

Underwater Archaeology in the Canopic Region in Egypt

The Decree of Saiis



Anne-Sophie von Bomhard

The Decree of Sais
The Stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis

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of the Canopic Region in Egypt

The Decree of Saïs The Stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis

by
Anne-Sophie von Bomhard

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Foreword

Since it was unearthed at the end of the nineteenth century, the Naukratis Stele has been studied as one of the premier royal inscriptions of the first millennium BC Egypt, important for its extraordinary perfection and intact condition, the significance of its text, and its remarkable orthography, which exploits all the possibilities of the hieroglyphic writing of its time and for more than half of its length shows little focus on simple communication. A prescient article by the late Jean Yoyotte published in 1958 identified the important place Thone (Thonis) mentioned on the stele as the port at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile also known as Heracleion, as well as proposing the title ‘Decree of Saïs’ for its text.

The astonishing discovery of a second copy of the stele in the excavations of Franck Goddio and his team at the site of Thonis-Heracleion in 2001 provided the ultimate confirmation of Yoyotte’s analysis, as well as presenting a unique opportunity to study in detail how inscriptions were designed and executed. We are extraordinarily lucky to have these two copies, perhaps among a number that would have been set up in other temples in the Saïte nome. A third monument of similar type and dimensions, the Satrap Stele of the future Ptolemy I from seventy years later, is comparably well preserved.

The condition of that stele fits with the interpretation of Franck Goddio and Anne-Sophie von Bomhard, that the stelae were deliberately buried in troubled times in order to preserve them and their provisions, which related to temple income, for the Decree of Saïs primarily from dues and for the Satrap Stele from land endowments.

Anne-Sophie von Bomhard’s publication of the stelae of Naukratis and Thonis-Heracleion reviews in detail all aspects of their design, physical execution including recarvings and erasures, lunettes, and texts, proceeding to a wide-ranging discussion of the decree’s implications. She also provides tables of differences between the stelae and an exhaustive index of words. She exploits current technology to present objects in excellent colour photographs alongside facsimile drawings, creating a work that is easy to use and a pleasure to the eye. And in two appendices she extends her discussion to issues that arise from distinctive elements on the stelae, gathering a remarkable range of evidence.

This rich and informative presentation makes a unique pair of monuments exceptionally accessible. Anne-Sophie von Bomhard’s monograph will also be most valuable for its innovative interpretations, notably of cosmographic aspects and temporal implications of the scenes in the lunettes.

*John Baines
Oxford, October 2012*

Preface

The discovery of the ancient, and currently submerged, mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile by the *Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine* (IEASM) under the direction of Franck Goddio is an archaeological event of exceptional importance. This successful enterprise was made possible through the conjunction of several factors. To begin with, there is the expertise of Franck Goddio and his team in the investigation and interpretation of an enormous drowned landscape. As Goddio put it: 'the traditional visual reconnaissance method was totally unrealistic for the entire vast area and inefficient even in specific areas.'¹ The material remains of this submerged landscape are buried beneath layers of sand, sediment, and concretions and working underwater was hampered by the waters of Aboukir bay, where visibility is often less than a metre and at best only a few metres. Above all, the zone of research extended over an impressive 110 km².

A second factor explaining the wide range of results during a relatively short time is international, and interdisciplinary, scientific co-operation covering such different domains as geology, palaeology, marine geology, zoology, sedimentology, etc. As Goddio noted: 'Our multidisciplinary approach, which was new in underwater archaeology, turned out to be extremely efficient and well suited to the immensity of the zone under study and the problems it presented.'²

The third and determining factor is the support of the Hilti Foundation. They are not only involved with

the archaeological research itself, but also with the organization of scientific conferences and the publication of research work. The Hilti Foundation supported the foundation of a centre for the study of maritime archaeology which resulted, in 2003, in the creation of the Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology (OCMA) at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

In the first monograph published by the Centre (OCMA 1), Goddio presented the full cartography of the submerged areas: to the west, adjacent to the current coastline, the part of Canopus currently under water, and to the east, the site of the Canopic mouth of the Nile itself, the town of Thonis-Heracleion, its temple and main buildings, and the configuration of the port with its canals, lakes and basins.³ The Stele of Thonis was discovered within the temple compound. It is a double of the one known as the 'Naukratis Stele' discovered a hundred years earlier, at the end of the nineteenth century. In this work, the stele is called the 'Stele of Thonis-Heracleion', and not of 'Heracleion-Thonis', because its creation dates from the time when the town was known by the Egyptian name of 'Thonis'. The name of 'Heracleion' stems from the identification by the Greeks of Khonsu, the divine son of Amun and Mut, with their god Herakles.⁴ The spelling of Heracleion with a 'c' instead of a 'k' was decided when this town was discovered, in order to distinguish it from the town of Herakleion on the Island of Crete.⁵

1 Goddio 2007: 19.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.: 2007.

4 Yoyotte 2010: 36.

5 Cole 2007: XV.

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to Franck Goddio for having entrusted the study of the stele of Thonis-Heracleion to me. The monument is remarkable in more than one respect: it displays the decree already known from the stele of Naukratis, and it was found on the site of the town whose name is written in the decree, Thonis, the customs port located at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile.

The extraordinary state of preservation of the stele allows us to appreciate the perfection of both the composition and the execution of the monument. I particularly thank Franck Goddio for letting me work with his cast of the stele, which was produced by the application of techniques he himself has perfected.¹ This cast, made by Georges Brocot and precise to the order of one micron, is of considerable help when it comes to reading signs that are problematic, slightly effaced, or damaged. It allows the perception of all the details of the engraving, and brings to light elements which would otherwise have been neglected or overlooked on the Naukratis stele, such as the presence of the sign of Neith's name on the hood of the two uraei on either side of the disk of the sun, and the deliberately increased depth of engraving of certain hieroglyphs, or the small details of markings which are found only on the Thonis stele. The cast will also greatly facilitate an upcoming detailed palaeographic study of the monument.

The comparative study of each sign on the two steles of Thonis and Naukratis was only made possible by Brigitte Vallée's special photographic sessions. The one for the Naukratis stele in Cairo was organised by Mrs Amani Badr, to whom I extend my thanks. I am particularly grateful to Dr Wafaa El-Sadiik, then director

of the Cairo Museum, for her generous authorization and her very warm reception. Due to her efficiency we were able to use lighting and furniture which allowed us to examine every detail and take photographs of the Naukratis stele. For the Thonis stele, Mrs Susanne Kleine, project manager at the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle in Bonn, arranged a similar session with special authorization from Dr. Christoph Vitali, Otto Lindner, and Professor Dr. Hermann Schäfer, from the Bonn museum, who allowed us to work on a day when the exhibition was closed. We are very grateful to the entire staff of the museum for their good will and helpful kindness.

I further wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all those who have participated in the creation of this work: Damian Robinson and Linda Hulin in charge of publishing the series, the photographers Christoph Gerigk and Brigitte Vallée, the draughtswomen Amélie L'Amoulen and Brigitte Vallée, the production designer of the book and his team, as well as my husband Ludwig von Bomhard for typing the text, translating it, reproducing the hieroglyphs and transliterations, and composing the layout for the initial printed version.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to the members of the Oxford Centre of Maritime Archaeology (OCMA), composed of outstanding experts in various different disciplines, always enthusiastic about the surprising discoveries produced by each new mission, and every one of them prolific in the rich and varied information they contribute during meetings, conventions, or simple conversations. It is a great pleasure and no less an honour to be able to participate in this fascinating adventure.

¹ Goddio and Darwish 1998: 7–8; Bernand and Goddio 2002: 52–9; Goddio 2003a: 55–8; 2003b: 155.

Introduction

In his detailed etymological study of the toponym Thone, Yoyotte wrote that the monument known as ‘The Stele of Naukratis’ should better be called the ‘Decree of Saïs.’¹ His suggestion to apply this term to the text of the Naukratis stele, as well as now to that of the stele of Thonis-Heracleion, should be generally adopted, because Saïs is the town where the decree was promulgated. The stele of Thonis-Heracleion is a duplicate of the stele of Naukratis, in form as well as content, with the exception of the place names where these two monuments were to be set up, which appear in the last columns of each stele, and a number of small differences in presentation or spelling. The reader can find the differences in the Synoptic overview of orthographic and figurative variations, and the various spellings of one and the same word in the Index of Egyptian Words.

The first impression of the stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis, apart from their excellent state of preservation, is their perfect execution and the simple, classical beauty of the scene in their lunettes and of the signs in their text. These qualities and the very special spelling, which widens the number and increases the variety of the hieroglyphs, justify a palaeographic study of the decree, to be published separately.² The unusual orthography of the words is another point of interest. As regards the Naukratis stele, Maspero, who was first to publish it, noticed what he termed ‘orthographe singulière’, with the frequent use of alphabetical characters, of which he cited various examples.³ Erman and Wilcken, who shared this approach, added several further instances.⁴ However, Piehl disagreed, arguing that such features were already present in inscriptions from the same period, or slightly earlier, to be found regularly in Ptolemaic temples.⁵ Posener, however, suggested that one of the characteristics of the spelling in the decree ‘... réside dans les différences d’orthographe que peut présenter un même mot’,⁶ and supported Drioton’s observation that one of the rules of Egyptian cryptography was:

*... qu’une même articulation doit être rendue par une série aussi variée que possible de signes, et que le même signe doit valoir pour le plus grand nombre possible d’articulations.*⁷

Both of Drioton’s points are largely illustrated in the text of the Decree of Saïs. What may be doubted, however, is the ‘cryptographic’ purpose of the designer of the text, i.e., the decision to render certain passages difficult to read. Using examples of the different spellings of certain words or expressions, such as ‘Great Green’, *w3d-wr*, and ‘reckoned for the benefit of’, *hsb r* (see Index of Egyptian words), Posener demonstrated that these variations are not meant to hinder the reading, and that the theory of a cryptographic intent may be disregarded.⁸ He further showed that these variations do not result from practical considerations either, such as the necessity to lengthen or shorten certain words for reasons of available space. Posener stated that one is led to believe that ‘... la dissimilation graphique de la stèle de Naukratis est uniquement un raffinement d’écriture’, and continued: ‘... cette recherche de variantes est bien dans l’esprit de ce que nous connaissons des artistes et des lettrés saïtes.’⁹

Drioton had already identified the procedures which can be observed on the Decree of Saïs in his study of cryptographic texts from the end of the eighteenth dynasty:¹⁰ alphabetically spelt words without a determinative,¹¹ unusual syllabics, certain words reduced to their root-sign or determinative, obsolete archaic plurals,¹² and intentional graphic pitfalls,¹³ of which several interesting examples are found in the Decree of Saïs. Drioton further wondered about the significance of the cryptography or, more precisely, about the true reasons for rendering certain passages difficult to read, because among the texts he collected for his study, three are drawn from funerary formulae which the dead usually wish the living to pronounce, and which therefore should be attractive to the reader.¹⁴ He supposed that the use of cryptography, at least in these cases, was intended to encourage the reading of these repetitive and rather monotonous formulae:

*en proposant un texte dont l’aspect piquât la curiosité, tabler sur l’amour, traditionnel en Egypte, des énigmes pour faire déchiffrer à grand-peine ce qu’il importait seulement de faire lire ...*¹⁵

1 Yoyotte 1958: 430.

2 von Bomhard forthcoming.

3 Maspero 1900: 40–1.

4 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 127.

5 Piehl 1902: 90–1; see also Schweitzer 2003: 376, 379.

6 Posener 1934: 141.

7 Ibid.: 142 note 2; Drioton 1933: 11.

8 Posener 1934: 142.

9 Ibid.: 142; see also Der Manuelian 1994: 97–8.

10 Drioton 1933.

11 Ibid.: 9; 1949: 119.

12 Drioton 1933: 9.







13 Ibid.: 14.

14 Ibid.: 49–50.

15 Ibid.: 50.

The use of ‘un raffinement d’écriture’, as Posener put it, which would be aimed at experts in scripture. This hypothesis of juggled spelling as an explanation for the use of the alphabetical orthography on the Decree of Saïs seems more enticing than the Greek influence evoked by Maspero, and upheld by Gunn.¹⁶ Such particularities, as Posener noted, appear only in some parts of the text:¹⁷ in the important, informative passages which constitute the contents of the decree itself, the designer has written the words in their colloquial form. Unusual spellings are, on the contrary, restricted to habitually set expressions concerning the qualities of the ruler; as such, they seem mostly composed for the intention of literate Egyptians and those in the habit of reading such formulae. In a way, the spelling of certain hieroglyphic passages reflects what can be noted also in the cursive writing of certain hieratic texts: a so-called ‘tachygraphie de répétition’ concerns repetitive terms well known to the reader, and excludes informative or new notions.¹⁸ Here, however, the purpose is different, because in cursive writing the aim is speed, whereas in hieroglyphic texts it is refinement. The origin of the juggled spelling, which is facilitated by the very nature of hieroglyphic writing, probably reaches far back in time. As regards the alphabetic language in the decree, Posener stated that ‘la plupart des particularités graphiques et grammaticales des textes saïtes s’expliquent par des emprunts à l’Ancien Empire’, and that ‘il faudrait rechercher si la dissimilation graphique n’a pas la même origine’.¹⁹ The archaic trend is evident on the Decree, and has been emphasized recently by de Meulenaere.²⁰

Certain turns of phrase, as well as the shapes of most hieroglyphs on both stelae, are borrowed from ancient times, as are the balanced composition and the sobriety of style of the signs. Magnificently sculpted in incised relief, as is usual on monuments standing in the open, the signs and scenes depicted on the lunette bear witness to a remarkable mastery of the technique of engraving. One glance is enough to perceive that these stelae were produced in the same workshop. In addition, the identical decoration and composition, the use of the same particular variations of spelling found in the same passages and for the same words, the same choice of hieroglyphs and the same combinations of words—all these points demonstrate irrefutably that a single designer was behind both monuments. However, several observations lead to the suggestion that the two stelae were not engraved by the same person. The hieroglyphs, especially those most currently used, closely resemble, and very probably indicate, the style of one single workshop; as soon as the signs are less frequent, however, the engraving grows more individual and shows certain differences. Taking the group of birds as an example, the

most common ones like   or the *wr* bird  are very similar on the two stelae. However, the less frequently used bird *gm* , which appears towards the bottom of column 3, looks different from one monument to the other: the bird stands much higher, and its neck is more softly curved on Naukratis than on Thonis-Heracleion. Several other hieroglyphs were also treated differently: the  sign behind the king on both sides of the lunette is detailed more precisely on Thonis. Others, like that of the scimitar (high on column 3), or that of the temple of Neith (end of column 12), were interpreted differently by the two engravers. One also notes different ‘graphic habits’ peculiar to each artist: on Thonis, for instance, the *hm* sign  for ‘Majesty’, when it is determined by the hawk on its standard, is set on the standard itself. On Naukratis, on the other hand, the sign is each time separate from it (columns 2, 7, 13 on both stelae, and 8 only on Naukratis). All these slight differences between the texts of the two stelae will be discussed in more detail in the palaeographic study, and will illustrate the point that these two copies of the decree were engraved by two different artists. The two engravers, who were both masters of their art, created signs of classical, pure and elegant shapes without any of the flabbiness or unsightly roundness typical of the Ptolemaic period. On the other hand, the numerous spelling variations of the same words appearing in the same place on either stele clearly indicate that one and the same designer created the text for both stelae. Such variations may have the same goal as Meeks attributed to the profusion of forms of a hieroglyph:

*le foisonnement des formes, à l’époque gréco-romaine, obéit moins à un besoin de fantaisie sans frein qu’à la volonté, en traçant toujours plus de textes utilisant une variété sans cesse accrue de signes, d’offrir aux dieux pour les glorifier leur création dans son infinie diversité.*²¹

Another important element employed in a masterly fashion by the designer of both stelae is the use of light. Meeks wrote: ‘L’éclairage, élément totalement extérieur à la morphologie du signe, ne peut faire partie de l’étude paléographique.’²² Still, an engraver creates a hieroglyph with a view to the light it is expected to receive, and its shape will therefore not necessarily be the same, engraved in incised relief (for display outside), or in raised relief (for inside conditions). Unlike two-dimensional painted hieroglyphs, where light has no effect on their contours, engraved signs are three-dimensional, and changing lighting conditions will enhance or reduce their depth and relief. As Brigitte Vallée put it, the very essence of epigraphy consists in writing with the light.²³ Light becomes an instrument that the engraver uses as

16 Maspero 1900: 41; Gunn 1943: 56.

17 Posener 1934: 145.

18 von Bomhard 1998: 15–17.

19 Posener 1934: 142–3 note 5.

20 de Meulenaere 2003: 427–8, 432.

21 Meeks 2007: 6.

22 Ibid.

23 Vallée pers. comm.

much as the chisel itself. Furthermore, a sign cannot be isolated from its context, nor the text from the monument on which it is written. Lighting depends on the orientation of the building, on openings in the walls or ceilings, and it varies with the hours of the day and the time of the year. It must be assumed that all these criteria were taken into account by a master engraver. Most probably, the artists did indeed work with all these elements in mind. The relationship between the orientation of a monument and the course of the sun has already been emphasized, for example by Žába, Leitz, Maravelia and Shaltout, or Gabolde.²⁴ A highly interesting study covering 330 Egyptian temples was conducted on the orientation of these buildings.²⁵ Pécoil studied the movement of the shadows of the great pylon in the courtyard of Edfu during the year, and their possible influence upon the positioning of the texts displayed there.²⁶ The idea is even more attractive given the existence of a sundial coupled with a model of a small temple pylon.²⁷ Gulyás, investigating the meaning of the Osiris Pillars in the Amun-Re temple of Ramses III at Karnak, demonstrated that ‘the sun god Amun-Re filled the Osiris-king with his power. Not just through the reliefs, but also in reality, as the sun illuminated the statues of the king every day.’²⁸ He concluded his study with the observation that ‘Decoration, rites, hymns and physical reality are thus

fused into a complex unity, and it is exactly this complexity that makes the study of temple reliefs and decorations still a relatively unexplored field of research.’²⁹

The two stelae of Thonis and Naukratis were meant to stand independently, in the light of the sun, and the designer assuredly took the light into account, since certain signs on both monuments are intentionally chiselled in a much deeper relief than the others (see *infra*, Figure 3.11). The intention was probably to insist on the particular importance of such sequences. It would seem that palaeographic studies would do well to consider the light which engravings were expected to receive. In addition to these light effects and the ‘jeux d’écriture’ conceived by the designer, which are common to both stelae, it would appear that the artist who worked on the stele of Thonis-Heracleion took the initiative to mark certain particular signs, which had been carefully chosen by the designer because of their possible symbolic or topographic signification (see *infra*, Chapter Five).

The recent discovery of a second example of this same decree of Saïs provides an opportunity to revisit the terms and content of Nectanebo I’s decisions, which have already been studied on the Naukratis stele, to closely examine the craftsmanship and the variations that went into both monuments, and to appreciate the symbolic elements that influenced their composition.

24 Žába 1953: 61; Leitz 1991: 8–9, 70–9; Maravelia and Shaltout 2003: 7–10; Gabolde 2009: 293–5.

25 Belmonte *et al.* 2009.

26 Pécoil 1986.

27 Aufrère 1991: 194 note 32.

28 Gulyás 2007: 39.

29 *Ibid.*: 43.

I The discovery of the stelae of Naukratis and Thonis-Heracleion

The Naukratis Stele

The Naukratis stele (Cairo Museum JE 34002) was unearthed at the end of the nineteenth century. An unpublished note written by Daressy, reported by Yoyotte, records that the stele was recovered by chance in 1899, on land belonging to Hussein Kamal, uncle of the Khedive, and known as Kom Halfaya.¹ According to Hogarth, it was found close to the centre of a ‘southern area’ referred to by Petrie as ‘the Great Temenos’, an area that Hogarth himself considered to be the centre of a town called Pi-emrô.² Pi-emrô, or *pr-mryt*, the ‘House of the Port’ was the Egyptian name of Naukratis, as cited in column ten of both the stelae of Naukratis and Thonis-Heracleion.

Petrie had identified Naukratis during his first mission to the site in 1884. He published his discovery of the remains of Naukratis in his 1885 notes in *The Academy*.³ He went on to describe a massive mud brick enclosure of slightly less than 300 × 250 metres, the Great Temenos,⁴ which he believed to be the *Hellenion*, a sanctuary that, according to Herodotus,⁵ was created jointly by all the major cities of Asia Minor. Later, Hogarth located the *Hellenion* further north.⁶

In the southern part of the site, Petrie discovered some traces of a pylon, which probably lay behind the enclosure, and which could be dated to Ptolemy II Philadelphus on the basis of a cartouche found with the foundation deposits.⁷ This pylon in the northern section of the west wall (Figures 1.1, 1.2) must have been part of an Egyptian temple of which nothing remains, and which would have been situated in the northern part of the compound surrounded by the enclosure. On the basis of the fragments found, a dromos composed of white marble rams and pink granite sphinxes must have led up to the pylon (Figure 1.2). In the southern part of the Great Temenos, Petrie described the remains of a brickwork construction which he called ‘the Great Mound’ and interpreted as a great fortified storage building (Figure 1.1).⁸

When he was unable to locate the structure of the great enclosure described by Petrie, Hogarth queried its existence and supposed that what Petrie had seen

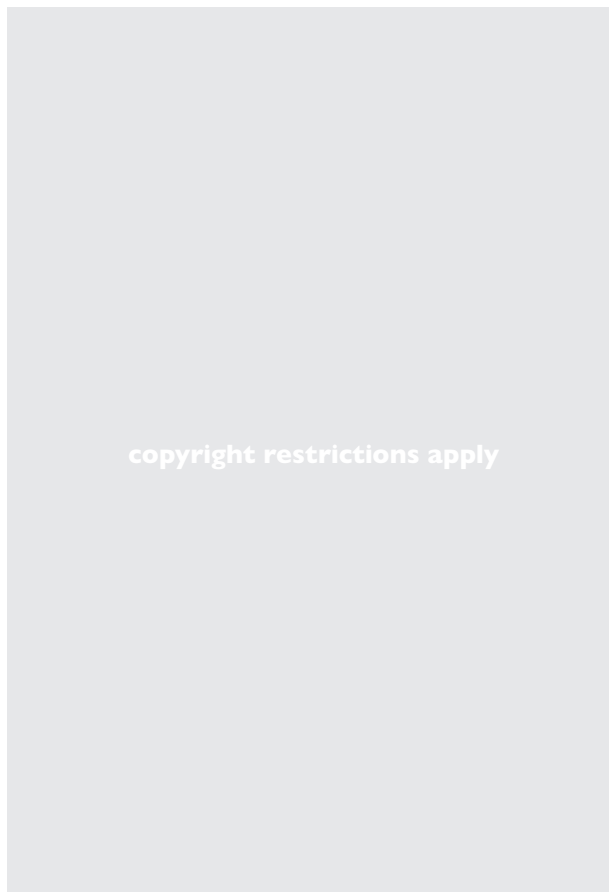


Figure 1.1 The site of Naukratis with the Great Temenos and the Great Mound (X). (From Petrie 1886: pl. 40; © Egypt Exploration Society.)

was, in fact, ‘an aggregate of house remains.’⁹ However, Muhs pointed out that ‘... it is unnecessary to deny that the Great Temenos existed to explain Hogarth’s inability to find it,’¹⁰ particularly in view of the fact that Petrie himself drew attention to the point that structures he had observed two years earlier had in the meantime disappeared.¹¹

Regarding the ‘Great Mound’, Bernard had pointed out that fortified structures sited on a temple compound are frequently observed in Egypt.¹² Later, the excavations

1 Yoyotte 1993–4: 681.

2 Hogarth 1905: 106, 111.

3 Poole 1885.

4 Petrie 1886: 24.

5 Herodotus *Historia* 2.178.

6 Hogarth 1905: 110–12.

7 Petrie 1886: 26, 28, 30.

8 *Ibid.*: 24–6.

9 Hogarth 1905: 111–12.

10 Muhs 1994: 105.

11 Petrie 1886: 24.

12 Bernard 1970: 853–7.

of the Naukratis Project recovered a series of Ptolemaic mud-brick structures and material from the Ptolemaic Period in the southern part of this Great Mound.¹³

Muhs suggested that the ‘fortress’ would in fact have been a building similar to what Spencer had described as ‘peripteral temples’, and Traunecker as *temples hauts*.¹⁴ He presented a drawing of its position relative to the temple based upon Petrie’s data (Figure 1.2). Spencer pointed out the mythological aspect of the peripteral temples, which evoked the primeval mound because they were built upon elevated ground, but more important still, he indicated that these temples would be placed along processional ways.¹⁵ One may assume that the Naukratis stela was erected in a passageway, as suggested by Maspero and von Bissing.¹⁶ Cabrol argued that the processional ways were an ideal place for public notices.¹⁷ The knowledge of the role of the presumed *temple haut* is of interest, because the Naukratis stela was seemingly found close to it.

Traunecker added some interesting information concerning the possible function of the *temples hauts*: according to the inscriptions engraved on the walls of those in Karnak, they would be sites where the daily offering was prepared (*b3k*) and consecrated (*hrp*). Traunecker cited texts found on the jambs of doors: ‘workshop for offerings where to prepare the daily gifts’, *šn^c n m3w r b3k hrpw-ntr im.f hrt n r^c nb*, and ‘the great pure storehouse where to consecrate the offering every day’, *šn^c ʿ3 w^cb r hrp hrpw-ntr im.f r^c nb*.¹⁸ In addition, he believed that the elevated position of these *temples hauts* would have had a more functional, rather than a mythological meaning, and that they were, in fact, storehouses built on strong foundations, and fortified for reasons of security.¹⁹ This explains why Petrie believed the Great Mound to be a fortress. It could even be imagined that the offerings were presented to the gods in the chapels within the *temples hauts* without passing through the main temple, in order to avoid transporting great quantities of foodstuffs,²⁰ a view adopted by Smoláriková.²¹ Such a temple would thus have been the centre of economic activities in the sanctuary, and it is possible that the stela was in a similar location at Naukratis, i.e., along a busy passage.

We know that at Naukratis a cult of Amon Re, Lord of Shena, was practised on a mound named Shena, which also housed the agatodaemon serpent Shena. This sanctuary is mentioned on the fragment of the Florence water clock²² and on the coffin of Panehemise who was a citizen of Naukratis (supposedly in the latter half of the second century BC), and was a priest of Amon Re,

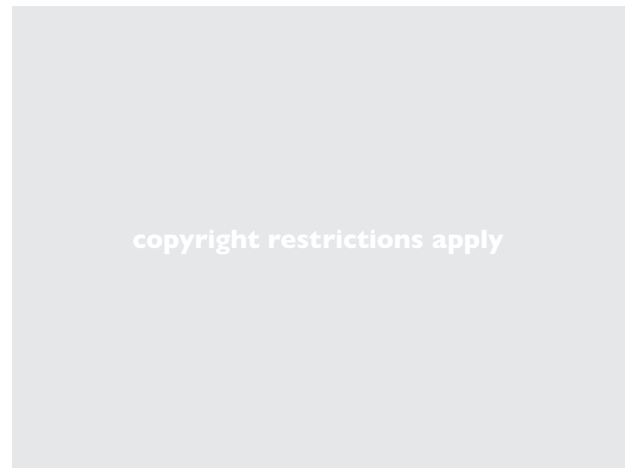


Figure 1.2 The Great Temenos reconstructed as a temple enclosure: A. Temple; B. Pylon; C. Porch; D. Avenue of sphinxes; E. High temple. (From Muhs 1994: III, fig. 7)

Lord of Shena, and of the ‘Butte de Repousser’ (*šn^c*).²³ As the Egyptians used the term *šn^c* (*w^cb*) for the *temples hauts* described by Traunecker, one may wonder if the hillock on which the one at Naukratis was placed would not, from then on, have been called Shena for that very reason, and might then have become the place of the cult of a particular Amon.

However, some opinions suggest that the so-called *temple haut* at Naukratis may not actually have had a ritual function. Spencer took up the subject of the case-mate foundations, thinking that those of Defenna and of Naukratis were not intended for ritual purposes: they could have been secure centres for local administration and control.²⁴ Also, before coming round to Traunecker’s view of the function of *temples hauts*, Yoyotte had suggested that the Naukratis structure, like those of Memphis, Tanis and Defenna, could have been the place of the king’s sojourn when he came to officiate in the temple.²⁵

Regarding the god to whom the main temple was consecrated, on the base of some monuments mentioning Amon and known to have originated in Naukratis, Edgar suggested that an Amon temple existed in the town, probably within the Great Temenos described by Petrie, a notion later supported by von Bissing.²⁶ Later, Yoyotte demonstrated that the Amon of Naukratis was a particular form of the god called ‘Amon Lord of Batet’, which constituted a triad together with Mut and Khonsu, especially in the latter’s form of Khonsu-Thoth.²⁷ Guerneur published the hieroglyphic texts mentioning Amon Batet as they appear on monuments from Naukratis, with their translations.²⁸ The ‘Amon Lord of Batet’ sanctuary is

13 Coulson *et al.* 1982: 73–6, figs 2–5; Smoláriková 2008: 76–7.

14 Muhs 1994: 112–13; Spencer 1979; Traunecker 1987.

15 Spencer 1979: 132–3.

16 Maspero 1900: 44; von Bissing 1951: 63.

17 Cabrol 2001: 766–7.

18 Traunecker 1987: 149 note 17.

19 *Ibid.*: 157.

20 *Ibid.*: 158.

21 Smoláriková 2008: 122–3.

22 Neugebauer and Parker 1969: 60–1, pl. 22D.

23 Yoyotte 1994–5: 678–80; Guerneur 2005: 132–3; Leitz 2011: 369.

24 Spencer 1999: 298, 300.

25 Yoyotte 1994–5: 681; 1982–3: 132 note 28.

26 Edgar 1922: 4; von Bissing 1951: 61–2.

27 Yoyotte 1982–3: 129–36; 1993–4: 689.

28 Guerneur 2005: 127–37.

documented from the beginning of the sixth century BC, in year 2 or 12 of the reign of Apries.²⁹ The name of the temple was ‘the Beautiful Temple’, *hwt nfrt*.³⁰ This building must have been of considerable size, since Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ pylon would have measured close on 100 m. The Greeks living in Naukratis identified this god Khonsu, son of the god Amon of Naukratis, with their god Herakles, whom they adored in that town. Höckmann noted: ‘... some votive inscriptions to Herakles ... firmly establish that Herakles was venerated at Naukratis from the sixth century BC on through to the Ptolemaic period.’³¹

As Petrie did not find the Naukratis stele on site during his excavations, and as Hogarth also missed it during his 1899 campaign in the area, it was probably buried particularly deeply. It was only dug up after the season ended that year ‘in the course of agricultural operations.’³² In his communication to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* on 29th December 1899, Maspero presented the Naukratis stele with the comment that:

*Le Prince Hussein Pacha, oncle du Khédive d’Égypte, vient de donner au Musée de Gizeh une stèle superbe en granit noir, qu’il a découverte dans une de ses propriétés, à Kom-Gayef, sur le site de Naucratis.*³³

The donation is indeed dated to December 1899. In the following year, Maspero published a translation of the document, drawing the attention of Egyptologists to the ‘orthographe singulière’, and deploring that:

*... il est fâcheux que l’on n’ait pas pu nous indiquer l’endroit précis où elle fut découverte; ce renseignement nous aurait permis de vider un problème important de topographie locale.*³⁴

It would have been just as interesting to learn something about the depth to which the stele was buried, and its immediate archaeological context, as well as the precise manner in which it was brought to light. One may well imagine it was found face down, which would explain its extraordinary state of preservation, for the Naukratis stele is indeed intact, all of its hieroglyphs and figures are undamaged. The minuscule indentations which can be found in the decorated surface of the stone were, in fact, present prior to the engraving. Yoyotte called the monument a ‘miraculeuse rescapée.’³⁵ In order to explain its perfect state of conservation, he further suggested that it was perhaps preserved by being used ‘comme remploi dans un dallage ou une maçonnerie.’³⁶

The text of the decree of Naukratis records the measures taken by Nectanebo I to allocate to the temple of

Neith of Saïs part of the customs dues collected in a town called Hunit, as well as part of the taxes levied on Greek trade at Naukratis. Concerning the town of Hunit, Maspero declared in his 1899 communication that:

*... il devient relativement facile de fixer l’emplacement de Hounit. Hérodote (2.179) raconte que la seule bouche ouverte jadis aux Grecs était la Canopique; c’est par elle, et par elle seule, qu’ils arrivaient à Naucratis. La ville Hounit, où ils payaient la douane, doit donc être située vers l’embouchure de la Branche Canopique, et si elle ne représente pas Canope même, ce qui est peu probable, elle répond à un point situé non loin de là, sur le trajet de la Branche Canopique.*³⁷

In his publication of the monument, Maspero indicated that Hunit:

*... doit être cherchée vers l’extrémité septentrionale de la branche Canopique, sinon à Canope même, du moins sur un point voisin de l’embouchure, à l’endroit le plus favorable pour établir une douane de mer.*³⁸

A century later, Goddio’s discovery of the town on the submerged ground of Aboukir Bay completely vindicated Maspero.

The Thonis-Heracleion Stele

In his research into texts and maps of ancient and contemporary writers dealing with the Canopic branch, Goddio noted that many scholars of the eighteenth to the twentieth century placed these ancient regions on land, and that Daressy was the one who had suggested that the town must be situated in an area now submerged.³⁹ Following a study of ancient Greek authors, Daressy concluded: ‘Il me paraît conforme aux exigences du récit de cet historien (Herodotus) de faire de Thonis et d’Héracléion une seule et même ville.’⁴⁰ Herodotus related the tale of the priests whom he interviewed on the subject of the adventure of Helena Queen of Sparta, abducted by Paris.⁴¹ Contrary winds were said to have driven their ship towards Egypt and the Canopic branch: ‘there existed on the shore—and still does today—a sanctuary of Herakles’ explained Herodotus, who went on to relate that the slaves of Paris, who escaped into the sanctuary, denounced the abduction of Helena to the priests and ‘... to the guardian of this branch of the river, whose name was Thonis.’⁴²

Yoyotte and Goddio recalled this text by Herodotus, as well as later ancient authors who mentioned Thonis:⁴³ Diodorus Siculus wrote that ‘this river flows into the sea near the place called Thonis, the ancient warehouse of Egypt’;⁴⁴ and Strabo, visiting the Canopic region,

29 Ibid.: 128–9.

30 Yoyotte 1993–4: 684.

31 Höckmann 2010: 26–7 note 47.

32 Hogarth 1905: 122.

33 Maspero 1904: 793.

34 Ibid. 1900: 44.

35 Yoyotte 1993–4: 680.

36 Ibid.: 681.

37 Maspero 1904: 795.

38 Ibid.: 1900: 43.

39 Goddio 2007: 1–7; Daressy 1929: 37–45.

40 Daressy 1929: 45.

41 Herodotus *Historia* 2.113.

42 Ibid.: 2.114.

43 Yoyotte 2001: 26–7; Goddio 2007: 1–3.

44 Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca historica* 1.19.4.

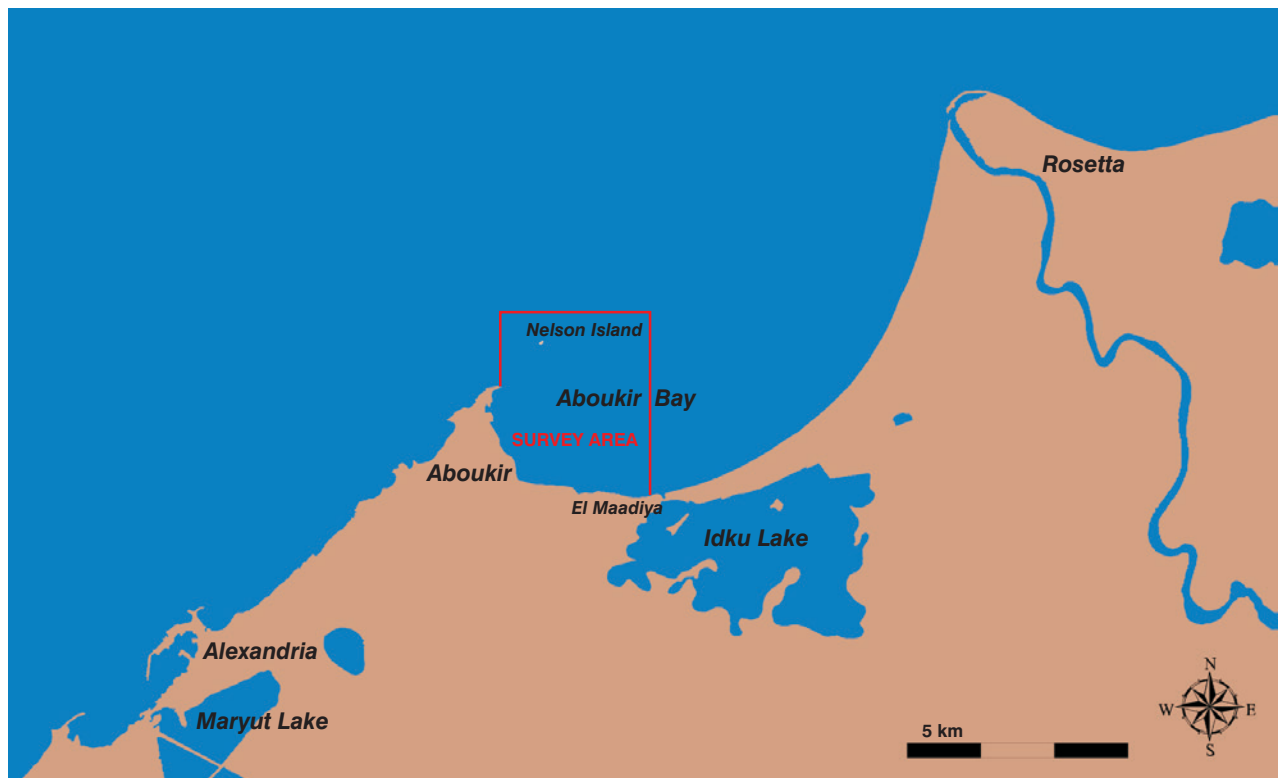


Figure 1.3 The study area in Aboukir Bay. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

noted: ‘it is said that in ancient times there (i.e., near the Canopic mouth) existed a town called Thonis.’⁴⁵

In addition, the Decree of Canopus links Heracleion to the temple of Amon-Gereb and to ‘the mouth of the hone’: while the Greek text mentions ‘... the temple of Heracleion’, the hieroglyphs (lines 25–26) say ‘... the temple of Amon-Gereb in the mouth of the *hone*’ (*r3 hnt*). Spiegelberg understood that *r3 hnt* must indicate the Canopic mouth of the Nile and recalled the text on column 9 of the Naukratis stele mentioning a town called Hone, *m niwt hnt rn.s.*⁴⁶ In his study of the significance of the word *hone*, Yoyotte re-examined all available data and recalled that the correct etymology of the name of Thonis was indicated by Crum to be the addition of the article *t3* to the word *hnt*.⁴⁷ This is now confirmed by the text engraved on column 13 of the stele of Heracleion, which says that the stele must be placed ‘... in a town called The-Hone-of-Saïs, *m niwt t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s.*

Daressy’s hypothesis that the area was now submerged was confirmed by Toussoun’s discoveries in the Bay of Aboukir⁴⁸ and, as Goddio remarked, ‘these discoveries were essential for future research in the Canopic region, because they proved that part of that once inhabited zone had in fact vanished beneath the sea.’⁴⁹ Collecting all bibliographic and cartographic data then available,

Goddio went on to define his area of research and his project (Figure 1.3).⁵⁰

The underwater excavations carried out in Aboukir Bay by the *Institut Européen d’Archéologie Sous-Marine* (IEASM) in co-operation with the Department of Underwater Archaeology of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities began in 1996, following the programme which Goddio publicly announced in 1992 during the Second International Italo-Egyptian Convention in Alexandria, and implementing the techniques he indicated.⁵¹ These campaigns allowed the cartographic survey of the vast expanse of land that was subsequently covered by the sea in this western part of the Nile Delta, and resulted in the discovery of the town of Thonis-Heracleion in 2000.⁵²

Goddio established the precise topography of the regions of East Canopus⁵³ and of the city of Thonis-Heracleion,⁵⁴ which were located at the former mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile (Figures 1.4, 1.5).⁵⁵ Although a large area of Egyptian land was submerged in historic times, as Toussoun had already noted, not a single one of the ancient writers had made the least mention of this major catastrophe.⁵⁶ Drescher, on the other hand, related several testimonies to the region’s progressive sinking below the water surface, and Toussoun

45 Strabo *Geographica* 17.1.6; also cf. Yoyotte *et al.* 1997: 107.

46 Spiegelberg 1922: 73, 90 note 41.

47 Yoyotte 1958: 428–30; Crum 1934: 690.

48 Toussoun 1934.

49 Goddio 2007: 5.

50 *Ibid.*: 5–7, fig. 1.8.

51 *Ibid.*: 1995; 2007: 11–17; Goddio and Darwish 1998: 1–8.

52 Goddio 2007: 24–8.

53 *Ibid.*: 29–68.

54 *Ibid.*: 69–130.

55 *Ibid.* fig. 1.2 and inside cover.

56 Toussoun 1934: 352.

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Figure I.4 The map of the submerged zone in Aboukir Bay. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © GoogleEarth/Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

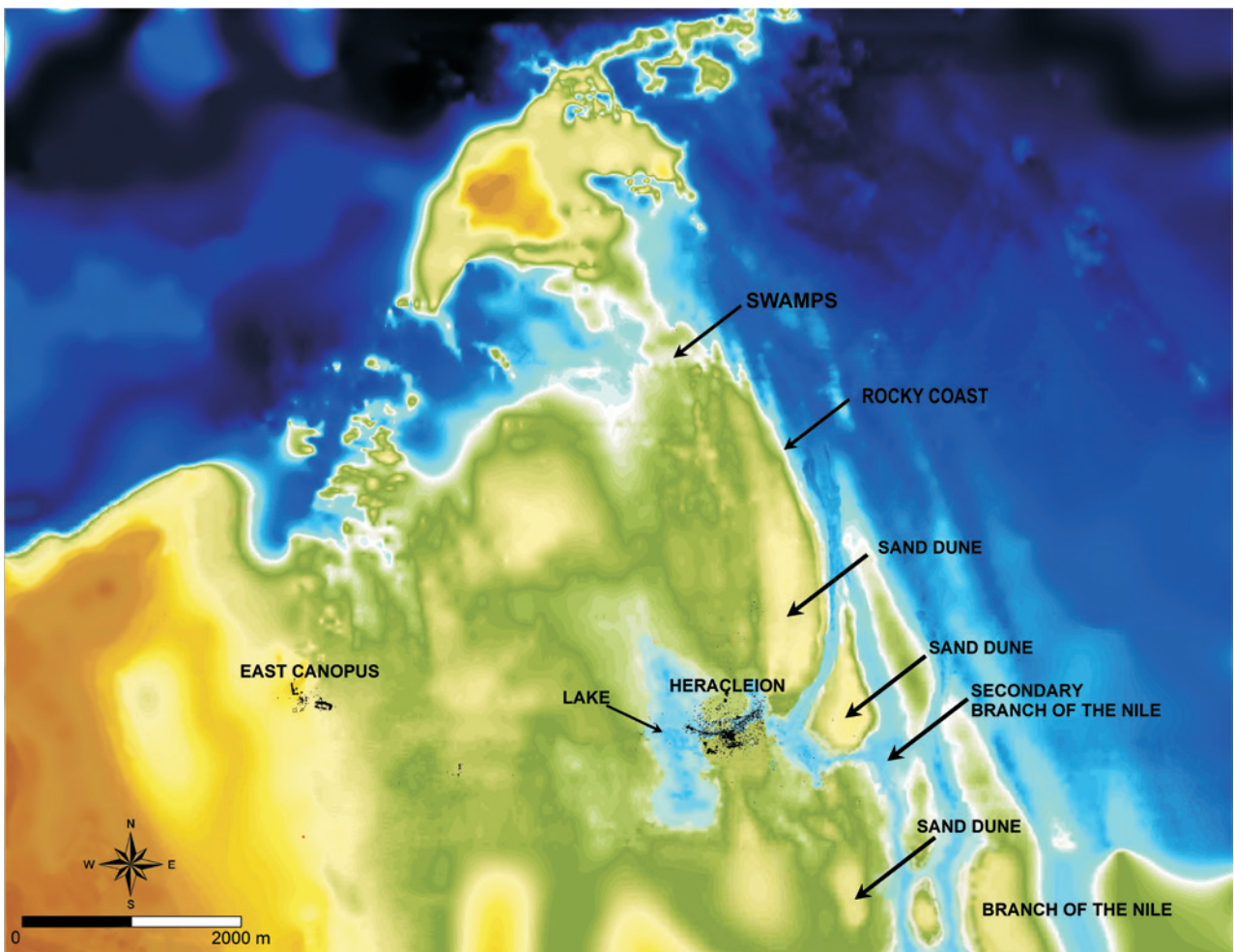


Figure I.5 The now submerged region of East Canopus and Thonis-Heracleion. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

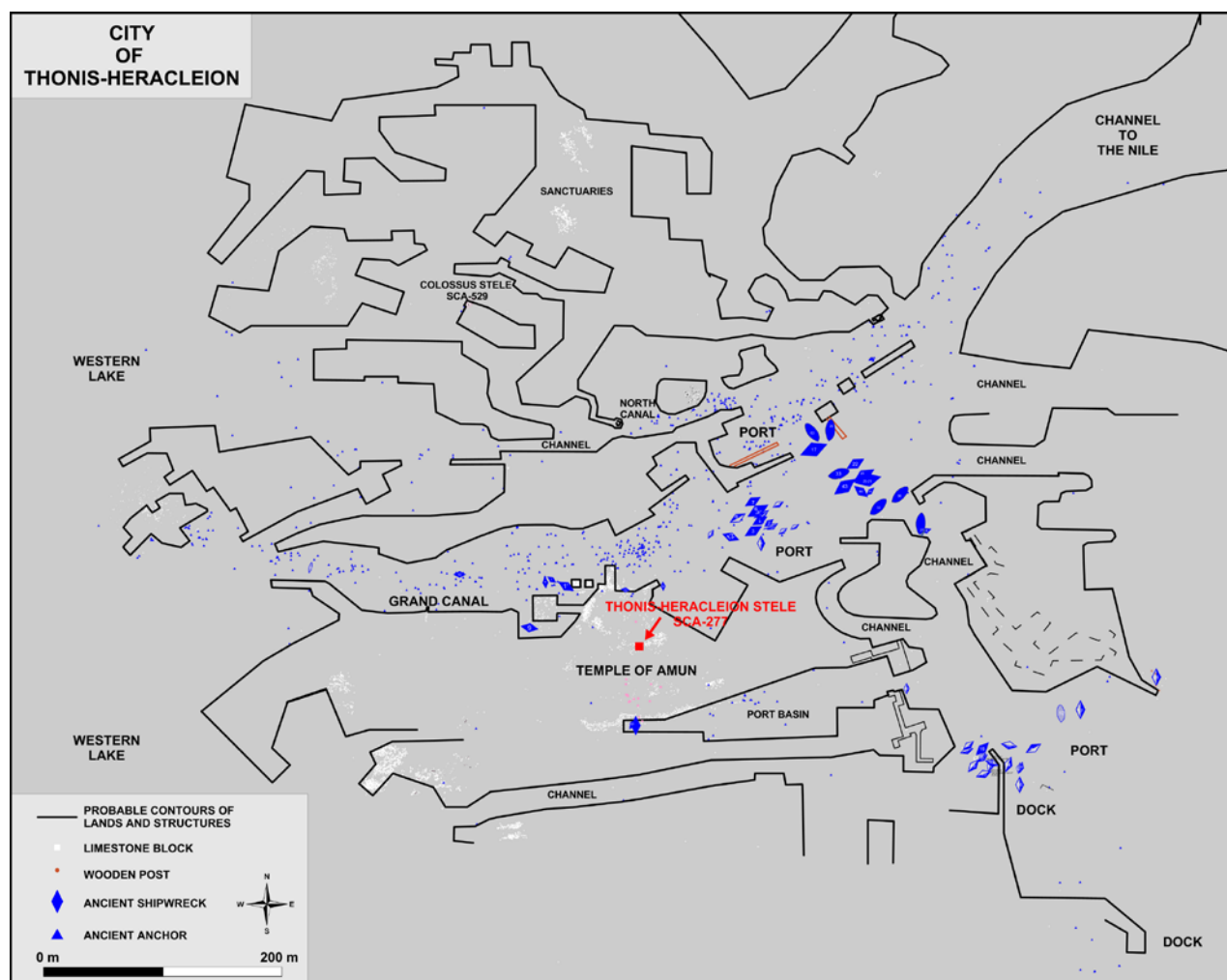


Figure 1.6 The Thonis-Heracleion peninsula with the area of the Amon temple and the site of the stele. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

had already suggested that several different phenomena might have caused this: a rise of the sea level, a sinking of the ground, and telluric catastrophes.⁵⁷

Goddio noted that the geological analysis revealed characteristic marks of soil liquefaction, i.e., the expulsion by compression of the water in the clay structures, abruptly reducing their volume and creating sudden subsidence. This may have been caused by huge localised pressures exerted on clay soil by the weight of important monuments, in conjunction with a surcharge such as a catastrophic inundation or a tsunami,⁵⁸ and the region is indeed situated within a zone of possible earthquake activity.⁵⁹ These results were supported by a survey using nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR) magnetometers.⁶⁰ Goddio identified a large area of strong magnetic disturbance corresponding to the submerged town of Thonis-Heracleion. Within this area, the archaeological structures were shown to be oriented in the same direction as the magnetic gradient lines

and the geological faults. This led to the hypothesis that there was a direct relationship between the presence of the buildings and the liquefaction of the clay on which they were founded. It is likely that the immense weight of the buildings would have encouraged the distortion of local sediment and enabled their liquefaction, in combination with other causal factors. Thus it was the faults, rather than the archaeological remains themselves, that were detected by the NMR magnetometers.⁶¹

In the light of the extensive and precise information gathered during the various excavation campaigns,⁶² it was suggested that the land vanished underneath the sea due to a sequence of complex phenomena: a relative rise in sea level due to the late Holocene eustatic rise, with concurrent lowering of land at the delta margin by sediment compaction and isostatic loading, punctuated by a sequence of more rapid-to-sudden failures of strata at and near Canopic river channel mouths.

57 Drescher 1949; Toussoun 1934: 353–4.

58 Goddio 2007: 8.

59 Nur 2010.

60 These were developed by the French Atomic Commissariat, and specially adapted for underwater archaeological survey by

the IEASM, which has exclusive use of them for archaeological research. See Goddio, Bernand and Bernand 1998: 132.

61 Goddio 2010: 6.

62 Stanley *et al.* 2001; Stanley *et al.* 2004; Stanley, Schnepf and Jorstad 2007; Goddio 2007: 8; summarised by Bernasconi *et al.* 2007: 85.

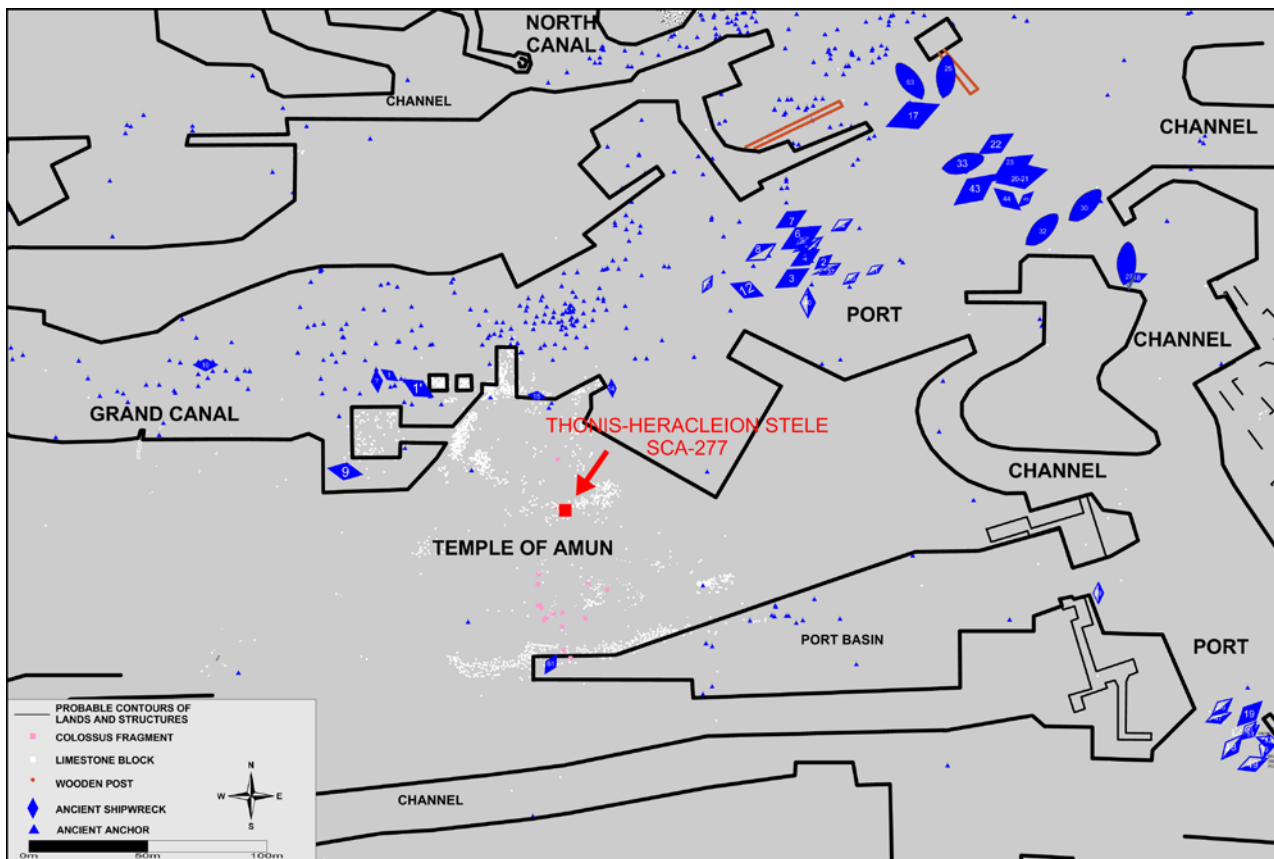


Figure 1.7 A closer view of the central area of the temple and the point of the centre north wall (arrow) where the stele was found. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

The Thonis-Heracleion region was finally and entirely submerged probably in the mid-eighth century AD, again as the result of a sequence of episodic events rather than a single catastrophic failure.⁶³ Some areas of settlement probably sank below the waves in the bay, while other parts of the cities remained inhabited as low islands above water, perhaps as described by Herodotus. The recovery of Byzantine and Arabic coins at both Heracleion and East Canopus indicate that habitation of some of these islands may have continued for decades, or even centuries, after submergence and abandonment of major sectors of the original cities.⁶⁴

In the zone of Thonis-Heracleion (Figure 1.6), Goddio identified the site of the temple of Amon and Herakles,⁶⁵ an identification supported by such discoveries as the Thonis-Heracleion stele (SCA 277) and the naos of Amon-Gereb (SCA 457).⁶⁶ This was the god who conferred kingship by handing over the *mekes* (*mks*), the document holder containing the inventory of the royal domain, *imyt-pr*.⁶⁷ In addition to these two monuments, Goddio discovered on the same site a small gold foundation plaquette dating from the time of Ptolemy III (SCA 876) which mentions the name of Heracleion or Herakles,⁶⁸ as well as the bust

of a votive statue from a private individual (SCA 455), dating probably from the first century BC which mentions the gods 'Lords of Gereb'.⁶⁹ It was among the blocks of the centre-northern wall of this temple that the stele of Thonis-Heracleion was discovered in 2001 (see Figures 1.6, 1.7 for its exact location).⁷⁰ It was uncovered '... face down, and so was in a perfect state of preservation'.⁷¹ The smooth rear side was entirely encrusted with concretions and was partly hidden under a 25 cm thick layer of sediment.

The text engraved on column 14 of this stele indicates that it was destined to be set up '... at the mouth of the sea of the Hau-nebut, in the city whose name is 'The Hone of Saïs, *t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s*. Through this text, the monument clearly defines the location of that town and confirms that the toponyms of Thonis and Heracleion do indicate one and the same place.⁷² Thus, it became obvious that the stele of Thonis-Heracleion was probably found close to the place where it had originally been erected. The placement of the Thonis-Heracleion stele in a temple compound mirrors the location of the Naukratis stele. Yoyotte noted:

Voici que les deux versions d'un même document concernant deux villes éloignées l'une de l'autre ont, par chance, été conservées, intactes, sur les lieux mêmes où elles avaient

63 Goddio 2007: 127.

64 Stanley, Schnepf and Jorstad 2007: 57.

65 Goddio 2007: 75–101;

66 Ibid.: 74, 77; 2008: 45–6; Yoyotte 2006a; 2006b; 2008b.

67 Guérmeur 2005: 147–8; Yoyotte 2006b.

68 Yoyotte 2006c; Goddio 2007: 117, fig. 3.88.

69 Kiss 2006.

70 Yoyotte 2001; Goddio 2003b: 172–81; Goddio 2007: 77, 83.

71 Goddio 2007: 83.

72 Yoyotte 2001: 28–32; 2004: 35–6; 2006a; 2008b; Goddio 2007: 75–7.



Figure 1.8 The Thonis-Heracleion stela rising from the bottom of the sea on May 26, 2001. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

*été exposées dans l'Antiquité, et, assurément à très peu de distance du point où chacune des deux avait été dressée initialement. On oserait dire que le cas tient du miracle, lorsqu'on pense aux destructions que la nature et les hommes ont infligées aux monuments des deux sites, et aux déconcertants désordres de pierres abattues, dispersées, démembrées qu'on rencontre dans la plupart des sites de la Basse Egypte et dans l'aire alexandrine.*⁷³

Additional excavation during the 2011 campaign was carried out to the east of the site where the Thonis-Heracleion stele was discovered, in an area containing the remnants of a wall situated north of the temenos. The purpose was to define more clearly the organisation and construction of the structure that could have been part of the Khonsu temples. This wall collapsed into three levels of limestone blocks of 150 × 40 × 40 cm and 120 × 50 × 40 cm, lying without any particular order on a surface of a succession of sedimentary clay and vegetal debris. A characteristic element of the temple's architecture was brought to light, the top of a capital of a probably integrated papyrus-shaped column (N2 12553). Some of the blocks had crushed wooden stakes, which were sunk into the clay (mostly bent towards the south). These stakes probably served to solidify the ground of the edge of a canal or harbour basin. To the south of this disordered mass of blocks, the presence of wooden beams which had initially been assembled with mortice and tenon joints with Jupiter scarfs, could attest to a 'light' structure in this part of the sanctuary. Nevertheless, these solid and little hewn wooden elements, were certainly not visible and could just as easily have been part of the foundations of a building. Among the archaeological material providing elements for dating, some bronze coins from the time of Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II, as well as an oil lamp from the first part of the third century BC were brought to light.

Goddio believes that neither the discovery of two steles containing the same decree, nor their excellent state of preservation was down to chance, but that they were buried for centuries before the cataclysm or the phenomena that provoked the region's immersion came to pass.⁷⁴ He based this idea on the fact that not a single

sherd or piece of debris was found underneath the stele, as was the case with other artefacts immediately surrounding the monument. Goddio suggested that it had been hidden much earlier, possibly carefully embedded in clay, and positioned so that the engraved surface was turned downward in order to guarantee the preservation of the hieroglyphs and figures. In addition, he pointed out that the probability is very slim that two steles with the same decree could be *accidentally* discovered intact over two thousand years after their creation, particularly if one was in the earth, and the other under water. His supposition was that the Naukratis stele had probably been intentionally hidden at the same time as that of Thonis, and protected in the same careful manner, which would explain the extremely improbable coincidence of finding both these monuments in such a splendid state of preservation. The likelihood is practically nil that the Thonis stele would have remained intact if standing at the moment when earthquakes and other phenomena led to the submergence of the land. Goddio therefore proposed that it must have been buried when Alexandria began to drain the maritime trade away from the region of Thonis, thereby causing its decline: the priests of the temple of Neith of Saïs, deprived of the revenue from the custom taxes and fearing the destruction of the stelae of Nectanebo's decree, hid both monuments *in situ*, forever to preserve the words of the king's decisions in favour of the goddess. It is well known that the Egyptians had a deep respect for the formula of perpetuity which accompanied donations.⁷⁵ In addition, they may well have hoped to recover the monuments in better times. It would thus have been due to this decision by the priests that these two magnificent objects have reached us intact, with Nectanebo's complete wording, and with hieroglyphs and images as clear and precise as if they had just come out of the workshop. It is thanks to the teams of the *Institut Européen d'Archéologie Sous-Marine* and the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt that the Thonis-Heracleion stele, after resting in the deep for more than a thousand years, was brought back to light as perfect as if it had, like the sun itself, been regenerated in the primeval floods (Figure 1.8, and rear cover).⁷⁶

73 Yoyotte 2001: 32.

74 Goddio 2011: 125 note 26.

75 See The Decree, column 10, and note I.

76 Goddio 2003b: 180–1.

2 Description of the monuments, scenes and captions in the Lunette

Both examples of the Decree of Saïs, which look at first hand practically identical, are magnificent round-topped, black granodiorite stelae about two metres high, in an excellent state of preservation (Figures 2.2–2.5). The scene shown in the upper segment is identical, and is in either instance set above 14 columns of hieroglyphs. On both monuments, the decree is read from right to left, which shows that they did not constitute a pair but were, on the contrary, two copies of the same decree, destined to be set up in two different locations. The text on either one clearly indicates in which town it was to be placed.

Dimensions

The main measurements of the monuments in centimetres are shown in Figure 2.1.

Both monuments have almost identical dimensions, close on 2 m high and 88 cm wide. The total width of the stele, however, varies: it remains strictly the same for Thonis-Heracleion (88 cm at the bottom of the text columns as well as at their top), but the width of Naukratis diminishes towards the top (from 87.5 cm at the bottom to 85.5 cm at the bottom line of the lunette). In consequence, the outer margin between the *w3s* sceptres and the edge of the stone, which is already smaller on Naukratis, reduces further towards the top (cf. Figures 2.2–2.5). However, the decorated surface is of the same width on both stelae: 81.5 cm at the bottom of the decree, 81 cm at the bottom of the lunette. The thickness of the stone diminishes from the bottom, i.e., 33 cm for Thonis-Heracleion, 37 cm for Naukratis, to the top, where it is 22 cm for the first and 30 cm for the second.

Several errors appear in the literature concerning the dimensions of the Naukratis stele: Maspero recorded a height of 1.58 m instead of 1.98 m, which is probably an error in printing, since a hand-written ‘9’ may easily be confused with a ‘5’.¹ This mistake was reproduced by Lichtheim,² who also noted a width of 68 cm, probably an erroneous inversion of 86 cm, which is the correct width in the middle of the stele. Yoyotte, recorded an excessive height of 2.10 m.³

General aspect

At the top of the stelae, a curved sign of the sky follows closely the entire curvature of the arch. On either side,

	Thonis-Heracleion	Naukratis
Heights		
– total height of the stone	199	198
– total height of the decorated part (including sky and bottom line)	181.5	184
– height of the decorated lunette	62	62
– height of the columns of the decree	119.5	122
Widths		
– total width of the stone		
at the bottom line of the lunette	88	85.5
at the bottom line of the decree	88	87.5
– total width of the decorated part (including the two <i>w3s</i> sceptres)		
at the bottom line of the lunette	81	81
at the bottom line of the decree	81.5	81.5
Thickness		
thickness of the stele		
top	22	30
bottom	33	37
Average widths of the columns		
	5 cm ±1–4 mm	5 cm ±1–4 mm

Figure 2.1 Table of the dimensions of the two stelae.

the tips of the sky sign rest on the head of a *w3s* that stretches along the length of the stelae. These sceptres frame the figures in the arched part of the lunette as well as the 14 columns of text on either decree. Their forked lower tips stand on the horizontal line, which marks the lower end of the columns. On the Naukratis stele, the foot of the right *w3s* is engraved as if added belatedly on the vertical line on which it is superimposed, and it is set slightly above the ground line (Figures 2.4; 5.1b). On the Thonis-Heracleion stele the fork of the left *w3s* seems to be duplicated, with one set of prongs drafted and abandoned, and a second one definitely engraved a little lower than originally planned (Figures 2.3; 5.1a). The heads of the *w3s* sceptres are nicely done in detail on both monuments: the long, slim ears are marked with borderlines, and the eye of the animal is clearly visible under a long drawn-out orbital arcade (Figures 2.6–2.9). A small protuberance appears in the nape of the animal’s neck, seen clearly on Naukratis, both on the pillars and on the sceptres held in Neith’s hands. On Thonis-Heracleion, on the other hand, only the *w3s* pillar to the left seems to display a very slight relief, which is only visible on the imprint.

The lunette fills just over one third of the height of the entire stele, and the bottom line of the scene constitutes the upper border of the columns of the decree.

¹ Maspero 1900: 40.
² Lichtheim 1980: 86.

³ Yoyotte 1993–4: 681; 2001: 27.



Figure 2.2 The Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

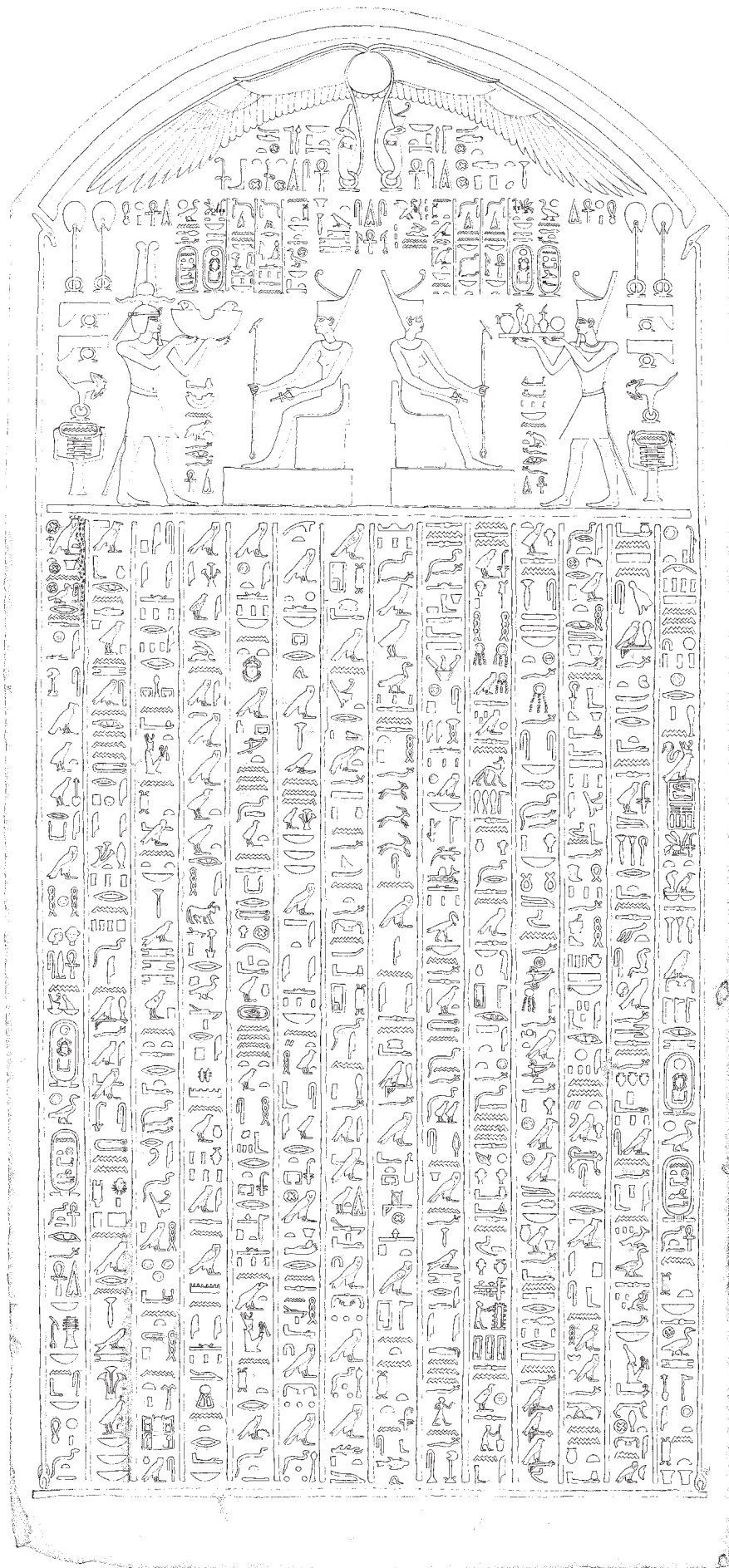


Figure 2.3 The Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)



Figure 2.4 The Naukratis stele.
(© Antike Welt.)



Figure 2.5 The Naukratis stele.
(Drawing: B. Vallée.)



Figure 2.6 The lunette of the Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

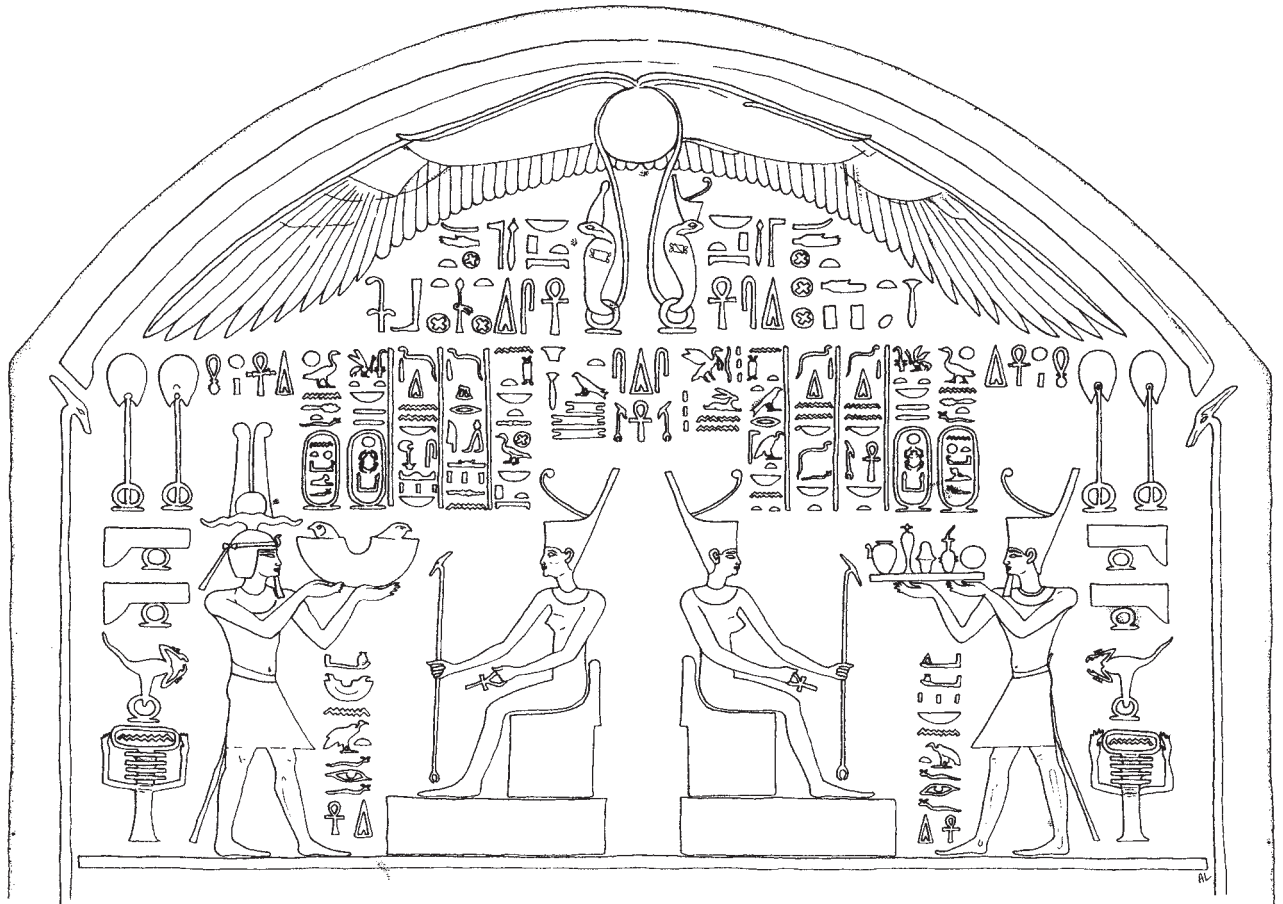


Figure 2.7 The lunette of the Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

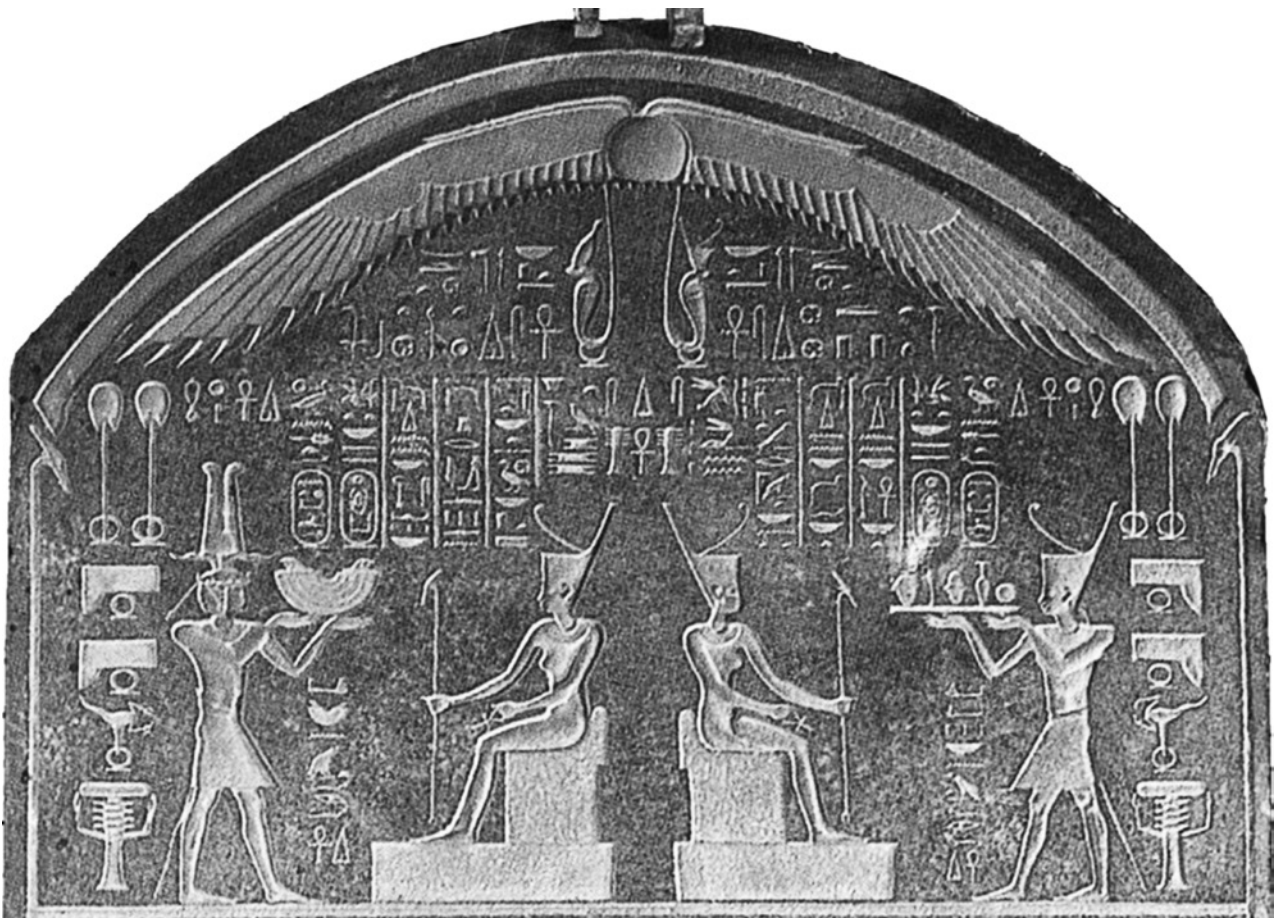


Figure 2.8 The lunette of the Naukratis stele. (© Antike Welt.)

