

# TWO INSTANCES OF THE SATRAP STELA: TOKENS OF THE GRAECO-EGYPTIAN LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL INTERRELATION AT THE START OF THE HELLENISM?

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Though extensively studied for more than a century, the Satrap Stela (CM22182; *Urk.* II 11-22)<sup>1</sup> still has much in store for the attentive observer. This is true first of all about a number of its fragments, which are puzzling as far as their historic interpretation is concerned. However, the historic content of this monument interest Hellenists more compared to Egyptologists: the former are apt to make use of the latter's observations but are reluctant, if able, to make their own judgement of the text's original,<sup>2</sup> while the latter question the text from their experience and often outside the context. Indeed this would be impossible for a Classicist studying the early Hellenism. Therefore we should commence the present paper by delineating several major principles, which seem to be appropriate in the study of the Satrap Stela as a both historical and philological phenomenon belonging to the era of the making of Hellenistic Egypt. However trivial and unspecific for this text and period they might seem, these principles are better to be summed up now so as to give necessary guidance both to the author and to the readers.

Every text has its own laws, which are adhered to by the drafter, are governed by the specifics of its time and by its *genre* and are expected to be traced by any student wishing to understand it adequately. First of all, a text is compiled in a language of a specific era having its laws and peculiarities. Notwithstanding that to the best of our knowledge the language of the Satrap








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<sup>1</sup> The most important publications and translations of the Satrap Stela are: H. BRUGSCH, *Ein Dekret Ptolemaios' des Sohnes Lagi, des Satrapen*, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 19 (1871), p. 1-13; *Urk.* II 11-22; A. BEY KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, II (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* Nos. 23001-23246), Cairo-Leipzig, 1905, p. 168 ff, pl. 61; *Satrap Ptolemaios [I.] schenkt Land an die Gottheiten von Buto*, in: G. ROEDER, *Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern*, I: *Die ägyptische Götterwelt*, Zürich, 1959, p. 97-106; U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, transl. and comm., *Das Dekret des späteren Königs Ptolemaios I. Soter zugunsten der Götter von Buto (Satrapenstele), 311 v. Chr.*, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*, I: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden. Historisch-chronologische Texte*, Gütersloh, 1982, p. 613-619; R. RITNER, transl. and comm., *The Satrap Stela (Cairo JdÉ 22182)*, in: W.K. SIMPSON *ET AL.*, eds., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, New Haven, 2003<sup>3</sup>, p. 392-397; G. LODOMEZ, transl. and comm., in: *Zij schreven geschiedenis: historische documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten (2500-100 v. Chr.) (Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*, 33), Leiden, 2003 (the latter publication was not available).

<sup>2</sup> See in the general studies of Hellenistic Egypt's history: G. HÖLBL, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches: Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt, 1994, p. 27, 72, 75 and notes; W. HUSS, *Ägypten in der hellenistischen Zeit, 332-30 v. Chr.*, Munich, 2001, p. 135-136, 240.

Stela has never been analyzed separately, it is certainly the late Middle Egyptian of the second half of the first millennium B.C., many of its written features coming back to the New Kingdom and paving the way to the Ptolemaic system of writing<sup>3</sup>. Second, every text should be treated as a whole, usually created by a single drafter employing a ‘personal writing guide’. In other words a writer is likely to maintain a standard of writings that he personally chose from a variety of possible options as the most appropriate and to adhere to this standard throughout his work. When he repeats a word he has used before, he would probably reproduce its preceding writing from its phonetic stem to the determinative. He would do the same or very nearly the same, when he finds himself in need to use the word the third time. In the case of the Satrap Stela, this means that its irregularities and dubious writings are to be explained by comparing it with its contemporary hieroglyphic texts, and not in the classical Middle Egyptian written standard; also by comparing it with the text of the Stela itself (analogies and words of the same category in its other passages) rather than with other texts. Third, the structure and the contents of any text are governed by logic depending on its *genre* and the message it is intended to convey.

The Satrap Stela is unique for being an official hieroglyphic text of 311 B.C. (*Urk.* II. 12.12: Year 7, *tpy 3ht*, of Alexander IV, son of Alexander and Roxane<sup>4</sup>) highlighting a person of non-royal status – Satrap Ptolemy – in a manner appropriate to a Pharaoh. At the same time, it is intended to register a specific donation by the Satrap to the temples of Buto. Thus, the structure of the Stela – its falling in two parts, where the former contains an introductory definition of Ptolemy’s position in Egypt (*id.* 12.12-13.5), a panegyric to him (*id.* 13.7-14.6), and a history of his feats (*id.* 14.9-15.17), while the latter narrates the prehistory of the domain donated by Ptolemy to the temples and the very act of the donation (*id.* 16.5 *sqq.*) seems quite natural. However, it is clear enough that the narration of the Stela covers either strictly local events that were important for the region of Buto and likely to be found in the second part or Ptolemy’s commitments of all-Egyptian importance portraying him as a mighty and benevolent ruler to be found in the historical account of the first

<sup>3</sup> See the most convenient summary of these features in the 4th century B.C. based on the Naples’ Stela and other contemporary texts: O. PERDU, *Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples (Première Partie)*, in: *Revue d'égyptologie* 36 (1985), p. 92-95; see them in the Satrap Stela: *Urk.* II 17.4, 19.16 21.14  *im* (<*im*[w]); *id.* 16.13:  *m33*; *id.* 14.3, 5, 18.8, 19.16, 20.14;  for *pri*; *id.* 13.5, 15.16   *B3kt* for ‘Egypt’; besides one finds there a regular inversion of  and  explicable by Late Egyptian phonological changes: *iw* into *r* - *id.* 17.6, 18.10, 18.13; *r* into *iw* - *id.* 15.10, 16.10, 18.6, 20.10; cf. *Wb.* I 42.12; W. VYICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven, 1983, p. 37.



