnt cures lichen, *furfures*,<sup>489</sup> and running sores. [72] As to the liquid that drips from the tree itself—especially the Aithiopian olive tree—one cannot be too astonished to find that some recommend it for smearing aching teeth, alleging that it is a poison, and even recommend that it be extracted from the wild olive tree.<sup>490</sup> Bark scraped from the root of the very youngest olive trees and added to honey, when taken frequently, cures those who vomit blood and those who have suppurating expectorations. Ash from the olive tree itself (taken) with axle grease cures tumors, extracts purulence from fistulas and cures them.

27 [11] The *aethiopsis* has leaves that resemble those of the mullein; they are large, numerous and hairy from the root; the stem is quadrangular, rough, like the one of the *arction*, hollow by reason of the numerous axils; the seed resembles that of the vetch, it is white and twofold; the plant has numerous roots that are long, full, soft, and sticky to the taste. When dried they become dark in colour and hard, so that they may look like horn. [12] In addition to Aithiopia

<sup>486</sup>"Beneficial" translates *prodest*, which is an addition to the text of the manuscripts. If omitted, the text would have to be translated with a different punctuation, so Rackham (1950): "For pounding up in water and using as a draught in cases of stomach-ache the most highly esteemed kind in our continent is that grown at Carpetania, ..."

<sup>487</sup>In Central Spain.

<sup>488</sup>The Greek names that may cause confusion are *sisaron*, Lat. *siser*, the subject of Pliny's preceding section, and *seselis*, Lat. *sil*. For the different species that the latter name may cover see the note by André (1965, 140).

<sup>489</sup>A disease that renders the skin scurvy or scaly.

<sup>490</sup>For this section in Pliny see the notes by André (1971, 97).

they grow on Mount Ida in the Troad and in Messenia. They are gathered in the autumn and are dried in the sun for some days so as to avoid the taste of mustiness. Drunk in white wine they are used as medicine for the uterus, as a decoction it is given to drink to those suffering from ischias, pleurisy, and sore throats. The one from Aithiopia has an extraordinary and instantaneous healing effect.

[TE]

*Comments*

Though the data material on Aithiopian flora Pliny collected from various sources may only indirectly concern the historian, a selection from it is presented here in order to indicate its importance, to illustrate an aspect of ancient Greek and Roman interest for the Middle Nile Region, and to point out its relevance for the investigations concerning cultivation, production and diet in Aithiopia. On the other hand, the same data are important for the investigation of Kushite trade. Rare species, such as the "sandalis date" (13.43), are discussed as well as more common ones, such as the *χυδαῖος* or vulgar date (13.47), though the latter is confused with the coconut. 16.160 speaks about the use of reeds for making arrows for warfare, naming, correctly, the Aithiopians as the foremost among the peoples who were famous for their archers (cf. Curto 1979, 767 ff.; for the arrows see H. Bonnet 1926, 156; Behrens 1982, 1006). The herbs and plants mentioned in 19.161, 20.36 and 27.11 f. were significant as commercial items.

[LT]

**204 Petronius' Nubian campaign.** 1st cent. AD.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.181-182.

*Source bibliography*

Brodersen 1996

C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VI. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von K. Brodersen. (Sammlung Tusculum.) Zürich.

Mayhoff 1906

C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1. Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* for Pliny in general see 195.

The present extract follows the mention of the Emperor Nero's plans for a campaign against Aithiopia (see FHN II, 108). For the Nubian campaign of Petronius cf. also 205.

Our text is based on the edition of Brodersen (1996).

*Text*

6 [181] ... Intravere autem et eo arma Romana divi Augusti temporibus duce P. Petronio, et ipso equestris ordinis praefecto Aegypti. Is oppida eorum expugnavit quae sola invenimus quo dicemus ordine: Pselcin, Primi, Bocchin, Forum Cambusis, Attenam, Stadissim, ubi Nilus praecipitans se fragore auditum accolis aufert; diripuit et Napata.

[182] Longissime autem a Syene progressus est  $\overline{\text{DCCCLXX}}$  p. nec tamen arma Romana ibi solitudinem fecerunt: Aegyptiorum bellis attrita est Aethiopia vicissim imperitando serviendoque, clara et potens etiam usque ad Troiana bella Memnone regnante; et Syriae imperitasse eam nostroque litori aetate regis Cephei patet Andromedae fabulis.

*Translation*

6 [181] ... A Roman army, however, also penetrated this far in the time of the Divine Augustus, under the command of Publius Petronius, himself of the equestrian order and Prefect of Egypt. He conquered their towns—of which we have found only the following names, in the order given here—Pselcis, Primi, Bocchis, Forum Cambusis ("Cambyses' Market"), Attena, Stadissis; this is where the Nile hurls itself down with such thundering noise that it deprives the people living nearby of their hearing. He also destroyed Napata.<sup>491</sup>

[182] The farthest away from Syene he came was 870 miles, but it was not the Roman army that made the country there desolate: it was in wars with the Egyptians that Aithiopia was worn down alternately as master and subject, famous and mighty as late as the Trojan wars when Memnon was king; and the story of Andromeda shows that Aithiopia reigned over Syria and our [i.e., the Mediterranean] coast in King Cepheus' time.

[TE]

*Comments*

As stated in the list of contents contained in Book 1, Pliny devoted Book 6 of his *Natural History* to the description of "sites, nations, seas, towns, harbours, mountains, rivers, distances, present and past populations"; in 6.163-197 he describes the geography of the Red Sea Gulf (163-169), the "Trogodyte Country" (170-177), i.e., the region of the Red Sea Hills, and Aithiopia (177-197). He drew upon various sources, most prominently the early Hellenistic geographers he quotes in 6.183 (FHN II, 100): Dalion (cf. FHN II, 101 f.) and Bion (cf. FHN II, 105-108), Aristocreon (FHN II, 103 f.), Eratosthenes (cf. FHN II, 109-111), and Artemidorus (cf. 189, *Comments*); indirectly, he also relied on Agatharchides

<sup>491</sup>The manuscripts and some editors have Nepata, see the critical apparatus in Mayhoff (1906). Brodersen (1996, 282) lists the spellings various editors have chosen for the place-names given here.

(cf. FHN II, 142-147), Diodorus (cf. FHN II, 167), and Strabo (cf. 187-190). The description presented in the present text is, however, also based on information from two official reports.

As a rhetorical introduction to his summary of the second report, Pliny first refers to the report of a reconnaissance expedition the emperor Nero sent to Aithiopia—which he quotes in more detail in 6.184-86 (206) and also mentions in 12.19 (208)—contrasting its statement about the paucity of settlements in the Nubian Nile Valley with the itinerary of Juba which he reproduced previously (6.179, see 186a). This introduction is followed by what may be interpreted as a summary of a portion of an official report describing the expedition C. Petronius<sup>492</sup> led to Aithiopia 25-24 BC. It is impossible to reconstruct the original form and contents of the supposed official report, and it can only tentatively be suggested that Pliny could have studied a report which was originally prepared by Petronius and was then excerpted in the course of the preparations for the Neronian expedition. Such a possibility is indicated by the direct connection of the two reports in 6.181 as well as by Pliny's quotations from the Neronian report (cf. 206, 208).

The description of the expedition closely corresponds to the narratives presented by the *Res Gestae* of Augustus (FHN II, 166), Strabo (190) and Cassius Dio (205). The *Res Gestae* obviously presents a statement about a victorious campaign fitted into the context of the achievements of Augustus (cf. *Comments* on FHN II, 166). Strabo's description was based on information received from Aelius Gallus, while Cassius Dio's text seems to be based on direct information only as far as its chronological data are concerned; the rest he filled out with indirect information from Strabo and/or Pliny. Thus, when interpreting the textual sources on the war between Rome and Aithiopia, we should keep in mind that they were composed from a Roman point of view, reported a "just war" but, though only inexplicitly, also reflected Roman foreign policy in its significant change from Republican concepts to the *Pax Augusta*.

To the information provided by the *Res Gestae* and Strabo, Pliny's source also adds a list of the names of towns Petronius captured, as Pliny says, on the "Arabian", i.e., E bank of the Nile. Petronius' report may originally have stated that his troops marched south along a road on the E bank, some of the settlements he listed occur only in Bion's east bank list. It would seem, however, not only that Bion's list was inconsistent in this respect (Faras and Megauda, e.g., are in fact on the W bank), but also that some settlements had counterparts on the opposite bank.

---

<sup>492</sup>Pliny 6.181 gives him the praenomen abbreviation P. which is, arbitrarily, emended as Publius in the Loeb edition. According to Cassius Dio (207) his praenomen was Γαίος, i.e., Caius, while Strabo does not record his praenomen at all (190). The preferences in modern literature are arbitrary: Bureth 1988, 475 has C. Petronius, while Bagnall 1985 and Bastianini 1988, 503 opt for P(ublius) Petronius.

In Table C below Pliny's list is confronted with the itinerary of the Neroian expedition (see 206) and with the corresponding place-names in the lists of Bion (FHN II, 108) and Juba (186a); and their Meroitic and modern equivalents are also given. The toponyms were identified on the basis of Priese (1984a); for the identification of Stadissis see Török (1979, 8 f.). We do not follow Desanges (1978a, 313 f.) in identifying, with reference to Stephanus of Byzantium (under Βῶγγις), Bocchis with some settlement in the region of the Third Cataract because this place-name is followed in the list by Forum Cambusis = Faras and also because its correspondence with Meroitic *Beqe/Boqh* is obvious. The deafening Cataract is, according to Desanges (1978a, 313) most probably the Third; yet it would seem that in ancient literature such a property might have been ascribed to any of the Nile Cataracts.

**Table C**

BION W/E	JUBA	PETRONIUS	NERO	Meroitic	Modern
1. Between the First and Second Cataracts					
		<b>Pselcis</b>			Dakka
Tacompson (W)	Tacompson		Hiera Sycaminos		Maharraqa
Pindis (W)	Pidema	<b>Primis</b>		Pedeme	Qasr Ibrim
Bogghi (E)		<b>Bocchis</b>		Beqe/Boqh	Ballana
Phitor[?] (E)	Tapros	<b>Forum Cambusis</b>		Phrse	Faras
	Tamania	<b>Attena</b>	Tama	Tmñ	Gezira Dabarosa
2. Between the Second and the Dal Cataracts					
	Tessata	<b>Stadissis</b>		Sdose	Saras
3. Between the Dal and Third Cataracts					
Pindi (W)	Pidibotas		Primis Acina	Pedeme	Amara (W) Tagab (?)
4. South of the Third Cataract					
Patigga (E)	Patingan		Pitara		Kawa
Bagada (E)	Maga(da)s ne(s)o(s)		Gagauden Articula		Megauda "Island"
	Tarcanda		Tergedum		Tergis
	Nabatta	<b>Napata</b>	Napata	Npte	Napata/ G. Barkal

Pliny, as already indicated above, compared the toponym list of Petronius' expedition with the itineraries of Bion and Juba. The differences led him to assume that the majority of the settlements the two latter recorded had ceased to

exist by Petronius' time, a conclusion he believed to be supported by the observation of the Neronian expedition that in Aithiopia there was nothing but desert. In 6.182 he also offers an explanation, referring to the devastating effect of Aithiopia's wars with Egypt, by which he probably means the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty as well as the subsequent conflicts with Saite, Persian, and Ptolemaic Egypt (cf. FHN I, (28), (36), 41-43, 57, 64, FHN II, (83), 97, (129), (131), 133-135, 137).

When one confronts these statements with the evidence of archaeology,<sup>493</sup> it is evident that they cannot be accepted at face value. Without suggesting that Pliny's intention was propagandistic,<sup>494</sup> we may assume that he was misled by the small number of settlements Petronius named between the First and Second Cataracts (six) as compared to the twenty-three named by Bion (cf. FHN II, 108) and the eleven named by Juba (see 186a). Before we conclude that all three lists, if ordered according to the chronology of their authors, indicate a process of decline, we should point out that Juba's short list is similarly based on a source of the Early Hellenistic period (see *Comments* on 186a). Consequently, they do not prove that by the early 1st cent. AD only one half of Bion's settlements were still in existence. Instead, they show nothing more than that Juba excerpted his sources too economically, or that Pliny, or some other author between him and Juba, omitted a number of place-names that were originally included in Juba's work.

A confrontation of Bion's lists with the Petronian and Neronian lists may furnish an explanation for the nature of the two latter. The Petronian list names three strategically and politically important settlements (Dakka, Qasr Ibrim, and Faras) and names Stadissis which marks the end of the first part of the campaign at the Second Cataract. In addition it lists Bocchis/Ballana and Attena/Gezira Dabarosa, both of which could at that time have been settlements of importance, even though the archaeological record is less illuminating in their case.<sup>495</sup> Moreover, it would be mistaken to believe that the settlements missing here but present in Bion's itinerary were not extant in the period covered by the Petronian and the Neronian reports. The opposite is indicated by the archaeological evidence from Bion's Aramum and Sesamum (Wadi el Arab, see Emery-Kirwan 1935, 108 ff.), Ariae (Aniba/Karanog, see Woolley 1911; Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1909; 1910). In addition, a number of settlements

<sup>493</sup>For the archaeological evidence, which cannot be discussed here in any detail, see Adams 1977, 333 ff.; for an earlier dating of the entire Lower Nubian archaeological sequence of the Meroitic period and a corresponding re-assessment of Meroitic settlement history in the period between the late 2nd cent. BC and the 2nd cent. AD see literature quoted and discussed in the *Comments* on FHN II, 140 as well as the surveys presented in Williams 1985; 1991.

<sup>494</sup>If there was such an intention, it more probably underlay Petronius' reports inasmuch as he was unable to achieve lasting success in Aithiopia, and that of the Neronian expedition, which had to support the decision *not* to conquer Aithiopia (cf. 206, 207).

<sup>495</sup>For a Meroitic settlement from the 2nd-1st cent. BC at Gezira Dabarosa see, however, Hewes (1964).

and cemeteries dating from the 1st cent. AD, the ancient names of which remain unknown, have been archaeologically verified in the region (for a list see Török 1988a, 193 ff.).

The Neronian list is a record of distances measured by a reconnoitering expedition which also had to produce a map (see 208). The first distance (54 miles) is measured between Syene (Aswan) and the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier at Hiera Sycaminos (Maharraqa); the second (72 miles) from Hiera Sycaminos to Tama (Gezira Dabarosa) at the Second Cataract; the third (120 miles) from Tama to Primis (Amara) at the Dal Cataract; the fourth (64 miles) from Primis to Acina (Tagab?) at the Third Cataract; the fifth (22 miles) from Acina to Pitara (Kawa); the sixth (103 miles) from Pitara to Tergedum (Tergis) which lay at the great bend of the Nile; the seventh (80 miles) from Tergedum to Napata; and finally the eighth from Napata to the "island of Meroe" (360 miles).<sup>496</sup> The geographical structure of this list is quite obvious—so much so that it may also be supposed that these points of reference and the distances between them were marked on the map itself, on the basis of the observations made by the expedition and the summaries of shorter measurements made by its members between villages and/or other points of significance.

It cannot be overlooked that while the Petronian itinerary neatly lists the principal settlements between the First and the Second Cataracts and names the place which was reached at the Dal Cataract, it does not contain the name of any settlement between the Dal Cataract and Napata. The lack of names of settlements in the Nile Valley is usually explained by hypothesizing that Petronius' troops marched along the Korosko-Abu Hamed desert road (for the various views cf. Hofmann 1977a). It has also been pointed out, however, that the time between the late summer or early autumn of 25 BC and the late winter of 24 BC would not have been sufficient for the army to travel the distance Alexandria-Napata-Alexandria (see Hofmann 1977a), not even if the desert road were taken—in fact it would have been even less so since in this case an extra detour would also have had to be made back from Stadissis to Korosko (Török 1989-1990). Thus, though it adds new information to what is contained in the other sources on the Romano-Aithiopian war, 204 also further strengthens the impression that the Roman perspective on the events was not only propagandistically biased but also deliberately distorted the geographical facts concerning Aithiopia. The reasons for this become quite obvious once we also realise the correctness of the Neronian assessment of the map of Aithiopia.

[LT]

---

<sup>496</sup>Probably along the road leading across the Bayuda from Napata or rather Sanam on the opposite bank to the point opposite Meroe City where the Nile was crossed again.

**205 The Nubian campaign of C. Petronius.** Early 3rd cent. AD.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 54.5.4-6.

*Source bibliography*

Boissevin 1898

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt. Ed. U.Ph. Boissevin. Vol. II. Berolini.

Cary 1917

Dio's Roman History. With an English translation by E. Cary. Vol. 6. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-New York.

Millar 1964

F. Millar: A Study of Cassius Dio. Oxford.

*Introduction to source*

Cassius Dio<sup>497</sup> came from one of those distinguished provincial families with Roman citizenship whose members, from the 2nd century AD, were able to make a career in Roman politics, administration, and intellectual life. He was a native of Bithynia (Asia Minor), the son of a Roman senator, a near relative of the renowned orator Dio from Prusa (Dio Chrysostomus), and governor of Dalmatia and Cilicia. He came ca. AD 180 to Rome where he entered politics, became a member of the Senate and was twice consul. During his career he also occupied top administrative positions in several parts of the empire (Pergamum and Smyrna, Africa, Dalmatia and Pannonia).

Cassius Dio's literary career began with two minor works in support of the emperor, a pamphlet on the dreams and prodigies that portended Septimius Severus' accession to power and a history of the civil wars that preceded this event. These works seem to have suggested to the author the grander design of writing the whole history of Rome, into which his earlier works were absorbed.

The work, entitled *Roman History* (*Romaike historia*), written in Greek and consisting of 80 books, covered the entire period from the earliest, mythical beginnings to his own time (ending AD 229). Only books 36-54, dealing with the events of 68-10 BC, are extant; but shortened versions and excerpts from great parts of the rest of the work have been preserved (cf. 207).

Cassius Dio's personal experience in Roman politics and administration on the highest level makes his books on imperial Rome, especially on contemporary events, particularly valuable; for Republican Rome he has been found lacking in knowledge and understanding. His outlook is that of the Roman senatorial class; his style bears the mark of the rhetorical influences of his time, which sometimes are allowed to interfere with historical accuracy (Millar 1964, 42-44). This applies especially to the speeches assigned to historical persons.

Cassius Dio is also known to have written a biography, since lost, of his compatriot, the historian Arrian.

For a fuller introduction to Cassius Dio see Millar (1964).

---

<sup>497</sup>Or Dio Cassius (handbooks vary); his full name was Cassius Dio Cocceianus.

The present text is based on the edition of Boissevin (1898). An English bilingual edition is provided by Cary (1917).

*Text*

54.5 [4] Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον οἱ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκοῦντες προεχώρησαν μὲν μέχρι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ὠνομασμένης, πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθοῦντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης· πυθόμενοι δὲ ἐνταῦθά που Γάιον Πετρώνιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα προσιέναι, προαπήλθον μὲν ὡς καὶ διαφευζόμενοι, καταληφθέντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἠττήθησαν, κάκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸν ἐπεσπάσαντο.

[5] Καὶ καλῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγωνισάμενος πόλεις ἄλλας <τε> καὶ τὴν Ναπάτην τὸ βασιλεῖον αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. Καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν κατεσκάφη, ἐν ἐτέρῳ δέ τιτι χωρίῳ φρουρὰ κατελείφθη· ὁ γὰρ Πετρώνιος μῆτε περαιτέρω διὰ τε τὴν ἄμμον καὶ διὰ τὸ καῦμα προελθεῖν μῆτε κατὰ χώραν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ μείναι καλῶς δυνηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε, τὸ πλεῖον αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος.

[6] Κὰν τούτῳ τῶν Αἰθιόπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὐθὶς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναί οἱ ἠνάγκασεν.

*Translation*

54.5 [4] About the same time the Aithiopians who live beyond Egypt advanced as far as the town called Elephantine, ravaging everything in their way, under the leadership of Candace. When, however, somewhere near there they learnt that Gaius Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was approaching, they anticipated his arrival and withdrew, in order to make good their escape, but were overtaken on the march and defeated, whereupon<sup>498</sup> they enticed him even into their own territory.<sup>499</sup>

[5] After he had fought a successful battle there too, he captured among other cities Napata,<sup>500</sup> their royal residence. That town was razed to the ground, while a garrison was left behind in another place; for Petronius could not proceed further because of the sand and the heat, nor with any profit remain in the country with his whole army, and consequently withdrew, bringing with him the greater part of his men.

<sup>498</sup>“whereupon” translates the Greek phrase ἐκ τούτου (lit. “from this”), which may be either temporal (“after this”) or indicate a consequence.

<sup>499</sup>The Greek verb here translated “enticed” does not necessarily imply intention; an alternative rendering is: “he was drawn to follow after them...”.

<sup>500</sup>Napata is a correction by Dindorf in his edition of Cassius Dio; the manuscripts have Tanapa. The event is, however, recorded several places in ancient literature, and the correction must be considered secure.

[6] At that point the Aithiopians attacked his garrison, and he again marched against them, rescued his men, and forced Candace to make terms with him.

[TE]

*Comments*

The passage quoted here from Cassius Dio's Book 54 refers to the Roman-Aithiopian war among the events of 22 BC; yet, as frequently occurs in his work, the annalistic structure is not strictly observed and the whole course of the events is described under the heading of the year when they began (cf. Schwartz 1899, 1687 ff.). While the chronological data on which this particular passage is based originate from archival sources, the narrative of the war itself presents a rather superficial summary of Strabo's description (see 190).

[LT]

**206 Nero's centurions in Aithiopia.** 1st cent. A.D.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 6.184-187.

*Source bibliography*

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Brodersen 1996 | C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Buch VI. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von K. Brodersen. (Sammlung Tusculum.) Zürich.  |
| Desanges 1993  | J. Desanges: Pline l'Ancien et Méroë. <i>Prace archeologiczne</i> 56, 27-40.   |
| Detlefsen 1904 | D. Detlefsen: Die geographischen Bücher (II, 242-VI Schluß) der <i>Naturalis Historia</i> des C. Plinius Secundus. (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte, 9.). Berlin. (Repr. Rome 1972 as <i>Studia Historica</i> , 113.) |
| Hintze 1959    | F. Hintze: Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroë. <i>ADAW</i> 1959/2. Berlin.  |
| Mayhoff 1906   | C. Plini Secundi <i>Naturalis historiae libri</i> 37. Ed. C. Mayhoff. Vol. 1: Libri I-VI. Lipsiae.   |
| Rackham 1942   | Pliny: <i>Natural History</i> . Vol. 2: Libri III-VII. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.   |

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* for Pliny see 195.

The present text is based on the edition of Brodersen (1996).

*Text*

6 [184] Verum omnis haec finita nuper disputatio est quoniam a Syene  $\overline{\text{DCCCC}}$   $\cdot\overline{\text{LXXV}}$  Neronis exploratores renuntiavere his modis: a Syene Hieran

Sycaminon  $\overline{\text{LIII}}$  p., inde Tama  $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$  regione Euonymiton Aethiopum, Primi  $\overline{\text{CXX}}$ , Acinam  $\overline{\text{LXIII}}$ , Pitaram  $\overline{\text{XXV}}$ , Tergedum  $\overline{\text{CVI}}$ . Insulam Gagauden esse in medio eo tractu; inde primum visas aves psittacos et ab altera, quae vocetur Artigula, animal sphingion, a Tergedo cynocephalos. Inde Nabata  $\overline{\text{LXXX}}$ , oppidum id parvum inter praedicta solum. Ab eo ad insulam Meroen  $\overline{\text{CCCLX}}$ .

[185] Herbas circa Meroen demum viridiores, silvarumque aliquid apparuisse et rhinocerotum elephantorumque vestigia. Ipsum oppidum Meroen ab introitu insulae abesse  $\overline{\text{LXX}}$  p., iuxtaque aliam insulam Tadu dextro subeuntibus alveo, quae portum faceret.

[186] Aedificia oppidi pauca; regnare feminam Candacen, quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit; delubrum Hammonis et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella. Cetero cum potirentur rerum Aethiopes, insula ea magnae claritatis fuit. Tradunt armatorum  $\overline{\text{CCL}}$  dare solitam, artificum  $\overline{\text{III}}$ . Alii reges Aethiopum XLV esse hodie traduntur.

[187] Universa vero gens Aetheria appellata est, deinde Atlantia, mox a Vulcani filio Aethiope. Animalium hominumque monstrificas effigies circa extremitates eius gigni minime mirum, artificii ad formanda corpora effigiesque caelandas mobilitate ignea. Ferunt certe ab orientis parte intima gentes esse sine naribus, aequali totius oris planitie, alias superiore labro orbis, alias sine linguis.

#### Translation

6 [184] But this whole dispute<sup>501</sup> has now come to an end as Nero's explorers have reported the distance from Syene [to Meroe] to be 975 miles,<sup>502</sup> (calculated) in the following way: from Syene to Hiera Sycaminos ("The Holy Sycomore Tree") 54 miles, from there to Tama 72 miles by the region of the Aithiopian Euonymites, to Primi 120 miles, Acina 64 miles, Pitara 25 miles, Tergedus 106 miles. The island of Gagaudes was reported to be situated in the middle of this stretch; from there on they observed parrots and from another island on, called Artigula, the *sphingion*,<sup>503</sup> from Tergedus on dog-faced baboons. From there to Nabata is 80 miles; that little town was the only one of the aforementioned (that still existed). From there to the island of Meroe is 360 miles.

[185] Only around Meroe did the grass become greener, the report said, some forest could be seen, and traces of rhinoceroses and elephants. The town of Meroe itself was situated 70 miles from the place where one lands on the is-

<sup>501</sup>I. e., on the distances in Egypt; for the immediately preceding text of Pliny see FHN II, 100.

<sup>502</sup>For several of the distances given here the figures in the manuscripts vary. Brodersen (1996) gives a useful conspectus showing which figures various editors have chosen to print (p. 282). The chaotic state of the figures in the manuscripts can be seen in the critical apparatus of Mayhoff (1906).

<sup>503</sup>The *sphingion* or *sphinx* (plur. *sphinges*) is probably the guenon ape, see 193 (Pomponius Mela 3.88 with note).

land, close to another island, Tados, situated in the right channel as one goes upstream, and making a harbour.

[186] The town had only a few buildings. A women, Candace, ruled. This name has been passed from queen to queen for many years.<sup>504</sup> There was both a much revered temple for Hammon [Amûn] in the town and shrines for him throughout the whole region. At the time when the Aithiopians took power, however, the island was of great renown.<sup>505</sup> They say that it would supply 250.000 armed men and 3000 artisans.<sup>506</sup> Today the other Aithiopian kings are said to be 45 (in number).<sup>507</sup>

[187] The whole people was given the name of Aetheria, then Atlantia, and a little later it took its name from Aethiops, son of Vulcan.<sup>508</sup> It is not at all surprising that around their farthest regions monstrous shapes of animals and men are formed, as fiery volatility has the capacity to shape bodies and carve figures. Certainly in its easternmost part they say there are tribes without noses, their whole face being flat and even, others without the upper lip, others without tongues.

[TE]

### Comments

As indicated by the statistical data presented in Book 12.84 of the *Natural History*, in the trade with India and China which was maintained *via* the Red Sea, Rome imported yearly in the reign of Nero goods to the value of 100 million sesterces. Thus it may be supposed (Desanges 1978a, 323), but not regarded as proven, that the intended military campaign against Aithiopia (see 207) was motivated by the idea of achieving unrestricted Roman control over the Aithiopian Red Sea coast and, at the same time, securing direct access to African luxury goods. So much seems probable, however; namely that the re-

<sup>504</sup>The verb in this sentence is in the indicative mood, whereas Latin grammar demands the subjunctive in subordinate clauses and infinitive in main clauses if the content is presented as reported from another source (the Latin *oratio obliqua* construction). Rackham (1942) changes to subjunctive (*transisset* for *transiit*); we have translated the indicative that stands in the text.

<sup>505</sup>The Latin verb for "was" (*fuit*) is in the indicative mood (cf. preceding note), apparently indicating that Pliny no longer reproduces the centurions' report. Desanges (1993, 29, 36) still prefers to believe that the contents of this whole paragraph should be ascribed to the report of Nero's explorers.

<sup>506</sup>Detlefsen (1904) changed the word for "artisans" (*opificum*) to "elephants" (*elephantum*), and is followed by Brodersen (1996). Desanges (1993, 36) rejects the correction.

<sup>507</sup>This sentence translates Mayhoff's text, which changes the reading of the manuscripts in two places: For *alii* ("the other") the manuscripts have *alere*, "feed" or "keep" (or the meaningless *alere*); *alere* would belong to the preceding sentence ("keep 3000 artisans"); for *esse*, "to be", the manuscripts have *et*, "and". Desanges (1993, 36 f.) defends the manuscript reading *Reges Aethiopum XLV et hodie traduntur*, which translates "Even today the kings of the Aithiopians are said to be 45 in number"; Desanges rejects, however, the interpretation of Hintze (1959, 27 f.) who understands the meaning to be that there had been 45 Aithiopian kings *in succession*.

<sup>508</sup>Vulcan, or the Hephaistos of Greek mythology, was the blacksmith of the gods. *Aethiops* is explained as "burnt-face" (from *aitho* "burn" and *ops* "face").

connaissance expedition which is described in this text and which Nero sent to Aithiopia some time between AD 61 and 63 (for the date cf. Schur 1923, 52; Desanges 1978a, 325; Hofmann 1978a, 133 f.) served the purpose of careful preparations for a military venture.

Pliny probably had direct access to the documentation the expedition put together in Aithiopia (cf. 208). The distances (on their reliability see Desanges 1993b, 34 f.) listed in 206, as shown in the *Comments* on 204 above, indicate that Pliny collected the information he conveys here from a structured cartographical source, i.e., a map (cf. Sherk 1974) in which the distances between significant places and points were exactly indicated. The toponyms were confronted in Table C in the *Comments* on 204. The kind of map prepared by the centurions is revealed by the notes made on the fauna and flora and quoted by Pliny (see also 208). Independently of the data destined to be included in the map, the members of the expedition also collected other information on Aithiopian history as well as on the conditions existing there.

According to this information Meroe (City) possessed few buildings at the time the expedition was there. While the urban structure of 1st cent. AD Meroe City, insofar as it can be understood on the basis of the incomplete archaeological investigation of the site (cf. Garstang et al. 1911; Shinnie-Bradley 1980; Török 1997, Ch. 2.6), may be judged as fairly developed<sup>509</sup> in comparison with contemporary Egyptian towns. The structural and architectural perception of the town must have been different for a Roman centurion. The mention of the temple of Amûn refers to the edifice excavated by Garstang (Garstang et al. 1911, 11 ff.; Shinnie-Bradley 1980, 91 ff.; Török 1997, 116-128).

There have been several attempts to identify the Candace mentioned here with an historical queen of Meroe. It seems that Pliny at this place (as also in 6.181 f., see 204) repeats the old topos in ancient literature according to which Aithiopia is ruled by a queen by the name of Candace (cf. FHN II, 85, 105, in this volume see 189). Hofmann (1978a, 134) has suggested that the centurions were referring to Queen Amanitore (see (212)) who is, for chronological reasons, the best candidate by far. Starting with the reference to Candace, Pliny seems to intertwine information received from the Neronian expedition with remarks on Aithiopia collected from the works of earlier writers: the remarks on Aithiopia's past grandeur, on the origins of the Aithiopian race, and on the fabulous tribes present a *mélange* of such gleanings. Pliny's mention of a Candace as ruler of Aithiopia at this time seems, however, to contradict Seneca's reference to a king (see 209). Scholarly opinions about the discrepancy between the two

---

<sup>509</sup>The degree of urban development cannot be precisely ascertained, especially since we have no information about the whole of Meroe City. Our judgement is formed on the basis of the presence of hierarchically and functionally separated quarters and of architecturally planned monumental streets and edifices in the settlement. It cannot of course be suggested that the structure of the central town was determined by notions connected with monumental imperial architecture in contemporary Rome; but it cannot be doubted that it also incorporates the spatial aspect of the rites connected with the temples and the presence of the ruler.

narratives on this point and the solutions suggested for it will be briefly discussed in the *Comments* on **209**.

The note on the forty-five kings of Aithiopia probably derives from the records of the centurions (cf. Desanges 1993b, 36). In Hintze's view (1959a, 27 f.) the sentence *Reges Aethiopum XLV et hodie traduntur* ("Even today the kings of the Aithiopians are said to be 45 in number") indicates that, counting from the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt (cf. FHN I, (28)), the Candace in Nero's day was the forty-fifth ruler on the throne of Aithiopia. Accepting Hintze's interpretation, but rejecting his view that the generation of rulers should be counted excluding those buried in the royal pyramids at Gebel Barkal, which he believed, with Reisner (1923), to have been the burials of a collateral dynasty, Hofmann (1978a, 134) counted Natakamani as the forty-fifth ruler. Desanges (1993b, 37), however, suggests, with reference to Seneca's remark on the *proximis regibus* (see **209**), that the forty-five kings in Aithiopia in Nero's time should be compared with the 18 kingdoms in Parthia that Pliny (6.112) mentions. Perhaps the kings were vassals and administrators of territorial units.

[LT]

**207 Nero sends spies to Aithiopia.** Early 3rd cent. AD.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 62.8.1-2.

*Source bibliography*

Boissevin 1901

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt. Ed. U.Ph. Boissevin. Vol. III. Berolini.

Cary 1925

Dio's Roman History. With an English translation by E. Cary. Vol. 8. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* on Cassius Dio in general see **205**. The present extract is from the abridgment ('epitome') of Cassius Dio's Books 36-80 made by the monk Ioannes Xiphilinus in Constantinople in the 11th century, here combined by Boissevin (1901) with a passage from the so-called *Excerpta Valesiana* (for the details see the *apparatus* in Boissevin's edition). Xiphilinus' epitome is our main source for this otherwise lost part of Dio's work, and was arranged according to emperors.

The context of this extract is the Emperor Nero's dealings with the Armenian king Tiridates and the Parthian king Vologaesus. The latter had refused to visit Nero in Rome, sending a message that it would be easier for Nero to come to Asia.

Our text is based on the edition of Boissevin (1901). An English bilingual edition is provided by Cary (1925).

*Text*

62.8 [1] Νέρων δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐκείνον οὐκ ἔπλευσε, καίπερ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ἔχων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἢ τὰς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας, ὡσπερ ἐνενόει. [2] Τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ κατασκόπους ἐκατέρωσε ἔπεμψεν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ χρόνου καὶ πόνου ὄρων δεόμενα ἤλπιζεν αὐτόματά οἱ προσχωρήσειν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεραιώθη, ...

*Translation*

62.8 [1] Nero did not sail against him [Vologaesus], even though he was angry with him; in fact he neither (went) against the Aithiopians nor the Caspian Gates,<sup>510</sup> as had been his intention. [2] He did, however, among other things send spies to both places, but when he realized that these two projects would need both time and effort and hoped that things would take care of themselves for him he crossed over to Greece ...

[TE]

*Comments*

In a remark added to his narrative of the coronation in Rome of the Parthian prince Tiridates as king of Armenia, Cassius Dio also includes this mention of a campaign that the emperor planned (cf. also 206), but did not carry out, against the Aithiopians. Since the remark stands in the part of his work which discusses the events of the year AD 66, it may safely be brought into connection with the reconnaissance expedition described by Pliny (206) and Seneca (209); and it also seems very likely that the information collected by this expedition in Aithiopia was needed for the careful preparations for a military undertaking on such a scale and to be conducted in such a remote place.

[LT]

**208 Aithiopian ebony and ivory tribute and Nero's "map". 1st cent. AD.**

Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 12.17-19.

*Source bibliography*

Ernout 1949

Pline l'Ancien: Histoire naturelle. Livre XII. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par A. Ernout. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

König-Winkler 1977

C. Plinius Secundus d.Ä.: Naturkunde. Bücher XII-XIII. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von R. König in Zusammenarbeit mit G. Winkler. München.

Rackham 1945

Pliny: Natural History. Vol. 4: Libri XII-XVI. Ed. H. Rackham. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge MA.

<sup>510</sup>An important strategic gateway to the realm of the Parthians.

*Introduction to source*

For *Introduction to source* to Pliny's *Naturalis historia* in general see 195. This excerpt is from the section on trees. Our text is based on the edition by Ernout (1949); bilingual editions are available also in English (Rackham 1945) and German (König-Winkler 1977).

*Text*

12 [17] Lanigeras Serum in mentione gentis eius narravimus, item Indiae arborum magnitudinem. Unam e peculiaribus Indiae Vergilius celebravit hebenum, nusquam alibi nasci professus. Herodotus eam Aethiopiae intellegi maluit in tributi vicem regibus Persidis e materia eius centenas phalangas tertio quoque anno pensitasse Aethiopas cum auro et ebore prodendo.

[18] Non omittendum id quoque, vicanos dentes elephantorum grandes, quoniam ita significavit, Aethiopas ea de causa pendere solitos. Tanta ebori auctoritas erat urbis nostrae CCCX anno; tunc enim auctor ille historiarum condidit Thuriis in Italia. Quo magis mirum est quod eidem credimus, qui Padum amnem vidisset neminem ad id tempus Asiae Graeciaeque visum.

[19] Cognita Aethiopiae forma—ut diximus, nuper allata Neroni principi—raram arborem Meroen usque a Syene fine imperii per DCCCCLXXXVI p. nullamque nisi palmarum generis esse docuit. Ideo fortassis in tributi auctoritate tertia res fuerit hebenus.

*Translation*

12 [17] The wool-bearing trees among the Chinese<sup>511</sup> I told of when mentioning that people, as well as the size of the trees in India. Among the trees special to India Vergil mentioned<sup>512</sup> only ebony, claiming that it grows nowhere else. Herodotus preferred to regard it as belonging to Aithiopia, reporting that the Aithiopians paid as tribute to the Persian kings hundred logs of its wood every second year, along with gold and ivory.<sup>513</sup>

[18] There is one more thing I should not omit since Herodotus reports it: the amount of ivory that the Aithiopians used to pay for the same reason was twenty large elephant tusks. That shows the value of ivory in the 310th year of our city;<sup>514</sup> for it was at that time the historian composed his work in Thurii, Italy.<sup>515</sup> There is, therefore, all the more reason to wonder why we trust<sup>516</sup> this

<sup>511</sup>The *Seres* in Latin, a people in Eastern Asia, the Chinese or their neighbours.

<sup>512</sup>*Georgica* 2.116 f.

<sup>513</sup>Her. 3.97.3, see FHN I, 57 (Herodotus says *two* hundred logs).

<sup>514</sup>444 BC.

<sup>515</sup>Herodotus was among the citizens of the colony of Thurii in South Italy, founded by Pericles 444/443 BC.

<sup>516</sup>Lit. "So much more astonishing it is that we trust..."; it is difficult to see any logical relation to the preceding, probably some process of condensing or combining the sources lies behind here.

same man's contention that nobody had up to that time been found, whether in Asia or Greece, who had seen the river Padum.<sup>517</sup>

[19] The information on Aithiopia that has become known<sup>518</sup>—recently brought to the Emperor Nero, as I have said<sup>519</sup>—has shown that trees are rare from Syene, the border of the empire, to Meroe, a distance of 996 miles,<sup>520</sup> and that there is no tree [there] except for those of the palm species. That is probably the reason why ebony took the third place in the assessment of the tribute.

[TE]

### Comments

In the *Comments* on 204 and 206 we have already discussed the data acquired by Pliny from information collected by Nero's centurions in Aithiopia, and we have mentioned Sherk's study on Roman cartography according to which Pliny's description derives from a map consisting of measurements of distances as well as (pictorial?) notes on fauna and flora (1974, 540 f.). Sherk interprets *forma* in the present text as referring to that "map" (cf. footnote to the translation above).

The remark that trees are rare from Syene to Meroe and only the palm species was observed looks authentic, though it is partly contradicted by Book 6.185 (206) where, on the basis of the same source of information, Pliny speaks about forests in the region of Meroe City.

[LT]

### 209 The Neronian expedition to Aithiopia. 1st cent. AD.

Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 6.8.3-5.

### Source bibliography

Ultramare 1929

Sénèque: Questions naturelles. Texte établi et traduit par P. Ultramare. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

<sup>517</sup>I. e., the Po. The reference is to Her. 3.115; this statement rests on a misunderstanding, due to a confusion of identical river names, see the note in König-Winkler (1977) 197. There are, however, also doubts as to the Latin text here, see next note.

<sup>518</sup>The manuscripts show some variations here; for the participle *cognita* ("known") some have the masculine form *cognitum*, in which case it must belong to the preceding sentence, so König-Winkler (1977): *neminem ad id tempus Asiae Graeciaeque aut sibi cognitum. Aethiopiae forma ...*: "that nobody up to that time had been known to Asiae or Greece or to himself ...".

<sup>519</sup>6.181, see FHN II, 108.; cf. 209 for Seneca's report of Nero's Aithiopian expedition. Some translate the Latin word *forma* (basically "shape", "appearance") "map" here (as in *Forma urbis Romae*); it seems to us more likely that it refers in general to the documentation on Aithiopia that the expedition brought back; Rackham (1945) translates "The exploration of the geography of Ethiopia ...". (The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* cites the present instance (*s. v.* *forma* 6) under the heading "Arrangement, pattern, configuration, or conformation".)

<sup>520</sup>I.e., ca. 1574 km; the actual distance along the Nile is ca. 1670 km.

- Corcoran 1971-72      Seneca: *Naturales Quaestiones*. With an English translation by Th.H. Corcoran. (Loeb Classical Library.) Vol. 1-2. London-Cambridge, MA.
- Griffin 1976          M. Griffin: *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics*. Oxford. (Paperback edition 1992.)

*Introduction to source*

Lucius Annaeus Seneca<sup>521</sup> was a native of Spain, born ca. 4 BC, but educated in Rome where he made a career as speaker, diplomat, and politician. As a result of imperial intrigues he spent eight years in banishment on Corsica, but became, after his recall in AD 48, teacher and tutor of the future Emperor Nero. In 62 he was forced to retire from the court and devoted the rest of his life to literary and philosophical activity. After the Pisonian conspiracy in AD 65 he was suspected of complicity and Nero ordered him to commit suicide.

Seneca is the most prominent representative of the practical-ethical Roman brand of Stoic philosophy. His philosophical works all have an educational purpose, pervaded by a moral earnestness and high ideals that made him an important influence in the spiritual life of the Christian West, though many have found it difficult to reconcile his praise of the simple life and his sermons against man's greed, ambition, and vane desire with his own involvement in Roman power politics, court intrigues, and high finance.

Among Seneca's writings are the so-called Dialogues<sup>522</sup> (in 12 books), which include "On Anger" (the longest, occupying 3 books), "On Providence", "On Peace of Mind", "On the Shortness of Life", as well as three letters of consolation to persons in bereavement. His collection of 124 literary letters,<sup>523</sup> known as "Moral Epistles", are likewise educational in character. Even in the "Investigations into Nature" (*Naturales quaestiones*), from which the present extract is taken, Seneca finds room in many places for edifying passages. The work is, like his letters, addressed to his friend Lucilius, and treats of subjects like fire, air, and water, including a long section on the inundations of the Nile, as well as winds, earthquakes, and comets. It is a speculative work that enjoyed great popularity all through the Middle Ages; for natural science its value is only historical.

Seneca's preserved writings further include "On Clemency" and "On Benefits", as well as nine tragedies which became influential as models for later European tragedians, particularly for French classical drama and for Shakespeare. Of peculiar interest is the witty, some would say tactless, satirical pamphlet

---

<sup>521</sup>Often called 'the Younger' to distinguish him from his father of the same name, author of rhetorical works (Seneca 'the Rhetor').

<sup>522</sup>They are not in the form of conversations like Plato's dialogues, but are more properly to be called tracts or talks.

<sup>523</sup>They are formally letters, but are in the style of essays and were probably meant for publication.

written on the occasion of the death of the Emperor Claudius, describing Claudius' soul seeking admittance among the gods in heaven and the ensuing negotiations.

Of his lost works may be mentioned his speeches, a biography of his father, and two geographical works, one on Egypt, another on India (Seneca is known to have spent time early in his career in Egypt, staying with an aunt who was married to Gaius Galerius, prefect of Egypt).

As an introduction to the life and work of Seneca Griffin (1976) may be recommended.

The text presented here is based on the edition of Oltramare (1929). An edition with English translation is available in the Loeb Classical Library (Corcoran 1971-72).

### *Text*

6.8 [3] Nescis autem inter opiniones quibus enarratur Nili aestiva inundatio et hanc esse, a terra illum erumpere et augeri non supernis aquis sed ex intimo redditis? Ego quidem centuriones duos, quos Nero Caesar, ut aliarum virtutum ita veritatis in primis amantissimus, ad investigandum caput Nili miserat, audivi narrantes longum ipsos iter peregisse, cum a rege Aethiopiae instructi auxilio commendatique proximis regibus ad ulteriora penetrassent. [4] "<Post multos dies, sicut illi> quidem aiebant, pervenimus ad immensas paludes, quarum exitum nec incolae noverant nec sperare quisquam potest: ita implicatae aquis herbae sunt at aquae nec pediti eluctabiles nec navigio, quod nisi parvum et unius capax limosa et obsita palus non fert. Ibi, inquit, vidimus duas petras, ex quibus ingens vis fluminis excidebat."

[5] Sed sive caput illa sive accessio est Nili, sive tunc nascitur sive in terras ex priore recepta cursu redit, nonne tu credis illam, quicquid est, ex magno terrarum lacu ascendere? Habeant enim oportet pluribus locis sparsum umorem et in imo coactum, ut eructare tanto impetu possint.

### *Translation*

6.8 [3] Don't you know that among the theories put forward for the summer inundation of the Nile also this has been suggested, that the river springs from the earth and is increased by water not from above but flowing from the interior? I have myself listened to the two centurions whom the Emperor Nero, a most truth-loving man, in addition to all his other qualities, had sent to explore the sources of the Nile. They told how they had travelled a long distance as they, with assistance from the King of Aithiopia and recommendations to the neighbouring kings, had reached very remote regions. [4] "After many days", according to their story,<sup>524</sup> "we arrived at an enormous stretch of marsh-

<sup>524</sup>The text is corrupt at this point; probably some words have been lost. The words translated "after many days" are supplied by Oltramare (1929); others have suggested other ways of mending the text.

land from which the natives knew of no outlet, nor can anybody hope to find one, so overgrown is the the water with grass; and it is impenetrable both for men on foot and for a boat, which the muddy and overgrown swamp can carry only if it is small, for one man only. There", they said, "we saw two rocks, from which a violent stream of water gushed forth."

[5] But whether this was the source or the arrival of the Nile, whether it arose there or returned to the earth after having been received from an earlier course —don't you think that that water, whatever it is, rises from the great world lake? The earth must necessarily have water spread in different places and collected deep in its interior<sup>525</sup> in order for it to spew water forth with such force.

[TE]

### Comments

In Book 6.8.3 of his work Seneca defends the correctness of the tradition concerning the existence of a "hidden sea" and underground rivers and refers to the Nile which, as was also maintained by Pomponius Mela (193) and, quoting Juba as an authority on the question, Pliny (*Natural History* 5.52<sup>526</sup>), passes beneath the desert in an underground channel for a distance of several days' journey. According to Seneca this theory was proved by two centurions who were sent by Nero to investigate the source of the Nile. With the help of neighbouring kings to whom they were recommended by the king of Aithiopia and after a long journey they reached marshlands in which they saw two rocks from which a great quantity of water issued. Yet, as Seneca adds in Book 6.8.5, it cannot be decided whether what the centurions found was the source of the Nile itself or of one of its tributaries, or was the place where the river returned to the surface from its underground channel.

There can be hardly any doubt that the centurions in question belonged to the expedition sent by Nero to Aithiopia some time between AD 61-63. Other sources on the expedition (204-208) indicate that it was intended to provide information for the preparations for a military campaign; it would seem that Seneca gives a scientific reason simply because it fits better into the actual context of his work. The marshlands may be identified as the papyrus swamp region of the Sudd (Kirwan 1957, 16 f.). By contrast, the "two rocks" have a legendary character; for they seem to paraphrase Herodotus' sentences about the mountains Krophi and Mophi, the mythical sources of the Nile between Syene and Elephantine (2.28, cf. Lloyd 1976, 28 ff.). It was suggested (cf. Desanges 1993b, 37) that the mention of the "neighbouring kings" lends support to the interpretation of Pliny's forty-five kings in Aithiopia (see 206) as contemporaries.

<sup>525</sup>"Deep in its interior" translates *in imo*, a correction of the manuscripts, which have *in uno*, "in one place".

<sup>526</sup>Pliny, however, also quotes Juba according to whom the Nile rises in proportion to the precipitation observed in Mauretania.

While the connections between the two remarks remain obscure, it seems likely that, as indicated by the narrative of the centurions quoted by Seneca, there existed semi-independent or vassal states on the southern fringes of the Meroitic kingdom.

Seneca speaks about a king of Aithiopia of the time of the expedition of the centurions. This is contradicted by Pliny's remark (see 206) that at this time "a woman, Candace, ruled". This discrepancy led Schumann (1930, 16, quoted by Hofmann 1978a, 133) and Hintze (1959a, 27 ff.) to think that Nero sent two reconnaissance expeditions to Aithiopia, the first occurring under the reign of a king (Hintze 1959a, 29: Amanitenmomide [here (217)]), the second under his successor, a queen (ibid.: Amanikhatashan [here (225)]). Referring to the circumstance that Seneca was in the position to collect first-hand information during his time in Nero's service, Hofmann (1978a, 133 f.) accepts his version. She also puts forward the suggestion that Nero's centurions arrived in Meroe in the reign of Natakamani and met both the king and "seine Gefährtin" the Candace Amanitore and adds that Pliny restricted himself to mentioning the latter because he had already spoken elsewhere (see 204) about a Candace. To the latter suggestion of Hofmann we prefer, however, Desanges' hypothesis (1973, 145) that Nero's centurions went to Aithiopia during the co-regency of a king and a queen,<sup>527</sup> for such a hypothesis receives excellent support from the evidence for the co-regency of Natakamani and Amanitore (see (211), (212)).

[LT]

**210 Greek inscription referring to Philae and the Dodecaschoenus. AD 69-79 (?)**

OGIS II 670. IGRR I 1296. SB V 8901. I. Philae II 161.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

*Introduction to source*

This text was inscribed on three sandstone blocks which were discovered reused in the walls of Coptic houses inside and in front of the temple of Augustus at Philae. Their present location is unknown (cf. É. Bernand 1969, 146). The formula used shows that the three inscribed blocks served as (part of) the base of a statue; and the beginning of line 1 shows that the person to whom the dedication was made was an emperor.

The dating of the inscription depends on what emperor's name is supplied in line 2. It should be noted that the reading of the Emperor Vespasian's name

<sup>527</sup>As an example of a co-regency he also refers to Aqrakamani and Naytal, see FHN II, (161), 162.

there is highly uncertain (only two letters, the υ and the final ν, are recorded as being clearly visible). Several other emperors' names have been suggested, among them Augustus and Marcus Aurelius. Moreover, most earlier editors assume that there was one more (now unreadable) line between the present lines 2 and 3; É. Bernand (1969, 148) rejects this on the basis of the photograph published by L. Borchardt.

Our text follows that of É. Bernand (1969, 146-150, with Pl. 95 and 101), checked against the photo (which is, however, useless for the beginning of line 2). Bernand supplies the earlier bibliography, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

*Text*

- 1 Αὐτοκρά[τορα Καίσαρα]
- 2 Οὐε[σπασιανὸν Σεβαστὸ]ν
- 3 τὸν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην,
- 4 οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλῶν καὶ Δωδεκασχοίνου.

*Translation*

Empe[ror Caesar] Ve[spasian Augustu]s, Saviour and Benefactor, (set up by)<sup>528</sup> the people (?) of<sup>529</sup> Philae and the Dodecaschoenus.

[TH]

*Comments*

This brief dedication is quoted here to illustrate the status of the Dodecaschoenus as part of Egypt in the 1st cent. AD (cf. 188, *Comments*). It seems that the people from Philae and the Dodecaschoenus honoured the Emperor Vespasian jointly because they belonged to the same territorial-governmental unit (cf. Lesquier 1918, 467 f.).

[LT]

**(211) Natakamani. Titles. Evidence for reign.**

*Titles*

Sources: 1. Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs<sup>530</sup> on a barque stand from the temple of Isis at Wad ban Naqa, Berlin 7261, Griffith 1911a, Pls XXIV f., REM 0041, the same on two smaller stands and on the fragment of an altar from same site, see Griffith 1911a, 67, REM 0040; 2. Throne name in Egyptian hieroglyphs on the pylon of the Amûn temple B 500

<sup>528</sup>The name of the emperor is in the accusative, while the inhabitants (?) are in the nominative case. A verb like ἀνέθηκον, "[they] set up, dedicated [this statue of]", is understood (É. Bernand 1969, 149).

<sup>529</sup>Literally: "those from...". What sort of group these people represented is uncertain: inhabitants, priests, or what?

<sup>530</sup>I.e., the Throne name in Egyptian, the Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs.

at Gebel Barkal, LD V, 15/h; 3. Fgm. of Son of Rê name in Egyptian hieroglyphs on a stray block at the Amûn temple B 500 *ibid.*, LD V, 15 i; 4. Son of Rê name in Egyptian hieroglyphs, entrance to Hypostyle (B 514), jamb and thickness, LD V, 14 g; 5. Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs, Naqa, Apedemak temple, Zibelius 1983, *inscr.* 3, 11, 18, 24, 25; 6. Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs, Naqa, temple of Amûn, Griffith 1911a, 63, REM 0023, 0024, 0029, 0033-0038; 7. Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs, Amûn temple, Amara, Griffith 1912, 12, REM 0084; 8. Son of Rê name in Egyptian hieroglyphs on a sandstone block found in secondary context in building M 281, Meroe City, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII/7, REM 0419; 9. Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs from kiosk M 279 in the Amûn temple, Meroe City, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII, REM 0415; 10. Son of Rê name in cursive Meroitic, stela of unknown provenance, Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. no. unknown, Griffith 1912, 53, REM 0126; 11. Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian hieroglyphs, S and (fgm.) W walls of mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 22, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18 B.

*Titles/documents*

	5.	1. 6. 11.
Throne name		Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-come-into-being"
Son of Rê name	Ntkmni <i>qore</i> "Ntkmni, ruler"	Ntkmni
	4.	
Throne name	[Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ]	
Son of Rê name	Nḏk3mn <sup>531</sup>	

Evidence for reign

In their surviving monuments (and disregarding here the fragmentarily preserved and/or dislocated reliefs with the seemingly separate representation of one of them) Natakamani and Amanitore are represented together; and both are shown wearing the costume and regalia of rulers. Confusingly for research, however, Natakamani is *qore*, "ruler" in document 5; and the titles Son of Rê (document 4), *nb tswy* (documents 1, 2) and *bity-tswy* (documents 5-7) added to the cartouche also attempt to present an equivalent to the *qore* included in document 5 in the cartouche. On the other hand, Amanitore only bears the title *ktke*, "Candace", written in some of her cartouches (see (212)), though she is also *wrt* and *nbt-tswy*, "great one, mistress of Two-Lands". One might conclude from the absence of *qore* in Amanitore's titulary that while Natakamani was the actual ruler, Amanitore was his non-ruling mother or consort (cf. Hintze

<sup>531</sup>Nḏ frequently stood for nt in Egyptian inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

1959a, 33; Wenig 1967, 43; Hofmann 1978a, 122 ff.). In Amanitore's titles "Candace" and "great one, mistress of Two-Lands" one may indeed discern a revival of elements of the titulary of some Napatan queen mothers. The identity of their regalia and especially the iconography of Amanitore receives, however, a quite special accent from the complete symmetry of their appearance in the temples of Naqa and Amara (cf. Török 1987b, 49 ff.), a symmetry in which every ritual action of the king has a mirror-image in an identical action of the queen. The iconographical pattern is based on the principle of a pair of central actors and is clearly different from the traditional pattern in which the figure of the royal consort or the queen mother "follows" the figure of the ruler in ritual scenes. Though we know that this latter pattern too in fact meant that the two persons were acting "side-by-side", it has different connotations than the separate and symmetrical action of the two figures at Naqa and Amara. Also, taking into account the suggested meaning "(royal) sister" (= wife of the king) or the like for *ktke* (Hofmann 1977b) and, in addition, the significance of the representations of the trio King-Queen-Prince (see (212)), it may well be suggested that Natakamani and Amanitore were co-regents. This can be best understood if we compare it to the Ptolemaic concepts of the co-regency of the royal couple and/or of the king and his mother, and, in general terms, with Ptolemaic dynastic ideology (cf. Fraser 1971 I, 259 ff.; Quagebeur 1978, 256 ff.; Winter 1978, 148 ff.; Koenen 1983, 157 ff.; Török 1987b, 49 ff.; Hölbl 1994 *passim*, esp. 183 ff., 254 f.). The prominent role played by the (crown) princes Arikankharor (see (213)), Arkhatani ((214)) and Shorakaror ((215)) in the iconography of the monuments of the period seems to point in the same direction. Neither Natakamani nor Amanitore is attested as sole ruler; and the absence of the title *qore* in the latter's mortuary chapel seems to indicate, but does not necessarily prove, that, even if she survived Natakamani, she did not become sole ruler. Two of the three princes attested in their company apparently predeceased them, and only Shorakaror is attested as a ruling king (see (215)).

Natakamani's reign has been variously dated within the period between the last third of the 1st cent. BC and the 60s of the 1st cent. AD (Reisner 1923, 76: 15 BC-AD 15;<sup>532</sup> Dunham 1957, 7: AD 1-25; Hintze 1959a, 33: 12 BC-AD 12; Wenig 1967, 43: AD 1-20; Hofmann 1978a, 128 ff.: around AD 62, i.e., around the time of the expedition of Nero's centurions, cf. 206-209). Here Hofmann's dating is accepted since it is also supported by the topographical position of

---

<sup>532</sup>It seems necessary to note here, as was already emphasized in the the *Comments* on FHN I, (31), that the absolute regnal years introduced by Reisner and adopted by subsequent scholars were based on a speculative estimation in which the absolute dates of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and some later synchronisms (as, e.g., the case of Arkamaniqo, FHN I, (114)) were used as fixed points for a chronology that rested upon the typological and archaeological sequence of the royal burials and in which approximations of the individual lengths of reigns were made on the basis of the size of the tombs. Consequently, in the FHN no guesses about absolute regnal dates will be accepted.

Natakamani's and Amanitore's burial place in the Begarawiya North cemetery as well as by some datable finds from the funerary equipment of the co-regents (Török 1989a, 133 nos 101 f., 135 no. 113) and of the princes associated with them (Hofmann 1978a, 131 f.). The association of Natakamani's reign with the Neronian expedition was suggested by Hofmann (1978a, 133 f.) with reference to Pliny's (206) and Seneca's (209) narratives, which, if confronted, render strong support for the dating of the expedition to the period of a co-regency in Meroe (see in more detail in *Comments* on 209).

Inscriptions in its mortuary chapel (see document 11 above) identify Beg. N. 22 as the burial place of Natakamani (cf. Dunham 1957, 116 ff.).

### *Comments*

The reign of Natakamani and his co-regent Amanitore (see (212)) was, to judge by the sheer quantity and the splendid quality of the monuments associated with them as builders or restorers, one of the most prosperous periods of Meroitic history. Temples of Amûn were erected by them at Naqa (see, with earlier literature, Wenig 1981) and Amara (PM VII, 157; Wenig 1977); and the "late" temple of Amûn at Meroe City (Garstang et al. 1911 ff.; Shinnie-Bradley 1980, 91 ff.; Török 1997, 116-128) and the great sanctuary of Amûn at Gebel Barkal (PM VII, 215 ff.) were restored and enlarged. They also built a temple dedicated to Isis at Wad ban Naqa (Priebe 1984b; 1984c) and erected an Apedemak sanctuary at Naqa (Brinks 1983; Gamer-Wallert 1983; Zibelius 1983). A large palace at Gebel Barkal (for its current excavation see Donadoni-Bosticco 1982; Bosticco 1989; Donadoni 1990; 1993; Vincentelli 1989; 1992; 1993) and the opening of a processional avenue flanked by small sanctuaries leading to the late Temple of Amûn at Meroe City (cf. Bradley 1982; 1984) indicate the planned monumental architectural reconstruction of the central temple- and royal quarters of the ancient capital cities Napata and Meroe City; while the temples of Amûn at Naqa and Amara may be interpreted as royal and cult institutions around which the urban development of a fairly recent (i.e., Naqa, for the earliest known architectural remains cf. FHN II, (148), (149)) and, in the case of Amara, of an ancient, but apparently up to that time unimportant, settlement began. Whereas, for lack of published archaeological evidence, it can only be stated in general terms that the urban growth of Naqa, Wad ban Naqa and Napata was significant during Natakamani's reign, the excavations at Meroe City (for Garstang's results see Török 1997, 36 ff. and passim; and see Shinnie-Bradley 1980; Bradley 1982; 1984) also presented more detailed evidence for a qualitative change in the development of the settlement. Here, however, we must refrain from a detailed discussion. It may suffice to point out that an urban development of such a complexity and of such a revolutionary speed is the best indicator of significant developments in the social, economic and cultural spheres. The discovery of a considerable quantity of jar stoppers impressed with seal stamps, which display a wide variety of

figurative and symbolic marks which also have analogies from Meroe City (e.g., Török 1997, 212 find no. 951-q; 247 f. finds x-10 to x-24; Figs 127, 128) and from a palace at Gebel Barkal (Vincentelli 1989; 1992; 1993), provides important evidence for the investigation of the administration of royal and temple property.

The building and restoration of sanctuaries of Amûn at settlements of traditional importance as well as at more recently founded settlements is relevant from the viewpoint of governmental structure. It may be concluded that complexes of Amûn sanctuaries and royal residences continued to function as centres of territorial and economic government, and that state administration was in the hands of the clergy. The iconography of the king and his co-regent Amanitore in the temples of Amûn displays an adherence to the kingship dogma as it was shaped in the early Meroitic period. This is also underlined by the reliefs of the temple of Apedemak at Naqa (cf. Gamer-Wallert 1983) which show a close conceptual relationship with the Apedemak temple reliefs of Arnekhamani at Musawwarat es Sufra (cf. FHN II, (125)-127; Hintze et al. 1971; 1993; for iconographical questions see also Török 1990). At the same time, however, changes in religious concepts, kingship ideology, and intellectual orientation are also prevalent in these and other monuments. They may be identified partly as results of developments in the country and partly as results of more recent encounters with Egyptian concepts and means of expression.

The reasons for the prosperity of the period remain unknown to us; but, in view of the quantity and quality of the Egyptian imports and the consistency of the cultural influence received from Egypt, we may assume that it was mainly due to a significant increase of trade with Egypt and Rome and a consolidation of political contacts. If so, there can be no doubt that Natakamani's period marks the unfolding of a process which started several decades earlier with the peace treaty of Samos (cf. 190). The wider context, as regards internal developments, of the new, or apparently new, features in Natakamani's and Amanitore's co-regency is also indicated by the completely unusual importance given to the crown prince in their monuments, though this is not an innovation but the final stage in a process of changes in the state ideology: viz., of the process starting with the not fully explicable occurrence of a prince "crowning" Queen Shanakdakheto (FHN II, (149)) and then, generations later, of a similar "queen-maker" in the reign of Amanishakheto (FHN II, (177)) and continuing with the emergence of Akinidad, a royal prince associated with three subsequent rulers and enjoying a semi-royal status (FHN II, (179)). The concept of the unity of King, Queen, and (Crown) Prince is most explicitly summarized in the decoration of the column capitals in the temple of Amûn at Naqa where the four sides of the cube-shaped capitals (LD V, 67/a; Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXIII) display the cartouches of Natakamani, Amanitore, and Arkhatani (cd. (214)) sur-

mounted by double *shu*-plumes and flanked by the figures of the Two Ladies, i.e., the crown goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet.

The style and execution as well as features of the iconography of the reliefs at Naqa, Meroe, Gebel Barkal, and Amara show a strong influence from Egypt and also the participation of Egyptian artists and craftsmen; Upper Egyptian models of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods are prevalent in the unique architecture of the so-called Roman kiosk in front of the Naqa Apedemak temple (cf. Kraus 1964; for its dating Török 1984a). The remarkable intellectual niveau of the priesthood which was probably responsible for the iconographical programs of the temples of Natakamani and Amanitore may be judged by the harmonious synthesis of Meroitic and Egyptian concepts and on the balanced complexity and logical structure of these intricate programs (cf. Wenig 1977; 1981; Gamer-Wallert 1983; Hintze et al. 1993).

An archaizing tendency is manifest in several details of the reliefs at Naqa and Amara and is most prevalent in the iconography of the mortuary cult chapel reliefs of the co-regents (cf. Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/B-E; Yellin 1979 157 ff.)<sup>533</sup>. The re-emergence of Throne names in Egyptian hieroglyphs and the adoption of the traditional Kushite Throne name *Hpr-k3-Rc* (cf. Malowiebamani, FHN I, (55)) also neatly emphasize the conscious adherence to the tradition of the early Meroitic period (see Arnehamani's Throne name, FHN II, (124)). This is also suggested by the iconographical connections between the temples of Apedemak at Naqa and Musawwarat es Sufra. The re-emergence of the use of Egyptian hieroglyphs to write the King's Son of Rê name (which also occurs in Meroitic hieroglyphs) may be interpreted as a small, but significant detail of the impact of contacts with Egypt. Moreover, the use of Egyptian hieroglyphics to write more than just the royal cartouche names may perhaps be surmised on the basis of the name listed as no. 4 above among the Sources of Natakamani's titles; for it represents an alternative writing of what was usually written with different signs. The evidence for Amanitore's name as well as for the names of the three princes represented in their company also shows attempts at a more extensive use of Egyptian hieroglyphics than in the preceding period.

[LT]

## (212) Queen Amanitore. Titles. Evidence for co-regency.

### Titles

Sources: 1. Throne and Daughter of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs and Daughter of Rê name also in Egyptian hieroglyphs on a barque stand from the Isis temple at Wad ban Naqa, Berlin 7261, Griffith 1911a, Pls XXIV f., REM 0041; 2. Throne and Daughter of Rê names in Egyptian hiero-

<sup>533</sup>Cf. also the incompletely preserved dark grey basalt statue of a striding Natakamani from Meroe City M 998, now Liverpool Museum 49.47.709, Török 1997, 231 f. find 998-1, Pl. 191.

glyphs on blocks from Gebel Barkal, Amûn temple B 500 (?), LD V 15/e, g, k, PM VII, 211; 3. Daughter of Rê name, with title *ktke* in cartouche, in Meroitic hieroglyphs on the pylon of the Apedemak temple, Naqa, REM 0004, Zibelius 1983, 35 inscr. 23; 4. Throne and Daughter of Rê name in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs in the Amûn temple at Naqa, Griffith 1911a, 63, REM 0023, 0024, 0027, 0031, 0033, 0034-0038; 5. Daughter of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs in the temple of Amûn at Amara, Griffith 1912, 12, REM 0084; 6. Daughter of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs on a block from Meroe City M 281, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII/7, REM 0419; 7. The same on a block from kiosk M 279 in the forecourt of Amûn temple M 260 at Meroe City, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII, REM 0415; 8. Throne and Daughter of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs from kiosk M 280 in front of Amûn temple M 260 at Meroe City, Garstang et al. 1911, 73 no. 18, REM 0418; 9. Daughter of Rê name in cursive Meroitic in the text of a stela of unknown provenance, Moscow, Pushkin Museum Inv. no. unknown, Griffith 1912, 53, REM 0126; 10. Title and Daughter of Rê name in Egyptian hieroglyphs on blocks from the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 1, Berlin 2259, 2246, LD V, 47; 11. Daughter of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs on W wall of the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 1, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/F.

*Titles/documents*

	1.	2.
Throne name	Mry-k3-R <sup>c</sup> "Rê-is-One-whose-ka-is-loved"	Mry-k3-R <sup>c</sup>
Daughter of Rê name	Mnitore/Imn- <sup>c</sup> -ryt	Imn- <sup>c</sup> -r(yt)
Title in cartouche	10. Kn-ti-[k]y "Candace"	3. ktkel "Candace"
Daughter of Rê name	Imn- <sup>c</sup> -ryt	Mnitore
Throne name	4. 8. Mry-k3-R <sup>c</sup>	11.
Daughter of Rê name	Mnitore	Imn- <sup>c</sup> -r

Evidence for reign

For the monuments of Amanitore and their dating see (211), with *Comments*. In the surviving monuments Amanitore is represented together with King

Natakamani and in the presence of one of the princes Arikankharor (see (213)), Arkhatani ((214)) or Shorakaror ((215)). These contexts indicate that she may have been either the mother or the wife of Natakamani. The probable meaning "royal sister" of her title *ktke*, however, and the iconographical contexts in which she is always a member of a conventional trio consisting of the King, the Queen, and a Prince strongly suggest that she was in fact the king's consort and the mother of the three princes. Her assumed status as coregent was already discussed in the *Comments* on (211). Amanitore was buried in Beg. N. 1 (Dunham 1957, 120 ff.).

### *Comments*

Already the name Amanitore, consisting of the name of Amûn in the manner that characterizes the names of the actual rulers who were given an Amûn-name either when selected as crown prince or on their ascent to the throne, is the first indication of her unusual status. As already indicated in the *Comments* on (211), Amanitore appears in all of her preserved monuments in full regalia. Moreover, in the reliefs of the Amûn- (cf. Wenig 1981) and Apedemak temples (cf. Gamer-Wallert 1983) at Naqa, in the column reliefs recorded from the Amûn temple at Amara (cf. Wenig 1977), and in the reliefs surviving from the buildings erected during Natakamani's reign, Amanitore is not only represented in the possession of the insignia that characterize a Meroitic ruler, but her place in the iconographical context is also completely equal to that of Natakamani. In the textual evidence Natakamani is distinguished as *qore*, "ruler"; while Amanitore bears the title *ktke*, Candace. However, her name is written in a cartouche which is preceded by the titles *st R̄*, "Daughter of Rê" and/or *nbt ḥꜣwt*, "lady of diadems". The first of these frequently occurs in the titularies of Ptolemaic queens (for Arsinoe II, Cleopatra II, Cleopatra IV and Cleopatra V see Troy 1986, 178 f., 181 no. A/11), the second is attested in the titularies of the God's Wives of Amûn Karomama Merytmot (Twenty-Second Dynasty) and Ankhnesneferibre (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty; see Troy 1986, 177 f.) but was more probably adopted from the titulary of a Ptolemaic queen, Arsinoe II (Troy 1986, 178). The Daughter of Rê name may also be introduced by the Egyptian hieroglyphs for the title *wrt nbt tswy*, "the great one, lady of Two-Lands", which occurs in this form only in the titulary of Queen Abar, wife of Piye (see FHN I, (6), (19), and see Troy 1986, 176) in Temple B 300 at Gebel Barkal (LD V, 7/c). Moreover, she also has a Throne name, *Mry-k̄-R̄*, which is modelled on the Throne name of Aspelta (FHN II, (35)). These features indicate, on the one hand, an archaism that found models in the Kushite past, and, on the other, they point towards prototypes borrowed from Ptolemaic queenship. E.g., reference to the throne of Geb, i.e., the royal throne, is frequently made in titularies of Ptolemaic queens, apparently with the meaning of "coregnant" (Quagebeur 1978, 258).

The monuments of Amanitore's co-regency were discussed in the *Comments* on (211), where a general appreciation of her period was also presented. She was buried in Beg. N. 1. In her mortuary cult chapel (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/D-F) the representation of the Henu-Bark procession of Sokar (S wall) was modelled on an iconographical type which first occurred at the Begarawiya North cemetery in Arqamani's pyramid chapel (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. V/A, cf. FHN II, (129)). Representations associated with the Choiakh Festival of Osiris are preserved on the rest of the walls; and, as Yellin (1979) showed, the iconographical program of the chapel was conceived as a complex whole centered around the Choiakh rites, and the individual relief scenes cannot be interpreted as more or less isolated and independent scenes and vignettes. Significantly, the reliefs were inscribed in Egyptian with mortuary texts (see Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/D, E). On this issue see (213) below.

The stepped pyramid superstructure (Dunham 1957, fig. 79) of Beg. N. 1 was built in two stages and has the appearance of a steep pyramid placed on top of a truncated pyramid. It was apparently modelled on a similarly intriguing pyramid at Gebel Barkal dated to the late 3rd to mid-2nd cent. BC (Bar. 8, Dunham 1957, 59 ff.), which Dunham (1957, 6) ascribed to a queen of unknown name of Arnekhmani (cf. FHN II, (125)) and Hofmann (1983, 62 ff.) to King Kash(...) (cf. FHN II, (93)). Not only is the shape of the pyramid of Beg. N. 1 intriguing, it also remains obscure: why were the burials of the co-regents erected at the two opposite ends of the plateau of Begarawiya North? We refrain here from speculations.

[LT]

### (213) Prince Arikankharor. Titles. Evidence.

#### Titles

Sources: 1. Title and personal name in Meroitic hieroglyphs written in cartouches, Naqa, temple of Apedemak, REM 0005, 0017, Zibelius 1983, 16 inscr. 1, 30 inscr. 17; 2. Personal name in Meroitic hieroglyphs written in a cartouche on a block from kiosk M 279 in the forecourt of the late temple of Amûn at Meroe City, Liverpool Museum 49.47.723, Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XII/1, REM 0415, Török 1997, 128 find 279-1, Fig. 59; 3. Personal name in Meroitic hieroglyphs written in a cartouche on a sandstone tablet from Meroe City (?), Worcester Art Museum 1922.145, REM 1005, Wenig 1978, Cat. 125; 4. Personal name in cursive Meroitic, stela of unknown provenance, Moscow Pushkin Museum Inv. no. unknown, Griffith 1912, 53, REM 0126; 5. Throne- and "Son of Rê" names in Egyptian hieroglyphs written in cartouches on the W wall of chapel of Beg. N. 5, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 19/A; 6. Titles and Personal name written in Egyptian hieroglyphs on the same wall of the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 5, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 19/A; 7. Title and Personal name in Egyptian hi-

eroglyphs in cartouches in the S wall relief, Beg. N. 5, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 19/B.

*Titles/documents*

	5.	6.
Throne name	ʿnh-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One- whose-ka-lives"	ḥm-nṯr 2nw pkr[tr] "second prophet, pkr[tr]"
Son of Rê name	ʾrk-nḥr	ʾrk-nḥr
	1.	7.
Title	pqrtr-ḳo	Wsr ḥm-nṯr 2nw "the Osiris, <sup>534</sup> second prophet"
Personal name	Arikḥror-ḳo	ʾrk-nḥr

Evidence

Arikankharor is represented in the company of Natakamani ((211)) and Amanitore ((212)) in the reliefs of the temple of Apedemak at Naqa (Gamer-Wallert 1983) and on relief blocks originating from kiosk M 279 in the forecourt of the late temple of Amûn at Meroe City (cf. Török 1997, 116 ff.). His dress and insignia (cf. Török 1987b, 30 ff.; 1990, 179 f.) as well as his Meroitic title *pqrtr*<sup>535</sup> indicate in themselves an elevated status (for *pqr/pqrtr* cf. FHN II, 152 comment on line 38, (179)). This status is more clearly defined as that of the heir to the throne by the iconographical context in which Arikankharor occurs as a member of the trio King-Queen-Prince, a type of representation that was destined to convey the message of dynastic unity, continuity, and legitimacy. The relief on the sandstone votive tablet in Worcester (Wenig 1978, Cat. 125, cf. document 3) represents him in the royal attire, slaying his enemies. He is protected by the otherwise unknown winged goddess *Tly*<sup>536</sup> and receives his triumph from a deity whose figure is, however, no longer preserved. In addition to such semi-royal features, which may best be compared with the unconventional iconography of Akinidad (see FHN II, (179)), the Egyptian hieroglyphic signs for *nswt-bit* <nb> *tꜣwy* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Lord) of Two-lands" (document 1) is found to stand before his cartouches. While, like Akinidad, in the temple of

<sup>534</sup>Referring to Arikankharor, who became Osiris after he died. As a saviour god, Osiris was a helper in one's triumph over death. In Egypt identification with him was at first a privilege of the king; in death, however, every man became Osiris (women Hathor) by the Late Period. Cf. Griffiths 1981 629 f.

<sup>535</sup>In document 1 complemented with the ending *-ḳo* of unknown meaning. Personal names complemented with *-ḳo* are tentatively interpreted in the literature as nominal sentences with the meaning "N [who is a] noble [one]" (Griffith 1911b, 35 f.; Priese 1971, 279) or "N is he" (Hintze 1979, 194; Hofmann 1981, 54 ff.). For the issue see Zibelius 1983, 64.

<sup>536</sup>Reading of the name inscribed in Meroitic hieroglyphs after Millet 1977, 319 note 4 (earlier reading: Talakh, for literature see Wenig 1978, 203).

Apedemak at Naqa he has his title written in a cartouche, in the Egyptian inscriptions of his mortuary chapel Arikankharor also has a Throne name in a cartouche, viz., *ʿnh-k3-Rʿ*, repeating Anlamani's Throne name (FHN I, (33)). In the Egyptian text on the S wall of the chapel (see document 6) he is also described as "Second Prophet", a high priestly title attested under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty but quite unusual in this late period. Its actual significance remains obscure (for Meroitic priestly titles cf. Török 1977b). The chapel (Beg. N. 5, Dunham 1957, 123 ff.) was decorated with excellently executed reliefs and inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 19). The relief on the N wall (*ibid.*, Pl. 19/A) represents the prince enthroned under a canopy and holding a staff and a flail and wearing a diadem with one uraeus;<sup>537</sup> behind him stands his own image being protected by a goddess wearing as her head ornament a Maʿat feather and the figure of a falcon. In the relief on the S wall (*ibid.*, Pl. 19/B) Arikankharor stands behind the enthroned Osiris who presides as judge over the weighing of the Prince's heart (cf. Seeber 1976). Both these scenes seem to represent the Prince in a semi-royal context; and the scene on the S wall associates him with Osiris as father of Horus and thus presents him as *heir*, alluding to his status in life.

Imported objects found in Beg. N. 5 (cf. Török 1989a, 135-138 nos 114-129) indicate a splendid grave inventory and support the dating of the reign of Natakamani and Amanitore to the middle decades of the 1st cent. AD. There can be little doubt that Arikankharor predeceased Natakamani and Amanitore and was buried by them: the reliefs of his mortuary chapel with their fine quality and carefully composed complex iconography as well as with their Egyptian texts represent, together with the reliefs and the Egyptian texts in Amanitore's chapel (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/D-F, cf. (212)), a remarkable episode in the Begarawiya North cemetery. In the preserved material, they are the first chapels inscribed in Egyptian since Beg. N. 7 (Arqamani), which was erected some time around the turn of the 3rd to 2nd cent. BC (cf. FHN II, (129)), and are the last chapels in which a revived interest in Egyptian mortuary texts is manifested in such a form. Beg. N. 22 and especially Beg. N. 1 and Beg. N. 5 have unmistakably archaizing iconographical program and mortuary texts inscribed on their walls, the typological models for which may be identified in Beg. N. 7. The texts show, however, similarly unambiguous signs of more recent inspirations received from the grammar and orthography of Ptolemaic and early Roman Egyptian temple inscriptions, and Yellin (1979, 159 ff.) demonstrated that the Henu Bark Procession and Choiakh Festival scenes (Beg. N 1) as well

<sup>537</sup>Cf. Török 1987b, 78 no. 152. Note that the drawing in Chapman-Dunham 1952 is erroneous insofar as it shows two uraei above the Prince's forehead: the uraei wear the feathered crown of Amün, yet only two feathers are depicted, which clearly indicates that there was only one uraeus originally represented in the relief.

as the judgement scene (Beg. N. 5) were modelled on Ptolemaic recensions of Theban prototypes of the Ramesside period.

[LT]

**(214) Prince Arkhatani. Titles. Evidence.**

Titles

Sources: 1. Throne name and Son of Rê name in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs written in cartouches, doorways of temple of Amûn, Naqa, Griffith 1911a, 63, REM 0023, 0027, 0029; 2. Fragments of a Throne and a Son of Rê name in Egyptian hieroglyphs on a block from the Amûn temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, LD V, 15/f, tentative identification by Griffith (1912, 4). On account of its completely uncertain reading, document 2 is disregarded in the following.

*Titles/document*

	1.
"Throne name"	ϵnh-k3-Rϵ "Re-is-One-whose-ka-lives"
"Son of Rê name"	Arkḥtṇi

Evidence

Prince Arkhatani is represented in the company of Natakamani and Amanitore in the reliefs of the temple of Amûn at Naqa (Griffith 1911a, 62 ff., Pls XXI-XXIII; Wenig 1981). He appears there as member of the trio King-Queen-Crown Prince in as unusual a manner as Prince Arikankharor in the temple of Apedemak at Naqa and in the reliefs surviving from kiosk M 279 in the temple of Amûn at Meroe City (cf. (213)). His status is indicated at Naqa in the scenes of the doorway by his appearance in all rites connected to the ruler's legitimation (he is also shown performing, with Natakamani and Amanitore, the royal rite of *Vasenlauf* ["running with the vase", cf. Kees 1912], Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXI) and receives the diadem from the same deities who also confer kingship on Natakamani and Amanitore in identically formulated scenes. His cartouches are preceded by the Egyptian titles *ntr mnḥ* "beneficent god" in a writing which has as its model the hieroglyphic variant of the Ptolemaic royal epithet "Euergetes" (cf. Griffith 1911a, 63), and *nswt bit <nb> t3wy*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Lord) of Two-lands". In Naqa his figure is consequently accompanied with a double cartouche (see document 1) inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs with his Throne name ϵnh-k3-Rϵ, which is identical with Arikankharor's Throne name (see (213)), and, in Meroitic hieroglyphs, with his Son of Rê name.

It would appear that Arkhatani predeceased Natakamani and Amanitore. Yet, since his burial place was not identified,<sup>538</sup> it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that he did not ascend to the throne. The lack of any monument of Arkhatani as ruler seems, nevertheless, to speak against such a possibility; and the small number (probably only the temple of Amûn at Naqa) of his monuments may also indicate that he was crown prince for a shorter time than Arikankharor (cf. (213)). There are no good indications that would allow us to establish a chronology for the monuments in which the individual princes appear; stylistically and iconographically, however, the temples of Amûn at Naqa and Amara are closely related with each other, while the reliefs of the temple of Apedemak at Naqa and the preserved reliefs of Natakamani, Amanitore and Arikankharor from Meroe City seem to belong to another, rather different, yet homogeneous, iconographical and stylistic group. It is thus tempting to suggest that the three princes associated with Natakamani and Amanitore followed each other as crown princes in this order: 1. Arikankharor, 2. Arkhatani, 3. Shorakaror.

[LT]

**(215) Shorakaror. Titles. Evidence for reign.**

## Titles

Sources: 1. Personal name in Meroitic hieroglyphs in cartouche, Amara, temple of Amûn, Griffith 1912, 12, REM 0084; 2. Throne and Son of Rê names in Meroitic hieroglyphs in cartouches, Gebel Qeili, rock drawing, Hintze 1959b, fig. 2, Török 1988a, fig. 45, REM 0002.

*Titles/documents*

	1.	2.
Throne name		Mnslḥe
Son of Rê name	Sorkror	Sorkrr

## Evidence for reign

In his two preserved monuments the name of Sorkr(o)r is written with the Meroitic hieroglyph for the consonant which was transcribed in the literature until quite recently as š and believed to have the value "sh" (cf. Griffith 1911a, 49 sign list). In more recent literature it is transcribed as s (cf. Hainsworth-Leclant 1978, 9, in the sign list). Although we use the latter transcription in the volumes of FHN (cf. Introduction, General Note to the Meroitic Texts), we make exceptions in the case of names which are generally used in the literature in their traditional transcription, as the name of Shorakaror is.

<sup>538</sup>Hofmann 1978a, 115 tentatively identifies Beg. N. 14 as his tomb; however, no find from the tomb, the chapel of which was destroyed by Budge, gives any clue; cf. Dunham 1957, 96 f.

Shorakaror's name and figure occur in the column reliefs preserved from the temple of Amûn at Amara (LD V, Pls 69-70; Griffith 1912, 9 ff., Pl. VI; Wenig 1977, figs 6-11) and in a rock drawing at Gebel Qeili, 92 miles E of Khartoum on the road leading from Khartoum to Kassala, incised on the N face of a granite boulder. It is of monumental dimensions (covering *ca.* 3.70x2.0 m) and represents Shorakaror and an unknown solar god. While the Amara reliefs represent Shorakaror—as Arikankharor and Arkhatani were—as a member of the trio King (Natakamani)-Queen (Amanitore)-Prince and wearing princely dress and insignia (cf. Török 1987b, 30 ff.), the Gebel Qeili drawing shows him in the possession of full royal regalia. The drawing is divided into two "registers". In the upper one the King is represented in the act of receiving victory and prosperity/fertility from a deity. He stands on a podium (?) the sides of which are decorated with the figures of bound captives. This podium (?) also marks the top side of the lower register in which seven dead enemies are represented, belonging to four different enemy types distinguished from each other by their headdresses (see Török 1989a, 105 ff.). The King wears a belted, knee-length, sleeved tunic and sandals; his knees are protected by knee-pieces in the form of lion heads. He wears a diadem with streamers and with one uraeus over the Kushite skull-cap; a necklace of large beads with a pendant in the shape of the ram-headed Amûn, and a cord with groups of small bells (?) across his chest and left shoulder. Though the representation of the skullcap may in its simplicity be misleading and could be interpreted as natural hair, such an interpretation is contradicted by the clearly indicated chinstrap starting from the ear tab of the cap.<sup>539</sup> A quiver hangs behind the King's back, held by a cord across his breast and passing over his left shoulder, and a medium long sword in its scabbard hangs, similarly at his back, from a short cord attached to the scabbard and passing around the King's left shoulder. In his right hand the King holds a spear, a bow and three arrows, and the end of a long cord the other end of which is divided into seven cords, each tying the elbows of a captive. The cord runs through the left hand of the deity whom the King faces. Since the captives with tied elbows turn towards the King, they are presented by the deity to the King and not vice versa. Of the deity only his head, represented *en face*, and his two arms are depicted; while with his left hand he holds the prisoners, in his right hand he holds out a bundle of *dura* (*Andropogon Sorghum*) to Shorakaror. His long hair is loosely arranged in curls; above his

<sup>539</sup>The Kushite headdress was described by Russmann in her fundamental study as a tight-fitting cap over which the uraeus diadem was worn (1974); in later studies (Russmann 1979; 1995), however, she interprets it as an uraeus diadem worn over natural hair. Arguments for Russmann's original view were presented by Séguenny (1982), and in Török 1987b (9 ff.) where the representation of a scullcap on the Sandstone Stela of Piye (cf. FHN I, 8), and of a scullcap complete with diadem and streamers held by a goddess on one of the rings from the Amanishakh-eto treasure (Priese 1992, fig. 42/a), and the depiction of an identical skullcap with diadem and streamers on the imprint of a bag seal from Beg. W. 126 were discussed in a broader context. In her recent study (1995) Russmann ignores the above-quoted studies.

forehead emerges a pointed cone-shaped symbol, and his head is surrounded by an aureola from which radiate twelve rays.

Shorakaror's appearance in the Amara reliefs indicates that he was selected as heir to the throne by the co-regents Natakamani and Amanitore (see (211), (212)), probably after the deaths of Arikankharor ((213)) and Arkhatani ((214)) who were successively crown princes but predeceased the co-regents. His burial place is unknown; the hypothetical identification (Beg. N. 10) suggested by Dunham (1957, 7) and Hintze (1959a, 33) is not supported by any evidence. Hofmann (1978a, 124 ff.) regards his Gebel Qeili monument as a non-royal representation commemorating the military achievements of a prince as army leader because of its iconographical affinities to the Arikankharor tablet (cf. (213)). She suggests (*ibid.*) that Shorakaror was buried in Beg. N. 15 and denies that the chapel reliefs, the remains of which were destroyed by Budge (Dunham 1957, 133) and some details of which are known only from Lepsius (LD V Text, 297: lion or dog under the throne of the deceased devouring an enemy; goddess holding captives on a cord), would have belonged to a royal burial.

#### *Comments*

Shorakaror appears in the company of Natakamani and Amanitore in the column reliefs of the temple of Amûn at Amara as a member of an iconographical unit which we have identified above (see (211)-(214)) as the trio of a king and a queen as co-regents and the crown prince as designated heir to the throne. It was also suggested (*Comments* on (211) and (212)) that this type of the iconographical association of the three central figures of the royal family was influenced by Ptolemaic dynastic ideology and cult, but, at the same time, was the result of a long political development that had presumably already started in or around the reign of Queen Shanakdakheto in the late 2nd cent. BC. The hypothesis was also put forward that Shorakaror actually inherited the throne of Natakamani and Amanitore after their deaths, since the two earlier crown princes, Arikankharor and Arkhatani (cf. (213), (214)) had predeceased the co-regents. Shorakaror's kingship is indicated by the iconography of his Gebel Qeili monument. While it is obvious, as Hofmann (1978a, 127) pointed out, that in this monument Shorakaror's depiction as triumphant warlord does not seem to differ from that of Arikankharor on the Worcester tablet (cf. (213)), there are also small differences between the two representations which are highly significant. In the relief on his tablet Arikankharor wears a diadem with the head of the *atef*-crowned lion god Apedemak above his forehead and has no diadem streamers (see Wenig 1978, Cat. 125). By contrast, at Gebel Qeili Shorakaror wears a diadem with one uraeus above his forehead; the uraeus has the head of the Nubian Amûn and wears an *atef*-crown supported by ram's

horns.<sup>540</sup> He also has long streamers hanging down from his diadem. An analysis of the iconographical evidence (Török 1987b, 31 ff.) has demonstrated that Arikankharor's headdress traditionally distinguished a (crown) prince as warlord, while Shorakaror's headdress at Gebel Qeili is that of a ruler as triumphant warrior. Shorakaror's kingship is further supported by his Meroitic Throne name which consists of the name of Amûn with the epithet *lh*, "great". The Nubian Amûn bears this epithet in the Amûn temple of Natakamani and Amanitore at Naqa (cf. Griffith 1911a, 63). The King's Son of Rê name apparently consists of the theonym (*A*)*sor*, Osiris (cf. Griffith 1912, 12); and he may have taken it when he became crown prince since it seems to make a statement about his being the heir to Osiris, i.e., alludes at the relationship between Osiris and his son Horus. The Throne name with Amûn establishes, in turn, a link with the traditional Son of Rê names containing the name of the dynastic god.

The Gebel Qeili rock drawing is usually interpreted as a monument of the pacification of the southern parts of the "island of Meroe" in a period when the maintenance of undisturbed trade contacts with the interior of Africa was of vital importance (cf. Török 1988a, 280). This is not necessarily contradicted by the observation (Hofmann-Tomandl 1986, 122) that the drawing is on the side of the rock which faces the Gebel and is hardly visible because it is not deeply engraved; for good visibility is not necessarily the criterion of a monument which "records" and manifests the relationship between a king and his divine progenitor. Moreover, the relation of the drawing to the Gebel may also have a special significance. Close to the rock bearing the drawing, higher up, there is a cave in which Whitehead and Addison (1926, Pl. X/2; Hofmann-Tomandl 1986, fig. 2) found and recorded—with minor errors in the rendering of the crowns—a now-destroyed painting showing the ram-headed Amûn in the company of Mut being worshipped by a queen and a prince (?).<sup>541</sup> The cave was in all probability a chapel in a mountain that was regarded sacred; and thus the triumphal monument faced the sacred mountain and its deity and not the open areas defended by the King S of the Gebel.

Two special details of the triumphal monument require further comment. The solar deity points towards syncretistic influences from late Hellenistic Egypt. An enthroned deity, represented with a similar radiating nimbus and with his head *en face*, also occurs—in the company of Harpocrates—on the bezel of a ring from Beg. W. 134 (Dunham 1963, 231 fig. 2) and, more significantly, in the upper relief register of the interior N wall of the Apedemak temple at Naqa (Gamer-Wallert 1983, 212 f., Pl. 59, Bl. 11/a). The interpretation of

<sup>540</sup>According to the inscriptions accompanying figures of the ram-headed Amûn in the Amûn temple at Naqa (REM 0024, 0027, 0034, 0035, 0037), the *atef*-crown supported by ram's horns was an insignium of the Amûn of *Tolkte*, i.e., Naqa. For the identification of the placename see Zibelius 1972, 172.

<sup>541</sup>Though it would be very unusual to show a king behind a queen, this may perhaps have been the case here, for the male figure also seems to have diadem streamers.

this figure as Helios-Zeus-Amûn suggested by Gamer-Wallert (1983, 213), among other arguments, on the basis of a bilingual inscription from Karnak in which Amen-Rê, written in Demotic, is equated with Zeus-Helios-Ammon, written in Greek (cf. Grimm 1978, 106), seems highly probable.

While the syncretistic solar deity points towards Hellenistic influences of a recent date, the representation of the dead enemies on the battlefield follows, probably on the basis of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or Napatan prototypes, iconographical models of the Egyptian New Kingdom and may indicate the existence of pattern books compiled in the course of the late 1st cent. BC and the 1st cent. AD which contained various themes and iconographical details copied from Nubian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty monuments (for a detailed discussion of the issue see Török 1989a, 105 ff.; 1997, 106 ff.). The Gebel Qeili drawing may thus be interpreted as a monument of a remarkable intellectual orientation in which an openness towards the cults and expressive means of late Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt was coupled with a traditionalism that developed into an archaizing and, in some cases, a sort of antiquarian attitude. The first obvious signs of this orientation may be observed in Akinidad's temple building at Meroe City (M 250, cf. Török 1991; 1997, 102-114), and it unfolds in the edifices erected by Natakamani and Amanitore.

In an indirect manner, Shorakaror's reign is dated in relation to the reign of Natakamani and Amanitore to the second half of the AD 1st cent. If Hofmann's (1978a, 127 f.) hypothetical identification of Beg. N. 15 as his burial place is accepted, this dating may also be supported by finds from this tomb (for millefiori and other decorated glass paste beads datable to the period *ca.* 50 BC-AD 50 see Dunham 1957, fig. 89).

[LT]

### (216) Amanitaraqide. Evidence for reign.

#### Evidence for reign

In the burial chamber of Beg. N. 16 Reisner discovered two intrusive offering tables inscribed in cursive Meroitic (Dunham 1957, 137, fig. 91). In the text of both there occurs the royal benediction formula (cf. Hintze 1959, 34 ff.). One of them (Khartoum 2333, REM 0816) was inscribed for *Mnitraqide* (i.e., Amanitaraqide) whose father was *Piskr*; his mother's name is *Mnhdoke*. The other table was inscribed for *Aryeseboke* (REM 0815, see (216a)). Amanitaraqide is not attested in any other monument.

#### Comments

The pyramid Beg. N. 16 was restored (Hofmann 1978a, 138: perhaps re-built) when the pyramid Beg. N. 36 was erected just SE of it and partly over its subterranean chambers (cf. Dunham 1957, 137). Dunham (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*) supposed that the table of Aryesebokhe originally belonged to Beg. N. 16 and that Amani-

taraqide's table came from Beg. N. 36, on the assumption that the lettering of Aryesebokhe's table reflects an earlier stage of cursive Meroitic paleography than that of the Amanitaraqide table. By contrast, Hintze (1959a, 49 f.) and Hofmann (1978a, 138 f.) suggest that it is the text of Amanitaraqide which displays earlier palaeographical features. Their view may also be supported by the scene on the table (Anubis and Nephthys pouring a libation for the dead) which is executed in the style of late tables in a flat raised relief while the Amanitaraqide table has an incised scene in the style of 2nd cent. BC-1st cent. AD offering tables (e.g., cf. the Tedeqēn table from Beg. W. 19, Dunham 1963, fig. 61, for its dating to the 2nd cent. BC cf. Török 1989a, 122 nos 22-24). Thus it seems possible that the offering table of Amanitaraqide originally stood in the mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 16;<sup>542</sup> since, however, no name is preserved from there, the attribution of the tomb remains hypothetical. Finds from Beg. N. 16 (Dunham 1957, figs 90-92; for the dating of the glass vessel in fig. 91 to around AD 100 cf. Hofmann 1978a, 207 f.) indicate a dating around the end of the 1st cent. AD.

The text engraved on Amanitaraqide's offering table provides information about his filiation. His father Pisakar and mother Amankhadoke are unknown from any other document. On the assumption that all rulers were direct descendants of earlier rulers, Pisakar was regarded as a ruling king; and the burials Beg. N. 38 (Dunham 1957, 7, reading the name as Pisapade) and Beg. N. 15 (Hintze 1959, 33; Wenig 1967, 43) were, tentatively, attributed to him. Pisakar's name does not seem, however, to fit into the known types of royal names. By contrast, the name of Amanitaraqide's mother *Mnhdoke* is compounded using the name of Amûn, and this may indicate direct royal descent. However, private names containing the name of Amûn are fairly frequent in the 1st through 3rd/4th cent. AD (see Török 1984b, 167 f.), though it also seems rather likely that persons with names of this type belonged to the broader royal clan (as may be indicated by the occurrences listed in op. cit., loc. cit.).

The unpublished mortuary cult chapel (cf. LD V Text, 317; Wenig 1971, 271) of Beg. N. 16 was built *inside* a very small (ca. 5x5 m) pyramid. This architectural solution is unique in the Kushite royal and non-royal necropolises; and its typological prototypes are completely obscure, unless we suppose that it was, superficially, influenced by the New Kingdom pyramid tomb type represented by tombs discovered at Soleb (Schiff Giorgini 1971, 82) and Debeira (Säve-Söderbergh-Troy 1991, 184 ff., fig. 45) in which the interior of the pyramid superstructure seems to have contained a *serdab*, i.e., a room for the statue of the deceased.

[LT]

<sup>542</sup>While accepting the sequence Amanitaraqide-Aryesebokhe, Török 1988a, 180 ; 1989a, 123 f., 1989b, 539 f. suggests that the burial sequence was Beg. N. 36-Beg. N. 16, a conclusion which may be supported with datable finds of a (late) Augustan date from Beg. N. 16 (see (216a)), but probably cannot be maintained in view of the fact, disregarded in the papers quoted above, that the pyramid Beg. N. 36 is partly built over the subterranean parts of Beg. N. 16, and that Beg. N. 36 has a later type of descent (Type VI of Dunham 1957) than N. 16 (Type IV).

**(216a) Aryesebokhe. Evidence for reign.**

## Evidence for reign

As already indicated in (216), two offering tables were found in the subterranean burial chamber of Beg. N. 16, one belonging to Amanitaraqide (see *ibid.*), the other (Boston MFA, Inv. no. unknown, REM 0815) to *Aryesebohe*, who, according to the royal benediction formula used in the offering table text, was a ruling monarch. The table is inscribed in cursive Meroitic and according to its text Aryesebokhe was begotten by *Teritebhtey* and born by *Wlamni(..)ptide*. It was suggested that the offering table came from Beg. N. 36 which was, consequently, Aryesebokhe's burial place.

*Comments*

Referring to its typological features (according to Dunham 1957, Charts I, II: Type XII pyramid superstructure, Type VI stair descent, Type II chapel vault), Hofmann (1978a, 176 ff.) dates Beg. N. 36 to the late 3rd cent. AD, although she notices that in the burial chamber there was found a glass vessel type which, according to her (*op. cit.*, 211) is known only from late 1st cent. BC and 1st cent. AD contexts.<sup>543</sup> It may also be added that the above-listed typological features already occur in tombs dated by Dunham to the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Since, however, the connection between Beg. N. 36 and the offering table of Aryesebokhe is, albeit likely, only hypothetical, the late 1st or early 2nd cent. AD dating of this ruler is hypothetical too.

The king's name seems to consist of the elements *Ar* and *yesebohe*. For the latter, as a verbal complex, the meaning "incarnation" or the like has been suggested (Macadam 1966, 61). In *Ar* we may perhaps recognize the Meroitic name of Horus (cf. in REM 0407 = 277, line 5; for private names containing *Ar[e]* see Török 1984b, 168 f.); and the name would thus seem to have been adopted at the ascent to the throne. In Aryesebokhe's case, as with Amanitaraqide ((216)), the father's name does not seem royal, while his mother's name contains the theonym Amûn.

[LT]

**(217) Amanitenmomide. Titles. Evidence for reign.**

## Titles

Source: Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs in the reliefs on the N and S walls of the mortuary cult chapel, Beg. N. 17, the block with the cartouches from the S wall now Berlin 2269, Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXXIV, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 21/A, B. Son of Rê name REM 0066, 0067.

<sup>543</sup>On the carinated bowl in opaque red glass and its Augustan and early post-Augustan dating see, with literature, Török 1989a, 123 f. no. 30; fragments of an analogous bowl were found in Bar. 4, see *op. cit.*, 124 f. nos 36, 37.

Throne name	Nb-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ
Son of Rê name	Mnitenmꜣmide

### Evidence for reign

Beyond his pyramid burial in the Begarawiya North cemetery (Beg. N. 17, Dunham 1957, 142 ff.), Amanitenmomide's reign is not attested by any other monument in which his name appears. Hintze (1959, 50 no. 10) attributed an offering table fragment from Beg. N. 18 (Dunham 1957, fig. 98) inscribed for [...]nil[...] to him; but this name can be reconstructed in various forms. His filiation and family relations remain unknown.

### Comments

Amanitenmomide's Throne name follows the structural pattern of the Egyptian Throne names adopted by the previous generations and may have been modelled on the Throne name of Amenophis III (Beckerath 1984, XVIII/9 T 1), some of whose temples and other monuments (among them the magnificent lions Amanislo brought from Soleb to Gebel Barkal, see FHN II, (115)) were still standing in Nubia (cf. PM VII, 63 f., 83, 164 f., 181 ff., etc.).

In the burial chamber of Beg. N. 17 Reisner found one male and two female skulls. The first belonged, according to the anthropological investigation (Dunham 1957, 143 f.), to a man who was *ca.* 30 years old at the time of death and is believed to be the skull of the King (ibid.; Hofmann 1978a, 143). Hofmann (ibid.) assumes that the descent of Type VI, in which the pyramid is erected over the descent and the subterranean tomb chambers, i.e., after the burial has been performed, was introduced in Beg. N. 17, and she explains this innovation with the supposedly early and sudden death of Amanitenmomide. As indicated in (216a), however, this type of descent seems to have been introduced before Beg. N. 17.

The reliefs of Amanitenmomide's mortuary cult chapel in Beg. N. 17 show the influence of the archaizing iconography of Natakamani's chapel Beg. N. 22. On the N wall (Chapman-Dunham 1957, Pl. 21/A) the King offers bread, milk, incense and four calves to Osiris enthroned. He wears the Double Crown and is dressed in an ankle-length tunic over which he wears a royal apron decorated with the image of a falcon. On the S and W walls he is represented enthroned and receiving mortuary offerings from a prince (S) and from Anubis and Nephthys (W). In both scenes he wears the tripartite Meroitic royal dress complete with a tasselled cord (cf. Török 1990) and an archaizing royal headcloth with chinstrap and one uraeus,<sup>544</sup> presumably modelled on Natakamani's headcloth (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 18/C).

The dating of Amanitenmomide's reign to the first half of the 2nd cent. AD is suggested on the basis of two amphorae imported from Lower Egypt found

<sup>544</sup> On the S wall with ram's head wearing the *atef* crown, cf. (215); for the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal headcloths see Török 1987b, 13 f. Type A VI.

in his burial chamber (for the type see Callender 1965, 12; Hofmann 1978a, 145, 171; Hofmann 1991b, 235 ff.).

[LT]

**218 Queen Cleopatra speaks to the Aithiopians and Trogodytes in their own languages.** Ca. AD 110-115.

Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 27.3-5.

*Source bibliography*

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| Flacelière-Chambry<br>1977 | Plutarque: Vies. Vol. 13: Démétrios-Antoine. Texte établi et traduit par R. Flacelière et É. Chambry. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| Jones 1971                 | C.P. Jones: Plutarch and Rome. Oxford.   |
| Pelling 1988               | Plutarch: Life of Antony. Ed. C.B.R. Pelling. (Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics.) Cambridge.   |
| Perrin 1920                | Plutarch's Lives. Vol. 9. Trans. B. Perrin. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.  |
| Russell 1973               | D.A. Russell: Plutarch. London-New York.   |
| Scott-Kilvert 1965         | Makers of Rome: Nine Lives by Plutarch. Trans. I. Scott-Kilvert. (Penguin Classics.) Harmondsworth.  |
| Ziegler 1951               | K. Ziegler: Plutarchos. RE XXI.1, 636-962.   |
| Ziegler 1971               | Plutarchi Vitae Parallelae. 2nd ed. Ed. K. Ziegler. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana.) Leipzig.  |

*Introduction to source*

Plutarch was born before AD 50 in Chaeronea, a small city in Boeotia in Central Greece, and died shortly after AD 120. Between these two dates lies a public career which several times brought him as far as Rome and scholarship at home which has left us one of the most voluminous, attractive and influential literary *œuvres* of Antiquity. He was a Greek patriot but at the same time felt a loyalty to the Roman empire of which his home province of Achaea was a part. He acquired a reading knowledge of Latin and in his *Parallel Lives* devoted half the space to Romans. As a philosopher, he was a convinced Platonist, and he had a deep devotion to traditional Greek religion (he was a priest at Delphi).

Plutarch is a learned writer to whom we owe much information about Greek and Roman thought and customs; but he also put his personal stamp on everything he wrote, and not just stylistically. His humanity, ethical concern and psychological insight have earned him a readership through the millennia. He writes in what has been called a "reformed Hellenistic Greek" (Russell 1973, 22); and with his rich, partly poetical vocabulary, fondness for metaphors, sophisticated word-order, and occasionally entangled periodic structure, he is often easier to understand than to reproduce faithfully in translation.

The extant literary work from Plutarch's hand consists of 50 biographies, of which most belong to the series of *Parallel Lives* of famous Greeks and Romans, and 78 works of miscellaneous content, conventionally referred to as his *Moralia* (cf. 219). For each pair of biographies, Plutarch has chosen one Greek and one Roman public figure of comparable character or achievement, for example Alexander and Caesar, Demosthenes and Cicero. He treats them separately, but in most cases adds an epilogue devoted to a systematic comparison of the two. His interest lies less in important historical events than in character and typical behaviour; he wants to show his readers how individual virtue or vice reveals itself in action.

Our extract is from Plutarch's biography of Mark Antony (probably composed ca. AD 110-115, cf. Pelling 1988, 4), the Roman statesman who after the murder of Julius Caesar in 44 BC gradually emerged as Octavian's chief rival for supreme power and was finally defeated in a naval engagement at Actium in 31 BC. A decade earlier, he had formed an alliance with Queen Cleopatra VII of Egypt; and the romantic encounters between the general and the queen over the years until they both committed suicide after Actium play a major role in Plutarch's biography. The characterisation of Cleopatra quoted here belongs to the description of their very first meeting at Tarsus in Cilicia in 41 BC.

Plutarch shows a special interest in Egyptian matters, perhaps awakened by his teacher of philosophy in Athens, the Egyptian Ammonius. As a young man he visited Alexandria (*Quaest. conviv.* 678C), though we do not know exactly when or under what circumstances (Jones 1971, 15). His familiarity with Egypt, probably acquired mostly through reading, is evident both in the present work and, still more, in his treatise on *Isis and Osiris* (219).

Our text is based on the critical edition of Ziegler (1971), compared with the texts edited by Flacelière (in Flacelière-Chambry 1976) and Pelling (1988). There are English translations by Perrin (1920) and Ian Scott-Kilvert (1965). In addition to the fundamental study of Plutarch by Ziegler (1951), there is a general introduction to his writings by Russell (1973), while Jones (1971) places him in his historical context. The commentary by Pelling (1988) on the *Life of Antony* is particularly strong on the literary aspects of the biography.

#### Text

27 [3] Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς λέγουσιν αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πᾶν δυσπαράβλητον οὐδ' οἶον ἐκπληῆξαι τοὺς ἰδόντας, ἀφῆν δ' εἶχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἄφυκτον, ἥ τε μορφή μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι πιθανότητος καὶ τοῦ περιθέοντος ἅμα πως περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἦθους ἀνέφερε τὴν κέντρον. [4] Ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φθεγγομένης ἐπῆν τῷ ἦχῳ· καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ὡσπερ ὄργανόν τι πολύχορδον εὐπετῶς τρέπουσα καθ' ἣν βούλοιο διάλεκτον, ὀλίγοις παντάπασι δι' ἔρμηνέως ἐνετύγχανε βαρβάροις, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις αὐτῆ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπεδίδου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οἶον Αἰθίοψι Τρωγλοδύταις Ἑβραίοις Ἄραψι Σύροις Μήδοις Παρθυαίοις. [5] Πολλῶν δὲ λέγε-

ται καὶ ἄλλων ἐκμαθεῖν γλώττας, τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς βασιλέων οὐδὲ τὴν Αἰγ-υπτίαν ἀνασχομένων παραλαβεῖν διάλεκτον, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδο-νίζ-ειν ἐκλιπόντων.

