

THE
BULLETIN
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF
PAPYROLOGISTS



Volume 46
ISSN 0003-1186

2009

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- Abbreviations for editions of papyri, ostraca, and tablets should follow the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>). The volume number of the edition should be included in Arabic numerals: e.g., *P.Oxy.* 41.2943.1-3; 2968.5; *P.Lond.* 2.293.9-10 (p.187).

- Other abbreviations should follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

- For ancient and Byzantine authors, contributors should consult the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, xxix-liv, and *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, xi-xiv.

- For general matters of style, contributors should consult the 15th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* or this issue of *BASP*.

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John Wallrodt and Andrew Connor provided assistance with the production of this volume.

A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources*. The Journal of Juris-tic Papyrology, Supplements 4. Warszawa: Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2006. xviii + 462 pages + 28 plans and photographs + one unnumbered photograph. ISBN 83-918250-3-5.

It does not often happen that a substantial new body of Greek inscriptions from Egypt is published.¹ When, moreover, this is done by an expert in the field, who has done important work on Greek inscriptions from the Sudan, Egypt, and other areas of the Mediterranean, one cannot but feel a sense of excitement when opening this book.² And indeed, reading through Adam Łajtar's (henceforth: Ł.) study and edition of 330 Greek texts from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the excitement never ceases. This is a model study for any future publication of Greek inscriptions from an Egyptian temple site.

As can be seen in the preface, work on the inscriptions began in 1988, when Ł. first participated in the Polish archaeological mission at Deir el-Bahari, and he has worked on the project on and off for almost twenty years. The 330 inscriptions are not all unpublished, since André Bataille published a large part of them in 1951.³ Ł. re-edits these inscriptions and over the years has added a significant number of new wall inscriptions, for a total of 325.⁴ Moreover, he includes three ostraka and two "stone inscriptions" (one on a column and another on fragments of a stela). For his study Ł. makes use of an excellent publication of the Ptolemaic sanctuary within the complex, including its relief decoration and hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁵ On the other hand, a group

¹ Many thanks to Richard Burgess for some improvements to the English of this review.

² Łajtar's main editions of larger collections of Greek inscriptions are: *Die Inschriften von Byzantion* 1 (Bonn 2000); *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* (Leuven 2003); and with A. Twardecki, *Catalogue des inscriptions grecques du Musée national de Varsovie* (Warszawa 2003).

³ A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* (Cairo 1951).

⁴ Ł. speaks of 322 wall inscriptions on p. 18, ca. 322 on p. 87 and 323 on p. 107, whereas his catalogue contains 325 numbers.

⁵ E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warszawa 1984). There are also a few more published inscriptions in hieroglyphic and demotic from elsewhere on the temple terrain, which are mentioned in the useful survey of the sources on pp. 16-20.

of about 180 demotic inscriptions still awaits publication (pp. 18, 94). Since Ł's study concerns the cult site only in the Graeco-Roman period, he has omitted Greek texts from the late sixth century onwards, when the complex was being reused as a monastery (the monastery of St. Phoibammon).⁶ Also excluded are figurative graffiti because they cannot always be dated with certainty to the Graeco-Roman period (pp. 107-108).

The book is divided into two parts. The second is an edition of all known Greek texts from the temple dating to the Graeco-Roman period, while the first is an attempt to reconstruct what these inscriptions tell us about the cultic activities inside the temple complex during this period. In the first part, which is divided into fifteen chapters, Ł. shows an intimate familiarity with the Egyptian and Greek texts, and the temple itself. He is also completely up-to-date on recent work on the temple by his compatriots and frequently alludes to their views about aspects of the site. The result is a highly detailed picture of the religious activities in the temple from the third century BCE until the second century CE (and, to a lesser extent, the third and fourth centuries CE). In addition, Ł. displays a vast knowledge of Graeco-Roman Egypt, especially of its religion, which places these local activities in a wider context. Thus the first part in itself constitutes an important contribution to the study of religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

The first chapter sets the scene by describing the surrounding landscape and the site and its history up to the Ptolemaic period. The description of the different parts of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut is detailed and can be followed with the help of two ground plans of the temple (Figs. 1-2), but it would have helped the uninitiated reader if the names of the different parts of the complex had been provided on the plans themselves or in a key or legend; this is an important consideration since the specific parts are frequently referred to throughout the first part of the book.