<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. W. PESTMAN, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.) (Papyrologia lugduno-batava, 15)*, Leiden, 1967, p. 12-13 (Years 1-8 of Philip Arrhidaeus – 12.11.324-9.11.316 B.C., Years 1-14 of Alexander IV – 10.11.317-6.11.304; the duration of years in Egyptian calendar of the period: T.C. SKEAT, *The Reigns of Ptolemies (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 39)*, Munich, 1969<sup>2</sup>, p. 9 ff.); P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, Oxford, 1972, p. 11 and note 2.

part. Whenever we come across the description of a military campaign (*cf. id.* 15.2-10, 12-17), we are to assume it cannot be an unimportant episode but a major enterprise resulting in notable gains; Classical historians have hardly overlooked it.

Finally, taking into account the period during which the Satrap Stela was drafted it is only natural that it reproduced in hieroglyphs a considerable number of names coming from foreign languages. Indeed, this easily became a trap for those working at its historical interpretation. Normally the students of the Stela (with the exception of the earliest ones, *e.g.* H. Brugsch) preferred to find to each of these names the best phonetically fitting parallel in other hieroglyphic texts. Although such course seemed philologically correct, it resulted in neglecting at least two important aspects. First, a proper name is a proper name and the manner in which it is reproduced (especially by means of a foreign language) is not always governed by strict linguistic rules. Second, the interpretation of a proper name to be found in a historic text should not only be consistent from the viewpoint of philology but of history as well. One should not hesitate to question again and again an interpretation of a name, however fitting philologically, when it disrupts in any way the logic of the text or when it gives ground to a grave anachronism.

Actually, the solutions to some puzzles of the Satrap Stela depend to a great extent exactly on the interpretation of two proper names; and it is the aim of this paper to approach its satisfactory version.

### *Hšryš(3) - 'Xerxes' - 'Artaxerxes' (Urk. II. 17.3, 17.12, 18.4)*

The first of these names appears in the second part of the Stela, in the story of the domain 'Land-of-Uto' (*Urk.* II. 16.7 *et sq.*: *p3 t3 n W3dyt*) and belongs to a foreign ruler who confiscated it from the Buto temples. In the text, his name is constantly preceded by the epithet 'adversary' (*hftj*) and appears in two slightly different variants: *Hšryš* (*id.* 17.3: ) and *Hšryš(3)* (*id.* 17.12, 18.4: ). The domain confiscated by said ruler had originally been returned to the temples by the Pharaoh Chabbash, who occupied Egypt in a short interlude between Artaxerxes III and Darius III in the middle of 330s B.C. (*id.* 18.7-14).<sup>5</sup> In due course, this act was reaffirmed by the Satrap Ptolemy (*id.* 19.3 *ff.*).

<sup>5</sup> The reason to place the reign of Chabbash not before the mid-4th century B.C. and probably at the time of the Second Persian Domination is the Papyrus Libbey (=Toledo 1) of his Year 1 witnessed by a *P3-di-hr-p3-Rc* son of *P3-h3c-s* attested in other documents from 330 to 324 B.C.; see W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Papyrus Libbey: Ein ägyptischer Heiratsvertrag (Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg, 1)*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 2-6; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica, III: Le clergé, le notariat, les tribunaux*, Louvain, 1956, p. 286-287 (no. 7795); IX: *Addenda et corrigenda au volume III (1956)*, Louvain, 1981, p. 269 (no. 7795); W. HUB, *Der rätselhafte König Chababash*, in: *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 11 (1994), p. 100-101 and note 26; D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Réflexions sur les documents égyptiens datés de la Deuxième Domination perse*, in: *Transeuphratène* 10 (1995), p. 41-42 and note 37; M. DEPAUW, *The*

The students of Satrap Stela have extensively discussed the identity of the ruler. According to the two prevailing arguments, he has been equated to Xerxes I<sup>6</sup> or to Artaxerxes III, the conqueror of Egypt in 343 B.C.<sup>7</sup> The argument made by H. Goedicke that this ruler was Arses, who stayed at the Persian throne exactly between Artaxerxes III and Darius III, stands alone.<sup>8</sup> Pursuant to his submission, to identify the ruler as Xerxes I seemed historically impossible and as Artaxerxes III phonetically impossible (see below). Therefore, the ruler ought to be a third person and Arses answered the description! However, his submission would appear to be *both* phonetically and historically impossible. First, the hieroglyphic *Hšryš(3)* and the Persian *Arša*<sup>9</sup> cannot be equated because the order of the radicals *š* and *r* is inverse,<sup>10</sup> while the original Persian name lacks a consonant or an aspiration that would turn into uvular *ħ* in Egyptian spelling. Second, it seems clear that the ruler came to Egypt personally shortly before Chabbash's takeover: his atrocities were very vivid in the memory of Chabbash's contemporaries from the region of Buto. Third, the phrase from the Stela about his recent expulsion from Egypt (with god's will; *Urk.* II. 18.4-6) has probably to be taken quite literally. As for Arses, he must have been too busy with his domestic troubles to leave