*Translation*

27 [3] For her [Cleopatra's] beauty was in itself, we are told, anything but incomparable or apt to strike those who saw her,<sup>545</sup> but one was inevitably taken by her presence, and her appearance, combined with her persuasive speech and the atmosphere which somehow surrounded her whole manner, was exciting. [4] It was also a pleasure to hear her voice, and she readily tuned her tongue, like a many-stringed instrument, to any language she wished. There were indeed few foreigners whom she addressed through an interpreter; she delivered her responses by herself to most of them, be they Aithiopians, Troglodytes,<sup>546</sup> Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes or Parthians. [5] She is said to have learnt many other peoples' languages as well, while the kings before her could not even bear to learn the Egyptian language, indeed some of them even gave up speaking Macedonian.

[TH]

*Comments*

In his enthusiastic praise of Cleopatra's charm and wit Plutarch, whose source for this remains unknown (cf. Ziegler 1951, 911 ff.), also lists the foreigners or "barbarians"—i.e., in his usage, all other nations than the Greeks and Romans—with whom the queen could converse in their own language. Among these, the Aithiopians and the Troglodytes (the inhabitants of the region of the Red Sea hills, cf. 189) are also mentioned. Plutarch's reference to Cleopatra's command of so many languages is meant partly to indicate her extraordinary intellect; but Cleopatra's knowledge of Egyptian is also contrasted with the disinterest of her predecessors in the language of the country they actually ruled.

The passage may, albeit only in very general terms, be interpreted as recording some contemporary information about a visit by (an) Aithiopian embassy (or embassies) in Alexandria. It is quite likely, however, that—as is also indicated by the coupling of the Aithiopians with the Troglodytes—the Aithiopians whom the queen addressed in their language came from the Dodecaschoenus: her identification with Isis as a "New Isis" (cf. Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 54.9 and

<sup>545</sup>Cleopatra's unsurpassed beauty was otherwise a commonplace; Plutarch's description stands out as "the most critical and objective description of Cleopatra in ancient literature" (I. Becher, quoted by Pelling 1988, 190).

<sup>546</sup>We do not follow Pelling (1988, 191) in substituting Τρωγοδύταις for the Τρωγλοδύταις of the manuscripts; no doubt "Cave-dwellers" was what Plutarch believed their name to be (cf. FHN I, 66 *Comments*).

see Hölbl 1994, 265 ff.) might well have brought about a close relationship between Cleopatra and the sanctuary of the goddess on Philae.

[LT]

**219 On the mythical queen Aso of Aithiopia.** Ca. AD 120.

Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 13.356B, 39.366C-D.

*Source bibliography*

Babbitt 1936

Plutarch's *Moralia*. Vol. 5. Trans. F.C. Babbitt. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

Froidefond 1988

Plutarque: *Œuvres morales*. Vol. 5: *Isis et Osiris*. Texte établi et traduit par C. Froidefond. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

Griffiths 1970

Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*. Ed. J.G. Griffiths. University of Wales Press.

*Introduction to source*

For a general introduction to Plutarch see **218** *Introduction to source*. Plutarch's *Moralia*, "Moral treatises", have their conventional name from a number of works which deal with moral philosophical topics. But it is a very varied collection, and a prominent place is taken by treatises on religion. In *De Iside et Osiride*, "On Isis and Osiris", to which our extracts belong, Plutarch combines his interest in religious antiquities with his special knowledge of Egyptian culture to give us the most detailed account in Graeco-Roman literature of the myth and cult of the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris. Typhon is the Greek name for the Egyptian Seth, Osiris' wicked brother who treacherously kills him by making him lie down in a coffin, putting on the lid and throwing it into the Nile. The making of this coffin is described in our first extract. In our second extract, Plutarch gives an allegorical interpretation of the plot described in the first.

On the basis of stylistic considerations, *Isis and Osiris* has been placed among Plutarch's latest works, and attempts to identify Clea, the priestess at Delphi to whom the treatise is dedicated, have pointed in the same direction. The combined indications suggest a date ca. AD 120 (Griffiths 1970, 17; Froidefond 1988, 14-23).

Our text is based on the critical edition of Froidefond (1988). There is an English translation by Babbitt (1936). Griffiths (1970) provides the most complete treatment, with introduction, critical text, English translation and a detailed commentary.

*Text*

13 [356B] Τυφῶνα δ' ἀπόντος μὲν οὐθὲν νεωτερίζειν, διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἴσιν εὖ μάλα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἔχουσαν, ἐπανελθόντι δὲ δόλον μηχανᾶσθαι, συνωμότης ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο πεποιημένον

καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχοντα βασίλισσαν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας παροῦσαν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀσώ· τοῦ δ' Ὀσίριδος ἐκμετρησάμενον λάθρα τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος λάρνακα καλὴν καὶ κεκοσμημένην περιττῶς εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον.

39 [366C] Ἡ δὲ Τυφῶνος ἐπιβουλὴ καὶ τυραννὶς αὐχοῦ δύναμις ἦν ἐπικρατήσαντος καὶ διαφορήσαντος τὴν τε γεννώσαν ὑγρότητα τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ αὐξουσαν, ἣ δὲ συνεργὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς Αἰθιοπῶν αἰνίττεται πνοὰς νοτίους ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας· ὅταν γὰρ αὐταὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐπικρατήσωσι τὰ νέφη πρὸς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἐλανόντων καὶ κωλύσωσι τοὺς τὸν Νεῖλον [D] αὐξοντας ὄμβρους καταρραγῆναι, κατέχων ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπιφλέγει, καὶ τότε κρατήσας παντάπασιν τὸν Νεῖλον εἰς ἐναντίον ὑπ' ἀσθενείας συσταλέντα καὶ ῥυέντα κοῖλον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐξέωσεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

*Translation*

13 [356B] While he [Osiris] was away, Typhon (Seth) is said to have dared no coup because Isis was constantly on her guard, attentive and in full control. But no sooner had he returned, than Typhon contrived a plot against him, having made seventy-two men his accomplices and with the help of a queen, called Aso, who had arrived from Aithiopia. He had Osiris' body measured in secret and fabricated in his size a beautiful and lavishly adorned coffin which he brought to the (home-coming?) party.

39 [366C] Typhon's treacherous seizure of power stands for the force of the drought after it has overcome and dissipated the moisture that breeds and swells the Nile; and his helper, the queen of the Aithiopians, symbolizes the south winds from Aithiopia. When these overcome the Etesian (monsoon) winds which are driving the clouds towards Aithiopia, and prevent the rains which swell the Nile from falling, then Typhon prevails and scorches; fully victorious he forces the Nile, which has receded because of its weakness and flows nearly empty and low, into the sea.

[TH]

*Comments*

The passages quoted here from Plutarch's celebrated work on the myths of Osiris and Isis in particular, and on aspects of Egyptian religion, cults, and wisdom in general are taken from discourses on the symbolic meaning of the Osiris myth and on Osiris as the originator of civilisation.

The first passage is from an explanation of Isis as a symbol for Earth and Osiris as a symbol for the Nile. According to a suggestion by Jean Leclant (in Griffiths 1970, 310) the Queen's name, *Aso*, may be interpreted as corresponding with *Asi*, an early form of the Meroitic *Wos*, Isis (attested in one single text,

REM 0049, mortuary stela of Taktidamani from Beg. W. 18, 1st cent. BC, Berlin 2253, Wenig 1978, Cat. 120; cf. Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXVII; Dunham 1963, 99 ff.).

The origin of Plutarch's Aso may be indicated by the second passage quoted above, in which he explains her role in the myth as a symbol for the southern breezes from Aithiopia: the personification of the southern wind which helps Typhon may have been based on a legend (?) about an Aithiopian goddess or on a Kushite (or Philaean?) version of the Osiris myth.

[LT]

**220 The southernmost milestone yet found in the Roman Empire.** Ca. AD 103-107.

CIL III 14148<sup>2</sup>.

*Source bibliography*

- Bastianini 1988 G. Bastianini: Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C.–297 d.C.): Addenda (1973-1958). ANRW II 10.1, 503-517.
- Hanslik 1965 R. Hanslik: M. Ulpius Trajanus 1a). RE Suppl. X, cols. 1035-1102.
- Mommsen 1902 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III 2: Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici Latinarum Supplementum. Ed. Th. Mommsen, O. Hirschfeld, A. Domaszewski. Berlin. [= CIL.]
- Monneret de Villard 1941 U. Monneret de Villard: La Nubia Romana. Roma.
- Pflaum 1967 H.-G. Pflaum: Un nouveau diplôme militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte. Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, 339-362.
- de Ricci 1900 S. de Ricci: Le milliaire le plus méridional du monde. Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres. Comptes rendus, 78-96.
- Schwartz 1952 J. Schwartz: Un préfet d'Égypte frappé de "*damnatio memoriae*" sous le règne d'Hadrien. CdE 53, 254-256.
- Syme 1957 R. Syme: C. Vibius Maximus, Prefect of Egypt. Historia 6, 481-487.
- White 1973 P. White: Vibius Maximus, The Friend of Statius. Historia 22, 295-301.

*Introduction to source*

The milestone bearing this inscription was found on the W bank of the Nile at the village of Abu Tarfa, 67 km to the south of Philae, measured by the course of the river (Mommsen 1902, 2301), and subsequently brought to the Berlin Museum and given the inv. no. 13842.

Where the stone originally stood is, however, uncertain. The suggestion by de Ricci (1900, 79 f.), repeated as a certainty by Monneret de Villard (1941, 34),

that it was originally set up in the region of Ombos but was later, probably in the recent past, transported over one hundred kilometers southward to the spot where it was found, rests on a misreading of the inscription (not reproduced here) on the back of the stone, see Mommsen (1902, 2301), who also cites various other attempts to decipher that inscription.<sup>547</sup> The stone may, of course, have been transported as ship's ballast, as de Ricci (loc. cit.) also suggested. If, however, it originally stood 47 km (32 Roman miles, cf. lines 5-7 in the inscription) *south* of Philae (i.e., in the vicinity of Qertassi), as seems likely, then the distance to its find spot (67 km south of Philae) would be only 20 km; and to transport it over this distance could easily have been accomplished by several means.

The text was edited in the great collection of Latin inscriptions, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, commonly referred to as CIL, by Mommsen (1902, 2301), who also gives a transcription of the inscription. The text given below is based on Mommsen's text and facsimile; we reiterate, however, his caution that both readings and interpretation are fraught with difficulties.

*Text*

[Imp. Caes. divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Aug. Germ. Dac. pont. max. trib. pote] | st. [... imp. ... ] cos. V | P. P., | C. [Vibi]o Maximo | praef. Aegy. |<sup>5</sup> a Philis XXXII, | ἀπὸ Φιλῶν | CΠ() λβ'.

*Translation*

(In Latin:) [Emperor Caesar, the Divine Nerva's son, Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus,<sup>548</sup> pontifex maximus, given tribunician power [7+x times, proclaimed *Imperator* 4+x times],<sup>549</sup> consul 5 times, Father of (his) Country, when C. [Vibi]us Maximus was Prefect of Egypt;<sup>550</sup> (5) From Philae 32. (In Greek:) From Philae ...<sup>551</sup> 32.

[TE]

<sup>547</sup> It is not known whether the two inscriptions on the stone are of the same date or otherwise connected.

<sup>548</sup> I.e., the Emperor Trajan; as adopted son of the Emperor Nerva he also bore his adoptive father's name.

<sup>549</sup> Trajan's imperial titulary year by year can be found in Hanslik (1965).

<sup>550</sup> C. Vibius Maximus is attested as Prefect between August 30, AD 103 and March 26, AD 107, see Bastianini (1988) 507. There are several Vibius Maximus'es mentioned in Latin literary and documentary sources; none of the attempts to equate some or all of them have led to unambiguous results, see Pflaum (1967) 346 f., White (1973). The hypothesis put forward by Schwartz (1952) 254 that there were two prefects of Egypt by the name of Vibius Maximus at different times has not won general acceptance, see Syme (1957).

<sup>551</sup> The meaning of the Greek letters before the numeral is unexplained.

*Comments*

The milestone on which the present text is preserved is a rare specimen, only two having been found in Nubia; and even though it was not found *in situ*, there is no compelling reason to think that it did not come from the Dodecaschoenus (cf. *Introduction to source* above). Both milestones were found on the *west* bank of the Nile (Monneret de Villard 1941, 15, 17 and 34), where the main Roman road and settlements in the region lay, but record distances from the Roman camp at Philae on the *east* bank. The *Itinerarium Antoniniana* (prob. late 3rd cent. AD) records stages along routes on both sides of the Nile (op. cit.), and both routes terminate the Roman road system at Hieria Sycaminos (Maharraqa). This accords well with other sources which indicate that after the Treaty of Samos in 20 BC (see 190, 204, 205) the Dodecaschoenus, i.e., the stretch of the Nile Valley between Syene (Aswan), i.e., the first Cataract, and Hieria Sycaminos was controlled by the Roman administration in Egypt and that the latter settlement was on the frontier between the Kingdom of Meroe and the Roman Empire (Adams 1983, 94).

Whether there was any substantial Roman presence south of Hieria Sycaminos is a moot point. Adams (1982a, 26; 1983) has presented archaeological evidence which he construes as showing that the stronghold of Qasr Ibrim, which lay well to the south of Hieria Sycaminos, was a Roman "military outpost on alien soil, beyond the limits of Roman colonization and administration" from the time of the Roman conquest of Egypt "down to the time of Septimius Severus, and indeed long afterward" (Adams 1983, 98-99). He based his argument on the high proportion of finds of Egyptian origin and a military character (96-97) and of ceramic material also from Egypt (97), datable to that timespan, and on a statistical evaluation of the chronological distribution of the textual finds made there (Adams 1982a). His assumption that such objects indicate that Roman troops were actually stationed on the site is debatable, and until the contents of the texts have been fully published it will be impossible to assess their historical implications adequately. What has so far been published (see Anderson et al. 1979; Dorandi 1994, 72 ff. nos 1227-1238), however, without exception indicates only a short Roman military occupation of the site—and that prior to the campaign of Petronius (see Török 1987a, 163 ff). Also, it would be a break with Roman practice elsewhere in Egypt to leave a force so far from support and without a means of rapid communication. As yet there is no evidence for a system of signal towers of the kind attested with certainty in the Eastern Desert (Zitterkopf-Sidebotham 1989) and probably also in the Dodecaschoenus (Curto et al. 1973, 51-52).

Roman Egypt was protected from her southern neighbour by three cohorts (cf. 190) stationed in a stronghold complex which encompassed Syene, Elephantine and Philae and from which units were detached and sent for duty at outposts at Talmis (Kalabsha), Pselchis (Dakka) and Hieria Sycaminos in the Dodecaschoenus (for these forces cf. Speidel 1988, 771; 783 ff.). These cohorts are

reported in the frontier area in AD 99 (CIL III 14147<sup>2</sup>; Speidel 1988, 776); and this situation remained unchanged until the 3rd cent. AD (cf. 238, 239).

Our milestone is concrete evidence of the attention the Roman government paid to maintaining the arteries of communication that were essential for securing the southern border of their Empire in the Nile Valley.

[RHP-LT]

**221 Aithiopians in Alexandria.** Ca. AD 71-75 or 105 (?).

Dio Chrysostom 32.36, 39-41.

*Source bibliography*

von Arnim 1893

Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum Quae extant omnia. Ed. H. von Arnim. Berlin.

Cohon-Lamar Crosby  
1940

Dio Chrysostom with an English translation by J.W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. Vol. 3. (Loeb Classical Library.) Cambridge, MA-London.

Jones 1978

C.P. Jones: The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom. Cambridge, MA-London.

*Introduction to source*

Dio Cocceianus or "Chrysostom" was born ca. AD 40-50 in Prusa in Bithynia (Bursa in NW Turkey)—hence his name *Prusaensis*, "of Prusa"—and died ca. AD 110 or later. He is thus a contemporary of Plutarch (cf. 218) and is another Greek who was an active citizen of the Roman empire and left us an historically important and eminently readable literary *œuvre*. His nickname, *Chrysostomus* or "Golden-Mouthed", indicates the high regard in which his eloquence was held. Some 80 of his orations are extant.

Dio was a rhetorician and a philosopher, a combination with a built-in contradiction that scholarship has traditionally resolved by dividing his life as well as his writings into two distinct periods, before and after ca. AD 83 when he had the traumatic experience of being exiled from Italy and Bithynia by the Emperor Domitian. Though this view needs modification (cf. Jones 1978), there is no doubt that Dio in his youth devoted himself primarily to rhetorical exercises, whereas in his mature years he came to look upon himself as a philosopher with a calling morally to reform his compatriots in the Greek cities of the empire.

Dio travelled widely in the eastern parts of the Roman empire, and some of his most important speeches were originally delivered to such great Greek cities there as Rhodes, Alexandria, and Tarsus. From his Stoic-Cynic philosophical standpoint he delivers advice to the citizens, sometimes with direct reference to some acute political crisis in the city. This makes the published versions of his orations an important primary source for us concerning the socio-political conditions of his time.

The oration "To the People of Alexandria" (Πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς), from which our extract is taken, has usually been dated after Dio's exile, in the reign of Trajan (ca. AD 105); but more recently a date as early as ca. AD 71-75, in the reign of Vespasian, has been suggested on prosopographical grounds (cf. Jones 1978, 134). It is probable that Dio used the occasion of his performance in the theatre of Alexandria to travel in Egypt itself as well (Jones 1978, 36 with n. 4); and his references, in our extract, to the ethnic composition of his audience imply some prior investigation on the spot.

Our text is based on the critical edition of von Arnim (1893). There is a text with a parallel English translation by Cohoon-Lamar Crosby (1940); and the Alexandrian oration is discussed in some detail by Jones (1978, 36-44).

*Text*

32 [36] Κεῖται γὰρ ἐν συνδέσμῳ τινὶ τῆς ὅλης γῆς καὶ τῶν πλείστον ἀπωκισμένων ἔθνῶν, ὥσπερ ἀγορὰ μιᾶς πόλεως εἰς ταὐτὸ ξυνάγουσα πάντας καὶ δεικνύουσά τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ὁμοφύλους ποιούσα. ...

[39] Καὶ νῦν εἶπον τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ὑμῖν ὡς ὅτι ἂν ἀσχημονῆτε οὐ κρύφα γίγνεται τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. [40] Ὅρῳ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐ μόνον Ἑλληνας παρ' ὑμῖν οὐδ' Ἰταλοὺς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον Συρίας, Λιβύης, Κιλικίας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους Αἰθίοπας οὐδὲ Ἀραβας ἀλλὰ καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Ἰνδῶν τινας, οἱ συνθεῶνται καὶ πάρεισιν ἐκάστοτε ὑμῖν ὥστε ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀκούετε ἑνός, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, κιθαρῳδοῦ, καὶ τούτου συνήθους, ἀκούεσθε δὲ ὑπὸ μυρίων ἔθνῶν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὁρᾶτε μὲν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡνιόχους, ὁρᾶσθε δὲ ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων μὲν Ἑλλήνων, τοσοῦτων δὲ βαρβάρων. [41] Τί οὖν οἶεσθε τούτους ἐπὶ γῆς πέρατα ἐλθόντας λέγειν;

*Translation*

32 [36] It [Alexandria] is situated at the juncture, so to say, of the whole world and of the most remote nations, like a market-place of a single city that brings everyone together in one place, exposing them to each other and making them, as far as possible, into one people.

[39] My intention with what I just said about the city was to show you that whenever you behave badly, this happens not in secret or before a few, but before everyone. [40] I, for my part, can see among you not just Greeks or Italians, not only people from neighbouring Syria, Libya (North Africa) and Cilicia, nor yet those beyond them, Aithiopians and Arabs, but even Bactrians, Scythians, Persians and a few Indians—here together with you as spectators on every occasion. Therefore, while you are listening, as may happen, to a single cithara-

singer, even one that you know from before, you are yourselves being heard by countless nations who do not know you; and while you are watching three or four chariot-drivers, you are being watched by countless Greeks and countless barbarians. [41] What, then, do you imagine they will say when they have returned to the end of the world?

[TH]

*Comments*

This speech was meant to remind the people of the metropolis of their vices and debased ethical standards. Dio's rhetoric uses a wealth of argumentative metaphors, and in the excerpt presented here he paints a powerful picture of the world-wide audience before which the Alexandrians live their improper lives: for even among his own audience, besides the familiar Greeks and Italians, Dio sees not only neighbouring peoples, among them Aithiopians, who apparently belonged to the more common sights in the streets of Alexandria, but also other, more exotic people. Though we do not receive any further clue from Dio as to who the Aithiopians in Alexandria were and the reasons for their presence there, it may well be supposed that not all of them were slaves who would never return to their native land; some of them might have been able to act as vehicles of cultural influence.

[LT]

**222 Description of Aithiopia.** 2nd cent. AD.

Ptolemy, *Geographica* 4.5.33, 4.7.5-7.

*Source bibliography*

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Jacoby 1958    | F. Jacoby: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil. C. Leiden.                   |
| Müller 1901    | Claudii Ptolemaei Geographica. Ed. K. Müller. Vol. 1:2. Paris.                                   |
| Polaschek 1965 | E. Polaschek: Klaudios Ptolemaios: Das geographische Werk. RE Suppl. X 680-833.                  |
| Stevenson 1991 | Claudius Ptolemy: The Geography. Trans. E.L. Stevenson. New York. (Orig. publ. 1932.)            |
| Toomer 1996    | G.J. T[oomer]: Ptolemy (4). The Oxford Classical Dictionary. 3rd ed. Oxford-New York, 1273-1275. |

*Introduction to source*

Claudius Ptolemaeus, or Ptolemy, was active at Alexandria ca. AD 146-170. He was a learned and prolific writer on scientific topics, including astronomy, geography, and music, all on a mathematical basis. His influence in these sciences lasted for a millennium and a half, in the Christian as well as the Moslem world.

His *Guide to Geography* (Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις) in 8 “books” is mostly concerned with establishing the latitude and longitude of places to allow the construction of maps. Thus, Books 2-7 consist chiefly of long lists of place names, while Book 1 provides instructions on how to draw a map of the world and Book 8, on the basis of the intervening lists, details the various parts of such a world map. For his topographical lists and distances Ptolemy had to rely on the written reports of travellers, so-called *itineraria*; and his geographical construction is of course dependent on their detail and accuracy, or lack of such. With regard to the Roman empire and immediately adjacent areas, his work has been characterized as “moderately accurate” (Toomer 1996, 1274), whereas the remoter parts of the world fare less well.

There is no edition of Ptolemy’s *Geography* that meets modern standards. Our text is based on the edition of Müller (1901, of Books 1-5), which also provides a Latin translation and comments. As to be expected, the medieval manuscripts exhibit many variant forms of the place names, for which see Müller’s apparatus and comments. There is an English translation by Stevenson (1991), covering Books 1-8.2. For a general introduction to Ptolemy, with an up-to-date bibliography, see Toomer (1996).

*Text*

4.5 [33] Εἶτα Δωδεκάσχοινος, ἧς ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν εἰσὶν Ἄραβες καλούμενοι Ἄδαῖοι· ἐν οἷς ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετὰ τὸν Καταρράκτην τὸν μικρόν,

οὗ θέσις	ξά’ L’ γ’	κγ’ L’ δ’
Ἰερὰ Συκάμινος	ξά’ L’ δ’	κγ’ γο’
Φιλαί (ἢ Φίλαι)	ξά’ γο’	κγ’ L’
Μετακομψώ	ξά’ γο’	κγ’ ιβ’

ἧς ἀντικρὺς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ

Ψέλκις	ξά’ L’	κγ’ ιβ’.
--------	--------	----------

4.7 [5] Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μετὰ τὸν μείζονα Καταρράκτην γραφήσεται διὰ τῶν προσεχῶν αὐτῷ κωμῶν, ὧν αἱ θέσεις ἔχουσιν οὕτως·

Μετὰ τὸν Ψέλκιν καὶ τὸν Μέγαν καταρράκτην, οὗ ἡ θέσις ἐπέχει μοίρας

ξ’ L’	κβ’ L’
-------	--------

ἀπὸ μὲν δυσμῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κεῖνται κῶμαι αἶδε·

Τασίτια	ξ’ L’	κβ’
Βῶων	ξβ’	κα’ γο’
Αὐτόβα	ξά’ L’	κα’ L’
Φθοῦρι	ξά’ δ’	κα’ γ’
Πίστρη	ξά’	κ’ γο’
Πτεμθίς	ξά’	κ’ δ’
Ἄβοῦνκις	νθ’ L’	κ’
Καμβύσου Ταμεία	νθ’	ιη’

Ἐρχόας	νθ' L''	ιη'
Σατάχθα	ξ' L''	ιη'
Μόρου	ξα' L''	ιη' γο''
Νακίς	ξβ'	ιθ' L''
Ταθίς	ξα'	ιζ'
[6] Ἀπὸ δὲ ἀνατολῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι αἴδε·		
Πνούψ	ξβ'	κβ'
Βερηθίς	ξβ'	κα' L''
Γερβῶ	ξβ'	κα'
Πάταιτα	ξα' γο''	κ' L''
Ποντυρίς	ξα'	κ'
Πρίμις Μικρά	ξ'	ιθ' L''
Ἄρβίς	ξ' L''	ιη' L''
Νάπατα	ξγ'	κ' δ''
Σακόλη	ξγ'	ιθ' L''
Σανδάκη	ξγ'	ιη' L''
Ὀρβαδάρου	ξβ' γο''	ιη'
Πρίμις Μεγάλη	ξβ'	ιζ'
[7] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ νησοποιεῖται ἡ Μερὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Νείλου ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ὄντος αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα ποταμοῦ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ὄντος, ἐν ἧ εἰσὶ πόλεις		
Μερὴ	ξα' L''	ις' γ'ιβ''
Σακόλη	ξα' γο''	ιε' δ'
Ἐσήρ	ξα' γο''	ιγ' L''
Δαρῶν κώμη	ξβ'	ιβ' L''
εἶτα ἡ συναφὴ τοῦ Νείλου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσταπόδος ποταμοῦ	ξα'	ιβ'
εἶτα ἡ συναφὴ τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀσταπόδος	ξβ' L''	ια' L''.

*Translation*

4.5 [33] Then the Dodecaschoenus, east of which are the Arabs called Adaioi.

Among those on the east side of the river after the Small Cataract

which is situated at 61° 50'<sup>552</sup> 23° 45' (are):

Hiera Sykaminos 61° 45' 23° 40'

Philae 61° 40' 23° 30'

Metakompso 61° 40' 23° 5'

opposite to which on the west side of the river (is)

Pselkis 61° 30' 23° 5'.

<sup>552</sup>The Greek computations, exemplified by the present case, are based on fractions of a sixty-minute degree: 61 1/2 1/3, i.e., 61 degrees, plus one half a degree, plus one third of a degree = 61 degrees 30 minutes plus 20 minutes = 61 degrees 50 minutes.

4.7 [5] The rest of the Nile after the greater Cataract will be described by reference to the villages adjacent to it, which are situated as follows:

After Pselkis and the Great Cataract, which is situated at the following degrees:

there lie on the west side of the river the following villages:

	60° 30′	22° 30′
Tasitia	60° 30′	22°
Boon	62°	21° 40′
Autoba	61° 30′	21° 30′
Phthuri	61° 15′	21° 20′
Pistre	61°	20° 40′
Ptemithis	61°	20° 15′
Aboungis	59° 30′	20°
Cambyses' Storehouses	59°	18°
Erkhoas	59° 30′	18°
Satakhtha	60° 30′	18°
Morou	61° 30′	18° 40′
Nakis	62°	19° 30′
Tathis	61°	17°

[6] On the east side of the river (are) the following villages:

Pnouns	62°	22°
Berethis	62°	21° 30′
Gerbo	62°	21°
Pataita	61° 40′	20° 30′
Pontyris	61°	20°
Primis Minor	60°	19° 30′
Arbis	60° 30′	18° 30′
Napata	63°	20° 15′
Sakole	63°	19° 30′
Sandake	63°	18° 30′
Orbadarou	62° 40′	18°
Primis Maior	62°	17°

[7] From here the Island of Meroe is formed by the river Nile which is on its west side and the river Astaboras which is on the east; on the island there are the cities

Meroe	61° 30′	16° 25′
Sakolkhe	61° 40′	15° 15′
Eser	61° 40′	13° 30′
the village Daron	62°	12° 30′,

then the confluence of the river Nile and the river Astapous

61° 12°,

then the confluence of the river Astaboras and the Astapous

62° 30′ 11° 30′.

[TH]

*Comments*

The excerpts (see also 223) included here from Ptolemy's monumental geographical work partly complement, and partly attest to the correctness of the itineraries of the Nile Valley south of Aswan as recorded by Pliny (cf. FHN II, 108, in this volume 186a, 204, 206). The aim of the *Geographia* (see Ptolemy's introduction to Book 2) was the presentation of a list of the places in the *oikumene* the locations of which could be defined by astronomical means (for Ptolemy's dependence on Marinus' lost *Diorthosis Tabulae Geographicae*, a pioneering collection of measurements for the cartographical representation of the world edited around AD 114, see Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 1.6.1; for Ptolemy's historical context cf. Dihle 1994, 114 ff.), in order to make possible the establishment of coordinated maps of Asia, Libya (i.e., Africa) and Europe. The lists for the individual maps are introduced by brief notes on the borders of the area in question, and sometimes the names of the peoples living there are also presented. The principal part of the text is, however, the lists of place names with the data on their latitudes and longitudes. These latter data are included here, but without further comment. In Table D below, Ptolemy's toponyms will be confronted with their equivalents in the itineraries recorded by Pliny (*P* = itinerary of Petronius, 204; *N* = Neronian expedition, 206; *Eth.*: Ethiopian, cf. *Comments* on 298 f.). It is important to note that Ptolemy did not list the toponyms consistently in their geographical order (but they are presented below in a N to S sequence) and that some are garbled beyond recognition. Our table is based on Priese 1984a, with minor alterations.<sup>553</sup>

**Table D**

<i>PTOLEMY</i>	<i>BION / JUBA</i>	<i>P N</i>	<i>Meroitic</i>	<i>Modern</i>
<i>1. Dodecaschoenus</i>				
<b>Philae</b>				Philae
<b>Pselcis</b>		Pselcin		Dakka
<b>(Me)tacompo</b>	Tacompos			Maharraqa
<b>Hiera Sycaminos</b>		Hiera Sycaminos		Maharraqa
<i>2. Between Maharraqa and the Second Cataract</i>				
<b>(?)Ar(a)bis</b>	Aramam			W. el Arab
<b>Primis micra</b>	Pidema			Q. Ibrim
<b>Cambusou tamieia</b>		Forum Cambusis		Abu Simbel
<b>Abuncis</b>		Bocc(h)in	Beqe/Boq	Ballana
<b>(?)Arabis</b>				
<b>(?)Gerbo</b>	Curambim		Qrbe	Abu Simbel
<b>Phthuri</b>	Phitor		Phrse	Faras
<b>Satakhtha</b>			Sqeki	Ashkeit

<sup>553</sup>In contrast to him, we identify Tassitia = Stadissis (in *P.*) with Saras instead of Abka, cf. 204.

The Sources

<b>Boon</b>	Buma			Buhen
<b>Tasitia</b>	Tessata	Stadissim	Sdose	Saras
 3. <i>Between the Second and Third Cataracts</i>				
<b>Primis megale</b>	Pindimis	Primi	Pedeme	Amara
 4. <i>Beyond the Third Cataract</i>				
<b>Pnups</b>	(P)nups			Kerma
<b>(?)Pataita</b>	Patigga	Pitara		Kawa
<b>Erkhoas</b>	Arca(s)			Argi
<b>Berethis</b>	Beressa			
<b>Napata</b>				
 5. <i>Island of Meroe</i>				
<b>Sacole</b>	Saco(l)a			(?)Dunqeil
<b>Sandace</b>	S(a)candos		Skdi	(?)Berber
<b>Nakis</b>			<i>Eth. Neg<sup>ues</sup></i>	(?)
<b>Orba</b>	Al(a)be		<i>Eth. Alwa</i>	El Moqren
<b>Daru</b>	And(a)ro		<i>Eth. Daro</i>	Shadinab (Darru)
<b>Sacole</b>	Sacolcem			(?)Mutmir
<b>Meroe</b>			Bedewe	Begarawiya
<b>Daron kome</b>	Darden			
<b>Eser</b>	Asar			

[LT]

**223 Geography of Aithiopia.** 2nd cent. AD.

Ptolemy, *Geographica* 8.16.8-9. FGrH 673 Anhang 32.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source*, see 222. In the present extract, we base our text on that of Jacoby (1958, 305).

*Text*

8.16 [8] Τῆς δὲ ὑπὸ Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίας τὰ μὲν Νάπατα τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὥρων τγ δ', καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μιᾶς ὥρας ς'· ὁ δὲ ἥλιος δις τοῦ ἔτους γίνεται κατὰ κορυφὴν, ἀπέχων τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μοίρας λ̅α ς'.

[9] Ἡ δὲ Μερὸν τὴν μεγίστην ἡμέραν ἔχει ὥρων τγ, καὶ διέστηκεν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ὥρας μιᾶς ιε', λαμβάνει δὲ δις τοῦ ἔτους τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ κορυφὴν, ὅταν ἀπέχη τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μοίρας με γ'.

*Translation*

8.16 [8] In Aithiopia below Egypt Napata has (as) its longest day (a period) of 13 hours 15 minutes, and it is at a distance of one hour 10 minutes east of Alexandria. The sun is in the zenith twice a year, each time being 31 degrees 10 minutes from the summer solstice.

[9] Meroe has (as) its longest day (a period) of 13 hours, and is at a distance of one hour 15 minutes east of Alexandria. It has the sun in the zenith twice a year when each time it is 45 degrees 20 minutes away from the summer solstice.

[TH]

*Comments*

Omitting the detailed lists he gives in Book 4 (see 222), in Book 8 of his geographical work Ptolemy summarily repeats the contents of the individual map sections designed in Books 2-7. Here we present his summaries concerning the regions of Napata and Meroe.

[LT]

**224 Conflict between Romans, Aithiopians and Trogodytes in the 1st cent. AD.** Papyrus 'della raccolta Milanese (Collezioni del Castello Sforzesco di Milano)' 40.

*Source bibliography*

Stroux 1953

J. Stroux: Das historische Fragment des Papyrus 40 der Mailänder Sammlung. (SDAW 1952:2.) Berlin.

Turner 1950

E.G. Turner: Papyrus 40 'della raccolta Milanese'. JRS 40, 57-59.

Vogliano 1940

A. Vogliano: Un papiro storico greco della raccolta Milanese e le campagne dei Romani in Etiopia. Milano.

*Introduction to source*

This papyrus fragment was first published by Vogliano (1940, with photos); revised texts (on the basis of Vogliano's photos) with new supplements were supplied by Turner (1950) and Stroux (1953, with photo). For the discussion on the nature of the text—a fragment from an historical work or a document?—see *Comments* below. Turner (1950, 58) suggests, on palaeographical grounds, a date some time in the second half of the first century AD. The fragment consists of the upper left part of a sheet of papyrus; the narrative clearly continues from another sheet.

We base our text on Turner's readings in places where he differs from Vogliano (1950);<sup>554</sup> but we have largely stripped it of the supplements suggested by Vogliano, Turner, Stroux, or later discussants. Both Vogliano and Turner reckon with a loss of ca. 20 (±5) letters at the end of each line; with that amount of lost text in a non-formulaic piece of writing, any larger supplement must be purely *exempli gratia* and thus, in our context, potentially misleading rather than helpful.

*Text*

παρεγένετο καὶ Ῥούφος ἐπαγόμε[νος ----- ]  
 ΛΩΝ, ἐπῆλ<θ>εν<sup>555</sup> δὲ καὶ ὁ<sup>556</sup> μεταπε[μφοίεις (?) ----- τῶ ἐ-]  
 πάρχῳ ἰπεῖς, οὐ<ς><sup>557</sup> οἱ Αἰθίοπες Ε[ ----- εἰς τὰ ὄ-]  
 ρη ἔφευγον, ὧν τ<ὰ><sup>558</sup> κορυφὰς οἱ ΚΑ[ ----- Οἱ δὲ διασ-]  
 5 παρέντες ὑπὸ Ῥούφου Τρωγοδ[ύται<sup>559</sup> ----- ]  
 στάντων δὲ τῶν ἰπέων καὶ [ ----- πα-]  
 ραγενέσθαι ποιησάντων ΠΑΡΗ[ ----- ]  
 [ --- ]ΠΙ, ἂν κελευσθῶσι ἡρεμίᾳ Ε[ ----- ]

*Translation*

Rufus too arrived bring[ing] [ ... ]  
 ... , and on came also the [ ... who had been se]nt for [ ... ]  
 [the p]refect (*[e]parchos*)<sup>560</sup> cavalry whom the Aithiopians [ ... ]  
 fled [to the mou]ntains, the tops of which the [ ... ]  
 5 The Trogod[ytes who had been dis]persed (?) by Rufus [ ... ]  
 when the cavalry and [ ... ] had taken stand (?) [ ... ]  
 to [ar]rive after [ ... ] had made [ ... ]  
 [ ... ] ... if (?) they were commanded [ ... ] in silence (?) [ ... ]

[TH]

*Comments*

In his edition of this papyrus, Vogliano (1940) suggested that the fragment, which he dated to the second half of the 1st cent. or the early 2nd cent. AD, came from a literary work and was possibly a fragment of a description of the

<sup>554</sup>In some of these cases Stroux (1953), basing himself on the same photos as Turner, finds that Vogliano was right after all. We are not in a position to arbitrate between them.

<sup>555</sup>Turner's emendation of ΕΠΗΛΕΕΝ in the papyrus.

<sup>556</sup>Vogliano reads οἱ, supplements μεταπε[μφοίμενοι], and emends the finite verb to plural (ἐπῆλθ<ο>ν); so does Stroux without commenting on Turner's revised reading.

<sup>557</sup>Turner's emendation of ΟΥΟ in the papyrus.

<sup>558</sup>According to Turner (1950, 57), the papyrus has "τὺς corrected to τοὺς by suprascription of ο".

<sup>559</sup>Stroux (1953, 11) suggests the supplement Τρωγοδ[υτικὴν εἰς χώραν - - ] (or similarly).

<sup>560</sup>Supplement by Turner (1950, 58 n. 4): "Ἐπαρχος is the usual Greek term for *praefectus alae*." Vogliano had suggested [*hip*]parchos and is supported by Stroux. The title is in the dative case, and we do not know how it was construed in the sentence.

campaign led by C. Petronius to Nubia (cf. 190, 204). He also suggested that its author was Nicolaus Damascenus (cf. FHN II, 158). According to Vogliano, the preserved text speaks about a battle between Aithiopians and Romans, the infantry of the latter being commanded by the Rufus mentioned in line 1.

Turner (1950) identified *Trogod[ytai]* in line 5 and pointed out that the text was written by an unprofessional hand and found grammatical errors in lines 2-4 and 7. Consequently, he suggested that the papyrus came from a private letter or rather from an official report about some minor military operation, and he found its palaeographical analogies in papyri dating from the period between ca. AD 60-94; these dates would also define the period in which the events described occurred.

Stroux (1953, 19) presented a new reconstruction of the text, providing arguments for his view that the papyrus came from a literary work about Petronius' campaign. In his reconstruction, the text refers to a major battle fought at an undefined place from which the Roman troops return to Egypt *via* the land of the Trogodytes; the last preserved line would indicate that an embassy of the defeated Aithiopians was on its way to Augustus.

Katznelson (1970, 226 f.) agreed with Turner as to the non-literary character of the fragment and as to its dating, but, albeit without offering an alternative, refused to connect it with a military conflict in the second half of the 1st cent. AD.

Finally, in a recent paper Bersina (1989) put forward another hypothetical reconstruction of the fragmentary text as well as a translation. In her view, the papyrus recorded a battle between Romans and Aithiopians. The major dimensions of the conflict are indicated, in Bersina's opinion, by the fact that Rufus commanded the Roman forces. In her opinion this Rufus could be identical with Marcus Mettius Rufus (attested August 3, 89-91/92 AD, Bureth 1988, 480 f.<sup>561</sup>) or with Marcus Iunius Rufus (attested July 1, 94-June 21, 98 AD, Bureth 1988, 481), both Prefects of Egypt; with reference to Turner's dating of the document, Bersina opts for the former and suggests that the battle was fought between AD 89-92.

Török (1989a, 372 f.) points out, however, that Turner's dated palaeographical analogies do not necessarily show that the papyrus had to have been written after 60 and before 94 AD: it could just as well have been written in 59 or in 95. The text does not indicate Rufus' rank, and his identification as a Prefect is completely arbitrary. While a Prefect's rank and rank titles (ἑπαρχος, κράτιστος ἡγεμών) are not necessarily indicated in a document of this kind, his gentilic name ought not to have been omitted (e.g., Mettius Rufus occurs in POxy. 237, VIII.25 as Μάρκος Μέττιος Ῥοῦφος, in SB 9163 as Μέττιος Ῥοῦφος). In sum, it seems that Turner's original suggestion concerning the minor nature of the conflict as well as his general dating should be preferred to other

<sup>561</sup>Bersina 1989, 222: 88/9-91/2.

views, the more so since troubles in the Trogodytica were recorded around AD 84 (see Desanges 1992, 370).

[LT]

**(225) Amanikhatashan. Evidence for reign.**

The reliefs of the N and S walls of the mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 18 depict a ruling queen seated on a lion throne. She wears a vulture headdress with one uraeus (with sundisc [?] and two tall feathers) and streamers, and is dressed in a long coat with a broad sash and a tasselled cord. In her right hand she holds a long stave scepter and a pine cone (?)<sup>562</sup> (cf. Dittmar 1983, 162 ff.), in her left a scepter and a flail. Her Throne and Daughter of Rê names were inscribed in cartouches in front of her head; of the Egyptian hieroglyphs of the Throne name only the sign for Rê is preserved. This cartouche is preceded by the Egyptian hieroglyphic signs for *st[t] Rç*, "Daughter of Rê" and *nb[t] ḥꜣwt*, "lady of diadems" (cf. Amanitore, (212)). The other cartouche is preceded by the hieroglyphic signs for *nswt-bit nb tꜣwy*, "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of Two-lands" and consists of the name *ʿImnḥtšn* in Egyptian hieroglyphs. No other monument of Queen Amanikhatashan is known.

From her grave inventory (see Dunham 1957, 147 ff.), however, a number of fine Meroitic<sup>563</sup> and imported<sup>564</sup> objects were left behind by the grave robbers. They indicate, in rather broad terms, a 1st-2nd cent. AD dating for the burial. Close stylistic connections between the harness plaques and the bell with figures of prisoners from Beg. N. 18 and similar finds from Beg. N. 16 (Dunham 1957, fig. 90; Kendall 1982, figs 57, 68/b) indicate that the two pyramids are chronologically close (cf. (216)).

[LT]

**(226) Tarekeniwal. Evidence for reign.**

East of the chapel of Beg. N. 19 an offering table (REM 0825) was found (Dunham 1957, 164 note 29) which was inscribed in cursive Meroitic for King Ariteñyesbokhe (cf. (228)). Its text also names Ariteñyesbokhe's father *Trekeniwl*.<sup>565</sup> Hintze (1959a, 52) identified this Tarekeniwal as the owner of

<sup>562</sup>According to Hofmann 1978b, 37 a mirror; in other representations of similarly shaped objects, however, also the incised indication of the scales of the "pine-cone" are preserved.

<sup>563</sup>E.g., silver plaques from a harness with representations of deities, Dunham 1957, fig. 96, cf. Kendall 1982, Cat. 68 and fig. 57; bronze bell with engraved prisoner figures, Dunham 1957, fig. 97; Kendall 1982, Cat. 77.

<sup>564</sup>E.g., bronze figural lamps, Dunham 1957, fig. 97; Kendall 1987, Cat. 81; Török 1989a, 144 f. nos 194 f.; silver vessel, Dunham 1957, fig. 97; Török 1989a, 145 no. 198.

<sup>565</sup>Hintze 1959a, 51 reads Tarekeniwal, which seems to be well supported by the photograph (Dunham 1957, Pl. XL/B) and drawing (ibid., fig. 116); while Hofmann 1978, 140 only discerns *.r.keniwl*, while the REM gives *trekeniw*.

Beg. N. 19, whose name, according to the Son of Rê name inscribed in Meroitic hieroglyphs on the pylon of the mortuary cult chapel (Griffith 1911a, 83 f.; Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 22/C; REM 0062, 0063), was *Trekeni(.)l-ḡo*. This identification was refuted by Hofmann (1978a, 140 f.), who assumes that the destroyed sign in the name on the wall of the chapel of Beg. N. 19 could only have been a Meroitic hieroglyph for *d* or *ḥ*, and not, for lack of space, a *w*. The three signs, however, are all low broad ones; thus there is no reason why the name could not be restored as Hintze suggested, viz., as *Trekeniwl*.

If this reconstruction of the name is accepted, Tarekeniwal can also be identified as the consort of *Amniḥlik* and the father of King Ariteñyesbokhe. The reliefs of his mortuary chapel Beg. N. 19 (LD V, 49, 50/a; LD Erg., Pl. LXI/1; Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 22) place unusually strong emphasis on the image of the ruler as triumphant warrior. The symmetrically arranged, identical reliefs on the front of the pylon show him in the pose of slaying his enemies. He wears over his natural hair<sup>566</sup> a diadem with streamers and one uraeus with ram's head and the *atef* crown (cf. Török 1987b, 32 f.) and a military costume richly decorated with divine images. His enthroned image on the S wall of the interior of the chapel similarly bears a triumphant message: the King wears the same headdress as in the pylon reliefs and is dressed in the tripartite royal costume with tasselled cord (cf. Török 1990). In his right hand he holds a spear instead of a stave-scepter, and in his left a bow with arrows. From his necklace of large beads hangs the image of the triad of the Nubian Amûn, Mut, and Chonsu (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 22/A). No other monument from Tarekeniwal's reign survives; the humble remains of his grave inventory (Dunham 1957, 175 ff.) provide no evidence for a more precise dating. A dating in general terms to the second half of the 2nd cent. AD may be suggested on the basis of the typological features of Beg. N. 19 and its topographical position in the cemetery.

[LT]

## (227) Amanikhareqerem. Titles. Evidence for reign.

### Titles

Sources: 1. Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs on the so-called "omphalos of Napata", Boston MFA 21.3234, Griffith 1916a, Dunham 1970, Pls XXXV f., REM 1004; 2. Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs on the base of a sandstone statue of a ram from Saiyal Sirag (= El Hassah of Crowfoot 1911, 3 f., Meshra al Hassan/Giblab of Shinnie-Bradley 1977, ca. 10 km S of Meroe City), Shinnie-Bradley 1977, 29 f., Wenig 1992, fig. 1, REM 1151; 3. Son of Rê name in Meroitic hieroglyphs on the

<sup>566</sup>The echeloned design indicates natural hair; but the King's chinstrap may also be interpreted as an indication that a scullcap was intended.

base of a sandstone statue of a ram from Soba,<sup>567</sup> Sudan National Museum, Griffith 1911a, Pls XV f., REM 0001.

*Titles/documents*

	1.	2.
Throne name	Nb-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ	Nb-[mꜣꜥt]-Rꜥ
Son of Rê name	Mnhꜣreqerem	Mnhꜣreqerem
	3.	
Throne name	[Nb-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ]	
Son of Rê name	Mnhꜣreqe[rem]	

*Evidence for reign*

Amanikhareqerem's reign is attested by the above-listed monuments which indicate that he made donations to the great Amûn temple B 500 at Napata/Gebel Barkal (document 1) and embellished or built sanctuaries in the neighbourhood of Meroe City at the site of modern Saiyal Sirag (document 2) where the remains of a red brick temple were found in 1974 or 1975 (? unpublished, cf. Shinnie-Bradley 1977, 29) and at Soba<sup>568</sup> (document 3). The first-named monument shows, if the conventional dating of the King is accepted, that the great temple of Amûn at Gebel Barkal was in use in the late 2nd cent. AD; the statues of rams indicate the extent of Meroitic control over the Butana region. No other monument survives from Amanikhareqerem's reign; his filiation and family relations remain unknown. The suggestions made for the identification of his burial place<sup>569</sup> are completely hypothetical.

*Comments*

Amanikhareqerem's Throne name was modelled on Amanitenmomide's Throne name (see (217)) and is preceded by the Egyptian hieroglyphic signs for *nswt bit nb tswy*, "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of Two-lands" in document 2. His Son of Rê name consists of the theonym Amûn, and is preceded in document 3 by the Egyptian hieroglyph ꜥnhꜣ; in document 2, however, it is preceded by the Egyptian hieroglyphs for *nswt bit nb tswy*, "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of Two-lands", and *nswt bit* is written with the *swt*-plant and the bee signs. This latter detail appears to be somewhat archaizing. In Wenig's opinion (1992, 7 f.) it may indicate an earlier dating, since in this writing the title does not seem to occur after Tañyidamani (cf. FHN II, (150), (151)). On the W front of the temple of Apedemak at Naqa (Zibelius 1983, 30 ff. inscr. 18, 21),

<sup>567</sup>Removed from Soba and placed in front of the Governor's Palace in Khartoum before 1873 by Ja'far Pasha Mazhar or his successor Izma'il Pasha Ayoub, see Zach 1987.

<sup>568</sup>For the recent find of a relief representing Hathor, a badly damaged sphinx figure, and the base of a granite statue see Welsby-Daniels 1991, 296 ff.; Welsby 1995, 180.

<sup>569</sup>Wenig 1967, 43: Beg. N. 37; Hofmann 1987a, 157 ff.: Beg. N. 41.

however, both Natakamani and Amanitore have the signs *bit tsuy* written with the bee above their cartouches (cf. (211), (212)). Nevertheless, we follow earlier suggestions concerning Amanikhareqerem's dating (Hofmann 1978a, 157 ff.; Wenig 1978, 17; Török 1988a, 181), although we are aware of the completely hypothetical nature of the late 2nd cent. AD chronological context into which we thus have placed his reign.

The "omphalos" of Napata is a miniature (height 61 cm) dome-shaped sandstone shrine with a small interior niche, the portal of which was apparently closed with the leaves of a (not preserved) miniature door. The surface of the "omphalos" is covered with three registers of raised relief decoration. The lowest register consists of a frieze of lotus plants, while the top register is decorated with the representation of seven strings of beads, probably imitating an elaborate bead collar usually worn by deities and rulers. The collar seems to have encircled an ornament on top, now lost, which probably imitated the decoration of the top of a Meroitic reed hut as is represented on a bronze bowl from Karanog tomb 187 (Cairo JE 41017, Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. XXVII; for ostrich eggs on the apex of huts in the Sudan see Kendall 1989, 653). The central register shows two processions moving towards the niche as a centre, each procession being led by the King; in both processions the third figure is again the King, and the second and fourth figures are winged goddesses. All figures of the King wear a skullcap with diadem (two uraei with sundisc, cf. Török 1987b, fig. 21) and streamers, and he is dressed in a short kilt.

Griffith (1916a, 255) interpreted the "omphalos" as an imitation of the Greek omphalos of Delphi and also connected it with the aniconic image of Amûn, an idea also accepted by Steindorff (1938). Hofmann (1970, 190 ff.), not finding direct models for this object among the Egyptian and Meroitic shrines and representations of shrines, suggested that the "omphalos" imitated the Indian type of sanctuary called *stupa*. A more probable explanation was, however, put forward by Steindorff (1938, 150) and also advocated by Kendall (1982, Cat. 84), viz., that the object represented a sanctuary in the form of a reed hut of a well-known African type (see above). As Wenig (1978, 209, with reference to a verbal communication of K.-H. Priese) also pointed out, in the Nastaseñ Stela (FHN II, 84) the words *k3(r)*, "shrine", "chapel" (cf. lunette, in title of Queen Pelkha) and *Npy*, Napata (cf. line 50), were occasionally written with a determinative in the shape of a similar reed hut crowned by a uraeus.

[LT]

(228) Ariteñyesebokhe. Titles. Evidence for reign.

Titles

Source: Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs on two fallen blocks (Khartoum 2340; unregistered) from the interior reliefs of a chapel



- (5) (m) bḥ ʾst n ʾTḥ-km ʾ[ʾsw ʾ]  
 (5) before Isis of ʾTakom ʾ[ʾpso ʾ]

[RHP]

*Comments*

In FHN II, 180-185 we presented the evidence concerning the non-Egyptian officials employed in the civil and temple administration of the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus in the 1st cent. AD. According to Burkhardt (1985, 77), no Meroitic officials occur in the surviving 2nd cent. AD inscriptions from the Dodecaschoenus; but 229 seems to present evidence to the contrary. It was written, if our supplementation of the fragmentary *pḥ mr [mšʿ]* is correct, by a "strategus" (for the office see *Comment on Translation and Comments*, FHN II, 180) whose name is, however, not completely preserved. His origin is indicated by the Meroitic name of his mother *ḥrtry*, who may be identical, in view of the individuality of Meroitic personal names, with the lady Aretroye, mother of another "strategus" (Meroitic *pelmos*, cf. Griffith 1912, 38, 51; Hintze 1963, 18 no. 203), who is attested in REM 0132 (from Faras; this is the only occurrence of this name in a Meroitic document).

229 was inscribed on the wall of the chapel of Isis at Maharraqa and was destined to secure for ever its commissioner's adoring presence before Isis of Maharraqa (for the definition of the religious significance of the Demotic adoration or obeisance inscriptions [henceforth also termed *proskynema*, plur. *proskynemata*] see Geraci 1971, 18; for their typology see Burkhardt 1983). Griffith (1937, 15 f.) restored the name of the ruler as Autocra[tor Caesar Titus Aelius] Hadrianus [Antoninus Sebastos], and suggested a dating to 16 January 141 AD; a shorter reconstruction could, however, be suggested, viz., Autocra[tor Caesar Traianus] Hadrianus [Sebastos], in which case the date would be AD 120 (as is preferred by Burkhardt 1985, 97).

[LT]

**230 The Dodecaschoenus in the middle of the 2nd cent. AD.** Ca. AD 147-149. Aelius Aristides 36.48, 36.55-56.

*Source bibliography*

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| Behr 1968  | C.A. Behr: Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales. Amsterdam.  |
| Behr 1981  | P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works. Vol. 2. Trans. C.A. Behr. Leiden.                                    |
| Bowie 1996 | E. Bo[wie]: Aristeides 3, P. Ailios. Der Neue Pauly. Altertum. Vol. 1. Stuttgart-Weimar, 1096-1100.           |
| Keil 1958  | Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia. Ed. B. Keil. Vol. 2. Berlin. (Reprint of the edition of 1898.) |

*Introduction to source*

Publius Aelius Aristides, one of the most celebrated Greek orators of the Roman Imperial period, was born in AD 117 in Mysia (NW Asia Minor). He studied at Smyrna, Pergamon and Athens to become a professional orator. In AD 141-142 he made a journey to Egypt, delivered his declamations in Alexandria, and travelled widely in the country, reaching as far as the Aithiopian border beyond Philae (for details, see Behr 1968, 15-21). There he fell ill and had to return home to Smyrna (in his Oration 45, *Regarding Sarapis*, he thanks the god for his happy return). His later career took him to Rome a couple of times, but the great Greek cities of the province of Asia were his main stage, both as a public orator and as a teacher of rhetoric, and during his long periods of illness and convalescence. He died after AD 181; his latest extant speeches take account of the earthquakes which hit Smyrna in the late 170s.

More than 40 works by Aelius Aristides have survived, many of them addresses for festive occasions, others political, ideological or polemical speeches, historical declamations, and prose hymns to gods, as well as an intimate account of illness and healing, his *Sacred Discourses*. His style is painstakingly classicistic, taking the great Attic orators of the fourth century BC as its models; it brought him many readers and imitators throughout Late Antiquity and the Byzantine era.

Our two extracts are from his *Egyptian Discourse* (36), an essay on the inundation and sources of the Nile in which Aristides uses his own observations and interviews in Egypt to refute Herodotus and other classical authorities; it was based on his year-long stay in Egypt but was written some years later, probably ca. AD 147-149 (Behr 1968, 19 n. 63; 1981, 402).

Our text is based on the critical edition of Keil ([1898] 1958). There is a recent annotated English translation by Behr (1981). For a short up-to-date account of Aristides, with bibliography, see Bowie (1996); the standard work on his life is Behr (1968).

*Text*

36 [48] ... Ὡς ἀνήγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς οὗ τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν ἔστιν φρουρά, πολὺ τῆς ὄχθης ἀποσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὑπερβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρμον, ὅς ἐστι πρῶτος ὑπὲρ Καταδούπων, εἰς Φίλας διέβαλον. Ἔστι δ' αὕτη νῆσος μεθόριον Αἰγύπτου καὶ Αἰθιοπίας, τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος ὅση περ ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλις· περιρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀκριβῶς μέσην ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπανήγειν, ἐχώρουν μὲν πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλῶν καὶ προσεδόκων νῦν γέ που τοὺς καταρράκτας ὄψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας ἀνηρώτων, οἱ δ' ἡγνόουν.

36 [55] ... ἐρῶ σοι δι' ὀλίγων ἃ ἤκουσα ἀνδρὸς Αἰθίοπος τῶν ἐκεῖ δυνατῶν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρχος ἀπὸν ἐτύγχανεν, ἠνίκα ἡμεῖς ἐπέβημεν τοῦ χωρίου, ἐπιτροπὴν δέ τις ἔχων ἦν, ὃς ἐμοὶ δι' ἐρμηνέων εἰς λόγους ἦκεν. Καὶ ὅσα

μὲν ἔξω τοῦ παρόντος ἐστὶ λόγου παραλείψω, ἔφη δ' εἰς Μερόην, ἥπερ ἐστὶν πόλις μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Αἰθιοπία καὶ οὐ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Αἰθιόπων, τετάρων οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἔξ εἶπε μηνῶν αὐτόθεν εἶναι πλοῦν, καταρράκτας δὲ ἐκδέχεσθαι πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, σχεδὸν εἰς ἔξ καὶ τριάκοντα τοὺς σύμπαντας ὑπὲρ Ψέλχιν μέχρι Μερόης, καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν εἶναι τὸ γινωσκόμενον δὴ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

[56] Μερόης δὲ ἐπέκεινα οὐ μέμνημαι μεθ'<sup>570</sup> ὅποσον τι ἔφη οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ῥεῦμα καθ' ἓν, ἀλλὰ δύο εἶναι ῥεύματα, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον γήινον τὴν χροᾶν, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἀέρος ἐγγύς· ταῦτα δὲ συνιόντα καὶ μιγνύμενα γίνεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦτον. Τὰ δὲ ἄνω οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἔφη ἔτι γινώσκειν οὐτ' ἄλλον Αἰθιόπων οὐδένα εἶς γε τὸ παντελές, ἀλλ' εἶναι μὲν ἀνθρώπους μέλανας—μελαντέρους ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων—τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰεὶ ...

### Translation

36 [48] ... When I was on my way south [from Syene] to the Altars<sup>571</sup> where the Aithiopians have a garrison, the road took me far from the river bank; but I cut over to the anchorage which is the first above the First Cataract (*Katadoupoi*), and passed over to Philae. This is an island on the border between Egypt and Aithiopia, no larger than the city on it. The Nile flows around it, leaving it exactly in its middle. When I was on my way back, I travelled again the same route from Philae; I expected now at least to see the Cataracts and kept asking my guides, but they were ignorant.<sup>572</sup>

36 [55] ... I will tell you briefly what I heard from an Aithiopian, one of those invested with power there. For the governor (*hyparchos*) happened to be away when we reached the place [probably, the "Altars", south of Philae], but there was someone in charge,<sup>573</sup> and he entered into conversation with me through interpreters. I will omit all that is irrelevant to the present account [about the sources of the Nile]; but he did say that from that place to Meroe, which is the greatest city in Aithiopia and the place where the Aithiopian royal palace is situated, there is a four, or I think he even said a six months' voyage by boat, and that there are many other cataracts, one after another, about thirty-six in all

<sup>570</sup>Following Behr (1981) 460, we restore the manuscripts' reading in place of the conjecture ἐφ' adopted by Keil (1958).

<sup>571</sup>Behr (1981) 405 suspects that Aelius Aristides is referring to modern Qertassi between Philae and Talmis; in fact, our text is in itself too vague even to allow us to say on which bank of the Nile he travelled south from Philae, not to speak of how far.

<sup>572</sup>Aristides kept insisting that he wanted to see the Cataracts and managed to get there from Syene by boat; this is vividly described in ch. 49-50.

<sup>573</sup>We do not know whether Aristides is using these terms for the Aithiopian "governor" and his "deputy" to express his clear understanding of the local administrative hierarchy or is using them more vaguely, especially since his classicistic language would in any event have prevented him from employing current specific terminology.

from Pselchis (Dakka) to Meroe, and all this concerns just the known course of the river.

[56] Beyond Meroe—I do not remember how far—he said that the stream is no longer a single one, but there are two streams, one of which is earth-like in colour, the other almost like air. When these come together and mingle, then this Nile is created. About the region further upstream he said that he knew nothing more himself and that no other Aithiopian knew it either, at least in any detail; but the people are black, blacker than themselves and their neighbours, the further south one gets ...

[TH]

### Comments

As already indicated in the *Comments* on 188, 210 and 220, the Dodecaschoenus continued to be part of Egypt and under Roman control during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD; and Roman cohorts were stationed in the area, as far south as Hieria Sycaminos/Maharraqa. At the same time, however, in Roman literature the ancient *topos* of Philae as the place where Egypt ends was maintained. The non-Egyptian character of the Dodecaschoenus might have been obvious to a learned traveller such as Aelius Aristides who, apparently, also received information about the particular character of its government from, among others, an Aithiopian dignitary whom he met on his journey to the region of the First Cataract in 142 AD (cf. Gärtner 1979, 558): we may perhaps even identify this Aithiopian as a Meroitic official from the Dodecaschoenus (cf. FHN II, 180-185, in this volume 229). It would seem, however, that the knowledge of Aithiopia proper this Aithiopian possessed was not more profound than that of any other inhabitant of the region on the Aithiopian frontier; for he believed that Meroe (City) was at a distance of four or six months' journey and, even more absurdly, also told Aelius Aristides about a fabulous number (thirty-six) of cataracts beyond Pselchis (modern Dakka).

Desanges (1969, 142 f.) interpreted Aelius Aristides' narrative as evidence for the status of the Dodecaschoenus as "a sort of Romano-Meroitic 'co-principality'" in the domain of Isis of Philae. The evidence reviewed in FHN II (180-185) and in the present volume (220, 229, 231, 232, 238-240, 242-247) indicates a Roman government employing the services of the native élite rather than a sort of condominium, which, if we take the term strictly, would mean that the Meroitic kingdom too was officially involved in the government of the region. This could clearly not have been the case; nor does the participation of the non-Egyptian élite in the government of a frontier province necessarily indicate a "high degree of autonomy" (Desanges 1978a, 338).

[LT]

**231 Philae. Demotic graffito of Paêse.** 2nd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 251. Burkhardt 1985, 109.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wšte n Pa-Īst ʕ sy n P̄-šr-n-t̄-snt  
(1) The obeisance of Paêse the elder son of Pshentsône,

p̄ krny n Īst (2) p̄ rd n Īst  
the qêreñ of Isis (2) and agent of Isis,

(m-)b̄h̄ Īst dī ʕnh nb(t) Pr-wʕb  
before Isis Life-giver, Lady of Pure-house (the Abaton),

(3) t̄ h̄ne nbt Pr-ʕlk  
(3) the Mistress, Lady of Final-island (Philae),

t̄ tsyt n t̄ p(t) (4) hr p̄ t̄ 'hr — ʕ  
the ruler of heaven, (4) 'possessor of the earth', ...

ʕwʕ=y šlle r-hr=t dd r.īr nhme(=y)  
I pray you: "Save (me)."

[RHP]

*Comments*

This Demotic text, which is inscribed on the N face of the pilaster of the W colonnade of the Hypostyle of the temple of Isis, belongs to a type of adoration (for the significance of *proskynema*, plur. *proskynemata*, see *Comments* on 229) which combined the Egyptian *wšte*, "obeisance" (Griffith's translation; Burkhardt translates 'Anbetung') formula with a prayer. This type of adoration was characteristic of the *proskynema* texts inscribed by Meroites who made a pilgrimage to Philae from the Dodecaschoenus and, later, from beyond the Egyptian frontier. The same type of adoration does not seem to have been adopted by Egyptian worshippers and may therefore be regarded as a *proskynema* form which reflects a Meroitic rather than an Egyptian personal religiosity. It must be added, however, that Meroitic equivalents of the Demotic *t̄ wšte* inscriptions, i.e., *tewiseti* inscriptions, are known only from the Dodecaschoenus (for a list cf. Török 1984b, 177), and the only known Meroitic prayer graffito was inscribed on a rock at Gebel Abu Dirwa near Dakka (REM 0091C, cf. Török 1984b, 176). Thus it would seem that the adoration+prayer type was developed by non-Egyptian worshippers in the Egyptian sanctuaries of the Dodecaschoenus.

Paêse was member of a non-Egyptian élite family from the Dodecaschoenus. This family, which is referred to as the “Wayekiye<sup>574</sup> family” after the name current among several of its most prominent members (Millet 1969, 77 ff.; Burkhardt 1985, 89 ff.), is attested for eight generations in Demotic and Meroitic inscriptions (see 243-247, 249-255, 262, 263). Its male members, in their capacity as priests and domain officials, played a leading role in the administration of the Dodecaschoenus. 231 is the earliest evidence of the family’s emergence: its writer is a *krny* and *rd* of Isis, and prays to the goddess in what seems to be a critical moment in his life. His titles also occur elsewhere in the sources. The former is known from Meroitic inscriptions in the form *qoreñ*; and it is tempting to explain the Meroitic word as deriving from *qore*, “ruler”, while interpreting the *-ñ* as a suffix signifying a subordination (i.e., *qoreñ* = “[the one] belonging to the ruler”, cf. Hintze 1963, 7; Hofmann 1981a, 61 f.). The latter title, translated as “agent (of Isis)”, occurs in Meroitic texts (REM 0088 = 247, 0089 = 246, 0099, 0111, 0122) in the form *perite* (Wosse). Paêse’s chronological position in the middle decades of the 2nd cent. AD is indicated by dated texts of his descendants: his grandson Wayekiye (A) is known to have written a Demotic obeisance in 227/228 AD (245).

[LT]

**232 Philae. Demotic graffito of Sosen. AD 190/191.**

Griffith 1937, Ph. 223. Burkhardt 1985, 108.

*Text and translation*

- (1) ‘Ssn’      p; mr-šn n h;st-sp 31  
 (1) ‘Sosen’,    the *lesonis*-priest in the thirty-first regnal year,

- (2) s; Hr-nh;ṭ-ṭ=f mr-šn  
 (2) son of Hornakhtyotef, (also) a *lesonis*-priest.

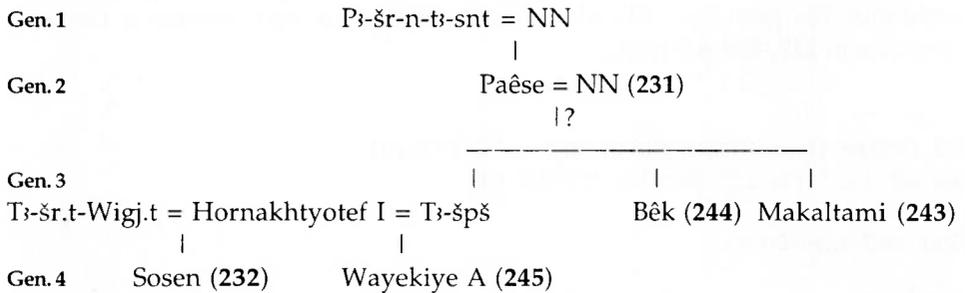
[RHP]

*Comments*

Griffith (1937, 78), basing himself on the orthography of the graffito, suggested that the thirty-first year refers to the reign of Commodus, and he dated the text to 190/191 AD. The graffito was inscribed on the roof of the Birth House and represents one of the simpler types (Burkhardt 1985, 21 Type 1.2.1.3) usually written by Egyptians. 232 was, however, the *proskynema* (for the significance of *proskynemata* see *Comments* on 229) of a priest belonging to a Meroitic family. His father’s Egyptian name occurs in several documents of the Wayekiye fam-

<sup>574</sup> The name is recorded as *Wygy* (245), *Wygy* (250, 254, 255), *Wyge* (252), *Wyngys* (260) in Demotic, and as *Wyky* in hieroglyphic (251) inscriptions. In the *Comments* on these inscriptions, however, the form *Wayekiye* will be preferred since it corresponds more closely to the original Meroitic name *Wyekiye* (246).

ily (cf. *Comments* on 231). The Hornakhtyotef of 232 is identical to the earlier of the two persons of this name and is distinguished in the literature as Hornakhtyotef (Harentyotf) I (cf. Burkhardt 1985, 90 ff.; Török 1986a, 300 ff., where, however, the Hornakhtyotef in 232 is regarded as different from Hornakhtyotef I, father of Wayekiye (A)). According to Burkhardt's reconstruction of the family tree (1985, 90 ff.), which will be preferred here to other suggestions (Millet 1969, 91; Török 1986a, 301), Hornakhtyotef I married twice. Sosen of 232 was born from the first marriage with a lady who remains unnamed here but is perhaps identical with the *T3-šr.t-Wigy.t*, described as the wife of a Hornakhtyotef and the mother of a *Ssn* (or *Pasn?*) in the Demotic graffito Ph. 409 (Burkhardt 1985, 96, 113; Török 1986a, 301 ff.). From the second marriage with the lady *T3-špš* was born Wayekiye (A) (see 245). According to Burkhardt (1985, 90 f.), *T3-špš* appears, to have been the daughter of Paêse (see 231). We accept this hypothesis here, and sum up the relations of the early generations of the family as follows:



If one accepts that the Sosen of 232 is identical with *Ssn* (*Pasn?*), it can also be supposed that at some point of his career Sosen also received the title of a *sh-ns n Kš*, "royal scribe of Kush". This title indicates that there existed some sort of official contact between the temples of the Dodecaschoenus and the king of Meroe already as early as the end of the 2nd cent. AD (for the title see 249). His title *mr-šn*, "lesonis-priest", corresponds to the Greek designation (referring nevertheless to a priestly title in the *Egyptian* cults, cf. Otto 1905 I, 38 f.) ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, which denotes, albeit somewhat vaguely, the high priest of a temple ("Tempelvorsteher", "high priest") and/or the chief temple official responsible for administration and economy (for Philae in the Roman period see Otto 1905 I, 45 f. with note 4), who was elected by the priestly college of the temple for a tenure of one year (Otto 1905 I, 50). This latter circumstance may also explain the expression "the *lesonis*-priest in the thirty-first regnal year" in 232 (for the correspondence of the terms *mr šn*, λεσῶνις, ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἀρχιερεύς see Otto 1905 I, 39 note 2).

[LT]

**233 Geography of Aithiopia.** Ca. 2nd cent. AD.

*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* 5.28.3.

*Source bibliography*

- Lasserre 1979 F. Lasserre: *Ravennas Geographus*. Der kleine Pauly. Vol. 4, 1343.
- Schnetz 1990 J. Schnetz: *Itineraria Romana*. Vol. 2. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart.
- Schnetz 1951 *Ravennas Anonymus: Cosmographia*. Eine Erdbeschreibung um das Jahr 700. Übers. v. J. Schnetz. (Nomina Germanica, 10.) Uppsala.

*Introduction to source*

The present text is an extract from a Latin *Cosmographia* or "Description of the World" compiled in the 7th century in Ravenna; its unknown author is conventionally referred to as *Ravennas Geographus*, "the geographer from Ravenna". See further Lasserre (1979).

Our text is based on the critical edition of Schnetz (1990); the same scholar also published a German translation (Schnetz 1951).

*Text*

5.28 [3] Ad partem vero meridianam habet totus mundus finem oceanum qui venit de praedicta India Thermantica Elamonte. Qui oceanus tangit Persas, Arabas, Egyptum inferiorem, Ethyopas Auxumitanos, Ethyopas Candacissos, Ethyopas Trogloditorum, Ethyopas Garamantium, Ethyopas Biblobatis ...

*Translation*

5.28 [3] On its south side the whole world has as its boundary the ocean which comes from the above-mentioned India Thermantica Elamonte. This ocean touches the Persians, the Arabs, Lower Egypt, the Aksumite Aithiopians, the Candacian Aithiopians, Aithiopia of the Troglodytes, Aithiopia of the Garamantes, Aithiopia Biblobatis (?) ...

[TH]

*Comments*

When our geographer compiled his cosmography at Ravenna in the 7th century, he did so mainly on the basis of literary data that a certain Castorius (whom he frequently quotes) had collected in the 4th cent. AD from various older sources (cf. Treidler 1979 and *Chron.* 3.1.1). Our extract apparently derives from a Roman geography of the 3rd or early 4th cent. AD. It is in fact more a list of geographical names (as are large parts of the *Cosmographia*, cf. Funaioli 1914, 305 f.; Lasserre 1979) than a proper description; and it presents a mix of traditional geographical commonplaces and more recent information. There

are parallel passages on Aithiopia, partly more detailed, elsewhere in the *Cosmographia* (1.2-3, 3.1, 3.3, and 3.12).

The image of the African continent bounded by water and the list of Aithiopias—Aithiopia of the Candaces, i.e., Meroe (cf. FHN II, 85, 105, in this volume 189, 194, 206); Aithiopia of the Trog(l)odytes, i.e., the region between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea (cf. 198); and Aithiopia of the Garamantes, i.e., the region of the eastern Sahara (cf. Herodotus 1.183; Strabo 2.131; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 5.36 f.; cf. Dessau 1910)—are well-known from the work of earlier authors. Aithiopia Biblobatis (described in some detail in *Chron.* 1.3.1) is no doubt legendary, while the reference to Aksumite Aithiopia, i.e., the kingdom of Aksum, probably was adopted from a source of the 2nd or 3rd cent. AD. The earliest mentions of Aksum are in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 4-5, a sailors' handbook for the Red Sea dating from the late 1st or the early 2nd cent. AD (for the earlier dating: Dihle 1965, 9 ff.; for the later: Mathew 1975) and then in Ptolemy's *Geography* (4.7.8, cf. 223); the source on which Castorius relied could be, directly or indirectly, either of these.

[LT]

**234 Copy of an inscription of a king of Aksum (Adulitana II).** 2nd or 3rd cent. AD.

Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.60-63. OGIS I 199. SB V 8545B. B-D-S 277.

*Source bibliography*

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Bernand-Drewes-Schneider 1991 | É. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Vol. 1-2. Paris 1991. [= B-D-S.] |
| Burstein 1998a                | S. Burstein (ed.): Ancient African Civilizations. Kush and Axum. Princeton.   |
| McCrinkle 1897                | The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk. Trans. J.W. McCrinkle. London.  |
| Munro-Hay 1991                | S. Munro-Hay: Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity. Edinburgh.  |
| Wolska-Conus 1968             | Cosmas Indicopleustès: Topographie Chrétienne. Ed. W. Wolska-Conus. Vol. 1. (Sources Chrésiennes, 141.) Paris.                                      |

*Introduction to source*

The text of this inscription, known as "Adulitana II", survives thanks to an Alexandrian merchant who, ca. AD 520, read and copied it at Adulis on the Red Sea and then included it in his work on *Christian Topography*. The inscription itself has never been found.

The work was probably published anonymously, ca. AD 550, by a writer who only wanted to be known as "a Christian"; the name by which he is commonly called, Cosmas Indicopleustes, "Cosmas who sailed to India", first

appears in some manuscripts of the eleventh century. So, what we know of the author is just what we can read out of his work. He lived in Alexandria and was a Christian who belonged to the Nestorian Church; his *Christian Topography* is polemical against both pagan and other Christian views of the world. He was a merchant by profession and travelled widely by sea, though it is doubtful whether he ever reached as far as India. In our context, however, the important thing is that he himself visited ports on the Red Sea coast. He published several works on geography and theology, but only his *Christian Topography* is extant. On his life and work, see Wolska-Conus (1968, 15-43).

In Book II (ch. 54), Cosmas describes a throne (*diphros*) he has inspected in Adulis, "as is called the city of the Aithiopians, situated two (Roman) miles from the coast, which is the harbour of the Aksumite people, where we, the merchants from Alexandria and Ela (Elat), also engage in commerce". The throne was placed at the entrance of the city, "on the western side, facing the road from Aksum". It was of white marble and had been erected by "one of those who reigned here, a Ptolemy". There follows a detailed description, first of the throne, then (ch. 55) of an object<sup>575</sup> of basalt, about three cubits high, that had stood behind the throne but was then (*nyn*) lying on the ground, its lower part shattered. "The whole block (*marmaron*), as well as the throne, were filled with Greek characters."

At the time of his visit to Adulis, Cosmas continues (ch. 56), at the beginning of the reign of Justin I (AD 518-527), the King of Aksum, Ella Asbeha (see 327), who was preparing a war against Himyar, had written to the administrator (*arkhon*) of Adulis and asked to have the texts of the throne and stela copied and brought to him. It was Cosmas and a fellow merchant, the future monk Menas, who were charged with this task. Cosmas kept a copy for his own use as well and, he states, will now include the text in his book "as a contribution to the knowledge about the places, inhabitants, and distances". This is done in ch. 58-63, followed by Cosmas' own geographical and historical comments (ch. 64 ff.).

What Cosmas looks upon as one continuous text was, however, two; only the one on the stela (= Adulitana I, B-D-S 276) was carved for a Ptolemy (Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246-221 BC), while that on the throne, the beginning of which is missing in Cosmas' transcription (cf. *Comments* below), belongs some four or five hundred years later and must have been carved for an Aksumite king. This is the one we present here.

Parallels in other Aksumite inscriptions in Greek (e.g., our 285-286, 298-299) confirm that Cosmas' text is a credible Aksumite inscription. It should be kept in mind, however, that in this case we do not possess the original stone, but just a copy by an amateur, and that, in addition, Cosmas' work has subsequently been subjected to all the usual vicissitudes of medieval textual tradi-

<sup>575</sup>The word used by Cosmas, *eikon*, usually means "picture", "statue"; but the description that follows shows that here reference must be to a "tablet" or, more properly, a "stela".

tion. Especially the non-Greek names will have suffered from this process; in fact, the extant manuscripts often differ in the forms of the names.

Our text is based on the critical edition of Wolska-Conus (1968, 373-379), which includes a French translation and comments. An English translation of the whole work was published by McCrindle (1897); his version of our inscription is reproduced in Burstein (1998a, No. 15), and there is a new translation of the text in Munro-Hay (1991, 222 f.). For a bibliography and detailed critical apparatus of the inscription, see É. Bernand in Bernand-Drewes-Schneider (1991, 378-382).

The richness of this text is far from being exhausted by the translation and comments we are providing; in particular, attention should be paid to the various readings and comments contained in the medieval manuscripts and available in the critical apparatus of Wolska-Conus' edition (1968).

### *Text*

2 [60] ... μεθ' ἃ ἀνδρειώσας τὰ μὲν ἔγγιστα τοῦ βασιλείου ἔθνη εἰρηνεύεσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπολέμησα καὶ ὑπέταξα μάχαις τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα ἔθνη·

Γάζη ἔθνος ἐπολέμησα, ἔπειτα Ἄγαμε καὶ Σιγύηνη νικήσας τὴν ἡμίσειαν πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐμερισάμην. Αὐα καὶ Ζινγαβηνὲ καὶ Ἄγγαβὲ καὶ Τιάμαα καὶ Ἀθαγαοὺς καὶ Καλαὰ καὶ Σαμῆνη ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσι ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας, ἐν οἷς διὰ παντὸς νιφετοὶ καὶ κρῦη καὶ χιόνες βαθεῖαι, ὡς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύειν τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς ὑπέταξα, ἔπειτα Λασινὲ καὶ Ζαὰ καὶ Γαβαλὰ οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὄρει θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύοντι καὶ καταρρῦτῳ. Ἀταλμῶ καὶ Βεγά καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη πάντα Ταγγαῖτῶν, τὰ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὀρίων οἰκοῦντα, ὑποτάξας πεζεύεσθαι ἐποίησα τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τόπων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα Ἀνήνη καὶ Μετίνε ἐν ἀποκρήμοις οἰκοῦντας ὄρεσι.

[61] Σεσέα ἔθνος ἐπολέμησα, οὗς καὶ μέγιστον καὶ δυσβατώτατον ὄρος ἀνελθόντας περιφρουρήσας κατήγαγον, καὶ ἀπελεξάμην ἐμαντῶ τοὺς τε νέους αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ παρθένους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς κτήσιν. Ῥαυσῶ ἔθνη μεσόγεια λιβανωτοφόρων βαρβάρων οἰκοῦντα ἐντὸς πεδίων μεγάλων ἀνύδρων, καὶ Σολάτε ἔθνος ὑπέταξα, οἷς καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης φυλάσσειν ἐκέλευσα.

[62] Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὄρεσιν ἰσχυροῖς πεφρουρημένα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις παρῶν νικήσας καὶ ὑποτάξας, ἐχαρισάμην αὐτοῖς πάσας τὰς χώρας ἐπὶ φόροις. Ἄλλα δὲ πλείστα ἔθνη ἐκόντα ὑπετάγη μοι ἐπὶ φόροις. Καὶ πέραν δὲ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης οἰκοῦντας Ἀραβίτας καὶ Κιναιδοκολπίτας, στράτευμα ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζικὸν διαπεμψάμενος, καὶ ὑποτάξας αὐτῶν τοὺς βασιλέας, φόρους τῆς γῆς τελεῖν ἐκέλευσα καὶ ὀδεύεσθαι μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ πλέεσθαι, ἀπὸ τε Λευκῆς κώμης ἕως τῶν Σαβαίων χώρας ἐπολέμησα.

[63] Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτος καὶ μόνος βασιλέων τῶν πρὸ ἔμοῦ ὑπέταξα, δι' ἣν ἔχω πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον θεόν μου Ἄρην εὐχαριστίαν, ὅς με καὶ ἐγέννησε, δι' οὗ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τῇ ἐμῇ γῆ ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῆς μέχρι τῆς λιβανωτοφόρου, ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεως μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Σάσου τόπων, ὑπ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐποίησα, ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν καὶ νικήσας, ἃ δὲ διαπεμπόμενος, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καταστήσας πάντα τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ κόσμον κατήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀδούλι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῷ Ἄρει καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσιάσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοιζομένων· ἀθροίσας δέ μου τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ ἐφ' ἑν ποιήσας, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθίσας τόνδε τὸν δίφρον παραθήκην τῷ Ἄρει ἐποίησα ἕτει τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας εἰκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ.

*Translation*

2 [60] ... after that, having gained strength (?)<sup>576</sup> and commanded the nations closest to my kingdom to keep peace, I waged war and subdued in combat the following nations:

I warred with the nation of Gaze, then after defeating (the nations of) Agame and Siguene I appropriated half of all their belongings and people. (The nations of) Aua, Zingabene, Aggabe, Tiamaa, Athagaoi, and Kalaa, and the nation of Samene, who (all) live beyond the Nile in inaccessible and snowy mountains with winter storms and frost and snow so deep that a man sinks up to his knees—these I subdued after crossing the river. Then (I subdued) (the nations of) Lasine, Zaa, and Gabala, who live at a mountain seething with streams of hot water. Having subdued (the nations of) Atalmo and Bega (Beja) and all the nations of the Tangaites together with them, who inhabit the region up to the boundaries of Egypt, I had a land route made from the places in my kingdom all the way to Egypt; then (I subdued) (the nations of) Annene and Metine who inhabit precipitous mountains.

[61] I warred with the nation of Sesea; they had climbed the greatest and most inaccessible mountain, but I surrounded them and brought them down, and I chose for myself their young men and women and children and young girls and all their possessions. I subdued the nations of Rauso who live in great waterless plains in the midst of incense-gathering barbarians, and (I subdued) the nation of Solate whom I also commanded to guard the coasts of the sea.

[62] All these nations who were enclosed by mighty mountains I defeated, myself present in the fray, and subdued them; and I granted them all their lands in return for paying tribute. Numerous other nations came under my rule of their own free will to pay tribute. And the Arabites and Kinaidokolpites

<sup>576</sup>What the verb ἀνδρείω means here is obscure; whether “gain strength” is appropriate depends on what had been said in the preceding narrative. Is it really intransitive, or was there a direct object before it? An attractive possibility would be “come to manhood” (but hardly “play the man”, as Lampe’s *Patristic Greek Lexicon* translates our passage, also mistakenly referring it to Ptolemy).

who live across the Red Sea—having sent a fleet and an army there and subdued their kings, I commanded them to pay land-taxes and to travel in peace by land and sea, and I waged war from Leuke Kome to the land of the Sabaeans.

[63] I subdued all these nations as the first and only one of the kings down to my day. For this I am grateful to my greatest god Ares who also begat me and through whom I laid under me all the nations bordering on my country from the east to the Land of Incense, from the west to the territory of Aithiopia and Sasu. Some I went myself to defeat, others (I defeated) by sending expeditions. Having imposed peace on the whole world under me, I went down to Adulis to sacrifice to Zeus and Ares and to Poseidon for the shipping. After I had gathered my armies and made them into one, I took my seat in this place and had this throne made as an offering to Ares in the twenty-seventh year of my reign.

[TH]

### *Comments*

Like other known triumphal inscriptions of Aksumite kings (cf. 285, 286), Adulitana II was engraved on a stone throne. Cosmas first copied the broken Greek inscription of Ptolemy III Euergetes on the stela behind the throne, then added the inscription on the throne as if it were the continuation of the same text. It remains obscure whether he overlooked the first lines of the latter with the name and the titles of the Aksumite king or failed to find the missing part of the throne on which they were engraved or whether the upper part of the monument with this section of the text had already disappeared at the time of his visit.

The kingdom of Aksum to the SE of the kingdom of Meroe originally had its center at Aksum, which lay at the intersection of routes connecting the Nile with the Red Sea port of Adulis (cf. 189) and Adulis with the region of the First Cataract, and Aksum with the interior of Africa. Its E border was the Red Sea. It emerged as a centralised kingdom uniting earlier tribal kingdoms in the 1st cent. AD and by the early 3rd cent. AD it was powerful enough to intervene in South Arabia and develop political and commercial contacts across the Red Sea as well as with the Mediterranean world. By the late 3rd cent. Aksum was a successful rival of Meroe in the commerce of exotic African wares (for the history of Aksum see Munro-Hay 1991, 30 ff.).

The triumphal inscription preserved for us by Cosmas was erected by a pre-Christian king of Aksum (for the date of the conversion of Aksum see *Comments* on 285) in order to perpetuate the memory of his campaigns, of which he gives a general account and a list rather than an annalistic description. The individual victories are, nevertheless, listed in a manner which indicates a carefully designed sequence that was intended to reflect a coherent political scheme: the description starts with the pacification of the peoples living along the borders of Aksum and continues with campaigns against peoples living N of Aksum, perhaps between the Takkaze and the Atbara (?) and against the

tribes of the Atalmo, Beja, and Tangaites in the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, S of the Egyptian border.<sup>577</sup> It would seem that campaigns were conducted into this latter region in order to secure the trade routes between Egypt and the Red Sea ports as well as between Aksum and the Red Sea ports. It may well have been trade interests that motivated the unnamed king also to send a fleet and a land army across the Red Sea to Leuke Kome (site unidentified) and the country of the Sabaeans in South Arabia. In the concluding section the king states that he was the first of his dynasty to extend his power over all neighbouring peoples: to the east as far as the Land of Incense, probably northern Somalia, and to the west as far as Aithiopia and the Sasu. A conflict with Aithiopia, i.e., Meroe, may explain the campaign to the region of the Red Sea Hills; the Sasu probably refers to a region in the NE of the modern Sudan. It is, however, unlikely that it is an error for Kasu, Kush, i.e., Meroe (so Kirwan 1972a, 174 f.). With regard to Meroe, however, the most important indication of the text is that the unnamed Aksumite ruler established a caravan route between Egypt and his country which avoided the Nile Valley; this means that he tried to secure a direct trade route which was in most serious conflict with Meroitic interests in the commerce of exotic wares from the interior of Africa (cf. Burstein 1984, 220).

According to Drewes (1962, 103 ff.) and Munro-Hay (1991, 80) the inscription was erected by Sembruthes, an Aksumite ruler dated to the period between ca. 230 and 250 AD (cf. also Munro-Hay 1991, 73 ff.). High regnal year dates occur only very rarely in the Aksumite evidence, so "year 27" here may indeed be associated with Sembruthes who in another inscription (in É. Bernard et al. 1991, 375 no. 275) has a year 24. However, the unknown king of 285 too has a year 21 (or 24), and it is not certain that the latter can be identified with Sembruthes or with the king of Adulitana II. Wissmann (1964, 66 ff.) suggested an earlier, 2nd cent. AD, date, equally hypothetically.

[LT]

### (235) Amanikhedolo. Evidence for reign.

On account of the royal benediction formula (cf. Hintze 1959, 34 ff.) in the text of his offering table, Hofmann (1978a, 155 ff.) included *Amanhedolo* (REM 0838) in the list of the rulers of the Meroitic kingdom. Hintze (1959, 63), by contrast, suggested that Amanikhedolo was a prince since his father *Akedhetiwl* was not a ruler. However, there are rulers with non-ruling fathers attested in the sources (see (216), (216a)); and Amanikhedolo might have been legitimated as a descendant of kings through his mother Amanipiteke, whose name includes the theonym Amûn.

<sup>577</sup>The attempts hitherto made to identify the topo- and ethnonyms were surveyed by Kirwan (1972a, 173 f.). Samene, a mountain region S of the Takkaze valley, and Bega = Blemmyes may be regarded as more or less secure; the rest are very doubtful and hence not specified here.

The table was found built carefully into the roof of the burial chamber of Beg. W. 109 (Dunham 1963, 199, fig. 145) so that its inscribed side had been "visible" to the deceased. Such a curious re-use of an (excellently preserved) offering table clearly indicates a deliberate act of pious character, and it may well be imagined that it was for the burial of a descendant or relative of Amanikhedolo that this offering table had been removed from Begarawiya North. The motivation remains, however, obscure since the provenance of the table remains unknown (Hofmann 1978a, 157 f. suggests, hypothetically, Beg. N. 43).

[LT]

### (236) Takideamani. Evidence for reign.

Takideamani is attested in the Meroitic hieroglyphic text of an offering table (Berlin 2255, Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXXI/60, REM 0060) found by Lepsius (cf. LD Text V, 313) in Beg. N. 29 (Dunham 1957, 166 ff.). The royal benediction formula (cf. Hintze 1959, 34 ff.) and the now destroyed reliefs of the mortuary cult chapel (LD Text V, 313) indicate that Takidemani was a king. The names of his parents, *Adeqetli* (father) and *Nptdheto* (mother), do not seem to indicate direct royal descent.

Bronze<sup>578</sup> and ceramic objects (Dunham 1957, fig. 109, bottom rows) from the surviving part of the grave inventory in Beg. N. 29 indicate a dating to the first half of the 3rd cent. AD.

[LT]

### (237) Mashaqadakhel (?). Evidence for reign.

The name *Msqd̄hel* or *Ssqd̄hel* occurs as the owner's name in the cursive Meroitic inscription of an offering table with royal benediction formula (cf. Hintze 1959, 34 ff.) found in an apparently secondary position in the descent of Beg. W. 113 (Dunham 1963, 225 f., fig. 157/3, REM 0844). The name of Mashaqadakhel's (?) mother is not preserved; his/her father's name was *A[...]ble*. Hofmann (1978a, 159) thinks Mashaqadakhel was a female and assigns to her, as an hypothesis, the small pyramid Beg. N. 32 (Dunham 1957, 178 f.), in the mortuary cult chapel reliefs (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 23/A-C) of which a queen is represented. The identification of the owner of Beg. N. 32 (or of any other uninscribed late burial in the Begarawiya North cemetery) with the owner of REM 0844 remains, however, speculative. It may be pointed out with greater probability that his/her name seems to contain the theonym Mash. The cult of Mash is indirectly attested by theophoric personal names (for a list see Török 1984b, 169) and,

<sup>578</sup>For a hanging lamp in Hellenistic style and with a Meroitic "property" mark which was applied on the original mould for the lamp see Dunham 1957, fig. 109; Török 1989a, 144 no. 191; the same "property" mark also appears on a bronze bell with representations of prisoners, Dunham 1957, fig. 110, top; for the marks cf. Török 1972, figs 1, 4, 5.

directly, by priestly titles (Török 1977b, esp. 414 ff.) dating to the 2nd and 3rd cent. AD. The contexts of the latter<sup>579</sup> as well as the unique invocation *Wosi Msmni*, "Oh Isis, oh Mash-Amani" in the offering table text REM 0430 from Meroe City support the identification of Mash as a Meroitic form of Amûn, perhaps Amen-Rê, who was worshipped in the temples of Amûn. The names and titles also indicate that the cult emerged in Meroe City; if so, it may also seem tempting to suppose that Mashaqadakhel's name (if we read it correctly) marks the royal acceptance and promotion of the Mash cult.

[LT]

**238 The last mention of the Coh. II Ituraeorum equitata at the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier. AD 205.**

POxy. IV 735 + V p. 315. CPL 134. CPJ III 465. ChLA IV 275.

*Source bibliography*

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Bruckner-Marichal 1967  | A. Bruckner-R. Marichal: <i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> . Vol. 4. London. [= ChLA IV.]                     |
| Cavenaile 1958          | R. Cavenaile: <i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> . Wiesbaden. [= CPL.]  |
| Fink 1971               | R.O. Fink: <i>Roman Military Records on Papyrus</i> . Cleveland, OH.   |
| Grenfell-Hunt 1904      | B.P. Grenfell-A.S. Hunt (ed.): <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . Part IV. London.                                |
| Sijpesteijn 1981        | Small Notes on Bilingual Papyri. ZPE 42, 107-110.  |
| Straus 1978             | J.A. Straus: <i>Notes sur quelques papyrus concernant l'esclavage dans l'Égypte romaine</i> . ZPE 32, 259-262. |
| Tcherikover et al. 1964 | V.A. Tcherikover et al.: <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Vol. 3. Cambridge, MA. [= CPJ III.]              |

*Introduction to source*

This papyrus is a fragment of records concerning troops, written partly in Latin, partly in Greek. Portions of three columns have survived. Of Col. I, only the last (Latin) letters of a few lines are legible. Col. II preserves some fragmentary names in Latin, the complete text of a receipt written in Greek (lines 5-11), one line in Latin (line 12), and another list of names in Latin. Of Col. III, the left part is extant, showing again a list of names in Latin.

The papyrus was found at Oxyrhynchus near the entrance to the Fayyum in the north of Egypt. The date at the end of the receipt refers to "the 14th year of a joint reign, which on palaeographical grounds is probably that of Septimius Severus and Caracalla" (Grenfell-Hunt 1904, 227), i.e., AD 204/05; Thoth 7 then corresponds to Sept. 4, AD 205.

---

<sup>579</sup>The priests of Mash at Karanog are, in most cases, at the same time also priests of Amûn and/or Amûn of Thebes, cf. Török 1977b 414 f.; 1984b 164, 170.

The text was first published by Grenfell-Hunt 1904 (POxy IV 735 + Pl. V, with corrected readings in POxy V [1908] p. 315). It was republished by Cavenaile 1958, Tcherikover et al. 1964 (with Eng. trans.), Bruckner-Marichal 1967 (with facsimile), and Fink 1971, 335-337 (No. 81, with Eng. trans.). Improved readings were successively adopted in these publications, and a couple of others have since been suggested by Straus (1978, 260 f.) and Sijpesteijn (1981, 107 f.). It was only through the latter's new reading in Col. II, line 8, that the identity of the military detachment was revealed and consequently the relevance of this Oxyrhynchus papyrus for Nubian studies.

*Text*

Col. II

- 1-4 (List of personal names in Latin)  
 5 Μαλωχῶς Μ[.]γαν[ο]υ ὀπίτιον Οὐίκτη-  
 ρι Κωμαρίνω Καισάρων οἰκονόμου  
 οὐικαρίου χαίρειν. ἐμετρήθησαν  
 οἱ προκίμενοι ἰππεῖς πραι(σιδίου) Σοήν(ης) ἀριθμῶ ᾱ  
 ὑπὲρ μηνὸς Θῶθ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεν-  
 10 τήκοντα. (ἔτους) ἰδ τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν  
 Θῶθ ζ.  
 item pedites VI Belei  
 13-17 (List of personal names in Latin)<sup>580</sup>

*Translation*

(list of names)

(5) Malochos, son of M[.]nanos, adjutant (*optio*),<sup>581</sup> to Victor, deputy (*vicarius*) of Comarinus, treasurer (*oikonomos*)<sup>582</sup> of the emperors,<sup>583</sup> greeting.

The above-mentioned cavalrymen of the *praesidium* at Syene,<sup>584</sup> 50 in number,<sup>585</sup> have been apportioned fifty artabas of grain for the month Thoth.

(10) Year 14 of our Lords the Augusti, Thot 7.

<sup>580</sup>Interestingly enough in our context, the last name but one in Col. III (line 29) was read *Etiopius Chul* by Grenfell-Hunt, while De Ricci in POxy V p. 315 corrected it to *Eponuchus*; the latter reading has generally been adopted by editors, with Cavenaile (1958, 254) as an exception.

<sup>581</sup>The rank of *optio* designated "a junior officer chosen by a centurion or decurion to assist him" (OLD).

<sup>582</sup>Corresponding to the Latin *dispensator*.

<sup>583</sup>The case endings in the presentation of the addressee in lines 6-7 have been altered by attraction; they make no sense as written in the papyrus. We follow Straus 1978, 260 f., in assuming that the text should be read as Οὐίκτηρι Κωμαρίνου Καισάρων οἰκονόμου οὐικαρίῳ rather than Grenfell-Hunt's Οὐίκτηρι Κωμαρίνου Καισάρων οἰκονόμῳ οὐικαρίῳ (presumably meaning "to Victor, vice-economus of Comarinus, slave of the emperors").

<sup>584</sup>Grenfell-Hunt's reading πραιτῶν had been a crux and some had replaced it with πρώτων ("of the first", Tcherikover et al. 1964, 26 f.). Finally Sijpesteijn 1981, 107 f., reinterpreted two letters and restored the abbreviated reference to the "*praesidium* at Syene".

<sup>585</sup>Grenfell-Hunt's ἀριθμῶν was divided into ἀριθμῶ ᾱ already by De Ricci in POxy V p. 315.

(12) Likewise infantry of Beleus' century:<sup>586</sup>  
(list of names)

[TH]

### Comments

The evidence presented by the receipt POxy. IV, 735 recording the supply of grain for fifty cavalymen from the *praesidium* at Syene but transferred to the area of Oxyrhynchus can also be complemented by BGU XI, 2024 from AD 204 which similarly attests the posting of troops from Egypt's southern frontier for longer periods to Middle Egypt. Speidel (1988, 794) supposes that their transfer was connected with the persecution of Christians during this period. He also points out that the garrison stationed in the region of the First Cataract had been used as a source for reserves in Egypt ever since the 1st cent. BC.

Here it seems relevant to offer a brief survey of the units stationed in the region of the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier during the 3rd cent. AD. After AD 204, the *Cohors II Ituraeorum equitata* no longer appears in the evidence relating to the Aithiopian frontier; and only one cohort, the *I Flavia Cilicum equitata* is attested there until AD 217/218 (see 239). A *curator* of this latter cohort is, however, still mentioned in a papyrus from AD 232 (PPar. 69; Lesquier 1918, 143; Speidel 1988, 777 f.), which indicates the presence of a *curator* at Syene and a regular commander of another auxiliary force at Elephantine or Philae (see Speidel 1988, 778). The lack of later evidence concerning the troops stationed at the frontier may be accidental and does not, of course, mean the end of the defence of Egypt in the south (for a general survey of the evidence concerning the troops stationed in Egypt see Daris 1988). It may, however, indicate a period of increasing neglect of the outposts south of Philae: it seems that 248 was written in the last years of Roman control in the Dodecaschoenus (for the subsequent developments see 249 ff.). It also seems significant that the latest pieces of the so-called "Pselchis Wine Series", i.e., the Greek receipts for wine on ostraca issued to troops stationed at Dakka, date from the second decade of the 3rd cent. AD; no later example is known (cf. Láda-Rubinstein 1996).

[LT]

---

<sup>586</sup>A century (*centuria*) was a standard military unit consisting of roughly 100 soldiers. The sign for it in the Latin text, VI, was misunderstood by earlier editors as the numeral 6, as pointed out by Fink 1971, 336. This list of infantry is believed to have been followed by another receipt, similar to the extant one concerning the cavalymen.

**239 A late mention of the Cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata at the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier.** AD 217/18.  
 ILS III 8919; AÉ 1905, 54.

*Source bibliography*

- Alston 1995 R. Alston: Soldier and society in Roman Egypt. A social history. London-New York.
- Bilabel 1923 F. Bilabel: Siglae. RE II A, cols. 2297-2315.
- Daris 1980 S. Daris: P. L. Bat. XIX 11 e le cohortes Cilicum. ZPE 39, 185-188.
- Dessau 1916 Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, ed. H. Dessau. Vol. 3.2. Berolini. [= ILS.]
- Devijver 1982 H. Devijver: Cohortes Cilicum in the service of Rome. ZPE 47, 173-183.
- Lesquier 1918 J. Lesquier: L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien. (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 41.) Cairo.
- Pflaum 1967 H.-G. Pflaum: Un nouveau diplôme militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte. Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, 339-362.
- Speidel 1988 M.P. Speidel: Nubia's Roman Garrison. ANRW II.10.1, 767-798.
- Zawadzki 1969 T. Zawadzki: Un nouveau praefectus castrorum en Égypte et deux obélisques érigés par un centurion. CdE 44, 106-117.

*Introduction to source*

This inscription is the latest in a series of five dedications found at the headquarters of the Roman garrison at Syene and set up by military units stationed there at different times (Zawadzki 1969, 106, n. 1). The text below is based on the one printed by Dessau (1916), with the single correction noted in the footnote.

*Text*

M. Opellio Antonino | Diadumeniano nobilissimo | Caesari, principi iuven-  
 tutis, | Aug. n. filio, sub Iulio †<sup>5</sup> Basiliano praef. Aeg., coh. I Fl | Cilicum eq.,  
 curante Furnio Diabone 7<sup>587</sup> leg. II Tr. Fort.

---

<sup>587</sup>The sign 7 is a symbol (*sigla*) for *centurio*. For a survey of *siglae* used in Latin inscriptions see Bilabel (1923) 2311-2313.

*Translation*

For M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus, most noble Caesar, princeps iuventutis,<sup>588</sup> son of our Augustus<sup>589</sup>, under Julius (5) Basilianus, Prefect of Egypt,<sup>590</sup> by the First Flavian Cohort of Cilicians with mounted contingent,<sup>591</sup> Furnius Diabo, centurion of the second legion Traianic Brave, commanding officer.<sup>592</sup>

[TE]

*Comments*

See *Comments* on 238.

**240 Greek inscription referring to Philae and the Dodecaschoenus. AD 213-217.**

I. Philae II 179.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernard 1969

É. Bernard: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

*Introduction to source*

This inscription is reported to have been incised on the lintel of a doorway leading to the staircase east of the kiosk of Nectanebo at the southern end of the island of Philae. It was first published by É. Bernard (1969, 191 f., with Pl. 101) on the basis of an old transcript; the first letters of each line were covered by a wall when the text was copied in 1896, and the stone does not seem to have been reinspected since.

Our text is based on that of Bernard, who also provides a French translation and comments. His restorations in lines 9-10 presuppose that the inscription is a dedication closely parallel to 210.

*Text*

[Τῆ]ς γῆς ἀπάσης καὶ θα[λάσ]-  
[ση]ς καὶ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης

<sup>588</sup>*Princeps iuventutis*, "foremost of the young", was, as a title of official importance, first conferred upon the Emperor Augustus' grandsons Gaius Iulius Caesar and Lucius Iulius Caesar.

<sup>589</sup>Opellius Diadumenianus was a son of the Emperor Macrinus.

<sup>590</sup>Iulius Basilianus is attested as Prefect between April AD 217 and March 6, AD 218, see Bastianini (1988) 507.

<sup>591</sup>The Latin text of Dessau (1916) says 'coh. III', ("Third Cavalry Cohort of Cilicians"), but 'III' is corrected to 'I Fl.', "First Flavian", in a footnote. This correction is endorsed by specialists in the field of Roman military organization in Egypt, see Lesquier (1918) 86 with note 4; Pflaum (1967) 353. The presence of the First Flavian Cohort in Egypt is well attested (see the list of documents given by Alston [1995] 176), whereas there is no other evidence for a "cohors III Cilicum". The error probably arose from a misreading ('III' for 'I Fl') by the first editor, see Daris (1980) 188; Devijver (1982) 173 f.

<sup>592</sup>The *curante* in l. 6 of the Latin text refers to his title *curator*, which he held in his capacity as commander of all the cohorts stationed on the Nubian frontier, cf. Speidel (1988) 778.

[δε]σπότην, Αὐτοκράτορα  
 [Καί]σαρα Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον  
 5 [Σε]ουήρον Ἀντωνίνον,  
 [Πα]ρθικὸν μέγιστον, [Βρετ]τ(ανικὸν)  
 [μέγ]ιστον, Γερμανικὸν μ[έγ](ιστον),  
 [Εὐτ](υ)χῆ, Εὐσεβῆ, [Σεβαστόν],  
 [οἱ ἀ]πὸ Φιλῶν καὶ [Δωδεκασχοί]-  
 10 [νου], τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐε[ργέτην].  
 Ἐπ' ἀγα[θῶ].

*Translation*

[Th]e [ma]ster of all land and s[ea] and the whole world,<sup>593</sup> Emperor [Cae]sar Marcus Aurelius (5) [Se]verus Antoninus, [Pa]rthicus Maximus, [Bri]tannicus [Max]imus, Germanicus M[aximus], [Fel]ix, Pius, [Augustus], (dedicated by) [the people (?) o]f<sup>594</sup> Philae and [the Dodecaschoe(10)nus], their be[nefactor].

May it be for the be[st].

[TH]

*Comments*

This loyalistic dedication from Philae in honour of the Emperor Caracalla dates, as indicated by the emperor's titulary, from the period between 213 and 217, i.e., between Caracalla's adoption of the title Germanicus Maximus on May 20, 213 and his death on April 8, 217 (cf. Rohden 1896, 2446 ff.). If correctly restored, the text attests to the maintenance of the administrative structure of the Dodecaschoenus in the same form as indicated in **210** of the 1st cent. AD.

[LT]

**241 Pestilence in Aithiopia (?) in AD 200.** Early 3rd cent. AD.

Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 76.13.1.

*Source bibliography*

Boissevin 1901

Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt. Ed. U. Ph. Boissevin. Vol. 3. Berlin.

Cary 1927

Dio's Roman History. With an English translation by E. Cary. Vol. 9. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

*Introduction to source*

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* on Cassius Dio in general see **205**. The present text is established by a combination of the epitome of Cas-

<sup>593</sup>The Emperor Caracalla (AD 198-217) had the ambition to be a second Alexander the Great and a *kosmokrator*, "lord of the world".

<sup>594</sup>Literally: "those from...". As in **210**, what sort of group these people represented is uncertain.

sus Dio by Xiphilinus and the *Excerpta Valesiana* (cp. 207), and is taken from the description of the Emperor Septimius Severus' stay in Egypt AD 199-200 during his campaign against the Parthians.

Our text is based on the edition of Boissevin (1901). An English bilingual edition is provided by Cary (1927).

### *Text*

76.13 [1] Εἴκοσι δ' οὖν ἡμέρας τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσεδρεύσας ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐνήγισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἄνω διὰ τοῦ Νείλου ἀνέπλευσε καὶ εἶδε πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πλὴν βραχέων· οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθη πρὸς τὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μεθόρια διὰ λοιμῶδη νόσον ἐσβαλεῖν.

### *Translation*

76.13 [1] So, after having conducted the siege for twenty days<sup>595</sup> he [Severus] thereafter went to Palestine and offered a sacrifice for Pompey. He then sailed up the Nile to Upper Egypt and saw all of it except for a short stretch; for he was not able to enter into the border area of Aithiopia because of a pestilence.

