

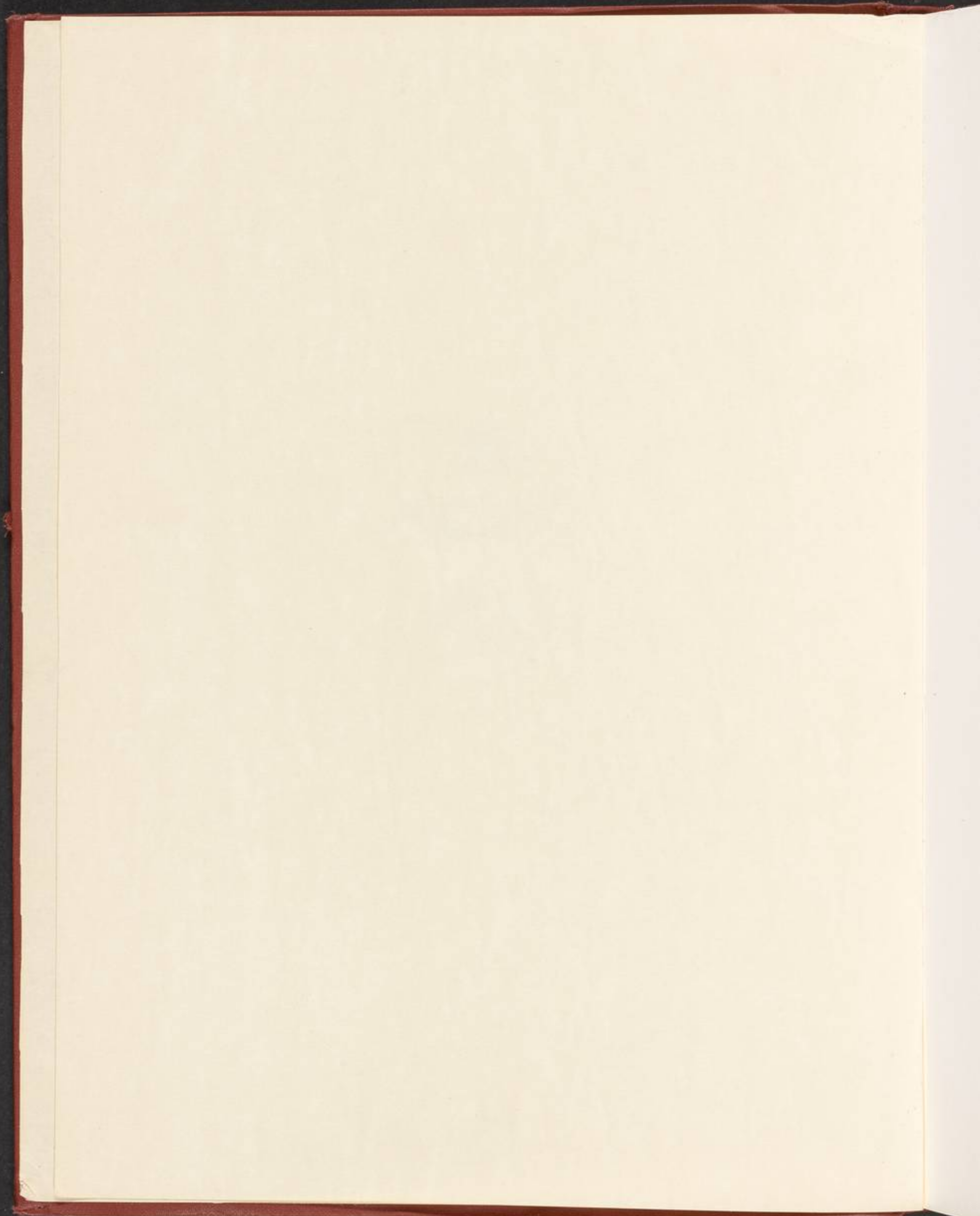
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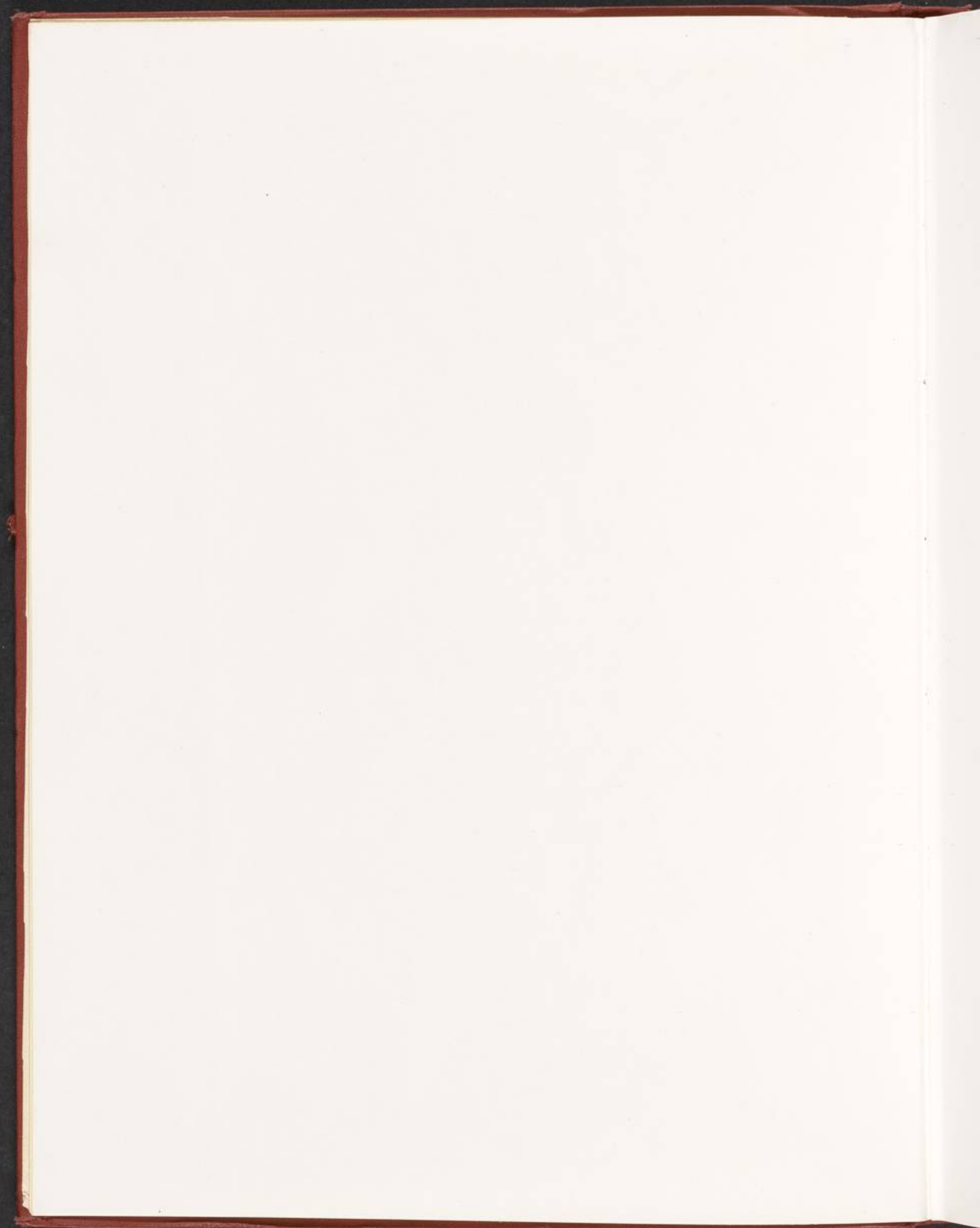
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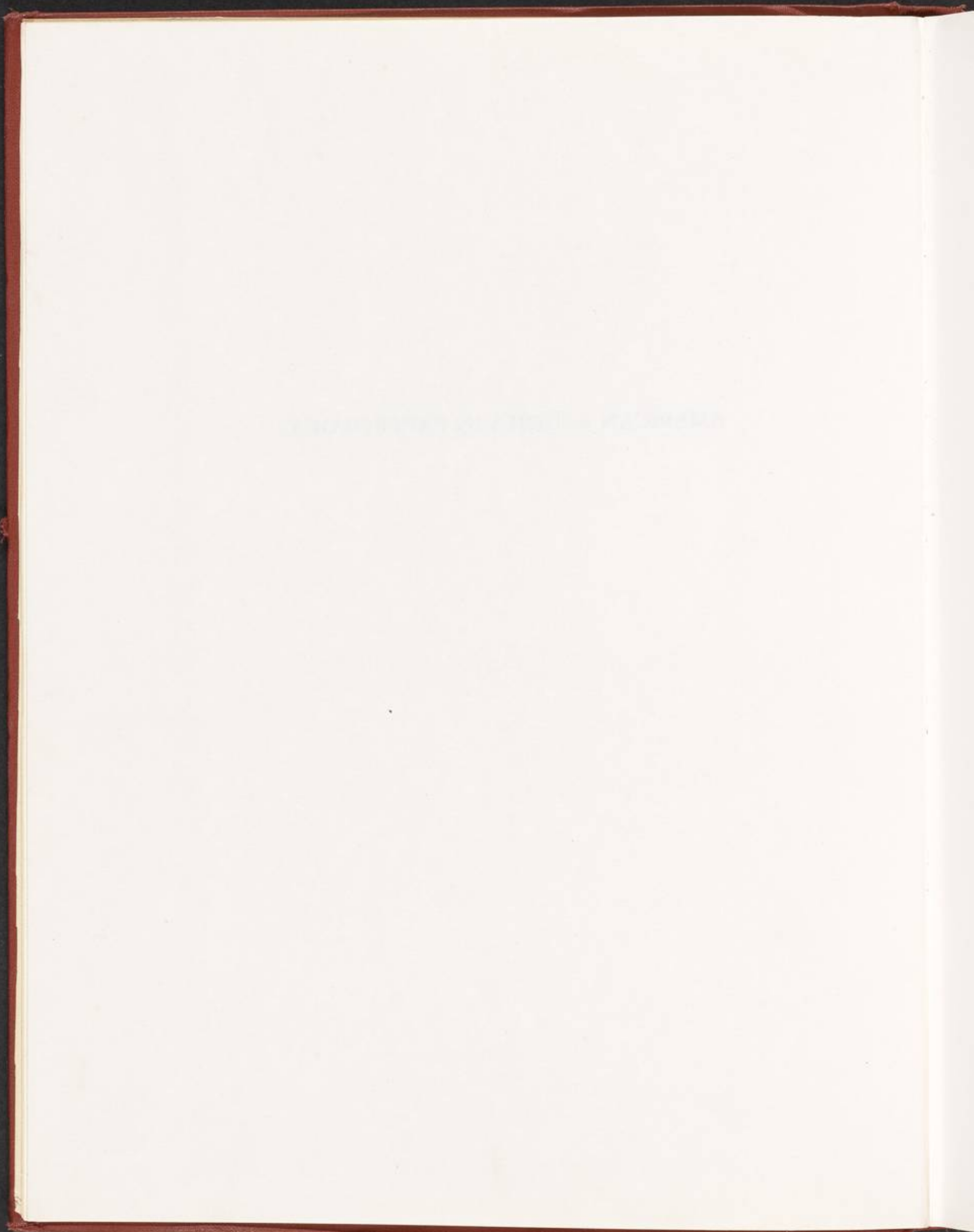
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AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY



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VOLUME TWELVE

THE FOUR GREEK HYMNS
OF ISIDORUS
AND THE CULT OF ISIS

VERA FREDERIKA VANDERLIP

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To
the late Professor C. B. Welles of Yale University
and my parents
Maud M. Vanderlip and the late Fred Y. Vanderlip

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

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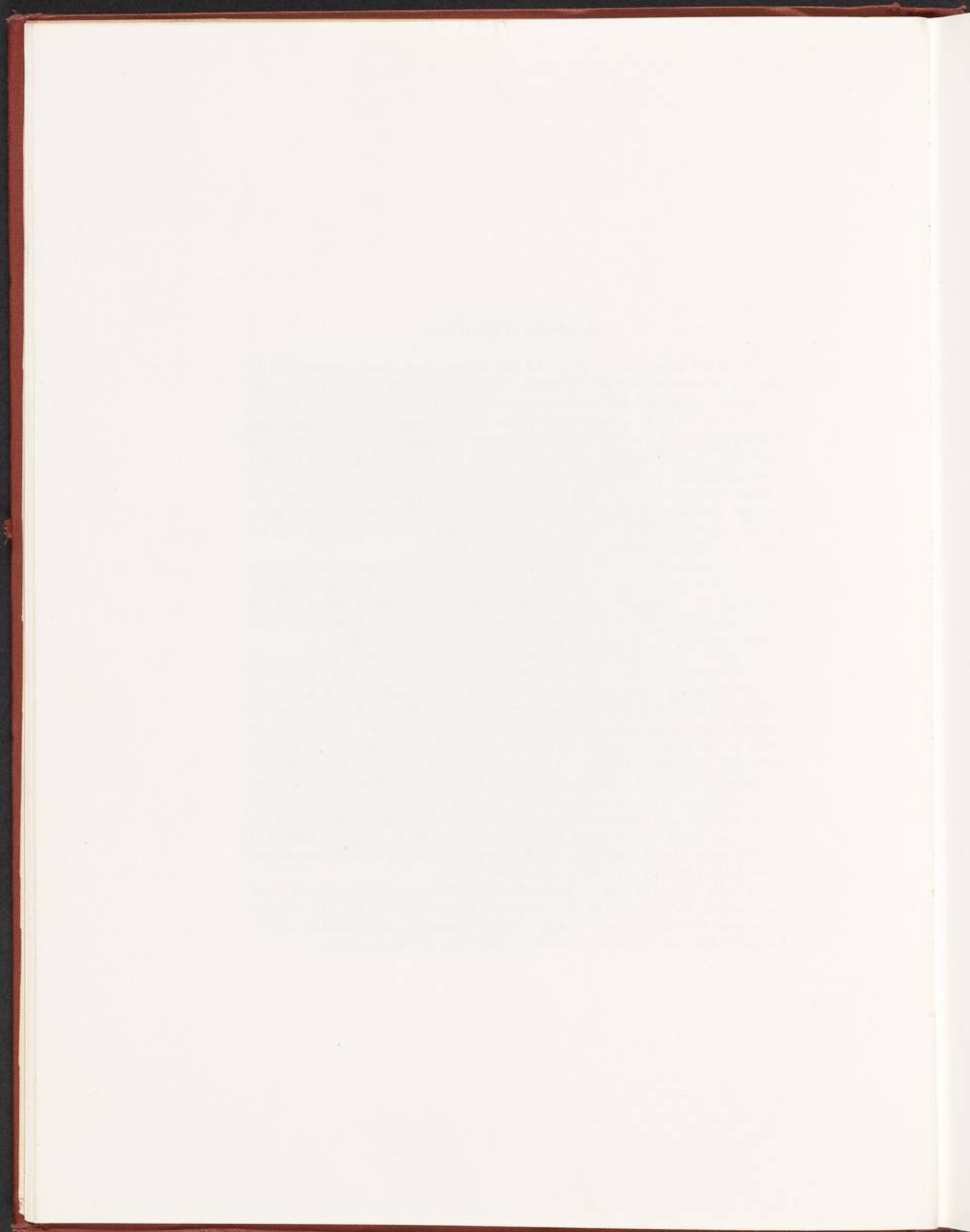
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge here my profound debt to the late C. Bradford Welles of the Classics Department of Yale University. I completed my Ph.D. dissertation under his expert direction and shall always consider it fortuitous that I had the opportunity to study a Hellenistic cult under one whose keen scholarship and lifelong interest in the Hellenistic world were matched by his willingness, even eagerness, to direct a beginner's steps through the formidable maze of evidence now available. As pure coincidence, Mr. Welles also found in his own library the excavation reports of 1936 and 1937 from Medinet Madi which, until then, I had thought impossible to obtain in North America. Their discovery permitted me to pursue my chosen field of study, the earliest aretalogies to Hellenistic Isis. Mr. Welles last saw and read my manuscript in June 1969.