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*Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, Brussels, 2000, p. 92, 235-236. Most scholars who took an interest in Chabbash's episode (F. K. KIENITZ, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin, 1953, p. 187-188; A. SPALINGER, *The Reign of King Chabbash: An Interpretation*, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 105 (1978), p. 152; H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, in: *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 6 (1985), p. 53) placed his reign, with slight variations, in mid-330s B.C. (the end of the reign of Artaxerxes III and/or the interval between it and the accession of Darius III, *i.e.* the reign of Arses). This date seems more consistent compared to the view of C. B. WELLES, *The Role of the Egyptians under the First Ptolemies*, in: *Proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of Papyrology (American Studies in Papyrology, 7)*, Toronto, 1970, p. 510 (placing Chabbash's takeover in 333-332/1, *i.e.* in the last year of the Persian rule and the first year of Alexander's reign) and to one of the options suggested by A. B. LLOYD, *Egypt, 404-332 B.C.*, in: *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>2</sup>, VI, 1994, p. 345 (placing these events before 339 B.C., *i.e.* right after the conquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III).

<sup>6</sup> U. WILCKEN, *Zur trilinguen Inschrift von Philae. Anhang: Zur Satrapenstele*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 35 (1897), p. 83-85; R. RITNER, *Khababash and the Satrap Stela – A Grammatical Rejoinder*, in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 107 (1980), p. 137 (reading the name as 'Xerxes' the scholar believed the exact identification of the ruler problematic; check his recent translation of the Stela, where he accepted this ruler's identity with Artaxerxes III: W.K. SIMPSON *ET AL.*, eds., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 394-395); A. B. LLOYD, *The Inscription of Udjathorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament*, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982), p. 176; R. S. BIANCHI, *Satrapenstele*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, V, Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 492; A. B. LLOYD, *Egypt, 404-332 B.C.*, p. 345; W. HUB, *Der rätselhafte König Chababasch*, p. 100 and note 21; D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Le sentiment anti-perses chez les anciens Égyptiens*, in: *Transeuphratène* 9 (1995), p. 77 and note 42.


<sup>7</sup> W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Papyrus Libbey*, p. 5-6; E. BRESCIANI, *Ägypten und das Perserreich*, in: *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, V, Frankfurt a. M., 1965, p. 328 ff.; A. SPALINGER, *The Reign of King Chabbash*, p. 151 ff.





<sup>8</sup> H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, p. 39, 53-54. Note that although a historian of Graeco-Roman Egypt, who is rather a Classicist than an Egyptologist, is aware of different opinions on the identity of the ruler, he does not agree with either of them decisively: G. HÖLBL, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, p. 76.


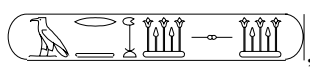
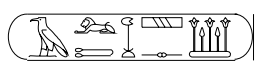
<sup>9</sup> For the Persian royal names, see R. KENT, *Old Persian: Grammar. Texts. Lexicon*, New Haven, 1953, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> The proponent of this identification himself admitted this weak point: H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, p. 54.



approach of U. Kaplony-Heckel that the signs  constitute an integrate writing of the personal name *Wr-šī3-s*, i.e. the son of Artaxerxes III Arses.<sup>16</sup>

A possible objection to this interpretation is the lack of the determinative  at the end of this writing. However, one should check the doubtless writings of the name *Hšryš(3)* to get assured of its absence there as well (see above; the final  in these writings conveys rather the strong pejorative association of this name, so the absence of  at the end of inimical names might be considered a regularity for the Satrap Stela). The difference between the writing *Wr-šī3-s* and the alleged name of Arses on a fragmentary seal's offprint ()<sup>17</sup> does not deflate the idea of U. Kaplony-Heckel due to the extreme uncertainty of this piece's attribution.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the interpretation of *Wr-šī3-s* as "Arses" allows the following translation of the whole passage: "(God Horus,) he has driven away the adversary *Hšryš(3)* to his royal palace together with his son *Wr-šī3-s* from Sais[, the city] of Neith on that day, beside the Mother of God". We will not explain our reasoning for every detail of the proposed translation, as this has been done elsewhere.<sup>19</sup> Suffice to note that there are no perplexities about the role of Sais in this context (the city seems to be simply the last station of the Persians before their expulsion from Egypt). As for "the Mother of God", it might easily be Isis of Buto: considering that the foreign enemies were expelled by Horus of this city, this action was likely to be performed beside his mother. With this interpretation of *Urk. II 18. 4-6*, to identify 'the adversary *Hšryš(3)*' as Artaxerxes III, the real father of Arses, is strongly supported from the direct evidence of the Stela.

