



Historical Texts in European Language

(Ancient and Greek-Roman Texts)

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2022/2023



Faculty: Faculty of Arts

Level: 3rd year

Department: History Department

Academic year: 2022/2023

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Part One

(Ancient Texts)

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بعض المصطلحات التاريخية	
Chronology	التزامن
Cuneiform Inscriptions	الكتابات المسمارية
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Mashkino	مشكينو - المسكين
R ^c	رع

**Autobiography of the architect Nekhebu
Boston & Cairo, from Giza
Sixth Dynasty : Pepi I**

PM III2 90. Urk. I, 215-221; Dunham, JEA 24 (1938) 1-8. Roccati, Litt., No. 39, pp. 181-186. Titles: Baer, Rank, 37; Drenkhahn, Handwerker, 90-94; Strudwick, Administration, 113.

The autobiography occupies the two door jambs of a doorway in the tomb chapel. The blocks of the right-hand door jamb were removed to the Cairo Museum, those of the left-hand to the Boston Museum. In Urk. I the longer Cairo text precedes the shorter Boston text; but Dunham placed the left-hand text before the right-hand one, and this arrangement yields the logical order of the narration.

**Left Door Jamb (Boston)
1 line & 8 cols.**

(1) Tue Sole Companion, Royal Architect, Ankh-Meryre-Meryptah, 1 he says:

(2) I am [a builder² for] King Meryre, my lord. His majesty sent me [to direct all the works of the king] and I [acted] to his majesty's satisfaction in Lower and Upper Egypt.

His majesty sent me to direct the construction of (3) the ka-mansions of his majesty in Lower Egypt, in the district of the (royal) domain. In the north my warrant³ was for Lake-City and Chemmis-of-Horus; in the south my warrant was for the Pyramid Men-nefer-Pepi. I returned thence on completion: (4) I had [constructed the ka-mansions] there, built and faced, and their wood-work installed, having been carpentered⁴ in Lower Egypt. I returned on completion by me.

His majesty rewarded me for it (5) in the presence of [the officials] : his majesty gave me rpendants'⁵ of gold, and bread and bear in very great quantity; and his majesty had a troop of the residence come to me bearing them until they reached my gate with them, (6) because he deemed me more efficient than any other royal architect whom his majesty had sent previously into the district of the royal domain.

His majesty sent me to rplan' the canal of Chemmis-of-Horus and dig it. (7) I dug it ---⁶ until I returned to the residence when it was under water. His majesty rewarded me for it: his majesty gave me rpendants' of gold, and bread and beer. Great was his majesty's praise of me for what he had sent me on, (8) for being capable at every task, in every work his majesty had sent me on.

His majesty sent me to [Qus] to dig the canal of his --- of Hathor-in-Qus. I took action and (9) dug it [so that] his

majesty rewarded me for it. Then, when I returned to the residence, his majesty rewarded me for it very greatly: his majesty gave me 'pendants' of gold, and bread and beer.

Right Door Jamb (Cairo)

1 line & 10 cols.

(1) [Tue Sole Companion, Royal Architect, Ankh-Meryre Meryptah] he says:

(2) [I am a builder for King] Meryre, my lord. His majesty sent me to direct the work of his monument in On. I acted to the satisfaction of his majesty. I spent six years there in directing the work, and his majesty rewarded me for it as often as I came to the residence. It all came about through me by the vigilance I exercised --- (3) ----- there through my own knowledge.

Having found me as a common builder, his majesty appointed me:

ii- Inspector of Builders and Team Leader;

iii- Overseer of Builders and Team Leader.

iv - His majesty appointed me Royal Architect-

Builder; Royal Attendant and Architect-Builder.

His majesty appointed me Sole Companion and Royal Architect-Builder in the Two Administrations.⁷

His majesty did all this because his majesty favored me greatly.

I am my father's beloved, my mother's favorite.

**I gave them no cause to punish me,
until they went to their tomb of the necropolis.**

I am one praised of his brothers.

**When I was in the service of my brother, the
Overseer of Works -----,**

I wrote and I carried his 'palette'.

**Then, when he was appointed inspector of Builders, I
carried his**

measuring rod. 8

**(5) Then, when he was appointed Overseer of
Builders, I was his
companion.⁹**

**Then, when he was appointed Royal Architect-
Builder, I governed the
village for him and did everything in it for him
efficiently.**

Then, when he was appointed Sole Companion and Royal

Architect-Builder in the Two Administrations, I reckoned for him all his possessions, and the property in his house became greater than that of any noble's house.

Then (6) when he was appointed Overseer of Works, I represented him in all his affairs to his satisfaction with it.

I also reckoned for him the produce of his estate (pr-dt) over a period of twenty years. Never did I beat a man there, so that he fell by my hand. Never did I enslave any people there. As for any people there (7) with whom I had arguments, it was I who pacified them. I never spent the night angry with any of them. It was I who gave clothing, bread, and beer to all the naked and hungry among them.

I am one beloved of all people¹⁰,

**I never spoke evil to king or potentate about anyone.
I am one praised of his father, his mother,
an owner of costly offerings in the necropolis
(8) for making their voice-offerings of bread and
beer,
for making their feast on the Wag feast, Sokar feast,
New Year's feast, Thoth feast, First-of-the-year feast,
First-and-last-of-the month feast, and every good
feast,
celebrated at every season of the year.
O ka-servants of the honored ones !
If you wish to be favored by the king,
and honored by your lords, your fathers in the
necropolis,
then make voice-offerings (9) of bread and beer,
as I have done for your fathers !
If you wish that I protect you in the necropolis,
tell your children on the day I go there
the words of the voice-offering for me !
I am a potent spirit,
I know all that by which one becomes a spirit in the
necropolis !**

**O you who are alive on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb !
If you wish to be favored by the king,
and honored by the great god,
(10) enter not this tomb profanely, uncleanly !
Anyone who enters it profanely despite this -
I will be judged with him by the great god !
I will destroy their earth-bome, their homes on earth !
O you who are alive on earth,
who shall pass by this tomb !
If you wish (11) to be favored by the king,
and honored by the great god,
say, 1000 bread, 1000 beer for Nekhebu, the honored
one !
Not shall you destroy a thing in this tomb,
I am a spirit [potent] and equipped·!
Anyone who destroys a thing in this tomb -
I will be judged with them by the great god !
I am one who speaks the good, repeats the good,
I never spoke evil against anyone. ¹**

¹ - Lichtheim, Miriam ., Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: A Study and an Anthology , University of Zurich , 1988 , P.11-14.

Early Dynastic:¹

Although it seems obvious, given the size of the Egyptian population and the different tasks that were being performed, that a multi-tiered society existed by Dynasty 1, specifics about its make-up and various levels are difficult to determine. The population expansion that began in the Naqada Period not only set the stage for the rise of cities and the expansion of political ties into the Delta, Palestine and beyond, but created a large labour force as well. Readily available labour combined with the fertility of the Nile Valley enabled Egypt to produce mass surpluses of food. These agricultural surpluses in turn allowed other segments of society to engage and specialise in non-agricultural pursuits

such as stone working, pottery manufacture and art. Through evidence from burials, we can distinguish three levels of Early Dynastic society: nobles and high officials, mid-level bureaucrats and artisans, and the peasantry. The burials of nobility were located near the royal burials at Saqqara and Abydos; their graves, as with those of royal family members and high court

¹ - Douglas J. Brewer., *Ancient Egypt Foundations Of A Civilization* , London , 2005.

officials, were all equipped with the furniture necessary for a luxurious afterlife.

Across the river from Saqqara at Helwan, the tombs of middle-class, lesser nobles and officials of the court and government were located. They were much smaller and with fewer furnishings than the tombs of nobility, although they too reflect a high standard of living. The artisan class is represented in the tombs that surround the graves of the kings, nobles and high officials. Here again the tombs are smaller than those of nobles, high officials and working bureaucrats, but they were still furnished with food, drink and the equipment necessary to ply their craft in the afterlife. Peasants were interred much like their Predynastic ancestors, in shallow oval graves, but by the end of Dynasty 2 even the peasantry were buried with more goods and furnishings, although they pale in comparison with those of higher social standing. To be sure, in newly united Egypt, life was in many ways similar to life in the Predynastic, but in many significant ways it was different. Because written records of the time are limited in scope, focusing primarily on enumerating goods, services and royal exploits, we must use

alternative, more speculative means of investigating life in the Early Dynastic Period. For example, by employing anthropological methodology, archaeologists can offer some generalizations about Early Dynastic social structure, but as yet we cannot prove these assertions to be completely accurate. For instance, we can extrapolate back from the Old Kingdom and postulate about some aspects of earlier dynasties. A culture that is known to be patrilineal in historical times, for example, is likely to have been patrilineal in its Late Prehistoric Period.

Such cultural practices tend to be very resilient to change and to continue even under the most extreme circumstances. Therefore, many well-established hallmarks of later Egyptian society very likely extend back into the Late Prehistoric Period. Over the millennia, they evolved in complicated ways, but the basic building blocks probably remained intact.

The central government

During the first three dynasties, often called the Early Dynastic Period the institution of kingship was already central to the Egyptian state and government. Although the office can be traced to the Proto dynastic Egyptians believed the line of kings extended back into prehistory, to a time when gods lived on Earth. Even in the First Dynasty the king was considered a descendant and incarnation of the god Horus, who succeeded his father Osiris in an unbroken chain of related rulers. The symbolic emblems of office included a special kilt (the shendty), a sceptre, a crook and flail, as well as various crowns, most notably the white crown of Upper Egypt and the red crown of the Delta. The complex character of Early Dynastic kings was expressed in their titles, which included three names that served to reinforce the king's role as ruler of the two lands, Upper and Lower Egypt. Even at this early

The Early Dynastic generally refers to Dynasties 1 and 2, but recently scholars have included Dynasty 3 within this period. From this perspective Dynasty 3 is seen as the culmination of the formation process of the Egyptian state government and its monuments. Scholars

viewing Dynasty 3 as part of the Old Kingdom point to the step pyramid as the indicator that social progress in Egypt had entered a new age. As in other periods of transformation (e.g. Naqada I to Naqada II), these labels are being imposed on a fluid process and therefore should be recognised as simply markers for grouping the various dynasties into scholarly workable packages. This book treats Dynasty 3 as part of the formative period but only in the sense of bringing the aspects of the long Prehistoric Period to its appropriate.

Mesopotamian Political History^ʿ

Seth Richardson

Mesopotamian political history is first of all dynastic history, the history of states (city-states, territorial states, and empires) and international relations. This arena still offers the lively action of the discovery of evidence to a degree unlike many other historical fields, since lost cities, unknown kings, and forgotten wars are still being discovered and recovered by cuneiformists and archaeologists on a fairly regular basis. This is all amplified by the fact that, unlike Greek, Roman, and Biblical studies, Assyriology is an “open corpus” field, with hundreds of thousands of documents yet untranslated. This presents an advantage in the sense that Assyriologists may yet reasonably hope to fill in some gaps in historical puzzles about little-known states or the origins of obscure dynasties.

It would be cantankerous to deny the pleasures of this adventurous sort of work. On the other hand, some expectations that political history should be primarily constituted by this kind of research has had a retarding effect on pursuing more abstract and theoretical questions about the nature of political institutions, actors, and processes. Many are the articles which conclude by demurring from conclusion, deferring answers until we know more of the “basic facts”. Second, chronological studies are sometimes received as a kind of political history. Most chronographers themselves don’t

^ʿ - Seth Richardson., *Mesopotamian Political History: The Perversities* ,
Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History , Vol 1, 2014, p.62-66.

necessarily make the claim that their work is inherently explanatory or analytic of historical issues; indeed, much of it is considered disinterested of and predicative to such analyses. The most important of such projects is the challenge to reconstruct an absolute chronology of the second millennium BCE – then on to the third through sources which maddeningly enough seem to conflict just as often as they agree.

This is a tempting area of research with potentially very large payoffs: a proper sequence of events would have macro-regional implications for the histories of Egypt, Anatolia, and many other parts of the ancient Near East. Again, however, though the evidence is all “hard” (dendrochronological, calendrical astronomical, lengths of reigns, etc.), scholars must defer the treatment of most of the signified historical problems (e.g. explaining why it would matter when Babylon fell to the Hittites) until final reconstructions are accepted. Third are economic studies that aim to explain the political relations of institutions, non-state sectors, and the actors who moved between them. These types of approaches are useful for every major Mesopotamian period in which economic and administrative data are plentiful perhaps most prominently in Ur III and Neo-Babylonian/Achaemenid studies, with the Early Dynastic and Neo-Assyrian periods somewhat less well represented. Political economy has mostly been examined through the study of archives, a methodology with the advantage of explanation through emic terms and structures.

The drawbacks, however, have much to do with our imperfect grasp of these same concepts, the thorny problem of making analogies to modern economic forms, and an inability to assess the relative importance of

economic data and information in relation to the scope of the wider economy (in terms of both absent and non-existent documentation). A fourth area of political history is the study of ideology – usually the royal ideologies of large and durable conquest states.

The official principles of state organizations have not been so difficult to reconstruct, since our sources often articulated them in cartoonishly bombastic language: the king as shepherd of his people, fearless warrior, and wise judge; the state as the locus of order, with enemy lands the site of disorder; dynasties as revivals of primeval orders; and so forth. Attempts to correlate those state ideologies with the tenets of temple religion or the discourse of civil society, however – that is to say, to argue that they were based on broadly-shared ideals – have usually met with less than convincing results. Thus on the one hand certain concepts are generally accepted: that, for instance, the palace institution was a “household” with the king as pater familias; or that the king had a special relationship with certain gods and temples; or that particular economic principles can be discerned in Mesopotamian political speech (contract language, reciprocities, etc.). Yet on the other hand, such connections tend toward the general, retain an artificial feel, and are usually fairly accepting of the premises advanced by state institutions. A presumption that state ideologies were outgrowths of social ones is also falsifiable: where in Mesopotamian royal ideology, for instance, do we find some trace of the social and philosophical pessimism that infuses much of Sumerian and Akkadian literature? What traces of Mesopotamian religious imperatives about sacrifice translate meaningfully into royal literature? How comfortably did

royal claims of innovation and historical “firsts” rest among other precepts which held the past to be the location of perfect forms, against which change was coded as devolution? It is hardly impossible to give some kinds of answers to such questions, but it must also be admitted that it was in the nature of political ideology to assert its own precepts over those of other spheres of society. Full compliance with social ideals and principles was not a desired much less achievable goal for the state (cf. below regarding ambiguity and hyper coherence). That being the case, the ways in which state rhetoric deviated from more strongly emphasized cultural themes are as instructive of how ideology worked as their isometry or interconnection with them. A fifth aspect of Mesopotamian political history are its studies of institutions and actors at the level of management and mediation – of magnates, assemblies, and scriptoria – the non-royal people who made political life work on the ground and circumscribed its in- and out-groups, sociologically speaking.⁷ This is a rich field of study to be sure; institutional and commercial documentation offers us nothing if not a close view of the day-to-day business of the offices and bureaus that made states and cities run. Such texts are highly self-referential and revealing of little outside their immediate concerns.

But an even deeper problem in using such texts lies in the a priori presumption of their effective instrumentality in forging political relations; this approach uncritically reifies their importance. Yes, perhaps the fact that a grain delivery text shows that official “X” had control of 24,000 liters of grain seems an index of his ability to make and exercise political

relations; but without a context of scale for such transactions, even the largest archives will remain impossible to evaluate for importance. How important was 24,000 liters of grain? And therefore official “X”? In fact, how important was “important”? Anyone who has actually done a study of institutional life from a body of cuneiform texts has shared the nagging feeling that almost every historical agent one discusses from the textual realm becomes inevitably transformed into an “important” person, or an “elite.” The conclusions that are possible to make about such things are a fragile web of contingent and carefully-reconstructed characterizations.

The Early History of the Assyrian Cavalry (883-745) B.C.^ξ

The representations of the Assyrian cavalry are represented in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II in two contexts. In the first the cavalryman is hunting (escorting the king). It is interesting that there are two horses depicted side by side in this scene, and the cavalryman is riding the horse which is partially covered by the other one, and holding the reins of both. The riderless horse is probably the reserve horse of the royal chariot travelling in front of them.

The horseman wears the well known pointed helmet. There is a rounded (bronze) shield fastened to his back. He is equipped with a bow, a quiver, a sword and a tasselled lance with which he is spearing a wild bull. In another bull-hunting scene he is escorting the royal chariot. A similar horseman appears in a third sculpture, in which he is leading the reserve horse of the royal chariot. The character of the second context is clearly military, and shows the ways in which the early Assyrian

^ξ - Tamás. Dezső., *The Assyrian Army I*, The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army, 1. Infantry, Budapest, 2012. PP.14-18.

cavalry could be deployed. There are two cavalrymen fighting in a pair in one of the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II. One of them an archer wearing a pointed helmet is using his bow, while the other equipped with rounded bronze shield, sword (and lance?) and wearing a hemispherical helmet with earflaps – holds the reins of both horses. The garments of the archers are decorated, they have no armour, only a wide belt, probably made of bronze.

In this sculpture two pairs of such cavalrymen are chasing the fleeing enemy. The similarity to chariot warfare is obvious: the chariot warrior (the archer) uses his weapon, while the chariot driver/'third man' (shield-bearer) holds the reins and or protects him with his shield. At this point one of the most important reasons for the development of the cavalry can be detected. Assyrian chariots were pulled by two, three or even four horses, and ideally had a crew of three: the chariot warrior, the chariot driver, and the 'third man' (shield-bearer). The warrior horse ratio in this case was 1:2 or 1:3. The value of the shield-bearing 'third man' in battle is questionable. In close combat, and only then, he might

have played an active part in the fighting. This 1:2 or 1:3 ratio of warriors to horses was uneconomical, because horses were very expensive(considering not only their acquisition and breeding, but breaking them in to the chariot, and continuous exercise as well).