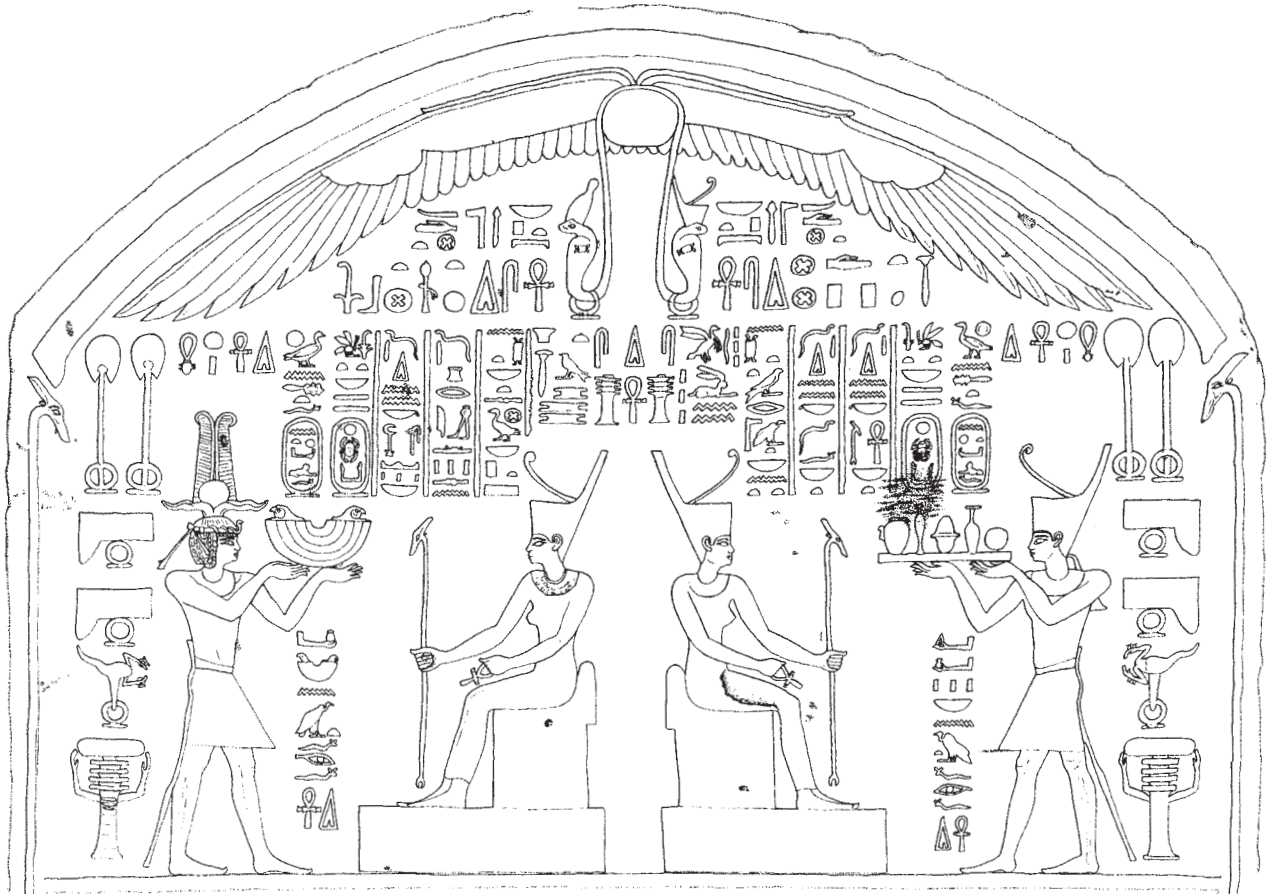


Figure 2.9 The lunette of the Naukratis stele. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

Scenes and captions in the Lunette

Above the scene itself, a great feathered disk spreads its wings, curving along and underneath the sign of the sky. The disk is flanked by two cobra uraei: one bears the crown of Lower Egypt, the other that of Upper Egypt; each is inserted into a *šn* sign, and the name of the goddess Neith appears on the front of their hood. This hieroglyph is the same as the one spelling the name of the goddess on the decree (Figures 2.6–2.9; 3.17).

The king is shown to each side, making a double offering to Neith, who appears two-fold in identical back-to-back images. The images of the figures and hieroglyphs are of a classical craftsmanship. Still, the king's abdomen shows a much more rounded aspect on the Naukratis stele, contrary to the svelte image on Thonis-Heracleion, which also displays a slimmer face. The face is idealized and does not present the realistic likeness of Nectanebo I as shown on the outside of the block BM 22 from Alexandria, which was originally at Heliopolis. This block was believed to be a part of an 'intercolumnar slab'.⁴ Yoyotte demonstrated that this type of monuments is, in fact, part of what the Egyptians called '*sbht*':⁵ these are fortified passages in the actual as well as the figurative sense, representing a place where evil must be wiped out.⁶

In the images of the pharaoh facing the goddess Neith, he wears a beard on Thonis-Heracleion, but not on Naukratis. His clothing is very similar: a broad necklace decorates his chest, and he wears the short kilt *šndyt* with the triangular front and a belt. The straight ceremonial tail of a bull with no tuft hangs down the back and his feet are bare.⁷ The king bearing the bull's tail is already shown on the mace head of king Scorpion, of dynasty 0 and is also attested from the first dynasty on.⁸ We know that since late Predynastic times, the king is often likened to that animal, whose name is frequently part of the names of Horus.⁹

On the right side, the king bears the Red Crown and offers the goddess a tray, which is raised level with her face, carrying vases and bread loaves. His Red Crown is decorated with a slim ribbon falling down to mid-torso on its rear on the stele of Naukratis, but which is absent from the stele of Thonis. Such ribbons are known in iconography from the New Kingdom on.¹⁰ L'Amoulen noted that they are much finer in the Late Period than in the New Kingdom.¹¹ The ribbon on Naukratis is very similar to the one on an image of Nectanebo I, hanging

down from a Red Crown, on a naos of pink granite (Cairo JE 32 018/GC 70 018) reproduced in L'Amoulen's doctoral thesis.¹²

On the left side, the king's head is covered with a wig with ringlets in tiers, wearing a headdress composed of the *seched* band diadem, with the body of the uraeus wound around it on Naukratis, and a crown consisting of the two tall ostrich feathers with a disk set in between two twisted horizontal horns. No details of the wig are engraved on Thonis-Heracleion, whereas Naukratis shows details of curls and plaiting. Similarly, the barbs of the two tall feathers are visible on Naukratis, but not on Thonis-Heracleion. The *seched* band is held together by a knot in the back which recalls the *ts* sign which means 'to tie', or to 'knot', as noted by L'Amoulen.¹³ The two tails falling from the knot are spread apart and look rigid, indicating that they are metallic, the same as those on Tutankhamen's diadem.¹⁴ Headdresses similar to the one borne by the king on the decree, and dating from the Old Kingdom (although with an added pair of cattle horns), are shown for example on the temple of Snefru and that of Userkaf.¹⁵ The *seched* diadem, when accompanied by a uraeus, is the prerogative of kings;¹⁶ this is the first crown attributed to the kings in the ritual of confirming the royal power.¹⁷ The king raises a *wsh* necklace decorated with falcon heads at both tips¹⁸ to the level of the tray opposite as an offering to the goddess. The rows of the necklace are detailed on Naukratis, but not on Thonis-Heracleion.

A group of tall hieroglyphs is engraved on either side, in a column set behind the king; these signs of uncertain reading can be found on some images throughout all Egyptian periods. Kees studied this enigmatic group of signs,¹⁹ and Jéquier rightly noted that:

*... la dimension même de ces signes, toujours beaucoup plus considérable que celle des hiéroglyphes des légendes accompagnant ces représentations, indique bien clairement qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une inscription, mais que ces curieux caractères, fort rares dans l'écriture ordinaire, sont là comme autant de symboles et font partie de la scène figurée qu'ils complètent et non du texte qui l'explique.*²⁰

The group is composed, from top to bottom, of two fans set upon *šn* signs, two tips of the sky sign and a water scorpion, all three also set on top of *šn* signs. The water scorpion is equipped with 'human' arms, with two *šn* signs around each wrist on Thonis-Heracleion; on Naukratis, the right one bears two barely visible bracelets, as if the artist had omitted to engrave his preliminary

4 Arnold 1999: 106, fig. 60.

5 Yoyotte 1998: 215–17; 2003.

6 Ibid. 2003: 231–32; von Bomhard 2008: 199–200; 2011: 123, 133; Berlandini 2009: 37.

7 Jéquier 1918b.

8 Wilkinson 1998: 191; Petrie 1900: pl. 14.8.

9 Baines 1990: 18–19; 1995: 112.

10 Pedrini 1987: 59.

11 L'Amoulen 2006: 169.

12 Ibid.: 130.

13 Ibid.: 736.

14 Wiese 2004.

15 Fakhry 1961: 81; Smith 1949: pl. 52a.

16 Jéquier 1921: 44–6, figs 104, 109.

17 Goyon 1972: 55.

18 Jéquier 1921: 64.

19 Kees 1912.

20 Jéquier 1905: 171.

draft, the left one a single *sn* on each wrist. The last sign of this group is composed of an association of a *dd* pillar bearing arms disposed like a *k3* sign; these hold an oval form with an *n* inside. The *n* is clearly visible on Thonis-Heracleion, but absent on Naukratis. After Jéquier, this group of tall hieroglyphs next to the king must be considered as a figure and not as text, and will therefore be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

The goddess Neith in anthropomorphic form is seated on a throne perched on a platform. She is dressed in the long, tight-fitting robe in which she has been shown since the Old Kingdom,²¹ and, as nearly always, she is wearing a wide necklace and the Red Crown. Both feet are visible on Naukratis, but not on Thonis-Heracleion. As usual, she holds the *nh* sign in one hand and the *w3s* sceptre in the other.²² The *w3s*, as El-Sayed indicated, is occasionally replaced by the *w3d* sceptre.²³ Attributing the *w3s* sceptre to Neith is an ancient custom: on the fragments of a Protodynastic greywacke object found in Abydos, the goddess is shown as a beetle equipped with arms, holding a *w3s* sceptre in its 'hands'.²⁴

The two back-to-back images of Neith on the decree probably do not represent a single cult statue shown twice, but rather two distinct statues: a fragment of a naos of the time of Apries, published by Capart, shows the divinities of the Neith temple at Saïs.²⁵ There, two statues exactly corresponding to those of the decree are placed one behind the other instead of back-to-back.²⁶ The first one is captioned *nt hnt t3 nh*, which Capart translated as 'Neith, la préfète de la Terre de Vie'.²⁷ 'Land of Life', according to Habachi, was the name of a necropolis situated near Saïs.²⁸ El-Sayed placed it north-west of the town, and Leclère to the north-east.²⁹ The second image of Neith on this naos is called *nt phw nb mrt*, translated by Capart as 'Neith des marécages du Maître des Meret', and by El-Sayed as 'Neith des Femmes, Dame d'Amour'.³⁰ A third, identical statue called 'Neith, the Opener of the Roads', *nt wp w3wt*, is shown on this naos.³¹ The goddess's epithets are different on the Decree of Saïs.

The images in the lunette are accompanied by captions whose hieroglyphs all converge towards the centre except those concerning Neith, which are turned towards the king, as she is.

Below the great winged disk

Inserted into the concavity of the wings and set on either side of the uraei figure is the usual phrase:



[1] *bhdy ntr 3 nb pt*

'Behedety the great god, lord of the sky'

Underneath, in a second line, the right and left captions are spelt differently. On the right side, in front of the cobra wearing the Red Crown it reads:



[2] *w3dt p dp di.s nh*

'Wadjit of Pe and of Dep, may she give life'

To the left, in front of the cobra with the White Crown are the words:



[2] *nhbt hdt di.s nh*

'Nekhbet the White, may she give life'

The sign for a linen ribbon is wound around the *hd* sign.

The town sign, determinative of place names, follows the words *nhbt* and *hdt*. This is probably an example of syncretic writing which would allow the total to be read rather as:



nhbt nhb hdt hdt di.s nh

'Nekhbet, She of El-Kab, the White, she of Upper Egypt (= of the White Crown), may she give life'

Similar syncretic writings concerning this goddess can often be found: in the White Chapel, for instance,³² or in the *Book of Nut*.³³ It should be noted, however, that the second sign of the town which follows the sign *hd* is not the hieroglyph of the town on the Naukratis stele, but merely a simple circle dotted throughout its inside surface, probably written for the $\textcircled{\text{O}}$ sign, the entire sentence to be read as 'Nekhbet, She of El-Kab, the White, She of Nekhen'.³⁴

Around the pharaoh

Above the plate of offering held by the right side king, under the uraeus of Lower Egypt, there are two columns:



[1] *nsw bity nb t3wy hpr.k3.r*

'... the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Kheperkare'

21 El-Sayed 1982: 3 pl. 2 doc.76.

22 Sethe 1929: 8.

23 El-Sayed 1975: 161 note 2; 1982: 3-9, 11-12.

24 Keimer 1931: 153, pl. 2; Hendrickx 1996: 24, fig. 1, pl. 3, see also Appendix II *infra*, fig. A2.2d.

25 Capart 1924.

26 *Ibid.*: pl. 1.

27 *Ibid.*: 11.

28 Habachi 1943: 387-9.

29 El-Sayed 1982: 32, 413 note 3; Leclère 2008: 177 note 131.

30 Capart 1924: 11; El-Sayed 1982: 413.

31 Capart 1924: 12-13, pl. 1.

32 Lacau and Chevrier 1956: e.g., pl. 25.

33 Text B, Neugebauer and Parker 1960: pl. 44; von Lieven 2007: 374.

34 See Appendix II *infra*, fig. A1.5b.

2 Description of the monuments, scenes and captions in the Lunette



[2] *s3 r^c n ht.f nht.nb.f*
 'the son of Re of his flesh, Nehketnebef'

Just above the same king's head is written horizontally:



di nḥ mi r^c
 'gifted with life like Re'

Underneath the plate of offerings, and in front of the king, we find:



di hnk nb n mwt.f ir.f di nḥ
 'give all offerings for his mother (so that he) may be gifted with life'

The signs spelling the words *ir.f di nḥ* should normally be directed towards the king and not towards the goddess, because the gift of life is always made from the divinity to the ruler, and, as Fischer argued, 'the same phrase *ir.f di nḥ* (usually without reversal) is applied to acts performed for a goddess'.³⁵

On the left side of the lunette, under the uraeus of Upper Egypt, the king's titulary is likewise engraved in two columns placed above the offered *wsh* necklace, without any graphic variations. The same words follow in horizontal writing, as opposite, above the king's head: 'gifted with life like Re'.

Underneath the *wsh* necklace is set in vertical text:



hnk wsh n mwt.f ir.f di nḥ
 'offering the *wsh* necklace to his mother (so that he) may be gifted with life'

Above the Neith goddesses

Above each of the mirror images of Neith are set five columns. The fifth, however, appears only once because it is set exactly in the central axis, and is therefore common to both texts, left and right. The first two columns on either side recite the words of the goddess; the remaining three (two plus the central one) declaim her names and qualifiers.

Above the right hand figure of Neith

Underneath the uraeus of Lower Egypt:



[1] *dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k nḥ w3s nb*
 'words: I give you all life, all power'



[2] *dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k df(3w) nb*
 'words: I give you all abundance'



[3] *nt wrt mwt ntr nb ntt*
 'Neith the Great, mother of the god, Mistress of (all) that is'

On both stelae, the lines separating columns 3 and 4, as well as 4 and 5, are missing.



[4] *km3 wnn*
 'She who creates (all) that exists'



[5] *di.s nḥ w3s* (Thonis-Heracleion)
 'may she give life and power'



[5] *di.s nḥ dd* (Naukratis)
 'may she give life and stability'

In column 5 on the Thonis-Heracleion stele, two *w3s* signs enclose the life sign, whereas on the Naukratis stele, these are replaced by two *djed* pillars. On both stelae, the two $\bar{\bar{\mid}}$ signs are disposed symmetrically, but inversely, on the two monuments.

Above the left-hand figure of Neith

Below the uraeus of Upper Egypt, text columns:



[1] *dd mdw di.n.(i) n.k h3swt nb*
 'words: I give you all foreign countries'



[2] *dd mdw hr inw.sn*
 'words: charged with their tributes'

In this line, the *dd mdw* which seems to cut the phrase 'I give you all foreign countries charged with their tributes' is set there for the purpose of symmetry.



[3] *nt nbt s3w nb(t) pt*
 'Neith, Mistress of Saïs, Mistress of the sky'

The sky sign on Naukratis appears as a \square . This may be either an engraver's error, or a deliberate choice to emphasize the aqueous nature of the sky. The lines separating columns 3 and 4, as well as 4 and 5, are absent

³⁵ Fischer 1977: 98–100.

on Thonis-Heracleion. On Naukratis, the separation between column 3 and 4 is visible.



[4] *hnwt w3d.wr*
'Mistress of the floods'



[5] *di.s nḥ w3s* (Thonis-Heracleion)
'may she give life and power'



[5] *di.s nḥ dd* (Naukratis)
'may she give life and stability'

The epithets of Neith

Neith the Great, Mother of the God

The first of the cited epithets (right-hand, column 3) is the most important one in the context of the Decree of Saïs: as she is the mother of the sun god, the goddess is entitled to legitimize Nectanebo I who claims her as his mother, as did the kings of the Saïte dynasty; the offerings shown in the lunette are, indeed, presented to 'his mother Neith'.

As regards the expression *nt wrt mwt ntr*, 'Neith the Great, mother of the god', we note that the adjective *wrt* right next to the name of the goddess is often linked to Neith's role as the mother of the sun.³⁶ In this way, Neith is associated with the hippopotamus goddess Tauret, who is 'big with god' (where this god may either be the Sun, or Osiris when the goddess is in the form of Opet). As a goddess linked to the primeval waters, Neith herself lets the god spring up in the shape of a lacertilian. Already in the *Pyramid Texts* the king, compared to a crocodile, is termed 'Son of Neith'. El-Sayed specified that while the relations between Neith and Sobek existed from archaic times, the goddess was clearly named 'the mother of Re' only from the eighteenth dynasty onward.³⁷ The links between Neith and Sobek are very close, and are frequently attested during all periods.³⁸ From the *Pyramid Texts* on, the dead king is likened to a crocodile rising out of the waters, born out of Neith-Mehet-weret,³⁹ and is said to be the son of Neith.⁴⁰ The goddess is Sobek's mother and protects him in the *Book of the Fayyum*;⁴¹ she is represented there in the form of Tauret.⁴² At Kom-Ombo, she gives birth to 'her

two crocodiles'.⁴³ The two crocodiles could be Shu and Tefnut, or Re and Osiris.⁴⁴ At Esna, 'she rejuvenates Re's body again in her secret form of Neith who suckles her two crocodiles'⁴⁵ and she is represented by the hieroglyph of a woman with a saurian head bearing the Red Crown and suckling two crocodiles. This hieroglyph is sometimes the determinative of the expression *rs hnwt.s*, an epithet of the goddess Neith,⁴⁶ present several times at Esna. It can be read in the same way, but also cryptographically, simply as 'r'.⁴⁷ A similar hieroglyph without the crown can be seen at Komir in a hymn to Anukis assimilated to Neith.⁴⁸ This nourishing aspect of the goddess is also illustrated, for example, on the Naples torso.⁴⁹

From the *Pyramid Texts*, Neith is identified with Mehet-weret, who is the feminine counterpart of Nun, the primeval ocean.⁵⁰ From the nineteenth dynasty on, she is the Ahet cow that gives birth to Re. At Esna, Re-Horakhty is Neith's son, born of Mehet-weret.⁵¹ According to the Esna cosmogony,⁵² Neith lets him rise from her exudations placed in an egg, and from the primeval waters, where Re was hidden in the form of Amon the Elder, *imn wr*.

Neith brings forth the sun from the depths of the water and raises it towards the sky. This is probably the reason why the deceased in the *Coffin Texts*, who identifies with the sun, implores her in the following terms: 'Oh Neith ... come under my feet ...'.⁵³ Already in the *Pyramid Texts*, it is said of the deceased: '... his *hmswt* are under his feet'.⁵⁴ The *hmswt* are the female counterpart of the *kas*, and are linked to Neith, because they are of an aqueous nature (see *infra*). It is probable that these passages in both the *Pyramid* and the *Coffin Texts* explain the presence of the Neith symbol drawn beneath the feet of Osiris in the diagram of the House of Life in *Papyrus Salt 825*.⁵⁵ On *Papyrus Louvre I 3079*, Osiris is said to have the water appear under his feet,⁵⁶ and this water is also that of the inundation.⁵⁷ The goddess is known to give birth to Re, to feed it, and, in the form of Mehet-weret, to carry it while she swims, bearing it between her horns for protection.⁵⁸

Neith carrying the sun is perhaps the reason for her association with the solar barques. The fragment of the naos published by Capart seemingly illustrates the temple of that goddess and shows the *m'ndt* and the *msktt*, the morning and evening barques set upon the same pedestal, as well as two other boats behind them called *s3ty bity*, 'The two children of the king of Lower Egypt'.⁵⁹ These

36 El-Sayed 1982: 106–9; Sauneron 1982: 35–6.

37 El-Sayed 1982: 106.

38 Ibid.: 101–6.

39 *PT* 507 a–c; 509 a–c.

40 *PT* 510 a–b.

41 El-Sayed 1982: 496–9; doc 714 a–c; Beinlich 1991: 315.

42 El-Sayed 1982: 496–9; Beinlich 1991: 100, fig. 39.

43 Gutbub 1973: 466–9, 482–3.

44 Sauneron 1962: 111.

45 Sauneron 1963: 107; Gutbub 1973: 482 note q.

46 Leitz 2002 (4): 720; 2008: 242.

47 Ibid.; Sauneron 1962: 115 note r.

48 Valbelle 1983: 161 lines 26, 163 note ff.

49 Champollion 1986: pl. 23A; El-Sayed 1982: pl. 10.

50 *PT* 507–9; Kákosy 1980: 3; Smith 2002: 82.

51 Sauneron 1968: 63, 219 lines 4–5.

52 Sauneron 1962: 262; 1968: 31.

53 *CT* V.220a; 226g; Carrier 2004 (2): 1007, 1011.

54 *PT* 396 a.

55 Derchain 1965: 81, fig. 13b.

56 Goyon 1967: 99.

57 Ibid.: 117 note 72.


58 El-Sayed 1982: 25–7, 51–7.

59 Capart 1924: pls 2–3.

latter are already mentioned on the Palermo stone. Their very special shape appears in the *Pyramid Texts* and their drawings were reproduced by Capart.⁶⁰ The *s3ty bity* boats are related to the sun, and Kees showed a small fragment from the fifth dynasty, found in the solar temple of Abu Gorab, with two persons carrying these boats (only the bow of the second one remains).⁶¹ These barques are certainly linked to the cult of Neith, because a priest of this goddess, the chief physician Psamtikseneb, whose fine naophorous statue represents the image of the temple of Neith (see Appendix II), was also a priest of the *s3ty bity*.⁶² The number of these boats (*m^cndt*, *mskt* and two *s3ty bity*) on the naos of the time of Apries published by Capart, evokes the four compass points. We know from the *Pyramid Texts* that the *m^cndt* and *mskt* boats are linked to Nephtys and Isis.⁶³ These barques carry out the daily course of the sun along an east-west axis. We may therefore wonder if the *s3ty bity*, which are associated with Shu and Tefnut and probably also with the two uraei (*s3ty*), assure its transport from northwest to southeast, meaning that they serve during the ‘Osirian’ (*bity*) passage of the annual course of the sun (Appendix I). The celestial voyages of the dead kings in the *Pyramid Texts* would thus follow those of the sun, as they are accurately described in the *Book of Nut*.

She who creates what exists

On the right side of the lunette, in columns 3 and 4 above the goddess, Neith is said to be *nb(t) ntt* and *km3 wnn*, ‘mistress of (all) that is’, and ‘she who creates (all) that exists’.

At Esna, Neith is said to be ‘the father of fathers, the mother of mothers ...’.⁶⁴ Her well-known hermaphrodite aspect⁶⁵ is expressed in a cryptographic spelling of her name , with a scarab followed by a vulture.⁶⁶ If, in this instance, the scarab is read as *n*, it also has the value of (*i*)*t* = father, whereas the vulture, read here as *t*, also has the meaning of *mwt*, i.e., mother. The inversion of the two signs (vulture followed by scarab) alphabetically spells the name of the goddess, recalling her hermaphrodite aspect.⁶⁷

Uniting within her the feminine and the masculine principle, she inaugurates and creates all that exists.⁶⁸ The Esna cosmogony details the individual stages of Neith's creation of the world:⁶⁹ she assumes the form of a cow and of a *lates* fish; she brings forth light from Nun, and a mound (*i3t*), on which appear Saïs, Buto, Esna,

and all Egypt. She creates thirty gods by pronouncing their name, and sets them on the newly emerged land. Having named the Ogdoad, she gives birth to the sun. Apophis then is born from her spittle (disorder appears), and Thoth (to re-establish order) issues forth from Re's *ib* (the heart or, more likely, the mind). As regards the notion of disorder, which appears at the moment of the creation, and immediately with it the need to restore order, it is explicitly contained in the cosmogony of the Naos of the Decades, where Re allocates to the decans their function of life and death.⁷⁰ Neith brings forth the world through seven creative spells, the *d3ysw*, which are known since the *Coffin Texts* as the *tsw*.⁷¹

Neith Mistress of Saïs, Mistress of the Sky

In column 3, placed above the left-hand Neith, the goddess is said to be ‘Mistress of Saïs, Mistress of the Sky’, *nbt s3w nb(t) pt*. The title of ‘Mistress of Saïs’ appears to be attested for the first time in the eleventh dynasty.⁷² However, this site of the goddess' cult could go back as far as the Predynastic period.⁷³

The title of ‘Mistress of the Sky’ appears in the eighteenth dynasty.⁷⁴ Sometimes the ‘sky’ aspect of the goddess is evident when she is depicted in the form of the celestial cow, decorated with stars, as for instance on the Naples torso.⁷⁵ The *Book of the Fayyum* and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* do indeed describe the creation of the sky, which has become indispensable for regenerating an ageing sun. This creation comes forth from the primeval ocean, which rises up to form the firmament.

In order to imagine the creation according to the Egyptian cosmogony, we may picture a gigantic rise of water that contributes to the creation of the sky, as if a huge volume of expanding air (i.e., Shu) exploded inside the Nun, pushing the liquid masses in every direction towards the ends of the world, to become the body of Nut (the sky), her members (the pillars at the edge of the world), the oceans on the earth, and the ground water beneath its surface (Figure 2.10). The world created by the rise of the sky, is thus surrounded by the waters of the primeval Nun (see Appendix I), and appears like a giant air bubble within an ocean stretching to the infinite. This is an ancient concept, which appears both in the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts*. *PT* 446–447 already associate Shu, Tefnut, and Ruty with the primeval gods Niu, Nenet, Amun and Amunet, whose names evoke the liquid, sombre and hidden aspects of

60 *PT* 804a, 1017c, 1719a; Capart 1924: 19, fig. 2.

61 Kees 1922: 109, fig. 1.

62 Capart 1924: 21, fig. 3; El-Sayed 1975: 248.

63 *PT* 1981–2; Capart, 1924: 20.

64 Sauneron 1962: 253; 1982: 37, lines 25–6.

65 El-Sayed 1982: 60.

66 Sauneron 1982: 212 Nt 25, 26.

67 Yoyotte 1955: 88.

68 Sauneron 1982: 36 line 22; El-Sayed 1982: 61–3.

69 Sauneron 1962: 253–71; 1968: 28–34.

70 von Bomhard 2008: 54, 63.

71 *CTV* 211a–f; 212–26; El-Sayed 1974; Barguet 1986b: 365–7.

72 El-Sayed 1982: 32.

73 Wilkinson 1999: 291, 320.

74 El-Sayed 1982: 69–71.

75 *Ibid.*: 469–70, doc. 644, pls 9–10.

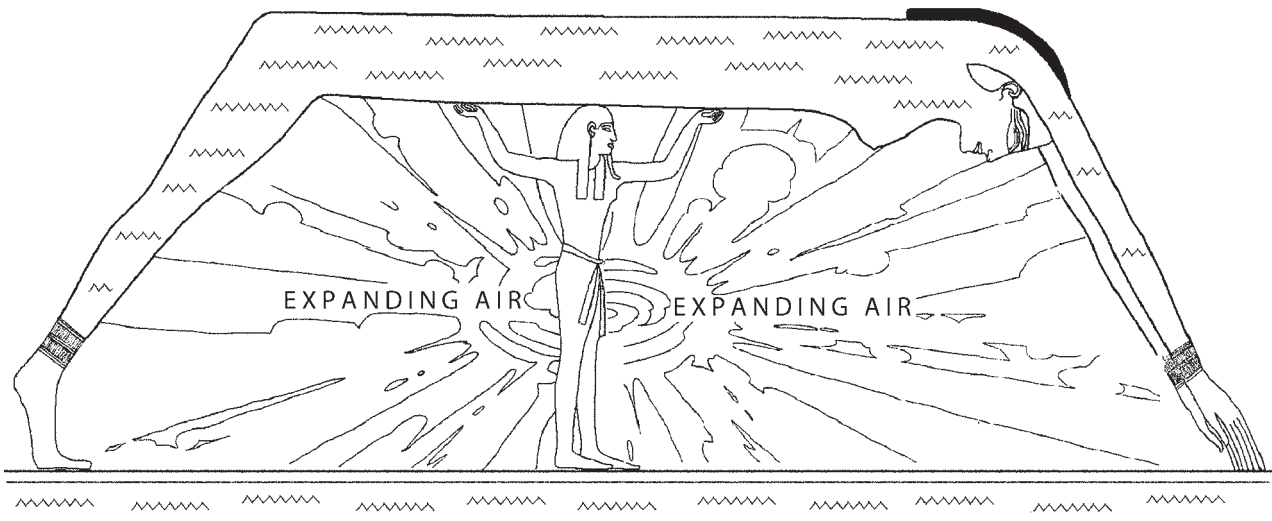


Figure 2.10 The creation surrounded by the primeval waters of the uncreated. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard, L. de La Taille.)

the Nun before creation. *CT* II.27–8 indicate that Shu brought into being the eight Chaos-gods (*hhw*) from liquid infinity, darkness and gloom, and *CT* II.1 reveals that the *hhw* gods are in charge of the members of the sky; this is illustrated later in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, where four genie couples strengthen each leg of the animal. Once the sky is created, Neith/Mehet-weret and Nut rejuvenate the sun.

The *Book of the Fayyum* describes how, once the sun is aged, Mehet-weret puts it on her back and stands up straight, raising it thus to the celestial heights. This regeneration of the god takes place in the course of twelve months.⁷⁶ We know that in the course of the year, the sunrise occurs in the south-east on the day of the winter solstice and then wanders progressively northward until it occurs in the north-east on the day of the summer solstice, from which day on it wanders south again. This point is probably illustrated in the great cosmic representation of the Boulaq-Hood-Amherst papyrus version of the *Book of the Fayyum* with the twofold navigation of Sobek of the North and Sobek of the South.⁷⁷ We can therefore suppose that Sobek of the South might be associated with the new-born sun at the winter solstice (see Appendix I), same as the crocodile named *Chemanefer*, ‘the Beautiful Southern One’;⁷⁸ the mention of the south evokes the annual rebirth of the sun.

Beinlich linked the straightening-up of the cow with the separation of the earth and the sky, as well as to the regeneration of the sun with its passage through the cow’s body.⁷⁹ This passage must clearly be the *first* night of the world, because the sky did not exist before. In the *Book of the Fayyum*, the presence of the gods of the Ogdoad in the cosmic representation⁸⁰ recalls the creation of the

sun from the primeval gods who symbolize the Nun and the chaos. As Yoyotte pointed out,

*‘Soukos, seigneur d’Ombos est celui qui est venu de lui-même à l’existence, qui est issu de l’Ogdoade, l’aîné de Methyer qui navigue sur les deux bassins du Nord et du Sud ...’*⁸¹

In the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*, Nut lifts the sun onto her back. The book, like the *Book of the Fayyum*, specifies that the sun has grown old. The generation change between Mehet-weret, mother of Re, and Nut, his descendant, suggests that the sun must have died. Once the making of the sky is achieved, Nut then regenerates the sun in the course of its first passage through her body, and gives rebirth to it at the break of the first day of the first decade of the first year. This explains the words ‘the years are born’, *ms.n rnpwt*, the expression that appears in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*.⁸² The lifting of the sky is the point when time begins. Before the sky is in place, the alternation between day and night cannot be set, time cannot be counted, and death does not exist,⁸³ because the creation of the sky is the indispensable prelude to the cycles of the sun and the other stars.⁸⁴ In mythology, the creation of death, or more precisely its differentiation (*wp*) from life, is in itself indispensable for the appearance of the stars, particularly the decans, because they were created from the *bas* of the primeval gods.⁸⁵

The *Book of the Fayyum* and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* show that Mehet-weret is closely associated with Nut, the two goddesses both bearing a strong liquid connotation. Verhoeven reviewed the various roles of the heavenly cows, to which one might add that the cow apparently carries the sun in three distinctive manners: the young god sits between its horns to be protected

76 According to the *Book of the Fayyum*: Beinlich 1991: 148, line 116.

77 Ibid. 1991: 87, fig. 26, pl. 9.

78 For the name, see Sauneron 1961: 239–40.

79 Beinlich 1991: 315.

80 Ibid.: pls 8–9.

81 Yoyotte 1962: 100.

82 Hornung 1982: 26, 46–7; Guilhou 1989: 13, 98–9.

83 Hornung 1992: 159.

84 von Bomhard 2008: 59; 2010: 165.

85 Ibid.: 2008: 67; 2010: 165.

from its enemies while the cow is swimming; the aged god sits on her back to be lifted up to the sky; and finally, it must pass through the cow's body to be regenerated and reborn.⁸⁶

One may wonder if the image of raising the sky from the primeval waters could be at the origin of the choice of Neith's ancient symbol of the beetle, which Keimer and subsequently Hendrickx, identified as the *Agrypnus notodonta*, now renamed *Lanelater notodonta* (see Appendix II, Figure A2.2) of the family of click beetles.⁸⁷ The insect is equipped with a click mechanism, which allows it, when lying on its back, to turn over without the use of its legs, and above all to avoid predation. A spine on the prosternum can be snapped into a corresponding notch on the mesosternum, which can bounce the beetle into the air to a considerable height compared to its size, and produces a 'click' to frighten away predators.⁸⁸ As El-Sayed and Hendrickx indicate, the jumps of these insects, which are very common in Egypt, were mostly observed during the period of the flood and served to keep them out of reach of the rising waters.⁸⁹ If, as we propose, the choice of this beetle to represent Neith refers to the creation of the sky from the waters and its raising, it would imply that this myth would reach at least as far back as the protodynastic period. Keimer had also envisaged identifying the insect described by the Egyptians under the name of 'nh' as *Lanelater notodonta*, without, however, formally affirming it.⁹⁰ Vernus and Yoyotte also took up the idea.⁹¹ Meeks adopted the notion advanced by Levinson and Levinson that the attribution of the name of 'living' to a type of long beetle appearing in the *Pyramid Texts*, was due to the 'rebirth' evoked by the brusque jump of the insect.⁹² Meeks suggested further that the special click sound produced by this jump resembles the clicking when shooting an arrow, as another explanation of the connection with the archer goddess Neith.⁹³

Neith Mistress of the Floods

In column 4 on the left side, Neith is 'Mistress of the Floods' (*hnwt w3d-wr*). Several divinities connected with

Thonis-Heracleion and Canopus or other localities of northern Egypt are qualified as *nb w3d-wr*, 'Master of the Floods'.⁹⁴ The very name of the goddess *nt* means 'water' or 'flood' and the ripples can also be read as *nt*.⁹⁵ Sethe studied the pronunciation of the name.⁹⁶ The texts establish a connection between the name of Neith and her mythological function; as an example, at Esna, it is said of the goddess '... Tu es l'étendue d'eau qui fit Tanen et qui fit le Nun',⁹⁷ and also 'Neith, l'étendue d'eau qui fit la terre'.⁹⁸ The texts also establish a connection between one of the names of the Red Crown, which is *nt*, and water.⁹⁹

With regard to the epithet of Neith as 'Mistress of the Floods', *hnwt w3d-wr*, without entering into the subject of the various and diverging interpretations concerning this word, we are led to understand that *w3d-wr* can describe either the sea, or a sizeable spread of water, like the Fayyum. The Egyptians considered wide stretches of water, like the Nile flood, as resurgences of the initial Nun, of which Neith is both the symbol and the personification. In the *Book of the Fayyum*,¹⁰⁰ it is said that Mehet-weret becomes a *w3d-wr* of the sea (*ym*), meaning a great expanse of water. Obviously, the sea in particular was meant in the Decree, where the word appears five times on the stele of Thonis-Heracleion and four times on that of Naukratis (see Index of Egyptian Words). As regards the qualification of *hnwt w3d-wr*, attributed to Neith on the stele of Naukratis, Yoyotte noted that:

*La fonction demiurgique de Neith-Methyer, figure des masses liquides, la qualifiait en effet comme la souveraine des espaces maritimes d'où viennent les importations grecques.*¹⁰¹

After the discovery of the Thonis-Heracleion stele, where it specifies that it was to be set up at Thonis 'at the mouth of the sea (*w3d-wr*) of the *h3w-nbwt*' (column 13), Yoyotte declared in several conferences and interviews,¹⁰² that the text on this monument definitely closes the debate about *w3d-wr* and its contested meaning of 'sea'.¹⁰³ He asserted that the sentence indicates '... évidemment l'embouchure de la mer des Grecs, par où arrivaient les importations ...'.

86 Verhoeven 2007.

87 Keimer 1931: 151–5, pls 1–3; Hendrickx 1996: 26.

88 Levinson and Levinson 2009: 36.

89 El-Sayed 1982: 23–24; Hendrickx 1996: 37.

90 Keimer 1931: 174–82.

91 Vernus and Yoyotte 2005: 446.

92 Meeks 2010: 289; Levinson and Levinson 2009: 38; *PT* 1301, 1633, 2107.

93 Meeks 2010: 289.

94 Yoyotte *et al.* 1997: 267; Leitz 2002 (3): 608; Guermeur 2005: 146, 228; Thiers 2009: 14 note d.

95 Leitz 2002: 3, 516; Jelínková 1950: 331–4; Collombert 2010: 101 note 1.

96 Sethe 1906.

97 Sauneron 1962: 111.

98 *Ibid.* 1982: 36.

99 Goebis 2008: 193–5.

100 Beinlich 1991: 152 line 141.

101 Yoyotte 1993–4: 683.

102 Such as Tonic 2003: 10.

103 E.g., Nibbi 1975: 45; Vandersleyen 1988a; 1988b; 1999: 311–12.

3 The arrangement of the texts and figures of the Decree, symbolism and orientation

The decoration of the two stelae, as common on Egyptian monuments, reflects an image of the world. It is framed by the sky at the top, the ground line at the bottom, and the pillars of the sky on either side. Although this image is two-dimensional, it provides a spatial concept in three dimensions. The surface is divided into three spheres from the sky down to the ground, which are symbolized by the three superimposed horizontal registers. As regards the vertical separation, the median axis determines the positions of the four cardinal points.

The horizontal setup: the hierarchy of registers

A device to express order and lend clarity to a composition, the use of a base or register line appeared in Hierakonpolis Tomb 100 and was fully formed by the time of the Narmer palette.¹ The superimposed registers organize the space into a hierarchy of levels to read from top to bottom.

The lunettes of the stelae represent, underneath the sky, a 'sacred' sphere separated by the ground line of the temple of Neith from the 'terrestrial' sphere represented by the 14 columns of the decree, the latter having as a lower limit the ground line on which rest the *w3s* pillars (Figure 3.1).

The top register: the sky and its supports

At the top, the sky sign extends over entire arch of the stele, its ends supported on either tip by a *w3s* sceptre, as is often the case.² These sceptres, symbols of power and domination, are prerogatives of the gods or of the deified deceased,³ for whom they may also serve as support.⁴ Four sceptres (*d'm*) as pillars of the sky are attested as early as the *Pyramid Texts*.⁵ The *w3s* sceptres holding up the sky are known from the Old Kingdom,⁶ and they support a set of wings on an ivory comb of king Djjet of the first dynasty.⁷ On this object (Figure 3.2), the image of a hawk in a barque floating on wings sets this bird up as the first clear example of its assimilation with a celestial divinity, probably a solar one. The fact that the hawk in the barque set on wings is the same bird as the one on the *srh*, already confers a 'solar' aspect to the king.

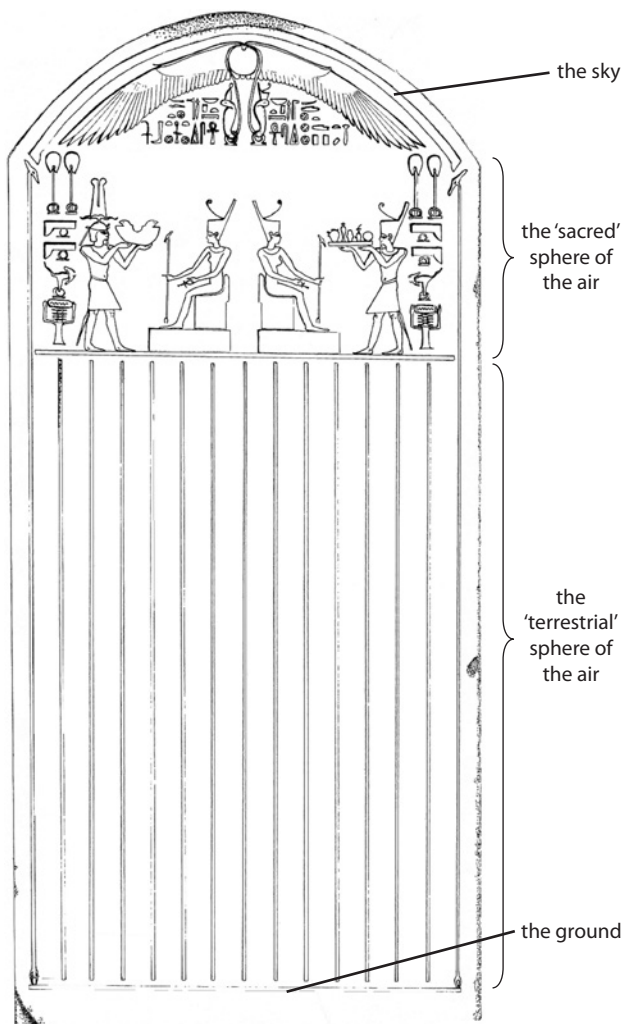


Figure 3.1 The horizontal registers of the various spheres.

Although most monuments display only two sceptres supporting the sky, as on both these stelae the scenes should be interpreted as three-dimensional, meaning that four pillars are to be understood, one for each of the four corners of the sky.⁸ They separate the created world from the uncreated (see Appendix I *infra*), and therefore Meeks and Meeks connected the Sethian, or canidian, aspect of the pillar heads with those of certain animals of the savannah, living along the edge of the deserts bordering Egypt.⁹

1 Baines 1995: 115.

2 Kurth 1975: 98–9.

3 Jéquier 1921: 176–9.

4 *Ibid.*: 177; Faulkner 1966: 155–6.

5 E.g., *PT* 348.

6 E.g., Gardiner 1944: pl. 6.5.

7 *Ibid.*: 49, pl. 6.4; Berlandini 2009: 28, fig. 1.

8 Faulkner 1969: 216 note 10.

9 Meeks and Meeks 1986: 9.



Figure 3.2 Comb of king Djet/Wadji. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

The second register: the winged disk

The domain of the air begins underneath the sky, with the winged disk, called Behedety, evolving in its uppermost part. He wanders through the air just beneath the sky, as, for the Egyptians, the sun does during the day. Ancient people could not know that the atmosphere did not extend all the way to the stars, so that, for the Egyptians, celestial bodies, when seen, did in fact glide through the upper regions of the air. This notion is elaborated in a book called *The Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars*, formerly known as the *Book of Nut*. The book explains that the stars, when they are visible, move through the air *underneath* the sky.¹⁰ When they are invisible, they are hidden by the sky, wandering *inside* it. The sun and the stars are said to float on the air, and texts from different periods even attest to their being propelled by the winds, which explains why the god Shu controls the decans.¹¹ The wind is 'the *ba* of Shu', or the expression of Shu himself, god of the atmosphere.¹²

On both stelae, the winged disk and the texts that accompany it fill the area enclosed in the arch. The disk, in the centre, at the highest point of the vault, appears to be at the zenith, and the two wings follow the curve of the sky sign, stretching along on both sides almost to its tips. The wings are asymmetrical: on the Thonis-Heracleion stele, the wing to the left is broader at its distal point than the opposite one. On the Naukratis stele, both wings are more nearly symmetrical (see Figures 2.6, 2.8 *supra*).

As regards the name of the winged disk, 'Behedety', 'He of Behedet', Kees and Gardiner agreed that the place name of 'Behedet' is derived from the word *bḥdw*, 'the

Figure 3.3 Behedety in the Djoser funerary complex. (From Dunn-Friedman 1995: 3, fig. 2b. Drawing: Y. Markowitz.)

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throne'.¹³ The name of that town would thus mean 'the Place of the Throne'. Originally, this would have been situated in Lower Egypt,¹⁴ before the name was also attributed to Edfu in the third dynasty.¹⁵ Behedet is mentioned in the White Chapel as the northernmost town of all Egypt.¹⁶

The protection by the god Behedety is made obvious through the iconography, which shows the wings spread above the king.¹⁷ This guardian aspect appears very early, but the first currently known attestation of the god as a hawk, together with the inscription of the name 'Behedety', is found in the funerary complex of king Djoser.¹⁸ Formerly, the name was written 'Behedet', and 'Behedety' only appears during the Middle Kingdom.¹⁹ In the Djoser complex, the bird above the king is shown in profile, the right wing seen from inside, the left one from outside (Figure 3.3). Borrego-Gallardo pointed out that the position of the wings changes with time, and that they are later generally represented frontally, as can already be seen from the first dynasty on the comb of King Djet (Figure 3.2).²⁰ The appearance of the disk between the wings is currently dated back to the fourth dynasty.²¹

As regards the uraei issuing from the solar disk, they are apparently attested only from the reign of Niuserre, although Fakhry suggested that it was present on a block from the temple of Snefru.²² From an astral point of view, the two uraeus goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet embody Sirius which, at its first rise, comes up just before the disk of the sun. Since this is first observable in the extreme south, the star is Nekhbet in Upper Egypt. As this heliacal rise wanders northward by roughly one degree of latitude per day, it becomes visible some five days later

10 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 67, 71; von Lieven 2007: 80, 85–6.

11 von Bomhard 2008: 39–42.

12 E.g., Gutbub 1973: 100; Hornung 1982: 26, 47.

13 Kees 1924: 71; Gardiner 1944: 43.

14 Gardiner 1918: 223; 1944: 33–41; Montet 1957: 111–14.

15 Gardiner 1944: 33.

16 Montet 1957: 112.

17 Schäfer 1928: 113–19.

18 Friedman 1995: 3, 30; Blumenthal 2003: 6; Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 7.

19 Otto 1973: 683.

20 Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 14.

21 *Ibid.*: 14–15, fig. 4.

22 *Ibid.*: 15 note 38; Fakhry 1961: 148, 153, fig. 223.

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Figure 3.4 The king Nynetjer and the palace of the god. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen from Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 16, no. 78.)

in Lower Egypt, where Sothis is Wadjet.²³ The rise of this star precedes the sun's first appearance of the year, and seems to give it life, and thereby to give life and power to pharaoh, the son of Re and his heir on earth. This is the reason why, since earliest times, Sothis is said to be 'Mother of the God', i.e., of the sun.²⁴ Probably because they are assimilated to Sothis, who annually gives birth to the sun, many goddesses, including Neith, are called 'Mother of the God'. The first appearance of the star takes place in Upper Egypt, which is very likely the reason why Nekhbet predominates over Wadjet as a crown goddess. Kaplony demonstrated that the 'palace of the god' (*ḥ ntr*) is a place where the crown is deposited, and specified that in the Old Kingdom, it was said to be 'of Upper Egypt'.²⁵ This place under the control of Nekhbet (Figure 3.4) was initially situated at Hierakonpolis.

Despite the fact that Wadjet is also a crown goddess, Nekhbet thus appears to have had priority in attributing kingship (Figure 3.5). Observed since the most ancient days, Sirius is identified with various forms of Hathor, the goddess linked to the tall ostrich feather, symbol of justice, which Sothis bears in the astronomical representations.²⁶ The star, appearing above the sun and clearing its way, is symbolized by the uraeus above the head of the king, removing all evil from his path, as do Sothis and the decans for the sun.²⁷ Although the earliest appearance of the concept of the Two Ladies is dated to the reign of Aha,²⁸ the first currently known attestation of the uraeus on the head of the king appears on an ivory label from the time of king Den, found at Abydos.²⁹ As Baines has observed, with reference to the development of the royal titulary in the first dynasty: 'the "Two Ladies" title ... related the king to the tutelary goddesses of the chief place at the extreme ends of the country, Nekhbet of Hierakonpolis, and Wadjet of Buto'.³⁰

Borrego-Gallardo emphasized that Behedety is above all the guarantor of the institution of royalty, which he seems to legitimize, and that the god confers kingship by presenting the signs *ḥnh*, and above all *šn*, to the king.³¹

23 von Bomhard 1999: 46.

24 Altenmüller 1965: 126–7.

25 Kaplony 1962: 6–11.

26 von Bomhard 2008: 245–8.

27 Ibid.: 70–71, 226.

28 Wilkinson 1999: 203.

29 Ibid.: 191.

30 Baines 1995: 127.

31 Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 9.

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Figure 3.5 Nekhbet, the crown goddess: a) second dynasty (from Kaplony 1962: 9, fig. 8); b) second dynasty. (From Quibell 1900: pl. 38.)

The shielding gesture of the god spreading his wings above the king, and the fact of conferring sovereignty to him, are even more evident on some later monuments, where two arms surrounding the king's cartouche are added to the god's two wings.³² In former times, the *šn* and *ḥnh* signs were held by the hawk's claws (Figure 3.3),³³ or those of Nekhbet in her form as a vulture (Figure 3.5b). When both birds are shown, they are usually set facing each other (see Appendix I, *infra* and Figures A1.1, A1.3, A1.5).

On the Decree of Saïs (Figure 3.1), a *šn* sign hangs from the body of each uraeus issuing from the disk, one being crowned with the White Crown of Upper Egypt (Sothis-Nekhbet), the other one with the Red one of Lower Egypt (Sothis-Wadjet). The god Behedety and the uraeus goddesses thus seemingly offer the Two Lands to their outermost southern and northern extent to Pharaoh. On both sides, the uraeus displays Neith's name on its open hood (see *infra*, Figure 3.17), and we know of the goddess' role in attributing the double crown of North and South to the king;³⁴ the name of Neith itself, like the title *ḥrp ḥwwt nt*, may have the two crowns as a determinative.³⁵ The fact that the two uraei bear the same name on the Decree confirms that they do indeed represent two aspects of one and the same goddess. In Dendera,³⁶ Isis/Sirius is identified with various goddesses, including Neith, Wadjet, and the Venerable Vulture, mistress of Hierakonpolis (i.e., Nekhbet).³⁷ On the decree, Neith is also Sothis-Sekhmet, the dangerous goddess protecting the sun (and the king) against their enemies.

The presence of Behedety on both stelae is also explained by the legend of the winged disk, which constitutes part of the text of the 'Myth of Horus at Edfu'.³⁸ This legend is inscribed on the inner face of the east and west enclosure walls of the temple, accompanied by 16 scenes, the first of which bears the title 'Lifting Heaven'.³⁹ This myth deals with a revolt against Re-Horakhty which

32 Radwan 1975: 220–3; Sourdiver 1984: 426–7 note 1; Baines 1985: 42; Spieser 2000: 329.

33 Friedman 1995: 3; Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 22–6, figs 4, 6–10.

34 de Meulenaere 1960: 126.

35 Ibid.: 125 notes 1–2.

36 *Dendera* I: 21.

37 Cauville 1998: 41, 43.

38 Leitz 2006: 126–32.

39 Fairman 1935: 27.

took place in the year 363 of his reign. According to the various interpretations, Re-Horakhty had landed in the nome of Behedet.⁴⁰ Horus of Behedet, who was in the god's barque, warned the Sun god against the enemies conspiring against him, and he fought these enemies in the sky with his chest (*h3t*). This translation of *h3t*, earlier interpreted as 'forehead, uraeus', is no doubt better, for, as Baum pointed out, peregrine falcons have a bony ridge protruding from the sternum against which prey is struck at the close of a dive.⁴¹

After having battled against the enemies in the sky, Horus of Behedet followed into the water those who had taken refuge as crocodiles or hippopotami, in order to exterminate them; he even changed into a lion to pursue enemies on land or in the mountains. He then assumed his form of the winged disk at the bow of the solar barque, taking Nekhbet and Wadjet as uraei to terrify potential opponents. Re-Horakhty subsequently gave orders to Thoth that the winged disk was to be reproduced in all the shrines of the gods and in all other places where he might come. He decided that the Horus of Behedet predominant in Upper Egypt be placed to the right, together with Nekhbet, and the one predominant in Lower Egypt to the left, together with Wadjet. This is how he is represented on the stelae of the Decree of Saïs, because the winged disk must be understood as facing a spectator who looks south, with the bird flying northward towards him, the right wing with Nekhbet, the left one with Wadjet.

Derchain suggested that the legend should be understood to describe the annual solar cycle: the 363rd year would, in fact, be the 363rd day of the year, i.e., the third epagomenal day, when Seth is born.⁴² This day would indeed seem particularly suitable for a day of revolt against an ageing sun at the end of the year. Derchain placed the episode at the beginning of the Egyptian year, towards mid-July when Sirius rises. However, Kurth pointed out that the sun is not in the south in mid-July as Derchain stated, but in the north, and also that the intensity of the summer sun rays fit badly with the notion of an ageing sun. He suggested that it is more likely for the episode to have taken place near the winter solstice, when the sun is weak, and rises more to the south.⁴³ Egberts believed in several interlocking myths rather than a single narrative, and he noted that a date of the seventh day of Tybi, mentioned in the text, indicates that the combat of Horus would have begun on the first day of that month.⁴⁴ Be that as it may, the myth seems to deal, at least in ancient times, with the cyclical renewal of

the sun, as Kurth and Derchain argued, since in the *Book of Nut* it is said of the sun that 'he comes into existence as the great god in Behedet'.⁴⁵ The sun's rebirth at the same time evokes the renewal of kingship. This last point is of foremost consideration in the present context. Gardiner demonstrated that the great winged disk symbolized from the very beginning the fusion of the sun god Re with Horus, and above all with the ruling king.⁴⁶ This is proven by the monuments displaying the name of the king between the two uraei.⁴⁷

The great winged disk assumes a double function: on the one hand, it legitimizes the king above whom it appears, by giving him the *sn* and *nh* signs,⁴⁸ and on the other, it would represent one of the deified forms of the living king by assimilating him with the sun. Far from being a simple ornamental device, its presence on the two stelae would testify to the all-encompassing power of the king. The pharaoh, on this decree Nectanebo I, is recognized as the king by Horus of Behedet and compared with him.⁴⁹ The king makes his own the god's feats and his role in the extermination of the enemies of the Sun god, as is said of King Ptolemy in the Myth of Horus at Edfu.⁵⁰

The third register: the king and Neith

This third register shows two mirror scenes, in each of which the king stands facing two statues of the sitting goddess Neith, to whom he makes offerings. Neith sits facing outward, and both figures are explained by captions that follow the orientations of the pharaoh and the goddess. A group of tall hieroglyphs fills the entire space behind the king, reaching all the way up to the tips of Behedety's wings.

The group of signs behind the king

This group of hieroglyphs engraved in a column behind either pharaoh making his offerings is, in fact, no mere caption, but expresses another divine manifestation of the king. The importance of this collection of signs has been emphasized by Jéquier and their significance studied by Kees.⁵¹ The group can be found in all periods, accompanying the king in scenes of rituals or offerings,⁵² frequently in a context of the legitimization of royal power (Figure 3.3). They also appear on 'magical' monuments like the Metternich stele; they can be found in the *Book of the Dead*,⁵³ and also in a cryptographic passage on the Salt Papyrus.⁵⁴ Certain signs in the group are sometimes borne by a *w3s*, or alternately by an

40 Ibid.: 28–36; Blackman and Fairman 1942; 1943; 1944; Drioton 1948; Alliot 1954: 708–56.

41 Baum 2007: 71, 537 note 24.

42 Derchain 1978: 51–2.

43 Kurth 1982–3: 72–3.

44 Egberts 1997: 53–4.

45 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 62; von Lieven 2007: 75.

46 Gardiner 1944: 49–50.

47 E.g., *ibid.*: pl. 6.2; Hassan 1938: 54–5; Radwan 1975.

48 Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 9.

49 Spieser 2000: 65; Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 14 note 37, 19 note 61.

50 Fairman 1935: 36.


51 Jéquier 1905: 171; Kees 1912: 119–34.

52 E.g., Traunecker 1986: 62.

53 Piankoff and Rambova 1957: pl. 17.

54 Drioton 1942: 115, fig. 18; Derchain 1965: 140, 173–4 note 108.

nh, to which a pair of arms is added, like those on the reliefs of the reign of king Djoser in the Step Pyramid at Saqqarah.⁵⁵ The horseshoe-shaped markers are absent from the decree, although they can be found (without the other signs) on the Narmer mace head, and on an ebony label of Den;⁵⁶ they are generally present in the *Heb-sed* scenes, as boundary markers of the running ritual of the royal enthronement.⁵⁷

Almost all the signs composing this group are combined with the *sn* sign ,⁵⁸ which symbolizes ‘(all) that surrounds the disk’ (*sn̄t itm*). The *sn* sign is also the cartouche around the kings’ names from the time of king Snefru,⁵⁹ or the end of the third dynasty.⁶⁰ The cartouche could evoke, according to Gardiner, the universe encircled by the king, as it is by the sun.⁶¹ The entire group behind the king seems to provide him protection, and it is often accompanied by the words ‘protection around him’.⁶²




 The first two signs are fans whose form may vary.⁶³ Kees interpreted them as royal insignia, and they are thought to have a protective meaning.⁶⁴ Might the sign therefore be read as *hw* or *s3*? In a representation of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, each fan displays the sign *s3* inside (Figure 3.6a). Barguet pointed out that certain images of these fans can be observed to be the pillars supporting the sky,⁶⁵ and that they can even by themselves represent the Royal *Ka*, of which the entire group appears to be an equivalent. Barguet linked these fans to the gods Shu and Ptah.⁶⁶ As these two gods can, in fact, personify the atmosphere, the function of bearing the sky would naturally revert to them.⁶⁷ The ‘celestial’ aspect of the fans is enhanced by the occasional presence of a star inside the sign, e.g., on the papyrus of Khonsu-mes,⁶⁸ or engraved on walls (Figure 3.6b). On the Decree of Saïs, the two fans are placed on each side just beneath the wingtips of Behedety, as if they sustained the god’s flight, like air supporting the flight of the birds. The fan evokes the air and the wind, which are embodied by the god Shu, but it also evokes the shade; thus, it could also be read *šw* or *šwyt*.⁶⁹ Cabrol insisted on the fact that the fan that accompanies divine images, animals figuring gods, or the king, is connected with the air, and that it appears in special circumstance, such as the king in combat.⁷⁰ The sign of the fan may also imply the



Figure 3.6 The signs of the fan: a) Temple of Seti I at Abydos; b) Palace of Merenptah. (Photo: the author, © IEASM; courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.)

notion that the air reaches the limits of the universe, and would therefore be read as *hpty*, the extreme limits. This reading could also justify the use of the fans as pillars of the sky indicating the frontiers of the creation.

 The next two signs probably represent elements of a door (lintel or pivot?) opening the *kr̄rt* caverns from which exits the Nile.⁷¹ They could be read as *kr̄rty* or *k3rty*. For Spencer, they represent either the boundaries of the sky, or the two skies (higher and lower),⁷² which is possible since the sky comes out of the primitive nun. As in the preceding group, the duplication of the sign could be an apparent dual, implying its interpretation as a ‘nisbe’ as suggested by Montet.⁷³ Should we perhaps understand ‘he of the cavern’, ‘he (who governs) the cavern’, or ‘he who circumnavigates both skies’?

 The water scorpion, first identified by Lacau as a ‘nèpe’, was studied by von Känel and Spieser.⁷⁴ The tail of that insect is in fact a tube allowing it to reach the surface of the water and thus to breathe. The sign that reads *srk*, is also the name of the goddess Serket, meaning ‘She who lets breathe’. Spieser pointed out

55 E.g., Gardiner 1944: pls 3.3–3.4; Dunn-Friedman 1995: 3, fig. 2; Borrego-Gallardo 2004: 8, fig. 1; see also this volume, Figures 3.3, 3.6b.

56 Wilkinson 1999: 214.

57 Spencer 1978: 52–4.

58 Jéquier 1914: 141.

59 Ibid.: 139.

60 Wilkinson 1999: 208.

61 Gardiner 1988: 74.

62 E.g., Kees 1912: fig. 14; Kurth 1975: 29.

63 Jéquier 1905: 174.

64 Kees 1912: 125–8; Jéquier 1905: 173–4; Baines 1985: 74; 1990: 8;

1995: 120.

65 Barguet 1951: 207, note 2; Christophe 1957: 38; Kurth 1975: 29, 90.

66 Barguet 1951: 207.

67 Berlandini 1995.

68 Piankoff and Rambova 1957: pl. 17.

69 Drioton 1942: 121; Bell 1985a: 33–5.

70 Cabrol 2001: 401–03.

71 Kees 1912: 128–31; Wainwright 1934: 146; Drioton 1942: 122–3; Vandersleyen 1967: 134–5 note 16.

72 Spencer 1978: 54–5.

73 Montet 1961: 21.

74 Lacau 1971b: 243; von Känel 1984; Spieser 2001: 251 note 2.

that the insect shows human arms in representations, and that it is disproportionately tall when carried as an emblem during processions.⁷⁵



The last of the signs is of uncertain reading. It combines the sign of the *dd* pillar with that of the *ka*, the latter bearing an oval with the hieroglyph for water inside. The oval sign is generally used to designate a space; the oval with the water sign thus defines a water space,⁷⁶ which explains why the rebus (*im(y) n*) is particularly apt for spelling the name of 'Amon'. Wainwright noted that even if this sign is not read as 'Amon' earlier than the 22nd dynasty,⁷⁷ it nevertheless evokes, from its first appearance in the Old Kingdom, the watery nature of the sky, and the god Min-Amon.⁷⁸ At Esna, it is said that before its creation, the sun was hidden in the primeval waters under the name of 'Amon the Ancient'.⁷⁹ In addition, the sky is considered to be the naos of Amon Re.⁸⁰ The connection of the sign with water is demonstrated by a text from Philae, which clearly alludes to the sequence of the group of signs;⁸¹ in Thoth's decree about the enthronization of Horus, we read:

Underneath the two fans, the sign of the basin, in this text from Philae, seems to replace the *krty* which liberates the flood. The following signs, read as *phrr hr*, 'the circular course of Horus', certainly allude to the king's ritual course symbolized on other monuments by horse-shoe shaped markers. The *Q* sign just after *phrr hr* suggests that pharaoh's ritual run is compared to the course of the sun, *šnt itm*, '(all) that surrounds the disk', and that the king's course symbolizes that he takes possession of the entire universe. After *srk htyt*, 'he who makes the throats breathe', the sign of the water alone replaces the composite sign on the stele. The space of water concerned is the one of the original nun. On the composite sign on the Decree of Saïs, it is enclosed in an oval placed on the summit of a *dd* pillar, and is held by the two raised arms of a *ka* sign which recalls the gesture of the god Shu upholding Nut (Figure 2.10). From a 'cosmic' point of view, this extent of water would be the one containing the goddess as well as the infinite, sombre liquid outside of her body and members. The *dd* pillar is the venerable pillar (*dd šps*), an expression that applies to the 'Atlas' gods Ptah and Shu upholding the sky,⁸² as well as to Osiris.

The composite hieroglyph, which does indeed assemble the *dd* and the sign of the *ka* that bears Amon, or the sky and what it contains, is in itself

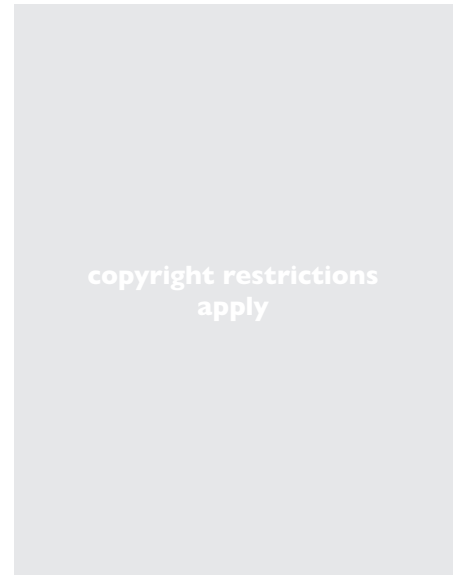


Figure 3.7
Representations
of the Royal *Ka*.
(From Barguet
1951: 206,
figs 1–2.)

an evocation of the Royal *Ka* (Figure 3.7), which is said to 'bear Amon on its head as Horus on his *srh*'.⁸³ The living Royal *Ka* is said to be itself the sixth *ba* of Amon.⁸⁴

To summarize, the total group of signs behind the king could mean something in the order of: 'Protection of Him who raises the sky and fills the space to its limits, of Him who opens Hapi's caverns, who lets the throat breathe, of Him who bears Amon on his head'.

All these attributes describe the powers of the Royal *Ka*, which was interpreted by Greven as the incarnation of a god in the king's person,⁸⁵ and by Faulkner as one of the aspects of the divinity of the king, who becomes a Horus.⁸⁶

The Royal *Ka*

The Royal *Ka* is represented in two different ways: either as a pole, or in human shape, with four arms, two of which, as a *ka* sign, uphold the *srh*, the two others holding the ostrich feather and a cane with a human head (Figure 3.7). This Royal *Ka* appears rather frequently throughout all periods, for example with Pepi II,⁸⁷ Sesostri I,⁸⁸ Amenhotep III,⁸⁹ Tutankhamen, and in Greco-Roman times.⁹⁰ One recalls the lovely statue of the *ka* of king Hor who bears the sign of the *ka* on his head (Figure 3.8). Comparing Figures 3.7 and 3.8, and taking into account the position of the arms of King Hor, the statue was very probably holding a real ostrich feather in his right hand, and the pole bearing a royal head in his left one.

75 Spieser 2001: 255, figs 2–3; Kees 1912: fig. 14.

76 Möller 1921: 193–4.

77 Ibid.: 194.

78 Wainwright 1934: 145–6.

79 Sauneron 1962: 262.

80 Drioton 1944: 120.

81 Junker and Winter 1965: 20 line 8.

82 Gutbub 1973: 189.

83 Ibid.: 153.

84 Klotz 2006: 35–6.

85 Greven 1952: 27.

86 Faulkner 1955: 141.

87 Jéquier 1938: pls 8, 36, 41.

88 Lacau and Chevrier 1956: pl. 30.


89 Brunner 1977: pl. 64; Bell 1985b: 264, fig. 2, 277, fig. 7; 1986: 57.


90 Johnson 1986: 52; Waitkus 2010.


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Figure 3.8 Statue of the *ka* of king Hor, late twelfth dynasty, Cairo Museum CG 259. (From Baines and Málek 1980: 137, drawing J. Fuller.)

The Royal *Ka* seems to be the incarnation of the cosmic and divine aspect of the king's function, assimilating the ruler with a god supporting the sky: Ptah, and above all Shu, which latter god is said to be the living Royal *Ka* of Re, and his son.⁹¹ Klotz said that '... Shu is truly the bearer of the Royal *Ka* or the Royal *Ka* itself'.⁹²

 The Royal *Ka*, like the fans and the god Shu, supports the sky. In the ritual of *tw3-pt* (raising heaven), the king is identified with Shu: he recreates the world, as the god did 'the first time', he holds up the sky and occupies the entire space between the sky, the ground, and the four pillars of heaven.

 The Royal *Ka*, identified with the *ba* of Shu, causes the arrival of the flood by bringing out the waters from the caverns *krirt* because it determines the rhythm of the seasons by assuring the movements of the sun and the decans, as does the wind. The association of the king's person with the flood, is particularly clearly expressed from the nineteenth dynasty onwards.⁹³ In the ritual of confirmation of the royal power, which is probably a compilation of ancient texts,⁹⁴ it is said of the king: 'Il amène le Noun aux maîtres de l'Inondation'.⁹⁵

 The Royal *Ka*, like Shu, is 'he who lets the throats breathe' (*srk htyt*). As Shu is the god of air, it would appear normal that he is *srk htyt*. This expression means more precisely 'he who gives (re)birth',

because for the Egyptians, air is the basic principle of life. In *Papyrus Louvre* I 3079, Shu declares 'I am he who brings breath to the obstructed throat (*htyt g3w*) and thanks to it (the air), life reaches the throat ...'.⁹⁶ The epithet *srk htyt* is thus particularly well-adapted to Shu because of his power of 're-knitting' the heads of Isis and Osiris in the *Coffin Texts*.⁹⁷ In *Coffin Text* VI, the deceased declares 'my head is knit on for me by Shu'.⁹⁸ Shu can bring back life because a re-attached head allows air to pass through the nose and thus lets the thorax of Osiris and the deceased breathe. In the *Pyramid Texts* is written: 'O Shu, this one here is Osiris the King whom you have caused to be restored that he may live'.⁹⁹ The myth of the beheaded seems to have an astral origin,¹⁰⁰ because the stars appearing on the horizon are easily compared to heads, and Shu is precisely the god who makes the sun and the stars rise and move.¹⁰¹ The expression used for the first appearance of the decans in the *Book of Nut* is 'to show the head', *rdi tp*.¹⁰² The same expression is used for the sun¹⁰³ and the moon,¹⁰⁴ and the 'resetting' of the deceased's head by Shu can be compared with the reappearance of the stars on the eastern horizon, which also depends on the god of the winds.

In the *Book of Nut*, the expression *srk htyt*, linked to the light, is opposed to *rthw kbt*, 'he who clamps the chest', linked to obscurity.¹⁰⁵ In that book, these terms concern the regions on the border of the universe.¹⁰⁶ *srk htyt* is an epithet attributed to a great number of divinities,¹⁰⁷ including Serkhet and Isis, who have the power to release throat strictures, Amon, Re or Horus-Behedety, who bring the light, and Harpocrates the healer.



The Royal *Ka* bears Amon and the stars on its head, as does the god Shu. Thus, it assumes the 'astrological' function of this god in relation to the position of the stars as appearing on the Naos of the Decades.¹⁰⁸ On that monument, Shu decides the destiny of humans by sending either premature death or long life. In his name of 'Lord of Combat' he causes the premature death of the enemies of Egypt and of the evildoers, while in his name of 'Lord of Life', he accords a long and agreeable life to the just, as do the *kas* of Ptah called *šw*, *ndm-šnh* and *iḥ-rmwt*. In his aspect of the reclining mummy, he grants a beautiful burial to the just, as does *htp-i(3)d*, the last of the four *kas* of Ptah. As 'Foremost of All Living *Kas*',¹⁰⁹ the

91 Gutbub 1973: 295.

92 Klotz 2006: 36.

93 Grimal 1986: 269; Baines 2008: 104.

94 Goyon 1972: 8.

95 Ibid.: 62, 96 note 112.

96 Goyon 1967: 102, 148.

97 *CT* II, 37a–38h, 41f–44g.

98 *CT* VI, 126c; Faulkner 1977: 155.

99 *PT* 1872; Faulkner 1969: 271.

100 Meeks 1991: 9; von Lieven 2007: 168, 171; Leitz 2008–09: 14.

101 von Bomhard 2008: 39–43, 228.

102 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 68, 74; von Lieven 2007: 88–9.

103 E.g., Drioton 1944: 135 note b.

104 Labrique 2010: 108–10.

105 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 45, 52–3; von Lieven 2007: 50, 59, 126, 128, 141, 153, 156.

106 See Appendix I, *infra*.

107 Leitz 2002: 434–7.

108 von Bomhard 2008: 87–90, 97, 231–2, fig. 109; 2011: 135–6.

109 Bell 1985b: 278.

Royal *Ka* provides for the *ka* of the king's subjects and creates material abundance (*k3w*).

Very probably this last point is one of the reasons why the group of Royal *Ka* signs accompanies the offering scenes in the decree, whose promulgation should bring riches to the temple of Neith, and the resulting prosperity for the country. The foremost reason, however, is that the entire group of tall signs conferring Shu's powers to Nectanebo I is the expression of the legitimization of the king, which was of paramount importance to proclaim at the very beginning of his reign. It should be emphasized at this point that the Thonis-Heracleion stele was found in a temple connected precisely with this transference of the king's power.

The cosmo-theocratic aspects of the king

Two aspects of the king's divinity are shown on the decree: Behedety, who makes the king the heir of Horus, and the group of the signs of the Royal *Ka*, which make him the heir of Shu. Both are already displayed in the third dynasty (Figure 3.3), on representations of Djoser's funerary complex. They can also be found in the fourth dynasty in the temple of Snefru.¹¹⁰ These two aspects of the king's divinity are of a cosmic nature and can be differentiated into a 'borne' element and a 'bearing' one:

- the 'borne' element is Behedety, Horus, heir of Osiris, the solar aspect of the king, who was considered to be the earthly manifestation of Horus and the son of Re throughout Egyptian history.¹¹¹ On the Decree of Saïs, Behedety is accompanied by the two uraei, aspects of Sirius.
- the 'bearing' element is the Royal *Ka*, *ba* of Shu, bearing Horus on its head (Figure 3.7), as stated in the texts. During ceremonies to confirm royal power in the new year, it is said that the king 'stood tall as the support of Him-who-is-in-His-naos' (i.e., Amon-Re);¹¹² at Esna, 'the living Royal *Ka* bears the secret naos on its head'¹¹³ and the king is said to be 'the venerable naos inside which is Amon', *k3r šps imn m hnw.f*.¹¹⁴ Shu is himself a naophorous priest.¹¹⁵

In a way, the Royal *Ka* as the 'bearing' element is the air (Shu), which carries and moves the sun, the 'borne' element, in its uppermost sphere, i.e., 'on the head'.

Especially during the eighteenth dynasty the aerial 'bearing' element can be illustrated by the Heheh genie set above the *djed* pillar,¹¹⁶ or by Heheh alone placed on the gold sign.¹¹⁷ In such cases, the 'borne' element is

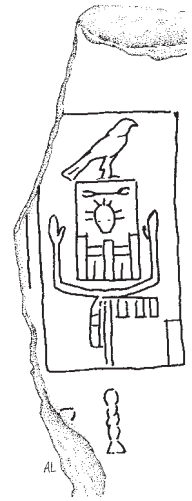


Figure 3.9 *hwt-k3* of the Horus Anedjib, Louvre E 20545. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

not merely the name of Horus, as in ancient times, but also all the other royal names,¹¹⁸ and above all the king's prenomen which is the 'solar' name,¹¹⁹ Pharaoh himself being qualified as 'the image (*tit*) of Re'. The Heheh genie replacing the oval containing the water sign on the *dd* pillar indicates clearly the close parental tie between Nun and Heheh, and underlines the aqueous as well aerial nature of the eight genies upholding the cow's legs in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*.

The two aspects of the uplifted name of the king, by the Heheh genie or by the Royal *Ka*, are shown together on a pectoral of Tutankhamen, the first one behind Ptah and the second behind Sekhmet,¹²⁰ both gods protecting the king.

