

Notes on the Sacerdotal Decrees

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THE STUDIES of the sacerdotal decrees are inextricably connected with the development of Egyptology as a science. For a period of two centuries a large number of works was published in many languages. Nowadays some earlier copies have been practically ignored and replaced by modern studies, mistakes are repeated from one edition to another. The current notes have been written while the publications of the sources were studied to make Russian translations of the documents in question (preparing for publication).

1. The decree of Canopus (238 BCE): the stela from Tanis

The decree of the priestly meeting in Canopus under Ptolemy III has become known by the discovery of the stela by C.R. Lepsius and his colleagues S.L. Reinisch and E.R. Roesler in the spring of 1866 in San. In those days, the importance of the finding was considered equivalent to that of the Rosetta stone. In this respect a dispute arose between the members of the joint mission, since C.R. Lepsius announced *his* discovery without mentioning S.L. Reinisch and E.R. Roesler and their mutual expedition expenses. A detailed version of that story was given in the letters and book prefaces of the named authors. No later than half a year the monument was published twice (recto), in Berlin¹ and in Vienna², based on the text copies made *in situ*.

Despite the study of the inscription of the Tanis stela (CGC 22187; TM 55659; PM IV, p. 15) has a long history, a high quality photo of this monument (recto)³ has never been published. Available resources:

1. a photo of the general view sized 16 cm (height of the stela is 2.2 m)⁴;
2. a digital photo in the project of CPI (low resolution)⁵;
3. a scan of an archive photo of H. Brugsch (low resolution)⁶.

* I wish to express my thanks to Dr. E. Lanciers (Leuven) and Prof. Dr. G. Vittmann (Würzburg) for discussion of the draft.

¹ R. LEPSIUS, *Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus: in der Originalgröße mit Übersetzung und Erklärung beider Texte*, Berlin, 1866.

² L.S. REINISCH, R. ROESLER, *Die zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, Wien, 1866.

³ For the demotic text, see the photos in J. KRALL, *Demotische Lesestücke II*, Leipzig, 1903, Taf. II-III and the facsimile in W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana) mit hieroglyphischen und griechischen Fassungen und deutscher Uebersetzung nebst demotischem Glossar*, Heidelberg, 1922, S. 3-37.

⁴ R. PARKINSON, *The Rosetta Stone*, London, 2005, p. 12.

⁵ See <http://cpi.csad.ox.ac.uk/Images/Large/CPI-119.jpg> [accessed: 10.01.2022]; ditto CPI I, p. 243.

The present study was made possible thanks to the photograph taken by H. Brugsch, nowadays kept in France. The scanned high quality image⁷, which I slightly improved by modern tools, presents the condition of the inscription at the end of the 19th century, when the stone had been already housed in the Cairo museum. The most precise date of the photo should be several years before 1891, when the sixth volume of his *Thesaurus* appeared⁸ with the publication of this decree (except the Greek version).

The fracture running through the Greek text was, presumably, caused during the transportation of the stone, since in two early publications from 1866 the monument is presented as intact.

None of the numerous editions of the Greek text of the Tanis stela that have appeared over a century and a half, including the copies in various online sources, can be considered to meet all the requirements for further research. Moreover, the present-day scholars who make emendations do not give any comments on the earlier studies referred to. Only W. Dittenberger indicated the mistakes made by his predecessors, he used round brackets for improvements and provided notes with citations of the original text or a parallel version.

Broadly speaking, the article presents a list of corrections in order to improve the understanding of specific orthographical forms in the Tanis copy of the decree; they do not change the interpretation of the fragments or the content of the document in general. They do not solve philological problems, but the main concern is epigraphic. The photo gives the possibility to recognize a number of poorly visible or erased letters that were still preserved in the late 19th century; the modern condition of the inscriptions may be studied when new photographs become available. It reveals the incorrect use of brackets in cases where mistakes are corrected. The most common imperfection lies in the presentation of recent improvements. The authors emend a scribal error made in ancient times and put an inserted letter into angle brackets. In this case a letter from the original text is deleted instead of being encircled by curly brackets. As a result, insertion of really omitted letters in angle brackets does not differ from text emendations (i.e. replacement of erroneous letters by correct ones). The reader is not aware of the argument why a certain word is given without any brackets by one author and specified as emended by the other.

I believe that all modern editions except two earlier publications of the 19th century ought to represent an identical text that is far from being consistent with the present situation.

1.1. List of corrections

The epigraphic notes regard for the most part the Greek text (see pl. II-III). Online copies are not considered, the publication in which the fragment under discussion agrees with a proposed improvement is not listed. I do not highlight all inaccuracies in the works of 1866: major part of them had been already emended by W. Dittenberger⁹. Moreover, a problem with brackets used for restorations is not a cause of concern, since the damage of the stone was apparently minor.

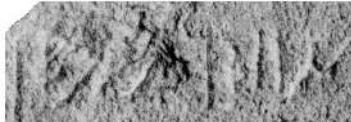
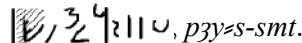
⁶ See <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/AP1315T0575> [accessed: 10.01.2022].

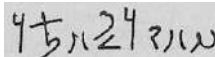

⁷ Received from the Ministry of Culture (France), see pl. I-III.

⁸ See H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum, altaegyptische Inschriften* 6, Leipzig, 1891, S. 1554-1575.

⁹ *OGISI*, 56.

The fragments under discussion in the copies made by J.P. Mahaffy¹⁰, K. Sethe¹¹, and W. Spiegelberg¹² are identical with those by C.R. Lepsius. Few notes on a commonly used edition of W. Dittenberger and a facsimile of J.G. Milne¹³, who checked the original, are distinctly of great importance, as well as readings presented in studies published over the last three decades. The reason for the occurrence of varied readings in the recent publications remains undefined, as colleagues do not often specify an edition or photo they rely on to make copies. If the photo published in *CPI* is of authentic size, then in many cases it is unsuitable for collation by anyone. Several erroneous spellings recur constantly.


d28 (Krall, *Demotische*, Taf. II):  = , *pzy=s-smt*.


Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, S. 1562:  (the sign  is doubtful);

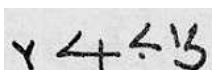
Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text*, S. 15: , i.e. *pzy=s-s[mt]*.

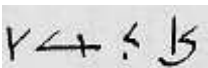
d34 (Krall, *Demotische*, Taf. II): 


The first sign *b* in the name of Berenice is distinct in the photo, but hatched in Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text*, S. 18.

d37 (Krall, *Demotische*, Taf. III): , *w{h}<t>b*

A wrong writing with the sign  on the stone (scribal error), imprecise in facsimiles.

Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, S. 1564: ;

Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text*, S. 19 (ditto DG, 106): .

g17:  = ΤΘΠΩΝ → τ<ó>{θ}πων

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 19; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 31, Taf. IV; *OGIS* 56, p. 99; Budge, *The Decrees*¹⁴, p. 182: τóπων;

¹⁰ J.P. MAHAFFY, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, London, New York, 1895, p. 226-239.

¹¹ See *Urk.* II, 124-154.

¹² See W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text*, S. 66-67.



¹³ J.G. MILNE, *Greek Inscriptions*, CGC, Oxford, 1905, p. 6.

¹⁴ E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus III. The Rosetta Stone*. New York, Oxford, 1904.

Milne, *Catalogue*, p. 6: ΤΟΙΤΩΝ;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 29: (τόπ)ων¹⁵; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*¹⁶, S. 93; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*¹⁷, S. 77; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*¹⁸, S. 92: <τόπ>ων;


CPI I, p. 259: τ<ό>πων.

g23:  g24: 

= ΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΔΕΙΧΘΗ|ΝΑΙ = προσαποδειχθῆ|ναι


Milne, *Catalogue*, p. 6: ΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΔΕΙΧΘΗ|ΝΑΙΙ;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 31; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 109; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 78; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 93: προσαποδειχθῆ|να[ι].

g30:  = ΕΚΑΣΤΗΣ → <έ>{ξ}κάστης


Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die Zweisprachige*, S. 37, Taf. IV; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 184: ἐκάστης;

Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 101; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 78; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 93; *CPI I*, p. 259: <έ>κάστης.

g30:  = ΑΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΑΙ → <λ>{α}αμβάνονται

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die Zweisprachige*, S. 37, Taf. IV; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 184: λαμβάνονται;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 31: (λ)αμβάνονται; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 109; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 78; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 93; *CPI I*, p. 259: <λ>αμβάνονται.

g34:  = ΗΕΝΑΤΗ = ἡ ἐνάτη.

