

DEIR EL-BAHARI IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

A STUDY OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE BASED ON GREEK SOURCES

ADAM ŁAJTAR

ΦΑΤΡΗΣ
ΠΝΗΚΙΑΡ
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WARSAW 2005

T H E J O U R N A L O F J U R I S T I C P A P Y R O L O G Y

Supplement IV

**DEIR EL-BAHARI
IN THE HELLENISTIC
AND ROMAN PERIODS**



WARSAW UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY

THE RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG
FOUNDATION

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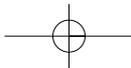
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VOLUME IV

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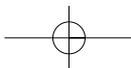
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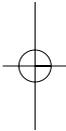
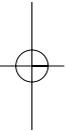
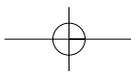
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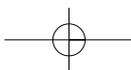
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*To the Memory of my Teacher Zbigniew Borkowski
who started his scientific career in Deir el-Bahari in 1964/5*



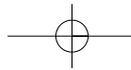
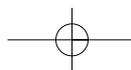
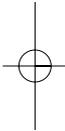
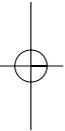
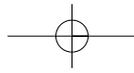


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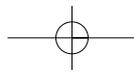
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Temple of Hatshepsut. Photo W. Jerke

PREFACE

THIS BOOK STARTED OUT BACK IN JANUARY 1988. Freshly associated with the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of Warsaw University in Cairo, I was assigned to the Polish-Egyptian Reconstruction and Documentation Mission in the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari and asked to help with the documentation of the reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions adorning the walls of the temple. Dr. Janusz Karkowski, who was in charge of the documentation work at the time, suggested that as a Classicist by training I should perhaps take a closer look at the Greek inscriptions, which were scattered all over the walls of the upper terrace of the temple, and compare their condition with that recorded in André Bataille's publication of 1951.

Full-size tracing on film was and continues to be the principal documentation technique for recording the reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions in Deir el-Bahari. This gave me the opportunity to gain a good knowledge of the Hatshepsut temple, further enriched in discussions with my colleagues Egyptologists and through my own studies. It soon became clear to me that there were many more Greek inscriptions on the walls of the temple than considered in Bataille's publication. At the end of my first season in Deir el-Bahari in April 1988, I had close to a hundred 'new' texts, not counting numerous observations and corrections to the inscriptions already published.

I continued my work in the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari in the double role of documentalist and Greek epigraphist during the next season of the Polish-Egyptian Reconstruction and Documentation Mission, which lasted from November 1988 until February 1989, and was back again in January–March 1990, this time as a member of the Polish Documentation Mission (known also as the Epigraphic Mission). By then, dealing with the Greek inscriptions had become my chief task and it is during those three months that the biggest part of the documentation used in this book was completed. Working with the same mission, I did some additional recording during a one-month stay at Deir el-Bahari in October–November 1995, and then returned to check on some details in January 2002, this time as a member of the Polish-Egyptian

Preservation Mission, which succeeded the Polish-Egyptian Reconstruction and Documentation Mission.

Until just a few years ago outstanding obligations on my part prevented me from actually sitting down to work on the material collected at Deir el-Bahari in 1988–1990 and 1995. I was finally able to do most of the research in 2001–2002, during a year's stay at the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne with a research grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The final redactional work was done in Warsaw in 2002–2004, in addition to my regular university duties.

Now that the work has been completed, it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the contribution of all those who have somehow influenced the end result. First, there are the authorities and the staff of the Warsaw University Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, to whom I am grateful for the long-term scholarships and institutional support, without which my work in Egypt in general and in Deir el-Bahari in particular would not have been possible.

Secondly, I wish to thank the Directors of the Polish-Egyptian Reconstruction and Documentation Mission, as well as the Polish-Egyptian Preservation Mission for their all-rounded assistance from which I greatly benefited during my stay in Deir el-Bahari, and particularly for managing the logistics of my work. I am especially indebted to Messrs. Waldemar Połoczanin (1988) and Andrzej Macur (1988–1989), as well as Dr. Zbigniew Szafrński and Dr. Mirosław Barwik (2002).

Special thanks are due to Dr. Janusz Karkowski, Egyptological supervisor in the Polish-Egyptian Reconstruction and Documentation Mission and Director of the Documentation (Epigraphic) Mission. He brought my attention to the Greek inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari and lent his support, in word and deed, in all my subsequent efforts. Indeed, Dr. Karkowski has always been an excellent colleague (we have spent hundreds, if not thousands of hours together in the temple, both day and night) and he was my first speaker as far as the history and topography of the Hatshepsut temple is concerned. Without him, the present book would have never come to be.

Not the least is the fellowship I enjoyed with all my Deir el-Bahari colleagues – Egyptologists, architects, civil engineers, conservators, photographers, draftsmen – with whom I shared the ups and downs of everyday life in the Metropolitan House and in Wadein.

I am very much obliged to the authorities of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for supporting my project to publish the Greek inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari and financing my stay at the University of Cologne. While in Cologne, I profited very much from the excellent facilities and friendly atmosphere of the Institut für Altertumskunde and particularly of the Arbeitsstelle für Papyrologie, Epigraphik and Numismatik. For this, I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Dieter Lebek, the head of the above-mentioned Arbeitsstelle and my Cologne mentor, and Dr. Robert W. Daniel, the custodian of the Papyrussammlung. I also thank Dr. Giuseppina Azzarello and Dr. Fabian Reiter with whom I shared a room at the Institut für Altertumskunde.

The final form of this book owes much to the good offices of numerous colleagues. For information, suggestions on the readings, discussion, and bibliographic refer-

ences, I am grateful to: Roger S. Bagnall (New York), Jean Bingen (Brussels), the Late Zbigniew Borkowski (Warsaw), Benedetto Bravo (Warsaw), Stephan Busch (Cologne), Philippe Derchain (Cologne), W. Eul (Leverkusen), Jean-Luc Fournet (Strasbourg), Zuzanna Grębecka (Warsaw), Aleksandra Krzyżanowska (Warsaw), Jadwiga Lipińska (Warsaw), Klaus Maresch (Cologne), Tomasz Markiewicz (Warsaw), Dariusz Niedziółka (Warsaw), Edyta Kopp (Warsaw), Georg Petzl (Cologne), Heinz Josef Thissen (Cologne), Jakub Urbanik (Warsaw), Marek Węcowski (Warsaw), Ewa Wipszycka (Warsaw), Maciej Witkowski (Warsaw), Klaas A. Worp (Leiden).

Dr. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal and Prof. Dr. Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, both from Warsaw, read through an earlier version of the manuscript and commented on it. Prof. Jan Krzysztof Winnicki also assisted me with the study of the Demotic material. Ms. Iwona Zych (Warsaw) and Mr. Steve Vinson (New Paltz) undertook an uneasy task of correcting my English. Additionally, some parts were corrected by Mr. Gil Renberg (Ohio) and Ms. Dorota Dziedzic (Warsaw). Mr. Steve Vinson and Mr. Gil Renberg also provided me with valuable comments on the subject dealt in the book. Ms. Teresa Kaczor (Wrocław) prepared the plan of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple published in this book, Ms. Olga Białostocka (Warsaw) proved some details for me in Deir el-Bahari, and Mr. Maciej Jawornicki (Sopot) was helpful with the photos of the inscriptions. To all of them I am very much obliged for their friendly help.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my friend Tomasz Derda who assisted my work on Deir el-Bahari inscriptions from the first readings in spring 1988 until the last stages of the book production in January 2006.

The publication of this book was generously supported through financial donations from the Rector of Warsaw University, Institute of Archaeology of Warsaw University, and Warsaw University Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo. For this support, the author and The Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation would like to express their most sincere thanks to the heads of the above mentioned institutions: Prof. Dr. Katarzyna Chałasińska Macukow, Rector Magnificus of Warsaw University and Prof. Dr. Wojciech Tygielski, Vice-Rector for Research and International Relations, Prof. Kazimierz Lewartowski, Director of Institute of Archaeology as well as Prof. Piotr Bieliński, Director of the Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo.

Warsaw
January, 2006

Adam Łajtar

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for editions of Greek papyri follow J.F. OATS & *alii*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 4th ed. [= *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, Supplement 7], Atlanta 1992. In addition, the following is used:

AfP = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, Leipzig then München – Leipzig 1901 ff.

AJPPh = *American Journal of Philology*, John Hopkins University 1880 ff.

Anal. Papyr. = *Analecta Papyrologica*, Messina 1989 ff.

Anc. Soc. = *Ancient Society*, Leuven 1970 ff.

Ann. Épigr. = R. CAGNAT, A. MERLIN & *alii*, *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris 1888 ff. (1888–1961 in *Rev. Arch.* then as an independent volume).

Ant. Cl. = *L'Antiquité classique*, Louvain 1932 ff.

Ant. Tard. = *Antiquité tardive*, Turnhout 1993 ff.

ASAE = *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire 1900 ff.

'Bull. épigr.' = J. & L. ROBERT & *alii*, 'Bulletin épigraphique' [in:] *REG* (see under particular years).

BAGNALL/WORP, Chronological Systems = R. S. BAGNALL, K. A. WORP, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* [= *Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam ius antiquum and papyrologicam pertinentia VIII*], Zutphen 1978.

BAILLET, Syringes = J. BAILLET, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*, fasc. 1–4 [= *Mémoires d'IFAO* 42], Le Caire 1920–1926.

BASP = *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 1963 ff.

BATAILLE, Inscriptions = A. BATAILLE, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* [= *Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie*], Le Caire 1951.

- BATAILLE, *Memnonia*** = A. BATAILLE, *Les Memnonia. Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecque sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d'Égypte aux époques hellénistique et romaine* [= *Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire* 23], Le Caire 1952.
- BCH** = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Paris 1877 ff.
- BECHTEL, *HPN*** = F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917.
- BIFAO** = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, Le Caire 1901 ff.
- BLASS/DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik*** = F. BLASS, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* bearbeitet von A. DEBRUNNER, 12. Auflage, Göttingen 1965.
- BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni*** = E. BRECCIA, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* [= *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie, nos. 1-568*], Le Caire 1911.
- BSFE** = *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*, Paris 1949 ff.
- BURETH, *Titulatures*** = P. BURETH, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a. C. - 284 p. C.)* [= *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 2], Bruxelles 1964.
- CALDERINI, *Dizionario*** = A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Cairo then Madrid and Milano 1935 ff.
- CdÉ** = *Chronique d'Égypte*, Bruxelles 1925 ff.
- CIG** = A. BOECKH & alii, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* I-IV, Berlin 1828-1877.
- CIJ** = J.-B. FREY, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* I-II [= *Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane* 1 & 3], Roma 1936-1952 (vol. I reprinted with addenda and corrigenda by B. LIFSHITZ: New York 1975).
- CIL** = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum*, Berlin 1863 ff.
- DACL** = F. CABROL, H. LECLERCQ, H. I. MARROU (edd.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris 1907-1954.
- Dem. Namenbuch** = E. LÜDDECKENS & alii, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1980-2000.
- DGE** = F. R. ADRADOS & alii, *Diccionario griego-español*, Madrid 1980 ff.
- Ét. Pap.** = *Études de papyrologie*, vol. I-IX, Le Caire 1932-1974.
- Ét. Trav.** = *Études et travaux*, Warsaw 1966 ff.
- FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon*** = D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* [= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 16], Milano - Varese 1971.

- GIGNAC, *Grammar*** = F. Th. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* [= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità* 55], vol. I. *Phonology*, Milano 1976, vol. II. *Morphology*, Milano 1981.
- GM** = *Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*, Göttingen 1972 ff.
- GODLEWSKI, *Monastère*** = W. GODLEWSKI, *Le monastère de St Phoibamon* [= *Deir el-Bahari* 5], Varsovie 1986.
- HSCP** = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Harvard University 1890 ff.
- HTbR** = *Harvard Theological Review*, Harvard University 1908 ff.
- Hundred-Gated Thebes*** = S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* [= *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 27], Leiden – New York – Köln 1995.
- IAkoris** = É. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 103], Le Caire 1988.
- IColosse** = A. & É. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 31], Le Caire 1960.
- ICret** = Margerita GUARDUCCI, *Inscriptiones Creticae I–IV*, Roma 1935–1950.
- ICURns** = A. SILVAGNI then A. FERRUA, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series*, Rome 1922 ff.
- IDelta** = A. BERNAND, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs*, I. *Les confins libyques*, fasc. 1–3 [= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* XCI], Le Caire 1970.
- IÉgLouvre** = É. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1992.
- IFayoum** = É. BERNAND, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*, I. *La « méris » d'Hérakleidès*, Leiden 1975; II. *La « méris » de Thémistos* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 79], Le Caire 1981; III. *La « méris » de Polémôn* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 80], Le Caire 1981.
- IG** = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1903 ff.
- IGRR** = R. CAGNAT & alii, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes I–IV*, Paris 1906–1927 (reprint: Chicago 1975).
- ImétrÉg** = É. BERNAND, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 98], Paris 1969.
- IKoKo** = A. BERNAND, *De Koptos à Kosseir*, Leiden 1972.

- IPhilae** = A. & É. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, I. *Époque ptolémaïque* (by A. BERNAND); II. *Haut et bas empire* (by É. BERNAND), Paris 1969.
- IPortes** = A. BERNAND, *Les portes du désert. Recueil des inscriptions grecques d'Antinoopolis, Tentyris, Koptos, Apollonopolis Parva et Apollonopolis Magna*, Paris 1984.
- IThySy** = A. BERNAND, *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989.
- IVarsovie** = A. ŁAJTAR, A. TWARDCKI, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée National de Varsovie* [= *JJP* Supplement 2], Varsovie 2003.
- JEA** = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London 1914 ff.
- JHS** = *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London 1911 ff.
- JJP** = *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, New York then Warsaw 1945 ff.
- JNES** = *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago 1884 ff.
- Journ. Sav.** = *Journal des savants*, 2^e série, Paris 1816 ff.
- JRA** = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Portsmouth 1988 ff.
- JThS** = *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford 1899 ff.
- LÄg** = W. HELCK, E. OTTO, W. WESTENDORF (eds.), *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, vol. I–VII, Wiesbaden 1975–1992.
- LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, Sanctuaire** = E. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* [= *Deir el-Bahari* 3], Varsovie 1984.
- LEPSIUS, Denkmäler** = K. R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, vol. I–XII and a supplementary volume, Berlin 1849–1858, Leipzig 1913.
- LGPN** = *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I. *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (edited by P. M. FRASER, E. MATTHEWS), Oxford 1987; II. *Attica* (edited by M. J. OSBORNE, S. G. BYRNE), Oxford 1994; IIIA. *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia* (edited by P. M. FRASER, E. MATTHEWS), Oxford 1997; IIIB. *Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly* (edited by P. M. FRASER, E. MATTHEWS), Oxford 2000.
- LSJ** = H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. STUART JONES, R. MCKENZIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1940, with *A Revised Supplement* edited by P. G. W. GLARE with the assistance of A. A. THOMPSON, Oxford 1996.
- MAMA** = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Manchester 1928 ff.
- MAYSER, Grammatik** = E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, vol. I–II in six fascicles, Berlin – Leipzig 1926–1938 (reprint: Berlin 1970; fasc. I I. *Laut und Wortlehre* revised by H. SCHMOLL).
- MBAH** = *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte*, St. Katharinen 1982 ff.

- MDAIK** = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, Berlin 1930 ff.
- Mus. Helv.** = *Museum Helveticum. Schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft*, Basel 1944 ff.
- ÖJb** = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, Wien 1898 ff.
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- RAC** = *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart 1950 ff.
- RdÉ** = *Revue d'égyptologie*, Paris 1933 ff.
- RE** = [Paulys] *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung von G. WISSOWA (...) hrsg. von Konrat ZIEGLER, Stuttgart 1894–1980.

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- REG** = *Revue des études grecques*, Paris 1888 ff.
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- TT** = Theban Tomb
- WAGNER, *Les Oasis*** = G. WAGNER, *Les Oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs (Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques)* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 100], Le Caire 1987.
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**DEIR EL-BAHARI
IN THE HELLENISTIC
AND ROMAN PERIODS**

**CULT ACTIVITY IN DEIR EL-BAHARI
IN PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN TIMES**

1. DEIR EL-BAHARI BEFORE THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD: TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

DEIR EL-BAHARI¹ IS A BAY IN THE EAST SLOPE of the limestone massif rising from the desert near the west border of the Nile valley opposite ancient Thebes. It is situated at the feet of the highest peak of the massif known today as 'el-Qurn' and commonly called 'Red Mountain' or 'Pink Mountain' after the colour of its rocks. The peak was considered holy by the ancient Egyptians and was especially connected with the goddess Hathor, who is often represented as a Heavenly Cow appearing from behind the Red Mountain in Theban monuments. Deir el-Bahari was one of the centres of her popular cult, attested from the First Intermediate Period until Graeco-Roman times.

Deir el-Bahari has the appearance of a rocky bay opening to the east towards the Nile valley and the city of Thebes.² On the west, it is shaped by rugged, vertical, 100-metre-high cliffs which gradually soften towards the north-east and east, and finally pass into the range of hills called Dra Abu el-Naga. On the south and south-west, a rocky spur jumping from the cliff separates Deir el-Bahari from the next, considerably smaller valley known as 'Valley of the Royal Cache.' Further to the south, another valley called 'Valley of the Eagle' is situated.

In terms of cultural history, Deir el-Bahari was part of the large agglomeration of Western Thebes, which stretched along the Nile valley from Deir el-Shelwit in the south to el-Tarif in the north, entering the valleys of the limestone massif. This

¹The modern Arabic toponym Deir el-Bahari, literally 'The Northern Monastery,' goes back to a monastery, most probably named after St. Phoibamon, which existed on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple from the sixth century onwards; for this monastery, see GODLEWSKI, *Monastère*. Its remains were erased during excavations carried out by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s. The geographic designation 'Northern'

takes into consideration another monastery, called Deir el-Medinah, literally 'The Monastery of the Town,' which existed in and around the small temple of Hathor from the Ptolemaic period, situated ca. 1 km south of Deir el-Bahari.

²In fact, the first pylon of the Amun temple in Karnak lying in the distance of ca. 3 kilometres in a straight line from Deir el-Bahari is easily visible from the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple.

agglomeration had predominantly a funerary character. According to the present state of our knowledge, the first graves in this area came into existence in the time of the late Fourth Dynasty (25th cent. BC), while the youngest are to be dated to late antiquity (fourth–sixth cent. AD).³ The majority of the population of Thebes must have been buried here, although what we know are mainly well built and richly decorated graves of members of the upper classes of the Theban society, including kings. Starting with Amenophis I, the kings of the Theban dynasties (18th–21st) were interred in magnificent graves hewn in the rocks of the so-called ‘Valley of the Kings,’ which lies within the limestone massif, only half a kilometre directly to the west from Deir el-Bahari. In addition to graves, but separated from them, temples of the royal mortuary cult were built on the border of the Nile valley. With time, smaller or larger communities started to rise around those temples, especially around the temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu. They housed: workers who built and decorated graves and temples, priests and temples attendants, necropolis workers, officers of royal administration and policemen, farmers cultivating neighbouring fields, etc., as well as members of their families. In later periods, these communities formed a large village called Djeme in Demotic sources and the Memnoneia in Greek ones.⁴

Deir el-Bahari was first used as part of the Theban necropolis in the time of the Eleventh Dynasty, with the building in the south part of the valley of the mortuary complex of the king Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre (2061–2010 BC). It included the rock-cut tomb of the King accessible by a 150-metre-long corridor, and a temple the most prominent part of which was a terrace with a mastaba-shaped structure surrounded by porticos.⁵ The temple played the double role of the temple of the royal mortuary cult and the cult of gods, especially the sun god Montu-Re, a combination that served as model for later West Theban temples including the temple of Hatshepsut. It also served as a station for the bark of the god Amun who, during the ‘Beautiful Feast of the Valley,’ left his temple in Karnak, crossed the river and visited various temples in

³ A general work about Western Thebes from the point of view of its spatial and functional development is still a desideratum. In the meantime, one can mention here: E. OTTO, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues* [= *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* 16], Berlin – Leipzig 1952, pp. 44–82; Lise MANNICHE, *City of the Dead. Thebes in Egypt*, London 1987; N. STRUDWICK, J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, especially the studies by Friederike KAMPP-SEYFRIED, ‘The Theban Necropolis: an overview of topography and tomb development from the Middle Kingdom to the Ramesside period,’ pp. 2–10, and D. A. ASTON, ‘The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period,’ pp. 138–166.

⁴ For the Memnoneia in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see BATAILLE, *Memnonia*, *passim*. For its

western part, around the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medinah, see D. MONTERRAT, L. MESKELL, ‘Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina,’ *JEA* 83 (1997), pp. 179–197.

⁵ For the mortuary complex of the King Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, see E. NAVILLE, H. R. HALL, *The XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el-Bahari I–III* [= *The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoirs* 28, 30, 32], London 1907–1913; D. ARNOLD, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, vol. I. *Architektur und Deutung* [= *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 8], Mainz am Rhein 1974, vol. II. *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars* [= *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 11], Mainz am Rhein 1974, vol. III. *Die Königlichen Beigaben* [= *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 33], Mainz am Rhein 1981; D. ARNOLD from notes of H. WINLOCK, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, New York 1979.

Western Thebes, ending in the temple of the then-reigning king. This annual feast, the most important in the liturgical calendar of Western Thebes, was probably instituted in the times of the 11th Dynasty.⁶ In parallel to the funerary complex of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, several graves, mainly for members of the royal family, came into existence scattered over the valley of Deir el-Bahari.⁷

Five hundred years after Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, Deir el-Bahari was the stage of building on a wide scale by two rulers of the first half of the 18th Dynasty: Hatshepsut (1473–1458 BC) and her nephew and stepson Thutmose III (1479–1425 BC) both built their temples here.

Hatshepsut, first regent for the young Thutmose III and then his dominant coregent, chose as a place for her temple the north part of the valley situated between the temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre and the rocks of the cliff.⁸ The author of the ideological and architectonic conception of the temple was probably Senenmut, the prominent person in the Hatshepsut's court, the chief steward and tutor to her daughter Nefrura.⁹ The work had apparently already started in the seventh year of Thutmose III, when Hatshepsut proclaimed herself as a female pharaoh, at any event, it was in full progress in his tenth year as attested by building ostraca. The original plan of the temple underwent considerable changes during the work, and the building was never completed until construction was stopped by the end of Hatshepsut's rule, most probably in the 21st or 22nd year of Thutmose III.

⁶ For the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley' see S. SCHOTT, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt* [= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz* 11], Mainz 1953. The feast was still held in the Ptolemaic period, as is indicated by Greek inscriptions and papyri of Theban provenance which mention διάβασις τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος εἰς τὰ Μεμνώνια, and possibly persisted even until Roman times; cf. BATAILLE, *Memnonia*, p. 89. In these late periods of the Egyptian history, it overlapped with the so-called decadary feast during which Amun-in-*Ipj* (Amenophis) visited the graves of his predecessors in the Theban necropolis; on the late development of the Amun's feasts on the Theban West Bank, see C. TRAUNECKER [in:] C. TRAUNECKER, Françoise LA SAOUT, O. MASSON, *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak II* [= *Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Synthèse* 5], Paris 1981, pp. 130–142.

⁷ One should mention here the grave of princess Neferu (TT 319), which later was overbuilt by the north-east corner of the middle court of the Hatshepsut temple.

⁸ A small chapel built by Amenophis I (1525–1504 BC) probably as a station for the bark of

Amun visiting Deir el-Bahari during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley' was standing here at that time. It was dismantled and the place was overbuilt by the Hatshepsut temple. For the Amenophis I chapel, see PAWLICKI, *Świątynia*, pp. 56–59.

⁹ His 'signatures' including the representation of a kneeling man and a hieroglyphic inscription with the name Senenmut are to be found on numerous spots of the temple, especially behind the doors of niches and sanctuaries. They were marveled after Senenmut fell into Hatshepsut's disfavor, an event that took place in or shortly after the 16th year of Thutmose III. Senenmut also built a tomb for himself in Deir el-Bahari (TT 353). Its entrance, hidden behind the north-east corner of the lower court of the Hatshepsut temple, gave access to a long corridor which ended with the burial cave situated beneath the temple of the Queen. For Senenmut, see P. DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*, London 1988; IDEM, *The Tombs of Senenmut. The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*, New York 1991.

The official name of the temple read: 'The great temple of millions of years, the temple of Amun of *djeser-djeseru*.' This was often abbreviated as *djeser-djeseru*, which may be rendered as 'Holy of Holies.' The temple combined the function of a cult place for living and dead members of the Hatshepsut family and for gods, especially the main Theban god Amun. It was one of the destinations of the bark of Amun during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.'

The temple was a partly free-standing terraced and partly rock-cut structure.¹⁰ The material used in the construction was a local limestone, with some special elements done in sandstone and red granite. It consisted of a series of three courts lying at different levels on an east-west axis, connected by ramps. The lowermost court, situated at ground level, was closed at the west by two porticos, one on each side of the ramp, with relief decoration showing the erection of two obelisks of Hatshepsut in the Amun temple at Karnak (the south portico or the 'Obelisks Portico') and hunting scenes (the north portico or the 'Huntings Portico').

The middle court, lying on the lower terrace, also ended at the west with two porticos. Their relief decoration depicted: a famous trade expedition to the land of Punt organized by Hatshepsut at the order of Amun (the south portico or the 'Punt Portico'), and the divine conception and birth of Hatshepsut (the north portico or the 'Nativity Portico'). A special shrine for Anubis with a portico of its own neighbored the 'Nativity Portico' to the north. The middle court was closed on the north side by a colonnade (unfinished) giving access to four undecorated chapels. To the south of the 'Punt Portico,' there was a shrine for Hathor hewn in the rocks and preceded by a double portico of its own. The shrine was accessible both from the middle court by a passage in front of the 'Punt Portico,' and by a separate ramp leading from the lower court which indicates that it functioned as a somewhat separate cultic space.

The upper terrace was organized around the inner court walled up of all sides. It was preceded by a two-winged portico conventionally called the 'Upper Portico' or the 'Coronation Portico.' The communication between the portico and the court was assured by a granite portal in the main axis of the temple. The court itself had the form of a peristyle with three rows of columns on the east side and two on the remaining ones. The west wall of the court, being a kind of monumental façade of the main sanctuary of Amun, featured 18 niches, 9 on each side of the entrance to the sanctuary. Two kinds of niches alternated: tall and shallow ones for standing figures of Hatshepsut in the form of Osiris (5 on each side), and lower and deeper chapels with closed doors (4 on each side).

¹⁰ For the description of the Hatshepsut temple, see E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* I–VI [= *The Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoirs* 13, 14, 16, 19, 27, 29], London 1895–1908; Marcelle WERBROUCK, *Le temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, Bruxelles 1949; PAWLICKI, *Świątynie, passim*, especially, pp. 74–159; J. KARKOWSKI, 'The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari' [in:]

Z. E. SZAFRAŃSKI (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, pp. 99–157. A vivid picture of the temple and its reconstruction by the Polish-Egyptian Mission written for more general public is found in: M. WITKOWSKI, 'Der Tempel der Königin Hatschepsut in Deir el-Bahari, seine Geschichte, Erforschung und Rekonstruktion,' *Antike Welt* 29 (1998), pp. 41–56.

The main sanctuary of Amun, accessible through a granite portal, consisted of three chambers lying on the east-west axis. The first of the three was the Bark Shrine. It is marked by large dimensions and the vaulted roof, which make it one of the most impressive chambers of the Hatshepsut temple. Here, on a special pedestal, the processional bark of Amun was placed during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.' The Room was equipped with two small square windows: one situated in the east wall just below the ceiling, another one in the west wall, a bit lower in comparison with the first. These windows allowed the rays of the sun to enter the Holy of Holies twice a year, at the beginning and end of the coldest season of the year, and to illuminate it. The north and the south walls of the Bark Shrine had three small, deep niches each. In the corners of the Shrine stood statues of Hatshepsut in the form of Osiris, similar in form to the statues in the niches of the west wall of the court. The second chamber of the sanctuary was considerably smaller than the first one and its floor was situated on a slightly higher level than the floor of the Bark Shrine. In the centre of its north and south walls there were entrances to the lateral chapels dedicated to the gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead. The third chamber of the original sanctuary had the smallest dimensions of the three. It was fully cut in the rock, and its walls were laid with limestone slabs.¹¹ The chamber walls were dismantled during the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep (see below). Several fragments found during recent excavations and observed reused in the walls indicate that the chapel's decoration included an offering scene and a list of offerings. The function of the two rear chambers is a matter of controversy. Pawlicki thought the second chamber housed the statue of Amun, whose 'Daily Ritual' is represented on the chamber's walls, and saw in the third chamber the place where the offering table was located.¹² Several factors, however, indicate that the cult statue representing Hatshepsut's *k3* stood in the third chamber and the second chamber was only a kind of vestibule for the third one.¹³

A door placed in the north wall of the court near its west end led to an elongated room called conventionally the 'North Chapel of Amun.' A local statue of Amun was possibly kept here. The 'North Chapel of Amun' was paralleled by the so-called 'South Chapel of Amun,' accessible by a door in the south wall of the court near its west end. Various paraphernalia needed in the ceremonies connected with the stay of the bark of Amun during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley' were apparently kept here.

To the north of the court, the Solar Cult Complex was located, accessible by a door in the north wall of the court near its east end. The complex comprised two parts: a closed chapel (the so-called 'Chapel of the Night Sun') and an open courtyard. The courtyard featured in the centre a large square altar accessible from the west by stairs.

¹¹ The existence of the third chamber of the sanctuary of the Hatshepsut temple has been established only recently by the Polish-Egyptian Mission. Earlier, it was thought that the original sanctuary from Hatshepsut's period comprised only two rooms, to which the third room was added only in the time of Ptolemy VIII.

¹² PAWLICKI, *Świątynie*, pp. 112–117.

¹³ Cf. Martina ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit – Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königsideologie in Ägypten [= Ägypten und Altes Testament 51]*, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 26–52, especially pp. 43–46.

A door in the centre of the north wall of the courtyard gave access to the so-called 'Upper Chapel of Anubis.' The latter consisted of two chambers laid at right angles to each other. It was particularly connected with the cult of the dead parents of Hatshepsut.

To the south of the upper court, there was the Royal Mortuary Complex, entered by a gate in the south wall of the court in height of the third intercolumnium of the south colonnade. The first element of the complex was a small square courtyard decorated in sunken relief. To the south, the courtyard opened on a vestibule which gave access through a door in its west wall to the offering chapel of Hatshepsut. To the west of the courtyard, there was a vestibule and an offering chapel of Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I. In the east wall of the vestibule of Hatshepsut's chapel, two large doorless niches were situated.

With the dimensions 13.20 x 4.20 meters, the Hatshepsut chapel was the largest and perhaps the most impressive chamber of the entire temple. Its walls were richly decorated with scenes showing procession of offerings for the dead Hatshepsut and episodes of her funeral ceremonies. In the middle of the west wall, a granite stela resembling a false door was situated. The chapel was covered by a vaulted roof. The arrangement and the decoration of the Thutmose I chapel imitated in a simplified form that of the Hatshepsut chapel.

The south-east corner of the upper terrace was occupied by an elongated undecorated room connected with the upper court both by a door and a large square window in the court south wall. Stairs led to the window on the side of the room. Recent research shown that this room, called conventionally the 'Room with the Window of Appearance,' was probably a slaughterhouse in which meat for offerings was being prepared.¹⁴

In the 21st year of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut disappears from the written record as regnant queen. She either died or was removed from power by her nephew, who became the sole ruler. Twenty-three years later, in his 43rd regnal year, Thutmose III started to erase the memory of his aunt. Her names and representations were martelated all over the temple, while her statues were broken and thrown into the so-called 'Senenmut Quarry' situated to the north-east of the lower terrace. Further changes in the original decoration of the Hatshepsut temple occurred during the Amarna Period (*ca.* 1348 – *ca.* 1335 BC). Because of religious and political reasons (cult of Aton – the personification of the sun disc – as the sole god, struggle with the powerful priests of the Theban Amun), the representations of gods were largely erased. The brunt of this ravaging activity was directed mainly towards Amun, but the figures of other gods also suffered. They were restored by kings of the 19th–20th dynasties. This work is reported in commemorative inscriptions which preserve the names of Horemhab, Ramesses II, and Merneptah. The Ramessides also worked over the martelated figures of Hatshepsut for the representations of Thutmose I, II, and III. The attention with which the kings of the 20th Dynasty treated the Hatshepsut temple shows that it still must have played an important role in the religious life of the Theban West Bank.

¹⁴ Cf. F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* 7 (1995), pp. 71–72.

Thutmosis III did not content himself only with the destruction of the names and representations of Hatshepsut in her temple, but also built, towards the end of his rule, a temple of his own which in the king's intention should have obscured that of his predecessor. The temple was situated between the existing temples of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre and Hatshepsut.¹⁵ Its official name was *djeser-achet* = 'Holy of Horizon' or 'The Horizon is Holy' (namely for the bark of Amun). It indicates that the main function of the temple was to house the bark of Amun during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.' It was also destined for exercising the king's cult. The temple was built mainly of limestone with a considerable addition of sandstone blocks. In its architectonic lay-out, it resembled two neighbouring temples, especially that of Hatshepsut.

The temple was situated on three levels connected by ramps. The lower and the middle levels were enclosed on the west by porticoes. From the middle level, a special chapel of Hathor was accessible. The third level, supported by a special earthen platform on the south, housed the most important cult chambers. Its facade constituted a portico with 6 pairs of supports containing a pillar and a column each. Behind it, there was a transversal hypostyle hall having, probably, the form of a basilica. It gave access to the Bark Chapel situated in the main axis of the temple, and to a series of a side chapels. A door in the rear wall of the Bark Chapel led to the Room of the Offering Table, which opened towards the north on another room of the sanctuary, both of them on a transversal axis. The walls of the temple were decorated with high-quality reliefs. They have been preserved, but are broken into numerous small fragments which are being studied scientifically by the Polish team.

We do not know exactly how long the three Deir el-Bahari temples remained in use. The temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre was restored by King Siptah (1204–1198 BC) which means that it still functioned at that period, although the building must have been time-worn then. It was still visited by pilgrims in the time of the late 20th Dynasty who left graffiti in hieratic on its walls and columns.¹⁶ The Hatshepsut temple (*djeser-djeseru*) is mentioned for the last time in the list of cult places of Amun in Western Thebes contained in an inscription in the tomb of Imiseba (TT 65) from the time of Ramesses IX (1131–1112 BC).¹⁷ The temple of Thutmosis III (*djeser-achet*) was still in use in the second half of the 20th Dynasty (end of the 12th cent. BC) as is indicated by numerous hieratic inscriptions left by visitors on its columns and walls.¹⁸ The visits apparently had a casual character; they perhaps occurred in connec-

¹⁵ The temple was discovered at the beginning of the 1960s by the Polish-Egyptian Mission. The excavations were directed by Jadwiga Lipińska. For the discovery and the description of the Thutmosis III temple, see Jadwiga Lipińska, *The Temple of Thutmosis III. Architecture* [= *Deir el-Bahari II*], Warszawa 1977; see also Pawlicki, *Świątynie*, pp. 160–171.

¹⁶ On this late period of use of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple, see D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari I*, pp. 69–70.

¹⁷ For the text, see J. Assman, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* [= *Theben I*], Mainz am Rhein 1983, p. 130, l. 15. The same inscription mentions in line 14 a *djeseret* which may or may not be identical with the temple of Thutmosis III (*djeser-achet*).

¹⁸ M. Marciniak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques du Temple de Thoutmosis III* [= *Deir el-Bahari I*], Warszawa 1974, *passim*, especially pp. 37–40 (on the dating) and 43–53 (on the cult of Hathor).

tion with the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.' The inscriptions are mostly addressed to Hathor, with fewer to Amun. In some texts, there is question of health¹⁹ which suggests that the local cult of Hathor had a healing aspect. Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that the Thutmosis III temple was destroyed, presumably by a rock-slide, sometime at the end of the 20th Dynasty.²⁰ Following the catastrophe, the ruined temple served for a time as a source of stone material. Some of its blocks were hauled off for re-use, some were re-cut on the spot and shaped as grinders, mortars and large bowls. Later, its site was abandoned and covered by sand. The temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre met with the same fate. The situation was slightly different with the Hatshepsut temple. It also might have been affected by the catastrophe of the end of the 20th Dynasty, but it largely remained intact with only some damage here and there in the upper terrace, e. g. in the Bark Shrine and in the columns and walls of the court, as is attested by the scope of Ptolemaic reconstructions (see below, chapter 5 of this study) and the present state of the building. At the end of the New Kingdom, the temple fell in disuse. This period of desacralisation is marked by graves from the time of the Third Intermediate Period hewn in rocks on several spots of the upper terrace, including the sanctuary²¹ and the north chapel of Amun.²² The cult was apparently reintroduced in the seventh-sixth century BC and the temple became once more a station for the bark of Amun during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.' A proof for that may be found in the orientation of some graves built in the time of 25th/26th Dynasties in the central part of the Deir el-Bahari valley, particularly those of Mentuemhat (TT 34) and Pabasa (TT 279), which had pylons and *dromoi* directed to the north, towards the processional way of the Hatshepsut temple.²³ This second period of the temple's floret was rather short-lived: in the Late Period, the temple was definitely abandoned. In the course of time, its lower court was filled up with sand so as

¹⁹ MARCINIAK, *op. cit.*, nos. 1 and 2. Marciniak connected with the healing activity at Deir el-Bahari also a hieratic inscription written on the walls of a grotto behind the Thutmosis III temple published separately by him; cf. M. MARCINIAK, 'Un texte inédit de Deir el-Bahari' [in:] *Bulletin du Centenaire* [= *Supplément au BIFAO* 81], Le Caire 1981, pp. 283–291. The text was left by Neb-waw, priest in the temple of Thutmosis I. It may be dated on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the 19th Dynasty. Marciniak's reading and interpretation of the inscription was challenged by A. K. PHILIPS, 'Observation on the Alleged New Kingdom Sanatorium at Deir el-Bahari,' *GM* 89 (1986), pp. 77–83. According to the last author the text was not related to health or incubation.

²⁰ LIPIŃSKA, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²¹ A tomb with three wooden sarcophagi from the time of the 22nd–23rd Dynasties was found in the 1930s under the Bark Shrine; cf. B. BRUYÈRE, 'Une nouvelle famille des prêtres de Montou trou-

vée par Baraize à Deir el-Bahari,' *ASAE* 54 (1957), pp. 11–33. The excavations carried out by the Polish-Egyptian Mission revealed four tombs hewn in rocks under the second chamber of the original sanctuary; cf. F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* 11 (1999), p. 165.

²² Cf. Z. SZAFRAŃSKI, *PAM* 12 (2002), pp. 196–198; see further M. BARWIK (with contribution by Monika CZERNIEC), 'New data concerning the Third Intermediate Period cemetery in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari' [in:] N. STRUDWICK, J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, pp. 122–130.

²³ Cf. M. BIETAK, Elfriede REISER-HASLAUER & alii, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor I*, Wien 1978, pp. 19–20. Additionally, it should be observed that some of the reliefs adorning the tomb of Mentuemhat were inspired by the relief decoration of the offering chapel of Hatshepsut, which means that the temple was still frequented by local population in the seventh–sixth century BC.

to form a sandy plain with mounds marking some prominent and better preserved parts of buildings. The same was also true, at least partly, for the middle court. On the other hand, the rooms of the upper terrace remained relatively free and easily accessible. The whole Deir el-Bahari valley was used as a burial place, especially for priests of Montu and Amun and their families.²⁴ The graves were situated mainly in the sandy plain covering the two lower courts. In addition to graves, various installations connected with the funerary industry were established within the temple, including workshops for embalmers in the northern colonnade of the middle court.²⁵

In this environment, the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep began to be practiced in the Ptolemaic period.

2. AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU AND IMHOTEP

Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep were figures from early Egyptian history, royal officers, architects and sages whose wisdom and achievements, highly esteemed by their contemporaries, made them 'saints' and finally gods among the later inhabitants of Egypt.

Imhotep lived and was active in the second half of the 27th century BC in Memphis.²⁶ His career, which had probably started already under Chasechemwy, the last king of the Second Dynasty, largely took place during the reign on the first kings of the Third Dynasty, and is particularly connected with the name of king Djoser (2630–2611 BC). Imhotep never held the most important offices in the land, like vizier. In the sources at our disposal, he is attested as seal-bearer, high priest of Heliopolis, chief lector-priest, chief sculptor and director of building works. In the last capacity, he was most probably architect of the step pyramid of king Djoser, which presents a novelty on Egyptian soil, both in its form and material (limestone, rather than the mud brick of earlier buildings).²⁷ As author of these innovations, he must be considered as the most outstanding person of his times in intellectual terms. Imhotep probably died under Huni, the last king of the Third Dynasty. His grave (not identified thus far) was apparently situated in North Saqqara.

With the New Kingdom, Imhotep began to be considered classic of the Egyptian literature, patron of scribes, and a personification of wisdom. Perhaps already in the Royal Canon of Turin (19th Dynasty), he was designated the son of the god Ptah and

²⁴ These Deir el-Bahari finds form the huge volume of the Catalogue Général: H. GAUTHIER, *Cercueil anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* [= *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 41042–41072*], Le Caire 1913; see also Cynthia MAY-SHEIKHOESLAMI, 'The burials of priests of Montu at Deir el-Bahari in the Theban necropolis' [in:] N. STRUDWICK, J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, pp. 131–137.

²⁵ Cf. KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 93.

²⁶ For Imhotep, see generally WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 5–248; IDEM, *Saints*, pp. 31–81.

²⁷ The name of Imhotep is also found in a graffito on the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Djoser's successor Horus Sechemchet.

a mortal woman Chereduanch, thus being put on a semidivine level. In the time of the 26th Dynasty, he became a full god on a local Memphite scale, with a temple of his own located in the neighbourhood of the Sarapaeum, and a new cult image showing a sitting man in the headdress of Ptah with a papyrus roll at his chest. For centuries to follow, the temple was the focal point of a popular cult of Imhotep, who was worshipped as general benefactor, intercessor and helper in time of need, particularly in problems of daily life and during illness or childlessness.²⁸ It is known that incubation was practiced there; the god appeared in dreams to persons sleeping in the temple.²⁹ Numerous finds of small bronze votive figurines originating from Saqqara-North suggest that the temple was the place of a large scale pilgrimage activity. In Hellenistic and Roman times, the Memphite Imhotep was identified with Asklepios, the Greek god of medicine. However, this identification was neither complete nor consistent. In the famous aretalogy of Imhotep preserved in *P.Oxy.* XI 1381 (second cent. AD) which undoubtedly came into existence in connection with Memphis, he is named either Imouthes son of Ptah (ll. 201–202) or Asklepios son of Hephaistos = Ptah (*passim*). The Memphite temple of Imhotep, called the Asklepieion in Greek sources, apparently preserved an Egyptian character until the late antiquity. The Memphite cult of Imhotep was the source of his later fame in Greek and Latin hermetic literature, in which he is presented as a great sage and magus, author of many philosophical and alchemical writings. His figure was also familiar to the later Arabic alchemistic tradition. He lived in the local folklore of North Saqqara until the 19th century AD.

In the Ptolemaic period, the cult of Imhotep spread from Memphis throughout Egypt. His presence is attested in great religious centres of the country like Heliopolis, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, and also in Greek Alexandria. He also appears in less important sanctuaries and on the fringe of the Egyptian civilization. Under Ptolemy V, a temple was built for Imhotep on the island of Philae.³⁰ The Greek dedicatory inscription in which the god is called Asklepios states that the temple was a royal foundation, most probably made in connection with the birth of the first child of Ptolemy V and Kleopatra I after seven years of childless marriage. This temple, the

²⁸ A case is described in the funerary inscription of Taimhotep, the wife of Psenptais, a prophet of Ptah in the middle of the first century BC. The couple had three daughters, but unfortunately no son. After they prayed to Imhotep asking for a male offspring, the god appeared in a dream to the husband of Taimhotep and promised to give him a son if he should accomplish some tasks in Imhotep's temple. When the tasks were finished, Taimhotep became pregnant and gave birth to a boy who, after the god, was named Imhotep. The most recent edition of the funerary inscription of Taimhotep in: Eva A. E. REYMOND, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* [= *Ägyptische Abhandlungen* 38], Wiesbaden 1981, no. 20; German translation in: E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschrif-*

ten der ägyptischen Spätzeit. Ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung [= *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 2], Leiden 1954, pp. 190–194; fragments referring to Imhotep quoted by WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 68–70, § 45.

²⁹ The most evident case is the one described in the so-called aretalogy of Imouthes/Asklepios contained in *P.Oxy.* 1381. The famous archive of Hor of the first half of the second century BC also has evidence for incubation at Imhotep's temple at Saqqara, particularly *O.Hor* 59. Imhotep appeared in a dream also to the husband of Taimhotep; however, it is not stated if he slept in the god's temple or outside it.

³⁰ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 153–162, § 101–109.

only independent cult place of Imhotep outside Memphis, was further the source of Imhotep's representations in the temples of Lower Nubia (Dabod, Kalabshah, Dakka) and in Meroe.

In the Theban area, Imhotep appears first under Ptolemy III in the temple of his divine father Ptah in Karnak.³¹ He is represented, in company of Ptah, on the sixth gate of the temple as giver of life and health to the King. In the same function, he occurs under Ptolemy IV in a scene on the north wall of the hall of the Ptah temple.³² Most probably, some sculptured representations of Imhotep and objects inscribed with his name found in different places in Karnak should also be brought in connection with the Ptah temple. Otherwise, the sole appearances of Imhotep in the Theban area are rather rare. As a rule, he occurs there in company of the local 'saint' Amenhotep son of Hapu.

Amenhotep son of Hapu was born about 1450 BC, under the King Thutmose III, in Athribis, the capital of the tenth Lower Egyptian nome.³³ He stayed until the age of *ca.* fifty in his native city, active as king's scribe and chief of the priests of Horus-Chentiheti, the local god of Athribis. As a mature and well experienced man in his early fifties, he was called by his namesake, the King Amenophis III, to the royal court in Thebes where he made a rapid and brilliant career. He is attested as 'scribe of the recruits' and 'chief architect of the king.' In the last capacity, he among others led the erection of the colossal statues of Amenophis III in front of his mortuary temple in Western Thebes (the so-called Colossi of Memnon), and some other works including the building of the temple at Soleb in Nubia. He organized king's jubilees – a duty normally performed by the eldest son of the king, and served as the steward to the king's daughter Satamun. The intellectual abilities and moral qualities of Amenhotep son of Hapu were highly esteemed by his contemporaries. He was allowed by the king to erect several statues of himself in different temples of Amun in and around Thebes, accompanied by inscriptions in which he presents himself as an intermediary between ordinary people and the god. He also got the exceptional privilege to build in Western Thebes a mortuary temple of his own. It was situated in Medinet Habu, not far from the temple of King Amenophis III. The cult in the temple was instituted by a king's decree dated to the 31st year of Amenophis III. Amenhotep son of Hapu died in the 34th year of Amenophis III in the age of about eighty. He most probably was buried in a grave cut on the plan of royal graves in the cliff rocks of the so-called 'Valley of the Eagle,' close to the 'Valley of the Kings' and *ca.* one kilometre away in straight line from his mortuary temple.³⁴

The mortuary cult of Amenhotep housed in his mortuary temple and maintained by clergy of its own shows traces of vitality down into the late New Kingdom. A decree

³¹ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 189–190, § 131, pl. XLV.

³² WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 190–191, § 132, pl. XLVI 1.

³³ For Amenhotep son of Hapu, see VARILLE, *Inscriptions*, pp. 125–142; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201–297; IDEM, *Saints*, pp. 83–110.

³⁴ There exists another, more modest tomb of Amenhotep son of Hapu situated in Qurnat Murr'ai. This tomb was probably prepared for him at the beginning of his Theban career and was replaced by the tomb in the 'Valley of the Eagle' when he met with success on the royal court; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 288–289.

of the time of the 21st Dynasty inscribed on a stela now in British Museum assured the old prerogatives of Amenhotep's priests and guaranteed their income established by King Amenophis III.³⁵ In the Third Intermediate and the Late Periods, this mortuary cult apparently declined steadily; at any rate, it left no traces in sources available to us. At the same time and somehow independently from the mortuary cult, Amenhotep was venerated by the inhabitants of Thebes who kept in mind his intellectual qualities, especially his knowledge of writing and of literature. He also started to be known as a healer. A base of a statue in Brooklyn carries an inscription by which the princess Merit-Neith, daughter of the King Psammetichus I, asks Amenhotep to heal her from some disability of eyes.³⁶ The wording of the inscription with the title 'noble' preceding the name of Amenhotep and the epithet 'good physician' following it indicate that Amenhotep, although recognised as a superhuman figure, was not yet considered divine at that time. It is not known where this statue, which probably showed Amenhotep himself, was originally placed. It could have been his mortuary temple or his chapel (*k3r*) situated somewhere in Western Thebes, as recorded in a papyrus in abnormal hieratic dating exactly from the time of the Saite Dynasty.³⁷

At the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, probably around 300 BC, the mortuary temple of Amenhotep was abandoned. More or less at the same time, the cult of Amenhotep has been introduced into the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari (for this, see in more detail below, chapter 4 of this study). For centuries to follow, Deir el-Bahari remained the main cult place of Amenhotep on the Theban West Bank and in the entire Theban area, and, until the construction of the temple in Qasr el-Aguz in the time of Ptolemy VIII, apparently the only existing temple of Amenhotep. It is most probably in Deir el-Bahari in the early Ptolemaic period that the long process of Amenhotep's deification was carried out to the end. This is first attested by the designation 'god' occurring from the mid-third century BC onwards in private sources connected with the Deir el-Bahari temple, and finds full theological expression in the reliefs and inscriptions of the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary constructed under Ptolemy VIII. In the process of his deification, Amenhotep obtained divine parents. His father Hapu became Apis,³⁸ and his mother Itit was identified with Hathor. He was also given spiritual parents: Seshat – the goddess of writing, and Thoth – the god of wisdom. He sometimes was also considered son of Amun.

The process of final deification of Amenhotep coincided more or less in time with his association with Imhotep in a pair, a development of primary importance, for the two gods will normally appear near each other in the Theban area from this moment onwards.³⁹ The oldest attestation of this association are two parallel scenes from the time of Ptolemy VI decorating the columns at the entrance to the pronaos of the

³⁵ For the text of this inscription, see VARILLE, *Inscriptions*, pp. 67–85; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 281–282, § 182.

³⁶ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 277–278, § 179; see also IDEM, *Saints*, p. 92 with fig. 56 on p. 93.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 278–279, § 180.

³⁸ Cf. especially Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, 'Le père d'Amenhotep: Hapou ou Apis?', *Ét. Trav.* 13 (1984), pp. 215–220.

³⁹ The association of Amenhotep with Imhotep was in fact one of the means of elevating of the former; see below, pp. 39–40.

Hathor temple in Deir el-Medinah.⁴⁰ The scenes show Imhotep (to the left) and Amenhotep (to the right) in a sitting position directed towards the sanctuary. Imhotep is accompanied by his mother Chereduanch and his wife Renpetnefret, Amenhotep occurs in company of his mother Itit. In the inscriptions going together with relief representations, Imhotep is presented as a god, son of Ptah, while Amenhotep still occurs as an outstanding mortal, a favourite of Amun who made the architect's memory immortal. Half a century after this first common occurrence of Amenhotep and Imhotep, probably during the last years of Ptolemy VIII, a sanctuary was constructed for them in Deir el-Bahari in the old cult place of Amenhotep.⁴¹ In the decoration of the sanctuary, which adopts and develops the models elaborated in Deir el-Medinah, Amenhotep and Imhotep are presented as fully equiponderant figures. They are true gods, well established in the Egyptian pantheon through familial ties, and provided with a sphere of competence of their own which may generally be designated as 'bringing into order, restoring to *m3't*.' In the same time as the sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari, a temple was built for Thotsytmis (an oracular form of Thoth), Amenhotep and Imhotep in Qasr el-Aguz in the south part of the Memnoneia.⁴² One of the main scenes in the temple shows Thoth with Imhotep and Amenhotep behind him, all three sitting, represented in the same divine fashion with *w3s*-sceptres and *anch*-signs. From the same time comes also the scene in the temple of Tod (Touphion) showing Ptolemy VIII in the company of the goddess Wadjet making offering to the local goddess Tjenenet, Imhotep and Amenhotep.⁴³ In the late Ptolemaic-Roman period, the two gods were worshipped together in the Ptah temple in Karnak,⁴⁴ in the great temple of Amun in Karnak,⁴⁵ and also in the Amun temple in Karnak-North.⁴⁶ Two hymns, each devoted to one god, were carved on the doorjambs of the fourth gate of the Ptah temple in the time of Tiberius.⁴⁷ In these hymns, the fullest exposition of their theology, Amenhotep and Imhotep are presented as brothers, a development the first signs of which are to be found in the decoration of the Ptolemaic shrine at Deir el-Bahari.

⁴⁰ Cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 217–220, § 146. Already in an inscription on the base of the statue of Amenhotep from the Amun temple in Karnak dated to ca. 250 BC, his ability to pronounce splendid speeches was compared to that of Imhotep; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 251–255, § 157.

⁴¹ For the full description of the sanctuary, see below, pp. 45–47.

⁴² D. MALLET, *Le Kasr el-Agoûz [= Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orien-*

tale du Caire 11], Le Caire 1909; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 235–239, § 151.

⁴³ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 241–244, § 153.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 201–206, § 142.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 211–214, § 144.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 215–216, § 145.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 206–211, § 143.

3. THE CULT OF AMENHOTEP SON OF HAPU AND IMHOTEP AT DEIR EL-BAHARI: THE SOURCES

The cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari may be reconstructed on the basis of several kinds of sources. In the overwhelming majority, these are 'internal' sources, i. e. they were originally set up in Deir el-Bahari, were found there in modern times and are largely kept *in situ*. A number of sources connected with the cult of Amenhotep for which no exact provenance is known may be ascribed to the Deir el-Bahari temple with greater or lesser degree of probability. These 'internal' sources can be divided in two large groups:

1. Those which are connected with the organization of the cult and largely are products of priestly activity;
2. Those which came into existence as a result of the cult functioning and were generated by believers.

In the first group, one should mention in the first place the architectural remains of the Hatshepsut temple with additions from the Ptolemaic period. They determine the outer frame in which the cult flourished for over one half of a millennium. Of particular importance is here the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary with its relief decoration and its inscriptions in hieroglyphics.⁴⁸ They present the theological background of the cult of the two gods while giving a full version of their nativity myth, and indicating their position within the Egyptian pantheon as well as their sphere of competence.

The reliefs and inscriptions of the Ptolemaic sanctuary are supplemented by two items of similar character. Firstly, there is an inscription in hieroglyphics – in the upper part cut, in the lower one painted in read ochre – standing on the north face of the western column of the south part of the Ptolemaic portico.⁴⁹ It contains an official text for Amenhotep son Hapu comparable to the hymns to Amenhotep and Imhotep in the Ptah temple in Karnak.⁵⁰ According to Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal, it may originate from the Roman period.⁵¹ Secondly, we have a sandstone stela with the front-side imitating a naos and bearing an inscription in hieroglyphics containing a theological text for Amenhotep, perhaps a hymn in his honour.⁵² The object, the exact date of which is difficult to establish, probably stood near the wall in one of the temple rooms.

Very little has been preserved from the original equipment of the Graeco-Roman temple.⁵³ A bronze cover of a cult receptacle (incense container?) with the name of

⁴⁸ Published by LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire, passim*.

⁴⁹ A partial transcription and translation based on his own copy is given by WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, § 163, p. 260 with pl. LXV 1. A more accurate and more complete copy was prepared in 1989 by Maciej Witkowski.

⁵⁰ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 64, note 2 and fig. 4 (photo).

⁵¹ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire, loc. cit.* This

means that the text does not belong to the original decoration of the Ptolemaic portico, but was added later.

⁵² Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, 'Une stèle du sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari' [in:] K. M. CIAŁOWICZ, J. A. OSTROWSKI (eds.), *Les civilisations du bassin méditerranéen. Hommages à Joachim Śliwa*, Cracovie 2000, pp. 119–128.

⁵³ It is known that Egyptian temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times, even the modest ones, were

Amenhotep son of Hapu in hieroglyphics was found under the pavement the Ptolemaic sanctuary.⁵⁴ A damaged statue of wood showing a hippopotamus goddess with a crocodile on her back came to light during the clearing in the 1970s of the ramp which protected the temple from the rock-slides.⁵⁵ The statue was never published properly. Its date, subject and function are unknown. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal is of the opinion, that the statue originates from the Ptolemaic/Roman period.⁵⁶ According to her, it may represent the sky-goddess Ipet-Nut who plays an important role in the theological program of the Ptolemaic sanctuary and may have once stood in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep, perhaps in the sanctuary itself.⁵⁷ It is possible that some objects relating to Amenhotep son of Hapu and/or Imhotep attributed broadly to the Theban area originate in fact from Deir el-Bahari, but certainty cannot be achieved.

A Demotic inscription written in black ink on the east wall of the middle niche in the north wall of the Bark Shrine deserves special mention.⁵⁸ It contains a list of persons who performed some unspecified duties in the period covering two months from first of Mesore, year 1, to Thoth 30th, year 2 of a king. Edda Bresciani, who published this inscription, read the name of the King as *Ptlw[m][j]s p3 nswt nḥt p3 Str [irm] Brng* = 'Ptolemy, the mighty king, the Soter [and] Berenike,' which gives us the date October 3rd – December 6, 304 BC. This reading is susceptible to serious objections of semantic nature. In particular, it is impossible for Ptolemy I to carry the epithet 'Soter' in a dating formula as early as 304 BC. According to the recent study of the subject by R. A. Hazzard,⁵⁹ this epithet does not appear in the titlature of Ptolemy I during his lifetime, but only posthumously, the earliest known attestation being on a coin from the 23rd year of his son Ptolemy II Philadelphos (263/262 BC). It is also strange for the time of Ptolemy I that a dating formula should contain the names of both the King and his Queen, as Ptolemy I normally occurs alone in the dating formulae in sources available to us thus far. The custom of dating official documents by both

full of various objects used for different cult purposes. A good picture of temples' equipment and furniture is given by the *γραφαὶ ἱερέων καὶ μερισμοῦ* prepared by the Egyptian priests for Roman authorities for fiscal purposes; cf. Orsolina MONTEVECCHI, 'ΓΡΑΦΑΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΝ,' *Aegyptus* 12 (1932), pp. 317–328; J. A. S. EVANS, 'A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Graeco-Roman Period,' *Yale Classical Studies* 17 (1961), pp. 149–283.

⁵⁴ VARILLE, *Inscriptions*, p. 146, fig. 32; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 261, § 165.

⁵⁵ For the circumstances of the discovery, see Z. WYSOCKI [in:] *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut. Results of the Investigations and Conservation Work of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological Mission 1972–1973*, Warsaw 1980, p. 10, fig. 5 and 6. The statue was found carefully wrapped in straw and bandages.

⁵⁶ Personal communication.

⁵⁷ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 88, fig. 80–81. WYSOCKI, *loc. cit.*, speaks about the statue of the goddess Thoeiris with a representation of the god Sobek on her back.

⁵⁸ Edda BRESCIANI, 'Un nouveau texte démotique daté du 28 Nov. 304 a. J.-C. à Deir el-Bahari' [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp. 103–105.

⁵⁹ R. A. HAZZARD, 'Did Ptolemy I get His Surname from the Rhodians in 304?,' *ZPE* 93 (1992), pp. 52–56. Hazzard's negative answer to the question expressed in the title of his article was challenged by C. JOHNSON, 'Ptolemy I's Epiklesis Σωτήρ: Origin and Definition,' *The Ancient History Bulletin* 14 (2000), pp. 102–106. According to him, Rhodians did honour Ptolemy I as a Saviour in 304 BC. Even if he is right, the epithet Soter did not enter the titlature of Ptolemy I until the reign of his son.

names of the Royal couple was introduced only during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes.⁶⁰ In the light of the above considerations, we have to conclude that (1) the word *p3 Str* and perhaps also the year number were incorrectly read by Bresciani, and (2) the inscription comes from much later period than that proposed by the Italian scholar. On the other hand, the palaeography of the inscription which shows early traits indicates that the text comes from the third century BC.⁶¹ Leaving the question of establishing the exact reading of the inscription to Demotists, I would only tentatively suggest that it originates from the time of Ptolemy III Euergetes, whose Queen also bore the name Berenike. As the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu was being practised on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple in this period, one can suppose that the duties performed by the men mentioned in the inscription were in the local temple of Amenhotep.

The second group of 'internal' sources is represented mainly by visitors' inscriptions. They are either in Greek or in Egyptian with the use of either hieroglyphic or Demotic script. The Greek inscriptions, 322 in number including two bilingual Graeco-Demotic items, are published in this volume. Texts in hieroglyphics are rather infrequent and are mostly unpublished. An inscription engraved in small but nice hieroglyphics on the south side of the entrance to the Bark Shrine, just behind the granite portal, was noted by E. Naville.⁶² It was left by one Imhotep son of Petechnon, and its wording is similar to that found in Demotic texts. The Demotic inscriptions, ca. 180 in number, were documented in the 1980s by Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, who is studying them now.⁶³ According to him, they are stereotyped texts mostly constructed according to the formulae: 'May the good name of NN remain here before Amenhotep son of Hapu forever' or 'May my soul live here before Amenhotep son of Hapu forever.'⁶⁴ In awaiting the final publication of this material, we have to content ourselves with only one text published in 1930s by W. Spiegelberg.⁶⁵ The same author mentioned some other Demotic inscriptions written on the Ptolemaic portico and

⁶⁰ Cf. e. g. P. W. PESTMAN, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)* [= *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 15], Leiden 1967, p. 28.

⁶¹ The absolute *post quem* date for its execution is the blocking up of the niche during the rebuilding of the Bark Shrine in the time of Ptolemy VIII.

⁶² NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari* V, p. 12. One should observe that Naville's reading of the text must be incorrect, as judged from the brief summary of the contents he gives. Amenhotep son of Hapu is mentioned not as the forerunner of the author of the inscription (so Naville), but as the owner of the temple. A more correct reading based on the copy of Ph. Derchain is to be found in WILDUNG, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, p. 261, § 164.

⁶³ In his preliminary report on the documentation work, Winnicki reported 131 Demotic inscriptions at Deir el-Bahari; cf. WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 101. Further Demotic texts were identified in Deir el-Bahari after the report was submitted for printing.

⁶⁴ WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 102.

⁶⁵ W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung), 50023–50165* [= *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*], Berlin 1932, no. 50023; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 262, § 167. The inscription stands on a loose fragment of a decorated block (now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo) originating from the Bark Shrine.

the walls of the Bark Shrine, and noted the names occurring in them.⁶⁶ One of them, accompanied by a figure of a standing man in the prayer position directed towards the sanctuary, was left on the south side of the Ptolemaic portico by a divine father and priest of Amun-Min.⁶⁷ The occurrence of visitors' inscriptions marks out the limits of the temple and allows us to establish the function of some of its rooms. The inscriptions give us insight into the geographical and social sphere of influence of the temple, while indicating the names and the occupations of the visitors. They also allow us to draw some conclusions about aspects of the cult from the rare indications of the purpose of a visit.

In addition to wall inscriptions, we possess some Greek and Demotic ostraca. Three Greek texts,⁶⁸ all discovered in Deir el-Bahari, are presented below, nos. **A1**: a narrative about the miraculous healing procured by Amenhotep on the person of a certain Polyaratos, 261/260 BC; **A2**: a collection of commandments of Amenhotep, third cent. BC; **A3**: an oracular saying of Amenhotep (?), first-second cent. AD. A limestone flake inscribed on both sides in Demotic was found in the middle niche of the south wall of the Bark Shrine.⁶⁹ It contains the letter of a woman Senamunis to the Lord (*hry*) Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, with the request to heal her from infertility. The ostrakon may be dated on palaeographic grounds to the second century BC.⁷⁰ Three Demotic texts of unknown provenance preserved in world collections may be attributed more or less securely to the sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari on the basis of various internal and external criteria. These are:

1. An ostrakon, probably from the second century BC, with a description of three oracular dreams that a certain man, perhaps a keeper of granaries (name incomplete), had in the *mr* of Amenhotep.⁷¹ As *mr* is most probably the Demotic name for the temple of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari (see below, chapter 4 of this study), it is near certain that the ostrakon came into existence in connection with this very temple.

⁶⁶ W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica* II. (20–34) [= *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1928, 2. Abhandlung*], München 1928, pp. 28–29; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, p. 262, § 166.

⁶⁷ The inscription together with the drawing is reproduced in WILDUNG, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, pl. LXV 2. The last author indicates erroneously that the graffito stands in the entrance to the Bark Shrine.

⁶⁸ A number of Greek ostraca from Ptolemaic and Roman times were found in Deir el-Bahari during excavations carried out by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s. They are kept in British Museum now. As they are unpublished, it remains unknown whether they relate to the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep.

⁶⁹ For the conditions of discovery, see Z. WYSOCKI [in:] *Mélanges G. E. Mokhtar* II [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude* 97/2], Le Caire 1985, p. 367, pl. II a–b; IDEM, *Ét. Trav.* 14 (1990), p. 341, fig. 21 on p. 343.

⁷⁰ WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 102. The text itself contains an internal date: the eighth year of a king, probably Ptolemy V or Ptolemy VI (personal communication of J. K. Winnicki, who is preparing the publication of this text).

⁷¹ J. D. RAY, 'Dreams before a Wise Man: A Demotic Ostrakon in the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney (inv. R. 98)' [in:] A. LEAHY, J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* [= *EES Occasional Publications* 13], London 1999, pp. 241–247.

2. A letter on a wooden tablet with which Osoroeris (Ouserwer) son of Horos (Hor), 'divine father and prophet of Amonrasother, King of gods' asks Amenhotep to heal his wife's infertility.⁷² The letter is dated to the third year of a king, perhaps Ptolemy IV (218 BC). The only temple of Amenhotep known from this period is that on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (see below, chapter 4 of this study), which strongly suggests that the letter was addressed exactly there.

3. An ostrakon of the second cent. BC containing an oracular saying of Amenhotep concerning the illness of a certain Teos son of Psenamunis and the mode of its curing.⁷³ The subject of the text allows us to suppose that it was issued by the Amenhotep temple in Deir el-Bahari.

Finally, the second group of 'internal' sources is supplemented by several votive monuments. Two of them bearing Greek inscriptions are published below, nos. **B1**, and **B2**. Fragment of a votive (?) stela of sandstone with an inscription in Demotic is kept in the store-rooms of the Hatshepsut temple.⁷⁴ Additionally, there are also some uninscribed fragments of stelae with figural representations which, on the basis of stylistic criteria, may be dated to the Ptolemaic/Roman period. They probably should be brought in connection with the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep. Their character is difficult to establish (cult objects or votive pieces).

The Graeco-Roman temple of Deir el-Bahari probably is also mentioned in 'external' sources. What is at issue are four Demotic legal documents from the Ptolemaic period making reference to *ml* (*mr*) of Amenhotep son of Hapu. As will be argued later, this *ml* (*mr*) is apparently to be equated with *m3rw*, which the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari use to designate the local temple of Amenhotep (see below, chapter 4 of this study). In P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10226

⁷² M. MALININE, 'Une lettre démotique à Aménôthès fils de Hapou,' *RdÉ* 14 (1962), pp. 37–43; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, pp. 255–256, § 158 (description, partial translation); see also IDEM, *Saints*, p. 95 with photo on p. 96; for the author of the letter, see *PP* IX 5669d. The piece was in the 1960s in the Michaelides collection in Cairo. Its Theban provenance is beyond any doubt. The notation 'Aus Karnak (?)' given by Wildung, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, *loc. cit.*, is a guess, probably relying on the fact that the author of the letter belonged to the clergy of Amun in his great temple in Karnak. Hieratic papyri from Thebes dated to the third–second century BC acquaint us with a family of priests of Amonrasother and Min in which the names Horos and Osoroeris recurs from generation to generation. Among the members of this family, there is even one Osoroeris son of Horos living towards the end of the third century BC. As the names Osoroeris and Horos were common in Thebes, it would be too risky to identify him with the author of the letter to

Amenhotep. On the other hand, we can afford the hypothesis that our man belonged to the family under consideration. For this family, see M. COENEN, 'The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X and XI and Min who Massacres his Enemies' [in:] W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur II* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85], Leuven 1988, pp. 1103–1115.

⁷³ H. THOMPSON, 'A Demotic Ostrakon,' *PSBA* 35 (1913), pp. 95–96, pl. 27; a partial translation after Thompson together with a commentary in: WILDUNG, *Imhotep and Amenhotep*, pp. 263–264, § 169; see also IDEM, *Saints*, p. 95; a new German translation by H. J. THISSEN [in:] A. KARENBERG, Chr. LEITZ (eds.), *Heilkunde und Hochkultur, II. 'Magie und Medizin' und 'Der alte Mensch' in den antiken Zivilisationen des Mittelmeerraumes* [= *Naturwissenschaften – Philosophie – Geschichte* 16], Münster 2002, pp. 83–84.

⁷⁴ It will be published by J. K. Winnicki.

from 186/185 BC, the *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu is used as a topographical determinant in the description of a grave which a certain Amenonthes son of Harsiesis sold to his sister Senamunis.⁷⁵ In another papyrus kept in the collections of the British Museum, P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10230 from 176 BC, it is part of the titlature of Amenonthes son of Horos, who is styled as ‘prophet, *w^cb*-priest and *pastophoros* of all *i3wt* and all *shn* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon on the hill of Djeme and of the *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god.’⁷⁶ The *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu also occurs in two papyri belonging to the family archive from the end of the second century BC found in Deir el-Medinah.⁷⁷ Both of them contain contracts of the lease of liturgical days in the *ml* of Amenhotep⁷⁸ by Totoes son of Zmanres, ‘*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme.’ In the first of these contracts dating from 111 BC, the lessee is Psenmonthes son of Paos, ‘*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet, priest and *pastophoros* of all *i3wt* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.’⁷⁹ In the second one from 108 BC, it is Harsiesis son of Hellos, ‘*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu’.⁸⁰ It should be noted that these two papyri mention ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ *ml*, most probably two parts of the same temple laying on two different levels (see below, chapters 5 and 6 of this study).

⁷⁵ N. REICH, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum* [= *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 55, 3], Wien 1914, pp. 73–77, pl. 13; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 268, § 173.3. This woman bears the same name as the author of the letter to Amenhotep son of Hapu in Demotic found in the middle niche in the south wall of the Bark Shrine of the Hatshepsut temple (see above, p. 19), but this is probably purely coincidental.

⁷⁶ REICH, *Pap. Jur. Inh.*, pp. 77–82; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 268–269, § 173.4. REICH, *loc. cit.*, read the crucial word as *mlh*, however, P. W. PESTMAN & alii, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues* II, Leiden 1977 (cited further as PESTMAN, *Recueil*), p. 79, demonstrated that the sign following ‘l’ is in fact determinative for ‘building’ and not ‘h.’ It is worth noting that Amenonthes son of Horos is mentioned in this papyrus as lessor of a plot of land, which neighboured on the south the land belonging to an unnamed temple of Amenhotep, perhaps his *ml*. Amenonthes son of Horos also occurs in other Demotic papyri from the 170s BC. For him, see in more detail below, pp. 70–71.

⁷⁷ Published by G. BOTTI, *Archivio Demotico da Deir el-Medineh* [= *Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie Prima – Monumenti e testi* I–II], Firenze 1967 (further on cited as *P. Tor. Botti*). The quality of this publication has left much to be desired. For numerous corrections to the reading, see K.-Th. ZAUZICH, ‘Korrekturvorschläge zur Publikation des demotischen Archivs von Deir el-Medine,’ part I: *Enchoria* 1 (1971), pp. 43–56; part II: *Enchoria* 2 (1972), pp. 85–95.

⁷⁸ BOTTI, *loc. cit.*, read *šl* and translated ‘casa del dente.’ His reading is repeated by WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 269, § 173.5–173.6. In fact, one should read *ml* instead of *šl*; cf. ZAUZICH, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), p. 90 and 92; PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, p. 79.

⁷⁹ *P. Tor. Botti* 21; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 269–270, § 173.5. German translation of this papyrus is to be found in S. GRUNERT, *Der Kodex Hermopolis und ausgewählte private Rechtsurkunden aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1982, pp. 120–122.

⁸⁰ *P. Tor. Botti* 24; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 269–270, § 173.6.

4. EARLY PERIOD OF THE CULT BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PTOLEMAIC SANCTUARY

The origins of the Graeco-Roman cult in Deir el-Bahari are unknown to us. André Bataille has suggested that it was a direct continuation of the funerary cult of Amenhotep celebrated for nearly a millennium in his mortuary temple situated in Medinet Habu.⁸¹ The excavations carried out on the site of the temple in the 1930s by A. Varille and C. Robichon have shown that the temple fell in disuse at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period and served subsequently as a source of stone material.⁸² The remnants of it were still seen in the 220s BC as two Demotic papyri – P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10240 from 228/227 BC and P. Dem. Louvre E. 2415 from 225/224 BC – indicate the topographic position of graves with relation to its cella.⁸³ Later on, graves were installed even on the foundations of the enclosure wall of the temple.⁸⁴ According to Bataille, the priests responsible for the mortuary cult of Amenhotep left the half-ruined building and moved, together with some equipment, e. g. with statues of gods, to the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari to continue the cult there. They were followed by some adherents recruited from the population of the Theban West Bank.

Providing the suggestion of Bataille is correct, it remains to be explained why, exactly, the priests chose the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari. We can imagine that the reasons for the choice were mainly of a practical nature. Deir el-Bahari was situated not far from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep in Medinet Habu, both lying within the same agglomeration of Western Thebes. The rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple were empty and were relatively well preserved, thus guaranteeing that the cult could be housed at once without serious rebuilding to be done – only with small repairs here and there. The amphitade of rooms of the Hatshepsut's sanctuary of which the last one was cut in the rock offered a suitable frame for the cult of a figure like Amenhotep, who delivered oracles and procured miraculous healings.⁸⁵ All the secret paraphernalia needed for healing and oracular activity could have been hidden in the two last rooms of the amphitade to avoid the possibility that they would be seen by some unauthorized person. An additional role could have played ideological factors. We have to keep in mind the particular topographical

⁸¹ BATAILLE, *Inscriptions*, pp. XIII and XIX–XX; repeated by LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 66.

⁸² C. ROBICHON, A. VARILLE, *Le temple du Scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou I* [= *Fouilles de l'IFAO XI*], Le Caire 1936, p. 34.

⁸³ For the text of P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10240, see E. REVILLOUT, *ZÄS* 18, 1880, pp. III–III2.; N. REICH, *Pap. Jur. Inb.*, pp. 56–59; cf. also ROBICHON/VARILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 23; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 267, § 173.1. For P. Dem. Louvre E. 2415, see Th. DEVÉRIA, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens (...) au Musée égyptien du Louvre*, Paris 1874, pp. 215–216, no. XII 12; E. REVILLOUT, *Chrestomathie démotique*,

Paris 1880, pp. 364–368; VARILLE, *Inscriptions*, p. 147; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 267–268, § 173.2; K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau. Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus ptolemäischer Zeit* [= *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 19], Wiesbaden 1968, vol. I, pp. 31–32, no. 20.

⁸⁴ ROBICHON/VARILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸⁵ It is to be noted that the cult of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari had healing and oracular aspects from its very beginnings in the first half of the third century BC; see below, chapter 9.2 of the present study.

situation of Deir el-Bahari at the foot of the holy mountain of Thebes, and the mysterious, severe appearance of the rocky bay.⁸⁶ From times immemorial, the place was destined for the cult of gods, especially Amun and Hathor, who was worshipped here, among others, as a healing goddess.⁸⁷ The installation of the cult of Amenhotep in such a holy place could only increase its importance.

The date of the implantation of the Amenhotep's cult in Deir el-Bahari may be established only approximately. The earliest attestation for the cult's existence is the Polyaratos ostrakon dated to the 21st year of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (261/260 BC).⁸⁸ It presents the cult as a well-established and well-known phenomenon (see below, p. 24), which indicates that it had lasted already for at least some dozens of years by that date. Thus, we can tentatively set its introduction at the end of the fourth or the very beginning of the third century BC.

The Polyaratos ostrakon alluded to above is a limestone flake, broken in two parts, one of which appeared in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo without an indication of provenance and the other of which later was found in Deir el-Bahari. It contains a description of an illness – judging from the symptoms given in the text, it was probably an inflammation of the lymphatic glands – and a miraculous healing procured by Amenhotep on a man of whom we know nothing but his name; he must have been a Greek who in the first half of the third century BC settled for some reason in Thebes or in the immediate vicinity of this town. The text is badly shaped on the surface of the stone; it is full of repetitions and deletions. It is surely a draft that later on would have been rewritten in final, perhaps more monumental, and in any case more careful form.

The text, which except for the dating clause is presented in the first person singular, assumes the form of the miracle narrative (*Wundererzählung*) with its characteristic themes and topics, best known through the Asklepios' *ἰάματα* from his sanctuary in Epidaurus, recorded on stone stelae towards the end of the fourth century BC.⁸⁹ Its ultimate aim, clearly expressed in lines 30–38, is to present on the basis of an individual miracle (*ἀρετή*) procured by Amenhotep the power of the god as healer, his effectiveness in this domain (also *ἀρετή*).⁹⁰ In this way, the ostrakon text enters the literary or, better said, subliterate genre of aretalogy – description of a divine *ἀρετή* – well rooted in the Greek religious literature from the mid-fourth century BC onwards. One can say that aretalogy has the form of 'Wundererzählung' here.

Aretalogies clearly had propagandistic aims. Published in the form of stone inscriptions set up in temples and circulating in copies, they made a god (goddess) more widely known and drew to him (or her) new followers. In this propagandistic

⁸⁶ It was this holiness of place that apparently attracted, six hundred years later, the members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis, who held their annual meetings of a ritual character exactly in the rocky valley of Deir el-Bahari; see below, pp. 104–105.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 10.

⁸⁸ For the edition of the text, see below, **A1**.

⁸⁹ Cf. R. HERZOG, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion* [= *Philologus Supplementband* 22, 3], Leipzig 1931, *passim*.

⁹⁰ One should observe that the text of the Polyaratos ostrakon is one of the earliest attestations of this word with relation to a god.

enterprise, the main role was played by priests connected with the temple of a given god. They frequently composed the texts personally or substantially influenced their form. The case was probably slightly different with relation to the Polyaratos ostrakon. One can imagine that the initiative for its writing came from the Amenhotep's priest; they also must have decided about its subsequent utilisation. However, the form of the text probably is the personal contribution of Polyaratos as is suggested already by the stylistic difficulties observable throughout. Independently from these difficulties, Polyaratos shows himself as a man well acquainted with the characteristic topics of 'Wundererzählungen' and the terminology of aretalogies (cf. line commentary to A1). There is nothing strange in this. In the first half of the third century BC, both these elements were well rooted in the mentality and the notional system of Greeks. Besides, we should remember that Polyaratos had a long and pain-causing illness behind him, which surely caused him to visit temples of various healing gods where he could have acquainted himself with the appropriate literature.

Topical as it is, the text of the Polyaratos ostrakon yields us some interesting data about the organization and the functioning of the cult of Amenhotep in his Deir el-Bahari temple on this early stage of its existence. We are informed that Amenhotep possessed a *τέμενος* = 'holy precinct' (l. 32) and a *ἱερόν* = 'sanctuary' (l. 25).⁹¹ The temple was equipped with *βωμοί* = 'altars' as is suggested by the designation *θεοὶ σύμβωμοι καὶ συντελεῖς* = 'gods sharing the same temple and the same altars' (ll. 28–30). The god accomplished miraculous healings there. Sick persons came to the temple with written requests for healing (ll. 25–26). The healings were procured by Amenhotep himself during his appearance in a dream to the person sleeping in the temple (ll. 26–27 and commentary to these lines). Persons restored to health left written reports from the course of the healing (l. 30 ff.). These reports may have had a monumental form; one thinks of inscriptions written on stone stelae. They subsequently were kept in the temple and were read by persons seeking for help. The miraculous power of Amenhotep and the healings procured by him enjoyed a popularity the range of which is difficult to judge (ll. 15–18); one thinks of the surroundings of Deir el-Bahari (Memnoneia, perhaps also the East Bank). All this gives the impression of a well organized and well functioning enterprise attended by a specialised temple personnel. In particular, there must have been someone in the temple who accepted the written requests for healing, indicated the place of incubation, established the kind of medical procedures, and possibly also influenced the form of a written report from the course of events and the mode of its utilization. The custom of addressing the god with written requests for healing as well as reports describing the course of healing procedures allows us to suppose the existence of an archive in which those texts were kept. The temple also made it possible for the visitor to record the text on an ostrakon.

The Polyaratos ostrakon also is interesting yet from another, let us say theological, point of view. It should be observed that Polyaratos consequently calls Amenhotep 'god' (*θεός*) throughout the text of his ostrakon. This is the oldest source pointing to

⁹¹ For the topographical meaning of those *termini* in this early period of the cult, see below, p. 44.

the deification of Amenhotep, originally a human living in the time of the New Kingdom. Slightly younger, but still originating from the third century BC, is the Demotic letter of Osoroeris to Amenhotep, who is designated as *p3 ntr c3* – an Egyptian counterpart of the Greek *θεός*. This letter most probably came into existence also in connection with the temple at Deir el-Bahari. Amenhotep is called *p3 ntr c3* also in the titlature of three of his priests – Amenothēs son of Horos, Harpaesis and Amenothēs son of Thotsytmis – on record in several Demotic documents belonging to a family archive from Dra Abu el-Naga, all dated to 176 BC. One of these three men held the office of the priest of Amenhotep in his *ml* (most probably the Deir el-Bahari temple, see below, pp. 32–34), and this apparently is true also for two others. Leon and Lysandra, the authors of a votive monument dedicated to Amenhotep in the middle of the second cent. BC (**ΒΙ**) call him ‘god’ (*θεός*) as well. In contrast to sources mentioned above, the reliefs and inscriptions in the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medinah which came into existence more or less in the same time as the Demotic papyri from Dra Abu el-Naga, still present Amenhotep as an outstanding mortal, a ‘saint,’ but not a god. In the temple decoration, Amenhotep is presented as ‘god’ only in reliefs and inscriptions of the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari built in the time of Ptolemy VIII, but his divinity is not explicit also there.⁹² One should observe in this context that the oldest attestation of Amenhotep’s being designated ‘god’ occurs in a Greek source. Perhaps the deification was accomplished first in response to the needs of Greek followers of Amenhotep. These new believers, who made use of a language other than Egyptian and had a notional system different from that of the Egyptians, immediately started to designate him as a ‘god’ without entering the shades of the Egyptian theology of deification. This was easier as the Greeks probably knew nothing about the earthly existence of Amenhotep. Besides, from times immemorial they were accustomed to consider prominent persons of their history as demi-gods (*heroī*), and starting with Alexander the Great paid to the humans, both dead and living, also divine honours.⁹³ It should be further observed that the earliest sources testifying to the deification of Amenhotep are of private character. While calling Amenhotep ‘god,’ their authors expressed private religious sentiments and not the official theology. The latter still had doubts in the matter of Amenhotep’s divinity, as is testified by the reliefs and inscriptions from the temple in Deir el-Medinah and even from the Ptolemaic sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari.

Another interesting question connected with the Polyartos ostrakon is the mention of *theoi synnaoi* along with Amenhotep. The early date of the text (261/260 BC) excludes the possibility of Imhotep/Asklepios and his family being hidden behind this anonymous designation.⁹⁴ In a famous article from 1930, A. D. Nock demonstrated that the designation *σύνναος θεός* in sources from the Hellenistic period refers mainly to deified rulers, both dead and living, whose cult was practised in the temples of

⁹² Cf. instructive remarks of LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 72–74 and 89–104.

⁹³ Cf. e. g. Chr. HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* [= *Zetemata* 14], München 1956.

⁹⁴ For the question of the presence of Imhotep in the Deir el-Bahari temple at the early stage of existence of the Graeco-Roman cult, see below, pp. 30–31.

great Greek and Near Eastern gods.⁹⁵ With all probability, this is also the case here. In my opinion, *θεοὶ σύμβωμοι καὶ συντελεῖς* from the Polyaratos ostrakon are deified members of the Ptolemaic royal house worshipped in the temple of the Egyptian god Amenhotep.⁹⁶ One thinks first of all of Arsinoe Philadelphos, died most probably 270 BC and deified by her brother and husband Ptolemy II Philadelphos; her cult was widespread throughout Egypt, and also finds attestations in Theban temples.⁹⁷ In Deir el-Bahari, she might have occurred in the company of her living brother Ptolemy II Philadelphos and their dead parents Ptolemy I Soter and Berenike.

More or less from the same time as the Polyaratos ostrakon comes another limestone ostrakon found in Deir el-Bahari and connected with the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu. The Greek text of the ostrakon headed *Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι* = 'Commandments of Amenothos' contains a series of at least ten sentences which in a proverbial form communicate simple ethical truths.⁹⁸ These 'commandments' belong to the category of maxims or sayings which circulated among the Greeks from the archaic period onwards.⁹⁹ Some of them can be traced in collections of maxims known to us thanks to ancient sources (inscriptions and papyri) and medieval manuscripts.

⁹⁵ A. D. NOCK, 'Σύνναος θεός,' *HSCP* 41 (1930), pp. 1–62 = IDEM, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* I, Oxford 1972, pp. 202–251.

⁹⁶ One should keep in mind that we are dealing here with the Egyptian version of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult (in opposition to the Greek one); for different aspects of the dynastic cult of Ptolemies, see generally H. HAUBEN, 'Aspects du culte des souverains à l'époque des Lagides' [in:] Lucia CRISCUOLO, G. GERACI (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1987*, Bologna 1989, pp. 441–467; see also L. KOENEN, 'The Ptolemaic king as a religious figure' [in:] A. BULLOCH, E. S. GRUEN, A. A. LONG, A. STEWART (eds.), *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1993, pp. 25–115. For the Egyptian aspect of the cult of Ptolemies, see E. WINTER, 'Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln' [in:] H. MAEHLER, V. M. STROCKA (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin*, Mainz am Rhein 1978, pp. 147–160; J. QUAEGBEUR, 'The Egyptian clergy and the cult of the Ptolemaic dynasty,' *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989), pp. 93–113. The latter author argues that, contrary to earlier opinions, the cult included both dead and living members of the royal house and found a wide appeal among the Egyptians.

⁹⁷ She is represented on the east gate of the surrounding wall of the great temple of Amun, and on

a lintel from the temple of Chonsu, both dating still from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. For the cult of Arsinoe among Egyptians, see J. QUAEGBEUR, 'Ptolémée II en adoration devant Arsinoé II divinisée,' *BIFAO* 69 (1970), pp. 209–217; IDEM, 'Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis,' *JNES* 30 (1971), pp. 239–270; IDEM, 'Documents égyptiens anciens et nouveaux relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie' [in:] H. MELAERTS (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère. Actes du colloque international, Bruxelles 10 mai 1995* [= *Studia Hellenistica* 34], Leuven 1998, pp. 73–108.

⁹⁸ For the edition of the text, see below, **A2**.

⁹⁹ For Greek maxims, see e. g. Maria TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimonien und Kommentar* [= *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 51], Stuttgart – Leipzig 1994, *passim*, especially pp. 5–11. It should be observed that these maxims have nothing in common with Egyptian wisdom literature, otherwise very popular in the late periods of Egyptian civilization; for this, see Miriam LICHTHEIM, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context. A Study of Demotic Instructions* [= *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52], Freiburg – Göttingen 1983. The similarity of the title of the collection of maxims preserved on the Deir el-Bahari ostrakon with the so-called 'Instructions of Amenemope' is purely coincidental.

The closest parallels are to be found in the so-called Delphic collection, which goes back to the inscription on a column set up in the pronaos of the Apollo temple in Delphi probably in the fourth century BC. One should observe that the maxims in the Deir el-Bahari ostrakon do not have the simple gnomic form usual for this type of texts, but are reshaped rhetorically according to the spirit and perhaps even under the influence of the pseudo-Isocratean work *Ad Demonicum*. This reshaping was accomplished either in Deir el-Bahari in response to the needs of this single text or, more probably, was done earlier, independently from the Deir el-Bahari temple of Amenhotep, and was only adapted there. In any case, however, the most interesting phenomenon from the point of view of this study is that these old Greek folk wisdom had been ascribed to an Egyptian author here. One can ask who brought about this manipulation, and for what reason. Wildung put forward two possible hypotheses:¹⁰⁰

1. This is an attempt at popularization of Greek ethics among Egyptians through the mean of ascribing Greek thoughts to an Egyptian god;
2. The aim of those who brought about this manipulation was to popularize the Egyptian god Amenhotep among the Greeks through making him the author of thoughts which were well known for them.

In my opinion, only the second hypothesis can be accepted in the context of the date and the language of the source. It seems improbable that someone – either a Greek or an Egyptian – was interested in the third century BC in making Greek folk wisdom familiar to Egyptians, and that he did this with the use of Greek language largely unknown to the potential recipients. Greek civilization, being the civilization of ruling classes, was attractive enough to the Egyptians so that one could have used such methods of its popularization as giving an Egyptian author to a Greek text. On the contrary, the Egyptians were interested in the presentation of their civilization to the new rulers of their country in the native tongue of the newcomers. The most evident example of such an attitude among Egyptians was Manetho, a priest from Sebennytos in the Delta, who in the third century BC wrote a history of Egypt in Greek.¹⁰¹ It should be further observed that the manipulation, consisting of attribution of Greek thoughts to an Egyptian author, had nothing illogical about it. On the contrary, it might have found an appeal among Greeks who, from the orientalizing period of their history on, had a firm conviction that their knowledge was deeply rooted in Egyptian wisdom. One can imagine that the manipulation described above was done by the priests of Amenhotep who aimed in the popularization of their god among the new rulers of the country. While doing this, they acted either personally, which presupposes a good knowledge of Greek language and Greek literature among them, or through the medium of a hired Greek rhetor who followed their recommendations. The result of these efforts might have been presented to the Greeks visiting the Deir el-Bahari temple in the third century BC as the Greek translation of an Egyptian sacred text.¹⁰² We have to remember that the ostrakon with the commandments of

¹⁰⁰ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 259.

¹⁰² This is the opinion of Al. OIKONOMIDES, *Sarapis* 5, 2 (1980), p. 44.

¹⁰¹ For him, see most recently W. HUSS, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester*, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 123–124.

Amenhotep need not necessarily be an official temple text. It may also well be a copy made by someone for private use. The official text might have been recorded in more monumental form, e. g. on a stone stela or a papyrus roll.

The Polyaratos ostrakon and still more the ostrakon with the commandments of Amenhotep clearly show that Amenhotep's priests carried on a well-thought propaganda of their god among the Greek inhabitants of the Nile valley in the third century BC. On one hand, it aimed at the popularization of Amenhotep as healer; on the other, it aimed at presenting him as inventor of wisdom. These propagandistic efforts apparently met with a success. A proof for that might be a votive altar, probably of the mid second century BC, set up by a couple with the names Leon and Lysandra on behalf of their child (**B1**), and some dozen visitors' inscriptions on the walls of the Hatshepsut temple dated on the basis of various criteria to the third – first half of the second century BC (**10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 36, 60, 65, 67, 68, 69, 83, 289, 290**, and perhaps some other items). It should be observed that the wall inscriptions mentioned above were left by persons with good Greek (Macedonian) names (see below, p. 81). Obviously, we are dealing with pure Greeks, perhaps recent immigrants, who for some reason found themselves in the Thebaid. In three cases (**69, 83, 290**), these people (all men) occur in groups from three to *ca.* a dozen. It is actually unknown what attracted them to Deir el-Bahari. It does not look as if they were sick, and oracle consultation also does not seem likely with a group of some dozen men. One gets the impression that we are dealing with soldiers who made a detour to visit the temple, which was becoming famous among the Greek population in the Thebaid at that exact time.¹⁰³ They may have connected the visit to the temple of Amenhotep with visiting other sightseings in West Thebes, like the Tombs of the Kings situated in the immediate vicinity of Deir el-Bahari.¹⁰⁴ Greek inscriptions of this early period totally lack Egyptian names. The Egyptian followers of Amenhotep must have expressed themselves in Demotic at that time.

An attempt at the reconstruction of the history of the early period of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari raises two important questions. The first question concerns the number and the names of Amenhotep's sanctuaries in Western Thebes at that time. The Demotic sources of the third-second cent. BC originating from Western Thebes give two names for Amenhotep cult places on the Theban West Bank: *p3 ščšč* and *mr (ml)*.¹⁰⁵ The first name is attested in two Demotic papyri, P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10240 from 228/227 BC and P. Dem. Louvre E. 2415 from 225/224 BC, both containing contracts for maintaining the funerary cult on graves situated in

¹⁰³ One can compare a visit paid to the Tombs of the Kings, in the near vicinity of Deir el-Bahari, by a group of soldiers of the Ptolemaic army; cf. J. K. WINNICKI, 'Der Besuch Drytons in den Königsgräbern von Theben,' *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 2 (1993), pp. 89–94.

¹⁰⁴ In fact, some people occurring in the early Ptolemaic inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari may be

identical with the authors of visitors graffiti in the Tombs of the Kings. This is the case of Nikasios son of Isidoros (**31**) and Andromachos (**60, 68**).

¹⁰⁵ *k3r* of Amenhotep mentioned in a papyrus in abnormal hieratic from the time of the 26th Dynasty as situated somewhere in Western Thebes does not occur in later sources. It probably disappeared or its name was changed.

Medinet Habu.¹⁰⁶ In these papyri, $p3 \text{ } \text{š}^c \text{ } \text{š}^c$ is used as one of topographical coordinates at description of graves which were objects of the cult. The second name occurs in five sources: the ostrakon from the Australian university collection (probably Deir el-Bahari, second century BC) where it designates the place of incubation of the author,¹⁰⁷ and four papyri with contracts of different nature ranging in time from 186/185 BC to 108 BC.¹⁰⁸ It should be observed that the names $p3 \text{ } \text{š}^c \text{ } \text{š}^c$ and mr (ml) never occur together. The first of them, which may tentatively be translated as ‘memorial place,’ surely refers to the mortuary temple of Amenhotep.¹⁰⁹ The exact meaning of the second name is unknown and is a matter of different suggestions; among them, one finds ‘pyramid,’ ‘oratory’ and even ‘channel.’¹¹⁰ Wildung assumes that the term under consideration refers to a ‘Kapelle der frühen und mittleren Ptolemäerzeit, die irgendwo am Wüstenrand der thebanischen Nekropole in einem nach Südosten offenen Felsenhalbrund gelegen haben muß (Asasîf?), durch den Felsenschrein von Deir el-Bahari abgelöst wurde und ihren Kultbetrieb einstellte.’¹¹¹ The assumption of an early Ptolemaic cult place of Amenhotep in Assasîf, which was later replaced by the sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari from the time of Ptolemy VIII, seems unnecessary to me. To my mind, all attestations of mr (ml) in West Theban Demotic sources of the second century BC refer exactly to the temple of Amenhotep installed within the rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari. We have already seen that the cult of Amenhotep must have been established in Deir el-Bahari ca 300 BC, and was well organized both in cultic and architectonic terms by 260 BC as the Polyaratos ostrakon clearly shows. The construction of the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary during the last years of the reign of Ptolemy VIII did not equal with the institution of the cult, but only gave a new ideological and spatial arrangement to it.¹¹² In fact, an inscription in hieroglyphics on the north wall of the new Ptolemaic shrine devoted to Amenhotep describes the construction as a renovation of $m3r\omega$.¹¹³ It is near certain that $m3r\omega$ used in this inscription for the local, already existing sanctuary of Amenhotep equals with mr (ml) of the Demotic sources.¹¹⁴ According to Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal,¹¹⁵ the word $m3r\omega$ designates ‘une construction très spécifique et rare. C’est une chapelle-reposoir où en cours de procession l’image divine s’arrêtait et était présentée à l’adoration des fidèles;’ it is ‘un lieu de contact avec les fidèles.’ Such a designation suits very well

¹⁰⁶ For references, see above, p. 22 with note 83.

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 19 with note 71.

¹⁰⁸ These papyri are listed above, pp. 20–21, in the capital dealing with sources.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. ROBICHON/VARILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24. The doubts expressed by LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 68, are unjustifiable to my mind.

¹¹⁰ Cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 67.

¹¹¹ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 269.

¹¹² See below, p. 35–36.

¹¹³ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 42, no. 44 with commentary on p. 66. An analogous inscription on the south wall devoted to Imhotep speaks about the renovation of a monument belonging to

$m3r\omega$; cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 51, no. 62. For the possible interpretation of this passage, see below, pp. 35–36.

¹¹⁴ This was rightly pointed out by WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 266, § 173, and LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 67.

¹¹⁵ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 66. For the construction called $m3r(w)$ in the Egyptian religious architecture, see recently L. GOLDBRUNNER, *Buchis. Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des heiligen Stieres in Theben zur griechisch-römischen Zeit* [= *Monographies Reine Élisabeth* 11], Turnhout 2004, pp. 246–252.

a temple which was destined for the cult of a healing god who procured healings by miraculous appearances to the worshippers. We may assume that the name *m3rw* = *mr* (*ml*) was given to the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari at the moment of the cult implantation *ca.* 300 BC, and was retained for it throughout the whole period of its existence. In the time of Ptolemy VIII, it was widened to cover the chapel built on the lower terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, in front of the Punt portico. The two Demotic papyri from Deir el-Medinah dated to 111 and 108 BC respectively, i. e. several years after the chapel came into existence, speak about the 'upper' and the 'lower *ml*' of Amenhotep.

If the *ml* (*mr*) of Amenhotep is his temple in Deir el-Bahari as I have tried to prove above, the Demotic papyri of the early Ptolemaic period yield interesting information about the organization and the functioning of the cult on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple in this time. This is very important, as the papyri allow us to have insight in those aspects of the functioning of the cult which are not reflected in wall inscriptions. The temple possessed land and perhaps also some other properties on the area of West Thebes. The cult held in the temple possibly had character of the daily ritual. It was attended by the priests among which two classes are distinguishable: the upper class (prophets and *w^cb*-priests) and the lower one (*pastophoroi*). The priests of Amenhotep often fulfilled priestly functions in other West Theban cults, including that of Hathor in Deir el-Medinah as well as the necropolis of sacred ibises and falcons in Dra Abu el-Naga. The membership in the clergy of Amenhotep was hereditary. The priests held their temple services along the rules of liturgical days and were remunerated on the basis of a proportional participation in the incomes of the temple. All these elements will be discussed in more details below.

Another important question connected with the early years of the Graeco-Roman cult in Deir el-Bahari is the presence (or absence) of Imhotep nearby Amenhotep. The common praxis of scholars dealing with Deir el-Bahari in Ptolemaic and Roman times is to name these two figures together for the whole period of the cult's existence, from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period until the second cent. AD. However, the sources at our disposal do not allow for such a view. A closer look at the Greek inscriptions and ostraca from Deir el-Bahari from the third and the first half of the second cent. BC shows that no one of them mentions Asklepios (= Imhotep). His name also does not occur in Demotic sources.¹¹⁶ Both Greek and Demotic texts of this period originating from Deir el-Bahari mention Amenhotep alone. This absence of Imhotep is significant. In fact, it is impossible for him to be the companion of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari from the very beginning of the cult's existence. In order to understand the issue, one should keep in mind that the appearance of this originally Memphite figure in the Theban area is a relatively late phenomenon. The oldest attestation of him in the Upper Egyptian metropolis is in an inscription in the temple of his divine father Ptah in Karnak dating from the time of Ptolemy III.¹¹⁷ His implan-

¹¹⁶ This is understandable by itself, for Imhotep never occurs in Demotic inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari; cf. WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 102.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 13 with note 31.

tation in the Theban West Bank is still later, and is attested for the first time in the decoration of the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medinah from the time of Ptolemy VI, where he already appears together with Amenhotep son of Hapu. The earliest direct proof of the presence of Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari is the Ptolemaic rock shrine with its reliefs and inscriptions in which he is presented as equal to Amenhotep.¹¹⁸ The inscription in hieroglyphics of the south wall of the sanctuary devoted to Imhotep states that the sanctuary came into existence as a 'renovation of a monument belonging to *m3rw*,' i. e. the temple of Amenhotep.¹¹⁹ This statement, if taken seriously, seems to suggest that Imhotep possessed a cult place in Deir el-Bahari already before the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary; however, it was of secondary importance as compared with the cult place of Amenhotep. One thinks of an altar of Imhotep standing within the temple of Amenhotep. Provided this is true, the introduction of the cult of Imhotep into the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari could have taken place in the second half of the third century BC at the very earliest; in any event, it could not have preceded the introduction of the cult of Imhotep into the temple of his divine father Ptah in Karnak during the reign of Ptolemy III. More probably, it occurred in the first half of the second century BC, simultaneously with the introduction of the figures of Amenhotep and Imhotep into the decoration of the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medinah. It is possible, however, that the statement about 'the renovation of a monument belonging to *m3rw*' in the dedicatory inscription on the south wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary has only a propagandistic value and does not correspond with reality, which suggests that there was no cult of Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari before the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary at all. This issue will be discussed with more detail in the next chapter. Here, to conclude this chapter, one must say the following: The Graeco-Roman cult on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple started in the turn of the fourth to the third century BC as the cult of Amenhotep alone. Imhotep was added later, either in the first half of the second century BC as a secondary divinity or only during the construction of the new sanctuary under Ptolemy VIII, as a companion of Amenhotep equal with him in rank.

5. THE REBUILDING IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SECOND CENTURY BC

In the second half of the second cent. BC, the temple of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari underwent far-reaching changes. The upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple became the theatre of spacious building and ordering activity that considerably altered its

¹¹⁸ This was rightly observed already by KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 97. The reference to the Aesculapius (*sic*) shrine in the middle terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, in front of the Punt portico, found in *PM* II² 343 is erroneous; see below, p. 33 with note 133.

¹¹⁹ Cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. p. 51, no. 62 and commentary on p. 66. Note that the reading of the word *m3rw* is uncertain in this case.

appearance. This work predominantly took place on the main axis of the temple. Nothing indicates that it also affected the side rooms.

The most important element of the work was the construction of the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary in place of the third room of the original sanctuary from the Hatshepsut period. The slabs of limestone with relief decoration that originally formed the lining of this rocky chamber were removed and used as a building material on different spots in the temple, e. g. in the floor of the new sanctuary¹²⁰ and in the Bark Shrine. In their place, new walls of sandstone slabs were constructed and decorated with reliefs in style characteristic for that period. The decoration of the north wall of the sanctuary dealt with Amenhotep, that of the south with Imhotep. The west wall, most important from the theological point of view, was devoted to both gods.¹²¹ The room also got a new portal of sandstone. It carried inscriptions in hieroglyphics.

The second room of the original sanctuary fundamentally remained unchanged during the rebuilding of the temple in the second half of the second century BC. Only a lintel was inserted in the wall separating this second room from the Bark Shrine, above the door connecting these two rooms, exactly in the place where the window illuminating a cult statue standing at the rear of the original sanctuary had been placed.¹²² It was made of three blocks of sandstone and had the usual decoration in relief showing the winged sun disc. Traces of colours preserved here and there on the surface of the lintel suggest that it was painted vividly.

A wide-range work of predominantly repairing character took place in the Bark Shrine. It seems that the Bark Shrine was in a somewhat decayed state at the moment, perhaps in result of some catastrophe (earthquake or rock-fall).¹²³ The blocks in the walls must have been cracked, threatening the stability of the construction. The work aimed, then, at the consolidation of the walls. Niches, except for the easternmost niche in the south wall,¹²⁴ were filled with fragments of decorated and undecorated blocks bound with mortar, and blocked.¹²⁵ The broken blocks in the walls were replaced with solid ones. The building material was taken from the south and east walls of the Chapel of the Night Sun in the Solar Complex and from the Bark Shrine itself.¹²⁶ In the north and the south walls, the decoration of the blocks, both those which remained from the original construction and the newly inserted ones, was

¹²⁰ F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* II (1999), p. 164.

¹²¹ For a more detailed description of the Ptolemaic sanctuary, see below, pp. 41–43.

¹²² The idea of where and how the lintel was placed may easily be gotten from the photo showing the west wall of the Bark Shrine after reconstruction in the 1990s; cf. F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* II (1999), p. 161, fig. 6; see further Z. SZAFRAŃSKI [in:] Z. SZAFRAŃSKI (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 69, phot. II, and p. 66, phot. 8. The original emplacement of the lintel is marked by an elongated rectangular space on both sides of the window for which no original blocks from the Hatshepsut time could have been

found. The lintel itself is shown on the photo published by LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, fig. 6

¹²³ This is a suggestion of KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 100.

¹²⁴ The walls of the niche bear numerous dipinti in Demotic and are considerably covered by soot (a remnant from the period of the Christian monastery).

¹²⁵ WYSOCKI [in:] *Mélanges G. E. Mokhtar* II, pp. 361–362; KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 94.

¹²⁶ KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 98; and see further F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* 7 (1995), p. 73.

martelated from the height of *ca.* 1 m. until *ca.* 2.5 m., and the surface was covered with lime mortar.¹²⁷

In front of the entrance to the Bark Shrine, in the west part of the court, a portico was constructed. It was partly founded on the column bases of the west colonnade of the court.¹²⁸ The material used in the construction were all spolia (columns, architraves, and roofing slabs) from the ruined peristyle of the upper court.¹²⁹ The portico was never completed. Only the entrance, columns and internal sides of the screens were smoothed. The external sides of the screens were elaborated only roughly, and the relief decoration from the Hatshepsut period remained visible on several spots. The decoration of the portico, if any, was done only in red paint. Janusz Karkowski has suggested that the construction of the portico might have preceded the work on other spots of the temple,¹³⁰ but this is difficult to corroborate.

The upper court itself was brought into order. A large depression in the south part of the court which probably appeared in result of hewing the tombs during the Late Period was filled up, and the court was subsequently paved. This was done with the use of blocks from the main sanctuary of Amun, the colonnade of the upper court, outer hypostyle of the Hathor shrine, the wall between the Upper Portico and the Room with the window,¹³¹ and most probably also from the Solar Complex.¹³² Blocks which found no application on the upper terrace were removed and used elsewhere.

Together with the work on the upper terrace, activity also took place in the southwestern part of the lower terrace. A depression, or rather a trench, must have existed here in front of the Punt portico in the early Ptolemaic period. It was filled up with rubbish coming from, among other places, the upper court, and a building subsequently came into existence on this spot.¹³³ It was constructed partly of bricks and partly of spolia from the Hatshepsut temple by connecting decorated and undecorated blocks and supplementing the missing parts of the decoration in crude carving. The scheme of the decoration has not been recognised yet. The function of this building may be a matter of controversy. For possible interpretation, see below, p. 44.

¹²⁷ The majority of Greek inscriptions found in the Bark Shrine were written on this rough surface.

¹²⁸ It is possible that the Ptolemaic portico was built in place of a similar construction from Hatshepsut's time. Its existence may be inferred from the biographical inscription of Djehuti, a vizir of Hatshepsut (personal communication of D. Niedziółka).

¹²⁹ KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 97.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

¹³² Z. SZAFRAŃSKI, *PAM* 12 (2000), p. 196.

¹³³ The building under consideration was found during excavation carried out by the Metropolitan

Museum of Art; cf. H. E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911-1931*, New York 1942, p. 219 (*PM* II² 343), and see further WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 193, § 135. It was fully erased during the reconstruction work of the Hatshepsut temple. The construction of the building was dated by Winlock to the time of Ptolemy III. A study of the old documentation and a painstaking observation carried out by Janusz Karkowski on the stone material extracted from the construction have shown that it could not have come into existence before the time of Ptolemy VIII; cf. KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 98 and 100.

Although there is no direct proof, all these works were probably done at the same time, within a framework of a well planned and well organized enterprise.¹³⁴ This is suggested in the first place by the economy of the work. For constructions and repairs on the upper terrace, efforts were made to use spolia from the nearest vicinity, mainly from the ruined peristyle of the court. Only after there was no sufficient building material in the court were the Solar Complex, the Room with the window and the Hathor shrine situated beneath it reached.¹³⁵ The work surely was organized by the temple itself, i. e. by its priests. It is to them that the elaboration of the decoration program of the new sanctuary, mirroring the subtle theological conceptions connected with the persons of Amenhotep and Imhotep, should be ascribed. The temple must also have been the commissioner and, at least partly, the founder of the work. As we will see later, it had various sources of income at its disposal, e. g. from its land possessions, which it could have turned to the building activity. One should probably also take into account donations from the King and his Queens, whose names appear in the dedicatory inscriptions of the new sanctuary.

The Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Hatshepsut temple obviously was not completed. This is especially true for the Ptolemaic portico the external sides of which were left almost unelaborated.¹³⁶ Also the Bark Shrine could have been contrived differently from what we see as the final result. One would expect, in particular, new decoration in place of the martelated decoration of the north and south walls. The relief decoration of the new sanctuary was done hurriedly and clumsily on many spots, e. g. in the east corners where chinks between blocks were filled up with wood covered by stucco. The reasons for the clumsiness of the work and the lack of completion may be judged differently. One thinks of the shortage of funds or the lack of patronage (see below, the next paragraph).

Thanks to the royal cartouches occurring in dedicatory inscriptions in the east part of the north and the south walls of the Ptolemaic sanctuary, as well as on its portal, we know that the sanctuary was constructed during the reign of Ptolemy VIII and his two queens, Kleopatra II and Kleopatra III.¹³⁷ The occurrence in the titlature of the two wives of Ptolemy VIII indicates that construction must have taken place between either 142–131 BC (marriage of Ptolemy VIII with Kleopatra III – beginning of the civil war between Ptolemy VIII and Kleopatra III on one side, and Kleopatra II on the other) or 124–117 BC (end of the civil war – death of Ptolemy VIII). Nothing in inscriptions themselves allows choice between these two periods, but external factors strongly speak in favor of the second of them. After the troublesome time con-

¹³⁴ The wide scope of the work shows that the cult was not as modest as one was inclined to presume before.

¹³⁵ KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 98.

¹³⁶ See above, p. 33.

¹³⁷ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, texts nos. 2, 7, 44, 62, and general remarks on pp. 64–66. An additional dating criterion is yielded by the coin of

Ptolemy VI found in the filling of the middle niche in the north wall of the Bark Shrine; cf. WYSOCKI [in:] *Mélanges G. E. Mokhtar* II, p. 366; KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 95 with note 15 and pl. 15. The coin was probably struck after 169 BC in the Alexandrian mint. The date of the issue of the coin constitutes the *ante quem* date for blocking the niche.

nected with the civil war of the years 131–124 BC, culminating in the temporary secession of Thebaid from the crown in 131–129 BC, there came a period of reconciliation between the King and his Egyptian subjects, marked by an intensive building activity in the religious sphere. Numerous temples of Egyptian gods were built anew, rebuilt or enlarged in that time. On the Theban West Bank, there was begun, among other places, the temple in Qasr el-Aguz devoted, significantly, to an oracular form of Thoth (Thotsytmis), Amenhotep and Imhotep. Similarly to the work at the Deir el-Bahari temple, the decoration of the Qasr el-Aguz temple was also not completed. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal has suggested that the two temples were built in the same time by the same team of workmen, which resulted in the shortage of qualified man-power.¹³⁸ According to her, the work on the two temples might have been stopped by the death of Ptolemy VIII in 117 BC.

While speaking about the rebuilding of the Deir el-Bahari temple in the time of Ptolemy VIII, I pointed out its external, purely practical side: bringing the cult place into order, improvement of the stability of the construction which was time-worn here and there after one thousand years of existence, and enlargement and modernization of the architectural setting in which the cult was practised. In addition to the practical side, however, the rebuilding also had important religious and ideological aspects. In the reliefs and inscriptions of the newly built sanctuary, there appears for the first time in Deir el-Bahari a new god – Imhotep. What is more, he is presented as equal in rank to the original owner of the temple – Amenhotep son of Hapu. This appearance of Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari is too sudden to have been the result of an autonomous process. The introduction of his cult, rather, makes an impression of a single and conscious move, the authorship of which is to be ascribed to the local clergy of Amenhotep, aiming in strengthening their god. In spite of a long-lasting cult which originally centred in his mortuary temple and from *ca.* 300 BC onwards in Deir el-Bahari, Amenhotep was considered in the early Ptolemaic period by official theology still as a prominent mortal, a ‘saint,’ but not as a great god. His cult was only of local importance and drew adherents mainly from the lower strata of the Theban society. The situation was different with Imhotep, who already in the Late Period became a full member of the Memphite pantheon, mainly worshipped among the local elites, and who entered the pantheons of other religious centres in the Ptolemaic Period. Placing the two figures on the same level, which we observe first in the time of Ptolemy VI in the small temple in Deir el-Medinah and now in Deir el-Bahari, as well as, simultaneously, in Qasr el-Aguz, ennobled the local saint Amenhotep. It is only through the connection with Imhotep, established in the West Theban temples in the second century BC, that Amenhotep enters the official theology of great Theban temples on the East Bank, from which he had earlier been absent.

The above remarks cast a new light on the statement of the dedicatory inscription on the south wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary devoted to Imhotep, which presents its construction as the ‘renovation of a monument belonging to *m3rw*.’ Considering the construction of the sanctuary as a conscious and fully planned move of the Amen-

¹³⁸ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 64–65.

hotep's priests, aimed at strengthening their god, we get the impression that the statement under consideration was only a propagandistic manipulation with which they wanted to give a colour of antiquity to the presence of Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. In reality, he was absent from Deir el-Bahri before the rebuilding of the temple under Ptolemy VIII, which also included the construction of the new sanctuary. I imagine that the course of events may be described as follows: The cult of Amenhotep had existed in Deir el-Bahari for over 150 years by 120s BC. The temple, which had a period of thousand years of existence behind it, was then in a somewhat decayed state, and required repairs in order to house the cult safely. Another factor is of importance. The cult of Amenhotep was a secondary element in Deir el-Bahari, and the sacred space lacked proper decoration. It was decided, then, to accomplish two things: to bring the cult place into order and to create a new visual setting for the cult in which current problems of Amenhotep's theology, first of all the question of his divinity, would find their place. To strengthen the divine status of Amenhotep, still questionable at that time, one associated Imhotep with him, creating at the same time the story about Imhotep's earlier presence in Deir el-Bahari.

It seems that the effort to introduce Imhotep into the Amenhotep temple in Deir el-Bahari mainly remained in the sphere of theological speculations and had relatively small influence on the sentiments of the public of the temple. The visitors' inscriptions clearly show that, for the mass of followers, the true owner of the temple was always Amenhotep.¹³⁹

6. THE HISTORY OF THE CULT OF AMENHOTEP AND IMHOTEP IN DEIR EL-BAHARI IN LATE PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN TIMES

Very little is known about the history of the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari in the period following the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary. Two Demotic papyri belonging to the family archive from Deir el-Medinah dating from 111 and 108 BC respectively indicate that the temple was still called the *ml* of Amenhotep, but suggest at the same time that it consisted of two parts: the upper and the lower one, the latter probably corresponding with the chapel built in the time of Ptolemy VIII in the middle court in front of the Punt portico. The number of visitors' inscriptions increases considerably in the late Ptolemaic-early Roman period, which seems to suggest that the popularity of the cult was increasing in that time. Unfortunately, the majority of the texts are dated only palaeographically, which does not permit more precise conclusions. The apogee of the temple activity seems to fall on the first two centuries of Roman rule over Egypt. From this time, we have the most extensive and the less stereotypical inscriptions, some of them containing exact dates. Interestingly, many of these inscriptions commemorate visits paid by members of individual families. One can mention here the families of Apollonides, *exegetes* and *ago-*

¹³⁹ See below, pp. 46–48.

ranomos of a *metropolis* (123), Phatres (117), Heron (118), Apollonios and Apollinarios (112), and many more. The fame of the temple and its oracle was great enough to draw such people like Celer, the strategus of a nome, most probably Hermonthites (199, 201), and Athenodoros, a Palmyrenian soldier garrisoned in Coptos (208). Oracular activity is also attested by the ostrakon found within the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple with the text of an oracle (?) delivered by Amenhotep. A fragment of a Greek hymn in honour of Amenhotep and Imhotep, most probably of considerable antiquity, quoted in the second century AD inscription of the soldier Athenodoros (208) indicates that old forms of rituals were still maintained at that time. On the other hand, several Greek and Egyptian texts with theological contents inscribed on the Ptolemaic portico, all dated to first-second century AD, seem to suggest that new compositions were also created.

In the second half of the second century AD, visitors' inscriptions rapidly stop to occur, the last dated item being 93 from December 30th, AD 162.¹⁴⁰ There also are no other attestations of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep from the period following the rule of Marcus Aurelius. Apparently, the cult which had existed on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple since the beginning of the Ptolemaic period ceased to exist for unknown reasons at a moment towards the end of the second century AD. Cult activity reappeared on a smaller scale in the last quarter of the third century AD. However, it shows very particular traits then, different from that prevailing in the earlier times. This latest period of the pagan use of the Hatshepsut temple will be treated in the last chapter of this study.

7. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CULT

The Graeco-Roman temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep embraced the great part of the upper terrace of the temple from Pharaonic times. It included in particular: the court with the Ptolemaic portico, the three rooms of the original sanctuary of which the third was reshaped to form the so-called Ptolemaic sanctuary, the south and the north chapels of Amun, the Royal Mortuary Complex with its small court, two vestibules and the mortuary chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I.

It is near to certain that the Solar Complex of the Hatshepsut temple situated to the north of the upper court was not part of the Graeco-Roman temple. No visitor inscription from Ptolemaic and Roman times was identified here,¹⁴¹ only a figural dipinto showing a small hanging picture with the representation of the front of a temple in Greek style (note the triglyph frieze) with a statue of an ithyphallic god (?) inside.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Some inscriptions may be dated to the end of the second-beginning of the third century AD on the basis of palaeographical and prosopographical criteria, but this dating is not certain.

¹⁴¹ Figural dipinti situated in the niche in the south wall of the solar court published by BATAILLE, *Inscriptions*, nos. 189–190, originate probably from

the Saite or even from the Third Intermediate Period.

¹⁴² Cf. J. KARKOWSKI, *The Temple of Hatshepsut. The Solar Complex* [= *Deir el-Bahari VI*], Warsaw 2002, p. 260, no. 02. WL. W-FG. 02, with pl. 59B (facsimile). Karkowski designates this dipinto 'Coptic?' without giving reasons for this dating.

The dipinto under consideration is situated on the west wall of the court of the solar altar just beneath the roof of the north chapel of Amun, over 5 metres above the original floor.¹⁴³ This suggests that the Solar Complex was completely filled up with sand in Graeco-Roman times.¹⁴⁴ Also an elongated undecorated room in the southeastern corner of the upper terrace conventionally called the 'Room with the Window of Appearance' (originally a slaughterhouse, see above, p. 8) apparently did not belong to the *temenos* of Amenhotep and Imhotep. This room, together with the neighbouring part of the Upper Portico, is badly preserved. They might have been damaged as early as the period prior to the introduction of the cult of Amenhotep to Deir el-Bahari.¹⁴⁵ No visitor's inscription is to be found here.

Another problem is the Coronation or Upper Portico which precedes the entrance to the Upper Court and consists of two wings separated by the central granite portal giving access to the court. Its walls bear numerous inscriptions. In spite of that, it is rather doubtful that the portico was an integral part of the *temenos*. I am inclined to think that it was already situated outside the sphere of the *sacrum*, with its walls being the external walls of the *temenos*. It is interesting to observe that the most remote inscriptions both in the north and the south wings of the portico, situated at the distance of *ca.* 11–13 metres from the granite portal, are placed 200–300 cm above the original floor level or even higher (cf. **16, 17** in the north wing, and **44, 45, 46, 54, 55** in the south wing). No inscription is found further to the north or to the south respectively, although the portico continues in its original form for *ca.* 9 metres in both directions. This indicates that in the Graeco-Roman period the portico was filled up with a sand dune which increased in depth towards north and south starting with the granite portal, and completely covered its north and south ends, which were probably in a ruined state.

The central part of the Graeco-Roman temple was, in purely architectonic terms, the Upper Court, which at that period must already have been deprived of its roof¹⁴⁶ displaying the shape of a large open space with columns standing here and there. One

¹⁴³ For the position of the dipinto, see KARKOWSKI, *op. cit.*, pls. 5A and 67A.

¹⁴⁴ This observation also holds for the Byzantine–early Arabic period when the monastery of St. Phoibamon was installed within the rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. It is known that a building existed on this spot in that time on the level of over 4.50 m. above the original floor level covering partly the Chapel of the Night Sun and partly the Solar Court. An important lot of Coptic ostraca found by Naville near the building or/and within it suggests that it most probably played the role of a scriptorium and an archive-room within the monastery of St. Phoibamon; cf. GODLEWSKI, *Monastère*, p. 21 and 46. On the other hand, Greek and Coptic inscriptions from the period after the sixth century situated in

the passage between the Upper Court and the Chapel of the Night Sun (BATAILLE, *Inscriptions*, nos. 185–188) seem to suggest that the south part of the chapel under consideration was free from sand at that time. It is interesting to observe that the inscriptions mentioned above belong to the category of school exercises (alphabets, *technopaig-niai*) – a suitable subject in the nearest vicinity of the scriptorium.

¹⁴⁵ In Christian times the tower of the monastery was situated in this very place; cf. GODLEWSKI, *Monastère*, pp. 29–30 together with the photographs 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

¹⁴⁶ Note that the architraves and the roofing slabs from the Hatshepsut times were reused in the Ptolemaic period for repairs in the Bark Shrine and in the construction of the Ptolemaic portico.

of these columns, probably situated in the northeastern corner of the court, served as vehicle for a Greek inscription (59). The east, south and west walls of the court were apparently preserved to a considerable height and were used by visitors for leaving their inscriptions. On the other hand, there is no single inscription on the north wall of the court. Apparently, this wall was in a greatly ruined state¹⁴⁷ and was covered by a sand dune flowing from the north.¹⁴⁸ The niches in the west wall preserved their original shape, although some of them might have been deprived of their roofing (cf. lemma of 174). Greek and Demotic visitors' inscriptions frequently occurring on the niches' walls indicate that the niches were empty.¹⁴⁹

The dominant element of the court was the portico preceding the entrance to the Bark Shrine and further to the sanctuary proper. As we have already seen, it was constructed of spolia from the Hatshepsut temple probably at the same time as the Ptolemaic sanctuary (last years of the Ptolemy VIII rule). It was never completed, the outer faces of its walls being left unsmoothed and the decoration like the palmettes of the cornice being indicated only in paint. The portico is a typical kind of construction in the Egyptian religious architecture of the Ptolemaic and Roman times.¹⁵⁰ It consists of six columns with composite capitals arranged in two parallel rows. The columns are connected by curtain walls surmounted by a cornice. The two easternmost columns are engaged in the entrance pillars. On the west, the portico touches the wall of the court near the edge of the granite portal. Rectangular holes for insertion of a horizontal wooden beam are seen on the internal sides of the entrance pillars just behind the door-frame, *ca.* one meter above the floor. They indicate that the portico was originally equipped with a door. One wonders what the purpose of the installation of this door might have been. The great number of visitors' inscriptions on the inner faces of the portico, the granite portal, and in the Bark Shrine shows that this part of the temple was easily accessible to the public. The visitors had access to this part of the temple even at night as the Athenodoros inscription (208) seems to suggest. Perhaps the door marked symbolically the proximity of the holy of holies. Or perhaps it was closed only occasionally to allow the priests to accomplish some works in the sanctuary without being seen by the incompetent ones.

We have already seen that the sanctuary from the Hatshepsut temple comprised three chambers on east-west axis: the magnificent Bark Shrine and two smaller rooms the function of which is not entirely clear. Of these three chambers, the first one remained outside the sanctuary of the temple from Ptolemaic and Roman times. This is clearly shown by numerous visitors' inscriptions occurring on the walls of this room and on the walls of its niches. The inscriptions date both from the time prior to the

¹⁴⁷ It was discovered in a very bad state of preservation during excavations carried out by the mission of the Egypt Exploration Fund and even now, after the reconstruction work of the Polish-Egyptian Mission, it displays numerous gaps.

¹⁴⁸ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 69, is of the opinion that the lack of inscription is due the existence of some constructions adjoining this wall.

¹⁴⁹ The statues of Hatshepsut that originally stood in the niches were removed already by Thutmosis III.

¹⁵⁰ Called *h3yt* in the Egyptian sources of that time; for the meaning and the name of this construction, see e. g. J. YOYOTTE, *CdÉ* 28 (1953), pp. 35–37; A.M. BADAUWY, *ZAS* 102 (1975), pp. 87–88.

rebuilding of the temple under Ptolemy VIII (289–290, perhaps also 282)¹⁵¹ and following it. We have already seen that the Bark Shrine get a new appearance in result of the reconstruction work undertaken in the time of Ptolemy VIII. The niches, except for the easternmost niche in the south wall, were blocked, the cracked blocks were replaced with the save ones, the original decoration was partly removed and the walls were covered with mud mortar. Later inscriptions occurring on this surface are located as a rule slightly over the eye-level of a person standing on the original floor from the Hatshepsut times. This seems to suggest that the floor-level of the room was higher in late Ptolemaic-Roman times as compared with the original one, perhaps in result of accumulation of sand and rubbish. It might have been leveled with the floor in the second room of the original sanctuary (first room of the sanctuary from Ptolemaic and Roman times).

The function of the Bark Shrine within the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep is not clear due to the lack of a secure evidence in this respect. One can imagine that the proximity of the sanctuary predestined it to play an important cult function. Perhaps oracle consultation through incubation or through other means took place here. The inscription of the soldier Athenodoros (208) indicates that its author heard the god speaking while finding himself exactly in the Bark Shrine. No matter if the voice heard by Athenodoros was his illusion evoked by his psychical tension or a manipulation procured by priests operating from the sanctuary,¹⁵² the function of the Bark Shrine as the place of the contact between believers and god(s) seems to be proven enough.

The two rear chambers of the sanctuary from the Hatshepsut times formed together the sanctuary of the Ptolemaic and Roman temple. This is most probably true for the whole period of the use of the Hatshepsut temple in Ptolemaic and Roman times from the very moment of the introduction of the cult of Amenhotep at the turn of the fourth to third century BC onwards, although direct evidence for that with relation to the third, westernmost chamber of the original sanctuary is lacking for the early Ptolemaic period. As the existence of this chamber, however, is beyond any doubt, it would be difficult to imagine that it remained outside the sanctuary in the time under consideration. This third chamber of the original sanctuary has been fully reshaped during the rebuilding of the temple under Ptolemy VIII in connection with the reorganization of the cult consisting in equalization of Imhotep and Amenhotep (see above). The two chambers of the sanctuary totally lack visitors' inscriptions which indicates that they were inaccessible to the public. As we have already seen, a big lintel was inserted above the entrance to the first chamber of the sanctuary from Ptolemaic and Roman times (the second chamber of the sanctuary of the Hatshepsut temple) during the rebuilding of the temple under Ptolemy VIII. It symbolically marked the border between the commonly accessible space and the Holy of

¹⁵¹ The small number of inscriptions from the early Ptolemaic period may, among others, be due to the fact that they were damaged during the rebuilding of the Bark Shrine in the time of Ptolemy VIII.

¹⁵² For the interpretation of the events described in the Athenodoros inscription see below, p. 60.

Holies. The gate connecting the Bark Shrine with the sanctuary was surely equipped with a partition. Its existence is suggested by the Athenodoros inscription (208). As there are no traces of such a partition in the archaeological record, we have to assume a light construction, perhaps a curtain.

It is not known how the first chamber of the sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep (the second chamber of the original sanctuary) looked like and what purposes it served. The walls of the chamber apparently were not covered by mortar and the beautiful reliefs from Hatshepsut's time, still almost completely preserved, were well visible. The central space of the chamber must have been empty to facilitate the communication with the next room of the sanctuary. Were something kept in this first chamber, it must have stood in the corners. The original chapels of the Ennead on both sides of the chamber could have served for storing all the paraphernalia connected with the cult. They may also have stored the temple library and the archive containing among other things written petitions for healing and descriptions of individual *ιάματα*.

Nothing can be said about the shape of the second room of the sanctuary in the early Ptolemaic period. It probably remained as it was in Hatshepsut's time. The rebuilding of the temple in the time of Ptolemy VIII gave it a quite new appearance in agreement with the new ideological principles of the temple. Due to the importance of the Ptolemaic sanctuary and its decoration for our subsequent discussion, it will be described here in more detail.¹⁵³

In the present state, the sanctuary is a small room measuring 3.55 by 2.17 meters. It is accessible by a sandstone portal surmounted by a lintel decorated with the usual representation of the winged sun disc. The doorjambs and the entablature, both on the external and internal sides, bear inscriptions in hieroglyphics. Due to the miserable state of preservation of these texts, their reading and even their character are difficult to establish. What is sure is that they contained the royal titlature. On the external face of the room, narrow spaces between the portal and the corners are decorated with scenes showing cobras entwining the stalk of lotus (to the north of the portal) and papyrus (to the south of the portal).

The internal decoration of the sanctuary is devoted to two figures: Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep. It is ruled by strict parallelism of scenes and inscriptions dealing with either of the two gods. Its aim is to justify the divinity of Amenhotep and Imhotep, to present their place in Egyptian pantheon and their prerogatives.

From the theological point of view, the most important part of the sanctuary was its west wall. Its decoration concentrates around a central element resembling the 'false door.' The 'jambs' of this 'false door' are covered by hieroglyphic inscriptions arranged in two columns containing a presentation of the two gods with a list of their earthly functions and honorary titles, as well as their divine epithets. The door's 'lintel' has in the centre the representation of a sarcophagus, accompanied on both sides

¹⁵³The following description of the sanctuary bases on LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire, passim*, especially pp. 20–62.

by hieroglyphic signs with symbolical meaning, and inscriptions laid in two bands. Within the door, there are four texts in eight columns containing among others the offering formulae for *k3* of the two gods. The text columns were interrupted more or less in the middle of their height by a stela with a figural representation, of which only a small fragment has been preserved. The 'false door' is framed by figural scenes and inscriptions arranged in five horizontal bands. The entire composition is surmounted by a cornice with the representation of the winged sun disc.

The north and the south walls of the sanctuary display the same decoration scheme. Both of them have in the centre a figural scene encompassed by friezes at the top and the bottom, and by text columns on the east and the west sides. The decoration of the north wall is devoted to Amenhotep son of Hapu. The god, wearing a long and ample garment, a necklace and a wig is shown standing turned towards the east. He holds a papyrus roll and the *anch*-sign in his left hand, and touches with the *nfr*-sign held in the right hand the symbol of the city of Thebes in form of a large oval filled up with stars. The symbol reposes on the *sm3*-sign entwined by the plants of the Lower and Upper Egypt. A winged sun disc hovers above the symbol. Amenhotep is accompanied by his mother, shown as a goddess. She holds the *anch*-sign in her right hand and lifts her left arm in adoration towards her son. Behind her, there is a podium carrying four statues of gods with dimensions smaller than that of Amenhotep and his mother. First in the row stands the statue of Ptah in form of mummy holding the *w3s*-sceptre with both hands. It is followed by a naos with a blue-painted figure of a hippopotamus-goddess leaning upon the *s3*-sign. The accompanying inscription identifies her as the patron of the month Phamenoth, in which the birthday of Amenhotep was celebrated. Next comes a young nude god holding the *w3s*-sceptre in the left hand and the *anch*-sign in the right one. He is designated by the inscription as Ptah-Ihi (= Nefertum), the child god of Memphis, equated with Horus Hekenu. The procession is closed by another naos having inside the red-painted figure of a goddess in form of hippopotamus with the head of a lioness. The goddess, in the accompanying inscription designated as daughter of Atum, is most probably to be identified as Sachmet, equated with Hathor.

The decoration of the south wall deals with Imhotep. The god in his usual guise – the shaved head, a divine beard, a short skirt and a necklace – is represented marching towards the east. He holds the *anch*-sign in his left hand and touches with the *w3s*-sceptre held in his right hand the *w3d*-sign. The latter protrudes vertically from the symbol of the Theban nome composed of the *w3s*-sign flanked by six stars, three on each side, reposing on a banner held by two *anch*-signs provided with hands. Behind Imhotep stands his mother in the guise of a goddess making the adoration gesture towards her son with her right arm, and holding the *anch*-sign in her left hand. She is followed by the wife of Imhotep represented in the same way as her predecessor. Her head is surmounted by the symbol of the goddess Seshat (a palm-stalk deprived of leaves). At the rear of the scene, there is a podium with the figures of four gods with dimensions smaller as compared with that of Imhotep, his mother and his wife. The row starts with the representation of Neith-Amaunet wearing the crown of the Lower Egypt and holding the *w3d*-sceptre and the *anch*-sign. She probably occurs here as the

one who possesses the power over destiny, patroness of magic and healing practices. Then follows a naos with the figure of a hippopotamus-goddess leaned on the *s3*-sign, identified by the inscription as the personification of the month Epiphi, in which the birthday of Imhotep was celebrated. As the third element of the row comes a young nude god with the *w3s*-sceptre and the *anch*-sign. The procession is closed by a naos containing the figure of a hippopotamus-goddess with the head of vulture wearing the *atef*-crown (probably Nechbet).

The text columns closing the scenes on the north and the south walls from the west are as badly preserved as it is difficult to say something sure about their content. These occurring on the east side of the two walls have dedicatory character. They continue on the east wall of the sanctuary on both sides of the door.

Traces of painting preserved on several spots indicate that the reliefs of the sanctuary were painted red, blue and green, and some of its parts, e. g. on the external side of the portal and the west wall, were gilded.¹⁵⁴

The sanctuary most probably housed cult images. Their presence is suggested by the hieroglyphic inscriptions adorning its walls which speak about garments for *ibib* of Amenhotep and *sh̄m* of Imhotep.¹⁵⁵ They were seen by the soldier Athenodoros, the author of the inscription **208**, who looked into the sanctuary out of curiosity. The cult images must have been accompanied by offering implements including offering tables, altars etc.

The two side-chapels of Amun, the south and the north ones, have Greek visitors' inscriptions on their walls, which indicates that they were accessible to the public. The inscriptions in the north chapel are placed as a rule on the level of over two meters above the original floor. From this, we may conclude that the chapel was partly filled up with sand in Ptolemaic and Roman times.

Numerous inscriptions occur in the court of the Royal Mortuary Complex, i. e. in the vestibule of the Hatshepsut's chapel and in the chapel itself. It is worthy to be noted that it is exactly on the walls of Hatshepsut's chapel that the majority of inscriptions testifying to the visits of groups of people, especially of families, is written. One can suppose that this chapel, as a matter of fact the biggest room of the entire temple, was used on those occasions when a greater number of people was involved. As all three inscriptions speaking about banqueting (**93**, **117**, **118**) are located in Hatshepsut's chapel or in its immediate vicinity, it is tempting to believe that the feasting took place in the chapel's interior. The chapel might have been also used as a dormitory for those who stayed in the temple for the night.¹⁵⁶ There are no visitors' inscriptions in the chapel of Thutmosis I, which suggests that the chapel under consideration was inaccessible for the public. Perhaps it served some special purpose, for example as a repository.

¹⁵⁴ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 31, text no. 18 and pp. 34–35, text no. 27.

¹⁵⁶ What I have in mind is sleeping for rest rather than incubation, which apparently took place in the Bark Shrine, in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary.

A separate problem is the presence of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in the lower terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. Here, in front of the Punt portico, Winlock found a construction which he interpreted as a chapel of Aesculapius (sic) (= Imhotep) and dated to the time of Ptolemy III. Janusz Karkowski has demonstrated that this chapel was built only in the time of Ptolemy VIII, most probably together with the new arrangement of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple.¹⁵⁷ Although the dating of the chapel suggested by Winlock proved false in the light of new research, his interpretation of the chapel's function may, at least partly, be true. Perhaps the chapel under consideration, situated in the immediate vicinity of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep, but on a lower level, is to be identified as the lower *ml* of Amenhotep mentioned in two Demotic papyri from Deir el-Medinah dated to 111 and 108 BC respectively. This interpretation is corroborated by the occurrence of the term 'the lower *ml*' only after the rebuilding of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in the time of Ptolemy VIII, during which the chapel under consideration was constructed. The older Demotic sources univocally speak about the single *ml* of Amenhotep, without distinguishing between its upper and lower parts.

There is one fragmentarily preserved *proskynema* of Roman date in the portico of the Anubis chapel in the lower terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (I). It testifies to the fact that this part of the Pharaonic temple was accessible by that time, but indicates in no way that it belonged to the Graeco-Roman temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep. The inscription could have been left by any visitor to Deir el-Bahari who came here for religious purposes or was simply struck by the religious atmosphere of the place.

In connection with the description of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari, a terminological question should be raised. Two terms relating to the temple are to be found in Greek sources: *τέμενος* (II7 2; AI 32) and *ἱερόν* (208 2, 7, 19; AI 25). The hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Ptolemaic sanctuary has the term *m3rw* which most probably is synonymous with *ml* (*mr*) used in the Demotic sources. The question arises as to what topographical reality stands behind these terms. The case is clear with relation to Greek terms. *τέμενος* designates a sacred precinct comprising all rooms of the upper terrace except for the Solar Complex and the Room with the Window, and perhaps also the chapel in front of the Punt portico. The term *ἱερόν*, which occurs in the Polyaratos ostrakon and the Athenodoros inscription, must designate the sanctuary from which the voice heard by Athenodoros came, into which he looked out of curiosity, and where he saw a god's statue. We have already seen that the sanctuary from Graeco-Roman times comprised two rear rooms of the sanctuary from Hatshepsut times laying behind the Bark Shrine. The interpretation of the Egyptian terms is not as easy as the Greek ones. It seems that *ml* (*mr*) from Demotic sources designates the whole temple comprising, among others, the room for incubation (the ostrakon from the Australian collection) and the chapel on the lower terrace, the 'lower *ml*' (papyri from Deir el-Medinah). *m3rw* in hieroglyphic inscriptions may relate to both the entire temple and the sanctuary, especially to its second room

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 33 with note 133.

reshaped fully under Ptolemy VIII. Perhaps this Egyptian term was used in two meanings, the narrower and the wider ones. The former would designate the sanctuary proper, the latter, the entire sacred space.

We have some information about the immediate neighbourhood of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10226¹⁵⁸ from 186/185 BC, contains the contract by which a certain Amenotnes son of Harsiesis sells a grave¹⁵⁹ to his sister Senamunis. The contract gives the following topographical coordinates of this grave: 'on the south – *ml* of Amenhotep, on the east – the grave belonging to a certain Pshutefnacht, on the north – [- - -], on the west – graves.' This shows that the temple of Amenhotep, which in the time of the contract concluding encompassed only the rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, neighboured on the north with a grave remaining in the hands of a private person. This 'grave' is most probably to be interpreted as a place of burial together with the surrounding terrain, perhaps within an enclosure. It must have comprised the space between the cliff rocks of the Deir el-Bahari valley on the north and the north wall of the upper court of the Hatshepsut temple on the south, and probably included also the Solar Complex which apparently was completely filled up with sand at that time.

To the south and south-east, the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep probably bordered on the temple of Hathor, installed in what was originally the chapel of Hathor on the south edge of the lower terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. According to the suggestion of André Bataille,¹⁶⁰ it is this temple which is mentioned in two Greek papyri – PSI IX 1018 and 1020 – belonging to the family archive from Deir el-Medinah.¹⁶¹ Both of them come from the year 110 BC and contain contracts of selling viz. leasing of liturgical days in a temple of Hathor called Ἀφροδισειῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονείων = 'The temple of Aphrodite (= Hathor) on the border,¹⁶² in the north part of the Memnoneia.' This temple surely cannot be equated with the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medinah, as the latter was called Ἀφροδισειῶν καλούμενον Ἀθὺρ Νουεμοντεσεμα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Μεμνονείων τάφοις = 'The temple of Aphrodite called Hathor-Mistress of the West of Djeme¹⁶³ (which lies) among the tombs of the inhabitants of the Memnoneia' in the documents belonging to the same archive. The designation ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρει Μεμνονείων corresponds very well with the topographical location of Deir el-Bahari in the north part of the Memnoneia. The 'border' alluded in the name of the temple might have been the administrative border between Hermonthites and Peri Thebas, which probably followed the line between the Deir el-Bahari and the Sethos I temple in Qurna. Although there is no direct evidence in favour of the use of the Hathor chapel for cult purposes in Ptolemaic and Roman times, the suggestion of Bataille seems very probable.

¹⁵⁸ For reference, see above, note 75.

¹⁵⁹ The Demotic term is *s. t.* REICH, *Pap. Jur. Inh.*, p. 73 translated it as 'Platz,' but the meaning surely is 'grave.'

¹⁶⁰ BATAILLE, *Memmonia*, pp. 96–97.

¹⁶¹ On this archive gathered by Thotoes son of Zmanres, see above, p. 21, and below, pp. 71–72.

¹⁶² This is the reading of the first editor accepted by BATAILLE, *loc. cit.* U. WILCKEN, *AfP* 9 (1930), p. 76, suggested the correction ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου(ς) = 'on the edge of the cultivated land.'

¹⁶³ For this designation, see W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica* II, pp. 24–25.