Furthermore if a chariot horse was wounded in battle, the other horses and the chariot crew could easily become useless. Similarly, if the chariot warrior was wounded , the chariot (with its horses and the remaining members of the crew) could easily lose most of its fighting efficiency. In contrast, in the case of cavalry the warrior horse ratio was the ideal . This was the most economical way of using horses. Moreover there was no need for the expensive chariot itself, which was probably difficult to repair. In addition to this, the cavalry was a much more flexible arm: it could be deployed on difficult terrain (muddy ground, rivers, watercourses, hilly and mountainous country, forest, etc.), where the chariot was useless.

The palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II show a transitional phase in the evolution of the cavalry the gradual abandonment of the chariotry, and the advent of

the independent cavalry. There is still a shield-bearing horseman beside the mounted archer, but it is obvious that this shieldbearing lancer's fighting efficiency was of full value. They are effectively two cavalymen probably with the same fighting value and with the possibility of fighting independently of one another. Moreover, in close combat they ideally complement each other. The same picture is revealed from the two Balawat Gates (palace and Mamu Temple) of Assurnasirpal II. Cavalymen are shown fighting enemy infantry, and marching behind chariots or escorting the royal chariot (leading spare horse). The Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) display several possible uses of the cavalry. There are galloping cavalymen riding in pairs, alternating with chariots represented in a battle scene, in the act of trampling the fleeing enemy infantry. Both cavalymen wear pointed helmets. One of them is shooting with his bow, while the other is protecting him with his rounded (bronze) shield.

The same scene is repeated on another band, but the lancer riding side by side with the mounted archer is spearing an enemy infantryman with his lance. Further

cavalrymen are represented riding behind chariots. In this scene the cavalrymen are depicted in pairs and alone. Those who are riding alone (both archers and shield-bearing lancers) are leading reserve horses. The next scene shows cavalrymen (equipped again with bows and lances) crossing a river. Each of them is taking a reserve horse with him.¹⁸ One interesting scene shows a cavalryman equipped with spiked bronze shield, lance and bow, who is leading a reserve horse behind the royal chariot. He is probably a high ranking officer or a member of the cavalry bodyguard unit.

The first Assyrian cavalry units appear in the royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890—884 B.C.) Somewhat later, in 880 B.C. when Assurnasirpal II (883—859 B.C.) led a campaign to Zamua, he placed his cavalry (*pit- \langle al-lu*) and his *kallāpu* infantry (*LÚ.kal-la-pu*) in ambush next to the city of Parsindu and killed 50 soldiers of Ameka, king of the city of Zamru in the plain. From Zamru he took with him the same cavalry and *kallāpu* infantry and marched to the cities of Ata, king of the city of Arzizu. This campaign shows the cavalry being used in various ways: to lay an ambush and to

move quickly. It is important to note that the cavalry became a regular part of the Assyrian army on campaign. Assurnasirpal II mentioned it in a standard context: “I took with me strong chariots, cavalry (and) crack troops.” The reserves of horses were so important that the control of horse-breeding countries and territories became a strategic goal of campaigns. On one of his campaigns Assurnasirpal II – because horses were not constantly brought to him and he became angry – led his army to the cities of Marira and ʾakalauš.

In 879 B.C. he led a campaign to Katmuḫi and Nairi and according to his royal inscriptions he crossed the Tigris with his strong chariots, cavalry, and infantry by means of a pontoon bridge. In 878 B.C. he besieged and captured Sūru, the fortified city of Kudurru, governor of the land of Sūḫu. In the city he captured 50 cavalymen, the troops of Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Karduniaš, and his brother Zabdānu with his 3,000 fighting men. In 877 B.C., when he led a campaign to the West, to the Mountains of Lebanon, he took with him the cavalry (with chariotry and infantry (units of the North Syrian states which surrendered to him. Bīt-Baḫiāni, Adad-‘ime,

king of Azallu, A<ūnî, king of Bīt-Adini, Carchemish, Lubarna, king of Pattina. This is the first known occasion when foreign cavalry units were drafted into the Assyrian forces. Assurnasirpal II, however, probably did not incorporate them into the Assyrian army proper, but took them on as auxiliary units. In spite of the fact that the descriptions of campaigns in the royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858—824 B.C.) still began with the standard formula: “I mustered my chariots and troops” the cavalry was becoming increasingly important in Assyrians warfare. In 856 B.C., when Shalmaneser III defeated Arame, king of Urartu, in a mountain battle, he brought back from the mountain Arame’s chariots, cavalry (pit-<al-lu-šu) and horses. The inscriptions mention numerous cavalry, which shows that Urartu was a primary horse-breeding country and in the mountainous terrain they probably used far more cavalry than chariotry. In the next year, 855 B.C., the Assyrian king led a campaign against A<ūnî, king of Bīt-Adini. In one of his reports the king mentioned that after the siege of Mount Šitamrat he brought down from the mountain A..ni with his troops, chariots and cavalry. In 853 B.C.

the Assyrians led the first campaign against the coalition of the twelve kings and fought a battle near Qarqar. .adad-ezer (Adad-idri king) of Damascus, mustered 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry and 20,000 troops, while Ir.uleni, king of .amath, brought 700 chariots, 700 cavalry and 10,000 troops. These numbers show that at that time the larger North Syrian states could deploy relatively large numbers of cavalry. After the battle the Assyrians captured the remnants of the coalition army, including the cavalry. In 849 B.C. the Assyrian king fought the coalition army of the 12 kings again and captured their chariots and cavalry in battle. In the next year, 848 B.C., the Assyrians fought for the third time against the coalition army of the 12 kings, defeated them, and captured their chariotry and cavalry.

In 845 B.C. the Assyrians defeated the coalition army of the 12 kings a fourth time, and again destroyed their chariotry and cavalry. In 843 B.C. Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri, sent his numerous cavalry (pit-.al-lu-.u .I.A.ME.) against the Assyrian army in a battle. Mardukmudammiq drew up a battle line opposite the Assyrians at the River Namritu, but suffered defeat.

and Shalmaneser III took his cavalry from him. In 841 B.C. the Assyrian king led a campaign to Damascus again. At that time Hazael was the king of Damascus; he fortified Mount Saniru, a mountain peak in front of Mount Lebanon. The Assyrians defeated them and put to the sword 16,000 Damascene fighting men, and took from Hazael 1,121 chariots and 470 cavalry. In 832 B.C. the Assyrian king sent his Commander-in-Chief Dain-Aur to Urartu. The Commander in Chief defeated Sarduri I (Sarduri I), king of Urartu and took his numerous cavalry from him.

Once again Urartu appears to have been a horse-breeding country which used large numbers of cavalry, though it is not known exactly how many. Shalmaneser III, however, boasted that he had horses for 2,002 chariots and equipped a further 5,542 horsemen for the service of his country. This number . if these 5,542 cavalrymen were all under arms at the same time . is the largest known, and probably included the auxiliary cavalry units of the vassal kings as well. His successor, Sargon II (823-811 B.C.) mentions in his royal inscriptions that on his third campaign he captured 140

horsemen of the Median .anasiruka as well,³⁹ and on his fourth campaign when he defeated Marduk-bal.ssu-iqbi, the king of Kardunia., in the battle fought by the Daban River before the city of D.r-Papsukkal, he captured 100 chariots and 200 horsemen from his enemy. It is known from one of his fragmentary inscriptions that during his fourth campaign he pursued an unfortunately unknown army, massacred 650 soldiers, and captured 30 cavalry and one chariot from them. On his fifth campaign he led his army to Kardunia. a second time, and in the battle fought at the gate of N.metti.arri he captured the chariots and cavalry of Marduk-bal.ssu-iqbi During the reign of Adad-nerari III (810—783 B.C.) a Tell Halaf text lists 6 cavalrymen of the turtanu. In a ‘letter to the god,’ written probably during the reign of Shalmaneser IV (782—773B.C.), the standard closing formula about Assyrian casualties appears: “[1 charioteer, two[cavalrymen, (and) [three kallapu soldiers] were killed.” The earliest known appearance of cavalrymen in the cuneiform records is also in the early 8th century B.C., in 788 B.C. As the written sources show, in the early 9th century B.C. the

cavalry was used outside Assyria mainly in the mountainous regions to the North and East, and in North Syria. By the late 9th century B.C., however, it had become widespread throughout the Near East.

Women in the Ancient Near East^o

Women's clothing.

Sumerian literary texts indicate that the difference between women and men can be seen from far away. Women wore their clothing 'to the left', whereas men dressed 'to the right'. In the cult of the goddess of love (Sumerian Inanna, Akkadian Ištar) the roles of men and women could be interchangeable, because she 'made a man into a woman' and 'a woman into a man'. This may allude to different forms of dress. But wearing the clothing of the opposite sex is strictly prohibited in the Bible: No woman may wear an article of man's clothing, nor may a man put on a woman's dress; for those who do these things are abominable to the Lord your God. It has been suggested that the background to this verse was to prohibit any involvement with the orgiastic heathen cult of the goddess of love, where such interchange of clothing was required. That changing sex was always bad in normal life can be seen from the words of a curse upon someone who may break a contract: May Ištar, the great lady, turn his manhood into the state of a woman. The

^o - Marten .Stol., *Women in the Ancient Near East* , Boston, 2016, p.14,112, 147,152.

Sumerians well knew that it was the prerogative of Ištar to accomplish such a thing. It was not for nothing that the woman wore her clothing 'to the left'. The left side was always associated with the woman, and right with the man. A man's divine guardian accompanied him on the right, and a woman's on the left. This is alluded to in a wish expressed in a letter: May my Lord and my Mistress not fail to protect you on the right and on the left. This fits in with the Babylonian and Greek idea that during pregnancy a boy lies on the right in his mother's womb and a girl on the left, which accords with a generally accepted principle that 'right = male = favourable' while 'left = female = unfavourable'. Modern physiological studies of the brain show that the rational function can be located to the left and the intuitive to the right. More can be said about dress. It is often thought that there was no difference in the clothing of men and women, and a study of clothing in Mari in the Old Babylonian period confirms this. Any question about different clothing for men and women amounted only to the matter of size. Much later the Persians, though belonging to a very different culture, appear also to have adopted unisex

dressing. For a long time it was assumed that a na.laptu, 'over-garment' was worn only by men. But in an Old Assyrian marriage contract a woman who is 'lying and cheeky' is threatened that her na.laptu will be snatched from her back. A text from Nuzi speaks of 'a garment for women'. A survey of the clothing depicted in Old Sumerian art shows that men wore one particular costume and women another. For the man there was a type of toga, and for the woman a shoulder garment. It was usual for women to wear brooches. In the Early Dynastic period a woman typically wore a shawl over her head. Sumerian women could have shoes with special decorations.

The marriage gifts.

We have already shown that in the absence of special circumstances written contracts for a marriage were not drawn up. The contracts which were drawn up were written with the intention of safeguarding financial interests. We must assume that there were special circumstances surrounding the marriage contracts we have and we have to search to find what those were. The issue is usually financial, in particular gifts which were transferred.

- The family.

At the beginning of the Chapter, on marriage, we saw how much a happy family life was appreciated. That was why the innkeeper Siduri recommended this to the hero of the Gilgamesh epic. However, before delving into the Babylonian family life, we must investigate some preliminary conditions. When the time comes for a couple to start a family, what are they going to do? Just climbing on to the couch is not enough. Some very careful thought will be needed beforehand. The sexually intimate relationship between a man and a woman is one of the themes of a large Babylonian handbook known as *Šumma alu*. This text is a compilation predicting the significance of almost anything anyone will experience in a lifetime. Various aspects of human behavior are itemised towards the end, are concerned with the things that can happen during sexual intercourse. (only partly preserved) describes a man 'going' to a woman and explains the consequences of adopting different positions for the act.

One sentence states: If a man goes to her crotch: restraint will overcome him; he will be in a bad mood. Often specific rituals are prescribed, 'so that the

(predicted) evil may not come near him'. concerns odd situations in the bedroom and begins with this statement: If a man approaches an older woman he will have quarrels daily. By now it has become clear that this manual is concerned with a man having sex with any willing woman and not only with his legal sweetheart. These situations are beyond the scope of this chapter so they will be passed over speedily. Moreover, nothing will be said about some suggestive clay models of bedroom scenes and the like which have been found.

Children.

The arrival of children raises a subject which the Sumerians knew only too well: Marrying is a human affair; getting children is a matter for the gods. How many children did a family normally have? The delightful relief of Ur-Nanše, the ruler of Lagash, shows him in two different settings. In the upper register he is standing erect, as the builder of a temple with a worker's basket on his head. In the lower register he is seated and holding a beaker. The eleven people with him, including eight children depicted on a smaller scale, are named in the inscription. Facing him in the upper register, from left to right we have: From Old Babylonian inheritance records we see that up to eight adult children could inherit. On average it was three children and in the better-off

families six to eight Pušu-ken, a merchant from Assyria, had four sons and one daughter. From a myth about the underworld we understand that the prevailing attitude among fathers was to have as many children as possible. It can be summarized as 'the more sons the better', with seven being the highest number. In a handbook with predictions derived from human births we come across a short treatise on what will happen if a woman bears multiple births at one time. Here the maximum of children is eight. A Sumerian proverb takes pity on a mother who has given birth to them. When the names of members of families who were deported are listed the numbers are not necessarily reliable. Some individuals could have been away at the time, for families were quickly broken up with different members moving around to work in different places. From the Middle Assyrian period we have a brief account of some 200 Hurrians who were deported from the northern uplands and put to work building the new royal city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta.

EGYPTIAN BOOK OF THE DEAD AND THE MYSTERIES OF AMENTA.¹

The Egyptians entertained no doubt about the existence, the persistence, or the personality of the human spirit or ghost of man; and as we understand Manetho's account of the Egyptian religion in the times before Mena, the worship of the ghosts or spirits of the dead was that which followed the two previous dynasties of the elemental powers of earth and the Kronidæ in the astronomical mythology. For the present purpose, however, the three classes mentioned fall into the two categories of beings which the Egyptians designated "*the Gods and the Glorified.*" The gods are superhuman powers, whether elemental or astronomical. The glorified are the souls once mortal which were propitiated as the spirit-ancestors, here called the Manes of the dead. Not that the Egyptian deities were what Herbert Spencer thought, "the expanded ghosts of dead men." We know them from their genesis in nature as elemental powers or animistic spirits, which were divinized because they were superhuman, and therefore *not* human. Sut, as the soul of darkness; Horus, as the soul of light; Shu, as the soul of air or breathing force; Seb, as soul of earth; Nnu (or Num), as soul of water; Ra, as soul of the sun, were gods, but these were not expanded from any dead men's

¹ - Gerald Massey., Ancient Egypt The Light of the World " A Work of Reclamation and Restitution in Twelve Books" , Vol. 1,p.120-134.

ghosts. Most emphatically, man did not make his gods in his own image, for the human likeness is, we repeat, the latest that was applied to the gods or nature-powers. Egyptian mythology was founded on facts which had been closely observed in the ever-recurring phenomena of external nature, and were then expressed in the primitive language of signs. In the beginning was the void, otherwise designated the abyss. Darkness being the primordial condition, it followed naturally that the earliest type in mythical representation should be a figure of darkness. This was the mythical dragon, or serpent Apap, the devouring reptile, the monster all mouth, the prototype of evil in external nature, which rose up by night from the abyss and coiled about the Mount of Earth as the swallower of the light; who in another phase drank up all the water, as the fiery dragon of drought. The voice of this huge, appalling monster was the thunder that shook the firmament (Rit., ch. 39); the drought was its blasting breath that dried up the waters and withered vegetation. As a mythical figure of the natural fact, this was the original Ogre of the North, the giant who had no heart or soul in his body. Other powers born of the void were likewise elemental, with an aspect inimical to man. These were the spawn of darkness, drought and disease. In the Ritual they are called the Sami, demons of darkness, or the wicked Sebau, who for ever rose in impotent revolt against the powers that wrought for good. These Sami, or black spirits, and Sebau supplied fiends and spirits of darkness to later folklore and

fairyology; and, like the evil Apap, the offspring also are of neither sex. Sex was introduced with the Great Mother in her hugest, most ancient form of the water cow, as representative of the Mother-earth and bringer forth of life amidst the waters of surrounding space. Her children were the elemental powers or forces, such as wind and water, earth and fire; but these are not to be confused with the evil progeny of Apap. Both are elemental in their origin, but the first were baneful, whereas the latter are beneficent.