[TE]

### *Comments*

In his description of Severus' stay in Egypt between the late winter of AD 199 and the winter of 200, which resulted in the modernisation of the Egyptian governmental system (creation of municipalities, autonomy of the metropoleis; cf. Fluss 1923, 1972 f., 1985), Dio briefly mentions the emperor's journey to Upper Egypt. It took place in the early summer of AD 200 (cf. Fluss 1923, 1973; Volkmann 1971, 40) and was interrupted, before the emperor could cross the frontier of Aithiopia, by a pestilence. It seems probable that by the frontier, the region of the First Cataract is meant and that the emperor had originally intended to proceed as far south as the Dodecaschoenus which was traditionally described by classical authors as "Aithiopia" (cf. 188, 210, 230); for there is no reason to believe that he would have wanted to enter Meroitic territory. It remains unclear whether the pestilence occurred in Aithiopia, i.e., in the Dodecaschoenus, or in Upper Egypt; the former possibility is the more likely.

Pestilences in Antiquity usually brought about far-reaching demographic, economic, and political consequences. Though it was generally assumed that pestilences originated in Aithiopia (see FHN II, 68), and the devastation epidemics caused in Egypt in the 2nd and 3rd cent. AD is known (cf. the evidence reviewed by Hofmann 1978a, 188), their impact on Meroe remains, despite repeated references (see 257), unknown to us. It may be supposed, however, that the neglect of the Roman defence of the Dodecaschoenus (cf. 238, 239) and the abandonment of the region in AD 298 (see 280, 318) was, to some extent, also

<sup>595</sup>The preceding pages describe the unsuccessful siege of the city of Hatra in Mesopotamia.

prompted by the effects of the epidemics in AD 200 and around the middle of the century (cf. also Walser-Pekáry 1962, 25; Pekáry 1976, 118 f.).

[LT]

**242 Silent trade on the Egyptian-Aithiopian frontier.** Ca. AD 220.

Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 6.2.

*Source bibliography*

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Anderson 1986        | G. Anderson: Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D. London-Sidney-Dover, NH.  |
| Bowersock 1969       | G.W. Bowersock: Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire. Oxford.   |
| Bowie 1978           | E.W. Bowie: Apollonius of Tyana. Tradition and Reality. ANRW II.16.2, 1652-1699.                            |
| Conybeare 1950       | Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana. Trans. F.C. Conybeare. Vol. 2. London-Cambridge, MA.         |
| Jones-Bowersock 1970 | Philostratus: Life of Apollonius. Trans. C.P. Jones. Ed. G.W. Bowersock. (Penguin Classics.) Harmondsworth. |
| Kayser 1870          | Flavii Philostrati Opera. Ed. C.L. Kayser. Vol. 1. Leipzig.   |

*Introduction to source*

Flavius Philostratus, the author of *Life of Apollonius* and *Lives of the Sophists*, was probably born in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-80) and died in the reign of Philip the Arab (AD 244-49). He belonged to a family from the island of Lemnos, but was an Athenian citizen and spent part of his life in Athens. He also frequented court circles in Rome. Several members of his family wrote books, and therefore the authorship of some of the works surviving under the name "Philostratus" cannot be decided with certainty. But the two biographical works mentioned, as well as some minor works, are securely ascribed to our Philostratus (sometimes referred to as Philostratus the Elder). He was a prominent exponent of the Greek literary movement called the "Second Sophistic", a term he himself coined in his *Lives of the Sophists*; these "sophists" cultivated public declamation as an art form and were often politically influential in their cities (see Dio, 221, and Aristides, 230, and cf. Bowersock 1969).

The *Life of Apollonius* from which our extract is taken was commissioned by the Empress Julia Domna but was not completed until after her death in AD 217. It celebrates the Neopythagorean holy man Apollonius of Tyana (in Capadocia, E Asia Minor) who lived in the first century AD and had now, in the reign of the Severans, become an object of cult. Philostratus' work may be described as a romantic biography or a biographical novel, and it is uncertain how far this Apollonius figure is the author's own invention or where he relies on earlier sources of any documentary value (cf. Bowie 1978). The quest for wisdom brings his hero both to India and to northern Aithiopia; and after a general

description of Aithiopia and the Nile based on literary sources including Herodotus (6.1), there follows the description of the silent trade which we have selected here (6.2).

Our text is based on Kayser's critical edition (1870). There is bilingual edition of the *Life of Apollonius* in the Loeb Classical Library by Conybeare ([1912] 1950) and a more recent partial translation by Jones (in Jones-Bowersock 1970). The monograph by Anderson (1986) discusses Philostratus' sources in a chapter with the telling title "Apollonius in Wonderland" (on Aithiopia, pp. 215-220).

*Text*

6.2 Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὄρια, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῶ τε ἀσήμῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ρίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν, ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σχιστῇ· καὶ ὃ τι βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὧν Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴσου ἀξίαν ὠνούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὰ οὐκ ὄντα. Οἱ δὲ τὰ ὄρια τῶν ἡπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὐπω μέλανες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἦττον Αἰθιοπῶν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων.

Ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦθους, "Οἱ δὲ χρηστοί" ἔφη "Ἕλληνες, ἦν μὴ ὀβολὸς ὀβολὸν τέκη καὶ τὰ ὄνια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμῆσωσι καπηλεύοντες ἢ καθειργνύντες, οὐ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὄρα γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελοῦντα ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ' ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δὲ, ὡς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστῆς ἦττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξα. Καλῶς δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἔπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἦνθει,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,

ὁμοιοῦντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδόκει μία."

*Translation*

6.2 When he [Apollonius] came to the border between Aithiopia and Egypt, a place they call Sycaminos (Maharraqa), he happened upon uncoined gold, linen, ivory, roots, perfume, and spices. All of this was lying unguarded at a fork in the road. I will explain what this means, for the custom is still observed to this day. The Aithiopians come with some of the goods that Aithiopia produces, and the Egyptians carry everything away and bring to the same place Egyptian goods of equal value, buying what they lack with what they have. Those who live at the border in the interior are not quite black, but all of the same colour, less black than the Aithiopians but blacker than the Egyptians.

When Apollonius understood the nature of this trade, he said: "Our excellent Greeks say they cannot live without one obol begetting another and unless they can force up the price of their goods by retailing and hoarding. One gives as his excuse that he has a daughter of marriageable age, another a son about to

enter manhood, one must pay his club subscription, another is building a house, another still says he would be ashamed to seem less good a business-man than his father. Well it was where wealth was not honoured but equality flourished, 'and the black iron was hidden away',<sup>596</sup> because people lived in harmony and the whole earth was considered one."

[TH]

*Comments*

According to Philostratus, the Nile and the Indus resembled each other in their natures, and the religious rites celebrated for them were also similar; on the whole, there were close similarities between Aithiopia and India. This may also explain why Philostratus' hero, the sage Apollonius of Tyana, undertook a journey to Aithiopia to meet the Gymnosophists or "Naked Sages", the pupils of the Indian Brahmins (cf. *Vita Apoll.* 6.11). When he arrived at the confines of Egypt and Aithiopia, the sight of the market place at [Hiera] Sycaminos (modern Maharraqa), i.e., the actual Egyptian-Meroitic frontier (cf. 220), where the curious items of a silent trade were displayed, struck the sage as an example of uncorrupted ethical values and inspired his moralizing comments on the corruption money economy caused in Greece. He contrasts Greek profit-hunting with the loftiness of an exchange that is destined to satisfy basic needs and nothing more.

If the Utopian picture of Aithiopian business practices as portrayed by the philosopher during his search for Indian Gymnosophists in Aithiopia were not enough to caution the reader about the imaginativeness of the narrative, the mention of uncoined gold waiting to be picked up should signal to us that we are in fact reading a parable with a philosophical message (for Philostratus' views cf. Bowie 1974). In spite of its obvious character as a fable, Philostratus' narrative has nevertheless been quoted in the literature on Nubian economy as evidence for barter and for an international market at Hiera Sycaminos (e.g., Kirwan 1959, 26; Adams 1977, 349; Desanges 1978a, 321 note 72; cf. also Bersina 1989, 222 f.). In an earlier study Török (1984c, 51) suggested that Philostratus' evidence is supported by a remark of the Roman satirist Juvenal (*Sat.* 11.124) according to whom the Aithiopians ferried ivory to Syene.<sup>597</sup> More recently, however, he has expressed doubts concerning the veracity of Apollonius' alleged experience at Hiera Sycaminos (Török 1986a, 288 ff.; 1989a 82 f., 372 f.).

[LT]

<sup>596</sup>Probably an allusion to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, verse 151.

<sup>597</sup>For Aithiopian merchants (?) arriving by boat at Elephantine see FHN II, 103.

**243 Philae. Demotic graffito of Makaltami.** Early 3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 344. Burkhardt 1985, 111 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) pꜣ nꜥ [ꜣ] Wsꜥr Wn-nꜥr  
(1) (O, you) [great] god, Osiris Onnophris,

Pr-ꜣ (2) n pꜣ ꜥ (r) dr=f šꜣ ꝓt  
King (2) of the entire land in perpetuity.

— ... —      ꜥꜣꜣ (3) [ꜥ] ꝓt      — ... — pꜣ ꝓꜣ  
...      (you who) cover (3) [the] sky      ... the sea,

snꝓ (4) [=k m] ꜥ nb  
fear (4) [‘of whom’] is in every land,

pꜣ — [‘nꜥr’] ꜣ      pꜣ nb mꜣꝓt      (5) pꜣ=y ꝥꝓ — ... —  
(o you) — great [‘god’],      (oh you) Lord of Maꝓat, (5) my lord ... ,

ꜥnk Mꝓꝓꜣꝓꜣ      (6) ‘ꜥw=y’ [—] bk      — ... —  
I, Makaltami,      (6) ‘I shall’ [—] servant      ...

sꝓꜣꜣ r nꜣ=y (7) šꝓꝓw — ... —  
listen to my (7) prayers ... ,

mtw=k ꜥr nꜣ nꝥꝓ (8) ꜥn ꜥꝓꝥ=y  
and do that which (8) is in my heart,

[mtw=k] ꝓꝓꜣ n=ꜥ ꜥ ꝓꝓꜣꝓ      (9) — ... —  
[and] grant me the power      (9)...  
[RHP]

*Comments*

The prayer of Makaltami (for its somewhat anomalous type see Burkhardt 1985, 59 f.) was incised in Demotic between the hands of the king and the shoulder of Osiris in the pronaos of the temple of Isis, over the W doorway in a relief scene representing Ptolemy IX offering to Isis and Osiris. Since the prayer is directed to Osiris Onnophris, the place for the inscription may be regarded as carefully chosen indeed. The place of the graffito indicates at the same time that its writer had access to the interior of the sanctuary; and from this we may conclude that he occupied a high position in the priestly hierarchy.

Makaltami’s priestly office is indicated in the Meroitic mortuary text of his relative Wayekiye (A) (see 246): he was *pelmos*, i.e., “strategus”, district commissioner, and chief manager of the economic affairs of temples (probably with

a competence that extended over the whole Dodecaschoenus, cf. FHN II, 180, and in this volume see 229). According to 246 Makaltami stood in a *mde*-relationship to Wayekiye (A), i.e., he was his (maternal) uncle (for the meaning of the Meroitic relationship word see Hintze 1974 20 ff.: mother's brother; but see also Török 1977b, 407 note 11: the *mde*-relationship can also refer to the brothers of one's grandmother<sup>598</sup>). Accordingly, Burkhardt (1985, 91, 96) regarded Makaltami as an uncle of Wayekiye (A) on the assumption that the latter's mother *T3-špš* was a sister of Makaltami and the daughter of Paêse (see 231, 245). Burkhardt's—on this point hypothetical—reconstruction of the relationships of the early generations of the Wayekiye family was reproduced in the *Comments* on 232.

[LT]

**244 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Bêk.** First half of the 3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Dak. 33. Burkhardt 1985, 102 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) [ ḥst-sp ? n Pr-ᜓ — ... — ] nty ḥwy [ — — ] ibd 2 pre sw 9 py hrw nfr  
(1) [ Regnal year ? of King ... ] Augustus [ ... ] second month of Winter, day 9, this good day,

p3 hrw nty iw w3ḥ P3-ḳrny s3 P3-di-n3-ntrw mweḫ=f (2) [ — ...  
the day on which Peqêreñ son of Petenentôr, his mother (being) (2) [ ...

... —]t n Bk s3 Pa-Ḳst	p3 ḳw'ᜓrny n Ḳst	p3 rḫ n Ḳst
... ]'ᜓ to Bêk son of Paêse	the qêreñ of Isis,	the agent of Isis,

ir hb r p3 ḳwe n p3 ntr ᜓ (3) [Dḥwti n P3-nb]se  
to do work on the shrine of the great god (3) [Thoth of Pnub]s,

iw=f hde=f n nb n 'r3 8' (r-)ḳr=f  
gilding it with gold of 'one eighth' all over

ḥn te=f mdt-rmt-n-ntr  
in his piety,

iw bn-pw=f ḫ nkt n p3 ḫ n-ḳrḫ=f  
without having taken anything at all from it/him

<sup>598</sup>According to Hofmann 1974, the *mde*-relationship is one between a lord and his client. In view of the high social position of the majority of persons who refer to their being in a *mde*-relationship to other high dignitaries, and the fact that they actually were, as can be demonstrated through the cross-references in the evidence, in such a family relationship to their alleged "patrons", Hintze's interpretation is preferred to her suggestion (cf. also Török 1988a, 256 with note 699).

(4) [ — ... — ]=f n ibd 3 pre

(4) [ ... ] him/it in the third month of Winter,

hrw 20 m-sḥ hb r.īr=f r Pr-īw-lḳ

20 days after he sent to Final-island (Philae)

m-sḥ pḥ ḥm-ntr pḥ '—' ḥrm nḥ w'bw

for the *hont*-priest, the '—', and the *waab*-priests,

īw=f tn pḥ hb [ — ...

and he 'elevating the message' ...

(5) ... — ]'īw=f' ḥr pe=f ḥyḳḥ

(5) he celebrating its Feast of Entry,

īw=w ḥr mnḥet n py šy ʿ n

vestments being made for this great divinity as well,

ḳd ḥr py šy ʿ Dḥwti n Pḥ-nbse (6) [r dīt n=f]

that this great divinity, Thoth of Pnubs, should (6) [give hi]m

ḥrḥ kī ḥyt ʿt nfrt

a long life and a great and good old age

ḥrm te=f ḥmyt ḥrm ne=f ḥrtw šr dt

with his wife and his children for ever

īw ḳbe ḥpr īw wḥ=f ḥḳe (7) pḥ ḳwe n rn=f

because of the fact that he gilded (7) the shrine in question

r ḳḳe st 200

on 200 places.

[RHP]

### Comments

This Demotic graffito was incised on the W front of the temple of Dakka close to the doorway leading from the temple court to the pronaos of the chapel of Arqamani (Ergamenes) (cf. FHN II, (129)). Its text is typologically special among the graffiti written by Meroites insofar as it contains a report about its writer's activity and, instead of the usual longer prayer, only a brief formula asking for a long life in return for what the writer has done for the deity (for its structural and grammatical similarity to report+prayer texts see, however, Burkhardt 1985, 61). Its official character is obvious from its (now lost) dating according to the regnal year of a Roman emperor of the 3rd cent. AD (for the occurrence of the epithet *nty ḥwy* in titularies of Alexander Severus, Gallus, Valerianus and Gallienus see Griffith 1937, 32) as well as from the structure of the text: it re-

counts that Bêk, son of Paêse, *qoreñ* and agent of Isis (for the titles see **231**), carried out restoration work on the temple of Dakka on behalf of Peqêreñ, son of Petentôr, and organised a Feast of Entry (or Inauguration) for Thoth of Dakka with the participation of priests of both the *hont-* and *waab* classes from Philae.

The identity of Peqêreñ son of Petentôr (perhaps “the *qoreñ*”, son of Petentôr?) remains unknown. That he commissioned the restoration indicates that Bêk was his subordinate. Bêk’s titles “*qoreñ* and agent of Isis” seemingly describe him as a temple official in the service of Isis of Philae; but the actual activity described in **244** suggests that his authority was not specifically connected with the temple of the goddess on Philae. It seems, instead, that the *qoreñs* and agents of Isis occurring in the Demotic graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus were officials serving a centralised authority which was identical to, or closely associated with, a priestly college that united the clergy of the main temples of the Dodecaschoenus. Such a clericalised civil+temple administration also seems to be indicated by another Demotic graffito from Dakka which reveals, at the same time, that the structure of this administration had not changed much since the Augustan period: in Dak. 29, for example, work done at Dakka is reported by a “strategus and agent of Isis of the Abaton and Philae and agent of Thoth [of Dakka]” (see FHN II, **181**).

Bêk was son of the Paêse of **231** and thus a member of the Wayekiye family; his family relations are shown in the *Comments* on **232**. It is worth noting that he “inherited” his offices from his father in accordance with the tradition prevailing in Egyptian temples (cf., with examples from Philae, Otto 1905, 207 ff.).

[LT]

**245 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wayekiye (A).** AD 227/8.

Griffith 1937, Ph. 421. Burkhardt 1985, 119 ff.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wštt̄ n Wygȳ s̄ n Hr-nh̄t̄-ît=f̄ r.ms T̄-špš

(1) The obeisance of Weygeye, son of Hornakhtyotef, whom Teshepesh bore,

(2) dy m-b̄h̄ ʾst̄ n Pr-ʾ-w̄b̄ Pr-ʾ-lk̄

(2) here in the presence of Isis of Pure-island (the Abaton) and Final-island (Philae)

irm̄ n̄ n̄rw̄ ʾyww̄ n h̄wt-n̄r̄ (3) n̄ ʾst̄ ntȳ h̄tp̄ ʾrm̄=s̄

together with the great gods of the temple-compound (3) of Isis who dwell with her:

tw=ȳ smw̄h̄ m-b̄h̄=wt̄

I am adoring (you) in your presence,

iw=y hb n=t rmn  
bowing my shoulders down to you,

(4) iw r3=y hr hs nn hb  
(4) my mouth uttering praises without diminution.

tw=y sn-t3 n=t  
I am prostrating myself to you,

iw=y dw3 n t3=t šft  
adoring your awesomeness;

(5) snty=t hn ht(=y)  
(5) and fear of you is in my body.

sđm n3=y šllew  
Listen to my prayers,

t3 hnwt n n3 t3w  
(o) mistress of the countries,

wsryt n (6) n3 ntrw (r) dr=w  
(you) mightiest of (6) all the gods!

r.ir=t ii n=i n p3=t hr1 n htp  
Do you come to me with your peaceful countenance

nty n3 ntrw ršy.w n m3=f  
at the sight of which the gods rejoice.

(7) sđm n3=y sbrw t3=y hnwt iy 'Ist  
(7) Listen to my petition, my lady, o Isis,

mtw=t dit n=i t3 gmt r 'smt' p3 i.ir (8) n3=y snw 3yw  
and grant me the power 'to emulate' what (8) my elder brothers did,

mtw=t dit n=i hsynt m'ret šft r hr p3 šy n n3 Pr-3w  
and grant me favor, success, and esteem in the presence of the divinity of the  
Kings!

(9) ink p3=t bk  
(9) I am your servant;

mnh ht=y  
and my heart is pious.

sdmt sprew n n3 nty ww  
 (O you) who hear the petitions of those who are far

[r smt'] n3 nty (10) hny n=s  
 ['even as'] those who (10) are near to her,

t3 nty dit nhṭ w' r hḥ  
 you who make one mightier than many,

iw=s dit p3=s hḥte hr p3=s mryt  
 delivering her enemy into the hands of her beloved.

iw=y r bw-n3y (11) n h3t-sp 7 n Swry3 3lksṭr3 Pr-ṣ3 p3=n tsy3  
 I came to this place (11) in the seventh regnal year of Severus Alexander, the King, our lord,

irm Hr-nhṭ-it=f (12) p3 krne n ʾst  
 with Hornakhtyotef, (12) the *qêreñ* of Isis.

ir=n p3 iyke n t3 gwet n ʾst n Pr-3-w'ḥ n wpe n m3y  
 We made the 'dedication' of the chapel of Isis of Pure-island (the Abaton) in new work.

(13) ir=n ty y're n.3m=s r Pr-3-w'ḥ n p3 rn n n3 Pr-ṣ3w n3=n tsy3w  
 (13) We ferried it across the river to Pure-island (the Abaton) in the name of the Kings, our lords.

n3-ṣ3e mdt (14) rmt n nṭr iw w3ḥ=n 'ir=w'  
 Numerous are the pious (14) things which we did.

shḗ hm-nṭr n Spṭt m mš' iy n i'ḥ  
 Written by the *hont*-priest of Sothis in the going and coming of the Moon,

w'ḥ n p3 5 sb3 ṣnhw  
*waab*-priest of the five living stars,

(15) hr-tp n nsw n Kš  
 (15) Chief ritualist of the King of Kush.

[RHP]

*Comments*

This monumental prayer, which frames a report about the activity of Wayekiye (A) and his father Hornakhtyotef I (see *Comments* on 232), is dated to the seventh regnal year of Severus Alexander, i.e., AD 227/8. The father bears the title of *qoreñ* of Isis (cf. 231, 244), indicating a high office in the administration of the temples of the Dodecaschoenus. Wayekiye (A) himself, who refers to the pious

deeds that his elder brothers had carried out in the service of Isis and which he wants to emulate, is *hont*-priest of Sothis and *waab*-priest "of the five living stars", as well as *hr-tp n nsw n Kš*, "chief ritualist of the King of Kush". The first two titles denote, in general terms, the higher priesthood of the Egyptian sanctuaries and correspond to the Greek προφήτης, "prophet" and ἱερεύς, "priest", respectively (for the broad meaning of both titles cf. Otto 1905, 76 ff.). The first of them, as it seems, indicates membership in the highest echelon of the priesthood of a temple; the second to a lower one (in the Decrees of Canopus and Rosetta the *waab*-priests were listed last, cf. Otto 1905, 90, and constituted the fifth *phyle*, cf. Hölbl 1994, 101). Combinations of titles including several priesthoods on different levels of the hierarchy in different sanctuaries and of different deities are, however, frequent in contemporary Egyptian texts and abundantly attested in 2nd through 4th cent. AD Meroitic inscriptions (see Török 1977b); and they can be interpreted as evidence, on the one hand, for the existence of several cults (of *synnaoi*, i.e., deities sharing a temple) in the same temple, and, on the other, of priestly colleges uniting the priesthood of several sanctuaries (see *ibid.* and Török 1984b, 165 f.).

Seemingly, the titles of Wayekiye (A) refer to two cults and to a court office. Although the star Sothis was worshipped in the personified form of the goddess Sothis, especially in her form Isis-Sothis (cf. Kákosy 1984; for representations at Philae cf. PM VI, 210, 219, 223 ff.), the second title, which refers to the five planets (cf. Loprieno-Behlmer 1985), i.e., an astronomical notion and not a temple cult, makes it sufficiently clear that the first title too defines its owner as an astronomer. The third title also points in this direction.

Viewed together, all three titles of Wayekiye (A) seem to be connected with a special category of the priests belonging to the class of ἱερογραμματεῖς, the learned "writers of the sacred books" (for the broad meaning of the term cf. Otto 1905, 87 ff.). We find them under the terms *wnwtj* in Egyptian and ὄρολόγιος, ὄροσκόπος in Greek documents (see Osing 1985, 100). They were educated, as the Greek terms reveal, in astronomy and astrology and were responsible, as the Egyptian title "hour-watcher" suggests, for measuring the 12 hours of the day and the 12 hours of the night and for defining their lengths during the course of the year as the lengths of the two parts of the day changed with the seasons. They carried out their task, which was a very complicated one considering the actual state of astronomy, with the help of the sundial by day and the clepsydra, or of astronomical calculations, by night. They used astronomical instruments called *by n imy-wnwt*, φοῖνιξ ἀστρολογίας, "hour-priest's stave", and *mrhyt*, ὄρολόγιον, "hour-indicator", and used stellar charts (cf. Gardiner 1947 I, 61\* f.; Spiegelberg 1917, 113 f.; Osing 1985, 100). *Horologoi* and *horoskopoi* are mentioned in the sources relating to the temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and are also to be found in the service of the Ptolemaic court.

The third title "chief ritualist of the King of Kush" may be interpreted as evidence for a significant intellectual contact between the Meroitic court and a

learned priestly member of the Meroitic élite in the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus. It appears very likely that Wayekiye (A) received what sounds like a court title from the Meroitic ruler in return for introducing, or re-introducing, in Meroe the methods of time-reckoning in the advanced form practiced by the priests of the Egyptian temples of the Roman period (cf. Borchardt 1920; Neugebauer-Parker 1960-1964 I, 95 ff.; II, 3 ff.). Wayekiye (A), a priest of an Egyptian sanctuary in the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus, belonged, however, to a non-Egyptian élite family of this region; and the invitation he received to Meroe was addressed, as we may well speculate, not only to the learned Egyptian priest but also to the aristocrat of "Aithiopian" origin. Considering the fact that Wayekiye (A) and his wife were buried beyond the Egyptian border (see 246, 247) and not in the still Egyptian Dodecaschoenus, it is indeed tempting to conclude that Wayekiye (A) not only acted as a vehicle of Egyptian knowledge but also as an instrument of Meroitic political influence. As we shall see (250 ff.), the next generation of the family acquired some sort of administrative power over Lower Nubian territories beyond the Egyptian border as well. The burial place of Wayekiye (A) seems to indicate that the family was at home not only in the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus, but also in Meroitic Lower Nubia.

While the political role played by Wayekiye (A) remains obscure, the text of 245 provides clear testimony of his splendid education. Despite its brevity, the beautifully formulated prayer presents a well-balanced choice of the epithets of Isis; and while the notion of reciprocity is obvious, one cannot fail to discern the sincerity and the intensity of the piety of the writer. For the journey of the divine barque see FHN II, 170.

[LT]

**246 Medik. Funerary inscription of Wayekiye (A).** First half of the 3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1912, Pls VIII, IX. REM 0089.

*Introduction to source*

This round-topped sandstone (?) stela was discovered in 1911 by Firth (cf. Griffith 1912, 17) in the filling (?) of a pit grave on the rocky edge of the desert on the W bank of the Nile in the district of Medik at the hamlet called Aqêba, S of Maharraqa (ancient Hiera Sycaminos). Its measurements as well as its present whereabouts are unknown. The cursive Meroitic text was engraved in fifteen horizontal lines. The text is given here on the basis of its REM edition.

*Text*

- (1) qo,, Wyekiyeqo,,
- (2) Sipesiyeto,, Qoresemye,, \*mdemdetlo,,
- (3) Mlome,, pelmos,, yetmdelo
- (4) Mqoltemoye pelmos,, Bede(5)wetel,, yetmdelo,,

Pheme,, (6)qoreñlh,, yetmdelo  
 Be(7)ke,, piritel,, yetmdelo,,  
 sn(8)ptete krrol,, yetmdelo  
 (9)Mtewwi plmos,, adblit,, yet(10)mdelo,,  
 plsn,, qbñli,, penn(11)\*ani,, yetekelo,,  
 sor,, qor(12)deli,, yrohetelo,,  
 penn,, (13)34 nekw,, h\*tkelo  
 (14)Wosi,, Soreyi,,  
 atthm(15)lole,, ythto,,

### Comments

In an unusual manner, which may perhaps be explained as a result of the inconsistent use of the diverging traditions of both Egyptian and Meroitic grave inscriptions in the same text, the structure of 246 differs at several points from the standard Meroitic non-royal funerary text (for the type see FHN II, 155). Instead of beginning with the invocation of Isis and Osiris (which is placed at the end of the Description and thus opens the Benediction) it starts with the Nomination of the deceased; yet from the Nomination the names of the mother and the father of the deceased are missing. Instead, a rather lengthy Description follows in which the following *mde*-relations (maternal uncles and great-uncles [?]) are listed: *Sipesiye* and *Qoresemye*, both without titles and combined in one nominal sentence, indicating perhaps some connection between the two, the meaning of which escapes our understanding: the strategus (for the meaning of *pelmos* see 229, 243) Mlome; *Mqoltemoye*, who is identical with the Makaltami of 243 and bears here the title of a strategus in Meroe; *Pheme*, a great/chief *qoreñ* (for *-lh* as "great", "chief" see Hintze 1963, 18 no. 206; for *qoreñ* see 231); *Beke*, who is identical with the Bêk of 244 and here bears the Meroitic title *pirite* as an equivalent of Egyptian *p3-rd*, i.e., "agent" (cf. Griffith 1911b, 9; Hintze 1963, 19 no. 218); *Mtewwi*, identical with the *Mnñwi* of 249 and the Manitawawi of 267. If, however, we accept Burkhardt's carefully composed family tree (1985, 96), this latter seems to be a brother-in-law and not an uncle of Wayekiye, which may indeed explain his monuments that apparently date from after Wayekiye's death. Furthermore, there is (are) listed as *mde*-relation(s) the person(s) who are covered by the expressions *snptete krrol* and *plsn qbñeli*, about which we cannot decide whether they contain names and titles or only titles. In *snptete* we can recognise the place name *Npte*, Napata, with the locative suffix *-te* (cf. Griffith 1911b, 8, 23) and in *s* perhaps a word with the meaning "person" (cf. Hofmann 1981a, 69 no. 28). The title (?) *kroro* is frequently attested in titularies of high dignitaries (cf. Hofmann 1981a, 71 ff. nos 33-39); and *plsn* is supposed to derive<sup>599</sup> from Egyptian *p3-mr-šn*, Greek *λεσῶνις*, a high priestly title with the meaning "Tempelvorsteher" in the Roman period (Otto 1905, 39, 49).

<sup>599</sup>Hintze 1973b, 335, however, doubts this derivation.

The text concludes with an expression consisting of a numeral (referring to funerary offerings?) and a brief Benediction of a somewhat unusual form (cf. REM 0137).

Wayekiye's funerary inscription is associated with the traditional Meroitic funerary monuments through its language and, partly, its structure; and the adaptation of the Meroitic concept of social identity and traditionalism is obvious from the Description, which emphasises belonging to a (maternal) clan. This latter aspect of the text is the more striking in that the Nomination, where in other texts, as a rule, the parents are named and thus the concept of patrilinearity is also present, is deliberately incomplete. As indicated above, inconsistencies in the structure of the text may reflect a mixture of cultural traditions; and the same may be indicated by the fragments of embalmed mummies and painted mummy case(s) reported from the site where the stela was found (Griffith 1912, 17).

A general dating of the text to the first half of the 3rd cent. AD results from 232 and 245. As shown by 255, Wayekiye (A) predeceased his wife Taêse (cf. 247, 255). For Wayekiye's descent see the *Comments* on 232.

[LT]

**247 Medik. Funerary inscription of Taêse, wife of Wayekiye (A).** First half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1912, Pls VIII, IX. REM 0088.

*Introduction to source*

The text of 247 was inscribed at Medik (for the site see 246) on the rock surface at a pit grave on the rocky edge of the desert. The eleven horizontal lines in cursive Meroitic were incised into a sunk rectangular panel. Measurements and the preservation of the text are unknown. We follow here the REM edition.

*Text*

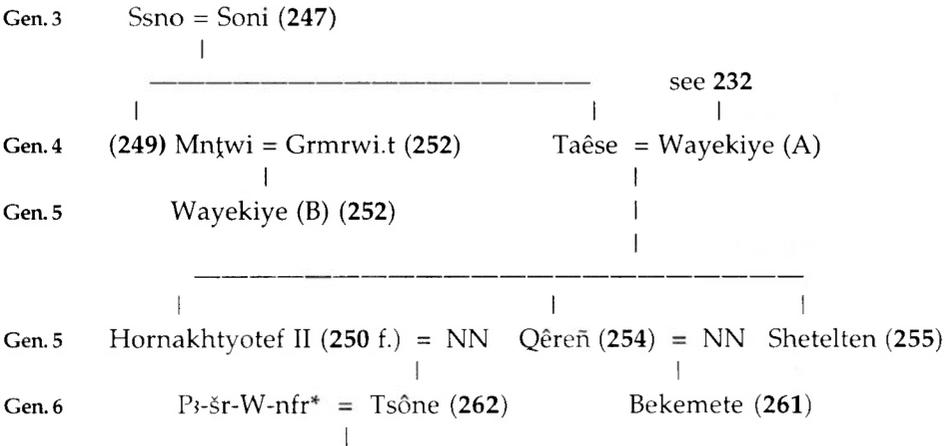
(1)Tyesiqowi,,  
 Sseno,, terikelowi,,  
 Soni tedḥe(2)lowi,,  
 Pyesi,, ḥbh\*e,, mdetowi,,  
 pelmos,, atolise Yere(3)deb,, qorpse,, Ḥlosi yetmdelowi,,  
 Sqol,, lomde,, pelmo(4)s,, yetmdelowi,,  
 kroro,, ptenowi,, kdi[.],,  
 [...]p[...] (5)ñ,, kso\*s[.],, yetmdelowi,,  
 perite,, Wos(se),, an(t) [...] (6)[...]  
 (7)[...]k,, yemli,, yetmdelowi,,  
 qoreñ Wosse (8)perite,, Mtwye,, a[.]bn,,  
 yere[.]teni,, (qo)reñ [.]ok(y/se)[...]  
 (9)[.....]

(10)[...], [.]niy,, qoriyi[.].i,,kelo,,  
 miniy[...](11)[...],(,) [...]r[.],,

Comments

Like her husband's funerary inscription (see 246), Taêse's (the original Egyptian form of the Meroiticised *Tyesi* was Ta-Iset) lists her important family relations; but, unlike 246, it is structurally closer to the standard Meroitic non-royal funerary inscription and begins with a more complete Nomination. However, here too the initial Invocation is missing.

Taêse was a daughter of *Sseno* and the lady *Soni* and stood in a *mde*-relationship to the *ḥbhñ Pyesi* (the name is of Egyptian origin; the title, of unknown meaning, occurs frequently in Lower Nubian Meroitic titularies), to *Yeredeb*, a *pelmos atolis*, "strategus of the water" (for *ato*, "water", see Griffith 1911b, 23, 44 f.),<sup>600</sup> to *Hłosi*, a *qorpse* (meaning unknown), and to the "strategus" *Sqol-lomde* (?). The expression *kroro,, Ptenowi,, kdi[.].,* in line 4 perhaps means that she was the sister (for *kdi* as sister in relation to a brother see Griffith 1911b, 66 note 2; Hintze 1963, 15) of a dignitary called Patenowi. In line 5 the titles *perite* (cf. 246) and *ant* "prophet" (Griffith 1911b, 57) refer to a relation in the service of the goddess Isis (=Wos); in line 7 a *qoreñ* (cf. 231) and "agent" of Isis is mentioned. Here, however, also the name, *Mtwye*, is preserved; and this person we may identify as Taêse's brother who is also known from 249 and 267. Taêse survived her husband Wayekiye (A) (see 255). Her family relations are summarized below (cf. Burkhardt 1985, 96):



<sup>600</sup>Hofmann 1976a compares the "strategus of the water" to the priestly title *nauarchos* attested in the Greek Isis-cult of the Hellenistic period and associated with the rite called *navigidium Isidis*, the sea voyage of Isis. On the other hand we also know bearers of the title *pelmos adblis*, "strategus of the land", from Meroitic evidence (cf. 270); and this renders Hofmann's suggestion less likely.

Gen.7                    |  
                           Wygte (262 f.) = NN  
                                   |  
 Gen.8                    Tḥ-šr.t-pa-tw.t\*\*

\* Attested in Griffith 1937, 64 Ph. 111.

\*\* Attested in 262.

[LT]

**248 Pigs in the temple of Talmis. Greek decree of the *strategos* of Omboi and Elephantine. AD 248/9 (?).**

OGIS I 210. IGRR I 1356. SB V 8534. Wilcken, Chrest. 73. I. Prose 63.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| A. Bernand 1992    | A. Bernand: La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Vol. 1-2. Paris. [= I. Prose.]  |
| Bingen 1997        | J. Bingen: Date et genèse d'OGIS I 210 (Talmis - Kalabchah). CdE 72, 348-354.   |
| Desanges 1974      | J. Desanges: Review of A. Bernand 1969 and É. Bernand 1969. Erasmus 26, 232-235.  |
| Gauthier 1911-1914 | H. Gauthier: Le Temple de Kalabchah. Vol. 1-2. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 3.) Le Caire.   |
| Łajtar 1996        | A. Łajtar: Review of A. Bernand 1992. BO 53, 461-468.   |
| Wilcken 1912       | L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Band 1: U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil, 2: Chrestomathie. Leipzig-Berlin. |

*Introduction to source*

This inscription, measuring 25 x 47 cm, was carved on the wall of the pronaos of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha. The date attributed to it depends on what emperors' name one supplies in line 11: In 1823, A.J. Letronne (followed by most editors, including Wilcken 1912 and A. Bernand 1992) suggested [Philippi] Augusti, i.e., Marcus Iulius Philippus, "Philip the Arab", Roman emperor from AD 244 to 249, and his son of the same name whom he made Caesar in 244 and Augustus in July or August of 247. R. Cagnat in IGRR (followed by Desanges 1974, 233) opted for [Maximini] Augusti, which would refer to Maximinus Thrax, Roman emperor from AD 235 to 238, and his son. Bingen (1997, 349 f.) now reads the figure ς (6) for the year and argues that this must refer to the sixth year of the joint reign of the Philippi, recognized to begin in Egypt as early as the spring of AD 244. The inscription would thus belong to AD 248/9 (to be exact, between August 29, 248, and August 28, 249).

All this presupposes, of course, that line 11 really belongs to the original inscription; the remains of the line as shown in the photo published by Gauthier

(1914, Pl. 69A; cf. 1911, 193) makes one feel less confident that this is so than earlier editors and commentators seem to have been.

We follow the text given by Wilcken (1912, 102 f.), except for line 11 where we have adopted Bingen's improved readings (Bingen 1997, 350). The same text, except for line 11, is also printed by A. Bernand (1992 I, 142 f., 1992 II, 163-166), who supplies a French translation, bibliography and commentary.

*Text*

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Βησαρίων ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώνιος | στρ(ατηγός) Ὀμβ(ίτου) Ἐλεφ(αν-  
τίνης). Τοῦ κρατ(ίστου) Μύρωνος διαδεχομέν(ου) τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δι' ὧν  
μοι ἔγραψε) | κελεύσαντος πάντας τοὺς χοίρους ἐξελασθῆναι |<sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ  
κώμης Τάλμεως τῆς (Δωδεκα)σχοί(νου) παραγγέλλεται πᾶσι τοῖς κεκτη-  
μένοις χοίρους τούτους ἐξε|λάσαι ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προ-  
|κειμένης κώμης, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχουσι τὰ περὶ τούτου | κελευσθέντα πρὸς  
τὸ δύνασθαι τὰ περὶ τὰ ἱερά θρήσ|<sup>10</sup>κια κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα γείνεσθαι. |  
["Ἐτους]) ς//<sup>601</sup> τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [[Φιλίππω]ν]]<sup>602</sup> Σεβαστῶν.

*Translation*

Aurelius Besarion alias Ammonius, *strategos* of Omboi and Elephantine.

Since the *vir egregius*<sup>603</sup> Myron, acting High Priest (of Alexandria and All Egypt), has ordered me in writing that all the pigs be driven out (5) of the temple of the village Talmis in the Dodecaschoenus,

command is issued<sup>604</sup> to all those who own these pigs to drive them out from the above-mentioned village within fifteen days, keeping before their eyes what has been ordered in this matter,

so that the holy (10) rites may take place in the customary way.

[In the year] 6 of our lords [Philippi] Augusti.

[TH]

<sup>601</sup>["Ἐτους γ]. Cailliaud (in A. Bernand 1992 II, 165), ["Ἐτους .]// Wilcken, ["Ἐτους.].” A. Bernand, ["Ἐτους] ς// Bingen 1997 (based on a new photo).

<sup>602</sup>The name of the emperors has been erased. [Φιλίππων] Letronne, [Φιλίππω]ν Bingen, [Μαξιμίων] Cagnat, cf. *Introduction to source*. Łajtar 1996, 467, rejects the supplement suggested by Cagnat: the two emperors in AD 236-238, father and son, had different cognomina and thus could not be jointly described as “Maximini” (similarly Bingen 1997, 349); in his view only the supplement *Philippi* is possible, and hence the date 247/8 as well.

<sup>603</sup>The Greek epithet used here, *kratistos*, “most excellent”, denotes a *vir egregius*, a status designation within the Roman administrative hierarchy.

<sup>604</sup>A. Bernand (1992 II, 165) interprets the verb here (5/6 παραγγέλλεται) as a middle form rather than a passive (just as W. Dittenberger did in OGIS, *pace* Bernand who has misunderstood his Latin) and makes Aurelius Besarion in line 1 its subject: “Aurélius Bésarion, ... enjoint à tous ...”. While linguistically doubtful, this obviously improves the structure of the text. The sense is essentially the same; in either case, it is the *strategos* who issues the order. Bingen (1997, 350-353) explains the unusual structure by suggesting that the inscription is a shortened, unofficial copy of the original letter.

*Comments*

Indirectly, but in clear terms, this inscription reports the appalling conditions prevailing around AD 248/9 (?) in the once so splendid temple at Talmis (modern Kalabsha), which Arqamani built for the cult of the native deity Mandulis (Arnold 1975, 6; Dewachter 1970, 2 f.; cf. FHN II, (129)). After Augustus annexed the Dodecaschoenus in 21/20 BC, the temple was expanded (Gauthier 1914) and the cult of the god re-interpreted in order to satisfy the religious requirements of a mixed population consisting of "Aithiopians", Egyptians, and Roman soldiers stationed in the Dodecaschoenus (for the cult of Mandulis cf. Hänfling 1980; Totti 1987; Török 1989-1990).

Though we find swine on the estates possessed by Egyptian temples, the animal was under a religious taboo and, according to Herodotus (2.47, 164), swineherds were forbidden to enter any temple area (cf. Helck 1984, 763). The measures reported in 248 were no doubt preceded by a period of scandalous neglect, during which the temple precincts were unguarded and swine could enter the sacred places. The conspicuous publication of the decree suggests that steps were now being taken to put an end to this state of affairs.

When viewed against the background of contemporary documents relating to the temples at Philae and Dakka, the case indicated here might seem unusual and be regarded as an isolated phenomenon occurring in a poor provincial environment. On the other hand, it was the temples of Philae and Dakka that were in an exceptionally good position; and it is the situation of the Kalabsha temple which may be regarded as typical of most smaller temples in 3rd cent. Egypt (for the decline of Egyptian sanctuaries in general, see Bagnall 1993, 261 ff.).

Significantly, it was the *strategos* of Ombos and Elephantine, a man of Egyptian descent with a double, Egyptian and Greek/Roman, name who took the appropriate measures and ordered the pig-owners of Kalabsha to get their animals out of the temple: at the time of the events reported in the inscription, Kalabsha was in Roman territory.

[LT]

**249 Philae. Demotic graffito of Mniṭwi and Hornakhtyotef II.** Mid-3rd cent. AD. Griffith 1937, Ph. 410. Burkhardt 1985, 113 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) rn=w mne dy  
(1) Their names remain here

(m-)bḥ ṯst n P-īw-wꜥb (2) P-īw-lḳ  
in the presence of Isis of Pure-island (the Abaton) (2) and Final-island (Philae),

(m-)bḥ pꜣ nṯr ꜣ Ir-ḥms-nfr  
in the presence of the great god Arensnuphis,

(m-)b3h '—' Hwt-hr  
in the presence of '—' Hathor,

(3) (m-)b3h p3 ntr 3 Hr-nht-3t=f  
(3) in the presence of the great god Hornakhtyotef,

(m-)b3h n3 ntrw 3yw n t3 hwt-ntr n (4) P-3w-w'c b P-3w-lk  
and in the presence of the great gods of the temple-complex of (4) Pure-island  
(the Abaton) and Final-island (Philae),

Mn3twe hn' Hr-nht-3t=f  
Menetewe and Hornakhtyotef,

n3 hm-ntr n 3st	(5) n3 k3ny	n3 r3w n 3st
the <i>hont</i> -priests of Isis,	(5) the <i>q3re3s</i> ,	the agents of Isis,

n3 r3w n Pr-3 n P3-t3-n-Nhs  
the agents of the King of the Land of Nubia,

(6) n3 rpyw n t3 h3st n Ty-km-600  
(6) the princes of the country of Takompso,

'n3 '—'htp n p3 3y-n-30,  
the '— —' of the Triacontaschoenus,

(7) n3 sh-nsw n K3š  
(7) the royal scribes of Kush,

nty rh n3 š'w n p3 5 sb3 3nh  
who know the risings of the Five Living Stars (the planets)

hn' gm wš (8) (n) 3r 3bt n P3-R' 3h  
and find out the times (8) of the eclipses of the Sun and Moon,

3w hr 3w=w n P3-t3-n-Nhs hr rnpt  
when they come annually from the Land of Nubia (Aithiopia)

mtw=w 3r n3 šmsw (9) n 3st  
and perform the services (9) for Isis:

t3 tsy3 3t n p3 t3 (r-)dr=f  
“(O) great mistress of the entire land,

3w=n šlle (m-)b3h=t dd  
we pray in your presence, saying,

r.ir(=t) inṭ=n

"Please bring us (here again)

mtw=n wšt=t n-hn itny nb

so that we may worship you in all splendor."

[RHP]

*Comments*

As indicated by the filiation presented in 250, Hornakhtyotef II (so numbered in order to distinguish him from Hornakhtyotef I, his grandfather attested in 232) was the son of Wayekiye (A) and Taêse. In 249 he appears in the company of his maternal uncle *Mnṭwe*, who is identical with the Manitawawi of the Meroitic documents relating to the Wayekiye family (cf. 247, 267). Their brief graffito unites a *proskynema* formula (introduction) with a prayer (end) and, framed by these two formulae, their titulary and a condensed report. While the beginning and the end of the text are stereotypical, and the structure of the whole corresponds with the report+prayer type of inscription which is characteristic of the graffiti of the Meroites in the Dodecaschoenus (cf. Burkhardt 1985, 58), its central part presents some unusual information about this region.

One part of the rich titulary shared by Manitawawi and Hornakhtyotef II is known from the titularies of the earlier generations of their family (cf. 231, 232, 243-247) and indicates that they succeeded Hornakhtyotef I and Wayekiye (A) as *hont*-priests ("prophets"), *qoreñs*, and "agents" of Isis, that they followed Wayekiye (A) in his learned occupation as "hour-watcher" (the titles connected with the Five Planets), and that they were also "royal scribes of Kush", a function or title apparently inherited from Sosen of 232 (cf. Griffith 1937, 112 Ph. 409: "The obeisance of Sosen, son of Hornakhtyotef [I], the name of his mother *Tṣ-šr.t-Wigj.t* [?], royal scribe of Kush"). New titles are, however, also added: they are "agents" of the King of the Land of Nubia (= Meroe), princes of the country of Takompso (modern Maharraqa) and chiefs (?) of the Triacontaschoenus.

The careers of the earlier "royal scribes of Kush" were connected with the temples of the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus, even if Wayekiye (A) probably also started to play a political role that was based on his ties with Lower Nubia beyond the Egyptian frontier (cf. 245 f.). This is not the case with Hornakhtyotef II and Manitawawi: their titles "agent of the King of the Land of Nubia", "prince of the country of Takompso", and "chief (?) of the Triacontaschoenus" indicate that they no longer served the King of Egypt but were in the service of the ruler of Meroe, and were appointed by the latter as princes of the region where Wayekiye (A) had been buried (cf. 246) and as governors (?) of the entire Triacontaschoenus, i.e., the Nile Valley between the First and Second Cataracts. If the titles in themselves do not appear sufficiently convincing to confirm our impression that by the time 249 was written the Dodecaschoenus had passed over to Meroitic supremacy (see Török 1979, 98 ff.; 1988a, 288), the remark that Hornakhtyotef II and Manitawawi "come annually" to Philae in order to per-

form the services for Isis gives a perfectly clear description of such a situation. For a regular official visit to Philae by high dignitaries of non-Egyptian descent who are priests and agents of Isis of Philae and, at the same time, agents of the King of Meroe and princes and chiefs of the former border region and of all of Lower Nubia including the Dodecaschoenus, could only have been possible if the Dodecaschoenus with the estates of Isis was in Meroitic possession and the priesthood of Isis of Philae had come to terms with the new lords of the region. In 260 f. and 265 f. we shall find further indications to support the above interpretation (see also (259)). For a different reconstruction of the mid-3rd cent. situation in the Dodecaschoenus see Burstein n.d.

[LT]

**250 Philae. Demotic graffito of Hornakhtyotef II.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1937, Ph. 257. Burkhardt 1985, 111.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wšte n Hr-nḥt̄-it[=f — ]

(1) The obeisance of Hornakhtyot[ef — ]

(2) p̄ krny n ʾIst

(2) the *qêreñ* of Isis,

p̄ r̄t̄ [n ʾIst

the agent of Isis,

p̄] (3) ḥm-nṯr n ʾIst

the] (3) *hont*-priest of Isis,

rp n ḥst [ʾKm-600ʾ]

prince of the country of [ʾKemsuʾ (Takompo)],

(4) sy n [W]ygy mw̄t̄=f [Ta-ʾIst]

(4) son of [We]yegeye, his mother (being) [Taêse],

(5) (m-)b̄šḥ ʾIst n Pr-wʿb Pr-ʾ-lk (6) t̄ n̄rt̄ ʿt

(5) in the presence of Isis of Pure-island (the Abaton) (6) and Final-island (Philae), the great goddess:

tw=y šll r-ḥr[=t — ] (7) iy ʾIst dd

I pray yo[u — ] (7) o Isis, saying,

r.ît=t in̄t̄(=y) ḥr rnp[t ḥn (8) ʿš-šḥn nfr nb

“Please bring me (here) yearly on (8) every good commission,

irm ne(=y) sn[w —  
with my breth[ren ...”

(9) [—]r — — —<sup>1</sup> [ — ... — ]

(9)...

[RHP]

*Comments*

As seems to be indicated by the absence of the titles “royal scribe of Kush”, “agent of the King of the Land of Nubia”, and “chief (?) of the Triacontaschoenus”, **250** was written at an earlier stage in Hornakhtyotef’s career than **249**, at a time when he had not yet assumed the priestly rank of Wayekiye (A) as “hour-watcher” (cf. **245**) and when the Dodecaschoenus was still firmly under Egyptian control. He already bears, however, the title “prince of the country of Kemsu” (probably = Takompo). As suggested by the burial place of Wayekiye (A) (see **246**), the Wayekiye family originated from, or was given land by the Meroitic ruler in, the region of Takompo (Maharraqa) on the Meroitic side of the Egyptian-Meroitic frontier. If this assumption is not entirely wrong, the title may be interpreted as one borne by the senior male members of the family.

**250** also names Hornakhtyotef’s parents Wayekiye (A) and Taêse (the latter name destroyed in the graffito but restored on the basis of **251** by Griffith 1937, 85 and Burkhardt 1985, 111).

[LT]

**251 Dakka. Hieroglyphic and Demotic graffito of Hornakhtyotef II. Mid-3rd cent. AD.**

Griffith 1937, Dak. 30. Burkhardt 1985, 99 ff.

*Text and translation*

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT (four lines, reading from right to left)

(1) rn=f mn ‘nhh’ m(-b)ḥ Dḥwty n P3-nbs ntr 3 nb Pr-Slkt

(1) His name remains ‘forever’ before Thoht of Pnubs, (the) great god, lord of Pselkhis,

Tfnt sst Rꜥ

Tefnut, daughter of Rê,

nṯrw 3w n ḥwt-nṯr (2) n Pr-Slkt

and (the) great gods of the temple complex (2) of Pselkhis,

Hr-nd-it=f š n Wꜥyky mwt(=f) Ta-ꜥst

Harendotes, son of Wayekeye, (his) mother (being) Taêse,

krny n ʾst rd (3) n ʾst m ʾw-lk ʾw-wʿb  
*qêreñ* of Isis, agent (3) of Isis on Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Aba-  
 ton),

rpʿy n h̄st n ʾT̄-kmʾ-600t  
 prince of the country of Takompo,

hr̄i-tp n nsw n Kšt r̄h-ih̄i wr m n̄wt ʾW̄sdʾ-wr  
 chief ritualist of the King of Kush, great expert in the cities of Great-ʾgreenʾ,

ʾn b̄kʾ n (4) Hr̄ n h̄st-sp 3t m ʾpsdʾ n ih̄t 3t  
 ʾas servantʾ of (4) Horus in regnal year three during the ʾepiphanyʾ of the three  
 cows,

hm-n̄tr n Spdt m mšʿ n ʾt̄h  
*hont*-priest of Sothis during the ʾProcessionʾ of the Moon,

wʿb n p̄ 5 sb̄ ʿnh̄w  
*waab*-priest of the Five Living Stars (the five planets),

nty r̄h p̄ wš n ʾr ʿybyʾ n Rʿ ʾt̄h  
 who knows the time of ʾthe shiningʾ of Sun and Moon.

DEMOTIC TEXT (seven lines, here numbered continuously with the preceding  
 hieroglyphic text)

(5) iw=y dy  
 (5) Since I was here

iw=y ʾryt̄ n mr-šn n p̄y šy ʿ D̄h̄wty n P̄-nbs p̄ n̄tr ʿ  
 and was *lesonis*-priest of this great divinity, Thoht of Pnubs, the great god,

n̄ n̄rw n t̄ k̄nbe ʿt  
 and the gods of the Great Court,

iw n̄-ʿn hrw̄t̄ iw w̄h=f h̄pr n t̄ rnpt n rn=s  
 and since there was a beautiful festival that took place in the year named,

w̄h=n dit ʾr=w ʾr t̄ wpt n p̄ k̄we n ʿl n p̄y šy ʿ  
 we had them do the work on the stone shrine of this great divinity

(6) ʾrm Snpte p̄ mr-šn pe(=y) sn  
 (6) together with Senpate, the *lesonis*-priest, my fellow (priest),

hn t̄=n mdt-rm-n-n̄tr  
 in our piety,

iw=n hč=f n nb r dšd; n st 500  
 overlaying it with gold on 500 places,

iw wšh=n ir pš=f iyk n ibd 3 šmw hrw 22  
 and celebrated its (Festival of) Entry in the third month of Summer, on the  
 twenty-second day,

pš ty-yʿr n ʾIst t nṯrt ʿst  
 the Crossing of Isis the great goddess.

pš šy ʿ i.ir=k r dit n=n t gme  
 (O) great divinity, give us the power

mtw=n ir gr wpt mwyt=f (7) m ʾ—ʾ pš=ʾsʾ irpy  
 and we will again perform another work like it (7) 'in her' temple.

t nṯpt iw=y iryṯ n mr-šn wšh=y šm r Pr-š-lk  
 The year I was *lesonis*-priest I went to Final-island (Philae)

— ... — hnʿ ʿʾyk  
 ...

tpi iḥt sw 4 Msw(t) ʾIst  
 in the first month of Inundation, on the fourth day, the Birth of Isis,

iw nš-ʿn hrwt iw wšh=n ir=f  
 there being a beautiful festival that we celebrated

(m) bšh t hrt n pš t (r) dr=f ʾIst t nṯrt ʿst  
 in the presence of the great mistress of the whole country, Isis, the great goddess,

hr pš hft-h(r)  
 in the dromos,

n pš rn (8) nš Pr-ʿw nš=n tsyš  
 in the name (8) of the Kings, our lords,

iw wšh<sup>605</sup> Pr-ʿ pe(=y) tsyš dit in=w šst Pr-ʿ 5 nš=y  
 after (the) King, my lord, had caused them to bring 5 royal letters to me

iw=y n Pr-Slk iw=y iryṯ n mr-šn n t nṯpt n rn=s  
 while I was in Pselkhis and was *lesonis*-priest in the year in question,

<sup>605</sup>Or is this a second form in a main clause: "The King, my lord, had caused..."? I am uncertain whether wšh in this text is a simple past or a perfect.

iw=f shy n3=y n w3h-shn nb nty swt  
writing to me every order which was issued.

w3h=f w3h-shn n p3 hry pyt  
He ordered the captain of the archers

(9) dit ir=w n=y t3 3ry n mnwt  
(9) to have made for me the 'rank' of '—',

p3 krny n 1st rd n 1st rp(y) 't3 h3st' 'Pe'-3r's'  
'(of)' the *qêreñ* of Isis, agent of Isis, and prince of 'the country of *Piars*'.

w3h=f 'dit s n3=i'  
He 'gave it to me'

iw=y 3ryt n mr-šn n t3 rnpt n rn=s 3n  
while I was still *lesonis*-priest in the year named.

tw=y sm r-r=k p3 ntr wr 3 ir š3 hpr m3  
I greet you with praises, (o) very great god, (you) who truly began coming into being,

p3 nb n p3 3h3  
(you) lord of (peoples') lifetime(s)

' — ... —' (10) - p3 h3te  
... of the heart,

p3 3y 3w n 3nh n p3=f mryt  
(you) bringer of the breath of life to his beloved,

p3 šy 3  
(o you) great divinity,

tw=y spr m-b3h=k dd i.ir=k r dit ' — ... —' 3 ' — ... —'  
I make my petition before you (masc.), saying, "Please give ... great ..."

s3m sprw n p3 nty 3š n=f  
hear the petitions of him who calls upon him,

p3 'ity m-(i)wt' n3 ntrw  
(you) 'sovereign' among the gods."

(11) p3 ntr 3 D3wty n P3-nbs p3 šy 3  
(11) (O) great God, Thoth of Pnubs, (you) great divinity,

my sḅ=y r-r=k ʿn  
 let me draw near to you again

mtw=y ḫr mr-šn ʿn  
 and again be *lesonis*-priest,

mtw=k ḫṯ(=y) r ʿne=w ʾknyʿʾ ḫrm ʿ — ... — ʾ  
 and bring me to — together with ...

ʿhr smnwʾ n ʿ — ʾ ḫpyw ʿ — ... — nḅ=yʾ pe(=y) ʿḫ  
 ... temples ... ʿto meʾ my lifetime,

ḫw=f wḏḅ  
 while it prospers.

[RHP]

*Comments*

It seems, on the basis of a comparison of Hornakhtyotef's titularies (see also Griffith 1937, 27) in his three inscriptions presented here, that 250 was written at an early stage of his career in the Egyptian Dodecaschoenus, 249 at the peak of his career in the Meroitic administration in Lower Nubia, and 251 at a time in between. The last-mentioned text not only records some interesting details about the structure of the clerical careers but also offers an insight into the circumstances under which the new government of the formerly Egyptian Dodecaschoenus was shaped.

251 was carved (and its signs filled in with red paint) on the W front of the temple, above the side doorway leading to the pronaos. It formed a group of inscriptions together with 254 and 255, texts written by Hornakhtyotef's brothers and colleagues.

Like the majority of the inscriptions written by members of the Wayekiye family, 251 too is a report about activity framed by a *prosodynema* formula as its introduction and a prayer as its conclusion, the report and the prayer constituting a homogeneous unit in the sense of the reciprocity between god and men: a notion restricted, in earlier Kushite documents, to the royal sphere (cf. *Comments* on FHN I, 21, 24; FHN II, 71, 78, 92) and occurring here obviously as a manifestation of the Egyptian ethics and religious views in which Hornakhtyotef (but perhaps also his contemporaries growing up in educated Meroitic environments) had been raised.

The text establishes the filiation of Hornakhtyotef II as son of Wayekiye (A) and Taêse (cf. 247, family tree) and lists his titles: *qoreñ* and "agent" of Isis of Philae and the Abaton (cf. 231), which refer to his office as manager of the temple estates, prince of the country of Takompso, which expresses his status as senior member of the Wayekiye family (cf. 250), "chief ritualist of the King of

Kush, great expert in the cities of Great-green,<sup>606</sup> *hont*-priest ('prophet') of Sothis", and "*waab*-priest of the Five Living Stars" and *lesonis*-priest of Thoth of Dakka. Most of these titles are known from the titularies of earlier generations of the family (cf. 231, 232, 243-245, 249) and depict Hornakhtyotef as a member of a line of priests who, reaching the top of the temple hierarchy, also became managers of the deity's estates. At the same time, Hornakhtyotef II also received an education in astronomy (cf. 245) and, apparently, in magic as well and was appointed "hour-watcher" and chief ritualist at the Meroitic court. As a "ritualist", i.e., as a colleague of Egyptian priests connected with the "House of Life",<sup>607</sup> his duty was probably to preserve the monarch from danger with the help of astrological calculations and the like (cf. Borghouts 1980, 1146). Priests with the title *hr̄i-tp*, "chief ritualist" (cf. Sauneron 1966, 33 f.) occur in the Egyptian sources as theological experts *par excellence*, i.e., as experts and authors of all sorts of texts including magical ones (cf. Gutekunst 1986, 1329 f.). It is thus highly appropriate that a priest with such an education should display his knowledge by combining a hieroglyphic inscription with a Demotic one, the former being one of the very few hieroglyphic inscriptions written at such a late date in the Dodecaschoenus.

It is also indicated, albeit in an unfortunately rather obscure section (lines 3 f.), that he carried out his ritual duties "in regnal year 3 of Horus", i.e., of the King of Meroe. If our dating of Hornakhtyotef II's activity to the middle of the 3rd cent. AD is correct, the "Horus" in question may be identical with one of the rulers dated on various grounds to the first half and middle of the century, viz., Amanikhedolo ((235)), Takideamani ((236)), Mashaqadakhel (?) ((237)) or Teqorideamani ((259)). If Teqorideamani's reign is meant, the date of the inscription would be AD 253 (cf. 260).

In 251 Hornakhtyotef II writes about his activity as high priest (for the meaning of *lesonis* see 232) of Thoth of Dakka "in the year in question"; and he reports the work he had done in the company of Senpate, another (former?) *lesonis*-priest,<sup>608</sup> during his tenure as *lesonis*. The proud account is meant to support Hornakhtyotef's aspiration to be re-elected high priest by appealing to the principle of reciprocity between man's pious actions and god's favour. The graffito was thus written after his tenure had ended; and it seems that the

<sup>606</sup>The *W̄d-wr*, "Great Green" is, according to Griffith (1937, 28), identical with the Red Sea. An identification with the "nome" *T̄3-w̄d*, "Green-land" listed between Sedeinga and Pnubs in the Philae nome list of Ptolemy II (FHN II, 112) seems more likely, however.

<sup>607</sup>Cf. Kees 1962; Gutekunst 1986, 1328 ff.; for the *pr-ḥnh*, "House of Life", as a temple institution, scriptorium and archives, in which all religious and scientific knowledge was systematically collected and exploited by an expert priesthood, see Weber 1979.

<sup>608</sup>In Burkhardt's view (1985, 94) a brother of Hornakhtyotef II, who is identical with the *Snptete* mentioned in lines 7 f. of 246. However, *snptete* does not seem, on account of the locative ending *-te*, to be a personal name; moreover, since the person referred to as *snptete* ("the person in/from Napata"?) is in a *-mde* relationship with Wayekiye (A). Contrary to Burkhardt's suggestion, which has no supporting evidence, somebody's son cannot be referred to as his *mde*-relation.

priestly college did not re-elect him. The two month dates he gives for activities during his tenure, 22 Epiphi (= 16 July) and 4 Thoth (= 1/2 September) may indicate that his tenure as high priest ended before the great Choiakh festival; accordingly, the election of the high priest may have been connected with this particular feast.

Hornakhtyotef II reports that he received five royal letters from Meroe containing various decrees during his tenure. This remark could easily be taken as a further confirmation of our impression (see 249) that the Dodecaschoenus was under Meroitic supremacy at the time of Hornakhtyotef's and Maniawawi's tenure as chiefs (?) of the Triacoschoenus. However, the situation in the year when Hornakhtyotef II was high priest at Dakka was not so clear cut as that. The report on his activity at Dakka concludes (lines 7 f.) with the remarkable statement that as *lesonis*-priest he celebrated the festival of the Birth of Isis at Philae "in the name of the Kings, our lords, after (the) King, my lord, had caused them to bring five royal letters to me while I was in Pselkhis [Dakka]". This can only be understood as an indication that a high priest who was not an Egyptian but a Meroitic subject was acting ceremonially in Egypt in an official capacity. This extraordinary situation, which would not remain unique (cf. 260 f., 265 f.), can best be explained as a consequence of the fact that the estates of Isis were in the Dodecaschoenus. The loss of the income from these estates when Meroitic power was extended over the area was, as it appears, wisely avoided by a compromise on the part of the Egyptian government: viz., by officially delegating a priestly and economic authority in the Dodecaschoenus to Meroitic high priests. This compromise must have been achieved and maintained without serious problems simply because these high priests were identical with the high priests of the preceding era.

The details of the arrangement, as reconstructed above in its main lines, escape our understanding, partly because line 9 of the text where reference to them is to be expected is difficult to understand, and partly because there existed no appropriate terminology for the description of an arrangement of such an utterly unusual kind. The royal order given to the "captain of archers" may refer to difficulties; and the obscure reference to "the prince of the country of *Pe-irs*" seems to indicate that Hornakhtyotef's activity as high priest of a temple in the Dodecaschoenus was in some way coordinated with, or subordinate to, the authority of another person in the administration of Lower Nubia. Griffith (1937, 29) read "*Mnwṯ* .... prince of the land (?) of Pahoras [Faras]" and identified *Mnwṯ* with the *Mnṯwi* (Maniawawi) of other texts. If his tentative reading is correct, we may also suppose that it is the office of the Meroitic "viceroy", *peseto*, which is referred to in 251 (cf. 264, 265).

[LT]

**252 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wayekiye (B).** Mid-3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 120. Burkhardt 1985, 107 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wšte 'n' Wygye sy Mnt̄we

(1) The obeisance of Weyegeye son of Menetewe,

(2) rn mw̄t̄=f Grmrwet

(2) the name of whose mother is Geremerewet,

dy m-bš̄h ʾst (3) (n) Pr-īw-l̄ke Pr-w'ḅ t̄ ntr̄t ʾt

(is) here in the presence of Isis (3) of Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Abaton), the great goddess.

īnk p̄; ḥb̄ḥne (4) p̄; k̄rny n ʾst p̄; r̄t̄ n ʾst

I, the *khakhañ*, (4) the *qêreñ* of Isis the agent of Isis,

dy (5) (m-)bš̄h Wsir Hr ʾst ntrw ʾyww n (6) Pr-l̄ke š' ḏt

am here (5) in the presence of Osiris, Horus, and Isis, great gods of (6) Final-island (Philae) for ever,

m̄s' r.īr P̄-R' Šwe/M̄s'e

a place that Prê and Shu made,

(7) n ībd 4 ʾḥt sw 11

(7) on the eleventh day of the fourth month of Inundation,

īw=y šlle r ʾst

praying to Isis

mtw=s (8) dīt n̄=y t̄ gmet n t̄ 'šms' (n) p̄; Pr-ʾs pe=n (9) t̄sy

that she (8) give me the strength 'to serve' the King, our (9) lord,

mtw=s <dīt> n̄=y ḥsy wwre n-r.īr-ḥre (10) p̄; Pr-ʾs š' ḏt

and that she <grant> me praise and 'favor' before (10) the King for ever.

'shy sh' n ' — — ʾs yrne — — '

'Written by the scribe ... '

[RHP]

*Comments*

Wayekiye (B), son of Manitawawi (cf. 247, 249, 267) and of *Grmrwet*, a name which may be translated as "lady of/from Meroe" (from *Kri-Mrwi*, Meroitic *kdi Bedewetel*, cf. Griffith 1937, 65; Millet 1969, 320 GA 20), inscribed his *proskynema* and brief prayer on the interior face of the N screen wall, E end, of the Birth

House as *hbhne, qoreñ*, and agent of Isis of Philae (for the titles see 232, 247) and asked in it for strength to serve the “King his lord”. He asked in addition that Isis grant him “praise and favor before the King for ever”. In view of what we know about the legal situation (cf. 251) which demanded a twofold political loyalty from the third and fourth generations of the Wayekiye family, it is impossible to decide who the ruler meant here is. Is it the Roman emperor or the Meroitic king?

In the following table we give a summary of the family relations of Wayekiye (B):

Gen. 4	(249) Mnṭwi = Grmrwi.t (252)	
	-----	
Gen. 5	Wayekiye (B) (252)	Ame[.]ye (GA 20 <sup>609</sup> )

[LT]

**253 Philae. Demotic graffito of Atengeytenrie.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 411. Burkhardt 1985, 114.

*Text and translation*

(1) ṭ wštet n stngyṭryṯ

(1) The obeisance of Atengeytenrie,

pṯ mr-mšc

the district commissioner,

pṯ rḫ n ṯst

the agent of Isis,

(m-)bḥ ṯst n (2) Pr-ṯw-lḳe Pr-ṯw-wṯb

in the presence of Isis of (2) Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Abaton),

ṭ nṯrt ʿṯ

the great goddess,

ṭ špšet nfrt

the beautiful lady

ṭ Pr-ʿṯ n pṯ ṭ (r-)ḏr=f

the Queen of the whole land,

---

<sup>609</sup>Millet 1969, 320.

ḥr hrw (3) n mnt            ḥw mn hrwe n wš  
 day (3) by day,            without missing a day,

ḥw=f šlle (m-)bšḥ tš ntrt ʿt ʾst dḏ  
 praying in the presence of the great goddess Isis, saying,

r.ḥr=t ḥn(=y) (4) r pe=t ʿyky ḥr rnpt nb  
 "Please bring me (4) to your dedication every year,

mtw=y wšte ḥnʿ ne(=y) snw ne(=y) rmtw  
 so that I may worship together with my brethren and my people

mtw=y ḥr ne=t smnw nty ḥtny  
 and perform your glorious service

(5) mtw=y ḥn ne(=y) swḥew ne(=y) wḏ Mrwew  
 (5) and bring my collections and my 'Meroe-payments'

n tšbt n pš tšw n nš Pr-ʿsw ne(=y) tšy:sw  
 in exchange for the breath (of life) for the Kings, my lords;

mtw=t dḥt (6) ʾn=wʾ ḥḥ n ʿḥʿ ḥn ne=t smw ʾʿšnʾ  
 and grant (6) them millions (of years) of lifetime in your blessings '—'

mtw pe=t rpy nty ḥtny ḥwy n.ḥm=w  
 and may your glorious temple rejoice in them."

[RHP]

### Comments

Inscribed on the W face of the Gateway of Hadrian, the *proskynema* and prayer of *stngyḥnryš*, a strategus and "agent" of Isis (for the titles cf. 229, 243), reflects the same conditions, now also prevailing in the temple of Philae, we found described in 251 with regard to the temples of the Dodecaschoenus. *stngyḥnryš*, whom we cannot place in the Wayekiye family, has a non-Egyptian name which may derive from Meroitic Teñkitnide (cf. REM 0504). Indeed, according to Griffith (1937, 113), the *stngyḥnryš* of 253 may be identical with the Teñkitnide of REM 0504. This is, however, unlikely because the latter was a priest of Apedemak at *Tketore*, modern Aggeteri, S of Soleb.<sup>610</sup>

[LT]

<sup>610</sup>The Citora of Bion, see FHN II, 108; for his priesthood and its significance for the spread of the cult of Apedemak outside the "island of Meroe" (cf. Žabkar 1975, 46, as opposed to Hofmann 1978c) see Török 1979, 17 f.

**254 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Qêreñ.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Dak. 31. Burkhardt 1985, 101.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wštt̄ n Ḳrn sy n Wygy (2) r.ms Ty-Īst  
(1) The obeisance of Qêreñ son of Weyegeye (2) whom Taiêse bore,

(m-)b̄h̄ Šw D̄hwti Tfnt 'Ntm'  
in the presence of Shu, Thoth, Tefnut and 'Sweetie'

(3) n̄ ntrw ʕyw n hwt-ntr n Pr-Slk  
(3) the great gods of the temple complex of The House of Selkis (Pselchis).

(4) p̄ šy ʕ nb m̄ʕt  
(4) (O) great divinity, lord of Maʕat,

tw=y šlle r.r=k d̄d  
I pray you, saying,

(5) ĩ.ir=k r t̄t̄=n r Mrw ĩw=n w̄d̄  
(5) "Please take us safe to Meroe

mtw=k <d̄it̄> n=n (6) h̄sȳt (r) hr Pr-ʕ pe=n t̄sj ĩrm pe=f 'm̄š̄'  
and <grant> us (6) favor before the King, our lord, and his 'people'—

(7) d̄d mtw=k p̄ nb h̄sȳt p̄ šy ʕ  
(7) for you are the master of favor, (o) great divinity—

d̄d ĩw=n r d̄it̄ ĩn=w pe=n r-10 (8) hr rnpt  
for then we shall (be able to) send our tithe (8) annually."

[RHP]

*Comments*

Though he does not give any title in his *proskynema* and prayer graffito, which he inscribed above Hornakhtyotef's bilingual inscription (see 251), Qêreñ belonged, as is indicated in the text itself, to the personal of one (or several) of the temples in the Dodecaschoenus, most likely to that of Dakka. He was a son of Wayekiye (A) and Taêse and thus a brother of Hornakhtyotef II (see the family tree appended to the *Comments* on 247), who may thus have referred to him indirectly in 250 as one of his unnamed brothers. Qêreñ prays for a safe journey to Meroe and favour with "the King" (who, in this context, can be none other than the king of Meroe) and, interestingly, with the people (perhaps as a late echo of the royal notion of receiving legitimation through the "love of the people", cf. FHN I, 37 lines 26 ff.; Török 1995a, 132—or is the royal clan meant?)

and to be permitted by the “great divinity, lord of Maʿat”, to be able to deliver the annual taxes (i.e., of the temple estate[s] in his charge?). The epithet “great divinity, lord of Maʿat” probably refers, in this case, to Thoth as the god who determines the length and the success of Qêreñ’s life (for the role of the gods as masters of man’s fate cf. Kuhlmann 1976, 680; Assmann 1990, 253; for the concept of Maʿat as Isis-Maʿat, mistress of human fate in Roman Egypt cf. Schlichting 1979, 950 f.; for *Shai*, Fate, as primeval deity and for its identification with the Greek Agathos Daimon see Grumach-Shirun 1983a; 1983b).

It would seem that Qêreñ’s prayers were listened to. At least one safe journey of his to the south is attested by a Demotic *proskynema*—the southernmost example known in this script—which he inscribed on the S front of the temple of Apedemak at Naqa (Thissen 1983, 38 ff.). In its brief text he recorded his parents (his father’s name [*Wy*]gy is partly preserved, while his mother’s name is no longer legible though doubtless it was *Ty-ʿIst*, Taêse) but no title of his own (similarly to 254) and memorialized his praying presence before Osiris, Horus, and Isis (Thissen 1983, 39 f.). The latter detail is significant because it demonstrates that in a *proskynema* graffito one did not necessarily pray to the deity to whom a sanctuary was dedicated.

[LT]

**255 Dakka. Demotic graffito of Shetelten.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Dak. 32. Burkhardt 1985, 102.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wštt̄ (n) Št̄ltn sy n Wygy (2) mwṯ=f Ty-ʿIst

(1) The obeisance of Shetelten son of Weyegeye, (2) his mother (being) Taiêse,

(m-)b̄ḥ py šy ʿ (3) ḥr hrw

in the presence of this great divinity (3) daily:

tw=y šll r.r=k ḏd

I pray you, saying,

(4) ï.ṛ=k \d̄it/ wḏ̄=y ṛm te(=y) mwṯ (5) ne(=y) snw

(4) “Please preserve me and my mother (5) and my brothers

mtw=k t̄t̄(=y) r Mrw (6) ṛw=y wḏ̄

and take me safe (6) to Meroe

mtw=y ʿsmnʿ pe=k (7) rpy nty ṛtnyṯ

so that I may ‘serve’ your glorious (7) temple.”

[RHP]

*Comments*

This *proskynema*+prayer graffito of the third son of Wayekiye (A) was inscribed above the bilingual monument of Hornakhtyotef II (251) beside Qêreñ's graffito (254). In its brief text Shetelten presents his filiation (cf. the family tree appended to the *Comments* on 247) but no titles and prays for the welfare of his mother Taêse and of his brothers, for a safe journey to Meroe, and, indirectly, for royal favour that would enable him to serve Thoth's "glorious temple" at Dakka. The fact that he prays only for his mother's preservation indicates that at this time Wayekiye (B) was no longer alive. The circumstances prevailing in Lower Nubia at the time of the writing of 255 are similar to those recorded in 249-251 and 254.

[LT]

**256 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pathorês.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1937, Ph. 255. Burkhardt 1985, 110 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wštt̄ n Pa-t̄-ḥwt-rs

(1) The obeisance of Pathorês,

p̄ k̄rn̄ n ʾIst

the *qêreñ* of Isis,

(2) p̄ r̄t̄ n ʾIst

(2) the agent of Isis,

sy n Pa-t̄-nhyt (3) mw̄t̄=f Twtwyt

son of Patanehit (3) his mother (being) Tewtowe,

(m-)b̄šḥ̄ ʾIst n (4) Pr-ʾ-w̄b̄ Pr-ʾ-l̄k̄ t̄ n̄rt̄ ʾt̄

in the presence of Isis of (4) Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Abaton):

tw=y (5) šlle r-ir=t̄ te(=y) ḥnw(t) ʾIst dd̄

I (5) pray you, (o) my mistress Isis, saying,

(6) r-ir=t̄ in̄t̄(=y) ḥr rnpt nb ḥn ʾš-sḥn (7) nfr nb

(6) "Please bring me (here) every year with every good (7) commission,

irm ne(=y) snw te(=y) mhwt

together with my brethren and my (extended) family,

ḥn̄ (8) te(=y) ḥmyt irm (9) ne(=y) ḥr̄t̄w

together with (8) my wife and (9) my children,

mtw=n (10) wšt=t t̄ tsy (11) n p̄ t̄ (r-)ḏr=f  
 so that we may (10) worship you, (o) ruler (11) of the entire land."

[RHP]

*Comments*

Pathorês, son of Patanehit and Tewtowe (all Egyptian names), left behind two *proskynema*+prayer inscriptions on the inner, N, face of the W tower of the Second Pylon of the temple of Isis. 256 is, apparently, the earlier of the two, for it contains a shorter titulary in which Pathorês bears only the two titles of a high temple official which frequently occur in late 2nd and 3rd cent. AD documents from the Dodecaschoenus (cf. 232, 245, 249 ff.). By contrast, in his other graffito (see 257) he is, besides being, as in 256, *qêreñ* and "agent" of Isis (of Philae), also a *hont*-priest (for the title see *Comments* on 245) and "prince of the land of Kemsu [Takompo]". It seems, nevertheless, that already in 256 he was a subject and official of the king of Meroe; and it is in this capacity that he makes an annual journey to Philae in order to act on the basis of "good commissions". This latter notion indicates that his activity there had been defined by some sort of agreement between Egypt and Meroe. The existence of such an agreement is also strongly suggested by 251.

The title "prince of the land of Kemsu [Takompo]" also occurs in the titles of Hornakhtyotef II and Manitawawi (see 249-251), where it appears to be an inherited (?) title of rank rather than an actual office. Such an interpretation may, however, be contradicted by 257, since we cannot place Pathorês within the Wayekiye family. In 256 he prays for the welfare of his *mhw.t*, "(extended) family" (Griffith 1937, 85, 153: "clan"), apparently indicating a notion of social context that seems more Meroitic than Egyptian.<sup>611</sup>

[LT]

**257 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pathorês.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1937, Ph. 256. Burkhardt 1985, 111.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wšt.t n Pa-t̄-ḥwt-rs

(1) The obeisance of Pathorês,

p̄ ḳrny n ʾst

the *qêreñ* of Isis,

p̄ ḳ̄ n ʾst

the agent of Isis,

<sup>611</sup>In New Kingdom texts *mhw.t* refers to families of Bedouins and of enemies in this sense. In texts of the Ptolemaic period, however, the term also occurs in the sense of the Ptolemaic court title "king's brother" (i.e., σὺγγενής), see Wb II, 114 (8) and (12), respectively.

ḥm-nṯr n ʾst  
*hont*-priest of Isis,

rp n ḥst Km-600  
 prince of the country of Kemsu,

(2) sy n Pa-t-nht mwt=f Twtwy

(2) son of Patnûhe, his mother (being) Tewtowî.

[RHP]

*Comments*

See *Comments* on 256.

**258 Pestilence in Aithiopia in ca. AD 250-253.** 1st half of 12th cent. AD.

John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 12.21B.

*Source bibliography*

Dindorf 1868-75

Ioannis Zonarae *Epitome Historiarum*. Ed. L. Dindorf.  
 Vol. 1-6. Leipzig.

Ziegler 1972

K. Ziegler: Zonaras. RE II 10 A, cols. 718-732.

*Introduction to source*

John (Ioannes) Zonaras was commander of the imperial body-guard and head of the chancellery at the court of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Comnenos until the Emperor's death in AD 1118, when he retired to monastic life and devoted his time to writing a chronicle of world history from which the text below is taken. The work bears the title *Epitome historiarum* ("Outline of world history") and goes from the creation of the world to AD 1118 (when John II Comnenos became Emperor).

Zonaras' history is a work of compilation; and generally his practice is to name his sources, most of which are preserved. For the study of Roman history, however, he is of great value in that he makes extensive use of Cassius Dio's history (or of Cassius Dio's excerptor Xiphilinus, cf. 205 and 207), of which large parts would otherwise have been lost. On Zonaras' sources see Ziegler (1972) 725-730.

Zonaras was also an authoritative commentator on canonical law, and a writer of hagiographical and homiletic books.

The *Epitome* has been edited by Dindorf (1868-75), and on his edition we have based our text.

*Text*

12.21B λέγεται δὲ τούτων μοῖραν τινα διὰ Βοσπόρου παρελθοῦσαν καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην ὑπερβάσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον γενέσθαι πόντον καὶ χώρας πορθῆσαι πολλάς. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν τότε κατὰ τῆς

Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπικρατείας ὠρμήκεσαν. Ἄλλὰ καὶ λοιμὸς τηνικαῦτα ταῖς χώραις ἐνέσκηπεν, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπινεμηθεὶς χώραν ἔφην τε καὶ ἔσπεριον, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐκένωσεν, ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα διαρκέσας ἐνιαυτούς.

*Translation*

12.21B It is said that a part of these [i.e., Scythians who overran Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece] passed the [Cimmerian] Bosphorus, crossed the Lake of Maeotis [sea of Azov], reached the Black Sea, and ravaged many lands. And many other peoples too had begun to attack Roman supremacy at that time. But also pestilence struck the lands at the same time, beginning in Aithiopia and spreading to almost every country, east and west. It emptied many of the towns of their inhabitants during the fifteen years it lasted.

[TE]

*Comments*

In his world chronicle Zonaras reports, among the events of the period of the emperors Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, ca. AD 250-253, the spread of a plague which started in Aithiopia. It appears likely that Zonaras found the source for the passage presented here in the lost books of Cassius Dio (cf. Ziegler 1972, 728). For reports on epidemics starting in Aithiopia in earlier periods see FHN II, 68; in this volume see 241, with *Comments*.

[LT]

**(259) Teqorideamani. Titles. Evidence for reign.**

Titles

Source: Throne and Son of Rê names in Egyptian/Meroitic hieroglyphs on the S wall of mortuary cult chapel Beg. N. 28, REM 0058A, Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 21/G.

Throne name	Ḥpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ "Rê-is-One-whose-kꜣ-is-come-into-being"
Son of Rê name	(Te)qoridmni-qo

Evidence for reign

In his Demotic graffito (see 260) dating from April 10, AD 253 Pasan, Teqorideamani's envoy to Philae, recounts the events of his two journeys to Philae. The first occurred in the second regnal year of Teqorideamani and was connected with an unidentified feast of Isis. The second, the conclusion of which was marked by the graffito, occurred in Teqorideamani's third regnal year and started on 1 Choiakh, i.e., November 17, AD 252. Accordingly, Teqorideam-

ani ascended the throne on 1 Choiakh AD 249 at the latest and on 1 Tybi AD 248, at the earliest.

Teqorideamani's reign is further attested by REM 0408-0410, three dedication texts inscribed in cursive Meroitic script on three sandstone bases of statues (?) or obelisks (?) from the Apedemak temple M 6 at Meroe City (Garstang et al. 1911, Pls XXVI, LXVI; Török 1997, 46-48); and his name also occurs in the text of the offering table Boston MFA 23.872 (Dunham 1957, fig. 123, Pl. LX/C; Hintze 1959, 59 f.; REM 0829) from Beg. N. 28. According to this table, his father was *Teritni(d)e*, his mother *Arqtñmks*. The latter name also occurs as the name of the mother of King Tamelordeamani (see (275)), whose father was, however, an *Arotnide* (see offering table Berlin 2254, REM 0059). In Tamelordeamani's offering table text, however, the verbal complex *tedhe*, "born by" stands twice, thus indicating that *Arotnide* was the second husband of the lady *Arqtñmks* (for the issue see Hintze 1959, 13 ff.). Consequently, King Tamelordeamani was a half-brother of King Teqorideamani.

Teqorideamani was buried in pyramid Beg. N. 28 (Dunham 1957, 185 ff.).

#### *Comments*

The Philae graffito of Pasan (260) reveals that Teqorideamani, who, curiously, adopted the Throne name of his predecessor Ariteñyesbokhe (see (228)), was the ruler of a kingdom which now also included the Dodecaschoenus, "Land of the Twelve Miles" which previously had been, ever since the peace treaty of 21/20 BC following the war with Rome, under Egyptian control (cf. 190, 204 f.). It was shown in the foregoing (see *Comments* on 231 f.; 246-255) that in the first half of the 3rd cent. AD the high priesthood and the principal offices of the economic management of the sanctuaries of the Dodecaschoenus were filled mainly by members of the local non-Egyptian élite, a practice already attested in earlier centuries (cf. FHN II, 140, 180-185).

The first half of the 3rd cent. AD witnessed the emergence of the Wayekiye family, a clan of high priests attested for eight generations in the Demotic and Meroitic sources (for their descent see the family trees appended to 232, 247, 252). After serving for three generations (i.e., Gen. 2-4) in the temple of Philae and the temples of the *Egyptian* Dodecaschoenus, members of its fourth (Manitawawi) and fifth generations (Hornakhtyotef II, Qêreñ, Shetelten, Wayekiye [B]) played a changed role, either serving concurrently both the Egyptian and the Meroitic rulers, or as officials of the Meroitic sovereign; but also in this latter case they performed official religious duties and acts in the Philae temple. Most of their inscriptions were, however, written within the same, apparently short, period of time and are undated; moreover, members of three subsequent generations of the family are attested as having acted contemporaneously. It is thus impossible to put their testimonies into a more than hypothetical chronological sequence, and consequently the historical processes behind the texts remain largely incomprehensible.

Nevertheless, the general chronological framework may be regarded as more or less fixed: the Meroitic control of the Dodecaschoenus starts around AD 240; and the 250s and 260s witness conflicts and difficulties which all seem, however, to have been overcome by means of negotiations—at least the texts inscribed on the walls of the temples at Philae and Dakka do not indicate armed conflicts of a larger scale between Egypt and Meroe (but see **261**). It thus remains mere speculation that the cooperation and agreements hinted at in the inscriptions, according to which the temple of Philae in Egypt could continue, by employing high-ranking Meroitic officials, to receive her incomes from the Meroitic-controlled Dodecaschoenus, was motivated on the Egyptian side by the difficulty of defending Egypt's southern frontier against the growing Blemmyan threat. If that had been the case, we would have here a sort of federation, in which the defence of the Dodecaschoenus is left to a great extent to Meroe.

It can be established on the basis of **260** that Pasan went to Philae already in AD 252 as a delegate of Teqorideamani; judging by the context of the passage in question, there can be hardly any doubt that at that time the Dodecaschoenus was already under Meroitic control and the "agreement" hinted at in **249** and **251** had been functioning, i.e., the Philae temple was not cut off from its estates in the Dodecaschoenus and, in return, in its priesthood high offices continued to be secured for members of the Wayekiye family which also received from the king of Meroe a kind of political authority of the Dodecaschoenus.

Refraining from hypotheses (see Török 1979, 9 ff., 100 ff.; for criticism of them see Burkhardt 1985, 86 ff.), no attempt will be made here to reconstruct the events and their chronology. We only briefly refer to facts that might delineate a framework for such a reconstruction, viz.: 1. the decline of Roman military control in the Dodecaschoenus (cf. **238 f.**); 2. the emergence of high priests serving both the Roman emperor and the Meroitic king (**249, 251**) and 3. the combination of their high offices in the temples of Philae and the Dodecaschoenus with administrative functions and rank titles south of the Dodecaschoenus. The nature of this combination is revealed by the title "chief of the Triacantaschoenus"; for it is a clear manifestation of the notion that Meroe was now recreating a Meroitic province in Lower Nubia in the form it had had under Ptolemaic Egyptian, Meroitic, and Roman Egyptian supremacy during the preceding five centuries (cf. FHN II, **141, 162-166**; in this volume **190, 204 f.**). 4. The inscriptions of the Meroitic dignitaries active at Philae are always dated, if at all, according to regnal years of the Roman emperor, as is to be expected since Philae remained, as expressly stated in **260** (e.g., line 3), under Egyptian control. At the same time, however, the reports themselves are chronologically organized according to the regnal years of the Meroitic ruler (**251, 260**). 5. The same ambivalence, or rather co-existence of powers (cf. Millet 1969, 26 ff.) is apparent in **261** (written ca. AD 253), where we read the report of Tami, a "corn-measurer" of Isis of Philae, who started his official activity there in AD 240/41 and carried it out for ten years, till 249/50, under peaceful conditions. Then difficulties arose

which involved Bekemete, a Meroitic dignitary (cf. 267) who was in a position to give orders to Tami, as could the Egyptian *dux*. After some sort of settlement was reached, Tami continued to act under much humbler circumstances for another three years (AD 249/50-252/53). In the concluding section of his inscription, Tami prays for praise and favour with "every important person of the northern [compound] and of the southern [compound]", i.e., in Egypt as well as in Meroe. 6. A co-existence of powers is also indicated by graffiti in the quarries of Kertassi in the Dodecaschoenus (between Dabod and Talmis/Kalabsha) dated with years of Roman emperors in the course of the 240s; the last such inscription dates, significantly, from AD 251 (see SB V, nos 8486-8488, 8490-8492; Zucker 1911, 343; Hofmann 1981c, 30 f.).

Reisner (1923, 76, 157) dated Beg. N. 28, with the cartouches of Teqorideamani *Hpr-k3-Rc*, on typological grounds to the first half of the 2nd cent. AD, a dating which gave rise to two rulers called Teqorideamani I (Beg. N. 28) and Teqorideamani II (burial ?; cf. Wenig 1967, 27 f., 43 f.) since the existence of a Teqorideamani dated to AD 253 in 260 had also to be taken into account. The dating of the tomb inventory of Beg. N. 28 to the second third of the 3rd cent. AD could, however, be established on the basis of the imported amphorae found in it (cf. Hofmann 1978, 170 ff.), especially on one bearing the stamp EX PROV(INCIA) MAUR(ETANIA) CAES(ARIENSI) TUBUS(UCTU) (Dunham 1957, fig. 122). Thus the supposed Teqorideamani (I) could be eliminated (Desanges 1972a).

[LT]

**260 Philae. Demotic graffito of Pasan. AD 253.**

Griffith 1937, Ph. 416. Burkhardt 1985, 114 ff. Burstein 1998a, No. 12.

*Text and translation*

(1) t3 wštet n 'Pa<sup>1</sup>-s<sup>n</sup> s3 Pa-İst mwł=f 'Ta<sup>1</sup>-...

(1) The obeisance of 'Pa-<sup>1</sup>san son of Paêse, his mother (being) 'Ta- — —'

p3 k<sup>r</sup>nj3 3krre n Pr-3  
the *qêreñ akrere* of the King,

p3 wpte 3 n Hrme  
the great envoy to Rome

dy m-b3h İst n Pr-İw-lk Pr-İw-w<sup>b</sup>  
here in the presence of Isis of Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Abaton),

t3 ntrt 3t  
the great goddess,

t3 kbhe(2)t nfrt t3y rnpt w3h-ihy3  
the beautiful (2) Refreshment of this year, Giver of wealth,

t3 tsy3 n p3-rs3 pr-mhyte pr-ibte pr-imnte  
the mistress of the south, the north, the east, and the west,

t3 sdm sbrew n n3 nty wy  
the one who hears the petitions of those who are far off:

h3t-sp 2t iw=y r Kme  
"In the second regnal year I came to Black(-land) (Egypt)

iw (3) w3h=y wle hry p3y twe n t3 wpet n Ist t3 n3rt 3t  
after (3) I had 'sung' on this mountain 'in' the work of Isis, the great goddess,

iw=s sdm n3y=n šllew  
she heard our prayers

iw=s in3=n r Kme  
and brought us to Black(-land) (Egypt)

iw=n wd3  
safe.

iw=y r Km  
I came to Black(-land) (Egypt)

ir=y n3 hpew nty iw w3h pe(=y) (4) tsy3 w3h-shn n.im=w n3=y  
that I might perform the rites which my (4) lord had ordered me (to perform).

ir=y iry=w.  
I performed them.

w3h=f w3h-shn n3=y 3n  
He had also ordered me

r tkr h3d gngr 10t  
to weigh out money, 10 talents,

r in3=w r hwt-n3r n Ist  
to bring it to the temple complex of Isis

n n3 hm-n3rw irm n3 w3bw irm n3 šret-w3btw n hmy3tw  
for the *hont*-priests and the *waab*-priests and the female children of *waab*-priests.

(5) wšh=y dit ïr=w tkr=w n pš rn n Pr-š pe(=n) tsyš  
 (5) I had them weigh them out in the name of the King, our lord,

n-ħn nš=w 'mrrw' 'prw'  
 in their '—' and 'grain'.

wšh=f wšh-šħn nš=y r dit ïr pš tš['y'] (r-)đr=f n ħnmnm  
 He had ordered me to make the whole 'district' 'enjoy itself',

wšh=n ïr=f n pš=f rn nfr  
 and we did it in his good name.

nš-šne (6) ħ['nmnm'] ïw wšh=f ïr=f n pš tšy  
 It was a beautiful (6) 'party' he made for the nome.

wšh=f wšh-šħn n pš sy-nsw ħnš nš křnyšw n ĩst  
 He ordered the king's son together with the *qêreñs* of Isis

r iy r Kme ïrm=y  
 to come to Black(-land) with me

šš-mtw=n ïr nš hrwte ïrm nš wnmew  
 so that we could hold the festivals and the banquets

r.ïry=w ħn ħwt-ntr n ĩst (7) [ïrm pš tym]e (r-)đr=f  
 which they celebrate in the temple complex of Isis (7) ['and the'] whole ['town'].

ħšt-sp 3t ïbd 4 šħe sw 1  
 In the regnal year three, fourth month of the Inundation Season, day 1,

ïw=n r Pr-ïw-lke  
 we came to Final-island (Philae),

ïw nš křn[y]šw n ĩst ïrm=y  
 the *qêreñs* of Isis being with me.

nš-šne nš ššššw nty wšh nš ħm-ntrw ïrm nš wšbw ïrm pš mšše n pš tyme  
 ïr=f<sup>612</sup> nš=y  
 Beautiful were the honors that the *hont*-priests and the *waab*-priests and the  
 populace of the town 'made' for me,

šš-tw=w (8) ['tšyt=n'] r ħwt-ntr n ĩst  
 until they (8) ['brought us'] to the temple complex of Isis.

---

<sup>612</sup>Correcting =f to =w.

iw=n ury ('n3y')=n swħew  
 we made 'our' collections

n tš šb n pš tšw n Pr-š [Tk]rrmn pe(=y) tšyš  
 in return for the breath (of life) for King [Taqe]reramani, my lord.

irm gngr 10t nty iw wšħ Tkrrmn Pr-š pš=n tšyš wšħ-šħn (9) n.im=w r inč=w r  
 ħwt-ntr n 'Ist  
 'and' ten talents which Taqereramani, the King, our lord, ordered (9) (us) to  
 bring to the temple complex of Isis,

wšħ=y inč=w  
 I brought them

wšħ=y tše=w r ħre=w n wč sp  
 and apportioned them to them (the priests) all at once.

ink ħt(=y) čn ħn te(=y) mdt-ħk(r)  
 Moreover, I myself, in my humble condition,

n pš rn n Pr-š pe(=y) tšyš  
 in the name of the King, my lord,

wšħ=y dit pe(=y) 1/10 r ħ(š)t  
 I had given my tithe in advance,

pe(=y) dnf (n) nš nbw r.(10)dī=w nš=y pe(=y) tšyš  
 my portion of the (pieces of) gold that (10) my lord gave me,

m-bšħ te=f mwt 'Ist  
 in the presence of his mother Isis.

wšħ=n dit šm gš r dšdš=w  
 We sent another (sum) in addition to them<sup>613</sup>

iw=n ury=w n wč kbħe n nbw  
 and made them (the gold pieces) into a libation jar of gold,

iw=n mtneč=f r pš rn n pe=n tšyš  
 which we inscribed with the name of our lord,

iw nš nbw n rn=w (11) ir n lytret 4t 1/2  
 the (pieces of gold) in question (11) amounting to four and one half pounds  
 (*litras*).

---

<sup>613</sup>An additional 10 talents?

w3h Wyngy3, p3 mr-mš'ε n p3 mw dīt in=w nb lytret 2t  
 Weyenegeya, the general of the water, had had 2 pounds (*litras*) of gold brought,

iw=w ipye=w n sššt n nb r f3y h3y t3 h3t n 3st n p3 3 sw-10  
 and they were made into a golden sistrum to be raised before Isis during the three tenth days of the month.<sup>614</sup>

w3h Pa-S'n hn' K3ny3 pe=f sn 'n (12) dīt in=w nb lytret 1t  
 Pasan together with Qêren, his brother, too, (12) had sent one pound (*litra*) of gold,

iw=n iry=s n w' h3-s-3t r kbh n Wsir Wn-nfr p3 ntr '3  
 and we made it into a *heso*-vase for making libations for Osiris Onnophris, the great god.

n t3 n ibd 4 3he sw 1 š' ibd 3 pre sw 1  
 From the first day of the fourth month of Inundation until the first day of the third month month of Winter

iw=n hrwte hn hwt-ntr n 3st  
 we made a festival in the temple complex of Isis

irm ne=n snw (13) n3 k3ny3w n 3st n3 hm-ntrw hn' n3 nwew n n3 w'bw n 3st  
 with our brethren, (13) the *qêreñs* of Isis, the *hont*-priests and the serving (i.e., on duty) priests among the *waab*-priests of Isis.

ir=n hrw 8 iw=n ir wnm h3y hft-h n 3st n irp hn' iw  
 We spent 8 days dining in the dromos of Isis on wine, beer, and meat,

iw p3 mš'yw n p3 dyme (r-)dr=f n ihy3  
 while the populace of the whole town was celebrating

(14) iw=w dīt n t3 wštet n Pr-3 pe=w hre  
 (14) and making obeisance to the King, their overlord,

irm ne=n wnm h'ε=n 'n  
 and (for) our own banquets too,

nty w3h=n iry=w hn mdt-hk(r) n p3 rn n Pr-3 pe=n tsy3 'n  
 which we had humbly held in the name of the King, our lord, as well.

w3h=y dīt nbw lytret 2t '1/2' (15) r w' phylet  
 I had given 2 '1/2' pounds (*litras*) of gold (15) for a *phialê*<sup>615</sup>

<sup>614</sup>The Egyptian month was divided into three weeks of ten days each. The text refers to the last day of each week.

<sup>615</sup>φιάλη, libation saucer.

iw=s ʔ prʔwmet n hre n ʔst hn=s  
with a bust (προτομή) of the face of Isis in it.<sup>616</sup>

ibd 3 pre sw 1  
On the first day of the third month of Winter

ʔbrʔy pʔ sy-nsw ʔy r Pr-ʔw-lkē  
Abratoy, the king's son, came to Final-island (Philae),

ʔr=n hrw nfr ʔrm=f hn hwt-nʔr n ʔst  
and we held a gala reception with him in the temple complex of Isis.

ʔn=f kʔ wšb 1t (16) n nbw  
He brought another *wesheb*-vase (16) of gold

ʔw wšh Tkrmn dʔt ʔn=s s r hwt-nʔr n ʔst  
which Teqereramani had sent to the temple complex of Isis

ʔw=f ʔr n lytrt 3t 1/2  
and which amounted to 3 1/2 pounds (*litras*),

ʔrm kʔ lytrt 3t  
and another 3 pounds (*litras*)

ʔw=f ʔry=w n šhʔpt n nbw  
which he made into a golden incense vessel.

te(=y) ʔsyʔt ʔ wpy ʔw n nʔ nʔrw ʔst  
(O) my lady, (you) who 'judge nations' for the gods, Isis,

r.ʔr (17) sdm] e.ʔr=y  
please (17) listen to me

mtw=w ʔet(=y) r Mrwe pʔ dyme nfr n pe=t šre mryʔ  
so that they take me to Meroe, the beautiful town of your beloved son,

mtw=t dʔt wʔʔ=y hre pey twy kʔ  
and preserve me on this high mountain

ʔrm nʔ nktw r-ʔw=y m-sʔ=w r ʔyʔ=w (n) pe=t šre mr(18)yʔ Pr-ʔ Tkr]rmn  
with the things which I came for, to take them to your beloved (18) son, King Teqere]ramani,

mtw=t ʔnʔ(=y) r Km  
and bring me to Black(-land) (Egypt)

<sup>616</sup>The bust of Isis will have been in raised relief on the inside of the phiale.

irm pe(=y) sn Hr-wdꜣ pꜣ ꝓꝓny ꜣkrr pꜣ wpte ꜣ n Hrme pe(=y) ỉry nfr  
 with my brother (= colleague?) Harutsha, the *qêreñ akerere*, the great envoy to  
 Rome, my good companion;

irm tꜣ ḥsbe n Pr-ꜣ  
 and the 'market-tax' (tribute?) for the King,

mtw(=t) ỉntꜣ=s n=n r Km (19) [ — — — ]  
 and bring her to Egypt for us (19) ...

[mtw=t] 'dít' n=n pꜣ myꝥ nty ỉtnyꝥ r tꜣyt=w n Gsrꜣ  
 [and] give us the way which is splendid to take them to Caesar,

mtw=n ỉn tꜣ mdt ḥm-nꝓꝓ n Ỉst r pe=t 'tks' nfr  
 and we will bring the priesthood of Isis to your beautiful 'throne'.

te(=y) tꜣsyꜣ tꜣ wpe tꜣw Ỉst  
 (O) my lady, (you) who judge countries, Isis,

mtw=t tꜣ nb(.t) n pꜣ myꝥ  
 you are the mistress<sup>617</sup> of the road,

(20) [ — ... — ]  
 (20) ...

ḥꜣte=n ḥꜣꝣ r.ỉr=t ḥry tꜣ mꝥ r ỉntꜣ=n r pꜣ myꝥ n pꜣ ꜣnh  
 Our hearts are left to you on the road, to bring us to the way of life,

ỉw=n ꜣꜣ n=t n nw nb dd  
 while we call upon you all the time, saying,

ỉ.ỉr=t sꝥm r.ỉr=n  
 "Please listen to us."

ỉnk pe(=t) bꜣk nfr Ỉst  
 I am your good servant, (o) Isis.

mn my(21)[ꝥ — ... — ]  
 There is no wa(21)[y ... ]

ḥꜣte=y ḥꜣꝣ r.ỉr=t <ḥn> Km ḥn Mrwe ḥn nꜣ tww  
 My heart is left to you <in> Black(-land) (Egypt), in Meroe, and in the moun-  
 tains.

<sup>617</sup> For the reading *nb(.t)* in place of *Npy* see Jasnow 1992/3, 219.

ʾst py sn wʿt nty mtw=y  
(O) Isis, this (the) only brother I have,

iw=y n3-ḥ3ʿ=f  
I am going to leave him;

mtw=y dd r.ḥr=t dit wḏ3=f  
and I say to you, "Please keep him safe

šʿ-mtw=t inḏ(=y) r Km ʿn  
until you bring me again to Egypt

(22) [ — ... — ] Tḳrrmn Pr-ḳ pe=n ṭsy3  
(22) [ ... ] Teqereramani, the King, our lord."

ʾst n3 šlʿew nty w3ḥ=y ḥry=w r.ḥr=t ḥry p3 3npe  
(O) Isis, (as for) the prayers which I made to you in the 'desert'<sup>618</sup>

iw=y srme  
when I was wandering about

iw=y ʿš n=t  
crying out to you,

iw ḥr=t sdm r.ḥr=y dd  
and you listened to me, (as I was) saying,

(23) ʿi.ḥr=t' sdm r.ḥr=y [ — ... — ]  
(23) "Please listen to me [ ... ]

[ — ... — ] iw=y wḏ3  
[ ... ] I being safe."

n3 b3ke nty iw w3ḥ Pr-ḳ pe(=y) ṭsy3 dit s n3=y  
(As for) the 'tribute' that the King, my lord, gave to me

dd ṭyt=w m-b3ḥ ʾst  
saying, "Take it into the presence of Isis!",

w3ḥ=y inḏ=w  
I have brought it.

<sup>618</sup>This passage, together with that in lines 2-3, might be interpreted to mean that Pasan had taken the desert route to Egypt and been exposed to great danger along the way. The most likely route is that through the Eastern Desert where the Blemmyes were already becoming a threat (cf. *Comments to 278*).



In Teqorideamani's 3rd regnal year, on the first day of Choiakh, i.e., on November 27, AD 252, Pasan arrived on the second of his two visits reported in 260. He was received, together with the *qoreñs* of Isis who travelled in his company, by the higher priesthood (for the *hont*- and *waab*-priests see 245) and the people of Philae. He was solemnly accompanied to the Isis temple where he performed offerings and presented the gifts and donations brought from Meroe "for the breath (of life) for King (Teqorideamani)" and in addition his own substantial gift. Further donations were made by *Wyngy*, the "strategus of the water" (for the title see 247) whom we may identify as Wayekiye (B) (see 252, for his family relations see also 247) and by Qêreñ who is probably identical with the writer of 254. The members of the embassy stayed on from Choiakh 1 to Pharmouthi 1 (= February 25, AD 253), meanwhile celebrating a festival in the temple of Isis which was probably none other than the Choiakh festival of Osiris (also called Ἰσεῖα, cf. Bergman 1978, 196). It is tempting to fit the eight days' "dining" into the context of the seven days between 24-30 Choiakh that precede the elevation of the *djed* pillar (cf. Daumas 1974, 959) and the subsequent "opening of the year" on Tybi 1, earlier a royal festival (cf. Altenmüller 1975, 176) which could well have been an appropriate opportunity for offering prayers for the king. Most significantly, Pasan and his party held their banquet "in the name of the King" their lord, while the populace of Philae was "celebrating and offering prayer for the King, their overlord" (cf. (259)).

On 1 Phamenoth (= February 25, AD 253) *ibrty*, the "King's Son" arrived with further gifts and donations and participated in a feast which seems to have concluded the festivities connected with Pasan's stay at Philae. *ibrty* is identical with the Lower Nubian *peseto* Abratoye who would come to Philae again in AD 260 (see 265) and whose funerary inscription was discovered at Karanog (see 270). His Demotic title *p sy-nsy*, "King's Son", which is the equivalent of  $\psi\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  βασιλέως Αἰθιοπῶν, " $\psi\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  of the king of Aithiopia", in 265 indicates clearly that the Meroitic title *peseto* derived, as originally suggested by Griffith (1912, 47 note 5), from Egyptian *p s3-nswt*.<sup>619</sup>

The following ten lines of the inscription contain a long prayer, which is, however, still interwoven with information of historical value. Pasan prays for his safe return to Meroe, "the beautiful town of your beloved son (i.e., Teqorideamani)", with the things which he takes with him from Egypt at the behest of his sovereign. He goes on to pray that he be granted a return to Egypt in the company of *Hr-wd3*, another *qoreñ akroro*, great envoy to Rome. It re-

<sup>619</sup>This derivation was opposed by Hintze 1963, 7 no. 6 who did not, however, offer an alternative. Yoyotte 1989, 84 ff. suggested, on the basis of the Greek writing of the title, that it was an equivalent of Egyptian *p-senti*, i.e., the Ptolemaic and Roman διοικητής, head of the financial administration of the country or of a territorial unit. Yoyotte does not, however, take into account the correspondence between the Greek and Demotic renderings in the texts analysed here. U. Luft suggested a derivation from Demotic *p3 b-št-rsj*, "belonging to (praeses of) the southern nome" occurring in connection with the head of the administration of the nome of Elephantine in a late 2nd cent. BC papyrus (see FHN II, 154), but we prefer the derivation Griffith put forward.

mains uncertain, however, whether *Hr-wdꜥ* had already been designated Pasan's successor to be sent in the coming year to Philae and, knowing this, Pasan wished to accompany him there or whether *Hr-wdꜥ* was actually in his company when he wrote 260 and they both hoped to return. In line 19 we read important information about the tasks of the "great envoys to Rome", viz., that they deliver the King's presents to "Caesar". While there can be no doubt that *Gsrs*, "Caesar", is Trebonianus Gallus, it seems likely that the diplomatic presents were passed on to him through the Prefect of Egypt. The next topic of the prayer, which seems to be in direct connection with the presents to Caesar— "and we will bring the priesthood of Isis to your [Isis? or the King's?] beautiful throne"— is similarly obscure: it may refer to the election of a Meroitic high priest in the Philae sanctuary. Finally, it is impossible to say who Pasan's only brother was whom he left behind in Philae (line 21).