Besides, graves were situated all around in the Deir el-Bahari valley. Very little has been preserved from the necropolis of Ptolemaic and early Roman times.¹⁶⁴ One can mention two sarcophagi of the Ptolemaic period found during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the south of the causeway of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple. One belonged to Pedehorpare also called Tuakeres (Greek Teukros?), second prophet of Montu, the other to a woman named Tashenmin.¹⁶⁵ Burials of the second cent. AD containing, among others, two sarcophagi with Demotic inscriptions were discovered during excavations carried out in the 1920s.¹⁶⁶ A funerary stela with a representation of an athlete and a Greek inscription dated to the Roman period was found during excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund on the area of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple.¹⁶⁷ Recent works of the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the north chapel of Amun have brought to light in a secondary context fragments of a mummy portrait.¹⁶⁸ It may have gotten there from the neighbouring necropolis.

8. THE GODS

The Graeco-Roman cult at Deir el-Bahari obviously had two main gods: Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep. We have already seen that the former was worshipped in Deir el-Bahari from ca. 300 BC onwards, while the latter was added to him in the second cent. BC, and probably only during the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary in the 120s/110s BC. The two gods are presented as equal in the decoration of the sanctuary, but visitors' inscriptions show us a quite different picture of relations between them.

Amenhotep son of Hapu, always called Ἀμενώθης in Greek inscriptions, with minor graphic variants consisting of the change of 'ω' for 'ο' and 'θ' for 'τ',¹⁶⁹ occurs in altogether 44 visitors' inscriptions (there are several instances of the name occurrence in **208**). In more than half occurrences (31 out of 44), he is mentioned alone;¹⁷⁰ in the remaining cases he appears together with Imhotep/Asklepios. On the other hand, Imhotep, except for one uncertain case, never occurs separately, but only in the company of Amenhotep (see below); he is also never mentioned in Demotic inscrip-

¹⁶⁴ Generally on the Deir el-Bahari necropolis in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see N. Strudwick [in:] N. STRUDWICK, J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, pp. 174–175.

¹⁶⁵ Unpublished; mentioned in *PM* I² 2 (1964), p. 653. For the man, see *PP* IX 5733a.

¹⁶⁶ Christina RIGGS, M. DEPAUW, «Soternalia» from Deir el-Bahari, including two coffin lids with demotic inscriptions, *RdÉ* 53 (2002), pp. 75–90.

¹⁶⁷ K. PARLASCA, 'Das Grabrelief eines Athleten

aus Theben-West im British Museum, *CdÉ* 78 (2003), pp. 241–247.

¹⁶⁸ Z. SZAFRAŃSKI, *PAM* 12 (2001), p. 198.

¹⁶⁹ For the spelling of the name of Amenhotep in Greek sources, see J. QUAEGBEUR, 'Aménophis, nom royal at nom divin. Questions méthodologiques, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 97–106, especially pp. 102–103 (on Amenhotep son of Hapu).

¹⁷⁰ Three of these occurrences (**36**, **60**, **68**) come from the early Ptolemaic period when Amenhotep was worshipped alone in Deir el-Bahari.

tions.¹⁷¹ This is a clear proof of the predominance of Amenhotep over Imhotep in the religious mentality of the public of the Deir el-Bahari temple, which must have been recruited from the local Theban population. For it, the local god Amenhotep obviously remained the true owner of the temple, while Imhotep was probably considered a somewhat strange and artificial element, whose existence was explicable only in terms of the companionship of Amenhotep.¹⁷² That the two figures were treated in the same way in the decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary resulted from the theological speculations mirroring the aims of its builders, but need not necessarily have found transmission into the sentiments of the worshippers.

Amenhotep is designated god (*θεός*) throughout the whole period covered by Greek sources from Deir-Bahari starting with the Polyaratos ostrakon (261/260 BC). This shows that the long process of deification of Amenhotep was accomplished already by the first half of the third cent. BC at least for the Greek adherents of the cult and in terms of Greek theological speculation. One finds this conclusion interesting, the more so as the Egyptian sources of the period are less evident in this respect.¹⁷³ Several epithets are ascribed to Amenhotep, the most common being *κύριος*.¹⁷⁴ In addition, we have: *θεός μέγας* (*μέγιστος*), *εὐδοξος*, *χρηστός*, *δεσπότης* and *σωτήρ*. He also is designated *ἱετῆρ*, *κοίρανος φωτῶν*, and *ἄναξ* in a poetic text inscribed on the Ptolemaic portico (219).

Imhotep occurs in 16 inscriptions (there are several occurrences in 208). He is always called *Ἀσκληπιός* through identification with the Greek god of medicine. That we are dealing with a true identification and not with a simple *interpretatio graeca* is suggested by designation *τέκος Φοίβου* – ‘son of Phoibos (= Apollo)’ ascribed to him in a poetic text (most probably a hymn) contained in inscription 100 and quoted in 208 I, and by the appearance of Asklepios’ daughter Hygieia in company of Amenhotep and Imhotep (see below). The designation *τέκος Φοίβου* and the common use of the name *Ἀσκληπιός* in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions contrast sharply with the situation in Memphis, the place of origin of Imhotep’s cult, where he normally was called *Ἰμούθης* in Greek sources and was considered to be the son of Hephaistos (= Ptah). There is only one instance of Imhotep occurring alone in Deir el-Bahari inscriptions (93 4), however, the text is badly damaged in the crucial place and the lacuna before the name of *Ἀσκληπιός* could have easily contained also the name of

¹⁷¹ Cf. WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 102.

¹⁷² See, however, a votive stele published below as B2. It carries a figural representation showing the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari with Imhotep-Asklepios in an emphasized position.

¹⁷³ The most common designation of Amenhotep occurring in Egyptian sources is ‘The (Royal) Scribe.’ The word ‘god’ apparently was used for the first time with reference to him only in the letter of Osoroeris originating perhaps from the end of

the third cent. BC; for reference, see above, p. 20 with note 72.

¹⁷⁴ According to J. QUAEGBEUR, *BSFE* 70/71 (1974), p. 50, the Greek term *κύριος* frequently occurring as epithet of both Amenhotep and Imhotep in visitors’ inscriptions in the Deir el-Bahari temple is translation of the Egyptian *nb*, a usual designation of oracular gods in Egypt. This is not evident by itself, for *κύριος* is a common *epiklesis* of various gods, mainly of Near Eastern origin, who were not necessarily connected with oracles.

Ἀμενώθης. Otherwise he is always mentioned together with Amenhotep.¹⁷⁵ Imhotep is commonly designated θεός. He also bears the epithets: κύριος, σοφός, ἀγαθός, δεσπότης, σωτήρ, and ἰητήρ, the last in poetic texts.

A special mention should be made of the inscription **130** containing the epithets Πιχερσταπανε and Φριτωβ (without the names of the gods). The first of them is probably a transliteration, through the intermediary of Egyptian, of the Persian word *χσαθρα-ραβαν* = 'satrap' and refers to Imhotep. The second transcribes the Egyptian title *p3 hry-tp* = 'chief, master' and is used with reference to Amenhotep. Obviously, these two epithets belonged to the Egyptian vocabulary of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. Φριτωβ is attested as epithet of Amenhotep son of Hapu in Greek literary sources (cf. commentary to inscription **130**).

In three inscriptions (**129**, **197**, **208**), Hygieia (originally a personification of health, later an independent goddess, considered to be daughter or, sometimes, wife of Asklepios) is mentioned besides Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios. Perhaps she is also represented in the company of the two on a fragmentarily preserved votive stela with an inscription in Greek (**B2**). The three possibly formed a kind of a triad.¹⁷⁶ Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal has suggested that Hygieia might have been identified in Deir el-Bahari with the hippopotamus-goddess Ipet-Nut, who plays an important role in the reliefs representations of the Ptolemaic sanctuary.¹⁷⁷

Several inscriptions of late Ptolemaic-Roman date (cf. **96** 5–6; **117** 5–6; **118** 6–7; **194** 3) mention the 'gods sharing the same temple' (θεοὶ σύνναοι) along with Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios.¹⁷⁸ These 'temple-sharing gods' must have been lesser figures from the entourage of Amenhotep and Imhotep/Asklepios like their deified mothers and/or wives,¹⁷⁹ the children of Asklepios besides Hygieia, the local forms of the great Egyptian gods, etc. Another question is the mention of the 'gods sharing the same altars and the same temple' (θεοὶ σύμβωμοι καὶ συντελεῖς) in addition to Amenhotep in the Polyaratos ostrakon. Most probably, it refers to the deified members of the royal family of Ptolemies, whose cult was instituted by Ptolemy II shortly before the date of the Polyaratos ostrakon.¹⁸⁰

In three inscriptions of Roman date (**123**, **124**, **195**), we find the mention of Amun. In **195**, he occurs in his main form as the great Theban god, accompanied by 'temple-sharing gods' (θεοὶ σύνναοι) and perhaps also by Amenhotep. In **123** and **124**, we are dealing with his by-form called *'Imn-n-'Iḫj* = 'Amun-in-'Iḫj' and transcribed in Greek as Ἀμενώφης; the form Πετεμενώφης occurring in **124** is probably only a mistake for Ἀμενώφης, which came about under the influence of personal names with the element *p3 dj* = 'gift.' In **123**, Amenophis appears alone, and in **124** in the company of Amen-

¹⁷⁵ For the interpretation of this phenomenon, see above, p. 46.

¹⁷⁶ One notes that Hygieia never appears outside of this triad.

¹⁷⁷ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 88.

¹⁷⁸ It should be noted here that epithet 'wonderful manifestation of gods' ascribed to Imhotep in the inscription on the 'doorjamb' of the 'false door'

on the west wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary (LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 33, no. 24) was interpreted by Fr. Daumas as referring to θεοὶ σύνναοι. This interpretation, however, is not certain; cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁹ They are represented, behind their sons, in the reliefs of the Ptolemaic sanctuary; see above, p. 42.

¹⁸⁰ For more details, see above, p. 25–26.

hotep son of Hapu. The occurrence of Amun and Amenophis in Greek *proskynemata* in Deir el-Bahari from the Roman times is puzzling, the more so as the cult of Amun, once the main god of Thebes and the entire Theban empire, was overshadowed by that of Montu on the Theban West Bank at that time. Amun was the main god of the Hatshepsut temple, which for several centuries remained one of the stations for his bark during the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.' This feast was still observed in Ptolemaic period, as is attested by Greek papyri and inscriptions which mention *διάβασις τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος εἰς τὰ Μεμνόνεια*,¹⁸¹ though it is rather improbable that the god's bark visited Deir el-Bahari at that time. Perhaps the occurrence of Amun in an inscription left by a local visitor to the Hatshepsut temple under Roman rule is a souvenir of this glorious past? Another possibility is that the author of the inscription mentioning Amun was inhabitant of Thebes (= Karnak) and simply felt obliged to mention his native god. The explanation for the appearance of his name in Greek *proskynemata* may also be sought in his ties with the two gods of the Graeco-Roman temple. The inscriptions of the Ptolemaic sanctuary present him as a god of the first importance, father of both Amenhotep and Imhotep, to which they pay due honours.¹⁸² Needless to say, the explanations presented above may overlap each other. As for Amenophis, he had a vital cult and land possessions in the Memnoneia in the Ptolemaic period (see commentary to 123) which he may have retained for centuries to come. The persons who mentioned his name in their inscriptions may have been his followers or may have stayed in connection with his domain.

9. ASPECTS OF THE CULT

9.1. THE MORTUARY ASPECT

We have already seen that the Graeco-Roman cult in Deir el-Bahari started at the very beginning of the Ptolemaic period probably as a continuation of the mortuary cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu practised until the end of the fourth century BC in his mortuary temple in Medinet Habu. With such origins, the cult of Amenhotep (later Amenhotep and Imhotep) in Deir el-Bahari should also have had a mortuary aspect. That this really was the case can be seen in the decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary and especially of its west wall. Its central element resembles the 'false door,' which from the Old Kingdom onwards was connected with the mortuary cult of the king. Placed in chapels often situated near burial spots of kings, the 'false door' facilitated contact with the dead, and the passing on of offerings to him.¹⁸³ In fact, an inscription

¹⁸¹ Cf. above, note 6.

¹⁸² Cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 43–44, text no. 46 (Amenhotep), and pp. 52–53, text no. 64 (Imhotep). Amun's fathership of Imhotep resulted from his identification with the Memphite Tatenen.

¹⁸³ Cf. e.g. P. JÁNOSI, 'Die Entwicklung und Deutung des Totenopferraumes in den Pyramidentempeln des Alten Reiches' [in:] R. GUNDLACH, M. ROCHHOLZ (eds.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm* [= *Heidelberger Ägyptologische Beiträge* 37], Hildesheim 1994, pp. 143–173.

on the 'false door' of the Ptolemaic sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari explicitly mentions an offering table for the *k3* of Amenhotep,¹⁸⁴ and another one lists offerings for the *k3* of Imhotep.¹⁸⁵ They include a thousand of bread, milk, cattle, birds, incense and fresh water. The two owners of the sanctuary are called Osiris-Amenhotep and Osiris-Imhotep throughout the texts of inscriptions, and bear the epithet 'justified by voice,' which indicates that they were considered to have once been mortals.¹⁸⁶

The mortuary aspect of the cult of Amenhotep could not have been as important in Deir el-Bahari as it was earlier in the Amenhotep mortuary temple in Medinet Habu. This is suggested already by different Egyptian terms used to designate both cult places: (*p3*) *ṣc̣ṣc̣* = 'memorial place' for the temple of Amenhotep in Medinet Habu and *m3rw*, *mr* (*ml*) = 'place of contact between god and his adherents' for the temple in Deir el-Bahari.¹⁸⁷ Undoubtedly, the mortuary aspect of the cult of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari was much more important for the Egyptian inhabitants of the Theban region than for the Greek ones. Perhaps it played a role only at an early stage of the cult's existence, and was later supplanted by other aspects. It left no traces in Greek texts.

9.2. THE HEALING ASPECT

The healing aspect of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari is the most evident and best documented one, both in Egyptian and Greek sources. It was immanent for the cult of both gods and resulted from their fame as sages in this world and their posthumous role as mediators between the world of men and the great gods of the Egyptian pantheon. One has to keep in mind that Imhotep was worshipped as healer in the Memphis area already in the time of 26th Dynasty, and Amenhotep occurs in this capacity more or less at the same time. The healing abilities of Imhotep and Amenhotep are frequently referred to in inscriptions adorning the Ptolemaic sanctuary. The two gods are constantly presented as givers of life and animators of all beings.¹⁸⁸ Amenhotep bears the epithet 'good physician.'¹⁸⁹ He is designated as the one who recognises illnesses and drives away the demons of the illnesses.¹⁹⁰ Imhotep has the ability to bring a son to the suppliant.¹⁹¹ He is a famous physician who knows writing, whose fingers are skilful, and who is invoked by millions of suppliants.¹⁹² Amen-

¹⁸⁴ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 29–30, no. 16.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 33–34, no. 25.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 29, no. 15 (Amenhotep) and p. 33, no. 24 (Imhotep); see also pp. 72–74 (commentary). It should be observed that this designation is rarely attested with relation to Amenhotep in sources from Ptolemaic and Roman times, and never occurs with relation to Imhotep.

¹⁸⁷ See above, pp. 28–30.

¹⁸⁸ For Amenhotep, see e. g. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 29, no. 15; for Imhotep, see *ibidem*, p. 33, no. 24; pp. 46–47, no. 49.

¹⁸⁹ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 37–38, no. 33, p. 43, no. 45.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 43–44, no. 46.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 32, no. 23.

¹⁹² *Ibidem*, pp. 51–52, no. 63.

hotep is designated 'physician' (*ἰητήρ*) in the Greek hymn inscribed on the Ptolemaic portico (219). The same word, this time in plural, occurs in a hymn on the south door-jamb of the entrance to the Hatshepsut chapel (100), and in another metrical text on the Ptolemaic portico (209), undoubtedly with relation to both Amenhotep and Imhotep.

The healing aspect of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari is attested from the very beginning of the cult's existence in the first half of the third cent. BC (Polyaratos' ostrakon, A1), until the middle of the second cent. AD (the Athenodoros inscription, 208). The data at our disposal, albeit scanty, show that the gods were asked for help with a variety of illnesses. Polyaratos suffered most probably from long-lasting and pain-causing inflammation of glands. The woman Senamunis, whose Demotic ostrakon was found in the middle niche of the Bark Shrine, was infertile. So too was the wife of Osoroeris, the divine father and prophet of Amonrasother, the author of the Demotic letter to Amenhotep of which the attribution to Deir el-Bahari is quite possible, although not entirely certain. The Macedonian Andromachos, the author of inscriptions 60 and 68, and the soldier Athenodoros, the hero of a dramatic story told in 208, suffer some acute illnesses while on a visit in the Deir el-Bahari temple. It is known that Athenodoros committed a sacrilege and was punished by gods in this way, the illness of Andromachos is of uncertain etiology. An oracular saying of Amenhotep for Teos son of Psenamunis preserved in a Theban ostrakon in Demotic, perhaps also connected with the Deir el-Bahari temple, states that the man had fever. We also hear of some unspecified illnesses. The son (?) of the author of the inscription 50 (both unnamed) suffered from great pains. The members of the family of Apollonios and Apollinarios who occur in the inscription 112 were in need of healing (*θεραπείαν θέλοντες*) while visiting the temple, when they left their *proskynema*. A similar request for healing of an unspecified illness occurs in the inscription 129 left by one Eugraphios: *παράδος ὑμῖν θεραπείαν*.

Most often, the people seeking for healing seem to have come in person to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. At any rate, this was the case of Polyaratos, Eugraphios, and the family members of Apollonios and Apollinarios, not to mention Andromachos, the salary worker, and the soldier Athenodoros who were already present in the temple before they fell sick. However, there is enough evidence to show that presence in the temple was not a prerequisite for a sick person to put the entire healing procedure in motion. One should keep in mind that some of the people who sought healing were bed-ridden and were not able to come in person to the temple. We have also to reckon with minors as benefactors of the healing power of the two gods, despite inability to act personally. It sufficed for all those people that a third person, a member of their family or an acquaintance, acted as their intermediary. Thus, the author of the inscription 50 asks for healing for his pain-suffering son (?) who apparently was not with his father in the temple. Osoroeris, the divine father and the prophet of Amonrasother, appears with a Demotic letter to Amenhotep requesting that his wife be healed from starvation. Perhaps the woman later visited the temple in Deir el-Bahari, but the contrary is also possible. Teos son of Psenamunis, for whom the oracular saying of Amenhotep preserved in a Demotic

ostrakon of West Theban provenance was prepared, also had no need to have been present in person in the temple. The ostrakon text indicates that the saying was delivered to a certain Horos son of Nes[- -], who probably was entrusted by the sick person to act in his name. The relationship between these two men is not stated. On the other end of the healing procedures, the two unnamed authors of the inscription 322 express their thanks to a god for a benefaction he has committed to their brother Euboulos, who apparently was not with them.

The persons in need sometimes addressed Amenhotep (and Imhotep ?) with a letter containing a request for help. We possess an unquestionable original of such a letter written in Demotic on a piece of limestone, found in the middle niche in the south wall of the Bark Shrine. It comes from the woman Senamunis who asks Amenhotep to heal her from infertility. Another letter in Demotic, this time inscribed on a wooden tablet, may be attributed to Deir el-Bahari with a great degree of probability. Its author, a divine father and prophet of Amonrasonther with the name Osoroeris, addresses Amenhotep in the matter of an offspring. Most probably, also Polyaratos appeared before Amenothos with a supplication in a written form. This is suggested by the expression [[κατὰ ἰκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ύ]ραφα]] (ll. 25–26) which, though erased by the author, must reflect the true course of events. The custom of addressing gods with letters, unknown in Greek world, undoubtedly was of local Egyptian origin. The Egyptian letters to gods are attested from the New Kingdom onwards.¹⁹³ They came into existence as a variant of the letters to the dead. Their addressees were funerary gods like Anubis, Thoth as a god of wisdom and helper in troubles of various kinds, and animal gods. We also know an example of a letter to Imhotep originating from Saqqara.¹⁹⁴ Letters to gods mostly concern conflicts of various kinds in which the authors were injured or felt injured, and aimed at obtaining justice in this way. Letters with the request for healing base themselves, as a matter of fact, on the same principle as the letters concerning legal matters: their authors place themselves in the god's hands; they consider god as the last resort.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, those letters might have also had a practical meaning. The illnesses' descriptions contained in them could have helped priests to make a right diagnosis and to apply an appropriate treatment.

We know very little about the healing techniques used in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari. One can presume that the major role in the healing process was played by incubation, i. e. sleeping of a sick person in the temple while awaiting a dream appearance of a god, who either immediately cured the sleeper or prescribed for him/her a treatment which might have extended in time and have taken place outside the temple. One has to remember that incubation not only had

¹⁹³ E. WENTE, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* [= *Society of Biblical Literature. Writing from the Ancient World 1*], Atlanta 1990, pp. 219–220. A. G. MIGAHD, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, Dissertation Würzburg 1986. Further examples published by G. VITTMANN, 'Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot,' *Enchoria* 22 (1995), pp. 169–181.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 82, § 50.

¹⁹⁵ The tenor of the Osoroeris' letter seems to differ slightly in this regard. Its author tries to make a kind of business arrangement with Amenhotep: he promises to give him (i. e. his temple) a sum of money if his wife becomes pregnant and to double it if she gives a successful birth. This particular attitude towards the god is perhaps due to the high social position of Osoroeris.

a therapeutic function, but also was used as an oracular technique (for which see below). Incubation was commonly applied in sanctuaries of healing gods, including Asklepios, throughout the Mediterranean world.¹⁹⁶ It is also attested with relation to the Memphite temple of Imhotep.¹⁹⁷ Its use in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep may be deduced from the Polyaratos ostrakon. In lines 26–27 of the ostrakon text, Polyaratos states that Amenhotep appeared to him in person and healed him, and the wording of the text strongly suggests a dream appearance (cf. commentary *ad locum*). Sleeping in the temple seems to be mentioned in the Athenodoros inscription (208 18). Perhaps incubation was also the reason why some visitors to the Deir el-Bahari temple stayed more than one day there. This is the case of a family consisting of father (Phatres), mother (Klis) and their unnamed daughter mentioned in the inscription II7. According to this inscription, the three feasted (*εὐωχούμενοι*) in the holy precinct, perhaps together with the member of another family consisting of a certain Heron and his daughter, who left the neighbouring inscription II8 which also contains the rare participle *εὐωχούμενοι*. But if Heron and his daughter stayed for only one day in the temple (Thoth 24), the Phatres' family spent three days there (Thoth, 23, 24, 25), and the nights separating these days were possibly destined for incubation. It may have concerned either all three members of the family or, more probably, only one of them, e. g. the daughter, and may have aimed at either healing or consulting the oracle. The strategus Celer also spent two nights in the Deir el-Bahari temple, as may be deduced from his poem inscribed on the Memnon colossus.¹⁹⁸ In his case, however, we can be sure that his visit was connected with the consultation of the oracle, not necessarily connected with his health.

The incubation certainly took place in a specially-prepared room. Unfortunately, we do not know which of the rooms of the Hatshepsut temple served this purpose. Perhaps the incubation took place in the Bark Shrine, in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary. The confirmation for that can be sought in the story of Athenodoros, who found himself in the Bark Shrine during the night. The persons seeking for a therapeutic dream probably were prepared for it by the temple personnel. The great Demotic magical papyrus of the third/fourth century found in Western Thebes and kept in London and Leyden shows that isolation and silence were the means used to put the patients into a state of receptivity akin to hypnosis.¹⁹⁹ The psychology of those who practised incubation in Deir el-Bahari must also have been influenced very strongly by the mysterious atmosphere of the place, created by the ominous rocks of the cliff hanging above the temple, and the decoration of the walls with figural representations painted vividly, which vanished and reappeared in the flickering light of lamps.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. M. WACHT, 'Inkubation,' *RAC* 18 [1998], col. 179–265.

¹⁹⁷ The evidence comes, among others, from the famous funerary inscription of Taimuthes in hieroglyphics dated to the late first century BC; see above, p. 12 with notes 28 & 29.

¹⁹⁸ *IColosse* 23.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. e. g. F. LI. GRIFFITH, H. THOMPSON (eds.), *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, London 1904 (reprint: Milano 1976), col. IV 3–8 and V 3–8.

In addition to incubation, other healing techniques probably were used in the Deir el-Bahari temple. This is suggested by two visitor's inscriptions reporting miraculous healings which apparently were procured for persons in a more or less conscious state. The first of them is the inscription of the Macedonian Andromachos, the salary worker (68), who suddenly became sick while on a visit in the temple and was cured by Amenhotep on the same day (*αὐθημερί*). The other is the inscription of the soldier Athenodoros (208) frequently referred to in this work. Although the story told in this inscription – consulting of the oracle by Athenodoros, commitment of a sacrilege by him, his punishment by gods with a sickness and his subsequent miraculous restoration to health – may have started with incubation, it ended with Athenodoros being wide awake. It is difficult to say how the two men were healed. Perhaps the very presence in the temple sufficed for them to recover their health.

An interesting light on the healing techniques used in the West Theban temples of Amenhotep, perhaps in the very sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari, is cast by the Demotic ostrakon with the text of an oracular saying given by Amenhotep to a certain Teos son of Psenamunis. It contains a diagnosis of his illness (fever) and recommendations, both of practical and magical nature, concerning its treatment. The former consisted of drinking the juice of two Syrian figs and eating a mixture of these figs with bread, the latter while wearing on his arm a snake of iron which he obtained from the god. The use of figs in ancient medicine, both Egyptian and Greek, is well known. In the collection of prescriptions contained in *pEbers* (beginning of the New Kingdom), figs occur no less than 50 times as component of different medicines.²⁰⁰ They are also mentioned by Greek and Roman physicians, and in Greek medical papyri from Egypt.²⁰¹ The prescription given to Teos by Amenhotep may then go back to long-lasting experience of Mediterranean medicine. As for the snake, we can imagine that it was a kind of bracelet with ends in form of snake heads. The form of the bracelet may allude to Asklepios or to the snake-goddess Merseger, patroness of the Holy Mountain of Western Thebes and of the Theban necropolis who was worshipped mainly in the area of Deir el-Medinah/Valley of the Queens, but also in Deir el-Bahari where she was identified with Hathor.²⁰² Her cult, attested from the New Kingdom onwards, shows traces of vitality still in Ptolemaic and Roman times.²⁰³ It is probably not without meaning that the serpent given by Amenhotep to Teos was made of iron. In the ancient magic of the Mediterranean peoples, iron was considered a substance useful

²⁰⁰ For the text of *pEbers* (German translation), see W. WESTENDORF, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* II [= *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I. *Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten* 36], Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999, pp. 547–710; for the survey of pharmacological substances, see K. S. KOLTA, Doris SCHWARZMANN-SCHAFHAUSER, *Die Heilkunde im alten Ägypten* [= *Sudhofs Archiv Beihefte* 42], Stuttgart 2000, pp. 139–140.

²⁰¹ Cf. e. g. R. J. DURLING, *A Dictionary of Medical Terms in Galen*, Leiden – New York – Köln 1993,

p. 303, s.v. *συκκή*; Marie-Hélène MARGANNE, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* [= *Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* III. *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 12], Genève 1981, p. 146; V. GAZZA, *Aegyptus* 36 (1956), p. 99.

²⁰² For Merseger, see B. BRUYÈRE, *Mert seger à Deir el-Médineh* [= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 58], Le Caire 1930.

²⁰³ Cf. BATAILLE, *Memmonia*, pp. 108–109.

for frightening away ghosts and demons, including the demons of illnesses.²⁰⁴ This view resulted in the belief that objects made of iron protect their bearers against magical spells and interrupt their effects. Magical objects of iron, including pieces of jewelry, are frequently mentioned in magical papyri in Greek and Demotic. They also have preserved in archaeological record. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 28, 11, 46 speaks about an iron nail as a remedy against four-day fever. In a similar way, the snake of iron obtained by Teos should interrupt the effects exerted on him by the demon of fever, and protect him from further attempts on the part of this demonic power.

In connection with the 'empirical' aspects of the healing activity of Amenhotep temples, it is worthy to be noted that there are as many as three inscriptions left by physicians, including a public physician of Hermonthis or the entire Hermonthean nome (ὁ Ἐρμῶνθεως ἰατρός), among the Deir el-Bahari epigraphical material (25, 94, 165). This is remarkable, as the plethora of visitors to Deir el-Bahari temple consisted of simple inhabitants of the Theban region who very rarely indicated their profession.²⁰⁵ Perhaps the three physicians came to Deir el-Bahari attracted by healing methods used in the temple, particularly the empirical ones. But they could have been suppliants or curious visitors as well.²⁰⁶

The successful healing procured by Amenhotep and Imhotep was occasion for the patient to prepare a written report from the course of events. The Polyaratos ostrakon frequently referred to in this work is a rough copy of such a report, which later should have been put into a final form, most probably on a stone stela set up in the temple, as is suggested by the verb ἀνέθηκεν used in the ostrakon text. A written account of the visit apparently is mentioned in the Athenodoros inscription (208). It equates probably with the inscription itself. Also the two inscriptions left by the Macedonian Andromachos, particularly 68, may be regarded as a testimony to the success of healing procured by Amenhotep. Leaving of descriptions of miraculous healings was a custom widespread in Greek sanctuaries of Asklepios. The best-known example occurs in the Asklepieion in Epidauros. According to Pausanias II 27, 3, the temple boasted in his time six stelae containing the 'names of men and women who have been healed by Asklepios, together with their disease from which each suffered, and the manner of the cure.' Three of these stelae and a small fragment of the fourth

²⁰⁴ On the use of iron in ancient Mediterranean magic, see I. GOLDZIEHER, 'Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 10 (1907), pp. 41–46; Th. HOPFNER, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* [= *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde* XXI], Leipzig 1921 (reprint: Amsterdam 1974), pp. 353–354, § 596; D. K. HILL, I. MUNDLE, 'Erz,' *RAC* VI [1966], col. 443–502, especially col. 475–491. The belief in the magical power of iron has preserved in the Arabic folklore; cf. R. KRISS, H. KRISS-HEINRICH, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam* I, Wiesbaden 1960, pp. 81–85, 326.

²⁰⁵ See below, pp. 86–88. In fact, physicians with three attestations are the largest occupational

group among the authors of Deir el-Bahari inscriptions.

²⁰⁶ In this context, it is worthy to be noted that physicians form a large group among the tourists visiting the tombs of the Egyptian kings in the Valley of the Kings, half a kilometre away in straight line from Deir el-Bahari. The inscriptions left by them are conveniently collected by Évelyne SAMAMA, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical* [= *École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques*, III. *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 31], Genève 2003, pp. 484–499, nos. 411–443.

with the description of altogether 70 *ιάματα*²⁰⁷ as well as some further reports written on separate stelae were found during excavations. Similar inscriptions come from Athens, Labena on the island of Crete, Pergamon and Rome.²⁰⁸ Strabo XVII 1, 17 indicates that written accounts of the healing activity of Sarapis were likewise collected in his temple in Kanopos east of Alexandria. They consisted of reports of the cures procured by the god (*θεραπείαι*) and descriptions of his miraculous power (*ἀρεταὶ τῶν λογίων*). The form in which they were recorded is not indicated by Strabo. The function of these texts is obvious: they should confront the person coming to the temple with the healing power of god and in consequence provide a new clientele for him. To fulfill this function properly, they should have been easily seen; hence the custom of their engraving on stone stelae. But they also might have been recorded on ostraca and/or papyri kept in an archive and shown by priests to visitors. Also, letters requesting healing and oracular questions probably were put into an archive. The existence of such an archive in the cult place of Bes installed in the Memnonion at Abydos can be inferred from Ammianus Marcellinus XIX 12.

The healing activity which existed in Ptolemaic and Roman times in the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple led some scholars to designate the place as a sanatorium.²⁰⁹ The evidence to our disposal do not justify this designation. Nothing suggests that the sick stayed there for a longer period or were treated according to the rules of empirical medicine. What we have in Deir el-Bahari is a temple of two gods in which healing was mainly the matter of belief and not of practice.

9.3. THE ORACULAR ASPECT

Amenhotep and Imhotep were particularly connected with the celestial world which governs the functioning of the earthly world.²¹⁰ Already in their human lives as sages and architects, they were depositaries of divine wisdom about the nature and the movements of celestial bodies in which the future is inscribed.²¹¹ While deified, they get an immediate access to the goddess of sky, and perhaps became stars themselves.²¹²

²⁰⁷ For the full publication of these inscriptions, see R. HERZOG, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Religion* [= *Philologus Supplementband* 22, 3], Leipzig 1931; see further Emma J. EDELSTEIN, L. EDELSTEIN, *Asclepius. A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* [= *Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, The John Hopkins University, Second Series: Texts and Documents* II], Baltimore 1945, vol. I, pp. 221–237, T 423 (only two first stelae); L. R. LIDONNICI, *The Epidaurian Miracles Inscriptions. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Atlanta 1995.

²⁰⁸ They are conveniently collected now in: Maria GIRONE, con un contributo di Maria TOTTI-

GEMÜND, *Ίάματα. Guarigioni miracolose di Asclepio in testi epigrafici* [= *Πίνακες* 3], Bari 1998.

²⁰⁹ Thus for example J. G. MILNE, 'The Sanatorium of Dêr el-Bahari,' *JEA* 1 (1914), pp. 96–98, and LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 109–113.

²¹⁰ Cf. remarks by LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 106–108.

²¹¹ An inscription in the pronaos of the Hathor temple in Dendera defines Imhotep as the one who 'knows the movements of stars;' cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 139, § 94.

²¹² In the mammisi on the island of Philae, the representation of Imhotep was placed among decans and personifications of the night hours; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 169–170, § 119.

Some texts even present them as symbolical architects of the cosmos, into which they introduce order and harmony.²¹³ At the same time, they were acquainted, as scribes, with secrets contained in the holy books.²¹⁴ All this made Amenhotep and Imhotep oracular gods *par excellence*. It is known that Imhotep imparted oracles in his temple in Memphis. A Demotic letter from Saqqara-north of the time of the 30th Dynasty says that the place of a tomb for an inhabitant of the Greek quarter in Memphis was indicated by the Imhotep oracle.²¹⁵ Imhotep also appeared in a dream to Psenptais, a prophet of Ptah in the middle of the first century BC, with a promise to give him a male offspring,²¹⁶ and to Hor of Sebennyos.²¹⁷ Several appearances of Imhotep with messages of various kind are described in the famous *P. Oxy.* XI 1381 containing the aretalogy of Imouthes-Asklepios. The text inscribed on papyrus in the second century AD surely came into existence in connection with the Memphite temple of Imhotep. A Demotic ostrakon from the Theban area mentions no less than 56 *pastophoroi* of a temple of Imhotep who are busy with explaining (?) dreams.²¹⁸ With regard to Amenhotep, his ability to communicate with gods and to procure oracles is reported by Manetho (third cent. BC) in a passage concerning the king Amenophis III preserved at Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I 232–237.²¹⁹ Amenhotep and Imhotep also imparted oracles in their temple in Deir el-Bahari. This was demonstrated theoretically by Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal on the basis of the analysis of the decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary. More eloquent in this respect are Greek and Demotic sources, being products of the functioning of the temple. In the first place, one should mention here two texts of oracles preserved on ostraca. The first, found during excavations in the area of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple, contains a somewhat mysterious piece of advice in Greek concerning one's father (?).²²⁰ The second, in Demotic, deals with the illness of a certain Teos son of Psenamunis.²²¹ The existence of an oracle in Deir el-Bahari is suggested by the dossier of Celer, the strategus of a nome, most probably Hermonthites, in the time of Hadrian. It comprises his poem on the Memnon-colossus²²² and two *proskynemata* (199, 201) on the Ptolemaic portico in Deir el-Bahari. According to the poem, Celer came to the Memnoneia to con-

²¹³ In an inscription on the 'false door' of the Ptolemaic sanctuary, Imhotep is designated as 'living god who created the year for the stars;' cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 34, no. 26. About the cosmic aspects of Amenhotep and Imhotep, see further WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 298–299.

²¹⁴ This is said *expressis verbis* by Amenhotep himself in the inscription on his colossal statue set up in the third century BC in front of the first pylon of the Amun temple in Karnak: 'I made clear what was hidden in the holy books;' cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 251–255, § 157.

²¹⁵ The text is unpublished in its entirety. It is mentioned in WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 55, § 32.

²¹⁶ See above, note 28.

²¹⁷ *O. Hor* 59.

²¹⁸ *O. Leid. Dem.* 365. The revised reading in: J. D. RAY [in:] S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* [= *Studia Demotica* 1], Leuven 1987, p. 91.

²¹⁹ German translation of this passage together with a commentary in WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 274–276, § 178.

²²⁰ See below, **A3**. The interpretation of the text is not entirely certain.

²²¹ See above, p. 20 with note 73.

²²² *IColosse* 23.

sult the oracle situated 'among the heaps of dust,' a description which suits very well the appearance of the Deir el-Bahari temple at the time. Inscriptions on the Ptolemaic portico show that he really visited Deir el-Bahari, where he spent two nights, as again can be inferred from the poem. The oracular appearances of gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari are referred to in the Athenodoros inscription (208) and possibly also in the Polyaratos ostrakon (A1).

Let us consider now the subjects of the oracular consultations. Teos inquired of Amenhotep about his health, and this was also the case of Polyaratos. The subject of Celer's inquiry is not known. It does not look as if he was sick while on a visit to the Memnoneia. His consultation may have concerned the illness of someone else or things not connected with health. Also Athenodoros was not sick at the moment of the oracle consultation. He fell ill later, but this is another question, which was discussed above. It is difficult to say what the exact subject of the oracle preserved in the ostrakon found in the area of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple is. Both illness and other problems may come in question. One can suppose that Amenhotep and Imhotep spoke their mind in various questions from petty everyday problems to weighty matters, perhaps even of political nature.²²³ The majority of consultations, in agreement with the dominating healing prerogatives of the two god, probably dealt with health and illness.

In which way the oracles were delivered? Before we try to give answer to this question, we should present a brief account of methods used in ancient Egyptian divination. It has been demonstrated that only one type of oracle was actually known in traditional Egyptian culture, starting with the New Kingdom.²²⁴ It consisted of preparing in a written form by a suppliant of two oracular questions referring to the same case: one formulated in a positive manner ('should I do this and this?'), another in a negative one ('should I not do this and this?'). Both questions were delivered to a god who indicated the answer in a way, e. g. by bowing of his statue during a procession or by nodding of its head viz. arm. The answer could also have been given to the suppliant through intermediary priests. Oracles of this type remained in use throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, as is proven by numerous oracular questions in Greek and Demotic, and were known still in Christian times.²²⁵ In later periods of Egyptian

²²³ The case of Hor, a priest from Sebennytos living in the first half of the second century BC, who was the author of oracular sayings on actual political questions shows that even the smallest oracles could have dealt with general matters; on Hor, see J. D. RAY, *The Archive of Hor*, London 1975, *passim*. Ammianus Marcellinus XIX 12 reports that the oracle of Bes at Abydos was asked about the imperial succession during the crisis of AD 359.

²²⁴ For Egyptian oracles, see J. ČERNÝ, 'Egyptian Oracles' [in:] R. A. PARKER, *A Saïte Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum*, Providence 1962, pp. 35-48; L. KÁKOSY, 'Orakel,' *L'Āg* IV [1981], col. 600-606; J.-F. BORGHOOTS, 'Divine

Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation' [in:] R. J. DEMARÉE, J. J. JANSSENS (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medineh [= Egyptologische Uitgaven]*, Leiden 1982, pp. 1-70.

²²⁵ For oracular questions (including the Greek ones), see generally Dominique VALBELLE, Geneviève HUSSON, 'Les questions oraculaires d'Égypte: histoire de la recherche, nouveautés et perspectives' [in:] W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur II [= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 85]*, Leuven 1988, pp. 1055-1071. For the Greek texts of the oracular questions, see W. SCHUBART, 'Die griechischen

history, other types of oracles developed under the influence of Greek culture. The mostly widespread seem to have been dream oracles.²²⁶ They are attested in connection with several Egyptian or Graeco-Egyptian gods, including Sarapis, Isis, Imhotep, Thoth (Hermes Trismegistos), Apis, and others. The oracular dreams were sent to people sleeping as a rule within a temple of an appropriate god, more rarely outside it, also at home. The god revealed his will either directly, or through vague visions which needed interpretation by a specialist in order to be understood properly. Another type of oracles known in those times were verbal oracles. They might have been either pronounced or written. In the first case, the god (i. e. his priests) personally delivered a speech to a person visiting his temple. The divine voice came out from behind a partition – a curtain or a wall prepared in a way to facilitate the voice transmission. One also made use of reading statues of gods provided with a channel leading from the back and ending with an outlet situated in the mouth or in the chest which played the role of a speaking trumpet.²²⁷ In case of written oracles, an oracular saying was delivered to the suppliant not directly by god, but through the intermediary of priests who prepared a written form. Other types of oracles, not attested in our sources thus far, might also have been used in Egypt.

Now, let us examine in the light of the above remarks the data concerning the oracular technique(s) used in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. The majority of them refers to incubation. It is in dream that Amenhotep appeared to sick Polyaratos. We do not know if this appearance was connected with the delivering of an oracle concerning his illness, but this is very probable. Sleeping in the *ml* of Amenhotep was practised through three subsequent nights by the author of the Demotic ostrakon from an Australian collection. During these sleeps, he had three very obscure dreams, one dream a night, no doubt of prophetic nature. The first night, 23rd through to 24th of a month, he saw a dog running after an ibis. He wanted to release the bird, but was unable to do this. The second night, 24th through to 25th, he saw three men identified by name sitting in attendance upon a prophet of

Orakelfragen,' *ZÄS* 67 (1931), pp. 110–115; further bibliographic references in: M. GRONWALD, D. HAGEDORN, *ZPE* 41 (1981), pp. 289–293, particularly p. 289, note 1; A. S. ALY, *ZPE* 68 (1987), pp. 99–104; Lucia PAPINI, 'Struttura e prassi delle domande oraculari in greco su papiro,' *Anal. Papyr.* 2 (1990), pp. 11–20. For Christian oracles, see Arietta PAPAConstantinou, 'Oracles chrétiens dans l'Égypte byzantine: le témoignage des papyrus,' *ZPE* 104 (1994), pp. 281–286.

²²⁶ Oracular dreams are attested, it is true, also with relation to earlier periods of Egyptian culture. One can mention here the revelation of Amun to the king Thutmose I concerning the divine conception of his daughter Hatshepsut or the oracle given by Harmachis (the Sphinx at Giza) to the prince Thutmose, the future Thut-

mosis IV. The receivers of those oracles, however, were always kings (hence the designation 'Kings' oracles' sometimes used in the literature of the subject) and the oracles themselves concerned particular cases dealing with the most important state affairs.

²²⁷ One can cite a bust of Re-Harmachis from the second–third cent. AD; G. LOUKIANOFF, 'Une statue parlante ou oracle du dieu Ré-Harmachis,' *ASAE* 36 (1936), pp. 187–193. See also a statue of the deified Arsinoe Philadelphos from the time of Hadrian said to come from Villa Tivoli: W. IWAS, 'Aphrodite Arsinoe Philadelphos. Eine Orakelstatue hadrianischer Zeit im Ägyptischen Museum Berlin,' *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1984), pp. 385–391.

Ptah and taking their meal. They invited the dreaming man to take from the meal for himself. The third dream is not preserved. The interpretation of those dreams surely needed a specialist who most probably was on hand in the temple. It seems that strategus Celer also desired a dream oracle if he spent two nights in the temple. We do not know if his hopes were fulfilled. The same may be said about the family members mentioned in inscription **117** who also stayed in the temple for two nights.

The Athenodoros inscription (**208**), particularly its line 6, suggests that spoken oracles were known in the Deir el-Bahari temple. At the crucial moment of his visit to the temple, Athenodoros found himself in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary, i. e. in the Bark Shrine near the door leading to the second room of the sanctuary from the Hatshepsut period (cf. commentary to inscription **208**). Then, he heard a god (rather Amenhotep than Imhotep) speaking to him. Led by curiosity, he looked inside the sanctuary, for which he was punished with an illness; but shortly afterward he was restored to health. André Bataille put forward a suggestion that the voice heard by Athenodoros was generated by a priest standing in the first room of the sanctuary from Ptolemaic and Roman times, and came to the hearer through a small square window situated in the wall separating the latter room from the Bark Shrine, above the door.²²⁸ One cannot exclude the possibility of Athenodoros being the object of the manipulation on the part of the priests. It is to be observed, however, that if they performed the role of the god speaking to the suppliant, their voices could not have come from the small square window above the door. The window under consideration belongs to the original arrangement of the sanctuary from Hatshepsut's time. Together with a similar window situated in the east wall of the Bark Shrine, it allowed the sun rays to enter twice a year into the Holy of Holies and to illuminate the statues of gods standing inside.²²⁹ It did not exist in the time of Athenodoros, being covered by a monumental sandstone architrave which most probably was put in during the Ptolemaic reconstruction of the Bark Shrine.²³⁰ If Athenodoros really heard a voice, it must have come from behind the door of the sanctuary. This door is mentioned in the very text of the inscription. Judging from the lack of archaeological remains, it must have had a rather light construction, easily allowing the human voice to pass through it, perhaps amplified through an installation. However, another interpretation is possible as well. The voice heard by Athenodoros was not real, but was only his projection provoked by the psychical tension which accompanies a man who finds himself in an inscrutable entourage near the sanctuary of a god during night. This interpretation

²²⁸ A. BATAILLE, *BSFE* 3 (1950), pp. 12–13; repeated by: S. SAUNERON, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Egypte*, Paris 1957, p. 96; É. BERNARD [in:] Marie-Madeleine MAC-TOUX, Evelyne GENY (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque I. Religion* [= *Centre de recherche d'histoire ancienne* 79, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 367], Paris 1988, p. 55; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 234; Françoise DUNAND [in:] Nicole FICK, J.-Cl. CARRIÈRE (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernard* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991,

pp. 245–246; J. QUAEGBEUR [in:] J.-G. HEINTZ (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 15–17 juin 1995* [= *Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, Travaux du Centre de recherches sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce antique* 15], Paris 1997, pp. 21–22.

²²⁹ See above, p. 7.

²³⁰ See above, p. 32. The removal of the architrave and the reconstruction of the window was done only in modern times, probably by E. Baraize.

does not lessen the probative value of the Athenodoros inscription in the subject of spoken oracles in Deir el-Bahari. Athenodoros heard the god speaking because he knew that he was accustomed to deliver oracles to the suppliants exactly in this place, and because he wanted to hear him.

The oracles delivered in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari may also have had a written form. This is indicated by the Demotic ostrakon of Teos and by the Greek ostrakon found in the area of the Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre temple which preserve genuine texts of such oracles. The Teos ostrakon yields some interesting data about the procedure of the oracle consultation. He obtained the text of the oracle together with a snake of iron from the priest of Amenhotep with the name Imhotep through one Horos. One can suppose that this Horos, acting on behalf of Teos, also put the latter's question to the oracle. Just like the answer, this question might have been written or might have had oral form. A similar course of events can be supposed for the other ostrakon. Perhaps written oracles were prepared only for those suppliants who could not come to the temple in person.

9.4. ROYAL CULT OF PTOLEMIES

In the third century BC, the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari probably housed the royal cult of the Ptolemies, as is suggested by the Polyaratos ostrakon dated to 261/260 BC. The deified members of the Ptolemaic royal family – one thinks first of all of the queen Arsinoe II Philadelphos and her parents Ptolemy I Soter and Berenike I, all three dead by that time, but also of the living king Ptolemy II Philadelphos – were worshipped as *θεοὶ σύμβωμοι καὶ συντελεῖς* of the owner of the temple.²³¹ The royal cult of the Ptolemies might have persisted in Deir el-Bahari until the end of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt. The decrees of the synods of priests from the second half of the third to the first half of the second century BC, particularly the Memphis decree of 196 BC, indicate that the cult of the rulers was maintained in every sanctuary all over Egypt. It is remarkable, however, that it left rather scanty traces in the decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari. There is no single representation of the reigning King Ptolemy VIII. He occurs as an acting person in two prayers inscribed on the east wall of the sanctuary, on the south part to Imhotep, on the north one to Amenhotep (greatly damaged). An inscription accompanying the offering scene on the north wall of the sanctuary describes this offering as made in honour of the gods Euergetai (King Ptolemy VIII and his two wives). According to Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal, the King has been presented in the Deir el-Bahari sanctuary as a suppliant with the two local gods acting as his intermediaries.²³²

²³¹ See above, pp. 25–26.

²³² LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 115–116.

10. FORMS OF THE CULT

The chapter dealing with the forms of the cult held in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari should start with the answer to the question: what was the object(s) of the cult? It is known that cult images in Egypt normally assumed the form of statues kept in sanctuaries and presented to wider public on some special occasions. There are no reasons to suppose that the situation was different in Deir el-Bahari. Although we have no material remains of cult statues of Amenhotep and Imhotep,²³³ their existence is indicated by the two inscriptions in hieroglyphics on the west wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary in which there is a question of garments for the *ibib* of Amenhotep and *sh̄m* of Imhotep.²³⁴ According to Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal, the terms *ibib* and *sh̄m* designate cult images within *naoi*. The soldier Athenodoros apparently saw a (cult ?) statue of either Amenhotep or Imhotep while looking with curiosity inside the sanctuary (cf. inscription 208).

The primary element of rituals in Egyptian temples was the so-called 'daily ritual,' consisting of a series of complicated endeavours, the object of which was the statue of a god. They included among other things anointing of the statue, making it up and dressing it, fumigating it, and presenting it with offerings. The 'daily ritual' was proper to the temple of gods,²³⁵ but a simplified or rather transformed form of it also occurs in temples of other types (mortuary, commemorative, etc.). There are scanty data suggesting that it took place in this simplified form in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari as well. Thus the Demotic *P. Tor. Botti* 21 (Deir el-Medinah, III BC) containing the contract of the lease of liturgical days in the *ml* of Amenhotep indicates that the rituals were performed there on an everyday basis. The priest of Amenhotep Psenmonthes who takes those days on lease from Totoes son of Zmanres promises to fulfill every duty and every activity falling on him in the temple from the contract, and explicitly mentions anointments, probably of the cult statue. Everyday rituals are alluded to by the Demotic inscription on the east wall of the middle niche in the north wall of the Bark Shrine, dating probably from the time of Ptolemy III.²³⁶ Two hieroglyphic inscriptions on the west wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary with invocations to goddesses-guardians of divine garments allow the supposition that the cult statues were dressed. Another inscription on the same wall lists various offerings for the *k3* of Imhotep.²³⁷ They include: thousand of bread, milk, cattle, birds, incense and fresh water. Some of these offerings, for example bread and libations, might have been part of the daily ritual; others, like cattle and birds, were rather made on other, more festive occasions.²³⁸ Amenhotep and Imhotep also participated in the

²³³ However, we have a wooden statue of a crocodile-goddess which LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 88, identified as Ipet-Nut. For this statue, see above p. 17.

²³⁴ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, p. 31, text no. 18 and pp. 34–35, text no. 27.

²³⁵ For Ptolemaic and Roman times, the best evidence is yielded by reliefs and inscriptions in the

temple of Horus at Edfu; cf. M. ALLIOT, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, vol. I [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude* 20/1], Le Caire 1949, pp. 3–195.

²³⁶ See above, pp. 17–18, and below, pp. 69–70.

²³⁷ LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 33–34, no. 15.

²³⁸ A Demotic text (palaeographically second-first century BC) inscribed on a pot found in the

circulation of offerings made to great gods, first of all to Amun of Thebes. The bronze cover of a cult receptacle, most probably an incense-burner, inscribed with the name of Amenhotep, found under the floor of the Ptolemaic sanctuary shows that incense-burning was being practised in the temple.

There is evidence suggesting that hymns were sung in the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in the Deir el-Bahari temple. An inscription in hieroglyphics standing on the inner side of the western column in the south part of the Ptolemaic portico contains a text comparable to the hymns to Imhotep and Amenhotep from the Ptah temple in Karnak.²³⁹ Not far from this inscription, on the cornice surmounting the wall of the portico between the west column and the west wall of the court, there is a Greek graffito containing a hymn to Amenhotep in four hexameters (219). The text, composed according to the best rules of Greek hymnic poetry with the opening *χαῖρε*, is based, as far as its contents are concerned, on the Egyptian theology of Amenhotep. The inscription, which on palaeographic grounds is to be dated to first-second century AD, might have been executed by a priest or a worshipper who heard the hymn sung in the temple. Another Greek hymn of which only the initial hexameter *χαῖρε, τέκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαῖρε Ἀμενώθη* may securely be read occurs in a dipinto written in black ink on the south wall of the passage leading to the Hatshepsut chapel (100). This unfortunately very damaged inscription which contained at least eight lines may be dated on different palaeographic and technical criteria to the mid-Ptolemaic period. Interestingly, its opening verse recurs as the initial invocation in the inscription in prose commemorating the visit paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by the soldier Athenodoros (208). The text standing on the cornice surmounting the wall between the east and the west columns of the southern part of the Ptolemaic portico probably originates from the second century AD. This shows that the hymn inscribed in the entrance to the Hatshepsut chapel or at least its initial phrase 'Hail Asklepios, offspring of Phoebos, hail Amenothes' remained in use in the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari for over three hundred years and was impressive enough to influence the visitors. It is possible that there were more Greek hymns written on the walls of the Hatshepsut temple, as two further inscriptions on the Ptolemaic portico (209 and 210) show metrical elements. However, they are too damaged to allow certain conclusions concerning their character to be drawn.²⁴⁰ The singing of hymns was an important element of the Egyptian temple rituals.²⁴¹ In the Greek world, it was

tomb of Ibi (TT 36) contains a list of offerings, among them bread, made by various persons to Amenhotep. The topographical situation of the discovery – northwestern part of Assasif, not far from Deir el-Bahari – may suggest that the offerings were destined for the temple of Amenhotep installed within the rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple; for this inscription, see J. QUAEGBEUR [in:] E. GRAEFE & alii, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögensverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)*, Bruxelles 1990, p. 65.

²³⁹ See above, p. 16 with note 49.

²⁴⁰ It is interesting to observe that except for a metric text (a hymn ?) contained in the inscription no. 100 written in the entrance to the Hatshepsut chapel, all remaining compositions are inscribed in the south part of the Ptolemaic portico, in an immediate vicinity of the sanctuary.

²⁴¹ J. ASSMAN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Hymnik I* [= *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 19], Berlin 1969, *passim*, especially pp. 228–262; IDEM, *Liturgische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich – München 1975.

intrinsically connected with cult of Apollo and Asklepios. These two traditions met together in Deir el-Bahari, where Imhotep, identified with Asklepios, was one of the worshipped gods.

In addition to the 'daily ritual,' the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari probably saw also special festivals in honour of the two gods. One can imagine that their celebration fell on firm dates within the year, thus forming a kind of a liturgical calendar. We know the liturgical calendar of Imhotep's temple in Memphis, preserved in the form of an inscription in hieroglyphics on the base of a statue of Petubastis, Overseer of Granaries, dating from late Ptolemaic-early Roman times.²⁴² According to this calendar, the following events were commemorated there: the birth of Imhotep (Epiphi 16); award of divine privileges to him by Ptah and Sachmet (Mecheir 11); victory over the rebels won by Sachmet with an apparent participation of Imhotep (Mesore 9); decree concerning Imhotep's burial (Mesore 17); burial (Mesore 23); journey of Imhotep's *ba* to heaven, i. e. his death (Pauni 4). This calendar is frequently alluded in the Demotic inscriptions from the Memphitic Sarapeum.²⁴³ The decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary with the 'chronological' arrangement of subjects (birth of Amenhotep and Imhotep on the north and south walls respectively, their death and fate in the afterlife on the west wall),²⁴⁴ and the important role ascribed to the patronesses of the months of Imhotep's and Amenhotep's births, seem to suggest that a similar calendar might have been in use in the Deir el-Bahari temple.

Traces of the liturgical calendar of the Deir el-Bahari temple can be searched for in the frequency of occurrence of visitors' inscriptions within a year. This method is not as probative as one can suppose, for only a small number of inscriptions give the day of the month. Another complication is that, except for his date of birth falling on Phamenoth,²⁴⁵ we are unaware of other dated events from the life of Amenhotep, the main god of the Deir el-Bahari temple. Hence, we cannot be sure if a concentration of visits in a given period corresponds with a festival of Amenhotep or not.

In the present corpus of inscriptions, there are 18 items falling on individual days. Only one date recurs, thrice at that, namely Tybi 4 (**93**, **122**, **321**). One should observe that one of these inscriptions (**93**) speaks about a banquet in the temple. Tybi 4 is the first day of the Julian year; however, it is difficult to imagine that the visits to the temple commemorated by those inscriptions were paid on this occasion. Perhaps they were connected to the complex of feasts of Choiak-Nechebkau, during which the events from the Osirian myths were commemorated: the treacherous killing of Osiris

²⁴² H. GAUTHIER, 'Un nouveau monument du dieu Imhotep,' *BIFAO* 14 (1918), pp. 33-49; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 73-78, § 47. For a detailed discussion of this calendar, see G. VITTMANN, 'Bemerkungen zum Festkalender des Imhotep (Statuenbasis BM 512)' [in:] *Studien zur Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern* II, Göttingen 1984, pp. 947-961.

²⁴³ VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 960 who refers to H. BRUGSCH, *ZÄS* 24 (1886), pp. 24-25.

²⁴⁴ Cf. LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 74-76.

²⁴⁵ The letter of Osoroeris to Amenhotep frequently mentioned in this work was written in the month of Phamenoth. Also one of the visitors' inscriptions (no. **313**) is dated to this month. The evidence is too scanty to suppose that we are dealing with traces of a liturgical calendar of Amenhotep.

by Seth, the resurrection of Osiris, the conception of Horus, the fight between Horus and Seth, ending with the final victory of the former, withdrawal of Osiris to the underworld and the enthronement of Horus as the new ruler of this world.²⁴⁶ These feasts, according to different Egyptian calendars, fell on several of the last days of Choiak and the first day of Tybi, and were still commonly observed in the Roman period. The connection with the Choiak-Nechebkau feast is very probable in case of the inscription **196**, which is dated to Tybi 1, i. e. exactly to the Nechebkau-feast. The feast of Nechebkau was the occasion for the visits paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by the corporation of the ironworkers from Hermonthis in the first half of the fourth century AD; cf. the last chapter of this study.

Three inscriptions are dated to the month of Pauni: 12 Pauni (**123**), 19 Pauni (**226**), and 2(x) Pauni (**302**). In the Theban area, the month of Pauni stood under the banner of the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley,' the most important event in the liturgical calendar of Western Thebes from the time of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre until Ptolemaic and perhaps even Roman times. It is not to be excluded that these three inscriptions are connected with the feast under consideration. This does not mean that the people who left those inscriptions came to the Deir el-Bahari temple on the occasion of a visitation by the bark of Amun as such visits had not taken place for several hundred of years by the Roman period. The connection between these inscriptions and the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley' is rather an indirect one: during the festivals of Amun, the inhabitants of Thebes were free from their everyday occupations and could do whatever they wanted, e. g. pay a visit to a temple.²⁴⁷

Three inscriptions are dated to the month of Phaophi, but a month day unfortunately is preserved in only one case (Phaophi 15 in **186**). Phaophi was the month of the great Theban 'Feast of Opet,' during which Amun of Karnak visited the temple of Luxor.²⁴⁸ Is it possible that the visits paid to a Theban temple at this time of the year were indirectly connected with the Opet festival, as the inscriptions left in Pauni were connected with the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.'

Two neighbouring inscriptions on the south wall of the Hatshepsut's chapel (**117**, **118**) commemorate partly overlapping visits of two families, the first of which spent three days in the temple (Thot 23, 24, 25, year 16 of Trajan), and the second of which, one day (Thot 24, year 16, most probably of Trajan). The two families organized, probably together, a banquet in the temple or, less probably, took part in a larger banquet. Perhaps they did this on the occasion of some festival, but certainty cannot be achieved. Besides, only singles dates are preserved, which prevents definite conclusions.

²⁴⁶ For the complex of feasts of Choiak-Nechebkau, see below, pp. 98–99 with note 365.

²⁴⁷ Among the inscriptions of the *proskynema* type in the Luxor temple, there is a group of texts dated to the month of Pauni; cf. G. WAGNER [in:] Mohammed EL-SAGHIR & alii, *Le camp romain de Louqsor* [= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Insti-*

tut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 133], Le Caire 1986, nos. 7, 11, 20, 25, 26, 29, 47. According to H. RIAD, *ASAE* 60 (1968), pp. 281–282, these inscriptions might have come into existence in connection with the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley.'

²⁴⁸ Cf. W. WOLF, *Das schöne Fest von Opet*, Leipzig 1931.

Summing up the above remarks, we can offer the following conclusions. Visitors' inscriptions as seen in the light of their dates do not allow for a definitive answer to the question of the liturgical calendar of the Deir el-Bahari temple. Perhaps the visits falling on certain dates were paid on the occasion of local feasts of Amenhotep and Imhotep, but certainty cannot be achieved for the reasons given above. On the other hand, it seems that people willingly visited the Deir el-Bahari temple during major festivals of the country (complex of feasts of Choiak-Nechebkau) or the Theban area ('Beautiful Feast of the Valley,' 'Feast of Opet').

Let us consider now the problem of the range and the forms of the participation of the believers in the cult. It is well known that the traditional Egyptian temple was a place with different grades of accessibility, underscored already in its architectonic lay-out. The believers had access only to external, less important rooms (court, hypostyle hall), while the inner rooms in which cult statues were kept could be entered only by priests and the pharaoh in his capacity as chief priest. In accordance with that, the entire temple cult, especially the daily ritual, was a purely priestly matter with no participation on the part of believers. The latter could have seen the god and contacted him directly only on the occasion of processions, during which the divine statue left the sanctuary and was carried on by priests on a bier with accompaniment of ritual acclamations and songs along a specified route. It would be interesting to know what the situation was in this respect in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari.

We have already seen that the Egyptian term for the temple of Amenhotep (later Amenhotep and Imhotep) at Deir el-Bahari read *m3rw* (*mr* or *ml* in Demotic sources) which may be translated as 'place of contact (between god and his believers).' Does this designation mean that – contrary to the traditional Egyptian temples – a direct contact between the god and his believers was possible in the Deir el-Bahari temple? The situation is not as obvious as it seems to be. Visitors' inscriptions occur only as far as the border of the sanctuary, which indicates that the believers were not allowed to enter it. Except for some special cases, they also had no possibility of seeing the cult statues. When Athenodoros did something like that, he was punished with an illness by the gods. In my opinion, the designation 'place of contact (between god and his believers)' refers not to a physical contact between persons coming to the temple and the god personalised in his statue, but a spiritual contact between a person seeking for help and the god manifesting himself in oracles, especially dream visions. In Deir el-Bahari, the gods were nearer to believers than in traditional Egyptian temples, but a due distance was surely kept.

The people coming to the temple surely participated in this part of the rituals, which was accessible to the public. One thinks first of all about processions with statues and *naoi*. They are not attested with relation to the Deir el-Bahari temple, but their occurrence may be guessed with a great degree of probability. It does not seem probable that the processional route crossed the borders of the sacred precinct. After the chapel was built under Ptolemy VIII on the lower terrace, it might have led from the upper part of the temple to the lower one. Believers surely adored divine statues carried in processions by prostrating before them, kissing the ground before them,

touching their garments, shouting, etc. Besides these special occasions, they probably only prayed 'in the presence of god' rather than 'before god.' According to the Egyptian (and the Greek) tradition, the prayer took place in an upright position, with the right arm raised to the height of one's face. It is exactly in this position that a visitor is represented in a drawing accompanying his inscription in Demotic on the inner face of the south side of the Ptolemaic portico.²⁴⁹ We are not aware if there existed any specific texts of prayers. Such a stereotyped prayer might have been the invocation *χαίρε, τέκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε Ἀμενώθη* beginning a hymn from the Ptolemaic period inscribed on the south door-jamb of the entrance to the Hatshepsut chapel (100), and repeated without further elements of the hymn in the Athenodoros inscription on the Ptolemaic portico (208), some 300 years later than the former text.

Connected with this is the question of the inscriptions of the *proskynema* type, which form the largest group among the visitors' inscriptions in the Deir el-Bahari temple.²⁵⁰ The substantive *προσκύνημα* obviously is derived from the verb *προσκυνέω* which appears to have originally meant 'to prostrate, to kiss the ground before the feet of a god or ruler.' However, Giovanni Geraci has demonstrated beyond any doubt that the Egyptian inscriptions constructed according to the model 'proskynema of this and this before this and this god' do not automatically presuppose by the persons concerned in them of a religious act designated by the verb *προσκυνέω*. In those inscriptions, the term *proskynema* designates the inscription itself.²⁵¹ Of course, the purpose of leaving *proskynemata* and the meaning of those inscriptions is entirely religious. According to the words of Geraci, *proskynema* 'perpetuates the name of the visitor before the divinity in order to possess the eternal blessing of the place;'²⁵² it is 'the epigraphical substitute of the writer's worshipful presence before the god.'²⁵³ The *proskynema* authors may or may not have prostrated before the god. The prostration (*προσκύνησις*) is evident when the verb *προσκυνέω* is used. Such a case occurs in the inscription 186 which has *K[α]λλίμαχος .[.] .κιου παραγενόμενος πρώτως (...)* *πρ[ο]σεκύνησα καὶ [- - -] . προσκύνησις* can also be admitted for the strategus Celer who, according to his own words inscribed on the Memnon's colossus, came to Memnoneia in order to make the act of adoration (*προσκυνήσων*).

Three Greek visitors' inscriptions (93, 117, 118) indicate that the people mentioned in this texts feasted in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari.²⁵⁴ Interestingly, inscriptions 117 and 118 stand near each other on the wall and give dates which partly overlap with each other: 23rd, 24th, 25th Thoth in 117, 24th Thoth in 118. This allows to suppose that people occurring in these two inscriptions, members of two families at that, feasted together.

The information about the feasting in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari contained in these three inscriptions is interesting and is not easy to

²⁴⁹ See above, p. 19 with note 67.

²⁵⁰ For this type of inscriptions, see in more details below, pp. 90–91.

²⁵¹ GERACI, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), pp. 12–26, especially pp. 17–18.

²⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 16.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

²⁵⁴ The word used to designate this is always participle of the present medium of *εὐωχέω*: *εὐωχούμενος* (viz. in plural).

interpret. Such an interpretation must necessarily take into consideration the relevant material attested with relation to other Egyptian temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times. Eating and drinking within the sacred precincts of Egyptian gods is frequently referred to in our sources. These banquets had the character of either ritual or private meals. The former were organized on the occasion of offerings and were attended by priests. The latter had no direct connection with the temple rituals, although at least some of them could have been held in honour of a given god, perhaps on the day of his (or her) festival. These private banquets may be divided in two groups:

1. Those which were organized by professional or religious associations, for which the social life of their members was one of the main activities as is stated *expressis verbis* in their statutes preserved in Greek and Demotic.²⁵⁵

2. Those organized in a circle of friends, acquaintances and family members.

With these private banquets, one probably should bring in connection invitations to the *kline* of Sarapis, of which some dozen examples dated to the first/second century AD are known from Oxyrhynchos and other localities in Middle Egypt.²⁵⁶ As a rule, the *klinai* were held in the Sarapis temple, sometimes in private houses; there are also single attestations of the temples of Toeris, Aphrodite and Horus as gathering places. Everything points to the fact that banquets which are referred to in inscriptions 93 on one side and 117 + 118 on the other belong to this last category. In both cases, the participants of the meals are recruited from the closest familial circles: in 93, these were three brothers, plus another man; in 117 and 118, two families apparently remaining in a friendly relationship (five persons in total). It would be interesting to know if the banquets mentioned in these three inscriptions were held in connection with the celebration of a festival or not. The answer to this question is difficult, as we are not aware of the liturgical calendar of the Deir el-Bahari temple (see above). The visit and the banquet commemorated by the inscription 93 took place on the fourth of Tybi, those referred to in 117 and 118 on Thoth 24th. The former date may remain in connection with the feast of Choiak-Nechebkau (see above); the latter one escapes a certain conclusion. As all three inscriptions mentioning banquets are to be found in the Hatshepsut chapel (93 on the architrave of the door leading to the chapel), one can suppose that the banquets were held in this very room, big enough to accommodate the group of people during meal. Except for a roofed space,

²⁵⁵ For the social life of Egyptian associations of Ptolemaic and Roman times, see C. ROBERTS, Th. C. SKEAT, A. D. NOCK, *HTbR* 29 (1936), pp. 39–88; the part written by A. D. Nock reprinted in: A. D. NOCK, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient world* I, Cambridge Mass. 1972, pp. 414–443; Françoise DE CÉNILVAL, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude* 46], Le Caire 1972, *passim*; M. MUSZYNSKI, 'Les "associations religieuses" en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques,' *OLP* 8 (1977), pp. 145–174.

²⁵⁶ C. YOUTIE, 'The Kline of Sarapis,' *HTbR* 41 (1948), pp. 9–29 = IDEM, *Scriptiunculae* I, Amsterdam 1973, pp. 487–509; L. KOENEN, 'Eine Einladung zur Kline des Sarapis,' *ZPE* 1 (1967), pp. 121–124; J. F. GILLIAM [in:] *P. Coll. Youtie*, pp. 315–324, nos. 51–52; G. H. R. HORSLEY, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 1, Macquarie University 1981, pp. 5–9; S. R. LLEWELYN & alii, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 9, Macquarie University – Grand Rapids 2002, pp. 63–66.

banqueting persons needed no special equipment. Most probably, they ate and drank on mats spread over the floor. The lack of a kitchen was of no importance. The products they consumed were brought by themselves, as in a modern picnic.

The adherents of the Graeco-Roman cult at Deir el-Bahari, at least some of them, could have been organized in a kind of a religious association. In fact, the ostrakon *O. Theb.* 142 of the second century AD testifies to the existence of a *σύνοδος Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ* [μεγίστου (or μεγάληου)].²⁵⁷ According to the ostrakon text, the members of this *synodos* regularly paid contributions in wine which no doubt was destined to be drunk during common meetings of the members, held probably once per month. The meeting places of members of Egyptian professional and religious associations of Ptolemaic and Roman times were frequently temples of gods.²⁵⁸ *σύνοδος Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ* [μεγίστου/μεγάλου] could have held its meetings connected with the consumption of wine in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari itself. Among members of this *synodos* we find one *Φθομώνθης Ἀπολλωνι()* who may be identical with *Φθομώνθης Ἀπολλωνίδου* mentioned, together with his brother Pamonthes and other members of the family of the local official Apollonides, in the inscription **123**.²⁵⁹ If so, the visit of some members of the Apollonides' family to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari might have been motivated by the membership of one of those people in the cult association of Amenhotep.

11. THE PERSONNEL OF THE TEMPLE

We know very little about the personnel of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari in Ptolemaic and Roman times. No source originating from Deir el-Bahari, neither Greek nor Demotic, contains a direct mention of a person belonging to the staff of the temple. A Demotic inscription of an early Ptolemaic date (perhaps Ptolemy III Euergetes and his Queen Berenice) written in black ink on the east wall of the middle niche in the north wall of the Bark Shrine is headed: 'Names of men who fulfilled their service (...).'²⁶⁰ Then follows the list of six men together with spaces of time reading: 'from Mesore 1 until Mesore 10 – (name not preserved), from Mesore 11 until Mesore 21 – Amenonthes son of Peteminis, from Mesore 22 until Mesore 30 – Sminis son of Horos, from Epagomenai 5 until Thot 11 – Sminis,

²⁵⁷ On this ostrakon see also WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 266, § 172.

²⁵⁸ For the meeting places of the Egyptian associations, see C. ROBERTS, Th. C. SKEAT, A. D. NOCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–78; DE CÉNIVAL, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–178. As far as the Theban area is concerned, one can compare different *σύνοδοι* which in the second cent. AD held their meetings in the temple of Seti I in Qurna (Z. BORKOWSKI [in:] K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna* [= *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 57],

Mainz am Rhein 1987, p. 92), and the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis which at the turn of the third to fourth century AD gathered in the Hatshepsut temple (cf. below, chapter 15 of the present study, and inscriptions **163**, **164**, **168**, **169**, **172**, **173**).

²⁵⁹ Note, however, that this inscription mentions neither Amenhotep son of Hapu nor Imhotep, but Amenophis (= Amun-in-'Ippj).

²⁶⁰ For reference, see above, note 58.

from Thot 12 until Thot 21 – Amenotnes, from Thot 22 until Thot 30 – Pahorthotes. The text ends with a common formula of Demotic visitors' inscriptions: 'may the good name of NN remain here before [the name of god]' done in the name of one of the men mentioned above, namely Amenotnes son of Peteminis. The nature of the inscription, its location and date suggest that we most probably are dealing with members of the personnel of Amenhotep temple in Deir el-Bahari, perhaps even with priests, but certainty cannot be achieved.

Thanks to some Demotic papyri of West Theban provenance dated to the second century BC, we know the names of some men who were priests in the *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu. Further priests of Amenhotep occurring in the same papyri can be connected with his *ml* on the basis of prosopographical criteria. As *ml* (*mr*) is most probably the name of the Amenhotep temple in Deir el-Bahari,²⁶¹ we can assume that these men fulfilled their functions of the priests of Amenhotep exactly there.

The best known among these men is Amenotnes also called *Sjwls*, son of Horos.²⁶² He belonged to a family of priests, the members of which occur in six documents – four contracts of different kinds and two graffiti in tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga – dating between 198 and 176 BC.²⁶³ Amenotnes *Sjwls* and his relatives were installed in the north part of the Theban necropolis (the present-day Dra Abu el-Naga) near the tombs of sacred ibises and falcons where they served as priests. There they possessed, partly as co-proprietors, houses and parcels which were object of endless legal measures by them. The documents at our disposal give us insight into the business operations of those people, but unfortunately say very little about their priestly activity. As for Amenotnes *Sjwls*, he appears in three Demotic contracts, all dating from 176 BC. In the oldest of them, from the fourteenth of June (P. Dem. Dublin 1660), he determines together with his brother Harpaesis and his nephew (?), also Amenotnes, the division of the property they inherited from their father (and grandfather) Horos.²⁶⁴ In the second contract from seventh of October (P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10230), he leases his part of the cemetery of ibises, perhaps inherited from his father.²⁶⁵ In the youngest contract, from the eighteenth of November (P. Dem. Berl. 3111 + 3141), he buys a parcel of land in Western Thebes.²⁶⁶ The titles of Amenotnes are presented with some variants from document to document. In P. Dem. Dublin 1660 he is styled as '*pastophoros*

²⁶¹ See above, pp. 28–30.

²⁶² For Amenotnes son of Horos, see generally *PP* III 5436 and *PP* IX 5436; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 270, § 174.1; PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, pp. 73–99. His 'Beiname' *Sjwls* surely transcribes a Greek name. PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, p. 96, thought about Σιλῶς, but G. VITTMANN [in:] W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* II [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85], Leuven 1988, p. 1240, note 61, rather is for Ζωίλος. The Greek element in the nomenclature of Amenotnes indicates that the family was open for hellenisation.

²⁶³ On this family, see PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, pp. 73–99.

²⁶⁴ PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, no. 9.

²⁶⁵ For reference, see above, note 76.

²⁶⁶ *P. Dem. Berl.* 3111: W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig – Berlin 1902, pp. 8–9; S. GRUNERT, *Thebanische Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v. u. Z.* [= *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* II], Berlin 1981, no. P.3111; *P. Dem. Berl.* 3141: SPIEGELBERG, *loc. cit.*; GRUNERT, *op. cit.*, no. P.3141.

of the cemetery of the Ibis, prophet, priest and *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god.²⁶⁷ In P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10230, he is 'prophet, *w^cb*-priest and *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon on the Hill of Djeme and of the *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god.' In P. Dem. Berl. 3111, he is '*pastophoros* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon, priest and *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.' In P. Dem. Berl. 3141, he is '*pastophoros* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon, prophet, *w^cb*-priest and *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.' One should observe that the variants do not differ substantially from each other and the differences are easily explicable in religious terms (predominance of the cult of Ibis over that of Falcon) or by psychological factors (simple omission).

Besides Amenotnes son of Horos, three further men from his family served as priests of Amenhotep son of Hapu. These were:

1. Pechytes, step-brother of Amenotnes' father Horos;
2. Harpaesis son of Horos, brother of Amenotnes;
3. Amenotnes son of Thotsytms, nephew of Amenotnes son of Horos or, less probably, his brother-in-law.

Pechytes is known thanks to the contract from February/March 198 BC by which he sells to his sister Tasemis a portion of a house in the necropolis of the Ibis (P. Dem. Dublin 1659).²⁶⁸ There he is presented as 'prophet, priest (and) *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu (and) the cemetery of the Ibis.' Harpaesis and Amenotnes son of Thotsytms occur together with Amenotnes son of Horos in P. Dem. Dublin 1660 as parties determining the division of a property they inherited from their father.²⁶⁹ Both of them bear the title '*pastophoros* of the cemetery of the Ibis, prophet, priest (and) *pastophoros* of all *ibw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god.'²⁷⁰ Although the texts do not indicate the name of the Amenhotep sanctuary in which these three men fulfilled their priestly functions, one can admit by analogy to Amenotnes son of Horos that it most probably was the *ml*. Pestman takes this for granted and supplements the name *ml* in brackets in his translation of P. Dem. Dublin 1659 and 1660.

Four further priests of Amenhotep son of Hapu are on record in documents belonging to the archive found in 1905 by E. Schiaparelli in the ruins of a house near the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medinah. The archive contains 54 papyri (9 in Greek, 45 in Demotic) ranging in time between 189 BC and 101 BC. It was gathered by a certain Totoes son of Zmanres, '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme,' and his relatives, all being priests in various Memnoneian cults including Amun of Djeme, Hathor-Mistress of

²⁶⁷ On the meaning of the terms *ibw.t* and *shn* see below, p. 80.

²⁶⁸ PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, pp. 81–91, no. 8; cf. *PP* IX 5774b.

²⁶⁹ For reference, see above, note 264. For the person of Harpaesis son of Horos, see *PP* IX 5480a, for Amenotnes son of Thotsytms, *PP* IX 5435b.

²⁷⁰ Note that the titlature is given only with the name of Amenotnes son of Thotsytms while the name of Harpaesis is provided with the remark 'bearing the same title.'

the West, Min-Apis, and Amenhotep son of Hapu.²⁷¹ The majority of documents are contracts by which those people buy viz. sell or lease liturgical days in several West Theban temples, as a rule situated in the vicinity of the family home in Deir el-Medinah.

In a contract dated to December 15th, 111 BC (*P. Tor. Botti* 21), Totoes son of Zmanres leases three liturgical days which he has in the upper and lower *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu for three years to Psenmonthes son of Paos, who is styled as '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet and priest and *pastophoros* of all *ḥw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.'²⁷² Although this is not stated explicitly, one can assume with great probability that this Psenmonthes son of Paos was priest exactly in the *ml* of Amenhotep. As such, he was naturally interested in adding the liturgical days in the *ml* of Amenhotep together with their income leased from Totoes son of Zmanres to the ones he already had as a member of the temple clergy. Three years later, in a contract dated to October 8, 108 BC (*P. Tor. Botti* 24), the same Totoes son of Zmanres, now designated as '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet of Hathor-Mistress of the West of Djeme,' leases three liturgical days in the upper and lower *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, probably the same which are concerned to in the previous document, for three further years to another man. This time it is Harsiesis son of Hellos, '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.'²⁷³ As in the previous case, we can be almost sure that the tenant belonged to the clergy of the *ml* of Amenhotep.

Two papyri dated to 101 BC – *P. Tor. Botti* 34a and *P. Tor. Botti* 36 – contain sale contracts concluded between the family of Totoes son of Zmanres and the family of Chonstefnaches son of Harsiesis. In *P. Tor. Botti* 34a, the latter family is represented by Harsiesis son of Chonstefnaches, assisted by his brothers Amenotnes and Pikos; in *P. Tor. Botti* 36, by Amenotnes son Chonstefnaches. Both Harsiesis and Amenotnes, apparently the two oldest sons of Chonstefnaches, bear a complicated set of titles: 'scribe, *pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet of Hathor-Mistress of the West, prophet, *w^{cb}*-priest and *pastophoros* of all *ḥw.t* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu' and 'administrator (*p3 rd*) [or singer (*p3 ḥs*)] of Hathor.'²⁷⁴ Also in the case of these two man one can assume their membership in the clergy of the *ml* of Amenhotep, but certainty cannot be achieved.

Yet another person is known who fulfilled the function of a priest of Amenhotep: Pamonthes son of Monkores, who was buried in Deir el-Medinah, probably in the

²⁷¹ For the person of Totoes son of Zmanres, see *PP* III 5845 + 6733, and *PP* IX 5845.

²⁷² See also WILDUNG, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 270, § 174.2; *PP* IX 5884a. The man is otherwise unknown.

²⁷³ See also WILDUNG, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 270, § 174.3; *PP* IX 5485a. This Harsiesis son of Hellos probably is on record also in *P. Tor. Botti* 25 a–b–c, vso. 15 where he appears as a witness. The document under consideration is dated to 108 BC.

A certain Harsiesis son of Hellos also occurs as a witness in *P. Tor. Botti* 4, rto. 34. As this document is dated to 159 BC, however, it remains uncertain whether we are dealing with the same man or with someone else, e. g. with his grandfather.

²⁷⁴ For Harsiesis, see WILDUNG, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 271, § 174.4; *PP* IX 5485b; for Amenotnes, see WILDUNG, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 271, § 174.5; *PP* IX 5436c.

time of Augustus, in a usurped sarcophagus of the queen Anchnesneferibre, the wife of Amasis.²⁷⁵ He belonged to a prominent Egyptian family settled in Hermonthis, the members of which are on record in several documents in hieroglyphics, hieratic and Demotic dated to the end of the Ptolemaic and the beginning of the Roman periods.²⁷⁶ Pamonthes son of Monkores followed a splendid civil career which peaked in the function of the strategus of Hermonthis in the 70s BC. He also held various priestly functions including those of the prophet of Montu-Re, Lord of Hermonthis, and choachyte (libationist) of Amenhotep, the Royal Scribe. It is not known in which temple he was active in the latter function. Deir el-Bahari is the best candidate as the main cult place of Amenhotep, but other temples also come into consideration for the given period.

The Demotic Teos' ostrakon, frequently referred to in this study, contains the information that the oracular pronouncement of Amenhotep for Teos was given to Horos, probably an intermediary acting on behalf of Teos, by a certain Imhotep. In this Imhotep, we should probably see a priest of Amenhotep. He might have been responsible for preparing the written forms of oracles.

Priests of Imhotep are rarely mentioned in West Theban sources at our disposal. Only one person is known by name: *ḥ3-ph.tj* son of *p3 hb*, who lived towards the end of the Ptolemaic period. He was buried in a grave from Saite times situated in the forecourt of the grave of Antef (TT 155) in Dra Abu el-Naga.²⁷⁷ The inscription on his offering table indicates that he combined the function of the priest of Imhotep with that of the priest of balsamists (?), and priest of Horus of *rnt* (?). Based on the proximity of his place of burial with the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari, Wildung suggested that he might have been priest of Imhotep in this very temple. *Pastophoroi* of Imhotep busy with explaining dreams are mentioned in *O.Leid.Dem.* 365.

Priests of Amenhotep and Imhotep occur as a *collectivum* together with priests of other West Theban cults in the greetings at the end of a Demotic letter contained in *P.Erbach*, dated palaeographically by Spiegelberg to the time of Ptolemy VIII.²⁷⁸ It is not known if the author of the letter had in mind priests from a specific temple (Deir el-Bahari?) or all priests of Amenhotep and Imhotep active in the Memnoneia.

²⁷⁵ E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Sarcophagus of Anchnesneferibre*, London 1885, p. XX; W. SPIEGELBERG, 'Varia LIX. Der Usurpator des Sarges der Königin Anchnesneferibre', *Rec. Trav.* 26 (1904), pp. 50–52; C. SANDER-HANSEN, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarge der Anchnesneferibre*, Copenhagen 1937, pp. 4–5; cf. also WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 271, § 174.6; for the person of Pamonthes, see *PP VIII* 292c; *PP III* 5690.

²⁷⁶ H. J. THISSEN, 'Zur Familie des Strategen Monkores', *ZPE* 27 (1977), pp. 181–191. It is this family which was the owner of the two famous funerary papyri in hieratic and Demotic known as the Rhind Papyri.

²⁷⁷ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 194, § 137.

²⁷⁸ W. SPIEGELBERG, 'Papyrus Erbach. Ein demotischer Brieffragment', *ZÄS* 42 (1905), pp. 43–60; cf. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 244, § 154. For this papyrus see recently J. K. WINNICKI, 'Zur Deutung des demotischen Papyrus Erbach' [in:] K. GEUS, K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica-Libya-Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huß, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 104, *Studia Phoenicia* XVI], Leuven 2001, pp. 311–321. He dates this papyrus to the year 167 BC.

The existence in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari of a large and specialised cult staff indirectly results from the analysis of both the inscriptions adorning the walls of the Ptolemaic sanctuary and the documents left by the public of the temple. The inscriptions in hieroglyphics on the west wall of the sanctuary with the mention of garments for the statues of Amenhotep and Imhotep presuppose the existence of a person who was in charge of dressing the statues, a *stolistes*. The ostrakon from the collection of the University of Sydney with a description of three very obscure dreams which a certain man had in the *ml* of Amenhotep permits the assumption that a dream interpreter was active in the temple. If the reconstruction of events which took place during the visit paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by the soldier Athenodoros is correct,²⁷⁹ we have to admit the presence of a person delivering oracles from behind the door of the sanctuary. The custom of addressing Amenhotep with letters asking for healing (this is the case of Osoroeris, Senamunis, and Polyaratos), and leaving descriptions of cures (Polyaratos) allows the supposition of the existence of a temple archive and someone in charge of it. The occurrence of hymns may suggest that there was someone who used to sing or recite them. The tasks mentioned above were either performed by persons appointed only for them or were combined with other duties performed in the temple.

Let us analyze the data concerning the Amenhotep's clergy in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods against the background of what we know about the priests of Egyptian temples of this time.

Three kinds of priests of Amenhotep are mentioned in our sources: prophet (*hm-ntr*), *w^cb*-priest, and *wn-pr* or simply *wn* (here translated as *pastophoros*). The first two kinds represent the high clergy which performed the most important rites directly on the god's statue such as the daily cult, offering, etc., although the exact delimitation of competence between prophets and *w^cb*-priests is difficult to trace.²⁸⁰ It is known that this high clergy was organized in *phylai* (four until 238 BC, five after that date), thus the occurrence of prophets and *w^cb*-priests of Amenhotep automatically presupposes such an organization also for Deir el-Bahari. The third function belongs to the lower clergy, which was busy with the secondary aspects of the cult. The sphere of duties of people designated *wn-pr* (= *pastophoros*) is not quite clear.²⁸¹ The etymology of the Egyptian word *wn-pr* may suggest that they were charged with opening and closing

²⁷⁹ Cf. 208, commentary, and above, pp. 60–61.

²⁸⁰ This high clergy also included *stolistai* who perhaps occurred in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep as well; cf. the previous paragraph.

²⁸¹ Cf. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel* I, pp. 94–98; W. OTTO, *Beiträge zur Hierodulie im hellenistischen Ägypten* [= *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge* 29], München 1950, pp. 17–26; H.-B. SCHÖNBORN, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 80], Meisenheim am Glan 1976, *passim*. In the litera-

ture on the subject, there exists a widespread opinion that *pastophoroi*, literary 'bearers of a *pastos*,' were appointed to carry during processions *naoi* with statues of gods. Such a *naos* would have been called a *pastos* in the religious terminology of the Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. However, this opinion probably is but a scholarly myth. Nowhere in the sources available to us it is said explicitly that *pastos* could have had such a meaning. For the meaning of the term *pastos* = 'bridal chamber, bridal bed, curtain' see E. N. LANE, 'ΠΑΣΤΟΣ,' *Glotta* 66 (1988), pp. 100–123, especially pp. 121–123.

the door of the temple and various chapels within it. Most probably, they also accomplished other tasks connected with keeping the temple in order and carried on the administration of the temple. They are sometimes mentioned in the context of delivering oracles and explaining dreams.²⁸² It is interesting to observe that different priestly functions were concentrated in one person in Amenhotep's *ml*. What is more, the priests of the high grade (prophets and *w^cb*-priests) normally also held the function of *pastophoroi*. This might have been rooted in an insufficient number of persons holding the priestly positions.

The priestly functions in the *ml* of Amenhotep were often fulfilled by members of the same priestly family. This is the case of Amenotnes son of Horos and his relatives, and also of the two brothers Harsiesis and Amenotnes, sons of Chonstefnaches. The frequent occurrence of members of the same families as priests of Amenhotep suggests that the enrollment among the clergy of Amenhotep's *ml*, like in all Egyptian temples from times immemorial, was often hereditary.²⁸³

The priestly functions in the *ml* of Amenhotep were often combined with the function of a priest in other cult places, a phenomenon which agrees with the common practice in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Thus Amenotnes son of Horos and his relatives fulfilled the function of priests in the *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu together with the function of priests of the necropolis of the Ibis and the Falcon,²⁸⁴ Psenmonthes son of Paos and Harsiesis son of Hellos were simultaneously priests of Amenhotep son of Hapu and *pastophoroi* of Amun of Djeme, and the sons of Harsiesis – Chonstefnaches and Amenotnes – combined the two latter functions with the function of the prophet of Hathor-Mistress of the West, most probably in her temple in Deir el-Medinah. One should observe that all these cult places were situated on the Theban West Bank and more precisely in the central part of the Memnoneia, between Medinet Habu and Dra Abu el-Naga.

The ministrations were held on the basis of liturgical days, i. e. individual priests had their turns of duties in the temple throughout a fixed number of days – a common

²⁸² J. D. RAY [in:] S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984* [= *Studia Demotica* 1], Leuven 1987, pp. 89–91. He cites a Demotic ostrakon of Theban provenance which mentions as many as 56 *pastophoroi* of a temple of Imhotep who are busy with explaining dreams. It is not known which temple is at issue.

²⁸³ Cf. e. g. S. SAUNERON, 'Les conditions d'accès à la fonction sacerdotale à l'époque gréco-romain,' *BIFAO* 61 (1962), pp. 55–57.

²⁸⁴ For this cult place, see PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, pp. 76–78. Basing his discussion on topographical indications contained in the papyri, he suggested that it had the form of a subterranean chapel neighbouring with the burrying place of sacred

birds from one side and the lodgings for the priests from the other. It is most probably to be identified with the cemetery of ibises installed in the Ptolemaic period in several New Kingdom tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga, at the entrance to Deir el-Bahari valley; cf. N. STRUDWICK [in:] N. STRUDWICK, J. H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, p. 172 (with earlier bibliography). It is exactly there that the graffiti of the members of Amenotnes' family were found. We are unaware what functions Amenotnes son of Horos and his relatives exactly fulfilled in the necropolis of the Ibis and the Falcon. According to PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, p. 76, they might have participated in the process of mummification and interment of the dead birds.

type of the cult organization in the Egyptian temples in Ptolemaic and Roman times. With relation to the *ml* of Amenhotep, this is indicated by the Deir el-Medinah papyri, in which liturgical days falling on individual priests are leased. Thus, according *P. Tor. Botti* 21 and 24, Totoes son of Zmanres had three liturgical days per month, and a proportional lot within the epagomenal days in the upper and lower *ml* of Amenhotep. In this context, one has to consider once again the Demotic inscription from the time of Ptolemy III (?) discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The men listed in it, apparently the priests of Amenhotep from the Deir el-Bahari temple, fulfilled their services within the space of a decade of a month: from 1 to 10 (or 11), from 11 (12) to 21, and from 22 to 30 of a given month. In contrast to the case of Thotoes son of Zmanres, the epagomenal days were attached to the neighbouring decade of the month of Thoth.

Is it possible to say something about the intellectual abilities of the priests officiating in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari? We may presume that they were men of letters. Intellectual education was one of the prerequisites for entering into the priestly order in Ptolemaic and Roman times as it was earlier.²⁸⁵ They surely were well acquainted with the Egyptian theological reflection. It is to them that the elaboration of the program of the decoration of the Ptolemaic sanctuary should be ascribed, in which the divinity of Amenhotep was subtly substantiated. The priests, at least some of them, must also have had a Greek education, as is suggested by the literary production in Greek attested with relation to the Deir el-Bahari sanctuary (commandments of Amenhotep, hymns),²⁸⁶ unless we suppose that the temple hired a Greek poet or rhetor who composed those texts based on data provided by priests. The priests preparing oracles must have been acquainted with the elements of the traditional Egyptian medicine, as indicated by the Teos ostrakon.

12. THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE CULT

It is known that Egyptian temples of the pharaonic period, even the modest ones, were centres of a vivid economic activity. They owned wide tracts of land, mostly obtained by royal donations, not infrequently situated at a large distance from a given

²⁸⁵ Cf. SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), pp. 55–57.

²⁸⁶ Egyptian priests with Greek education probably were not a rare phenomenon. Already for the third century BC, we know the case of Manetho, priest from Sebennytos, who wrote a history of Egypt in Greek. In the second century BC, members of a priestly family connected with the Horus temple in Edfu composed Greek poems which have been preserved to us in the epigraphic record; cf. J. YOYOTTE, 'Bakhtis: Religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou' [in:] *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine (colloque de Strasbourg*

16–18 mai 1967), Paris 1969, pp. 127–141. Slightly later is the case of Isidoros, who composed the four hymns to Isis inscribed on the pylon of the temple at Medinet Maadi in the Fayum oasis; cf. Vera Frederica VANDERLIP, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidoros and the Cult of Isis* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 12], Toronto 1972. For the influence exerted by Greek culture on high strata of the Egyptian society, especially in the early Ptolemaic period, see Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de hellénisation. Littérature d'hierogrammates* [= *Monographies Reine Élisabeth* 7], Turnhout 2000.

temple. The temple enclosures housed workshops of various kinds which primarily produced for the needs of the temples, but also for external market. Believers, including kings, brought offerings and gifts of various kinds, sometimes very valuable. The incomes from the economic activity and from offerings were mainly used for maintaining the cult and the temple; a considerable part went to the priests as their remuneration, which made the priestly office much-desired from the economic point of view. The Ptolemaic period brought no substantial changes to this model of the economic life of the Egyptian temples. It is well known that the Ptolemaic rulers, particularly of the second and first century BC, granted the temples of the local cults numerous privileges, including economic ones, in return for their support of the royal house. This model was suppressed only by Romans through a very restrictive fiscal policy. One can suppose that the temple of Amenhotep (later Amenhotep and Imhotep) in Deir el-Bahari functioned along the same economic rules as other Egyptian temples of Ptolemaic and Roman times.

The Demotic papyrus Brit. Mus. 10230 from 7 October 176 BC,²⁸⁷ indicates that an unnamed temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu possessed a parcel of land situated in the south of Western Thebes, near 'the way of Amun of Djeme,' i. e. the processional way of the Ramesses III temple at Medinet Habu.²⁸⁸ This land abutted from the south the land which Amenhotep son of Horos, 'prophet, *w^cb*-priest and *pastophoros* of all *i3w.t* and all *shn* of the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon on the Hill of Djeme and of the *ml* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu, the great god,' leased to Esoernofris, *pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme.²⁸⁹ The size of the parcel is unknown. The owner of the parcel most probably should be identified with the *ml* of Amenhotep, i. e. the Deir el-Bahari temple which is the only cult place of Amenhotep in Western Thebes known to us from that period. The land owned by it might have been inherited from its predecessor, the mortuary temple of Amenhotep in Medinet Habu situated not far from the place where the parcel was located,²⁹⁰ or might have been acquired in another way, e. g. by a royal Ptolemaic donation.

Land belonging to the *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu is explicitly mentioned in *P. Tor. Botti* 21 from III BC containing the contract of leasing liturgical days in this very sanctuary by Totoes son of Zmanres, '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme,' to Psenmonthes son of Paos, '*pastophoros* of Amun of Djeme, prophet, *w^cb*-priest and *pastophoros* of all

²⁸⁷ For references, see above, p. 21, with note 76.

²⁸⁸ For this topographical designation, see BATAILLE, *Memnonia*, p. 37; A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 97], Leuven 2001, pp. 73–74.

²⁸⁹ The land that Amenhotep son of Horos leased to Esoernofris was the property of the cemetery of the Ibis. Amenhotep possessed it, probably by inheritance from his father, as reward for his priestly functions in the cemetery of the Ibis. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 269, § 173.4 indicates: 'Er (Amenhotep) hat im vorliegenden Dokument ein Stück Land südlich von Theben,

das zu den Tempelgütern des thebanischen Amenhotep-Kultes gehört, weiterverpachtet.' This indication is not right: The land belonging to the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu serves only as topographical coordinate here.

²⁹⁰ Land possessions together with tomb, temple, and personnel, were parts of the original mortuary foundation of Amenhotep son Hapu as is explicitly indicated by its renovation decree from the time of the 21st Dynasty; cf. VARILLE, *Inscriptions*, pp. 67–85, no. 27; see also WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 281–282, § 182.

ḥwt and all *shn* of Amenhotep son of Hapu.' The papyrus indicates that incomes from the land together with incomes originating from other sources went, at least partly, to priests as remuneration for their service in the temple. The extent of the land and its location are unknown. One would probably think about the west side of the Nile Valley near the Memnoneia.

Land-possession most probably were retained by the Deir el-Bahari temple throughout the whole Ptolemaic period. Their fate in the Roman imperial period is completely unknown.

In addition to land, the Deir el-Bahari temple of Amenhotep (and Imhotep) might have been owner of some other real property. This is suggested by *P. Tor Botti* 21 already mentioned above. While listing the sources of incomes connected with the fulfillment of liturgical days in *ml* of Amenhotep, the papyrus indicates among others (ll. 14–15) 'everything which is donated to them (i. e. to the upper and lower *ml*) in the field, in the temple, in the city, and on every place.' Those donations 'in the town, and on every place,' different from donations 'in the field,' might have been parcels and/or buildings of various kinds. By 'town' we probably have to understand the main part of the Memnoneia (Djeme) situated within the precinct walls of the Ramesses III temple in Medinet Habu. As the donation authors we can imagine both private persons and state authorities.

The temple undoubtedly drew incomes from the cult practised in it. The believers obviously made various offerings to the temple. They are referred to in the list of the sources of the temple incomes contained in *P. Tor Botti* 21 which mentions 'everything that is given to them (i. e. the upper and lower *ml* of Amenhotep)' (l. 13) and 'everything that is received by them' (l. 14). The offerings were made either within the framework of participation of the believers in the usual cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep, or as thanksgivings for healings and/or oracles obtained from the two gods. One can imagine that the former normally were done in kind, the latter perhaps both in kind and in money. The custom of paying for healing is well illustrated by the Demotic letter of the late third century BC by which Osoroeris, 'divine father and prophet of Amonrasother,' asks Amenhotep to grant him a child.²⁹¹ In a somewhat straightforward style, he promises to give the god one deben of silver if his wife becomes pregnant, and another one if she gives birth successfully.²⁹² The case of Osoroeris surely was not isolated and it is only due to the nature of our documentation that we are unaware of others. The amount of money paid to the temple by those who sought healing and/or an oracle probably differ from case to case depending on the financial possibilities of the particular persons. As a representative of the elite, Osoroeris could afford to pay a considerable sum of money equal to the value of 7–8 artabas of wheat, an amount which an adult could have lived on for over half a year.²⁹³

²⁹¹ For reference, see above note 72.

²⁹² At the time of the letter (probably 218 BC), one deben corresponded to 5 staters, i. e. 20 silver drachmas; cf. K. MARESCH, *Bronze und Silber. Papyrologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Währung im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten bis zum 2.*

Jahrhundert n. Chr. [= *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 25], Opladen 1996, p. 34.

²⁹³ On the problem of wheat prices in early Ptolemaic Egypt, see HÉLÈNE CADELL, G. LE RIDER, *Prix du blé et numéraire dans l'Égypte lagide de 305 à 173* [= *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 30], Bruxelles 1997.

One cannot exclude the possibility of the existence of a minimum rate for a consultation. In the oracle of Glykon founded in the second century AD by a certain Alexandros in Abonouteichos in Paphlagonia, there was a rate amounting to 1 drachma 2 obols per consultation.²⁹⁴

Another source of income was regular contributions on behalf of temples constituted by the state and sanctioned by it, as well as taxes of different kinds. The temple must have obtained monies from the *apomoira*, i. e. the tax in the amount of 1/6 of the incomes from vineyards and gardens established by Ptolemy II to cover the expenses of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos.²⁹⁵ This tax was collected throughout the whole Ptolemaic period and is occasionally attested even in Roman times. The temple of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari, similarly to all Egyptian temples regardless of their rank, surely was receiver of *syntaxis*, i. e. a yearly contribution delivered by the state to temples for the purpose of the remuneration of priests.²⁹⁶ One also should take into account some special taxes remaining at the temple's disposal, e. g. a tax on burials in the neighbouring necropolis; the existence of such a tax is attested for early Ptolemaic Thebes.²⁹⁷

The incomes obtained by the temple surely were subject of taxation. It is known that Egyptian temples, both in Ptolemaic and Roman times, paid different taxes and duties.²⁹⁸ There are no reasons to doubt that the situation was different with the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari though evidence is lacking in this respect. Remaining funds were used in two ways:

1. For covering the cult expenses. Here come into question expenses connected both with the daily temple rituals (annointments, salves, garments for cult statues, products for offerings and libations) and the healing-oracular activity (medicines, amulets, etc.). From time to time, extra expenses must have occurred. Such an exceptional case on a large scale surely was the rebuilding of the temple in the time of Ptolemy VIII.²⁹⁹ Others may have concerned smaller repairs, erections of statues, purchase of new cult equipment, etc.

2. For remuneration of priests. This apparently had the form of participation of individual members of clergy, proportionally to their position, in all incomes of the temple. Such a solution is suggested by *P. Tor. Botti* 21. Incomes obtained by priests in

²⁹⁴ Cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 23.

²⁹⁵ For the constitution of the cult, see *P. Revenue Laws*, col. XXXVI; for its later history, see OTTO, *Priester und Tempel* I, pp. 340–356. The existence of the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies (undoubtedly including also the cult of the deified wife of Ptolemy II) in the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari at the end of the 260s BC results from the analysis of the text of the Polyaratos ostrakon; cf. above, pp. 25–26.

²⁹⁶ Cf. OTTO, *Priester und Tempel* I, pp. 366–384.

²⁹⁷ M. MALININE, 'Taxes funéraires égyptiennes à l'époque gréco-romaine' [in:] *Mélanges Mariette* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque*

d'étude 32], Le Caire 1961, pp. 137–168; cf. J. QUAE-GEUR, [in:] E. LIPINSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, vol. II, Leuven 1979, p. 726.

²⁹⁸ For a survey of this taxes, see OTTO, *Priester und Tempel* II, pp. 43–70.

²⁹⁹ It is known that Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic period built mainly on their own expenses; see for example Claire PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, p. 51; J. QUAE-GEUR, [in:] E. LIPINSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* II, pp. 713–714.

this way must have been considerable as the liturgical days in the *ml* of Amenhotep were subject to sales and leases reflected in the Demotic papyri from Deir el-Medinah. The most telling is *P. Tor. Botti* 21, frequently referred to in this chapter: liturgical days in the upper and lower *ml* of Amenhotep which Totoes son of Zmanres leases to Psenmonthes son of Paos were bought by him from Psenhotes son of Pebos.

In connection with the economic aspects of the cult held in the Deir el-Bahari temple in Ptolemaic and Roman times, one has to consider the priestly function of ‘*pastophoros* of all *ḥwt* and all *shn* of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu.’ This function is attested several times with relation to both the members of the family of Amenhotep son of Horos and the priestly family from Deir el-Medinah.³⁰⁰ The meaning and even the exact reading of this function is a matter of controversy. In his edition of the Berlin papyri, Spiegelberg translated the two crucial words as ‘Schriften’ und ‘Befehle.’³⁰¹ While editing *P. Dem. Brit. Mus. 10230*, Reich read the two termini as *ḥnb.t* and *shn*, and translated them as ‘Aktenstücke’ and ‘Anweisungen’ respectively. This translation was repeated by Dawson³⁰² and Bataille.³⁰³ Basing himself on the reading of Reich, Wildung translated *ḥnb.t* as ‘Entscheidungen,’ and *shn* as ‘Verordnungen,’ and suggested that the two terms may designate oracles and prescriptions which were delivered, in Amenhotep’s name, by the priests under consideration.³⁰⁴ Botti also read the two terms as *ḥnb.t* and *shn*, and translated them ‘atti legali’ and ‘contratti’ respectively. The correct reading *ḥwt* for the first of the two terms was established first by Malinine,³⁰⁵ and then confirmed by Pestman.³⁰⁶ The two authors call attention to the fact that the priestly title ‘*pastophoros* of all *ḥwt* and all *shn*’ is attested not only in connection with the *ml* of Amenhotep son of Hapu, but also other West Theban cults including Hathor in her temple in Deir el-Medinah, as well as the sanctuary connected with the cemetery of the Ibis and the Falcon in Dra Abu el-Naga. Basing themselves on the meaning of the term *shn* = ‘anything confined,’ perhaps ‘a lease,’³⁰⁷ they suggested that the two crucial terms refer to some possessions of the temples in question and the mode of their exploitation. The revenues from the exploitation of these *ḥwt* and *shn* always went to *pastophoroi*.

13. VISITORS TO THE TEMPLE

The public of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari can be studied mainly on the basis of wall inscriptions. Of particular importance are the names of the visitors and rare indications of their origin as well as their social or

³⁰⁰ See above, pp. 70–72.

³⁰¹ SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus Berlin*, p. 9. His publication lacks transliteration.

³⁰² W. R. DAWSON, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), p. 130.

³⁰³ BATAILLE, *Memnonia*, pp. 101–102.

³⁰⁴ WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 271, § 174.6.

³⁰⁵ MALININE, *RdÉ* 14 (1962), pp. 38–39, with note 1 on p. 39.

³⁰⁶ PESTMAN, *Recueil* II, pp. 84–85 (under ‘h’). It should be noted that Grunert read the two terms as *ḥwt* and *shn*, and translated them as ‘Ämter’ and ‘Aufträge’ respectively.

³⁰⁷ MALININE, *loc. cit.* The meaning of the term *ḥwt* remains unknown.

occupational status. As the Demotic part of this material is still awaiting publication, we can solely rely on Greek texts. An additional source of information are Demotic and Greek papyri and ostraca referring to the healing practices in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari.

While studying this material, we are struck, as far as the names and origin of visitors are concerned, by a sharp difference between the early period of the cult's existence, corresponding more or less to the period before the construction of the Ptolemaic sanctuary, and later times. In the early period, the Greek inscriptions were left only by people with very good Greek (Macedonian) names like Ἄλεος, Ἀνδρόμαχος, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀρίστιος, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, Ἀσταρχος, Διόδωρος, Εὐάκης, Ζωῖλος, Ἰππόλυτος, Καλλίστρατος, Λύσανδρος Πρόμαχος, Πτολεμαῖος, Ρόδιππος, Σωσικλείδης, Σωσικλής, Σώστρατος.³⁰⁸ One should add to them Πολυάρατος, the author of the ostrakon of 261/260 BC with the description of his miraculous healing procured by Amenotes, as well as Λέων and Λυσάνδρα, a couple which set up a votive monument to Amenhotep on behalf of their child. I am well acquainted with the difficult problem of whether names can be the indicator of ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that even in the third cent. BC Egyptians could bear Greek names.³⁰⁹ It is unlikely, however, that such people appeared in the Deir el-Bahari temple in the early Ptolemaic times and with practised hands left Greek inscriptions there. To my mind, all bearers of Greek names from this period attested in Greek sources from Deir el-Bahari were native Greeks. They must have been recent emigrants from the Greek homeland who for a reason found themselves in Upper Egypt. The social status of those people is largely unknown. Only two persons, namely Andromachos the Macedonian, the author of the inscriptions **60** and **68**, and Zoilos who signed the inscription **25**, indicate their occupation and these are hired worker (ἐργαζόμενος μισθοῦ) and physician respectively. It is interesting to note that the Greeks visiting the temple of Deir el-Bahari in this early period often occur in groups. Thus the inscription **69** gives the names of two or three persons, one provided with the ethnic Μακεδών, **83** lists as many as 11 – 16 names (exact number unknown), and **290** has 4 anthroponyms. The people mentioned in these three inscriptions might have been soldiers on post in the Thebaid or might have been entrusted by some authorities with a mission in the south.³¹⁰ The total lack of Egyptian names for this early period of the cult's existence suggests that the Egyptian

³⁰⁸ We have only one Graeco-Egyptian name from this early period, namely Ἀμμώνιος who occurs, among some ten men, all of them with very good Greek names, in the inscription **83**, line 4. One should observe, however, that the name Ἀμμώνιος started to be used by Greeks already before the Hellenistic period as a result of the cult of Amun from the Siwa oasis. Ἀμμώνιος from the inscription **63** could well have been a Greek.

³⁰⁹ Cf. e.g. W. CLARYSSE, 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration,' *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66.

³¹⁰ Soldiers frequently were visitors to the Memnonion at Abydos; cf. e.g. I. RUTHERFORD, 'Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman Egypt: New Perspectives on Graffiti from the Memnonion at Abydos' [in:] R. MATTHEWS, Cornelia RÖMER (eds.), *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, London 2003, pp. 171–189. They also visited the Theban Tombs of the Kings; cf. J. K. WINNICKI, 'Der Besuch Drytons in den Königsgräbern von Theben,' *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 2 (1993), pp. 89–94.

adherents of the cult must have expressed themselves in the native tongue at that time. Some of them are known thanks to Demotic sources. These are (1) Osoroeris, a divine father and prophet of Amonrasonther, (2) a keeper of granaries (?) whose name is only partly preserved, (3) a woman with the name Senamunis, and (4) a certain Teos son of Psenamunis. This list, albeit short, seems to suggest that Amenhotep, especially as a healing god, was known in all strata of Theban society of that period, including the highest officials of cult and administration.

In the second period of the cult's existence (middle of the second cent. BC – second cent AD), Greek and Egyptian names of visitors occur near each other with a predominance of Egyptian or, better to say, Graeco-Egyptian formations. The visitors' onomastics of this period clearly have a local Theban overtone.³¹¹ One finds a large number of names built out of the names of gods worshipped in the Theban area. Among these names, the most common are those constructed with the name of Montu, the warrior god considered to be the old overlord of the Theban nome. His cult, in the New Kingdom overshadowed by the cult of Amun, rose in popularity from the Late Period onwards to become the main element of the religious landscape on the Theban West Bank (the area Hermonthis – Memnoneia) in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The following names are derived from Montu in his different forms including 'The Four Montu' and the bull Buchis: Παμώνθης (14 attestations, some of them most probably referring to the same persons), Φθομώνθης (6), Πετεσορβούχης (1). To this group probably belongs also the name Πλήγης = literally 'smith' (18 attestations, some of them surely refer to the same persons), which according to a suggestion of Quaegebeur³¹² owes its popularity in the Theban West Bank to the fact of being an epithet of Montu. The cult of Montu who through *interpretaatio graeca* was called Apollo might have been the cause of the occurrence of great numbers of Greek theophoric names constructed with the name of Apollo. Among them we have: Ἀπολλινάριος (3 attestations), Ἀπολλόδωρος (2), Ἀπολλωνία (1), Ἀπολλωνίδης (10), Ἀπολλώνιος (11). Also the Greek names Ταυρίνος (2) and Ταύρων (2) refer most probably to Montu in his animal form of the Buchis bull. Numerous persons bear names derived from the name of the great Theban God Amun: Ἀμμώνιος (10 attestations of which some may refer to the same persons), Ἀμμωνᾶς (2), Παμοῦν (1), Ἀμενώφης (1). One should keep in mind, however, that these names, except for Ἀμενώφης, are not specifically Theban and occur in other parts of Egypt. The specific Theban, one can even say Memnonean, overtone has the name Πασήμις (3 attestations) derived from the name of the god Djeme, the local patron of Memnoneia. Other theophoric names with a Theban bias include: Ἀμενώθης (7 attestations), corresponding to the name of the god worshipped in Deir el-Bahari; Πετεχενποχράτης/Πετεχεσοχράτης (3) = 'Gift of Chons the child,' the young god of the Theban triad; Μέμνων (3), referring to the name of a legendary Egyptian king for whom the Memnoneia was alleged to have

³¹¹ I take into consideration not only the names of the visitors, but also their patronymics as both of them are suitable for observations concerning the origin of those peoples.

³¹² *CdÉ* 60 (1985), p. 265.

been named, later identified with Amenophis III and his colossus; *Σενμοῦθις* = ‘Daughter of Mut,’ the mother-goddess of the Theban triad (1). One can add to them *Μονκορής* (3), in Ptolemaic and Roman times attested only in the Thebaid, and going back to the name of the Egyptian king of the Fourth Dynasty reigning from Memphis. These Theban theophoric names may be supplemented by non-theophoric ones, however, attested mainly if not exclusively in Thebes and its hinterland: *Ἀμσοῦφις* (1), *Λολοῦς* (2), *Πανευθής* (1), *Παπαεῖ* (1), *Ψενεριεῦς* (1), *Ψενεσουήρις* (1), *Ψενσενπκαμήτις* (1). Here belongs also the Greek *Κοτταρίων* (1) which has been evidenced nowhere outside the Theban region thus far. The onomastics permit the supposition that the visitors to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari in the late Ptolemaic-early Roman period were mainly from among the local inhabitants of the Theban area including, on the West Bank, the north part of the Hermonthites and the south part of Perithebas with the large agglomeration of Memnoneia, and on the East Bank – Thebes (Diospolis Magna) with the neighbouring villages. This supposition is corroborated by the rare indications of the visitors’ origin among which we have: Pentakomia, a village in the *ἄνω τοπαρχία* of the Hermonthites (38), and, indirectly, Hermonthis itself (94 with the mention of a *Ἐρμώνθεως ἰατρός*). An additional corroboration is yielded by the identification, albeit hypothetical, of persons occurring in the inscriptions with those attested in other sources. Thus, Asklepiades son of Herakleides, a priest, and his brother Ptolemaios son of Herakleides, occurring in 189, may be identical with their homonyms who at the end of the second cent. BC were priests in Tophium (Tod). Lolous son of Petechespochrates, the author of two *proskynemata* on the south wall of the Bark Shrine (268, 269), can be the same man who according to *O.Bodl.* II 1406 (receipt of grain delivery to the granary of metropolis) lived in the *Νότος* quarter in AD 150. Pamonthes son Phatres from 287 could belong to the family the members of which are attested in several ostraca from the second half of the first century AD – second century AD as living in Charax. Further identifications are possible.³¹³

These people with (predominantly) Egyptian names of Theban bias and living in Thebes and its neighbourhood probably were mainly Egyptians. Their social position remains largely unknown to us. One gets the impression that they belonged to the lower strata of the Egyptian society of the period under consideration and were simple peasants and craftsmen. This finds confirmation in the rare indications of occupations among which we have an oil-worker (*ἐλαιουργός*, 228), a mender (*ἡπητής*, 93), a donkey-keeper (*δνηλάτης*, 296), and also a soldier with an Egyptian name (59).³¹⁴ One man was an *ἀπάτωρ* – son of a Roman soldier by an Egyptian woman (253), another one – a freedman (*ἀπελεύθερος*, 116 and 190). However, there occurred also more prominent visitors. In two inscriptions we come across priests.³¹⁵ In 77 there is

³¹³ See commentaries to the inscriptions: 58, 86, 117, 123, 124, 171, 191, 194.

³¹⁴ The inscriptions of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis are discussed in detail below, in the last chapter of this study.

³¹⁵ Priests also occur in Demotic sources. The case of Osoroeris, divine father and prophet of Amonrasother, was frequently mentioned above. Another instance is a divine father and priest of Amun-Min, the author of an inscription and

a question of a priest of Isis,³¹⁶ in **189** there occurs a priest of an unknown god, perhaps identical with a homonym attested at the very end of the second cent. BC as priest in Tuphium (Tod). He is mentioned together with four other men, two of whom were his brothers, who might have been priests as well. We encounter two physicians (**94**, **165**), one of them being probably a public physician of Hermonthis or the entire Hermonthean nome (**94**: ὁ Ἐρμώνθεως ἰατρός). At the top of the local adherents of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep stays the family of Apollonides, the different members of which are mentioned in the inscription **123**. The head of this family was a councilor of a metropolis, probably of Hermonthis, and held municipal offices of *agoranomos* and *exegetes*.

There are also two special cases. One is that of Celer, the strategus of a nome, apparently Hermonthites, in the twenties of the second cent. AD who left two inscriptions on the inner face of the south part of the Ptolemaic portico (**199**, **201**). He was either of Greek or, less probably, of Egyptian origin (cf. commentary to inscription **201**, line 3 where the name of his father is given), but undoubtedly a stranger in the Theban area.³¹⁷ Another case is Athenodoros, *tesserarius* of the first *vexillatio* of a military unit garrisoning in Coptos, the author of a very interesting, but unfortunately very damaged report on a visit also written on the south part of the Ptolemaic portico (**208**). P. M. Speidel suggested³¹⁸ that the unit to which Athenodoros belonged should be identified with the *numerus* of Palmyrenian bowmen known as *Hadriani Palmyreni Antoniniani sagittarii* whose presence in Coptos is attested by a dedicatory inscription from AD 216, and that Athenodoros himself was Palmyrenian by origin.

These two special cases do not influence substantially our understanding of the general character of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari, which is that this was a small cult place of local importance which drew adherents from among inhabitants of the closest neighbourhood, mainly belonging to the middle and lower strata of society.³¹⁹ The circle from which visitors came must have been rather

a drawing showing him in a prayer position situated on the south side of the Ptolemaic portico; see above, p. 19 with note 67.

³¹⁶ Note, however, that he did not come in person to Deir el-Bahari but acted through an intermediary.

³¹⁷ In accordance to the rule of the Roman administration that a man should not hold an important administrative office like strategus in his native city.

³¹⁸ P. M. SPEIDEL, 'Palmyrenian irregulars at Koptos,' *BASP* 21 (1984), pp. 221–224 = IDEM, *Roman Army Studies* II [= *Mavors Roman Army Researches* VIII], Stuttgart 1992, pp. 82–85.

³¹⁹ Temples of this kind are well attested in Egypt from the Ramesside period onwards, and were especially widespread in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Confining ourselves to the Theban region, we can mention here the temple and the oracle of

Amenophis I in Deir el-Medinah (J. ČERNÝ, *BIFAO* 27 [1927], pp. 159–203), the temple of Merseger also in Deir el-Medinah (B. BRUYÈRE, *Mert seger à Deir el-Médineh* [= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 58], Le Caire 1930), the cult place of Hathor on the lower terrace of the Thutmosis III temple (see above, p. 9), and the temple of Thotsytmis (an oracular form of Thot) in Qasr el-Aguz (D. MALLET, *Le Kasr el-Agoûz* [= *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 11], Le Caire 1909; for Thotsytmis, see J. QUAEGBEUR, 'Teëphibis, dieu oraculaire?', *Enchoria* 5 [1975], pp. 19–24; Y. VOLOKHINE, 'Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz. *Dd-ḥr-p3ḥḥ, Dḥwtj-stm*,' *BIFAO* 102 [2002], pp. 405–423). From outside the Theban region, a good example is yielded by the temple of Piuris unearthed recently at Ain Labacha in the Charga Oasis; cf. A. HUSSEIN, *Le sanctuaire rupestre*

limited, as someone was able to identify the signature of Ammonios son of Neileus with the specific person and to add his nickname 'Crocodile.' These people had an intimate relationship with Amenhotep, and, to a smaller extent, with Imhotep. They considered them helpers in everyday troubles, mainly health problems and the lack of progeny. It seems that one frequently came there on the occasion of great Theban festivals when the people were free from their everyday occupations and could freely devote themselves to other activities. We can also imagine casual visits connected with visiting familial graves situated in the Deir el-Bahari valley. The people frequently came in groups including family members and friends. Some of them feasted in the temple, making use of products brought with them. Some remained in the temple for the night. All this points to the picture of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari as a folk sanctuary with a cult of predominantly festive character.

There are proofs indicating that some people visited the Deir el-Bahari temple more than one time. The inscription **186** says that its author Kallimachos makes *proskynema* while being for the first time in the temple (*παραγενόμενος πρώτως*). This expression presupposes that Kallimachos will come for the second and, possibly, for more times to the temple at Deir el-Bahari.³²⁰ Perhaps he was sick and his sickness required more visits to Amenhotep and Imhotep. Or maybe he had a special devotion to Amenhotep and Imhotep which led him to come regularly to their temple. The inscription **184** possibly has: [(παρα)γεν]όμενος καθ' ἡμέ[ραν]. Providing this reading is correct, the day-by-day visits to Deir el-Bahari might have been required by healing procedures prescribed by gods. There are several instances of people leaving more than one inscription. We can mention here: Ailourion the younger (**191, 206**); Andromachos the Macedonian (**60, 68 a–b**); Antas, a freedman (**116, 190**); Chairemon (**71, 84, 85, 87, 158**, and possibly also **80**); Didymos and Plenis (**135, 137, 142, 143, 145**, and possibly also **140**); Eugraphios (**129, 197**); Heras (**34, 73**); Hermophilos (**52 a–b, 147**); Isidoros son of Pamonthes (**86, 119**); Kallimachos (**70, 79**); Plenis son of Besarion (**155, 318**); Promachos son of Dionysios (**10, 11, 12, 13, 14**). It is not known whether multiple inscriptions left by a visitor came into existence during one and the same visit or were products of different visits. Both solutions are possible.

Can the visits paid to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari as seen in the light of wall inscriptions be designated as pilgrimages? The answer to this question largely depends on the definition of the word 'pilgrimage,' which is not obvious by itself and frequently results from scholar presuppositions and attitudes of the writer. For the purposes of this study, we shall define pilgrimage as a trip of considerable longevity and duration to a holy place undertaken by someone for religious motives.³²¹

de Piyris à Ayn al-Labakha [= *Mémoires de l'IFAO* 116], Le Caire 2000.

³²⁰ Multiple visits to Memnonion at Abydos are mentioned in the inscriptions left on the walls of this temple; cf. PERDRIZET/LEFEBVRE, *Memnonion*, nos. 107 (Σφήξ ἦκω ὑγιαίνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀσειριν καὶ εἰσώρων πάλιν), 227 (ἔξάκις ἦκω), 274 (Ἡρακλᾶς Ἄρυστου ἐναργέα αὐτίς), 420 (Χάρης δις ἦκω). Five inscriptions were left by a certain Demetrios son

of Theon from Ptolemais; cf. PERDRIZET/LEFEBVRE, *Memnonion*, nos. 222, 253, 630, 631, 632. The dates given in them show that Demetrios visited the temple at least three times.

³²¹ Cf. e. g. Ewa WIPSZYCKA, 'Pielgrzymki starożytnie: problemy definicji i cezur' [Ancient pilgrimages: problems of definitions and limits] [in:] Halina MANIKOWSKA, Hanna ZAREMSKA, *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* [= *Collo-*

In the light of this definition, the visits to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari are not pilgrimages at all.³²² The casual visits paid by Greeks in early Hellenistic period mainly for the sake of curiosity lack the religious motive. On the other hand, the visits by members of the local Theban population from late Ptolemaic-early Roman times are without the element of the longevity and the duration of the trip. All those men with the names Pamonthes, Phthomonthes, Plenis, Apollonides, Apollodoros, Amenonthes, Pasemis, etc. living in the distance of several kilometres away from the Deir el-Bahari at the very farthest, could have come to the temple and been back at home within a day. That some people remained in the temple for the night is another question resulting from ritual or therapeutic necessities and not from the difficulties with the trip back home on the same day. On the basis of the data at our disposal, only the visit of the soldier Athenodoros and the strategus Celer may be qualified as pilgrimages. It is known that the latter saw his trip to Memnoneia as a pilgrimage indeed for he calls himself 'pilgrim' (*θεορός*) in his poem inscribed on the Memnon's colossus.³²³ In the context of the problems discussed in this chapter, one should mention the representation of footprints and sandals in crude carving on the roofing slab of niche F in the west wall of the Upper court.³²⁴ Numerous parallels originating from cult places in Egypt and elsewhere suggest that this representation is to be dated to the Graeco-Roman period and interpreted as the sign of a pilgrimage paid by its author to the temple.³²⁵

quia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia 2], Warszawa 1995, pp. 17–28, especially p. 20.

³²² Contra É. BERNAND, the author of a valuable study on pilgrimages in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: 'Pélerins dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine' [in:] Marie-Madeleine MACTOUX, Evelyne GENY (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque, I. Religion [= Centre de recherche d'histoire ancienne 79, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 367]*, Paris 1988, pp. 49–63, especially pp. 53–55.

³²³ For the term *θεορός* which covers a variety of meanings in Greek, see H. KOLLER, 'Theoros und Theoria,' *Glotta* 36 (1958), pp. 273–286. The most obvious a meaning is that of 'official ambassador of a city to a festival or a sacred place.' It should be remarked that the ancient Greek language did not have a specific words which would describe the phenomena which we call today 'pilgrimage' and 'pilgrim.' The usual form used to designate the people travelling for religious purposes was 'those going.' The term *θεορός* occurring in the Celer inscription on the Memnon's colossus is obviously due to the poetic vocabulary of the text. For pilgrimage in ancient Greece, see M. DILLON, *Pilgrims*

and Pilgrimages in Ancient Greece, London – New York 1997.

³²⁴ The present location of the slab does not necessarily corresponds with its location in the time of the execution of the drawing. The slab might have been taken from its original place and used somewhere else within the temple in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

³²⁵ For footprints and their symbolism, see Margerita GUARDUCCI, 'Le impronte del Quo Vadis e monumenti affini, figurati et epigrafici,' *RPAA* 19 (1942/1943), pp. 305–344; L. CASTIGLIONE, 'Vestigia. 1: Footprints cut in rocks, 2: Footprints scratched on the stones of the sanctuaries in Egypt,' *Acta Archaeol. Acad. Scient. Hung.* 27 (1970), pp. 95–132; Katherine M. D. DUNBABIN, 'Ipsa deae vestigia ... Footprints divine and human on Graeco-Roman monuments,' *JRA* 3 (1990), pp. 85–109. In Egypt, footprints are attested from the Rameside period onwards, but they occur with particular frequency in Greco-Roman times; cf. J. YOTTE, 'Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne' [in:] *Les pèlerinages [= Sources Orientales III]*, Paris 1960, pp. 59–60.

14. VISITORS' INSCRIPTIONS: SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The present corpus of Greek wall inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari which came into existence in connection with the cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep contains *ca.* 310 items. It is supplemented by a dozen or so inscriptions from late antiquity which may or may not be related to the cult of the two gods. The present list of Demotic texts amounts to 180. Originally, the number of Greek and Demotic inscriptions was undoubtedly much larger. Many texts must have gone lost due to damages to the stone substance that occurred in the Hatshepsut temple from late antiquity onwards. Others – those which were done in paint – faded completely or almost completely as a result of the sun.³²⁶ It is difficult to estimate something what is lacking; however, we will not be very much mistaken, I think, if we suggest that the original number of Greek wall inscriptions in the Hatshepsut temple exceeded 500. Together with the Demotic texts, the total number of visitors' inscriptions may have reached 1,000.

Inscriptions left by persons visiting the Deir el-Bahari temple can be divided in two large groups with respect to the technique of their execution:

1. those which are scratched or carved in the stone (graffiti);
2. those which are painted on the stone surface (dipinti).

In the present catalogue, there are 124 scratched (carved) inscriptions, and 196 painted ones. Two items (**158**, **197**) are executed in a mixed technique, being partly scratched, partly painted.

Scratching of inscriptions was possible thanks to the temple of Hatshepsut being built of the local Theban limestone, which is rather soft and easily affected. One scratched mainly with the use of natural flint flakes which occur in large quantities on the surface of the Deir el-Bahari valley. These flint flakes frequently have several edges near each other, thus producing parallel strokes at scratching, a fact which is often to be observed in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions (cf. **5**, **34**, **37**, **46**, **56**, **61**, **62**, **70**, **77**, **86**, **108**, **138**, **148**, **151**, **224**). Sometimes more sophisticated tools (knife, chisel) must have been used giving a higher technique of execution. Painted inscriptions were done either with black ink or with ochre of different shades. In the case of dipinti, it seems that color of the writing constitutes a chronological index. Inscriptions with black ink only originate from the early Ptolemaic period (third cent. BC – first half of the second cent. BC), while those executed with ochre occur from the middle of the second cent. BC onwards.³²⁷ The ochre used for the production of the writing material was of local origin. Like the flint flakes used for scratching, it occurs in large quantities on the surface of the Deir el-Bahari valley in form of clots easy to crush and to dissolve

³²⁶ I sometimes make notice of them in the catalogue, but being unable to give any constant reading I do not include them as separate items.

³²⁷ In the same sense, see already KARKOWSKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983),

p. 97. Ochre was also used for executing inscriptions in the Coptic monastery of St. Phoibamon; cf. GODLEWSKI, *Monastère*, pp. 91–107 and 141–152.

in water. As a writing tool, one employed *kalamoi* of different thickness, from very thin, similar to those used for writing on papyrus, to very thick, up to *ca.* 1 cm.

An important question is connected with the technical aspects of the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions, namely who executed them on the walls of the temple. One can easily assume that carved inscriptions were done by persons referred to in those texts. The variety of hands and an unsophisticated script observable in numerous graffiti is in favor of this assumption. The question is not so easy to answer in case of painted inscriptions. It is difficult to imagine that visitors came to the temple equipped with writing tools (*kalamos*, ink and/or ochre) necessary for executing a dipinto. Some inscriptions are placed extremely high above the floor level; their execution required the use of a ladder by the writing person. Additionally, one must observe that the Graeco-Roman temple at Deir el-Bahari was mainly frequented by members of the lower strata of the Egyptian society, who often must have been unable to write. All this seems to suggest that there was someone in charge of inscriptions in the Deir el-Bahari temple. He perhaps indicated to the visitor the place for his (her) text, provided him (her) with writing tools and a ladder (if needed), suggested the wording of the inscription, and, in special cases, executed the text for him (her).

The scratched inscriptions occur mainly in the Upper (Coronation) Portico, on the walls of the upper court, and in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, the painted ones on the Ptolemaic portico, in the Bark Shrine, niches of the west wall of the court, and the Hatshepsut chapel. The reasons for this differentiation are not quite clear. Perhaps they are grounded in the topography of the cult. Unsophisticated, scratched inscriptions which were undoubtedly done by the visitors themselves (cf. above), were executed mainly on the external walls of the *temenos* and in the secondary parts of the temple especially courts and vestibules. In more important places laying in the interior of the temple, one normally expressed himself in the form of a painted inscription, as a rule more carefully done, perhaps commissioned with someone in charge of executing these texts.³²⁸ If so, the temple officials must have exercised a kind of control over the leaving of inscriptions by persons visiting the temple.³²⁹

The inscriptions were most often located in height at the eye-level of a person standing on the ground level (a floor). As the ground level changed with time as a result of sand accumulation, the standard location of inscriptions also may have varied within a space up to 1 metre, and in extreme cases, e. g. in the north wing of the Coronation (Upper) Portico (16–17), may considerably exceed this space.

³²⁸ One could say against this supposition that the ochre inscriptions were also written originally on the walls of the upper court and in the Upper Portico, but they have disappeared since due to the constant sun operation. Even if this is true, another part of the above observation remains valid: graffiti occur very rarely or do not occur at all on

the Ptolemaic portico, in the Bark Shrine, niches of the west wall of the court, and the Hatshepsut chapel.

³²⁹ Or, perhaps the lack of graffiti in the inner parts of the temple is more of practical nature: one simply did not carry pieces of flint into the interior of the temple.

To write an inscription, one normally chose smooth and undecorated spots of the walls, columns and pillars.³³⁰ On the walls, such an ideal space was yielded by the dado: two horizontal bands with the width of several centimetres each, situated at the height of 130–150 centimetres above the floor level and separating the lower, undecorated part of the wall from the upper, decorated one. Inscriptions were located either on the dado itself or immediately beneath it, along the lower edge of its lower band. They obviously occur also on the lower undecorated parts of walls, but they are not as frequent there as one could suppose. On the other hand, they were placed on decorated sections above the dado. In those cases, one preferably used free spaces between the relief figures and/or big one-coloured surfaces of relief like leg of a person, king's skirt, throne, etc. The script may follow the edge of the relief (cf. **119**) or the edge of the relief yields the frame or the margin for the text (cf. e. g. **112** and **114**).

Sometimes the inscriptions were located on spots which we would designate as highly unsuitable for writing. One can cite here the inscriptions **243** located on the external side of the Ptolemaic portico which is only roughly elaborated, and the inscription **20**, written on a martelated decoration from the time of 18th Dynasty, which gives very uneven surface. In the case of those inscriptions, it is difficult to find any reasonable explanation for choosing the writing spot unless we assume that this was a joke or a means of preventing the texts from destruction by hands of other visitors. Some inscriptions are placed surprisingly low above the level of a floor or a niche (cf. e. g. **32**, **141**, **144**, **146**, **156**, **157**, **158**, **159**, **160**, **161**, **168**, **173**, **177**, **314**). There is no doubt that the persons who executed these inscriptions knelt or more probably sat immediately on the floor viz. ground or on a small object (a stool, a stone).³³¹ On the other hand, some inscriptions occurring in those parts of the temple where the sand accumulation was never considerable are placed abnormally high above the ground level. One example we can cite here is inscription **58**, which stands at the top of the internal side of the granite portal leading from the Upper Portico to the court, 438 cm above the floor.³³² It is near certain that the authors of this and other elevated texts used a ladder at work. In leaving their inscriptions at such a high level they probably aimed at preventing them from any deliberate damage.³³³ A special case are several inscriptions on the columns and the entrance pillars of the Ptolemaic portico (**185–195**, **215–216**, **220**). Their placement indicates that they were done by persons sitting or standing on the cornice of the portico. This observation may astonish both in view of ideological and practical reasons: sacral entourage, proximity of the sanctu-

³³⁰ These observations do not hold for the Ptolemaic portico, the granite portal in front of the Bark Shrine and, at least partly, the Bark Shrine, which have wide smooth surfaces enabling to write on every spot.

³³¹ One must remember that numerous activities in the traditional Egyptian culture are performed, in contrast to modern Western civilization, while sitting on the ground.

³³² Other examples include **95** (348 cm above the ground level), **181** (374 cm above the floor), **183** (330 cm above the floor), **242** (315 cm above the ground), and **294** (271 cm above the floor).

³³³ The same observation was made by Winnicki with relation to Demotic inscriptions; cf. WINNICKI [in:] J. KARKOWSKI, J. K. WINNICKI, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 101.

ary, and the high location of the top of the cornice above the floor level (210–230 cm) which makes it hardly accessible without a ladder.

One should observe here that the inscriptions on some spots of the Ptolemaic portico display a kind of stratigraphy (cf., e.g., **185–193**, **196–206**). One started to write at the top of the available space and continued down to the right, taking into account already-existing inscriptions. The same is probably true also for the granite portal in front of the Bark Shrine.

From the point of view of their form, the inscriptions may be divided in several groups:

1. Name of the visitor in nominative or genitive depending on the understood ‘signature, inscription.’ This is frequently supplemented with further elements like the name of the father, indication of origin, information about social and/or occupational status. The names sometimes occur in groups up to 10 items or even more (**83**). As a variant within this group, one should consider inscriptions with the formula $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\iota\alpha$ = ‘I, NN, have written (this)’ attested in **136**, **278**, and perhaps also in **202** and **231**.

2. Inscriptions containing the word *προσκύνημα*, hence the designation ‘inscriptions of the *proskynema*-type.’ The most commonly occurring formula is $\tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. More rarely, we encounter: $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\mu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\iota\alpha$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\epsilon\nu$), and $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\mu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$).

Inscriptions of the *proskynema* type are specifically Egyptian;³³⁴ they have not been attested outside the Nile valley (Egypt and North Nubia) thus far. Inscriptions of this type were left on the walls of cult places or rocks by persons who came to pay a visit there. More rarely, they occur on the walls of tourist destinations, the standard formula being there $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\sigma\alpha$ or $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\theta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha$. Greek *proskynema* inscriptions first occur in the second cent. BC and continue until the end of existence of an active pagan cult. It is more than probable that they reflect the Egyptian model reading: ‘May the good (beautiful) name of NN remain in this place’ or ‘May my name remain in this place’ which is attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards.³³⁵

We have already seen that, in the inscriptions of the *proskynema*-type, the word *proskynema* stands for the inscription itself which is considered the ‘epigraphical substitute of the writer’s worshipful presence before the god’ perpetuating ‘the name of the visitor before the divinity in order to possess the eternal blessing of the place.’³³⁶ This definition explains why the writers of the *proskynema*-inscriptions frequently add to their names the names of the persons close to them: family members, friends (literally: those who love us and who are loved by us), neighbours, etc. These people did not have need to be present together with the writer in the temple. One gets the

³³⁴ For the inscriptions of the *proskynema* type, see generally G. GERACI, ‘Ricerche sul Proskynema,’ *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), pp. 3–211; cf. also J. BINGEN [in:] Lucia CRISCUOLO, G. GERACI (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall’ellenismo all’età araba. Bilancio di un confronto. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1987*, Bologna 1989, pp. 19–20.

³³⁵ For this formula, see THISEN, *Graffiti*, pp. 197–198.

³³⁶ This is well seen in the formulae of the Egyptian (Demotic) visitors’ inscriptions, which are the counterpart (and forerunner) of the Greek *proskynemata*; see the examples at the end of the previous paragraph.

impression that rather the contrary was more common: the *proskynema* writers made mention of these people in their absence. In this context, one should mention the famous papyrus *P.Lond.* III 854 (p. 205 f.) containing a letter of a certain Nearchos to Heliodoros son of Sarapion, land proprietor in Hermoupolites at the turn of the first to second century AD.³³⁷ In this letter dated probably to AD 108–110, he describes in a literary manner his trip to Syene and to Ammonion in the Libyan desert. In remembrance of his friends, he always left their names in places he visited; ll. 10–11: [τὰ] εὐτομα (? εὔστομα Wilcken) ἱστορήσα καὶ τῶν φίλων [ἐ]μ[ὼν] τὰ ὄνοματα ἐνεχάραξα τοῖς ἱ[ε]ροῖς ἀειμνήτως [[τὸ προσκύνημα]]. That the presence in the temple was not prerequisite for leaving the *proskynema* of his (her) own is clearly demonstrated by the inscription 77, the *proskynema* of Androphanes, a priest of Isis, which was left not by him personally but through good offices (διὰ) of a certain Erios.³³⁸ On the other hand, the author of the inscription 187 made it as *proskynema* only for his relatives, but not for himself.³³⁹ The same situation occurs in 261 in which the writer mentions only those who love him and who are loved by him and fails to indicate his name.

3. Inscriptions containing the words of greetings. The most commonly occurring formula is εὐτυχῶς τῷ γράψαντι τῷ δεῖνι = 'Good luck to NN who wrote this.' This formula is evidenced in four inscriptions, namely 317, 318, 319, 320. All of them are to be found in the north chapel of Amun and are most probably interdependent between each other. Similar to these four inscriptions is the inscription 15 with greetings to both the writing person and the reader: Ἀντιγένης Ἀντιμάχου, χαίρει καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χαίρει. To this group also belongs 279 which contains greetings ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ = 'Good luck' followed by the name of the visitor. Greetings to the writer or the reader may occur in inscriptions of other types; cf. e.g. 50 (εὖ γένοιτο τῷ γράψαντι), 93, 155, 279, 285, 308 (we have ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ in all these cases), 68, 227 (there is ἔρρωσο in these two cases).

4. Inscriptions with the formula ὁ (ἡ) δεῖνα μνησθῶι = 'NN should be remembered.' The formula under consideration is evidenced in three inscriptions – 192, 193, 220 – all situated on the Ptolemaic portico, 192 and 193 standing immediately near each other. All three inscriptions display very similar palaeography with large epigraphic letters and are uniformly to be dated to the second century AD. The formula μνησθῶι ὁ (ἡ) δεῖνα is characteristic of Syria and neighbouring areas (Palestine, Arabia). In Egypt, it occurs more rarely and where it is attested (e.g. in inscriptions on the caravan routes of the Eastern Desert) it may be due to the Syrian influence or even the presence of Syrians. In the case of Deir el-Bahari, Syrian influence is more difficult to accept, but is not impossible. One should remember that the Athenodoros inscription

³³⁷ Republished as MITTEIS-WILCKEN, *Chrestomathie* II 117 and *P. Sarapion* 101; for corrections, see *BL* II, pp. 83–84. About this papyrus, see also REHM, *Philologus* 94 (1941), p. 7; A. DEISSMANN, *Licht vom Osten*⁴, Tübingen 1923, pp. 141–143.

³³⁸ Similarly in a *proskynema* in the temple of Piuris in the Charga Oasis, *SEG* XLVI 2091: τὸ προσκύνημα Ἐρμοκλῆς διὰ Παχίου κτλ.

³³⁹ Such a situation is frequently mentioned in inscriptions left by visitors in the Isis temple on the island of Philae; cf. e.g. *I Philae* I–II, nos. 31, 33, 34, 45, 46, 48, 49, 141, 145, 160, and many more. An example in Memnonion in Abydos, PERDRIZET/LEFEBVRE, *Memnonion*, no. 623.

(**208**) frequently mentioned in this work came into existence as a result of a visit paid by the soldier of Palmyrenian irregulars garrisoning in Coptos. The location of the inscriptions with the formula $\acute{\alpha} \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha \mu\eta\eta\sigma\theta\omicron\iota$ near each other and their similar palaeography permit us to suppose that they are interdependent. Perhaps they are products of the same visit paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by a group of Orientals (?).