However, this final proof has not yet solved the enigma of the name used in the Stela to denote Artaxerxes III. Its discrepancy with the hieroglyphic attestations (, , )<sup>20</sup> and the Persian form (*Artaxšaça*) of this name and, at the same time, its strong similarity to the name 'Xerxes' are still obvious and demand an explanation. W. Spiegelberg has once remarked that in Classical sources the substitution of the name 'Xerxes' (Ξέρξης) in the place of 'Artaxerxes' (Ἀρταξέρξης) was sometimes attested. In fact, Xerxes I was the last of the Achaemenids, whom the Greeks remembered well because of his

<sup>16</sup> *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*, I, p. 617 and commentary 11b.







<sup>17</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College*, London, 1917, p. 33, 40, pl. 57, No 31, 2.

<sup>18</sup> D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Réflexions sur les documents égyptiens...*, p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> I. A. LADYNIN, "Adversary *Hšryš(3)*": *His Name and Deeds According to the Satrap Stela*, in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 80 (2005), 89 and 92-98, commentaries 'i-p' with bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> J. VON BECKERATH, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, loc.cit.* (for Artaxerxes I; the names of Artaxerxes II and III are not registered hieroglyphically, and in demotic papyri the name is also written *3rthšš* or *rthšš*): e.g. P.dem. Lille 27 C, l. 6; D, l. 10, which must probably be attributed to Artaxerxes II: H. SOTTAS, *Papyrus démotiques de Lille*, Paris, 1921, I, p. 54, pl. XIV, cf. p. 2-3, 8, 54-55; D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Réflexions sur les documents égyptiens...*, p. 40).



name in *id.* 12). First of all, one should postulate the exact reading of this hieroglyphic name, which was controversial.<sup>23</sup> To begin with, there was a dispute if the last phonetic sign of the writing had to be taken for Gardiner's G<sub>1</sub>  (3) or G<sub>4</sub>  (*tyw*). The photos of the Stela incline to adhere to the former view, due to comparing the sign in question with doubtless G<sub>1</sub> in the article *n3* (*Urk.* II. 15.4: *p3 t3 n3 HBrw*; *id.* 20.4: *n3 3wy*) and G<sub>1</sub> incorporated in G<sub>3</sub> in *sm3wy* (*id.* 18.17). The reading of the sign N<sub>36</sub>  as *mr* seems doubtless, though other suggestions were made.<sup>24</sup> Most scholars did not hesitate that , the first phonetic sign of the writing, had its regular value *ir*.<sup>25</sup> However, it was again U. Kaplony-Heckel, who gave a rather good motivation to an old idea by H. Brugsch<sup>26</sup> that it might be read *mr*.<sup>27</sup> Such reading is founded on the Late Egyptian (still pre-Ptolemaic!) form of the word 'eye' (*WB* I. 107:  ; connected to the eventual Coptic βαλ, βελ<sup>28</sup>); it is attested in Ptolemaic texts<sup>29</sup> and, still more importantly, in the texts of Petosiris' tomb at Tuna el-Gebel, which are almost contemporary to the Satrap Stela.<sup>30</sup> The resulting reading of the name must be *Ir-mr-3* or *Mr-mr-3*, the latter variant being quite plausible.

The interpretation of the name by different students of the Stela was even more controversial than its reading<sup>31</sup>. The first of them, H. Brugsch, suggested that the name corresponded to the Classical *Marmarica*: in his opinion, the account of the Stela narrated about the suppression of the anti-Ptolemaic sedition at the city of Cyrene in 312 B.C. known from the Classical sources. This view was shared by a number of subsequent students, both Egyptologists and Classicists.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For the whole variety of views presented, see J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I. und Seleukos I. in Syrien in den Jahren 312-311 v. Chr.*, II, in: *Ancient Society* 22 (1991), p. 170-171.

<sup>24</sup> *m* according to P. KAPLONY, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Königtum vor allem in der Spätzeit*, in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 46 (1971), p. 257 and note 1 and *mi* according to H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, p. 34. Cf. FR. DAUMAS ET AL., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, III, Montpellier, 1990, p. 468, signs N<sub>589</sub> and N<sub>593</sub>, though I can see no reason to ascribe to this sign one of those Ptolemaic values and, therefore, to dispute its regular value.



<sup>25</sup> J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I....*, *loc.cit.*

<sup>26</sup> H. BRUGSCH, *Ein Dekret Ptolemaios' des Sohnes Lagi...*, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*, I, p. 615-616 and commentary 6b.

<sup>28</sup> W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1977, p. 22 with reference to E. EDEL, *Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon*, III, in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 81 (1956), p. 9 and note 1.



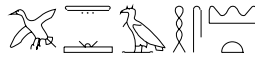




<sup>29</sup> FR. DAUMAS ET AL., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques...*, III, Montpellier, 1988, p. 148, sign D<sub>83</sub>.

<sup>30</sup> G.LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris. 3ème partie: Vocabulaire et planches*, Cairo, 1923, p. 32 (  *mrtj* yeux d'un dieu'), 43 (*'hntj-mrtj* epithète d'Horus "aux deux yeux").