Milne, *Catalogue*, p. 6: ΗΕΝΑΤΜ;


Bernand, *La prose*, p. 31: ἡ ἐνάτ(η); Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 121; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 79; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 94; *CPI I*, p. 260: ἡ ἐνάτ<η>.

¹⁵ For brackets in A. BERNAND, *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine I-II*, Paris, 1992: the author used round brackets for inclusions or additions and angle ones for exclusions.

¹⁶ S. PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v. CHR.). Kommentar und historische Auswertung eines dreisprachigen Synodaldekretes der ägyptischen Priester zu Ehren Ptolemaios' III. und seiner Familie*, München, Leipzig, 2004.

¹⁷ S. PFEIFFER, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Aegyptus*, Berlin, Münster, 2015.

¹⁸ S. PFEIFFER, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Aegyptus* (2. Aufl), Berlin, Münster, 2020.

g38:  = ΛΣΤΡΟΥ → <ᾶ>{λ}στρου

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 41, Taf. V; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 185: ἄστρου;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 31: (ᾶ)στρου; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 131; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 79; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 94; *CPI I*, p. 260: <ᾶ>στρου.

g46:  = ΠΟΑΟΥ → πό<λ>{α}ου.

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 43, Taf. V; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 187: πόλου;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 31: πό(λ)ου; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 131; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 80; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 95; *CPI I*, p. 260: πό<λ>ου.

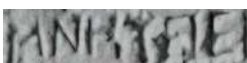
g49: οἱ μέγα πένθος

Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 81; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 96: added μὲν without brackets (οἱ μέγα μὲν πένθος), after stela CGC 22186, g40.

g51:  = ENATMI → ἐνάτ<η>{μ}ι

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 45, Taf. VI; *OGIS 56*, p. 105; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 188: ἐνάτηι;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33: ἐνάτ(η)ι; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 144; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 81; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 96; *CPI I*, p. 260: ἐνάτ<η>ι.


g54:  = MNHYPIEI → Μνηύ{π}ει

An engraver cut the names of both animals in a similar way: “Ἄπει καὶ Μνηύπει” (the name Ἄπει is partly damaged, see Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20). In all publications π is not defined as mistake.

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; *OGIS 56*, p. 106; *Urk.* II, 145.3; Milne, *Catalogue*, p. 6; Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 145; *CPI I*, p. 260: Μνηύει;

Reinisch, Roesler, *Die Zweisprachige*, S. 47, Taf. VI: Μνηύει (with ι instead of π);

Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 82; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 96: Μνήμει (with μ instead of ύπ).

g55:  = TATA → <κ>{τ}ατὰ

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 20; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 47, Taf. VI: κατὰ;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33: (κ)ατὰ; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 163; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 81; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 96; *CPI I*, p. 260: <κ>ατὰ.

g58:  = ΔΕ^{vacat}ΚΑΤΗ → δε^{vacat}κάτη<ς>{ι}

Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 47, Taf. VI: δεκάτης;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33: δεκάτη(ς);

Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 163; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 82; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 97: δεκάτη<ς>;

CPII, p. 261: δε^{vac.}κάτη<ς>.

g58: 


= ΑΠΟΛΥΣΙ[Σ Ε]ΓΕΝΗΘΗ[ΑΥ]ΤΗΙΤΗΧΛ[ΡΧΗ]Ν

→ ἀπόλυσι[ς ἐ]γενή<θ>{ο}η [αὐ]τῆι τῆ<ν>{χ} <ἀ>{λ}[ρχή]ν


OGIS 56, p. 107: no brackets for restorations;

Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 189; Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 163; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 82; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 97: no brackets;

CPII, p. 261: ἀπόλυ[σις ἐ]γενήθη αὐτῆι τῆ<ν> <ἀ>[ρχή]ν.


g59:  = ΔΕ → {δε} (context: ὁ {δε} <ὁ> πρ[ο]φήτης)

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 82; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 97: omitted.

g65:  = ΑΓΑΛΗΑ → ἄγαλ<μ>{η}α

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 21; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 51, Taf. VI; *OGIS* 56, p. 108; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 190: ἄγαλμα;

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33: ἄγαλ(μ)α; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 181; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 82; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 98; *CPII*, p. 261: ἄγαλ<μ>α.

g67: 

cf. **ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΙ**

(Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, Taf. VI)

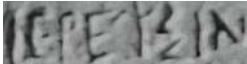
= ΤΩ[Ν Θ]ΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΙ → τῶ[ν θ]εῶν, <ῶν> ἱέρεια

The word ῶν is missing on this stela, cf. *OGIS* 56, p. 109, no. 123: “Pronomen omisit A”; no brackets in Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 83; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 98; *CPII*, p. 261.


g68:  = ΠΡΩΡΗΜΟΣ → πρ{ο}ώ{ρ}ῖ<μ>{η}ος

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 21; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 190; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 181: προώριμος;


Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 83; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 98: πρώϊμος; *CPI I*, p. 261: πρ{ο}ώ<ῖμ>ος.

g70:  = ΙΕΡΕΥΣΙΝ = ιερεῦσιν

OGIS 56, p.109, no. 131; *CPI I*, p. 261: ιερε<ῦ>σιν.

g70:  = ΤΡΟΦΑΙ[ΕΚΤΩ]Ν = τροφαί [ἐκ τῶ]ν

The upper part of the letter N (the last sign in the line) is visible, but is omitted in many editions: Milne, *Catalogue*, p. 6; Bernand, *La prose*, p. 33; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 190; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 83; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 98; *CPI I*, p. 261.

g75:  = ΤΙΜΩΝΤΑΣ → τιμῶντ<ε>{α}ς

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 35: τιμῶντ(ε)ς; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 194; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 84; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 99; *CPI I*, p. 261: τιμῶντ<ε>ς.

g75:  = ΟΕΟΥΣ → <θ>{ο}εούς

Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 21; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die zweisprachige*, S. 55, Taf. VI; *OGIS 56*, p. 110; Budge, *The Decrees*, p. 191; Bernand, *La prose*, p. 35; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 194; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 84; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 99: θεούς;

CPI I, p. 261: <θ>ε<ο>ύς.

g75:  = ΤΕΚΝ[Α] = τέκν[α]




Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 84; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 99: τέκν<α>.

1.2. Comments on readings

Scene (see pl. I). Winged solar disk with two *uraei* wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt above, each uraeus holding a sign \Leftarrow , words in the centre: Δ dj nh “(Horus the Behdetite), giving life”. The translation “(somebody) endowed with life” is erroneous (so in *CPI I*, p. 247: “Given Life”), the words do not follow the royal cartouche but describe the benevolence of the god, see *Wb I*, 198.II; II, 465.V.







h1:

The transliteration *Irs 'n3.t* (*CPI* I, p. 244, also further in this edition for the name Arsinoe, the same transliteration in the edition of the decree of 243 BCE, see El-Masry *et al.*, *Alexandria*¹⁹, S. 68f) is not correct or the authors should verify this reading. The sign  has no value ' (cf. *EP*, S. 167), and it is not the sign  attested as 'n. Although the usual value of the sign  is *jr* (cf. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 68: *Jrsjrn3*), the reading *j* is more appropriate here²⁰.











h2:

The noun *sn* "brother" in the epithet of Arsinoe Philadelphos is written as   (cf. *Wb* IV, 150, for Dyn. 19/20), i.e. the group  is not a genitive adjective (*CPI* I, p. 251: "*mr(.t) n sn* is written *sn n mr(.t)*"), but a phonetic complement *n*, instead of  in classic language. So the translation "beloved of her brother" (*CPI* I, p. 247) should be changed to "the Brother-loving" (cf. *CPI* I, p. 255, for demotic).