It is difficult to determine the period when the concept of the Royal *Ka* as the bearer of the Horus name appears. A sherd from an alabaster vase found at Abydos (Figure 3.9), dating from the first dynasty, shows the image of the *hwt-k3* of the Horus Anedjib. It displays the Horus name borne by the *ka* sign set on a standard,¹²¹ which recalls the classical images of the Royal *Ka* bearing the Horus name. This arrangement is found concerning the *hwt-k3* of Hotepsekhemwy of the second dynasty,¹²² and points to the emergence of complex conceptions of kingship from an early date.¹²³ From an iconographic angle, we emphasize the variance in disposition on the decree of the two groups of the bearing element and the borne, which express the cosmo-theocratic aspects of the king (Figure 3.10):

- The texts that accompany Behedety are displayed *horizontally*, and on the upper part, i.e., under the sky; they underscore the celestial aspect of the living king who is compared to a hawk. The peregrine falcon rises high in the sky for its spectacular nose

110 Fakhry 1961: 66, 149–53, 169.

111 O'Brien 1996: 129.

112 Goyon 1972: 62.

113 Sauneron 1963: 79 line 39.

114 Ibid.: 27 line 7.

115 Drioton 1944: 119–20 note c; Gutbub 1973: 152.

116 Berlandini 1993: 14–16.

117 Ibid.: 18–21, figs 6–7.

118 Ibid.: figs 2–3, 6–7.

119 Ibid.: 20 note 34.

120 Gnirs 2004b.

121 Kaplony 1965: 18, 16, fig. 31; Baud 2009.

122 Petrie 1901: pl. 8; Lacau and Lauer 1959: pls 12, 15; 1961: 32.

123 Baines 1991b: 87.

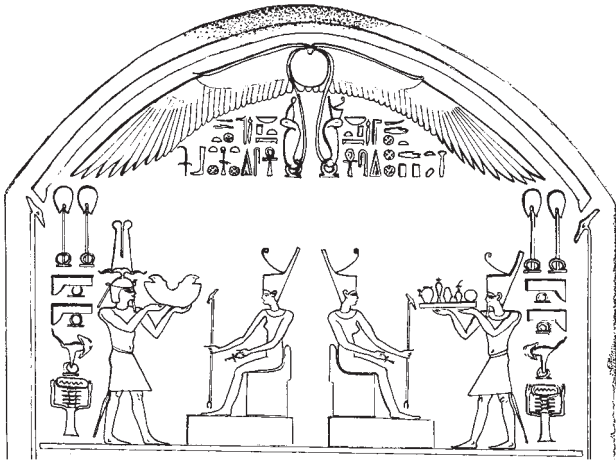


Figure 3.10 Disposition of the texts and figures expressing the divine nature of the king. (Drawing: B. Vallée.)

dive; this is probably the origin of its name *hr*, ‘The Uppermost’, because it flies in the highest regions of the atmosphere, where, according to the Egyptians, the stars move. In the form of this bird, the king is, of course, identified with the sun, but also very probably with several other stars or planets: ‘Horus-the-Red’ (Mars), ‘Horus-the-bull’ (Saturn), ‘Horus-who-bounds-the-two-lands’ (Jupiter), or even the decans. At Kom Ombo, the first decan Knoumis is shown anthropomorphically, with the head of a hawk topped by the double crown.¹²⁴ On the Naos of the Decades, the *Ba* of Shu/Royal *Ka* appears in the various forms of the rising, culminating or setting sun moving within a decanal framework, which varies with each successive decade. As a rising sun, its aspect is that of a falcon-headed sphinx (Shu-Soped).

- The tall signs set behind the king are generally disposed *vertically*, like a column or a pillar, emphasizing the aspect of the living Royal *Ka* supporting the sky, identified with the *ba* of Shu, the god who holds up the sky, the sun and the stars.

Particular engraving of the texts expressing the divine nature of the king

In the lunette, the scenes are framed and ‘protected’ by the texts expressing the divine nature of the pharaoh, these being disposed around the ruler in the segment of a circle that follows the protective wings of Behedety (Figure 3.10):

- at the top is Behedety, a divinity related to the solar Horus, with the accompanying texts on either side. The two uraei Nekhbet and Wadjet, that accompany the course of the sun, present the *sn* sign, conferring the sovereignty of the country from south to north, to the king.

- on both sides, behind the images of the pharaoh, appear the signs of the Royal *Ka* expressing both Shu’s protection of the sovereign and a form of royal divinity rendering the king the heir and equal of this god.

Close examination of the two stelae reveals that the wings and the groups of hieroglyphs describing the divine nature of the sovereign are treated in a particular way: the winged disk and the signs that constitute its captions, as well as the columns of signs of the Royal *Ka*, are engraved much deeper than the other hieroglyphs on the lunette. This is very clearly visible on the photograph of the removal of the imprint from the Thonis-Heracleion stele.¹²⁵ The reverse image produced by the imprint distinctly shows the higher relief of these hieroglyphs (Figure 3.11). The deeper engraving of these signs and figures is also notable on the Naukratis stele.

The writer and the engravers wished, in a certain manner, to underline the importance of these texts, probably to emphasize the king’s divine aspects and power. In order to achieve this, the shadow of these signs was considerably increased by engraving them more deeply into the stone: 3–4 mm instead of the half millimetre of the other signs in the lunette. In contrast, the central disk of the sun is raised to catch the sun’s rays, and for those who saw the stele standing, this bright knob must have stood out against the much darker signs carved more deeply. A single glance must have been sufficient to be arrested by the disk’s brightness and the dark texts framing the scene, underlining their importance. This is a fine example of the artistic way in which the past masters of Egyptian monumental epigraphy used light and shade.

The goddess Neith

In the centre of the ‘sacred’ aerial space, the scene shows the temple of Neith symbolized by the two statues of the goddess sitting back to back. This dual image recalls the duality on the representations of the sanctuary dedicated to Neith in Saïs, which also appears in a hieroglyph that occasionally spells the name of the goddess or of the nome of Saïs,¹²⁶ an example of which is found in column 12 of the decree.

The mirror images of the goddess, placed under the crowns of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively, suggest that the double offering of the king is carried out in both the north and the south part of Neith’s sanctuary.¹²⁷

Below the lunette, the text of the decree itself is set into the lower register, the ‘terrestrial’ sphere of the air.

The fourth register: the terrestrial sphere

The fourteen columns of the decree detail the qualities of the royal person and the king’s kind deeds to the temple of Neith. The number of columns very probably

¹²⁴ Neugebauer and Parker 1969: pl. 32.

¹²⁵ Goddio and Clauss 2006: 323.

¹²⁶ See Appendix II, *infra*.

¹²⁷ See *infra*: ‘The axis and the position of the cardinal points’.



Figure 3.11 Removal of the cast of the Thonis-Heracleion stele, showing the salient sun and the difference in depth of the various signs in the lunette. (Photo: F. Pereira; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

was chosen to evoke the fourteen *kas* of the sun god,¹²⁸ to which the deified king is assimilated. Like the sun, the king would own fourteen *kas*.¹²⁹ The vertical arrangement of the text further recalls the direction of the sun's rays which give vitality to animals and plants on earth. The fourteen *kas* of Re each have a name, which describe the various aspects of this god's beneficial gifts.¹³⁰ They are embodied in the form of men bearing the *ka* sign on their head, with the hieroglyph spelling their name written between the two arms of the sign.¹³¹ In the Late Period they appear essentially in economic processions symbolizing the prosperity of the land, when they are often accompanied by their feminine counterparts, the *hmswt*, shown as women bearing a shield with two crossed arrows on their head, similar to the emblem of Neith of Saïs.¹³² This sign spells the word *hmswt*. Meeks indicated that this attribute '... permet de les considérer, avec l'aide d'autres indices, comme originaires de cette ville' (i.e., Saïs),¹³³ and added that some texts identify the *hmswt* as '... les premières terres productrices émergées du chaos'.¹³⁴ On naos CG 70021, which is dedicated to the

god Soped, seven *hmswt*, shown as shields with an animal head on their top and crossed by two arrows, repose on the hieroglyphic sign of the mound *ibt*.¹³⁵ Virenque noted the existence in the Hildesheim Museum of a 31.5 cm high stone example identical to these images.¹³⁶ Gardiner pointed out the antiquity of the association of the *hmswt* and the *kas*,¹³⁷ since the *Pyramid Texts* state that: '... the *kas* of Ounis are behind him and his *hmswt* under his feet'.¹³⁸ In a way, the lunette of the Decree of Saïs illustrates the spell, since the signs of the Royal *Ka* appear as a protection behind the ruler, and the fourteen columns of the terrestrial sphere are beneath his feet.

El-Sayed examined the context in which the word *hmswt* is attested.¹³⁹ Some *hmswt*, described as the frog goddesses, are associated with Neith and with the abundance brought by the flood in the *Coffin Texts*.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the *hmswt*, which are, like Neith, connected to 'wateriness', seem to complete the beneficial effects of the sunrays by those of the flood that fertilizes the land. Neith is herself linked to the floods and to the riches they provide. These floods can be the inundation, as in the *Coffin Texts*, or the Fayyum,¹⁴¹ or the

128 Wilson 1997: 1074–5.

129 Moret 1902: 57, 226.

130 Gardiner 1915: 258–9; 1916: 84, 94–5; Lanzzone 1974: 1205–6.

131 Cf. Lanzzone 1974: pl. 390.

132 Gardiner 1915: 259–60; Lanzzone 1974: pl. 391, 3, 4.

133 Meeks 1971: 40; 75–6 note 135.

134 Ibid.: 40; see Drioton 1944: 136; *Edfu IV*, 313, 7–8.

135 Naville 1887: pl. 6, 5th register; Virenque 2009: 306, pls 64, 66.

136 Virenque 2009: 307, pl. 73b.

137 Gardiner 1915: 259.

138 *PT* 396a; Carrier 2009 (1): 145, 341.

139 El-Sayed 1982: 145–8.

140 *CT IV*, 121f–122i.

141 El-Sayed 1982: 41–2; Beinlich 1991.

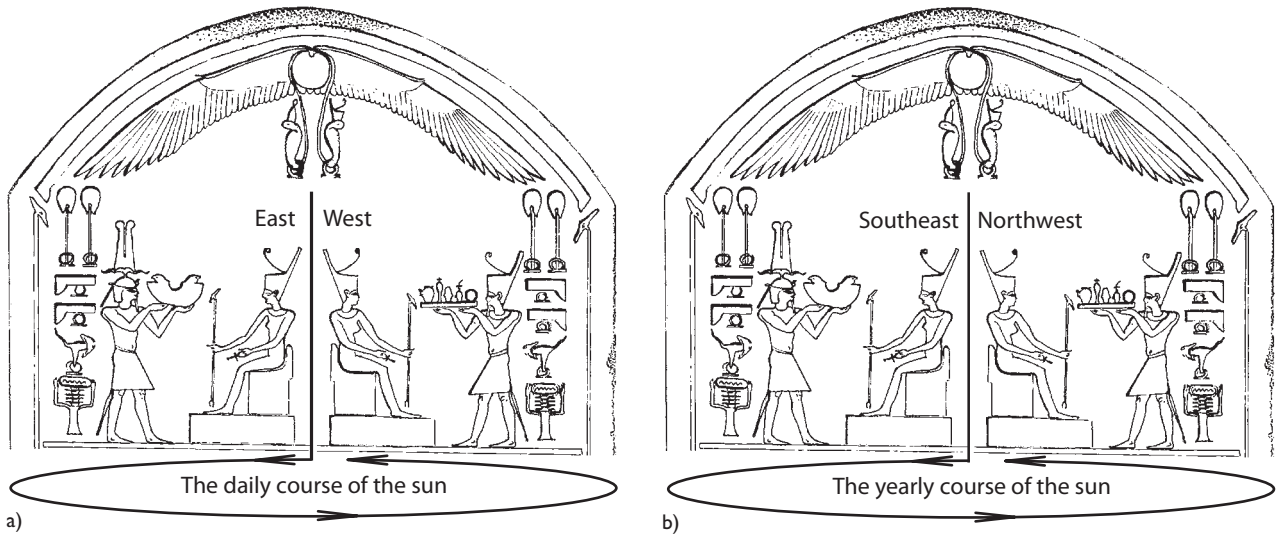


Figure 3.12 The axial separation and the course of the sun: a) the daily course; b) the yearly course.

sea, as on the decree, where the goddess is called ‘Mistress of *w3d-wr*’.¹⁴² In column 12 of the decree, it is further explained that, as ‘Mistress of *w3d-wr*’, ‘she is the one who creates its abundance’. In this case, ‘abundance’ describes the riches coming in from the sea. The various different kinds of flood, i.e., inundation, great lakes, or oceans are of course linked together, since they were all perceived as a resurgence of the Primeval Ocean, the Nun.¹⁴³ Neith is often identified with Mehet-weret¹⁴⁴ and also with Nun.¹⁴⁵ Allen pointed out that the term of ‘The Great Flood’ ‘... though not directly associated with Nut in the Pyramid Texts encapsulates an image of the sky as both water and a cow’.¹⁴⁶ Meeks and Meeks stated that Mehet-weret is an aquatic and terrestrial space rather than a celestial one,¹⁴⁷ and Bickel believed that she is ‘... une déesse ou un élément solide émergeant du flot’.¹⁴⁸ Be that as it may, Neith, like the *hmswt*, is manifestly linked to the beneficial effects of the waters. Baines noted, when discussing the *w3d-wr*, that the ‘... swampy area of the delta, with their products of fish and birds, could be included in the notion as well as the sea, with which they do not have a very sharp borderline’.¹⁴⁹ Ever since the Old Kingdom, *w3d-wr* appears as a deity among the fecundity figures, for example, in the tomb of Sahure¹⁵⁰ and in the relief fragments in the sun temple of Niuserre.¹⁵¹ This deity can also be found as a fecundity figure in the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹⁵²

Another point of note in this fourth register is the disposition of the king’s titulary: the names of the pharaoh are present in the first and the last column of the decree (Figures 2.2–2.5). As they are close to the shaft of the *w3s* sceptres, they may seem to strengthen, as it were, the two neighbouring pillars supporting the

sky in this ‘terrestrial’ sphere, as does the group of signs expressing the Royal *Ka* in the ‘sacred’ one. In addition, the royal names of Kheperkare and Nectanebo in a cartouche are each present four times (two in the lunette and two in the decree); this number of four probably refers to the four cardinal points and to the limits of the universe. The deified king, like Shu, supports the sky, and occupies the entire space between the sky, the ground and the four pillars, i.e., the entirety of creation. Lorton identified the five *bas* of Horus, the *hr b3 diw*, as the royal names which are believed to be aspects of the king’s divinity.¹⁵³

The vertical setup: the axis and the position of the cardinal points

When suggesting a more satisfactory order of reading the texts on the statue of Udjahorresne, Baines drew attention to the fact that ‘... the chief interest of the front of the statue is likely to have been its presentation of general and cosmological concerns rather than particular historical events’.¹⁵⁴ In the same way, the image of the royal twin offering in the centre of the lunette on the decree is the essential purpose of the monument, because it encloses the king’s actions in a cosmic movement of which the edict on the stele is merely one of the manifestations.

As Westendorf clearly demonstrated from other examples with similar arrangements, the median vertical line on the decree, dividing the lunette of the stelae into two parts, must be considered to be the axis of the world, as if the western and eastern horizons were set back to

142 Lunette, left Neith, column 4.

143 Sauneron 1962: 357; 1968: 152–3; Smith 2002: 115–17.

144 El-Sayed 1982: 51–6.

145 Ibid.: 57–8, 123; Smith 2002: 82–4.

146 Allen 1989: 16 note 107; e.g., *PT* 507a–c; 509 a–c; 510 a–b.

147 Meeks and Meeks 1986: 67–72.

148 Bickel 1994: 67.

149 Baines 1985: 182.

150 Nibbi 1975: 39, fig. 8; Baines 1985: 84, fig. 44.

151 Nibbi 1975: 40, fig. 9; Baines 1985: 104, fig. 72.

152 For the Middle Kingdom, see Nibbi 1975: 41, fig. 10; for the New Kingdom, *ibid.*: 42, fig. 11 (2).

153 Lorton 1994: 183 note aa.

154 Baines 1996: 87, 92.

back (Figure 3.12a).¹⁵⁵ Below, this line separates the two figures of Neith, and, at the top, it passes between the two uraei; the disk of Behedety on this axis line seems to have risen above the mirror image of Neith, as Re emerged from the body of this goddess.¹⁵⁶ At Esna, it is written that ‘... this god (Re) emerged from the exudations issuing from her body’, *ḥꜥ.n ntr pn m rdww pr m ḥw.s.*¹⁵⁷ On the right side of the lunette, this vertical axis is, in fact, the western horizon, and to the left, it is the eastern one. The sun rises and begins its daily course at that limit, behind the goddess Neith sitting on the left part, under the uraeus of Upper Egypt. The curve of its progress defines the space in three dimensions, and also ends at that limit, behind the goddess Neith sitting to the right, and under the uraeus of Lower Egypt (following the curve at the bottom of Figure 3.12a).

Thus, the king faces the western horizon when he presents the vases and loaves of bread to his mother Neith, and he offers her the necklace when he faces the eastern horizon.

On the basis of his examples, Westendorf identified the east and west position according to the daily course of the sun. On Figure 3.12a only the daily trajectory of the visible sun is represented by the curve. The nocturnal return passage from west to east is entirely contained in the vertical axial line.

It can be demonstrated that the annual course of the sun is also indicated on the stele, as shown in Figure 3.12b. In Figure 3.12a the median axis concentrates the nightly trajectory of the sun, whereas in Figure 3.12b it includes the entire phase of the sun’s yearly decline between the summer and winter solstices.¹⁵⁸

The northwest offering

On the right-hand side, under the uraeus of Lower Egypt, the king, looking westward and bearing the Red Crown, offers a tray with vases and bread loaves to Neith (Figures 3.13, 3.14). In column 8 of the decree, this royal offering is termed ‘the *kebeh* libation’, and it is specified that it is made ‘for his father, Lord of Eternity’. We may suppose that the scene shown on the right side of the lunette should be situated in the north of the temple of Neith at Saïs, because this is the place where, according to the texts, the sanctuary of Osiris would have been situated.

It is known, principally from Herodotus, that the temple compound of Neith in Saïs spread over an immense area,¹⁵⁹ and that it also contained all the tombs of the Saïte kings.¹⁶⁰ Herodotus further indicated that the tomb of Amasis, although still inside the sanctuary court, was placed slightly further away from the temple than the others.¹⁶¹ The major part of the two big conglomerations of the *rs-nt* and the *mḥ-nt* appears to have been dedicated to weaving.¹⁶² *Papyrus Louvre I 3079* records that Osiris is bandaged by Neith in the *rs-nt* and the *mḥ-nt* sanctuaries.¹⁶³

Ruins were still visible in Saïs in the nineteenth century, and were visited by members of Napoleon’s expedition to Egypt. Champollion visited the site on September 16th 1828 and saw three cemeteries, the most important of which might have contained the burials of the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty.¹⁶⁴ He was very impressed by the size of the compound, of the scattered stone blocks, and the brick remains. Leclère gathered together nineteenth century descriptions of the remains,¹⁶⁵ but very little is visible today.

Herodotus indicated that a tomb of Osiris was located in Neith’s compound behind her temple, extending ‘along the entire wall of this temple’.¹⁶⁶ Two tall stone obelisks stood there, with a neighbouring lake, where mysteries were celebrated.¹⁶⁷ The Osiris cult at Saïs is documented by a great number of inscriptions mentioning the names of his sanctuaries: the *ḥwt-bit*, ‘the Temple of the King of Lower Egypt’,¹⁶⁸ and the tomb itself, the *ḥwt ḥm3g* ‘the Temple of the Wrapped One’,¹⁶⁹ which would be contained in the *ḥwt-bit*.¹⁷⁰ Other buildings were added to those dedicated to the two principal gods Neith and Osiris, like those for Horus of *rs-nt* and Horus of *mḥ-nt*, the House of Re to the east, that of Atum to the west, and still others for further divinities venerated at Saïs, notably Sobek, Nekhbet and Wadjit, Isis and Tait, as well as a number of other gods who were also adored there depending on the period, such as Amon-Re from the New Kingdom.¹⁷¹

Several divinities from the temple of Neith appear on the fragment of a naos from the period of Apries; the registers of this naos probably dealt with the temple of Neith at Saïs.¹⁷² Two statues of this goddess, exactly identical to that of the decree, are placed one after the other before Wadjit, Nekhbet, Sekhmet and Bastet.¹⁷³ In the registers above that of these goddesses can be seen a

155 E.g., Westendorf 1966: 72–3, fig. 61.

156 See Appendix I *infra*, fig. A1.8.

157 Sauneron 1962: 262; 1968: 31.

158 See Appendix I *infra* for a detailed discussion.

159 Herodotus *Historia* 2.175; Mallet 1888: 31–8, 71–6; Málek 1984: 355–7; Leclère 2003: 25–6; 2008: 173–5, 180–1.

160 Herodotus *Historia* 2.169.

161 Ibid.

162 Piehl 1892: 49; El-Sayed 1975: 180–93.

163 Goyon 1967: 106, 130.

164 Habachi 1943: 372.

165 Leclère 2003: 15–24; 2008: 159–84.

166 Herodotus *Historia* 2.170.

167 Ibid.: 171.

168 El-Sayed 1975: 199–208.

169 Ibid.: 208–13.

170 El-Sayed 1975: 212; Leclère 2008: 169 note 70.

171 El-Sayed 1975: 196–8, 215–18; Guerneur 2005: 117–25; Yoyotte 2011: 10–11.

172 Capart 1924.

173 Ibid.: pl. 1.

celestial cow suckling a king, and some dangerous male divinities, among whom figures a well-known god of Saïs, ‘the Master of the two horns in the temple of Neith’, *nb ʿbwy m hwt nt*, as an anthropomorphous mummy with a crocodile’s head. In the register below the one containing the two statues of Neith appear Thoth, and another identical statue of Neith called ‘Neith who opens the ways’, *nt wp w3wt*. Behind her stands ‘Min in Saïs’ ithyphallic. Further left in the same register is Meret of the South, then a female divinity, followed by the Mehyt lioness. Further down, a register displays four solar barques.¹⁷⁴ The next register below contains two forms of Osiris, represented as living men, in a walking attitude, followed by the god Ha, ‘Master of the West’. Then comes a hawk named ‘Horus of the temples of Neith’ or ‘of the temples of the Saïte nome’, *hr hwwt nt*. The register below this is almost entirely destroyed, but the names of a series of crocodile gods is visible.¹⁷⁵ The first of the two Osirises shown on this naos is named ‘Osiris Lord of Eternity’, *wsir nb nhh*. Beardless, his arms stretched alongside his body, he wears the two ostrich feathers, and was identified by Capart as Anedjeti.¹⁷⁶ The second has a beard, his two closed fists crossed over his chest, but he holds neither sceptre nor flail, and has the Red Crown of Lower Egypt on his head. His name is ‘Osiris Master of the Entrance of the Cavern’, *wsir nb r3 krr*.

Taking into account the names and epithets of the gods of the temple of Saïs, which are engraved on the naos published by Capart, it appears that the name ‘Lord of Eternity’, *nb nhh*, of the god to whom pharaoh makes his offerings (column 8 of the Decree of Saïs) is not only the usual epithet of Osiris, but the designation of one of his particular forms venerated in Neith’s temple in Saïs. Osiris *nb nhh*, in a Karnak chapel from the Saïte Period studied by Traunecker,¹⁷⁷ appears as a god ‘Lord of Life’, providing the living with subsistence, and the deceased with offerings and ritual libations. The hymns addressed to Osiris *nb nhh* at Karnak request that this god be clement, *hṯp hr.k nfr*, to the king,¹⁷⁸ describing him as the god who brings the abundance of the flood to the living. If the same power were attributed to Osiris *nb nhh* at Saïs, we may better understand that on the decree Nectanebo I wanted Osiris *nb nhh* to bring this prosperity to the country, in return for the donation which is the subject of the stele.

The location of the Osiris sanctuary, the *hwt-bit*, has been debated,¹⁷⁹ but according to Herodotus it was located to the north, inside Neith’s temple, close to the *mḥ-nt*, or more probably, as part of the *mḥ-nt*

compound.¹⁸⁰ This northern location would agree with the representation on the decree, where the scene of the offering to Osiris of Saïs is set beneath the uraeus of Lower Egypt.

The *kebeh* offering to Osiris Lord of Eternity of Neith’s temple at Saïs was a ritual observed by the Saïte kings, as recalled by the text engraved on the famous naophorous statuette in the Vatican representing the chief physician *wḏ3-ḥr-rs-nt*.¹⁸¹ He lived during the reign of Apries, of Amasis, and the beginning of the Persian period. He commanded the royal navy under Psamtik III and then entered the service of Cambyses after the defeat of Egypt. He enjoined the Persian ruler to take measures in favour of the temple of Neith, to chase away the foreigners who had settled within the sacred territory, to recreate the splendour of the Saïs temple, to reinstate the personnel necessary for the celebration of the goddess’s cult, and the revenue to provide for her offerings.¹⁸² The statuette (70 cm high) shows Udjahorresne holding a naos containing Osiris.¹⁸³ He is qualified as the revered, *im3h*, before Osiris-Hemag, and we read: ‘His Majesty (Cambyses) ... (re-)instated the presentation of libations, *ḳbh*, to the Lord of Eternity, *nb nhh*, within, *m-ḥnw*, the temple of Neith, as was done by all the kings before.’¹⁸⁴

From the date mentioned on the Decree of Saïs, we understand that Nectanebo I, as soon as he was enthroned, wanted to propitiate the priests of Saïs, who no doubt supported his accession to kingship. Like Cambyses, he continued the tradition by offering to the god Osiris *nb nhh* the *kebeh* libation: ‘... as was done by all the kings before’, thus promising the country prosperity. He also provided the offerings for Neith and, in order to grant these, he increased the temple revenue through the decision which is the object of the decree on the stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis.

The offering to Osiris is carried out facing west, where the sun completes its daily course, and in the north-western segment, where it begins its annual decline.¹⁸⁵ The offering made facing the point of daily and yearly decline of the sun god has a reviving purpose for the dead Osiris.

The king, with a beard on the Thonis-Heracleion stele (Figure 3.13a), and without one on Naukratis, bears the Red Crown of the north, which, on the Naukratis stele is decorated with a ribbon (Figure 3.13b). The first two vases, *nmst* and *ḥs*, probably contain the ‘purifying water from the Nile’, *ḳbhw pri m nnw*.¹⁸⁶ The *ḥs* vase is the more frequently represented in the scenes illustrating purification acts, both of people and of places.¹⁸⁷ It is also the vase which Hapi holds in his hand or presents on a tray as a

174 Ibid.: pls 2, 3; see Chapter Two *supra* and Appendix I *infra*.

175 Ibid.: 23–5, pl. 2.

176 Ibid.: 23.

177 Traunecker 2010.

178 Ibid.: 169, 173.

179 Posener 1936: 13 note y.

180 El-Sayed 1975: 207–8; Leclère 2008: 170 note 74.

181 Posener 1936: 1–26; El-Sayed 1975: 235–6; Baines 1996.

182 Posener 1936: 15–16.

183 Baines 1996: 84–5, figs 1–2.

184 Posener 1936: 18.

185 See Appendix I *infra*.

186 Baines 1985: 164, 194, 311.

187 Jéquier 1921: 306–7.



a)



b)

Figure 3.13 The northwest offering of vases and breads: a) on the Thonis-Heracleion; stele b) on the Naukratis stele. (Photos: B. Vallée.)

symbol of the flood,¹⁸⁸ and it is the one the god himself uses for libations.¹⁸⁹ It is much more seldom that a fecundity figure, *nwn*, is seen to present also the vase *nmst*.¹⁹⁰ In the context of the king offering water, Traunecker presents several examples of an association of the two *hs* (or *snbt*) and *nmst* vases, noting that the *nmst* vases destined to hold ointments, were made of hard stone—often granite—and the *nmst* vases destined to hold water of precious metals.¹⁹¹ In certain scenes of investiture or of offerings where the king is accompanied by the group of Royal *Ka* signs, pharaoh is shown offering the *hs* or *kbh* vases to a divinity,¹⁹² in which case it is sometimes indicated that they contain floodwater issued from *nwn*.¹⁹³

Like the *hs* jar, the *nmst* is also frequently used in daily rituals, and also, in the number of four (representing the four cardinal points) in the ceremonies of the opening of the mouth together with the four *dšrt* jars.¹⁹⁴ There exists an analogy between funerary ceremonies and those of the cults of gods in the temples when they aim at revitalizing the image of a god in his naos.¹⁹⁵ This comparison is particularly apt for the decree, where the offering is made

in the Osiris sanctuary of the temple of Neith, which contained a tomb of Osiris. We know that the flood water is identified in the *Pyramid Texts* with the humours issuing from the god, and that it has revitalizing powers.¹⁹⁶ In *Papyrus Jumilhac*,¹⁹⁷ the *kebeh* offering made by Anubis to his father Osiris is related to the humours (*rdww*) of the god and the arrival of the flood.¹⁹⁸

With the exception of the presence of a beak, the form of the *nmst* jars on the decree resembles that observed during the Old Kingdom as described by Jéquier:

... une panse arrondie, plus large dans le haut que dans le bas, un fond plat et un léger rétrécissement des parois autour de l'ouverture, qui est le plus souvent sertie d'un rebord plat.¹⁹⁹

However, to this ancient form is added a spout that was frequently found in the New Kingdom. It should be noted above all as a very interesting particularity that on both stelae the jar shows a spout in the form of the *mšt* feather (Figure 3.14). Similar objects were indicated,²⁰⁰ and were published and studied by Tawfik, who also noted that they were attested in the eighteenth

188 du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 109–19.

189 Baines 1985: 306–16.

190 E.g., *ibid.*: 160, fig. 98.

191 Traunecker 1972: 204–6, fig. 2; 213 note 2.

192 E.g., Kees 1912: fig. 5.

193 E.g., Traunecker 1986: 62.

194 Jéquier 1921: 309–11; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 131–4; Cauville

2011: 28–9.

195 Jéquier 1921: 309; 1922: 191.

196 E.g., Blackman 1912: 69–71; Delia 1992: 183–4.

197 *P. Jumilhac* 12.1–7.

198 Vandier 1961: 122.

199 du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 133, fig. 53; Jéquier 1921: 310.

200 E.g., in Traunecker 1972: 229 note 3, pl. 50.

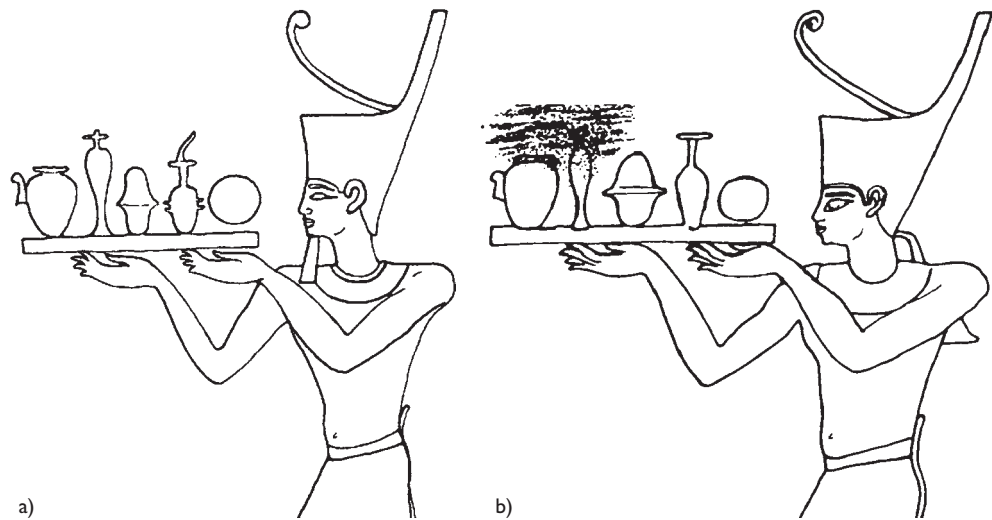


Figure 3.14 Detail of the northwest offering and the Maat feather spout of the *nmst*: a) on the Thonis-Heracleion stele; b) on the Naukratis stele. (Drawings: A. L'Amoulen.)

and occurred throughout the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.²⁰¹ In one of the items reproduced by Tawfik, the feather of each of the two *nmst* jars shows a double contour, indicating that the recipients were in fact four, to illustrate the daily purification ritual.²⁰²

Tawfik seemed to indicate that this decorative element was not present later than the twentieth dynasty.²⁰³ The decree, however, provides an example dating from the beginning of the thirtieth dynasty. Another such example appears on the stele called 'Satrap Stele' of the early Ptolemaic Period, where the offering of the vase and the bread closely resembles that on the Decree of Saïs. The *m3ʿt* feather decorating the *nmst* jars²⁰⁴ also appears on other jars, like the *hs* or *ʿnh* vase.²⁰⁵ In some cases, the jar is even absent, the water pouring directly out of a feather.²⁰⁶ The spout in the shape of the *m3ʿt* feather decorates the holy vase of Amon.²⁰⁷ Schott believed this to be a purely symbolic addition,²⁰⁸ but it appears nevertheless, as Traunecker noted,²⁰⁹ to be a real spout, since it can be seen on earthenware jars actually recovered.²¹⁰ In some representations the water is shown to escape from the feather spout of the vase, e.g., in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.²¹¹

On the significance of the presence of this element in the shape of the *m3ʿt* feather, Tawfik suggested that 'the idea behind introducing this new decorative element probably was to express that the water poured out from the jar was as pure as truth. This explanation suggests itself if we keep in mind that Akhenaton emphasized his title 'living on *m3ʿt*'.²¹²

ʿnh m m3ʿt is an epithet attributed also to the Royal *Ka*.²¹³ Where the Royal *Ka* is shown, it generally holds a *maat* feather in one hand.²¹⁴ We know that one of the

king's main responsibilities is to maintain '*m3ʿt*', i.e., the cosmic balance and justice to guarantee the orderly march of the world. The decorative element on the decree has thus a particular legitimizing value, since the king offering the *nmst* jar with the *m3ʿt* feather spout is leaning against the group of signs suggesting the cosmic powers of the Royal *Ka*. This is also the case on the Satrap Stele. Very probably, a notion of reciprocity existed between the king offering *maat* to the sun god and the power of justice conferred to the king by the god.²¹⁵

Following the *nmst* and *hs* jars, a tall loaf set right in the middle of the tray, together with the tray itself, results in the *hṫp* sign, spelling the word *hṫpw* for offering (Figures 3.13, 3.14). This tall bread and a round loaf are set on either side of a jar which has a different shape on either stele. This recipient displays an aspect somewhat similar to the determinative of the *mnw* measure of wine engraved in column 11 of the decree. The two small horizontal lines representing the elements used to suspend it can be clearly seen on Thonis-Heracleion (Figure 3.14a),²¹⁶ whereas the jar on Naukratis has a more elongated neck and does not show them, although on Naukratis the two lines on the vase appear in column 11 of the decree. Above all, the one on Thonis-Heracleion bears the stopper that is rather characteristic for the milk jar,²¹⁷ but which may also be found on wine jars, and wine libations are attested in a funerary context.²¹⁸ Wine, like milk, was supposed to favour rebirth.²¹⁹ We know of the strengthening virtue of milk which the king offers to the child gods. We also know that the word *ʿnh-w3s* may figure as a denominative for milk in the Late Period,²²⁰

201 Tawfik 1979: 339, figs 5, 9–10, pls 46c, 47d, 47e.

202 Ibid.: pl. 47e.

203 Ibid. 1979: 341.

204 Löhr 1975: pl. 4 (1).

205 Tawfik 1979: 339–41; Radwan 1985: 216 note 29.

206 Radwan 1985: fig. 4.

207 Schott 1972: figs 1, 3–5, pl. 2.

208 Ibid.: 39.

209 Traunecker 1972: 226 note 3, 229 note 3.

210 von Bissing 1902: 56–7, 66.

211 Calverley 1938: pls 31, 34.

212 Tawfik 1979: 339.

213 Bell 1985a: 35, 50 note 122.

214 O'Brien 1996: 133–4 note 163.

215 Assmann 1969: 156–7.

216 du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 39–41.

217 Ibid.: 43.

218 Dils 1993: 120–2.

219 Goyon 2004: 223, 331; Spieser 2007: 1725–8.

220 Leclant 1951: 127 note 37.

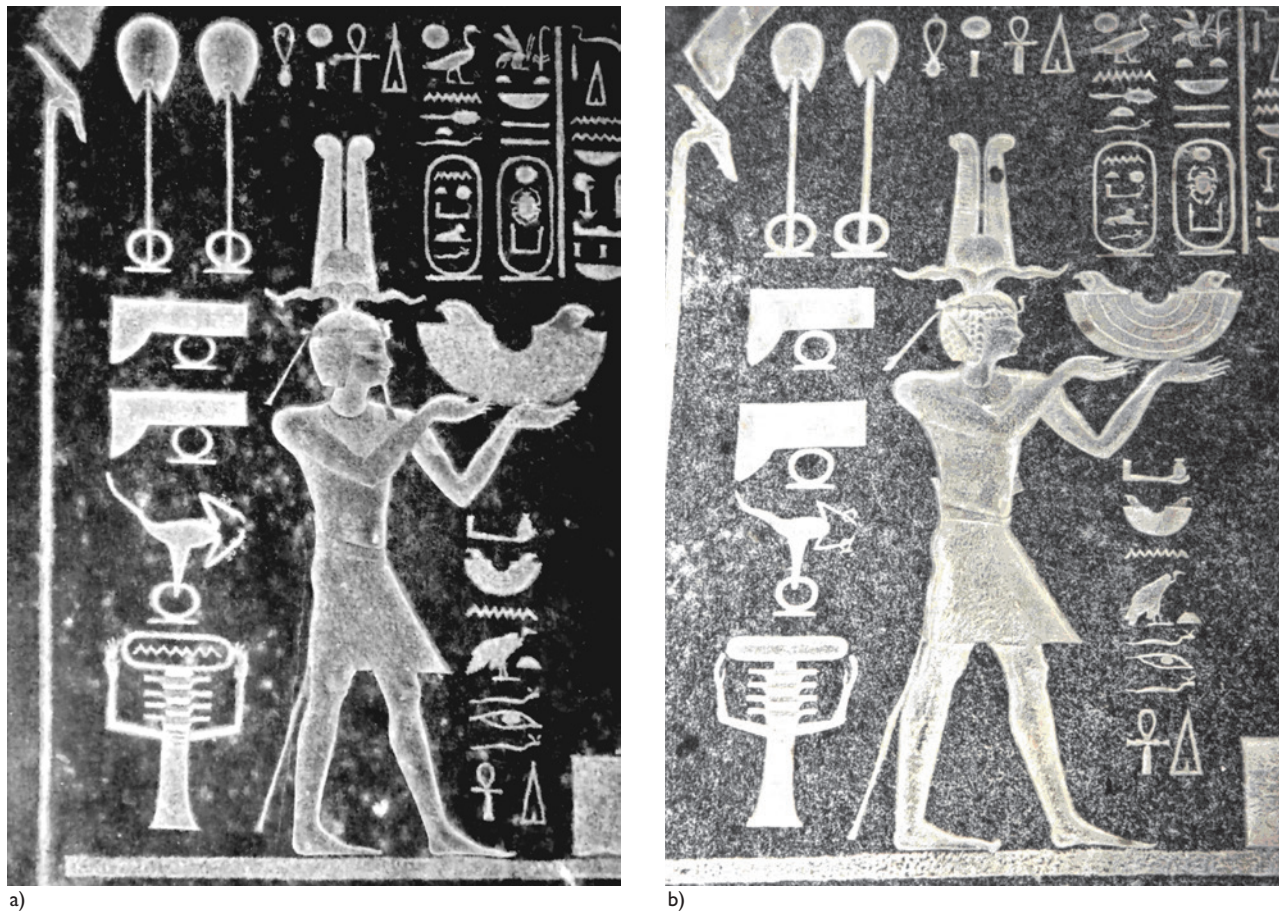


Figure 3.15 The southeast offering of the *wsh* necklace: a) on the Thonis-Heracleion stele; b) on the Naukratis stele. (Photos: B. Vallée.)

and it is also offered in funerary rituals to revive the deceased.²²¹ In the *Pyramid Texts*, milk is an agent of resurrection.²²² Thus, on the lunette of the Decree of Saïs, the king would offer the revivifying milk (or wine) to Neith together with bread and the pure water from the flood. The water libation may sometimes be depicted as a trickle of *nh* and *w3s* signs, describing the benefits resulting from the water of the flood.²²³ As Traunecker noted, at Edfu the waters of libation are thus sometimes termed '*nh-w3s* which comes from Elephantine'.²²⁴ Gordon and Schwabe argued:

*Not only may we consider, therefore, that the w3s may have had a connotation of health, but when the nh and w3s both appear, perhaps they together have a sense of rejuvenation or regeneration. In combination with nh or nh and dd, w3s may be shown at the mouth of nose of the king.*²²⁵

The sense of the symbols *nh* and *w3s*, when they represent the waters of purification, were studied by Winter, who indicated that the powers and benefits represented by the terms *nh*, *w3s*, *dd*, and *3wt-ib* are conferred to the king in exchange for his gift of their symbols to a divinity, most often Osiris.²²⁶ On the Decree of Saïs, following this

principle of reciprocity, Neith gives the king *nh w3s*, 'life and power' (lunette, right Neith, col. 1), as well as *df3w nb*, 'all supplies' (col. 2), in return for the *kebeh* offering.

Although the symbolic significance of the offerings to the gods has frequently been studied,²²⁷ the hours of presenting these offerings are rarely ever discussed. Nevertheless, such ritual gestures displayed on temple walls and stelae were probably carried out at precisely set hours, depending on the divinity and local circumstances. The moments of the sun's rise and setting are obviously privileged points for such rituals and the texts of the Naos of the Decades show a link between sunset and the supplies allocated to the justified deceased.²²⁸ As the offer to Osiris in the Temple of Neith, shown in the lunette, is made by the king facing west, it could possibly have been an evening ritual performed when the sun stands in that part of the sky. No conclusion can be drawn, however, from the text in columns 7–8 of the decree, which says that 'His Majesty rose (*h^c*) in his palace in the Saïte nome and set (*h^tp*) in the temple of Neith ... making the *kebeh* offering', because the expression utilizing the terms *h^c* and *h^tp* is a standing formula (see *infra*). Nevertheless, the sinking sun appears a

221 E.g., Budge 1909 (2): 33–4.

222 *PT* 911–13; Leclant 1951: 125; Münster 1968: 65–70.

223 Delia 1992: 184 note 24.

224 Traunecker 1972: 208 note 3.

225 Gordon and Schwabe 1995: 194.

226 Winter 1968: 69–102.

227 E.g., Cauville 2011.

228 von Bomhard 2008: 90; 2011: 125–6.

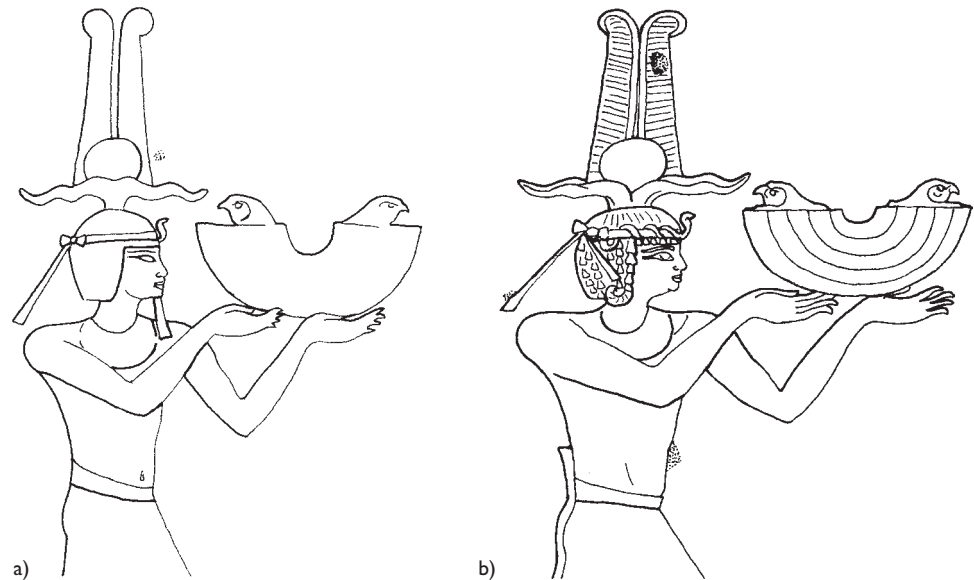


Figure 3.16 Detail of the necklace and the king's head-dress: a) on the Thonis-Heracleion stele; b) on the Naukratis stele. (Drawings: A. L'Amoulen.)

convenient moment for making this oblation to Osiris. According to the text of the decree (column 8), the offering to Osiris precedes the promulgation of Nectanebo I's decisions. It may therefore be suggested that the events take place in the following order: after the king arrives at the temple of Saïs, the offering is made at sunset in the Osiris sanctuary in Neith's temple. This rite is followed by the promulgation of the decree. The offering of the necklace would then be carried out on the following morning at sunrise in the southern part of Neith's temple.

The southeast offering

The offering is carried out facing east, where the sun begins its daily course, and in the south-eastern segment, which is the point of departure of its annual course. It is thus facing the point of daily and yearly rebirth of the sun, that the king presents the *wsh* necklace to Neith (Figure 3.15). Beaud noted that: '... l'offrande du collier-ousekh a lieu dans le contexte théologique de l'organisation du monde dès l'apparition du soleil hors du Noun', adding that it is also linked to the notion of rebirth.²²⁹ In the New Kingdom, this offering was made on the occasion of the New Year.²³⁰ As this offering takes place underneath the uraeus of Upper Egypt, it may also be directed at Horus of *rs-nt* at the same time as Neith.

The king bears the crown of tall feathers on two ram's horns with the disk (*tini* crown), the entire form set upon the *seched* diadem with a uraeus. The details of this head-dress appear on Naukratis (Figure 3.15b, 3.16b), showing the uraeus rolled around the *seched*, and we discern all the intricate curls and locks of the wig. A thick plait

similar to a juvenile lock is turned up and held by the *seched*.

The *tini* crown constitutes the headdress of Sobek and Ptah-Tatenem,²³¹ and often decorates the king's head set on the pole kept in one hand of the Royal *Ka*, holding a *maat* feather in the other (see *supra*, Figure 3.7). Favard-Meeks suggested that the *tini* crown, when on Anedjeti's head, could be related to the aspect of rebirth of Osiris.²³²

The piece of jewellery presented by Nectanebo I appears to be of some size in comparison to the persons and is decorated with two falcon's heads. On Thonis-Heracleion, the engraving does not display the constituting elements of the necklace, or the manner in which it is mounted (Figure 3.15a). On Naukratis, the structural details are slightly more visible, showing nine strings if we include the narrow inserts made of one row of pearls that separate the larger bands. The way in which these necklaces were mounted by intertwining vertical and horizontal threads was explained by Jéquier, who also cited several examples of this pectoral.²³³ The lower rim was decorated with elongated pearls, often representing lotus flowers, as for instance at Dendara,²³⁴ or on a little plate-necklace in the name of Osorkon IV (?) and Tadibastet (Louvre E 7167), which was published by Berlandini.²³⁵ The necklace can be vegetal, composed of aromatic *mnw*, *th*, or *ibw* plants,²³⁶ or it is said to be made of nine lotus petals.²³⁷ Alternatively, it can be made from gold, lapis-lazuli or precious stones, probably like the one on the Decree of Saïs.

The offering of the *wsh* necklace, according to Cauville and Baum is always tied to Heliopolitan theology, and is made to a solar divinity.²³⁸ In the ritual of the divine cult, the binding of the collar is accompanied by praise to Atum

229 Beaud 1990: 56–7.

230 Handoussa 1981: 147.

231 Abubakr 1937: 45.

232 Favard-Meeks 2009: 139–40.

233 Jéquier 1921: 66, figs 158–79.

234 Daumas 1951: 381–2 note 5.

235 Berlandini 1979: 98–109, pl. 16.

236 Beaud 1990: 58–9.

237 Daumas 1951: 381.

238 Cauville 1987: 3 note 3; Baum 2007: 73; see also Sauneron 1962: 9.

and to Khepri,²³⁹ the same as in the *Book of Opening the Mouth*.²⁴⁰ The necklace is connected to Atum-Khepri of Heliopolis.²⁴¹ At Edfu, the pectoral is offered in a Heliopolitan context, habitually to Horus.²⁴² The gem symbolizes the Heliopolitan Ennead, 'Atum and his children',²⁴³ and theoretically it is composed of nine ranks evoking the nine gods of the Ennead.²⁴⁴ The tomb of Tutankhamen contained a very fine specimen of a nine-rank *wsh* necklace, which looks similar to the one on the Decree.²⁴⁵

The origin of the formulae that accompany the offering of the necklace is in the *Pyramid Texts*, as indicated by Budge and Handoussa.²⁴⁶ They begin with praise to Atum and Khepri. Graefe collected some 50 examples of this offering and highlighted in some of them the key words that point to the *Pyramid Texts*: the scenes in the temple of Seti I at Abydos being the most explicit ones.²⁴⁷

The *wsh* necklace symbolizes protection, as demonstrated in chapter 158 of the *Book of the Dead*,²⁴⁸ and by the making of amulets of this form.²⁴⁹ The connection between this necklace and the falcon and the vulture is solidly established. Among the magnificent jewellery of the Saïte period published by Maspero,²⁵⁰ a golden amulet in the shape of the *wsh* necklace is engraved with chapter 157 of the *Book of the Dead*, entitled 'formula for the golden vulture', referring to the protection of Horus and of the deceased.²⁵¹ By contrast, chapter 158 entitled 'on the necklace' is engraved on a golden plaquette amulet decorated with a vulture.²⁵² In addition, Jéquier mentioned the representations of royal *wsh* necklaces with the wings of either falcons or vultures forming the curves.²⁵³ We also know of an amulet-necklace called *wsh n nbtj*, 'the necklace of the Two Ladies'.²⁵⁴

In the scenes of offering the necklace at Dendera, the protection of the Ennead envelopes the king²⁵⁵ or the divinity.²⁵⁶ At Edfu, it is written that the necklace protects the king against his enemies: as compensation for the necklace that the king offered to Amon, the god sets the Nine Bows under the king's sandals.²⁵⁷ In the ritual of the confirmation of royal power, the king offers the *wsh* necklace to Atum who let him vanquish his enemies.²⁵⁸

On the decree, the *wsh* offering confirms pharaoh in his royal function of re-establishing order and controlling

the Nine Bows. Following the principle of compensation in return for the necklace, Neith promises Nectanebo I 'all the foreign countries' as written above the offering (lunette, left-hand Neith, col. 1), which are 'bearing their tributes'.²⁵⁹

The goddess' protective action is perhaps linked to the fact that she is herself associated with the pectoral, the thorax and the neck. In the *Coffin Texts* the deceased's ribs are identified with those of Neith.²⁶⁰ In the *Book of the Dead* it is the neck, or the chest, of the deceased that are identified with her,²⁶¹ as on the base of the Behague socle.²⁶² In the Salt papyrus, she is a pectoral.²⁶³

Neith's protective action is due above all to her being an archer goddess. She is the one who launches the arrows against the enemies of Re, of Horus, and of the king.²⁶⁴ Goebis highlighted the protective role of the Red Crown as mother of the deceased, probably linked to its dangerous and bloody aspects.²⁶⁵ She noted that: '... several texts relate the *hwwt nt*, commonly translated as Mansions of the *nt*-crown(s), to Pe and Dep, that is, Buto', recalling that *CT VII*, 167a-d '... links the *hwwt nt* with the violent aspect of the Solar Eye and crown goddess Wadjit'.²⁶⁶ There, the deceased identified with this goddess is called *mnhwjt hntt hwwt nt*, Menhyt, '(the slayer) at the head of the Mansions of the *nt*-crown'. All uraeus goddesses, which are manifestations of Sirius-Sothis, can assume the role of being equipped with bow and arrows, but Neith is the uraeus *par excellence*, because it is the sign of her name that decorates the necks of the rearing cobras. An example of the twelfth dynasty from the tomb of the king Hor was reproduced in a drawing by Morgan.²⁶⁷ In addition, she is the foremost archer, since her emblem bears the two arrows. On the decree, the neck of each uraeus bears her name (Figure 3.17). The sign appearing on cobras is usually much more elementary, and sometimes interpreted as one of the rings of the snake's hood. On the Decree of Saïs it is without doubt the name of the tutelary goddess of that town that appears on the rearing cobra, which emphasizes her uraeus role as the 'eye of Re', protecting the sun and the king. Neith is frequently shown as a warrior goddess,²⁶⁸ assimilated to Athena by the Greeks.²⁶⁹ In

239 Budge 1909 (1): 246.

240 Ibid.: 102-4.

241 Handoussa 1981: 147 notes 34-40.

242 Wilson 1997: 260-1.

243 Daumas 1951: 381-2 note 5; Goyon 1972: 60, 93 note 88.

244 Cauville 1999: 131; 2000: 273; 2001: 393.

245 Gnirs 2004a.

246 *PT* 1652-8; Budge 1909 (1): 104; Handoussa 1981: 147 note 33.

247 Handoussa 1981: 145-7; Graefe 1991: 132.

248 Barguet 1967: 226.

249 Maspero 1902: 2-3; Capart 1908-09: 15 no. 2, 18 no. 31-3; Jéquier 1921: 70, fig. 181.

250 Maspero 1902: pl. 2, 1; Jéquier 1921: 70, fig. 181.

251 Goff 1979: 246-7.

252 Maspero 1902: pl. 1.5-6.

253 Jéquier 1921: 71-2, figs 183-7.

254 Capart 1908-09: 18 no. 36.

255 Daumas 1951: 382 note 5; Cauville 1999: 133.

256 Cauville 2001: 393.

257 Vernus 1979: 466; Wilson 1997: 261; Cauville 2011: 147.

258 Goyon 1972: 60.

259 Ibid.: col. 2.

260 *CT VII*: 160, h-j.

261 Barguet 1967: 84; El-Sayed 1982: 317.

262 Klasens 1952: 60; El-Sayed 1982: 470, doc. 645.

263 Derchain 1965: 142; El-Sayed 1982: 490, doc. 703.

264 El-Sayed 1982: 72-6.

265 Goebis 2008: 196-204.

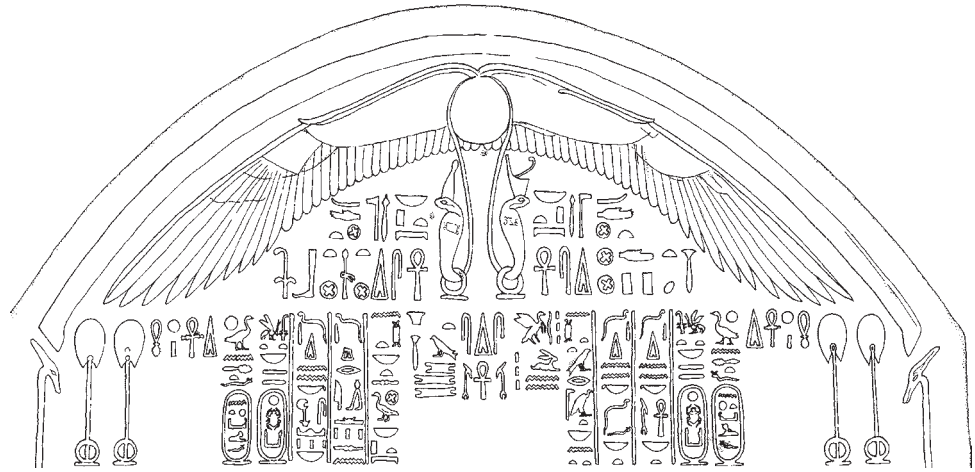
266 Ibid.: 196-7.

267 Morgan 1895: 100.

268 El-Sayed 1982: pls 11-15.

269 Mallet 1888: 237-44.

Figure 3.17 'The Uppermost', Horus Behedety, defended by the uraei called Neith. (Detail from Figure 2.7; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)



this context, one may recall the bronze helm crest, probably dating from the fourth century BC, found on the submerged site of Thonis-Heracleion, east of the temple of Heracleion.²⁷⁰ It very probably decorated a

statue of Athena²⁷¹ standing tall (c. 4 m high) at the eastern tip of a promontory dominating the Heracleion port installations, like an image of Neith, Ruler of the Floods.

²⁷⁰ Goddio 2007: 126, fig. 3.105, excavation number H1 2299.

²⁷¹ Yoyotte 2001: 34 note 30; Fabre 2008a: 224; Kiss 2008.

4 The Decree

The discovery of the stele of Thonis-Heracleion and its excellent state of preservation allow for a comparison between the two extant copies of the Decree. We present the individual columns in such a way as to facilitate the visualization and understanding of the variations in graphics and in style, demonstrating that two different engravers were at work and, more importantly, showing that the ‘singular’ spellings are indeed the same on both monuments, pointing to the subtle mind of one person conceiving the text (Figures 4.1–4.4, and columns).

The Naukratis stele was translated in its entirety by Maspero, Erman and Wilcken, Gunn, Lichtheim, Roeder, and de Meulenaere.¹ Important clarifications, additions, and comments were contributed by Sethe, Piehl, Kuentz, Posener, and de Meulenaere.²

We first provide a running translation of the decree, followed by a column-by-column transliteration and notes. The latter are generally kept brief, the translation of the terms of the decree having been established for the Naukratis stele, and its particularities having been pointed out by previous scholars. Each interpretation is noted, and above all their successive improvements, which contributes to a better understanding of the difficult passages of the text. The only modifications of the previous translations that we suggest are the following:

- in column 4 (note c), although the general sense of this passage is clear to all scholars, the reading of some words is still under discussion;
- in column 6 we propose that the mountains ‘give to the king what they contain’, instead of ‘tell the king what they contain’;
- in column 7, concerning the foreign princes, we submit a different meaning of *shp ib*;
- in column 11, we attribute a strong sense and a precise interpretation to the adverb *im*, which is either not taken into account at all in some translations, or in others it is translated as ‘there’. We believe that *im* indicates the origin of the revenues of the temple before the creation of the decree and that the adverb therefore refers to the *pr nsw* (see col. 11 note b).

We will barely comment on the king’s laudatory epithets, because they are studied in detail in Grimal’s rich work on royal propaganda, to which we shall refer for the numerous parallels.³ However, in the translation notes we will discuss certain terms, such as ‘Hau-Nebut’ and ‘*hnt*’ in more detail in the light of Goddio’s excavations in the area of Thonis-Heracleion during the last decade.⁴ These new data allowed Yoyotte to precisely define and at the same time broaden the sense of the word ‘*hnt*’, on which he had published several studies.⁵

1 Maspero 1900; 1904; Erman and Wilcken 1900; Gunn 1943; Lichtheim 1977; 1980: 86–9; Roeder 1998: 86–94; de Meulenaere 2003: 428–30.

2 Sethe 1901; Piehl 1902; Kuentz 1929; Posener 1934; de Meulenaere 1959.

3 Grimal 1986.

4 Goddio 2006a; 2006b; 2007; 2008: 26–48.

5 Yoyotte 1966–7: 85–6; 1967–8: 108; 1987–8; 1988–9: 151–2; 2001: 28; 2006a: 218.

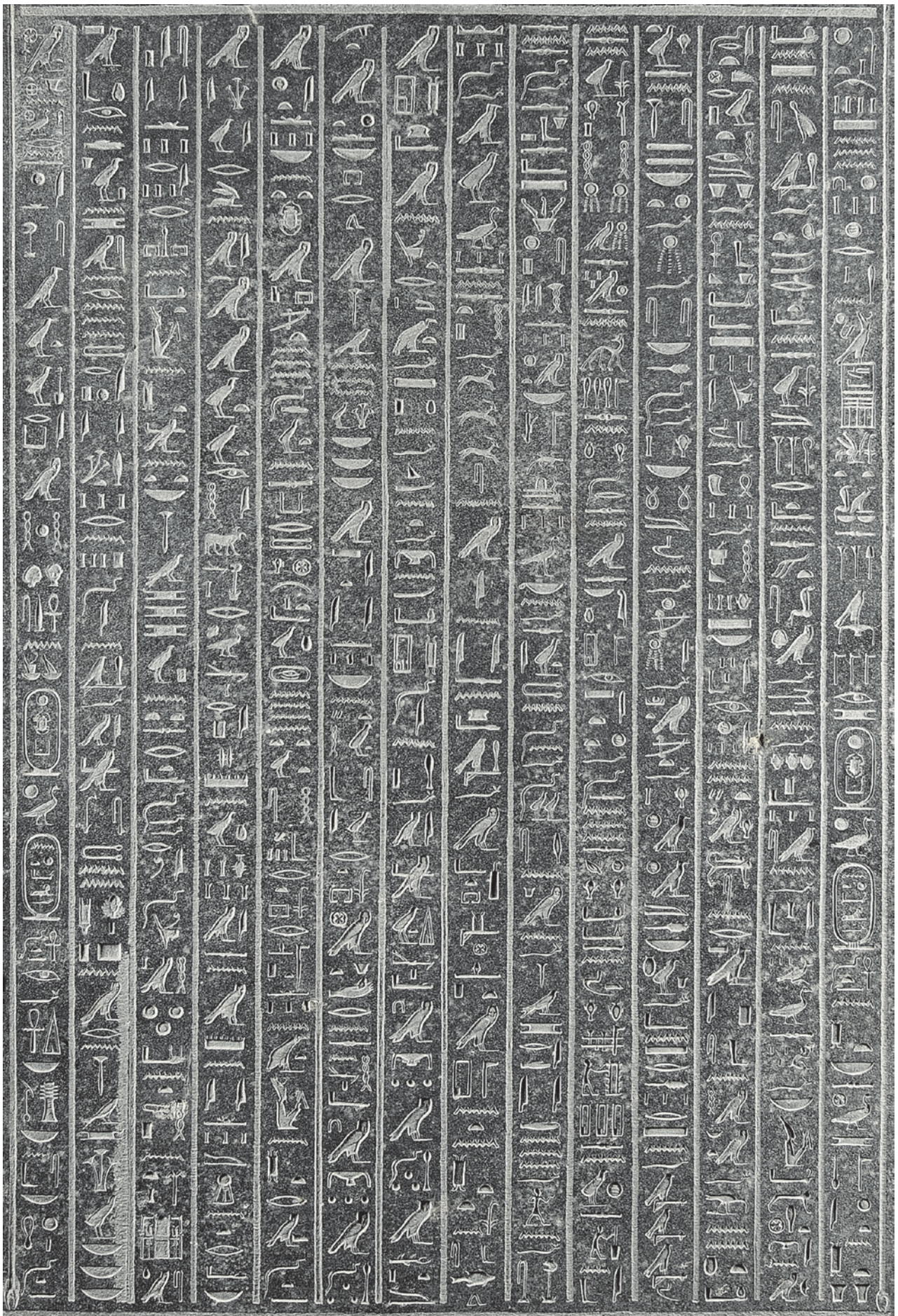


Figure 4.1 Thonis-Heracleion, the text of the decree. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

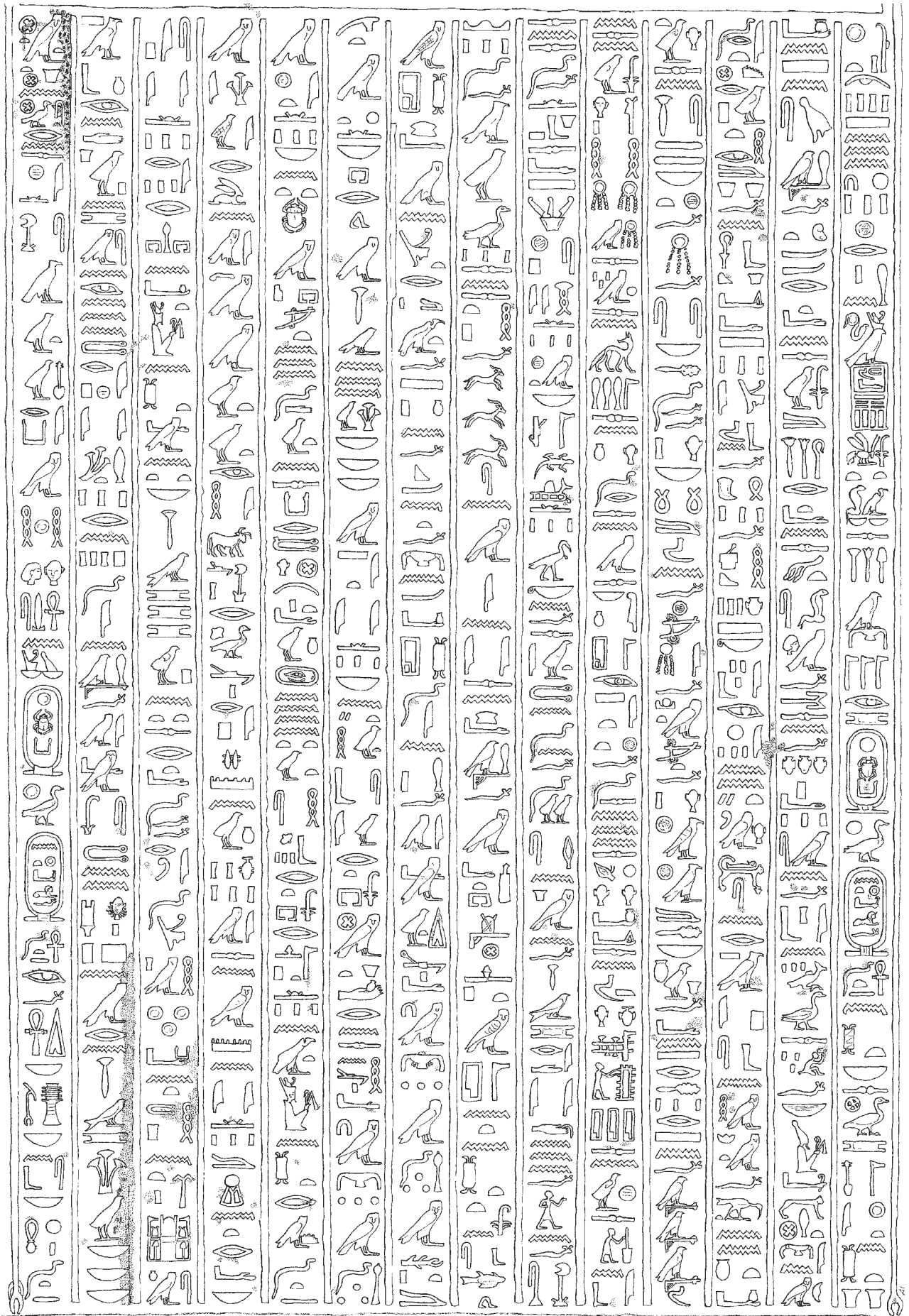


Figure 4.2 Thonis-Heracleion, the text of the decree. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

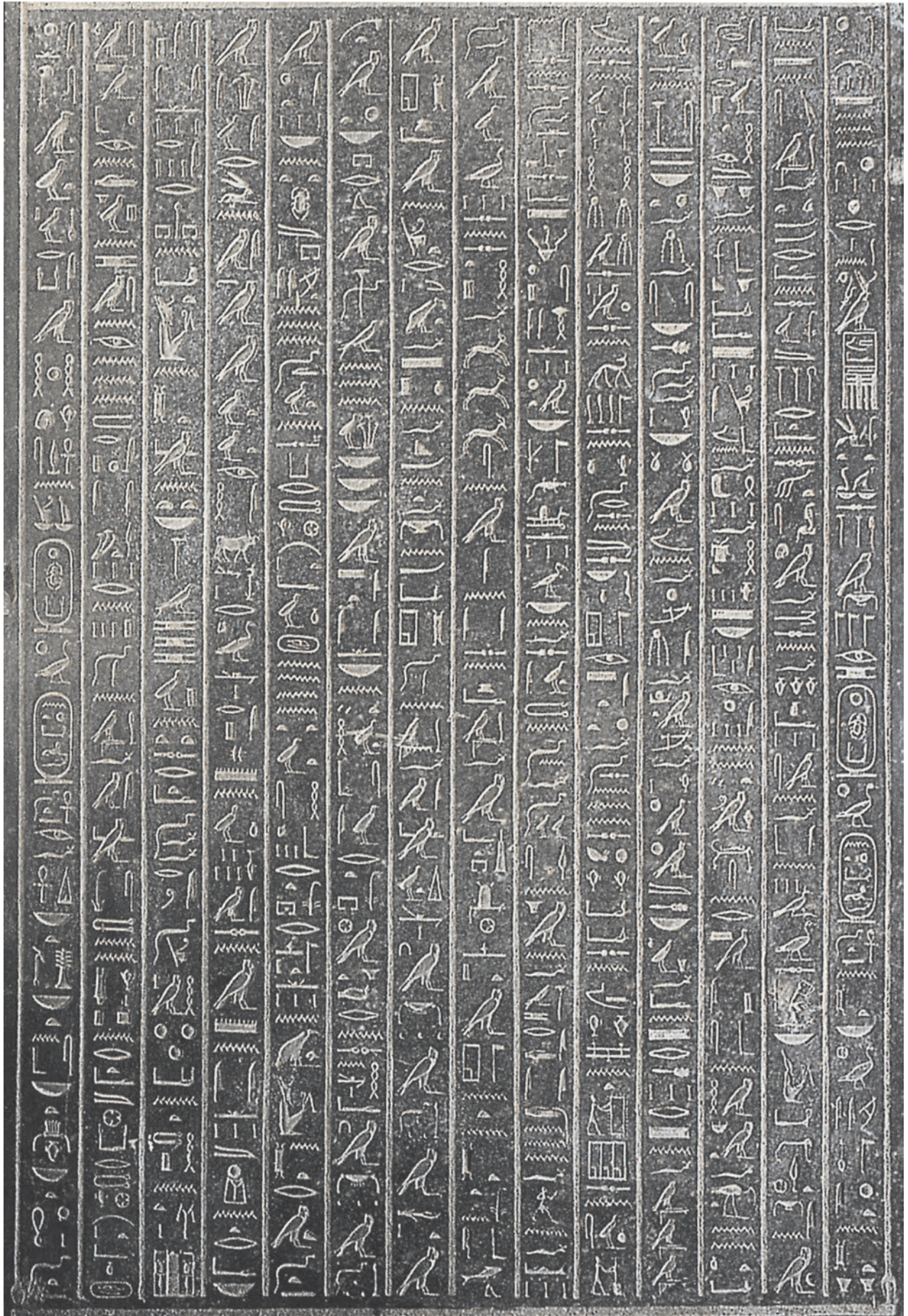


Figure 4.3 Naukratis, the text of the decree. (© Antike Welt.)

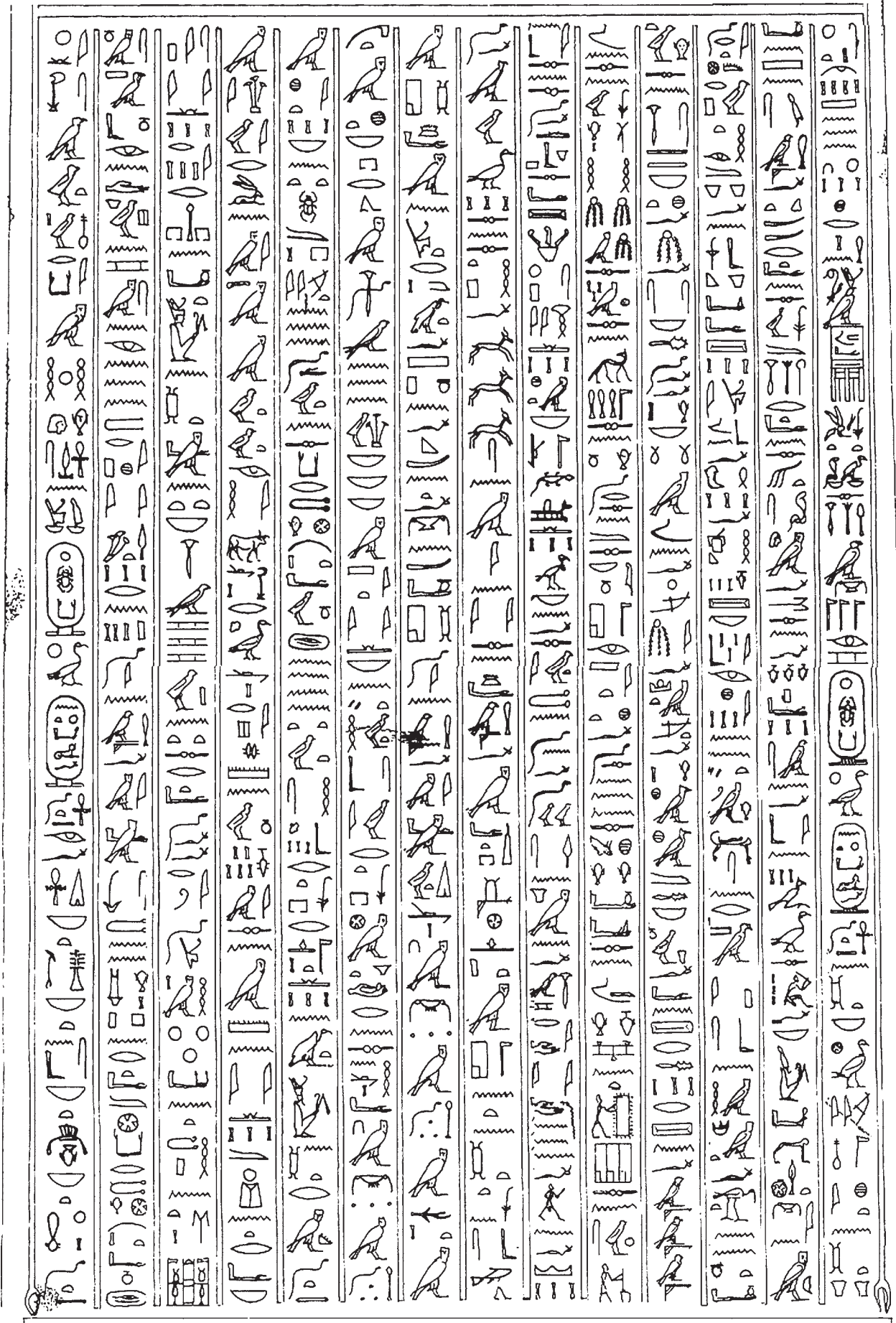


Figure 4.4 Naukratis, the text of the decree. (Drawing: B. Vallée.)

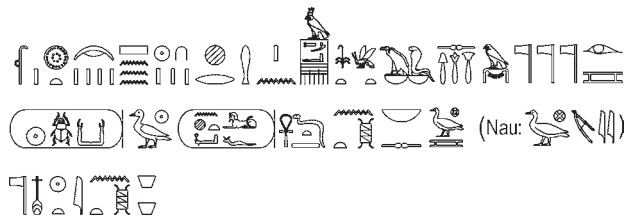
The connected translation

Words in brackets () are added to clarify the sense.

- 1 Year One, fourth month of the Summer season, day 13, under the Majesty of Horus: Mighty-of-arm; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Two Ladies: Who-benefits-the-Two-Lands; Golden Horus: Who-does-the-god's-wish, Kheperkare; Son of Re: Nekhetnebef, living forever, beloved of Neith Mistress of Saïs, the perfect god, the image of Re, the heir of Neith
- 2 [2] beneficent. Having raised His Majesty at the head of the Two Banks, having made him ruler of the Two Lands, having placed her uraeus upon his front, she subjects to him the hearts of the *p^t*-people, she draws to him the heart of the *rhyt*-people and she destroys all his enemies. The mighty king, he who safeguards
- 3 Egypt (*b3kt*), the wall of copper [3] which surrounds Egypt (*kmt*); the very valiant, he who acts with both his arms. The master of the scimitar, he who charges into a multitude, red-hearted on seeing his enemies. He who cuts up the hearts of the rebels (but) who lavishes kindness on him who is loyal (to him), (so that) they pass the night until dawn, (with) their hearts full of his outstanding qualities, without deviating [4] from their path. He who renders green the entire Two Lands when he shines. Each day brings his abundance. Everyone is dazzled when seeing him as (one sees) Re when he rises above the horizon. The love he is offered grows in everyone (for) he is the one who has given life to (all) creatures. The gods
- 5 rejoice thanks to him [5] when they see him attentive to seek what is beneficial in their shrines, summoning their priests, consulting with them on all temple matters, and acting in (all) things as they say without neglecting their words. Just-hearted on the path of god, he is the one who builds their temples, the one
- 6 who perfects their wall, [6] who supplies the offering tablet, who multiplies the requirements of the rites, who procures oblations of all kind. Unique god of multiple qualities, it is for him that work the rays of the disk, it is to him that the mountains offer what they contain, that the sea gives its flow, to him that the foreign countries bring [7] their abundance (so that) he acknowledges their sovereignty by (receiving) their gifts. His Majesty rose in the palace in the
- Saïte nome and set in the temple of Neith. The king
- 8 having entered [8] (into) the temple of Neith and having appeared with the Red Crown next to his mother, he offered the *kebeh*-libation to (his) father, Lord of Eternity, in the temple of Neith (or: the gold for the offering to the temple of Neith). His Majesty then decreed: 'let there be given one tenth of the gold,
- 9 of the silver, of the timber, of [9] the processed wood and of all things coming from the sea of the Hau-Nebut, of all goods that are reckoned for the benefit of the royal domain in the town named *hnt*, as well
- 10 as one tenth of the gold, of the silver, [10] and of all things that appear in *pr-mryt* called *kr̄t* on the bank of the Anu, which are reckoned for the benefit of the royal domain, to become divine offerings to my
- 11 mother Neith until the end of time, [11] in addition to what was issued from (the royal domain) before; and from this shall be taken (enough) to make one portion of an ox, one fat goose and five measures of wine as
- 12 a perpetual daily offering. [12] What is mentioned is to be counted to the benefits of the house of treasury of my mother Neith, for it is she who is Mistress of the Sea, and it is she who gives its abundance. (In addition) My Majesty has decided to preserve and protect the divine endowments of my mother Neith
- 13 and to maintain [13] all things that have been done by the ancestors, in order that what I have done be maintained by those who shall be, during an infinity of years'. His Majesty added: 'this shall be recorded on the present stele to be set up
- (Naukratis): in *niwt-kr̄t* on the border of the Anu.
(Thonis): at the mouth of the sea of the Hau-Nebut [14] in the town by the name of The-hone-of-Saïs.
- 14 [14] May my goodness be remembered until the end of eternity. On behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands: Kheperkare; Son of Re: Nekhetnebef, living forever. May it be done that he be given all life, all stability, all power, all health, all joy, eternally, like Re'.