When the terrors of the elements had somewhat spent their force, and were found to be non-sentient and unintelligent, the chief objects of regard and propitiation were recognized in the bringers of food and drink and the breath of air as the elements of life. Those were the beneficent powers, born of the Old Mother as elemental forces, that preceded the existence of the gods or powers divinized. The transformation of an elemental power into a god can be traced, for example, in the deity Shu. Shu as an elemental force was representative of wind, air, or breath, and more especially the breeze of dawn and eve, which was the very breath of life to Africa. Darkness was uplifted or blown away by the breeze of dawn. The elemental force of wind was imaged as a panting lion couched upon the horizon or the mountain-top as lifter up of darkness or the sky of night. The power thus represented was animistic or elemental. Next, Shu was given his star, and he became the Red God, who attained the rank of stellar deity as one of the

seven “Heroes” who obtained their souls in the stars of heaven. The lion of Shu was continued as the figure of his force; and thus a god was born, the warrior-god, who was one of the Heroes, or one of the powers in an astronomical character. Three of these beneficent powers were divinized as male deities in the Kamite Pantheon, under the names of Nnu, Shu, and Seb. Nnu was the producer of that water which in Africa was looked upon as an overflow of very heaven. Shu was giver of the breath of life. Seb was divinized, and therefore worshipped as the god of earth and father of food. These three were powers that represented the elements of water, air, and earth. Water is denoted by the name of Nnu. Shu carries the lion’s hinder part upon his head as the sign of force; the totem of Seb is the goose that lays the egg, a primitively perfect figure of food. These, as elemental powers or animistic souls, were life-givers in the elements of food, water, and breath. Not as begetters or creators, but as transformers from one phase of life to another, *finally* including the transformation of the superhuman power into the human product. There are seven of these powers altogether, which we shall have to follow in various phases of natural phenomena and on divers radiating lines of descent. Tentatively we might parallel:—Darkness=Sut; light=Horus; breathing power=Shu; water=Nnu (or Hapi); earth=Tuamutef (or Seb); fire=Khabsenuf; blood=Child-Horus. These were *not* derived from the ancestral spirits, once human, and no ancestral spirits ever were derived from them. Six of

the seven were pre-human types. The seventh was imaged in the likeness of Child-Horus, or of Atum, the man. Two lists of names for the seven are given in the Ritual (ch. 17, I, 99-107), which correspond to the two categories of the elemental powers and the Glorious Ones, or Heroes. Speaking of the seven, the initiate in the mysteries says, "I know the names of the seven Glorious Ones. The leader of that divine company is An-ar-ef the Great by name." The title here identifies the human elemental as the sightless mortal Horus—that is, Horus who was incarnated in the flesh at the head of the seven, to become the first in status, he who had been the latest in development. In this chapter of the Ritual the seven have now become astronomical, with their stations fixed in heaven by Anup, whom we shall identify as deity of the Pole. "They do better," says Plutarch, "who believe that the legends told of Sut, Osiris, and Isis do not refer to either gods or men, but to certain great powers that were superhuman, but not as yet divine" (*Of Isis and Osiris*, ch. 26). The same writer remarks that "Osiris and Isis passed from the rank of good demons (elementals) to that of deities" (ch. 30). This was late in the Kamite mythos, but it truly follows the earlier track of the great powers when these were Sut and Horus, Shu and Seb, and the other elemental forces that were divinized as gods.

In the astronomical mythology the nature-powers were raised to the position of rulers on high, and this is that beginning which was described by Manetho

with “the gods” as the primary class of rulers, whose reign was divided into seven sections, or, as we read it, in a heaven of seven divisions—that is, the celestial Heptanomis. Certain of these can be distinguished in the ancient heavens yet as figures of the constellations which became their totems. Amongst such were the hippopotamus-bull of Sut, the crocodile-dragon of Sebek-Horus, the lion of Shu, the goose of Seb, the beetle of Kheper (Cancer), and other types of the starry souls on high, now designated deities, or the Glorious Ones, as the Khuti. The ancient mother, who had been the cow of earth, was elevated to the sphere as the cow of heaven. It was she who gave rebirth to the seven powers that obtained their souls in the stars, and who were known as “the Children of the Thigh” when that was her constellation. These formed the company of the seven Glorious Ones, who became the Ali or Elohim, divine masters, time-keepers, makers and creators, which have to be followed in a variety of phases and characters. The Egyptian gods were born, then, as elemental powers. They were born as such of the old first Great Mother, who in her character of Mother-earth was the womb of life, and therefore mother of the elements, of which there are seven altogether, called her children. The seven elemental powers acquired souls as gods in the astronomical mythology. They are given rebirth in heaven as the seven children of the old Great Mother. In the stellar mythos they are also grouped as the seven Khus with Anup on the Mount. They are the seven Taasu

with Taht in the lunar-mythos, the seven Knemmu with Ptah in the solar mythos. They then pass into the eschatology as the seven souls of Ra, the Holy Spirit, and the seven great spirits glorified with Horus as the eighth in the resurrection from Amenta.

The Egyptians have preserved for us a portrait of Apt (Kheb, or Ta-Urt), the Great Mother, in a fourfold figure, as the bringer forth of the four fundamental elements of earth, water, air, and heat. As representative of the earth she is a hippopotamus, as representative of water she is a crocodile, and as the representative of breathing force she is a lioness, the human mother being imaged by the pendent breasts and procreant womb. Thus the mother of life is depicted as bringer forth of the elements of life, or at least four of these, as the elemental forces or “souls” of earth, water, fire, and air, which four are imaged in her compound corpulent figure, and were set forth as four of her seven children. Apt was also the mother of sparks, or of souls as sparks of starry fire. She was the kindler of life from the spark that was represented by the star. This, we reckon, is the soul of Sut, her first-born, as the beneficent power of darkness. The power of water was imaged by Sebek-Horus as the crocodile. The power of wind or air, in one character, was that of the lion-god Shu; and the power of the womb is the Child-Horus, as the fecundator of his mother. These, with some slight variations, are four of the seven powers of the elements identified with the mother as the

bringer forth of gods and men, whom we nowadays call Mother Nature.



Apt, the First Great Mother

Six of the total seven were represented by zootypes, and Horus was personalized in the form of a child. Evidence for a soul of life in the dark was furnished by the star. Hence the Khabsu in Egyptian. This was an elemental power of darkness divinized in Sut, the author of astronomy. Evidence for a soul of life in the water was furnished by the fish that was eaten for food. This elemental power was divinized in the fish-god Sebek and in Ichthus, the mystical fish. Evidence for a soul of life in the earth was also furnished in food and in periodic renewal. The elemental power was divinized in Seb, the father of food derived from the ground, the plants, and the goose. Evidence for a soul of life in the sun, represented by the uræus-serpent, was furnished by the

vivifying solar heat, the elemental power of which was divinized in Ra. Evidence for a soul of life in blood was furnished by the incarnation, the elemental power of which was divinized in elder Horus, the eternal child. Six of these seven powers, we repeat, were represented by zootypes; the seventh was given the human image of the child, and later of Atum the man. Thus the earliest gods of Egypt were developed from the elements, and were not derived from the expanded ghosts of dead men. Otherwise stated, the ancestral spirits were not primary.

Dr. Rink, writing of the Eskimo, has said that with them the whole visible world is ruled by supernatural powers or “owners,” each of whom holds sway within certain limits, and is called his Inua (viz., its or his Inuk, which word signifies “man” and also owner or inhabitant). This is cited by Herbert Spencer as most conclusive evidence that the agent or power was *originally* a human ghost, because the power may be expressed as the Inuk, or its man—“the man in it—that is, the man’s ghost in it.” The writer did not think of the long way the race had to travel before “the power” could be expressed by “its man,” or how late was the anthropological mode of representing the forces of external nature. “The man” as type of power belongs to a far later mode of expression. Neither man nor woman nor child was among the earliest representatives of the elemental forces in external nature. By the bye, the Inuk is the power, and in Egyptian the root Nukh denotes the power or force of a thing, the potency of the male, as the

bull; thence Nukhta is the strong man or giant. Sut was a Suten-Nakht. Horus was a Suten-Nakht, but neither of them was derived from man. The elements themselves were the earliest superhuman powers, and these were thought of and imaged by superhuman equivalents. The power of darkness was not represented by its man, or the ghost of man. Its primal power, which was that of swallowing all up, was imaged by the devouring dragon. The force of wind was not represented by its man, but by its roaring lion; the drowning power of water by the wide-jawed crocodile, the power of lightning or of sunstroke by its serpent-sting, the spirit of fire by the fiery-spirited ape. In this way all the elemental forces were equated and objectified before the zootype of Sign-language was changed for the human figure or any one of them attained its "man" as the representative of its power. The earliest type of the man, even as male power, was the bull, the bull of his mother, who was a cow, or hippopotamus. Neither god nor goddess ever had been man or woman or the ghost of either in the mythology of Egypt, the oldest in the world. The Great Mother of all was imaged like the totemic mother, as a cow, a serpent, a sow, a crocodile, or other zootype, ages before she was represented as a woman or the ghost of one. It is the same with the powers that were born of her as male, six of which were portrayed by means of zootypes before there was any one in the likeness of a man, woman, or child. And these powers were divinized as the primordial gods. The Egyptians had no god who was *derived from a*

man. They told Herodotus that “in eleven thousand three hundred and forty years [as he reckons] no god had ever actually become a man” (B. II, 142). Therefore Osiris did not originate as a man. Atum, for one, was a god *in the likeness of a man*. But he was known as a god who did not himself become a man. On the other hand, no human ancestor ever became a deity. It was the same in Egypt as in Inner Africa; the spirits of the human ancestors always remained human, the glorified never became divinities. The nearest approach to a deity of human origin is the god in human likeness. The elder Horus is the divine child in a human shape. The god Atum in name and form is the perfect man. But both child and man are entirely impersonal—that is, neither originated in an *individual* child or *personal* man. Neither was a human being divinized. It is only the type that was anthropomorphic.

The two categories of spirits are separately distinguished in the Hall of Righteousness, when the Osiris pleads that he has made “oblations to *the gods* and funeral offerings to *the departed*” (Rit., ch. 125). And again, in the chapter following, the “oblations are presented to *the gods* and the sacrificial meals to *the glorified*” (ch. 126).

A single citation from the chapter of the Ritual that is said on arriving at the Judgment Hall will furnish a brief epitome of the Egyptian religion as it culminated in the Osirian cult. “I have propitiated the great god with that which he loveth; I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a boat to the

shipwrecked. *I have made oblations to the gods and funeral offerings to the departed,*” or to the ancestral spirits (Rit., ch. 125). The statement shows that the divine service consisted of good works, and primarily of charity. The gods and the glorified to whom worship was paid are: (1) The Great One God (Osiris); (2) the Nature-Powers, or Gods; and (3) the Spirits of the Departed. But the order in development was: (1) The Elemental Forces, or Animistic Nature-Powers; (2) the Ancestral Spirits; (3) the One Great God over all, who was imaged phenomenally in the Kamite trinity of Asar-Isis in matter, Horus in soul, Ra in spirit, which three were blended in the Great One God. In the Hymn to Osiris (line 6) the ancestral spirits are likewise discriminated from the divine powers or gods. When Osiris goes forth in peace by command of Seb, the God of Earth, “the *mighty ones* bow the head; the *ancestors* are in prayer.” These latter are the commonalty of the dead, the human ancestors in general, distinguished from the gods or powers of the elements that were divinized in the astronomical mythology. In one of the texts the “spirits of the king,” the ever-living Mer-en-Ra, are set forth as an object of religious regard superior in status to that of the gods, by which we understand the ancestral spirits are here exalted above the elemental powers as the objects of propitiation and invocation. The Egyptian gods and the glorified were fed on the same diet in the fields of divine harvest, but are entirely distinct in their origin and character. The glorified are identifiable as spirits that

once were human who have risen from the dead in a glorified body as Sahus. The gods are spirits or powers that never had been human. We know the great ones, female or male, from the beginning as elemental forces that were always extant in nature. These were first recognized, represented, and divinized as superhuman. The ghost, when recognized, was human still, however changed and glorified. But the Mother-earth had never been a human mother, nor had the serpent Rannut, nor Nut, the celestial wateress. The god of the Pole as Anup, the moon god Taht, the sun god Ra, had never been spirits in a human guise. They were divinized, and therefore worshipped or propitiated as the superhuman powers in nature, chiefly as the givers of light, food, and drink, and as keepers of time and season. These, then, are the goddesses and gods that were created by the human mind as powers that were impersonal and non-human. Hence they had to be envisaged with the aid of living types. Spirits once human manifest as ghosts in human form. It follows that the gods were primary, and that worship, or extreme reverence, was first addressed to them and not to the ancestral spirits, which, according to H. Spencer and his followers, had no objective existence. Neither is there any sense in saying the Egyptian deities were *conceived* in animal forms. This is to miss the meaning of Sign-language altogether. "Conception" has nought to do with Horus being represented by a hawk, a crocodile, or a calf; Seb by a goose, Shu by a lion, Rannut by a serpent, Isis by a scorpion. The primary

question is: Why were the goddesses and gods or powers presented under these totemic types, which preceded the anthrotype in the different modes of mythical representation? Three of the seven children born of the Great Mother have been traced in the portrait of Apt, the old first genatrix, as Sut the hippopotamus, Sebek the crocodile, and Shu the lion. But there was an earlier phase of representation with her two children Sut and Horus, who were born twins. It is the same in the Kamite mythology as in external nature. The two primary elements were those of darkness and light: Sut was the power of darkness, Horus the power of light. In one representation the two elements were imaged by means of the black bird of Sut and the white bird, or golden hawk, of Horus. Thus we can identify two elemental powers, as old as night and day, which are primeval in universal mythology; and these two powers, or animistic souls, were divinized as the two gods Sut and Horus with the two birds of darkness and light, the black vulture and the gold hawk depicted back to back as their two representative types or personal totems.

The beginning with these two primal powers is repeated in the mythology of the Blacks on the other side of the world. With them the crow and hawk (the eagle-hawk) are equivalent to these two birds of darkness and light; and according to the native traditions, the eagle-hawk and crow were first among the ancestors of the human race. That is as the first two of the elemental powers which became the non-human ancestors in

mythology. They are also known as the creators who divided the Murray Blacks into two classes or brotherhoods whose totems were the eagle-hawk and crow, and who now shine as stars in the sky. (Brough Smyth, v. I, 423 and 431.) This is the same point of departure in the beginning as in the Kamite mythos with the first two elemental powers, viz., those of darkness and light. These two birds are also equated by the black cockatoo and the white cockatoo as the two totems of the Mûkjarawaint in Western Australia. The two animistic souls or spirits of the two primary elements can be paralleled in the two souls that are assigned to man or the Manes in the traditions of certain aboriginal races, called the dark shade and the light shade, the first two souls of the seven in the Ritual. These, as Egyptian, are two of the seven elements from which the enduring soul and total personality of man is finally reconstituted in Amenta after death. They are the dark shade, called the Khabsu, and the light shade, called the Sahu. A Zulu legend relates that in the beginning there were two mothers in a bed of reeds who brought forth two children, one black, the other white. The woman in the bed of reeds was Mother-earth, who had been duplicated in the two mothers who brought forth in space when this was first divided into night and day. Another version of the mythical beginning with a black and white pair of beings was found by Duff Macdonald among the natives of Central Africa. The black man, they say, was crossing a bridge, and as he looked round he was greatly astonished

to find that a white man was following him (*Africana*, vol. I, p. 75). These are the powers of darkness and daylight, who were portrayed in Egypt as the Sut-and-Horus twins, one of whom was the black Sut, the other the white Horus, and the two “men” were elementals. The natives on the shores of Lake Rudolf say that when it thunders *a white man* is born. But the white man thus born is the flash of light or lightning imaged by an anthropomorphic figure of speech.

The aborigines of Victoria likewise say the moon was a black fellow before he went up into the sky to become light, or white. Horus in Egypt was the white man as an elemental power, the white one of

the Sut-and-Horus twins, who is sometimes represented by an eye that is white, whereas the eye of Sut was black. In the mythos Horus is divinized as the white god. The children of Horus, who are known to mythology as the solar race, are the Khuti. These are the white spirits, the children of light. The solar race at last attained supremacy as chief of all the elemental powers, and in the eschatology the Khuti are the glorious ones. The Khu-sign is a beautiful white bird. This signifies a spirit, and the spirit may be a human ghost, or it may be the spirit of light, otherwise light imaged as a spirit; thence Horus the spirit of light in the mythology, or the glorified human spirit, called the Khu, in the eschatology. The symbols of whiteness, such as the white down of birds, pipeclay, chalk, flour, the white stone, and

other things employed in the mysteries of the black races and in their mourning for the dead, derive their significance from white being emblematic of spirit, or the spirits which originated in the element of light being the white spirit. The turning of black men into white is a primitive African way of describing the transformation of the mortal into spirit. It is the same in the mysteries of the Aleutians, who dance in a state of nudity with white eyeless masks upon their faces, by which a dance of spirits is denoted. With the blacks of Australia the secret “wisdom” is the same as that of the dark race in Africa. According to Buckley, when the black fellow was buried the one word “*Animadiate*,” was uttered, which denoted that he was gone *to be made a white man*. But this did not mean a European. Initiates in the totemic mysteries were made into white men by means of pipeclay and birds’ down, or white masks, the symbols of spirits in the religious ceremonies. This mode of transformation was not intended as a compliment to the pale-face from Europe. Neither did white spirits and black originate with seeing the human ghost. Horus is the white spirit in the light half of the lunation, Sut in the dark half is “the black fellow,” because they represent the elements of light and darkness that were divinized in mythology. Hence the eternal contention of the twins Sut and Horus in the moon. It is common in the African mysteries for the spirits to be painted or arrayed in white, and in the custom of pipeclaying the face, on purpose to cause dismay in battle, the white was intended to suggest

spirits, and thus to strike the enemy with fear and terror. Also, when spirits are personated in the mysteries of the Arunta and other tribes of Australian aborigines, they are represented in white by means of pipeclay and the white down of birds. It is very pathetic, this desire and strenuous endeavour of the black races, from Central Africa to Egypt, or to the heart of Australia, to become white, as the children of light, and to win and wear the white robe as a vesture of spiritual purity, if only represented by a white mask or coating of chalk, pipeclay, or white feathers. Many a white man has lost his life and been made up into medicine by the black fellows on account of his white complexion being the same with that assigned to the good or white spirits of light. In a legend of creation preserved among the Kabinda it is related that God made all men black. Then he went across a great river and called upon all men to follow him. The wisest, the best, the bravest of those who heard the invitation plunged into the wide river, and the water washed them white. These were the ancestors of white men. The others were afraid to venture. They remained behind in their old world, and became the ancestors of black men. But to this day the white men come (as spirits) to the bank on the other side of the river and echo the ancient cry of "Come thou hither!" saying, "*Come; it is better over here!*" (Kingsley, M. H., *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 430, 431.) These are the white spirits, called the white men by the black races, who originated in the representation of light as an elemental spirit, the