Throughout my research I have accepted the basic data and facsimiles of the original excavation reports from the University of Milan and I thank Professor I. Cazzaniga for permission to use certain of their photographs in Plates I-XI and XIV. I thank him also for permission to use the photographs of Isermuthis from E. Bresciani's report of the new excavations at Medinet Madi (XII).

Further, I should like also to acknowledge the special help of others who have made certain areas of my study more reliable. The expert advice on Ptolemaic dating given me by Professor Alan E. Samuel, now of University College at the University of Toronto, has made it possible for me to attempt an intelligible interpretation of Isidorus' dates in Hymns II and III. Furthermore, in 1968, at Mr. Samuel's suggestion, I had the unexpected opportunity of working under the direction of Professor R. Merkelbach at the University of Cologne. For Professor Merkelbach's many hours spent in reading my manuscript and advising me where best to curtail or amplify my line-by-line commentary, I am grateful and I welcome this chance to thank him publicly for his generous help. At the same time, I wish also to thank Mr. Manfred Weber of the Egyptian Seminar at the University of Cologne; his advice has helped me to interpret with some degree of confidence the Egyptian names of Isidorus' Hymns.

Finally, I wish to state my gratitude to Mrs. N. Leipen, Curator of the Greek and Roman Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, for her permission to publish the Museum's Fayum statuette of Isermuthis, and to Katharine Peacock for her advice on the final edition of my manuscript.



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* Plates reproduced with the permission of the University of Milan, from A. Vogliano, *Primo Rapporto* degli scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi (Campagna inverno e primavera 1935-XIII) a cura di Achille Vogliano, Milano, 1936-XIV, and *ibid.* *Secondo Rapporto* degli scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d'Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi (campagna inverno e primavera 1936-XIV) a cura di Achille Vogliano, Milano MCMXXXVII-XV.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for the classical authors, journals, editions of papyri and inscriptions given in the Greek Lexicon of Liddel and Scott (Jones), revised 1940 (LSJ), pages xvi-xlvi, and the Lewis and Short Latin Dictionary, pages vii-xi, are not included below.

A. The Andros aretology to Isis, W. Peek, *Der Isishymnos von Andros und verwandte Texte*, 1930, pp. 15-22; *IG XII Supplement*, 1939, p. 98; D. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and note 2. First century B.C.

Alfoldi *Isiskult*. A. Alföldi, "Isiskult und umsturzbeziehung im letztem Jahrhundert der römischen Republik," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 5, 1954, p. 27, fig. 330.

Ank., The Anubis hymn from Cios. See Peek, *Andros*, pp. 138-9. Ca. A.D. 103.

APAW, *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.

App. Met., Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*.

Archiv., *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Jahrbuch Deut. Arch. Inst.*, 1901-, Leipzig und Berlin.

ASAW, *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*.

Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, London, 1927.

BIE, *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, Cairo.

Brady, *Reception*, T. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (300-30 B.C.)*, University of Missouri Studies, X, I, 1935.

Bresciani, *Rapporto Preliminare*, Edda Bresciani, *Rapporto Preliminare delle Campagne di Scavo 1966 e 1967*, Istituto di Papirologia dell' Università degli Studi di Milano, Missione di Scavo a Medinet Madi (Fayum-Egitto), Cisalpino, 1968.

Brit. Mus., Unpublished texts in the British Museum (London) cited with their catalogue number by D. Müller, *Isisaretalogien*, p. 95.

Bull. Inst. Franc., *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*.

Bull. Soc. Alex., *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*.

Chronique, *Chronique d'Égypte*.

- Chalkis, *The Karpokrates Aretalogy*. See Harder, *Karpokrates usw.*
Class. Rev., Classical Review.
- D., Aretalogy to Isis quoted in D. S. I 27. See also Peek, *Andros*, p. 126.
- First century B.C.
- DWA W, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- Délos, Roussel et Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos*; also, *Délos Inscr.*
- Dend., A. Mariette, *Denderah, Description général* (5 Bde., Paris, 1870-1880). Greco-Roman period.
- Dendera, Unpublished texts from Dendera, numbered from the catalogue and quoted by D. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 95.
- Dessau (ILS), H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916.
- Edfu, M. Rochemonteix, *Le Temple d'Edfou* (Mém. Miss. pp. 10 ff., Paris, 1897). Greco-Roman period.
- A. J. Festugière, *Aretalogies*, A. J. Festugière, "A Propos des Aretalogies d'Isis," *H. Th. R.* 42, 1949, pp. 209-34.
- Frankfort, *Kingship*, H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- G., *The aretalogy to Isis from Gomphoi*. See Peek, *Andros*, pp. 134-5.
- H. Ceres, *Hymnus Homericus Cereris*.
- H. Gauthier, *Nomes*, H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Egypte depuis Herodote jusqu' à la conquête Arabe*, Cairo, 1935.
- Goodwin, Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass., 1892.
- Goodwin and Gulick, Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, 1930.
- Graindor, *Terres Cuites*, Paul Graindor, *Terres Cuites de l'Egypte Greco-Romaine*, Antwerp, 1939.
- B. van Groningen, *De P. Oxy. 1380*, B. van Groningen, *De Papyro Oxyrhynchita 1380*, Diss. Groningen, 1921.
- H. Th. R.*, Harvard Theological Review.
- Harder, *Karpokrates*, Richard Harder, "Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda," *APAW*, 1943, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, nr. 14, Berlin, 1944.
- Hermann, *Das Kind*, Alfred Hermann, "Das Kind und seine Mutter," *MDAIK* 2, 1939, pp. 171-6.
- Hopfner, *Fontes*, Theodorus Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, Bonnae in Aedibus A. Marci et E. Weberi, 1922-24.
- I. Mag., *Inscriptiones von Magnesia*.
- J. *The Isis aretalogy from Ios*. See *IG XII Suppl.* 98; Peek, *Andros*, pp. 123-5. Second/third centuries A.D.
- JEA*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- J. Th. S.*, *Journal of Theological Studies*.
- Jahresh.*, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*.
- K. *The Isis aretalogy from Cyme*. See *BCH* 51, 1927, pp. 378 ff.; *IG XII Suppl.* 98; Peek, *Andros*, pp. 122-24. Late Hellenistic (second century B.C.?) or

first/second century A.D. For the earlier date see M. Nilsson GGR 2.2, p. 627.

KK, *The Song of the Kore Kosmou*, Stob. Anthol. I. 49. 44 (I, pp. 385 ff., Wachsmuth); A. D. Nock, A. J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum IV*, fragment xxiii, Paris, 1954; A. J. Festugière, "L'Aretalogie isiaque de la kore Kosmou," *Mélanges Picard*, Paris, 1949, pp. 376-81.

Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, G. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, London, 1961 (English Trans. I. G. D. Morrow).

Kees, *Götterglaube*, G. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1941.

Kraus, *Psalmen 2*, Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Biblischer Kommentar, Psalmen II*, Netherlands, 1960.

Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik*, Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* 1.1, 1.2, Hannover, 1892.

Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik*, Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* 2.1, 2.2, Hannover und Leipzig, 1904.

Kyr., *The Isis Aretalogy from Cyrene*. See Peek, *Andros*, pp. 128-9. A.D. 103.

LSJ, Liddell and Scott (Jones), *A Greek-English Lexikon*, 1925, revised 1940.

M., *The Memphis Aretalogy* = K., J., S., and D. See Plate XIV. Cf. Harder, *Karpokrates usw.*, pp. 20-21. See D. Müller, *Isisaretalogien*.

Manteuffel, *De Opusculis Graecis Aegypti e Papyris, Ostracis Lapidibusque collectis*, Warschau, 1930.

MDAIK, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Kairo*.

Mayser, *Grammatik*, E. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1.1-2.3, 1906-34.

Mém. Miss., *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique Française au Caire*.

Merkelbach, *Eid*, Reinhold Merkelbach, "Der Eid der Isismysten," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Koenen und Merkelbach, Band I, Heft I, 1967, Bonn, pp. 55-73.

Merkelbach, *Isisfeste*, Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isisfeste im griechisch-römischer Zeit*. Daten und Riten. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie.

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Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, Moulton and Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh, 1906-29.

Müller, *Isisaretalogien*, Dieter Müller, *Aegypten und die griechischen Isisaretalogien*, ASAW, Phil. Hist. Kl. Band 53, Heft I, Berlin, 1961.

Nilsson, GGR, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, München, Bd. I, 1941, 1955²; Bd. II, 1950. (References in the present work are from Bd. I, 1955.)

- Nock-Harder, *Karpokrates*, A. D. Nock, Harder, "Karpokrates von Chalkis," *Gnomon* 21, 1949, pp. 221-228.
- Nock, Otto Bengtson, A. D. Nock, *American Journal of Philology* 63, 2, 1942, pp. 217 ff. Review of Otto-Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte usw.*
- PGM, Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*.
- Otto-Bengtson, *Geschichte*, W. Otto und H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, München, 1938.
- H. Oxy., Isis hymn from Oxyrhynchus, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XI 1380.
- P. Yale, *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, New Haven, 1967.
- Peek, Andros, Werner Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte texte*, Berlin, 1930.
- Philae, Unpublished Greco-Roman texts from Philae quoted by Müller, *Isisaretalogien*, 96.
- Philae, Pylon, H. Junker, "Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis zu Philae," *DWA W Sonderband*, Wien, 1958 (Greco-Roman period).
- Orphei, G. Quandt, *Orphei Hymni*, Berlin, 1962.
- RARG, Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Aegyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952.
- RE, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyklopadie der Altertumswissenschaften*.
- Rev. Belge., *Revue Belgique*.
- Roussel, CE, Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiennes de Délos*, 1915-16.
- Rowe and Rees, *Arch. W. Desert*, A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, "A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert IV," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39, 2, 1957.
- Rusch, Nut, A. Rusch, *Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut zu einer Totengottheit*, Leipzig, 1922.
- S. The Saloniki Isisaretalogy, S. Pelekides, ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν κοινωनीαν ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης, Saloniki, 1934.
- Ptolemaic Chronology, Alan E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, Munich, 1962.
- SEG, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leyden, 1923-.
- SPAW, *Sitzungsberichte Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.
- Pompei, V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Paris, 1964.
- De P. Oxy., B. A. van Groningen, *De Papyro Oxyrhynchita* 1380, Diss., Groningen, 1921.
- Vogliano, P. R., Achille Vogliano, *Primo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi (Campagna inverno e primavera 1935-XIII)* a cura di Achille Vogliano, Milano, 1936-XIV.
- Vogliano, S. R., Achille Vogliano, *Secondo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione archeologica d'egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di*

Medinet Madi (Campagna inverno e primavera 1936-XIV) a cura di Achille Vogliano, Milano, 1937-XV.

WBAS, A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1921.

Welles, *Discovery of Sarapis*, C. B. Welles, "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria," *Historia* 11, 1962, pp. 271-298.

Welles, *Hellenistic World*, C. B. Welles, *The Hellenistic World, A History*, New Haven, 1961.

Welles, RC, C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven, 1934.

WChr., Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912.

YCS, *Yale Classical Studies*.

ZAS, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF EDITIONS AND COMMENTARY

1. Editions: A. Vogliano, *Primo Rapporto degli scavi condotti dalla Missione Archeologica d' Egitto della R. Università di Milano nella zona di Medinet Madi (Campagna inverno e primavera 1935-XIII) a cura di Achille Vogliano*, Milano, 1936-XIV, 27-51; *ibid.*, *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di papirologia*, Firenze, 1935, Milano, 1936, 491-6 (SB 8138/41); SEG viii, 1937, 548-51.

2. Commentary: F. Cumont, *Revue Archéologique*, 1935, July-December, pp. 97-8; A. Vogliano, *Secondo Rapporto etc.*, Pubblicazioni della R. Università di Milano (1937-XV); G. Farina, "Noterelle egizie agli inni greci di Isidoro scoperti nel Fayyum," *Rivista degli Studi orientali* 17, 1936, pp. 279-82; C. Préaux, A. Vogliano, *Primo Rapporto etc.*, *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1938, pp. 168 ff.; W. Otto und H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemaerreiches*, 1938, pp. 81, 164; Mostny, *Archiv f. Aegypt. Archäologie* 1, pp. 67 ff.; R. Naumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1941, pp. 410, 1544; A.D. Nock, W. Otto und H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte usw.*, *American Journal of Philology* 63, 1942, pp. 218-4; Richard Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis und die Memphitische Isis-propaganda*, 1944, pp. 44-5; G. Vandebeek, *De interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur*, 1946, pp. 97 ff.; N. Turchi, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 22, I quattro inni di Isidoro, 1949-50, pp. 139-48; Mariangela Vandoni, *Il Tempio di Medinet Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro*, *Prolegomena* II, 1953, pp. 105-22; Dieter Müller, *Aegypten und die Griechischen Isisaretalogien*, 1961; I. Cazzaniga, *Note Critiche e Filologiche Osservazioni Critico Testuali Agli Inni Isiaki di Isidoro*, *La Parola del Passato*, *Rivista di Studi Antichi* 103, 1965.

THE FOUR GREEK HYMNS
OF ISIDORUS
AND THE CULT OF ISIS

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INTRODUCTION

Roughly a dozen Greek Hymns to Isis are extant. The earliest of these are the Hymns by Isidorus of the Fayum, the first three of which he addresses to the goddess Isis using various titles for her. Each Hymn bears his name inscribed clearly at the end, although 'Isidorus' may well be an assumed, or cult, name. His four Hymns are, at the latest, early first century B.C. They were found inscribed, in 1935, *in situ*, at the south gate of a large Greco-Egyptian temple near a village in the extreme southern Fayum. The modern village is called Medinet Madi, but its ancient name is unknown. Nothing at all is known of the temple's history or that of the area surrounding it.

The development of the cult and characterization of Isis in Greco-Egypt, the Greek world and later the greco-Roman world, makes a fascinating study. Readers of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* know Hellenistic Isis well. She appears in a somewhat earlier form in Isidorus' Hymns I-III, in which Isidorus gives her three main titles: Hermouthis, Demeter, and Agathe Tyche; but, like Apuleius, Isidorus also equates her to all the known goddesses of every race.

In an attempt to comprehend the meaning Isidorus' goddess has for him I have made a study of many of his Greek idioms, comparing them to important uses elsewhere. Fortunately a large number of his phrases are obviously epic-poetic and can be easily identified. I found, in fact, that many of his words, phrases, and sometimes whole lines, come from either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. There is in what follows a particularly close study of the epithets and powers he assigns the goddess.

Epic words and phrases too, I find, are localized in his hexameters precisely as in Homer, Hesiod, and the older Homeric hymns. In other words, one must conclude that Isidorus knows, at least, the technical aspects of the older Greek hexameter. And so, although he does not belong to the direct literary descent of hexameter poets (who can be traced from Homer through Callimachus to Nonnus), his caesurae and localizations do qualify him as a writer of primitive hexameters, like, among others, the composers of Orphic hymns.