Translation notes by column

Column I



Transliteration

[1] *hsbt 1 3bd 4 smw sw 13 hr hm n hr tm3-c nsw bity nbty
smnh-t3wy hr nbw ir-mr-ntrw hpr-k3-r s3 r nht-nb.f
nht dt mry nt nb(t) s3w ntr nfr ti(t) r iw nt*

Translation

[1] Year One,^a fourth month of the Summer season, day 13, under the Majesty of Horus: Mighty-of-arm;^b King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Two Ladies: Who-benefits-the-Two-Lands;^c Golden Horus: Who-does-the-god's-wish,^d Kheperkare; Son of Re: Nekhetnebef,^e living forever, beloved of Neith Mistress of Saïs,^f the perfect god, the image^g of Re, the heir^h of Neith

Notes

- a) Dates: the reading of this group including the sign of the year was highly controversial.⁶ The reading of *hsbt* seems convincingly established by Vinson.⁷
- b) The titulary is that of Nectanebo I, founder of the thirtieth dynasty, although these names were once believed to be those of Nectanebo II. The arguments in favour of the order of succession of the two Nectanebos, which is now accepted, were summarized by Drioton and Vandier.⁸ On the decree, the Horus name of Nectanebo I shows a spelling similar to the one numbered H2 by von Beckerath,⁹ except that the sign on the decree is lodged in the hollow of the sickle . The subdivisions of the palace façade of the *srh* are more elaborate on Naukratis than on Thonis-Heracleion. Behind the falcon is set a disk with a long, hanging uraeus. On Naukratis, the sign of life is inserted into the uraeus, probably to be read as 'life to Horus *tm3-c*'.¹⁰ According to Gardiner's argument, the sun with the uraeus can represent an equivalent to the winged disk of Behedety.¹¹

6 Gardiner 1988: 203–4; von Beckerath 1969; Barta 1979; Fecht 1985.

7 Vinson 2006–07.

8 Drioton and Vandier 1946: 595–6.

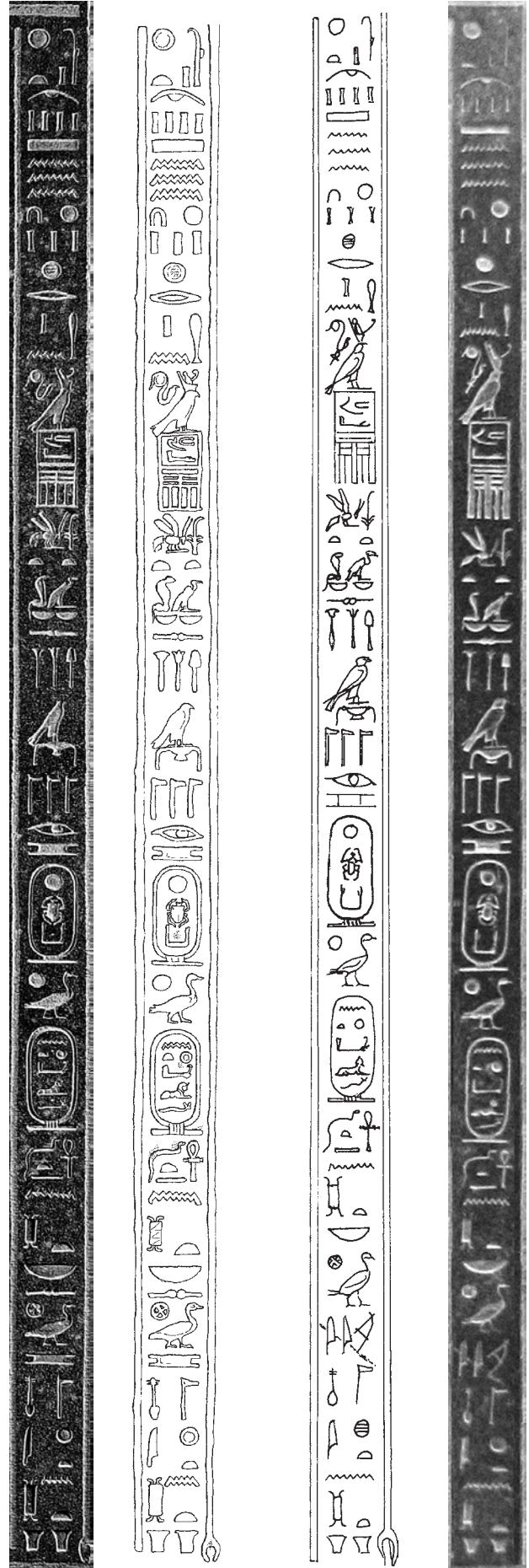
9 von Beckerath 1984: 282.






10 Gardiner 1944: 51.

11 Ibid.: 50.

Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis



- c) The disposition of the signs of the name ‘Who-benefits-the-Two-Lands’ is different from von Beckerath’s N₃–N₄,¹² the *mnh* sign preceding the two plants on the decree, whereas it is set between the two plants in Beckerath’s examples.
- d) For the Golden Horus name, we note the honorific transposition of *ntrw*, which was not listed by von Beckerath.¹³ Although older traces may be found,¹⁴ the Golden Horus name of the kings is attested with certainty since Djoser;¹⁵ the ‘Two Ladies’ and the *nsw-bity* names were added to the very ancient Horus name during the first dynasty.¹⁶ The ‘Son of the Sun’, last of the king’s five names, appears around the fourth dynasty.¹⁷ On the decree, the *nsw-bity* title is paired with the *nbtj* element as in ancient times,¹⁸ which indicates an archaizing trend.
- e) Maspero pointed out that the word *nht*, which is part of Nectanebo’s name, does not contain the branch sign  on the Decree;¹⁹ it is von Beckerath’s E₁ variation.²⁰ Note that the lion spelling the word *nb* has a human head.
- f) Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis display two spelling variations: the name of Saïs contains  on Thonis-Heracleion, but not on Naukratis; the word *mry* is written with the canal  on Thonis-Heracleion, but with a  and two reeds  on Naukratis.
- g) Erman and Wilcken were first to read the word *tit* and to understand the sense of ‘image of Re’.²¹ Grimal stressed the frequency of this epithet and cited numerous examples.²²
- h) *iw^c mnh*, ‘beneficent heir’ is a habitual expression.²³ Sethe was first to perceive the sense of this expression and to read the words ‘heir’ and ‘beneficent’, spelt alphabetically, and without a determinative.²⁴ This spelling of the word ‘heir’ is found at Edfu,²⁵ but there its reading is easy because it contains an explicit determinative. The king is said to be the heir of Neith and, as Grimal remarked: ‘l’affirmation de la nature divine du roi ... a pour but premier de légitimer la transmission de la fonction’.²⁶

¹² von Beckerath 1984: 282.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Wilkinson 1999: 207.

¹⁵ Moret 1901: 31 note 3; Baines 1995: 128.

¹⁶ Baines 1995: 127.

¹⁷ von Beckerath 1984: 32; Dessoudeix 2008: 7-8.

¹⁸ Wilkinson 1999: 206.

¹⁹ Maspero 1900: 41.

²⁰ von Beckerath 1984: 282.

²¹ Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128.

²² Grimal 1986: 130–33 and notes 366–7.

²³ Ibid.: 178.

²⁴ Sethe 1901: 121.

²⁵ Wilson 1997: 49.

²⁶ Grimal 1986: 175.

Column 2




Transliteration


[2] *mnḥ stn.n.s ḥm.f ḥnt idb.wy rdi.n.s sw m ḥk3 ʔ.wy*
rdi.n.s ḥryt-tp.s m tp.f rth.s n.f ibw p^ct (i)t(h).s (or: (i)
t.s) n.f ib n rhyt ḥtm.s ḥftyw.f nb nsw nḥt sdr (or: mk)
b3kt inb n bi3

Translation

[2]... beneficent. Having raised^a His Majesty^b at the head of the Two Banks,^c having made him ruler of the Two Lands, having placed her uraeus^d upon his front, she subjects^e to him the hearts^f of the *p^ct*-people, she draws^g to him the heart^h of the *rhyt*-people and she destroysⁱ all his enemies.^j The mighty king,^k he who safeguards^l Egypt (*b3kt*),^m the wallⁿ of copper^o

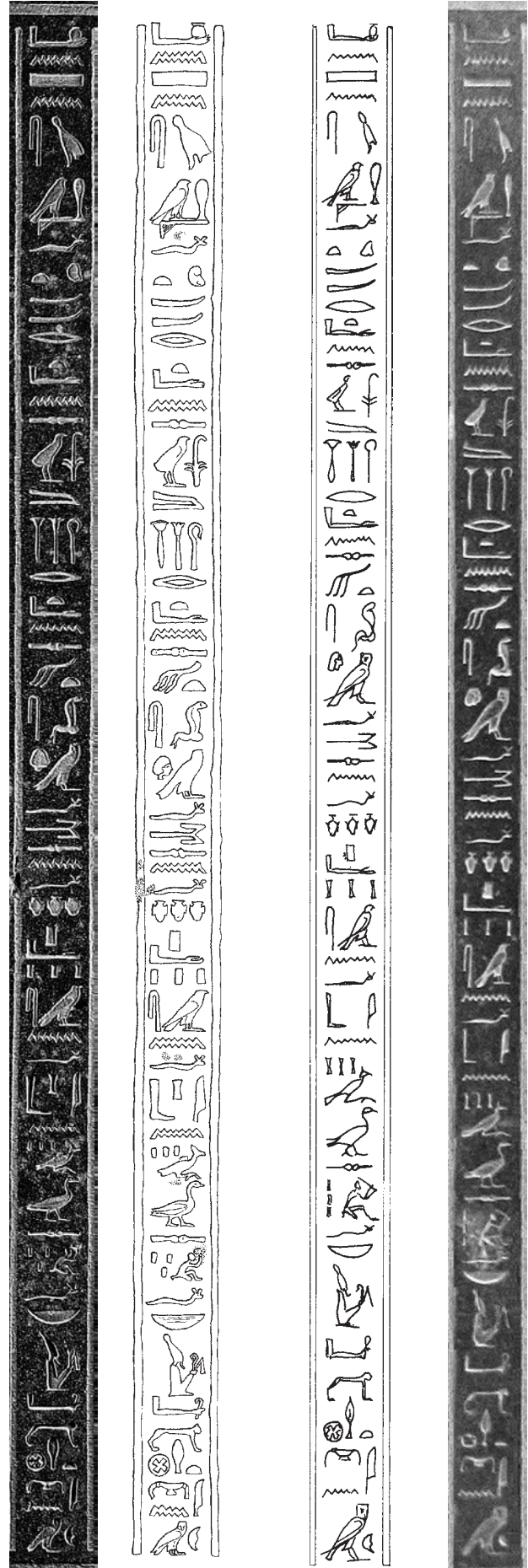
Notes

a) Posener established the reading of the White Crown as *stn*.²⁷ The  set above the crown may be understood in two different ways: either as a preposition, and thus transliterated as *iw^c nt mnḥ n stn.s ḥm.f ḥnt idb.wy*, 'the heir of Neith beneficent, worthy that she may raise His Majesty to the head of the Two Banks'; or, alternatively, as *stn.n.s ḥm.f ḥnt idb.wy*, 'Having raised His Majesty to the head of the Two Banks'. In this latter case, we propose that the *n* stands as the phonetic complement of *stn*, and at the same time as the *n* of the *sdm.n.f* form of the verb *stn* (haplography). Thus, the three successive *sdm.n.f*—*stn.n.s*, *rdi.n.s*, *rdi.n.s*—would describe the moment when Neith installs the king in his functions, i.e., at a time prior to the *sdm.f*. The three forms of *sdm.f* which follow—*rth.s*, *it.s* and *ḥtm.s*—then concern her protection of the pharaoh, once he is designated, during his exercise of power. One might almost lend a future-optative sense to these *sdm.f*-forms in view of the notion that the text is conceived at the beginning of the reign of Nectanebo I, as intimated by the date of the decree.

b) *ḥm.f* is accompanied by the determinative of the falcon on the standard on both stelae. On Thonis-Heracleion the *ḥm* sign  is set on the standard, while on Naukratis it is separate. The same difference is



Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis





²⁷ Posener 1934: 145.

observed in columns 7 and 13, which might indicate graphic habits of the individual engraver.

- c) Erman and Wilcken, Piehl, and later Gunn, all read the double sign  as *idbwy*.²⁸ However, the reading *hh*, ‘eternity, millions’, was preferred by de Meulenaere and Lichtheim, which they translated as ‘... she raised his majesty above millions’.²⁹
- d) *hryt-tp*: the meaning of the uraeus was understood by Maspero, who translated it as ‘sa coiffure uréus’.³⁰
- e) The ξ — sign was read as *rth* by Maspero and Piehl.³¹ The word *rth* appears in the book’s title: *The Book of Subjecting the p^ct-people, md3t n rth p^ct*.³² The sign was studied by Dévaud.³³ The idea that a divinity might *rth* the hearts of the populations to the king, or to Horus, is found at Edfu³⁴ and then, as argued by Posener and Derchain,³⁵ the expression is often found parallel to ‘putting the foreign countries under the king’s feet’. At Edfu, *The Book of Subjecting the p^ct-people* describes the burning of four enemy statuettes, which should no doubt symbolize the extent of the king’s power to the four cardinal points. In this column 2 of the decree, Neith subjects the hearts of the populations to the king and in the texts of the lunette, she offers the king ‘the foreign countries bearing their tributes’ (lefthand Neith, columns 1 and 2). We understand that the verb *rth* could mean both ‘to catch’ (birds) following Alliot,³⁶ and ‘to subjugate the minds’ (*ibw*), meaning those of the Egyptians themselves or of enemies, because the ritual of capturing the marshland birds symbolizes domination over hostile forces.
- f) The word *ibw* is written with the logogram repeated three times, in an archaic plural. In the decree, the word *ib* is written in three different ways; one (column 7) using springing gazelles, seems not to be attested elsewhere (see Index of Egyptian words). The word *p^ct* is spelt alphabetically and does not include a determinative.
- g) The bird writing the verb appears indeed to be the falcon . Maspero and Piehl therefore read it as *hr*, in the sense of ‘to remove’ and offered the translations ‘elle lui livre le coeur des croyants’³⁷ and ‘elle enlève pour lui le coeur des êtres *rhyt* ...’.³⁸ The bird was

read ‘*bik*’ for ‘*b3k*’ by Gunn, Brunner, and Lichtheim, which they translated as ‘to enslave’.³⁹ The sense does not present a problem, but the reading of the sign remains uncertain.

With some reservations, we suggest another possibility for the reading of the falcon as (*i*)*t* or (*i*)*t*(*h*). The verbs *rth* and *ith* are often used one for the other, or in parallel, especially together with the words *p^ct* and *rhyt*.⁴⁰ In the *Coffin Texts* the deceased wishes to subject (*ith*) the *p^ct* and the *rhyt*⁴¹ or just the *p^ct*;⁴² in both cases, the determinative of the verb *ith* is ξ —. ⁴³ The reading of the falcon as (*i*)*t* or (*i*)*t*(*h*) implies either that the  was set in place of the bird *tyw*  (substitution of the bird with an acrophonic reading), or that a *t* value could be attributed to the falcon. An explanation could be advanced for this reading: this bird, figuring as Horus, is ‘He who seizes (*it*) the Two Lands (*t3wy*)’.

Sauneron demonstrated that at Esna a system was used to write the names of the divinities by retaining only the first consonant of a biliteral or triliteral sign.⁴⁴ He also noted that the signs are chosen in such a way that their images evoke an aspect of the divinity.⁴⁵ In the Decree, the reading (*i*)*t* of the hawk might allude to the king’s qualification of ‘He who seizes (*it*) the Two Lands’.

Regarding the verb *iti*, to take, to seize, Simpson declared that ‘I have always felt that the nuance involved is certainly not “to seize” but “to take one’s rightful possession”’, and further, that ‘... the notion of seizing is obviously not in force’.⁴⁶ Thus, the pharaoh takes possession of the Two Lands that are rightfully his. One excellent example of this meaning of the verb *iti* is found in the *Book of Nut*, where, in the texts dealing with the sunrise, it is said of the sun that *wb3.f itt pt*, ‘it begins the taking possession of the sky’, a domain which is obviously his by right;⁴⁷ von Lieven, however, considered that the use of *itt* was a misapprehension on behalf of the scribe.⁴⁸

- h) The word *ib* is written alphabetically in this second instance, which is unusual, as pointed out by Maspero.⁴⁹ On Thonis-Heracleion, it is accompanied by a determinative stroke, which is absent on Naukratis.
- i) The reading of the goose as *h^ctm* was suggested by Erman and Wilcken.⁵⁰ Piehl followed Maspero in preferring the reading *s3*, and in proposing the verb *s3w*,

28 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128; Piehl 1902: 92; Gunn 1943: 58.

29 de Meulenaere 1959: 78; Lichtheim 1977: 144; 1980: 87.

30 Maspero 1900: 41.

31 Ibid.; Piehl 1902: 92.

32 Alliot 1946: 60–1 note 13; Derchain 1965: 101 note 14.

33 Dévaud 1920–21: 20–2.

34 El-Kordy 1984: 123 note 4; Wilson 1997: 593–4.

35 Posener 1939: 45; Derchain 1965: 139, 164 note 58.

36 Alliot 1946: 61 note 13.

37 Maspero 1900: 41.

38 Piehl 1902: 92.

39 Gunn 1943: 56; Brunner 1965: pls 23–4; Lichtheim 1977: 144;

1980: 87.

40 Wilson 1997: 124–5, 593–4.

41 *CT V*: 160.

42 *CT VII*: 162q.

43 De Buck 1954: *V* 160; 1961: *VII* 162q.

44 Sauneron 1968: XXI.

45 Ibid. 1982: 56.

46 Simpson 1963: 56.

47 von Lieven 2007: 53, 377 § 16; PC 496 version.

48 Ibid.: 53, note 213.

49 Maspero 1900: 41.

50 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128.

- 'to break'.⁵¹ Gunn returned to the reading *h̄tm*.⁵² This way of writing the verb *h̄tm* with only the bird can already be found in the eighteenth dynasty.⁵³
- j) The three plural strokes with the word 'enemies' are disposed differently on Thonis-Heracleion  than on Naukratis .
- k) *nsw n̄ht* refers above all to the strength of the king in war.⁵⁴
- l) The sign of the empty bed without an animal's tail is read *sdr* by Maspero.⁵⁵ Later readings prefer *mk*; Erman and Wilcken were the first to suggest the reading *mk* in this case, and were followed by Piehl and Brunner.⁵⁶ Piehl had already presented the reading *mk* concerning the bed with a falcon on it in another context,⁵⁷ and Fairman explained how the reading of this sign, which would normally be *mkmk*, may have become *mk*.⁵⁸ Gunn and Lichtheim offered no transliteration, and translated the word respectively as 'protecting' and 'guarding'.⁵⁹ In a more recent study, Graefe drew attention to the sense of the term *sdr* as 'reinforcing', 'safeguarding', as already suggested earlier.⁶⁰ *sdr* is supposed to be related to *dri* for 'fortress'. The second king of the first dynasty, Djer, bears this Horus name. Graefe reviewed the cases studied by Vercoutter,⁶¹ where the sign of the bed is read as *mk*, and those pointed out by Daumas,⁶² and concluded that this hieroglyph may as well be read as *sdr* in many of the studied cases. He believed that this reading and translation would fit the text on the Naukratis stele particularly well. Graefe's suggestion to read the empty bed as *sdr* is even more suitable in view of the fact that the composite preposition *m-itrty*, which appears further on, is written *idr*, producing a kind of assonance, or at least visual alliteration between the two sentences, which corresponds well to the spirit of the decree's composer. The example of the empty bed which Meeks found in the Delta Papyrus  and read with some reservation as *mk(t)-stt*, 'Protection de l'Asie', could therefore also be read as *sdr-stt*.⁶³
- m) The form of the tree on Thonis-Heracleion is particularly broad, whereas the sign appears slimmer in columns 6 and 13 of that stele. The three examples of this sign on Naukratis are much slimmer, with a well-marked trunk.
- n) The particular spelling  for *inb*, 'wall', was noted by Maspero⁶⁴ and cited by Posener as an example of the different graphic variations of the words in the decree.⁶⁵ Further down, in column 5 on Thonis-Heracleion and column 6 on Naukratis, the word is written differently (see Index). Grimal noted that the metaphor of the rampart protecting the country develops above all during the New Kingdom and that its use is widespread.⁶⁶ It is the epithet of the king and of Horus at Edfu and de Meulenaere cited numerous further examples.⁶⁷ De Wit noted that in the temple of Opet the king is the copper wall (*sbt̄y n bīḥ*) that surrounds Egypt, *ḥḥ b̄ḥkt*,⁶⁸ and added that the same words can be found at Esna.⁶⁹ The expression also uses the word *h̄mt*.⁷⁰ In the Late Period the frequent qualification of the king of *inb n bīḥ* was even extended to individuals, as noted by de Meulenaere.⁷¹
- o) The reading of the  sign as *h̄mt* or *bīḥ* has been queried.⁷² It is more likely to be *bīḥ*.⁷³ Concerning the material indicated, 'copper', 'iron', 'bronze' or 'haematite', Devéria produced arguments in favour of the translation of 'iron',⁷⁴ whereas Lalouette favoured 'copper',⁷⁵ and added references to the many studies of the word *bīḥ*.⁷⁶ The expression *inb n bīḥ*, describing a protective rampart, can already be found in the *Coffin Texts*: Re's Field of Reeds is enclosed by a copper wall, *iw inb nty ḥḥ.s m bīḥ*.⁷⁷ Graefe supposed that the choice of material (silex, bronze or copper) emphasized a compact or massive aspect,⁷⁸ whereas Grimal, who cited numerous examples,⁷⁹ suggested that its main purpose was to highlight the divine character of the protection provided by such a rampart, in the same way as it is said, in order to demonstrate the divine nature of the king, that his flesh is of gold, his bones of silver, and his members of bronze.⁸⁰ Berlandini pointed out that precious metals are used in the composition of the 'Résidences et architectures célestes'.⁸¹

51 Piehl 1902: 92; Maspero 1900: 41.

52 Gunn 1943: 55 note 2.

53 Drioton 1933: 42.

54 Grimal 1986: 567–8.

55 Maspero 1900: 41.

56 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128; Piehl 1902: 92 note 4; Brunner 1965: pls 23–4.

57 Piehl 1891: 245.

58 Fairman 1945: 110.

59 Gunn 1943: 58; Lichtheim 1977: 144.

60 Graefe 2002.

61 Vercoutter 1950: 91–3.

62 Daumas 1990: 580–1.

63 Meeks 2006: 36, 156 § 561.

64 Maspero 1900: 41.

65 Posener 1934: 141.

66 Grimal 1986: 331–5.

67 Wilson 1997: 82–3; de Meulenaere 1953: 91–4.

68 De Wit 1968: 109.

69 Ibid.: 139 note 444; Sauneron 1963: 105, Esna II: no. 47.

70 Aufrère 1991: 450 notes 19–29.

71 de Meulenaere 1953: 91.

72 Grimal 1986: 126 note 344.

73 Wilson 1997: 306–7.

74 Devéria 1897.

75 Lalouette 1979.

76 Ibid.: 333–4 notes 1–2.

77 CT II: 369a.

78 Graefe 1971: 37.

79 Grimal 1986: 333–4.

80 Ibid.: 126–8.

81 Berlandini 2009: 35–7 notes 130–2.

Column 3



Transliteration

[3] *m-itr.ty kmt wr phty ir m wy.f(y) nb hpš k m š3w dšr-ib m3n.f šntyw.f hsk ibw h3kw-ibw ir 3hw n nty hr mw.(f) sdr.sn r sšp ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikr̄t nn tnm*

Translation

[3] ... which surrounds^a Egypt (*kmt*); the very valiant,^b he who acts with both his arms. The master of the scimitar,^c he who charges^d into^e a multitude, red-hearted^f on seeing^g his enemies.^h He who cuts up the hearts of the rebelsⁱ (but) who lavishes kindness^j on him who is loyal (to him),^k (so that) they pass the night^l until dawn,^m (with) their hearts full of his outstandingⁿ qualities, without^o deviating

Notes

- a) Sethe established the reading *m-itr.ty*, 'around',⁸² which was followed by Piehl.⁸³ Gunn maintained the literal sense of the preposition *m-itr.ty*, translating it as 'a wall of bronze on both sides of Egypt',⁸⁴ which, according to de Meulenaere in his study of this preposition, is particularly well-suited for a very elongated country like Egypt.⁸⁵
- b) This is an alphabetical spelling of *phty*, with a missing determinative, as in most words on the decree. *wr phty* and *š phty* characterize above all strength; Grimal noted that these expressions imply a reference to the god Seth⁸⁶ and his rage on seeing his enemies,⁸⁷ an observation that fits the decree particularly well, as the subsequent text will show.
- c) The signs of the scimitar, like several other signs, are different on the two stelae, which again suggests that the two monuments were engraved by different artists. The hieroglyphs on either stele resemble example C in Schoske's drawing;⁸⁸ yet the upper part of the one on Thonis-Heracleion is so strongly curved

82 Sethe 1901: 121.

83 Piehl 1902: 92–3.

84 Gunn 1943: 58.

85 de Meulenaere 1953: 99 note 10.

86 Grimal 1986: 84 note 178, 703–4 note 815.

87 Ibid.: 89 note 199.

88 Schoske 1979: 822.




Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis














as to be nearly circular, whereas the one on Naukratis is almost straight.

The scimitar sign reads *kn* or *hps̄*. We prefer the second reading, which echoes the preceding sentence *ir m^c.wy.f(y)*, because the sign of the foreleg *hps̄* can also be read as ^c, the ‘arm’;⁸⁹ there might thus be an intentional connection of ideas between the arm of the preceding sentence and the weapon *hps̄* of the following one. For the strength of the king’s arm, Grimal cited numerous examples.⁹⁰ *nb hps̄* alludes to the god Montu.⁹¹ This arm, known in Egypt since the New Kingdom, is often given to the king by a god to kill his enemies.⁹²

- d) The meaning of this sentence was made clear by Sethe, who read it as ^c*k m^cš3w*.⁹³ Piehl pointed out the similarity in formulation by Ptolemy Philadelphus,⁹⁴ and Grimal provided examples from the Ramesside period.⁹⁵ We remain as close to the text as possible, but the various translations by Gunn ‘plunges into the host’,⁹⁶ and Lichtheim ‘attacks a host’,⁹⁷ perfectly express the courage of the warrior who charges numerous enemies by himself.
- e) The *m* for ‘in’ is here written with the  sign instead of  (cryptography by substitution). Vikentiev remarked that substitutions between these two signs were already known in the ninth to eleventh dynasties,⁹⁸ as Gardiner also noted.⁹⁹
- f) Gunn was the first to unravel the expression *dšr-ib*, by reading the Red Crown as *dšr*.¹⁰⁰
- g) Gunn noted that the verb *m33*, ‘to see’, is written *m3n* each of the three times it appears on the decree (the second one being an infinitive of the verb which appears in column 4, and the third a perfective *sḏm.f* in column 4 on Thonis-Heracleion, and in column 5 on Naukratis).¹⁰¹ In the sentence in column 3, *m3n* is a perfective *sḏm.f* whose form *m3n* is discussed by Gardiner.¹⁰²
- h) The *t3* sign  is read *t*,¹⁰³ while the *w* sound is given by the three plural strokes.
- i) As regards *hsk̄ ibw h3kw-ibw*, we find more often the sequence *hsk̄ tpw n h3kw-ibw*.¹⁰⁴ In the ‘Cérémonial

pour faire sortir Sokaris’, Hathor is the one who cuts the heads of the rebels.¹⁰⁵ On the decree, the word *tp*, ‘head’, is replaced by the word *ib*, ‘heart’, probably in order to create an alliteration with *h3kw-ibw*.

- j) This is an alphabetical writing of the word *3hw*, showing a different spelling to that in column 5.
- k) The sign situated behind the back of the owl is ¹⁰⁶ the hieroglyphic adaptation of the abbreviated hieratic form of the quail chick. Set with the owl, it spells alphabetically *mw*, ‘water’, in the usual expression *hr mw.f*. In this case, the  sign spells the *w* at the same time as the *f* of the suffix, as if it were a kind of haplography. We know that the  very frequently replaces the  sign,¹⁰⁷ and that the signs are interchangeable because of their resemblance in hieratic writing.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the sign  should be read twice: the first time as *w*, and then as an *f*. On Thonis-Heracleion, the hieroglyph is a large apostrophe (piece of flesh) and not a spiral as on Naukratis; the use of two different signs by each engraver illustrates perfectly that the two are interchangeable.
- l) Gunn demonstrated that the meaning of *sḏr* was to spend the whole night.¹⁰⁹ The sentence on the stele: ‘... they pass the night until dawn ...’ confirms this. The plural suffix pronoun is written either as  or  in the decree, but it never contains the three plural strokes, which is another example of archaizing orthography.
- m) The word *sšp* is spelt with an  as first letter. It is possible that the word could be read as *šp* instead of *sšp*¹¹⁰ with an added prosthetic *3*. It is more likely that the bird should be read as *s*, the percnopterus substituting for the pintail duck. As regards interchangeable birds, Champollion and Darnell had indicated the contrary,¹¹¹ that is to say a  set in place of a . Darnell, on the other hand, pointed to the possible readings of the , among which figures the *s*.¹¹² In addition, Drioton suggested that the birds could be interchanged, and that ‘dans les textes de ce genre (i.e., cryptographic of the eighteenth dynasty) les figures d’oiseaux sont

89 Fairman 1943: 223; 1945: 69.

90 Grimal 1986: 705–7.

91 Ibid.: 705 notes 821, 826.

92 Yoyotte 1949: 61, 69; Schoske 1979: 820.

93 Sethe 1901: 121.

94 Piehl 1902: 93.

95 Grimal 1986: 89 note 199, 709–10.

96 Gunn 1943: 58.

97 Lichtheim 1980: 87.

98 Vikentiev 1943: 118 note 2.

99 Gardiner 1988: 454, D39.

100 Gunn 1943: 57.

101 Ibid.: 58 note 4.

102 Gardiner 1988: § 448.

103 E.g., Fairman 1943: 243.

104 Grimal 1986: 665 notes 594–5.

105 Goyon 1968: 68, 78.

106 Gardiner 1988: 537, Z7.

107 Ibid.: 467, F51.

108 Fairman 1943: 266–8.


109 Gunn 1920–21.

110 Fairman 1945: 113.

111 Champollion 1984: 38; Darnell 2004: 42 note 23.

112 Darnell 2004: 596–8.

pratiquement unifiées, en ce sens qu'un seul type les remplace toutes'.¹¹³

- n) We owe to Gunn the reading *ikr* or *mnḥ* for the black ibis ,¹¹⁴ with a justifiable preference for *ikr*. In the decree, the *gm* bird replaces the ibis of Thoth (cryptography by substitution). This exchange is possibly also based on a quest for archaism, because in

ancient times (Old and Middle Kingdom), Thoth's ibis and the *gm* bird had the same shape and were only differentiated by their colour, white for the first and black for the second.¹¹⁵ On Naukratis, the bird has much longer legs and is less stocky than on Thonis-Heracleion.

- o) The negation is spelt , as in column 5.

¹¹³ Drioton 1949: 120–1.

¹¹⁴ Gunn 1943: 57.

¹¹⁵ Loret 1932: 304 note 2.

Column 4





Transliteration

[4] *hr w3t.sn sw3d t3wy nb hft psd.f sw nb h(r) df(3w).f hr
nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f mi r^c wbn.f m 3ht mrwt.f hr 3h3h m
ht nb diw.n.f^cnh r hwt rš n.f ntrw*

Translation

[4]... from their path.^a He who renders green the entire Two Lands when he shines.^b Each day brings his abundance.^c Everyone is dazzled^d when^e seeing him^f as^g (one sees) Re when he rises^h above the horizon. The love he is offered growsⁱ in everyone (for) he is the one who has given^j life^k to (all) creatures. The gods^l rejoice thanks to him ...

Notes

- a) Gunn provided the difficult reading of *w3t*, spelt alphabetically, and translated ‘... without straying from their paths’, *nn tm hr w3t.sn*.¹¹⁶ The expression may be understood either with the sense of ‘... without (making a) mistake’, or of ‘... without a change of mind’, the former interpretation being preferable.
- b) The  sign can be read *wbn*, *i3h* or *psd*. The same sign, a little further down this column, is read *wbn* because it concerns the moment when the sun appears on the horizon. In the present instance, we prefer the reading *i3h*, ‘to shine brightly’, or, even better, *psd* ‘to culminate’;¹¹⁷ these two meanings correspond better to the action of turning plants verdant. For Grimal the epithet *sw3d t3wy*, ‘who renders green the Two Lands’ attributes the power of Hapy, rather than that of Re, to the king.¹¹⁸ However, on the decree the power is linked to the sun, as assured by the addition of *hft psd.f*, ‘when he shines’.
- c) Literally: ‘each day is under his (the king assimilated to the sun) supplies’, meaning that each day is given the food that he (the king/sun) creates. This difficult passage was understood very differently by the various authors. Maspero and Piehl read  as ‘day’, but their respective translations are not the same: Maspero understood ‘celui qui rend prospères toutes les deux terres lorsqu’il brille chaque jour par ses

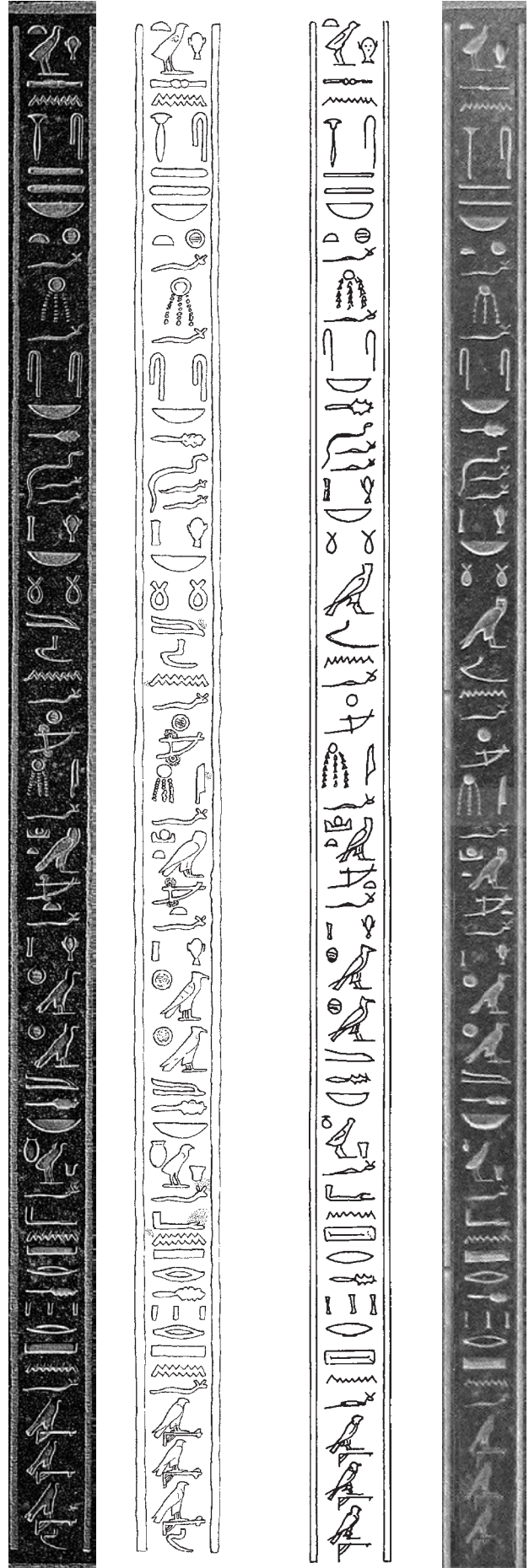
¹¹⁶ Gunn 1943: 57.

¹¹⁷ Lacau 1971a.

¹¹⁸ Grimal 1986: 259.

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approvisionnement¹¹⁹ and Piehl ‘celui qui fait verdoyer tous les pays, quand il se lève chaque jour, constamment.’¹²⁰ Erman and Wilcken, as well as Gunn, read *ssnb* as ‘keep in good health’. Thus, Erman and Wilcken translated: ‘... der gesund macht den, der seine Speise hat (?)’,¹²¹ whereas Gunn, reading (somewhat hesitantly) *ssnb hr df3w.f*, translated: ‘one who keeps (men) healthy with his abundance (?)’.¹²² *s(3i) s nb* was understood by de Meulenaere to mean ‘der jeden Menschen mit seiner Speise sättigt’.¹²³ This last reading was adopted by Brunner¹²⁴ and Lichtheim,¹²⁵ the latter translating: ‘who sates every man with his bounty’. The reading of $\left[\begin{array}{c} \square \\ \square \end{array} \right]$ as *sw*, ‘day’, would appear the simplest one. In addition, the use of the word ‘day’ following the verb *psd* continues the idea of comparing the king with the sun. In any event, the general sense admitted by all scholars is that pharaoh is a source of life. The king as provider of food is a frequent theme.¹²⁶ This is also the function of the Royal *Ka* ‘at the head of the *kas* of all the living’.¹²⁷ The spelling of the word *df(3w)* with two uniliteral signs without a determinative, and without a plural, is inspired by archaic graphisms,¹²⁸ and appears again in column 12 as well as in the lunette (right-hand Neith, column 2).

- d) The surface of the sign is entirely engraved on Naukratis, whereas on Thonis-Heracleion, it is only outlined. Although the engraved sign is ⋈ and not ⋉ , Maspero and Piehl both read *g3g3*, in view of the frequent confusion between the two signs.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, they translated it as ‘crier de joie’. Gunn suggested the much more satisfactory translation of ‘to be dazzled’,¹³⁰ which is very apt and continues the comparison of the king with the sun.
- e) The preposition *m* is written \Leftarrow on Thonis-Heracleion, and ⋈ on Naukratis.
- f) This is an infinitive form *m3n* of the verb ‘to see’.¹³¹
- g) The order of hieroglyphs spelling *mi r^c* shows the honorific transposition of the sign for *r^c*, as on the lunette (left and right horizontal line above the king), and at the end of column 14 of the decree. The use of the sign ⋈ to write *mi* is common, but in the spelling of the decree, which tends toward the archaic, it

may be done in order to recall the ancient pronunciation *mr* of the word ‘like’.¹³² It is more likely that the choice of ⋈ by the creator of the text is intentional, and related to the hammering of the sign on Thonis-Heracleion, where it is marked by a round hammered spot on both tips of the rope connecting the two pieces. The same particularity is found further down in this column, on the same sign, where the hoe is read as *mrwt*. Such hammering is absent from the Naukratis stele. For a possible meaning of these marks see Chapter Five.

- h) Here, the reading ‘to rise’ is evident because of the mention of the horizon. Lacau showed that the precise meaning of *wbn* is ‘to peek above the horizon’.¹³³ Each term attributed to the sun, such as *wbn*, *h^ci*, *psd*, etc, is also used in comparing pharaoh to the sun.¹³⁴
- i) Literally ‘... prospers in each body’. The verb *3h3h*, ‘to prosper’, ‘to turn verdant’ is mainly used for plants, continuing the comparison between the beneficial effect of the sun on nature and the king’s beneficial action on his subjects and the country. The king, like the sun, gives life. In *P.Jumilhac*¹³⁵ *3h3h* is used to describe the return to life of the mummy,¹³⁶ and this idea is shown in an image by the illustration of the germinating Osiris,¹³⁷ where plant shoots rise all over the body of the god.
- j) The reading *diw.n.f^c nh r hwt* ‘car il a donné la vie aux ventres’ was put forward by Maspero.¹³⁸ Gunn preferred this reading to the one proposed by Erman and Wilcken ‘seine Schönheit ist Leben für (?) die Leiber’.¹³⁹ The vase ⋈ normally reads ⋈ , but in this instance, it is to be read as *di*, because of the interchangeable utilization of the signs ⋈ , ⋈ , and ⋈ .¹⁴⁰
- k) The word *nh*, ‘life’, is spelt alphabetically with a *š* in place of the *h*, as in the word *mmh* in column 2. In his study of the cryptography at the end of the eighteenth dynasty, Drioton noted that at that time, ‘la répartition des *h* et *š* ne correspond plus à la notation traditionnelle des ⊙ et des ⊐ ’.¹⁴¹
- l) The spelling of *ntrw* by three hawks on their standards is already attested in the second dynasty.¹⁴²

119 Maspero 1900: 42.

120 Piehl 1902: 93.

121 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128.

122 Gunn 1943: 58 note 6.

123 de Meulenaere 1959: 78; 2003: 429.

124 Brunner 1965: pls 23–4.

125 Lichtheim 1980: 88.

126 Grimal 1986: 260–4.

127 Ibid.: 50–1, 262 notes 819, 821; von Bomhard 2008: 231–2, fig. 109.

128 Lacau and Lauer 1961: 33–4.

129 Maspero 1900: 42; Piehl 1902: 94.

130 Gunn 1943: 57.

131 Gardiner 1988: 224 § 299.

132 Ibid.: 129, § 170 note 12a, 529, W19.

133 Lacau 1971a: 1–5.

134 Grimal 1986: 271–8, 370.

135 *P.Jumilhac* VIII: 24.

136 Vandier 1961: 119, 162 note 200.

137 Ibid.: pl. 3.

138 Maspero 1900: 42.

139 Gunn 1943: 58 note 7; Erman and Wilcken 1900: 128.

140 Fairman 1945: 69.

141 Drioton 1933: 33.

142 Lacau and Lauer 1961: 34.

Column 5




Transliteration

[5] *m3n.sn sw rs(w) hr hh 3hw m shmw.sn st3 hmw-ntr.sn*
hr nd-r(3).sn m shrw nb n hwt-ntr ir ht hft d(d).sn nn
sh hr hr md(w).sn m3'-ib hr w3t ntr kd hwwt.sn hws

Translation

[5] ... when they see^a him attentive^b to seek what is beneficial in their shrines,^c summoning^d their priests, consulting^e with them on all temple matters, and acting in (all) things^f as they say^g without^h neglectingⁱ their words. Just-hearted on the path of god,^j he is the one who builds^k their temples,^l the one who perfects^m their wall,ⁿ

Notes

- a) The sign of the sickle  is placed at the bottom of column 4 on Thonis-Heracleion, and at the top of column 5 on Naukratis.
- b) The *rs* sign is expressed differently on the two stelae.
- c) Archaic plural for *3hw*. *shw* is also the word used for 'cult statue'; one might interpret 'attentive to search for what is "useful" as cult statues', the word 'useful' alluding to the precious materials used in their composition.
- d) The sense of this sentence was clarified by Erman and Wilcken and then adopted by Piehl.¹⁴³ For the jackal with the head turned backwards, read as *st3*, see Wilson and Meeks.¹⁴⁴ This reading is mostly Greco-Roman, as Wilson pointed out, noting '... in processions, the pullers of the cult barques walk back facing the statue or sled which they pull'.¹⁴⁵ The use of this animal to write *st3* alludes to the mythological function of the jackals, because they are shown (without their heads turned) pulling the solar barque. Sometimes they embody the decans which precede the sun in the sky and seem to be hauling it.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129; Piehl 1902: 94.

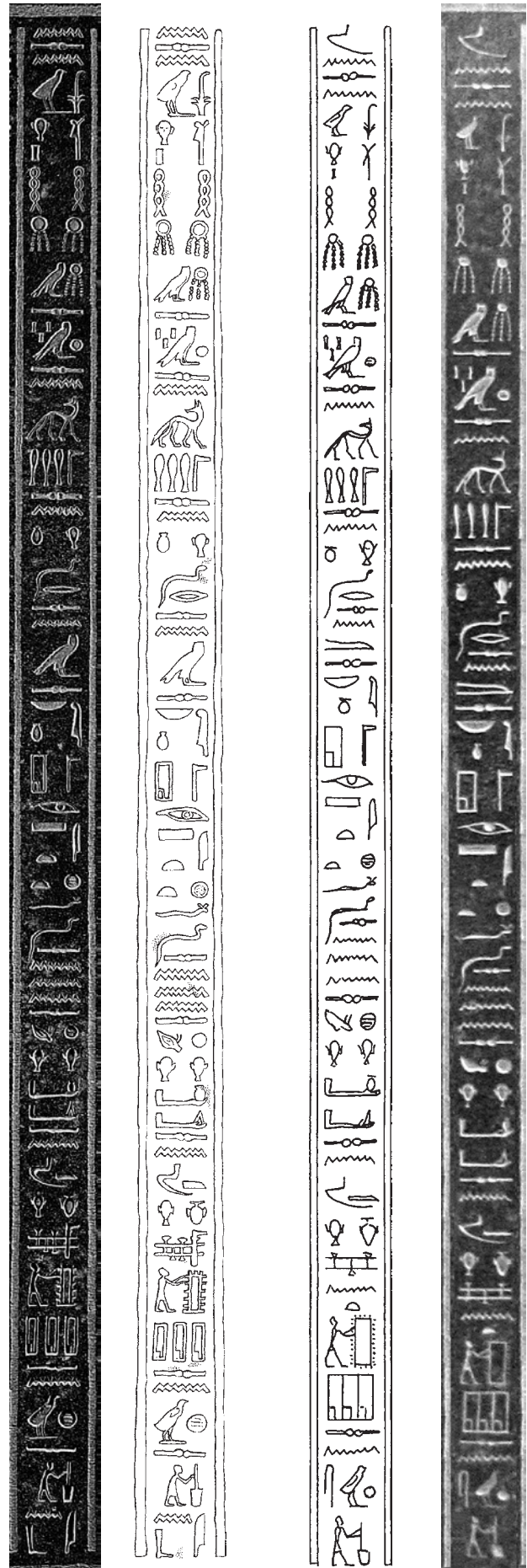
¹⁴⁴ Wilson 1997: 967; Meeks 2004: 63 § 165. For pictures of animals turning their heads by 180°: Schäfer 1974: 215.











¹⁴⁵ Wilson 1997: 967.

¹⁴⁶ von Bomhard 2008: 64–5.

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- e) The verb *nd-r(3)* ‘to query, to consult’,¹⁴⁷ spelt alphabetically, was recognized by Erman and Wilcken.¹⁴⁸ The *m* that follows is written with a  on Thonis-Heracleion and with a  on Naukratis.
- f) Between the two stelae, the word *ht*, ‘thing’, appears with seven different spellings (see Index).
- g) Throughout the entire text, the verb *dd* is spelt simply by the cobra , except in column 10 in the fixed expression *dd.tw* (*n.s*). Drioton noted that the final radical consonant *d/t* had a particular tendency to disappear; this was true in Coptic, but for certain words this had occurred by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.¹⁴⁹
- h) Maspero and Sethe recognized the negation in the two *n* following *sn*.¹⁵⁰ Sethe identified the word *mdw* (with  for the *m* and  for the *d*), and thus avoided the ‘visual traps’ intended for the reader by the use of the three successive *n*, followed by the two faces and the two arms.¹⁵¹
- i) *shi hr* has the meaning ‘to be neglectful’.¹⁵² The first of the two *hr* signs is part of the expression, the second being the preposition. Maspero and Piehl understood the sense of the verb *shi hr*, but they interpreted the following word (*mdw*) as *dd*, ‘gifts’, and it was Sethe who came forward with the correct reading of the two arms as *mdw*.¹⁵³
- j) On Thonis-Heracleion, the word *ntr* is written with the  sign combined with the sign of the road , which confirms the reading *w3t ntr* established on the Naukratis stele since Erman and Wilcken.¹⁵⁴ The engraver of Thonis-Heracleion executed the road sign in an unusual way; the photographs allow us to see that the *ntr* sign has been added over an initial
- shrub, whose trace can be seen to exceed the shaft of the *ntr* sign. Possibly, the engraver forgot the word *ntr*, and made up for it in this way (see Chapter Five).
- k) The sign of the man building a wall (Gardiner A 35) is executed differently on the two monuments: on Thonis-Heracleion, the wall displays 15 lines, whereas the one on Naukratis shows a total of 27 small points around its outer side.
- l) The three temples, showing an archaic plural, are separated on Thonis-Heracleion, but linked on Naukratis .
- m) The verb *hwsj* is spelt here with all its signs, even its determinative. On Thonis-Heracleion, the *s* is horizontal () vertical on Naukratis (). Meeks interpreted *hwsj* in the sense of ‘to finish, to refine a building’, which fits the verb very well, as it is usually set following *kd* ‘to build’ when both are used together.¹⁵⁵ He enumerated the various interpretations of this sign, generally described as a man pounding in a mortar, and illustrated the various forms.¹⁵⁶ Postel and Régen noted that
- le déterminatif /logogramme de hwsj représente un homme maniant une demoiselle de paveur. Damer les dalles du pavement correspondrait à la phase finale de construction d'un édifice.*¹⁵⁷
- The use of two verbs like *kd* and *hwsj* ‘... décrirait ainsi, lorsqu'ils sont associés, un processus complet, depuis l'érection des murs jusqu'à la finition des revêtements’.¹⁵⁸
- n) The word *inb*, spelt alphabetically, and without a determinative, is set at the end of column 5 on Thonis-Heracleion, and at the top of column 6 on Naukratis.

147 Meeks 1978: 214.

148 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129.

149 Drioton 1933: 33.

150 Maspero 1900: 42; Sethe 1901: 122.

151 Sethe 1901: 122.

152 Faulkner 1964: 244; Meeks 1977: 343–4.

153 Maspero 1900: 42; Piehl 1902: 94; Sethe 1901: 122.

154 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129.

155 Meeks 1979a: 213; 2004: 13.

156 Ibid. 2004: 13.

157 Postel and Régen 2005: 270–1.

158 Ibid.

Column 6




Transliteration

[6] *inb.sn sḏf(3) ʿb3 sʿs3 dbḥw (shrw) shp w3ḥwt m ht nb nṯr wʿ sʿs3 bi3yt b3k n.f stwt itn d(i) n.f ḏww im.sn mʿ n.f w3ḏ-wr ḏdt.f in n.f ḥ3swt*

Translation

[6] who supplies the offering tablet, who multiplies^a the requirements^b of the rites, who procures^c oblations of all kind. Unique god of multiple qualities,^d it is for him that work the rays of the disk, it is to him that the mountains^e offer^f what they contain, that the sea^g gives^h its flow,ⁱ to him that the foreign countries^j bring^k

Notes

- sʿs3* is spelt alphabetically, whereas slightly further down in the same column, the word *sʿ3* is written normally with the sign of the lizard.
- The sign *dbḥw*  contains three ostrich feathers, which could be read as *shrw*. The reading would then be *dbḥw shrw*, 'the necessary utensils for (accomplishing) the rites'. The word *dbḥw* fits well with the French word 'le nécessaire'.
- We read *shp* 'to bring (offerings)',¹⁵⁹ rather than *shp(r)*, but both verbs are possible.
- sʿ3 bi3yt*, literally 'of many miracles', an expression which often alludes to the numerous and magnificent monuments built by pharaoh.¹⁶⁰ However, Graefe pointed out that the sense of the expression is very large. In the case of the decree, it mainly evokes the fact that all nature submits to the king.¹⁶¹ According to Grimal, the expression describes the manifestations of acquiescence by nature to the coronation of the king, as demonstrated by the text that follows.¹⁶²
- This is an unusual alphabetic spelling of *ḏww*.

159 Faulkner 1964: 240; Meeks 1978: 344.

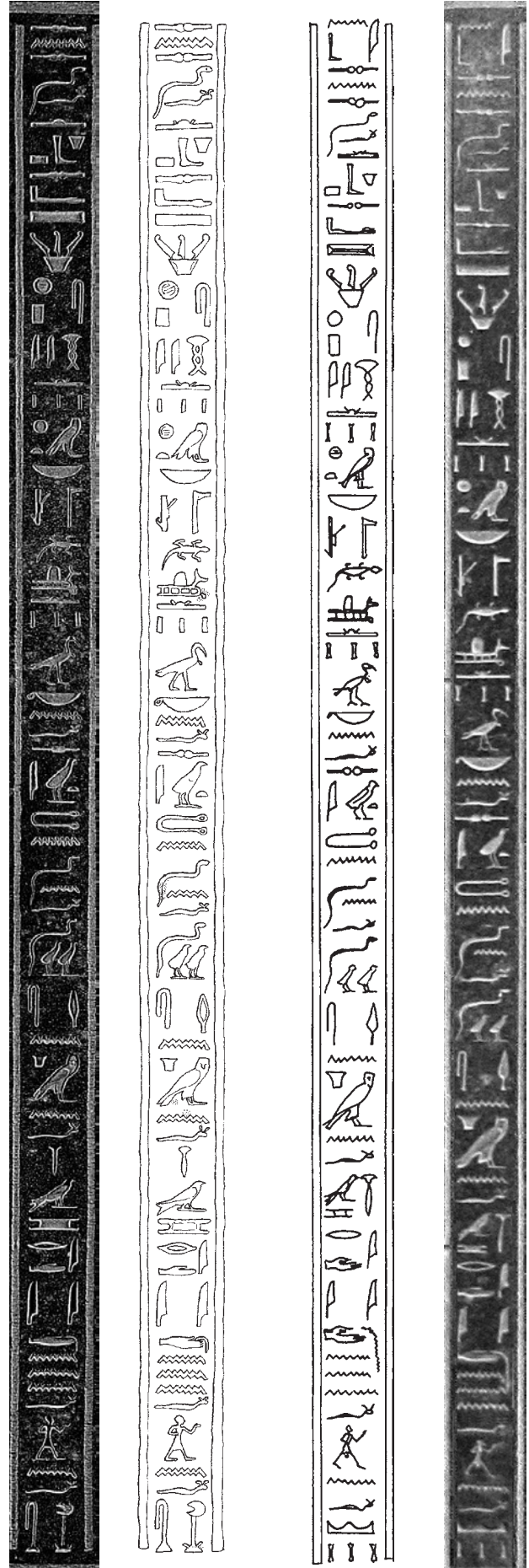
160 Graefe 1971: 105; Grimal 1986: 352–4.






161 Graefe 1971: 106.

162 Grimal 1986: 356.

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- f) The cobra  read as *d* or *d* was interpreted in all translations as standing for the verb *ḏd*, 'to say', with the translations: 'to whom the mountains declare what is in them';¹⁶³ or '... to whom mountains tell their inmost'.¹⁶⁴ However, it would appear preferable to read *d(i)* as 'to give', because *d* and *d* are interchangeable,¹⁶⁵ and hence to interpret this as 'it is to him (the king) that the mountains offer what they contain', which fits better with the general sense and the remaining text: the mountains give the king their riches in minerals, the sea brings him the products of its tides, and the foreign countries their tributes, meaning that the entire universe, like the rays of the disk, works for him (see Comments).
- g) On both stelae, the word *w3ḏ-wr* is written with the same signs, but these are differently disposed. According to Posener, the word appears in the decree in three different spellings,¹⁶⁶ to which is now added a fourth one in column 9 of Thonis-Heracleion (see Index of Egyptian Words *infra*).
- h) The word could be *m3c*, 'to offer', a reading adopted by all authors since Erman and Wilcken.¹⁶⁷ It could also be *m^c* or *mi*, 'to give', as translated by Maspero,¹⁶⁸ which would present another example of the imperative *imi* treated as an independent verb.¹⁶⁹
- i) Read *rwḏw mw.f* by Maspero, followed by Piehl.¹⁷⁰ Erman and Wilcken and Lichtheim read *rwḏw.f*.¹⁷¹ One might also read *idt* or *i3dt*, because the determinative of the hand from which drops water () is itself read *idt*, and the reading 3 of  is frequent.¹⁷² Note that the determinative for water is almost always present, even if there are hardly any others.
- Here, the word *w3ḏ-wr* is probably to be understood in its broadest sense, embracing both the waters of the primeval ocean, which bring the flood, and also the sea with the riches it contains, and above all including the prosperity produced by maritime imports and trade whose taxation is precisely the object of the decree.
- j) The word *h3swt* is spelt on Thonis-Heracleion in the same way as on the lunettes of both stelae (left side Neith, column 1), whereas it is reduced to the ideogram  on Naukratis. On Thonis-Heracleion, the determinative is to be found at the top of column 7.
- k) The running man is read *in* by Piehl.¹⁷³ This reading of  is frequent, as noted by Traunecker, from the eighteenth dynasty on.¹⁷⁴

163 Gunn 1943: 58.

164 Lichtheim 1977: 145; 1980: 88.

165 E.g., Drioton 1933: 43; Fairman 1945: 79.

166 Posener 1934: 141.

167 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129.

168 Maspero 1900: 42.

169 Meeks 1978: 155; Wilson 1997: 410.

170 Maspero 1900: 42; Piehl 1902: 95.

171 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129; Lichtheim 1980: 89 note 3.

172 E.g., Darnell 2004: 591.

173 Piehl 1902: 95 notes 1–2.

174 Traunecker 1972: 206; see also Lefèbvre 1955: § 496; Gardiner 1988: 445, A 27.

Column 7





Transliteration

[7] *df3w.sn shtp.f ibw.sn m inw.sn h^c hm.f m h^c nt htp m hwt-ntr nt nt bs nsw*

Translation

[7]... their abundance^a (so that) he acknowledges^b their sovereignty by (receiving) their gifts.^c His Majesty rose^d in the palace^e of the Saïte nome^f and set^g in the temple of Neith. The king having entered ...

Notes

- a) The word *df3w*, which is present four times on the decree, is elsewhere spelt simply  (Lunette, right side Neith, column 2; Decree, columns 4 and 12). Here in column 7, on the other hand, it is composed of all its signs and completed by a determinative.
- b) *shtp*: the verb is spelt alphabetically, whereas the word *htp* a little further down in this column is written traditionally with the  sign. *shtp.f ibw.sn* literally means 'he soothes (appeases) their hearts'. We owe the reading *ibw* of the three gazelles to Gunn.¹⁷⁵ We must admire the perfection of the design and the masterly engraving of the sign, as well as the text designer's inspired choice of the gazelle to replace the jumping kid: bounding gazelles, as typical animals of the desert, seem indeed particularly appropriate to evoke the princes of foreign lands.
- c) The word written *iny* was read as *inw*, 'tribute', by Maspero, who translated the sentence as '... à qui les contrées étrangères apportent en courant leurs produits et leurs gazelles même se le concilient par leurs tributs'.¹⁷⁶ The meaning 'tributes' was also followed by de Meulenaere, who translated it 'the foreign countries bring him their supplies and satisfy his heart by their tributes', although the formula struck him as bizarre.¹⁷⁷ Other authors read the word *iny* as *int*, 'the valley', e.g., '... er zähmt (?) ihre Antilopen in ihren Thälern',¹⁷⁸ 'leurs gazelles lui font hommage dans leurs vallées',¹⁷⁹ '... he gladdens their hearts in their

¹⁷⁵ Gunn 1943: 57.

¹⁷⁶ Maspero 1900: 42.

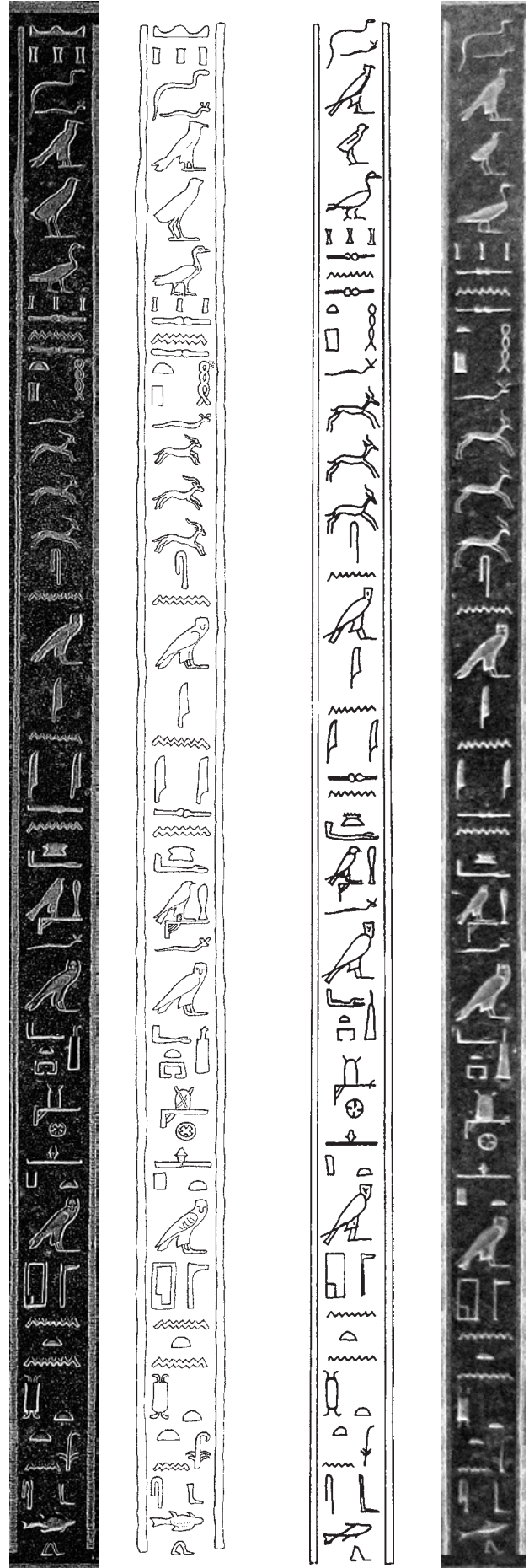
¹⁷⁷ de Meulenaere 2003: 429 note 6.

¹⁷⁸ Erman and Wilcken 1900: 129.

¹⁷⁹ Piehl 1902: 95.

Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis



valleys',¹⁸⁰ '... that he may rest their hearts in their valleys',¹⁸¹ and, more recently, 'il offre leurs gazelles (provenant) de leurs vallées'.¹⁸² Foreign countries are generally described by the word 'deserts' (*h3swt*). Maspero's and much later de Meulenaere's reading of the word as *inw*, 'tribute', seems preferable, but it would appear that the sentence would acquire greater pertinence taking into account the use of the expression *shtp-ib* indicated by Lacau and Chevrier and by Meeks, which designates the rite of a god's accolade to the king.¹⁸³ The god, generally Amon, by this gesture grants sovereignty to the ruler. Adapting this notion to the sentence in the decree, one would understand in this context that the king 'gives the accolade' to the foreign prince, *shtp.f ibw.sn*, and recognizes his legitimacy by the very act of accepting his presents, *m inw.sn*.

The translation of the word *inw* as 'tribute' is contested. The discussion focuses on the point that, unlike the word *b3kw*, *inw* would not imply recognition of Egyptian suzerainty on the part of the foreign rulers. Grimal and Fabre both reviewed the bibliography of this discussion, Grimal adding numerous examples where the expression 'to bring *inw*' implies submission.¹⁸⁴ Fabre pointed out that, unlike *b3kw*, the *inw* deliveries seem not to have been subject to any precise periodicity.¹⁸⁵ If the proposed translation of this passage in column 7 turns out to be correct, it would provide an important additional element to the meaning of the word *inw*, because it very precisely indicates the role of the *inw* brought or sent by foreign kings: by accepting their *inw*, pharaoh acknowledges their sovereignty over their respective countries. The interpretation of *shtp ib*, as 'to give the accolade', strongly recalls the notion of suzerainty as inherited from Medieval custom throughout Europe. We note, however, that the words Neith pronounces in the lunette (left side Neith, columns 1, 2), 'I give you all foreign countries charged with their *inw*' appear here in a more coercive sense than in column 7, and we therefore translate *inw* as 'tribute' in the lunette, although its sense would more precisely mean 'with their gifts as tokens of allegiance', the word *inw* floating somewhere midway between the two extreme meanings.

d) Piehl recalled that '*h^c ... htp ... représentent deux expressions antithétiques 'sortir en procession solennelle ... rentrer en procession solennelle', comme Brugsch l'a fait remarquer il y a longtemps*'.¹⁸⁶ Gunn and Lichtheim pointed out that the terms used for the king are also those used for the sun.¹⁸⁷ As regards the king's exit from the palace to go to the temple, Goyon added that under these circumstances, *h^c* designates the royal apartments adjacent to the temple.¹⁸⁸ Pharaoh is explicitly compared to the sun rising over the horizon, *h^c nsw mi r^c*, and Barguet underlined that in this context the royal palace is assimilated to the horizon.¹⁸⁹ At Edfu, the royal exit from the palace was called 'the gate of life', *sbht n nh*, and was termed 'the gate of the land, which resembles the sky'.¹⁹⁰

e) The sign of the palace, which is slightly different on each stele, evokes the *inw* column rather than the *h^c* palace, more particularly on Naukratis. This may have resulted from a confusion of the two signs, whose hieratic shapes look very much alike, as Sauneron pointed out, recalling the example of the Stele of Naukratis.¹⁹¹ There is a slight possibility that this might have been intentional, due to the solar nature of the *inw* pillar,¹⁹² in order to emphasize the solar character attributed to the king throughout this first part of the decree.

f) Posener recalled that the symbol of Neith on the standard is used to represent the Saïte nome and the goddess Neith at the same time, and that the sign should probably be pronounced *nt* in both cases.¹⁹³

g) Gunn explained that the successively appearing verbs *h^c*, *htp*, *bs*, *h^c* are infinitives, in the 'timeless "record style"'.¹⁹⁴ The verb *h^c* is used for the rising sun, for any and all appearance of pharaoh, and also 'to indicate the actual day of coronation'.¹⁹⁵ Gardiner also believed that the decree on the Naukratis stele implies that Nectanebo was crowned in the temple of Neith at Saïs: once this king is introduced (*bs*) into the temple of the goddess, he appears (*h^c*) crowned with the Red Crown (*m nt*).¹⁹⁶

At the bottom of this column, there is no further discrepancy between the texts of the two stelae, but one will reappear at the bottom of column 12.

180 Gunn 1943: 57.

181 Lichtheim 1977: 145; 1980: 88.

182 Vandersleyen 1999: 311.

183 Lacau and Chevrier 1956: 138 note 1; 1977: 52, 291; Meeks 1977: 337.

184 Grimal 1986: 702 note 808; Fabre 2007: 690 note 35.

185 Fabre 2007: 690.

186 Piehl 1902: 95.

187 Gunn 1943: 58 note 9; Lichtheim 1980: 89 note 4.

188 Goyon 1972: 83 note 3.

189 Barguet 1986a: 52.

190 Ibid.

191 Sauneron 1961: 231–2.

192 Zivie 1979: 489–90.

193 Posener 1934: 148.

194 Gunn 1943: 58 note 9.

195 Gardiner 1953: 23.

196 Ibid.

Column 8



Transliteration

[8] *m hwt nt h^c m nt r-gs mwt.f hnp.n.f kbh n it.(f) nb nh(h)* (or: *nbw n hnk*) *m hwt nt dd.in hm.f imi di.tw w^c*
10 m nbw m hq m ht m

Translation

[8] (into)^a the temple of Neith and having appeared with the Red Crown^b next to his mother,^c he offered the kebeh-libation^d to (his) father,^e Lord of Eternity,^f in the temple of Neith (or: the gold for the offering to the temple of Neith).

His Majesty^g then decreed: 'let there be given one^h tenthⁱ of the gold,^j of the silver, of the timber,^k of^l ...

Notes

- a) Regarding *bs-nsw* on the statue of Horemheb, Gardiner specified that 'the writing of *bs nsw* here shows this to be the stereotyped technical term used to denote the king's introduction by another god into a temple'.¹⁹⁷ *bs* can also mean 'to enthrone',¹⁹⁸ and it is in this sense that the expression must be understood in the decree, since the text in column 2 already indicates that Neith has made Nectanebo the ruler of the Two Lands, and that she has placed her uraeus on his head.
- b) Note that the line framing the rear of the text of column 8 of Thonis-Heracleion is doubled along the sentence *h^c m nt*, 'appeared with the Red Crown', as if the sentence were highlighted (see Chapter Five *infra*).
- c) As Lichtheim mentioned, 'his mother' is Neith.¹⁹⁹ The king proclaims himself 'the son of Neith', which guarantees his legitimacy. On the lunette, the goddess is described as 'mother of the god' (i.e., of the sun), whose heir is the king. The word 'mother' is written in the same way on the lunette and in column 10 of the decree, but in two other and different manners in column 12 (see Index *infra*).

197 Gardiner 1953: 19.

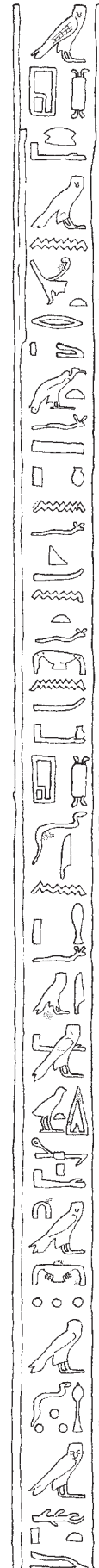
198 Ibid.: 24–5; Meeks 1979a: 91; Grimal 1986: 356 note 1186.

199 Lichtheim 1980: 89 note 5.

Thonis-Heracleion








Naukratis










d) The right side of the lunette shows the scene of the offering of the vases and bread loaves, made by the king bearing the Red Crown.

e) His father is Osiris.

f) The reading *nb nh(h)*, ‘Lord of Eternity’ with  = *nb*, and  = *nh(h)* was made by Sethe.²⁰⁰ He was followed by Gunn and Lichtheim.²⁰¹ On the other hand, Maspero read ‘... l’or de l’offrande en don au temple de Neith’, with  = *nbw*,  = *n*, and  = *hnk*.²⁰² Maspero’s interpretation has the advantage of taking into account the left scene of offering on the lunette, i.e., of the necklace. However, if we adopt this reading by Maspero, it must be noted that the king’s headdress would not be mentioned in that sentence, as it is for the offering on the right side. Sethe’s reading *nb nh(h)* is preferable to the one by Maspero because on the statue in the Philadelphia Museum (Philadelphia 42.91), it is said that in the days of Amasis *psmtik-s3-nt* benefits, in the temple of Neith, from a funerary offering issuing from the altar of the Lord of Eternity.²⁰³ In addition, on the naos published by Capart, whose decoration would represent the divinities of the temple of Neith, appear two forms of Osiris, one of which is called *nb nh(h)*, ‘Lord of Eternity’.²⁰⁴ Finally, on the naophorous statuette Vatican 158 of Udjahorresne, dating from the time of Cambyses, the chief physician Udjahorresne relates that he brought Cambyses to the temple of Neith in order that the new ruler should ‘... perform the *kebeh* libation for the Lord of Eternity inside the temple of Neith, as every king had done before’, *rdit kbh n nb nh(h) m-hnw hwt nt mi ir.n nsw nb dr-b3h*.²⁰⁵ Nectanebo understandably made a point of upholding this long tradition, which allowed him to be entered in the long list of his predecessors.²⁰⁶

With regard to the representation of the offering on the left, i.e., of the *wsh* necklace, Yoyotte wondered, in his study of the Naukratis stele, if that jewellery symbolized the metal wealth in the treasury of Neith, and went on to note that ‘... en tout cas, le message contenu au sommet de la stèle devait s’imposer à tout passant, qu’il fût égyptien ou grec’.²⁰⁷

- g) The determinative of the word ‘majesty’ is different on Thonis-Heracleion (I) from Naukratis (). Where, on these two monuments, the determinative of *hm* is the falcon on a standard, the  sign is invariably set *before* the standard on Naukratis, whereas it is always set *on* the standard on Thonis-Heracleion (see column 2, note b and Index *infra*).
- h) On Thonis-Heracleion, the word *w^c* is written with the harpoon, accompanied by the arm as a phonetic complement, whereas on Naukratis, it appears without the arm.
- i) As Lichtheim noted, the text says *w^c m 10 nbw* instead of *w^c 10 m nbw*, possibly for practical reasons of disposition.²⁰⁸ Sethe rightly pointed out that it should be read *w^c 10 m nbw*, as indicated by the following series of ‘*m*’: *m hq m ht ...* etc.²⁰⁹
- j) The sign of ‘gold’ is  on Naukratis and  on Thonis-Heracleion. However, we note that, in the upper half of the same column, the word *nb (nh(h))* is written with the same  sign on both stelae.
- k) The wood sign *ht* is done differently on Thonis-Heracleion (one additional upward branch) than on Naukratis.
- l) The *m* is  on Thonis-Heracleion and  on Naukratis.

200 Sethe 1901: 122.

201 Gunn 1943: 58; Lichtheim 1977: 145.

202 Maspero 1900: 42.

203 Matthiae-Scandone 1967: 159 note 57.

204 Capart 1924: 23.

205 Posener 1936: 18.



206 Ibid. 1947: 125 note 2.

207 Yoyotte 1993–94: 681.

208 Lichtheim 1977: 140.

209 Sethe 1901: 122.

demonstrated that on the statue of Nekhthorheb, ‘this place’ (*bw pn*), very probably designates the Mediterranean customs post, i.e., the gateway of the sea in this man’s charge.²¹³ He established the connection between the text on the Naukratis stele and that of Nekhthorheb, who increased the contribution to the altars of the gods, particularly that of Neith, according to instructions from Amasis, as soon as he was appointed director of seafront customs.²¹⁴

d) On Naukratis, the *w3d* sign  comes with its phonetic complement of the cobra . The translation of the word *w3d-wr* as ‘sea’ has been contested; the debate was summarized by Meeks and Fabre.²¹⁵ Smith recalled the Egyptian texts that established the creation of *w3d-wr* out of the primeval ocean.²¹⁶ In the context of the decree, there is clearly a question of maritime customs levied in the town of Thonis-Heracleion, and the discovery of the stele of Thonis-Heracleion *in situ* proves that it is indeed maritime customs that are concerned.

e) The word *h3w-nbwt* appears three times in identical spelling on both stelae. This was graphism classified as group 3 by Vercoutter.²¹⁷ The earliest known example of the word, dating from the Old Kingdom, and found in the mortuary temple of Sahure, belongs in this group. Vercoutter pointed out: ‘le fait de le retrouver fréquemment à la 26^e dynastie semble indiquer que c’est une graphie habituelle à l’Ancien Empire’. The preference for archaisms in the twenty-sixth dynasty was studied and detailed in all its aspects by Der Manuelian.²¹⁸ This spelling of the word provides a further example of the trend for archaism on the decree, expressed in the language, the spelling, or the palaeography.