same term being afterwards applied to the white bird, the white god, and the white man. This legend is also to be found in Egypt. As the Ritual shows, there was an opening day of creation, designated the day of “Come thou to me.” The call was made by Ra, from the other side of the water, to Osiris in the darkness of Amenta—that is, from Ra as the white spirit to Osiris the black in the eschatology. But there was an earlier application of the saying in the solar mythos. In the beginning, says the best-known Egyptian version, the sun god Temu, whose name denotes the creator god, having awoke in the Nnu from a state of negative existence, appeared, as it were, upon the other side of the water, a figure of sunrise, and suddenly cried across the water, “Come thou to me!” (as spirits). Then the lotus unfolded its petals, and up flew the hawk, which represented the sun in mythology and a soul in the eschatology. Thus Tum the father of souls, being established in his spiritual supremacy, calls upon the race of men to come to him across the water in the track of sunrise or of the hawk that issued forth as Horus from the lotus. From such an origin in the course of time all nature would be peopled with “black spirits and white,” as animistic entities, or as the children of Sut and Horus; as the black vultures or crows of the one, and the white vultures or gold hawks of the other. Thus we have traced a soul of darkness and a soul of light that became Egyptian gods in the twin powers Sut and Horus, and were called the dark shade and the light of other races, the two first souls that were derived as elementals. The

anima or breath of life was one of the more obvious of the six “souls” whose genesis was visible in external nature. This was the element assigned to Shu, the god of breathing force. In the chapter for giving the breath of life, to the deceased (Rit., ch. 55) the speaker, in the character of Shu, says: “I am Shu, who conveys the breezes, or breathings. I give air to these younglings as I open my mouth.” These younglings are the children whose souls are thus derived from Shu, when the soul and breath were one, and Shu was this one of the elemental powers divinized as male.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have shown that up to the present time the Arunta tribes of Central Australia do not ascribe the begettal of a human soul to the male parent. They think the male may serve a purpose in preparing the way for conception, but they have not yet got beyond the incorporation of a soul from the elements of external nature, such as wind or water—that is, the power of the air or of water, which was imaged in the elemental deity. Spirit children, derivable from the air, are supposed to be especially fond of travelling in a whirlwind, and on seeing one of these approaching a native woman who does not wish to have a child will flee as if for her life, to avoid impregnation. (*Native Tribes*, p. 125.) This doctrine of a soul supposed to be incorporated from the elements is so ancient in Egypt as to have been almost lost sight of or concealed from view beneath the mask of mythology. The doctrine, however, was Egyptian. The insufflation of the female by the spirit of

air was the same when the goddess Neith was impregnated by the wind. With the Arunta tribes it is the ordinary woman who is insufflated by the animistic soul of air. In Egypt, from the earliest monumental period, the female was represented mythically as the Great Mother Neith, whose totem, so to call it, was the white vulture; and this bird of maternity was said to be impregnated by the wind. “Gignuntur autem hunc in modum. Cum amore concipiendi vultur exarserit, vulvam ad Boream aperiens, ab eo velut comprimitur per dies quinque” (Hor-Apollo, B. I, 11).

This kind of spirit not only entered the womb of Neith, or of the Arunta female; it also went out of the human body in a whirlwind. Once when a great Fijian chieftain passed away a whirlwind swept across the lagoon. An old man who saw it covered his mouth with his hand and said in an awestruck whisper, “There goes his spirit.” This was the passing of a soul in the likeness of an elemental power, the spirit of air that was imaged in the god Shu, the spirit that impregnated the virgin goddess Neith. According to a mode of thinking in external things which belonged to spiritualism, so to say, in the animistic stage, the human soul had not then been specialized and did not go forth from the body as the Ka or human double. It was only a totemic soul affiliated to the power of wind, which came and went like the wind, as the breath of life. To quote the phrase employed by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, a spirit-child was *incarnated* in the mother’s womb by the spirit of air. The doctrine is

the same in the Christian phase, when the Holy Spirit makes its descent on Mary and insufflates her, with the dove for totem instead of some other type of breathing force or soul. There is likewise a survival of primitive doctrine when the Virgin Mary is portrayed in the act of inhaling the fragrance of the lily to procure the mystical conception of the Holy Child. This is a mode of inhaling the spirit breath, or anima, the same as in the mystery of the Arunta, but with the difference that the Holy Spirit takes the place of the spirit of air, otherwise that Ra, as source of soul, had superseded Shu, the breathing force. Such things will show how the most primitive simplicities of ancient times have supplied our modern religious mysteries.

We learn also from the Arunta tribes that it is a custom for the mother to affiliate her child thus incorporated (not incarnated) to the particular elemental power, as spirit of air or water, tree or earth, supposed to haunt the spot where she conceived or may have quickened. (N. T., pp. 124 and 128.) Thus the spirit-child is, or may be, a reincorporation of an Alcheringa ancestor, who as Egyptian is the elementary power divinized in the eschatology, and who is to be identified by the animal or plant which is the totemic type of either. Not that the animal or plant was supposed by the knowers to be transformed directly into a human being, but that the elemental power or superhuman spirit entered like the gust that insufflated the vulture of Neith or caused conception whether in the Arunta female or the

Virgin Mary. The surroundings at the spot will determine the totem of the spirit and therefore of the spirit-child. Hence the tradition of the Churinga-Nanga being dropped at the place where the mother was impregnated by the totemic spirit, which, considering the sacred nature of the Churinga, was certainly a form of the Holy Spirit. The spirit of air rushed out of the gap between the hills; or it was at the water-hole, or near the sacred rock, or the totemic tree, that the mother conceived, and by such means the child is affiliated to the elemental power, the animistic spirit, the Alcheringa ancestor, as well as to the totemic group. The mother caught by the power of wind in the gap is the equivalent of divine Neith caught by the air god Shu and insufflated in the gorge of Neith. The element of life incorporated is the source of breath, or the spirit of air, which would have the same natural origin whether it entered the female in her human form, or into that of the bird, beast, fish, or reptile. It was the incorporation of an elemental spirit, whether of air, earth, water, fire, or vegetation.

In popular phraseology running water is called living water, and still water is designated dead. There is no motion in dead water, no life, no force, no spirit. Contrariwise, the motion of living water, the running spring or flowing inundation, is the force, and finally the soul of life in the element. Air was the breath of life, and therefore a soul of life was in the breeze. In the deserts of Central Africa the breeze of dawn and eve and the springs of water in the land are very life indeed and the

givers of life itself, as they have been from the beginning. These, then, are two of the elements that were brought forth as nature powers by the earth, the original mother of life and all living things. When the supreme life-giving, life-sustaining power was imaged as a pouring forth of overflowing energy the solar orb became a figure of such a fountain-head or source. But an earlier type of this great welling forth was water. Hence Osiris personates the element of water as he who is shoreless. He is objectified as the water of renewal. His throne in heaven, earth, and Amenta is balanced upon water. Thus the primary element of nutriment has the first place to the last with the root-origin of life in water. Birth from the element of water was represented in the mysteries of Amenta by the rebirth in spirit from the water of baptism. It is as a birth of water that Child-Horus calls himself the primary power of motion. Also "the children of Horus" who stand on the papyrus plant or lotus are born of water in the new kingdom that was founded for the father by Horus the son. This too was based upon the water. Hence two of Horus's children, Tuamutef and Kabhsenuf, are called the two fishes (Rit., ch. 113), and elsewhere the followers of Horus are the fishers. One of the two lakes in Paradise contained the water of life. It was designated the Lake of Sa, and one of the meanings of the word is spirit, another is soil or basis. It was a lake, so to say, of spiritual matter from which spirits were derived in germ as the Hammemat. This lake of spirit has assuredly been localized in Europe. The superstition concerning spirits

that issue from the water is common, and in Strathspey there is a lake called Loch Nan Spoiradan, the Lake of the Spirits.

When spirit-children were derived from the soul of life that was held to be inherent in the element of water, they would become members of the water-totem—unless some pre-arrangement interfered. For example, a water-totem is extant in the quatcha-totem of the Arunta tribe. A child was conceived one day by a lubra of the Witchetty-grub clan who happened to be in the neighbourhood of a quatcha, or water locality. She was taking a drink of water near to the gap in the ranges where the spirits dwell, when suddenly she heard a child's voice crying "Mia, mia!" the native term for relationship, which includes that of motherhood. She was not anxious to have a child, and therefore ran away, but could not escape. She was fat and well-favoured, and the spirit-child overtook her and was incorporated willy-nilly. In this instance the spirits were Witchetty-grub instead of water spirits of the quatcha-totem locality, otherwise, if the totem had not been already determined locally, this would represent the *modus operandi* of the elemental power becoming humanized by incorporation. The water spirit is a denizen of the water element, always lying in wait for young, well-favoured women, and ready to become embodied in the human form by the various processes of drinking, eating, breathing, or other crude ways of conversion and transformation.

The several elements led naturally to the various origins ascribed to man from the ideographic representatives of earth, water, air, fire, such as the beast of earth, the turtle or fish of water, the bird of air, the tree or the stone. The Samoans have a tradition that the first man issued from a stone. His name was Mauike, and he is also reputed to be the discoverer of fire. Now the discoverer of fire, born of a stone, evidently represents the element of fire which had been found in the stone, the element being the animistic spirit of fire, to which the stone was body that served as type (Turner, *Samoa*, p. 280, ed. 1884). The derivation of a soul of life from the element of fire, or from the spark, is likewise traceable in a legend of the Arunta, who thus explain the origin of their fire-totem. A spark of fire, in the Alcheringa, was blown by the north wind from the place where fire was kindled first, in the celestial north, to the summit of a great mountain represented by Mount Hay. Here it fell to the earth, and caused a huge conflagration. When this subsided, one class of the Inapertwa creatures issued from the ashes. These were "the ancestors of the people of the fire-totem," the people born from the element of fire (N. T., p. 445). The tradition enables us to identify an origin for children born of fire, or the soul of fire, that is, the power of this element. Moreover, it is fire from heaven. It falls as a spark, which spark falls elsewhere in the fire-stone. These particular Inapertwa, or pre-human creatures, were discovered by two men of the Wungara or wild-duck totem, and made by them into men and

women of the fire-totem. Such, then, are the offspring of fire or light, where others are the children of air or of water, as one of the elemental or animistic powers; and the pre-human creatures became men and women when they were made totemic. The transformation is a symbolical mode of deriving the totemic people from the pre-human and pre-totemic powers which were elemental.

There is a class of beings in the German folk-tales who are a kind of spirit, but not of human origin, like so many others that are a product of primitive symbolism, which came to be designated elementals because they originated in the physical elements. These little earth-men have the feet of a goose or a duck. Here the Kamite wisdom shows how these are the spirits of earth who descended from Seb, the power, spirit, or god of earth, whose zootype in Egypt was the goose. Thus the earth god or elemental power of the mythos becomes the goose-footed earth man of the Märchen and later folklore, which are the *débris* of the Kamite mythology. The cave-dwellers in various lands are likewise known as children of the earth. Their birthplace may be described as a bed of reeds, a tree, a cleft in the rock, or the hole in a stone. Each type denotes the earth as primordial bringer forth and mother of primæval life. Children with souls derived from the element of earth are also represented by the Arunta as issuing from the earth *viâ* “the Erithipa stone.” The stone, equal to the earth, is here the equivalent for the parsley-bed from which the children

issue in the folk-lore of the British Isles. The word Erithipa signifies a child, though seldom used in this sense. Also a figure of the human birthplace is very naturally indicated. There is a round hole on one side of the stone through which the spirit-children waiting for incorporation in the earthly form are supposed to peep when on the look-out for women, nice and fat, to mother them. It is thought that women can become pregnant by visiting this stone. The imagery shows that the child-stone not only represents the earth as the bringer forth of life, but that it is also an emblem of emanation from the mother's womb. There is an aperture in the stone over which a black band is painted with charcoal. This unmistakably suggests the pubes. The painting is always renewed by any man who happens to be in the vicinity of the stone (N. T., p. 337). These Erithipa stones are found in various places. This may explain one mode of deriving men from stones, the stone or rock in this case being a figure of the Mother-earth.

In such wise the primitive representation survives in legendary lore, and the myth remains as a tale that is told. Earth, as the birthplace in the beginning, was typified by the tree and stone. A gap in the mountain range, a cleft in the rock, or the hole in a stone presented a likeness to the human birthplace. The mystery of the stone affords an illuminative instance of the primitive mode of *thinging* in Sign-language, or thinking in things. Conceiving a child was thought of as a concretion of spirit, and that concretion or crystallization was

symbolized by means of the white stone in the mysteries. It is the tradition of the Arunta tribe that when a woman conceives, or, as they render it, when the spirit-child enters the womb, a Churinga-stone is dropped, which is commonly supposed to be marked with a device that identifies the spirit-child, and therefore the human child, with its totem. Usually the Churinga is found on the spot by some of the tribal elders, who deposit it in the Ertnatulunga, or storehouse, in which the stones of conception are kept so sacredly that they must never be looked upon by woman or child, or any uninitiated man. "Each Churinga is so closely bound up with the spirit individual (or the spirit individualized) that it is regarded as its representative in the Ertnalutunga" or treasury of sacred objects. In this way the Arunta were affirming that, when a child was conceived of an elemental power, whether born figuratively from the rock or tree, the air, the water, or it may be from the spark in the stone that fell with the fire from heaven, or actually from the mother's womb, it was in possession of a spirit that was superhuman in its origin and enduring beyond the life of the mortal. This was expressed by means of the stone as a type of *permanence*. Hence, when the stone could not be identified upon the spot, a Churinga was cut *from the very hardest wood* that could be found. The stones were then saved up in the repository of the tribe or totemic group, and these Churingas are the stones and trees in which primitive men have been ignorantly supposed to

keep their souls for safety outside of their own bodies by those who knew nothing of the ancient Sign-language.

Part Two: (Greek-Roman Texts)



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2022 /2023



Faculty: Faculty of Arts

Level: 3rd year

Department: History Department

Academic year: 2022/2023

Number of pages: 93 pages

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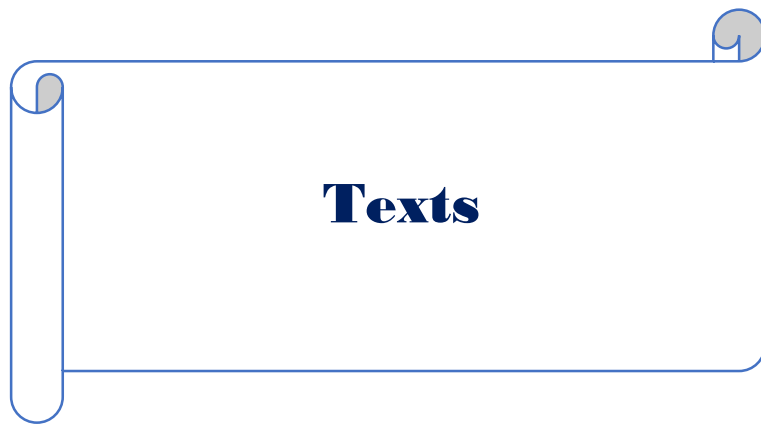
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Terms

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1. aedile
2. agora
3. apella
4. archon
5. assembly (ekklesia)
6. boule

- 7. censor**
- 8. deme (demos)**
- 9. dioiketes (Egypt)**
- 10. dokimasia**
- 11. gerousia**
- 12. idios logos**
- 13. nomos**
- 14. ostracism**
- 15. polis**
- 16. praetor**
- 17. quaestor**
- 18. strategos, Egypt**



1. The wrath of Achilles⁽¹⁾

The wrath sing, goddess, of Peleus' son, Achilles, that destructive wrath which brought countless woes upon the Achaeans, and sent forth to Hades many valiant souls of heroes, and made them themselves spoil for dogs and every bird; thus the plan of Zeus came to fulfillment, from the time when first they parted in strife Atreus' son, king of men, and brilliant Achilles. Who then of the gods was it that brought these two together to contend? The son of Leto and Zeus; for he in anger against the king roused throughout the host an evil pestilence, and the people began to perish.

because upon the priest Chryses the son of Atreus had wrought dishonour. For he had come to the swift ships of the Achaeans to free his daughter, bearing ransom past counting; and in his hands he held the wreaths of Apollo who strikes from afar, on a staff of gold; and he implored all the Achaeans, but most of all the two sons of Atreus, the marshalls of the people: "Sons of Atreus, and other well-greaved Achaeans, to you may the gods who have homes upon Olympus grant that you sack the city of Priam, and return safe to your homes; but my dear child release to me, and accept the ransom out of reverence for the son of Zeus, Apollo who strikes from afar." Then all the rest of the Achaeans shouted assent, to reverence the priest and accept the glorious ransom, yet the thing did not please the heart of

⁽¹⁾ Hom. Il. 1.1.

Agamemnon, son of Atreus, but he sent him away harshly, and laid upon him a stern command: “Let me not find you, old man, by the hollow ships, either tarrying now or coming back later, lest your staff and the wreath of the god not protect you. Her I will not set free. Sooner shall old age come upon her in our house, in Argos, far from her native land, [30] as she walks to and fro before the loom and serves my bed. But go, do not anger me, that you may return the safer”.

Questions

1. The Greeks managed to enter Troy through the trick of the wooden horse.

(T) (F)

2. The Trojan war ended with the victory of Troy.

(T) (F)

3. Hector was one of the most brilliant Greek leaders in the Trojan war.

(T) (F)

4. The Trojan war lasted for five years.

(T) (F)

5. The Goddess Athena stroke the Achaeans with the pestilence.

(T) (F)

1. The Trojan war occurred between Troy and

(A) Egypt (B) Rome (C) Macedonia (D) Greece

2. The God caused the widespread of pestilence between the Achaeans in the Trojan war.

(A) Zeus (B) Apollo (C) Hephaestus (D) Poseidon

3. was the leader of the Greek army in the Trojan war.