The phraseology of the text and the epithets of Isis reflect the intellectual milieu of the Philae temple and how the goddess was understood in contemporary theology. It is significant, however, that here, as also in other prayers written by Meroites, the aspect of the goddess as helper in need, on whom "one calls all the time", and who will listen to the cries of people seeking help (cf. Bergman 1968, 202), receives special emphasis. It is interesting to note that she inherited this feature from Amûn (cf. Müller 1961, 65 f.) who was the "helper" in Kushite religion, described as "swift of step, who comes to him that called to him" (see FHN I, 21 line 17, 24 line 22; Török 1995a, 125 ff.).

[LT]

**261 Philae. Demotic graffito of Tami.** About AD 253.

Griffith 1937, Ph. 417. Burkhardt 1985, 118 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) ꜥ wꜥte n Ta-my ꜥ ꜥrbtgꜥꜥ n ꜥst dy

(1) The obeisance of Tami, the *arbetegaye* of Isis, (is) here

(m-)bꜥꜥ ꜥst Pr-ꜥw-lꜥe Pr-ꜥw-wꜥb

in the presence of Isis of Final-island (Philae) and Pure-island (the Abaton),

ꜥ nꜥrt ꜥt

the great goddess,

ꜥ ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ nꜥrt

the beautiful noble lady,

ꜥ ꜥbꜥe nꜥrt (n) ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ

the beautiful Refreshment of this year,

wšh-ihy:w  
Giver of wealth,

(2) tš tsy: n tš pyt n pš tš tš dwšt  
(2) the mistress of heaven, of earth, (and of) the underworld.

wšh=y ir rnpt 10t n šrbtngʻy  
"I have spent 10 years as *arbetengaye*,

iw=y ʻhšyʻ r pš rpy n ʻlst n tš mdʻe ʻst  
ʻmeasuringʻ for the temple of Isis with the great *metsha*-measure,

iw bn-pw=y šbe mdʻe  
without having altered a *metsha*-measure,

iw-ħr-ir=y (3) ʻ— —ʻ ħr rnpt nb  
even though I (3) ... every year.

tš rnpt mh-10 wšh Bk-mty pš škrre pš šre Křnyš pš mr-mšʻ n pš mw  
In the tenth year Bekmeti, the *akerere*, the son of *Qêreñya*, the general of the water,

dit iw=y r ʻhtʻ  
sent me ʻnorthwardsʻ

ʻiwʻ Prsme ħr Pr-iv-wʻb  
ʻwhileʻ Pereseme was in charge of Pure-island (Philae),

(4) iw wšh nš rmt n Ybe iy r ħry  
(4) and the men of Elephantine had come up.

wšh=y šm ʻhtʻ r=w ʻnʻ pe=f rstyš  
I went ʻnorthwardsʻ to them the next day

r pš mšʻy n pš ʻtwkse  
to the place of the Dux.

wšh=f iy r rsš r Swne ħrm=y  
He came south with me.

wšh=f gšpet(=y)  
He saw me.

wšh=f ir pš hpe n ʻlst  
He performed the rite of Isis.



lw w3h=y iny lndp (8) r w<sup>c</sup> mlhe ʕt r p3 wtn n ʔst  
 since I had already brought pitch (8) for a major calking for the bark of Isis.

w3h=y dkm=f hry hn hry bl n lndpe  
 I had smeared it inside and out with pitch.

ʔst te(=y) ʔsy3  
 (O) Isis, my mistress,

tw=y šlle [r.]ʔr=t dd  
 I pray you, saying,

iw.ir(=t) r dit n3=y p3 m(9)yʔe n ʔ3 p3 hrw r hry  
 "Please grant me the way (9) from today on

mtw=y ir ne=t ʔsmn' n3 nty itnyʔ  
 so that I may do your 'bidding', that which is splendid,

mtw=y ir hwe r n3y ʕn  
 and that I may do even more than this,

mtw=t dit n3=y hsy3 mry r hre rmt ʕ nb  
 and grant me praise and favor with every important person

(n) ʔhwt hte' (10) ʔhwt' rs3  
 of the northern 'compound' (10) and of the southern 'compound'

mtw=t ʔry n3 nty hn h3ʔe=y  
 and do what is in my heart,

te(=y)<sup>620</sup> ʔsy3  
 (o) my mistress."

p3 nty n3 fte n3y shy3  
 (As for) he who shall obliterate this text,

rn=f gb š<sup>c</sup> r nhh dt  
 his name is excised for ever and ever.

[RHP]

*Comments*

Carefully incised on the S jamb of Hadrian's Gate directly below (?) 260, the graffito of Tami may be dated, on the basis of the indirect evidence provided by 266, to about AD 253: in the latter inscription, dated 1 Tybi 260, Tami states that

<sup>620</sup> Text: *te=t*.

he returned to Philae after a period of seven years. Although it cannot be entirely excluded that Tami returned to Philae after the writing of 261 but did not leave behind a record, and thus that 266 would refer to this unrecorded visit and not to 261, here we prefer to accept the dating suggested by Griffith (1937, 120).

Like the majority of the Demotic inscriptions made by Meroites, Tami's text too unites a *proskynema* formula with a report and a prayer (cf. Burkhardt 1985, 50 ff.). Tami describes himself as the *ꜣrbtgꜣyꜣ* of Isis, who spent thirteen years in the service of the goddess, i.e., in her temple on Philae, working faithfully and correctly with the *mꜣꜥe ꜣt*, "the great *metsha*-measure". Griffith regarded the term *ꜣrbtgꜣyꜣ* as a Demotic transcription of the Meroitic title *arbetke* (var. *arbtke*) and suggested that it was perhaps connected with the Egyptian corn measure ἄρτάβη (Griffith 1937, 120). The description of Tami's use of the *mꜣꜥe ꜣt* seems indeed to support this suggestion excellently. The Meroitic title *arbetke/arbtke* occurs in mortuary inscriptions of priests associated with economic duties: we know of an *arbtke* of the *peseto* (REM 1020) who was a priest of Amûn of Napata, and REM 0292 records an *aribet(ke)* in *Simlo* (probably Karanog). The same title could, however, also occur in a more elevated context; and the importance and actual character of this elevated variant is revealed by 270, on the one hand, and by REM 1090 and 1091, on the other. In 270 the title marks an earlier stage in the career of a "viceroy" of Lower Nubia; in the latter-named inscriptions, found at Sedeinga, it occurs in the titulary of an official whom we regard as the counterpart of the *peseto* in the region between the Second and Third Cataracts (see Török 1979, 3ff., 147 ff.; for another *arbtke* in the region see REM 1116). It would thus seem that Tami was responsible for the collection of the taxes in grain for the temple of Isis on Philae, or, if the title is not to be taken literally, for the collection of taxes in general.

Tami divides his report into two parts. He describes the first ten years of his activity, which we date hypothetically between ca. AD 240/41-249/50 (cf. also 259), as a peaceful period which ended in a conflict of some sort. According to lines 3 ff., on an unspecified date in his tenth year of service "the men of Elephantine had come up" and Philae came under the "charge" of a certain *Prsme* whose name is written with the foreign determinative (Griffith 1937, 120). It would seem that "the men" were an armed force from the garrison of Elephantine (cf. *ibid.*) under the command of *Prsme*; for, on an order received from the *ꜣkrre* (Meroitic *akroro*, a high honorific [?] title of unknown meaning, cf. 246) and strategus "of the water" (cf. 247, 260), Bekemete, son of Qêreñ (for his family relations see family tree appended to *Comments* on 247; and see 267), Tami hurried "northwards", probably to Elephantine, to see the *ꜣtwkse*. This latter, unnamed, dignitary, the *dux* (the δούξ or στρατηλάτης of documents in Greek) must have been identical either with a frontier commander or with the commander of the whole army of Egypt (the latter possibility was preferred in Török 1979, 10 f., while Speidel 1988, 782 considers both possible). The "rite performed for Isis" by the *dux* and the ensuing negotiations between Tami and him

support the suggestion that the *dux* in question was indeed the commander of the Egyptian army. The high-ranking *duces* whose office was endowed with an unprecedented military power and may have been created, or preserved, as a response to the Meroitic expansion, is attested in Egypt in documents dating from AD 231 and 241 (for the evidence see Speidel 1988, 781 with note 56).

The second part of Tami's period in office lasted three years after his meeting with the *dux*. It would seem that the negotiations were not entirely successful for Tami and that as a result his position changed. He was no longer a tax collector, reports rather humble activities, and is unable to go south. In the light of the way in which the expressions "going north" and "going south" were used to indicate short distances within the region of Philae in earlier lines of the text, we may conclude that the "way south" does not necessarily refer to Tami's contact with Meroe but indicates rather that he was not in a position to go to the Dodecaschoenus as he used to do while he was still a tax collector. The ambivalent tenor of his encounter with the *yrghrwe*, i.e., the ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης, the "High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt" (cf. Török 1979, 11 f.; for the office as highest civil administrator of temple and cult matters in Roman Egypt see Otto 1905, 58 ff.) also indicates Tami's frustration: he stresses that the visit of the High Priest—whom he went to meet at Syene and whom he courteously escorted from there to Philae—proved pointless, since he, Tami, had already ordered the "major calking" of the ceremonial barge of the goddess. One can read between the lines, however, that the High Priest arrived at Philae as a supervisor; and his visit was probably prompted by some report about Tami's shortcomings.

In earlier studies (Török 1979, 9 ff.; 100 ff.; Burkhardt 1985, 88; Török 1988a, 284) the changes in Tami's position around 249/50 were interpreted as consequences of conflicts between Egypt and Meroe and/or Egypt, Meroe, and the Blemmyes and also understood as referring to changes in the status of the Dodecaschoenus. On the basis of the translation presented here, it would seem, reading between the lines of 261, that we are told about a turn in Tami's personal career which, though it might have been affected by armed conflicts well beyond his control, brought about his degradation and apparently also his disgrace at Meroe. His frustration also seems to be hinted at in the formula he uses in lines 9 f. in his prayer where he asks Isis to be granted "praise and favour with every important person of the northern 'compound' and of the southern 'compound'": the shy evasiveness and self-abasing tone of the phrase should be compared to the direct mention of the rulers of Meroe and Egypt in 260.

Though Tami's inscription repeats the form and emulates the style of the texts written by other Meroites on the walls of the temple complex of Isis as a final act of their official presence on the island, it could not report similarly successful activities and thus Tami's stay of thirteen years ended with a report that was only formally monumental. Yet, he would be permitted to return,

more powerful than ever, after the elapse of seven years, to Final-island. (See 266).

[LT]

**262 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wygte.** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 254. Burkhardt 1985, 110.

*Text and translation*

(1) (m-)b3h ʾst n Pr-ʾ-wʿb Pr-ʾ-lk (2) t ntrt ʿt

(1) In the presence of Isis of Pure-island (the Abaton) and Final-island (Philae), (2) the great goddess,

n-drt Wygte p3 šr (3) n T3-snt ʿ ta Hr-nḥt-it=f hm

by the hand of Weyegete, the son (3) of Tsōne the elder, daughter of Hornakhty-otef the younger,

(4) p3 kryn3 n ʾst  
(4) the *qêreñ* of Isis,

p3 rḥ n ʾst  
the agent of Isis,

(5) hm-ntr n ʾst  
(5) *hont*-priest of Isis,

rpʿy n ḥ3s(t) Kme-(6)600  
prince of the land of Kem(6)su,

hnʿ T3-šrt-pa-twt t3=f šrt  
together with Tshenpatow, his daughter.

(7) iw=y ʾr n t3 wpt n twtw n ʾst (8) hnʿ p3 twtw n Wsir<sup>621</sup>

(7) As I work on a statue of Isis (8) together with the statue of Osiris

hn te(=y) mdt (9) rmt n ntr  
in my (9) piety,

iw=y ʾry=w dd r.ʾr=t ʾnt=n (10) hr rnp(t) nb

I shall make them that you (the goddess) shall bring us (10) (here) every year

mtw=t dlt n=n ḥḥ (11) n ʿḥʿ  
and give us a lifetime (11) of millions (of years),

iw w3ḥ=y ḥd n nb  
because I have done the gilding

<sup>621</sup>Although the verb-forms employed in this passage are written with conjugation-bases normally associated with circumstantial and future forms, they may well be phonetic variants of the past tense. The translation would then be: "I worked on a statue of Isis and the statue of Osiris ... and made them so that you should bring us...".

(12) ḥnꜥ pꜣ twtw n Wsīr nty ḥn pꜣy ʿwy (13) kbḥ

(12) together with the statue of Osiris which is in this House (13) of Coolness.

[RHP]

### Comments

The writer of this graffito, inscribed on the N (inner) front, on the narrow side of the central pilaster—in a rather hidden and humble place—of the W tower of the Second Pylon of the Isis temple, was a descendant of the Wayekiye family and belonged to its seventh generation, being the son of Tsōne “the elder” daughter of Hornakhtyotef “the younger”, i.e., Hornakhtyotef II (Burkhardt 1985, 95; this filiation is to be preferred to Millet 1969, 80 ff. and Török 1986a, 301). He was the author of another graffito presented here as FHN 263. For his family relations see the family tree appended to the *Comments* on 247.

Dated and approximately datable inscriptions of the Wayekiye family indicate considerable age differences among members of the same generation: e.g., Sosen and Manitawawi both belong to the fourth generation according to the order of descent; yet 232 was written in AD 190/1 by Sosen, while Manitawawi’s latest datable graffito (267) was written in the 250s. Furthermore, Manitawawi of the fourth generation and Bekemete of the sixth appear together in 267. In sum, it would seem that Manitawawi was a contemporary of his nephews Hornakhtyotef II and Qôreñ rather than of his brother-in-law Wayekiye (A) (see the family tree in *Comments* on 247). Despite these difficulties, it is obvious that Wygte’s records belong either to the period of Bekemete who appears in ca. AD 253 (261) and also at a later date (267), or are even later.

The two inscriptions of Wygte (see also 263) list different titles. In 262 he is *qoreñ*, “agent”, and *hont*-priest of Isis (cf. 232, 246, 247) and prince of the land of Takompsō (cf. 249-251, 256); in 263 he is “great *khakkhñe*”,<sup>622</sup> *qoreñ* of the King, and *ḥwyḥte* of Isis (?). Since it would seem that the rank title “prince of the land of Takompsō” was only borne by the senior member of each generation of the Wayekiye family (Gen. 4: Manitawawi; Gen. 5: Hornakhtyotef II; Gen. 6: ? [perhaps *Pꜣ-tꜣ-ḥ.t-rs*, 257 ?]), Wygte may have inherited it because he was senior member of the seventh generation after 263 was written. Both inscriptions indicate, independently of their chronological order, that Wygte was a priest and official of the temple of Isis and, at the same time, an official of the king of Meroe. His duties did not, however, confine him to the daily cult and affairs of the temple of Philae, but brought him, according to 262, to Philae only once a year. This indicates that he was vested with the same power as the high-ranking envoys of the king of Meroe who wrote reports 249, 254, 256, and 260.

[LT]

<sup>622</sup>A Meroitic title of unknown meaning. For a “*ḥbḥñ* of the king” see REM 0122.

**263 Philae. Demotic graffito of Wygte.** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 403. Burkhardt 1985, 112.

*Text and translation*

(1) [t̥ ws]te n Wygte  
(1) [The obei]sance of Weyegete,

p̥ḥ ḥbḥne ʕ  
the great *khakhñe*,

(2) p̥ḥ k̥nyʕ (n) Pr-ʕ  
(2) the *qêreñ* of (the) King

ḥwyte n 'Ist'  
the *khuite* of 'Isis'.

'n' (3) ïbd 4 ʔḥt sw 11  
In (3) the fourth month of Inundation on the eleventh day

ïw=y shyʕ ty wšte (4) ty  
I wrote this obeisance (4) here

m-bḥḥ 'Ist t̥ nrt ʕ 'Ist t̥ (5) nḥmt  
in the presence of Isis, the great goddess, Isis the (5) savior.

[RHP]

*Comments*  
See 262.

**264 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Netewitar.** Mid-3rd cent. AD.  
Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. 20. Griffith 1911b, 66. REM 0278.

*Introduction to source*

The rectangular offering table with a representation of a goddess (Nephthys) and Anubis and a mortuary text in cursive Meroitic script, now Cairo JE 40164, was found between (?) graves G 182 and G 203 and may have belonged to the latter (Griffith 1911b, 66). Here we give the text on the basis of its REM edition.

*Text*

(1)Wosi,, A(2)soreyi,,  
(3)Ñtewitrqowi,,  
dkretri,, (4)Msidt,, terikelowi,,  
Mlit(5)rqide,, ted(ḥ)elowi(,,)  
pes(6)to,, Aki(7)ñtelowi(,,)

(8)wleke(,,) kro(9)rolowi,,  
 (10)sekeseķiñ,, ssimetelo(11)wi,,  
 smrso,, krorolo,,  
 ab(12)solowi,,  
 qorbtowi,,  
 nb(13)r,, wñ(14)li\*, ipħetelo,, (15)wi,,  
 pqrġ, ye(16)tmdelo(17)wi,,  
 atomħe,, psihete,,  
 (18)atmħe,, pshrkte,,  
 (19)ħmlol,, yidetedik(20)te,,  
 ħhll,, (21)psiplte

*Comments*

**264** consists of the four traditional sections of the canonical non-royal Meroitic funerary inscription type as it took shape in the course of the 1st cent. BC (see FHN II, **154**, **155**):

I. Invocation of Isis (*Wosi*) and Osiris (*Asoreyi*);

II. Nomination: A) name of the deceased (Netewitar) with the suffixes *-qo* and *-wi*. The first of these was interpreted as an honorific name suffix with the meaning "noble" or the like (Priese 1971, 279; Millet 1981, 125; Török 1978, 223 f.). It is more likely, however, that the compound P+*qo*+*wi* has a meaning "P is/was he/she" or the like (cf. Hofmann 1981a, 52 ff.). B) title (its meaning is unknown; it occurs as a title of the father of *peseto* Malotoñ, see **269**) and name of the father: *dkretri* Masidata, with the filiation word *terike* (with suffixes *-lo* and *-wi*) meaning "begotten of". C) name of Netewitar's mother, Malitaraqide and the filiation word *tedħe* meaning "born by".

III. Description. Listed here are Netewitar's titles and epithets (?); and, at the end of the Description, it is stated that he was in a *mde*-relationship (cf. **244**, *Comments*, end) with a *pqr*. We know a great number of sequences of titles in Descriptions which were composed hierarchically, with the highest title named first, and which in many cases reproduced a *cursus honorum*, i.e., an official (or priestly) career in the course of which the list of the individual titles describes, in reverse order, the sequence of offices of the deceased and/or of his/her relations. These lists of titles suggest that from the 1st cent. BC through the 4th cent. AD the highest office in the government of Lower Nubia was that of a *pesto/peseto*, also described as *pesto/peseto Akiñ-te*, i.e., *peseto* in *Akiñ*, where *Akiñ* is probably the Meroitic name of Lower Nubia (see FHN II, **155**, in this volume **268**, **269**, **270** and cf. Griffith 1925, 261). On the other hand, it also appears that the title *pqr*<sup>623</sup> became, in the course of the next century, the highest rank (?) title available for Lower Nubian *pestos* who would, when being appointed a *pqr*, withdraw from Lower Nubia (Török 1977a).

<sup>623</sup> Confined in the 1st cent. BC and the AD 1st cent. to members of the nucleus of the royal family (cf. FHN II, **152**, **(179)**, in this volume see **(186)**, **(213)**, **(215)**).

In the Description Netewitar lists his official titles and epithets, starting with the highest one. From these it is only *pesto Akiñ-te*, “*pesto* in Akiñ” that is translatable; the rest, albeit known from other titularies as well, escapes our understanding. The inscription concludes with the

IV. Benediction, with formulae referring to the offering of water (*ato*) and bread (*at*), cf. Griffith 1911b, 46; Hintze 1959, 34 ff.; Hofmann 1981a, 199 ff.

Inscription 271 contains a list of *pesetos*, some of whom are known from other sources as well. It has been argued (Török 1986a, 75 ff.) that since the name of Abratoye, who is attested as *pesto* in AD 253 (260) and again in AD 260 (265), probably occurs twice in the list, in the third and seventh places, the tenure of the *pesto* was rather short and could be renewed. It was also concluded that 271 gives the names in a chronological order. Accepting this interpretation, and taking into account that Netewitar’s name is the second in the list and is followed by the first occurrence of Abratoye’s name, we conclude that Netewitar was *pesto* of Lower Nubia some time before February 25, AD 253, when Abratoye is attested as *pesto* in a text from Philae (see 260).

Netewitar was probably buried in tomb G. 203 at Karanog where some items from his burial equipment were found (cf. Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pls 83, 89; Török 1987a, 205 f.).

[LT]

**265 Philae, Greek *proskynema* of Abratoeis (Abratoye). AD 260.**

SB V 8662. SEG XXXVIII 1845. I. Philae II 180.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [=I. Philae II.]

*Introduction to source*

This text was inscribed on the Gate of Hadrian at the temple of Philae. It belongs to the epigraphic genre of *proskynema*, i.e., inscriptions carved as an act of worship to a divinity by a traveller who passes its shrine or a pilgrim who has come expressly to pay homage to the divinity in question (see further FHN II, 168, *Introduction to source*).

The basis for the modern texts is copies made in the 19th century by Lepsius and Borchartd; according to É. Bernand (1969, 192), the inscription has now entirely disappeared owing to the effects of the yearly inundation of the temple. We base our text on that of É. Bernand (1969, 192-197, with Pl. 80 and 106), but change the punctuation to accord with our view of the structure of the text. Bernand also supplies the earlier bibliography, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

## Text

1 Τὸ προσκύνημα Αβρατοεῖς  
 2 ψεντης βασιλέως Αἰθιοπῶν  
 3 ποιῶ παρὰ τῇ μυριωνύμῳ Ἴσιδι  
 4 Φιλῶν καὶ Ἀβάτου καὶ τοῖς συν-  
 5 νόοις θεοῖς καὶ ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου.  
 6 ἦ, Τῦβι ἄ.

## Translation

The obeisance of Abratoeis, *psentes*<sup>624</sup> of the King of Aithiopia—I am making (it) before Isis-of-Countless-Names of Philae and the Abaton and before the gods who (5) share her temple—and of all (his) house.<sup>625</sup>

(Year) 8, 1st of Tybi.

[TH]

## Comments

Abratoeis, whose name appears in the form *abrty* in the Demotic graffito of Pasan (260, line 15) and as *Brtoye* in his Meroitic funerary inscription (270, line 2), is attested as having been the highest official in the administration of Lower Nubia in April AD 253 (see 260) and, as indicated by 265, again in December 260. In 253 he appeared in Philae as envoy of his sovereign, King Teqorideamani of Meroe, and donated on his behalf a golden *wšb*-vase to be used in the Choiakh festival (cf. Griffith 1937, 118), that weighed 3 1/2 pounds (*litras*) and 3 pounds (*litras*) of gold for an incense vessel (making together 6 1/2 pounds), and was solemnly received by the priesthood of the Isis temple.

His second Philae inscription—the present text—was written on December 27, AD 260 in Greek, not in Demotic as were the texts written by the members of

<sup>624</sup>A non-Greek word which may be a title or a name. Since foreign names and titles are often left undeclined in Greek texts, it cannot be decided whether it is in the nominative or genitive case here. (The same is true for the name Abratoeis.) On the interpretation, cf. *Comments* below.

<sup>625</sup>The structure of this whole sentence is unclear and no attempt to construe its parts is quite convincing. Our attempt makes the last words, “of (his) whole house”, represent the addition of something Abratoeis forgot to mention at the beginning. Accordingly, we interpret Αβρατοεῖς in line 1 and ὅλου τοῦ οἴκου in line 5 as being coordinated subjective genitives in construction with τὸ προσκύνημα in line 1, and suppose that the writer makes a new start with ποιῶ in line 3. Consequently, we regard ψεντης in line 2 as a title in the genitive case and βασιλέως in turn as a possessive genitive depending on the title. É. Bernand (1969, 194-196) discusses the structure with ample reference to earlier attempts at solutions; he arrives at a structuring of the various elements which we might render in the following way: “I Abratoeis, *psentes*, am making this obeisance (on behalf) of the King of Aithiopia and all (his) house, before Isis etc.”. This is a translation which makes perfectly good sense but pays little regard to the actual word order of the Greek text; it also appears unlikely that the genitive case, without a preposition (ὑπέρ), could mean “on behalf of” (Bernand: “*de la part du roi*”, “*au nom de toute sa maison*”) here. Our attempt at structuring the text has some support in 266, that of É. Bernand in 315.

the Wayekiye family.<sup>626</sup> There can be no doubt that his choice of language for his brief *proskynema* adds to the significance of the text. There are only eight other dated Greek *proskynema* inscriptions from the 3rd cent. AD at Philae (see É. Bernand 1969, 398 f.) in addition to 265 and 266 and it is unlikely that Greek would have been commonly used in Meroe. Abratoye himself, Tami who travelled with him, or any educated priest at the site should have been able to formulate and execute a *proskynema* in Demotic Egyptian. The probable reason for the unusual choice of Greek as the language of Abratoye's text is indicated by Tami's Greek inscription (266, line 3), where he reports that he "made peace", i.e., conducted negotiations on a diplomatic level which apparently also involved authorities in Egypt. Consequently, it might have appeared appropriate to the Meroites to conclude their visit with "reports" inscribed in the official language of their partners.

Like the rest of the dated reports of Meroites, 265 and 266 are dated using regnal years of Roman emperors. Though not named, they were in this case identified, on the basis of Tami's earlier (dated) text (261) and the palaeography of the two Greek texts, as the emperors Valerian and Gallienus; and thus 1 Tybi of Year 8 in the inscription would correspond to December 27, AD 260.

Abratoye and Tami had their Greek texts inscribed on the W front of Hadrian's Gate, N of the gateway, as pendants to the two great Demotic inscriptions commemorating Meroitic embassies to and official activity at Philae written in AD 253 by Pasan (260) and Tami himself (261). In this way, the two terse Greek texts were connected to precedents that constituted a legal background and indicated continuity and were included in what can be regarded as an archive of official reports of Meroitic dignitaries connected with the Philae temple and the management of the Dodecaschoenus and inscribed on the stones of Hadrian's Gate (see Griffith 1937, 112 Ph. 409; Sosen [see also 232]; 245; 249; 253; 260; 261).

It might appear that Abratoye was continuously *peseto* of *Akiñ*, a title which, as indicated by his Greek (in 265  $\psi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \text{Αἰθιοπῶν}$ ) and Demotic (in 260  $p\bar{3}\ sy\text{-}nsw$ ) titles, seems to have had the meaning "King's Son (in Lower Nubia)", performing administrative duties of a viceregal character, from AD 253 to 260, and that he died at a later, unknown, date while still holding this office (see 270). It is, however, more likely that he held the office at least twice, and that the tenures attested by the inscription of AD 253, on the one hand, and by that of AD 260, on the other, were separated from each other by the tenures of other *pesetos*. Such a practice would explain the list of *pesetos* in 271 (cf. also *Comments* on 264), where the two occurrences of Abratoye's name are separated by the names of three other "King's Sons".

Abratoye's name, with title, also appears in the funerary inscriptions of two members of his family, both buried at Karanog. In REM 0251 he is mentioned as a *mde*-relative of a *Mrosikli*, born of *Srbikde* in her second marriage with an

<sup>626</sup> They were priests educated for many generations at Philae and used an elegant and rich Demotic for their adorations and reports.

unnamed person. In REM 0252 he is mentioned as a *mde*-relative of *Pedemoke*, son of the “great *smt*” *Shloy(e)* and the lady *Doke*.

For the historical background cf. **282**, *Comments*.

[LT]

**266 Philae, Greek *proskynema* of Tami.** AD 260.

SB I 4101. I. Philae II 181.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

*Introduction to source*

This *proskynema* was inscribed on the Gate of Hadrian at the temple of Philae, immediately below the text of **265**, and records the same date. Like the latter, it too is said to have disappeared, and modern editions rely on old copies and notes.

We base our text on that of É. Bernand (1969, 197-201, with Pl. 80), who also supplies the earlier bibliography, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

*Text*

- 1 Τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ ἀξιολογοτάτου πρεσβευτοῦ
- 2 Ταμις παρὰ τῇ μυριωνύμῳ Ἴσιδι Φιλῶν καὶ Ἀβάτου.
- 3 μετὰ ἑπταετίας χρόνου ἔλθων εἰρήνην πεποίηκε
- 4 καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν προφήτην ἔστεφάνωσε, ἔτους η, Τύβι α’.

*Translation*

The obeisance of the most esteemed ambassador Tami before Isis-of-Countless-Names of Philae and the Abaton. After a period of seven years he<sup>627</sup> came, made peace, and on the (same) occasion (?)<sup>628</sup> crowned<sup>629</sup> the priest (*prophetes*).

(Year) 8, 1st of Tybi.

[TH]

<sup>627</sup>The reference is unclear: is “he” the ambassador Tami, or are we allowed to see this inscription as a direct continuation of the preceding one (265), in which case “he” might be Abratoeis (the interpretation preferred by É. Bernand)?

<sup>628</sup>The function and interpretation of the prepositional expression, ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, is far from certain. Perhaps there is a non-Greek personal name (the name of the priest) hiding in the string of letters?

<sup>629</sup>The reading ἔστεφάνωσε here is due to an emendation of what seems to have been written on the stone, ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΤΕ. The alternative emendation ἔστεφανώθη (suggested by Griffith), “was crowned”, is not compatible with the accusative τὸν προφήτην, “the priest”, which must be the object of the clause.

*Comments*

As we have learned from **261**, Tami served as a tax collector of Isis of Philae for ten years between ca. AD 240/1 and 249/50, and was thus an official responsible for the granaries of an Egyptian temple. In all probability, however, he also collected a good part, or all, of the taxes from estates which were under the control of the king of Meroe, who was thus, according to a curious and unparalleled arrangement, his lord together with the Roman emperor. Some time in his tenth year of office his situation changed radically, and he spent the next three years at Philae in a less exalted temple office and perhaps in disgrace. On his departure from Philae in AD 253, he prayed for the favour of "every important person" in Egypt as well as in Meroe.

That he later, in fact, received even more favour than before 249/50 is revealed by the present Greek text. The inscription marks the end of a successful mission and commemorates unspecified peace negotiations he conducted, doubtless with Roman authorities, and also a most significant event, viz., the installation ("crowning") of a prophet (i.e., a *hont*-priest, cf. **245**) by Tami. He thus appears, though a Meroitic ambassador and not an Egyptian official of any sort, to perform an official act which was a privilege of the "High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt" as a delegate of the Prefect of Egypt (cf. Otto 1905, 58 ff., cf. 232 ff.). Unfortunately, it remains uncertain whether the prophet he installed was a Meroite, perhaps a member of the Wayekiye family (cf. **247** for the family tree and see **262** f.), or an Egyptian and whether this act was part of the re-establishment or reinforcement of the earlier agreement between Egypt and Meroe concerning the estates of Isis in the Dodecaschoenus (cf. (**259**), **260**).

The writer of the Greek text gave Tami the honorific epithet ἀξιολογώτατος, thus associating him with Roman officials in Egypt of the upper middle echelons (cf. for the rather uneven evidence Preisigke 1931, 184). It is, unfortunately, impossible to say if this was an act of malice by a chauvinistic translator who availed himself of this opportunity to degrade a Meroitic intruder who could not control the translation.

[LT]

**267 Philae, Meroitic Chamber. The inscriptions of a Meroitic embassy to Philae.**

Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1912, 34 ff., Pls XVIII-XXX. REM 0097-0111.

*Introduction to source*

The drawings representing two processions of Meroitic dignitaries and the inscriptions accompanying them and presented here were incised on the W, N, and E walls in one of the chambers opening from the Second Court of the temple of Isis behind the Second East Colonnade. Griffith 1912, 34 identifies the chamber as the "second" in a "series of four small chambers"; and in his Pl. XVII he marks the third chamber from the N. It becomes clear, however, from the

more detailed plan in PM VI, 213 that the Meroitic Chamber, i.e., "Room III" in Porter and Moss (see PM VI, 221), is in fact the second small chamber from the N. The drawings and inscriptions occupy one masonry course in height with their ground line ca. 1.80 m above the room's original floor, from which Griffith (1912, 34) concluded that at the time the drawings and the inscriptions were made the room was filled with a thick layer of debris. The stone course occupied by the drawings and texts measures in height 0.45 m; the length of the representations is: ca. 0.25 m (W wall), 3.14 m (N wall), and 1.235 m (E wall). Procession I consists of seven figures facing right. It starts in the middle of the N wall and ends on the W wall. Of Procession II, which also starts in the middle of the N wall but ends on the E wall, eight figures, facing left, are preserved. One further figure is now missing behind the sixth preserved figure, and two figures are missing behind the seventh preserved figure.

The Lepsius expedition made squeezes, on the basis of which the first publication was made in LD VI, 2 (drawings), 3-5 (inscriptions); Griffith 1912, 35 also mentions squeezes by L. Borchardt as well as Berlin Academy photographs. The graphic copy of the two processions, including the texts, in Griffith 1912, Pl. XVIII, was reproduced in Török 1988a, fig. 40. For the sake of reference, in addition to the REM numbers, the figures and their accompanying texts will be identified below with bold letters. The words in the inscriptions are only rarely and inconsistently separated by word dividers; the separation into words and the segmentations given below follow the REM edition.

### Texts

#### PROCESSION I

REM 0097 (a)

(1)qo pelmos (2)atolise (3)Bekemete(4)li sete (5)Mnitw(6)wiqo  
 (7)wete \*Si(8)yeteli (9)yetet(10)ke womnet(11)h,, [=womneselh] Pilqe(12)telo,,  
 an(13)t qorito [=qoriselo]  
 (14)steli qo(15)re,, \*semlo  
 (16)hbhñ,, s(17)qotelh(18)lo  
 mlo sto\*se(19)lo

REM 0098 (b)

(1)qo kroro (2)Bekeme(3)te ste pe(4)lmos a(5)tolit [=atolisel] (6)ye(7)rik(8)elo  
 (9)\*Mni(10)se m(11)telo  
 (12)pese(13)tolo  
 pe(14)lmos a(15)dblito [=adbliselo]  
 (16)nobow,, (17)35 kelbo

REM 0099 (c)

(1)qo hbhñ (2)Mstr(3)qye(4)qo,(,)  
 pe(5)rite (6)Wos(7)to [=Wosselo]

REM 0100 (d)

(1)Mstrq,, qo

(2)qoreñ (3)ponni(4)lito [=ponniliselo]

REM 0101 (e)

(1)tdhe,, Mloqorebr,, qo(2)ret [=qoresel ?] Lhidmni

Ptrotrise(3)lw Armte,, kw,,

sdrtelh 2 (4)do 6

atmi wese 12 keñ (5)2

Arite wil,, 1

Wos Pil(6)qetel he 1

Wos Tebwetel (7)he 1

tdbto,, Wos Arol,, t(8)rot,, \*t sdrte,, do,, 5 keñt [=keñsel] (9)hi 10

keñ Aro trot het (10)twdto

Asori Pilqeteleb (11)tbo,, yinithebo

Asori Te(12)bweteli ynithelo,,

pki Wos (13)Pilqeteliti [=Pilqeteliseli],,

wi Wos Tebwe(14)teliti

wi a\*sy,, ahe,, mrhe(15)bto

hbhñ,, qorises Mstr(16)q,, qo,, yetebhe,,

REM 0102 (e')

(1)hbhñ Wos qer,,

(2)qo Mstrqye qo,,

(3)Wosi,, yntk\*e,, pipl,, (4)philh,, p\*li,,

Ptro(5)ti pipn,, p(6)bh,,

REM 0103 (f)

(1)qo Mstrq,, qo,,

Wo(2)si,, Bedewi

\*ksdk,, p(3)roheñ,, dhe,, wiyleb,, (4)ptteb,, [=ptseleb]

Ptroti (5)ptrqo \*b\*o (6)\*m\*l\*e kw,,

REM 0104 (g)

(1)qo Apmlo qo

(2)pelmos ad(b)li(3)to [=ad(b)liselo],,

PROCESSION II

REM 0105 (h)

(1)qo pel(2)mos ato(3)lise Mnit(4)wwi(5)qo

REM 0106 (i)

(1)qo kro(2)ro Be(3)keme(4)telo

(5)pe(6)se(7)to(8)lo

REM 0107 (j)

(1)qo kro(2)ro Be(3)keme(4)telo  
pe(5)lmos a(6)dbli(7)to [=adbliselo]

REM 0108 (k)

(1)Snñ\*bli(2)lo  
mseqe(3)to [=mseqeselo]

REM 0109 (l)

(1)qo,, Ms(2)trqo(3)ye (4)Wos (5)qe(6)r(7)lo

REM 0110 (m)

(1)qo hb(2)hñlh (3)Mst(4)rq(5)ye(6)qo,,

REM 0111 (n)

(1)qo qoreñ (2)Wosse pe(3)rite Wo(4)sse Wos (5)qer Mst(6)(r)qo(7)ye (7)\*qewi  
(8)W\*osi yn(9)tkelw (10)pibr (11)pheq\*le(12)b  
ksbñ Wo(13)sse bto (14)skelnh(15)eñ

### Comments

The rooms behind the Eastern or Second (as distinguished from the First Colonnade in front of the First Pylon) Colonnade in the Second Court of the temple of Isis were built under Ptolemy VIII (see Winter 1982, 1023) and constituted a complex of (from S to N) a "laboratory", "courtroom", "purification chamber", and "library". By the 3rd cent. AD some, or all, of these rooms had lost their original function; and the Meroitic drawings and texts were incised on the walls of what was originally the "purification chamber".

The texts presented above accompanied figures and cannot be discussed independently from them. Griffith judged the representations, which could be clearly seen only in artificial light, to be appallingly "rude to grotesqueness". They are indeed no works of art but were, in all probability, incised by the scribe who wrote the texts and display the limitations of his skill. That the texts and the drawings were made by the same hand is clearly indicated by the use of the same tool for incising both. It also may reflect the practice of a scribe trained in the preparation of manuscripts that the inciser painted (cf. Griffith 1912, 36) the visible parts of the bodies in red, the collars and fillets yellow (= gold), the edges of robes red, and the hair of the figures black (?).

It is, as Griffith (1912, 34) again noticed, strange indeed that representations of such a low quality should have been carved on the walls of the splendid temple complex of Isis; but this unusual phenomenon can be explained by the character of the drawings and texts. They are not variants of traditional cult representations and texts to be found on temple walls, but represent a "monumental" variant of the *proskynema* genre, which is here, as would follow from Meroitic tradition, combined with a report about activities and ex-

tended into a virtually secular monument to commemorate an embassy. In the *Comments* on the monuments of the Wayekiye family and other high Meroitic dignitaries connected with the Dodecaschoenus as a region under Meroitic control (see 249 ff.), we have discussed the indications that there was official cooperation between Egypt and Meroe in the management of the temple of Philae. The private character and the improvised execution of the representations and texts in the Meroitic Chamber point toward remarkable contradictions and ambiguities behind the façade of cooperation. We may well wonder why the Meroites could not erect a monument to their important mission in a public part of the temple, where it could better be seen; and the question remains open as to whether the clumsiness of the drawings was determined by a Meroitic indifference to quality, by a reluctance on the part of the priesthood of Philae to provide a good artist, or by the complete absence of such an artist on Philae at this time.

The monument is composed of two unequal parts which we call processions because the figures are depicted in the traditional manner of procession representations. Procession I includes seven figures; Procession II included eleven, of which seven inscribed and one uninscribed figure have survived. The two processions meet in the middle of the N wall of the Chamber and obviously depict two separate periods in the series of events summarized in the monument as a whole. In fact, the processions consist of the subsequent episodes in a series of events, for in the seven figures of Procession I we recognize only four different persons, one of whom, Mastaraq(ye), is represented four times (c), (d), (e), (f). In Procession II five or six figures appear. One of them, again the same Mastaraq(ye), is depicted three times: (l), (m), (n), and might also have been represented one, two, or even three times more in the now destroyed parts of the E wall; and Bekemete appears two times: (i), (j). The repetitions of Mastaraq(ye)'s figure may be best explained as indications that he was engaged in repeated actions of some sort, probably as the person conducting negotiations; his "statistical" prominence should not mislead us as to his rank, for in both processions he is preceded by Manitawawi (a), (h) and Bekemete (b), (i), (j), and in the second also by Sañbli (k). The focal point of Procession I is the long text REM 0101 associated with Mastaraq(ye)'s third appearance (e). In it we may perhaps identify the summary of one of the principal items of the negotiations. In the first line of REM 0101 Griffith (1912, 39) and others (e.g., Hintze 1959, 32 f.; Macadam 1966, 66 note 65; Haycock 1967, 114; 1978, 69; Wenig 1967, 44 note 221; Török 1978, 222) thought they could recognise the names of two royal persons, Maloqorebar and Lakhideamani, and interpreted the expression containing the names as meaning either "the mother of Maloqorebar the king, Lakhideamani" (Griffith, Hintze, Török) or something like "Lakhideamani, the mother's child of the ruler Maloqorebar ... meaning Lakhidamani (sex unknown), the child of Queen Maloqorebar" (Macadam, Haycock, Wenig). Hofmann 1978a, 184 ff. included King Maloqorebar, but not a queen Lakhideamani in her list of rulers.

Priese (1971, 282), however, suggested a translation “etwas, das Maloqorebar, der Königsmann (... ‘der des Königs’) und Lakhideamani ... bringen liessen”; while Hofmann (1981d, 26) also put forward further possible interpretations: “the *tdhe* Maloqorebar and (masc.) Lakhidamani” or “the *tdhe*, *mloqorebr*, and *qoret* Lakhidamani”. The grammatical difficulties inherent in the two hypotheses that suggest royal names in the “sentence” are undeniable, while Priese’s and Hofmann’s suggestions may be regarded as grammatically less vulnerable. Nevertheless, in the light of the context of REM 0101 within the two processions and its probable similarities as to content and textual structure with the Demotic embassy inscriptions, particularly 260, we should expect royal name(s) here rather than a communication which named people of lesser importance who did not even belong to the embassy itself.<sup>630</sup>

The two persons leading the processions are known to us from other, more comprehensible, documents as well. Manitawawi is identical with the writer of 249 and is also mentioned in 246, 251 (?) and 252 as a high official of the king of Meroe who was also active in the Dodecaschoenus. He belonged to the fourth generation of the Wayekiye family. Bekemete is named as son of Qêreñ (cf. 254) and high official in Lower Nubia in 261.

The five persons depicted in the two processions have the following titles and attributes, and are shown wearing the following dresses and rank insignia: Manitawawi:

(a) *pelmos atolise*, “strategus of the water” (cf. 229, 260)

*sete Bekemetelise*, *sete* of Bekemete

*wete Siyete* “*wete* in *Siye*”, *womnislh Pilqete*, great *womnis* in Philae

*ant qorise*, *hont*-priest of the king

*seteli qore semlo* “consort of the king’s mother” (? Griffith 1912, 37).

*h̄bhñ* (cf. 247, 262). He wears a fillet decorated with the winged sundisc (?), a cloak, and an ornamental apron made of a patterned textile and decorated with the image of Thoth (?) holding the scales and belted with a uraeus belt; he also wears sandals. Manitawawi also carries a sceptre with sundisc and uraeus together with his palm branch.

(h) *pelmos atolise*, “strategus of the water” (cf. 229, 247, 260) In this representation Manitawawi wears a simple fillet and a neck ornament with counterweights (?), and is dressed in a haltered garment and an apron.

Bekemete:

(b) *kroro* (cf. 246)

*Mnise mte*, “second (?) of Amûn”

*peseto*, “King’s Son” (cf. 260)

*pelmos adblise*, “strategus of the land” (cf. 247). Bekemete wears a diadem with three uraei, an ornamental apron, and sandals.

<sup>630</sup>Hofmann 1981d, 26 suggests that Maloqorebar and Lakhideamani were artists who sent gifts to Isis, but it is difficult to believe that the high dignitaries depicted in the processions could have been delivering presents on behalf of their social inferiors.

(i) *kroro* (see above)

*peseto*, "King's Son" (see above). Bekemete wears an apron and sandals; his diadem is visible in the photograph in Griffith 1912, Pl. XXV but not marked in the drawing in his Pl. XVIII.

(j) *kroro* (see above)

*pelmos adblise*, "strategus of the land" (see above). In this scene Bekemete is shown wearing a fillet, a bead collar, and a long-sleeved tunic made of a patterned fabric and decorated with the image of the Horus-falcon on his chest and with winged sundisks on his arms (or is he wearing armlets and bracelets over the sleeves?); he also wears an apron decorated with a falcon image.

Mastaraq(ye):

(c) *ḥbhñ* (cf. 247, 262)

*perite Wosse*, "agent of Isis" (cf. FHN II, 181, 231, 244, 246 f., 249, 251 f., 256, 262). He wears a fillet and an apron and carries a palm branch.

(d) *qoreñ* (see 231, 244 f., 246 f., 249, 252, 260, 262). In this scene Mastaraq(ye) wears a fillet, a cloak similar to Manitawawi's garment in (a), and an apron and carries the obligatory palm branch.

(e) *ḥbhñ qorises*, "*ḥbhñ* of the king" (cf. REM 0122). Dressed as in (c), but the apron is more ornamentally arranged.

(f) Title? He is dressed as in the previous scene, and the apron is decorated with the hieroglyphic signs *nb*, *ḥnh*, and *ws*, all usually symbolising royal power.

(I) *Wos qer* (?) "*qer* [of] Isis" (?). In this scene Mastaraq(ye) wears a decorated fillet, and, above an ankle-length tunic, a cloak draped around his right shoulder.

(m) *ḥbhñlh*, "great *ḥbhñ*". Dressed as in the previous scene; the fillet is faintly visible in Griffith 1912, Pl. XXVI but not marked in Pl. XVIII.

(n) *qoreñ Wosse perite Wosse Wos qer*, "*qoreñ* of Isis, agent of Isis, *qer* [of] Isis (?)". In this scene Mastaraq(ye) wears a decorated fillet and a cloak and an apron, both made of patterned textile. The apron has a uraeus belt and is decorated with the figure of a vulture; the front panel of the apron bears the image of the winged sundisc (?). The high priest also wears sandals.

Sañbli:

(k) the figure, with ununderstandable qualification, is that of a young boy, as is indicated by his right forefinger which he puts on his lips. He wears an ornamental apron which is similar to the dress of the adult dignitaries in the processions and carries a bag of gold (?) in his left hand. His position after Bekemete may indicate that he was the latter's son (?).

Apamalo:

(g) *pelmos adblise*, "strategus of the land" (see Bekemete).

It should be added that all the participants in Procession II, with the exception of the young boy, seem to wear a chinstrap or to have a beard (?); no trace of such a fashion is visible in Procession I. Again, except for the boy, all the participants in both processions carry a palm branch, which frequently appears in

Egyptian as well as in Meroitic representations in connection with the worship of Isis.

Though the three principal actors share some titles referring to duties connected with temples, e.g., *pelmos atolise/adblise* and *ḥbhñ*, Manitawawi and Mastaraq(ye) are temple officials and high priests in the tradition of those members of the Wayekiye family who acted for the temple of Isis on Philae and in the Dodecaschoenus (see the evidence quoted at the individual titles), while Bekemete is a "civil" administrator whose other titles are secondary in importance to his title *peseto*, "King's Son" or governor of Lower Nubia. On the whole, the titles also seem to support the assumption put forward above, viz., that the inscriptions of the Meroitic Chamber "record" a diplomatic mission of a composition and working style similar to the embassies recorded by Pasan in 260 for the years AD 252 and 253; and we may also find that the joint appearance of Bekemete and Mastaraq(ye) is likewise paralleled by the embassy of Abratoye and Tami in AD 260 (see 265 f.). So it cannot be seriously doubted that also the problems addressed by the two embassies of Pasan, the embassy of Abratoye and Tami, and the embassy of Manitawawi, Bekemete and Mastaraq(ye) were very similar and that their solution demanded a diplomatic mission to Egypt by the governor of Lower Nubia, and in all probability involved the Dodecaschoenus and high Meroitic temple officials in the service of Isis of Philae. Such an interpretation of the events commemorated by the drawings and texts in the Meroitic Chamber also seems to be supported by the donations mentioned (with numerals) in the "central" text REM 0101 as well as by the mentions of *Wos Pilqete*, "Isis of Philae", *Wos Tebwete*, "Isis of Thebes" (?), *Aro*, Horus, *Asori Pilqete*, "Osiris of Philae", and *Asori Tebwete*, "Osiris of Thebes" (?) in the same text. Interestingly, also *Wos Bedewi*, "Isis of (?) Meroe" is mentioned in REM 0103 (c); the context remains obscure, however.

[LT]

**268 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Khawitaror.** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. 19. Griffith 1911b, Kar. 47. REM 0247.

#### *Introduction to source*

This rectangular sandstone tomb stela, now Philadelphia 7103, was found at the NE corner of the superstructure of tomb G. 183, to which it supposedly belonged (Griffith 1911b, 62). It is inscribed in cursive Meroitic script in fourteen lines between incised guidelines. The lettering is of the later style (for paleographical studies cf. Griffith 1911b, 17 ff.; Hintze 1959, 68 with Table; Hofmann 1991a). In the following presentation of the text we follow the segmentation and, in most cases, the word divisions of the REM edition.

## Text

(1)qo,, Hwitrroqo,,  
 peseto,, Akiñ(2)telo,,  
 nk,, Akiñtelo,,  
 ħrphñ (3)Phrsetelo,,  
 lh smlo Woto [=Woselo]  
 tb(4)qo,, Tmñtelo,,  
 qore dekló,,  
 a(5)moke,, Nlotilo,,  
 mlomrse,, (6)Akiñtelo,,  
 womnith [=womniselh],, A(7)kiñtelo,,  
 ant,, boqħw,, di(8)k,, Pedemeyotito [=Pedemeyoseliselo],,  
 pqr,, qori(9)se,, Atmetñ,, tbo,, yetmdelo,,  
 Sotn(10)kel,, yetmdelo,,  
 Tbħemħr,, yetm(11)delo,,  
 Lithror,, yetmdelo,,  
 kdi,, a(12)kw,, knw,, ħte kke s destel,, mteto [=mteselo]  
 (13)qorese mle,, Dewekdil,, mteto [=mteselo],,  
 arwt(14)l,, mteto [=mteselo],,  
 mlolo,,  
 Tebwe,, wwikelo,,

## Comments

**268** presents a long, and perhaps complete, list of its owner's titles which, at least in part, he bore at different stages of his career (for the *cursus honorum* of Meroitic officials as recorded in their mortuary texts see Millet 1969, 166 ff.; Millet 1981 [printed version of a 1973 lecture also distributed as pre-print at the Journées Internationales d'Études Méroïtiques, Paris]; Török 1977a; 1977b). According to the text of his funerary stela,<sup>631</sup> Khawitaror was promoted, as the zenith of his career, to the office of the *peseto Akiñte*, i.e., the "King's Son in Lower Nubia" (cf. **264** f.). On the basis of the list of *pesetos* in **271**, we date his tenure as *peseto* to the period between Abratoye's first tenure attested in AD 253 (cf. **260**) and Abratoye's second tenure in and around AD 260 (cf. **265**). The list of Khawitaror's offices is given in **268** in reverse order; the actual chronological order is as follows:

*ant boqħw dik Pedemeyoselise*, in which *ant* is the Meroitic equivalent of the Egyptian *hont*-priest (cf. **245**) and *Pedeme* is probably identical with the Meroitic name for Qasr Ibrim (or, less likely in this case, Amara West); cf. **186**, **204**, **222**, while *Boqħ* is Ballana (see *ibid.*). It was suggested that the title has the meaning

<sup>631</sup>The Invocation of Isis and Osiris at the beginning and the Benediction at the end are missing (though these canonical parts of the funerary text formulae were probably present in his offering table text).

"hont-priest from Ballana to Qasr Ibrim" (Török 1979, 4f.). The same title also occurs in Abratoye's titulary (see 270).

*womniselh* *Akiñte*, "great *womnise* in Lower Nubia"; the title was, apparently wrongly, believed to contain the name of Amûn. For the issue and for other occurrences of the title in the realm of the Lower Nubian "King's Son" see Hofmann 1981e.

*mlomrse* *Akiñte*, "*mlomrse* in Lower Nubia"; in the title *mlo* means "good", the title itself may be honorific. *mlomrse* also occurs in connection with other place names (for the rich evidence see Hofmann 1981a, 107; Török 1988a, 251 with notes 665 f.).

*amoke* *Nloti[te]*, "*amoke* in *Nlote*"; *Nlote* is probably = Aniba (Hintze 1963, no. 101).

*qore dek*, *tbqo* *Tmñte*, *lh s mlo* *Wose*; titles of unknown significance containing the word *qore*, Mer. "ruler", the toponym *Tmñ*, modern Gezira Dabarosa (see 204), and the words *lh*, "great" and *mlo*, "good".

*hrphñ* *Phrste*, *nk* *Akiñte*, *peseto* *Akiñte*, "*hrphñ* in Faras" (for the toponym see Griffith 1925; the title connected with it frequently occurs in titularies of *pesetos*, cf. Török 1988a, 250); "*nk* in Lower Nubia", for the title also see 270; and "King's Son in Lower Nubia".

Khawitaror's career, as indicated by his list of titles, is obviously a clerical one. It began with the administration of the temples of a rather small district in Lower Nubia (between Qasr Ibrim and Ballana). To judge by the temple offices held by future *pesetos* and the high percentage of priests and/or temple officials in the families of the *pesetos*, it seems rather likely that the administration of Lower Nubia and, in all probability, of the rest of the kingdom, was interwoven with the administration of the temples and that the administration of both the civil and temple domains was mainly in the hands of priests. It remains doubtful whether the repeated hints at "court" connections (titles including the word *qore*), or expressions like *seteli qore semlo* (interpreted as "consort of the king's mother" by Griffith (1912, 37) in Maniawawi's titulary in REM 0097 (see 267 (a)), and mentions of *pqr*- "princes" should be interpreted as evidence for intermarriages between the royal family and families of the local élites (cf. for earlier periods Török 1995b, 30 f. with note 148).

In addition to his own titles, Khawitaror lists his most important relations as well. Three of them are named, without titles. They were probably persons of such an exalted status that they could be identified without any further description. The first of them, Sotanakel, is mentioned in REM 0217 as holding the title *womniselh*; he was also related to other distinguished officials buried at Karanog (cf. REM 0217, for four generations of the family see Török 1977b, 406 App. V). It might thus seem that the lists of *mde* relations were primarily destined to define the social identity of the deceased within the actual closer context in which he or she lived; this type of social identification appears to differ from the notions of tradition and *ancienneté* reflected in the lists of ancestors in Egyptian documents.

The concluding section of **268** may contain further qualifications through family relations, but the meaning of lines 12 ff. eludes us, except for individual words as *kdi*, "woman", *mlo*, "good", *qorese*, "ruler" (gen.).

Khawitaror was buried in tomb G. 183 at Karanog (for a significant painted pottery vessel surviving from his funerary equipment see Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. 55; Török 1987a, 205 f.). His funerary cult statue (Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. 3) shows him in the regalia of the *pesetos* (see *Comments* on **269**, end).

[LT]

**269 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Maloton.** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1911b, Kar. 77, Pl. XVII. REM 0277.

*Introduction to source*

This sandstone offering table, which measures 73 x 53 cm and is registered under Inv. no. 40234 in the Cairo Museum, was found at grave G. 187, to which it apparently belonged. Its inscription in cursive Meroitic script runs around the central field of the table in which there is the representation in raised relief of an offering altar with bread on it and flanked by two lotus flowers and two libation vessels with an indication of the liquid pouring from their spouts over the altar. In the transcription and segmentation of the text and in most word divisions we follow the REM edition.

*Text*

(1)Wosi,, Aso(2)reyi,,  
 Mlotonqo(3)wi,,  
 ḥdḥiye,, tedḥelowi,,  
 dk(4)\*retr\*i,, Smedtli,, terikelowi  
 peseto,(,) Akiñte(5)lowi,,  
 bel\*i\*1\*oke Nptetelowi,,  
 wom(6)nise,, krorolowi,,  
 (7)ato mḥe,, p(8)ḥte  
 at mḥe p(9)s(i) ḥr kete,,  
 ḥ \*mlol,, p ḥol ke(10)te,,

*Comments*

**269** has all the traditional divisions of a Meroitic non-royal funerary offering table text, viz., I. Invocation of Isis and Osiris; II. Nomination: A) name of the deceased: Maloton; B) name of the mother of the deceased: Khadakhadiye; C) title and name of the father of the deceased: *dkretri* Samedatali; III. Description: titulary of the deceased; IV. Benediction.

Maloton's father was a *dkretri*. This title frequently occurs in the Lower Nubian sources in the context of families of *pesetos* (cf. 264; Török 1977b, 404 App. II; and cf. REM 0087, 0262, 0324). It is uncertain whether the three titles listed in the Description were held by Maloton successively (in reverse order to the sequence inscribed) or concurrently. He was *womnise kroro* (cf. 268; for *kroro* see 246 f., 260, 264, 267), a *beliloke Nptete*, "beliloke in Napata" and "King's Son in Lower Nubia". The title *beliloke/beloloke* occurs frequently in titularies of people related to *pesetos*, and it cannot be decided whether it was an actual office (associated with the cult of Amûn in Napata, cf. REM 0203) or a honorific epithet (cf. Millet 1981, 139; Török 1977b, 412 f.).

The brief Description does not list any relations. We don't know whether the lost funerary stela was more detailed in this respect or not; and also the reasons for the omission in the offering table text are obscure.

Maloton's tenure is dated, in general terms, to the second half of the 3rd cent. AD. His name appears in the list of *pesetos* in 271 after Khawitaror, between Abratoye's first (ca. AD 253) and second (ca. AD 260) tenures. His tomb G. 187 in the Karanog cemetery is famous because of his mortuary cult statue Cairo JE 40232 (Wenig 1978, Cat. 153) and the remains of his splendid funerary equipment. The fine sandstone statue reveals that a *peseto* was entitled (as also the representations of Bekemete in Philae indicate, see *Comments* on 267) to wear a decorated fillet, a neck ornament in the form of large disc-shaped and cartouche-shaped beads and an ornamental, fringed and tasselled counterweight (for the latter see Török 1987b, 33 f.), and a pendant in the form of the god Amûn, all being insignia of a princely character. Two bronze vessels with engraved decoration (Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pls 26 ff.) deserve special mention; Cairo JE 41017 (Wenig 1978, Cat. 196) is decorated with a beautifully rendered scene showing a Meroitic lady visiting her country estate; Philadelphia E 7155 is engraved with a representation of cattle. A pair of imported bronze pitchers (see Wenig 1987, Cat. 199) from the same equipment seem, however, to date from the early 2nd cent. AD (cf. Török 1989a, 147 no. 214, with erroneous tomb number), which may indicate that Maloton's bronze vessels all came from some earlier context.

[LT]

**270 Karanog. Meroitic funerary inscription of Abratoye (Abratoeis).** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1911b, Pl. 29 Kar. 121. REM 0321. REM 1088.

#### *Introduction to source*

This spout, with fragments of six lines of text, from an offering table with Abratoye's funerary inscription was found at Karanog and is now in the Philadelphia collection (Inv. no. unknown). The table itself from which the spout was broken off was discovered at Tomas, where it was taken from Karanog in modern

times. Its cursive Meroitic text was published in the REM edition (REM 0321) by Jean Leclant, who established its connection with the spout fragment from Karanog.

*Text*

(1)(W)osi,, Soreyi,,  
 (2)qo,, Brtoyeqowi,,  
 Me(3)tedoke,, tedḥelowi,,  
 ssor mete [...]seyneḥ (4)terikelowi,,  
 peseto,, Akiñ(te)lo,,  
 wo(5)mnith [=womniselḥ],, Akiñtelo,,  
 womnise,, krorolo,,  
 mdse m(te,,) [..(6.)] \*ab\*l,, d\*leketelo,,  
 (7)ant Boq(8)(ḥ)w,, dik (9)Pedemeyotito [=Pedemeyoseliselo],,  
 ant,, Mnp (10)Pedemetelito [=Pedemeteliselo],,  
 aribet,, Twetelito [=Tweteliselo],,  
 pelmos,, (11)adblito [=adbliselo],,  
 ḥrḥñ,, Phrsetelo,,  
 lh\*,\*, smleyoto [=smleyoselo],,  
 lh pq(12)re trello,,  
 tbqo,, Akilek dik,, Tweteliytito [=Tweteliselo ?]\*\*,  
 (13)atbe,, qoreñlh dot(14)li\*,\*, (a)roḥeleb,, (15)[..]btesw[.i\*te(16)lo],,  
 nob [.]73\*5 (17)ked\*,\*,  
 asebe,, kditk,, brtk[.] 3  
 m\*eqeske 30  
 (18)añse,, asetk,, mre ketk \*1000 aro (19)ḥelo,,  
 Mlkye,, mselḥ Pqosebde,, ate\*bte \*1 yeroḥete(20)lo  
 ato mḥe,, yo ḥe kete,,  
 a(21)t mḥe,, psi ḥr kete,,  
 ḥ mlo(22)l,, ḥol ke\*te  
 ḥ lhl,, ye ḥ kete,,

*Comments*

This long inscription exhibits the four traditional parts of the Meroitic non-royal funerary texts, i.e., I. Invocation, II. Nomination, III. Description and IV. Benediction. In II Abratoye's parents, his mother Metedoke and his father, a second<sup>632</sup> scribe<sup>633</sup> whose name is, however, only incompletely preserved, are named. The Description gives an unusually long list of offices and titles held by Abratoye, but does not name any relations. Abratoye himself, however, was

<sup>632</sup>Or junior; for *mete/mte* as "small" cf. Hofmann 1981a, 348.

<sup>633</sup>For *ssor* as (temple) scribe, i.e., an equivalent of Greek-Egyptian ἱερογραμματεὺς see Griffith 1916b, 28, 123; for the Meroitic evidence cf. Török 1979, 46 ff.

named by two members of the next generation of his family in REM 0251 and 0252. They do not indicate the standing of the family in any detail.

In a reverse order Abratoye lists his titles, which we give here in the actual chronological and hierarchical order:

*tbqo Akilek dik Twetelise*, “*tbqo* from *Akilek* to *Sedeinga*”; the title and the first toponym cannot be identified; *Twete* is apparently a name of *Sedeinga* (cf. Török 1979, 7 f.; for its other name, *Atiye*, see 186a).

*lh pqr tre*, *lh smleyose*, titles (?) or honorific epithets of unknown meaning, in which the word *lh*, “great” and the title *pqr tr* (as a princely title see FHN II, 152, (179) and in this volume see (213)) are recognised.

*hrphñ Phrste*, “*hrphñ* in *Faras*”, cf. 268.

*pelmos adblise*, “strategus of the land”, see 247, 267.

*aribet Twetelise*, “corn measurer (?) in *Sedeinga*”; for *aribet* see 261, for the toponym see above.

*ant Mnp Pedemetelise*, “*hont*-priest of *Amun* of *Luxor* of *Qasr Ibrim*”, cf. 245 and 268.

*ant Boqlw dik Pedemeyoselis*, “*hont*-priest from *Ballana* to *Qasr Ibrim*”, see 268.

*mdse mle...* meaning obscure.

*womnise kroro* cf. 268, 269.

*womniselh Akiñte nk Akiñte*, “great *womnise* in *Lower Nubia*” (cf. 268), “*nk* in *Lower Nubia*” (cf. 268)

*peseto Akiñte*, “King’s Son in *Lower Nubia*”.

The list indicates a long career starting with a temple office in the region between the Second and Third Cataracts, which may have been similar in character to the office held “between *Ballana* and *Qasr Ibrim*” by *Khawitaror* (268) and later also by *Abratoye* himself. At the same time he also held, or acquired subsequently, offices north of the Second Cataract, being appointed *hrphñ* in *Faras* and “strategus” or “district commissioner”, in all probability within the temple administration, as is clearly indicated by the occurrences of the title *pelmos* in the *Wayekiye* family (see 249 ff.). In the region between the Second and Third Cataracts he was promoted to “corn-measurer (?) in *Sedeinga*”; but it cannot be entirely excluded that the title sequence is garbled and that the offices between the Second and Third Cataracts all preceded in time the promotions that he would enjoy north of the Second Cataract.

It is worth noting that *Abratoye* was born to an apparently unimportant priestly family. His father was a learned priest who did not, however, reach the highest echelons which were open to so many members of the *Wayekiye* family. *Abratoye* himself does not list any *mde*-relations of rank, and this seems to be intentional in view of the length and detail of the text. Finally, the known members of the next generation of his family also seem to belong to the middle echelons of the temple (?) administration (cf. REM 0252). We may perhaps venture the conclusion that his career was due to his personal ability and learning rather than to his family connections. What is equally significant, we may also

note the clarity of the pattern of inheritance of clerical offices within the circle of the *hont*-priests as well as the wide horizons that were open for the learned descendant of learned priests: already Tsmeres, one of the earliest known *pesetos*, had been the son of a *hont*-priest (see FHN II, 154).

If we correctly understand the list of *pesetos* presented in 271, Abratoye held the office of the "King's Son in Lower Nubia" twice, with an interruption between the two tenures. Both tenures can be approximately dated on the basis of other evidence. Abratoye is mentioned as "King's Son" in 260, written in April AD 253; and he himself left behind a Greek *proskynema* at Philae dating from December 27, 260 AD (265). Both texts relate, or indirectly indicate (cf. 261), that as governor of Lower Nubia Abratoye also exerted power over the estates of Isis in the Dodecaschoenus, which by this time was under Meroitic control (cf. 249 ff.).

[LT]

**271 Faras. Meroitic funerary inscription of Makheye.** Second half of the 3rd cent. AD.

Griffith 1922b, no. 44. REM 0544.

*Introduction to source*

This rectangular funerary stela carved from sandstone, the cursive Meroitic text of which is presented below on the basis of its REM edition, was found by Griffith at the Faras cemetery (cf. Griffith 1924). Of the eighteen lines of the inscription, the last ten are almost completely lost; and the rest too is damaged in several places. The stela is kept under Inv. no. 1912.1006 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

*Text*

(1)Wos wet(ñqeli Asor we)trri,,  
 stmdese pe(2)setolise Mheyeqowi  
 Sdsdekde tedhelowi,,  
 sso(3)r [...]se Phome terikelowi,,  
 pqr qorise,, (4)Atmtel,, yetm(de q)eb(e)towi [=qebeselowi],,  
 pqr qorise,, (5)[...]k(r)or,, Pqlmthror,, yetmde qebetowi [=qebeselowi],,  
 (6)p(e)seto,, Krinkror 1  
 peseto,, Ñtewitror 1  
 pe(7)se(to) [...]ye 1  
 peseto,, Hwitor 1  
 peseto Mloto(8)y(e) peseto [...]it(ni)de 1  
 peseto Brtoye 1  
 pese(9)to M(h)[...]  
 (peseto A)mnibelil(e) 1  
 peseto,, Tewiñye (10)[...]

\*dk[...].se,,\*tsebe(11)[...].se[...].e[...](12)[...](13)[...](14)be\*te[...](15)[...].o\*nk\*e  
 [...](16)[...]\*23  
 mto[...](17)[...].l\*e[...].i 15  
 mlolo,,  
 ml(o m)(18)rse,, Nlote\*telo,,

### Comments

Although the text is incompletely preserved, its structure can still be established. It starts with an extended Invocation to Isis and Osiris to whose names are appended the compounds *we-tñy-qe-li* and *we-trr-(l)-i*, respectively, the meaning of which remains obscure, in spite of attempts at an interpretation (cf. Priese 1977, 45 ff.; Hofmann 1978d, 110 ff.; 1981a, 47 ff.). In the Nomination we find the name of the deceased with his title: *stemedese pesetolis Mñeye*, “the *stemedese* of the King’s Son, Makheye”. The title *st(e)mdese/sñdemese* occurs in the early 1st cent. AD in the titulary of the *pqrtr* represented in Queen Nawidemak’s mortuary cult chapel (see (186)) and in the 3rd cent. AD in titularies of high clerical officials (*sñmdes pesetolis*: REM 0249; *sñmdese Teñte*, “s. in Shablul”: REM 0368 etc.); and, if it derives from the relationship word *mde* (cf. 243, Comments, end), it may be interpreted as an epithet defining the social context of its owner.

Makheye’s father was *ssor*, “scribe” (see 270) of a deity or of an official (of the qualification only the genitive ending *-se* is preserved). His name, Pakhom, is Egyptian, and refers either to his owner’s origins, or, more probably, the attachment of his family to Philae or to a temple in the Dodecaschoenus: in 246 Wayekiye (A) is nephew of a Pakhom; and also the other known Pakhoms were priests (REM 1046, from Medik; 1059 [?], 1073 from the Nag Gamus cemetery of the priests of Amûn at Qasr Ibrim, cf. Almagro 1965).

Since only the first six or so lines of the Description are preserved, it is impossible to say whether it also contained references to Makheye’s own career. In the preserved lines we can only read about his *mde*-relations and are presented with a list of “King’s Sons”.

The first phrase concerning Makheye’s relations is somewhat obscure, for it seems to contain one name, Atamatel, who may be qualified as *pqr qorise*, “*pqr* of the ruler”. However, the relation word appears in the nominal expression *yetmdeqebeselowi* which includes the plural infix *qebes* (cf. Hofmann 1981a, 221 f.). An almost identical phrase occurs in REM 0247: *pqr qorise Atmtñ tbo yetmdelo*, which Millet (reference to an unpublished lecture in Meeks 1973, 16) interpreted as referring to an unnamed *pqr qorise* and Atamatane (= Atamatel?), while *tbo* would have the meaning “two”, “both”.<sup>634</sup> This interpretation is supported by the next phrase in Makheye’s funerary inscription: *pqr qorise [...].k(r)or Pqlmthror yetmdeqebeselowi*, which would seem to have the meaning “(who is/was) in *mde*

<sup>634</sup>Millet 1969, 115 suggests that there were two royal *pqrs* by the name *Atmtl*, which sounds somewhat unlikely in the light of the well-attested individuality of Meroitic personal names.

relation both with the *pqr* of the ruler [...]karor and (the *pqr* of the ruler) Paqalamatakharor”.

The list of the distinguished relations is followed by a list of *pesetos* who are partly known from other sources as well. The restoration of the name (...)ye as Brtoye (pronounced Abratoye) in the third place is generally accepted in the literature; but although it seems very likely, it cannot be regarded as certain:

Karinakaror

Netewitar, see 264

(Abrato)ye, see 260, AD 253 (and cf. 265)

Khawitaror, see 268

Maloton, see 269

(...)itanide<sup>635</sup>

(A)bratoye, see 265, AD 260 (and cf. 260)

Makhe(...)

Amanibelile

Tewineye

With the exception of Maloton, the names are followed by the numeral 1. The list has no introduction, so it may be supposed that its significance was explained in line(s) 10 (ff.), which are now lost; the numerals in lines 16 f. may indicate quantified donations or offerings. According to Millet's hypothesis (1969, 114) the list of *pesetos* would have been followed by the relation-word in the plural, *yetmedeqebeselowi*, referring to all named King's Sons as Makheye's *mde*-relations. While this possibility cannot be ruled out, it is rendered less likely by the numeral 1 added to the names, which never occurs in actual relationship lists. Here we suggest (cf. Török 1986a, 75 ff.; 1988a, 246 ff.) that Makheye's funerary inscription gave a chronological list of the *pesetos* who were in office during Makheye's lifetime or, more likely, official activity; the numeral 1 after their names may signify Makheye's tenures in their service or refer to his funerary offerings to them, if, as it appears, they all had predeceased him. This hypothesis gains some support from Abratoye's two appearances in the list, which we may bring into connection with mentions of him from the years AD 253 and 260, on the assumption that he served two tenures as *peseto*. If so, the office of the "King's Son" was held for a limited period, and the tenures might have been short enough to accommodate ten *pesetos* within Makheye's lifetime.

Millet (1969, 304 ff.) suggested that the owner of the Meroitic funerary stela GA 4 was a daughter of Makheye, who is described in the Nomination section of the stela as *stmdese pesetolise*. In the Description the deceased is said to have been in a *mde*-relation with several "strateguses of the water", thus referring to

<sup>635</sup>In the REM edition the name is emended to (*Amn*)it(*ni*)de and is regarded as a royal name; but the emendation is uncertain and the assumption cannot be substantiated.

a priestly family (which Millet hypothetically identifies with the Wayekiye family).

[LT]

**272 Philae. Demotic graffito of Teos (Djed-hor). AD 273.**

Griffith 1937, Ph. 252. Burkhardt 1985, 109 f.

*Text and translation*

(1) ḥst-sp 4t Lʿwlʿyns pꜣ Pr-ḳ

(1) Fourth regnal year of Aurelian, the king.

pꜣ tsyꜣ (2) n pꜣ mw Ḏd-ḥr ḳ sꜣ Pꜣ-Ḏd-ḥr ḥm

The lord (2) of the water Teos the elder, son of Peteos the younger,

ḥbd 3 ḥt sw 11

on the 11th day of the third month of Inundation,

(3) ʿl=f n pꜣ nʿy

(3) he embarked at the 'landing place'.

ḥbd 4 ḥt sw 17

On the 17th day of the fourth month of Inundation

ʿl=f r tꜣ mꜣy (4) Pr-ḥw-wʿb

he embarked at the island (4) of Pure-island (the Abaton).

ḥbd 4 ḥt sw 24

On the 24th day of the fourth month of Inundation

ʿl=f ʿḥtʿ (5) mḥeḥe

he embarked north(5)'wards'.

ḥbryḥe ḥme-nbw n ʿst

Abaryte, goldsmith of Isis,

(6) šre ḥme-nbw

(6) son of a goldsmith,

šꜣ d(7)mꜣ ʿšꜣyʿ

for 'many' gen(7)erations.

[RHP]

*Comments*

The graffito of Teos the elder, son of Peteos the younger, an Egyptian priest or officer of the fleet<sup>636</sup> was carved on the inner face of the W tower of the Second Pylon of the temple of Isis by Abaryte, a Meroitic artist in the service of the temple (for his ethnicity cf. Burkhardt 1985, 33). The text is dated in the first line to the fourth regnal year of the Emperor Aurelian, i.e., AD 273. Teos briefly reports that he departed for Philae on November 7 273; on December 13 he went to the Abaton<sup>637</sup> and on December 20 returned to the north.

According to Griffith (1937, 83) Teos was the admiral of a Nile fleet "operating for or against the Blemmyes", bringing the date of his voyage into connection with the assumed role of the Blemmyes in Firmus' revolt in AD 272 (cf. 283). Haycock (1967, 115 with note 6) accepted Griffith's view; but Updegraff notes that there is no direct evidence that the Blemmyes were involved in Egyptian affairs or that they made raids in this period (Updegraff 1988, 83).

While Griffith's suggestion concerning Teos' military activity cannot be entirely ruled out, a different, and more likely, interpretation of 272 may be suggested on the basis of the dates of his voyage; namely, that the period he spent at Philae coincided with the great Choiakh festival of Osiris (cf. *Comments* on 260). Furthermore, his inscription is centered upon the dates of the voyages he had made to the sanctuaries and on his return from Philae. These, and nothing else, are carefully recorded, thus conveying the impression that for the writer as well as his ancient readers of the graffito the dates, being clearly identifiable days of the festival, spoke for themselves. So it appears that 272 is the record of a pilgrimage rather than of a military action (cf. Török 1988c, 105 f.).

[LT]

**(273) Maloqorebar. Evidence for reign.**

The name Maloqorebar occurs in the Meroitic Chamber of the temple of Philae in line 1 of REM 0101 (see 267), an inscription accompanying a representation of Mastaraq(ye), a Meroitic envoy and member of the diplomatic mission led by Manitaawawi and Bekemete. As shown in greater detail in the *Comments* on 267, students of Meroitic history have interpreted the grammatically obscure Meroitic phrase with this name, *tdḥe Mloqorebr qoresel Lḥidmni*, as a reference to a king (?) Maloqorebar, child (?) of Lakhideamani.<sup>638</sup> Accordingly, they included Maloqorebar, or both Maloqorebar and Lakhideamani, in the list of Meroitic

<sup>636</sup>The translation of *pṣ tsyṣ n pṣ mw*, "lord of the water" as an actual title is problematic; Griffith 1937, 83 gives "admiral of the fleet", Burkhardt 1985, 109 "Offizier des Wassers"; translations which are influenced by their interpretation of the text, see below.

<sup>637</sup>The sanctuary on the island of Bigge W of Philae where the left leg of Osiris was venerated as a relic, cf. Winter 1972.

<sup>638</sup>For the literature see Török 1978 and 267.

rulers and also tentatively identified their burial places.<sup>639</sup> In one of her more recent studies Hofmann (1981d), discussing the grammatical difficulties posed by the above-quoted phrase from **267**, comes, like Priese (1971, 282), to the conclusion that it cannot be regarded as evidence for the existence of a king Maloqorebar and suggests that both Maloqorebar and Lakhideamani be omitted from the list of rulers.

Allowing for the possibility that King Maloqorebar may indeed be a fiction, we nevertheless include the name here in view of the fact that, in the present state of knowledge about the Meroitic language, no satisfactory translation of the phrase containing the name Maloqorebar in REM 0101 can be offered. There is, therefore, more than one option for its interpretation; and it cannot be ruled out that the presence of the word *qorese*, "ruler" (gen.) in it supports an interpretation such as that suggested here.

[LT]

**274 Heliodorus on Aithiopia.** Ca. AD 350-375 (?).

Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 8.1, 8.16.4, 10.11.

*Source bibliography*

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| Bowersock 1994               | G.W. Bowersock: Fiction as History. Nero to Julian. Berkeley.  |
| Colonna 1990                 | Eliodoro: Le Etiopiche. Ed. A. Colonna. Trans. F. Bevilacqua. (I Classici greci e latini TEA.) Milano.   |
| Hägg 1998                    | T. Hägg: The Black Land of the Sun. Meroe in Heliodoros' Romantic Fiction. <i>Graeco-Arabica</i> 8 (forthcoming).  |
| Morgan 1982                  | J.R. Morgan: History, Romance, and Realism in the Aithiopika of Heliodoros. <i>Classical Antiquity</i> 1, 221-265.   |
| Morgan 1996                  | J.R. Morgan: Heliodorus. In: G. Schmeling (ed.): The Novel in the Ancient World. Leiden, 417-456.  |
| Rattenbury-Lumb-Maillon 1960 | Héliodore: Les Éthiopiennes. Texte établi par R.M. Rattenbury, T.W. Lumb et traduit par J. Maillon. Vol. 1-3. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| Reardon 1989                 | Collected Ancient Greek Novels. Ed. B.P. Reardon. Berkeley.  |
| Sandy 1982                   | G.N. Sandy: Heliodorus. (Twayne's World Authors Series, 647.) Boston.  |

<sup>639</sup>Hintze 1959, 33: Lakhideamani Beg. N. 26, Maloqorebar Beg. N. 25; Wenig 1978, 17: Maloqorebar Beg. N. 27; Hofmann 1978a, 186 Maloqorebar Beg. N. 24; Török 1988a, 181 Maloqorebar Beg. N. 24.

*Introduction to source*

The texts presented here are but a few short samples from a voluminous Greek novel from late antiquity, the *Aithiopika* or "Aithiopian Story about Theagenes and Chariclea" in ten "books". In a subscript to the novel, its author introduces himself as "a Phoenician from the city of Emesa (in Syria), a descendant of the Sun, Theodosius' son, Heliodorus". We know nothing for certain about him, but tradition has it that he converted to Christianity and became bishop in Thessaly. Though the novel has been variously dated from the early 2nd to the late 4th century AD, there now seems to have emerged a consensus that it most probably belongs to the third quarter of the 4th century (cf. Colonna 1990, 23-25; Bowersock 1994, 149-160; Morgan 1996, 417-421). The main argument for this late date is Heliodorus' description in Book 9 of the technique the Aithiopians employ in besieging the city of Syene (Aswan): this description of a purely fictitious event shows striking similarities with the account of the historical siege of Nisibis in Mesopotamia in 350 AD that the future Emperor Julian gives in two panegyric speeches to Constantius (*Or.* 1.22-23; 3.11-13). It seems more reasonable to assume that the novelist was inspired by history—as described by Julian, or by a source common to them both—than that Julian in his praise of the emperor should allude to the novel.

Heliodorus' novel is the love story of two beautiful and noble youngsters, Theagenes and Chariclea. It takes them from their first meeting at Delphi by way of Egypt to Meroe where they are finally wedded. But the story is not told in this chronological order: it begins midway, at one of the mouths of the Nile, where the two are introduced to us in a piteous state as the only survivors of an attack by robbers; and the first half of the novel is then filled with retrospective narratives of what has happened to them earlier in life. It is revealed that Chariclea, in spite of her Greek appearance and language, is the daughter of the King and Queen of Meroe, conceived at a moment when the queen had her eyes fixed on a painting of Andromeda, the white princess of Aithiopia. Due to the colour of her skin, the baby is exposed. She is saved, however, and later comes into the custody of a priest at Delphi; and this is where she falls in love with Theagenes, a young nobleman from Thessaly.

The second half of the novel recounts, now in chronological sequence, how the young couple work their way back south to the heroine's homeland, constantly hindered by adverse fortune in the form of robbers or of high-ranking members of the Persian occupation force in Egypt. For this is an historical novel, set in the sixth or fifth century BC, that depicts an Egypt under Persian rule. The Persians are at that time involved in a war with the Aithiopians on the southern border of their empire (Books 8-9); this is where the siege of Syene comes in as the high point of the narrative. In Book 10, the scene shifts to Meroe itself, where Chariclea at last succeeds in proving her true identity and in having Theagenes accepted as her bridegroom. The successive stages of the recognition process and happy ending are interwoven with a description of

Meroe and its royal court, its victory celebrations as part of the Sun cult, and its diplomatic relations with neighbouring peoples.

Though Heliodorus skilfully uses the tricks of the historiographic trade to make his fictitious story seem realistic (cf. Morgan 1982), it must not of course be approached and interpreted as an historical text. In particular, it should be remembered that the description purports to describe conditions some eight or nine hundred years before the author's own time. Though there are inevitably many anachronisms in his depiction of this historical milieu, Heliodorus at least avoids mentioning Alexandria or, for that matter, the Romans. Therefore, one should not be surprised that he uses Herodotus as one of his main sources; this is exactly what a modern writer of historical fiction would have done in his place. If, in addition, he happened to have recourse to useful contemporary information about Meroe—as seems to be the case in the prominence he gives to its neighbour Aksum—his ambition would be to mingle such material with that derived from historical sources and with concoctions of his own imagination to achieve an organic and impenetrable whole. What frustrates modern historians, was what he took pride in. For further discussion see Hägg (1998) and *Comments* below.

"Heliodoros wrote wonderful Greek", says John Morgan (in Reardon 1989, 351). His elaborate and convoluted prose style is, however, not easy to transpose into modern language. While necessarily breaking up his periods, our translation attempts to convey his words without too much paraphrasing. What has been sacrificed in that process is the sense of his baroque style.

Our text is based on that of R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb in their edition which also includes a French translation and notes by J. Maillon (Rattenbury-Lumb-Maillon 1960, orig. publ. 1935-43). The independent critical edition by A. Colonna of 1938 reissued, with facing Italian translation, in Colonna (1990) has also been consulted. There are several English translations of the novel; the most recent one is by J.R. Morgan in Reardon (1989, 349-588). For general introductions to Heliodorus see Sandy (1982) and Morgan (1996).

### *Text*

8.1 [1] Ὁ γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀπάτη περιεληλυθὼς τὸν Ὀροονδάτην καὶ θατέρου τῶν ἐπάθλων τοῦ πολέμου γεγονῶς ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπίμαχον τὰς Φίλας ἀεὶ τυγχάνουσαν ἐκ προλήψεως ὑφ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένος, εἰς πᾶσαν ἀμηχανίαν καὶ ὥστε κατηπειγμένως ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκστρατεῖαν καὶ αὐτοσχέδιον τὰ πολλὰ κατηνάγκαζεν. [2] Ἡ γὰρ πόλις αἱ Φίλαι κεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καταρρακτῶν ἀνωτέρω μικρόν, Συήνης δὲ καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἑκατόν που τοῖς μεταξὺ διείργεται· ταύτην ποτὲ φυγάδες Αἰγύπτιοι καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐνοικήσαντες ἀμφίβολον Αἰθιοπί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις κατέστησαν, τῶν μὲν τοῖς καταρράκταις τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ὀριζομένων, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Φίλας κατὰ τὴν προενοίκησιν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῶν φυγάδων ὡς ἂν δορυαλώ-

τους ἑαυτοῖς προσνέμειν ἀξιούντων. [3] Συνεχῶς δὴ μεταπιπτούσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ προλαβόντων καὶ ἐπικρατούντων γινομένης, τότε δὲ ὑπὸ φρουρᾶς Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Περσῶν κατεχομένης, ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς πρεσβεῖαν ὡς τὸν Ὀροονδάτην στείλας ἐξήτει μὲν [καὶ] τὰς Φίλας ἐξήτει δὲ καὶ τὰ σμαράγδεια μέταλλα (καὶ πάλαι περὶ τούτων ὡς εἴρηται διακηρυκευσάμενος καὶ οὐ τυχῶν), ὀλίγαις τε προφθῆναι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἡμέραις ἐπιτρέψας ἐφείπετο, πάλαι προπαρασκευασάμενος δῆθεν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλον τινὰ πόλεμον καὶ οὐδενὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν τῆς στρατείας φράσας. [4] Κάπειδὴ τὰς Φίλας ὑπερβεβηκέναι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς εἵκαζεν, ὀλιγωρίαν τοῖς τε ἐνοικοῦσι καὶ φρουροῖς ἐμποιήσαντας καὶ ὡς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἢ καὶ φιλίας πρεσβεύοιεν ἀπαγγείλαντας, αὐτὸς αἰφνίδιον ἐπιστὰς τὴν τε φρουρὰν ἐξήλασε, δύο μὲν που καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀντισχοῦσαν πλήθει δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ μηχαναῖς τειχομάχοις ἐνδοῦσαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευεν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων λυμηνάμενος.

8.16 [4] Τρωγλοδύται δὲ μοῖρα μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰθιοπική, νομαδική τε καὶ Ἀράβων ὄμορος, δρόμου δὲ ὀξύτητα φύσει τε εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ ἐκ παίδων ἀσκοῦντες, τὴν μὲν βαρεῖαν ὄπλισιν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐδιδάχθησαν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης δὲ κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ἢ δρῶσί τι πρὸς ὄξυ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους ἢ καθυπερέτους αἰσθόμενοι διαδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπιδιώξιν ἐπτερωμένους τῇ ποδακείᾳ συνειδότες καὶ εἰς ὅπας τινὰς βραχυστόμους καὶ χηραμοὺς κρυφίους πετρῶν καταδυόμενους.

10.11 [3] Τὰς δὴ χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα καὶ βοῶσα ἐξάκουστον  
 “Ἥλιε, γενεάρχᾳ προγόνων ἐμῶν” ἔλεγε “θεοὶ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ἥρωες γένους ἡμετέρου καθηγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς ἔστε μοι μάρτυρες ὡς οὐδὲν ἐρῶ ψεῦδος, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ συλλήπτορες εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τὴν νυνὶ προκειμένην, εἰς ἣν τῶν προσόντων μοι δικαίων ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξομαι. Ξένους, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἢ καὶ ἐγγωρίους ὁ νόμος ἱεουργεῖσθαι κελεύει;”

Τοῦ δὲ “Ξένους” εἰπόντος,

“Οὐκοῦν ὦρα σοι” ἔφη “ζητεῖν ἐτέρους εἰς τὴν θυσίαν· ἐμὲ γὰρ ὑμεδαπὴν τε καὶ ἐγγώριον εὐρήσεις.”

#### *Translation*

8.1 [1] Now, the King of the Aithiopians had managed to outwit Oroondates (the Persian Satrap of Egypt) and seized one of the two prizes of the war, taking by surprise the city of Philae, a constant object of contention. This put the satrap utterly at a loss and forced him to march off in great haste, improvising for the most part. [2] The city of Philae is situated on the Nile, a little above the Lesser Cataracts and at about a hundred stades' distance from Syene (Aswan) and Elephantine. The city was once occupied and colonized by Egyptian exiles, which made it a matter of dispute between Aithiopians and Egyptians. The former re-

garded the cataracts as the boundary of Aithiopia, whereas the Egyptians, because their exiles were the first to colonize Philae, claimed that the city belonged to them as if taken in war. [3] So the city constantly changed hands, each time becoming the possession of those who managed to take and occupy it first. Now it was held by a garrison of Egyptians and Persians, and the King of the Aithiopians had sent an embassy to Oroondates to demand the return of not only Philae but the emerald mines as well (he had sent a public demand for these earlier too, as has been related,<sup>640</sup> but without success). He allowed the ambassadors a few days' lead, then followed them, for he had prepared himself long in advance as if for a different war and (even now) told no one where his expedition was heading. [4] When he reckoned that his ambassadors had passed Philae, implanting negligence among its inhabitants and garrison by announcing that they were sent to seek peace or even friendship, he himself suddenly attacked and drove out the garrison—it held its ground for some two or three days but then gave up because of the enemy's great numbers and their siege machines. He thus took the city without injuring a single one of its inhabitants.

8.16 [4] The Trog(l)odytes inhabit a part of Aithiopia; they are nomads and neighbours of the Arabs. They have from nature the gift of running swiftly, which they train from childhood. They have never learned to carry heavy armour but in battle use slings at long range: either they cause their adversaries harm quickly or they see that they are superior and run off. The enemy at once gives up pursuing them, knowing that with their swift feet carrying them like wings they plunge into narrow holes and hidden clefts in the rocks.

10.11 [3] She (Chariclea) stretched her arms towards the sky and cried out loudly:

“Sun, forefather of my ancestors, and you other gods and heroes who founded our race, be my witnesses that I will tell no lie. Be also my helpers in the trial that now approaches. I begin claiming my right by asking: My king, is it aliens the law bids you to sacrifice, or citizens as well?”

“Aliens”, he answered.

“Then”, said she, “it is time that you look for others for your sacrifice; for you will find that I am a fellow citizen of yours!”

[TH]

### Comments

Though Heliodorus creates an historical setting for his love story in a period when Egypt was dominated by the Persians (for the actual Persian dominations between 525-404 and 341/40-332 BC see Lloyd 1983, 280 ff.), the historical context remains vague and anachronistic; and this cautions us against any interpretation of the novel in a documentary sense (cf. Vycychl 1977, and see Hägg 1983, 59

<sup>640</sup>In *Aeth.* 2.32.2 it was related that the Aithiopian ambassador sent to tell the Satrap to “keep his hands off the emerald mines because they belong to Aithiopia” had been expelled from Egypt.

ff.). Nevertheless, several details in Heliodorus' narrative are quoted as historical evidence in the literature on Meroitic history (cf., e.g., Snowden 1970, 143; Bersina 1977; 1989, 222). Here we have selected three passages from the novel in order to demonstrate that Heliodorus' picture of Aithiopia has been painted, so far as it was not invented by a novelist, with a powerful phantasy and with a sense for exotic scenery, on the basis of other literary works. It is not directly indicated by the actual quotations presented here, but becomes evident from a study of the novel as a whole, that Heliodorus was greatly influenced by the Utopia of the Long-lived Aithiopians in Herodotus' Aithiopian Logos (see FHN I, 65) and endowed his Aithiopian king Hydaspes with the characteristics of Herodotus' noble-spirited ruler (cf. Snowden 1970, 148).

In 8.1 Heliodorus gives a description of Philae in which geographical inaccuracy (Philae is an island in the Nile and thus does not lie "on the Nile") is mixed with fiction (the dispute over the ownership of Philae) in which, however, the Herodotean motif of the "Deserters" can also be recognized (see FHN I, 56), together with information about the mixed ethnic picture that probably derives from Strabo's work (cf. 188).

In 8.16.4 we learn about the Trog(l)odytai who display here the characteristics Herodotus (FHN I, 66) gave them, yet are placed, probably on the basis of Strabo's description (17.1.2), east of the Nile (cf. Vycychl 1977, 455 f.).

In our last example from Book 10, we learn about the Sun as ancestor of the Aithiopian royal dynasty and about human sacrifice in Meroe. Both notions may be regarded as authentic. The ruler of Kush was indeed son of Amen-Rê (cf., e.g., FHN I, 9, 21 ff., 37; II, 71, 84), and the triumphal massacre of the enemy by the victorious king or warlord is attested by ample iconographical evidence from Meroe (cf. FHN II, (179) on Akinidad's reliefs at Meroe City, Temple M 250, and cf. in this volume, e.g., (213)). Heliodorus could well have found information about the divine sonship of the Aithiopian king in classical literature (see, e.g., FHN II, 105-107); and the association of the Aithiopians with the Sun was a commonplace (cf. Snowden 1970, 1 ff.). It should be noted, however, that the divine origins of the dynasty are treated in a very general manner, as are the passages on human sacrifice, and we learn no special detail that would identify these notions as Aithiopian and distinguish them from generalities about the ancient Near East.

[LT]

### (275) Tamelordeamani. Evidence for reign.

Tamelordeamani is attested in the cursive Meroitic text of a royal mortuary offering table, now Berlin 2254 (Hintze 1959, 61 f., REM 0059, with a suggested reading of the name as *Tml\*qrdeamni*), allegedly found at pyramid Beg. N. 28 (cf. LD Text V, 313). The text also contains the names of his mother *Arqtñmks* and his father *Arotnide*; and the doubling of the filiation word *tdḥe*, "born of",

indicates that Arotanide was the second husband of Araqatanemakas (cf. Hintze 1959, 13 ff.). *Arqtīmks* occurs as the name of King Teqorideamani's mother in the text of the offering table Boston MFA 23.872 (REM 0829, see (259)), which also indicates that Teqorideamani was a child of Araqatanemakas from her first marriage with Teritani(d)e. Consequently, King Tamelordeamani was a younger half-brother of King Teqorideamani, who is attested as ruler in AD 253 (see 260), and his reign can thus be dated to the period after the middle of the 3rd cent. AD. Hintze (1959, 33), Hofmann (1978a, 176 ff.) and, following them, Török (1988a, 182) hypothetically assigned to him as burial place Beg. N. 27, while Wenig dated him, as half-brother of the supposed Teqorideamani I (cf. (259)), to the early 2nd cent. AD and suggested that he was buried in Beg. N. 34 (Wenig 1967, 40; 1978, 17).

[LT]

### (276) Yesebokheamani. Evidence for reign.

Yesebokheamani is attested as *qore*, "ruler", in 277, a dedication text in which references are made to the cults of Isis and Horus on Philae as well as to cults in the southern parts of the Meroitic kingdom. Yesebokheamani's presence in Lower Nubia is indicated by a lion statue inscribed for him in Meroitic hieroglyphs and found at Qasr Ibrim (in the photograph of the statue, Plumley 1966, Pl. IV/3, the unpublished text is not shown); and it is probably his name that occurs in two cursive Meroitic graffiti in Philae inscribed between double engraved guide lines opposite each other on the W end of the N and S walls, respectively, of the passage that leads from Hadrian's Gate (i.e., the landing place for pilgrims to and from the Abaton) to the Hypostyle of the temple of Isis:

(1)Yeseboḥemni(2)qo,, qoro,, mret(3)metet,, lo Wosselo,, (REM 0119)

(1)Yeseboḥemniqo,, (2)qoro,, mretmetey(3)te,,tlo,, Wosselo,, (REM 0120).

Though we are far from being able to offer a translation of the two phrases, which show slight differences in the writing (?) and segmentation of the compound in the middle, it at least appears beyond doubt that both contain the names Yesebokheamani, who is qualified as *qoro*, "ruler", and Isis. Nor can it be seriously doubted that REM 0119 and 0120 are *proskynemata* before Isis of Philae. The two graffiti were carefully inscribed on opposite walls of the passage above earlier relief representations of a king, and their symmetry suggests that their makers tried to lend some sort of monumental appearance to the adoring presence of the Meroitic king.

It cannot be entirely excluded that the graffiti were made on behalf of Yesebokheamani and not in his actual presence. Such a possibility is, however, rather unlikely if we take into consideration that the non-royal Greek, Demotic, and Meroitic *proskynemata* were inscribed on Philae and on the walls of other temples in the Dodecaschoenus in order to perpetuate the actual moment of the adoring presence of their writers (cf. for the issue Geraci 1971, 18 and see 229, 231

f., 243 ff., 249 ff.). As the text of 260 also clearly demonstrates, the Meroitic envoys performed rites on Philae for the "breath of life" of their ruler, but the *proskynemata* they made were destined to secure their own adoring presences and not that of their king.<sup>641</sup> Consequently, it would seem that King Yesebokheamani appeared personally on Philae. The journey of the king of Meroe to the famous sanctuary of Isis that stood on Egyptian soil might be explained with reference to the traditionally eminent role the cult of the goddess and her temple on Philae played in Meroitic religion and intellectual life (cf. FHN II, (125)-127). However, it is not without some hesitation that we imagine a royal pilgrimage and visit to a foreign land; and it has been suggested that Yesebokheamani's pilgrimage may have been rendered possible by the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier to Syene (Aswan) in AD 298 (Hintze 1973, 141; Török 1988a, 285), as a consequence of which the region south of Philae became part of the Lower Nubian region under Meroitic control and the status of Philae became rather ambivalent for a while. Military settlements founded around the turn of the 3rd to 4th cent. AD in the Kalabsha area<sup>642</sup> indicate that, on the Roman withdrawal, Meroe was faced with the necessity of defending the Dodecaschoenus from the Blemmyes, which also meant of course that in effect it defended Upper Egypt, which was one of the reasons of self-interest for the Roman withdrawal (see 278-281, 328; for the archaeological material connected with the military settlement in the Kalabsha area see Kromer 1967; Badawi 1976; Strouhal 1984; for their interpretation see also Török 1978b; 1988b, 200 ff.).

[LT]

### 277 Meroe City, temple of Apedemak. Meroitic dedication of Yesebokheamani.

Late 3rd cent. AD.

Garstang et al. 1911, Pl. XXIV. REM 0407.

#### *Introduction to source*

The sandstone stela was discovered by Garstang in 1909 during the excavation of temple M 6, the site where the Tañyidamani tablet was also found (FHN II, 153) and which could be identified on the basis of the inscribed finds as the temple of Apedemak (Garstang et al. 1911, 21 ff.). The circumstances of the find and the present whereabouts of the inscription are unknown. Here we follow the REM edition.

<sup>641</sup>The Greek *proskynema* inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period on Philae that were written "for" (using the formula ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ) another person who was probably absent represent a rather contradictory type, cf., e.g., A. Bernard 1969, 144 no. 14, 148 no. 15, 210 no. 23, 212 no. 24 etc.

<sup>642</sup>In a recent paper Burstein (1998b) discusses the fragmentary Latin milestone inscription CIL 3.14148<sup>3</sup> of AD 293-298, allegedly found at Kalabsha, as evidence for an intact Roman military presence in the Dodecaschoenus. It seems more likely, however, that this inscription recorded renewed presence after decades of absence, cf. 238, *Comments*, and 249 ff.

## Text

(1)(P)edemk Sobor\*ete,,  
 \*k\*e\*m\*p(l) (2)Yesebohe,, qore,, bowidlo bi(3)[..]kye  
 Wos,, Pileqete,, ste,, [...] (4)(P)ileqe pe Yesebohe(to(5)wi) [=Yeseboheselowi],,  
 Ar,, ywid(e/l),, Pileqe (p(6)e,,)\*y tkidetowi [=tkideselowi],,  
 Wos,, At(i)(7)yete,, (A)t\*iye pe,, Yesebohe(8)towi [=Yeseboheselowi],,  
 Ar Atiyete,, Atiye (9)pe,, ytkidetowi [=ytkideselowi],,  
 Wos,, (10)Tebwete,, Tebwe,, pe (Ye)sebo(11)h(eto)wi [=Yeseboheselowi],,  
 Ar(,, Te)bwe(te),, Tebwe (12)pe,, ytkidetowi [=ytkideselowi](,,)  
 A(m)npte,, (13)Npte k,, mk,, tñyñ witw,, yt(14)kideto(wi) [=ytkideselowi](,,)  
 [...]\*s (w)\*ebhetel (15)ywi,, yiretwi [=yireselowi]  
 Aro,, hir\*e web\*h(16)lit [=web\*hlisel],, yhi nt\*hetwi [=nt\*heselowi],,  
 [.]rekl,, ah(17)\*ñ witw,, yeritowi [=yereselowi],,  
 te\*ris,, ahñw(i)(18)tw,, nt\*hetowi [=nt\*heselowi],,  
 ayi s,, ayi

## Comments

The stela was dedicated by King Yesebokheamani to Apedemak of *Sobor\*e*, who may perhaps be identified as the Apedemak worshipped in the temple where the inscription was placed. Since this is the only known occurrence of the toponym,<sup>643</sup> it can only be guessed that it was at that time the name of the quarter of Meroe City where the temple stood (?). The text is introduced with a phrase consisting of the name of the deity, the name and Meroitic title of the king, and the expression for the act of dedication (?) and continues with a series of pairs of "sentences" which give the impression of being verses of a litany or hymn. The first three verses also name the King in the first half of the couplet, his name being preceded by the word *pe*; the second half ends each time with the compound *pe ytkide-se-lo-wi*. A comparable, yet apparently more complicated, structure can be recognized in the concluding four "sentences". The meaning of the individual "sentences" escapes our understanding; but it can at least be said that the following cults are mentioned: Isis of *Pilqe* = Philae (on) Philae; Horus of Philae (on) Philae; Isis of *Atiye* = Sedeinga (cf. **186a**) (in) Sedeinga; Horus of Sedeinga (in) Sedeinga; Isis of *Tebwe* = Thebes (in) Thebes; Horus of Thebes (in) Thebes; Amûn of Napata (in) Napata.

[LT]

<sup>643</sup>Unless it is recognised in *seberlo* of the cursive Meroitic text accompanying the figure of a priest performing funerary a offering for King Teqorideamani in the relief on the S wall of the mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 28, Griffith 1911a, Pl. XXX/58 b; Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 22/G; REM 0058B.

**278 The defence of the Egyptian border in AD 283.** Ca. AD 400.

Claudius Claudianus, *Carmina minora* 25.69-82.

*Source bibliography*

- Cameron 1970           A. Cameron: Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius. Oxford.
- Hall 1985                Claudii Claudiani carmina, ed. J. B. Hall. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig.
- Platnauer 1922         Claudian. With an English Translation by M. Platnauer. Vol. 2. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.
- Vollmer 1899          F. Vollmer: Claudius Claudianus. RE III.2, cols. 2652-2660. Stuttgart.

*Introduction to source*

Claudius Claudianus, or Claudian, is usually referred to as the last of the classical Roman poets. His mother tongue, however, was Greek; he was a native of Alexandria, born ca. AD 370, and wrote his earliest poetry in Greek. By 395 he had gone to Rome where he became imperial court poet and found a patron in the Vandal Stilicho, the strongman of the Western Empire at the time. From the fact that no poems by Claudian have survived to celebrate the latest exploits of Stilicho it has been inferred that Claudian's death antedated Stilicho's fall in 408. None of Claudian's poems can be dated later than 404.

Claudian acquired a mastery of the Latin language and a familiarity with the Roman poetic tradition that have made critics place him on a par with the great Latin poets of the Silver Age. His literary career in Rome began with a panegyric in honour of the consuls of AD 395, following which he was invited to compose the panegyric for the consul of the following year, the Emperor Honorius himself. His subsequent poetry includes several panegyrics for official occasions, epic poetry on contemporaneous events (on Stilicho's war against the African usurper Gildo in 397-8, against the Goths in 402), as well as invectives against Stilicho's adversaries, the leaders of the Eastern Empire. He also wrote mythological epics, of which the (unfinished) "On the Rape of Proserpina" (*De raptu Proserpinae*) is the most important.

The present text is from a collection entitled *Carmina minora*, "Smaller poems". The poems vary in length from epigrams of two lines to the laudatory poem on Stilicho's wife Serena of 240 lines. The subjects are wide-ranging: there is a poem on the lobster, on the magnet, on a crystal enclosing a drop of water, on the hot springs in Aponus (Abano, near Padua) and a description of the harbour of Smyrna. The unevenness of the collection and the unfinished state of some of the poems suggest that it was not published by Claudian himself but contains the poems left behind at his death (Cameron (1970) 418). For another extract from the *Carmina minora* see 308.

Claudian is an important historical source for the period when he was active in Rome, though it must always be taken into account that in his official poems he is an unmitigated propagandist for his patron. On the nature and purpose of official panegyrics of the time and on Claudian's role as a propagandist see Cameron (1970) 30-62.

This extract is from a wedding song (*epithalamium*) composed for Palladius, a friend and colleague of Claudian, and Celerina, probably in AD 399. The speaker here is Hymen, the god of marriage, who is explaining to Venus, goddess of love, that the noisy celebrations that have awakened her from her mid-day slumber are for this famous union. Our text is based on the edition of Hall (1985). An English translation is given by Platnauer (1922).

*Text*

Cunabula prima puellae

- 70 Danubius veteresque Tomi. Mavortia matris  
nobilitas spoliis armisque exultat avitis  
immensamque trahit Celerini robore lucem,  
qui quondam Meroen iussus Nilumque tueri,  
cum sibi post obitus et Parthica fulmina Cari  
75 sceptrum daret miles rebusque imponere vellet,  
despexit fremitus et praetulit otia regno.  
Respuit ingestum, quod vi, quod poscere ferro  
posthabita pietate solent. Tum purpura primum  
inferior virtute fuit meruitque repulsam  
80 obvia maiestas. Doluit Fortuna minorem  
se confessa viro. Magnum delata potestas,  
maiores contempta probat.

*Translation*

The bride's cradle stood (70) on the Danube and in old Tomi (mod. Constantza, Romania). Her mother's noble family, renowned in war, rejoices in the spoils and armour of its ancestors, and receives immense splendour from the stalwart Celerinus who once was ordered to watch over Meroe and the Nile.<sup>644</sup> When, after Carus' death and his lightning blow against the Parthians,<sup>645</sup> (75) the soldiers offered him the scepter and wished to place him on the throne, he disdained their clamour and preferred otium to dominion. He rejected, when thrust upon him, what men are wont to seek by violent means and weapons, leaving shame behind. Then for the first time the purple (of power) had to yield to virtue, (80) the sovereignty that was offered suffered defeat. Fortune, grieving,

<sup>644</sup>I. e., Celerina's grandfather, who was prefect of Egypt under the Emperor M. Aurelius Carus (AD 282-3). At the Emperor's death the soldiers offered Celerinus the throne, but he declined, an act eloquently extolled in the following verses.

<sup>645</sup>Carus died during his Persian campaign, AD 283.

confessed herself defeated by a man. Great it is to be entrusted power, greater still to have spurned it.

[TE]

### *Comments*

From the last third of the 3rd cent. AD the literary sources repeatedly mention troubles and conflicts on Egypt's southern frontier; and, down to the 6th cent. AD, we frequently hear about the Blemmyes fighting the Aithiopians, then occupying parts of Lower Nubia, and making devastating incursions into Upper Egypt. In time, they would become a synonym for the frightful "barbarian", the enemy of civilisation and then, particularly, of Christianity (cf. Papadopoulos 1966; Demicheli 1976, 127 ff.; Updegraff 1978, 46 ff.; Christides 1980; Török 1985; Updegraff 1988, 81 ff.). In the following we present the principal sources for the conflicts in the frontier region between Egypt and Meroe and the unusual situation in the 3rd cent. AD, preliminaries of which were surveyed in the foregoing (see 232 ff.).

In general, these texts depict an Egypt tormented by revolts and imperial counter measures and, on her southern frontier, threatened by the kingdom of Meroe and, even more dangerously, by the Blemmyes of the Eastern Desert, who were also a threat to Meroe. Being unable and probably also less and less willing to provide an adequate military defence for the Dodecaschoenus, and, consequently, for Upper Egypt, against the Blemmyes, Rome apparently gave up the Dodecaschoenus, which, as might be expected, brought the Blemmyes first of all into confrontation with Meroe. Meroe was then obliged to defend the Lower Nubian Nile Valley and, indirectly, Upper Egypt. Our textual sources are, however, far from explicit about these issues. Their testimony is, to varying degrees, indirect; and most of it rests upon remote second- and third-hand information. 278-284 present small, and in many cases undatable, references to conditions in late 3rd cent. AD Egypt and indicate that the revolts against Roman authority and especially the situation in Upper Egypt were viewed in connection with the negative impact of Meroe and the Blemmyes as possible helpers of rebels. At the end of the century, after having crushed the major revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus, the Emperor Diocletian drew the most important consequence; yet, just as our sources were vague in the case of previous events, they also remain far too laconic when they mention the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier. It would be a much later writer (see 328) who would recall in some detail the reasons for measures which resulted in the last known territorial expansion of the Meroitic kingdom.