N.B.! The graphic   in *Urk.* II, 126.5 is imprecise.



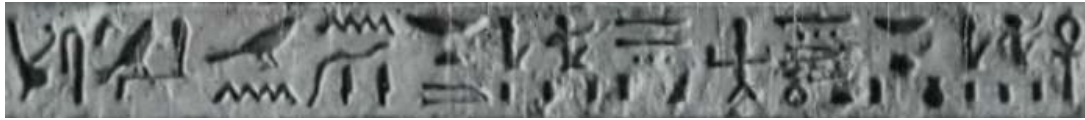
h7:

The sign  after *h3swt* is a determinative with a scornful connotation, resembling a word *h3stjw* (*Wb* III, 236, 1), but see the additional determinatives in the words   *xsjw* (h6) and   *tpjw* (h7). Cf. parallel versions: *h3s.t.w* *š3y* (d14), *πολλὰ ἔθνη* (g12). For the meaning *h3swt* "many countries"²¹, for the meaning *h3stjw* "des peuples nombreux"²². There are no  *tj*-bird and the determinatives   to read the word *h3stjw* "the foreign peoples".

A disputable adjective in Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 89: *h3s.wt sbj(.wt)* *š3.w(t)* "vielen feindlichen Fremdvölkern" (*h3s.wt* ≠ "Fremdvölker", but "Fremdländer"), repeated in the transliteration in *CPI* I, p. 245, 247 with differing translation: *h3s.wt sby(.wt)* *š3.w(t)* ≠ "many foreign peoples" (*sby(.wt)* is not translated). N.B.! No *sbj* as an adjective in dictionaries, see *Wb* IV, 87-88; *PL*, p. 819.

Accordingly, I read *h3swt* *š3(t)* "many foreign countries" with a negative connotation *enemy* / enemies for the countries and *tpjw=sn* "their leaders (   )" in the brackets or in a note.

¹⁹ Y. EL-MASRY, H. ALTENMÜLLER, H.-J. THISSEN, *Das Synodaldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.*, *BSAK* 11, 2012.
²⁰ As discussed in J. QUAEGBEUR, "Documents Concerning a Cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis", *JNES* 30, 1971, p. 248, no. f, see also D. KURTH, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische (EP). Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken I-II*. Hützel, 2007-2008, S. 181, no. 59.
²¹ S. SHARPE, *The Decree of Canopus*, London, 1870, p. 10.
²² P. PIERRET, *Le décret trilingue de Canope*, Paris, 1881, p. X.








h7:

d14: *irm n3 ky.w rmt nty hr t3y>w izw.t (n) hry*

g13: καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν τασσομένοις

CPI I, p. 247 (after Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 89): “all the people of Egypt and all lands, who are subjects of their majesties”.

The problem lies in the meaning of the word . The reading *t3w* “lands” is obscure in this context, it should be noted, that both stelae have the determinative “people” after *t3wj* (CGC 22186, h5 with the same graphics), there is no mention of lands in the demotic and Greek versions. Despite a phonetic value *t3wj* / *t3w{jj}* the translation could base on the signs . Most likely,  is a shortened form for  (see *Wb* V, 304, 15: “die Menschen”) or an error instead of *s* or *rmt*.


For using *m ndjj n* with a wrong determinative , see *Wb* II, 369, 5; DZA 25.624.640.

Cf. a similar phrase in the decree of 196 BCE:

CGC 22188, 10: *hn ' jmj(w)=sn nb hn ' s <nb> {r}^23 wn m-hnt j3w(t)=f*

BM 24, d6: *irm n3 nty hn t3y=f izw.t (n) pr- '3 ' .w.s.*






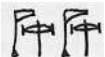
BM 24, g10: καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν τασσομένους ἅπαντας

N.B.! Stela CGC 22186, h5 has the suffix , no need to restore *hm(=sn)* in Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 89; *CPI* I, p. 308.



h12:



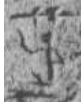
, cf. h11:  = 

The remarks by Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, Taf. II: “ sic” and K. Sethe (*Urk.* II, 133, no. h), repeated in *CPI* I, p. 252, that the stela from Tanis, h12 has an erroneous writing  instead of  are disputable. The signs are more similar to  than to ; cf. H. Brugsch’s copy (*Thesaurus*, S. 1560): .






h20:





The transliteration *phrjj(t)* for  is recorded in the Berlin dictionary²⁴; cf. stela CGC 22188,




²³ In text:  (l. 10) =  instead of  (l. 14).



14, 17 (the priestly decree of 196 BCE); the transliteration *rr* in Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 134; *CPI I*, p. 246 is incorrect, since a word *rr* to designate time is unknown.

For stela CGC 22188, 14: , 17: . The samples read *m phrjtt / phrt ʒw(t)* “for the long period”²⁵, not for *rr / tr*²⁶. The word *tr* “time” should have a determinative .



h24-25: 


The sign  is for a deity's name, cf. *Urk. II*, 144.3: “ statt ”. The hieroglyphic sign  “Amun” is used on stela CGC 22186, h25, which agrees with the demotic version on both stela. For the toponym, see *LGG I*, 337; *DG*, S. 584; *DNG III*, p. 125.

Recent studies²⁷ give a disputable meaning *šw* “Shu”, since a determinative  is missing, moreover the phonetic sign “feather” is rotated by 180 degrees. The position of the sign demonstrates an evident error of the cutter, who engraved  instead of the initial  in *j<mn>*. Cases with erroneous replacement of both signs occur in the inscriptions from that period, see statue Moscow I.1.a.5319,


162²⁸:  for *jtrw*.

h30: 

The first sign resembles  or , cf. Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, Taf. I; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, S. 1571; *Urk. II*, 147.8.

The parallel hieroglyphic text on stela CGC 22186, h30 has a lacuna where a verb is intended. I suppose that an engraver of the Tanis stela made a mistake instead of the proper sign . To prove that one should mind verbs in the parallel texts (d59: *htp*, g59: καθιδρῦσαι), and especially the verb *htp* in line h25 (see *Wb III*, 190, 12), notably the line h25 in parallel versions has the same verbs (d48: *htp*, g49: καθιδρῦσαι).

The uncommented reading *spr* “gelangt” by S. Pfeiffer (*Das Dekret*, S. 166-167) is disputable. Cf. *CPI I*, p. 246: *spr* transliterated after S. Pfeiffer and its translation “to repose” (*CPI I*, p. 250) is only appropriate for the verb *htp* but not for *spr* “to arrive at”.

²⁴ See *Wb I*, 548, 7.gr (DZA 23.475.260 to this inscription); for graphics F. DAUMAS, *Les moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, Le Caire, 1952, p. 120.

²⁵ Sf. A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane, Aristonikos et les prêtres d'Égypte. Le Décret de Memphis (182 a.C.). Édition commentée des stèles Caire RT 2/3/25/7 et JE 44901, CENiM 12*, Montpellier, 2015, p. 289 (with question), 291.

²⁶ F. HOFFMANN, S. PFEIFFER, *Der Stein von Rosetta*, Ditzingen, 2021, S. 167, no. 27 for line 14.






























²⁷ See S. PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret*, S. 147; *CPI I*, p. 246.

²⁸ See M. PANOV, *Die Statue des Horchebe, ET II*, Novosibirsk, 2014, p. 64.

h36:



Cf. *CPI* I, p. 247, 251: *sh3.w pn r i.my sš.twf <i>n nd.w-ih.t m h(w).wt hn ' mr.w gs.w-pr.w* “This decision: it should be arranged that it should be written by the servers in the temples and the chiefs of the temple”.

The sign  (phon. *j*) is an initial sign of the imperative                          , not an independent word *r* of unknown meaning; the imperative is followed by the unusual determinative  (cf.  on stela CGC 22186), not attested in *EP*, S. 753; read *j<n>* instead of *<i>n* (also incorrect in Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 195); translate “the chiefs of the temples” instead of the singular “temple”.

d31:



, the facsimile and transliteration by W. Spiegelberg²⁹:  , *s3.w 5*.