5. Inscriptions constructed according to the model: 'I, NN, came to the god' or 'NN came to the god.' The verb used in these inscriptions is most frequently $\eta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ (**36**, **227**, **324**). We also find $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (**60**) and $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (**68**), on record in two different inscriptions left by the same man.

6. Alphabets. They occur in two inscriptions – **156** and **314** – the latter containing two complete alphabets. The function of these inscription is unknown; perhaps they symbolically notate prayers (cf. commentary to inscription **156**).

7. Literary texts. To this group belong the inscriptions: **100**, **209**, **210**, **219**. Two of them, **219** and **100** are composed in hexameters and probably contain hymns in honour of Amenhotep and Imhotep. Metrical elements and poetical vocabulary can also be traced in two others texts, but the literary genre and the contents are more difficult to establish in these two cases. The inscriptions **100**, **209** and **210** are done in paint with nice and skillful book hands. In **209**, the scribe even indicated word accents. All that seems to suggest that we are dealing with official texts, perhaps done by professional scribe active in the temple, although we cannot exclude the possibility of learned visitors as their writers. The inscription **219** scratched with a skillful but not attractive, semi-cursive hand might have been executed by both a learned visitor and a person belonging to the staff of the temple.

8. Varia. Under this heading come inscriptions displaying quite different forms which, however, have only single attestations in the Deir el-Bahari epigraphic material. We can mention here: longer report from the visit (the famous inscription of Athenodoros, **208**), names of Amenhotep and Imhotep in nominative, perhaps an invocation or a prayer (**235**), inscription with the formula $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\tau\alpha \acute{\alpha} \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$ with which its author obviously aimed to refer to the texts already existing on the wall (**308**), inscription constructed on the model of religious dedications with the names of gods in dative (**321**), and a text resembling a votive inscription ($\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu \dots \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\nu\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\varsigma$, **322**).

The question arises: what was the aim of those who left their inscriptions on the walls of the temple? Several motives can be suggested:

1. To seek after immortal remembrance.
2. To perpetuate his/her name before the divinity in order to establish an eternal worshipful presence in the cult place and receive the blessing of the god. This motive is best discernible in Greek inscriptions with the formula: '*proskynema* of NN before the god,' and their Demotic counterparts constructed according to the model: 'may the good name of NN remain here before the god.' In Greek texts, it is additionally underlined by the expressions $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\nu\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota} \chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$, $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota} \chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$.
3. To ask god for a favour, most often the healing. This is the case of the author of the inscription **50** who asks for health for his son, people occurring in the inscription **112**, and a certain Eugraphios who left the inscriptions **129** and **197**.

4. To give testimony to the benefactions performed by the god. This motive clearly comes to light in two inscriptions of Andromachos, particularly in **68**, in the long narrative left by Athenodoros (**208**), and in the inscription **322** left by brothers of a certain Euboulos.

It is needless to say that particular motives may coincide with each other.

It should be remarked that the first two motives are very near each other, based on the principle observable in all human cultures, but especially widespread in archaic ones, according to which the name is the same as the person – hence, writing down the name perpetuates the person.³⁴⁰ What makes these two motives different from each other is the attitude of the writers: psychological in the first case, religious in the second one.

The aim to commemorate oneself and to make one's visit in the temple permanent clearly influenced the behaviours of the writers. They are placed between two opposite poles. The first of them has its roots in the belief that the inscription must be clearly visible and legible in order to properly play its role as the epigraphic substitute of the worshipful presence of the writer before the god. Reading of the text of the inscription by subsequent visitors reenacts the act of adoration.³⁴¹ In this spirit, one probably should interpret the inscription **15** with the greetings *χαῖρε λέγοντι* addressed to those who read the inscription aloud, as well as **68a** and **227** with the farewell *ἔρρωσο* most probably also addressed to the reader. On the opposite pole stands the belief that the accessibility and visibility of the inscription is inferior to its integrity. The symbolical meaning of the text persists irrespective of its location unless it is damaged by someone in some way.³⁴² This belief may explain why the inscriptions were sometimes placed on hardly accessible spots, e. g. very high, and on surfaces which were elaborated only roughly, not attracting the closer attention of visitors. The same belief led the author(s) of the inscription **123** to provide it with a curse against those who would like to efface the text.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ The identity of the person with the name results from still more general identity of the thing with its designation. As anthropologists and language philosophers demonstrate, things do not exist without designations. Only through giving the designation, man calls the thing to exist and with the help of the designation he exerts control over it; cf. T. IZUTSU, *Language and Magic*, Tokyo 1956, pp. 50–51, and, with relation to names, especially names of gods, G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Fenomenologia religii*, Warsaw 1997, chapter 17: 'Power and will shaped in the name.' In visitors' inscriptions, this 'magical' connection between the thing (person) and its designation (name) is strengthened by the magical in its nature process of writing.

³⁴¹ Cf. remarks of REHM, *Philologus* 94 (1941), p. 9: 'Ausgegangen mag der Brauch (sc. to inscribe on walls) von Heiligtümern sein. Verbreitet hat er sich dann aber auf allerhand Stätten, an die des

öfteren Menschen kamen; denn das gehört wie in unseren Tagen zum Wesen der Wandkritzeleien, daß sie gelesen sein wollen.'

³⁴² Acts of martelation of visitors' inscriptions are attested in Deir el-Bahari. The Demotic inscription of divine father and priest of Amun-Min accompanied by a drawing showing him in a prayer position situated on the inner face of the south part of the Ptolemaic portico was obliterated by someone, most probably in antiquity. The inscription **148** from the present catalogue was effaced intentionally by horizontal incised lines. The signature of Ammonios son of Neileus in the south wing of the Upper portico (**33**) was the subject of an amusing addition 'Crocodile.'

³⁴³ The subject discussed in the last paragraph is well illustrated by a visitor's dipinto in hieratic left by the priest Neb-waw in a grotto behind the temple of Thutmosis III. The text which on palaeo-

Is it possible to estimate on the basis of wall inscriptions the activity of the temple and to say how often the visitors came to it? We started this discussion with the statement that *ca.* 490 inscriptions produced in connection with the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari (310 in Greek, 180 in Demotic) have been preserved to us, and that their number must originally have been much larger and might have reached 1,000. We have already seen that the cult of Amenhotep, to whom Imhotep was eventually added, existed in Deir el-Bahari uninterruptedly from the beginning of the third century BC until the second half of the second century AD, i.e. for *ca.* 500 years. Dividing the number of inscriptions by the number of years, we come up with extremely low figure of two inscriptions per year.³⁴⁴ This result surely does not correspond to the real frequency of the visits. There are no reasons to assume that all visitors to the temple left their inscriptions there. Many of them surely were unable to write. We have to remember that the public of the temple came mainly from the local Egyptian population in which the degree of literacy was rather low.

15. DEIR EL-BAHARI IN LATE ANTIQUITY

In the third-fourth centuries AD, Deir el-Bahari apparently preserved its appearance from the previous half a millennium. The temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, the temple of Thutmose III as well as the two lower courts of the Hatshepsut temple, were covered by sand and the place served as a cemetery.³⁴⁵ The burials were laid in pits with the use of earlier coffins to line the pits or to cover the mummies. Several burials from this period are distinguished by painted plaster masks mounted on a linen base. One of them is accompanied by a mummy label indicating the buried person was a man originating from the village of Terkythis situated in the Hermonthean nome in the neighbourhood of Memnoneia.³⁴⁶

graphic grounds may be dated to the first half of the 19th Dynasty ends with the following words: 'Il (= Neb-waw) dit: quant à chaque scribe, chaque homme qui lira cette inscription, il trouvera [...] la justification, son poste sera transféré à son enfant mâle mais quant à chaque homme qui violera cet écrit, il aura soif, il se tuera lui-même, il sera détesté de chaque homme;' cf. M. MARCINIAK [in:] *Bulletin du Centenaire* [= *Supplément au BIFAO* 81], Le Caire 1981, pp. 285–286.

³⁴⁴ G. SEURE, *Journ. Sav.* 1927, pp. 176–177, made an analogous survey for the Memnon colossus, tombs of the kings, and Memnonion in Abydos, coming up with similarly low results.

³⁴⁵ On the late antique necropolis in Deir el-Bahari, see W. GODLEWSKI, 'The Late Roman Necropolis in Deir el-Bahari' [in:] *Graeco-Coptica*.

Die Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten. Kongress- und Tagungsberichte der Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Beiträge 1984/1948, Halle 1984, pp. 111–119; IDEM, *Monastère*, pp. 47–49; Christina RIGGS, 'Roman period mummy masks from Deir el-Bahari,' *JEA* 86 (2000), pp. 121–144; Christina RIGGS [in:] N. STRUDWICK, J. H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, pp. 198–199. Four Deir el-Bahari masks are presented in the catalogue: Susan WALKER, M. BIERBRIER (eds.), *Ancient Faces. Portraits from Roman Egypt*, British Museum 1997, nos. 175–178.

³⁴⁶ Cf. G. WAGNER, 'Encore Terkythis,' *Memnonia* 6 (1995), pp. 243–249 (as unpublished); G. NACHTERGAEL, *CdÉ* 78 (2003), pp. 267–268 (with earlier bibliography).

The upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple seems to have remained relatively free from sand and without serious damage. However, it is uncertain if the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep was still practised there. We have already seen that the boom of the first half of the second cent. AD which produced dated and less stereotypical inscriptions ended abruptly sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. From the following 120 years, we have no securely dated example. This may indicate that the place was abandoned or at least used in a very restricted form for cult purposes in that period.³⁴⁷ Even if it was abandoned, however, it was not completely forgotten, as the visitors' inscriptions appear again for the period of some 50 years covering the last twenty years of the third and the one third of the fourth century.

The period under consideration produced twelve securely dated inscriptions (**157, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172, 173**). On the basis of different criteria, their number can probably be augmented by several further items in which the date is lacking due to their deterioration.³⁴⁸ Interestingly, all these inscriptions are found near each other in the four neighbouring niches of the south part of the west wall of the court (niches A–D counting from the south). This, together with their date, points to the existence of a close connection between them.

Among these inscriptions, there is a group of texts generated by the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis (πλήθος σιδηρουργῶν Ἐρμώνθεως). It surely contains six inscriptions (**163, 164, 168, 169, 172, 173**) found in niche D. Four further examples (**161, 162, 166, 167**) in the same niche D and the niche C neighbouring it from the south may be connected more or less securely with this group on the basis of palaeographic and textual criteria. It is not excluded that all late antique inscriptions found on the walls of the niches A–D of the west wall of the upper court of the Hatshepsut temple are connected with the *siderourgoi* corporation from Hermonthis. The proximity of the inscriptions would speak in favour of this suggestion. Attractive as it is, however, the above suggestion cannot be positively proven due to the lacunary state of preservation of the inscriptions.

The oldest inscription of the dossier of the *siderourgoi* corporation (**164**) comes from 283/284 AD, the youngest one (**169**) probably from December 27, AD 333 – January 26, AD 334. Thus, they cover a period of ca. 50 years. The items are the work of several hands. Four of them (**163, 168, 169, 172**), the youngest in the group at that, were written by Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes, as stated explicitly in the texts. Two further inscriptions (**166, 173**) may be ascribed to him on the basis of palaeographic criteria. Hatres son of Horion played for ca. 10 years the role of the corporation scribe, and participated in this capacity in the visits of the corporation members to Deir el-Bahari and took care of leaving written records of the visits. Other *siderourgoi* inscriptions could have been written by different corporation scribes who preceded Hatres.

³⁴⁷ The possibility of a change in the customs of the visitors, who might have suddenly stopped leaving inscriptions, is surely to be ruled out.

³⁴⁸ See introductory remarks to the inscriptions found in niche D, below, pp. 244–245.

As far as can be ascertained, the inscriptions are constructed according to a common pattern which includes the following elements:

1. the dating;
2. the indication of the purpose of a visit;
3. list of the corporation members who took part in the visit headed by those of the corporation officials;
4. information about the most important event(s) that took place during a visit and about the leaving of an inscription.

This form is best known from inscriptions done by Hatres son of Horion, particularly from **168**, but it is also discernible in other texts, e. g. in **164**, which is earlier by 40 years than **168** and was surely the work of another scribe.

The *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis were workmen whose activity consisted probably of the smelting of iron from ore which they themselves would have had to find and extract, or else by purchase.³⁴⁹ They form an association which, as seen through the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions, had the character of a social club, giving its members opportunities for common celebration on some special occasions. The corporation comprised some dozen members, at any rate, this number of people took place in gatherings in Deir el-Bahari.³⁵⁰ This number probably equals with the number of iron-workers active professionally in the entire Hermonthean nome including Memnoneia. The name of the corporation – *πλήθος σιδηρουργῶν Ἐρμώνθεως* – is somewhat surprising, for the term *πλήθος* is characteristic of the late Ptolemaic–early Roman period.³⁵¹ That a corporation active in the fourth century AD made use of this term indicates either its long existence or its aim to emulate past models. The association was headed by the council of three men whose title, always recorded in an abbreviated form *ἀρχι()*, may be interpreted in several ways. Perhaps it read *ἀρχι(σιδηρουργός)*. It seems that the corporation heads held their function temporarily, perhaps for a year. The corporation had its own secretary. For *ca.* 10 years, this function was fulfilled by a certain Hatres son of Horion. Judging from his practised hand, he was a professional scribe attached to the association of workmen.

The members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis visited Deir el-Bahari for socio-religious reasons. The course of these visits, reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary information found in the inscriptions, consisted of several points. Firstly, a donkey was sacrificed *ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ*. During the visit commemorated by the inscription **168** the sacrificer was Plenis the donkey-keeper,³⁵² while in

³⁴⁹ For the term *σιδηρουργός*, see with more details A. ЛАЙТАР, *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 56–57.

³⁵⁰ As the statutes of Egyptian associations order the participation of all members in common celebrations under the penalty of a fine, the absences must have been exceptional and justified.

³⁵¹ For *πλήθος* as a *terminus technicus* denoting a corporation, see Carola ZIMMERMAN, *Handwerkvereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* [= *Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Mono-*

graphien 5], Mainz 2002, pp. 33–34. Besides the *siderourgoi* inscriptions, the youngest occurrence of the word *πλήθος* in the meaning ‘corporation’ listed by Mrs. Zimmerman is *P. Eleph. Wagner*, no. 66 (from June 12th, AD 262).

³⁵² That a donkey-keeper was included into the cult gathering of the iron-workers corporation resulted, to my mind, not only from the fact that he knew how to manage a donkey, thus guaranteeing the efficiency of a sacrifice. One can imagine too, that he provided from his herd an animal

other instances it was most probably Hatres son of Horion, the corporation secretary. Having offered the sacrifice, the *siderourgoi* paid homage to the gods. The word *proskynema* used to denote this in the texts of the inscriptions is too general in meaning for anything definite to be said about this part of the visit.³⁵³ At the end of the visit the secretary left behind an inscription describing its course. Inscriptions **163** and **168** clearly state that the visits they commemorate took place over a period of two days. The nights separating these days were doubtless spent in the temple and it is almost certain that ritual banquets were organized. That a banquet was held during the visit reported in the inscription **168** is confirmed by the presence of a brewer, who was surely responsible for the preparation and supply of the necessary amount of beer.³⁵⁴

The most interesting element of the visits paid by the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis in Deir el-Bahari obviously is the offering of a donkey. In the common opinion of modern scholarship, the donkey was considered ritually unclean by almost all inhabitants of the Mediterranean area in ancient times including the Egyptians, and as such was not suitable for offering purposes. However, offering of donkeys is evidenced in our sources with reference to Egypt. This evidence has been collected by J. Yoyotte.³⁵⁵ It consists mostly of representations in the temples of Edfu³⁵⁶ and Karnak,³⁵⁷ depicting the king killing a donkey in honour of, respectively, Horus of Sile and Sokaris-Osiris, reborn on Choiak 26th. According to the mythological papyri, sacrificing a donkey neutralized the threats posed by the guardians of the underworld.³⁵⁸ Killing a donkey in the underworld by the dead is frequently referred to in *Book of the Dead*.³⁵⁹ An unusual sacrifice of a donkey is mentioned by Plutarch: in Kop-tos a bound donkey was thrown from a *gebél* into a precipice.³⁶⁰ The same author

needed for the sacrifice (possibly free of charge or at the reduced price) and took care of it during the pilgrimage from Hermonthis to Deir el-Bahari.

³⁵³ It should be observed, that contrary to the Egyptian usage *proskynema* does not mean 'inscription' in the *siderourgoi* dossier, but a religious act *sensu stricto* as results from the plural ἐποίησαν; cf. commentary to inscription **168**, line 9.

³⁵⁴ The case of the brewer probably was similar to that of the donkey-keeper. He either was hired by ironworkers, or joined them voluntarily supplying beer prepared by him as his contribution to the organization of the banquet.

³⁵⁵ J. YOYOTTE, 'Source grecque et religion égyptienne tardive: l'âne dans les croyances égyptiennes', *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, V^e section: Sciences religieuses* 77 (1969–1970), pp. 185–191.

³⁵⁶ E. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou IV*, Le Caire 1929, pp. 77–80, cols. 234–237; see also a detailed discussion of these representations by Françoise LABRIQUE, '« Transpercer l'âne » à Edfou' [in:] J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International*

Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991 [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 55], Leuven 1993, pp. 175–189.

³⁵⁷ K. SETHE, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Berlin 1957, no. 32.

³⁵⁸ Al. PIANKOFF, N. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri*, New York 1957, no. 17.

³⁵⁹ A nice example is the *Book of the Dead* of Tsh-Hapi-imou (Provenance unknown; now in Louvre, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, no. 3094; Late Period-Ptolemaic period) which has a vignette showing the deceased spearing a donkey; cf. A. CHARON (ed.), *La mort n'est pas une fin. Pratiques funéraires en Égypte d'Alexandre à Cléopâtre. Catalogue de l'exposition 28 septembre 2002 – 5 janvier 2003, Musée de l'Arles antique*, pp. 172–171, especially pp. 162–163.

³⁶⁰ Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride* 30, 362E. Cf. a commentary *ad locum* in: J. GWYNN GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, University of Wales Press 1970, pp. 409–410.

relates that images of the bound donkey were impressed on cakes prepared by inhabitants of Bousiris and Lykopolis as offerings during the feasts of the month of Pauni and Phaophi.³⁶¹

The information about the donkey sacrifices in Egypt presented above can easily be explained in the light of the ideology of the offering. Two types are distinguishable among offerings paid to gods in the Mediterranean world including Egypt:

1. Those which provide nourishment to the god. Offerings of this type were partly, and sometimes even wholly, eaten during a ritual banquet or distributed to the participants of the rite.

2. Those which aim at neutralisation of evil powers personified by the sacrificial animal. In this case, the offering as a rule was annihilated in full (burned, thrown into the sea or a precipice, buried, *vel sim.*), and the meat needed for the banquet was obtained in another way.

Sacrifices of donkeys obviously represent this second type of offerings called 'Vernichtungsoffer' by Junker in his classical study of the Egyptian sacrifices of the late periods.³⁶² Donkey together with crocodile, hippopotamus, pig, oryx and tortoise belonged to the animals connected with Seth, the god personifying disorder and all disastrous powers of the world, the mythological evil brother and killer of the good king Osiris. Sacrificing the Sethian animals makes invalid the threats posed by Seth and leads to the restoration of the cosmic order.³⁶³ Similar ideology most probably is to be assumed also in connection with the sacrifices of donkeys by the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis.

Additional data about the ideology behind these sacrifices is furnished by the dates of their taking place. The visits commemorated by the inscriptions **163** and **168** occurred on first and second of Tybi. The visit related in the inscription **169** also took place in the month of Tybi (exact date not preserved). Tybi immediately follows the month of Choiak, in which a great festival in honour of Sokaris-Osiris was observed.³⁶⁴ During the festival, the events from Osirian myth were symbolically celebrated: the treacherous killing of Osiris by his brother Seth, the searching for Osiris' body and the mourning after it by Isis, the triumphant resurrection of Osiris and the vanquish-

³⁶¹ Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride* 30, 362F; for commentary, see GWYNN GRIFFITHS, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-412.

³⁶² H. JUNKER, 'Die Schlacht- und Brandopfer und ihre Symbolik im Tempelkult der Spätzeit,' *ZÄS* 48 (1911), pp. 69-77.

³⁶³ About the sacrifices of Sethian animals, see Ph. DERCHAIN, *La sacrifice de l'oryx [= Rites égyptiennes 1]*, Bruxelles 1962; Penelope WILSON, 'Slaughtering the crocodile at Edfu and Dendera' [in:] St. QUIRKE (ed.), *The temples in Ancient Egypt. New discoveries and recent research*, London 1997, pp. 179-203.

³⁶⁴ Generally, on the Choiak feast, see G. GABALLA, K. KITCHEN, 'The Festival of Sokar,' *Orientalia* 38 (1969), pp. 1-76. The most important document

to reconstruct its course and symbolism is a long hieroglyphic text from the temple in Dendera, dated to the early Roman period, which edition, translation and commentary constitutes the basis of E. CHASSINAT, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au Mois de Khoiak*, vol. I-II, Le Caire 1966-1968; additional information is to be found in the feast calendar in the temple of Ramses III in Medinet Habu: H. H. NELSON, *Medinet Habu III. The Calendar, the 'Slaughterhouse,' and Minor Records of Ramses III*, Chicago 1934, pl. 158; cf. also H. H. NELSON, *The Calendar of Feasts and Offerings at Medinet Habu* [in:] H. H. NELSON, U. HÖLSCHER, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33*, Chicago 1934, p. 59.

ing of his enemies by his son Horus. The festival lasted for many days in the second half of the month of Choiak and ended on the 30th of Choiak with the erection of two *djed*-pillars, symbolizing the final victory of Osiris who became the king of the Underworld, leaving to Horus the rule over Earth. The enthronement of Horus as a ruler of such an organized Cosmos was celebrated on the first of Tybi, during the Nechebkau-feast.³⁶⁵ Thus, first of Tybi being a natural continuation of the feast of Choiak was at the same time considered the first day of the Egyptian New Year.³⁶⁶ The victory of Osiris over Seth was celebrated by offering Sethian animals during the high point of the feast of Choiak, on the 26th day of that month; sources from the temples of Karnak and Edfu speak of sacrificing a donkey,³⁶⁷ those from Medinet Habu mention a pig.³⁶⁸ The feast of Choiak and the ceremonial observance of the New Year survived in Egypt until late antiquity.³⁶⁹ I consider it likely that the visits of *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis to Deir el-Bahari and their offering of a donkey, the holy animal of Seth, took place on the occasion of these feasts. The sacrifice would then have to be of ‘Vernichtungsoffer’ type – the donkey was completely destroyed and the meat for the banquet was obtained elsewhere.³⁷⁰ That the *siderourgoi*’s sacrifices should be understood as Vernichtungsoffern, being a nourishment neither for a god nor for people, seems to be suggested by the inscriptions themselves. One should notice that a donkey was sacrificed *ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ* and not *τῷ θεῷ* as if god were only a guardian of the sacrifice and would not take his part from it.

The question arises as to who was receiver of the offerings and *proskynemata* made by the members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis in the Deir el-

³⁶⁵ W. BARTA, *LÄg* IV [1982], col. 389, *s.v.* ‘Nechebkau(-fest).’ The feast of the first of Tybi were observed with particularly great solemnity in the temple of Horus in Edfu: M. ALLIOT, *Le culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, vol. II, Le Caire 1954, pp. 561–676.

³⁶⁶ On the connections between the feast of Choiak and this of the first of Tybi, see A. H. GARDINER, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), p. 139, who even considers them to be ‘but two names for one and the same festival.’

³⁶⁷ As for Karnak, see above, note 357. In the temple of Horus in Edfu, the information on the donkey sacrifice on Choiak 26th is contained in the so-called ‘Small Feast Calendar.’ E. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d’Edfou* V, Le Caire 1930, p. 399, cols. 1–6; translation in M. ALLIOT, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Le Caire 1949, p. 210: ‘Au moment du matin, on présente de nombreuses offrandes devant Osiris. (Puis) on amène l’âne sauvage du temple de Seth; (alors) [on] amène [...]; les harponneurs saisissent l’épieu; le (prêtre du) roi [arrive(?)]; on égorge (la victime) devant Osiris.’

³⁶⁸ H. H. NELSON, *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 158; mentioned briefly by H. H. NELSON [in:] H. H. NELSON,

U. HÖLSCHER, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Contrary to other sources, the calendar from Medinet Habu speaks on the sacrifice as offered on the 24th not on the 26th of Choiak.

³⁶⁹ Cf. R. MERKELBACH, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Daten und Riten* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*], Meisenheim am Glan 1963, p. 36.

³⁷⁰ In spite of being described by the term *θυσία*, sacrifice offered by the *siderourgoi* cannot be identified with the classical Greek *θυσία*, the sacrifice which according to J. RUDHARDT, *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique*, Genève 1958, p. 321, presupposes ‘destruction partielle de l’objet consacré et maniement ou consommation de la partie restante.’ The reasons are twofold:

1. starting with the classical meaning the word *θυσία* gradually enlarged its meaning to embrace every sacrifice and offering as it does in modern Greek;

2. we are dealing here with Egyptian-type sacrifices and not with Greek ones.

Bahari temple. The inscription **161** mentions Amenhotep and Imhotep, but it is not certain if it belongs to the *siderourgoi* dossier. In the inscription **163** which undoubtedly was left by the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis, there is a question of 'Lords [gods]' (note the plural). In two further inscriptions from the *siderourgoi* dossier (**168**, **169**), an anonymous 'god' (θεός) is mentioned who in one case (**168**) bears the epithet 'Great' (μέγας). Another element which should be taken into consideration at the identification of the gods to whom the corporation of the iron-workers from Hermonthis offered sacrifices and paid homage is the expression ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ occurring in inscription **168** 8 as well as ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] Υ[.]ΑΤΩΝ Ε[. . . . ἐποίησαν (?)] ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ] on record in **169** 9–10. It is known that the preposition ἔμπροσθεν as a rule has a locative meaning: 'in front of.' If we accept this meaning also here, we shall assume that the anonymous designation 'god' and also 'great god' refers to Amenhotep, for centuries the main god of the Deir el-Bahari temple. Going further on this way, we can say that the *siderourgoi* had both Amenhotep and Imhotep in mind when they spoke about 'Lords [gods]' in plural. However, the kind of offerings made by *siderourgoi* with a complicated cosmic ideology involved does not well suit these two gods. It is known that Amenhotep and Imhotep delighted themselves with modest offerings, frequently coming from the altars of other gods, as nourishment for their *k3s*. If they really were meant by the iron-workers from Hermonthis, they must have undergone a substantial development during the Roman period which made cosmic gods of them, equal in rank to the great gods of the Egyptian pantheon. The transformation of the figures of Amenhotep and Imhotep in this direction is not impossible. We have seen during presentation of the Ptolemaic sanctuary that the two gods were considered as the ones who reconstruct the cosmic order and reintroduce the divine justice (*m3t*) already by the second century BC. In the Greek inscriptions of the Roman period, they bear the epithets 'Lords' (κύριοι) and 'Masters' (δεσπόται) which normally were given, especially the second, to great Greek and Near Eastern gods who were considered to possess a real power over mortals and lesser divinities. The *siderourgoi* inscriptions would testify to the results of this process of elevation of Amenhotep and Imhotep. However, there exists another explanation of the problem posed in the first sentence of the present paragraph. In post-Classic Greek, ἔμπροσθεν occurs sometimes in a figurative meaning: 'in the presence of.' Providing this meaning is applicable here, the receivers of offerings and *proskynemata* of the members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis need not necessarily be identical with gods worshipped in the local temple. They could have been any Egyptian gods whatever who were known to the *siderourgoi* and worshipped by them.

Another question is connected with the previous one, namely: why did the members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis choose the temple at Deir el-Bahari for the place of their gatherings to celebrate the Choiak-Nechebkau festival? Several answers to this question are possible, none of which can be considered definitive. The most simple answer, under the assumption that the receivers of offerings paid by *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis were Amenhotep and Imhotep, would be that the corporation functioned under the special patronage of Amenhotep and

Imhotep and its members gathered in the old cult place of the two gods. This answer is quite probable, as the professional corporations in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt frequently were at the same time cult associations of a certain god or gods. It should be remarked that Amenhotep and Imhotep were excellent candidates for being patrons of a professional corporation of iron-workers. Both of them were masters in their professions while living, and Imhotep, while deified, was considered son of Ptah, the divine smith and patron of smiths. Their cult flourished mainly on the Theban West Bank, i. e. in the area from which were recruited the members of the Hermonthean corporation of iron-workers. On the other hand, one also can say that *siderourgoi* came to Deir el-Bahari not because their corporation stood under the patronage of Amenhotep and Imhotep, but because they considered the two gods to be suitable addressees of sacrifices aiming symbolically in the restoration of the cosmic order. The answer becomes more complicated when we assume that the anonymous 'gods' from the *siderourgoi* inscriptions were not Amenhotep and Imhotep. In this case, it might have been the general religious atmosphere of the place situated at the feet of the holy mountain of Thebes and devoted, from times immemorial, to the cult of gods that attracted the *siderourgoi* to Deir el-Bahari. Deir el-Bahari also was a suitable place for practical reasons. The temple was situated outside the zone of human settlement, but not very far from it and rather near to the *siderourgoi* place of living. Those among them who were residents of the nome's capital – Hermonthis – had only 20 kilometres before them, and those who came from the north part of the nome including the Memnoneia were simply at home. The temple comprised large spaces, both open (court) and closed (Hatshepsut chapel) which guaranteed freedom of movement during the sacrifice and the nightly banquet of some dozen of men.³⁷¹ This cannot be said about other West Theban temples at those times. The huge enclosure of the Ramesses III temple in Medinet Habu was densely built up with houses, and the same probably is true also with relation to the temple of Ramesses II (Ramesseum) and the temple of Montu in Hermonthis.

Do the inscriptions from the end of the third – first half of the fourth century AD including the *siderourgoi* dossier testify to the fact that the temple at Deir el-Bahari was still active at that time? This is not entirely clear to me, but I am inclined to give a negative answer. It is my impression that the organized cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep ceded in Deir el-Bahari in the second half of the second century AD. What happens in the turn of the third to fourth century looks like visits in an already abandoned temple, which was still in a good state of preservation, but lacked an owner. It is not excluded that all these visits were paid by the people from the same limited circle (corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis) and at the same occasion (celebration of the Choiak-Nechebkau festival). This interpretation is further corroborated by a very limited topographical range of inscriptions: all of them, as we have already seen, concentrate in four southernmost niches of the west wall of the upper court.

³⁷¹ Nights may be very cold in Upper Egypt on the turn of December to January as the present writer could have experienced personally on many occa-

sions. Feasting outdoor during such a cold night is virtually impossible.

Even if we accept this interpretation, the inscription **161** dated to July – August 28, AD 283 shows that Amenhotep and Imhotep had not been forgotten in Deir el-Bahari in the second half of the second century AD as it was admitted thus far, but still were remembered towards the end of the third century AD and perhaps even longer.

The *siderourgoi* dossier casts an interesting light on the social and religious life of Egyptian society in late antiquity. At the twilight of pagan Egyptian civilization, the iron-workers from Hermonthis do everything to preserve and to care for the elements of this civilization. Their corporation (including its name) emulates the traditional model of Egyptian associations of Ptolemaic and Roman times, the main aim of which was to secure the ties between their members. They achieved this by, among other means, common feasting on various private and public occasions. Among such occasions were common celebrations of feasts of the traditional Egyptian calendar. During the feast of Choiak-Nechebkau, the corporation members visited the temple at Deir el-Bahari in the north part of the Memnoneia where they performed sacrifices which, as far as their ideology is concerned, were deeply rooted in the Egyptian religious beliefs. The offerings were followed by banquets during which beer, the traditional drink of the Egyptians, was consumed.³⁷² This predilection of the *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis for the traditional beverage of their country should be stressed, as beer had apparently disappeared almost completely from the diet of the inhabitants of the Nile valley by the fourth century AD, having been replaced by wine.³⁷³

The religious activity which took place on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple in the last years of the third-first half of the fourth century AD is probably an explanation for the discovery of six bronze coins of Constantine the Great and his sons Constans, Constantius II and Constantine II made under the stairs leading from the Bark Shrine to the first room of the original sanctuary.³⁷⁴ The coins were issued between 330 and 348 in the mints of Alexandria, Antiochia, Nicomedia, Rome and Constantinople. Another coin of the early fourth century AD was found within the

³⁷² On Egyptian beer, see W. HELCK, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1971; W. J. DARBY, P. GHALLIOUNGUI, L. GRIVETTI, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, London – New York – San Francisco 1976, vol. II, pp. 529–550. For beer and brewers in Graeco-Roman times, see H. HARRAUER, *CPR XIII*, pp. 82–85; H.-J. DREXHAGE, 'Bierproduzenten und Bierhändler in der papyrologischen Überlieferung,' *MBAH* 16, 2 (1991), pp. 32–39; W. CLARYSSE, 'Use and Abuse of Beer and Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt' [in:] K. GEUS, K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica – Libyca – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huß, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen [= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 104, Studia Phoenicia XVI]*, Leuven – Paris – Sterling 2001, pp. 159–166 especially pp. 159–160.

³⁷³ For disappearance of beer from papyrological documentation following the fourth cent. AD and

interpretation of this phenomenon, see R. S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, p. 32; P. VAN MINNEN, 'Dietary Hellenization or Ecological Transformation? Beer, Wine and Oil in Later Roman Egypt' [in:] Isabella ANDORLINI, G. BASTIANINI, M. MANFREDI, Giovanna MENCİ (eds.), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze, 23–29 agosto 1998*, vol. II, Firenze 2001, pp. 1265–1280.

³⁷⁴ For the conditions of the discovery, see F. PAWLICKI, *PAM* 10 (1998), p. 122; IDEM, *Świątynie*, p. 29. The coins were published by Aleksandra KRZYŻANOWSKA, 'Monety rzymskie znalezione w świątyni Hatszepsut w Deir el-Bahari' ('Roman coins found in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari') [in:] W. KACZANOWICZ (ed.), *Studia z dziejów antyku pamięci profesora Andrzeja Kunisza*, Katowice 2004, pp. 228–231.

wall separating the court from the Room with the Window.³⁷⁵ All these coins probably were lost by someone, perhaps by a member of the corporation of iron-workers during one of the visits alluded by the inscriptions.

Traces of the pagan cult disappear from Deir el-Bahari in the middle of the fourth century AD. Two hundred years later, probably at the end of the sixth century, a Christian monastery was installed in the rooms of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, in the place where the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep had once flourished.³⁷⁶ The monastery, which most probably was named after St. Phoibamon, functioned until the end of the eighth century. After it was abandoned, it was still the place of pilgrimages by Christian inhabitants of the Thebaid until the 13th century AD, as is proven by numerous graffiti and dipinti in Coptic on the walls of the Hatshepsut temple. The later history of the place is completely unknown until it was rediscovered by modern European visitors and Egyptologists in the first half of the 19th century.

It is interesting to observe that the healing cult did not disappear with Amenhotep and Imhotep from Deir el-Bahari. In the time of the Coptic monastery, the role of the healer was played by St. Phoibamon. This is shown by the series of eighth-century Coptic acts of donations, especially of children, which were made to the monastery of St. Phoibamon as a fulfillment of vows undertaken during illnesses.³⁷⁷ These acts show us a vivid picture of the healing activity that took place in the monastery at that time. The people coming for healing practised incubation there. Parents took children with them and exposed them 'in front of the altar' (*θυσιαστήριον*) or 'in front of the sanctuary' (*ἱερατεῖον*). They invoked 'God and His saint, Apa Phoibamon' or the 'angel of the holy altar.' They participated in 'the holy mysteries' and then stayed in the monastery, some for a week, some for a month, some for only several days, being treated by monks. The sick were given holy water kept in basins (*λουτήρια*) in front of an altar. The excavations in the Hatshepsut temple carried out by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s brought to light a Coptic ostrakon with a prescription against some disabilities of the skull.

In our time, healings are procured by the local saint Sheich Abd el-Qurna, whose grave is situated on the top of the hill which closes the Deir el-Bahari valley from the south-east. The sheich is especially considered by the local population as a helper in cases of female infertility. Women who have difficulty becoming pregnant visit the sheich's tomb on the hilltop and throw stones from there downhill seven times. Then, they come down to the area of the ancient necropolis, where they place seven stones

³⁷⁵ Personal communication of Z. Szafranski.

³⁷⁶ For this monastery, see GODLEWSKI, *Monastère, passim*, especially pp. 60–78.

³⁷⁷ For the texts of these acts, see W. E. CRUM, G. STEINDORFF, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djeme (Theben)*, Leipzig 1912 (reprint: Leipzig 1971); W. TILL, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* [= *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 244/243], Wien 1964, pp. 149–188 (trans-

lation); Anneliese BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER, *Koptische Schenkungsurkunden aus der Thebais. Formeln und Topoi der Urkunden, Aussagen der Urkunden, Indices* [= *Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten* 41], Wiesbaden 2001; for a discussion of this material, see Arietta PAPAConstantinou, 'Notes sur les actes de donation d'enfant au monastère thébain de Saint-Phoibammon,' *JfP* 32 (2002), pp. 83–105 (with further bibliography).

on the ground, pour henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) over them, jump them over seven times, and finally roll themselves on the earth. After fulfilling these rites, they return home, where they have intercourse with their husbands. The method has been proved very efficacious.³⁷⁸

ADDENDUM

On p. 46, I mentioned fragments of painted panels recently found by the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the North Chapel of Amun. Following the opinion of the excavators, I had referred to those objects as fragments of a mummy portrait. In fact, they come from different paintings, one representing a young man and the other a woman. Mrs. Lorelei H. Corcoran, who had the opportunity to study these objects, excludes the possibility of their being mummy portraits (letter to Zbigniew Szafrński dated December 6, 2004). According to her, these could have been panels of a box but more probably they were domestic icons (either separate images or, perhaps, if related, parts of a diptych or triptych). They would have been left as votive offerings at the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari. Based on the style of the painting and the medium (tempera), she considered the panels to be contemporary and dated them to the third century AD.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Elżbieta DĄBROWSKA-SMEKTAŁA, 'Bezpłodność i magia' ('Infertility and magic'), *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1972, pp. 25–30.

**DEIR EL-BAHARI
IN THE HELLENISTIC
AND ROMAN PERIODS**

CATALOGUE OF SOURCES

NOTE ON THE PRESENT EDITION

The author's ambition in preparing the present catalogue was to collect all the Greek sources connected with the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. The first and most extensive section of the book is devoted to an edition of the wall inscriptions. It is followed by two much shorter sections, labelled **A** and **B**, presenting the ostraca and the stone inscriptions respectively.

A predecessor to the catalogue of wall inscriptions is the excellent book by A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* [= *Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie*], Le Caire 1951. It contains 210 entries, including 190 pagan inscriptions from Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial times, seven Christian inscriptions from the late antique-Byzantine period, and 13 figural drawings. In the effect of my own work at Deir el-Bahari, I was able to demonstrate that the number of Greek inscriptions on the walls of the Hatshepsut temple exceeded by far that presented in Bataille's book. There are two reasons for this fact. For one thing, ongoing reconstruction and conservation work carried out in the Hatshepsut temple by Polish-Egyptian expeditions working since 1961 (see introduction to particular sections of the catalogue) has brought to light many previously unknown or unnoticed inscriptions. Secondly, several items were evidently omitted by the French scholar. Thus, the present catalogue of wall inscriptions contains 323 inscriptions.

Considering that my interest lay in the Greco-Roman period, when the Hatshepsut temple was used for the worship of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep, I have intentionally omitted the Christian texts dating from the times of the Coptic monastery existing on the site. The sole exception is a graffito from the south wall of the court (**I32**), which the author apparently intended as a polemic with earlier pagan texts written in the same spot. As for the Christian inscriptions in Greek from Deir el-Bahari, which I have collected in the course of the present work, they will be published separately in article form.

I have also decided to exclude drawings from the present catalogue because of the problems with their dating. It is virtually impossible to ascertain when many of the numerous scratchings, frequently repeating motifs from the decoration of the Hat-

shepsut temple, were executed, whether in Greco-Roman or other times. Furthermore, drawings left by visitors on the temple walls, while interesting as a cultural phenomenon, have nothing to add to the history of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. I have included drawings only when they constituted an integral part of the inscriptions, as in the case of **6**, **61** and **230**.

Entries in the catalogue of wall inscriptions follow a topographical order established by Bataille in his *Inscriptions*. Opening the presentation is the one inscription identifiable on the lower terrace, followed by texts from the external Upper (Coronation) Portico, first to the north of the granite portal and then to the south of it. Next come the inscriptions from the internal parts of the upper terrace, arranged more or less clockwise starting with the granite portal. The order of items in parts **A** and **B** is chronological.

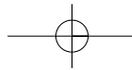
The position of particular wall inscriptions is indicated always in reference to the first letter in the first line unless stated otherwise. The distance is given from the nearest architectural element (edge of a doorway, edge of a niche, corner of a room etc.) or the previous inscription, and the height is always with regard to the floor (ground). As a rule, I have also provided descriptions of the spot where the text is found. The distribution of the inscriptions within the temple may be checked on the plans attached at the back of the book.

The dimensions of the inscriptions are given as follows: first, the width of the space taken up by the script and then its height. Note that all dimensions are given as maximum values.

In the edition of the texts, I have followed the so-called Leiden system of editorial signs with the following signs retaining their usual meaning:

($\alpha\beta\gamma$)	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]	Lacuna in the text
< $\alpha\beta\gamma$ >	Letters omitted by the writer or evident mistakes of the writer corrected by the editor
{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }	Letters erroneously written by the writer and deleted by the editor
[[$\alpha\beta\gamma$]]	Letters written, then deleted, by the writer
$\alpha\beta\gamma$	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
. . . .	Letters of which part or all remain, but which have not been read
[. . .]	Letters which are lost but the number of which can be established
- - -	Letters partly preserved, but the number of which cannot, even approximately, be established
[- - -]	Letters which are lost and the number of them cannot, even approximately, be established
' $\alpha\beta\gamma$ '	Letters inserted by the writer above the line
$AB\Gamma$	Letters which are read, but which cannot be arranged into words

Where the spelling of a text differs from the standard forms of Greek, the latter are given in the critical apparatus. The 'corrected' versions of words and names are

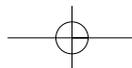
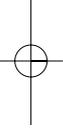


given only to indicate the editor's view of their syntactic role or to indicate the usual spelling of a word or a name whenever an actual error and not a legitimate variant is suspected. Errors of case are similarly corrected.

Drawings of the inscriptions are by the author unless stated differently.

In translations, round brackets () are used to introduce the present author's insertions designed to make the translated text more understandable. Square brackets [] mark the losses in the text of the inscriptions.

The names of the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari are given in translations in the exact forms, in which they occur in inscriptions, i. e. Amenotes for Amenhotep son of Hapu, and Asklepios for Imhotep. I have consistently used the names Amenhotep (son of Hapu), and Imhotep outside the translations.



WALL INSCRIPTIONS

LOWER TERRACE

SECTION I PORTICO IN FRONT OF THE ANUBIS CHAPEL

1. West wall, 104 cm to the north of the entrance to the Anubis chapel, 186 cm above the floor, on the base of the Anubis throne. Dimensions: 21,5 x 3.8 cm. Red ochre, very faded and blurred.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τ[ὸ π]ροσκύνημ[α - - -]

This is the only Greek inscription outside the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. Taken with other data, it demonstrates that the lower terrace had not been filled by sand and was still accessible in Roman times, either in part or at least temporarily.

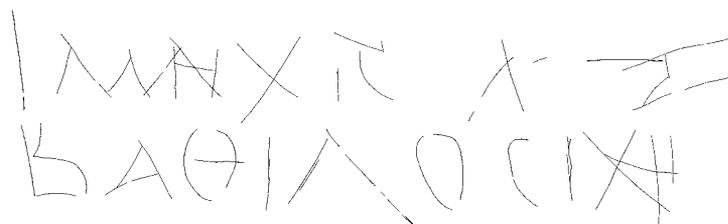
UPPER TERRACE

SECTION II UPPER (CORONATION) PORTICO, NORTHERN WING

2. 106.5 cm to the north of the granite portal, 142 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, line 1 on the upper, line 2 on the lower part of the dado. Dimensions: 72 x 20 cm; h. of letters: 6–10 cm (the letters take up the entire height of the dado). The graffito is quite deep, even so distinguishing among the different strokes is difficult. The block on the left-hand side is missing and the inscription is most probably incomplete here. The strokes at the end of both lines may belong to the inscription but they may equally well be accidental scratchings.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[- - -] . MAXIC[.] . . .
[- - -] BAΘI . OCIX .

1. Possibly a male name ending in *-μαχis* or *-μηχis*, like *Ἀρμάχis*.
2. The triangular letter after *I* is either Δ or Λ , apparently not Δ . The word probably ends with *C*. This could have been a name in the nominative or genitive. Tentative reading: *{Σαμ}βαθίδος*.

3. 105 cm from 2, 139.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 19 x 3.8 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 2.5 – 3 cm. Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish; only *KH* is well visible, other letters are uncertain. A scratched inscription in Demotic can be seen under the present inscription, on a block of the third course, alongside numerous figural graffiti.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 1.

Roman period.



[- - -] . NINEKH . [- - -]

Bataille read ν . [.] κηκ[. He incorporated this inscription in his catalogue after a copy made by Milne and noted that he himself could not identify it on the wall.

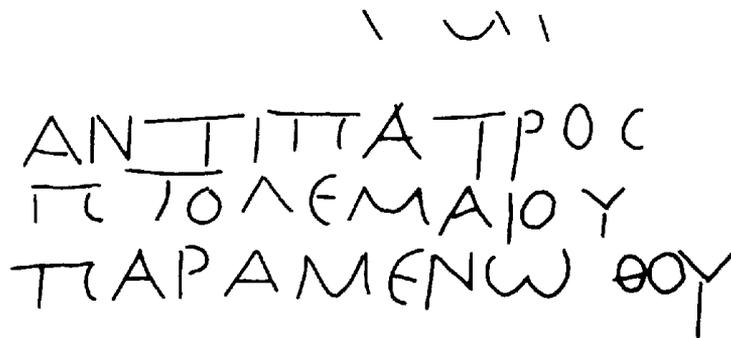
I am not able to make any reasonable text from the letters I have copied.

4. 28 cm from 3, 133.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of stones, line 1 (if it really existed) on the narrow strip separating the upper and the lower bands of the dado, lines 2–4 on the lower, yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 8.5 x 3.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron* in l. 3) – 1 cm (*upsilon* in l. 4). Nice delicate graffito by a skilful and well-trained hand using a sharp writing tool (burin ?)

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 2 (Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon I* [1974], p. 105, s.v. Ἀμενώθης).

Cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), p. 92. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 229, no. 2 (German translation).

3rd–2nd cent. BC (palaeography).



[τὸ προσκύν]ημα

Ἀντίπατρος

Πτολεμαίου

4 παρ' Ἀμενώθου.

1. προσκ[ύ]νημα [α Bataille

Proskynema of Antipatros son of Ptolemaios before Amenotbes.

4. For the expression *παρὰ* + name of a god either in the dative or genitive, see P. Charneaux, 'Du côté de chez Héra,' *BCH* 111 (1987), pp. 207–223. It is common in Egyptian *proskynemata*.

5. 12.5 cm from 4, 141.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 8 x 2.7 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*omega*) – 2.7 cm (*lambda*). Graffito scratched with a piece of flint with multiple edges, leaving a double horizontal line in E. Not a practised or skilful hand. The script rises to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 3.

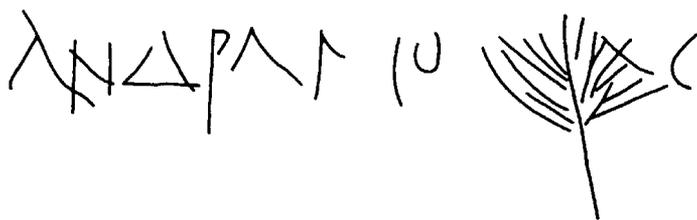
Roman Imperial period.

Λέων. 

6. 45.5 cm from 5, 133 cm above the floor, fourth course of stones, on the lower, yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 15.7 x 4.7 cm (branch); h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 2.4 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito. A branch separates the last letter from the rest of the inscription.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 4.

Second half of the Ptolemaic period.



Ἄνδραμο[branch]ς.

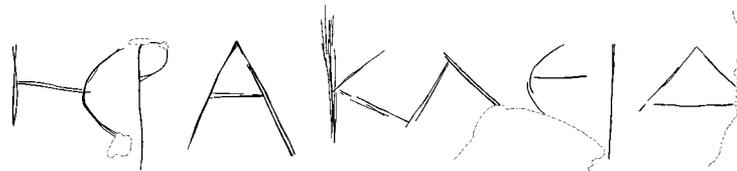
The personal name Ἄνδραμος seems not to have been attested elsewhere thus far. One should compare, however, Ἄνδραμένης in Crete (*LGPN* I, *s. v.*) and Ἄνδραμίδης in Thasos (*LGPN* I, *s. v.*).

Bataille suggested that the branch interrupting the name of Andramos was not his personal token or invention, but a reproduction of a motif he had seen in the relief decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut.

7. 89 cm from 6, 143 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado which had been indicated only in paint here and partly on the narrow strip separating the upper band from the lower one. Width: 55.5 cm; h. of letters: 4.5 cm (*delta*) – 10.5 cm (*kappa*). Deep graffito made by multiple scratchings with a writing tool (piece of flint?) The block on the right-hand side with the end of the inscription is missing.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 5.

Late Ptolemaic or early Roman period.



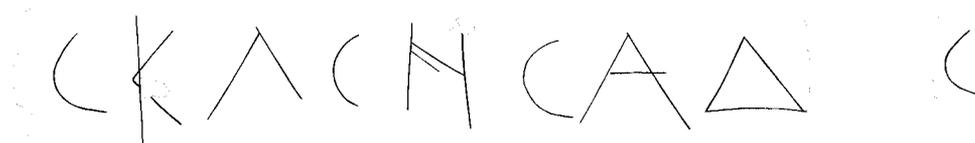
Ἡρακλειδ[- - -].

Ἡρακλειδ[ης or Ἡρακλειδ[ου.

8. 86 cm from 7, 147 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Width: 94 cm; h. of letters: 7.3 cm (*sigma*) – 13 cm (*kappa*). Graffito. The carving is wide and shallow. The letters take up the entire height of the upper band of the dado and cross it to the bottom in several places. The block on the left-hand side with the beginning of the inscription is missing. Beneath the present inscription, on the lower band of the dado, there is a Demotic graffito.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic or early Roman period.



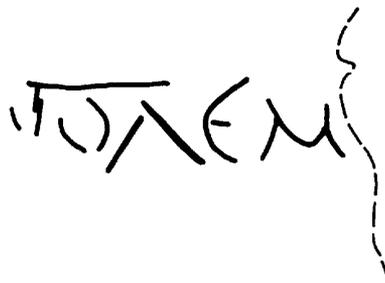
[- - -]CKACHCAΔ[.]C

Possibly [A]σκληπ(ι)άδ[η]s (for Ἀσκληπιάδης).

9. 69 cm from **8**, 143.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado, on the letter Δ in **8**. Dimensions: 5.2 x 1.4 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.4 cm (*epsilon*). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 6.

Roman period (?).



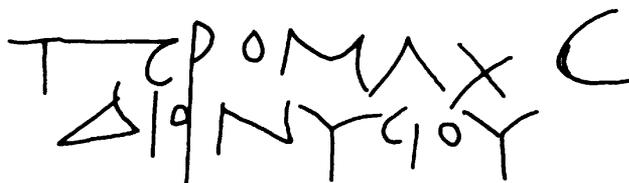
Πτολεμ[α - - -].

Πτολεμ[αίος or Πτολεμ[αίου.

10. 41.5 cm from **9**, 142.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper part of the dado, near a Demotic graffito to the right. Dimensions: 11.5 x 3.1 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 3 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito. The letters *NA* visible under the present inscription, on the lower band of the dado.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 7.

Ptolemaic period, perhaps mid-2nd century BC (cf. commentary).



Πρόμαχ[ο]s
Διονυσίου.

1. Πρόμαχος Bataille

Promachos son of Dionysios.

The same Promachos son of Dionysios left four more signatures in the northern part of the Upper Portico, several dozen centimetres away from one another (cf. below, nos. **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**). The man's nomenclature and the date of the inscriptions, established as mid-Ptolemaic on palaeographic and prosopographic grounds, indicate that he was of Greek descent.

The name Promachos is rare in Ptolemaic Egypt. A certain Promachos (without patronymic) occurs in a Greek name-list of the late Ptolemaic period originating from the Theban region (*WO* 1189, 5). Another instance of the name in question in the Theban area is a Demotic oath taken by Promachos (again without patronymic) against Her-

mippos son of Agathon, probably of 162/161 BC (Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempelide* [= *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 6], Wiesbaden 1963, no. 115; for the date see W. Clarysse [in:] *Hundred Gated Thebes*, p. 11, no. 8). Taking into account the rarity of the name Promachos under the Ptolemies, one is justified in identifying that Promachos with our Promachos son of Dionysios.

II. 53.5 cm from **IO**, 147 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper part of the dado. Dimensions: 11.5 x 5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 2.9 cm (*upsilon* at the end). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 8.

Ptolemaic period, perhaps mid-2nd century BC (cf. commentary to **IO**).

Πρόμαχος
Διονυσίου.

Promachos son of Dionysios.

12. 44 cm from **II**, 143.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 9.2 x 3 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*sigma* in l. 2) – 1.8 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 9.

Ptolemaic period, perhaps mid-2nd cent. BC (cf. commentary to **IO**).

Πρόμαχος
Διονυσίου.

Promachos son of Dionysios.

13. 72 cm from **12**, 143 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper part of the dado. Dimensions: 9.8 x 3.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*pi*). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 10.

Ptolemaic period, perhaps mid-2nd cent. BC (cf. commentary to **10**).

Πρόμαχος
Διονυσίου.

Promachos son of Dionysios.

14. 154 cm from **13**, 141.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper part of the dado. Dimensions: 17 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 4 cm (*rho*). Delicate graffito. The copy reproduced here is by Bataille.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 11.

Ptolemaic period, perhaps mid-2nd cent. BC (cf. commentary to **10**).

Πρόμαχος
Διονυσίου.

Promachos son of Dionysios.

15. 319 cm from **14**, 133.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 75 x 7.8 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*nu* in Ἀντιμάχου) – 7.8 cm (*rbo* at the end). Fine but well visible graffito. Letters become bigger and more widely spaced towards the end of the inscription.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 12.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.

ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΚΑΝ ΠΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕΚ ΑΙΤΩΙΛ ΑΓΑΝΤΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Ἀντιγένης Ἀντιμάχου, χαίρε· καὶ τῶι λέγοντι χαίρε.

Antigenes son of Antimachos, greetings, and greetings also to the one who reads (this inscription).

Bataille was of the opinion that Antigenes son of Antimachos, mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, was a friend of the writer and the writer himself was concealed under λέγοντι. To my mind, Antigenes son of Antimachos was the author of the inscription and λέγοντι is a reference to the reader. In my opinion, λέγοντι equals ἀναγιγνώσκοντι here. Its use is due to the antique custom of reading aloud. The two verbs emphasize different aspects of the process of reading: ἀναγιγνώσκω is connected with the recognition of written signs, λέγειν with the pronouncing of what has already been identified. For the issue of how the Greeks and Romans read, see recently St. Busch, 'Lautes und leises Lesen in der Antike,' *Rhein. Mus.* 145 (2002), pp. 1–45. Greetings to the reader are attested in visitors' inscription from Egypt; cf. e.g. Wagner, *Les Oasis*, p. 65, no. 6, ll. 3–4: εὐτυχῶς [τῶ γ]ράψαντι καὶ τῶ ἀναγιγνώσκοντι (from Charga Oasis). Readers are also introduced into *proskynemata* by their authors; cf. e.g. Perdrietz/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, nos. 580 (τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀσπιδᾶ τοῦ πυθιονικοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν [...] καὶ τοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος) and 617 (τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπολλῶν[ι]ος Ἀπολλ[ωνίου] - - -] καὶ πάντων τῶν φιλοῦντων ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ τοῦ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος - - -]). As far as our inscription is concerned, it should probably be understood thus: A reader of the inscription says χαίρε to its author, Antigenes son of Antimachos, who returns the same greeting to the reader.

The author of this inscription, Antigenes son of Antimachos, may be identical with the Antigenes who signed his name twice in the southern part of the Upper Portico (nos. **48** and **49**), as suggested by letter form (cf. *alpha* foremost).

In *UPZ II 175 a, II, 35*, a certain Ἀντίμαχος Ἀντιγένους occurs as a witness. He is undoubtedly identical with Antimachos son of Antigenes, who witnessed two Demotic documents from Memnoneia: *P.Dem. Brit. Mus. Andrews* 23, l. 15 = *P.Dem. Bibl. Nat.* 218 and *P.Dem. Berl. Spieg.* 3119 v°, l. 15. All three documents are dated to 146 BC. This Antimachos son of Antigenes may have been related to our Antigenes son of Antimachos.

The author of the inscription constructed χαίρε first with the nominative and then with the dative, although a vocative should be expected in both cases. In the second case, he may have been influenced by the formulae of letter addresses (in that case, however, one would expect χαίρειν).

16. 436 cm from **15**, 293 cm above the floor, eighth course of blocks, immediately behind the bier with the bark of Amun, between the bier and the *mehes*-rod held by Thutmosis III. Dimensions: 4.8 x 1.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*sigma*) – 1.2 cm (*nu*). Very delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman or late antique period.

[Π]λαίνις.

read Πλάινις

Πλάινις is a transcription of the Egyptian *p3 ljn* = 'smith,' cf. e.g. H. de Meulenaere, *Kemi* 16 (1962), pp. 35–37; *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 199. The name is characteristic of the Theban west bank (Memnoneia – Hermonthis) and is almost non-existent elsewhere. It is frequent in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions; cf. **58** 3; **78** 2; **93** 10; **103** 2; **135**; **137**; **140**; **141**; **143**; **145**; **155**, **163** 6 and 9; **164** 12; **166** 6; **168** 5, 6 and 8; **169** 8; **171**; **172** 5 and 6; **185** 6; **293** 1; **318** 2 (some of these occurrences refer to the same persons). J. Quaegebeur, *CdÉ* 60 (1985), p. 265, has suggested that the name Πλάινις is a theophoric one, 'Smith' being one of the epithets of Montu, the main god of Hermonthis and Memnoneia.

17. 12 cm from **16**, 332 cm above the floor, to the right of the *mehes*-rod held by Thutmosis III, between the rod and the edge of the block, among numerous Coptic graffiti. Dimensions: 13 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 3.4 cm (*upsilon*). Deep graffito. Note two forms of *E*: the square in line 2 and the lunar in line 3.

Unpublished.

Roman or late antique period.

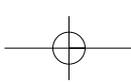
ΠΑΝΗ . Ο[- - -],
 Ἀμενόθης,
 Μενούτος.

2. read Ἀμενόθης ||
 3. read Μενούτος

This and the previous inscription are relatively high above the floor level, *ca.* 150 cm higher than other inscriptions in the northern part of the Upper Portico. The position indicates that this part of the portico was already filled with sand at the time of their writing. Letter forms and the neighbourhood of Coptic graffiti suggest a date towards the end of Antiquity. The pagan theophoric names Ἀμενώθης (= Ἀμενώθης) and Μενοῦτος (= Μενοῦθος), however, speak rather in favour of an earlier date, before the final triumph of Christianity.

From a palaeographic point of view, the present inscription resembles very much 127 on the southern wall of the court, containing the name Amenotes. Note that the two inscriptions contain the same spelling variant Ἀμενώθης with O for Ω. It is possible that these two inscriptions are the work of the same hand.

1. Possibly Πανῆθο[s]? The name Πανῆθος is on record in *P.Entreux*. I 65, r^o 6 (Magdola, 221 BC). We may also be dealing with a corrupted version of the name Πλήνις.
2. The person mentioned in this line bore the name of one of the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari. Ἀμενώθης as a personal name is well attested in the Theban area and is almost non-existent elsewhere.
3. The personal name Μενοῦθος is rare. It occurs in *SB* IV 7437 (Hermopolites?, Roman period), *SB* XVI 12497, III, 47 (Theadelphia, 3rd cent. AD), *P. Mich.* VIII 475, r^o 21 (Karanis, 2nd cent. AD), and possibly in *BGU* IX 1898, III, 44 (Theadelphia, AD 172). The male name Μενοῦθος is paralleled by the female Μενοῦθίς. This is the name of the wife of Kanopos, the steersman of Odysseus, and of the locality in the neighbourhood of Kanopos, east of Alexandria, where Isis with the epithet Μενοῦθίς was venerated; cf. *IDelta*, pp. 296–299. While the stem μενοῦθ- undoubtedly derives from Egyptian, its etymology is not quite clear. Three possibilities can be taken into consideration: *mrj-ntr* = 'loving the god,' *mn-ntr* 'the god has rested' and *mnj-ntr* 'port of the god.'



SECTION III
UPPER (CORONATION) PORTICO, SOUTHERN WING

18. On a fragment of the 'proto-Doric' column inserted into the third column of the inner row, facing north-east, 143.5 cm above the base of the column (157 cm above the floor). Originally, the fragment may have belonged to any column of the Upper Portico. Dimensions: 15.5 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 6 cm (*upsilon*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Second half of the Ptolemaic period.

Níkan-
δρος Eύ-
[.] . . [- - -]
Nikandros son of Eu[- - -].



2-3. These lines most likely contained a patronymic, which read either *Eύ|[.]δυσ[- - -]* or, less probably, *Eύ|δυσ[- - -]*.

19. 96.5 cm to the south of the granite portal, 150.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Width: 35.5 cm; h. of letters: ca 2.5 cm. Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish among numerous strokes running in different directions. The letters ME carved to the right of the present inscription, 22 cm from the granite portal. The carving is very deep, the hand square epigraphic majuscules. It could just as well be a modern graffito.

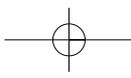
Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 13.

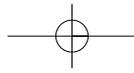
Second half of the Ptolemaic period (?).



Ἀπολλοδώρ[ο]υ.

Bataille read: *Ἀπόλλων*

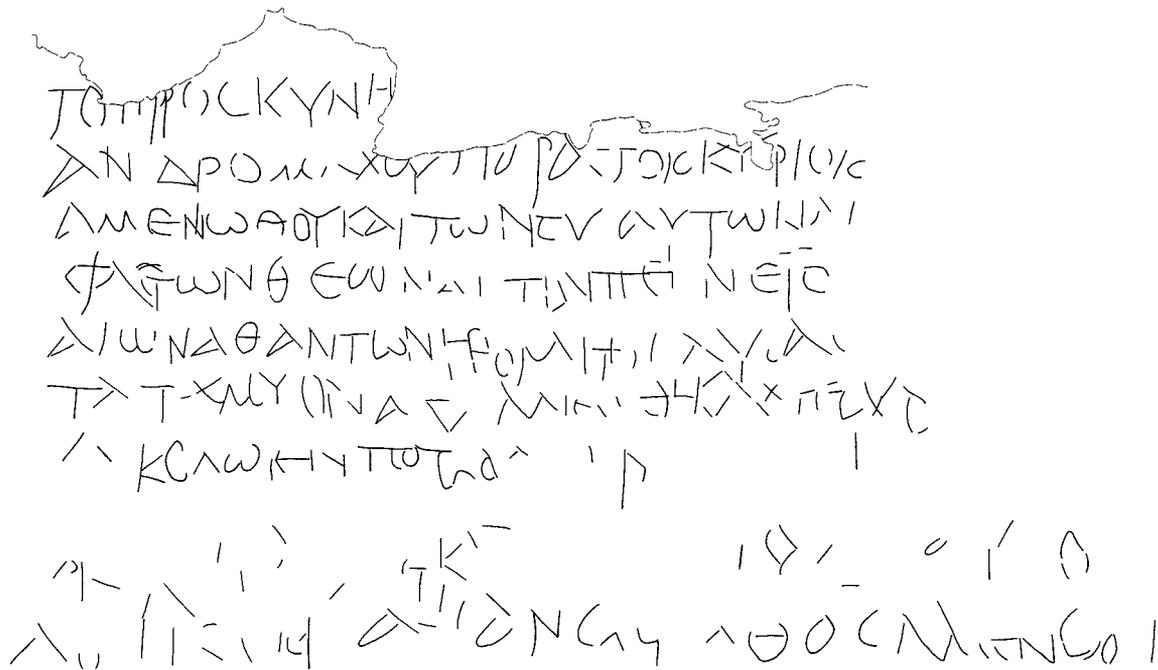




20. 11 cm from **19**, 175 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on a decorated part of the wall erased during the Amarna period. Dimensions: 43 x 22.5 cm, h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*mu* in line 3) – 1.9 cm (*tau* in line 1). Deep graffito, but posing difficulties in reading because of an uneven stone surface and a thick layer of patina. Except for the left-hand side of lines 1–3, the readings are uncertain. It is not clear whether lines 8–9 are part of the same inscription as lines 1–7 or are a separate item.

Unpublished.

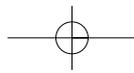
Second half of Ptolemaic period (?).



τὸ π{ρ}ροσκύνη[μα τοῦ δαίνο]ς
 Ἀνδρομάχου παρὰ τοῖς κυρίοις
 Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν σὺ(ν) αὐτῶ
 4 ων θεῶν . . . T . . . E N εἰς
 αἰῶνα ΘANTΩΝ . . OM Y A .
 T T MYONA . [.] - - - - -
 . KQΛΩ - - - - - [- - -] .
 8 - - - - -
 - - - - - A AN . [.] . ΘOCMEN . . .

2-4. read either παρὰ τοῖς κυρίοις Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ τοῖς σὺ(ν) αὐτῶ (...) θεοῖς or παρὰ τῶν κυρίων Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν σὺ(ν) αὐτῶ (...) θεῶν

Proskynema of [---] son of Andromachos before the Lords Amenothos and the gods who are [---] together with him for eternity [---].



2-3. The plural *τοῖς κυρίοις* is followed by only one god's name: *Ἀμενώθου*; cf. also *σὺ(ν) αὐτῶ* later on in line 3. Starting out, the author of the inscription evidently had both Amenhotep (Amenothos) and Imhotep (Asklepios) in mind, but then for some reason omitted the latter.

21. 14.5 cm from **20**, 146 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 15 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron* in line 2) – 1.8 cm (*tau* in line 3). Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish; the readings are uncertain. The hand resembles that of **55** to a degree.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

ΤΥΠΡΟ C V N H M M
 ΛΤ ΤΟΝΩΙΙ ΝΩ
 ΤΩ ΤΛ

ΑΙ \ ΕΩ

τὸ προσκύνημα

A . [.] T O N Ω . [.] N . . [- - -]

T . . [. . .] Π . [- - -]

4 [. . .] Α . [.] . Ε Ω [- - -]

22. 20 cm from **21**, 143 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 9 x 2.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*upsilon*). Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish among numerous more or less accidental strokes, running in various directions.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 14.

Roman period.

Πακου Π Ε Χ Α Υ

Bataille read *Παχοῦμις*. In my opinion, the third letter is *K*, not *X*, and *MIC* is only Bataille's wishful thinking. *Πακου* is comprehensible as it stands: *Πάκου* = '(Signature) of Pakos.' The name *Πάκος* is attested mainly for Byzantine and early Arab Aphrodito, but it occurs in AD 172 in Theadelphia (*BGU IX* 1898, 6, 127) as well. It may also be an abbreviated notation of a male name like *Πακούεις*.

23. 27.5 cm from **22**, 143 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, under the last letters of **25**, line 1 on the upper band of the dado, line 2 on a narrow strip dividing both bands of the dado, lines 3–4 on the lower band of dado. Dimensions: 16.5 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*sigma* in line 1) – 2.2 cm (*omikron* at the beginning of line 1). Delicate graffito. It is uncertain, whether what is printed here as line 4 really belongs to this inscription; note the difference between the letters *pi* in lines 2 and 4.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 15.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman (?).

τὸ προσκύνημα
Πικράτος καὶ
τῶν υἱῶν Θ...υ
4 . . ΠΠΠ[- - -]

υἱῶν Bataille; read *υἱῶν*; after that, Bataille copied nothing

Proskynema of Pikras and of his sons [- - -].

2. As far as I know, the name of *Πικρᾶς* is known through this single attestation. A similar name *Πικρός* is attested in Karanis in the 2nd cent. AD; cf. *P.Mich.* IV 223, line 2472 and 224, lines 1846, 2652, 3175.
3. *υἱῶ* is a phonetic notation of the word in question where the final /n/ has been lost; for that, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 111–112.
- 3–4. Possibly *Θέων | καὶ Πτ[ολεμαῖος]*.

24. 27 cm from **23**, 138 cm above the floor, on two neighbouring blocks of the fourth and third courses, on the lower band of the dado, immediately below the sign for (ἔτους) in **25**. Dimensions: 10 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 1.5–2 cm. Delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman (?).

ΠΟΛΛΩ

[A]πολλω-
νι[- -].

NI

It is not quite certain whether *NI* in line 2 really continues [A]ΠΟΛΛΩ from line 1; it could just as well belong to another, now completely erased graffito.

25. 28.5 cm from **23**, 148 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 51.2 x 6.1 cm; h. of letters: 2.4 cm (*omikron*) – 6.1 cm (*rho*). Very deep and well visible graffito.

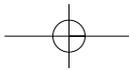
Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 6 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 149 with el-Kab falsely indicated as the provenance; Baillet, *Syringes*, p. 254, commentary to inscription no. 1142). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 16, pl. III (Évelyne Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical* [= *École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques*, III. *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 31], Genève 2003, p. 483, no. 409).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97 (only mentioned). *PP* VI 16601. *CPR* XIII, p. 90, no. 22 (on the profession of *ἰατρός*; only mentioned).

3rd–2nd cent. BC.

LIB ΕΥΝΙΑΚΙΑ ΤΡΟΣ

(ἔτους) ιβ'. Ζωῖλος ἰατρός.



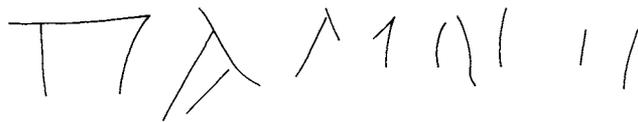
Year 12th. Zoilos a physician.

Two other physicians left their inscriptions in Deir el-Bahari, below, nos. **94**: *Ψευταχνοῦμις ὃς καὶ Ἀ[μμ]ώνιος (...)* ὁ *Ἐρμώνθεως* ἰατρός, and **165**: *Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδου* ἰατροῦ.

26. 42 cm from **25**, 147.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Width: 16.5 cm; h. of letters: 2 cm (*pi*) – 2.9 cm (*alpha*). Delicate graffito, very difficult to distinguish. Traces of a delicate graffito are visible 40 cm to the left of the present inscription, on the upper band of the dado.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



Παμοῦγ.

27. 26 cm from **26**, 336 cm above the floor, 6th course of blocks, to the right of a big *anch*-sign held by Thutmosis II. Dimensions: 12.5 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 3.8 cm (*kappa* in l. 1). Red ochre, faded and blurred. Above the present inscription, there is a graffito with a schematic representation of a palm branch.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

*τὸ προσκύ-
νημα
... [- - -]*



28. 73 cm from **26**, 200 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, between the legs of Thutmose II. Dimensions: 12.5 x 4.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron* in line 2) – 1.6 cm (*epsilon* in line 1). Very delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

νεότ//ερος
τὸ προσκύν[ημα]
. ΟΥ . C . [.] . .

1. read νεώτερος

Proskynema of [- - -] the Younger.

It is not clear whether all three lines belong to the same inscription. Providing they do, the sequence of lines is 2, 3, 1.

1. Two oblique strokes after Τ possibly represent an aborted attempt by the author of the graffito to abbreviate the word νεώτερος, which he finally wrote out in full. The other possibility is to read νεοτ(έρου) Ερ . . [- - -].
3. ΟΥ may be the end of the name of the *proskynema* author in the genitive and the following . C . [.] . . his patronymic.

29. 7 cm from **28**, 172 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, between the legs of a big figure of Thutmose II, on the *anch*-sign. Dimensions: 15.5 x 6 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*omega*) – 2.6 cm (*alpha*). Deep graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 10 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 153; making one inscription with **37**), Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 17.

Roman period.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

Ἀπολλωνίου
Σωτήρος.

Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) = Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Peers, his copy has clearly *upsilon* at the end of line 1

(Signature) of Apollonios son of Soter.

Apollonios son of Soter occurs in two *proskynemata* from Kertassi in North Nubia, in which he is styled as *ιερεὺς γόμου* and *βουλευτῆς προστάτου*; cf. F. Zucker, *Von Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* III, Le Caire 1912, p. 119, L 345 (from AD 221) and p. 129, L 364 (from AD 215); cf. also *ibidem*, pp. 52–55. The names Apollonios and Soter are too common for an identification of this man with our Apollonios son of Soter to be certain.

30. 31 cm from 29, 218 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, between the *tchek-er*-sign and the leg of Thutmosis II. Width: 7.7 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*sigma*) – 1.4 cm (*iota*). Delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman or late antique.

Σήση.

The inscription is completely preserved and the reading is certain. As far as I can see, the name Σήση has not been evidenced thus far, however, its etymology is quite clear. It comes from the Egyptian *s3-Ist* = ‘Son of Isis,’ a designation of Horus. ‘Horus, Son of Isis’ (Egypt. *hr-s3-Ist*) was a very popular personal name in Greco-Roman Egypt and is attested in several transcription variants in Greek (Ἀρσιήσις, Ἀρσιούσις, Ἀρσήσις, Ὠρσιήσις). Note that the name is not provided with a Greek ending here.

31. 55 cm from 29, 147.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 31 x 4.8 cm; h. of letters: 1.6 cm (*omikron*) – 4.6 cm (*rho*). Very deep graffito. Note the different shapes of *sigma* (square and lunar).

From the stone, A. H. Sayce, *PSBA* 4 (1882), p. 122 (Preisigke, *SB* I 1137). After Sayce with some corrections to the reading, J. Zingerle, *Öjh* 30 (1936), Beibl., col. 131, note 3 (Hondius, *SEG* VIII 730). From the stone, Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 7 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 150). From the stone, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 18, pl. III. Ptolemaic period, apparently its second half.

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΟΣ ΚΙΔΩΡΟΥ

Νικάσιος Ίσιδώρου

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΟΣ ΚΙΔΩΡΟΥ Sayce, (*Νικάγιος Κιδιώρου* Preisigke, *SB* I 1137), *Νικάσιος Ίσιδ(ι)ώρου* = *Ίσιδ(ι)ώρου* Zingerle (Hondius)

Nikasios son of Isidoros

The name *Νικάσιος* is relatively rare in Egypt. In view of this, it is interesting to note that it occurs four times in graffiti found in the royal tombs of Western Thebes just a few hundred metres away from Deir el-Bahari; cf. Baillet, *Syringes*, nos. 57, 1193 (*Νικάσιος ιδών ἐθαύμασα Θραξ κέγύπτιος*), 1572 and 2094. Bataille noted a certain similarity of hand between our Nikasios son of Isidoros and the author of Baillet, *Syringes*, no. 57.

32. 65 cm from **31**, 99 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on the undecorated part of wall beneath the dado. Width: 29.6 cm; h. of letters: 3.7 cm (*omega*) – 7.7 cm (*nu*). Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish among numerous strokes running in various directions.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman period (?).

Δωρ . ν. 

Possible reading is *Δωρον*. The name is attested in Egypt, without being popular. The fourth letter, however, seems to be *alpha* rather than *omikron*. It is not entirely to be excluded that the inscription is incomplete and the suggested reading should be [- - -]*δωραν*[- - -].

33. 38 cm from **32**, 146 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 64.5 x 3.6 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*sigma*) – 3.2 cm (*rho*). Deep graffito, evidently executed by two hands using different writing tools. To the right of the present inscription there is a Demotic graffito extending to the first letters of **31**.

From the stone, A. H. Sayce, *PSBA* 4 (1882), p. 122 (Preisigke, *SB* I 1136). From the stone, Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 8 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 151). From the stone, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 19, pl. IV.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XII 2 (only mentioned). Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, commentary to no. 76 (on adding the nickname 'Crocodile'). H. Solin, 'Varia Onomastica XII. Corcodilus,' *ZPE* 105 (1995), pp. 77–80 [79] (on Ammonios' nickname 'Crocodile').

Ptolemaic period, probably its second half (?).

Ἀμμώνιος Νειλέως (2nd hand) Κροκόδειλος.

NEIΔEΩΣ Sayce (corrected by Preisigke, *SB* I 1136)

Ammonios son of Neileus, Crocodile.

Κροκόδειλος (often spelled with metathesis: *Κορκόδειλος*) is attested several times as a personal name in Egypt and, in Latin transcription *Corcodilus*, also in Rome; for attestations see Solin, *op. cit.*, p. 79; one can add *ImétrÉg*, no. 81 (*Βησαρίωνος φίλος υἱὸς Κροκόδειλος τοῦνομα*). In our case, however, *Κροκόδειλος* is not a real name or even a second name, which is introduced in Egypt by *ὁ καὶ* or a similar expression. It is a nickname, probably referring to a physical or mental characteristic of the bearer, by which he was known among his acquaintances, but which he evidently avoided using himself. It was added later to Ammonios' signature by someone who knew his nickname was 'Crocodile.' Such humorous additions are known in inscriptions; cf. examples collected by Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, commentary to no. 76; another example is: A. Łukaszewicz, *JJP* 30 (2000), p. 57: an epitaph of a young man dead at 17, whose name had the word *οἰνόπιλος* (for *οἰνόφιλος*) added to it.

34. Under the first letters of **33**, 142.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 6 x 3.9 cm; h. of letters: 2.3 cm (*eta*) – 3.5 (*alpha* with substantially extended oblique stroke). Deep graffito consisting of several scratches made with a piece of flint with multiple edges.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 20.

Roman period (?).

Ἡρᾶ.
Ἡρᾶ Bataille



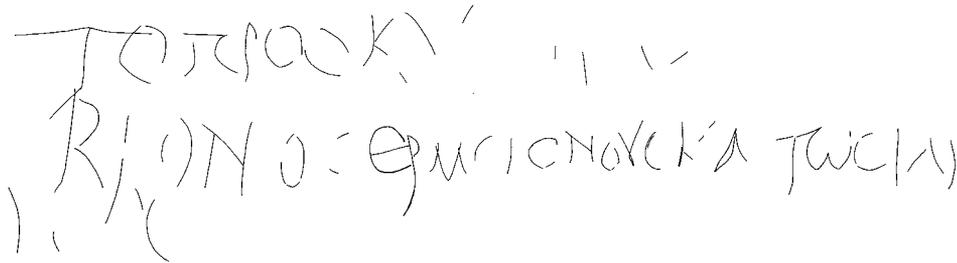
(Signature) of Heras.

Ἡρᾶ is also to be read on the eastern wall of the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex (below, 73). Judging by the hand, both inscriptions were left by the same author. For the name, see commentary to 73.

35. 84 cm from **33**, 128.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, line 1 on the narrow strip bordering the dado at the bottom which is indicated in paint alone on this part of the wall, lines 2–3 beneath the dado. Dimensions: 57.5 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) – 6.5 cm (*iota*). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 21.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.



τὸ προσκύνημ[α]
Βίονος Ἐρμογένους ΚΑ[.] ΤΩΣΙΑ . [- - -]
. . . [- - -]

All Bataille read was the name Ἐρμοκλήους in the middle of line 2; he noted being able to distinguish the word τὸ προσκύνημα to the left of the name, as well as καὶ τῶν υἱῶν to the right of it || 2. read Βίονος

Proskynema of Bion son of Ermogenes [- - -].

2. Possibly κα[ῖ] τῶ(ν).

36. 7.5 cm from **35**, 147.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado, which is indicated in paint alone on this part of the wall. Dimensions: 56.6 x 5.7 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 2.6 cm (*rho*). Delicate graffito. The middle part of the inscription is badly damaged because of stone peeling away.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 22 (Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon I* [1974], p. 105. *s.v.* Ἀμενώθης).

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 228, no. 22 (German translation).

2nd cent. BC, probably 146–131 BC or 129–117 BC.



Πύρρος Πανίσκου ἤκ[ω] πρὸς Ἀμενώθην Ν[. . .] .
ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέω[ς].

1. Bataille read nothing after Ἀμενώθην

Pyrros son of Paniskos, I came to Amenotbes [- - -] under the King Euergetes.

1. That which follows Ἀμενώθην may be an epithet of the god as in **68 a**: Ἀνδρόμαχος Μακεδὼν ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθην χρηστὸν θεόν. Another possibility is to read the conjunction καί followed by a verb. It is fairly impossible to see the name of Amenhotep's companion Imhotep (Asklepios) here, as the latter seems not to have been introduced to Deir el-Bahari before the end of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II; cf. above, pp. 30–31.
2. Bataille suggested that the King Euergetes mentioned here is Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (146–117 BC) and noted that the palaeography of the inscription agrees with the dating. It is known that Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II temporarily lost control of the Thebaid between 132/131 and 129 BC in result of the rebellion led by the native King Harsiesis; for the chronology of events, see Katelijn Vandorpe [in:] *Hundred Gated Thebes*, pp. 233–234. Any mention of Euergetes is hardly to be expected on the Theban west bank at the time of the secession, so our inscription must be attributed to sometime between either 146 and 132/131 BC or 129–117 BC. Interestingly, the King is mentioned without his Queen(s). The unofficial character of this inscription is most likely responsible for this.

37. 80 cm from **36**, 139 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 48.2 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*mu*) – 3.2 cm (*alpha*). Delicate graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges, which left a double stroke in *Α*. Letters become smaller towards the end of the inscription. Note the two different forms of *E*: square and round. Beneath the present inscription, there is a Demotic graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 10 (Preisigke, *SB* I 153; with **29** as one inscription). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 23.

Late Ptolemaic (?).

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμοκλείους.

Ἑρμοκλείους Peers, read Ἑρμοκλήους (= Ἑρμοκλέους)

Apollonios son of Hermokles.

Two homonyms of the author of this inscription occur in Greek sources from Egypt: in *WO* 1171, 1 (Theban area, Ptolemaic period) and in *P. Tebt.* III 851, fr. I, 2, 35 (note the spelling Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμοκλείους found in this papyrus). Ἑρμοκλῆς Ἀπολλωνίου appears in two Theban ostraca *O. Bodl.* I 282, 18 and *O. Bodl.* I 283, 12 (Theban area, 2nd cent. AD). It is difficult to say whether our Apollonios son of Hermokles was connected in any way with one of these men.

38. 41 cm from **37**, 147.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado, which was indicated in paint alone (now completely faded). Dimensions: 39 x 5.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*kappa*) – 2.8 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito. The writer started his inscription with big, square epigraphic majuscles, later his hand becomes smaller and less formal.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 26.

Ptolemaic period, probably its second half.

Σαραπίων Ἀθηνοδώρου
ἐκ Πεντακωμίας.

Sarapion son of Athenodoros from Pentakomia.

2. For the village of Πεντακωμία, see generally Calderini, *Dizionario* 4, p. 95, s. v. 'Pentakomia.' Apart from this inscription, it is attested in a Demotic ostrakon from the year

97/6 BC (F. Bilabel, 'Ein demotischer Ostrakon aus Pentakomia,' *Aegyptus* 11 [1931], pp. 386–388) and in a number of Greek ostraca ranging in time from 108 BC until the 2nd/3rd cent. AD (*WO* 713, 5; *O.Bodl.* II 898, 1; 1195, 3; 1350, 2; 1409, 1; *O.Lund* 9, 2). The village belonged to the Hermonthite nome, it was situated in the ἄνω τοπαρχία.

39. Immediately above **38**, 149 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado indicated in paint alone on this part of the wall. Width: 21 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.5 cm (*iota*). Very delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 27.

Roman period.

[τὸ προσκύν]η[μ]α Ὀρίωνος . . . [. .] . B . . . [. .] .

Bataille read: [τὸ προσ]κύνημα Ὀρίωνος E[and noted that he was able to distinguish: [. .]τολωνος or [. .]τοχωνος farther to the right

Proskynema of Horion [- - -].

40. 283 cm from **38–39**, 131 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on an undecorated part of the wall beneath the dado. Dimensions: 91 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 2 cm (*mu*) – 9 cm (*rho*). Quite deep graffito. Well trained and very elegant hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 28.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.

τὸ προσκύνημα Πορεγέβθεις Πετεραῖτος.

τὸ προσκύνημα ποιεῖ Φθომώνθης καὶ υἱός Bataille, read Πορεγέβθεις

Proskynema of Poregebthis son of Peterais.

Πορεγέβθεις is a transcription of the Egyptian *p3 wr-izbt*= 'The Great of the East.' It was originally the name of a god, a form of Horus, worshipped on the east bank of the Nile;

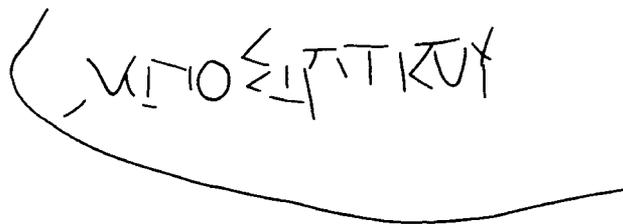
cf. *Dem. Namenbuch* 178 and see further H.J. Thissen, *ZPE* 90 (1992), p. 293. Πορεγέβθις as a personal name occurs often in the Theban area.

The name of Poregebthis' father (nom. Πετεραῖς, gen. Πετεραῖτος) is a *hapax*. Scribal error perhaps should be admitted and the name read as Πετεραῖ(πι)ος. The name Πετεραῖπις is on record in *PFay.* I 24, 4 (Euhemeria, AD 158).

41. 219 cm from **40**, 139.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 15.5 x 5 cm; h. of letters (except for the big *sigma* at the beginning): 1 – 1.9 cm. Delicate graffito. The initial *sigma* is carved more deeply and is drawn out extensively at the bottom to the right. Beneath the present inscription, there is a Demotic (?) graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 30.

Ptolemaic period, probably its second half.



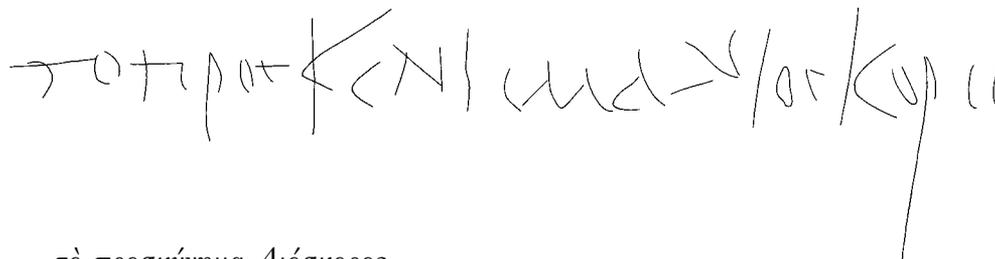
Σ[έ]μνος . ρ . . κου

Bataille read *Τραγίκου* and noted that *Τράγικος* is new as a personal name; nonetheless, the reading of the patronymic is uncertain except for the ending.

42. 239.5 cm from **41**, 144 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 46.3 x 12 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*omikron*) – 9.6 cm (*rho*). Quite deep graffito. Well trained and very elegant hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 31.

Late Ptolemaic (?).



τὸ προσκύνημα Διόσκορος.

Proskynema of Dioskoros.

43. 88 cm from **42**, 127 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, immediately beneath the dado, between it and the lower edge of the block. Dimensions: 19.5 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 3.1 cm (*upsilon*). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 32.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
Ἄνουβᾶς.



Proskynema of Anoubas.

44. 25.5 cm from **43**, 213.5 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, along the upper edge of the block, between the legs of a king to whom a god is offering an *anch* to smell. Width: 20.7 cm; h. of letters: 1.8 – 2.8 cm. Delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

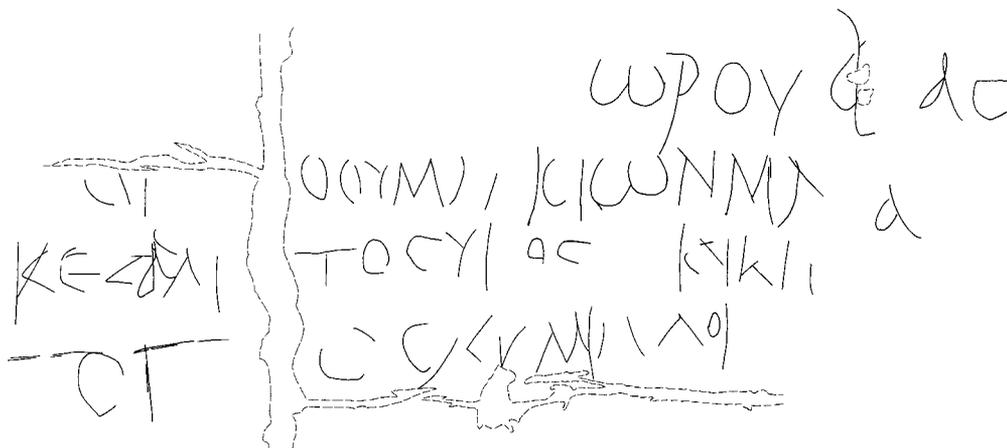


Ἑρμᾶς Ὑ

45. 19 cm from **44**, 200.5 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, across the right leg of a king to whom a god is giving an *anch* to smell. Dimensions: 42 x 14 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron* in line 3) – 6 cm (*phi* in line 1). Deep graffito, but difficult to distinguish among numerous strokes running in various directions. What I have copied may belong to more than one inscription.

Unpublished.

Roman period, most probably older than **46**.



Nos. 45 & 46

[- - -]ωρου Φασ[- - -]
 [.] . . [. .] ΟΟΥΜ . . Ἰσίων Μγα[- - -]
 ΚΕ . ΑΙΤΟΣ υἱὸς [.] . . . [- - -].

1. Ὠρου or [- - -]ώρου. The word τὸ προσκύνημα could have been contained in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.
3. Before υἱὸς there is surely a personal name. It is uncertain, however, whether this name stands in the nominative (-άλιτος, -άλιτου) or genitive (-άλις, -άλιτος). In the first case, it would be connected directly with υἱὸς, being the name of this man, in the second, it would refer to his father or mother, because names ending in -ίς, -ίτος (-ίδος) can be both male and female. Further, it is unclear whether all the letters belong to this name, because the first two letters can be separated from the remaining ones and read as: κέ (= καί).

46. Immediately beneath **45**. Dimensions: 34.3 x 4.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron*) – 3.7 cm (*phi*). Deep graffito scratched with a piece of flint with multiple edges. Under **45-46** and to the right of it, there is a Demotic graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period, most probably younger than **45**.

τὸ π[ρ]οσκύ(νη)μα Λοι[- - -].

Proskynema of Loi[- - -].

47. 52 cm from **45** (counted to *omega* in line 1), 145.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks (the inscription starts at the left-hand edge of the block), on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 29.2 x 5.2 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 (*upsilon* at the end) – 5.1 (*rho*). Very delicate graffito. The hand becomes smaller and more cursive at the end of the

inscription. Note the different shapes of *upsilon* in the word *προσκύνημα* and in the name *Διονῦς*.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα Διονῦς.

Proskynema of Dionys.

For the name *Διονῦς* (an abbreviated version of *Διόνυσος*) and other names ending in *-ῦς*, see L. Robert, *Ant. Cl.* 32 (1963), pp. 5–17 (reprinted in: idem, *Op. Min.* VI, pp. 57–69). An abbreviation is theoretically possible: *Διονυσ(ίου)*, *Διονυσ(οδώρου)* *vel sim.*

48. 45.5 cm from **47**, 139 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 13.6 x 3.2 cm; h. of letters: 2.2 cm (*alpha*) – 2.7 cm (*epsilon*). Delicate graffito, very difficult to distinguish.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 34.

Roman period.

Ἀντιγέ(νης).

A signature by Antigenes is also to be found immediately to the left, **49**.

49. 14 cm from **48**, 127.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, immediately beneath the dado, between dado and the lower edge of the block. Dimensions: 18.8 x 5.1 cm; h. of letters: 3.1 cm (*alpha*) – 3.6 cm (*tau*). Quite deep and well visible graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 35.

Roman period.

Ἀντιγέν(ης).

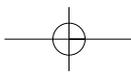
Apart from the letter E, which is of different shape here and in **48**, the hands of these two inscriptions resemble one another. Antigenes from **48** and from this inscription might have been the same man. It is possible that he is to be identified with Antigenes son Antimachos, who left his inscription in the north part of the Upper Portico (**15**).

50. 13 cm from **49**, 140 cm above the floor, on two neighbouring blocks of the fourth course of blocks, lines 1–3 on the lower band of the dado, line 4 on a narrow strip bordering the dado at the bottom, line 5 beneath the dado. Dimensions: 23 x 14 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron* in line 4) – 2.5 cm (*alpha* in line 1). Very delicate graffito. A vertical lacuna in the middle of the graffito corresponds to the border of two blocks, of which the right-hand one is chipped at the edge. This lacuna must have existed at the time that the inscription was written.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 36.

Cf. Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, p. 157, note 1 (on the meaning of ὑγιαίνω; she quotes the first part of the inscription). Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, p. 241 (only mentioned).

Second half of the Ptolemaic period (?).



αἶθε ὑὸν (?) ὕ [πά]λιν ὑγιᾶναι
 ἐμὸν . . . ὕ . ὕ ταχὺ
 . . ἀλγεῖ· ὕ εὔ
 4 γένοιτο ὕ τῶι
 γράψαν ὕ τι.

Bataille read: αἰ θεῶν ἀνυγιᾶναι ἐμὸν αἶτῶ τάχυ. παντὶ εὔ γένοιτο τῶι γράψαντι and translated: 'Je demande que mon oncle revienne vite à la santé. Bonne chance pour tous ceux qui écrivent (sur les murs)' || 1. read υἰόν

I would like that my son (?) quickly becomes healthy again (for) he is suffering. Well be it to the one who wrote (this).

The inscription consists of two parts corresponding to two sentences. In the first part (ll. 1–3), an unnamed author asks for the healing of his son; in the second one (ll. 4–5), he expresses a wish for his own well-being. The first part seems to be a single composition with a certain literary overtone best discernible in the epic *αἶθε*. The second part is paralleled by the expression *εὐτυχῶς* (*τῶ γράψαντι*) *τῶ δεῖνι*, occurring in four inscriptions in the north chapel of Amun (below, **317**, **318**, **319**, **320**) and by the acclamation *χαίρε ὦ (ὁ) δεῖνα* found in **15** and **83**.

1. The reading ὑὸν is not quite certain, but is assured by the context. The scribe probably forgot to inscribe the letter *Υ* and added it later as an incurved line linked with the preceding *Ε*. For the spelling *υῖος*, see Mayser, *Grammatik* I² 1, p. 91; Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 202. It is attested as early as the 3rd cent. BC in the language of Greek papyri from Egypt.

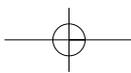
The verb *ἀνυγιαίνω* listed in *LSJ Revised Supplement* and *DGE s.v.* after the single attestation in Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 36, 1, and discussed by Nadia van Brock, *loc. cit.*, is a *delendum lexicis*.

- 2–3. That which stands before and after *ταχὺ* is difficult to read. Syntactically, we need ὅτι in the latter position, but this reading is hardly acceptable from the palaeographic point of view.

51. 15 cm from **50** (the last two letters of line 1 and lines 1–2 of **50** are superimposed), 140 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 18.7 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 2.1 cm (*mu*) – 4.4 cm (*chi*). Delicate graffito. It is likely to have continued to the bottom where the stone surface is badly damaged now.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 39.

Late Ptolemaic (?).



Χαρμα . [- - -]
 . [- - - - -]



1. What we have here is most probably the beginning of a name. Personal names in *Χαρμα-* are rare in Egypt. One notes: *Χαρμάγων* (*O.Bodl.* I 297 and *WO* 1027, both from the Theban area), *Χαρμάντιος* (Breccia, *Iscrizioni*, no. 284) and *Χαρμάδος* (below, 227). A vertical stroke after *ΧΑΡΜΑ* speaks in favour of the reading *Χαρμάγ[ων]* or *Χαρμάγ[τιος]* against *Χαρμάδ[ος]*. However, this stroke may also be an accidental scratching. Generally, for names beginning in *Χαρμ-* see commentary to inscription 227.

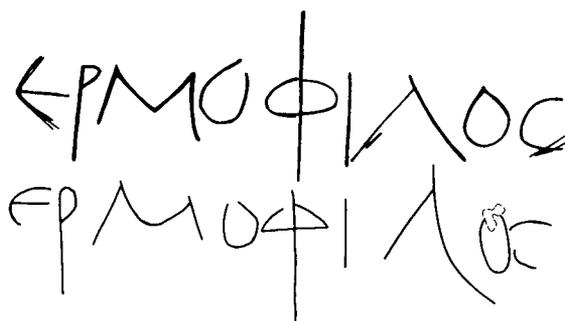
52. 6 cm from **51** and immediately above it, 148.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, part (a) on the upper band of the dado, part (b) on a narrow strip dividing the two bands of the dado. Dimensions: 21.2 x 12.2 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 (*epsilon* in line 1) – 6.1 cm (*phi* in line 1). Graffito. In part (a), the carving is very deep, in part (b) more delicate.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 13, no. 9 with facsimile on p. 15: only **52 (a)** (Preisigke, *SB* I 152). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 37, 38.

Late Ptolemaic (?).

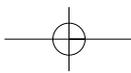
(a)
 Ἐρμόφιλος.

(b)
 Ἐρμόφιλος.



Despite a difference in the carving dynamics and the shape of some letters, the two parts of the inscription must have been made by the same person, a certain Hermophilos. A homonym signed on the southern wall of the court, below, **147**. Judging from the hand, he might have been the same man who left this inscription.

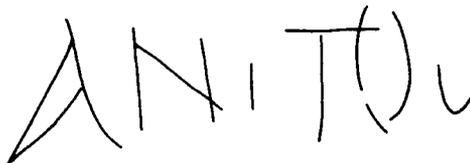
53. 173 cm from **52**, 177 cm above the floor, on a small stone levelling the fourth course of blocks, before a foot of the king. Dimensions: 11.2 x 3.4 cm; h. of letters: 2.4 cm (*nu*) – 3.4 cm (*alpha*). Quite deep and well visible graffito. In the neighbourhood,



one finds several graffiti with the letters AN apparently done by the same hand which was responsible for our inscription.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Ἀνίτος. 

This inscription can be interpreted in two ways: 1) male name Ἀνίτος in the nominative, on record only, as far as I can see, in *CPR* XIV 52, B 25 (Ἀνίτου); 2) female name Ἀνίς in the genitive, the name in question being on record in *PRyl.* II 288 and *SPP* 22, 180, 2, 54.

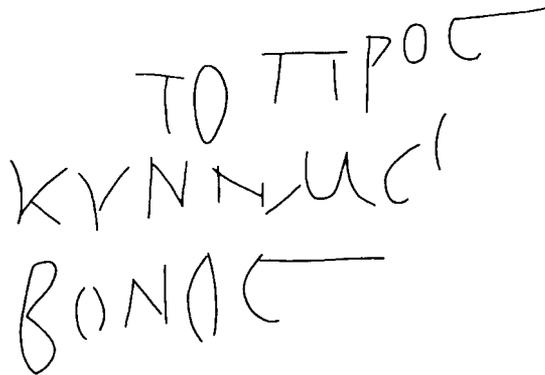
54. 13 cm from **53**, 234 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, in front of the knee of a figure of the king, beneath the king's rock. Dimensions: 17 x 9,5 cm, h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 3.5 cm (*beta*). Deep and well visible graffito, although covered with a thick layer of patina. Below the inscription, there is a graffito with a schematic representation of a bird, but evidently made by a different hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 40.

Roman period.

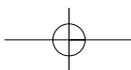
τὸ προσ-
κύνημα
Βόνος.

3. Βόνου Bataille



Proskynema of Bonos.

3. The personal name *Bónos* is rare and late. I know of three other bearers of this name from late antiquity: 1) Flavius Bonos, governor of the province Arabia towards the end of the fourth century (Libanios, *Epist.* 1035; E. Littmann, D. Magie Jr., D.R. Stuart, *Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exp. to Syria* III A 5, Leyden 1915, no. 670; *OGIS* 613; cf. *PLRE* I, p. 164, s. v. 'Fl. Bonus'); 2) Flavius Soterios (...) Bonos Eutropios Olympios Ioannes, imperial scribe, end of Justinian's reign/reign of Justin II, author of a letter to the landowners of the city of Hadrianouplis in Paphlagonia (*SEG* XXV 1360); 3) Aure-



lios Bonos, farmer in Hermoupolis in Egypt in the 6th century (*SB VI 9085*). The present inscription constitutes the earliest attestation of the name *Bónos*.

55. Below B in *Bónos* in **54**, 211 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, along the upper edge of the block, in front of the king's shin. Width: 10.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito. The hand resembles somewhat that of **21**.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα[α - - -].

56. Immediately below **55**, 190 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, in front of the king's shin. Dimensions: 21.5 x 6.2 cm; h. of letters: 1.9 cm (*sigma*) – 5.3 cm (*kappa*). Deep graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges, leaving double strokes. The first three letters are somewhat bigger than the rest of the inscription. They could be the remnant of another text. Between **55** and **56**, as well as around them, the wall is covered with a tangle of scratchings, among which one can distinguish Greek letters. Traces of an inscription in red ochre are also discernible.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



KB . ECIAΛEC

It is tempting to read *κβ'* (*ἔτους*) at the beginning. However, I have no idea what to make of *ECIAΛEC*.

57. 42 cm from 56, 136 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 23 x 4.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron* in line 2) – 3.4 (*rho* in line 1). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 41.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
Ὁρίων Ἀπολλωνίδου.

2. Ἀπολλωνίδ(ο)υ Bataille

Proskynema of Horion son of Apollonides.

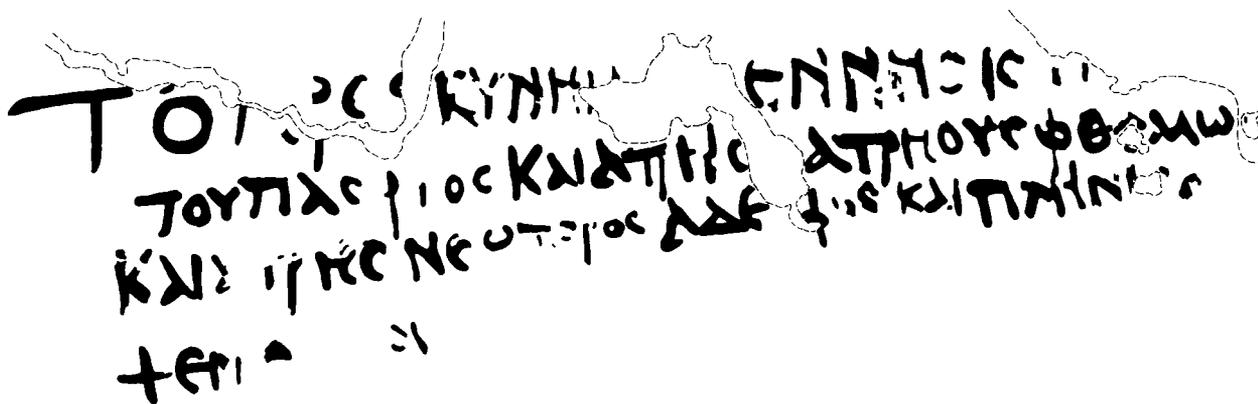


SECTION IV
GRANITE PORTAL
BETWEEN THE UPPER PORTICO AND THE COURT

58. South doorjamb, inner side, west half, 20 cm from the corner between the east and the west halves of the jamb, 438 cm above the floor, immediately beneath the lintel. Dimensions: 41 x 10.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*sigma* in line 2) – 2.7 cm (*tau* at the beginning of line 1). Brown ochre. The inscription was executed on a thin layer of whitewash once covering the portal. Where the whitewash survives, the inscription is well visible (e.g. on the right-hand side of lines 1–2); otherwise it has either disappeared entirely or has become indistinguishable from the red/brown grains of granite. Beneath the present inscription, one notes traces of another dipinto made with light-brown ochre, containing at least four lines.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

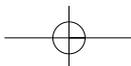


τὸ προσκύνημ[α Ψ]εννήσις . [- - -]
τοῦ Παέριος καὶ Ἀτρῆς [Φ]ατρήους Φθομών[θου]
καὶ Ἀτρῆς νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς καὶ Πλήνις . [- - -]
4 Ψεν . [. .] . .

2. read Παήριος

Proskynema of Psennesis [son of NN] son of Paeris and of Hatres son of Phatres son of Phthomonthes and of Hatres the Younger (his) brother and of Plenis [son of NN son of] Psen[- - -].

- 1–2. In *O. Stras.* 446 (Memnoneia, AD 145), a certain Ψεννήσις Ποειο(ὑτος) Φθουμίνιος Παήριος occurs. He may be identical with our man.
2. For the declension of the name Φατρῆς in Greek sources from Egypt, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 74. It fluctuates between that of o-stems (Φατρῆς, gen. Φατρήου as in **II7**),



the i-/eu-stems ($\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$, gen. $\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$), the s-stems ($\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$, gen. $\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma$ as here) and the dental stems ($\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$, gen. $\Phi\alpha\tau\rho\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$); a short genitive ending in $-\eta$ also occurs.

The name $\Phi\theta\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$ ($\Phi\theta\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$) is characteristic of the Theban region. It is a theophoric name derived from the name of the god Montu, being a transcription of the Egyptian $p^3 ftw-Mnt$ = 'The Four Montu.' The four Montu are those of Thebes, Medamud, Tod and Armant. They were represented as four armed men with heads of bulls or as one man with four bull-heads. 'The Four Montu' are paralleled by 'The Four Min' – $p^3 ftw-Mn$, which produced the name $\Phi\theta\omicron(v)\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\varsigma$, also common in Theban onomastics. The Four Min (more correctly Min-Amun) was apparently an ithyphallic deity with four ram-heads. For the gods 'The Four Montu,' 'The Four Min' and the anthroponyms $\Phi\theta\omicron(v)\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$, $\Phi\theta\omicron(v)\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\varsigma$, see *Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 184–185, and see further J. Quagebeur, 'Les quatre dieux Min' [in:] Ursula Verhoeven, E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 39], Leuven 1991, pp. 253–268; Katelijjn Vandorpe [in:] *Hundred Gated Thebes*, p. 229.

Phatres son of Phthomonthes has two homonyms occurring in ostraca originating from the Theban region: *O. Ont. Mus.* 31 (Agorai quarter, AD 189) and *O. Bodl.* II 1720, 3 (3rd cent. AD). In *O. Brüß. Berl.* 33, 2 (AD 116), there appears one Phatres son of Phthom(), which abbreviation may be expanded either as Phthom(onthes) or as Phthom(inis). In view of the popularity of the names Phatres and Phthomonthes in the Theban area, the identification of Phatres son of Phthomonthes from our inscription with one of these men must remain speculative.

SECTION V
NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE COURT
AND NORTH PART OF THE EAST WALL OF THE COURT

59. On the lower drum of the second column in the second row counting from the north-east corner. Dimensions: 16.5 x 20.5 cm. Red ochre. I was unable to identify this inscription. The metrical data and the copy are those of Bataille.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 184.

Roman period.

Τ ΤΡΟΣΚΥ
 ΝΗΜΑΩΡΙ
 ΩΝΟΣΣ
 ΠΩΤΟΥ
 ΜΕΤΑΤΩΝ
 ΎΝΔΥΛ
 Ι Τ Λ Τ

τ[ό] προσκύ-
 νημα Ὁρί-
 ωνος σ[τρα]-
 4 τιώτου
 μετὰ τῶν
 σὺν αὐτῷ
 [πά]ντων.

3-4. σ[. . .]τιώτου Bataille;
 however, he suggested the read-
 ing σ[τρα]τιώτου in his com-
 mentary

Proskynema of Horion, a soldier, together with all those who are with him.

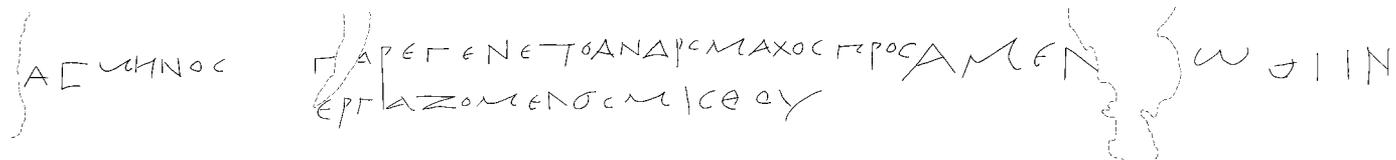
The lack of *tria nomina* and the Egyptian name of the man suggest that he was a soldier of an auxiliary unit garrisoned somewhere in the Thebaid, perhaps in Thebes itself. Though not very common, Egyptians are attested in the local garrisons already in the first century AD; cf. R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London – New York 1995, pp. 39–48. It would be interesting to know who these σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες were. One thinks of his comrades and/or his family.

60. 924 cm from the north-east corner of the court, 161.6 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 90 x 5.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 4 cm (*rho*). Delicate graffito. In Ἀμενώθην, the letters are considerably bigger than in the rest of the inscription, the author presumably intending to emphasize the name of god in this way. On the right-hand side of the inscription, a hole in the stone surface is to be noted between *N* and *Ω*, partly affecting the former letter. In all likelihood, it existed already before the inscription was written for the distance separating these two letters is much bigger than anywhere else in this inscription. Slightly to the right of the present inscription, 140 cm above the floor, on an undecorated part of wall beneath the dado, traces of a Demotic inscription are discernible.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 5 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 154 with el-Kab falsely indicated as the provenance). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 43 (Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* I [1974], p. 105, s.v. Ἀμενώθης).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97 (only mentioned). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 229, no. 43 (German translation). Argyro Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* [= *MEΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 26], Athens 1998, p. 241, no. 147.

Ptolemaic period, probably still 3rd cent. BC.



[- - -]Α . μηνός [. . .] παρεγένετο Ἀνδρόμαχος πρὸς Ἀμενώθην ἔργαζόμενος μισθοῦ.

1. ////A□μῆνος //// Peers who suggested the reading: [ἡμέρ]α + a numeral; Bataille read ἡμέρ]α ῥ μηνός θῶθ | Peers read nothing after πρὸς and indicated that the inscription was left unfinished

[- - -] of month [- - -] *Andromachos came to Amenothos as a hired worker.*

Andromachos left another, more detailed inscription in the southern part of the same east wall of the court, **68** (cf. commentary there).

1. The dating formula opening the inscription is difficult to read, the only certain element of it being the word *μηνός*. Bataille's suggestion (cf. apparatus) is tenable but should be treated with caution: There are actually no traces of an *P* immediately after the lacuna, and practically nothing can be read between *μηνός* and *παρεγένετο* as well. If the sequence of elements in the dating formula is as suggested by Bataille, only a very short month name like *Θῶθ* or *Tûβι* can be fitted in. However, the dating formula could have been constructed also according to the following pattern: name of a month + *μηνός* + day. In that case,]Α . would be part of the name of a month. Another possibility is that the indication of the day of the month was preceded by a regnal date. It could be read as, for example, [ἐν τῶ] α' (ἔτει) μηνός [Θῶθ] = 'In the first year, in the month of Thoth.' The sign following A actually resembles the siglum for ἔτος (L).

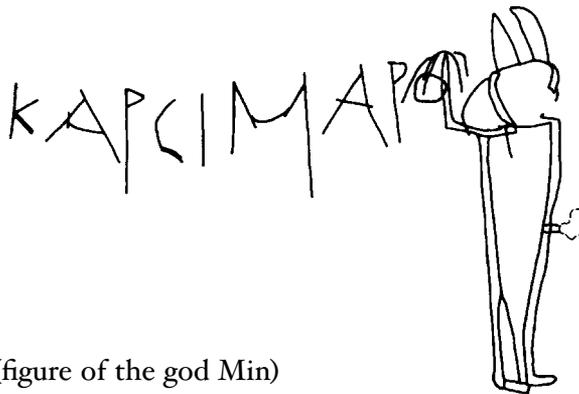
SECTION VI
EAST WALL OF THE COURT, SOUTH PART

61. 77 cm to the south of the granite portal, 144.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, below the dado. Dimensions: 12.5 cm (15 cm with the figure of the god Min) x 3.2 cm (10 cm with the figure of the god Min); h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*kappa*) – 3.2 cm (*mu*). Deep and well visible graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges, which left double strokes in *K* and *C*. The present inscription and a Demotic dipinto (or dipinti ?) executed in dark-red ochre are superimposed.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 4 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 155 with a false indication of provenance: el-Kab). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 44 (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, pp. 196–197).

Cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* [= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung* 14], Wien 1957, p. 233 (on the name).

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman (?).



Καρσιμαρος (figure of the god Min)

I am not aware of any other attestation of the name *Καρσιμαρος*. According to J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, who adduce parallels from the Celtic world both for the stem *karsi-* and the ending *-maros*, this is a Celtic name and its bearer came from Galatia. Detschew, *loc. cit.*, points out that similar forms occur both in Celtic and in Thracian. The man who bore this name originated from the Balkan Peninsula or from Asia Minor.

Thracians and Galatians were known in antiquity for their military abilities and were often contracted as mercenaries by Hellenistic rulers including the Ptolemies, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*² [= *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 169], Paris 1987, vol. I, pp. 366–398 (Thracians) and 490–534 (Galatians) with prosopography in vol. II, pp. 1191–1202 (Thracians) and pp. 1229–1230 (Galatians); V. Velkov, A. Fol, *Les Thraces en Égypte gréco-romaine* [= *Studia Thracica* 4], Sofia 1977. Our Karsimaros could have been a soldier as well. Thracians occur quite often as authors of visitors' inscriptions in the Theban tombs of the kings, several hundred metres away

from Deir el-Bahari; cf. Baillet, *Syringes*, nos. 18, 110, 289, 292, 473, 487, 693, 698, 887, 1959, 1982.

As Bataille observed, in accompanying his signature with a schematic drawing of Min, Karsimaros may have been influenced by the frequent occurrence of the figure of this god in the original relief decoration of the Hatshepsut temple.

62. 113 cm from **61**, 158.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 28 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron* in line 3) – 2.3 cm (*kappa* in line 3). Graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges, which left double and triple strokes in many of the letters. The carving is uneven, the hand unskilled. The graffito is very difficult to distinguish among numerous strokes running in various directions and the readings are highly uncertain.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

(a)

τὸ προσκύν[η]μα Κρο[- - -]
[. .] . X[- - -]

(b)

τὸ προσκύνημα Πασ . . [.]ς
[. . .] ΝΙ . . . Ν

Proskynema of Kro[- - -]. Proskynema of Pas[- - -].

Both *proskynemata* seem to have been done by one hand; therefore, I consider them to be two parts of one inscription.

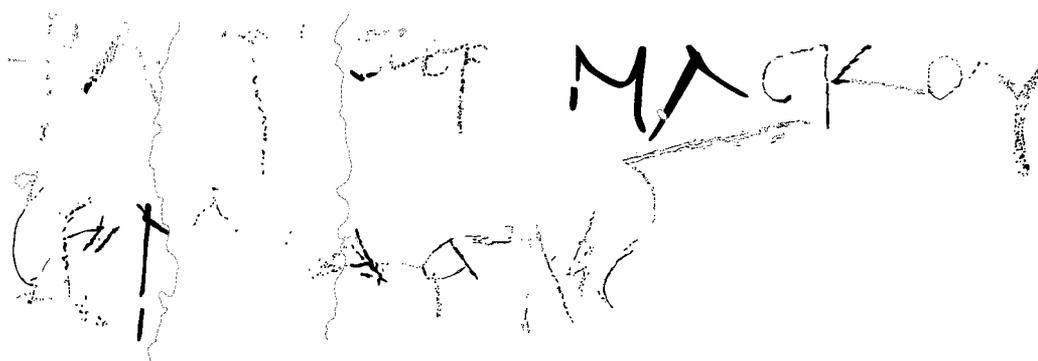
3. Πασ . . [.]ς may be either the nominative or genitive of a male name like Πασήμις, Πασήμιος.

63. 47 cm from **62**, 121 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on the smooth part of the wall beneath the dado. Dimensions: 67.5 x 21.5 cm; h. of completely preserved

letters: 2.9 cm (*omikron*) – 6.3 cm (*alpha*); letters at the beginning of line 1 apparently were even higher. Red ochre, very faded and peeling. Later Coptic textual and figural graffiti superimposed on the inscription make it very difficult to distinguish. On the left-hand side of the inscription, there is a wide vertical hollow chiselled intentionally, but traces of letters can still be seen within it. A free space between *rho* and *mu* in line 1 results from a break between two neighbouring stones. A long vertical stroke at the beginning of line 2 is probably an incidental splash of paint going back to the times of Hatshepsut.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.



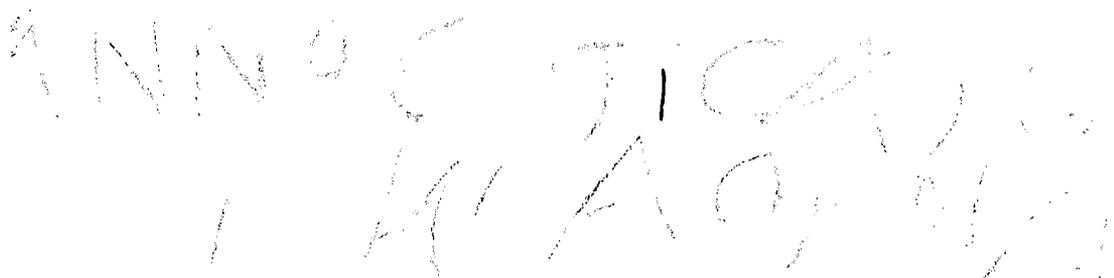
..... *CEP v MACKOY*
 ...[.]...

1. What we have in this line is apparently a name with a patronymic. For the latter, I have tentatively suggested the reading: *Ἐρ^νμα(ῖ)σκου*.

64. 625.5 cm from **63**, 136 cm above the floor, on the smooth part of the wall beneath the dado. Dimensions: 73 x 17.5 cm; h. of letters: 4 cm (*omikron*) – 8 cm (*alpha*). Red ochre, very faded and peeling, preserving small spots of paint that still render some of the letters discernible.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.



Ἄννος ὁ Τίσα . . .
[. .] . [.] Η . ΑΘ

1. The name Ἄννος (or Ἄννος) is attested in Illyria; cf. *SEG* XLIII 345a. It is a 'Lallname' from the group of names beginning in ἄνν- (Ἄννα, Ἄννη, Ἄννιον, Ἄννώ, Ἄννάς etc.), widespread in various languages spoken in the Mediterranean, Greek included. The existence of the stem ἄνν- in Greek is attested by Hesychius 5229 (Latte): ἄννις· μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ. For the group of Lallnamen beginning in ἄνν-, see generally L. Robert [in:] N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* [= *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul* XV], Paris 1964, pp. 138–141.

The second name (patronymic ?) should probably be read as Τισαγόρ[α], although we cannot totally exclude other names in Τίσα- (Τισαμενός, Τισαρχος, Τισανδρος etc.). The name Τισαγόρας is Rhodian. In Egypt, it has been attested thus far only in inscriptions on the stamped handles of Rhodian amphorae.

65. 130 cm from **64**, 155.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 8.5 x 1.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*epsilon*, *upsilon*). Delicate and elegant graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 3 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 156 with el-Kab falsely indicated as the provenance). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 45.

Early to middle Ptolemaic.

Ἄλεος.

ΑΛΕΟΣ

Bataille suggested that this inscription was written by the same man who left his signature on the eastern wall of the court a few dozen centimetres further to the south, below **67**: Ἀλεῖϛ. Indeed, the hand, particularly the letters *A* and *E*, is very similar in both cases and the nearness of the two inscriptions may not be a matter of accident. On the other hand, the form of *Σ* in the two inscriptions is completely different (classical in **67**, lunar in **65**). Furthermore, assuming that both inscriptions came from the hand of the same man, one has to admit a mistake in **65**: Ἄλεος for Ἀλέως (this is what Preisigke and Bataille did in their editions). But ΑΛΕΟC can also be the nominative of the male name Ἄλεος. This name is attested in Tegea on the Peloponessus (*IG* V 2, 50, 14) and in late antique Egypt as well (*SB* VI 9285). One can also take into consideration the possibility of reading Ἀλέου.

66. 4 cm from **65**, 129.5 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on the smooth part of the wall beneath the dado. Dimensions: 14.5 x 5.7 cm; h. of letters: 3.1 cm (*alpha*) – 5.7 cm (*kappa*). Quite deep graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 46.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman (?).

Καλλι().



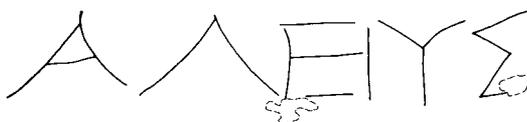
Bataille copied *ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑ* and suggested the reading *Καλλίστρα(τος)*. However, there is no doubt that what he took to be the letters *CTPA* does not belong to this inscription, being rather like the more or less accidental scratches, in which the temple walls abound. In these circumstances, every name starting with *Καλλι-* needs to be considered.

67. 35 cm from **66**, 163.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper red band of the dado. Dimensions: 20 x 3.2 cm; h. of letters: 2.9 – 3.2 cm. Deep and well visible graffito. The hand is nice and skilful.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 2 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 157 with el-Kab falsely indicated as the provenance). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 47.

Early to middle Ptolemaic.

Ἀλεῖς.



Ἀλεῖς Peers

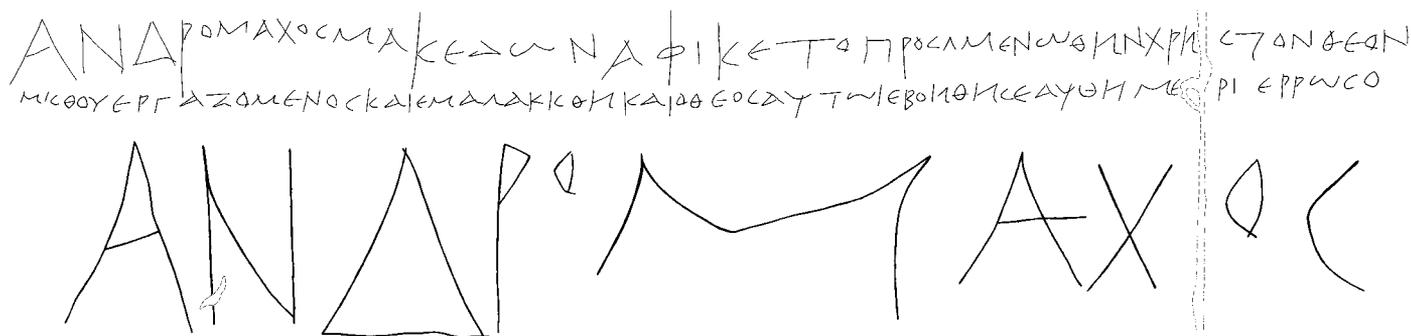
Bataille suggested that the author of this inscription wanted to write the letters *EY* in ligature but put the vertical stroke of *Y* too close to *E* and felt himself forced to write the letter once more in more correct fashion.

68. Immediately below **67**, 156 cm above the floor, on two neighbouring blocks of the fourth course, part (a) on the lower yellow band of the dado, part (b) directly under the dado. Dimensions of part (a): 85 x 6.4 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 4.6 cm (*kappa*); dimensions of part (b): 79 x 11.4 cm; h. of letters: 2.7 cm (*omikron*) – 11.4 cm (*delta*). Deep and perfectly visible graffito. The author started the inscription with big epigraphic majuscules; after writing the first four letters, however, he changed to a much smaller and freer handwriting, which he used until the end of part (a). Part (b) is done with very big and widely spaced letters. Obviously, the author aimed at giving this part the same width as part (a). He also suited the height of the letters to the space between the dado and the lower edge of blocks of the fourth course.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 1 with facsimile on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 158 with a false indication of provenance: el-Kab). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 48 (part [a]) (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196. Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, p. 247; Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* 5 [1977], p. 1219, s.v. χρηστός) + Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 49 (part [b]).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XII 1 (mentioned with English translation). Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, p. VIII, n. 1 (only mentioned). W.R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), p. 133 (English translation). H.I. Bell, *JEA* 34 (1948), p. 83 (English translation). K. Weiss [in:] G. Kittel *et alii* (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* IX [1973], p. 474, s.v. χρηστός (on the epithet χρηστός; the inscription is cited *in extenso*). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 229, no. 43 (German translation after Bataille). idem, *Saints*, p. 100 (partial translation). Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, pp. 241–142 (only mentioned). Argyro Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia* [= *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 26], Athens 1998, p. 241, no. 147. C.A. La'ada, *Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt* [= *Studia Hellenistica* 38, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* X], Leuven 2002, p. 168, no. E1407.

Early Ptolemaic, probably still 3rd cent. BC.



(a)

Ἀνδρόμαχος Μακεδῶν ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώτην χρηστὸν θεὸν μισθοῦ ἐργαζόμενος καὶ ἐμαλακίσθη καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶι ἐβοήθησε αὐτῆμερί· ἔρρωσο.

(b)

Ἀνδρόμαχος.

2. μ//σθοῦ Peers with the reading μισθοῦ suggested in the commentary | αὐτῆμερή Peers | ἔρρωσθε Peers

(a) *Andromachos, Makedon, came, as a hired worker, to Amenothes, a good god, and became sick and the god helped him on the same day. Farewell.*

(b) *Andromachos*

Andromachos left another inscription in the northern part of the eastern wall of the court, above, **60**. The two inscriptions of this man are unusual as far as Deir el-Bahari *proskynemata* go. Bataille observed that the hand of the two Andromachos inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari resembles the hand of Baillet, *Syringes*, nos. 26, 27, 235 and 736, which are also signatures of one Andromachos.

It emerges from the structure of the narration that Andromachos was in good health when he arrived at the temple in Deir el-Bahari; he then fell sick and was cured by Amenhotep on the same day. His case resembles to a degree that of Athenodoros, whose story is told in **208** (see commentary there). But while the illness of Athenodoros was probably the result of divine punishment for the sacrilege he had committed, the sickness of Andromachos seems to have had a different, more natural etiology.

1. The ethnic *Μακεδών* is somewhat ambiguous for Ptolemaic Egypt. In the early period, it designated chiefly people deriving their origin from Macedonia and, according to the suggestion of F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*, Berlin 1968, pp. 381–382, perhaps also a certain group of military settlers, namely the *τριακοντάρουροι τῶν οὐπω ὑφ' ἡγεμόνα*. Later on, it developed into a pseudoethnic connected with position in the army. But our Andromachos, who styles himself as a hired worker in the 3rd cent. BC, must have truly been Macedonian by origin. For the question of ethnic designations in Ptolemaic Egypt, see generally J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'Le statut des Hellènes dans l'Égypte lagide,' *REG* 96 (1983), pp. 241–268, especially pp. 244–252; for Make-dones, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, pp. 308–312; 315–317; 321–337.

As far as Greco-Roman Egypt is concerned, *χρηστός* as an epithet of a god occurs only here and in a visitor's graffito from the temple of Qasr el-Ghoueita in Charga Oasis with reference to Amun, *SEG* XXVI 1764: *Θεόφιλος Σατυρίωνος Μεγαρεὺς ἦκω πρὸς τὸν Ἄμμωνα τὸν χρηστόν*. It is also very rare in the entire Greek world; cf. Weiss, *loc. cit.* In our case, the epithet *χρηστός* may go back to designations of 'Good (scribe/physician)' given to Amenhotep in Egyptian sources; for this designation, see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, p. 29, no. 15; p. 30, no. 17; p. 37, no. 33; p. 43, no. 45; p. 44, no. 47; Malinine, *RdÉ* 14 (1962), p. 42, line 11.

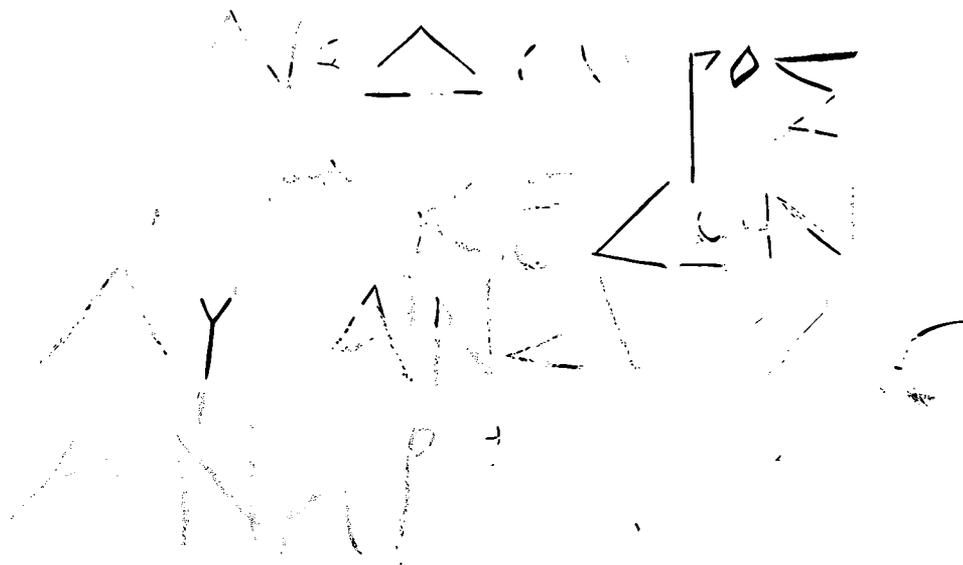
2. Bataille understood the expression *μισθοῦ ἐργαζόμενος* here and in **60** absolutely as a designation of the social and occupational status of Andromachos. He accordingly translated: 'Le Macédonien Andromachos, travailleur salarié, s'est rendu auprès d'Aménôthès, le dieu bienfaisant.' However, should this translation be correct, the inscription would read: *Ἀνδρόμαχος Μακεδὼν ἐργάτης ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθην χρηστὸν θεὸν* or similarly. The use of the participle *ἐργαζόμενος* instead of the substantive *ἐργάτης* and its syntactical position rather indicate that Andromachos came to the temple of Amenhotep to do some work on hire. It would be interesting to know what kind of work was at issue. One can speculate that this was something that could not have been done by a native craftsman. Perhaps he was hired by the temple to prepare a piece of equipment in Greek style.

In the final *ἔρρωσο* Andromachos is addressing those who read his inscription. *ἔρρωσο* is similarly used in a graffito in the Memnonion at Abydos; Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, no. 635. A form of *ῥώννυμι* in a final address to the reader occurs also in **227**; otherwise it is unusual for visitor inscriptions, which rather have *χαίρει* or *εὐτυχῶς* in this place. *ἔρρωσο* was likely applied in visitor inscriptions under the influence of letter formulae. Also, *ῥώννυμι* could have had a 'medical' connotation = 'be in good health'; cf. Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison [= Études et commentaires XLI]*, Paris 1961, pp. 193–195. It is possible that it is this specific meaning that is applicable here.

69. 56 cm from the beginning of **68**, 133 cm above the floor, on two neighbouring blocks of the third course, on the undecorated part of the wall below the dado, immediately below the last letters of **68 a–b**. Dimensions: 69 x 43 cm (the inscription takes the whole height of the blocks); h. of letters: 3.1 cm (*omikron* in line 1) – 12.3 cm (*rho* in line 4). Red ochre. Only the ending of line 1 is well visible; of the rest of the inscription but small spots of ochre have been preserved, giving an idea, however, of particular letters. Thus, the readings seem more or less certain. The inscription may have had a horizontal line bordering it at the bottom.

Unpublished.

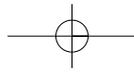
Ptolemaic, perhaps 2nd cent. BC.



Διόδωρος
 Μακεδών·
 Αἰ[σ]ανδ[ρ]ος
 4 ANHP . . .

This and the previous inscription (**68 a–b**) are written near one another and mention Makedones. They are also not very distant in time to judge by their hands. Further signatures of persons bearing Greek names and dated to the Ptolemaic period can be found on the same wall, but slightly to the north (**65**, **67**, and perhaps also **64**). It is possible that early Greek visitors took a particular liking to this part of the temple to leave their inscriptions.

2. For the ethnic *Μακεδών*, see commentary to **68 (a)** 1.
4. I do not know how to read this line. One expects a personal name or an ethnic here, but I am not aware of any anthroponyms or toponyms beginning with *Ἀνηρ-*. Perhaps we are dealing with a verb-form here.

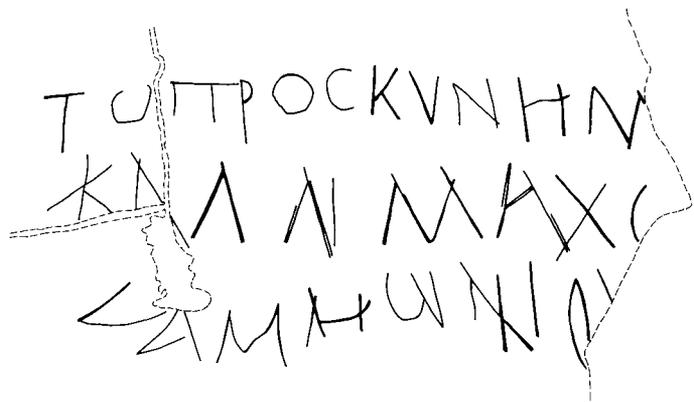


SECTION VII
VESTIBULE OF THE ROYAL MORTUARY COMPLEX

70. Entrance to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, west wall, 22 cm from the south edge of the entrance, 109 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 24 x 12 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*omikron*) – 3.5 cm (*lambda*). Deep graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges, leaving double strokes in several letters of line 2. The graffito is partly covered by a crude representation of an enthroned person originating probably from the Coptic period.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 50.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα[α]
Καλλιμάχο[υ]
{Α}Ἰαμμωνίου.

Proskynema of Kallimachos, son of Ammonios.

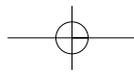
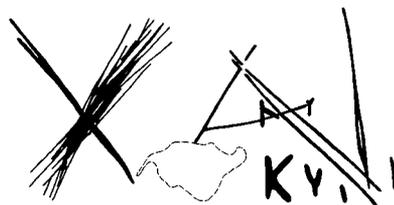
Another inscription by the same man below, **79**.

71. Entrance to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, west wall, 66 cm from the south edge of the entrance, 156 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 16 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 8 – 8.5 cm. Very deep graffito done by multiple scratching with a piece of flint; traces of red ochre visible in the scratches. The graffito partly overwrites an earlier inscription in red ochre, of which only the word τὸ προσκύνημα has been preserved.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Χαι[ρήμων].



Judging from the palaeography and script dynamics, this inscription was left by the same man who signed himself several times on the west wall of the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex (87, 84, 85) and on the south wall of Niche B of the west wall of the court (158). Similarly as in inscription 158, the letters *PHMΩN* may have been painted and have faded completely, having been exposed continuously to the sun.

72. North wall of the vestibule, east part, 136 cm to the east of the entrance, 120.5 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, line 1 on the upper, red band of the dado, line 2 on the yellow one, line 3 beneath the dado. Dimensions: 49 x 25 cm; h. of letters: 1.6 cm (*omikron* in line 2) – 8.5 cm (*phi* in line 3). Deep and well visible graffito done with a piece of flint (note the double strokes in several letters). The inscription is remarkable for the palaeography. The letters are enormously high and narrow, the head of *rho* and the upper curve of *beta* are very small and attached to the vertical stroke at the very top of it; a similarly elongated form with a very small chevron is to be observed also in the *upsilon*. Evidently, the inscription is the work of someone capable of nice writing who enjoyed playing with it, but was not quite consistent in using the same specific letter shapes throughout the text (take the two different forms of *alpha* and *upsilon*, for example). Towards the end of line 3, the letters become wider and the script is very energetic.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 51.

Cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), p. 94.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ Ἄνουβ
καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ τ-
ῶν φίλων ἐνθάδε.

Proskynema of Anoub and of his family and of (his) friends in this place.

1. The author of the *proskynema* bears as his personal name the name of the Egyptian god of mummification. The name has no Greek inflexional ending here, which makes it closer to its Egyptian original *ḥnpw* (the same is true of *Ἐνοῦφ* in **241**); for that, see A. Martin [in:] W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85], Leuven 1988, p. 396. The absence of a sign of the Greek morphological system may have forced the *proskynema* author to precede the name with the article *τοῦ* to show that it is in the genitive.
3. *ἐνθάδε* indicates that the author of the *proskynema* personally visited the very place where he left his inscription. The same is true of *ὧδε*; cf. commentary to inscription **179** line 2.

73. East wall of the vestibule, 61.5 cm from the north-east corner, 148 cm above ground level, fourth course of blocks, in front of the last figure in the procession of the Nile-gods. Dimensions: 4 x 5 cm; h. of letters in the Greek part, *ca.* 1.5 cm. Deep graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 52.

Roman period.

Ḥ^c Ḥnsw
Ḥpâ.




*Ḥpâ Bataille

Cha-Chonsu. (Signature) of Heras.

The reading of the Demotic part of the inscription I owe to Jan Krzysztof Winnicki. Bataille edited only the Greek text and accentuated paroxytonon as we would have to do with a female name in the nominative (the same is true also of **34**). In my opinion, we are dealing here with a bilingual inscription referring to a man. He gives in line 1 his Egyptian (Demotic) name and in line 2 the Greek counterpart, which is based on the identification of the Egyptian god Chonsu with the Greek hero Herakles; for the custom of using a double name, Egyptian and Greek, in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see J. Quaegebeur, 'Greco-Egyptian double names as a feature of a bi-cultural society: the case *Ψοσνευς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος*' [in:] J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* [= *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51], Chicago 1992, pp. 265–272 with further bibliographical references in the notes. Provided the above reasoning is

true, one has to accentuate the perispomenon: 'Hρâ, genitive of 'Hρâs, a hypocoristic of a name beginning with 'Hρακλ-. For the male name ΗϞ Ηnsω, see *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 875.

The same man left a graffito in the southern part of the Upper Portico (above, **34**).

74. East wall, 73 cm from **73**, 101 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 17.5 x 4.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (second *omikron*) – 3 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, fragmentarily preserved.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[- - -] ἐρχόμενος . [- - -]

The reading ἐρχόμενου is possible as well.

75. East wall, 193 cm from **74**, 178.5 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, on the *pet*-sign bordering at the top the lowermost band of relief decoration. Dimensions: 52.5 x 3.2 cm; h. of letters: 2.2 cm (*alpha*) – 3.2 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre, fragmentarily preserved. To the left of the present inscription, on the same *pet*-sign, there is a well preserved Demotic dipinto in red ochre. To the right, traces of several Greek dipinti.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προ[σ]κύνημα Πρ . α . . .

Proskynema of Po[- - -].

Alpha in the name of the visitor is of a different shape than in the word προ[σ]κύνημα. It may not belong to this inscription, being instead the remnant of another dipinto.

76. East wall, 94.5 cm from **75**, 112 cm above ground level, fourth course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 35 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*sigma*) – 6 cm (*phi*). Delicate graffito. It is not clear whether the big signs at the end of line 2 actually belong to this inscription.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα
Φίλων Α - - -

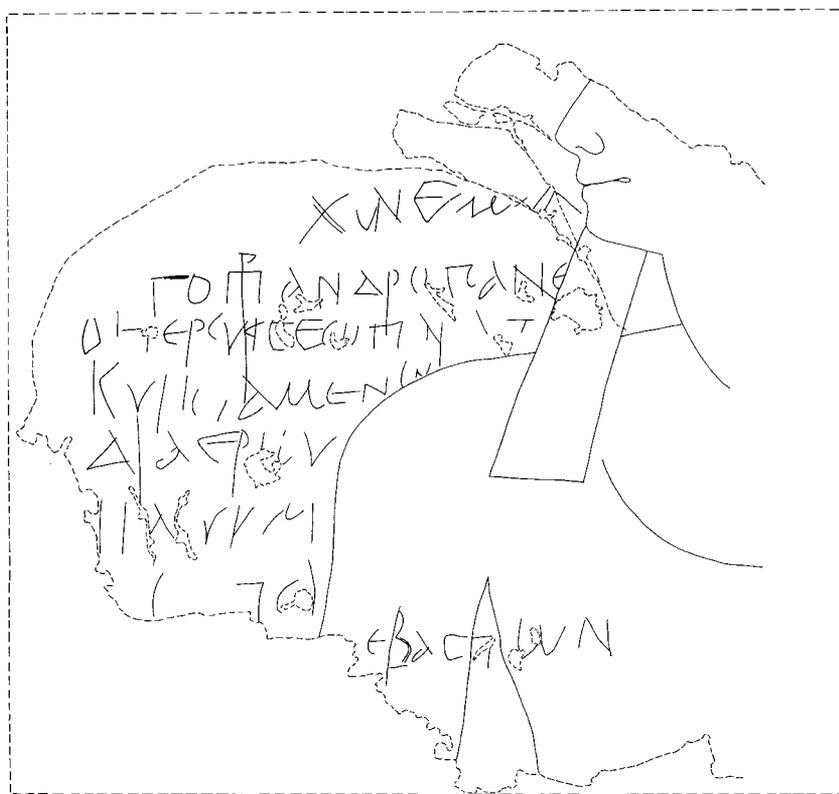
Proskynema of *Philon* [son of ---].