From the examination of the possible shades of meaning in Isidorus' words, interesting results began to accrue. From mounting scraps of information, interpretations would, at times, coalesce suddenly into patches of seeming significance. For example, the chance find of *φιλτατος ἔσκε* in *Iliad* XXIV 67 suddenly illumined what had seemed to be merely Isidorus' or the stonemason's

error. Immediately the phrase *φύλαττον ἔσκε* (III, 12) leapt into life. Behind the narrative of Isis' love for the Egyptian King, I felt (or thought I felt) the poet's comparison with the yearning love of Zeus for the noble Hector. Another decisive discovery concerned ancient, and little known, Renenutet whom the Greeks called Thermuthis or (H)ermouthis. She was, I found, much more than a goddess of cereal grain in the form of a snake, as she is more usually portrayed. Long before the Hellenistic age, she had been paired with an unpersonified Power (called Shay, Shai, Psoi, etc.) and together they were considered to attend each individual from birth to death, controlling together the length of his life-span, and the quality of his life (that is, giving him happiness and prosperity). Hermouthis-Renenutet had, in fact, been (alone and with Shay) the Egyptian equivalent of both a Greek Kourotrophos and Moira Theon. She is shown to have been just such a goddess or power in the fine study of Professor Dieter Müller (*Aegypten und die griechischen Isisaretologien*, 1961). One of Renenutet's two hieroglyphic determinatives, in fact, symbolizes the more sentimental side of her character, for it shows her as a nurse dandling an infant above her lap. Clearly, when Isis is equated to this goddess she is much more than a goddess of cereal grain. Further, there is evidence that Greek Agathe Tyche, in Greco-Egypt at least, and especially when she is paired with the Agathos Daimon (as Shay), is very like the ancient maternal Renenutet-Hermouthis.

The above interpretation of Isis-Hermouthis, and Isis-Tyche (Agathe), points to the underlying theme in Isidorus' Hymns, that of the divine nurse-mother and her beneficent feelings for all her human children throughout their life-span. Isis as Hermouthis and Agathe Tyche is the divine nurse and guardian of the child and man from birth to death, and a universal saviour god of the individual. She is shown, in fact, in Isidorus' Hymns to be both immanent and transcendent, a helper on earth and a divine judge, great mother, and creator-god, in the heavens.

Some expressions seemed to call for particular scrutiny. The terms *εὐρίσκω* and *εὐρέτρια* invited research. Dated much earlier than Isidorus' Hymns is an extant Hellenistic document from the Memphis Serapeum that must be contemporary with the introduction of Isis to the Greeks at that ancient centre of Egyptian theology, Memphis. In it Isis is called: *εὐεργέτεια καρπῶν, εὐεργέτεια* (UPZ 81, Somnium Nectanebi 9-10). That is the earliest extant Greek title for her and deliberately equates Isis (= Hermouthis?) with Demeter, the Greek 'discoverer' of cereal grain. In fact, by the first century B.C. *εὐεργέτεια* has been dropped and some form of *εὐρίσκω* is found in most of the aretologies to Isis.

The Greek concept of a god who 'discovers,' that is, 'seeks and finds' for man (*εὐρίσκω*) first occurs, as far as I am aware, in Xenophanes (11B 18 Diels). It signifies the creation by divine mental effort, or wits, of something new, be it a device, an invention, or a new skill. The thing discovered is, in its way, a kind of miracle and it causes a succession of good things to happen for man. Aeschylus' Prometheus is the cosmic deviser or saviour of men. Plato speaks of another 'discoverer,' Egyptian Thoth, calling him discoverer of the alphabet and writing.

Euripides knows Demeter and Dionysus as 'discoverers' of cereals and wine, respectively, and Demeter in the Marmor Parium of the third century B.C. is claimed as Athens' own 'discoverer' of cereals. The obvious attempt to cast certain gods in the rôle of discoverer for mankind may well stem from Eleusis.

The terms 'discover' and 'discoverer' as used above could have been given new prominence by the scientific thought of fifth-century Athens. Human invention or innovation was thought to release nature's *δυνάμεις*. The belief in a divine discoverer releasing innovations or miracles for man, that is, belief in a divine agent who worked intentionally for men, seems a kind of religious reaction to the scientific thought of the fifth century. Prometheus, the divine discoverer of *τέχναι*, is strangely outside nature (*φύσις*). Vastly powerful Tyche too must have continued as a Power in popular fifth-century religion, although men like Thucydides had deprived her of all personality (seeing her only as the author of the unpredictable and inexplicable). In fact, it may be that when fifth-century science and political thought ousted, or tried to oust, the old gods, it provided the challenge needed to create a new type of god. At any rate, the Discoverer-god appears conspicuous at this time.

In the first century B.C. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Isidorus of the Fayum, provides evidence that Egyptian Isis has now surely joined the Greek discoverer-gods. Diodorus associates her and Osiris with Prometheus, Demeter, Themis, and Hestia. Evidently, in the years from the fifth to the first centuries B.C. there had been a conscious attempt to promote the Eleusinian gods to the highest status (of Prometheus) and to add those two venerable goddesses, Themis and Hestia. They appear to have been looked on as a canon of saviours, and initiators of all progress in human civilization.

Isidorus, living on the fringe of the Greek world, echoes almost the same thinking. But to him, understandably, the royal goddess he adores is his Discoverer and he believes all other goddesses are but phases of her. And, while his goddess is like ancient Demeter (*εὐρέτρια καρπῶν*), she is really far greater, for she is *εὐρέτρια ζωῆς*. The phrase startles a scholar of classical Greek literature. A goddess who 'discovers' life, must also 'create' it; she must be the Creator who exists outside life, nature, and the cosmos. She, therefore, is essentially non-Greek, and, in fact, an Oriental creator-god.

But had not Plato implied he was giving a non-Greek, Egyptian, significance to the verb *εὐρίσκω* when he spoke of Thoth as 'discovering' the alphabet and writing? Müller considers that an Egyptian verb (*š*) may well have contributed to this new extension of meaning in Greek *εὐρίσκω*: 'discover' = 'create out of nothing.' Isidorus says his goddess is one of the Olympians; at the same time he makes it clear that her power and range far surpass theirs.

On a somewhat lower plane, it should be noted that Egyptian Isis had always been associated with the literal meaning of *εὐρίσκω* (seek and find). In the legend, as known at least in Greek times, she 'searched for and found' the parts of murdered Osiris. The act seems to have survived as part of her sacred drama.

But to return to Isis *εὐρέτρια ζώης*. Most significantly, ancient Renenutet is Giver of Life in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the small XIIth Dynasty temple within the larger Hellenistic complex at Medinet Madi. Very like the Isis of the later Greek aretalogies, she states in the first person: "I give all life and happiness eternally. I give all eternity eternally. I give all good fortune (health?) eternally." This is the same Egyptian *κουροτρόφος* and *μοῖρα θεῶν* I have mentioned above but here she is much earlier. This representation of Renenutet (known elsewhere as the Living One), had continued for some eighteen hundred years for all to see on the temple wall. Portrayed with Sebek, she extends the symbol of life (the ankh) to the king (*ibid.*, 87-88). It is, therefore, no accident nor indeed the result of Greek association, that Isidorus has entitled his Isis-Hermouthis *εὐρέτρια ζώης*.

If we delve further into the past of this goddess, Renenet-Hermouthis, we see her associations widen. Turning to the Hebrew Psalm 103 (104), one reads of Hebrew Jahweh as a God of life, vegetation, and all nature, an all-powerful single heavenly deity, existing as the real power behind the visible sun. It is commonly thought that Akhnaten's Hymn to the sun-god, Aton, had had profound religious influence not only in Egypt but in the neighbouring, more primitive lands including Palestine, and that this early Psalm, in fact, shows Jahweh almost like Akhnaten's deity. Isidorus' goddess in the first three Hymns is a close parallel. She could, for instance, be descended from Aton of the Amarna hymn. Incidentally, we note the importance of her son, the sun, in the cult. The concept of Renenutet (with Shay) as divine companion of the individual is thought also to have developed in the Amarna period.

Although the study of Isidorus' Hymns leads to the conclusion that they date to the early first century B.C., their language, metre, grammar, syntax, and hymn style are not strongly influenced by the Koine of that era; rather their language harks back to the Greek epic-poetic tradition. Certain Greek Orphic terms seem peculiarly significant among the titles of the goddess: *πλουτοδότις*, *παντοκράτειρα* and perhaps *εὐρέτρια*. Sokonopis' titles, *πλουτοδότης*, *πανκράτωρ*, and *κτίστης*, are also Orphic. But, undoubtedly, the beginnings of the goddess (and her male partner, whatever his name) in reality go back to earliest Egyptian times. Behind Isidorus' Hymns and thought lies a tradition that is semi-monotheistic and very old. It is essentially concerned with one god behind the many forms of gods men worship. This is said to be the expression of an old Oriental concept of one divine Founder-Creator. Isidorus' founder-creator is One, and demonstrably very old. She had been, when Isidorus wrote, the temple-goddess for at least eighteen hundred years. Her husband (for she is one of a family, or triad, in the typically Egyptian grouping of deities) is Sebek, and later 'Sokonopis' meaning 'Sebek of the Nile.' Their son is the sun-god, mentioned in very close association with his goddess-mother.

Isidorus is not a pure monotheist. In fact Suchos, the local Sokonopis, Anchoes, Apollo, Anubis, perhaps Ammon, surely certain royal divinities, and one

royal folk hero, undoubtedly were also worshiped in the temple. Yet amid all the synnaoi gods, Isidorus is emotionally attached only to the goddess. She alone, as a divine person, glows for him with warm motherly care and good will for men.

This is a study not so much of a cult as of the yearning of Hellenistic men for a divine helper. My examination of the Hymns of Isidorus has let me isolate and magnify, as it were, one local religious institution in a bi-cultural society, or rather it has let me isolate and magnify one of the believers. I find Isidorus' divinity, the early Hellenistic Isis, constituted of many ancient elements, but emerging in his mind as one distinct, strong, and responsive, Person. In later Hellenistic representations she may still be a serpent with a human head (Plates XII-XIII); but she may also be a beautiful young mother with a child on her knee or at her side. Indeed, at the temple the dark-robed, erect, youthful figure of the universal merciful Mother is unmistakable (Plate XIV). By Isidorus, at least, she is worshiped as The Mother and Nurse of all, The One who forever listens to men's prayers and exerts saving power in their behalf.

CHAPTER ONE DATE OF THE HYMNS

Archaeological Evidence from the Site

Isidorus' Hymns were found by an Italian excavation party in 1935 at Medinet Madi in the extreme south of the Fayum.¹ The region had been superficially examined by several archaeological expeditions in the early twentieth century; and before 1935 Biblical texts (which later became part of the C. Beatty collection) and Manichae texts (which became part of the Berlin and London collections) had supposedly come from the same region. But the expedition from the University of Milan in 1935 was the first to undertake a thorough excavation of the temple site.² They began work in a valley where aerial photographs showed *in situ* large, projecting, limestone blocks. The photograph of the completed excavations indicates a long series of buildings, constructed on a north-south axis with side-structures fanning out at the south end (Plate I).

In 1935 the excavations began at what proved to be the southernmost portal, and revealed south of that portal an enclosed, rectangular court, almost divided in two by projecting cross-walls (Plates II-IV). I shall summarize Vogliano's description of the whole temenos, with most emphasis on his account of the rectangular court, in which Isidorus' Hymns were found.

The cross-walls, which are approximately the height of the south court's outside walls, terminate in two attached columns or piers (which Vogliano consistently calls 'pilastrì'). On either side of the portal itself stand two lion statues. These and the whole rectangular court appear to be the *προάστῳ* and the *λέοντες* mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions which appear on the south faces of each of the two piers in which the cross-walls terminate: 'On behalf of King Ptolemy Theos Soter, Herakleodorus, son of Sostratos, and Isidora (*sic*), his wife, and their children, to Hermouthis Thea Megiste and Sokonopis Theos Megalos, the proasti(o)n and the lions. Year 22, Pachon(s 2).' The inscription on the east pier is the same as that on the west except that the *sigma* of Pachons and the final

1. Published by Vogliano, *Primo, Secondo Rapporto*, 1935-37; see B. Comparative Table of Editions and Commentary, p. iv. For the exact location of Medinet Madi, and Vogliano's excavations, see Edda Bresciani, *Rapporto Preliminare delle Campagne di Scavo 1966 e 1967*,

Istituto di Papirologia dell' Università degli Studi di Milano, Missione di Scavo a Medinet Madi (Fayum-Egitto), Cisalpino, 1968, p. 23. See also Plates I-XI and XIV.

2. Recent excavations at Medinet Madi are reported in E. Bresciani, *op. cit.*

beta of the date are missing (Plate V a and b).³ Damage to the right edge of the stone may account for the omission.

The same piers bear Isidorus' four hymn-inscriptions each signed with his name. The Hymns are without dedication or date, but like the dedications mentioned above, Hymns I, II, and III are addressed to Hermouthis, while II, III, and IV also mention Sokonopis and a third *σύνναος* god, Anchoes, the latter addressed as the goddess' son (Plates VI-IX). The fourth Hymn is not in honour of the goddess but of a local hero-god, Porramanres (probably Amenemhet III, a XIIth Dynasty Pharaoh) who 'founded' the temple.

The arrangement of the hymns on the surface of the piers is oddly asymmetrical. Hymns I and II are adjacent, on the left, west pillar (Plates VI, VII, and X); III and IV are on the right of the entrance (Plates VIII and IX). Hymn I, facing south, below the west dedicatory inscription, is on four courses of stone (two headers in courses one and three, and one stretcher in two and four). Hymn II faces east and is opposite Hymn III and immediately adjacent to Hymn I. It is on three courses of stone (the first and third formed of one stretcher, the second of two headers). Thus the first course in Hymn II begins at the first course of stones in Hymn I. Hymn III is also on three courses of stone (one and two consisting of one stretcher and three of two headers). The signature appears beneath it on another stretcher. Thus II and III are on the reveals.

Hymn IV is on four courses of stone (one stretcher in courses one and three, and two headers in two and four). Vogliano's report that Hymn IV was on the east pier but 'within the vestibule' suggests that it faced north. Of the two dedicatory inscriptions on the top south face of each pier, that on the west is above Hymn I, and that on the east has no lettering below it (Plates V a and b respectively).

While excavation was proceeding in 1935, and before the rest of the site was uncovered in 1936, the original 'pilastri' bearing the hymns and dedicatory inscriptions were moved to the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. Thus, reconstruction of the actual arrangement of the inscriptions depends upon interpretation of the excavation reports, and analysis of the facsimiles published by Vogliano.⁴

Excavations undertaken south of the rectangular court revealed a Processional Way leading to the Temple from the south. On each side, set into tiers of seats, a sphinx and lion paired face a similar pair across the Way (Plates II-IV). Between the sphinx and lion on the east is an altar bearing an inscription of 12 B.C. (Plate III), dedicated to the goddess Hermouthis by a strategos, one Zabalos. The base below the east lion bore an undated dedication to Apollo by a *σύννοδος* while an undated dedication to Anubis, also by a *σύννοδος*, was carried by

3. See SEG VIII 536-7.

4. Professor L. Koenen of the Classics Department at the University of Cologne saw the

stones in Alexandria in 1963 and reports the inscriptions are now largely illegible because of the continuous deterioration of the pillars' surface.

the base of the east sphinx.⁵

With the discovery of the altar of Zobalos the excavations of 1935 terminated. In 1936 work was directed north of the south portal. Here a larger court, walled like the south forecourt, was uncovered, along with a complex of buildings lying to the west and east.⁶ North again, on the main axis, were discovered a second portal and a second court. Vogliano dates both these portals and courts to centuries II/I B.C.⁷

North of the second court lay two successive colonnades leading into the forecourt of a small shrine or chapel. The chapel entrance on the ground level was completely blocked by debris but an upper level was excavated. Here were found another portal, and beyond it three cellae all bearing incised representations of Renenutet, Sebek and Amenemhet III. On the walls were many hieroglyphic inscriptions explaining the pictured representation.⁸

The 1936 excavations continued to the northern limits of the precinct, where another Ptolemaic temple was found dedicated to Renenutet, Sebek, and Anubis.⁹ Vogliano dates it to III/II B.C., about a century before the complex to the south (see Plate I).