Here, likewise in l. d30 (W. Spiegelberg inserted a plural in the transliteration *<p3> s3 5*), “five phyles (of the benefactor gods)” is an obvious mistake, since only the additional phyle got the new name. Cf. the singular in the hieroglyphic text (h16): *n jmjw s3 5 n ntrwj mnhwj* and in Greek (g31-g32): τὸς ἐκ τῆς πέμπτης φυλῆς τῶν Εὐεργετῶν θεῶν.

Translations (and transliterations) of the demotic text ignore the double error made by a copyist in lines g30 and g31, see R.S. Simpson³⁰: “(in) the Fifth Philae”; Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret*, S. 110-111: “(in) der 5. Philae”; also in *CPI* I, p. 253, 256. G. Vittmann (TLA) follows the text: “(in) den fünf Phylen”.

d65: *di.t irz>w nzw kt.t rpy.(t) <n brnygz 'w.s. hnw.t rn.t.(w) mtwz>w ir nzs grr irm p3 sp md.(t) nty n hp n irz>w> n n3 hrw.w*³¹

For the restoration, see the parallel text on stela CGC 22186, d18; the passage is omitted on the Tanis stela. Although the restored text is missing in transliteration (*CPI* I, p. 254: *ti irz>w nzw kt.t rpy.(t) n n3 hrw.w*) it appears in translation (without brackets and comments, *CPI* I, p. 258): “should cause to be made another statue for Berenike Mistress of Maidens, and there should be performed for it burnt offerings and the rest of the things which (68) are normally due on the day”.

Additional notes: line number 68 is put falsely; read “on the days” instead of “on the day”. The basic study used by the authors of *CPI* I is generally correct³².

g65: τὰς παρθένους τῶν ἱερέων

The word παρθένος means “girl, maiden, unmarried woman”³³, not “daughter”. Cf. two earlier translations: Lepsius, *Das bilingue*, S. 24: “die Jungfrauen der Priester”; Reinisch, Roesler, *Die Zweisprachige*, S. 51: “die priesterlichen Jungfrauen”.

²⁹ See W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text*, S. 16.

³⁰ See R.S. SIMPSON, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*, Oxford, 1996, p. 230-231.

³¹ See W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text*, S. 33.

³² See R.S. SIMPSON, “The Demotic Text of the Memphis Decree on the Rosetta Stone”, in: R. Parkinson (ed.), *Cracking Codes. The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1999, p. 238-239.


³³ See F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* II, Berlin, 1925, Sp. 269; H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES, R. MCKENZIE, P.G.W. GLARE, A.A. THOMPSON, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1940, p. 1339.

An arguable meaning proposed by S. Pfeiffer: “die jungfräulichen Töchter der Priester”³⁴ is not recorded in the dictionaries. This particular translation together with omission of an adjective “young” in *CPI* I, p. 264 has resulted in “the daughters of the priests”. Moreover, the quoted authors favour to translate Berenice’s epithet (g61) as ἀνάσσης παρθένων meaning “Mistress of Maidens”, unchanged to “of Daughters”. As the same word is interpreted differently, the correlation between *mistress* and these *maidens* has been lost.

Let us turn to the Egyptian texts, while the phrase in demotic is translated by S. Pfeiffer as “die jungfräulichen Töchter der Priester” (*Das Dekret*, S. 182) omitting brackets to show an inclusion “Töchter”, its hieroglyphic parallel is interpreted “(von) den weiblichen Jungfrauen der Priester” (*Das Dekret*, S. 183).

h32: *rnnwt-ḥmwt nw w bw*; d65: *n3 rn.t.(w)-šm.t.(w) n n3 w b.w*

(cf. d69: *n3 ḥs.w-šm.t.w*; h35: *msw-ḥmwt nw w bw*; d71: *n3 ḥrd.w-šm.t.w n n3 w b.w*)

The word *rnt* in hieroglyphic (*Wb* II, 435) as well its demotic version *rn.t* (*DG*, S. 249) never stands for “daughter”, its root indicates “youth, adolescence, growth”, i.e. “miss, young woman”. The words *ḥmwt* and *šm.t* are adjectives (translated into German as die *weiblichen* Jungfrauen), which is evident in the demotic version where *šm.t.w* lacks an article *n3* (also in line d71). In the hieroglyphic text a determinative  occurs twice (after *rnnwt* and *ḥmwt*), it should not necessarily be taken for a mistake bearing in mind the stage of language development.

The epithets *ḥnwt rnnwt* (h31) and *ḥnw.t rn.t.(w)* (d61) translated as “Mistress of Maidens” likewise the word combinations *rnnwt-ḥmwt* / *n3 rn.t.(w)-šm.t.(w)* or “the young women” (*CPI* I, p. 250, 257) do not express coherence between maidens and young women in the original text, where in fact the same word is used.

Thus, all three versions refer to young female descendants of priestly families in general.

g68-69: αἰδῆν δ’ εἰς αὐτὴν | καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν τοὺς τε ὀδοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας οὓς ἂν ὕμνους

CPI I, p. 264: “and the men and women singers shall sing every day at the feasts and festivals of the other gods the hymns”.

According to the cited translation the singers had to sing hymns all days long not pronouncing a name of the praised figure, since the words εἰς αὐτὴν “to her” (i.e. to Berenice) are omitted; the conjunction καί (cf. *hn*’ and *irm* in the two other versions) introducing the festivals of other gods, means the singers had to sing not only every (ordinary) day, but also during other festive days, and not *every day during the festivals of the other gods*.

2. The decree of Memphis (196 BCE)

The decree of the priestly meeting in Memphis under Ptolemy V is one of the most studied and was published numerous times, it marks the beginning of Egyptology as an academic discipline. However, even after two centuries improvements of the text readings and suggestions for better interpretations are still relevant.

³⁴ S. PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret*, S. 181; S. PFEIFFER, *Griechische 1*, S. 83; S. PFEIFFER, *Griechische 2*, S. 98.

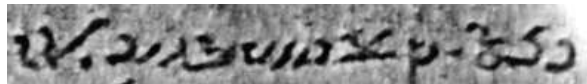
2.1. List of corrections

Although many photographs and facsimiles of the Rosetta stone are available for study, it is still possible to find disagreement between text editions. I have collated the inscriptions with the photos: for stela CGC 22188, see A. Kamal³⁵, for the Rosetta stone, see A. Amin *et al.*³⁶

d1: [...sw] 4 nty ir ibd n rmt (n) kmy ibd 2 pr.(t) sw 18

The first line in the earlier copy by T. Young (1823) starts with the sign, illegible in the modern photos (probably, because of their quality), and missing in the facsimile of Jomard (1822). The sign is omitted in W. Spiegelberg's monograph (1922), though his study of the demotic inscription is the basic edition for almost all translations in recent century. This sign is number 4 in the date corresponding to the Greek τετραδι. The half brackets for 4 in the transliteration in Quirke, Andrews, *The Rosetta*, p. 14, are to be opened and the facsimile corrected slightly after T. Young and C.R. Lepsius. Cf. 4 (twice) in *sw 18* (10+4+4).

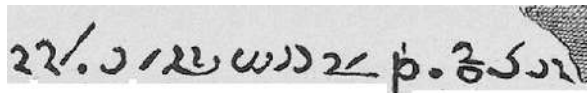
Photo (Amin *et al.*), d1:



Jomard, *Description*³⁷ 5, pl. 53:



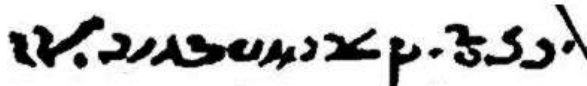
Young, *Hieroglyphics*³⁸, pl. 16:




Lepsius, *Auswahl*³⁹, Taf. XVIII:



Quirke, Andrews, *The Rosetta*, pl.:



d17: . The word 'n erroneously copied without "dot" by W. Spiegelberg, also repeated in W. Erichsen's dictionary.