In this text Claudius Claudianus celebrated the marriage, ca. AD 399, of Palladius, who is supposed to have been the son of Palladius, Augustal Prefect in Egypt in AD 382 (Enßlin 1949), and Celerina, a descendant of Celerinus, Prefect of Egypt (cf. Stein 1950, 154), who in AD 283 refused to accept the imperial throne offered to him by his troops after they learnt about the death of the Emperor

Carus. The expression "to watch over Meroe and the Nile" might be mistaken to refer to an appointment to the command of the cohorts stationed in the region of Elephantine; in its present form, however, it is a rhetorical reference to the Prefect's duty to defend the province of Egypt and to his power over the Roman army in Egypt. Nevertheless, it may not have been entirely accidental that Claudian referred to Meroe when he wanted to give a brief description of Celerinus' duties: the period around AD 283 witnessed enough disturbances in the region of Egypt's southern frontier to be remembered as the principal concern of the Prefect of Egypt at that time (cf. 279-284).

[LT]

**279 War between Meroe and the Blemmyes.** AD 291.

*Panegyrici Latini* 11.17.4.

*Source bibliography*

Galletier 1949-55

Panégyriques latins. 1-3. Texte établi et traduit par É. Galletier. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

Nixon-Rodgers 1994

C.E.V. Nixon-B.S. Rodgers: In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The *Panegyrici Latini*. Introduction, Translation, and Historical Commentary with the Latin text of R.A.B. Mynors. Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford.

Mynors 1964

XII *Panegyrici Latini*. *Recognovit brevisque adnotatione critica instruit* R.A.B. Mynors. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.) Oxford.

*Introduction to source*

XII *Panegyrici Latini*, or just *Panegyrici Latini*, is the conventional title of a manuscript discovered in 1433, containing twelve panegyrics, or speeches of praise, addressed to Roman emperors. The collection is headed by the panegyric to the Emperor Trajan pronounced by Pliny the Younger on the occasion of his being appointed to the consulship in AD 100. This speech was placed at the beginning probably to serve as a model for the genre and to enhance the standing of the collection. There follow eleven panegyrics of a much later date, AD 289-398, addressed to the emperors Maximian, Constantius I, Constantine I, Julian, and Theodosius I. One of the speeches has no imperial addressee, but was addressed to the governor of Gaul (Gallia Lugdunensis).

The authors of the eleven later panegyrics are rhetoricians connected with Gaul, where Roman eloquence long had a high standing, and the collection was assembled in Gaul around AD 400. Some of the authors are named, but the majority are anonymous, though several attempts have been made to identify them (for the question of authorship see Galletier (1949-55) 1.XVI-XXV; Nixon-Rodgers (1994) 8-10).

The genre of imperial Roman panegyrics is marked by excessive adulation, to our taste often bordering on absurdity. The collection does, however, give an interesting insight into the schools of rhetoric and of classical Roman culture in Gaul at the time. For the historian the *Panegyrici Latini* is a mine of information, though the user must always keep in mind the special character of the genre.

Nixon-Rodgers (1994) gives English translations of the panegyrics, with introductions and historical commentaries; also the Latin text of Mynors (1964) is included. On his edition our text too is based. In the French bilingual series Collection des Universités de France the *Panegyrici Latini* have been edited by Galletier (1949-55).

The present text is from a birthday address (*Genethliacus*) for the Emperor Maximian (see *Comments* below). Our extract follows upon a catalogue of nations outside the Empire that have been waging wars against each other rather than against the Romans, a sign that the emperor is able to protect the empire by virtue of his "felicity" alone, without needing to have recourse to wars.

#### *Text*

11.17 [4] O magnam vim numinis vestri! Non istae modo aliaeque gentes viribus armisque terribiles fiducia instructae ad perniciem immanitatis utuntur, sed etiam Blemyes illi, ut audio, levibus modo adsueti sagittis adversus Aethiopas quaerunt arma quae non habent, et paene nudis odiis proelia interneciva committunt.

#### *Translation*

11.17 [4] O, the great power of your divinity! It is not only these and other peoples who, frightening in the self-confidence that they are imbued with, use their armed strength for the annihilation of their own barbarism; even the Blemmyes, so I hear, though accustomed only to light arrows, now seek weapons they do not have, to use against the Aethiopians, and fight deadly battles with naked hatred, so to speak.

[TE]

#### *Comments*

The unknown author<sup>646</sup> probably wrote his address for the *quinquennalia* (fifth anniversary) of Maximian as Augustus in AD 289 or 290 and delivered it in AD 291 (for the difficulties of dating see Nixon-Rodgers 1994, 76 f.). He included little historical detail in his oration and mentioned only one or two notable events beyond the borders of the Empire. One of these was a civil war in Persia, the other is this conflict between the Blemmyes and the Aithiopians. The brief description of the horrible ferocity and hatred with which the barbarians were fighting was meant to present a contrast to the *felicitas* of the emperors

<sup>646</sup>Earlier identified with Mamertinus; on this question see now Nixon-Rodgers 1994, 8 ff., 76.

Maximian and Diocletian, i.e., their special quality which enabled them to conquer by felicity alone (18.1). Nevertheless, we have no reason to doubt that an allusion is made here to one of the actual conflicts that took place before Diocletian withdrew Egypt's southern frontier from Hieria Sycaminos (modern Maharraqa) to Syene in the autumn of AD 298 (cf. **280, 328**; for the date of the frontier withdrawal see *Comments* on **280**, end).

The passage quoted here was part of the evidence that led Altheim (in Altheim-Stiehl 1965-1968 II, 300, 303) to conclude that it was the Blemmyes who were responsible for the end of the kingdom of Meroe. Doubtless the emergence of what appears to be an increasingly aggressive united tribal kingdom of the Blemmyes in the area between the Lower Nubian Nile Valley and the Red Sea in the course of the late 3rd through 5th centuries AD (cf. **301 f., 305, 309-314, 319**) contributed to the decline of Meroe by causing destruction in Lower Nubia, complicating Egyptian-Meroitic relations and leading to loss of Meroitic control over the trade routes in the Eastern Desert. In fact, the Blemmyes constituted only one of the factors that determined the political changes that took place in Meroe in the middle of the 4th cent. AD (for a criticism of Altheim's views see Hofmann 1971b, 344 f.; for the chronology of the conflicts between the Blemmyes/Bega and Aksum, which plays a significant role in both Altheim's assumptions and Hofmann's criticism, see Munro-Hay 1991, 75 ff.; for the historical record of the Blemmyes see also Christides 1980).

[LT]

**280 Roman victory over the Aithiopians and the Blemmyes. AD 297/8.**

*Panegyrici latini* 8.5.1-3.

*Introduction to source*

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* for the *Panegyrici latini* in general see **279**. The present text is from a panegyric to Constantius I delivered after his recovery of Britain, in 297 or 298 (for the uncertainties connected with the occasion and the date see *Comments* below).

*Text*

8.5 [1] Adoratae sint igitur mihi Sarmaticae expeditiones quibus illa gens prope omnis exstincta est et [cum] paene cum solo nomine relicta quo serviat. [2] Dent veniam trophaea Niliaca sub quibus Aethiops et Indus intremuit. Contenta sit voce gloriae suae etiam proxima illa ruina Carporum. Reservetur nuntiis iam iamque venientibus Mauris immissa vastatio. [3] Aliis haec permittente maiestate vestra celebrabo temporibus; di immortales, vota suscipio ut ipsis qui gessere praesentibus.

*Translation*

8.5 [1] So let me express my admiration for the expeditions against the Sarmatians, by which that nation was almost completely annihilated, and left practically with their name only, under which they can serve us. [2] May the Nile trophies under which the Aithiopian and the Indian [i.e., Blemmy] trembled pardon me. May the recent destruction of the Carpi be content with my mere mention of its glory. May the [account of] the destruction inflicted on the Moors be left to the messengers that will arrive at any moment. [3] With Your Majesty's permission I shall celebrate these exploits on another occasion. Immortal gods, I vow that it will be in the presence of the very men who performed them.

[TE]

*Comments*

The brief passage quoted here from the Panegyric to Constantius I speaks (probably metaphorically) about trophies (i.e., a triumphal monument displaying the weapons and figures of the vanquished enemy<sup>647</sup>) set up on the occasion of a military victory over "the Aithiopian and the Indian", the latter being in this case identical with "the Blemmy" (for the term Indian used in descriptions of the Blemmyes see Dihle 1965, 37 ff.). The date of the Panegyric cannot be determined with certainty (cf. Nixon-Rodgers 1994, 104 ff.), and it cannot be established beyond doubt that the victory in question occurred in AD 296, 297 or 298. The dating of the victory alluded to in **280** is, furthermore, also influenced by the fact that Zonaras (cf. **281**) and Jerome/Eusebius (for year 293) speak about two revolts in Egypt in the 290s, the first of which seems to have occurred in AD 294 in Upper Egypt in Coptos, the second being identical with the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus. Consequently, **280** too may have alluded to the earlier of the two revolts (for such an interpretation see literature in Nixon-Rodgers 1994, 115 f. note 16). It may, as a third possibility, be supposed that the military measures against the Aithiopians and Blemmyes were not necessarily directly connected with either revolt, but represent instead an episode in a longer series of frontier conflicts which finally led to the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier and to the abandonment of the Dodecaschoenus to Meroe, thus pushing the burden of the defense of Lower Nubia and, partly and indirectly, of Upper Egypt onto the new owner of a region which was the closest target of Blemmyan incursions (on this issue cf. also **(259)**).

As recorded in a later source (see **328**), Diocletian withdrew Egypt's southern frontier from Hieria Sycaminos (modern Maharraqa) to Syene (Aswan). The date of the reorganisation of the frontier is debated since it is usually connected with the date of the revolt of Domitianus (for points of view on this see Thomas 1976, 276 f.). Here we prefer the view (see Castiglione 1970, 96 with note 17; Thomas 1976; 1977; Bowman 1978) according to which Diocletian carried out the

<sup>647</sup>For figures of Aithiopian prisoners from an earlier (probably Augustan) miniature tropaeum see Snowden 1970, fig. 84 (= Török 1989-1990, fig. 4).

reorganisation of the frontier on the occasion of a journey he made to Upper Egypt after the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus had been finally crushed. His journey can be dated on the basis of PBeatty Panop. 1, a document dating from September 298, to the summer or autumn of AD 298 (Bowman 1976, 159).

[LT]

**281 Diocletian marches against the Aithiopians.** 1st half of 12th cent. AD.

John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum* 12.31B-C.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* for Zonaras in general see 258. The present extract is from Zonaras' account of the Emperor Diocletian's (AD 284-305) achievements.

*Text*

12.31B-C Περσῶν δὲ Ναρσοῦ βασιλεύοντος, ὃς ἑβδομος ἀναγράφεται βασιλεῦσαι Περσῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρταξέρξου, οὗ πρόσθεν ἡ ἱστορία ἐμνημόνευσεν ὡς αὐθις Πέρσαις ἀνανεωσαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην τοῦτον ἢ Ἀρταξάρην, διώνυμον ὄντα, Σαπώρης ἦρξε Περσῶν, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ὁρμισδάς, εἶτα Οὐαραράνης, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Οὐαραράκης, καὶ αὐθις ἄλλος Οὐαραράνης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ναρσῆς· τοῦ Ναρσοῦ τοῖνον τούτου τότε τὴν Συρίαν ληιζομένου, τὸν ἴδιον γαμβρὸν τὸν Γαλέριον Μαξιμῖνον ὁ Διοκλητιανός, διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἀπιῶν, συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιομάχου ἐξέπεμψεν. ὃς καὶ συμμίξας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἠττήθη καὶ ἔφυγεν.

*Translation*

12.31B-C Narses then ruled the Persians. He is recorded as the seventh king after Artaxerxes whom my history earlier has mentioned as the restorer of the kingdom of the Persians. For after this Artaxerxes, or Artaxares (he had two names), Sapore [Shapur] reigned over the Persians, and after him Hormisdas [Hormizd], then Vararanes [Bahram I], and after him Vararakes [Bahram II], then another Vararanes [Bahram III], and after these Narses. When this Narses, then, was ravaging Syria at this point, Diocletian, since he himself was marching through Egypt against the Aithiopians, sent his own son-in-law Galerius Maximinus to attack Narses with an adequate force. Maximinus engaged in battle with the Persians, was defeated, and fled.

[TE]

*Comments*

A campaign against Aithiopia, which is not mentioned so directly by other authors, is brought by Zonaras into close chronological connection with the Persian war. It may thus appear that the war against the Sassanian Narses, son of Shapur I, could render possible the dating of this conflict with Meroe as well. However,

while most literary sources mention the Persian war as occurring after the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus in Egypt (cf. *Comments* on 280), some date it before, or suggest that they were contemporary (for the sources and their modern discussion see Thomas 1976, 273 f.). The chronology of the Persian war is far from clarified; and the date of Diocletian's appearance in Egypt during the campaigns against Domitianus, on the one hand, and of his presence at Antioch and at the capture of Nisibis (which ended the Persian war), on the other, very much depends on how one prefers to date the revolt of Domitianus (for the different chronologies see Enßlin 1948, 2442 f. and, differently, Thomas 1976, 274 ff., with a review of additional literature).

Consequently, no closer dating of the conflict indicated by 281 is suggested here; it can hardly be doubted, however, that it preceded the withdrawal of the southern Egyptian frontier (cf. 280, *Comments*; 328). It may perhaps also be assumed that the various allusions in the literary sources to conflicts with Aithiopia were placed in the context of the revolt of Domitius Domitianus not only on account of chronological proximity but also because Meroe and the Blemmyes were in some way involved in his revolt, which, as Thomas argues (1976, 277 ff.), also spread over the Thebaid.

[LT]

**282 The intended campaign of L. Mussius Aemilianus against the Blemmyes.**  
Ca. AD 400 (?).

Historia Augusta, *Tyranni triginta* 22.6-8.

*Source bibliography*

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Browning 1982 | R. Browning: Later Principate. In: The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. II: Latin Literature, ed. E.J. Kenney-W.V. Clausen. Cambridge, 683-786.           |
| Diehl 1913    | E. Diehl: Historia Augusta. RE VIII.1, cols. 2051-2110. Stuttgart.  |
| Drury 1982    | M. Drury: Appendix of authors and works. In: The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. II: Latin Literature, ed. E.J. Kenney-W.V. Clausen. Cambridge, 799-935. |
| Hohl 1965     | Scriptores Historiae Augustae. Ed. E. Hohl. Vol.1-2. (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig.  |
| Johne 1976    | K. P. Johne: Kaiserbiographie und Senatsaristokratie. Untersuchungen zur Datierung und sozialen Herkunft. Berlin.   |
| Lippold 1990  | A. Lippold: Historia Augusta. RAC 15, cols. 687-723. Stuttgart.   |

- Magie 1921-32      The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. With an English translation by D. Magie. Vol. 1-3. (Loeb Classical Library.) Cambridge, MA-London.
- Marriott 1979      J. Marriott: The Authorship of the *Historia Augusta*: Two Computer Studies. JRS 69, 65-77.
- Paschoud 1997      F. Paschoud: Le tyran fantasmé: Variations de *L'Histoire Auguste* sur le thème de l'usurpation. In: F. Paschoud-J. Szidat (eds): *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*. Stuttgart, 87-98.

*Introduction to source*

The *Historia Augusta* (also referred to as *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) is an ancient collection of lives of Roman emperors, including heirs apparent and usurpers, from Hadrian to Numerian (117-284), with a gap for the years 244-59. The collection owes its title to its first editor, Isaac Casaubon (1603); the original title is not known. The prefaces of the various lives ascribe them to six different named authors. These authors are otherwise unknown, and it has not been possible to detect differences of language or style among them. Most scholars today favour the view, put forward towards the end of the 19th century, that the six authors are an invention and that the work is the product of a single author.<sup>648</sup> The question of authorship, however, as well as of date and purpose of the work, is still debated. For a brief presentation of the history of the controversy see Drury (1982) 918 f., for a fuller survey of scholarship see Johnes (1976) 11-46; Lippold (1990) cols. 690-95.

The importance of the *Historia Augusta* as an historical source comes mainly from the fact that other sources for the second and third centuries are very scanty. It is a notoriously unreliable work, and must be used with great caution. The majority of the numerous documents quoted (letters from emperors, laws, inscriptions, senatorial decrees) have been shown to be forgeries, made to fill out the lives of little known emperors. The author(s) seek(s) to entertain as well as to instruct; there is a marked predilection for anecdotal information (on personal habits, preferred food, clothing, etc.). There are, however, also reliable written sources among those used in the *Historia Augusta*, but in general all historical information found only here should be viewed with scepticism. On the sources and their trustworthiness see Diehl (1913) cols. 2070-96.

The present extract is from the part entitled *Tyranni triginta* or *The Thirty Tyrants*, i.e., claimants to the throne during the reign of Gallienus and Valerian

---

<sup>648</sup>A computer study by Marriott (1979) of sentence length and of initial and final word-types in the six supposed authors "points to one, and only one, conclusion: singular authorship for the *Historia Augusta*" (p. 74).

(253-268).<sup>649</sup> On the concept of usurpation in the *Historia Augusta* see Paschoud (1997). This is a collection of very short lives, many consisting of only one page or even less. The life of Lucius Mussius Aemilianus, the subject of the text quoted below, covers one and a half printed pages.

For a brief introduction to the *Historia Augusta* see Browning (1982, 724-27); for fuller presentations see Diehl (1913) and Lippold (1990). Our text is based on the edition of Hohl (1965). An English translation of the whole work is provided by Magie (1921-32); this text is in Vol. 3.

### Text

22 [6] Nec eius ad regendam rem p. vigor defuit, nam Thebaidem totamque Aegyptum peragravit et, quatenus potuit, barbarorum gentes forti auctoritate summovit. [7] Alexander denique vel Alexandrinus—nam incertum id quoque habetur—virtutum merito vocatus est. [8] Et cum contra Indos pararet expeditionem, misso Theodoto duce Gallieno iubente dedit poenas, et quidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur.

### Translation

22 [6] Nor did he [Aemilianus] lack energy in administering the affairs of state, for he travelled throughout the Thebaid and the whole of Egypt; and, as far as it was possible for him, he drove back the barbarian peoples by his forceful leadership. [7] Finally, because of his merits he was called Alexander or Alexandrinus (for also this is considered uncertain). [8] And when he was preparing a campaign against the Indians, the general Theodotus was sent [against him], and he had to pay with his life on [the Emperor] Gallienus' orders; it is even said that he was strangled in prison like the captives of old.

[TE]

### Comments

The text quoted here from *The Thirty Tyrants* is part of the account of the brief period of the reign in Egypt of the usurper L. Mussius Aemilianus, formerly Vice-Prefect (AD 256/7-24 September 258) and Prefect (September-October 259-17 May 261) of Egypt (cf. Bastianini 1988, 514). It is reported here, but cannot be confirmed by independent evidence, that the usurper successfully "drove back the barbarian peoples", who may be identical with the Meroites and/or the "Indians", i.e., the Blemmyes (cf. 280) who are mentioned later in the same description and against whom Aemilianus also seems to have planned a major expedition.

Desanges (1978a, 343) suggested that Aemilianus' campaign took place before he usurped the throne in AD 261, i.e., during his period in office as Prefect of

---

<sup>649</sup>The number thirty is fictitious, contrived to equal the 'Thirty tyrants' in Athens (404-3 BC); some of the personalities included are inventions by the author. For the details see Magie (1932) 64 note.

Egypt. If we accept this highly probable interpretation of **282**, the peace concluded by Abratoye and Tami before December 27, 260 on Philae (see **265** and **266**) may well have marked the end of the conflict alluded to in *The Thirty Tyrants* (so also Desanges 1978a, 343).

[LT]

**283 Firmus' Blemmyan friends and Aurelian's Blemmyan captives.** Ca. AD 400 (?).

*Historia Augusta, Quadrigae tyrannorum* 3.1-3; *Aurelianus* 33.4-5.

*Source bibliography*

Paschoud 1996

Histoire Auguste. Tome V. 1ère partie. Vies d'Aurelien, Tacite. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par F. Paschoud. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.

Stoneman 1992

R. Stoneman: Palmyra and Its Empire. Zenobia's Revolt against Rome. Ann Arbor.

*Introduction to source*

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* to the *Historia Augusta* in general see **282**. Below we present under a single heading (a) an extract from the combined lives of Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, and Bonosus, sometimes referred to under the common title *Quadrigae tyrannorum*, "the four-span of tyrants" (a tag from the life of Probus), and (b) an extract from the life of Aurelian (Emperor AD 270-75), describing his triumphal procession in Rome in AD 274 following the defeat of Queen Zenobia.

For *Quadrigae tyrannorum* our text is based on Hohl (1965), for *Aurelianus* on Paschoud (1996), who also gives a French translation and an historical commentary (164-66). For the historical background of the latter text see Stoneman (1992), especially Chs. 7-8 (the English translation of this text by Magie (1921-32) is reproduced p. 181 f.).

*Text*

*Quadr. tyr.* 3 [1] Firmo patria Seleucia fuit, tametsi plerique Graecorum alteram tradunt, ignari eo tempore ipso tres fuisse Firmos, quorum unus praefectus Aegypti, alter dux limitis Africani idemque pro consule, tertius iste Zenobiae amicus ac socius, qui Alexandriam Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit et quem Aurelianus solita virtutum suarum felicitate contrivit.

[2] De huius divitiis multa dicuntur. Nam et vitreis quadraturis bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis domum instruxisse perhibetur et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publice saepe diceret exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutine. [3] Idem et cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis.

*Aurel.* 33 [4] Praecesserunt elephanti viginti, ferae mansuetae Libycae, Palaestinae diversae ducentae, quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum anionis gravaret, tigrides quattuor, camelopardali, alces, cetera talia per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta—praeter captivos gentium barbararum—Blemmyes, Exomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, Indi, Bactrani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus, Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suevi, Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus, captivi utpote. [5] Praecesserunt inter hos etiam Palmyreni qui superfuerant, principes civitatis, et Aegyptii ob rebellionem.

*Translation*

*Quadr. tyr.* 3 [1] Firmus was a native of Seleucia, although most of the Greeks give him a different origin, being ignorant of the fact there were three men by the name of Firmus at that time: one was Prefect of Egypt, another Commander of the African Frontier as well as Proconsul, a third was that friend and ally of Zenobia, the man who was incited by the madness of the Egyptians<sup>650</sup> to invade Alexandria and whom Aurelian destroyed by his usual combination of courage and luck.

[2] Of this man's riches much is told. For it is related that he equipped his house with window panes of glass held in place by bitumen and other substances, and that he had so many books that he often boasted publicly that he could feed an army with paper and glue. [3] He also maintained close relations with the Blemmyes and with the Saracens.

*Aurel.* 33 [4] In the first part [of the triumphal procession] marched twenty elephants, tamed animals from Libya [i.e., North Africa],<sup>651</sup> and two hundred wild animals of various kinds from Palestine which Aurelian immediately gave as gifts to private citizens in order that the imperial treasury should not be burdened by the cost of feeding them; four tigers, giraffes, elks, and similar animals were also led forth, further eight hundred pairs of gladiators, besides captives from barbarian peoples.<sup>652</sup> There were Blemmyes, Axomites, South Arabians, Indians, Bactrians, Hiberians, Saracens, and Persians, each with their gifts; Goths, Alans, Roxolans, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebians, Vandals, and Germans, with their hands tied as captives. [5] Among these, in this first part [of the procession],

<sup>650</sup>The Latin text in itself could also have been taken to mean "by the madness inherent in his Egyptian nature".

<sup>651</sup>We take "tamed animals from Libya" to be in apposition to the preceding; if it were a new item a quantifier would be expected here as well. Paschoud (1996) understands the text to refer to three different groups of animals.

<sup>652</sup>We follow Paschoud (1996) 165 in taking the phrase beginning with "besides" as parenthetical, not introducing the double list (of people bringing gifts and of captives) that follows; the Latin is ambiguous.

also went Palmyreans who had escaped slaughter, leaders of the state, and Egyptians, since they had revolted.

[TE]

*Comments*

The two passages quoted here from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* refer to the period when Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra from AD 267-272 (cf. Schwartz 1953, 63 ff.) occupied Egypt and are probably largely fictitious. Both the existence of Firmus, the Alexandrian merchant who allegedly organised a revolt in support of the Palmyrene invaders and who is characterised here as maintaining good relations with the Blemmyes, and the reality of Aurelian's triumphal procession in AD 274 subsequent to Zenobia's defeat, in which also Blemmyan captives would have been displayed, have been called into question (cf. literature discussed in Walser-Pekáry 1962, 52 f.; Desanges 1978a, 343 f.). They may, however, be regarded as historically correct insofar as they place the Blemmyes in an obviously negative context; furthermore, it is interesting to note that Firmus' good relations with the Blemmyes are placed in the context of his commercial contacts with the Red Sea region, thus hinting at the possibility that the Blemmyes were known to be in control of some of the trade routes leading to the Red Sea ports. For Blemmyan activities in the last quarter of the 3rd cent. AD see also 284, 323.

[LT]

**284 Probus liberates Coptos and Ptolemais from the Blemmyes in AD 280.** Ca. AD 400 (?).

*Historia Augusta, Probus 17.*

*Introduction to source*

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* for the *Historia Augusta* see 282. This extract is from the life of Marcus Aurelius Probus, Emperor from AD 276 to 282.

*Text*

17 [1] Pacatis denique omnibus Pamphyliae partibus ceterarumque provinciarum quae sunt Isauriae vicinae, ad orientem iter flexit. [2] Blemmyas etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit, qui mirabilem sui visum stupente p. R. praeberunt. [3] Copten praeterea et Ptolomaidem urbis ereptas barbarico servitio Romano reddidit iuri. [4] Ex quo tantum profecit ut Parthi legatos ad eum mitterent confitentes timorem pacemque poscentes, quos ille superbius acceptos magis timentes domum remisit.

[5] Fertur etiam epistula illius repudiatis donis, quae rex miserat, ad Nar-seum talis fuisse: "Miror te de omnibus quae nostra futura sunt tam pauca misisse. Habeto interim omnia illa quibus gaudes. Quae si nos habere cupimus,

scimus quem ad modum possidere debeamus." [6] His acceptis litteris Narseus maxime territus, et eo praecipue quod Copten et Ptolomaidem comperit a Blemmyis, qui eas tenuerant, vindicatas caesosque ad interneccionem eos, qui gentibus fuerant ante terrori.

*Translation*

17 [1] Thus, having pacified every part of Pamphylia and the other provinces that lie near Isauria, he [Probus] turned towards the East. [2] He also subdued the Blemmyes and sent the captives he took from them to Rome, where they were an extraordinary sight and astonished the Roman people. [3] He further rescued the cities of Coptos and Ptolemais from barbarian servitude and restored them to Roman justice. [4] This made him so successful that the Parthians sent envoys to him, revealing their fear and asking for peace. He received them very haughtily and sent them back home even more fearful.

[5] It is also recounted that the letter Probus sent to Narseus after having repudiated his gifts, ran like this: "I am amazed that of all that soon will be ours you have sent so little. For now just keep all you are enjoying. If we want it, we know how we can get it." [6] After Narseus received this letter, he was quite terrified, and particularly because he learned that Coptos and Ptolemais had been liberated from the Blemmyes, who had controlled them, and that those who had formerly been a terror for the nations had been massacred.

[TE]

*Comments*

In the passage presented here from the *Historia Augusta* the Emperor Probus is reported to have liberated from their Blemmyan conquerors the cities of Coptos (modern Qift, ca. 40 km NW of Luxor at the entrance of the desert road leading to the Red Sea ports) and Ptolemais (modern el-Mansha, S of Sohag, the second greatest city of Roman Egypt after Alexandria). These events, which are dated to AD 280 (see Paschoud 1971-1989 I, 176 f.), are described differently by Zosimus (see 323), according to whom Ptolemais had revolted against Probus and, aided by the Blemmyes, had warred against the inhabitants of Coptos. A revolt is, however, also indicated, albeit indirectly, in 284 by the statement that the two cities were "restored to Roman justice" by the emperor.

[LT]

**285 Meroe City. Greek inscription of a king of Aksum.** 3rd or 4th cent. AD.  
SB I 2055. SEG XXIV 1246, XXXIV 1641. B-D-S 286.

*Source bibliography*

Altheim 1962

F. Altheim: *Geschichte der Hunnen*. Vol. 5. Berlin.

Altheim-Stiehl 1961

F. Altheim-R. Stiehl: *Die Datierung des Königs ʿĒzānā von Aksūm*. *Klio* 39, 234-248.

- Bernand-Drewes-Schneider 1991      É. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Vol. 1-2. Paris 1991. [= B-D-S.]
- Bersina 1984                S.Ya. Bersina: An Inscription of a King of Axumites and Himyarites from Meroe. *Meroitic Newsletter* 23, 1-9.
- Hägg 1984                    T. Hägg: A New Axumite Inscription in Greek from Meroe: A Preliminary Report. In: *Meroitistische Forschungen* 1980. (*Meroitica* 7.) Berlin, 436-441.
- Hägg 1994                    T. Hägg: Sayce's Axumite Inscription from Meroe—Again. *Meroitic Newsletter* 25, 45-48.
- Munro-Hay 1991            S. Munro-Hay: *Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*. Edinburgh.
- Sayce 1909                    A.H. Sayce: A Greek Inscription of a King (?) of Axum Found at Meroe. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 31, 189 f. + Pl. XXIV.

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was found at Meroe City in the first season of John Garstang's excavations; its archaeological context could not be verified by the excavators. It was carved on a block of ferricrete sandstone; the surviving fragment (now in the Sudan National Museum, Inv. No. 508) contains fourteen incomplete lines. It was first published, with a facsimile, by Sayce (1909); both his drawing and his text were unfortunately highly misleading. New readings and supplements have subsequently been suggested by many scholars, among whom may be mentioned Altheim-Stiehl (1961, with photo), J. Bingen (in *SEG XXIV*, 1969) and Hägg (1984, 436-439); for a fuller bibliography and a critical apparatus listing the earlier suggestions, see É. Bernand in Bernand-Drewes-Schneider (1991, 385 f.).<sup>653</sup>

The main obstacle for the interpretation of the inscription is the fact that so little has survived of each line (even the length of the lines is unknown); the recognizable words stand more or less alone without their immediate context. There are, however, also some positive factors to acknowledge. We do have the beginning of the inscription (whereas our last line is not necessarily also the last line of the original inscription, unless the figure is a date). The letters are distinctly and evenly carved (though worn at some places). Parallels in other, better preserved Aksumite inscriptions in Greek provide a good help for the restoration and interpretation. Thus, for instance, lines 1-2 seem to be structured similarly to 298.1-5 and 299.1-6, and the interpretation of lines 6 and 9 receives support from 234, ch. 61: "I chose for myself their young men (νέους) and women (γυναικας) and children (παιδα) and young girls (παρθένους) and all

<sup>653</sup>For Bersina's (1984) philologically questionable text (*SEG XXXIV* 1641) and translation (reproduced in Munro-Hay 1991, 224) see Hägg (1994).

their possessions". The use of the first person throughout, typical of the Aksumite victory inscriptions, helps deciding between suggested supplements or interpretations in lines 1 ("king" in the nominative case), 7 (the "king" referred to in the dative case must be another), and 11 (not [ταί]ς ὁμαῖς οἰκί[αις], "the common (?) houses"), and so on. Still, much is of course quite uncertain, and the fact that it has not been feasible, in the present context, to register all the suggestions for readings that have been put forward, should not lead anyone to assume that the text and translation presented here are the only ones possible.

*Text*

1 [------ βασιλεὺς Ἀξω]μειτῶν καὶ Ὀμηρειτῶ[ν -----]  
 2 [------ υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνίκητου] Ἄρεως ἀντιδικησάντ[ων -----]  
 3 [------].ΟΝ παρακο[μί]σας<sup>654</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς [------]  
 4 [------]ΕΙΑΙΟΙΣ καὶ ἐξεπόρθησα τὰς [------]  
 5 [------]Α κλειθὲν παρελθὼν ἐνθ[άδε -----]  
 6 [------]. γενναῖαι,<sup>655</sup> ἕτερον δὲ ΚΑ[ -----]  
 7 [------] σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῶ[ν -----]  
 8 [------] τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν τῇ ΣΕΜ[- -----]  
 9 [------]στρ]ατηγούς καὶ τέκνα [αὐτῶν -----]  
 10 [------] ἐπήλθον ἀντί[κα -----]  
 11 [------]σομαί σοι ΚΙ[- -----]  
 12 [------] ἐπὶ φόροι[ς -----]  
 13 [------] χάλκεον [------]  
 14 [------]ΩΝ ΚΑ [------]

*Translation*

1 [I, N.N., King of Aks]um and Himya[r ... ]  
 2 [ ... son of the invincible god] Ares (Mahrem), when [the people of ... ]  
     disputed  
 3 [ ... ], I conv[ey]ed from [ ... ]  
 4 [ ... ] ...<sup>656</sup> and I pillaged the [ ... ]  
 5 [ ... ] ... having arrived here [ ... ]  
 6 [ ... ] (women) of noble birth, and another [ ... ]<sup>657</sup>  
 7 [ ... ] with the King as far as th[e ... ]  
 8 [ ... ] most (things) in the ... [ ... ]  
 9 [ ... gen]erals and [their] children [ ... ]  
 10 [ ... ] I went against [ ... ] at once [ ... ]  
 11 [ ... ] I will [ ... ] to you [ ... ]

<sup>654</sup>παρακούσας earlier editors.

<sup>655</sup>γεννάται earlier editors.

<sup>656</sup>Altheim (1962, 174) interpreted the first letters of this line, ]ΕΙΑΙΟΙΣ, as Β]εγαίους, referring to the Beja; but these are referred to as Βουγαειτῶν in 298.6.

<sup>657</sup>The last letters of the line are not clear enough to warrant Sayce's δέκαρ[χον], "decurion".

- 12 [ ... ] subject to pay tribute [ ... ]  
 13 [ ... ] a bronze (statue ?) [ ... ]  
 14 [ ... ] ... 21 (?)<sup>658</sup> [ ... ]

[TH]

*Comments*

As Hägg has shown in his republication and analysis of the text (1984a, 436-439), the present inscription was part of a triumphal monument in the form of a throne and was erected, as stated in the first line, by a king of Aksum and Himyar (the two titles referring to the two halves of the kingdom, one SE of Meroe and the other in South Arabia). Setting up inscribed thrones (*manbar*) was a ceremonial act which marked the victory of Aksumite rulers in the 3rd and 4th cent. AD; and the inscriptions using the Greek, Ge'ez, and Epigraphic South Arabian scripts (there are also trilingual inscriptions) presented official records of the campaigns. The structure and style of the preserved texts are stereotyped. As is revealed by more completely preserved texts (cf. 234, 298-299), they first give the reasons for the campaigns and continue by mentioning diplomatic efforts and thus indicate that the conflicts were just wars on the part of the Aksumites. After giving a detailed account of the campaigns (including routes, strategy, encampments) and of the victory, they list the results, presenting a detailed account of enemy men and women killed, and of the booty, and record eventual settlements entered into with the vanquished enemy princes. The inscriptions of King Ezana's predecessors and of Ezana before his conversion to Christianity conclude with mentions of offerings to gods and references to the war god Mahrem (Greek Ares; for the structure of the texts cf. Littmann 1913; 1950; Hägg 1984a; Munro-Hay 1991, 214 f.).

The preserved lines of the inscription on the throne from Meroe City indicate that in its complete form 285 belonged to the shorter texts in the corpus of Aksumite triumphal monuments, consisting of abbreviated versions of almost all the sections of a complete structure. Originally, it was a triumphal inscription commemorating a military victory of a predecessor of Ezana, or of Ezana himself before his conversion, over a king of Meroe, who was apparently mentioned in line 7 (cf. Burstein 1984, 220 f.); and since it was erected in the area of Meroe City, we may conclude that the Aksumite victory also resulted in an, at least temporary, Aksumite occupation of the Meroitic capital. This is also corroborated by 286, another fragment of a Greek inscription from an Aksumite triumphal monument from Meroe City.

In general terms, 285 as well as 286 can be dated to the period before the conversion to Christianity of King Ezana of Aksum, who is attested as having

<sup>658</sup>The reading  $\kappa\delta$ , "24", is also possible. Altheim-Stiehl (1961, 241, 244; Altheim 1962, 170, 173 f.) reasonably suggest that the figure is part of a dating by regnal years and adduce as support another Aksumite inscription in Greek, B-D-S 275.6 (from Daqqi Mahari), where the 24th year of Sembrouthes' reign occurs; cf. also 234, end.

been (partly) contemporary with the Emperor Constantius II (reigned AD 337-361) in a letter the latter wrote to Ezana and his brother Sazana (preserved in Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem*, 31, see Szymusiak 1958, 125 ff.). On the assumption that this letter (hypothetically dated to ca. 356-361) was addressed to two pagan rulers, Dihle (1965, 36 ff.; accepted in Török 1988b, 36 f.) dated Ezana's conversion to the years after AD 361. Arguing on the basis of the interpretation of Constantius' letter as addressed to Christian princes, and suggesting that in his first Christian coinage Ezana followed the weight that was in use before the reform of Roman coinage which Constantine the Great introduced in AD 324 (later he used the new weight), Munro-Hay (1991, 202 ff.) dates Ezana's conversion to around AD 333 (for the difficulties in the interpretation of Constantius' letter and the stages and the date of Ezana's conversion see, however, Dinkler 1977, a study ignored by Munro-Hay). It would thus seem that Ezana's campaign against peoples living on the island of Meroe and described in his Christian inscriptions (cf. 298-299) occurred at the earliest around AD 333, and at the latest in the 360s; consequently, 285 and 286 record one or two Aksumite campaigns against Meroe which predate the 330s AD, or, if we accept Dihle's view, the 360s AD. It remains undecided, however, by how much they predate Ezana's campaign as a Christian foe of Meroe, and it also remains a matter of speculation whether they are monuments of the same Aksumite ruler who is known from his now lost triumphal inscription from Adulis (see 234) as a subduer of peoples living on the fringes of the Meroitic kingdom.

According to an interesting suggestion by Burstein (1984, 221), 285 and 286 would indirectly attest that Meroe became an Aksumite vassal some time before Ezana's campaign recorded in his Christian inscriptions. He also assumes that the latter campaign was occasioned by a Meroitic breach of vassalhood (on the issue cf. also *Comments* on 297 ff.).

[LT]

**286 Meroe City, temple KC 102. Greek inscription of a king of Aksum.** 3rd or 4th cent. AD.

Bull. Épigr. 1981: 662. SEG XXXIV 1642. B-D-S 286A.

*Source bibliography*

Bernand-Drewes-  
Schneider 1991

É. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Vol. 1-2. Paris 1991. [= B-D-S.]

Hägg 1984

T. Hägg: A New Axumite Inscription in Greek from Meroe: A Preliminary Report. In: Meroitistische Forschungen 1980. (Meroitica, 7.) Berlin, 436-441.

- Hägg (forthcoming) T. Hägg: Axumite Inscription in Greek (SNM 24841).  
 In: P.L. Shinnie-J. Anderson: The Capital of Kush. Vol. 2. (Meroitica.) Berlin (forthcoming), Section III.2.

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was found in 1975/76 near Temple KC 102 in Meroe City during excavations carried out under the direction of P.L. Shinnie (see Hägg 1984); it is now in the Sudan National Museum (Inv. No. 24841). It was carved on a block of black stone; the surviving part of the inscribed face is roughly a parallelogram and measures ca 26 x 33 cm. The last 14 (or less) letters of each of the seven last lines of the inscription are preserved. The letters, ca 1.5-2.3 cm high, were unevenly carved on what seems to have been a rather rough surface; since, in addition, the stone has subsequently been worn, the text is in places very difficult to read.

Palaeographically, no exact date can be deduced from a rough, unsophisticated inscription like this one; nor are any linguistic peculiarities discernible. Certainly nothing speaks against what seems for historical reasons to be the probable date, namely, the late 3rd or the 4th century AD.

Our text is identical to the one established for the publication of the excavations (Hägg forthcoming),<sup>659</sup> made on the basis of a photograph and a squeeze. The supplements proposed are partly supported by parallels in other Aksumite Greek inscriptions, notably 234 (esp. ch. 63) and 285. Still, much remains highly conjectural, especially since the length of the lines is not known. It should also be kept in mind that, though we possess the end of the text, we do not know whether our line 1 was close to the beginning of the original inscription. It is true that Ares, the war god Mahrem, is regularly referred to in the first lines of the comparable inscriptions; but such references may occur later in the texts as well (e.g., 298.5, 27, 31, 37).

*Text*

- 1 [------"A]ρεως ...[------]  
 2 [------]. μηδὲ [..]Σ..[------]  
 3 [------]ΤΟΥ[.]Σ μη[δ]ῆ παρ-  
 4 [θένοι -----]του μηδὲ αἰ<sup>660</sup> γυναι-  
 5 [κες --- (παρ)ελθ]ὼν αὐτοῦ ἐκάθισα  
 6 [------ ἀντίδωρ]ον ἀποδιδούς  
 7 [------ τῷ "Αρει] δῖφρον τοῦτου.

<sup>659</sup>The preliminary publication by Hägg (1984) concentrated on lines 1 and 5-7, which establish the category and function of the inscription; the readings and supplements now suggested for lines 2-4 are altogether less secure.

<sup>660</sup>του μηδὲ ἀν Bingen in SEG.

*Translation*

(1) ... of [A]res (Mahrem) ... (2) ... neither ... (3) ... nor young g[irls] (4) ... nor the wo- (5) [men<sup>661</sup> ... Having arriv]ed I took my seat here (6) ... giving [as a recompense?] (7) [to ... Ares?] this throne.

[TH]

*Comments*

For the archaeological context near the Late Meroitic temple marked KC 102 by its excavator P.L. Shinnie, Garstang's mound M 282, see Shinnie 1984, 502 f.; Török 1997, Ch. 33. For the interpretation of the text see Hägg 1984a and *Comments* on 285 above.

[LT]

**(287) (...) k(...). Evidence for reign.**

In the course of the excavations Reisner conducted in the royal necropolis of Begarawiya North (Beg. N.) several fragments of royal offering tables were found the archaeological contexts of which could not be established. Their badly mutilated texts, with fragmentarily preserved, or entirely missing royal names, render their historical interpretation almost entirely impossible. On the other hand, there are completely anepigraphic royal burials in the late section of the necropolis, which permit no more than a mere statement that the Meroitic kingdom continued to exist for a number of generations (at least five, i.e., Beg. N. 24, 38, 37, 26, 25) after the latest securely attributed royal pyramid (Beg. N. 28, King Teqorideamani, after AD 253, see (259)) and that these rulers were buried in the necropolis of their ancestors. A fragment of an offering table from Beg. W. 130, probably its secondary context, published in Dunham 1963, fig. 127 and as REM 0837, preserves a letter [...] k [...] from a royal name written in cursive Meroitic script. In her analysis of the evidence from Beg. N., Hofmann (1978a, 183 ff.) assigned pyramid Beg. N. 38 to this ruler (...)k(...). While a connection between the fragment of an offering table from Beg. W. 130 and Beg. N. 38 cannot be proved or rejected on the basis of any data, the dating of the pyramid to the terminal period of the necropolis, i.e., around or after the end of the 3rd cent. AD (cf. (275), (276)), cannot be doubted. According to Lepsius (LD V Text, 311), who saw a relief block at the site that came from the destroyed mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 38, the burial belonged to a king who was represented seated on a lion throne. Lepsius' remark, that "Die Schilder sind unleserlich" (ibid.) indicates that the king's Throne and Son of Rê names were inscribed, presumably in Meroitic hieroglyphs, in cartouches.

[LT]

<sup>661</sup>Cf. 234 §61 and 285 lines 6 and 9.

**(288) (.)p(...)niñ. Evidence for reign.**

The royal offering table REM 0850 was found, probably in a secondary context, at Beg. W. 384, in the debris S of the tomb, where it may have been taken from Beg. N. when the late intrusive burial identified by Reisner in Beg. W. 384 (Dunham 1963, 269; for the table see fig. 172) was made. It is inscribed for a ruler of unknown sex of whose name only the letters *.p..niñ* (reading: Hofmann 1978a, 183; the REM edition has *...iñ*) are preserved. The name of his/her mother is destroyed, but the duplication of the filiation word *tedhe* clearly indicates that he/she was a child from her second marriage. The father's name is *Arhrli*, a name apparently consisting of the name of Horus (= Mer. *Ar*), indicating perhaps that the person who bore it was a member of the royal family.

Because of the late type of the lettering of REM 0850, Hofmann (1987a, 185 f.) assigned, as a hypothesis, the late pyramid Beg. N. 37 to the owner of the offering table.

[LT]

**(289) Pat(.)rapeamani. Evidence for reign.**

The royal name *Pt(.)rpeamni* is preserved in the text (REM 0848) of a royal offering table inscribed in cursive Meroitic script and found in a secondary context at Beg. W. 309 (Dunham 1963, 254 f., fig. 166; in Török 1988a, 182 wrongly as from Beg. W. 104). From the Nomination only the end of the name of the mother, *...tli*, is preserved; the father's name reads *Delitey*. Hofmann (1978a, 185 f.) assigned, as an hypothesis, the pyramid burial Beg. N. 26 to Pat(.)rapeamani. In the preserved reliefs of the mortuary cult chapel of Beg. N. 26 a female ruler is represented (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 23/G: North wall). She is depicted enthroned on a lion throne and under the protection of a winged goddess, receiving a mortuary offering (libation and censings) from a prince wearing a fillet, a large bead necklace with tasselled counterweight (cf. Török 1987b, 30 ff.), and a coat with a decorated seam (cf. Török 1990, 178 ff.). The prince is followed by the female members of the royal family, whose smaller figures are arranged in two registers. The queen is dressed in a similarly traditional style; she wears a skullcap with a diadem, streamers, and a crown superstructure with Hathor's symbols (?), a necklace with ram's head pendants, and the tripartite royal costume with sash and tasselled cords (see Török 1990). While the identification of this queen with Pat(.)rapeamani remains tentative, the dating of Beg. N. 26 to the terminal period of the use of the Begarawiya North cemetery cannot be doubted.

[LT]

**(290) Amanipilade. Evidence for reign.**

The royal name *Mnipilde*, Amanipilade, is attested in the cursive Meroitic text (REM 0843) on an offering table found, probably in a secondary position, at Beg. W. 104 (Dunham 1963, 225, fig. 156). In this almost completely preserved inscription the name of Amanipilade's mother reads *Mkehñye*, and the father's name is *Tehye*. On account of the late type of the paleography of REM 0843, Hofmann (1978a, 185 f.) assigned pyramid Beg. N. 25, which is apparently the latest royal burial in the Begarawiya North necropolis, to Amanipilade. If this attribution is correct, Amanipilade was a queen; for in the relief preserved on the S wall of the mortuary chapel of Beg. N. 25 a female ruler is represented. She is shown seated on a lion throne the legs of which rest on the figures of bound captives. She receives censuring from a prince whose figure is destroyed above the waist and who is followed by members of the royal family and priests (?) whose smaller figures are arranged in two registers. The queen is under the protection of a winged goddess, wears a skullcap with a uraeus diadem and streamers, and is dressed in a tripartite royal costume (Chapman-Dunham 1952, Pl. 23/H). The iconography and style of the representation, like those of the reliefs from Beg. N. 26, are traditional; and there is nothing in these, small and rather poorly executed, carvings that would hint at the approaching end of the dynasty, which is dated, on the basis of indirect and circumstantial evidence (for the literature cf. 298 f.), to the middle decades of the 4th cent. AD.

[LT]

**291 Arminna West. Meroitic funerary inscription of Sakhiye and Taysiye. 3rd or 4th cent. AD.**

Yale, Peabody Museum 222-268. REM 1063.

*Introduction to source*

This sandstone funerary stela inscribed with a cursive Meroitic text of thirteen lines was found in situ in the small mortuary cult chapel of tomb 19 in the cemetery of Arminna West (cf. Trigger 1967) and was first published by Trigger and Heyler (1970, inscr. 2). The REM edition, which is followed here, was based on this editio princeps.

*Text*

(1)Wosi,, Soreyi,,  
 qo,, Sh̄iyeqowi,,  
 qo,, Ty(2)siyeqowi,,  
 ant,, Amnise,, Aboroy(e) (3)terikelebkwi,,  
 Yeyitidye,, td̄hel\*e(4)bkwi,,  
 tt\*ñ,, qoritowi [=qoriselowi],,  
 mreperi,, ktw(5)se,, Dortelowi,,

peseto,, Akinr,, ye(t)(6)md\*el\*ebkwi,,  
 peseto,, Mleqoli yetmdeleb(k)(7)\*w\*i,,  
 peseto,, Sesewli,, yetmdelebkwii,,  
 pq(r)(8)leb,, yetmdeleb,, yetmde\*lebkwi,,  
 trte(ke)(9)se,, Pedemkteb [=Pedemkseleb],, yetmde\*lebkwi,,  
 belo\*k(e) (10)Mnp\*teb [=Mnpseleb],, yetmdelebkwii,,  
 ato m\*he,, pisi (heb) (11)he kese,,  
 at m\*he,, pisi krbhe kese(,,)  
 (ye)(12)tepoke,, d\*ot lhe,, pisi kbhe kese(,,)  
 (13)(Wo)si,, Soreyi,,

### Comments

291 represents in its lettering the late period of cursive Meroitic documents dated to the late 3rd and the 4th cent. AD (cf. Hintze 1959, Table I; Hofmann 1991a), and a similar dating may appear justified on the basis of the archaeological context as well (cf. Trigger 1967). The stela belonged to the burial of Sakhiye and Taysiye who were children of Aboroye, a *hont*-priest of Amûn (for the high priestly title *hont* see 245, 250 ff.), and a lady Yeyitidyē (for the significance of the plural suffix *-leb* [i.e., the plural of the "article" *-(i/o)*] in the filiation-words and in the Description see Hintze 1963, 3; Trigger 1968; Priebe 1971, 276 f.).

Sakhiye was, to judge by the titles (see below), a man; the name Taysiye seems to be female. Funerary inscriptions commemorating two or three persons are known from Karanog and Shablul (cf. Hofmann 1981a, 58 f.); in several cases their parents are identical (REM 0135, 0229, 0245, 0292). It cannot always be decided whether they are brother and sister; and, unfortunately, we are unable to tell whether or not they were husband and wife (for the high percentage of brother-sister marriages in Roman Egypt see Bagnall-Frier 1994, 127 ff. and for the issue see also Hopkins 1980; Shaw 1992).

The stela text consists of the traditional parts of a non-royal funerary inscription: Invocation (of Isis and Osiris), Nomination, Description, and Benediction (for the extended formula only known from Arminna West [REM 1063, 1064, 1066] and from one text from Shablul [REM 0368] cf. Hofmann 1981a, 197 f.). While the *mde*-relations are listed in the plural, and hence refer to both Sakhiye and Taysiye, the two titles introducing the Description doubtless belong to Sakhiye alone: he was *ttñ qorise* and *mreperi ktwse* (i.e., *ktkese*) *Dorte*, "royal *ttñ*" and "*mreperi* of the Candace in *Dor*". The title *mreperi/mrepero* is frequently attested, and may, as suggested by Hofmann (1974, 43 ff.), be a Meroitic rendering of the Egyptian title *mr pr*, "majordomo" or the like. Another *mreperi* of the Candace is attested in REM 1031 from Serra West; this latter holder of the title appears to have been subsequently promoted to the rank of a *pqr Bedewete*, "*pqr* in Meroe" (cf. Török 1979, 14 f.), which indicates that the governor of the estate of the Candace was a powerful official and belonged

to the highest echelons of the administrative élite. *Dor* is probably identical with the Andura in Bion's East bank list (see FHN II, 108) and modern Derr in the neighbourhood of Bion's Andumana = modern Arminna. Sakhiye was "royal *ttñ*" as well. The meaning of the title *ttñ*, which first occurs in the Tañyidamani stela (see FHN II, 152) and is attested as *ttñlh*, "great *ttñ*" in titularies of officials associated with the administration of the "estates" in the *peseto*'s realm, e.g., another official buried at Arminna West (see REM 1065) was *ttñlh pesetolise*. Sakhiye's elevated social position is also clearly indicated by his (and his sister's) three *mde*-relations, three *pesetos*, "King's Sons" (for the title see 264 f.), who are listed by name: Akinar, Maleqoli, and Sesewali.

291 seems important because of its "list" of three *pesetos*, who appear to have been closely related and were perhaps brothers and who seem to have followed one another in the office of governor of Lower Nubia in the late 3rd or the early 4th cent. AD. The text is even more interesting because of the light it sheds on the close interconnections between the offices associated with the estates of the ruler and the Candace (for the Candace as mother or consort of the ruler see FHN II, 85; in this volume cf. (212)), and, as indicated by inscriptions of officials with related titularies, between the estates of the ruler and the Candace, on the one hand, and the estates in the *pesetos* district, on the other. It was argued elsewhere in greater detail (Török 1979; 1988a, 247 ff.) that 291 and other inscriptions reflect four apparently distinct economic areas, viz., the "estates" of the ruler, of the Candace, of the *peseto*, and of the temples. However, the personal identities of some officials who were concurrently engaged in several of these departments, or passed through them in the course of their careers (frequently leading to the highest posts of *peseto* or *pqr*) seems to indicate that they were sections of one and the same royal economic administration, built on the principle (but not necessarily the exclusive practice) of absolute royal ownership and run by a hierarchically organized territorial administration based mainly on the priestly class.

[LT]

**292 Concentration of military forces at Philae in AD 321.**

SB I 4223:II.

*Source bibliography*

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Bagnall et al. 1987 | R.S. Bagnall-A. Cameron-S.R. Schwartz-K.A. Worp: Consuls of the Later Roman Empire. Atlanta, GA.                             |
| Cagnat-Besnier 1900 | R. Cagnat-M. Besnier: Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine. Revue Archéologique 36, 302-312. |
| Milne 1913          | J.G. Milne: A History of Egypt under Roman Rule. 2nd ed. London.   |

- Milne 1976                      Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti. Vol. 1. Inscriptiones  
nunc Cairo in museo. Ed. J.G. Milne. Chicago. (Orig.  
publ. Oxford 1905.)
- de Ricci 1903                 S. de Ricci: Bulletin épigraphique de l'Égypte romaine.  
Inscriptions grecques (1896-1902). APF 2, 427-452.

*Introduction to source*

This fragmentary inscription was carved on one side of a limestone block which had originally been part of an architrave inscribed on its front with a dedication dated to the 2nd century AD. The stone was found at Aswan (or Luxor) and brought to the Gizeh Museum; it was subsequently moved with that collection to Cairo.

Both texts on the stone were first published by J.G. Milne in 1898 (Milne 1913, 188 f., with facsimile). A revised text, achieved on the basis of a squeeze, was published by R. Cagnat and M. Besnier in 1900 (Cagnat-Besnier 1900, 312, No. 29; cf. de Ricci 1903, No. 67). The inscription then appeared in Milne's catalogue of Greek inscriptions in the museum at Cairo, published in 1905, as No. 9238b (= Milne 1976, 45). The date of the inscription has recently been specified as 26 May, AD 321 (Bagnall et al. 1987, 177 and 628).

Our text is based mainly on Milne's revised text of 1905 but is more cautious with regard to supplements. The first line of our inscription is conventionally referred to as line 3, since the original architrave inscription (= SB I 4223:I) constitutes lines 1-2.

*Text*

- 3 Μεγάλη τύχη τοῦ [.]Ο[.....]-  
ΩΝΑΝΓΕΛΩΝΤΗΣ[.]ΡΕΙ[.... ἀνε]-  
5 νεώθη καὶ ἐκοσμήθη [..... ἐ]-  
πὶ Οὐικτωρίνου π(ραι)π(οσίτου) λεγ[εῶνων γ']  
Γαλλικῆς καὶ ἀ' Ἰλλυρικ[ῆς.....]  
[.]ν σαγιτταρίων τῆ προ[νοία . . .]βώ-  
[σ]ατος ἀρχιερέως καὶ Χα[..... ἰ]ερέ-  
10 ως λεγ[εῶνος] γ' Γαλλ[ικῆς] καὶ Γατάνου ἱε[ρ]έως λεγ[εῶνος]  
ἀ' Ἰλλυρικῆς καὶ Ἀζίζου ἱερέως ἐν ὑ-  
πατία Λικιννίου Σεβ(αστοῦ) τὸ ς' καὶ Λικινίου  
ἐπιφ(ανεστάτου) Καίσαρος τὸ β' μηνὸς Λώου ἀ'  
καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] ἰ[.]αννου [..] καὶ [..] ἀρχ(ιερέων) καὶ  
15 [.....]πρ[.]

*Translation*

With good fortune of ... (?),<sup>662</sup> [...] <sup>663</sup> was (5) [re]stored and adorned under Victorinus, praepositus of the [Third] Gallic and the First Illyri[an] leg[ions] [...] of archers, with the [...] <sup>664</sup> of [...] high priest (*arkhiereus*) and Khau[...] priest (10) of the Third Gallic legion and Gatanos priest of the First Illyrian legion and Azizos priest, in the sixth consulship of Licinius Augustus and the second of Licinius the most noble Caesar, on the first of the month of Loos, and under [...] and [...] high priest and (15) [...] ...

[TH]

*Comments*

After the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier to Syene (cf. **259**, **280**, **328**) the troops that secured Upper Egypt against Meroe and the Blemmyes were stationed at Syene and/or Contra Syene, Elephantine and Philae, the detachments at these places constituting one command (cf. Speidel 1988, 772 f.). Philae was reached from Syene (Aswan) by a transport road that led to the military camp of Philae situated on the E bank, whence the island had to be reached by boat. The road was protected by a monumental wall (see Jaritz-Rodziewicz 1993 and *Comments* on **186a**). We have only sporadic and insufficient data about the strength of the troops; but it probably varied according to circumstances, being reduced by Diocletian (cf. **328**) but perhaps increased at later dates, as is apparently indicated by our building inscription of AD 321. According to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Or.* XXXI.35-65),<sup>665</sup> during the 4th cent. AD the following units were stationed on Egypt's southern frontier: the *Milites Miliarenses* in Syene; *Legio prima Maximiana* at Philae; *Cohors prima felix Theodosiana* on Elephantine; *Cohors quinta (Suenensium)* at (Contra) Syene; *Cohors sexta saginarium in Castris Lapidariorum*, i.e., in the region of the stone quarries of Syene (cf. Kees 1931, 1022; Speidel 1988, 772 f.).

In periods of intense Blemmyan, and later also Noubadian, raids the Roman forces proved insufficient, and the frontier area as well as the interior of Upper Egypt suffered cruel blows (cf. **296**, **301**, **302**, **307**, **314**, **326**, **329**). Though **292** cannot be brought into direct connection with such actual events, there can hardly be any doubt about the general connection between a concentration of

<sup>662</sup>Cagnat and Besnier suggest the following restorations in lines 3-4: Μεγάλη τύχη τοῦ [θε]ο[ῦ] . . . . . τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς [ἱ]ερε[ῖ]ας. The words might be translated "With good fortune from [G]o[d and ... t]he angels of the [pr]iest[ess]", which does not make much sense to us. The basis for the restoration of the words for "God" and "priestess" is tenuous and the role of "the angels" in this context obscure (although the word is reported to be clearly legible on the squeeze). We prefer to print the legible letters without interpretation.

<sup>663</sup>Cagnat and Besnier suggest the supplement [τὸ ἱερόν], "the sanctuary", as the subject of the clause.

<sup>664</sup>Milne suggested the restoration προ[νοία], "fore[thought]".

<sup>665</sup>Final draft edited between July 392 and May 394, see Hoffmann 1969-1970 I, 52 f. 519.

forces or improvement of defenses on Egypt's southern frontier and the imminent danger of Blemmyan incursions.

[LT]

**293 Aithiopian and Blemmyan envoys in Constantinople in AD 336.**

Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4.7.

*Source bibliography*

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Barnes 1981    | T.D. Barnes: Constantine and Eusebius. Cambridge, MA-London.  |
| Moreau 1966    | J. Moreau: Eusebius von Caesarea. RAC 6, cols. 1052-88. Stuttgart.  |
| Winkelman 1975 | Eusebius: Werke. Vol. 1:1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin. Ed. F. Winkelman. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.) Berlin. |

*Introduction to source*

Eusebius, born ca. AD 260, was bishop of Caesarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, from ca. 313 until his death in 339, hence he is usually called Eusebius of Caesarea (*Caesariensis*). He himself in his works uses the name Eusebius Pamphili, "(son) of Pamphilus", having been adopted by his teacher, the priest and scholar Pamphilus (Barnes (1981) 94), whom he assisted in editing the works of the great theologian Origen. Pamphilus fell victim in 309 to the persecutions of the Christians initiated by Diocletian, whereas Eusebius himself escaped.

Only part of the great literary output of Eusebius has been preserved in the original version, but much has survived in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, or Latin versions. Of greatest influence was his *Historia ecclesiastica* ("Church History") in ten books, updated by himself in several successive editions, the latest (the one we have today) ending with the year AD 324. Eusebius' main purpose was to document the development of the early church; the work is therefore an important historical source (cf. 294). It became a model for later works of this genre and earned him the title "Father of Church History".

His so-called "Chronicle" contains partly an outline of world history, partly chronological tables, beginning with Abraham. The Greek original exists only in fragments, but the whole work is preserved in an Armenian version (albeit with errors and lacunae). In addition, the chronological tables exist in a Latin (expanded) version made by the Church Father Jerome (Hieronymus, 5th cent. AD).

Eusebius' "Chronicle" has mainly an apologetic purpose. Also apologetic are *Praeparatio evangelica* ("Preparation for the Gospel") and *Demonstratio evangelica* ("Proof of the Gospel", only partly preserved). Both, like his *Church History*, contain numerous quotations from earlier, often lost, literature.

Eusebius also wrote works of polemic and dogmatic nature, critical and exegetical works, as well as Biblical dictionaries, letters, and orations. After Constantine's death in AD 337 he praised the Christian virtues of the Emperor in a eulogy entitled *Vita Constantini* ("Life of Constantine"), which he left behind unfinished. From this work the present extract is taken. It follows a mention of Constantine's conquest of the Sarmatians (on the lower Danube), and a remark about "the various barbarian tribes that God placed under Constantine's rule".

For an introduction to Eusebius see Moreau (1966); for his *Vita Constantini* in particular see Barnes (1981) 265-271. An English translation, with commentaries, by A. Cameron and S.G. Hall is forthcoming. Our text is based on the edition of Winkelmann (1975).

### Text

7 [1] Συνεχεῖς γοῦν ἀπανταχόθεν οἱ διαπρεσβευόμενοι δῶρα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πολυτελῆ διεκόμεζον, ὡς καὶ αὐτούς ποτε παρατυχόντας ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου τῶν βασιλείων πυλῶν στοιχηδὸν ἐν τάξει περίβλεπτα σχήματα βαρβάρων ἐστῶτα θεάσασθαι, οἷς ἕξαλλος μὲν ἡ στολῆ, διαλλάττων δ' ὁ τῶν σχημάτων τρόπος, κόμη τε κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείου πάμπολυ διεστῶσα, βλοσυρῶν τε ἦν προσώπων βάρβαρος καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τις ὄψις, σωματῶν θ' ἠλικίας ὑπερβάλλοντα μεγέθη· καὶ οἷς μὲν ἐρυθραίνετο τὰ πρόσωπα, οἷς δὲ λευκότερα χιόνος ἦν, οἷς δ' ἐβένου καὶ πίττης μελάντερα, οἱ δὲ μέσης μετεῖχον κράσεως, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βλεμμύων γένη Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, οἷ διχθὰ δεδαίαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, τῇ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐθεωρεῖτο ἱστορία.

[2] Ἐν μέρει δὲ τούτων ἕκαστοι, ὥσπερ ἐν πίνακος γραφῇ, τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τίμια βασιλεῖ προσεκόμιζον, οἱ μὲν στεφάνους χρυσοῦς, οἱ δ' ἐκ λίθων διαδήματα τιμίων, ἄλλοι ξανθοκόμους παῖδας, οἱ δὲ χρυσῶ καὶ ἄνθεσι καθυφασμένας βαρβαρικὰς στολάς, οἱ δ' ἵππους, οἱ δ' ἀσπίδας καὶ δόρατα μακρὰ καὶ βέλη καὶ τόξα, τὴν διὰ τούτων ὑπηρεσίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ παρέχειν ἐνδεικνύμενοι. [3] Ἄ δὲ παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων ὑποδεχόμενος καὶ ἐντάττων, ἀντεδίδου τοσαῦτα βασιλεύς, ὡς ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν πλουσιωτάτους ἀποφῆναι τοὺς κομιζομένους, ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίκοις ἀξιώμασι τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφανεστέρους, ὥστ' ἤδη πλείστους τὴν ἐνταῦθα στέργειν διατριβὴν, ἐπανόδου τῆς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα λήθην πεποιημένους.

### Translation

7 [1] Indeed, ambassadors from all parts of the world continually brought as gifts the most precious things their nations produced; thus I myself have on occasions watched the impressive sight of barbarians lining up and standing in front of the gates of the imperial palace. Some stood out by their clothes, others differed by the manner of their bearing, and there were great variations in hairdress and beard; their grim faces were a barbaric and rather frightening

sight, and their bodies were exceedingly tall in stature. Some had ruddy complexions, some whiter than snow, some blacker than ivory and pitch, and some had a colour of a middling blend—for both the Blemmyan and the Indian races and the Aithiopians, “who live split in two, most remote of men”,<sup>666</sup> could be seen as I watched the scene described above.

[2] Each of these in turn, like (a procession) in a painting, would bring the Emperor their native treasures, some crowns of gold, others diadems with precious stones, others fair-haired boys, others exotic cloths woven with gold and flowers, others horses, others shields and long spears and arrows and bows, indicating thereby that they offered their service and alliance to the Emperor if he saw fit. [3] These gifts the Emperor accepted from those who brought them and had them stored, and he requited them so generously that he at once made the recipients very wealthy. The most outstanding among them he even honoured with Roman posts of dignity, so that many of them were content to stay there [in Constantinople], having put out of their minds any return to their homelands.

[TE]

*Comments*

In an impressively pictorial description, Eusebius records the arrival of barbarian envoys bringing to Constantine the homage of distant peoples, elegantly characterised by Eusebius with the quotation from Homer. The occasion was probably the Emperor’s *tricennalia*, his thirty-years anniversary celebrated in AD 336 (cf. 295); and the envoys from the most remote lands included Blemmyes, Indians, and Aithiopians. The “Indians” may have been Blemmyes (cf. 280), but were more probably Aksumites (cf. Kirwan 1982, 196). The appearance of the Blemmyes at Constantine’s court may be explained as a result of a Roman diplomacy which tried to engage as federates fractions of, or whole peoples who lived on the frontiers and represented a present or potential danger, by convincing them to support the Roman frontier defence in return for subsidies (for Roman federate policy see Cameron 1993a, 140 ff.; 1993b, 48 ff.; Burns 1994, xiii ff.).

[LT]

**294 On the queens of Aithiopia.** Ca. AD 311.

Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.1.13.

*Source bibliography*

Bardy 1952-60

Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique*. Vol. 1-4. Texte grec, traduction et annotation par G. Bardy. (Sources chrétiennes. 31, 41, 55, 73.). Paris.

<sup>666</sup>A quote from Homer, *Odyssey* 1.23. Cf. 187 (Strabo 1.2.25).

- Lake-Oulton 1926-32 Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 1 (Books I-IV), transl. by K. Lake; vol. 2 (Books VI-X) transl. by J.E.L. Oulton. Loeb Classical Library.) London.
- Schwartz 1903-09 Eusebius, *Werke. Die Kirchengeschichte*, herausgegeben von E. Schwartz. 3 vols. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. 2.) Berlin.

*Introduction to source*

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* for Eusebius in general and for his "Church History" see 293.

The basic text edition of the *Historia ecclesiastica* is by Schwartz (1903-09), and his text is adopted (with inessential changes) in the bilingual editions in French by Bardy (1952-60) and in English by Lake-Oulton (1926-32). The present extract is from Eusebius' account of the deeds of the apostles after the ascension of Christ.

*Text*

2.1. [13] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς αὐξὴν ὁσημέραι προϊόντος τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, οἰκονομία τις ἦγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν γῆς τῆς αὐτόθι βασιλίδος, κατὰ τι πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς ἔτι νῦν βασιλευομένου, δυνάστην· ὃν πρῶτον ἐξ ἔθνῶν πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίππου δι' ἐπιφανείας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ὄργια μετασχόντα τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πιστῶν ἀπαρχὴν γενόμενον, πρῶτον κατέχει λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον παλινοστήσαντα γῆν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ γνῶσιν καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίαν, ἔργῳ πληρωθείσης δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς "Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ" περιεχούσης προφητείας.

*Translation*

2.1. [13] While the message of salvation was advancing and growing day by day, some divine agency brought from the land of the Aithiopians a high-ranking official of the queen there (that people is still today by ancestral custom ruled by a woman). There is a well established tradition that this man, as the first of the Gentiles, received from Philip, through a revelation, a share in the mysteries of the divine word,<sup>667</sup> and that he became a first-fruit of the faithful in the world, and that after his return to his homeland he was the first to spread the good news about the knowledge of the God of the universe and about our saviour's

<sup>667</sup>"Word" translates Greek *logos*, which in Christian terminology was used of God's message revealed to man and, personified, came to be identified with Christ, see the *Gospel According to John* 1.1.

lifegiving stay among men. Thus was fulfilled through him the prophecy that says: "Aithiopia shall stretch out her hand to God".<sup>668</sup>

[TE]

### Comments

Eusebius makes this remark on the nature of the Aithiopian monarchy in the margin of the story about the conversion of Candace's treasurer told in the *Acts of the Apostles* (see 194). Eusebius probably learnt about the ancient custom, according to which Aithiopia was always ruled by queens, from one of the early Christian exegetical commentaries on the *Acts of the Apostles* 8.26-40, in which fragments from Bion's 3rd cent. BC description of the Aithiopian kingship were frequently quoted; the notion of female rulership survives, e.g., in Ps.-Oecumenos' comments (FHN II, 106; for other quotations from Bion's *Aithiopika* see FHN II, 105, 107).

In classical literature (cf. FHN II, 85, in this volume 189, 204), however, that Aithiopia was ruled by a queen was a *topos*. It is thus doubtful whether Eusebius' remark, viz., that in his days too a queen ruled Aithiopia, should be regarded as historical evidence. One may conclude on the basis of his *Church History* (8.9-10), that Eusebius stayed in Upper Egypt some time during the first decade of the 4th cent. AD, after the beginning of the persecutions of Christians in Caesarea in 303 and before the edict of toleration of AD 311 (for the chronological difficulties see, however, Bardy 1960, 28 ff.). Within this period, Winkelmann (1991, 189) dates Eusebius' stay in the Thebaid between 309 and 311. Books 1-8 of the *Church History* were complete by 312, but Eusebius repeatedly re-edited them between 312 and 324 (cf. Schwartz 1907, 1399 ff.). Even if one assumes that his remark about the queen of Aithiopia of his time was based on correct information, it still remains undecided whether he heard about her while he stayed in Egypt, or learnt about her existence at a later time. The evidence relating to the rulers of Meroe in the 4th cent. AD (cf. (287)-(290)) is far too uncertain to enable us to decide this question.

[LT]

### 295 Fl. Abinnaeus on his military mission with a federate group of Blemmyes in AD 337-338.

P. Abinn. 1. CPL 265. ChLA III 202. Bell et al. 1962, No. 1.

### Source bibliography

Alston 1995

R. Alston: *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*. London-New York.

Barnes 1985

T.D. Barnes: *The Career of Abinnaeus*. Phoenix 39, 368-374.

<sup>668</sup>A quotation from the *Book of Psalms* in the Bible, 67.32.

- Bell et al. 1962 H.I. Bell-V. Martin-E.G. Turner-D. van Berchem: The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II. Oxford.
- Brown 1990 M.P. Brown: A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600. London.
- Bruckner-Marichal 1963 A. Bruckner-R. Marichal: Chartae Latinae Antiquiores. Vol. 3. London. [= ChLA III.]

*Introduction to source*

The present text belongs to the archive of Flavius Abinnaeus, cavalry-commandant (*praefectus alae*) at Dionysias in Egypt AD 342-351 (on whose career see Barnes 1985; Alston 1995, 149-155). The papyri of this archive contain letters, contracts, bills, taxation lists etc., and give valuable information on daily life in Egypt in the 4th century. The texts have been collected and re-edited by Bell et al. (1962). The papyri of the collection are customarily referred to as *P. Abinn.* + number.

The text below is a petition from Abinnaeus to the Emperors Constantius and Constans. For the historical context see the general introduction in Bell et al. (1962).

Our text is based on the edition of Bell et al. (1962). "Except for a piece torn out in the centre at the top and affecting the first four lines, the papyrus is nearly intact. But its brown ink is badly faded and in many places completely rubbed away" (the editors). A specimen of the script, the so-called "New Roman Cursive", can be seen in Brown (1990, No. 8, with Pl. 8); cf. also Bruckner-Marichal (1968, No. 202).

*Text*

- 1 Clementia piet[asque] vestrae, domini perp[etui ] *vac.*
- 2 Constanti et Con[sta]ns, victores semper [Augusti, ne umquam deficiant militi]bus suis, praesertim ex protectoris, immo his
- 3 qui alacriter [ob]sequium suum exh[ibentes benefi]cia ve[stra ipsi mer]ere videntur, p[ro]videns çaşuş venit.
- 4 Ego .emqueo [...]e[...]e[...]exç...ti.o[ 12 ]gente. [ 4-6 ]eē traditus in vexillatione Parthusagittariorum
- 5 degentium Diospoli provincia[e] T[h]e[ba]i[d]os super[i]oris. Ve[ru]m e[mensos post annos] trīginta et tres directus a Senecione antehac
- 6 comite limitis e[is]usdem provinciae ducere Blemniorum gentis refuga[s] ad sacra vesti<gi>a pietatis vestrae Constantinopolim
- 7 eo per[ex]i[mus] cum legatis memoratae ge[ntis] c[u]mqu[e] c[omi]te eiusdem lim[iti]s, atque obtulitis eis clementiae vestrae
- 8 mē e[du]cena[ri]o divinitas vestra venerandam purpuram suam ad[or]e [i]ussit. Praeceptisque itaque producere memoratos

- 9 leg[at]os i[n pa]triam suam cum quibus trienn[e] tempus exigi  
 remeandoque [ad sa]crum comitatum vestrum tirones ex provincia  
 10 Thebaidos ad[u]xi quos Hierapoli tradidi, et ita data vacatione mihi  
 [promo]vere me clementia praefectum alae Dionusada  
 11 provin[ci]ae Aegupt[is] vestra dignata est. Verum insinuat[is] sa[cr]is litter[is]  
 Vala[c]io comiti officium respondit allegasse  
 12 a[l]iosque [h]uiuscemodi [e]pistulas homines [ ] ideo (empty space)<sup>669</sup>  
 cumq[ue] pateat ex suffragio eos pr[omotos] fuisse, me vero iudicio sacro,  
 ideo  
 13 soliti contemplatione memoratorum laborum meorum et quos sedes  
 .[.]llo vide[or] habere providere mihi largissima<sup>670</sup> i[uxta] s[u]pra[dictos]  
 ap[er]tes vestros tribun[us] praefecturae alae Dionusados amotis per  
 suffragium habentibus ipsorum castrorum promotionem me constitui  
 clementia vestra iubere dignetur  
 14 piet[as] vestra dignetur unde possim cotidianum victum acquire[re] et  
 hoc consecutus agam aeterno imperio  
 15 vestro maximas gratias.

*Translation*

Your clemency and piety, etern[al] Lords [...] (2) Constantius and Constans, always victorious[...] his [soldiers],<sup>671</sup> particularly those from the Protectors, that is, those (3) who by eagerly dem[onstrating] their obedience are seen to [merit] yo[ur] [benefits], a promising occasion has arrived.

(4) I [...] family. [...] transferred to the detachment of the Parthian Archers (5) stationed at Diospolis (Thebes) in the province of Upper Thebaid. B[ut] a[fter] a period of] thirty-three [years] I was ordered by Senecio, formerly (6) count (*comes*) of the frontier region of the said province, to bring refugees from the Blemmyan people to the holy footprints of Your piety at Constantinople, and when, after (7) our arrival there with envoys of the said pe[ople] and with the c[oun]t of the same Frontier, they had been presented to Your clemency, Your divinity ordered (8) me, from being a *ducenarius*,<sup>672</sup> to adore Your venerable purple.<sup>673</sup> And being then instructed to escort the said (9) envoys to their homeland I spent a period of three years with them, and on my way back to

<sup>669</sup>From here the text continues above the line, beginning at the end of *homines*, indicating an inserted completion; see the photos in Bruckner-Marichal (1963, No. 202) and Brown (1990, Pl. 8).

<sup>670</sup>From here the text continues above the line, beginning at *laborum* and then extending into the right hand margin, indicating an inserted completion (down to *acquire[re]*, l. 14). "The corrections seem to be in a different hand from that which wrote the main body of the document, [...]. Possibly, therefore, they are from the hand of Abinnaeus himself" (the editors).

<sup>671</sup>In the lacuna the editors supply [*Augusti, ne unquam deficiant militi]bus* and translate "Lest your clemency and piety ... ever august victors, should at any time be lacking to your soldiers, particularly those who have served in the bodyguard..."

<sup>672</sup>A *ducenarius* was a commander of 200 men.

<sup>673</sup>"Purple" used by metonymy for the emperor.

Your holy court I brought recruits from the province (10) of the Thebaid whom I delivered at Hierapolis, and when I had thus obtained release from (this) service Your clemency deigned to promote me to the office of cavalry commander (*praefectus alae*) of Dionysias in the (11) province of Egypt.

But when the sacred letter was presented to Count [Vala]c[ius] his office replied that also (12) other men had adduced letters of this kind. Therefore, since [it is clear] that these had been promoted by suffrage, I by a holy decree, may Your clemency, by considering, (13) as is Your wont,<sup>674</sup> my said services, in accordance with Your decree mentioned above, (14) deign to ordain that I be appointed a tribune on the staff of the cavalry squadron at Dionysias, and that those who, through suffrage, have obtained the promotion in the same camp be removed.

Having obtained this I shall forever render the greatest thanks to (15) Your eternal Might.

[TE]

### Comments

Flavius Abinnaeus was dismissed from his post as commander of the Roman troops stationed at Dionysias in Egypt in AD 344. Convinced that his superior acted unjustly, Abinnaeus went to Constantinople early in 345 (cf. Pestman 1994, 264 f. no. 73) in order to present his case to the emperor. His petition for redress, in which he lists his posts and describes his services, was written on this occasion. Concerning the three years of his career beginning with AD 337/8, he reports that, while posted at Diospolis (magna), i.e., Thebes, he was ordered by Senecio, *Comes* of the frontier of the Upper Thebaid,<sup>675</sup> to conduct Blemmyan refugees to Constantinople. They were there presented to the Emperor Constantius II, and Abinnaeus was ordered to escort them back to "their own country". Subsequently, he spent three years with these Blemmyes, i.e., until ca. 339/41.

The brief report does not leave much doubt as to the background of the events described: a group of Blemmyes, characterised as "refugees", i.e., dissidents when viewed from a Blemmyan perspective, turned for support to a military officer in Upper Egypt, thus initiating a federate relationship which was established with the consent of the emperor; Flavius Abinnaeus was delegated as Roman prefect to the new federates. Even if one assumes that these Blem-

<sup>674</sup>Reading, with the editors, *solita* ("usual"), to agree with *contemplatione*, instead of the *soliti* of the papyrus.

<sup>675</sup>For his office cf. Rémondon 1965, 191. Bell et al., 1962, 36 note 5, suggest that Senecio was at the same time *dux* of Egypt, i.e., responsible for the command of the entire army stationed in Egypt. Rémondon 1965 and Demicheli 1976, 164 f. suggest that in this period the command of the Egyptian army was divided between a *dux*, responsible for the units stationed in Egypt except for the Upper Thebaid, and a *comes* who was responsible for the defense of the southern frontier of Egypt.

myes came from the same Blemmyan kingdom—the term should not be interpreted narrowly, it is doubtful that there ever existed one centralised Blemmyan kingdom; more likely there were several tribal “states” developing towards some sort of hierarchical unity—which sent envoys to Constantine in AD 336 (see 293), one may well think that by 337/8 the pro-Roman Blemmyes found themselves in the minority and were forced to flee. In this case, Abinnaeus’ story is about a political and probably also a military intervention by Blemmyes who, if in power at home, were willing to secure, for subsidies (cf. Blockley 1985), the federate relationship between their people and Rome. This remains, however, conjectural; only so much seems certain that a fraction of the Blemmyes were federates of Rome between 337/8 and 340/1. It also remains obscure where it was that Abinnaeus spent the three years of his praefecture. It may seem evident that it was in an area close to the southern frontier of Egypt, at a place which could secure the control of the road(s) leading from the Eastern Desert into the Nile Valley.

[LT]

**296 Barbarian attacks in Upper Egypt. Ca. AD 390.**

S. Pachomii *Vita Prima Graeca* 85 and *Paralipomena* 9. BHG 1396.

*Source bibliography*

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Athanasakis 1975 | The Life of Pachomius ( <i>Vita Prima Graeca</i> ). Trans. A.N. Athanasakis. (Society of Biblical Literature. Texts and Translations, 7.) Scholars Press.               |
| Halkin 1932      | <i>Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae</i> . Ed. F. Halkin. ( <i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> , 19.) Bruxelles.   |
| Halkin 1982      | F. Halkin: <i>Le corpus athénien de saint Pachome</i> . ( <i>Cahiers d’Orientalisme</i> , 2.) Genève.   |
| Rousseau 1985    | Ph. Rousseau: <i>Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt</i> . ( <i>Transformation of the Classical Heritage</i> , 6.) Berkeley.                   |
| Veilleux 1980    | <i>Pachomian Koinonia</i> . Vol. 1. <i>The Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples</i> . Trans. A. Veilleux. ( <i>Cistercian Studies Series</i> , 45.) Kalamazoo, MI. |
| Veilleux 1981    | <i>Pachomian Koinonia</i> . Vol. 2. <i>Pachomian Chronicles and Rules</i> . Trans. A. Veilleux. ( <i>Cistercian Studies Series</i> , 46.) Kalamazoo, MI.                |

*Introduction to source*

Pachomius (ca. AD 292-346) is considered the founder of ‘coenobitic’ (from Gr. *koinos* + *bios*, “life in community”) monasticism, in contrast to the ‘anchorite’ (from Gr. *anachorein*, “withdraw”) variety otherwise common in Late Antique Egypt (cf. 307). He was born of pagan parents, converted to Christianity at the

age of twenty, and in ca. 323 started the first coenobitic monastery, his *Koinonia* or "Community", at Tabennesi close to Dendera in the Thebaid in Upper Egypt. His ambition to have the monastery function as a true community is reflected in the *Pachomian Rule*, first drafted in Coptic but soon translated into Greek and then, ca. 404, into Latin. Through it, his ideal of organization and of monastic virtues such as poverty and obedience came to influence monasticism in the West as well.

Around the charismatic figure of Pachomius there grew up a whole biographical literature, first no doubt oral and in Coptic, the language he and his community spoke. The only extant complete biography in Coptic is late, however, and composed in the Bohairic dialect; of earlier lives in Sahidic only fragments survive. Thus, the closest we come to a full original Life of Pachomius is the so-called *Vita Prima Graeca*, the "First Greek Life", perhaps written as early as 390. This Life is supplemented by a looser collection of stories in Greek about Pachomius, conventionally called the *Paralipomena*, "The Left-Over", which may also date from the end of the fourth century. From both the *Vita Prima Graeca* and the *Paralipomena* we bring extracts of what seems basically to be the same story. From the latter source, which tells its story more in detail (ch. 8-11), we have selected only the part which describes the monk's encounter with the Blemmyes (ch. 9). A date for the episode occurs in ch. 8: "the blessed and Christ-bearing Constantine was emperor at the time"; Constantine I died in AD 337.

The *Vita Prima Graeca* is called the "first" to distinguish it from a number of later Greek lives which conflate the *Vita Prima* with the *Paralipomena* and with other legendary material about Pachomius and his disciples (cf. B. Pearson in Athanassakis 1975, vii). There are also versions in Latin, Syriac, and Arabic. The question of priority among the various sources for Pachomius' life has been much debated; in view of the many lost texts and the early conflation of the branches of tradition, priority can probably only be judged from case to case (cf. footnote to the translation below).

Our text is based on the critical edition by Halkin (1932).<sup>676</sup> The *Vita Prima Graeca* is also reproduced, with an English translation, in Athanassakis (1975). There is another English translation of it by Veilleux (1980), who also translates the Bohairic Life and the principal Sahidic fragments; other relevant texts, among them the *Paralipomena*, are translated by Veilleux (1981).

Pachomius' achievement is placed in its historical context by Rousseau (1985).

---

<sup>676</sup>A stylistically improved Greek text of the *Vita Prima Graeca* and the *Paralipomena* is preserved in an Athens manuscript published by Halkin (1982); the edition also contains a French translation of the *Paralipomena* by A.-J. Festugière (our episode pp. 136-138). In the passages translated here, there are no material differences between the versions.

## Text

*Vita Prima Graeca* [85] Καὶ ἐγένετό ποτε τῶν βαρβάρων πολεμούντων, εὐρέθη μοναχὸς τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ ἠχμαλωτίσθη. Καὶ τινες αὐτῶν μέλλοντες φαγεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· “Ἐγειρε, ὑπηρετήσον ἡμᾶς· καὶ οἶνον σπείσον πρῶτον τοῖς θεοῖς πρὶν πίωμεν.” Καὶ μὴ θελήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἤγγισαν τοῦ σφάζαι αὐτόν· καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἔσπεισεν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφυγὼν αὐτοῦς, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν μονὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀββᾶν Παχοῦμιον καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὀδυνηθεὶς ἀκούων εἶπεν αὐτῷ·

“Ἦνέχθη σοι ὁ στέφανος καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβες αὐτόν. Διὰ τί οὐκ ἀπέθανες ἀνδρείως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος; Πλὴν ἐζημιώθης σφόδρα. Ἄλλ’ ἵνα μὴ τέλεον ἀφελπίσης σεαυτοῦ – ὁ γὰρ Κύριος βούλεται τὴν μετάνοιαν ἡμῶν ἢ τὸν θάνατον – πένθησον ὅσον δύνη, οὐ μόνον πνεύματι συντετριμμένῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματος πόνῳ, ὅπως τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ ἐπὶ σοῦ πληρωθῇ· “Ἴδε τὴν ταπείνωσίν μου καὶ τὸν κόπον μου, καὶ ἄφες πάσας τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου.”

Καὶ οὕτως ἀνεχώρησεν τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίρων.

*Paralipomena* [9] Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ δύο ἔτη ἀποσταλῆναί τινας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου εἰς ἀνωτέραν αὐτῶν κώμην θρύα συλλέξαι εἰς λόγον ψιαθίων τῆς μονῆς. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ κώμη πρόσκειται τοῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς λεγομένοις Βλέμμυες. Καὶ ὄντων ἔτι ἐκεῖσε τῶν ἀδελφῶν περὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ἧ πολλὰ θρύα ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοῦς ὁ μακάριος τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα μαρτυρησαί, δαπάνας ὀλίγας ἀπενεγκεῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, παραγγείλας αὐτῷ ἀσφαλίσασθαι ἑαυτὸν καὶ εἰπῶν τὸ γεγραμμένον δι’ αἰνίγματος ὅτι· “Ἴδου νῦν καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, νῦν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας· μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ διδόντες προσκοπήν, ἵνα μὴ μωμηθῇ ἡ διακονία.”

Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸν ὄνον γεγομωμένον δαπανῶν, πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπορεύετο. Γενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ἔρημον, κατελθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ τὸ ὑδρεύσασθαι ἀπαντῶσιν αὐτῷ· καὶ κατενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄνου, ἔδησαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ· καὶ λαβόντες τὸν ὄνον μετὰ τῶν σκευῶν, ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτόν εἰς τὸ ὄρος πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐρχόμενον αὐτόν μετὰ τοῦ ὄνου, ἤρξαντο χλευάζειν αὐτόν λέγοντες· “Μονάζον, ἐλθὲ καὶ προσκύνησον τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν.” Σφαξάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ζῶα, σπονδὰ ἐποίησαν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἀγαγόντες τὸν μοναχόν, ἠνάγκαζον αὐτόν συνσπείσαι αὐτοῖς. Μὴ βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, μετὰ θυμοῦ προσῆλθαν αὐτῷ κατέχοντες γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπειλοῦντες ὥς, εἰ μὴ βούλοιο θῆσαι τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ σπείσαι αὐτοῖς σπονδὰς, εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη αὐτῶν καὶ πτοηθεὶς αὐτῶν τὸ ἄγριον, εὐθὺς λαβὼν τὸν οἶνον ἔσπεισεν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν καὶ ἔφαγεν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν κρεῶν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων.

Καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν τοῦ σώματος θάνατον, ἀπέκτεινεν τὴν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν, τὸν δεσπότην ἀπάντων Θεὸν ἀρνησάμενος. Ποιήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτὸν οἱ Βλέμυες.

*Translation*

*Vita Prima Graeca* [85] It once happened when the barbarians were waging war that a monk from another place<sup>677</sup> was found and taken prisoner. When some of them were about to eat, they told him: "Get up and serve us; and first pour a libation of wine to the gods before we drink!" As he refused, they were on the point of killing him, so he took fright and poured the libation. Afterwards he managed to escape from them<sup>678</sup> and came to the monastery, to Abba Pachomius himself, and told him his story. He was distressed by what he heard and said to him:

"The crown (of martyrdom) was brought to you and you did not take it. Why didn't you die bravely for the name of him who died for us? Still, you have been greatly punished. But that you may not completely lose hope for yourself—for the Lord wishes our repentance rather than our death<sup>679</sup>—mourn as much as you can, not only with a shattered and humble heart,<sup>680</sup> but also through physical labour, so that what is written be also fulfilled for you: 'See my humbleness and toil, and forgive all my sins!'<sup>681</sup>"

So he withdrew rejoicing in the hope.

*Paralipomena* [9] Two years later<sup>682</sup> some of the brothers were sent by the Great [Pachomius] to a village upstream to collect rushes for the monastery's mats.

<sup>677</sup>That is, not from Pachomius' monastery at Tabennesi.

<sup>678</sup>This first part of the story is told with more detail and coherence in Fragment 7 of "The Tenth Sahidic Life of Pachomius": "While the barbarians were victorious they found a monk living as an anchorite some place and they took him captive. One day, when they came and wanted to drink wine, they said to him, 'Gird yourself and pour [wine] for us.' And when he began to pour them a drink, they told him, 'Make a libation before you give us a drink.' But he would not. When they saw he was not obeying them, they took a spear, saying to him, 'Pour out [a libation], or we will kill you.' Being afraid they would kill him, he poured out. Then he gave them a drink until they were drunk and slept; and the monk fled." (trans. Veilleux 1980, 456.) The fragment goes on to recount how the monk in his distress remembers having heard of "a man of God, father of the *Koinonia* of Tabennesi, called Pachomius" whose guidance he now goes to seek. This Coptic version of the story obviously represents an earlier state of the tradition than the *Vita Prima Graeca*, since it explains details which lack a context in the shortened Greek version (e.g., "from another place", and, at the end, "departed": he went back to his anchorite existence). The episode does not occur in the Bohairic Life. On an Arabic version, see the historical *Comments* below.

<sup>679</sup>Reference to Ezekiel 18:23 and 33:11 in the Septuagint version.

<sup>680</sup>Allusion to Psalms 51:17 (= Septuagint 50:19).

<sup>681</sup>Quotation of Psalms 25:18 (= Septuagint 24:18).

<sup>682</sup>In the preceding chapter it was related how a man who had practised *asceticism* by himself came to Pachomius' monastery, was received among the brothers, and then kept asking Pachomius to pray for him that he should become a martyr until Pachomius finally gave in and promised to do

This village is situated close to the barbarians who are called Blemmyes. When the brothers were still there at an island where there were many rushes, the Blessed [Pachomius] sent to them the brother who desired to become a martyr, in order to bring the brothers some provisions. He told him to take care and enigmatically added the passage from the Scripture: "Behold, now is the acceptable time, now is the day of salvation. We put no obstacle in any one's way, so that no fault may be found with our ministry" (2 Corinthians 6:2-3).

With his donkey loaded with provisions he was making his way to the brothers. When he had come close to the desert, the barbarians who had gone down to fetch water happened upon him. They dragged him off the donkey and bound his hands; and along with the donkey and provisions they brought him up to the mountain<sup>683</sup> to the other barbarians. When the barbarians saw him coming with his donkey, they started to mock him: "Monk, come and make obeisance to our gods!" After slaughtering some animals they poured libations to their idols. They brought the monk and tried to force him to pour libations with them. As he refused to do so, they approached him angrily with bared swords, threatening to kill him at once if he refused to sacrifice to their gods and pour libations to them. Seeing their bared swords and fearing their savageness, he took the wine at once, poured a libation to their idols and ate with them the meat sacrificed to the idols.

Fearing the death of the body he killed his immortal soul, denying God the master of all. When he had done so, the Blemmyes released him.

[TH]

### Comments

The story narrated in the *Greek Life* of ca. AD 390 refers to events occurring before Pachomius' death in AD 346. Another, longer, variant of the same story, in which a monk is captured by barbarians and forced to sacrifice to their idols, is to be found in the *Arabic Life of Pachomius* (Amélineau 1889, 436 ff.). The two versions closely correspond in the order of events in the narrative and both are uninformative as to the geographical setting and the identity of the barbarians. While it cannot be entirely excluded that they were Meroites from Lower Nubia, it seems most likely that they were Blemmyes who, on their return from Upper Egypt after a successful raid, captured a monk who was apparently living as a hermit (cf. Updegraff 1978, 97) and took him to the Eastern Desert from which he later escaped.

A similar incident (which Updegraff 1978, 97 f. regards as another version of the same story), dated to the reign of Constantine, is told in the *Paralipomena*; an extract from it is translated above (cf. Revillout 1874, 20 ff.). There a monk

---

so. The whole episode has the title "The brother who wanted to become a martyr" in some manuscripts.

<sup>683</sup>Oros, "mountain", in these texts from Egypt refers to the desert inland or "high desert", in contrast to the Nile valley.

who already lives in Pachomius' monastery is captured by barbarians, now specified as Blemmyes, who come to the river for water, and is taken by them into the high desert to other Blemmyes. Encounters of Pachomian monks with barbarians are also mentioned in later Coptic legends (cf. Crum 1932). As is perhaps already the case for the early variants appearing in the Lives of Pachomius, they are parts of discourses on religious ethics and are relevant as historical evidence only in a most general way.

[LT]

**297 Musawwarat es Sufra, Great Enclosure. Latin graffito.** 3rd or 4th cent. AD. CIL III, 83. Hintze 1964, Pl. LVI, fig. 1.

*Source bibliography*

- |                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Cailliaud 1826-1827 | F. Cailliaud: Voyage à Méroé, au fleuve Blanc au delà de Fazogl, dans le midi du royaume de Sennar, à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, et 1826. Vols. 1-4. Paris. |
| Hintze 1964         | F. Hintze: The Latin Inscription from Musawwarat es Sufra. <i>Kush</i> 12, 296-298.  |
| LD                  | C.R. Lepsius: <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien I-XII</i> . Berlin 1849-1858; <i>Ergänzungsband</i> Leipzig 1913.  |
| Shinnie 1961        | P.L. Shinnie: A Late Latin Inscription. <i>Kush</i> 9, 284-286.  |
| Török 1986          | L. Török: <i>Der meroitische Staat 1. Untersuchungen und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Sudan im Altertum</i> . <i>Meroitica</i> 9. Berlin.   |

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was first copied by Linant de Bellefonds in February 1822 (Shinnie 1961, Pl. XXXV), and in the same year it was also copied by Cailliaud, who soon after published his reading (1826-1827 III, 375). According to him it was incised on a block of one of the ramps "dans la partie postérieure du monument central" at Musawwarat es Sufra, i.e., in a now no longer identifiable part of the Great Enclosure. The block was removed by the Lepsius expedition and taken to Berlin where, according to Hintze,<sup>684</sup> it was destroyed during the Second World War. It was published by Lepsius (LD VI, Lat. 56), and on the basis of his publication the text was included in the CIL (III, 83). A squeeze made by Lepsius survived in the archives of the Berlin Wörterbuch and was reproduced by Hintze (1964, Pl. LVI), who also supplied a facsimile made on the basis of the squeeze (Hintze 1964, fig. 1).

<sup>684</sup>Already in 1890 it was no longer to be found, according to Decker (1911, 301 note 1).

297 is the southernmost Latin inscription ever found. Owing to the lack of material for comparison, its dating is problematic, the more so since the inscription was probably made on the basis of a sketch, by a stonecutter (?) who was obviously inexperienced with Latin letters. The reading of lines 4-6 is not certain and the possibility of a different reading than MENSE in line 4 was suggested by Török (1986, 357). We give here the text as printed by Hintze (1964, 297).

[TE-LT]

*Text*

Bona fortuna. Dominae  
reginae in multos an-  
nos feliciter! venit  
e urbe mense Apr.  
5 die XV *traces*  
-tus.

*Translation*

Good fortune! To [Our] Lady the Queen with wishes for success for many years to come.<sup>685</sup> [...]tus arrived from the city (5) on the 15th day of the month of April.

[TE]

*Comments*

It is difficult to decide whether 297 should be analysed as a primary monument of Latin epigraphy or should be regarded as a copy of what were meaningless signs to a Meroitic stonecutter (?) or to a Meroite who was able to write Meroitic but was versed in no other script. The rendering of some letters in the text (A, M, N, S) tempts us to assume that the signs on the stone follow rather faithfully the original sketch that had been provided on some other material. These letters show late, i.e., 3rd or rather 4th cent. AD, features; and the original sketch appears to have been written by a hand accustomed to cursive writing.

Shinnie (1961, 286) regarded 297 as an example of the "ill-written inscriptions in ungrammatical and scarcely understandable Latin ... known from North Africa, where a considerable number are known of sixth-century date". In North Africa Latin was a written language in the Roman provinces, and there was a living tradition of the script in the early Christian centuries. In Meroe, however, Latin was unknown. A Latin graffito at Musawwarat es Sufra

<sup>685</sup>The Latin text does not indicate the division of sentences. Our translation assumes (with Hintze) that a new sentence begins after *feliciter*, the subject for "arrived" being in the illegible part of line 5 (-tus might well belong to a person's name: Acutus? Hintze; Tacitus? Lepsius).

could only have been composed by a foreign visitor, and it must also be noted that the language of official documents in Roman Egypt was Greek and not Latin, while of course Latin was the official language of the Roman army (for the use of Latin in Egypt see the summary in Bagnall 1995, 17 f., 22). Moreover, though terse, the text cannot fairly be said to violate the rules of Latin grammar. So it would seem likely that 297 was written by somebody for whom Latin was a spoken and written language and that the unusual appearance of the text is due to the person who carved it on the wall and not to the original author.

In Hintze's view (1964, 298) the *domina regina* refers to a queen of Meroe. The Greek equivalent *κυρία βασίλισσα* that occurs in Greek *proskynema* inscriptions in the Dodecaschoenus (cf. FHN II, 168) and is quoted by Hintze refers, however, to the goddess Isis (whence the suggested interpretation of the text as a votive dedicated to Isis in Török 1986a, 357). If our assessment is correct, it would have been expected that the inscription was dated in a correct style and signed by its author. However, part of the dating, a regnal year, seems to be lost in line 5; and the remaining MENSE APR DIE XV seems unusual. The name of the author is illegible except for the last letters (...)TVS (?) in line 6. It has been suggested (Török 1986a, 357) that the squeeze (Hintze 1964, Pl. LVI) also permits an alternative reading of the beginning of line 4, E VRBE MEROE. The reading E VRBE. MENSE is, however, more likely.

[LT]

**298 Aksum. Greek inscription of Ezana.** Mid-4th cent. AD.  
SEG XXXII 1601. B-D-S 270bis.

*Source bibliography*

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| É. Bernand 1982               | É. Bernand: Nouvelles versions de la campagne du roi Ezana contre les Bedja. ZPE 45, 105-114 + Pl. 3.   |
| Bernand-Drewes-Schneider 1991 | É. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Vol. 1-2. Paris 1991. [= B-D-S.] |
| Bingen 1982                   | J. Bingen: Notes d'épigraphie grecque. IV. CdE 57, 350-354.   |
| Munro-Hay 1991                | S. Munro-Hay: Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity. Edinburgh.  |

*Introduction to source*

This monumental inscription was carved on one side of a large stela discovered at the site called Geza Agumai north of the ancient town of Aksum in Ethiopia (see further *Comments* below). The Greek text was first published by É. Bernand (1982, with photo). Our text is based on that of É. Bernand in Bernand-Drewes-Schneider (1991, 368-370, with Pl. 180), to whom we refer for bibliography and critical apparatus.

This new text is better preserved than the Greek version known earlier (OGIS I 200, SB V 8546, B-D-S 270; English translation in Munro-Hay 1991, 224 f.); it differs slightly in wording or sequence at some places and is sometimes more elaborate, especially in the dedication section (lines 26-37).

All the numbers were inscribed afterwards in spaces reserved for them by the original stone-cutter. Some of the signs used for numbers are peculiar in form; their reproduction in the text below (as in other printed editions) is only roughly approximate and, in a few cases, presupposes an interpretation (on the numbers, see É. Bernand 1982, 109-111).

## Text

'Αειζανᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἀξωμιτῶν καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν  
 καὶ τοῦ Ῥαιιδᾶν καὶ Αἰθιόπων καὶ Σαβαιοῦν  
 καὶ τοῦ Σιλεῆ καὶ τοῦ Τιαμῶ καὶ Βουγαιοῦν κ(αὶ)  
 τοῦ Κάσου, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνική-  
 5 του Ἄρεως, ἀτακτησάντων κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦ  
 ἔθνους τῶν Βουγαιοῦν ἀπεστίλαμεν τοὺς  
 ἡμετέρους ἀδελφοὺς Σαζανᾶν κ(αὶ) τὸν Ἀδιφᾶν  
 τούτους πολεμῆσαι καὶ παραδεδωκότων αὐ-  
 τῶν ὑποτάξαντες αὐτοὺς ἤγαγον πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 10 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ὄχλου αὐτῶν ὄλου καὶ τῶν θρεμμά-  
 των, βοῶν ,γριβ' καὶ προβάτων ,σσκδ' καὶ νω-  
 τοφόρων χοζ', θρέψαντες αὐτοὺς βόεσιν τε  
 καὶ ἐπισιτισμῶ ἀννῶν(ης), οἶν(ω) τε κ(αὶ) ὕδρομέλιτι,  
 ζῦτω κ(αὶ) ὕδρευμασιν εἰς χορτασίαν ἐπὶ μῆνας  
 15 τέσσαρας οἷτιναις ἦσαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ,δुक'  
 ἀννωνευόμενοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἄρτους  
 σιτίλους μυ(ριάδας) β' ,β', ἀχρεις αὐτοὺς μετοικίσωμεν·  
 τούτους οὖν ἐνεχθέντας πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δωρησά-  
 20 μενοι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἀμφιάσαν-  
 τες, μετοικίσαντες αὐτοὺς κατεστήσαμεν ἴς τι-  
 να τόπον τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας καλούμενον  
 Μάτλια καὶ ἐκαλεύσαμεν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀννω-  
 νεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκίσει τόποις, παρασχόμενοι  
 ἐκάστῳ βασιλίσκῳ αὐτῶν βόας ,δρρ' ἢ  
 25 ὡς γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἕξασιν βασιλίσκοις βόας μυ(ριάδας) β' ,ερμ'  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ εὐχαριστίας τοῦ μαι γεννήσαντος  
 ἀνικήτου Ἄρεως ἀνεθήκαμεν αὐτῷ ἀνδρι-  
 ἀντα χρύσειον ἓνα κ(αὶ) ἀργύρειον ἓνα κ(αὶ) χαλκαίους  
 τρίς καὶ ἀνέθηκα ταύτην τὴν στήλην καὶ παρε-  
 30 θέμην αὐτὴν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τῷ μαι  
 γεννήσαντι ἀνικήτῳ Ἀρεί· εἴ τις οὖν τοῦτον  
 ἀδικῆσαι βουληθῆ, ἐξολεθρεύσει αὐτὸν ὁ θε[ὸς]

τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκριζῶν καὶ μὴ ὑπάρ-  
 [χ]ῆ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐν γῆ ζώντων· καὶ εὐχαρι(σ)-  
 35 τήσαντες ἀνεθήκαμεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ·  
 εὐθὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν δὲ τῶ ἀνικῆτῶ  
 Ἄρει ΣΟΥ'ΑΤΕ καὶ ΒΕΔΙΕ.

*Translation*

Aeizanas, King of Aksumites and Himyarites and of Raeidan and Aithiopians and Sabaites and of Silee and of Tiamo and Bougaites and of Kasu,<sup>686</sup> King of Kings, son of the invincible god (5) Ares (Mahrem):

When the nation (*ethnos*) of the Bougaites (Beja) once revolted, we sent our brothers Sazanan and Adiphan<sup>687</sup> to make war on them. After they had surrendered, they brought them under our dominion and led them to us (10) with their whole population as well as their animals: 3,112 cattle, 6,224 sheep and 677 pack animals, and gave them cattle and grain to eat, and wine and honey-water, beer and wells (*hydreuma*)<sup>688</sup> to satisfy their needs for four (15) months. They were 4,420<sup>689</sup> in number and received per day 22,000 pieces of bread made from grain, until we moved them to a new home.

Thus, after they had been brought to us and we had given them all they needed and clothed them, (20) we moved them to a new home and settled them in a place in our territory called Matlia; and we commanded that they should be fed once more in those places, and gave to each of their chieftains (*basiliskos*) 4,190 cattle, that is, (25) altogether 25,140 cattle to the six chieftains.

As a thank-offering to him who begat me, the invincible Ares, we set up for him one statue of gold and one of silver and three of bronze and I set up this stela and presented (30) it to heaven and earth and the invincible Ares who begat me.

If anyone should wish to wrong him, may the god of heaven and earth destroy him utterly and extirpate him, and may his name not exist on the earth of the living. And thanking (him) (35) we set up (the stela). May it be for the best. Immediately, however, we set up to the invincible Ares a ... (?) and a ... (?).<sup>690</sup>

[TH]

<sup>686</sup>Our translation tries to bring out the Greek text's variation between names with the definite article (in genitive singular) and those lacking an article by adding "of" before those of the former category.

<sup>687</sup>We transcribe these names as they are written in the text; if Greek nominal inflection (in the accusative case) is intended, the corresponding nominative forms would end in -as.

<sup>688</sup>Perhaps the reference here is to *hafirs* (cf. (191), 198 *Comments*), i.e., artificial ponds or lakes.

<sup>689</sup>Reading ,δυσκ' with Bingen (1982, 351 f.) instead of Bernand's ,δυσκ(α), "4,400 and".

<sup>690</sup>At this place, the Greek redactor has simply transliterated the indigenous terms for what was offered to Mahrem; the non-vocalized Ethiopic version of the same passage runs in French translation: "Et nous avons offert à Mahrem un SWT et un BDH" (R. Schneider in É. Bernand 1982, 113), the nature of the two offerings thus specified being unknown.

*Comments*

The Greek text is written on one side of a monolithic granite stela measuring 268 x 92.5 cm; the inscription field measures 139 cm in height. The opposite side bears two further inscriptions, one in Ge'ez written in South Arabian script and one in non-vocalized Ethiopic. This latter text continues on one of the short sides of the stela and ends below the Greek text on the opposite side. The three inscriptions represent three renderings of the text inscribed on the famous stela of Ezana known since the early 19th century (for literature see É. Bernand et al. 1991, 363 f.) commemorating his campaign against the Beja; this latter stela also presents the narrative of the campaign in three languages, viz., in Greek (É. Bernand et al. 1991, 363 ff. no. 270), in Sabaeen and in Ge'ez (Littmann 1913, nos 6 and 7; Littmann 1950, 97 ff.).