2. The patronymic of the *proskynema* author may tentatively be read Ἀρπαξέσ[σιος] (for Ἀρπαξήσιος).

77. On a loose block with a relief image of the head and shoulders of a king. Originally, the block was placed in the western part of the south wall of the portico in front of the Hatshepsut chapel, *ca.* 4 m above the floor (for topographical positioning of the block, see F. Pawlicki, *PAM* 5 [1994], p. 88, fig. 1: the block in the lowermost course on the right-hand side). Lines 1–7 of the inscription run in front of the king's neck and upper arm, line 8 across his arm and chest. Dimensions: 25 x 24 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*epsilon* in l. 8) – 3.8 cm (*beta* in l. 8); the sign for τὸ πρ(ο)σκύνημα in line 2 is 7.1 cm high. Graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges leaving double strokes in several of the letters. The author of the inscription followed the relief decoration, raising his script to the right in lines 3–4 in an effort to adapt to the line of the king's shoulder; he also used abbreviations in order not to cross the carved line of the relief.

Unpublished.

After 7 March AD 161, but probably still in the second century.



X . NEMA

τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀνδροπάνε

ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἴσεω παρὰ τ(ῶ)

4 κυρίου Ἀμενώ(θου)

διὰ Ἐρίου

. . . Υ . . .

[.] . [.] . .

8 [- - - Σ] εβαστῶν.

2. read Ἀνδροφάνης || 3. read ἱερεὺς Ἴσεως || 3-4. the reading παρὰ τ(ῶ) | κυρίῳ Ἀμενώ(θῆ) is possible as well

{ - - - }. *Proskynema of Androphanes, priest of Isis, before the lord Amenothes through Erios [- - - . Year x] of Augusti.*

The *proskynema* is in the name of Androphanes, priest of Isis, however, it was left not by him but by a certain Erios acting as his intermediary.

1. The letters X . NEMA seem to have been done by the same hand, which is responsible for the rest of the inscription. Their meaning is difficult to ascertain, the inscription being perfectly complete without them. One gets the impression that they transcribe an Egyptian word or phrase, but to suggest a solution would be too bold.

3. *Ἰσεω* stands for *Ἰσεως* where the final /s/ has been lost, for which see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 124–125. The declension *Ἰσις*, *Ἰσεως* is very rare. As far as I can see, it is attested only in *PRyl.* 569, 3 and 8 (Philadelphia, 3rd cent. BC). As a rule, personal names of Egyptian origin ending in *-ις* (including *Ἰσις*) had the genitive ending in *-ιος*, later in *-ιδος*. Perhaps we are dealing here with the influence of the declension of place-names of Egyptian origin ending in *-ις* (example *Μέμφις*), which normally had a genitive terminating in *-εως*; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, Bd. I, Teil II, p. 22.
4. *Ἐριος* is a very rare name. Apart from this inscription, it occurs only in *SB* I 5352, 1 (provenance unknown, AD 131; reading uncertain), *SB* XII 10857 r^o 2 (Ghoran, 3rd cent. BC), and *TMomLouvre* 448 A and B (3rd–4th cent. AD).
8. This is part of a dating clause. The plural *Σ]εβαστῶν* indicates a date after 7 March AD 161, the beginning of the common reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the first Roman emperors who appear together in the dating formulas.

78. West wall, 137 cm to the north from the south-west corner, 235 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, second course of the procession of gods, in front of a god holding an *anch* and *was*-sceptre and partly on a hieroglyphic inscription. Dimensions: 12 x 19 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron* in line 1) – 1.7 cm (*rho* in line 7). Violet ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
ης Π[λ]ήγιο[s]
 [κ]αὶ πατρός καὶ
 4 μητρ[ὸ]ς κ[α]ὶ
 ἀδελφῶν
 [π]ρὸς αἰὶ
 χρόνον.
 8 . . . Ε[- - -]
 . . . Χ[- - -]
 Ο . [.] . [- - -]
 ΚΑΙC . [- - -]
 12 . . ΕΙC[- - -]

Handwritten transcription of the inscription, showing the Greek text and some corrections or alternative readings in a different script.

Proskynema of [---]es, son of *Plenis* and of (his) father and of (his) mother and of (his) brethren for all time. [---].

It is possible that lines 1–7 and 8–12 actually form two separate inscriptions. The following premises speak in favour of this hypothesis: 1) the hand seems to be different in lines 1–7 and 8–12; 2) the interlinear space between lines 7 and 8 slightly exceeds that between other lines; 3) the text contained in lines 1–7 seems to be complete. Providing the above hypothesis is correct, we can suppose that the original text was contained in lines 1–7, lines 8–12 being a later addition.

2. The reading of the patronymic is not quite certain.

11. Perhaps we should read *Καίσα[ρος]* or *Καίσα(α)ρος*. If so, we would have a dating clause indicating a date later than the rule of the Emperor Augustus.

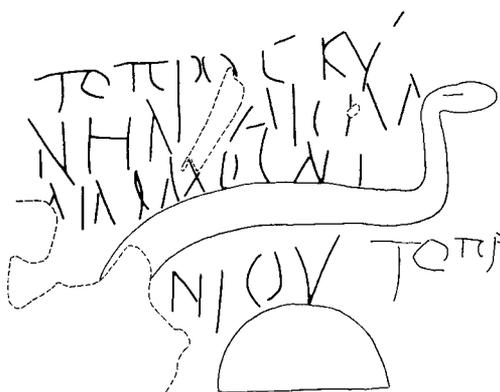
79. West wall, portal in front of the Hatshepsut chapel, south part, 57 cm to the south of the edge of the portal, 142 cm above ground level, fourth course of blocks, on the left-hand register of a hieroglyphic inscription, between the signs *f* and *t*. Dimensions: 13 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron* in line 1) – 2.3 cm (*nu* in line 2). Graffito. Line 1 is carved very delicately and carefully, in lines 2–4 the carving is deeper and rather careless. There are also some palaeographic differences between the first line and the remaining ones, but the text is apparently continuous. To the right of line 4 of the *proskynema* of Kallimachos another inscription was written; nothing but the letters *τὸ πρ[οσκύνημα]* remain of it.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 62.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
Καλλίμαχος Ἀμ-
4 [μω]νίου.

3-4. Ἀμ[μω]νίου Bataille



Proskynema of Kallimachos, son of Ammonios.

Most probably, this inscription was left by the same man who placed his name in the entrance to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, above, **70**.

80. West wall, 1 cm to the north of the portal of Hatshepsut's chapel, 125.5 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 13.5 x 4.6 cm; h. of letters: 2.1 cm (*chi*) – 4.6 cm (*rho*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

XAIPHE



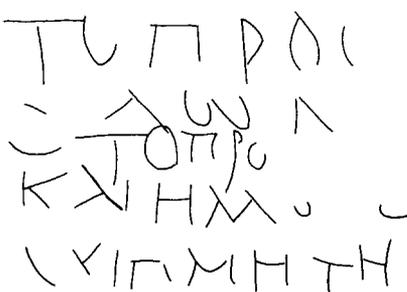
The inscription is incomprehensible as it stands. Perhaps the letter *E* does not belong to it, being a remnant of another inscription, lost except for this letter. If so, the reading *Χαιρή[μων]* or *Χαιρή(μων)* could be considered. The author of the inscription could have been the same man who left several other signatures in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex and on the south wall of Niche B; on his graffiti, see commentary to inscription **87**.

81. West wall, 10 cm to the north of the portal of Hatshepsut's chapel, 118 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, lines 1–3 on the lower, yellow band of the dado, line 4 on the narrow strip bordering the dado at the bottom. Dimensions: 10.5 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*mu* in line 4) – 1.7 cm (*tau* in line 1). Very delicate graffito done with a sharp writing tool (not a piece of flint). Line 1 is completely effaced on the right-hand side by a series of deep oblique strokes, which resemble the Chairemon graffiti in technique of execution. The present inscription is superimposed on another one, of which only the letters *τὸ προ[σκύνημα]* appear between lines 2 and 3 of the text here discussed.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προ[σκύνημα - - -]
 ΔΩΝ[- - -]
 Κ. ΙΗΜ. [.] . [- - -]
 4 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ[ρ - - -].



Proskynema of [- - -] and of his (her) mother [- - -].

3. Possibly *καὶ* followed by a substantive, a name or the pronoun of the first person plural.

82. West wall, 26 cm to the north of the portal of Hatshepsut's chapel, 124.5 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the upper, red band of the dado. Dimensions: 40.5 x 8.7; h. of letters: 2.3 cm (*mu* in line 2) – 3.8 cm (*tau* in line 1). Quite deep graffito; unfortunately, it gets lost in the tangle of strokes left here by ancient visitors. The second line partly covers **84**.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα Α [.] Α [- - -]
[- - - - -] Α Ε Μ Ν [- - -]

Proskynema of [- - -].

1. The name of the *proskynema* author can be read as Αε[.] λ[- - -] or Αφ[.] λ[- - -]. Perhaps we are dealing with a variant of the name Αλολούς, which was frequent in the Theban era. Αόλλιος is also conceivable.
2. It is possible that this line does not go together with line 1 (cf. differences in the shape of the letter *mu*) and was originally an inscription on its own.

83. West wall, 33 cm to the north of the portal to the Hatshepsut chapel, 108 cm above ground level, on two neighbouring blocks of the third course, immediately below the dado; first line of part (b) (l. 10) is 6 cm to the right of the end of line 1 of part (a). Dimensions of part (a): 28.5 x 20 cm; dimensions of part (b): 42 x 18.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron* in line 3) – 3.5 cm (*tau* in line 1). Quite deep graffito, but with heavy patina. Superimposed is another graffito (or graffiti) in a more or less similar hand, making it difficult to distinguish the letters of the one below in the tangle of multidirectional strokes. Thus, some strokes or even letters seen in my copy may not even belong to this inscription. Specific cases are indicated in the apparatus and discussed in the commentary.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 56, 57, 58.

Cf. J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 210, p. 196 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 56; remarks on the names).

Early Ptolemaic (palaeography).

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΑΙΧΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔ
 ΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΥ
 ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ
 ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ Κ
 ΕΥΑΚΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ
 ΕΓΡΑΨΕΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΤΙΑΤ ΕΡΤΕ ΜΙΔΙ Ρ

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΡΟΔΙΠΠΟΥ ΧΑΙΡΕΙ
 ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΥ ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ
 ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
 ΡΗΤΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ
 ΔΜΕΧΕΙΡ
 ΤΔ

(a)

- Καλλίστρατος*
Ἀρχέου, Ἀρτεμίδ-
ωρος Καλλιμάχο[υ],
 4 *Ἀμμ[ώ]νι[ος] . . .]Κ[. . .]*
Σωσικλή[ς], χαίρετε· Κ
Εὐάκ[η]ς . . . ΤΗ[- - -]
χαίρε· Δ
 8 *ἐγράφη . . . Μεχεῖρ ἰβ[]*
ἐγραψ[εν] Ἀρτεμίδωρο[ς].

(b)

- Ἴππόλυτος, Σώστρατος,*
Ῥόδιππ[ος], χαίρετε·
 12 *Ἀρίστιος, Σωσικλείδ[ης],*
χαίρετε· Θρασυμ[. . .]
[. . .]Ρ . . . [.], χαίρε· Ο
. Μεχεῖρ
ἰβ[]

Bataille read only *Καλλίστρατος Ἀρχείου* (ll. 1-2), *Ἴππόλυτος* (l. 10), *Ἀριστόδημος χαίρε* (ll. 12-13) || 2. read *Ἀρχαίου* || 3. The reading *Καλλιμάχο[ς]* is possible as well || 4. One can also insert a comma after *Ἀμμ[ώ]νι[ος]* || 5. *Κ* at the end of the line may belong to another inscription || 6-7. One can also put a comma after *Εὐάκ[η]ς* and read *χαίρε[τε]* || 7. *Δ* at the end of the line may belong to another inscription || 8. Before the name of the month the sign *Λ* (= *ἔτους*) and a numeral with one number is perhaps to be read || 13-14. Perhaps *Θρασύμ[α]χος, χα[ί]ρε* || 14. The letter *Ο* at the end of the line may be part of another inscription || 15. The sign *Λ* (= *ἔτους*) may be read before the name of the month.

Kallistratos son of Archaios, Artemidoros son of Kallimachos, Ammonios son of [- - -], Sosikles, hail; Euakes son of [- - -], hail. It was written [- - -] on Mecheir 12th, Artemidoros has written (this). Hippolytos, Sostratos, Rhodippos, hail; Aristios, Sosikleides, hail; Thrasy[m] [- - -], hail. Mecheir 12th.

The inscription commemorates the visit of a group of some ten men. The exact number depends on the reading of lines 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14 (nominatives instead of genitives or inversely, depending on whether commas are inserted between the names or not), and varies between eleven and sixteen. It is remarkable that except for Ammonios, all the men bear purely Greek names. Considered in the light of the date of this inscription, which is deemed to be early Ptolemaic on palaeographical grounds, it could mean that they were newcomers from Greece. They could have been soldiers on post in the Thebaid or envoys entrusted by one of the first Ptolemies with a mission in the South; for the presence of Greek soldiers in Early Ptolemaic Thebes, see

J. K. Winnicki, *Ptolemäerarmee in Thebais* [= *Archiwum Filologiczne* 38], Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1978, pp. 53–56.

2. The reading Ἀρχέου (against Bataille's Ἀρχείου) seems to be certain. What Bataille took for the letter *iota* is most probably an accidental scratch in the stone surface. Ἀρχέου probably stands for Ἀρχαίου. This spelling is somewhat surprising in the early Ptolemaic period, which is the assumed date of the present inscription on palaeographic grounds. In Egypt, the name Ἀρχαῖος is attested only once in a graffito on a piece of pottery found in Naukratis and dated to the 6th cent. BC; cf. *IDelta* I, 3, p. 679, no. 380 (A. Bernand accentuates proparoxytonon). It is evidenced outside Egypt; cf. *LGN I*, s. v. For Greek names stating the age, see generally Bechtel, *HPN*, pp. 477–478.
6. As far as I know, the name *Ἐδάκης* has not been attested in Egypt until now; however, it is well known elsewhere in the Greek world, particularly in the Aegean islands; for references, see *LGN I*, s. v.
11. Although the name *Ῥοδίππας* is possible from the morphological point of view, it has not been attested so far. Consequently, I prefer to consider the letter *alpha* a remnant of another inscription, hence the reading *Ῥόδιππ[ος]*. The personal name *Ῥόδιππος* was en vogue in Rhodes; cf. *LGN I*, s. v., where sixteen Rhodian bearers of this name are listed. It is also attested in Ptolemaic Egypt; cf. *SB I* 3041; *P. Cairo Zen.* III 5934 (8) and 5947 (32).

In the name *Σωσικλείδ[ης]*, *epsilon* seems to have been corrected from *eta*. Perhaps the author had intended initially to write *Σωσικλής* (a *Σωσικλής* occurred earlier in this inscription, l. 5), but noticing his mistake, he made the necessary amends.

12. A free space between the letters *omikron* and *sigma* in the name *Ἀρίστιος* permits the potential reading *Ἀριστίδ[ης]* to be considered.

84. West wall, 41 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 117 cm above ground level, on two neighbouring blocks of the third course, on the lower, yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 30.5 x 6 cm; h. of letters: 1.8 cm (*omega*) – 6 cm (*alpha*). Graffito executed with strong repeated moves of a rather unsophisticated tool (piece of flint?) In the three first letters of the name, the carving is very deep and wide and the letters are big; further on the carving becomes more delicate and the letters significantly smaller.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 53.

Roman period.

Χαίρημων.



Script dynamics and the palaeography leave no doubt that the man writing this inscription was the author of many others found on the walls of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (cf. commentary to inscription **87**).

85. West wall, 65 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 110 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the narrow band bordering the dado at the bottom. Dimensions: 8.5 x 3 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*eta*) – 3 cm (*rho*). Deep graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 54.

Roman period.

ΧΑΙΡΗ[μωv].



Bataille copied *ΧΑΙΡΗΜ* and printed *Χαιρήμ(ων)*. I was unable to identify the letter *M* on the wall.

The author of this graffito is undoubtedly identical with Chairemon son of Ptolemaios, who left several other inscriptions on the walls of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (cf. commentary to inscription **87**). As in other cases, so here Chairemon paid more attention to the process of writing at the beginning of his work than at its end. The last letters of his name were possibly done in ochre (cf. **158**) and have faded completely in the sun, or else they were never written, suggesting the reading *Χαιρή(μων)*.

86. West wall, 81 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 114 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the lower, yellow band of the dado. Dimensions: 77 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron* in *κυρίου*) – 6.3 cm (*iota* in *Ἰσιδώρου*). Deep graffito, done with the multiple-edge flint which left double strokes in several spots. The hand is energetic and not unskilled, although showing little care for writing with an unsophisticated tool on a hard surface.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 59.

Cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), p. 94. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 231, no. 59 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα Ἰσίδωρος Παμώνθου
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώτ(ο)υ καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς.

2. Ἀμενώτου Bataille; read Ἀμενόθου

Proskynema of Isidoros, son of Pamonthes, before the Lord Amenotbes, and of those who love us.

1. Ἰσίδωρος Παμώνθου is also the author of an inscription on the south wall of the Hatshepsut chapel (below, **119**) – most probably the same man as here. Isidoros son of Pamonthes occurs in *WO II 851* (Thebes, AD 134) as a payer of *χωματικόν*, and in *O. Stras. 608, 8* (Theban area, 2nd cent. AD), together with brother(s), as the payer of a land tax. The popularity of both the names Ἰσίδωρος and Παμώνθης in the Theban area makes any identification of the author of this inscription pure speculation.

Παμώνθης, a theophoric name formed from the name of Montu, god of Hermonthis, is typical of the onomastics of Hermonthis and Memnoneia; see for example Bataille, *Memnonia*, p. 79.

2. For the spelling Ἀμενώτης, see commentary to **A1**, l. 5.

87. West wall, 86.5 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 118 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the narrow strip dividing both parts of the dado. Dimensions: 33.5 x 2.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 2.5 cm (*alpha*). Deep graffito executed by repeated scratching with a writing tool. The letters in the beginning of the inscription are larger than at its end.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 60.

Roman period.

Χαιρήμων Πτολεμαίου.

Chairemon son of Ptolemaios.

The author of this inscription is most probably identical with one Chairemon (without patronymic) whose name appears a number of times in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (**71**, **84**, **85** and possibly also **80**) and on the south wall of niche B (**158**). His graffiti shows a degree of uniformity as far as script dynamics and palaeography are concerned. Chairemon always begins with big and deeply carved characters and ends with smaller, more finely carved letters. Occasionally, the last letters are rendered in paint (cf. **158** and possibly also **71** and **85**). It is only here that he indicates his patronymic. In the remaining cases, he was content to give his personal name only.

88. West wall, 90 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 122.5 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, on the upper red band of the dado. Dimen-

sions: 55 x 4.5 cm; h. of letters: 3.5 cm (*omikron*) – 4.5 cm (*tau*). The graffito is quite deep; despite it, distinguishing it in the tangle of strokes is no small task.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα Μέμνονο[ς].

Proskynema of Memnon.

Μέμνων is a Greek name coming probably from the stem *μεν-*; for its etymology, see A. Heubeck, 'Ἀγαμέμνων' [in:] H. Mayrhofer (ed.), *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein* [= *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 14], Innsbruck 1968, pp. 357–361; E. P. Hamp, 'The variants of Ἀγαμέμνων,' *Glotta* 49 (1971), pp. 21–24. In Greek heroic poetry, it is the name of the son of Eos and Tithonos, King of Susa (or Ethiopia alternatively), who helped the Trojans in their war against the Greeks and was killed by Achilles, subsequently to be granted immortality by Zeus, see J. Pley [in:] *RE* XV 1 [1931], col. 638–649, *s. v.* Memnon. Under the influence of Homeric poems, *Μέμνων* became popular as a personal name in the Greek world, particularly in Attica and Asia Minor. In Egypt, the name *Μέμνων* was associated with three pharaohs, apparently through the phonetic similarity with their throne names: Amenophis III (*nb-m3't-Rc*), Sethos I (*mn-m3't-Rc*), and Ramesses VI (*nb-m3't-Rc*); see A. Gardiner, 'The Egyptian Memnon,' *JEA* 47 (1961), pp. 91–99; A. Łukaszewicz, 'Memnon, King of Egypt,' *JJP* 25 (1995), pp. 131–146 (= *Aegyptiacae Quaestiones Tres*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 57–73). This association was particularly productive on the Theban West Bank, where the most impressive and most numerous works of these pharaohs were to be seen. Thus, the big statues of King Amenophis III standing in front of his funerary temple were called Memnon's colossi (and the temple itself could have been known as the 'Memnonion'), the sepulcher of Ramesses VI in the Valley of the Kings was considered the tomb of Memnon, and the entire area of the Theban necropolis was known as the *Μεμνόνεια* since the 2nd cent. BC at the latest. When the northern colossus of Amenophis III, most probably due to some disastrous mutilation, started to produce a noise in the first hour of the morning, this was interpreted, at least by some Greeks, in terms of the Greek mythology as the voice of Memnon greeting his mother Eos. The singing-Memnon phenomenon lasted for several centuries, until the first half of the 3rd century AD, and was one of the main tourist attractions of Thebes in Roman times; cf. *IColosse, passim*. It is no wonder then that the name *Μέμνων* became very popular in the Theban region (several dozen attestations in ostraca and papyri, coming mainly from the first two centuries of our era). The Demotic notation of this name (cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 588) indicates that for the Demotic scribes, it was of non-Egyptian (Greek) origin.

89. West wall, 58 cm to the right of **84**, 113 cm above ground level, on the upper band of the dado. Dimensions: 13.5 x 0.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*alpha*) – 0.8 cm (*kappa*).

Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 61.

Roman period.



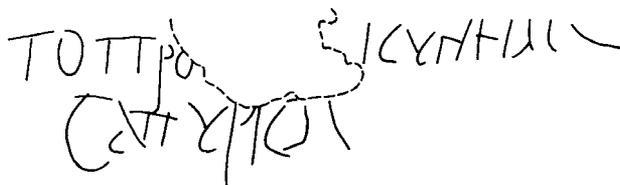
τὸ προσκύνημα ὕψωνι[ο]υ.

Proskynema of Apollonios.

90. West wall, 38 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 190 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, on the *pet*-sign between the first and the second row of the procession of gods. Dimensions: 15 x 4 cm, h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*alpha* at the end of line 1) – 2 cm (*rho* in line 2). Very delicate graffito made with a sharp writing tool (not a piece of flint). Line 1 was written on both sides of a hole in the stone surface.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

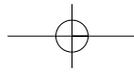


τὸ προ[σ]κύνημα
ΣΑΠΥΡΟΥ.

Proskynema of [---].

- The name of the *proskynema* author is difficult to read. Thus far, no name beginning with Σαπυρ- has been attested in Greek sources from Egypt. The name Σάπυρος occurs in Athens of the Classical period; M. Lang, *Graffiti and Dipinti* (= *The Athenian Agora XXI*), Princeton 1976, F 113, 1. Perhaps a mistake by the author or copyist should be admitted and the name read as Σα(τ)ύρισκος[s] or Σαπ(υ)ρ(ι)κ(ο)ς[os].

91. West wall, 51 cm to the north of the portal to Hatshepsut's chapel, 190 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, on the *pet*-sign between the first and the second row of the procession of gods. Dimensions: 33 x 3.7 cm; h. of letters: 1.6 cm (*omikron*) – 3.7 cm (*alpha*). Graffito. The script is easy to follow only at the beginning, where the carving is deep; even so, the reading seems to be secure.

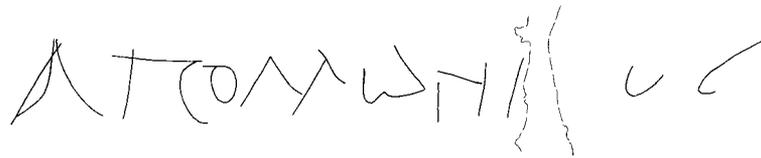


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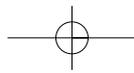
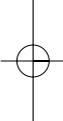
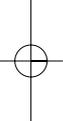
WALL INSCRIPTIONS

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 55.

Roman period.



Ἀπολλώνιος.



SECTION VIII
THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

92. Portal in front of the chapel, south doorjamb, inner side, 10 cm from the south-east edge of the portal, 153 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks. Dimensions: 10 x 3.5 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*sigma*) – 1.8 cm (*gamma*). Deep graffito. The text overwrites a dipinto in red ochre, very blurred and faded, of which only the letters τὸ π[ροσκύνημα] have been preserved.

Unpublished

Roman period.

Ἑρμίας Νιγρίνου).

read Νιγρίνου

Hermias son of Nigrinos.

The stone is broken immediately after *NIT*. This caused the author of the inscription to continue writing his patronymic above and to drop the last three letters.

Several ochre inscriptions are to be found on the bottom side of the lintel, which surmounts the portal in front of Hatshepsut's chapel, 350–370 cm above the floor. On the right-hand side of the lintel looking from the portico in front of the Hatshepsut's chapel, near the northern doorjamb, there are two Greek inscriptions **93–94**, and in the centre, a large Demotic dipinto. The surface of the left-hand side of the lintel, near the southern doorjamb, is severely damaged. Both Greek texts run from the middle of the lintel towards the northern doorjamb. Line 1 of **93** follows the east edge of the lintel.

As indicated by Bataille, the lintel was put in its present position in April 1938 by E. Baraize, then director of the reconstruction work in Hatshepsut's temple. Earlier, it was stored in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex. J. Karkowski and M. Barwik have called my attention to the fact that in its present position the lintel is *ca.* 20 centimetres too high, and should be corrected in the course of future reconstruction work. It is impossible to ascertain whether the inscriptions were made with the lintel still in its original position above the doorway or lying somewhere, perhaps immured in a temple wall with its original bottom side to the top. The former of these two hypotheses is supported by the observation of the unevenness of the writing, which appears to be somewhat trembling. Further corroboration comes from the fact that the script stops before reaching the northern doorjamb.

93. Dimensions: 44 x 35 cm; height of letters not recorded. Dark red ochre, much faded, particularly at the beginning of the inscription. Letters uneven, the script rising to the right. Letters in line 1 are widely spaced. No copy. Fig. 17.

After a copy of Salt with the provenance falsely given as the Valley of the Kings, J.-A. Letronne, *La Statue vocale de Memnon considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce*, Paris 1824, p. 245, no. 5 = idem, *Ouvres choisies* II, Paris 1881, pp. 223–225. idem *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte* II, Paris 1848, no. CCLXXXI (J. Franz, *CIG* III 4767 with add. on p. 1207. Cagnat/Jouguet, *IGRR* I 1228. Baillet, *Syringes*, 1054b). From the stone, as two separate items (cf. apparatus), Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 63 (ll. 1–12) + 64 (l. 13).

Cf. J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*; quoting a few characteristic expressions from the inscription). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 230, no. 63 (he cites line 4 of the inscription in German translation after Bataille).

30 December AD 162

- [τ ὀ π ρ] ο ς [κ] ὕ [ν] η μ [α]
 [. . .] τ ω ι ο ὕ [τ] ο ς τοῦ [.] ο ὕ τ ο ς καὶ

 4 [Ἀ σ] κ λ η π [ι] ὦ ὄ ν τ ι σο φ ῶ . . . [. . .] π ρ ο σ ο φ [. . .] . . .
 [. . .] Ι Ο . C [. . .] . σ ῶ σ α ι δ ε ἰ Α Φ . . [. .] Ρ Ω α ὐ τ ο ῖ ς
 [. . .] κ ο υ σ ι α [ὕ] τ ὸ ς ὁ ἰ κ ε τ ε ὕ ω ν [τ ὸ] ν θ ε ὄ ν
 [ε ἶ ν α] ἰ [ἴ] λ ε ο ν κ α [ἴ] ε ὕ μ ε ν ῆ ῃ ἔ γ ρ α ι ψ α ε ὕ ω χ ο ὕ -
 8 μ ε ν ο ς μ ε τ ἄ Φ θ ο μ ὄ γ [θ ο] ν . . [. .] λ α ν ι ο ς ἀ δ ε λ -
 φ ο ὕ καὶ Μ ο ν κ ο ρ ῆ τ ο ς ὁ [μ] ο ἰ ὠ ς ἀ δ ε λ φ ο ὕ
 κ α [ἴ] Π λ ῆ ν ι ο ς Κ ε φ α [λ] ἄ τ ο ς ἡ π η τ ο ὕ .
 (ἔ τ ο υ ς) γ // Ἀ ν τ ω ν ε ἰ ὄ [ο υ καὶ Ο ὕ] ἡ ῤ ο υ τ ὶ ω ν
 12 κ υ ρ [ἴ] ω ν Σ ε β α σ τ ὶ ω ν ,
 Τ ὕ β ι δ ῃ ἔ π ἄ γ α θ ῶ .

1–2. Missing from Letronne, *Statue*, he supplements [τὸ προσκύνημα] instead; in Bataille, *Inscriptions* 63, the first line transcribed is line 4 of the present edition; he remarks that there are traces of five more lines above || 3. [τῶν ἐμ]ῶν ἀπάντων Letronne, *Statue* (*CIG* III 4767), τῶν οἰκ]είων ἀπάντων Letronne, *Recueil* (*CIG* III add. p. 1207; Cagnat/Jouguet) || 3–4. παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἐρμῆ θεῶ | τρισ-μεγίστω], ὄντι σοφῶ Letronne, *Statue* (*CIG* III 4767); [θεῶ τῷ τρισμεγίστω] Letronne, *Recueil*; [Ἐρμῆ θεῶ | τρισμεγίστω] deleted by Cagnat/Jouguet; [Ἀσ]κληπ[ι]ῶ Bataille; traces of letters preserved on the stone permit the reading παρὰ | [Ἀσ]κληπ[ι]ῶ || 4–5. καὶ προσοφ[έλλοντι] | τοῖς ἀσκούσι παιδείαν Letronne, *Statue* (πρ[ο]σ[ω]φ[ε]λοῦντι *CIG* III 4767; Cagnat/Jouguet) || 5–6. ἡμέρω δὲ τοῖς | νοσηλεύουσιν Letronne, *Statue* (*CIG* III 4767; Cagnat/Jouguet); αὐτοὺς Bataille || 6. ἰατρός, ὁ ἰκετεύων Letronne, *Statue*, (υἱὸς ὁ ἰκετεύων *CIG* III 4767), Δύλιος (?) ὁ ἰκετεύων Letronne, *Recueil* (*CIG* III add. p. 1207) || 7–8. Εὐτυχ[ῆς Εὐδαί(?)]]μονος Letronne, *Statue* (Εὐ[τυ]χο[ς Ἀρτέ]μ[ω]νος *CIG* III 4767), Εὐτυχῶ[ς Εὐδαί]]μονος Letronne, *Recueil* (Εὐτύχου]μονος Cagnat/Jouguet), ἐπωχούμενος Bataille || 8–9. μετ' Ἀφθον[ίου καὶ Ἀπολ]λωνίου [καὶ Ροῦ(?)]]φου κ' Αἰλίου Κορίνθ[ου] τῶν ἀδελφῶν Letronne, *Statue* (Αἰ[λί]ο[υ] Κορ[ινούτου] *CIG* III 4767), κ' Αἰλίου Κόρητος Letronne, *Recueil*, καὶ μον Κορήτος Cagnat/Jouguet; Φθομόγ[θου] Ἀμμωνίου Bataille || 10. Παηρίου Κεφαλᾶ τοῦ πέμπτου (?) Letronne, *Statue* (*CIG* III 4767), Παηρίου (ὁρ Πληνίου) Κεφαλᾶτος τοῦ υἱοῦ Letronne, *Recueil* (*CIG* III add. p. 1207), Πληνίος Καφαλᾶτ[ος] μπτου Cagnat/Jouguet || 11. Μ. Αὐρηλίου [καὶ Α. Οὐήρου τῶν] Letronne, *Statue* (τῶν omitted in *CIG* III 4767 and Cagnat/Jouguet) || 13. Τύβι omitted by Letronne in both his publications (the same in *CIG* III 4767 and Cagnat/Jouguet); Bataille believed this line to be a separate inscription

Proskynema of [---]oios (?) son of [---]ous [---for] *Asklepios who is wise* [---] there is need to save [---] to them [---] he who is beseeching the god to be propitious and well-disposed. I wrote while I am feasting together with Phthomonthes [---], a brother (of mine) and Monkores, a brother (of mine) as well, and Plenis son of Kephalas, a mender. Year 3 of the Lords Augusti Antoninus and Verus, on the fourth of Tybi. Good luck.

2. [. . .]τωιοῦ[τ]ος must be the name of the *proskynema* author in the genitive and [. . . ο]ῦτος his patronymic. As no name ending in -τωιοῦς, -τωιοῦτος is attested in our sources, we have to admit scribal error (contrary to Youtie's law) or my erroneous reading.
3. This line should have contained the name of the mother of the *proskynema* author or the nomenclature of another man, followed by the preposition παρά.
- 6–7. Cf. no. **219** 4: χαίρε καὶ ἔλεος ἄμμι.
8. [. . .] λανιος (genitive) is either the second name of Phthomonthes or his occupation.
- 9–10. εὐωχούμενος occurs in two inscriptions on the south wall of the Hatshepsut chapel, below, **117** and **118**. For the interpretation of the phenomenon of banqueting within the temple, see above, pp. 67–69.
11. Μονκορής is a transcription of the Egyptian *mn-k3-Rc* = 'The Ka of Re should persist;' cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 590; Thissen, *Graffiti*, pp. 21–22. The name goes back to the king of the fourth dynasty known in Greek literary tradition as Mykerinos; for his cult in the Late Period, see D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige in Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt I* [= *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 17], Berlin 1969, pp. 222–223. Interestingly, the name Μονκορής appears exclusively in the Theban region, mainly on the Theban West Bank (Memnoneia, Hermonthis).
13. ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ occurs in several other visitors' inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari; cf. below, **155**, **279**, **308**. It has the same meaning as εὐτυχῶς (for this, see above, p. 91 and below, introduction to section XVI: North Chapel of Amun). It expresses the wish 'Good luck' addressed to the author of the inscription and to all who read the text; cf. A. Rehm, *Philologus* 94 (1941), pp. 9–10.

94. Immediately under **93**. Dimensions: 43 x 7.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 2.7 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre. Fig. 17.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 65 (Évelyne Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical* [= *École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques*, III. *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 31], Genève 2003, pp. 483–484, no. 410).

After 30 December AD 162.

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Ψενταχνούμις ὃς καὶ Ἀ[μμ]ώνιος τοῦ καὶ
 [. ο]ν Ἀμμωνίου Τ. [. . .] . ὁ Ἐρμώνθεως
 ἰατρὸς ἔγραψεν τ[αὐτα τὰ γ]εγραμμένα.

1. Ψενταχνουμα . ος Bataille || 2. Τομελ[ί]ον Ἀμμωνίου Ψεν[. . .]ν Θερ[μ]ούθεως Bataille

*Psentachnumis also called Ammonios, son of [- - -] also called [- - -] of Ammonios
 [- - -], physician of Hermonthis, wrote these letters.*

In all likelihood, **93** was already in existence when **94** was written, because the latter evidently starts off where the former ends. This sets the *ante quem* date for the present inscription as 30 December AD 162.

1. The name Ψενταχνούμις is a *hapax*, however, we know other names ending in -χνούμις: Παχνούμις, Ταχνούμις, Ψενχνούμις, Πετεχνούμις, Ψενπαχνούμις, Σενπαχνούμις. The name is a transcription of the Egyptian *p3 šrj-n-ḥ-Hnm* = 'Son of Tachnoumis.'

ὃς καὶ frequently occurs in the language of Greek papyri from Egypt instead of ὁ καὶ as the formula introducing the second name of a person; another instance below, **276** 2. It has been suggested that in Greek inscriptions of Roman date ὁ καὶ was replaced by ὃς καὶ under the influence of the Latin *qui et* (cf. I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin epigraphy* [= *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, Societas Scientiarum Fennica* 40, 1], Helsinki 1966, p. 13), however, this is hardly acceptable for Upper Egypt, where romanisation had not really proceeded far enough. We are dealing more likely with an ellipsis: 'He, who (is) also (called).' But ὃς may also be due to a purely phonetical phenomenon: the appearance of non-etymological /s/ in final position.

τοῦ καὶ must introduce the second name of the father of Psentachnoumis, but strangely the first name of this man has not been indicated unless it is concealed under . . . [. ο]ν: Ψενταχνούμις ὃς καὶ Ἀ[μμ]ώνιος [. ο]ν Ἀμμωνίου. The author of the inscription could have easily committed such a mistake, being led astray by the different names and second names of the male members of this family.

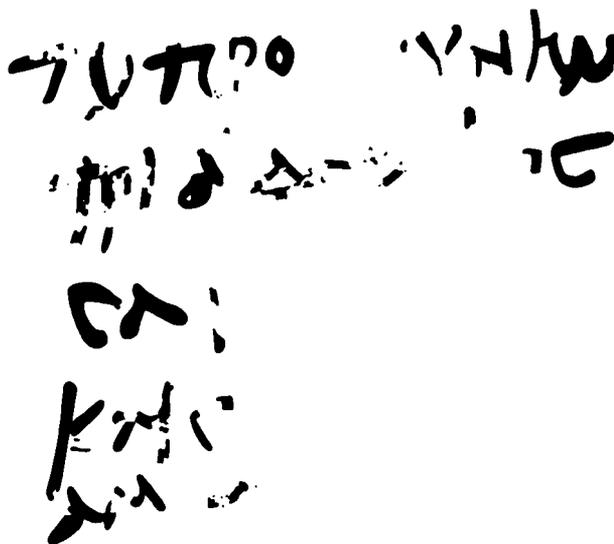
- 2-3. We are dealing here most likely with a public physician (δημόσιος ἰατρός) for Hermonthis or for the entire Hermonthean nome. For δημόσιοι ἰατροί in Roman Egypt, see L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physician in Ancient Greece*, Northampton Mass. 1966, pp. 68-78; D. W. Amundsen, G. B. Ferngren, 'The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,' *John Hopkins Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978), pp. 336-353; P. Roesch, 'Médecins publics dans l'Égypte impériale' [in:] G. Sabbah (ed.), *Médecins et médecine dans l'antiquité* [= *Centre Jean Palerne. Mémoires* III], Saint-Étienne 1982, pp. 119-129. Two further inscriptions left by physicians are known from Deir el-Bahari; cf. **25** and **165**.

95. Passage between the portal and chapel, south side, 1 cm from the south-east corner of the passage, 348 cm above ground level. (According to information from J. Karkowski, the present position of the block is some 20 centimetres higher than its original location). The inscription was on a thin layer of whitewash once covering the passage walls, originally painted with alternating horizontal red and blue bands. Lines

1–2 are on a blue band, lines 3–4 on a red one, and so on. Dimensions: 22 x 18.2 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*omikron*) – 4.3 cm (*kappa*). Dark red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 66.

Roman period.



τὸ προ[σκ]ύνημα[α]
 Τριαδέλφης
 Σα . [- - -]
 4 καὶ Σ[- - -]
 ΑΜ . [- - -]

3. Σαρ[α Bataille || 5. ἀραμ[Bataille

Proskynema of Triadelphe [- - -] and [- - -].

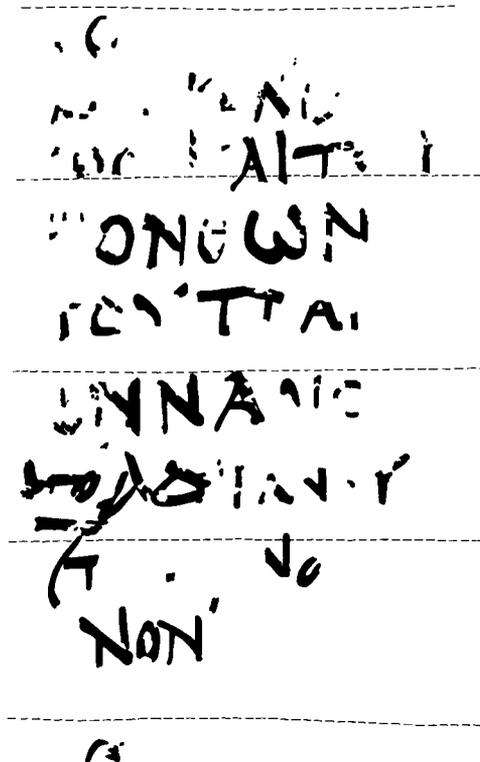
2. For the name *Τριάδελφος*, *Τριαδέλφη* in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see *BGU XVI 2594*, 10 (with further bibliography); H. Heinen, *ZPE* 81 (1990), pp. 270–274; J. Quaegebeur, ‘Greco-Egyptian double names as a feature of a bi-cultural society: the case *Ψοσνευς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος*’ [in:] J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* [= *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51], Chicago 1992, pp. 265–272. A new example of the name *Τριάδελφος* is found in *P.Bingen* 130, 19 (Aphrodito, ca. AD 526–545).

96. On a block kept in the stores, coming undoubtedly from the south wall of the passage leading to Hatshepsut’s chapel, 1 cm from the south-east corner of the passage, height above ground unknown. Originally, the block bore painted, alternately blue and red horizontal bands. This decoration was once covered with a thin layer of whitewash, on which the present inscription was written. Comprehensive whitewashing took place again in Christian times. Dimensions: 32 x 17 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) – 2.5 cm (*omega*). Dark red ochre, very faded and largely covered with Coptic whitewash.

Unpublished.

II–28 August AD II7 (?).

- [τ]ὸ [προσκύνημα]
 .[. .] [- - -]
 .[. .] καὶ τῶν [- - - καὶ τῶν]
 4 γονέων [αὐτοῦ καὶ - - - αὐ]-
 τοῦ παρ[ὰ τῷ κυρίῳ - - - καὶ τοῖς]
 [σ]υννάοις [θεοῖς - - -].
 (ἔτους) α' (?) Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ [- - -]
 8 .. [. . .] ΝΑ [- - -]
 [. .] ΝΟΝ [- - -]
 [. .] . [- - -].



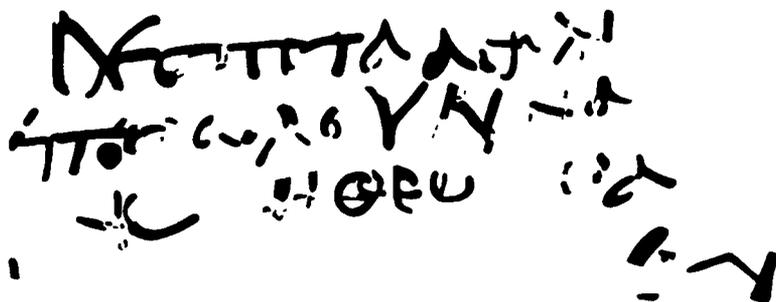
Proskynema of [- - -] and of [- - -] and of his parents and of his [- - -] before the lord [- - -] and the gods worshipped together with him in the same temple. Year 1 (?) of Hadrian [- - -].

2. Perhaps .[. .] καὶ .[- - -].
5. παρ[ὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ σι παρ[ὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ].
7. If the reading of the year is correct, the inscription may be dated theoretically to a very short period between Hadrian's proclamation as Emperor in Syrian Antioch on 11 August AD 117, and the end of the Egyptian year on 28 August AD 117. Since information about the event could not have reached Memnoneia before 25 August or thereabouts, the inscription should be dated practically to the last few days of the Egyptian year.
8. A horizontal stroke extending above the first two letters indicates that this is a numeral referring probably to the day of the month. The month can only be Mesore, the last month of the Egyptian year (cf. above, commentary to line 7).

97. Passage between the portal and chapel, south side, 42 cm from the south-east corner of the passage, 146 cm above ground level, on a hammered figure of Senenmut. Dimensions: 22.5 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 2.4 cm (*nu*). Violet ochre, very faded. The reading is uncertain.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[τὸ προσκύνημα]
 .ΕΠΙ .ΤΑΑΣ καὶ [- - -]
 καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντα[s - - -]
 4 [.] . . [.] ΗΘΕΩ[.] . Α[- - -]
 . [- - - - - - -] ΕΛΙ[- - -]

[*Proskynema of* - - -] and [- - -] and of those who love [(me or us) - - -].

The mention of ‘those who love (me or us)’ makes it clear that the inscription must have contained at least one line more with the word τὸ προσκύνημα over the present line 1.

2. This line contains what is most probably a personal name. It is possible to read *Νεσπεταῶς*. To my knowledge, this name has not been attested thus far.

98. Passage between the portal and chapel, south side, 66 cm from the south-east corner of the passage, 240 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, on the same block as **99**, on a layer of whitewash covering the original painted decoration from Hatshepsut’s times, consisting of alternating red and blue bands (cf. lemma of **96**), level with the blue band. Dimensions: 24.8 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 2.6 cm (*iota*). Red ochre, very faded. The text is to be seen only where the whitewash has been preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 66 bis.

Roman period.



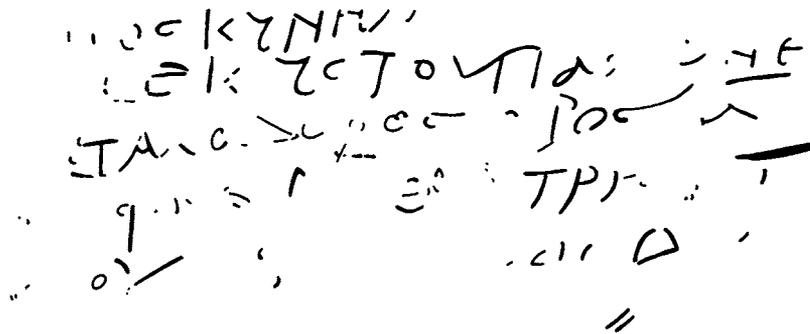
[τὸ προσκ]ύνημα
 . [.] . . [. . .] καὶ το[ῦ]
 [- - - -] . ΑΘ . [- - -]

2. το[ῦ] Α[. . .] οὐπ[Bataille (after Milne) || 3. missing from Bataille's edition

99. Passage between the portal and chapel, south side, 50 cm from the south-east corner of the passage, 222 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, on the same block as **98**, on a layer of whitewash covering the original painted decoration from Hatshepsut's times, consisting of alternating red and blue bands (cf. lemma of **96**), level with the blue band. Dimensions: 21,5 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.3 cm (*tau*). Light violet-pinkish ochre, very faded. The reading is uncertain. Traces of an inscription in red ochre are visible on the neighbouring stone of the fifth course, beneath the present inscription. It apparently had nine lines within a frame. This inscription is partly overwritten by another one, which was made in lighter ochre and a larger hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 67.

Reign of Trajan, AD 98–117.



[τὸ] π[ρ]οσκύνημ[α]
 [. .] . . κ[ο]υς τοῦ Παμώνθ[ου]
 [μ]ετὰ . . . δ . . ος [μητ]ρὸς . [- - -]
 4 . [. .] Τρα[ιανο]ῦ
 [τ]οῦ [κυρίου]
 [- - - - - - - -] //

2. E[ῦ]μένους Bataille | Παμώνθ[ου καὶ Bataille || 3. Ἡρακλ[ε]οδώ[ρου . .] ριακος χ . [Bataille
 || 4. ἀδ[ε]λφός Bataille || 4-5. (ἔτους) θ Τρα[ιανοῦ] τ[οῦ] | [κυρ[ί]ου Bataille || 5. At the end of the line, Bataille transcribed]ρου

*Proskynema of [- - -]kes son of Pamonthes together with [- - -] (his) mother [- - -].
 Year x of the Lord Trajan [- - -].*

This is the only text in black ink preserved from the Hatshepsut chapel and, generally, outside the Bark Shrine with its niches. Inscriptions in black ink are attested at the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari only for the first two centuries of the Ptolemaic period (cf. above, p. 87). This, together with the letter shape, suggests a date towards the middle of the Ptolemaic period, possibly in the second half of the 2nd cent. BC. This date is further corroborated by the difference in levels between the present inscription, which is relatively low above the floor, and the red-ochre *dipinti* of Roman times in which the Hatshepsut chapel abounds and which are all 30–100 cm higher up. Obviously, the chapel must have filled with sand over time, and those writing the Roman *dipinti* already stood well above what the floor had been for the author of this inscription.

Apparently, we are dealing with a fully metric text. This is suggested by line 1 containing a complete hexameter and by traces of the dactylic metre in lines 3 and 4, as well as by the poetic vocabulary of the text. Stylistically (cf. commentary to line 1), the poem seems to have much in common with Greek hymnic poetry. Perhaps, what we have here is a hymn to Imhotep (Asklepios) and Amenhotep, a hymn sung over the centuries in the worship of both gods at their temple in Deir el-Bahari. Excerpts from the hymn were quoted by visitors in their inscriptions, as the case of **208** demonstrates.

1. This line contains a complete hexameter. The same hexameter occurs at the head of an inscription in prose written in the south part of the Ptolemaic portico and containing a description of a visit paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by Athenodoros, a soldier from Koptos (below, **208**). Neither here nor in **208** was the *epsilon* at the end of *χαίρε* elided before the following *alpha* of *Ἀμεινώθη* (the reading *χαίρε* [A]μ[εινώθη] in the present inscription seems certain).

The hexameter gives the names of the two gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari, and the genealogy of one of them. These are characteristic elements of an invocation (*ἐπικλήσις*), the first of three constitutive parts of Greek hymns; for the composition of Greek hymns, see W.D. Furley, J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns. Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, vol. I. *The Texts in Translation* [= *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum* 9], Tübingen 2001, pp. 50–63, especially pp. 52–56 (composition and contents of the invocation). W.D. Furley, J.M. Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, vol. II. *Greek Texts and Commentary* [= *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum* 10], Tübingen 2001, pp. 5–6, points out that extremely few Greek hymns start with *χαίρε*. They quote the opinion of R. Wachter, *Mus. Helv.* 55 (1998), p. 69, according to which *χαίρε* functioned in Greek hymnic poetry as ‘eine Aufforderung an eine Gottheit, eine Votivopfergabe freudig anzunehmen, wobei auf die Gabe selber mit einem grammatischen Komponent Bezug genommen werden kann.’ This may also be the case here, with *εὐχολήν* in line 3 as a component of the opening *χαίρε*. Interestingly, the only other hymnic prayer to Amenhotep and Imhotep known from Deir el-Bahari also starts with *χαίρε* (cf. **219**: *χαίρε καὶ ἰητήρ καὶ ἀγα... [κο]ύρανε φωτῶν*). For the concept of reciprocity (*χάρις* and its cognates), central to Greek hymnic poetry, see Furley/Bremer, *Greek Hymns*, vol. I, pp. 61–63.

While Greek mythological sources provide several versions of the origins of Asklepios, Apollo (Phoebus) is given as his father in all the known myths; cf. Emma J. Edelstein, L. Edelstein, *Asclepius. A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* [= *Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University, Second Series: Texts and Docu-*

ments II], Baltimore 1945, vol. II, pp. 1–53, especially pp. 35–36. Apollo's fathership of Asklepios is constantly referred to in hymns to the Greek god of medicine; cf. the anonymous *Paeon Erythraeus in Asclepium* of ca. 380–360 BC (Edelstein/Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, T. 592, α' = L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* [= *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 37], Berlin – New York 1992, pp. 372–374, no. 37), the Orphic hymn to Asklepios (Edelstein/Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, T. 601), the Athenian hymn known from an inscription of the 1st cent. AD (*IG II²* 4473 = Edelstein/Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, T. 593), a hymn from Epidaurus of ca. 300 BC (*IG IV²* 1, 128 iii 32 – iv 56 = Edelstein/Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, T. 594). The first of this hymns was also known in Egypt and a copy of it in the form of an inscription dated from AD 97 was found in Menshieh in the Delta; cf. *ImétrÉg*, no. 176 = Edelstein/Edelstein, *Asclepius* I, T. 592, α' = Käppel, *loc. cit.*

2. Either εὐκε- (an adjective) or εὐ κε-.
3. Perhaps [ε]ὐμενεῖ. One can speculate that the meaning of the verse was 'accept the prayer in a favorable inclination' or similarly.
4. For the term ἰητήρ, see Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, pp. 9–17. Here, the term in question refers most probably to one of the two gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari. It occurs also in 209 3 (in the plural, apparently in reference to both Amenhotep and Imhotep) and 219 1 (in reference to Amenhotep).

101. Passage between the portal and the chapel, south side, 82 cm from the south-east corner, 241 cm above ground level, immediately after **100**. Dimensions: 9.5 x 2 cm. Violet ochre, very faded. The inscription has deteriorated considerably since Bataille's times. All around **101**, traces of numerous Greek and Demotic dipinti executed in red ochre are visible.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 68.

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 231, no. 68 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

[τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ δεῖνος]
[παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώθη].

Bataille was still able to copy Ἀμενώθη[η]

[*Proskynema of NN*] before the Lord Amenothēs.

102. South wall of the chapel, 259 cm from the south-east corner, 235 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, third register of the procession with offerings, across the legs of a man holding three geese upside down. Dimensions: 21.5 x 16.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*phi*). Red ochre, very faded. To the left of **102**, near the legs of another bearer, traces of another inscription in red ochre are visible (uncertain whether in Greek or Demotic).

After a copy of Milne, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 68 bis + 68 ter.

Roman period.



τ[ὸ προσ]κύν[ημα]
 [.]N[.][.] [- - -]
 καὶ [. . .] . [. . .] is Φτω[- - -]
 4 . [. .] T [.] . . [. .] . . Δ [. .] . . ΟΥ
 παρὰ το[ῦ κ]υρίου Ἀμενώθου
 . [. .] . . . [.] . (ἔτους) κ'
 [. . .] . . . [.] Φαῶφι
 8

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 68 bis corresponds to the left-hand side of the present inscription, his *Inscriptions*, no. 68 ter to the right-hand one

Proskynema [- - -] and [- - -] is son/daughter of Phto[- - -] before the Lord Amenothes [- - -]. Year 20 [- - -], Phaophi [- - -].

3. Most probably Φτω[μώνθου] (for Φθομώνθου) or Φτω[μίνιος] (for Φθουμίνιος).
6. The reading (ἔτους) is' is possible as well. It was Bataille's preferred reading.
8. Perhaps μην(ὸς) θ/.

103. South wall, 106 cm from **102**, 185 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, second register of the procession with offerings, between the legs of two offering bearers. Dimensions: 12.5 x 11.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 3.1 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, very faded. Immediately above **103**, there is another inscription in dark red ochre done by a small hand, very fragmentarily preserved.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύ-
μα [II]λῆνις
.A.TO.[. .].[- - -]
4 [. . .]μήλου
Ἀμε.τι.ς.

τὸ προσκύμα
μήλου
Ἀμε.τι.ς.

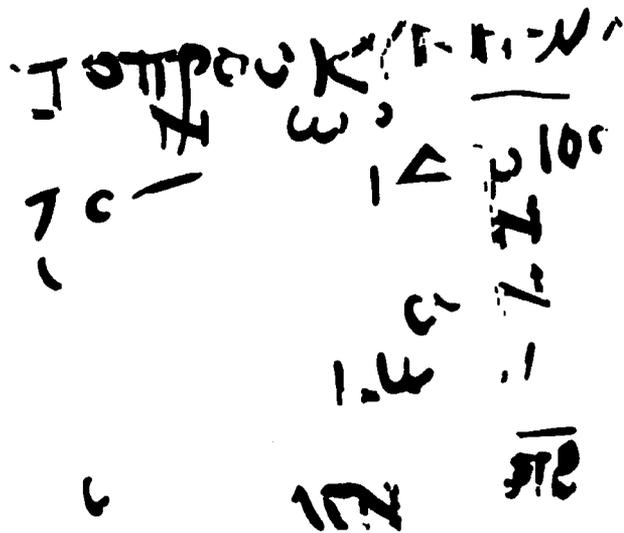
Proskynema of Plenis [- - -].

2. This line most probably contained Plenis' patronymic. The first letter looks like C, suggesting the reading Σατρο[ρνείλου], Σατρο[ρνείνου].
4. A name like Φιλομήλου, Εὐμήλου, Κλεομήλου.
5. Perhaps Ἀμενώφιος?

104. South wall, 76 cm from **103**, 185.5 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, second register of the procession with offerings, between two bearers, of which the one to the left holds meat and fruit and the one to the right lotus stems and a tray with fruits. Dimensions: 14.5 x 12.5 cm, h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 2.6 cm (*rho*). Light red ochre, very faded and smudged toward the centre. The inscription most likely consisted of eight lines. To the left of **104**, there is another inscription in orange-red ochre, very badly preserved. A portrait drawing of a man, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 69 is visible further to the left. Accompanying it is an inscription executed in the same ochre, of which nothing but traces remain.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 70.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα
 [. .] M [. .] Ω [. .] -
 ΤΟ [. . . .] Δ ΙΟC
 4 . [- - - -] N
 [- - - -] Ω N
 [- - - -] Ω [. .]
 . [. . . .] . N [. .]

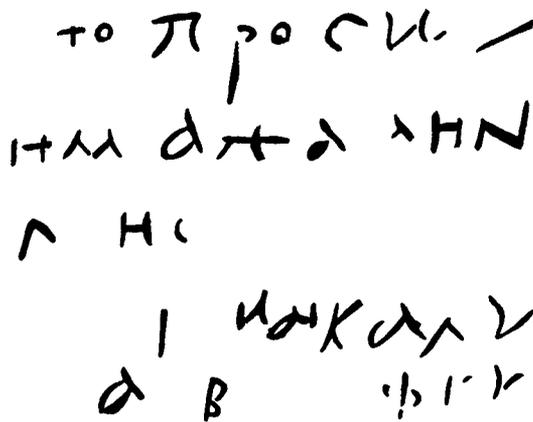
Bataille copied only ll. 1-3 ||
 2. Παμίων[θου] Bataille ||
 3. τοῦ [. . . .] ριος Bataille

- 2. A long vertical stroke at the end of the line is possibly a 'Platzfüller.'
- 3. Possibly τῶν.
- 7. At the end of the line we are apparently dealing with a double letter numeral. Before that one would expect the name of a month. Φ[α]μεν[ώθ] can be read tentatively.

105. South wall, 61 cm from **104**, 191 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, second register of the procession with offerings, across a bearer carrying a big cow's haunch. Dimensions and height of letters impossible to ascertain. Red ochre, faded and smudged to the extent of being completely illegible. It must have been so already in Bataille's times, Bataille presenting it after a copy by Milne. This copy is reproduced below.

After a copy by Milne, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 71.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύ[ν]-
 ημα Παμην-
 . [. .] ΗC [- - -]
 4 [. .] . [. .] καὶ Καλυ-
 [.] A [.] B [. . .] Φ . Υ

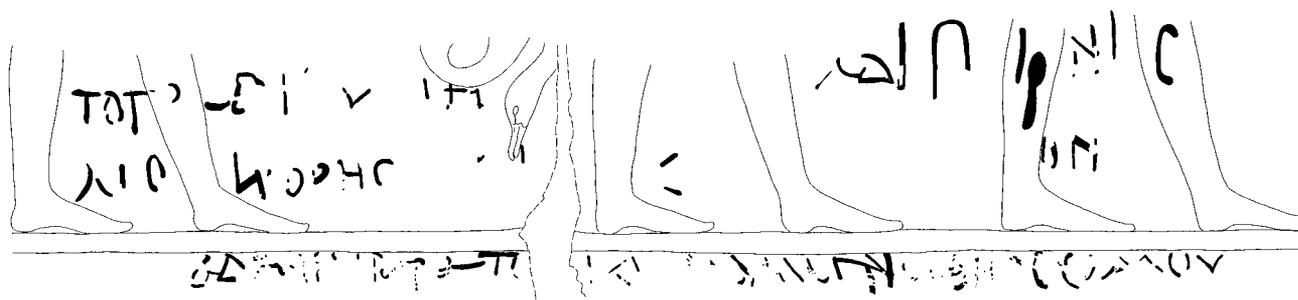
Proskynema of Pamen[---] and of Kaly[---].

2. The name of the *proskynema* author may be complete: Παμην (without a Greek ending).
- 4–5. Names beginning with Καλυ- are relatively rare. Graeco-Egyptian onomastics list only two such names, namely Καλυκάς (Καλυκής) and Καλυβ...ος; for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Of these two, only Καλυκάς suits our case. One can tentatively read καὶ Καλυ[κ]ᾶ [ἀ]⟨δ⟩[ε]λ]φοῦ.

106. South wall, 168 cm from **105**, 179 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, ll. 1–2 in the second register of the procession with offerings, across the left leg of a bearer who supports a big vase on his right shoulder and a table with various offerings on the left, while holding a vase and plants in his left hand, l. 3 at the top of the first register, above two bearers with two big vases each. Dimensions: 60.5 x 11.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.8 cm (*omikron*) – 2.3 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre, very faded. Traces of numerous Greek and Demotic inscriptions in red ochre are visible all around **106**.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνη[μα]
 Μο[ν]κορής [- - -]
 [. . . .] Δ παρὰ τῷ κυ[ρί]ῳ Ἀμηνώθῃ μεγάλου [θεοῦ].

Nos. **106** & **107**

Proskynema of Monkores [---] for the Lord Amenothes, the great god.

2. For the name Μονκορής, see the commentary to **93**, l. 11.

107. South wall, immediately to the right of **106**, level with its ll. 1–2. Dimensions: 19 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) – 4 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre. The present inscription and **108** are superimposed. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσ-
 κ[ύ]νημα
 . . . π[.] . ρνι[ο]ς καὶ
 4 - - - - - ON
 - - - - -
 - - - - -

Proskynema of [---]rnios and [---].

3. Names ending in -ρnios are mainly Roman (*Καλπούρnios*, *Ἀβούρnios* etc.) and this could also be the case here. The *proskynema* author was probably a native who bore a Roman *gentilicium* as his personal name.

108. South wall, 38.5 cm from **106**, 182 cm above ground level, second register of the procession with offerings, between two bearers of which the one on the right holds a lotus and papyrus, and the one on the left an antelope and geese. Dimensions: 10.5 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omega*) – 3.1 cm (*kappa*). Deep graffito, easy to trace, made with a piece of flint with multiple edges, the latter leaving double strokes inside several letters. This inscription and **107** are superimposed.

Unpublished.

1st–2nd cent. AD (cf. lemmata to **112** and **113**).

Ἡρῶν Καλλι().

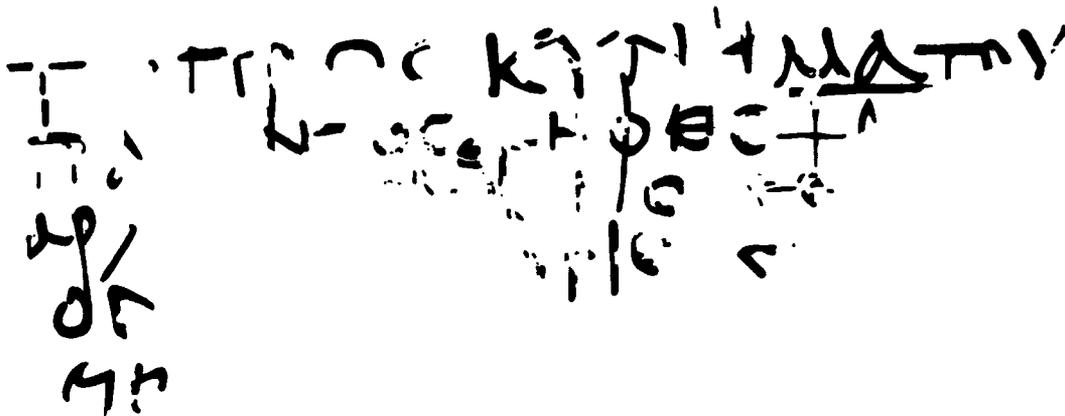
The hand, which left this graffito, is somewhat similar to the hand responsible for **113** (*Ἡρῶν*), placed on the same south wall of the Hatshepsut chapel. Perhaps it was the same man who was responsible for these two graffiti, in similarity to Promachos son of Dionysios who signed several times in the north part of the Upper Portico, Chairemon who left his signatures in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, and Didymos who together with Plenis made his name immortal on the south wall of the court. Another *Ἡρῶν* occurs in **118**. For the personal name *Ἡρῶν* in Egypt, see J. Bingen, 'Le dieu Hérôn et les Hérôn du Fayoum' [in:] Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, III. *Études isiaques* [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude* 106/3], Le Caire 1994, pp. 41–50.

109. South wall, 112 cm from **108**, 193.5 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, above and slightly to the right of the chiselled figures of a kneeling *heri-heb* priests. Dimensions: 27.3 x 9.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*tau*) – 3.5 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre, similar as in **110**. To the left of the present inscription, traces of three lines painted in light red ochre are visible. One can read: *AM* | *KA*[.] | . . [.] . . .

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 72 + 72 bis.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 231, no. 72 (German translation of Bataille, *Inscriptions* no. 72).

Roman period.



τ[ὸ] προσκύνημα τοῦ
 γρά[ψα]ντος Ψήφης ψ[. . . .]
 APX[ca. 4] . . . C[.] . . [.]
 4 OC[ca. 5] . IC[.] . [.]
 EI [- - - - -]

Bataille, *Inscriptions* no. 72 corresponds to ll. 1–3, his *Inscriptions* no. 72 bis to ll. 4–5 || 2. Ψήφιος Ψε[Bataille, read Ψήφης || 3. παρὰ [τοῦ Ἀσκ]ληπιο[ῦ] το[ῦ κυρίου] Bataille || 4.]oc[ca. 5] . ρε[.]ε Bataille || 5.]ειη[Bataille

Proskynema of the one who wrote (this, namely,) Psephis (?) son of Ps[- -].

2. Reading the name of the *proskynema* author raises problems. Of crucial importance is the letter following *phi*. Bataille believed it to be an *eta*, which the author had begun to write and then made it into one sign with the following *omikron*. In my opinion, the letter he had written was an *epsilon* initially, subsequently corrected to an *eta*. ΨΗΦΗC (Ψήφης) probably stands for Ψήφης. If so, the *proskynema* author passed from the genitive (τοῦ γράψαντος) to the nominative (Ψήφης). The name Ψήφης is very rare. Apart from this inscription, it is attested only in *SB* III 7174 (Tebtynis, AD 25) and in *P.Erlangen* 106 v^o 3, 71 (provenance unknown, 4th cent. AD).
5. Perhaps εἰς [ἀεί or similarly, but it also could have been the beginning of a personal name.

110. South wall, under **109** and immediately to the right of it, 181.5 cm above ground level, between the small figure of a priest going backwards and sweeping traces of his feet with a piece of cloth on the left, and the chiselled figures of *heri-beb* priests on the right. Dimensions: 8.8 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8–1 cm. Red ochre, very faded. The left-hand edge of the inscription runs obliquely from top left to bottom right, following the edge of a bale of cloth held by the priest.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[τ]ὸ
 προ[σ]-
 κύνη-
 4 μα
 Τ[. .] . . -
 ι . . του.

Proskynema of T[---].

5–6. The name of the *proskynema* author ends either in -μτου or in -ωτου (-ωτου). It is most likely of Egyptian origin.

111. South wall, immediately to the left of **109** and on the same height (193.5 cm above ground level), so one gets the impression that it is the same inscription; above the chiselled figures of *heri-beb* priests. Dimensions: 22.8 x 5.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*tau*). Dark red ochre, same as in **109**. Note an extremely elongated *sigma* at the end of l. 3.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 73.

Roman period.

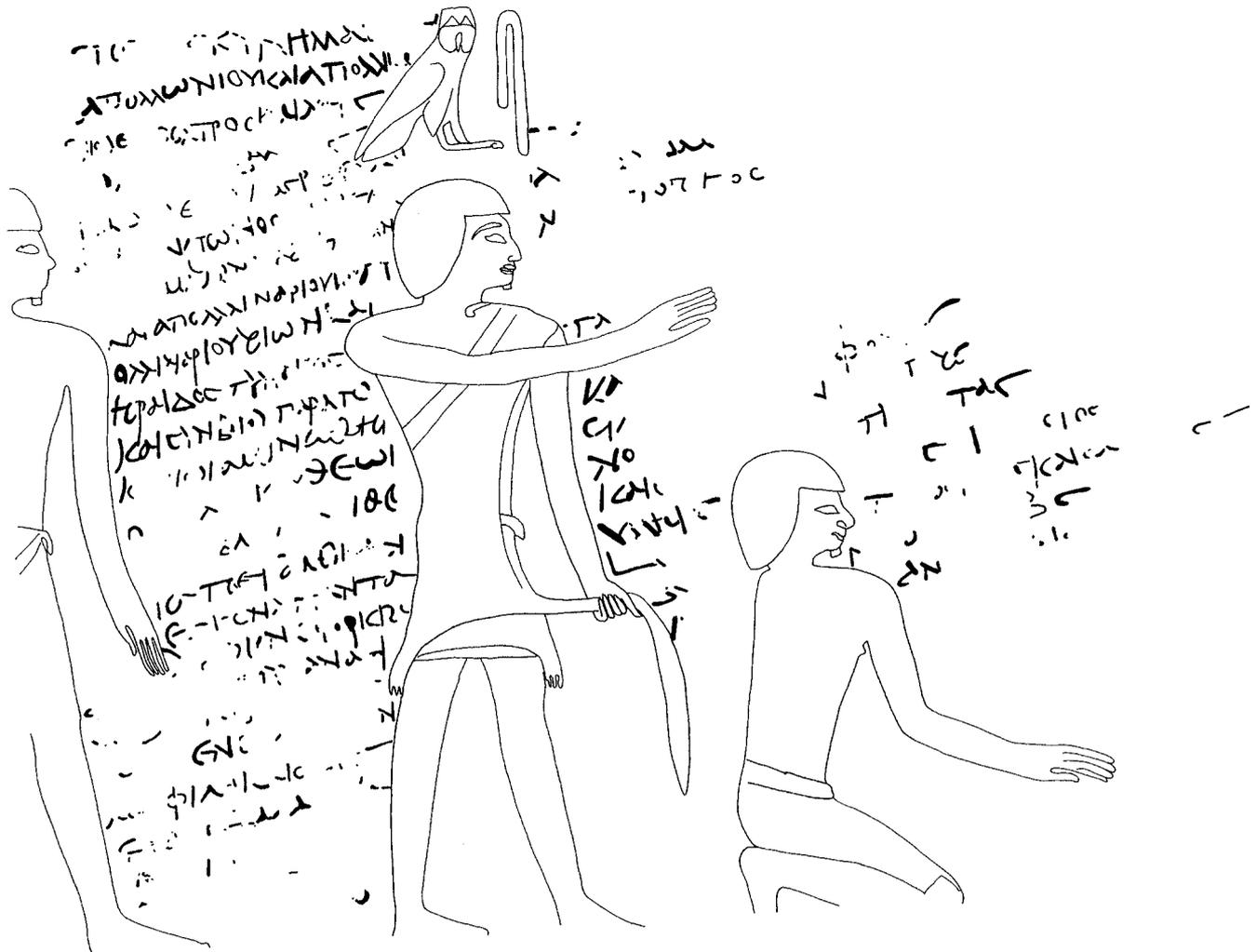
τὸ προσκοίνημα
Ἀμμωνίου Θεῶν[ος] τ[οῦ] γρά-
ψαντος.

1. read προσκοίνημα || 2. read Θεῶν[ος] | [τ]οῦ Bataille

Proskynema of Ammonios son of Theon who has written (this).

2. The person who wrote the inscription forgot the patronymic and added it later above the line.

II2. South wall, 75 cm from **IO9**, 200 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, between the second and third figure of a row of priests performing different rituals before Queen Hatshepsut. Dimensions: 25,5 x 9 cm; h. of letters: ca. 0.6 – 0.7 cm. Dark red ochre, well preserved at the beginning of the inscription and in the middle, otherwise very faded. In the lower part, the present inscription overwrites **II3**, which is evidently older than **II2** (the ochre of **II2** fills the carved strokes of **II3**). The script rises



Nos. **II2** & **II4**

slightly to the right. Its direction is followed to the right by that of **II4** (cf. lemma to the latter). To the left of **II2**, between the first and second figure of a priest, there is a Demotic inscription in light red ochre. The inscription has deteriorated considerably since Bataille's time. I reproduce here my copy, but I have largely adopted his readings.

Bataille *Inscriptions*, no. 74, pl. V.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 2 (photo). J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*, quoting some characteristic expressions). Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, p. 126 (on the sense of the term *θεραπεία*). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 232, no. 74 (German translation after Bataille).

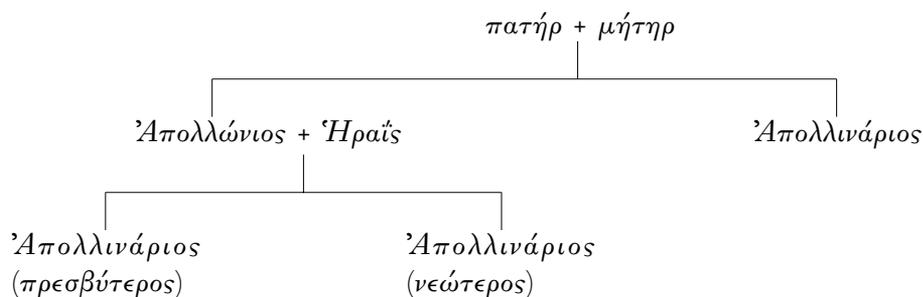
Roman period, 1st–2nd cent. AD. The inscription was written later than **II3**.

τὸ π[ρο]σκήνημα τῶν
 Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ἀπολλιν-
 αρίου[v] πατρός καὶ μητ-
 4 [ρὸς καὶ . . .] . . . [. . .]C
 [.]E[. . .] . . . P
 [. . . .] αὐτῶν ΟC - - - -
 [. . .]M . . N - - - - -
 8 καὶ Ἀπολλιναρίου καὶ Ἀπ-
 ολλιναρίου υἱῶν καὶ
 Ἑραΐδος γυναικὸς
 καὶ συνβίου παρὰ τῶι
 12 κ[υρ]ίωι Ἀμενώθηι
 κ[αὶ π]α[ρὰ] τῶ[ι] θεῶι
 [Ἀσ]κλ[ηπιῶι (?) τῆ]ν θε-
 ραπείαν θέλοντ-
 16 ες . ΟΝΑ πάντα
 Α . . ΥΝΩ . . ΡΚ . .
 . [- - -] . . . ANATI
 - - - - [- - - -]
 20 [.] . [. . .] ἐνθά[δε (?)]N
 τῶ[ν] φιλοῦντ[ω]ν [καὶ]
 φιλομ[έ]ν[ων] - - -]
 . [. .] . - - - - -
 24 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -

11. read *συνβίου* || 16. *οναπ[.]θετα* Bataille || 17. *λ . υρω . απο* Bataille

Proskynema of the father and the mother of Apollonios and Apollinarios, and [---], and of Apollinarios and of Apollinarios sons, and of Heraïs (his) wife and consort before the Lord Amenothes and before the god [Asklepios?], the ones who desire the healing [---] everything [---] here, (and) those who love us and those who are loved by us [---].

Due to the fragmentary condition of this inscription, it is difficult to say with all certainty who was who in the family behind the text. The two brothers Apollonios and Apollinarios are apparently of foremost importance. Their parents are mentioned but remain nameless. Heraïs, the wife, and the two sons going by the name Apollinarios must have been the family of one of the two brothers, perhaps Apollonios, who is the first to be mentioned among the family members. The hypothetic stemma of the family runs as follows:



All male members of this family bear theophoric names constructed with the name of Apollo who, through *interpretatio graeca*, most probably represents Montu. The two brothers called Apollinarios were named probably after their paternal uncle (or after their father in an alternative stemma).

10. A wife of Apollonios (or Apollonides) is mentioned in **II5**, l. 12. Her name is damaged, but the reading *Ἡρα[ιδ]ος* is not impossible. The proximity of the two inscriptions and the similarity of the hands speak strongly in favour of these two women being the same person.

II3. South wall, 179 cm above ground level. The text and the last lines of **II2** are superimposed (**II3** is evidently earlier than **II2**). Width: 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omega*) – 3.4 cm (*eta*). Delicate graffito, but well visible.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 75, pl. V.

1st–2nd cent. AD. The inscription is earlier than **II2**.

Ἡρων.

The author of this inscription may be identical with *Ἡρων Καλλι()* who left an inscription on the same, south wall of Hatshepsut chapel further to the east (above, **108**).

114. South wall, to the right of **112**, 197 cm above ground level, to the right of a standing priest with outstretched arm and above a kneeling priest (third and fourth figure in the row of priests performing different rituals before Queen Hatshepsut). Dimensions: 15 x 21 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 0.6 – 0.7 cm. Dark red ochre, very faded. The script rises considerably to the right. The hand of **114** resembles very much that of **112**, and its lines continue the direction of lines of the latter inscription. The first line of the present text crosses the drawing of an owl (hieroglyphic sign *m*) in red ochre. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original in January 2002.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 75 bis, pl. V (only description, without text).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 2 (photo).

Roman period, 1st–2nd cent. AD.

τὸ [προσκύνημα]
 . [. . .] . . . M [- - -]
 . [. . .] . TΘ . . OC [- - -]
 4 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - -]
 TA [- - - -] C [- - -]
 KA [- - - - - - - - -]
 8 C . . [- - - - - ἀδελ] φου
 ΛΙΟ [- - -] ΥC
 καὶ . [- - -] ΤΙ [. .] . . TAC
 ΥΜΗΙCΤΑC [.] . . . CIOC
 12 (ἔτους) . [αὐ]τ[οκρ]άτορος Καίσα[ρο]s
 . . [- - -] . [.] . [- - - -] . C
 . . [.] ΔΝ [. . . .] . . .

10. The reading φιλ[λ]οῦντας is not impossible.

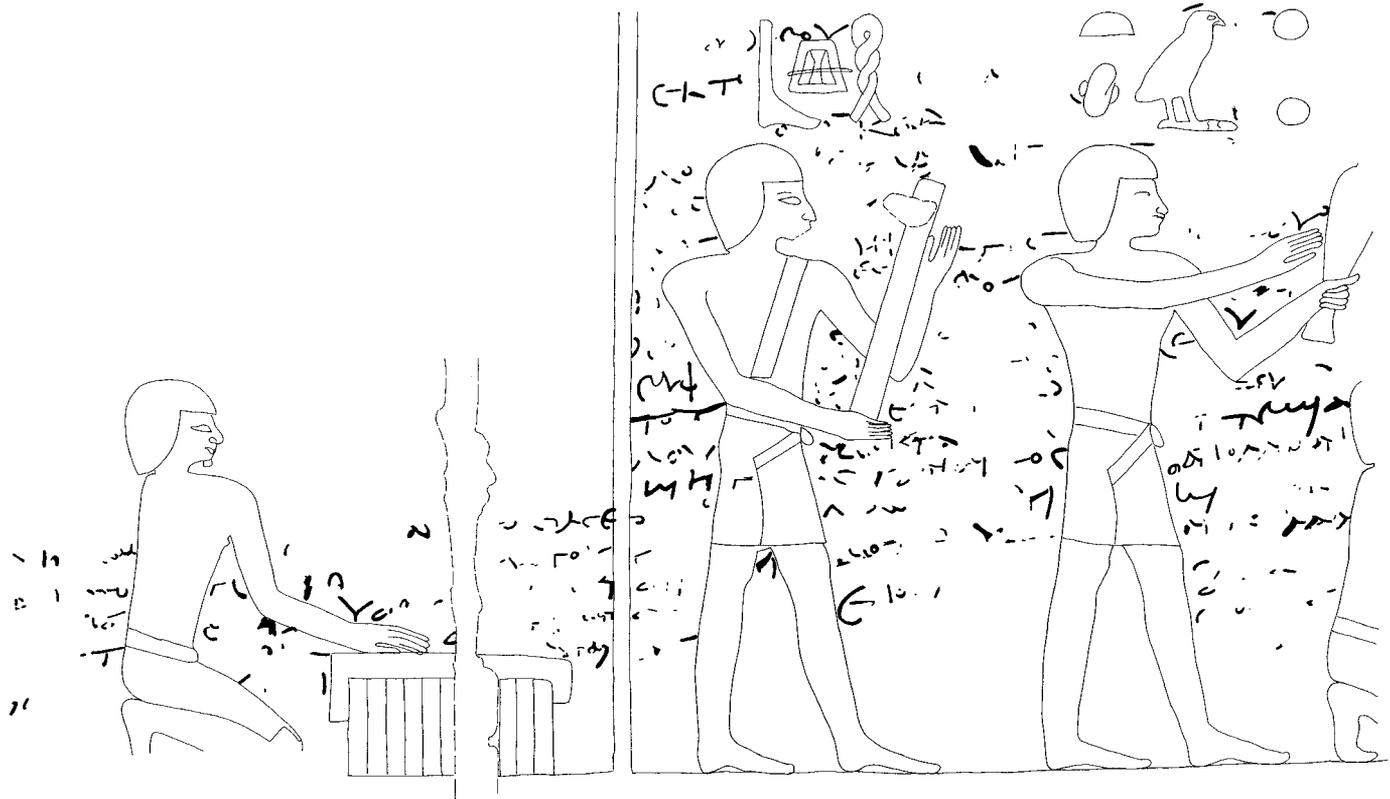
13. The first letter of the line looks like Δ, possibly Δο[μτιανοῦ].

115. South wall, immediately to the right of **114** (ll. 1–12) and beneath it (ll. 13–17), 198 cm above ground level, across three figures of priests performing different acts before Queen Hatshepsut. Dimensions: 47.5 x 22.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron*) – 1.4 cm (*phi* in l. 9). Dark red ochre, very faded. The hand resembles to a degree that of **112** and **114** (cf. above). **115** has the form of a big letter L in mirrored form, resulting from

it being placed on both sides of the lower right-hand corner of **II4** (cf. above); it suggests that the former inscription is younger than the latter. However, contrary to **II4** (and **II2**), the script in **II5** does not rise to the right, running instead in even, horizontal lines. In some spots the script runs across the figures of the original sculptured decoration of the wall (thus in l. 12), but overall the writer seems to have avoided the relief. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Roman period, later than **II4**.



[...] . . . COY[- - - -] - - -
 EKT . [- - -] - - - [- - -]
 [- - -] O [.] CK . [- - -] - - -
 4 ΛΟ - - - - -
 C [- - -] . [- - - - -]
 . . . [. .] YNTOC [- - -] . [.] . Y
 EÇ . O . [- - - - -] . . .
 8 . - - - - - [- - -] Y
 EYΦ - - - - - E - - - -
 TOY - - - - - EYÇ
 ΛΟΥ . . . ΚΤ . [- - - -] . TEMIA

1. For the name *Ἀντᾶς*, see in general J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1969, 218. The name is quite rare in the Greek world outside Egypt, from where we have several dozens of occurrences in papyri and three occurrences in inscriptions (two Deir el-Bahari *proskyne-mata* left by the same man, and *IKoKo*, no. 169).

For freedmen in Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see Iza Biezuńska-Małowist, 'L'affranchis dans les papyrus de l'époque ptolémaïque et de l'époque romaine' [in:] *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Milano 1965*, Milano 1966, pp. 433–443; for terminology, see N. Istasse, 'La terminologie relative à l'affranchi et à l'affranchissement dans les papyrus de l'Égypte,' *CdÉ* 75 (2000), pp. 331–340, especially p. 331.

For the spelling *αιεί*, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 195–196. It is rare in the language of Greek papyri from Egypt.

II7. South wall, 18 cm from **II6**, 209 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, on the legs and partly on the throne of a chiselled figure of the enthroned Hatshepsut. Dimensions: 43 x 31.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*delta* in l. 10) – 6.7 cm (*phi* in l. 1). Light red ochre. Lines 3–4 are partly covered by a horizontal band, 2.5 cm wide, done in claret-coloured ochre in Christian times. See Fig. 18.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 77, pl. IV.

Cf. J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*; quoting some characteristic expressions). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 228, no. 77 (German translation after Bataille). Godlewski, *Monastère*, p. 40, fig. 20 (photo).

21, 22, 23 September 112 AD.

ΦΑΤΡΗΣ ΦΑΤΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ
 ΓΥΝΗΚΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΛΛΕΝΩ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΡΩΝ ΣΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ ΤΡΑ
 ΡΑΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΩΘΗ ΚΕΝΙΑΣ
 ΚΝΗΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΝΟ
 ΩΝ ΑΕΩΝΝΕΣΤΩΝ
 ΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΝΤΩΝ Κ
 ΦΙΛΟΝ ΑΕΛΕΩΝ ΕΣΤΩΝ
 ΕΝΙΣΤΟΚΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΤΑ
 ΚΑ Κ.Κ.

Φατρῆς Φατρήου καὶ ἡ τοῦ[το]υ
 γυνῆ Κλῆς ἐν τῷ τεμένει μ[ετὰ]
 θυγατρὸς [ε]ύο[χ]ο[ύ]μενοι πα-
 4 ρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσ-
 κληπιῶ καὶ τῶν συννά-
 ων θεῶν μεγίστων μ[ε]-
 τὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοῦντων κα[ι]
 8 φιλουμένων· (ἔτους) ἰς Τραιανῶ
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Θῶθ κγ,
 κδ, κε.

1. τοῦ(του) Bataille who suggested the scribe has committed a haplography || 2. Τάις Bataille, read Κλείς | read τεμένει || 3. τοῦ[τω τὸ προσκύνημα ?] Bataille, read εὐωχούμενοι || 4–6. read Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις || 8–9. πάντων | καὶ Σφ[.]. ο[.]τις (ἔτους) κ Bataille || 10. missing from Bataille's edition

Phatres son of Phatres and his wife Kleis together with a daughter while feasting in the sacred precinct (we have made proskynema) before the Lord Amenothos and Asklepios and the great gods worshipped with them in the same temple together with those who love us and are loved by us. Year 16 of the Caesar Trajan the Lord, 23, 24, 25 Thoth.

1. *Phi* in Φατρῆς was corrected from *pi*. This marks a flotation in pronunciation between the voiceless and aspirated labials, for which see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 87–88. For the declension of the name Φατρῆς, see commentary to 58, l. 2.

A certain Φατρῆς Φατρή(ος) Ταύρων(ος) occurs in *O.Leid.* 300, 10 (list of names, Theban area, 2nd–3rd cent. AD). In view of the popularity of the name Φατρῆς in Egypt in general and in the Theban area in particular, an identification of this man with the person on record in the present inscription must remain speculative.

2. The reading of the name of Phatres' wife appears certain. The name Κλ(ε)ῖς bears literary overtones. According to an ancient tradition, it was the name of both Sappho's mother and her daughter. Sappho mentions another Lesbian woman of this name, her contemporary; for references, see *LGPNI*, s.v.; cf. also *Anth.Palat.* XIV 138. The name is attested epigraphically on Lesbos in the 3rd cent. BC (*IG XII Suppl.*, p. 25, no. 78). The present inscription yields the first attestation of the name in question outside Lesbos. It would probably be too farfetched to connect its appearance in the Thebaid in the 2nd cent. AD with the influence of the Greek school in Egypt.

The form τῷ τεμένει occurs also in *SB VI* 9636 r^o 18 (Karanis, AD 136). This is a metaplasm of the -s stem of the third declension to the -o stem of the second declension; for similar phenomena in Post-Classic Greek, see Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2, § 64 2; Blass/Debrunner, *Grammatik*, §§ 49–52; Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 43–44.

3. The reading [ε]ύο[χ]ο[ύ]μενοι is not quite certain on palaeographic grounds, but is assured by the context (cf. below, commentary to 118) and the occurrence of the same verb-form in 93, ll. 7–8.

After εὐωχούμενοι and before the expression παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων, we would expect something like: τὸ προσκύνημα (ποιούμεν). The reading εὐωχούμενοι παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ κτλ. = 'while feasting before the Lord Amenothos and Asklepios etc.' seems less probable as it

leaves the expression $\mu[\epsilon]\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha[\iota]\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$ completely in the air. This last expression is frequent in Egyptian *proskynemata*.

- 9–10. It is remarkable that Phatres' family visited the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari for three whole days. It is hardly imaginable that they had left the temple for the nights during this period. Therefore, they must have slept in one of the sanctuary rooms, possibly even in the chapel of Hatshepsut. The family's stay in Deir el-Bahari for two nights may have been due to the practice of incubation, attested for this particular spot by the case of Polyaratos and the strategus Celer; see above, pp. 52–53 and 59–60, and below, commentary to **199**. A Demotic ostrakon in an Australian collection, originating most probably from Deir el-Bahari, describes the dreams that a certain man had while sleeping before Amenhotep in his temple on the nights of the 23rd and the 24th of an unnamed month; for the publication of the ostrakon, see J. D. Ray, 'Dreams before a Wise Man: A Demotic Ostrakon in the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney (inv. R. 98)' [in:] A. Leahy, J. Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith* [= *EES Occasional Publications* 13], London 1999, pp. 241–247. One is tempted to connect this ostrakon with our inscription and to place these dreams on the nights of the 23rd through the 25th of Thoth. These nights may have been particularly suitable for oracular dreams in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.

118. South wall, immediately to the right of **117**, 205 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, on a chiselled throne of Hatshepsut and partly behind it. Dimensions: 26.5 x 21.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*alpha* in l. 6) – 3.4 cm (*phi* in l. 9). Light red ochre. Well trained hand, although not very nice. The script rises slightly to the right. Lines 2–3 are partly covered by a horizontal band, 2.5 cm wide, done in claret-hued ochre in Christian times. See Fig. 18.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 78, pl. IV.

Cf. J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*; quoting some characteristic expressions). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 228, no. 78 (German translation after Bataille). Godlewski, *Monastère*, p. 40, fig. 20 (photo).

Most probably, 22 September AD 112.

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 ΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΝΗΥΓΑ
 ΤΩΝ ΜΩΙ
 ΕΥΧΙΧΟΥΜΕ, ΟΙΙΙΟΙ
 ΙΩΚΥΡΙΩ, ΔΑΝΩΘΗ
 ΚΑΤΑΚΛΗΝΟΥΚΑΤΩΝ
 ΟΥΝ ΝΩΝΘΕΩΝ ΜΩΙ
 ΤΩΝ ΜΩΤΑΚΩΤΩΝ
 ΦΙΛΟΥΝΤΩ ΚΑΨΙΩΜΕ
 ΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΘΩΚΙΔ

τὸ προσκύνημα
 Ἡρων καὶ τὴν θυγα-
 τέραν μου .[.] .[.].
 4 εὐωχούμενοι παρὰ
 τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ
 καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν
 συννάων θεῶν μεγίσ-
 8 τουν μετὰ καὶ τῶν
 φιλούντων καὶ φιλουμέ-
 νων· (ἔτους) ἰς, Θῶθ κδ.

2-3. read τὴν θυγατέρα (for ἡ θυγάτηρ) || 4. καὶ Παχούμεως π[αρά Bataille || 6. read Ἀσκληπιῶ
 || 6-8. μεγίστων Bataille, read τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις || 9. read φιλούντων || 10. (ἔτους)
 κ' Bataille

Proskynema of Heron and of my daughter [- - -] who are feasting, before the Lord Amenothēs and Asklepios and the greatest gods worshipped with them in the same temple, together with those who love us and are loved by us. Year 16, Thoth 24.

2. For the name Ἡρων, see commentary to **108**.
- 3-4. The accusative θυγατέραν is frequently encountered in the Greek of Egyptian papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, as are also other accusative endings in -αν of the stems in stops, or in -ρ; for the collection of evidence, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 45-46 and add τὴν νύκταν in **208** 5. These accusatives were modelled on the accusative -ν ending of all vowel stems, particularly of the nouns of the first declension; their formation was reinforced by phonetic phenomena: loss of /n/ in final position and the appearance of a non-etymological /n/ at the end of a word, cf. commentary to l. 9. This led eventually to the back formation of a nominative singular ending in -α, but it is uncertain whether the author of the present inscription was already using the form ἡ θυγατέρα, while the author of **208** ἡ νύκτα.
9. For the loss of /n/ at the end of a word (φιλούντω for φιλούντων), see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 111-112.
10. On the grounds of a comparison with the previous inscription (cf. below), the 16th year of an unnamed emperor should be that of Trajan.

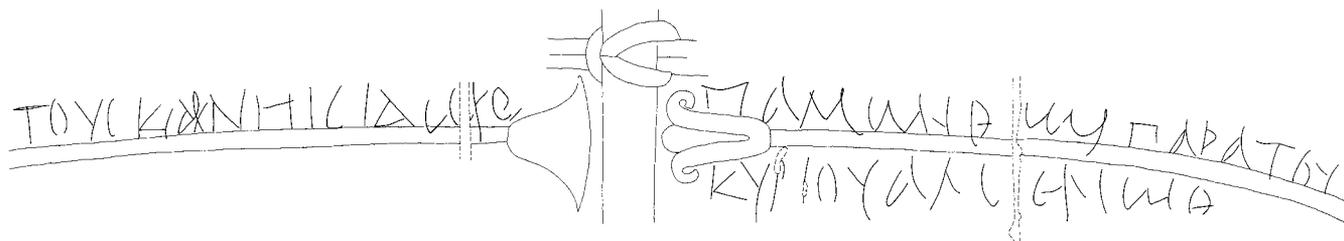
The inscriptions **117** and **118** are interrelated in many respects. They appear near to one another on the wall. Each commemorates a visit by a family and indicates that the visits were connected with feasting, a very rare piece of information occurring otherwise only in **93**. The two visits occurred at the same time: Phatres' family visited the sanctuary in Deir el-Bahari on the 21, 22 and 23 September AD 112, Heron's family on 22 September AD 112. One gets the impression that the members of the two families feasted together on 22 September (the 24th of Thoth), AD 112. It is interesting to note that both families had daughters. It was possibly because of the girls that the two families came to Deir el-Bahari at the same time and left their inscriptions in the same area of the temple. The family of Phatres may have been acquainted with that of Heron.

119. South wall, under **117** and **118**, 151 cm above ground level. The inscription follows the lotus and papyrus stalks from the *sematawy*-scene. Dimensions: 79 x 8.4 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*phi*) – 3.5 (*upsilon*). Quite deep graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 79.

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 231, no. 79 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period (?).



τὸ <προ>σκ[υ]ύνη(μα) Ἰσιδώρου Παμώνθου παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθ(ου).

1. τὸ{υ} <προ>σκ{υ}ύνημα Ὄρου Bataille

Proskynema of Isidoros son of Pamonthes before the Lord Amenothos.

Isidoros son of Pamonthes (most probably the same man) is the author of **86**, written on the west wall of the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex.

1. On the wall, the inscription begins with what is probably *TOYCK[[Y]]YNH*. This can be read in different ways and the above is only one of the possible solutions. <τὸ> *πρυσκ[[υ]]ύνη(μα)* is another one. Initially, the author wrote the letter *upsilon* too close to *kappa* and corrected himself by carving it a second time at the right distance. This second *upsilon* is partly superimposed on the other letter(s).
2. As Bataille observed, the inscription may be completed with the letter *theta* on the right-hand side. Providing this was the case, the name of the god worshipped in Deir el-Bahari was recorded in a version close to the Egyptian original *'Imn-htp*, deprived of the Greek flexional ending *-ης*; for different forms of the Greek transcription of the Egyptian *'Imn-htp*, see J. Quaegebeur, 'Aménophis, nom royal et nom divin. Questions méthodologiques,' *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 97–106, particularly pp. 104–105. The form *Ἀμενώθ* occurs in a poem of Iulia Balbilla inscribed on the singing colossus of Memnon (cf. *IColosse*, no. 29, 3); there, however, the name refers to King Amenophis III.

120. South wall, 51 cm from **118**, 160 cm above ground level, between the arm and breast of the Nile-god from the *sematawy*-scene. Dimensions: 9 x 5.5 cm, h. of letters: 0.25 cm (*omikron*) – 0.8 cm (*tau*). Red ochre, very faded; readings highly uncertain. The inscription probably had 7 lines. Under the present inscription, immediately beneath the papyrus stalk held by the Nile-god in the *sematawy*-scene, one can see a Demotic inscription in red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 80.

Roman period.

τὸ πρ[ο]σ-
κύνημα
Π [.]Υ[.]ΤΟ[- - -]
4 καὶ . . . [- - -]
[.]Υ[.] [- - -]
- - - - -
- - - - -

τὸ πρ =
κύνημα
Π Υ . . . ΤΟ
καὶ . . . Υ . . .
- - - - -
- - - - -

1-2. Bataille read τὸ | προσκύνημα; his l. 1 does not exist ||
3. Ἀμμων[ί]ου Bataille || 4. Ὀχ[ί]ος Bataille

Proskynema of [- - -] and of [- - -].

3. The name of the *proskynema* author can be read as Πακλοῦ. The name Πακλής is well attested without being popular; cf. *P.Oxy.* LI 3604, 22 (Arsinoites, AD 215); *SB I* 5124, 5, 129 (Tebtynis, AD 193); *SB VI* 9219 (Hermoupolis Magna, AD 319).
5. Possibly ἀστ[ροῦ] (after revision).

121. On a loose fragment of block with a hieroglyphic inscription bordered on top by a *pet*-sign. The fragment should be placed most probably in the northern part of the west wall of the chapel, between the false door and the north-west corner, ca. 200 cm above ground level. The text is between the *pet*-sign and the hieroglyphic inscription. Dimensions and height of letters not recorded. Red ochre. No copy.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα - - -]
- - - - -

122. North wall, 30.5 cm to the east of the north-west corner, 168 cm above ground level, fourth course of blocks, between the left arm of a Nile god and a chiselled fig-

ure of Hatshepsut's *k3* standing behind the enthroned Queen. Dimensions: 7.5 x 3.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*kappa*) – 1.1 cm (*rho*). Red ochre. What I have copied is probably the end of an inscription, the entire upper part of which is concealed under stucco from Coptic times, bearing a Coptic inscription, Godlewski, *Monastère*, p. 145, no. 12. Below the present inscription, traces of Greek and Demotic dipinti in red ochre are visible.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 83.

Roman Imperial period.

[- - -] T . [- - -]
 [- - -] τοῦ κυρ[ίου - - -]
 [- - - -] Tῶβι δ̄

π
 ΟΥΚΥΡ
 ΤΒΙ

2. This is probably part of a dating clause as recognised by Bataille: [(ἔτους) (number) τοῦ δεινός] τοῦ κυρ[ίου].

123. North wall, 69 cm to the east of the north-west corner, 206 cm above ground level, on a big chiselled figure of Queen Hatshepsut seating on a throne. Dimensions: 85 x 43 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omega* at the end of l. 1) – 2.6 cm (*phi* in l. 3). The letters become smaller towards the end of the inscription. The inscription is in two separate hands, using two different writing tools but apparently the same red ochre. Hand one is responsible for ll. 1–7, hand two wrote ll. 8–12 and the addition *πατῆρ Παμώνθου* above l. 7. However, the occurrence of the same persons throughout the text (Pamonthes and his father Apollonides), as well as the date, 12th of Pauni, repeated in ll. 6 and 12 indicate that the inscription constituted a single whole and was a souvenir of a single visit to the temple at Deir el-Bahari. The identity of persons who were responsible for both parts of the inscription is not quite clear. The first part could have been written by Pamonthes, the second one by his father Apollonides. The inscription is partly covered by Coptic stucco with a Coptic inscription on it: Godlewski, *Monastère*, p. 146, no. 14. These two inscriptions merging has greatly impeded decipherment.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 82 + 82 bis. A. Łajtar, 'A Memnonean Family in a Visit to the Sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari, June 6th, 119 A.D.' [in:] *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska* [= *Warsaw Egyptological Studies* 1], Warsaw 1997, pp. 35–44 (SEG XLVII 2142 with new readings suggested by J. Bingen).

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 229, no. 82 (German translation after Bataille).

6 June AD 119.

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΘ[Ο]ΜΩΝΘΗΣ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ
 ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΜΕΝΩΦΙΟΥ
 ΔΕΥ[.] ΕΡ[.] ΕΣΜΟΥ . (έτους) γ' Αδ[ρ]ι[αν]ου Καίσαρος
 ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΠΑΥΝΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΟΥ
 ΚΑΔΑΤΡΑΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΗΓΗΤΗ
 ΠΑΜΩΝΘΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ ΤΟΥΤΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΥ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΞΑΝ
 ΕΞ[Α]ΛΪΨΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΞ[Ο]ΛΙΔΙ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΖΗΝ ΟΣΩΔ ΠΑΝ[.] ΑΑΝΔ . .
 ΓΗ ΔΙΑΜΕΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΛΑΤΟΝ ΕΪΧΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΠΑΥΝΙ 12

- τὸ προσκύνημα Παμώνθης καὶ Φθ[ο]μώνθην υἱὸν Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ Μέμνονος ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου ἀδελφ(οῦ)
- 4 παρὰ τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ θ[ε]οῦ Ἀ]μενώφιος ΔΕΥ[.] ΕΡ[.] ΕΣΜΟΥ· (έτους) γ' Ἀδ[ρ]ι[αν]οῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παῦνι ιβ̄.
- 8 τὸ πρ(οσκύν)ημα Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίδου πατήρ Παμώνθου ἄρχων καὶ ἐξηγητὴ κα(ι) ἀγ(ο)ρανόμος [. . .] Η[. . .] ΜΕΓΙ . ΟC ὁμοίως μήτηρ Παμώνθου γυνὴ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλων^{ου}ίδου ἄρχοντος. ὃς δέ τις ξὰν ἐξ[α]λίψη ταῦτα ἐξ[ο]λί δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ζήν ΟCΩΔ ΠΑΝ[.] ΑΑΝΔ . .
- 12 ΓΗ διαμῆνι καὶ ΥΛΑΤΟΝ εἶχε αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Παῦνι ιβ̄.

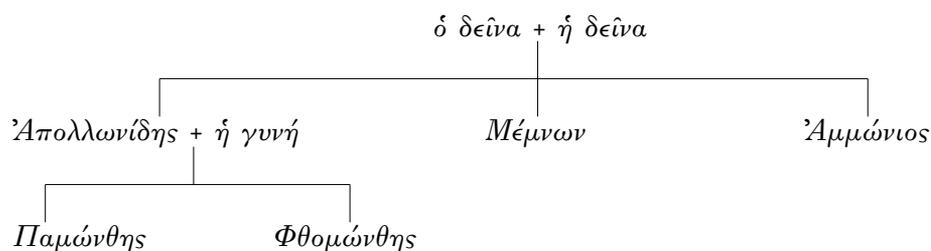
Bataille copied only ll. 1-5 (his no. 82) and partly l. 7 (his no. 82 bis) || 1. read Παμώνθου καὶ Φθομώνθου υἱὸν || 2. παρ' [Αμεν]ώθου Bataille || 3. Bataille copied nothing before Ἀμμωνίου | ἀδελφοῦ Bataille || 4. Bataille has only Ἀ]μενώφιος || 5. Bataille has only]ου Καίσαρ[ος || 7. το . ημη Λajtar | Bataille has only]νθου and] . ετης . τη . | read ἐξηγητῆς || 7-8. read πατὴρ ΠΑΜΩΝΘΟΥ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ ἀγορανόμου || 8-9. read μητὴρ Παμώνθου γυναικὸς κτλ. || 10. οσδεν . can Λajtar, the reading ὃς δέ τις ξὰν was suggested by Bingen in SEG XLVII 2142 || 11. ἐξ[.] λιψ . . . αν[.] αε[. .] λιδι Λajtar, the reading ἐξ[α]λίψη ταῦτα was suggested by Bingen in SEG XLVII 2142, read ἐξαλείψη | read ἐξολεῖ || 12. γηδιαμενι Λajtar, read διαμῆνι | υλατονειχη Λajtar

Proskynema of Pamonthes and Phthomonthes, sons of Apollonides, and of Memnon, brother, and of Ammonios, brother, before the Lord god Amenophis [- - -]. Year 3 of Hadrian Caesar the Lord, Pauni 12th.

Proskynema of Apollonides, the father of Pamonthes, archon and exegetes and agoranomos [---]; and also of the mother of Pamonthes, the wife of the before-mentioned Apollonides the archon. If someone obliterates this, he will destroy utterly (his) life by himself [---] will remain and [---] will be his body; Pauni 12th.

The inscription commemorates a visit paid to the Deir el-Bahari temple by members of a single family. The family under consideration was of Memnonean origin as the onomastics clearly show. One notes, first of all, the name *Μέμνων*, which is typically Memnonean (cf. above, commentary to **88**), as well as *Παμώνθης* and *Φθομώνθης*, which are Memnonean-Hermonthean. Also the name *Ἀπολλωνίδης* belongs probably to the same onomastic layer, being simply a translation of an Egyptian name constructed with the name of Montu, the Theban counterpart of Apollo.

The family stemma may be reconstructed as follows:



- 1–2. Pamonthes son of Apollonides is also on record in **242**. It is difficult to say for sure whether this is one and the same person or two different men. In Baillet, *Syringes*, no. 1320 a certain *Ἀπολλωνίδης Παμώ(νθου)* occurs.

Φθ[ο]μώνθην is probably purely phonetic (loss of C in final position with the simultaneous addition of N) and has nothing to do with syntax (accusative for nominative).

Phthomonthes son of Apollonides mentioned here may be identical with *Φθομώνθης Ἀπολλωνι()*, occurring in *O. Theb.* 142 of the 2nd cent. AD, which contains *λόγος συνόδου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ [μεγίστου or μεγάλου]*.

4. The god's name can also be supplemented as *τοῦ κυρί[ο]υ Π[ι]ε[τε]μενώφιος*, as in **124**, l. 4 (see commentary, however). *Ἀμενώφιος* from this inscription is most probably identical with the god called *Ἀμενώφιος ἐν τοῖς Μεμνονείοις* in Greek sources from the Theban region, and 'Amenophis in the West of Thebes' or 'Amenophis in the Necropolis of Djeme' in Demotic ones. *Ἀμενώφιος* is the Greek transcription of the Demotic *ʿImn-n-ʿipj* = 'Amun-in-ʿIpj'. The identity of this god is a matter of controversy. Wilcken, *UPZ* II, p. 6 (in commentary to 152, 2) expressed the opinion that he is to be identified with Amun from the temple in Luxor, referred to as *᾽Ωφιος* in Greek sources, along with the entire southern part of Thebes. According to P. W. Pestman, *P. Survey*, pp. 429–430, this was a local form of Amun originally worshipped in a village known in Greek as *Ἀπις*, situated

– so Pestman – somewhere on the West Bank. This topographical explanation of the god's name was challenged by J. Quaegebeur, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 104–105, who pointed out that *ʿipj* (*ʿipt* in hieroglyphics) is primarily a generic word meaning 'harem' and not a toponym. 'Amun-in-*ʿipj*' is to be considered as a by-form of Amun-Re, the great god of Thebes, an ithyphallic god who in a processional form visited different *ʿipj*, the temple in Luxor among others. There was a lively cult of Amenophis in the necropolis on the West Bank, where a festival was held for him every ten days. He was worshipped in one of the holy of holies of the small temple in Medinet Habu. He possessed a domain in Memnoneia called *p³ st-n-ʿImm-n-ʿipj* in Demotic and *Πεστενεμενωφίς* in Greek sources. Theban *choachytai* of the 2nd cent. BC bore the title 'Pastophoros of Amenophis' as a rule. The known references to Amenophis mostly date to the Ptolemaic period. A hieratic papyrus in Vienna (Djeme, 1st–2nd cent. AD), containing a ritual text which was recited during Amenophis' visit in Medinet Habu, indicates that this festival was still held early into the Roman period; cf. F.-R. Herbin, 'Une liturgie des rites décadaires de Djéme. Papyrus Vienne 3865,' *RdÉ* 35 (1984), pp. 105–127. The present inscription and the following one testify to the continued existence of his cult in the Theban necropolis in the 2nd cent. AD. For the cult of Amenophis in Memnoneia, see Bataille, *Memnoneia*, pp. 88–89; Thissen, *Graffiti*, p. 29; *PSurvey*, pp. 429–431; J. Quaegebeur, 'Aménophis, nom royal at nom divin. Questions méthodologiques,' *RdÉ* 37 (1986), pp. 97–106, particularly pp. 104–105; Katelijin Vandorpe [in:] *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 225.

5. The beginning of l. 5 is unclear. A designation of Amenophis, followed by the possessive pronoun *μου* is to be expected, although I am unable to say which one. It should be noted that the surviving word ends with *EC*, suggesting a nominative plural, unless we accept spelling error: *E* for *H*, and syntactic confusion: a nominative instead of the genitive. An alternative reading is <ὦ>δε ὕ[π]έρ. In this case, the word between ὕ[π]έρ and the date should probably be read as *δέσμος*. In the given context, *δέσμος* would not have meant a real bond or chain, but rather a spell, charm, magical binding that had caused an illness. For this meaning of the term *δέσμος*, see Iamblichus, *de mysteriis*, 3, 27.

Although the name of the reigning emperor in the dating formula is preserved only fragmentarily, the reading *Ἀδριανοῦ* seems indubitable. This gives the date 6 June AD 119.

7. The beginning of the line is difficult from the palaeographic point of view. The above is only one of several possibilities. It can also be read as τὸ προσκύνημα ἡμῆ, with the word *προσκύνημα* written in abbreviated form and *ἡμῆ* standing for *ἑμοῦ*.
- 7–8. The term *ἄρχων* designates Apollonides as belonging to the elite of a metropolis. The term in question is rarely attested for Roman Egypt. The best known example is *SB* V 8365 (inscription on a coffin found in a family tomb in Western Thebes) which reads: *Σωτήρ Κορηλίου Πολλίου, μητρὸς Φιμοῦτος, ἄρχων Θεβῶν*. For the Soter tomb, see L. Kákosy, 'The Soter Tomb in Thebes' [in:] *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 61–67; for the Soter family, cf. K. van Landuyt, 'The Soter Family: Genealogy and Onomastics' [in:] *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 69–82. Another example is *SEG* XLII 1566 (on a funerary stela of Abydos type): *Πεβῶς Πετταρποκράτου ἄρχων Κόπτου*

For the office of *exegetes* in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* [= *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 104], Paris 1911, pp. 315–318. The list of all known *exegetai* is compiled in *P.Hamb.* IV, pp. 217–268 (our Apollonides is missing from this list).

For the office of *agoranomos* in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see M.G. Raschke, 'The Office of Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt' [in:] E. Kissling, H.-A. Rupprecht, *Akten*

des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, 2–6. August 1971 [= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 66], München 1974, pp. 349–356; further bibliography collected by G. Geraci [in:] Lucia Criscuolo, G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età Araba. Bilancio di un confronto. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1987*, Bologna 1989, p. 83, note 192.

The word after ἀγορανόμος is badly preserved. One would expect the name of a metropolis in which Apollonides fulfilled his *archai*. An alternative would be to have the name of another *arche* in this place. Since the *archai* are listed in descending order, after *agoranomos* one would expect the name of an *arche* of the lowest grade, like ἀρχιερεύς, for example. However, neither a place name nor the name of an *arche* can be reconstructed from the preserved traces of letters.

It is not quite clear where Apollonides fulfilled his *archai*. As stated above, the family of Apollonides originated from Memnoneia. The administrative status of Roman Memnoneia is not quite clear to us; on this question, see the detailed discussion in Bataille, *Memnonia*, pp. 40–64. It seems that the northern part of the village belonged to Περὶ Θήβας, while the southern one to the Hermonthean nome. Apollonides must have been active as *archon*, *exegetes* and *agoranomos* in one of the two *metropoleis*, Diospolis Magna or Hermonthis, and of these Hermonthis seems the more likely candidate.

- 11–12. These lines contain an imprecation against the violator of the inscription. Imprecations of this type are not very common in Egyptian *proskynemata* in Greek. One notes first of all an inscription from Maharraqa (Hiera Sykaminos) in Nubia, in which the imprecation is very similar to what we have in our *proskynema* (*SB* I 4116, 8–10): καὶ μ' ἐξαλείψας ἐπὶ σ' ἐξαλείψας ἐξαλειφθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ ζῆν. Further examples include: Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, nos. 492: μηδ[ε]ῖς ἀπαλιψάτω τὸ προσκύνημα; 495: τὸν κύριον Β[ησᾶν μηδε]ῖς ἀ[πα]λιψάτω τ[ὸ] προσκύνημα; 500: μηδεῖς ἀ[π]αλιψάτω τὸ προσκύν[η]μα Ἡρακλείου; 504: τὸν κύριον Βησᾶν μηδὲς ἀπαλιψάτω; 560: τὸ προσκύνημα Βησᾶν μηδὲς ἀπαλιψάτω; 641: νῆ τὸν Βησᾶν, οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω; *IPhilae* II 190, 5–7: ὁ ἐξαλίψον ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα, ἐξαλίψουσιν τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ; *IPhilae* II 191, 4–7: [ὁ] ἐξαλίψον ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα, ἐξαλίψουσιν τὸ γένο(s) αὐτοῦ; *SEG* XLVI 2102 (from Aïn Labacha in the Charga oasis): ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξαλείψῃ, τίσεται αὐτῷ ὁ [. . .] ρισατω[. . .]; O.E. Kaper, K.A. Worp, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), p. 238, no. 2 (with a correction by J. Bingen, 'Bull. épigr.' 2000, 726): ἐάν τι ἐξελιφτ[- - -]τ[- - -] περὶ χόλου ἑαυτοῦ Ἄμμωνι. Imprecations against violators are common in Demotic visitors' inscriptions from North Nubia; cf. F.Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus* I, Oxford 1937, pp. 9–10. They occur quite often in Demotic graffiti from Medinet Habu; for that, see generally Thissen, *Graffiti*, pp. 200–201 and particularly the imprecation in his no. 45, l. 15: 'Wer diese Schriften wegwischen wird, dessen Lebenszeit werden die Götter kürzen.' It resembles to a degree the first part of the imprecation in our inscription. For the term ἐξαλείψω occurring in our inscription to designate the act of deletion of an inscription, see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, H. Cuvigny, K.A. Worp, 'Litura, ἀλιφάς, not ἀλειφαρ and other words for "erasure",' *ZPE* 130 (2000), pp. 175–182. The authors argued that the term under consideration was used mainly for deleting the script from wooden tablets and papyri, and was avoided in relation to carved inscriptions. This suits our case exceedingly, considering that ours is a painted inscription.

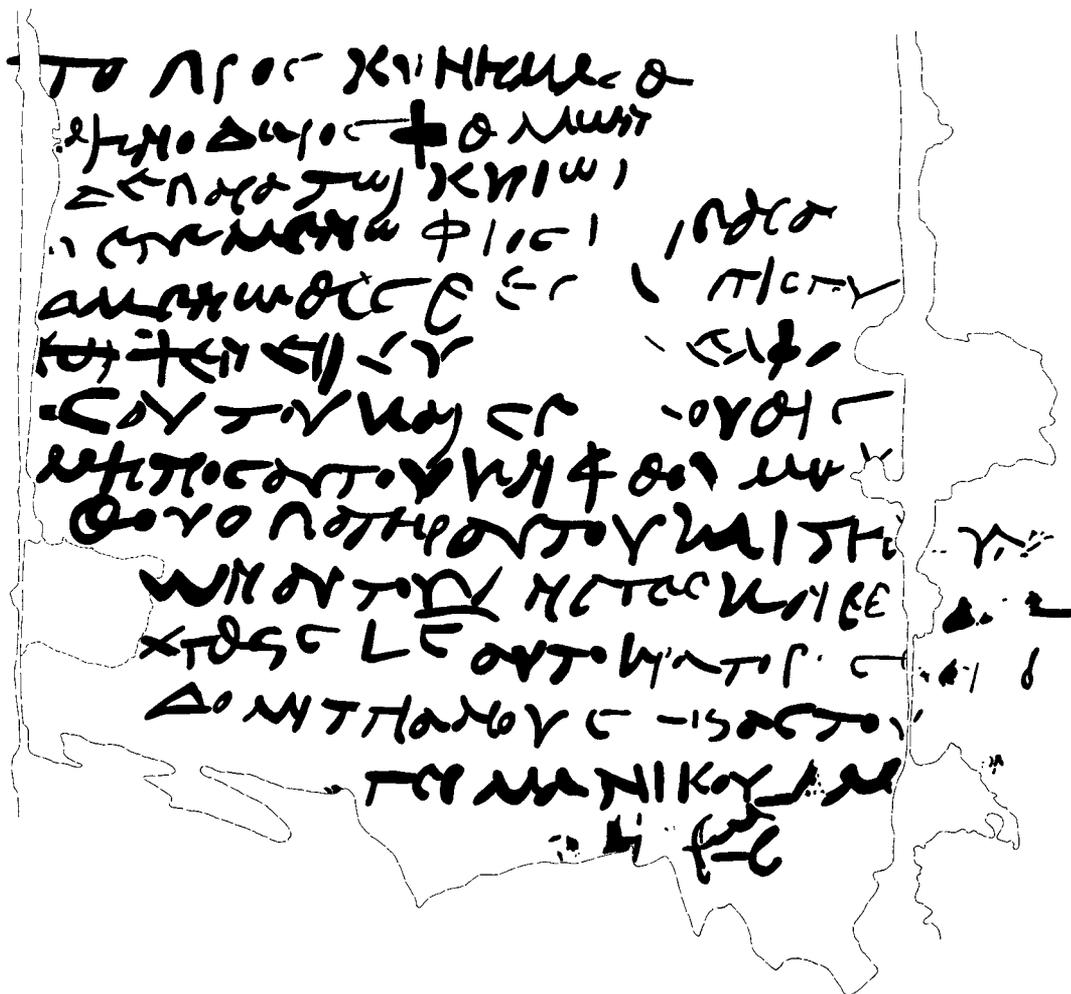
124. North wall, 113.5 cm to the east of the north-west corner, 251 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, on an undecorated fragment of wall between the chiselled figure of an enthroned Hatshepsut and an offering table. Dimensions: 35.8 x 28 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 2.4 cm (*phi* in l. 8). Dark red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 81, pl. VI.

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 229, no. 81 (German translation after Bataille).

A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 181], Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 99.

29 August AD 86 – 28 August AD 87.



τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀ-
θηνόδωρος Φθ(ο)μώνθ(ου)
[ὦ]δε παρὰ τῶι κυρίωι

- 4 Πετεμενώφιος κ[α]ὶ παρὰ
 Ἀμενώθεις θεο[ῦ] μ[ε]γίστου
 καὶ Ψενεριεῦ[ς] ἀ]δελφὸ-
 ς αὐτοῦ καὶ Σε[ν]μοῦθις
 8 μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φθουμών-
 θου ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ γη[τ]ρῶν-
 ὠν αὐτοῦ Παράτος καὶ
 χθεις· (ἔτους) ὅ αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καί[σ]α[ρος]
 12 Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ . . [.] .

1-2. τὸ προσκίνημα τοῦ [Α]θηνόδωρος Φθομώνθ[ου] Bataille || 2-3. ἐνθ[ὶ] ἀδε Bataille || 3. τῶι κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Bataille || 4. Φιληρο[] καὶ Bataille, read Πετεμενώφει || 5. Ἀμενώθης Εἰλε[] Bataille, read Ἀμενώθης (for Ἀμενώθου) || 6. Ψένσθου καὶ [τοῦ] ἀδε[λφ]οῦ Bataille || 7. Κελλαῦθις Bataille || 7-8. read either Σεμμοῦθις ἢ μήτηρ or Σεμμοῦθις μητρὸς || 8-9. Φθομῶ[ν]θου Bataille, read Φθομώνθης || 9-10. τέκ[ν]ων Bataille, read γειτόνων || 11. Καί[σ]α[ρος] Bataille || 12. read Δομειτιανῶ || 14.]ον[Bataille

Proskynema of Athenodoros son of Phthomonthes here before the Lord Petemenophis and before Amenophis, the great god, and also of Psenerieus his brother and of Senmouthis his mother and of Phthomonthes his father and of his neighbours Paras and [- - -]chtheis. Year 6 of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus [- - -].

2. At the end of the line, the patronymic was abbreviated by shifting a letter in order not to cross the line of a chiselled sign from the hieroglyphic inscription.
3. After κυρίῳι the supplement [θεῶ] is possible, but not inevitable. No surviving traces of ochre suggest the presence of this word here.

The designation κύριος (θεὸς) Πετεμενώφιος creates problems. Πετεμενώφιος is the transcription of the Demotic *p3 dj-Imm-n-ḥrj* = ‘gift of Amenophis.’ This is attested, in both Greek and Demotic, only as a personal name and not as the name of a god. It is further to be emphasized that constructions of the type *p3 dj* = ‘gift’ are unusual for divine names. Possibly the person who wrote this inscription had Amenophis in mind, but replaced it automatically with Petemenophis under the influence of personal names. For the cult of Amenophis in Memnoneia, see the commentary to **123**, l. 4.

6. Ψενεριεῦς transcribes the Demotic *p3 šr-brj-w* = ‘The son of *brj-w*’; cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 253; note that *brj-w* means ‘The gods are satisfied’ and is well attested as a personal name. The name Ψενεριεῦς is not very common and is attested mainly in the Theban area. Psenerieus son of Phthomonthes occurs in *O. Bodl.* II 1795 (Thebes or its vicinity, 2nd cent. AD). He may be identical with the brother of the author of this *proskynema*.
- 7-8. The supplement Σε[ν]μοῦθις [τῆς] | μητρὸς is possible, but not necessary. The female name Σεμμοῦθις = ‘The daughter of (the goddess) Mut’ is typically Theban.
- 10-11. The reading -χθεις (for -χθις ?) in the name of the second neighbour seems to be certain (after revision). Contrary to the name of the first neighbour, which is in the genitive, the name of the second one apparently stands in the nominative.

125. North wall, 278 cm to the east of the north-east corner, 182 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, under the heads of three geese carried in an offering procession. Dimensions: 14 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.4 cm (*rho*). Light red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 84.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 232, no. 84 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

τὸ προσ[κύ]νημα
 Ἡρη[. . . .] K[- - -]
 Ἡροῦ[s . . . ε]ρμούθι(ος)
 4 παρὰ τῷ [κυ]ρίῳ
 Ἀμενώθου //

2. Ἡρη . . . [.]λλ[. .] . Ν καὶ [Bataille || 3. ΑC . . [. . . .]ερμούθι(ος) Bataille || 5. read Ἀμενώθη

Proskynema of Here[- - - and of] Herous son of [. . e]rmouthis before the Lord Amenothes.

2. A name like Ἡρης followed by a patronymic.
3. The name Ἡροῦς, if correctly read, is particularly characteristic of Arsinoites. As far as I am aware, it has not been evidenced in the Theban region so far. Following it is what looks like a female name in the genitive. In Herous' filiation, the name of his mother is indicated instead of that of his father. Perhaps Herous was an ἀπάτωρ; for ἀπάτορες in Roman Egypt, see the commentary to **253**.

126. North wall, 100 cm from **125**, 180 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks, second course of offering bearers, between a sable-horned gazelle led in the offering

procession and a man carrying meat. Dimensions: 12 x 3 cm; h. of letters: 1.8 cm (*alpha* at the beginning) – 3 cm (second *alpha*). Violet ochre, finely done. The present inscription was superimposed on an earlier one, of which the word τὸ προσκύνημα is still visible directly above the letters of **126**.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 85.

Roman period.



Ἀλέξαν(δρος).

Lambda is corrected from *beta*. Had the author of the inscription originally intended writing the alphabet?

SECTION IX
SOUTH WALL OF THE COURT

The south wall of the court that Bataille saw was much unlike what it is now, following reconstruction work by a Polish-Egyptian Mission in 1992–1996, for which see F. Pawlicki, *PAM* 6 (1994), pp. 56–57; idem, *PAM* 7 (1995), pp. 71–72; idem, *PAM* 8 (1996), pp. 60–61. Some blocks with relief decoration showing Thutmosis II before Amun, wrongly placed before in the western part of the wall, have been moved to the east and now come right after the entrance to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex. Blocks with offering scenes thus had to be transferred from the eastern to the western part of the wall. In the effect, some of the Greek inscriptions written on the relief decoration above the dado are no longer where Bataille saw them. The inscriptions written under the dado have not changed position.

127. 84 cm to the west of the edge of the door leading to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex, 166 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the upper band of the dado. Width: 10.1 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*eta*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman or Late Antique period.

Ἀμενόθης. 

read Ἀμενόθης

The name we are dealing with here is most probably that of an individual and not a god (but see **235** with commentary). The hand, which left this inscription, shows a certain similarity with that responsible for **17** situated in the north part of the Upper Portico (note particularly *A*, *M* and *H*). The two graffiti also share the same spelling variant with *O* instead of *Ω*. It is likely that they are the work of the same man.

128. 13.5 cm from **127**, 131.5 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on an undecorated part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 14.5 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*pi*, *eta*) – 4 cm (*iota*). Graffito quite deep and well visible at the beginning, more delicate at the end.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Πληγυς.

129. 62 cm from **128**, III cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on an undecorated part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 42.5 x 14 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron* in line 1) – 3.5 cm (*phi*). Deep and perfectly visible graffito. The script rises slightly to the right.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 11 with drawing on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 159). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 86, pl. VII (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 210, p. 196).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XII 3 (description, translation). W.R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), p. 133 (English translation). A. Bataille, *BSFE* 3 (1950), p. 9, fig. 2 (photo). Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, p. 126 (on the sense of the term *θεραπεία*). É. Bernand [in:] Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, Evelyne Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque, I. Religion* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 367, *Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne* 79], Paris 1988, p. 54 (French translation). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 230, no. 86 (German translation after Bataille); idem, *Saints*, p. 100 (partial translation). Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, p. 242 (only mentioned).

1st–2nd cent. AD.


 ΕΥΘΕΟΣ ΟΒΟΗΘΩΜΥΜΩΝ
 ΤΟΤΠΡΟΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΕΥΓΡΑΦΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΚΥΡ/ΩΘΕΩ
 ΔΕΚΛΗΤΙΩ ΚΝΑΜΕΝΩ ΘΗΚΑΥΓΕΙΑ ΜΗΗΣ
 ΘΗΤΙΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΥ ΜΙΝΘΕΡΑ


 ΤΤΣ ΔΝ^{ΚΑ} ΦΡΙΤΩΒ
 ΣΥΝΒΟΗΘΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΠΧΕΡΣΤΑΤΑΝΕ
 ΤΤΕC ΟΥΒΙC

Nos. 129, 130, 131 & 132

τὸ προσκύνημα Εὐγράφιος παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ
 Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ· μνήσ-
 θητι ὑμῶν καὶ παράδος ὑμῖν θερα-
 4 πείαν.

3. read ἡμῶν | read ἡμῖν

Proskynema of Eugraphios before the Lord god Asklepios and Amenothes and Hygieia. Remember us and grant us healing.

1. The same man also carved **197**, committing the same mistakes in the process (ὑμῶν/ὑμῖν for ἡμῶν/ἡμῖν).

In *Εὐγράφιος* (cf. his translation 'Proscynème d'Eugraphis' and the index in his *Inscriptions, s. v.*) Bataille saw a genitive of the name *Εὐγράφις*. The truth of the matter, however, is that both here and in **197** the name is in the nominative case. As far as Egypt is concerned, the only place where the name *Εὐγράφιος* occurs, except for the two Deir el-Bahari inscriptions, is *POxy. XIX 2228* of AD 283 (?), where it belongs to an ὀφφικιάλιος. It is attested elsewhere in the Greek world, mainly in late antique (Christian) inscriptions; cf. *CIG IV 9316* (Athens, Christian epitaph); *Studia Pontica III*, no. 13 = Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca IV*, Roma 1978, p. 407 (Christian metric epitaph from Amisos in Pontus, now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire at Brussels); *MAMA I 173* (epitaph from Laodicea Combusta); *MAMA VI 188* (from Phrygian Apameia); *MAMA VII 574* (Christian epitaph from Eastern Phrygia); Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* [= *Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 5*], London 1989, no. 201 (a Late Antique τόπος-inscription from Aphrodisias); *MAMA VIII 210* = Gertrud Laminger-Pascher, *Die Kaiserzeitlichen Inschriften Lykaoniens* [= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Denkschriften 232. Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 15*], Wien 1992, no. 47 (Christian epitaph from the Isauro-Lykaonian borderland); *CIJ I 55* (Jewish epitaph from Rome); *CIL III 9547* (epitaph from Spoleto); *ICURns 2222* and *7470* (in the latter three cases, the name occurs in Latin transcription).

- 2–3. For the prayer-like *μνήσθητι*, see A. D. Nock, *JThS* 30 (1929), p. 393. It occurs in the pagan and Christian milieu alike, and has Old Testament parallels as well.
3. The plural forms ὑμῶν/ὑμῖν (for ἡμῶν/ἡμῖν) could suggest that Eugraphios visited the sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari not alone, but accompanied by some person(s). He could have also had in mind absent relatives or friends.

130. Directly under **129** and to the right of it. Dimensions: 20.5 x 5 cm; h. of letters in line 1: 0.6 cm (*omega*) – 2.2 cm (*phi*), h. of letters in line 2: 0.5 cm (*nu*) – 1.3 cm (*beta*). Deep and well visible graffito. Letters in line 2 are smaller and closer together than in line 1.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 11 with drawing on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB I 159*). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 87, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XII 3 (photo). B. Stricker, *OMRO* 24 (1943), p. 31 (on the term Phritob). J. Quaegebeur [in:] J. Osing, G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Maß*.

Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für G. Fecht [= *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 12], Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 388–389 (about the term Phritob) and 393 (about orthography). idem, *Anc. Soc.* 20 (1989), p. 161 (about the term Phritob).

Roman period, later than **129** and **131**.

καὶ Φριτωβ
 συμβοηθούτων Πχερσταπανε

Peers considered this inscription to be one with **131** || 2. read συμβοηθούτων | συμβοηθούτων
 . . χερσταπανε ? Peers

With the joint aid of Pcherstapane and Phritob.

As Bataille observed, the person who wrote this inscription started with the words *συμβοηθούτων Πχερσταπανε* under l. 4 of **129** and then continued with the word *Φριτωβ*, not to the bottom, however, most probably because of **131**, but to the top, taking advantage of the free space to the right of *θερα|πείαν* from **129**. He squeezed in *καὶ* at the end, having forgotten to write it before, between *θερα|πείαν* and *Φριτωβ*.

As far as I can see, this is the first attestation of the word *Πχερσταπανε* in Greek. The initial π-, which cannot be anything but the masculine article *p3* of the Egyptian, indicates that the word in question must be a transliteration from Egyptian. According to H.J. Thissen, however, no plausible Egyptian etymology can be found for it. He suggested that it is a transliteration, through the medium of Egyptian, of the Old Persian word for satrap: *χsaθra-pavan*. This word is attested in the Egyptian (Demotic) transliteration *p3 ihstrpny* from the text of an ostrakon found in Memphis and dated to the last thirty years of the 4th cent. BC; cf. H.S. Smith [in:] J. Baines, T.G.H. James, A. Leahy, A.F. Shore (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* [= *Occasional Papers* 7], London 1988, pp. 184–192. Provided this is correct, the term ‘satrap’ would be given as a title or epithet to one of the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari in Ptolemaic and Roman times, probably Imhotep-Asklepios (see below, where it is argued that the other of the two terms occurring in this inscription, *Φριτωβ*, refers to Amenhotep). ‘Satrap’ does not occur elsewhere as an epithet or title of either Imhotep or Asklepios. On the other hand, it is known that the Greek Asklepios was occasionally identified with the Semitic (Canaanite) god Sadrapa whose name reads in Greek transliteration *Σατ/δράπης*, i.e. exactly like the word for ‘Satrap;’ for Sadrapa, see W. Fauth [in:] *Der Kleine Pauly* V [1972], col. 1566, *s.v.* ‘Satrapes.’ Sadrapa was a young god whose prerogatives concerned war, vegetation and healing. One of his attributes was a rod with serpents wrapped around it. From its West Semitic fatherland, the cult of Sadrapa spread to the West in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is evidenced in Cilicia, on the Greek mainland, in the Apennine Peninsula, in Sicily, Sardinia, Carthage, and Egypt. He also entered the pantheon of magic texts, as it is probably his name that is merged with the name of the Egyptian serpent god Kmeph (the Theban Kemateph) into the cluster *Σατραπερκμηφ* = ‘The great Sadrapa-Kmeph;’ for attestations, see *Suppl. Mag.* II, no. 66, 5 with commentary [new edition

SEG XLI 1619]; R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae*, I. *Published Texts of Known Provenance* [= *Papyrologica Coloniensia* XXII/1], Opladen 1994, no. 41, 2–3 with commentary, and 48, 2; for Σατραπερκτηφ, see further W.M. Brashear [in:] *ANRW* II 18, 5 [1995], p. 3598, *s.v.*; for Κμηφ, see especially H.J. Thissen, 'Κμηφ – ein verkannter Gott,' *ZPE* 112 (1996), pp. 153–160. It is also connected with Amun in the cluster Σατραπαμμων on record in *PGM* IV 2485–2485; cf. also Σατραπεω in *PGM* O2 24–25. In the light of the above reasoning, we can easily admit that also the Egyptian Imhotep/Asklepios could have been identified with Sadrapa and the name of the latter could have been used as an epithet of the former. The homonymity of the god's name and the word for 'satrap' in Greek could have easily led to misunderstandings. Such a misunderstanding probably lies behind the designation Pcherstapane. Through identification with Sadrapa, Imhotep/Asklepios was given the epithet Σατράπης. This epithet was further Egyptianized, but the Egyptian form of the Old Persian word for 'satrap' was used instead of the Greek one. The mistake could have been made by the author of the present inscription or else it could have occurred already at an earlier stage in the cult of Imhotep/Asklepios and was repeated down the centuries.

For the term Phritob, see. J. Quaegebeur, 'La désignation (P3-)ḥry-tp: Phritob' [in:] J. Osing, G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Maß. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für G. Fecht* [= *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 12], Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 368–394; idem, 'Phritob comme titre d'un haut fonctionnaire ptolémaïque,' *Anc.Soc.* 20 (1989), pp. 159–168. Φριτωβ is known to be a transcription of the Egyptian title *p3 ḥry-tp*, meaning 'chief, master.' In Greek, the term Phritob does not occur anywhere else in religious context. It appears as Φριτοβαύτης in Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I 289 and 295, where it is ascribed, as a personal name, to a *hierogrammateus* active under an Egyptian king named Amenophis. The historical data given by Flavius Josephus identifies this king as Amenophis III and suggests that Φριτοβαύτης refers to Amenhotep son of Hapu with -αυτης being probably a corrupted transcription of the name of his father; cf. Quaegebeur, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), p. 102. Consequently, we can admit that Φριτωβ from our inscription also refers to Amenhotep son of Hapu. The title *p3 ḥry-tp* was frequently ascribed to Amenhotep son of Hapu in hieroglyphic sources; cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 223–224, 226, 273. It precedes the name of the saint in one of the inscriptions from the Ptolemaic sanctuary; cf. Laszkowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, p. 27, no. 14. The correct Greek spelling of the title should probably be Φριτωβ; cf. J. Quaegebeur [in:] *Festschrift für G. Fecht*, pp. 391–393.

131. Directly beneath **130.** Width: 6.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 1.4 cm (*upsilon*). Delicate graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 11 with drawing on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB* I 159). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 88, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XII 3 (photo).

Roman period, later than **129**, but earlier than **130**.

Πεσοῦβις.

Peers considered this inscription to one with **130**; he read Πεσυβις

The personal name Πεσοῦβις is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps the author of the inscription had written *B* instead of *P*. The name Πεσοῦρις is common; for this name, cf. commentary to **168**, l. 6.

132. Directly above **129**. Dimensions: 18.8 x 2.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron, sigma*) – 1.7 cm (*epsilon* at the beginning). Deep graffito. To the right of the inscription, there is a drawing depicting an *anch*-sign with palm leaves placed over the horizontal bars, one on each side. A similar sign and a Solomon's knot to the left of it, both of them carved, are to be seen under **129**, to the left of its l. 4 and the inscriptions **130–131**. These three figural/ornamental graffiti clearly refer to Christian symbolism and are connected most probably with inscription **132**.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 14, no. 11 with drawing on p. 15. Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 89, pl. VII.

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 230, no. 86 (German translation after Bataille).

Christian period, most probably after the 6th cent. AD.

εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν.

read ἡμῶν

There is one God who helps us.

For the formula εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν, see generally E. Peterson, *EΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen 1926, *passim*, especially pp. 47–77 for its Egyptian usage. In the main, it is a Christian formula. It is common to Christian inscriptions from Egypt, particularly to epitaphs originating from the area of Luxor – Armant – Esna – Edfu. There is no doubt that this inscription was also the work of a Christian, perhaps a monk from the monastery of St. Phoibamon functioning on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple from the 6th cent. onwards. The same man was probably responsible for the Christian symbols to the right of the present text and below **129**. Adding a Christian invocation and symbols to older pagan texts was meant presumably as a form of polemics, especially with regard to **129**. This is understandable considering that **129** immediately attracts attention, being as it is carved deeply and carefully on the smooth undecorated part of the wall under the dado. The author of **129** addressed Amenhotep, Imhotep and Hygieia with the request 'Remember us and grant us healing,' to which our man replied 'But there is only one God who helps us.' The polemical aim is the explanation for the addition of the pronoun ὑμῶν (= ἡμῶν)

to the original formula εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν under the influence of μνήσθητι ὑμῶν (= ἡμῶν) καὶ παράδος ὑμῖν (= ἡμῖν) θεραπείαν.

I33. 78 cm from **I32**, 270 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, behind the head and partly on the shoulder of a king standing in front of Amun. Dimensions: 14.5 x 13 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*nu* in l. 5) – 2.2 cm (*nu* in l. 2). Quite deep graffito, but heavily patinated and therefore poorly visible

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσ-
[κ]ύ{I}νυμα
Διοσκόρο[υ]
4 Ἀπολλω-
νίδ[ου].

1-2. read προσκύνημα

ΤΥΠΡΥ
Υ ΝΥΜΑ
ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΥ
ΝΙΔΟΥ

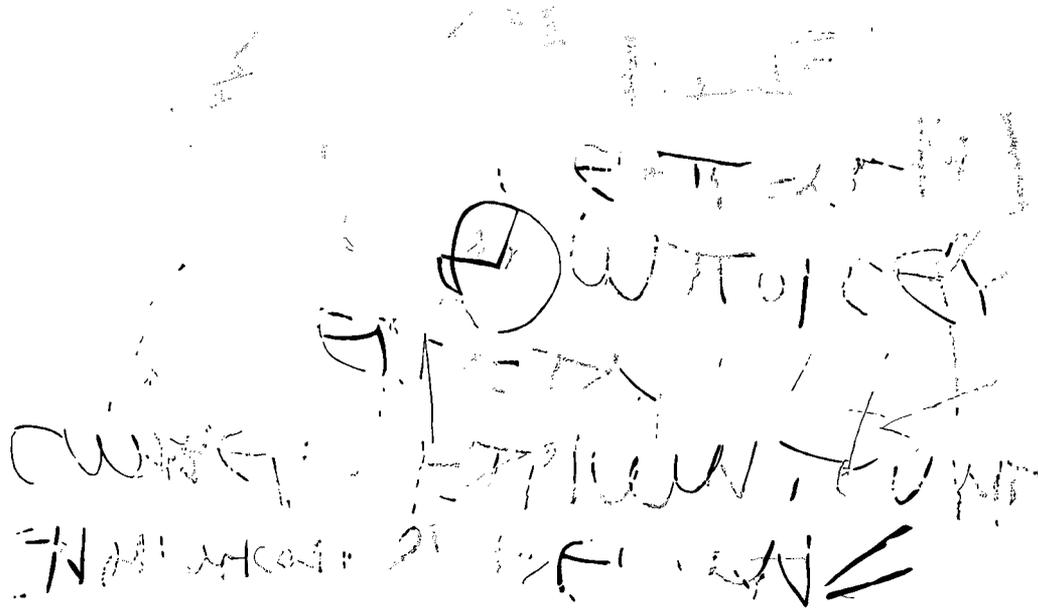
Proskynema of Dioskoros son of Apollonides.

2. An oblique stroke between *Y* and *N* is probably an abortive attempt at writing *N*. Another possibility is to see a dittography here, under the assumption of the change of *Y* for *I* (προσκύνημα), for which, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 267–273. For a very frequent interchange of *H* and *Y* (προσκύνυμα instead of προσκύνημα), see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 262–267. The form προσκύνυμα occurs, e.g., in *IPhilae* II 297.

I34. 114 cm from **I33**, 110 cm above the floor (the position is indicated with regard to the letter *C* at the beginning of l. 5), third course of blocks, on the undecorated part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 64.5 x 37.5 cm, average letter height: 4 cm. Dark red ochre, very faded. The inscription seems to overlap with another one, done in ochre of the same colour; the poor condition of both makes distinguishing between them virtually impossible. My copy shows all the ochre traces presently discernible on the wall. The large circle in l. 3, a long vertical stroke crossing *E* at the end of l. 3 and descending to l. 4, as well as other strokes at the end of this line, together with a vertical stroke in the middle of it, most probably do not belong to the inscription studied here.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



 [- - -] E Π
 [- - -] . [.] Ω Π Ο Ι C E Y
 4 [- - -] E [- - -]
 Ω Ν Ε . [.] Η Τ Ρ Ι Ω Ν
 Ε Ν Ε Ν //

3. Possibly ἀν[θ][ρ]ώποις. If so, the inscription would not have been of the *proskynema* type, because the word ἀνθρώπος does not belong to the standard *proskynemata* vocabulary.
4. Of five letters partly preserved after *E*, the first one looks very much like *P*, the third like *E* and the fifth is either *A*, *Δ* or *Λ*. With *EY* in mind at the end of l. 3, one should consider the reading ἐὺ|εργέτα, which fits well with the supposed ἀν[θ][ρ]ώποις immediately before it. Assuming this reading, however, we find that l. 4 would begin considerably to the right as compared to l. 5. The same is not to be excluded for ll. 1-3 and it should be considered that the inscription did not have an even left-side margin.
5. A vertical stroke between *P* and *Ω* in the middle of the line could be equally well the letter *I* and an accidental blot. At the end of the line, one hesitates to read ΤΕΚΝΑ.
6. Two oblique strokes at the end of the line could signify a numeral or else be a diacritical sign marking the end of the text.