In the second chapter, Ł. continues by providing the background to the cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep, who were venerated together in the temple in the Graeco-Roman period. Both were prominent men in their time, who were deified after a long and complex process. Imhotep, who lived in the twenty-seventh century BCE, was worshipped as a god in Memphis from the seventh or sixth century BCE onwards and was only introduced late in the Theban area. Amenhotep, son of Hapu, on the other hand, who lived in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE, had a mortuary temple in Medinet Habu until

⁶ For the monastery, see W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warszawa 1986), with an edition of the Coptic wall inscriptions from the monastery on pp. 141-152. Ł. announces (on p. 107) that he will publish the Greek graffiti from the monastery he has collected on another occasion.

the beginning of the Ptolemaic era. Since the earliest references to the cult of Amenhotep at Deir el-Bahari date exactly to this period, it is generally assumed that the cult was transferred from Medinet Habu around this time. After a fine overview of the sources on the cult available for study, in chapters four and five the intriguing question is addressed of how the cult of Amenhotep, which thus already existed at Deir el-Bahari from the turn of the fourth and third centuries BCE onwards, and that of Imhotep became associated with each other. On the basis of the Egyptian and Greek texts, Ł. makes it clear that Imhotep was not worshipped alongside Amenhotep from the beginning but was only introduced later. As he plausibly suggests, the moment of introduction may well have coincided with the large-scale rebuilding and renovation of the Hatshepsut temple in the second half of the second century BCE in order to boost the still not unquestionable divine status of Amenhotep at this time.

Chapter six serves as an introduction to a study, in the following chapters, of the heyday of the temple cult from the second century BCE to the second century CE, to which period most of the inscriptions date. On the basis of the distribution of the inscriptions, which can be followed in detail through maps at the end of the book (Figures 3-8),⁷ Ł. discusses which parts of the upper terrace were still in use for the Graeco-Roman temple cult. For example, the Solar Complex on the northern side of the upper court bears no visitors' inscriptions and was thus not in use, and a figurative dipinto painted five metres above the ground indicates that this building had been filled up with sand at this time. Most of the rest of the upper terrace seems to have been used, as well as a small chapel in front of the Punt portico on the lower (second) terrace. The two innermost of the three central sanctuaries of the Hatshepsut temple served as the sanctuary for the Graeco-Roman temple, and they also therefore do not contain visitors' inscriptions. The third one, the Bark Shrine, did, and was probably demarcated by a curtain.

Chapter eight discusses the gods worshipped, above all Amenhotep and Imhotep, and how they are referred to in the inscriptions. Amenhotep is mentioned far more often, and Imhotep (called Asklepios in the Greek inscriptions) never occurs without Amenhotep. Thus the sanctuary remained primarily associated with Amenhotep in the Graeco-Roman period. In chapter nine, the cults of the temple are discussed. In addition to the cult of Amenhotep/Imhotep, there is also slight evidence for a cult of the Ptolemies. As for the main cult, several aspects of it are treated, mainly healing through incubation and

⁷ The absence of names for the different parts of the temple in the key maps (Figs. 1-2, see above), prevents an easy location of the following maps of these parts (Figs. 3-8). Moreover, the subdivision of these parts into sections with Roman numerals, as mentioned in the captions, should have been indicated in the maps themselves.

dream oracles. Chapter ten treats the evidence for the forms of worship, such as daily rituals, occasional festivals and religious associations.⁸ Most of our knowledge of the priests of Deir el-Bahari, as is made clear by chapter eleven, derives from demotic papyri with a Western Theban provenance, not from the inscriptions from the temple itself. The scanty evidence points to the whole range of priesthoods from higher- (*hm-ntr* and *wcb*-priests) to lower-ranking priests (*wn-pr*).⁹ Again mostly on the basis of papyri and not inscriptions from the site itself, the income and expenses of the temple are treated in chapter twelve, which is in itself an excellent brief survey of the temple economy in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

With chapter thirteen, we move to the visitors to the temple. The majority of the inscriptions were left by visitors, which gives Ł. the opportunity to study their names, origin and professions in detail. From his analysis, it appears that during the early existence of the cult of Amenhotep (until the renovation in the second century BCE), most visitors had Greek names, and Ł. thinks that they were ethnic Greeks. After the second century BCE, as a rule the names are local and Egyptian, which indicates that in this period the sanctuary primarily attracted only people from the region. From their professions it seems that they were, with the exception of the occasional priest or high official, from the middle and lower classes. This leads to the interesting question if these visits by people from the region can be called “pilgrimages.” According to the definition of pilgrimage that Ł. gives – “a trip of considerable longevity and duration to a holy place undertaken by someone for religious motives” (p. 85) – few of the visits were in fact pilgrimages, and this is also the reason why he calls the inscriptions not pilgrimage but visitors’ inscriptions.¹⁰

In chapter fourteen, Ł. continues his analysis of the inscriptions by noting the way in which, by whom, and where they were written (mostly at eye-level,

⁸ See now J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE)* (Leuven 2008) 202-214, for a similar discussion on the basis of demotic and Greek inscriptions of rituals, festivals, and associations in fourth- and fifth-century Philae. As I do (pp. 204, 208-209), Ł. tries to look for connections between the dates mentioned in the inscriptions and specific festivals (pp. 64-66). Unlike the situation at Philae, there do not seem to be obvious connections, e.g. with the Choiak festival, although some dates in the inscriptions suggest that the visitors came during certain festivals, e.g. the Opet festival in the month Paophi.