The reign of King Ezana of Aksum, dated around the middle of the 4th cent. AD (for literature see Munro-Hay 1991, 75 ff.),<sup>691</sup> is richly documented by inscriptions written in different languages, also including Greek, and commemorating his military campaigns.

From the early period of his reign as a pagan "king of kings" and "son of the invincible god Ares" are preserved the above-mentioned triumphal stela and the inscription presented here. In these texts we read the record of a campaign against the Bougaites whom we may identify as Beja tribes (the Greek text in both stelae uses ἔθνους τῶν Βουγαειτῶν, "nation of the B.") already previously settled in Aksumite territory or living in a territory conquered by Aksum (as is indicated by Ezana's title "King of the Bougaites"), and governed by native chiefs (the Greek texts have *basiliskoi*, "chieftains", lit. "kinglets"). As a consequence of their rebellious habits, they are punished and resettled by force in another territory in the kingdom of Aksum that we cannot identify. Though the scene of the events defies identification, it may well be supposed that the Beja vassals of Ezana, like the Beja mentioned in Adulitana II (= 234), a triumphal inscription of one of Ezana's predecessors, were originally inhabitants of the region of the Red Sea Hills, the large area bordered by the Red Sea and the kingdoms of Meroe and Aksum (for the background of the Aksumite-Beja conflicts and interactions see *Comments* on 234).

In 298 as well as in the other versions of the same report mentioned above (Littmann 1913, nos 4-7) Ezana styled himself, among his other titles, "King of Kasu", by which title his claim to Kush, i.e., the kingdom of Meroe, is stated.<sup>692</sup> The claim was doubtless based on earlier successful Aksumite campaign(s) conducted in Meroitic territory; 285 and 286 attest that Meroe City had tem-

<sup>691</sup>There is no need to discuss here the erroneous dating and the assumed existence of two rulers with the name Ezana suggested by Altheim and Stiehl (1961; 1976).

<sup>692</sup>The title "King of Aithiopiens" is inserted between "King of Raeidan" and "King of Saba" and is rendered in the Semitic variants of the Greek text as "King of Habashat", a term originally denoting the population of the eastern Tigray, cf. Munro-Hay 1991, 15, 36, 41; it does not refer to Meroe.

porarily (cf. Hintze 1967 and *Comments* on the mentioned documents), but perhaps repeatedly, been occupied by a pagan Aksumite ruler.

In Ezana's well-known inscription in vocalised Ge'ez (Littmann 1913, no. 11; cf. Littmann 1950; Kirwan 1960; Hintze 1967; Kirwan 1972b; Török 1988b, 33 ff.) the king has the same title; the monotheistic formulas used in its text indicate, however, that it should be dated to a later period in his reign.<sup>693</sup> In this inscription Ezana records a campaign against the Noba people. His army pursued the Noba, who were his vassals but had revolted against him, from the junction of the rivers Takkaze and Atbara through the Butana (the "island of Meroe" of classical texts) as far as the Gezira between the White and Blue Niles, where their settlements were destroyed. Ezana's army then moved northwards and fought the "Kasu", i.e., Meroites, and defeated them at the junction of the Nile and the Atbara. Subsequently, an expedition was sent against the Meroitic "towns of masonry" Alwa and Daro, which are identified with two settlements close to the junction of these two rivers, viz., El Moqren (Juba: Alabe; Ptolemy: Orba) and Shadinab (Darru) (Juba: Andaro), respectively (see **186a, 222**). The next action was directed against settlements the Noba took from the Meroites north of the Nile-Atbara junction. An Old Abyssinian graffito on the exterior wall of Temple T at Kawa (Macadam 1955, 235) as well as Old Abyssinian or Sabaean (?) graffiti on a block of pyramid Beg. N. 2 (LD VI, 13/1) and on a block from chapel M 292 at Meroe City (Török 1997, 151 find 292-3, Pl. 114) may be brought into connection with the events of the campaign.

As Hintze (1967) argued, this monument indicates the existence of a Meroitic kingdom, albeit one reduced in extent and power as a consequence of the expansion and conquests of the Noba, who are traditionally regarded as responsible for the end of the Meroitic kingdom which is supposed to have occurred shortly after Ezana's campaign.<sup>694</sup> According to Burstein (1984, 221) the joint action against the Noba and the Meroites would indicate that the last rulers of Meroe were Aksumite vassals who tried to exploit the opportunity presented by the war between the Noba and Ezana to "escape their vassal status".

The Noba of the Ezana inscription were largely identical with the Nubai of the Greek sources (cf. FHN II **109**), a people belonging to the large family of the Nubian-speakers a branch of which, already by the New Kingdom, lived in the Nubian Nile Valley (cf. Priese 1973) and to which the bulk of the population settled from the late 3rd cent. BC onwards in the Lower Nubian Nile Valley seems to have belonged (cf. Adams 1976, 11-25, 119 ff.; and see FHN II, **108, (129), (131), 135, 140, 155**). Nubai are recorded living west of the Nile from the

<sup>693</sup>According to Dinkler (1977, 124), the formulas reflect knowledge of Old Testament terminology but do not directly indicate Christian Monotheism or Monophysitism.

<sup>694</sup>Cf. Kirwan 1939, 41 ff.; Hintze 1967; for a review of the literature see Török 1988a, 33 ff., 196 ff.; 1996; for a dating on the basis of archaeological finds to around AD 360 see Török 1974; 1988b, 120 f.

latitude of Meroe City to the Bayuda, i.e., the region north of the Nile-Atbara junction, in the 3rd cent. BC (FHN II, 109). They are mentioned again by Pliny (*Natural History* 6.192) and later by Ptolemy (4.5.6) as inhabitants of the same region. Meroite-Noba conflicts seem to be hinted at by late 1st cent. BC and 1st cent. AD Meroitic representations of enemies (Török 1989a, 192 ff., figs 300-312), which also seem to indicate that Noba groups had started to leave their original homeland and move towards Meroitic territories. At the date of Ezana's campaign in the mid-4th cent. AD, we already find them in possession of settlements in the Butana and north of the Nile-Atbara junction which they had taken from the Meroites. The causes of their migration remain unknown, as are those of the great migrations of this period towards and across the frontiers of the Roman Empire (cf. Cameron 1993a, 140 ff.).

The latest non-royal burials in the cemeteries at Meroe City, dating from the 4th cent. AD, were identified, by their non-Meroitic type burial customs and material culture, as documents of the Noba occupation that marked the end of the Meroitic kingdom (cf. Kirwan 1939, 41 ff.). The latest habitation horizon at Meroe City with its rural-type dwellings, the abandonment of the temples and squatter occupation within their walls, burials in abandoned palatial buildings, the disappearance of Meroitic industries and the emergence of hand-made pottery wares (Török 1997, 38 ff.) reflect the collapse of Meroitic urban life with its government, social structure, and other institutions; and, at the same time, the spread of a new culture can be observed, the bearers of which seem, however, to some extent also to have been Meroiticized. Hence, it was supposed that the collapse of the Meroitic kingdom was, at least partly, brought about not only by Noba and Aksumite aggression but also by a political and cultural imbalance caused by the increasing presence of superficially acculturated or unacculturated Noba in Meroe. Initially these may even have been encouraged to settle as vassals or federates on Meroitic territory. For such a pattern we can find sufficient parallels from the Roman Empire and elsewhere. 298 presents an excellent Aksumite example of settled and resettled vassal tribes.<sup>695</sup>

It is apparently from a still later period of Ezana's reign that the inscription presented here as 299 (see below) has been preserved. While in 298 Ezana erects statues of Ares to the glory of the war god after his victory, and in Littmann 1913, no. 10, also records the triumphal sacrifice of 100 oxen and 50 prisoners, in the monument inscribed after the Noba campaign (Littmann 1913, no. 11) the captured idols of the enemy are destroyed and triumphal thrones erected without being associated with Ares or, for that matter, with the monotheistic god repeatedly invoked in the text. 299 is, by contrast, explicitly Christian and Trinitarian. As Dinkler (1977, 124 f.) pointed out, this text reflects a high level of

<sup>695</sup>For the problem of the end of Meroe see the review of recent literature presented in Török 1996; for investigations based on more recent archaeological discoveries that apparently indicate a more organic continuity between Meroitic and post-Meroitic society than argued for by Török 1988b and 1996 see Lenoble 1989; 1994; Edwards 1989.

knowledge about Christian teaching of which no traces could be found in the monumental Ge'ez inscription Littmann 1913, no. 11. Consequently, Dinkler denies that 299 is a variant of the latter and suggests instead that it records another, later, campaign against the Noba who were living in the Butana region and still harassing other peoples there, including the (remaining) Meroites. Since the Greek text 299 presents only the introductory sections of a longer triumphal inscription,<sup>696</sup> Dinkler's suggestion must remain hypothetical, however likely it may be in the light of 299's considerable ideological and stylistic differences from Littmann 1913, no. 11. If, however, it is correct, 299 provides good evidence for the existence of a Meroitic political unit surviving in the shadow of Noba threats and at the mercy of Aksum in the period after Ezana's conversion.

[LT]

**299 Aksum. Christian Greek inscription of Ezana.** Mid-4th cent. AD.  
SEG XXVI 1813. B-D-S 271.

*Source bibliography*

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Altheim-Stiehl 1976           | F. Altheim-R. Stiehl: Die neue griechische Inschrift 'Ēzanās von Aksūm. <i>Klio</i> 58, 471-479.  |
| Anfray-Caquot-Nautin 1970     | F. Anfray-A. Caquot-P. Nautin: Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Ézana, roi d'Axoum. <i>Journal des Savants</i> , 260-274.                         |
| Bernand-Drewes-Schneider 1991 | É. Bernand-A.J. Drewes-R. Schneider: Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Vol. 1-2. Paris 1991. [= B-D-S.] |
| Munro-Hay 1991                | S. Munro-Hay: Aksum. An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity. Edinburgh.  |

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was carved on one side of a large stela discovered in 1969 in the centre of ancient Aksum (for details, see *Comments* below). The text ends in the middle of the narrative, so presumably its continuation was carved on another stone which has not been found. The letters are distinctly carved and easy to read, except in places where the stone has suffered subsequent damage.

The Greek text was first published by A. Caquot et P. Nautin in Anfray-Caquot-Nautin (1970, with photo). Our text is based on that of É. Bernand in Bernand-Drewes-Schneider (1991, 370-372, with Pl. 181), to whom we refer for

---

<sup>696</sup>It remains obscure what the actual relationship was between 299 and the badly damaged Ge'ez inscription on the other side of the stela (É. Bernand et al. 1991, 268 ff. no. 190), which is assumed to be the middle and final (?) sections of a text, the missing beginning of which would have been a variant of 299.

bibliography and critical apparatus. There is an English translation in Munro-Hay (1991, 229).

## Text

- Ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ [Πα]-  
 πρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ [Ἀ]γί[ο]υ [Π]νεύματος, τ[ῷ]  
 [σ]ώσαντί μοι τὸ βασ[ίλ]ιον τῇ πίστι τοῦ Ἰ[η]σοῦ  
 5 αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ βοηθήσαντί μο[ι]  
 τῷ καὶ πάντοταί μοι βοηθοῦντι ἐγὼ  
 Ἄζανᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἀξωμιτῶν καὶ Ὀμηρι-  
 [τῶν κ]αὶ τοῦ Ῥεϊδᾶν καὶ Σαβαειτῶν καὶ  
 τοῦ Σ[ιλ]εῆλ καὶ τοῦ Χάσω καὶ Βουγαιιτῶν  
 [κ]αὶ τοῦ Τιαμῶ, Βισι Ἀληνε, υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐλλε-  
 10 αμίδα, δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστῶ Κυρίῳ  
 τῷ [Θεῷ] μου καὶ οὐ δύναμαι εἰπὶν πλήρης  
 τὰς εὐ[χ]αριστίας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ δύναται  
 τὸ στό[μ]α μου καὶ ἡ διάνοια μου πάσας  
 τὰς εὐχαριστίας ἄσπερ ἐποίησεν μετ' ἐ-  
 15 μου, ὅτι ἐπ[οί]ησεν ἐμοὶ ἡσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν  
 καὶ ἐχαρίσ[α]τό μοι ὄ[ν]ομα μέγα διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
 [α]ὐτοῦ εἰς ὃν ἐπ[ί]στευσα [καὶ] ἐποίησέν μοι ὄ-  
 [δ]ηγὸν πάσης τῆς βασιλείας μου διὰ τὴν πί-  
 20 στι[ν] τοῦ Χριστοῦ τ[ῷ] θελήματι [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ  
 δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁδήγησέν  
 μοι καὶ εἰς α[ὐ]τὸν πιστεύω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγέ-  
 νετό μοι ὁδηγός. Ἐξῆλθα πολεμῆσαι  
 τοὺς Νωβα, ὅτι κατέκραξαν κατ' αὐτῶν  
 οἱ Μανγαρθω καὶ Χασα καὶ Ἀτιαδιται  
 25 καὶ Βαρεωται λέγοντες ὅτι κατεπόνη-  
 σαν ἡμᾶς οἱ Νωβα, βοηθήσατε ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἔ-  
 θληψαν ἡμᾶς ἀποκτένοντες. Καὶ ἀνέστη[ν]  
 ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Θεοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ὃν ἐπί-  
 30 στευσα, καὶ ὁδήγησέν με. Καὶ ἀνέστην ἄ-  
 πὸ Ἀξώμεος ἐν μινὶ κατὰ Ἀξωμιτὰς Μαγα-  
 βιθε ἢ ἡμέρα σαμβάτω πίστι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 ἔφθασα εἰς Μαμβαριαν καὶ ἐκίθεν ἐσιταρχησά-  
 [μην ...]<sup>697</sup>

<sup>697</sup>Previous editors: ἐσιτάρχησα. We suggest a middle form instead (the last three letters of which would have been inscribed on the slab where the text continued).

*Translation*

By faith in G[od and by t]he power of the [Fa]ther and the Son and the Holy Ghost, to him who has saved my kin[gd]om through faith in his Son Jesus Christ, to him<sup>698</sup> who helped me (5) and who always helps me: I, Azanas,<sup>699</sup> King of Aksumites and H̄imiyari[tes a]nd of Reedan and Sabaeans and of S[il]jeel<sup>700</sup> and of Khaso and Bougaites (Beja) and of Tiamo, man of H̄alen (*Bisi Alene*),<sup>701</sup> son of Elle-(10)Amida and servant of Christ, thank the Lord my God, and I cannot fully express my thankfulness to him, because my mouth and my mind cannot (express) my thankfulness (for what) he made with (15) me,<sup>702</sup> because he gave me strength and power and bestowed on me a great name through his Son in whom I have placed my faith, and made me the guide (*hodegos*) of my whole kingdom through faith in Christ, by his will and (20) by the power of Christ, because he guided me and I have faith in him and he himself became my guide.

I went forth to war on the Noba, because the Mangartha (*mangurto*) and Khasa (*hasā*) and Atiadites (25) and Bareotes (*bāryā*) cried out against them saying: "The Noba have subdued us, come and help us, because they have oppressed and killed us." I stood up with the power of Christ the God, in whom I have placed my faith, and he guided me. I stood up (30) from Aksum the 8th day in the Aksumite month of Magabithe (*magābit*), a Saturday, with faith in God, and I arrived in Mambaria and from that place I procured food supplies ...<sup>703</sup>

[TH]

<sup>698</sup>The use of the dative case in the Greek in lines 4-5 (τῷ βοηθήσαντι etc.) may be explained as the indirect object of an implied "I thank"; but when the verb εὐχαριστῶ finally appears in line 10, it is followed by an indirect object of its own (Κυρίῳ etc.), creating an anacoluthic sentence structure. An alternative would be to divide the beginning into three separate statements: (1) "By faith in" etc., (2) "To him who" etc., and (3) "I, Azanas, ... thank" etc.

<sup>699</sup>We transcribe the name as it is—or seems to be—written in the Greek text.

<sup>700</sup>Or: S[al]jeel (Anfray-Caquot-Nautin 1970, 267). Altheim-Stiehl (1976, 477) read Σ[ιλ]εην, S[il]jeen.

<sup>701</sup>Greek transcription of the Ethiopian title *be'esya h̄alen*, indicating what tribe the king belonged to (Anfray-Caquot-Nautin 1970, 267).

<sup>702</sup>If the word εὐχαριστία in line 14 means "thankfulness", as it does in line 12 and, e.g., 234 ch. 63, something like "(for what)" must be supplied to make sense of the following relative clause. But the precise meaning of that relative clause is also a problem; is "for what he accomplished through me" intended? An alternative interpretation would be to treat εὐχαριστία as a concrete noun: "acts of grace which he did to (?) me"? Cf. Anfray-Caquot-Nautin (1970, 268) and Altheim-Stiehl (1976, 477 f.).

<sup>703</sup>It is unclear what kind of activity ἐσιτάρχησα, as read by previous editors, would refer; were provisions exacted (from the Noba) or distributed (to the oppressed nations)? Anfray-Caquot-Nautin (1970, 266) translate: "je me suis ravitaillé" (and are criticized by Altheim-Stiehl 1976, 479, who maintain that the verb can only mean "to pay an army"). We prefer ἐσιτάρχησά[μην] and suggest the translation "procured food supplies". But it should be remembered that the inscription ends abruptly here; the part of the context inscribed on another slab may have made the reference quite clear.

*Comments*

The Greek inscription presented here occupies the larger part of one side of a limestone stela measuring 163 cm x 60.5 cm x 11.5 cm, the other side of which is entirely filled with the 48 lines of a badly damaged text in Ge'ez of which the beginning appears to be missing (É. Bernand et al. 1991, 268 ff. no. 190). The relationship between the two texts is obscure and Schneider's assumption (Schneider 1974; 1976) that the Ge'ez text continues the Greek text and that the two constitute together a variant of Ezana's record (Littmann 1913, no. 11) about the campaign against the Noba cannot be substantiated (see *Comments* on 298).

For the historical context see *Comments* on 298.

[LT]

**300 Kalabsha. Meroitic inscription of Kharamadoye. 5th cent. AD.**

Griffith 1912, Pls XIII-XVI. REM 0094.

*Introduction to source*

With its thirty-four almost completely preserved lines this is one of the longest yet known Meroitic inscriptions. It was written in a cursive script which Griffith (1912, 27) judged to be "very late". It was incised on the façade of the Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (for the building see *Comments* on 248) where it occupies the surface of two drums of the first column from the N (for its place see PM VII, 13). It was first studied by Griffith (1912, 27 ff.) and, since it is referred to in most studies on Meroitic history, culture, and language, we do not give a list of the literature dealing with it here. Millet (1973) tried to present a comprehensive "translation" which is highly speculative given the present state of our knowledge of the Meroitic language. Griffith's reading, with improvements made by the editors of the REM, was published in the Paris Repertoire. It is that edition which is followed here.

*Text*

(1)Hrmdoye,, qore,,  
 Ariteñl,, mdese,,  
 Mnitke  
 (2)mkleb,, yereqe,,  
 qyithl [=qyiselhl],, yesebohe,,  
 qrleb,, tro(3)se,,  
 Ariteñ,, terekelise dblilh,, qrke,,  
 qore,, Mnpte(4)se,, lw,, qoreyi,,  
 th,, Mnote,,se,, lw,, thñyi,,  
 qr,, Ariteñlise\*,\*, (5)lw,, qrñyi,,  
 sob,, hłbi,, lise,, lw,, sobñyi,,  
 th,, Mnotese lw,, (6)thñyi,,  
 Arette,, Wosse lw,, hiretteñyi,,

hrp̄he mkdo(7)kelise lw,, hrph̄ñyi,,  
 terise,, Mnpte,, pdhose,, tlo(8)lise kidkete\*1,,  
 Yisemeniye,, qorelh,, yetolhe,, yiti 4 yoto,,  
 (9)Ptpotekye,, able,, ywito,, sewide,,  
 Aqtoye,, tepke,, yed,,  
 mk\*1,, te(10)pke,, yeyk,,  
 wyed,, tepke,, pyk,,  
 hiwr,, ado,, wse,, Phrse,, tdo(11)mñ,,  
 asy,, ked\*ebhe \*py,,  
 Qore\*lik,, dik,, Pilqoyte bqo\*k  
 (12)lks,, Sqye s,, Nsedoke s,, Temeyye s Nhb̄re s,, bqo bh̄  
 (13)Simlok,, dik,, Pilqoyte,, bqol,,  
 pro,, dole,, plw,, penn,, t(14)lte,, br,, phiñl,, bh̄emi,, yedet,,  
 byeke lh̄ dik,, Kdimloye,, (15)\*sq kdi,, \*ptpot\*o Yisemeniye,, ysebe\*t,, bersowi,,  
 mte,, wse,, (16)Ayekenl,, ytp\*oto,, yed,, ykle,,  
 Arohetye,, nle,, dolk  
 (17)mtel,, pikede\*lwi,, yed,,  
 Ptpotekiye,, w\*kdi\*wikete  
 mte wse (18)qor\*e,, Theñye,, t\*k\*lwi,, ysebete,, bereknwi,,  
 h̄(19)rp̄he,, detelhe,, weñ,, yed,,  
 wo pike,, tilyeyki,,  
 (20)brleb,, kedebh,,  
 kdileb,, mrorleb,, ssleb,, kbb(21)te,,  
 pdhose,, lh̄leb,, yehoyke,,  
 yetete,, mror\*b\*e,, Qe(22)sw,, Adereke,, mtr,, wse,, hrw,, Pilqoke,, mtr,, wse,,  
 (23)qore 8 h̄rese,, wteb,, ahi,, d\*e\*te,, \*skle,,  
 \*de(24)te,, wedi,, dhe,,  
 mte,, kdi,, Aqtoyese 2 w̄bqob(25)te,,  
 wido,, Hrosiyeqo,, wido,, Yisehteteyeqo,, bqo(26)bh̄,,  
 semle,, wsi,, tkbte,,  
 ste,, wese [numeral ?],, bqobte,,  
 (27)Simlok dik,, Seleleyte,, mho,, temey,, Nsedoke (28)kdi \*abr,, Nhb̄res,, kbh̄,,  
 m̄holi,, temeyli,, dk,,  
 (29)p\*r\*o,, dole,, plw,, penn,, tlte,, br,, phole,, bh̄emi\*, (30)yedet,,  
 hrw,, Addonilikete yireqw,, \*a(31)\*r\*w,, te\*re\*kete,,  
 hrw,, Seleleke,, mtr,, wse y\*ir\*e(32)qw,, Ade\*reke,, mtr,, wse,,  
 qore,, p̄tside,, tmot,, (33)\*m[...]\*e\*s,, [...]plñ  
 p̄tmkide,, tmot,, Aritele,, wo(34)\*p\*1\*e,,

*Comments*

Because of the late character of its lettering, Griffith (1912, 27) dated 300 to the late Meroitic period and suggested that it was inscribed on the wall of the temple of Kalabsha after the Greek decree published here as FHN 248 but before the

Silko inscription (= 317). Kharamadoye was more precisely dated by Millet (1973, 33, with reference to a similar dating communicated to him by K.-H. Priese) on the basis of the references made in lines 8 and 15 to a Yismeniye, who is termed *qore*, "ruler" in line 8. According to the suggestion put forward by Millet and Priese, this Yismeniye would be identical with the King Isemne of a Greek inscription at Kalabsha (= 311), and mentions of him in 300 would thus date the Kharamadoye inscription to the late 4th or the early 5th cent. AD.

This identification appears rather likely. Isemne's Greek inscription, together with the Greek dedications of King Tamalas (310) and of the phylarch Phoinoin (313) probably date from the period of the Blemmyan occupation of a part of Lower Nubia between ca. AD 394 and 453 (cf. 305, 309, 314, 317, 319, Török 1985, 30 ff.; 1988b, 47 ff.); and the phylarch Phoinoin is apparently identical with the later King Phonen who may be dated to the end of the said period (see 319). If the Kharamadoye inscription is correctly interpreted as record of (a) conflict(s) between Kharamadoye and Yismeniye (see, implicitly, Griffith 1912, 30 ff.; and explicitly: Millet 1973, 34 ff.), it predates the period of Phonen, under the reign of whom the Blemmyes were expelled from the Nile Valley.

A date after AD 395 for this inscription—a royal monument in cursive Meroitic, written by a ruler defining himself with the Meroitic word *qore* as ruler and invoking Amûn—places Kharamadoye and the events in his reign in an historical space which is defined by remarkable and problematic coordinates. Around AD 360, at the latest, the centre of the Meroitic kingdom in the south was changed beyond recognition by a political, social and cultural imbalance supposedly brought about by an immigration of and/or conquest by Noba tribes (cf. *Comments* on 288 f.). No Meroitic royal or aristocratic burial is known from Begarawiya North and West that postdates the 360s AD (for the latest burials see Török 1974 and Lenoble 1994); and in the 370s AD a new, sumptuously rich burial ground was opened at Qustul in Lower Nubia which was to be used for four generations until ca. AD 410-420 and then continued for another seven generations, until ca. 490-500, on the opposite bank at Ballana (Emery-Kirwan 1938; Török 1988b). The obvious conclusion would seem to be that the Meroitic kingdom ended with the last royal tomb at Begarawiya North (cf. (290)) and that the kingdom disintegrated into successor states, one of which was situated in Lower Nubia south of the Third Cataract (for the Third Cataract as a cultural and political frontier in the post-Meroitic period see, e.g., Török 1988b, 194 ff.; Edwards 1994). An analysis of the evidence from Qustul shows, however, that the unity of the kingdom was not disrupted with the end of the dynasty buried at Begarawiya North. Although we do not know the burial place of the new rulers of the successor to the Meroitic state, there are indications that they regarded themselves as legitimate heirs to the Meroitic throne (cf. Török 1987b; 1988b, 221), presumably because of initial intermarriages with members of the family of the last Meroitic ruler. The "princes" buried at Qustul were their deputies, and the situation changed only in the early 5th century

AD, to judge from the fact that, from ca. AD 420-430 onwards, the descendants of the Qustul "princes" were buried at Ballana as kings: their crowns were discovered in their tombs. In fact, the appearance of the first king at Ballana marks the fragmentation of the former Meroitic kingdom into several successor states (for the archaeological evidence and the dating of the individual generations buried at Qustul and Ballana see Török 1988b; for the historical process see the summaries in Török 1992b; 1996; the latter should be confronted with the new evidence from el Hobagi and its interpretation by Lenoble 1994).

Thus it would seem that the date of 300 can be established within even closer limits if we identify Kharamadoye with one of the kings buried after ca. AD 420-430 at Ballana. The events described in his great Kalabsha inscription then occurred at the earliest after ca. AD 410-420 (the date of the burial of the last deputy at Qustul) and, at the latest, in the late 440s (cf. 317-319). Provided that the arguments put forward in the foregoing are not mistaken, 300 can be regarded as a monument of a ruler of the Lower Nubian successor state to the Meroitic kingdom in which he commemorated his (presumably more or less successfully resolved) conflicts with a King Yismeniye, who may be identical with the Blemmyan King Isemne of a Greek dedication from Kalabsha (311). The occurrence of Yismeniye-Isemne as king in the same temple of Mandulis where Kharamadoye's inscription was engraved indicates the place and the reasons of the conflict: viz., the Kalabsha region and possession of it. Such an interpretation of the core of the narrative in 300 also seems to be supported by the geographical indications of the text (see below). Before commenting on the identifiable names and words in the Meroitic text, it must be stressed that with its language and terminology the Kharamadoye inscription clearly attests a certain cultural and political continuity between the Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods. It is, however, equally important to emphasize that this continuity is apparently limited to Lower Nubia and especially to urban settlements; moreover, it seems to be maintained largely by some temples and their priesthood (for the limits of continuity see in more detail Török 1996).

In the following remarks we refer to the lines of the text. If no other literature is indicated, the explanation of the meaning of the Meroitic words and grammatical elements follows Meeks 1973 and Hofmann 1981a.

1. The name *Hrmdoye* was thought to be Blemmyan (Updegraff 1978, 101; Hofmann 1981a, 2 f.) but is, as argued by Millet (1969, 271), Meroitic. Since, however, *Hr* is not the name of a deity but an element which occurs in non-royal male and female names, it obviously differs from the traditional Meroitic royal names. *Mni*=Amûn; *mk*="deity", *-leb* plur., *mkleb*="deities".

4 ff. *Mnote*=Amûn of Opet (Luxor).

6. *Arette*=Horus, with adjective; *Wos*=Isis.

7. *Mnpte*=Amûn of Napata; *Yisemeniye qorelh*="Isemne, great (chief) king". It may refer to Isemne as ruler of a political entity consisting of several tribal "kingdoms" or chiefdoms.

11. *Qore\*lik dik Pilqoyte bqo\*k* (or rather *bqol*): in this expression, which appears to have the meaning of "to place A all the way from place B" (cf. Griffith 1912, 27 ff.; Millet 1973), *Qoreli* or *Qoreti* (Millet's reading) is probably *Qurte*, S of *Dakka*; while *Pilqo/Pilqe* is *Philae*.

13. *Simlok dik Pilqoyte bqol*: "from *Philae* to *Simlo*" (cf. above), where *Simlo*=*Karanog* (Hintze 1963, no. 103).

20. *brleb*=men; *kdileb*=women.

21 f. *Qesw Adereke mtr wse hrw Pilqoke mtr wse*: "Kushwards to *Adere*, northwards to *Philae*"; *Adere*=*Soleb* as in REM 1053 (cf. Török 1979, 15 f.) and not *Derr* in Lower Nubia as in REM 0269 and in 186a. For *hr*=North and *yireke*=South see Millet 1973, 44.

27. *Simlok dik Seleleyte*: "to [Cataract] from *Karanog*"; for the identification of *Selele-Telelis* (see also in 317) as a word for "cataract" in general see Griffith 1912, 30.

31 f. *hrw Seleleke mtr wse y\*ir\*eqw Adereke mtr wse*: "northwards to [Cataract], southwards to *Soleb*".

The phrases with toponyms delineate several sections of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley between the First and Third Cataracts: 1. From *Philae* to *Qorte*, approximately identical with the *Dodecaschoenus*; 2. From *Philae* to *Karanog*; 3. From *Karanog* to [Cataract], where apparently the Second Cataract is meant; 4. From [Cataract] to *Soleb*. These sections were interpreted, as a hypothesis, as territorial units of *Kharamadoye's* kingdom (Török 1979, 86 ff.), which is not entirely unlikely; however, the context of the phrases in question cannot be sufficiently understood and it is wiser to refrain from far-reaching interpretations of Meroitic texts. The observation may nevertheless be ventured that if *Kharamadoye* claimed authority over all of Lower Nubia from *Philae* to *Soleb*, it could have been the result of a temporary expulsion of the *Blemmyes*, who are attested in several sources to be in control of the *Kalabsha* area between ca. AD 394 and 453 (cf. 305, 309).

[LT]

**301 On the king of the Blemmyes.** Mid-5th cent. AD.

*Besa, Vita Senutii*, Leipoldt 1951, 89-90.

*Source bibliography*

Bell 1983

*Besa: The Life of Shenoute*. Trans. D.N. Bell. (Cistercian Studies Series, 73.) Kalamazoo, MI.

Kuhn 1991

K.H. Kuhn: *Shenute, Saint*. In: A.S. Atiya (ed.) *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 7. New York, 2131-2133.

Leipoldt 1951

J. Leipoldt (ed.): *Sinuthii Vita (Bohairic)*. (CSCO 41, *Scriptores Coptici*, 1.) Louvain.

*Introduction to source*

This passage, in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, is excerpted from the hagiographical biography of the great Egyptian Monophysite archimandrite Shenute of Atripe by Besa, his successor as abbot of the White Monastery. Shenute was a native-speaker of Coptic, and the most renowned author ever to write in that language. He was an active participant in the religious conflicts of his day, and in AD 431 he accompanied Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, to the Council of Ephesus.

As a monastic leader in Egypt he energetically assisted refugees from Blemmyan raids into Upper Egypt, an activity to which he made reference in some of his surviving writings.

His dates are uncertain. He probably died ca. 466. Besa says that he lived to an age of 118 years which would place his birth ca. 348. His encounters with the Blemmyes should date roughly to the middle of the 5th century.

For a succinct survey of his life and works and an introductory bibliography, see Kuhn (1991). There is an English translation of Besa's *Life of Shenute* by Bell (1983).

*Text*

ΑΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΧΟΥ ΕΘΡΕΝΙΒΑΛΝΕΜΜΩΥΙ Ι ΕΪΗΤ ΝΣΕΔΙΝΖΑΝΠΟΛΙΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΣΕΕΡΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΕΥΙΝ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΝΕΜΝΟΥΤΕΒΝΩΟΥΙ· ΔΥΙ ΕΡΗΣ ΝΕΜΤΕΧΜΑΛΩΣΙΑ ΤΗΡΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΔΥΟΟΥΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΠΘΩΨ ΨΟΙ·

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤ ΟΥΩΨ ΕΖΩΛ ΨΑΡΩΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΝΙΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΣ ΕΤΔΥΕΡΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΕΥΙΝ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΔΦΕΡΘΙΝΙΟΡ ΜΦΙΑΡΟ ΧΕΝΤΕΦΨΕ ΕΠΕΙΕΒΤ ΨΑΡΩΟΥ ΔΗΗΕΤΑΦΕΡΑΠΑΝΤΑΝ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΔΥΓΑΙ ΕΨΩΠΙ ΝΝΟΥΛΟΓΧΗ ΕΥ- ΟΥΩΨ ΕΞΘΒΕΦ ΞΕΝΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΝΟΥΧΙΑ ΤΩΣ ΟΥΟΖ ΔΥΨΩΟΥΙ ΜΦΗΤ ΝΝΙΨΕ ΔΥΟΖΙ ΕΥΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΟΥΨΟΛΚΟΥ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΔΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΟΥΝΙΩΤ ΝΑΝΔΑΓΚΗ·

ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΟΝ ΠΣΕΠΙ ΝΝΙΕΘΝΟΣ ΑΨΩΠΙ ΝΩΟΥ ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΠΑΙΡΗΤ ΨΑΤΕΦΦΟΖ ΕΦΜΑ ΜΠΙΟΥΡΟ ΝΤΩΟΥ· ΕΤΑΦΗ ΕΤΕΜΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΕΜΙ ΔΕΟΥΔΑΤΩΡΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΔΟΜ ΕΤΨΟΠ ΝΕΜΔΦ ΔΦΤΩΝΦ ΔΦΟΥΨΩΤ ΝΔΦ ΖΙΧΕΝΠΚΑΖΙ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΤΤΖΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΤΑΛΒΕΝΕΝΧΙΑ ΝΝΑΡΩΜΙ· ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑΦΕΡΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΙΝ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΔΥΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΧΕΝΟΥΧΙΑ ΞΕΝΤΟΥΝΟΥ· ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑΠΟΥΡΟ ΩΨ ΝΔΦ ΝΖΑΝΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΕΦΘΙΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΤΦ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΔΙ ΜΜΑΥΑΤΦ ΠΕ ΕΤΑΦΧΟΦ ΝΔΦ ΧΕΜΟΙ ΝΗΙ ΝΝΙΡΩΜΙ ΔΛΙΟΥΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΦΡΕΤΑ ΤΗΡΣ

ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΔΦΤΗΤΟΥ ΝΔΦ ΝΧΙΝΧΗΠΕ· ΟΥΟΖ ΔΦΕΡΘΙΝΙΟΡ ΜΜΩΟΥ ΣΑΠΕ- ΜΕΝΤ ΜΠΙΜΩΟΥ ΔΦΕΝΟΥ ΕΠΙΜΟΝΔΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΔΦΤΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ ΝΩΟΥ ΔΦΧΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΙΟΥΑΙ ΠΙΟΥΑΙ ΕΠΕΦΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΙ ΕΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΦΤ ΝΕΜΠΕΦ- ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΘΟΥΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤ·

*Translation*

And it happened one day that the Blemmyes (*Balnemmôwi*) came north and seized some *cities* and *took captive* the people and their cattle. They went south with all their *captives* and paused in the district of Psoi (Ptolemaïs).

Then my father, Apa Shenute, wanted to hasten to them on account of the *captives* whom they had taken. And when he crossed the river to go east after them, those whom he first *approached* raised their *spears*, intending to kill him. At once their hands became stiff and dried out like (pieces of) wood; they stood (there, hands) outstretched, and were unable to bend them toward them and were crying out in great *distress*.

Likewise again, the same thing happened to the rest of the *tribe(smen)*<sup>704</sup> until he arrived at the place of their king. When that man understood that the power which was with him was invincible, he rose up (and) prostrated himself (and) adored him<sup>705</sup>, saying, "I beseech you, heal the hands of my men." And when he *made the sign of the cross* over them, their hands were healed at once. And when the king promised him gifts of honor, he refused to receive them from him *but* himself said to him, "Give me the people. Take all the *plunder* for yourself."

Well, the king gave them all to him without remuneration; and he (Shenute) transported them across the river to the west bank (and) brought them to the *monastery*. And he gave them *expense money* (and) sent them off in *peace*, each one to his home, as they glorified God and his holy *prophet*, Apa Shenute.

[RHP]

#### Comments

The miraculous story from the *Life* of the great Egyptian monastic leader Shenute (on his life and work see Barns 1964; Timbie 1986, Young 1993; and literature listed in Altaner-Stuiber 1978, 268 f.) is quoted here as an indication of the range of the Blemmyan raids and of the dwelling place of the Blemmyan raiders in the period when Shenute lived in the White Monastery at Sohag in Upper Egypt, i.e., before ca AD 466. Though not exactly dated, the story was probably intended to stand for many similar events involving the barbarian invaders, captors of Christian prisoners, and looters of livestock; it shows that the Blemmyes were able to penetrate as deep into Upper Egypt as the region of Sohag and that their king, presumably the chief of a tribe, dwelt in the hills beyond the E bank of the Nile.

[LT]

---

<sup>704</sup>Literally: "(as for) the rest of the *tribe(smen)*, it befell them too in this way".

<sup>705</sup>Literally: "(and) adored him on the ground".

**302 Philae. Demotic graffito with a reference to Blemmyan activities in AD 372-373.**

Griffith 1937, Ph. 371.

*Text and translation*

(1) t̄ wšt n P̄-d̄i-st-ʿmre ʿ(š)ʿ ʿP̄-gʿ  
 (1) The obeisance of Petsinamre (son of) ʿPgeʿ

p̄ ʿn̄t̄e ʿ n p̄ wʿb  
 the great ʿpharmacistʿ of the ʿworkshopʿ,

(2) rn mw̄t̄=f T̄-šrt-hlk-ḥr  
 (2) the name of his mother (being) Tshenhelkho,

dy (m-)b̄ḥ Wsir p̄ ntr ʿ  
 is here in the presence of Osiris, the great god.

(3) iw=y th̄b r t̄ mdt n ibd 3 ḥt  
 (3) When I was ʿanointedʿ<sup>1706</sup> concerning the matter in the third month of Inundation,

iw=y ḥr šmsw (n) Pr-ʿ n p̄ t̄ (4) (r-)dr̄=f Wsir Wn-nfr ʿ. w. s.ʿ  
 I performed services for the King of the (4) whole land, Osiris Onnophris, ʿl. p. h.ʿ

p̄ hrw ibd 3 ḥt sw ʿ15ʿ  
 Today, the ʿ15thʿ day of the third month of Inundation,

sh̄ (5) P̄-d̄i-ʿIst-nfr̄t ʿ(š)ʿ Ḥr-ntr-ḥ̄t̄=fe  
 written (5) by Petēsenūfe ʿ(son of)ʿ Harendotes,

p̄ sh̄ md̄(ḥt)-ntr n ʿIst (n-)dr̄t̄=f  
 the scribe of the god's words (*hierogrammateus*) of Isis, by his (own) hand.

(6) t̄ rnpt n rn=s  
 (6) In the year in question

w̄ḥ n̄ Blew š(m) r n̄ ʿḥ̄ʿbew  
 the Blemmyes had gone against the ʿAkhbeweʿ.

<sup>706</sup> For the problems involved in the interpretation of this word see Thompson 1994, 15-25. The analysis of the verb form employed in this passage is problematic. If it is a circumstantial, one might also translate "After I was ʿanointedʿ (= installed in office)". If it is a phonetic writing of a past tense, then the interpretation of th̄b becomes still more questionable.

wšh<=w> dit (7) dṯhew n ḥst-sp 90 n Tswgle  
 <They> had handed over (7) hostages in regnal year 90 of (the Era of) Diocletian.

tṣ rnpt n rn=s  
 In the year in question

iw pṣ wtn n ṯst (8) ṯwweṯ rnpt 2t  
 the bark of Isis (8) having been ṯawayṯ for two years,

wšh=f ṯš(m) rṯ Pr-īw-wṯb  
 it ṯhad gone toṯ Pure-island (the Abaton).

[RHP]

### Comments

The years around AD 370 brought increasingly devastating Blemmyan raids. In 373/4 an armed troop of Blemmyes is said to have raided a monastery on the Sinai and massacred its inhabitants (Combefis 1660, 88 ff.; Desanges 1972b, 33 f.); and, as indicated by **302**, the cultic activity at Philae was seriously disturbed by Blemmyan activities in ca. 372-373. This Demotic *proskynema* (for inscriptions of this type see *Comments* on **229**; for **302** Burkhardt 1985, 24 f.) was inscribed by a priest of the Isis temple on behalf of another member of the temple staff. It belongs to a group of four graffiti inscribed in Athyr and Choiakh of year 90 of the era of Diocletian, i.e., November-December AD 373, by the same hand on the face of the wall below the steps leading to the roof of the Isis temple.<sup>707</sup> They all commemorate the participation of priests of the temple in the Choiakh festival of that year; but **302** also adds a sort of annalistic postscript saying that in the year when the *proskynema* was written the Blemmyes attacked the *šḥ|ḥ|bew* (?), and that the voyage of the sacred barge of Isis to the neighbouring Abaton (cf. **272**) had not been performed in the preceding two years. Though the reasons for this are not stated, the context seems to suggest that there was some sort of causal connection between the Blemmyes and the disturbances in the regular cult life on the island of Isis.

The identity of the people the Blemmyes attacked is problematic. Griffith noted that both ethnonyms are written with the foreign determinative and suggested, with a question mark, the reading *Nbew*, "Nubians" (Griffith 1937, 105; this reading was accepted in Török 1988b, 46). Bresciani (1969) and Burkhardt (1985, 25) read *šḥ|ḥ|bew*, i.e., Hibis in the Kharga Oasis; a similar reading is adopted here too. Whether the Great Oasis was the remote target of a daringly long-distance raid or it was the inhabitants of the Dodecaschoenus who had to suffer Blemmyan aggression, the situation indicated in **302** reveals both

<sup>707</sup>For this era in Egyptian documents reckoning from the starting point of 1 Thoth (= 29 August) AD 284, and termed the "Era of Diocletian" and, later in the Christian period, the "Era of the Martyrs" see MacCoull-Worp 1990.

the weakness of Roman frontier defences in the south of Egypt and the lack of a sufficient self-defence in Lower Nubia.

[LT]

**303 Egypt and its neighbours.** Last quarter of 4th cent. AD.  
Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.2.

*Source bibliography*

- den Boeft et al. 1995 J. den Boeft-J. W. Drijvers-D. den Hengst-H.C. Teitler: Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXII. Groningen.
- Fontaine et al. 1996 Ammien Marcellin: Histoire. Tome III, livres XX-XXII. Texte établi, traduit et annoté par J. Fontaine avec la collaboration de E. Frézouls et J.-D. Berger. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris.
- Matthews 1989 J. Matthews: The Roman Empire of Ammianus. London.
- Rolfe 1940 Ammianus Marcellinus. With an English translation by J.C. Rolfe. (Loeb Classical Library.) Vol. 2: Books XX-XXVI. Cambridge MA-London.
- Rosen 1982 K. Rosen: Ammianus Marcellinus. (Erträge der Forschung, 183.) Darmstadt.
- Seyfarth 1978 Ammiani Marcellini Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt. Ed. W. Seyfarth adiuvantibus L. Jacob-Karau et I. Ulman. Vol. 1: Libri XIV-XXV. (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.). Leipzig.

*Introduction to source*

Ammianus Marcellinus is the last of the great Roman historiographers, though not a native speaker of Latin himself; born to well-to-do Greek parents in Antioch (Syria) ca. AD 330, he first made a military career, serving on the staff of the Roman general Ursicinus in Gaul and Mesopotamia, and subsequently taking part in the Persian campaign of the Emperor Julian in 363. Later he devoted his time to studies, first in his home town, then in Rome from ca. AD 380. He also records travels to Egypt and Greece. His death probably occurred some time before AD 400.

Ammianus' work, *Res gestae*, "Historical Events" or simply "History", consisted of 31 books that dealt with the history of Rome from the death of Nerva (AD 98) to the battle of Hadrianopolis (Edirna in [European] Turkey) and the death of Valens in AD 378. Only the second half of the work, covering the period from 353, has survived (the earlier period was obviously much more summarily treated than his own times).

Ammianus' military career, travels, and close contact with the leading men of his day gave him particular advantage performing his task as historian. For the preserved part of his work there is the added value that he often writes as a participant in or eyewitness to events. His (declared) striving after objectivity and impartiality has not been called into question; for a survey of scholarship on Ammianus' trustworthiness see Rosen (1982, 131-163).

Ammianus' work contains a number of digressions concerning geography, ethnology, religion, natural phenomena etc. These excursuses do not always attain the same degree of reliability as the historical parts do, as Ammianus here was more dependent on sources he did not care to or was unable to check (Rosen 1982, 132 f.). The present extract is from a digression on Egypt and the Nile.

For an introduction to Ammianus and his history see Matthews (1989). Our text is based upon the edition by Seyfarth (1978). For a commentary on Book XXII, from which this and the following extract are taken, see den Boeft et al. (1995). An English bilingual edition of the whole work is provided by Rolfe (1940).

#### *Text*

22.15 [2] Aegyptum gentem omnium vetustissimam, nisi quod super antiquitate certat cum Scythis, a meridiali latere Syrtes maiores et Phycus promunturium et Borion et Garamantes nationesque variae claudunt; qua orientem e regione prospicit, Elephantinen et Meroen urbes Aethiopum et Catadupos rubrumque pelagus et Scenitas praetenditur Arabas, quos Saracenos nunc appellamus.

#### *Translation*

22.15 [2] Egypt is the oldest nation of all, except that it competes with the Scythians as to age. It is bounded on the Southern side by the Greater Syrtes, the Phycus and Borion promontories, the Garamantes and various (other) peoples; where it faces due west it extends to Elephantine and Meroe, cities of the Aithiopians, to the Catadupians and the Red Sea, and to the Scenitic Arabs, whom we now call the Saracens.<sup>708</sup>

[TE]

#### *Comments*

In Book 22 of his monumental historical work Ammianus Marcellinus gives in his narrative of the events of year AD 363 a description of Egypt and the Nile. In the passages selected here he refers indirectly to Egypt's southern neighbours, the Aithiopians and the Blemmyes. In 303 he names, besides

---

<sup>708</sup>The geographical indications here seem confused, but "may have been caused by the use of a map [...] which had been given a quarter turn to the west, so that west became south, south east and so forth" (den Boeft et al. (1995) 257). See note 1004 in Fontaine et al. (1996) 329.

Meroe, also Elephantine as a city of the Aithiopians, thus indicating, like older sources, that the frontier region was inhabited mainly by a non-Egyptian population (cf. 188). In 304 we read about the hippopotamus, a very dangerous beast, which once lived on the banks of the Egyptian Nile but which had withdrawn to the land of the Blemmyes as a result of hunting. Neither remark is concerned with political realities; the notion "Aithiopian" is used as a geographical and ethnographic term, like "Blemmyan".

From the mention of the Aithiopians at Elephantine and Meroe and of the new habitat of the hippopotamus beyond Egypt and apparently not in the Nile Valley we may nevertheless, albeit only tentatively, draw the conclusion that for Ammianus Marcellinus the southern neighbours of Egypt were the Aithiopians; while he placed the Blemmyes, as did the classical authors before him, east of Egypt, i.e., between the Nile and the Red Sea. Such a view of "Aithiopia" (and not the kingdom of Meroe!) may of course be relevant for us as indirect evidence for some sort of political continuity south of Egypt only if Ammianus did not rely entirely upon earlier literary data (he mentions Juba in 22,15.8 as his source concerning the Nile inundation, cf. 186a and the *Comments* on 193, 195, 209) but also used information collected personally in Egypt in the course of the journey he made there some time between 371 and 378 (cf. Seeck 1894, 1846).

[LT]

**304 Hippopotamuses in the land of the Blemmyes.** Last quarter of 4th cent. AD. Ammianus Marcellinus 22.15.21; 24.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* see 303. The present extracts are from the same digression as 303.

*Text*

22.15 [21] Hippopotami quoque generantur in illis partibus, ultra animalia cuncta ratione carentia sagacissimi, ad speciem equorum bifidos ungues habentes caudasque breves, ...

[24] ... nunc inveniri nusquam possunt, ut coniectantes regionum incolae dicunt, insectantis multitudinis taedio ad Blemmyas migrasse compulsi.

*Translation*

22.15 [21] Hippopotamuses, the most sharp-witted of all brute beasts, also breed in those parts [the Nile valley in Egypt]; they have cloven hooves after the fashion of horses,<sup>709</sup> and short tails, ...

<sup>709</sup>Comparisons of the hippopotamus with the horse belonged to ancient literary tradition ever since Herodotus' misleading description (2.71); as to the feet of the hippopotamus, however, Herodotus says "with cloven hooves like *oxen*". Possibly the name of the animal (Greek: "river

[24] ... now they are nowhere to be found [in Egypt]; according to the guesses made by the inhabitants of the regions [where they formerly lived] they have had enough of the great number of hunters and have been driven to migrate to [the land of] the Blemmyes.

[TE]

*Comments*

See 303.

**305 Blemmyes in the Dodecaschoenus in ca. AD 394.**

Epiphanius of Salamis, *De XII gemmis* 19-21.

*Source bibliography*

- Blake-de Vis 1934 R.P. Blake-H. de Vis: Epiphanius, *De Gemmis*. The Old Georgian Version and the Fragments of the Armenian Version. The Coptic-Sahidic Fragments. (Studies and Documents, 2.) London.
- Desanges 1967 J. Desanges: Une mention altérée d'Axoum dans *L'Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium: Annales d'Éthiopie* 7, 141-155.
- Dihle 1964 A. Dihle: The conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman literature. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 10, 15-23.
- Dihle 1965 A. Dihle: Umstrittene Daten. *Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer*. Köln-Opladen.
- Günther 1898 *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum Aliorum. Avellana quae dicitur collectio*. Ed. O. Günther. Vol. 2. (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 35.2.) Pragae-Vindobonae.
- Hengstenberg 1937 Review of Blake-de Vis (1934), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37, 400-408.
- Schneemelcher 1962 W. Schneemelcher: Epiphanius von Salamis. *RAC* 5, cols. 909-927.
- Winstedt 1910 E.O. Winstedt: Epiphanius or the Encyclopaedia Coptica? *Society of Biblical Archaeology. Proceedings.* 32, 27-32; 73-77.

*Introduction to source*

Epiphanius of Salamis ("Constantiensis") was born in Palestine ca. AD 315, lived as a young man for some time with monks in Egypt, and then founded a

---

horse") has had an influence on people's imaginations and produced further errors of the kind translated here.

monastery in his homeland. From AD 367 to his death in AD 403 he was bishop of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus and took a prominent part in the theological disputes of the age. He was also known for his secular learning, acquired during numerous travels, and for mastering several languages, including Coptic. Besides a number of theological treatises directed against various heresies he also devoted himself to the exegesis of the Old Testament, concentrating on its factual background (geography, weights and measures etc.). Neither accuracy nor depth are conspicuous features of Epiphanius' writings, but they preserve information from sources otherwise lost to us.

The short treatise "On the twelve stones on the breast-plate of Aaron" deals with the precious stones that the high priest Aaron wears in the Old Testament (*Exodus* 28.17-21). One of the gems is an emerald, and Epiphanius uses the opportunity to make a display of his knowledge about geography and ethnography. This is the context where we find our extract.

The treatise is not transmitted to us in its full and original Greek version. There survive some fragments and summaries in Greek, a Latin translation (probably 5th cent.), and also Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian versions, more or less complete and more or less expanded or rewritten. We first translate the Latin text, following the edition by Günther (1898). The Latin text, with notes in the same language, is also in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 43, 329-31.

There follows the Coptic text with translation. We also include without alteration or comment Blake's translation of the Georgian and Armenian versions.

On Epiphanius, see Schneemelcher (1962). The review of Blake-de Vis (1934) by Hengstenberg (1937) is helpful as regards the relationship and character of the different versions.

#### *Latin version*

[19] Restat itaque iam nobis de monte illo, qui rigabatur aliquando vel a Nerone, sicut sermone vulgatum est, vel a Domitiano, in qua patria est situs, exponere. Est enim introrsus in mari rubro quod sic appellatur, in ipso <in>gressu regionis Indorum. Quarum gentium differentiae quam plurimae sunt. [20] Olim quippe Indi in novem regna fuerant disparati, sicuti fama celebratum est, id est Alabastrorum, Homeritarum, Azomitorum cum <A>dulitibus, Bugaeorum, Taianorum, Isabenorum, Libenorum, Dibenorum cum Ichthyophagis et Sirindibenorum cum Evilaeis, sed nunc multo plures sunt, quippe divisi a societate, quam inter se prius habuerant, Dibeni ab Ichthyophagis et Sirindibeni ab Evilaeis. De his autem, cum rursus eorum ad loca ventum fuerit, historica narratione referimus.

Mons autem, de quo nunc nobis sermo est, tunc Romanis erat subditus. [21] Smaragdinum vero sic vocatur naturaliter insula modica, ex adverso sita Beronicae, in qua portus est Indiae dirigens ad Thebaidam, quae a continenti terra Thebaica distat unius diei cursu, cum est navigium prosperum, hoc est

milibus octoginta. Contigua est autem Beronice, quae sic appellatur, regioni Elephantinae nec non et Telmi, quae nunc a Blemysis obtinetur. Corruerunt autem montis huius metalla suntque metalla alia in ipsorum barbarie Blemysorum iuxta Telmeos in montibus constituta, quae nunc effodientes barbari smaragdos incidunt.

### Translation

[19] It now remains for us to say in what land that mountain is situated which was once wet (with oil)<sup>710</sup> by Nero, as is commonly reported, or by Domitian. It lies inside the Red Sea, as it is called, at the very approach to the region of the Indians.<sup>711</sup> Of these there is a great variety of peoples (*gentes*). [20] For the Indians were once separated into nine kingdoms, according to tradition, i.e., those of the Alabastri, the Homerites, the Azomiti with the Adulites, the Bugaei, the Taiani, the Isabeni, the Libeni, the Dibeni with the Ichthyophagi, and the Sirindibeni with the Evilaei.<sup>712</sup> But they are now much more numerous, because the Dibeni are separated from the alliance they had earlier with the Ichthyophagi, and the Sirindibeni from the Evilaei. But about these I report in my historical narrative when I again come to the place for them.

The mountain, however, which is our subject now, was then under the Romans. [21] It is naturally enough called Smaragdinum [i.e., 'emerald'] and is an island of modest size lying off Beronice, where the port for the traffic between India and the Thebais is situated. The distance from this island to the mainland of the Thebais is one day's crossing when the sailing is prosperous, i.e., 80 (Roman) miles.<sup>713</sup> Now, Beronice, as it is called, is contiguous with the district of Elephantine, and also with Telmis [Kalabsha], which is now held by the Blemmyes. The mines of this mountain, however, have caved in. There

<sup>710</sup>Epiphanius, earlier in his discussion of the emerald, mentions a report to the effect that the rocks of the mountain were dyed with a green oil so as to enhance their colour and sparkle.

<sup>711</sup>On the use of the term 'Indians' in late antiquity to denote the inhabitants of South Arabia and of the west coast of the Red Sea as far north as Egypt itself see Desanges (1967, 141-155) and Dihle (1964 and 1965, 37-45, 47-50).

<sup>712</sup>The geographical information concerning the Indian kingdoms, Berenice, and the India trade may well be drawn from specifically geographical works. For the identification of the peoples named see Winstedt (1910, 73-76) and Desanges (1967, 145-146 [Evilat] and 146-148 [Diva and Serendivi]). In the square brackets following the names of these peoples in the translation of the Coptic version (see below) is given a spelling of the name or an equivalent name such as is used in standard reference works and recent publications.

<sup>713</sup>The figure of 80 miles or stades may offer a clue to explain how Epiphanius came to describe the Emerald Mountain as an island. Agatharchides of Cnidus (text preserved in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 250.82, p. 456b, and in Diodorus Siculus 3.39.4) describes an island off the Egyptian coast near Berenice where topazes were mined. (For Agatharchides see FHN II, 142.) The significant detail in Agatharchides' account is that the island was 80 stades long. Perhaps Epiphanius or his source confounded the two places.



Beja], the *Daianoi*, the *Sabênoi* [Sabaeans], the *Dibenoi* [Divae], (and) the *Sirindibênoi* [the people of Serinda, mod. Sri Lanka]. (7) Now, *however*, there are more, *for* they have separated and ceased to be joined together. The *Di(8)bênoi* separated from the Fish-eaters [Ichthyophagi], the *Sirindibênoi* separated from (9) the Cave-dwellers [Trôglodytai], the *Elentibênoi* separated from the *Eueilaioi* [the people of Evlat]. (10) Of these things I spoke when I came to the History.

(11) The mountain that is called the *Smaragdînon* [Smaragdus mons] belongs to the *Romans*. (12) It is a little *island* apart, in the vicinity of *Berenikê*, the (13) harbor of the *Indiamen* that leads into Egypt, lying (14) at a distance from the coast of *Marês* [the Thebaïd] of 'up to' a day's sail with a (15) good (14) following wind, (15) i.e., eighty *stades*. *Berenikê* is in its (the mountain's) vicinity, (16) near *Elephantinê* and *Talmes* [Kalabsha]. It is now held (17) by the Blemmyes. The *mines* in the (18) mountain (17) are destroyed; (18) *but* there are other *mines* in this same 'barbarian (country)' of the Blem(19)myes, there being mountains near *Talmes* from which (20) the Kushites (19) cut (20) the *emerald*.

[RHP]

#### *Translation of the Georgian version*

We have this further statement to make, moreover, that there is a certain mountain which Nero watered or one which Dumentianos watered [or] as to what country it is in. This mountain is in the country near the Red Sea, when one desires to make a journey by vessel to the land of India. For there are various countries in India and in these many countries there are nine kings and these are the names of these countries and of their tribes: Alabastrians, Homerites, Aximites, and near them the <A>dulatians, the Bogi<ans>, the Tavianians (ms. Bogitavanelni), the Asabeians, the Dibenians, the Leledibenians. Now, however, other names have come in (lit. changed) through immigrants from many places: in the first place, the Hindobeni; these came from the land of the Fish-Eaters; the Sirindibenians, who came from the land of Evilat'; of the other places we shall speak when it shall be proper (to do so).

Now, however, we shall speak of the mountain where the gem emerald is found. It is under the dominion of the king of the Romans. The name of the mountain is called emerald (zmuriani, i.e. *σμαραγδίνος*). It is like an off-lying island and is opposite to Berenike, the point of departure for India, when one goes to the Thebaïd, and lies off in the sea, about one day's sail by vessel, i.e., about eighty miles (million), and is contiguous to Beronike near the so-called Ivory Coast and is in the hands of the tribe of the Blemmyes (Bleynielni), who rule many other places as well. At present strange heathen tribes extract (lit. cut out) the stone emerald and put it on the market.

[Trans. Blake-De Vis 1934, 108 f.]

#### *Translation of the Armenian version*

The third stone (is) the *zmrut'*, which is also green yellow (*sic*), and is fed (*sic*) with oil, and is in the emerald island on a mountain which they say is watered with oil.

[Trans. Blake-De Vis 1934, 199]

#### *Comments*

With reference to the emerald (actually beryl) set into the breast-plate of the Old Testament high priest Aaron, Epiphanius presents a short excursus on the

geography and peoples of the region in which the emerald was mined, viz., the Red Sea Hills between the Lower Nubian Nile and the Red Sea. It was inhabited by tribes of "Indians". Epiphanius lists their names, which indicates that his source for this detail included a description of the whole region beyond Egypt as well as of peoples which were reached *via* the Red Sea, e.g., the *Ameritai* (i.e., the Himyarites), the Sabaeans, and the *Siribendoi*, i.e., the people of modern Ceylon; and India itself is mentioned too. We not only read about the Blemmyes, the *Ichthyophagoi* or Fish-eaters (cf. FHN I, 65 and Longo 1988), and the Trogodytes (FHN I, 66; II, 147, in this volume 189, 198), but also about the Aksumites (see 234, 285 f., 298 f.) and the inhabitants of the port of Adulis (cf. 189, 234).

The importance of Epiphanius' excursus, however, lies not in the list which repeats older literary sources, but in the remarks made in connection with the emerald mines. While his description of the Mountain *Smaragdinum* as an island in the Red Sea is erroneous and derives from Agatharchides' description of a Red Sea island with emerald mines (in Diodorus, 3.39.4), Epiphanius obviously relies on contemporary information when he says that the emerald mines situated in the Eastern Desert near Talmis/Kalabsha *nunc a Blemmyis obtinetur*, i.e., "are now held by the Blemmyes".

The emphasis for us is on the word *nunc*, "now", indicating that, for Epiphanius and/or his source, the Blemmyes came fairly recently into possession of the emerald mines in the desert and, as the Georgian version has it, of "many other places as well". The *De XII Gemmis* is dated by circumstantial evidence (see Schneemelcher 1962, 912, 918) to AD 390/1 or 393/4. Which of these dates can be regarded as more likely? According to the list of the troops stationed in Egypt in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (or. XXXI.35, 65), the final draft of which was edited between July 392 and May 394 AD (see Hoffmann 1969-1970 I, 52 f., 519), there was a detachment of the *ala VIII Palmyrenorum* stationed at Phoinicon (cf. 309), modern Laqeita, a place at the junction of the desert roads leading from the Nile Valley to Leukos Limen and to Berenike. Consequently, before July 392, taking the earliest possible time limit, or, taking the latest possibility, before May 394 AD, the Dodecaschoenus and the region of the *Mons Smaragdinum* could not have been in Blemmyan hands.<sup>714</sup> Epiphanius' *nunc*

<sup>714</sup>The *Notitia Dignitatum* or. also lists a garrison with detachments of the *Legio II Traiana* at a place called Parembolē, which Kees (1949, 1455 f.), Desanges (1978a, 365 note 343) and Kirwan (1982, 198) identify with Dabod in the Dodecaschoenus. This is erroneous; this Parembolē is to be identified with Parembolē-Nicopolis near Alexandria. The confusion is caused, on the one hand, by the existence of a Dabod-Parembolē with a Roman garrison before the withdrawal of the Egyptian frontier to Syene (cf. (276) ff., 328), and, on the other, by the name Parembolē that was frequently given to camps in Egypt (also the garrison at Luxor was called Parembolē). If the *Notitia* had meant Dabod in the Dodecaschoenus, it should have been listed under the command of the *Dux Thebaidos*, who was responsible for the southern frontier, and not among units stationed along the NW border and under the command of the *Comes limiti Aegypti* (cf. Török 1988b, 48,

is indeed surprisingly precise, thanks to his informants (for his stay in an Egyptian monastery in his youth and his ecclesiastical contacts with the country see Schneemelcher 1962). The dating of the appearance of the Blemmyes as masters of the area around Talmis (Kalabsha) to ca. AD 394 is also indicated by 308.

[LT]

**306 Philae. Hieroglyphic and Demotic graffito of Esmêtakhom. AD 394.**  
Griffith 1937, Ph. 436.

*Text and translation*

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT (three columns, reading from right to left)

(1) m-bꜥḥ Mī-w-r sꜥ Ḥr

(1) In the presence of Miwul son of Horus,

m-ꜥ=f ꜥst-md-iḥm sꜥ ꜥstꜥ-md

by his hand, i.e., (the hand of) Esmêtakhom son of Esmêt,

ḥm-ntr 2(nw) n ꜥst dt nḥḥ

second *hont*-priest of Isis, for ever and ever.

(2) ḏd-mdw (i)n M-r-w-r nb ꜥw-(3)wꜥb ntr ʕ

(2) Utterance by Mandulis, lord of Pure-(3)island (the Abaton), the great god.

DEMOTIC TEXT (fifteen lines)

(1) ḥnk ꜥst-mt-ꜥḥm (2) pꜥ sh ꜥpr-(3)shꜥ n ꜥst

(1) I, Esmêtakhom, (2) the scribe of the 'house (3) of writing' of Isis,

sy (4) n ꜥst-mt Pa-nꜥ-nḥꜥ-twt (5) pꜥ ḥm-ntr 2nw n ꜥst

son (4) of Esmêt Panenekhtot (5) the second *hont*-priest of Isis,

(6) mwꜥ=f ꜥst-w(7)rꜥt

(6) his mother (being) Eswê(7)re,

wꜥḥ=y ḥr (8) wpt r py twt(9)w (n) Mꜥwꜥb (10) ꜥꜥ dt

I have done (8) work on this (10) eternal (8) ima(9)ge of Mandulis

ꜥꜥd iwꜥ=f (11) ḥry nfr ḥr-(12)-ḥre-r.ḥr=y

'that' he should (11) be gracious (12) to me.

---

252 note 232). For the identification of the Preamble in the *Notitia* as the camp at Alexandria see also Worp 1991, 294.

pꜣ hrw (13) sw ms Wsir (14) pe=f iyk  
 Today, (13) the day of the Birth of Osiris, (14) his Festival of Entry,

(15) ḥst-sp 110t

(15) regnal-year 110 (of the Era of Diocletian).

[RHP]

### Comments

The latest presently known hieroglyphic inscription and its Demotic companion were engraved on the N wall of the corridor leading from Hadrian's Gate to the court of the temple of Isis by Esmêtakhom, a second *hont*-priest of Isis (for the title cf. 245) who was the author of another, Demotic, *proskynema* in honor of Isis inscribed some months later on the interior W wall of Chamber I of the Birth House (Griffith 1937, 70 f. Ph. 159). 306 accompanies a figure in relief of Mandulis (cf. LD IV, 87/f.; Text IV, 144; PM VI, 254), the deity who is invoked in the Demotic section of the text.

Though the connecting links are missing, it may be supposed that Esmêtakhom was related to the remarkable family of Isis priests attested in dated Demotic (for a list see Burkhardt 1985, 36 f.) and Greek (see E. Bernard 1969, 217 ff. nos 188, 193, 196 f., 199 [?]) graffiti between AD 408/9 and 456/7; some members of the family also wrote Meroitic *proskynema* inscriptions (REM 0114, 0116 f.).

Esmêtakhom's inscription is presented here as a remarkable, even if quite transparent, monument of political calculation. Its author, a priest of Isis belonging to the higher echelons of the priesthood of Philae, found it opportune to give expression to his devotion to Mandulis shortly after the Blemmyes conquered part of Lower Nubia south of Philae (cf. 305). Though the cult of Mandulis is first attested at Philae in the 2nd cent. BC (see FHN II, 140) and is not attested there again for centuries<sup>715</sup> until Esmêtakhom's relief records it, it flourished at Kalabsha in the temple built by Augustus (cf. 248) as a cult specially shaped to accommodate a mixed Egyptian, "Aithiopian", and Greco-Roman population. On their arrival in the Lower Nubian Nile Valley, the Blemmyes hastened to pay homage to the Mandulis of Kalabsha (cf. 310 f., 313) to whom they had apparently been bound by ties that remain unknown to us (cf. Hänfling 1980). It is tempting to suppose that Esmêtakhom's unprecedented devotion to the god worshipped by the barbarians who had been the terror of Upper Egypt since the late 3rd century AD was also fuelled by the pagan resistance to the Roman, and Christian, rule in Upper Egypt. This suggests a political ideology that also may explain later alliances between Upper Egyptian rebels and the

<sup>715</sup>The 1st through 3rd cent. AD occurrences of personal names consisting of the name of *Mrꜣ*, believed to derive from *Mrwle/Mnꜣwl/Mlwle/Mꜣwle*, Μανδουλῖς, Mandulis, in graffiti from the Dodecaschoenus (for a list see Burkhardt 1985, 45 f.) reflect personal religiosity in a non-Egyptian population and do not attest an official cult on Philae.

Blemmyes (see P. Maspero 67004, middle of the 6th cent., discussed by Updegraff 1978, 150 f.; for Esmêtkhem cf. Török 1988b, 49).

For a better understanding of Esmêtkhem's possible motivation, it should be recalled that Theodosius prohibited pagan cults and sacrifice in Egypt in AD 392. Though the prohibition was not entirely successful and did not encompass Philae, a privileged exception because of the Nubian (i.e., non-Egyptian) worshippers of Isis, the fears of the priesthood on Philae may well be imagined (for the edict of 392 cf. Kákosy 1984; Bowman 1986, 192; Kákosy 1995, 2938 ff.).

[LT]

### 307 Aithiopian attack on Syene. Ca. 395 AD.

*Historia Monachorum* 1.2.

#### Source bibliography

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Chitty 1966       | D.J. Chitty: <i>The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire</i> . Crestwood, NY.     |
| Festugière 1971   | <i>Historia Monachorum in Aegypto</i> . Édition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée par A.-J. Festugière. (Subsidia Hagiographica, 53.) Bruxelles. |
| Russell-Ward 1981 | <i>The Lives of the Desert Fathers</i> . Trans. N. Russell. Introd. B. Ward. London-Oxford-Kalamazoo, MI.   |

#### Introduction to source

The *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, "An Account of the Monks in Egypt", is an anonymous work which has survived both in its original Greek and in a Latin version by Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. AD 345-411). It is the lively description of a journey which a group of seven monks from Palestine undertook to visit the famous hermits or 'anchorites' (cf. 296 *Introduction to source*) of the Egyptian deserts. It is a mixture of realistic-sounding travel adventures, observations on the habitations and habits of the monks, reports of conversations between the travellers and the monks, and general background information, the monastic lore.

Some have doubted that the journey actually took place; but the travellers' itinerary is described with such an accuracy and realism that the report's authenticity seems secured (cf. B. Ward in Russell-Ward 1981, 4-6). Moreover, the indications of the age of the various monks whom the travellers visited, when compared to other sources, consistently point to the years 394-395. The report itself has obviously been composed by the leader of the expedition not long afterwards in his monastery on the Mount of Olives at Jerusalem, at the request of his fellow brothers (Prologue 2). In the process he no doubt had occasion to supplement his own recollections with material found in the written reports of other travellers in the region.

The description starts in the Thebaïd in Upper Egypt. There, at Lycopolis (mod. Asyût), the group visited John (*Ioannes*), a old monk famous for his gift of prophecy (1.1 *propheteias charisma*). He had, we are told, been able to predict to Emperor Theodosius I his annihilation of the invading Goths in 382 as well as his victory over the usurper Magnus Maximus in 388. At this point, our extract begins.

Our text is based on the critical edition of Festugière (1971). There is an English translation of the work by N. Russell in Russell-Ward (1981). The classic account of the monastic milieu in which our story is set, is that by Chitty (1966).

*Text*

1 [2] Ὡς καί τινος στρατηλάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθόντος πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰ περιγένηται τῶν Αἰθιόπων τῶν κατὰ Συήνην - ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Θηβαΐδος - τότε συνεισπεσόντων καὶ τὴν περίχωρον αὐτῆς ἐρημωσάντων, εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὅτι "Ἀνελθὼν αὐτοὺς καταλήψη καὶ χειρώσῃ καὶ ὑποτάξῃς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εὐδοκιμήσεις"· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν, οὕτω συμβάντος τοῦ πράγματος. Καὶ ὅτι "Οἰκείῳ θανάτῳ ὁ χριστιανικώτατος βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος τελευτήσει."

*Translation*

1 [2] Likewise there came to him a duke (*stratelates*, Lat. *dux*) to ask him whether he would prevail over the Aithiopians who had then made an incursion in the direction of Syene (Aswân)—which is the beginning of the Thebaid—and laid waste its surroundings. John said to him: "Advance, and you will overtake, conquer and subdue them, and you will be popular with the emperors"—which also happened since everything turned out that way. He also predicted: "The most Christian Emperor Theodosius will die a natural death."<sup>716</sup>

[TH]

*Comments*

The term "Aithiopians" could be used in a text which refers to the period roughly between 388 and 395 only as a general term signifying the inhabitants of the regions beyond the frontier of the Thebaid, i.e., Egypt's southern frontier. In sources of the 5th century AD the same term, in Coptic "Kushites" (cf. Coptic Life of Shenute quoted in Leipoldt 1902-1903, 129 ff.), would repeatedly occur as an alternative for Blemmyan, Beja, and Barbarian. This suggests that the Blemmyes were not distinguished at that time from the inhabitants of "Aithiopian" Lower Nubia, presumably because there were also Blemmyes liv-

<sup>716</sup>That is, not on the battlefield or at the hands of an assassin. Theodosius I died at Milan on 17 January 395, so that when this report of the monks' visit to John was written, his prediction had already been fulfilled.

ing in the Valley at that time (see 305 and cf. Leipoldt 1902-1903; Till 1935-1936 II, 50; Updegraff 1978, 107 ff. with further references to Coptic manuscripts concerning the life of Shenute, for whom see Barns 1964; Young 1993).

[LT]

**308 Meroe and the habitat of the Blemmyes.** Ca. AD 400.

Claudius Claudianus, *Carmina minora* 28.15-23.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source* to Claudius Claudianus see 278. The present extract is from a poem "On the Nile" in his *Carmina minora*.

*Text*

- 15 Inde vago lapsu Libyam dispersus in omnem  
 Aethiopum per mille ruit nigrantia regna  
 et loca continuo solis damnata vapore  
 inrorat populisque salus sitientibus errat  
 per Meroen Blemyasque feros atramque Syenen.  
 20 Hunc bibit infrenis Garamans domitorque ferarum  
 Girraeus, qui vasta colit sub rupibus antra,  
 qui ramos hebeni, dentes qui vellit eburnos,  
 et gens compositis crinem vallata sagittis.

*Translation*

(15) Thence it [the Nile] is dispersed into the whole of Libya [North Africa] along an unknown course,<sup>717</sup> flows through the thousand black kingdoms of Aithiopians, waters the places that are condemned to permanent heat from the sun, and—a saviour for the thirsting peoples—winds through Meroe and the fierce Blemmyes and black Syene. (20) From it drinks the unbridled Garamant, the Girraean, tamer of wild animals, who dwells in huge caves under the rocks, who rips off ebony branches and ivory tusks, and the tribe that wears arrows in its hair.

[TE]

*Comments*

Claudius Claudianus wrote this poem during his stay in Egypt shortly before his death (cf. Vollmer 1899, 2655). It would thus seem that his poetic description of the Nile as arriving at Syene (modern Aswan) from the south, having passed through Meroe and the land of the Blemmyes, reflects, however indi-

---

<sup>717</sup>We interpret *vago lapsu* as meaning that the river is absorbed by the sands and hidden from sight, cf. 195 (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 5.52).

rectly, the occupation of a part of the Lower Nubian Nile Valley by the Blemmyes before 404 (see also 305).

[LT]

**309 Olympiodorus in Lower Nubia.** Ca. AD 423.

Olympiodorus, fragm. 1.37 (= Photius, *Bibliotheca* cod. 80 p. 62a9-26).

*Source bibliography*

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Blockley 1981  | R.C. Blockley: <i>The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus. (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 6.)</i> Liverpool. |
| Gordon 1966    | C.D. Gordon: <i>The Age of Attila. Fifth-Century Byzantium and the Barbarians.</i> Ann Arbor, MI.   |
| Haedicke 1939  | W. Haedicke: <i>Olympiodorus</i> , 11. RE XVIII.1A, cols. 201-207. Stuttgart.   |
| Henry 1959     | Photius: <i>Bibliothèque</i> . Vol. 1. (Collection Byzantine.) Paris.   |
| Matthews 1970  | J.F. Matthews: <i>Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407-425)</i> . JRS 60, 79-97.  |
| Müller 1841-70 | <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Ed. C. Müller. Vol. 1-4. Paris.   |
| Thompson 1944  | E.A. Thompson: <i>Olympiodorus of Thebes</i> . <i>Classical Quarterly</i> 38, 43-52.  |

*Introduction to source*

Olympiodorus of Egyptian Thebes wrote a history in Greek, or, in his own words, materials for a history of his own time, covering the years AD 407-425. The work in its original form has been lost, but quotations and summaries are preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (9th cent., on whom see FHN II, 145), and an idea of its character and value can also be gained from the use other ancient historians made of it (Matthews 1970).

Olympiodorus travelled extensively, both as a diplomatic envoy and to do research, and his accuracy in geographical matters has been noted (Thompson 1944, 45; Matthews 1970, 85). By profession he was a self-confessed poet (Fragm. 1.1); and it has been suggested that he is the author of the epic poem *Blemyomachia*, "The Blemmyan War" (see 326).

The text given below is conventionally referred to as fragment 37 (more precisely, fragment 1.37), following the numbering used since Müller's collection of Greek historical fragments (1841-70), where our text appears in Vol. 4, 166. Photius' text, on the other hand, is usually cited by page, column, and line in the 1824-25 edition of I. Bekker. The most recent edition of Photius—and, consequently, also of most of the fragments of Olympiodorus—is that of Henry

(1959), with French translation. Our text is based on his edition. The present extract is also among the texts translated into English by Gordon (1966, 16-17), but we have not found his translation reliable.

For introductions to Olympiodorus see Haedicke (1939) and Blockley (1981) 27-47.

*Text*

“Ὅτι ὁ ἱστορικός φησι διάγοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὴν Σοήνην ἱστορίας ἕνεκα, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ γενέσθαι τοὺς φυλάρχους καὶ προφήτας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Τάλμιν βαρβάρων, ἧτοι τῶν Βλεμμύων, τῆς ἐντυχίας αὐτοῦ· ἐκίνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡ φήμη.

Καὶ ἔλαβόν με, φησί, μέχρι αὐτῆς τῆς Τάλμεως, ὥστε κάκεινους τοὺς χώρους ἱστορήσαι διέχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλῶν διάστημα ἡμερῶν πέντε, μέχρι πόλεως τῆς λεγομένης Πρῖμα, ἧτις τὸ παλαιὸν πρώτη πόλις τῆς Θηβαίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἐτύγγανε· διὸ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμαία φωνῆ Πρῖμα ἧτοι πρώτη ὀνομάσθη, καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλεῖται καίτοι ἐκ πολλοῦ οἰκειωθεῖσα τοῖς βαρβάροις μεθ’ ἐτέρων τεσσάρων πόλεων, Φοινικῶνος, Χίριδος, Θάπιδος, Τάλμιδος.

Παρὰ τούτους τοὺς χώρους φησὶ καὶ σμαράγδου μέταλλα εἶναι μαθεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίω βασιλεῦσιν ἡ σμάραγδος ἐπλεόναζε. Καὶ ταῦτα, φησὶν, οἱ προφήται τῶν βαρβάρων προὔτρεπόν με θεάσασθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν τοῦτο δυνατὸν γενέσθαι χωρὶς βασιλικῆς προστάξεως.

*Translation*

The historian [i.e., Olympiodorus] says that when he was staying around Thebes and Syene to do research, the tribal chiefs (*phylarchos*) and priests (*prophetes*) of the barbarians around Talmis (Kalabsha), i.e., the Blemmyes, formed a desire to meet him; and that it was his reputation that motivated them to this.

“And,” he says, “they took me as far as Talmis itself so as to investigate as well those regions which extend for a distance of five days’ (journey) from Philae as far as a city known as Prima, which was at one time the first city in the Thebaid when entering from the land of the barbarians. For this reason the Romans called it in Latin Prima, i.e., “First”; and that is what it is called now, even though long occupied by the barbarians together with four other cities, Phoinikon, Khiris, Thapis (Taphis), and Talmis.”

He says he learned that in these regions there were also emerald mines from which the kings of Egypt used to obtain emeralds in abundance. “These too,” he says, “the priests (*prophetes*) of the barbarians urged me to visit, but this was not possible without a royal order.”

[TE]

*Comments*

In the fragment presented here we read about Olympiodorus' visit to Lower Nubia as a guest of the Blemmyes who were at that time holding Talmis and the cities of Prima, Phoinikon, Chiris, and Taphis. It might seem tempting to identify Prima, the "first city in the Thebaid when entering from the land of the barbarians", with Primis (Qasr Ibrim) (cf. 190, 204, 222), as also suggested by Desanges (1978a, 340, also mentioning, however, another possibility); but the fact that Olympiodorus places it in the "Thebaid", i.e., in reality in the Dodecaschoenus which one and a half centuries earlier (before the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier in AD 298, cf. 280, 328) belonged to the administration of the Thebaid, strongly contradicts such an identification. Instead, Olympiodorus' Prima is more likely identical with Qurta, which had been the first Roman settlement when one entered the Dodecaschoenus from the south crossing the border at Hiera Sycaminos (Maharraqa). It occurs as Cortia in Agatharchides' 3rd cent. BC work (in Photius, *Bibl.* 250,22) and *Corte* in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (Priese 1984, 787). Talmis is identical with Kalabsha, Taphis with Tafa, Phoinikon with El Laqeita in the Eastern Desert (see *Comments* on 305); while Chiris is yet to be identified.

Though Olympiodorus enjoyed a great reputation as a successful diplomat in the contemporary world of politics and was famed for having "attached many great barbarian peoples to the Roman empire",<sup>718</sup> it is difficult to believe that his fame, which he gained mainly by his embassy to the Huns in AD 412, reached the Blemmyes. It appears more likely that, as Blockley (1981, 27) suggested, he was in fact sent by the Eastern court to the Blemmyes on a diplomatic mission. Kirwan's hypothesis that the Blemmyes were at this time (or, rather, became as a result of his visit) federates of Rome fits this assumption very well (cf. Kirwan 1982, 197, to be preferred to the sceptical remark made by Török 1988b, 51), the more so since it seems to receive confirmation from the mention of a Roman official in a Blemmyan document from Kalabsha (see 313 and cf. Török 1988b, 234).

[LT]

**310 Kalabsha, temple of Mandulis. Greek graffiti of King Tamal.**

SB I 1521-1523. Gauthier 1914, Pl. 66A.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Gauthier 1911-1914 | H. Gauthier: <i>Le Temple de Kalabchah</i> . Vol. 1-2. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 3.) Le Caire. |
| Maspero 1908       | J. Maspero: <i>Notes épigraphiques</i> . BIFAO 6, 43-47.  |

<sup>718</sup>The philosopher Hierocles in the dedication of his *Treatise on Providence and Fame*, cf. Blockley 1981, 27.

*Introduction to source*

In 1907-1908, when the lower part of the southern façade of the pronaos of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha was freed from sand, there appeared left of the gateway four Greek graffiti which had not been visible to Lepsius or others who had earlier documented the inscriptions of the temple. They were promptly copied and published (with facsimiles) by Maspero (1908). Gauthier (1911, 189-191) was content to reproduce Maspero's text, adding a few comments of his own as well as a photo (1914, Pl. 66A) showing two of the graffiti (No. II below and 311). Since then, although the names of kings that the graffiti display have duly entered into the discussion of Nubian history, no further work seems to have been done on the texts themselves.

Maspero (1908, 46), basing himself on the letter forms, suggested that all four graffiti should be dated to the late fifth or early sixth century AD.

The three graffiti which contain King Tamal's name appear below. Our text is necessarily based on Maspero's edition alone, as far as the readings are concerned; but we have suggested other supplements and interpretations at a few places. The fourth graffito (311), which is longer and better preserved, may to some extent be used to understand what the three shorter texts are about; but it should be emphasized that the improvised mode of inscription and the state of preservation as well as the linguistic peculiarities of these texts make any restoration and interpretation extremely hazardous, and that, in the end, the royal names and priestly titles are the only secure historical facts that emerge from the graffiti.

*Text*

I (SB I 1521)

- 1 Ταμαλας βασιλε[ὺς ἐχάρισα]<sup>719</sup>
- 2 τῆ Μαραρουκ τὸν τόπον ἕως τῶ<ν><sup>720</sup> ὀρέ-
- 3 ων<sup>721</sup> αὐτῆς

II (SB I 1522)

- 1 Ταμαλ(α)<sup>722</sup> βασιλ(έως)<sup>723</sup>
- 2 ἐδέθ(η)<sup>724</sup> τὰ ὄρ(τα)<sup>725</sup>
- 3 Σενταήσεω-

<sup>719</sup>Suppl. Maspero (cf. 311).

<sup>720</sup>Suppl. Maspero.

<sup>721</sup>Read ὀρίων (?) Hägg, ὄρων (?) or ὀρῶν Maspero; ὄρεων (sic) Keil in SB.

<sup>722</sup>The letters in parentheses in Nos. II and III are expansions suggested for abbreviations that are indicated by a slanting stroke in the inscriptions.

<sup>723</sup>Ταμαλ(α) βασιλ(έως) Hägg, Ταμάλ(ας) βασιλ(εύς) Maspero.

<sup>724</sup>ἐδέθ(λον) (?) or verb formed from the stem of ἔζομαι, ἐδοῦμαι (?) Maspero. Read ἐτέθ(η) or ἐδόθ(η) (?) Hägg.

<sup>725</sup>ὄρ(τα) (?) Maspero, ὄρ(εα) (?) Maspero (and Keil in SB).

4 ζ ἀρχιερ(έως)<sup>726</sup>

III (SB I 1523)

- 1 Ταμαλ(α) βασιλ(έως)<sup>727</sup>
- 2 ἐδέθ(η)<sup>728</sup> τὰ ὄρ(ια) Πατε-
- 3 βορ(α) προφ(ήτου)

*Translation*

I

- 1 [I,] Kin[g] (*basileus*) Tamal [have presented (?)]
- 2 to Mararouk<sup>729</sup> the place up to
- 3 her boundaries (?).<sup>730</sup>

II

- 1 In the reign of King (*basileus*) Tamal<sup>731</sup>
- 2 the boundaries (?) were set (?).<sup>732</sup>
- 3 when Sentaesis
- 4 was high priest (*archiereus*).

III

- 1 In the reign of King (*basileus*) Tamal
- 2 the boundaries (?) were set (?).<sup>733</sup>
- 3 when Patebor(as) was priest (*prophetes*).

[TH]

<sup>726</sup>ἀρχιερ(έως) Maspero, ἀρχιερ(έως) Gauthier, read ἀρχιερ(έως).

<sup>727</sup>Ταμαλ(α) βασιλ(έως) Hägg, Ταμάλ(α) βασιλ(εύς) Maspero.

<sup>728</sup>The same readings have been proposed in this line as in No. II line 2.

<sup>729</sup>The definite article shows that this is a feminine name.

<sup>730</sup>Maspero (1908, 43 f.) suggests that ΟΡΕΩΝ should be interpreted as either ὄρων "limites" or ὄρων "montagnes". We suggest that ὄριων should be understood here and ὄρια in Nos. II and III, plurals of the word ὄριον with the meaning "limits", "boundaries" (the interchange ι/ε occurs in other texts of the period as well).

<sup>731</sup>We have interpreted the abbreviated name + title as a dating formula (in the genitive case); Maspero prefers to supply the nominative (as in No. I and 311) and to interpret this as the subject of the clause.

<sup>732</sup>Maspero translates "J'ai fixé (?) les limites (??)", suggesting that ἐδέθ(...) is to be understood either as ἐδέθ(λον), "le fondement", or as a verb from a root meaning "fonder, établir". We suggest instead an aorist passive of τίθημι (the interchange τ/δ occurs in other texts of the period as well) "set", or possibly a misspelt passive aorist of the verb δίδωμι, "give".

<sup>733</sup>There are the same differences between our understanding of the first two lines and that of Maspero as in No. II, his translation being "Moi, le roi Tamalas, j'ai fixé (?) les limites (?)".

*Comments*

These three short Greek graffiti were inscribed in the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (cf. 248) for a King Tamal whom we do not know from other sources and whom we identify as a ruler of the Blemmyes occupying the Kalabsha area between roughly AD 394 and 453 (cf. 305, 309). The theophorous (?) name Mararouk in the first of them may perhaps be associated with Mandulis (cf. Greek Μανδηρ in 313, Demotic *Mri*, Burkhardt 1985, 45); but it should be noted that Mararouk here appears as a feminine name. The second graffito also mentions a high priest Sentaesis, while the third attests a prophet, i.e., a *hont*-priest (see also 309; for the title cf. 245).

The priesthood of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha maintained the cult of the god, who was worshipped for centuries by the mostly non-Egyptian population of the Dodekaschoenus, also after the region became part of the Meroitic kingdom in AD 298; and, as is indicated by the 4th and 5th century inscriptions found on the walls of the sanctuary (cf. 300, 310, 311, 313), they also preserved literacy in both Meroitic and Greek. The occurrence of the name of four Blemmyan kings, i.e., Tamal, Isemne, Degou, and Phonen (at that time *phylarkhos*), cf. 311, 313, on the walls of the temple not only indicates the devotion of the Blemmyes but also suggests that they regarded Kalabsha as their capital in the Nile Valley and relied on the priesthood of Mandulis to administer the occupied area. As 313 reveals, a sort of urban life continued to be maintained with the help of the priesthood of Mandulis during the Blemmyan domination; eventually, the Blemmyan overlords and their native cults were integrated into the traditional Romanized social structure of the town.

[LT]

**311 Kalabsha, temple of Mandulis. Greek graffito of King Isemne.**

SB I 1524. Gauthier 1914, Pl. 66A.

For *Source bibliography* and *Introduction to source*, see 310.*Text*

Ἐγὼ Ἰσεμνε βα-  
 σιλεὺς ἐχάρι-  
 σα<sup>734</sup> τόπον τῆ  
 Πλουλαν κα-  
 5 θῶς Μαροῦκ<sup>735</sup> ἐχά-  
 ρισεν τῷ Δηγου βα-

<sup>734</sup>ἐχάρισα = ἐχαρισάμην (?) Maspero. This linguistic peculiarity seems to be securely read on the stone; on "Blemmyan Greek", cf. 319.

<sup>735</sup>Μαρ<αρ>οῦκ (?) Maspero (cf. 310).

σιλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ  
 θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ Πλου-  
 λαν ἕως ΔΙΩ

*Translation*

I, King Isemne, have presented (the) place to Ploulan,<sup>736</sup> just (5) as Marouk presented (it) to King Degou<sup>737</sup> and he to his daughter Ploulan, up to ...

[TH]

*Comments*

This Greek dedication is presented here as evidence for the association of the Blemmyan overlords of the Kalabsha area with the temple of Mandulis as a cult place and as the centre of their administration of Lower Nubia, which they held between roughly AD 394 and 453 (cf. 306, 309). At the same time it shows that the Blemmyan state was an association of tribal units, the chiefs of which termed themselves βασιλεύς, "king", in Greek (but see also 319, 333 ff.): 311 was inscribed for two kings, Isemne and Degou. It remains obscure whether they were equals in rank or there was a hierarchy of Blemmyan kings. The theonym Marouk in the text does not occur elsewhere, and it is uncertain whether it can be connected with the name Mandulis (Egyptian *Mrwl/Mnrul/Mrjl/Mntul*, Demotic *Mr3*).

Millet and Priese (cf. *Comments* on 300) identified Isemne with Yismeniye, the foe of King Kharamadoye.

[LT]

**312 Tafa. Greek inscription.**

SB I 5099. Roeder 1911, Pl. 92B. SEG XXXIV 1639.

*Source bibliography*

Hägg 1984

T. Hägg: Nubicograeca I-III (Bemerkungen zu griechischen Texten aus Nubien). ZPE 54, 101-112.

Roeder 1911

G. Roeder: Debod bis Bab Kalabsche. Vol. 1-2. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 6:1-2.) Le Caire.

Zucker 1912

F. Zucker: Die griechischen Inschriften zwischen Debod und Taifa. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 6:3.) Le Caire.

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was incised on an inner wall in the "Northern Sanctuary" ("Nordtempel") at Taphis (Tafa) north of Kalabsha (Roeder 1911 I, 195). It was

<sup>736</sup>The definite article shows that this is a feminine name, as confirmed in line 8.

<sup>737</sup>Maspero (1908, 45) gives both DEGOU and DEROU as possible readings of the name.

published by Zucker (1912, 155-164) who suggested a date in the late fourth century AD. A photo was published by Roeder (1911 II, Pl. 92B).

There are several possible ways to divide this text into structural parts. We opt, in our translation, for two parallel clauses, the first stating who donated the building (lines 1-4), the second who built it (lines 5-7); before them, there is an eponym dating (line 1), between them, a statement of the sum used (line 4).

### Text

Ἐπὶ ΚΟΛΑΤΕΣΕΜΑΕΙΧΗΜ<sup>738</sup>  
κλίναρχος συν(όδου) Αματι<sup>739</sup>  
ἐποίησεν στοὰ λέγεται  
χαντ· ἀνήλωσεν (τάλαντα) (μύρια) (διακόσια)·  
5 ΣΙΛΒΑΝΙΧΗΜΝΑΜΟΥΣ<sup>740</sup> πρητ  
ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ Αματι οἰκο-  
δόμησεν.

### Translation

Under (?) of Kola, Tesemaeikhem,<sup>741</sup> president (*klinarkhos*) of the cult society (*synodos*) of Amati, had (this) hall made, (which) is called *chant*. He expended 10,200 talents. (5) Silbanikhem (son of) Namous, agent (?) (*pret*) of the cult society (?)<sup>742</sup> of Amati, built (it).

[TH]

### Note on the Egyptian words

The string ΚΟΛΑΤΕΣΕΜΑΕΙΧΗΜ (line 1) is bounded by the recognizable Greek words ἐπί and κλίναρχος. The -ΧΗΜ at the end of this string also occurs in the string ΣΙΛΒΑΝΙΧΗΜΝΑΜΟΥΣ-ΠΡΗΤΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ (lines 5-6), which is also bounded by identifiable words, (διακόσια) and Αματι, and may there too occur at a segmental boundary that marks the end of a word. Both strings occur in contexts where one might expect personal names. Egyptian names are sometimes followed by the word *hm*, which corresponds to the Greek νεώτερος, means "(the) younger", and could have been transcribed as the Greek -ΧΗΜ. On the other hand, there are no readily recognizable Egyptian names in the two strings; and in the context of the set of texts to which 312 belongs one expects Blemmyan names although as yet no exact parallels for these strings are attested.

The string ΧΑΝΤ at the beginning of line 4 stands between two unmistakably Greek words but is itself neither a recognizable Greek word nor interpretable as an abbreviation of one. In the present context, therefore, it was appropriate to consider whether it might be a foreign word; and as

<sup>738</sup>A possible segmentation of this string would be: Κολα Τεσεμαειχημ.

<sup>739</sup>συν(όδου) Αματι Hägg (1984, 104), Συναμάτι (= Σεναμάτις) Zucker.

<sup>740</sup>A possible segmentation of this string would be: Σιλβανιχημ Ναμουσ; the translation given below assumes that Σιλβανιχημ is a nominative and Ναμουσ a genitive.

<sup>741</sup>This name (whatever the correct segmentation) may also belong together with Kola, leaving the *klinarkhos* unnamed.

<sup>742</sup>ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ in the text is unexplained; if Greek, the words σέβας "reverence" and σεβαστός "venerable" come closest. But it may also be a non-Greek equivalent of *synodos*, used after the non-Greek title of the "agent" (*pret*); cf. *Note on the Egyptian words* below.

Roeder (in: Zucker 1912, 160) and the editors of the Berlin Egyptian dictionary (Erman-Grapow 1955, III, 307, 13) recognized, XANT can be readily interpreted as a Greek transcription of Egyptian *hnt*. The stem *hnt* refers to something or someone at the front of something else; and, in the Graeco-Roman Period, the word written *hnty* in hieroglyphs denoted, among other structures, a columned hall in an Egyptian temple, a hypostyle hall as it is currently called (Gardiner 1947, II, 208\*). The Demotic word *hnt*, which has been defined in general terms as denoting a room in a temple (Erichsen 1954, 364), is probably a variant of the same lexeme. Since, then, a characteristic feature of Greek stoas was a colonnade and the structure in which the inscription occurs and to which it evidently refers is a columned hall, it is indeed reasonable to conclude that XANT is a Greek writing of *hnt(y)* and that  $\sigma\tau\omicron\acute{\alpha}$  and XANT denote the hypostyle hall in which our inscription is carved.

In the string  $\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{B}\text{A}\text{N}\text{I}\text{X}\text{H}\text{M}\text{N}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Υ}\Sigma\text{P}\text{R}\text{H}\text{T}\Sigma\text{E}\text{B}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\text{T}$  (lines 5–6), mentioned above, there occurs a sub-string ΠΡΗΤ, which can be interpreted as the Egyptian definite article *p3* (also written *p*) prefixed to the word *rt* (also written *rd* and *rt*) which occurs several times in our corpus with the meaning “agent” (for the etymology see Černý 1976, 140 and Vycichl 1983, 179). In 244 and 251 agents of Isis are specifically engaged in work on shrines of gods.

In the light of parallel texts in which cult societies are said to be “of” a named god, it is tempting to regard AMATI (lines 2 and 6) in the present context as the name of the divinity which the society served.<sup>743</sup> This, however, raises a problem with regard to the string ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ between ΠΡΗΤ and AMATI. The parallels in our corpus have no word between “the agent” and “of (NAME OF GOD)”. In line 2 the text speaks of the “president of the cult society of Amati”; and perhaps, like XANT for  $\sigma\tau\omicron\acute{\alpha}$ , ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ is the Egyptian equivalent of σύν(οδοῦ) so that the phrase means “agent of the cult society of Amati”. The writing of the word for “cult society” in Egyptian has proven difficult to interpret and its reading has yet to be established beyond doubt. I have not found any word in Egyptian that is clearly written *sbt* (the consonants in ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ) and that has a meaning which could link it to the idea of a cult society, so the idea that ΣΕΒΑΤΑΤ has anything to do with σύν(οδοῦ) must be regarded as very speculative.

[RHP]

### Comments

See 313.

### 313 Blemmyan cult societies at Kalabsha. Greek inscription.

SB V 8697. Gauthier 1914, Pl. CIIIA. SEG XXXIV 1631, XL 1591.

### Source bibliography

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Gauthier 1911-1914 | H. Gauthier: Le Temple de Kalabchah. Vol. 1-2. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 3.) Le Caire.            |
| Hägg 1984          | T. Hägg: Nubicograeca I-III (Bemerkungen zu griechischen Texten aus Nubien). ZPE 54, 101-112.              |
| Hägg 1986          | T. Hägg: ‘Blemmyan Greek’ and the Letter of Phonen. In: M. Krause (ed.): Nubische Studien. Mainz, 281-286. |
| Wilcken 1901       | U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. APF 1, 396-436.                                      |

<sup>743</sup> A possible variant writing of AMATI occurs as the first constituent in the Blemmyan personal name ΓΑΜΑΤΙΦΑΝΤ in 313, line 1.

Zyhlarz 1940-41

E. Zyhlarz: Die Sprache der Blemmyer. Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 31, 1-21.

*Introduction to source*

This inscription was incised into the outside of the back wall of the cella of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (see Gauthier 1911, 312 f.). It was discovered by Lepsius and first published in 1844. A photo was published by Gauthier (1914, Pl. CIIIA).

Long considered largely incomprehensible (Letronne called it “une énigme quant à présent indéchiffrable”), the main features of the text were established by Wilcken (1901, 411-419), while Hägg (1984, 101-105) supplied an explanation for some remaining enigmatic points. Wilcken (1901, 413) dated it on palaeographical grounds to the 5th century AD. Our text is based on his.

The Greek used in this inscription, as also in 310-312, is of a kind that may merit the description “Pidgin Greek” (cf. Hägg 1986); in particular, the endings of verbs and nouns are frequently deprived of the distinguishing grammatical function they have in standard Ancient Greek, which means that the interpretation of the text must be guided largely by semantics and logic (see further on 319). Additional difficulties for the interpretation are the unorthodox (and sometimes unmarked) abbreviations, the usual fluid post-classical Greek orthography, and the non-Greek personal names (on the onomastics, cf. Zyhlarz 1940-41); at some places, it is uncertain whether a name or an (abbreviated or misspelt) Greek word is intended. Moreover, the correct segmentation of names is often in doubt. Still, there is a fair chance that the translation given below for the most part correctly reproduces what those who put up the inscription wanted to communicate.

*Text*

Ἐπὶ Φονοῖν φύλαρχο, Γαματιφαντ Ψενθαησι[ς]  
 προφήταις, Μενρουχημ Πλωχκαρουρ δημ[ο]-  
 κλί(ναρχος),<sup>744</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ<sup>745</sup> κλι(νάρχους) καὶ  
 ἐπισ(τάτας) Αλτικ[.]<sup>746</sup>

<sup>744</sup>By analogy with προφήταις = προφήτης in the nominative case in line 2, we interpret φύλαρχο in line 1 and κλί(ναρχος) in line 3 as nominative forms of the titles, in spite of the fact that grammatically correct Greek would demand genitive forms. Titles and names are often written in the nominative form in Nubian Greek texts of late antiquity and the middle ages, irrespective of their grammatical function. There was, however, no consistency in such matters; nor is consistency possible in our restorations.

<sup>745</sup>Read αὐτοῦ, αὐτῶ or αὐτῶ (or αὐτοῦς = ἡμᾶς) Wilcken, αὐτοῦς (or αὐτῶν) Hägg. The unattested compound αὐτοκλι(νάρχους) was suggested by Bilabel in SB.

<sup>746</sup>ἐπισαλτικ[.] Wilcken (“Obertänzer”); cf. Hägg 1984, 102.

- Πισον κλί(ναρχον) συν(όδου) Αβενε<sup>747</sup> καὶ Πισαι Πλου<sup>748</sup> κλί(ναρχον)  
 συν(όδου) Χοπαν  
 5 καὶ Ψενθαησε Λουκανι κλί(ναρχον) συν(όδου) Μανδηρ. Γράφω-  
 μεν διὰ τὸ πιτάκιον τῷ δήμῳ Τάλμεως παρὰ  
 τοῦ κόμιτος· Ὁ κλίναρ(χος) τῆς πόλεως μέρος  
 δύο καὶ οἱ τρεῖς συνόδου μέρος μία ἀπὸ  
 τῆς σήμερον ἐπὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. Ἐὰν  
 10 δῶρον, οὐκ ἔχωμεν πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ εἰς<sup>749</sup> τρία συν-  
 ὄδου μέρος α', ὁ δημοκλίναρχος μέρος β'.  
 Καθὼς ἐγράψαμεν ἀσφαλὲς καὶ καθὼς ἀπητή-  
 σαμεν Μενρουχημ Πλωχκαρουρ [δη(μο)?]κλί(ναρχο.)  
 καὶ ἐομνήομεν<sup>750</sup> ἐπὶ μαρτύρων  
 15 Παδης Βωκ  
 καὶ Μενρ[ου] Καλαυ<sup>751</sup> οὐεεπ  
 καὶ Ατρεκ Ατηρω.<sup>752</sup>

*Translation*

When Phonen<sup>753</sup> was tribal chief (*phylarkhos*), Gamatifant Psentaesis priest (*prophetes*), and Menroukhem Plokhkarour the city cult president (*demoklinarkhos*),

the King (*basileus*) made these (?) presidents (*klinarkhos*) and chairmen (*epistates*) (?) (*scil.*, of the cult societies):

Altik[.] Pison president of the cult society (*synodos*) of Abene,

Pisai Plou president of the cult society of Khopan, (5) and

Psentaese Loukani president of the cult society of Mander.

We (the presidents) write because of the letter (sent) to the city of Talmis (Kalabsha) from the Count (*comes*) (which said): "The city's cult president (*klinarkhos tes poleos*) two thirds and the three cult societies one third, from this day and for ever." If (this is) (10) a gift, we have no objection, but to the three cult societies one third, the city cult president (*demoklinarkhos*) two thirds.

<sup>747</sup>σὺν Ἀβενε Wilcken ("mit Abene (NB. als Obertänzer)", and similarly for the following pairs of names; cf. Hägg 1984, 102.

<sup>748</sup>Or: Πισαιπλου.

<sup>749</sup>Read οἱ (?).

<sup>750</sup>Read ἐπομνύομεν.

<sup>751</sup>Or: Μενρ[ου]καλαυ.

<sup>752</sup>Ἀτρὲ κατ' ἱρῶ = καθ' ἱεροῦ Wilcken ("beim Heiligtum"), ατ..κατηρω Gauthier, Ατρεκ Ατηρω Hägg.

<sup>753</sup>The name is spelled *Phonoin* (Φωνοιν) in this text, but is obviously the same as *Phonen* (Φωνην) in 319; both spellings would give the same pronunciation in late Greek.

What we have written, is valid and (is) what Menroukhem Plokhkarour, the [city] (?) cult president, has demanded (?), and we swear before (these) witnesses: (15) Pades Bok,<sup>754</sup> Menr[ou] Kalau the priest (*weep*), and Atek Atero (?). [TH]

### Comments

The Greek inscriptions 312 and 313 from Tafa and Kalabsha provide evidence for the remarkable integration of Blemmyan cults into the traditional Romanized urban cult life of the former Dodecaschoenus as well as for the Blemmyan policy of leaving intact the existing social and administrative structure of that part of Lower Nubia they occupied between roughly AD 394 and 453 (cf. 306, 309 ff.). As Hägg has shown (1984, 101 ff.), both inscriptions attest the existence of cult societies of the type known from Roman Egypt (cf. Otto 1905, 251 ff.; San Nicolò 1915, 78; É. Bernard 1969, 69 ff., 248 ff.) but adapted to the cult of local, non-Egyptian, and—with the exception of Mandulis—apparently also non-Egyptianized or Meroiticized, probably Blemmyan, deities.

Beyond the information they provide for the study of Blemmyan religion and of the relationship between the Blemmyes and the political and intellectual structure they found in the Nubian region when they conquered it, the two texts, especially 313, also present data for political history. 313 was written at the time when Phonen held the office of phylarch in Kalabsha. His title, which occurs in contemporary sources with the meaning "tribal chief"<sup>755</sup>, seems to indicate that the king(s) of the Blemmyes governed their Lower Nubian possessions with the help of a deputy, as is also indicated in 309, whose high rank is suggested not only by the above title but also by the person of Phonen, who is probably identical with the later King Phonen of 319. The occurrence of the title phylarch in 313 may, however, also reflect the impact of contemporary Eastern Roman official terminology, in which a phylarch was the chief of a federate barbarian group (cf. Kirwan 1982, 197 and *Comments* on 309; and see Shahid 1984, 31 and Mayerson 1991). Kirwan's suggestion that the Blemmyan phylarchs who invited Olympiodorus to Kalabsha were Roman federates is strongly supported in the case of Phonen's Blemmyes by the reference made in 313 to the *comes*, who was in all probability none other than the commander of the Roman frontier forces who maintained official contact with the allied barbarians.

312 commemorates the building of an ornamental edifice, a *stoa*, donated by the head of the cult society of the god Amati; the text also mentions the name of the man who constructed it. The name of the deity occurs in theophorous personal names recorded in 3rd and/or 4th cent. AD documents from Dakka

<sup>754</sup>*Bok* may be a title, "(temple) servant" (thus Zyhlarz 1940-41, 19).

<sup>755</sup>Olympiodorus, fgm. 3.35.18 gives this title to Alaric, the ruler of the Goths; cf. also Helm 1979, 363 f. note 47; for a survey of the occurrences of the title in historical sources see Gschnitzer 1968, 1067 ff.

(Ostraca Strassbourg 655.9; WO 1233, cf. Hägg 1984, 104), Abu Hor (SB I, 3921) and Kalabsha (SB I, 4574) but is not known from any text connected with a temple cult in Egypt or in Meroe.

In 313 we find reference to the cult societies of the deities Abene, Khopan, and Mander. Abene and Khopan are not attested in any other text from Egypt or Nubia; in Mander, however, we may recognize with Wilcken (1901, 415 note 1) the theonym written in other Greek texts as Μανδουλις and occurring as *Mrwl/Mnrul/Mryl/Mntul* in hieroglyphic and as *Mr* in Demotic texts. 313 also presents, together with 333 ff., a basis for the study of Blemmyan personal names (cf. Satzinger 1992).

[LT]

**314 The petition of Bishop Appion. AD 425-450.**

PLeiden Z. SB XX 14606.