In summary the excavations of 1935-1937 revealed:

1. A fore-court south of the southernmost portal, which Vogliano dates to 96 B.C. from the dedicatory inscriptions (plates II-IV);
2. north of the southern portal a court, with a western and eastern complex of buildings, and north again, a second portal and court, all dated II/I B.C.;
3. north of 2, two colonnades and a fore-court leading to a large, square doorway on an upper level, which opened on a shrine of three cellae. (The lower floor showed massive destruction and so could not be excavated.) The inner shrine was authentically Pharaonic and dated by the excavators to the end of the XIIth Dynasty, that is, about 1800 B.C.;
4. beyond the Pharaonic temple of 3, at the north extremity of the site's north-south axis, a rather small Ptolemaic temple of III/II B.C. (but not before Ptolemy Epiphanes, i.e., about 204-180.¹⁰ See Plate I).

In the dedication to Soter on the piers at the southernmost portal, the fore-court was called *προάστω*.¹¹ Herodotus (IV 78) uses *ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ* to mean 'in the suburb,' or 'close to the city.' The present court stood before a 'city' which was, in fact, the whole walled temenos or temple-city. The actual *προάστω*, the enclosed 'rectangular' court south of the first portal (Plate II), was not quite a regular rectangle. Its two projecting cross-walls were each about 8 m. 85. Between

5. The three dedications, Vogliano, *P. R.*, pp. 54 and 55, are republished as SEG VIII 543, 544, and 545 respectively. Apollo could be Anchoes, and Anubis could be equated to Sokonopis. See Hymn II 9, and note.

6. Vogliano, *op. cit.*, Tav. VIII.

7. *Ibid.*, *S.R.*, pp. 2 and 14.

8. For the chapel and its hieroglyphic inscriptions, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 10 ff. and 22 ff., and Tavv. XXVI-XXXIV.

9. *Ibid.*, Tav. XXXVII.

10. See A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff. for Epiphanes' dating.

11. Vogliano, *P. R.* II ff.

them (and the hymn inscriptions), on the central axis of the temple, was an opening or doorway, some 4 m. wide. It had no trace of a door. The terminating 'pilastrî d' accesso' were 2 m. high, and so only a little higher than the sidewalls of the court.¹² Their materials and workmanship provide some clue to their history. Everything was constructed of limestone blocks, but the stone of the sidewalls was inferior and its workmanship hasty (the blocks being held in place by carelessly mixed dark mortar). The projecting walls, which terminated in the piers, were of much more accurate structure, and their external facade, toward the continuing Processional Way, was carefully smoothed.¹³ Also their limestone, although of the same dingy yellow colour as the rest, was of better quality than the side-walls, for here it was relatively free of salt-petre. Its mortar, less dark in colour than that of the side-walls, was finer and more carefully laid. The projecting walls were intended to be impressive.

The inscriptions of the four Hymns were applied sometime after the blocks of the piers were in place, for all the lettering shows that it was inscribed so as to avoid cracks, chipping, and the like, in the stone (Plates VI-IX). Some mortar applied after the inscribing covers or partially covers certain letters.

There were a number of stages of reconstruction of mortar and paving of the Processional Way and court, but not all is clear in Vogliano's description.¹⁴ He dates them 'from several periods, some of which are I B.C.' Several distinct periods of repair seem to appear:

1. a reconstruction of the vestibule, after Augustus but contemporary with a mosaic found under the south portal;
2. a later, hasty reconstruction of the west wall of the fore-court and Processional Way;
3. a last hasty, and still more careless, reconstruction possibly at the end of III or IV A.D. (possibly contemporary with 2).

The constant repair implies that the vestibule and fore-court complex was particularly cherished, and so well worth preservation and defence. Obviously it was subjected to several attacks, and finally to deliberate destruction.

Summary and Conclusion from the External Evidence

Since the Hymns were inscribed after the piers were erected, and the piers themselves would appear to have been constructed in year 22 of Ptolemy IX Soter II, or 96 B.C. because of the date of the dedication, it might seem on first consideration that 96 B.C. should be the *terminus post quem* for the inscribing of the Hymns. However, Soter II was not in Egypt in 96 B.C., his 22nd year. After his accession under the name of Soter II in 115 B.C., reigning with his mother, Cleopatra III, he was expelled from the country three times (in 110, 108, and

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 16 ff.

107), and reigned uninterruptedly only after 88 B.C.¹⁵ His 22nd year fell during his absence from Egypt in 107-88. A date in the 22nd year therefore must be retroactive, inscribed later to date a document or a monument to a year earlier than the time of the actual inscription. A number of such retroactive dates appear in the Ptolemaic period,¹⁶ and in the case of Soter II himself, after his return in 88 B.C. scribes in the Thebaid began dating his reign in the 30th year as if it had never been interrupted.

So, although the piers must have been constructed in 96 B.C., which would have been the 22nd year, the dedication itself could not have been put on the piers until Soter's actual return in 88 B.C. The Hymn inscriptions must then be dated in or after 88. The *terminus ante quem* for the inscriptions is almost surely before 80, the year in which Soter died, although we cannot be absolutely certain about this. Evidence from the mortar etc. suggests it is the first century and before 12 B.C., the date of the altar of Zobalus.¹⁷

Evidence from the Content of the Hymns

There are but two passages in the four Hymns that could give any clue to their date, lines 16-18 of Hymn III, and the use of *σώτρεπα*, in Hymn I, 26.

Although allowance must be made for traditional expressions and generalities, III 16-18 states certain facts: that somewhere, contemporary with the King's rule, there are, or were, wars, massacres, etc.; but this king, in the face of his numerous, powerful foes, with a 'few' followers, has been protected by the goddess' power (*σθένος, δύναμις*, 17). That is, the King has narrowly won a victory. At least some of this is traditional language, such as the wars, massacres, and the goddess' defence of her favourite in the face of numerous foes. Previously (lines 12-15), in what could be an especially traditional description of the King and which, incidentally, could also be an older passage, Isidorus says: "This most beloved King rules Asia and Europe (13) bringing peace and other natural blessings to his people (14-15)." The above are but vague allusions at best, but they do agree generally with the history of Egypt during the reigns of Soter II, especially when he returned and ruled for the last time.

Dynastic quarrels within this royal family, chiefly between Soter II and his mother, Cleopatra III, are well known. Upon his expulsion in 107, she and his brother, Alexander I, began a new system of dating.¹⁸ After her death in 101, Alexander I continued to rule with his niece, Berenice III, as Queen. (She was, by the way, the daughter of Soter II.) But throughout his reign Alexander was at

15. A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 168-9.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 ff.

17. See note 5 above. The conclusions about dating here are in accord with the usage of certain late words discussed in my analysis of the texts,

and fit the palaeography of the inscriptions themselves. Although it cannot be precise, the palaeography is generally considered to fit best a late Ptolemaic or early Roman date. Cf. Vogliano, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

18. A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

loggerheads with the Greek population, particularly in Alexandria,¹⁹ and in 90 they revolted.²⁰ Finally, on Alexander's death in his '26th year' as King, Soter II returned from Cyprus as Ptolemy IX, as it was said, in his '30th year'.²¹ And if the names were loosely used, he might be said to rule 'both Europe (= Cyprus) and Asia (= Egypt)'. Judging by Alexander's unpopularity in Alexandria, a case could be made for that city's support of Soter. Perhaps the Memphis priesthood also supported him. In fact, there is evidence that after his return in 88, Soter was generally a less unpopular monarch than his predecessor.²² But almost immediately a serious revolt broke out in the Thebaid.²³ It continued from 88 until 85 when he finally put it down with great severity. Thereafter he ruled with Berenice III until his death in 80 B.C.

Thus at several periods in his career, it could be said that Soter II 'with a few' faced numerous enemies, but in the second decade of the first century B.C. he finally prevailed. Obviously he would be 'victorious' on his return from each of his three periods of exile; but it would be most appropriate (and safe) to hail his victory either on his last return in 88 when his predecessor was dead, or after his triumph over the Theban rebels in 84.²⁴ The repeated references to loyalty in III 24-27 suggest that his 'party' still suspects disloyalty, and lines 16-18 especially could have been written between 88 and 84 B.C.

Soter II's interest in temple building and restoration might have brought him popularity with the Egyptian priesthood, with the exception, of course, of the priests of Thebes.²⁵ Isidorus, it is to be remembered, was a priest. Bevan sets Soter's greatest building activity in the years of his earlier reigns, from 115 to 107. His policy would, therefore, be well known in the 80's.

That the Hymns' content cannot be much later than the 80's of the first century B.C., that is, later than Soter's final reign, is proved by the reference to Isis as Queen of the World. Surely soon after the savage destruction of cult-life on Delos in 88, and the western onrush of Mithridates' forces, it would be clear to all that Isis was not Queen of the Aegean World. There is some evidence that Isis' cult did, in fact, at this time flee to sites in south Italy.²⁶ The content of Hymn III fits the years 88-84, or 88-80, but cannot well be later.²⁷

In Hymn I 26 the goddess is called *σώτειρα*. There is a hieroglyphic inscription which Otto-Bengtson dates to 88 B.C., or thereafter, in which the name 'Soteira' occurs. They judge it to be a retroactive reference by Soter II to

19. E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 332; T. A. Brady, *Reception of the Egyptian Cults*, p. 37.

20. Paus. I, IX 3.

21. A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

22. Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-41.

23. Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-7; Welles, *Alexander and the Hellenistic World*, p. 142; *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1965, p. 548, n. 4 (a bibliography of the revolt at Thebes).

24. A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

25. Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 ff., Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

26. See Chapter III, The Spread of the Cult of Isis under the Early Ptolemies.

27. See A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-5, for the dating of the death of Berenice III and Alexander II.

Cleopatra II,²⁸ associating the title *σώτρεα* with Cleopatra II, Soter's grandmother.²⁹ Although they refer to Isidorus' Hymns as closer in date to the lifetime of Cleopatra III, his mother, they think that the title 'Soteira' connoting Cleopatra II, in all likelihood was restored by Soter II after he removed the *damnatio memoriae* imposed on his grandmother by her rival Cleopatra III. Necessarily this must have been not only after the death of Cleopatra III in 101, but also some time after his return.

Finally, one should heed A. D. Nock's remarks that the names *Σώτρεα* and *Σωτήρ* were 'a matter of royal policy,' that is, they are to be understood as directed primarily to the Greek element. In essence, they were propaganda; not a means one ruler took of offending another — although Cleopatra III's self-assertion against Cleopatra II is well attested.³⁰

Therefore, while the title *σώτρεα* of Hymn I may bear a subtle hint of the end of the struggle between Cleopatra III and her rival, the older Cleopatra II, it is more important to note that the Fayum Hymns were written expressly for Greeks who frequented the Temple, and for whom this title had especial significance. It echoes Soter's own title which appears immediately above Hymn I in the dedication on the west pier. By his assumed title, Soter, or Saviour, he undoubtedly associated himself particularly with the cult of Isis, which can, of course, be viewed as a political faction. The author of the Hymns is a member of the Isiac party, and supports Soter II; his Hymns are both strong political and religious statements of loyalty. This interpretation of their purpose seems clearly substantiated by the author's emphasis on 'loyalty' in III 24-27. This view also agrees with what we will see in Chapter III to be motivation for the spread of the cult of Isis under the early Ptolemies. It seems a little naive to rob 'Soteira' of contemporary partisan significance; these are not the Hymns of a starry-eyed, secluded visionary.

Summary and Conclusion from the Internal Evidence

The Hymns could not have been composed later than the 80's of the first century B.C., the last years of Soter's reign for, thereafter, they would have been foolishly anachronistic. Hints of disturbances in III 16-18, and stress on loyalty, fit Soter II's last years as King of Egypt, especially after the end of the revolt at Thebes. For a few brief years Isis might still be called Queen of the World; an Egyptian king, the traditional protégé of Isis, was still on the Egyptian throne; traditional policy and practices were probably still followed at the Court; and the Romans might still be ignored.

Another possibility, of course, is that none of these references may really

28. W. Otto und H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemärrreiches*, p. 61, n. 3.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 92, n. 1.

30. *AJP* 63, 1942, pp. 217 ff., a review of Otto-Bengtson.

apply to Soter II's reign, and that only the actual inscriptions are to be so dated, with the Hymns being considered earlier. Yet the total evidence from the line-by-line commentary fits II/I B.C. and Soter II's reign; and, although one might argue that the Hymns could be older, and re-edited, their basic tendency toward monotheism, their Orphic association, and their strong relationship to the other Isiac aretalogies of the first century B.C. (and later), would be most remarkable in III/II B.C. No similar aretalogies are known before the first century B.C.

CHAPTER TWO
THE HYMNS: TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Hymn I (Plate VI)

- πλουτοδοτί βασιλεια θεῶν, Ἑρμοῦθι ἄνασσα,
 παντοκράτειρα, τύχη Ἀγαθή, μεγαλῶνυμε Ἴσι,
 Διοῖ ὑψίστη, ζωῆς εὐρέτρια πάσης,
 παντοίων ἔργων ἐμέλῃσέ σοι, ὄφρ' ἀναδοίῃς
 5 ἀνθρώποισι βίον τε καὶ εὐνομίην τε ἅπασι,
 καὶ θεσμούς κατέδειξας, ὣν' εὐδικίῃ τις ὑπάρχη,
 καὶ τέχνας ἀνέδωκας, ὣν' εὐσχήμων βίος εἴη,
 καὶ πάντων τε φύσιν εὐανθέα εὖρεο καρπῶν.
 Σοῦ τε χάρις συνέστηχ' ὁ πόλος καὶ γαῖα ἅπασα
 10 καὶ πνοιαί ἀνέμων καὶ ἥλιος ὁ γλυκυφεγγής.
 Σῇ δυνάμει Νεῖλου ποταμοὶ πληροῦνται ἅπαντες
 ὥρῃ ὀπωρινῇ, καὶ λαβρότατον χεῖθ' ὕδωρ
 γαῖαν πᾶσαν ἔπι, ὣν' ἀνέγλιπος καρπὸς ὑπάρχη.
 ὅσοι δὲ ζῶουσι βροτοὶ ἐπ' ἀπείρονι γαίῃ.
 15 Θρᾶκες καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσοι βάρβαροί εἰσι,
 οὐνομά σου τὸ καλόν, πολυτίμητον παρὰ πᾶσι,
 φωναῖσι φράζουσ' ἰδίαις, ἰδία ἐνὶ πάτρῃ.
 Ἀστάρτην Ἀρτεμίν σε Σύροι κλήζουσι Ναναίαν
 καὶ Λυκίων ἔθνη {η} Λητοῦν καλέουσιν ἄνασσαν
 20 Μητέρα δὲ κλήζουσι θεῶν καὶ Θρηῖκες ἄνδρες,
 Ἕλληνες δ' Ἥρην μεγαλόθρονον ἡδ' Ἀφροδίτην
 καὶ Ἑστίαν ἀγαθήν, καὶ Ῥεῖαν, καὶ Δήμητρα,
 Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Θωῶν, ὅτι μούνη εἰ σὺ ἅπασα
 αἰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀνομαζόμεναι θεαὶ ἄλλαι.
 25 Δεσπότι, οὐ λήξω μεγάλην δυνάμιν σου ἀείδων,
 σώτειρ' ἀθανάτη, πολυώνυμε, Ἴσι μεγίστη,
 ἐκ πολέμου ῥυμένη τε πόλεις πάντας τε πολίτας,
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα καὶ φίλα τέκνα.
 ὅσοι δ' ἐμ μοίραις θανάτου συνέχονται ἐν εἰρκτῇ,
 30 καὶ ὅσοι ἀγρυπνίαις μεγάλαις ὀχλοῦντ' ὁδοιποροῖς,
 καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῃ χώρῃ πλανώμενοι ἄνδρες
 καὶ ὅσοι ἐμ πελάγει μεγάλῳ χειμῶνι πλέουσι

- ἀνδρῶν ὀλλυμένων νηῶν κατὰ ἀγνυμενάων,
 σῶζονθ' οὔτοι ἅπαντες, ἐπευξάμενοί σε παρεῖναι.
 35 Κλυθι ἐμῶν εὐχῶν, μεγαλοσθενὲς οὐνομ' ἔχουσ[α
 εὐειδατος ἐμοί τε γέωου, λύπης μ' ἀνάπαυσον ἀπάσης.
 Ἰσίδωρος
 ἔγραψε.