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I....*, *loc.cit.*

<sup>32</sup> H. BRUGSCH, *Ein Dekret Ptolemaios' des Sohnes Lagi...*, p. 13; AU. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides*, I, Paris, 1903, p. 49 and note 1; K. SETHE, in: *Urk.II.15*; H. KEES, *Marmarika*, in: *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XIV, Stuttgart, 1930, col. 1881-1883; H. GAUTHIER, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à conquête arabe*, Cairo, 1935, p. 178-180; G. ROEDER, *Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern*, I, p. 102; C. B. WELLES, *The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria*, in: *Historia* 11 (1962), p. 274 and note 8; W. HELCK, *Die altägyptische Gaue*



However, when the Egyptologists started scanning the hieroglyphic texts for the parallel of this name, they did not fail to find it in the name of the country of *Irm* (most currently  or <sup>33</sup>) located in Upper Nubia between the Shendi reach, the northern Butana, and the Atbara.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that a specialist in hieroglyphic and hieratic African toponymy, K. Zibelius-Chen, did not comment on the name found in the Stela, when dealing with *Irm* in her compendious study; nevertheless this name was identified with *Irm* by a number of scholars.<sup>35</sup> Among them, P. Kaplony and, recently, R. Ritner advocated a very much the same view that the name of *Irm* can be assigned to the Meroitic kingdom; hence, in the Stela it denotes this state in its totality and the expedition sent by Satrap Ptolemy might have been an encounter with Meroe at its border with Egypt, somewhere in Lower Nubia. There are objections to this interpretation as regards the expected place of the described episode in the concept and structure of the Satrap Stela. However, it must be said that the idea about *Irm* is hardly tenable even on formal grounds. The stelae of Harsiotef and Nastasen, which both belong to the 4th century B.C. and so *ought* to be taken into account by the students of the Satrap Stela whenever any Meroitic allusion is suspected, use for the Meroitic kingdom quite different denotations:  (*p3 ʔ Nhšy*; *Urk.* III. 116, 118) in the Harsiotef Stela, and  (*p3 ʔ sty*, with variants and erroneous writings; *id.* 144, 146, 147-149) in the Nastasen Stela. At the same time, the name of the city of Meroe, as the metropolis of this state, has a specific writing quite different from that of *Irm* ( or  in the Nastasen Stela – *id.* 142, 147-148; in the Egyptian texts compare especially the list of Nubian ‘nomes’ from Philae belonging to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and giving  for the second southernmost ‘nome’: *Urk.* II. 120). Incidentally, on account of the last known undisputed mention of *Irm* under the Meroitic king Irike-Amanote it must be treated as

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(*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften*, 5), Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 172; U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament*, I, *loc.cit.*; R.S. BIANCHI, *Satrapenstele*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, V, Wiesbaden, 1984, col. 492 (‘maritime nomes’). P.M. FRASER at first thought this identification possible but abandoned it in due course with the advice of T.G.H. James and J. Yoyotte, see *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, p. 11-12.

<sup>33</sup> K. ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B: Geisteswissenschaften, 1)*, Wiesbaden, 1972, p. 84.

<sup>34</sup> D. O’CONNOR, *The Location of Irem*, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), p. 99-136; *cf.* D. O’CONNOR, ST. QUIRKE, *Introduction: Mapping the Unknown in Ancient Egypt*, in: D. O’CONNOR, ST. QUIRKE, eds., *Mysterious Lands (Encounters with Ancient Egypt)*, London, 2003, p. 8-10.

<sup>35</sup> F. K. KIENITZ, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens...*, p. 134 and note 3; W. SWINNEN, *Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée I<sup>er</sup>*, in: *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1973, p. 123 and note 4; P. KAPLONY, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Königtum...*, *loc.cit.*; R. RITNER, in: W.K. SIMPSON ET AL., eds., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 393-394 and note 4; *cf.* W. HUSS, *Ägypten in der hellenistischen Zeit*, *loc.cit.*

an entity other than the kernel or the totality of his kingdom.<sup>36</sup> Based on the above, it would be strange to expect that the name of *Irm*, unknown otherwise in this meaning, would be used in a 4th century B.C. text in the place of the better-attested contemporary denotations of the Meroitic kingdom.

Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s some Egyptologists became enthusiastic in placing the region in question in Asia, due to the alleged affinities between some of its peoples' names and the one found in the Stela: R. Giveon suggested identifying the name with that of Arabs,<sup>37</sup> H. Goedicke with that of Arameans<sup>38</sup> and H.-J. Thissen with that of Amorites.<sup>39</sup> Thus, one might conclude that many different locations outside Egypt have been proposed as the target of the Satrap Ptolemy's expedition.