135. 143 cm from **134**, 251 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, on the same block as **136** and **137**, on the same level as the chest of a king (Thutmose II or III) pouring a libation in front of Amun. Dimensions: 9.5 x 1.1 cm (*nu*). Graffito is quite deep and pretty well visible.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 14 with a drawing on p. 15 (without edition of the text). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 94.

Roman period.

Δίδυμος, Πλήνις.

Bataille read *Δίδυμος Πλήνις* (with the correction *Πλήνιος* in the critical apparatus) and translated 'Didyme fils de Plénis'

Didymos, Plénis.

Two analogical inscriptions (**137** and **143**) containing two male names in the nominative – *Δίδυμος Πλήνις* – are to be found on the southern wall of the court, further to the west of the text here discussed. All three, including the present one, were considered by Bataille (see apparatus) as the work of the same man, Didymos son of Plénis. Consequently, Bataille corrected *Πλήνις* to *Πλήνιος* to obtain the required form of the patronymic. Two juxtaposed names in the nominative are not a rare phenomenon in Egyptian visitors' inscriptions. The second name is often considered as a non-declined patronymic. Nonetheless, sometimes two different men are at issue as pointed out by J. Bingen, *CdÉ* 65 (1990), p. 146, and I admit this possibility also for the three inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari studied here. That we are dealing with two different men – Didymos and Plénis – and not with one person – Didymos son of Plénis – is corroborated by the occurrence, on the same south wall of the court, of separate signatures of Didymos (**142**) and of Plénis (**145**); possibly the same Plénis occurs also in the company of Taureinos and Solon in **140**. Besides, it is possible from the palaeographical point of view, that the inscriptions with the names *Δίδυμος Πλήνις* are not the works of a single author, but were done by two different hands.

The case of Didymos and Plénis, who left several inscriptions near one another, may be compared with that of Promachos son of Dionysios who left five graffiti in the north part of the Upper Portico (**10–14**), and Chairemon, the author of six texts in different parts of the temple, mainly in the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex (**71, 84, 85, 87, 158** and possibly **80**).

136. 1 cm from **135**, 257 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, on the same block as **135** and **137**, directly below the king's arm stretched out in front of Amun in a scene of pouring libations. Dimensions: 21 x 0.9 cm (first *lambda*). Delicate graffito, but well visible.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 15 with drawing on p. 15 (Preisigke, *SB I* 161). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 95.

Roman period.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΑΙΤΟΥ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΑ ΠΡΩΙ 11^Α |

Ἀπολλώνιος Τάϊτος ἔγραψα πρω .[. . .] . . [.] .

Peers edited nothing after Ἀπολλώνιος and suggested the reading Ζάϊτος ἐπαιαπρωι in his commentary.

I, Apollonios son of Tais, have written [- - -].

In his commentary, Bataille expressed doubts about the signs after ΠΡΩ, which he believed were written less carefully than the remaining letters and thus not really part of this inscription. Since these signs run in the same line and are of the same height as the rest of the inscription, I would rather think of them as part of it.

The hand which left this inscription shows many common traits with the hand of one Ἀπολλωνι(), who placed his graffito on the same south wall of the court (*infra*, **149**). There is a great deal of probability that the same Apollonios was the author of both inscriptions.

Apollonios, who indicates his filiation with relation to his mother and not to his father, might have been an ἀπάτωρ; for ἀπάτορες in Roman Egypt, see commentary to **253**.

For the word that comes after ἔγραψα, Bataille hesitatingly suggested πρώι; however, this form of indicating time is not common in the Deir el-Bahari *proskynemata*. The word <τὸ> προσκύνημα is likely to have followed.

137. 10.5 cm from **136**, 258 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, on the same block as **135** and **136**, between the outstretched arm of a king pouring a libation to Amun and three hieroglyphic *n*-signs. Dimensions: 10.5 x 1.5 cm (*iota*). Graffito is quite deep and well visible.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 16 with a drawing on p. 15 (without edition of the text). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 96.

Roman period.

ΔΙ ΔΥ ΜΟ ΠΤΑ ΗΝ

Δίδυμος, Πληγ[ις].

Bataille read Δίδυμος Πληγίς

Didymos, Plenis.

Bataille's copy shows the last two letters of the name Πληγίς written below the cavity in the stone surface opening after *N*. However, I am not quite certain of this reading. What Bataille took for the letters *IC* could easily be nothing more than accidental scratches on the stone.

For other signatures of the same Didymos and Plenis, see **135** and **143**.

138. 11.5 cm from **137**, 171 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, line 1 on the upper, line 2 on the lower band of the dado, which still preserves the original red and yellow paint in this part of wall. Dimensions: 67 x 20 cm; h. of letters: 4.2 cm (first *omikron*) – 10.8 cm (*rho* in l. 2). Delicate graffito done with a multi-edged piece of flint leaving parallel strokes in several of the letters (cf. *E* in line 1, as well as *K* and *N* in line 2).

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 97.

Second half of the Ptolemaic period (palaeography).

Ἀπολλώνιος Λεων[*ca.* 2-3]
[*ca.* 4-5 τὸ π]ροσκύγ[ημα].

Bataille copied only l. 1.

Apollonios son of Leon[- - -]proskynema.

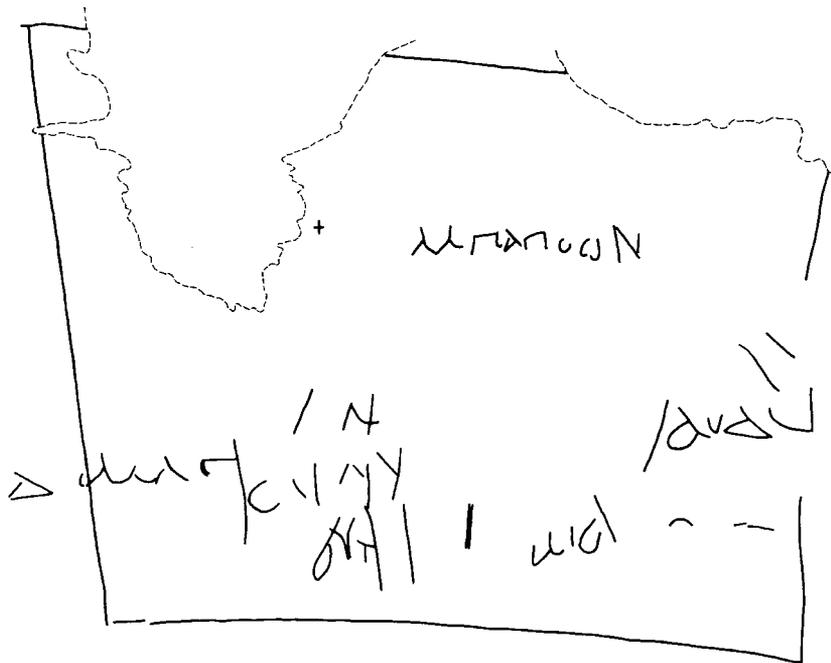
The inscription apparently took up the entire width of the block on which it was written. It started even with the left-hand edge of the block with no traces of script on the neighbouring block to the right. The lacuna on the right-hand side, caused by damage to the stone surface, may be estimated as sufficient for 2-3 letters, which

agrees with the supplement τὸ π]ροσκύνη[γμα] in line 2. This suggests the reading of Apollonios' patronymic as Λέον[τος], providing it was contained only in line 1. In that case, the verb ἔγραψα, for example, could be supplemented at the beginning of l. 2. But Apollonios' patronymic can also be read as Λέον[τί]σκου] or similarly.

139. 87 cm away from **138**, 226 cm above the floor, 5th course of blocks, on the apron of a king making adoration before Amun and partly in front of it. Dimensions: 25.2 x 6.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 – 3.3 cm. Delicate graffito. An inscription from Christian times is visible above the present graffito. A rectangular frame probably is connected with this Christian inscription. The left-hand edge of the frame follows the edge of an ornamental band on the king's apron, its other edges are incised.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



Δαμᾶς Κ [- - -] \\\
 [- - -] . Α . Δ .
 [.] . [.] . ΜΑ [.] . [.] .

140. 385 cm from **138**, 148 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, directly under the dado. Dimensions: 32.5 x 4.5 cm (*iota*). Very deep graffito at the beginning, becoming finer in the second part. There is a free space between particular names. The first

two letters in the name *Σώλων* overwrite two holes in the stone surface. Note two different forms of *Ω* in the name *Σώλων*.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 17 (Preisigke, *SB* I 162). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 98.

Roman period.

Ταυρίνος, Σώλων, Πλήνις.

Ταυρηος Σ[[[?]]ων Πάηνις Peers, *Ταυρήνος Σ[.]λων Παήνις* Preisigke, "*Ωπλων* Bataille who noted that Milne read *Σήλων*, read *Σόλων*

Taurinos, Solon, Plenis.

It is not clear whether the inscription was done by one or different hands. *Σ* at the end of the name *Ταυρίνος* is identical with *Σ* at the beginning of *Σώλων*, which suggests that at least these two parts of the inscription are the work of the same author. The third part containing the name of *Plenis* gives the impression of having been done by a different hand. Palaeographically, it resembles **I45** with just the name of *Plenis*. This *Plenis* could have been identical with the man who occurs together with *Didymos* in **I35**, **I37** and **I43**.

I41. 242 cm from **I40**, 74 cm above the floor, second course of blocks, on a smoothed part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 14.5 x 2.5 cm. Quite deep graffito, but not as fine. The last four letters descend in order to avoid a patch of damaged stone surface.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Πλήνις Παπαεὶ Ι . [- - -]

The name *Παπαεὶ* is attested several times specifically in the Theban region; cf. *WO* 1190 (Ptolemaic period); *SB* XVIII 13327 (AD 150–400); *SPP* X 297 (Byzantine period).

The name is indeclinable, and its etymology is unknown; cf. J. Quaegebeur, *CdÉ* 60 (1985), p. 268. Papaei may be either the name of Plenis' father or of another man.

I42. 12 cm from **I41**, 179 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, immediately above the dado, on the neck of a lying, bound bull from the offering scene. Dimensions: 6.7 x 1.2 cm. Delicate graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 13 with a drawing on p. 15 (without edition of the text). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 90.

Cf. Z. Szafranski (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 254 (photo of the part of the wall bearing the inscriptions **I42**, **I43** and **I45**).

Roman period.

Δίδυμος.

ΔΙΔΥΜΟ Peers and Bataille who edited Δίδυμο(ς)

Judging by the hand, this must be the same Didymos who left a graffito three times together with Plenis on the same south wall of the court, **I35**, **I37**, **I43**.

I43. 2 cm from **I42**, 173 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on a narrow strip bordering the dado at the top. Dimensions: 10 x 1 cm. Delicate graffito.

Peers, *JHS* 19 (1899), p. 16, no. 12 (Preisigke, *SB* I 160). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 91.

Cf. Z. Szafranski (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 254 (photo of the part of the wall bearing the inscriptions **I42**, **I43** and **I45**).

Roman period.

Δίδυμος, Πλήνις.

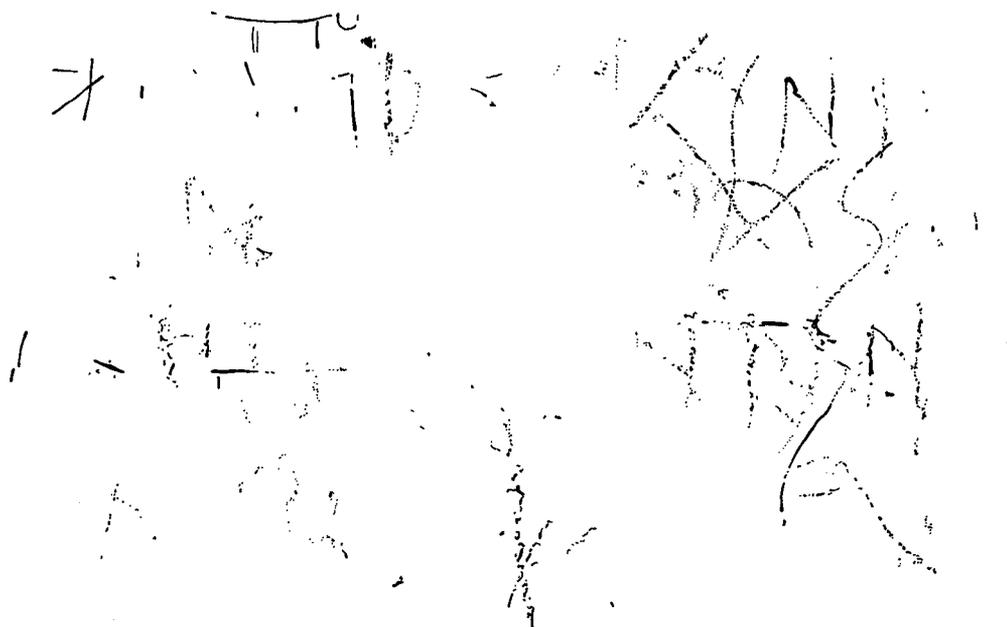
Πλήνις Peers, Δίδυμος Πλήνις Bataille who translated 'Didyme fils de Plénis'

Didymos, Plenis.

I44. 9 cm from **I43**, 88 cm above the floor, on a smooth undecorated part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 32.5 x 20.5 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 3.5 cm. Red ochre, very faded. Single spots of ochre preserved, enabling a certain reading only at the end of lines 1 and 3.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[τὸ] πρ[οσ]κύνη[μα]

 ----- NTQN

I45. 16 cm from **I44**, 173 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on a narrow strip bordering the dado at the top. Dimensions: 4.8 x 1.2 cm (*lambda*). Delicate graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 92.

Cf. Z. Szafranski (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 254 (photo of the part of wall with the inscriptions **I42**, **I43** and **I45**).

Roman period.

Πλήνις.

ΠΛΗΝΙΣ

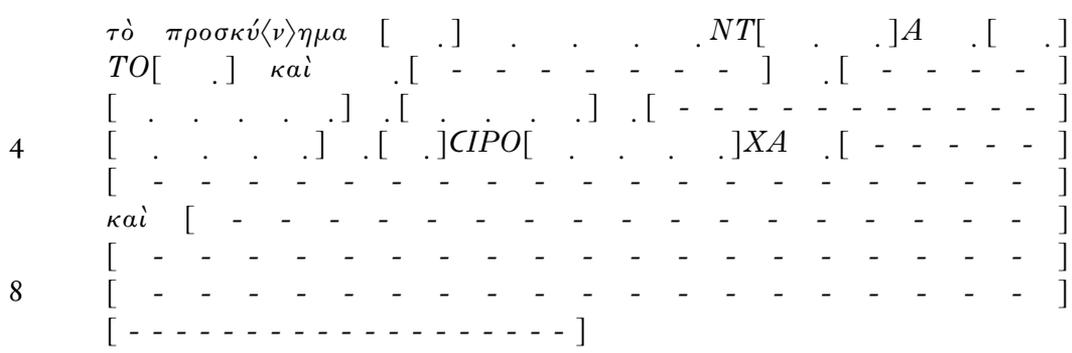
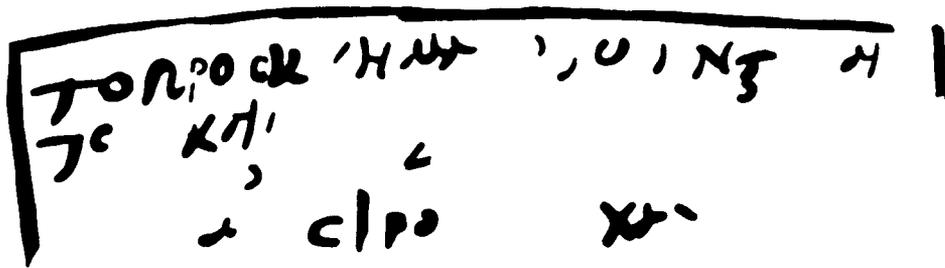
The palaeography of the inscription demonstrates that the author was identical with the man who, together with Didymos, left his graffito three times on the south wall

of the court (I35, I37, I43). Perhaps he is also the same Plenis who occurs with Taurinos and Solon in I40.

I46. 29 cm from I45, 89 cm above the floor, second course of blocks, on a smooth undecorated part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 30 x 17.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*sigma*) – 1.4 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, very faded. The inscription is boxed in a rectangular frame. Apparently, it contained nine lines. Only line 1 is partly legible; in lines 2–4 and 6 single letters have been preserved, insufficient, however, to permit a continuous reading. Lines 5 and 7–9 have been obliterated entirely.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



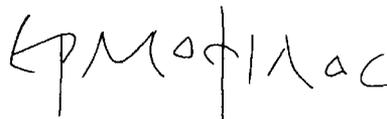
1. A possible reading is τὸ προσκύνημα (after revision).
2. TO at the beginning of the line may belong to an expression introducing a nickname of the *proskynema* author: το[ὺ] καὶ. Equally well, it could be a continuation of the word (name) from line 1:]αυ|το[s].

147. 47.5 cm from **146**, 145 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, directly under the dado. Dimensions: 8 x 2.3 cm (*phi*). Very delicate and very elegant graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 93.

Late Ptolemaic (?).

Ἑρμόφιλος.



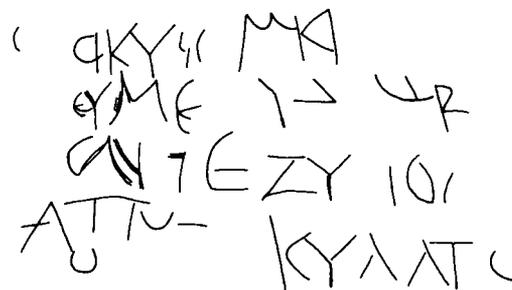
This inscription was left probably by the same Hermophilos who left a graffito twice in the southern part of the Upper Portico, above **52 a-b**.

148. 76.5 cm from **147**, 162 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 16.5 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*epsilon* at the beginning of l. 2) – 2.6 cm (*kappa* in l. 4). Quite deep graffito, made with a piece of flint with multiple edges, the latter leaving parallel strokes in several of the letters (cf. *EYM* at the beginning of l. 2 and *ΑΠ* at the beginning of l. 3). The present graffito merges with other textual graffiti, of which only traces have been preserved, as well as with numerous accidental scratches running in various directions; particular lines of the inscription seem to have been effaced intentionally by horizontal incised lines, and, finally, the block bearing the graffito is heavily patinated and cracked. As a result, decipherment is impeded to the point of making any transcription highly speculative. Below is only one of several possibilities. The printed text is the result of my seeing the inscription in the original in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[[CIKY . . . MKI[. . .]]]
 [[EYME[. . .]Y . . . P]]
 [[ΑΠΕΖΥΤΟ . . .]]
 [[. . .]][[Ω[. . .]ΚΥΛΛ . . .]]



1. One possible reading: [τὸ πρὸ] | σκὺ[νῆ] μ<α> after eliminating the vertical stroke after C as not belonging to this inscription.
- 2–3. Possibly *Εὐμέ[νο]υς τραπεζύτου* (for *τραπεζίτου*). As far as I can see, a banker of this name has not been attested so far, either in the Theban region or elsewhere in Egypt; for a list of Theban bankers, see R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 57 (1984), pp. 291–294 (reprinted in: idem, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca [= Papyrologica Florentina 25]*, Firenze 1994, pp. 191–201).
3. Most probably *ΚΥΛΛΗΨ*. This might be the end of a female name in the genitive, e.g. *Νικύλλης*.

149. 33 cm from **148**, 159 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the same block as **150**, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 5.3 x 1.4 cm. Very delicate graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Ἀπολλωνι[- - -]. 

In palaeographical terms, this inscription resembles to some degree the graffito of Apollonios son of Tais on the same south wall of the court (**136**). If the authors of these two inscriptions are to be identified with each other, the present inscription should be read: Ἀπολλώνι[ος] or Ἀπολλώνι(ος). The name could have stood in the genitive as well.

150. 10.7 cm from **149**, 152 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the same block as **149**, on the lower band of the dado. Dimensions: 7 x 3.8 cm. Quite deep graffito, but difficult to distinguish in the tangle of strokes going in various directions.

Unpublished.

Roman period.


ΕΥΚΙΝΟΥ

The inscription is difficult to understand. The name *Εὔκινος* (*Εὔκηνος*, *Εὔκοινος*, *Εὔκυνος*, *Εὔκεινος*) does not occur in our sources. We should possibly read [Α]ευκίνου. The name *Λευκίνος* is well attested in the Greek mainland and on the islands of the Aegean, particularly on Delos; cf. references in *LGPN* I and II. It has not been evidenced in Egypt so far.

SECTION X
SOUTH CHAPEL OF AMUN

151. Passage between the portal and chapel, east side, 57.5 cm from the northeastern corner of the passage, 228 cm above ground level, fifth course of blocks. Dimensions: 19.7 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 3.9 cm (*nu*) – 5.2 cm (*alpha*). Delicate graffito scratched in a thick layer of whitewash covering the undecorated blocks of the passage, without reaching the stone. Done with a piece of multiple-edged flint leaving double strokes in several of the letters.

Unpublished.

Roman period.


 AMUNNI
 NAS

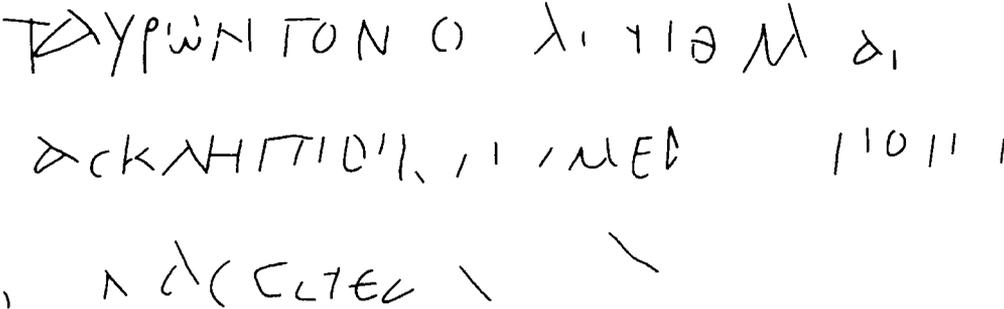
Ἀμμωνίου -
 νάς .

The author of the inscription wanted presumably to write it in one line; however, after writing the first vertical stroke of *N*, he dropped this idea and continued with the second line below.

152. Passage between the portal and chapel, east side, 74.5 cm from the northeastern corner of the passage, 258 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, immediately under the lintel. Dimensions: 24.8 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*upsilon*). Very delicate graffito, scratched in the whitewash without reaching the stone.

Unpublished.

Roman period.


 ΤΑΥΡΩΝΙ ΤΟΝ Ο ΛΙΥΙΘ Μ Δ,
 ΔΕΚΛΗΤΙΟΝ, ΙΙ ΜΕΔ ΙΙΟ ΙΙ Ι
 , Ν Δ (Σ Λ Ε Λ \ \

Ταύρων . ON[.]O[.] ΘΜ[.]Α .
 Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμεν[ώθ]η
 [.] . ACC . ΕΑ . [- - -]

Tauron [- - - for ?] *Asklepios and Amenobes* [- - -].

1. The name *Ταύρων* occurs also in **260**. We also have two instances of *Ταυρ(ε)ῖνος* (**140**, **260**). Both names are typical of the Hermonthean region (including Memnoneia) and refer to the cult of Buchis, the sacred bull of Montu; for Buchis, see L. Goldbrunner, *Buchis. Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des heiligen Stieres in Theben zur griechisch-römischen Zeit* [= *Monographies Reine Élisabeth* 11], Turnhout 2004.

After the name of the visitor and before the names of the gods, we would expect something like τὸ προσκύνημα παρά; but this is not to be read on the wall.

153. North wall of the chapel, 48.5 cm from the entrance, 130 cm above ground level, third course of blocks, below the dado. Dimensions: 22 x 6.9 cm; height of letters: 5.9 cm (*iota*) – 6.9 cm (*delta*). Graffito. The carving is not deep, but the strokes are very wide. The inscription is partly covered by a modern graffito: COVBOON | 1926.

Unpublished.

Ptolemaic period, probably second half.

Δόσις.

Δ Ο Σ Ι Σ

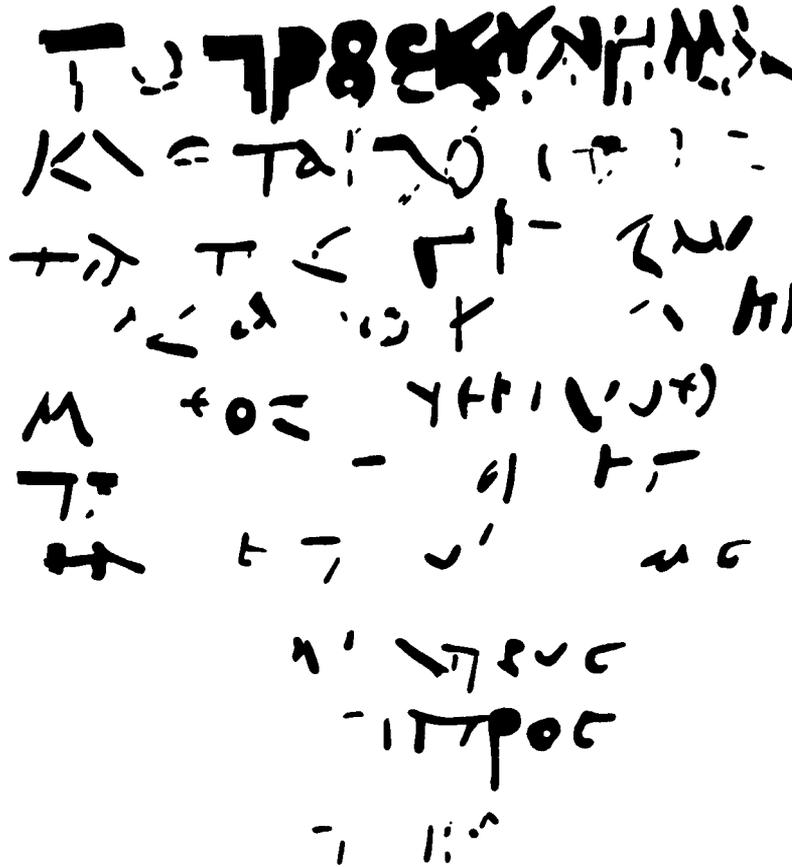
Δόσις is a female name. It describes its bearer as a gift of gods to her parents. I am not aware of the name Δόσις being evidenced in Egypt thus far, but we know Φιλοδόσις; cf. G. Nachtergaele, *CdÉ*, 74 (1999), p. 356 (graffito on a sphinx from Memphis). Without being popular the name Δόσις is attested elsewhere; cf. *IG* II–III² 11217, 11218, 12430 + W. Peek, *AM* 67 (1942), p. 131, no. 291; *SEG* XXXVIII 475 and 495 (Bouthrotos in Illyria); *CIL* VI 24039 (the name occurs in Latin transcription there). For the formation, see Bechtel, *HPN*, p. 613, and see further O. Masson, *Mus.Helv.* 47 (1990), p. 133 = idem, *Onom. Gr. Sel.* III, p. 97.

154. South wall of the chapel, 67 cm from the southwestern corner, 253 cm above ground level, ll. 1–9 on a block of the sixth course, l. 10 on a block of the fifth course, on the same level as the belly of Thutmose III making offerings to Amun. Dimensions: 23.2 x 25 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 2.4 cm (*rho*). Dark-red ochre, very faded. The inscription was painted on a thin, now peeling layer of whitewash. The

author of the inscription aimed at fitting the text between the edge of the block on the left-hand side and the figure of the king on the right. The first line of the inscription was repeated for some reason slightly below.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 100.

Roman period.



- (-1) [[τὸ προσκύνημα]]
 τὸ προσκύνημα
 Κλε[ι]ταρχο[.]
 ΤΑ[.] Τ[.] Ε[.] [.] Μ.
 4 [.] . . Α[.] Ο[.] [.] Η.
 Μ[.] . ΟC [Α]μενώθ[.]
 . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] . .
 . . [.] . . [.] . . [.] Μ[.] C
 8 [.] πατρὸς [- - -]
 [.] ΠΡΟC [- - -]
 [.] [.] . . [- - -]

Bataille indicates that he had no access to this inscription and saw it only from a distance, recognizing the text of the first two lines || 2. *Εὐτοχὸς* Bataille

Proskynema of Kleitarchos [---] Amenothes [---] of the father [---].

2. The name of the *proskynema* author may have stood either in the nominative or the genitive.
5. Here, either the god or an individual is concerned. The letters *OC* immediately preceding the name [A]μενώθ[look like the end of a personal name and this makes the latter possibility more probable: M[.] . os [A]μενώθ[ου] = 'M[.]os son of Amenothes.' One can also take into consideration the possibility of reading μ[ητ]ρὸς as the beginning of the line, but this can hardly be constructed with the following [A]μενώθ[. .] as the names in Ἀμενωθ- are all male.
9. Possibly πρὸς.

155. Passage between the portal and chapel, west wall, 54 cm from the northwestern corner of the passage, 209 cm above ground level. Dimensions: 34 x 21 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 (*omikron* in l. 4) – 3.4 cm (*alpha* at the end of l. 1). The inscription is done in dark red ochre on a tiny layer of whitewash covering the undecorated blocks of the entrance. The wash is peeling in many places, thus causing damage to the inscription; the ochre is very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 99.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνμα

Πλήνις Βησαρίωνος

σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ

4 καὶ τέκνοις [[σὺν τῇ]]

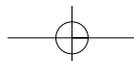
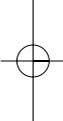
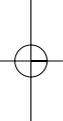
[.] Α εἰς αἰεὶ ἐπ ἀγαθῶι.

Bataille read nothing after γυναικὶ in l. 3 || 1. τὸ προσκύνμα[a] Bataille



Proskynema of Plenis son of Besarion together with his wife and children [---] for ever; good luck.

2. Another inscription of the same man, mentioning him without family members, is to be found on the west wall of the north chapel of Amun; cf. below, **318**. The two graffiti of Plenis son of Besarion are placed symmetrically with respect to the main axis of the sanctuary.
4. The author of the *proskynema* (Plenis) mistakenly repeated the words $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\hat{\eta}$ and subsequently crossed them out with an oblique stroke.
5. For the $\epsilon\pi\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\hat{\omega}$ formula in Egyptian *proskynemata*, see above commentary to **93**, l. 13.



SECTION XI

WEST WALL OF THE COURT, SOUTHERN PART

The west wall of the court (the wall with niches) was reconstructed by the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the 1960s and 1970s; cf. M. Samborski, 'Prace rekonstrukcyjno-konserwatorskie przy ścianie z niszami na górnym dziedzińcu Świątyni królowej Hatszepsut w Deir el-Bahari, prowadzone przez ekipy PKZ w latach 1967-1971' ('The reconstruction and conservation work on the wall with niches in the upper terrace of the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari carried out by the PKZ team in the years 1967-1971'), *Biuletyn Informacyjny PKZ* 27 (1975), pp. 91-102. Numerous decorated blocks were inserted in their original position, especially in the walls of the niches, and the niches were roofed. Some reconstruction and conservation work on the wall with niches was also performed in the second half of the 1990s; cf. Z. Szafranski, *PAM* 12 (2000), pp. 187-189. In the effect, the number of identifiable Greek inscriptions in this part of the Hatshepsut temple now exceeds by far that included in Bataille, *Inscriptions*, particularly with respect to the southern part of the wall. On the other hand, several inscriptions seen by Bataille in the northern section of the wall have been lost with the disintegration of the stone surface due to salt efflorescence.

156. Niche A, west wall, 67 cm above the niche floor, l. 2 starts immediately behind the southwestern corner of the niche. Dimensions: 53 x 16; h. of letters: 2 cm (*omikron*) – 8.2 cm (*beta*). The inscription was written on a smooth part of the wall between the corner and the remains of the back pillar of a statue of Queen Hatshepsut in Osiris form, which had once stood in the niche. Red ochre, preserved quite well on the right-hand side, faded and blurred on the left. Apparently, the writer cleaned his *kalamos* repeatedly while writing the inscription, leaving big irregular ochre blots above and below the inscription. There are also splashes of ochre from the *kalamos*. A vertical line above *O*, which Bataille took for the letter I, is in fact such an ochre splash. The vertical stroke in Φ bends to the left in order not to cross the already existing Λ . The position of the inscription indicates that the author wrote the letters sitting on the floor inside the niche. See Fig. 19.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 101.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97 (only mentioned).

Roman period.



ΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠ
 ΡÇΤΥΦΧΨΩ ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗ

...

Bataille transcribed: ΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΠ | ΥΦΧΨΩΑΒΓΔΕΖΗ | TCP

We have before us the complete Greek alphabet written in a somewhat complicated way. The author started writing the letters *ΑΒΓΔΕΗ* in large hand 25 cm away from the southwestern corner of the niche, then moved to the left, to the very corner of the niche and wrote the remaining letters in much smaller hand in two lines, using the space between the corner and the already existing letters. There was also a third line, but it is virtually impossible to tell what it contained. Forgotten letters *Z* and *I* were added over the line.

The Greek alphabet appears in yet another inscription from the temple, dated to the times of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep; cf. below, 314. In this case, two lines, each containing the complete Greek alphabet, were scratched in the northern part of the west wall. An inscription in red ochre on the west side of the passage between the court and the Chapel of the Night Sun also brings the Greek alphabet, but the text under consideration is of much later date, probably that of the Coptic monastery; cf. Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 185. Inscriptions containing the alphabet are not rare in Classical antiquity; for a survey of the evidence and discussion, see: A. Dieterich, 'ABC-Denkmaeler,' *Rhein. Mus.* 56 (1901), pp. 77–105; H. Leclercq, 'Abécédaire,' *DACL* I [1907], col. 45–61; Fr. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* [= *ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft herausgegeben von Franz Boll*, Heft VII], Leipzig 1922, *passim*, especially pp. 69–81: 'Ganze Alphabete' and 158–168: 'Corpus der ABC-Denkmaeler'; Claire Préaux, *CdÉ* 10 (1935), p. 367–370; a new example of an inscription containing the complete alphabet in: O.E. Kaper, K.A. Worp, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), p. 240, no. 6. Such inscriptions have been alternately

connected with a school milieu or considered to have magic or religious purport. Since any kind of text imaginable can be composed from a complete alphabet, such inscriptions can stand, *pars pro toto*, for a prayer, a spell, a literary work, etc. A magic-religious meaning is probably applicable in this particular case, where it is connected with sanctuary of Amenhotep and Imhotep.

157. Niche A, north wall, 18 cm from the northwestern corner, 89 cm above the floor of the niche, on a smooth surface left undecorated in Hatshepsut's time, being concealed behind a statue of the Queen in Osiris form (cf. lemma to the previous inscription). Dimensions: 12 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*tau*) – 0.9 cm (*upsilon*). Light red ochre, very faded. Originally, the inscription contained eight lines. No letter can be identified with certainty in ll. 4–8.

Unpublished.

Between *ca.* 28 August AD 283 (death of Carus) and November AD 284 (death of Numerian).

[(ἔτους) x] τῶ[ν κ]υρίων
ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρρίνου
καὶ Νομμερειαν[οῦ]

2. read Καρίνου || 3. read Νομμεριανού; the reading Νομμερειαν[οῦ] is possible as well

Year x of our Lords Carinus and Numerian [- - -].

1–4. For the chronology of the reign of Carus, Carinus and Numerian and their titlature, see M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titlature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284* [= *Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam ius antiquum and papyrologicam pertinentia* 29], Amsterdam 1990, pp. 98–99, and 444–471, particularly p. 470–471. Carinus and Numerian were appointed Augusti by their father Carus, in the spring and summer of AD 283 respectively. Their solo rule began with the death of Carus on *ca.* 28 August AD 283, and continued until the death of Numerian in November AD 284. This period covers two Egyptian years: 29 August AD 283 – 29 August AD 284 and 30 August AD 284 – November AD 284; therefore, the year number in the dating clause is to be supplemented as [(ἔτους) β'] or [(ἔτους) γ']. The imperial titlature as recorded here may be supplemented in two ways: τῶ[ν κ]υρίων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρρίνου καὶ Νομμερειαν[οῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν] and τῶ[ν κ]υρίων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρρίνου καὶ Νομμερειαν[οῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν]; cf. Bureth, *Titlatures*, p. 126. Both titlatures are attested in Egypt with respect to year 2 of the emperors.

158. Niche B, south wall, 29 cm from the southeastern corner, 60 cm above the floor of the niche, between the chiselled name of Senenmut (to the left) and the *tcheker*-sign framing the relief scene (to the right), on painted decoration from Hatshepsut's time consisting of horizontal, alternately white and yellow bands. Dimensions: 19 x 21 cm; h. of letters: 4.5 cm (*omega*) – 7 cm (*alpha*). The first three letters carved very deeply by multiple scratching in the stone surface and additionally painted red; the rest only painted in considerably faded dark red ochre. The writer must have been sitting on the floor inside the niche when he wrote this inscription. At the top of the same, south wall of the niche, just behind the door, a long Demotic inscription in red ochre. Another Demotic dipinto in red ochre is on the north wall of the niche.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

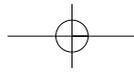


Χαιρ-
ήμω-
ν.

This is undoubtedly the same Chairemon, who inscribed his name several times in the entrance to the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex and in the vestibule itself; cf. **71, 84, 85, 87** and possibly **80**.

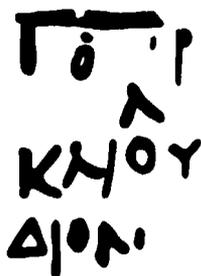
159. Niche B, west wall, 14.5 cm from the southwestern corner, 71.5 cm above the floor of the niche, between the *tcheker*-sign framing the scene and the legs of the goddess Hathor embracing Thutmose II. Dimensions: 4.5 x 6 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.3 cm (*iota*). Light red ochre, very faded and blurred, the reading uncertain. The position of the inscription indicates that the writer seated on the floor inside the niche while doing his work.

Unpublished.



Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
[. .] . [.] -
καίου
Διον[υ(σ)].



Proskynema of [- - -] *kaios* son of *Dionys*().

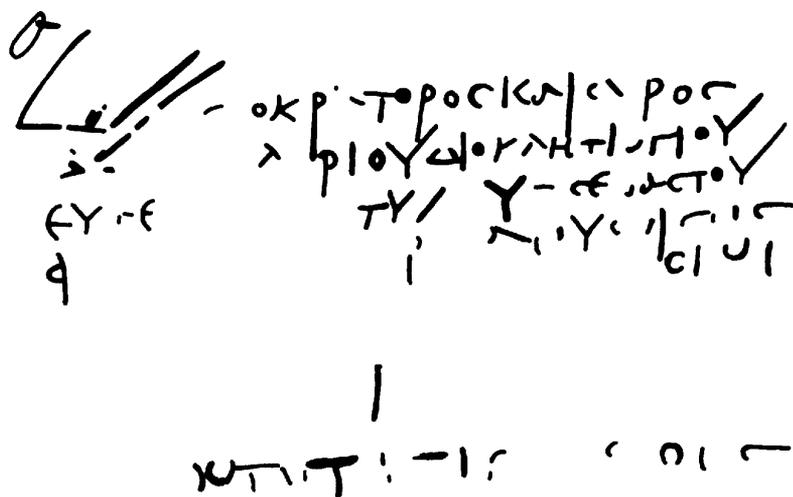
2-3. The reading [. .] . [.] κίου (for [. .] . [.] κλείου) is possible as well.

4. The patronymic was apparently recorded in abbreviated form. We can read Διον[υ(σίου)], Διον[υ(σοδώρου)] or similarly.

160. Niche B, north wall, 15 cm from the northwestern corner, 63.5 cm above the floor of the niche, on the base of the king's throne. Dimensions: 13 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 0.25 cm (*omikron*) – 1.1 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, very blurred and faded. The author must have seated on the floor inside the niche while painting this inscription.

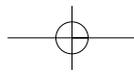
Unpublished.

AD 284/285.



(ἔτους) α// [α]ϋ[τ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος
[Γ]ά[ιου Οὐα]λ[ε]ρίου Διοκλητιανού
εὐσε[βοῦς εὐ]τυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ

4 . [- - - - -] P [. .] . OY . . IΣ . Σ



[- - - - -] ΣΙΟΙ
 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] . [- - - - -]
 8 [- - - - -] T [. . .] . [. .] . . Σ

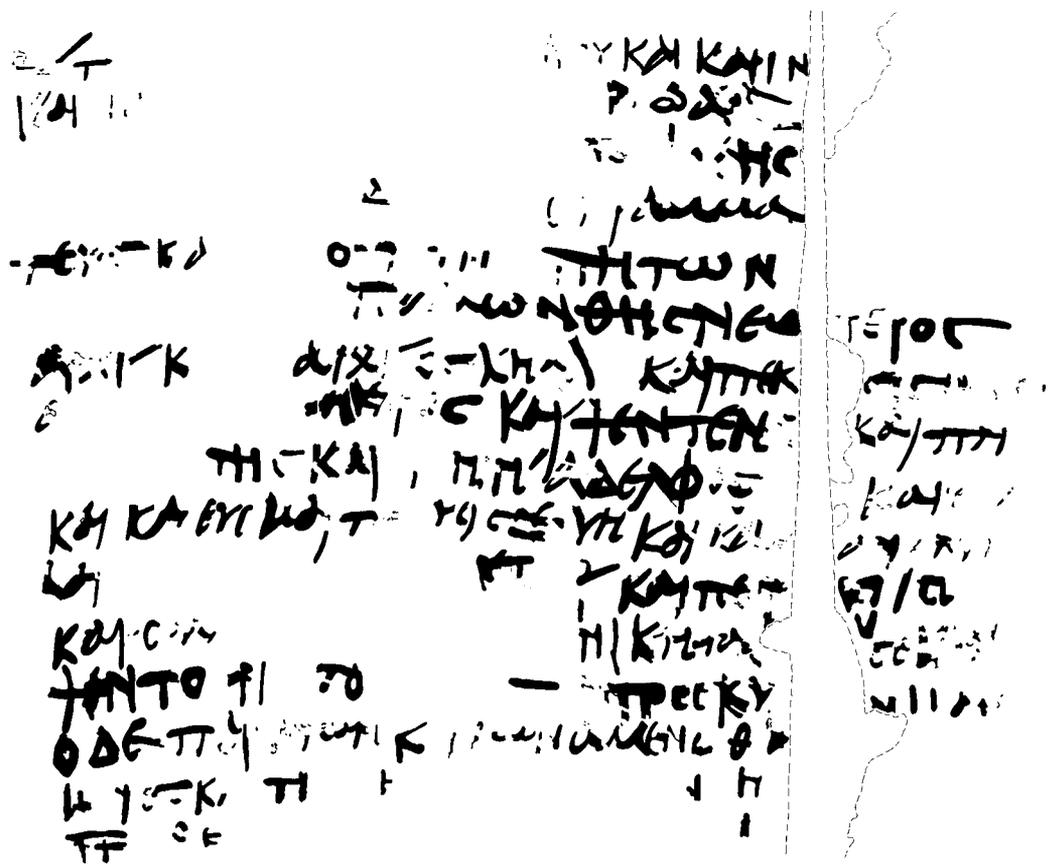
1-3. For the regnal formula, see R. S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* [= *Supplements of the Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 2], Missoula 1979, p. 2. To judge by the presented material, the formula occurs only in years 1 and 2 of Diocletian. Traces of the year number preserved on the stone seem to exclude the reading (ἔτους) β//.

4. Possibly Αὐ]ρ[η]λίου.

161. Niche C, west wall, 18 cm from the southwestern corner, 93 cm above the floor of the niche, on two undecorated blocks of the third course, originally concealed behind a statue of Queen Hatshepsut in Osiris form (the statue must have already been taken away when the inscription was executed). There was possibly also another line (17) written along the upper edge of a block of the second course. Dimensions: 44 x 37 cm (i.e. the full height of the block); h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*alpha* at the end of l. 8) – 3.6 cm (*iota* in *καὶ* in l. 8). Light red ochre, very faded. The gap between the blocks, on which the inscription was written, increases toward the bottom.

Unpublished.

Between *ca.* July and *ca.* 28 August AD 283.



- [(ἔτους)] α/ τ[ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κά]ρον καὶ Καρίν[ου]
 καὶ Νῦ[υμεριανού - - -] . . . Α . . .
 [- - - - - - - - - -] . [.] . ΧΗC
 4 [- - - - -] Δ[. . . .] . γραμμα-
 τεὺς καὶ [. . .] Ο . . . [.] ΠΗΤΩΝ
 [- - - - -] Παμώνθης νεώτερος
 ἀρχι() Κ[. . .] ἀρχι() . . . ΚΗ . . . καὶ Πεκ[ύ]σις καὶ
 8 Α[.] ς καὶ Ψεντε . . . καὶ Πλ .
 [καὶ] τῆς καὶ [.] . [.] η νεώτερος) ἀδελφὸς καὶ . . .
 καὶ Κ . . . εὺς καὶ Τ [.] ΥCIC . ΕΥΗ καὶ Κα . α
 καὶ [- - - -] . Τ[.] . καὶ Πε ι . . .
 12 καὶ Σ . . . [- - - - -] ΗΙΚ . . . Α [.] ΟΣ καὶ
 Ψεντο . ρι[ς] ΤΟ[. . . .] τ[ὸ] προσκύνημ[α]
 ὄδε παρὰ τῶν κυρίων Ἀμενώθο[υ]
 καὶ Ἀσκλη(πιου) καὶ [- - -] Ν[.] Η
 16 . . [.] . . [- - - - - - - - - -]

14. read ὄδε

Year 1 of our Lords Carus, Carinus and Numerian [- - -] scribe and [- - -] Pamontes the younger archi() [- - -] archi() [- - -] and Pekysis and Α[- - -] and Psente[. .] and Π[.] and [. . .]tes and [- - -] the younger (his) brother and [- - -] and Κ[. .]eus and Τ[- - -] and Κα[- - -] and [- - -] and Pe[- - -] and Σ[- - -]os and Psento[. .]ris [- - -] (made) proskynema in this place before the Lords Amenotbes and Asklepios and [- - -].

This inscription, dated to AD 283, is the latest direct proof of the existence of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari.

The inscription commemorates a visit paid to the temple in Deir el-Bahari by a group of about 20 men who obviously formed a corporation, most probably of an occupational character; the name of the corporation may be contained in l. 5:]ΠΗΤΩΝ (cf. commentary to this line). The corporation had at its head a scribe (ll. 4–5) and at least two archi() (l. 7 and see commentary to this line). Another official of the corporation (its president?) was possibly mentioned in l. 3. A list of the corporation's ordinary members is contained in ll. 7–13. All names occur without patronymics and are separated by καί. The onomastics make it clear that the men forming the corporation originated from the Theban area.

- 1–2. For the chronology of the reign of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, see commentary to **157**. The present inscription falls into the short period of the common rule of the three emperors, between the appointment of Numerian around July 283 and the death of Carus about 28 August of the same year. This period covers only one Egyptian year, hence the reading [(ἔτους)] α/ at the beginning of l. 1. The reconstruction of the imperial titlature as printed above seems to be the only possible the space being not big enough for the full names of the emperors or their triumphal epithets. This titlature

has no Egyptian parallels (cf. Bureth, *Titulatures*, pp. 125–126); however, it is attested epigraphically in Asia Minor (cf. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature*, p. 468, no. 179).

3. Apparently a word or a name ending in $-\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$. Were it a common word, we would probably be dealing with a term referring to the president of the corporation.
5.]ΠΗΤΩΝ looks very much like the name of an occupation in genitive plural. We can supplement, e.g., τῶν [ῆ]πητῶν.
7. An abbreviated word ἀρχι() occurs also in the inscriptions of a corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis (**163**, ll. 6–7; **164**, ll. 10–11; **168**, ll. 4–5; **169**, ll. 4–5; **172**, 4; **173**, 4), there, however, the abbreviation is marked differently. Similarly as in the *siderourgoi*-inscriptions, the word must refer to the heads of the corporation. It may be expanded in different ways, depending among others on which corporation exactly we are dealing with.

One is tempted to reconstruct κ[αὶ β] ἀρχι(). Between the second ἀρχι() and the sequence καὶ Πεκ[υ]σις, we have most probably the name of this man. For the name Πεκύσις, see comm. to **168**, l. 6.

8. The space between *A* and *C* could have contained one or two names separated by καὶ.

I am not aware of the function of the oblique stroke between καὶ and Ψεντ-.

The letter after ΨΕΝΤΕ looks like *N*. If it is indeed so, we have to admit an abbreviated version of the name: Ψεντεν(). The space available is not sufficient for any name with Ψεντεν- (Ψεντενύρων, Ψεντεντῶρις, Ψεντενοῦς, Ψεντεναῖβις) written out in full. However, the letter can also be an *H*, giving the reading Ψεντεῆς.

At the very end of the line we probably have ΠΛΗ. This might be either the name Πλή (undeclinable), known mainly from Byzantine sources, or Πλήνις recorded in abbreviated form: Πλή(νις).

10. Two names fitting Κ. . εύς are attested in Egyptian sources: Κολεύς and Κηνεύς, but neither reading is permitted by the traces of the second and third letters. The best solution is Κασεύς, a name evidenced in Macedonia; cf. *SEG* XLI 554, 1.
13. The first name of the line is possibly a variant of Ψεντουῶρις. One can read tentatively Ψεντοῶρις.
The reading το[ύτο] τ[ὸ] προσκύνημ[α] is not impossible.
14. The genitive plural τῶν κυρίων advocates in favor of the reading Ἀμενώθο[υ] and against Ἀμενώθη.
15. Reading established after a revision of the original. καὶ [τῶν συννάων θεῶν] can be supplemented after Ἀσκλη(πιού).

Fourteen inscriptions in Greek (**162–173** + two items so poorly preserved that I was unable to read anything certain; cf. lemmata to **164** and **167**) are to be found on the walls of niche D. Three of them (**165**, **170**, **171**) are stereotypical *proskynemata* connected with the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep and dated from the early Roman period (1st–2nd cent. AD). The remaining 11 inscriptions originated from the end of the 3rd – first half of the 4th cent. AD. In this group, six texts (**163**, **164**, **168**, **169**, **172**, **173**) were left by a corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis, which held its meetings in Deir el-Bahari at that time, most probably on the occasion of the New Year in the traditional Egyptian calendar (for a discussion of religious aspects of the

siderourgoi dossier, see above pp. 95–103). The remaining five inscriptions are preserved too fragmentarily for anything to be said with certainty about their contents; it is probable, however, that they were connected with the same corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis. Presumably also the work of the *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis is a drawing of a pharaoh sitting on a throne, done in light ochre on the west wall of niche D, obviously a replica of a relief scene either from the south or the north wall of the niche.



The *siderourgoi*-inscriptions are presented below in topographical order. All the data, which they have in common, is discussed in the commentary to **168**, it being the most complete one in form and fortunately also the best preserved of the lot.

162. Niche D, south wall, fourth course of blocks, 1 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche (i.e. immediately behind it), 168 cm above the floor of the niche (i.e., approximately at eye level). Dimensions: 6.5 x 5.5 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 0.5 cm. Light red ochre, very faded. Only the initial fragments of each line, protected from the sun by the frame of the door, have been preserved. The text was verified against the original in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Most probably end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th cent. AD.

(ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρ[ίων ἡμῶν - - - -]
 K[.] - - - - - [- - - - -]
 OY . . [- - - - -] . [- - - - -]
 4 H[.] . . [.] N[- - - - -]
 Δ[.] K . I . . [- - - - -]
 Ψ[.] ΔI [- - - - -]

1. The use of the title *κύριοι* in the regnal formula makes it clear that the inscription is older than the transition from *κύριος* to *δεπότης* in the titulature of Roman emperors, effected most likely by official regulation in the second half of AD 307; cf. D. Hagedorn, K. A. Wörp, 'Von *KΥΡΙΟΣ* zu *ΔΗΣΠΟΤΗΣ*. Eine Bemerkung zur Kaisertitulatur im 3./4. Jhdt.,' *ZPE* 39 (1980), pp. 165–177.

163. Niche D, south wall, third course of blocks, 1 cm from the southeastern corner, 147 cm above the floor (i.e., approximately at eye level); the scribe starts particular lines at the corner and continues to the edge of the block on the right. Dimensions: 21 x 15 cm; h. of letters: 0.2 cm (*omikron*) – 1.2 cm (*theta, iota*). Red ochre. Only the initial fragments of each line, set in the shadow of the doorframe, which has protected them from fading in the sun, have been preserved. Of the rest of the inscription, only single letters remain and no logical sequence can be reconstructed. The letters are larger and less carefully written than in other inscriptions of the *siderourgoi*, but the hand is the same as that of **168**, **169**, **172** and **173** and may quite plausibly be ascribed to Hatres son of Horion, a scribe of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis.

In the 16th indiction, on the first and second Tybi, in the consulate of our Lords [---] the most noble [---]. We have arrived here [---] offering a donkey (we) the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, who are listed below: Leilos [son of ---] archi(), second archi Plenis son of [---], third archi() T[---] and Horion [---] Plenis son of Psenpaeris and P[.]utha[---] and [--- and] Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes the scribe. He [--- and] all (participants of the ceremony) made proskynema [---] (for) the Lords [gods].

- 1–3. The reading of the dating formula is troublesome. We can be certain of the following elements: (1) that the indiction is 16; (2) that the date is Tybi 1–2, hence 27–28 December of a normal year; (3) that the consulate is of plural emperors as suggested by τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν; (4) the epithet ἐπιφανεστατ- suggests that at least one consul was a Caesar. In an attempt to reconcile the data, I had hesitatingly suggested in the *editio princeps* the reading [Κωνσταν]τ[ίου Ἀύγ(ούστου) τὸ θ' καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ] ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτου Καί[σαρος τὸ β', which gives 27–28 December AD 357. This was questioned by R. S. Bagnall, *op. cit.* (cf. lemma), who called attention to two facts: (1) The reading of the *editio princeps* makes line 2 too long, even if we admit abbreviated notation for Ἀύγ(ούστου) and no markers by the numerals; (2) The appearance of the same individuals and the same writer in inscription **168**, dated to AD 324, makes the date AD 357 for the present text demographically implausible. However, it is impossible to find a date fitting all the set requirements without ‘involving significant error on the part of the writer of the inscription’ as Bagnall observes. He admits that the most reliable chronological indicator is the indiction and suggests that the 16th indiction refers to the first cycle, hence AD 327. As the consulate in this year was held by Flavius Constantius and Valerius Maximus, neither of whom was Augustus or Caesar, we have to assume that the writer of the inscription made the double mistake of calling them ‘Our Lords’ and ‘the most noble’ ones. He probably also omitted the name of one of the consuls from the second part of line 2. He might have been aware of making mistakes for he apparently corrected himself in line 3, where the blunder can be seen after ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτω(ν). Another possibility is that the writer mistakenly wrote 16 instead of 15 for the indiction, hence the date should rather be 27–28 December AD 326. The consuls for this year were Constantinus Augustus for the seventh time and Constantius, the most noble Caesar, for the first time. This would well fit the remnants of the consular formula preserved on the wall.
3. The reading γε]νόμεθα after **168**, l. 3, but see ἐγενόμεθα in **173**, l. 2.
4. Perhaps ΑΥΤΗ() τῆς θυσία[s].
5. The scribe omits the final N in σιδηρουργῶν also in **173**, l. 3. σιδηρουργῶ must have been a well-established characteristic of his pronunciation.
6. The name of the first ἀρχι() – Ἀηείλος is probably a variant of Λείλος. This name has not been attested anywhere but Antinoopolis of the 4th/5th cent.; cf. *P.Ant.* II 92.

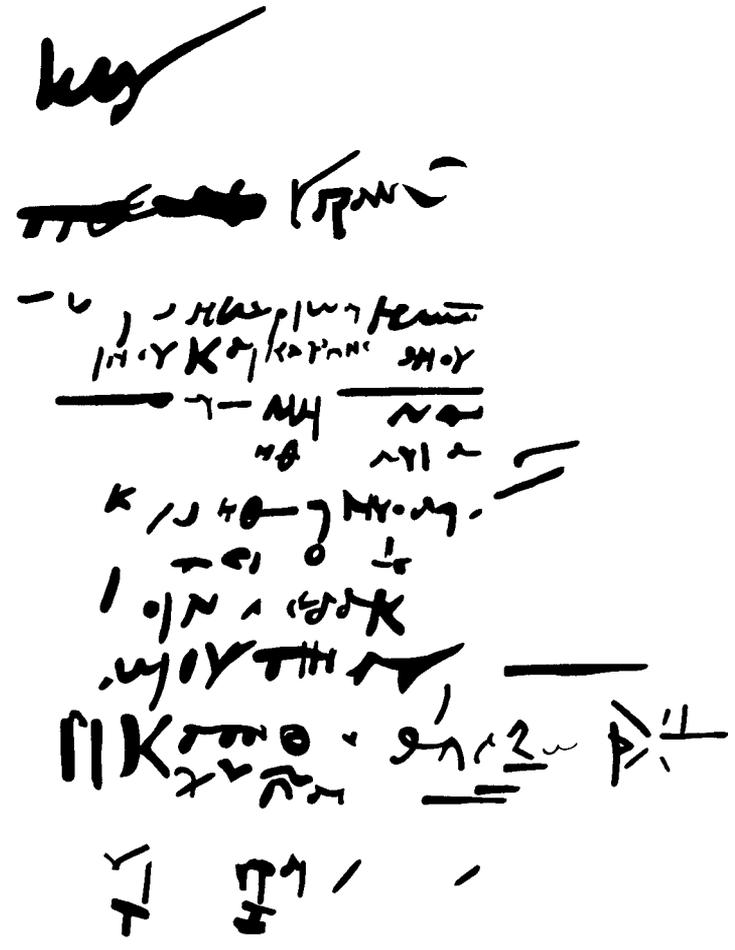
For the abbreviated form of the name Plenis, see comm. to **168**, l. 5.

- 11–13. The ending of the inscription appears to be exactly the same as in **169**: Hatres son of Horion sacrificed a donkey and the members of the corporation taking part in the ceremony made a *proskynema*. However, the exact wording of the ending cannot be determined. One should note the plural κυρίων (probably followed by θεῶν), as opposed to τοῦ θεοῦ in **168** and **169**.

164. Niche D, south wall, 30 cm from the southwestern corner of the niche, 157 cm above the floor, on a smooth part of the wall, between the edge of the block to the left and the *tcheker* frame of the relief decoration to the right. Dimensions: 25.5 x 33 cm; average h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.2 cm (*rho*); the large *upsilon* in line 1 is 3.8 cm high. Dark red ochre, very faded. Semi-cursive hand sometimes using large epigraphic majuscules. Irregular ochre stains directly below the present inscription, likely due to the cleaning of the *kalamos*. The inscription surely belongs to the dossier of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis; it is not, however, the work of Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes (cf. *infra*). The text printed below is the result of a verified reading following inspection of the original in January 2002. Traces of an inscription in dark red ochre, apparently consisting of 10 lines in semi-cursive hand, to be seen on the lower part of the wall, below **163** and **164**.

Unpublished.

Between *ca.* 28 August AD 283 (death of Carus) and November AD 284 (death of Numerian).



Κ . Υ
vacat
 Π υ γραμ(ματέως)
 [(ἔτους) X] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)
 4 [Καρ]ίνου καὶ Νοῦμεριανοῦ
 [. . .] -----
 [. . .] -----
 [. . .] πλῆθος σιδηρουργ(ῶν)
 8 [Ἑρμώνθεως] -----

 [. . .] καὶ ΑΥΤΗ . . ἀρχι()
 [. . .] Κ - - - Θ . β ἀρχι()
 12 [. . .] - - - ΠΛ(ῆνις) - - - -
 [. . .] -----
 [. . .] -----

[- - -] *secretary. Year x of our Lords Carinus and Numerian* [- - -] *the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis* [- - -] *and* [- - -] *archi()* [- - -], *second archi()* [- - -].

This inscription dating from the period between *ca.* 28 August AD 283, and November AD 284 is the oldest piece of evidence for the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis visiting Deir el-Bahari. The hand of the inscription is definitely not the same as in **163**, **168**, **169**, **172** and **173**, which are most probably the work of Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes, who acted as the corporation's secretary for about 10 years at the turn of the 320s, a few dozen years after the writing of this inscription. The present text must have been written by another scribe of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis whose name may have been mentioned in l. 2. The inscription seems to have been composed along the same lines as the later and better preserved *siderourgoi*-inscriptions. After the date, we have the name of the corporation, indicated possibly in connection with the goal of the visit. A list of corporation members follows, starting with the names of the officials. The only apparent deviation from this form is the mention of the secretary in l. 2, at the very beginning of the text. The inscription displays a repertoire from the scribal craft also present in the texts, which came from the hand of Hatres son of Horion (such as the abbreviation $\alpha\rho\chi^+$ and the notation π for $\Pi\lambda(\eta\nu\iota\varsigma)$). Both scribes evidently came from the same scribal tradition.

3-4. For the regnal formula, see commentary to inscription **157**.

10. The reading $\text{A}\nu(\rho\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma) \text{T}\eta$. . . can be considered.

165. Niche D, south wall, 60 cm from the southeastern corner, 165.5 cm above the floor of the niche, on the *pet*-sign, which borders at the top the list of offerings intended for Thutmosis III. Dimensions: 9 x 1.5 cm. Red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[- - -] $\text{A}\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon \text{i}\alpha\tau\rho\upsilon$

[- - -] *of Asklepiades a physician* [- - -].

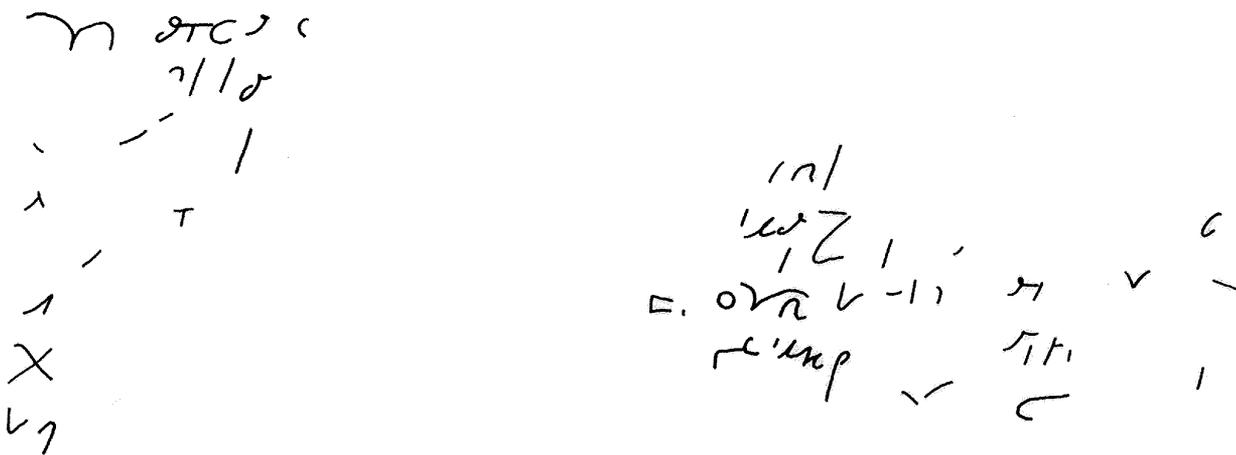
$\tau\omicron$ προσκύνημα could possibly be supplemented before $\text{A}\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\upsilon$, thus '*Proskynema of Asklepiades a physician.*' For inscriptions of physicians in the Deir el-Bahari temple, see **25** and **94**. Another possibility is to read a personal name, either in the nominative:

[ὁ δεῖνα Ἀσκλη]ηπιάδου ἰατροῦ or in the genitive: [τοῦ δεινός τοῦ Ἀσκλη]ηπιάδου ἰατροῦ. In the first case, the meaning would be ‘NN son of Asklepiades a physician,’ in the second one, ‘(Inscription) of NN son of Asklepiades, a physician.’ Note that the author of this inscription (or his father), a physician by trade, bears a theophoric name built from the name of the Greek god of medicine. Two physicians named Asklepiades left inscriptions in the Theban Valley of the Kings; cf. Baillet, *Syringes*, no. 15: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἰατρὸς πα[- - -], and 1575: μνησθῆ Ἀσκληπιάδης ἰατρὸς λεγεῶ(νος) β’ Τρα(ιανῆς) Ἰσχυράς (ἔτει) ἰ’ Ἀντωνίου Μεχέρ α’. The Asklepiades from our inscription is perhaps identical with one of these two men.

166. Niche D, south wall, 55 cm from the southeastern corner, 158.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the list of offerings in front of the enthroned Thutmosis III. Dimensions: 34 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron*) – 0.8 cm (*rho*). Light red ochre, very faded. Only the initial letters of particular lines and some letters on the right-hand side of the inscription have been preserved. Cursive hand. In all probability, the text belongs to the dossier of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis and may have come from the hand of Hatres son of Horion, the corporation’s scribe.

Unpublished.

Most probably end of the 3rd – first half of the 4th cent. AD.



ὑπατε[ι]ας [- - - - -]
 [. . .] . . . Α [- - - - -]
 [. . .] ΔΙ [- - - - -] Π [- - - - -]
 4 [. . .] [- - - - -] ΚΑ [- - - - -] Α
 [. . .] [- - - - -] [. . .] [. . .] [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] δ . ου Πλ(ῆνις) Κ . ι . [. . .] Α [. . .] Υ [. . .]
 Χ [- - - - -] . . . ΚΗΡ [- - -] ΑΙ [. . .] .
 8 καὶ [- - - - -] Υ [. . .] C [- - - - -] .

1. The inscription starts with a consular date. In Egypt, consular dates, rare in the first three centuries of our era, started to be used with greater frequency after the establishment of the first tetrarchy in AD 293; cf. Bagnall/Worp, *Chronological Systems*, p. 50. This must be considered an *ante quem* date for our inscription.
6. For the abbreviated notation of the name Πληγνις, see commentary to **168**, l. 5.

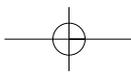
167. Niche D, south wall, immediately to the right of **165** and **166**, on the *pet*-sign bordering the relief scene at the top (ll. 1–2) and the list of offerings in front of Thutmosis III (ll. 3–9). Dimensions of the preserved part on the right-hand side: 14.5 x 13.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, badly faded. Ll. 1–2 were considerably extended to the left over **166** and toward **165**. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original upon inspection in January 2002. Above the present inscription, and to the right of it, 100 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche and 186 cm above its floor, on the *heker*-frise at the top of the wall, there is a text in dark red ochre still partly visible. It contained eight, apparently very long lines (over 50 cm). While the inscription is most probably part of the *siderourgoi*-dossier, the hand is definitely not that of Hatres son of Horion.

Unpublished

Most probably first half of the 4th cent. AD, after AD 307.

Handwritten transcription of the inscription:

οὐκ ἔστι
 ἱερὸν ἑστῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν
 ἱερῶν



----- [δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν
 ----- καὶ ----- καὶ . P . Y .

 4 -----
 ----- K -----

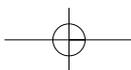
 Τύρα[ννος] Τυράννου
 8 [- - - - -]νος
 [- - - - -] . ιχου

- 1–2. We have here apparently the remnants of a regnal formula with the names of at least three emperors. The mention of three names precludes the possibility of a consular date. The use of the term *δεσπότης* in relation to the emperors indicates that the inscription is later than the transition from *κύριος* to *δεσπότης* effected in the imperial titulature most probably in the second half of AD 307; D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, 'Von *KYPIOΣ* zu *ΔΗΣΠΟΤΗΣ*. Eine Bemerkung zur Kaisertitulatur im 3./4. Jhdt.,' *ZPE* 39 (1980), pp. 165–177.
7. *Τύραννος* is attested as the name of two different members of the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis; cf. **168**, ll. 5–6: *Τύρα[ννος] Βησᾶ* and **172**, 6: *Τύραννος Κουελ()*; see also **172**, 6: *Παμῶνθης Τυράννου* and **173**, 8: *Τυραν[ν - - -]*. It cannot be excluded that this inscription was also part of the dossier of this body.

168. Niche D, south wall, 108 cm from the southeastern corner, 70 cm above the floor of the niche, on the base of Thutmosis III's throne. Dimensions: 31 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.2 cm (*omikron*) – 1.4 cm (*phi*). Red ochre, considerably faded, smudged in the middle of l. 9. Cursive hand, most probably that of Hatres son Horion, the scribe of the corporation. At the end of line 1 the stone is chipped away, but since no letter is missing, the break must have been present before the inscription was made. Under the inscription and to the right, there are traces of ochre of the same colour, possibly the remnant of some *addendum* too faded for a copy to be made. The position of the inscription indicates that the person writing it sat on the floor of the niche.

A. Łajtar, 'Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th cent. A.D.,' *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 55–59, no. 1 with facsimile (*SEG* XLI 1612; J. Bingen [in:] *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997*, vol. II, Roma 1999, p. 617; *SB* XX 14508).

Cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, p. 269 (only mentioned). D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*, Princeton – New Jersey 1998, pp. 25 (about the sacrifice), 64 (about the religious context of the *siderourgoi* visits). J.-M. Carrié, *Ant. Tard.* 7 (1999), p. 349 (review of Łajtar's publication). Carola Zimmerman, *Handwerkvereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum [= Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Monographien 5]*, Mainz 2002, p. 34, note 253 (on the corporation of ironworkers).



27-28 December AD 324.

Handwritten Greek inscription in a cursive script, likely from a wall in Hermonthis. The text is arranged in several lines and includes names and titles of officials.

{Tybi} Τύβι ᾱ και β̄, ύπατειάς τών δεσποτών ήμών Κρίσπου και Κων-
σταντίνου τών ε[ύγεν]εστάτων και έπιφ[ανεστάτω]ν Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ̄
γενόμεθα ένταύθα Μ. ΤΟΤΩΝ θυσίαν ὄνον, πλήθος σιδηρουργ[ῶ]ν Ἐρμώνθεος,
4 ὦν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται): Ποῦμσι Ἄσκοῦ ΜΜΑΛΟC ἀρχι(), β̄ ἀρχι() Πενᾶς Ἄσκοῦ [.]ΜΑΛΟC,
[γ̄] ἀρχι() Λούσι[ο]ς . CANK . . Μ . Μ()Ε() Πλ(ήνις) Πκ[ο]ί(λιος) ζυτοπ(οιός) Φ . ΑΤΕΩC,
Χολλῶς Πασήμις και Τύρα[ννος]
Βησᾶ και Πεσοῦρις Φθόϊ και Πλ(ήνις) Πκοί(λιος) Χολλῶς και Κουελ() και Πλ(ήνις) Πεκoίσις Πκοί(λιος) [[και]]
και Πεσοῦρις Δολο[ύ]τος και Ἄτρῆς Ὠρίονος Θεοφάνους γραμματεὺ τῶν πλήθου
8 και Δίδυμος Στρώτου και Πλῆ(νις) ὀνηλάτου. αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ
κ[α]ὶ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα ΥΜ[. . .] ένταῦθ' Ε . . . ΤΑ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποί[η]σα]ν.

3. read ἐγενόμεθα | read Ἐρμώνθεος || 5. Π()πκ[ο]ί(σις) Łajtar, JJP 21, read Πκύλιος | read Πασήμιος || 6. Π()πκοί(σις) Łajtar, JJP 21, read Πκύλιος | Π()πκοίσις Πκοί(σιος) Łajtar, JJP 21, read Πεκoίσις Πκύλιος || 7. read Ὠρίωνος | read γραμματεὺς || 8. Π[αβ]ώτου Łajtar, JJP 21 | read ὀνηλάτης

Tybi 1 and 2, in the consulship of our masters, the most noble Caesars Crispus and Constantinus, for the third time. We have arrived here [- - -] the sacrifice of a donkey, (we) the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, who are listed below: Poümsi son of Askos [- - -] archi(), second archi() Penas son of Askos [- - -], third archi() Lousios [- - -] Plenis son of Pkylis brewer [- - -], Chollos son of Pasemis and Tyrannos son of Besas and Pesouris son of Phthoi and Plenis son of Pkylis son of Chollos and Kouel() and Plenis son of Pekysis son of Pkylis and Pesouris son of Lolous and Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes secretary of the corporation and Didymos son of Strotos and Plenis donkey-keeper. He slaughtered the donkey before the god and all [- - -] here [- - -] made the proskynema for the great god.

1-2. The first and second Tybi during the third consulate of Crispus and Constantinus correspond to 27-28 December AD 324. Interestingly, there are two epithets attached to the names of the consuls, while in hitherto known documents there is only one, namely ἐπιφανέστατοι; cf. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the*

Later Roman Empire, Atlanta 1987, pp. 182–183; Bagnall/Worp, *Chronological Systems*, p. 109. The second epithet *εὐγενέστατοι* has in fact the same meaning as *ἐπιφανέστατοι*; both are Greek equivalents of the Latin *nobilissimi*.

3. For the loss of the syllabic augment in the language of Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods (here *γενόμεθα* instead of *ἐγενόμεθα*), see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 223–228, especially p. 225. The unaugmented form *γενόμεθα* is also attested in *SB* XIV 11957, 6 (Qasr Ibrim in Nubia, Letter of Phonen, King of Blemmys, to Abourni, King of Nobades; 5th cent. AD).

The roughly nine-letter lacuna between *γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα* and *θυσίαν ὄνον* is likely to have contained an expression introducing a final clause. Another possibility would be to read *ἄγοντες εἰς θυσίαν ὄνον*. The remaining fragments of letters suggest something along the lines of *μετά τῶν*. This leads us towards the reading *μετά τῶν* (εἰς) *θυσίαν ὄνον* (for *ὄνων*), but according to l. 8 of the text, there was only one donkey sacrificed on that day.

πλήθος, a technical term denoting a corporation or guild, is characteristic of Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt; cf. e.g. *PSI* V 498.2, 5 (3rd cent. BC): *τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀλιέων*; *SB* I 984 (AD 3): *τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου καθαρουργῶν καὶ πλακουντοποιῶν*; *SB* I 647 (AD 4/5): *τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου [Κλ]εοπ(α)τρ(είου)*; *P.Mich.* V 244 (AD 43): *πλήθος ἀπολυσίμων οὐσίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος*; most probably, the same association in *P.Mich.* II 123, Recto XXII 44 (AD 46): *πλήθος ἀπολυσ[ίμων]*. That a corporation of the 4th cent. AD should have used the term in relation to itself implies either its long existence (100–200 years) or its desire to emulate past models.

Since the word *πλήθος* denotes a corporation, i.e., a group of people, the author treats it as a plural, which explains the use of the plural relative pronoun at the beginning of l. 4; see *γραμματεὺς τῶν πλήθου* in l.7 and similar expressions in *IFayoum* III 205: *σύνδοδος ὧν ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου*; *O.Bodl.* II 1858: *ἔχθ(εσις) συνόδου (...)* ὧν τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα; *SEG* XX 499: *τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι φερομένων στρατιωτῶν ὧν προστάτης κτλ.*

For the term *σιδηρουργός* and for the metallurgical activity in Hermonthis, see commentary in Łajtar, *JfP* 21 (1991), pp. 56–57.

4. Expressions analogous to *ὧν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(α)γέγραπται* preceding the list of *siderourgoi* contained in ll. 4–8 are to be found in the lists of priests and *χειρισμός* from Fayum: *γραφῆι ἰε[ρ]έων (...)* τῶν μὲν παραδοχίμω[ν κα]ὶ ἐπικεκρικμ[ε]ίων ἀπολυσίμων ἀν[δρ]ῶν πενήκοντα, ὧν τὸ [κ]α[τ'] ἄνδρα κτλ. (*P.Tebt.* II 298.9–11) and *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἱερέων [τὸ κα]τ' ἄνδρα πάντων διαγραφάντων τὸ [εἰσ]κριτικὸν* (*BGU* I 162 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* I 91.15–16); see also *O.Bodl.* II 1858 (account of payments of members of an unknown *synodos*, probably from the Hermonthis region, AD 66–67): *ἔχθ(εσις) συνόδου* τοῦ γ' (ἔτους) *Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρίου ὧν τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα*.

The list of corporation members starts with three persons referred to as *ἀρχι* (), which abbreviation may be interpreted in a number of ways: *ἀρχι(ερεύς)*, *ἀρχι(πρεσβύτερος)*, *ἀρχι(συναγωγός)*, *ἀρχι(σιδηρουργός)* etc.; there is, however, no evidence in favour of any one of the readings. Concerning the abbreviation of *ἀρχι* () made by raising the *iota* and crossing it with a horizontal bar, see A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs* [= *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, Supplement* 30], London 1974, p. 10. As the fragment of the inscription containing the names of the three *ἀρχι* () is rather poorly preserved, it is difficult to read and interpret. The first two *ἀρχι* () may have been brothers, since they share the same patronymic: *Ἀσκού*. In both cases, *Ἀσκού* is followed by a word ending with *-αλος*, which I am unable

to account for. This may have been the name of their grandfather, or an adjective or noun describing both ἀρχι(). Possibly we should read ωμαλος (= ὀμαλῶς) here, which is well founded from the palaeographic point of view in the case of the first ἀρχι(), and consider their functions as ἀρχι() to have been of equal rank. The third ἀρχι(), not qualified as ωμαλος, would be of different and presumably lesser rank, considering that he was mentioned as third in the sequence.

The name of the first ἀρχι() – Πούμισι, if read correctly, is *addendum onomasticis*, however, a very similar name Πούμυς occurs in BGU II 426 r^o 5 (Soknopaiou Nesos, ca. AD 200).

The name of the second ἀρχι() – Πενᾶς, occurs in *O.Narm.* 26, 8 (2nd/3rd cent. AD).

5. The letter Π surmounted by a gently sloping line probably represents an abbreviated notation of the very popular Theban name Πληγνις. This notation occurs several times in the *siderourgoi* dossier; cf. below, l. 6 (two times), and see further **163**, l. 6 and 9, **164**, l. 12, **166**, l. 6, **172**, l. 5 and 6. It is also to be found in O. Berl. inv. 25481, published by C. A. Nelson, *AfP* 42 (1996), pp. 73–74, no. 7 (provenance unknown, but most probably from the Theban region on account of the onomastics) where I read Πληγνις Παπκυσ() instead of () παπαίνας of the editor. Another instance of this notation is in the ostraca from the Sethos I temple in Qurna; unpublished, briefly described by Z. Borkowski, ‘Vorläufige Analyse der griechischen Ostraka aus dem Bereich des Sethos-Tempels in Qurna’ [in:] K. Myśliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna* [= *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 57], Mainz am Rhein 1987, pp. 90–93, pl. XVIII, ST 77.1.b (I), col. II, l. 11 as well as ST 77.1.b (II), ll. 5 and 12; pl. XIX, ST 77.1.c (I), l. 1 and 2.

The abbreviated name Πκοι() should be expanded Πκοίλις rather than Πκοίσις. The latter was normally written with E represented (Πεκοίσις/Πεκυσις) whereas the former lacks E in the majority of cases. Πκοίλις is a graphic variant of the more common Πκυλις. For the name Πκυλις (Πκοίλις), see *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 279. It transcribes the Egyptian *p³ gl* or *p³ gl* = ‘the stranger’.

Chollos son of Pasemis, here an ordinary member of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, occurs in **169**, l. 4, several years after the present inscription, as an official of the corporation. Without being popular, the name Χολλῶς is well documented in Egyptian sources; cf. *P. Nag. Hamm.* 44, fr. B 7; *SB* V 7698, 1 (from Lykopolis); *O. Amst.* 80, 6 (from the Theban region); *O. Bodl.* II 1765, 4; *O. Bodl.* II 1766, 6; *O. Theb.* 136, 12 (all three attestations originate from the Theban area and refer to the same man).

The name of Chollos’ father should read Πασήμιος (as in **169**, l. 4). Πασήμις is either a syntactic phenomenon (indeclinable patronymic, a phenomenon frequently encountered in Greek texts from Egypt; for that, see commentary to **135**) or a phonetic one (a syncope that occurs very often in the -ιος endings in post-Classical Greek; see Cl. Brixhe, *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère*², Nancy 1987, pp. 49–50).

Πασήμις, from the Egyptian *p³ dmc* (*Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 432–433) in which the second element is a theophoric one, is a Memnonean name *par excellence*, since *dmc* was a patron god of Memnoneia and after him at least part of the Memnoneia around the temple of Medinet Habu was called Djeme in Demotic and Coptic sources; cf. Bataille, *Memnonia*, pp. 97–98.

6. The name Πεσοῦρις means literally ‘the Syrian.’ For names of peoples as personal names in Greco-Roman Egypt, see generally J. K. Winnicki, ‘Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten’ [in:] A. M. F. W. Verhoogt, S. P. Vleming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman* [= *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 30], Leiden

– Boston – Köln 1998, pp. 171–177. For the name *Πεσοῦρις* and its various notations, see particularly *P.Heid.* VIII, p. 258.

The name *Φθόϊ* has not been hitherto corroborated, however, similar names are known: *Φθάῦς*, *Φθειός*, *Φθειοῦς*, *Φθεύς*; for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.v. All these names and also *Πταῦς* transcribe the Egyptian *p³ ḏw* = ‘the young bird, the young animal’ (meaning depends on the determinative); cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 347. However, it is entirely possible that the incurved line following *Φ* is not the letter *I* but an abbreviation sign. In this case, the name of Pesouris’ father could, e.g., be read *Φθο(μῶνθου)*.

Plenis son of Pkylis mentioned in this line is additionally designated by his grandfather’s name, perhaps in order to distinguish him from another Plenis son of Pkylis who was mentioned in the preceding line.

Πεκοῖσις stands for *Πεκῦσις* under a simple shift of *Y* to *OI* for which see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 198–199. The spelling *Πεκοῖσις* is common. It occurs, among others, in *P. Bas.* 2 17; *P. Mich.* VI 396.11; *SB* XII 11252, 2, 25; *SB* XVIII 13933, 3; *SPP* X 153. The name *Πεκῦσις* is a transcription of the Egyptian *p³ ikš* = ‘Nubian;’ for this name, see *Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 160–161; J. Vergote, *Les noms propres du P. Bruxelles inv. E.7616, Essai d’interprétation [= Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 7]*, Leiden 1954, p. 14, l. 73; J. K. Winnicki, ‘Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten’ [in:] A. M. F. W. Verhoogt, S. P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman [= Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 30]*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, pp. 171–177.

A proper expanding of the abbreviated name *Κουελ()* is difficult to establish. The name *Κουελωλ()* occurs in Thebes (*SB* XIV 11738, 1; palaeographically, 3rd cent. AD), a certain *Κουαλι* appears in the account of expenditures from Hermonthis (*P.Lips.* I 97, VIII, 17, cf. *apparatus* on p. 281; AD 338), while *P.Lond.* I 125, pp. 192–194, r^o 14 (4th cent. AD), also from Hermonthis, contains the name *Κουαλαμαντι*. The latter two names are in the dative case. The names may derive from the Egyptian word meaning ‘pot;’ cf. G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971), p. 51, commentary to no. 18.

7. Pesouris son of Lolous is mentioned as an ordinary member of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis also in **169**, l. 7.

The name *Λολοῦς* comes from the Egyptian word meaning ‘young man, lad;’ see Spiegelberg, *Eigennamen*, p. 19, s.v. *ΛΟΥΛΟΥΤΟΣ*; W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 141; G. Vittmann, *Enchoria* 24 (1997/1998), p. 98. It is typical of the onomastics of the Theban West Bank; it appears among others in inscriptions from the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, below, **268** and **269** (most probably the same man).

γραμματεὺς τῶν πλήθου cannot be considered as an error, since the author of the inscription evidently treated *πλήθος* as a plural; see commentary to ll. 3–4.

8. The reading *Στρώτου* appears to be certain (after revision). The name *Στρώτης* seems not to have been hitherto attested. It is tantamount to the substantive *στρώτης* = ‘one that spreads,’ especially ‘one that gets ready the beds and dinner couches.’ Didymos son of Strotos also occurs in **173**, l. 9.

ὀνηλάτου is probably a simple misspelling for *ὀνηλάτης*. The name of the *onelates*, *Πλήνις*, is a transcription of the Egyptian *p³ ljn* = ‘smith’ (cf. commentary to **16**), an amusing coincidence in the light of his ties with the corporation of *siderourgoi* from Hermonthis. In *P.Lips.* I 97, VIII, 20–21 and XVI, 1–2 (account of expenditures from Hermonthis, AD 338)

there appears one Πλήνις Πεκύσιος ὄνοτρόφος. It would be very attractive to identify him with our Πλήνις ὀνηλάτης, but the problem cannot be resolved conclusively, because of the huge popularity of the name Πλήνις in the Hermonthis region.

In all likelihood, αὐτός is used here in the sense of οὗτος and refers to Plenis, the donkey-keeper. For this sense of αὐτός, which became popular in NT Greek and is standard in modern Greek, see E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, München 1953, p. 614; Blass/Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 277, 3–4.

It is not easy to determine the exact meaning of the expression ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ. In the language of papyri, ἔμπροσθεν in its locative aspect has purely topographical meaning, which in our case would give something along the lines of ‘in front of the god’s statue, in front of the god’s altar.’ It is possible, however, that the word ἔμπροσθεν was used here in a somewhat metaphoric sense, well attested in Biblical Greek, especially when a legal aspect is meant (cf. e.g. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin – New York 1971, s.v. ἔμπροσθεν), in which case it could be rendered as ‘in the presence of the god.’ The above distinction is not without consequences for the interpretation of the inscription in religious terms, see above p. 100.

9. In *proskynema*-type inscriptions, the expression τὸ προσκύνημα ποιεῖν usually means ‘to write the text of an inscription, known in turn as a *proskynema*, on a wall or a stele;’ cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 61 (1971), pp. 17–18. In our case, in the expression οἱ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα ἐποίησαν, the word προσκύνημα must have had another meaning, since the inscription was made not by all those taking part in the visit, but by one man, probably the corporation secretary. *Proskynema* would then denote a purely religious act: adoration of a god, prayer or something of the sort.

169. Niche D, south wall, 127 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche, 90 cm above the floor, on the throne of Thutmosis III, above **168**. Dimensions: 26.5 x 13 cm; h. of letters: 0.2 cm (*omikron*) – 1.1 cm (*rbo*). Red ochre, very poorly preserved. The entire central part of the text containing the names of the *siderourgoi* is practically illegible. Cursive hand, most probably that of Hatres son Horion, the scribe of the corporation. As in the case of the foregoing inscription, the writer must have been sitting directly on the floor of the niche or on a little stool (or stone?) My own experience from copying the text confirms this observation.

A. Łajtar, ‘Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th cent. A.D.,’ *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 59–60, no. 2 with facsimile (*SEG* XLI 1613; *SB* XX 14509).

Cf. J.-M. Carrié, *Ant. Tard.* 7 (1999), p. 349 (review of Łajtar’s publication).

The inscription should be dated quite broadly in all likelihood, between 27 December AD 333, and 26 January AD 334, and more specifically 27–28 December AD 333.

ΣΗΜΕΙ ΙΚΤ ΙΑ ΣΤΥΡ Γ
 ΘΥΕΠΤΜΥΘΑ ΟΥ
 Ι ΙΘΟΣ ΥΡ ΕΡΛ ΘΕΩ
 ΑΤΟΚΑΤΟΝΟΜΑ Ι ΧΟΛΛΩΣ ΠΑ ΣΗΜΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙ
 ΒΥΡ

ΕΣΟΥΡΙΣ ΟΛΟΥΤΟΣ ΝΕ
 ΚΡ ΜΕΓΩΙ ΥΝ
 ΚΥΠΤΗΝ ΥΡΙΟ ΣΘ ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΥΑΤ ΕΣΤΟΝ ΡΟΣ ΚΥΡΗΛΗ ΥΔΤΩΚΕ ΥΤ
 ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ

ss// νεὰς ἰ[νδ]ικτί[ο]ν[ο]ς, Τῦβ[ι] . γ[ενόμε]-
 θα ἐνταῦθα [- - - - -]ΟΝ
 [. . . .] . [. . . .] πλ[η]θος [σιδηρο]υρ[γῶν] Ἑρμ[ών]θεως
 4 [ὦ]ν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α]γέγραπται). Χολλῶς Πα[σ]ήμιος ἀρχι(),
 β̄ ἀρχι() [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Π .
 [καὶ Π]εσοῦρις [Α]ολούτος [. . . .]C[. . . .]ΝΕΘΑ[. . . .]ΥΠ[.]
 8 ΚΡ[- - -] καὶ Πλ[η]νίς Πκού[λ]ιος Δ[.]ΑΙΟΥ[.]
 καὶ Ἀτρῆ[ς] Ὠρίο[νο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους γραμματε[ύ]ς. α]ὐτ[ὸ]ς καὶ
 ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] Υ[. . .]ΑΤΩΝ Ε[. . . .] ἐποίησαν (?)
 ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ].

1. read ἰνδικτίωνος || 1-2. read ἐγενόμεθα || 8. Π()πκού(σ)ς Εajtar, JJP 21, read Πκούλιος ||
 9. read Ὠρίωνος

Sixth new indiction, Tybi [- - -]. We have come here [- - -] (we) the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, who are listed below: Chollos son of Pasemis archi(), second archi() [- - - and] Pesouris son of Lolous [- - -] and Plenis son of Pkylis [- - -] and Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes secretary. He [- - -] and all (members of the ceremony) [made] the proskynema in front of the god.

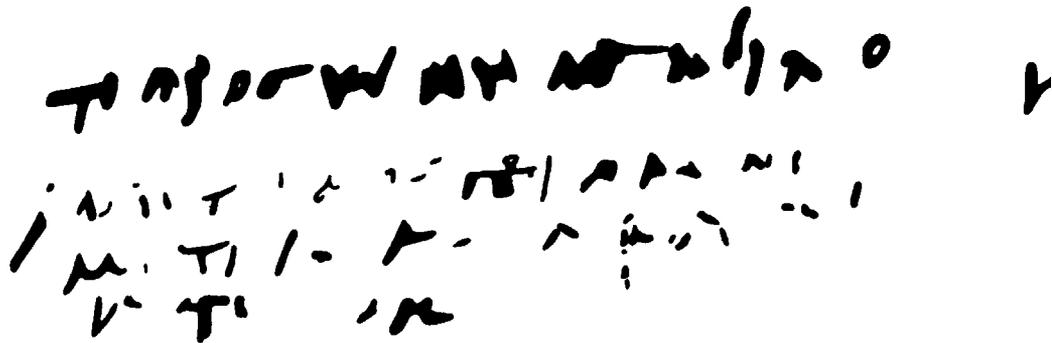
1. The expression νεὰ ἰνδικτίων used here as the only means of dating must refer to the sixth indiction within the recently commenced indictional cycle. This would suggest a date prior to AD 347, around which time the expression began to refer to the coming indiction within the cycle; cf. Bagnall/Worp, *Chronological Systems*, p. 34. The sixth new indiction would therefore be part of either the 327-342 or 342-357 cycle. The first possibility seems much more probable in connection with other inscriptions in the *siderourgoi* dossier, giving us the date: 27 December AD 333 - 26 January AD 334. If so, then our inscription is one of the oldest known instances of the expression νεὰ ἰνδικτίων.
4. The first ἀρχι(), Χολλῶς Πασήμιος was an ordinary member of the corporation of *siderourgoi* during the visit of AD 324; see **168**, l. 5.

- 7. Πεσοῦρις Λολοῦτος also appears in **168**, l. 7.
- 8. Πλήγης Πκύλιος also occurs in **168**, l. 6.
- 9–11. In the list of *siderourgoi*, Hatres son of Horion was probably mentioned last; l. 10 already contains the concluding formula present in **168**. It is therefore very likely that Hatres was the one offering the sacrifice. The last two lines should then be supplemented as follows: Ἀτρῆ[ς] Ὠριό[νο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους γραμματε[ύς. α]ὕτ[ος] ἔθυσεν (?) καί] ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα] Υ[. . .] ΑΤΩΝΕ[. . .] ἐποίησαν (?)] ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ]. The inscription appears to have ended with τοῦ θεοῦ, as that is where the vividly coloured *sematawy* emblem on the throne of Thutmosis III begins, excluding any continuation of the inscription. Neither is there any trace of the inscription continuing below line 11.

170. Niche D, north wall, 29.5 cm from the northwestern corner of the niche, 169 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks. The first line of the inscription is on the *pet*-sign bordering the relief scene at the top, the remaining ones on a smooth part of wall between the *pet*-sign and the wings of the hawk protecting the king. Dimensions: 23.7 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.1 cm (*rho*). Red-brown ochre. Only line 1 is well visible, lines 2–3 are largely concealed under a mud coating.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα Νειλ[.]ο[. . .]
 - - - - ΠΑΡΑΜ[.] . . [- - -]
 Μ. Τ. - - - - -

4 - - - - -

Proskynema of Neil[---].

- 1. Possibly Νειλ[έ]ο[ς] (for Νειλέως).
- 2. The reading - - - παρ' Ἀμ[ε]νώ[θου] can be considered.

171. Niche D, north wall, 66 cm from the northwestern corner of the niche, 167.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the *pet*-sign bordering the relief scene at the top, immediately to the right of **170**. Dimensions: 27 x 2.4 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*sigma*) – 2.1 cm (*phi*). Claret-coloured ochre, well preserved. Large epigraphic hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 102.

Roman period.

ΠΛΗΝΙΣ ΠΑΣΗΜΙΟΣ

Πλήνις Πασήμιος

Πασήμιος Bataille

Plenis son of Pasemis.

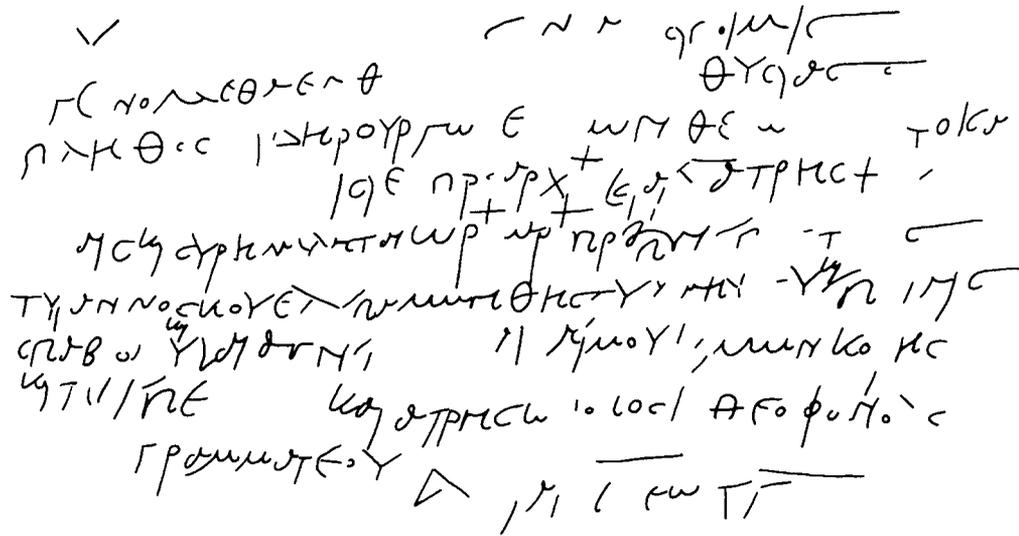
Several homonyms are on record in sources originating from southern Egypt; cf. Zucker, *Von Debod bis Bab Kalbscheb*, p. 124, no. 356, l. 5 (Kertassi, 3rd cent. AD); *P.Lond.* 125, 1, 15 (Hermonthis, 4th cent. AD); *O.Amst.* 77, 2 (Thebaid ?, 2nd–3rd cent. AD); *O.Stras.* 635, 2 (Thebaid, 2nd cent. AD). In view of the popularity of both names in the Theban area, it would be too far fetched indeed to identify any of these men with the author of our inscription.

172. Niche D, north wall, 33.5 cm from the northwestern corner of the niche, 130 cm above the floor, on an undecorated fragment of wall between the head of Thutmosis II and the list of sacrifices offered to him. Dimensions: 27.5 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*rbo*). Dark red ochre, very faded. Cursive hand, most probably that of Hatres son Horion, the scribe of the corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original upon inspection in January 2002. To the right of this inscription, slightly above it, is the inscription **171**, with regard to which Bataille noted in his commentary (p. 70): ‘Deux morceaux de la même paroi Nord de cette niche ont été retrouvés en 1938 sous le sol, qu’ils avaient défoncé en tombant. Il portent des proscynèmes à l’ocre très effacés.’ It is probable that he had in mind the present inscription and the next one.

A. Łajtar, ‘Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence for Pagan Cults in Egypt in the fourth cent. A.D.,’ *JJP* 21 (1991), pp. 61–63, no. 4 with facsimile (*SEG* XLI 1615; *SB* XX 14511).

Cf. J.-M. Carrié, *Ant. Tard.* 7 (1999), p. 349 (review of Łajtar’s article).

Second quarter of the 4th cent. AD.



- Υ[.]C[.]N[.]M[.]CΙΠΟΙΜΙC
γενόμεθα ἐνθ[αῦθα] θυσίας ὄ[νον]
πλήθος [σ]ιδηρουργῶ[ν] Ἐ[ρμ]ώνθεω[ς ὦν] τὸ κα[τ]
4 [ὄνομα δια(γέγραπται)]ICIE[.]IP . ἀρχι(), β ἀρχι() Ἄτρῆς Ψ[- - -]
[. . .]αῖς καὶ CYPHM ΛΗΤΑΙ Ὠρί(ων) Ὠρί(ωνος) πρ(εσβύτερος), Πλ(ῆνις) υ(εώτερος) Π[. .]τ[. .]s,
Τύραννος Κουελ(), Παμώνθης Τυράννου καὶ Πλ(ῆνις)Ψαῖς
{c} Παβώτ[ο]υ καὶ ΑΙΑ Ν[.]ΑΙ[.]ασίμου καὶ Μωνκο[ρ]ῆς [. .]ου
8 καὶ . . () Πελέα καὶ Ἄτρῆς Ὠ[ρ]ίονος τ[οῦ] Θεοφάνους
^{υυ}γραμματεούς . . Α . . ΕΩΤΓ

2. read ἐγενόμεθα | read ἐνταῦθα || 5. IP . Π()N() Λajtar, JJP 21 || 6. Παμώνθης . Υ[. .]
MHY[. .]Υ Λajtar, JJP 21 | Π[ε]ταῖς Λajtar, JJP 21 || 7. read Μονκορῆς | [. .]ου not in Λajtar,
JJP 21 || 8. T . . ΠΕ[.] Λajtar, JJP 21 | read Ὠρίωνος || 9. read γραμματεῦς

[- - -] we have come here [- - -] of offering a donkey, (we) the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis who are listed below: [- - -] archi(), second archi() Hatres son of Ps[- - -] and [- - -] Horion son of Horion the older, Plenis the younger son of P[. .]t[. .]s, Tyrannos son of Kouel(), Pamonthes son of Tyrannos and Plenis son of Psais son of Pabotes and [- - -] son of [- - -] asimos and Monkores son of [- - -] and [- - -] son of Peleas and Hatres son Horion son of Theophanes secretary [- - -].

1. This line is almost completely obliterated. By analogy to **163**, **168** and **169**, one can assume it contained a date, but nothing can be read from the remnants. The date could have occurred also in l. 9, where horizontal lines above the traces of letters suggest numerals.
- 4-5. It seems that only two ἀρχι() were mentioned in the inscription. The name of the first is illegible, the second was Ἄτρῆς, Ψ doubtless being the first letter of his patronymic which ended in l. 4. At the beginning of l. 5 we find [. . .]αῖς, most probably the

ending of some name, and *καὶ* suggesting that this is a list of the ordinary members of the corporation, which would then leave no place for the phrase $\bar{\gamma}$ ἀρχι().

Twice the name Ὠρίων was abbreviated by raising the *iota* and crossing it with a horizontal bar, just as in ἀρχι(); see commentary to **168**, l. 4.

6. Τύραννος Κουελ() may have been the son of Κουελ(), who took part in the visit of AD 324; however, the reading Τύραννος, Κουελ() cannot be excluded. For the name Κουελ(), see commentary to **168**, l. 6. Τύραννος Κουελ() could have been the father of Παμώνθης Τυράννου. Father and son would have been mentioned next to one another.
7. The reading Παβώτ[ο]ν is certain; Παβώτ[ο]ς cannot be read. We are dealing here with a metaplasm of the name Παβῶς, Παβῶτος from the third to the second declension: Παβώτης, Παβώτου. The same occurs in *PBon.* 28, 2, 4.

]ΑCΙΜΟΥ is the end of a name like Ὀνάσιμος, Γεράσιμος, Κολλάσιμος etc. in the genitive, suggesting that we are dealing with the patronymic of a man whose name followed *καί*.

For the name Μωνκορής (= Μονκορής), see commentary to **93**, l. 11. Pamonthes son of Monkores, a smith, is the author of a Demotic dedication to Montu from the early Imperial period, originating probably from Hermonthis; W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Denkmäler*, III. *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri*, [= *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*], Berlin 1932, pp. 18–19, no. 50046).

9. The spelling γραμματεούς indicates that the original diphthong *EY* was not considered as such in the language of the scribe of the inscription. For the spelling *EOY* instead of *EY*, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 230–231.

Having recorded the name of the corporation scribe, Hatres son of Horion, known from other *siderourgoi* inscriptions, the text ends with several undecipherable signs. It should be assumed that the ending here differed from that of **163**, **168** and **169**, with no mention being made of the sacrifice of a donkey or the making of a *proskynema*.

173. Niche D, north wall, 41 cm from the northwestern corner of the niche, 72 cm above the floor, on the base of the throne of Thutmosis III (in exactly the same position as **168** on the opposite wall). No dimensions recorded, no copy. Red ochre, very faded. The stone is broken diagonally to the left and the entire left-hand side of the text is lost. The hand resembles very much that of Hatres son of Horion son of Theophanes.

Unpublished.

Second quarter of the 4th cent. AD.

[- - -] - - - - - ΔΙ - - - - -
 [- - -] ἐγενόμ[εθ]α ἐναταύθηα - - - - -
 [- - -] πλήθος σιδηρουργῶ Ἐρμώνθεως - - - - -
 4 [- - -] δια(γέγραπται)· Εὐα . . . ἀρχι . . . (), β̄ ἀρχι()
 [- - -] - - - - -
 [- - -] - - - - - Πασήμις - - - - -

8 [- - -] - - - - -
 [- - -] - - - APT - - - Τύραν[ν - - -] - - -
 [- - -] - - - - - - - - - και Δίδυμος Στρώτου - - - - -

3. read σιδηρουργῶν

8. Τύραν[ος or Τυράννου. The name Τύραννος occurs repeatedly in the *siderourgoi* dossier; cf. commentary to **167**, l. 7.
9. Δίδυμος Στρώτου occurs also in **168**, l. 8.

174. Niche H, ceiling (190 cm above the floor) which still preserves blue paint in imitation of the sky (although the yellow stars originally painted on it have disappeared completely). Parts (a) and (b) are 97 and 83.5 cm respectively from the east wall of the niche. The script runs from south to north, both parts start at a distance of 28 cm from the south wall of the niche. Dimensions of part (a): 13 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 3 cm (*alpha*). Dimensions of part (b): 38 x 5 cm; h. of letters: 2.2 cm (*omikron*) – 4.5 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, quite well preserved in part (a) and contrasting with the blue paint of the ceiling; very faded in part (b). The two parts seem to have been written by different hands; even so, (b) is definitely a continuation of (a). Note a vertical stroke at the end of l. 4, marking the end of (a). The stone with the inscription was put in its original position during reconstruction work in the 1960s/1970s. Its location in Ptolemaic and Roman times is unknown. It is possible that it was already in a secondary context at the time and the author(s) of our inscription had inscribed a loose-lying block instead of one still in the ceiling.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΚΥΝΗΜΑ

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΚΥΝΗΜΑ

(a)

τὸ προσ-
 κύνημα

4 . ΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ
ΔΟÇ-

(b)

καὶ Ἑρμοδώρου.

Proskynema of [---] and of Hermodoros.

3-4. I have no idea how to read these lines. After τὸ προσκύνημα one would expect the name of the *proskynema* author. It should have taken up both lines, because the ΔΟÇ in l. 4 would be inexplicable, if the name were confined to just l. 3. Providing this observation is correct, the name would read εσποτοῦς, gen. εσποτοῦτος with T changed for Δ, for which see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 80-83. As far as I know, no such name has been attested so far; however, the name Σποτοῦς, gen. Σποτοῦτος, is well known and attested mainly, if not exclusively, in the Theban region.

175. Niche H, south wall, 51.5 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche, 154 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the list of offerings before the enthroned figure of Thutmosis II. Dimensions: 7 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron*) – 0.9 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, very faded. The inscription occupies a single vertical register of the hieroglyphic inscription. The text printed below is the effect of my revised reading of the original upon inspection in January 2002. To the right of the present inscription, traces of another dipinto, done in another hand and slightly lighter ochre.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[τὸ πρ]οσ-
[κύ]νημα
[.]...οτης
4ντ[ο]ς
ΚΑ[.] Ε. Ç
ΜΕ Ν. Ç
[.]...[.]... Ç
8 [.] ΠΡΟÇ
ΤΑΙΜ [.]

Handwritten text in black ink, likely a transcription of the inscription. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The characters include Greek letters like Η, Μ, Ν, Τ, Σ, Ε, Κ, Α, Π, Ρ, Ο, Δ, and some symbols that look like stylized letters or signs. The text is somewhat difficult to decipher due to its cursive and possibly non-standard nature.

Proskynema of [....]otes son of[.....]n [---].

176. Niche H, south wall, 120.5 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche, 127.5 cm above the floor, on a smooth part of the wall in front of the head of an enthroned figure of Thutmosis II. Dimensions: 17 x 16.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*rho*). Red ochre. The inscription was executed on a thin layer of whitewash once covering the walls of the niche; the part of the inscription in the middle has been lost due to peeling.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[τὸ] προσκύνημα
Ἄρποχράς
4 . [.] . ΩΝ . [.] . [- - -]
[- - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - -]
8 [ca. 2-3] O . [- - - -]
[- - - - - - - -]
[- - -] . [. . .] .
[- - -] . αὐτοῦ.

προσκύνημα
Ἄρποχράς
ΩΝ
O

ΩΝ
O

Proskynema of Harpochras [- - -] *bis* [- - -].

3. Perhaps Π[α]μώνθ[ο]υ or, less probably, Φ[θo]μώνθ[ο]υ.

177. 263 cm to the south of the Ptolemaic portico, 82 cm above the floor, second course of blocks, on a plain part of the wall under the dado. Dimensions: 8.3 x 6.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*tau*) – 6.5 cm (*rho*). Deep and very well visible graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα).

The inscription is complete as it stands, unless the rest of it was not carved, but painted and has consequently faded completely in the sun.

178. 160 cm to the south of the Ptolemaic portico, 225 cm above the floor, on the right leg of Thutmosis III still preserving the original dark red paint. Dimensions: 20.5 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 5.2 cm (*rho*). Delicate graffito, but well visible because of the depth of the carving, which brings out the whiteness of the limestone, thus contrasting sharply with the red paint of the decoration. Numerous Demotic graffiti can be seen on the left leg of the king.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

AĒPE
AM
 ἀπὸ
 4 Ἰσιδίου
 [᾽Ο]ρου[s].



4–5. The reading [᾽Ο]ρου[s] is not quite obvious from the palaeographic point of view, but is assured by the context. The village Ἰσιδίου Ὀρος of the Hermonthean nome is on record in *O. Theb.* 141, 2 (Memnoneia, 2nd cent. AD); *P. Lips.* I 97, XI, 20; XXI, 2; XXV, 24; XXVII, 4; XXVIII 4; XXXIV, 4 (Hermonthis, AD 338); *P. Lond.* I 125, 2, 32 (Hermonthis, first half of the 4th cent. AD).

The scratches under l. 5 presumably do not belong to this inscription.

SECTION XII PTOLEMAIC PORTICO

Fragments of the Ptolemaic portico, also bearing Greek inscriptions (cf. **185** and **208**), were discovered during excavations on the site of the Thutmose III temple carried out in the early 1960s, in the first years of Polish activity in Deir el-Bahari. These and other fragments known from earlier work and kept in lapidaries were restored to their original position during a reconstruction of the Ptolemaic portico undertaken by the Polish Mission in the mid 1960s under the supervision of W. Kołataj; for the reconstruction work, see reports by L. Dąbrowski, *ASAE* 58 (1964), pp. 17–18; idem, *ASAE* 60 (1968), p. 133, pl. 1. The position of some pieces, mainly fragments of lotus capitals, could not be established and they are stored loose in the lapidaries.

Originally, visitors inscriptions executed mostly in a variety of ochre shades must have covered densely the Ptolemaic portico. The inscriptions were either in Demotic or in Greek. They covered chiefly the inner faces of the south and the north parts of the portico with a preponderance of them on the cornice surmounting the walls between columns. This is understandable for two reasons: 1) only the inner faces of both walls were polished providing an appropriate surface for writing (cf. above, p. 33); 2) the inner faces are oriented to the main axis leading to the sanctuary. Strangely enough, traces of inscriptions are found on the external faces of both walls, which are only roughly dressed and hardly suitable for writing. Inscriptions can be seen also on the columns, both on the drums and the capitals, the latter being situated approximately 4 m above the floor. Only the inscriptions on the inner faces, particularly on the northern face of the south wall, had a chance to be preserved in readable state thanks to being constantly in the shade. Those on the outside southern face of the south wall and on the columns have faded almost entirely, being exposed to the sun everyday until the late afternoon hours.

179. South side, entrance, engaged column facing southeast, 147 cm above the base, fourth course of blocks. Dimensions: 18.8 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*delta*) – 2.7 cm (*epsilon*). Quite deep graffito. To the left of the present inscription, on two neighbouring blocks of the second and third courses, a large *tabula ansata* with illegible traces of an inscription in red ochre is visible. A Demotic inscription in brown-red ochre is found on the lotus capital surmounting the column. To the right of the present inscription, 2 cm to the right of the *torus*, 149 cm above the base, there are traces of a graffito scratched with a piece of flint. The right-hand part of the graffito is covered by soot from a lamp that had stood in a hole in the block in Coptic times. I read: [- - -] . [- - -] | [- - -] *APK* . [- - -] .

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[τὸ προ]σκύνημα
 . [. . .]τος ὦδε . . .
 Μ.

Proskynema of [---]s in this place [---].

2. The name of the *proskynema* author started with a round letter as suggested by a trace immediately before the lacuna. Possibly we should read Ὀ[κταιᾶ]τος. A certain Oktaias left his inscription on the north entrance pillar, below, **234**. The hands of both graffiti are not unsimilar.

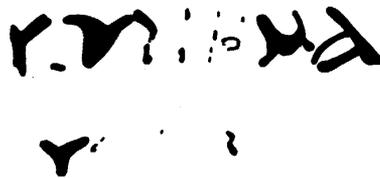
ὦδε is frequent in Egyptian visitors inscriptions. It implies the presence of the writer in the very place where he was writing; cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), pp. 39–40.

It is not quite clear, whether the signs after ὦδε belong to this inscription.

180. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing west, on a fragmentarily preserved block with horizontal *torus*, 325 cm above the floor, immediately under the *torus*. Dimensions: 7 x 3 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*upsilon*) – 1.2 cm (*alpha*). Red ochre.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[τὸ προσ]κύνημα
 [- - -]Υ . . . [- - -]

181. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing north, on the cornice of the pillar, at the top of the cornice, 374 cm above the floor (35 cm above the *torus*, which marks the lower border of the cornice), at right angles to **180**, on the same face as **182–184**. Dimensions: 36.4 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*chi*). Light-red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 103.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 230, no. 103 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

[- - - - -] . [.] N [- - - - -]
 [- - -] Ἀμενώθου καὶ Ἀσκ[ληπ]ιο[ῦ]
 [θεῶν μεγ]ίστων καὶ Τ[. .] [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Χοίακ [.] . [- - - -]

Bataille copied only ll. 2-3 || 2. Ἀσκ[ληπιοῦ] Bataille || 3. καὶ τ[ῶν συννάων θεῶν] suppl. Bataille

[- - - for] *Amenothes and Asklepios, the greatest gods, and [- - -] Choiak [- - -]*.

1-2. Before the names of the gods one would expect τὸ προσκύνημα and the name(s) of the *proskynema* author.

182. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing north, under **181**, on the *torus* marking the lower border of the cornice. Dimensions: 15 x 4 cm. Red ochre, very faded. The inscription is no longer decipherable. The copy and the reading are those of Bataille.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 104.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 231, no. 104 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

[- - - παρ]ὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[. .] . [- - -]
 [- - - - -] ΥΚ[. . . .] . C . P . C . [- - -]

[- - -] before the Lord A[- - -]

183. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing north, under **181** and to the right of **182**, 330 cm above the floor, ll. 1–2 on the *torus*, ll. 3–5 beneath it. Dimensions: 55 x 16.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron* in l. 5) – 3.5 cm (*kappa* in l. 4). Violet ochre, quite well preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 105.

Roman period, possibly mid 2nd cent. AD (cf. commentary to l. 3).

τὸ π[προσκύνημα]

Πετεχε[ν]ποχρ[ά]τ[ου]ς [κ]αὶ

Ἄρποκράτος καὶ Τιτιανοῦ καὶ

4 Διδύμης τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τού-
των τέκνα [κ]αὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν.

1. τὸ π[προσκύνημα τοῦ] Bataille; he notes that Milne was still able to read τὸ προσκύν[ημα] ||
2. Πετεχενποχράτος Bataille || 4–5. κα[ὶ] | τῶν τέκνα Bataille, read τέκνων

Proskynema of Petechenpochrates and Harpokrates and Titianos and Didyme, his children, and of their children and of their families.

- 1–2. The reading: τὸ π[προσκύνημα τοῦ δείνου τοῦ] | Πετεχε[ν]ποχρ[ά]τ[ου]ς is not to be excluded. The space at the end of line 1 is apparently big enough to reconstruct a personal name.
2. The reading Πετεχε[ν]ποχρ[ά]τ[ου]ς (with *N* and not with *C*) relies on the authority of Bataille. Πετεχενποχράτης (Πετεχεσποχράτης) belongs to the onomastic repertoire of Thebes and the Theban region. It is a theophoric name built with the name of Chonsu, the young god of the Theban triad, being a transcription of the Egyptian *p³ di-Hnsu-p³-hrd* = ‘Gift of Chonsu the child;’ cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 338; Katelijn Vandorpe [in:] *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 215 and 229.
3. One of the sons of Petechenpochrates bore the Roman cognomen Titianus as his personal name. This name was possibly chosen for him after Titus Flavius Titianus, the prefect of Egypt between AD 126 and 133; for him, see P. Bureth [in:] *ANRW* II 10, 1 [1988], pp. 483–484 with addenda by G. Bastianini [in:] *ANRW* II 10, 1 [1988], p. 508. If so, the inscription is to be dated to the mid 2nd cent. AD at the very earliest.

184. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing north, immediately under **183**, 320 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 34.2 x 10.8 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*alpha* in l. 3) – 2.6 cm (*kappa* in l. 1). Red ochre, badly faded. Ll. 2–4 have long horizontal dashes filling the empty space before the right margin.

Unpublished; mentioned by Bataille, *Inscriptions*, p. 73, commentary to his no. 105 (here **183**).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα Παμώνθη[ς]
 Παμῆς παρ' Ἀμενώθου
 [. .] . [.] . σ . . . ΚΑΘΗΜ [. . .]

4 [- - - - -] . . [.] .

2. read Παμήτος

Proskynema of Pamonthes son of Pames before Amenotbes [- - -].

2. For indeclinable patronymics, see commentary to **135**.

Παμῆς is the transcription of the Egyptian *p3 ʿ3m* = 'shepherd,' cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 161.

3. From the palaeographic point of view, the reading [. .] . [.] . σ η ο ς or [. .] . [.] . σ ι ω ς appears to be most justified at the beginning of the line. What follows may be read as either καθ' ἡμέ[ραν] or καθ' ἡμέ[ρος] (or a *casus abliquus*), and the first possibility seems to be much more probable. Provided it is applicable here, Pamonthes son of Pames left his *proskynema* after coming day by day to the temple in Deir el-Bahari, possibly in fulfilment of some healing procedures prescribed by Amenhotep. In the light of the above reasoning, the following reading should be taken under consideration: [(παρα)γεν]όμενος καθ' ἡμέ[ραν].

185. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing west, on the cornice surmounting the pillar, at the top of it, 374 cm above the floor (144 cm above the cornice of the portico), at right angles to **182–184**. The western face of the cornice is broken obliquely at the top and the broken part is largely lost. A fragment of it (upper right-hand corner) was excavated at the site of the Thutmose III temple and restored to its original place during the reconstruction work carried out by the Polish Mission in the mid 1960s. Dimensions: 67.5 x 17 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron* in l. 6) – 6.9 cm

(iota at the end of l. 2). Dark red ochre, well preserved in the 'new' fragment, very faded in the 'old.' Semi-cursive hand, nice and skilful. Note three points over the initial Y in *υίος*. On the same block as 185 and under it, 186–193 stand side by side. All were probably executed by persons standing on the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico, otherwise the stone would have been accessible only from a ladder set up inside the portico.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 106 + 106 bis, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position).

Roman period.



[- - - - -] - - -
 [- - - - -] . . . Ἰσιδώρου υἱοῦ καὶ
 [- - - - -] ἐπιλεγομένο(υ) Πεμλοκ
 4 [- - - - -] . [- - - - -] ΘΟ . [- - -] ἡς Σιβιριλλίτος
 [. .] ΤΙ . . [. .] . ΤΟC καὶ τῶν φιλοῦντων [.] καὶ Σ . . [.] .
 καὶ Πλήμιος Ἀπολλωνίδου Σένθωρ κα[ὶ τῆς μ]ητρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 106 correspond to l. 6 and no. 106 bis to l. 5 of the present edition, ll. 1–4 were unknown to Bataille || 5. Bataille read only φιλοῦντων || 6. Ἀρπαγάθης Bataille (instead of καὶ Πλήμιος)

[- - - and] of Isidoros, a son, and [of - - -] also called Pemlok [and of - - -] Sibirillis
 [- - -] and of those whom I love [- - -] and [- - -] and of Plenis son of Apollonides,
 his mother is Senthor, and of his mother.

3. As far as I can see, the name Πεμλοκ has not been attested thus far and its etymology is not quite clear. One is tempted to recognise the Egyptian article of the masculine *p³* in the initial Πε-. What follows could be connected with the Coptic stem *mλδϩ* = 'battle, battle array, quarrel,' having the collective *mλδϩ* = 'troops and arms.' Another possibility is to combine it with the Coptic *mλδϩ*, the name of the planet Mars. The name of the planet Mars was productive in Demotic onomastics; cf. J. K. Winnicki, 'Hartysis und Ares (Planet Mars) als Personennamen im griechisch-römischen Ägypten' [in:] *Acta Demotica. Acts of Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993* [= *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994)], pp. 321–325.

4. E.g. [καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς] Σιβιριλλίτος. The female name Σιβιριλλίς has not been evidenced so far. It is built with the suffix *-ις*, very productive in Greek word-formation, onomastics included; for that see P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, pp. 335–348; Mayser, *Grammatik* I 2, p. 32; L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* I. *Accidence and Word-Formation*, Part I. *The Suffixes*, London 1946, pp. 91–93. It is not quite certain to me which stem this suffix is added to here. Perhaps it is the Greek transcription of the Latin Sever- with the extension *-ιλ(λ)-*, however, it should be Σεβιριλλίς in this case.
6. Πλήνις πρ(εσβύτερος) Ἀπολλωνίδου occurs in *O.Erem* 10 (Hermonthis, AD 161–180).
The name Σένθωρ has not been attested elsewhere so far. It is a female name and belonged to the mother of Plenis rather than to the mother of Apollonides. The word *μητρὸς*, to be expected here, was omitted perhaps for reasons of style.

186. On the same block as **185** and **187–193**, immediately under **185**, 370 cm above the floor (140 cm above the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico); the last letters of l. 4 are covered by the first letters of **187**. Dimensions: 46 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*epsilon* in line 1) – 3.4 cm (*upsilon* at the end of l. 3). Dark red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 107, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position). A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 181], Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 99.

12 October AD 82.

K[α]λλίμαχος .[.] .[.] κίου παραγενόμενος πρώτως
τῆ 15 Φαῶφ[ι] μηνὸς τοῦ β' (ἔτους) αὐτοκράτορος
Κ[αί]σαρος Δομετιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

4 προσέκνησα καὶ [- - -].

1. ακ . μοσ[. .] .[. .] κίου Bataille || 3. read Δομετιανοῦ || 4. lacking in Bataille's edition

Kallimachos son of [---]kios coming for the first time on the 15th (day) of the month Phaophi in the second year of Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus made a proskynema and [---].

1. Something like Δ[ε]υκίου, Δ[ο]υκίου.

The wording *παραγενόμενος πρώτως* is somewhat strange. It presupposes that Kallimachos would return for a second and possibly even more times to the temple at Deir el-Bahari. He may have been sick with an illness that required repeated visits to Amenhotep and Imhotep.

187. On the same block as **185–186** and **188–193**, immediately under **186**, to the left of ll. 1–2 of **189**, 359 cm above the floor (129 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 21.8 x 4.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omega*) – 1.9 cm (*kappa*). Dark-red ochre. The inscription may have extended originally further to the right and its right part was covered later on by **189**.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 108 bis, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position).

Late Ptolemaic (?).

τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν
[ι]δίων πεποί[η]κ[α].

1. Bataille recognised]κλῆς at the end of the line; he noticed that Milne copied τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν [. . .]κ || 2. Bataille read nothing in this line and noted that Milne's copy has: α[. . .]πεπ[. . .]υ[- - -]; one can also consider the reading: τῶν | [παι]δίων

I have made proskynema of my family.

The expression τὸ προσκύνημα ποιῶ belongs to the formulary of private letters and is not very common in acts of worship scratched or painted on the walls of Egyptian cult places, including the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari. It is interesting to observe that the author of the present inscription did not indicate his name and mentioned only members of his family, unless the inscription is incomplete on the right-hand side.

188. On the same block as **185–187** and **189–193**, immediately under **187**, to the left of ll. 2–3 of **189**, 355 cm above the floor (125 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 18.8 x 6.2 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*tau*). Dark-red ochre, much faded. A long oblique stroke after Ω in the name Ἀμμωνᾶτος is accidental. The script rises slightly to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 108 ter, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* I (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII I (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
Ἀμμωνᾶτος.

2. Ἀ[μ]μ[ω]ν[ίου] ? Bataille

Proskynema of Ammonas.

189. On the same block as **185–188** and **191–193**, to the right of **186**, **187** and **188**, 363.5 cm above the floor (133.5 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 42 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*alpha* in l. 1) – 3 cm (*mu* in l. 5). Light-red ochre. Large epigraphic hand, some letters provided with *apices*. The script rises slightly to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 108, 109, 110, 111, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* I (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII I (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position).

2nd–1st cent. BC, probably around 105 BC (cf. commentary).

- Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδου ἱερε[ύς],
 Λυκόφ[ρων Γα]λάτ[ο]υ],
 Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου,
 4 Λέων Γαλάτου,
 Τίμαρχος Ἡρακλείδου.

Bataille read only ll. 1, 3, 4, 5 and considered them to be separate inscriptions, although he noted a certain similarity of the script and the occurrence of the same patronymic Ἡρακλείδου || 1. ἱερεύ[ς] Bataille || 4. Παλάτος Bataille || 5. Τιμάρχων Bataille

Asklepiades son of Herakleides, Lykophron son of Galates, Ptolemaios son of Herakleides, Leon son of Galates, Timarchos son of Herakleides.

The inscription has a symmetrical composition. The names of three men with the patronymic Ἡρακλείδου in ll. 1, 3 and 5 are separated by the mention in ll. 2 and 4 of two men with the patronymic Γαλάτου. In all likelihood, Asklepiades, Ptolemaios and Timarchos were brothers as were, for their part, Lykophron and Leon. The same hand evidently wrote all of the names; it may have been one of the men named in the inscription, perhaps the first-mentioned Asklepiades son of Herakleides.

This inscription is possibly to be connected with *IÉgLouvre 18*: a prayer to Herakles (Chonsu or Montu through *interpretaatio graeca*) written on a stela found in the temple at Medamud (anc. Kerameia), some twenty kilometres north of Luxor (Diospolis Magna). The prayer is in the name of οἱ ἐκ Τουπήων ἱερεῖς (l. 4). The list that follows in ll. 5–17 includes, among others, Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδου (l. 5) and Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου (l. 10), who could be identical with their homonyms from the present inscription, the more so that Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδου is designated here as ἱερεύς, too. The absence of a similar designation after the name of Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου can be explained through simple omission or damage to the inscription in this place. Another possibility is that at the time of writing Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου had not yet become a priest (possibly because he was too young?) Assuming we accept the latter explanation, we can date our inscription to before 105 BC.

Providing the above identification is correct, the discussed inscription could have commemorated a visit to the sanctuary of Deir el-Bahari, paid collectively by the male members of two families, of which one, the family of Herakleides, was connected with the priesthood of the temple of Montu in *Τούφιον* (Tod), ca. 20 kilometres south of Diospolis Magna. Nothing is known of the family of Galates, but they, too, could have resided at *Τούφιον*.

2. The reading Γα]λάτ[ο]υ] is not quite certain, but is secured by the composition of the inscription. The personal name Γαλάτης is common in Egypt. In the Theban area, it is attested also in *O.Bodl. I 214, 2* and *O.Bodl. I 287, 1*.
4. The scribe first wrote Δ in the name of Γαλάτου, then corrected it to T. This mirrors the flotation in pronunciation between the voiced and voiceless dental stop, well attested in the language of Greek papyri from Egypt; see Gignac, *Grammar*, I, pp. 80–83.

190. On the same block as **185–189** and **191–193**, immediately under **188**, to the left of l. 5 of **189** and of **192**, 348 cm above the floor (118 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 26.8 x 4.7 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*omikron*) – 2.4 cm (*rho*). Violet ochre, strongly resembling that of **191**, even though the hand is quite different. The ochre is very faded and the script is smudged.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 112, pl. VII (R. Scholl, *AfP* 36 [1990], p. 41; for the dating of the inscription)

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position). R. Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte* I, Stuttgart 1990, p. 372 (for the occurrence of freedmen in visitors' inscriptions; only mentioned). idem [in:] E. G. Schmidt (ed.), *Griechenland und Rom. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Entwicklungstendenzen und -höbepunkten der antiken Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur*, Erlangen – Jena 1996, p. 168 (for the date; only mentioned).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα[α]
Ἄντατος ἄπελευθέρου.

Proskynema of Antas, a freedman.

Another *proskynema* of the same man is **116**.

191. On the same block as **185–190** and **182–193**, immediately under **190**, to the left of **192** (C at the end of *νεώτερος* touches the Φ at the beginning of *Φαυστωρεῖνα* in **192**), 343.5 cm above the floor (113.5 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 29.5 x 2.9 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*omega*) – 2.8 cm (*nu.*). Violet ochre resembling that of **190**. It is possible that the inscription continued towards the bottom where the stone surface at the edge of the block has been chipped.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 113, pl. VII.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position).

Roman period, possibly 2nd cent. AD (cf. commentary).

Αἰλουρίων νεώτερος.

Ailourion the younger.

Ailourion the younger left also a *proskynema* on the cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, below, **206**. He may be identical with *Αἰλουρίων νεώτερος Ἀσκληᾶτος*, who is on record in *P.Lond.* I 109 B, Fr. 4, 2, 117 and 124, as well as in *O.Bodl.* II 1905, 9, both originating from the Theban region and dating from the 2nd. cent. AD. The same man, but without the designation *νεώτερος*, is mentioned in several other ostraca from the Theban area. *O.Bodl.* II 1876, 11 lists, among ten men, *Κέρδων δούλο(ς) Αἰλουρίων(ος) Ἀσκ(λᾶτος)*. In *O.Ont. Mus.* 225, 2 (AD 182), *O.Ont. Mus.* 211, 3 (AD 201), *O.Bodl.* II 1579, 4 (AD 202) and *O.Bodl.* II 1582, 4 (AD 203) there occurs *Ἀσκληᾶς Αἰλουρίωνος*, obviously a son of our Ailourion son of Asklas. Another of his sons – *Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρακλᾶς Αἰλουρίωνος Ἀσκληᾶτος* – is on record in *O.Bodl.* II 944, 1–2 (after AD 212). The family could have lived in the Agorai quarter of Diospolis Magna, considering that Asklas son of Ailourion paid the tax *ὑπ(έρ) (Ἀγορῶν)* according to *O.Ont. Mus.* 211, 3.

192. On the same block as **185–191** and **193**, immediately under **189**, to the right of **190** and **191**, 351.5 cm above the floor (121.5 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 24.3 x 8.6 cm; h. of letters: 6.8 cm (*phi*) – 2.9 cm (*tau*). Red ochre of violet shade, well preserved. Large epigraphic hand, *apices* marked. Note the point after the name in line 1.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 114, pl. VII (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 197).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position). J.H. Oliver, *AJPb* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*).

Roman period, probably 2nd cent. AD.

Φαυστωρεῖνα ·
μνησθοῖ.

1. Φαῦς, Τωρεῖνα (= Taurina) Oliver, read Φαυστωρεῖνα || 2. Μνήσθου Bataille, μνήσθου Oliver, the reading *μνησθοῖ* was established by J. and L. Robert

Should Phaustorina be remembered.

The same formula occurs in two other inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari, below, **193** and **220**. For different forms of the verb *μμνήσκεσθαι* in Greek inscriptions, see Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* III, Roma 1974, pp. 218–226, and especially A. Rehm, ‘*MNHΣΘH*,’ *Philologus* 94 (1941), pp. 1–30. He distinguishes two main types of texts: 1) ὁ δεῖνα ἐμνήσθη; 2) μνησθῆ ὁ δεῖνα. The first type is characteristic of the Greek mainland and is also present in Egyptian visitors inscriptions; the second one is to be found mainly in Syria and the neighbouring lands (Arabia, Palestine), more rarely in Egypt where it was probably inspired by Syrian influence; cf. Rehm, *op.cit.*, p. 20; J.-L. Fournet, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), p. 190, 202. Our inscription most probably represents the second type with only a change of the verb-form (optative instead of subjunctive), although there is some chance that it belonged to the first type: *Φαυστωρεῖνα μνήσθου* (for ἐμνήσθη with apheresis and a variant reading in the final /i/-vowel) = ‘Phaustorina made notice (of here name).’ According to Rehm, *op.cit.*, p. 19, the formula *μνησθῆ ὁ δεῖνα* does not appear before the 2nd cent. AD.

1. *Φαυστωρεῖνα* is the Greek transcription of the Latin Faustorina, a feminine counterpart of Faustorinus. As far as I can ascertain, the name *Φαυστωρεῖνα* has not been attested thus far.

193. On the same block as **185–192**, to the right of **189** and **192**, 359 cm above the floor (129 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 15 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 4.4 cm (*alpha*) – 5.4 cm (*phi, mu*). Dark red ochre, very badly faded and dertied (due to local downpours of rain at the beginning of the 1990s). Large epigraphic hand, but not that of **192** contrary to Bataille’s opinion.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 115, pl. VII (J. and L. Robert, ‘Bull. épigr.’ 1953, 240, p. 197).

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97, pl. XIII 1 (photo of the stone before it was replaced in its original position). J. H. Oliver, *AJPh* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille’s publication).

Roman period, probably 2nd cent. AD.

Δάφνη
μνησθ[οῦ].

2. *Μνήσθ[ου]* Bataille, *μνήσθου* Oliver; J. and L. Robert established the reading *μνησθοῦ*

Should Daphne be remembered.

For *MNHΣΘH*-inscriptions, see commentary to **192**. The supplement *μνησθ[οῖ]* is based on a comparison with the latter inscription and with **220**, but the reading *μνησθ[ῆ]* is also possible.

194. South side, entrance, pillar just inside the doorway facing west, 326.5 cm above the floor (96.5 cm above the cornice of the portico), on the block with horizontal *torus* supporting the cornice with **185–193**, immediately under the *torus*. Dimensions: 33.3 x 4.9 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*kappa*). Light-red ochre, much faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 118.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα Φθομώνθης Ἡρᾶς
Ἄμσουφίος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου
καὶ τῶν συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων (ἔτους) . .

4

Bataille copied only l. 1 || 1. *Εὐφρονίω Ἡρακ[λ] Bataille* || 3. read *συνάων*

Proskynema of Phthomonthes Heras son of Amsouphis before the Lord Amenothes and the greatest gods worshipped in the same temple. Year [- -].

1. The nomenclature of the *proskynema* author raises problems. Taken literally, it shows that he bore two names: Phthomonthes Heras (so in the translation above). The first name is of Egyptian origin, while the second one is purely Greek in form. Perhaps the man was known under separate names in different milieus. Providing this interpretation is correct, one would expect *ὁ καί* between *Φθομώνθης* and *Ἡρᾶς*. But *Ἡρᾶς* can also be an indeclinable patronymic; for that, see commentary to **135**. In that case, the correct reading of the author's nomenclature should be: *Φθομώνθης Ἡρᾶ τοῦ Ἄμσουφίος* = 'Phthomonthes son of Heras son of Amsouphis.'

A certain *Φθομώνθης Ἄμσουφίος* is on record in *O.Minor* E4 (Theban area, Roman period). In *O.Lund* 13 (Theban area, 2nd cent. AD), and *WO* 1196, 6 (Theban area, Roman period), we come across *Φθομώνθης Φθομώνθου Ἄμσουφίος*, perhaps the son of the latter. The author of our inscription may have belonged to the same family as these two men.

3. The year number was either *ις* or *κ* . .

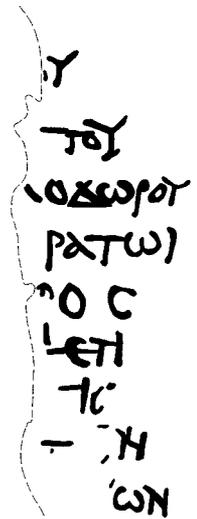
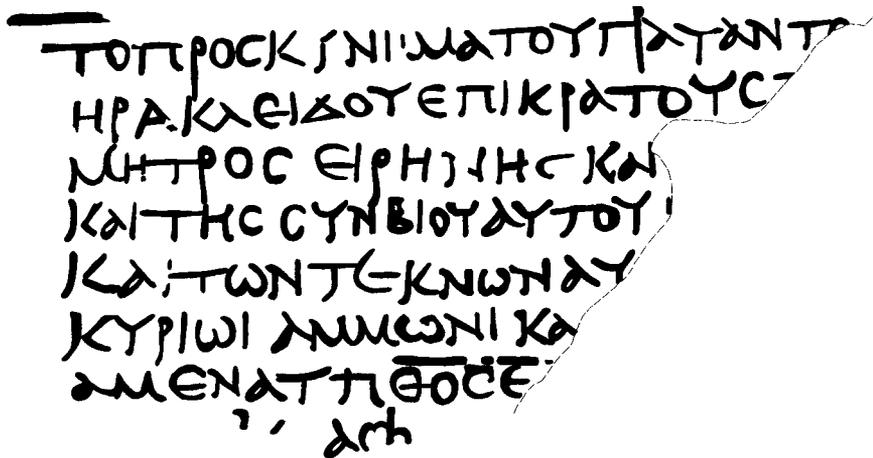
4. I would expect the name of the reigning Emperor and (possibly) his title(s) here, but I am at pains to reconstruct anything from the surviving letter traces.

195. South side, entrance, pillar inside the doorway facing west, 321 cm above the floor (91 cm above the cornice of the portico), on two neighbouring blocks with] shaped *torus* supporting the cornice with **185-193**, immediately under **194**. Dimensions: 51 x 21 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 2.7 cm (*rho*). Dark-red ochre of violet hue. Epigraphic hand, quite nice and careful. The script rises slightly to the right. The inscription was bordered at the top by a horizontal painted line and the *torus* on the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, nos. 116, 117, 119.

Cf. Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], pp. 105-106, s.v. Ἀμενώθης (quoting part of the text). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 232, no. 74 (German translation of Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 119).

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ γράμματο[s]
 Ἡρακλείδου Ἐπικράτους τ[ῆς - - -]ου
 μητρὸς Εἰρήνης καὶ [- - - αὐ]τοῦ
 4 καὶ τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ . [- - -] . οδώρου
 καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐ[τοῦ - - - πα]ρὰ τῶν
 κυρίωι Ἀμμωνι κα[ὶ τοῖς συννάοις θ]εο[ῶ]ς
 ΑΜΕΝΑΤΙΘΟΣΕΪ[- - -] ΨΕΝ
 8 [. . .] . . ΑC . [- - - - - - -] ΤΙC
 [- - - - - - - - - - - - -] Τ . Ν
 [- - - - - - - - - - - - -] ΩΝ

2. At the end of the line Bataille copied]ΑΤΟΥ || 4. read συμβίου | Ἀθη]νοδώρου (?) Bataille ||
 6. θ]εοῖς Bataille || 7. ἀμενατπεοε Bataille who notes that Milne read ἀμενατποεθ ||
 8. ε[]νλει , αε[]νο , Bataille | at the end of the line, the reading]ΗC is possible as well ||
 9. φιλούν]τ[ω]ν (?) Bataille || 10. φιλουμέν]ων (?) Bataille

Proskynema of the one who has written (this, namely) Herakleides son of Epikrates, of [his] mother Eirene and of his [- - -] and of his wife [- - -]odoros and of his children [- - -] before the Lord Ammon and the gods worshipped in the same temple [- - -].

Of the two blocks on which the present inscription was written, the left-hand one is broken obliquely and its lower right-hand corner is lost. Consequently, there is a more or less triangular lacuna in the text. Bataille considered the letters on either side of the gap to represent different texts (his nos. 116 and 119). He further picked out a third inscription from the lower part of the text on the block to the left, here ll. 7–8 (his no. 117). In both cases, he was not justified, as the inscription is done by the same hand and with the same ochre. Furthermore, his *Inscriptions*, no. 119 would thus require a long supplement on the left-hand side, where there is no place for it because of his *Inscriptions*, no. 116.

2. αὐτ]οῦ, εἰαυτ]οῦ οἱ τούτ]οῦ.
3. E.g. καὶ [τοῦ πατρὸς αὐ]τοῦ.
4. The fragmentarily preserved letter immediately before the lacuna could be the first letter of the name of Herakleides' wife, and] , οδώρου the end of her patronymic. One can read κ[αὶ - - -] , οδώρου equally well and thus produce another member of Herakleides' family, e.g. κ[αὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ - - -] , οδώρου.
6. This is the only Greek inscription from Deir el-Bahari to mention Amun, the great god of Thebes. Two neighbouring *proskynemata* in the Hatshepsut chapel (**123** and **124**) are addressed to Amun-in-*Ἰπ*j – Ἀμενώφης. The appearance of Amun in the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari in the Roman Imperial period is rather unexpected; for possible explanations, see above, pp. 48–49.
7. *AMENATII* probably stands for Amenhotep (son of Hapu). It is apparently neither a corruption nor a variant spelling for Ἀμενώθης, but a transcription of the original Egyptian form of the name of Amenhotep which read *Ἰmn-ḥtp*.
]ΨEN could be the end of a verb in the third person singular of the active aorist, e.g. ἔγρα]ψεν.

196. South side, north face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 18 cm from the eastern corner, towards the top of the cornice *cavetto*. Dimensions: 29.3 x 2 cm; h. of letters: ca 1 cm (*delta*). Pink-red ochre. The top of the cornice is broken horizontally and its upper part containing the beginning of the inscription is lost. Above the present inscription and to the left of it, discernible traces of an inscription (uncertain whether Demotic or Greek).

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 121.

Cf. A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 181], Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 99.

27 December AD 86.



Α[-----]
(ἔτους) σ' Δομ[ιτιανού] τοῦ κυρίου, Τῦ[β]ι α'.

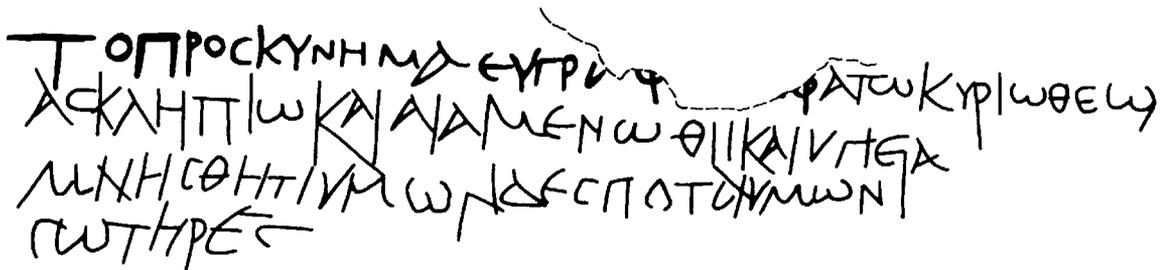
[---] year 6th of Domitian, the Lord, Tybi 1st.

197. South side, north face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 12.5 cm from the eastern corner, in the middle of the cornice *cavetto*, immediately under **196**. Dimensions: 25.2 x 5.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.9 cm (*kappa*). The beginning of line 1 (the words τὸ προσκύνημα Εὐγράφ[ιος] painted in brown ochre, the end of line 1 and ll. 2–4 carved, the carving being deep and ordered. The carved strokes at the end of line 1 of **197** cross the letters of **196**, making the present inscription younger than the previous one. The last letters of l. 2 of **197** are superimposed on an earlier Demotic dipinto in violet ochre. Between ll. 2–3 of **197**, traces of an earlier Greek inscription in red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 120.