18. Ναναίαν Vogliano, P. R.: κλήζουσιν ἄρασσαν, SEG VIII 548 (Hondius): κλήζουσιν Ἀναίαν
 19. ἠρασσαν Vogliano 21. Ἀφροδίτην ibid. 23. ἄπασα ibid. 35. ἔχουσ[α ibid.

- O wealth-giver, Queen of the gods, Hermouthis, Lady,
 Omnipotent Agathe Tyche, greatly renowned Isis,
 Deo, highest Discoverer of all life,
 manifold miracles were Your care that You might bring
 5 livelihood to mankind and morality to all;
 (and) You taught customs that justice might in some measure prevail;
 You gave skills that men's life might be comfortable,
 and You discovered the blossoms that produce edible vegetation.
 Because of You heaven and the whole earth have their being;
 10 And the gusts of the winds and the sun with its sweet light.
 By Your power the channels of Nile are filled, every one,
 At the harvest season and its most turbulent water is poured
 On the whole land that produce may be unfailing.
 All mortals who live on the boundless earth,
 15 Thracians, Greeks and Barbarians,
 Express Your fair Name, a Name greatly honoured among all, (but)
 Each (speaks) in his own language, in his own land.
 The Syrians call You: Astarte, Artemis, Nanaia,
 The Lycian tribes call You: Leto, the Lady,
 20 The Thracians also name You as Mother of the gods,
 And the Greeks (call You) Hera of the Great Throne, Aphrodite,
 Hestia the goodly, Rheia and Demeter.
 But the Egyptians call You 'Thiousis' (because they know) that You, being
 One, are all
 Other goddesses invoked by the races of men.
 25 Mighty One, I shall not cease to sing of Your great Power,
 Deathless Saviour, many-named, mightiest Isis,
 Saving from war, cities and all their citizens:
 Men, their wives, possessions, and children.
 As many as are bound fast in prison, in the power of death,
 30 As many as are in pain through long, anguished, sleepless nights,
 All who are wanderers in a foreign land,

- And as many as sail on the Great Sea in winter
 When men may be destroyed and their ships wrecked and sunk . . .
 All (these) are saved if they pray that You be present to help.
 35 Hear my prayers, O One Whose Name has great Power;
 Prove Yourself merciful to me and free me from all distress.
 Isidorus
 wrote (it)

Hymn I, set below the dedicatory inscription to Ptolemy Theos Soter on the south face of the west pillar, is the only Hymn of Isidorus to be so inscribed. It immediately faces those entering the south portal of the precinct from the Ceremonial Way.

1-3. Summary. Invocation of Isis Mighty in Name, as Egyptian Hermouthis, goddess of the Cereal Harvest, and the Greek goddesses, Tyche Agathe and Deo (Demeter).

1. *πλουτοδοτι*: a hapax legomenon. Cf. *πλουτοδοτης* II 10 and note. *πλουτοδοτειρα* refers to Eleusinian Demeter/Ge in D. S. I 12.4 = h. Orph. XI 3. In Hes. *Erga*, 126, the men of the Golden Age become *δαίμονες πλουτοδοται*. Isidorus' epithet appears to have Eleusinian association. Wealth-giving is also a traditional function of Egyptian royalty.

βασίλεια θεῶν: cf. *ἡ βασίλεια*, III 12. In the Orphic hymns *βασίλεια* and *παμβασίλεια* are common epithets. *βασίλεια* also is a title of Isis: A. I; D. S. I 27.4 (*βασιλίσα*); H. Oxy. 36-37; 218; and App. *Met.* XI 4 (regina Isis).

Ἑρμοῦθι: see Plates XI-XIV. Hermouthis or Thermuthis (with the definite article *θ* or *τ*) was the Greek transliteration of Rnn.wt.t or Rnn.t, the old Egyptian nurse-, or harvest-goddess.¹

The determinative of the noun rnn.t (= The nurse, human or divine) is the figure of a seated woman holding a young child in her out-stretched arms. When that word signifies a goddess, that goddess is probably Hermouthis. Josephus speaks of a certain Thermouthis as a 'nurse,' and daughter of Pharaoh Amenophis; he associates her with Moses (quae Mosem educaverat).²

1. The name, phonetically *ernen-wôte*, or *ermûte*, may be transliterated as *Renenutet* or *Renenet*, derived from the verb *rnn* meaning bring up, nurse. The name belongs to the same word-stem as many other Egyptian words: 1. *rnt*: wet-nurse; 2. *rnnt*: riches, fortune; 3. *rnn*: he who is brought up, a young man; 4. she who is brought up, a young woman; 5. *rnn*: cow, young bull-calf. The verb-stem *rnn* is written in the Greco-Roman period as *rr* and *rnnt/rnnwt* (= the goddess Thermuthis) as *rrt*. It is interesting, in relation to Hymn I, to note that a similar word *rrt* (= pig?) is

determined with the sign of a star and associated with Fate (*Š3w*).

2. Hermann, *Das Kind und seine Hüterin*, pp. 172 and 176 note 5, discusses this Hellenistic story and mentions its repetition by Epiphanius some three centuries later. Hermann associates Hermouthis closely with Horus (and Isis) and speculates that 'Leto' is in reality the goddess Hermouthis-Renenet (see Hdt. II 156, and Plu. *de Is.* c. 38). This indeed explains Artemis and Apollo as children of Isis = Hermouthis (Hdt. *ibid.*).

Thermuthis, Hermouthis, Ernenutet, etc. is the Egyptian cereal harvest goddess frequently shown in snake form. She is a mother-goddess, mother of Nepre or Nepy, and a fertility goddess. As here, she with her child is often equated to Isis and the Horus Child. She is very prominent in the Amarna texts.³

Renenetet, nurse-goddess of the human infant and goddess of the cereal harvest, is also the Egyptian goddess of human fate, and in this capacity associated with Shay and Meschenet. Ancient Renenetet is shown in the relief of the inner XIIth Dynasty temple at Medinet Madi where, with Sebek, she gives the king life, happiness, eternity and health (or safety), which, presumably, is his fate. She is frequently the recipient of a table of food offerings. At least in the late period, she is assimilated with Isis as 'Isermuthis.'

It may be of importance for Isis' later significance to note also that Renenet as nurse of the living had a counterpart in the goddess Mert Seger, nurse of the dead. These names seem, moreover, to represent two aspects of the same goddess, for Renenet and Mert Seger have the same epithets.

Hermouthis may have had Mysteries in Egypt into which worshipers were initiated. The ninth month, Pachon, saw the celebration of the birthday of the corn-god, Nepre, her son. The previous month, Pharmuthi, bears her name. There is evidence that a Synod of Thermouthis took place on July 13, A.D. 24-25; Aelian refers to her here as worshiped in the form of a snake and closely associated with Isis. We know she had been worshiped in the XIIth Dynasty shrine at Medinet Madi as a snake together with Sebek the crocodile god. See Plate XI. Cf. XII a and b, XIII and XIV.

But Hermouthis' greatest significance by far seems to have been her association with Shay as a symbol of man's life-span or human fate. Isis and her family were said, like the other great gods in the late Egyptian period, to control the two Powers. Shay may have some connection with Sebek, perhaps as the Agathosdaimon. See Sokonopis II 9.⁴

3. Cf. e.g., N. de Garis Davies, "The King as Priest of the Harvest," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, The Egyptian Excavation 1920-29, pp. 48-49, Tombs 48 and 57: "Within a shrine with a Hat-Hor (literally, 'House of Horus,' i.e. 'Mother of Horus') column, are two snake-goddesses, one, Ernenutet, Lady of the Granary, human-bodied and nursing the young king on her lap; the other a crowned snake on the cushion-sign and within the symbol of the upraised arms, with a figure of the grown-up king standing under her chin, as if in her care. Presumably this is only a second figure of the same goddess, portrayed in a similar rôle to the first. The picture of Ernenutet with the child in her arms we know to represent the birth of Nepy, the corn-god, which was celebrated on the first of the ninth month; here the child bears the name of the reigning king so that identification of the king with

the corn-god is made extremely clear . . .

"Although the goddess was the recipient of gifts at the popular Thanksgiving, the occasion of harvest touched the nation's welfare and royal functions too closely for any but a cosmogonic god to suffice . . . The rite enacted by the king (in this ceremony) seems quite simple as if we have to do with a plain return of thanks to the Creator."

4. For Renenet's ancient name, see *WB.*, vol. II, pp. 435-7, and in the Greco-Roman period, *ibid.*, pp. 438-9. For Renenet in the XIIth Dynasty, see A. Vogliano, *S. R.*, pp. 22 ff. For Hellenistic Renenet as Isermuthis, see *SEG VIII* 528 (Medinet Madi); *ibid.*, 635 (Antinoopolis). Cf. *ibid.* 653. For the harvest festival in Pachon, see Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, p. 38. For Renenet-Hermouthis associated with Shay, see S. Morenz and D. Müller, *Schicksals*, pp. 20 ff.;

ἄνασσα: cf. 19, II 29, III 1, 19. It is used of Isis also in *H. Oxy.* 15; 19; 121 and *Ank.* 9.

2. παντοκράτειρα: this epithet is a title of Isis in *H. Oxy.* 20. Cf. its use in *h. Orph.* X of Physis, and XXIX of Persephone. Suchos is παντοκράτωρ in IV 23, and Isis is παντοκράτωρ at Megalopolis (*IG V 2*, 472). For Ἴω (Isis) as πασικράτεια see III 1 note.

τύχη ἀγαθή: cf. II 1, III 19. In *H. Oxy.* 51 Agathe Tyche is equated to Isis. A particularly early Hellenistic inscription from Miletus speaks of an Agathe Tyche that must in its association with Osiris be Isis. See Welles, *RC* 5, 22 = Pouilloux, *Choix d'Inscr. Gr.* 37. The inscription is dated 288/87 B.C.⁵ And the image of Isis-Tyche-Panthea appears on one side and the Mother of the gods on the obverse of a Roman coin of the first century B.C. (Alföldi, *Isiskult.*). τύχη ἀγαθή was inscribed on the Nilometer. See Danielle Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil*, Plate VI, p. 314.

μεγαλώνυμε: cf. II 1, III 2.

3. With this line compare III 2, IV 4.

Δηοῖ: Isis is identified with Demeter, *Hdt.* II 59, 156. Cf. *D. S.* I 13-4, 96, V 69 (cf. *ibid.* I 22-23); Porphyrius apud Eusebium, *PE* 3, ii, 50, Leon *ibid.*, 10, 12, 23; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21 (106) p. 139 Stählin = *FHG* II, Frgt. 2: Aug. *Civ. Dei* VIII 29 = *FHG* Frgt. 4: Tertullian, *Apol.* 16. In the aretologies to Isis, she is equated specifically with Demeter: Chalkis 2: Καρποκράτης εἰμὶ ἐγὼ, Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱὸς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Ἰάχ[χ]ου κτλ; App. *Met.* XI 5: Eleusini vetustam deam Cererem . . . me . . . appellant. (Cf. *ibid.*, 2.) Like Demeter, Isis may be entitled simply: θεσμοφόρος. See IV 4. Cf. *Hdt.* IV 4, VI 91, 134; *D. S.* I 14, 25, V 68-9, and *M.* 52: ἐ[γ]ὼ εἰμι ἡ θεσμοφόρος καλουμένη. The association with Demeter persisted. A coin of the reign of Hadrian shows Sarapis on a barge, centre, with Isis Pharia on his left and Demeter on his right (Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins of Alexandria*, 88b). For further discussion of Isis = Demeter, see 8, καρπῶν and note.

Müller, *Isisaretagien*, and A. G. Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 1946, pp. 53 ff. For Mert Seger, see Bernard Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, pp. 139-40. For Hermouthis-Renenet generally: Roeder, *Der Religion des alten Aegypten*, p. 182; *RE*, Tereuthis; *RARG*, Thermuthis, pp. 803 ff.; Kees, *Götterglaube*, Thermuthis, especially p. 56 note 2; and J. Cerny, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, pp. 53-58. For the Thermuthis who nursed Moses, see Josephus Flavius, *Antiq. Iud.* II 10. 1.2. 231.7 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 213, and Epiphanius adv. octog. haeres. III 2, 24 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 608, and *RE* XVI 1 sp. 373, Moses. For the Mysteries of Thermouthis-Isis, see Epiphanius, *Expos. Fid.* III 2, 12 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 209; for the Synod of Thermouthis, *Archiv* II 432 no. 13; for Ther-

mouthis as a serpent associated with Isis, Ael., *de Nat. Animal* 31 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 421; for the association of Hermouthis-Renenet with Harpokrates, W. Weber, *Die griechisch-römischen Terrakotten Texte*, p. 44, Anm. 21. For the relationship of Hermouthis-Renenet to Horus, see Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, p. 72 and H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, 1891, p. 392.

5. Tyche is frequently associated with Isis in inscriptions. Cf. *SIG* 1133 = Délos Inscr. 2072, 115/4 B.C.: ὀνειροκρίτης καὶ ἀρεταλόγος καὶ ἡ γυνή . . . Ἰσιδι τύχη πρωτογενεῖαι; (Egypt) *SEG* VIII 657, A.D. 160: Εἰσὶ μνησιν[ω] θεᾷ μεγίστη ἡνανεωθείσῃ τύχη, (Rome) *IG* XIV 1006 = Dessau 3687 (twice) = *CIL* XIV 2867: Ἰσι τύχη.

ὑψίστη: cf. IV 4 where the epithet also qualifies Deo. This adjective may stand by itself as a title. See OGI 96-7; SIG 1181. ὑψιστος refers to Hebrew Jahweh in the Psalms: e.g., Lxx, *ibid.*, 106 (107).11. See also Paus. 9.8.5.

ζωῆς πάσης: cf. II 3, 8, 20, III 5, IV 25. ζωή includes meanings ranging from human livelihood to human existence. Life, Happiness, Eternity, and Health (or Safety) are grouped in a constant Egyptian formula; they are the chief gifts of Egyptian gods to man. The formula also occurs at Medinet Madi. For the expression, see Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 56, also Hymn I, Hermouthis, 1, above.

εὐρέτρια: see also II 3, and 8, εὔρεο. Cf. IV 6. The title εὐρέτρια seems to qualify Διοῖ. This noun is not known before Isidorus' Hymns where he relates it specifically to ζωή and καρποί. Cf. an analogous expression: ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, *Acts Ap.* III 15; cf. *ibid.*, V 31, and *Heb.* II 10.

Isis herself appeared in a cult for Greeks early in the Hellenistic era, bearing the title εὐεργέτρια καρπῶν, εὐεργέτρια (UPZ 81.9-10). The title portrays Isis in the rôle of Giver of Cereals, the staff of life, and therefore probably as Egyptian Isis-Hermouthis deliberately equated to Demeter. The equation Isis = Hermouthis must be understood, for Isis in more ancient times had not been a vegetation goddess; she had become such when she syncretized with the Egyptian cereal goddess. The equation Isis = Hermouthis lies behind Herodotus' Greco-Egyptian equation: Isis = Demeter, for Demeter is, like Hermouthis, preeminently the Greek goddess of cereal grain.

By the first century B.C. εὐεργέτρια had been apparently replaced in Greek cult by πρώτη εὐρίσκειω and εὐρέτρια. In I B.C., after Isidorus, Diodorus is first to use εὐρέτρια (I 13 ff.) when he ranks Isis and Osiris with Greek Discoverer-gods (*ibid.* 62.2 ff.). Harder's *M.* 3c (which may in part be first century B.C.) also uses εὐρίσκειω and associates Hermes-Thoth with Isis: καὶ γράμματα εὔρον μετὰ Ἑρμοῦ (see Plate XIV for the full *M.* text). *M.* 7 quotes Isis: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὔρουσα. Hermes-Thoth is associated as a Discoverer with Isis and Horus in the Song of the Kore Kosmou (Nock, *Fr.* XXIII 66 ff.). Again Kyr. uses εὐρίσκειω (of Isis): αὐτὴ γὰρ εὔρον πάντα καὶ εἰλόμην πονόν; and *H. Oxy.* 81 and 185 calls her: εὐρέτ[ια] (π[ά]ντων). It is interesting to find Apuleius translating εὐρίσκειω etc. by Latin 'repertus' and 'inventio' (*Met.* XI 2). Cf. Horace *Sat.* I, III 104.