(A) Achilles (B) Agamemnon (C) Odysseus (D) Menelaus

4. The Trojan war lasted for

(A) 5 years (B) 10 years (C) 15 years (D) 20 years

2. The strategic location of Athens⁽¹⁾

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with; and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the centre of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road. Then, too, though she is not wholly sea-girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island; for she lies between two seas: and she has a vast land trade as well; for she is of the mainland.

⁽¹⁾ Xen. Ways.1.6-7.

3. Pericles' Funeral Oration⁽¹⁾

In sum it may be said both that the city is in general a school of the Grecians, and that the men here have everyone in particular his person disposed to most diversity of actions, and yet all with grace and decency. And that this is not now rather a bravery of words upon the occasion than real truth, this power of the city, which by these institutions we have obtained, maketh evident. For it is the only power now found greater in proof than fame, and the only power, that neither grieveth the invader when he miscarries with the quality of those he was hurt by, nor giveth cause to the subjected states to murmur as being in subjection to men unworthy. For both with present and future ages we shall be in admiration for a power not without testimony but made evident by great arguments, and which needeth not either a Homer to praise it or any other such whose poems may indeed for the present bring delight, but the truth will afterwards confute the opinion conceived of the actions. For we have opened unto us by our courage all seas and lands and set up eternal monuments on all sides both of the evil we have done to our enemies and the good we have done to our friends. "Such is the city for which these men, thinking it no reason to lose it, valiantly fighting have died. And it is fit that every man of you that be left should be like minded to undergo any travail for the same".

⁽¹⁾ Thuc. 2.41.

4.The Law of the Twelve Tables⁽¹⁾**Table I: Preliminaries to a Trial; Rules for Trial**

1. If plaintiff summons defendant to court, he shall go. If he does not go, plaintiff shall call witness thereto. Then only shall he take defendant by force.
2. If defendant shirks or takes to heels, plaintiff shall lay hands on him.
3. If disease or age shall be an impediment, he shall grant him a team (for transport); he should not spread with cushions a covered carriage if he shall not so desire.
4. For a landowner (*adsiduus*), a landowner shall be protector (*vindex*); but for a proletarian person, let any one who shall be willing be protector.
5. There shall be the same right, for a staunch person and for a person restored to allegiance, of bond (*nexum*) and conveyance (*mancipium*) with the Roman people.
- 6-9. When the parties compromise the matter, an official shall announce it. If they do not compromise, they shall state the outline of the case in the meeting place (*in comitio*) or market (*in foro*) before noon. They shall plead it out together in person. After noon, the judge shall adjudge the case to the party that is present. If both are present, sunset shall be the time limit (of the proceedings).

⁽¹⁾ E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin III*, 424-515.

Table II: The Trial

1. 500 *as*-pieces shall be the sum when the object of dispute under solemn deposit is valued at 1,000 in bronze or more, 50 pieces when less. Concerning the liberty of a human being, 50 pieces shall be the solemn deposit under which the dispute should be undertaken.
2. ... [serious disease] or else the day appointed with a stranger (*cum hoste*).
If any of these be an impediment for the judge, referee, or party, on that account the day of trial shall be broken off.
3. Whoever is in need of evidence, he shall go on every third day to shout before the witness' doorway.

Table III: Debt

1-6. When debt has been acknowledged, or judgment about the matter had been pronounced in court, 30 days must be the legitimate time of grace. After that, then arrest of debtor may be made by laying on hands. Bring him into court. If he does not satisfy the judgment, or no one in court offers himself as surety on his behalf, the creditor may take the defaulter with him. He may bind him either in stocks or in chains; he may bind him with weight not less than fifteen pounds or with more if he shall so desire. The debtor, if he shall wish it, may live on his own. If he does not live on his own, the person [who shall hold him in bonds] shall give him one pound of grits for each day. He may give more if he shall so desire. On the third market day, creditors shall cut pieces (*partis secanto*). Should they have cut more or less than their due, it shall be with impunity.

7. Against a stranger (*adversus hostem*), title of ownership shall hold good forever.

Table IV: Rights of Fathers

1. A dreadfully deformed child shall be quickly killed.
2. If a father surrenders his son for sale three times, the son shall be free from his father.
3. [He has given orders for her] to mind her own affairs and has taken away her keys . . .
4. A child born after ten months since the father's death will not be admitted into a legal inheritance.

Table V: Succession and Guardianship

1. Females should remain in guardianship even when they have attained their majority... except the Vestal Virgins ...
2. Conveyable possessions of a woman under the guardianship of agnates shall not rightfully be acquired by *usucapio* or long usage save such possession as have been delivered up by her with a guardian's sanction.
4. If a person dies intestate, and has no self-successor (*suus heres*), the nearest agnate male kinsman shall have possession of the deceased's household.
5. If there be no agnate male kinsman, the deceased's clansmen (*gentiles*) shall have possession of his household.
6. To persons for whom a guardian has not been appointed by will, to them agnates are guardians.
7. If a man is raving mad, rightful authority over his person and chattels shall belong to his agnates or to his clansmen. A spendthrift is forbidden to exercise administration over his own goods and shall be under the guardianship of his agnates.
8. The inheritance of a Roman citizen-freedman shall be made over to his patron if the freedman has died intestate and having no self-successor.

Table VI: Acquisition; Possession

1a. When a party shall made bond (*nexum*) or conveyance (*mancipium*), according as he has affirmed by word of mouth (*lingua nuncupassit*), so shall the right hold good.

1b.... *mancipationem et in iure cessionem* ...

1c. Articles sold and handed over (*venditae et traditae*) are not acquired by a buyer otherwise than when he has paid the price to the seller or has satisfied him in some other way, that is, by providing a guarantor or a security.

2. ... sufficient to make good such faults as had been affirmed by word of mouth, and for any flaws which the vendor had expressly denied, he should undergo a penalty of double damages ...

3. *Usucapio* of movable things requires one year's possession for its completion; but *usucapio* of an estate and buildings, two years.

4. Any woman who did not wish to be subjected in this manner to the hand (*in manum*) of her husband should be absent for 3 nights in succession every year, and so interrupt the *usucapio* of each year.

5. If parties lay on hands together in law ...

7-9. A person shall not dislodge from its framework a beam fixed in buildings or vineyards . . . double amount of damage against the person found guilty of fixing such beam.

Table VII: Rights Concerning Land

1. . . . ownership within a 5-foot strip shall not be acquired by long usage (*usus capionem*).
5. If parties disagree . . . boundaries shall be marked by . . . three arbitrators.
6. The width of a road . . . 8 feet where it runs straight ahead, 16 round a bend
7. Persons shall mend the roadway. If they keep it not laid with stones, [the holder of the servitude] may drive beasts where he shall wish.
8. If rainwater does damage . . . must be restrained according to an arbitrator's order.
91. Branches of a tree may be lopped off all round to a height of more than 15 feet...
- 9b. Should a tree on a neighbor's farm be bent crooked by the wind and lean over your farm, you may take legal action for removal of that tree.
10. A man might gather up fruit that was falling down onto another man's farm.

Table VIII: Torts or Delicts

1a. If any person had sung or composed against another person a song such as was causing slander or insult to another ... he should be clubbed to death.

1b. Person who shall have enchanted by singing an evil spell ...

2. If a person has maimed another's limb, let there be retaliation in kind (*talio*) unless he makes agreement for composition with him.

3. If he has broken or bruised a freemen's bone with his hand or a club, he shall undergo a penalty of 300 pieces; if a slave's, 150.

4. If he has done simple harm, the penalty shall be 25 pieces.

6. If a four-footed animal shall be said to have caused loss, a legal action shall be had either for the surrender of the thing which damaged or for assessment of the damage.

8a. A person who has enchanted crops away ...

8b. ... or decoy not another's grain.

9. For pasturing on, or cutting secretly by night, another's crops acquired by tillage, an adult shall be hanged (*suspensum*) and put to death as a sacrifice to Ceres; and, in the case of a person under the age of puberty, either he shall be scourged or shall, for the harm done, make composition by paying double damages.

10. Any person who destroys by burning any building or heap of grain deposited alongside a house shall be bound, scourged, and put to death by burning at the stake provided that he has committed the said misdeed with malice aforethought; but if he shall have committed it by accident, that is, by negligence, it is ordained that he repair the damage or, if he be too poor to be competent for such punishment, he shall receive a lighter punishment.

11. Any person who has cut down another person's trees with harmful intent shall pay 25 pieces for every tree.

12. If the theft has been done by night, if the owner kills the thief, the thief shall be held to be lawfully killed.

13. (It is unlawful for a thief to be) killed by day ... unless he defends himself with a weapon; even though he has come with a weapon, unless he shall use the weapon and fight back, you shall not kill him. And even if he resists, first call out (so that someone may hear and come up).

14. If a thief is caught in the act (*manifestis furibus*), if he is a freedman let him be flogged and adjudged (*addici*) to the person against whom the theft has been committed, provided that the malefactor has committed it by day and has not defended himself with a weapon. Slaves caught in the act of theft shall be flogged and thrown from the Rock. [Children under the age of puberty] shall, at the consul's discretion, be flogged and the damage done by them shall be repaired.

15. ... with platter and loincloth (*lance et licio*).
16. If a persons pleads on case of theft, in which the thief shall be not caught in the act, the thief must compound for the loss by paying double damages.
17. A stolen thing is debarred from *usucapio*.
19. Arising out of a case concerning an article deposited, an action shall be granted for double damages.
21. If a patron shall have defrauded his client, he must be solemnly forfeited (*sacer esto*).
22. Whosoever shall have allowed himself to be called as a witness or shall have been scales-balancer (*libripens*), if he does not as a witness pronounce his testimony, he must be deemed dishonored and incapable of acting as witness (*improbis intestabilisque*).
23. A person who had been found guilty of giving false witness shall be hurled down from the Tarpeian Rock.
24. If a missile has sped from the hand, and the holder has not aimed it ...
25. ... poison ...
26. No person shall hold meetings by night in the city.

Table IX: Public Law

1-2. Laws of personal exception (*privilegia*) must not be proposed; cases in which the penalty affects the *caput* or person of a citizen must not be decided except through the greatest assembly (*maximum comitiatum*) and through those whom the [censors] have placed upon the register of citizens.

3. ... capital punishment on a judge or arbiter legally appointed who had been found guilty of receiving a bribe for giving a decision.

4. ... investigators of murder (*quaestores parricidii*).

5. He who shall have roused up a public enemy or handed over a citizen to a public enemy must suffer capital punishment.

6. Putting to death ... of any man, whosoever he might be, unconvicted is forbidden.

Table X: Sacred Law

1. A dead man shall not be buried or burned within the city.
2. One must not do more than this; one must not smooth the pyre with an axe
...
3. ... three veils, one small purple tunic, and 10 flute-players.
4. A woman must not tear her cheeks or hold a chorus of “Alas!” on account of a funeral.
5. When a man is dead, one must not gather bones whereby to make an funeral after.
6. Anointing by slaves is abolished and every kind of drinking-bout. Let there be no costly sprinkling, ... no long garlands, ... no incense-boxes.
- 8-9. A person must not add gold (to the funeral pyre). But him whose teeth shall have been fastened together with gold, if a person shall bury or burn him along with that gold, it shall be with impunity.

Table XI: Supplementary Laws

1. [Marriages] should not take place between plebeians and patricians.
2. ... intercalating into the calendar.
3. ... days deemed favorable for official legal business ...

Table XII: Supplementary Laws

1. ... levying of distress (*pignoris capio*) against a person who had bought an animal for sacrifice and was a defaulter by nonpayment; likewise against a person who was a defaulter by nonpayment of the fee for a yoke-beat which any one had hired out for the purpose of raising therefrom money to spend on a sacred banquet...
2. If a slave shall have committed theft or done damage ... Arising from delicts committed by children and slaves of a household ... actions for damages are appointed whereby the father or master shall be allowed either to undergo an assessment of damage or hand over the delinquent to punishment ...
3. If a person has taken a thing by false claim, if he should wish . . . official must grant three arbitrators; by their arbitration . . . defendant must compound for the loss caused by paying double damages from enjoyment of the article.

4. [A person is prohibited] from dedicating for consecrated use anything about which there is a controversy; otherwise we suffer a penalty of double the amount involved ...
5. Whatever the people had last ordained should be held as binding by law.



Questions

1. In the past, a deformed child was killed in Rome.
(T) (F)
2. In Rome, a child -who was born after ten months from his father's death- could be accepted to inherit his father.
(T) (F)
3. A dead person shouldn't be buried or burned inside the city of Rome in the past.
(T) (F)
4. A woman mustn't tear her clothes because of a funeral in Rome in the past.
(T) (F)
5. When a man die in Rome in the past, one shouldn't collect the dead person's bones to hold a funeral for him.
(T) (F)
6. A person shouldn't add gold to (the funeral pyre)
(T) (F)

5. Ptolemy rules Egypt⁽¹⁾

In Asia, of those who had shared in the division of the satrapies, Ptolemy took over Egypt without difficulty and was treating the inhabitants with kindness. Finding eight thousand talents in the treasury, he began to collect mercenaries and to form an army. A multitude of friends also gathered about him on account of his fairness. With Antipater he carried on a diplomatic correspondence that led to a treaty of co-operation, since he well knew that Perdiccas would attempt to wrest from him the satrapy of Egypt.

⁽¹⁾ Diod. 18.14.

Questions

1. Ptolemy ruled Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great.

(T)

(F)

2. The king Ptolemy treated the inhabitants of Egypt badly.

(T)

(F)

3. The king Ptolemy gathered the mercenaries for forming the army.

(T)

(F)

1. Ptolemy found talents in the treasury when he arrived in Egypt.

(A) five thousand (B) six thousand (C) seven thousand (D) eight thousand

2. When Alexander the Great's properties were divided, Egypt was the share of

(A) Antipater (B) Ptolemy (C) Perdiccas (D) Seleucus

6. Marriage Contract between Heraclides and Demetria, 311 BCE⁽¹⁾

In the 7th year of the reign of Alexander son of Alexander, the 14th year of the satrapship of Ptolemy, in the month Dios. Marriage contract of Heraclides and Demetria. Heraclides takes as his lawful wife Demetria, Coan, both being freeborn, from her father Leptines, Coan, and her mother Philotis, bringing clothing and ornaments to the value of 1000 drachmae, and Heraclides shall supply to Demetria all that is proper for a freeborn wife, and we shall live together wherever it seems best to Leptines and Heraclides consulting in common.

If Demetria is discovered doing any evil to the shame of her husband Heraclides, she shall be deprived of all that she brought, but Heraclides shall prove whatever he alleges against Demetria before three men whom they both accept.

It shall not be lawful for Heraclides to bring home another wife in insult of Demetria nor to have children by another woman nor to do any evil against Demetria on any pretext. If Heraclides is discovered doing any of these things and Demetria proves it before three men whom they both accept, Heraclides shall give back to Demetria the dowry of 1000 drachmae which she brought

⁽¹⁾ http://www.attalus.org/egypt/marriage_contracts.html

and shall moreover forfeit 1000 drachmae of the silver coinage of Alexander. Demetria and those aiding Demetria to exact payment shall have the right of execution, as if derived from a legally decided action, upon the person of Heraclides and upon all the property of Heraclides both on land and on water.

This contract shall be valid in every respect, wherever Heraclides may produce it against Demetria, or Demetria and those aiding Demetria to exact payment may produce it against Heraclides, as if the agreement had been made in that place.

Heraclides and Demetria shall have the right to keep the contracts severally in their own custody and to produce them against each other.

Witnesses Cleon, Gelan; Anticrates, Temnian; Lysis, Temnian; Dionysius, Temnian; Aristomachus, Cyrenaean; Aristodicus, Coan.

7. Marriage Contract between Patma and Taoutem, 251 BCE⁽¹⁾

The year 33, Khoiakh, of the King Ptolemy, the god, beings Aetus, son of Apollonius, Priest of Alexander and of the gods brothers, being Dimetria, daughter of Dionysos, Canephoros before Arsinoe Philadelphia, the Pastophore of Ammon Api of the Western, region, of Thebes.

Patma, son of Pchelchons, whose mother is Tahet, says to the woman Taoutem, daughter of Relou, whose mother is Tanetem: I have accepted thee for wife, I have given thee one argenteus, in shekels 5, one argenteus in all for thy woman's gift. I must give thee 6 oboli, their half is 3, to-day 6, by the month 3, by the double month 6, 36 for a year: equal to one argenteus and one fifth, in shekels 6, one argenteus and one fifth in all for thy toilet during a year. Lastly, a tenth of an argenteus, in shekels one half, one argenteus one tenth for thy pin money by the month, which, makes one argenteus and one fifth, in shekels 6, one argenteus and one fifth for thy pin money for the year. Thy pin money for one year is apart from thy toilet money. I must give it to thee each year, and it is thy right to exact the payment of thy toilet money, and thy pin money, which are to be placed to my account. I must give it to thee.

Thy eldest son, my eldest son, shall be the heir of all my property, present and future.

⁽¹⁾ http://www.attalus.org/egypt/marriage_contracts.html

I will establish thee as wife.

In case I should despise thee, in case I should take another wife than thee, I will give thee 20 argenteus, in shekels 100, 20 argenteus in all.

The entire of the property which is mine, and which I shall possess, is security of all the above words, until I have accomplished them according to their tenor. I have no more to allege, any other matter, any other word with thee. The writings which the woman Tahet, daughter of Teos, my mother, has made to me concerning one half of the entire of the property which belonged to Pchelchons, son of Pana, my father, and the rest of the contracts coming from her, and which are in my hand, belong to thee, as well as the rights resulting from it. For thee all that, as well as that which I shall justify in their name.