The exact translation of the name of *h3w-nbwt* has not been definitively established, in spite of its being known from the Old Kingdom—particularly in the religious texts of the fourth and fifth dynasty—down to the Roman period. Vercoutter underscored its great antiquity and believed that it was possibly used even in predynastic times.²¹⁹

From the etymological standpoint, *h3w-nbwt* is agreed to be an expression composed of two elements: *h3w*, ‘which is around’ or ‘which is behind’,

to which is added the word *nbwt*, which Vercoutter translated as ‘baskets’ or ‘basins’.²²⁰ Vercoutter demonstrated that the word *nbwt* is invariably linked to a geographical landform, and is related to water rather than to a specific region.²²¹ Thus at the sixth hour of the *Book of the Amdouat* appears a question concerning the depth of the *nbwt* waters of the inhabitants of the Duat.²²² Having indicated the different spellings of the word *h3w-nbwt*, which he categorized by groups and by chronological order,²²³ Vercoutter was inclined to locate these *nbwt* at the north of the Delta. In ancient times the word would first have designated the inhabitants of the northernmost limit of the maritime Delta.²²⁴ Nibbi also associated the *h3w-nbwt* with the northern Delta.²²⁵

Gardiner followed Sethe in understanding the *h3w-nbwt* as people from the Aegean.²²⁶ Montet suggested that, from the Old Kingdom down to the time of Alexander, the *h3w-nbwt* were Hellenic people.²²⁷ He believed the expression to mean ‘Les Grecs (*Helou*) des vaisseaux (*nebout*)’.²²⁸ Vercoutter was of the opinion that the term designates different populations according to the times: the Delta or immediate neighbourhood in prehistoric times; the Asiatic, or more precisely the Phoenician, coast in the Old Kingdom; the coasts of various Asian regions in the Middle and New Kingdom; and the Greeks from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty onwards.²²⁹ Vandersleyen disagreed, believing that *h3w-nbwt* must have maintained the same topographical meaning at all times.²³⁰ He argued that the expression is a geographical term that indicated the Phoenician region along the rivers from the mountains down to the coast.²³¹ However, he subsequently reconsidered the notion of placing them in the northern Delta of Egypt.²³² Uphill also preferred to locate the *h3w-nbwt* in Phoenicia, but along the coast.²³³ Still, he admitted the possibility of variable geographical attributions depending on the period.²³⁴ Taking up once more the study of the association of the words *w3d-wr* and *h3w-nbwt*, Favard-Meeks maintained that the terms originally indicated an Egyptian territory, and that the meaning of *h3w-nbwt* became ambivalent from the moment when it no longer occupied the first place on the list of the Nine Bows.²³⁵ From then on, the Egyptians would have adapted the term to the new contingencies and

213 Posener 1947: 125–6.

214 Ibid.: 126–7.

215 Meeks 1997: 175–8; Fabre 2004–5: 12–13.

216 Smith 2002: 115–16.

217 Vercoutter 1947: 129–31.

218 Ibid. 1947: 131; 1949: 156; Der Manuelian 1994.

219 Vercoutter 1954: 39.

220 Ibid. 1947: 132–5; 145 note 2.

221 Ibid.: 156.

222 Ibid.: 154; Vandersleyen 1971: 156.

223 Vercoutter 1949: 204–9.

224 Ibid. 1947: 158.

225 Nibbi 1975: 50, 55–6, fig. 12.

226 Gardiner 1947: 206–8; Sethe 1905: 133 note 7.

227 Montet 1947: 134, 140; 1949: 143.

228 Ibid. 1949: 129.

229 Vercoutter 1949: 189–202, figs 5–6.

230 Vandersleyen 1971: 143–9, 159.

231 Ibid.: 165; 1977.

232 Ibid. 1988a: 80.

233 Uphill 1967: 418–19.

234 Ibid.: 402–3, 419–20, figs 21–2.

235 Favard-Meeks 1989: 47, 53, 55.

geopolitical necessities of the moment; this interpretation is followed by Fabre.²³⁶

Montet observed that the Egyptians generally designated foreign people by their name and not by a composed expression, and that, when using this it accompanies or replaces the name of the people, which cannot be detected in the case of *ḥ3w-nbwt*.²³⁷ Vercoutter contested this,²³⁸ but Montet's remark is nevertheless attractive and may lead to the question of whether the Egyptians did not use this term to describe varied ethnic groups originating from different geographic locations from the very beginning (i.e., from predynastic times) rather than one particular population. The common denominator of these peoples would be to have reached, or be liable to reach, Egypt via the lowlands near, or on, the coastline at the extreme north of the Delta, where navigable basins and the river mouths interlink. As all these peoples would come in from the Mediterranean, whatever their ethnic or geographical origins, they would be described as 'Those from beyond the *nebouf*'. The word *nbwt* would thus have the meaning of basins, as defined by Vercoutter, which would be situated in the Delta. These peoples would sometimes be termed *imy-nbwt*, because they might occasionally settle on the shores of the Delta. According to the different evolutions of Mediterranean cultures, the term would, depending on the period, designate various different populations. In their work on the *ḥ3w-nbwt*, Berni and Chiappelli greatly expanded the spatial limits of this term, but also extended it to long periods of pre- and early history, to all peoples in the Mediterranean living near and migrating over watery areas.²³⁹ Yoyotte remarked that during the New Kingdom, the term *ḥ3w-nbwt* applied to the people of Syria and Palestine, but under the Saïte kings, it designated the Phoenicians, the Carians and Greeks recruited as soldiers, and above all the Greeks in the time of the Ptolemies.²⁴⁰ In the context of the Naukratis stele, Lichtheim rightly observed that '... whether *ḥ3w-nbwt* here means Greeks or Phoenicians, [the peoples of] the Mediterranean Sea is meant'.²⁴¹

Obviously, the decree concerns Mediterranean populations, but there is no reason why it should mean specifically Greeks or Phoenicians. It is reasonable to assume that entry taxes applied to all merchants, whether Greeks, Phoenicians or any other origin or ethnic group. They were applicable as well to any and every merchandise which 'comes in from the sea of the *ḥ3w-nbwt*' as stated in column 9 of both stelae,

as well as to everything coming into Egypt through 'the gate of the sea of the *ḥ3w-nbwt*', mentioned in column 13 of the Thonis-Heracleion stele, or simply 'the gate of the *ḥ3w-nbwt*', as engraved on a bronze plate found in Thonis-Heracleion (see Discussion *infra*, Figure 4.15). The significance of *ḥ3w-nbwt* at the time of Nectanebo I would thus be the same as it would always have been, qualifying all foreign people liable to reach Egypt via this northern part of the Delta, and very particularly the Greeks from the period of their establishment in Naukratis. We note that the anchors from Thonis-Heracleion may well indicate that Greek and Phoenician types/ships used the port and that the Aḥiqar papyrus (see *infra*) indicates taxation for Greek and Phoenician vessels. This attests to the point that the meaning could still be foreigners, rather than specifically Greeks.

In addition, it would seem that other *nbwt* and therefore people termed *ḥ3w-nbwt* existed in the south of Egypt,²⁴² as well as towards the Upper Euphrates, as some texts seem to indicate.²⁴³

- f) The three plural strokes of the word *išwt* on Thonis-Heracleion are missing on Naukratis. Generally, *išwt* may or may not be considered as a variation of *iḥt*.²⁴⁴ In this instance, the word *išwt* is clearly differentiated from *ḥt*, 'thing' which appears just above in the sentence *ḥt nb pr(w) m w3d-wr ḥ3w-nbwt*. It should be noted that the tax levied on these *išwt* goods are treated separately from the *ḥt nb* goods that arriving from the sea, very probably because the rate of taxation of the *išwt* and the *ḥt nb* goods is different (see Discussion *infra*).
- g) Erman and Wilcken, as well as Lichtheim, noted that the clause *nty tw ḥsbw r pr-nsw m niwt ḥnt rn.s*, and the corresponding clause (in column 10) *ntt tw ḥsbw r pr-nsw*, do not refer to *w^c 10 m nbw* (etc), but rather to *išty nb* (to which must be added *ḥt nb pr m w3d-wr ...*), and *iḥt nb* respectively.²⁴⁵ For the transliteration of these sentences, we preserved, as did Lichtheim, the hieroglyphic spelling that does not correspond to a classical neo-Egyptian form.²⁴⁶ One may either propose the form of a present I, reconstituting *nty tw.tw (hr) ḥsb*,²⁴⁷ or a passive form *nty ḥsb.tw*.

The trend observed so far on the decree towards an archaic language now reverts to an appearance of late grammatical forms. It is interesting to note that they appear in the part which reproduces the king's words, i.e., in the 'spoken' language.

236 Fabre 2004–05: 15.

237 Montet 1947: 132; 1949: 130.

238 Vercoutter 1956: 24–5.

239 Berni and Chiappelli 2008.

240 Yoyotte 2008a; 2011: 18.

241 Lichtheim 1980: 89 note 7.

242 Favard-Meeks 1989: 50.

243 Vercoutter 1947: 151–4.







244 Meeks 1977: 47.



245 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 131; Lichtheim 1977: 141.

246 Lichtheim 1977: 141.

247 Neveu 1996: 152–3.

h) Literally ‘towards the royal domain’.

i) In column 9 of the decree, the name of the town of *hnt* is written  the vase  reading *hnt*, to which is added the sign of the hand holding an egg , which in itself also reads *hnt*. This latter sign, as Maspero drew it, is more visible on Thonis-Heracleion than on Naukratis.²⁴⁸ On the decree of Saïs, *hnt* is not written with the sign of the hand letting fall drops of water , as stated by Yoyotte,²⁴⁹ but with the sign of the hand holding the egg . In his publication on the Decree of Canopus, Spiegelberg drew the sign of a hand holding an oval vase for *hnt* in the expression *r3 hnt*.²⁵⁰ In addition, he noted that the spelling of *hnt* on Naukratis, where the vase  precedes the hand holding the egg, confirms his reading of *hnt* on the Decree of Canopus.²⁵¹ In the *Book of the Fayyum*, the hand holding the egg is generally used as a determinative of the word *hnt*, alternating with a hand holding a fish by the head.²⁵² Beinlich translated *hnt* as ‘Feuchtgebiet’, ‘humid area’.

Regarding , a text studied by Faulkner establishes a link between the egg and the word *hnt*:²⁵³ a cosmological passage in the Brenner Rhind papyrus says: ‘... the egg is come into being in the *hnt*’.²⁵⁴ The sentence, as Fairman noted, alludes to the Egyptian cosmological notion that the egg is the origin of Re which came into existence in water, *hnt*.²⁵⁵ This notion is illustrated by the image of the ovoid form of the blue lotus blossom which opens on the water into a disk of blazing colour surrounded by blue petals, and which evokes the sun issuing from the primeval waters. In the *Ritual of Bringing in Sokar*, studied by Faulkner, the word *hnt* is written with the  sign and refers to Hathor. In the version of this ritual on Papyrus Louvre I 3079, studied by Goyon, the word is written differently.²⁵⁶ In both versions, *hnt* is used in relation to different forms of Hathor, above all Isis-Hathor, called *nbt wpt*, ‘Mistress of the Horns’. This name alludes to her aspect as a cow when she appears as Mehet-weret. We know that the word *hnt* is connected with Mehet-weret in the ‘Book of the Fayyum’ and with the regeneration of the sun in the waters (see Chapter Three and Appendix I). Mehet-weret is the ‘female personification of the watery matter which formed the substance of the world’, and Neith is often

assimilated with her.²⁵⁷ At Esna, the egg is associated with the birth of the sun issuing from the waters and Neith’s body.²⁵⁸ In Carlsberg papyrus 302 the egg seems to be related to the wind and Smith recalled the various mentions of the egg in the texts of the cosmogonies.²⁵⁹ Thus, the town name of ‘Hone’ evokes the primeval waters, personified by Amun and Neith, and its spelling, using the hand holding the egg, alludes to the creation of the sun.

Research into the precise ‘geographic’ translation of the word *hnt* was carried out by Yoyotte, where he reviews the Greek and Egyptian sources that indicate the name of the antique city of *hnt*, namely the Decree of Canopus and the Naukratis stele.²⁶⁰ He translated *hnt* as ‘lake’ because he had adopted Gardiner’s point of view at the time.²⁶¹ Later, Yoyotte took up the study of the word again in the context of the *Book of the Fayyum*.²⁶² At the same time, Fairman proposed the translation of ‘shallows’ for *hnt*: ‘... the narrow channels or rivulets, often literally reduced to hand-breadths, to which the bed of the Nile is so often reduced in high summer, immediately before the inundation’.²⁶³

Yoyotte gradually specified the hydrographical reality designated by the word *hnt*:

- ‘... Hônē, c’est-à-dire “Le Lac” est très vraisemblablement une personnification du fameux Lac de Moëris’.²⁶⁴
- ‘... la honē, réseau des bras d’eau qui descendent vers le lac Karoun’.²⁶⁵
- ‘Le terme honē désigne le cours inférieur d’un bras de décharge et les terres et lacs qu’il inonde’.²⁶⁶
- ‘... système de décharge que formaient le cours inférieur du Bahr Yussef, ses diverticules deltaïques et les zones basses que ses eaux remplissaient à chaque crue’.²⁶⁷
- ‘Le nom commun “honē” désignerait spécifiquement les bassins inférieurs des bras majeurs du Nil, à partir de l’endroit où les diverticules qui s’en détachent latéralement forment au bout de la branche un delta inférieur et vont déboucher dans des lagunes littorales, tandis que le seul bras majeur se jette dans la mer ouverte’.²⁶⁸
- ‘honē désignait les deltas particuliers qui se forment au débouché des grandes branches du Nil’.²⁶⁹

248 Maspero 1904: 795.

249 Yoyotte 1958: 429; 2001: 28.

250 Spiegelberg 1922: 219.

251 Ibid.: 90 note 41.

252 Beinlich 1991.

253 Faulkner 1937: 13, 15.

254 *The Ritual of Bringing in Sokar*: 19, 16.

255 Fairman 1968: 236; Sauneron and Yoyotte 1959: 36–7, 59–62.

256 Goyon 1968: 67–8.

257 Budge 1969: 1, 422.

258 Sauneron 1962: 262–3 note c.

259 Smith 2002: 60.

260 Yoyotte 1958: 423–9.

261 Gardiner 1943: 38–40.

262 Yoyotte 1966–67: 85–6; 1967–68: 108.

263 Fairman 1968: 238.

264 Yoyotte 1962: 98.

265 Ibid. 1971–72: 167.

266 Ibid. 1987–88.

267 Ibid. 1988–89: 151–2.




268 Ibid. 2001: 28.

269 Ibid. 2006a: 218.

Goedicke also pointed out that the word ‘hone’, like the word *itrw*, can include the region irrigated by a waterway.²⁷⁰

The notions of deltas, of ‘bras de décharge’, and above all the definition including part of the floodable land is particularly interesting and perfectly covers the topographic evidence of the submerged landscape of Aboukir Bay.²⁷¹ In addition, the etymology of the name of the town of ‘Thonis’, proposed by Yoyotte as being the combination of the article *t3* and the word *hnt* to make up the word *t3-hnt* for ‘Thonis’, was subsequently

confirmed by the complete spelling of the town’s name as written in column 14 of the Thonis-Heracleion stele (Figure 4.8 and Chapter Five, Figures 5.9, 5.14).²⁷²

- j) Regarding the word *hnt*, the careful disposition of the signs allows the integration of the sign  into the word at the same time as it serves as a phonetic complement to the word *w*.
- k) For the sign of gold, as in column 8, Thonis-Heracleion shows  and Naukratis .

²⁷⁰ Goedicke 1963: 97.

²⁷¹ Goddio 2007: 17, 25, 111, figs 1.15, 1.24, 3.80.

²⁷² Yoyotte 1958: 428–9.

Column 10











Transliteration

[10] *m ht nb ntt hpr m pr-mryt dd.tw n.s krꜥ hr spt ʿnw ntt
tw ḥsbw r pr-nsw r htpw-nꜥr n mwt.i nt r-km dt*

Translation

[10] and of all things^a that appear^b in^c *Pr-mryt*^d called^e *Krꜥ*^f on the bank of the Anu,^g which are reckoned^h for the benefit of the royal domain,ⁱ to become divine offerings^j to my^k mother Neith until the end of time^l

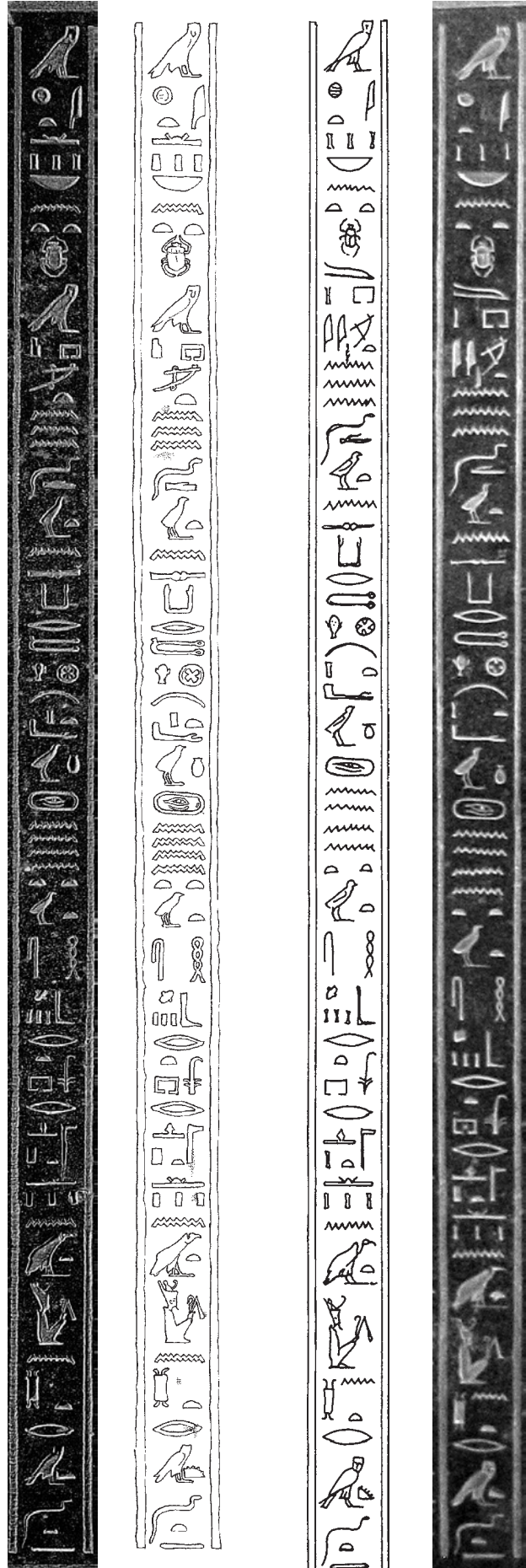
Notes

- a) The determinative of the papyrus roll is absent on Naukratis. Six variations of the spelling of the word *ht* can be observed on the decree (see Index).
- b) ‘... all things that appear’ means that everything manufactured and everything exported from Naukratis is taxed. Customs dues are paid at Thonis-Heracleion on imported goods. Here the text concerns the tax on goods manufactured at Naukratis, irrespective of whether or not they are exported, as well, probably, as levies on internal trade in that city (see Discussion, *infra*).
- c)  on Thonis-Heracleion,  on Naukratis.
- d) Regarding the spelling of *pr-mryt*, the hoe is horizontal on Thonis-Heracleion () , and vertical () on Naukratis, where two  are added (as in the word *mry* in column 1 on Naukratis). The  stroke which accompanies the *pr* sign  is normal on Naukratis, but on Thonis-Heracleion it has an unusual shape: it is thick and evokes the sign of the seat , although the base of the seat is missing, which suggests that the image is the result of a chip in the stone during the engraving.

Gauthier and Yoyotte argued that the name *pr-mryt*, ‘The house of the port’, referred to the economic function (*pr*) of the port facility (*mryt*), and de Meulenaere thought that this was probably the name of the location before the arrival of the Greeks.²⁷³ The formulation of the decree itself, ‘*pr-mryt* called



Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis








273 Gauthier 1925 (2): 87; Yoyotte 1982–83: 131; Yoyotte 1991–92: 640; de Meulenaere 1982: 361; 2003: 430 note 10.

kr̥t, leads to the belief that the former existed before the latter. Fabre noted that Egyptian texts mention *mryt*-ports (the word meaning quay) at Memphis, Hermopolis, Coptos, and Thebes.²⁷⁴


- e) The verb *dd*, ‘to say’ appears four times, and is always spelt by the  sign only, except for the fixed expression ‘*dd.tw n.s*’, where the word is spelt in the normal way .
- f) *pr-mryt dd.tw n.s kr̥t*: in this column, the name of the town, *kr̥t*, does not contain the word *niwt*, whereas at the bottom of column 13 (on Naukratis only) it is said that the monument should be placed in *niwt-kr̥t* (Figures 4.7, 4.9, *infra*). The comparison of these two spellings led to the realization that the Greek name ‘Naukratis’ is a more or less phonetic transcription of the word *niwt-kr̥t*, ‘the town of *kr̥t*’.²⁷⁵ The oldest attestation of this toponym is found on Moscow stele 8499 from the time of Amasis.²⁷⁶ Yoyotte noted that another stele (Berlin 7780), dating from the reign of Apries (without the name of Naukratis), shows the gods of this town, Amon Batet and Mut, Mistress of Isheru in the lunette.²⁷⁷ El-Sayed reproduced the text of the Moscow stele, and Guermeur the hieroglyphic text of the Berlin stele, of which de Meulenaere published an excellent photograph.²⁷⁸


The various spellings of the name containing either *niwt*, ‘town’ or *n3w* (possessive plural), ‘those of (*kr̥t*)’²⁷⁹ indicate, as Yoyotte demonstrated, that ‘ces formes égyptiennes prouvent que le grec Naukratis transcrit un toponyme égyptien et non l’inverse’.²⁸⁰ Still, the meaning of *kr̥t* is not known; it could possibly be the name of a person, as already suggested by Maspero, whereas Spiegelberg believed it to be a purely phonetic reproduction.²⁸¹ For Bradbury, the name of *kr̥t* would have its origin in the word ‘kar’, a Semitic loan-word found throughout the Mediterranean, meaning ‘market town’, ‘port’ or ‘haven for commercial exchanges’.²⁸² The same root is found, for instance, in Carthage and Carchemish. It is also possible that the origin of the name ‘Naukratis’ might be ‘the town of the Carians’, *niwt kr̥t*, or ‘the Carians’, *n3 kr̥t*.

To write *kr̥t*, the engraver of the Thonis-Heracleion stele used the  sign with the diacritic stroke, whereas the one who worked on the Naukratis stele

used the  sign without it. However, the complete name *niwt-kr̥t* in line 13 of Naukratis does indeed contain the . We know from Der Manuelian that the use of  could be a practice of Saïte scribes, and from Gardiner that this practice emphasizes the point that pronunciation *t* must not be changed to *t*.²⁸³ The use of the  sign to spell out *kr̥t* serves perhaps to insist on the pronunciation of the town as ‘*kr̥t*’.

- g) *ᶚnw*, ‘the Beautiful’: both Fabre and Leclère believed this to be the name of a waterway linking two Nile branches between Naukratis and Saïs.²⁸⁴ For Gauthier, Möller, and de Meulenaere, *ᶚnw* was the Canopic branch of the Nile where Bernand and Boardman situated Naukratis.²⁸⁵ Höckmann agreed, basing his argument upon the writings of Herodotus and geological work by Villas, presenting evidence of the existence of two subsequent riverbeds on the site of Naukratis.²⁸⁶ It is also very possible that this town might have been placed both on the Canopic Branch and on a canal connecting it with Saïs and the Bolbitic Branch.²⁸⁷

The determinative of the word *ᶚnw*, followed by *ntt* produces the four successive . This may be an attempt to accumulate as many signs indicating water as possible (see Figure 4.5 *infra*).

- h) *tw.(tw) (hr) ḥsb* or *ntt ḥsb.tw*: a neo-Egyptian form parallel to the one in column 9 (see *supra*, column 9, note g).
- i) *r pr-nsw r ḥtp-ntr*: indicates that the revenues from taxes and customs dues go first into the royal treasury (*r pr-nsw*), before any contribution reaches the temple of Neith (*r ḥtp-ntr*).
- j) *ḥtp-ntr* describes the total amount of the possessions attached to the temple of a god.²⁸⁸
- k) The suffix-pronoun in the sentence ‘to my mother Neith’ is written, as in column 12, with the image of the king bearing the double crown. He holds the attributes of kingship in his hands, i.e., the crook and the flail. Elsewhere, he is indicated by the  sign. The two instances where the king is shown with all his regal attributes concern sentences indicating the donations made by the freshly enthroned pharaoh to

²⁷⁴ Fabre 2004–05: 47.

²⁷⁵ Maspero 1900: 43; 1904: 794–5; Gauthier 1928: 192; de Meulenaere 1951: 101.

²⁷⁶ de Meulenaere 1951: 101; El-Sayed 1975: 57 note g, pl. 8.

²⁷⁷ Yoyotte 1991–92: 642–3.

²⁷⁸ El-Sayed 1975: 53–61; Guermeur 2005: 128–9; de Meulenaere 1993: pl. 1.

²⁷⁹ de Meulenaere 1951: 101.

²⁸⁰ Yoyotte 1991–92: 640–3.

²⁸¹ Maspero 1900: 43; Spiegelberg 1902: 184.

²⁸² Bradbury 1996: 58–9.

²⁸³ Der Manuelian 1994: 67; Gardiner 1988: 523.

²⁸⁴ Fabre 2004–05: 47; Leclère 2008: 119.

²⁸⁵ Gauthier 1925 (1): 146; Möller 2000: 207 note 174; de Meulenaere 2003: 430 note 12; Bernand 1970: 624; Boardman 1995: 143.

²⁸⁶ Höckmann 2008–09: 76 note 3; Herodotus 2.179; Villas 1996: 172–3, figs 67–8.

²⁸⁷ Wilson 2010: 119.

²⁸⁸ Meeks 1972: 55 note 15; 1979b: 244.

the temple of 'his mother' Neith. It is surely deliberate in this context that the king, in order to assert his legitimacy, is represented as king of the two realms of Upper and Lower Egypt. Taken at the very beginning of his reign, the decisions set out in the decree benefit the priests of Saïs, who very probably played a major role in the investiture of the general of Sebennytos as the new pharaoh.

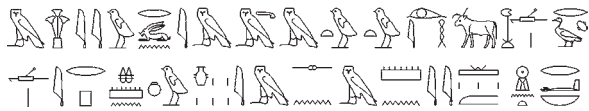
- 1) With regard to the final 'terms of perpetuity' generally accompanying donations, which can also include threatening formulae against those who might oppose the totality of the donation, Meeks

pointed out that they were usually left intact even if the monument was subsequently hammered for one reason or another: '... non seulement pour ne pas tomber sous le coup des malédictions, mais aussi, sans doute, parce que de tels martelages tenaient à respecter la formule de perpétuité'.²⁸⁹ This observation reinforces Goddio's hypothesis that both stelae were hidden, possibly when their source of income from the customs monopoly of Thonis-Heracleion was diverted to Alexandria, in order to prevent their being damaged or destroyed.²⁹⁰ This action would have ensured that the memory of Nectanebo I's donation was maintained for eternity.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. 1979c: 625–6 note 74.

²⁹⁰ Goddio 2011: 125 note 26.

Column II



Transliteration

[11] *m-h3w-r wn im m-b3h mtw.tw ir ih h(3) w^c r(3) d3d3*
w^c irp mnw 5 im.sn m mnw m hrt-hrw nt r^c nb

Translation

[11] ... in addition^a to what was issued from^b (the royal domain) before; and from this^c shall be taken (enough) to make one portion^d of an ox,^e one fat^f goose and five measures^g of wine as a perpetual daily offering.

Notes

- a) 'in addition' means that by the decree of Saïs, the king creates an additional donation to that which the temple already receives (see the diagram in the Discussion).
- b) As regards the word *im*, Gunn disregarded it entirely, suggesting the reading 'in excess of what has existed formerly'.²⁹¹ Others interpret it as 'there', and both Maspero and Lichtheim translated it as 'in addition to what was "there" before'.²⁹² Erman and Wilcken understood the word to mean in the sense of 'what was "in it" before' and related it directly to *htp-ntr*, which is possible and makes better sense than a translation using 'there'.²⁹³ It seems, however, that another meaning might emerge if *im* referred to *pr-nsw*. Thus *im* would translate as 'from', in the sense that of 'in addition to what was issued "from" (the royal domain) before'. This implies that Nectanebo I decided an increase of the pre-existing allocation which the royal domain already transferred to the temple of Neith before Nectanebo I's decision.
- c) *ir ... im.sn*: Gunn translated '... and let them be converted into one portion of an ox, one fat *r(3)*-goose and five measures of wine as a continual daily offering'.²⁹⁴ Lichtheim pointed out that this translation '... creates the impression that the entire donation would yield only the modest daily offering of one portion of an ox, one goose and five measures of wine'.²⁹⁵ In order to take into account this pertinent observation, we

²⁹¹ Gunn 1943: 59.

²⁹² Maspero 1900: 42; Lichtheim 1980: 88.

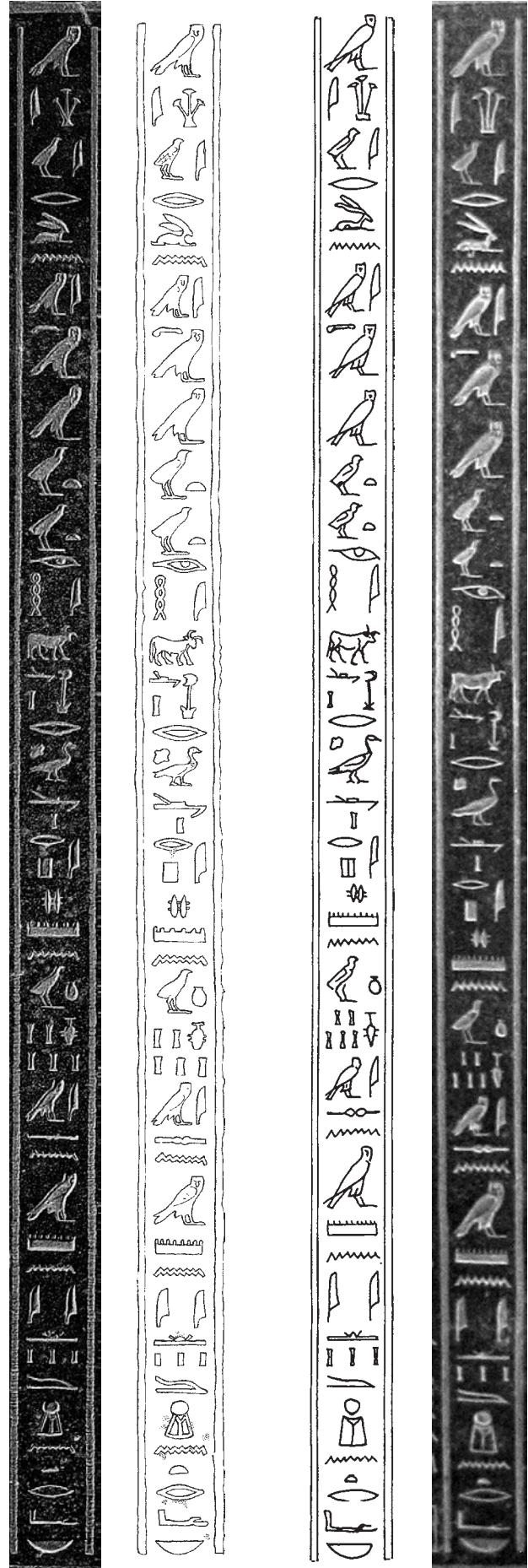
²⁹³ Erman and Wilcken 1900: 131.

²⁹⁴ Gunn 1943: 59.

²⁹⁵ Lichtheim 1977: 145 note 11.

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Naukratis



propose: ‘from this (*im.sn*) shall be taken (enough) to make one portion ... etc’.

d) We owe the reading ‘portion’ for the word *h3(w)* to Posener.²⁹⁶ He pointed out that Maspero’s translation ‘millier de boeufs 1’ is as improbable as Sethe’s ‘eins vom Tausend, resp. “1/1000”’.²⁹⁷ Posener-Krieger indicated that one entire ox can feed more than 1000 people.²⁹⁸

e) It must be noted that the king takes an interest in the manner in which the donations are used, and that he, of course, orders the offering of meat to benefit the clergy. This specification may be due to the fact that meat was not a habitual part of the *h3p n3r*, as in the Old Kingdom, according to the archives of Abusir.²⁹⁹ Meeks noted that the consumption of meat was less rare among the members of the priesthood than among the common people.³⁰⁰

One must note, on the hieroglyph of the ox, the particular asymmetric form of its horns, which is an artificial deformation.³⁰¹ Examples are known from the Old Kingdom, as for instance in the mastaba of Idut at Saqqara, or that of Ti;³⁰² from the Middle Kingdom, as in the tomb of Senbi at Meir;³⁰³ or the New Kingdom, such as in the tomb of Kenamun at Thebes.³⁰⁴ The animals depicted are particularly well-tended fat oxen,

and the creation of this asymmetry must have conferred special value to the animal. Seligman reported that such practices were still alive among Nilotic tribes, like the Dinka and the Nuer.³⁰⁵ He believed that the practice was Egyptian in origin and spread up the Nile, and reproduced several Egyptian examples.³⁰⁶ The fact that the ox on the decree shows this particularity is certainly intentional, in order to underscore the quality of the sacrifice. In some representations, such as in Luxor, the horns are shaped like a prisoner’s arms, suggesting that, in this case, the sacrifice of the animal symbolizes that of the enemies.³⁰⁷

f) Erman and Wilcken suggested the reading *d3d3* for the Q sign, but believed that the sign on the Naukratis stele stood for a number.³⁰⁸ Posener confirmed the reading *d3d3* and cited numerous occurrences of this reading.³⁰⁹

g) The *mnw* jar, used here to express a volume, has an estimated capacity of 15 litres, which would amount to 75 litres for five measures—a far from negligible daily offering.³¹⁰ Ahituv added that the large size of the *mnw* jars is confirmed by wall paintings in New Kingdom tombs.³¹¹ Their shape is different on the Thonis-Heracleion stele from the Naukratis one, the latter showing it with a slightly longer neck.

296 Posener 1934: 145 note 4, referring to Wb 3.220.

297 Maspero 1900: 43; Sethe 1901: 122.

298 Posener-Krieger 1976: 271–2 note 4.

299 Ibid. 1976: 271; 1979: 145.

300 Meeks 1979b: 244.

301 Vandier 1969: 10–11.

302 Ibid.: 15, 48, 50, figs 6, 30–1.

303 Ibid.: 204, fig. 95.

304 Ibid.: 267, fig. 119.

305 Seligman 1932: 460.

306 Ibid.: pl. 74.

307 Ibid.: pls 74f and 461 note 2; Leclant 1956: 139.

308 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 132.

309 Posener 1934: 145 note 5.

310 Ahituv 1972.

311 Ibid.

Column 12



Transliteration

[12] *sipw irw r pr-hd n mwt.i nt m-c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw nts rdi df3(w).f iw wd.n hm.i hw mk htp-ntr n mwt.i nt*

Translation

[12] What is mentioned is to be counted to the benefits of the house of treasury^a of my mother Neith, for it is she who is Mistress of the Sea,^b and it is she who gives its abundance.^c (In addition)^d My Majesty^c has decided to preserve and protect^f the divine endowments^e of my mother^h Neithⁱ and to^j ...

Notes

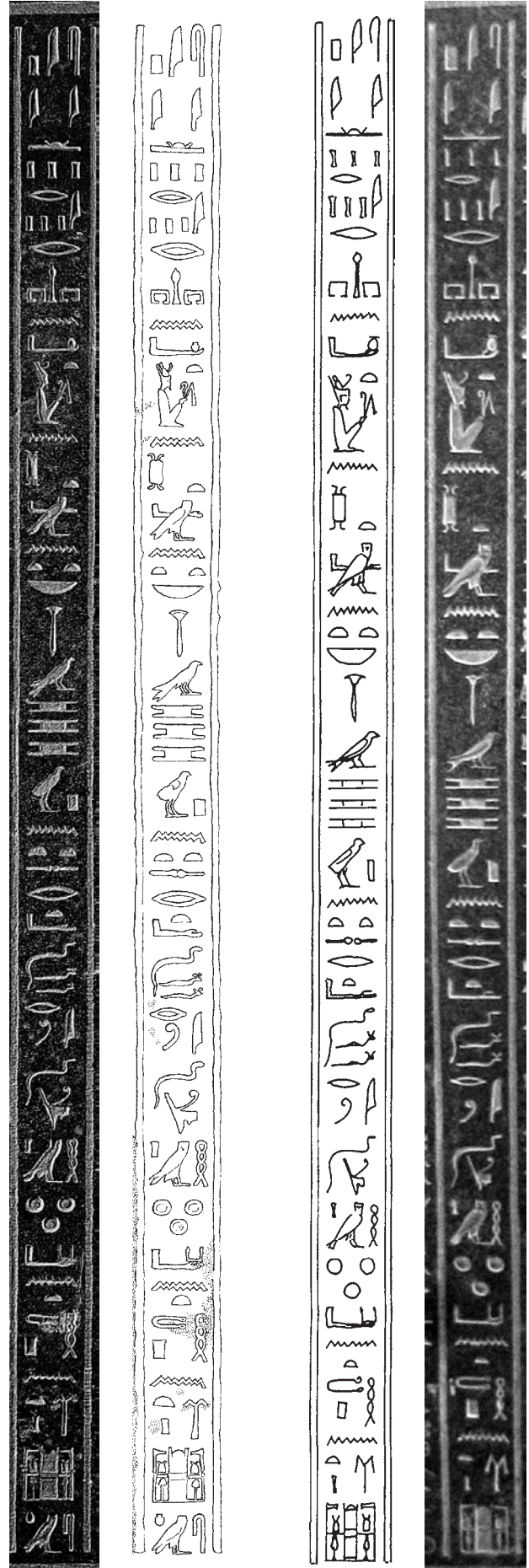
- a) The donation the decree granted to the temple of Neith arrived at the treasure house of the temple, which in all likelihood took care of the management and distribution of the goods necessary for the functioning of the temple. This is probably the reason why the royal decree, in column 11, specifies what is very probably an addition to the details of the existing daily offerings, the contents of which are, in this particular case, decided by the king himself.
- b) The 'Mistress of the Sea': in the text in the lunette (left side Neith, column 4), Neith is described as *hnwt w3d-wr*, 'Mistress of the Floods'. We know that the goddess is connected to the benefits brought by the liquid element of the primeval water, and the Nile flood (Chapter Two); she is also linked to the riches imported by the sea, since the oceans are considered to be part of the primeval waters.
- c) *df3w.f*: the *f* refers to *w3d-wr*. In this case, the sense of the word *df3w*, 'supplies' or 'reserves' in a very loose sense, certainly describes more particularly the riches brought by imported products and the exchange from maritime traffic, rather than the products, such as fish, of the sea itself.
- d) *iw wd.n*: Kuentz indicated that the *ir* in this sentence replaces the particle *iw*.³¹² He further noted that the contrary (*iw* set for *r*) is, of course, much more frequent,³¹³ but that using an *r* for *iw* is not uncommon,

³¹² Kuentz 1929: 103.

³¹³ See Fairman 1945: 64.

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providing several examples.³¹⁴ In addition, Kuentz remarked that the form *iw sdm.n.f* indicates an important fact, either at the beginning, or in the course of a narrative, and that *iw wd.n* is precisely the classical formula used in decrees.³¹⁵ It is found at the opening of each item in the decrees of the Old Kingdom,³¹⁶ the New Kingdom,³¹⁷ and, by imitation, in those of the Late Period, particularly the decree of Apries of Mitrahinah.³¹⁸ Kuentz pointed out the archaic spelling of *wd*.³¹⁹

The choice of the Red Crown for the 'n' in *iw wd.n* is probably an intentional homage to Neith.

- e) *hm.i*: the word *hm*, 'Majesty', is written alphabetically, and is followed by the stroke for *i*, suffix pronoun, first person singular. The reading *hm.i*, 'My Majesty', was established by Kuentz.³²⁰
- f) *hw mk*: the group of three ☉ signs for the reading *hw* is an intentional archaism, since this is how it was spelt in the Old Kingdom.³²¹ Weill indicated that the original meaning of *hw* is derived from the verb 'to except', hence its use in the sense of 'to make an exception, to protect a privilege', and 'to grant immunity', *hw mk*.³²² The association of the words *hwi mki* occurs in the Old Kingdom. Gunn, who found it on the Mitrahina stele, translated it as 'to preserve and protect', and provided examples of the use of this formula, as did Kuentz.³²³ This difficult passage on the Decree of Saïs was clarified by Kuentz and Posener, the latter drawing a parallel between the sentences on columns 12 and 13 of the

Naukratis stele and passages on the Mitrahina stele (lines 7, 10–12).³²⁴

- g) *htp-ntr n mwt.i nt*: the reading of this passage was established by Erman and Wilcken.³²⁵ *htp-ntr* means the temple endowments (see column 10, note j), and is written alphabetically.
- h) The word *mwt* is written in three different spellings on the decree (see Index of Egyptian Words). The stroke is used, in this instance, for the suffix pronoun, first person singular.
- i) Regarding the sign reproducing the temple of Neith to indicate the goddess, Posener noted other examples of this hieroglyph and reproduced the one in column 12 of the Naukratis stele.³²⁶ These signs are reproduced in Appendix II, where further examples are shown, which can either be hieroglyphs used in texts—as on the Decree of Saïs—or representations of larger size on monuments, like naophorous statues. The sign on Thonis-Heracleion is slightly different from the one on Naukratis (see photographs and drawings in Appendix II).
- j) We note the discrepancy between the two stelae at the end of column 12: the verb *smn* appears at the end of column 12 on Thonis-Heracleion, whereas it is set at the top of column 13 on Naukratis. The Thonis-Heracleion engraver probably tried to gain some space because the subsequent text, which is different on either stele, is longer than on Naukratis.

314 Kuentz 1929: 103–4.

315 Ibid.: 104.

316 Ibid. and note 10, with a reference to plates published by Weill in 1912.

317 Ibid.: note 11.

318 Ibid.: 105 note 1; Gunn 1927.

319 Kuentz 1929: 104 note 8.

320 Ibid.: 105.

321 Weill 1912: 17–18.

322 Ibid.; Meeks 1978: 274–5; 1979a: 213.

323 Gunn 1927: 222–3; Kuentz: 1929: 105–6.

324 Ibid.; Posener 1934: 146.

325 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 132.

326 Posener 1934: 147–8, figs 1–3.

Column 13



Naukratis:

Transliteration

[13] *smn ht nb ir.n tpyw-^c n-mrwt smn ir.n.(i) (i)n nty(w)
r hp(r) m hnt(y) rnpwt dd.in hm.f imi smn.tw nn hr
ʿh^cw pn*

(Naukratis): *rdi.tw m niwt-krṯ hr spt ʿnw*

(Thonis): *m r(3) n w3d.wr h3w-nbwt*

Translation

... maintain^a [13] all things^b that have been done by the ancestors,^c in order that what I have done be maintained by^d those^e who shall be,^f during^g an infinity of years.^h His Majesty added: 'this shall be recordedⁱ on^j the present^k stele to be set up^l ...

(Naukratis): ... in *niwt-krṯ^m* on the border of the Anuⁿ

(Thonis): ... at the mouth^o of the sea of the Hau-Nebut^p

Notes

- The verb *smn* is used to designate the act of donation itself, as well as setting up a stele.³²⁷ *smn*, to maintain, appears three times in columns 12–13, each time with a different spelling.³²⁸ In the first and second mention, it has a strong legal sense, and in the third it refers to the drafting of the terms of the decree on both stelae.
- The reading *smn ht nb* was made by Erman and Wilcken, despite an unusual spelling of *ht* and an alphabetical writing of *nb*.³²⁹
- Sethe established the reading *ir.n tpyw-^c n-mrwt smn*, but the correct understanding of the whole is due to Posener, on the basis of the parallel he drew to the text of the Mitrahina stele.³³⁰ The equivalent of the end of column 12 / beginning of column 13 of the Decree of Saïs is present at the end of line 10, on line 11 and at the beginning of line 12 of the Mitrahina stele.³³¹ Posener noted that the verb *smnh* on the Mitrahina stele corresponds to the verb *smn* on the Decree of Saïs, and that this is 'un bon exemple de la coïncidence partielle sémantique des deux verbes'.³³²

³²⁷ Meeks 1979c: 613 and note 25.

³²⁸ Posener 1934: 141 and Index of Egyptian Words.

³²⁹ Erman and Wilcken 1900: 132.

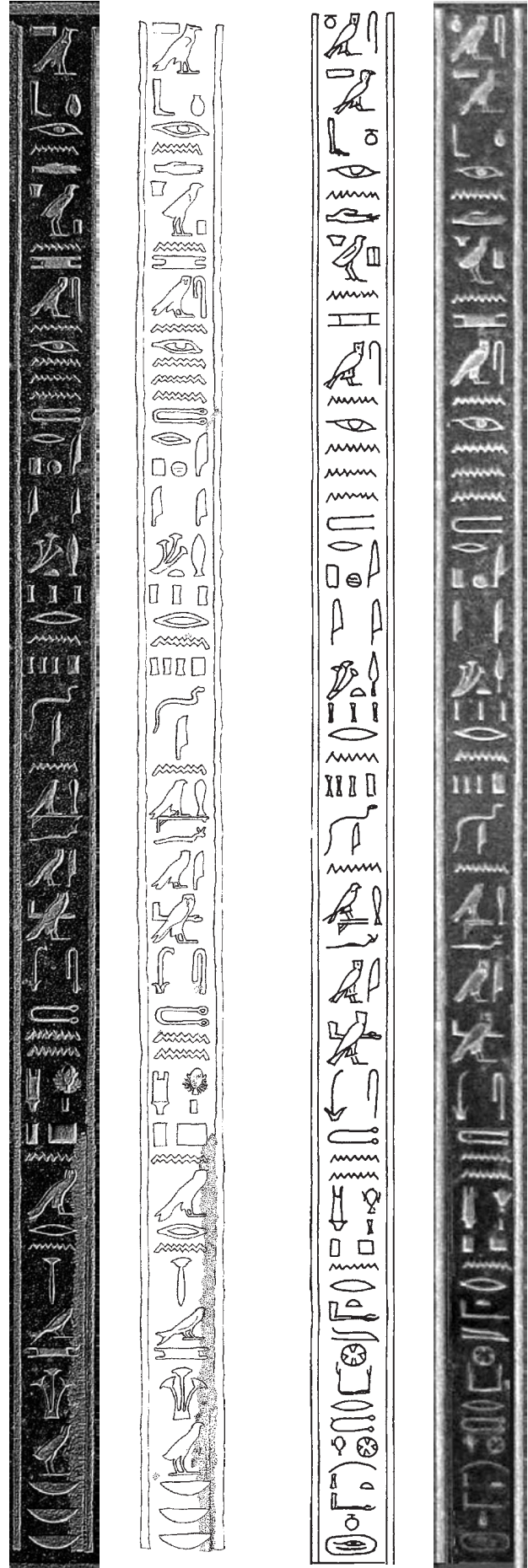
³³⁰ Sethe 1901: 122; Posener 1934: 146–7.












³³¹ Gunn 1927: 224–6.

³³² Posener 1934: 147.

Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis



- d) *n* instead of *in*: Posener pointed out that this spelling is not unique, and gave several examples of monuments on which it could be found.³³³ He further mentioned that the short spelling of *n*, used instead of *in*, allowed for the creation of the ‘graphic pun’ of three successive *n* signs .
- e) *ntyw* is written  or , depending on whether the  is attributed to this word or to the following , writing *ir* .
- f) The word *hpr* is spelt *hpy*. Posener made the reading *hpr*, based on a parallel between the texts on the stelae of Naukratis and Mitrahina.³³⁴ Furthermore, he noted that the signs are grouped together so as to mislead the reader and that Piehl indeed read  as ‘plantes *hpyt*’ and the following word , albeit with some hesitation, as ‘fresh’.³³⁵ Thus, Posener demonstrated that what was read as ‘fresh plants’ should, in fact, be read as *hpr*  *hnty*  *rnpwt* , i.e., ‘... (those) who shall be for an infinity of years’. He then indicated that the *hpyt* plant, has no other attestation except its supposed presence on the Naukratis stele.³³⁶
- g) The preposition habitually preceding *hnty* is *r*. Gunn wrote that in the parallel established with the Mitrahina stele, Posener seemed to attribute the reading *r* to the sign of the tree.³³⁷ Gunn stressed, however, that this reading of the tree sign is not attested, and that he himself preferred to read the sign as *hr* (from *ht* → *h*). Still, the simplest reading of the tree sign as *m* seems to be just as apt.
- h) The word *rnpwt* is spelt alphabetically, which contributes to the misleading interpretation due to the ‘graphic trap’ indicated *supra*. The Decree of Saïs does not contain any threat formula, but the terms of *hw mk* that must be applied during ‘... an infinity of years’ are in opposition to the sense of *tm mk*, ‘not to protect’, as found in threat formulae.³³⁸
- i) This is the third spelling of the verb *smn*, here reduced to its mere determinative. The hieroglyph could also be Gardiner M22, read as *sn(n)*, translated as ‘copied’.³³⁹
- j) The word *hr*, ‘on, upon’, is hammered in its lower part on Thonis-Heracleion (see Chapter Five).
- k) *h(w) pn*: on each stele, the demonstrative *pn* indicates the monument on which it is engraved and it has a strong sense of ‘demonstratif d’identité’.³⁴⁰
- l) The word *rdi* only appears on Naukratis.
- m) *niwt-kr̄t*: at this point in column 13, the name only appears on Naukratis. The text is different on each stele, because it indicates the site where each monument is to be erected, one at Thonis-Heracleion, and the other at Naukratis. The word *niwt* is added to the name *kr̄t*; this addition explains the etymology of the town’s name, which is probably, as Yoyotte stated, a transcription of an Egyptian toponym (see column 10, note f).³⁴¹ Boardman accepted von Bissing’s opinion that when the Greeks arrived at Naukratis, they probably found a town or settlement there.³⁴² In the context of the establishment of the Greeks, Möller warned against the use of the word ‘foundation’ concerning Naukratis, the date varying according to different authors between the mid-eighth century and the sixth century BC.³⁴³ She concluded that the inadequacy of the written sources for dating necessitates a reliance upon archaeological evidence, which shows the existence of Naukratis from the last quarter of the seventh century BC. Thus the establishment of Naukratis would fall within the reign of Psamtik I, who awarded land to the Greek mercenaries upon whom he had relied to become pharaoh, and before the measures adopted by Amasis.³⁴⁴ The Egyptian character of parts of the settlement was highlighted by Yoyotte, who referred to the site as ‘Naukratis, ville égyptienne’.³⁴⁵ His studies of the monuments underscored the vitality of Egyptian thought and culture in this place.
- n) Anu: the spelling is different from the word in column 10, the determinative for water being absent.
- o) *r(3)*: ‘The mouth’, ‘the entrance’, ‘the gate(way)’, as read, for example, by Meeks, who cited Edfu VI: 354: *r(3) nbw nty st̄ r w̄3d-wr*, ‘all the embouchures that lead to the sea’.³⁴⁶ The term on the decree describes the mandatory place of entry for ships of foreign origin (see comment). On the Thonis-Heracleion stele, the entire passage of *m r(3) n w̄3d.wr h̄3w-nbwt* in column 13 is accompanied by a hammered line (see Chapter Five).
- p) *h̄3w-nbwt*: the word appears in this column only on Thonis-Heracleion, the spelling being the same as in column 9 of both stelae (see *supra*, column 9, note e).

333 Ibid.: 146 note 6.

334 Ibid.: 146.

335 Ibid. and note 8; Piehl 1902: 95–6.

336 Posener 1934: 146 note 8. Registered in *Wb* 3: 259 alongside the comment ‘in an unclear context, reading uncertain’.

337 Gunn 1943: 57 note 4.

338 Morschauser 1991: 61.

339 As suggested by L. Hulin.

340 Daumas 1949.

341 Yoyotte 1991–92: 640.

342 Boardman 1995: 159.

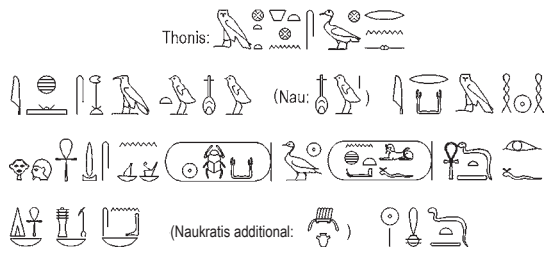
343 Möller 2000: 183–4.

344 Ibid.: 187–8.

345 Yoyotte 1991–92; 1993–94; 1994–95.

346 Meeks 1972: 108–9 note 200.

Column 14



Transliteration

(Thonis): [14] *m niwt t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s*
 [14] *ih sh3.tw nfrw.i r-km hh hr-tp ʕnh wd3 snb n nsw bity*
nb t3.wy hpr-k3-rʕ s3 rʕ nht-nb-f ʕnh dt ir.f di ʕnh nb dd
nb w3s nb snb nb 3wt-ib nb mi rʕ dt

Translation

(Thonis): [14] in the town by the name of The-hone-of-Sais.^a
 [14] May my^b goodness be remembered^c until the end^d of eternity. On behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands:^e Kheperkare; Son of Re: Nekhetnebef, living forever. May it be done that he be given all life, all stability, all power, all health, all joy,^f eternally, like Re’.

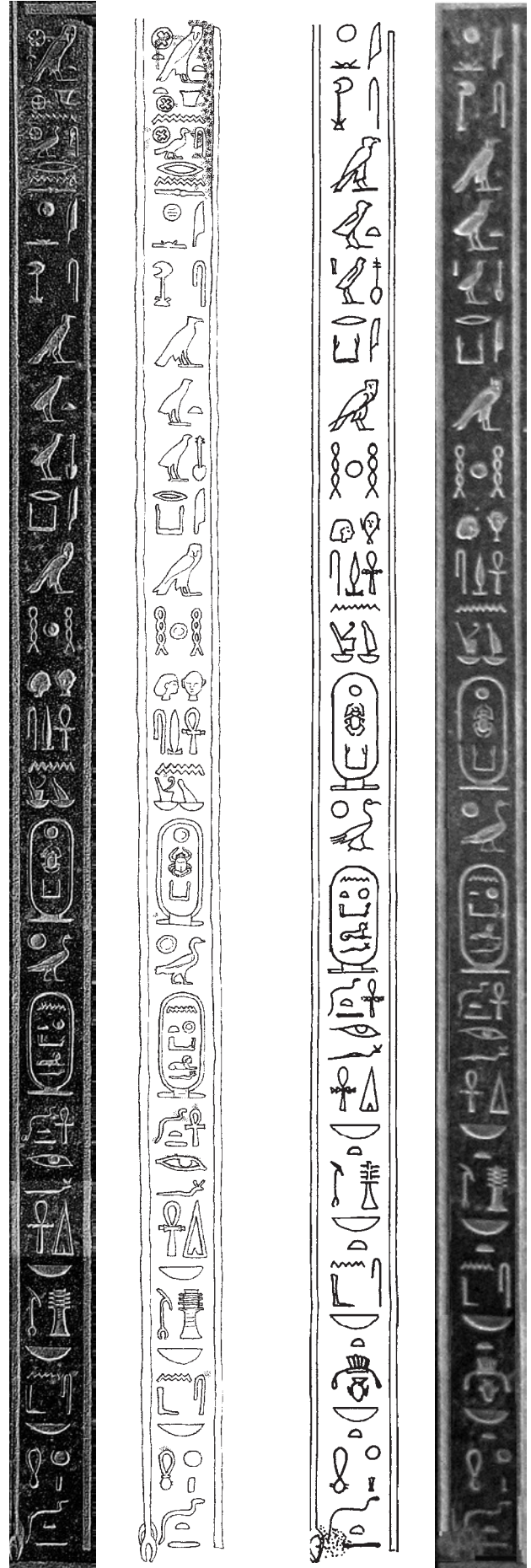
Notes

a) The complete name of the town is revealed on the Thonis-Heracleion stele, while it is simply written as *hnt* in column 9 of both stelae.³⁴⁷ The spelling on column 14 leaves no doubt as to the correctness of Yoyotte’s proposed etymology of the name.³⁴⁸ The letter *t* as a phonetic complement of the word *niwt* is set just beneath the sign of the first town. The *t* which accompanies *hnt* follows the vase and is placed above the second sign of the town; thus, the *t* preceding the owl can only be the article *t(3)*. As de Meulenaere pointed out, this name originally designates the town called Thonis by the Egyptians, and later Heracleion, due to the Herakles (Khonsu) temple that stood in that place.³⁴⁹ In addition, *hnt* is said to be ‘The-hone-of-Sais’. This leads to the conclusion that the meaning of ‘hone’ needs to be extended further. To the hydrographical reality of the ‘hone’, rightly defined by Yoyotte as also including all adjacent floodable lowlands, must be added a notion of a territorial and an economic dimension. It must be noted that where the full name of the town appears in column 14, the word

347 *Supra*, column 9 note i.
 348 Yoyotte 1958: 428–9.
 349 de Meulenaere 2003: 430 note 9.

Thonis-Heracleion

Naukratis









hnt is itself followed by the determinative of the town. The term includes the important towns bordering the 'hone' that constituted a true regional and economic entity. As Vercoutter pointed out, this notion appears in the text engraved on the inner walled enclosure of the temple at Edfu;³⁵⁰ this oft-studied text describes the riches of the universe offered to the god by fecundity figures. In front of the first of these we read: 'He brings you the eight *hnwt* of Egypt by which Hapy enters into the sea (...) *Hau-Nebut*'. Vercoutter noted that this first fecundity figure is followed by eight others representing the *hnwt* and bearing the names of towns, temples, and even nomes.³⁵¹

This expanded name of 'The-hone-of-Saïs', which seems so far not to be attested in hieroglyphs, is worth some further attention because it creates a double link between the towns of Thonis-Heracleion and Saïs: a geographical one to begin with, which connects the notion of 'hone' to both towns, and above all, an economic one which ties together Thonis-Heracleion, Naukratis and Saïs. The geographical link suggests easy communications by water between these communities. The economic ties between them is evident in the terms of the decree: the text of the Decree of Saïs outlines that part of the dues collected at Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis for the royal domain will be allocated to the temple of Saïs. It may therefore be presumed that the term 'hone' defined not only a vast spread of territory with the waterways serving it, but also the complex economical circuits of the towns and lands contained in it. The fact that the town is called 'The-hone-of-Saïs' clearly demonstrates that Thonis-Heracleion was the source of prosperity of this entire vast region.

We further note that the eight *hnwt* mentioned in the temple of Edfu are supposed to collect the economic riches of the entire Delta, a sizeable part of which stems from the maritime trade between the Egyptian seaboard and the Mediterranean.

- b) The sign of the stroke **l**, read as an *i*, the suffix-pronoun first person singular, appears on Naukratis, but not on Thonis-Heracleion. However, the preposition *r* which follows on both stelae is written *ir*, and the

reed could be interpreted on Thonis-Heracleion, as a haplography for the suffix-pronoun first person singular and the preposition at the same time.

- c) The sentence 'May my goodness be remembered until the end of eternity' is very similar to one engraved on another of Nektnebef's monuments, which records the arrangements that this king made in favour of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis.³⁵² However, the inscription was formulated slightly differently, as the *r* of the composite preposition *r-km* is spelt *iw*, and the  sign, which should be placed before the feet of the owl, is apparently omitted. The sentence expresses Nektanebo I's wish that his donations to the temples may win him the remembrance of men and the grace of the gods.
- d) The spelling of *r-km* is different from that at the bottom of column 10 (see Index of Egyptian Words).
- e) About the  sign, Fischer noted that its use gradually increased in the twelfth dynasty: '... first as a writing of *n* in the place of  (attested in the reign of Sesostri I) and as an alternative writing of *bity* in place of  (attested in the reigns of Sesostri I, Sesostri II and III) ...'.³⁵³ We propose that the composite image of the White and Red Crowns set on *nb* signs   could combine the reading of *nsw bity* and of *nb t3wy* into a single contracted spelling: the two crowns could indeed be read both as *nsw bity* and as *nb* (the two-*nb* sign) *t3wy* (the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt). Thus the official titulary formulation would be complete and the same as in the lunette (right and left side king, column 1).
- f) *3wt-ib* appears on Naukratis, but not on Thonis-Heracleion. On Naukratis, *nb* is each time spelt *nbt*. Gutbub noted that 'la présentation des symboles *ʕnh dd w3s* semble être d'abord la remise d'insignes de dignité ou même de royauté'.³⁵⁴ On the central column of the lunette, Neith offers the *ʕnh* and the *w3s* to Nektanebo on the Thonis-Heracleion stele, and the *ʕnh* and the *dd* on the Naukratis stele.

³⁵⁰ Vercoutter 1949: 122–7.

³⁵¹ Ibid.: 122 note 2.

³⁵² Roeder 1954: 414.

³⁵³ Fischer 1979: 47.

³⁵⁴ Gutbub 1973: 442.

Discussion

The text of the Decree consists of 14 columns and is separated into two parts of practically equal dimensions, with the passage from one to the other situated exactly in the middle of the seventh column. The first part exalts the qualities of the king, who, by right, is entitled to all the riches in the world. The second part relates the king's arrival at the temple of Neith in Saïs, an itinerary compared to the course of the sun, and his words as he pronounces the decisions which are the object of the decree. However, the peculiar orthography is not spread equally over these two parts: syllabic spelling, graphic pitfalls and orthographic variations outlined one after another in the translation notes, are mostly contained in the first part, i.e., the laudatory phrases about pharaoh. These are composed of conventional expressions known to the lettered readers for whom these writings were intended, foremost among whom were the priests of Saïs, the writer who conceived the text probably being a member.

The particular spellings

The first item of note is the great variety in the graphics of one and the same word, e.g., *3h*, *ib*, *inb*, *mwt*, *smn*, *ht*, etc. In order to perceive and compare all these variations at a glance, they are sorted vertically, one beneath the other, in the Index of Egyptian words.

The absence of determinatives is almost a rule throughout the decree, which is one of the main difficulties in understanding the text, particularly because the words are spelt in an unusual way, using a succession of uniliteral signs. In fact, this execution reflects more a way of copying archaic spellings by 'raffinement d'écriture', which is often observed in texts of the Saïte period,³⁵⁵ rather than the expression of a 'pre-Ptolemaic' writing.³⁵⁶ This alphabetical spelling, which could only become clear through the use of determinatives, explains the highly divergent versions proposed by the first translators. To present a few examples of this alphabetical spelling lacking a determinative, we find in column 1 *tīt* for 'image'; in column 4 *w3t* for 'road'; in column 5 *nd-r(3)* for 'to question, to take advice'; in column 6 *ḏww* for 'mountains'; in column 12 *hm.i* for 'My Majesty'; and in column 13 *tpyw-ʿ* for 'ancestors'.

There are, however, some notable exceptions to this uniliteral spelling without explicit determinatives: the verb *kd* in column 5 is reduced to its logogram of the man who builds a wall, and the verb *hwsī* in the same column is composed of all its constituents, to which is even added the determinative of the man who refines his work. Considering the importance the Egyptians attached to

representations, they may well have used these explicit hieroglyphs on purpose: perhaps the images of the two builders *kd* and *hws* in this column serve to announce and prefigure the intense building activity undertaken by the king, which continued throughout his reign.³⁵⁷

The signs in the Gardiner series 'Man and his Occupations' are remarkably rare on the decree, and all of them, with the exception of the determinative of the verb *hwsī* are logograms: for example, in column 2 *hfty* for 'enemy', and *nsw* for 'king'; in column 3 *sdr* for 'to spend the night'; and in column 6 *in* for 'he who brings'. As regards the king's hieroglyph, it is subtly used: in column 2, he holds the *heka* sceptre and the flail, insignia of Geb's royalty,³⁵⁸ and bears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, to be read as *nsw*. Further down, in columns 10 and 12, where the king's hieroglyph stands for the suffix-pronoun, he holds all the attributes of kingship and bears the double crown: having just decreed the donation 'for his mother Neith', the king proclaims himself as the son of the goddess, which justifies his bearing the double crown.

If the absence of determinatives is notable, many words, on the other hand, are reduced to determinatives or logograms. For example, in column 2, in addition to *hftyw*, 'enemies' (*supra*), we find *htm* 'to destroy', written with the goose only; *sdr*, 'he who safeguards' spelt with an empty bed; and *nht* spelt with the arm holding a stick in the expression *nsw nht*, 'mighty king'; in column 3, we have *dšr*, 'furious', written with a red crown as a phonogram; in column 11, the goose stands for the *r(3)*-bird, and in column 13, the verb *smn*, 'to maintain' is written with the pestle.

Archaic plurals are widely used. *ibw*, for instance, is spelt with three heart signs in column 2, and with three springing gazelles in column 7. At the very bottom of column 4, *ntrw*, 'the gods', is written with three standards. Column 5 shows three such examples: *3hw*, 'what is beneficial' with three sunshine signs; *hmnw-ntr*, 'priests' is spelt by trebling the *hm* sign; and in the same column *hwwt*, 'the temples', with three temple signs, which are separate on Thonis-Heracleion, but joined together on Naukratis. This widespread presence of archaic plurals, like the language itself, indicates the search for the classical terms and the orthography of the Old Kingdom. In column 12, the expression *hwi mki*, 'to preserve and protect', is used in decrees of the Old Kingdom, as is the spelling of the word *hw*.³⁵⁹ On both stelae, the plural pronoun *sn* never contains the three plural strokes, as in the Pyramid Texts.

Generally, the language is *égyptien de tradition*. Nevertheless, as Yoyotte put it: 'les paroles du roi sont traduites dans une langue artificielle, classique et néo-égyptisante à la fois'. The coexistence of different

355 Posener 1934: 142–3 note 5; Der Manuelian 1994: 81–3, 98–100.

356 Piehl 1902: 90–1; Schweitzer 2003: 379.

357 Mallet 1922: 99–100; Arnold 1999: 105–24.

358 Grimal 1986: 633–4 note 409.

359 Weill 1912: 17–18.

period-phases of the language, antique and more recent, called by Vernus ‘dissimulation linguistique’ is also an expression of the archaizing trend of the texts of the royal ideology.³⁶⁰ It is in ‘spoken language’, i.e., the passages which relate the king’s words, that Late Egyptian forms tend to appear. The wording of measures to implement, listed by the king, is written perfectly clearly, in contrast to the rest of the text. Posener pointed out ‘... dans les parties essentielles du texte, contenant de longues périodes, le rédacteur a généralement écrit les mots sous leur forme habituelle’.³⁶¹ After the king’s decisions, the pre-set phrasing, which is noted in the first columns, reappears again in column 13, with conventional expressions used habitually to express the sovereign’s insertion into the line of his predecessors and those who succeed him. Thus, apart from the exposition of the decree itself, we find, in the part of the text exalting the king’s qualities, some elaborate writing which Drioton termed ‘pièges intentionnels’ in his study of the cryptography of the eighteenth dynasty.³⁶² These ‘intentional pitfalls’ are often composed of a succession of comparable signs. As an example, in the upper part of column 3, the alphabetically-spelt expression ‘he who charges into a multitude’, $\text{ḳ} m \text{ḥ}3w$, uses two arms following each other, the first one to be read as m for the preposition, and the second one as ḥ for the beginning of the word $\text{ḥ}3w$. This way of writing must lead the reader astray, especially because, just before, the words ‘arms’, $\text{ḥ}w$, and ‘enter’, ḳ —which are usually written with two arms for the first and one arm or a bird for the second—are here spelt with vases. In column 5, the expression ‘without neglecting their words’, $nm \text{sh} \text{hr} \text{hr} \text{mdw.sn}$, is set with a double n for the negation, followed by two hr faces after the verb sh , which are placed one next to the other, and then two arms, the first to be read as m and the second as d to complete the word mdw , ‘words’. This presentation of similar signs grouped together by twos is a juggling exercise of style done by a specialist in hieroglyphic writing, and destined for the eyes of learned men. Even more remarkable in this group of ‘intentional pitfalls’ is the difficult passage in column 13: ‘in order that (what) I have done be maintained by those who shall be during an infinity of years’, $n \text{mrwt} \text{smn} \text{ir.n}(\text{i}) (\text{i})n \text{nt}(\text{yw}) r \text{hp}(\text{r}) m \text{hnty} \text{rnpwt}$. In this sentence, the suppression of the suffix-pronoun i , as well as the suppression of the i of the preposition in , aims to create a sequence of three successive n signs, which the reader could interpret as mw for ‘water’, especially in view of the fact that the disposition of the following signs encourage the reading ‘ hpyt -plants’, as followed by Piehl.³⁶³ The ‘intentional pitfalls’ accumulated in this sentence were avoided and explained by Posener.³⁶⁴

One may wonder whether grouping three n letters in column 13 may not be part of an intention on this decree

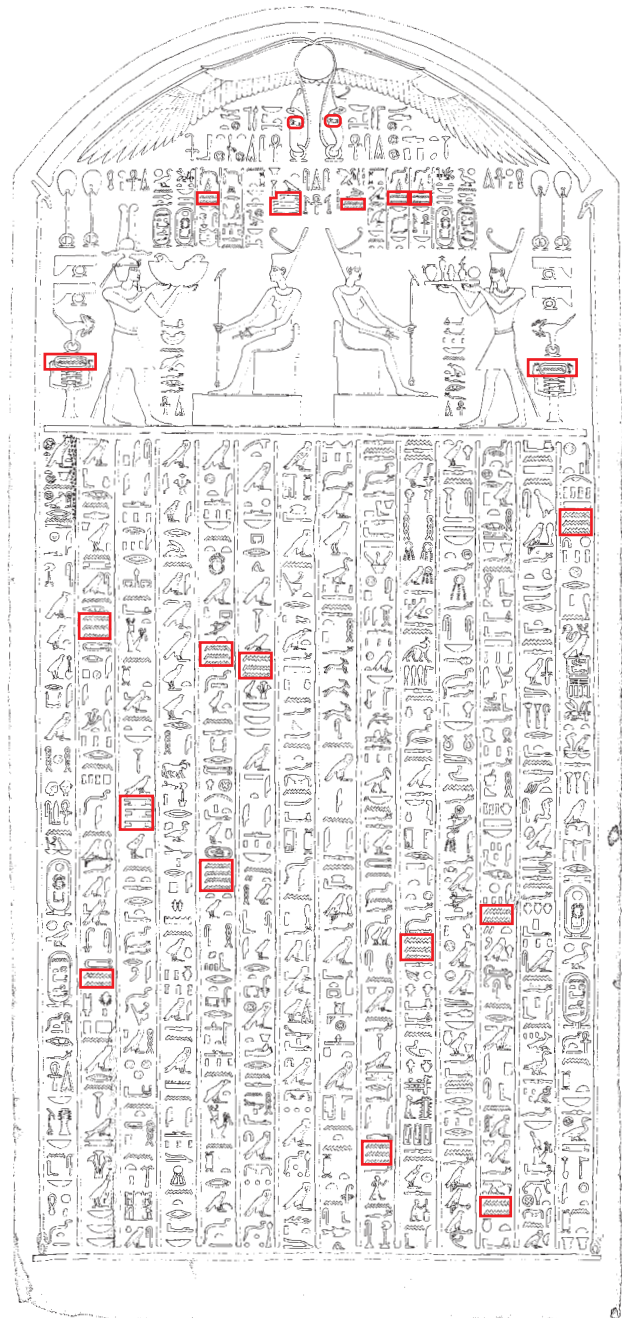


Figure 4.5 The groups of signs evoking water on the Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

to largely represent water in honour of Neith, as she is the symbol of the liquid element. Despite the general scarcity of determinatives, that of water is frequently present: for bdt in column 6; for $\text{w}3d\text{-wr}$ in columns 9 and 12; for pr-mryt and ḥnw in column 10 (Figure 4.5). This might also be the reason for the negative written with two n signs in columns 3 and 5. The use of such ‘layout’ procedures has already been noted. On the decree, the multiplication of the signs evoking water, and the use of the ‘jeux d’écriture’ aiming at grouping these signs together, tend to pay homage to the goddess

360 Yoyotte 1993–4: 683; Vernus 1996: 164–5.

361 Posener 1934: 145.

362 Drioton 1933: 14.

363 Piehl 1902: 95–6.

364 Posener 1934: 146–7.

of the floods to whom the king presents offerings in the lunette. In this way, the name of Neith appears numerous times, since the water spells her name. It is already present ten times in normal spelling, including the two in the lunette. The 'jeux d'écriture' double that number. This repetition of elements expressing both the nature of a deity and its name, is a well-known practice: in the Bremner-Rhind papyrus, for example, the text glorifying the Lord of the Universe in the form of Khepri uses the scarab sign as often as possible, which spells the name of the god, and at the same time describes his demiurgic function.³⁶⁵

Royal qualities and the homage to pharaoh from the universe

If it is usual for the beginning of a decree, or an historic or epic inscription, to list the qualities of the ruler, this part is particularly well-developed on the Decree of Saïs, since it constitutes more or less half of the entire text. It was suggested by de Meulenaere that the practice of the very large laudatory part was inaugurated by Nectanebo I and afterwards adopted by the Ptolemies,³⁶⁶ citing as an example Ptolemy Philadelphus.³⁶⁷ The catalogue of the king's virtues is often termed as 'propagande royale', and its terms using standard expressions have been collected and analyzed by Grimal.³⁶⁸ In the Decree, the first attribute of the king is to be 'beloved by Neith' (column 1). He is declared to be her heir, and to have been made king by her. Judging by the date of the decree, the donation to the temple of Neith appears to be one of the first acts of his reign. As Drioton and Vandier pointed out, Nectanebo must have had the strong support of the powerful priesthood of Saïs on his accession to the throne, and so endowed the temple of Neith in gratitude for their help.³⁶⁹ In addition, the goddess was at all times the protector of kingship, long before the Saïte dynasty,³⁷⁰ and Neith, the mother of Re, was also supposed to nourish and protect the pharaoh, as she did Re.³⁷¹ Her symbol decorates serekhs containing the names of queens of the first dynasty in the same way as the hawk perches over those of the kings,³⁷² and her name is an element of the theophorous names of early dynastic princesses.³⁷³ As the son and heir of Neith, Nectanebo I affirms his legitimacy, and the details of the decoration of the stelae express this preoccupation: the group of tall signs set in a column behind the king is often found in scenes of ritual of enthronement; the ribbon floating behind the Red Crown of the king on the Naukratis stele is frequently associated with the *sed*-festival.³⁷⁴ The royal headband

with the uraeus which the king bears in the scene of offering on the left side of the lunette is one of the first headdresses that the pharaoh receives as a coronation insignia.³⁷⁵

Once the king is recognized by Neith, the enumeration of his capacities as a warrior is intended to demonstrate that he is capable of defending Egypt, acting as its rampart against the outside world. Within, he brings prosperity to all that lives, like the sun itself, and he endows the altars of the gods. He dispenses life throughout the world, and the universe gives him its goods in return: the disk works for him; the mountains provide him with their minerals, the sea with the riches of its floods, and the foreign lands with their gifts or tribute. This long introductory preamble, which reveals the king's qualities and the homage rendered to him by the universe, has a precise purpose: it justifies the country's organization, because the Two Lands are ordered like the cosmos, and function like the universe; the king, who receives goods from the entire world, is the one who redistributes them. In practice, the economic structure of the Two Lands and their temples is, of course, much more sophisticated in its details, but it is still based on this fundamental principle existing from the earliest time.

Originally, the country's economy was organized around the *hwt* foundations created by the king for his own cult, as well as around the funerary foundations created by his predecessors, and was upheld by the current ruler. Posener-Krieger's work on the archives of Abusir provided insights into the functioning of a funerary temple of the fifth dynasty.³⁷⁶ She demonstrated that foods destined for the temple of Neferirkare came to a great extent from the dead king's solar temple and the residence of the reigning king, either directly or because the palace controls most of the contributions of the funerary domains, which are themselves creations by the king or his predecessors. As Goedicke pointed out, the words *hnw*, 'Residence', and *pr nswt*, 'King's Domain', seemed to be synonymous at that time.³⁷⁷ Still, Goedicke further noted that *pr nswt* is often associated with the notion of compulsory labour, the 'corvée', and added the interesting suggestion that compulsory labour was the original fiscal contribution before taxes were introduced. Goedicke recalled the distinction in the archaic period between three different types of cult sites: first, the 'State' cult temples, and especially those of Horus and of Re; later (fourth dynasty) those of Hathor, Nekhbet, and Wadjet; then the 'local cult' temples issuing from the 'reflection of the religious needs of a community'; and finally the royal mortuary temples.³⁷⁸ The distinction

365 E.g., Obsomer 1993: 122–4; Faulkner 1938: 41.

366 de Meulenaere 2003: 432 note 16.

367 Guermeur and Thiers 2001; Thiers 1999: 428–30.

368 Grimal 1986.

369 Drioton and Vandier 1946: 581.

370 El-Sayed 1982: 92–9.

371 Sauneron 1962: 202–3.

372 Gardiner 1961: 411–12; Arafa 2006: 248, figs 2–4.

373 Lacau and Lauer 1961: 56 note 2.

374 L'Amoulen 2006: 171.

375 Ibid.: 716 note 2341.

376 Posener-Krieger 1976: 619–22; 1979: 138–44.

377 Goedicke 1967: 59.

378 Ibid. 1979: 114 note 6, 119 note 37, 123.

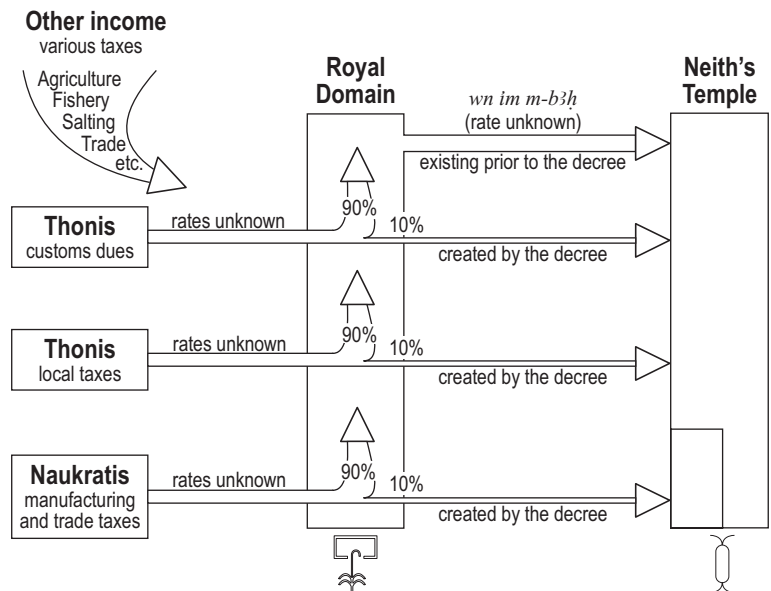


Figure 4.10 The sources of revenue of the temple of Neith according to the Decree of Saïs, first alternative. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard.)

supports Maspero’s claim that Thonis was to be found at the northernmost extremity of the Canopic branch and Yoyotte’s assertion that Thonis-Heracleion was a commercial port and headquarters of the police coast-guard.³⁹⁰ The complete names of Thonis and Naukratis are mentioned only towards the end of the text, where the Decree specifies, on each stele, the site where the monument is to be erected: in column 14 of the Thonis-Heracleion stele appears the first known hieroglyphic attestation of the complete name of Thonis (Figure 4.8) and column 13 of the Naukratis stele shows the name of Naukratis with the sign of the town for the sound ‘no’ (Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.8 The complete name of Thonis: The Thonis stele, column 14. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)



Figure 4.9 The complete name of Naukratis: The Naukratis stele, column 13. (Photo: B. Vallée.)