Cf. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 97 (only mentioned). J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 210 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*; mentioned only). É. Bernand [in:] Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, Evelyne Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque, I. Religion* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 367, *Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne* 79], Paris 1988, p. 54 (French translation). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 230, no. 120 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period, after 27 December AD 86 (cf. lemma).



τὸ προσκύνημα Εὐγράφ[ιος π]αρά τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ
Ἄσκληπιῷ καὶ {αι} Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ.

μνήσθητι, ὑμῶν δέσποται, ὑμῶν
4 σωτήρες.

3. read ἡμῶν (two times)

Proskynema of Eugraphios before the Lord god Asklepios and Amenothes and Hygieia. Remember (us), our masters, our saviours.

For another *proskynema* of Eugraphios, see above, **129**. Both share the same form, unparalleled in the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions, and the same spelling variants.

4–5. In the invocation to the gods, Eugraphios uses two epiclèses: ‘masters’ (δεσπόται) and ‘saviours’ (σωτήρες). The latter is banal in connection with healing gods like Amenhotep and Imhotep; for σωτήρ as a divine epiclèsis, see F. Jung, *ΣΩΤΗΡ. Studien zur Rezeption eines hellenistischen Ehrentitels im Neuen Testament* [= *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Neue Folge* 39], Münster 2002, *passim*, especially pp. 96–120 and 169–171. On the other hand, the first epiclèsis is astonishing in the given context. It describes the god as the holder of unrestricted power, rather like Zeus or Amun, who ruled the divine pantheon, and not the lesser gods like Amenhotep and Imhotep. While Amenhotep has been designated ‘ruler of mortals’ (κοίρανος φωτῶν) and ‘master’ (ἄναξ) in **219**, these terms are part of a poetic vocabulary and not relevant theologically. The same could be true, at least in part, with regard to this inscription. Neither σωτήρες nor δεσπόται appear here as cult epithets, but are rather an expression of the author’s private sentiments. Another possible interpretation is that in the last phases of their cult in the Roman Imperial period, Amenhotep and Imhotep were imbued with some universal traits. In calling the two gods, who were originally mortals, ‘masters,’ Eugraphios could have been mirroring these universalistic tendencies.

198. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 11.5 cm from the eastern corner, in the middle of the cornice *cavetto*, immediately under **197**. Dimensions: 22.5 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*sigma*) – 2.1 cm (*psi*). Light red ochre of orange shade, very poorly preserved.

Unpublished

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνη[μα - - -]Ψ[.]ΜΙ[- - -]
καὶ [. .] . [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
καὶ [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
4 Π[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
. [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Μ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
ΚΑΙ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

7. One can read either *καί* or *Καίσαρος*, the latter assuming that a date, if any, would have been indicated at the end of the inscription.

199. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 8.5 cm from the eastern corner, in the lower part of the cornice *cavetto* (l. 5 reaches the *torus* that borders the cornice to the bottom), immediately under **198**. Dimensions: 17.7 x h. 9.7 cm; of letters: 1.2 cm (*alpha*) – 2.8 cm (*phi*). Red ochre of violet shade. Only the letters on the left near the corner have been preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 123.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 231, no. 123 (German translation after Bataille). G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt. Chronological list and index* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* XV], Firenze 1987, p. 85 (on the strategus Celer).

Most probably 29 June AD 123.

Τ ΠΡΟΣΚ
ΚΕΙ ΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΦΛΑ
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΗ
, ΠΩΡ

τ[ὸ] προσκ[ύνημα]
Κέλ[ερ]ος [τοῦ στρατηγοῦ]
καὶ Φλαο[v - - -]
4 παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώ]θη
[. . . .] . ΩΦ . [- - -] .

1. προσκ[ύνημα τοῦ δεῖνος] Bataille || 2. Κέλ[ερ]ος [καὶ τοῦ δεῖνος] Bataille || 4. Ἀμ[ε]νώθη Bataille; although I failed to copy it,]θη is to be seen clearly on the stone (revisions after inspection)
|| 5. This line is lacking from Bataille's edition, although he notes it in his commentary

Proskynema of the strategus Celer and of Flav[- - -] before the Lord Amenothes [- - -] .

This inscription, as **201** written immediately to the west of it, mentions a strategus called Celer. In all likelihood it is the same Celer, a strategus, who left some not very good Greek verses on the singing statue of Memnon after hearing it in the first hour of the sixth of Epeiph, in the seventh year of Hadrian (30 June AD 123); cf. *IColosse* 23. According to the latter text, masterly interpreted by André and Étienne Bernard, Celer came to Memnoneia on Epeiph fourth to consult an oracle and to made a *proskynema* in a sancturay situated among heaps of dust (ll. 3–4: ἐν κονεῖ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν χωμάτων παρῆν θεωρὸς καὶ προσκυνήσων ἄμα), a designation which corresponds well with the topographical situation of the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari; for occurrences of the Deir el-Bahari-valley in Ptolemaic and Roman times, see above, pp. 10–11. On the day of his arrival, he passed near the statue of Memnon, but failed to hear it singing, apparently because it was already too late during the day. He continued his trip to Deir el-Bahari where he stayed for two nights and one complete day. It must be during that time that the two inscriptions, **199** and **201**, were executed. At sunrise on the sixth of Epeiph, after an interval of two days, Celer managed to arrive in time to hear the statue of Memnon sing.

Neither the inscription on the Memnon colossus nor the *proskynemata* from Deir el-Bahari gives the nome of which Celer was strategus. This could mean that he was in charge of the Hermonthites containing the Memnoneia with Memnon's colossi and the temple at Deir el-Bahari. Bastianini and Whitehorne, *loc. cit.*, make him strategus of Ombites.

Bataille was of the opinion that Celer was the author of only one of the two Deir el-Bahari inscriptions mentioning him (**201**). He believed that **199** was written by Celer's son and attempted to supplement his name in line 1, alongside that of a Roman called Flavius or Flavianus, both of them arriving in Deir el-Bahari in the strategus' retinue. While not improbable, this line of reasoning cannot be proved. It is equally possible that both *proskynemata* were made in the name of Celer; in **199**, he appeared together with a Flav[- -], in **201** together with his parents.

2. For the declension of the Latin name Celer in Greek, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, p. 49.
5. Possibly Ἐπίφι [- - -].

200. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 5 cm from the eastern corner, immediately above the *torus* bordering the cornice at the bottom. Dimensions: 11 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*sigma*) – 1.2 cm (*rho*). Violet ochre. The text is apparently superimposed on the earlier **199**.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 122 (Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 106, s.v. Ἀμενώθης).

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 232, no. 122 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period, most probably after AD 123 (cf. lemma).

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ 2
 ΚΣΣ ΕΝΩΤ - 1

τὸ προσκύνημα
 Ἐπάγαθος [. .]. [- - -]
 ΟΥ . . [- - -]

2. ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ [παρὰ Bataille || 3 Ἀμενούθη Bataille

Proskynema of Epagathos [- - -].

3. One can possibly read Ἀμενώθου. This could have been the name of either god or man.

201. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 59 cm from the eastern corner, level with l. 3 of **197**, to the right of a Demotic inscription in violet ochre. Dimensions: 25.8 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*beta*). Dark red ochre of violet shade, quite well preserved. The inscription runs over an older text, which includes the thin vertical stroke in l. 4 of Bataille's copy.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 124, pl. VIII (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196).

Cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), p. 98.

Most probably 29 June AD 123.

ΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
 ΤΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
 ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΒΙΟΥ
 Ν.

τὸ προσκύνημα Κέλερος
 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν
 γονέων αὐτοῦ Ἀρχιβίου
 4 [.] [. . . .] Ν . . Ν

3. τέκνον Bataille | Ἀρχιβι Bataille || 4.] . ιτα . . [Bataille

Proskynema of the strategus Celer and of his parents Archibios and [- - -].

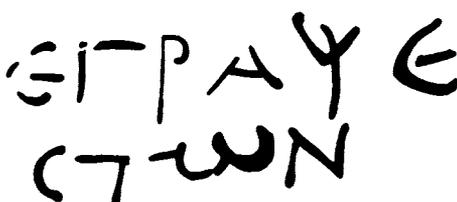
For the strategus Celer, see commentary to **199**. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ read by Bataille at the beginning of l. 3 does not seem possible, the letter preceding $-\omega\nu$ being surely *E* not *N*. *I* would suggest tentatively $\gamma\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$. In addition to himself, Celer mentioned his parents, not his children.

3. The end of the name of Celer's father is difficult to read. After the letter *I*, there is an *O* in the form of a point and then traces of ochre which could well belong to *Y* as well as *C*. Assuming the former, Celer's father would bear a good Greek name, Ἀρχιβίος . In the latter case, it would be the Egyptian name Ἀρχιβίς , suggesting that the strategus was of Egyptian origin.
4. Possibly]*N* . *EN*.

202. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 61.5 cm from the eastern corner, under **201** and partly merging with l. 4 of the latter inscription, which seems to be earlier than **202**. Dimensions: 11.8 x 4.8 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*alpha*) – 2.8 cm (*psi*). Ochre of a rusty shade, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period, after AD 123 (?).



[- - -] ἔγραψε [- - -]
 [- - -] ΣΤΩΝ [- - -]

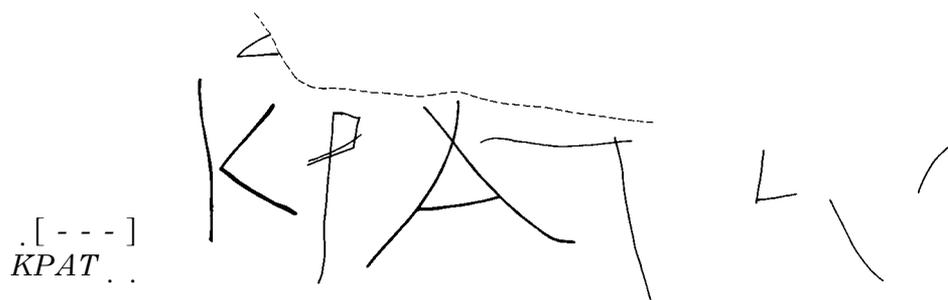
These are probably the endings of lines, of which nothing else remains. Their beginnings were lost presumably in the mass of ochre inscriptions smudged beyond recognition further to the left, in the centre of the cornice.

2. ΣΤΩΝ [- - -] is troublesome. It could be read $\epsilon\acute{\iota}]_{\varsigma} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ [*αἰῶνα vel sim.*], but we would then face the unpleasant necessity of assuming scribal error near a lacuna. Or perhaps we should simply read [- - -] $_{\varsigma} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ [- - -].

203. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 74.5 cm from the eastern corner, at mid height of the cornice cavetto; the inscription runs together with the right-hand side of **201** and with **204**, both of them being evidently later than **203**. Dimensions: 30 x 10 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 6.5–7 cm. Deep graffito. The stone is broken horizontally and the upper part with almost all of line 1 has been lost.

Unpublished.

Roman period, earlier than AD 123.

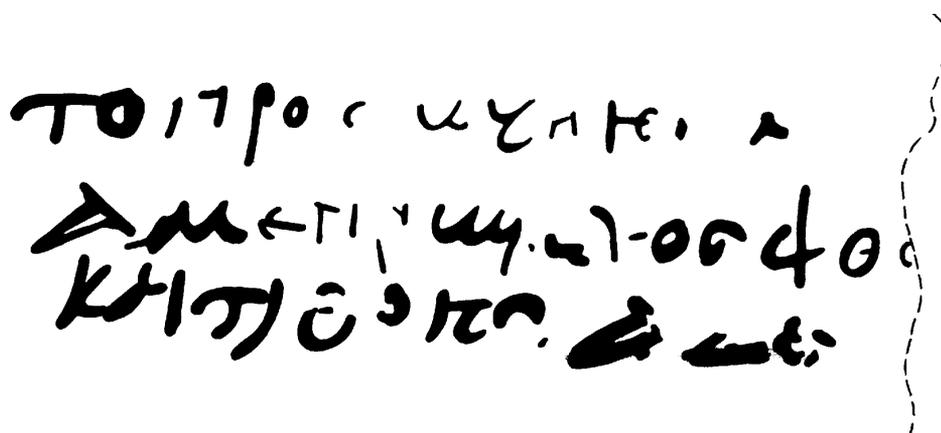


This is probably a personal name with the element *-κράτης*. Traces of a letter at the beginning of l. 1 suggest Δ; the name we are looking for could be Δ[εξι]|κράτης, Δ[ημο]|κράτης *vel sim.*

204. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 76 cm from the eastern corner, under the last letters of l. 3 of **201**, to the right of l. 4 of **201**, meaning that **201** already existed when **204** was written. Dimensions: 16.8 x 5.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*rho*). Red ochre. Under the present inscription, in the lower part of the cornice, one observes traces of numerous dipinti in Greek and Demotic, fragmentarily preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 125.

Roman period, probably after AD 123.



τὸ προσκύνημα
Ἀμεγγίους Φθο[- - -]
καὶ Τιθοῆς ἀδελφός.

2. read Ἀμενώφιος || 3. read Τιθοῆους ἀδελφοῦ

Proskynema of Amenophis son of Phtho[---] and of Titboes (his) brother.

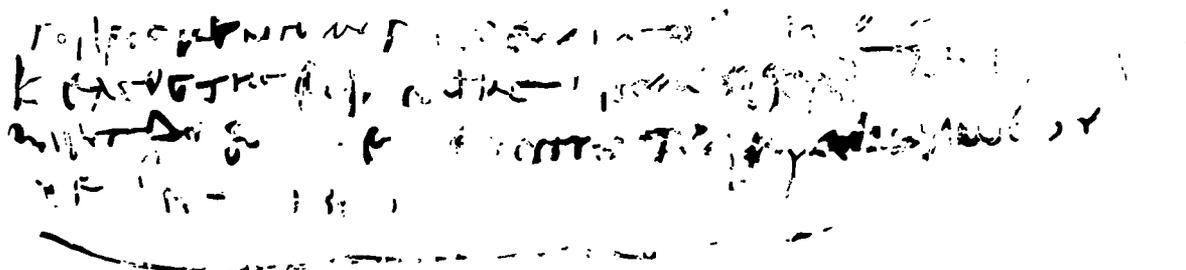
2. The reading of the name of the *proskynema* author is not quite certain.

The name of the father of Amenophis and Titboes may be supplemented as either Φθο[μώνθου] or Φθο[υμίσιος]. A certain Titboes son of Phthomonthes is on record in *O.Leid.* 237, 2 (Theban area, AD 171). One Titboes son of Phthouminis occurs in *O.Bodl.* II 1901, 5 (Theban area, 2nd. cent. AD).

205. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and eastern column, 104 cm from the eastern corner, in the upper part of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 37 x 8.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*kappa*). Ochre changing from light red (line 1) through violet (line 2) to brown (lines 2–3). A rounded line cuts off the inscription at the bottom. On the moulding at the top of the cornice, above the present inscription, there is a big Demotic inscription, which is quite well preserved. Under **205**, one can trace a Greek inscription in red ochre, apparently consisting of eight lines and starting with τὸ προσκύνημα. This inscription is partly overwritten by **206**. The text of **205** printed below is the effect of a revised reading of the original, made upon inspection in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα - - -
 Κέλσος τῆς - - -
 ἐνθάδε E[. . .]E[. . .] - - - κυρίου Ἀμενώθου
 4 . E[.] - - -

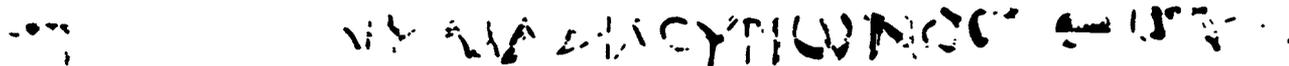
Proskynema of [---] Celsus [---] here [--- before] the Lord Amenothes [---].

2. For the name Κέλσος in Roman Egypt, see *IPhilae* II 166, commentary to line 1.
 3. Before κυρίου one expects παρὰ τοῦ, but I was unable to read this from the preserved traces of ochre.
 4. Possibly θε[ο]ῦ.

206. South side, northern face, cornice between the entrance and the eastern column, 118 cm from the eastern corner. Dimensions: 33.7 x 1.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 1.3 cm (*upsilon*). Violet ochre. Traces of ochre of the same colour slightly to the bottom suggest that the inscription could have had another line.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 145.

Roman period.



τ[ὸ προσκύ]νημα Αἰλουρίωνος [ν]εωτ[έρου].

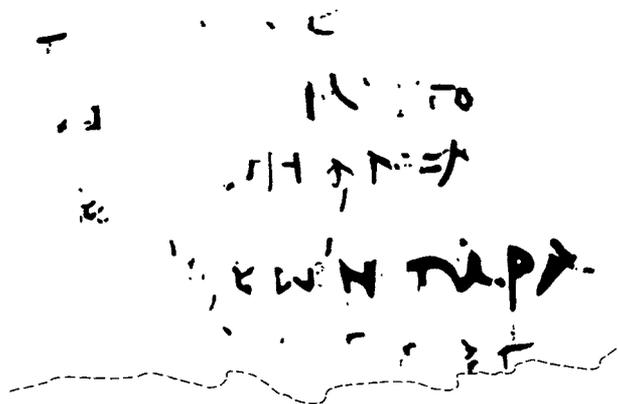
Proskynema of Ailourion the younger.

The same person left an inscription further to the east, in the entrance to the Ptolemaic portico, **191** (see commentary there).

207. South side, northern face, eastern column facing northeast, 205 cm above the floor, i.e. level with the cornice. (In Bataille's times, the stone had not yet been inserted into the portico and its exact position was unknown). Dimensions: 14.5 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, very faded. Above **207** and to the right of it, visible traces of three lines of an inscription in red ochre. Another inscription, in much smaller hand, ran immediately above **207**. The text of **207** as printed below is the effect of a revised reading after inspection of the original in January 2002.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 151.

Roman period.



τ[ὸ προσκύνημα - - -]
[κ]αὶ [. . .] παντὸ[s - - -]
κ[α]ὶ γυναικὸς Α[- - -]

4 [καὶ γο]γέων παρὰ [- - -]
 - - - - - [- - -]

Proskynema of [- - -] and of [. . .] entire [- - -] and of (his) wife L[- - -] and of (his) parents before [- - -].

2. Perhaps [κ]αὶ [τοῦ] παντὸ[ς οἴκου αὐτοῦ]; cf. **72** 2 (καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ); **183** 5 (τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν); **212** 3 (καὶ το]ὺς ἐν οἴκου πάντα[ς]); **264** 2 (τοῦ οἴκου παντός); **277** 5 (τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ); **303** 2-3 (τοῦ] οἴκου); **313** 6 (παντός οἴκου).

208. South side, northern face, cornice between the eastern and western columns, 20 cm from the eastern column, in the central and lower part of the cornice cavetto and on the torus supporting the cornice (ll. 22-26 already on the torus). Dimensions: 26.5 x 33 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*phi*); average h. of letters: 0.7 – 0.8 cm. Red ochre well preserved at the top and sides, smudged toward the middle. It merges with the original red-painted decoration of the palmettes on the cornice. Semi-cursive hand, well trained and quite skilful. The lower left-hand corner of the cornice stone with the beginning of ll. 18-26 was discovered on the site of the Thutmosis III temple and was restored to its original position during the reconstruction of the Ptolemaic portico in the 1960s – see Fig. 20. The inscription has deteriorated considerably since Bataille times. Below I reproduce my copy, but largely adopt his readings with some corrections and emendations made after the publication of his book.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 126 and pp. XXII-XXIV (Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 171, s.v. Ἀσκληπιός. Maria Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* [= *Subsidia Epigraphica. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik* 12], Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1985, pp. 51-55, no. 17 [with numerous supplementing attempts]).

Cf. A. Bataille, *BSFE* 3 (1950), pp. 12-13 (brief description). J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 196 (review of Bataille, *Inscriptions*; quoting some characteristic expressions). J.H. Oliver, *AJPPh* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille's publication; minor corrections to the reading). S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1959, p. 96 (summary of the inscription). Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, p. 126 (on the sense of the term *θεραπεία*). M. Malinine, *RdÉ* 14 (1962), p. 41 (on the mode of healing). R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* [= *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 18, *Epigraphische Studien* 1], Köln – Graz 1967, p. 99, no. 296 (for the designation *tesserarius* of the first *vexillatio*). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 230, no. 126 (résumé of the text after Bataille, partial translation). idem, *Saints*, p. 100 (partial translation). P.M. Speidel, 'Palmyrenian irregulars at Koptos,' *BASP* 21 (1984), pp. 221-224 = idem, *Roman Army Studies* II [= *Mavors Roman Army Researches* VIII], Stuttgart 1992, pp. 82-85 (he cites ll. 1-3 of the inscription; attempt at identifying of the *prima vexillatio*; on the role of *tesserarius* in Roman army units). Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne*

Bernard [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, pp. 242 and 245 (only mentioned).

Probably 2nd cent. AD, after the reign of Hadrian.

Χ. ΠΡΟΤΑΚΟΦ ἰσ. Ν. ΗΠΙΕΧΑΡ. = ΔΑΜΕΝΩΘΗ ΗΛΟ
 ΠΤΩΚΟΠΤΟΥ ΔΑΘΗΝΟΖΩΡΟΥ ΤΕΣΤΑΡΙΩ^{ΠΡΙΜΑ} ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΝ
 ΔΑΜΕΝΩΘΗΣΥΝΕΒΗ ΕΥΧΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ
 ΝΗΤΙ ΟΝ ΔΑΜΑΚΗΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΔΟΣΟΝ Μ' ΝΟΥ ΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΝ
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΝ ΔΑΟΥΣ ΟΥΤΑΝ
 ΕΡΑΝ' ΑΝΘΕΤΕ Ε ΣΥΔΑΝΟΪΣ ΔΕ
 ΤΗΝ ΘΥΡΑΝΤΙ Ε ΜΕΤ' ΟΠΙΕΡΟΝ Δ
 ΜΕΝΟΣΗ ΘΗΝΩΣΕΡ
 Ο
 ΕΠΑΙΟΝΟΥ

ΔΑΟΥΣ Ε
 Τ ΟΝ ΘΡΩΠΟΤΟ ΕΝΟΥ
 ΕΙ ΗΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΑΔΜΑΧΤΙ, ΠΙΤΤΟΜΑΧ
 ΚΗΝ ΕΡΑΠΙΟΝ ΚΗ ΕΡΑΤΙΟΝ
 ΩΘ
 ΚΟΜΗ
 ΤΟΥΦΑ,
 ΚΟΜΩΔΩ
 ΤΥΝΔΑΚΟΤΙ.

ΟΥΤΑΝ
 ΟΣΤΡ/Δ. ΤΙ.
 ΙΕΡΟΝ
 ΝΕΧΑΓ -
 ΥΛΟΙ ΕΡΙΣ ΕΔ.
 ΠΟΗΟΕ ΔΑΠΟΥ ΔΑΧΡΑ

Κ. Ι. Ε. Ι
 Ι Ν. Ι. Κ. Ν. Τ
 Η Ι. Κ. Ι
 Ι Ι. Κ.

χαίρε, ταίκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε, Ἀμενώθη. ἦλθον
 ἀπὸ Κοπτοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου τεσσεράριω ἴμια οὐεξιλλατειώνέ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 κα[ι] Ἀμενώθη. συνέβη εὐχόμενον παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 4 Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθη καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγίαν

opposite and [---] people not [---] again (?) [---] the matter in written form [---] the healing and he cured [---] he threw [---] to have been bought [---] to the sanctuary and [---] to give to the priests [---] Asklepios [---] to make [---] unholy, Athenodoros [---] to encounter by nobody and in no wise [---] Amenotbes [---].

The inscription describes a visit to the temple of Deir el-Bahari by Athenodoros, *tesserarius* of a Roman military unit garrisoning in Koptos, some 40 kilometres north of Thebes (for Athenodoros, see commentary to l. 2). The text is composed in the form of a personal account in the first person singular; cf. ἦλθον in line 1, ἀκοῦσαί με in l. 5, δέει με in l. 12, με in l. 13.

The fragmentariness of the inscription excludes an exact understanding of Athenodoros' visit to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari. A continuous reading, albeit not without uncertainty, is possible only for ll. 1–9. In the remaining part, the surviving single words or expressions do not come together in a reasonable text. Understanding the inscription is further impeded by the very corrupt Greek of the author, full of spelling and syntactic mistakes, for which see apparatus. What emerges can be reconstructed as follows:

Athenodoros apparently came to the temple in Deir el-Bahari as a healthy man. He was either a curious visitor or, more likely, wished to consult the oracle in a matter which he failed to mention in his report. While he was praying to Amenhotep, Imhotep (Asklepios) and Hygieia, he heard Amenhotep speaking to him and then saw him appear in person. Denying the divine appearance and being curious about it, he opened the door leading to the sanctuary, stood in front of the god's image and asked for help. Only after this event was he apparently taken ill, possibly in divine punishment for the sacrilege he had committed by trespassing on the *sacrosanctum*, but was subsequently restored to health by the god(s) worshipped in the temple. In the final part of the inscription, there probably is the issue of a written report being made about these events.

1. The same hexameter is observed in line 1 of an inscription on the south side of a passage leading to Hatshepsut's chapel; the text is apparently from the second half of the 2nd cent. BC and contains what seems to be a hymn to Imhotep and Amenhotep (above, 100). The hymn could have served liturgical purposes, being sung through the centuries in the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari. Athenodoros used the opening verse of the hymn which he could have heard himself or been told by the priests.
2. Ἀθηνοδώρου (instead of Ἀθηνόδωρος) is possibly due to the influence of the neighbouring Κοπτοῦ. In τεσσαεράριω we are dealing with the dropping of the final C and simultaneous interchange of O and Ω due to the loss of quantity in the /o/ vowel.

Athenodoros was a soldier in a military unit that garrisoned at Koptos and probably was obliged to patrol the desert routes leading to ports on the Red Sea. The unit consisted of numbered detachments (*vexillationes*), a remarkable phenomenon in itself, for Roman army *vexillationes* were normally called after the name of the unit with which they were posted. According to a very plausible hypothesis put forward by P.M. Speidel (cf. biblio-

graphic lemma), this unit might have been a *numerus* of Palmyrenian bowmen called *Hadriani Palmyreni Antoniniani sagittarii*, known from a dedication to their native god Jarhibol set up in AD 216 by their *vexillifer* in Koptos (*IGRR* I 1169; *SB* V 8810; *IPortes*, no. 85). An inscription found in the agora of Palmyra (*Ann. Épigr.* 1947, 170; J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes*, Damascus 1949, 79) shows that Palmyrenian irregulars in Dacia, similarly as the unit in Koptos of which Athenodoros was part, were divided into numbered *vexillationes*.

It is not known when the *Hadriani Palmyreni Antoniniani sagittarii* were organized and when they were transferred to Koptos. This could not have taken place before the 120s/130s AD for the first ethnic *numeri* of the Roman army came into existence only during the rule of Hadrian as part of his reorganization of the auxiliary troops. Assuming that Athenodoros of our inscription really belonged to the *numerus* of Palmyrenian irregulars in Koptos, our text could not be earlier than *ca.* AD 125.

As *tesserarius*, Athenodoros was in charge of the orders (*tesserae*) for his unit, which he passed on to the tent-companionships. He was probably a Hellenised Palmyrenian. Speidel, *loc. cit.*, suggested that his name, Athenodoros, might have been a translation of the Palmyrenian Vahballat. His handwriting was nice and fluent, although his Greek was rather corrupt. Bataille's statement that Athenodoros was a man of Latin culture, based on the use of transliterated Latin rather than Greek to specify his unit, is surely too far reaching. Names of units and technical terms were often transliterated from Latin in Greek documents generated in the milieu of the Roman army in the East; cf. e.g. numerals *πρίμα*, *σεκόνδα* (*σεκούντα*), *τερτία*, *κόρτα* in a military roster of the 2nd cent. AD, originating from the Theban region (*SB* XX 14180, 64–67 and 69–72). For the use of Latin numerals in Greek texts, see generally B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri*, Leipzig 1927, *passim*, particularly p. 49 (*primus*).

3. The form *Ἀμενώθη* is difficult to interpret. It may be in the nominative (instead of genitive) with the loss of C in final position or a short genitive terminating in -η, but the declension of the god's name is always *Ἀμενώθης*, *Ἀμενώθου* and never *Ἀμενώθης*, *Ἀμενώθη*.

After *συνέβη* one expects *παρακαλοῦντα*. The nominative *παρακαλῶν* is probably due to the influence of neighbouring words, all of which end in /-ον/.

4. The form *Ἀμενώθη* is probably purely phonetical: loss of N in final position.
5. For the form *τὴν νύκταν*, see commentary to **118**, ll. 3–4.

The word following *τὴν νύκταν* must be the subject of *ἐφάνη* and should be corrected as *αὐτός*. The form *αυτων* extant on the wall is a presumed effect of two phonetic phenomena: 1) loss of quantity in the /o/ vowel resulting in the interchange of O and Ω and 2) loss of C in final position with the simultaneous addition of N.

6. One can read either *αὐτὸς δὲ θε . . σ[.]* or *αὐτὸς δ' ἔθε . . σ[.]*. This is the beginning of a new sentence (cf. *δέ*) with Amenhotep as the subject, unless Athenodoros had passed from the subjective narration in the first person singular to the objective one in the third person singular.
- 6–7. This probably refers to the door giving access to the sanctuary proper, where the statues of the gods were kept. It must have been the door between the Bark Shrine and the second room of the sanctuary from the times of Hatshepsut (first room of the sanctuary in Ptolemaic and Roman times); for the topography of the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahari, see above, pp. 39–41.

9. The syntax of the sentence is confusing. The sense is: παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν περὶ θείας ἀλέξεως or παρακαλῶν τὸν ἀγαθὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν περὶ θείας ἀλέξεως αὐτοῦ.
13. In]CΩZ[we probably have a form of σώζω.
15. The expression ἐνγραπτέον πρᾶγμα is formulaic. It occurs in different contracts preserved on papyri in the clause forbidding the parties to claim the content of the contract in any form either written or unwritten: cf. e.g. *P.Amb.* II 110, 23–24 (Dimeh, AD 75): περὶ οὐδενὸ[ς] ἀπ[λῶς] πράγματος ἐνγράφτου κα(ι) ἀγράφως; and see further: *P.Amb.* II 111, 22; 112, 21; *BGU* II 415, 17; IV 1113, 16; IV 1155 30; IV 1168, 17; *P.Berl. Moeller* 1, 11; *P.Bouriant* 28, 2, 5; *P.Fam. Tebt.* 13, 1, 23; *P.Kron.* 11, 19; *P.Mich.* V 351, 14; *P.Mil. Vogl.* I 7, 31; *P.Ryl.* II 180, 4; IV 588 r° 24; *PSI* VIII 961 B 64; *P.Stras.* VI 512 r° 8; *P.Tebt.* II 395 r° 10; *P.Würzb.* 6 r° 22. Athenodoros was obviously influenced here by the official language of legal documents, although his usage of the expression differs from the legal one. In our inscription, ἐνγραπτέον πρᾶγμα probably has the meaning of a ‘written report about the visit of Athenodoros in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.’ This report is probably tantamount to the inscription discussed here.
18. *KYMH*[probably is a variant spelling of κοιμη[. If so, this may be a reference to an oracular/healing dream that Athenodoros had in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.
20. ὄλοσω[is perhaps to be supplemented, against Youtie’s law, as ὄλοσώ[ματος (for ὄλοσώ[ματος]). The word ὄλοσώματος has not been attested in Greek texts from Egypt thus far. It occurs several times in inscriptions from outside Egypt in the *iunctura* εἰκῶν ὄλοσώματος = ‘full-length portrait;’ cf. e.g. *IG* XII 7, 240, 29 (Amorgos, 207 BC) and *SEG* XX 180, 4 (Cyprus, 114–106 BC). If this meaning were applicable here, we would be dealing with a full-length image of a god. Another possibility is to read ὄλος ω[- - -] (for ὄλος ω[- - -]).
21. The reading διὰ πολλοῦ χρώ[ματος suggested by Bataille (with a question mark) is difficult to accept from the semantic point of view. It is much better to read: διὰ πολλοῦ χρώ[μενος] with διὰ πολλοῦ as an adjective: ‘being in great need.’ Another possibility is to read διὰ πολλοῦ χρώ[νου = ‘after a long time.’ This is against Youtie’s law, but Athenodoros committed so many mistakes that yet another interchange of *O* and *Ω* would hardly be astonishing.
24. The reading ἀνοσίαν is also to be considered. For the term ἀνοσία = ‘freedom from sickness,’ see Nadia van Brock, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire médical du grec ancien. Soins et guérison* [= *Études et commentaires* XLI], Paris 1961, pp. 177–179.

209. South side, northern face, cornice between the eastern and western columns, 58 cm from the eastern column, immediately to the right of **208**, in the middle of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 20 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 – 0.6 cm. Dark red ochre of claret hue. Nice and skilful book script. The letters, which slope slightly to the right, form even lines. The scribe used diacritical signs: coronis (l. 5) and circumflex (l. 6). Originally, the inscription must have extended much further to the left and possibly also in other directions. The text printed below is the effect of a revised reading achieved by inspection of the original in January 2002.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 127.

Roman period, later than 208 and 210.

ΝΗ | <ος < μ') ΕΙ
 ο <μορ < ο < γι ρ < | < < π < τ < τ < τ < Ν
 Η Τ Τ | Γ Ι Ν' ΜΟΥ < Ω Ζ Ε Ι Τ Γ Α Ε Μ Ο Ν
 ? ΜΟΥ Ε Π | Ο Τ Η λ < < Τ Τ Ε Ι Υ Ο Ρ Τ Ο Σ
 Ι Γ Α Π Ο Λ Ε Ι Τ Α Ν Θ Υ Γ Λ Ν Ο Ν Ε Κ Ε Ι Ε
 - Α Τ Α Τ Φ Λ Ε Ι Η Ι Ζ Ε Φ Υ Ρ Ο Ι Σ
 Σ Α Λ Α Ι Μ Α Δ Α Μ Α Ζ Ο Ι Σ , - Η , . i

[- - - - -] [. . .] Κ Ο Σ [. . .] Ο Μ . . Ε . [- - -]
 [- - - - -] Ο έμός ΜΟΥ ΠΙ [. .] Ρ [. .] Κ Ι [. . . .] Α [. .] πίστιν
 [- - - - -] ιητήρσιν [έ]μού σώζοιτε μέδοντες
 4 [- - -] Δ Ρ Ο [. . . .] . [.] ΜΟΥ έπιστήμης περιόντος
 [- - - - -] . . απολείψανθ' ύμνον εκείθ[ε - - -]
 [- - - - -] Α . Ο Τ Ι φλειήι ζεφύροις [- - -]
 [- - - - -] Α . Γ Μ Α Α Μ Α Ζ Ο [. . .] Η . .

1. [ca. 6] τρ[. .] . ος[. . .] ρασαι [Bataille || 2. [. .] σεω . [.] υ [.] αυ . [. . . .] . . [.] ωε[.] . υ [Bataille || 3. μητρὸς η [. .] . υ Bataille | . . ρ . οντες [Bataille || 4. ωτ[. .] μου έπιστήμη . . s Bataille || 5.]σα γραψανθ' Bataille || 6. [. .] υ αποτιφ[. .] σιήν Bataille || 7. [. .] . ca έπαλλαμα- ζοντα . [. . .] η . . . [Bataille

In view of the fragmentariness of the inscription, I have refrained from giving a translation.

The inscription under consideration contains a poetic text composed in dactylic metre. What we have are the ends of several hexameters. Not knowing how much of the inscription is missing on the left, it is difficult to say whether each line contained one or more verses. The poetic language of the inscription corresponds with a nice and skilful book-hand making use of diacritic signs.

3. Undoubtedly, *ιητήρσιν* stands for the two gods, Amenhotep and Imhotep, worshipped in Deir el-Bahari; cf. commentary to 100, l. 4.
4. According to Bataille, *μου* (. . .) *περιόντος* suggests that the author of the inscription was cured in the temple at Deir el-Bahari. Perhaps one should read: λ[ο]ι[μ]ού *έπιστήμη* *περιόντος* = 'who was cured from pest thanks to the knowledge.' *έπιστήμη* refers probably to the professional skill and wisdom of Amenhotep and Imhotep, especially to their medical knowledge.
5. *απολείψανθ' ύμνον* has a metaphorical meaning here. Singing hymns is compared to pouring libations. Similar metaphorical expression at Dionysius Chalcus, fr. 4 (ed. M. L. West,

*Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Magnum cantati*², Oxford 1998, vol II, p. 58): ὕμνους οἴνοχοεῖν ἐπιδεξία σοί τε καὶ ἡμῶν.

The reading ἐκεῖσ[ε is possible as well. ἐκεῖθ[ε (ἐκεῖσ[ε) may be the end of a hexameter, but there is still empty space before the right-hand margin is reached.

6. The scribe put a circumflex over H in φλειῆι. Accents, which occur in literary papyri, are quite unusual in inscriptions; for the use of accents in Greek papyri from Egypt see J. Moore-Blunt, 'Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri,' *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 29 (1978), pp. 137–163; C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Sul sistema di accentuazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina,' *Aegyptus* 59 (1979), pp. 145–167. φλειῆ (Ionic and poetic for φλιᾶ) may refer to the granite portal between the eastern portico and the court or between the court and the Bark Shrine, the latter being just *ca.* 3 m away from the present inscription.
6. One wonders whether the term ζέφυρος has the same meaning in this poem as in Classical Greek, a meaning connected with a geographical reality of the north Mediterranean, namely, the west wind. As far as Egypt is concerned, the west wind is unpleasant for it brings hot air from the desert. The wind meant here was probably a north-west or north wind, which occurs in the Nile valley during the day, bringing fresh air in from the Mediterranean. The air is particularly cool and pleasant, when one stands during hot weather in the granite portal between the Upper Portico and the Upper Court.

210. South side, northern face, cornice between the eastern and western columns, 75 cm from the eastern column, immediately to the right of **209** and slightly to the bottom of it, in the middle of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 16 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 0.9 cm (*phi*). Yellow ochre, very faded. Upright book-hand, nice and skilful. Note the *trema* above *Y* in l. 3. Originally, the text probably extended far to the left, up to **208**, the entire left hand-side being overwritten by **209**.

Unpublished.

Roman period, earlier than **209**, but probably later than **208**.

ΛΩΛΕ ΙΤΑ· ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΨΤΟ ΓΕ· ΙΤ ~,
 ΟΥΙ· ΥΓΟΙ· Τ: Ν ΕΓΓΙΝ ΕΥ· ΟΥΤΕ, ΡΕΙΩΝΕ· Α
 Ι ΝΟΙΣ Τ ΝΕΥΙΟΝ ΕΧΜ· ΙΚ·
 , ΟΝ ΔΕΚΑΚΙΩΤ· ΟΝ ΗΙ Δ Δ Ι ΝΙ· ΙΩΝΤ· Ε
 Η ΕΝ· Κ· Ι· ΕΗ ΤΑΛΑ· ΕΙ ΙΟ· ΤΩΝ· ΜΑΤ
 ΝΟ, ΟΤΤΕ· Υ· ΑΝΘΟΙΣ· ΝΥΠ· ΑΛ· Γ· Ε· Ι· ΜΟ· Π· Ο
 ΟΥ· Ε· Η· Η· Τ· Ε· Λ· Η· Ι· Ε· Ι· Ε· Υ·

- [- - - - -] - - - - - [- - - - -] - - - - - [- - - - -]
 [- - -] ΑΩ . [.] . ΤΟ ἐ[κ]εῖνοι [. .] . [. .] . ΡΤΟ Ε . [. .] . [- - - -]
 [- - -] Ο ΟΙ . [.] . Ν ἐστιν ἐϋστε ΚΙΩΝΕ[. .] . [- - - - -]
 4 [- - - - -] . νοις [ἀ]φνειαῖσιν ἔχει [.] Κ [- - - - -]
 [- - -] ΟΝΔΕ κάκιστον ΗΙΑΔ[.] Δ[. .] . Ν . [.] . ΙΑΑΠ . C[- - - - -]
 [- - -] ΗΕΝ . Κ . [.] ΕΝ[. .] ΤΑΛΑ . Ε . [.] CΑΛΛ . ΜΑΡΤ[- - - -]
 [- - - ἀ]νθρώποις χαληποῖσ[ι]ν ὑπ' ἄλγεσι ΜΟ[. .] ΠΙ . [- - - -]
 8 [- - -] οὺς εἶην ΠΙΑΝΚ . [.] ΚΙ[.] Υ[- - - - -]

7. read ἀνθρώποις χαλεποῖσιν

The fragmentariness of the inscription precludes translation.

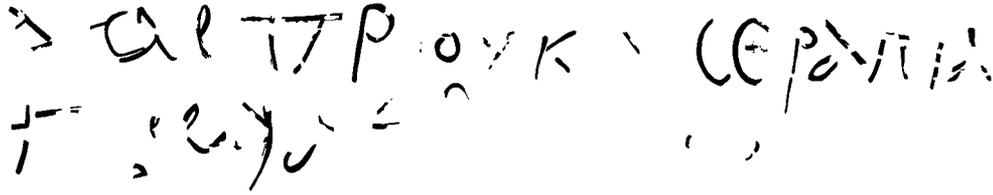
This inscription is a poetic text like the preceding one, composed either in hexameter or in elegiac distich. Each line of the inscription probably contained more than one verse, and the verse endings need not correspond to the endings of particular lines (see commentary to l. 5). The nature of the text is difficult to ascertain from the traces preserved on the wall.

3. The word beginning with ἐϋστε- can be read as ἐϋστεφέες or ἐϋστεφέσι. This looks like the second half of a pentameter.
4. The reading [ἀ]φνειοῖσιν is also possible.
5.] . ΟΝΔΕ κάκιστον must be the end of a hexameter.
6. In the middle of the line, one can tentatively read *ταλαπεν[θ]ής*. What follows can also be transcribed as CΑΜ . ΜΑΡΤ[- - -]. The last four letters belong to a word created either from the stem *μαρτυρέω* or *ἀμαρτάνω*.
7. The expression *ἄλγος χαλεπόν* is formulaic; cf. e.g. *Hom. Il.* 5, 384 (*ἐξ ἀνδρῶν χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι τιθέντες*); *Hom.*, *Odyss.* 2, 193 (*χαλεπόν δέ τοι ἔσσειται ἄλγος*), *Il.* 582 (*χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα*), 22, 177 (*ὥς κεν δηθὰ ζωὸς ἐὼν χαλέπ' ἄλγεα πάσχη*); *Theogn.*, *Eleg.* 1, 555 (*χρηὴ τολμᾶν χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι κείμενον ἄνδρα*), 1, 1178a (*τολμᾶν χρηὴ χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ ἔχοντα*); see also *IG XIV* 2562, face c: *εὐξάμενος Λήνω προφυ(γ)εῖν χαλέπ' ἄλ(γ)εα νούσων*. What follows *ἄλγεσι* is possibly the word *Μοῖρα*.
8. One can also transcribe: ΠΙΑΙΚ . [.] ΚΙ[.] Υ[.]

211. South side, northern face, cornice between the eastern and western columns, 23.5 cm from **210**, in the middle of the cornice *cavetto*. Dimensions: 81 x 15 cm; h. of letters: 2.5 cm (*omikron*) – 7.3 cm (*psi*). Dark red ochre of violet hue, difficult to distinguish from the red palmettes decorating the cornice.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*. no. 128.

Roman period.



Δημητρίου κα[ι] Σεραπιᾶ
 . . Μ . ΨΑ . . . [. . .] .

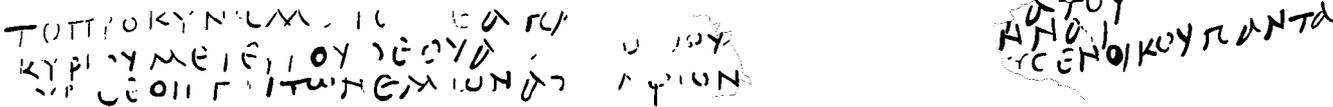
Bataille printed only Δημητρίου and noted that he was able to recognise after revision καὶ ερατ[ε]ρφ[following Δημητρίου

(Inscription) of Demetrios and Serapias [- - -].

212. South side, northern face, cornice between the eastern and western columns, on the vertical moulding at the top of the cornice, 12.5 cm from **208**, above **208**, **209**, **210** and **211**. Dimensions: 92 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 1.0 cm (*omikron* in the word προ(σ)κύνημα) – 2.5 cm (*upsilon* at the end of line 1). Red ochre, very faded. The inscription was written on two neighbouring blocks of the cornice. The stone on the left-hand side is broken and its upper right-hand corner containing the middle part of the inscription has been lost.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*. no. 129.

Roman period.



τὸ προ(σ)κύνημα . . [. .] . Α . . [- - - πα]ρὰ τοῦ
 κυρίου ΜΕ . Ε . ΟΥ θεοῦ Α[μεν]ώθου . [- - -] ΝΝΑΙ
 . . . θεοῖς κ[α]ὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδ[ε]λφῶν [- - - καὶ το]ῦς ἐν οἴκου πάντα[ς].

Bataille copied only the right-hand fragment || 1-2. τὸ προσκύνημα τοῦ | [δέϊνος Bataille || 2. Ὀ]ννώφριος Bataille || 3. πάντας Bataille, read τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ πάντων

Proskynema of [- - -] before the Lord [- - -] god Amenothes [and the - - -] gods and of my brethren [- - - and] of all who are in (my) house.

2. What we have between κυρίου and θεοῦ Α[μεν]ώθου is possibly the adjective μέγας (μέγιστος) in the genitive. However, since the fourth letter of the word is indubitably an E, we have to assume scribal mistake, e.g. μεγεί[σ]του or μεγεί(σ)του.

At the end of the line, the reading $\kappa[αὶ τοῖς συ]νναί[οις]$ should be considered, especially as Bataille's copy seems to corroborate it. The copy shows more letters after $\dot{N}N\dot{A}I$, now completely faded. Providing this reading is correct, it remains to be explained what was found between $\sigma]νναί[οις]$ and $\theta\epsilonοῖς$ at the beginning of l. 3.

213. South side, northern face, wall between the eastern and western columns, 27 cm from the eastern column, 148 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 17.3 x 2 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*rho*). Deep and well visible graffito. The hand is unskilled.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Παθερμούτ^vεως.

Read *Παθερμούθεως*

(Inscription) of Pathermouthis.

214. South side, northern face, wall between the eastern and western columns, 153 cm from the eastern column, 142 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 6.7 x 3.9 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*sigma*) – 3.9 cm (*kappa*). Very deep graffito. No traces of further letters to be seen. Possibly, the inscription was partly carved and partly painted, and the paint has faded completely by now.

Unpublished.

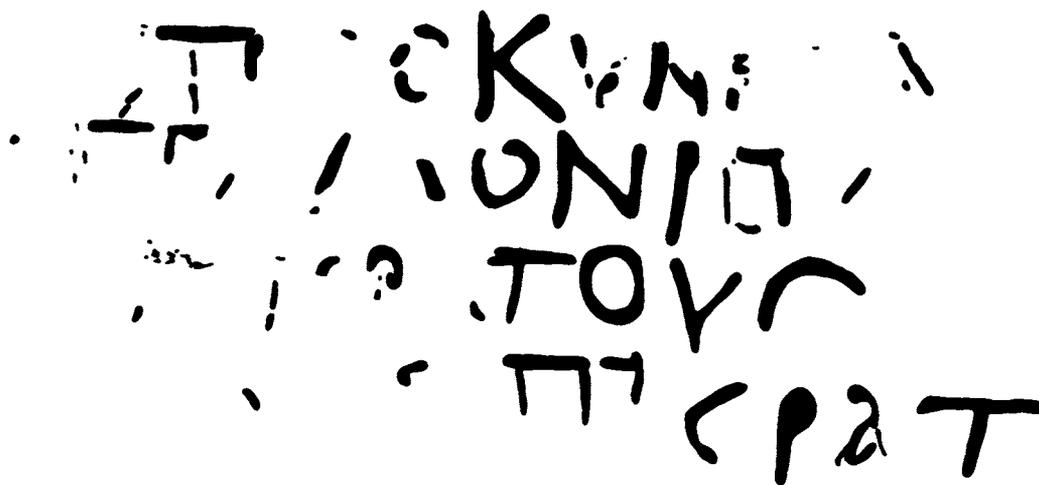
Roman period (?).

[τὸ π]ροσκ[ύνημα τοῦ δαίνοσ].

215. South side, capital of the western column facing east, 447 cm above the floor (218 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 27.5 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.8 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 3 cm (*kappa* in l. 1). Red ochre, very faded (constant sun exposure). Large epigraphic hand.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[τὸ] πρ[ο]σκύνη[μ]α
 [Α]πολλωνίου
 [Ε]πι[κ]ρα[ά]τους
 4 [.] Π . ΚΡΑΤ[- - -] .

Proskynema of Apollonios son of Epikrates [- - -] .

- 2-3. A certain Apollonios son of Epikrates is on record in *O.Bodl.* II 1919, 10 (Theban area, 2nd/3rd cent. AD).
4. Possibly another name ending in *-κράτης*. One can tentatively read [Ε]πι[κ]ρα[ά]τους | [τοῦ Ἐ]πι[κ]ρα[ά]τους.

216. South side, drum of the western column facing northeast, 373 cm above the floor (144 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 46 x 17.8 cm, h. of completely preserved letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 2.2 cm (*nu* in l. 5). Red ochre, very faded. The script rises slightly to the right.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[- - - - -] [- - - -]
 [- - - - -] ρὸς αὐ[τοῦ - - - -]
 [- - - -] Πα[μ]ώθου [- - - -]
 4 [- - - -] . . . καὶ Μέμνον[ο]ς [- - - -]
 [- - - -] καὶ Ἀμμωνίου . [. . .] ΠΥ[- - - -]

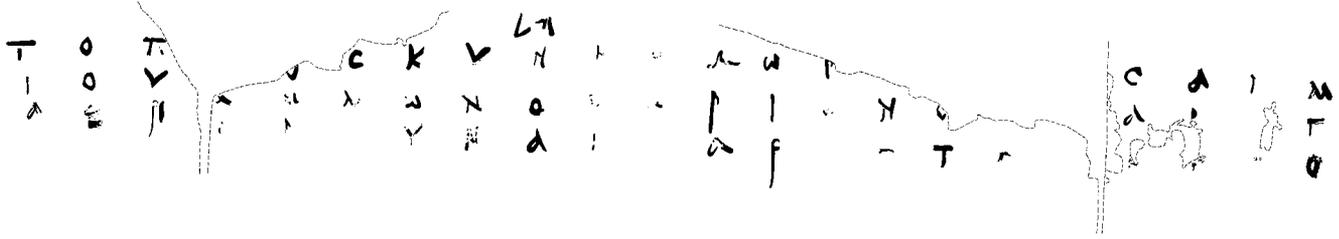
It is remarkable that the people mentioned in this inscription bear exactly the same names as members of Apollonides' family from **123**. However, the fragmentariness of the present inscription makes any identification hypothetical at best.

1. [τὸ προσ]κύνη[μα is not impossible.
2. [πατ]ρὸς or [μητ]ρὸς.
4. Possibly]ρρῦ, a male name in the genitive. The reading τοῦ καὶ should also be taken into consideration.

217. South side, northern face, cornice between the western column and the western wall of the court, in the middle of the cornice cavetto, on three neighbouring blocks. Dimensions: 166.5 x 10.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 3 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, very faded. Particular letters of the inscription are written on white vertical bands separating red palmettes decorating the cornice, a move that resembles to a degree the *stoichedon*-style of Classical Greek inscriptions. In three cases, we have two letters in one band: 1) in the word *veioû* at the end of line 1, *E* is placed above *Y*; 2) at the beginning of l. 3, the letters *PI* are next to one another; 3) in the middle of l. 3, *O* was written under *T* in the article *τοῦ*. The first and the third look like a scribe's attempt to correct a mistake (a hypercorrection in the first case), the second one is paralleled by an occasional crowding of *I* with a neighbouring letter into one *stoichos* in the Classical *stoichedon*. Above **217**, traces of another painted inscription in *stoichedon*-like style: *B ΩΦΡΨΘ*.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 131 (Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 106, *s.v.* Ἀμενώθης).

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 232, no. 131 (German translation after Bataille).



Roman period

τὸ π[ρ]οσκύνημα Ὁρίωνο[ς] Ἀμμωνίου . H[.] C . O . καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐ-
 τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ὁρίωνο[ς] παρ[ὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[.] . [.] . [.]
 ΑΕΠΙ . [.] ΥΝΑΙ[.] ΑΡ[.] . Τ . [.] . . . ΟΥ τοῦ . [.] .

1. σπαστου Bataille | read υἱοῦ || 3. ἀεὶ ὄμ[ο]υ καὶ [πα]ρ[ὰ] Ἀμ[ενώ]τη ρυτρερ[Bataille

*Proskynema of Horion son of Ammonios [. . .] and of his son Ammonios son of Hori-
 on before the Lord A[. . .] .*

2. It is impossible to decide whether to read Ἀ[σκληπιῶ] or Ἀ[μενώθη], for both names have the same number of letters and the letters could have been crowded into one *stochos*, as the example of Ὁρίωνο[ς] in l. 2 shows.
3. The reading [γ]υναῖ[κ]α is possible, but the place is not right for mentioning other members of Horion's family.

The count of missing letters on the right is 19, that is, providing the inscription ran all the way to the right margin.

218. South side, northern face, cornice between the western column and western wall of the court, 64 cm from the western column, on the vertical listel at the top of the cornice. Dimensions: 11 x 4 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.3 cm (*rho*). Very delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish.

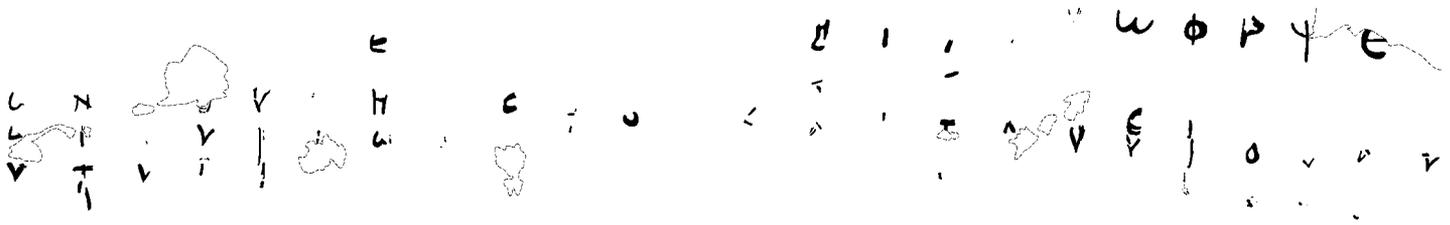
Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνη[μα]
 Καλ ΘΟ H[. . . .]
 ΝΙ Ρ [. . . .] . Ν[. . . .]

2. The reading Καλλίκρα[τ]ο[ς] or Καλλικρά[τ]ο[υ] is to be considered. One can have doubts as to whether the big round sign in the middle of the line is really the letter Θ.

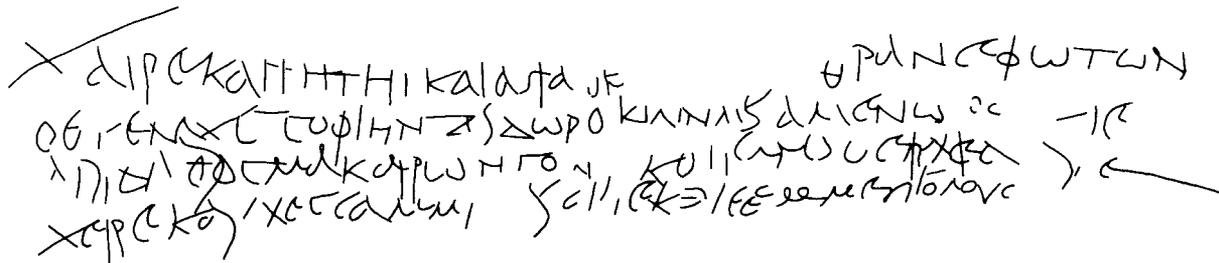


No 217

219. South side, northern face, cornice between the western column and the western wall of the court, 123.5 cm from the western column, in the middle of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 36 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*rho*); the enormously big *chi* at the beginning of the inscription is 2.5 cm high. Delicate graffito, difficult to distinguish. Semi-cursive hand, quite fluent, but not very elegant. The script rises slightly to the right. The reading of the inscription is uncertain in many places due to delicate carving and script irregularities. Level with ll. 2 and 3 and to the right of them, one can see the traces of several letters in the same hand. Since the main text is metrically complete without them, they must be considered as an addendum of some kind.

Unpublished.

Roman period, 1st–2nd cent. AD.



χαίρε καὶ ἰητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [. . . κο]ίρανε φωτῶν,
 ὃς τελέσας σοφίην ζείδωρον ἀναξ Ἀμένω[θ]ος· . . . E
 ἦπιε . ΘΟΟ μακάρων γόν[ε] ΚΟ E XE . . . E
 4 χαίρε καὶ ἰλεος ἄμμι [.] EK ΜΜΕΠΙΟΛΟΥC

Hail (you who are both) physician and [---] ruler of mortals, you who have brought life-giving wisdom to full growth, o master Amenothos. O, the gentle [---] offspring of immortals [---], hail and (be) gracious to us [---].

What we have here is a metric inscription composed in hexameters. Stylistically, it resembles Greek hymnic poetry (cf. commentary to line 1). The text makes use of phrases current in Greek poetry since Homeric times; however, it may have also had some Egyptian forerunners (cf. commentary to ll. 1 and 2). It is possible that this hymn served liturgical purposes, being sung in the cult of Amenhotep in the temple at Deir

el-Bahari. Interestingly, it was inscribed in the immediate neighbourhood of a hymn to Amenhotep written in hieroglyphics, partly carved and partly painted in red ochre, on the drum of the western column of the portico; for the text of this hymn, see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 260, § 163 with pl. LXV 1.

1. For χαίρει in Greek hymnic poetry, see commentary to 100, line 1. It is complemented by ἴλεος ἄμμι in l. 4.

For the term ἰητήρ, see commentary to 100, l. 4.

The adjective qualifying the epithet κοίρανος φωτῶν can tentatively be read ἀγάλλ[υτε] = 'very glorious.' The epithet 'ruler of men, ruler of mortals' is Homeric; cf. *Il.* 7, 234: *Αἰὼν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν.* It is used with reference to Asklepios in an Athenian hymn to this god preserved in the form of an inscription from the 3rd cent. AD (*IG II*² 4533, 1): ἔγρ(εο), Παιήων Ἀσκληπιέ, κοίρανε λαῶν. In this particular case, the epithet in question may go back on an Egyptian model. Amenhotep is qualified 'the ruler of people' in an inscription in hieroglyphics on the rear wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary; cf. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, pp. 27–28, no. 14, with commentary.

2. The wisdom of Amenhotep is constantly praised in Egyptian texts devoted to him; cf. e.g. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, p. 28, no. 14 and pp. 43–44, no. 46. As far as I can see, the expression 'life-giving wisdom' has not been attested so far, either in Greek or in Egyptian sources, but is very well understood as part of the poetic language of the text. It would be even better were we to admit a mistake on the part of the scribe or copyist and read: ὁς τελέσας σοφίην ζεῖδωρος ἄναξ Ἀμένω[θ]ος = 'you who have brought wisdom to full growth, o life-giving master Amenothos.' Amenhotep is qualified as 'the one who gives life to man and woman' in a text in hieroglyphics on the rear wall of the Ptolemaic sanctuary (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, p. 29, no. 15), and according to the hymn to Amenhotep inscribed on a column of the Ptah temple in Karnak, his k3 possesses life-giving ability (Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 209–211, § 143.2). 'He who gives life' is a standard epithet of Imhotep in hieroglyphic sources from Deir el-Bahari and elsewhere; cf. e.g. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Sanctuaire*, p. 31, no. 22; p. 33, no. 24; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 190–191, § 132 (inscription in the Ptah temple in Karnak); pp. 217–218, § 146.1 (inscription in the Hathor temple in Deir el-Medineh).

The designation ἄναξ, if correctly read, hardly suits Amenhotep, who during his lifetime was not a king and, while deified, did not enter the group of the greatest gods of the pantheon, being instead a mediator between them and the mortals. Most probably, the term appears here merely as part of the poetic language without theological significance. Another possibility is that Amenhotep developed towards a universal god figure in the latest period of his cult. Note that Amenhotep and Imhotep are called δεσπότες in 197, and see the designation κοίρανος φωτῶν in line 1 of the present inscription.

The form Ἀμένωθος is unusual, the more so as it is not required by the metre.

3. Possible reading: ἡπιε ἔθος (for ἡπι' ἔθος) = 'gentle by habit.'

The designation μακάρων γόνος fits Amenhotep, who was granted divine parents in the process of his deification. Through a minor change in the notation of his name, Hapu, the earthly father of Amenhotep, became the god Apis; for that, see E. Laskowska-Kusztal, 'Le père d'Amenhotep: Hapou ou Apis?', *Ét. Trav.* 13 (1984), pp. 215–220. He was also considered the son of Amun, Tatenen, and Thoth.

4. The beginning of the line is to be compared with 93, ll. 6–7: ὁ ἰκετεύων [τὸ]ν θεὸν [εἶνα]ι [ἔ]λεον κα[ἰ] εὐμενῆ. The end of the line, if correctly copied, seems to be corrupted metrically.

220. North side, drum of the western column, southeastern face, 353 cm above the floor (133 cm above the cornice of the portico). Dimensions: 21.5 x 11 cm; h. of letters: 3.7 (*eta*) – 4.5 (*theta*). Red ochre, very faded. Upright epigraphic majuscules. Note the points at the end of both lines.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 130.

Cf. J.H. Oliver, *AJP* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille's publication; for the reading of l. 2).

Roman period, probably 2nd cent. AD.

Βιάνωρ ·
μνησθοί ·

1.]βιανων Bataille ||
2.]ισ[.]σθοι Bataille, μνήσθου Oliver

Should Bianor be remembered.

The form of the inscription is the same as in **192** (*Φαυστωρείνα, μνησθοί*) and **193** (*Δάφνη, μνησθ[οί]*). For *MNHΣΘH*-inscriptions, see commentary to **192**.

1. Although particular letters of this line are preserved only in part, the reading of the name seems to be certain. The name *Βιάνωρ* is rare in Egypt. I have noted: *CPR* XVIII 5, 90 (Theogenis, 231 BC); *P.Tebt.* I 120, 7, 127; 129; 131 (Tebtynis, 64 BC).

221. North side, southern face, between the eastern and western columns, on two neighbouring blocks of the cornice (the block to the right is connected with the drum of the eastern column), on the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 62 x 5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omega*) – 1.8 cm (*epsilon*). Violet ochre, quite well preserved, but the underlying stone is very dirty.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 134.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 231, no. 134 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

[- - -] . Ἰουλίου Ἑρμοῦδ[ώρου καὶ τοῦ (τῆς) δεινός . . . τ]ρὸς αὐτῶν
[- - -] . . . καὶ φίλω ἐνθάδε παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ίω Ἀ]μενώθῃ εἰ[ς αἰί ?].

1. [τὸ προσκύνημ]α Ἰουλίου Bataille || 2. καὶ]σεφῶν καὶ φίλων Bataille, read φίλων | εἰ[ς] αἰ[ε?] Bataille

[- - -] of *Iulios Hermod[oros and of - - -] their father (or mother) [- - -] and of friends here before the Lord Amenothes, for always.*

1. - - -]ρὸς can be supplemented either as πατ]ρὸς or as μητ]ρὸς. The plural αὐτῶν indicates that a brother or a sister of Iulios Hermodoros must have been mentioned beside him. His (her) name could have been contained either at the beginning of the inscription, before Ἰουλίου Ἑρμοῦδ[ώρου or in the lacuna after that.
2. φίλω for φίλων is probably purely phonetic: loss of /n/ in final position; for that see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 111–114. Another possibility is to read φίλοι and to supplement, on account of that, e.g. ἀδε]λφοὶ καὶ φίλοι.

222. Under the last letters of **221**, on the cornice block connected with the drum of the eastern column, on the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 8 x 4.3 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*sigma*) – 2.2 cm (*omikron*). Red ochre. At the bottom of the cornice, there is a fragmentarily preserved dipinto in violet ochre done in a large hand (letters 4.5 cm high), of which only the letters]A . K[have been preserved. Visible on the column drum to the right are numerous Demotic inscriptions in dark-red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 135.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 232, no. 135 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

[- - -]ερος
[- - -]ΜΕ . .



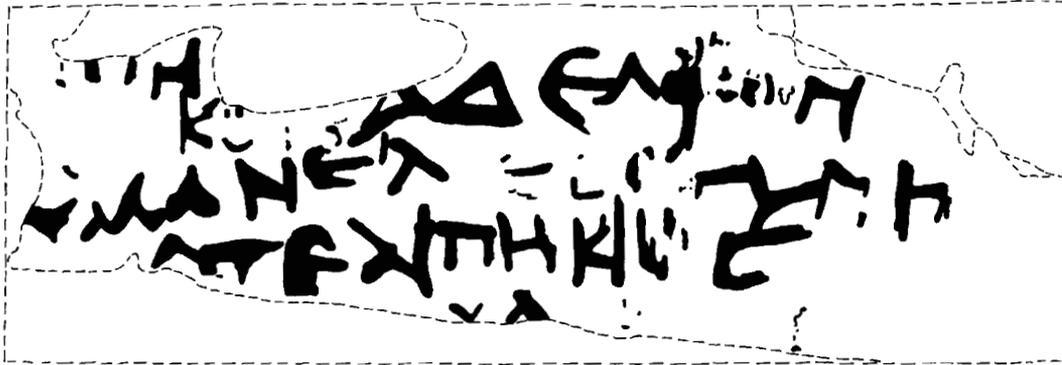
2. Ἀ]μενώθ[θη Bataille

1. Bataille considered reading Κέλ]ερος and, consequently, connected this inscription with the strategus Celer whose visit to the temple at Deir el-Bahari was commemorated twice on the south side of the Ptolemaic portico (**199** and **201**).

223. North side, southern face, on the cornice block connected with the drum of the eastern column, on the vertical moulding at the top of the cornice, above the last letters of **221**. Dimensions: 22 x 7 cm, h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*alpha*) – 2.9 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre, very faded. The script rises to the right. The stone is broken on the left.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 136

Roman period.



[- - -] . H[. .] - - -
 [- - -] . . καὶ ἀδελφῶν
 [- - -] . μα Νειλέως γυνή
 4 [- - - Π]ετσαρπήκιος
 [- - - -] . . [- - -] .

Bataille copied only ll. 3-4 || 3. τὸ προσκύν]ημα Νε[Bataille || 4. ἐνθ]άδε Ἀρπήκιος Bataille

[- - -] and of brethren [- - -] ma daughter (?) of Neileus wife [of - - -] of Petearpekis
 [- - -] .

3. [- - -] . μα undoubtedly is the end of a female name in the nominative like Ἄγαλμα, Ἀγάπημα, Ἀξίωμα, Δώρημα, Εὐρημα, Κτήμα, Λάλημα, Νίκημα, Σκύλμα, Φίλημα, Χρήμα, Ὠφέλημα etc. The syntax of the text is not conclusive as to whether she was the daughter of Neileus (so in the translation above) or his wife.
4. Πετσαρπήκιος is one of the Greek transcriptions of the Egyptian $p^3 tj-Hr-p^3-bjk$ = 'Gift of Horus the Falcon'; cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 325. Without being popular, the names with the element $Hr-p^3-bjk$ (Πετσαρπήκιος, Ἀρπήκιος, Ἀρπβήκιος, etc.) are well attested, especially in Upper Egypt; for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.vv.

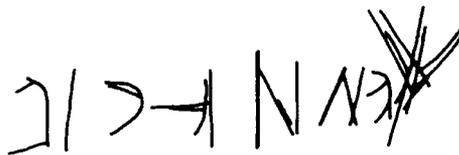
224. North side, southern face, wall between the eastern and western columns, third course of blocks, 16 cm from the eastern column, 154 cm above the floor. Dimensions: $\Pi \times 3.4$ cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*sigma*) – 3.4 cm (*psi*). Deep graffito done with a piece of flint with multiple edges leaving double strokes. The inscription is not nice, the letters uneven and improperly shaped. Obviously, the author had problems with writing in mirrored letters in retrograde.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 137 (J. and L. Robert, 'Bull. épigr.' 1953, 240, p. 197).

Roman period.

Retrograde and mirrored letters:

Ψεννήσις.

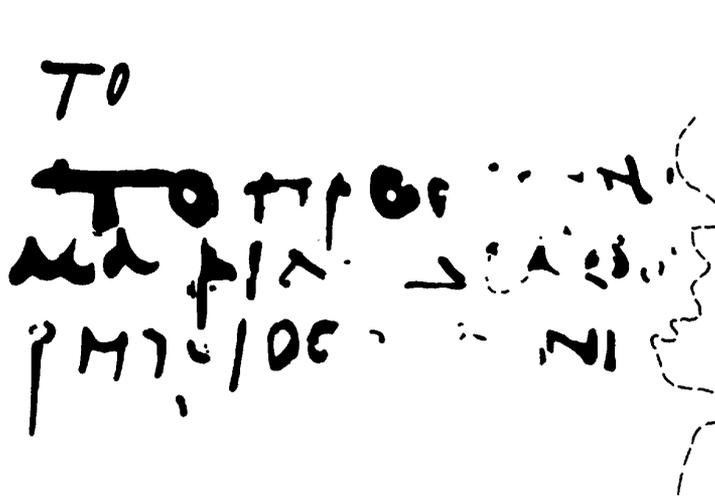


For the question of writing Greek from right to left and, occasionally, with mirrored letters in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see J. K. Winnicki, *Enchoria* 15 (1987), pp. 163–166. Winnicki based his remarks on two graffiti from the tomb of Ramesses IV in the Theban Valley of the Kings (Baillet, *Syringes*, nos. 224a and 225), both of which contained the name *Bsonos* written from right to left and with mirrored letters, as well as its Demotic counterpart *p3 sr-n.iw*. He collected eight more examples of Greek texts written in retrograde (one bilingual mummy label and seven visitors inscriptions, one of them a bilingual graffito in the temple of Philae), all dating from the Roman period or Christian times. Several further items can be added to the list: 1) A. Vogliano, *Primo rapporto degli scavi (...) di Medinet Madi*, Milano 1936, p. 87, no. 18 (τὸ προσκύνημα; additionally, the letters are upside down here); 2) Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, XII 6, pl. XCVI, no. 427 = *SB I* 4120 (τὸ προσκύνημα Μαξίμου; from Maharraqa in Lower Nubia); 3) Chantal Heurtel, *Les inscriptions coptes et grecques du temple d'Hathor à Deir el-Médîna* [= *Bibliothèque d'études coptes* 16], Le Caire 2004, p. 39, no. 41, fig. 33.2: ΠΕΩΔΤΕ (personal name which is written in the standard form in another inscription from the same place, no. 45); 4) Visitors' graffiti in the Upper Church at Banganarti between the third and the fourth Nile cataracts (unpublished). Winnicki suggested that at least some of the texts collected by him (graffiti in the tomb of Ramesses IV, mummy label, graffito in the temple of Philae) could have been the work of people whose mother tongue was Demotic. Being accustomed to writing from right to left, they attempted for some reason to apply this direction also to writing Greek. This might have been the case of our Psenneis, who, as his name shows, was in all likelihood Egyptian. However, in the other cases, there is no explanation other than a whim of the author.

225. North side, southern face, on the cornice block connected with the drum of the eastern column, immediately behind the column toward the entrance. Dimensions: 10.7 x 4.5 cm, h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*sigma*) – 1.9 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, very faded. The inscription was painted on a layer of now peeling whitewash. Above **225** there is another inscription in red ochre, of which only τὸ [προσκύνημα] remains (Bataille was still able to read τὸ προ[σκύνημα]). Traces of Greek inscriptions in red ochre are to be seen on a drum of the eastern column, to the left of the present text.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 136 bis.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνη-
μα Φιλ[α]δέλφο[v]
PH...IOC...NI[...]

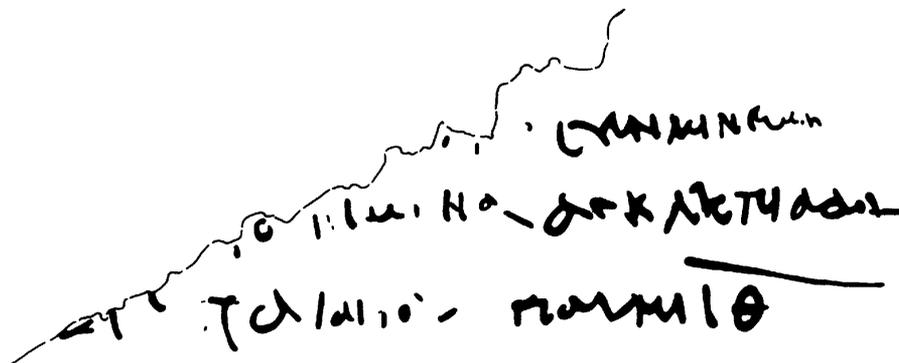
2. P...[...][...]v Bataille || 3. Πλήγ[ιος...][...]v Bataille

Proskynema of Philadelphos [---].

226. North side, southern face, cornice between the eastern column and the entrance, 47 cm from the entrance, in the upper part of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 16 x 4.2 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron* at the end of l. 2) – 0.8 cm (*theta*). Red ochre. The inscription was executed on a layer of whitewash once covering the original palmette decoration of the cornice. Peeling whitewash has contributed substantially to the deterioration of this inscription. On the left, the beginnings of particular lines have been lost where the stone broke at an angle.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 138.

30 August AD 107 – 7 August AD 117 (cf. commentary).



[- - -] . . . Σενμίνεως
 [- - -] . . . νᾶ Ἀσκληπιάδου
 [- - -] (ἔτους) . . . Τραϊανού, Παύνι ἰθ̄.

1. [τὸ προσκύν]η[μ]α Bataille || 2. καὶ Σα]ραπιωνᾶ Bataille || 3. (ἔτους) θ̄ Bataille

[- - -] of *Senminis* [- - -] *nas son of Asklepiades. Year [. .] of Traian, Pauni 19th.*

2. -νᾶ can only be a short genitive of a name ending in -νᾶς. The reading Σα]ραπιωνᾶ (after Bataille) is possible but not certain.
3. Contrary to Bataille (cf. critical apparatus), I think that the number of the year of Trajan's reign consisted of two elements. The inscription is thus to be dated between the first day of the eleventh year (30 August AD 107) and the death of the emperor on 7 August AD 117.

227. North side, southern face, between the eastern column and the entrance, 58.5 cm from the entrance, on the cornice cavetto, under **221**. Dimensions: 28.5 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 (*sigma*) – 2.8 cm (*mu*). Brown ochre used as a mineral without processing and not as paint.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 139.

Cf. Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, p. 242 (only mentioned)

Roman period.

ΕΡΜΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΜΑΔΟΥ
 ἤκω καὶ . . . P . . . E
 ἔρρω[σο οἱ -σθε] . . .

Ἑρμίας Χαρμάδου
 ἤκω καὶ . . . P . . . E
 ἔρρω[σο οἱ -σθε] . . .

2. τεθάρρηκα Bataille

Hermias son of Charmades, I have come and [- - -]. Be in good health.

1. To my knowledge, the personal name Χαρμάδης, -ου has not been attested anywhere else, but the name Χαρμάδας, -α occurs in the southeastern Aegean where the Doric

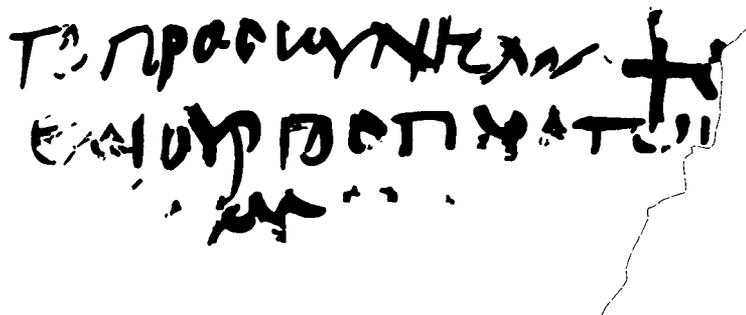
dialect was in use (Crete, Rhodes, Caria); for attestations see *LGPN* I, *s. v.* This was also the name of a pupil of Carneades (cf. von Arnim, *RE* III 2 [1899], col. 2172–2173, *s. v.* ‘Charmadas 1’) and one of the earliest Greek monochrome painters (cf. O. Rossbach, *RE* III 2 [1899], col. 2173, *s. v.* ‘Charmadas 3’). A Cretan *Χαρμάδας* died as a Ptolemaic officer on post in Gaza; cf. *PP* 15251. Both *Χαρμάδης* and *Χαρμάδας* are representatives of a larger group of names in *Χαρμ-*, for which see Bechtel, *HPN*, pp. 486–487.

2. The second part of the line is difficult to read. *τεθάρρηκα* suggested by Bataille gives good sense, but does not correspond well with the traces preserved on the stone. From the palaeographic point of view, *καὶ ἐγράψε* is more justifiable (with aphaeresis or haplography). In any case the last letter of the line seems to be *E* not *A*; the author of the inscription passed from the first to the third person singular.

228. North side, south face, cornice between the eastern column and the entrance, 28.5 cm from the entrance, in the upper part of the cornice cavetto. Dimensions: 24.5 x 7.7 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*sigma*) – 4.2 cm (*psi*). Violet ochre, quite well preserved. The left hand side of the inscription stained as a result of dirty rainwater pouring down.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 140.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα Ψε[. .]
ἐλαιουργὸς παρὰ τῷ κ[υρ]-
[ίω] Ἀμεν[ώθη - - -].

Bataille copied only ll. 1–2 || 2. τῶι [Bataille

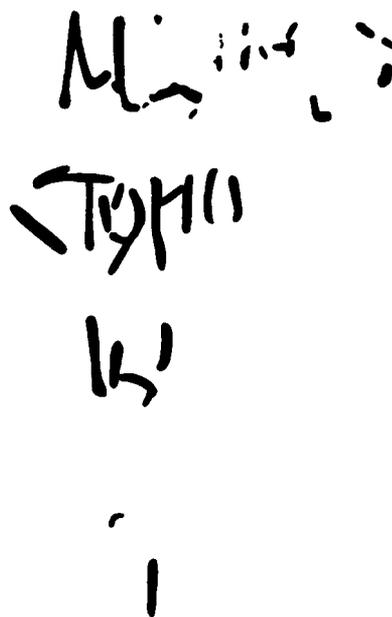
Proskynema of Pse[- - -] oil producer before the Lord Amenotbes [- - -].

The cornice block is broken obliquely on the right. Originally, it had extended another 4.5 cm or so, reaching the entrance placed at right angles to the cornice. This suggests that the lacuna on the right is very small and did not contain more than two or three letters in ll. 1–2.

229. North side, entrance, pillar just inside the doorway, south face, 320 cm above the floor, 9 cm from the eastern corner, eighth course of blocks. Dimensions: 11 x 17 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.8 cm (*mu*). Red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



[- - -] ΜΩΝ . [- - -]
 [- - -] ΚΤΟΝΟ [- - -]
 [- - -] . [- - -]
 4 [- - -] . [- - -]

1. Possibly a male name with the element *-μώνθης*, e.g. Π[α]μ[ώνθ]ου.
2. The reading (ἀρχι)τέκτονος is to be considered, although [- - -] ΚΤΟΠΟ[is possible as well.

230. North side, entrance, doorframe, southern face, sixth course of blocks, 228 cm above the threshold. Dimensions of the item together with drawing: 32 x 22 cm; dimensions of the inscription: 16.7 x 22 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.2 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, very faded and peeling considerably. On the left, the inscription (and the drawing, too?) ends abruptly in the middle of the lines at the edge of the doorframe. The missing part could have been on another block, now lost, the two blocks being set up together either here or somewhere else in the temple. In l. 4, a lunar *sigma* seems to have been corrected into a classical one. There could have been two or three lines beneath the drawing.

Unpublished.

Second half of the Ptolemaic period.

- [- - -] *traces*
 12 [- - -] *traces*
 [- - -] *signs*
 [- - -] *signs*

3. Most probably the end of a male name in the genitive, like Γλύ]κωγος.
- 4-5. πρὸς τὸν [θεὸν Ἀ]σκληπιὸν or similarly. Before that, one expects a verb of motion like ἦκ]ω; cf. **36**, line 1 and **324**, line 2 as well as **60**, line 1 and **68a**, line 1. The Doric form Ἀσκληπιὸν is remarkable. It probably reflects the author's mother tongue. He might have been a Greek who arrived from an area where Doric dialect was spoken; for dialectal diversities among Greeks living in Ptolemaic Egypt, see W. Clarysse, 'Ethnic Diversity and Dialect among the Greeks of Hellenistic Egypt' [in:] A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P.W. Pestman* [= *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 30], Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998, pp. 1-13, especially pp. 5-6.

One wonders whether the drawing was not a schematic plan of the upper terrace of the Hatsheput temple, corresponding to the temple of Amenhotep and Imhotep, with the ramp leading to it from the east.

231. North side, entrance, pillar facing east, block with] shaped torus, 295 cm above the base of the pillar. Dimensions: 21 x 26 cm; h. of letters: 2.7 cm (*epsilon*) – 4.8 cm (*psi*). Violet ochre, very faded as the inscription is subject to constant sun exposure. Traces of letters have been preserved only on the left-hand side, near the torus.

Unpublished

Roman period.

- [- - - -] . A .
 [- - - -] N . EΠ .
 [- - -] . . [.] ΔΙΟΥ
 4 [- - - ἔγρ]αψε ΜΕ
 [- - - Ὀκ]ταβιαγοῦ
 [- - - -] . . .



3. Most probably the end of a male name in the genitive:]λίου. This might be the patronymic of the author.

5. This must be a person (a native) who bore the Roman *cognomen* Octavianus as his personal name; cf. the name Ὀκταιῶς in **234** and possibly also in **179**.

232. North side, entrance, pillar facing east, fifth course of blocks, on a block with vertical torus, 7.5 cm to the right of the torus, 196.5 cm above the base of the pillar. Dimensions: 6.2 x 6.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 (*omikron* in l. 4) – 1.9 cm (*rho* in l. 1). Dark red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσ-
κύνημα

4 . [.] ΑΠΙΟ Α
· ΟΡΜΟ Ρ
· . . ΑΛΗ

2. Possibly a male name ending in *-άριος*, either in the nominative or genitive.

233. North side, entrance, engaged column facing northeast, fourth course of blocks, 156 cm above the base of the column. Dimensions: 7.1 x 1.6 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.6 cm (*nu*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period (?).

Νουμήν(ιος).

The reading *Νουμήν(ιος)* is possible as well. For the name *Νουμήνιος*, see O. Masson, 'Nouvelles notes d'anthroponymie grecque IV. Le nom *Νεομήνιος*, *Νουμήνιος* 'enfant de la nouvelle lune' et ses variants,' *ZPE* 102 (1994), pp. 167–173 (reprinted in: idem, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* III [= *École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e Section, Sciences historiques et philologiques*, III. *Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 28], Genève 2000, pp. 172–178).

234. North side, entrance, engaged column facing northeast, fourth course of blocks, 142 cm above the base of the column. Dimensions: 28.2 x 2.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 2.3 (*rho*). Deep and well visible graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[τ]ὸ προσκύνημα Ὀκτα[ι]ᾶτος

Proskynema of Oktavias.

It seems as if the author hesitated between *A* and *H* in the spelling of the word *προσκύνημα*.

The name Ὀκταιᾶς may also be attested in Baillet, *Syringes*, no. 1948: τὸ προσκύνημα Ὀκταιας. Baillet accentuated Ὀκταίας as if it were a female name Ὀκτα(ου)ία in the genitive; however, the accentuation Ὀκταιᾶς (male name in the nominative) is possible as well. Ὀ[κταιᾶ]τος is possibly to be read in a graffito on an engaged column attached to the south entrance pillar of the Ptolemaic portico (above, **179**). Ὀκταιᾶς, Ὀκταιᾶτος uses a graecised Latin stem *octav-* to which the ending *-ās*, *-ᾶτος*, very frequent in the onomastics of post-Classical Greek, had been added. The Latin name Octavius and its derivatives are usually transcribed with the */v/* not represented in the Greek of papyri from the Roman and Byzantine periods; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 223 (but see Ὀκ]ταβιαροῦ in **231**, l. 5).

235. North side, entrance, engaged column facing northeast, fourth course of blocks, 163.5 cm above the base of the column. Dimensions: 10.8 x 1 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*theta*) – 0.7 cm (*iota*). Deep graffito, but not well visible at all, because of the small dimensions.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Ἀμενώθης[ς].

Asklepios and Amenothes.

The sign in the form of an λ , following the letter Λ in the name Ἀσκληπιὸς , is possibly an abortive attempt at writing H in ligature with Λ .

The inscription lists in an unsophisticated way the names of the two gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari. The text is without parallel among the Deir el-Bahari visitors inscriptions, unless we consider the name Ἀμεινόθης occurring alone in **127** to be the name of the god and not of a man. Parallels are known from the oracle of Bes installed in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos; cf. Perdrizet/Lefebvre, *Memnonion*, nos. 1 (the divine name Βησᾶς repeated four times) and 458 ($\text{Βησᾶς Βησᾶς Βησᾶς Βησᾶς χάρις}$). The latter example clearly shows that these inscriptions functioned as invocations or prayers and this is probably the case of our text, too.

236. North side, entrance, engaged column facing northeast, fifth course of blocks, 210 cm above the base of the column. Dimensions: 44.5 x 19 cm; h. of letters: 6 cm (*mu*) – 9 cm (*upsilon*). Deep graffito, the hand is not very proficient.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Ἑρμίου

.....

(Signature) of Hermias [---].

237. North side, entrance, engaged column facing north, 199 cm above the base of the column, the text is superimposed on the second line of **236**. Dimensions: 33.5 x 13.5 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*omikron*) – 4 cm (*upsilon*). Dark red ochre. Only the endings of particular lines and single letters at the beginning of lines have been preserved. The middle is blurred beyond legibility.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ [προσκύν]ημα
 [- - - - -]κάτη
 . [- - - - -] . νος καὶ
 4 . [- - - - - α]ύτης
 [- - - - -] Τ . .

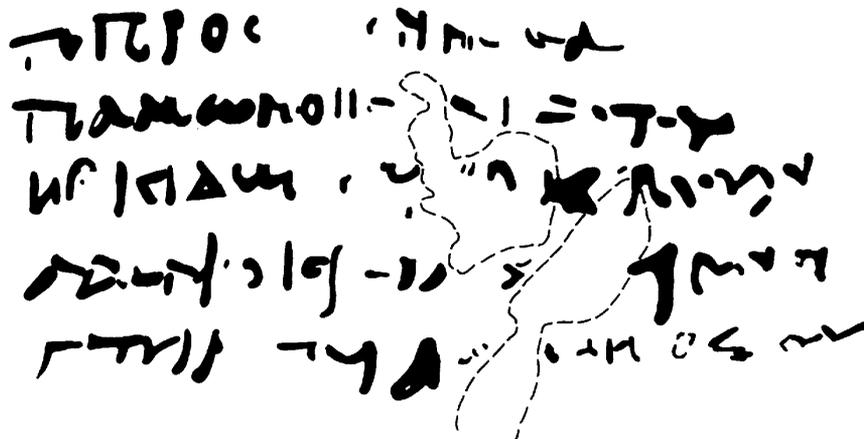
Proskynema of [- - -]kate daughter of [- - -]n and of her [- - -].

2. [- - -]κάτη is probably the end of the name of a woman who was the author of the *proskynema* (cf. α]ύτης in l. 4). Female personal names ending in -κάτη are very rare. I have noted only: Ἐκάτη (or Ἐκατή) and Βουκάτη. Ἐκάτη is attested by Herodas, VII 86 and 91 (cf. commentary in: Herodas, *The Mimes and Fragments*, with notes by W. Headlam, edited by A.D. Knox, Cambridge 1922, p. 357) and, in Latin transliteration, in several Latin epitaphs of the Roman Imperial period (*CIL* VI 19168 and 22316 [cf. p. 3527]; *CIL* IX 1455, col. II 53; 1476; 1517; *Ephem. Epigr.* VIII 536). Βουκάτη occurs in an inscription from Thebes (VI-V BC; cf. *LGPN* III B, s.v.). As far as our case is concerned, both Ἐκάτη and Βουκάτη seem to be too short to fill the lacuna at the beginning of the line, the length of which may be estimated at *ca.* eight letters. Here we can hypothesize a long name like [Τρισκαιδε]κάτη.
3. [- - -] . νος should be the patronymic of [- - -]κάτη. The name we are dealing with most likely is one that ends in -ων, genitive -ονος (-ωνος).
5. It is not evident that the *T* at the end of the line belongs to this inscription.

238. North side, entrance, engaged column facing north, immediately behind **237**, near the cornice, 199 cm above the base of the engaged column. Dimensions: 15.2 x 7.1 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*sigma*) – 1.3 cm (*phi*). Light red ochre, very faded and smudged. The readings are uncertain.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσ[κ]ύνημα

Παμώνθης Δι[ο]δότου

καὶ Ἰσίδωρ[ο]ς λίου καὶ

4 ἀδελφ[ο]ς Ἰσιδω[ρ]ο[ς]

. . . ΥΙΟΥ . . . καὶ Α - - - Υ

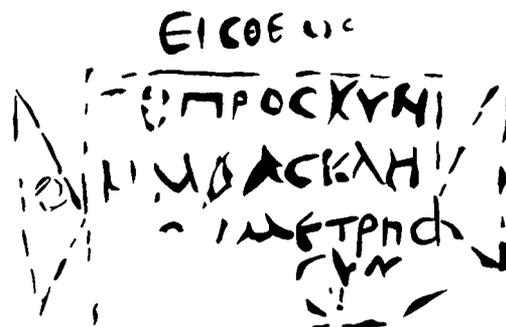
Proskynema of Pamonthes son of Diodotos and of Isidoros son of [- - -]lios and of Isidoros' brother [- - -] and [- - -].

3. Possibly Ἡρακλίου.
4. One can read both Ἰσιδω[ρ]ο[ς] and Ἰσιδω[ρ]ο[υ]. The latter reading seems to be more plausible from the syntactic point of view.

239. On a drum of a column, which Bataille believed to be part of the northern side of the entrance. Dimensions: 25.5 x 13.5 cm. Red ochre, very faded. The text was placed inside a *tabula ansata*. Above the *tabula* the Christian inscription Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 142 with the invocation εἰς θεός was added. I failed to find this inscription. The copy and the edition given here are Bataille's.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 141.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύν-
 ημα Ἀσκλη-
 [πι]οῦ Μετρησ-
 4 [. . και] γυν[α]-
 [ικὸς αὐτ]οῦ.

Proskynema of Asklepios son of Metres[- - -] and of his wife.

2-4. I am not quite sure about the reading of these lines. It does not draw from Bataille's copy, but relies solely on the authority of Milne who, according to Bataille, saw the letters *III* at the beginning of l. 3. This reading has the disadvantage that it produces the personal name *Μετρησ* [which, as Bataille observed, is not attested in our sources. In view of this, I would consider reading: τὸ προσκύν|ημα Ἀσκλη() | [. .] . . μέτρης | [καὶ τῆς] γυν[α|ικὸς. The name in l. 2 may be expanded as Ἀσκλη(πιάδης), Ἀσκλη(πιόδωρος), Ἀσκλη(πιόδοτος) or similarly. Line 3 would contain the office filled by this man. We could read either [γε]ωμέτρης or [σι]τομέτρης.

240. North side, entrance, north face, but exact position not recorded. (I copied this inscription in spring 1988 and was unable to find it later in order to prepare a proper description). Dimensions: 8.2 x 5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.5 cm (*upsilon*). Red ochre.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύν[νημα]
 . . . [.] . [- - -]

241. North side, entrance, engaged column facing northeast, 99 cm above the base of the engaged column. Dimensions: 9 x 4.1 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron*) – 4.1 cm (*phi*). Very deep graffito.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 143

Roman period.

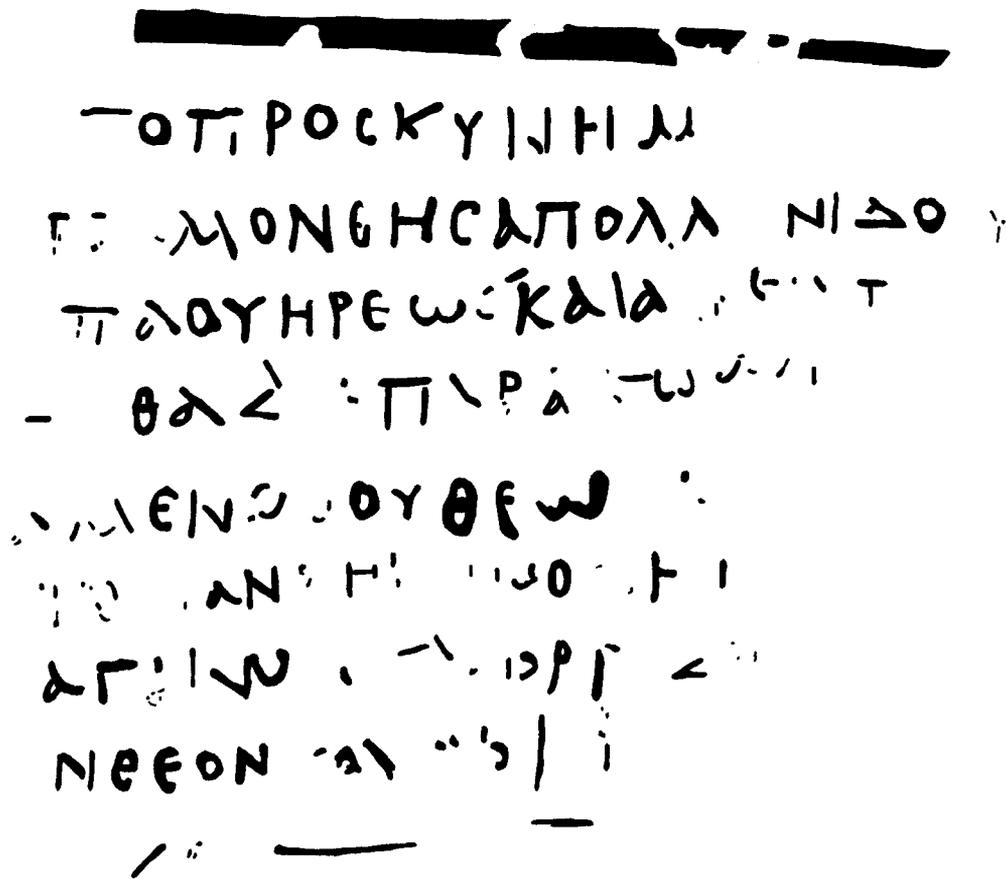
Ἐνοῦφ.

Ἐνοῦφ is a variant spelling of *Ἄνουφ*, the name of the god Anubis which, however, must belong to a man here. The name does not occur elsewhere in this form, but is well attested in the Graecised form *Ἐνοῦφης*.

242. North side, entrance, pillar west of the engaged column facing north, 315 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 24 x 21.7 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron* in l. 8) – 1.7 cm (*epsilon* in l. 5). Red ochre, very faded. Thick horizontal line bordering the inscription at the top and a thin one at the bottom. Written in upright epigraphic majuscules. Immediately above the present inscription, on the same block, traces of an inscription in violet ochre, uncertain whether Greek or Demotic. On the block on top, seven lines of a Greek dipinto in violet ochre, very fragmentary. τὸ προ[σκύνημα] to be recognized in the first line and ΣΥΝ in the fifth. Above that, on the cornice stone, traces of a dipinto in light red ochre (l. 2: ΝΟ.). To the right of **242**, on the west face of the pillar, between the edge of the block and the torus, traces of yet another, completely effaced inscription in dark red ochre.

Unpublished.

13 October AD 54 – 9 June AD 68.



 [REDACTED]

 - ΟΤΙ ΡΟΚΥΙΗΙΛ

 Ε ΜΟΝΕΗΣΑΠΟΛΛ ΝΙΔΟ

 ΠΑΟΥΗΡΕΩΚΑΙΑ

 - ΒΑΚ ΠΡΑ

 ΑΙΕΙΝΟΥΘΕΩ

 ΑΝ

 ΑΓ

 ΝΕΕΟΝ

- τὸ προσκύνημα[α]
 Π[α]μόνθης Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου
 Παουήρεως καὶ ἀδελφ[οῦ]
 4 ξ[ν]θάδε παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ίω]
 Ἀμενόθου θεῶ . [- - -]
 . . [.] AN . H . [.] . . O [.] H . [- - -]
 A [.] P . [.] A . [- - -]
 8 Νέρον[ος] τοῦ [κυ]ρί[ο]υ.

2. read Παμόνθης || 3. The readings ἀδελφ[ῆς] and ἀδελφ[ῶν] are possible as well || 5. read Ἀμενώθη || 8. read Νέρωνος

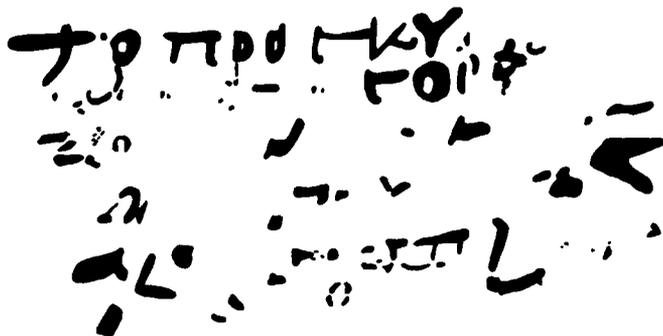
Proskynema of Pamonthes son of Apollonides son of Paoueris and of his brother (or sister or brethren) here before the Lord Amenoths the [- - -] god [- - - Year x of] Nero the Lord.

- 1-2. For persons bearing the name Pamonthes son of Apollonides, see commentary to **123**, ll. 1-2.
3. The name Παουήρης is very rare. Apart from this inscription, it is attested only in *IThySy* 160 (Silsilis, 1st cent. AD): Πακοίβιος ν[εώ] (τερος) Παουήρ(ε)ος. It is the transcription of the Egyptian *p3 wr* or *p3 wr.t* = 'This of the Great'; cf. *Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 359-360. For the -εως ending of the genitive of personal names of Egyptian origin ending in -ις, see Gignac *Grammar* II, pp. 78-79.
5. One is tempted to read θεῶ μ[εγίστω] or possibly θεῶ μ[εγίσ]|το[υ].

243. North side, northern face, between the entrance and the eastern column, 141 cm from the engaged column inserted into the entrance block, 150 cm above the floor, third course of blocks, on a roughly dressed block with very uneven surface. Dimensions: 17 x 8.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 (*omikron*) – 1.6 cm (*tau*). Red ochre, very faded. Traces of numerous fragmentarily preserved inscriptions in red ochre discernible on the north face of the eastern column level with the cornice.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύν[μα]
 ----- ΣΟΡ . [- - -]

 4 -----
 Α ----- Π -----

2. Perhaps Πἔτεσορβ[οῦχισ].
5. A large sign following Π looks like the siglum for ἔτος.

244. Bottom part of a fragment of cornice put together from two smaller pieces. Dimensions: 32.5 x 5 cm. Red ochre, very faded. I could not find this inscription. The reading given here is Bataille's, who made use of an earlier copy by Milne.

After a copy of Milne and personal inspection, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 144.

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 231, no. 144 (German translation after Bataille). A. Martin, *La titulature épigraphique de Domitien* [= *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 181], Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 99.

14 September AD 81 – 18 September AD 96.

τὸ προσκύν[η]μα [Πλ]ῆ[ν]ις [Πάκιος καὶ]
 [τῆς συμ]βίου παρὰ τῷ κυρί[ω] Ἀμην[ώθη].
 [(ἔτους) . . Δομι]τ[ια]ν[ο]ῦ Καίσα[ρο]ς το[ῦ] κυ[ρίου].

1. The reading of the right-hand side of the line relies solely on the authority of Milne
- ||
3. Bataille did not include this reading in the printed text of the inscription, but suggested it in the commentary; it results from the copy of Milne

Proskynema of Plenis son of Pakis and of (his) wife for the Lord Amenothēs. Year x of the Caesar Domitian, the Lord.

245. On a fragment of the cornice. Dimensions: 21.5 x 10 cm. Red ochre. The inscription has deteriorated considerably since Bataille's times and I was able to copy only single letters in ll. 1–2. The copy and the reading presented here are those of the French scholar.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 146.

Roman period.

ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΝΟΥΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ

[τὸ] προσκύνημα . [- - -]
θίτου καὶ τῆς συ[μβίου καὶ τῶν φι]-
[λο]ύντων αὐ[τούς].

1-2.]σθίτου Bataille

Proskynema of [- - - from - - -] this and of his wife and of those who love them.

1-2. Bataille took]σθίτου at the beginning of l. 2 for the end of the patronymic of the *proskynema* author, the beginning of which should have been contained at the end of line 1 (cf. his translation: *Proscynème de [- - - fils de - - -]sthitès*). However, there are no known personal names ending in -σθιτης. What we have here is an ethnic rather than a personal name. Ethnics terminating in -θιτης constructed from place names ending in -θις (*Ερμωνθιτης, Μωθιτης, Ναρμουθιτης, Σοβθιτης, Φαρβαιθιτης*, etc.) are common in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

246. Under **245**. Dimensions not recorded. Red ochre. The copy is that by Bataille.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 146 bis.

Roman period.

ΜΝΩ ΙΟΥΤ Ν Υ

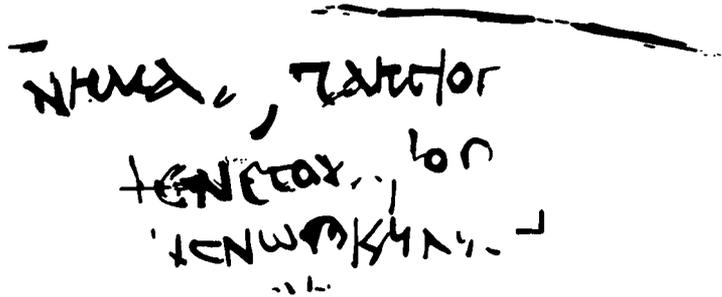
[- - -] ΜΝΩ [.] ΙΟΥΤ . Ν . [- - -]

247. On a fragment of arched block, put together from two smaller pieces (most probably not from a cornice as supposed by Bataille but from a lotus capital once sur-

mounting one of the columns of the Ptolemaic portico). Dimensions: 26 x 10.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.2 cm (*iota*). Dark red ochre of violet shade, quite well preserved. Rounded line bordering the inscription at the top.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 147 (Al. N. Oikonomides, *Serapis* 5, 2 [1980], p. 49).

Roman period.



[τὸ προσκύνημα Ἄρπαήσιος
[- - - - -] Ψενεσουήριος
[- - - - - Ψε]νσνῶς καὶ . . .
4 [- - - - -] . . [- - -]

2. Ψενεσοῦχιος Bataille || 3. καὶ μη[τρὸς ? Bataille, καὶ Μιύ[σιος Oikonomides

Proskynem of Harpaesis [- - -] of *Psenesoueris* [- - -] *Psensnos and* [- - -].

2. Ψενεσοῦχιος, known through this single attestation, is a *nomen delendum*. What is to be read here is surely Ψενεσουήριος, genitive of Ψενεσουήρις. This name is attested mainly in the Theban area; cf. e.g. *P.Bad.* IV 106, 5 (2nd cent. AD); *O.Bodl.* II, 1899, 3 (2nd cent. AD); *O.Bodl.* II 2090, 1 (AD 304); *O.Minor* A4, 2 (AD 140); *O.Stras.* 405, 5 (AD 218). It is the transcription of the Egyptian *p3 šꜣj-n-Is.t-wrt* = 'Son of Isis the Great.' Note that the name has not been attested in Demotic thus far.
3. The reading Σε]νσνῶς is possible as well. Al. N. Oikonomides, *loc. cit.*, identifies this man with the author of a metric inscription containing several commandments of a philosophical character, found in the temple of Mandoulis in Kalabsha; for the text of the inscription, see *ImétrÉg* 165. This identification is fully arbitrary.

248. On a fragment of arched block (most probably not from a cornice as supposed by Bataille, but from a lotus capital once surmounting one of the columns of the Ptolemaic portico). Dimensions: 16 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.2 cm (*upsilon*). Red ochre, much faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 148.

Roman period.

[- - - - -] . [- - -]
 [- - - μη]τρός Τισύτιο[s - - -]
 [- - - ἀδελ]φού κ[αὶ - - -]
 4 [- - - - -] . [- - -]

2. Bataille read *Τισῦτις* but *μη]τρός* requires a genitive, hence *Τισύτιο[s]*. The female name *Τισῦτις* is also on record in *O.Bodl.* II 1459, 3 (Theban area, AD 162).

249. On a small fragment of the cornice. Dimensions: 9 x 3 cm. Red ochre. I was not able to identify this inscription. The copy and the reading are those of Bataille.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 149 (Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 106, s.v. *Ἀμενώθης*).

Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 232, no. 149 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκ[ύ]ψ[ημα]
 Τιταρους [- - - παρ']
 Ἀμενώθη [- - -].

Proskynema of Titares (?) [- - - before] *Amenothes* [- - -].

2. *Τιταρους* may be either the nominative (*Τιταροῦς*) or the genitive (*Τιτάρους*) of the name *Τιτάρης*. As noted by Bataille, both *Τιταροῦς* and *Τιτάρης* have not been attested yet, although we are aware of similar names: *Τιτηροῦς* and *Τιτήρης* (gen. *Τιτήρου*).

250. On a fragment of column, which I have been unable to identify. Dimensions unknown. Red ochre? Only Milne ever saw the inscription; it was missing already in Bataille's time.

After a copy by Milne, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 150.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
 [. .]Υ[.]Κ[. .]ΟΥΣΚ . Ο[. .] . [- - -]

2. Bataille read τολῦ at the beginning of the line.

251. Immediately under **250**. Dimensions and height of letters unknown. Red ochre?

After a copy by Milne, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 152.

Roman period.

[τὸ προσκύνημα [. . .]ορτ[- - -]
 [καὶ τῆς μητρὸς [α]ῦτ[οῦ].

Proskynema of [- - -]ort[- - -] and of his mother.

252. On a piece of stone apparently from the Ptolemaic portico. Dimensions unknown. Reproduced here is a copy made by Milne, who was the only one to see the inscription; the inscription had disappeared already in Bataille's time. Red ochre?

After a copy by Milne, Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 153.

Roman period.

[- - -]ΘΟΥΚ . [- - -]
 [- - -]Θ . . ΤΗΝΥ[.]CM[- - -]
 [- - - - -] . HITO . TO[.] . [- - - -]

2. Perhaps [τὸ π]ροσκύ[νημα].

253. On a large fragment of a big lotus capital put together from three smaller pieces found during excavations carried out in the 1960s on the site of the Thutmose III temple (inv. no. F 162) – see Fig. 21. Originally, the capital must have surmounted one of the columns of the Ptolemaic portico, but it is uncertain whether the present and the next inscription (**254**) were written on it while it was in its original position, 450 cm above ground level (250 cm above the cornice of the portico). The author of the inscription apparently made an effort not to overwrite **254**, situated to the right of **253**. This suggests that **254** is older than **253**. Dimensions: 32.5 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 2.4 cm (*phi* in l. 4). Red ochre, very faded, particularly at the top of the inscription.

Unpublished.

Roman period, possibly 2nd cent. AD.

ΤΟΤΙΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΗΜΑ ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΥ
 ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΡΜΟΥΘΙΟΥ ΑΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
 ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΜΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΒΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ
 ΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΝΤΑΣ
 ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΚΛΗ-
 ΤΩΝ ΕΙΝΤΙΟΕΡ[...]
 ΑΜ[...]

τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀβασκάντου
 υἱοῦ Θερμούθιου ἀπάτωρος καὶ τῆς
 κυρία μου μητρὸς καὶ συνβίω καὶ τέκνων (καὶ)
 4 [ἀδελ]φῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας
 [παρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκλη-
 [πιῶ] ΩΝΕΙΝΤΙΟΕΡ[- - -]
 [.] Α[.] ΑΜ[- - -]

2. read ἀπάτωρος || 2-3. read τῆς κυρίας || 3. read συμβίου || 4. read τῶν φιλοῦντων

Proskynema of Abaskantos son of Thermouthis, apator, and of his esteemed mother and wife and children and brethren and friends and those who love (him) before the Lord Amenothes and Asklepios [- - -].

- i. For the name Ἀβάσκαντος = 'secure against enchantments, free from harm' in Roman Egypt, see Danielle Bonneau, 'L'apotropaïque 'abascantos' en Égypte,' *RHR* 199 (1982), pp. 23-36.

2. For ἀπάτορες in Roman Egypt, see H. Ch. Youtie, 'Απάτορες. Law vs. custom in Roman Egypt' [in:] *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, pp. 723–740 (reprinted in: idem, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I, Bonn 1981, pp. 17–34). According to Youtie, they were the offspring of liaisons, which were not recognised legally as marriages and involved as parties mainly, if not exclusively, Egyptian women and Roman soldiers. Although such liaisons existed undoubtedly throughout Egypt, the people described as ἀπάτορες are attested mainly for Arsinoites; for the geographical limits of terminology relating to ἀπάτορες, see Youtie, *op.cit.*, p. 726, note 3. The present inscription is one of very few attestations of the term in question outside Fayum. In papyri, ἀπάτορες are normally designated as such by third persons in administrative or legal contexts. It is remarkable to find this designation used here in reference to oneself and in a context which touched in no way the interests of the Roman state. This suggests that the term ἀπάτωρ was a constant element of Abaskantos' self-presentation and was deprived of any negative connotation. Abaskantos might even have felt proud to be son of a man of higher social status than that of his neighbours and acquaintances. The fact that Abaskantos does not mention his father in his inscription is probably insignificant in this respect: the latter could have been dead already by the time that Abaskantos visited Deir el-Bahari. The specific legal status of ἀπάτορες is a strictly Roman characteristic of the 2nd cent. AD. This suggests a 2nd cent. date for the present text, too.
- 2–3. The spelling τῆ κυρία (for τῆς κυρίας) reflects the loss of /s/ in final position, a phenomenon frequently encountered in the language of Greek papyri from Roman and Byzantine Egypt; for that, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 124–126.
3. For frequent interchange of Ω and ΟΥ in the language of Greek papyri from Egypt, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 208–211. It occurs most often in unaccented endings and reflects pronunciation: both Ω and ΟΥ are only graphic variants of what was pronounced as a closed /o/.

254. On the same stone as **253**, to the right of it – see Fig. 21. Dimensions: 63 x 19. 5 cm; h. of letters: 7 cm (*nu*) – 10 cm (*omega* in l. 2). Red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



Ὡρος νεώ-
τερος Ω . [- - -]

Horos the younger [- - -].

2. Possibly Ὡρ[ου]: 'Horos son of Horos,' conforming to the well-known family custom of naming sons after their fathers.



SECTION XIII
GRANITE PORTAL IN FRONT OF THE BARK SHRINE

In Ptolemaic and Roman times, the granite portal leading from the court to the Bark Shrine was covered with a layer of creamy-pinkish whitewash, much like the portal between the Upper Portico and the court (see. above, p. 146). Visitors left their inscriptions, mainly contrasting dipinti in red or violet ochre, on this surface and not on the stone itself. Scratched texts must have been rare, if any, as granite with its hard structure, unlike limestone, is not well suited to carving letters. Originally, the inscriptions must have been very numerous, covering densely the undecorated inner faces of the portal, and possibly also the external ones, which were turned to the east and decorated with scenes in sunken relief. Unfortunately, much of this mortar coating has disappeared since antiquity. Additionally, the surface of the granite has corroded in many places, particularly towards the west ends of the jambs. Surviving patches of whitewash reveal traces of letters from Greco-Roman times, but hardly enough for a continuous reading. In the effect of conservation work on the granite portal, conducted by a Polish-Egyptian Mission in the 1996/97 season (cf. F. Pawlicki, *PAM* 9 [1997], pp. 58–59), a Demotic dipinto in red ochre was recognized on the east side of the lintel, immediately beneath its upper edge, *ca.* 5 metres above the floor of the upper court.

255. South doorjamb, northern face, 285 cm above the threshold, 21 cm from the east edge of the jamb. Dimensions: 23.5 x 23 cm; h. of letters: 2.3 cm (*omikron*) – 6 cm (*kappa*). Dark red ochre of violet tone.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

. [.] . [- - -]
 . A . [- - -]
 K [.] . [- - -]
 4 καὶ Πορρ . [- - -] .

3. καὶ is possible but not certain.

4. Following *καὶ* we have most probably a personal name comparable with *Πόρρης* (*SEG* XXIV 1169), *Πόρρος* (*O.Mich.* 98) or *Πορρηβεύς* (*PLBat* XIII 21, 6; from Oasis Magna); see also *Πορρηβ()* in *PLips.* I 97, XIV, 12 (Hermonthis, *AD* 338).

256. South doorjamb, northern face, 273 cm above the threshold, at the east edge of the portal. Dimensions: 18 x 22 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*sigma*) – 2.3 cm (*kappa*). Light red ochre, very faded. With the disappearance of the whitewash coating, the ochre has become practically indistinguishable from the granite.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

- [. . .] . *EA* [- - -]
 [. . .] . . . [- - -]
 [.] *KII* . [- - -]
 4 . *EHY* . *OC* [- - -]
 [*π*] *αντ[ὸ]ς* . *POΘ* [- - -]
 . *AI* . *A* . [.] . *KIO* . [- - -]
αὐτοῦ [- - -]
 8 *Ἐπέφ κ* . [- - -]

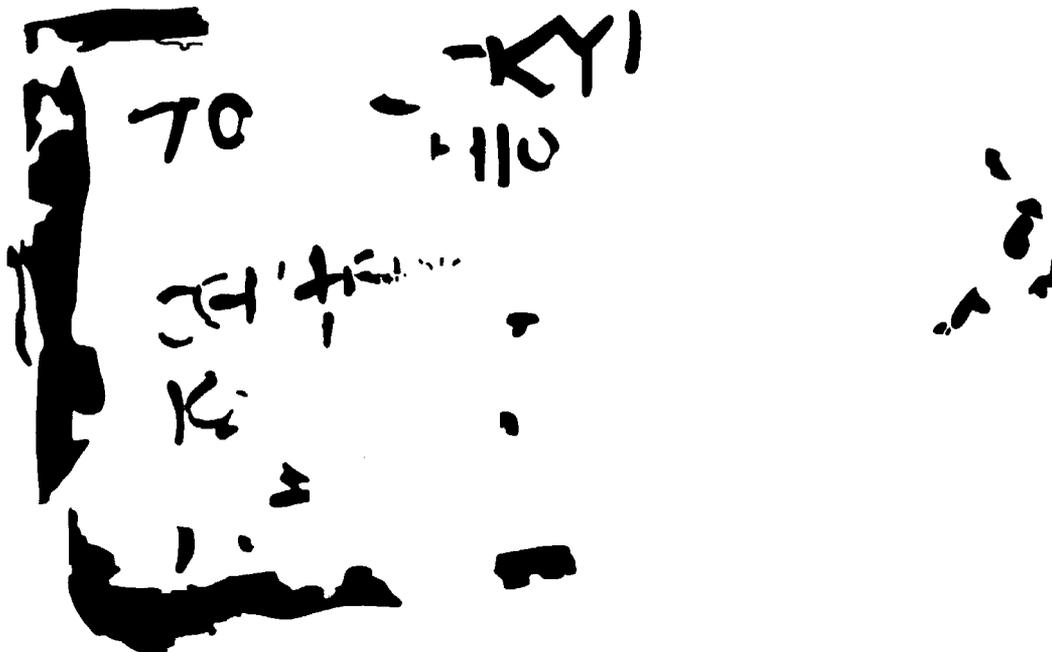
— Ε Α
 C C C
 Κ Π Π
 — Ε Η Υ Ο C
 Α Ν Τ C Ρ Ο Θ
 Α Ι Α Π Ο Θ Κ Ι Ο
 Α Υ Τ Ο Υ
 Ε Π Ε Φ Κ Ι

3. Possibly [*ε*]κ Π [- - -].
 6. Possibly *Ἀρ[π]ήκιος*. *Ἀρπηκίς* is a common Egyptian name, frequently attested in the Theban area.
 8. Either *κε* or *κς* or *κθ*.

257. South doorjamb, northern face, 259 cm above the threshold, 18 cm from the east edge, under **256** and above **259**. Dimensions: 24.5 x 15 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*omikron*) – 1.9 cm (*upsilon*). Red-brown ochre. Severe damage caused by disintegrating whitewash, especially on the right-hand side, where the inscription has been lost entirely. The text was surrounded by a rectangular frame.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ [πρ]οσκύν[ημα - - -]
 [.] ΝΙΟ[- - -] . [- - -]
 Σενψε . [- - - - -] Α[- - -]
 4 ΚΑ[. . .] . [- - -] . . [- - -]
 . . . [- - - - - - - - - - - - -]

2. Most probably a male name ending in *-νιος* (*Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀμμώνιος vel sim.*), here in the nominative or genitive.
3. *Σενψε* . [- - -] is a female name, presumably a transcription of an Egyptian name of the *t3 šꜣj-n-* type = 'Daughter of NN.'

258. South doorjamb, northern face, 238 cm above the threshold, at the east edge. Dimensions: 24 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*mu*). Violet ochre, well preserved on the right (where the thin coating of whitewash once covering the portal was preserved in part), faded on the left. The reading is not certain.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 156.

Cf. J.H. Oliver, *AJP* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille's publication).

Roman period.

τὸ π[ρ]οσκύνημα
 Ἀπολλωνίου ὁμοί(ως) καὶ
 πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν
 4 καὶ υἱῶν . . . [.] ΛΛ[- - -]

2. ὁμοῦ Oliver || 4. υἱῶν κα[ὶ] Bataille

Proskynema of Apollonios son of Apollonios and of all his brethren and sons [- - -].

As Bataille observed, the hand is that of a professional scribe accustomed to writing quickly with the use of abbreviations and formulae characteristic of bureaucratic language.

259. South doorjamb, northern face, 243 cm above the threshold, 21 cm from the east edge, immediately after **258** (ll. 3–5 of the present inscription follow ll. 1–3 of **258**) and under **257**. Dimensions: 12.5 x 12 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*tau*). Dark red ochre of violet hue, well preserved, but recognizable only in a few isolated spots where the thin coating of whitewash survives.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 155.

Roman period.

τὸ π[ρ]οσ[κ]ύνημα
 . E . [- - - - -]
 ΤΟΥ[.] . [.] . [- - -]
 4 Τ[- - - - -]
 Διακ . [- - - - -]

Bataille copied only ll. 3–5 ||
 3. τὸ π[ρ]οσ[κ]ύνημα Bataille || 4. τ[οῦ] Bataille

5. Two names starting with *Διακ-* are attested in Egypt: *Διάκων* and *Διακονεύς*; for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. It is probably one of these two names that is present here.

260. South doorjamb, northern face, 228 cm above the threshold, at the east edge. Dimensions: 9.5 x 2.4 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*tau*) – 2.4 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, quite well preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 154.

Roman period.

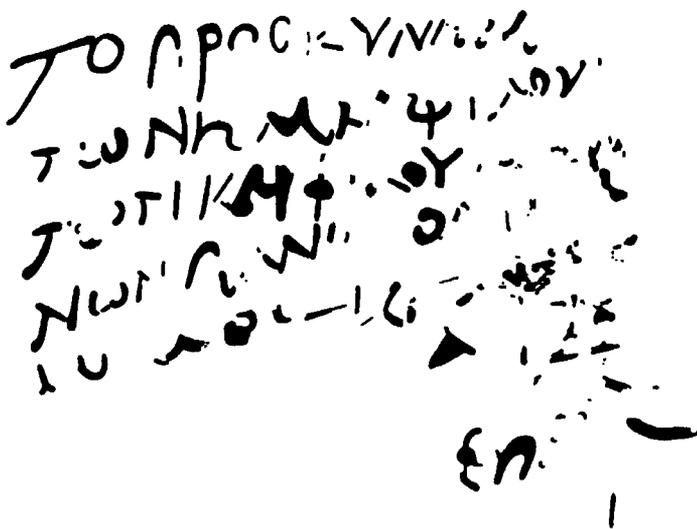
Ταύρων. 

For the name *Ταύρων*, see commentary to 152, line 1.

261. South doorjamb, northern face, 224 above the threshold, at the east edge, immediately under **260**. Dimensions: 16.5 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*tau*). Red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

1st–2nd cent. AD.



τὸ προσκύνημα[α]
τῶν ἡμῶν φιλοῦ[ν]-
των καὶ φιλουμέ-

4 νων πάντων . . .
 (ἔτους)
 Α
 Ἐπέειψ [- - -].

2. read ἐμέ

Proskynema of those who love me and who are loved by me [- - -]. Year [x of NN],
Epeiph [- - -].

It seems that the inscription (including line 1) is complete on the right. If so, it did not contain the name of the person who left the *proskynema*, mentioning instead only his (her) friends.

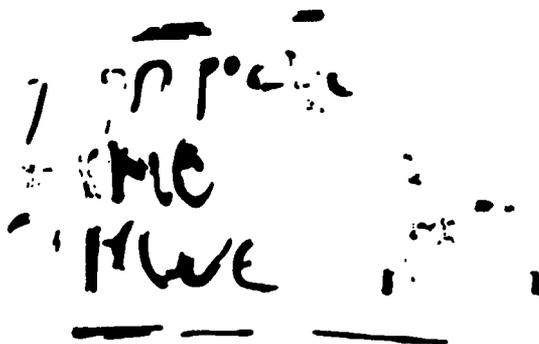
5. At the beginning of the line, we probably have ὦδε.

The number of the year may have started with ι (= 10) or κ (= 20). Perhaps κγ'.

262. South doorjamb, northern face, 168,5 cm above the threshold, 6 cm from the east edge. Dimensions: 14.5 x 8.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.8 cm (*tau*). Red ochre, very faded. The right-hand side of the inscription is damaged beyond recognition because of the disintegration of the coat of whitewash, on which it was executed. The text was framed. Note the difference of hand: small and influenced by cursive script in line 1, large and epigraphic in lines 2–3.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκ[ύνημα - - -]
 . N . [. . .] . . [- - -]
 . . Ω . [. .] . . . [- - -]

2. Possibly ΠΝΕ[or ΜΝΕ[.

3. To my mind, the reading]|ΕΝΩΘ[is a possibility. It would have been the name of one of the gods worshipped at the Deir el-Bahari temple: 'Αμ]|ενώθ[ο]υ.

263. North doorjamb, southern face, 274 cm above the threshold, 34 cm from the eastern edge of the jamb. Dimensions: 18 x 11 cm; h. of letters: 1.0 cm (*phi*) – 1.7 cm (*kappa*). Dark red ochre of violet shade, quite well preserved. The inscription could have been continued to the bottom.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 157.

Roman period.

[τὸ] π[ροσκύ]νημ[α]
[- - -] . εος κ[αί]
Πετ[ε]χῶν Κυσ[- - -]
4 . ΩΛ . ΟΡΝ[- - -]

Bataille copied only l. 3 and read Πετ[ε]χῶνκυσ. He also took into consideration the possibility of reading Πετ[ε]χῶν Κυσ[- - -] or Πετ[ε]χῶν Κησ[- - -].

Proskynema of [- - -] and *Petechon* son of *Kys*[- - -].

3. The name Πετ[ε]χῶνκυσ read by Bataille is a *hapax*; therefore I consider it more reasonable to make the word division after ΠΕΤΕΧΩΝ. The personal name Πετ[ε]χῶν is very well attested. The patronymic of this man could read Κύσιος[- - -].

264. North doorjamb, southern face, 241 cm above the threshold, the last letters in particular lines could have reached the eastern edge of the portal. The inscription is bordered at top and bottom with Demotic dipinti done in dark red ochre. Dimensions: 30.5 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (sign for *ἔτους*). Violet ochre. Only the middle parts of ll. 1–2 are well preserved; on the left-hand side, the surface of the stone (and the inscription) have been damaged, on the right, near the portal edge, the ochre has faded considerably.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 158.

Roman period.



[- - -] γίου Μέλανος καὶ τοῦ
[- - -] . . υ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου παντός.
(ἔτους) σ'

4

Bataille copied only ll. 1-2 || 1. [- - -] σίου Bataille

[*Proskynema* of - - -] nios son of Melas and of [- - -] and of (his) entire house. Year 6
[- - -].

1. Bataille noted that the reading of the patronymic is not certain.

265. North doorjamb, southern face, 203 cm above the threshold, 17 cm from the east edge. Dimensions: 12.2 x 2.2 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*omikron*) – 2.2 cm (*nu*). Red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 159.

Roman period.

Ἄννο[υ]φίς.

ΑΝΝΟΥΨΙΣ

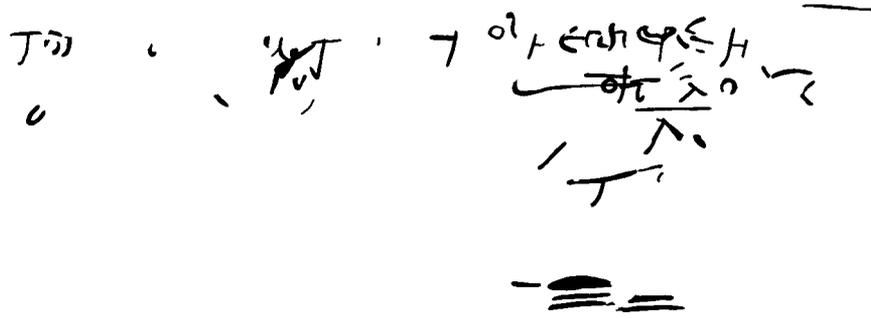
Bataille copied and read Ἄννοφίς, read Ἄνοῦφίς

In all probability, Ἄννοῦφίς represents the common Egyptian name Ἄνοῦφίς with the gemmination of the first radical. The same spelling occurs also in *IThySy* 165 (Ἀννούφεως) and *CPR IX* 34, 10 (Ἀννουφίου).

266. North doorjamb, southern face, 179 cm above the threshold. Dimensions: 47.5 x 16.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 2 cm (*tau*). Dark red ochre of a violet shade. At the bottom, the inscription was bordered, at least partly, by a triple line.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 160.

1st–2nd cent. AD.



τὸ π[ρο]σ[κύνη]μα T[. . .] . . [.]οῦ . ΕΠΗΡΕΗ[.] .
 Α[ca. 8] . [.] . . [ca. 6] . (ἔτους) ἥ
 [- - - - -] . [.] λ̄ [- - -]
 4 [- - - - -] T . [- - - - -]

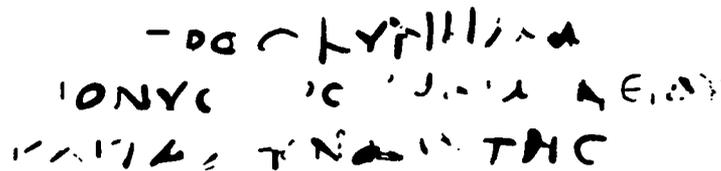
Bataille copied only part of l. 2, which he read as Ἡρακλῆς. He also noted that he had been able to distinguish, after revision, further traces of the same hand: κ . ηθρος κ above and λ̄ below.

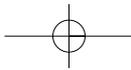
1.]οῦ is probably the end of a male personal name in the genitive (T[. . .] . . [.]οῦ). What follows could be the patronymic of this man.
2. After the number of the year, the name of an emperor should follow. I find it difficult to read it from the preserved traces of letters.
3. The number λ̄ refers probably to the day of the month: the 30th.
 Originally, there was possibly another line (5) between the present l. 4 and a triple line bordering the inscription at the bottom.

267. North doorjamb, southern face, 171 cm above the threshold, 25 cm from the east edge. Dimensions: 21 x 4.7 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 1.3 cm (*kappa*). Light red ochre, very faded.

Unpublished.

Roman period.





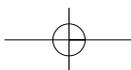
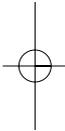
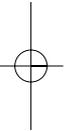
GRANITE PORTAL IN FRONT OF THE BARK SHRINE

343

[τὸ] προσκύνημα
 [Δ]ιονυσ[. .] . C[. . . .] . . . OY
 καὶ τὰ τ[έ]κνα αὐτῆς.

Proskynema of Dionys[---], daughter of[---] and of her children.

2. [Δ]ιονυσ[ία], [Δ]ιονυσ[ιάς], [Δ]ιονυσ[οδώρα] or similarly. What follows is most probably the patronymic of this woman. It ends either in]είου or in]θου.



SECTION XIV THE BARK SHRINE

The Bark Shrine has considerably changed its appearance since Bataille's time. In 1981, two middle niches blocked during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the temple, one in the north and one in the south wall of the room, were reopened by the Polish-Egyptian Mission; cf. Z. Wysocki, 'The Discovery and Reintegration of Two Niches in the East Chamber of Queen Hatshepsut's Main Sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari' [in:] *Mélanges G. Mokhtar* II [= *Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude* 97/2], Le Caire 1985, pp. 361–378. During the work, several undecorated blocks of the Ptolemaic reconstruction bearing inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions in Greek done in red ochre and dating to the Roman period (cf. **276**, **277**, **278**, **287**, **288**) were removed from their place. They are stored in lapidaries now. On the other hand, three inscriptions in black ink were found written on the walls of the newly reopened north niche. Two of them, a Greco-Demotic bilingual text on the north wall of the niche and a list of names in Greek on its east wall, are published below (**289** and **290**, respectively). The third one, a text in Demotic on the east wall of the niche containing a list of men who fulfilled some unspecified duties (probably in the temple of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari), was published by Edda Bresciani, 'Un nouveau texte démotique daté du 28 Nov. 304 a. J.-C. à Deir el-Bahari' [in:] J. Karkowski, J. K. Winnicki, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp. 103–105. All three inscriptions date from the Early Ptolemaic period, probably from the 3rd cent. BC. The date 305/304 BC given by Bresciani to the Demotic inscription on the east wall is based on a suspicious reading and should most probably be rejected (cf. above, pp. 17–18). In the second half of the 1990s, the Polish-Egyptian Mission undertook a comprehensive programme of reconstruction and conservation of the Bark Shrine; cf. F. Pawlicki, *PAM* 8 (1996), pp. 63–65; idem, *PAM* 10 (1998), pp. 121–124; idem, *PAM* 11 (1999), pp. 159–163; Z. Szafranski [in:] Z. Szafranski (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 70. In the effect, some undecorated blocks inserted into the walls during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the room were removed and replaced by original decorated blocks from the times of Hatshepsut. Among the removed blocks was that which carries **286**. On the other hand, an original decorated fragment of the south doorjamb of the door leading from the Bark Shrine to the second room of the sanctuary from the times of Hatshepsut with **282** was put back into its original position. The walls of the Bark Shrine, particularly in the west end, were cleaned of soot and dirt accumulated during the time that the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple was being used as a monastery. The cleaning made the Greek and Demotic dipinti more visible in some places. Finally, two reconstructed figures of Hatshepsut in Osiris form were set up in the southwestern and northwestern corners of the room, the latter of the two concealing completely **284**.

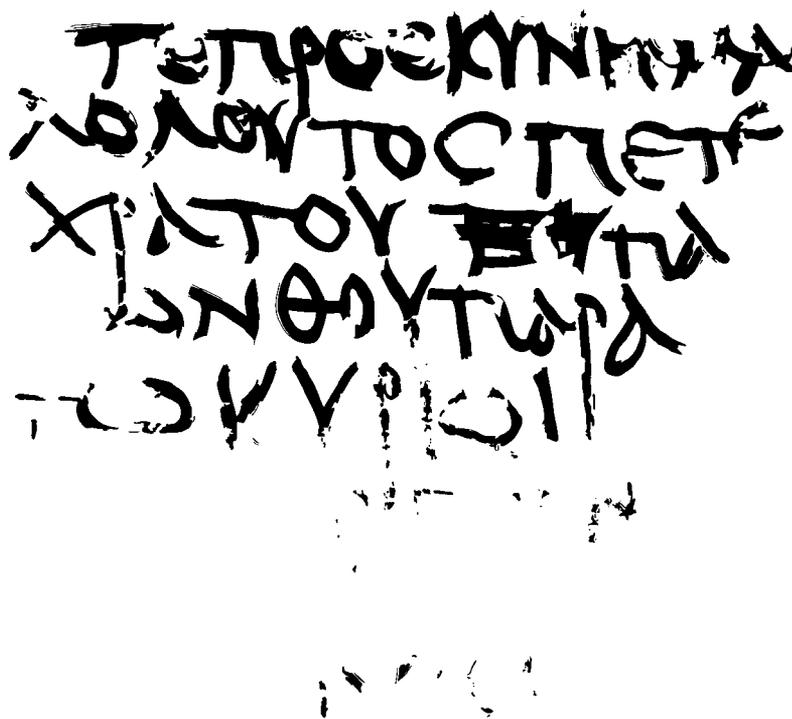
It should be noted that traces of Greek inscriptions in red ochre are also found on the lintel with the relief representation of a winged sun disc, which was placed, after the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the temple, in the west wall of the Bark Shrine, above the door leading to the first room of the Greco-Roman sanctuary (cf. above, p. 32). They

appear on the front of the lintel, looking into the Bark Shrine. The lintel under consideration was not inserted in its original position during the Polish-Egyptian reconstruction work and is kept in a lapidary now.

268. South wall, 53 cm to the west of the southeastern corner, 278.5 cm above floor level, to the left of an eastward-turned head of Amun in a high feather crown. Dimensions: 53 x 48 cm; h. of letters: 4 cm (*sigma*) – 10 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, well preserved. The author of the inscription attempted to fit it between a hieroglyphic inscription on the left and the Amun figure on the right. The inscription was written with a very thick *kalamos*, the strokes being 1 cm thick. Large epigraphic hand.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 161, pl. VIII.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα
 Λολο[[υ]]ῦτος Πετε(χεσπο)-
 χράτου [[του]] Πα[μ]-
 4 ὄνθου παρὰ
 τῷ κυρίῳ

2. Λολούτος Bataille || 2-4. Πετε|χράτου τοῦ Παμ|όνθου Bataille || 5. Bataille put a full stop after κυρίῳ, as if the inscription ended there

Proskynema of Lolous son of Petechespochrates son of Pamonthes before the Lord [---].

1. In the patronymic *Λολούτος*, the scribe originally wrote the letter *Υ* too close to *Ο* and then corrected himself by writing the crucial letter a second time at the right distance from *Ο* and partly on top of the first *Υ*.

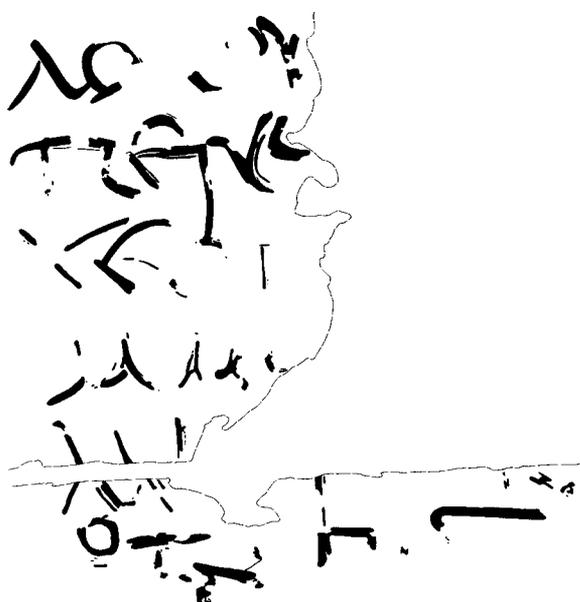
Bataille read Lolous' patronymic as *Πετεχράτου* here and in **269**, and remarked that the personal name *Πετεχράτης* is attested in these two inscriptions only. However, in **269**, it is *Πετεχεσ[ποχράτου]* and not *Πετεχερ[άτου]*. Either the two neighbouring inscriptions **268** and **269** were made by two different men accidentally bearing the same name and a very similar patronymic or the patronymic of the author of the present inscription was recorded in an abbreviated form *Πετε(χεσπο)χράτου*. The shifted letter *Ε* at the end of l. 2 could indicate an abbreviation. *Πετε[χεσπο]χράτου* cannot be read.

3. After *Πετε(χεσπο)χράτου*, the author of the inscription obliterated the letters *ΤΟΥ*, most likely considering it a haplography. Actually, the article *τοῦ* is indispensable before the name of the grandfather, but it was normally omitted in Theban sources, thus explaining this obliteration.

269. South wall, 70 cm to the west of **268**, 263.5 cm above the floor, fifth and fourth courses of blocks, to the right of the head of Amun looking eastwards. Dimensions: 24 x 25.5 cm; h. of letters: 4 cm (*sigma*) – 7.6 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, possibly the same as in **268**, but the writing tool was different and the hand shows some cursive traits (cf. ligature *TE* in l. 2), as compared with the hand of **268**. Under **268** and **269**, on the shoulders of Amun, there are numerous Demotic inscriptions in red and light brown ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 162.

Roman period.



Λολοῦ[s]
 Πετεε-
 χεσπ[οχράτου]
 4 Μ . . [- - -]
 . . . [.] . [. .] .
 C

Bataille copied only ll. 1-3 || 1. Λολοῦς Bataille || 2-3. Πετεε|χρ[άτου Bataille

Lolous son of Petechespochrates [- - -].

The names *Λολοῦς* and *Πετεχεσποχράτης* are typical of Theban onomastics; for *Πετεχεσποχράτης*, see commentary to **183**, l. 2, for *Λολοῦς*, see commentary to **168**, l. 7. A certain *Λολοῦς Πετεχεσποχράτου* is on record in *O.Bodl.* II 1406 (receipt of a grain delivery to the granary in the metropolis, AD 150) as living in *Νότος*. He is possibly to be identified with the author of the present inscription (and also of **268**).

3. Since this line seems to be abnormally long in comparison to ll. 1-2, one is justified in considering an abbreviation: *Πετεχεσπ(οχράτου)*.

270. South wall, 123 cm from the southeastern corner, 215 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, under the armpit and on the arm of Amun, on an earlier Demotic dipinto in red ochre. Dimensions: 7.5 cm x 5.2; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omega*) – 1.9 cm (*theta*). Black ink. Upright hand, quite elegant.

Unpublished.

Second half of the Ptolemaic period (?).



τὸ π[ροσκύνημα]
 Θεών [- - -]
 τοῦ Ν . [- - -]

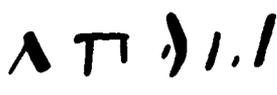
Proskynema of Theon [son of - - -] son of N[- - -].

3. The second letter of the name of Theon's grandfather is either *O* or *E*.

271. South wall, 28.5 cm to the west of **269**, 263.5 cm above the floor, between the *tcheker*-sign bordering the eastern niche at the top and a band underlining a relief scene showing a king at offering. Dimensions: 7.5 x 1.7 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*alpha*) – 1.7 cm (*omikron*). Red ochre.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

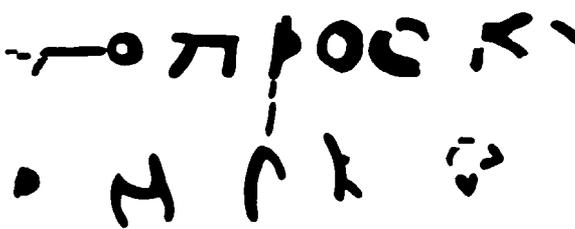
Ἀπολλ[- - -]. 

Most probably a personal name like Ἀπολλ[ώνιος], Ἀπολλ[ωνίδης], Ἀπολλ[όδωρος].

272. South wall, 142 cm away from **271**, 260 cm above the floor, on a scene showing offerings. Dimensions: 14.5 cm x 5.3 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 – 2 cm. Light red ochre, very faded. (N.b.: It is not certain if the topographical coordinates refer to this inscription which was copied by me in spring 1988 and could not have been identified later).

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα
..... [- - -]

273. South wall, between the eastern and middle niche, 60 cm from the west edge of the eastern niche, 230 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine, in the upper right-hand corner of the block. Dimensions: 16.5 x 11 cm; h. of letters: 1–1.3 cm. Dark red ochre, peeling considerably. The inscription was written on a thick layer of mud mortar, which had been introduced to smoothen the uneven surface of the stone; the mortar is now largely lost. The block with the present text bears numerous inscriptions in Greek and Demotic. In the upper left-hand corner of the block, one can see traces of a Greek dipinto in red ochre in five (?) lines; only the letters τὸ πρ[οσκύνημα] in l. 1 can be read with some degree of certainty. The central and the lower parts of the block to the left are occupied by several Demotic dipinti, while in the lower right-hand corner there is **274**. A narrow block immediately below, along

the west edge of the east niche, bears a long Greek inscription of at least 15 lines executed in red ochre. No continuous reading is possible except for *MΩNΘ* in l. 5.

Unpublished.