Son, daughter, coming from me, who shall annoy thee on this subject will give thee 20 argenteus, in shekels 100, 20 argenteus in all. He will deliver them up to thee entirely without any opposition, the writer of this act is the Priest of Ammon Horpnetter, son of Smin.

8. Roman Embassy to king Ptolemy

Meanwhile three ambassadors, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, were sent to King Ptolemy of Egypt, to announce the defeat of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to thank the king because, in a critical time, when even allies nearer home had revolted, he had remained loyal, and to ask that if the Romans, compelled by their wrongs, should declare war on Philip, he should preserve his ancient attitude toward the Roman people⁽¹⁾.



Questions

1. Rome sent an embassy to Egypt to thank the King Ptolemy of Egypt for helping them.
(T) (F)
2. Rome sent an embassy consisting of ambassadors to thank the King Ptolemy.
(A) two (B) three (C) four (D) five

⁽¹⁾ Liv. 31. 2. 3-4.

9. The Rosetta stone⁽¹⁾

In the reign of the young one, who has received royalty from his father, the lord of crowns, whose glory is great, who established Egypt and is pious towards the gods the conqueror of his enemies,³ who restored the life of men, the lord of the Thirty-Year festivals,⁴ like Hephaestus (i.e. Ptah) the Great, a king like the Sun (= Ra), the great king of the upper and lower regions, son of the Father-Loving Gods (*theoi philopatores*), approved by Hephaestus, to whom the Sun granted victory, the living image of Zeus (= Amun) son of the Sun, Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, in the 9th year, when Aetus son of Aetus was priest of Alexander, the Saviour Gods, the Brother– Sister Gods, the Benefactor Gods, the Father-Loving Gods and [5] the God Manifest and Beneficent (*theos epiphanes eucharistos*), when Pyrrha daughter of Philinus was *athlophoros* of Berenice Euergetis, when Areia daughter of Diogenes was basket-bearer (*canephoros*) of Arsinoe Philadelphus, when Irene daughter of Ptolemy was priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, on the 4th of the month Xandicus and the 18th of the Egyptian month Mecheir (27 March 196) decree; the chief priests, the prophets, those who enter the holy of holies for the robing of the gods, the *pterophoroi*, the sacred scribes and all the other priests who assembled before the king from the temples throughout the land to Memphis for the festival of the reception

⁽¹⁾ M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, No. 283

of royalty to the ever-living Ptolemy, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, which he received from his father, having come together in the temple at Memphis on this day, declared: since King Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, born of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, Father-Loving Gods, has conferred many benefits on the temples and

[10] those who dwell in them and on all the subjects in his kingdom, being a god born of a god and goddess – just as Horus son of Isis and Osiris, who avenged his father Osiris – and being benevolently disposed towards the gods, has dedicated to the temples revenues in money and corn, and has sustained many expenses to bring Egypt to a state of prosperity and to establish the temples, and has given away freely from his own means, and of the revenues and dues he receives from Egypt some he has completely remitted and others he has reduced,⁸ so that the people and all others might enjoy prosperity during his reign, and he has remitted the debts to the crown which were owed by the people in Egypt and those in the rest of his kingdom, which were considerable, and he has freed those who were in the prisons and who were under accusation for a long time from the charges against them; and he has ordered that the revenues of the temples and the grants which are made to them annually in corn.

[15] and money, and also the proper quota (*apomoira*) which is assigned to the gods from vineyards and gardens and the other possessions of the gods,¹⁰ should remain as they were in his father's time; and with regard to the priests he has ordered that they should pay no more as their fee for consecration¹¹ than they were required to pay under his father and up to the first year (of Ptolemy V's reign); and he has released the members of the priestly class from the annual obligation to sail down the river (Nile) to Alexandria; and he has ordered that men shall no longer be press-ganged for the navy, and has remitted two thirds of the tax on byssus cloth paid by the temples to the royal treasury, and has restored to order whatever things were neglected in former times, taking care that the customary celebrations should be offered to the gods as is fitting; and he has also dispensed justice to everybody, just like Hermes (i.e. Thoth) the Great and Great; and he has ordered further that those soldiers (*machimoi*) who come back, and the others who were rebellious [20] during the period of disturbances, should return and keep possession of their own property; and he has made sure that the cavalry and infantry forces and ships should be sent out against those attacking Egypt by sea and by land and has sustained great expenses in money and corn so that the temples and all the people in the land might be in safety; and having gone to Lycopolis in the Busirite nome, which had been occupied and fortified for a siege with an abundant stock of weapons and other supplies¹⁸ – for the disaffection was

now of long standing among the impious men who had gathered there and who had done much harm to the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt— and having encamped against it he surrounded it with mounds and trenches and massive fortifications; and when the Nile rose to a great height in the 8th year (198/7) and was about to flood the plains as usual,

[25] he held it in check by damming in many places the mouths of the canals, for which he spent no small sum of money, and having stationed cavalry and infantry to guard them, in a short while he took the city by storm and destroyed all the impious men in it, just as Hermes (= Thoth) and Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, subdued formerly those who had rebelled in the same places. When he came to Memphis to avenge his father and his own royalty, he punished in a fitting way all the leaders of those who rebelled in his father's time, who had [disturbed] the country and done harm to the temples, at the time when he came there for the performance of the appropriate ceremonies for his reception of royalty; and he has remitted the debts of the temples to the royal treasury up to the 8th year (198/7), which was no small amount of corn and money, [and] similarly the dues on the byssus cloth which had not been delivered to the royal treasury

[30] and of those delivered (he has remitted) the cost of checking them, up to the same period; and he has freed the temples from the (tax of one) artaba for each arura of sacred land, and also the (tax of one) jar of wine for each arura

of vineyards; and he has bestowed many gifts on Apis and Mnevis and the other sacred animals in Egypt, much more than the kings before him, showing consideration for what belonged [to] them in every respect, and for their burials he gave what was needed lavishly and splendidly, and what was paid to their special shrines, with sacrifices and religious assemblies and the other [customary observances], and he has maintained the privileges of the temples and of Egypt in accordance with the laws, and has adorned the temple of Apis with lavish work, spending on it no small sum of gold [and silver]and precious stones, and he has founded temples and shrines and altars, and has restored those in need of repair, in the spirit of a beneficent god in matters relating [to]

[35] religion; and having discovered what temples were held in the highest honour, he has restored them during his own reign, as is fitting; in return for these things the gods have granted him health, victory, power and [all] other blessings, and his royalty shall remain with him and his children for all time.

With good fortune. The priests of all the temples throughout the land have resolved to increase greatly the [honours] existing [in the temples] for King Ptolemy the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, God Manifest and Beneficent, and also those for his parents the Father-Loving Gods, and those for his grandparents the Benefactor Gods [and those] for the Brother–Sister Gods and those for the Saviour Gods. A statue of King Ptolemy the ever-living,

God Manifest and Beneficent, shall be set up in each temple in the [most] distinguished [place], to be called (statue) of Ptolemy the avenger of Egypt, and beside it shall stand the chief god of each temple presenting to him the weapon of victory, which shall be constructed [in the Egyptian]

[40] fashion, and the priests shall worship the statues three times a day and shall put upon them the sacred dress, and perform the customary rites as for the other gods at [festivals and] religious assemblies. A statue and a [golden] shrine shall be established for King Ptolemy, God Manifest and Beneficent, born from King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-Loving Gods, [in each] temple and they shall be placed in the innermost sanctuaries together with the other shrines, and in the great religious assemblies, in which the shrines are carried in procession, the [shrine] of the God Manifest and [Beneficent shall also] be carried. And so that the shrine may be clearly marked now and in future, it shall be surmounted by the ten golden crowns of the king, with an asp fixed on them [as with all] the crowns with asps in the other shrines. In the centre of them shall be the crown called *Pschent* which he (the king) put on when he entered the [temple] at Memphis [to] celebrate [there]

[45] the ceremonies for the reception of royalty. And there shall be placed on the square around the crowns, beside the above-mentioned crown, [golden] symbols [which shall proclaim that] they are those of the king who made

illustrious the upper and the lower country. And since the 30th of Mesore (c.7 October), on which the king's birthday is celebrated,²³ and also [the 17th of Phaophi] (c.28 November) on which he received the royalty from his father, have been recognised as name-days in the temples, for they were the sources of many blessings, these days shall be celebrated as festivals [and religious assemblies in the] temples [throughout] Egypt every month, and in them sacrifices, libations and the other customary celebrations shall be performed, as in other religious assemblies . . . in the temples. And a festival and religious assembly shall be celebrated every [year] for the ever-living, beloved of Ptah, King Ptolemy, God Manifest and Beneficent [in the temples throughout the]

[50] country from the first day of Thoth for five days, during which they shall wear wreaths as they perform the sacrifices, libations and other appropriate rites. And [all the priests] shall also be called priests of the God Manifest and Beneficent in addition to the other names of the gods whom they serve, and his priesthood shall be entered in all documents and [engraved on the rings they wear]. And private individuals may also celebrate the festival and set up the shrine mentioned above and keep it in their houses, celebrating [the customary rites in the monthly and] annual [festivals], in order that it may be well known that the people in Egypt magnify and honour the God Manifest and Beneficent, as is customary [for them. This decree

shall be inscribed on stelae] of hard stone, in sacred, native and Greek letters, and placed in every [temple] of the first, second [and third rank, next to the statue].

10. Circle of Popilius⁽¹⁾

After crossing the river at Eleusis, about four miles from Alexandria, he was met by the Roman commissioners, to whom he gave a friendly greeting and held out his hand to Popilius. Popilius, however, placed in his hand the tablets on which was written the decree of the senate and told him first of all to read it. After reading it through, he said he would call his friends into council and consider what he ought to do. Popilius, stern and imperious as ever, drew a circle round the king with the stick he was carrying and said, "Before you step out of that circle give me a reply to lay before the senate." For a few moments he hesitated, astounded at such a peremptory order, and at last replied, "I will do what the senate thinks right. "Not till then did Popilius extend his hand to the king as to a friend and ally.

⁽¹⁾ Liv. 45 12. 3-6.



Questions

1. Popilius treated Antiochus well.

(T)

(F)

2. Antiochus accepted the request of the senate and withdrew from Egypt.

(T)

(F)

1. Rome sent an embassy headed by to prevent Antiochus' invasion of Egypt.

(A) Popilius

(B) Antipater

(C) Perdiccas

(D) Seleucus

2. The embassy of Popilius met Antiochus near the city of

(A) Memphis

(B) Alexandria

(C) Naucratis

(D) Ptolemais

11. The 'amnesty decree' of Ptolemy VIII⁽¹⁾

[1-13] King Ptolemaios and Queen Kleopatra the sister and Queen Kleopatra the wife proclaim an amnesty to all their subjects for errors, crimes, accusations, condemnations and charges of all kinds up to the 9th of Pharmouthi of the 52nd year, except to persons guilty of willful murder or sacrilege. And they have decreed that persons who have gone into hiding because they were guilty of theft or subject to other charges shall return to their own homes and resume their former occupations, and their remaining property shall not be sold... And they remit to all persons the arrears up to the same period in respect of both rents in grain and money taxes, except to hereditary lessees who have given a surety. (...)

[22-35] And they have decreed that the (officials of the custom-house) shall not ... nor seize goods unless they find upon the wharf at the harbours of Alexandria something on which duty has not been paid or of which the importation is forbidden; these they are to bring to the dioiketes. Likewise persons who travel on foot up the country from Alexandria by the land-route which leads ... and persons crossing from one tongue of land to another shall have no payment of any kind demanded or exacted from them except the legal duties. Likewise in the case of persons importing goods through the foreign mart ... the seizure is to be made at the custom-house itself.

⁽¹⁾ M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, No. 290, also: http://www.attalus.org/egypt/ptolemy_viii_decrees.html

[36-46] And they have decreed that all recipients of grants of land and all holders of temple or other land en aphesei, both those who have encroached on the crown land and all others who hold more land than that to which they are entitled, shall, on giving up (?) the excess and declaring themselves and paying a year's rent, be released from payments due from them up to the 51st year, and the legal tenure of their holdings is guaranteed to them. And that the picked forces, and the native soldiers who own ten or seven arouras, and their leaders, and all others placed in that class, and the native marines, and those who ... , shall have the legal ownership of the lands which they have possessed up to the ... year, and shall not be subject to accusation of interference. And they remit to every one the arrears of the work-tax.

[50-72] And they have decreed that the temple land and other sacred revenues which belong to the temples shall remain assured to them, and that the temples shall receive the tithes which they used to receive from holdings and gardens and other land. And in like manner the appointed sums or what they received from the treasury for the pay of the temples and the other sums granted to them up to the 51st year shall be paid to them regularly, as in the case of their other revenues (?), and no one shall be allowed to take anything from these sources of income. No one shall take away by force anything of what has been dedicated to the gods, nor apply forcible persuasion to the superintendents of the sacred revenue, whether derived from villages or land

or other temple revenues, nor shall the tax on associations or the crown-tax or the artaba-tax be paid upon what has been dedicated to the gods, nor shall the temple lands be worked on any pretext, but they shall be left to be administered by the priests. And they remit to the overseers of the temples and the chief priests and priests the arrears on account of both the tax for overseers and the values of woven cloths up to the 50th year. Likewise they remit to holders of honorable offices, or of posts as prophet or scribe, or of other sacred offices in the temples, the arrears owed in the temples for the emoluments demanded on certain occasions up to the 50th year. Likewise they remit the penalties incurred by those who have extorted more (than their due) emoluments up to the same period. Likewise to holders of such offices in the lesser temples, both shrines of Isis and feeding places of ibises and hawk-shrines and Anubis-shrines and the like, they remit the corresponding arrears and penalties up to the same period. (...)

[77-82] And they have decreed that the expenses for the burial of Apis and Mnevis should be demanded from the crown revenues, as in the case of the deified personages. Likewise in the case of the other sacred animals the sums required (shall be paid by the crown). (Likewise) those honorable offices and posts as prophet or scribe which have been bought for the temples out of the temple revenues, and of which the prices have been paid, shall remain

assured to the temples, but the priests are not permitted to make over these offices to other persons.

[83-84] And they have decreed that no one is to be dragged away or forcibly ejected from the existing places of asylum.

[85-92] And since it sometimes happens that the sitologoi and antigrapheis use larger measures than the correct bronze measures appointed in each nome ... in estimating dues to the state, and in consequence the cultivators are made to pay (more than the proper number of choinikes?), they have decreed that the strategoi and the overseers of the revenues and the basilikoi grammateis shall test the measures in the most thorough manner possible in the presence of those concerned in the revenues of ... and the priests and the cleruchs and other owners of land en aphesei ..., and the measures must not exceed (the government measure) by more than the two ... allowed for errors. Those who disobey this decree are punishable with death.

[93-98] And they have decreed that the cultivators of vine-land or gardens throughout the country, if they plant them between the 53rd and 57th years in the land which has become flooded or dry, shall be left untaxed for five years dating from the time at which they plant them, and from the sixth year for three years more they shall be required to pay less than the proper amount, payment being made in the fourth year, but from the ninth year onwards they shall pay the same as the other owners of land in good condition; and that

cultivators in the country belonging to Alexandria shall be allowed an extra three years' grace.

[99-101] And they have decreed that those who have bought from the Crown houses of vineyards or gardens of other (holdings?) or boats or anything else whatever, shall remain in undisturbed possession, and they shall not have persons quartered in their houses. (...)

[134-146 = 147-167] And they have decreed that owners of houses which have been pulled down or burnt shall be permitted to rebuild them according to the prescribed measurements. And that persons who own private houses in the village shall likewise be allowed to build up their homes to the height of ..., and rebuild the temples to the height of 10 cubits, except the inhabitants of Panopolis. No one is to collect anything whatever from the cultivators and the tax-payers and the persons connected with the revenues and the honey-workers and the rest for the benefit of the strategoi or chiefs of the guards or archiphylakitai or oikonomoi or their agents or the other officials. Neither strategoi nor holders of official positions nor their subordinates nor any other persons whatever shall take the richest Crown land from the cultivators by fraud or cultivate it at choice.

[168-177] The following classes, the Greeks serving in the army, the priests, the cultivators of Crown lands, the ..., all the wool-weavers and cloth makers, the swineherds, the gooseherds, and makers of ..., oil, castor-oil, honey, and

beer, who pay the proper sums to the Crown, shall not have persons quartered in the one house in which each of them lives, and in the case of their other buildings which may be used for quarters, not more than half shall be occupied for that purpose.

[178-187] And they have decreed that the strategoi and the other officials may not compel any of the inhabitants of the country to work for their private service, nor use their cattle for any purpose of their own, nor force them to feed calves and other animals for sacrifice, nor force them to provide geese or birds or wine or grain at a price or on the occasion of renewals, nor oblige them to work without payment on any pretext whatever.

[188-192] And they remit to the guards throughout the country the penalties incurred by making false returns in connection with the government inspections and the produce which they have lost; and they remit the sums which have been paid them for arrears or for other reasons but which have disappeared, up to the 50th year.

[193-206] And (they have decreed) that those who have failed to deliver to the Crown at a price the oil-yielding produce from cleruchic or temple or other land up to the same period, and those who have failed to supply transport for the assembly are released from the penalties which they have incurred. Likewise that persons who have failed to provide reeds and light material for the embankments (are released from the penalties which they

have incurred). Likewise the cultivators of Crown lands, the priests and other owners of land in release, who have failed to plant the proper number of arouras up to the 51st year, are released from the penalties which they have incurred, but the planting (of the proper number) shall be made from the 52nd year onwards. And they remit the penalties incurred by those who have cut down wood on their own property in contravention of the published decrees.