*Source bibliography*

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Feissel-Worp 1988 | D. Feissel-K.A. Worp: La requête d'Appion, évêque de Syène, à Théodose II: P. Leid. Z. rev. Oudheidkundige Mededelingen 68, 97-111.           |
| Leemans 1885      | C. Leemans: Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii publici Lugduni Batavi, II. Leiden.  |
| Wessely 1888      | C. Wessely: Ein bilingues Majestätsgesuch aus dem Jahre 391/2 nach Chr. XIV. Jahresbericht Gymnasium Hernals. 1887-1888. Wien.                |
| Wilcken 1912      | L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Band 1: U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil, 2: Chrestomathie. Leipzig-Berlin. |

*Introduction to source*

The papyrus containing the text below was acquired in 1828 by the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden where it is still kept (inv. AMS 5). It is said to have been found on the island of Philae, but this information has not been substantiated (Feissel-Worp 1988, 97 with note 7). It is an official copy of a petition from Appion, bishop of Syene, Contra Syene and Elephantine, to the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, and can therefore be dated to the period AD 425-450. In a column to the left of the text there are traces of large Latin capitals believed to belong to the Emperor's rescript, but no secure readings have been recovered (for the attempts see Feissel-Worp 1988, 99, note 19). Between this column and the main text the papyrus shows the Latin formula of greeting *bene valere te cupimus*, "We wish you good health". For the lay-out of various parts of the text see the photos reproduced by Feissel-Worp (1988) Pls. 1-3.

The papyrus was first published by Leemans (1885). A new edition was made by Wilcken (1912), with an introduction (in German). It has more recently been re-examined by Feissel-Worp (1988), who give the history of the papyrus, a critical edition, a detailed commentary, and a French translation. On their text we have based ours.

*Text*

Exemplum primum

- 2 Τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθν[ου]ς καὶ γένους  
[δ]εσπόταις ΦΦ[λλ]ᶜ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ Βαλεντινιανῶ τοῖς [αἰ]ωνίοις  
αὐγού[στοι]ς
- 3 δέησις καὶ ἵκεσία παρ[ὰ] Ἀππίωνος ἐπισκόπου λεγεῶνος Συήνης καὶ  
Κεν. Σ[υ]ήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἐπαρχίας τῆς ὑμετέρας Ἄνω  
Θ[η]βαίδος.
- 4 Εἴωθεν ἡ ὑμετέρα φ[ι]λανθρωπία πάσειν τοῖς δεομένοις χεῖρα δεξιὰν  
ὀρέγειν, [ὄ]θεν κἀγὼ τοῦτο σαφῶς μεμαθηκῶς ἐπὶ τάσδε τὰς  
δεήσεις
- 5 ἐλήλυθα τοῦ πράγμα[το]ς ὄντος ἐν τούτοις. Ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων  
βαρβάρω[ν] με[τ]ὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τυγχάνων τῶν τε  
Βλεννύω[ν]<sup>756</sup>
- 6 μεταξὺ καὶ Ἀνν[ο]υβάδων πολ[ι]τῶν παρ' ἐκείνων ὡς [ἐ]ξ ἀφα[ν]οῦς  
κ[ατ]αδρομ[ᾶς] ὑπ[ο]μένομεν οὐδενὸς στρατιώτου προειστ[α]μένου τῶν
- 7 ἡμετέρων τόπων. Ἐκ τούτου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ ταπιν[ο]υμέν[ω]ν ἐκκλησιῶ[ν]  
καὶ μὴ δυ[ν]αμένων μήτε τοῖς αὐταῖς προσφεύγουσιν ἐπαμύνειν
- 8 προσπίπτω προκυλινδούμενος τῶν θείων ὑμῶν καὶ ἀχράν[των] ἰχνῶ[ν]  
ὥστ[ε] κα[τ]αξιῶσαι θεσπίσαι φρουρεῖσ[θ]αι τὰς ὑπ' ἐμῆ?
- 9 ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν στρατιωτῶν κ[αὶ] πίθεσθ[αι]  
αὐτοῦς ἐμοῖ καὶ ὑπακούειν περὶ πάντων καθὼς οἱ ἐν Φιλῶν οὕτω
- 10 καλουμένου φρουρίῳ τῆς ὑμετέρας Ἄνω Θηβαε[ί]δο[ς] κατα[σταθέντες]  
στρατι[ῶτα]ι ὑπουργοῦσιν ταῖς ἐν Φιλῶ(ν)<sup>757</sup> ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεο[ῦ]
- 11 ἐκκλησίαις. Οὕτω γὰρ δυνησ[ό]μεθα ἀδε[ῶς] ζῶντες [ ]...[...].σκάς  
μετεῖναι νομοθεσίας ...[ ]
- 12 βαρυτάτης ὀριζομένης κατὰ τῶν παραβά[ν]των...[...].ν τὰ [θειω]δῶς  
παρ' ὑμῶν θεσπισθέντα, πάσης
- 13 συναρπαγῆς τοῦ δι' ἐναντίας μέρους γενομένης ἢ μελ[λου]σῆς  
γενέ[σθαι] σχολαζούσης, θείας ὑμῶν κε.....
- 14 ἰδικῆς χάριτος περὶ τούτου φοιτώσης πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον  
καὶ περιβλεπ[τον] κόμιτα καὶ δοῦκα

<sup>756</sup>Corrected to Βλεμ(μ)ύων by editors; the spelling *Blemm-* is, however, found in Latin, see 295.

<sup>757</sup>Interpreting Φιλῶ as an abbreviated form of the genitive plural, with "city" or "island" understood.

15 τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ λιμίτου· καὶ τοῦτου τυχῶν τὰς συνήθεις εὐχ[ᾶς]  
 ἄ[ναπ]έ[μψ]ω τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰωνίου [ύ]μῶ[ν] κρ[άτου]ς  
 16 διὰ παντός. †††

*Translation*

(Latin:) Copy of the petition

(Greek:) To the masters of land and sea and of every nation and race of men, Flavius Theodosius and Flavius Valentinianus, Eternal Augusti: Entreaty and supplication from Appion, bishop of the region<sup>758</sup> of Syene and Contra Syene<sup>759</sup> and Elephantine, in Your province (*eparchia*) of Upper Thebais.

Your Benevolence is wont to extend your right hand to all who bring their requests,<sup>760</sup> wherefore I too, being fully aware of this, have had recourse to these entreaties, (5) the situation being as follows:

Since I find myself with my churches in the midst of those merciless barbarians, between the Blemmyes and the Annoubades,<sup>761</sup> we suffer many attacks from them, coming upon us as if from nowhere, with no soldier to protect our places. As the churches in my care for this reason are humiliated and unable to defend even those who are fleeing for refuge to them I prostrate myself and grovel at your divine and unsullied footprints so that you may deign to ordain that the holy churches [under my care?] be defended by the troops (stationed) near us and that they obey me and be placed under my orders in all matters just as the troops stationed in the garrison of Philae, as it (10) is called<sup>762</sup>, in Your Upper Thebaid serve God's holy churches on Philae. For in that way we shall be able to live without fear and pursue [...] once the strictest legislation is laid down against those who have transgressed [...] what You have divinely ordained, all plundering by our adversaries, present or future, is checked, and a special and divine [...] grace on Your part in this matter goes to the Magnificent and Notable<sup>763</sup> Count and Duke (15) of the Thebaid Frontier.

If I obtain this, I shall (be able to) send my customary prayers to God for Your eternal power uninterruptedly.

[TE]

<sup>758</sup>Reading *πεγεῶνος* = Lat. *regionis*, a correction by Wessely (1888), adopted by Feissel-Worp (1988), see their discussion 101-103.

<sup>759</sup>Interpreting (with Feissel-Worp 1988, 103) the *κεν...* of the papyrus as representing the Latin *con(tra)*, "against", i.e., on the opposite bank. Wilcken (1912) read *Κεν[ῆς]* (for *Καινῆς*): "New Syene".

<sup>760</sup>Lit. "to those begging". An alternative translation is "to those who are in need".

<sup>761</sup>For the spelling Annoubades for Noubades cf. 320-22, 319, and 333, and see Feissel-Worp (1988) 104, note 67.

<sup>762</sup>Reading (with Feissel-Worp 1988) *καλουμένῳ*, in the dative case, to agree with *φρουρίῳ*, "garrison", instead of *καλουμένον*, in the genitive case, of the papyrus.

<sup>763</sup>The Greek title corresponds to the Roman rank of *spectabilis*.

*Comments*

The bishopric of Appion, the author of the above petition, belonged to the Upper Thebaid, a province recently created by dividing the Thebaid into an Upper province under the authority of the *Dux* who was responsible for the military defence of the frontier against the Blemmyes and the Nubians, and a Lower province under the authority of a civil *Praeses* (cf. Drew-Bear 1979, 295). Indicating the defencelessness of the communities in his bishopric against the devastating raids of the barbarian Blemmyes and Nubians and the impossibility of defending his churches as refuges for the persecuted, Appion asks the emperors that the garrison of Syene be put under his authority in the same manner as the garrison of Philae was under the command of the bishop of Philae.

Appion's petition reveals not only that in the years around 425-450 the Blemmyan raids continued to threaten the life and property of the Christian communities in the region of the First Cataract but also that the Annoubades had joined the Blemmyes as tormentors of Upper Egypt. In the Annoubades, who occur in 333 as "the nation of the Anouba", we may recognise representatives of the large family of Nubian-speakers appearing in the ancient sources as Nuba. The kingdom, emerging as successor to the Meroitic kingdom in Lower Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts in the early 5th cent. AD (cf. *Comments* on 300), would later appear as Noubadia in the written sources (cf. 319). Appion's Annoubades may thus be marauding troops of the king of Noubadia who, in temporary alliance with or alternating with the Blemmyes, was sending raiding parties into Upper Egypt. Treasure, also including a silver reliquary adapted to the special way of exhibiting relics in Egyptian churches (Török 1986b), and dating from the late 4th and early 5th cent. AD, was buried around AD 450-460 with a king of Noubadia in Ballana tumulus B 3 (Török 1988b, 134 ff., Pls XVII-XXIV, 93-105; Török 1995c). They were taken from an Upper Egyptian church in the course of one of the raids indicated by Appion, and they provide particularly interesting material support for the written evidence.

[LT]

**315 Philae. Greek inscriptions of worshippers of Ptireus. AD 434.**

SB I 13, 14. I. Philae II 190, 191.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernand 1969

É. Bernand: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

Thissen 1994

H.J. Thissen: *Varia Onomastica*. GM 141, 89-95.

*Introduction to source*

The two inscriptions presented here were carved on the same wall in the temple of Isis at Philae, ca. 2 m. from the ground (for details of their placement, see *Comments* below). They belong to the epigraphic genre of *proskynema* (cf. 265). The first one has a date corresponding to Nov. 5, AD 434; the second, which lacks a date by year, appears to be roughly contemporary.

The second inscription which obviously used the first one as its model for the formulas of adoration as well as of imprecation, was less carefully carved and exhibits some spelling mistakes. It is uncertain whether line 2 προφήτου in the genitive case is a mistake for the nominative προφήτης (as written in the first inscription) or is a deliberate change to indicate that it is his father, not himself, who is "priest of Ptireus".

Our text follows that of É. Bernard (1969, 221-225, with Pl. 39-40), checked against his photos. Bernard supplies the earlier bibliography, a French translation, and a commentary.

*Text*

I (I. Philae II 190)

Τὸ προσκύνημα Πασνοῦς ἐκ πατρὸς  
Παχουμίου, προφήτης Πτίρεως, ποιῶ πα-  
ρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας χάριν,  
ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ, Ἄθῦρ θ || ἐπὶ ρνα Διοκλητ(ιανοῦ).

5 Ὅ ἐξαλίψον ταῦτα τὰ γράμ-  
ματα, ἐξαλίψουσιν τὸ γέ-  
νος αὐτοῦ.

II (I. Philae II 191)

Τὸ προσκύνημα Παμητ ἐκ πα-  
τρὸς Βερήου προφήτου Πτίρ-  
ρεως ποιῶ παρὰ τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἐπ' ἀγαθαθῶ, Φαμενώθ ιβ. [Ὅ]

5 ἐξαρίψον (*vac.*) ταῦτα τὰ γράμ-  
ματα, ἐξαλίψουσιν τὸ γένος  
αὐτοῦ.<sup>764</sup>

*Translation*

I (I. Philae II 190)

This obeisance (I.) Pasnous, son of Pachoumios, priest (*prophetes*) of Ptireus,<sup>765</sup> am making before the gods as an act of piety. May it be for the best. On the 9th of Hathyr, in (the year) 151 of (the era of) Diocletian.

<sup>764</sup>Read line 4 ἀγαθῶ, line 5 ἐξαλίψον (= ἐξαλείψων), line 6 γένος.

<sup>765</sup>On the nominative form Ptireus rather than Ptiris, see Thissen (1994, 93-95).

(5) Whoever obliterates these letters, they (the gods) will obliterate his clan.

II (I. Philae II 191)

This obeisance (I.) Pamet, son of Bereos priest (*prophetes*) of Ptireus, am making before the gods. May it be for the best. On the 12th of Phamenoth.

Whoever (5) obliterates these letters, they (the gods) will obliterate his clan.

[TH]

*Comments*

These two *proskynemata* were incised on the exterior wall of the rooms behind the E colonnade of the Second Court of the temple of Isis, i.e., on the back wall of what were the late Ptolemaic temple library and the purification, later Meroitic, chamber (cf. 267). The first one, dated Nov. 5, AD 434, commemorates Pasnous, son of Pachomios, prophet of the god Ptireus (for the reading of the deity's name, see Thissen 1994, 93). The second one was probably written in the same period by Pamet, son of Bereos the prophet of Ptireus. A third *proskynema* on the same wall (É. Bernand 1969, no. 192) consists of no more than the name of Panouchem, son of Tabolbolos and was probably inscribed in close proximity to the two others because it was intended to perpetuate its writer's adoring presence before the same deity, i.e., Ptireus whose image was incised three times next to the three *proskynemata*.

The writer of the first inscription is also the author of a *proskynema* from AD 456/7 on the exterior of the naos (É. Bernand 1969, no. 199), this time signing himself as *protoklinarkhos* (cf. 313) of a cult society.

Close to the *proskynemata* presented here there are engraved three sketchy representations of a falcon-headed, human-armed, and crocodile-bodied deity wearing a sundisc between Hathoric horns, holding in his hands a palm branch, and shown in a recumbent position on a pedestal (É. Bernand 1969, Pl. 40; Žabkar 1975, Pl. II). The crocodile tail terminates in a uraeus serpent crowned with the sundisc. Representations of the same deity, or, if these three representations depict a female deity, of her male counterpart, wearing, however, the sundisc with plumes, without the uraeus on the tail but with lion's hind-legs, are known (1) from the 1st cent. AD reliefs of the interior of Natakamani's and Amanitore's Apedemak temple at Naqa (Gamer-Wallert 1983, Blatt 9/b, cf. (211)), (2) from a representation found on the bezel of a ring from tomb G. 399 at Karanog (Woolley-Randall-MacIver 1910, Pl. 33; Hofmann 1976b), and (3) from two embossed silver plaques from a casket (?) found in tumulus Q 17 dated to ca. AD 390-400 (Török 1988b, 103 ff., 154) in the cemetery of Qustul (Žabkar 1975, fig. 2; Török 1988b, Pl. 51; cf. *Comments* on 300).

É. Bernand (1969, 225) believed the names of the writers of the *proskynemata* as well as the name of the god Ptireus were Blemmyan and suggested that Pasnous, Pamet and Panouchem were Blemmyes who were visiting Philae on some mission. Žabkar (1975, 147), however, observes that the element *-ous* oc-

curring in their names may rather be found in Nubian personal names. He also shows (op. cit., 147 ff.) that the falcon-crocodile hybrid deity is a syncretistic descendant of Egyptian Late Period deities represented in the same form, associated with Horus<sup>766</sup> and adopted around the 1st cent. AD in Meroitic religion, where he was associated with a lion god as well. The ancestors of the falcon-crocodile god whom his Nubian (?) worshippers at Philae called Ptireus in the 5th cent. AD were also represented in the Late Period at Philae and in the temple at el-Hibis in the Khargeh Oasis (Žabkar 1975, 151 f. with references); and there can be little doubt that it was due to influence from Philae that he appeared at Naqa—just as the fact that he continued to be worshipped by the inhabitants of Post-Meroitic Lower Nubia may similarly be explained as a consequence of his cult on Philae. Though poor in execution, the Philae graffiti indicate the existence of a temple cult of Ptireus in which there served “prophets”, a Greek term corresponding with the Egyptian *ḥm-ntr*, signifying priests of the highest echelon. The importance of Ptireus for the Noubades in the late 4th and the 5th cent. is also indicated by the context of the silver plaques found in tumulus Q. 17 at Qustul (see above). On other silver plaques belonging to the same casket there are representations of objects which can be identified as rank insignia of the princes buried at Qustul (cf. Török 1988b, 104). All the silver plaques from Q. 17 were made in the same court workshop from which the royal crowns of the subsequent generations of the Qustul princes also originated (cf. Török 1988b, 169 ff.).

[LT]

**316 Roman and Christian law and the Aithiopians.** Ca. AD 420-449.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 9.13-15 (PG 83, 1037C).

*Source bibliography*

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Canivet 1958 | Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques. Vol. 1-2. Ed. P. Canivet. (Sources Chrétiennes, 57.) Paris. |
| Quasten 1960 | Patrology. Vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature. Utrecht-Westminster, MD.                             |
| Raeder 1904  | Theodreti Graecarum affectionum curatio. Ed. J. Raeder. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana.) Leipzig. [Repr. Stuttgart 1969.]   |

*Introduction to source*

Theodoret was born ca. AD 393 in Antioch in Syria. He received a good classical education, as is evident from his writings. He became a monk at the age of

---

<sup>766</sup>The best-known being *Hr-imy-šnwṯ*, “Horus-who-is-in-Shenwet”, cf. van de Walle 1972, 77 f.; for “Horus of Pidjodj” at el-Hibis see Žabkar 1975, 152.

eighteen and was from 423 to 449 and again from 451 till his death in 466 bishop of Cyrrhus (or Cyrus), a small town north-east of Antioch (hence his Latin name Theodoretus Cyrensis). He was a prolific writer on various theological topics, including the defence of Antiochene Christology against the doctrines propounded by Cyril of Alexandria. He wrote a *Church History*, continuing that of Eusebius (cf. 294); it covers the hundred years from the Emperor Constantine to his own time. His intimate personal knowledge of the monks and monasteries of Northern Syria went into a biographical account of thirty Syrian ascetics, known as his *Religious History*. His many exegetical works were much admired and read.

The book from which our extract is taken, *Graecarum affectionum curatio* ('Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων) or "The Cure of Hellenic (= pagan) Maladies", is an apologetic treatise in which Theodoret seeks to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity to paganism. It must have been composed before 449 since he himself mentions it in a letter of that year; some are of the opinion that he may even have written it before he became a bishop in 423 (Canivet 1958, Vol. 1, 28-31; cf. Quasten 1960, 544). The work gives us valuable information on Greek philosophy and religion. It is divided into twelve parts, each presenting the pagan and the Christian answer to a fundamental question in philosophy or religion. The ninth part, to which our extract belongs, compares Christian ethics with Roman law.

Although Syriac was his mother tongue, Theodoret writes a clear Greek prose of a distinctly archaic flavour. There are two critical editions of his *Curatio* (Raeder 1904; Canivet 1958, with French trans.), but no modern English translation. We base our text on that of Raeder. For further details and bibliography, see Quasten 1960, 536-554.

#### Text

9 [13] Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις ξυναθροίσαντες νόμους καὶ τοὺς ἄριστα κείσθαι δόξαντες παρ' ἐκάστου νομοθέτου λαβόντες, ὅσαπερ ἔθνη τὸν τούτων ὑπεισῆλθε ζυγόν, δουλεύειν τοῖσδε τοῖς νόμοις ἠνάγκασαν, τοὺς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν οὐ βουλευθέντας ἰθύνεσθαι οὔτε ἔπεισαν οὔτε ἠνάγκασαν τὴν σφῶν πολιτείαν ἀσπάσασθαι. [14] Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς δουλείας δεξάμενοι χαλινόν, βιοτεύειν κατὰ τοὺς τούτων οὐκ ἀνέχονται νόμους. Οὔτε γὰρ Αἰθίοπες οἱ Θηβῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁμοτέρμονες οὔτε τὰ πάμπολλα φύλα τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, οὐ Λαζοί, οὐ Σάννοι, οὐκ Ἀβασγοί, οὐχ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ὅσοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀσπάζονται δεσποτείαν, κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιοῦνται ζυμβόλαια.

[15] Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλειῖς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσενηνόχασιν νόμους. Καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις τελοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ καὶ τὰ Σαυροματικὰ ἔθνη καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Σῆρας καὶ

Ἵρκανοὺς καὶ Βακτριανοὺς καὶ Βρεττανοὺς καὶ Κίμβρους καὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν, οὐχ ὄπλοις χρησάμενοι καὶ πολλαῖς μυριάσι λογάδων οὐδὲ τῇ τῆς Περσικῆς ὠμότητος χρώμενοι βία, ἀλλὰ πείθοντες καὶ δεικνύντες ὄνησιφόρους τοὺς νόμους...

*Translation*

9 [13] The Romans collected the laws of the Greeks and barbarians and took from each lawgiver the laws that seemed best. They forced all peoples who had come under their yoke to be subject to these laws; but those who refused to let themselves be ruled by them (the Romans), they did not persuade or force to embrace the Roman social order. [14] But even many of those who have received the bridle of subjection cannot bear to live according to their laws. For neither the Aithiopians who border on Egyptian Thebes, nor the many tribes of Ishmael,<sup>767</sup> nor the Lazi, the Sanni, and the Abasgi (Abkhaz),<sup>768</sup> nor the other barbarians who embrace Roman domination, make their contracts with one another according to Roman law.

[15] On the other hand, our fishermen and tax collectors and the Leather-Worker [the Apostle Paul, the tentmaker] have brought the laws of the Gospel to all people. Not just the Romans and those who pay taxes to them, but even the Scythian and Sarmatian peoples and the Indians, the Aithiopians, the Persians, the Chinese (*Seres*), the Hyrcanians, the Bactrians, the Britannians, the Cimbri,<sup>769</sup> the Germans, in short they have persuaded every people and human race to receive the laws of the Crucified (Christ), without using weapons or many myriads of special troops, nor again using Persian cruelty and violence, but by persuasion and by showing that these laws are beneficial...

[TH]

*Comments*

In this text the Aithiopians figure among barbarian peoples within and beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire who refused to accept Roman law even after they had come under Roman domination but who nevertheless received the laws of Christ by peaceful persuasion. Clearly, the accent is on the peaceful triumph of Christian faith, and there is no reason to believe that Theodoret's work can be exploited as an historical source.

It is nevertheless interesting to note in it elements of genuine information: the Aithiopians were indeed the neighbours of "Egyptian Thebes", i.e., the governmental unit of the Upper Thebaid created not long before Theodoret's day

<sup>767</sup>Reference to Arab tribes.

<sup>768</sup>Reference to three peoples in the Caucasus.

<sup>769</sup>A Germanic tribe from Jutland. Some manuscripts and editions have Κιμμερίους, "Cimmerians", a people from south Russia.

(cf. *Comments* on 314); and it may also be assumed that the Aithiopian Christians about whom Theodoret speaks were identical with the Christians in Ap-pion's bishopric (see 314), where the settlements were, as was generally known in the Roman period (cf. 188), inhabited by a mixed Egyptian-Aithiopian population.

On the other hand, the notion of the Aithiopians coming to embrace Roman domination may derive from information about federate groups on Egypt's southern frontier (cf. 309-313, 320-322); it may be relevant that at least some of the Arab and Caucasian peoples mentioned together with the Aithiopians in 9.14 are also known to have had a federate status.

[LT]

**317 Greek triumphal inscription of King Silko at Kalabsha.** Before ca. AD 450. OGIS I 201. Lefebvre 1907, No. 628. SB V 8536. I. Prose 67.

*Source bibliography*

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| A. Bernand 1992    | A. Bernand: La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Vol. 1-2. Paris. [= I. Prose.]                                 |
| Burstein 1998a     | S. Burstein (ed.): Ancient African Civilizations. Kush and Axum. Princeton.  |
| Donadoni 1965      | Tre schede Copto-Nubiane. <i>Studi classici e orientali</i> 14, 20-29.   |
| Gauthier 1911-1914 | H. Gauthier: Le Temple de Kalabchah. Vol. 1-2. (Les Temples immergés de la Nubie, 3.) Le Caire.  |
| Hägg 1990          | T. Hägg: Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts. <i>SO</i> 65, 147-177.   |
| Helbing 1915       | R. Helbing: Auswahl aus griechischen Inschriften. Berlin-Leipzig.  |
| Kapsomenakis 1938  | S.G. Kapsomenakis: Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit. München. (Repr. Chicago 1979.)           |
| Krall 1898         | J. Krall: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemmyer und Nubier. (Denkschriften der K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl., 46:4.) Wien. |
| Kraus 1930         | P.J. Kraus: Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien. Diss. Münster 1930.  |
| Lepsius 1876       | R. Lepsius: Die griechische Inschrift des nubischen Königs Silko. <i>Hermes</i> 10, 129-144.   |
| Lefebvre 1907      | G. Lefebvre: Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte. Le Caire. (Repr. Chicago 1978.)                                   |
| Wilcken 1901       | U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. <i>APF</i> 1, 396-436.   |

*Introduction to source*

This well preserved inscription was carved on the west wall of the forecourt of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha (Talmis); it measures 1 x 0.7 m (on its position see further *Comments* below). It was first published as early as 1820 by B.G. Niebuhr and has since, because of its great historical as well as linguistic interest, accumulated a large bibliography (see Lefebvre 1907, 118, and A. Bernand 1992 II, 171; for a photo, see Gauthier 1914, Pl. 72 A). Here we will only refer to a few works which are relevant to the questions of date and language and to some controversial points of interpretation.

This inscription was long considered to belong to the second half of the 6th century, a date based not on epigraphy but on the conviction of most scholars that the use of the word *theos*, "God" (line 3), and *eidola*, "idols" (line 8), indicated that King Silko was a Christian and consequently reigned after the conversion of the Nubian kingdoms to Christianity (cf. Kraus 1930, 102-106; similarly still A. Bernand 1992 II, 173). This view was, however, already opposed by J. Krall and C. Wessely (cf. Krall 1898, 12, 25) and later by Wilcken (1901, 419, 436) who considered the inscription "not later than the 5th century". Wilcken's early date seems to have been confirmed through the find of the letter of the Blemmyan King Phonen to his Noubadian colleague Abourni (319), in which a certain Silko is mentioned. Since this letter has been dated to the middle of the 5th century and since Silko appears to be Abourni's predecessor, Silko and his inscription seem now firmly placed in that century (unless, of course, there were two Noubadian kings of the same name).

The philological debate has concentrated mostly on whether its peculiarities in language and style show that the text was written by a Coptic-speaking scribe (first Lepsius 1876; cf. also Helbing 1915, No. 10) or just testifies to Late-Greek popular usage (see Kapsomenakis 1938, 50 f., 73-78). Since this controversy about the nature of the language does not in itself affect the interpretation of the text (cf., however, the notes on the translation to lines 18 and 21), it need not concern us further here. Let it suffice to point out that, though some items can hardly be explained otherwise than as Copticisms (notably, line 15 *arx*, "bear"), such traits do not necessarily betray the scribe's mother-tongue, since interference from current Egyptian is to be reckoned with in all Egyptian Greek of this late period, irrespective of the speaker. On the other hand, for both historical and philological reasons, it is likely that the scribe did come from Egypt, whatever his first language.

The main problem in the interpretation of the text from an historical point of view is the difficulty of deciding where one sentence ends and the next begins (due to the utterly reduced use of connective particles, which generally mark sentence boundaries in Greek). This means that the temporal expressions in lines 2, 4, 6. and 17 ("on two occasions" etc.), which we have consistently treated as being sentence-initial, could possibly in some (or all) cases belong instead at the end of the preceding sentence, as they have indeed been under-

stood by some earlier editors and translators, with the result that the number of Silko's campaigns and victories varies considerably among the interpreters. According to our interpretation,<sup>770</sup> Silko boasts of *three* (victorious) campaigns against the Blemmyes, the third ending with the occupation of their territory (lines 1-6); he then *looks back* at the first campaign and victory, after which he had made the mistake of trusting his defeated enemies and of withdrawing (lines 6-10). After some general boasting about his superiority (lines 10-15), he again summarizes his campaigns against the Blemmyes (line 16), adding that he had once even made a campaign against other (more southerly?) foes (lines 17-18). The inscription ends with threats against rulers who do not acknowledge Silko's supremacy (lines 19-22).

Our text is established on the basis of the earlier editions and of the published photographs of the inscription; our critical notes to the text are selective. In lines 10, 20, and 22 we have printed what we believe to be written on the stone and have relegated to the apparatus the Greek form that underlies our translation.

There is a new English translation, with a brief introduction and comments, in Burstein (1998a, No. 21).

*Text*

Ἐγὼ Σιλκῶ, βασιλίσκος Νουβάδων καὶ ὄλων τῶν  
 Αἰθιοπῶν, ἦλθον εἰς Τάλμιν καὶ Τάφιν. Ἄπαξ δύο ἐπο-  
 λέμησα μετὰ τῶν Βλεμύων καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκέν μοι τὸ  
 νίκημα. Μετὰ τῶν τριῶν ἄπαξ ἐνίκησα πάλιν καὶ ἐκρά-  
 5 τησα τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν. Ἐκαθέστην μετὰ τῶν  
 ὄχλων μου. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄπαξ ἐνίκησα αὐτῶν  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠξίωσάν με. Ἐποίησα εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν  
 καὶ ὤμοσάν μοι τὰ εἰδῶλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπίστευσα τὸν  
 ὄρκον αὐτῶν, ὡς καλοὶ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι. Ἀναχωρήθη  
 10 εἰς τὰ ἄνω μέρη μου. Ὅτε ἐγεγονέμην βασιλίσκῳ,<sup>771</sup>  
 οὐκ ἀπῆλθον ὄλωσ ὀπίσω τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων  
 ἀλλὰ ἀκμὴν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν.  
 οἱ γὰρ φιλονικοῦσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ ἀφῶ αὐτοὺς καθεξό[με]-  
 νοι εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ κατηξίωσάν με [κ]α[ἰ] π[α]ρακαλοῦσιν.  
 15 Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς κάτω μέρη λέων εἰμί, καὶ εἰς ἄνω μέρη ἄρξ<sup>772</sup> εἰμι.  
 Ἐπολέμησα [μ]ετὰ τῶν Βλεμύων ἀπὸ Πρίμ(εως) ἕως Τελήλεως<sup>773</sup>  
 ἐν ἄπαξ κα[ἰ] οἱ ἄλλοι, Νουβάδων ἀνωτέρω, ἐπόρθησα τὰς

<sup>770</sup>For a different segmentation of the text, see most recently A. Bernand (1992 I, 146-149; 1992 II, 172 f.), and, in two instances (lines 6 and 17), Burstein (1998a, No. 21).

<sup>771</sup>Read βασιλίσκος.

<sup>772</sup>ἄρξ: \*Αρ<ης> ("Ares") Niebuhr, α<ἰ>ξ ("goat") Letronne.

<sup>773</sup>Τελήλεως: Τέλ<μ>εως ("Telmis", "Talmis") earlier editors (also A. Bernand 1992 I).

χώρας αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλονικήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ.  
 Οἱ δεσπότη(αι) τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, οἱ φιλονεικοῦσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ,  
 20 οὐκ ἀφῶ αὐτοὺς καθεσθῆνη<sup>774</sup> εἰς τὴν σκιάν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ ἡλίου  
 ἕξω, καὶ οὐκ ἔπωκαν<sup>775</sup> νηρὸν ἔσω εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν· οἱ γὰρ  
 ἀ[ν]τίτικοι<sup>776</sup> μου, ἀρπάζω τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῶν.

### Translation

I, Silko, King (*basiliskos*)<sup>777</sup> of the Noubades and all the Aithiopians, came to Talmis (Kalabsha) and Taphis (Tafa). On two occasions I fought with the Blemmyes; and God<sup>778</sup> gave me the victory. On the third occasion<sup>779</sup> I was again victorious and took control of (5) their cities. I occupied (them) with my troops.

On the first occasion I conquered them, and they sued me for terms. I made peace with them, and they swore to me by their images (*eidolon*),<sup>780</sup> and I trusted their oath in the belief that they were honest people. I withdrew (10) to my upper regions.<sup>781</sup>

<sup>774</sup>Read καθεσθῆναι.

<sup>775</sup>ἔ<δ>ωκαν ("they gave") Lepsius, SB, ἔ<δ>ωκα(ν) ("I gave") Dittenberger (OGIS).

<sup>776</sup>ἀ[ν]τίτικοι (ἀντιδοκοὶ Gauthier and Maspero in Lefebvre 1907, 172): read ἀντίδοκοι.

<sup>777</sup>In Greek documents from Nubia, the Noubadian and Blemmyan rulers sometimes bear the title *basileus*, "king" (e.g., 319 and the Ikhmindī inscription, SB VIII 10074), sometimes that of *basiliskos*, "kinglet" (e.g., 334, 336, 339). We prefer to translate both terms "king" in these texts (whereas the translation "chieftain" for *basiliskos* seems appropriate in the Aksumite texts, e.g., 298). The notion that *basiliskos* should in Nubia, by some misunderstanding, take on the meaning "Chief King" (or "puissant roi", A. Bernand 1992 I; 1992 II, 172) is certainly mistaken; others suggest some connection between *basiliskos* meaning "basilisk", "(the Egyptian) cobra", and the *uraeus*-snake as an Egyptian royal symbol (cf., e.g., Helbing 1915, 85). Now, the term appears to be used specifically in contexts where the king's legal position in relation to another and supreme *basileus*, the Roman emperor, needs to be defined; if this is correct, the term *basiliskos* would have no hierarchical function in a local Nubian context, but Silko would be *basileus* to his own people and to neighbouring kings, *basiliskos* as a federate of the Emperor (see further Hägg 1990, 148-156, and *Comments* below).

<sup>778</sup>May refer either to "the god (of this temple)", i.e., Mandulis, or, if the scribe was a Christian or a Jew, to "the (one) God". If the king himself had been a Christian, one would have expected more open advertising of this fact (cf. the epithet "Christ-loving" in the Ikhmindī inscription, SB VIII 10074, and in 299), signs of the cross, and perhaps a Christian (baptismal) name.

<sup>779</sup>The translation "on the third occasion" is uncertain, due to the ungrammatical Greek; others translate "after the third time".

<sup>780</sup>In Jewish and Christian texts, the word *eidolon* usually means "idol" and carries a derogatory connotation. In other texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, it sometimes just means "image (of a god)", which may be the case here. There is no special emphasis in the text itself, as some commentators maintain (cf. Kraus 1930, 105), on any opposition between *ho theos* in line 3 and *ta eidola* in line 8; they stand in different contexts, and the oath by the "images" is not doubted as such ("I trusted their oath"). For the opposite view, see A. Bernand (1992 II, 173).

<sup>781</sup>The reference of "upper regions" is here plainly geographical. But it is not certain whether "upper" indicates an upstream or an upcountry (desert, mountain) direction. Inasmuch as the Noubades appear in our sources as a riverain people, we favour the former interpretation.

When I had become king (*basiliskos*), I did not by any means proceed behind the other kings (*basileus*), but well ahead of them. For those who contend with me I do not permit to remain settled in their country unless they have beseeched me and entreat me. (15) For I am a lion in the lower regions, and a bear in the upper regions.<sup>782</sup>

I fought with the Blemmyes from Primis (Ibrim) to Telēlis (Shellāl?);<sup>783</sup> on one occasion I ravaged the country of the others too, above<sup>784</sup> the Noubades, because they contended<sup>785</sup> with me. (As for) the rulers (*despotes*) of the other peoples who contend with me, (20) I do not allow them to sit in the shade, but in the sun outside, and they did not drink<sup>786</sup> water inside their hous(es). For I rob my adversaries of their women and children.

[TH]

### Comments

The Greek triumphal inscription of the Noubadian King Silko was incised on the front of the Hypostyle Hall in the forecourt of the temple of Mandulis. The inscription is accompanied by an oft-illustrated representation showing Silko on horseback spearing an enemy (for a drawing made on the basis of recent photographs see Török 1988b, Pl. I). Castiglione compared the iconographical features of this enemy to earlier depictions of Blemmyes (Castiglione 1970, 90 ff.). The king wears a fillet, a jewelled royal collar, armlets and a bracelet, is dressed in Roman military garb, and is being crowned by a winged Victory with the *hmhm*-crown of Mandulis (according to the erroneous description in Török 1987b, 60 and 1988b, 59 the crown also consisted of a Kushite skullcap and a diadem with streamers). Another incised drawing below the inscription depicts a striding male figure wearing a Double Crown with streamers, with a uraeus on his forehead, and an inorganically placed ram's horn (also known from Meroitic royal iconography, cf. Török 1987b, 45 f.), and armlets, and

<sup>782</sup>We do not follow Donadoni (1965, 27-29; SEG XXIV 1245) in his interpretation of this passage as a description of the king as a cosmic ruler, half lion, half bear, as is found in Coptic demonology. Cf. the geographical use of the same phrase in line 10. A. Bernand (1992 I) prefers to see a reference to plain/mountains: "pour les pays de plaine, je suis un lion, et pour les pays de montagnes, je suis un ours".

<sup>783</sup>Earlier editors and translators thought that Telelis was a corruption for Talmis (which, however, appears uncorrupted in line 2). It seems more probable that, as has been suggested by various scholars, this is an otherwise unattested Greek name for Shellal; see further *Comments* below.

<sup>784</sup>As in lines 10 and 15, we understand "above" to indicate an upstream direction.

<sup>785</sup>According to Lepsius (1876, 139 f.), the curious verb form used here was a Copticism, an "imperfectum futuri", which he translated into the Latin *rixaturi erant*, "when (or: because) they were about to contend with me". We prefer to regard the form as equivalent to an ordinary aorist (cf. Kapsomenakis 1938, 73-78).

<sup>786</sup>The irregular 3rd person perfect form of the verb for "drink" used here led some earlier editors and translators to suspect that the stonecutter had corrupted what was intended as a 1st person singular (or third person plural) aorist of the verb for "give": "I (or: they) did not give them water".

dressed in similar military attire. In his right hand he carries a long scepter, in his left an *nh*-sign. Though this latter detail would rather fit into the representation of a deity, the crown with the flowing streamer (unlike the angular streamer of the crowns of divinities) and the military attire indicate that this drawing too was intended to represent King Silko (cf. Török 1988b, 59, Pl. I; see also the cover of the present volume). The drawings attest the survival of elements of traditional iconography in the Mandulis temple and at the same time clearly indicate the impact of contemporary Egyptian Late Antique imagery. A similar amalgam of traditionalism and contemporary Egyptian phraseology also seems to characterize the inscription.

In the opening phrase of Silko's text he describes himself as "king of the Noubades and all the Aithiopians". The previously misunderstood titulary (for earlier literature see the survey presented by Hägg 1990, 148 ff.) in fact gives a most significant picture of the ethnic and political conditions in Post-Meroitic Lower Nubia. It supports Adams' suggestion (cf. Adams 1976, and the summary of the question in Adams 1977, 421) that the population of Meroitic as well as of Post-Meroitic Lower Nubia was composed of a Nubian-speaking majority and a Meroitic-speaking élite. This would also explain the disappearance of Meroitic literacy after the end of the Meroitic kingdom in the 4th cent. AD (cf. *Comments* on 300) and the emergence of Old Nubian as a written language in the Christian period. The rulers of Post-Meroitic Lower Nubia buried at Ballana were Nubian-speakers and were referred to as Noubades both in Graeco-Roman literature of the period and in their own written documents. There can be no doubt that Silko (like Tantani in 320-322) identified himself as belonging to the Noubadian *ethnos*. The term "Aithiopians" is used in the same sense as generally in Greek, namely, to refer to all peoples living in Nubia; and in the Silko inscription it refers to all non-Noubadian peoples: Blemmyes, descendants of the Meroites, and descendants of Egyptians in the Dodecaschoenus.

The Silko inscription mentions three campaigns directed against the Blemmyes occupying the region of Talmis (Kalabsha). The first campaign ended with a peace treaty (which was sealed by the oath the Blemmyes swore by the images of their gods) in keeping with the terms of which Silko withdrew his troops. According to lines 8-10, the Blemmyes broke their oath, whereupon two more campaigns were directed against them. One of the campaigns involved an expedition to the country of "the others ..., above the Noubades". This latter phrase may indicate a campaign against other Blemmyan kingdoms in the Eastern Desert or against the southern neighbour of Silko's kingdom, i.e., the later Christian kingdom of Makuria (cf. *Comments* on 324 and Godlewski 1994, 170). In the course of the third campaign, Silko fought "from Primis to Telelis", i.e., from Qasr Ibrim to the region of the First Cataract, and occupied Kalabsha and Tafa (cf. *Comments* on 300, line 27).

The representation of Silko standing depicts the king in the traditional and timeless attire of the Egyptian ruler, an iconographical message that was obvi-

ously addressed to the inhabitants of Kalabsha, whose traditional Egyptianized urban outlook is indicated by 310 f. and 313 as well. His inscription similarly stresses his claim to unlimited authority in the land conquered from the Blemmyes. However, the author of the text slyly indicated Silko's true status from two different perspectives at the same time, using the term βασιλεύς, "king", when speaking about Silko as one of the rulers in Nubia (cf. "other kings"), and the term βασιλίσκος, "kinglet", when speaking about him in relation to the emperor of Rome (see Hägg 1990, 148 ff. and cf. also Chrysos 1978). It may be that this distinction skilfully gives expression to the actual political context, viz., that Silko was a federate of Rome (Kirwan 1982, 199; Hägg 1990, 154 f.).

Alliance with Rome is also indicated, in more general terms, by archaeological finds dated to the first half of the 5th cent. from Lower Nubia, e.g., the alabaster *largitio* dish from Gemai with the representation of two emperors (Deichmann 1966, Pls 20 f.) and two metal vessels from Arminna of the type Roman officials presented to lesser allied chiefs (Török 1985, 48). Several fine imported objects found in the tombs of the princes buried at Qustul, e.g., some splendid silver plate (Török 1988b, Pl. III) and silver horse trappings of the type found with the Esquiline treasure (Török 1988b, Pls 45 f., 51 f., 55, 57, 181), can also be interpreted as diplomatic presents to allied princes. More significant, however, is the inclusion of folding chairs among the insignia of royal power of the kings of Noubadia buried in the Ballana necropolis; for folding chairs can also be found along the western and northern borders in graves of barbarian allies of Rome (cf. Török 1988b, 81). While not all rulers buried with a folding chair were allies of Rome (a folding chair was also found in tomb B. 3 along with the church implements from a pillaged Upper Egyptian church mentioned above in connection with Appion's petition, see *Comments* on 314), it seems very likely that the adoption of the Roman-type folding chair as one of the symbols of royal authority was inspired by an official present given at the conclusion of a treaty of federation.

[LT]

**318 The war of Rome against the Noubades and the Blemmyes.** Last part of 5th cent. AD.

Priscus, fragm. 21.

*Source bibliography*

Blockley 1981

R.C. Blockley: *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus. (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 6.)* Liverpool.

- de Boor 1903            Excerpta Historica iussu Imp. Constantini  
Porphrogeniti confecta. Ed. C. de Boor. Vol. 1: Excerpta  
de legationibus. Pars II. Berlin.
- Dindorf 1870            Historici Graeci minores. Ed. L. Dindorf. Vol. 1. Leipzig.
- Dobhofer 1955         E. Dobhofer: Byzantinische Diplomaten und östliche  
Barbaren. Graz-Wien-Köln.
- Hunger 1978            H. Hunger: Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der  
Byzantiner. 1. Band. (Handbuch der  
Alturtumswissenschaft, XII.5.1.) München.
- Müller 1841-70         Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum. Ed. C. Müller.  
Vol. 1-5. Paris.
- Wilcken 1901          U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus  
Ägypten. APF 1, 396-436.

*Introduction to source*

Priscus of Panion (Thrace), a rhetorician and historian of the 5th cent. AD, wrote a history in Greek covering approximately the period AD 434-474 (Blockley 1981, 50 f.). In 449 he took part in an embassy to Attila; his description of this event is one of our main sources on the Huns. He then served under Maximinus, who was probably *dux et praeses* of the Egyptian Thebaid in 452-453. Thus he was also an eye-witness to the events he describes in the present text (see *Comments* below). On Priscus see Hunger (1978, 282-284) and Blockley (1981, 48-70).

Priscus' historical work has not been transmitted in its original form, but large extracts from it are preserved in a kind of historical encyclopedia commissioned by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (10th cent. AD) and consisting of excerpts from earlier works of many hands (cf. Hunger 1978, 361 f., 366). One surviving part of this great work deals with various embassies to or from the Romans and Byzantines, and it is there we find these excerpts from Priscus.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus' compilation "On Embassies" has been edited by de Boor (1903), and we have based our text on his edition. Earlier editions are those of Müller (1841-70, the present extract is in vol. 4, 100 f.) and Dindorf (1870, 332 f.). There is a German translation by Dobhofer (1955, 67 f.).

*Text*

"Οτι βλέμνες καὶ Νουβάδες ἠττηθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἔπεμπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰρήνης πέρι, βουλόμενοι σπένδεσθαι, καὶ ταύτην διατηρῆσαι ἔφασαν, ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ Μαξιμῖνος τῇ Θηβαίων ἐγκαταμένῳ χώρᾳ. Τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου ἐπὶ χρόνῳ σπένδεσθαι τοσοῦτῳ, ἔλεγον ἄχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς μὴ κινήσειν ὄπλα. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς δευτέρους τῆς πρεσβείας προσίετο λόγους, ἑκατοντούτις ἔθεντο σπονδὰς· ἐν αἷς ἐδόκει Ῥωμαῖον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἀνευ λύτρων ἀφεῖσθαι,

εἶτε κατὰ ἐκείνην εἶτε κατὰ ἑτέραν ἔφοδον ἦλω, τὰ δὲ τότε ἀπαχθέντα ἀποδοθῆναι βοσκήματα, καὶ τῶν δαπανηθέντων κατατίθεσθαι τὴν ἀποτίμησιν, ὁμήρους δὲ τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας παρὰ σφίσι δίδοσθαι πίστεων ἕνεκα τῶν σπονδῶν. Εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκώλυτον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος διάβασιν, τοῦ ποταμίου σκάφους Αἰγυπτίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐν ᾧπερ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ ἐντιθέμενον διαπορθμεύεται. Ἐν ῥητῷ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι χρόνῳ ἕς τὴν οἰκείαν διακομίζοντες τὸ ξόανον πάλιν αὐτῷ χρηστηριασάμενοι ἕς τὴν νῆσον ἀποσώζουσιν.

Ἐμπεδωθῆναι τοίνυν ἐν τῷ Φίλαις ἱερῷ τὰς συνθήκας ἐδόκει τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ ἐπιτήδειον ὄν. Ἐπέμποντο μετεξέτεροι· παρεγίνοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Βλεμμύων καὶ Νουβάδων οἱ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐν τῷ νήσῳ τιθέμενοι. Ἐγγραφέντων δὲ τῶν συνδοξάντων καὶ τῶν ὁμήρων παραδοθέντων ἦσαν δὲ τῶν τε τυραννησάντων καὶ ὑποτυράννων γεγονότων παῖδες, ὅπερ οὐδεπώποτε ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο· οὐποτε γὰρ Νουβάδων καὶ Βλεμμύων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὠμήρευσαν παῖδες. Συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν Μαξιμίνον ἀνωμάλως διατεθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου τελευταίην μαθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἀφείλοντο βιασάμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέδραμον.

#### *Translation*

The Blemmyes and the Noubades, having been defeated by the Romans, sent ambassadors to Maximinus from both peoples, wishing to enter into a peace treaty. And they proposed that this be observed so long as Maximinus remained in the country of the Thebans. When he refused to enter into a treaty for such a short period, they said that they would not take up arms for the rest of his life. But as he would not accept even the second proposal of the embassy, they made a treaty for one hundred years. In this it was agreed that (any) Roman prisoner<sup>787</sup> be released without ransom (regardless of) whether he had been captured during this or any other attack, that the animals carried off at that time be returned, and that the compensation for the expenses be paid; further, that the<sup>788</sup> well born among them be handed over as hostages to guarantee the treaty, and that, in accordance with the ancient law, their crossing to the temple of Isis be unhindered, Egyptians having charge of the river boat in

<sup>787</sup>“(any) Roman prisoner...had been captured”: the grammatical endings of the corresponding words in the Greek manuscript are not in agreement. The reading of de Boor (1903), which is adopted here, is the one which involves the smallest alteration in the original text. The language of Priscus’ account bears certain traits which might indicate that some of the legal formulation of the treaty had been incorporated into his narrative.

<sup>788</sup>Instead of the definite article, Niebuhr has conjectured the numeral for 300: “that 300 among them be handed over as hostages...” Palaeographically, such a corruption during the transmission of the Greek text could be accounted for (the numeral τ’ misread for an abbreviation of the definite article), but we have not considered it obvious enough that the text really is corrupted to admit the conjecture into our text and translation.

which the statue (*agalma*) of the goddess is placed and ferried across the river. For at a stated time the barbarians bring the wooden statue (*xoanon*) to their own country and, after having consulted it, return it safely to the island.

Therefore Maximinus decided that it was appropriate that the text of the compact be ratified in the temple of Philae. Some (people) were sent. Also present were those of the Blemmyes and of the Noubades who were to conclude the treaty on the island. After the terms of the agreement had been committed to writing and the hostages had been handed over—they were children of the ex-despots and former sub-despots (*hypotyranos*)<sup>789</sup>, something that had never before happened in this war, for never had children of Noubades and of Blemmyes been hostages with the Romans—it turned out that Maximinus fell into precarious health and died. When the barbarians learned of Maximinus' death, they took away their hostages by force and overran the country.

[TE]

### Comments

The evidence surviving from 4th and the early 5th cent. AD and discussed here (see 293, 295, 309-313, 316, 317, 320-322) attests to the repeated attempts of Rome to secure Egypt's southern frontier against the recurrent devastating raids of the Blemmyes, who came first from the Eastern Desert and then from the region they conquered around AD 394 in Lower Nubia, and against the Noubades who started to harrass Upper Egypt in the early 5th cent., by establishing a federate relationship with fractions of both peoples. Though both the Blemmyes and the Noubades entered into such relationships in return for yearly subsidies (cf. Blockley 1985), their raids continued. For lack of evidence, it is impossible to say whether these raids were a consequence of the loose and politically dis-united tribal structure of what we tend, superficially, to regard as a Blemmyan "kingdom" and whether the Noubades participated in the raids mentioned by Appion (314) as allies of the Blemmyes or were always their rivals; and we are unable to discern what pattern there may have been in the alternating alliances and hostilities with Roman Egypt.

The events described by Priscus, an eyewitness, mark a turning point in the history of the insufficient and ineffective dealings with Egypt's southern neighbours. We are told, however, only about the aftermath of what must have been a concentrated military effort against both the Blemmyes and the Noubades. It would seem that the time for it has been chosen on account of the conflicts between the Blemmyes and the Noubades in Lower Nubia about which we learn from 317 and 319. The campaign itself is related in one sentence by the 6th cent. historian Jordanes in his *Romana* (333) written before AD 551 (cf. Kappel-macher 1916, 1915) and largely based on Priscus' lost *History* (cf. Blockley 1981,

---

<sup>789</sup>"sub-despots": the translation of this title is based on a word division proposed by Wilcken (1901, 418, n. 5).

114, 165 note 9): "...through Florus, the procurator of the city of Alexandria, he checked the Nubians and Blemmyes who fell in from Aithiopia and expelled them from the territory of the Romans" (see 329). Priscus himself speaks, however, about a Maximinus. According to Jordanes, Florus was *procurator urbis* of Alexandria, a title erroneously translated from Priscus' presumed Greek original τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ταγμάτων ἡγούμενος, ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν διέπων ἀρχήν, i.e., in reality he was, as suggested by Seeck (1909, 2761), the commander of the Egyptian forces, *comes rei militaris per Aegyptum et vices agens praefecti Augustalis* (for the title cf. Seeck 1900, 662 f.). Maximinus has, by contrast, no title in Priscus' narrative and is described as performing the duties of a diplomat. However, Priscus also indirectly indicates that he was in office in the Thebaid. The proposal of the barbarians to conclude a peace treaty for the time of his stay in the Thebaid means that he was there in an office with fixed tenure. From this, and the fact that he was in a position to negotiate a peace treaty with barbarians, we may conclude that he must have been holding the office of the *dux*, governor, of the Thebaid (for the authority of a *dux* in diplomatic matters see Helm 1979, 338 f.); and he may be identical, as Enßlin (1957a, 9) suggested, with the Maximinus whom Priscus accompanied on his diplomatic mission to Attila in AD 449.

The defeat of the Blemmyes and Noubades indicates an attempt by Rome to achieve a final solution to the problems on the frontier. It remains unclear, however, whether it was the Blemmyes in the Eastern Desert that were also beaten, or it was the Blemmyes occupying the Kalabsha region whom Priscus was referring to. Both peoples sent delegations to Maximinus to start peace negotiations; their condition that the treaty should be concluded for the tenure or the life of their partner is in keeping with contemporary international law. It would seem, however, that they were not in a position to dictate conditions; and it was agreed that they return the prisoners and livestock they had taken from Egypt, pay reparations for war damage, and surrender as hostages children of their "ex-despots and former sub-despots" (titles signifying in contemporary usage tribal chiefs; what is meant in the actual context remains unclear; cf. also 309, 319, 331, 336, 339). In return, they were allowed to cross the border as pilgrims to the temple of Isis of Philae and permission was granted for the cult statue of Isis to resume its annual voyage by barque to Lower Nubia (for the origins of this tradition see FHN II, 170). Shortly after the negotiations were concluded, however, Maximinus died; and the Noubades and Blemmyes regarded the treaty as no longer in force and, in the course of an attack on Philae (?), released the hostages they had given.

We learn from Priscus, *fragm.* 21 and from Evagrius' *Church History*, 2,5 (= Priscus, *fragm.* 22) that after the death of Maximinus Priscus went to Alexandria where he witnessed the religious rioting that started in late 453 AD (cf. Enßlin 1957b, 931). It may thus be concluded that after Maximinus' death the peace negotiations and the renewal of the state of war between Roman Egypt

on one side and the Blemmyes and Noubades on the other occurred in AD 452 or in early 453.

[LT]

**319 Greek letter of King Phonen.** Ca. AD 450.

Rea 1979, 147 ff.

*Source bibliography*

Hägg 1986

T. Hägg: Blemmyan Greek and the Letter of Phonen. In: M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz, 281-286.

Plumley et al. 1977

J.M. Plumley-W.Y. Adams-E. Crowfoot: Qasr Ibrim, 1976. *JEA* 63, 29-47.

Rea 1979

J. Rea: The Letter of Phonen to Aburni. *ZPE* 34, 147-162.

Skeat 1977

T.C. Skeat: A Letter from the King of the Blemmyes to the King of the Noubades. *JEA* 63, 159-170.

*Introduction to source*

This text was written on a papyrus, measuring 30 by 47 cm, which was found in 1976 at Qasr Ibrim on the floor of a storeroom in House X-19 at the S side of the temple of Taharqo (Plumley et al. 1977, 44 and Pl. VIII/1). The roll was wrapped in a tight bundle together with the rolls containing the Coptic Tantani letters (320-322). It is the original of a Greek letter written in cursive script and addressed by King Phonen of the Blemmyes to Abourni, King of the Noubades, in reply to a letter sent by the latter. The text was first published by Skeat (1977, with Pl. XXVII); two years later there appeared a revised edition by Rea (1979) with substantial changes, in readings as well as interpretation. Our text is based on that of Rea, the chief difference being in the punctuation, particularly the placing of quotation marks—all of which, of course, reflect a different interpretation.

At the level of morphology and syntax this text is profoundly obscure. This is chiefly due to the writer's disregard of the standard Greek endings of both case and conjugation but is further acerbated by his seeming lack of consistency in the employment of the forms he does use (cf. Hägg 1986). Some of this deviation from standard Greek may be phonological in character, but this alone cannot suffice to account for all the internal inconsistencies. What makes it possible to force one's way through the text and to suggest a meaning for it lies at the level of semantics; for, in spite of the difficulties posed by the endings of the words, the text can be segmented into recognizable Greek lexemes which, in context, for the most part give rise to meaningful utterances. On the other hand, can one really believe that a writer who took such blatant liberties with the forms of words took none with respect to their meanings?

The translation suggested below is *exempli gratia* and should be used only with the greatest caution (and compared to that of Rea 1979, based as it is on an

identical reading of what is written on the papyrus).<sup>790</sup> Headings are given for what may be the main sections of the text, and the Greek conjunctions that seem to support this structure are printed in parentheses.

## Text

- 1 ὁ ἐπιφ[α]γέστατος Φωνην βασιλεὺς Βλεμμύων (vac.)
- 2 (vac.) Αβουρني βασιλεὺς Νουβάδες καὶ Νακασε (vac.) καὶ Μοῦσῆς  
τῶν υἱῶν σου. (vac.)
- 3 πολλ[ᾶ] πρ]οσαγορευῶ ἐν πρώτοις τὴν βασιλείαν μετὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς  
χώρας, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ὄχλου σου,
- 4 [ἦτις πάν]υ τὸ πρώτων ἐστι, ἐγ θεῶ εὐχομαι. νῦν γράφω σοι τῆ σῆ  
ἀρετῆ σου, ἐπιδὴ ἔγραψέν μοι ὅτι, «μέγα ἀνθρώπῳ ὅς ἐστι
- 5 [τῶ γένει] μέγας». ὅπως καὶ γὰρ σοὶ δέ, ἔχω παῖδαν καὶ κάγῳ. ἔχω μὲν  
παῖδαν Βρειτεκ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Εἰενει καὶ ἄλλα
- 6 [πολλὰ κρ]άτη. ἀλλὰ μὴ νόμιζε [ὅ]τι οὐκ ἔχει εὐγενέστατος. καὶ γὰρ  
ταῦτα ὅλα τὰ γενόμεθα οὐδὲς ὄρῳ εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός. καὶ τῶν μὲν
- 7 [παῖδα]ν Βρειτεκ καὶ τοὺς ἀδ[ελ]φοὺς Εἰενει θέλω ἐπιζητεῖ τῶν  
θάνατον Εἰενει. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ[α] ὁ πρεσβευτῆς σου
- 8 [ἀπάντ]ησά μοι ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐκάλε[σα]ς Βρειτεκ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς  
Εἰενει καὶ ἐκώλυσα αὐτούς. οὐ δύν[α]τ[α]ί τις ποταὶ πολεμηῆσαι
- 9 [χωρὶς κ]ελεύσεώς μου. ἀλλὰ τάχα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σου οὐ<χ  
ύ>πακούειν σοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀκούεις τὰ ῥήματα. καθὼς
- 10 ἔγρ[α]ψέν μοι ὅτι, «θέλω ὁμόνοιαν ἔχωντες μεταξύ ἀλλήλους  
κοινοῦμεν τὰ βοῖδια μου μετὰ βοῖδιά σου, βώσκων μετὰ  
ἀλλήλους
- 11 καὶ τὰ πρόβατα», πάνυ φιλήσαι. ἐὰ[ν] θελήσης, ἐγὼ καὶ σοὶ  
παραμίνομεν καλῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμῶν. καὶ ἄρα/ πρώτον Σιλκῶ  
ἐνίκασα
- 12 καὶ ἔλαβα Τάλμεως, σήμερον δὲ [ἐ]νίκασης καὶ ἔλαβα Τάλμεως.  
πρώτον Σιλκῶ ἔλαβα καὶ ἐκώλυσα τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν, σήμερον [δὲ]
- 13 ἐνίκασης καὶ ἔλαβα Τάλμεως. πρώτον Σιλκῶ εἶπον ὅτι, «δώς μοι  
πρόβατα καὶ βοῖδια καὶ καμήλια εἰκ<ανα>», εἶνα δοθῆναι τὰς  
χώρας
- 14 ἡμῶν, καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοὺς ὅλα καὶ ἐκχλεύασης καὶ ἐκώλυσα ἡμῖν.  
καὶ ἔγραψον πρὸς Εἰενει διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ἔπεμψα τοὺς  
πρεσβευτ[ᾶς]
- 15 μετὰ ὄρκους καί, ἐχλεύασης καὶ φώνευσα φύλαρχος καὶ ὑποτύραννος  
καὶ ἔλαβα τοὺς προφήτους ἐν τῷ τόπου Φωνταου

<sup>790</sup> A comparison of what is legible in the photograph Skeat published with the text he printed and with Rea's revised text reveals what careful paleographical studies those two scholars made. Notwithstanding, there remain a number of uncertain readings which render still more tenuous already venturesome interpretations.

- 16 ἀλλὰ ἔκξεστιν πόλεμωσ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐξῶν χλεύασης τοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους καὶ φωνεῦσα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μετὰ ὄρκους. καὶ γὰρ  
 17 διὰ τὰ γενόμενα Σιλκῶ ὧν ἐχλεύασης Ἐιενει, διὰ τοῦτο ἐλυπήσης καὶ  
 κατήλθα καὶ πολεμήσαι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ρήματα Σιλκῶ  
 18 καὶ Ἐιενει ἐπαρήλθα. τάχα τὴν τύχην Ἐιενει καὶ Σιλκῶ δύνομεν μετὰ  
 ἀλλήλους. ἄρτε γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σοί, ὡς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὡς μισώτερος,  
 ποιῆσαι  
 19 καλὸν χρόνον μετὰ ἀλλήλους. ἀναχώρησα ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ  
 πέμψα τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, εἶνα ἐγὼ καὶ σοὶ ποιῆσαι καλὸν  
 20 χρόνον μετ' ἐσοῦ. καὶ ἐδήλωσέν μοι περὶ ἀσήμια καὶ πρόβατα καὶ  
 καμήλια. ταῦτα εὐρήθημεν ἀπέστιλά σοι. ἀναχώρησα ἀπὸ τῆς  
 21 χώρας μου καὶ δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὰ ἴδια ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ  
 ἀπέστιλά σοι τὰ τῆς χιράς μου. ἐὰν θελήσαι, δῶς μοι τὰς χώρας  
 ἡμῶν  
 22 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔχω μετ' ἐσοῦ καλὴν εἰρήνην. μάθη ταὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν  
 κωλύσης ἡμᾶς τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐ δυνάμεθα  
 παραμίνομεν  
 23 ἐὰν ἀποθανῆν ὅλα. καὶ γὰρ οὐ πολεμήσαι διὰ τὰς χώρας σου — διὰ  
 τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν πολεμήσαι. γράφω σοι πάλιν ὅτι Παχενίωσ ἦλθα  
 24 καὶ ἐρήμωσεν Δαναντ. καὶ ἀναχώρησα ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὑμῶν. καὶ γὰρ  
Κῶει ἦλθα εἰς τὸ πέρα Ταβαλες καὶ ἐποίησα τοὺς βωμοὺς  
 25 καὶ Καβαντια ἐνίκησες. καὶ οὐ/ παραμίνομεν τὰς χώρας ἡμῶν, ὅλα  
 οἱ βασιλεὺς, ἐνίκησες. καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλησα κρατῆσαι τὰς χώρας  
 ὑμῶν,  
 26 ἐπιδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν καλὰ. ὅταν ἀπάντησά μοι ὁ πρεσβευτὰς σου,  
 ἐκατέστησα Σκαρωου υἱὸς Αεινημ εἰς τ[ά]χος εἶνα δοθῆναι αὐτῷ  
 27 τὰς χώρας μου. ὅταν ἦλθα ὁ πρεσβευτὰς, ἐπιστευσά σοι καὶ  
 ἀπέστιλα ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἐιενει. ἡδοὺ ὡμασα ὅτι, «ἀπόδωσ μοι τὰς  
 χώρας ἡμῶν,  
 28 εἰρηνεύουσιν ἕως τῶν αἰωνίων». καὶ δὲ δέδωκα τοὺς ὄρκους μου τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ Ἐιενει, εἶνα παράσχου αὐτοῦ τὰς χώρας μου. καὶ γὰρ  
 29 Βρειτεκ φύλαρχος πολλὰ προσαγορεύω τῶν κύριών μου ἀδελφῷ  
 Ἀβουρني βασιλεὺς Νουβάδες [μετ]ὰ τῶν θεῶν τῆς Τάλμεωσ

(margin<sup>791</sup>)

- 30 ὅτι, ἐὰν ἀπ[ο]δῶ[ς] τ[ὰς] χώρας ἡμῶν, οὐκέτι πολεμήσαι μετὰ ἀλλήλους  
 ἕως  
 31 τῶν ἐωνίων, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάξω καλῶσ. (vac.)  
 32 καὶ γὰρ Φωνην βασιλεὺς ἀπέστιλά σοι κάμηλον μίαν. προσαγορεύω  
 ἐστιν. γράφω σε ὅτι

<sup>791</sup> After the scribe wrote the first twenty-nine lines, he turned the papyrus ninety degrees counter-clockwise and then wrote the remaining five lines in its left-hand margin.

33 ἐγὼ καὶ Βρεξε[ιτ]εκ [.....] ..θε...ε. ἀναχωρασα τὰς χώρας  
 ἡμῶν .... ηλθ.. ιστων... ντουτο . .

(*verso*)

34 καὶ περὶ Ιασατεκ μὴ ἀφησες αὐτῷ κυμηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φεύγουσιν  
 μὴ ἀκούης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ.

*Translation*

(OPENING FORMALITIES)

(1) The most distinguished Phonen, king of Blemmyes, (2) (to) Abourni, king (of) Noubades and (to) Nakase (empty space) and Mouses, your sons. Many greetings I address, first of all, to your majesty and all the people of your country; and (4) I pray to God for (3) the preservation of your populace (4) —[which is altogether]er the most important thing.

(PHONEN'S ASSERTION OF HIS NOBILITY)

Now I am writing to you, your excellency, inasmuch as he (i.e., you) wrote me that "(It is) a great (thing) for a man who is (5) great [in his clan]." For indeed (καὶ γάρ) like you (δέ) I have a son, I too. I have (μὲν) a son, Breytek and Yeny's brothers, and (6) [many] (5) other (6) [for]ces. So (ἀλλά) don't think that "He is not of a very noble family."

(YENY'S DEATH)

For indeed (καὶ γάρ) the whole of what has happened no one sees, if not God. And my<sup>792</sup> (7) son Breytek (6) (μὲν) (7) and Yeny's brothers I want to look into Yeny's death.<sup>793</sup> And after this your ambassador (8) met with me here, and you summoned<sup>794</sup> Breytek and Yeny's brothers, and I stopped them. No one can ever fight (9) [without] my command. But (ἀλλά) perhaps your men don't obey you, but (ἀλλά) (instead) you listen to the words of your men. As (10) he<sup>795</sup> wrote me that "I want us to have concord between one another" (and that) "we have my cattle with your cattle, pasturing one with another (11) and the sheep," is altogether acceptable. If you wish, I and you (will) stay well in our homes.

<sup>792</sup> The text has "the".

<sup>793</sup> Perhaps the Greek θάνατον, "death", is to be taken more concretely here: "I want my son Breytek and Yeny's brothers to ask for Yeny's corpse."

<sup>794</sup> In the sense of "challenged"?

<sup>795</sup> Is this a reference to an approach Silko made? Or is the change from the second to the third person the result of a lapse on the part of the scribe when rephrasing objective statements by Phonen (he, Abourni, did or said something) into personal address in the letter (you, Abourni, did or said something)?

(A RECAPITULATION OF BACKGROUND EVENTS)

For indeed (καὶ γάρ), first Silko won (12) and took Talmis. Today (δέ) you won and took Talmis. First Silko seized our lands and kept us off them. Today ([δέ])(13) you won and took Talmis. First Silko said that "Give me sheep and cattle and camels enough" so that (14) our (13) lands be given (back). (14) And I gave them all, and you<sup>796</sup> were insolent, and he kept (them) from us. And I wrote to Yeny for the peace and sent my ambassadors (15) under a flag of truce;<sup>797</sup> and you were insolent and killed (a) tribal chief (*phylarkhos*) and (a) sub-despot (*hypotyranos*) and took the priests (*prophetes*) in the place Phon-tauou.

(PHONEN'S INDIGNATION AT THE VIOLATION OF THE RULES OF DIPLOMACY)

(16) Well (ἀλλά), it is possible to become warlike, but (ἀλλά) it is not permissible that you should insult our<sup>798</sup> men and kill the men (who were) under a flag of truce.

For indeed (καὶ γάρ), (17) because of what happened (with regard to) Silko of which you insulted Yeny,<sup>799</sup> because of this you caused offence, and I came down to fight too.

(THE TURNING POINT, A WILL TO COMPROMISE)

For indeed (καὶ γάρ), the words (about) Silko (18) and Yeny I (am prepared to) disregard. Perhaps the fate (of) Yeny and Silko we can (settle) with one another. For (γάρ) now I and you, as brother and elder, (can) make (19) (a) good time with one another.

(PHONEN'S DEMANDS)

Withdraw from our land and send the gods to the temple so that I and you (can) make (a) good (20) time with you. And he made (it) plain to me about silver-plate and sheep and camels. What we found I sent to you. (So now) withdraw from (21) my (20) country and give us our property and the gods, (for) I have sent you what I have. If you see fit, give me our lands (22) and the gods. (Then) I (will) have a good peace with you.

<sup>796</sup> In this letter there are shifts in the person of pronouns which have the effect of altering the perspective it adopts. In the present instance, since Abourni appears to have been Silko's—immediate?—successor, Phonen, by addressing him in the second person, could be emphasizing Abourni's shared responsibility for Silko's actions.

<sup>797</sup> The text has "the ambassadors with oaths".

<sup>798</sup> The text has "the men".

<sup>799</sup> I have let this passage remain as literal in translation as possible to illustrate the deep-seated problems of interpretation inherent in this letter.

(THE CONSEQUENCES OF A FAILURE TO COMPROMISE)

Understand, mark you, that if you keep us from our lands and the gods, we are not able to remain (passive) (23) and to let everything perish.

(YOURS IS MORALLY THE WEAKER CASE)

For indeed (καὶ γάρ), you are not fighting for your lands; you are fighting for our lands.

(A CHANGE OF TOPIC: ADDITIONAL GRIEVANCES?)

I write you in addition (πάλιν) that Pakhenios came (24) and devastated Danant and withdrew from your (*sic*) land.

For indeed (καὶ γάρ), Koy came to (the lands) beyond Tabales and made the altars, (25) and you (*sic*) defeated Kabantia.

(MORE ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF A FAILURE TO COMPROMISE)

And we (can) not abide your conquering our lands, all we (lit.: the) kings.<sup>800</sup> And I do not wish to keep your lands (26) since (ἐπιδή) it is not good.

(BACK TO THE INCIDENT INVOLVING YENY)

When your ambassador met me, he appointed Skarouu son of Aynem at once so as to give him (back) (27) my lands. When the ambassador came, I trusted you and sent my<sup>801</sup> brother Yeny. Look, I swore that "Give me our lands. (28) They will be at peace for ever." And (δέ) I also gave my oaths to<sup>802</sup> my brother Yeny<sup>803</sup> so that you (should) hand over to him my lands.

(SUBSCRIPT FOR BREYTEK)

And I, (29) Breytek, tribal chief (*phylarkhos*), greet my lord's brother Abourni, king (of the) Noubades, [together wit]h the gods of Talmis

(in margin)

(30) (and say) that "If you return our lands, no longer to fight with one another for (31) ever, if I shall not keep the peace well." (empty space)

(SUBSCRIPT FOR PHONEN)

(32) And I, Phonen, king, have sent you one camel. My greeting<sup>804</sup> it is. I write you that (33) "I and Breytek ... withdraw our lands ...

---

<sup>800</sup> The text has "all the kings". An alternative interpretation might be: "We, all the kings you have conquered, (can)not tolerate (the loss of) our lands."

<sup>801</sup> The text has "the brother Yeny".

<sup>802</sup> Or: "for".

<sup>803</sup> The text has "the brother Yeny".

<sup>804</sup> Lit.: "I greet it is".

(on the back of the papyrus)

(A POSTSCRIPT)

(34) And about Iasatek, don't let him fall asleep; but (ἀλλά) (with regard to those (who) have fled, don't listen to his words.

[RHP]

### Comments

King Phonen is probably the same person as the Phonoin who appears in 313 with the title *phylarkhos*, "tribal chief", and who acts as the Blemmyan governor of the Kalabsha region. It emerges from the text that he was the nameless enemy of King Silko in 317. In this letter he gives a summary of his conflicts with Abourni's predecessor Silko and with Abourni himself; the reconstruction of the chain of events must, however, remain hypothetical at several points because Phonen dictated the letter in what has been characterized as "Pidgin Greek" (Hägg 1986, 284; on the reasons for the obscurity see further *Introduction to source* above).

It appears that Phonen's account starts with the state of affairs which is recorded in 317 as the outcome of Silko's third campaign: the Noubadian ruler is in the possession of the region around Kalabsha which was formerly under Blemmyan control. Phonen starts negotiations with Silko in order to regain possession of the lost Lower Nubian region. Silko's initial answer, that he is ready to return the land in exchange for "sheep and cattle and camels enough", was favourable. Phonen met his conditions but was cheated. Instead of restoring the Blemmyes' possessions to them, Silko murdered the Blemmyan chieftain (*phylarch*) Yeny and imprisoned the prophets of the unidentified site of Phontauou. Our impression is that Yeny was murdered and that the prophets were taken prisoner in a region once held by the Blemmyes but at the time overrun by the Noubades.

Phonen does not speak about a Blemmyan reconquest of Talmis (Kalabsha) after Silko's conquest recorded in 317. The letter is introduced, however, with the parallel: "For indeed, first Silko won and took Talmis. Today you won and took Talmis. First Silko seized our lands and kept us off them. Today you won and took Talmis". It is possible that an allusion to two actual changes is hidden in this rhetoric: a Blemmyan reconquest and the subsequent "liberation" of Talmis by Abourni; but it is equally possible that upon ascending the throne of Noubadia Abourni inherited Silko's conquests and was soon approached by Phonen who re-opened negotiations with the new ruler on the throne of the former foe, as was customary in the ancient world.

The letter is signed by Phonen and his son Breytek, who has the title *phylarch* (in 313, before becoming a king, Phonen too was a *phylarch*). In a postscript Abourni is warned against Iasatek, who seems to have been a Blemmyan deserter who was intriguing against Phonen at Abourni's court.

It seems that Phonen did not achieve his goals. Kalabsha remained in Noubadian possession, and the Blemmyes lost their foothold in the Lower Nubian Nile Valley for good. Had the Blemmyes recovered Kalabsha, the triumphal inscription of Silko (317), which was written in the language also used as an official language by the Blemmyes and which was inscribed in the temple which had been the centre of Blemmyan administration and cult life, could hardly have escaped erasure.

Phonen's letter highlights some aspects of the political structure of his as well as of the Noubadian kingdom. In the phrases and terms Phonen employed both kingdoms display the features of traditional tribal societies. Phonen addresses his letter to the king of the Noubades *and* his sons; he also quotes a statement from a previous letter from Abourni saying, "(It is) a great (thing) for a man who is great [in his clan]". This is splendid summary of tribal rulership as opposed to charismatic kingship; and it is rendered still more obvious by what follows, viz., Phonen's boasting of his son, relatives, and, in general, the greatness of his tribe. The nature of tribal hierarchy is indicated not only by the emphasis on kinship relations (e.g. the "brothers of Yeny") but also by the mention of the two echelons of officials below the king, the phylarchs and the "sub-despots" (*hypotyrannoi*). The first title denotes the chiefs of separate tribes, a federation of which appears to have formed the Blemmyan kingdom (cf. Papadopoullos 1966, 20); the second seems to have been a Blemmyan invention to denote in Greek a tribal dignitary subordinate to a phylarch (cf. 309, 318, 331, 336, 339; for the interchangeability of *phylarkhos* and *tyrannos* in contemporary official Greek terminology cf. Chrysos 1978, 45).

The name of one of Abourni's sons seems to indicate that by the time 319 was written conversions to the Christian faith had taken place in the highest circles of Noubadian society; the name Mouses (cf. 320) was fashionable in 4th and 5th cent. Christian Egypt and was borne by several bishops too (cf. Enßlin 1933). The addressee of 320-322 also seems to have been a Christian.

[LT]

**320 Coptic letter of Viventius to Tantani.** Ca. AD 450.  
Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50A.

#### *Introduction to source*

This and the following two papyri are three of the many as yet unpublished documents found during the excavations conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society during 1976 at Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia. What we know about them is based solely on contact prints<sup>805</sup> provided by Dr. Peter French and on a faded xerox copy of a draft of an intended publication of them by Prof. Plumley, who, as their excavator, had access to the originals. It is thanks to the good of-

<sup>805</sup>Of 320 we have contact prints only of its *recto*.

fices of Vivian Davies of the British Museum and with Professor Plumley's consent that we are able to include this text in our collection.

In its present state 320 measures 30.5 by 30 cm.; and it is generally well preserved though there has been some damage along vertical rifts and some important loss of text in lines 17 to 20 of the *recto*. Our text and translation are in broad agreement with Prof. Plumley's, but there are a few places where they differ from his. These are indicated in the footnotes. In contrast to the other two papyri this document is written in Sahidic and is free from forms characteristic of any other dialect, and it is conceivable that in the upper echelons of officialdom in Upper Egypt Sahidic was looked upon as the proper language of administration.

*Text*

1 ΤΖΕΡΜΗΝΙΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ  
 2 ΔΝΟΚ ΒΙΒΕΝΤΙΟΣ ΠΚΛΘΟCΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΝΤΡΕΪΘΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΟΖΩ ΕΔΝΜΜΔΤΟΕΙ  
 3 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΖΜΠΛΙΜΙΤΟΝ ΝΚΗΜΕ ΠΕΤΣΖΔΙ ΝΤΑΝΤΑΝΙ ΠΕΦΥΛΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΠΖΕΘΝΟΣ  
 4 ΝΝΔΝΟΥΒΔ ΖΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΔΙΡΕ  
 5 ΠΑΤΝΟΚ ΝΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΑΔΨΕΙC ΠΚΟΜΕC ΔΟΜΕCΤΙΚΩΝ ΜΝΤΔΙΟΙΚΗCΙC  
 ΝΜΜΔΤΟΕΙ  
 6 ΕΤΖΝΚΗΜΕ ΔΨ'ΕΙ ΕCΟΥΔΑΝ ΜΝΠΙΛΑΚ' ΕΨ'ΟΥΨΩΨΕ ΕΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΔΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ  
 7 ΠΑΨΔΕΙ ΝΝΖΟΥΝΝΟC ΜΝΝΟΥΝΟΚΑΡ[.]ΗC<sup>806</sup> ΜΝΝΘΕΜΑΤΟΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΜΕ  
 ΨΟΠ[ΟΥ]<sup>807</sup>  
 8 ΔΨΩ ΔΕ ΔΨ'ΟΖΕ ΝΤΟΖ' ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΜΠΕΚΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΔΕΕΥΝΔΕΙΝΕ ΖΟΜΩC ΔΨΚΩ  
 9 ΝΨΤΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΔΨΩ ΔΨ'ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕΑΤΡΡΟ ΤΝΝΟΥ \ΝCΩΝ/ ΔΦΩΒ' ΡΚΑΤΑΝΔΓΚΗ  
 10 ΕΡΟΨ' ΕΤΒΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΩΨ' ΜΝΠΜΗΨΕ ΕΤΝΝΔΨΩΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΨ'ΒΩΚ ΕΖΗΤ ΔΨΩ  
 11 ΔΨΩΨ' ΤΡΗΝΗ ΕΡΟΨ' ΕΝΤΑCΨΩΠΕ ΔΨΩ Ν[.]ΤΝ ΕΥΜΝΤΨΩΒΗΡ' ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ  
 12 ΖΟΟΤ' ΔΨ'ΚΑΔΤ ΜΠΙΜΑ ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΔΡΑΝΔΨ' ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ΔΕΚΔΔC ΤΡΗΝΗ  
 ΕΤΟΥΤΩΝ  
 13 ΜΝΝΝΝΕΡΗΨ ΕΤΡΨΔΥ ΕΤΡΝΔΔC ΖΙΨ[Ω]Ν ΔΨ'CΖΔΙ. ΜΠΡΡΟ ΜΝΤΕΚΕΥΓΕΝΙΑ  
 14 ΔΨΩ ΨΑΔCΛΛ<sup>808</sup> ΠΕΧΑΡΤΑ' ΕΚΨΑΝΔΙΤ[Ε]ΠΙCΤ[ΟΛΗ ΚΔ]ΤΑCΙΟΥ ΝΓΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΝ  
 15 ΔΕΚΔΔC ΖΩΒ [ΝΙΜ] ΕΤΜΨΔ ΝΨΩΠΕ Ν[Τ]ΕΤΡΗΝΗ Ε[ΝΝΔΔ]Υ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΝΝΝΕΡΗΨ

<sup>806</sup>The text appears to have been altered at this point. The letter following ρ lies in a break in the papyrus; what may be traces of it, if they are not stains on the papyrus, are not adequate to support restoration. The following letters, as seen in the photographs, appear to have been overwritten. Of the two, or possibly three, letters first written, the last may be η; while the letters later written over them may be ης, as given in our text.

<sup>807</sup>The supplement [ΟΥ] is uncertain. It is dictated by our assumption that the verb involved is ψοπ, "receive, contain"; for if so, it is written in the status pronominalis, ψοπ, and requires a suffix pronoun. Elsewhere along the right hand margin of the papyrus there is no sign of letters having been lost at the ends of other lines, and in fact the letters οπ seem to have been compressed to fit the available space. Probably a better solution to the problem awaits.

<sup>808</sup>The long stroke over these letters suggests that they record a personal name. Cf. the stroke over Tantani's name in line 3.

16 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΟΦ[ΥΤ †ΝΔ]ΨΛΗΛ' ΕΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΚ' ΑΛΛΑ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΘ[ΕΠΗ] ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
 ΑΠΑΧΘΕΙΣ  
 17 Π[ΚΟΜ]ΕΣ ΚΕΛΕ[ΥΕ ΕΡΟ]Ι ΕΤΡΑΤΑΖΟΦ' Ζ̄ΝΟΥΘΕΠΗ ΔΥ[Ω ..].ΞΙΩΤ ΠΑΧΩΜ'  
 .†ΜΑΦ  
 18 [... ] Μ̄ΠΙΜΑ [... ]ΟΚ ΕΜΑΤΕ Δ.[.]ΜΕΤΜΕ Ν̄[... Ο]ΥΧΔΙ Ζ̄ΜΠΧΘΕΙΣ [   
 19 ]ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν̄ΣΟΝ [   
 20 Μ̄ΜΟΦ

(verso)

21 ΤΑΔΣ Ν̄ΤΑΝΤΑΝΙ ΠΕΦΥΛΑΡΧΟΣ Ν̄ΝΑΝΟΥΒΑ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΒΙΒΕ[ΝΤΙΟΣ  
 ΠΚΑΘΟΣ]ΩΜΕΝΟΣ  
 22 Ν̄ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΟΥΦΟ[Ζ]Ψ ΕΛΝ̄ΜΑΤΟ[ΕΙ ΕΤΖ̄ΝΚΗΜ]Ε ΤΗΡΟΥ<sup>809</sup>

Translation

(1) The translation of the letter.

(2) I, Viventius, the devoted tribune, he whom they have placed over (3) all (2) the soldiers (3) who are in the Frontier of Egypt, (it is) that writes to Tanttani,<sup>810</sup> the tribal chief (phylarchos) of the Nation (4) of the Anouba.

In the Lord, greeting.

(5) My presenting you authority<sup>811</sup> (exousia) of my Lord, the Count of the Household Guard (komes domestikon) and the diocese of the soldiers (6) who are in Egypt: He came to Aswan and Philae, wishing to meet you; but because of (7) the many Huns and Ounokar[ ] '...' and other soldiers the towns did not 'accommodate (them)' (8) and because he ran out of hay since he did not order them to bring (any), even so he waited (9) four days; and he knew that the Emperor (lit. the King) had sent for us. The matter was pressing (10) him, because of the many matters (he had to deal with) and the numerous multitude (with him), to go north.

And he accepted the peace which had come about and '—' to a friendship<sup>812</sup>. As for (de) me (12) myself, he left me here so that I should swear oaths with you in order that (13) we should make the mutual and worthy (12) peace between (13) us on our heads.<sup>813</sup> He wrote 'it' to the Emperor and (to) your nobly-born (self) (14) and to As<sup>r</sup>. 'li, the archivist (chartouarios).

When you receive this let[ter, de]ign to come to us (15) so that together we may bring about [every] thing that is needful to happen for the peace. (16) And I

<sup>809</sup>We have had no photograph of the verso. The text and supplements are Prof. Plumley's.

<sup>810</sup>This name appears in two variants in our texts: ΤΑΝΤΑΝΙ (320, 321) and ΤΕΝΤΑΝΙ (322). In translation I have adopted Tanttani as a standard form; but this implies no final judgement about the underlying phonology of the name.

<sup>811</sup>I.e., "I (herewith) present you with my authorisation from my Lord ...."

<sup>812</sup>Is this the Coptic expression for a federate status?

<sup>813</sup>I.e., on our responsibility.

myse[lf sha]ll pray to see you—and that at [once]—since (17) my lord, the [cou]nt, ordered me to meet him at once.

An[d ..]... father Pakhôm ... (18) [ ... ] in this place [ ... ] you very much ... loves truth ... Fare well in the Lord [ ...

(19) Beloved brother ... (20) him.

(on the back of the papyrus)

(21) Give it to Tantani, the *tribal chief (phylarkhos)* of the Anouba from Vive[ntios the devo]ted (22) *tribune*, he whom they have placed over all the soldier[s who are in Egypt].

[RHP]

### Comments

The three Coptic letters addressed to Tantani were discovered in 1976 in House X-19 at Qasr Ibrim on the floor of a subterranean storeroom, tightly wrapped together in a bundle with 319 (cf. Plumley et al. 1977, 44 and Pl. VIII/1). The four papyri probably belonged to the royal archives hidden (?) or stored (?) in this place, perhaps together with other documents which had, however, been removed while 319-322 were left lying, together with three imported wine amphorae (see *ibid.*, Pl. VII/4), in a room which in the course of time was filled with rubbish.

The addressee of all three letters is Tantani. 320, which is unambiguously official in character, was written to him by Viventius, the "*devoted (kathosiomenos) tribune*, he whom they have placed over all the soldiers who are in the *Frontier (limiton) of Egypt*". ΚΑΘΟΣΙΩΜΕΝΟΣ is a Coptic form of the Greek epithet καθωσιωμένος; ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΟΣ is the equivalent of Latin *tribunus*. The epithet frequently occurs without a precise and special meaning in contemporary Egyptian documents, also in connection with military statuses (for examples see Preisigke 1931, 192), while the title *tribunus* indicates that Viventius was regimental commander in the region of the southern border of Egypt (for the title cf. Jones 1964, 640 f.). The use of the word ΛΙΜΙΤΩΝ (Greek λίμιτον) which repeatedly occurs in Byzantine Egyptian documents with reference to the southern frontier<sup>814</sup> may also indicate that Viventius was the commander of the *limitanei*, i.e., a unit stationed at a frontier post or in a frontier region and in this period composed mostly of barbarians (cf. Fabricius 1926, 659 f.; Burns 1994, 102). He was, as he says in the letter, directly subordinate to a *comes domesticorum*, who was in command of all Roman military forces in Egypt<sup>815</sup> (cf. Seeck 1900, 650).

<sup>814</sup> Preisigke 1931, 214; Maspero 1942, 19; for the *limiton* as a frontier district administered by a military commander cf. Mayerson 1989; and see also 314.

<sup>815</sup> The identity of the *comes domesticorum* in 320 is, however, a puzzle. From the early 5th cent. there were in the Roman army two *comites domesticorum*, i.e., *equitum* and *peditum*, commanders of the cavalry and infantry troops, whose office was of very high rank (cf. Jones 1964, 372, 636

The addressee of Viventius' letter is Tantani, "phylarch of the people of the Anouba", i.e., a high dignitary in the kingdom of Noubadia, whose title has the meaning "(federate) tribal chief" (cf. 309, 313) and who emerges from the letters written to him as a dignitary who was in a position to conclude a treaty with Viventius, commander of the units on Egypt's frontier. Viventius mentions Tantani's king and kinsfolk in a not quite clear context (line 13), which may perhaps be understood as indicating that Tantani was the "chief" of the Noubadian inhabitants of the region adjacent to the frontier. The phylarchs of the Blemmyes in 309, 313, and 319 may well be imagined to be tribal dignitaries of a similar character and function.

Viventius writes in an official matter of great importance on behalf of the *comes* who came to Syene/Aswan and Philae and wished to meet Tantani. Having arrived with such a large contingent of soldiers that it could not be accommodated and provided for in the villages of the region for longer than four days (?), and being summoned with his troops to the north "by the king" (?), if ΠΠΡΟ is used here in the meaning "King"), the *comes* had to depart without seeing Tantani. So he delegated Viventius to meet the Noubadian phylarch in order solemnly to conclude with him a peace treaty. There can be hardly any doubt that the context is a federate relationship between Egypt and the Noubades. The letter indicates the character of this relationship only indirectly, referring to the peace between them. The allusion to advantages may refer to subsidies the Noubades received. It remains obscure whether in return they also provided recruits to be used in the defense of the Egyptian frontier and/or elsewhere (cf. Burns 1994, 43 ff., 247 ff., 280 ff. for the matter from the viewpoint of the policy of the Roman Empire with regard to barbarians in the 4th and 5th cent.).

Though of no direct relevance for Noubadian history, the composition of the troops accompanying the *comes* in the frontier region presents valuable data for the history of the Late Roman army. The *comes* commanded, according to Viventius' letter, a large contingent of Huns and ΟΥΝΟΚΑΡ . . . . Ounokar[...] may be interpreted as a Coptic writing for *Hunnocarpī* or, since Coptic κ can also stand for ρ, for Οὐννιγάρδαι / (*H*)unnigardi / (*H*)unnigardae.

We know of Huns serving as barbarian auxiliaries in the army of Theodosius I and in subsequent times (cf. Burns 1994, 110 f.); and the *Carpi* or *Carpodaces*, a people of Dacian origin, were transferred under Diocletian and in the course of the early 4th cent. to the Empire (cf. Bichir 1973, 143), mainly to Pannonia, from across the Danube (cf. Patsch 1899, 1609 f.; Burns 1994, 56 ff.; for the Carpes see also Bichir 1976). In AD 380, however, they decided, with groups of *Sciri* and Huns, to leave the Empire and re-cross the Danube. We learn from

---

with note 64). The title may be that of a *comes* of the *protectores*, i.e., the imperial bodyguard (ibid. 53, 637 f.); and here it refers (as an honorific title?) in an otherwise unattested form to the *comes et dux* of the Thebaid who was also mentioned in 314.

Zosimus (4,34.5-6) that in the summer of 381 (for the dating cf. Paschoud 1971-1989 II, 409 f.) Theodosius I sent a campaign against "the *Sciri* and *Carpodaces* mixed with Huns" who had apparently crossed the Danube border again and that they were pushed back. Zosimos speaks about an alliance of the Scires, Carpodaces and Huns and connects the two latter as if they were going to unite into one people. While we are ignorant of what exactly happened in the course of the subsequent decades, 320 may indicate that the two peoples had indeed become one; and it is reasonable to assume that the *Hunnocarpī* serving in Egypt around the middle of the 5th cent. AD were descendants of the Carpodaces and Huns defeated by Theodosius I and subsequently received into the Empire (on the policy of the *receptio* of barbarian groups into the Empire after AD 381 see Burns 1994, 108 f.); troops recruited from their people were, as 320 demonstrates, ordered to serve as far away from their original habitat as Upper Egypt.

ΟΥΝΟΚΑΡ[ . . . ] may, however, as indicated above, also be interpreted, albeit with less probability, as a Coptic writing for Οὐννιγάρδαι/(H)unnigardi/(H)unnigardae, the name of a military unit mentioned in about AD 412 by Synesius (*Catastasis* I, II; *Ep.* 78) as having been sent to Cyrenaica in order to lend support to the *limitanei*, the border defence force, against the attacks of the Austurians (cf. Jones 1992, 203, 653, 665). The ethnic identity of the (H)unni-gardi/(H)unnigardae remains obscure, however;<sup>816</sup> and it cannot be excluded that the name was actually a variant of *Hunnocarpī*.

[LT]

*Further comments on the identity of the comes domesticorum*

A combination of the information furnished by the historian Priscus (318) and the present letter (320) may even allow us to identify the *comes domesticorum* and date the letter.

According to Priscus, who was an eye-witness to some of the events he records, the Blemmyes and Nubians, after having been defeated by the Romans, approached the high-ranking Roman official Maximinus and sued for peace in 452/3 (on the rank of Maximinus, see *Comments* to 318). The negotiations ended in a peace treaty that was to last a hundred years, and Maximinus decided that the text of the treaty should be ratified in the temple of Philae.

Now, in the present letter to the phylarch of the Anouba Tantani, the Roman tribune Viventius, who describes himself as commanding all the troops stationed in the frontier zone of Egypt, says that his lord, "the Count of the Household Guard (Greek *komes domestikon*, Latin *comes domesticorum*) and the diocese of the soldiers who are in Egypt" had come to Aswan and Philae to meet Tantani. Because his lord's entourage, which included many Huns, was

<sup>816</sup> It was suggested by Rattisti 1956, 633, and Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 225, that the name is a compound consisting of the ethnonym (H)unni and the Latinised German word from which Old Italian *guarda* and French *garde* may have originated.

too large to be maintained by local provisions and because the Emperor had sent for him, he had been forced to return north; but he had “accepted the peace which had come about” and had instructed Viventius to stay behind to swear the necessary oaths together with Tantani.

Although Viventius’s superior is not mentioned by name in the letter, it is stated that he held a lofty status and was accompanied by a large number of Huns; and Priscus had in 449 accompanied Maximinus on an embassy to the court of Attila the Hun. The correspondence in remarkable details between these two sources is too great to be easily dismissed as mere coincidence; and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the *comes domesticorum* of the letter can be identified as Maximinus and that both sources supplement one another as to details of the peace concluded at Philae in 452/3.

[RHP]

**321 Coptic letter of Yahatek to Tantani.** Ca. AD 450.  
Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50B.

*Introduction to source*

This papyrus, like 319, 320, and 322, comes from the excavations conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society during 1976 at Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia. Concerning its inclusion in this collection see the *Introduction to source* for 320.

In its present state the papyrus measures 29 by 8.7 cm. It is so damaged at the end of line 1 and in the middle of lines 2 and 3 that the nature of the message it bears remains very obscure.

*Text*

- 1 ΔΝΟΚ ΕΙΔΖΑΤΕΚ' ΕΤΣΖΔΕΙ Ν̄ΠΛΟΕΙC ΤΑΝΤΑΝΙ ΠΛΟΕΙC Ν̄ΝΟΥΒΑ †ΨΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ  
ΤΔ[.]ΝΟ'
- 2 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ν̄ΤΔΕΙΧΟΟC ΝΕ[Κ]'...[.]...ΨΑCΠΟ ΠΔCΟΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΟΥΤC<sup>817</sup>  
ΔΤΑΛΜΕC
- 3 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ν̄ΤΕΙΧΟΟC ΝΕΤ[.]...ΕΙ[.]ΟΥCΟΥ ΝΕΚ' Τ...Ε.ΥΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν̄ΘΔΔΜ'  
ΜΑΡΟΥ-
- 4 ΕΤC ΔΝΤΙΝΑ †CΟΥΕΙΤC ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ν̄ΤΔΕΙΧΟΟC ΝΕΚ' Ν̄ΠΟΡΔΔΜΕΔΙ ΠΖΟΒ  
5 CΠΡ
- 6 ΤΔΔC ΝΤΑΝΤΑΝΙ ΖΙΤΜ
- 7 ΕΙΔΖΔ[ΤΕΚ

<sup>817</sup>Reading the verb ογ(ω)ωτε, “send”.

*Translation*

(1) I, Yahatek, (it is) that writes to the Lord Tantani, the lord of (the) Nouba:

I greet you ... (2) as I have said to [you] ... 'my' brother may they send it to Talmis (3) as I have said ... to you ... all ... may they (4) send it ... it as I have said to you. Do not neglect the matter.

(5) (abbreviation)

(6) Give it to Tantani (7) from Yaha[tek].

[RHP]

*Comments*

321 seems to have reached Tantani, addressed most reverently and vaguely as "lord of the Nouba", from a very different milieu. The name of its writer, Yahatek, recalls the Blemmyan name Yeny occurring so prominently in 319; and the text also refers to "the man of Talmis", i.e., Kalabsha. It may perhaps be assumed without being far too speculative that the relationship between Yahatek and Tantani was an official one; and if so, it reflects the political situation after the end of Blemmyan control of the Kalabsha region (cf. 317-319).

[LT]

**322 Coptic letter of Mouses to Tantani.** Ca. AD 450.

Cairo, Coptic Museum reg. no. 76/50B.

*Introduction to source*

This papyrus, like 319, 320, and 321, comes from the excavations conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society during 1976 at Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia. Concerning its inclusion in this collection see the *Introduction to source* for 320.

In its present state the papyrus measures 31 by 10 cm. and is in excellent condition. It exhibits several features characteristic of the Lycopolitan dialect (or Subakhmimic as it was formerly called).<sup>818</sup>

*Text*

- 1 ΜΟΥΧΗC ΠΕΤCΖΔῙ ΝΠΕΦΜΕ-
- 2 ΡΙΤ̄ ΝΛΟΙC̄ ΝCΟΝ ΤΕΝΤΑΝΙ
- 3 ΖΜΠΧC̄ (vac.) ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
- 4 ΖΛΘΕ̄ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΨΥΝΕ ΕΠ-
- 5 ΤΔΙΟ̄ ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΡΕΦΩΜΩΕ-
- 6 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΔΙΗΟΥ ΜΝΠΕΖ-
- 7 ΛΟΒ̄ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΝΔ-
- 8 ΝΟΥC̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ

<sup>818</sup> For a concise summary of the main features of this dialect, if such it be, see Nagel (1991). More precisely the details of this text correspond to those of the L6 variant of this dialect.

9 Μ[ΔΛΙ]ΣΤΑ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΪ  
 10 \†ΨΙΝΕ ΔΝΕΚΖΙΟΜΕ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ/  
 11 †ΨΛΗΛ ΕΠΘΥ ΖΜΠΕΖΟΥ  
 12 ΜΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΕΤΡΑΟΥΨΤ  
 13 ΜΠΕΚΖΟ Ν̄ΚΕΣΟΠ ΤΕΝΟΥ  
 14 ΠΔΧΟΪΣ Ν̄ΣΟΝ ΔΡΙΠΝΟΒ  
 15 Ν̄ΖΩΒ Κ[Δ]ΤΑΚΡΙΒΙ ΔΚΨΙ-  
 16 ΝΕ Ν̄ΣΑΠΙΚΟΥΪ Ν̄ΔΗΚΕ  
 17 ΘΙΤΑϚ Ν̄ΑΠΑ ΖΔΠΙ ΕΧΙΤϚ  
 18 ΜΠΑΣΟΝ ΔϚΕΙ ΒΟΛ ΝΔΪ ΠΕ-  
 19 ΔΔϚ ΧΕΖΙΚΑϚ ΜΠΑΨΗΡΕ  
 20 ΕΧΟΟϚ ΝΔϚ ΖΪΝΔ ΧΕΝΕΚΑΜΕ-  
 21 ΛΙ ΕΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΑΠΖΩΒ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ-  
 22 ΣΟΡΔ ΧΕΝΕΖϚΧΙΤϚ ΔΝΜΠΕ-  
 23 †ΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΜΕΚΑΜΕΛΙ ΕΛΛ-  
 24 ΛΟΥ Ν̄ΖΩΒ ΘΕ ΘΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΩΨ-  
 25 Κ Ν̄ΪΩΤ Ν̄ΝΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΡϚ  
 26 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΖΔΤΗΚ ΕΚϚΠΡΟ-  
 27 [Ο]ΥΨ ΖΔΡΟΥ ΖϚΤΩΨΚ ΖΩ-  
 28 ΟΝ ΝΔΝ Ν̄ΧΟΪΣ Ν̄ΪΩΤ Ν̄ΝΔΙ  
 29 ΕΠΙΜΑ †ΤΔΜΟ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΔ-  
 30 ΧΟΪΣ Ν̄ΣΟΝ ΧΕΜΠΠΙΠΕΡ ΘΚ-  
 31 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥ ΝΔΝ ΕΠΙΛΔΚ ΔΥΩ  
 32 [Ν]ΚΟΟΥΕ ΘΚΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΣΕ Ν̄ΤΟ-  
 33 ΤϚ ΝΑΠΑ ΖΔΠΙ ΕΣΙΟΟΥΤ ΖΔ-  
 34 ΠΔΣΟΝ ΠΔΠ̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΙΤΟΥ Μ-  
 35 ΠΔ† ᾹΛΟΥ ΕΝΔΪ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ  
 36 Δ[Ε]ΝΕΚΘ̄ΝΔΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΪ ΖΩΣ  
 37 ΔΖΙΔΜΕΛΙ ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΝΕΥΟΥΤΔΪΟ  
 38 ΝΗΤΝ ΕΡΗΣ ΟΥΔΔΪ Ζ̄ΜΠΧΣ ΠΔ-  
 39 (vac.) ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν̄ΣΟΝ

(verso)

40 ΤΔΔΣ ΝΠΑ[ΜΕΡΙΤ Ν̄ΣΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ] ΖΙΤΝ-  
 41 ΤΕΝΤΑΝΙ

*Translation*

(1) Mousês (it is) that writes to his be(2)loved brother-lord Tantani.

(3) In the Lord (empty space) *greeting*.

(4) Before everything else I greet the (5) glory of your glorious Pi(6)ety and the s(7)weetness of your Benevolence which is (8) good for everyone—(9) very

e[*spe*]cially for me. (10) I greet your women all together. I pray 'earnestly'<sup>819</sup> day (12) and night that I may adore (13) your countenance yet again.

Now, (14) my brother-lord, do (me) a great (15) favor<sup>820</sup>. 'To be precise,' you in(16)quired about the small (quantity) of purple dye<sup>821</sup> (17) which I gave to Apa Hapi to take (18) to (you<sup>822</sup>) my brother. He went out to me; he (19) said, "I gave it to my son (20) to send it to him." Please don't ne(21)glect to inquire about the matter '—'(22)ly,<sup>823</sup>—for he took it before (23) I knew—because you are never neglectful about anything.

Even as (24) God has appointed (25) you to be father for (26) all (25) the captives<sup>824</sup> who are in your charge, having a ca(27)re for them, he also appointed you (28) for us as father-lord of these (29) 'to this place'.

I inform (*de*) you, my brother-lord, that (as for) the pepper<sup>825</sup> which you (31) sent to us to Philae and (32) [the] other things which you sent through (33) Apa Hapi to Asyut, (34) my brother Papnute took them. I (35) have not yet given anything to these (people) from them (36) so that you should not find fault with me *as if* (37) I had neglected to send a 'gift of honor' (38) south to you.

Fare well in *Christ*, my (39) (empty space) beloved brother.

<sup>819</sup> The επδγ of the text poses a problem. As it stands, it constitutes no recognizable Coptic phrase or word. It may well be an abbreviation, but then it lacks the supralineal stroke which marks abbreviations elsewhere in the text (lines 3 and 38). These are, however, abbreviations of divine names, so one might argue that επδγ is an abbreviation of some word or phrase that has no aura of divinity about it. Prof. Plumley suggested it might be an abbreviation of ἐπ(ι)θυ(μ)ία, and in lieu of a better proposal I follow his lead. But what, then, is the form? A noun in the nominative would be ungrammatical, one in the dative, borrowed into Coptic as an adverb, would be very peculiar, and I know of no occurrence of an adverb ἐπιθυμῶς.

<sup>820</sup> Lit.: "the great deed".

<sup>821</sup> A purple dye might have been used for Tantani's robes of office if he was formally the chief of a federate tribe.

<sup>822</sup> The "you" is, of course, an interpretation which results in the following: Tentani inquired about dye which Mouses gave to Hapi to take to Tentani. Hapi gave it to his son to have it sent, and Mouses now asks Tentani to find out what happened to the shipment. Suppress the "you", and a new situation arises: Tentani inquired about dye which Mouses gave to Hapi to take to Mouses' brother. Hapi gave it to his son to have it sent, and Mouses now asks Tentani to find out what happened to the shipment. I regard the former interpretation as by far the better of the two.

<sup>823</sup> Lit.: *In order that* you should (or: may) not ne(21)glect to inquire about the matter '—'(22)ly. I construe ϣⲓⲛⲁ plus the Third Future as expressing a politely worded but strongly expressed wish. The exact meaning of the adverbial phrase remains uncertain.

<sup>824</sup> The word is commonly used to denote prisoners of war. Could this be a reference to hostages to secure the treaty Tantani concluded with the Romans?

<sup>825</sup> If I understand this passage correctly, πⲓⲡⲉⲣ is the Coptic form of the Greek πέπερι (var. πίπερι; and the letter can be construed as referring to a case of commerce in the form of an exchange of prestige goods (cf. line 36). Pepper was an item of long-distance trade, coming from further south in Africa or even from India (cf. Steier 1938).

(on the back of the papyrus)

(40) Give it to 'my' ['beloved brother' fr]om (41) Tantani.

[RHP]

*Comments*

The writer of 322, Mouses, apparently a monk at Philae, addresses Tantani as his "beloved lord (and) brother". Though the letter starts by taking up the small matter of the delayed sending of some dye, Mouses also informs us of Tantani's Christianity as well as of the fact that he was in charge of captives who were obviously close to Mouses' heart; for he reminds Tantani that he has to be "father of all the captives" as God has commanded. The situation is explained in the next sentence, according to which Tantani could not have been appointed "lord (and) father of pity" in the place where Mouses lives, i.e., at Philae, without God's blessing; this seems to indicate that Tantani had military authority in the Egyptian frontier region, where he took (presumably Christian) prisoners for some reason which escapes us. In this sense, 322 seems to complement neatly the evidence of 320.

[LT]

**323 Blemmyes participating in a Theban revolt under the Emperor Probus.** Ca. AD 500.

Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 1.71.1.

*Source bibliography*

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Mendelssohn 1887 | Zosimi Comitum et Exadvocati Fisci <i>Historia Nova</i> . Ed. L. Mendelssohn. Leipzig (reprint Hildesheim 1963).                   |
| Paschoud 1971    | Zosime: <i>Histoire Nouvelle</i> . Texte établi et traduit par F. Paschoud. Vol. 1. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris. |
| Paschoud 1972    | F. Paschoud: "Zosimos, 8". <i>RE</i> 2. Reihe, X A, cols. 795-841. München.  |

*Introduction to source*

The historian Zosimus was probably active during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I (AD 491-518). He wrote an account in Greek of the Roman emperors from Augustus down to the capture of Rome by Alaric in AD 410. His account shows familiarity with the city of Constantinople, which is taken as an indication that he spent at least part of his life there. Otherwise, nothing is known about his person or career, except for the information that he was legal adviser to the Treasury (*advocatus fiscali*) and obtained the rank of count (*comes*).

Zosimus' history, summary to begin with, becomes fuller as he draws nearer to his own time. This is reflected in the title, which can be translated "New History", or "Contemporary History" (rather than "New edition", which has also been suggested, see Paschoud (1971) XXI). The ending shows signs that Zosimus never completed his work.

The present extract is from Zosimus' account of the reign of the Emperor Probus (AD 276-282); and the events recorded probably transpired in AD 280. Our text is based on the edition of Paschoud (1971). For an introduction to Zosimus see Paschoud (1972).

*Text*

Τῆς δὲ κατὰ Θηβαΐδα Πτολεμαΐδος ἀποστάσης βασιλέως, πόλεμον δὲ πρὸς Κοπίτας ἐπὶ χρόνον βραχὺν ἀραμένης, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τοὺς συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῇ Βλέμμυας παρεστήσατο Πρόβος διὰ τῶν τότε στρατηγησάντων.

*Translation*

When Ptolemais in the Thebaid revolted against the Emperor and undertook a war against the people of Coptos<sup>826</sup> for a short time, Probus overcame both it [Ptolemais] and the Blemmyes who were its allies, using those who were in command at that time.<sup>827</sup>

[TE]

*Comments*

Zosimus, in his work written in the first third of the 6th cent. AD (cf. Paschoud 1971-1989 III, 80 f.), presents a brief description of the same revolt of the Upper Egyptian city of Ptolemais (modern el-Mansha) in AD 280 against Probus as is also related in the *Historia Augusta* (see 284). While it may be concluded on the basis of the *Historia Augusta* that Coptos was also in revolt at the same time and that the two cities had the support of Blemmyan forces, Zosimus writes that the city of Ptolemais was in revolt, received Blemmyan aid and was at war with the city of Coptos. It has been suggested (Kerler 1970, 253 f.; Desanges 1978a, 344 with note 227) that Zosimus' evidence should be preferred to the narrative in the *Historia Augusta*. Unfortunately, we know too little about conditions in the Thebaid in the last quarter or so of the 3rd cent. AD to be able to form a picture of the role that the individual cities played in the revolts against Rome.