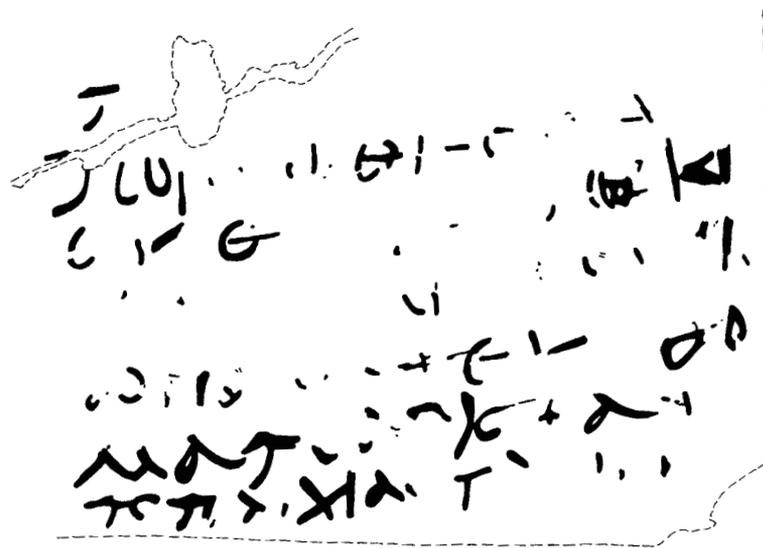
Roman period.



274. South wall, between the eastern and middle niche, 55 cm from the west edge of the eastern niche, 190 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on the same block as **273**. Dimensions: 22 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*omikron*) – 2.1 cm (*kappa*). Dark red ochre, very faded and peeling. The upper part of the inscription was blackened with soot in Coptic times. The inscription could have extended to the right and bottom, where the adjacent blocks are missing.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τ[ὸ προσκύνημα]
 ΠΟΡ ΘΙ . C . . .
 . . . [- - - -] . ΚΙ
 4 [- - - -] - - -
 Ε . [.] . . .
 ΜΑΤ . . . Κ . Α .
 τοπαρχίας Τ . . .

Proskynema of Por[- - -] of the toparchy [- - -].

2. One can consider reading Πορεγέβθις or Πορεγέβθιος.
- 5-6. The reading γραμ||ματεὺς is not impossible.
6. The end of the line probably contained the name of the nome to which the toparchy belonged or the name of the toparchy.

275. South wall, 113 cm to the west of **274**, 266 cm above the floor, above the middle niche, on a block with decoration chiselled during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine (remains of the original relief decoration are preserved in the upper part of the block). Dimensions: 58.5 x 16 cm; h. of letters: 5.2 cm (*pi*) – 8 cm (*sigma*). Dark red ochre.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 163.

Cf. Pawlicki, *Świątynie*, p. 109, fig. 105 (photo). Z. Szafrński [in:] Z. Szafrński (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 68, fig. 10 (photo).

Roman period.



Παυευθῆς
 Διονυσίου.

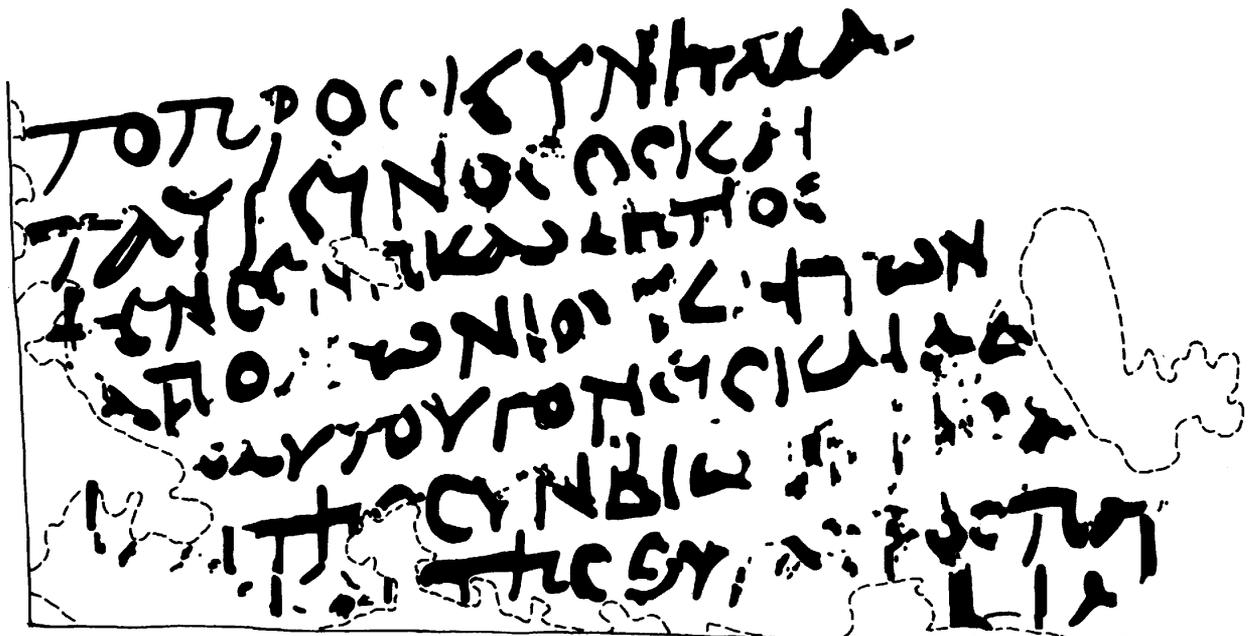
Paneuthes son of Dionysios.

1. The name Πανευθής is attested only in the Theban area; in particular, see *O.Bodl.* I 322 Col. ii: list of payments mentioning a certain Διονύσιος in l. 2 and Πανευθής in l. 3; cf. also *WO* 764 and *O.Bodl.* II 1919, 12, which has Πανεύθι(ος).

276. South wall, 37.5 cm to the west of **275**, 219 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine to close the middle niche of the south wall and removed in 1981 during the uncovering of this niche. Dimensions: 21 x 11.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 cm (*omikron*) – 1.6 cm (*eta*). Light red ochre. The script rises to the right.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα

Ταυρέϊνος ὃς καὶ

Ψενσενπκαμήτιος

4 Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τῶν

ἑμαυτοῦ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδ[ελφῶν]

καὶ τῆς συνβίω . . . Α

[. . .] καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς Παρ-

8 [. καὶ] φίλ[ων]

[- - - - -]

2. read Ταυρέϊνος || 5. read γονέων || 6. read συμβίου

Proskynema of Taurinos also called Psensenkamētis son of Apollonios, and of my parents and brethren and wife [name] and daughter Par[- -] and friends [- -].

- 2–3. The grammar of the part of the inscription containing the nomenclature of the *proskynema* author is confusing. His name and the pronoun $\delta\varsigma$ are in the nominative, his nickname in the genitive. The correct reading should be: τὸ προσκύνημα Ταυρείνου τοῦ καὶ Ψενσενπκαμητίος.

Ψενσενπκαμητίος is an *addendum onomasticis*. Literally, the name means: ‘The son of Senpkamētis.’ The female name Σενκαμητίος (literally ‘Daughter of Kamētis’) is characteristic of the Theban region; cf. e.g. *P.Heid.* III 43 with commentary. Π before -καμητίος represents the Egyptian article *p³*. Σενπκαμητίος was probably the real name of Taurinos’ mother. One can speculate that he was nicknamed ‘The son of Senpkamētis,’ because he was especially beloved by his mother or because his father Apollonios was absent from his life.

For $\delta\varsigma$ instead of δ in the formula introducing the second name (or nickname) of a person, see commentary to **94**, line 1.

5. At the beginning of the line, before ΑΥΤΟΥ, traces of two letters are visible. This suggests the reading ἐμαυτοῦ against ἑαυτοῦ.
Since there are no traces of letters after ΑΔ, one can also consider the reading ἀδ(εμφῶν).
7. ΠΑΡ at the end of the line must be the name of Taurinos’ daughter. The reading παρ[ἀ τῷ κυρίῳ] seems to be excluded in view of]ΦΙΑ[in l. 8, which suggests that the author of the *proskynema* mentioned friends after family members.
8. The reading καὶ τῶν] φιλ[ούντων or καὶ τῶν] φιλ[οιμένων] is also possible.

277. South wall, 17 cm to the west of **276**, 257 cm above the floor, on three neighbouring blocks: upper part on the same block as **275**, lower part on two roughly dressed blocks inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. Of these three blocks, the one at the bottom on the left-hand side was removed from the wall in 1981 during the uncovering of the middle niche in the south wall of the Bark Shrine, two other blocks (at the top and at the bottom on the right) remained in their original place. The text is superimposed on an earlier Demotic dipinto in violet ochre. Dimensions: 59 x 41 cm; h. of letters: 3 cm (*alpha*) – 8.3 cm (*rho*). Red to light red ochre, at the top very faded, quite well preserved to the bottom. Large upright hand, apparently quite skilful. To the left and to the bottom, the inscription seems to have been bordered by a line (but see commentary to l. 7).

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 164.

J. H. Oliver, *AJPh* 74 (1953), p. 221 (review of Bataille’s publication). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 232, no. 164 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα

Δ

Ἀμμωνίου κα[ι]

- 4 Νε . . . νιν . ου υἱοῦ
καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ·
. [- - -]

1. τὸ προσκύνημα Bataille || 2. Δημητρίου Bataille | 4. Νεμμηνίου κα[ι] Bataille, Νουμηνίου Oliver || 5. . . ητούφης [.] [Bataille || 6. Bataille copied nothing after κυρίῳ || 7. Ἀμ[ε]νώθη Bataille

Proskynema of D[---] son of Ammonios and of Ne[---]ios (his) son and of his house for the Lord Amenothes [---].

2. The name of the *proskynema* author is difficult to reconstruct from the traces of ochre preserved on the wall. What seems to be sure is that the second letter of the name was a round one (*E*, *O*), thus excluding the reading Δημητρίου put forward by Bataille. The letter in the middle of the line can be both *T* and *Π*.
5. One can consider the reading: τοῦ οἴκου[υ] παντός.
7. This line most probably contains a date. I have tentatively suggested the reading: (ἔτους) $\bar{\alpha}$ followed by the name of a month. The sign for (ἔτους) would have a somewhat unusual form, resembling the Latin uncial U. However, it is also possible that a long rounded line on the left of the inscription and to the bottom of it is not a frame, but a big sign for (ἔτους). If so, we should probably read: (ἔτους) $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$ + name of a month.

278. South wall, 6.5 cm to the west of **277** and immediately under it, 219.5 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block put into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the room to close the middle niche and removed in 1981 during the uncovering of this niche. Dimensions: 26.7 x 9 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*sigma*) – 4.4 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre, very faded. The inscription is written on an earlier Demotic dipinto, particular strokes merging to the point of making the two texts difficult to distinguish.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

Ἄρπαῆσις
Ἀρσιήσιος ἔγραψα
[.] [- - -].

I, Harpaesis son of Harsiesis, have written [- - -].

Both the author of the inscription and his father bear names with exactly the same meaning; for Ἄρπαῆσις > Ḥr-ḫ3-Is.t = 'Horus (son) of Isis,' see *Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 807–808, for Ἀρσιήσιος > Ḥr-ḫ3-Is.t = 'Horus son of Isis,' see *Dem. Namenbuch*, pp. 834–835. Obviously, the father chose for his son a name alluding to his own name. In *P. Aberd.* 94, 5 (Theban region, 2nd cent. AD), there occurs a certain Ἀρπαῆσις Πασή(μιος) πρεσβ(υτέρου) Ἀρσιήσιου(ς). He may be connected in some way with the author of the present inscription.

1. The last letter I copied has the form of a complete oval. This is either *C* exaggeratedly rounded (as in the text printed above) or *O*: Ἀρπαῆσιου[ς]. In the latter case, it would have to be assumed that the author used the genitive incorrectly for the nominative or that the Egyptian name Ḥr-ḫ3-Is.t was treated here according to the rules of the second declension: Ἀρπαῆσιος, Ἀρπαησίου.

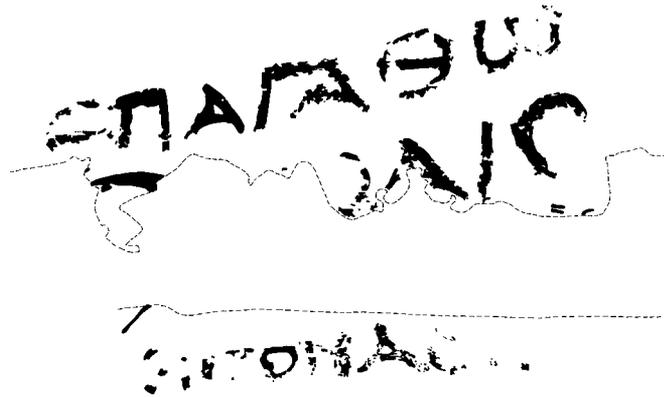
279. South wall, 42.5 cm to the west of **278**, 248 cm above the floor, ll. 1–3 on a block with decoration that was chiselled during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine (traces of the original relief decoration are preserved in the upper part of the block), l. 4 on the same block as the right-hand side of **277**. Dimensions: 29.5 x 11.8 cm; h. of letters in ll. 1–2: 2.8 cm (*alpha*) – 4.6 cm (*sigma*), h. of letters in l. 4: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) –

2.5 cm (*alpha*). Violet ochre. The inscription was written on a layer of mud mortar. Large epigraphic hand; the script rises slightly to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 165.

Cf. Z. Szafrński [in:] Z. Szafrński (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 68, phot. 10 (the photo shows only the upper part of the inscription).

Roman period.



ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ
 . [. .] . αἰς
 . [.] .
 4 εἰς τὸν ἀε[ὶ] χρόνον].

2. . [. .] ολις Bataille || 3-4. lack in Bataille's edition

Good luck [- - -] αἰς [- - -] for all time.

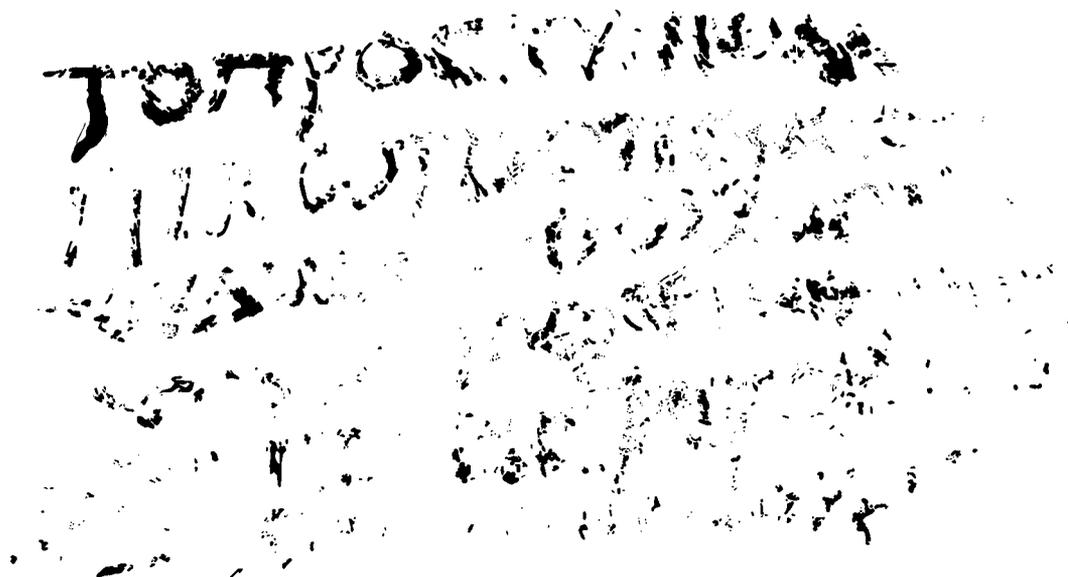
1. For the formula ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ in Egyptian visitors inscriptions, see commentary to **93**, l. 13.
2. The reading *AIC* at the end of the line is near to certain. The name of the author of the inscription should perhaps be read as Σ[εν]ψάις. If so, the author was a woman.

280. South wall, 47 cm to the west of **279**, 277 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, on a block with decoration chiselled during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine (traces of the original relief decoration preserved in the upper part of the block). Dimensions: 35.5 x 71 cm; h. of letters: 4.5 cm (*omikron*) – 6.5 cm (*tau, rho*). Red to light red ochre. Line 1 is relatively well preserved; for the remaining part, surviving traces of ochre are occasionally insufficient to reconstruct particular letters. Large epigraphic hand. The script rises slightly to the right.

Unpublished.

Cf. Z. Szafrński [in:] Z. Szafrński (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2001, p. 68, phot. 10 (the photo shows the upper part of the inscription in relation to the relief decoration of Hatshepsut's time and neighbouring Greek inscriptions).

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα
Παβῶτος παρὰ τοῦ [- - -]
ου Ἀμε[νώ]θου - - -

4 - - - - -
- - - - -
- - - - -

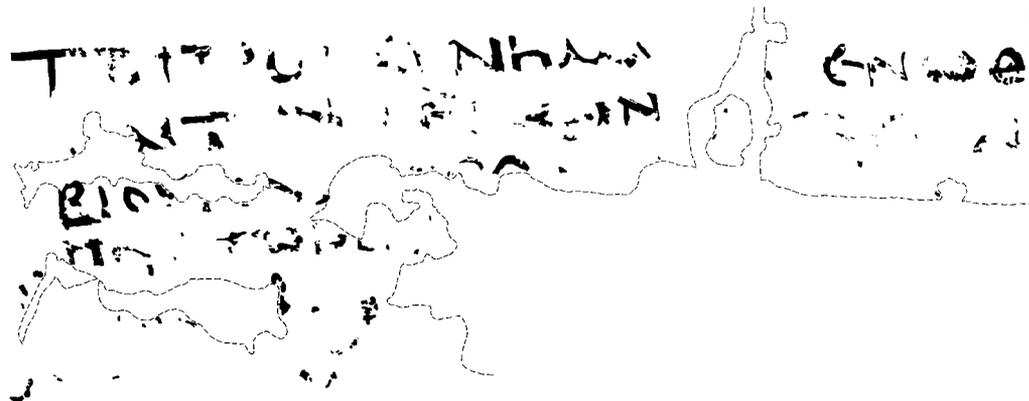
Proskynema of Pabos before the [- - -] Amenothes [- - -].

- 2-3. The name of the *proskynema* author seems to be certain; the rest is more guessed than actually read. The form of the Deir el-Bahari visitors inscriptions suggests the supplement: παρὰ τοῦ [κυ]ρίου Ἀμε[νώ]θου

281. South wall, 19 cm to the west of **280**, 213 cm above the floor, on two neighbouring blocks with relief decoration chiselled during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. Dimensions: 44.2 x 12.4 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 1.5 cm. Dark red ochre. The inscription was written on a layer of mud mortar that has largely disintegrated, causing considerable loss of text. Further traces of painted inscriptions in Greek are visible above and below the present one.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



τὸ προ[σ]κύνημα [Ἀμ]ενώθ[ου]
 [καὶ τῶ]ν τέκνων - - - [καὶ τῆς συμ]-
 βίου - - - [- - - - -]
 4 παρ[ὰ] τῷ κυ[ρί]ω - - - - -]
 - - - [- - - - -]
 - - - [- - - - -]

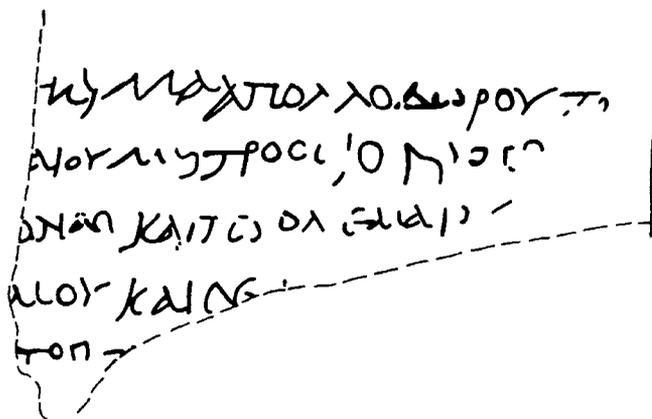
Proskynema of Amenotbes and of (his) children [- - -] and of (his) wife [- - -] for the Lord [- - -].

282. West wall, south doorjamb of the door leading from the Bark Shrine to the first room of the sanctuary in Greco-Roman times, 274 cm above the floor, on a *hr*-sign from a hieroglyphic inscription containing a royal titlature. Dimensions: 12 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.3 cm (*omikron* in l. 5) – 1.1 (*alpha* in l. 1). Black ink, slightly faded.

Unpublished.

Cf. Karkowski [in:] J. Karkowski, J. K. Winnicki, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), p. 97 (only mentioned).

Second half of the Ptolemaic period, most probably around 100 BC.



[τὸ προσκ]ύνημα Ἀπολλοδώρου το[ῦ]
 [- - -]αίου μητρὸς . O . . O . .
 [- - -]ονας καὶ Πτολεμαίου
 4 [- - -]μου καὶ Σε[- - - - -]
 [- - -]ΤΟΠ [- - - - -]

Proskynema of Apollodoros son of [- - -]aios, his mother is [- - -], and of Ptolemaios [- - -] and Se[- - -].

- 2. Possibly [Πτολεμα]αίου (cf. ll. 3-4).
- 4. The reading: Πτολεμαίου | [τοῦ πατρός] μου, is to be considered. It would agree with the supplement [Πτολεμα]αίου in l. 2. But]μου could also be the end of Ptolemaios' patronymic.

283. West wall, northern part, 80 cm to the north of the door leading to the first room of the Graeco-Roman sanctuary, 286 cm above the floor, on a trapezoidal, roughly dressed block, which originally was hidden behind the statue of the Queen in Osiris form (removed before the present inscription was written). Dimensions: 38 x 28 cm; h. of completely preserved letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) – 3.8 cm (*tau*). Dark red ochre, in ll. 1-4 relatively well preserved, but insufficient in ll. 5-11 for reasonable reading. A line could have bordered the inscription at the bottom. The inscription overlaps with another dipinto written in ochre of the same colour.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 166 (Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 106, s.v. Ἀμενώθης). Cf. Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenhotep*, p. 232, no. 166 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνη[μα]
 Πετρεσορβούχης
 Ἀμε καὶ
 4 . . M ANT .

 ----- θ -----
 8 -----

Bataille only took notice of ll. 1-5 || 2. τοῦ Σορβούχης Bataille || 2-5. [παρὰ] | Ἀμεν[ώ]θη καὶ | Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ τῶ[ν] | συ[ν]ν[ά]ων θ[εῶν] Bataille



Proskynema of Petesorbouchis son of Ame[---] and [---].

2. For the name Πετσορβούχης, see W. Clarysse, 'Theban Personal Names and the Cult of Buchis' [in:] H.J. Thissen, K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotica. Festschrift für Erich Lüdtdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, pp. 25–39. His list of attestations can be made to include SB XXII 15543–15544 (Τιθοῆς Πετσορβούχιος). The name is exclusive for the Theban region, being connected with the cult of Buchis, the sacred bull of Montu worshipped at Hermonthis. A certain Amenotnes son of Petesorbouchis is mentioned in WO 1196, 14 (provenance unknown, but most probably from the Theban area; date unknown). He might have been connected by familial ties with the author of this *proskynema*.
4. Possibly πάντα.

284. West wall, northern part, 78 cm to the north of the door leading to the first room of the Graeco-Roman sanctuary, 176 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. Dimensions: 21.5 x 6 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omikron*) – 2.7 cm (*upsilon*). Light red ochre, very faded. The letters in line 2 are much bigger than those in line 1. The inscription is no longer visible, being concealed behind a statue of the Queen in Osiris form reconstructed by the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the 1998/9 season; cf. F. Pawlicki, *PAM* II (1999), pp. 159–163. The copy reproduced here was made in 1990.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic (?).

τὸ προσ(κύνημα) Ὑλλ[ο]ς
Π . . . ΛΞ . .

Proskynema of Hyllos [---].

1. Ὑλλος is a very good Attic name. In Egypt, it is attested almost exclusively in Tebtynis; for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s. v.

285. North wall, fifth course of blocks, eighth block to the east of the northwestern corner. Dimensions unknown. The inscription survives through a single copy of

Milne, reproduced by Bataille. It was invisible already at the time of Bataille's visit to Deir el-Bahari. Red ochre?

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 166 bis.

Roman period (?).

τ[ὸ π]ροσ[κύ]ψη[μα]
 Ο[.] Ν. Ε. Μ[- - -]
 . [.] . [- - -] . [- - -]
 4 . [- - -] Τ[- - -]
 [- - - εἶ]π' ἀγ[αθῶ].

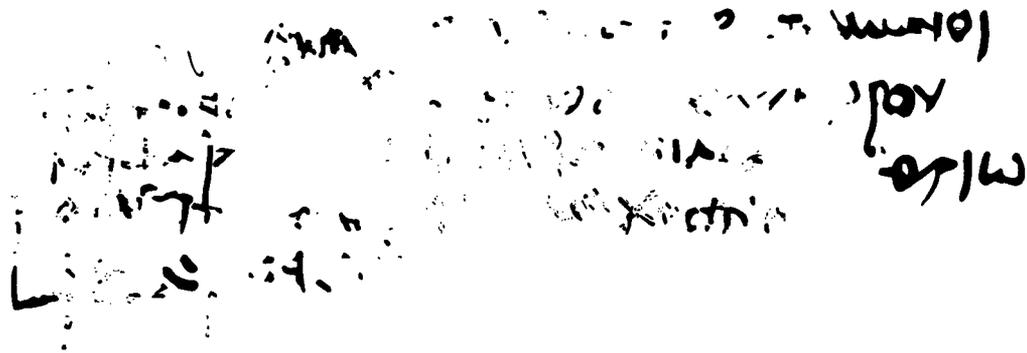
Handwritten reconstruction of the inscription in Greek letters, showing the arrangement of characters and some corrections or alternative readings.

Proskynema [- - -]; *good luck*.

286. North wall, between the western and middle niche, 78 cm to the east of the western niche, 246 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, on two neighbouring blocks with roughly dressed surface, inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. The block on the left, containing the beginning of the inscription, was removed during the reconstruction of the Bark Shrine by the Polish-Egyptian Mission to give place to a block with original decoration from the times of Hatshepsut. Dimensions: 56.5 x 18.5 cm; h. of completely preserved letters: 1.7 cm (*nu*) – 4.3 cm (*rho*). Dark red ochre. The inscription was written on a layer of a mud mortar, now largely lost. To the left and to the bottom of the text, traces of a frame have been preserved. Below the inscription, one observes Demotic dipinti in violet ochre.

Unpublished.

Roman period, see commentary to l. 6



[- - - - -] . .
 νου
 ωρου
 4 παρὰ [τῶ] κυρίῳ

Ἀμην[ώ]θη -----
 [.] [-----]

[---] *before the Lord Amenothes* [---].

2. Most probably]μενοι; cf. εὐωχούμενοι in **93**, ll. 7–8, **117**. l. 3 and **118**, l. 4.
3. Either Ὁρου or [- - -]ώρου.
4. One could read tentatively καὶ Ἄρ[at the beginning of the line.
6. This line contains most probably a date. One could read: (ἔτους) ἰ' Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ.

287. North wall, between the western and middle niche, 20 cm to the east of **286**, 186 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine and removed by the Polish-Egyptian Mission during reconstruction work. Dimensions: 35 x 14.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*omikron*) – 2.3 cm (*phi*); h. of letters ΓΑ below the inscription: 3.5 cm. Violet ochre, very faded, particularly on the right side at the bottom.

Unpublished.

16 August AD 114.

ΤΟ ΤΥΧΕ Τῆ ΝΙΜΑΙΕΡΑΓΓΙΛΛΩΝΘΟ
 ΤΟΥ ΦΑΤΡΗΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΝΠΕΦΑΪΣ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΗ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑ
 ΚΥΡ[Ι]ΟΥ ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
 ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ (ἔτους) ἰ' ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ
 ΜΕΣΟΡΕ ΚΥ



τὸ προσκύνημα Ἰερᾶς Παμώνθο[υ]
 τοῦ Φατρήους καὶ Σενπεφάϊς υἱὸς
 καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀδελφή ἴδε παρὰ

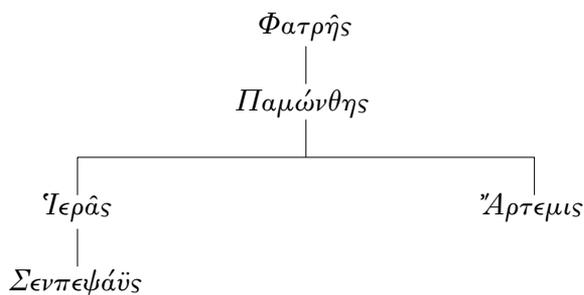
- 4 τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ
 μεγίστου· (ἔτους) ἰ' Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου[υ],
 Μεσορὲ κγ'

ΓΑ

2. read Σενπεφάϊς || 3. read ἀδελφή ἴδε || 6. read Μεσορή

Proskynema of Hieras son of Pamonthes son of Phatres and of (his) son Senpepsaiis and of (his) sister Artemis here before the Lord Amenotbes, the greatest god. Year 17th of the lord Trajan, Mesore 23rd.

The stemma of the family, members of which appear in this inscription, is as follows:



- 1-2. A certain Pamonthes son of Phatres occurs together with members of his family on several ostraca from the Theban area, dated to the end of the 1st/beginning of the 2nd cent. AD. In *O. Bodl.* II 1180 (AD 84) he delivers grain to the granary of Toparchia Ano and in *O. Stras.* 343 (AD 111) to the storehouse of the metropolis. In *O. Stras.* 116 (exact date unknown), he pays *laographia* and in *O. Bodl.* II 1717, 7-8 (exact date unknown) an unspecified tax (he is called *Παμώνθης Φατρήους Πικώτος* there). In *O. Theb.* I 93 (AD 113) three sons of Pamonthes son of Phatres by the wife Thermouthis pay *potamophylakia* in Charax; their names are: Phatres, Pamonthes and Pamminis. In *O. Bodl.* II 580 (AD 115) Petemenophis son of Pamonthes son of Phatres pays *chomatikon* in Charax, and *O. Bodl.* II 840 (AD 121) is a receipt for the same man ὑπ(έρ) σκ(οπέλων) καὶ ἄλλ(ων) Χά(ρακος). According to the latter ostrakon, the mother of Petemenophis was Thermouthis, thus he may be identified with great probability as a member of the family on record in *O. Theb.* I 93, brother of Phatres, Pamonthes and Pamminis. Phatres son of Pamonthes occurs in two lists of the 2nd cent. AD: *O. Bodl.* II 1900, 8 and *WO* 1192, 2; the latter list contains the names of people from Charax as indicated in line 1. In view of the popularity of the names Pamonthes and Phatres in the Theban area, one cannot be sure as to whether all bearers of the name Pamonthes son of Phatres attested in the ostraca and *proskynema* from Deir el-Bahari are indeed one person or should be identified as different individuals.

CENΠEΨAYC is to be read *Σενπεψαῖς* rather than *Σενπεψαῦς*. *Σενπεψαῖς* (= *Σενπεψαῖς*) is *addendum onomasticis*, although we know of other names ending in *-ψαῖς*: *Ψαῖς*, *Σενψαῖς*, *Ψενψαῖς*, *Παψαῖς* etc. All these names, including *Σενπεψαῖς* from our inscription, are theophoric, compounded with the name of Shai, the Egyptian god of destiny; for the cult of Shai in Greco-Roman Egypt and its reflexes in Greco-Egyptian onomastics, see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et onomastique* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 2], Leuven 1975, *passim*. *Σενπεψαῖς* is undoubtedly a male name here (cf. *υἱός*), but it looks like a female one because of the lack of the male article *ρ*³. Male names beginning with *Σεν-* were discussed by J. Quaegebeur, 'Séné nouphis, nom de femme et nom d'homme,' *CdÉ* 56 (1981), pp. 350-359; cf. also idem, *Onoma* 18 (1974), p. 412. The last author remarks that male names starting with *Σεν-* differ etymologically from female names beginning with the same element. In female names, *Σεν-* transcribes the Egyptian (*š*) *šj-n-*, in male names it may derive from *sn* = 'brother,' *nsω* = 'king,' or a

similar word. This remark also holds in our case. $\Sigma\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\varsigma$ may be the transcription of the Egyptian $sn-n-p^3-p^3$ -Sy = 'Brother of Papsais.'

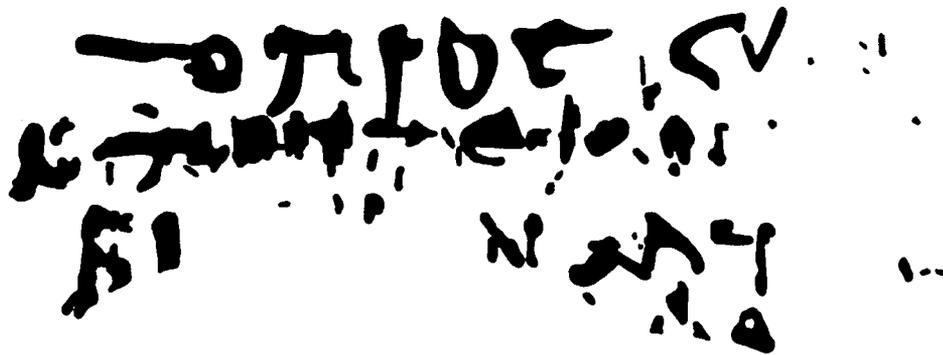
3. For the personal name Ἄρτεμις equal to the name of the goddess, see O. Masson, 'Pape-Benseleriana IX – Madame Artemis,' *ZPE* 66 (1986), pp. 126–130.
6. According to the feast calendar of Imhotep inscribed on the statue base of Petubastis (Memphis, late Ptolemaic – early Roman), his burial was commemorated on the 23rd of Mesore; cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 73–78, § 47; G. Vittmann, 'Bemerkungen zum Festkalender des Imhotep (Statuenbasis BM 512)' [in:] *Studien zur Sprache und religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern* II, Göttingen 1984, pp. 947–961. We do not know whether the same feasts were observed in the Theban sanctuaries of Imhotep, but even if it were the case, Hieras' visit on the date of this feast could be purely coincidental, the more so as his *proskynema* is dedicated to Amenhotep alone without mentioning Imhotep (Asklepios).

The meaning of the letters $\Gamma\Lambda$ is unknown to me. It is possibly an abbreviated word $\gamma\lambda()$ or the numeral 33, but recorded in reverse.

288. North wall, 70 cm to the east of **287**, 214 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block put into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine to close the middle niche in the north wall and removed in 1981 during the uncovering of this niche. Dimensions: 23.5 x 8.7 cm; h. of letters: 1.5 cm (*omikron*) – 2.5 cm (*rho*). Violet ochre, very faded; the inscription is blurred and hardly legible. The text may have extended further to the left in ll. 2–3. Above the inscription there is a Demotic dipinto done in the same violet ochre.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



$\tau\acute{o}$ προσκύνημα - - -]
 . . . T E [- - -]
 [.] B I [. .] . [.] N A N . [.] . [- - -]
 4 [- - - - -] Φ . [- - -]

289. North wall, middle niche, north wall of the niche, 28 cm from the northwestern corner, 102 cm above the floor, between the heads of chiselled figures of Amun and Hatshepsut. Dimensions: 28.5 x 5.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omega*) – 1.5 cm (*beta*). The letters become smaller in l. 2. Black ink. The hand is characteristic of the Early Ptolemaic period. Note two forms of Ω : The second Ω in *Σωτήρων* resembles *M*; otherwise, this letter is of ‘Classical’ form. The niche was closed during the rebuilding of the Bark Shrine in the Ptolemaic period, most probably under Ptolemy VIII, and was uncovered only in 1981. The inscription has deteriorated substantially since its discovery. I reproduce here J. Karkowski’s copy made immediately after the niche was uncovered. The reading of the Demotic part of the inscription is by J.K. Winnicki. See Fig. 22.

Unpublished.

Probably 255/254 BC.

The image shows a handwritten copy of the inscription. The top line is in Greek: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ ΒΑΛΛΟΥ ΛΑ ΦΑΩΦΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ ΕΥΓΡΑΣΙ. The second line is in Demotic script: ρ3 rn nfr Hr s Br mn dj m-bzh. There are some additional markings and symbols below the main lines of text.

Πτολεμαῖος Βάλλου - - - - -

(ἔτους) λα΄, Φαῶφι[ι] . τῶν ἑ(εὼν) Σωτήρων ΕΥΓΡΑΣΙ . .

[- - -] - - -

4 ρ3 rn nfr Hr s Br mn dj m-bzh [- - -].

Greek: *Ptolemaios son of Balles (or: Ballos)* [- - -]. *Year 31, Phaophi (number)* [- - -], *of the gods Saviours* [- - -].

Demotic: *The good name of Hr son of Br shall remain here before* [- - -].

We are dealing with a bilingual inscription probably referring to the same man. He must have been an Egyptian with the name *Hr* = ‘Horus’ who received a Greek (Macedonian) name *Πτολεμαῖος* borne by the new rulers of the country.

1. The reading *Βάλλου* seems to be certain. *Βάλλου* is a genitive of either *Βάλλης* or *Βάλλος*. The name *Βάλλης* (*Βάλλος*) is known through this single attestation, but see below, commentary to l. 4.

It is possible that the text following *Βάλλου* is in Demotic.

2. The year 31 should probably be attributed to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos, thus giving 255/254 BC.

The reading $\theta(\epsilon\omega\nu)$ is not entirely certain, but is assured by the context. The expression $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ designates either the dead Ptolemy I Soter and his wife Berenike or the gods worshipped in the Deir el-Bahari temple. The genitive $\tau\omega\nu \theta\epsilon\omega\nu \Sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\omega\nu$ must depend on a substantive or a verb hidden behind the group of letters towards the end of the line.

4. For the Egyptian personal name *Br* (*Bl*, *BB*, *Blj*), see *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 143. It was originally a nickname meaning 'The Blind.' It has been assumed that the name *Bέλλης*, frequently occurring in Greek sources from Egypt (for references, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s. v.), transcribes the Egyptian *Br*. Our inscription shows that the name under consideration could have been transcribed into Greek also as *Βάλλης* or *Βάλλος*.

290. North wall, middle niche, east wall of the niche, 57 cm from the northeastern corner, 63 cm above the floor, under an offering table. Dimensions: 8 x 4.4 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron*) – 1.1 cm (*eta*). Black ink, well preserved on the left, very faded on the right. The niche was closed during the rebuilding of the Bark Shrine in the Ptolemaic period, most probably under Ptolemy VIII, and was uncovered only in 1981. The inscription has deteriorated substantially since its discovery. The copy reproduced here is J. Karkowski's, made immediately after the niche was uncovered. Above the present inscription and to the left of it, there is a Demotic inscription published by Edda Bresciani, 'Un nouveau texte démotique daté du 28 Nov. 304 a. J.-C. à Deir el-Bahari' [in:] J. Karkowski, J.K. Winnicki, *MDAIK* 39 (1983), pp. 103–105. See Fig. 23.

Unpublished.

Early Ptolemaic, probably 3rd cent. BC.

Ἀσκληπιάδης,
 Ἀσκλη(η)πίο(τω)τοτος,
 Ἄσταρχος,
 4 Πτολεμα[ί]ος.

2. read Ἀσκληπιόδοτος

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ
 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΤΩΤΟΣ
 ΑΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ
 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ

The inscription commemorates a visit to the temple at Deir el-Bahari of four men, all bearing good Greek (Macedonian) names. They could have been soldiers or were entrusted with a mission in the Thebaid. Other groups of Greeks (Macedonians) on visits in Deir el-Bahari in the Early Ptolemaic period are on record in **69** and **83**.

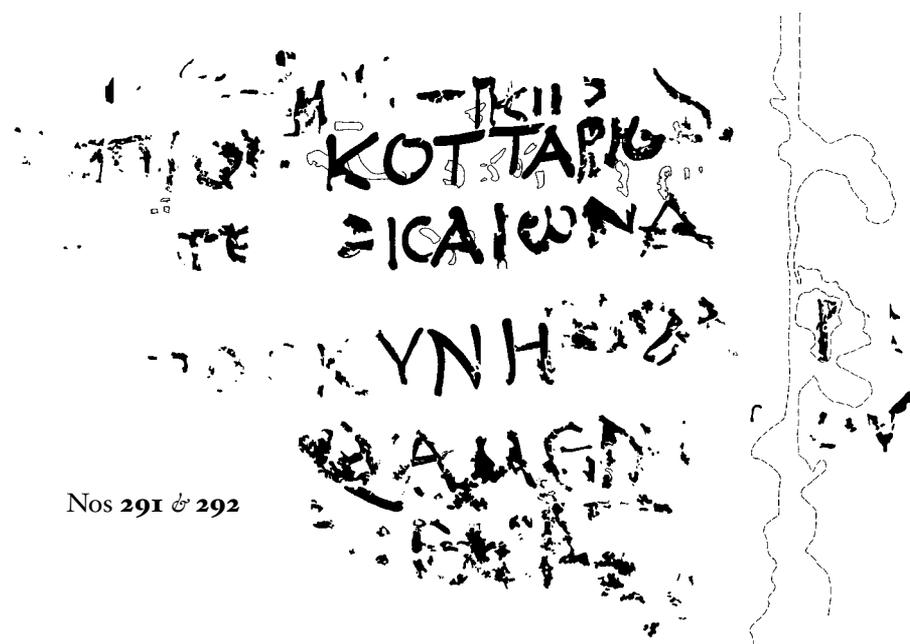
The inscription was obviously done by one hand, most probably that of one of the four men named in the text.

2. In the name Ἀσκληπιόδοτος, the person who wrote the inscription committed first haplography (through visual similarity of *H* and *Π*) and then dittography (under the interchange of *Δ* for *T* and *O* for *Ω*).
3. The name Ἀσταρχος is very rare. Apart from this inscription, it is known only through a single attestation from Thessaly dating from *ca.* 100 BC; for a reference, see *LGPN* III B, *s. v.*

291. North wall of the Bark Shrine, between the middle and eastern niche, 81 cm east of the edge of the middle niche, 227 above the floor, fourth course of blocks, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. Dimensions: 31.5 x 11 cm; h. of completely preserved letters: 2.3 cm (*omega*) – 3.2 cm (*iota, rho*). Violet ochre, very faded. The present inscription was written on an earlier dipinto done in violet ochre; indeed, the first line edited below could belong to this earlier inscription. The whole was inscribed on a layer of mud mortar, which in disintegrating over large areas has caused substantial loss of text. The inscription was also considerably blackened with soot in Coptic times.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



Nos 291 & 292

[- - -] K
 [- - -] O . Kottaríων[os]
 [- - -] . E[.] . εἰς αἰῶνα.

[- - -] of Kottarion [- - -] for eternity.

2. *Κοτταρίων* (*Κοττάριος*) is a Greek name by etymology (cf. Hesych., *s.v.* *κοττάρια*: τὰ ἄκρα τῆς κέγχρου), but it has been attested only in Egypt so far, mainly in the Theban region. It is on record in *SB* I 2032, I (date unknown); *SB* XIV 11704, fr. I, 7 (2nd cent. AD); *O.Bodl.* II 892, I (AD 128); *O.Wilb.* 25, I (AD 144/145); *WO* 572, I (AD 135).

292. North wall, on the same block as **291**, immediately below it. Dimensions: 35.5 x 16 cm; h. of letters: 3 cm (*upsilon*) – 3.5 cm (*alpha*). Light red ochre very faded and peeling considerably.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[τὸ π]ροσκύνημα .[.] .[- - -]
 [.] . Ἀμενώ[θ]ου [- - -]
 [.] . EXP .[- - -]

Proskynema [- - -] *Amenotbes* [- - -].

2. Amenotbes is the name of either a god (Amenhotep son of Hapu) or a person.

293. North wall, between the middle and eastern niches, 26 cm from **292** (i. e., immediately to the right of it), 210 cm above the floor, on a roughly dressed block inserted into the wall during the Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Bark Shrine. Dimensions: 32.5 x 11 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*sigma*) – 3.7 cm (*phi*). Dark red ochre, very faded. The hand is epigraphic majuscules at the beginning of line 1, semi cursive in the futher part of the text. Note the letter *O* as a dot in *Πλήμιος* (line 1). The inscription continued to the right until the western edge of the eastern niche (*ca.* 10 cm containing a maximum of eight letters). Visible above the present inscription is a long Demotic dipinto in red ochre. The text printed below is a revised reading made after inspection of the original in January 2002.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

· · · · · ΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ
 · · · · · ΑΜΕΝΩΘΟΥ
 · · · · · ΠΛΗΜΙΟΣ
 · · · · · ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ

τὸ προσκύνημα Πλήνιος Φθ [- - -]
 [.] ηγ . σιου παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἀσκλ]-
 [ηπιῶ καὶ Ἀμ]ενώθη θεῶν μεγίσ[των - - -]
 4 [.]Θ . . . ΟΔ . ΥΑΤ . . . ΑΙC [- - -]

3. read θεοῖς μεγίστοις

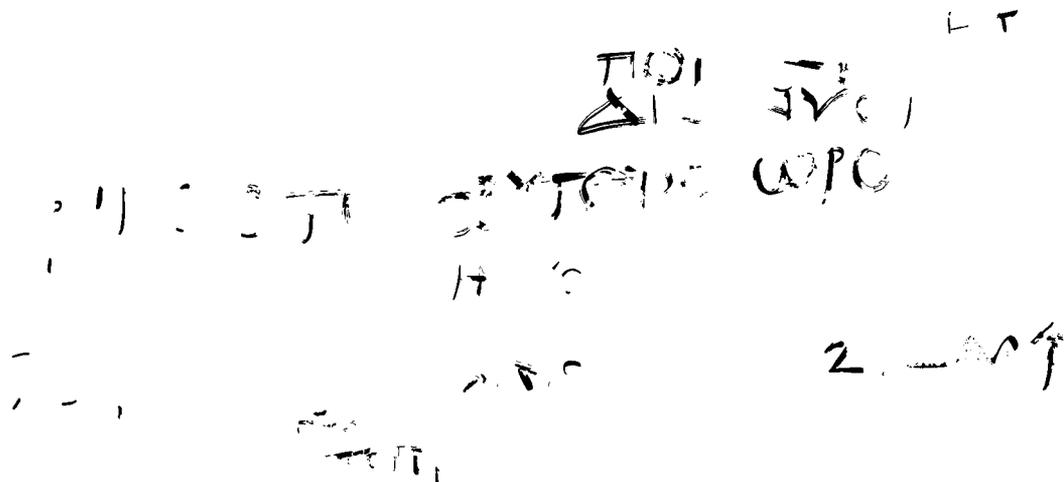
Proskynema of Plenis son of Phth[--- and --- son of---]sios before the Lord Asklepios and Amenothes, great gods [- - -].

- 1-2. The patronymic of Plenis is to be reconstructed most probably as either Φθο[μῶνθου] or Φθο[υμίνιος]. Apparently, the *proskynema* was made in the name of two men, ηγ . σιου in l. 2 being the patronymic of this second man. It can be read as Ἡγησίου or Πηγησίου.
- 4. Possibly Καίσα[ρος]. If so, we would be dealing with a regnal date according to a Roman emperor.

294. North wall, 27,5 cm from **293**, 271.5 cm above the floor (the position is indicated with reference to the Δ in Διονυσίου), above the eastern niche, before the knee of a kneeling Hatshepsut making an offering of milk. Dimensions: 95 x 40 cm; h. of letters: 3 cm (*pi, upsilon*) – 5 cm (*rho*). Violet ochre, similar as in the next inscription. Above **294** and to the left of it, one can see traces of another inscription in dark red ochre. The letter Δ overlapping the initial Π in ΠΟΙΕΙ seen in Bataille’s copy belongs to the other inscription.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 167.

Roman period.



[τὸ προσκύνημα] ποι^vεῖ [- - -]
 [- - - - - - -] Διο^vνύσι[ος - - -]

. π[ρϵ]σβύτερο[s] Ὡρο[s - - -]
 4 . [- - -] . [.] . . [- - - - - - -]
 . . . [- - -] . . . [ca. 5]
 [- - -] . . . [- - - - - - -]

Bataille copied and edited only ll. 1-3. He conjectured the word τὸ προσκύνημα above the present line 1, but as the lines of the inscription were rather long this word might also be supplemented at the beginning of line 1 || 3. γεώτερος Bataille

[- - -] makes *proskynema* [- - -] *Dionysios* [- - -] *the older (and) Horos* [- - -].

2-3. Both the name *Διονύσιος* and Ὡρος may have stood in a *casus obliquus*.

295. North wall, between the eastern niche and the northeastern corner of the room, 221.5 cm to the east of **294**, 258 cm above the floor, under a kneeling figure of Hatshepsut making an offering of milk with princess Nefrure standing behind her. Dimensions: 50 x 13.5 cm; h. of completely preserved letters: 3.8 cm (*nu*) – 5.5 cm (*eta*). Red-violet ochre, well preserved at the beginning of l. 2, peeling on the right. The inscription was done with a rather thick *kalamos*, the thickness of strokes at the beginning of l. 2 being 1 cm. Large epigraphic hand, at the beginning of l. 2 very nice and skilful, in the second part of the line apparently less careful.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

I

[- - -] . [- - - - - - -]
 [- - -] ἦν σὺν τοῖς . . . οῖς.

2. Something like [παρεγενόμ]ῃν σὺν τοῖς ἐμοῖς or σὺν τοῖς φίλοις.

296. On a fragment of block with remains of chiselled relief decoration, covered with light blue paint. Dimensions: 23.5 x 8.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.3 cm (*omega*) – 2.7 cm (*eta*). Red ochre. Bataille believed this block to come from the Bark Shrine. This is possible but not certain; it could have originated equally well from the Hatshepsut chapel.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 168.

Roman period.



[- - -] Πεκῦσις ὄνηλά[τ]η[s - - -]
 [- - -]θης νεώ(τερος), Παμ[ώνθης (?) - - -]
 [- - -]καὶ Πετενοῦρις [- - -].

[- - -] *Pekysis donkey-keeper* [- - -] *thes the younger, Pam[onthes - - -] and Petenouris* [- - -].

1. The readings are those of Bataille. They are possible, but hardly certain.
3. Πετενοῦρις > *p3 tj-In-hrt* = 'The gift of Onuris;' see *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 286. The name is common.



SECTION XV
WEST WALL OF THE COURT, NORTHERN PART

297. 17.5 cm to the north of the granite portal, 68.5 cm above the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico (290 cm above ground level), between the head of Queen Achmes and the *pet*-sign bordering the scene at the top. Dimensions: 14 x 2.4 cm; h. of letters: 1 cm (*sigma*) – 2 cm (*pi*). Deep graffito, very patinated.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic (cf. commentary).

ΑΚΚ ΛΤΤΤ / ΖΗΘ
 Ἀσκληπι(ι)ᾶδης.

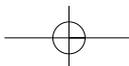
To write this inscription, the author must have sat on top of the Ptolemaic portico. Consequently, the inscription should be considered as younger than the construction of the portico in the reign of Ptolemy VIII.

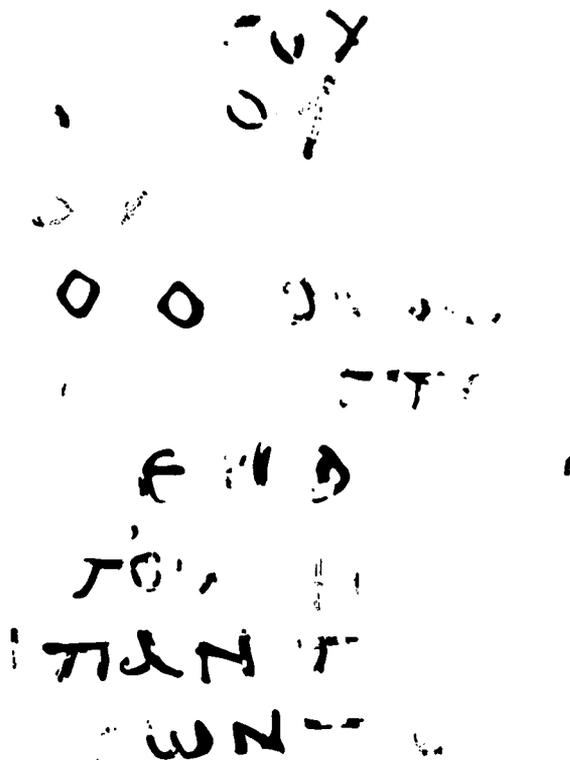
298. 57.5 cm to the north of the granite portal, 180 cm above the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico (402 cm above ground level), on the figure of the god Amun presenting an *anch* for Thutmosis III to smell. Dimensions: 19 x 25 cm; h. of letters: 1.2 cm (*omega*) – 1.8 cm (*upsilon*). Pink ochre, very faded. The surface of the wall is very uneven due to chiselling of the Amun figure during the Amarna period and its subsequent reconstruction in Ramesside times. Numerous chisel marks and holes make the spot highly unsuitable for a painted inscription. Constant exposure to the sun has resulted in the ochre being preserved only in the hollows. Traces of the same pink ochre are visible both above and below of what I have copied, indicating that the inscription might have been much bigger originally.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

[- - - - -] . OY [- - - - -]
 [- - - -] . [. .] O . [- - - - -]
 [- - - -] . . [- - - - - - - -]
 4 [- - - -] O [.] O [.] [- - -]
 [- - - - - - -] . . . [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] E . . [- - - - - - -]
 [- - - -] TO . [.] . [- - - - - -]
 8 [- - - -] . παντ [- - - - - - -]
 [- - - -] . ΩΝ . . [- - - - - - -]





It is near to certain that the person making this inscription had to be standing on the cornice of the Ptolemaic portico (cf. above, 297).

6. Possibly ἀδ]ελφ[οῦ or ἀδ]ελφ[ῶν.
8. Something like κα]ὶ παντ[ὸς οἴκου αὐτοῦ οἱ καὶ τῶν φιλοῦντων καὶ φιλουμένω]ν πάντ[ων].

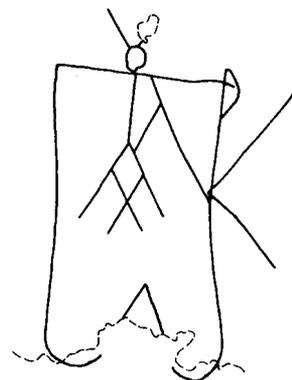
299. 209 cm from **298**, 302 cm above ground level, sixth course of blocks, between the body and the arm of Thutmosis III. Dimensions: 7 x 10 cm. Deep and quite well visible graffito, at the bottom partly damaged due to salt efflorescence.

Unpublished.

Roman or Late Antique period.

We are dealing with a monogram, containing the following letters: ΠΙΑΙΩΡΚΟΥ. Most likely, the monogram transcribes a personal name beginning with Π- and standing in the genitive (cf. -ου). I do not know which name is at issue.

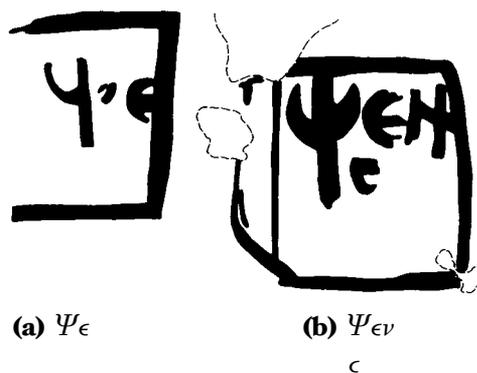
Monograms are characteristic of Late Antiquity. The inscription possibly refers to the time when the monastery of St. Phoibammon was functioning on the third terrace of the Hatshepsut temple.



300. Niche K, south wall, 49.5 cm from the edge of the niche, 137 cm above the floor, third course of blocks. Dimensions of part (a): 6.3 x 7.8 cm; h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*epsilon*) – 3.3 cm (*psi*). Dimensions of part (b): 9 x 8.8 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*sigma*) – 5 cm (*psi*). Red ochre. Both parts have rectangular frames around them. The frame of part (a) borders on the left with the register line of a hieroglyphic inscription and it is possible that the borderline was not indicated in paint here.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 170.

Roman period.



Bataille copied and edited only part (b). He read $\Psi\epsilon\nu|\xi$.

Both parts were evidently made by the same person and contain the same personal name, presumably male, beginning with $\Psi\epsilon\nu\sigma$ -. It is not clear whether the texts were unfinished or the author wrote the name in abbreviated form, or the right-hand parts of both inscriptions have disappeared.

301. Niche K, south wall, 75.5 cm west of the edge of the niche, 136 cm above the floor, third course of blocks. Dimensions: 15.6 x 1.9 cm; h. of letters: 0.7 cm (*sigma*) – 1.9 cm (*rho*). Red ochre. The stone surface is rough and peeling due to salt efflorescence affecting large sections of the niche walls, thus causing serious damage to this and other inscriptions.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

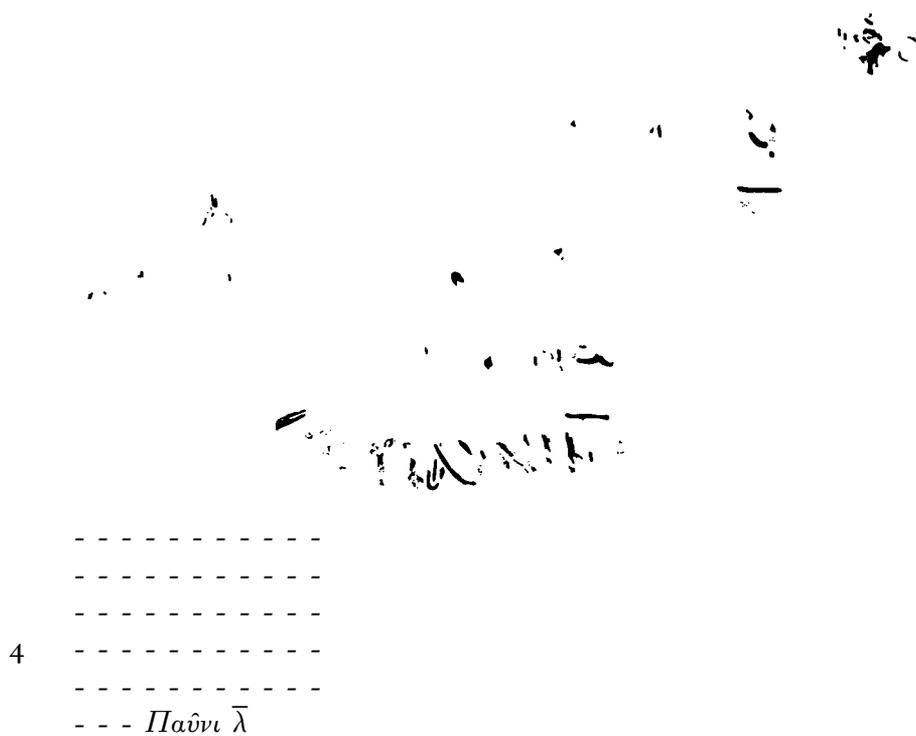


τὸ προσκύνημ[α - - -]

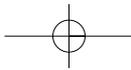
302. Niche K, west wall, 38.5 cm north of the southwestern corner, 65 cm above the floor, second course of blocks. Dimensions: 39 x 21 cm; h. of letters: *ca.* 2 cm. Violet ochre, very faded. The block on which the inscription was written is only roughly dressed, having been concealed originally behind a statue of Queen Hatshepsut in Osiris form. The position of the inscription indicates that the statue was not on its place already by the Ptolemaic and Roman times (cf. above, **156** and **161**). The inscription is covered by pitch from a lamp (?), most probably a remnant of the Coptic period.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



303. Niche K, north wall, 8 cm east of the northwestern corner, 217 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks. Dimensions: 16.5 x 8 cm; h. of letters: 1.1 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*iota*). Light red ochre, very faded. The inscription has deteriorated considerably since Bataille's time due to salt efflorescence, which causes the stone surface to peel; the right-hand side of the text is now lost. Traces of two Greek ochre inscriptions are visible below the present one, on blocks of the third and second courses. Three Demotic dipinti stand nearby on the blocks of the third course. They are much longer and considerably better preserved than Greek texts from the same niche.



WEST WALL OF THE COURT, NORTHERN PART

375

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 171.

Roman period.



τὸ προ[σκ]ύνη[μα - - -]
 [.] . [.] . [.] . . . [- - - καὶ τοῦ]
 οἴκου . . . ΕΠ[- - -]

1. Καλλ. [Bataille || 2-3. καὶ τῶν τέκνων | αὐτοῦ Bataille || 3. τ. τωησου Bataille

Proskynema of [- - - and of (bis)] house [- - -].

304. Niche N, south wall, 26 cm from the southeastern corner of the niche, 169 cm above the floor, on painted decoration from Hatshepsut's time consisting of horizontal, alternately white and yellow bands. Dimensions not recorded. Red ochre, very faded; the reading uncertain. It was revised upon inspection of the original in January 2002. Semi-cursive hand, probably the same as in the next inscription.

Unpublished.

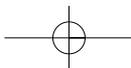
Roman period.

τὸ προσ[κύνη]μα [ca. 5]ΘΗ

--- [-----]

4 --- [-----]

[-----]



- 4 C . OTOTOI[- - - - -]II[- - -]
καὶ [- - - - -]
συν[- - - - -]
H[- - - - -]
- 8 [ca. 6]ITTΩ [- - - - -]
[ca. 4]ΟΥC . ΠP[.]T[- - - - -]
παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ [- - - - -]
. O[. .]I[- - - - -]
- 12 [.] . ΔA [.] . [. .]Θ[- - - - -]
[. .] . ΩCΥTO . O[- - - - -]
[. . .] Καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ [κυρίου - - - - -]

3. read Ἀπολλωνία || 14. read Καίσαρος

Proskynema of Mon[- - -] and of his mother [- - -] and of Apollonia [- - -] and [- - -] before the Lord [- - - Year x of NN] Caesar the Lord [- - -].

1. Perhaps Mon[κορηῆς].
3. The reading Ἀπολων[ί]αν [.]ΥO[is possible as well. Another possibility to consider is an abbreviation: Ἀπολων(ίδου) [.]AN[.]ΥO[.

306. Niche N, south wall, 56.5 cm west of the southeastern corner of the niche, 153.5 cm above the floor, immediately to the right of **305**, on the list of offerings in front of Thutmosis II, in a single vertical register of the list. Dimensions: 4.7 x 10 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 1.5 cm (*psi*). Red ochre, in the upper part very faded. Ll. 4–5 start slightly to the left compared to the other lines. It is not certain whether the letter A under l. 6 belongs to this inscription.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 173.

Roman period.

- τὸ προ[σ]-
κ[ύνημα]
τ[οῦ] γρ-
4 ἀψαντο[ς]
. EI
N

1–4. τὸ προσ[κ]ύνη[μα] τ[οῦ] γ[ρά]ψαντο[ς] Bataille, but his l. 4 does not exist || 5–6. Ἐρασθ[ε]ν Bataille

ἑπίς
+
T
TANT
I
I
N
N

Proskynema of the one who wrote [---].

5. The name of the *proskynema* author probably starts with either *Νει-* or *Πει-*, unless the third letter is not *I*, but *P*. One should take into consideration names like: *Νειλάς*, *Νείκας*, *Πείρας*, *Πειτᾶς*, *Περέας*, *Περκάς*, *Πέρσας*, etc.

307. Niche N, south wall, 61 cm to the west of the southeastern corner of the niche, 152.5 cm above the floor, on the list of offerings in front of Thutmose II, immediately to the right of **306**. Dimensions: 19.8 x 6.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 (*omikron* in l. 4) – 1.5 cm (*beta* in l. 3). Red ochre, quite well preserved on the right, somewhat blurred on the left and at the top. Upright epigraphic hand in line 1, less formal in lines 2–4. Below the present inscription, in the lower register of the list of offerings, traces of an inscription in red ochre. See Fig. 24.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 172.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκύνημα
τοῦ γράψαντος Ἀμενώθης
Πεβώτος καὶ τῆς μητρός μου

4 . . . [.] τῶτος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρό[νον].

2. read Ἀμενώθου || 4. Ἰσφ[.] . ὠτος . . . πιτον . υχρος . Bataille

Proskynema of the one who wrote (this) Amenothos son of Pebos and of my mother [---]tos for all time.

308. Niche N, south wall, immediately to the right of **307**, 154 cm above the floor, on the list of offerings in front of Thutmose II. Dimensions: 9 x 5.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.6 cm (*omikron*) – 1.6 cm (*epsilon*, *rho*). Red ochre, very faded. The text in two columns following the disposition of the list of offerings: ll. 1–3 in the left-hand column, ll. 4–5 in the right-hand one. To the right of the text, a drawing made using the same colour

of ochre as in the inscription. It shows a head in a *nemes* and the upper part of a body in Egyptian style.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



Then Sarapos; good luck.

1. *εἶτα* probably refers to the fact that Sarapos' inscription follows immediately on texts left by an unknown author (306) and Amenothes (307).
2. For the formula *ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ* in Egyptian visitors inscriptions, see commentary to 93, l. 13.

309. Niche N, north wall, 45.5 cm from the northeastern corner of the niche, 169 cm above the floor, on a white band from a series of alternating white and yellow bands. Dimensions: 14.5 x 1.8 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 0.9 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, quite well preserved, but blurred.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 174.

Roman period.

τὸ προσ[κύνημα - - -]
Ἀπολλωνίδου [.] . . Τ . . [- - -].

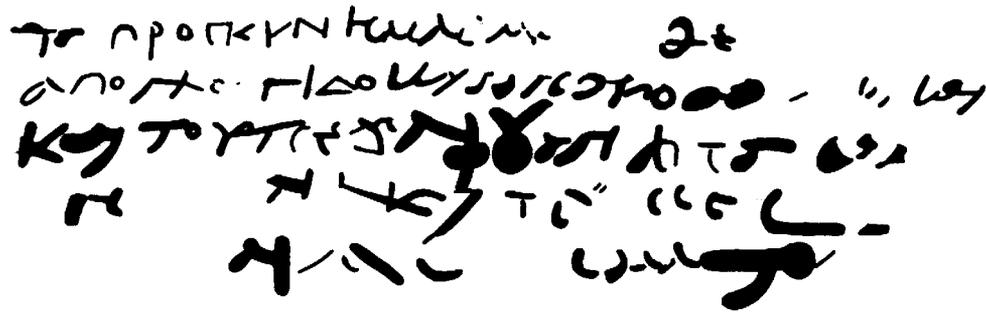
Proskynema of [- - - son/daughter of] Apollonides [- - -].

- 1-2. Another reading to be considered: τὸ προσ[κύνημα] Ἀπολλωνίδου = 'Proskynema of Apollonides.'
2. The reading [κ]αὶ τῶν is not impossible.

310. Niche N, north wall, 45.5 cm from the northeastern corner of the niche, 167 cm above the floor, immediately under **309**, as if it were a continuation of the latter inscription, on painted decoration from the times of Hatshepsut, consisting of a series of alternating white and yellow bands; the upper part of the inscription (ll. 1-2) on a white band, the lower on a yellow one. Dimensions: 19.5 x 6 cm; h. of letters: 0.2 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 1.5 cm (*phi* in l. 3). Red ochre. Semi-cursive hand resembling to a degree that of **304** and **305**. Note the vertical ligature *OY* in l. 3.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 176.

Roman period.



τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀμε[νώ]θε[υ (?)]
 Ἀπολλωνίδου(υ) καὶ Ο {καὶ}
 καὶ τοῦτο(υ) ἀδελφοῦ Α Α
 4 [.]Η[. . .] . . καὶ Τ . . [.] C (ἔτους) [- - -]
 [.]ΑΙ . Α . [. . .] . ΜΑΤΟ . [- - -]

Bataille copied and edited only ll. 1-2 || 1. τὸ προσκύνημα . . .] . ος Bataille || 2. Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ τῶν ἐν [οἴ]κῳ Bataille

Proskynema of Amenothes (?) son of Apollonides and of [- - -] and of his brother [- - -] and [- - -]. Year [x of NN - - -].

- 1. The last surviving letter looks like *E* but it would be too risky to admit scribal error here and read Ἀμε[νώ]θε[ς].
- 5. Possibly [. Κ]αίσαρ[ος].

311. Niche N, north wall, 45 cm from the northeastern corner, 178 cm above the floor, on a white band from a series of alternating yellow and white bands. Width: 8.2 cm, h. of letters: 0.4 (*sigma*) – 1.1 cm (*tau*). Red ochre, very faded. Damage to the right hand side is the result of salt efflorescence causing the stone surface to peel.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

τὸ προσκ[ύνημα - - -].

ΤΕ ΠΙ Ο Σ Ι

312. Niche N, north wall, 37 cm from the northeastern corner of the niche, 147.5 cm above the floor, under **310**, on a white band from a series of alternating horizontal, white and yellow bands. Dimensions: 6.5 x 0.9 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*tau*) – 0.9 cm (*nu*). Red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 177.

Roman period.

[- - - - -]
ἐπὶ τὸν [ἀ]εὶ χ[ρόνον].

ΕΠΙΤΟΝ Σ Ι Σ

Ἐπίγονο(ς) (?) νεώτερος (?) Bataille

[- - -] for all time.

313. Niche N, northern doorjamb facing south, 158.5 cm above the floor. Dimensions: 17.5 x 15 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron* in l. 5) – (*epsilon* in l. 9). Red ochre, much faded due to constant sun exposure. See Fig. 25.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 175.

Cf. Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon* I [1974], p. 105, s.v. Ἀμενώθης (partial quotation of the text). Wildung, *Imbotep und Amenbotep*, p. 229, no. 175 (German translation after Bataille).

Roman period, 1st–2nd cent.

ΤΕ ΠΙ Ο Σ Κ Υ Ν Η Μ Α Σ Α Ρ Θ Η Π Ι
Λ Ω Ν Ι Δ Ο Υ Κ Α Τ Η Σ Μ Η Τ Ρ Ο Σ Σ
Ο Ν Α Ζ Ε Α Φ Ε Ρ Α Τ Ο Υ Κ Α Τ Α Σ Κ Ρ
Ε Ρ Σ Ι Δ Ε Η Ρ Α Ζ Ε Α Φ Ο Σ Μ Ι Σ
Υ Ν Τ Ω Η Δ Τ Ο Υ Π Ι Σ
Κ Α Τ Α Ν Ρ Ο Σ Σ Κ Α Υ Ο Ι Σ
Σ Ρ Ω Θ Κ Ε Π Ι Τ Ο Ν Η
Γ Ω Ω Ρ Σ Κ Α Ρ Σ Τ Ο Υ Κ
Σ Τ Ε

- [τὸ] προσκύνημα Σαραπί[ωνος Ἄ]-
 [πολ]λωνίδου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ[τοῦ καὶ]
 [. . .]ων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἄτακ . . [. . .]
 4 [. . .]ερ[.]σιδώρου ἀδελφὸς μη[τ]ρ[ὸ]ς
 [καὶ φι]λούντων αὐτοῦ . . . [. . .] . [- - -]
 [. . .] καὶ παντὸς οἴκου παρ[ὰ] τῷ [κυρίῳ]
 [Ἀμ]ενώθῃ· ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ [χρόνον].
 8 [(ἔτους)] . Ω Καί(σα)ρος τοῦ κ[υρίου],
 [Φαμεν]ώθ ἐ΄.

1. Θηραμέ[νου? Bataille || 3. καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Bataille | καὶ Ἀβ[.] . [.]ρ . [Bataille || 4. Δερκίδου Bataille | Ἀμε[Bataille || 5. αὐ(τοῦς καὶ) τοῦ Ἄρκα[Bataille, read αὐτόν || 6. πάντων τούτων Bataille || 7. (ἔτους) εὐτοκράτορ(ο)ς Bataille || 9. missing from Bataille's edition

Proskynema of Sarapion son of Apollonides and of his mother and of [- - -]on his brother and of Atak[- - -] son of [- - -]sidoros brother of the mother and of those who love him [- - -] and of his whole house before the Lord Amenoths, for all time. [Year x of - - -] Caesar the Lord, Phamenoth 5th.

3. Something like [ῶρί]ων.

The reading Ἄτακ . . [. . .] seems to be certain. Among the names beginning with Ἄτακ-, the most common are Ἄτακτος and Ἄτάκτιος. Traces of letters suggest something like Ἄτακρο[. . .]. I was unable to find a name like this.

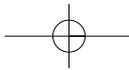
4. I am not aware of a name ending in]ερ[.]σίδωρος. Perhaps we have to divide this conglomerate and read [. . .]ερ [ῶ]σιδώρου, but what does [. . .]ερ mean?
 7. An oblique stroke after [Ἀμ]ενώθῃ most probably indicates a semicolon.

314. 785 cm to the north of the Ptolemaic portico, 86.5 cm above ground level, second course of blocks, partly hidden under a text published by Godlewski, *Monastère*, cat. des dessines 22. Length of line 1: 105.3 cm, h. of letters: 1.7 cm (*omikron*) – 15 cm (*phi*); length of line 2: 82.2 cm, h. of letters: 2.7 cm (*omikron*) – 13.4 cm (*lambda*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

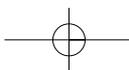
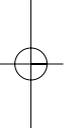
Α Β Γ Δ
 Α Β Κ
 || Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ζ
 Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Ω
 Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ζ
 Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Ω



ΑΒΓΔ[ΕΖ]Η[Θ]ΙΚΑΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ
ΑΒΓΔ[Ε]ΖΗ[Θ]ΙΚΑΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΥΦΧΨΩ

For inscriptions containing the complete Greek alphabet, see commentary to **156**.

2. It looks as if *T* was omitted here. Or perhaps a horizontal stroke on the prolongation of the left-hand stroke of *Υ* does not belong to the last letter, but is a remnant of *T*.



SECTION XVI
NORTH CHAPEL OF AMUN

The north chapel of Amun boasts a few Greek inscriptions, mostly dipinti in red ochre, and no Demotic text. The inscriptions are situated relatively high above the floor (more than 200 cm) suggesting that the chapel was partly filled with sand in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Among altogether 11 inscriptions (six in the chapel itself and five in the passage connecting it with the court) no less than four are composed according to the pattern: *εὐτυχῶς τῷ δεῖνι*, attested only here in the Deir el-Bahari visitors inscriptions. Obviously, the authors of subsequent inscriptions were influenced by earlier texts they had seen and read in this very chapel. For *εὐτυχῶς* in Egyptian *προσκυνήματα*, see generally *IKoKo.*, p. 180 and above, p. 91; see also commentary to **93**, l. 13.

315. Passage leading to the chapel, west side, 53.5 cm from the southwestern edge, 157.5 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks. Dimensions: 20 x 7.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.4 cm (*theta*) – 2.9 cm (*nu*). Deep graffito.

Unpublished.

Roman period.

$\Psi[\epsilon] \nu \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma \Phi \theta -$
 $o[- - -]$.

Psennessis son of Phth[- - -].

The hand of the man who left this graffito resembles to a degree that of Psennessis, whose retrograde signature is to be found on the southern face of the north side of the Ptolemaic portico (above, **224**). Both inscriptions might have been left by the same man.

1–2. Psennessis' patronymic is to be read most probably as either $\Phi \theta o[\mu \acute{\omega} \nu \theta o \upsilon]$ or $\Phi \theta o[\nu \mu \acute{\iota} \nu \iota o \varsigma]$.

316. Passage leading to the chapel, west side, 77 cm from the southwestern edge, 278.5 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, immediately under the ceiling of the passage. Dimensions: 62 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 2.2 cm (*omikron*) – 6 cm (*upsilon*). Red ochre, in the middle of the name of the visitor very faded, but the surviving traces permit certain reading.

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic.

Ἀλέξανδρος Διφίλου.

Alexandros son of Diphilos.

A certain Diphilos son of Alexandros is mentioned in several Theban ostraca of the 130s BC. The list includes: *O. Bodl.* I 169 (139 BC), 176 (134 BC), 177 (134 BC), 180 (132 BC), 181 (131 BC). The same man occurs most probably also in the Demotic *O. Wängstadt* 51, dating from 136/135 BC; cf. W. Clarysse [in:] *Hundred Gated Thebes*, pp. 8–9. It is possible that Alexandros son of Diphilos from our inscription had familial connections with this man. Judging by the personal names, he was a member of a Greek family settled in the Thebaid.

317. West wall of the chapel, 61 cm from the southwestern corner, 202 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, between the legs of Queen Hatshepsut with oar running to the right. Dimensions: 34 x 12 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 (*omikron* at the end of l. 2) – 4.5 cm (*psi* in l. 1). Red ochre, considerably faded. Large epigraphic hand, skilful and nice. The script rises to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 179, pl. IX.

Roman period.

εὐτυχῶς τῷ γράψαντι Κ . [- - -]
 σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
 εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

1. Bataille did not copy εὐτυχῶς, but he supplemented this word in his edition

Good luck for the one who wrote (this) [- - -] together with his wife, for all time.

1. The same formula occurs in a Christian visitor's dipinto in one of the graves in el-Bagawat in Charga Oasis (Wagner, *Les Oasis*, p. 65, no. 6, ll. 3-4): εὐτυχῶς [τῷ γ]ράψαν-
 τι καὶ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι.

318. West wall, 87 cm from the southwestern corner, 235 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, between the legs of Queen Hatshepsut with oar running to the right, above the last letters of **317**. Dimensions: 53.5 x 12.5 cm; h. of letters: 2.6 cm (*omikron*) – 7.3 cm (*chi*). Red ochre, quite well preserved.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 178, pl. IX.

Roman period.

εὐτυχῶς
 Πλήνις Βησαρίωνος.

Good luck for Plenis son of Besarion.

2. Another inscription of the same Plenis son of Besarionis in the entrance to the south chapel of Amun (above, **155**).

319. West wall, 121 cm from the southwestern corner, 217 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks, between the legs of Queen Hatshepsut with oar running to the right, under the last letters of **318**, to the right of **317**. Dimensions: 24 x 9.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.5 cm (*omikron* in l. 2) – 2.2 cm (*epsilon* in l. 4). Red ochre, very faded, particularly on the right-hand side of the inscription. The reading is uncertain.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 180.

Roman period.

εὐτυχῶς .[. .]. [- - -]
 καρίος .Δ[. .]. [. .]. [- - -]
 τι καὶ . . C. [- - - -].
 4 Ἑρμου . . [. . . .].
 [- - - -]. . [.]. [.]. . .

1. εὐτυχῶς A[Bataille || 1-2. καὶ Ma-?] | καρίω Ὀρο[v Bataille || 3. Τιβέριος Bataille || 4. Ἑρμούφ[ι]λ[ος Bataille || 5. not noticed by Bataille

Good luck for [- - -]karios [- - -] and [- - -] Hermou[- - -].

2. Possibly ἀδ[ελ]φ[ός].

320. West wall, 152 cm from the southwestern corner, 267 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, in front of the oar held by Queen Hatshepsut running to the right, level with her thigh. Dimensions: 17 x 7 cm; h. of letters: 0.9 cm (*sigma*) – 2.9 cm (*rho*). Red ochre, considerably faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 181.

Roman period.

εὐτυχῶς τῷ γρά-
 ψαντι Νεχοσι.

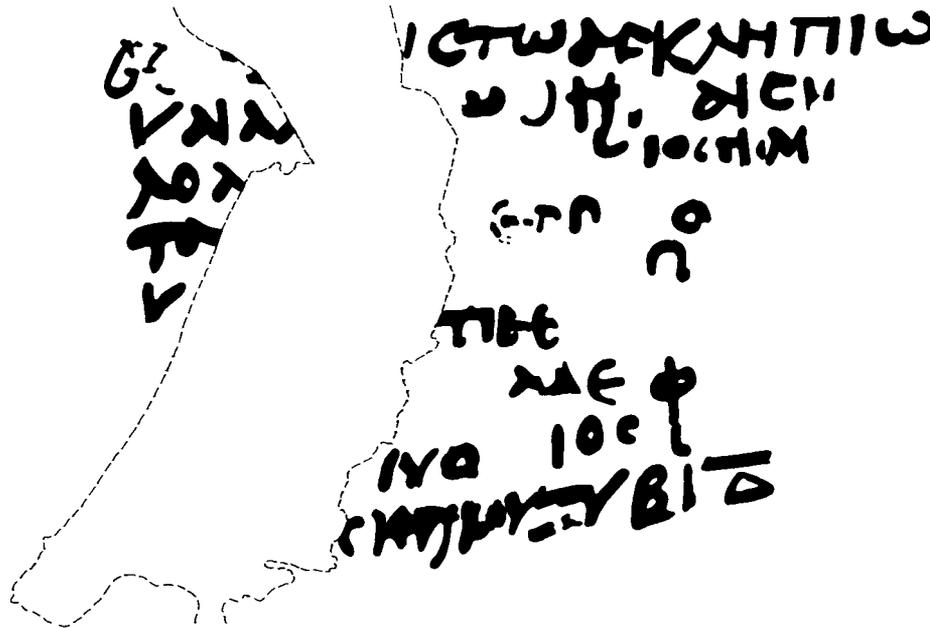
Good luck for the one who wrote (this), Nechotes (or Nechos).

2. The author of the inscription was named either *Νεχότης*, *Νεχότου* or *Νεχῶς*, *Νεχῶτος*. In the first case, *Νεχοτι* stands for *Νεχότη*, in the second one, for *Νεχῶτι*. Bataille chose the second solution without discussion.

321. East wall, 451 cm from the southeastern corner, 242 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks, under the skirt of Thutmosis III offering incense to Amun-Min. Dimensions: 29.5 x 19.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.8 (*omikron* in l. 3) – 2.2 cm (*beta* in l. 9). Red ochre, very blurred. To the left, the inscription is badly damaged by a cracking and splitting of the stone surface.

Unpublished.

Roman period.



θεῶ μ[εγ]ίστῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ
 καὶ Ἀμ[εν]ῶθῃ . ΑΙΣ . [. .]
 Λο [ca. 6] . ιος Νομ[- - -]
 4 ΤΑ[ca. 5] Ε . Π[.] Ο[- - -]
 Κ[- - - - -] Π[- - -]
 [ca. 6] ΠΕΘ[- - - - -]
 [ca. 8] ἀδε[λ]φ[- - - -]
 8 [ca. 4] ΙΥΟ[.] ΙΟC[.] . [- - -]
 [το]ῦ κυρίου, Τῦβι δ.

To the greatest god Asklepios and Amenotbes [- - -] brother [- - -] Year x of the Imperator Caesar NN] the Lord, Tybi 4th.

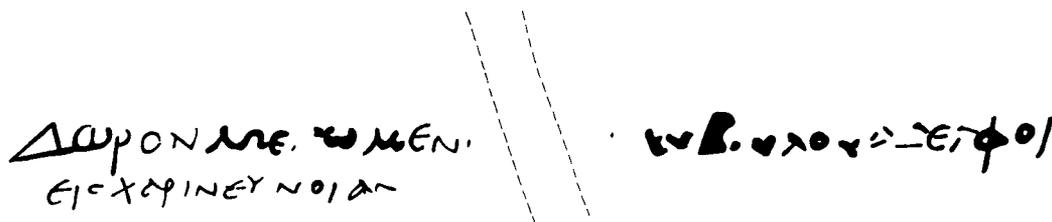
This inscription is of similar form as dedications to the gods: first come the names of the gods in the dative, then the names of those making the dedication (here only partly preserved), and finally the date. This form is unparalleled among visitors inscriptions, not only in Deir el-Bahari, but also in other cult-places in Egypt.

2. After Ἀμ[εν]ώθη, one is tempted to read καὶ σὺ[ννάοις θεοῖς], but this would make l. 2 too long.
3. Λο[] [ca. 6] . ιος may be the name of the author of the inscription and Νομ[- -] his patronymic.
8. This line likely contained a regnal formula, e.g. (ἔτους) x αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος τοῦ δεῖνος | [το]ῦ κυρίου. I am unable to propose any reasonable reading of the traces of letters preserved on the wall.

322. East wall, 425 cm from the southeastern corner, 176 cm above the floor, fourth course of blocks (the text runs along the upper edge of the block), between the feet of Thutmosis III offering to Amun-Min. Dimensions: 31.5 x 2.5 cm; h. of letters: 0.4 cm (*omikron*) – 1.7 cm (*phi*). Red ochre, very faded.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 182.

Roman period.



δῶρον ἀπέδομεν Ἰ[. . .]. Εὐβούλου ἀδελφοὶ
εἰς χάριν εὐνοίας.

We, brothers of Euboulos, have rendered (this) [- - -] as a gift because of (god's) benevolence.

The text is unusual among the Deir el-Bahari inscriptions. It strongly resembles the form of votive inscriptions in stone. Bataille was of the opinion that the text refers to a single event: Euboulos had been healed of an illness by one of the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari and his brothers offered this inscription in the temple in gratitude. In line with this reasoning, he suggested supplementing τ[ῶ θεῶ] in line 1.

323. Passage leading to the chapel, east side, 7 cm into the passage from its northern edge, 248 cm above the floor, sixth course of blocks. Dimensions: 21 x 6.5 cm; h. of letters: 1.9 cm (*epsilon*) – 2.9 (*kappa*). Dark red ochre, well preserved. Epigraphic hand. The script rises slightly to the right.

Bataille, *Inscriptions*, no. 183, pl. IX.

Roman period.

ΚΑΛΩΣ ΟΤΙ
ΕΡΗΩΣΕ

Bataille transcribed *καλωσοπ|ερωσ'θ*

I do not know how to read and to interpret this inscription. One is tempted to read *καλῶς ὅτι*, but what is *ΕΡΗΩΣΕ*?

324. Passage leading to the chapel, east side, 5 cm into the passage from its northern edge, 216 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks. Dimensions: 61.5 x 15 cm; h. of letters: 2.6 cm (*alpha*) – 10.5 cm (*beta*). Deep graffito. On the right, the text is partly covered by a painting from the time of the Christian monastery showing a large cross, outlined in red and with a red dot pattern inside, accompanied by the letters *ΑΩ* (Godlewski, *Monastère*, pp. 100–101, no. 30).

Unpublished.

Late Ptolemaic – early Roman.

(ἔτους) ιβ'. Πακνο[υ - - -]
ἤκω πρὸ[ς τ]ὸν
[- - - - -]

Paknou[---] *I have come to* [---].

- i. The name of the author of the inscription is paralleled by *Πακνοῦφης* (*P.Petaus* 117, 2, 68; Ptolemais Hormou, AD 184–187) and *Πακνοῦ[.]εϋς* (*SB X 10563, 2*; Tebtynis, 2nd cent. AD). But it can also be a variant spelling of the very well known names *Παχνοῦμης* (*Παχνοῦβης*).

325. Passage leading to the chapel, east side, 77.5 cm into the passage from its northern edge, 199 cm above the floor, fifth course of blocks. Width: 5 cm; h. of letters: ca. 1 cm. Dark red ochre, well preserved.

Unpublished.

Roman period (?).

Táis.

OTHER SOURCES

A. OSTRACA

A1. Egyptian Museum Cairo, *Journal d'entrée* 67300. Earlier, part (a) had the number *Journal d'entrée* 9695.

Part (a), bottom, arrived at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo without any indication of the provenance; part (b), top, was found in Deir el-Bahari by E. Baraize.

Limestone. Broken obliquely in two parts (a) and (b), restored together upon identification. Dimensions of the complete item: h. 29 cm, w. 21 cm. Small chips off the stone surface at the beginning of the first column of writing and at the end of the second one. The text is written in black ink, but l. 24, which touches the end of line 10b, is executed in red ochre, as is also the letter *E* corrected from *A* in $\kappa\alpha\tau\llbracket\alpha\rrbracket\acute{\epsilon}\phi\nu\gamma\omicron\nu\llbracket\tau\omicron\varsigma\rrbracket$ in 10b. The person who wrote the text on the stone (Polyaratos?) did not start at the top of the surface to his disposal, but about one-third down. After writing the words $[\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\upsilon}] \nu\alpha\varsigma \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ at the beginning of line 10 (designated as line 10a in the present edition), he probably realised that he did not have enough space for all that he wanted to say and moved back up to the top, where he divided his text into two columns. He put the right-hand column in a small roughly triangular space, which is at a somewhat oblique angle with respect to the main surface. After that, he returned to l. 10, completed it until he reached the right-hand margin (line 10b in the present edition) and then continued writing until the bottom. While writing, he often changed his mind, introducing numerous corrections into his text. He deleted a large part of the original text contained in ll. 7–10 by putting it into parentheses. In many places, particularly in the lower part, he erased smaller or larger sections of the text by crossing them out with a horizontal line. The ultimate version appears over the appropriate lines of the text. In line 10b, he changed the participial construction into an indicative sentence by overwriting the second *A* of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ with an *E* and deleting

the ending *TOC*. In l. 29, the letters *Υ* in the endings were corrected from *I* by the addition of two oblique strokes at the top of each of them. In l. 31, *IIA* in *παραγινόμενους* was corrected from *ΓΙΝ*; evidently, the author had first wanted to write *γινόμενους* (without prefix). The addition over l. 6 that touches l. 21 on the right was separated from the latter by a large double dot. The text added in the upper right-hand column was separated from the main body of the text by an incurved line touching the right parenthesis marking the deletion of ll. 7–10. The hand is fluent but not skilful; it shows traits characteristic of the early Ptolemaic period. See Fig. 26.

Part (a) alone was published by O. Guéraud, 'Quelques textes du Musée du Caire, II: Inscription en l'honneur d'Aménôthès,' *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 121–125, photo (Bilabel, *SB* IV 7470; Hondius, *SEG* VIII 729; V. Longo, *Aretalogie nel mondo greco I. Epigrafi e papiri*, Genova 1969, p. 136, no. 75). Both parts were published together by A. Bataille, 'Nouveau fragment d'un ostracon concernant Aménôthès fils de Hapou,' *Ét. Pap.* 4 (1937), pp. 125–131 (Kiessling, *SB* V 8266; Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* I [1974], pp. 104–105, s. v. Ἀμενώθης; Maria Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* [= *Subsidia Epigraphica. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik* 12], Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1985, pp. 46–49, no. 16).

Cf. M. Malinine, *RdÉ* 14 (1962), p. 40 (on the designation *θεός* applied to Amenhotep). Pack² 2489. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, p. 375 (brief discussion). É. Bernand [in:] Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, Evelyne Geny (eds.) *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque I. Religion* [= *Centre de recherche d'histoire ancienne* 79, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 367], Paris 1988, p. 53 (only mentioned). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 257–258, § 160 (résumé). idem, *Saints*, p. 97 (description, partial translation). H. Harrauer, *CPR* XIII, p. 89, no. 1 (on the profession of *ἱατρός*; only mentioned). Françoise Dunand [in:] Nicole Fick, J.-Cl. Carrière (eds.), *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [= *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 444], Paris 1991, p. 244–245 (only mentioned).

261/260 BC

Diplomatic transcript

11	]ουκολιγαβουλενομε	ραπολλωνταστ[	16
12	]εριασκαιουθεντοπλειον	αμενωτουαρετα[	17
13	]ωσδαντωσδεπροσια	πολλασουσασοντααυτ[	18
14	]τεφυγονκαιουκεδυναν	ελεημονακαιπολλ[	19
15	]εποιησαιακουωνδεπα	αφελπισμενουστ[	20
1	]ενοντοσπτολεμαιουτου	χοτασδία[	21
2	πτολεμαιουκαιτουνιουπτολε	σωτηριασπ[	22
3	μαιουετουσ κε μηνος χοιαχ	[[τ . .ετ . [- - -]]]	23
4	ταδεανεθηκενπολυαρατοσ	καιαυ[	24
5	αρετηναμενωτουσμπεσου		
6	σηγαρμοιαρρωστιασμακρασσφοδρακαιεπικινδυνουέφετηοκτω		
7	[[συνεσπασμενοστανευρααπο]]		
8	[[[]νβομβωγωνδιολουτουσωματοσ]]		

9 [[]κρατηζωνκα[ι]ουταστυχουσας]]
 10 [[]νασυποφερων][]φελπισμενος'κατ[[α]]εφυγον[[τοςδεμου]]
 25 []ροντοτουαμενωτου[]ετης[[καταικετηριανηστααντ[]]]
 26 [[]ραφακαιτουαμενωτουπ[]]]καιτουαμενωτουπαρα[]'
 27 τος[[και]]θεραπευθεισυνπαυτουφανε[
 28 μενοςυγιεσηβουληθεν[[αυτω]]'εξωναμαα[]]'κα[
 29 αλλουσθεουστουςσυμβωμουσ'αυτου'καικυντελ[
 30 [[αυτω]]αναγραφαιαυτωντηναρ[
 31 τηνπροστουςπαραγινομενουσ'εις[[δ]]
 32 [[υναμινεκεινιναειδωσιντου]]τοτεμενος[[τοτεμενος]]τοτουαμενω[]'
 33 [[θεουτηνδυναμιν]]εχομενοι
 34 ποαρρωστιασηςποτεσυνεσπα[
 35 [[φανερωςπαρισταμ[ενου]]
 36 ιναειδωσινοτιατ[ρ - - -]' . [- - -]'
 37 [φ]ανερως[[παριστμ[ενου]]]'υποτουαγομ[- - -]'
 38 θεου

Reading text

1 [βασιλ]εύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ
 2 Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Πτολε-
 3 μαίου, ἔτους κέ, μηνὸς Χοίαχ·
 4 τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρατος
 5 ἀρετὴν Ἀμενώτου. συμπεσοῦ-
 6 σης γάρ μοι ἀρρωστίας ἄμακρᾶς σφόδρα καὶ ἐπικινδύνου' ἐφ' ἔτη ὀκτώ,
 7 [[συνεσπασμένος τὰ νεῦρα ἀπὸ]]
 8 [[τῶ]ν βομβώγων δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος]],
 9 [[ἀ]κρατῆς ὧν κα[ι] οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας]]
 10a [[ὀδύ]νας ὑποφέρων]]
 11 [- - - - -] οὐκ ὀλίγα βουλευόμε-
 12 [νος περὶ σωτ]ερίας καὶ οὐθὲν τὸ πλεῖον
 13 [ca. 7-8], ὡς δ' αὐτῶς δὲ πρὸς ἰα-
 14 [τροὺς κα]τέφυγον καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναν-
 15 [το ὑγιῆ μ]ε ποιῆσαι. ἀκούων δὲ πα-
 16 ρὰ πολλῶν τὰς τ[οῦ]
 17 Ἀμενώτου ἀρετὰ[s]
 18 πολλὰς οὔσας, ὄντα αὐτ[ὸν]
 19 ἐλεήμονα καὶ πολλ[οὺς]
 20 ἀφελπισμένους τ[ετυ]-
 21 χότας ἰ[δ]εῖν α[ὐτοῦ]
 22 σωτηρίας π[ορευθεῖς]
 23 [[τ . . ετ . [- - -]]]
 24 καὶ αὐ[τὸς]
 10b [[ἀ]φελπισμένους' κατ[[α]]έφυγον[[τος δέ μου]]

25 [εἰς τὸ ἐ]ρὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ικ]έτης [[κατὰ ἰκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ί]]-
 26 [[γ]ραφα καὶ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου π[αραστάν]] καὶ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου παρα[στάν]-
 27 τος [[καὶ] θεραπευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φανε[ρῶς καὶ γενό]-
 28 μενος ὑγιὲς ἠβουλήθην [[αὐτῶι]] ἔξ ὧν ἅμα α[ὐτόν]' κα[ὶ τοὺς]
 29 ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς]
 30 [[αὐτῶι]] ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρ[ε]-
 31 τὴν πρὸς τοὺς παραγινομένους εἰς' [[δ]]-
 32 [[ύναμιν ἐκεῖν' ἵνα εἰδῶσιν τοῦ]] τὸ τέμενος [[τὸ τέμενος]] τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώ[του οἶ]
 33 [[θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]] ἐχόμενοι ὑ-
 34 πὸ ἀρρωστίας ἠσποτε συνεσπα[σμένοι]
 35 [[φανερῶς παρισταμ[ένου]],
 36 ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἰατ[ρ - - -] ` . [- - -]'
 37 [φ]ανερῶς [[παρισταμ[ένου]] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγομ[- - -]'
 38 θεοῦ.

3. read Χοιάκ || 5. read Ἀμενώθου || 6. ἐφ' ἔτη = ἐπ' ἔτη || 11-12. βουλόμ[ενος σωτ]ερίας Bataille | read σωτηρίας || 13. [ταύτης] suggested by Totti, [ἔχων] suggested by Merkelbach (cited by Totti) || 17. read Ἀμενώθου || 20. ἀφελπισμένους = ἀπελπισμένους || 20-21. or τ[ετευ]χότας Bataille || 10b. ἀφελπισμένος = ἀπελπισμένος || 25. read Ἀμενώθου || 26. read Ἀμενώθου (two times) || 28. read ὑγιὲς ἠβουλήθην || 32. read Ἀμενώθου | οἶ] supplemented by Totti || 34. .υ[] τ[α] Bataille; the supplement συνεσπα[σμένοι] comes from Totti || 37. ἀγομ[ένου] or ἀπολ[ύοντος] Bataille, Ἀμεν[ώτου τοῦ] Totti

Under the King Ptolemaios son of Ptolemaios, and Ptolemaios the son, in the 25th year, in the month Choiak, Polyaratos set up this in order to make known the miracle (arete) of Amenothes. I fell in a grave and dangerous illness that lasted for eight years. [[Starting with the glands, my muscles were constricted along the whole body and I was paralysed and I suffered pains that were difficult to withstand]]. I pondered for a long time about salvation, but without result [- - -]. I even escaped into the protection of physicians, but they were unable to make me healthy. Since I have heard from many people that Amenothes has accomplished numerous miraculous healings (aretai), that he is merciful and that many desperate people have found salvation through him, so I [- - -], also being desperate, came, fleeing for protection, as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Amenothes [[with the supplication of which a written copy]]. Amenothes appeared to me and I was cured by him manifestly and I have been healthy. For that reason I would like to praise him and the gods worshipped together with him on the same altars and in the same temple, making known their miracle (arete) in the form of an inscription for all those who, affected by an illness, come to the sacred precinct of Amenothes in order that [[they know the power of the god who appeared manifestly]] they know [- - -] manifestly by the god who [- - -].

The ostrakon discussed here contains the description of a miraculous healing procured by Amenhotep on the person of a certain Polyaratos. Numerous corrections and repetitions mirroring the thinking process of its author observable throughout the text make it clear that what we have is only a rough copy. In its final form, the text was probably intended for writing on a stone stela, which should have been set up sub-

sequently in the sanctuary of Amenhotep in Deir el-Bahari as proof, for future visitors, of the miraculous powers of the god. This is suggested by the words *ἀνέθηκεν* (l. 4) and *ἀναγράψαι* (l. 30), which are characteristic of the process of producing and erecting monumental stone inscriptions.

The text starts with a dating clause and the dedicatory formula in the third person singular (ll. 1–5). The rest (ll. 5–38) is a subjective narrative held in the first person singular in the name of Polyaratos who must be considered the redactor of the text and probably also its scribe.

From the point of view of its form, the text of the Polyaratos ostrakon may be designated as miracle narrative (Wundererzählung). Wundererzählungen are best known from descriptions of healings (*ιάματα*) procured by Asklepios in his temple in Epidauros in Argolis. Our text shares with the Epidaurian *ιάματα*, from which it is younger by some fifty years, their substance (healing the sick through miraculous divine appearance) and topic (long-lasting illness bringing pain and suffering, the physicians' helplessness, the sick person's supplication to the god, the god's miraculous intervention resulting in a complete cure, reporting in writing on the course of events for the benefit of future persons in need). At the same time, our text belongs to another genre of Greek religious literature, namely aretalogy, i. e. description of a miraculous power of a god manifesting in deeds of both general-cosmic and common nature. This is best seen in the characteristic vocabulary (*ἀρετή* in the double meaning of 'miraculous power of a god' and 'single miracle procured by god'), and the propagandistic aim clearly expressed in lines 30–36. For more detailed discussion of the literary and religious aspects of the Polyaratos ostrakon, see above pp. 23–26, and below, commentary to particular lines.

4. *ἀνέθηκεν* is a typical word from the vocabulary of stone inscriptions, especially dedications to the gods. Its use, together with *ἀναγράψαι* in l. 30, seems to suggest that the text was supposed to be inscribed on a stone stela.
5. The spelling *Ἀμενώτης* occurs throughout the ostrakon text (cf. ll. 17, 25, 26; supplemented in l. 32). It is also evidenced in an ostrakon with *Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι* of a date more or less similar to that of the Polyaratos' ostrakon (cf. infra, **A2**, line 1). *Ἀμενώτης* is consistently used in wall inscriptions, perhaps except for **86**, l. 2, where the script is unclear at the end of the god's name. For the spelling *Ἀμενώτης*, see J. Quaegebeur, *RdÉ* 37 (1986), p. 100, 102 f. It depends directly on the Egyptian original *Imm-ḥtp* without metathesis in the second element that produced the form *Ἀμενώτης*.

The word *ἀρετή* occurs thrice in the text of the ostrakon: here and in ll. 30–31 in the singular, in l. 17 in the plural. In the latter case it must have the meaning '(a single) miracle;' here, and especially in ll. 30–31, a general meaning: 'miraculous power, effectiveness, skillfulness,' close to *δύναμις*, is more appropriate. For *ἀρετή* in the double meaning of 'miracle procured by a god' and 'miraculous power of a god' in Greek religious texts of Hellenistic and Roman periods, see S. Reinach, 'Les arétalogues dans l'Antiquité,' *BCH* 9 (1885), pp. 257–265; A. Kiefer, *Aretalogische Studien*, Leipzig 1929, *passim*; V. Longo, *Aretalogie nel mondo greco, passim*, especially p. 23; Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée* [= *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* 49], Leiden 1975, pp. 1–8; cf. also below, commentary to ll. 30–33. The oldest attestation of this meaning of the term *ἀρετή* is the Attic inscription *IG II² 4326* from the mid 4th century BC. It

does not occur in the Asklepios *ιάματα* from Epidauros dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, and becomes popular only in the 3rd century BC, more or less at the time of the writing of our ostrakon. For the expression *ἀνέθηκεν ἀρετήν*, cf. a parallel in a confession inscription of Roman date from northwestern Lydia, G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* [= *Epigraphica Anatolica* 22], Bonn 1994, no. 43, ll. 5–7: *κολασθίσα δὲ ἐξωμολογησάμην κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν*.

6. For the spelling *ἐφ' ἔτη*, see Gignac, *Grammar* I, pp. 133–134. It shows that the word *ἔτος* was aspirated in the language of the redactor of the text, as it was in some Greek dialects and, occasionally, also in the *koine*, particularly in some fossilised expressions like *καθ' ἔτος* or *ἐφ' ἔτη*.
- 8-10a. *βομβών* is the later form of *βουβών*; cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon* B 804 (Latte): *βομβώνας· βουβώνας*; Herodianus Grammaticus, *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (*Gramm. Gr.* 3, 2, p. 483 l. 3): *βομβώνες· βουβώνες*; Moeris, *Lexicon Atticum*, p. 192, l. 19 (Bekker): *βουβώνας Ἀττικοί, βομβώνας Ἑλληνες*. The term *βομβών* (*βουβών*) designates the lymphatic glands situated near the sexual organs and, more generally, the pelvic area of the human body. To judge by the symptoms of Polyaratos' illness indicated by him in the ostrakon text (start of the illness in the pelvic area, paralysis of the muscles, great pain, eight years of duration). He could have been suffering from an inflammation of the lymphatic glands (*Lymphogranuloma inguinalis*). [I owe this information to W. Eul, MD, from Leverkusen].

An inscription from Zora in North Arabia dated to AD 542/543 indicates that a local bishop died of inflammation of the lymphatic glands both in the groin and the armpits (*βουβώνος καὶ μάλης*); cf. J. Koder, 'Ein inschriftlicher Beleg zur "justinianischen" Pest in Zora (Azra'a)' [in:] R. Dostálova, V. Konzal (eds.), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. Studia byzantina ac slavica Vladimiro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata* [= *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995)], pp. 13–18.

- 13–15. A god saving a patient after physicians had despaired of his life is a frequent element of miracle narratives; cf. e. g. Hippias' of Rhegion version of the Epidaurian *ἴαμα* of Aristagora of Troezen (*FGrH* 554 F2; cf. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* [= *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 8.1], Gießen 1909, p. 81 ff. [reprint: Berlin – New York 1969]); see further an altar with a report of a sick man found in Baitokeike in Syria, dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. AD (*SEG* XLVII 1932 A): [- - -] *ιερου πηρωθεις ἐμπεσών εις λς' ἰατρούς καὶ μὴ θεραπευθεις ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν θε[ε]ὸν καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπέ[ταξ]έν μοι βοτάνη [- - -]*. As far as Egypt is concerned, see *IGrÉgLouvre*, no. 11 (Memphis, early Ptolemaic period): *κακῶς διακεί[μενος γὰρ καὶ | ἰα]τρείας χρώμενος τοῖς π [- - - | . . . ο]ὐκ ἠδυνάμην ὑγείας [τυχεῖν - - - | - - -]υ*; for this inscription see also a detailed commentary by U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I, pp. 34–35.
20. *ἀπελπίζω* occurs several times in connection with miraculous healings procured by different gods; cf. *SIG³* 1173 = L. Moretti, *IGUR* I 148 (Rome, beginning of the 3rd cent. AD), l. 7: *Λουκίῳ πλευρευτικῶ καὶ ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου*; l. 11: *αἷμα ἀναφέροντι Ἰουλιανῶ, ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου*; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, no. 99, ll. 2–4 (Philadelpheia in Lydia, 2nd cent. AD): *κολασθείσα [π]ονηρῶς [κ]αὶ ἀφελπισθοῦσα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων*; H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum* [= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse* 237, *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris* 19], Wien 1994, no. 187, ll. 2–3 (Philadelpheia in Lydia, Roman Imperial period): *ἀφελπισθεις ὑπὸ τ[ῶν ἀνθρώπων - - -] σωθεις ὑπ[ὸ] - - -]*.

For the aspirated root *ἐλπ-* (*ἀφελπισμένους* instead of *ἀπελπισμένους*), see Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 14; for the aspiration in compositions, see generally Gignac, *Grammar*

I, p. 136 f. The aspirated form of ἀπελπίζω occurs for the second time in 10b; cf. also ἐφ' ἔτη in l. 6.

26. Ἀμενώτου παρα[σάν]τος was translated by Bataille as 'Aménôthès m'ayant assisté,' but the sense 'Amenothès appeared to me' seems to be preferable here; cf. φανερώς παρισταμ[ένου] = 'the one who manifestly appeared' in l. 35 that, although deleted, indicates what Polyaratos really meant. παριστάναι occurs interchangeably with ἐπιστάναι to denote miraculous appearances of gods and supernatural beings like angels to people in their dreams; cf. in general A. Wikenhauser, 'Die Traumgeschichte des Neuen Testaments in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht' [in:] *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern* [= *Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 1*], Münster 1939, pp. 320–333, and see particularly Plutarch, *Lucullus* 10: ὄναρ δ' ἢ θεὸς Ἀρισταγόρα τῷ τοῦ δήμου γραμματεὶ παραστάσα; *Act. Apost.* 27, 23: παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (. . .) ἄγγελος λέγων· μὴ φοβοῦ Παῦλε; Fl. Jos., *Antiquit.* I 19 1: καὶ τοιαύτην κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου ὄψιν ὄρᾳ παραστάσαν αὐτῷ (about the dream of Jacob) and V 6 2: φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάντος; Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, no. 1, 5–6: παρεστάθη (i.e. Zeus Troso) αὐτῷ εἰς τοὺς ὕπνου; 106, 11–12: [κ]αὶ ὀνείροις μοι παρεστάθη (i.e. god) καὶ [εἰ]πεν κτλ. One can suppose that Amenhotep appeared to Polyaratos in a dream vision while he was sleeping in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.
27. The reading θεραπευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φανέ[ντος] is possible as well. It has the advantage of producing a logical sequence of events. The translation would be: 'Amenothès appeared to me and I was cured by him during his appearance and I have been healthy since.'
- 30–33. The aim of Polyaratos was to write something like: ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς τοὺς παραγινομένους εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου ἵνα εἰδῶσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἢ ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς παραγινομένους εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου. He deleted the whole phrase with δύναμις probably because he felt it was superfluous; ἀρετὴ and δύναμις have practically the same meaning in the religious vocabulary, namely: 'miraculous power, miracle;' cf. commentary to l. 5. The expression ἀναγράψαι τὴν ἀρετὴν (δύναμιν) is found in confession inscriptions; cf. Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*, nos. 11, 11. 6–8: ἀπητήθη στήλην καὶ ἀνέγραψα τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ θεοῦ; 34, 11. 16–18: ἐστήσομεν τὴν στήλην καὶ ἐνεγράψομεν τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐλογοῦμεν; 50, 11. 5–7: ἐκολάσθη ἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐνέγραψα τὴν ἀρετὴν. The verb ἀναγράφειν comes from the political vocabulary, where it has the meaning 'to record an official document (such as a popular resolution) for the public;' cf. A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Wien 1909, pp. 284–285.

A2. British Museum, Reg. no. 1900, 1120.625.

Found in Deir el-Bahari under unknown circumstances, during excavations carried out by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1890s, donated by the EEF to the British Museum in 1900.

Limestone chip; h. 20.5 cm, w. 10.1 cm. Broken obliquely from bottom left to top right, the right-hand part and the bottom missing. The inscription is in black ink. The hand is practised, but not very skilful while writing on this occasion. Line 1 containing the heading is separated from the rest of the text by a slightly larger space and is moved to the right with regard to the left margin. Individual maxims are separated by

horizontal strokes (preserved in ll. 3, 4, 6, 13, 16), and the lines in which maxims end are marked by *paragraphoi* in the left margin (note, however, that the *paragraphos* is missing from ll. 4 and 6). See Fig. 27.

After copies provided by W.E. Crum and K.F. Kanyon, U. Wilcken, 'Zur ägyptisch-hellenistischen Litteratur' [in:] *Aegyptiaca. Festschrift für G. Ebers zum 1. 3. 1897*, Leipzig 1897, pp. 142–146 (P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, p. 954, note 51; cf. also I, p. 684: attempt at interpretation. Al.N. Oikonomides, 'The Commandments of Amenothos and the Commandments of Sansnos,' *Serapis* 5, 2 [1980], pp. 45–47 with numerous attempts at supplementing. Maria Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* [= *Subsidia Epigraphica. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Epigraphik* 12], Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1985, pp. 121–122, no. 46).

Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1904, p. 124 (only mentioned; he expresses the opinion that the precepts, except for the first three items, might have been translated from an Egyptian original). H. Dils [in:] *SIG III³* 1268, under no. 7 (about possible sources of the text; he cites the first three sentences). W.R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), pp. 134–135 (brief discussion with reference to Wilcken's article). F.L. Griffith, *JEA* 12 (1926), p. 225 (only mentioned). G. Manteuffel, *De opusculis graecis Aegypti e papyris, ostracis lapidibusque collectis* [= *Travaux de la Société des sciences et de lettres de Varsovie, Classe I*, no. 12], Warszawa 1930, p. 22, note 2 (reference to Wilcken's article; first three precepts cited). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, p. XIII (only mentioned). Bataille, *Memnonia*, p. 19 and 100 (only mentioned). L. Kákosy, *Acta Orient. Hung.* 21 (1968), p. 112 (only mentioned). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 258–259, § 161 (description). H.J. Thissen [in:] *LÄg* II [1977], col. 875, s.v. 'Graeco-ägyptische Literatur' (only mentioned). Wildung, *Saints*, p. 97 (only mentioned).

3rd cent. BC (palaeography)

Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι·
 φρόνησιν ἄσκει μετὰ δικαιο-
 _____ σύνης. — ὁμοίως θεοῦς σέβου [καὶ]
 4 γονέας. — βουλευού μὲν χρόν[ω],
 συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττ[η]ις, τα]-
 χέως. — χρησίμους ἦχ[οῦ μὴ τοῦς]
 _____ σοφούς, ἀλλὰ τοῦς .[- - -]
 8 δίκαιον ὀράεις, το[υτ - - -]
 _____ ὑπολάμβανε σα .[- - -]-
 _____ φον, κάλλιον δὲ [- - -]
 τῶν ἀναθεμάτ[ων - - -]
 12 νόμιζε τὴν ἀρετ[ὴν - - -]
 _____ ἀνθρώπους. — μὴ [- - -],
 _____ ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήσιμ[α - - -]
 ἀρετὴν ἄσκε[ῖν - - -]

16 _____ ἐστιν. — εἰ[- - -]
 ἐν ταῖς[- - -]
 [.]ακε[- - -]

1. read Ἀμενώθου || 6. χρησίμους η .[.] Wilcken; the supplement accepted above comes from Oikonomides; the same supplement is suggested by Totti || 7. τοὺς [φιλοσόφους Oikonomides, τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς Totti (after Merkelbach) || 7–8. ὁ τι | δίκαιον ὁράεις, τοῦτο γίγνωσκε Oikonomides, εἰ | δίκαιον ὁράεις, τοῦτον - - -] Totti who also suggested the supplement: τοῦτω ἔπου || 8–10. Wilcken read in l. 9 βα .[.]; ἀγαθόν | ὑπολάμβανε βασίλεια ἀνδρα φιλόσο]φον Oikonomides, ὑπολάμβανε καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ σο]φόν, κάλλιον δὲ [τὸ εὐσεβές Totti (after Merkelbach); Oikonomides punctuated after]φον, but this is hardly acceptable as there is no stroke separating two maxims in this place || 10–13. κάλλιον δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ λόγος] | τῶν ἀναθεμάτ[ων χαλκοῦ. πλούτου] | νόμιζε τὴν ἀρετ[ὴν κρείττονα εἶς] | ἀνθρώπους Oikonomides (two maxims), κάλλιστον] | τῶν ἀναθεμάτ[ων ἀπάντων] | νόμιζε τὴν ἀρετ[ὴν εἰς τοὺς] | ἀνθρώπους Totti (after Merkelbach) || 13–14. μὴ [τὰ ἥδιστα ἄκουε] | ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήσιμ[α μάνθανε Oikonomides, μὴ [ζήτει τὰ ἡδέα], ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήσιμ[α Totti || 14–16. τὸ τὴν] | ἀρετὴν ἄσκε[ῖν καὶ κακίαν φεύγει καλὸν] | ἐστὶν Oikonomides, τοῦ τὴν] | ἀρετὴν ἄσκε[ῖν οὐδὲν κάλλιον] | ἐστιν suggested by Wilcken and accepted by Totti || 16–18. ἐπὶ τὰ δειπνα βραδέως, ἀλλ' | ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις τῶν φίλων πορεύου] | [τ]αχέ[ως Oikonomides

Precepts of Aménôthes. — Exercise prudence with justice. — Respect in the same way the gods and the parents. — Take time to think, but finish quickly whatever you are doing. — Consider useful not the learned, but [- - -]. — [- - -] you observe just [- - -] consider [- - -]. — [- - -] better [- - -]. — [- - -] the votive offerings [- - -] consider the goodness [- - -] the mankind. — Do not [- - -], but the useful ones. — It is [- - -] to exercise excellence [- - -]. — [- - -] in the [- - -].

The ostrakon text contains a collection of ethical maxims. Ten have been preserved, but originally there might have been a few more. Maxims occurring on the Deir el-Bahari ostrakon represent a category of texts circulating in the Greek world from the archaic times onwards. Their authorship was often ascribed to prominent representatives of Greek political and cultural life, like the seven wise men, but they are much more the expression of folk wisdom than learned reflection. Already by the Archaic period, these thoughts started to be collected. A collection of five maxims inscribed in the 6th century BC in the Apollo temple in Delphi is mentioned by ancient authors, Plato included (*Charm.* 164D–165A). An inscription dated to the 4th century BC, found in the gymnasium on the island of Thera (*IG XII 3, 1020*), contains four maxims, of which three were ascribed by a later tradition to three of the seven wise men. A collection of ca. 150 maxims existed as late as the second half of the 4th century BC in the form of an inscription on a column set up in the pronaos of the Apollo temple at Delphi. The original piece has not been preserved, but the text is known from numerous copies, excerpts, and Latin translations, which are found in ancient sources (inscriptions and papyri) starting as early as the beginning of the Hellenistic period, as well as in the works of later authors; cf. the list of testimonies given by H. Dils [in:] *SIG III*³ 1268, commentary, which, however, should be supplemented by numerous newer publications; for the orientation, see R. Pintaudi, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 76 (1989), pp. 89–91; A.N. Oikonomides, ‘Records of the “Commandments of the Seven Wise Men” in the 3rd c. BC,’ *The Classical Bulletin* 63 (1986/1987), pp. 67–76; A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* [= *Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und*

epigraphische Studien 4], Stuttgart 1988, pp. 279–280; Maria Tziatzi-Papagianni, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen. Einleitung, Text, Testimonien und Kommentar* [= *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 51], Stuttgart – Leipzig 1994, pp. 5–11. The main testimony is a copy ascribed to the philosopher Sosiades (period unknown) and preserved in Johannes Stobaios, *Florilegium* III 1, 173 (pp. 125–128 Hense). A collection of maxims based on a tradition other than the Delphic one was prepared by Demetrios of Phaleron (4th/3rd cent. BC). This anthology arranged by authors was also preserved in Johannes Stobaios, *Florilegium* III 1, 172 (pp. 111–124 Hense). From the same time as the work of Demetrios of Phaleron comes the pseudo-Isocratean work *Ad Demonicum*, in which these simple *gnomai* were woven into a discourse with moralistic tendency; on this work, see B. Rosenkranz, ‘Die Struktur der Ps.Isokrateischen Demonicea,’ *Emerita* 34 (1966), pp. 95–129. It was widely used in ancient school education as attested, among others, by a large number of copies preserved in papyri, ostraca and tablets from Egypt; cf. *P.Kell.* III Gr. 95. The author of the text on the Deir el-Bahari ostracon obviously derived from these widespread models. Thus, the first three precepts can be traced in similar form in the Delphic tradition. The remaining maxims have no direct analogy in the sources available to us, but they surely belong to the same literary genre. It should be observed that the maxims occurring on the Deir el-Bahari ostracon do not have their original gnomic form ‘object in accusative + verb in imperative or infinitive,’ but are reshaped rhetorically on the model (or rather in the style) of Ps.Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*; cf. Diels, *loc. cit.* It is difficult to say who and under what circumstances accomplished this reshaping. The most probable solution is that it was brought on at the turn of the 4th century BC somewhere in the Greek world, without any connection with the Deir el-Bahari temple. In Deir el-Bahari, this text was adapted to a new propagandistic function and accordingly was given a new title, indicating that its author was an Egyptian sage. One cannot exclude, however, that both the rhetoric reshaping of maxims and providing them with a new title were accomplished simultaneously in the Deir el-Bahari temple.

1. For the spelling Ἀμενώτου, see above, commentary to **A1**, l. 5.

The heading Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι is paralleled by Σωσιάδου τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὑποθήκαι in Joh. Stob. III 1, 173 (p. 125 Hense). The word ὑποθήκαι occurs in the main manuscript used by Hense in his edition (Bruxellensis 11360), other manuscripts have either παραγγέλματα or γινώμαι in this place; cf. apparatus in the Hense edition. We are aware of other ancient works labelled ὑποθήκαι. According to several ancient authors, there existed a work called Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι ascribed to Hesiod; cf. Rzach, *RE* VIII [1913], col. 1222, s.v. ‘Hesiodos.’ *Suda*, s.v. Μουσαῖος (μ 1294) mentions a work by Mousaios from Eleusis entitled ὑποθήκαι Εὐμόλπωι τῷ υἱῷ. Though the person of Mousaios is fictitious, a work of this title functioning under his name might have really existed.

- 2–3. The precept φρόνησιν ἄσκει μετὰ δικαιοσύνης does not occur anywhere in this form, although we know of the maxim φρόνησιν ἄσκει. It is preserved in the Sosiades’ collection of maxims included in Stobaios’ *Florilegium*; cf. Joh. Stob. III 1, 173 (17). The same maxim appears woven into a more elaborate sentence in Ps.Isocr., *Ad Demonicum* 39–40: μηδὲνα ζήλου τῶν ἐξ ἀδικίας κερδαινόντων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου τοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ζημιωθέντας· οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν. πάντων μὲν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, μάλιστα

δὲ τὴν σαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἄσκει. It is possible that the author of our text (or his source) borrowed directly from this work, combining the precept φρόνησιν ἄσκει from l. 40 with the expression μετὰ δικαιοσύνης from l. 39.

- 3–4. The precept ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβου [καὶ] γονέας occurs only here in this form. The author of the Deir el-Bahari ostrakon (or his source) merged into one two maxims from the Sosiadean (Delphic) tradition; cf. Joh. Stob. III 1, 173 (3–4). Apart from Stobaios, these two maxims (with some minor variants) appear near one another in several other sources, obviously belonging to the same tradition. These are: 1) a papyrus kept in the library of the Seminar for Classical Philology of the University of Athens (P. Univ. Athen. 2782), dated to the 1st–2nd cent. AD; cf. Al. N. Oikonomides, *ZPE* 37 (1980), pp. 181–182, ll. 6–7: θεοὺς σέβου | γονέας αἰδοῦ; 2) a collection of precepts labelled γνώμαι τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, preserved in the codex Bibl. reg. 1630, pp. 187–188; cf. J. Fr. Boissonade, *Ἀνέκδοτα* I, Paris 1829, p. 135: θεὸν σέβεσθαι, γονέας αἰδεῖσθαι; 3) *Hermeneumata graecolatina Stephani*, which contain a collection of 33 precepts in Latin labelled *Praecepta in Delphis in columna scripta sunt* translated from a Greek original before the 3rd cent. AD; cf. *Corp. Gloss.* III 286^b, 18–19 (*non vidi*; cit. after Diels, *SIG* III³ 1268, p. 393, sub no. 7): *deum cole, parentes reverere*. The precept θεοὺς (θεὸν) σέβου and γονεῖς αἰδοῦ occurs frequently in other texts separated from one another. As Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 144, observed, the precept ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβου καὶ γονέας transmits a wisdom, which differs slightly from that of its two components. If the latter assumes man's different feelings for gods and parents, the former recommends exactly the same approach, further emphasized by ὁμοίως.
- 4–6. The third precept: βουλεύου μὲν χρόνῳ, συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττης, ταχέως, like the first two, also has no exact analogy. The author of the text merged into one two neighbouring maxims from the Delphic (Sosiadean) tradition: βουλεύου χρόνῳ, πράττε συντόμως; cf. Joh. Stob. III 1, 173 (103–104), and see further the inscription from Miletoupolis (end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd cent. BC), *I. K.* 26 [Miletoupolis], no. 2, col. II, ll. 12–13: βουλεύου χρόνῳ[ι] | πράσσε συντόμω[ς].
- 6–7. The supplements τοὺς [φιλοσόφους and το[ὺς εὐσεβεῖς suggested by Oikonomides and Totti, respectively, give good sense, but cannot be accepted from the palaeographic point of view. Traces of a letter after τοὺς look neither like Φ nor like Ε. Apparently, we have to choose between Ν and Β.
- 7–9. Assuming that the paragraph marks are positioned correctly, we would have to admit that the maxim beginning at the end of l. 7 did not end until the second half of l. 9.
- 9–10. As rightly observed by Totti, κάλλιον δέ in l. 10 presupposes καλὸν μὲν at the beginning of the maxim in the second half of l. 9. Perhaps we should supplement with her: καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ σο[φόν], κάλλιον δέ [τὸ εὐσεβές, although this supplement seems to be a little bit too long for l. 9.

A3. Present whereabouts unknown.

Found in Deir el-Bahari on the site of the temple of Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre.

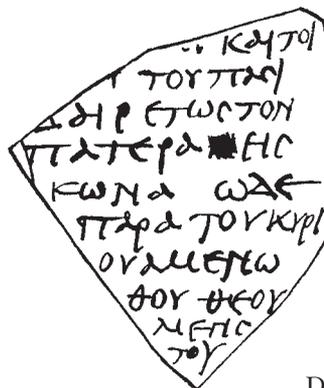
Piece of red pot. The ostrakon is broken diagonally, the upper part is lost.

E. Naville, H. R. Hall, *The XIth Dyn. Temple at Deir el-Bahari* III, London 1913, p. 19 with a drawing (Bilabel, *SB* III 6183; Bataille, *Inscriptions*, p. XIV).

Cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 259–260, §168 (description, German translation).

1st–2nd cent. AD

[- - -] . ΚΑΙΤΟΙ
 [- - -] . του πᾶσι
 [.] . αἰρετως τὸν
 4 πατέρα[ν] εἰς
 Κῶνα ὦδε
 παρὰ τοῦ κυρί-
 ου Ἀμενώ-
 8 θου θεοῦ
 μεγίσ-
 του.



Drawing by Naville and Hall

1–2. Perhaps [- - -] καὶ τοῖ[- - -] || 3. [ᾶ]φαιρέτως Naville, [.]δαιρετως Bilabel; the reading [ἔ]ξαιρέτως is possible as well

[- - -] to all [- - -] the father to Kos here before the Lord Amenotbes, the greatest god.

The incompleteness of the ostracon makes the text unclear. Hence, I have refrained from giving punctuation signs in my translation. Judging by the tenor of the text, we are dealing with an oracular saying of Amenhotep probably concerning someone's father who is asked to appear (?) in Kos. For the interpretation of this toponym, cf. *infra*, commentary to l. 5. Alternatively, this could have been an oracular question concerning the father of the person who posed the question to Amenhotep. Against this latter supposition is the fact that the known oracular questions are always written on papyrus and not on ostraca.

4. The scribe originally wrote *πατέραν* and then corrected it into *πατέρα* by blurring the final *N*. This testifies to the hesitation between the two spellings of the accusative singular of *πατήρ*, with the final *N* and without it. For the spelling *πατέραν*, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 45–46. It is due to the influence exerted by the accusative singular in *-ν* of the vowel stem nouns, facilitated by the frequent appearance of non-etymological *N* in the final position.
5. *Κῶς*, gen. *Κῶνος*, mentioned in this line must be a toponym. Its identification is not clear. We know of at least three places with the name *Κῶς* in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Steph. Byz., *Ethnica* (ed. Meineke), s.v. *Κῶς*, mentions without further details a city of this name in Egypt. According to H. Kees, *RE* XI [1922], col. 1480, s.v. '*Κῶς* (2),' this mention refers to the city in Upper Egypt, some 30 kilometres north of Luxor, called Apollonopolis Parva in Ptolemaic and Roman times, and known as Qos since the time of the Copto-Arabic *scalae*; cf. S. Timm, *Das Christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 5 [= *Beihfte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften* 41/5], Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 2173–2180, s. v. *Qus*. There was also a *kome* *Κῶς* in the south of the Herakleopolites, and an *epoikion* of this name in Arsinoites, both on record in papyri of predominantly Byzantine period; for references, see Calderini, *Dizionario* III, p. 178, s.v., and add *P. Prag.* 30, 1, 7. In the *editio princeps* of the Deir el-Bahari ostracon, E. Naville and H. R. Hall expressed the opinion that it is the Upper Egyptian Apollonopolis Parva/Kos

which is referred to here. The small distance between Apollonopolis Parva/Kos and Deir el-Bahari speaks strongly in favour of this identification, but other localities, even lying at a considerable distance from Deir el-Bahari, cannot be ruled out entirely. One should observe in this context that pilgrims from Kos visited the monastery of St. Phoibamon which from the 6th century onwards existed on the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple; cf. Godlewski, *Monastère*, p. 141, nos. 1 & 2. There is yet another possible interpretation of this difficult passage of the text. εἰς Κῶνα may go together with ὠδε. If so, Κῶς would be the name for the Deir el-Bahari valley and especially its northwestern part where the temple of Amenhotep (and Imhotep) was situated. With this interpretation, the text attains new meaning: According to the wording of the oracle, the father of an unknown person should appear before the greatest god Amenhotep in his temple in Deir el-Bahari in which the ostrakon was inscribed and where it was found.

B. STONE INSCRIPTIONS

B1. Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Cat. gén. 9304. Earlier in the Museum of Boulaq.

According to Mariette (quoted by Miller), the object was discovered in Deir el-Bahari, but the exact circumstances of the discovery are not known.

Limestone. Height: 54 cm, width: 35 cm. A round column (altar ?), decorated with four bulls' heads in relief, connected with wreaths of laurel and ivy. Upon it an inscription of four lines, two above and two below the wreath; letters 0.8 – 1.2 cm high, well cut. The column is broken at the top.

After the squeeze procured by Mariette when the stone was kept in the Museum of Boulaq, E. Miller, *Jour. Sav.* 1879, p. 486, nos. 19 (upper part) and 20 (lower part). J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* [= *Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, nos. 9201–9400, 26001–26123, 33001–33037], Oxford 1905, pp. 37–38, no. 9304, pl. IV.

Cf. U. Wilcken, *AfP* 4 (1908), p. 244 (review of Milne's *Greek Inscriptions*). J.G. Milne, *JEA* 1 (1914), p. 96 (only mentioned). W. R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), p. 133 (only mentioned). Bataille, *Inscriptions*, p. XIV (only mentioned). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 259–260, § 162 (description, German translation of the inscription). idem, *Saints*, p. 97 (only mentioned).

Mid 2nd cent. BC (palaeography); probably 157/156 BC or 145 BC.

Ἀμενώ[θηι]
θεῶι μεγίστῳι
(ἔτους) κ' Λέων καὶ Λυσάνδρα
4 ὑπὲρ παιδίου εὐχήν.

1. AMEN Miller || 3. Ἀλυσάνδρα Miller

To Amenothes, the greatest god, Leon and Lysandra (have erected this) on behalf of (their) child as a vow in the year 25.

3. Year 25 may refer to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (157/156 BC) or Ptolemy VIII Evergetes II (145 BC). The latter date is much less probable. The 25th year of Ptolemy VIII lasted for only 29 days in Egypt (21 August – 19 September), during which time news of the new King would have had to reach as far south as the Thebais and come to the notice of the local inhabitants.
4. The term *παιδίον* could designate either a small child (under 7 years old) of rightful descent or a young slave. The first meaning is presumably applicable in the vow of a married couple. *παιδίον* was used with regard to both son and daughter, therefore the sex of the child of Leon and Lysandra is impossible to ascertain. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 259–260, § 162 interpreted the piece under consideration as a *votum* made by Leon and Lysandra to Amenhotep for his granting them a child. This interpretation is based on the false understanding of the preposition *ὑπέρ*. In votive and dedicatory inscriptions from the Hellenistic period onwards, it meant ‘on behalf of, for the well-being of.’ Therefore, the child of Leon and Lysandra was well in this world and obviously subject to the care of his/her parents.

B2. Storerooms of the Polish-Egyptian Preservation Mission to the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari, without number.

Fragment (a) was found by E. Baraize in 1938 in the fill of the vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex. In 1989, I was able to identify fragments (b) and (c) in the mission storerooms; the circumstances of their discovery are not known.

Grey sandstone. Three fragments of a stela. Fragment (a) comes from the upper central part and fragment (b) from its upper right-hand corner. While the two pieces do not join, the missing part between them cannot be big. Fragment (c) belongs to the lower part of the stela, but its exact position is not known: probably under fragment (a) and slightly to the left of it. Dimensions of the fragments: (a) h. 24.5 cm, w. 34.5 cm; (b): h. 17.5 cm, w. 23 cm; (c): h. 21 cm, w. 26.5 cm. The complete object was approximately 48–50 cm high; its width amounted to *ca.* 83 cm at the top and 88 cm at the bottom, the thickness varying between 7.2 and 7.4 cm. The condition of the fragments is not good. The edges are chipped, the relief is much weathered, the paint faded considerably.

The stela was trapezoid in shape with the sides slightly narrowing towards the top. It carried decoration in painted relief showing several figures and some religious symbols (?) inside an architectural frame suggesting a temple façade. The frame ran parallel to the edges and consisted of two listels, of which the outer revealed traces of white paint and the inner light pink possibly imitating granite. The cornice surmounting it was decorated with palmettes painted sequentially in yellow, red and green with white separating elements. A winged solar disc with two uraei was placed in the centre of this cornice. The disc was painted yellow-gold (now mostly faded to white); the upper layer of feathers shows traces of green paint, the lower of blue. A man clad in a *chiton* (?) and *himation* was represented standing inside the frame and below the disc. He was represented *en face* with his right leg seen frontally and the left one in profile. Dam-

age to the relief has obliterated details of the head and headdress, but it is likely that the figure was depicted bald or wearing a tight cap. The skin was painted red, the garment apparently white with red borders. In his left hand, the man held a *w3s*-sceptre with a snake, represented rather schematically, entwined around it. It resembles to a degree the *heka*-sceptre. Another male figure clad in a *bimation* was shown, also in frontal position, to the left of this man. He also carried a *w3s*-sceptre with a snake entwined around its upper part; green paint can still be seen in places on the lower part of the sceptre. Traces of the upper part of the body and head of another figure can be observed to the right of the central male figure, but whether the figure was depicted in profile or frontally, it is impossible to tell. The figure apparently had long locks of hair descending onto the shoulders, possibly suggesting that it was a woman. To the right of this figure, on the edge of the break of fragment (c), there is a cup-like object with an outgrowth running towards the bottom to the right. It was painted green and was probably a lotus flower. Further to the right, in the upper right-hand corner, there is another object, consisting of a round red-painted element placed on top of an elongated one. This is apparently a cobra represented in profile to left with a solar disc on its head. The background of the figural representation (the interior of the shrine) was painted white. The inscription was incised above the figural representation, on the internal listel of the frame. See Fig. 28.

A. Bataille, 'Stèle grecque de Deir el-Bahari,' *ASAE* 38, 1938, pp. 63–67, pl. 10 (only fragment [a]).

Cf. A. Bernand, *I. Philae* I, p. 107 (only mentioned). Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 234–235, § 150 (description, German translation after Bataille).

Roman period, perhaps 2nd century AD.

[- - - ἀνέ]θηκεν τοῖς κυρίοις χάριν ἐπ' ἐγαθῶ
[- - - ἐπ]οίησα τὴν στύλην ταύτην τ . ι [.] . ρι .

2. read *στήλην* | at the end of the line, Bataille transcribed *τοι* and suggested the reading *τοι*[*αύτην*]

[- - -] has erected the sign of gratitude to the Lords for the good [- - -] I made this stela [- - -].

The interpretation of the relief is handicapped by its poor state of preservation. The sceptres held by the two male figures indicate that they are gods. The middle figure, likely depicted bald or wearing a tight cap, may be identified quite plausibly as Imhotep/Asklepios; for this trait of the Imhotep iconography, see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 37; idem, *Saints*, p. 39, 43. Therefore, the god to the left could only be Amenhotep. The interpretation of other elements of the representation is of a more delicate nature and depends greatly on the interpretation of the scene as a whole. Two hypotheses can be admitted:

1. The composition of the scene was strictly frontal, static and symmetric with the central figure of Imhotep/Asklepios flanked by those of his companions. As

three inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari mention the goddess Hygieia as accompanying Imhotep/Asklepios and Amenhotep, the third figure on the right-hand side of Imhotep/Asklepios could be a depiction of this deity. This interpretation was preferred by Bataille, but he did not know of fragments (b) and (c). The object seen at the edge of the break on fragment (b) would be the top of a lotus-sceptre, a typical attribute of goddesses in Egypt, held by Hygieia in her left hand. In these circumstances, the cobra with solar disc should be interpreted as an independent religious symbol closing the scene on the right. Its counterpart is to be expected on the left-hand side, behind the figure of Amenhotep.

2. The scene had a narrative character. Its main element was the representation of a cobra-goddess, possibly reclining on an altar, on the right side of the scene. A lotus flower grew from her body. The cobra goddess was adored by a female (?) worshipper represented in profile and turning to the right. Behind her, the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari were shown *en face*: first Imhotep/Asklepios, then Amenhotep. A third god (goddess) or a religious symbol could have been represented on the left hand-side of the stela.

Like the relief representation, the inscription is difficult to interpret due to its deteriorated state. Line 1 of the text states that the stela is a votive monument offered as an expression of gratitude to the anonymous Lords (κύριοι), presumably the gods worshipped in Deir el-Bahari. However, there was apparently another addressee of the *votum*, probably a goddess, who is mentioned at the end of l. 2 (see commentary). Another question is the use of two different verbs to describe the act of offering a *votum*: ἀνατίθημι in line 1 and ποιέω in line 2, the more so as the person changes from the third person singular in line 1 to the first person singular in line 2. Bataille, *ASAE* 38 (1938), p. 67, took this change of persons as conclusive. After noting that ποιέω is well attested in the meaning 'bring about, cause to be done,' very near to ἀνατίθημι, he stated that the inscription comprised two sentences, corresponding each to a line and having different persons as the subjects. To his mind, line 1 of the inscription mentioned the votary, while line 2 gave the name of the artist responsible for preparing the stela. Their names should have been contained at the beginning of both lines. In my opinion, this interpretation should be rejected. I believe that the inscription refers to one and the same event of offering a *votum* and mentions only one person, namely, the votary. Change of the grammatical person in the course of an inscription is nothing exceptional. By way of example, we can cite the epitaph *IVarsovie* 75 (Egypt, 1st/2nd cent. AD), which was also constructed first in the third person singular and then in the first person singular. The name of the votary was probably indicated at the beginning of line 1. The lacuna at the beginning of line 2 could have contained information referring to him, e. g., the participle ἐξάμενος.

1. The word χάρις is most probably an attribute meaning something along the lines of 'sign of gratitude, expression of gratitude' and not a corrupted form of an expression like εὐσεβείας χάρις or similarly. Bataille, *ASAE* 38 (1938), p. 67, baptised this construction a 'barbarism' and compared to similar 'barbarisms' in the Polyartos ostrakon; cf. **A1**, ll. 4-5: τὰδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρτος ἀρετὴν Ἀμενώτου, and ll. 30-31: ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν

ἀρ[ε]τήν. In fact, ἀνατιθέναι (ἀναγράφειν) with ἀρετή (δύναμις, χάρις) as an attribute is a common mode of expression in Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods; cf. examples quoted in the commentary to **A****1**, ll. 4–5 and 30–31, and see especially for χάρις *ICret* I, XXII, 9,1 (Olous, 4th–3rd cent. BC): [τόνδ' ἀνέθηκ]ε ναὸν Φοίβωι χάριν Ἡρίλα υἱὸς Δαμ[οχ]άργης, and *MAMA* VI 368, 17: ἀνέθηκε χάριν πατρὶ κέ σύμβίω κέ ἑαυτῶ.

2. After ταύτην we probably have *THI*[, although we cannot totally exclude the reading *TQ*]. After the lacuna, there is a horizontal stroke at the top belonging to *T* or, less probably, *Γ*, and the letters *PI*. The whole gives the impression of being a feminine substantive of the third declension in the dative: τῆι [.]τρι or τῆι [.]τρι. Providing this reading is true, the text probably mentioned here yet another addressee of the *votum*, a goddess (?) named or designated as [- - -]τηρ. She may have been identified tentatively with the cobra goddess represented on the right-hand side of the relief or with Hathor whose cult was widespread in the Theban West Bank in general and in Deir el-Bahari in particular.