For Isis in statuary as εὐρέτρια καρπῶν, see Klaus Parlasca, *Ein Isiskultrelief im Rom*, *Taff.* 56-57.

Both Zetesis and Heuresis are words of central importance in the Eleusinian Mysteries. They express one phase and perhaps the chief one of Demeter's saving power, her power to seek and find for mankind. In the Eleusinian legend, Demeter had searched for and found her daughter, and she discovered cereal grain. The doctrine of divine Discoverers seems well known by the first century B.C. when Diodorus gives what appears to be a canonical list: Prometheus, Demeter, Themis, Hestia, Isis and Osiris. His words, incidentally, are evidence that the two Egyptians have by now been accepted among Eleusinian Discoverers.

The doctrine of Discovery seems to be expounded first in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* where Prometheus discovers τέχνη for men. It is important to remember that Aeschylus was also a native of Eleusis. Aristophanes does not mention εὐρίσκω etc., but addresses the Eleusinian goddess as Saviour: (*Ra.* 382) σῶτῆρα καρποφόρος βασιλεια ἀγνῶν ὀργῶν ἄνασσα while Euripides using εὐρίσκω refers to the Eleusinian pair, Demeter and Dionysus, as Discoverers (*Ba.* 275-9). Plato ignores Eleusinian Demeter, recognizing only Greek Prometheus and Egyptian Hermes-Thoth as Discoverers (*Protagoras* 321 ff.; *Phdr.* 274 ff.). But the Marmor Parium officially proclaims Eleusinian Demeter's Discovery (for Athens).⁶

Greek εὐρίσκω, meaning be the first to discover, invent, devise, that is, create out of nothing, is essentially not a Greek concept. It may be the Greek translation of Egyptian š', which means begin, be the first (*WB IV*, pp. 406-7). Cf. D. Müller, *Isisareta logien*, pp. 33 ff. This verb describes the activity of many Egyptian major gods, among them Thoth (see Edfu II, 80; Dendera II, 17e) and Isis (see Edfu I, 149, 151). Cf. *RARG*, pp. 699 ff. Plato's selection of Hermes-Thoth as a Discoverer-Creator may indicate specific knowledge of Egyptian cult language and perhaps of this verb. And Isidorus' and Diodorus' references to Isis as a Discoverer noticeably agree with, for instance, the Edfu inscription.

4-8. Summary. Isis' works (ἔργα) bring men the basic gifts of civilized life: morality, laws and technology. The great Discoverer of cereals, Isis, has brought men justice for, after the discovery of cereal food, they need no longer practise barbarism, that is, cannibalism. Cereal grain henceforth also provides men with their first capital for it ensures them safety and stability within an orderly community.

4. ἔργων: ἔργα is a characteristic term in Hellenistic hymns indicating works, deeds, miracles, the evidence of a god's δύναμις or, less frequently, his ἀρετή. ἀρεταί (plural) is sometimes used as a synonym for ἔργα.

ἀναδοίης: the verb is used of Persephone: ἀναδοίῃ ψυχὰς πάλιν (*Pi. Fr.* 133.3). It is also used of Ge 'yielding' καρπὸν (*Plu. Cam.* 15). Cf. II 21 below: πλοῦτον . . . ἀνέδωκας. Quite possibly it is Eleusinian terminology.

5. βίον: βίος is 'sustenance' (*H. Cer.* 451): φερέσβιον, (*Hes. O.* 42), κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισι (*ibid.*, 232), φέρει . . . γαῖα πολὺν βίον, (and *K. K.* 65) οὗτοι (Isis and Osiris) βίον τὸν βίον ἐπλήρωσαν. Cf. *h. Cer.* 306: οὐδέ τι γαῖα σπερμ' ἀνίει· κρύπτει γὰρ εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ.

εὐνομήν: εὐνομή is one of the daughters of Themis in Hesiod's *Theogony* (902): . . . ἡ τέκεν Ὠρας εὐνομήν τε δίκην τε καὶ εἰρήνην. Cf. *Pi. O.* 13.6; *h. Orph.* XLIII 2, etc. In Orphic hymn XL 18-20 Eleusinian Demeter is asked for

6. Not all poets refer to this aspect of Demeter; for instance, Callimachus and Theocritus know the Eleusinian goddess as goddess of cereal grain but they do not use εὐρίσκω (cf. *Call. Cer.* 2; *Theocritus X* 42). Nevertheless, the doctrine of

Discovery-Creation (and the divine Instructor) was well established, and Diodorus, as we have seen, defined it: πρώτην . . . συγκομίσαι καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπινοῆσαι καὶ σπείρειν καταδείξει (V 68.1. Cf. *ibid.*, I 14).

εὐνομίῃ. The goddess had put an end to immorality, that is, cannibalism, by providing men with cereal food. In D. S. I 14.1 this explanation is made: *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενὸς εὐρύουσης μὲν Ἰσιδος τὸν τε τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν . . . ἡδέως μεταθέσθαι πάντας τὴν τροφήν διὰ τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς φύσεως τῶν εὐρεθέντων καὶ διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων ὤμότητος*. Cf. *ibid.*, 2 ff. and V 68.3: *θεῖναι δὲ φάσι καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἰσω*. M. repeats the same theme (21; Isis speaks): *ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὀσίριδος τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπαυσα*, and (52): *ἐ[γ]ὼ εἰμι ἡ θεσμοφόρος καλουμένη*. Hermetic literature knows Isis and Osiris as the teachers of εὐνομία and δικαιοσύνη: *οὗτοι πρῶτοι δείξαντες δικαστήρια εὐνομίας τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπλήρωσαν*. Aelius Aristides assigns a very similar rôle to σοφία in a hymn to Sarapis (45.15) where *εὖρεν* and *ἐδίδαξε* occur prominently. See on the above, Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 26, note 1.

6. *θεσμούς*: cf. IV 4 where Isis is *θεσμοφόρος*. See *Δηοῖ*, 3 above. The title is often used referring to Eleusinian goddesses. See Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 136 ff.

In M. 54 and H. Oxy. 119-120, Isis bears the title which she probably took from Demeter (cf. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 43, note 8). In H. Oxy. 83 Isis is *θέμις* and in A. 20 she is *θεσμοθέτις*.

κατέδειξαν: cf. *ἔδειξε* II 14, below. The verb is used of Demeter in, for example, D. S. V 68.1 (see 3, *εὐρέτρια*, above). Cf. the use of this verb to predicate a civilizing god in *h. Orph.* LXXVIII 3 (Themis), and LXXVI (the Muses: *ἀνεδείξατε*).

εὐδικίῃ: Isis is closely associated with δικαιοσύνη, δίκη, δίκαιος, etc. On Delos she is, for instance, *Ἰσις Δικαιοσύνη* (*Délos V 2079 and note* = Roussel, *CE*, p. 147; and *Délos, op. cit.*, 2103 = Roussel, *CE*, p. 122 = Ditt., *SIG* 1131, 114/13 B.C.) and *Ἰσις Ἀφροδίτη δικάια* (*Délos V, 2158* = Roussel, *CE*, p. 162, 92/91 (?) B.C.). Isis is also *Δικαιοσύνη* at Hermopolis (Plu. *de Is.* C. 3, 352b). Diodorus (I 14.3) associates Isis with *nomoi* and to *dikaion*: *θεῖναι δὲ φάσι καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἰσω καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλους διδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ὑβρεως παύσασθαι*. Cf. also Chalkis 8 and Harder's note (*ibid.*, *Karpokrates*, p. 14). The concept of νόμος and δίκη as a god's gifts to men is Greek. It is found first in Hesiod (*Op.*, 276 ff.) where Zeus gives these gifts only to men. For the concept of law and order among the Egyptians as symbolized in Ma'at, see *RARG*, pp. 430 ff.: Egyptian Ma'at came into being fully perfected at the time of Creation. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, pp. 42 ff.

ὑπάρχη: cf. 12. The verb in Koine means little more than ἦ. Cf. *K. K.* 30.

7. *τέχνας*: in *K. K.* 68 Isis and Osiris become *τεχνῶν . . . εἰσηγηταὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. Cf. *ibid.*, 64. In the preceding passage on Creation and Civilization, i.e. Discovery (lines 3-7), it is to be noted that not only the creation of animals, fish, birds, etc., but also the creation of men is condensed in line 3. Cf. Hymn II 3. It would seem really to be a hymn about progressive development or civilization after the creation of mankind.

εὐσχήμων: the word has the meaning of well to do, comfortable, in *Acts Ap.* XVII 12 and XIII 50.

8. (φύσιν) εὐανθέα: cf. II 19: εὐανθεῖ... καρπός. εὐανθής is a poetic adjective used with, for example, ἀγροί (Thgn. 1200). It occurs in the initial hymn (to Demeter) in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (373): ἐς τοὺς εὐανθεῖς κόλπους. It may be Eleusinian for it is closely associated with the cult of Demeter (Ge) and Persephone. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 878: κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον ἀνθεμόεσσιν. The phraseology refers to the flowering nature of all vegetation; like Plato's Demiourgos, the creator-discoverer goddess of Isidorus is the artificer of the whole physical universe.

εὐρεο: see εὐρέτρια, 3 above and note.

καρπών: cf. 12, II 3, 19, III 14, 15. In *h. Cer.* 4 Demeter is ἀγλαοκάρπος, and *ibid.*, 471 it is said of Demeter: καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν. The term καρπός is closely associated with the Eleusinian circle of gods: (Demeter) Hdt. I 193; Ar. *Ra.* 384; Ar. *Pl.* 515; Ar. *Ec.* 14; Paus. 8.53.7; *CIG* 4082; *IG* 12.5.226; *SIG* 820.5; *h. Orph. ad Musaeum* 6; *ibid.*, XI 18; (Bacchus) *ibid.*, L 10, LIII 8; and (Persephone) *ibid.*, XXIX 10, 17.

Herodotus' equation of Isis to Demeter indicates that by the sixth/fifth century B.C. at the latest, Isis must have usurped something of the character of Hermouthis, in her capacity as goddess of harvest (see 1 above). Cf. Müller, *Isisaretiologie*, p. 3, notes 9, 10; and p. 31, notes 3 ff. By early Hellenistic times Isis was officially presented to Greeks at the Memphis Serapeum as THE goddess of karpos (*UPZ* 81). Isidorus is apparently following Memphite doctrine, fully equating her to Demeter, discoverer of cereals. He also adds Hermouthis and Tyche Agathe to the equation. For Isis as (Ceres) *alma frugum parens originalis*, see App. *Met.* XI 2.

9-13. Summary. Isis is the creator of the physical universe, and therefore giver of the Nile flood. The Nile flood (= the Egyptian New Year) and the birthday of the world are dated Thoth 1.

9. συνέστηχ': the verb in the *Timaeus* predicates the Demiourgos (Pl., *Ti.* 32b): συνεστήσατο οὐρανόν. σύστασις can be used of the 'settling' of an inert mass or mixture, as in *K. K.* 30, 50, 52. Cf. Ovid, *Meta.* I 54: consistere 'take (their) place in creation.' Isis here is the creator of the world (like Sokonopis, Hymn II 11). Cf. *M.* 12 ff., App. *Met.* XI 5, IV 30 (Venus-Isis), and Plu., *de Is.* 77. Both Isis and Osiris are said to be creators of the physical cosmos in *PGM* V.98-101, 460 (τὸν κτίσαντα). In the Oath of the Mystae of Isis (lines 10-12), *PSI* 1290, the following oath was sworn by the creator, [ὅμν]υω κατὰ τοῦ διχάσαντος κ[αὶ κρῖ-] | [ναν]τος τὴν γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κα[ὶ σκοτός] | [ἀπὸ] φωτός καὶ ἡμέραν ἐκ νυ[κτός] κτλ. Cf. *PSI* 1162.1-3.

ὁ πόλος: the polos is the dome over the atmosphere (αἰθήρ and ἀήρ). Cf. Stob. 1.41.45.

10. πνοιαί ανέμων: cf. IV 13, III 22: Εὐρον πνωιάς. Isis is often said to be goddess of the winds, rivers, and sea. Cf. *M.* 39: ἐγὼ ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ

θαλάσσης εἰμὶ κυρία, *H. Oxy.* 237: σὺ ἀνέμων . . . τὸ κράτος ἔχεις, *Luc. D. deor.* 3: (Isis-Io) τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐπιπεμπέτω, *App. Met.* XI 25.4: Tu nutu spirant flamine; and *PGM* V.137 (Osiris): οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν οἱ ἄνεμοι φοβοῦνται. Compare with the above *Lxx Ps.* 103.3-4.

ἥλιος ὁ γλυκυφεγγής: Helios is both the physical sun and the son of Isis. See Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* III 15.3 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 478 (Apollo); Julianus Apostata, *Orat.* IV 148D = Hopfner *Fontes*, p. 538; Joannes Lydus, *de Mens.* II 5 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, p. 696 (Apollo). Cf. *M.* 14: ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην, *M.* 44: ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αἰγαῖς εἰμι, *M.* 45: ἐγὼ παραδρεῦω τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πορείᾳ. In Hymn III 25 Isis rides daily in the chariot of the sun. *PGM* V.114 speaks of her in much the same way: σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡλίῳ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν ἅπασαν. Cf. *ibid.*, 90. On the whole, see Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 40, note 6.

Isis herself is the goddess of the sun and light in *H. Oxy.* 246-9: σὺ κ[α]ὶ φωτὸς κα[ὶ] φλ[ε]γμάτων κυρία; *ibid.*, 295: σὺ καὶ (ἐστι) τὸ φῶς, the Song of Mesomedes 14 (= Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* 197 = Peek, *Andros*, 145): πῦρ τέλεον ἄρρητον and (*ibid.*, 9) πῦρ Ἄιδος. In the last, as in Apuleius, Isis is in the underworld.

11. δυνάμει: cf. 25 (below), Hymn II 17, and IV 9, 40. The word is used specifically for the miraculous power of a god. See C. B. Welles, *RC*, note 38. Divine power, δύνამις, is equivalent to ἀρετή, as in *Plu. de Is.* II 360e. Cf. *Lxx Ps.* 20.2a; *Ev. Matt.* XI 21; *Ev. Marc.* V 30; *Ev. Lu.* VIII 46, VI 19.

Νεῖλου ποταμοὶ πληροῦνται ἅπαντες: cf. II 17-20. From the time of the Pyramid Texts, Isis had been associated with Sothis, who was Greek Sirius or the Dog Star. Sothis' heliacal rising (δυνάμει, 11) coincided approximately with the rise of the Nile flood. See R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste*, p. 28. Numerous passages from Egyptian texts testify to Isis' close astrological association with the rise of the Nile. Plutarch (*de Is.* 21) explains the star Sothis as the ψυχὴ of Isis and says the Egyptians think Sothis is her star precisely because it 'causes' the Nile flood (*ibid.*, 38).

The aretagies speak in the same way. Cf. *M.* 9: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κυνὸς ἀστρῷ ἐπιτέλλουσα, *D. S.* I 27.4: ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ τῷ κυνί, and *H. Oxy.* 140: Ἰσιῳθι. See also *PGM* II 23, *RARG*, p. 329, illustration 84, and Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 33, note 10. The ποταμοὶ of the line may be the Nile's numerous canals, or the plural may occur *metri gratia*. In *H. Oxy.* Isis controls the Nile, the Eleutheros, and the Ganges. See also *M.* 39, and *Luc.*, *D. deor.* 3, where, as in 10 above, she is goddess of rivers generally.