⁹ For a similar overview, on the basis of inscriptions, of the priests of fourth- and fifth-century Philae, see Dijkstra (n. 8) 193-201. The difference with Philae is that a large proportion of the inscriptions was inscribed by priests there, whereas this does not seem to be the case at Deir el-Bahari.

¹⁰ The situation at Philae is again different, as many inscriptions were incised by priests, so these cannot be called visitors’ inscriptions; see Dijkstra (n. 8) 187.

but sometimes also while kneeling or standing high above the ground on a ladder; graffiti are mostly found outside the inner sanctuary, dipinti inside). There follows an excellent discussion of the different formulae used in the inscriptions and what these formulae tell us about the reasons for producing these inscriptions in the first place.¹¹

The last chapter (fifteen) is devoted to the cult site after the majority of the inscriptions disappear from the record in the second century CE. A group of twelve inscriptions survive from a later period. They are quite different in character from the earlier examples and were all found together in four niches in the southern part of the western wall of the court. At least six, if not all, of them belong to a corporation of ironworkers from Hermonthis, who came to the temple to sacrifice a donkey on the occasion of the *nḥb-k3w*-festival on 1 Tybi over a period of ca. fifty years (between 283/4 and 333/4). After a discussion of what this corporation did in the temple and how we are to imagine the rituals they performed, L. comes to the plausible conclusion that the regular cult of Amenhotep and Imhotep came to an end in the second century, for otherwise the visitors' inscriptions would have continued to be inscribed.¹² The end of the regular cult did not mean, however, that the site did not remain associated with Amenhotep and Imhotep. This is made clear by an inscription dated to 283 (no. 161), which mentions the two gods. Furthermore, it would seem that certain groups, like the ironworkers from Hermonthis, were still attracted to the site more than a century after the regular cult fell out of use. With their last inscription in 333/4, however, the traditional cults and practices at Deir el-Bahari definitively ceased to exist. L. ends with a brief account of the "afterlife" of the temple. He points to the amazing continuity of the healing aspect of the traditional cult into Christian times, with the monastery of St. Phoibammon, and even modern times, with the nearby tomb of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, where women are still performing certain rituals to obtain fertility.

The second part of the book contains an edition of the 330 Greek inscriptions. The wall inscriptions are numbered 1-325, the ostraka A 1-3 and the "stone inscriptions" B 1-2. Each entry contains a detailed physical description of the inscription and its location on the wall (the location in the temple complex is indicated in Figures 3-8), measurements, whether it is unpublished or published, dating, a hand drawing, transcription, critical apparatus, translation

¹¹ Cf. for the formulae used in inscriptions in fourth- and fifth-century Philae, Dijkstra (n. 8) 187-191.

¹² I reach a similar conclusion in my study of the Late Antique inscriptions at Philae, which end in 456/7. In the same way as L., however, I do not exclude the possibility that certain groups kept coming to the site, see Dijkstra (n. 8) 216-217 (with reference to L.'s fifteenth chapter).

and commentary. It would go too far to discuss the wealth of details brought to the fore in Ł's edition, but let me note here only the commentary on no. 163 (p. 248), one of the ironworkers' inscriptions. In Ł's own *editio princeps* of 1991, he dated this inscription to 357, but Bagnall corrected the date to 327; Ł. takes the occasion to summarize the whole discussion concerning the dating again and suggests a possible alternative date of 326.¹³ The edition is followed by extensive indices of the demotic and Greek, including a highly useful "grammatical index" (with syntax, morphology and so on), a concordance listing all the previously published inscriptions, and a chronological table of the inscriptions. It is a pity, though, given the many references to other sources and the excellent treatment of various topics, that there does not follow an index of sources or a general index.

To conclude, this is a magisterial study that is much more than just an edition of the Greek inscriptions of the temple at Deir el-Bahari. It is important both for its wider implications and its details, and this review cannot even do justice to all the contributions on small points (e.g. the discussion of inscriptions of the *proskynema*-type on pp. 67, 90-91) that Ł. makes. In particular, this study brings to life the beliefs and practices of the ordinary visitors to the temple, a topic that is still relatively neglected in studies of Egyptian temples. More such detailed local and regional studies are needed in order for us to grasp the complexity and diversity of the religious activities that took place in the temples of Graeco-Roman Egypt and their fate in Late Antiquity. As for the site of Deir el-Bahari, a publication of its demotic inscriptions and figurative graffiti is eagerly awaited.

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¹³ Previous discussions on the date in A. Łajtar, "Proskynema Inscriptions of a Corporation of Iron-Workers from Hermonthis in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: New Evidence of Pagan Cults in Egypt in the 4th Cent. A.D.," *JJP* 21 (1991) 53-70, and R.S. Bagnall, "The Last Donkey Sacrifice at Deir el-Bahari," *JJP* 24 (2004) 15-21.

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