Sources of the donation

The Decree indicates that the donation comes out of the Royal Domain, the *pr nsw*. It is not specified, however, if taxes and customs dues go directly to the Royal Domain (Figure 4.10), or if they are paid into the State coffers, from which a share is then directed to the Royal Domain (Figure 4.11). This last interpretation was adopted by de Meulenaere.³⁹¹ In the first instance (Figure 4.10), the temple receives ten per cent of all taxes and dues perceived, whereas in the second one (Figure 4.11), only ten per cent of the King’s share (equally of an unspecified rate) reach the temple.

However, the Elephantine Papyrus, a register of customs accounts from the Persian period, i.e., close to a century before the reign of Nectanebo, specifies that taxes and dues are paid directly into the *pr nsw*, as shown in Figure 4.10.³⁹² This papyrus reveals the existence of a highly detailed and complex system of levies, possibly created as early as the Saïte period, which could well have persisted up to Nectanebo’s time.

The Decree of Saïs indicates that the taxes from which a share is intended for the temple of Neith, are collected from the two different towns of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis, and that the donation comes in addition to that which the temple received previously:

From Thonis-Heracleion:

- ‘all products entering from the sea of the *Hau-Nebut*, *ht nb pr m w3d-wr h3w-nbwt* (column 9), are subject to customs dues at an unknown rate. On the total of these dues, ten per cent of what goes into the *pr nsw* is destined for the temple of Neith.
- Taxes of another nature, also collected in Thonis, are

390 Maspero 1900: 43; Yoyotte 1958: 429.
391 de Meulenaere 2003: 433.

392 Elephantine or Ahiqar papyrus: Briant and Descat 1998, detailed *infra*.

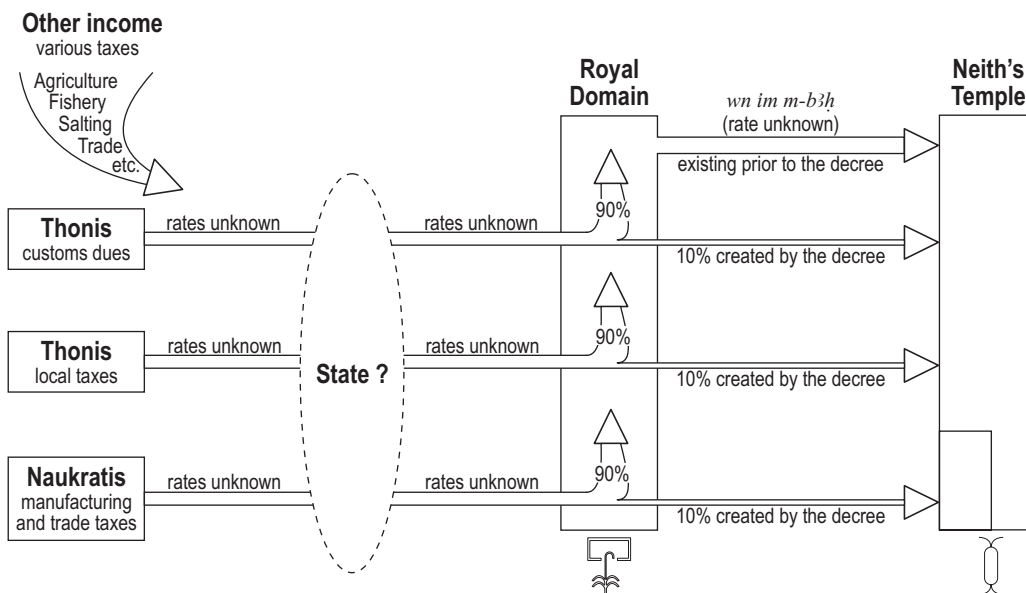


Figure 4.11 The sources of revenue of the temple of Neith according to the Decree of Saïs, second alternative. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard.)

likewise added to these customs dues, namely taxes on ‘all goods’, *m išwt nb*, probably levied on local goods and activities.³⁹³ Their rate, too, is unknown. The specific mention of ‘all goods’, following the sentence ‘... all products coming in from the sea of the *h3w-nbw*’, proves that these local goods and activities are treated separately, probably because the rate of taxation was different. Possibly, the term ‘all goods’ may also include certain exported goods, such as, for instance, natron as listed on the Elephantine Papyrus.³⁹⁴ On the total of these dues, ten per cent of whatever reaches the *pr nsw* is forwarded to the temple of Neith.

From Naukratis:

- A tax is levied in that town on ‘everything that appears’, *ht nb ntt hpr* (column 10). The Decree provides no further details; we can therefore understand that the tax is levied not only on manufactured goods proceeding out from the town, exported or not, but also on profits from the *intra muros* trade. The rate of these levies is again unknown. On the total of these dues, ten per cent of the amount going into the Royal Domain is attributed to the temple of Neith.

Before Nectanebo’s Decree:

- The new donation decreed by Nectanebo was added to the benefits already received by the temple ‘in addition to what was issued from (the Royal Domain) before’, *m h3w-r wn im m-b3h*. If our interpretation of *im* is correct these funds would also come out of the Royal Domain (cf. the upper parts of Figures 4.10 and 4.11).³⁹⁵ We cannot exclude that they, too, were levied on dues from customs and trade, in which case the king simply increased the share allotted to the temple.

This increase in the revenue of the temple, created by this additional inflow of the ten per cent share of the royal tax revenue from Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis, must have been considerable, taking into account the huge quantities and values of imported (wood, gold, silver, etc.) as well as exported goods (grain, linen, papyrus, ceramics and other items manufactured at Naukratis).

Thus the decree mentions four sources of income flowing into the temple of Neith, all issuing from the Royal Domain:

- 1) of the customs dues collected at Thonis-Heracleion, ten per cent of the Royal Domain’s share goes to the temple;
- 2) of all taxes levied on local activity in Thonis-Heracleion, ten per cent of the Royal Domain’s share goes to the temple;
- 3) of taxes received at Naukratis, ten per cent of the Royal Domain’s share goes to the temple;
- 4) income from the Royal Domain destined for the temple prior to the decree, the origins of which are not indicated.

Materials and merchandise subjected to taxation in the Decree

The fact that the taxes levied at Thonis-Heracleion (customs dues) are dealt with separately from those raised in Naukratis (taxes on local manufacturing and trade) could indicate that different rates of taxation were applied. Irrespective of whether these levies are from Thonis-Heracleion or Naukratis, the Decree indicates for each of these locations the material to be taxed: gold, silver, timber, processed wood and ‘all things’ for Thonis-Heracleion (column 8–9); gold, silver and ‘all things’ for

393 Column 9 note f (p. 76).

394 Briant and Descat 1998: 81, 92.

395 See column 11 note b (p. 82).

Naukratis (column 9–10). This list of materials indicates that the rate of taxation also varied according to the type of merchandise.

Wood

Wood, which was scarce in the Two Lands, is listed only for Thonis, thereby indicating an import. Coniferous woods and associated oils and resins were imported into Egypt as early as the reign of Aha.³⁹⁶ Tall, straight tree-trunks destined for certain buildings and naval construction were especially in demand.³⁹⁷ Such trunks were also indispensable for the masts decorating the temple pylons. These were made of ⲥⲩ, which is usually translated as ‘cedar wood’, and which Bardinet identified with stone pine,³⁹⁸ or of ⲥⲩ n tp lityw, or Cilician pine.³⁹⁹ In addition to naval or structural timber, all kinds of wood were imported for furniture, statuary, or the manufacture of chests and precious objects.⁴⁰⁰

Precious metals: gold and silver

As regards precious metals mentioned in the decree, silver was much in demand in Egypt, and was worth twice as much as gold.⁴⁰¹ Egypt exported grain to Athens in return for silver, which, at the time of Nectanebo, was supplied mostly by the Greeks, but also by the Phoenicians.⁴⁰² The silver entering Egypt from Greece was essentially imported in the form of coins, but also in ingots. The origins of the coins found on the site of Naukratis are varied, containing a sizeable proportion minted in Northern Greece, in Thracia and Macedonia.⁴⁰³ Thonis-Heracleion contributes particularly interesting numismatic information because the site has been untouched since the eighth century AD, the most likely date for its submersion. As Meadows noted:

*Archaeologists, when invited to study the coin finds from the excavation of ancient city are often presented with a mass of poorly preserved, base metal, low value coinage ... In part, this may be because their ancient owners took far better care of their high value coins, than the lower. It is also the result of centuries of opportunistic burrowing by poorer modern inhabitants ... Heracleion and Canopus are uncharacteristically rich in the finds of precious metal coins they have yielded, but the base metal coinages should not be forgotten.*⁴⁰⁴

396 Wilkinson 1999: 161.

397 Möller 2000: 208; Goedicke 2002: 124 note 20; Fabre 2004–05: 91–2, 102–12; 2007: 685; Mathieu 2006.

398 Bardinet 2008: 49.

399 Ibid.: 51.

400 Ibid.: 63–4.

401 Vercoutter 1954: 18.

402 Boardman 1995: 157–8; Möller 2000: 208–210; van der Wilt 2010: 158.

403 Boardman 1995: 158.

404 Meadows 2008a.

The gold coins found date from between the fourth century BC to the eighth century AD. Cypriot gold coins from the reign of Pumiyaon (361–312 BC) have been found at Thonis-Heracleion.⁴⁰⁵ Silver coins are abundant, particularly silver tetradrachms of Athenian type: in the fourth century BC Athenian owl motifs were frequently copied in Persia, Anatolia, in Phoenician cities and also in Egypt. The closure of the Laurion mines, a consequence of Athens’ war with Sparta, resulted in the circulation of counterfeit coinage of Attic tetradrachms, since in 407 and 405 BC Athens could no longer issue silver coins.⁴⁰⁶ The pharaohs of the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth and thirtieth dynasties had copies of Athenian tetradrachms made, and a monetary weight with an owl, on the reverse of which appears the ram’s head, symbol of Amun, was recovered at Heracleion.⁴⁰⁷ Excavations on this site also discovered a bronze cube seemingly corresponding to the die used for silver tetradrachms in fourth century Athens.⁴⁰⁸ As Greek coins from the time of Nectanebo are so abundant, Yoyotte argued that it was likely that the taxes levied on Naukratis were in Greek coinage rather than in kind.⁴⁰⁹ Silver, which was always rare and highly prized in Egypt, appears to be more common from the twenty-first dynasty onward, and both Padró and Möller suggested that it may have been brought in from Tartessos by the Phoenicians.⁴¹⁰

In ancient times, gold came mostly from Nubia, although it seems at all times to have also come in from the Mediterranean.⁴¹¹ This precious metal is part of the traditional ‘gifts’, *inw*, sent by foreign rulers, and Fabre rightly pointed out the difficulties in precisely defining the economic reality of these exchanges in the Egyptian terms, which always implies that foreign contributions contain some pledge of submission.⁴¹² As Vercoutter pointed out in relation to the Naukratis stele, the products mentioned in the Decree are the traditional merchandise brought in as tribute by Asian people, although he regarded the *Hau-Nebut* as Greek.⁴¹³ Vandersleyen took this point to support his argument that on the Naukratis stele, the *Hau-Nebut* refer the Phoenicians.⁴¹⁴ It is true that at the time Phoenician trade was predominant throughout the Mediterranean, but it is equally obvious that the term *Hau-Nebut* indicated the Greeks, and that trade between Egyptians and Greeks at Thonis-Heracleion was sizeable.

405 Fabre 2008b: 139; Yoyotte and Lichocka 2008; Lichocka 2008.

406 Fabre 2008a: 224–5; Goddio and Fabre 2008: 224 cat. nos 435–6.

407 Goddio and Fabre 2008: 224 cat. nos 367; Meadows 2008b.

408 Fabre 2008a: 225; Meadows 2011.

409 Yoyotte 1993–94: 683.

410 Padró 1998: 43; Möller 2000: 208–9.

411 Mallet 1893: 278–9.

412 Fabre 2007: 689–90.

413 Vercoutter 1949: 176.

414 Vandersleyen 1971: 149–52.

Although they are not mentioned in the Decree of Saïs, the study of the lead weights and ingots from Heracleion-Thonis also indicate close contact with the Greek world. These weights double the number of weights known from Egypt (particularly from before the Roman period, when they were relatively uncommon). Some of these weights bear Athenian symbols, such as the tortoise and the spokes of a wheel, others bear Athenian-style amphora symbols.⁴¹⁵

The customs system

The Decree of Saïs does not provide any information on the taxes applicable to merchandize, but an Aramaic text on a palimpsest papyrus from Elephantine may give an idea of the complexity of the system of customs.⁴¹⁶ This is a month-by-month customs register which records the arrivals and departures from Egypt of 42 ships in year 11 of an Achaemenid king, probably Xerxes or Artaxerxes I.⁴¹⁷ The location of this customs post is probably Thonis-Heracleion.⁴¹⁸ The figure of 42 vessels probably represents only a very small part of all the shipments entering Egypt during that year, because the list is merely concerned with those coming from two precise regions: Asia Minor and, probably, Syro-Phoenicia.⁴¹⁹ According to the register, cedar wood must have represented a sizeable part of the cargo, and both uncut and processed wood are mentioned, as in the Decree of Saïs.⁴²⁰ The very complicated system of taxation that becomes apparent from this customs register is based on the size of the ship and its origin, and contains two different sets of taxes: a principal levy and a complementary one,⁴²¹ both fully paid into the *pr nsw*, the Royal Domain.⁴²² For ships from Greece, the main levy consists of a certain quantity of gold or silver, depending on the size of the vessel; for the bigger Greek vessels, a cut from a cargo of oil is added.⁴²³ For Syro-Phoenician ships, this main tax is a tithe levied on the cargo, amounting to ten per cent in kind of each product carried. Once this main group of taxes is levied, a complementary duty in silver and in kind is applied for big ships, irrespective of their origin, and another one in kind for small Syro-Phoenician ships only. The merchandise imported is wine, oil, timber and processed wood, bronze, iron, wool, tin and a kind of kaolinite.⁴²⁴ Dues in gold or silver are paid on the basis of a special measure of weight, which is different for each of these precious metals. Furthermore, in cases where the

quantity of gold and silver subjected to dues exceeded a certain volume, there existed a complementary tax that varied depending upon the amount of metal involved, but which appears to have been small.⁴²⁵ Briant and Descat noted that the unit of measure for the weight of gold appears to be ancient and refers to a long established fiscal tradition, and went on to suggest that the Persians embraced the Saïte customs systems.⁴²⁶ Consequently, the document provides an outline of a system of taxation that could have been in use in Nectanebo's time, although this is not detailed in the Decree of Saïs.⁴²⁷

The circumstances of Nectanebo I's donation

Erman and Wilcken considered Nectanebo's donation to the goddess Neith to be a political measure directed against the Greeks.⁴²⁸ Mallet, however, pointed out that:

*La stèle de Naucratis ne spécifie aucune majoration, ni dans les droits de douane, ni dans les impositions établies sur les industries naucratiqes. Elle laisse supposer, par conséquent, que la perception de ces droits avait lieu auparavant, et que le taux restait le même, le roi n'ayant fait que prescrire une destination nouvelle à une partie des sommes qu'ils produisaient.*⁴²⁹

In Mallet's view, as the king had in this way neither created, nor increased any tax, but had nevertheless favoured the priests, it was a clever political move on his part.⁴³⁰ In addition, the will of the new pharaoh to rally the priests to him appears in column 5 of the Decree, where it is stated that the king consults them and scrupulously follows their advice. As Yoyotte noted, these terms are outside the usual phrasing.⁴³¹

Mallet, Posener, and Yoyotte pointed out that Nectanebo I did not innovate when he attributed to the temple of Neith some part of the income from maritime customs dues.⁴³² When Nekhethorheb, a contemporary of Amasis, was promoted overseer of the gates of the desert and the sea, it appears that he was charged with the care of the temple altars, most particularly that of Neith at Saïs.⁴³³ Posener supposed some relation of cause and effect between the nomination of Nekhethorheb to this position, and the function it implies: as he controlled the customs, he also supervised the revenue that was partly directed to the temples.⁴³⁴ Posener established a parallel between Nekhethorheb's inscription and the text on the Naukratis stele: in both cases, the royal administration levied taxes at the entrance to the Delta, and in

415 van der Wilt 2010: 159.

416 Briant and Descat 1998.

417 Ibid.: 61–2.

418 Ibid.: 92.

419 Ibid.: 65.

420 Ibid.: 72 note 53.

421 Ibid.: 73.

422 Ibid.: 87.

423 Ibid.: 73.

424 Ibid.: 69–73.

425 Ibid.: 75–6.

426 Ibid.: 77, 93.

427 Ibid.: 90 and note 105.

428 Erman and Wilcken 1900: 132.

429 Mallet 1922: 148–9.

430 Ibid.

431 Yoyotte 1993–94: 682.

432 Mallet 1922: 148–9; Posener 1947: 127; Yoyotte 1993–94: 683.

433 Tresson 1933: 132; El-Sayed 1975: 256.

434 Posener 1947: 122–6.

both cases, the temples received part of this revenue.⁴³⁵ In addition, the text engraved on the pedestal of the naophorous statue of Nekhethorheb indicates that when this official arrived at his post, the divine offerings were in default.⁴³⁶ This led Posener to believe that the appointment of this person must have happened at the very beginning of the reign of Amasis, at the time of the troubles of his conflict with Apries.⁴³⁷ Jelínková cited several biographical texts to support her theory that the conflict between Amasis and Apries merely enhanced a period, already long in existence, of negligence and insufficient supervision of the administrative system.⁴³⁸ Posener, on the other hand, thought that it was the conflict itself, that, above all, provoked a decline in income from trade and thus from customs dues, which Amasis compensated as soon as he achieved his victory over Apries.⁴³⁹ Herodotus describes the measures taken by Amasis:

*Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and beside other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naukratis to dwell in ... Naukratis was in the old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canopic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta til he came to Naukratis. In such honour was Naukratis held.*⁴⁴⁰

As Yoyotte pointed out, the identification in Nectanebo I's decree of the town of *hnt* with Thonis-Heracleion, the customs port of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, confirms what Herodotus has to say about communications with Naukratis at the time of Amasis.⁴⁴¹ Posener suggested that, although the regulation of traffic is generally placed at the beginning of the reign of Amasis, it could have begun earlier.⁴⁴²

According to Mallet, the mandatory passage through the Canopic branch disappeared with the Persian conquest, and the other river branches, especially the Pelusiac one, became accessible to foreign ships, which seems to have considerably increased trade in that region.⁴⁴³ Pottery dating from the first period of Persian domination in the fifth century BC, and from the first half of the fourth century BC, was found on the site of Pelusium.⁴⁴⁴ However, the customs dues at Thonis-Heracleion, although disrupted or disorganized during the upheavals at the beginning of the Persian occupation, appear to have been reorganized at the time of Xerxes

or Artaxerxes I. When Nectanebo I came to power, one of his first actions was to publish the Decree of Saïs, which considerably increased contributions from the Royal Domain into the treasury of the temple of Neith. He also restored buildings, added new ones and ordered embellishments to almost all temples in Egypt, and from the very first year of his reign he took care to survey all deeds of the temples' estates and to have them properly registered.⁴⁴⁵ Above all, he fortified all terrestrial and particularly maritime entries into Egypt, building a series of fortresses at all the river mouths, which facilitated military surveillance as well as the control of trade.⁴⁴⁶ His reign created prosperity similar to that of the Saïte period, and the art of that period as well as that of the Old Kingdom deeply influenced that of Nectanebo's time, to which the perfection of the two magnificent stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis and the simplicity of their scenic composition bear eloquent witness.

The Canopic branch and the boom of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis

According to our sources, the Greek presence at Naukratis pre-dated the time of Amasis. Strabo noted that it could go back as far as Psamtik I.⁴⁴⁷ This is confirmed by the study of the Greek ceramics found in Naukratis, which can be dated back as far as about 630 BC.⁴⁴⁸

In Thonis-Heracleion, the artefacts recovered from excavations in the northern region of the site would suggest the end of the seventh century BC for the initial settlement.⁴⁴⁹ The discovery at Thonis-Heracleion of a royal name, which could be Psamtik I, would confirm some port activity prior to Amasis. A bronze plaque, 11 cm high, 7–8 cm wide and 3.3 cm thick, was found during excavations in the northern port. It was excavation from a stratified archaeological layer in the basin at the entrance to the North Canal, on what may have been an islet at the time (upper red square in Figure 4.16). The object mentions a Horus name, which might belong to Psamtik I, and was probably encased in an element of furniture, which could have been cultic (Figure 4.12). Under the sign of the sky, a hawk bearing the double crown stands on the upper part of what was a *srh* indicating the Horus name of a king: *ꜥꜣ ib*. The lower part of the hieroglyph for 'heart' is missing, as well as the palace façade. Behind the falcon, a solar disk with a barely discernible hanging uraeus unrolls and rises in

435 Ibid.: 126–7.

436 Tresson 1933: 132.

437 Posener 1947: 130.

438 Jelínková 1957: 271.

439 Posener 1947: 128–30.

440 Herodotus *Historia* 2.178–9.

441 Yoyotte 1993–94: 683.

442 Posener 1947: 131 note 1.

443 Mallet 1893: 435; 1922: 16; Fabre 2004–05: 70–3.

444 Carrez-Maratray and Defernez 1996: 40, 44–8.

445 Grimal 1988: 451–2; Arnold 1999: 105–22; Meeks 1972: 155.

446 Mallet 1922: 99–100.

447 Strabo *Geographia* 17.1, 18; Yoyotte *et al.* 1997: 109–11 and notes 211–12; Mallet 1893: 162; Yoyotte 1991–92: 636–7; Boardman 1995: 147–8; Sullivan 1996: 190; Möller 2000: 196; but see von Bissing 1951: 47 and Kees 1961: 207 for the argument that the Greek settlement dated to the reign of Psamtik II.

448 Boardman 1995: 147–52.

449 Grataloup 2010: 151.



Figure 4.12 Plaque from Heracleion no. HX-II303, IEASM. (Photo: the author; © IEASM; drawing: A. L'Amoulen; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation.)

a curb parallel to the hawk's back. The regular pecking on the metal signifies that the plaque was covered with gold and the depth of the signs suggests the use of inlays. The finished plaque must have been magnificent. The object recalls an engraving found at the back of the head of a small earthenware statuette in the Louvre (Louvre N 822), which was recently published by Perdu, and attributed to Psamtik I.⁴⁵⁰ However, the Horus name figuring on the Louvre object and on the Thonis-Heracleion plaque may also be that of Nephertites I, first king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, or of Achoris, at the end of that dynasty.⁴⁵¹ During the same campaign, at the entrance to the North Canal, at about 30 m west of the plaque with the Horus name, another bronze plaque bearing the cartouches of king Amasis was found, as well as imported high quality Greek ceramics contemporary to the twenty-sixth dynasty. All of the artefacts found in this particular site at the entrance of the North Canal are of an ancient date, which suggests the probable attribution of the Thonis-Heracleion plaque to Psamtik I, as well as occupation from the very beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty onwards. In addition, Grataloup's general study of the ceramics of Thonis-Heracleion

concludes that there was a southward movement of the port activity over time.⁴⁵²

With regard to Naukratis, Höckmann noted the generally accepted notion that the findings indicate that the origin of the Greek Naukratis is linked to soldiers.⁴⁵³ This is also suggested for Thonis-Heracleion in view of the Greek arms brought to light there, which date from the sixth to the fourth century BC.⁴⁵⁴ After the arrival of the Greek soldiers, trade rapidly grew at Naukratis. Bernand provided an explanation of how the position of Naukratis favoured its expansion:

*La chance de Naukratis ... c'est sa situation sur la branche Canopique, c'est à dire sur le fleuve dont l'embouchure était la plus accessible ... L'obligation pour tous les navires d'emprunter la branche Canopique était imposée par la nature même du pays, avant d'être commandée par Amasis.*⁴⁵⁵

The extremely low-lying coast of Egypt was indeed a very dangerous one, due to currents and high winds, and, on the coastline, to reeds, 'false mouths' and muddy ground.⁴⁵⁶ The position of the settlement on the perpetually navigable Canopic branch, with its easily accessible

450 Perdu 2002: 147 doc. 35, pl. 15.

451 Dessoudeix 2008: 500, 515, 517.

452 Goddio *pers. comm.*; Grataloup 2010: 156–8.

453 Höckmann 2008–09: 105.

454 Goddio and Fabre 2008: 221–3; Fabre 2008a: 219–25.

455 Bernand 1970: 624–5.

456 Fabre 2004–05: 18; Fabre and Goddio 2010: 65–6.

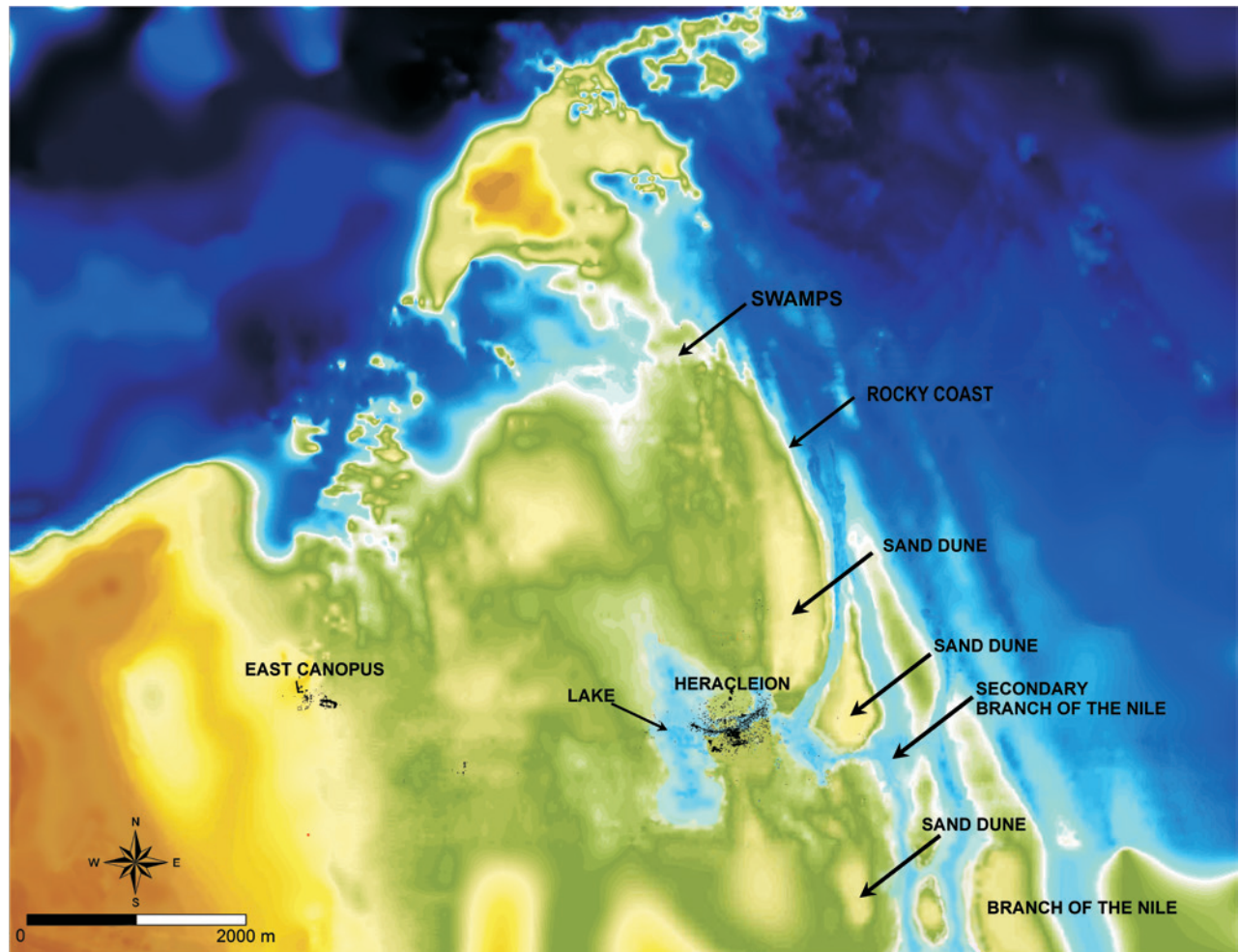


Figure 4.13 The now submerged region of East Canopus and Thonis-Heracleion. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

mouth, is the fundamental reason for Naukratis's extraordinary development of trade and prosperity. Naukratis was also ideally situated for an inland port through its riverine connections eastwards towards Saïs and south towards Memphis.⁴⁵⁷ The position of Naukratis, some 100 km distant from the coast, obviously required a certain control at the entrance into the country. This explains the creation of the maritime customs station at the Canopic mouth, 'at the mouth of the sea of the *Hau-Nebut*', as specified in column 13 on the Thonis-Heracleion stele.

Pfeiffer discussed the question of the relative predominance of Thonis-Heracleion or Naukratis in the development of trade.⁴⁵⁸ Initially, both cities may well have registered parallel growth. It was the mandatory use of the Canopic Branch as the maritime entrance to Egypt that was decisive for the destiny of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis. The flourishing trade at the mouth of the *Hau-Nebut* considerably enhanced the wealth of the Saïte nome and the entire surrounding region. The date of the creation of the customs port at Thonis-Heracleion is not

yet firmly established. On the basis of Herodotus,⁴⁵⁹ who attributed the name of Thonis to the guardian of the Canopic mouth, Yoyotte believed that it was reasonable to suppose that:

... le poste frontière et emporium de Thônis existait à l'époque où fut fixé le texte homérique, au huitième siècle avant notre ère, ou dans les débuts du septième, ce qui correspond aux moments où se constitue la principauté saïte d'où sortiront la 24^e dynastie, puis la 26^e dynastie.⁴⁶⁰

In a first phase of the work in the Bay of Aboukir, the European Institute for Underwater Archaeology established the topography of the entire submerged zone covering the regions of East Canopus and Thonis-Heracleion.⁴⁶¹ The depth charts confirmed the accuracy of Bernard's comments on navigation in the Canopic mouth and the dangers of the neighbouring coast.⁴⁶² The survey further revealed the existence of three depressions to the east of Thonis-Heracleion, which must have been basins navigable in all seasons.⁴⁶³ The northernmost one

457 Wilson 2010: 119.

458 Pfeiffer 2010: 21.

459 Herodotus 2.113–19.

460 Yoyotte 2001: 27.

461 Goddio 2006a: 92–101; 2006b: 59–65; 2007; 2008: 44–8; 2010.

462 Goddio 2007: 69, 111–12, figs 3.1, 3.80–81; 2011: 127–8, figs 7.5–7.6; Bernard 1970: 624–5.

463 Goddio 2007: 111–15; 2011: 126–8.

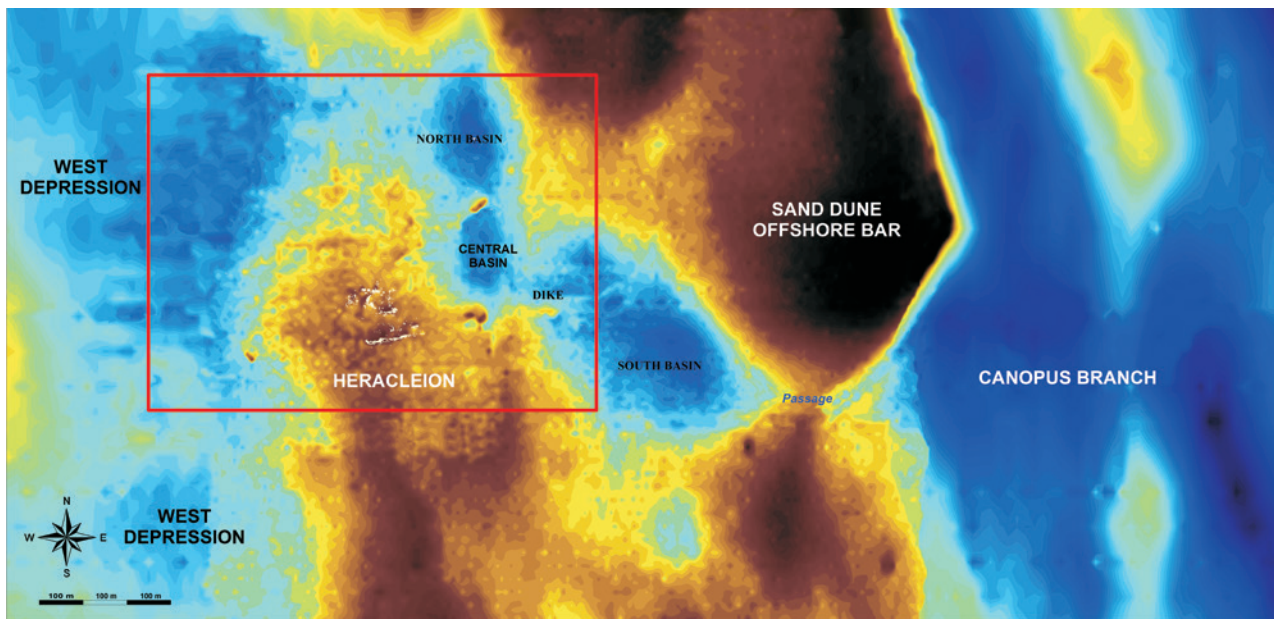


Figure 4.14 The Heracleion peninsula. (Bathymetric chart established by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

of these appears to connect the eastern basins with the lake on the western side of the town. Goddio noted that:

A large canal (nicknamed ‘The Grand Canal’) links the harbour basins to the western lake. The temple of Amon-Gereb (temple of Herakles) borders the Grand Canal—a large sacred waterway—to the north, and once dominated the vast harbour basins to its east (Figure 4.13).⁴⁶⁴

The basins were connected to the Canopic branch of the Nile via a narrow channel (Figure 4.14) and the whole area was sheltered from the prevailing north-west winds and from north-easterly storms by sand dunes.⁴⁶⁵

There is some debate about the extent to which foreign vessels would have been capable of sailing up river after calling at the customs station at Thonis-Heracleion. For some, it was certainly possible for sea-going ships to sail the Canopic branch of the Nile as far as Naukratis and possibly beyond,⁴⁶⁶ whereas for others, Thonis-Heracleion is a trans-shipment port, where incoming goods were put onto Nile barges for their journey upriver.⁴⁶⁷

Successive campaigns of the European Institute for Underwater Archaeology in that region tend to demonstrate the great importance of the traffic in the Canopic mouth. The name of this major entrance into Egypt, called ‘mouth of the sea of the *Hau-nebut*’ is explicitly mentioned on two monuments found on the geographical site of that name. The first one is the Thonis-Heracleion stele, which displays the complete name of this site at the bottom of column 13; the second is a small bronze object found south of the great temenos in two fragments (SCA 389: Figure 4.15 and the southernmost red square in

Figure 4.16). One is totally abraded; on the other, larger one (21.5 × 15 cm) the beginning of the text is missing, and the carved signs in the classical style read: *m r(3) ḥ3w-nbwt* or *ḥ3w-nbwy* ‘at the mouth of the *Hau-Nebut* or *Hau-nebuy*’, reproducing in a shortened form the expression in column 13 of the Thonis-Heracleion stele ‘... at the mouth of the sea of the *Hau-Nebut*’.⁴⁶⁸ On the right side, an abstract sign and the remainder of another vertical one can just be discerned before the readable text; a hoe sign might be present behind the two hawks after the text.

The word *ḥ3w-nbwy* is written with two hawks equipped with a flagellum, and posed on two *nb* signs. This use of the word *ḥ3w-nbwy* instead of *ḥ3w-nbwt* is known, if infrequent. As Yoyotte wrote:

literally, we should translate Haou-nebuy as “those who are behind (or around) the Two Lords” ... The pair of divine birds of prey represents, quite simply, Horus and Seth, the two gods whose attributes are united in the persona of the king.⁴⁶⁹

In his study of the occurrence of the word *ḥ3w-nbwt* in Egyptian texts, Vercoutter picked up this spelling with two hawks twice in line 4 of the Satrap stele from early Ptolemaic times.⁴⁷⁰ There, neither of the two birds carries the flail, as they do on the plaque from Thonis-Heracleion (Figure 4.15).

Another related spelling was noticed by Vercoutter, showing a hawk and the Sethian animal, instead of the two falcons, again set on two *nb* signs.⁴⁷¹ The oldest example that ties the hawk and the Sethian animal dates from the time of Ptolemy VII, but it can later also be found elsewhere in Ptolemaic temples. All spellings

⁴⁶⁴ Goddio 2007: 75.

⁴⁶⁵ Fabre 2008a: 220.

⁴⁶⁶ Meeks 1997: 187–8; Briant and Descat 1998: 92 note 111; Goddio 2011: 126 note 34.

⁴⁶⁷ Höckmann 2008–09: 110.

⁴⁶⁸ Yoyotte 2004: 38–9, fig. 8; 2008a.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.: 2008a.

⁴⁷⁰ Vercoutter 1949: 176 no. 73, 178 no. 78, 208.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.: 116 no. 11a, 121 no. 11b.



Figure 4.15 Bronze plaque SCA 389. (Photo: C. Gerigk; © Franck Goddio/Hilti Foundation; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

cited by Vercoutter, replacing the word *h3w-nbwt* with *h3w-nbwy*, date from the Ptolemaic period. However, the plaque found in Thonis-Heracleion is not quite in the Ptolemaic style and could go back to an earlier period, in which case the writing *h3w-nbwy* replacing *h3w-nbwt* on this plaque could be the oldest one known so far. Yoyotte supposed this plaque to have come from the base of some part of a building, because the fragments are pierced for tenons which must have fixed them on some solid supporting surface, probably stone (a wall) or heavy wood (a monumental door).⁴⁷² Empty space both above and below the text suggests that the text was intended to fill a dado or base strip, where dedications to the temple and its divinities were situated. Yoyotte argued that the plaque was probably one of a series that escaped salvage and melting down—the usual fate of metal objects—as a consequence of the destruction of the temple.⁴⁷³

The remains of 62 ancient shipwrecks dating to between the sixth and second centuries BC and over 700 anchors are a direct testimony to the vitality of maritime life in the port.⁴⁷⁴ The study of the artefacts and more particularly the pottery provides precious information on the periods of occupation of the site and the history of the Canopic region. It confirms the intense rhythm

of exchange between Egypt and the various regions of the Eastern Mediterranean as well as the continuous occupation of the site of Thonis-Heracleion from the twenty-sixth dynasty down to the Ptolemaic period.⁴⁷⁵ The earliest ceramics, both local and imported (mainly from Eastern Greece), are found in the north of the peninsula, and date to the Saïte period, probably at the end of the seventh century BC and into the beginning of the sixth century BC.⁴⁷⁶ In the western part of the Grand Canal, the recovered material dates from between the sixth and the fifth century BC, the majority being made locally.⁴⁷⁷ The assemblage from the temenos of the temple is also dominated by locally produced material, with imports in the minority, and dates from the fourth to the second centuries BC.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, the pottery evidence suggests that over the course of the Saïte and Ptolemaic periods there was a general shift in activity from the north towards the south and that, throughout, the majority of trade was with the eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁷⁹

The Greek presence is attested not only by ceramics, hoplite weapons and pieces of armoury of the fifth and fourth century, but also by coins from the fourth century BC.⁴⁸⁰ Thus merchants must have followed on the heels of soldiers, as is known from Naukratis.⁴⁸¹

472 Yoyotte 2004: 38; 2008a.

473 Yoyotte 2008a.

474 Goddio 2011: 127, 128, figs. 7.5 and 7.6; Fabre 2011.

475 Grataloup and McCann 2008.

476 Grataloup 2010: 151.

477 Ibid.: 153.

478 Ibid.: 155.

479 Ibid.: 156–8.

480 Goddio and Fabre 2008: 222–4.

481 Fabre 2008a: 224.

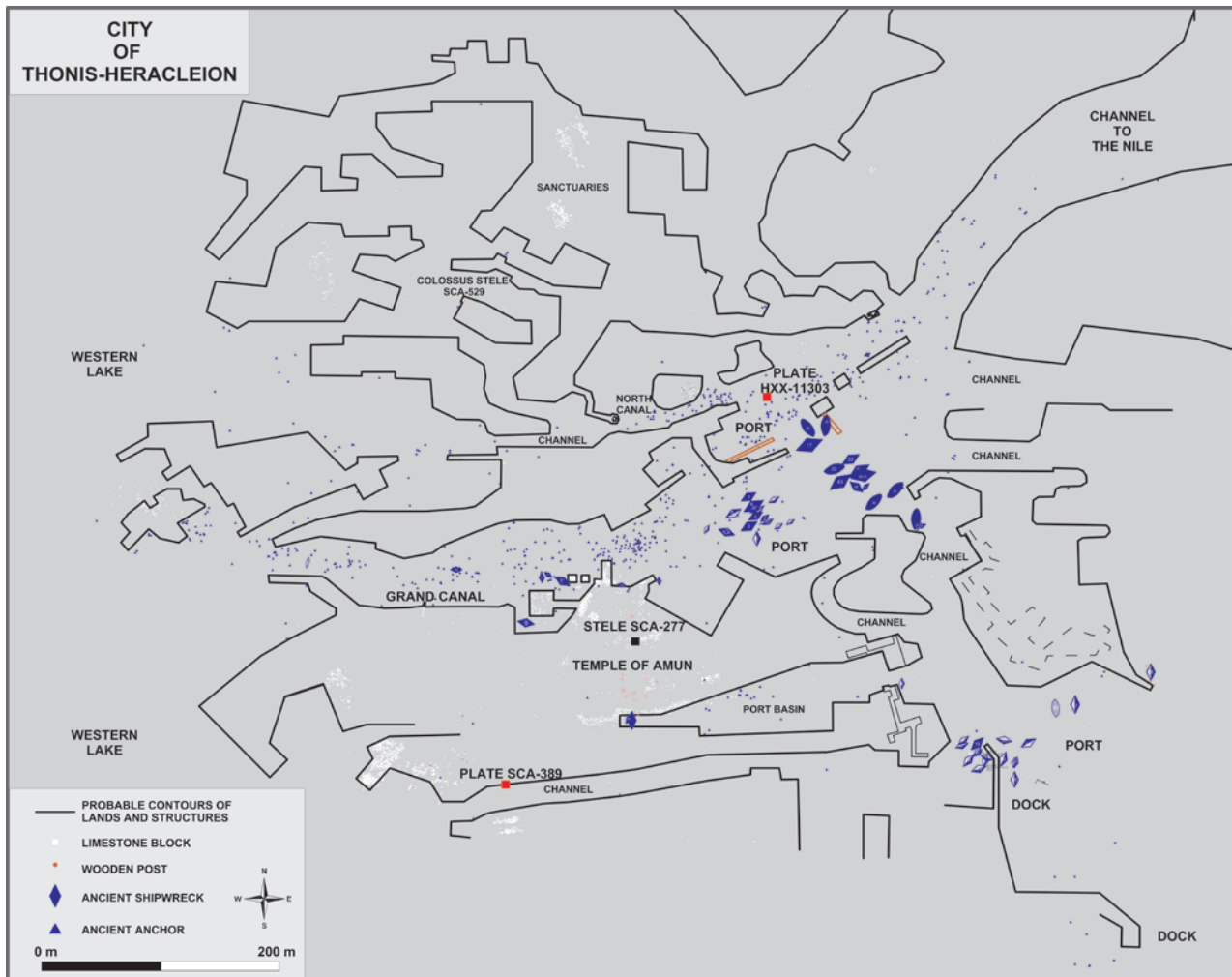


Figure 4.16 The Grand Canal and the harbour basins of the port of Thonis-Heracleion. Upper red square: plaque with the name of Psamtik I; lower red square: plaque with the name of the Canopic mouth; black square: site of the Thonis-Heracleion stele. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

The Egyptian shores of the Mediterranean before the period of Thonis-Heracleion

It is probable that the Delta looked very different in antiquity, because its geography has always been in motion.⁴⁸² Changes brought about by human activity, such as the progressive reduction of the extended marsh areas and the increasing occupation of the soil, occurred alongside major upheavals caused by natural phenomena. Alluvial land advancing into the sea alters the shoreline, and the various branches of the Nile change their course.⁴⁸³

Stanley and Warne presented a very interesting palaeo-geographical reconstruction of the northern part of the Nile Delta for the years 2000 BC, 100 BC and AD 1800, based on the analysis of radiocarbon-dated sediment cores, showing the changing position of the shore line.⁴⁸⁴ To these progressive changes are added other,

more sudden and brutal disruptions caused by earthquakes or subsidence phenomena like those described by Goddio for the Canopic mouth.⁴⁸⁵ Due to the huge alluvial influx carried by the Nile, and the frequency, in the region, of earthquakes due to the subduction of tectonic plates, such phenomena of subsidence must have occurred several times during the long history of Egypt. Excavations show that in different periods the soil of Thonis-Heracleion had to be reinforced by wooden posts and planking in different areas.⁴⁸⁶

At any period, the shores of the Delta with their lowlands and their false entries were hardly likely to encourage the installation of port facilities, except inside the large river mouths, especially if these communicated with lakes and deepwater basins which could provide natural protection.⁴⁸⁷ The surveillance of the Mediterranean coastal areas, which allowed entry into Egypt, was entrusted to the 'Commander of the Fortress

482 Favard-Meeks 1989: 42–3.

483 Bernand 1970: 62–3.

484 Stanley and Warne 2007: 15, fig. 2.9.

485 Goddio 2007: 8; Stanley *et al.* 2001; 2004; Stanley and Warne

2007; Nur 2010.

486 Goddio 2011: 126.

487 Fabre 2004–05: 45–59.

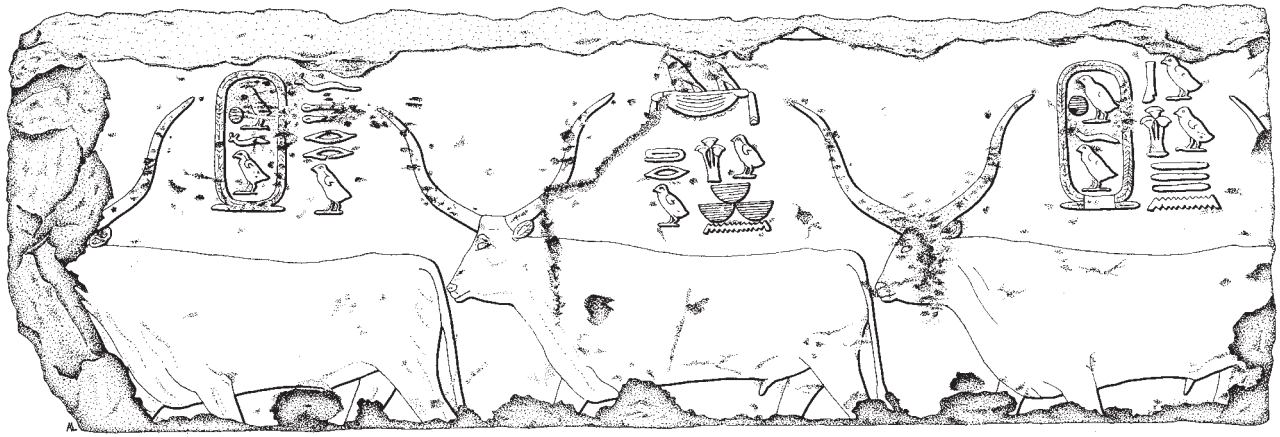


Figure 4.17 Bas-relief from the funerary temple of Cheops. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.1.3. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

of the Great Green', whose tasks and functions are known from the eighteenth dynasty.⁴⁸⁸

Little is known about maritime trade during the Old Kingdom; at that time, *w3d-wr* was represented as a fecundity figure that embodies abundance, possibly originating from the seas, the great lakes and the coast.⁴⁸⁹ Goedicke picked up the study of the block from the mortuary temple of Cheops, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 22.1.3), found re-used at Lisht.⁴⁹⁰ The block shows a line of four long-horned *ng* oxen following each other, although the fourth is barely visible (Figure 4.17). Above each of these animals is set a composite name which each time contains one of the names of Cheops. The middle one contains the word *h3w-nbwt* associated with the Golden Horus name of the King, *bikwy nbw*, and reads *phrw h3w-nbwt n(y)*, 'what surrounds the *Hau-Nebut* belongs to the Double Golden Hawk'. The spelling of *h3w-nbwt* on this block from the Old Kingdom is the same as the one on the Decree of Saïs. It is probably no coincidence if the name *Hau-Nebut* is associated with the Golden Horus name of the King, which is spelt with two falcons set on the sign for gold: this association of two falcons, which recalls the spelling of *h3w-nbwy* (Figure 4.15), would suggest reading the Golden Horus name of Cheops as *nbwy nbw*, 'The Two Lords of Gold'—which are Horus and Seth—rather than *bikwy nbw*. The three names shown above the oxen probably designate the economic entity that has provided each of the animals, and Goedicke pointed out that the relief almost certainly shows a procession of the foreign sources which supplied the king during his reign.⁴⁹¹

It may also be envisaged that these three economic entities provided the animals for the king's funerary cult. The name of the central one, linked to the Golden Horus name of the king could therefore be an economic domain in charge of the revenue produced by the contacts with the *Hau-Nebut* people, and could thus be a sort of far

removed ancestor of the *pr-nsw* of Thonis-Heracleion of the time of Nectanebo. If such an establishment had existed at the time of Cheops, it would probably also have been located near the Mediterranean shore, and would probably have been placed in a protected area of a mouth of the river. Having disappeared long ago, it could either have vanished into the floods or be covered by the alluvial lands of the Delta. The name *Hau-Nebut* also occurs in the *Pyramid Texts* indicating geographical knowledge, and appears to refer to areas beyond usual trade regions.⁴⁹²

Regarding the term *sn wr*, 'the Great Circle' (an ocean), which is also present in the *Pyramid Texts*, Berni and Chiappelli proposed that, from the Old Kingdom on, the Egyptians were familiar with the western border of the African continent and the existence of the Atlantic, which they considered to surround the continents.⁴⁹³ This geographical knowledge would fit with the cosmographic concept of the Egyptians of the creation surrounded by the original waters of the uncreated.

Maritime trade appears to have started as early as the predynastic period. As Fabre noted '... l'importance et le rôle de cette région (le Delta) dans l'économie générale de l'Égypte prédynastique comme lieu privilégié d'échanges, surtout par voie de mer avec l'orient, commence à poindre'.⁴⁹⁴ The recent discoveries at Ayn Soukhna on the west bank of the Suez Canal show that this site contained harbour installations from the Old Kingdom.⁴⁹⁵ Höckmann argued that from the third millennium on an Egyptian influence can be found in shipbuilding in Crete.⁴⁹⁶ The complex reciprocal influence in naval architecture has been reviewed by Meeks and Fabre.⁴⁹⁷ The study of the wrecks at the bottom of the ancient Thonis-Heracleion harbour basins also demonstrates the evolution of shipbuilding, notably the manner of adapting ships to navigation on lakes and rivers, as well as on the sea.⁴⁹⁸

488 Mallet 1893: 279–81; Posener 1947: 121; Yoyotte 1958: 425; Nibbi 1975: 44–5.

489 Nibbi 1975: 39–40, figs 8–9; Baines 1985: 84 fig. 44, 104 fig. 72.

490 Goedicke 2002: 125–36 note 24, fig. 1; see also Smith 1949: pl. 39; Vercoutter 1956: 27 fig. 1; Montet 1956: 2 fig. 1.

491 Goedicke 2002: 136.

492 Ibid.: 121.

493 Berni and Chiappelli 2008: 109.

494 Fabre 2004–05: 91.

495 Tallet 2010: 19–21.

496 Höckmann 2008–09: 85.

497 Meeks 1997: 178–80; Fabre 2004–05: 89–130.

498 Fabre 2011: 28–9.

5 Corrections and hammerings

On the Decree of Saïs, a clear distinction can be observed between corrections of engravings and hammerings. The two practices never appear together on the same word or sentence.

Corrections are carried out by superimposing the correct hieroglyph on the previous engraving, without any attempt to efface it. The original sign to be masked is never hammered out beforehand, since one can perfectly discern its neatly outlined contours underneath the new lines, which are engraved directly above the old ones (Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3).

The nature of the hammerings on the decree is very different from those observed rather frequently on other monuments. Hammerings generally aim to delete a name or a figure and may have been carried out considerably later than the creation of the monument itself. They are usually done either in order to allow reuse of the stone, or for political or religious motives. They reach the entire depth of the engraving in order to efface the previous shape. Hammerings on the Decree of Saïs, however, are very superficial, made in minute touches, and were probably undertaken by the artist. Two arguments tend to demonstrate that they were not intended to efface a figure: firstly, they are never accompanied by any kind of visible correction *above* these very light and superficial hammerings, which would probably have been the case if they had been intended to correct the text; in addition, no trace of a sign can be found underneath.

Corrections of the engraved signs are present on both stelae. Hammerings only appear on the Thonis-Heracleion stele, and concern either a single hieroglyph or part of a sentence.

Corrections

Each stele shows a correction of the cloven lower tips of the *w3s* pillars: on Thonis-Heracleion, the correction concerns the tip of the pillar on the left side, where two superimposed forked tips appear one above the other, the final one set lower than the initial one (Figure 5.1a). On Naukratis, the foot of the right side, which was probably initially forgotten, is superimposed on the straight line, which limits the text (Figure 5.1b).

On the Naukratis stele, towards the centre of column 8, the support of the falcon on its standard, the determinative of the word *hm*, 'Majesty', in the sentence *dd.in hm.f*, 'His Majesty then says ...' is engraved overlaying the sign

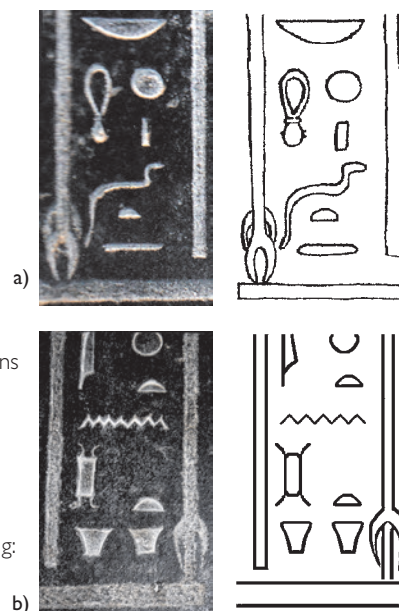


Figure 5.1 Corrections on the foot of the *w3s* sceptre (Photos: B. Vallée.); a) Thonis (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.); b) Naukratis. (Drawing: B. Vallée.)

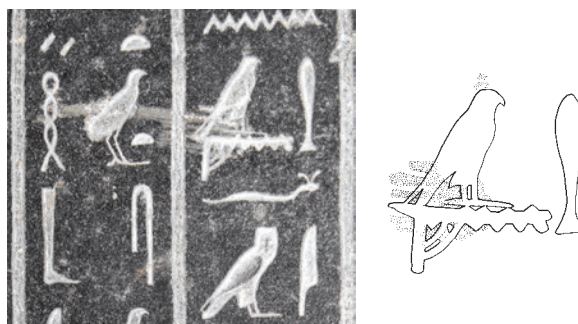


Figure 5.2 Naukratis, columns 8 and 9, corrections: the standard is engraved over the *n*. (Photo: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

of an '*n*'. Perhaps the engraver was influenced by the very frequent expression *hm n*, 'the Majesty of ...', and wrote *hm n* instead of *hm.f*. Then, he corrected his mistake by superimposing the horizontal trait of the standard over the erroneous *n* sign. No trace of hammering of the *n* sign can be distinguished. The bright lines underneath the falcon, which continue into the next column, are in fact veins in the stone running across into column 9 (Figure 5.2).

On Thonis-Heracleion, in the lower part of column 5, in the expression *m3^c-ib hr w3t ntr*, 'right-hearted on the path of god', the *ntr* sign is clearly added later on the road sign which, for that reason, displays an unusual aspect (Figure 5.3a–b). The word *ntr* is simply spelt alphabetically on Naukratis, and is set between the road sign

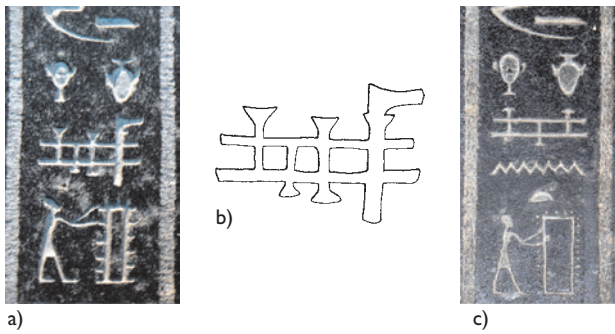


Figure 5.3 Column 5, corrections on the road sign on Thonis, comparison with Naukratis: a) Thonis; b) Thonis detail; c) Naukratis. (Photos: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

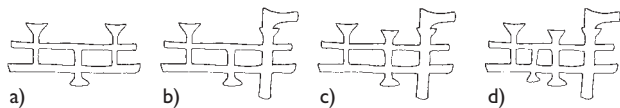


Figure 5.4 Thonis, column 5: the probable steps of the correction of the road sign.

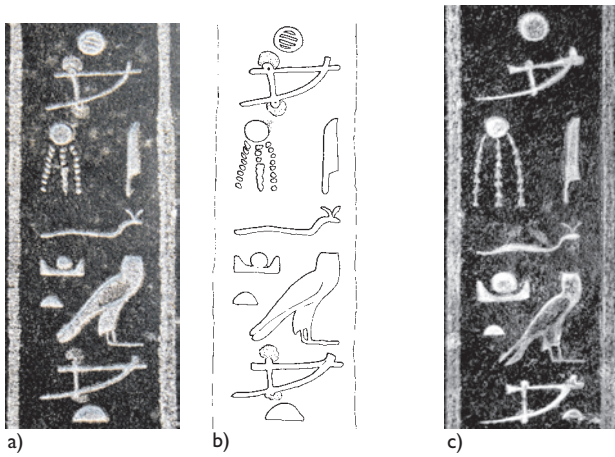


Figure 5.5 Thonis, column 4, hammerings on two hoe signs, absent on Naukratis: a) Thonis photo; b) Thonis drawing; c) Naukratis. (Photos: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

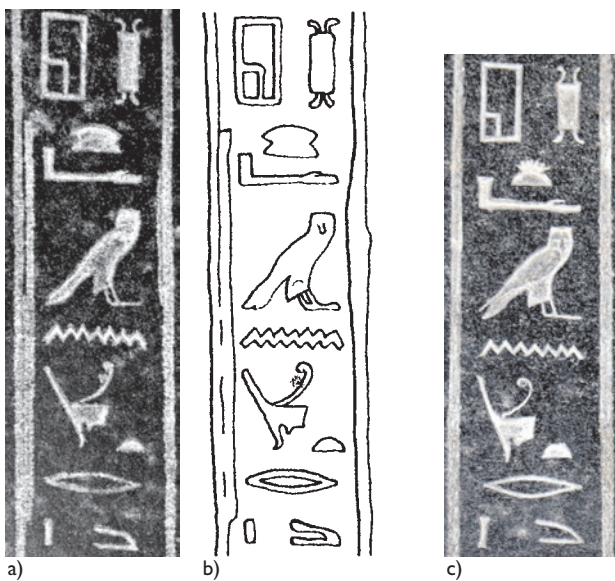


Figure 5.6 Column 8, the underlined sentence on Thonis, without underlining on Naukratis: a) Thonis; b) Thonis drawing; c) Naukratis. (Photos: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

and that of the man building a wall (Figure 5.3c). The Thonis-Heracleion engraver probably forgot the word *ntr* (Figure 5.4a). He then compensated his neglect by adding the word *ntr*, in the form of the flag, set above the vertical line of the first plant of the *w3t* sign (Figure 5.4b). This is a safe assumption because one can clearly distinguish the upper triangular tip of the plant protruding from the pole just underneath the flag. Having thus overlaid the first plant, the artist then needed to modify the sign further: he drew an upper leaf for the middle plant, thus making it the first one, with the result that it shows leaves at both ends (Figure 5.4c). Then, in order to complete the *w3t* sign composed of three plants, he inserted the third one between the newly corrected plant and the last one (Figure 5.4d). The final sign therefore shows an unbalanced and asymmetric aspect. In this example, again, the correction is made by superscription.

Hammerings

Only the Thonis-Heracleion stele shows signs of hammering.

In the centre of column 4, the two signs of the hoe ∇ show a rounded, hammered area at the two extremities of the junction of the rope connecting the two pieces. The first of these signs is part of the word *mi* in the sentence of *mi r^c wbn.f*, ‘as Re when he rises’, and the second writes the word *mrwt* in the phrase *mrwt.f hr 3h3h*, ‘the love he is offered grows ...’ (Figure 5.5a–b). The small, very regular hammering marks produce a fairly well-rounded form. However, on the lower hoe that composes the word ‘*mrwt*’, the inferior knob is flatter, as if completing this one had been hampered by the proximity of the Δ sign underneath. This would indicate that at least in this case, the four marks could have been made after the column had been completed. The corresponding ∇ signs on Naukratis are not marked in any way (Figure 5.5c).

In the upper part of column 8 on Thonis-Heracleion, a second line doubles that of the rear frame line of the column, all along the sentence *h^c m nt*, ‘appeared with the Red Crown’ (Figure 5.6a–b). This mark is absent from Naukratis (Figure 5.6c).

In the upper part of column 10, on Thonis-Heracleion, the determinative stroke of the *pr* sign in the name *pr-mryt* could show the shape of the \lrcorner sign, but it lacks its base (Figure 5.7a–b), which might indicate a simple chip in the stone due to chiselling. This determinative stroke is normal on Naukratis (Figure 5.7c).

In the lower third of column 13, the *hr* sign spelling the preposition ‘on’ in the sentence ‘this shall be recorded on the present stele’, is hammered in its lower half. This hammering is done in tiny touches (Figure 5.8). Immediately underneath, the entire passage ending this column, ‘on the mouth of the sea of the *h3w-nbwt*’, is underscored by a vertical mark which runs along the

inside of the frontal border of the column (Figure 5.8). This large band etched into the stone was made by superimposing a great number of fine, small horizontal incisions. The three *nb* signs at the end which compose the name of *h3w-nbwt*, and the right-hand flower of the *h3* sign seem to have been engraved over this pre-existent borderline. However, the fact that the head of the owl appearing above seems to have been skirted as if to avoid damaging it, may also mean that the engraver took care not to touch the hieroglyphs when he made these marks.

The same thing seems to result from an examination of the hammering at the top of the last column: the entire surface of the upper part of column 14, containing the words ‘in a town by the name of The-Hone-of-Sais’, is slightly dotted with a chisel, more densely towards the borderline (Figure 5.9). This is the only hammering on the Thonis-Heracleion stele which may represent an attempt to efface a spelling error: the \int , spelling Saïs, is strangely hatched between its two branches and its short tip seems to curve backward, and just below this tip, a small unidentified sign could suggest a \square (?) or a \triangle (?). Despite a close examination of the mould and special enlarged photographs, the reading or even presence of the sign is uncertain. However, as the mould clearly shows, the hammering is very superficial and does not cut deeply into the stone. In addition, it is more intensive on the column borders and there is very little in its centre, where the signs eventually to be effaced or modified would be situated. We may suppose that if these marks covering the entire surface were made before engraving the signs themselves, they would have been distributed more evenly, whereas certain areas are virtually free, like the space between the owl and the name of the town, and around the feet of the two birds. This suggests that here the hammering was done after the engraving.

In view of the number and variety of these marks, the idea that such hammerings were intended to mask faults in the stone itself is not very convincing, especially when considering that they would replace a natural imperfection by an even more clearly visible alteration of the surface. Another point is that on the Naukratis stele there is a differently coloured vein in the stone itself and there is no sign of any intention to efface it (see Figure 5.2, the vein crossing the two columns 8 and 9). In addition, the placing of the marks at the edge of the column, rather than in its centre, does not point to an intentional effacement of some engraving error.

The reason for the presence of these marks remains problematic, although a number of hypotheses may be proposed. With regard to the marks on columns 13 and 14, Yoyotte explained them as follows:

un détail permet de saisir un joli procédé de technique ‘éditoriale’ qu’ont employé les scribes graphistes du temple de

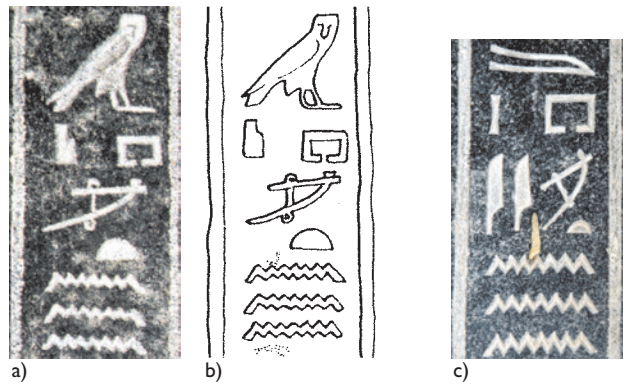


Figure 5.7 Column 10, the determinative stroke in *pr-mryt*, chipped on Thonis, normal on Naukratis: a) Thonis; b) Thonis drawing; c) Naukratis. (Photos: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

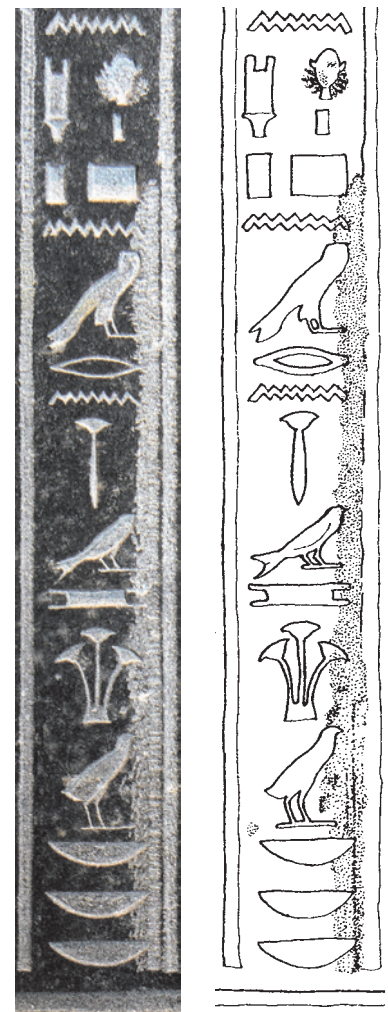


Figure 5.8 Thonis, column 13, the marks on the *hr* sign and on the borderline. (Photo: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

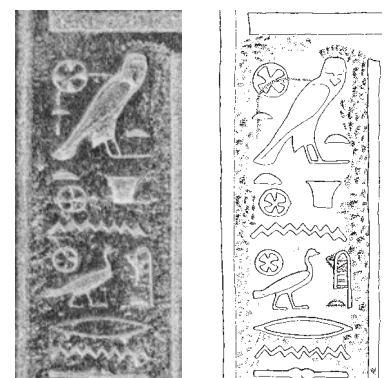


Figure 5.9 Thonis, top of column 14, the entire surface is marked. (Photo: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

*Neith: le bas de la colonne 13 de l'exemplaire d'Héracléion avait été ourlé d'un filet de minces hachures et le début de la colonne 14 minutieusement piqueté, afin de 'sélectionner' l'endroit où la mention de Thonis devrait être substituée à celle de Naukratis qui figurait sur le modèle premier.*¹

A counter argument to this explanation, however, is that the name 'Naukratis', contrary to that of 'Thonis', does not appear at the top of column 14, but at the bottom of column 13. In addition, nothing points to the notion that the Naukratis stele would have been the 'modèle premier'. The fact that this monument has been known much longer than its Thonis-Heracleion counterpart certainly does not signify that it was, indeed, the first one to be created. It is much more likely that both monuments were created at the same time, but by different engravers. We may even suppose that a 'mother' copy of the decree may have been destined for the temple of Saïs, the place where it was promulgated. It would have been placed in the sanctuary of Neith as the goddess to be honoured. Following this line of thought, we may then suppose that there existed a third copy of this decree, identical to those of Naukratis and Thonis-Heracleion. Yoyotte forwarded the idea that the marking was to identify the spot where the text on Thonis-Heracleion was to differ; this, however, would not explain why column 13 was only edged at the front, whereas the upper part of column 14 shows pricking across its surface. Moreover, if it was merely a question of locating the text for the engraver, it could just as well have been marked in coloured paint, without damaging the surface of the stone. It would neither have justified hammering the entire surface of the upper part of column 14, nor such a large band at the bottom of column 13. As regards the positioning of the hieroglyphs on Naukratis, Posener rightly remarked that for an inscription of such care, the layout of the text must surely have been established on a draft beforehand.² Thus, the markings on the stone seem to be meant for the reader rather than for the engraver, even if their purpose is far from evident.

Another possibility could be that some markings were intended to draw attention to certain signs. The creator of the text to be engraved on both stelae could have chosen some expressions or hieroglyphic signs on purpose, to suggest to knowledgeable readers the possible mythological sense of a word or a sentence. The marks could then have been added by the engraver of the Thonis-Heracleion stele to emphasize such passages. If we accept this idea, it could imply that numerous such refinements on monuments of outstanding quality might have escaped the notice of Egyptologists, which cannot be excluded. Two examples on this stele might

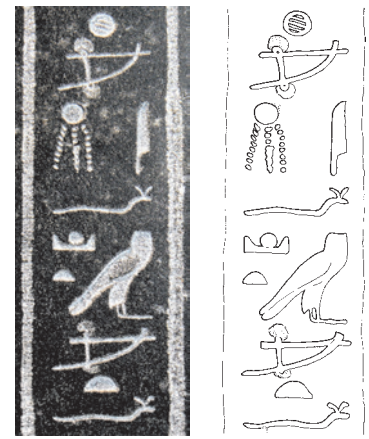


Figure 5.10 Thonis, column 4 'as he rises on the horizon'. (Photo: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

correspond to this proposition. Firstly, we note that of the three copies of the hoe ∇ on Thonis, only the two in column 4 are marked (Figure 5.5, 5.10), but not the one in column 10, which is part of the name of *pr-mryt* (Figure 5.7). Why draw attention to these two particular signs? The question concerning the connection between the hoe sign and the one of the goddess Neith has already been raised. Jéquier commented on the association of the image of the hoe named *sd3mwt* with that of the symbol of Neith on the coffins of the Middle Kingdom.³ He pointed out that in the Old Kingdom, similar juxtapositions of these signs existed to spell the name of Merneith.⁴ Regarding the role Neith played in ritual practices, El-Sayed noted the association of the hoe with Neith's symbol on the Middle Kingdom coffins already mentioned by Jéquier, adding that bronze statuettes of Saïte times show the goddess holding the hoe.⁵ In addition, a representation dating from the same period shows her actually hoeing the earth.⁶ He concluded that Neith participated in foundation rituals.

The texts of the decree of Saïs, both in the Lunette (left side Neith, column 4) and the text of the donation (column 12) exalt the role of Neith in particular as 'Mistress of the Flood'. It is certainly in this capacity that the goddess acts in the foundation rite: we know that the tracing of the building was dug down to ground water, which ensured that the levels were perfectly horizontal.⁷ On the basis of observation of the stars, preferably during a night of the new moon for better visibility, the king defined the orientation of the temple and the precise position of its four corners. He then set the four poles in order to 'stretch the cord', *pd šsr*.⁸ Then, following the lines laid out, the king dug a furrow into the earth with a hoe 'jusqu'à la limite du Noun'.⁹ Goyon listed various formulations in the rituals at Edfu: 'to reach the limits of the water', *in dr.w kbbt*; '(to dig) until reaching the Nun', *r-dr nwn*; and 'to establish the foundation at the limit of the water', *smn sn̄ty hr phw kbb(t)*.¹⁰ The Egyptian texts

1 Yoyotte 2001: 32.

2 Posener 1934: 142 note 3.

3 Jéquier 1918a: 159–61, fig. 2; 1921: 328–9 note 4, fig. 843.

4 E.g., Petrie 1900: front inside cover.

5 El-Sayed 1982: 86, 466, doc. 633.

6 Ibid. 1982: 400, doc. 443.

7 Montet 1964: 86; Goyon *et al.* 2004: 221, 229–30; Cauville 2011: 264.

8 Letellier 1976: 913; Goyon *et al.* 2004: 218–19.

9 Montet 1964: 85.

10 Goyon 1983: 352 note 1.

were confirmed by archaeology: at the temple of Montu at Karnak the level of underground water was found to have been marked either by an incised line or by red points.¹¹ In addition, hardened footprints were discovered in the mud at the bottom of the trench, although the walls on either side of the trench did not show any trace of ancient dampness, therefore the footprints may have been made by the priests during the foundation rites.¹²

The hoe, closely linked to the primeval water, is thus connected with Neith, Mistress of the Floods. In addition, we know that this instrument is particularly associated with the notion of foundations, since the object is the one most frequently found in foundation deposits of all periods, in normal or reduced size, in terracotta, wood, copper or bronze, and later on in iron.¹³ This means that the hammering observed on the two hoes of the Thonis-Heracleion stele could reinforce the allusion to some foundation, intended by the designer, especially as there are four chiselled traces, recalling the four points where the poles that determined the angles of the temple were to be planted. These four angle points, symbolizing the four pillars of the sky, are often the sites for foundation deposits.¹⁴

The two marked hoes constitute a frame for the sentence 'as he rises on the horizon', *mi wbn.f m 3ht* (Figures 5.5, 5.10). It would seem that this does not just concern the limits of a simple temple, but that the four identified points represent the boundaries of the 'temple of the universe', meaning the created world. For the Egyptians, the world is limited by the four extreme settings (southeast, southwest, and northeast, northwest) where the sun rises and disappears (see Appendix 1). In the first seven columns, the king is identified with the sun and the sentence framed by the two hoes 'as he rises on the horizon', would refer directly to pharaoh who crosses the space of the creation, like the sun. If this interpretation is correct, it would seem that the creator of the text chose the sign of the hoe on purpose to write the word *mi*. In addition, the Thonis-Heracleion engraver underlined the hoes, thereby displaying a particular taste for graphical juggles oriented towards symbolism (see *infra*), and emphasizing the designer's 'jeux d'écriture' in the phrasing and spelling on both stelae. One may wonder if the Naukratis engraver also attempted to draw special attention to those two hoes by illustrating them horizontally. The use of the horizontal hoe developed from the period of Pepi I onward.¹⁵ The other hoes on the Naukratis stele (columns 1 and 10) are vertical, while on Thonis-Heracleion, on the other hand, all three hoes are horizontal. Still, on columns 1 and 10 on Naukratis, the sign is perhaps set vertically simply to make room for the two \mathcal{Q} which accompany it. On both stelae, the refined

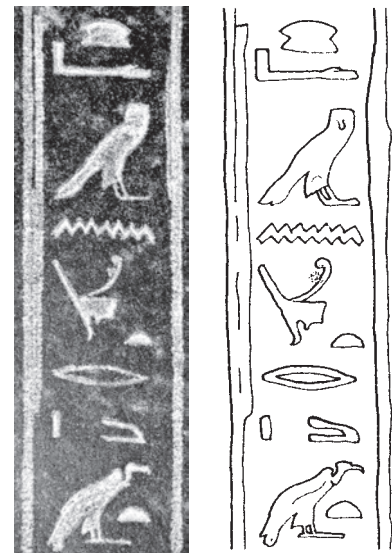


Figure 5.11 Thonis, column 8, *h^c m nt*. (Photo: B. Vallée; drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

writing with two hoes to frame the sentence recalls the 'cosmic' aspect of the king. The first hoe sign would thus have been chosen purposely by the designer for the word *mi*, and might have been overlooked without the hammerings on the Thonis-Heracleion stele.