Before choosing among these mutually exclusive versions, one ought to make a careful summary of what is known about the notorious region and the expedition against it from the Stela. To begin with, the Stela applies to the region the specific term *tš* (*WB* V. 328; *cf. id.* 235: *tšš*), which is correctly translated as 'border, boundary'. J.K. Winnicki once suggested that the Middle Egyptian language of the Satrap Stela could have been influenced by the contemporary spoken Demotic.<sup>40</sup> Were this argument to hold, it would be reasonable to compare *tš* of the Stela with the use of this word in Demotic versions of the Ptolemaic trilinguas, where it can simply mean "country, region".<sup>41</sup> However, the only argument of Winnicki in favour of the alleged Demotic influence on the Satrap Stela (the frequent use of the article *p3*) seems rather weak. On the other hand, the drafters of the Stela probably kept well in mind a distinction between the Middle Egyptian words *tš* and *t3* ("country"): in one fragment *tš* is applied exactly to the territorial borders of the domain 'Land-of-Uto' (*Urk.* II. 20.3, 8), while in the account of Ptolemy's Asiatic campaign its target is defined as *p3 t3 n3 HBrw* (*id.* 15.4: 'the country of the Kharu [people]'). It should be noted that the latter combination of words has a precise parallel in Demotic versions of the decrees of Canopus and Raphia, which would employ the word *tš* (*p3 tš n3 Hrw*);<sup>42</sup> hence the distinction between its use in Demotic texts and in the hieroglyphic Satrap Stela is quite clear. For these reasons *p3 tš n Ir-mr-3/Mr-mr-3* of the Satrap Stela must really be a region at the border of Egypt. Incidentally, this conclusion avoids the direct identification of this region with the Upper Nubian

<sup>36</sup> D.A. WELSBY, *The Kingdom of Kush. The Napatan and Meroitic Empires*, London, 1996, p. 208; *cf.* D. O'CONNOR, ST. QUIRKE, *Introduction...*, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> R.GIVEON, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis antiqui, 22)*, Leiden, 1971, p. 181.

<sup>38</sup> H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> Personal statement, according to J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I...*, p. 181.

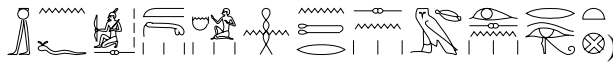
<sup>40</sup> J.K. WINNICKI, *ibid.*, p. 166-167 and note 54.

<sup>41</sup> *Cf.* J.K. WINNICKI, *ibid.*, p. 168-169 and notes 66-67, with references to the decrees of Canopus and Raphia.

<sup>42</sup> See the discussion by J.K. WINNICKI, *supra* note 40.

*Trm* (let alone the silence of Classical narratives about Ptolemy's engagement so far in Africa), while for the aforementioned reasons one cannot but question seriously whether it refers to the entire Meroitic kingdom.

Another thing we come to know about the 'boundary of *Tr-mr-3/Mr-mr-3*' is that Ptolemy's expedition was a reprisal: "He (the Satrap Ptolemy) brought [away] the[ir] people (lit. 'army'; see the interpretation below) as men [and] women, together with their god, as a reward for what they (the residents of the region) have done (lit.: '[of] their doing') against Egypt" (*Urk.* II. 15. 14-15:



H. Goedicke elaborated a theory that this fragment describes the arrival of those residents of *Tr-mr-3/Mr-mr-3* to Egypt 'as mercenaries joining his (Ptolemy's) service'.<sup>43</sup> Needless to say, this idea could be true only if one neglected the phrase preceding this fragment (*Urk.* II. 15.13) and describing the 'seizure' of the region and its residents by Ptolemy. Indeed, this context, contrary to Goedicke's idea, gives to the words *m-isw ir.sn* a definite meaning of revenge and reprisal, and not mercenary payment, on behalf of Ptolemy. Goedicke's interpretation is also incorrect philologically: nothing enabled him to coordinate the adverbial phrase *r B3kt* with the verbal form *in.f* as the destination, where the alleged mercenaries were brought by Ptolemy. These two combinations of words are separated from one another by a long sequence of words; no doubt, the adverbial phrase *r B3kt* is connected with *ir.sn* immediately preceding it and indicates the direction of the action.

One more thing to be observed in the account of the expedition against the 'boundary of *Tr-mr-3/Mr-mr-3*' is not said openly, but rather implied in its context. The historical part of the Satrap Stela (*Urk.* II. 14.9-15.17) tells about the most significant events of Ptolemy's rule. These events seem to be grouped according to their decreasing importance for Ptolemy's image in the eyes of his Egyptian subjects: the return of the cult objects from Egypt, as a benefaction to gods, is ranked first (*id.* 14.9-11); the foundation of a new capital in Alexandria follows suit (*id.* 14.13-16); and finally comes the description of two military enterprises, the most important campaign in Asia culminating in the battle of Gaza (*id.* 15.2-10),<sup>44</sup> and the expedition against the 'boundary of *Tr-mr-3/Mr-mr-3*'. Chronologically these events closely precede the date of Stela's compilation, *i.e.* 311 B.C.: both the Asiatic campaign and the return of cult images in its course must fall in the year 312. Moreover, the numismatic evidence strongly suggests that the transfer of the capital to Alexandria could be dated

<sup>43</sup> H. GOEDICKE, *Comments on the Satrap Stela*, p. 34-35.