Cf. 'n in d9: , d12: , d17: , d31: .

Line d17: the word 'n erroneously copied without "dot" by W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische*


³⁵ A. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines I-II, CGC. Nos 22001-22208* Le Caire, 1904-1905, pl. LXII-LXIII.

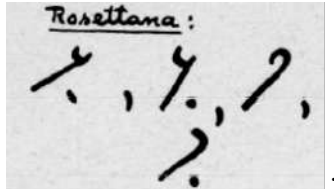
³⁶ M. AMIN, A. BARPOUTIS, M. BERTI, E. BOZIA, J. HENSEL, F. NAETHER, *Depth map of the Rosetta Stone*, Leipzig, 2018.

³⁷ E.-F. Jomard (ed.), *Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française V*, Paris, 1822.

³⁸ T. YOUNG, *Hieroglyphics I* (continued by the Royal Society of Literature), London, 1823.

³⁹ R. LEPSIUS, *Auswahl des wichtigsten Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1842.

Text, S. 52: , also repeated in W. Erichsen's dictionary.

Cf. DG, 62: 

g33:  = ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ = χρυσίου

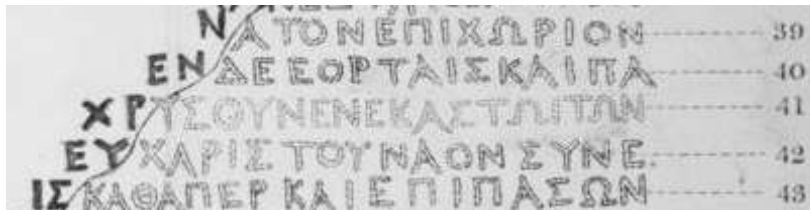
OGIS 90, p. 160: χρυσίο(υ), no. 98: ΧΡΥΣΙΟΝ;

Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 117; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 136: χρυσίο<υ>.

g41-g42: χρυ[σοῦν καθ' ἕκαστον] | ιε<ρ>{ι}ῶν

The original text on stela Louvre AF 10007, 9, see Bernand, *La prose*, p. 55: χρυσοῦν [κ]αθ' ἕκαστον ἱερῶν, is more probable than the reconstruction in OGIS 90, p. 161-162: χρ[υσοῦν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν] ιε(ρ)ῶν (ditto by S. Pfeiffer), adopted earlier by W. Dittenberger from R. Porson; for the third variant, see Bernand, *La prose*, p. 49: χρυ[σοῦν καθ' ἕκαστον τοῦ] | ἱερῶν.

Cf. the reconstruction by R. Porson⁴⁰ with the ends of the lines:

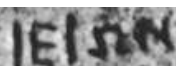


ΧΡΥ[ΣΟΥΝΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ] (after Louvre AF 10007, 9)

ΧΡ[ΥΣΟΥΝΕΝΕΚΑΣΤΩΙΤΩΝ] (R. Porson, W. Dittenberger etc.)

ΧΡΥ[ΣΟΥΝΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΤΟΝ] (A. Bernand)

The third variant is too long to fill the lacuna, grammatically τοῦ can be omitted, following the text on the stela from the Louvre museum.


g42:  = ΙΕΙΩΝ → ιε<ρ>{ι}ῶν

Bernand, *La prose*, p. 49: ἱερῶν;

⁴⁰ The New York Public Library, *Conjectural restoration of the lacunae in the Greek script on the Rosetta stone made by Richard Porson (1810)*.

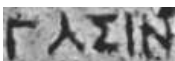
URL: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-6f3a-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.

Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 118; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 137: ιε<ρ>ῶν.

g46:  = ΤΡΙΑΝΑΔΑ → τρια<κ>{ν}άδα


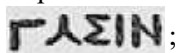
Quirke, Andrews, *The Rosetta*⁴¹, pl.: ; *CPI I*, p. 294: τριακάδα;


Bernand, *La prose*, p. 49: τρια(κ)άδα; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 119; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 2*, S. 138: τρια<κ>άδα.

g47:  = ΓΑΣΙΝ → <π>{γ}ᾶσιν

Quirke, Andrews, *The Rosetta*, pl.: .

For the erroneous letter Γ, see R. Porson: “in lapide ΓΑΣΙΝ”, Jomard, *Description 5*, pl. 54:

; Young, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. 28: ; *OGIS 90*, p. 164, no. 137.

g51:  = ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΚΑΙ = ιερατεύουσι καὶ

OGIS 90, p. 165; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 120; Pfeiffer, *Griechische 1*, S. 138; *CPI I*, p. 295: ιερατεύουσιν καὶ.


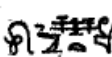
g52:  = ΙΕΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ = ιερατεῖαν




CPI I, p. 295: [ιε]ρατεῖαν.

2.2. Comments on readings

CGC 22188, 17: 


Kamal, *Catalogue*, p. 185: 



Urk. II, 178.1, d: ; Die Phot. legt nahe  zu lesen.



For the group  → ⁴², owing to the damage above the sign , it looks like two signs, cf. the verb *wy* in demotic text (d10); not translated in Hoffmann, Pfeiffer, *Der Stein*, S. 67.


⁴¹ S. QUIRKE, C. ANDREWS, *The Rosetta Stone: facsimile drawing*, London, 1988.



⁴² Cf. A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane*, p. 291, no. 656; *Wb I*, 245: *wj* “entfernen”.

CGC 22184, 18: , for  → 

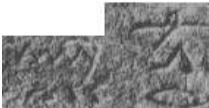
See *Wb* IV, 259, 15: *m šhr n N*, for the spelling with initial , see *Wb* IV, 258, reduction of the final  is common for the Graeco-Roman period. A similar reading is proposed as alternative by A. Nespoulous-Phalippou⁴³.

K. Sethe's note "lies ?" (*Urk.* II, 178, fn. 1) seems to be senseless, because the value of  should be explained, a preposition *m-bʒh-n*⁴⁴ is very rare; the only example is known to me is *KRI* III, 426, 7, for this reason this form is not listed in *Wb*.

An entirely different interpretation *m mtr n* "für *jmd*" with reference to the *same line & note* in K. Sethe's work and *Wb* II, 173, 2 is proposed by A.D. Gladić: "*Lesung vorgeschlagen in Urk II, 178, Anm l*"⁴⁵. However, it is *bʒh* that was suggested by K. Sethe, there are no signs  for *mtr*; the meaning in *Wb* II, 173, 2 does not expect the preposition *m* before *mtr*.


CGC 22184, 18:  = .



See *Wb* II, 23, 3: "jem. aussenden (auf eine Expedition)"; the replacement of the verb *mʒ* ' by *šmʒ*⁴⁶ is disputable. The verb *šmʒ* "to walk, wander" did not imply to commission somebody. The occurrence of the verb *šmʒ* in Graeco-Roman period is not recorded in *Wb* and *PL*.

CGC 22184, 21: 

The text has only *ntj stʒ r <...>*, the words *rsjtt tn* "this fortress" added in *Urk.* II, 181, 3, should be put into angle brackets, cf. "qui s'introduisaient dans ce fort"⁴⁷; "die Wasser zu der nämlichen Festung schickten"⁴⁸. Probably, the suffix *ʒs* has just been omitted.

CGC 22184, 22:  =   

The sign  is probably a phonetic complement to the verb *jr*. Replacement of signs in this inscription is usual.

A group  can be read as a name *dhwtj* with reasonable doubt. The spelling of this name with the sign  (from late hieratic) is known, see also *LGG* V, 640. Such an interpretation is close to

⁴³ See A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane*, p. 292, no. 658.


⁴⁴ See A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane*, p. 291 with question mark.




⁴⁵ See A.D. GLADIĆ, *Das Dekret von Memphis* (196 v. Chr.). *Kommentar und Auswertung*, Dissertation, Trier, 2015, S. 306, fn. 44.


⁴⁶ See A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane*, p. 292, no. 660.