The second example of the use of hammering to emphasise the mythological sense of a word could be the mark in column 8 (Figures 5.6, 5.11). The line closing the rear of this column is doubled by a second one accompanying the sentence 'appeared (or crowned) with the Red Crown', *h^c m nt*. The fact that this border is placed behind the sentence suggests that it aims to emphasize the text. Possibly, the engraver simply wished to draw the reader's attention to the image on the right side of the lunette, where the king appears in the temple bearing the Red Crown, and holding out his offering 'to his mother Neith' (see Chapter Two, Figures 2.6–2.9). The verb *h^ci* is used for the rising sun, for the public appearances of the king, or his coronation.¹⁶ One may wonder if '*h^c m nt*' does not refer to the ceremony called '*h^ct bity*', where the king appears bearing the Red Crown, especially since the king has just been introduced (*bs*) into the temple.¹⁷ According to Gardiner, this vocabulary suggests that Nectanebo was made king in the temple of Neith.¹⁸

Words on the decree are most frequently reduced to their ideograms, which is not the case, however, for the spelling of *nt*, 'Red Crown', in column 8. If the notion of 'Red Crown' was the only one the designer wanted to express, the hieroglyph of the crown of Lower Egypt alone would have been sufficient. Yet, surprisingly, the reading *nt* (in opposition to *dsrt*) is very clearly specified in this sentence, with an *n* and a *t*, most likely because the sound of *nt* evokes both water and the name of the goddess Neith. Thus, we may see there a symbolic meaning as a mythological reminder of the sun raised

11 Robichon *et al.* 1954: 11–12 and fig. 9; Leclant 1989–90: 582.

12 Robichon *et al.* 1954: 11 and note 4, 22, fig. 10.

13 Weinstein 1973: 417–18; Azim 1982: 103 and note 39.

14 Berlandini 2009: 31–2.


15 Gourdon 2007: 828.

16 Gardiner 1953: 23.

17 Wilkinson 1999: 211.

18 Gardiner 1953: 23.

(*h*ʿ) from the floods by Neith-Mehet-weret (*m nt*). In this case, the newly crowned king would once again be compared to the sun, but this time at its primeval origin, at the very moment when it emerges from the body of Neith.

In another text dealing with the sun, the *Book of Nut*, the way to read the Red Crown is also indicated. Here, the birth of the sun is tied to the notion of redness, as it is written ‘the redness (comes) after birth.’¹⁹ *Papyrus Carlsberg I* adds the explanation: ‘the Red Crown  is that which is read “*dšrt*”’.²⁰ Goebis linked this redness of dawn to the bloody aspect attributed to the Red Crown and to the blood dispersed during the dawn massacres.²¹ Bellucio, on the other hand, connected it with the rebirth of the sun, which she placed at the summer solstice.²² If, as she suggested, this is the moment of the creation of the sun (the great lake of the flood, the hone, Meheweret, the lotus flower), the sun’s annual rebirth is without doubt to be placed at the winter solstice, as it seems to be in the *Book of Nut*, where Text A indicates the southeast as the point of the sun’s birth.²³ The text mentioning the redness is set right underneath the image of the ‘small sun’, which can be attributed to the winter sun.²⁴ Von Lieven saw this redness as the bloodletting which accompanies birth, rather than the blood spilt by the massacres and suggested that even if the two interpretations coexisted, they must be treated separately.²⁵ It would appear that she is right in making this distinction, and in saying that both explanations are possible. This colour is indeed indicated when the star is created. Leitz cited an inscription in Athribis which also associates blood with the birth of the sun: ‘your mother has brought you into the world on the blood/redness (*wtr*) of the Lord of the Universe ...’,²⁶ and in the litany of the twelve names of Re-Horakhty, it is said about him: ‘O, he who rises from the primeval ocean ... he who emerges as a *dšr* fish’, or (in an other version) ‘he who emerges with his red crown (*dšrt*) equipped with its flame.’²⁷ These texts support von Lieven’s view of the redness as the blood of childbirth, and the first appearance of the sun is connected with the red colour and with the symbol of the crown of Lower Egypt.



The headdress  expresses a notion of water, since it is read *nt*, at least since the time of the Pyramid Texts (PT 724); it also evokes the homophonic goddess Neith and it conveys the notion of redness by its reading *dšrt*. Thus, this hieroglyph alludes *by itself* to every one of the elements that constitute the myth of the sun’s issuing from the liquid masses at its birth, an event surrounded by an impression of redness. One may wonder if the different



Figure 5.12 Thonis, column 13, *r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt*.

readings of this sign are at the origin of the myth, or if, to the contrary, the existing myth contributed to the development of the phonetic alternatives of . It goes without saying that we can understand the myth only through the bias of highly developed texts, long after the creation of scripture, but its origin could still be considerably prior to these texts because, as Baines argued, ‘... the mixed pictorial-written system of decorum, which hedged sacred matter around with restrictions ... was inimical to continuous writing and even pictorial sequences’.²⁸ The theory of an intricately intertwined elaboration of the pantheon, the system of writing and the allocation of phonetic values to the signs would explain the very frequent puns so highly appreciated by the Egyptians, the word play which appears above all in the definition of cosmic terms, or in the context of ‘mythological’ papyri like, for example, *Papyrus Jumilhac*²⁹ or *Papyrus du Delta*.³⁰ In any event, this theory would open the road to a hieroglyphic palaeography orientated to the ‘mythical’

19 Text G: Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 49; von Lieven 2007: 54–5.

20 *P.Carlsberg I*: 2, ll. 2–3.

21 Goebis 2008: 194, 202–3.

22 Bellucio 1998: 138–40.

23 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 44–5; von Lieven 2007: 49–50.

24 Text G, see Appendix I, Figure A1.1; von Bomhard 2007: 199–200.

25 von Lieven 2007: 136.

26 Leitz 2008–09: 7.

27 Gasse 1984: 209, 221 note 53.

28 Baines 1991b: 101.

29 Vandier 1961.

30 Meeks 2006.

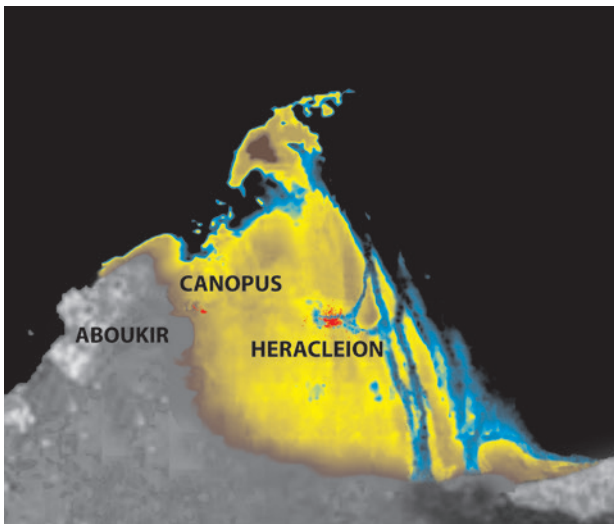


Figure 5.13 Thonis-Heracleion and the Canopic branch. (Map created by Franck Goddio; © Franck Goddio/IEASM.)

significance of different readings of a sign and of their associations. Above all, it confers a value and a weight to what we perhaps nonchalantly call puns, but which we must assess to their full measure. These puns are perhaps the keys which open our understanding of supposedly hermetic passages.

The Red Crown is Neith's usual headdress, and if pharaoh steps up in front of her on the decree, bearing that same crown, this is probably done as a homage to the goddess, who had once given birth to the sun, and of whom he says that she is 'his mother'. The line marking the sentence $h^c m nt$ could not only have attracted the reader's attention to the scene on the right of the lunette, but more importantly could also have had a complex symbolic bearing. Both explanations are intertwined because if the king bears the Red Crown, $h^c m nt$, in front of the goddess, it is because he is the son of the sun, which in its turn is born of Neith, $h^c m nt$. The two passages to which the Thonis-Heracleion engraver drew attention by framing the sentence 'as he rises on the horizon', $mi wbn.f m 3ht$, and by underlining of 'appeared with the Red Crown', $h^c m nt$, very probably have some mythical connotation intended by the designer of the two stelae.

The two hammerings at the bottom of column 13 and at the top of column 14 appear to be of a very different significance. The line that borders the phrase 'on the mouth of the sea of the $h3w-nbwt$, $m r (3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt$, in the lower part of column 13 is very different from that which underscores the phrase $h^c m nt$ in column 8. It is not merely a line, as in column 8, but a large band, made by superimposing horizontal chisel marks (Figure 5.8, 5.12) and instead of being set behind the text as if to emphasize it, it is placed before it. In this case, the sentence could, in a way, be considered to be the caption of this long marked line. One may wonder, in



Figure 5.14 Thonis, column 14, The-hone-of-Saïs.

fact, if the engraver had not had the intention of representing the long entrance channel of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, '... the mouth of the sea of the $h3w-nbwt$, $r (3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt$. The hammerings on columns 13 and 14 could be graphic games of a topo-geographical type. The submerged areas Goddio charted display the ancient mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile as the extended channel that foreign vessels were obliged to follow into Egypt.³¹ The thick line marking column 13 in front of the words 'on the mouth of the sea of the $h3w-nbwt$, $m r3 n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt$, could represent this long entrance channel which runs almost vertically from north to south from Thonis-Heracleion (front inside cover and Figure 5.13).

The marks on top of column 14 are different from those on column 13 (Figure 5.14). The entire upper part of this column 14 is finely hammered and presents a somewhat strange aspect: both branches of the β , which is part of the name of Saïs, are tied together by horizontal lines and the small unidentified sign engraved below the shorter branch of the β sign could be remaining traces of a previous, effaced text. However, the marks are much stronger on the borders of the column but sparse inside, where they would logically have to be more densely set if they had had to efface engraved hieroglyphs. In addition, all the modifications on both stelae were corrected by simple superposition of the correct sign over the one to be changed, without any prior hammering. Perhaps the engraver's intention was to attract attention to the area liable to flooding. The entire region of Thonis-Heracleion, the hnt which could be flooded and which was surrounded by harbours, swamps, basins and lakes, presented a particularly strong aquatic aspect.³² Possibly the dots of the entire surface at the top of column 14, placed around the words $m niwt t3-hnt-n-s3w rn.s$, might represent the swampy surface of the aquatic region of the Hone (Figures 5.9, 5.14).

The hnt is also the image of the primeval water giving birth to the sun and the world.³³ The hieroglyph of the town ⊗ , insistently repeated in this part of the hammered column, may also evoke the waters: this sign can spell the name of the goddess Nut,³⁴ whom we know to be made

³¹ Goddio 2007: 69, fig. 3.1.

³² Goddio 2007: 128, fig. 3.107.

³³ Decree, column 9 note i (p. 77).

³⁴ E.g., Laskowska-Kusztal 1984: 83, pl. 30; De Wit 1968: 23.

from water (see Appendix I). Above all, ☉ also spells the name of the goddess Niut, the feminine counterpart to the god Niu; these are both divinities indicating water, gods of the Ogdoad which is at the origin of the existing world. On column 14 of the Thonis-Heracleion stele, the three signs of the town are set vertically, and their threefold appearance could be read as *'niw.wr'* (Figure 5.14). They are set in the same manner into the right part of the lunette of this stele, in the texts that accompany the uraei bearing the name of Neith and with a slight difference on the Naukratis stele (Figures 2.6, 2.8, Chapter Two). One may wonder also if the frequent use of ☉ in the Decree of Saïs (15 times on the Naukratis stele, 16 times on Thonis-Heracleion) could be part of the intention to widely represent what evokes water and the goddess Neith (Figure 4.5).

One could perhaps add a 'topographical' explanation of the markings to this 'mythological' one: at the very top of column 14 we note a line from behind the head of the owl, crossing the sign of the town before beginning to descend vertically (Figure 5.15). This could evoke the route followed by entering vessels and the mandatory passage by the town of Thonis-Heracleion, where they underwent controls and paid customs dues before reaching further up into the Canopic branch of the Nile. According to the disposition of the anchors and wrecks, the ships entered the port of Thonis-Heracleion from the west.³⁵ After being controlled there, they re-entered the Canopic branch, allowing them to sail south and to reach the interior of the country (Figure 5.13).

Another of these playful puzzles might explain the hammerings on the lower part of the ☉ sign in the sentence 'on the present stele', *hr ḥw pn*, in column 13 (Figure 5.12). As the hammering is done on the lower part of ☉, i.e., on the mouth of the face, *m r3*, it might,

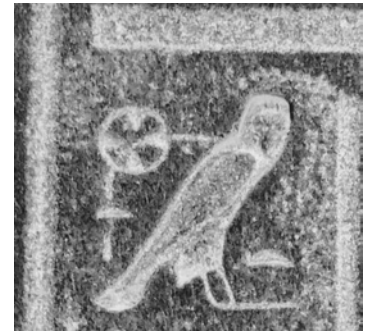


Figure 5.15 Thonis, column 14, detail.

in a way, have put into image the words that follow: 'on the mouth (of the sea of the *ḥ3w-nbwt*)', *m r3 (n w3d-wr ḥ3w-nbwt)*, since the stele must have been placed *m r3*, meaning at the mouth of the river, where Thonis-Heracleion was in fact situated.

All of the interpretations proposed to explain the hammerings may appear far-fetched, but they are, of course, mere suggestions made with all due reservations, as an attempt to make sense of their presence. However, the hypothesis cannot be rejected that a certain number of graphic ingenuities on the Decree of Saïs may have been overlooked during the study of the Naukratis stele long before the discovery of the Thonis-Heracleion stele rendered such considerations more pertinent. Both specimens of the Decree are of such high quality that we may be reasonably certain that on the Thonis-Heracleion stele the hammerings were done on purpose and for precise reasons. In addition, the possibility cannot be excluded that stelae were painted, masking the marks. This eventuality does not negate their significance, but renders them more private. Almost all such marks on Thonis-Heracleion are situated away from the hieroglyphs; this implies that the paint may have covered not only the hieroglyphs, but also the background of the columns.³⁶

³⁵ Goddio 2007: 112, 124, figs 3.82, 3.102; 2011: 128, fig. 7.6; Fabre 2011: 15, fig. 1.4.

³⁶ I thank Professor Baines for this suggestion.

Conclusion

Nectanebo I promulgated the Decree of Saïs at the very beginning of his reign. It stipulates the king's decision to increase the share that the Royal Domain allocates to the temple of Neith at Saïs out of the revenue from customs dues at Thonis-Heracleion and from the trade tax collected both at Thonis-Heracleion and at Naukratis. In the lunette, the king wished to see the ceremonies showing his offerings in the sanctuary of Saïs on that occasion.¹ The aim of this representation was to immortalize his donation to the goddess, as well as his participation and perpetual integration into the course of the sun, which is guaranteed by his offerings, and is of paramount importance. Facing the west and the setting sun, he offers Osiris the regenerating gift which allows the god and the sun to be reborn; facing east, the brilliance of the rising sun is enhanced by the gold he presents to Neith, so that she in return may grant him radiance to extend over the foreign lands. Above the pharaoh, Behedety's uraei, bearing Neith's name, hold out to him the two *šn* conferring sovereignty over the Two Lands. Behind him, on either side, the column of the group of signs of the Royal *Ka* supports and protects him, while their hieroglyphs allude to him as the heir of Shu. Like the air, the king appears as the bearer of the sky and the sun. In addition, he is himself the embodiment of the sun, and the force animating the world, giving life and death, creating the days and the seasons. The vases he holds symbolize the flood that he assures, and the *Maat* feather of the *nmst* vase recalls the fact that he guarantees the upholding of order over chaos. The perfect symmetry of the illustration, incidentally, suggests the balance of a well-regulated world subject to Thoth's measures, laws and justice.

In the lunette, all these various notions are expressed by images alone and they can be understood without explanatory speech or legend. Under this apparent simplicity, the masterly scenic composition by itself does not only recreate the universe in three dimensions, but it even succeeds in showing the cycles of the sun which gives the world life. It thus provides an image that includes the notions of space and time. The king's 'cosmic' and divine role and power, which are so difficult to conceive and explain, are here expressed with symbols. Centuries of practice certainly contributed to the perfection of this

rich and synthetic expression, but we must note that it is already present in the most remote antiquity, in images as well as in writing.² It is this very spirit of syncretic and symbolic thought which lies at the origin of hieroglyphic script, as well as of the organisation of the scenes which respond, as Baines writes, to: '... the obligation to show processes, ideas, etc. primarily in pictorial form'.³

The text of the Decree itself spreads over fourteen columns whose disposition evokes the vertical rays of the sun, and whose number equals the beneficial *Kas* of Re. The craftsmanship of the hieroglyphic signs on both stelae is excellent, although created by two different engravers. The text, on the other hand, was conceived by a single author as witnessed by the identical spelling of the same words. The very particular orthography extensively utilizes uniliteral signs. This is not a 'pre-Ptolemaic' writing, but rather what Posener called '... un raffinement d'écriture ... bien dans l'esprit de ce que nous connaissons des artistes et des lettrés saïtes'.⁴ Spelling and language underline a preoccupation with archaism prevalent during the Saïte period,⁵ and which is taken up again by Nectanebo I, as shown on the Decree of Saïs. During the twenty-sixth dynasty, turns of phrase were copied from ancient texts, the number of determinatives was reduced to a minimum, and archaic plurals by triplication were used frequently. Although the stelae were set up in Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis, they were obviously not addressing the Greeks, but the Egyptians: they are not bilingual texts, and they were destined for particularly well-read, cultured Egyptians. The point was to render the royal decision sacred⁶ and, as becomes evident in the lunette, to mark for eternity the accession to the throne of Nectanebo I and his recognition by the goddess Neith, protectress of kingship, whom he calls 'my mother'. There, he identifies himself with the sun.

A hundred years apart, both copies of the decree were discovered *in situ*, in temple compounds. Remarkably, in both cases the temple was dedicated to Amon: Amon Lord of Batet in Naukratis, Amon-Gereb in Thonis-Heracleion. Perhaps this observation is related to the respective role attributed to the two gods closely associated with the primeval waters, Nun and Neith, in the birth of the sun as it is formulated at Esna.⁷ There, the

1 Figures 2.6–2.9.

2 For example, on the Narmer palette, also on the ivory labels of King Den (Wilkinson 1999: 156, fig. 5.1).

3 Baines 1985: 278.

4 Posener 1934: 142.

5 Nagy 1973; de Meulenaere 1980: 451; Der Manuelian 1994.

6 Yoyotte 1993–94: 681.

7 Sauneron 1962: 262–3.

sun, hidden in the primeval waters as ‘Amon the Ancient’, is born from the flesh of Neith. The fact that both these deities participate in the creation of the sun, Amon as the substratum from which Neith in parthenogenesis gives birth to the sun, could explain why they are at the same time the guarantors of kingship. The spread of water of the hone—which has given Thonis its name—evokes the primeval waters from which the sun is born. This probably explains why the Amon of this place is entitled to grant kingship. The child god of Amon-Gereb, Khonsu, the image of the royal heir, was identified with Herakles by the Greeks, and its growing popularity ended up giving the name of Heracleion to the temple and the town itself.

The discovery of the stele of Thonis-Heracleion was an event of major archaeological importance: it established the location of the town of Thonis where, according to the indications on columns 13 and 14 of the monument, it was erected; and it confirmed both Thonis and Heracleion as names for the same place, since it was found in the temple of Heracleion. Still, as Yoyotte noted, the period of the greatest prosperity of one of these cities is slightly distinct from the other:

*De toute manière, Héracléion et Thonis ne se confondaient pas entièrement: la première exista jusqu’au Bas Empire; la seconde n’existait plus au premier siècle avant J.C.; Diodore et Strabon en parlent comme d’un lointain souvenir. Le nom, sinon la localité, avait dû disparaître lors du profond remaniement démographique qui affecta le Nord-Ouest du Delta, à la suite de la fondation d’Alexandrie et de l’hellénisation des côtes environnantes.*⁸

This fundamental reorganization and the creation of Alexandria was to toll the bell for The-hone-of-Saïs and to cause the loss of the great riches of the region based on the customs system, which functioned at least from the times of Amasis.

The arrival of the Ptolemies and the foundation of Alexandria exerted a decisive impact on the destinies of Thonis-Heracleion as on that of Naukratis, but in a manner diametrically opposite for these two towns. The creation and subsequent development of the port of Alexandria transformed this city into the greatest and best-organized *emporion* of the antique world.⁹ Its growth produced the parallel decline of customs activities of Thonis-Heracleion, although its demise may have also been caused in part by geomorphological modification of the Delta at the Canopic mouth;¹⁰ Goddio suggested that Alexander’s decision to create Alexandria on rocky soil may have been dictated by the

realization that Thonis-Heracleion was unstable.¹¹ While Thonis-Heracleion was declining, however, the trade and business of the Greeks of Naukratis was increasing under the Ptolemies.¹² The ruins of the ancient towns of Naukratis and Saïs have almost entirely disappeared, whereas the Thonis-Heracleion peninsula, hit by cataclysms and hidden under water for over twelve centuries, paradoxically now provides the richest archaeological data on the Saïte period and on trade and exchange between Greeks and Egyptians between the seventh and the second century BC.¹³

As regards the destiny of Thonis-Heracleion, one should note the increasing divergence between the evolution of the port, doomed to dwindle with the development of Alexandria, and the cultural function of the temple, which to the contrary, continued to function long into the reign of the Ptolemies. The temple of Amon-Gereb preserved its religious function, to confirm the royal power of the Lagides,¹⁴ as can be seen archaeologically through the continuing occupation of the site.¹⁵ On the temenos of the temple of Thonis-Heracleion the statuary essentially dates from the Ptolemaic period,¹⁶ whereas the study of the ceramics confirms an occupation of the site between the fourth and the second century BC.¹⁷ The temple zone was very active during the Ptolemaic period, but the great scarcity of artefacts from the Roman period illustrates the obvious lack of interest by the Romans in a site dedicated to the celebration of dynastic continuity.¹⁸

On the land to the north of the submerged peninsula, on the far side of the Grand Canal which marks the northern limit of the temple area, a foundation deposit from the times of Ptolemy III was discovered, consisting of a gold plate mentioning the name of Herakles or Heracleion.¹⁹ Much further north again, a monumental stele weighing 15 tons—one of the biggest ever found—was discovered, measuring over 6 m high and more than 3 m wide. Dating from the time of Ptolemy VIII, it was broken into 16 fragments, manifestly still on the site where it had once been erected.²⁰ Despite the difficulty in reading it due to erosion of a major part of the text, Thiers was able to establish that Ptolemy VIII decreed the allocation of revenue from land to the temple of Thonis-Heracleion, as well as the re-establishment of its right of asylum.²¹ Line 13 of this decree mentions transport of the statue of Amon-Re to the ‘Thebes of the North’, which Thiers identified with Tell el-Balamun,²² but it might also designate other towns,²³ and even Thonis-Heracleion

8 Yoyotte 1958: 427.

9 Goddio 2006b: 40–1, 50–3; 2008: 37–9; 2011: 129–35; Goddio and Yoyotte 2008; Fabre and Goddio 2010.

10 Fabre and Goddio 2010: 70 note 66.

11 Goddio 2011: 129.

12 Goddio 2006b: 40; Leclère 2008: 128; Bowman 2010: 103.

13 Cf. Robinson and Wilson 2010; 2011.

14 Yoyotte 2001: 30–2.

15 Goddio 2007: 75–8, 88–102; 2011: 124–8; Fabre 2008c: 72–9.

16 Cf. Libonati 2010.

17 Grataloup and McCann 2008; Grataloup 2010: 156–8.

18 Goddio 2006b: 62; 2008: 46.

19 Goddio 2007: 117, fig. 3.88; Yoyotte 2006c; Goddio and Fabre 2008: 142–3.

20 Goddio 2007: 118–20, 127–9; 2011: 126.

21 Thiers 2009; 2011: 247–51.

22 Ibid. 2009: 26.

23 Guerneur 2011: 171–4.

itself in view of its role of dynastic confirmation in Ptolemaic times. Intriguingly, the northern area of Thonis-Heracleion, where this monumental stele was discovered, was scarcely occupied at the time when this monument was set up, to judge by the artefacts found in the neighbourhood. Depending on the period, certain areas of Thonis-Heracleion may well have been partly submerged or difficult to access.²⁴ Goddio pointed out that ‘according to archaeological evidence a major event occurred in the fourth century BC, and resulted in the destruction of areas of the port’.²⁵

Was this stele of Ptolemy VIII erected in front of a possibly renovated ancient temple situated at the northern tip of the peninsula, perhaps on a former landing site of the Canopic mouth of the Nile? Could this have been the sanctuary that Herodotus reported as having sheltered the escaped slaves who had denounced Helena’s abduction by Paris?²⁶ Currently, there is no definite answer to these questions, pending new discoveries. As Goddio noted, this monumental stele probably did not remain standing very long, and could well have fallen victim to a catastrophic event shortly after it was set up.²⁷ Ptolemy III’s golden foundation plate and particularly Ptolemy VIII’s stele both attest to the importance that the Ptolemies still attached to the temple of Thonis-Heracleion at a time when the port had already been replaced by Alexandria.

Long before the reign of Ptolemy VIII, the decline of Thonis-Heracleion at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period certainly affected the income of the temple of Neith in Saïs considerably and Nectanebo’s donation would have become obsolete due to the disappearance of the wealth derived from customs dues in Thonis-Heracleion. Goddio may well have been correct to suggest that both stelae of Nectanebo’s decree were carefully protected and hidden, one in Thonis-Heracleion, the other in Naukratis, possibly in order to preserve the memory

of the king and his generosity in favour of the goddess.²⁸ This might explain the highly improbable coincidence of discovering two distinct copies of one and the same decree, both perfectly intact and on their respective individual sites. One may even suspect the very probable existence of a third stele with the same text, which could have been erected in the temple of Neith in Saïs, where Nectanebo did indeed promulgate his decree. The lunette represents the offering ceremonies carried out by the king in this sanctuary, and it would certainly not be too far-fetched to suppose that he wanted to perpetuate the event itself and its remembrance in the goddess’ own temple in Saïs. In this case, it would be logical to presume that the stele at Saïs was buried like those of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis. Possibly, it is still intact and under the ground somewhere on the site of ancient Saïs. As the new king’s first and most important action was the offering to Osiris, the stele could have been set up close to the Osiris temple, which is situated to the north of the Saïte temple compound. We know that Neith’s Memphite epithet was *mḥtt inb*, ‘north of the wall’,²⁹ which may be due to the fact that her sanctuary at Memphis may have been situated to the north of the wall surrounding that town.³⁰ Ever since the *Pyramid Texts*, she had been associated with Serket, Isis and Nephthys, forming the four goddesses guarding the throne from their positions at the four cardinal points, Neith being in the north.³¹ The name of the four goddesses appears on the chest of canopic jars of king Hor;³² in the eighteenth dynasty, we find Neith together with the other three goddesses at the corners of the sarcophagi, guardians of Osiris and the deceased, as for instance on Tutankhamen’s sarcophagus and canopic chest.³³ Perhaps the two statues of the goddess Neith, appearing on a possible third similar and equally magnificent stele, are still watching secretly over the site where once stood the sanctuary of Osiris at the north of Neith’s temple at Saïs?

24 Goddio 2007: 127.

25 Ibid. 2011: 129.

26 Herodotus 2.113–15.

27 Goddio 2011: 126 note 36; see also Grataloup 2010: 158 note 19.

28 Goddio 2011: 125 note 26.

29 Firth and Gunn 1926: 141.

30 Baines and Málek 1980: 152.

31 *PT* 606.

32 de Morgan 1895: 104.

33 Faulkner 1969: 118 note 2; El-Sayed 1982: 117–18.

Appendix I The representation of space and time on Egyptian monuments

The stelae of the Decree of Saïs provide a representation of the cosmos within its borders, the ground, the sky, and, on the sides, the pillars upholding the sky. A more in-depth analysis shows that the eastern, western, southern and northern extremities of the created world are determined by the sun's trajectory. The space containing the creation thus defined is surrounded by the primeval ocean of the uncreated in total obscurity, which continues into infinity, and where the sun is never seen.¹ The *Book of Nut* perfectly illustrates this concept, the body and the members of the goddess standing for the outer edges of the world, and the description of the course of the sun contained in this book explains the set-up of the display of numerous Egyptian monuments, and more particularly of the lunette of the Decree of Saïs.

The course of the sun in the Book of Nut


The *Book of Nut* was recently published by von Lieven, who added new versions to the publication by Neugebauer and Parker.² The versions written on papyrus begin with the texts placed behind the goddess Nut, which is represented in the illustrated versions. Thus, their order of reading proceeds from the rear of Nut (the east) towards her head (the west), following the daily course of the sun (Figure A1.1). In the Seti version, the names of the two horizons appear written on the image of Nut, the eastern one on her thigh, the western one on her cheek. South and north are also mentioned in the texts: the south on the side of the birth of the sun, and the north opposite, in the passages next to the sinking sun.

With regard to the birth of the sun, which is said to take place in the south-east, Neugebauer and Parker noted that:

The sun originates or rises in far distant regions in the Southeast, the country of Punt. Perhaps this is the direction from which the sun is supposed to rise when it is farthest away from Egypt at the time of the winter solstice. It is difficult to say whether these two introductory chapters (i.e., chapters A and B) are concerned with the primeval origin of the sun or with its daily rising.³

In her discussion of this part of the *Book of Nut*, von Lieven did not discuss this 'solstice point' in the southeast.⁴

On *Papyrus Carlsberg I*, the text describing the image of Nut, states that 'her head is in the west and her hind part is in the east', but the inclusion of the north in the text still requires an explanation, although the numerous lacunae in the document make the terminology difficult to understand.⁵ The appearance of the north in this text was not commented by Neugebauer and Parker. Numerous examples of the south and the north in relation to Nut were reviewed by von Lieven,⁶ particularly Esna 442, where the description of Nut declares that 'she causes Orion to navigate in the southern sky behind her, she fixes the Foreleg in the northern sky in front of her', *škd.s s3h m pt rst m-s3.s šhym mšhtyw m pt mhnt m-hnt.s*.⁷ As the goddess' rear (the east) is associated with the south, and her front (the west) with the north, it must be noted that the order of the texts on the *Book of Nut*, which follows the direction east to west of the daily course of the sun, must also follow a south-to-north movement.

Neugebauer and Parker's text Jj records that: '... her (Nut's) western position is on the northwestern side [her eastern on the] southeastern [side]'.⁸ Neugebauer and Parker remarked that: 'Nut's position is not strictly west-east but rather northwest-southeast. The southeast as the place of existence of the sun, behind Punt, has already been discussed' (see note 3 *supra*).⁹ Neugebauer and Parker's translation of the sign  as 'position' was queried by von Lieven, who translated it as 'arm'.¹⁰ In addition, she believed that the word 'southeast' in the text should be corrected to 'southwest'.

These often rather difficult passages of the *Book of Nut* are of particular importance insofar as they provide information about the concept of the *duat* as it is evoked in some of the texts on the western side, near the head of the goddess. As an example, Neugebauer and Parker's text Dd, which is located in front of the arms of Nut describes the place of origin of the migrating birds as 'the *kbhw* sky of the gods'.¹¹ This *kbhw* sky is said to stretch 'from her (Nut's) north-western side as far as her

1 Hornung 1992: 162–3.

2 von Lieven 2007; Neugebauer and Parker 1960.

3 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 38.

4 von Lieven 2007: 127.

5 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 43–4; von Lieven 2007: 47–8.

6 von Lieven 2007: 123–4.

7 Ibid. 2000: 144–5.

8 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 64–5.

9 Ibid.: 65 notes to lines 15–16.

10 von Lieven 2007: 155–6.

11 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 66–7; von Lieven 2007: 77–8.

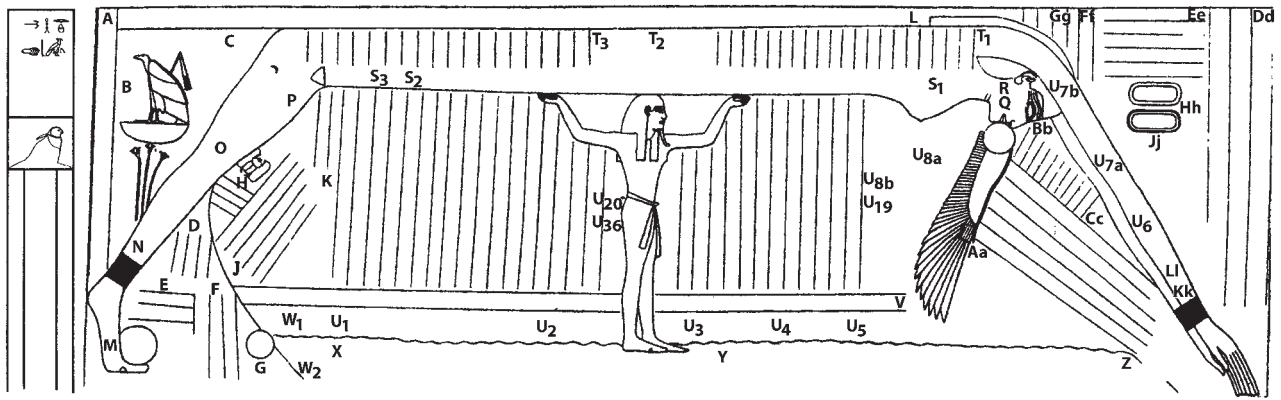


Figure A1.1 The Book of Nut. Seti I, disposition of the texts. (From Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 39, fig. 20.)

south-eastern side'. Neugebauer and Parker argued that these birds move from the northwest to the southeast and established the connection with the northwest-southeast orientation of the goddess Nut, as also indicated in text Jj (see *supra*).¹² This description of the *duat* was considered by von Lieven as not entirely unambiguous, and she went on to suggest that the copyist could have re-interpreted an older text by the yardstick of new ideas, meaning that in the old days the Egyptians situated the *duat* in the north, before it was later placed in the west. She builds this view on the ascension of the deceased towards the north, as described in the *Pyramid Texts*.¹³ In fact, the description of the *duat* in the *Book of Nut* would lose any ambiguity if she took into account the sun's annual cycle, which she never mentions in her analysis of the *Book of Nut*.

In order to clearly understand these passages concerning the *duat*, it would seem more straightforward and more credible to think that the Egyptians had described the annual course of the sun in the texts and images of the *Book of Nut*. The sun does indeed rise in the south-east at the winter solstice, to wander northward during the six following months, moving ever higher in the sky with the day's increasing length and brightness. At the point of the summer solstice, finally, the sun has reached its annual northernmost limit and its highest point at noon.¹⁴ From then on, the day's length and brightness will decrease again; the sun's height will steadily decline with each passing day, and its height at noon lowers progressively while it returns towards its yearly southernmost limit at the winter solstice (Figure A1.2). The rise of the deceased towards the north described in the *Pyramid Texts*, which precedes his descent to begin his passage under the earth must be compared to the sun's

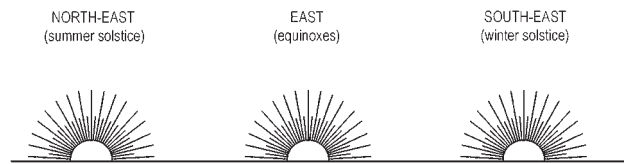


Figure A1.2 Movements of the point of sunrise on the eastern horizon during the year (northern hemisphere).

annual cycle which also declines from the moment of reaching its highest and northernmost point.¹⁵

Reviewing the texts of the *Book of Nut* in the light of these considerations leads to the conclusion that the order of the texts of the book retraces both the daily (east-west) and the yearly (south-north) course of the sun, whose *annual* rebirth is mentioned behind Nut (southeast position). There is therefore no need to correct the term 'southeast' to 'southwest', as von Lieven proposed.¹⁶ Thus, we distinguish two kinds of *duat*: one that fits the daily course of the sun and the decans, and the other conforming to their annual cycles. The 'daily *duat*', as it were, is known to be the passage from west to east inside Nut's body, i.e., from her mouth to her vulva. As already pointed out, the 'annual *duat*', which appears in texts Dd and Jj (Figure A1.3), is not only documented by the image of the illustrated versions of the *Book of Nut*, but also and above all by the very positions of these texts, and even by the vertical and oblique directions of the columns which contain them.¹⁷ As regards the course of the sun, Neugebauer and Parker stated that 'the way of the sun is no doubt also referred to in IV, 28, 29 (which describes the trajectory of the birds) as running from the north-western side to the south-eastern side'.¹⁸ The human-headed 'birds' are, in fact, the *ba* souls of the gods, i.e., the decans as they appear on the Naos of

12 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 66 notes to lines 28–9.

13 von Lieven 2007: 156–7.

14 Except on the equator, where the noon sun passes the zenith every day of the year, its noon height depends on the season and the latitude of the observer. The point of the noon culmination rises progressively as the season advances from the winter to the summer solstice, and then declines again from summer to winter solstice. In addition, depending on the latitude of the observer, the highest point of the sun's noon culmination (on the

day of the summer solstice) appears progressively lower towards either pole. In any case, the noon position of the sun is not in the zenith, as it is on the equator, but for the northern hemisphere it is in the meridian, and therefore indicates the south.

15 von Bomhard 2012: 94–5; for the comparison with the yearly cycle of the decans, *ibid.*: 76.

16 von Lieven 2007: 156.

17 von Bomhard 2007: 199 and note 14.

18 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 45 note to line 21.

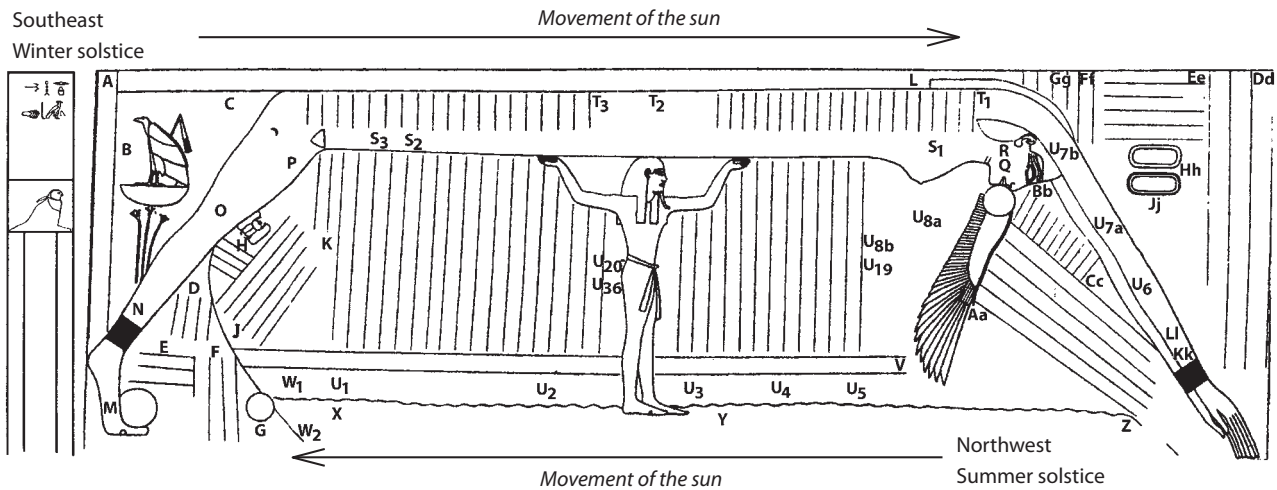


Figure A1.3 The Book of Nut. Seti I, disposition of the texts. The vulture faces the hawk. (After Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 39, fig. 20; the arrows showing the annual movements of the sun are added by the author.)

the Decades.¹⁹ The illustrated versions of the *Book of Nut* allow the course of the decans through the annual *duat* to be followed, because the names of these stars are inscribed in the arms of the goddess and on the ground.²⁰ This tells us that they descend towards her hands, then move from west to east along the ground, and reappear again in the east after their period of invisibility. The sun takes the same route as confirmed in text Aa, where it is said that: ‘It is to the boundaries of the waters of heaven, her (Nut’s) arms, that the majesty of this [god] (i.e., the sun) travels.’²¹ In addition, texts concerning the sun are inscribed in Nut’s leg and thigh. The *Book of Nut* thus provides proof that it is indeed the sun’s trajectory, as well as Nut’s limbs, that marks the frontier separating the creation from the uncreated (Figure 2.10).

We may then propose the interpretation of the annual course of the sun, as indicated by the added arrows on Figure A1.3: the sun begins its course at the winter solstice (at the rear of the goddess), in the south-east, moving to the north (her head), rising ever higher in the sky. The end of the day of the summer solstice marks the beginning of the shortening of days; the sun begins to descend along the goddess’ arms, reaches the ground and moves in the opposite direction, from north to south.

In the *Book of Nut*, the image of the vulture represents Sirius.²² The vulture (Sirius-Nekhbet) facing the hawk (Sun-Horus-Sokar) symbolizes and summarizes the annual cycle: at about the time of the summer solstice, Sirius rises in the east, and begins its decline towards the west after the winter solstice—whereas the sun, to the contrary, ascends from the winter solstice and descends at the summer solstice.

The vulture looks south in accordance with the north-south direction of the sun at the time of the rise of Sirius. The falcon, on the contrary, looks north in the direction of the sun’s movement from the winter solstice onward.

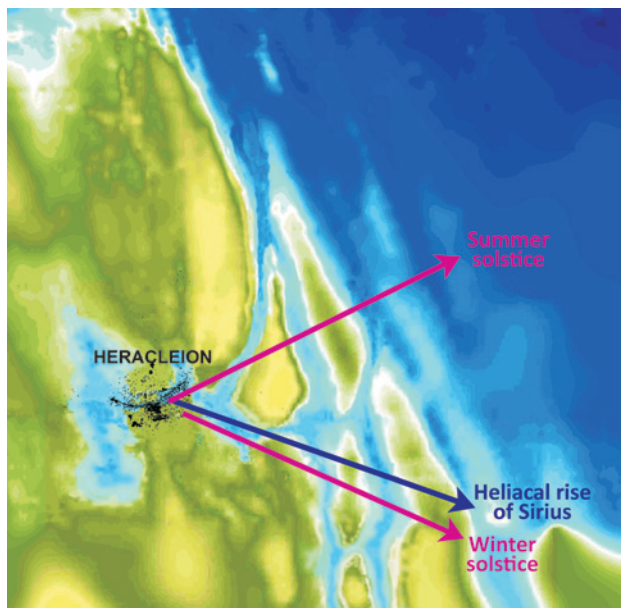


Figure A1.4 The azimuths of the rise of the sun at the two solstices, and of the heliacal rise of Sirius, in the example of Thonis-Heracleion, in the year 380 BC. (Established by M. Valdez Carracedo.)

The two birds are shown face to face next to each other, behind the goddess, because they both appear at nearly the same southeastern point of the horizon, the sun in winter and Sirius in summer (Figure A1.4).

The point of sunrise at the winter solstice probably indicates the direction of the Land of Punt, and this is likely to be why this country, where the sun seems to be born, is called ‘Land of God’.²³ In addition, this is the reason why Sirius/Hathor/Nekhbet is qualified as ‘The Lady of Punt’. The two birds shown facing each other may well symbolize the full yearly cycle, the hawk illustrating the onset of the six months of the increasing brightness of the sun (winter to summer solstice), and

19 Leitz 1995: 10; von Bomhard 2008: 85–7.

20 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: pls 30–2, 34–5; von Lieven 2007: pls 2–5.

21 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 62; von Lieven 2007: 75.

22 von Lieven 2007: 129, *contra* Leitz 2008–09: 5–6, 10.

23 von Bomhard 2007: 199.



Figure A1.5 Hawk and vulture: a) Ivory cylinder of Narmer. (From Whitehouse 2002: 434, fig. 4.); b) Middle Kingdom (From Lacau and Chevrier 1956: pl. 30.)

the vulture the period of decreasing brightness (summer to winter solstice).


The hawk and the vulture are often shown in this position, facing each other, offering the *šn* or the *ʿnh* sign to the king (Figure A1.5). To the gift of power conferred on pharaoh by these two celestial divinities is very probably added that of ‘the years’, i.e., a temporal notion of longevity or of eternity.

On the chapel of Sesostris I (Figure A1.5b), the two celestial divinities Behedety and Nekhbet-Sirius, which are present in the upper part of the panels (the sky), confer life and kingship to pharaoh and hand Egypt over to him in its length and in its breadth, offering him life (Figure A1.5b) as well as the *šn*.²⁴ The names and dimensions of the nomes are engraved on the base of the monument (the ground), creating in this way a monumental specimen of the royal heritage, *imyt-pr*, dated from the Middle Kingdom. The notion that the sovereignty over the country must be comforted by a registered text, *nḥb*, is attested, e.g., for Osiris.²⁵ Very probably, the list of the nomes was to be read aloud to the king during the ceremonies of enthronement, as mentioned on the naos of Ismailia, where it concerns Geb’s investiture.²⁶

The course of the sun and mythology

Understanding how the Egyptians describe the annual trajectory of the sun in the *Book of Nut* is clearly of the utmost importance for understanding the funerary books which identify the journey of the deceased with that of the sun in a watery space. In the *Book of the Fayyum*, Re regenerates in the waters of Mehet-weret. This goddess, in the form of Hathor, is often shown near a tomb to receive the deceased.²⁷ As Guilhou pointed out, ‘... elle [Mehet-weret] est celle qui donne l’accès au ciel, qui porte le roi dans son ascension, comme le suggère ce grand lit en forme

de vache, déposé dans la tombe de Toutankhamon’.²⁸ The sun’s passage from north to south in a liquid environment was compared by Belluccio to the migrations of the *ʿndw* fish (*mugil capito*) in the Nile, which swim northward with the flood, and turn south again when the waters fall.²⁹ The image of a fish immediately evokes an illustration in the *Book of the Fayyum* that shows two lines of fish swimming in opposite directions to the north and the south.³⁰ Belluccio considered that ‘... l’eau, de même que le poisson *ʿnd(w)*, est le corps du soleil qui devient Osiris lorsqu’il se plonge dans la Douat’.³¹ Her view is supported by a passage in Brooklyn Papyrus 47.218.84 which, as regards Heliopolis, compares Re hiding in the water to a fish in a cartouche.³² As Meeks pointed out:

... *mnš* ne désigne pas ici exactement un “cartouche”, mais le plan d’eau dans lequel le poisson se trouve ... le poisson dans son cartouche  désigne un territoire du nome héliopolitain.³³

He further noted that this sign was used to name the location of the first combat between Re and Atum, comparing it to the passage in the *Book of the Fayyum*, which links the notion of water and of a cartouche to the name of Re.³⁴ Thus, the fish would be the ‘Osirian’ aspect of the sun during its annual regeneration in the liquid element.

Belluccio linked the *ʿnd(w)* fish to the four *ʿti* fish to be found in the basins that collect the waters beneath the statuette of Osiris, which is sprinkled in the ritual of Khoiak.³⁵ According to Chassinat, the ritual states that these four *ʿti* fish are ‘like those in the temple of Neith’.³⁶ He also reviewed the examples linking fish to Osiris and Re: the name of Osiris frequently appears in the connection with fish, and Saïs and Neith are often mentioned.³⁷ As the *duat* is generally described as a liquid environment, it seems natural that Neith’s name should surface in that context, and that this space should contain fish.

²⁴ Lacau and Chevrier 1956: pl. 16.

²⁵ Herbin 2003: 94–95.

²⁶ von Bomhard: 2008: 205, 244.

²⁷ E.g., Piankoff and Rambova 1957: 22, fig. 2, pl. 8.

²⁸ Guilhou 1989: 126.

²⁹ Belluccio 1998: 131–4.

³⁰ Beinlich 1991: pls 1–6, 35–7.

³¹ Belluccio 1998: 133.

³² Brooklyn Papyrus 47.218.84, VII.3; Meeks 2006: 16.



³³ Meeks 2006: 84.

³⁴ Ibid.: 221.

³⁵ Belluccio 1998: 133.

³⁶ Chassinat 1968: 706–8.

³⁷ Ibid.: 708–16.

With regard to a palaeography oriented towards the ‘mythological’ significations of different readings of a sign, we may point out that the hieroglyph of the fish is used precisely to designate what moves through the *duat*: the way the word *h3t*, ‘corpse’, is spelt coincides with the myth: the *h3wt* corpses, which cross the *duat* to regenerate, are spelt with the Oxyrhynchus fish , an animal that is also linked to Neith and Osiris. In the cosmogony of the Naos of the Decades (column 7), the *bas* of the gods, when in the sky, become , the *h3wt* corpses of the gods, the ‘celestial fish’. According to the texts, especially the *Book of Nut*, the sun, while in the *duat*, moves through areas of water even during its trajectory under the earth.

The course of the sun and the duat

The concept of the *duat* in the inscriptions of the temple walls and the funerary literature appears highly complex; it could either be celestial or chthonic,³⁸ superior or inferior,³⁹ and its interpretations differ widely.⁴⁰ As regards the course of the sun, Roulin noted that:

*Le périple nocturne du soleil peut se dérouler soit dans les tréfonds de la terre, soit dans les régions célestes, deux conceptions à première vue contradictoires, mais en fait complémentaires, qui peuvent être attestées dans une même composition.*⁴¹

Roulin discussed the ‘nocturnal’ passage of the sun, i.e., only its daily period of invisibility, and he took no account of its annual decline, which the Egyptians associated with a passage under the earth. Yet the *Book of Nut* explains these two distinct concepts, which are logically deduced from observation of the sky and the yearly course of the sun. It illustrates them in its imagery: the texts which follow Nut’s arm down towards the earth, mentioning a zone of purification of a watery nature, would very probably relate to the sun declining after the summer solstice.⁴² Then, the sun enters ‘into the house of the pillar’, as stipulated in a vertically arranged sentence that crosses the line of the ground, very probably in order to indicate the entry of the sun into the subterranean zone.⁴³ Neugebauer and Parker argued that *inmw*, ‘pillar’ in Text Z, did not refer to Heliopolis, but this was disputed by von Lieven, who wondered whether it implies that Re spends the night in the district of Heliopolis.⁴⁴ She made the same suggestion about the texts contained in Nut’s wrist close to the ground (Text Kk), where Heliopolis

is cited in the Ramses IV version, linking the mention of Heliopolis to the daily disappearance of the sun and nowhere refers to its annual decline.⁴⁵ The appearance of the name of Heliopolis in Text Z and Kk of the *Book of Nut* seems rather to allude to the beginning of the sun’s annual subterranean voyage, which begins in the night of the autumn equinox: days decrease, nights lengthen; the sun stands lower in the sky, giving the impression of remaining longer underground.⁴⁶ In Figure A1.3, we indicate this annual subterranean journey of the sun by the added arrow underneath the ground.

Very probably, it is to this period from the autumn equinox to the winter solstice that the *Book of Caverns* or the *Book of the Earth* refers when evoking the underground passage of the sun. In the *Books of the Underground*, the sun (and the deceased) travel simultaneously through the upper *duat* (Nut) in the night, and through the seasonal lower *duat* (Osiris/Nun). However, most scholars practically never take into account this annual cycle of the sun, although they abundantly compare the rebirth of the deceased with the reappearance of the daily sun, the moon or star cycles.⁴⁷

The entrance at Heliopolis must obviously be connected with the mythological notion that a crypt containing the body of the sun was supposed to exist in that town. According to the ‘Cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris’,⁴⁸ *Papyrus Jumilhac*,⁴⁹ and *Papyrus Vatican 38608*,⁵⁰ Osiris-Sokar is buried at Heliopolis. Probably, the sun initiates its regeneration there, with the beginning of its annual passage under the earth. Its rebirth was to happen at the winter solstice, when the day’s length began to increase again.

In the *Book of Nut* the sun, in the form of a falcon, is born in the southeast,⁵¹ after being purified in the arms of its father Osiris.⁵² It is said to emerge from a watery area, identified with Osiris. The ‘chthonic’ passage must therefore reach the Nun, i.e., the ground water, which we propose to identify with the *kbhw*-place of purification, meaning the yearly *duat* for the sun and the stars. This ground water could well be what is displayed by the wavy base line in the illustrations in the *Book of Nut* (Figures A1.1; A1.3). The notion of a chthonian journey through a watery area goes back to the *Pyramid Texts*,⁵³ which associate water and ground: the king is said to be ‘... Osiris the King who came forth from Geb’, and is ‘... bathe[d] in the Lake of the Netherworld’.⁵⁴ Like the sun, the decans also are purified before rebirth ‘... in the House of Geb’,⁵⁵ as

38 Hornung 1975.

39 Leitz 1989.

40 Goebis 2008: 9–10.

41 Roulin 1996: 34.

42 Text Aa: Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 62–4; von Lieven 2007: 73–5.

43 Text Z, Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 61–2; von Lieven 2007: 73; von Bomhard 2007: 200–01.

44 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 62 note 39; von Lieven 2007: 151.

45 von Lieven 2007: 145; Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 87.

46 von Bomhard 2007: 201.

47 E.g., Wallin 2002.

48 Goyon 1968: 67, 92 note 33.

49 Vandier 1961: 138.

50 Herbin 2003: 94.

51 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 44–6; von Lieven 2007: 49–50.

52 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 48–9; von Lieven 2007: 54.

53 *PT* 1986–1987.

54 Faulkner 1969: 286–7.

55 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 69.

specified in the *Book of Nut* where it is said that ‘The life of a star begins in the lake’.⁵⁶

Thus, the interpretations of the celestial observations in the *Book of Nut* provide an easier understanding of the books of the netherworld and of the *duat*. The Book indicates two different kinds of a *duat*: first the ‘daily’ *duat* through which the sun passes each night from Nut’s mouth to her vulva; and second, the ‘annual’ *duat*, situated along the goddess’ limbs and the ground water, which is the path opening at the northwest and ending in the southeast (Figure A1.3).

For the decanal stars, the entrance of the annual *duat* is ‘the *kbhw* sky of the gods’, where the decans regenerate.⁵⁷ We also know the term *kbhw hr*, which must be considered as the equivalent for the sun of what is ‘the *kbhw* sky of the gods’ for the decans. The expression *kbhw hr* is present in certain cosmographical descriptions showing either an image of the world, as in a publication by Clère, discussed extensively by von Lieven, or in expressions tending to define the limits of the creation, as on the Konosso stele.⁵⁸ On this monument, Thutmose IV declares that he has, according to his wish, established his frontiers to extend as far as the four pillars of the sky, and his victory stele at the *kbhw hr*. These expressions describe the extreme borders of the world, as do *rth kbt* and *srk htyt*.

The expressions *rth kbt* and *srk htyt*

The words *srk htyt* ‘which lets the throat breathe’, connected with light, are an antonym of *rth kbt*, linked to obscurity.⁵⁹ That *kbt* should be understood as ‘chest’, was established by von Lieven, who translated the expression as ‘das die Brust zurückdrängt’, ‘which pushes back the chest’.⁶⁰ In order to illustrate the opposite meaning of *srk htyt*, ‘which lets the throat breathe’, and bearing in mind the meaning of the verb *rth* ‘to seize, capture, hold’, we may interpret the meaning as ‘to grip the thorax, to clamp the chest’, i.e., to prevent breathing. The two expressions turn up several times in the *Book of Nut*:

- In the illustrated versions of Seti I and of Mutirdis, the words *rth kbt* appear above the hawk in the rear of the goddess (Figures A1.1 and A1.3, left corners).⁶¹ The presence of *rth kbt* at this spot is not commented on by Neugebauer and Parker. Von Lieven noted that it should be understood as an indication of the place where the sun-hawk resides, probably before

sunrise, and that the determinative for water, which accompanies this expression in other texts, must refer to the sky or the primordial water.⁶²

- In text A of the book, it is said of the sun that ‘it happens that his end is in *rthw-kbt* [which is darkness] and his front is in *srk-ihyt*, which is light’.⁶³ Neugebauer and Parker explained: ‘As the sky is bright before the sun itself has risen, so the text places the god partly in darkness and partly in the light’.⁶⁴ The links between the presence of the sun and revitalization are well-known.⁶⁵
- In text L set above Nut’s body, i.e., outside the creation in the infinite and dark space of the primeval ocean, it is said that there, the sun does not rise and that the darkness, which is total, is *rth-kbt*.⁶⁶
- In text Ee, the term *srk htyt* appears in connection with the birds (which are said to move from the northwest to the southeast).⁶⁷ This is the denomination of a place situated near the forward part of Nut, i.e., exactly facing *rth-kbt*.⁶⁸

Von Lieven cited other examples of these expressions.⁶⁹ Of particular interest are lines 15–16 on the Kawa stele of the year 6 of Taharqa, which describes, as does its parallel from Tanis, the borders of the world under the sandals of pharaoh: ‘... south up to *rth kbt*, north up to *kbh hr*, east up to the place where Re rises and west to the place where it sinks’, *rsy r rth kbt mhnt r kbh hr ibtt r wbn r^c imnt r htp.f im*, i.e., the entire creation whose borders are marked by the course of the sun.⁷⁰

In these texts the two expressions can no doubt be explained by the positions of the sun in the solstices: at the time of low brightness, i.e., in winter, the sun in the south (behind Nut) is in the zone of *rth kbt*; in the summer, at the time of the longest lasting brightness, on the contrary, the sun in the north (in front of Nut) is in the zone *srk htyt*. We can easily understand that in defining the limits of the creation, the Egyptians, seeing the sun’s brightness grow as it moves northward, and diminish as it returns to the south, determined its southern limit as *rth kbt*, and its northern border as *srk htyt* or *kbh hr*.

The borders of the world on the Decree of Saïs

On the Decree of Saïs, as on many other monuments, it is the syncretism of representing the two solar cycles, the daily and the yearly one, which explains the associations

56 Ibid.: 68, 75; Bellucio 1998: 129; Meeks 2006: 221; von Lieven 2007: 89.

57 von Bomhard 2008: 198 note p.

58 Clère 1958: 32, fig. 2, pl. 5; von Lieven 2007: 153–5; Säve-Söderbergh 1941: 159.

59 Wilson 1997: 594, 887; Leitz 2002 (6): 434–37.

60 von Lieven 2007: 128 and note 752.

61 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: pl. 32; von Lieven 2007: pls 2, 6.

62 von Lieven 2007: 126–7.

63 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 44–5; von Lieven 2007: 49–50.

64 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 45 and note to lines 22–3.

65 von Lieven 2007: 128.

66 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 52–4; von Lieven 2007: 59–61.

67 Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 65–6; von Lieven 2007: 76–7.

68 von Lieven 2007: 128.

69 Ibid.: 126.

70 Macadam 1949: 26, 28, 31, pls 9, 10; Griffith 1935–38: 426; Kuentz 1935–38: 431.

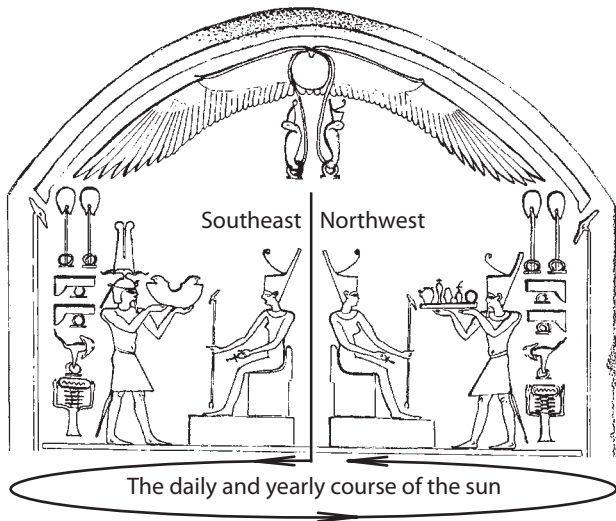


Figure A1.6 The daily and the yearly course of the sun.

of north to west and of south to east. From a mythological point of view, the southeast indicates the beginning of the two cycles, and the northwest the beginning of the two-fold decline, nightly and annual:

- On the day of the summer solstice, the moment of the sun's sinking below the horizon (west, daily cycle) also heralds the shortening of every successive day (north, annual cycle). Thus northwest is the point of daily disappearance of the god, and at the same time the point from where it begins its annual decline.
- On the day of the winter solstice, on the other hand, the sun rises in the southeast and the days grow successively longer, making the southeast the part of the horizon that symbolizes the rebirth and increase in both the daily and the yearly cycle. On Figure A1.6 the king offers the *kḥ* libation (*ḥtpw* offerings) facing northwest, which is the entrance to the '*kḥ* sky of the gods', and to the *kḥ hr*, and he offers the necklace facing southeast, where the sun is reborn.

The median axis in Figure A1.6 must be understood as the eastern and western horizons bracketed as far as their southern and northern limits, where the sun can be seen to rise and sink. One must visualize the two plans of east and west horizon joined back to back, as shown in Figure A1.7.

The axis set between the two statues of the goddess Neith in Figure A1.6 symbolizes both the entire time of the nightly voyage of the sun, as well as the duration of its entire seasonal decline from the summer to the winter solstice. This axis is thus both 'spatial', defining the plans of the eastern and western horizons, and 'temporal' because this single line includes the length of the nights and the six months separating the summer solstice from the winter one. We know that the Egyptians,

71 Posener 1965: 69.

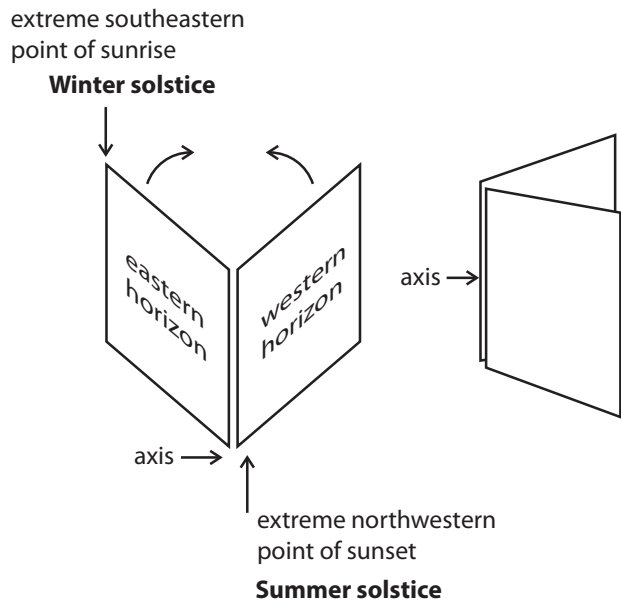


Figure A1.7 The axis line represents the bracketing of the two horizons.

like a number of other ancient peoples, oriented themselves towards the south,⁷¹ very probably because that is the direction of the sunrise at the winter solstice, a moment when the sun seems to reappear after a long underground voyage.

The temporal dimension and the suggestion of the infinite

By integrating the notion of the succession of the daily and yearly solar cycles, the Egyptians in a way succeeded in representing on a flat surface not only a space, i.e., three dimensions, but in addition, in bringing into it a notion of the fourth dimension of time. The representation of an animated scene or of a place, as we conceive it, is established following the laws of perspective, i.e., as a spectator placed in a precisely defined spot would see it. If the artist or the onlooker moves, the scene should be modified. Egyptian representations, on the other hand, exclude this subjective view and do not take the artist's 'point de vue' in account. Brünner-Traut and Farout demonstrated that images are executed in an explanatory way, for example to render a solid object (building) transparent to show its inside, or to provide irreconcilable views of the same object in one image, like a receptacle and what it contains.⁷² We may add that the drawing conventions adopted by the Egyptians offer manifold possibilities, the most remarkable one being the ability to represent the passing of time and to suggest the notion of the infinite in a single image. In Figure A1.6 the twofold cycle of days and years turns around the central axis and thereby evokes the perpetually re-starting movement of the stars in the universe.

72 Lacau 1971b: note 1; Brünner-Traut 1973; 1974; Farout 2009: 15.

The axis containing the length of the nights and the duration from the summer to the winter solstice represents the passage of the sun through the 'daily' (passage through Nut's body) and the 'yearly' *duat* (passage through the *kbhw*). In both cases the passage is through the waters originating from the Nun, the primeval ocean. Each exit from these different kinds of *duat*, which inaugurates a daily or an annual cycle, is assimilated with a new birth of the sun (Figure A1.8). The axis in the image in the lunette thus contains the notion of the cyclical and recurrent characters of the creation issuing from water. These cyclical and recurrent characters were pointed out by Smith, who further emphasized the active role played by Nun, the Primeval Ocean.⁷³

Pharaoh's two offerings, shown face to face on either side of this space-time axis of creation, bring the ruler into the long chain of all the kings who have maintained the permanent re-creation, the course of the sun and the order of the cosmos, from the most remote antiquity.

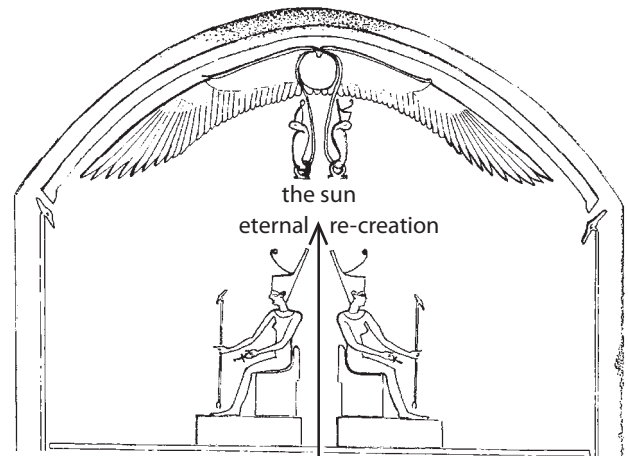


Figure A1.8 The perpetual re-creation of the sun from Nun (the axis) and from Neith (*h^c m nt*).

As Baines remarked, 'Art defined, encapsulated, and perpetuated that cosmos'.⁷⁴

73 Smith 2002: 201-4.

74 Baines 2007: 335.

Appendix II Some representations of the Temple of Neith

Column 12 on the Decree of Saïs displays a rare hieroglyph, which reproduces the Temple of Neith and is read *nt* to signify either the goddess's name or the Saïte nome. The sign can be found in huge representations on monuments, especially on naophorous statues of Saïte dignitaries. This image is composed of three characteristic elements, which can be associated in various ways:

- the goddess's emblem, single or sometimes double;
- two flags;
- a building of Lower Egyptian type, sometimes double, or associated with a building of the type of Upper Egypt.

Representations of the symbol of Neith are attested from the archaic period,¹ but the three assembled characteristic elements of her sanctuary appear on a tablet of king Aha of the first dynasty.²

The emblem of the goddess appears there (Figure A2.1) as a sign containing two crossed arrows in a bilobate object with a central narrowing which has been interpreted as a shield, although no shield of such shape is known.³

Keimer proved that this symbol of the goddess was composed of the image of two beetles face to face.⁴ He positively identified the insects as *Agrypnus notodonta*,⁵ now renamed *Lanelater notodonta* (Figure A2.2a-b).

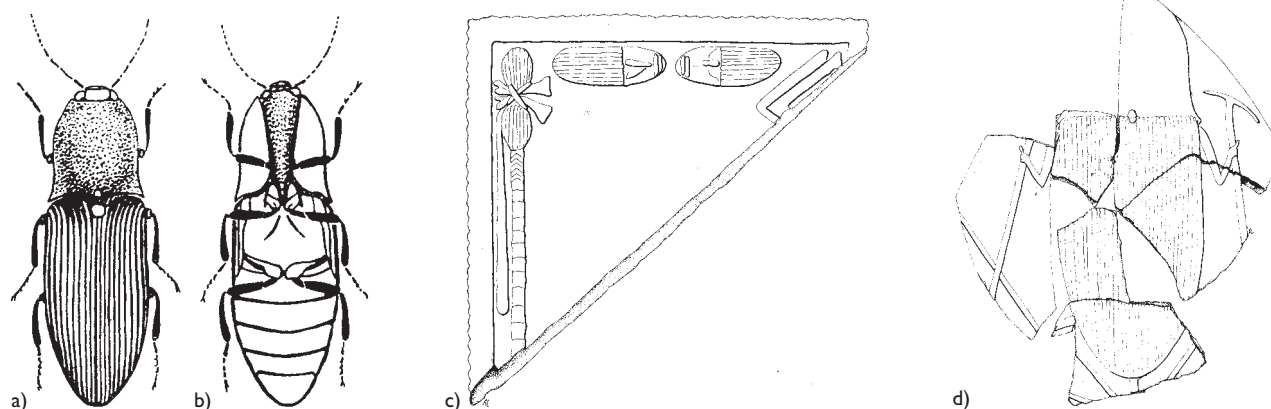


Figure A2.2 *Lanelater notodonta*: a) and b) the insect (From Keimer 1931: pl. 3.); c) Brussels MRAH E.6261; d) Brussels MRAH E.578 + Abydos K.1005, two protodynastic objects in Brussels. (Drawings: A. L'Amoulen.)

1 Adams 1999: 4–8.

2 Petrie 1901: pls 3A, 10 (2); El-Sayed 1982: 225–6 doc. 73, pl. 1.

3 Nibbi 2003: 171.

4 Keimer 1931: 151–5, pls 1–3.

5 Ibid.: 151.

6 Ibid.: pl. 2 (1); see also El-Sayed 1982: 226 doc. 74, pl. 2; Hendrickx

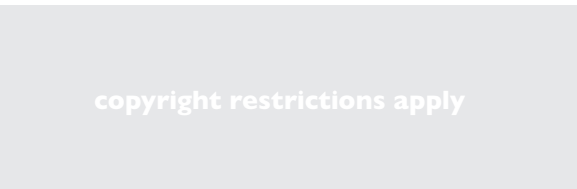


Figure A2.1 Neith's temple, first dynasty, tablet of king Aha. (From Petrie 1901: pl. 10.2; © Egypt Exploration Society.)

Keimer based his assertions on the basis of the elements of a necklace from the fourth dynasty, and above all of two objects from the Protodynastic period, now in the Royal Museum of Art and History of Brussels (Figure A2.2c–d). The first one is a triangular fragment from a rectangular greywacke palette.⁶ On the top, it displays the two insects facing each other, on the left the emblem of the goddess, which has the same shape as the one on king Aha's tablet (Figure A2.2c). This emblem is composed of two facing *Lanelater notodonta* beetles, and between them, two crossed arrows tied together by a bandage whose end falls down alongside the emblem's shaft. The second object of the Protodynastic period, presented by Keimer to identify the insect (Figure A2.2d) from Abydos, also of greywacke, is composed of joining fragments and displays one of these insects in a clearly recognizable manner, although incomplete.⁷ The beetle has two human arms, one, and possibly the other one, holding a *w3s* sceptre.

1996: fig. 5, pl. 3.

7 Amélineau 1899: 212–15; Keimer 1931: pl. 2 (2); Hendrickx 1996: 24–5, figs 1–2, pl. 3, incorporating two further fragments from Petrie's work at Abydos (not published, but indicated by Adam 1999: 3 note 17), and a third recovered by Dreyer, who also found another example of the insect.

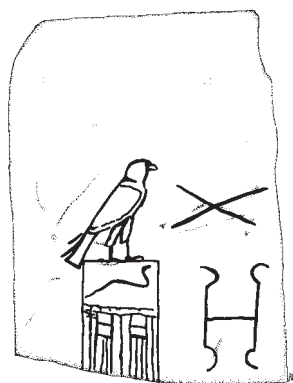


Figure A2.3 Symbol of Neith.
(Drawing: A. L'Amoulen, from
Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 3
no. 17.)

A third object was reconstructed by Adams, who put together two pieces from the Petrie Museum with an unregistered fragment from the Royal Museum of Art and History at Brussels.⁸ The result was another unique artefact, consisting of a part of a complex green greywacke vessel, into which liquid was obviously meant to flow, decorated with a *Lanelater notodonta* attached to a palm leaf basket.

El-Sayed and Hendrickx noted that the *w3s* sceptre was one of Neith's attributes as early as the second dynasty.⁹ On Figure A2.2 d, although the item is incomplete, the insect that embodies the goddess seems to hold a *w3s* in both 'hands'. This duality evokes the two sceptres usually shown as supports of the sky. It could be an argument enhancing the hypothesis that the jump of the click beetle is associated with the myth of the raising of the sky created from Neith-Mehet-weret. A small silt-stone sculpture of a body of *Lanelater notodonta* without legs and antennae was recently discovered at Abydos, and closely resembles another example from the site.¹⁰ In fact, many of these representations of *Lanelater notodonta* come from Abydos, which strengthens the link established by Levinson and Levinson, and by Meeks, between this insect and the rebirth of Osiris.¹¹ Perhaps the deceased, assimilated with Osiris, is supposed, like the sun, to be elevated to the sky by Neith-Mehet-weret to be regenerated in a liquid environment.

As regards the first of the objects in Brussels mentioned above, i.e., the rectangular greywacke palette of which only a triangular half remains (Figure A2.2c), the presence of two angled lines in the right corner, which could be the remnants of two superimposed flagpoles, suggest a representation of Neith's temple. This palette was presumably used for eye paint.¹² This item would thus be one of the most ancient representations of the goddess's temple; unfortunately, the major part of this object is missing. The discovery of a late pre-dynastic/early dynastic settlement in Saïs will perhaps lead to the

8 Adams 1999: 4, figs 1–2 joined an unregistered fragment from the Royal Museum of Art and History at Brussels to the Petrie Museum items UC 37001 and UC 37002.

9 El-Sayed 1982: 227 doc. 76, pl. 2; Hendrickx 1996: 26.

10 Dreyer *et al.* 2003: 91, pl. 18a; Keimer 1931: 161, fig. 6.

11 Levinson and Levinson 2009: 38; Meeks 2010: 289.

12 Hendrickx 1996: 29–30.

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Figure A2.4 Various different symbols of Neith a–i) Archaic period and Old Kingdom; j–k) Middle Kingdom; l) New Kingdom; m–n) thirtieth dynasty.

- a) Brussels MRAH E 6261 (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen);
- b) from Petrie 1900: pl. 31, no. W 58 (© Egypt Exploration Society);
- c) from Petrie 1900: pl. 23, no. 39 (© Egypt Exploration Society);
- d) from Petrie 1901: pl. 26, no. 53 (© Egypt Exploration Society);
- e) from Petrie 1901: pl. 26, no. 57 (© Egypt Exploration Society);
- f) from Petrie 1901: pl. 10.2 (© Egypt Exploration Society);
- g) from Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 3, no. 17;
- h) stele of Mer-Neith, from El-Sayed 1982: pl. 3;
- i) Hetep-heres furniture, fourth dynasty, from El-Sayed 1982: pl. 4;
- j) from Jéquier 1921: fig. 843;
- k) from Lacau and Chevrier 1956: pl. 25;
- l) from Piankoff 1952: pl. 14;
- m) Thonis-Heracleion stele;
- n) Naukratis stele.

recovery of more information concerning the early representations of the goddess' temple.¹³

From the Old Kingdom, Neith's symbols are diverse: two crossed arrows or two bows tied together,¹⁴ or the bilobate object with, on ancient examples from the period of Meretneith and of king Den, the ribbon falling alongside the shaft.¹⁵ On a vase from the time of king Djed, her name is written using both her emblems: the two arrows and two bows in their quiver underneath (Figure A2.3).¹⁶ El-Sayed reviewed the various ways of writing the name of Neith, and Hendrickx reproduced different symbols spelling the name of the goddess (Figure A2.4).¹⁷ The object associated with the arrows took the shape of a shield, or at least of an oval form, in the Middle Kingdom and, above all, the New Kingdom.¹⁸ On king Aha's tablet above, Neith's sign seems to be placed in the centre of the temple court, between the entrance to the left, framed by the two *ntr* signs, and the sanctuary to the right, this latter being interpreted by Jéquier as a light wooden

13 Wilson 2001: 4–5.

14 Hendrickx 1996: figs 11–12.

15 E.g., Petrie 1900: inside cover, pl. 23.39.

16 Lacau and Lauer 1959: pl. 3 no. 17; 1961: 7.

17 El-Sayed 1982: 13–16; Hendrickx 1996: 39, 41, figs 11–12.

18 Montet 1957: 75–6.



Figure A2.5 Old Kingdom pilgrimage scenes: a) tomb of *nb-k3.w-hr* (From Junker 1940: 3, fig. 1.); b) tomb of *ini-snfrw-iš.t.f* (From Junker 1940: 3, fig. 2.); c) tomb of Ptah-hotep II (From Junker 1940: 4, fig. 3.); d) tomb of Ptah-hotep I. (From Junker 1940: 8, fig. 5.)

construction with a convex roof crowned by the tips of the beams on either side.¹⁹ The shape is typical for the northern sanctuary *pr nw*.

Images of Neith's temple can be found throughout the Old Kingdom up to the New Kingdom, in representations of scenes of pilgrimage to holy places.²⁰ We know that as early as the Predynastic period the early kings travelled to Buto and to Neith's sanctuary.²¹ Some scenes of pilgrimage to Buto as well as to Saïs (Figure A2.5) dating from the Old Kingdom are reproduced by Junker, Vandier, and Matthiae Scandone.²²

On Figures A2.5a–c we find the *ntr* signs facing each other as on king Aha's tablet, and on Figures A2.5c–d, the image of the Lower Egyptian sanctuary *pr nw*. On A2.5a appear bearers of the *hrp* sign, which was possibly in ancient times related to the title *hrp hwwt nt*. As El-Sayed demonstrated, this title could have developed highly variable attributions during the long history of Egypt.²³ Jélinková believed that in the Late period the title was only honorific and secular.²⁴ However, El-Sayed showed that in the Saïte period, the title could be allocated to priests who were particularly dedicated to certain functions related to the cult of Neith, especially the dressing and the royal finery related to enthronement, or the funerary cult of the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty.²⁵

During the Middle Kingdom, the name of Neith and that of the nome of Southern Neith appear on the White



Figure A2.6 White Chapel. (Photo: the author; © IEASM.)