<sup>44</sup> Generally there is no dispute on the identification of this campaign: AU. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides*, I, Paris 1903, p. 49 and note 1; CL. VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie (Monographies Reine Élisabeth, 1)*. Brussels, 1971, p. 149 and note 4; J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I...*, p. 161. For the contrary argument that this fragment describes Ptolemy's campaigns of early 310s B.C., see P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, p. 12.

to the same period.<sup>45</sup> From this evidence two conclusions could be reached. First, the expedition against the ‘boundary of *Ir-mr-3/Mr-mr-3*’ must have taken place in the same year(s). Second, this event was notable enough to speak about it together with other deeds of outstanding importance. This seems to exclude the possibility of identifying the region in question with a minor Asiatic or Nubian entity at the Egyptian borders: an encounter with it would have been too unimportant to be mentioned in this context, while a more impressive event at the same frontiers would have probably been recounted in Classical texts.<sup>46</sup>

By not localizing the ‘boundary of *Ir-mr-3/Mr-mr-3*’ in Nubia or Asia, we are entitled to reconsider its initial identification with the Lybian region of Cyrene. The Classical evidence tells that Cyrene was attached to Ptolemy’s possessions, when the satrapies were distributed among the *diadochoi* at Babylon in 323 and at Triparadeisos in 320.<sup>47</sup> On the basis of such evidence, its region could be described as an Egyptian ‘boundary’. The people of Cyrene revolted against Ptolemy in 313 (DIOD. XIX. 79. 1-3): Diodorus tells about Ptolemy’s fury at the news of the Cyreneans murdering his envoys, which could well have been the evil-doing ‘rewarded’ according to the Satrap Stela. Another thing coinciding in the accounts of Diodorus and of the Stela is the dispatch of prisoners to Egypt. An expedition sent by Ptolemy brought Cyrene again his dominion in 312. Naturally, a text of Egyptian tradition would have easily ascribed this victory to him personally.

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<sup>45</sup> According to O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hellenistic Coinage: From the Accession of Alexander the Great to the Peace of Apamea (336-188 B.C.)*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 64, fig. 92, in mid- or late 310s B.C. Ptolemy introduced a new type of his coinage: *av.* head of Alexander with horns, elephant scalp and diadem on his head, *rev.* standing Athena and a smaller eagle on thunderbolt (first appearance of this Ptolemaic emblem!) instead of earlier seated Zeus, legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (‘Ptolemy’s [coin] of Alexandria’ or ‘Ptolemy’s [coin] of Alexander’). In our opinion, it is definitely the former, due to the parallel from Ptolemy’s Cyrenean coinage ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (O. MØRKHOLM, *ibid.*, p. 64, fig. 110). The legend shows that this type could hardly have been launched before the transfer of the capital to Alexandria. Indeed if the matter been simply about the introduction of a new coin, it would have hardly been so emphasized in the legend. However, the imaging type of the coinage fully coincides with that of Ptolemy’s Sydonian series dated to Year 22 of Abdalonym of Sydon = 312; see O. MØRKHOLM, *ibid.*, p. 65, fig. 94; B. KUSCHEL, *Die neuen Münzbilder des Ptolemaios Soter*, in: *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 11 (1961), p. 13-14. Thus, the transfer of the capital to Alexandria could be dated at the same year (or, to say the least, at the years immediately preceding it) with a degree of accuracy. This submission runs contrary to the view advanced by P.M. FRASER, who thought it possible to date this event to early 310s B.C., due to his dating of Ptolemy’s Asiatic campaign in the Stela; see *supra* note 44.

<sup>46</sup> The argument advanced by J.K. WINNICKI, *Militäroperationen von Ptolemaios I....*, p. 181ff. that this expedition must have been a part of Ptolemy’s alleged assistance to Seleukos in the course of his campaign which resulted in the treaty with the Nabataeans and, consequently, must have taken place at Sinai (or elsewhere in Asia) is hardly tenable for the following reasons. First, the fact that this action was undertaken by Ptolemy requires a better proof than a mere supposition. Second, such action, especially if launched under Seleukos’ auspices, would have still been too minor to place it in the list of Ptolemy’s most remarkable deeds. Third, and most importantly, such interpretation leaves the repressive character of the expedition, which is well stated in the Stela, without any explanation.

<sup>47</sup> W. HUSS, *Ägypten in der hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 97 and note 3, 102 and notes 39-40, with references to Classical sources.



Compared to the statement of Diodorus, who said that Ptolemy's general imprisoned only the leaders of the rebellion, the picture of the Stela is a deliberate exaggeration; but its background is remarkable. In the first millennium B.C. Egypt suffered a number of foreign conquests, which were sometimes followed by deportations: for the time of the Satrap Stela the most recent of them took place during the Second Persian Domination. According to the *Suida* Lexicon (*s.v.* ἄστατο), Artaxerxes III deported a vast number of Egyptians; Diodorus adds that after Artaxerxes' conquest the Persians took sacred texts from the Egyptian temples which were later sold back by Bagoas (DIOD. XVI. 51.2).<sup>52</sup> Significantly, the account about Chabbash in the Satrap Stela brought to mind the atrocities of Artaxerxes. These reminiscences were also implied in the statement about the return of cult objects and, among them, sacred texts (*b3w R*) by Satrap Ptolemy from Asia (*Urk.* II. 14.9-11). According to Diodorus, the aim of the Persians when seizing the sacred texts was not just a material gain: these texts must have had no value for those not practicing the Egyptian religion. The Persian seizures of cult objects are well attested during suppressing seditions or waging wars (in Babylonia or in Greece).<sup>53</sup> In all cases they aimed at depriving the inimical peoples of ritual mediators in their relations to gods.<sup>54</sup> This practice was in fact not just Persian but common for the ancient Near East. However, it remained totally alien for the Egyptians throughout the Pharaonic period. So, the statement about the deportation of the Cyreneans with their 'god' (definitely a cult image), however fictitious, reveals an obvious Near Eastern influence. This influence could be stimulated by the Macedonian propaganda of Ptolemy's returning the sacred objects from Asia to Egyptian temples but also by the reminiscences of the Second Persian Domination, still vivid in the Stela. Thus, one cannot be sure if the drafters introduced in it this motive under the official inspiration or as their own invention.