⁴⁷ See A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane*, p. 293.


⁴⁸ See F. HOFFMANN, S. PFEIFFER, *Der Stein*, S. 70.



[Ἐρμ]ῆς in the Greek text (BM 24, g26), but one should explain the occurrence of the sign , which does not designate the moon. The usage of the solar disk with uraeus is hardly a mistake, since the name *p3 r* ' is known from the demotic version (BM 24, d15), for this reason to read *j* as a part of the verb *jr* is more preferable.

The third, in my opinion less likely reading, in my opinion, is that  should be corrected to  “Shu, son of Re”⁴⁹, accordingly we ought to emend two signs and would have different deities in every version. Likewise in the above cited example of the stela from Tanis, h24 the determinative of the god is omitted after the restored sign  “feather”, but the hieroglyphs rotated by 180 degrees are frequent here.

N.B.! The determinative  in *Urk.* II, 182, 5,⁵⁰ is imprecise.

CGC 22184, 23:  = 

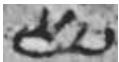

The wall stela of Merenptah from the temple of Amada (see *KRI* IV, 1, 13) reports that the enemies were impaled on the stakes (*djw hr tp ht*) in the south of Memphis (*hr rs mn-nfr*), i.e. an execution under Ptolemy V could be carried out in the site known as a place of execution earlier. The vivid determinative  used in Merenptah's inscription depicts the severe punishment for enemies.

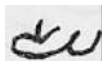
N.B.! The sing  was changed into  in *Urk.* II, 183, 6.h.

d29:  (after Amin *et al.*) =  (negative, after Földes-Papp⁵¹)

Context: *n3 nty iwz-w irz-w (n) 'by mtwz-w tšz-w hr* n3 rmt.w nty šms (n) p3 irpy{.w}*

The problem was solved more than one hundred and forty years ago, the current note being important for the studies of the Rosetta stone deals with interpretation of a particular word.

The word  was read properly as a preposition in the works of E. Revillout: “pour ()”⁵² and J.J. Hess: “her? ‘für’”⁵³; for *hr*, see also H. Gauthier & H. Sottas⁵⁴ with reference to E. Revillout but the publication is not mentioned⁵⁵.

The word was neither transliterated nor commented in the later editions of K. Sethe⁵⁶ and W. Spiegelberg⁵⁷. Moreover, K. Sethe and W. Spiegelberg copied the word incorrectly:  (also in the facsimile of S. Quirke & C. Andrews, the copy in comments⁵⁸ differs from the original

⁴⁹ See F. HOFFMANN, S. PFEIFFER, *Der Stein*, S. 169-170, nos. 51-52.

⁵⁰ Ditto F. HOFFMANN, S. PFEIFFER, *Der Stein*, S. 170, no. 52.

⁵¹ See K. FÖLDES-PAPP, *Vom Felsbild zum Alphabet. Die Geschichte der Schrift von ihren frühesten Vorstufen bis zur modernen lateinischen Schreibrift*, Stuttgart, Zürich, 1987, S. 100.

⁵² See E. REVILLOUT, *Chrestomatie démotique* II, Paris, 1880, p. 52.

⁵³ See J.J. HESS, *Der demotische Teil der dreisprachigen Inschrift von Rosette*, Freiburg, 1902, S. 34


⁵⁴ See H. GAUTHIER, H. SOTTAS, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*, Le Caire, 1925, p. 63.

⁵⁵ Commentaries on the preposition *hr* / (*r*)- *hr* are given in M. PANOV, *Historical Records from Kush and Kemet (1st Millenium BC)*, ET XIV, Novosibirsk, 2020, p. 368, no. 897; F. HOFFMANN, S. PFEIFFER, *Der Stein*, S. 176, no. 126.


⁵⁶ See *Urk.* II, 195, 3.

⁵⁷ See W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text*, S. 62.

⁵⁸ See S. QUIRKE, C. ANDREWS, *The Rosetta*, p. 13.

even more greatly: .

Few newly-made interpretations have been proposed recently. The reading “als Rationen”⁵⁹ should be rejected, because a corresponding word ‘q “bread, ration” apparently disagrees with the ligature under discussion, but if there is a noun then it is in a singular form.

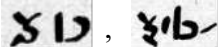

According to S. Quirke & C. Andrews⁶⁰ it should be read *šb* / *šb.t* “food offerings” with reference to *DG*, 498 (no similar graphics in the dictionary), the authors transliterated additional “*p3 šb (?)*”, in fact, the definite article is missing (it is visible at the beginning of the wrong copy only , no question mark after “the offerings” in translation (plural likewise in the work of 1983).






According to R.S. Simpson: (*n*) ‘*ʿ3*’ (?) “as a surplus(?)”⁶¹, uncommented; also A.D. Gladić⁶² (“als Zugabe”); *CPI I*, p. 288, 291.

The translation of D. Devauchelle (non transliterated and uncommented) has a *preposition* with a meaning close to the required: “ces offrandes seront ensuite partagées *entre* les hommes qui servent le temple”⁶³.

In the Greek text the fragment in question is omitted, for various restorations, see *OGIS* 90, p. 164, no. 140; *Urk.* II, 195, 3.

Turning back to the earlier reading: a disputable word is a preposition *hr* or (*r*)-*hr*, cf. *DG*, S. 319:

, . For transitivity of the verb *tš* with a preposition *hr*, see other demotic documents: stela Akhmim, d17 (the priestly decree of 243 BCE); stela CGC 50048, d40 (the priestly decree of 217 BCE); papyrus BM 10508, XVIII.24; papyrus CGC 30605, 8; graffito Ph. 416, 9. Together with the current example *six* relative cases are known.

On the Rosetta stone a preposition *hr* occurs in lines d1, d11, d19, d20, d27 with no determinative. Here it is followed by the sign  “flesh” written as , the latter is identified after having been distinguished from the joint components of the first sign  = *hr* “face”. A hieroglyphic transcription of the ligature from demotic text:  = ρ  (also by E. Revillout).

g12: ταῖς τε ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν περιλανθρόπηκε πάσαις... ὅπως ὁ τε λαὸς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες

For the first part, see K. Sethe: “nach der Fassung des ägyptischen Textes... unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß *ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν πάσαις* ‘allen seinen Truppen’ bedeutet (vgl. griech. 20) und nicht ‘mit allen seinen Kräften’”⁶⁴; a modern translation in *CPI I*, p. 295 (“from his own means”) is more than a hundred year old, the mistake goes back to J.-F. Champollion (*non vidi*, after K. Sethe), K. Sethe’s article is listed in the bibliography of *CPI I*.

For the second part: some scholars translate *λαὸς* as “the people” (most recently *CPI I*, p. 296), though Greek dictionaries give an alternative meaning “a land army”; for the Egyptian equivalent, see Sethe, *Zur Geschichte*, S. 305-306, n. 9; Gladić, *Das Dekret*, S. 289: “die Truppen”; Pfeiffer, *Griechische I*, S. 114; Hoffmann, Pfeiffer, *Der Stein*, S. 63: “das Heer”.

N.B.! The note 16 by F. Hoffmann & S. Pfeiffer on the reading *λαὸς* is placed mistakenly: “da er

⁵⁹ See U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Der Stein von Rosette. Priesterdekret zu Ehren Ptolemaios’ V. Epiphanes, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* V/3, 1983, S. 245.

⁶⁰ See S. QUIRKE, C. ANDREWS, *The Rosetta*, p. 13, 15, 22.

⁶¹ See R.S. SIMPSON, *Demotic Grammar*, p. 270-271; R.S. SIMPSON, *The Demotic Text*, p. 200.

⁶² See A.D. GLADIĆ, *Das Dekret*, S. 301-302.

⁶³ See D. DEVAUCHELLE, *La Pierre de Rosette*, Paris, 2003, p. 59.

⁶⁴ See K. SETHE, *Zur Geschichte und Erklärung der Rosettana. Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Berlin, 1916, S. 305, n. 8.

sich menschenfreundlich gegenüber allen seinen Streitkräften¹⁶ gezeigt hat” instead of (marked by *) “damit das Heer* und alle anderen...”.