[207-220] And they have decreed in cases of Egyptians who bring actions against Greeks and in cases of Greeks who bring actions against Egyptians, or of Egyptians against Egyptians, with regard to all classes except the cultivators of Crown land and the tax-payers and all others connected with the revenues, that where Egyptians make an agreement with Greeks by contracts written in Greek they shall give and receive satisfaction before the chrematistai; but where Greeks make agreements by contracts written in Egyptian they shall give satisfaction before the native judges in accordance with the national laws; and that suits of Egyptians against Egyptians shall not be dragged by the chrematistai into their own courts, but they shall allow them to be decided before the native judges in accordance with the national laws.

[221-247] And they have decreed that collectors of private debts must not on any pretext whatever get control over the persons of the cultivators of Crown land or the tax-payers or the others whom the previously issued decrees

forbid to be brought up for accusation; but the executions in cases which come before the collectors shall be levied upon the rest of the debtor's property which is not exempted by the following decree. And they have decreed that in the case of cultivators of Crown land the collectors shall not sell up one house containing their working implements, or their cattle or other equipment necessary for cultivation, nor shall they apply the working implements to working temple land or any other on any pretext whatever. And in the same way they shall not sell the cloth-weaving tools of the cloth-weavers and the byssus-makers and the wool-weavers and all persons engaged in similar trades on any pretext whatever; nor shall any other persons take possession of or use the tools required for cloth-weaving or byssus-manufacture than the tax-payers themselves and the byssus-workers, who alone shall use them in the temples themselves for the service of the sovereigns and the vestments of the other gods.

[248-251] And (they have decreed) that no one holding an official position or any one else shall impose labor upon the cloth-weavers and byssus-workers and robe-weavers gratis or at reduced wages.

[252-264] And they have decreed that no one may appropriate boats for his own use on any pretext whatever. And that neither the strategoi nor any others who are in charge of the Crown, State or sacred interests may arrest any one for a private debt or offence or owing to a private quarrel and keep

him imprisoned in their houses or anywhere else on any pretext whatever; but if they accuse any one, they shall bring him before the magistrates appointed in each nome, and shall receive or give satisfaction in accordance with the decrees and regulations.

12. Alexandria is Crown of Cities⁽¹⁾

But the crown of all cities is Alexandria, which is made famous by many splendid things, through the wisdom of its mighty founder and by the cleverness of the architect Dinocrates. The latter, when laying out its extensive and beautiful walls, for lack of lime, of which too little could at the time be found, sprinkled the whole line of its circuit with flour, which chanced to be a sign that later the city would abound with a plentiful store of food. [8] There healthful breezes blow, the air is calm and mild, and as the accumulated experience of many ages has shown, there is almost no day on which the dwellers in that city do not see a cloudless sun

And although very many writers flourished in early times as well as these whom I have mentioned, nevertheless not even to-day is learning of various kinds silent in that same city; for the teachers of the arts show signs of life, and the geometrical measuring-rod brings to light whatever is concealed, the stream of music is not yet wholly dried up among them, harmony is not reduced to silence, the consideration of the motion of the universe and of the stars is still kept warm with some, few though they be, and there are others who are skilled in numbers; and a few besides are versed in the knowledge which reveals the course of the fates. Moreover, studies in the art of healing, whose help is often required in this life of

⁽¹⁾ Amm. 22.16. 7-8.

ours, which is neither frugal nor sober, are so enriched from day to day, that although a physician's work itself indicates it, yet in place of every testimony it is enough to commend his knowledge of the art, if he has said that he was trained at Alexandria⁽²⁾.

⁽²⁾ Amm. 22.16. 17-18.

13. Importance of Egypt to Roman Economy⁽¹⁾

For Augustus, among the other secrets of absolutism, by prohibiting all senators or Roman knights of the higher rank from entering the country without permission, kept Egypt isolated; in order that Italy might not be subjected to starvation by anyone who contrived, with however slight a garrison against armies however formidable, to occupy the province and the key-positions by land and sea.



Questions

1. Augustus prevented the knights from entering Egypt without his permission.
(T) (F)
2. Egypt was of an economic importance for Rome.
(T) (F)
3. Octavius made Egypt an isolated state.
(T) (F)

⁽¹⁾ Tac. Ann. 2.59.

14. Germanicus' visit to Egypt⁽¹⁾

In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus set out for Egypt to study its antiquities. His ostensible motive however was solicitude for the province. He reduced the price of corn by opening the granaries, and adopted many practices pleasing to the multitude. He would go about without soldiers, with sandalled feet, and appalled after the Greek fashion, in imitation of Publius Scipio, who, it is said, habitually did the same in Sicily, even when the war with Carthage was still raging. Tiberius having gently expressed disapproval of his dress and manners, pronounced a very sharp censure on his visit to Alexandria without the emperor's leave, contrary to the regulations of Augustus. That prince, among other secrets of imperial policy, had forbidden senators and Roman knights of the higher rank to enter Egypt except by permission, and he had specially reserved the country, from a fear that any one who held a province containing the key of the land and of the sea, with ever so small a force against the mightiest army, might distress Italy by famine.

Germanicus, however, who had not yet learnt how much he was blamed for his expedition, sailed up the Nile from the city of Canopus as

⁽¹⁾ Tac. Ann. 2.59-61.

his starting-point. Spartans founded the place because Canopus, pilot of one of their ships, had been buried there, when Menelaus on his return to Greece was driven into a distant sea and to the shores of Libya. Thence he went to the river's nearest mouth, dedicated to a Hercules who, the natives say, was born in the country and was the original hero, others, who afterwards showed like valour, having received his name. Next he visited the vast ruins of ancient Thebes. There yet remained on the towering piles Egyptian inscriptions, with a complete account of the city's past grandeur. One of the aged priests, who was desired to interpret the language of his country, related how once there had dwelt in Thebes seven hundred thousand men of military age, and how with such an army king Rhameses conquered Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia, and held under his sway the countries inhabited by the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours, the Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to the Lycian sea. There was also to be read what tributes were imposed on these nations, the weight of silver and gold, the tale of arms and horses, the gifts of ivory and of perfumes to the temples, with the amount of grain and supplies furnished by each people, a revenue as magnificent as is now exacted by the might of Parthia or the power of Rome.

But Germanicus also bestowed attention on other wonders. Chief of these were the stone image of Memnon, which, when struck by the sun's

rays, gives out the sound of a human voice; the pyramids, rising up like mountains amid almost impassable wastes of shifting sand, raised by the emulation and vast wealth of kings; the lake hollowed out of the earth to be a receptacle for the Nile's overflow; and elsewhere the river's narrow channel and profound depth which no line of the explorer can penetrate. He then came to Elephantine and Syene, formerly the limits of the Roman empire, which now extends to the Red Sea.

15. Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians⁽¹⁾

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, imperator, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power, consul designate, to the city of the Alexandrians, greetings.

Tiberius Claudius Barbillus, Apollonius, son of Artemidorus, Chaeremon, son of Leonides, Marcus Julius Asclepiades, Gaius Julius Dionysius, Tiberius Claudius Phanius, Pasion, son of Potamon, Dionysius son of Sabbion, Tiberius Claudius Archibius, Apollonius, son of Ariston, Gaius Julius Apollonius, Hermaiscus, son of Apollonius, your envoys, gave the decree to me and told me much about the city, setting clearly before me your good will towards us, which, you may be sure, I have been storing up for a long time -you are naturally pious towards the Augusti, as I have long known, and especially keen and made keen with regard to my house: to cite the latest example and pass over the rest, the greatest witness to this is my brother Germanicus Caesar, who addressed you in markedly familiar terms. For this reason I was glad to accept the honours which you have conferred upon me, although I am not disposed to such things.

First, I allow you to celebrate my birthday as Augusta in the way you yourselves have chosen; I permit you to erect statues of myself and my family everywhere. I do this because I appreciate your eagerness to set

⁽¹⁾ P. Lond. 6 1912. translated by: D. C. Braund, Augustus to Nero: A Sourcebook on Roman History, 31 BC-AD 68, (New York, 2014), 201-204.

up memorials of your piety towards my house all over the city. And, as for the two gold statues, that of the Claudian Augustan Peace -just as my most honoured friend Barbillus persistently urged when I refused because it seemed too arrogant- will be dedicated at Rome, while the other, in the manner you think appropriate, will be carried in procession on the named days of Alexandria; and a chair, decked out as you wish, is to be carried in procession with it. In permitting honours of this magnitude it would perhaps be foolish to refuse to designate a Claudian tribe

and oppose the establishment of groves in all the nomes of Egypt. Therefore, I allow you this too. And if you also wish to erect equestrian statues

of my procurator, Vitrasius Pollio, do so. And I permit the erection of four-horse chariots, which you wish to post at the entrances to your land - one at Taposiris, as it is called, in Libya, one at Pharos in Alexandria and a third at Pelusium in Egypt. But I decline the establishment of temples and a high-priest for me, because I do not wish to be arrogant towards the people of my own time and because I consider temples and the like to be privileges granted to the gods alone by every age.

With reference to the requests as to what you are keen to receive from me, this is my decision. To all those who have been epebes

down to my principate I securely confirm Alexandrian citizenship together with all the honours and favours bestowed by the city, with the exception of any interlopers of slave descent who have been ephebes. And I wish that all the other rights bestowed upon you by my predecessors in the principate and the kings and the prefects be no less secure, as the divine Augustus also made them secure.

As to the officials of the temple of the divine Augustus in Alexandria, I wish that they be chosen by lot, just as the officials of the temple of the same divine Augustus at Canopus are chosen by lot.

Concerning the holding of civic magistracies for a period of three years, you seem to me to have reached an entirely correct decision, for magistrates will carry out their term of office more judiciously through fear of being called to account for their evil rulings. As to the council, I cannot say what was your usual practice in the time of the kings of old, but you are well aware that it was not held in the time of the Augusti before me. As it is an innovation, now being proposed for the first time -an innovation which is not obviously to the advantage of the city and my interests- I have written to Aemilius Rectus to examine the proposition thoroughly and show me whether the institution should be organised and, if it should be convened, how this should be arranged.

As to the disturbances and civil strife in respect of the Jews (or rather, if I must speak the truth, the war) and who was responsible -though your envoys, Dionysius, son of Theon, in particular, argued their case energetically- I have decided not to conduct a detailed investigation, but I am storing up immutable anger against those who have started it again. And I tell you bluntly that if you do not put a stop to this disastrous stubborn anger against each other, I will be forced to show what it is like when a benevolent princeps is moved to justifiable anger. Therefore, I once again ask that Alexandrians behave gently and benevolently towards the Jews, who have long been inhabitants of the same city, and that they do not commit any sacrilege against Jewish customs relating to the worship of their god; rather, that they allow the Jews to follow the customs which were confirmed in the time of the divine Augustus and which I too confirmed after giving a thorough hearing to both sides. On the other hand, I order the Jews not to strive after anything more than they previously had and not to send -as if they lived in two cities- two embassies in future, something never previously done, and not to seek involvement in the games of the gymnasiarch or cosmete; to enjoy what is theirs and to rejoice in the superfluity of abundant benefits in a foreign city, not bringing in or admitting Jews coming from Syria or Egypt (a practice

which I will be forced to view with notably great suspicion). And if they disobey, I will attack them in every way as the carriers of some world-wide plague. If both sides change their ways and are willing to live in mutual gentleness and benevolence, I for my part will exercise the greatest care for the city, a characteristic which I, in my house, have inherited from my forefathers. I testify for Barbillus, my companion, that he has always exercised the greatest care for you in his dealings with me -he has devoted all his energy on your behalf in the present matter too. I testify also for Tiberius Claudius Archibius, my companion. Farewell.

16. Claudius confirms the rights of the Jews of Alexandria⁽¹⁾

Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, at the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which had been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great distress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up their arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president of Egypt to quiet that tumult; he also sent an edict, at the requests of king Agrippa and king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows:

"Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the people, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called Alexandrians, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexandrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evident by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; and that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their rights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers times been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and privileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, as willing

⁽¹⁾ J. AJ 19. 278-285.

that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the observation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules of their own country religion; but that, in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians became insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very low, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, and call him a god: I will therefore that the nation of the Jews be not deprived of their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed be preserved to them, and that they may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict".

17. Pliny the Younger: Letters

I thank you, Sir, for having so promptly granted my request and for your bestowal of full citizenship on the freedwomen of a lady who is my intimate friend, and the Roman citizenship upon Harpocras, my ointment-doctor. But though I gave particulars, in accordance with your wishes, of his age and financial position, I have been reminded by those more skilled in such matters than I am that as Harpocras is an Egyptian, I ought first to have obtained for him the Egyptian citizenship before asking for the Roman. For my own part, I thought that no distinction was drawn between Egyptians and all other foreigners, and so was satisfied with merely informing you that he had received his freedom at the hands of a foreign lady, and that his patroness had been dead for some time. I do not regret my ignorance in this matter, inasmuch as it has enabled me to owe you a deeper debt of gratitude for the same individual. So I beg that you will bestow upon him both the Alexandrine and the Roman citizenship, that I may lawfully enjoy the full extent of your kindness. I have sent particulars of his age and income to your freedmen, according to your instructions, so as to prevent any further accidental delay of your goodness⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 6

Trajan to Pliny:

I make a practice of following the rules of my predecessors in not making promiscuous grants of the Alexandrine citizenship, but since you have already obtained the Roman citizenship for Harpocras, your ointment-doctor, I cannot very well refuse this further request of yours. You must let me know to what district he belongs, so that I may write to my friend Pompeius Planta, who is praefect of Egypt⁽²⁾.

Pliny to Trajan:

I cannot express, Sir, in words the joy I experienced when I received your letter telling me that you had granted the Alexandrine as well as the Roman citizenship upon my ointment-doctor Harpocras, although you have made it a rule to follow the practice of your predecessors and not grant it promiscuously. I beg to inform you that Harpocras belongs to the district of Memphis. Let me beg of your great kindness, Sir, to send me a letter, as you promised, for your friend Pompeius Planta, the praefect of Egypt. As, Sir, I shall come to meet you that I may enjoy the pleasure at the earliest moment of welcoming you on your long-hoped-for return, I pray that you will permit me to join you on the road as far out from Rome as possible⁽³⁾.

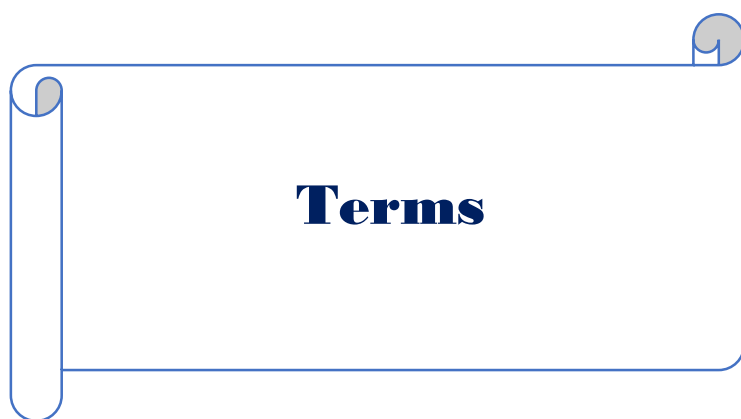
⁽²⁾ Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 7.

⁽³⁾ Pliny, *Ep.* 10. 10.

18. Edict of Caracalla⁽¹⁾

All Egyptians who are in Alexandria, and particularly country folk who have fled thither from elsewhere and can easily be identified, are absolutely by every means to be expelled, not, however, dealers in pigs and river-boat men and those who bring in reeds for heating the baths. But expel all the rest, who disturb the city by their very numbers and their lack of occupation. I am informed that at the festival of Sarapis and on certain festal days – and even on other days as well – Egyptians observe the custom of bringing in bulls and some other animals for sacrifice. They are not to be prevented from coming for that. The ones to be prevented are those who flee the countryside where they belong in order to avoid farmwork, not those who converge upon Alexandria out of a desire to view the glorious city or come here in pursuit of a more cultured existence or on occasional business. And further along: Amongst the linen weavers the true Egyptians can easily be recognized by their speech, which reveals that they are affecting the appearance and dress of others. What is more, in the way they live their manners, the opposite of urbane behavior, reveal them to be Egyptian rustics.

⁽¹⁾ P.Giss. 1 40



aedile

Under the Roman Republic the office of aedile was in charge of maintaining the public buildings and roads, policing the markets to ensure fairness, and presenting games for the entertainment of the public. Originally there were four aediles, two aediles elected from the plebeian class and two from either the plebeians or patricians, called curules, or who had imperium as signified by their ceremonial chair; the term came from the chair, or curule sella, they sat on. This latter group was designated as magistrates, since they were elected by the Roman people and not just the plebs, as were the other two. They were created to help the tribunes of the plebs in the early republic, traditionally in 494 BCE, with the curules added in 367 BCE. Julius Caesar added two more plebeian aediles, bringing the total to six⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ J. W. Emswiler, *The Roman Empire: A historical Encyclopedia*, (Santa Barbara, California, 2018), 62.

agora

agora: The open “place of assembly” in an ancient Greek city-state. Early in Greek history (900s–700s B.C.E.), free-born males would gather in the agora for military duty or to hear proclamations of the ruling king or COUNCIL. In the more settled centuries that followed, the agora served as a marketplace where merchants kept open-air stalls or shops under colonnades. Classical Athens boasted a grand agora—the civic heart of the city that dominated Greece⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, (United States of America, 2005), 15.

apella

apella: ancient Spartan assembly, corresponding to the *ekklēsia* of other Greek states. Its monthly meetings, probably restricted to full citizens over 30, were presided over at first by the kings, later by ephors (magistrates). Not empowered to initiate proposals, the body considered subjects forwarded by the ephors or *gerousia* (council of elders). Only kings, elders, ephors, and perhaps other magistrates could debate, and voting was conducted by shouts. Foreign policy, including treaties and issues of peace and war, as well as questions of succession to the throne, were within the province of the *apella*. It also appointed military commanders, elected the elders and ephors, and voted on proposed changes in the laws⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/apella>

archon

archon: Meaning “leader” or “ruler,” the archon was a political executive in numerous ancient Greek states. Prior to the seventh century B.C.E. , archons ruled for 10- year terms; before that they had been chosen to serve for life. In the democratic ATHENS of the mid-400s B.C.E .and later, the archonship was a prestigious but relatively narrow job, with executive and courtroom duties. Nine archons were selected annually by lot, from the Athenian upper and middle classes.