Another feature of this account which deserves to be considered is the use of the word *mšc*. It is tempting to say that the Ptolemaic shift of its meaning from 'army' to 'people', still unexplained by some Egyptologists who paid special attention to it,<sup>55</sup> might be better understood exactly from this fragment of the Stela. One should not forget that the text probably deals with a campaign against the Greek city-state (*polis*) of Cyrene. A typically Hellenic integration and solidarity of its people (citizenry) seems to be stressed in the account of being deported as an indivisible entity. Denoting this unity exactly with the word *mšc* seems quite natural, as in a Greek city-state the army comprised all male citizens, at least those capable of bearing weapons. Moreover, women could have had their own duties in the event of a severe war. To that effect, they

<sup>52</sup> J. SCHWARTZ, *Les conquérants perses et la littérature égyptienne*, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 48 (1949).

<sup>53</sup> P. BRIANT, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, p. 561-562, 566.

<sup>54</sup> M. A. DANDAMAYEV, V. G. LUKONIN, *Kultura i ekonomika drevnego Irana (Culture and Economy of Ancient Iran)*, Moscow, 1980, p. 343; cf. now: I. A. LADYNIN, "Adversary *Hšryš(3)*"..., p. 104-105, note 50.

<sup>55</sup> See *supra* note 51.

could also be considered a part of the armed citizenry. On the contrary, the situation in Egypt was quite different: the army was organized by the state and not by the people. Thus, the meaning of the word *mšꜥ* as ‘people’ seems to be alien to the Egyptian social conditions and at the same time offers a rather accurate description of the Greek civil and military organization. The natives of Egypt had a good chance to get acquainted with it still before the 4th century B.C. but especially during it. Could one conclude the new Ptolemaic meaning of the word *mšꜥ* appeared under the influence of this interrelation with the Greek language and notions? The suspected use of this word in the Satrap Stela in respect of a city-state’s citizenry seems to give an argument in favour of this possibility.

### ***Final remarks***

The proposed interpretations of the Satrap Stela’s phenomena are certainly not beyond dispute. However, were they to be true, the degree of Greek influence on the text shown in the instances discussed above must have been quite strong. But this brings a student to the following question: could the text of the Stela be directly influenced by people whose mother-tongue was Greek, *i.e.* Ptolemaic administrators. When considering it, one should bear in mind that the Stela is a *provincial* Egyptian monument. The restitution of the domain ‘Land-of-Uto’ after the temples of Buto was a huge gain for them but a very small matter within the whole scope of the tasks that Satrap Ptolemy faced at that time. Registering this act was a *raison d’être* of the Satrap Stela, which presumed it to be loyal to the Macedonian government and to reflect to a certain extent ideas generated by it. Yet there is no reason to believe this ideological trend was followed in the Stela under any sort of pressure. As for the language and the exact wording of the document, such things were surely completely up to its drafters. Were our interpretations to hold, these drafters appear to have been not just Greek-speaking but also acquainted with features of the Hellenic mentality closely enough to have confused in their minds the names ‘Xerxes’ and ‘Artaxerxes’ in their Greek forms and to suggest an adequate Egyptian equivalent for the notion of *polis*. Actually, this should not be a great surprise, as the Hellenic education in the 4th century B.C. included not just learning a language but also an acquaintance with Classical literature and the ideas developed in it<sup>56</sup>. But in this case we have to conclude that the contacts with Greece opened such option for the Egyptians of

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<sup>56</sup> One might recall the statement by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Contra Apionem* I. 14. 73, about the Hellenic education of Manetho. An idea by the Russian scholar V. STRUWE, *Manefon i ego vremya (Manetho and His Time)*, St.Petersburg, 2003, p. 99, that Manetho must have acquired it still under the last Pharaohs seems not so ill-founded. The heyday of his activities, which coincided with his participation in the introduction of Sarapis’ cult (PLUTARCHUS, *De Iside et Osiride* 28), must be placed at the border of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (W. HUSS, *Ägypten in der hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 244); so he must have been born at least four decades before it and to get his learning around 330s or 320s B.C., when the Macedonian presence in the country was, if any, at its very start. The fact that Manetho wrote a variety of Greek books intended for the Greek readers proves this his education definitely fitted the Classical model of the 4th century B.C. that we described.

elite quite well in advance of the Macedonian conquest of the country; otherwise its fruits would not have manifested themselves in such accomplished form already by the time of the Satrap Stela. Thus, the alleged Graeco-Egyptian interaction in the language of this text seems to be a natural process, which must have had a pre-Macedonian background and no direct impact from the new rulers of the country.