[LT]

<sup>826</sup>The translation "The people of Coptos" is based on Isaac Casaubon's (1559-1614) emendation of the clearly unsatisfactory received text. His conjecture is supported by the account of the same events in the biography of the Emperor Probus in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, see 248.

<sup>827</sup>For the Greek word τότε, translated "at that time", Mendelssohn (1887) conjectured ταύτη, "there".

**324 Philae. Greek graffiti commemorating the conversion of the temple of Isis.**

Ca. AD 535-537.

SEG VIII 789a. SB V 8706, 8703, 8701, 8702. I. Philae II 200-204.

*Source bibliography*

É. Bernard 1969

É. Bernard: Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae. Vol. 2: Haut et bas empire. Paris. [= I. Philae II.]

Nautin 1967

P. Nautin: La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne. Cahiers archéologiques 17, 1-43.

*Introduction to source*

The five inscriptions brought together here were carved on walls in different parts of the temple of Isis at Philae, some in the Hypostyle Hall (II, III, V), others (I, IV) on the north pylon. None contains a date; but their contents show that they celebrate or postdate the conversion of the temple into a church ca. AD 535-537 (for the date, see Nautin 1967, 3-6).

Inscription no. I is badly damaged; the supplements, several of which are due to P. Nautin in his detailed study of these texts (1967), rest on the assumption that its text partly coincided with those of nos. III-V.

Our text follows that of É. Bernard (1969, 251-268, with Pl. 43, 45, 49-51). Bernard supplies the earlier bibliography, a French translation, and a detailed commentary.

*Text*

I (I. Philae II 200)

Ἐγένετο ὁ τόπος οὗτος  
 ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας κ|αὶ  
 ὁμοουσί|ου Τριάδος οἰ]κος  
 τοῦ [ἀγίου Στεφάνου ἐ]πὶ  
 5 τ[οῦ θεοφιλ(εστάτου) πατρὸς ἡμ]ῶν  
 τ[οῦ ἅπα Θεοδώρου τ]οῦ  
 ἐπισκόπου. Ὁ θεὸς αὐτ]ὸν  
 δι[αφυλάξῃ ἐπὶ μή]κισ-  
 [τον] χρό[νον].

II (I. Philae II 201)

Ὁ σταυρὸς  
 ἐνίκησεν,  
 ἀεὶ νικᾷ.

III (I. Philae II 202)

Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν  
 ἔργον ἐγένετο

- ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀσιωτάτου  
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπισκό(που)  
 5 ἄπα Θεοδώρου. Ὁ θεὸς  
 αὐτὸν διαφυλάξῃ  
 ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον.

IV (I. Philae II 203)

- Τ[ῆ] τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ φιλαν-  
 [θρω]πία μετασχηματισάμενος ὁ θεο-  
 [φιλ]έστατος ἄπα Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος  
 [τὸ] ἱερῶν τοῦτο εἰς τόπον τοῦ ἁγίου Στε-  
 5 φάνου· ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐν δυνάμει Χριστοῦ·  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου Ποσίου διακόνου  
 καὶ προεστῶτος.

V (I. Philae II 204)

- Τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον  
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 θεοφιλεστάτου  
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἄπα  
 5 Θεοδώρου τοῦ  
 ἐπισκόπου.

*Translation*

I (I. Philae II 200)

This place became, in the na[me of the holy a]nd consubstanti[al Trinity, the ho]use of [Saint Stephen u]nder (5) o]ur [most God-loving father], B[ishop Apa Theodoros. May God] pre[serve him for a very lo]ng ti[me].

II (I. Philae II 201)

The Cross has won;<sup>828</sup> it always wins.

III (I. Philae II 202)

Also this good work<sup>829</sup> was done under our most holy father, (5) Bishop Apa Theodoros. May God preserve him for a very long time.

<sup>828</sup>Namely, through the conversion of the temple of Isis into a Christian sanctuary.

<sup>829</sup>The word *ergon*, "work", is often used in post-classical Greek inscriptions with reference to a building, e.g., a church. Qualified in this text by the adjective *agathos*, "good", it no doubt combines a reference to the material transformation of the temple into a church with the notion of "a good deed" (cf. É. Bernand 1969, 262). The initial *kai*, "also", may imply that Bishop Theodoros had been credited with other building activities on Philae as well.

IV (I. Philae II 203)

The most God-loving Bishop Apa Theodoros, who by the goodness of our master Christ transformed this shrine into a place<sup>830</sup> for Saint (5) Stephen, (dedicated this image)<sup>831</sup>—may it be to the best through the power of Christ! (The inscription was provided) under the most pious deacon and rector<sup>832</sup> Posios.

V (I. Philae II 204)

This work was done under our most God-loving father, (5) Bishop Apa Theodoros.

[TH]

*Comments*

The sanctuary of Isis on the island of Philae remained an isolated stronghold of pagan cults and, in more general terms, an intellectual and emotional support for pagan resistance to Christianity as well as to Roman rule in Egypt throughout the 5th cent. AD and during the early decades of the 6th. While in Egypt pagan worship was—though not with immediate and complete success—forbidden by an edict in AD 392 (cf. Kákosy 1984b) and the fate of the temples sealed, Philae continued to maintain regular cultic activity. The city's exceptional situation was determined, like that of other surviving pagan cults elsewhere in the Empire (cf. Bagnall 1994, 147), by its proximity to a border beyond which there were peoples who were still pagan, whose religious life was traditionally connected to the temple of Isis, and had ambivalent relations with the Empire which were characterised by alternating periods of alliance and hostility. By the middle of the 5th cent., however, there were individual conversions in the upper circles of the kingdom of Noubadia (see 319-322) which were connected by alliance to the Roman government in Egypt, thus indicating that Rome, understandably, tried to build up a better-functioning diplomatic relationship with its dangerous neighbour by promoting its conversion to Christianity (cf. esp. 322; and see Krause 1987, 295 ff.).<sup>833</sup> Philae was supported by the Noubades and the Blemmyes; and actual and potential Upper Egyptian rebels (cf. P. Maspero

<sup>830</sup>The word *topos*, "place", which is employed in its usual sense in no. I, here seems to take on a meaning otherwise known from Coptic texts where it may denote "un martyrium, une simple église ou un monastère" (Nautin 1967, 63).

<sup>831</sup>It is probable that the inscription commemorates the dedication of the wall painting of Saint Stephen which Letronne, on his visit to Philae in 1828, saw beside the inscribed text; there are now no traces of it (cf. É. Bernand 1969, 264 f.).

<sup>832</sup>According to Nautin (1967, 20), the word *proestos* is not a title in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but denotes the person in charge of a congregation or church, be he bishop, priest or deacon.

<sup>833</sup>The completely negative picture previously painted of the Christianization of Nubia prior to its official conversion is, as to the absence of archaeological evidence, maintained here; the interpretation of 319-322 presented here should, however, be preferred to that in Török 1988b, 69 ff.

67004, 6th cent., Updegraff 1978, 150 f.) counted on the support of the pagans from beyond the frontier (cf. 306).

Closing the pagan sanctuaries might thus have seemed increasingly imperative for several reasons; but, when it was finally decided by the Emperor Justinian, it cost considerable effort. The temples were closed, their priesthoods arrested, and their cult statues sent to Constantinople by the commander of the frontier troops, the Persarmenian general Narses,<sup>834</sup> some time between the middle of 535 and late 537 AD (Nautin 1967, 8). The temple of Isis was turned into the church of St. Stephen; and Philae became the seat of a missionary bishop, as is indicated in the first inscription quoted here (É. Bernard 1969, 252 no. 200). It commemorates Bishop Theodoros (see also 331), who had, according to John of Ephesus (*Ecclesiastic History* 4.9), been consecrated by the Alexandrian Monophysite patriarch Timothy III (AD 517-535) and was still alive in 575.

The conversion of the temple of Philae marked the beginning of the official conversion of the peoples of the Nubian Nile Valley to Christianity. The process is briefly described by John of Ephesus, from whom we learn that by the middle of the 6th cent. AD there were three independent kingdoms in the territory of the ancient kingdom of Meroe. Egypt's southern neighbour, Noubadia, is repeatedly mentioned in the sources presented above. South of Noubadia, the kingdom of Makuria, with its capital at Old Dongola, occupied the region between the Third Cataract and the Northern Butana; to the S of Makuria lay the kingdom of Alodia, with its capital Soba (cf. (227)). John of Ephesus also indicates that Makuria was hostile to its neighbours.

John of Ephesus speaks of two missions sent to Nubia, one by Justinian (a Melchite or Dyophysite mission) and another by the empress Theodora (a Monophysite mission). According to John, an intrigue by the *dux* of the Thebaid delayed the emperor's mission, and it was the Monophysite mission which, arriving first in Noubadia, converted its king and court. In Godlewski's view (1994, 173 f.) the dispatch of two missions from Melchite Constantinople representing different rites was not a result of religious rivalry at court but of a political pragmatism which was well aware of Noubadia's already existing contacts with Monophysite Egypt as well as of Makuria's isolated position. While the process of conversion in Makuria remains rather obscure, the view that it was converted to the Melchite faith and thus received Byzantine intellectual influence (cf. Godlewski 1994) seems to be preferred in the modern literature to the view that Makuria too was Monophysite (see, however, the doubts summarized by Krause 1987, 296 f. and cf. Török 1988b, 70 f.). A strong Byzantine influence is indeed illustrated by the splendid monuments of early Christian art and architecture from Old Dongola (see the literature quoted in Godlewski

---

<sup>834</sup>Procopius, *De bello Persico* 1.19.37; for his career see, with a different, and probably erroneous, dating of his activity at Philae, Enßlin 1935.

1994), which present a radically different picture from that of the 6th and 7th cent. AD monuments from Noubadia.

The Monophysite mission, led by the priest Julian, left for Noubadia ca. AD 543; after two years work, however, Julian returned to Constantinople. Until 551 the Noubadian converts were in the care of Theodoros, bishop of Philae. In 566 Patriarch Theodosius appointed Longinus bishop of the Noubades; Longinus could, however, only start his mission in AD 569 (cf. John of Ephesus, *op. cit.*, 4.7) and stayed for six years in Noubadia (*ibid.*, 8-10). In 575 he went, passing Philae and visiting the aged Theodoros,<sup>835</sup> to Alexandria. In 580 he returned to Noubadia, whence he proceeded south at the invitation of the king of Alodia, who asked him to convert his people and organise the church of Alodia.

The three other Greek inscriptions quoted above (II-IV, É. Bernand 1969, 256 ff. nos 201-203) are testimonies to popular religiosity in the newly converted church and are the Christian descendants of the pagan *proskynema* texts.

[LT]

**325 Philae. Greek graffito of a Christian Nubian.** After AD 537.

SB V 8709a. I. Philae II 205.

For *Source bibliography* and general *Introduction to source*, see 324. The present text was inscribed on a wall in the Hypostyle Hall of the (former) temple of Isis, between the representation of the goddess herself and her sceptre on the wall (É. Bernand 1969, Pl. 46).

*Text*

Ἐγὼ Θεωδόσιος  
Νουβα.

*Translation*

I, Theodosios, a Nubian (*Nouba*).

[TH]

*Comments*

This brief inscription consists of no more than the name and the ethnic of its writer and is introduced by the pronoun ἐγὼ in order to stress that it was written personally by the pilgrim. Thus it indicates the descent of the Christian *proskynema* from pagan Greek, Demotic, and Meroitic antecedents, the central idea of which was to perpetuate an adoring presence. Theodosios must have been a Christian who, according to Nautin (1967, 31), as a deliberate manifestation of religious and political sympathies, received at his baptism the name of

---

<sup>835</sup>The subsequent activities of Theodoros are attested by the Dendur inscription (see 331) and by an inscription from Philae dated AD 577 (É. Bernand 1969, 277 ff. no. 216).

the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, who died in exile in 566 in Constantinople. Nautin also refers to a Dioskoros, the writer of another *proskynema* (É. Bernard 1969, no. 207) who may have been given, for similar reasons, the name of another patriarch who was exiled because of his hostility to the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) which formulated the dogma of Dyophysitism, i.e., that Christ's human and divine natures were united in one person but not confused. If these assumptions are correct, we may also suppose that these names date the inscriptions in question to the period of Bishop Theodoros (before ca. 580), who was consecrated by the patriarch Theodosios and was personally involved in dogmatic disputes and their political consequences.

The writer of the *proskynema* indicates his ethnicity as *Nouba*, "Nubian", using the Greek term which had been employed by the classical authors (cf. FHN II, 110, in this volume see 190, 222, and cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 6.35). This reflects—as opposed to the name Noubades, Annoubades, that emerged in the Egyptian Greek documents and literature of the 3rd cent. AD (cf. 314, 328)—the ethnonym used by the inhabitants of Nubia themselves (cf. the graffiti É. Bernard 1969, nos. 208, 210, 213; cf. also Arabic *Nūba*).

[LT]

**326 The Blemmyan War.** End of 3rd to the middle of 5th cent. AD.

P. Berol. 5003, 55-86.

*Source bibliography*

Livrea 1978

H. Livrea: *Blemyomachia* (P. Berol. 5003) edidit prolegomenis versione et commentario instruxit H. Livrea. (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 101.) Meisenheim am Glan.

Page 1941

Select Papyri. Vol. III: Literary Papyri. Poetry. Texts, Translations and Notes by D.L. Page. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-Cambridge, MA.

*Introduction to source*

*Blemyomachia*, "The Blemmyan War", is the conventional (modern) title given to an historical epic poem, written in the metre, language, and style of Homer, of which papyrus fragments were found in a tomb at Luxor (Egypt) and first published in 1881. The papyri were deposited in the Royal Museums of Berlin, hence the designation P. Berol. (= Papyri der Staatlichen Museen Berlin) 5003. The discovery of an additional fragment and subsequent scholarly work on the order of the fragments have resulted in one long fragment of continuous text, albeit with lacunae; especially beginnings and ends of lines are often missing.

Points of language, style, and metre suggest a date for the poem between the end of the 3rd and the middle of the 5th century AD (Livrea 1978, 22 f.). As for the author, Livrea argues (23-31) that he is identical with the historian, politician, and diplomat Olympiodorus of (Egyptian) Thebes (for whom see 309); cf. also *Comments* below.

Below we give the text and the restorations presented by Livrea (1978), who also offers an introduction, transcription of the text with critical apparatus, translation into Italian, and a commentary. An English translation is provided by Page (1941, 590-94).

*Text*

- 55 ]υμμελ[.]ντισ[  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς] ἀπέληγε μάχης [  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιὼν Β]λεμύων κλισίας τ[ε κ]αὶ ἔ]ρκεα πυκνά  
 ῥήξέ τε ] καὶ κατέκηε καὶ οὖς κατέμαρπτε κα[τέκτα,  
 πρὸς δ'] ἔθεεν πέτρας τε καὶ οὖρεα καὶ μέλαν [ὔδωρ,  
 60 ...]ς λειπομένων διζήμενος εἶ που ἐφ[εύροι.  
 ὥς δ]ὲ λέων νομίη ἐπὶ φορβάδι θυμὸν ἀλυ[ίω  
 ...] βοῶν ἀγέλην μετανίσεται ἤματι μ[έσσω  
 οὐδέ] μιν ἰσχανώσι κύνες δεδαημέν[οι ἄγρης  
 δύμ]εγαί ἔρκεα πυκνά, τεθήπασιν δὲ β[οτῆρες,  
 65 αὐτὰρ ὄ]γ' αἶψα βόαυλον ἀμαιμακῆτη ὑπ[ὸ λύσση  
 ἔσθορε, τ]αυροφόρον δὲ γένυν περιάγνυτα[ι ἀφρός  
 ]ἐπέχραεν, οἱ δ' ἐπ[έχυντο  
 ]παρ' ἀλλήλο[ι]σι μ[ένοντες  
 ]. εἰκότε[ς  
 70 ]σε[  
 ] . . [ . . ]ρ. [  
 ἐ]πιχθον[ί]οισι φ[  
 ].ρχε[. . . .]σοι κατόπισθεν [  
 [. . . ]των δ' ἐκάτερθε κύνες προσθέουσ[ι  
 75 ὥς ἄ]ρα Γερμανῶ ῥηξήνορι χαλκοκορυστ[ῆ  
 τῆ μὲν θ]ῆλυς ὄμιλος [ἐ]νπλέκτοις ἐνὶ δεσμο[ῖς  
 τῆ δὲ καὶ] αἰζηῶν στρατὸς ἔσπετο, τοὺς κα[τ]ὰ χῶρ[ην  
 ζώγρησ' ἐκ] πολέμοιο πεφυζότας · ἔστανε δὲ χθ[ῶν  
 στειβομέν]η πρῦλέεσσι καὶ ἀκ[α]μάτων ποσὶν ἵππων[  
 80 στεινομένων] ἄ]μυδις, λιγυρὴ δ' ἀνεβόμβεε σάλπ[ιγξ  
 πατρίδι ση]μαίνουσα μάχης πολυγηθέα νίκ[ην·  
 οὐδὲ φυλα]κτῆρες πυλέων ψαύ[ε]σκον ὄχη[ος  
 ]. . . . .]έειγε[ρ[. . . ]γτε πόδα[  
 ]. [τιν ἐπὶ χνοά]φ[ντι  
 85 ]ιν ἐπερρ[  
 ]β . . . .[

## Translation

55 [- - - -]

[but not even then] did he<sup>836</sup> refrain from fighting [  
 [but marching against] the tents and the solid fences of the Blemmyes  
 [he broke and] burnt them, and the men whom he could catch he ki[lled.]  
 He rushed [towards] the rocks and mountains and black [water]

60 to see whether he could f[ind] the remaining [ ... ]

[Just a]s a lion, intent upon a grazing cow,  
 goes after the herd of cattle at m[id]day,  
 and the dogs, though train[ed in hunting], are [un]able to keep it from  
 penetrat[ing] the solid fences, and the h[erds]men stand astounded,

65 and, driven by irresistible [rage], it swiftly

[breaks] into the cattle enclosure, and [foam?] froths round the jaws that  
 bring death to the oxen.

[Thus he] attacked, and they [

] with one another [

] similar to [

70

[...]

[...]

] for the mortals [

] from behind [

] from both sides dogs rush forward [

75 [Thus, then,] Germanus, bronze-helmeted breaker of the enemy's ranks,

was [both] followed by a host of women in well-plaited fetter[s],

[and] by an army of men whom, throughout the countryside,

[he had captured] as they fled from the war. The gr[ound] groaned

as it was trodden by the soldiers and the feet of the untiring horses

80 [as they thronged t]ogether, and the shrill trump[et] resounded

[an]nouncing [for the fatherland] a joyful vict[ory] in the battle.

[Nor did the watch]men touch the locks of the gates

[...]

] on the [...] getting his first down [

85

[...]

[TE]

## Comments

The verses from the Greek heroic *Blemyomachia* presented here cannot be connected with a known and datable episode in the conflicts between Blemmyes and the Roman army in Egypt. As is indicated by the Nilotic scenery in line 9 of the poem, the Roman victory described here in a fine poetical style seems to have occurred before the expulsion of the Blemmyes from the Nile

<sup>836</sup>The subject is Germanus, the hero of the poem.

Valley around AD 453 (cf. 317-319). However, it is also possible that the *Blemyomachia* describes a raid on Upper Egypt and can then be dated to the period after 453. Stern (1881, 70 ff.) and Kirwan (1937, 80 f.) connected it directly with the events of the war against the Noubades and Blemmyes in 452-453 (cf. 318). The stylistic features of the work are consonant with a date about the middle of the 5th cent. (cf. Livrea 1978, 15 ff.); however, Livrea's suggestion (1976) that its author might be Olympiodorus of Thebes (see 309) cannot be substantiated. Attributions to other authors of Late Antiquity, e.g., Cyrus of Panopolis or Claudius Claudianus, are similarly hypothetical (on the work of Cyrus see Cameron 1982, 217 ff.; for Claudianus cf. 278, 308). Also the hero of the conflict, the victorious Germanus, must remain unidentified.

[LT]

**327 The Emperor Justin threatens to send Nubian and Blemmyan soldiers through Aksum against Himyar in AD 524. After AD 529.**

Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* 5, p. 41-43.

*Source bibliography*

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Boissonade 1833 | Anecdota Graeca. Ed. J.Fr. Boissonade. Vol. 5. Paris. (Reprint Hildesheim 1962.)   |
| Huxley 1980     | G.L. Huxley: On the Greek <i>Martyrium</i> of the Negranites. (Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C. Vol. 80, C, No. 3.) Dublin.                                      |
| Moberg 1924     | A. Moberg: The Book of the Himyarites. Fragments of a hitherto unknown Syriac work. Ed. with introd. and trans. (Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 7.) Lund. |
| Ryckmans 1987   | J. Ryckmans: Les rapports de dépendance entre les récits hagiographiques relatifs à la persécution des Himyarites. <i>Le Muséon</i> 100, 297-305.                                  |

*Introduction to source*

The present extract is from the story of the martyrdom of St. Arethas (BHG I. 62), written some time after AD 529 and edited by Boissonade (1833), on whose text our's is based.

The story is the most comprehensive source for the persecution of the Christian inhabitants of Negran in Arabia during the reign of the Emperor Justin I (AD 523); in addition, there are two near-contemporary letters in Syriac and the so-called *Book of the Homerites*, also in Syriac (in a fragmentary condition). For the whole sequence of events and a discussion of sources and chronology see Huxley (1980). The chronology of the sources is discussed by Ryckmans (1987), who argues for the view that the *Book of the Homerites* is the latest adaptation, containing manifest amplifications, against Moberg

(1924), who concluded that the *Martyrdom* is a secondary, much shortened, compendium (p. XXXVII).

### *Text*

Γέγραφε δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ εὐσέβεια καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἐλεσβᾷ τάδε: "Οἶδα τὸ χριστιανικώτατον τῆς σῆς ἀδελφότητος· καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀντάρτης, ᾧ τινι ἐπιστεύσατε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, δραξάμενος καιροῦ, πάντας τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐλθόντας Αἰθίοπας χριστιανούς, μετὰ τῶν εὐρεθέντων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν χριστιανῶν, φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀνεῖλεν, μὴ ἐλομένων ἀρνήσασθαι Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἄλλὰ δὴ καὶ Νεγράν τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον κατέστησεν. Γεγράφηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Περσίδι Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Σακικᾶς, ἐξαιτούμενος καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅμοια διαπράξασθαι εἰς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χριστιανούς.

Προτρεπόμεθα τοίνυν καὶ ἐνορκοῦμεν κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος τὴν σὴν ἀδελφότητα, χεῖρα βοηθείας ἔχουσιν τὴν τῶν ἀγίων Ἀγγέλων καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλων δύναμιν, ἐξελθεῖν εἴτε πλῶ εἴτε πεζῇ κατὰ τοῦ μυσσαροῦ καὶ παρανόμου ἔβραίου.

Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὀκνήσει ἡ σὴ γνησιότης ποιῆσαι, οὐρανόθεν ὀργίζεται αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τῇ ὑμετέρα πολιτεία. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ Κόπτου καὶ Βερονίκης καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Βλεμμύων καὶ Νοβάδων πλῆθος στρατευμάτων ἐκπέμπαντες, παρόδῳ χρησάμενα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς σοῦ συντρίψουσι πάντας, τὸν δὲ Ὀμηρίτην καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν πᾶσαν εἰς τέλειον ἀφανισμόν καταστήσουσιν. "Ἐρρωσο."

### *Translation*

His Piety [the Emperor Justin] wrote also to the same Elesbas [King Ella Asbeha of Aksum] as follows:

"I know the most Christian attitude of Your Brotherhood.<sup>837</sup> It has come to our attention that the rebel, to whom you entrusted<sup>838</sup> the kingship of the Homerites [Himyarites], grasping his chance, massacred<sup>839</sup> all the Christian Aithiopians who have come under your rule, along with the Roman<sup>840</sup> and Persian Christians who were found in the same region, unless they chose to renounce Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He even went so far as to leave the town of Negran deserted and uninhabited. He also wrote to Alamoundaros,<sup>841</sup>

<sup>837</sup>I.e., "you, my brother"; the phrase is a formal honorific mode of address belonging to the protocol of international relations, comparable to addresses like "Your Excellency" today.

<sup>838</sup>In the Greek text the verb is in second person plural; one manuscript has second person singular.

<sup>839</sup>The Greek says literally "eliminated by murder by the sword".

<sup>840</sup>'Roman' in the sense of inhabitant of the East Roman Empire, at that time still including Egypt, Palaestina, Syria etc.

<sup>841</sup>Al-Mundhir III, of the Lakhmid dynasty.

surnamed Sakikas, in Persia, asking that they too [the Lakhmids] take similar action against the Christians subject to them.

So we exhort and adjure Your Brotherhood by the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, that you go forth by sea or by land, with the power of the holy angels and archangels as your helping hand, against that foul and lawless Jew.

If Your Legitimacy<sup>842</sup> shrink from this task the wrath of God will come from heaven upon you and your country. And we for our part will send forth by way of Coptos and Berenice<sup>843</sup> a huge army, consisting of both the so-called Blemmyes and Noubades; as it passes through your territory our army will crush everybody, and they will utterly obliterate the Homerite with his whole country. Farewell."

[TE]

### Comments

The Greek *Martyrdom* of the Negranites recounts the massacres of Christians inflicted by the insurgent Himyarite king Dounaas (Dû-Nûwas) at Negran (Najrân in S. Arabia) and the subsequent Aksumite crusade against the insurgent. The massacres, which are the central topic of the *Martyrdom*, took place in the course of late October and November of AD 523, as shown by Huxley (1980, 42 ff.), who devoted a detailed study to the international diplomatic context of the events described in the *Martyrdom* and related sources. The passage presented here is part of a longer, detailed and somewhat garbled narrative, which we summarize on the basis of Huxley's interpretation.

The *Martyrdom* relates that King Ella Asbeha of Aksum (the Kaleb Ella Asbeha of the Aksumite sources; see Munro-Hay 1991, 84 ff.) invaded the Arabian kingdom of Himyar (Yemen) ca. AD 519 (cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes, ed. Wolska-Conus 1968, 369, with wrong dating; see Huxley 1980, 47 f.) in order to expel the Jewish king Dounaas (in later tradition Yusuf Asar Yathar, cf. Munro-Hay 1991, 85 f.) who was known to be persecuting the Christians in his kingdom. Dounaas fled to the mountains; Ella Asbeha established an Aksumite garrison and returned to Aksum. In 523 Dounaas returned from the mountains and slaughtered Ella Asbeha's troops and the Christians living at Zafyar, i.e., the capital of Himyar, whence he proceeded to Negran, where he massacred the local Christians, including a certain Arethas (Harith), in the course of late October and November. The martyrdoms provoked a second Aksumite expedition, at the successful conclusion of which Ella Asbeha appointed a son of Arethas as his viceroy (for further evidence cf. Munro-Hay 1991, 87).

A letter of the Emperor Justin (518-527) written to Timotheos IV, Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria (517-535, cf. Nagl 1937), and referred to in the *Martyrdom*, clearly indicates that the power of Dounaas was regarded in the

<sup>842</sup>Reading ἡ σὴ γνησιότης. In one manuscript the address is ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης, "Your Holiness".

<sup>843</sup>In the Greek text the spelling is Beronice.

Eastern Empire as highly dangerous politically, economically and from a religious point of view as well; it posed the threat of an alliance between Dounaas and Persia, represented a threat to the Syro-Palestinian frontiers of the Roman Empire, and could well have brought about the loss of control over the Indian trade conducted via the Red Sea (see Huxley 1980, 54 f.). Accordingly, the Emperor asked the Patriarch to urge Ella Asbeha to avenge the martyrs and punish Dounaas.

The Emperor Justin also sent another letter on the same matter. This letter, the one translated above, was addressed to the ruler of Aksum. Here he assumes that Dounaas had originally been appointed by Ella Asbeha to be his viceroy in Ḥimyar and urges Ella Asbeha to take appropriate steps to suppress his appointee. To lend strength to his demand Justin threatens to send a force of Blemmyan and Noubadian troops by way of Aksum to Ḥimyar. For Nubian history it is the route of the troops in question and their ethnic identity that is important and explains why we have included this passage in the FHN. The Emperor says that his troops consisting of Blemmyes and Noubades would travel from Coptos across the desert to Berenice on the Red Sea. For this army to endanger Aksumite territory it would have to make a westward detour on its way from Berenice to Ḥimyar.

Though Justin's threat does not seem to have been realized (cf. Huxley 1980, 49 f.), the Martyrdom offers an excellent addition to the evidence concerning the Noubadian (cf. 317, 320-322, 328) and Blemmyan (cf. 309, 331) federates of Byzantine Egypt. (For the subsequent events and Ella Asbeha's actual victorious campaign in AD 525-526, which do not concern us here, see Huxley 1980, 51 ff.)

[LT]

**328 The withdrawal of the Roman frontier in AD 298. Ca. AD 545.**

Procopius, *De bellis* 1.19.27-37.

*Source bibliography*

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Cameron 1985     | Averil Cameron: Procopius and the Sixth Century. London.   |
| Dewing 1914      | Procopius. With an English translation by H.B. Dewing. Vol. 1: History of the Wars, Books I and II. (Loeb Classical Library.) London-New York. |
| Haury-Wirth 1962 | Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia. Ed. J. Haury-G. Wirth. Vol. 1: De Bellis libri I-IV. Leipzig.   |
| Veh 1970         | Prokop: Perserkriege. Griechisch-deutsch, ed. O. Veh. (Tusculum-Bücherei.) München.  |

*Introduction to source*

Procopius, born ca. AD 500 in Caesarea in Palestine, was the leading Greek historian of the 6th cent. AD, active during the reign of Emperor Justinian (AD

527-565). As counsellor and trusted friend of Justinian's general Belisarius he accompanied him on his campaigns and wrote a history of Justinian's wars in the East ("The War against the Persians"), in Africa ("The War against the Vandals"), and in Italy ("The War against the Goths"). In style and spirit he is in the tradition of the Classical historians Herodotus and Thucydides (5th cent. BC); he overtly strives for objectivity but may be suspected of embellishing the exploits of the "Romans", i.e., Byzantines, and especially of his hero Belisarius. For contemporary events his account is considered to be fairly accurate, although there are few precise dates; for older times he is, of course, dependent on the quality of his sources, few of which can be identified. On Procopius see Cameron (1985).

This extract is from the part of his history which deals with the Eastern campaign and seems to have been completed before 545 and published in 551. Procopius' excuse for including a detailed description of the peoples south of Egypt in his account of the Persian war is that Justinian "at that time [i.e., in 531] got the idea of making the Aithiopians and Homeritae his allies with a view to damage the Persians" (1.19.1).

Our text is based upon that of Haury-Wirth (1962). There is an English translation by Dewing (1914) and a German one by Veh (1970).

#### *Text*

1.19 [27] Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὄρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. [28] Ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἴδρυται καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη. Ἄλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ᾤκηνται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι.

Πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπὶ ἑτέρων ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. [29] ἠνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιος ὡς ἦκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι (πέτραι γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσαι τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι), στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυτο, ὧν περ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὁασιν ᾤκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς αἰεὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἰδρῦσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσι τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνوني ἥσπερ τὰ πρότερα ᾤκηντο. [30] Οὕτω γὰρ ᾤετο αὐτοὺς τε οὐκέτι τά γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὁασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὐσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι Βλέμυάς τε, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους.

[31] Ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποιήντο, ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ξύμπασαν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον.

[32] Τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνά πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσωνται. [33] Ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. Οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν.

[34] Καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νείλῳ ἀγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρουρίον τε ταύτῃ δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεῶς τε καὶ βωμούς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσιν οἰόμενος. [35] Διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. Ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς, οὐσπερ Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὅσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον. [36] Οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἄνθρωποι τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασιν. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. [37] Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἄτε ἠυτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθη, τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τὰ τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν.

#### *Translation*

1.19 [27] From the city of Auxomis [Aksum] to the Egyptian border of the Roman Empire, where the city known as Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for a man who travels light. [28] Among the many peoples settled there are the Blemmyes and the Nobatai, very populous tribes. But the Blemmyes inhabit the interior of this country, while the Nobatai possess the lands on either side of the River Nile.

Formerly, however, this was not the furthest bounds of the Roman Empire, which extended approximately another seven days' journey farther on. [29] But when the Roman Emperor Diocletian [AD 284-305] came there, he perceived that the tribute from those places was of the least possible account, for the following reasons: The (arable) land there is extremely narrow, since not far from the Nile exceedingly lofty cliffs rise up and fill the rest of the country. In addition, a very large number of troops had been stationed there from of old,<sup>844</sup> and the Treasury was excessively burdened by the expenditures on these. At the

<sup>844</sup>This imprecise and somewhat old-fashioned indication of time translates ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ, a phrase in the style of Herodotus.

same time the Nobatai, formerly settled around the city of Oasis, were for ever ravaging and plundering all the places there. For all these reasons, Diocletian persuaded those barbarians (i.e., the Nobatai) to migrate from their own haunts and to settle on either side of the Nile, promising to present them with great cities and with a large territory, markedly better than that which they formerly inhabited. [30] In this way he supposed they would stop harassing the territories around Oasis and also, taking possession of the land which was given to them, probably drive off the Blemmyes and the other barbarians, since the land was (now) their own. [31] This pleased the Nobatai, and they made the migration very quickly indeed in the way Diocletian had commanded them. So they took possession of both the Roman cities and all the country on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine.

[32] Then this emperor decreed that there be given both to them and to the Blemmyes each year a stated amount of gold on the condition that they no longer plunder Roman territory. [33] Although they have been receiving this right down to my day, none the less they continue to overrun the places in those parts. Thus, it seems, with regard to all barbarians, it is simply not possible for them to keep faith with the Romans unless through fear of active defence forces.

[34] Even so this emperor chose an island in the river Nile somewhere very near the city of Elephantine and constructed there a really strong fortification, and in that place he founded some temples and altars for the Romans and for these very barbarians in common and settled in this fortification priests of both peoples, in the expectation that their friendship would be secure for the Romans because of their participation in the rites. [35] This is the reason why he named the place Philae ["Friendship"]. Both these peoples, the Blemmyes and the Nobatai, revere all the other gods in which pagans [*Hellenes*] believe, as well as Isis and Osiris, and not least Priapus. [36] But the Blemmyes even have the custom of sacrificing human beings to the Sun. These barbarians retained the sanctuaries in Philae right down to my day, but the Emperor Justinian decided to pull them down. [37] Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, and who was in command of the troops there, pulled down the sanctuaries on the Emperor's orders, held the priests under guard, and sent the images to Byzantium.

[TE]

#### *Comments*

Though written two and a half centuries after the event, Procopius' description of the evacuation of the Dodecaschoenus and the withdrawal of Egypt's southern frontier from Hiera Sycaminos (Maharraqa) to Syene (Aswan) by Diocletian in AD 298 (for the date see *Comments* on 280, end) was based on good sources and presents a more detailed (even if at places erroneous) explanation for the Emperor's decision than other sources. Procopius refers to the withdrawal of

the frontier in 298 in the context of his description of the reign of Justinian I (527-565), in which he remarks (1.19.1) that in 531 the Emperor "got the idea of making the Aithiopiens<sup>845</sup> and Homeritae his allies with a view to damage the Persians" (for Justinian I and his diplomacy involving Aksum and Himyar see 327); and at this point he digresses and describes the peoples south of Egypt from an historical perspective.

In general terms, the abandonment of the frontier defense in depth, i.e., by frontier troops stationed at several outposts in a buffer zone extending over the entire stretch of the Nile Valley from the First Cataract to Hiera Sycaminos about 250 km further south, and the concentration of the forces within the province at fortified places (see Procopius about Philae in our text) is a measure that reflects the changes in contemporary frontier policy.

It also reflects contemporary policy in that the evacuation is connected with what Procopius describes as persuading the Nobatai (i.e., Noubades or Nubians) to leave their habitat in the (Great or Kharga) Oasis and to settle on the two banks of the Lower Nubian Nile. We read here about a treaty of federation according to the terms of which the Nubians stop raiding Egyptian territories and check the Blemmyes, another threat to Egypt; the Nubians are allowed to take possession of the land where Rome settles them and receive an annual subsidy. The Blemmyes too receive a subsidy. Furthermore, Diocletian also secures access to the sanctuaries at Philae for both these barbarian peoples.<sup>846</sup>

While later sources from the 4th through 6th centuries (cf. 293, 295, 309-313, 317, 320-322, 327, 331) repeatedly attest that, for periods, there existed separate alliances between Rome and the Noubades and between Rome and the Blemmyes, and while we may also assume that the Noubades and the Blemmyes may at times have been allies against Rome (cf. 314), we cannot readily accept Procopius' description of the withdrawal of the frontier as the settlement of the Nobatai in an evacuated Dodecaschoenus. This aspect of his story is already suspicious on account of the association of the Nobatai with the Great Oasis as their home. This is erroneous and may perhaps be explained as garbled information about a Noubadian raid on the Oasis (cf. 302). It is more reasonable to assume that the vacuum created by the withdrawal from the frontier in the Dodecaschoenus was filled by the Meroitic kingdom, which during the second and third thirds of the third cent. AD exerted an increasingly effective control over this territory; i.e., a territory which was inhabited mainly by a non-Egyptian, "Aithiop-ian" population (see 249-257, (259), 260-263, 265-267, (276)). While it cannot be entirely excluded that, in an effort to clarify the situation on the new frontier and to prevent its being violated, Diocletian did indeed conduct negotiations with the inhabitants of the Dodecaschoenus as

<sup>845</sup>Procopius probably means here Aksum and not the kingdoms of the Middle Nile Region.

<sup>846</sup>Procopius repeats here the romantic Greek etymology of Philae already occurring in Seneca as quoted by Servius on *Aeneid* 6.154: the name derives from Egyptian *P3-lw-rk*, and it has nothing to do with Greek φιλῆω; cf. Winter 1982, 1022.

well as with some Blemmyes, the re-settlement of the area and its new military organisation then became a task for Meroe and not for Rome (see (276) end).

[LT]

### 329 The defeat of the Nubians and Blemmyes in AD 452. AD 551.

Jordanes, *Romana* 333.

#### Source bibliography

- Kappelmacher 1916      A. Kappelmacher: *Iordanis*. RE IX.2, cols. 1908-29, Stuttgart.
- Mommsen 1882          *Iordanis Romana et Getica*. Rec. Th. Mommsen. (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctores antiquissimi. V.1.) Berlin. (Repr. 1961.)

#### Introduction to source

Jordanes, a Romanized Goth, is the author of two historical works. One is a history of the Goths, *De origine actibusque Getarum*<sup>847</sup> ("On the origin and deeds of the Goths"), an abridgment of the great history of the Goths by the Roman politician and writer Cassiodorus (died ca. AD 580). Since Cassiodorus' history is lost, the work by Jordanes, although reduced to a fraction of the original, is of great value as a source for the legends and history of the Germanic peoples and of the Huns.

The other is, in some manuscripts, entitled *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* ("Summary of the times, or on the origin and deeds of the Roman people"). It is an outline of world history from earliest times, beginning with Adam and ending in AD 551. The work is not highly rated, either for its style or its contents; and since Jordanes' sources are preserved, its value as a historical source is minimal.

The two works by Jordanes are usually, for short, referred to as the *Getica* and the *Romana*; the completion of both can be dated to AD 551.

The present extract from the *Romana* summarizes the career of the Emperor Marcianus (AD 450-7) and is probably based on the Greek historian Priscus (fifth cent. AD), see 318 *Comments*. Our text is based on the edition of Th. Mommsen in the great collection of historical sources entitled *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (Mommsen 1882).

#### Text

Nam cum Parthis et Vandalis omnino infestantibus pacem instituit, Attilae minas compescuit, Novades Blemmesque Ethiopia prolapsos per Florum Alexandrinae urbis procuratorem sedavit et pepulit a finibus Romanorum,

<sup>847</sup>The Getae were a Thracian tribe, quite different people from the Goths; in late antiquity, however, these two names were often confused.

obitumque Attilae et Zenonis Isauri interitum, antequam moriretur, felix comperit infelicitum: omniumque inimicorum suorum colla domini virtute calcans sexto anno sextoque mense regnans in pace quievit.

*Translation*

For he [Marcianus] made peace with the Parthians and Vandals, who had been constantly making inroads; he brought to an end Attila's menaces; through Florus, the procurator of the city of Alexandria, he checked the Noubades and Blemmyes who had made incursions from Aithiopia, and expelled them from Roman territory; and before he died he learned of the death of Attila and the end of the Isaurian Zeno—himself happy, they hapless: treading on the necks of all his enemies by virtue of his imperial valour he found rest in peace in the sixth year and sixth month of his reign.

[TE]

*Comments*

See *Comments* on 318.

**330 Dendur. Coptic inscription of King Eirpanome. AD 559 or 574.**  
Blackman 1911, 36 f.

*Source bibliography*

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Blackman 1911         | A.M. Blackman: <i>The Temple of Dendur</i> . Cairo.  |
| Lepsius 1849-58       | R. Lepsius: <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> . Berlin. [Repr. Genève 1973.]  |
| Revillout 1871        | E. Revillout: <i>Mémoire sur les Blemmyes d'après divers documents coptes et à cette occasion sur un prophète jacobite</i> . CRAIBL, nouv. série, 7, 30-43.                              |
| Revillout 1874        | E. Revillout: <i>Mémoire sur les Blemmyes, à propos d'une inscription copte trouvée à Dendur</i> . Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. <i>Mémoires</i> . Série 1, 8.2, 371-445. |
| Shinnie-Chittick 1961 | P.L. Shinnie-H.N. Chittick: <i>Ghazali. A Monastery in The Northern Sudan</i> . (Sudan Antiquities Service. <i>Occasional Papers</i> , 5.) Khartoum.                                     |

*Introduction to source*

This Coptic text was inscribed into the thickness of the eastern jamb of the south doorway into the pronaos of the Temple of Augustus at Dendur. The letters were incised and painted red.

The text was first published by Lepsius (1849-58, Vol. XII, 6. Abt., Bl. 103, No. 39) on the basis of a squeeze and was subsequently studied by Revillout (1871,

1874) before receiving its hitherto most careful epigraphic examination by Blackman, whose text is reproduced here.

The temple was dismantled in 1962 and is now in the United States.

*Text*

1 ΖΜ[ΠΟΥ]ΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝΤΚΕΛΕΥCIC  
 2 ΜΠΡΡΟ ΕΙΡΠΑΝΟΜΕ ΜΝΠΕCΠΟΥΔΔΙΟC  
 3 ΖΜΠΩΔΔΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΙΩCΗΦ ΠΕΖΑΡΧ/  
 4 ΝΤΑΛΜΕΩC ΔΥΩ ΖΜΠΤΡΕΝΔΙΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC  
 5 ΝΤΟΟΤΥ ΝΘΕΩΔΩΡΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚ/ ΜΠΙΛΑΚ  
 6 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΒΡΔΖΑΜ ΠΙΕΛΔΧ/ ΝΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC  
 7 ΤΔΟΥΩΖΠCΤΑΥΡΟC ΖΜΠΕΖΟΥ Ν-  
 8 ΤΔΥCΜΝCΝΤΕ ΝΤΕΙΕΚΚ/ ΕΤΕ-  
 9 CΟΥ ΔΟΥΩΤCΑΨΦΕ ΝΤΩΒΕ Ι Ζ  
 10 ΕΡΕΨΔΙ ΠΕCΙΟΥΡ ΜΜΔΥ ΜΝΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 11 ΠCΤΕΦΑΡΙC ΜΝΕΠΕΦΑΝΙΟC ΠCΑΜΑΤΑ  
 12 ΜΝCΙΡΜΑ ΒΕΡΙΤΑΡΙΟC ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ  
 13 ΕΤΝΑΩΩ ΝΝΙΓΖΔΙ ΜΑΡΕΦΡΤΑ  
 14 ΓΑΠΗ ΝΦΡΟΥCΟ[Π] ΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ      ϣϥ<sup>848</sup>

*Translation*

(1) By [the w]ill of God and the *decree* (2) of King Eirpanome and the (man) *zealous* (3) in the word of God, Joseph, the *exarch* of (4) *Talmis*, and by our receiving the *cross* (5) from Theodore, the *bish(op)* of Philae, (6) I, Abraham, the most *hum(ble) priest*, (7) (it is) who set up the *cross* on the day (8) they founded this *ch(urch)*, i.e., (9) the twenty-seventh day of the month Tôbe, seventh *indiction*, (10) Shay, the eunuch, being there with Papnute, the (11) *stepharis*, and Epiphianos, the *samata*, (12) and Sirma, (the) *courier*. (As for) everyone (13) who reads these writings, let him be *gra*(14)*ciuous* and spend a moment of prayer for me.

99 <sup>r</sup>(Sign of the cross)<sup>1849</sup>

[RHP]

*Comments*

This inscription, which commemorates the transformation into a Christian church of the pagan temple of Dendur in Lower Nubia, ca. 77 km south of

<sup>848</sup>Blackman (1911, 37) notes that the last sign in this group resembles an epsilon but is probably a cross.

<sup>849</sup>Ninety-nine is the sum of the values of the Coptic letters that spell "amen" when they are used as numerals. The practice, known as isopsephism among Greek scholars and as gematria among Hebrew scholars, is attested in much later Coptic inscriptions from Ghazali in Upper Nubia (see Shinnie-Chittick 1961, 94).

Aswan on the W bank of the Nile,<sup>850</sup> belongs among the earliest records of the official conversion of the kingdom of Noubadia (for the process of the conversion see *Comments* on 324). The conversion in Noubadia, as everywhere else, started with the baptism of the ruler and his court: in our text, King Eirpanome as well as Joseph, the exarch of Talmis (Kalabsha), are already Christians. The acts commemorated in the text were of great spiritual and practical significance. Setting up the cross was a supreme act in the conversion of a country to Christianity; and the conversion of the temple, while annihilating symbolically as well as practically a pagan cult, also created a place of Christian worship and started the organisation of the church as a functioning structure.

The exarch Joseph would later appear in the same capacity in the Greek inscription of King Tokiltoeton from Ikhmindi (late 6th cent. AD, SB VIII, 10074). He was either the military commander of the region<sup>851</sup> or, more probably, the vicar of the missionary bishop of Philae (cf. Maspero 1909, 306 ff.). This latter, i.e., bishop Theodoros, appears as the spiritual father of the Noubades in 330 too (for his person see 324). His function as missionary bishop of Noubadia, and presumably also that of his vicar (if the title exarch is to be understood in this manner) would come to an end only with the arrival in 569 of Longinus, who was appointed bishop of Noubadia in 566.

The conversion of the temple of Dendur was commemorated by an inscription in Coptic, indicating the intellectual orientation of the newly converted Noubadian court and, above all, its close contacts with the bishopric of Philae and, through its bishop, with the Monophysite patriarchate of Alexandria. The titles of the court officials in the protocol seem to indicate the impact of the Byzantine court, but the actual significance of the individual titles remains obscure (for Christian Noubadian court titles in general see Török 1978 302 ff., 307; for an analysis of the Greek titles see Hägg 1990).

[LT]

### 331-343 The Blemmyan documents from Gebelen. Early 6th cent. AD (?).

#### *Source bibliography*

Bagnall-Worp 1986

R.S. Bagnall-K.A. Worp: A Loan of Money: P. Sorb. Inv. 2253. APF 29, 29-31.

Baillet 1888

J. Baillet: Sur plusieurs textes grecs récemment découverts, relatifs à l'histoire des Blémyes. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus 16, 326-336.

<sup>850</sup>Built by Augustus after the treaty of Samos, it was originally dedicated to the deified brothers Peteisis (*P3-dī-Īst*) and Pahor (*B3-n-Hr*), sons of Kuper (*Qwpr/Qpr*), cf. FHN II, 180, *Comments*, end.

<sup>851</sup>The office of ἑξαρχος as equivalent of the earlier *dux* appears in AD 545 in Novel 130 of the *Codex Justinianus*, cf. Monneret de Villard 1938, 85.

- Bjørkelo 1983 A. Bjørkelo: From King to Kāshif: Shendi in the Nineteenth Century. Diss. Bergen.
- Burckhardt 1822 J.L. Burckhardt: Travels in Nubia. 2nd ed. London.
- Hendrickx 1996 B. Hendrickx: A propos de trois chartes grecques (Blémyes) de Gebelein. *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 78/2, N.S. 7, 153-165.
- Hägg 1984 T. Hägg: Nubicograeca I-III (Bemerkungen zu griechischen Texten aus Nubien). *ZPE* 54, 101-112.
- Johnson-West 1949 A.C. Johnson-L.C. West: Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies. Princeton.
- Krall 1898 J. Krall: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemmyer und Nubier. (Denkschriften der K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl., 46:4.). Wien.
- Préaux 1961 C. Préaux: Prêt d'or byzantin du Brooklyn Museum (P. Brooklyn gr. 2). *CdE* 36, 353-364.
- Quecke 1982 H. Quecke: Review of Weber 1980. *Studia Papyrologica* 21, 51-53.
- Satzinger 1968 H. Satzinger: Urkunden der Blemmyer. *CdE* 43, 126-132.
- Taubenschlag 1955 R. Taubenschlag: The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C.-640 A.D. 2nd ed. Warsaw.
- Weber 1980 M. Weber: Kölner Ägyptische Papyri (P. Köln ägypt.). Vol. 1. Bearb. v. D. Kurth-H.-J. Thissen-M. Weber. Opladen.
- Wessely 1904 C. Wessely: Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde. Vol. 3. Leipzig.
- Wilcken 1901 U. Wilcken: Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten. *APF* 1, 396-436.
- Wilcken 1912 L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken: Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Band 1: U. Wilcken: Historischer Teil, 2: Chrestomathie. Leipzig-Berlin.
- Wolff 1981 H.J. Wolff: Review of Kölner Papyri. Bd. 3. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung. Rom. Abt.* 98, 389-400.
- Zyhlarz 1940-41 E. Zyhlarz: Die Sprache der Blemmyer. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 31, 1-21.

*Introduction to source*

The present corpus of thirteen documents, some written exclusively in Greek and others written partly in Greek and partly in Coptic, though now scattered among several museums, appears on internal criteria to have come from a single find or at least from a single archive. Nine of them record loans; and of these nine, five involve the same lender. Of the five, four are written by the

scribe Sansnos, and one by the scribe Dioskoros. Of the four remaining loans three were written by Sansnos and one by the scribe Agathon; and this latter involves the same parties as appear in one of the other three. Of the four texts that do not document loans, Sansnos wrote three and Agathon one, a text concerned with the administration of the same island as appears in one of the three texts written by Sansnos. In addition it is possible that all thirteen texts were written on the same medium (gazelle (?) skin).<sup>852</sup>

To judge from their prosopography, format, dating formulas, and legal and economic content, the documents may be dated some time during the last one hundred and fifty years of Byzantine rule in Egypt and derive from a socially mixed milieu dominated by the Blemmyes—a social context, which, in view of the infelicities and obscurities that characterize their language, was not much acquainted with the blessings of literacy. The formula used in the loan document seems to have its closest parallels in 6th-century Greek papyri from the Theban region (see Préaux 1961, 358; cf. Bagnall-Worp 1983). No precise dating for these texts based on their palaeography has yet been established; estimates vary between “end of 5th or beginning of 6th century” (K. Wessely in Krall 1898, 25), “approximately 6th century” (Wilcken 1901, 418; 1912, 13), and “(approximately) beginning of 6th century” (Satzinger 1968, 127; Weber 1980, 115).

The documents are here arranged in what may have been the order in which they were originally written (cf. *Comments* below). The arrangement is based on the indiction years (given in eight of the thirteen), the recurrence of the same witnesses from one text to another, the mention of the three kings Pokatimne (334), Kharakhen (336), and Barakhia (339), as well as various other internal criteria (as explained in Hägg 1984, 105-109). If this arrangement is correct, the documents cover a period of (at least) twelve years (from year nine of the indiction to year five (?) of the next).

As mentioned above, these texts are now scattered among several institutions. The earliest to be published (334 and 336) appeared in 1888; and if indeed all the documents come from a single find, then the report that Grébaut purchased these two at Gebelen (in Upper Egypt, some 25 miles south of Thebes) in 1887 (Baillet 1888, 326) may be taken as an indication of where they were discovered in modern times.

Where they were written has been the subject of learned speculation (Satzinger 1968, 127, with refs.); but although they contain some geographical information, it has not yet been possible to attain certainty. 334 and 336 mention an island named Tanare, which, 334 records, was also called Temsir. Although the exact location of this island cannot be established, the use of a dou-

---

<sup>852</sup>John Lewis Burckhardt (1822, lxxxvi) refers to “a large Coptic manuscript, written upon gazelle skin, found in the island of Omke, above the cataract of Wady Halfa”.

ble nomenclature is consistent with a hypothesis which places it in Egypt.<sup>853</sup> Moreover, it has been suggested that the scribe Dioskoros is identical with the "scribe of the Blemmyan nation" Dioskoros who appears in a roughly contemporary papyrus from the Latopolite Nome in Upper Egypt (BGU III.972, "6th/7th century"). In short, our documents seem to offer further testimony for the Blemmyan presence in Upper Egypt in the 6th century.

The language of the texts is, as already stated, obscure. All three scribes bear familiar Graeco-Egyptian names in contrast to most of the other persons mentioned; and two of them, Sansnos and Agathon, are guilty of both Greek and Coptic of a sort. It is indicative that we have as yet been unable to persuade ourselves of which language these notaries may have been native speakers. They were heirs to the convoluted notarial tradition of the Byzantines; and so long as they were supported by formularies, the purport of what they wrote is discernible. Where, however, set phrases were wanting, it occasionally becomes virtually impossible to ascertain what they intended to convey. It would not be a surprise to discover that these writers had acquired their tenuous scribal accomplishments in some other context than that of the law and had been constrained to fill the rôle of notary at the instance of local potentates. One must also consider the possibility that the intentions of the principals were expressed in a language (e.g., that of the Beja) still more unfamiliar to the scribes than that in which they wrote.

Apart from the formularies a couple of texts contain a smattering of administrative and technical terms drawn from Latin (*commercium*, *curatoria*) or Greek (*synetheia*); and these together with some high-sounding titles (*basiliskos*, *hypotyranos*, *domestikos*) or epithets (*eugenestatos*) betoken a veneer of—perhaps vaguely comprehended—Byzantine culture, the nearest parallel to which would be that exhibited by the so-called X-Group burials at Ballana and Qustul. How the Blemmyes viewed their own position seems well illustrated by 336 in which *curatoria* of an island consists in an unrestricted licence to wring "customary dues" out of the "Romans". No doubt the Byzantines construed the same payments as "gratuities" bestowed upon barbarian princes being held at bay on the southern marches of the Empire (see Johnson-West 1949, 289, and cf. pp. 276, 278, 281 and 285).

The presence of Christian symbols in these texts suggests that the scribes may have been Christians, though the use of such symbols might have been part of general scribal convention. 339 records a royal disposition in favour of a woman "whose Christian name is Sophia". These scant details may indicate that the status of Christians under Blemmyan rule was less disadvantageous than Christian literary sources aver.

<sup>853</sup>John Lewis Burckhardt, who was travelling through Nubia in 1813, mentions an island named Tinareh that lay two days' dromedary ride south of Sai island in Upper Nubia (Burckhardt 1822, lv).

Two texts (335 and 340) record substantial debts of money, repayment of which was to be made on the debtor's return from what would appear to have been a journey into the desert (such is the implication of the verb *κατέρχομαι*, "to come down"). In both cases the creditors were persons of attested social standing: Phant, a priest, and Ose, a tribal chief. In 335 the journey is explicitly connected with business. These facts may point to the existence of a form of "administered trade" in which highly-placed persons staked merchants to the money necessary for the conduct of their business. The absence of any mention of interest might be explained by suggesting that the sums ostensibly lent were more than those actually handed over and that the difference constituted the creditor's return upon his investment. The arrangement might be viewed as a forerunner to the contracts of *commenda* entered into by Sudanese merchants of more recent times (cf. Bjørkelo 1983, 232 f.). The same persons appear in other documents (336-337, 341-343) as creditors for large sums which were to be repaid whenever the creditor wished. It is not impossible that similar commercial purposes underlay these debts too; but if so, the provision for repayment on demand would have to be construed as securing the creditor some advantage other than the right to require repayment from a debtor who was absent on business. Probably the debtors themselves were persons of no ordinary means. One of them, Sulien, was able to put up a tavern as security (333) on one occasion and slaves (335) on another.

Our texts do not rest on a new collation of the documents themselves, but are based on the previous editions, taking into account as well later corrections and suggestions. Our critical notes are selective and do not include commonplace orthographic variants.

Ample information about publications relating to these documents is furnished by Satzinger (1968) and Weber (1980). The most recent discussion is that of Hendrickx (1996).

[RHP]

#### *Comments*

The thirteen documents presented here as 331-343 were named after the small island of Gebelen some 25 miles south of Thebes where they were allegedly found (cf. Baillet 1888, 326, and *Introduction to source* above) and which may well have been identical with the island of Temsir/Tanare, the scene of the documents. There can be hardly any doubt that they all formed part of the same archive. All the three scribes involved were Christian Egyptians and used Christian opening formulas in their documents; but their religion is irrelevant as regards the religion of their Blemmyan royal employers.

These documents have been repeatedly analysed as historical sources (cf. recently Demicheli 1976, 170 ff.; Updegraff 1978, 144 ff.; Török 1985, 58 ff.; 1988b, 64 ff., 228 f.) and their onomastic material has been investigated as evidence for the Blemmyan language (cf. Satzinger 1968; 1985; n.d.).

The following table (cf. Hägg 1984, 106) lists the texts in their putative chronological order, mainly on the basis of their indiction dates.<sup>854</sup>

<i>Text</i>	<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
331	Sansnos	9th Ind. Thoth 29	donation+manumission
332	Sansnos (?)	Ind. Epeiph 29	acknowledgement of debt
333	Sansnos	undated	acknowledgement of debt
334	Agathon	11th Ind. Athyr 23	royal disposition
335	Agathon	13th Ind. Mecheir 23	acknowledgement of debt
336	Sansnos	1st Ind. Phaophi 24	royal disposition
337	Dioscoros	undated	acknowledgements of debts
338	Sansnos	2nd Ind. Epeiph 13	acknowledgement of debt
339	Agathon	2nd Ind. Phamenoth 15	royal disposition
340	Sansnos	4th Ind. Phaophi 5 (?)	acknowledgement of debt
341	Sansnos (?)	Ind. Pharmouthi 17	acknowledgement of debt
342	Sansnos	5th (?) Ind. Pharmouthi 18	acknowledgement of debt
343	Sansnos (?)	Ind. Thoth 11	acknowledgement of debt

On the dates suggested on palaeographical grounds, varying from the end of the 5th century AD to the end of the 6th, see *Introduction to source*. The date recently proposed by Harrauer (in Satzinger 1985, 330 f.), the last quarter of the 6th cent., was based on the proposed identification of the scribe Dioscoros in 337 as Dioscoros, "scribe of the Blemmyan people", in the document from the nome of Latopolis (see above); that document was dated to the "6th/7th cent." by the editors of BGU. While the identification of the scribe is highly probable, the dating of BGU III 972 is not in any way compelling.

A better basis for a date may be the occurrence in the documents of the *συνήθεια*, here translated "customary dues", which were gratuities belonging to the intricate Byzantine Egyptian taxation system. By custom, they were not imposed every year and appear in 5th cent. documents extremely rarely. During the first third of the 6th cent. the term is frequently used to denote obligatory gratuities to be paid to different dignitaries (Johnson-West 1949, 289 ff.). In his eighth Novel (AD 535) Justinian I regulated the circle of the dignitaries who were entitled to receive *synetheia* and regulated the various kinds of dues; somewhat later in Edict XIII (cf. Gelzer 1905, 353 ff.) the system of customary dues was further amended.

With the exception of Amnas/Sophia in 339, the documents reflect the life of a pagan community in Egypt, which displays the political and cultural ambi-

<sup>854</sup>I.e., according to the 15-year cycles that were introduced for taxation purposes and were counted from AD 312. Accordingly, new indictions started in 327, 342 etc.; since the same year number recurs at fifteen-year intervals, no document dated with an indiction year can be given a secure dating, unless it can be ascribed to a specific indiction cycle on the basis of its context (cf. Seck 1916; Bagnall-Worp 1978, Ch. 4; Bagnall 1994, 328).

guity which is so characteristic of the “barbarian” populations received *en bloc* as federates in the territory of the Roman Empire in the 5th and 6th centuries. The Blemmyes of the Gebelen texts live under the authority of their king who, at the same time, also grants the fulfilment of the conditions of the alliance; governing his people as tribal chief (note the exclusive use in Greek of the term βασιλίσκος [cf. Hägg 1990 and 317] in 334, 336, 339), he also sees to it that in the dealings with the Egyptian host society (and probably increasingly within Blemmyan society as well) Egyptian law is observed. The notion of a *pagan community in Egypt* is stressed here because we regard this as a chronological indication; for it can hardly be imagined that there could have existed a considerable pagan barbarian federate settlement (or settlements) in the frontier region after the closing of the Philae sanctuaries around AD 535-537 (cf. 324). It is even less likely that the documents also attest that the Blemmyes maintained what appear to be temple cults with a priesthood (see the ἱερεὺς, “priest”, in 334 and 335); and here it must also be taken into consideration that the Blemmyes lived on Temsir/Tanare together with Egyptians.

As already indicated above, the Blemmyan community of the Gebelen documents was part of a larger tribal state structure. It appears that the kings named in the documents, viz., Pokatimne (334), Kharakhen (336 and cf. 339), and Barakhia (339), did not reside where the community that produced the documents lived. Both 334 and 339 show that they governed their subjects, who were living as Roman federates on the island of Temsir/Tanare, through intermediaries. In 334 Pokatimne appoints a priest as his *curator*; in 339 Kharakhen entrusts the administration of the island of Temsir/Tanare to his sons. These cases may, however, have been exceptional, and the government of Temsir/Tanare seems to have been the regular duty of the Blemmyan dignitary most frequently mentioned in the documents, viz., the phylarch, “tribal chief” (331, 336, 339, 341-343; for earlier phylarchs of the Blemmyes cf. 309, 313, 319). Other official titles and epithets reflect the impact of contemporary Egyptian administration and are also a remote echo of Byzantine court titles. In 336 we meet two men who bear the title *domesticus* and may have been court officials or, less likely, local administrators (for a possible Egyptian model cf. SB I, 5273, AD 487). The *hypotyranos* in 331, 336, and 339 appears as a dignitary below the phylarch; it would seem that this unique Greek term for a “sub-despot”, an official subordinate to a “tribal chief”, was the invention of a bureaucrat in Blemmyan service who tried to provide a Greek rendering for a rank which did not exist in Byzantine or Byzantine Egyptian practice. That the rank and/or function covered by the term *hypotyranos* was traditional in Blemmyan society is indicated by its regular occurrence in the sources, always in the lowest degree of the hierarchy king–phylarch–hypotyranos, since the time of Olympiodorus (see 309, 318, 319).

[LT]

**331 Donation and manumission within a family.**

BKU III 350. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 1.

*Introduction to source*

This single instrument documents two distinct legal dispositions, the first the gift by a son to his mother of a female slave, the second the manumission by the mother of her son's two children by that slave. If the translation proposed for lines 11 to 12 is correct, the children so manumitted also became the manumittor's legitimate children and thus in law the siblings of their father.

Whether these dispositions are an attempt to realize some misunderstood Byzantine institution or reflect otherwise unattested Blemmyan customs cannot be ascertained on the basis of this unique source.

The text contains several phrases (e.g., line 3 "in life (as) in death" and line 11 "either on the mountain or on the water") which have the character of formulas but which to the best of our knowledge are unparalleled.

The presence of a tribal chief and a sub-despot as witnesses underlines the social importance of this set of dispositions that altered the legal status of two persons.

It is noteworthy that the slave-mother herself was not set free. Perhaps she was dead, and the first part of the text records a donation made some time prior to the manumission. The articulation of the parts of the instrument falls well short of juristic elegance.

In form the text contains elements reminiscent of the *tabellio*-instrument, and in substance may be a faint echo of the *manumissio per epistolam* (cf. the remarks of Wolff 1981, 399-400 on *PKöln* 157 of AD 584).

*Coptic and Greek text*

- 1 ΧΡ ΔΝΟΚ ΧΑΡΑΦΤΙΚ ΠΩΝ. ΑΦΕΝ ΕΙCΖΑΙ ΝΤΑΜΕΡ ΜΑ[ΖΑΝΑΤ]
- 2 ΔΕ ΕΙC ΤΑΚΑΥΟ ΝΤΑΙΝΤC ΖΙΠΤΟΟΥ ΖΑΘΕ ΜΠΔΤΙΒΙCΖΙΜΕ
- 3 ΔΠΕΡΖΧΗΤ ΔΪΤΑΔC ΝΗ ΖΝΠΕΜΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΩΝΖ ΝCΩΠΤΕ ΝΗ
- 4 ΝΚΑΥΟΝ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΑΖΑΝΑΤ ΕΙCΖΑΪ ΝCΕΝΤΕΚΖΑΪΝΙC
- 5 ΜΝΜΟΥΝΚΩΚΖΝΖΙΟΥ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΔΩΗΡΕ ΧΑΡΑΦΤΙΚ
- 6 ΔΕ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΚΪΔΠΕΡΖΧΗΤ ΝΔΪ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΖΩC ΕCΖΟΥΝ (*vac.*)
- 7 ΠΔΗΪ ΔΚΜΙC CΝΤΕ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΜΜΔC ΕΤΕCΕΝΤΕΚΖΑΪΝΙC ΤΕ
- 8 ΜΝΜΟΥΚΩΚΖΝΖΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΪΕΪΡΕ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC ΕΤΡΕ-
- 9 ΤΕΤΝΖΜΟΟC ΝΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΔΗΪ ΝΤΕΤΝΡΑΥΠΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΖΩC ΕΛΕΥΘΕ-
- 10 ΡΟC ΔΥΩ ΦΑ[... ] ΜΠΡΡΟ ΜΜΔΤΕ ΜΝΡΩΜΕ ΪΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΕΡΩΤΝ
- 11 ΕΝΕΖ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΙΠΤΟΟΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΖΜΠΜΟΟΥ ΔΛΛΔ ΔΤΕΤΝ[ΝΔ]ΩΠΤΕ ΝΔΙ
- 12 ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΓΝΗCΙΟC ΔΥΩ ΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC (*vac.*)

- 13 Χαιας φύλαρχ(ος)<sup>855</sup> μαρ(τυρῶ). Ωσιην ὑποτύρα(ννος) μαρ(τυρῶ).  
 Ενβιεκ μαρ(τυρῶ).<sup>856</sup>
- 14 Ινωικπουτ μαρ(τυρῶ). Ιαουιζε υἱὸς αὐτῆς μαρ(τυρῶ). † Σενενω<sup>857</sup> καὶ  
 ἐγώ.
- 15 Χαραφτικ υἱὸς αὐτῆς μαρ(τυρῶ). Κουτα κ(ε)φ(αλαιωτῆς)<sup>858</sup> αὐτῶν  
 μαρ(τυρῶ).
- 16 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσνωσ ἐγρ(άφη) Θῶθ κθ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ.

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) (Coptic) I, Kharaftik, son of [...], write to my belov(ed) Maḥhanat<sup>1</sup>:

(2) Behold, my captive<sup>859</sup> whom I 'took' on the mountain<sup>860</sup> before I had yet married, (3) (named) Apehset, I have given her to you<sup>861</sup> in life (as) in death; and she has become your (4) captive.

And I, Mahanat, write to (you) Sentekhaynis (5) and Munkokhnhui, the children of my son Kharaftik:

(6) Whereas you<sup>862</sup> have given Apehset to me to be (my) slave, (and whereas,) while she has been in (empty space) (7) my house, you have had two children by her, i.e., Sentekhaynis (8) and Munkokhnhui, I have made you<sup>863</sup> free in order that (9) you<sup>864</sup> dwell in my house and serve me as free (10) persons. And 'except for'<sup>865</sup> the king only, no one has the right of compulsion over

<sup>855</sup>χαιασφυ [...]φ[...] Satzinger (BKU), Χαιαῶς φύλαρχ(ος) Satzinger (1968).

<sup>856</sup>ὑπογυρ(ι) αμαρενβιεκιαβ[...]ρ Satzinger (BKU), ὑπο-τύρ(αννος) ... Weber, ...' Αμαρενβιεκ μαρ(τυρῶ) Satzinger (1968), ὑποτύρα(ννος) μαρ(τυρῶ). Ενβιεκ μαρ(τυρῶ) Hägg.

<sup>857</sup>† Σανσνω Satzinger (BKU), [...]σενενῶ Satzinger (1968).

<sup>858</sup>κ(ε)φ(αλή) or κ(ε)φ(αλαιωτῆς) (= ΔΠΕ) Satzinger (BKU).

<sup>859</sup>Feminine singular.

<sup>860</sup>Note supplied by R.S. O'Fahey: "In Islamic times, enslaveable peoples were often described as 'mountain' or 'rock' people, Ar. *jabalawiyayn* or *hajaray*, the terms being used both geographically and generically. From the seventeenth century onwards, the main mountainous areas from which slaves were taken were the Nuba Mountains in Kordofan and along the Sudan/Ethiopian border. See further, A. Triulzi-A.A. Dafallah-M.L. Bender: Some Notes on the Ethiopian Berṯa and their Language. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 36, 1976, 1-23, and R.S. O'Fahey: Fur and Fartit: The History of a Frontier. In: *Culture History in the Southern Sudan*, ed. J. Mack-P. Robertshaw (British Institute in Eastern Africa, Memoir 8), 1983, 75-87."

<sup>861</sup>Feminine singular.

<sup>862</sup>Second person masculine singular; i.e., Kharaftik.

<sup>863</sup>Second person plural.

<sup>864</sup>Second person plural.

<sup>865</sup>The translation "except for" is no more than a guess based on the context.

you<sup>866</sup> (11) ever, *either on the mountain or on the water; but you*<sup>867</sup> ῥshall be<sup>868</sup> my (12) *legitimate children and free persons.* (empty space)

(13) (Greek) Khaias, tribal chief (*phylarkhos*), I am a witness. Osien, sub-despot (*hypotyranos*), I am a witness. Enbiek, I am a witness. (14) Inshikput, I am a witness. Yauize, her (i.e., Mahanat's)<sup>869</sup> son I am a witness. (sign of the cross?) Seneno, I too (am a witness). (15) Kharaftik, her (i.e., Mahanat's) son, I am a witness. Kuta, their ῥcapitulariusῥ, I am a witness.

(16) (Sign of the cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 29th of Thoth, 9th ind(iction).

[RHP]

**332 Coptic and Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.** BKU III 361. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 2.

*Introduction to source*

The debt appears to be an antichretic loan (cf. Taubenschlag 1955, 286-291) secured by agricultural land belonging to the debtor, which the creditor was to hold and exploit until repaid. There is no explicit provision for the payment of interest on the debt; but the usufruct of the property may have been in lieu of interest, the capital sum being secured by the value of the property itself. There is no indication that any part of the proceeds from the usufruct were to be deducted from the debt.

The final provision seems to oblige the creditor to use the property pledged to ransom the debtor and her daughter from eventual captivity, but the context is so damaged that the meaning remains uncertain. At the least the passage can be seen to reflect the unstable conditions that prevailed among the Blemmyes and their subjects.

The name Trempyoh is unmistakably Egyptian in origin, and Phant may be as well. Possibly Phant is a variant of πζοντ (< *p3-ḥm-nṯr*, "the prophet"); cf. Satzinger in BKU III (p. 61).

*Coptic and Greek text*

- 1 ΧΡ ΔΝΟΚ ΤΡΜΠΙΩΖ ΕΣΣΖΔΙ ΝΚΔΙ
- 2 ΔΕ †ΧΡΕΩΣΤΙ ΝΗ ΜΜΝΤΑΣΕ ΝΖΟΛ[ΟΚ]ΟΤΣΙ
- 3 ΜΝΟΥΤΡΙΜΗΣΙΝ· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ι[ . . . ] μόνα, ΔΥΩ
- 4 ΝΔΙ ΕΙ ΕΠΑΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΙΩΖΕ Ζ. . . ΠΛΔΣΙΟΥ (vac.?)
- 5 ΜΜΟΦ ΝΕΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤΕ ΖΕΜΔ. . . ΔΕ ΕΙΖ ΝΤΕΔΙΤΥ

<sup>866</sup>Second person plural.

<sup>867</sup>Second person plural.

<sup>868</sup>The translation "shall be" is suggested on the basis of the context.

<sup>869</sup>The interpretation of "her" as referring to Mahanat rather than to Inshikput (as was suggested by H. Satzinger in BKU III.350) avoids two problems: the existence of a second mother for Kharaftik and the presence of a female witness (cf. Hägg 1984, 108 f.).

6  $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\omicron\lambda\eta\ \delta\gamma\omega\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\eta\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\omicron\gamma$   
 7  $\psi\alpha\eta\tau\iota\alpha\pi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha\ \bar{\eta}\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\ \epsilon\ .\ .\ \bar{\alpha}\tau\lambda\bar{\alpha}\ \text{---}\ \text{---}\ \text{---}$   
 8  $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \gamma\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\psi\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\alpha\ .\ .$   
 9 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσνωσ ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νι) Ἐπεὶφ κθ ἰγδ(ικτίωνος) [ . . . ]  
 10  $\delta\alpha\omicron\kappa\ \tau\tau\bar{\rho}\pi\omega\zeta\ \tau\psi\bar{\eta}\phi\alpha\eta\tau\ \dagger\{\text{στοι}\}\chi\epsilon\iota$

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) (Coptic) I, Trempyoh, she (*sic*) writes to 'Ka' - - -:

(2) I *owe* you (fem.) sixteen *holokottines* (3) and a *trimesion*, (Greek:) making [...] so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (Coptic:) And (4) these come to my *lot* of (agricultural) land [...] (empty space?)<sup>870</sup> (5) it as (a) pledge in your (fem.) hands [...] and you (fem.) take it, (6) and you (fem.) exploit it and its *pasture*, and you (fem.) take them (7) until I *meet* you (fem.) No one [...]; (8) You (fem.), *for your part*, give them for me and my daughter in *captivity* [...].

(9) (Sign of the cross) (Greek) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 29th of the mo(nth) Epeiph, in the [...]th ind(iction).

(10) (Coptic) I, Trempyoh, daughter of Phant, *agree*.

[RHP]

**333 Coptic and Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

BKU III 359. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, 9-10.

*Introduction to source*

This debt, like that recorded in 332, appears to be an antichretic loan, this time secured by a tavern. The creditor acquires the right of ἐνοίκησις (though this term is not used).

*Coptic and Greek text*

Col. I

1 †  $\delta\alpha\omicron\kappa\ \sigma\omicron\gamma\lambda\iota\eta\eta\ \psi\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma\alpha\eta\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$   
 2  $\epsilon\psi\sigma\zeta\alpha\iota\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\rho}\phi\alpha\eta\tau\ \lambda\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\chi\tau\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\iota\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\kappa\ \text{---}\ \text{---}$   
 3  $\bar{\eta}\sigma\bar{\eta}\delta\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\ / \ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\tau\iota\mu\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\gamma\ .\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\ (\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)\ \gamma\omicron\ (\mu\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\alpha)\ \beta\ \bar{\gamma}\ / /$   
 4  $\bar{\mu}\omicron\bar{\nu}\alpha\ \delta\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\ \bar{\rho}\sigma\epsilon\mu\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota\omicron\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\rho}\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\tau\zeta\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}$   
 5  $\delta\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\omicron\gamma\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\kappa\ \epsilon\iota\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\ \bar{\alpha}\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\gamma\alpha\zeta\bar{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\omega\ \bar{\mu}\ .^{871}$   
 6  $\bar{\rho}\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\sigma\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi\ \bar{\eta}\zeta\eta\tau\gamma\ \psi\alpha\eta\tau\iota\mu\alpha\zeta\kappa\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \dagger\ \delta\iota\ \epsilon\bar{\mu}\omicron\ \bar{\Sigma}\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\omega\sigma$

Col. II

7 †  $\omicron\bar{\mu}\omicron\iota\ / \ \sigma\omicron\gamma\lambda\iota\eta\eta\ \delta\iota\delta\iota\ \bar{\eta}\nu\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron\kappa\ / \ .\ .\ (\pm\ 5\ \text{letters})\ .\ .$   
 8  $\bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\kappa\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \bar{\phi}\alpha\eta\tau\ \epsilon\lambda\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\sigma\epsilon\mu\bar{\rho}\sigma\iota\omicron\bar{\eta}$   
 9  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\ (\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)\ \chi\tau\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \nu\omicron\ (\mu\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\alpha)\ \gamma\ \gamma\ / /$

<sup>870</sup>The clause governing security for the debt is too damaged to be precisely interpreted.

<sup>871</sup>Read  $\epsilon\iota\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\tau\ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\gamma\ \epsilon\zeta\bar{\rho}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa(\epsilon)\omicron$  ? Satzinger.

*Translation*

Col. I

(1) (Sign of the cross) (Coptic) I, Sulien, son of Wanaktikuta, (2) he (*sic*) writes to Phant:

I owe you (*traces?*) (3) two *holoko(ttines)* and a *trimesion*, (Greek) ma(king) 2 1/3 so(lidi) (4) only. (Coptic) And behold, the *tavern (symposion)*, the one that is in Tune, (5) I have placed it as a pledge in your hands 'in case I do not come back.'<sup>872</sup> Remain (6) the owner and be in it until I repay them to you in full.

(Sign of the cross) (Greek) By me, Sansnos.

Col. II

(7) (Coptic) *Likewise*, Sulien, I have received a *holok(ottinos)* [...] (8) from you, Phant, on the security of the *tavern (symposion)*, (9) (Greek) ma(king) 3 1/3 so(lidi) of go(ld).

[RHP]

**334 Greek document from Gebelen. Royal disposition.**

SB III 6258. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 4. Hendrickx 1996, No. 2.

*Introduction to source*

The king, Pokatimne, entrusts the administration of an island, Temsir, to the pagan priest, Poae. 336 records a similar disposition regarding this island made by a later (?) ruler.

The status of the island is uncertain. Since we do not know if the Blemmyes distinguished between crown and private property, it is impossible to say whether the king was acting in a public or private capacity, or if any such distinction was maintained by them at all.

*Greek text*

- 1 † ἐγὼ Πωκατιμνε<sup>873</sup> ἐπιφ(ανέστατος) βασιλίσκου γράφω Πωαε τῷ  
εὐγενεστάτῳ ἱερεῖ.
- 2 τὴν κουρατορίαν τῆς νήσου Τεμισιρ λεγομένη Ταναρε ἔδωκά σοι  
ἀποκρότως
- 3 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἅπαντα ἀεὶ χρόνον,<sup>874</sup> καὶ στοιχεῖ  
μοι \πάντα/ ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
- 4 δι' ἐμοῦ ἐγρ(άφη) Ἀγάθονος<sup>875</sup> γρ(αμματέως) Αθυρ κγ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
ια'.

<sup>872</sup>The reading of the text is very uncertain, and the translation a guess on the analogy of the interpretation of 335, 4-5 (cf. 340, 4).

<sup>873</sup>Πακυ-, Πακα- or Πωκα- Krall, Πωκα- (?) Zylharz.

<sup>874</sup>ἅπανταν χρόνον Krall, ἅπαντα ἀεὶ χρόνον (Baillet and) Wilcken.

<sup>875</sup>[ ]νοος Krall, Ἀγάθονος Wilcken.

*Translation*

(1) (Sign of the cross) I, Pokatimne,<sup>876</sup> the most no(ble) (*epiph(anestatos)*) king (*basiliskos*), write to you, Poae, the most well-born (*eugenestatos*) priest (*hier-eus*):

(2) I have given to you expressly the administration (*curatoria*)<sup>877</sup> of the island Temsir, also called Tanare, (3) from this time forward and for ever more. And everything is satisfactory to me as ab(ove).

(4) Wri(tten) by me, Agathon, sc(ribe), on the 23rd of Athyr, 11th ind(iction).  
[TH]

**335 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

BKU III 360. SB X 10554. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 5.

*Introduction to source*

The parties are the same as in 333, but this time the debt is secured by the pledge of two female slaves. The difference in the formulation between these two instruments may be due to no more than that they were written by different scribes, in different languages, and it may consequently be without legal significance. On the other hand, the scribe of 333 employs the formula used in this text in 338 and 340-343.

*Greek text*

- 1 † ἔχω ἐγὼ Σουλιην υἱὸς Οὐανακτικουτα σοῦ φαντ
- 2 υἱὸς Κιρβειτακ ἱερ(εὺς) χρυσοῦ νομίσματα δεκατρῆϊς
- 3 καὶ τριάκοντα δύο ἑκατόν· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) ἱγ (καὶ)  
λβρ/ μόνα,
- 4 καὶ ταῦτα σὺν θεῶ) ἐτοίμως ἔχω παρασχεῖν σοι, ἐὰν κατερ-
- 5 χομένου τὰ πραγματεῖά μου· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω,
- 6 κελεύεις τὰ δουλάριά μου λεγόμε(να) Τωδετες τῆς
- 7 τέκνου αὐτῆς ἄχρι συμπληρώσεως<sup>878</sup> τοῦ προκειμένου
- 8 χρέους, καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκ(είται).
- 9 [δι' ἐμ]οῦ Ἀγάθον(ος)<sup>879</sup> ἔγρ(άφη) Μεχεῖρ κγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἱγ †

<sup>876</sup>The reading of some letters is uncertain, so (at least) three other forms of the name are possible: Poky-, Paka-, Pakytimne.

<sup>877</sup>A *curator* figures as secretary in the 6th-century Christian foundation inscription of King Tok-tiltoeton from Ikhmindi (SB VIII 10074.14), in which the two honorary designations of our text, line 1, recur as well. For the titles, see also 319. For civilian and military *curatores* see Kornemann 1901, 1774–1813, and on the use of the Latin legal terms based on the stem *cura-* in Greek see Avotins 1989,96–97.

<sup>878</sup>Read συμπληρώσεως.

<sup>879</sup>Αγαθος H. Maehler (BKU), Ἀγάθον(ος) Satzinger (1968).

*Translation*

(1) (Sign of the cross) I have received, I, Sulien, son of Wanaktikuta, from you, Phant, (2) son of Kirbeetak, prie(st) (*hier(eus)*) thirteen (3) and thirty-two hundredths solidi of gold, ma(king) 13 (and) 32/100 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (4) And this, G(od) willing, I am prepared to return to you when (5) I return (from) my business.<sup>880</sup> If I do not do this, (6) you are in command of my slaves calle(d) Todetes (and) (7) her daughter until payment of the above-mentioned (8) loan. And it is satisfactory to me as ab(ove).

(9)Writ(ten) [by m]e, Agathon, on the 23rd of Mecheir, 13th ind(iction). (Sign of the cross)

[TH]

**336 Greek document from Gebelen. Royal disposition.**

SB III 6257. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 6. Hendrickx 1996, No. 1.

*Introduction to source*

The king, Kharakhen, entrusts the administration of the island (Temsir)/Tanare (cf. 334) to his three (or two?) children. For an interpretation of the "customary dues" mentioned etc., see the general *Introduction to source* for 331-343 above.

*Greek text*

- 1 † ἐγὼ Χαραχην βασιλείσκος τῶν Βλεμύων
- 2 γράφω τοῖς τέκνοις Χαραχην, Χαραπατχοῦρ
- 3 καὶ Χαραζιετ,<sup>881</sup> ὥστε κελεύω καὶ δεδωκέναι
- 4 τῆς κουρατωρίας τῆς νήσου λεγομένης Ταναρε
- 5 καὶ οὐδεὶς κελεύεται κωλύσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐὰν δὲ
- 6 ἀγνομονοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμεῖς μὴ παρέχουσιν συνήθειαν,
- 7 ὁ φύλαρχος οὐ κωλύσεται οὐδὲ ὁ ὑποτύρανος
- 8 κρατῆσαι Ῥωμεῖς, ἕως πληρώνεται τὰς συνηθείας
- 9 τῆς νήσου μου.
- 10 (vac.) Χαραχην βασιλείσκ(ος) (sign)
- 11 (vac.) Λαιζε δομέστ(ικος) μαρ(τυρῶ) (sign)
- 12 (vac.) Τιουτικνα δομ(έστ(ικος) μαρ(τυρῶ) †
- 13 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σαγσνωσ ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νὶ) Φαῶφι κδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α.

<sup>880</sup>H. Maehler in BKU III (p. 74): "wenn ich der Geschäfte halber hinunterkomme", "when (or: if, Greek ἐὰν) I come down on business". The Greek is ungrammatical and permits of both interpretations. For our translation and general understanding of the context, cf. *Introduction to source* for 331-343 above.

<sup>881</sup>Χαραζιετ Krall, Wessely, Χαραζιετ Wilcken, Preisigke (SB).

*Translation*

(1) (Sign of the cross) I, Kharakhen, King (*basiliskos*) of the Blemmyes, (2) write to (my) children Kharakhen, Kharapatkhur, (3) and Kharahiet (or: Kharaziet)<sup>882</sup>

so that I order to give (to you) (4) the administration (*curatoria*) of the island called Tanare. (5) And no one is ordered to hinder you. But if (6) the Romans<sup>883</sup> make difficulties (and) do not hand over the customary (dues), (7) the tribal chief (*phylarkhos*) shall not be hindered, nor the sub-despot (*hypotyranos*), (8) from seizing the Romans until (they) pay the customary (dues) (9) for my island.

(10) (empty space) Kharakhen, king (*basilisk(os)*). (Sign)

(11) (empty space) Laize, *domest(icus)*, (I am) a witness. (Sign)

(12) (empty space) Tiutikna, *dom(esticus)*, (I am) a witness. (Sign of the cross)

(13) (Sign of the cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 24th of the mo(nth) Phaophi, 1st ind(iction).

[TH]

**337 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgements of debts.**

SB X 10553. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 7.

*Introduction to source*

The text records two distinct receipts and the relation between the sums involved is not made explicit. It is just possible that the second debt incorporated the first.

*Greek text*

- 1 † τῷ εὐγενείῳ<sup>884</sup> Ωσε [- - - ὁμολογῶ]<sup>885</sup>
- 2 ἔχω [.] σοι<sup>886</sup> ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου κερμάτων Νουβαρ[ιτῶν]
- 3 χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια ὀκτώ· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) η μόνα,  
καὶ ταῦτα
- 4 παρέξω σοι, ὅποταν βουλευθείης, καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι
- 5 ὡς [.] πρόκ(είται). † δι' ἐμῶ Διοσκόρου ἐγράφη.
- 6 τῷ εὐγενείῳ Ωσε ιγ( ) [ . . . . . ]βω[- - ]
- 7 ὁμολογῶ ἔχω ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου κερμά-
- 8 των Νουβαριτῶν τ[ . . ]λαλε χρυσοῦ
- 9 νομισματια ἔνδεκα· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ια μόνα,
- 10 καὶ ταῦτα παρέξω σοι, ὅποταν βουλευθεί[ης],

<sup>882</sup>If we take Kharakhen in line 2 as a genitive instead of a dative, the translation will be: "to Kharakhen's children Kharapatkhur and Kharahiet (or: Kharaziet)".

<sup>883</sup>Probably referring to the non-Blemmyes on the island.

<sup>884</sup>Lines 2 and 6, read εὐγενεῖ Satzinger.

<sup>885</sup>Name + ὁμολογῶ suppl. Satzinger.

<sup>886</sup>σοι, read παρὰ σοῦ Satzinger.

11 καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς [πρόκ(ε)ιται].  
 12 † δι' ἐμοῦ Διοσκόρου ἐγράφη.

*Translation*

(1) (Sign of the cross) To the well-born (*eugenes*) Ose.

[I, so-and-so, acknowledge] (2) I have received from you in my hand, in 'Noubadian' coins,<sup>887</sup> (3) eight solidi of gold, ma(king) 8 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this (4) I shall return to you whenever you demand. And it is satisfactory to me (5) as ab(ove).

(Sign of the cross) Written by me, Dioskoros.

(6) To the well-born Ose [ - - - ].

(7) I acknowledge I have received in my hand, in (8) 'Noubadian' coins, [- - -], (9) eleven solidi of gold, ma(king) 11 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (10) And this I shall return to you whenever you demand. (11) And it is satisfactory to me as [ab(ove)].

(12) (Sign of the cross) Written by me, Dioskoros.

[TH]

**338 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

SB III 6259. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 8. Hendrickx 1996, No. 3.

*Greek text*

1 † ἔχω ἐγὼ<sup>888</sup> Ἀργων υἱὸς Λαιζε ἀργυροπλάστης  
 2 σου Νοαίμηκ κερμάτων Νοβαριτῶν<sup>889</sup> χρυσοῦ  
 3 νομισμάτια ἕνδεκα· γ(ίνε)ται χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ἰα μόνα,  
 4 καὶ ταῦτα παρασχεῖν σε,<sup>890</sup> ὀπόδαν βουλευθεί[ης],  
 5 καὶ ἐὰν εὐρηθεῖη ἄλλην ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ χειρὸς  
 6 Διοσκόρου, ἄκαιρων<sup>891</sup> εἶναι καὶ ἀνίσχυρον, εἰ μὴ  
 7 τῇ χειρὶ Σανσνωτος γραμμα(τέως).  
 8 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσνωτος<sup>892</sup> Ἐπειφ ἱγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β.

<sup>887</sup>This is apparently what the Greek means, even if the form of the adjective (*no(u)barites*), not being attested elsewhere, may arouse some suspicion. However, the existence of any special "Noubadian" currency must be strongly doubted (cf. Török 1987c), and the scribe may have got something wrong. In that case, the scribe of 338 has simply repeated the mistake.

<sup>888</sup>ἐγὼ Krall, ἔχω ἐγὼ Wilcken.

<sup>889</sup>κέρμα τῶν [ἀ]πὸ βαρίτων Krall (= βαρίδων Wessely [in Krall 1898, 25], or βαριτῶν Preisigke, SB), κερμάτων [ὀ]ποβαριτων (= -βαρέων) Wilcken, κερμάτων Νοβαριτῶν Satzinger (corr. Νοβ- Hägg).

<sup>890</sup>Read σοι Wessely (in Krall 1898, 25).

<sup>891</sup>Read ἄκυρον Wessely (in Krall 1898, 25).

<sup>892</sup>Ἰάνι νοτα(ρίου) Krall, Σανσνώτος Satzinger.

*Translation*

(1) (Sign of the cross) I have received, I, Argon son of Laïze, silversmith, (2) from you, Noaymek, in 'Noubadian' coins,<sup>893</sup> (3) eleven solidi of gold, ma(king) 11 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. (4) And this <I am prepared> to return (to) you whenever you demand.

(5) And if there should be found another instrument (*asphaleia*) by the hand of (6) Dioskoros, <it shall> be invalid and without force—if not (7) by the hand of Sansnos, scri(be).

(8) (Sign of the cross) By me, Sansnos, on the 13th of Epeiph, 2nd ind(iction).

[TH]

**339 Coptic and Greek document from Gebelen. Royal disposition.**

P. Köln ägypt. 13. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 9.

*Introduction to source*

An understanding of the precise nature of King Barakhia's disposition depends on the interpretation of the words *komerkion* (lines 3 and 7) and *time* (line 7).

Etymologically *komerkion* appears to be related to the Latin *commercium*, which in the plural has been translated "trading places" in a passage of Pliny's *Natural History* (37.45) to which Weber (1980, 117) refers; and in fact the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. III (Leipzig 1906-1912) s.v. C.1, lists that and some other instances under the heading "*i.q. locus mercaturae, i. forum, emporium*". But the case for this particular metonymic usage does not seem to be very strong, and the editors of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. II (Oxford 1982) s.v. prefer to place the passage from Pliny under the rubric "trade routes", and otherwise give no references to *commercium* used to denote a place. As far as Greek documentary texts from Egypt are concerned, κομέρκιον appears to be attested only in the 6th/7th-century papyrus from the Latopolite Nome mentioned in our general introduction to 331-343 above; it is noteworthy that it occurs there too in connection with the Blemmyes, but the exact meaning of the word is as uncertain in that context as in ours. In Byzantine Greek, κομ-(μ)έρκιον is used for "trade" generally, and for "customs", and "taxes" specifically.<sup>894</sup>

Weber (1980, 118) flatly declared that the word *time*, below interpreted with great reservation as a variant spelling of ⲧⲙⲉ, the Coptic "town", could not be so interpreted but could only be the Greek τιμή, here meaning "penalty". If Weber is correct, then the phrase ΖΝΟΥⲧⲙⲬ would translate literally as "in a penalty" and might be interpreted, as did Weber, to mean "as a penalty". In this case, the king would be reconfirming his previous order to the woman Amnas to remain in the *komerkion*, but perhaps under more favorable conditions ("as

<sup>893</sup>Cf. 337, lines 2 and 8, with note.

<sup>894</sup>See also Leonhard 1900, 767, for *Commercium* as a toponym.

a free person", line 5). On the other hand, the general tone of the text is more in keeping with the reconfirmation of a favor already granted (cf. line 8, "for no one should hinder (you) there") than the easing of the terms of a punishment.

*Coptic and Greek text*

- 1 ΧΡ ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑ ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΡΕΘΝΟC ΝΝΒΕΛΖΜΟΟΥΕ ΕΤCΖΔΙ Ν-
- 2 ΑΜΝΑC ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΖΩC ΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC ΔΕ CΟΦΙΑ
- 3 ΔΕ ΨΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΗ ΝΤΕΡΨΩΠΕ ΖΜΠΚΟΜΕΡΚΙΟΝ ΖΑΖΤΝΝΕΙ-
- 4 ΟΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΨΟΟΠ ΜΜΟC ΝΤΕΨΩΠΕ ΖΟΟΤΕ
- 5 [Ζ]ΩC ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC ΟΥΚ ΕΞΕCΤΙΝ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΜΑΥ
- 6 ΨΔΕΝΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ \ΔΕ/ ΝΤΑΡΡΤΡΟΝΟC <sup>895</sup> ΖΙΠΑCΟΥΡΑΥ ΧΑΡΑΧΗΝ ΠΡΡ[Ο]
- 7 ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΔΪΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΡΨΩΠΕ ΖΜΠΚΟΜΕΡΚΙΟΝ ΖΝΟΥΤΜΗ
- 8 [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΚΟΛΨ ΜΜΑΥ ΔΥΩ ΤCΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΕΠ-
- 9 ΧΑΡΤΗC ΕΔΪΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΠΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC ΔΥCΖΔΙ ΠΙΧΑΡΤ/
- 10 Βαραχία βασιλείσκοc μαρ(τυρώ). Τατα φύλαρχ(οc) μαρ(τυρώ). Εισωειτ  
ύποτύρ(αννοc) μαρ(τυρώ).
- 11 Ευτιεκα μαρ(τυρώ). Πρεκαμ μαρ(τυρώ). Ζατικα [μ]αρ(τυρώ). Λαιζε  
μαρ(τυρώ). Καετ μαρ(τυρώ).
- 12 Νουπικα φύλαρχ(οc) μαρ(τυρώ). † έγρά(φη) μη(νι) Φαμενὼθ ιε  
ινδ(ικτίωνοc) β ///.
- 13 † δι' έμοῦ Ἀγάθωνοc γραμμα(τέωc) έγρά(φη) κατὰ τὴν κέλευcιν τοῦ
- 14 ένδοξ(οτάτου) Βαραχια βασιλείσκοc. †

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) (Coptic) Barakhia, the king of the *nation* of the Blemmyes, I write to (2) Amn'as<sup>1</sup>, her whose *Christian* name is Sophia:

(3) I order you (fem.) to remain in the *komerkion* under (= which belongs to?) the (= your?) fa(4)thers in the way that everyone is and to be, yourself, (5) as a free person. It is not permitted for anyone to 'pass by' there (6) ever; for 'when' I ascended the throne 'after' King Kharakhen,<sup>896</sup> (7) I myself ordered you to be in the *komerkion* in a 'town' (*time*); (8) for no one should hinder (you) there.

And I assent to the (9) document; (for) it was at my command that Agathon, the scribe, wrote this document.

(10) (Greek) Barakhia, king (*basiliskos*), (I am) a witness. Tata, tribal chief (*phylarkh(os)*), (I am) a witness. Eisoeit, sub-despot (*hypoty(annos)*), (I am) a witness. (11) Eutieka, (I am) a witness. Prekam, (I am) a witness. Hatik'a<sup>1</sup>, (I am) a witness. Laize, (I am) a witness. Kaet, (I am) a witness. (12) Noupika, tribal chief (*phylarkh(os)*), (I am) a witness.

<sup>895</sup>ΝΤΑΡΡ- for ΝΤΕΡΕΙΡ-? For a discussion of the problem, see Quecke (1982, 52).

<sup>896</sup>Weber (1980, 116) connects and understands this clause differently: "denn ich habe den Thron bestiegen in der grossen Einfriedigung 'Charachēn, der König'", "for I have ascended the throne in the great enclosure (called) 'King Kharakhen'".

(Sign of the cross) Writ(ten) on the 15th of the mo(nth) Phamenoth, 2nd ind(iction).

(13) (Sign of the cross) Writ(ten) by me, Agathon, scri(be), at the command of the (14) most glorious (*endox(otatos)*) King (*basiliskos*) Barakhia. (Sign of the cross)  
[RHP]

*Comments*

An important historical detail in this document is its reference to the Christian faith of the woman Amnas, who received the name Sophia at baptism. Another significant detail is Barakhia's reference to his ascent to the throne as successor of Kharakhen of 336.

[LT]

**340 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

SB X 10552. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 10.

*Greek text*

- 1 ἔχω ἐγὼ [.] Ὡσιαν σοῦ Ὡσε
- 2 χρυσοῦ [.] νομισμάτια εἴκοσι
- 3 τέσσαρα· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) κδ μόνα, καὶ ταῦτα
- 4 σὺν θε(εῶ) [.] α[....]τισι[.]ρσιν<sup>897</sup> ἐμοῦ κατερχ(ομένου)
- 5 παρασχῶ σοι ἰγριουεμ[.]
- 6 ε[.] καὶ [στοιχεῖ μοι]
- 7 [ὡς] πρόκ(ειται). (sign)
- 8 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσνω(τος) ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νὶ) Φαῶφι ε  
ἰγδ(ικτίωνος) δ.

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) I have received, I<sup>1</sup>Osi<sup>1</sup>an, from you, Ose, (2) twenty-four solidi of gold, (3) ma(king) 24 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this, (4) G(od) willing, [ - - - ] when I<sup>1</sup>come down<sup>1898</sup> (5) I shall return to you [ - - - ] (6) [ - - - ] And [it is satisfactory to me] (7) [as] above. (sign)

(8) (Sign of the cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s), on the <sup>1</sup>5th<sup>1</sup> of the mo(nth) Phaophi, 4th ind(iction).

[TH]

<sup>897</sup>[ἐ]ἄ[ν εις + place-name] Satzinger.

<sup>898</sup>The middle of the line is damaged beyond restoration, while the last two words seem to belong to a context similar to that in 335, 4-5.

**341 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

BGU III 796. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 11.

*Greek text*

- 1 ἔχω ἐγὼ Σλε σοῦ Ωσε φυλάρχ(ου) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια
- 2 δέκα τέσσερα· γί(νεται) νο(μισμάτια) ἰδ μόνα, καὶ ταῦτα σὺν θε(εῶ)  
ἐγὼ Σλε
- 3 παρασχεῖν σοι, ὀπόδαν βουληθείης, καὶ στοιχ(εῖ)
- 4 μοι ὡς πρόκ(εεται). Νουβαλ ἀδελφ(ὸς) μαρ(τυρῶ).
- 5 Αματεπ $\psi$ οἰ<sup>899</sup> μαρ(τυρῶ). Σεντασαῶ μαρ(τυρῶ).
- 6 Κρουαζε μαρ(τυρῶ). Πασαπιπ μαρ(τυρῶ).
- 7 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσνω(τος) ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νὶ)
- 8 Φαρμουῦθις ἰζ
- 9 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) [ . . ]

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) I have received, I, Sle, from you, Ose, tribal chief (*phylarkh(os)*), (2) fourteen solidi of gold, ma(king) 14 so(lidi) only. And this, G(od) willing, I, Sle, <am prepared> (3) to return to you whenever you demand. And it is satisfactory (4) to me as ab(ove).

Noubal, (his) broth(er), (I am) a witness. (5) Amatepshoy, (I am) a witness. Sentasao, (I am) a witness. (6) Kruahe, (I am) a witness. Pasapiep, (I am) a witness.

(7) (Sign of the cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s), (8) on the 17th of the mo(nth) Pharmouthi, (9)[ . . ]th ind(iction).

[TH]

**342 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

BGU III 795. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 12.

*Greek text*

- 1 ἔχω ἐγὼ Σλε σοῦ Ωσε φυλάρχου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια
- 2 πέντε· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ε μόνα, καὶ ταῦτα σὺν θε(εῶ)
- 3 παρασχεῖν σοι, ὀπόδαν βουληθείης,
- 4 καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι ὡς πρόκ(εεται). δι' ἐμοῦ
- 5 Σανσνωτο(ς) ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νὶ) Φαρμουῦθις ἰη ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε.
- 6 Νουβαλ μαρ(τυρῶ).
- 7 Αματεπ $\psi$ οἰ μαρ(τυρῶ).

<sup>899</sup>The first element of this name Αματε- might be a variant of the divine name Αματι; while the second, π $\psi$ οι, may be the Coptic masculine definite article π- prefixed to the divine name  $\psi$ οι, Fate, and thus provide an interpretation for Αματι. See Černý 1976,234-235.

8 Σεντασαω μαρ(τυρῶ).

9 (sign)

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) I have received, I, Sle, from you, Ose, tribal chief (*phylarkhos*), (2) five solidi of gold, ma(king) 5 so(lidi) of go(ld) only. And this, G(od) willing, (3) <I am prepared> to return to you whenever you demand. (4) And it is satisfactory to me as ab(ove).

(5) Wri(tten) by me, Sansnos, on the 18th of the mo(nth) Pharmouthi, '5th' ind(iction).

(6) Noubal, (I am) a witness. (7) Amatepshoy, (I am) a witness. (8) Sentasao, (I am) a witness. (9) (sign)

[TH]

**343 Greek document from Gebelen. Acknowledgement of debt.**

BGU III 797. Eide-Hägg-Pierce 1984, No. 13.

*Greek text*

1 ἔχω ἐγὼ Τουσικ[.]α<sup>900</sup> μετὰ ζαδετακ[.]  
 2 σοῦ Ὡσε φυλάρχ(ου) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια  
 3 ἕν· γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) α, καὶ τοῦτο σὺν θεῶ), ὀπό-  
 4 δαν βουληθείης, καὶ στοιχ[ε]ῖ μοι  
 5 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)].  
 6 † δι' ἐμοῦ Σανσν[ῶ(τος)]  
 7 ἐγρ(άφη) μη(νὶ) Θῶθ  
 8 ια<sup>901</sup> ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) [ . . ]

*Translation*

(1) (Christ-monogram) I have received, I, Tusik'i'a, with Hadetak[.], (2) from you, Ose, tribal chief (*phylarkh(os)*), one solidi (*sic*) of gold, (3) ma(king) 1 so(lidus) of go(ld). And this, G(od) willing, <I am prepared to return to you> whenever (4) you demand. And it is satisfactory to me (5) as a[bove].

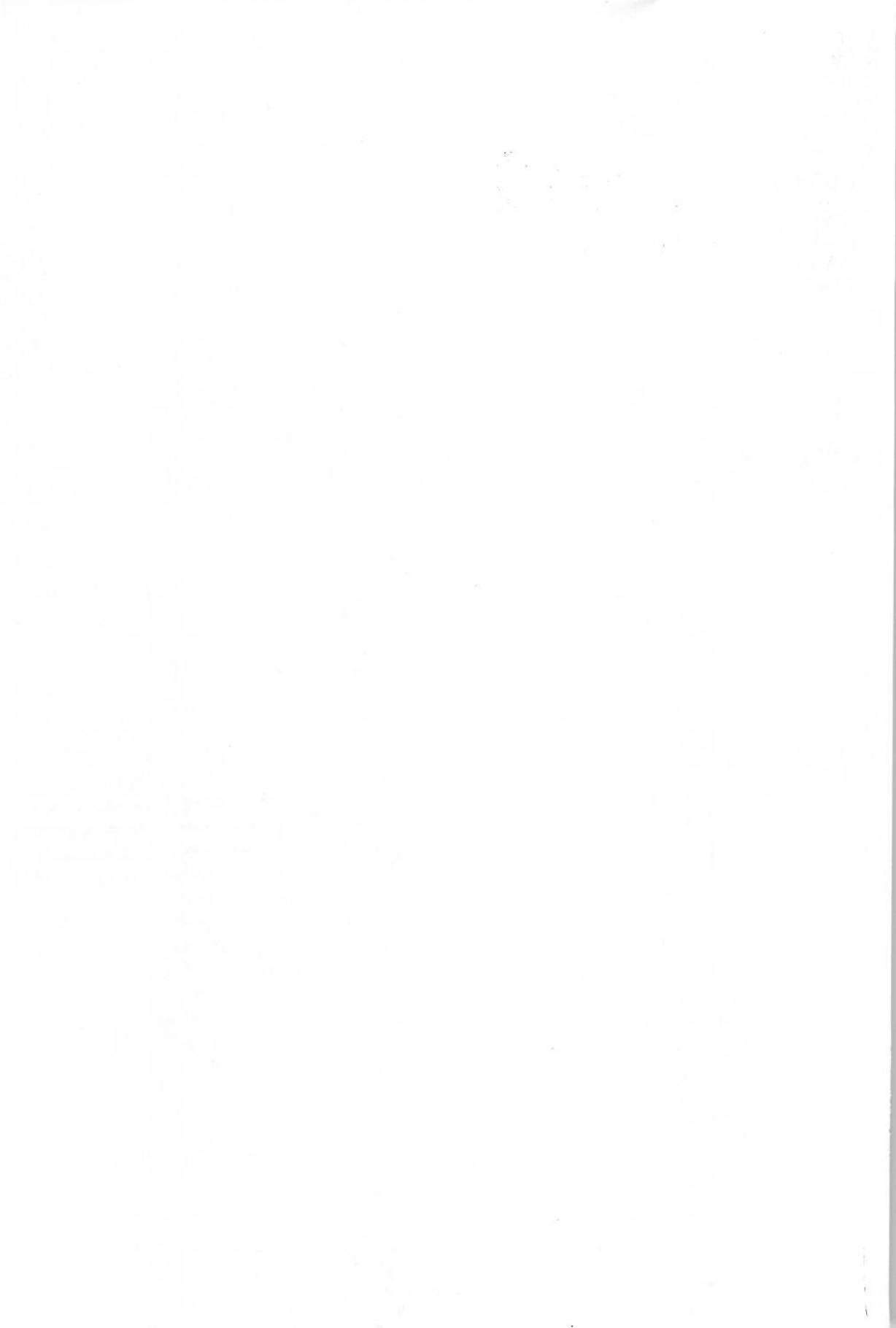
(6) (Sign of the cross) Wri(tten) by me, Sansno(s), (7) on the '11th' of the mo(nth) Thoth, (8) [ . . ]th ind(iction).

[TH]

<sup>900</sup>Τουσικ[ι]α Wessely.

<sup>901</sup>ιε BGU, ια BGU III "Nachträge und Berichtigungen" p. 5.







# *FONTES HISTORIAE NUBIORUM*

makes available the textual sources—both literary and documentary—for the history of the Middle Nile Region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD. The texts are presented in their respective original languages (Egyptian, Meroitic, Greek, Latin) as well as in new English translations, and each is accompanied by an historical commentary. The present volume (FHN III) covers the period from the first to the sixth century AD. A separate index volume (FHN IV) will complete the corpus.

The translations are framed by philological introductions and notes intended to place the individual texts into their wider literary context and to substantiate the translators' interpretation of difficult passages. The commentary following the translations presents historical analyses and provides information about the historical context. Ample space has been given to bibliographical references.



University of Bergen  
IKRR/Department of Greek, Latin and Egyptology  
1998

ISBN 82-91626-07-3