12. ὀπωρῇ: ὀπώρη is that part of the Greek year which occurs between the risings of Sirius and Arcturus, that is, the last days of July, all of August, and part of September. In Greece, as in the temperate zone generally, it is the ripening and harvest season, and from early times the Greeks associated it with Demeter and the constellation of Orion. See Hes., *Op.* 597-9; *A. Fr.* 304.7. Greek Sirius is the star of ὀπώρη (*Il.* XXII 27 ff.). Furthermore, the Nile flood in July is also

associated with Sirius (and Orion). Isidorus is obviously misusing the Greek *ὀπώρα*, for in Egypt, July to September was not the period of the harvest season, but rather the time of the Nile flood and subsequent planting. Isidorus is using a Greek epic formula which refers to a period of the year in Greece which is quite a different part of the agricultural year in Egypt. Cf. *Il.* XVI 385 (of Zeus): *ἡματ' ὀπωρώω ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ*. This line refers, of course, to the destruction of the harvest. Cf. too Hes., *Op.* 676-7: *ὅς τ' ὤρωε θάλασσαν ὁμαρτήσας Διὸς ὄμβρω πολλῶ ὀπωρωῶ*.

The Greek harvest season *ὀπώρα* is also associated with Persephone's marriage, and its symbolic equation to *ζωή καὶ θάνατος . . . θνητοῖς*. Cf. *h. Orph.* XXIX 14: *λέχη μετοπωρῶ νυμφευθεῖσα*. Isidorus may really have this in mind for the Egyptian new year, which began theoretically with the coming of the Nile flood, was also celebrated as the marriage of Isis. His apparent confusion may be merely a conflation of the two marriage festivals at *ὀπώρα*.

Isidorus' epic localization of *ὀπωρωῇ* is to be noted.

13. *ἀνέγλιπος*: an hapax legomenon, meaning continuing without end, unfailing, that is, annual. The metre of the line is faulty; the last syllable by position is long, but must be scanned as short.

14-24. Summary. The names given Isis Polyonymos by the different races of men are: Astarte, Artemis, Nanaia, Leto, Mother of the gods, Hera, Aphrodite, Hestia, Rheia, Demeter. Only the Egyptians know her true name which is simply Thious, meaning The One.

With Isis Polyonymos (18-22) should be compared Zeus Polyonymos of *h. Ceres* 18. Lists of different names for divinities are not unparalleled in Greek hymns.⁷ Isidorus says the same goddess' true name, known only to the Egyptians, is not 'Isis' but 'The One'.

15. *Θρήκες*: see *Θρήκες*, 20 below. Roman Vergil uses the second form of the name, *Aen.* VI 120. The forms *Θραι*, *Θρη* and *Θρα* appear to be interchangeable. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* I, pp. 119 ff. The last occurs in *H. Oxy.* 101: *ἐν Θραξί [κ]ἄν Δήλῳ πολυώνομον*.

The Thracian element, after the Macedonian, was the largest national group in Ptolemaic armies, a fact shown by Alexandrian epitaphs. (Cf. *Archiv* 6, p. 385; Otto-Bengtson, *Geschichte*, p. 83, note 1; Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Vol. 1, p. 146; and Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 107, note 1). Under the third and fourth Ptolemies Thrace had been part of the Egyptian empire.

7. Cf., e.g., Call. *Hymn to Artemis*, 171-258. Isis Polyonymos is the subject of the memorable passage of Apuleius (*Met.* XI 2): "Sive tu Ceres . . . caelestis Venus . . . Phoebi soror . . . Proserpine," and (*ibid.*, 5): "Inde primigenii Phryges Pessinuntiam deum Matrem, hinc autochthones Attici Cecropeiam Minervam, illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem, Cretes sagittiferi Dictynnam

Dianam, Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proserpinam, Eleusini vetustam deam Cererem, Iunonem alii, Bellonam alii, Hecatam isti, Rhamnusiam illi, et qui nascentis dei solis inchoantibus illustrantur radiis Aethiopes utrique priscaque doctrina pollentes Aegyptii, caerimoniis me propriis percolentes, appellant vero nomine reginam Isidem."

βάρβαροι: cf. *M.* 31: ἐγὼ διαλέκτους Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις ἔταξα. See Müller, *Isisaretales* p. 54.

16. οὐνομα σὸν τὸ καλόν: cf. *H. Oxy.* 126-7: τὸ καλὸν ζῶον. The true name of Isis has immense magic virtue. See *Θωῶν*, 23.

πολυτίμητον: the adjective refers to Demeter and Persephone (*Hes. Th.* 594), Rhea (*h. Oroph.* XIV 5) and Persephone (*ibid.*, XXIX 3).

17. φράζουσι: φράζω means express, translate. Cf. *App. Met.* XI 5: Cuius nomen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multiugo totus veneratus orbis. Inde primigenii Phryges etc.

In *M.* 31 Isis claims to have caused the differences in languages. See 15 above and note.

18. Ἀστάρτην: Isis was assimilated to Astarte = Aphrodite/Atargatis on Delos (before 167 B.C., by a Delian citizen): Ἰσιδι Σωτεῖραι Ἀστάρτει Ἀφροδίτῃ (Dittenberger, *SIG* III 1132 = Roussel, *CE* 194 = Délos V 2132) and to the mother of the gods/Astarte by a Sidonian (ca. 130/129): Ἰσιδι Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀστάρτη. See *CE* 82 = Délos V 2101. Long before, there had been an Astarte cult at the Great Serapeum at Memphis (*Hdt.* II 112, *Strabo* XXVII 907c, *RARG*, pp. 55 ff.); and in the second century B.C. there was a shrine at Memphis to Astarte (*UPZ* 119.21; 120.6. By the time of the Oxyrhynchus hymn (*H. Oxy.* 116) Isis is ἐν Σειδῶνι Ἀστάρτην. Cf. *H. Oxy.* 95-6. An inscription found in Rome repeats Isis' equation to the mother of the gods and Astarte (Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, vol. I, p. 634, and pp. 635-9). In it Mithras has joined the cult.

Ἀρτεμῶν: Artemis and Apollo are called children of Demeter and Dionysus by Herodotus (II 156). He must be equating Leto with Demeter (cf. line 1, *Hermouthis*, pages 19-20). Within Egypt Herodotus also equates Artemis to Egyptian Boubastos and says the latter's festival at Boubastis is the largest festival of a goddess in Egypt (II 59). But in the Greek world generally Artemis is often equated to Hecate who, in turn, as Hecate-Isis is paired with Sarapis (*IG* XII 1, 742): Ἐκάται Σαραπίδι χαριστήριον σωθεῖς. Cf. *H. Oxy.* 83-4: Ἀρτέμω [...] ἐν ταῖς κυκλά[σ]ι νήσοις τριφυλὴν Ἀρτέμειν. The same pair Isis-Sarapis appear in *CIL* iii 7771: Serapidi Iovi Soli Isidi Lunae Dianae dis deabusque conservatoribus; Artemis here is the moon = Isis. Statues of both Isis(-Tyche) and Hecate (Artemis?) were found in a Mithraeum on the Esquiline (Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 356).

The metre is faulty. The initial syllable of Artemis, although long, is scanned short.

Νααίαν: *SEG* VIII 548 (Hondius) reads: κλήξουσιν Ἀναίαν, that is, Anahita, to whom *H. Oxy.* 104-6 in fact equates Isis: ἐν Πέρσῃς Ἀναεΐτην (Cumont's restoration; cf. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8). But the right separation of the words seems rather to be: κλήξουσι Νααίαν. Cf. *H. Oxy.* 105-6: ἐν Σούσοις Ναίαν. For the form *Νααία* see *SEG* VIII 15 ff., and Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europé*, 1922-23, Paris, 1926, pp. 196 ff.

Nana(ia) is a very ancient goddess of the Near East, who incidentally is often equated to Artemis (cf. above). Nana is known at Alexandria (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 129 f. Cf. M. Vandoni, *Il Tempio di Madinet Madi e gli inni di Isidoro*, 1953, p. 122, note 12). 'Anat' seems to have been another, possibly more ancient, form of Nana(ia). *RARG*, pp. 37-8.

19. Λητοῦν: the goddess Leto to whom Isidorus here refers is, as he says, the great Lycian (and Carian) goddess. Cf. Nilsson, *GGR* 2(1), pp. 500, 562. The same goddess, in *h. Orph.* XXV, seems to be called Λυκίη Ἀφροδίτη. Isidorus makes no mention of Leto of Buto.⁸

In the great Oxyrhynchus Hymn (*H. Oxy.*) Isis is identified with two Letoes, i.e. Leto of Buto (*H. Oxy.* 27 in van Groningen's restoration) and Leto of Lycia (*H. Oxy.* 78).

20. μητέρα . . . θεῶν . . . Θρήϊκες: a Delian inscription (*SIG* III 1138, before 166 B.C.) states: κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ὁσείδος Διὶ τῶι πάντων κρατοῦντι καὶ Μητρὶ μεγάλῃ τῇι πάντων κρατοῦσῃ Ἀριστοκύδης Δημαρήτου καὶ Ἀρτέμων Πυθέου. The Magna Mater here is probably equated to Isis; Dis is probably Sarapis/Osiris. In *IG* XI 4, 1233, the same dedicant presents a gift to Osiris and Isis. Cf. Roussel, *Mélanges Holleaux*, p. 237. Otto-Bengtson speculate that ca. the mid-third century B.C. Isis had been completely assimilated in Thrace to the μήτηρ θεῶν, and thence as Ἴσις Μήτηρ θεῶν she had been brought to Delos. From there she eventually returned to Egypt as Meter Theon. Isis Meter Theon was, Otto-Bengtson think, the same syncretistic goddess whose title Berenike II bore: Ἴσις μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν. Cf. *OGIS* 739.8: Ἱεροῦ πῶλ[ου Ἰσιδο]ς [θεᾶς] με[γαλῆς μητρὸς θεῶν. See also Nilsson, *GGR* 2 (2), pp. 164 ff. There is evidence for the assimilation of Isis to the Meter Theon on Delos, 130/129 B.C. See note on Astarte, 18, above. For the Thracians, cf. 15 above. The similarity of Isis-worship in Thrace and Delos seems implied in *H. Oxy.* 101-2: ἐν Θρᾷξι [κ]ᾶν Δῆλῳ πολυώνυμον. Finally in Rome, Isis-Panthea is equated to Cybele, Mater

8. And yet he must have known of Leto of Buto and her close association with Isis. Leto of Buto is Egyptian W dj.t. that is 'Wadjet,' the cobra-goddess. She may have been equated also to the goddess Renenet-Hermouthis. Herodotus equates her to Uto-Buto ('of Buto,' II 27, 156), and to Demeter. This Leto had a temple and oracle at Buto near Chemmis, a floating island which itself is associated with the birth of Isis' child (*Hdt.* II 155, and 83, 111, 133, 152). For Leto's temple and oracle (at Buto), see also Hecataeus Milesius *Περίοδος γῆς*, Frgt. apud Stephan. Byzant. = Herodian I.I. IV, pag. 86, 26 = *FHG*, Frgt. 284 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 5: Χέμμης, πόλις Αἰγύπτου . . . ἔστι καὶ Χέμβης νῆσος διὰ τοῦ β' ἐν βούτοις, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ἐν περιγῆσει Αἰγύπτου: Ἐν βουτοῖ περὶ τὸ ἰρὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι νῆσος Χέμβης οἰνομα, ἰρὴ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος μετασίη καὶ

περιπλέει καὶ κινεῖται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. Cf. *Hdt.* II 156. See too Strabo, *Georg.* XVII (802) = Hopfner, *Fontes* 156. For a recent article on Pe and Dep = classical Buto(s), see *AJA* 19, 1966, pp. 208-13. Plutarch also refers to Greek Leto as Uto the nurse of Horus (*de Is.* 38): (Ὠρος) ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι περὶ βούτον ὑπὸ Λητοῦς τραφῆναι. Obviously the Greeks believed Greek Leto had her origin in Egypt.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions and reliefs from the most ancient temple at Medinet Madi portray 'Uto' as goddess of 'Buto and Depet' (Vogliano, *S. R.*). Here she is not Renenet but together with her Uto symbolizes the whole of Egypt. These two protect the King exactly as Uto in serpent form is said by Plutarch to protect the infant Horus (and Isis). It is easy to see how she (Bouto-Uto) and Renenet became confused.

Deorum, about 55 B.C.⁹

21. Ἡρην: for Isis as Hera, see A. 7: χρυσόθρονος Ἰσις. Cf. II. I 611: χρυσόθρονος Ἡρη. Isis is equated to Hera in H. Oxy. 26: Ἡραν, 32 ἐν Σαί Ἡραν ἀνασ[σ]αν, 34 ἐν Σεβεννύτῳ Ἡραν ἄγιαν, 59-60 ἐν Τάνι Ἡρ[α]ν, 68 ἐν Ταποσίρι Ἡρ[α]ν, 110 ἐν Σάμῳ Ἡραν. Perhaps significantly, in H. Oxy. 22-27, Isis-Hera is grouped with almost the same goddesses as those to whom she is equated here, Leto (of Bouto), Aphrodite and Hestia. In h. Orph. XVI, Hera is like Isidorus' universal Isis: (Ἡρη) παμβασίλεια Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα (lines 4-10). Throughout this Orphic hymn, Hera is remarkably consistent with the characterization of Isis-Hermouthis in Isidorus' Hymns (see Δυνάμει, 11 above, and note). With ζωῆς φύσῳ, h. Orph. XVI 5, compare especially I 8. Syncretism involving Isis-Hera, a royal throne, and nature, underlies all the above references. This is Greco-Egyptian and not Eleusinian.

In App. Met. XI 5, Isis equates herself to Latin Juno: Junonem alii (me appellanti).

μεγαλόθρονον: a hapax legomenon. Cf. Ἡρην above and note. Forms of μεγάλη are commonly used of the goddess; at the Medinet Madi temple she is simply θεὰ μεγάλη or θεὰ μεγίστη.

As to θρόνος, Isis always had a literal and close association with the King's throne in Egypt. Originally she may have been a personification of either the throne or its cushion. The throne itself, appearing as a high-seated chair, is the hieroglyphic determinative for her name. See RARG, Isis, p. 326, fig. 83; and H. Kees. Götterglaube, pp. 98, 101 and note 5. She is always the mother of Horus who is equated with the King. See H. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 32, 41 ff. Isidorus must at least have known the determinative, a throne, for the name of Isis, and he would have been steeped in temple lore. The term 'throne,' moreover, appears in other Egyptian religious expressions; compare the Great Throne as meaning 'Memphis' (in Memphite theology), and 'Pe' = (Greek) Buto. See Frankfort, Kingship, p. 43.

Ἀφροδίτην: cf. II 15-16, 30. See also Ἀσάρτην, 18 above and note. It is known from epigraphical evidence that Aphrodite was worshiped at Naucratis before the Ptolemaic era (SB 187-194; 353; 1696-7). She appears on coins from Naucratis dating from the era of the tyrant Cleomenes. (Poole, Coins of Alexandria in Brit. Mus. 38, p. 349). Like Aphrodite, Isis is a goddess of love. Cf. M. 6, 10, 17, 20, 27, 30; A. 36; G. 12. She is equated to Aphrodite in H. Oxy. 9, 35, 45, 67, and App. Met. XI 2 (Venus Caelestis) and 5 (Venus of Paphos).

22. Ἑστίη: cf. H. Oxy. 23 (Pephermis) Ἰσω ἀνασσαν Ἑστίαν [[ἀνασσαν]] [κυ]ρείαν πάσης χώρας, and 73 (Plinthine) Ἑστίαν; IG XIV 433 (in a temple of

9. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Isiskult.* Cf. also Tertullian, *Apolog.* 5 = Hopfner, *Fontes* 379: Serapidem et Isidem et Arpocratem cum suo cynocephalo Capitolio prohibitos, id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules non utique Christiani

eversis iam aris eorum abdicaverunt turpium et otiosarum superstitionum vitia cohibentes. His vos restitutis summam maiestatem contulistis ... Serapidi iam Romano aras restruxistis.