INDICES

In the indices, I included only names and words that are read in full or supplemented safely. Single letters and combinations of letters that did not enable a certain reading were left aside

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Διονύσιος – *Πρόμαχ[ο]ς Διονυσίου* **10** 2; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **11** 2; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **12** 2; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **13** 2; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **14** 2; *Παγευθῆς Διονυσίου* **275**; *Διονύσι[ος]* **294** 2
Διόσκορος – *Διόσκορος* **42**; *Διοσκόρο[υ]* *Ἀπολλωνίδ[ου]* **133** 3-5
Δόσις – **153**
Δίφιλος – *Ἀλέξανδρος Διφίλου* **316**

Εἰρήνη – *Εἰρήνης* **195** 3
Ἐνούφ (cf. *Ἄνουβ*) – **241**
Ἐπάγαθος – **200** 2
Ἐπικράτης – *Ἡρακλείδου Ἐπικράτους* **195** 2; *[Ἀ]πολλωνίου [Ἐ]π[ι]κρ[ά]τους* **215** 3
Ἐριος – *Ἐρίου* **77** 5
Ἐρμάς – *Ἐρμάς Ὑ* **44**
Ἐρμίας – *Ἐρμίας Νιγρεί(νου)* **92**; *Ἐρμίας Χαρμάδου* **227** 1; *Ἐρμίου* **236**
Ἐρμογένης – *Βίονος Ἐρμογένους* **35** 2
Ἐρμόδωρος – *Ἐρμοδώρου* **174** b; *Ἰουλίου Ἐρμόδ[ώ]ρου* **221** 1
Ἐρμοκλῆς – *Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐρμοκλείους* **37**
Ἐρμόφιλος – **52a**; **52b**; **147**
Εὐάκης – *Εὐάκ[η]ς . . . TH[- - -]* **83a** 6
Εὐβουλος – *Εὐβούλου* **322** 1
Εὐγράφιος – **129** 1; **197** 1

Ζωῖλος – **25**

Ἡραῖς – *Ἡραῖδος* **112** 10
Ἡρακλείδης – *Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδου* **189** 1; *Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου* **189** 3; *Ἡρακλείδου Ἐπικράτους* **195** 2
Ἡράς – *Ἡρά* **34**; *Ἡρά* **73**; *Φθομώνθης Ἡράς Ἀμσούφιος* **194** 1
Ἡρούς – *Ἡρού[ς] . . . ε]ρμούθι(ος)* **125** 3
Ἡρων – *Ἡρων Καλλι()* **108**; *Ἡρων* **113**; *Ἡρων* **118** 2

Θεοφάνης – *Ἀτρῆς Ὠ[ρίωνος] Θεοφάν[ου]ς* **163** 11; *Ἀτρῆς Ὠρίωνος Θεοφάνους* **168** 7; *Ἀτρῆ[ς] Ὠρίο[νο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους* **169** 9; *Ἀτρῆς Ὠ[ρ]ίονος τ[οῦ] Θεοφάνους* **172** 8
Θερμούθις – *Θερμούθιος* **253** 2

- Θέων – Ἀμμωνίου Τέων[ος] **111** 2; Θέων **270** 2
 Ίερᾶς – Ίερᾶς Παμώνθο[υ] τοῦ Φατρήους **287** 1
 Ἰούλιος – Ἰουλίου Ἐρμοδ[ώρου] **221** 1
 Ἰππόλυτος – **83b** 10
 Ἰσίδωρος – Νικάσιος Ἰσιδώρου **31**; Ἰσίδωρος
 Παμώνθου **86** 1; Ἰσιδώρου Παμώνθου **119**
 1; Ἰσιδώρου **185** 2; Ἰσιδωρ[ο]ς λίου
238 3; Ἰσιδω[ρ]ο[ς] **238** 4
 Ἰσίων – Ἰσίων Μῆγα[- - -] **45** 2
 Καλλιμάχος – Καλλιμάχο[υ] {Α}Ἀμμωνίου **70**
 2; Καλλιμάχος Ἀμ[μω]νίου **79** 2–3;
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Καλλιμάχο[υ] **83a** 3; Κ[α]λ-
 λίμαχος .[.] .κιου **186** 1
 Καλλίστρατος – Καλλίστρατος Ἀρχέου **83a** 1
 Καρσιμαρος – **61**
 Κέλερ – Κέλ[ερ]ος **199** 2; Κέλερος **201** 1
 Κέλσος – **205** 2
 Κεφαλᾶς – Πλήνιος Κεφα[λ]ᾶτος **93** 10
 Κλείς – Κλίς **117** 2
 Κλείταρχος – Κλε[ι]ταρχο[ς] .[.] **154** 2
 Κοτταρίων – Κοτταρίων[ος] **291** 2
 Κροκόδειλος – Ἀμμώνιος Νειλέως Κροκό-
 δειλος **32**
 Λεῖλος – Ληεῖλο[ς] **163** 6
 Λέων – Λέων **5**; Λέων Γαλάτου **189** 4; Λέων
Β1 3
 Λολοῦς – Πεσοῦρις Λολο[ύ]τος **168** 7;
 Π[ε]σοῦρις [Λ]ολοῦτος **169** 7; Λολο[ύ]τος
 Πετε(χεσπο)χράτου [[του]] Πα[μ]ώνθου **268**
 2; Λολοῦ[ς] Πετεχεσπ[ο]χράτου] **269** 1
 Λούσιος – Λούσι[ο]ς **168** 5
 Λυκόφρων – Λυκόφ[ρων] Γα[λ]ᾶτο[υ] **189** 2
 Λυσάνδρα – **Β1** 3
 Λύσανδρος – Λύ[σ]ανδ[ρ]ος **69** 3
 Μέλας – [- - -]νίου Μέλανος **264** 1
 Μέμνων – Μέμνονο[ς] **88**; Μέμνωνος **123** 2;
 Μέμνον[ο]ς **216** 4
 Μενούτος – **17** 3
 Μονκορῆς – Μονκορῆτος **93** 9; Μο[ν]κορῆς
106 2; Μωνκο[ρ]ῆς [. .]ου **172** 7
 Νειλεύς – Ἀμμώνιος Νειλέως Κροκόδειλος **33**;
 Νειλέως **223** 3
 Νεχότης – Νεχότι (= Νεχότη) **320** 2 (the case
 is uncertain; cf. Νεχῶς)
 Νεχῶς – Νεχότι (= Νεχῶτι) **320** 2 (the case is
 uncertain; cf. Νεχότης)
 Νιγρίνος – Ἐρμίας Νιγρεί(νου) **92**
 Νίκανδρος – Νίκανδρος Εὐ[. .] [- - -] **18** 1–2
 Νικάσιος – Νικάσιος Ἰσιδώρου **31**
 Νουμήνιος – Νουμήν(ιος) **233**
 Ὀκταβιανός – Ὀκ[τα]βιανοῦ **231** 5
 Ὀκταιᾶς – Ὀκτα[ι]ᾶτος **234**
 Παβώτης – Π()τάις Παβώτ[ο]υ **172** 7
 Παβῶς (Πεβῶς) – Παβώτος **280** 2; Ἀμενώτης
 Πεβῶτος **307** 3
 Παήρις – Ψ[εν]ήσις [- - -] τοῦ Παέριος **58** 2
 Παθερμούθις – Παθερμούτειος **213**
 Πάκις – [Πλ]ῆ[ν]ις [Πάκιος] **244** 1
 Παμῆς – Παμώνθη[ς] Παμῆς **184** 2
 Παμοῦν – **26**
 Παμώνθης – Ἰσίδωρος Παμώνθου **86** 1; [. .]
 . κ[ο]υς τοῦ Παμώνθ[ου] **99** 2; Ἰσιδώρου
 Παμώνθου **119** 1; Παμώνθης **123** 1; Πα-
 μώνθου **123** 7; Παμώνθου **123** 9; Παμώνθης
 νεώτερος **161** 6; Παμώνθης Τυράννου **172** 6;
 Παμώνθη[ς] Παμῆς **184** 1; Πα[μ]ώνθου
216 3; Παμώνθης Δι[ο]δότου **238** 2; Π[α]-
 μόνθης Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου Παουήρεως **242** 2;
 Λολο[ύ]τος Πετε(χεσπο)χράτου [[του]]
 Πα[μ]ώνθου **268** 3–4; Ίερᾶς Παμώνθο[υ]
 τοῦ Φατρήους **287** 1; Παμ[ών]θης (?) **296** 2
 Πανευθῆς – Πανευθῆς Διονυσίου **275**
 Πανίσκος – Πύρρος Πανίσκου **36** 2
 Παουήρις – Π[α]μόνθης Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου
 Παουήρεως **242** 2
 Παπαεῖ – Πλήνις Παπαεῖ **141**
 Παράς – Παράτος **124** 10
 Πασῆμις – Χολλῶς Πασῆμις **168** 5; Χολλῶς
 Πα[σ]ῆμιος **169** 4; Πλήνις Πασ(ῆ)μιος
171; Πασῆμις **173** 6
 Πεβῶς (see Παβῶς)
 Πεκῦσις – Πεκ[ύ]σις **161** 7; Πλ(ῆ)νις Πεκoίσις
 Πκοί(λιος) **168** 6; Πεκῦσις **296** 1
 Πελέας – Πελέα **172** 8
 Πεμλοκ – ἐπιλεγόμενο(ν) Πεμλοκ **185** 3
 Πενᾶς – Πενᾶς Ἀσκού **168** 4
 Πεσοῦβις – **131**
 Πεσοῦρις – Πεσοῦρις Φθoῖ **168** 6; Πεσοῦρις
 Λολο[ύ]τος **168** 7; Π[ε]σοῦρις [Λ]ολοῦτος
169 7
 Πετειαρπῆκις – Π[ε]τειαρπῆκιος **223** 4
 Πετενοῦρις – **296** 3
 Πετεραῖς – Πορεγέβθεις Πετεραῖτος **40**
 Πετεσορβοῦχις – Π[ε]τεσορβοῦχις **283** 2
 Πετεχεποχράτης (Πετεχεσποχράτης) – Πε-
 τεχε[ν]ποχρ[ά]το[υ]ς **183** 2; Λολο[ύ]τος
 Πετε(χεσπο)χράτου [[του]] Πα[μ]ώνθου **268**
 2–3; Λολοῦ[ς] Πετεχεσπ[ο]χράτου] **269** 2–3

- Πεπεχῶν* – *Πεπεχῶν Κυρ* . . . **263** 3
Πικράς – *Πικράτος* **23** 2
Πκῦλις – *Πλ(ήνις) Πκ[ο]ίλιος* **168** 5; *Πλ(ήνις) Πκοί(λιος) Χολλῶς* **168** 6; *Πλ(ήνις) Πεκoίσις Πκοί(λιος)* **168** 6; *Πλ(ήνις) Πκ[ο]ίλιος* **169** 8
Πλήνις – [*Π*]λεῖνις **16**; *Πλήνις* **58** 3; ης [*Π*]λήνις **78** 2; *Πλήνιος Κεφα[λ]ᾶτος* **93** 10; [*Π*]λήνις **103** 2; *Πλήνις* **128**; *Πλήνις* **135**; *Πλήν[ις]* **137**; *Πλήνις* **140**; *Πλήνις Παπαεῖ* **141**; *Πλήνις* **143**; *Πλήνις* **145**; *Πλήνις Βησαρίωνος* **155** 2; *Πλ(ήνις) ΤΡΟC* **163** 6; *Πλ(ήνις) Ψεπ[α]ήρ[ιος]* **163** 9; *Πλ(ήνις)* **164** 12; *Πλ(ήνις)* **166** 6; *Πλ(ήνις) Πκ[ο]ίλιος* **168** 5; *Πλ(ήνις) Πκοί(λιος) Χολλῶς* **168** 6; *Πλ(ήνις) Πεκoίσις Πκοί(λιος)* **168** 6; *Πλ(ήνις)* **168** 8; *Πλήνις Πκ[ο]ίλιος* **169** 8; *Πλ(ήνις) Πασ(ή)μιος* **171**; *Πλ(ήνις) ν(εώ)τερος* **172** 5; *Πλ(ήνις) Ψάις* **172** 6; *Πλήνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου Σένθωρ* **185** 6; [*Π*]λή[ν]ις [*Π*]άκιος **244** 1; *Πλήνιος Φθ* . [- - -] **293** 1; *Πλήνις Βησαρίωνος* **318** 2
Πολυάρατος – *Πολυάρατος* **A1** 4
Πορεγέβθις – *Πορεγέβθεις Πεπεραῖτος* **40**
Ποῦμισι – *Ποῦμισι Ἀσκοῦ* **168** 4
Πρόμαχος – *Πρόμαχος Διονυσί[ο]ν* **10** 1; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **11** 1; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **12** 1; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **13** 1; *Πρόμαχος Διονυσίου* **14** 1
Πτολεμαῖος – *Ἀντίπατρος Πτολεμαίου* **4** 3; *Χαιρήμων Πτολεμαίου* **87**; *Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδου* **189** 3; *Τίμαρχος Ἡρακλείδου* **189** 5; *Πτολεμαίου* **282** 3; *Πτολεμαῖος Βάλλου* **289** 1; *Πτολεμα[ί]ος* **290** 4
Πύρρος – *Πύρρος Πανίσκου* **36** 1

Ῥόδιππος – *Ῥόδιπ[ο]ς* **83b** 11

Σαραπίων – *Σαραπίων Ἀθηνοδώρου* **38** 1; *Σαραπί[ωνος] Ἀπολ[λωνίδου]* **313** 1
Σαραπός – **308** 2–3
Σέμνος – *Σ[ε]μνος . ρ . . . κου* **41**
Σένθωρ – *Πλήνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου Σένθωρ* **185** 6
Σενμίνις – *Σενμίνεως* **226** 1
Σενμούθις – *Σε[ν]μούθις* **124** 7
Σενπεψάις – *Σενπεψάις* **287** 2
Σεραπιᾶς – *Σεραπιᾶ* **211** 1
Σιβιριλλίς – *Σιβιριλλίτος* **185** 4
Σιήση – **30**
Σόλων – *Σώλων* **140**
Στρώτης – *Δίδυμος Στρώτου* **168** 8; *Δίδυμος Στρώτου* **173** 9

Σωσικλείδης – *Σωσικλείδ[ης]* **83b** 12
Σωσικλής – *Σωσικλή[ς]* **83a** 5
Σώστρατος – **83b** 10
Σωτήρ – *Ἀπολλωνίου Σωτήρος* **29** 2

Τάις – *Ἀπολλώνιος Τάιτος* **136**; *Τάις* **325**
Ταυρίνος – *Ταυρίνος* **140**; *Ταυρείνος* **276** 2
Ταύρων – **152** 1; **260**
Τιθοῆς – **204** 3
Τίμαρχος – *Τίμαρχος Ἡρακλείδου* **189** 5
Τισύτις – *Τισύτιο[ς]* **248** 2
Τιταρους (nom. or gen.) – **249** 2
Τιτιανός – *Τιτιανού* **183** 3
Τριαδέλφη – *Τριαδέλφης* **95** 2
Τύραννος – *Τύρα[ννος] Τυράννου* **167** 7; *Τύρα[ννος] Βησᾶ* **168** 5; *Τύραννος Κουελ()* **172** 6; *Παμώνθης Τυράννου* **172** 6; *Τυραν[ν - - -]* **173** 8

Υλλος – *Υλλ[ο]ς* **284** 1

Φατρῆς – *Ἀτρῆς [Φ]ατρήους Φθομών[θου]* **58** 2; *Φατρῆς Φατρήου* **117** 1; *Ἰεράς Παμώνθο[ν] τοῦ Φατρήους* **287** 3
Φαυτωρεῖνα – **192** 1
Φθoί – *Πεσοῦρις Φθoί* **168** 6
Φθομώνθης – *Ἀτρῆς [Φ]ατρήους Φθομών[θου]* **58** 2; *Φθομών[θου]ν . [.] λανιος* **93** 8; *Φθ[ο]μώνθην* **123** 1; *Ἀθηνόδωρος Φθ(ο)μώνθ(ου)* **124** 2; *Φθομώνθου* **124** 8–9; *Φθομώνθης Ἡράς Ἀμσοῦφις* **194** 1
Φιλάδελφος – *Φιλ[α]δέλφο[ν]* **225** 2
Φίλων – **76** 2
Φλάουιος – *Φλαο[ν - - -]* **199** 3

Χαιρήμων – *Χαι[ρήμων]* **71**; *Χαιρήμων* **84**; *Χαιρή[μων]* **85**; *Χαιρήμων Πτολεμαίου* **87**; *Χαιρήμων* **158**
Χαρμάδης – *Ερμίας Χαρμάδου* **227** 1
Χολλῶς – *Χολλῶς Πασήμις* **168** 5; *Πλ(ήνις) Πκοί(λιος) Χολλῶς* **168** 6; *Χολλῶς Πα[σ]ήμιος* **169** 4

Ψενεριεύς – *Ψενεριεύ[ς]* **124** 6
Ψενεσουήρις – *Ψενεσουήριος* **247** 2
Ψεννήσις – *Ψ[εν]νήσις* . [- - -] τοῦ Παέριος **58** 1; *Ψεννήσις* **224**; *Ψ[ε]ννήσις Φθο[- - -]* **315** 1
Ψενπαῆρις – *Πλ(ήνις) Ψεπ[α]ήρ[ιος]* **163** 9
Ψενσενκαμήτις – *Ψενσενκαμήτιος* **276** 3
Ψενσῶς – *Ψε[ν]σῶς* **247** 3
Ψενταχνούμις – *Ψενταχνούμις ὅς καὶ Ἀ[μ]μῶνιος τοῦ καὶ [ο]ν Ἀμμωνίου* **94** 1–2

Ψῆφis – Ψῆφης **109** 2

Ὠρίων – Ὠρίωνος **39**; Ὠρίων Ἀπολλωνίδου **57** 2; Ὠρίωνος σ[τρα]τιώτου **59** 2–3; Ὠρίων **163** 8; Ἀτρῆς Ὠρίωνος Θεοφάν[ου]ς **163** 10; Ἀτρῆς Ὠρίωνος Θεοφάνους **168** 7; Ἀτρῆς[ς] Ὠρίο[νο]ς Θ[εο]φάνους **169** 9; Ὠρί(ων) Ὠρί(ωνος) πρ(εσβύτερος) **172** 5; Ἀτρῆς Ὠ[ρ]ίονος τ[οῦ] Θεοφάνους **172** 8; Ὠρ[ί]ωνος Ἀμμων[ί]ου **217** 1; Ἀμμων(ί)ου Ὠρίωνο[ς] **217** 2

Ὠρος – Ὠρος νεώτερος **254** 1; Ὠρο[ς] **294** 3

Ἄμξ – **283** 3

Ἄμξ . τι . ς (gen. ?) – **103** 5

ἈΝΗΡ . . . – **69** 4

Ἀπολλ[- - -] – **271**

[Ἀ]πολλωνι[- - -] – **24**; **149**

Ἄτακ . . [. .] – **313** 3

Διακ . [- - -] – **259** 5

[Δ]ιονυσ[- - -] (fem.) – **267** 2

Διονυ(σ) – [. .] . [.] καίου Διον[υ(σ)] **159** 4

Δω . . ν – **32**

Ἐρμου[- - -] – **319** 4

Εὔ[.] . [- - -] – **18** 2–3

Εὐα . . . – **173** 4

ΕΥΚΙΝΟΥ – **150**

Ἡρακλειδ[- - -] – **7**

Ἡρη . [. .] Κ[- - -] – **125** 2

Ἡ . [. .] . ς (gen.) – **115** 12

Θ . . ν – **23** 3

Θρασυμ[.] – **83b** 13

Κ . . εὺς – **161** 10

Κα . α . . . – **161** 10

Καλ . . . – **218** 2

Καλλι() – **66**; Ἡρων Καλλι() **108**

Καλυ[- - -] – **105** 4–5

Κουελ() – Κουελ() **168** 6; Τύραννος Κουελ() **172** 6

Κρο[- - -] – **62 a** 1

Κυσ . . – Πετεχών Κυσ . . **263** 3

Λεον[- - -] (gen.) – Ἀπολλώνιος Λεον[- - -] **138** 1

Λο . [ca. 6] . ιος Νομ[- - -] – **321** 3

Λοι[- - -] – **46**

Μγα[- - -] – **45** 2

Μετρησ[. .] – **239** 3–4

Μον[- - -] – **305** 1

Νε νω . ου (gen.) – **277** 4

Νειλ[.] ο[. .] . . – **170** 1

Νομ[- - -] – Λο . [ca. 6] . ιος Νομ[- - -] **321** 3

Π[. .] τ[. .] ς – **172** 5

Πακνο[υ - - -] – **324** 1

Πακου (the name may be complete or not) – **22**

Παμην[- - -] (the name may be complete) – **105** 2

Παρ[- - -] – **276** 7–8

Πασ . . [.] ς – **62 b** 1

Πε ι . . – **161** 11

Πλ . . – **161** 8

ΠΛΗΝΗ . Ο[- - -] – **16** 1

Πο . α . . . – **75**

ΠΟΡ ΘΙ . C . . – **274** 2

Πορρ . [- - -] – **255** 4

ΣΑΠΥΡΚ – **90**

Σα . [- - -] – **95** 3

Σε[- - -] – **282** 4

Σενψε . [- - -] – **257** 3

Τισα . . – **64** 1

Τ[. .] . . ι . . του (gen.) – **110** 4–5

Υ – Ἐρμάς Υ **44**

Φασ[- - -] – [- - -] ωρου Φασ[- - -] **45** 1

Φθ . [- - -] – Πλήμιος Φθ . [- - -] **293** 1

Φθο[- - -] – Ἀμεινώφειος Φθο[- - -] **204** 2

Φθο[- - -] – Ψ[ε]ννήσις Φθο[- - -] **315** 1–2

Φτω[- - -] – [. . .] . [. .] . ις Φτω[- - -] **102** 3

ΧΑΙΡΗΕ – **80**

Χαρμα . [- - -] – **51** 1

Ψε (uncomplete) – **300 a**

Ψε[. .] – **228** 1

Ψεν . [. .] . . – **58** 4

Ψενς (uncomplete) – **300 b**

Ψεντε . . – **161** 8

Ψεντο . ρι[ς] – **162** 13

[- - -] αίος – Ἀπολλοδώρου το[υ - - -] αίου **282** 2

[. .] . αίς – **279** 2

[. . .] αίς – **172** 5

- [- - -] *άσιμος* - *AIA* *N*[. . . .] *AI*[.] *ασίμου* **172** 7
 [- - -] *BAΘI OCIX* - **2** 2
ΔΩN[- - -] - **81** 2
 [- - - -] *εος* (gen.) - **263** 2
 [. . .] *ΕΡΜΑΚΟΥ* - **63** 1
 [- - -] *ερος* - **222** 1
 [. .] *ερμούθις* - *Ηροῦ*[s . .] *ερμούθι(ος)* **125** 3
ΕCΠI TAAC - **97** 1
ΕCΠIOTΟΥΔOC - **174** 3-4
 [- - -] *ης* - *ης Π[λ]ήγυ[σ]* **78** 2
 [- - -] *θης* - [- - -] *θης νεώ(τερος)* **296** 3
 [- - -] *ις* - [. . .] [. .] *ις Φτω*[- - -] **102** 3
 [- - -] *ιχος* - [- - -] *ιχου* **167** 9
 [- - -] *καίος* - [. .] [.] *καίου Διον[υ(σ)]* **159** 3
 [- - -] *κάριος* - **319** 1-2
 [- - -] *κάτη* - **237** 2
 [- - -] *κης* - [. .] *κ[ο]υς του Παμώνθ[ου]* **99** 2
 [- - -] *κιος* - *K[a]λλίμαχος* [. .] *κιου* **186** 1
 [- - -] *κος* - *ρ . . κου* - **41**
 [- - -] *κων* - [- - -] *κωρος* **230** 3
 [- - -] *λανις* - *Φθομόγ[θο]υ* [. .] [.] *λανιος* **93** 8
 [- - -] *λ(ε)ίος* - *Ίσιδώρ[ο]ς* *λίου* **238** 3
 [- - -] *μα* - **223** 3
 [- - -] *MAXIC*[. . . .] - **2** 1
 [- - -] *μηλος* - [. . .] *μήλου* **103** 4
 [- - -] *ν* - [- - -] *νος* **167** 8
 [- - -] *ν* - [- - -] *νος* **237** 3
 [- - -] *ν* - [. . .] *οτης* *ντ[ο]ς* **175** 4
 [- - -] *νâs* - *νâ Ασκληπιάδου* **226** 2
 [- - -] *νιος* - [- - -] *νίου Μέλανος* **264** 1
 [- - -] *όδωρος* - [- - -] *οδώρου* **195** 4
 [- - -] *οτης* - [. . .] *οτης* *ντ[ο]ς* **175** 3
 [- - -] *οὺς* - [.] *οῦτος* **93** 2
 [- - -] *ρμιος* - . . . *π[.] ρνι[ο]ς* **107** 3
 [- - -] *s* - [. . . .] *τος* **179** 2
 [- - -] *σιδώρος* - [. . .] *ερ[.] σιδώρου* **313** 4
 [- - -] *σιος* - [.] *ηγ . σιου* **293** 2
 [- - -] *CKACHCAΔ*[.] *C* - **8**
 [. . .] *της* - **161** 9
 [- - -] *τῶs* (fem.) - . . . [.] *τῶτος* **307** 4
 [- - -] *τωιούς* - [. . .] *τωιού[τ]ος* **93** 2
 [- - -] *χθεις* - **124** 10-11
 [. . .] *ων* - **313** 3
 [- - -] *ωρος* - [- - -] *ωρου Φασ*[- - -] **45** 1
 [- - -] *ωρος* - [- - -] *ωρου* **286** 3

DEMOTIC

Br - *Hr* **3 Br** **289** 4
Hr - *Hr* **3 Br** **289** 4

Hc *Hnsw* - **73** 1

RULERS AND MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES

- Ptolemy I Soter - *τῶν ἑ(εὼν) Σωτήρων* **289** 2
 (uncertain); [βασιλ]εύοντος Πτολεμαίου
 του Πτολεμαίου και του υιου Πτολεμαίου
A1 1-3
 Berenike, wife of Ptolemy I Soter - *τῶν*
ἑ(εὼν) Σωτήρων **289** 2 (uncertain)
 Ptolemy II Philadelphos - [βασιλ]εύοντος
 Πτολεμαίου του Πτολεμαίου και του υιου
 Πτολεμαίου **A1** 1-3
 Ptolemy III Euergetes - [βασιλ]εύοντος
 Πτολεμαίου του Πτολεμαίου και του υιου
 Πτολεμαίου **A1** 1-3
 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II - *ἐπὶ του Εὐερ-*
γέτου βασιλέω[ς] **36** 2
 Nero - *Νέρον[ος] του [κυ]ρί[ο]υ* **242** 8
 Domitian - (*ἔτους*) *5* *αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καί[σ]α-*
[ρος] Δομειτιανού Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
124 11-13; του β' (*ἔτους*) *αὐτοκράτορος*
Καί[σ]αρος Δομειτιανού Σεβαστοῦ **186** 2-3;
 (*ἔτους*) *ς' Δομ[ι]τιανού του κυρίου* **196** 2;
 [(*ἔτους*) . . *Δομι[τ]ια[ν]οῦ Καί[σ]αρο[ς] του*
κυρίου **244** 3
 Trajan - *Τρα[ιαν]οῦ του [κυρίου]* **99** 4-5;
 (*ἔτους*) *ις Τραϊανῶν Καί[σ]αρος του κυρίου*
117 8-9; (*ἔτους*) . . *Τραιανού* **226** 3; (*ἔτους*)
ις Τραιανού του κυρίου **287** 5
 Hadrian - (*ἔτους*) *α' (?) Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ* **96** 7;
 (*ἔτους*) *γ' Ἀδ[ρ]ι[αν]οῦ Καί[σ]αρος του κυρίου*
122 5-6

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus – (ἔτους)
γ// Ἀντωνεῖν[ου καὶ Οὐ]γήρου τῶν κυρ[ί]ων
Σεβαστῶν **93** 11–12

Carus, Carinus and Numerian – [(ἔτους)] α/
τ[ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κάρου καὶ Καρίνου]
καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανοῦ **161** 1–2

Carinus and Numerian – [(ἔτους) x] τῶν κ[υ]-
ρίων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρῆίου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριαν[οῦ]
157 1–3; [(ἔτους) x] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
[Κα]ρίνου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανοῦ **164** 3–4

Diocletian – (ἔτους) α// [α]ὐ[τ]οκράτορος
Καίσαρος [Γ]ά[ι]ου Οὐά[λ]ερίου Διοκλη-
τιανοῦ εὐσε[β]οῦς εὐ[τ]υχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ
160 1–3

Crispus and Constantinus – ὑπατείας τῶν
δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσ[ταν]-

τίνου τῶν ε[ὐ]γεν[ε]στάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανε]-
στάτων Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ̄ **168** 1–2

Unknown emperors of the 1st and 2nd cen-
turies – (ἔτους). [αὐ]τ[οκρ]άτορος Καίσα-
[ρο]ς **114** 12; [- - -] τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου - - - **122** 2;
Καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ [κυρίου] **305** 14; [(ἔτους) . .
. . .] Ω . . . Καί[σα]ρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου **313** 8;
[το]ῦ κυρίου **321** 9

Two unknown emperors of the 2nd century
AD – Σ[ε]βαστῶν **77** 8

Unknown emperors from the end of the
3rd/beginning of the 4th century AD –
(ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρ[ί]ων ἡμῶν **162** 1

Unknown emperors from the first half of the
4th century AD – [δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν **167** 1

NAMES OF GODS

Ἀμενώθης – παρ' Ἀμενώθου **4** 4; παρὰ τοῖς κυ-
ρίοις Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ . . .
. . . ὠν θεῶν **20** 3; ἡκ[ω] πρὸς Ἀμενώθην **36** 1;
παρεγένετο Ἀνδρόμαχος πρὸς Ἀμενώθην **60**
1; ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθην χρηστὸν θεὸν **68**
a 1; παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώ(θου) **77** 3–4;
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώ(θου) **86** 2; [χ]αίρε,
τέκο[ς] Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε [Α]μ[ε]-
νώθῃ **100** 1; [παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώθῃ]
101 2; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου **102** 5;
παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ μεγάλου [θεοῦ]
106 3; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ **112** 12;
παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ
τῶν συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 4; παρὰ τῷ
κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν
συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 5; παρὰ τοῦ κυ-
ρίου Ἀμενώ(θου) **119** 1–2; παρὰ Ἀμενώθες
θεο[ῦ] μ[ε]γίστου **124** 5; παρὰ τῷ [κυ]ρίῳ
Ἀμενώθου **125** 5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσ-
κληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ **129** 2;
Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ **152** 2; παρὰ τῶν
κυρίων Ἀμενώθ[ου] καὶ Ἀσκλη(πιου) καὶ [- -
-] **161** 14; Ἀμενώθου καὶ Ἀσκληπιου[ῦ] θεῶν
μεγίστων **181** 2–3; παρ' Ἀμενώθου **184** 2;
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συνάων
θεῶν μεγίστων **194** 2; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ
Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ **197**
2; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώ]θῃ **199** 4; κυρίου
Ἀμενώθου **205** 3; χαίρε, ταίκος Φοίβου,
Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε, Ἀμενώθῃ **208** 1; εἰς τὸ
ιερόν Ἀσκληπιοῦ κα[ὶ] Ἀμενώθῃ **208** 3;

παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ
τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγιάν
μεγίστην **208** 4; Ἀμενώθῃ ὠδε ρέπ[ων] ?
208 7; ἀγαθ[ὸ]ς Ἀμενώθης **208** 12;
Ἀμενώθην (?) **208** 25; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου *ME*
E . *OY* θεοῦ Ἀ[μεν]ώθου **212** 2; ἀναξ
Ἀμενώθ[ος] **219** 2; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμε-
νώθῃ **221** 2; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ **228**
3; Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Ἀμενώθ[ης] **235**; παρὰ
τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθου θεῷ **242** 5; παρὰ τῷ
κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ **244** 2; παρ' Ἀμενώθῃ
249 3; [παρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσ-
κληπιῷ **253** 5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ
277 6; παρὰ τοῦ [- - -] οὔ Ἀμενώθου
280 3; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ **286** 4;
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου
287 4; Ἀμενώθ[ου] **292** 2 (uncertain); παρὰ
τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ] θεῶν
μεγίστων **293** 3; παρὰ τῷ [κυρίῳ Ἀμ]-
ενώθῃ **313** 6; θεῷ μ[ε]γίστῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ
Ἀμενώθῃ **321** 2; τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρα-
τος ἀρετῆν Ἀμενώτου **A1** 5; τὰς τ[οῦ] Ἀμε-
νώτου ἀρετὰ[ς] πολλὰς οὐσας **A1** 16–17;
κατ[ὰ] ἐφυγον[τος] δέ μου [εἰς τὸ] ἱερόν τὸ
τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἐκ]έτης **A1** 25; τοῦ Ἀμενώ-
του παρα[σάν]τος **A1** 26; πρὸς τοὺς παρα-
γνομένους εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώ[του]
A1 31–32; Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι **A2** 1; ὠδε
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου
A3 7–8; Ἀμενώθῃ θεῷ μεγίστῳ **B1** 1

- Ἀμενώφης – παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου[υ θ]ε[οῦ] Ἀμενώφιος **123** 4
- Ἀμμων – παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμμωνι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θ]εο[ι]ς **195** 6
- Ἀσκληπιός – [Ἀσ]κληπ[ι]ῶ ὄντι σοφῶ **93** 4; [χ]αίρε, τέκο[ς] Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε [Ἀ]μ[ενώθη] **100** 1; π]α[ρὰ] τῷ[ι] θεῷ [Ἀσ]κ[ληπιῶ] (?) **112** 14; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 4–5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ἀσκληπειοῦ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 6; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγεία **129** 2; Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμεν[ώθη] **152** 2; παρὰ τῶν κυρίων Ἀμενώθ[ω] καὶ Ἀσκλη[πιου] καὶ [- - -] **161** 15; Ἀμενώθου καὶ Ἀσκ[ληπι]οῦ θεῶν μεγίστων **181** 2–3; π]α[ρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ {αι} Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγεία **197** 2; χαίρε, ταῖκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε, Ἀμενώθη **208** 1; εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ κα[ὶ] Ἀμενώθη **208** 2; παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθη καὶ τὴν θεὰ Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 4; παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀλέξεως **208** 9; τὸν Ἀσκληπ[ι]ὸν **208** 21; πρὸς τὸν [- - -] Ἀσκληπ[ι]ῶν **230** 5; Ἀσκλη[π]ηπιὸς καὶ Ἀμενώθη[ς] **235**; [παρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ἀσκληπ[ι]ῶ **253** 5–6; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἀσκληπ]ῶ καὶ Ἀμ[ενώθη] θεῶν μεγίστων **293** 2–3; θεῷ μ[εγ]ίστῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμ[ενώθη] **321** 1
- Ἴσις – ὁ ἥρευς Ἴσεω **77** 3
- Πετεμενώφης – παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Πετεμενώφιος **124** 4
- Πχερσταπανε – συνβοηθούτων Πχερσταπανε καὶ Φριτωβ **130** 2
- Ὑγεία – παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγεία **129** 2; π]α[ρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ {αι} Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγεία **197** 2; παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθη καὶ τὴν θεὰ Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 4
- Φοίβος – [χ]αίρε, τέκο[ς] Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε [Ἀ]μ[ενώθη] **100** 1; χαίρε, ταῖκος Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαίρε, Ἀμενώθη **208** 1
- Φριτωβ – συνβοηθούτων Πχερσταπανε καὶ Φριτωβ **130** 1

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES, ETHNICS

- Ἐρμώνθης – ὁ Ἐρμώνθεως ἰατρός **94** 2; πλήθος σιδηρουργῶ Ἐρ[μῶ]νθε[ως] **163** 5; πλήθος σιδηρουργ[ῶν] [Ἐρμώνθεως] **164** 8; πλήθος σιδηρουργ[ῶν] Ἐρμώνθεως **168** 3; π]λ[ή]θος [σιδηρο]υρ[γῶν] Ἐρμ[ῶ]νθε[ως] **169** 3; πλήθος [σ]ιδηρουργ[ῶν] Ἐρμ[ῶ]νθε[ως] **172** 3; πλήθος σιδηρουργῶ Ἐρμώνθεως **173** 3
- Ἰσιδίου Ὄρος – ἀπὸ Ἰσιδίου[Ὀ]ρου[ς] **178** 4–5
- Κόπτος – ἦλθον ἀπὸ Κοπτοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου **208** 2
- Κῶς – εἰς Κῶνα **A3** 5
- Μακεδῶν – Ἀνδρόμαχος Μακεδῶν **68 a** 1; Διόδωρος Μακεδῶν **69** 2
- Πεντακωμία – ἐκ Πεντακωμίας **38** 2
- [- - -] θίτης – [- - -] . θίτου **245** 1–2

NAMES OF MONTHS

- Ἐπέιφ – Ἐπέιφ κ **256** 8; Ἐπέιφ **261** 6
- Θῶθ – Θῶθ κγ, κδ, κε **117** 9–10; Θῶθ κδ **118** 10
- Μεσορή – Μεσορὲ κγ **287** 6
- Μεχείρ – Μεχείρ ιβ **83a** 8; Μεχείρ ιβ **83b** 15
- Παῦνι – Παῦνι ιβ **123** 6; Παῦνι ιβ **123** 12; Παῦνι ιθ **226** 3; Παῦνι κ **302** 6
- Τῦβι – Τῦβι δ **93** 13; Τῦβι δ **122** 3; Τῦβι α καὶ β **163** 1; Τῦβι α καὶ β **168** 1; Τῦβι **169** 1; Τῦβι[ι] α **196** 2; Τῦβι δ **321** 9
- Φαμενώθ – [Φαμεν]ώθ ε **313** 9
- Φαῶφι – Φαῶφι **102** 7; τῆ ιε Φαῶφ[ι] μηνὸς **186** 2; Φαῶφ[ι] **289** 2
- Χοίακ – **181** 4; μηνὸς Χοίακ **A1** 3

GREEK WORDS

- ἀγαθός – ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **93** 13; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **155** 5; παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενῶθη καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 3; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **279** 1; εἴπ' ἀγ[αθῶ] **285** 5; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **308** 4–5; παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀλέξεως **208** 9; ἀγαθ[ὸ]ς Ἀμενῶθης **208** 12; τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνγραπτέον ἀγαθ[ὸ] **208** 15; ἐπ' ἐγαθῶ **B2** 1
- ἀγορανόμος – ἄρχων καὶ ἐξηγητὴ κα(ὶ) ἀγ(ο)ρανόμος **123** 8
- ἀδελφή – Ἄρτεμις ἀδελφή **287** 3
- ἀδελφός – Ἄρτης νεώτερος ἀδελφός **58** 3; κ[α]ὶ ἀδελφῶν **78** 5; μετὰ Φθομόν[θο]υ . . . [.] λαυνοῖς ἀδελφοῦ **93** 8–9; Μονκορήτος ὀ[μ]οίως ἀδελφοῦ **93** 9; ἀδελ[φ]οῦ **114** 8; ἀδελφοῦ **123** 3; ἀδελφ(οῦ) **123** 3; ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ **124** 6–7; ἀδελφός **161** 9; Τιθοῆς ἀδελ[φός] **204** 3; τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδ[ε]λφῶν **212** 3; ἀδελφῶν **223** 2; ἀδελφ[ὸ]ς **238** 4; ἀδελφ[οῦ] **242** 3; ἀδελ[φ]οῦ **248** 3; [ἀδελ]φῶν **253** 4; ἀπάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ υἱῶν **258** 3; ἀδ[ε]λφῶν] **276** 5; ἀδελφ[- - -] **304** 13; τούτο(υ) ἀδελφοῦ **310** 3; ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ **313** 3; ἀδελφός μη[τ]ρ[ὸ]ς **313** 4; ἀδελ[φ] - - -] **321** 7; Ἐυβούλου ἀδελφοὶ **322** 1
- αἰεῖ – [π]ρὸς αἰεὶ χρόνον **78** 6, εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον **116** 2; εἰς αἰεὶ **155** 5; εἰ[ς αἰεὶ ?] **221** 2; εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον] **279** 4; ἐπὶ τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον] **307** 4; ἐπὶ τὸν [αἰεὶ χρόνον] **312** 2; ἐπὶ τὸν αἰεὶ [χρόνον] **313** 7
- αἶθε – αἶθε ὑδὸν (?) [πά]λιν ὑγιάναι ἐμὸν . . . ταχὺ **50** 1
- αἰών – εἰς αἰῶνα **20** 5; εἰς αἰῶνα **291** 3
- ἀκούω – ἀκούσαι με αὐτῶν **208** 5; ἀκούων δὲ παρὰ πολλῶν **A1** 15
- ἀκρατής – [[[ἀ]κρατῆς ὦν]] **A1** 9
- ἀλγέω – ἀλγεί **50** 3
- ἄλγος – χαληποῖς[ι]ν ὑπ' ἄλγεσι **210** 7
- ἄλεξις – παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀλέξεως **208** 9
- ἄλλα – μὴ τοὺς] σοφοῦς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς . [- - -] **A2** 7; ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήσιμα **A2** 14
- ἄλλος – ἅμα α[ὐτὸν] κα[ὶ] τοὺς] ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς] **A1** 28–29
- ἅμα – **208** 4; ἅμα α[ὐτὸν] κα[ὶ] τοὺς] ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς] **A1** 28
- ἄμμες (cf. also ἡμεῖς) – ἄμμι **219** 4
- ἄν – συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἄν πράττ[η]ς, τα]χέως **A2** 5
- ἀναγράφω – ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρ[ε]τὴν **A1** 30
- ἀνάθεμα – τῶν ἀναθεμάτ[ων - - -] **A2** 11
- ἄναξ – ἄναξ Ἀμένω[θ]ος **219** 2
- ἀνατίθημι – τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρατος ἀρετὴν Ἀμενῶτου **A1** 4; ἀνέ]θηκεν τοῖς κυρίοις χάριν **B2** 1
- ἄνθρωπος – το[ὺ]ς ἀνθρώπους **208** 14; ἀ]νθρώποις **210** 7; [- - -] ἀνθρώπους **A2** 13
- ἀνοίγω – ἀνοίξας τὴν θύραν τῶ εὐλογομένον ἱερὸν **208** 6
- ἀνόσιος – ἀνόσιον **208** 23
- ἀντίγραφον – [[κατὰ ἱκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ίγ]-ραφα]] **A1** 26
- ἀπαντάω – οὐ]δὲν ἀπαντᾶν οὐδαμ[ῶς] **208** 24
- ἀπαρνεόμαι – [ἀ]παρνε[ο]ύμενος **208** 8
- ἄπας – ἀπάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ υἱῶν **258** 3; εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον **317** 3
- ἀπάτωρ – ἀπάτωρος **253** 2
- ἀπελεύθερος – ἀπελευθέρου **116** 1; ἀπελευθέρου **190** 2
- ἀπελπίζω – πολλ[οὺς] ἀφελπισμένους τ[ε]τ[ε]υ-χότας δι' α[ὐτοῦ] **A1** 20; καὶ αὐ[τὸς ἀ]φελπισμένος **A1** 24–10b
- ἀπό – **178** 3; **208** 2; **A1** 7
- ἀποδίδωμι – δῶρον ἀπέδομεν **322** 1
- ἀπολείβω – ἀπολείψανθ' ὕμνον ἐκεῖθ[ε] **209** 5
- ἀρετή – τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρατος ἀρετὴν Ἀμενῶτου **A1** 5; τὰς τ[οῦ] Ἀμενῶτου ἀρετὰς] πολλὰς οὔσας **A1** 16–17; ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρ[ε]τὴν **A1** 30; νόμιζε τὴν ἀρετ[ὴν - - -] **A2** 12; ἀρετὴν ἀσκε[ῖν] **A2** 15
- ἀρρωστία – συμπεσοῦσης γάρ μοι ἀρρωστίας **A1** 6; οἱ] ἐχόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας ἠσποτε συνεσπα[σμένοι] **A1** 34
- ἄρχων – ἄρχων καὶ ἐξηγητὴ κα(ὶ) ἀγ(ο)ρανόμος **123** 7; Ἀπολλωνίδου ἄρχοντος **123** 10
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- αὐθημερί – ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ ἐβοήθησε αὐθημερί **68 a 2**
- αὐθις – αὐθ[ι]ς (?) **208** 14
- αὐτοκράτωρ – (ἔτους) .[αὐ]τ[οκρ]άτωρ Καίσα[ρο]ς **114** 12; (ἔτους) ὁ αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καί[σα]ρ[ο]ς Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ **124** 11; (ἔτους) α[ὐ]τ[οκρ]άτορος Καίσαρος [Γ]ά[ιου Οὐ]α[λ]ε[ρί]ου Διοκλητιαν-

νοῦ εὐσε[βοῦς εὐ]τυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ **160** 1; τοῦ β' (ἔτους) αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ **186** 2
 αὐτός - τῶν σὺ(ν) αὐτῶων θεῶν **20** 3; μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῶ [πά]ντων **59** 6; ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶι ἐβοήθησε αὐθημερί **68 a** 2; καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ **72** 2; αὐτοῖς **93** 5; α[ὐ]τὸς ὁ ἰκετεῦν [τὸ]ν θεὸν **93** 6; καὶ τῶν] γονέων [αὐτοῦ **96** 3-4, καὶ - - - αὐ]τοῦ **96** 4-5; αὐτῶν **112** 6; ἐ[ξο]λί δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν **123** 11; αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα **123** 12; ἀ]δελφὸς αὐτοῦ **124** 7; μητρὸς αὐτοῦ **124** 8; ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ **124** 9; γη[τ]οῦντων αὐτοῦ **124** 10; σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ **155** 3; αὐτὸς **163** 11; αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον **168** 8; α]ὐτ[ὸς] **169** 9; αὐτοῦ **176** 10; τέκνων αὐτοῦ **183** 4; τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν **183** 5; τῆς μ]ητρὸς αὐτοῦ **185** 6; αὐ]τοῦ **195** 3; τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ **195** 4; τῶν τέκνων αὐ]τοῦ **195** 5; τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ **201** 3; [- - -]ρὸς αὐ]τοῦ - - -] **216** 2; τοῦ νεῖοῦ αὐτοῦ **217** 1-2; . . . τ]ρὸς αὐτῶν **221** 1; α]ὐτῆς **237** 4; γυν[αικὸς αὐτ]οῦ **239** 5, τῶν φιλο]ύντων αὐ]τοῦς] **245** 3; τῆς μ]ητρὸς [α]ὐτ[οῦ] **251** 2; αὐτοῦ **256** 7; τὰ τ[έ]κνα αὐτῆς **267** 3; τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ **277** 5; τῆς μητ(ρὸς) αὐτοῦ **305** 2; ἀκούσαί με αὐτῶν **208** 5; τὴν νύκταν αὐτῶν ἐφάνη **208** 5; αὐτὸς ΔΕΘΕ . . . C[.] τῇ[ν σημα]σίαν **208** 6; παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀλέξωσ] **208** 9; [τῆ]ς θύρας βαλὼν αὐτὸν **208** 10; αὐτοῦ **208** 13; τῆς μητρὸς αὐ]τοῦ **313** 2; ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ **313** 3; φι]λούντων αὐτοῦ **313** 5; σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ **317** 2; ὡς δ' αὐτως δέ **Α1** 13; ὄντα αὐτ[ὸν] ἐλεήμονα **Α1** 18; πολλ[οὺς] ἀφελπισμένους τ[ετυ]χότας 'δι' α[ὐτοῦ] **Α1** 21; καὶ αὐ]τὸς ἀ]φελπισμένος **Α1** 24-10b; θεραπευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φανε[ρῶς] **Α1** 27; ἅμα α[ὐτὸν] κα[ὶ τοὺς] ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβῶμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς] **Α1** 28; ἀναγράψαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρ[ε]τὴν **Α1** 30
 ἀφίκομαι - ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθην χρηστὸν θεὸν **68 a** 1
 ἀφνειός - [ἀ]φνειαῖσιν **210** 4
 βάλλω - [τῆ]ς θύρας βαλὼν αὐτὸν **208** 10; ἔβαλεν **208** 17
 βασιλεύς - ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέω[ς] **36** 2
 βοηθέω - ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶι ἐβοήθησε αὐθημερί **68a** 2; εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν **132**
 βομβών - [[ἀπὸ [τῶ]ν βομβώνων δι' ὄλου τοῦ σώματος]] **Α1** 8

βουλεύω - βουλεύου μὲν χρόν[ω] **Α2** 4; οὐκ ὀλίγα βουλευόμε[νος περι σωτ]ερίας **Α1** 11-12
 βούλομαι - ἠβουλήθεν ἐξ ὧν **Α1** 28

γάρ - **Α1** 6

γείτων - γη[τ]οῦντων αὐτοῦ **124** 9-10

Γερμανικός (title of Roman emperors) - (ἔτους) ὁ αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Κ[αί]σ[α]ρ[ο]ς Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ **124** 13

γίγνομαι - εὖ γένοιτο τῶι γράψαντι **50** 4;

γενόμεθα ἐ[ν]ταῦθα **163** 3; γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα **168** 3; γ[ε]νόμ[ε]θα ἐνταῦθα **169** 1-2;

γενόμεθα ἐνθ[αῦθα] **172** 2; ἐγενομ[ε]θα ἐξαπαῦθα **173** 2; γενό]μενος ὑγιὲς **Α1** 27-28

γονεὺς - καὶ τῶν] γονέων [αὐτοῦ **96** 3-4; τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ **201** 2-3; γο]νέων **207** 4; τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ γονεῖς **276** 5; ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβου [καὶ] γονέας **Α2** 4

γόνος - μακάρων γόν[ε] **219** 3

γραμματεὺς - γραμματεῖς **161** 4-5; γρα[μ-μ]ατεὺς **163** 11; γραμ[μα]τεὺς] **164** 2; γραμ-ματεὺ τῶν πλήθου **168** 7; γραμματε[ύς] **169** 9; γραμματεοῦς **172** 9

γράφω - εὖ γένοιτο τῶι γράψαντι **50** 4-5;

ἐγράφη . . . Μ[ε]χ[ι]ρ ἰβ[ε]ρ **83a** 8; ἐγραψ[ε]ν Ἀρτεμίδωρο[ς] **83a** 9; ἐγραψα ἐνωχού-μενος **93** 7; ἐγραψεν τ[αῦτα τὰ γ]εγραμμένα **94** 3; τοῦ γρά[ψα]ντος **109** 1-2; τ[οῦ] γράψαντος **111** 2-3; ἐγραψα **136**; τοῦ γράψαντο[ς] **195** 1; ἐγραψε **202** 1; ἐγρ]αψε **231** 4; ἐγραψα **278** 2; τ[οῦ] γράψαντο[ς] **306** 3-4; τοῦ γράψαντος **307** 2; εὐτυχῶς τῶ γράψαντι **317** 1; εὐτυχῶς τῶ γράψαντι **320** 1-2

γυνή - γυναικὸς καὶ συνβίου **112** 10; γυναικὸς **115** 12; ἡ τοῦ[το]ν γυνή **117** 1-2; γυνή τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλωνίδου **123** 9; σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ **155** 3; γυναικὸς **207** 3; γυνή **223** 3; γυν[αικὸς αὐτ]οῦ **239** 4-5; σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ **317** 2

δέ - ὅς δέ τις ἐὰν ἐξ[α]λάβῃ ταῦτα **123** 10; ὡς δ' αὐτως δέ **Α1** 13; **Α1** 15; **Α1** 10b; **Α2** 5

δεῖ - σῶσαι δεῖ **93** 5; δεῖ με **208** 12

δεσπότης - [ὕ]πατει[ας] τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν **163** 2; [δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν **167** 1; ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσ[ταν]τίνου τῶν ε[ὐ]γεν[ε]στάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανε]στάτων]ν Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ̄ **168** 1; δέσποται **197** 3

διά - **77** 5; **208** 21; **Α1** 8; **Α1** 21

- διαγράφω – ὦν] τὸ [κατ' ὄνομα] δια(γέγραπται) **163** 6; ὦν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται) **168** 4; [ὦ]ν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α(γέγραπται)] **169** 4; ὦν] τὸ κα[τ' ὄνομα] δια(γέγραπται) **172** 3; δια(γέγραπται) **173** 4
- διαμένω – διαμένι **123** 12
- δίδωμι – ἱεῖς δεδω[κέ]ναι **208** 20
- δίκαιος – [- - -] δίκαιον ὀράεις **A2** 8
- δικαιοσύνη – φρόνησιν ἄσκει μετὰ δικαιοσύνης **A2** 2-3
- δύναμαι – οὐκ ἐδύναν[το ὑγιή μ]ε ποιῆσαι **A1** 14-15
- δύναμις – [[δύναμιν ἐκείν(ων)] **A1** 31-32; [[ἴνα εἰδώσω τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]] **A1** 32-33
- δῶρον – δῶρον ἀπέδομεν **322** 1
- ἐάν – ὅς δέ τις ἐὰν ἐξ[α]λίψη ταῦτα **123** 10
- ἐγγραπτεύς – τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνγραπτέον ἀγαθ[] **208** 15
- ἐγώ – τὴν θυγατέρα μου **118** 3; τῶν ἡμῆ φιλοῦ[ν]των καὶ φιλουμένων πάντων **261** 2; τῆς μητρός μου **307** 3; ἀκούσαί με αὐτῶν **208** 5; δεῖ με **208** 12; με **208** 13; συμπεσοῦσης γάρ μοι ἀρρωστίας **A1** 6; κατ[[α]έφυγον[[τος δέ μου]] **A1** 10b
- εἶδον – [[ἴνα εἰδώσω τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]] **A1** 32; ἴνα εἰδώσω ὅτι ἰατρ[- - -] **A1** 36
- εἰμί – [Ασ]κληπ[ι]ῶ ὄντι σοφῶ **93** 4; [εἶνα]ι [ἴ]λεον κα[ἴ] εὐμενῆ **93** 7; εἶς **123** 12; ἐστιν **210** 3; εἶην **210** 8 (uncertain if from εἰμί or ἴημι); [[ἄ]κρατῆς ὦν]] **A1** 9; τὰς τ[οῦ] Ἀμενώτου ἀρετὰ[ς] πολλὰς οὔσας **A1** 18; ὄντα αὐτ[ὸν] ἐλεήμονα **A1** 18; [- - -] ἐστιν **A2** 16
- εἶς – **20** 4; **116** 2; **155** 5; **208** 2; **221** 2; **279** 4; **291** 3; **317** 3; **A1** 25; **A1** 31; **A3** 4
- εἶς – εἶς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν **132**
- εἶτα – εἶτα Σαραπὸς **308** 1
- ἐκ – **38** 2; **208** 13; ἐξ ὧν **A1** 28
- ἐκεῖθε – ἀπολείψανθ' ὕμνον ἐκεῖθ[ε] **209** 5
- ἐκεῖνος – ἐ[κ]εῖνοι **210** 2; [[δύναμιν ἐκείν(ων)] **A1** 31-32
- ἐλαιουργός – **228** 2
- ἐλεήμων – ὄντα αὐτ[ὸν] ἐλεήμονα **A1** 19
- ἐμαντός – τῶν ἐμαντοῦ γονεῖς **276** 5
- ἐμός – αἶθε ὑὸν (?) [πά]λιν ὑγιάναι ἐμὸν ταχὺ **50** 2; ἐμός **209** 2; ἰητήρσιν [ἐ]μοῦ **209** 3; τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδ[ε]λφῶν **212** 3
- ἐμπροσθεν – ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ **168** 8; ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ] **169** 11; ἐπισ[τὰς] ἐμπροσθεν **208** 8
- ἐν – **117** 2; **208** 10; **A2** 17
- ἐναντίος – ἐκ ἐναντίου **208** 13
- ἐνθάδε – **72** 3; **112** 20 (uncertain); **205** 3; **221** 2; **242** 4
- ἐνταῦθα – γε[ν]όμεθα ἐ[ν]ταῦθα **163** 3-4; γενόμεθα ἐνταῦθα **168** 3; πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα (...) ἐνταῦθ' (...) τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποί[ησα]ν **168** 9; γ[ενόμε]θα ἐνταῦθα **169** 2; γενόμεθα ἐνθ[αῦθα] **172** 2; ἐγενόμ[εθ]α ἐνα[ταῦθα] **173** 2
- ἐξαλείφω – ὅς δέ τις ἐὰν ἐξ[α]λίψη ταῦτα **123** 11
- ἐξηγητής – ἄρχων καὶ ἐξηγητῆ κα[ὶ] ἀγ[ο]ρανόμος **123** 7
- ἐξόλλυμι – ἐ[ξο]λί δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν **123** 11
- ἐπί – **36** 2; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **93** 13; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **155** 5; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **279** 1; ἐπ' ἀγ[αθῶ] **285** 5; **307** 4; ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ **308** 4-5; **312** 2; **313** 7; ἐπ' ἱερὸν **208** 19; ἐπ' ἔτη ὀκτώ **A1** 6; ἐπ' ἐγαθῶ **B2** 1
- ἐπικίνδυνος – ἀρρωστίας μακρᾶς σφόδρα καὶ ἐπικινδύνου **A1** 6
- ἐπιλέγω – ἐπιλεγόμενο(ν) Πεμλοκ **185** 3
- ἐπιστήμη – ἐπιστήμης περιόντος **209** 4
- ἐπίστημι – ἐπισ[τὰς] ἐμπροσθεν **208** 8
- ἐπιφανής (as epithet of Roman emperors) – [ὑ]πατεῖ[ας] τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν [- - -] **TO** [- - -] ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτω(ν) **AY** [**163** 3; ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρισπου καὶ Κωνσ[ταν]τίνου τῶν ἐ[ὕ]γει[ε]στάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανε]στάτω[ν] Καισάρ[ων] τὸ γ **168** 2
- ἐργάζομαι – ἐργαζόμενος μισθοῦ **60** 2; μισθοῦ ἐργαζόμενος **68 a** 2
- ἔρχομαι – ἐρχόμενος **74**; ἦλθον ἀπὸ Κοπτοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου **208** 1
- ἔτος – (ἔτους) ιβ' **25**; (ἔτους) γ// Ἀντωνεῖν[ου] καὶ Οὐ[ρ]ήρου τῶν κυρ[ί]ων Σεβαστῶν **93** 11-12; (ἔτους) ἀ' (?) Ἀδριαν[ο]ῦ **96** 7; (ἔτους) κ' **102** 6; (ἔτους) [αὐ]τ[οκρ]άτορος Καίσα[ρο]ς **114** 12; (ἔτους) ις' Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **117** 8; (ἔτους) ις' **118** 10; (ἔτους) γ' Ἀδ[ρ]ι[αν]οῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **122** 5; (ἔτους) ᾗ αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καί[σ]α[ρο]ς Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ **124** 11; [(ἔτους) x] τῶ[ν] κ[υρ]ίων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρ[ε]ίνου καὶ Νουμμεριαν[οῦ] **157** 1-3; (ἔτους) α// [α]ὐ[τ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος [Γ]ά[ι]ου Οὐα[λ]ε[ρ]ίου Διοκλητιανοῦ εὐσε[β]οῦς εὐ[τυ]χ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ **160** 1; [(ἔτους)] α/ τ[ῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρ[ε]ίνου καὶ Καρ[ε]ίν[ου] καὶ Νουμμεριανοῦ **161** 1; (ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρ[ί]ων ἡμῶν **162** 1; [(ἔτους) x] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Κα]ρ[ε]ίνου καὶ Νουμμεριανοῦ **164** 3-4;

τοῦ β' (ἔτους) αὐτοκράτορος Κ[αί]σαρος Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ **186** 2; (ἔτους) **194** 3; (ἔτους) σ' Δομ[ι]τιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου **196** 2; (ἔτους) . . . Τραιανοῦ **226** 3; [(ἔτους) . . . Δομ]-
τ[ια]ν[ο]ῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **244** 3; (ἔτους) **261** 5; (ἔτους) σ' **264** 3; (ἔτους) θ' **266** 2; (ἔτους) ιζ' Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου **287** 5; (ἔτους) λ' **289** 2; (ἔτους) [- - -] **310** 4; [(ἔτους) . . .] Ω . . . Καί(σα)ρος τοῦ κυρίου **313** 8; (ἔτους) ιβ' **324** 1; ἔτους κ' **Α1** 3; ἐφ' ἔτη ὀκτώ **Α1** 6; (ἔτους) κ' **Β1** 3
εὐ - εὐ γένοιτο τῶι γράψαντι **50** 3
εὐγενής (as epithet of Roman emperors) - ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ' **168** 2
εὐδοξος - παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθη καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 4
εὐλογέω - ἀνοιξέας τὴν θύραν τῶ εὐλογουμένον ἱερὸν **208** 7
εὐμενής - [εἶνα]ι [ἴ]λεον κα[ἴ] εὐμενῆ **93** 7
εὐσεβής (as epithet of Roman emperors) - (ἔτους) α' [α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Γ]ά[ι]ου Οὐά[λ]ερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ εὐσεβούς εὐτυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ **160** 3
εὐτυχής - (ἔτους) α' [α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος [Γ]ά[ι]ου Οὐά[λ]ερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ εὐσεβούς εὐτυχ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ **160** 3; εὐτυχῶς τῶ γράψαντι **317** 1; εὐτυχῶς **318** 1; εὐτυχῶς **319** 1; εὐτυχῶς τῶ γράψαντι **320** 1
εὐχή - ὑπὲρ παιδίου εὐχὴν **Β1** 4
εὐχομαι - συνέβη εὐχόμενον **208** 3
εὐχολή - εὐχολήν **100** 3
εὐχάεω - ἔγραψα εὐχόμενος **93** 7-8; [ε]ὐχ[ο]χ[ο]ύμενοι **117** 3; εὐχόμενοι **118** 4
ἔχω - ἔχει **210** 4; οἱ ἐχόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας ἥσποτε συνεσπα[σμένοι] **Α132-33**
ζειδωρος - ὃς τελέσας σοφίην ζειδωρον **219** 2
ζέφυρος - φλειῆι ζεφύροις **209** 6
ζυτοποιός - Πλήνις Πκ[ο]ί(λιος) ζυτοποιός **168** 5
ζῶ - ἐξο[λι] δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν **123** 11
ἡγέομαι - χρησίμους ἡγ[ο]ῦ μὴ τοὺς] σοφούς **Α2** 6
ἦκω - ἦκ[ω] πρὸς Ἀμενώθη **36** 1; ἦκω **227** 2; ἦκω πρὸς τὸν [- - -] **324** 2
ἡμεῖς (cf. also ἄμμες) - καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς **86** 2; μνήσθητι ὑμῶν **129** 3; παράδος

ὑμῶν θεραπείαν **129** 3; εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν **132**; [(ἔτους)] α' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κάρου καὶ Καρίνου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανοῦ **161** 1; (ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν **162** 1; [ὑ]πατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν **163** 2; [(ἔτους) x] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Καρ]ίνου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανοῦ **164** 3-4; [δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν **167** 1; ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν εὐγενεστάτων καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ' **168** 1; μνήσθητι ὑμῶν **197** 3
ἡπητής - Πλήνιος Κεφα[λ]άτος ἡπητοῦ **93** 10
ἡπιος - ἡπιε **219** 3

θέλω - τῆν θεραπείαν θέλοντες **112** 15-16
θεά - παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξὸν Ἀμενώθη καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 4
θείος - παρακαλῶν αὐτὸς θείας ἀγαθὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀλέξεως **208** 9
θεός - παρὰ τοῖς κυρίοις Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτῶν ὡν θεῶν **20** 4; ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθη χρηστὸν θεὸν **68 a** 1; ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶι ἐβοήθησε αὐθημερὶ **68 a** 2; α[ὑ]τὸς ὁ ἰκετεύων [τὸ]ν θεὸν **93** 6; καὶ τοῖς συγγενῶν [θεοῖς] **96** 5-6; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ μεγάλῳ [θεοῦ] **106** 3; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ [Ἀσ]κληπιῶι (?) **112** 13; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 6; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 7; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίῳ [θ]ε[οῦ] Ἀμενώφιος **123** 4; παρὰ Ἀμενώθῃ θεῶ [ὑ] μ[ε]γίστου **124** 5; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγίαι **129** 1; εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν ὑμῶν **132**; τῶν κυρίων [θεῶν(?)] **163** 13; ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ] **168** 8; πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα (...) ἐνταῦθ' (...) τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποι[η]σαν **168** 9; ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θε[οῦ] **169** 11; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν θεῶν μεγίστων **194** 3; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Ἀμμωνι κα[ἴ] τοῖς συγγενῶν θεοῦ **195** 6; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ὑγίαι **197** 1; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου **ME. E. OY** θεοῦ Ἀ[μεν]ώθου **212** 2; θεοῖς **212** 3; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθου θεῶ **242** 5; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου **287** 4; τῶν θεῶν Σωτήρων **289** 2; παρὰ τῶ κυρίῳ [Ἀσ]κληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμ[ε]νώθῃ θεῶν μεγίστων **293** 3; θεῶ μ[ε]γίστῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμ[ε]-

- ν]ώθη **321** 1; θεοῦ **208** 12; ἄμα α[ὐτὸν] κα[ὶ τοὺς] ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντελ[εῖς] **A1** 28–29; [[ἵνα εἰδῶσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]] **A1** 32–33; [φ]ανερῶς [[παρισταμ[ένου]]] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγομ[- -] θεοῦ **A1** 37–38; ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβον [καὶ] γονέας **A2** 3; ὡδε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου **A3** 8; Ἀμενώ[θη] θεῶι μεγίστω **B1** 2
- θεραπεία – τῆ]ν θεραπείαν θέλοντες **112** 14–15; παράδος ὑμῖν θεραπείαν **129** 3–4; τὴν θεραπείαν **208** 16
- θεραπεύω – ἐθεράπευσε **208** 16; θεραπευθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φανε[ρῶς] **A1** 27
- θυγάτηρ – με[τὰ] θυγατρὸς **117** 3; τὴν θυγατέραν μου **118** 2–3; τῆς θυγατρὸς **276** 7
- θύρα – ἀνοίξας τὴν θύραν τῶ ἐυλογουμένον ἱερόν **208** 7; [τῆ]ς θύρας βαλὼν αὐτὸν **208** 10
- θυσία – θυσία[. ὄν]ον **163** 4; θυσίαν ὄνον **168** 3; θυσίας ὄ[νον] **172** 2
- ιατρός – Ζωῖλος ἱατρός **25**; ὁ Ἐρμώνθεως ἱατρός **94** 2–3; Ἀσκληπιάδου ἱατροῦ **165** 1; πρὸς ἰα[τροὺς κα]τέφυγον **A1** 13–14
- ἴδιος – τὸ προσκύνημα τῶν [ἰ]δίων **187** 1–2
- ἱερεὺς – ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἰσεω **77** 3; Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδου ἱερε[ύς] **189** 1; ἱερεῖς δεδω[κ]εῖν **208** 20 (the case is uncertain; ἱερεῖς may also stay for ἱεροῖς)
- ἱερόν – εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Ἀσκληπιου κα[ὶ] Ἀμενώθη **208** 2; ἀνοίξας τὴν θύραν τῶ ἐυλογουμένον ἱερόν **208** 7; ἐ[φ’] ἱερόν **208** 19; κατ[α]ἰ-έφυγον[[τος δέ μου]] [εἰς τὸ ἱε]ρόν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἐκ]έτης **A1** 25
- ἱερός – ἱερεῖς δεδω[κ]εῖν **208** 20 (the case is uncertain; ἱερεῖς may also stay for ἱερεῖς)
- ἱητήρ – ἰ]ητήρ **100** 4; ἱητήρσιν [ἐ]μου **209** 3; χαίρε καὶ ἱητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [. . .] κοίρανε φωτῶν **219** 1
- ἱκετεύω – α[ὐ]τὸς ὁ ἱκετεύων [τὸ]ν θεὸν **93** 6
- ἱκετηρία – [[κατὰ ἱκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ί]γραφα]] **A1** 25–26
- ἱκέτης – κατ[α]ἰέφυγον[[τος δέ μου]] [εἰς τὸ ἱε]ρόν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἐκ]έτης **A1** 25
- ἴλος – [εἶνα]ι [ἰ]λεον κα[ὶ] εὐμενῆ **93** 7; χαίρε καὶ ἴλος ἄμμι **219** 4
- ἵνα – [[ἵνα εἰδῶσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν]] **A1** 32; ἵνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἱατ[ρ - - -] **A1** 36
- ἰνδικτίων – ἰσ[σ]// ἰνδικτίονος **163** 1; ἰσ[σ]// νεὰς ἰ[νδ]ικτ[ί]ον[ο]ς **169** 1
- Καῖσαρ (title of Roman emperors) – (ἔτους) . [αὐ]τ[οκρ]άτορος Καῖσα[ρο]ς **114** 12; (ἔτους) ἰς Τραιανῶν Καῖσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **117** 9; (ἔτους) γ’ Ἀδ[ρ]ι[αν]οῦ Καῖσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **122** 5; (ἔτους) 5 αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καῖ[σ]α[ρο]ς Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ **124** 11; (ἔτους) α// [α]ὐ[τ]οκράτορος Καῖσαρος [Γ]ά[ι]ου Οὐα[λ]ε[ρ]ίου Διοκλητιανοῦ εὐσε[β]οῦς εὐ[τυ]χ[ο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ **160** 1; ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσ[ταν]τίνου τῶν εὐγε[ν]εστάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[ανεστάτων] Καῖσα[ρ]ων τὸ γ **168** 2; τοῦ β’ (ἔτους) αὐτοκράτορος Καῖ[σ]αρος Δομειτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ **186** 2; [(ἔτους) . . . Δομι]τ[ί]α[ν]οῦ Καῖσα[ρο]ς το[ῦ] κυρίου **244** 3; Καῖσαρως τ[ο]ῦ [κυρίου] **305** 14; [(ἔτους) . . .] .Ω . . . Καῖ-
(σα)ρος τοῦ κ[υρίου] **313** 8
- κακός – κάκιστον **210** 5
- καλός – κάλλιον δέ [- - -] **A2** 10
- κατά – **163** 5; **168** 4; **169** 4; **172** 3; **A1** 25
- καταφεύγω – πρὸς ἰα[τροὺς κα]τέφυγον **A1** 13; κατ[α]ἰέφυγον[[τος δέ μου]] [εἰς τὸ ἱε]ρόν τὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώτου [ἐκ]έτης **A1** 10b
- κοίρανος – χαίρε καὶ ἱητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [. . .] κοίρανε φωτῶν **219** 1
- κυρία – τῆ κυρία μου μητρὸς **253** 2–3
- κύριος (es epithet of a god) – παρὰ τοῖς κυρίοις **20** 2; παρὰ τ(οῦ) κυρίου Ἀμενώ(θου) **77** 3; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώτ(ο)υ **86** 2; παρ[ὰ] τῶ κυρίω **96** 5; [παρὰ τῶ] κυρίω Ἀ[μενώθη] **101** 2; παρὰ το[ῦ] κυρίου Ἀμενώθου **102** 5; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθη μεγάλου [θεοῦ] **106** 3; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθη **112** 12; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ἀσκληπιου καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 4; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ἀσκληπειοῦ καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 5; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθ(ου) **119** 1–2; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίω [υ]θ[ε]οῦ Ἀ]μενώφιος **123** 4; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Πετεμενώφιος **124** 3; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθου **125** 4; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγιεία **129** 1; παρὰ τῶν κυρίων Ἀμενώθ[ο]υ καὶ Ἀσκληπιου καὶ [- - -] **161** 14; τῶν κυρίων [θεῶν(?)] **163** 13; παρ[ὰ] τῶ κυρίω Ἀ[. . .] [- - -] **182** 1; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **194** 2; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμμωνι κα[ὶ] τοῖς συννάοις θεο[ῖ]ς **195** 5–6; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ {αι} Ἀμενώθη καὶ Ὑγιεία **197** 1;

παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώ]θη **199** 4; κυρίου Ἀμενώθου **205** 3; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου *ME E OY* θεοῦ Ἀ[μενώ]θου **212** 2; παρ[ὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ **217** 2; παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ίῳ] Ἀ[μενώ]θη **221** 2; παρὰ τῷ κ[υρίῳ] Ἀ[μενώ]θη **228** 2-3; παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ίῳ] Ἀμενόθου θεῷ **242** 4; παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ίῳ] Ἀ[μενώ]θη **244** 2; [παρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ **253** 5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ **268** 5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ **277** 6; παρ[ὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ **281** 4; παρὰ [τῷ] κυρίῳ Ἀ[μενώ]θη **286** 4; παρὰ τοῦ κυρ[ίῳ] Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου **287** 4; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμ]ενώθῃ θεῶν μεγίστων **293** 2; παρὰ τῷ [κυρίῳ] [Ἀμ]ενώθῃ **313** 6; ὡδε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου **A3** 6-7; ἀνε[θ]ηκεν τοῖς κυρίοις χάριν **B2** 1 κύριος (as epithet of Roman emperors) - (ἔτους) γ// Ἀντωνεῖν[ου καὶ Οὐ]ήρου τῶν κυρ[ί]ων Σεβαστῶν **93** 11-12; Τρα[ιανου] [τ]οῦ [κυρίου] **99** 4-5; (ἔτους) ἰ' Τραιανου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **117** 9; [- - -] τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου - - - **122** 2; (ἔτους) γ' Ἀδ[ρ]ι[αν]οῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου **122** 6; [(ἔτους) x] τῷ κ[υρί]ων ἡμῶν Κ[α]ρείου καὶ Νουμμεριαν[οῦ] **157** 1-3; [(ἔτους)] α/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κάρου καὶ Καρίνου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανου **161** 1; (ἔτους) [.] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν **162** 1; [(ἔτους) x] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Κα]ρίνου καὶ Νο[υ]μεριανου **164** 3-4; (ἔτους) σ' Δομ[ι]τιανου τοῦ κυρίου **196** 2; [(ἔτους)] Ω . . . Καί[σα]ρος τοῦ κ[υρίου] **313** 8

λέγω - τῷ λέγοντι **15**

μάκαρ - μακάρων γόν[ε] **219** 3

μακρός - ἀρρωστίας μακρὰς σφόδρα καὶ ἐπικυδύνου **A1** 6

μαλακίζω - ἐμαλακίσθη **68 a** 2

μέγας - παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ί]ῳ Ἀμενώθῃ μεγάλου [θεοῦ] **106** 3; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιου καὶ τῶν συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 4-5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιου καὶ τῶν συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 7-8; παρὰ Ἀμενώθῃ θεοῦ μ[ε]γίστου **124** 4; πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα (...) ἐνταῦθ' (...) τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐποι[η]σαν **168** 9; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συνάων θεῶν μεγίστων **194** 2; παρακαλῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἅμα καὶ τὸν εὐδοξον Ἀμε-

νώθῃ καὶ τὴν θεὰν Ὑγίαν μεγίστην **208** 4; παρὰ τοῦ κυρ[ί]ῳ Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου **287** 5; παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμ]ενώθῃ θεῶν μεγίστων **293** 3; θεῷ μ[ε]γίστῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀμ[ε]νώθῃ **321** 1; ὡδε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ μεγίστου **A3** 9-10; Ἀμενώ[θη] θεῷ μεγίστῳ **B1** 2

μέδω - σῶζοιτε μέδοντες **209** 3

μέν - **A2** 4

μετά - **59** 5; **93** 8; **99** 3; **117** 2; **117** 6-7; **118** 8; **A2** 2

μή - **A2** 5; **A2** 13

μήν - μηνὸς **60** 1; τῇ ἰε Φαῶφ[ι] μηνὸς **186** 2; μηνὸς Χοίαχ **A1** 3

μήτηρ - καὶ μητρ[ὸ]ς **78** 4; ἡ μήτηρ **81** 4;

[μ]ετὰ . . . ὁ . . . os [μητ]ρὸς **99** 3; πατὴρ καὶ

μητ[ρ]ὸς **112** 3; μήτηρ Παμῶνθου **123** 8;

μητρὸς αὐτοῦ **124** 8; τῆς μ[η]τρὸς αὐτοῦ

185 6; μητρὸς Εἰρήνης **195** 3; μητρ[ὸ]ς **230**

2; μητ[ρ]ὸς Τισύτι[ο]ς **248** 2; τῆς μ[η]τρὸς

[α]ὐτ[οῦ] **251** 2; τῇ κυρία μου μητρὸς

253 2-3; μητρὸς **282** 2; τῆς μητ[ρ]ὸς αὐτοῦ

305 2; τῆς μητ[ρ]ὸς μου **307** 3; τῆς μητρὸς

αὐτ[οῦ] **313** 2; ἀδελφὸς μητ[ρ]ῶς **313** 4

μνησσκω - μνήσθητι ὑμῶν **129** 2-3; μνησθοί

192 2; μνησθ[οί] **193** 2, μνήσθητι ὑμῶν **197**

3; μνησθοί **220** 2

μισθός - ἐργαζόμενος μισθοῦ **60** 2; μισθοῦ

ἐργαζόμενος **68 a** 2

νεός - νεότερος **28** 1; Ἀτῆς νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς

58 3; Παμῶνθης νεώτερος **161** 6; [.]·[.]η

νεώτερος **161** 9; ss// νεὰς ἰ[νδ]ικτί[ο]ν[ο]ς

169 1; Πλ[η]νις νεώτερος **172** 5; Αἰλου-

ρίων νεώτερος **191**; Αἰλουρίωνος [ν]εωτ[έ]-

ρου **206**; Ὠρος νεώτερος **254** 1-2; [- - -]

θης νεώ(τερος) **296** 2

νεῦρον - συνεσπασμένος τὰ νεῦρα **A1** 7

νομίζω - νόμιζε τὴν ἀρετ[ή]ν - - - **A2** 12

νύξ - τὴν νύκταν αὐτῶν ἐφάνη **208** 5

ὄδε - τάδε ἀνέθηκεν Πολυάρατος ἀρετ[ή]ν

Ἀμενώτου **A1** 4

ὀδύνη - [[οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας [ὀδύ]νας ὑποφέρων]]

A1 10a

οἶκος - καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ **72** 2; τοῦ οἴκου

αὐτῶν **183** 5; καὶ το]ὺς ἐν οἴκου πάντα[ς]

212 3; τοῦ οἴκου παντός **264** 2; τοῦ οἴκου

αὐτ[οῦ] **277** 5; τοῦ] οἴκου **303** 2-3; παντὸς

οἴκου **313** 6

ὀκτώ - ἐφ' ἔτη ὀκτώ **A1** 6

ὀλίγος – οὐκ ὀλίγα βουλεύόμε[νος περι
σωτ]ερίας **A1** 11–12
ὅλος – [[ἀπὸ [τῶ]ν βομβώνων δι' ὅλου τοῦ
σώματος]] **A1** 8
ὁμοίος – Μονκορήτος ὁ[μ]οίως ἀδελφοῦ **93** 9;
ὁμοίως μήτηρ Παμώνθου **123** 8; ὁμοί(ως) **258**
2; ὁμοίως θεοὺς σέβου [καὶ] γονέας **A2** 3
ὀνηλάτης – Πλή(νις) ὀνηλάτου **168** 8; Πεκῦσις
ὀνηλά[τ]η[ς] **296** 1
ὄνομα – ὦν] τὸ [κατ' ὄνομα] δια(γέγραπται)
163 5; ὦν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται) **168**
4; [ὦ]ν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α](γέγραπται)]
169 4; ὦν] τὸ κα[τ] ὄνομα δια(γέγραπται)
172 4
ὄνος – θυσία[. ὦν]ον **163** 4; θυσίαν ὄνον **168** 3;
αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον **168** 8; θυσίας ὄ[νον]
172 2
ὄραω – [- - -] δίκαιον ὄραϊς **A2** 8
ὄς (ὄ) – ὄς δέ τις ξάν ἐξ[α]λήψη ταῦτα **123** 10;
ὦν] τὸ [κατ' ὄνομα] δια(γέγραπται) **163** 5;
ὦν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα δι(αγέγραπται) **168** 4;
[ὦ]ν τὸ κατ' ὄνομα [δ]ι[α](γέγραπται)] **169**
4; ὦν] τὸ κα[τ] ὄνομα δια(γέγραπται) **172** 3;
ὄς τελέσας σοφίην ζεῖδωρον **219** 2; [[κατὰ
ἰκετηρίαν ἧς τὰ ἀντ[ί]γραφα]] **A1** 26;
ἠβουλήθεν ἐξ ὦν **A1** 28; συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἀν
πράττ[η]ις, τα]χέως **A2** 5
ὄσποτε – οἱ] ἐχόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀρρωστίας ἦσποτε
συγεπα[σμένοι] **A1** 34
ὅτι – ἴνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἰατ[ρ - - -] **A1** 36
οὐδαμός – οὐ]δὲν ἀπαντᾶν οὐδαμ[ῶς] **208** 24
οὐδεῖς – οὐ]δὲν ἀπαντᾶν οὐδαμ[ῶς] **208** 24;
οὐθὲν τὸ πλεῖον **A1** 12
οὐθεῖς (see οὐδεῖς)
οὐ(κ) – **208** 14; **A1** 9; **A1** 11; **A1** 14
οὐτος – ἔγραψεν τ[αῦτα τὰ γ]εγραμμένα **94** 3;
ἢ τοῦ[το]ν γυνή **117** 1–2; ὄς δέ τις ξάν
ἐξ[α]λήψη ταῦτα **123** 11; τούτων τέκνα **183**
4–5; τούτο(ν) ἀδελφοῦ **310** 3; το[υτ - - -]
A2 8; ἐπ[οίησα τὴν στύλην ταύτην] **B2** 2
παιδίον – ὑπὲρ παιδίου εὐχὴν **B1** 4
πάλιν – αἶθε ὦν (?) [πά]λιν ὑγιᾶναι ἐμὸν . . .
ταχὺ **50** 1
παρά – παρ' Ἀμενώθου **4** 4; παρὰ τοῖς κυρίοις
20 2; παρὰ τ(οῦ) κυρίου Ἀμενώ(θου) **77** 3;
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώτ(ο)ν **86** 2; παρ[ὰ
τῶ] κυρίω **96** 5; [παρὰ τ]ῶ κυρίω Ἀ[μενώθ]η]
101 2; παρὰ το[ῦ κ]υρίου Ἀμενώθου **102** 5;
παρὰ τῶι κ[υρ]ίω Ἀμενώθῃ **112** 11; π[α]ρ[ὰ]
τῶ[ι] θεῶι [Ἀσ]κλ[ηπι]ῶι (?) **112** 13; παρὰ τῶ
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συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 3–4; παρὰ τῶ
κυρίω Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ τῶν
συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 4; παρὰ τοῦ
κυρίου Ἀμενώθ(ου) **119** 1; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίω[ν
θ]ε[οῦ] Ἀ[μενώθ]ιος **123** 4; παρὰ τῶι κυρίωι
Πετεμενώθιος **124** 3, παρὰ Ἀμενώθες θεο[ῦ]
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κυρίων Ἀμενώθ[ω]ν καὶ Ἀσκλη(πιῶ) καὶ
[- - -] **161** 14; παρ[ὰ] τῶ κυρίω Ἀ[. . .] [- - -]
182 1; παρ' Ἀμενώθου **184** 2; παρὰ τοῦ
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199 4; παρὰ [- - -] **207** 4; παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου
ME . E . OY θεοῦ Ἀ[μεν]ώθου **212** 1; π[α]ρ[ὰ]
τῶι κυρίω **217** 2; παρὰ τῶ κυρ[ίω] Ἀ[μενώ]θῃ
221 2; παρὰ τῶ κ[υρ]ίω Ἀ[μεν]ώθῃ **228** 2;
παρὰ τῶ κυρ[ίω] Ἀμενώθου θεῶ **242** 4; παρὰ
τῶ κυρίω Ἀ[μεν]ώθῃ **244** 2; παρ' Ἀμενώ-
θῃ **249** 2; [παρὰ] τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ
Ἀσκλη[πι]ῶ **253** 5; παρὰ τῶ κυρίω **268** 4;
παρὰ τῶ κυρίω Ἀμενώθῃ **277** 6; παρὰ τοῦ
[- - -] . ον Ἀμε[νώ]θου **280** 2; παρ[ὰ] τῶ
κ[υρ]ίω **281** 4; παρὰ [τῶ] κυρίω Ἀμε[νώ]θῃ
286 4; παρὰ τοῦ κυρ[ίω] Ἀμενώθου θεοῦ
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40; **42**; **43** 1; **46**; **47**; **54** 1-2; **55**; **57** 1; **58** 1; **59** 1-2; **70** 1; **75**; **76**; **77** 2; **78** 1; **79** 1-2; **81** 1; **82** 1; **86** 1; **88**; **89**; **90**; **93** 1; **95** 1; **96** 1; **97** 1; **98** 1; **99** 1; **101** 1 (supplemeted); **102** 1; **103** 1-2; **104** 1; **105** 1-2; **106** 1; **107** 1-2; **109** 1; **110** 1-4; **111** 1; **112** 1; **114** 1; **116** 1; **118** 1; **119** 1; **120** 1-2; **121**; **123** 1; **123** 7; **124** 1; **125** 1; **129** 1; **133** 1-2; **138** 2; **144** 1; **146** 1; **154** (-1) and 1; **155** 1; **159** 1; **162** 13; οἱ πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] (...) ἐποίησαν **163** 12; πάντες τὸ προσκύνημα (...) ἐποίησαν **168** 9; ο[ἱ] πάντες τὸ προσκύνημ[α] (...) ἐποίησαν (?) **169** 10; **170** 1; **174 a** 1-2; **175** 1-2; **176** 1; **177**; **179** 1; **180** 1; **183** 1; **184** 1; τὸ προσκύνημα (...) πεποι[η]κ[α] **187** 1; **188** 1; **190** 1; **194** 1; **195** 1; **197** 1; **198** 1; **199** 1; **200** 1; **201** 1; **204** 1; **205** 1; **206**; **207** 1; **212** 1; **214**; **215** 1; **217** 1; **218** 1; **225** 1-2; **228** 1; **232** 1-2; **234**; **237** 1; **238** 1; **239** 1-2; **240** 1; **242** 1; **243** 1; **244** 1; **245** 1; **247** 1; **249** 1; **250** 1; **251** 1; **253** 1; **257** 1; **258** 1; **259** 1; **261** 1; **262** 1; **263** 1; **266** 1; **267** 1; **268** 1; **270** 1; **272** 1; **273** 4; **274** 1; **277** 1; **280** 1; **281** 1; **282** 1; **283** 1; **284** 1; **285** 1; **287** 1; **288** 1; **292** 1; **293** 1; [τὸ προσκύνημα] ποιεῖ **294** 1; **301**; **303** 1; **304** 1; **305** 1; **306** 1-2; **307** 1; **309** 1; **310** 1; **311**; **313** 1
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χρησίμους ἤχ[οῦ μὴ τοὺς] σοφούς **A2** 6–7
στήλη – ἐπ[οίησα τὴν στύλην ταύτην] **B2** 2
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2; Κέλερος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ **201** 2
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συνβίω **276** 6; τῆς συμ]βίου **281** 2–3
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καὶ Φριτωβ **130** 2
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θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συν-
τελ[εῖς] **A1** 28–29
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καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **117** 5–6;
παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀμενώθῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων **118** 6–7;
παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου καὶ τῶν συννάων
θεῶν μεγίστων **194** 3; πα[ρὰ] τῷ κυρίῳ
Ἀμμωνι κα[ὶ τοῖς συννάοις θ]εο[ῖς] **195** 6
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θεοὺς τοὺς συμβώμους αὐτοῦ καὶ συντε-
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συντελέω – συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττ[η]ς,
τα]χέως **A2** 5
συσπᾶω – συνεσπασμένος τὰ νεῦρα **A1** 7; οἱ
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[σμένοι] **A1** 34
σφάττω – αὐτὸς ἔσφαξεν τὸν ὄνον **168** 8
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Σωτήρων **289** 2
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σωτ]ερίας **A1** 11–12; σωτηρίας π[ορευθεῖς]
A1 22
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ταχὺ **50** 2; συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττ[η]ς,
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αὐτοῦ **183** 4; τούτων τέκνα **183** 5; τῶν τέκ-
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χαῖρε [Ἀ]μ[ενώθῃ] **100** 1; χαῖρε, ταῖκος
Φοίβου, Ἀσκληπιέ, χαῖρε, Ἀμενώθῃ **208** 1
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συντέλει δ' ὅ τι ἂν πράττ[η]ς, τα]χέως **A2** 5
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τυγχάνω – [[οὐ τὰς τυχούσας [ὀδυ]νας ὑπο-
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τ[ε]τυχότας δι' α[ὐτοῦ] **A1** 20–21
υγιάνω – αἶθε ὑὸν (?) [πά]λιν ὑγιᾶναι ἐμὸν . . .
ταχὺ **50** 1
υγιής – οὐκ ἐδύνα[το] ὑγιῆ[ναι] ποιῆσαι **A1** 15;
γενό]μενος ὑγιῆς **A1** 28
υἱός – τῶν υἱῶ **23** 3; υἱὸς **45** 3; αἶθε ὑὸν (?) [πά]λιν
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123 1; Ἰσιδώρου υἱοῦ **185** 2; τοῦ νεοῦ αὐτοῦ
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ἀδελφῶν καὶ υἱῶν **258** 4; Νε . . . νιν . ου υἱοῦ
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ὕμνος – ἀπολείψανθ' ὕμνον ἐκεῖθ[ε] **209** 5
ὑπατεία – [ὑ]πατεῖ[ας] τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶν ἡ[μ]ῶν
[- - -] **TO** . [- - -] ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτω(ν) **AY** . [**163** 1; ὑπατε[ῖ]ας **166** 1; ὑπατείας τῶν δεσ-
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τῶν ἐ[ὕ]γεν[ε]στάτων καὶ ἐπιφ[αν]εστάτων
Καيسάρ[ων] τὸ γ **168** 1
ὑπέρ – ὑπὲρ παιδίου εὐχὴν **B1** 4
ὑπό – **210** 7; **A1** 27; **A1** 33–34; **A1** 37
ὑποθήκη – Ἀμενώτου ὑποθήκαι **A2** 1
ὑπολαμβάνω – ὑπολάμβανε σα . [- - -] φον **A2** 9
ὑποφέρω – [[οὐ τὰς τυχούσας [ὀδυ]νας ὑποφέ-
ρων]] **A1** 10a
φαίνω – τὴν νύκταν αὐτῶν ἐφάνη **208** 6
φανερὸς – ἐν φανερώ **208** 10
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φανερὸς – θεραπευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φανε[ρώ]ως
A1 27; [[φανερῶς παρισταμ[ένου]]] **A1** 35;
[φ]ανερώως [[παρισταμ[ένου]]] ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἀγομ[- - -]θεοῦ **A1** 37
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221 2; φίλων **253** 4; φίλ[ων] **276** 8

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 φρόνησις – φρόνησις ἄσκει μετὰ δικαιοσύνης **A2** 2
 φῶς – χαίρε καὶ ἰητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [κο]ίρανε φωτῶν **219** 1

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208 1; χαίρε καὶ ἰητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [κο]ίρανε φωτῶν **219** 1; χαίρε καὶ ἰλεος ἄμμι **219** 4
 χαλεπός – χαληποῖσ[ι]ν ὑπ' ἄλγεσι **210** 7
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 χρήσιμος – χρησίμους ἤγ[οῦ μὴ τοὺς] σοφούς **A2** 6; ἀλλὰ τὰ χρήσιμ[α] **A2** 14
 χρηστός – ἀφίκετο πρὸς Ἀμενώθην χρηστόν θεὸν **68 a** 1
 χρόνος – [π]ρὸς αἰὲ χρόνον **78** 6; εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον **116** 2; εἰς τὸν αἰ[ε]ὶ χρόνον] **279** 4; ἐπὶ τὸν αἰὲ χρόν[ον] **307** 4; ἐπὶ τὸν [ἀ]εὶ χ[ρόνον] **312** 2; ἐπὶ τὸν αἰ[ε]ὶ [χρόνον] **313** 7; εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον **317** 3; βουλεύου μὲν χρόν[ω] **A2** 4

ὦδε – **124** 3; ὄδε **161** 14; **179** 2; Ἀμενώθην ὦδε ῥέπ[ων] ? **208** 7; ὄδε **287** 3; ὦδε παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀμενώθου **A3** 5
 ὦς – **A1** 13

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ἀγα . . . [. . .] – χαίρε καὶ ἰητήρ καὶ ἀγα . . . [. . .] κοίρανε φωτῶν **219** 1
 ἀγομ[- - -] – ἀγομ[- - -] θεοῦ **A1** 37–38
 ἀρχι() – ἀρχι() **161** 7 (two times); ἀρ]χι(), [β] ἀ[ρ]χι() **163** 6; γ] ἀρχι() **163** 7; ἀρχι() **164** 10; β] ἀρχι() **164** 11; ἀρχι(), β] ἀρχι() **168** 4; [γ] ἀρχι() **168** 5; Χολλῶς Πα[σ]τήμιος ἀρχι() **169** 4; β] ἀρχι() **169** 5; ἀρχι(), β] ἀρχι() **172** 4; ἀρχι . . . (), β] ἀρχι() **173** 4
 [ε]ὕμεν . . . – **100** 3
 ἐϋστε . . . – **210** 3
 ἰατ[ρ - - -] – ἴνα εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἰατ[ρ - - -] **A1** 36
 ὄλοσω[- ὄλοσω[**208** 20
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σα . . . [- - -] – ὑπολάμβανε σα . . . [- - -] φον **A2** 9
 τ . . . [.] . . . ρι – **B2** 2
 χρω[- - -] – ποιῆσαι διὰ πολλοῦ χρω[- - -] **208** 21
 [. . .] αἰρετος – [. . .] αἰρετως **A3** 3
 [. . .] ακε[- - -] – **A2** 18
 [- - -] . . . ΚΑΙΤΟΙ – **A3** 1
 [. . .] κουσι – **93** 6
 [- - -] . . . νοις – **210** 4
 [- - -] ουσ – **210** 8
 [- - -] ρὸς – **216** 2
 [- - -] . . . του – **A3** 2
 [. . .] τ ρὸς – **221** 1
 [- - -] φος – ὑπολάμβανε σα . . . [- - -] φον **A2** 9–10

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primus – τεσσεράριω πρίμα οὐεξιλλατειῶν **208** 2
 tesseraarius – τεσσεράριω πρίμα οὐεξιλλατειῶν **208** 2

vexillatio – τεσσεράριω πρίμα οὐεξιλλατειῶν **208** 2

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- b3h* (in the expression *m-b3h*: before) – *p3 rn nfr* *nfr* (good, beautiful) – *p3 rn nfr Hr s3 Br* **289** 4
 (...) *mn dj m-b3h* [- - -] **289** 4
rn (name) – *p3 rn nfr Hr s3 Br* **289** 4
dj (here) – *p3 rn nfr* (...) *mn dj m-b3h* **289** 4
s3 (son) – *p3 rn nfr Hr s3 Br* **289**
mn (remain) – *p3 rn nfr* (...) *mn dj m-b3h* [- - -]
289 4

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Ionian

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Doric

- Ἀ]σκληπιὸν – **230** 5

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/e/

AI for E

- ταίκος – **208** 1

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- Ἀμενώθες – **124** 5

- Ἀνδροπάνε – **77** 2

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- Μεσορέ – **287** 6

- Παέριος – **58** 2

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- ἠμῆ – **261** 2

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/i/

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- οὐξίλλατειῶνε – **208** 2

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 may also stay for ἱερούς)

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- ἱερίς – **208** 20 (the case is uncertain; ἱερίς
 may also stay for ἱερούς)

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- ἠερεῦς – **77** 3

- Ψῆφης – **109** 2

H for Y

- ύμων – **129** 3; **132** **197** 3 (two times)

- ύμῖν – **129** 3

OI for Y

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- Πεκοῖσις Πκοί(λιος) **168** 6; Πκοί(λιος)
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SYNTAX

Nominative for genitive and inversly with τὸ προσκύνημα. N. b. I do not list the instances of the expression: τὸ προσκύνημα ὁ δεῖνα, frequently occurring in the Deir el-Bahari *proskynemata*, as it not necessarily is a fault.

τὸ προσκύνημα Παμώνθης καὶ Φθ[ο]μώνθης (for Φθομώνθης) υἱὸν Ἀπολλωνίδου **123** 1–2; τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀπ[ο]λωνίδου πατὴρ Παμώνθου ἄρχων καὶ ἐξηγητὴ κα(ἰ) ἀγ(ο)ρανόμος· ὁμοίως μήτηρ Παμώνθου γυνὴ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Ἀπολλωνίδου **123** 7–10; τὸ προσκύνημα (...) Σε[ν]μουθὶς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ (the case is uncertain; it might be a syncope) **124** 7–8; τὸ προσκύνημα (...) Φθομώνθου ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ **124** 8–9; τὸ προσκύνημα Ἀμενώφειος Φθο[---] καὶ Τιθοῆς ἀδελ[φός] **204**; τὸ προσκύνημα Ταυρεῖνος ὃς καὶ Ψενσενπκαμήτιος καὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδ[ελφῶν] καὶ τῆς συνβίῳ (...) καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς **276**; [τὸ] προσκύνημα Σαραπί[ωνος] Ἀπολλωνίδου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐ[τοῦ] καὶ [...]ων ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἄτακ [...]ερ [...]σιδώρου ἀδελφὸς μη[τ]ρ[ό]ς **313** 1–4

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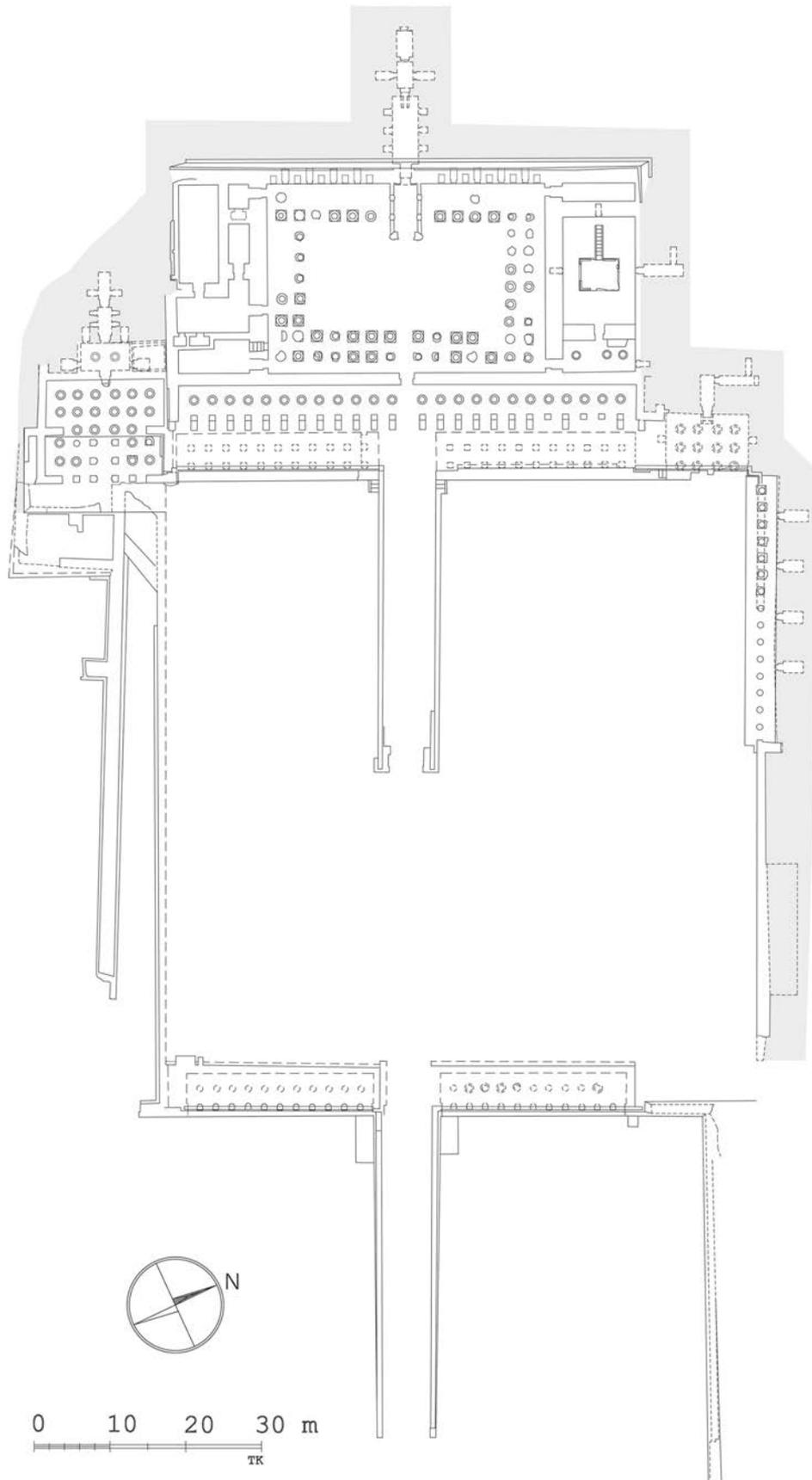
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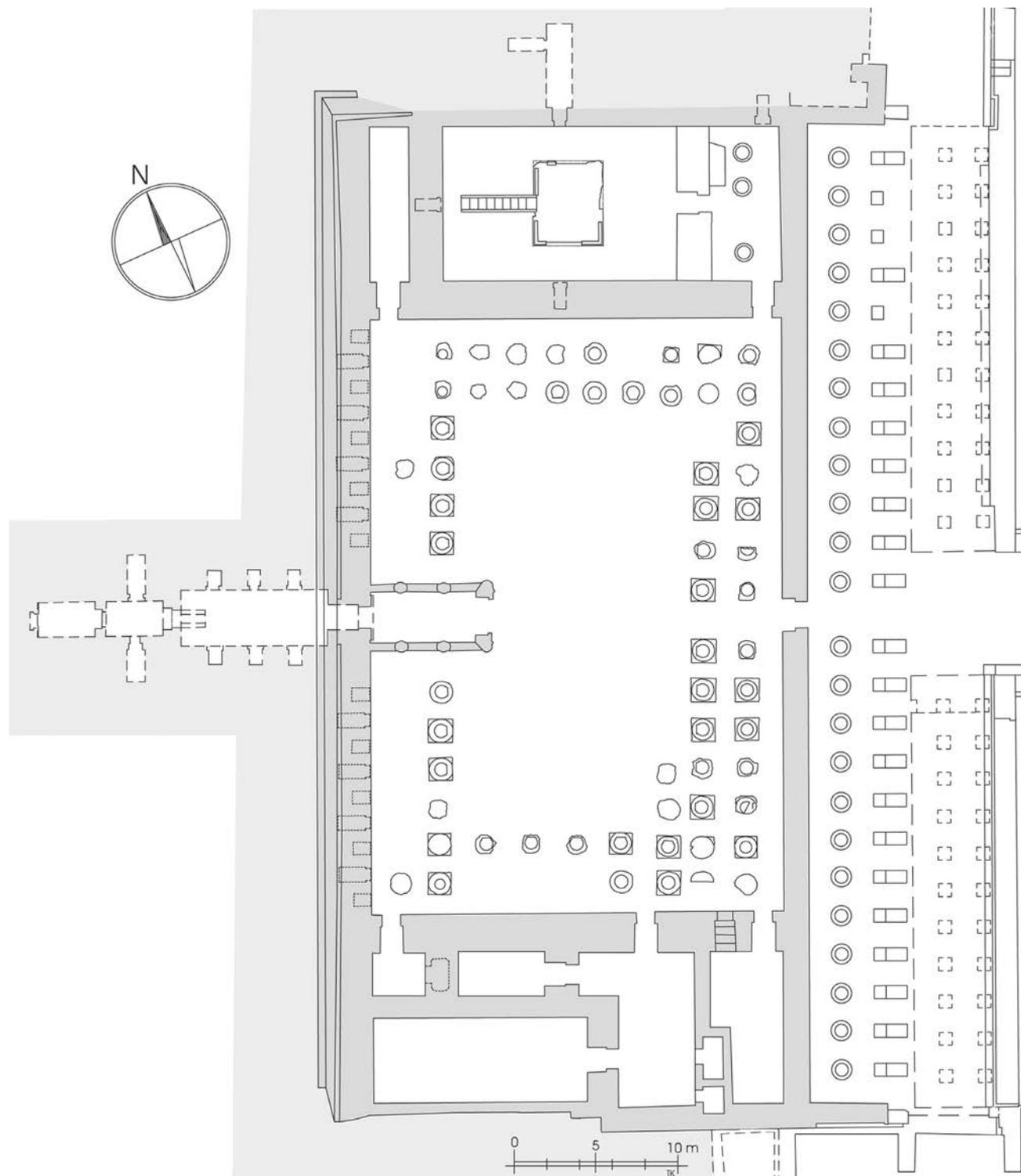
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**DEIR EL-BAHARI
IN THE HELLENISTIC
AND ROMAN PERIODS**

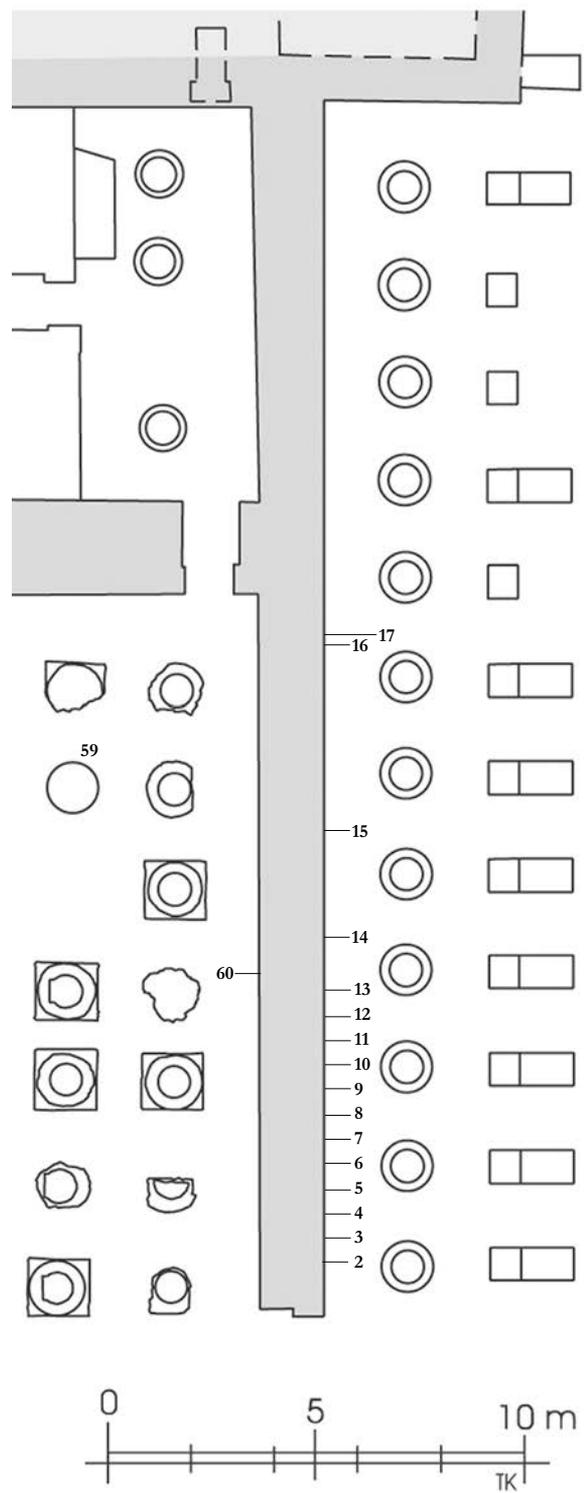
PLANS AND PHOTOGRAPHS



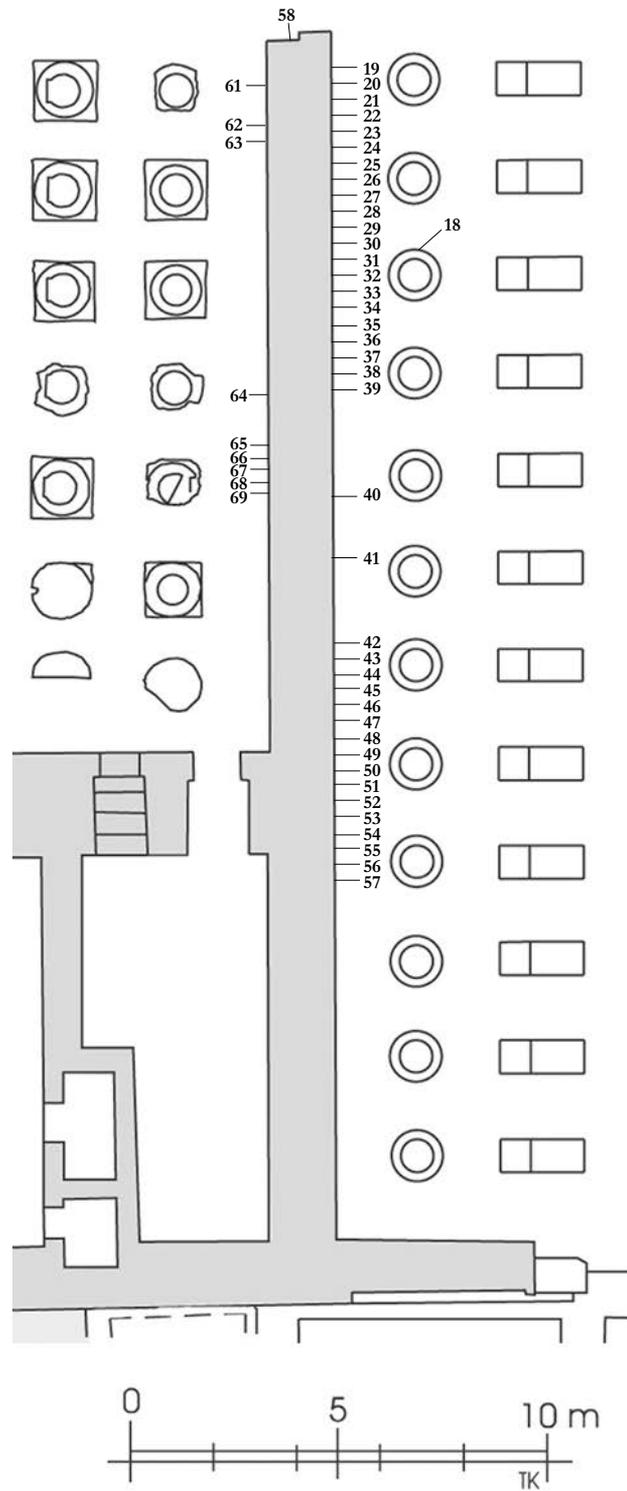
1. General plan of the Hatshepsut temple
(drawn by Teresa Kaczor)



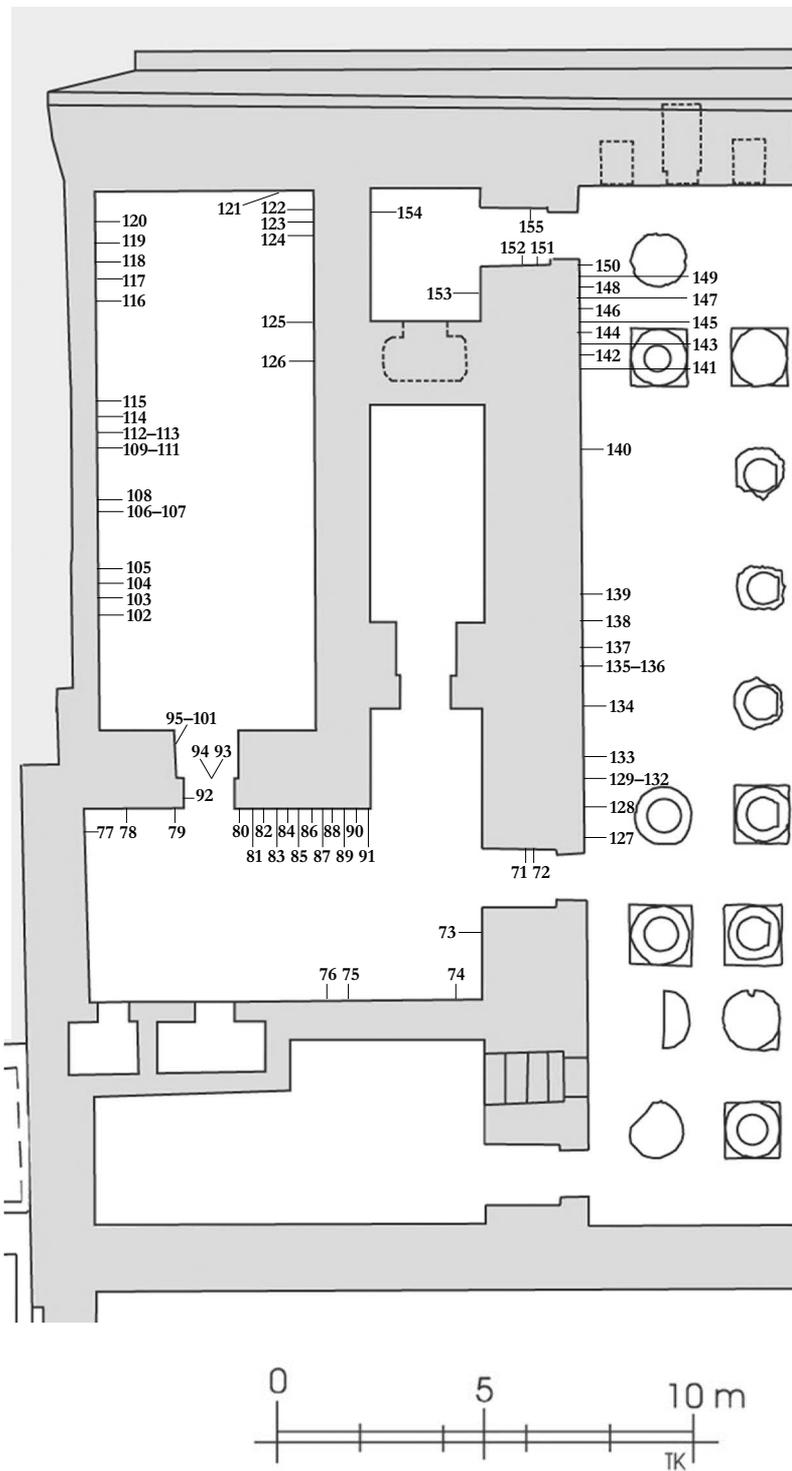
2. Upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple
(drawn by Teresa Kaczor)



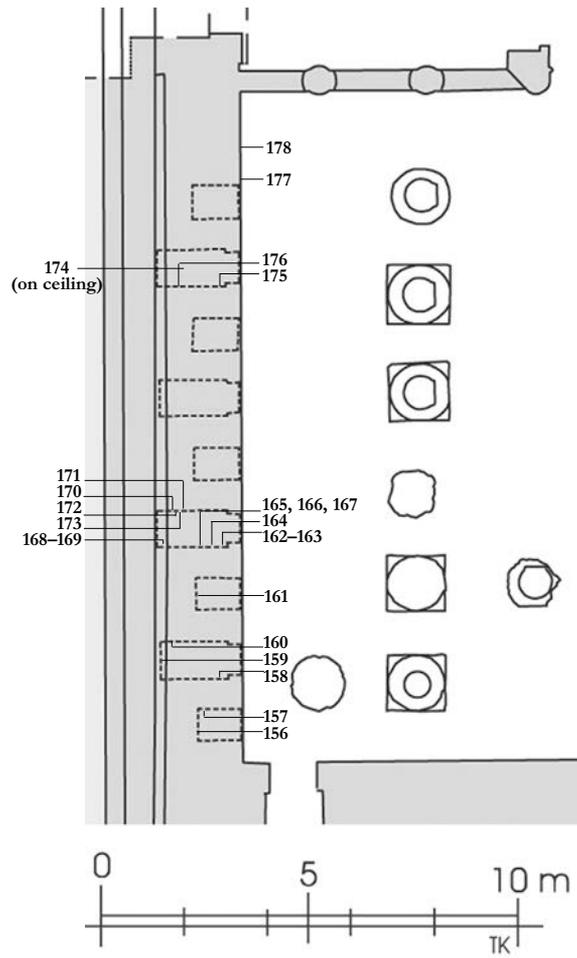
3. Topographical distribution of inscriptions.
Sections II (Upper Portico, Northern Wing) and V (North-East corner
of the Court and North part of the East wall of the Court)



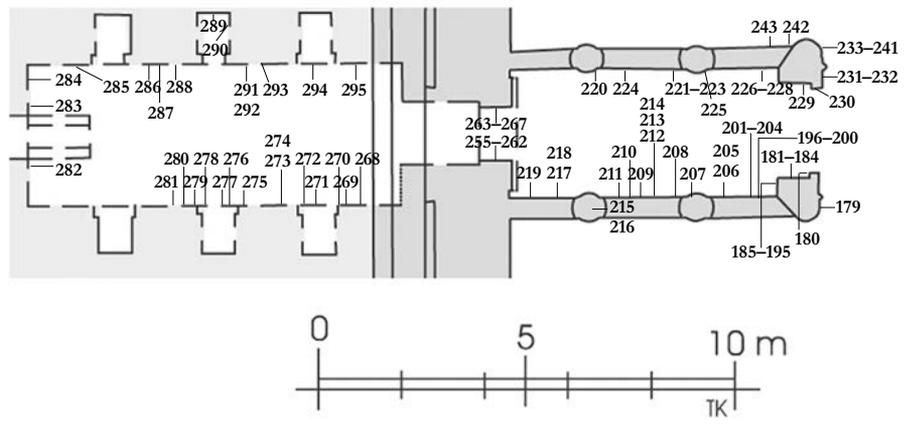
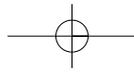
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Sections III (Upper Portico, Southern Wing), IV (Granite Portal between the Portico
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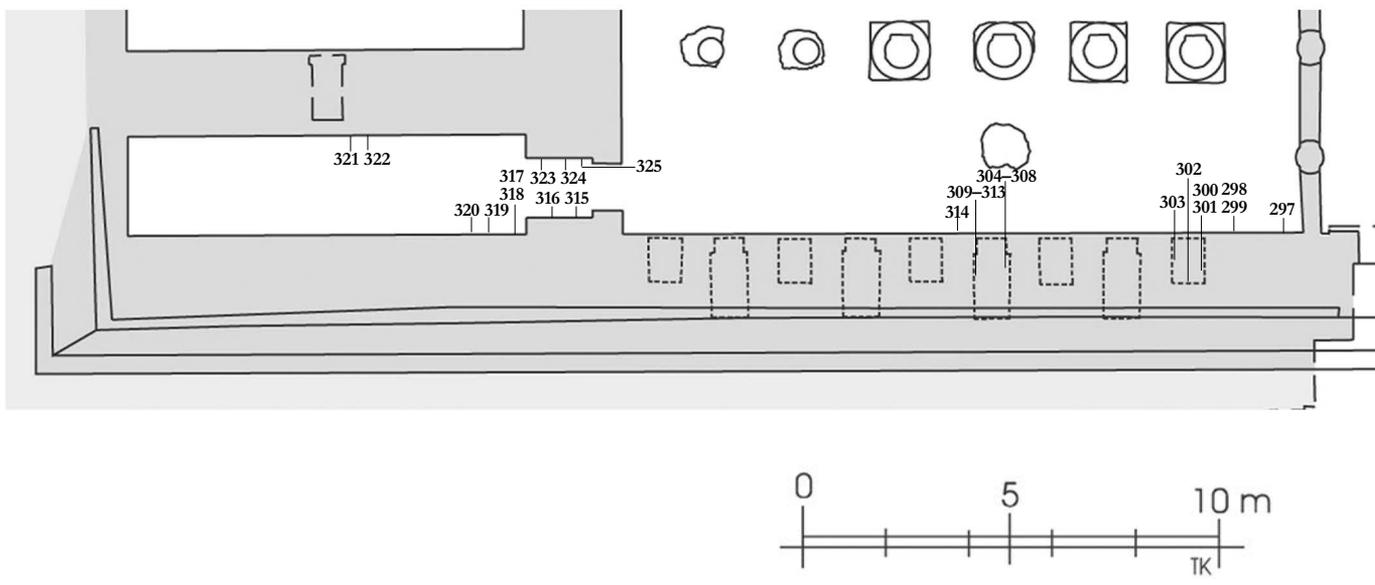
5. Topographical distribution of inscriptions.
Sections VII (Vestibule of the Royal Mortuary Complex), VIII (the Chapel of Hatshepsut),
IX (South wall of the Court) and X (South Chapel of Amun)



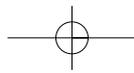
6. Topographical distribution of inscriptions.
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7. Topographical distribution of inscriptions.
Sections XII (Ptolemaic Portico), XIII (Granite Portal in front of the Bark Shrine)
and XIV (Bark Shrine)

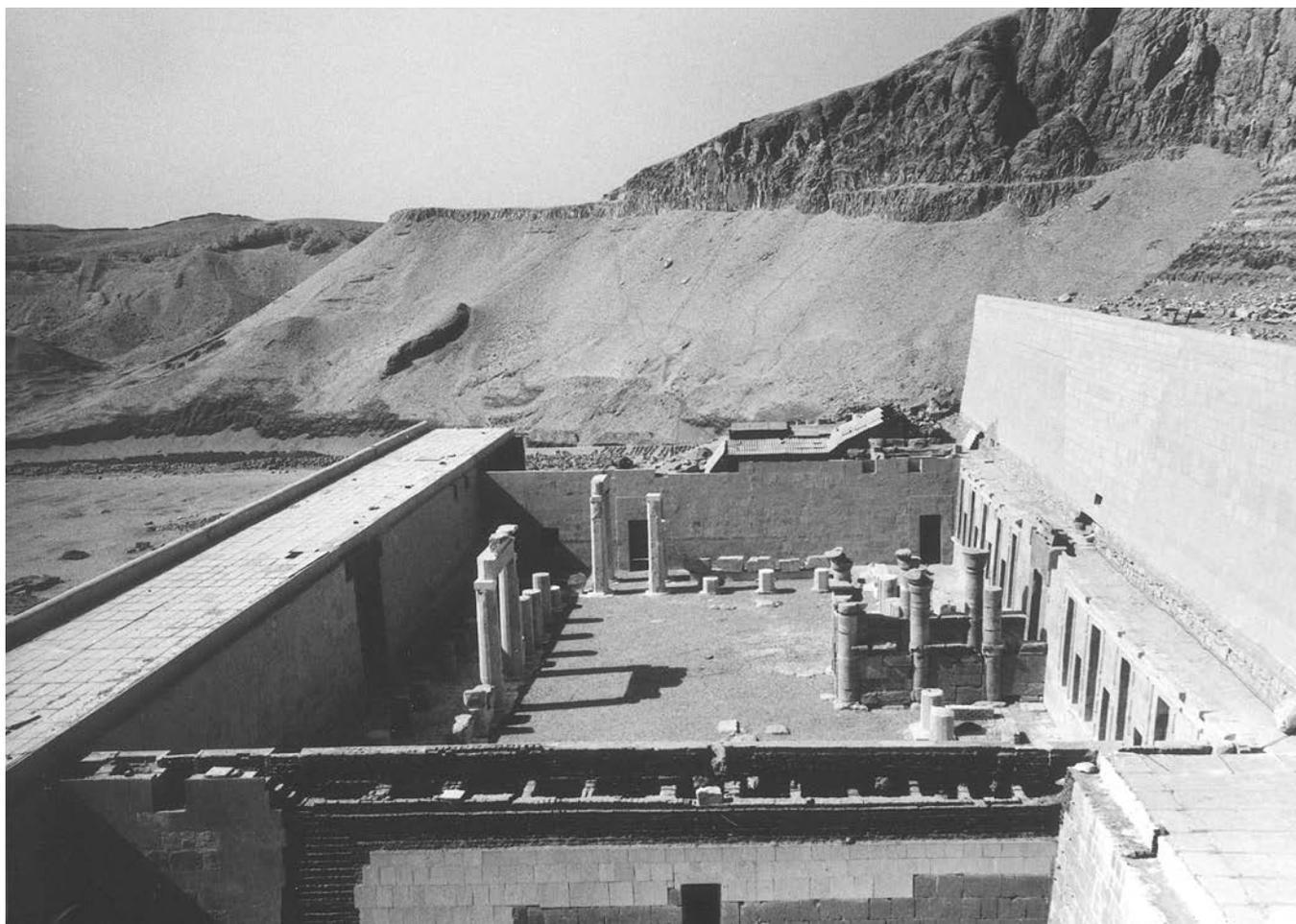


8. Topographical distribution of inscriptions.
Sections XV (West wall of the Court, Northern part)
and XVI (North Chapel of Amun)





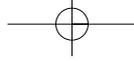
9. Deir el-Bahari valley looking from the South-East. Photo W. Jerke



10. Upper Court after reconstruction in the 1990s. View from the North. Photo W. Jerke



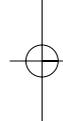
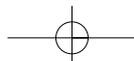
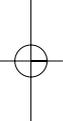
11. South-east corner of the Upper Court after reconstruction in the 1990s. The fourth niche from the left (Niche D) is the one with the inscriptions left by the corporation of iron-workers from Hermonthis. Photo W. Jerke



13. The Ptolemaic Portico and the entrance to the Bark Shrine
after reconstruction in the 1990s. Photo W. Jerke

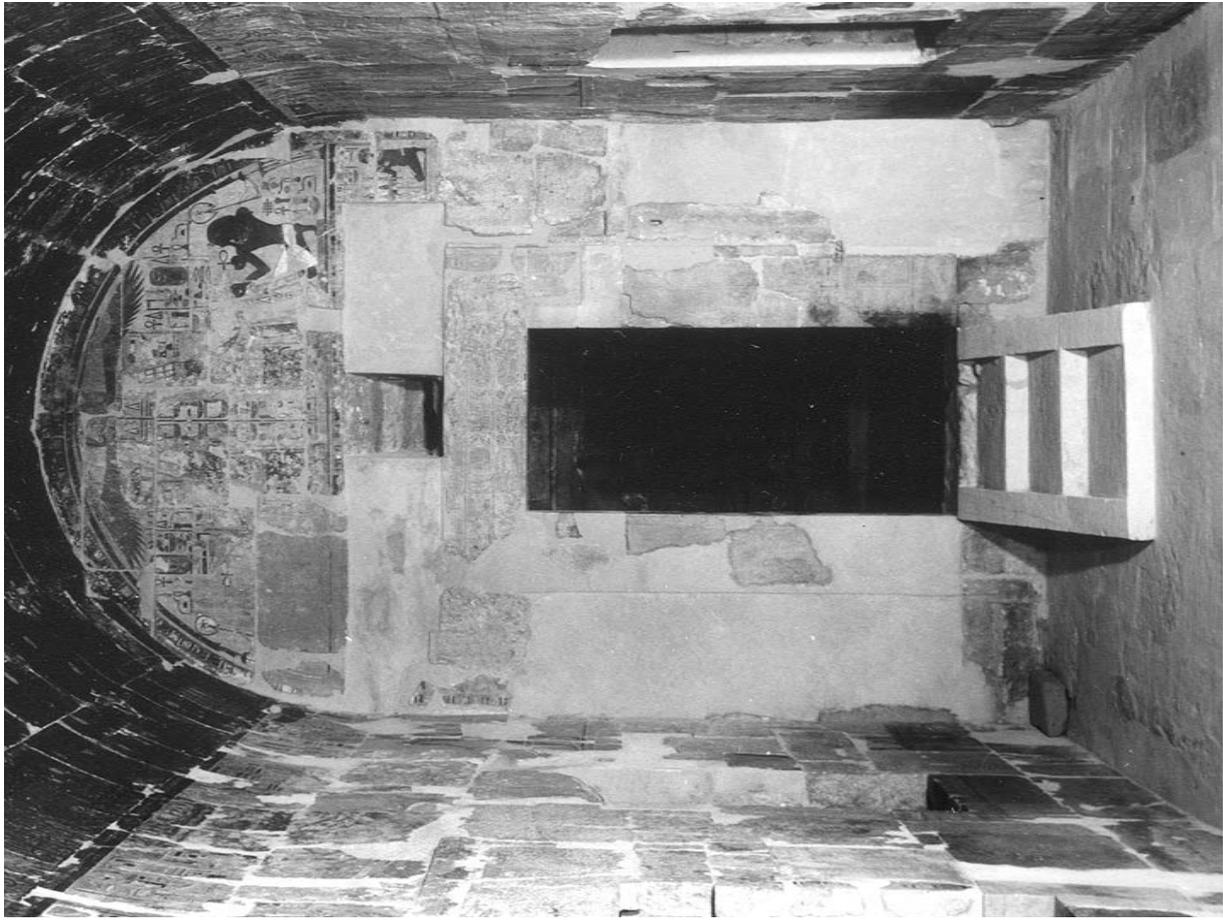


12. The Ptolemaic Portico, the Upper Court and the Granite Portal
between the Upper Court and the Upper Portico after reconstruction in the 1990s.
View from the entrance to the Bark Shrine. Photo W. Jerke





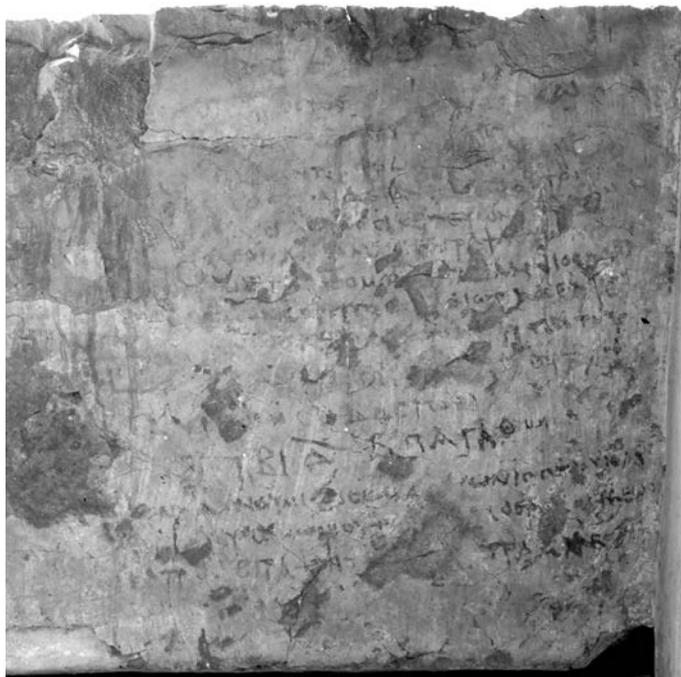
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14. The Bark Shrine after reconstruction in the 1990s. View from the East towards the entrance to the first room of the sanctuary from Graeco-Roman times. Photo W. Jerke



16. The Chapel of Hatshepsut within the Royal Mortuary Complex.
View from the entrance towards the West wall. Photo W. Jerke



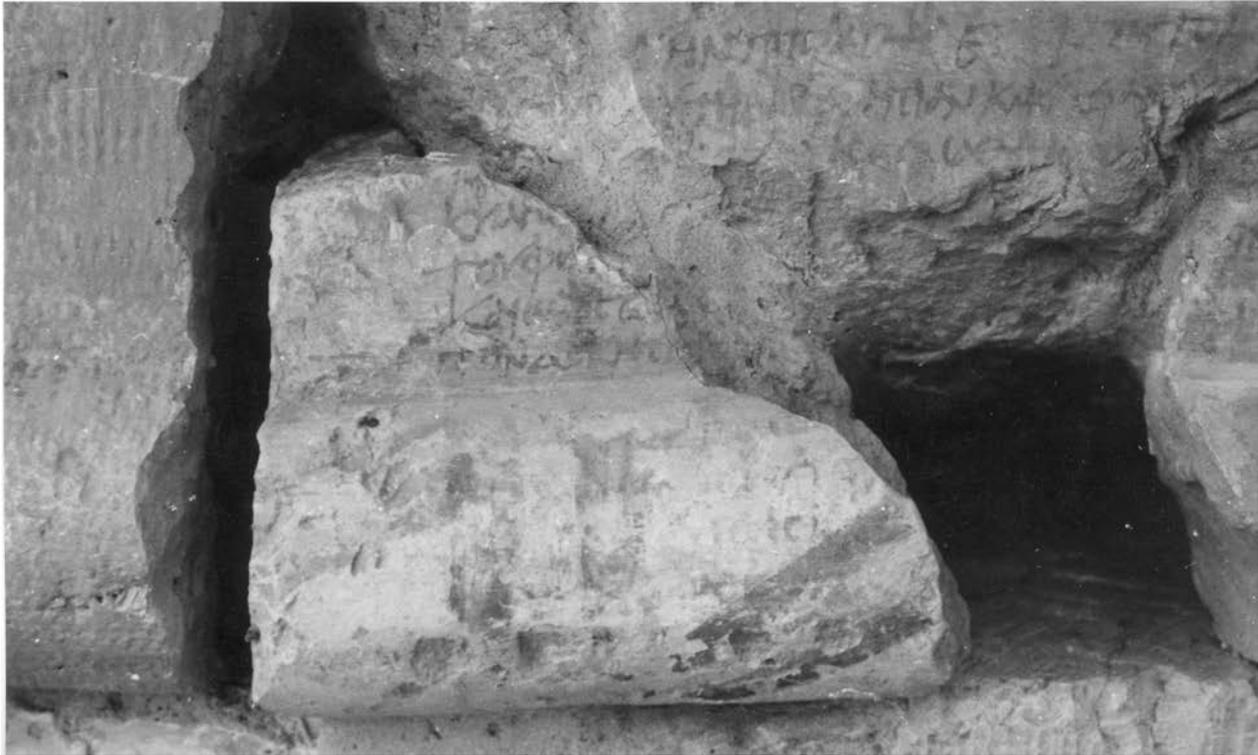
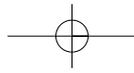
17. Inscriptions 93 and 94. Photo M. Jawornicki



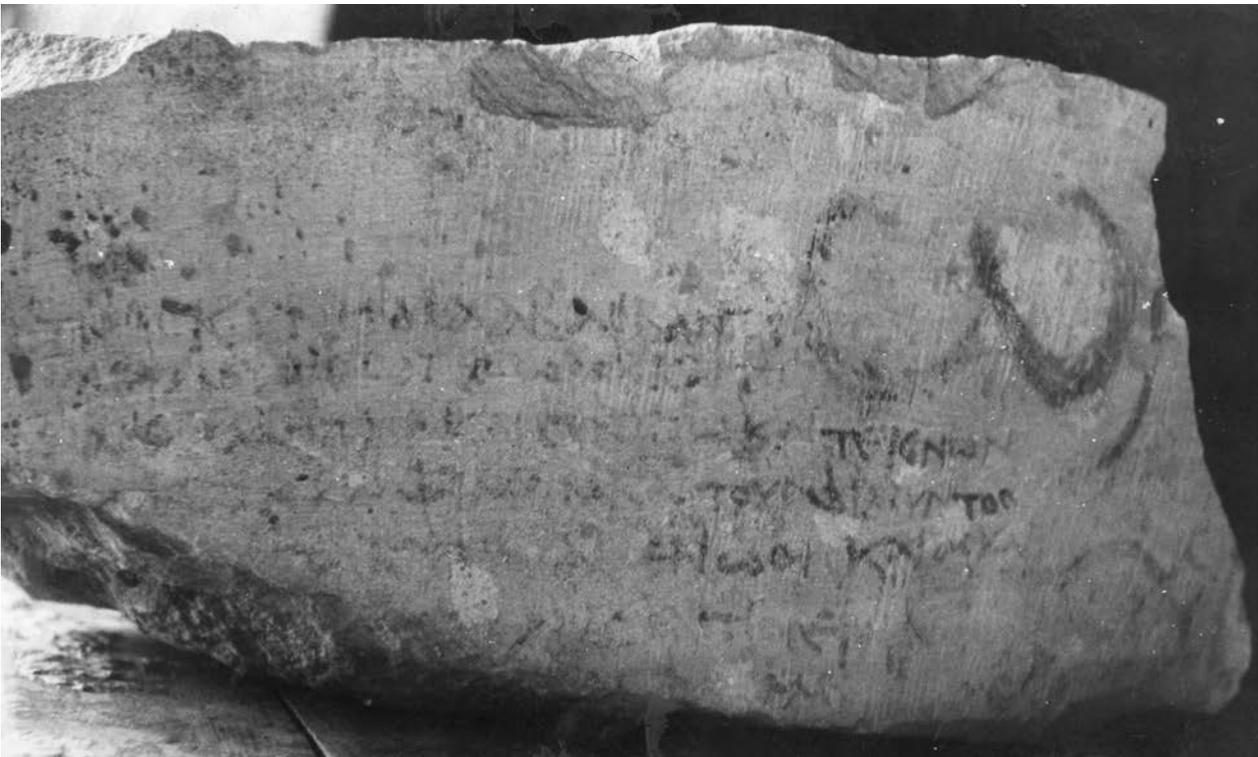
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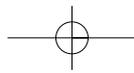
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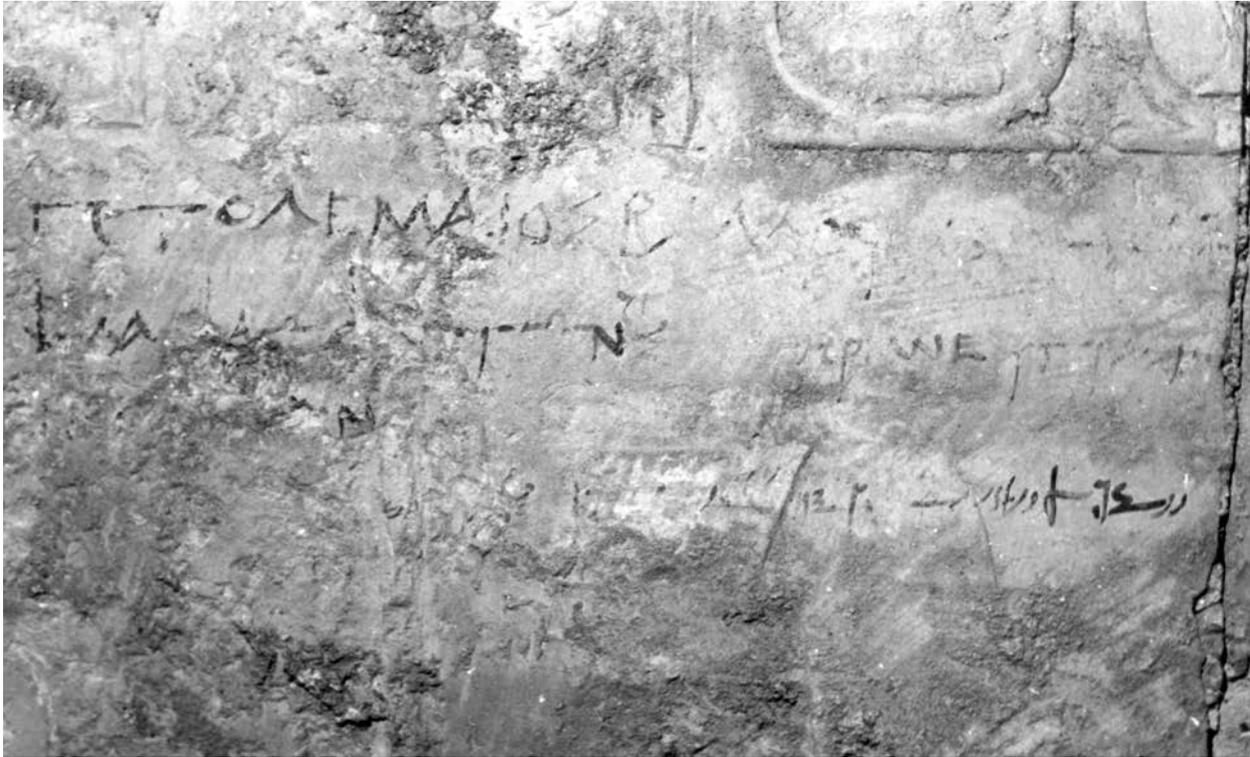


20. Lower left-hand corner of the inscription no. **208**. Photo of the 1960s



21. Inscriptions nos. **253** and **254**. Photo of the 1960s

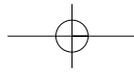




22. Inscription no. **289**. Photo J. Karkowski



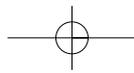
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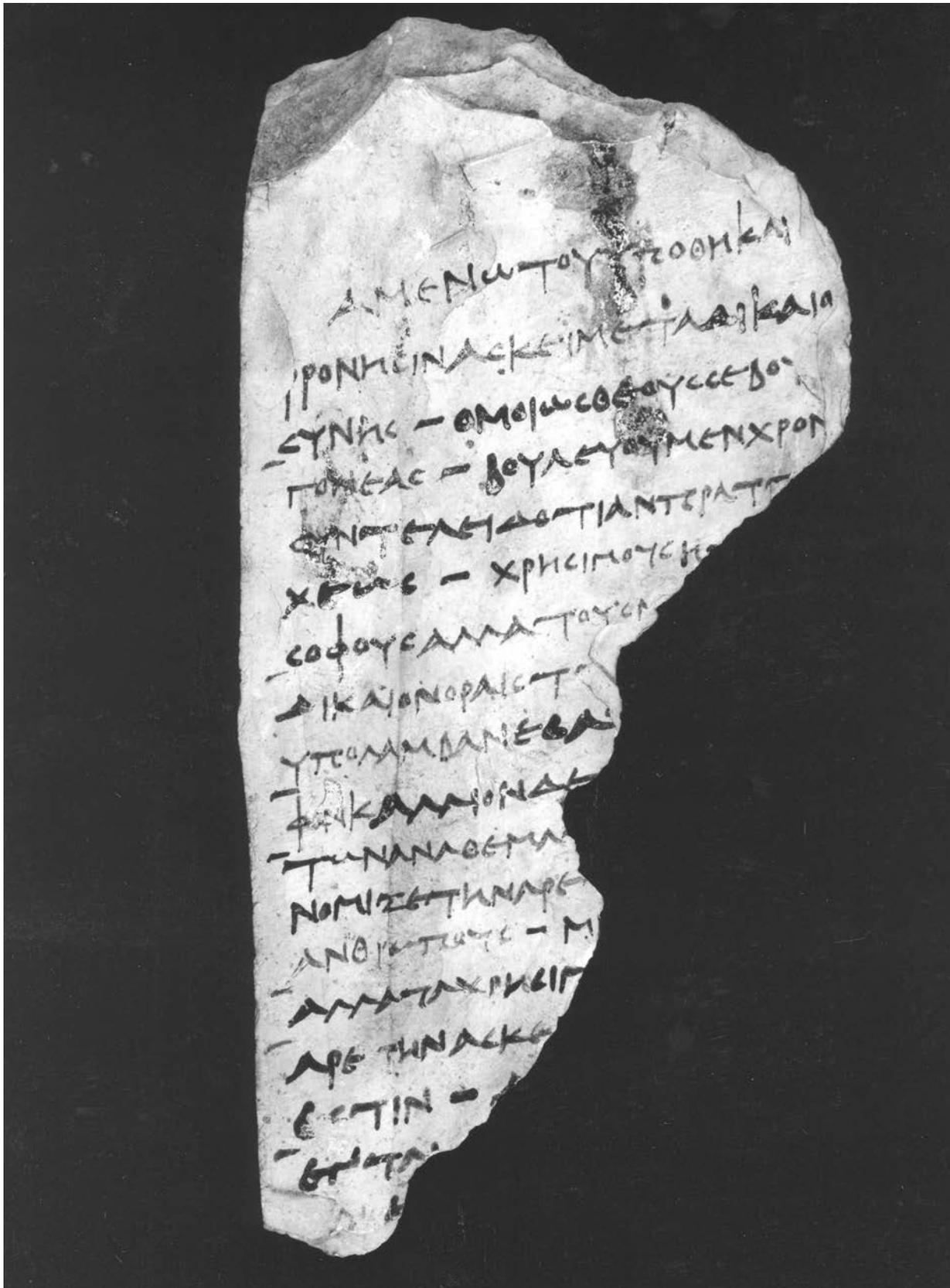


25. Inscription no. **313**. Photo M. Jawornicki

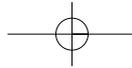




26. The Polyaratos ostrakon (no. A1). Photo after Études de Papyrologie 4 (1938), pl. III



27. Commandments of Amenothēs (no. A2). (c) The British Museum



28. Votive stela (no. **B2**). Photo T. Szmagier