3. The Decree of Alexandria (186 BCE) and the Decree of Memphis (185 BCE)

The first synod assembly was gathered to celebrate an end of the revolt broken up in the Theban region and capture of rebellions' leader. The second one was gathered to introduce a new Apis bull in Ptah temple. Major issues of both documents honor the beneficence of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I.



Both documents under discussion (so called Philensis II and Philensis I) are studied extensively in a new edition of D. von Recklinghausen, who kindly presented me his two-volume monograph⁶⁵. Some mistakes and misprints refer to an evident disagreement in readings given in different sections of the book (copy and transliteration / translation).

Addenda to the history of studies


J.-J. Ampère copied the inscriptions at Philae at the beginning of 1845 (hieroglyphic and demotic versions)⁶⁶. His copy of the demotic text of Phil I and the French translation of the first three lines were published by J. de Saulcy in 1846⁶⁷. The copy was mentioned by C.R. Lepsius⁶⁸, however, no reference to this work has been done in later publications (including the discussed edition of 2018). In my opinion the hieroglyphic part remained unpublished because of J. de Saulcy's note that the author were studying the copy himself. Supposing that J.-J. Ampère's archive is preserved nowadays, it probably contains more drawings made at Philae.

3.1. List of corrections (Decree of 186 BCE)

h5: *s[ts](w)*

The copies in v. Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, II, 9, 44 have a wrong determinative  instead of  (correctly in the commentaries, cf. von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* I, 50, n. c).

h6: *tp-rd [nb]*

A superfluous unhatched sign  (von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* II, 10), no space


⁶⁵ See D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *Die Philensis-Dekrete: Untersuchungen über zwei Synodaldekrete aus der Zeit Ptolemaios' V. und ihre geschichtliche und religiöse Bedeutung*, *ÄgAbh* 73, 2018.


⁶⁶ See J.-J. AMPÈRE, “Voyage et recherches en Égypte et en Nubie”, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1848, p. 85f. The scholar distinguished the inscription at Philae from the Rosetta stone: “Ce fait seul prouve que les deux décrets ne peuvent être identiques, puisqu'à l'époque où fut rendu celui de Rosette, Épiphanie avait douze ans et demi, et qu'à cet âge il n'était pas marié à Cléopâtre” (*ibid.*, p. 88).









⁶⁷ See F. DE SAULCY, “Seconde lettre à M. Letronne sur l'écriture démotique”, *Revue archéologique* 2, 1846, p. 393-417, pl. 37. The far right part of the inscription from which the reading starts is missed (the copy is incomplete, so F. de Saulcy restored the beginnings of the lines in his translation). See pl. IV.

⁶⁸ See [C.] R. LEPSIUS, “Ueber die in Philae aufgefundenene Republikation des Dekretes von Rosette und die aegyptischen Forschungen des Herrn de Sauley”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* I (3/4), 1847, S. 267.

for the sign on the stone, correctly in von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* II, 45.

h10⁶⁹:  =  , m *tnw* '3



It is disputable that the sign  (von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, I, 74, n. o) can follow *tnw* as a separate word. As for stela Caire TR 27/11/58/4, 30, the scribe used a

determinative  or  by mistake, cf.  , for this sign, cf. employment of the determinative  in the NK (see *Wb* V, 374). Remains of Phil II inscription show that the sign  (wrongly replaced the sign ) in the copies of C.R. Lepsius and K. Sethe is preferable, cf. LD VI, Taf. 34: ; *Urk.* II, 223, 6:  (the insertion of an unshaded papyrus-sign is incorrect). The word group *tnw* '3 is well-known, cf. *Wb* V, 376, 12; 377, 2 and a note below.




h11: *hmz*f

Incorrectly *hm n* “die Majestät *des*” in the transliteration and translation in v. Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, I, 69–70, but written with the suffix-pronoun 3 pers. sing. in von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* II, 16, 48.



h13: *nz*<*f*>{*w*}

The text has the sign  inscribed instead of  (cf. von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* II, 49), no comment by the editor.

h14:       {š}<*mrj*> *n nsw*

Aristonikos title: an erroneous sign  (see note by K. Sethe) instead of  (in hieratic the signs look very much alike), an epithet *mrj n nsw* “beloved of the king” with an indicator of indirect genitive case occurs in the titulary of the high priest Pasherentah III (stela BM 886, 3); the sign  is omitted in the transliteration (von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* I, 92).

h15: š3' [s...]

The signs  after š3' (von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, II, 50) should be emended into .

d13: *p3 sp [md.(t)]*


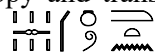
Restoration of the article *n3* in the lacuna (*Urk.* II, 229, 2; von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, II, 62) is disproved by numerous examples with the idiom *p3 sp md.(t)*. Cf. the sacerdotal decrees of 243 BCE (Akhmim, d10, d16), of 238 BCE (CGC 22187, d31, d38; CGC 22186, d18), of 217 BCE (CGC 50048, d7, d29, d35, d41), of 196 BCE (BM 24, d19, d24, d29, d30), and of 186 BCE (Phil II, d6, d12).


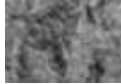



⁶⁹ Photo G00_13137, Edition der Tempelinschriften von Philae (ÖAW).


3.2. List of corrections (Decree of 185 BCE)

Phil I, h4: *m tnw* [ʒ]

Stela D, 7:  = .

The sign  is distinct. An expression *m tnw* ʒ “in a large amount” is idiomatic (*Wb* V, 377, 2), while *m tnw=sn* “in their amount” is unclear. Erroneously in the copy and translation in Daumas, *Duplicata*, fig. 1, 79⁷⁰ with a pronoun instead of an adjective:  “en leur entier”.

A horizontal sign on stela TM, h7 has no evident features for  (so in von Recklinghausen, Martinez K., *A New Version*, 163⁷¹), accordingly the group  can be interpreted as ; cf. spelling  in the pronoun in line 10: .




Twice for stela D and TM with the sign  in von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete* II, 26; transliterated as *sn* and translated as ʒ: “in großer Zahl” (v. Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, I, 122).

h9⁷²:



cf. stela BM 24, h7:



The sign  instead of  in Brugsch, *Die Inschrift von Rosette*, Taf. III⁷³; *LD* VI, 34; *Urk.* II, 207, 9; the verb *jr* is discussed in von Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, I, 138, no. k, while the sign  is given in the copy (v. Recklinghausen, *Die Philensis-Dekrete*, II, 67). The preposition is ill-defined on the stone; the sign contour is favored for “an eye”.

⁷⁰ See Fr. DAUMAS, “Un duplicata du premier décret ptolémaïque de Philae”, *MDAIK* 16, 1958, S. 73-82.

⁷¹ D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, K. MARTINEZ, “A New Version of ‘Philensis I’ from Taposiris Magna”, in: D. Robinson, F. Goddio (eds) *Constructing, Remaking and Dismantling Sacred Landscapes in Lower Egypt*, Oxford, 2021, p. 153-173.

⁷² Photo G00_13178, Edition der Tempelinschriften von Philae (ÖAW).

⁷³ H. BRUGSCH, *Die Inschrift von Rosette nach ihrem ägyptisch-demotischen Texte sprachlich und sachlich erklärt* 1, Berlin, 1850.

Abbreviations

CPI I = A.K. Bowman, C.V. Crowther, S. Hornblower, R. Mairs, K. Savvopoulos (eds). *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions I/1*, Oxford, 2021.

DG = W. ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar*, Kopenhagen, 1954.

DNG III = H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques III*, Le Caire, 1926.

EP = D. KURTH, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken I-II*, Hützel, 2007-2008.

LD = C.R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien I-VI*, Berlin, 1849-1859.

OGIS = W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae I*, Lipsiae, 1903.