The three senior Athenian archons were the archon *basileus* (or king), the *polemarchos* (war leader), and the archon *eponumos* (eponymous). The *basileus* oversaw state religious functions and any related lawsuits. Religious and judicial duties also were assigned to the *polemarchos* (whose role as a military commander was discontinued soon after 490 B.C.E.) .The *eponumos* had jurisdiction over cases of inheritance and other property rights. The man who served as archon *eponumos* also gave his name to the calendar year—that is, the year was henceforth known as that in which so-and-so had been archon⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, 43.

assembly (ekklesia)

assembly: The word used to translate the Greek word *ekklesia*—the official gathering of citizens in a Greek DEMOCRACY for the purpose of public debate and vote. At democratic ATHENS in the 400s and 300s B.C.E. the assembly was the sovereign body of government. Admission to the Athenian assembly was open to all male citizens over age 18 (in theory about 30,000–40,000 men; in practice about 5,000). Under the radical democracy there were no property requirements for admission, and the 300s B.C.E. saw the introduction of a small payment for attendance, comparable to our modern jury pay. The Athenian assembly met at least 40 times per year, with extra meetings as called for by the COUNCIL or by the board of generals⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, 54.

boule

boule: Lit. “council.” The democratic council of 500 men, appointed annually by lot from among citizens aged at least thirty, and with severe restrictions on repeated membership. Its chief function was to prepare the agenda for meetings of the ekklesia, and to undertake certain routine administrative duties, in particular that of coordinating the activities of numerous boards of minor officials; but it had also certain independent judicial powers⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾https://www.stoa.org/demos/article_law_glossary@page=all&greekEncoding=UnicodeC.html#section_25

censor

The censors were in charge of taking the census, supervised public morality (especially for the Senate), and oversaw certain parts of government finances. During the empire the office of censor ceased to be the regular elected magistrate it had been under the republic. The major difference between this office and other magistrates under the empire was that the others continued to be held at regular intervals and maintained their scope of duties, even if there was no election and just appointment by the emperor. The censor's position, while now infrequently mentioned and held, nevertheless did not cease, but its duties and titles were taken over by the emperor. Augustus in 22 BCE had two senators elected to conduct the census, while Claudius had the elder Vitellius be his cocensor and Emperor Vespasian had his son Titus be his colleague⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ J. W. ERMATINGER, *The Roman Empire*, 70-72.

deme (demos)

deme (demos): This term refers to a village or city ward constituting part of a larger territory. It usually is used to describe the political wards of ATTICA (the 1,000-squaremile territory of ATHENS), as organized by the democratic reformer KLEISTHENES in 508 B.C.E. The Attic demes numbered 139 and ranged in type from city neighborhoods to townships to patches of rural area. The demes were the foundation blocks of the Athenian DEMOCRACY: for example, the 500-man Athenian COUNCIL drew its members from each deme, in proportion to population. The demes' headquarters maintained local census figures, with each male citizen formally enrolling on his 19th birthday. There were kept deeds of property and other legal documents and there "town meetings" were held⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, 107.

dioiketes (Egypt)

The *dioiketes* was a financial official. In the Ptolemaic period, there were local *dioiketai* and a *dioiketes* located centrally in Alexandria; in the early Roman period, the *dioiketes* was a lower rank administrator, and from 120 CE onward a Roman *procurator*. In 284 CE, he was replaced by the *katholikos* ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ W. Clarysse, "*Dioiketes* (Egypt)", in R. S. Bagnall, et al., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, (Oxford, 2013), 2120–2121.

dokimasia

dokimasia, pl. *dokimasiai*: An investigation held either by the boule or in a court, to test whether a man was formally qualified either to hold the public office to which he had been appointed or else to exercise a privilege to which he was laying claim. Dokimasiai were of various types, and were for the most part held in advance: no public official, whether elected or appointed by lot, could hold office without having passed his dokimasia; and newly enrolled citizens, whether by birth or by naturalisation (uncommon), were among those similarly tested. In these cases a man who was rejected suffered disqualification but no further penalty; a public speaker however could be challenged to undergo a retroactive dokimasia before a court, and this had more of the nature of a regular trial, in that if convicted he would apparently be punished⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾https://www.stoa.org/demos/article_law_glossary@page=all&greekEncoding=UnicodeC.html#section_25

gerousia

gerousia: in ancient Sparta, council of elders, one of the two chief organs of the Spartan state, the other being the apella (assembly). The functions of both were likely delineated at the time of the reforms of Lycurgus, probably in the 7th century BC. The gerousia prepared business to be submitted to the apella and had extensive judicial powers, being the only Spartan court that could pronounce sentence of death or exile. Its members, the gerontes (“elders”), whose number was fixed at 30, including the two kings, were chosen for life by acclamation of the citizens from among candidates who had reached age 60⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/gerousia>

idios logos, Gnomon of the – Law

The *Gnomon* of the *idios logos* was a handbook or code of regulations that consisted of a list of legal rulings relevant to the affairs of the institution of the “Private” or “Special Account” (*idios logos*) in the Roman province of Egypt. It was originally drawn up in Latin, and first issued by Augustus. Later editions contained modifications and supplements.

The *idios logos*, a former Ptolemaic institution transformed under Augustus to serve the needs of Roman provincial administration in Egypt, in many ways functioned as an instrument of public finance. It administered imperial land, and acquired and sold ownerless properties (*adespota*) and such properties that by law fell to the state, such as those of intestates and criminals. It also sold and leased out land and other goods, and imposed penalties such as fines or confiscation for various offenses against the rules of inheritance or marriage laws. The *gnomon* of the *idios logos*, as a compilation of the relevant laws and rules, was designed to regulate and assure the lawful functioning of the *idios logos*⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ M. A. Speidel, "Idios Logos, Gnomon of the – Law", in R. S. Bagnall, et al., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 3390–3391.

nomos

nomos, pl. nomoi: Lit. a “norm,” in the sense both of “custom” and of “law”. Nomos is often contrasted, especially in fifth-century Greek thought, with physis (lit. “nature”); the latter represents underlying reality, and the former denotes the patterns by which men try to shape this. In this sense nomos is normally translated “convention”⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾https://www.stoa.org/demos/article_law_glossary@page=all&greekEncoding=UnicodeC.html#section_25

ostracism

This political practice was unique to Athenian Democracy in the 400s B.C.E., whereby the people could vote to banish any citizen for 10 years. Created in reaction to the tyrannies of Peisistratus and Hippias, ostracism was intended for use against wealthy politicians who, while not guilty of wrongdoing, might still be suspected of hoping to seize supreme power.

Once a year, at an appointed time in winter, the citizens in ASSEMBLY voted on whether an ostracism should be held that spring—no candidates were named. If the majority voted yes, then the ostracism vote itself took place a few months later. There each citizen had the chance to write down the name of one person for exile. Because clay potsherds were the ancient world's equivalent of scrap paper, each voter used a sherd (Greek: ostrakon, plural: ostraka), on which to scratch the intended victim's name. The potsherds gave this unique practice its name, ostrakismos. The vote was secret, with officials making sure no one handed in more than one ballot. If a quorum of 6,000 votes was reached, then the man with the most votes had to remove himself from the city within 10 days⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, 235.

polis

polis (from which word is derived the English word “politics”) refers to the ancient Greek city-state and was the basic political unit of the classical Greeks. Between about 800 B.C.E. and 300 B.C.E., the map of Greece was a patchwork of autonomous city-states, some linked together by alliance or kinship, and some vying to dominate their neighbors, but each one capable of ruling itself as a self-contained political entity. Beginning as aristocracies, city states developed as democracies or oligarchies in the 500s–400s B.C.E. The most important DEMOCRACY was ATHENS.

Two factors contributed to the emergence of the citystate. One was the geography of Greece; mountains, islands, and small farming valleys naturally created discrete, small population centers, many with their own dialects and religious cults. The second reason, more specific to the 900s–800s B.C.E., has to do with the rejection of kingship in Greece during that era. A king may strive to unite various peoples under his single rule, because he is the government. But members of an aristocratic clan—who may rely for their power on local lands and on local religious cults, for which they supply the priesthood— might be prone to concentrate their rule in a smaller, more homogeneous area⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ D. Sacksm, *Encyclopedia of the Ancient Greek World*, 237.

praetor

At first, a title used to denote a CONSUL; later it came to signify the magistrates whose duties centered on the field of justice in Rome. In the Republic, the powers of the praetor were originally the province of the Patricians, but in 337 B.C.E. members of the Plebeians were elected to the praetorship by the *comitia centuriata*. Throughout the Republic, praetors increased both in number and in breadth of jurisdiction, but their position weakened in the days of the empire. From 242 B.C.E. there were at least two praetors elected each year, and more were added by Sulla, making eight. Julius CAESAR increased their number to 10, 14, and then 16. Their duties centered on the trying of cases, conducting legal business, and issuing edicts at the end of their term, which normally lasted one year ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ M. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman empire*, (United States of America, 2002), 446.

quaestor

The lowest ranking magistrate in the CURSUS HONORUM and the first position taken by all candidates embarking upon a senatorial career. quaestors were probably a creation of the Roman kings, becoming institutionalized during the Republic. Their numbers increased with the rise of Rome as an imperial power, until the dictator Sulla fixed their number at 20 with a minimum age of 30. From the earliest days of the quaestorships these officials were closely connected with finances in Rome and in the provinces. The *quaestores urbani* exercised their authority within the walls of Rome, attached to the AERARIUM until their position was usurped by new officers in the imperial system. *Quaestores provinciales* served the proconsuls in senatorial provinces. They managed the finances of the provincial treasury, acted as deputies to the proconsul and often assumed the proconsul's duties when he was away. Quaestors were synonymous with the procurators in imperial domains. Upon completion of a quaestorship, the newly declared ex-quaestor was promoted regularly to the SENATE and was eligible for other magistracies⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ M. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman empire*, 462-463.

strategos, Egypt

The office of *strategos* was introduced into the administrative system of Egypt by Alexander the Great and further institutionalized by the succeeding Ptolemaic kings. The title or title-component *strategos* clearly hints at the military character that the office originally had. Initially, its holders were the commanding officers of the Macedonian and Greek armies garrisoned in various parts of the country after 332 BCE. Later, the Ptolemies' widespread practice of giving allotments of land (*kleroi*) to active soldiers under their command to secure their living led to the development of a parallel military administrative and social structure in the Egyptian *chora*. The primary duty of the strategoi was to safeguard the interests of their military subordinates settled all over the country. The officials of the civil administration had only limited authority over the military, because the troops mainly relied on their commanders and not on civil bureaucrats; being Macedonians and Greeks, they were in any case unwilling to accept orders from the ethnic Egyptians who still dominated the civil administration. In the course of time, the *strategos* therefore acquired more civil experience and strengthened his administrative prerogatives at the expense of the other nome officials, mainly the nomarch. By this means, the office of *strategos* gradually developed into a

regular administrative post, whose holder bore responsibility for a single Egyptian nome. This is indicated in particular by the regular overlap of the *strategia* with the office of *epi ton prosodon* (“the one in charge of the revenue”) in the later Ptolemaic period. By the end of this development in the reign of PTOLEMY III EUERGETES (246–222 BCE) the nome *strategos* was at the top of the nome’s administrative hierarchy, and the now- redundant office of the nomarch had disappeared.

In the Ptolemaic period, the nome *strategos* in principle never lost his military competence, and in times of military crisis or a weaker central government (for instance, during the Egyptian revolts under PTOLEMY V EPIPHANES in the late third and early second centuries BCE, or at the end of the Ptolemaic Dynasty in the late first century BCE), it could be revived, until it was finally lost by the beginning of Roman rule. It was also not until this time that the nome *strategos* (*strategos tou nomou*) regularly combined his title with the name of the nome governed by him (e.g., *strategos tou Herakleopolitou nomou*). Under the Ptolemies, the office was regularly entrusted to persons of Greco-Macedonian origin, and the *stratego*i bore various court titles starting in the second century BCE. During the Principate, the officeholders, who were by now appointed by the Roman governor of Egypt, still belonged to the Greek-speaking elite of the province. In the first century CE, the nome *stratego*i were mostly

recruited from families of the urban aristocracy of Alexandria, who sometimes even possessed Roman citizenship, while from the second century onward, the members of the Hellenized local elite of the nome capitals in the *chora* (countryside) were ever more frequently appointed to the office of *strategos*.

Being the head of the nome's administration, the *strategos* possessed supreme power over jurisdiction, police, and financial matters of the nome. His most important duty was undoubtedly to ensure the unhampered flow of taxes and tributes, especially the grain tribute, to Alexandria. The various administrative prerogatives of the *strategos* are attested in the numerous documentary papyri from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. His most important assistant was the royal scribe (*basilikos grammateus*), who worked closely with the *strategos*, particularly in the area of financial administration and fiscal accounting. In the Roman period until the mid-third century CE, the royal scribe functioned regularly as deputy *strategos* (*diadechomenos ta kata ten strategian*). Until the end of the third century CE, the nome *strategia* remained the most important pillar of the local administration of Egypt. Later, due to the strengthening of the administrative function of the nome capitals and the shrinking importance of the nome as an administrative unit, the office was transformed but was preserved (in contrast to that of the royal scribe, which had already been

abolished by the middle of the third century). Named *strategos kai exaktor*, the former head of the nome administration was by this time a municipal official working closely with the town council (*boule*), whereas the second part of his title hints at his paramount responsibility for the exaction of local taxes.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ T. Kruse, "Strategos, Egypt", in R. S. Bagnall, et al., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 6419–6421.



Questions

- (1) Under the Roman Republic the office of was in charge of maintaining the public buildings and roads.
 (A) aedile (B) censor (C) praetor (D) quaestor
- (2) Julius Caesar added two of the aediles bringing the total to aediles.
 (A) four (B) five (C) six (D) seven
- (3) was the ancient Spartan assembly.
 (A) apella (B) boule (C) polis (D) gerousia
- (4) The apella assembled once every
 (A) day (B) week (C) month (D) year
- (5) Membership of the apella was restricted to full citizens over years.
 (A) 18 (B) 20 (C) 30 (D) 60
- (6) Assembly in Athens was called
 (A) ekklesia (B) boule (C) apella (D) gerousia
- (7) The Athenian assembly gathered for at least times in the year.
 (A) 20 (B) 30 (C) 40 (D) 50
- (8) The Council in Athens was called
 (A) boule (B) ekklesia (C) apella (D) gerousia
- (9) Membership of the Boule in Athens included citizens of ages not less than years old.
 (A) 30 (B) 40 (C) 50 (D) 60
- (10) The censor in Rome was in charge of
 (A) taking the census (B) supervising public morality (C) overseeing certain parts of government finances (D) All of the previous tasks

- (11) was a financial official in the Ptolemaic period
(A) dioiketes (B) censor (C) praetor (D) quaestor
- (12) The was a political executive in numerous ancient Greek states.
(A) archon (B) dioiketes (C) quaestor (D) censor
- (13) In the Democratic Athens, the archon was elected for year/s.
(A) one (B) two (C) three (D) four
- (14) The total number of archons elected in Athens every year was
archons
(A) six (B) seven (C) eight (D) nine
- (15) The archon who was in charge of the religious functions was
(A) basileus (B) eponomos (C) polemarchos (D) dioiketes
- (16) The archon who was in charge of the war affairs was
(A) polemarchos (B) basileus (C) dioiketes (D) eponomos
- (17) The archon gave his name to the calendar year in Athens.
(A) basileus (B) polemarchos (C) eponomos (D) dioiketes
- (18) was the council of elders in Sparta.
(A) gerousia (B) boule (C) ekklesia (D) apella
- (19) The gerousia prepared business to be submitted to the
(A) apella (B) boule (C) ekklesia (D) apella
- (20) The gerousia consisted of members including the two kings.
(A) 15 (B) 20 (C) 25 (D) 30
- (21) Members of the gerousia hold their positions performing their missions
and tasks for
(A) one year (B) two years (C) five years (D) their whole
lives
- (22) Members of the gerousia were selected from citizens who had reached
age
(A) 30 (B) 40 (C) 50 (D) 60

- (1) Originally there were four aediles, two aediles from the plebeian class and two aediles from the patricians.
(T) (F)
- (2) The office of aedile existed in Rome in the Republican Era.
(T) (F)
- (3) The apella assembled once every year
(T) (F)
- (4) The apella is the general assembly in Athens.
(T) (F)
- (5) The apella included citizens over 60 years.
(T) (F)
- (6) Voting in the apella was conducted by shouts.
(T) (F)
- (7) Admission in the Athenian Assembly was allowed and permitted to all males above 18 years old.
(T) (F)
- (8) Membership of the Boule in Athens included citizens who were less than 30 years old.
(T) (F)
- (9) archons were elected in the Democratic Athens annually by lot.
(T) (F)
- (10) Demes were the foundation blocks of the Athenian democracy.
(T) (F)
- (11) Every Athenian citizen was to be registered in his/her deme.
(T) (F)
- (12) The gerousia had had extensive judicial powers.
(T) (F)

(13) The gerousia is the only Spartan court that could pronounce sentence of death or exile.

(T)

(F)

(14) The gerousia could pronounce a sentence of exile but couldn't pronounce a sentence of death.

(T)

(F)

(15) Members of the gerousia hold their positions for one year.

(T)

(F)