Chapel (Figure A2.6).²⁶ Neith's emblem is framed by a building on either side, one representing the *pr nw*, and the other one the *pr wr*.

In the New Kingdom, other pilgrimage scenes are found, for example in the tombs of Paheri, Rekhmire, and Amenemhat, where the two flags were placed facing each other to form a door frame (Figure A2.7).²⁷

During the Saïte and Persian periods, the image of Neith's temple is shown on certain statues of personalities attached to the cult of the goddess, as well as on some monuments.²⁸ Sometimes, this image replaces the sculpture of the goddess on the naophorous statues. There, we find the two facing *ntr* signs and the twin emblem of Neith framing the image of a primitive building with the convex roof, which is already present on king Aha's

¹⁹ Jéquier 1908: 28.

²⁰ El-Sayed 1982: 33–4.

²¹ Wilkinson 1999: 320.

²² Junker 1940: figs 1–3, 5; Vandier 1944: figs 3–4; Matthiae Scandone 1967: 151–5, figs 3–6.

²³ El-Sayed 1976: 109–10.

²⁴ Jélinková 1950; 1958.

²⁵ El-Sayed 1976: 98, 103, 105, 109; see also Jones 2000: 727–8.

²⁶ Montet 1957: 77 note 5, fig. 13; Schott 1967: 103, fig. 2.

²⁷ Tylor and Griffith 1894: pl. 5; Virey 1889: pl. 21; de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915: pl. 13.

²⁸ Jéquier 1908: 25–31.

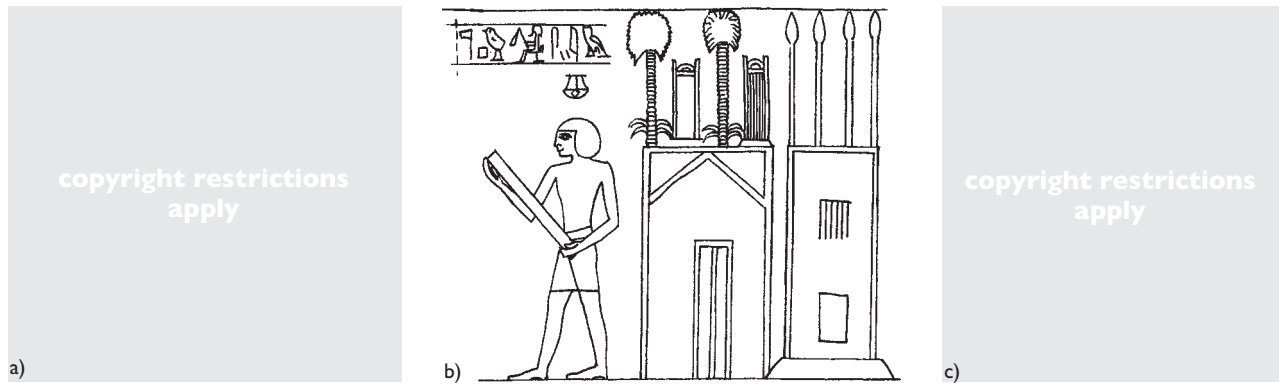


Figure A2.7 New Kingdom pilgrimage: a) tomb of Pahery (From Tylor and Griffith 1894: pl. 5; © Egypt Exploration Society.); b) tomb of Rekhmire (From Virey 1889: pl. 21.); c) tomb of Amenemhat (From de Garis Davies and Gardiner 1915: pl. 13; © Egypt Exploration Society.).

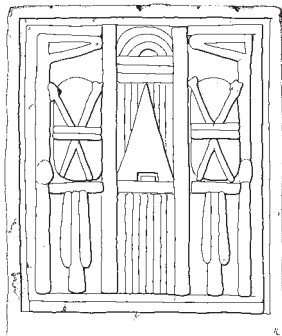


Figure A2.8 Naophorous statue Florence 1784 (1523) in the name of Henat. (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

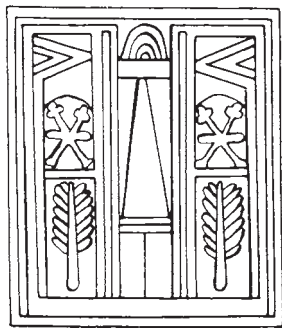


Figure A2.9 Statue of *p3-di-hr-rs-nt*, Cairo CG 714. (From Jéquier 1908: 29, fig. 8.)

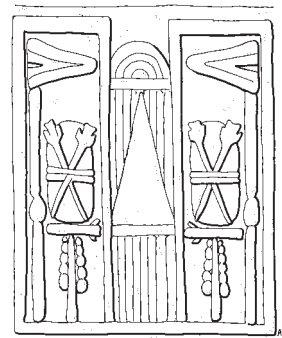


Figure A2.10 Statue of Psamtik-seneb, Gregorian Museum (166). (Drawing: A. L'Amoulen.)

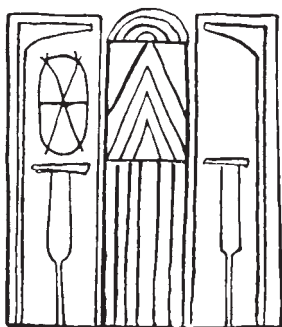


Figure A2.11 Statue of Horkheb. (From Jéquier 1908: 29, fig. 9; drawing: G. Legrain.)

tablet. In other cases, the central symbol of Neith is framed by two buildings,²⁹ as shown in Figures A2.13–17. The two buildings in the images are probably the south and north sanctuaries within the temple complex, the *rs-nt* and the *mḥ-nt*. These two sanctuaries, which date from the twelfth dynasty,³⁰ were believed to have contained the ears of Osiris.³¹

The Florence 1784 naophorous statue found at Saïs shows a standing man (0.79 m high), holding before him a naos that is not hollowed out.³² The dress of the figure dates to the late twenty-sixth or the twenty-seventh (Persian) dynasty.³³ The front of Neith's temple is found in a rather sizeable reproduction (Figure A2.8) on the upper half of the naos.³⁴

The temple image also appears on a naophorous statuette in the Cairo Museum, found in the Karnak *cachette* (CGC 714), in the name of *p3-di-hr-rs-nt*.³⁵ It shows a kneeling man, a contemporary of Psamtik II and Apries, holding in both hands a block with an engraved sanctuary (Figure A2.9).³⁶

A representation similar to A2.8 and A2.9 appears on the fine naophorous statue (63 cm high) of the chief physician Psamtik-seneb of the twenty-sixth dynasty (Figure A2.10). It was found at Saïs, and is now in the Gregorian Museum (166).³⁷

Jéquier also reproduced a drawing by Legrain showing the image of the temple on the front of the small naos of a statue in the name of Horkheb (Figure A2.11).³⁸

29 El-Sayed 1975: 178, figs 2–4.

30 Matthiae Scandone 1967: 162 note 76.

31 Montet 1957: 84.

32 El-Sayed 1975: 129–5, pl. 19; 1982: 434 doc. 507a; Jélinková 1958: 84, 90 no. 18a.

33 El-Sayed 1975: 130–1.

34 Jéquier 1908: 28, fig. 7; El-Sayed 1982: pl. 8. An excellent photograph of this statue is shown in the exhibition catalogue 'Les Portes du Ciel': Étienne 2009.

35 El-Sayed 1975: 246.

36 Jélinková 1958: 110; Borchardt 1930: 51–2, pl. 132; Schott 1967: 104, fig. 4; Jéquier 1908: 28–9, fig. 8.

37 El-Sayed 1975: 247–8; 1982: doc. 519; for a photograph, see Baines and Málek 1980: 170; for a drawing see Matthiae Scandone 1967: 147, fig. 1.c and 148 note 11.

38 Jéquier 1908: 29 note 2, fig. 9; see also El-Sayed 1975: 237.

In addition, Jéquier reproduced the image of a temple on a statue of a man named *ny-k3w*, found at Saïs, and currently in the Bologna Museum (Figure A2.12).³⁹ In this example, the image of the temple is used as a hieroglyph within the spelling of a religious title.

The image of the temple is also used as a hieroglyph on naophorous statue Cairo CG 672, found at Saïs.⁴⁰ This statue shows a person named *w3h-ib-rꜥ*, a contemporary of king Amasis.⁴¹ The sign is present twice in the texts engraved on that statue, the first time spelling the name of the nome, and the second that of Neith.⁴² It was reproduced (Figure A2.13) by Posener, who studied the sign in the context of the one found on the Naukratis stele.⁴³ The front of the naos on the statue in Cairo represents the façade of the *hwt-bit* Osiris temple, where is said to be the *hwt-hm3g*, the place where Osiris would have been bandaged and buried.⁴⁴ Posener supposed that this *w3h-ib-rꜥ* is the same person as the one named on stele 1427 of the British Museum, dated from the year 8 of Amasis.⁴⁵

On the stele of Amasis (CGC 849),⁴⁶ Posener recognized a similar hieroglyphic sign writing the name of the Saïte nome (Figure A2.14).⁴⁷ He compared this hieroglyph with one on the Defennah stele, where the name of the king has disappeared, but which Petrie attributed to the reign of Psamtik I (Figure A2.15).⁴⁸

Two similar hieroglyphs date from the reign of Apries, which Müller copied from the obelisks in Urbino (Figure A2.16) and Rome (Figure A2.17).⁴⁹

Posener noted that the sign of Neith's temple can also be found on the list of Hathors in the temple of Dendera.⁵⁰ The hieroglyph reproduced by Brugsch represents a building between two symbols of Neith.⁵¹ The image engraved on the Naukratis stele was published by Posener (Figure A2.18).⁵²

We can now add the example on the Thonis-Heracleion stele (Figure A2.19a) to the one on the Naukratis stele (Figure A2.19b).

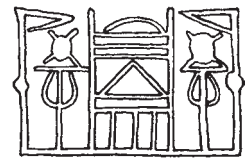


Figure A2.12 Hieroglyph on the Bologna statue 1838 of *ny-k3w*. (From Baines 1991a: 36, fig. 6.)

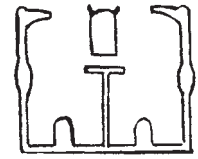


Figure A2.13 Hieroglyph on the statue of *w3h-ib-rꜥ*, Cairo CG 672. (From Posener 1934: 148, fig. 2.)

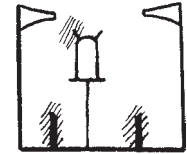


Figure A2.14 Hieroglyph on the Amasis stele, Cairo GC 849. (From Posener 1934: 148, fig. 3.)

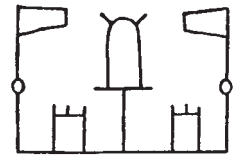


Figure A2.15 Hieroglyph on the Defennah stele. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard from Newberry 1947: 90, fig. 5; © Egypt Exploration Society.)

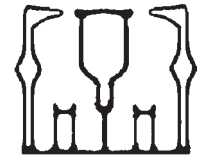


Figure A2.16 Hieroglyph from the Urbino obelisk. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard from Müller 1954: 146, fig. 1.)

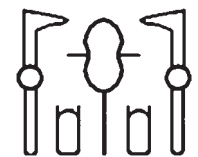


Figure A2.17 Hieroglyph from the Rome obelisk. (Drawing: L. von Bomhard from Müller 1954: 148, fig. 5.)

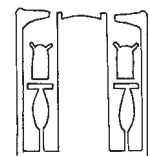


Figure A2.18 Hieroglyph on the Naukratis stele. (From Posener 1934: 147, fig. 1.)

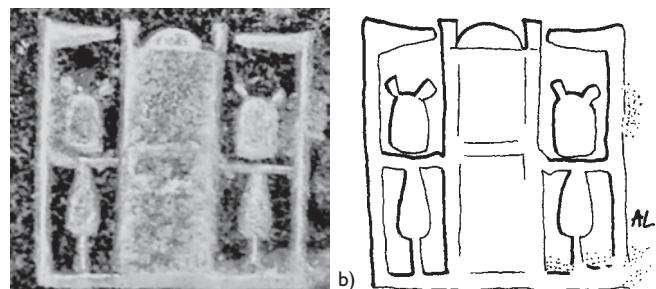
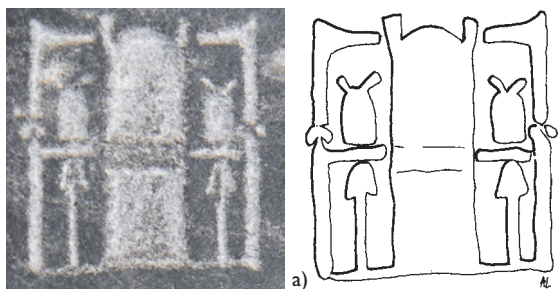


Figure A2.19 Photos and drawings of the hieroglyphs representing the temple of Neith, from the decree of Saïs, column 12 on either stele: a) Thonis-Heracleion; b) Naukratis. (Photos: B. Vallée; drawings: A. L'Amoulen.)

39 Jéquier 1908: 29 note 4, 30, fig. 10; El-Sayed 1975: 238, 18d; 1982: 430 doc. 495d; Baines 1991a: fig. 6.

40 Daressy 1895: 114–16; Borchardt 1930: 18–20, pl. 122; El-Sayed 1975: 73–93, pls 10–11; 1982: doc. 504a.

41 Jéliková 1958: 112; El-Sayed 1975: 219–20.

42 El-Sayed 1975: 81, 85.

43 Posener 1934: 148, fig. 2.

44 El-Sayed 1975: 208–13, fig. 7, pl. 10.

45 Posener 1934: 148 note 1; El-Sayed 1975: 61–72, 219–20, pl. 9; 1982:

414 doc. 472.

46 Daressy 1900; El-Sayed 1982: 415 doc. 474.

47 Posener 1934: 148, fig. 3.

48 Ibid.: note 2; Petrie 1888: 107–8, pl. 42; El-Sayed 1982: 408 doc. 457; for an image, see Newberry 1947: 90, fig. 5.

49 Müller 1954: 146, fig. 1, 148, fig. 5; see also El-Sayed 1975: 178, figs 3, 4.

50 Posener 1934: 147 note 6.

51 Brugsch 1879: 1392.

52 Posener 1934: 147, fig. 1.

On the Thonis-Heracleion stele, the vertical pole of the *ntr* sign is interrupted slightly above the middle by two small elements protruding on either side, which are absent on the hieroglyph from the Naukratis stele. This is what was schematically shown by the two small knobs reproduced by Posener on the image of the statue Cairo CGC 672 (Figure A2.13), which also appear on a statue of Henat (Figure A2.8), as well as on one in the Bologna Museum (Figure A2.12), and on a statue of Psamtik-seneb (Figure A.2.10). These two knobs can also be found on the drawing of the Defenneh stele, reproduced by Petrie and Newberry (Figure A.2.15) and on Müller's drawings of the hieroglyphs on the obelisks of Urbino and Rome (Figures A2.16, A2.17).⁵³

In the context of the Osirian pilgrimage, the same knobs are present on the vertical poles of two *ntr* signs, drawn side by side next to two obelisks (Figure A2.20), in a representation from the Middle Kingdom, reproduced by Jéquier and Baines.⁵⁴ These little bulbs possibly figure as middle joints between the two tree trunks creating the masts that must have been particularly high for Neith's temple. Concerning the obelisks, Jéquier recalled the small granite obelisks of a man's height which can sometimes be found in the scenes of the Osirian pilgrimage in tombs from the Old Kingdom.⁵⁵ Baines suggested that, presumably, the grouping of symbols evoked the temple of Saïs recreated for the mortuary ritual in other places.⁵⁶ His point of view is highly strengthened by the images of the temple of Neith, particularly A2.5a, b and A2.7, and even more A2.2c, where the right hand part shows the remnants of two superimposed flags facing the insignia of Neith, exactly like the Aha Tablet of Figure A2.1.

Comparing all the figures of Neith's temple, it would also appear that what often looked like a tree beneath the standards supporting the symbol of the goddess would, in fact, be more often the replica of the two decorations falling on either side of the stroke. Statue 1784 in Florence shows that the leaves of the 'tree' underneath the symbol of Neith (Figure A2.8) could be split into two parts by the line of the support of the standard, and these two parts could, in fact, be the hanging ribbons mentioned above.⁵⁷ However, the images on the Cairo GC 714 statue (Figure A2.9), as well as that of Psamtik-seneb in the

Figure A2.20 The Coffin of Siwadjet from Riqqa. (From Jéquier 1921: 330, fig. 848.)

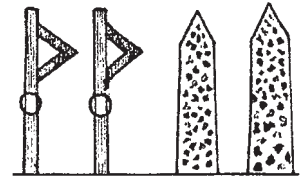


Figure A2.21 Berlin 13812. (From Petrie 1901: pl. 10; © Egypt Exploration Society.)

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Gregorian Museum (Figure A2.10), undoubtedly show two trees underneath the Neith symbol.⁵⁸ On the Thonis-Heracleion stele (Figure A2.19a), the image is really that of two ribbons or decorations of the standard disposed on either side of the hamper, whereas on Naukratis, the image more resembles trees (Figures A2.18, A2.19b). The replacement of the support of the symbol of Neith by trees is explained by Schott by the fact that they would represent the sacred trees of the sanctuary.⁵⁹

A cylinder seal in Berlin (Berlin 13812), reproduced by Baines, represents a sanctuary resembling the image of the temple of Neith of the king Aha, as Petrie noted, although the symbol of the goddess is not present.⁶⁰ It shows a tree as well as three fish, the latter read as *inw*, 'goods', by Dreyer.⁶¹ The fish also evoke those that are supposed to be 'in the temple of Neith', as indicated by the Khoiak ritual.⁶²

In general, these representations of Neith's temple display:

- Type 1, a central building framed by two symbols of the goddess (e.g., Figures A2.8–A2.12, A2.18–A2.19), or;
- Type 2, a central symbol of the goddess Neith, framed by two buildings (e.g., Figures A2.6, A2.13–A2.17).

In any case, the representations of the temple of this goddess display a duality, which probably evokes the north and south parts of the sanctuary. On the decree of Saïs, the double image of the goddess, one set underneath the uraeus of Lower, the other under that of Upper Egypt, suggests that the king's double offering is carried out respectively in the north and south part of the temple.

53 Petrie 1888: pl. 42; Newberry 1947: 90, fig. 5; Müller 1954: 146, 148, figs 1, 5.

54 Jéquier 1921: 330, fig. 848; Baines 1991a: 35, fig. 5.

55 Jéquier 1921: 330 note 4.

56 Baines 1991a: 35.

57 El-Sayed 1975: pl. 19; Étienne 2009: 307.

58 As can be seen in Borchardt 1930: pl. 132, 714 (Cairo GC 714) and Baines and Målek 1986: 170 (Psamtik-seneb).

59 Schott 1967: 104.

60 Baines 1991a: fig. 3b; Petrie 1901: 21, pl. 10.


61 Dreyer 2000: 14–15, fig. 16.

62 Chassinat 1968: 706–8.

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
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Index of words discussed













The words present in the columns of the Decree of Saïs, which are discussed in the translation notes, are referenced as D (for decree, Chapter Four), column x, note y.

For the words or expressions not found in the columns of the Decree, the chapters and subsections where they are discussed are noted.























<i>inw</i>	gift or tribute	D, column 7, note c
<i>ith</i>	(to) subdue, capture	D, column 2, note g
<i>it</i>	(to) seize	D, column 2, note g
<i>w3d-wr</i>	flood, sea	Chapter 2, Epithets of Neith Chapter 3, The fourth register
<i>pr m</i>	(revenue) coming from	D, column 9, note c
<i>niwt.krt</i>	Naukratis	D, column 10, notes d, f; column 13, note m
<i>nt</i>	Neith	Chapter 2, Epithets of Neith Temple of Neith: Chapter 3, Northeast offering and Appendix II
<i>rth</i>	(to) subdue	D, column 2, note e
<i>rth kbt</i>	(to) grip, clamp the chest	Appendix 1, The expressions <i>rth kbt</i> and <i>srk htyt</i>
<i>rdi tp</i>	(to) show the head (to) reappear [sun or star]	Chapter 3, Group of signs behind the king
<i>h3w-nbwt</i>	<i>Hau-nebut</i>	D, column 9, note e
<i>hnt</i>	<i>hone</i>	D, column 9, note i; column 14, note a
<i>s3ty bity</i>	The two daughters of the King of Lower Egypt	Chapter 2, Epithets of Neith
<i>srk htyt</i>	(to) let the throat breathe	Chapter 3, Group of signs behind the king; Appendix 1, The expressions <i>rth kbt</i> and <i>srk htyt</i>
<i>shp ib</i>	on the decree: (to) acknowledge sovereignty	D, column 7, note c
<i>sdr</i>	(to) make safe, protect	D, column 2, note l
<i>kbhw hr</i>	The <i>kbhw</i> sky of Horus	Appendix I, The course of the sun and the <i>Duat</i>
<i>k3 nswt</i>	Royal <i>Ka</i>	Chapter 3, Group of signs behind the king
<i>krt</i>	[Nau]kratis	D, column 10, note f; column 13, note m
<i>t3-hnt-n-s3w</i>	Thonis	D, column 14, note a
<i>dw3t</i>	<i>duat</i>	Appendix I
<i>d3rt</i>	Red Crown	Chapter 5



















Synoptic overview of orthographic and figurative variations between the stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis

The Lunette

Item	Difference	Thonis	Naukratis
The <i>w3s</i> sceptre	small protuberance on the back of the neck	barely visible on the left support of the sky	visible on all four <i>w3s</i> sceptres
The winged disk	asymmetry of the wings	wing above the left uraeus is larger (marked asymmetry)	wing above right uraeus is marginally larger (asymmetry less marked)
Uraei	sign following <i>hdt</i>		
The king	physical aspect	slimmer, slightly longer neck, beard	body fuller, neck shorter, no beard
	clothing, dress of the hair	no ribbon on Red Crown no details on the wig of the left figure	ribbon on Red Crown details of curls on the wigs
	offerings	no engravings on the <i>usekh</i> necklace vase of milk or wine is stoppered, handles visible	nine ranks are visible on the necklace no stopper, neck is higher, no suspension handles
The group of signs behind the king	  	the sign is rather long and narrow on both sides two ∞-shaped bracelets on each arm the  sign visible in large oval	the sign is shorter and higher south: one  -shaped bracelet on each arm; north: 2 bracelets barely visible the  sign not visible; very flat oval
Neith and the accompanying texts	Neith's foot	simple line contour	double line contours
	common axial column (col. 5)		
	left: line separating columns 3 and 4	missing	present
	<i>nbt pt</i>		

The Decree

Column	Difference concerning	Thonis (TH)	Naukratis (N)
1	the Horus name	<i>srh</i> simple	<i>srh</i> is more detailed
		no  in the uraeus	 in the uraeus
	the spelling of Saïs	with a 	without a 
	the spelling of (<i>nt</i>) <i>mry</i>		
2	the  sign	 is set on the standard of the determinative of the falcon	 is separate from the standard
	the falcon spelling <i>it</i> (?)	larger	more svelte
	the word <i>ib</i> (<i>n rhyt</i>)	with a determinative stroke	without determinative stroke
	the plural of <i>hftyw</i>		
	the tree spelling <i>b3kt</i>	thick	tall and slim
3	the <i>hps</i> sign	end on half circle	straight
	the <i>gm</i> bird	short legs	tall on its legs
4	the sign spelling <i>g3g3</i>	the interior is not engraved	the entire surface is engraved
	the preposition <i>m</i> (<i>m m3n.f</i>)		
	the two hoes (<i>mi r</i>), (<i>mrwt.f</i>)	marks at the jointures of the connecting rope	no marks
	discrepancy at the end of column 4	the sickle  is at the end of column 4	the sickle  appears at the top of column 5
5	the  sign	different from N	different from TH
	the <i>m</i> (<i>m shrw nb</i>)		
	<i>w3t ntr</i>	composed of the road sign <i>w3t</i> and the <i>ntr</i> sign	the word <i>ntr</i> follows the road sign
	the  sign	different from N	different from TH
	three <i>hwwt</i> temples	separated	linked
	the <i>s</i> in the verb <i>hws</i>		
	discrepancy at the end of column 5	the word <i>inb</i> at the bottom of column 5	the word <i>inb</i> at the top of column 6
6	the word <i>w3d-wr</i>	signs set differently on N	signs set differently on TH
	<i>h3swt</i>	spelt with all signs	ideogram only
	the discrepancy at the end of column 6	the determinative of <i>h3swt</i> is at the top of column 7	word entirely in column 6
7	the  sign	the fish is horizontal, with two dorsal fins	the fish is inclined, with a single dorsal fin

Column	Difference concerning	Thonis (TH)	Naukratis (N)
8	$h^c m nt$	the rear line separating the column is doubled	no markings
	the determinative of hm ($dd.in hm.f$)	stroke	falcon on standard
	w^c (in $w^c IO m$)	contains the arm as phonetic complement	no arm
	nbw ($w^c IO m nbw$)		
	the wood sign 	different from N	different from TH
m at the bottom of the column ($m m d h t$)			
9	the word ht (things)	with determinative	without determinative
	the word $w^3 d-wr$		
	the word $iswt$	three plural strokes	no plural strokes
	the word nwb		
10	the word ht ($m ht nb$)	with determinative	without determinative
	the preposition m ($m pr-mryt$)		
	the determinative of pr in the name of $pr-mryt$	determinative in the form of a 	normal stroke determinative
	$pr-mryt$	hoe alone: 	
	the t in the name of $kr t$		
11	vase as determinative of mnw	rather short neck	higher neck
12	discrepancy at the end of the column	signs more compact, smn appears at end of column	smn appears only at beginning of column 13
13	the tree sign	large, with a short trunk	loose, with a longer trunk
	the  sign	set on the standard	apart in front of the standard
	the  ($hr h^c w pn$)	hammered in its lower part	no hammering
	different ends of the column	'at the mouth of the sea of the Hau-nebut'; the entire passage is marked by a hammered line at the front of the column	'in Naukratis at the border of the Anu'
14	the top of the column	shows the name of 'Thonis', with the entire area finely hammered and dotted	starts with $ih sh3.i$
	'my goodness'	suffix pronoun 1st person singular is absent	suffix pronoun 1st person singular written with a stroke
	$^c nh nb dd nb w3s nb snb nb$	nb is spelt without a t	the word is written nbt
	$3wt ib$	absent	present

Index of Egyptian words

TH refers to the Thonis-Heracleion stele, N to the Naukratis stele.







The direction of the hieroglyphs in the index is the same as the direction in which they appear on the stelae. Wherever words in the lunette appear in both directions,

this is noted, but only the text on the right-hand side is reproduced. To help locate the word in the text, the context is added in transliteration.






In order to find the words, the index is arranged in the following way:

Lunette (L)	
• The text on either side of the uraei:	L, right and/or left uraeus, line number (n=2)
• Texts referring to the king	
Two columns above the king:	L, right and/or left king, col. number (n=2)
One horizontal line above the king:	L, right and/or left king, horiz. line
Column under the king's offering:	L, right and/or left king, lower col.
Column behind the king:	L, right and left king, rear col.
• Text referring to Neith:	L, right and/or left Neith, col. number (n=5)
Decree (D, cols 1-14)	D, column number
	Double or multiple occurrences are indicated as (2×), (3×) etc.

3

<i>3wt ib</i>	happiness		D, col. 14 (... <i>snb nb 3wt-ib nb</i> ...)	N
<i>3bd</i>	month		D, col. 1 (date)	TH, N
<i>3h, 3hw</i>	good things		D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3hw n nty hr mw(f)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>rsw hr hh 3hw</i>)	TH, N
<i>3h3h</i>	(to) be green, to grow verdantly		D, col. 4 (<i>mrwt.f hr 3h3h m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>3ht</i>	horizon		D, col. 4 (<i>mi r^c wbn.f m 3ht</i>)	TH, N

i

<i>i</i>	I, me, my		D, cols. 10, 12 (<i>mwt.i</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>hm.i</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>mwt.i</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>nfrw.i</i>)	N
<i>i3dt</i>	dew, flood, water		D, col. 6 (<i>m-^c n.f w3d-wr i3dt.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>iw</i>	particle		D, col. 12 (<i>iw wd.n hm.i</i> ...)	TH, N
<i>iw^c</i>	heir		D, col. 1 (<i>nt iw^c mnh</i>)	TH, N

<i>ib, ibw</i>	heart, hearts		D, col. 2 (<i>ibw p^ct</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>ib n rhyt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 2 (<i>ib n rhyt</i>)	N
			D, col. 3 (<i>dšr—ib</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>hsk ibw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>h3k-ibw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikrt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m3^c ib</i>)	TH, N
<i>im</i>	there, therein, thence, therewith		D, col. 7 (<i>sh^tp.f ibw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>3wt—ib nb</i>)	N
<i>imi</i>	imperative of <i>rdi</i>		D, col. 11 (<i>m-h3w-r wn im m-b3h</i>)	TH, N
<i>ini</i>	imperative of <i>rdi</i>		D, col. 8 (<i>imi di.tw ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>in</i>	in: <i>sdm.in.f</i>		D, col. 8 (<i>dd.in ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>dd.in ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>in</i>	by (of agent)		D, col. 13 (<i>smn ir.n.(i) (in nt(yw) r hpr</i>)	TH, N
<i>in</i>	(to) bring		D, col. 6 (<i>in n.f h3swt df3w.sn ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>inw</i>	tribute		L, left Neith, col. 2 (<i>hr inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>sh^tp.f ibw.sn m inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
<i>inb</i>	wall		D, col. 2 (<i>inb n bi3 or hmt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>... hws inb.sn</i>)	TH
			D, col. 6 (<i>... hws inb.sn</i>)	N
<i>ir (= r)</i>	preposition: to, at, until, as concerning, according		D, col. 9 (<i>hsb r pr-nsw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>ntyw r hpr</i>)	TH, N
<i>iri</i>	(to) make, do, act		D, col. 14 (<i>ih sh3.tw nfrw.i r-km hh</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ih sh3.tw nfrw.i r-km hh</i>)	TH, N
<i>ir</i>	(to) make, do, act		L, right & left king's lower col (<i>ir:f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 titulatory (<i>ir-mr-ntrw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>ir m^cwy.f(y)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3hw n nty hr mw.(f)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>ir iht hft d(d).sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>... mtw.tw ir ih ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>ht nb ir(w).n tpyw-^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>smn ir.n.(i) (in nt(yw) r hpr ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>ir-mr-ntrw</i>	Who-does-the-gods'-wish		D, col. 14 (<i>ir.f di^cnh nb dd nb ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>titulary: golden Horus name</i>)	TH, N
<i>irw</i>	things relating, pertaining to		D, col. 12 (<i>sipw irw r pr.hd ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>irp</i>	wine		D, col. 11 (<i>... irp mmw 5</i>)	TH, N
<i>ih</i>	ox		D, col. 11 (<i>mtw.tw ir ih h3(w) w^c ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>ih</i>	particle (optative)		D, col. 14 (<i>ih sh3.tw nfrw.i ...</i>)	TH, N










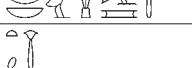














išt, ištwt	property, belongings		D, col. 9 (<i>ištwt nb nty tw ḥsbw ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 9 (<i>ištwt nb nty tw ḥsbw ...</i>)	N
ikr, ikr̄t	excellent		D, col. 3 (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikr̄t</i>)	TH, N
it	father		D, col. 8 (<i>ḥnp.n.f kbḥ n it(f)</i>)	TH, N
itm	sun's disk		D, col. 6 (<i>b3k n.f stwt itm</i>)	TH, N
itr.ty	see <i>m-itr.ty</i>			
(i)t(h) (?) or it̄i (?)	(to) subdue, seize, take possession		D, col. 2 (<i>((i)t(h).s (or it̄.s) n.f ib n rḥyt</i>)	TH, N
idbwy	The Two Banks		D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s ḥm.f ḥnt idbwy</i>)	TH, N

C






ꜥ, ꜥ.wy	arm(s)		D, col. 3 (<i>ir m ꜥ.wy.f</i>)	TH, N
ꜥ3	great		L, right & left uraeus, line 1 (<i>ntr ꜥ3</i>) for Behedety	TH, N
ꜥb3	offering tablet		D, col. 6 (<i>sdḏ3 ꜥb3 ...</i>)	TH, N
ꜥnw	canal ꜥnw (Canopic Nile branch)		D, col. 10 (<i>ḥr spt ꜥnw ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m niwt-kr̄t ḥr spt ꜥnw</i>)	N
ꜥnh	life		L, right & left uraeus, line 2 (<i>di.s ꜥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right & left king, hor. line (<i>di ꜥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right & left king's lower col. (<i>di ꜥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith's col. 1 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ꜥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, Neith's centre col. 5 (<i>di.s ꜥnh</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>ꜥnh dt</i>) following titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>diw.n.f ꜥnh r ḥwt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ꜥnh wd3 snb n nsw bity ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ꜥnh dt</i>) following the titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ir.f di ꜥnh nb ...</i>)	TH, N
ꜥh	palace		D, col. 7 (<i>ḥꜥ ḥm.f m ꜥh ...</i>)	TH, N
ꜥḥꜥw	stele		D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn ḥr ꜥḥꜥw pn</i>)	TH, N
ꜥs3	many, numerous		D, col. 3 (<i>ꜥk m ꜥs3w</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>ntr wꜥ ꜥs3 bi3yt</i>)	TH, N
ꜥk	(to) enter		D, col. 3 (<i>ꜥk m ꜥs3w</i>)	TH, N








W

w3ḥwt	offerings		D, col. 6 (<i>shp w3ḥwt m ḥt nb</i>)	TH, N
w3s	dominion		L, right Neith col. 1 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ꜥnh w3s nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ir.f di ꜥnh nb ḏd nb w3s nb ...</i>)	TH, N
			L, Neith, central col. 5 (2×) (<i>di.s ꜥnh w3s</i>)	TH
w3t	way, road		D, col. 4 (<i>nn tnm ḥr w3t.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m3ꜥ-ib ḥr w3t ntr</i>)	N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m3ꜥ-ib ḥr w3t ntr</i>)	TH

















w3d-wr	waters, sea		L, left Neith col. 4 (<i>hnwt w3d-wr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>m^c n.f w3d-wr i3dt.f</i>)	TH
			D, col. 6 (<i>m^c n.f w3d-wr i3dt.f</i>)	N
			D, col. 9 (<i>ht nb pr m w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 9 (<i>ht nb pr m w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	N
			D, col. 12 (<i>m^c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH
w3d-wr h3w-nbwt	the Mediterranean		D, col. 9 (<i>ht nb pr m w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 9 (<i>ht nb pr m w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH
w3dt	Wadjet		L, right uraeus, line 2	TH, N
w ^c	one, (to) be one, alone		D, col. 6 (<i>ntr w^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>w^c 10 m nbw ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 8 (<i>w^c 10 m nbw ...</i>)	N
			D, col. 9 (<i>hn(^c) w^c 10 m ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (2x) (<i>ih h3(w) w^c</i>); (<i>r3 d3d3 w^c</i>)	TH, N
wbn	(to) rise		D, col. 4 (<i>mi r^c wbn.f m 3ht</i>)	TH, N
wn	(to) exist		D, col. 11 (<i>m-h3w-r wn im m-b3h</i>)	TH, N
wnn	what is, what exists		L, right Neith col. 4	TH, N
wr, wrt	important, great		L, right Neith, col. 3 (<i>nt wrt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>wr phty</i>)	TH, N
wsh	wesekh necklace		L, left king's lower col. (<i>hmk wsh n mwt.f</i>)	TH, N
wd	(to) command, decree		D, col. 12 (<i>iw wd.n hm.i ...</i>)	TH, N
wd3	prosperity		D, col. 14 (<i>hr-tp nht wd3 snb n nsw bity nb t3wy ...</i>)	TH, N

b















b3kt	Egypt		D, col. 2 (<i>nsw nht sdr b3kt</i>)	TH, N
b3k	(to) work		D, col. 2 (<i>b3k.s ? or it.s ? n.f ib n rhyt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>b3k n.f stwt itn</i>)	TH, N
bi3	copper (bronze?, iron?)		D, col. 2 (<i>inb n bi3</i>)	TH, N
bi3yt	marvel, wonder		D, col. 6 (<i>ntr w^c s3 bi3yt</i>)	TH, N

<i>bit</i>	nature, character, quality		D, col. 3 (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikr̥t</i>)	TH, N
<i>bit(y)</i>	king of Lower Egypt		L, right & left king's col. 1 (<i>nsw bity ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nsw bity ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>bhdt(y)</i>	He-of-Behedet		L, right and left uraei, line 1	TH, N
<i>bs</i>	(to) introduce		D, col. 7 (<i>bs nsw m hwt nt</i>)	TH, N
				



































p












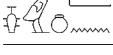
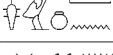













<i>p</i>	Pe		L, right uraeus, line 2	TH, N
<i>p^{ct}</i>	<i>p^{ct}</i> -people		D, col. 2 (<i>ibw p^{ct}</i>)	TH, N
<i>pw</i>	this		D, col. 12 (... <i>m^c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw</i>)	TH, N
<i>pn</i>	this		D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn hr ^ch^w pn</i>)	TH, N
<i>pr</i>	(to) come out, exit		D, col. 9 (<i>m ht nb pr m w3d-wr</i>)	TH, N
				
<i>pr-mryt</i>	Naukratis		D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr m pr-mryt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr m pr-mryt</i>)	N
<i>pr-nsw</i>	royal domain		D, col. 9 (... <i>nty tw hsbw r pr-nsw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (... <i>ntt tw hsbw r pr-nsw</i>)	TH, N
<i>pr-hd</i>	treasury		D, col. 12 (<i>sipw irw r pr-hd</i>)	TH, N
<i>phty</i>	strength		D, col. 3 (<i>wr phty</i>)	TH, N
<i>psd</i>	(to) shine		D, col. 4 (<i>sw3d t3wy nb hft psd.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>pt</i>	sky		L, right and left uraeus, line 1 (<i>nb pt</i>)	TH, N
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nb(t) pt</i>)	TH
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nb(t) pt</i>)	N

f



















<i>f</i>	he, his, him		L, right and left king's col. 2 (2×) (<i>n ht.f</i>); in cartouche <i>nht-nb.f</i>	TH, N
			L, right and left king's lower col. (2×) (<i>mwt.f</i>); (<i>ir.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (in cartouche <i>nht-nb.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (5×) (<i>hm.f</i>); (<i>tp.f</i>); (<i>rth.s n.f</i>); (<i>it.s n.f</i>); (<i>hftyw.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (4×) (<i>^cwy.f</i>); (<i>m3n.f</i>); (<i>\$ntyw.f</i>); (<i>bit.f ikr̥t</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (?) (<i>hr mw.(f)</i>)	N
			D, col. 3 (?) (<i>hr mw.(f)</i>)	TH
			D, col. 4 (7×) (<i>psd.f</i>); (<i>df3w.f</i>); (<i>m m3n.f</i>); (<i>wnb.f</i>); (<i>mrwt.f</i>); (<i>hr 3h3h</i>); (<i>diw.n.f^cnht</i>); (<i>rš n.f ntrw</i>);	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (5×) (<i>b3k n.f</i>); (<i>di n.f dww</i>); (<i>m^c n.f w3d-wr</i>); (<i>i3dt.f</i>); (<i>in n.f h3swt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (2×) (<i>shtp.f ibw.sn</i>); (<i>h^c hm.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (3×) (<i>r-gs mwt.f</i>); (<i>hnp.n.f</i>); (<i>dd.in hm.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>df3w.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>dd.in hm.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (2×) (<i>ir.f di^cnht nb ...</i>) (in cartouche <i>nht-nb.f</i>)	TH, N

m














m	preposition: in, as, by, with, from		D, col. 2 (<i>m ḥk3 t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>m tp.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>ir m c(wy).f (y)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>c k m c3w</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>hr nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f</i>)	TH
			D, col. 4 (<i>hr nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f</i>)	N
			D, col. 4 (<i>wbn.f m 3ht</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m shmw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m shrw nb</i>)	TH
			D, col. 5 (<i>m shrw nb</i>)	N
			D, col. 6 (<i>m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>di n.f dww im.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (3×) (<i>shtp.f ibw.sn m inw.sn</i>); (<i>hc hm.f m ch</i>); (<i>htp</i> <i>m hwt-ntr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (2×) (<i>bs m hwt nt</i>); (<i>hc m nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>m hwt nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (3×) (<i>wc 10 m nbw</i>); (<i>m hq</i>); (<i>m ht</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>m mdht</i>)	TH
			D, col. 8 (<i>m mdht</i>)	N
			D, col. 9 (6×) (<i>m ht nb</i>); (<i>pr m w3d-wr</i>); (<i>m iswt</i>); (<i>m niwt hnt rn.s</i>); (<i>m nbw</i>); (<i>m hq</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt</i>)	N
			D, col. 11 (<i>irp mnw 5 im.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>m mnw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>m hrt-hrw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m hnty rnpwt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH
			D, col. 13 (<i>m niwt krt</i>)	N
			D, col. 14 (<i>m niwt t3-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH
m-itr.ty	around, (lit. on both sides)		D, cols 2–3 (<i>inb n bi3 m-itr.ty kmt</i>)	TH, N
m-b3h	formerly		D, col. 11 (<i>m-h3w-r wn im m-b3h</i>)	TH, N
m-h3w-r	more than; in addition to		D, col. 11 (<i>m-h3w-r wn im m-b3h</i>)	TH, N

<i>m^c-ntt</i>	seeing that, in view of		D, col. 12 (<i>m^c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw</i>)	TH, N
<i>m33</i>	(to) see		D, col. 3 (<i>m3n.f 3ntyw.f</i>) D, col. 4 (<i>hr nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f</i>) D, col. 4/5 (<i>r3 n.f ntrw m3n.sn sw</i>) D, col. 5 (<i>r3 n.f ntrw m3n.sn sw</i>)	TH, N TH, N TH N
<i>m3^c-ib</i>	right, just, truthful mind		D, col. 5 (<i>m3^c-ib hr w3t ntr</i>)	TH, N
<i>mi, m^c</i>	(to) bring		D, col. 6 (<i>m^c n.f w3d-wr i3dt.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>mi</i>	like		L, left and right king, horiz. line (<i>mi r^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>mi r^c wbn.f m 3ht</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>mi r^c dt</i>)	TH, N
<i>mw</i>	water		D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3hw n nty hr mw.(f)</i>)	TH, N
<i>mwt</i>	mother		L, left and right king, lower col. (<i>n mwt.f</i>) L, right Neith, col. 3 (<i>mwt ntr</i>) D, col. 8 (<i>h^c m nt r-gs mwt.f</i>) D, col. 10 (... <i>n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N TH, N TH, N TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>sipw irw r pr-hd n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>hw mk htp-ntr n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>mnw</i>	jar, (and measure of capacity)		D, col. 11 (<i>irp mnw 5</i>)	TH
			D, col. 11 (<i>irp mnw 5</i>)	N
<i>mnw</i>	daily offerings		D, col. 11 (<i>m mnw m hrt-hrw nt r^c nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>mnh</i>	excellent, efficient, beneficent		D, col. 1 (<i>smnh-t3wy</i>) titular	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>iw^c mnh</i>)	TH, N
<i>mr, mr(y)</i>	beloved		D, col. 1 (<i>Ir-mr-ntrw</i>) titular D, col. 1 (<i>nt mr(y)</i>)	TH, N TH
			D, col. 1 (<i>nt mry</i>)	N
<i>mrwt</i>	love		D, col. 4 (<i>mrwt.f hr 3h3h m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>mh</i>	(to) fill		D, col. 3 (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f ikr</i>)	TH, N
<i>mk</i>	(to) protect		D, col. 2 (?) (<i>nsw nht mk (or sdr) b3kt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>iw wd.n hm.i hw mk htp-ntr</i>)	TH, N
<i>mtw</i>	conjunctive		D, col. 11 (<i>mtw.tw ir ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>mdw</i>	word, saying		L, right and left Neith, cols 1, 2 (<i>dd mdw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (... <i>nn sh hr hr mdw.sn</i>)	TH, N
<i>mdht</i>	worked wood, manufactured object		D, col. 9 (... <i>m ht m mdht ...</i>)	TH, N

n

n	preposition: for, belong to, through, in, as		L, right and left king, col. 2 (... n <i>h̄t.f</i>)	TH, N	
			L, left and right king, lower col. (<i>n mwt.f</i>)	TH, N	
			L, right and left Neith, col. 1; right Neith, col. 2 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 1 (<i>h̄r h̄m n ...</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 2 (4×) (<i>rth̄.s n.f ibw p̄t</i>); (<i>i(t).s n.f ib n r̄h̄yt</i>); (<i>inb n bi3</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3h̄w n nty h̄r mw(f)</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 4 (<i>rš n.f n̄trw</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 5 (<i>sh̄rw nb n h̄wt-n̄tr</i>)	TH, N
				D, col. 6 (4×) (<i>b3k n.f stwt itn</i>); (<i>d(i) n.f dww im .sn</i>); (<i>m̄ n.f w3d-wr i3dt.f</i>); (<i>in n.f h̄3swt d̄f3w.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>h̄np.n.f kbh̄ n it.(f)</i>)	TH, N	
D, col. 10 (2×) (<i>pr-mryt d̄d. tw n.s ...</i>); (<i>n mwt.i</i>)	TH, N				
D, col. 12 (2×) (<i>pr-h̄d n mwt.i nt</i>); (... <i>h̄tp-n̄tr n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N				
D, col. 13 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr h̄3w-nbwt</i>)	TH				
D, col. 14 (<i>t3-h̄nt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH				
D, col. 14 (<i>ʿnh̄ w̄d3 snb n nsw bity nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N				
<i>n-mrwt</i>	in order that		D, col. 13 (<i>n-mrwt smn ir.n.(i)</i>)	TH, N	
<i>niwt</i>	city		D, col. 9 (<i>m niwt h̄nt rn.s</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 14 (<i>m niwt t3-h̄nt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH
<i>niwt-kr̄t</i>	Naukratis, see also: <i>kr̄t</i>		D, col. 13 (<i>m niwt-kr̄t h̄r spt ʿnw</i>)	N	
nb	master, lord		L, right and left uraei, line 1 (<i>nb pt</i>)	TH, N	
			L, right and left king, col. 1 (<i>nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N	
				L, right and left king, col. 2 cartouche (<i>n̄ht-nb.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 cartouche (<i>n̄ht-nb.f</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 3 (<i>nb h̄pš</i>)	TH, N
				D, col. 8 (<i>nb nh̄h</i>)	TH, N
				D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N
	D, col. 14 cartouche (<i>n̄ht-nb.f</i>)	TH, N			
<i>nb pt</i>	Lord of the Sky		L, right and left uraei, line 1 (<i>nb pt</i>)	TH, N	
<i>nb nh̄h</i>	Lord of Eternity		D, col. 8 (<i>nb nh̄h</i>)	TH, N	
<i>nb h̄pš</i>	Lord of the Scimitar		D, col. 3 (<i>nb h̄pš</i>)	TH, N	
<i>nb t3wy</i>	Lord of the Two Lands		L, right and left king, col. 1 (<i>nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N





nb, nbt	every, all, any		L, right king, lower col. (<i>hnk nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith, col. 1 (<i>nh w3s nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith, col. 2 (<i>df3w nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, left Neith, col. 1 (<i>h3swt nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>htm.s hftyw.f nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (4×) (<i>sw3d t3wy nb</i>); (<i>sw nb hr df3w.f</i>); (<i>hr nb</i>); (<i>m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>shrw nb n hwt-ntr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 9 (2×) (<i>m ht nb pr m w3d-wr</i>); (<i>m iswt nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>m hrt-hrw nt r^c nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>ht nb ir(w).n tpyw-^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (4×) (<i>nh nb</i>); (<i>dd nb</i>); (<i>w3s nb</i>); (<i>snb nb</i>)	TH
			D, col. 14 (5×) (<i>nh nb</i>); (<i>dd nb</i>); (<i>w3s nb</i>); (<i>snb nb</i>); (<i>3wt-ib nb</i>)	N
nbw	gold		D, col. 1 (<i>hr nbw</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (?) (<i>nbw n hnk</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (... w ^c 10 m nbw ...)	TH
			D, col. 9 (... w ^c 10 m nbw ...)	TH
			D, col. 8 (... w ^c 10 m nbw ...)	N
			D, col. 9 (... w ^c 10 m nbw ...)	N
nbt	mistress, lady		L, right Neith, cols 3–4 (<i>nb(t) ntt km3 wnn</i>)	TH, N
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nb(t) pt</i>)	TH, N
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nbt s3w</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nt nb(t) s3w</i>)	TH, N
nb(t) w3d-wr	Mistress of the Sea		D, col. 12 (<i>m-^c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>m-^c-ntt nb(t) w3d-wr pw ...</i>)	TH, N
nb(t) pt	Mistress of the Sky		L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nb(t) pt</i>)	TH
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nb(t) pt</i>)	N
nb(t) ntt	Mistress of what exists		L, right Neith, col. 3–4 (<i>nb(t) ntt</i>)	TH, N
nb(t) s3w	Mistress of Saïs		L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nbt s3w</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nt nb(t) s3w</i>)	TH
			D, col. 1 (<i>nt nb(t) s3w</i>)	N
nbty	The Two Ladies		D, col. 1 (<i>nbty</i>) titulary	TH, N
nfr, nfrw	good, perfect, goodness		D, col. 1 (<i>ntr nfr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ih sh3.tw nfrw.i</i>)	TH, N
nn	negation		D, col. 3 (<i>nn tnm hr w3t.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>nn sh hr hr mdw.sn</i>)	TH, N
nn	this, these		D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn hr h^cw pn</i>)	TH, N
nh(h)	eternity		D, col. 8 (<i>hnp.n.f kbh n it.(f) nb nh(h)</i>)	TH, N

<i>nhb</i>	El Kab		L, left uraeus, line 2 (<i>nhbt nhb</i>)	TH, N
<i>nhbt</i>	Nekhbet		L, left uraeus, line 2 (<i>nhbt nhb</i>)	TH, N
<i>nh̄t</i>	strong, mighty		L, left and right king, col. 2 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>) titulary	TH, N
<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>	Nectanebo		D, col. 2 (<i>nsw nh̄t</i>)	TH, N
			L, left and right king, col. 2 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>) titulary	TH, N
<i>nsw</i>	king		D, col. 14 (<i>nh̄t-nb.f</i>) titulary	TH, N
			L, right and left king, col. 1 (<i>nsw bity</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nsw bity</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>nsw nh̄t</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>bs nsw m h̄wt-nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>nsw bity</i>	King of Upper and Lower Egypt		D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left king (<i>nsw bity</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>nsw bity</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity</i>)	TH, N
<i>nt</i>	Neith		D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left Neith, col. 3	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (2×) (<i>nt nbt s̄w</i>); (<i>nt iw̄</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>h̄wt-n̄r nt nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (2×) (<i>bs m h̄wt nt</i>); (<i>nb nh̄h m h̄wt nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>r pr-h̄d n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
D, col. 12 (<i>h̄tp-n̄r n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH			
D, col. 12 (<i>h̄tp-n̄r n mwt.i nt</i>)	N			
<i>nt</i>	Saïte nome		D, col. 7 (<i>h̄r hm.f m h̄ nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>nt</i>	Red Crown		D, col. 8 (<i>h̄r m nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>nt</i>	feminine genitive particle		D, col. 7 (<i>h̄tp m h̄wt-n̄r nt nt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>h̄rt-hrw nt r̄ nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>nty, ntt, ntyw</i>	relative adjective		D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3h̄w n nty hr mw.(f)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 9 (<i>nty tw h̄sbw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (2×) (<i>m h̄t nb ntt h̄pr ...</i>); (<i>ntt tw h̄sbw</i>)	TH, N
<i>ntt</i>	what is, what exists		D, col. 13 (<i>n mrwt smn ir.n.(i) (i)n nty(w) r h̄p(r) ...</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith, cols 3–4	TH, N
<i>nts</i>	indep. pronoun, 3rd p. fem. she		D, col. 12 (<i>nts r̄di d̄f̄w.f</i>)	TH, N


























<i>ntr</i>	god, divine		L, right and left uraei, line 1 (<i>ntr</i> ʕ3) for Behedety	TH, N
			L, right Neith, col. 3 (<i>mwt ntr</i>) for Neith	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>ntr nfr</i>) for the king	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>m3ʕ-ib hr w3t ntr</i>)	TH
				D, col. 5 (<i>m3ʕ-ib hr w3t ntr</i>)
			D, col. 6 (<i>ntr wʕ</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>htpw-ntr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (... <i>hw mk htp-ntr</i>)	TH, N
<i>ntr ʕ3</i>	great god		L, right and left uraei, line 1, for Behedety	TH, N
<i>ntrw</i>	gods		D, col. 1 (<i>ir-mr ntrw</i>) titular	TH, N
				D, col. 4 (<i>rʕ n.f ntrw m3n.sn sw</i>)
<i>nd-r(3)</i>	(to) take counsel		D, col. 5 (<i>st3 hmw-ntr.sn hr nd-r(3).sn</i>)	TH, N





























r

<i>r</i>	preposition: to, from, until, concerning, according, as, at		D, col. 3 (<i>sdr.sn r sʕp</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 4 (<i>diw.n.f ʕnh r hwt</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 9 (<i>ntw tw hsbw r pr-nsw</i>)	TH, N
				D, col. 10 (2x) (<i>ntw tw hsbw r pr-nsw</i>) (<i>r htp-ntr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>r pr-hd n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N	
		D, col. 13 (... <i>nty(w) r hp(r)</i>)	TH, N		
<i>r-km</i>	compound preposition: to the end of		D, col. 10 (... <i>r-km dt</i>)	TH, N	
				D, col. 14 (... <i>r-km hh</i>)	TH, N
<i>r-gs</i>	compound preposition: in the presence of, beside		D, col. 8 (<i>hʕ m nt r-gs mwt.f ...</i>)	TH, N	
<i>r(3)</i>	geese		D, col. 11 (<i>r(3) d3d3 wʕ</i>)	TH, N	
<i>r(3)</i>	mouth		D, col. 5 (... <i>hr nd-r(3).sn</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn nn hr ʕhʕw pn m r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt</i>)	TH	
<i>rʕ</i>	Re		L, right and left king, horiz. line (<i>mi rʕ</i>)	TH, N	
				L, right and left king, col. 1 (<i>hpr-k3-rʕ</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left king, col. 2 (<i>s3 rʕ</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 1 (3x) cartouche (<i>hpr-k3-rʕ</i>); (<i>s3 rʕ</i>) titular; (<i>tit rʕ</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 4 (<i>mi rʕ wbn.f m 3ht</i>)	TH, N	
	D, col. 14 (2x) cartouche (<i>hpr-k3-rʕ</i>); (<i>s3 rʕ</i>) titular	TH, N			
	D, col. 14 (<i>mi rʕ dt</i>)	TH, N			
<i>rʕ</i>	day		D, col. 11 (<i>m hrt-hrw nt rʕ nb</i>)	TH, N	
<i>rn</i>	name		D, col. 9 (<i>m niwt hnt rn.s</i>)	TH, N	
			D, col. 14 (<i>m niwt t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH	
<i>rnpt</i>	year		D, col. 1 (or <i>hsbt</i>) date	TH, N	
				D, col. 13 (<i>m hnty rnpt</i>)	TH, N
<i>rhyt</i>	<i>rhyt</i> -people		D, col. 2 ((<i>i</i>) <i>t.s n.f ib n rhyt</i>)	TH, N	

<i>rs</i>	(to) watch, (to) wake		D, col. 5 (<i>rs(w) hr hḥ 3ḥw...</i>)	TH, N
<i>rš</i>	(to) rejoice		D, col. 4 (<i>rš n.f nṯrw m3n.sn</i>)	TH, N
<i>rth</i>	(to) subdue		D, col. 2 (<i>rth.s n.f ibw pṯ</i>)	TH, N
<i>rdi</i>	(to) give, see also: <i>di</i>		D, col. 2 (2×) (<i>... rdi.n.s sw m ḥk3 t3wy</i>); (<i>rdi.n.s hrȳt-tp.s ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>nts rdi df3wf ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>rdi.tw m niwt-krṯ</i>)	N

h

<i>ḥ3w-nbwt</i>	Hau-nebut people		D, col. 9 (<i>ḥt nb pr m w3d-wr ḥ3w-nbwt</i>) D, col. 13 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr ḥ3w-nbwt</i>)	TH, N TH
<i>ḥsbt</i>	year		D, col. 1 (date)	TH, N
<i>ḥwwt</i>	temples		D, col. 5 (<i>... kd ḥwwt.sn</i>)	TH
			D, col. 5 (<i>... kd ḥwwt.sn</i>)	N
<i>ḥwt-nt</i>	Neith's temple		D, col. 8 (2×) (<i>bs m ḥwt-nt</i>); (<i>nb nhḥ m ḥwt-nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>ḥwt-nṯr</i>	mansion of god, temple		D, col. 5 (<i>... shrw nb n ḥwt-nṯr</i>) D, col. 7 (<i>ḥtp m ḥwt-nṯr nt nt</i>)	TH, N TH, N
<i>ḥpty (?)</i>	extreme limits		L, left and right king, rear col. (2×)	TH, N
<i>ḥm</i>	Majesty		D, col. 1 (<i>hr ḥm n ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s ḥm.f</i>)	TH
			D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s ḥm.f</i>)	N
			D, col. 7 (<i>ḥᶜ ḥm.f m ᶜh ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 7 (<i>ḥᶜ ḥm.f m ᶜh ...</i>)	N
			D, col. 8 (<i>dd.in ḥm.f</i>)	TH
			D, col. 8 (<i>dd.in ḥm.f</i>)	N
			D, col. 12 (<i>iw wd.n ḥm.i ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>dd.in ḥm.f imi smn.tw ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 13 (<i>dd.in ḥm.f imi smn.tw ...</i>)	N
<i>ḥmw-nṯr</i>	priests		D, col. 5 (<i>st3 ḥmw-nṯr.sn hr nd-r(3).sn</i>)	TH, N
<i>ḥmᶜ</i>	and, with		D, col. 9 (<i>ḥmᶜ wᶜ 10 m ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>ḥnwt</i>	mistress, sovereign		L, left Neith, col. 4 (<i>ḥnwt w3d-wr</i>)	TH, N
<i>ḥnwt w3d-wr</i>	Mistress of the Floods		L, left Neith, col. 4	TH, N
<i>ḥnk</i>	offering(s)		L, right king, lower col. (<i>rdi ḥnk nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, left king, lower col. (<i>ḥnk wsḥ</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (?) (<i>nbw n ḥnk</i>)	TH, N
<i>ḥnt</i>	Thonis, also <i>t(3)-ḥnt-n-s3w</i>		D, col. 9 (<i>m niwt ḥnt rn.s</i>)	TH, N

<i>hnty</i>	period, end		D, col. 13 (<i>m hnty rnpwt</i>)	TH, N
<i>hr nbw</i>	Golden Horus		D, col. 1 titulary	TH, N
<i>hr tm3-ꜥ</i>	Horus Mighty-of-arm		D, col. 1 titulary	N
			D, col. 1 titulary	TH
<i>hr</i>	face		D, col. 4 (<i>hr nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f</i>) D, col. 5 (<i>nn sh hr ...</i>)	TH, N TH, N
<i>hr</i>	upon, in, at, through		D, col. 3 (<i>ir 3hw n nty hr mw.(f)</i>) D, col. 4 (<i>nn tnm hr w3t.sn</i>)	TH, N TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>mrwt.f hr 3h3h m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>rs(w) hr hh 3hw ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (3x) (<i>st3 hmw-ntr.sn hr nd-r(3).sn</i>) (<i>nn sh hr hr mdw.sn</i>); (<i>m3ꜥ-ib hr w3t-ntr</i>) D, col. 10 (<i>krꜥ hr spt ꜥnw</i>)	TH, N TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn hr ꜥhꜥw pn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>m niwt-krꜥ hr spt ꜥnw</i>)	N
<i>hr-tp</i>	on behalf of		D, col. 14 (<i>hr-tp ꜥnh wꜥ3 snb ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>hryt-tp</i>	uraeus		D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s hryt-tp.s m tp.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>hh</i>	eternity		D, col. 14 (<i>ih sh3.tw nfrw.i r-km hh</i>)	TH, N
<i>hh</i>	(to) seek		D, col. 5 (<i>rs(w) hr hh 3hw ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>hsb</i>	(to) count, reckon		D, col. 9 (<i>m iswt nb nty tw hsbw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>ntt tw hsbw</i>)	TH, N
<i>hsbt</i>	year of count		D, col. 1 (date)	TH, N
<i>hsk</i>	(to) cut off		D, col. 3 (<i>hsk ibw h3k-ibw</i>)	TH, N
<i>hk3</i>	ruler		D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s sw m hk3 t3wy</i>)	TH, N
<i>htp</i>	(to) rest, be pleased, set		D, col. 7 (... <i>htp m hwt-ntr nt nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>htp-ntr</i>	divine offering		D, col. 10 (<i>hsbw r pr-nsw r htpw-ntr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (... <i>hw mk htp-ntr n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>htm</i>	(to) destroy, perish		D, col. 2 (<i>htm.s hftiyw.f nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>hd</i>	silver		D, col. 8 (<i>imi di.tw wꜥ 10 m nbw m hd ...</i>) D, col. 9 (<i>hm(ꜥ) wꜥ 10 m nbw m hd ...</i>)	TH, N TH, N
<i>hdt</i>	The White One (for Nekhbet)		L, left uraeus, line 2	TH, N
<i>hdt</i>	She of Upper Egypt, i.e., She of the White Crown		L, left uraeus, line 2	TH
			L, left uraeus, line 2	N

h
































<i>h3w</i>	portion, piece		D, col. 11 (<i>mtw.tw ir ih h3(w) w^c</i>)	TH, N
<i>h3swt</i>	foreign countries		L, left Neith, col. 1 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k h3swt nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, cols 6–7 (<i>in n.f h3swt df3w.sn</i>)	TH
			D, col. 6 (<i>in n.f h3swt df3w.sn</i>)	N
<i>h^ci</i>	(to) appear		D, col. 7 (<i>h^c hm.f m ^ch ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>h^c m nt ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>hw</i>	(to) preserve, protect		L(?), right and left king, rear col. (2×)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>iw wd.n hm.i hw mk htp-ntr ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>hws</i>	(to) build, construct		D, col. 5 (... <i>hws inb.sn</i>)	TH
			D, col. 5 (... <i>hws inb.sn</i>)	N
<i>hpr</i>	(to) become, come into being		L, right and left king, col. 1 cartouche (<i>hpr-k3-r^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 cartouche (<i>hpr-k3-r^c</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (... (<i>in nty(w) r hp(r)</i>)	TH, N
<i>hpr-k3-r^c</i>	Kheperkare		D, col. 14 cartouche (<i>hpr-k3-r^c</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left king, col. 1 cartouche	TH, N
			D, col. 14 cartouche	TH, N
<i>hps</i>	scimitar		D, col. 3 (<i>nb hps</i>)	TH
			D, col. 3 (<i>nb hps</i>)	N
<i>hft</i>	when, while		D, col. 4 (<i>hft psd.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>ir iht hft d(d).sn</i>)	TH, N
<i>hftyw</i>	enemies, opponents		D, col. 2 (<i>htm.s hftyw.f nb</i>)	TH
			D, col. 2 (<i>htm.s hftyw.f nb</i>)	N
<i>hnp</i>	(to) offer, pour out		D, col. 8 (<i>hnp.n.f kbh n it.(f)</i>)	TH, N
<i>hnt</i>	before, at the head of		D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s hm.f hnt idbwy</i>)	TH, N
<i>hr</i>	under (the majesty of ...)		D, col. 1 date (<i>hr hm n...</i>)	TH, N
<i>ht</i>	wood		D, col. 8 (... <i>w^c 10 m nbw m h^d m ht</i>)	TH, N
<i>ht</i>	thing, property		D, col. 5 (<i>ir iht hft d(d).sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (... <i>m ht nb ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 9 (<i>m ht nb pr m w3d-wr ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 9 (<i>m ht nb pr m w3d-wr ...</i>)	N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr ...</i>)	TH
			D, col. 10 (<i>m ht nb ntt hpr ...</i>)	N
			D, col. 13 (... <i>ht nb ir(w).n tpyw-^c ...</i>)	TH, N

h




<i>h3kw-ibw</i>	enemies, rebels		D, col. 3 (... <i>hsk ibw h3kw-ibw</i>)	TH, N
<i>hr</i>	under, beneath, charged with		L, left Neith, col. 2 (... <i>hr inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>sw nb hr(r) df3w.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>hrt-hrw</i>	daily		D, col. 11 (<i>m hrt-hrw nt r^c nb</i>)	TH, N
<i>ht, hwt</i>	body, bodies		L, left and right king, col. 2 (<i>s3 r^c n ht.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>mrwt.f hr 3h3h m ht nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>diw.n.f ^cnh r hwt</i>)	TH, N

S






<i>s, s(y), s(t)</i>	she, her, it		L, right and left uraei, line 2 (<i>di.s ^cnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left Neith, col. 5 (<i>di.s ^cnh w3s</i>)	TH
			L, right and left Neith, col. 5 (<i>di.s ^cnh dd</i>)	N
			D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s hm.f hnt idbwy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s sw m hk3 t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s hryt-tp.s ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>hryt-tp.s ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>rth.s n.f ibw p^ct ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>((i)t(h).s n.f ib n rhyt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>htm.s hftyw.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>s3</i>	son		L, right and left king, col. 2 (<i>s3 r^c</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>s3 r^c</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>s3 r^c</i>) titulary	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt dd.tw n.s ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>s3w</i>	Saïs		D, col. 14 (<i>m niwt t3-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH
			L, left Neith, col. 3 (<i>nbt s3w</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>mry nt nb(t) s3w</i>)	TH
			D, col. 1 (<i>mry nt nb(t) s3w</i>)	N
	D, col. 14 (<i>m niwt t3-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH		
<i>sip</i>	(to) assign		D, col. 12 (<i>sipw irw r pr-hd n mwt.i nt</i>)	TH, N
<i>s^cs3</i>	(to) multiply, make numerous		D, col. 6 (<i>s^cs3 dbhw shrw ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>sw</i>	day		D, col. 1 (<i>sw l3</i>) date	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>sw nb hr df3w.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>sw</i>	he, him		D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s sw m hk3 t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (<i>r3 n.f ntrw m3n.sn sw</i>)	TH, N
<i>sw3d</i>	(to) make green, make prosper		D, col. 4 (<i>sw3d t3wy nb hft psd.f</i>)	TH, N
<i>spt</i>	lip, edge		D, col. 10 (... <i>hr spt ^cnw ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (... <i>hr spt ^cnw ...</i>)	N

smn	(to) maintain		D, col. 12 (<i>smn ht nb ir.n tpyw-ḥ</i>)	TH
			D, col. 13 (<i>smn ht nb ir.n tpyw-ḥ</i>)	N
			D, col. 13 (<i>n-mrwt smn ir.n.(i)</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn hr ḥw pn</i>)	TH, N
smnh-t3wy	Who-benefits-the-two-Lands		D, col. 1 (<i>smnh-t3wy</i>) titular	TH, N
sn	they, them, their		L, left Neith, col. 2 (<i>h3swt nb hr inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 3 (2×), (<i>sdr.sn r sšp</i>) (<i>ib.sn mh(w) m bit.f iḳrt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>nn tnm hr w3t.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 5 (7×) (... <i>m3n.sn sw</i>); (<i>šmw.sn</i>) (... <i>ḥmw-ntr.sn</i>); (... <i>nd-r(3).sn</i>); (... <i>ḥft d(d).sn</i>); (... <i>mdw.sn</i>); (<i>kd ḥwt.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>ḥws inb.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>d(i) n.f dww im.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>df3w.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>ibw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (... <i>m inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (... <i>im.sn</i>)	TH, N
snb	health		D, col. 14 (<i>ḥnh wḏ3 snb n nsw bity nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (... <i>ḥnh nb dd nb w3s nb snb nb</i>)	TH, N
srḳ	(to) make breathe		L, right and left king, rear column	TH, N
šhtp (ib)	(to) appease, render content, here: (to) acknowledge sovereignty		D, col. 7 (<i>šhtp.f ibw.sn m inw.sn</i>)	TH, N
šh3	(to) remember		D, col. 14 (<i>iḥ šh3.tw nfrw.i</i>)	TH, N
šhi (hr)	(to) be neglectful		D, col. 5 (<i>nn šhi hr hr mdw.sn</i>)	TH, N
šhpi	(to) bring (offerings)		D, col. 6 (<i>šhp w3ḥwt m ht nb ...</i>)	TH, N
šmw	shrines		D, col. 5 (<i>rs(w) hr ḥh 3ḥw m šmw.sn</i>)	TH, N
šhr	plan, matter, project		D, col. 5 (... <i>hr nd-r(3).sn m šhrw nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 6 (<i>sḥ3 dbḥw šhrw ...</i>)	TH, N
sšp	light, dawn		D, col. 3 (<i>sdr.sn r sšp</i>)	TH, N
stwt	rays		D, col. 6 (<i>b3k n.f stwt itn</i>)	TH, N
st3	(to) pull, drag		D, col. 5 (<i>st3 ḥmw-ntr.sn hr nd-r(3).sn</i>)	TH, N
stn	(to) crown with the White Crown, distinguish		D, col. 2 (<i>stn.n.s ḥm.f hnt idbwy</i>)	TH, N
sdf3	(to) supply, provision		D, col. 6 (<i>sdf3 ḥ3 sḥ3 dbḥw šhrw</i>)	TH, N
sdr	(to) sleep, spend the night		D, col. 3 (<i>sdr.sn r sšp ...</i>)	TH, N
sdr	(to) be strong, make safe		D, col. 2 (<i>nsw nḥt sdr (or mk) b3ḳt</i>)	TH, N








š

šwt, šwyt (?)			L, right and left king, rear column (2×)	TH, N
šmw	season		D, col. 1 (<i>hsbt 1 šbd 4 šmw sw 13</i>) date	TH, N
šntyw	enemies		D, col. 3 (... <i>m3n.f šntyw.f</i>)	TH, N


k

kbh	kbh-libation		D, col. 8 (<i>hnp.n.f kbh n it.f</i>)	TH, N
km3	(to) create		L, right Neith, col. 4 (<i>km3 wnn</i>)	TH, N
km3 wnn	she who creates what exists		L, right Neith, col. 4 (<i>km3 wnn</i>)	TH, N
krrt (?)	cavern		L, right and left king, rear col. (2×)	TH, N
kd	(to) build		D, col. 5 (<i>kd hwt.sn ...</i>)	TH, N









k

k	thou, thee, thy (masc.)		L, right Neith, cols 1, 2 (<i>di.n(i) n.k</i>)	TH, N
	you, your		L, left Neith, col. 1 (<i>di.n(i) n.k</i>)	TH, N
k3	soul, spirit (in <i>hpr-k3-r</i> ^c name)		L, right and left king, col. 1 (cartouche)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (cartouche)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (cartouche)	TH, N
k3r (?)	bolt, lock		L, right and left king, rear col. (2×)	TH, N
km	see: <i>r-km</i>			
kmt	Egypt		D, col. 3 (<i>inb n bi3 m-itr.ty kmt</i>)	TH, N
kr̄t	Naukratis, see also: <i>niwt-kr̄t</i>		D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt dd.tw n.s kr̄t</i>)	TH
			D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt dd.tw n.s kr̄t</i>)	N

g

g3g3	(to) be amazed, astounded		D, col. 4 (<i>hr nb g3g3(w) m m3n.f</i>)	TH, N
(r)-gs	see: <i>r-gs</i>			

t

t(3)	the (fem. sing.)		D, col. 14 (<i>t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH
t3wy	The Two Lands		L, right and left king, col. 1 (<i>nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 1 (<i>smnh-t3wy</i>) titular	TH, N
			D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s sw m hk3 t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>sw3d t3wy</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>nsw bity nb t3wy</i>)	TH, N
t(3)-hnt-n-s3w	Thonis see also: <i>hnt</i>		D, col. 14 (<i>m r(3) n w3d-wr h3w-nbwt m niwt t(3)-hnt-n-s3w rn.s</i>)	TH
tī(t)	image		D, col. 1 (<i>tī(t) r</i> ^c)	TH, N

tw	indefinite pronoun or passive particle: one		D, col. 8 (<i>imi di.tw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>m pr-mryt ḏd.tw n.s krt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 11 (<i>mtw.tw ir ih ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>imi smn.tw nn hr ḥ(w) pn</i>)	TH, N
tw.(tw)	new pronoun		D, col. 9 (<i>išwt nb nty tw ḥsbw</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>ntt tw ḥsbw</i>)	TH, N
tp	head		D, col. 2 (<i>rdi.n.s ḥryt-tp.s m tp.f</i>)	TH, N
tpyw-ḥ	ancestors		D, col. 13 (<i>... ḥt nb ir(w).n tpyw-ḥ ...</i>)	TH, N
tnm	(to) go astray		D, col. 3 (<i>nn tnm ḥr w3t.sn</i>)	TH, N

t







tm3-ḥ	Horus Mighty-of-Arm		D, col. 1 titulary	TH, N
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d

di	(to) give see also: rdi		L, right and left uraeus, line 2 (<i>di.s ḥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left king, hor. line (<i>di ḥnh mi rḥ</i>)	TH, N
			L, right king, lower col. (<i>di ḥnk nb n mwt.f</i>)	TH, N
			L, right and left king, lower col. (<i>ir.f di ḥnh</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith, col. 1 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ḥnh w3s nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, right Neith, col. 2 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ḏf3w nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, left Neith, col. 1 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ḥ3swt nb</i>)	TH, N
			L, Neith central col. 5 (<i>di.s ḥnh w3s</i>)	TH
			L, Neith central col. 5 (<i>di.s ḥnh ḏd</i>)	N
				D, col. 4 (<i>diw.n.f ḥnh r ḥwt</i>)
			D, col. 6 (<i>d(i) n.f ḏww im.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 8 (<i>imi di.tw...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 14 (<i>ir.f di ḥnh</i>)	TH, N
dbḥw (shrw?)	requirements		D, col. 6 (<i>sḥ3 dbḥw shrw</i>)	TH, N
dp	Dep		L, right uraeus, line 2	TH, N
dšr-ib	furious		D, col. 3 (<i>dšr-ib m3n.f šntyw.f</i>)	TH, N

d

ḏ3ḏ3	fatty		D, col. 11 (<i>r(3) ḏ3ḏ3 wḥ</i>)	TH, N
ḏww	mountains		D, col. 6 (<i>d(i) n.f ḏww im.sn</i>)	TH, N
ḏf3w	provisions, supplies		L, right Neith, col. 2 (<i>di.n.(i) n.k ḏf3w nb</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 4 (<i>sw nb ḥr ḏf3w.f</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 7 (<i>in n.f ḥ3swt ḏf3w.sn</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 12 (<i>nts rdi ḏf3w.f</i>)	TH, N

<i>dt</i>	eternity		D, col. 1 (<i>ʿnh dt</i>) after titulary D, col. 10 (<i>r-km dt</i>) D, col. 14 (<i>ʿnh dt</i>) after titulary D, col. 14 (<i>mi rʿ dt</i>)	TH, N TH, N TH, N TH, N
<i>dd</i>	(to) say		L, right and left Neith, cols 1, 2 (<i>d(d) mdw</i>) D, col. 5 (<i>ir iht hft d(d).sn</i>) D, col. 8 (<i>d(d).in hm.f ...</i>)	TH, N TH, N TH, N
			D, col. 10 (<i>... m pr-mryt dd.tw n.s krt</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 13 (<i>d(d).in hm.f ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>dd</i>	stability, duration		L, right and left Neith, col. 5 (2 ×) (<i>di.s ʿnh dd</i>) D, col. 14 (<i>... di ʿnh nb dd nb ...</i>)	N TH, N
<i>dd šps (?)</i>	venerable pillar (?), Royal Ka (?)		L, right and left king, rear column	TH, N

numbers

<i>wʿ</i>	one see also <i>wʿ</i>	l	D, col. 1 (<i>hsbt l ...</i>) date	TH, N
<i>fdw</i>	four	llll	D, col. 1 (<i>hsbt l 3bd 4 šmw ...</i>) date	TH, N
<i>diw</i>	five	lllll	D, col. 11 (<i>irp mnw 5 ...</i>)	TH, N
<i>mdw</i>	ten	∩	D, col. 8 (<i>imi di.tw wʿ 10 m ...</i>)	TH, N
			D, col. 9 (<i>hmʿ wʿ 10 m ...</i>)	TH, N
	thirteen	∩lll	D, col. 1 (<i>hsbt l 3bd 4 šmw sw 13</i>) date	TH, N