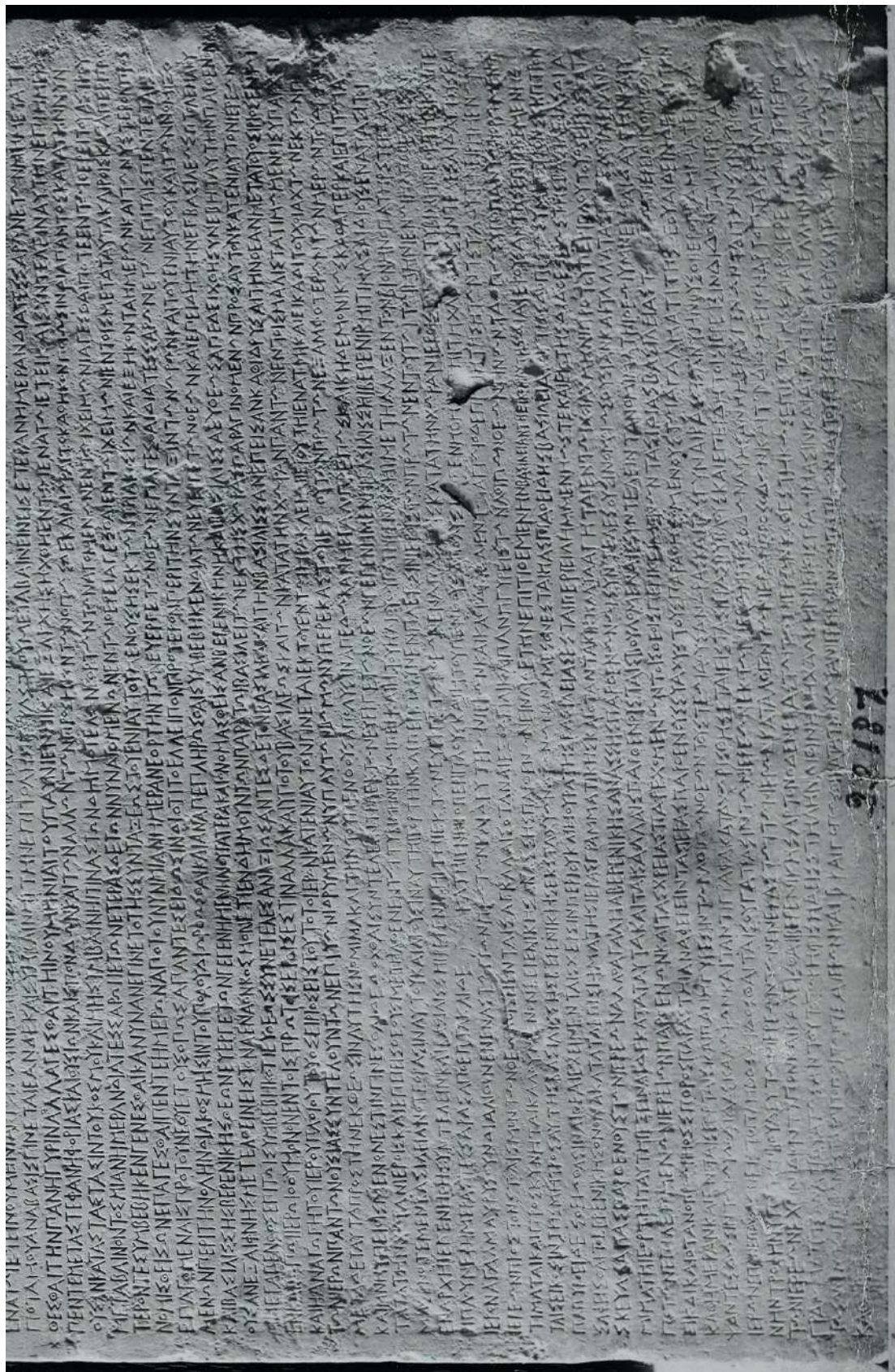
Pl. I. Stela CGC 22187 / Photo by H. Brugsch (hieroglyphic inscription)

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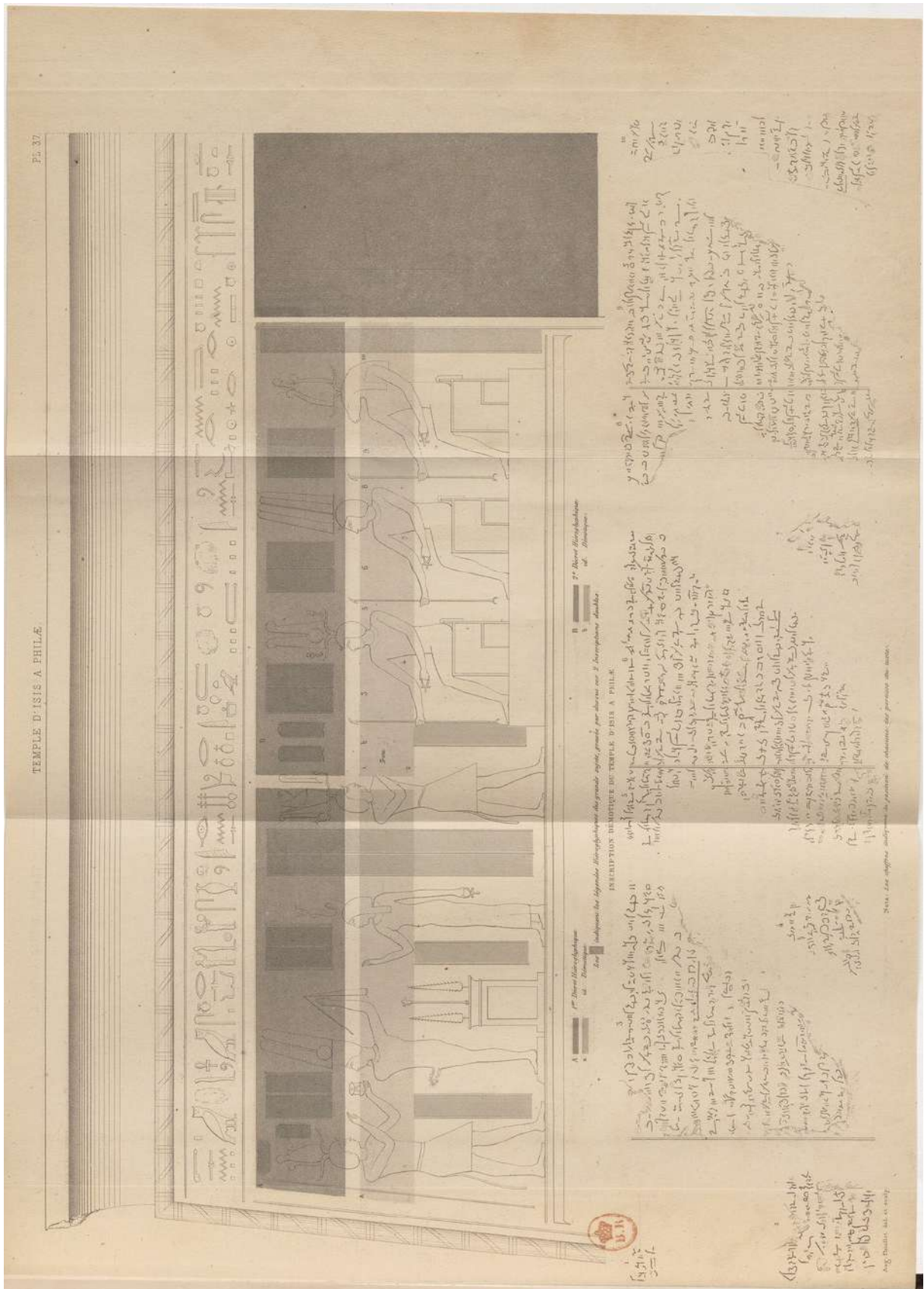


Pl. II. Stela CGC 22187 / Photo by H. Brugsch (Greek text, lines g1-g39)

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Pl. III. Stela CGC 22187 / Photo by H. Brugsch (Greek text, lines g38-g75)
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Pl. IV. The copy of Philensis I by J.-J. Ampère (1845) (from *Revue Archéologique* II, 1846, pl. 37).