Sarapis at Taormina) 'Εστία ἀγνὸν βωμόν. For the temple of Sarapis and Isis at Taormina see *CIL* X 6989: 'Οσειρίδι ἐπηκόω 'Εστία κουροτρόφω. Diodorus knows Hestia to be a Greek Heuretria and groups her with Themis and Demeter (and Isis and Osiris), τούτων δὲ λέγεται τὴν μὲν 'Εστίαν τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευὴν εὐρεῖν κτλ, in 67.4-5 (Themis) and 68.1-3 (Demeter). Hestia, does not occur in *App. Met.* XI 5.

With 21-22 compare Hes. *Th.* 453-4: 'Ρεῖη δὲ δμηθεῖσα Κρόνῳ τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα 'Ιστίην Δήμητρα καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον.

'Ρεῖαν: see the reference to Hes. *Th.* 453-4 above (Εστία). In the Hymn of Mesomedes (Peek, *Andros*, 145, lines 15 ff.) Rhea's Kouretes dance for Isis: οἱ 'Ρεάς κουρήτες . . . πάντα δι' ἀνακτόρων 'Ισιδι χορεύεται.

Δήμητρα: see *Δηοῖ*, 3 above and note. Cf. III 2, IV 4.

23. Θωῶν: the name Θωῶς = Coptic TI-OYI = Egyptian T,w'T. This is Latin 'unica' and English 'the one.' Cf. *SEG* VIII 548, p. 98 (Hondius); *CIL* X 3800 = Dessau 4362: Te tibi una quae es omnia dea Isis. See Vogliano, *P. R.* pp. 42-43 (Kuentz). *H. Oxy.* 6 also names Isis τὴν μίαν, *App. Met.* XI 4 refers to her Nomen unicum, and the Cyrenaean aretalogy (Peek, *Andros* 129.5) calls her Εἰς . . . μόνη. According to Apuleius it is, as here, the Egyptians alone who know the truth about her verum nomen. See *App. Met.* XI 5 (quoted above at line 15). As the verum nomen had immense magic virtue, the Egyptians had an ineffable advantage over others, for Isis was the great goddess of magic. The mere mention of her name could cast a spell.¹⁰

24. ὀνομαζόμεναι: cf. *App. Met.* XI 2: quoque nomine, quoque ritu, quaque facie te fas est invocare; *ibid.*, 4: nomine multi iugo totus veneratur orbis; also *ibid.*, 'appellant.' All three verbs = ὀνομάζω.

25-28. Summary. Isis is saviour of 'devout' (= loyal) people in time of war. Even against great odds she can and will aid the divine king (= the King of Egypt) and through him bring peace and plenty (III 12-15, 16-18).

25. Δεσπότι: cf. *H. Oxy.* 108: ἐν Περγάμῳ δεσπότις; *H. Oxy.* 231: πάντων δεσπότις.

λήξω: cf. *Il.* IX 191: ὅποτε λήξειεν αἰείδων; *Od.* VIII 87: λήγω . . . αἰείδων. This is another epic formula. Cf. *h. Hymn* III 177-8 (to Apollo): οὐ λήξω ἐκῆβολον / Ἀπόλλωνα ὑμνέων.

26. σώτειρ: σώτειρα is a frequent Greek epithet for any goddess who is

10. Such a name as the One, however, is commonplace in characterizations of Egyptian gods. Cf. H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osiris-Mysterien*, Denkschr. Akad. Wien, 1910, p. 54, hora sexta: "Apud Aegyptios ut 'unus' dicitur quisque deus identidem 'unissimus unus,' sic Isis 'una' et alibi in hac sententia: 'Ego (praeifica quae Isidis habet partes) una sum, magnificis virtutibus praedita, uxor coniugis mei'"; and *ibid.*, p. 97 (to Aton): "Tu innumerabilis formas per te ipsum

creas, etsi solus es"; again "Solus es, tamen per te innumerabiles vivunt." An Edfu inscription says of Hathor: "One whose equal is neither in heaven nor on earth." Cf. M. Vandoni, *Prolegomena*, II, 1953, Il tempio di Madinet-Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro, p. 116 note 23. μοῖνη (which follows) is the Greek equivalent for Θωῶν; it therefore is a title.

πολυώνυμε 26, is a more conventional epithet for the idea contained in Θωῶν and μοῖνη.

protectress of men, e.g., Hdt. II 156: Λητοῦν; Pi., O. 12.2: Τύχα; Pi. O. 8.21: Θέμις; Pi. O. 9.16: Εὐνομία; E. Med. 628: Κύπρις; Ar. Ra. 379: Δημήτηρ; IG II 1343.24.40; h. Orph. XXXVI 13: Ἀρτεμις; CIG 3827: Ἑκατή; CIG 4695 (Egypt) and h. Orph. XIV 8: Πέα; SIG 1158.5: Κορή; h. Orph. II 3, 14: Προθυραία; *ibid.*, XXVII 12: θεῶν Μήτηρ. Most of the above goddesses designated Σώτειρα are found equated to Isis in Isidorus' first Hymn. Frequently Σώτειρα occurs of Isis herself in inscriptions of the second century B.C.¹¹

Both Σωτήρ and Σώτειρα appear to have many synonyms. Cf. βοηθοὶ ἦσαν (of Isis and Osiris, Stob. 1.41.44; 978). Cleopatra II assumed the title (Ἰσις) θεὰ φιλομήτωρ Σώτειρα; while her rival, Cleopatra III, was entitled: Ἰσις μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν. For a discussion of Σωτήρ and Σώτειρα as titles, see A. D. Nock, "Soter and Euergetes," *Studies in Honour of F. J. Grant*, pp. 127-148. Σώτειρα seems not generally to be used as a title before the second century B.C.

πολυώνυμε: see οὔνομα, 16 above and note. Also Θωῶν . . . μούνη, 23 above and note. πολυώνυμος occurs frequently of Isis: H. Oxy. 97 (Sinope), 101-2 (Thrace and Delos); Pap. Lond. 1.121.503: Ἰσις Ἀδράστεια Νέμεσις Πολυώνυμε πολύμορφε and App. Met. XI 4: Sunt contra multae eiusdem imagines quas varia specie et mutato nomine alii alio loco vererentur. Numerous magic papyri, moreover, testify to the power inherent in a god's verum nomen. A synonym, μυριώνυμος also often occurs of Isis: see Plu. 2.3724, OGIS 695 (Philae), SEG VIII 657 (Thebaid, A.D. 160).

27-28. ῥυμένη: the verb occurs in a very similar expression, Il. XVIII 514-5: τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα ῥύατ'. And for the association of ῥυμένη with ἄναξ and ἀνασσα, see Il. VI 402-3. Cf. Hymn III 16-18.

πόλεις, πολίτας: both words signify peculiarly Greek concepts, but they do not belong to the Greek formulaic, epic-poetic language of the line. Cf. M. 51: ἐγὼ περιβόλους πόλεων ἔκτισα, A. 158-60: Ἰσις ἐγὼ πολέμῳ κρυερὸν νέφος ἔρκεσι μόχθων ἀμφέβαλον κλήϊσοι πολυκτέανον βασιλείαν θεσμοφόρον, and Kyr. 13-14: πόλεις τε σεμνοῖς περιβόλοις ἐτείχισα βρότοις τ' ἐνεῖμα ταῦτα τρανῶς εἰδέναι. For the formulaic language of the line, however, see Il. IV 238: ἡμεῖς αὐτ' ἄλόχους τε φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα. With κτήματα as used by Isidorus (28), compare: εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι of h. Orph. XIV 13, and LXXII 7. (For the opposite meaning in a similar formula, see *ibid.*, XXVIII 16.)

The concept of Isis as goddess of victory contained in this line is found often elsewhere: Roussel, CE p. 121, 114/3 B.C., Νίκη Ἰσιδι; IG XIV 2413.5 (Rome);

11. E.g., SIG III 1192, Delos (before 167 B.C.): Ἀνοῦβι Ἡγεμόνι Σαράπι Σωτήρι Ἰσι Σωτείραι κτλ; SIG III 1132 (before 167): Ἰσιδι Σωτείραι Ἀστάρτει Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἐρωτι Ἀρφοκράτει Ἀπόλλωνι κτλ. See too H. Oxy. 20 (Naucratis): Σώτειρα; 55: ἡγασώτειραν; 76: σώζουσιν; 293: σώτειρα; and App. Met. XI 25: Tu sospitatrix perpetua, semper fovendis mortalibus

munifica, dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis. Nec dies nec quies ulla ac ne momentum quidem tenue tuis transcurrit beneficiis otiosum, quin mari terraque protegas homines et depulsis vitae procellis salutarem porrigas dexteram (qua factorum etiam inextricabiliter contorta retractas licia et Fortunae tempestates mitigas et stellarum noxios meatus cohibes).

CIL IX 3144; 5179; and (Isis) Saviour in war with Sarapis, UPZ 20: τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ Σαράπει... ὃς διδοίη σοι μετὰ τῆς Ἰσιος νίκην κράτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης; see also M. 21: ἐγὼ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία; Archiv IV 182 (Rome): Isidi Victrici, Isis invicta; and H. Oxy. 83: ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατίαν; 102-3: Ἀμάξοις στρατίαν; 30: ἐν τῷ Σαιτῇ ν[ι]κήτ[ριαν] Ἀθήνην; 239: Σὺ στρατείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας κυρία; 48: ἐν Χοατεῶν νεικήτ[ριαν]; 71: ἐν Μ[ε]νουφί στρ[α]τίαν; 69: ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ ταχυν[ί]κην; 78: ἐν τῇ [Νη]σῷ ἱερωνικοτελοῦσαν.

Isis is a goddess of victory in Egyptian texts. Cf. Philae, 470, Photo 54 (re Cleopatra and Ptolemy IX Soter II): Fill your heart with Isis for she is as useful as a vast number of soldiers. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretaologien*, p. 72, note 4. The ancient war between the Isis-family and Seth is well known; Isis and Horus are the traditional victors in that ancient struggle (a struggle which could, moreover, be repeated whenever the King of Egypt fought a battle).

29-34. Summary. Isis can be a Saviour in other human calamities if men but call on her, in imprisonment, illness, a journey or exile, and seafaring. These saving acts are her aretae, or erga, that is, her miracles which, generally, are the theme of her aretaologies.

29. ἐμ μοίραις θανάτου: for μοῖραι/μοῖρα = Fate, Heimarmenon, Ananke, see Morenz-Müller, *Schicksals*. Cf. M. 55-56 (Isis): ἐγὼ τὸ ἱμαρμένον νικῶ, ἐμοῦ τὸ εἱμαρμένον ἀκούει; 46-47: ὁ ἂν ἐμοὶ δόξη, τοῦτο καὶ τελεῖται. ἐμοὶ πάντ' ἐπέικει; Kyr. 15: ἐμοῦ δὲ χωρὶς γέινετ' οὐδὲν πώποτε; A. 144-5: Δεσμῶν δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκαν ἀνλύω; Harder, *Karpokrates*, p. 3 (Karpokrates the son of Isis): πᾶς καιρὸς εἰμι ἐγώ.

Moirai here means death, the end of ζωή/βίος, that is, the termination of man's decreed life-span or lot. Isis as Tyche Agathe wards off, or saves, from an untimely termination of ζωή, for she can prolong life. Cf. II 8. In App. Met. 6, she says: Scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere. That is, conversely, exactly as here, she can save a suppliant from death (μοῖρα or μοῖρα θανάτου).

ἐν εἰρκτῇ: for Isis as Saviour of prisoners, see M. 48: ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς λύω. The thought occurs often in the magic papyri. It is not the cliché 'bonds of death.'

30. See II 7-8, A. 24, and K. 10, for Isis' power to heal. Sarapis and Isis were both healing gods. Sarapis is thought to have acquired his power from her. See D. S. I 25.2 and (of Horus) *ibid.*, 7; H. Oxy. 177, and C. 11. Cf. RE Isis IX, p. 2119 (Roeder); Harder, *Karpokrates*, p. 16; Brady, *Reception*, p. 12, note 7; BCH 6, 1882, 339, 423: Ἰσιδι Ὑγεία.

32. πέλαγος μέγα: for Isis πελαγία, an epithet Isis shared with Aphrodite, see Paus. II 4.7. Isis 'Pelagia' is contrasted with 'Egyptian' Isis (at Corinth): ὦν τὴν μὲν Πελαγίαν τὴν δὲ Αἰγυπτίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν. For the similar title, (Isis) Εὐπλοία, see Roussel, CE, p. 147, 107/6 B.C. This, incidentally, is the first evidence for Εὐπλοία as a title of Isis. But compare M. 15: ἐγὼ θαλάσσια ἔργα εὖρον; 39: ἐγὼ ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης εἰμι κυρία; 43: ἐγὼ πρᾶυνω

καὶ κυμαίνω θάλασσαν; 49: ἐγὼ ναυτιλίας εἰμὶ κυρία; 50: ἐγὼ τὰ πλωτὰ ἄπλωτα ποίω ὅταν ἐμοὶ δόξη; A. 34-5: ἄδε θαλάσσας πρῶτον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι περάσιμον ἤνεσα μόχθον; and A. 145-157; H. Oxy. 61: πελάγους κυρείαν; 99: εὐπλέαν; 121-3: ἐπίτροπον καὶ ὁδηγὸν θαλασσίων καὶ ποταμίων στομάτων κυρίαν; *Ank.* 9: πόντου διὰν ἄνασσαν πανδε[ρ]κῇ. Perhaps Isis, goddess of the sea, is entirely Alexandrian.

33. This line is almost identical with *Od.* X 123: ἀνδρῶν τ' ὀλλυμένων νηῶν θ' ἅμα ἀγνυμένων. Cf. *Il.* XVI 769. Isidorus omits the epic τε and substitutes κατὰ (= θ' ἅμα). His κατὰ is best understood as an attempt at epic tmesis.

34. σώζονθ': cf. σώτειρα 26 above and note. cf. *H. Oxy.* 76: Ἴσω σώζουσιν.

ἐπευξάμενοι: cf. *Il.* 8, 16, *III* 34. ἐπεύχομαι occurs in *h. Hom.* *III* (to Apollo) 370: ὥς φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος and *h. Hom.* V 48: καὶ ποτ' ἐπευξαμένη εἶπῃ μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν. It is an epic-poetic formula for prayer.

παρεῖναι: cf. *III* 28. It means come (to help), appear.

Although lines 27-33 are syntactically not one sentence, together they portray five successive typical calamities from which Isis can save: war, 27-28; prison, 29; illness, 30; exile, 31; the stormy sea and shipwreck, 32-33. Miracles were wrought by Isis and Sarapis for suppliants who prayed to them. The quality of εὐσέβεια (= loyalty) is stressed as a prerequisite in *Il.* 6, *III* 4, 27, but not in *I*. The saving acts of the goddess are ἀρεταί/ἔργα. For a somewhat similar grouping of human disasters see *Hes. Op.* 240-47; and a close parallel, *Lxx Ps.* *CVI* 4-7, 10-14, 18 ff., and 23 ff. For pertinent commentary on this Psalm see *Kraus, Psalmen*², pp. 738-41. Cf. also *Lxx Ps.* *CXLV* 7-9; *CXLIV* 14, *LXVII* 6a. It would seem these are the 'topoi' of a common Near Eastern literature.

35-36. Concluding prayer: be merciful; bring me happiness.

35. μεγαλοσθενές οὖνομ': see οὖνομα 16 above and note. The adjective is used of Horus, *K. K.* 64. Cf. πολυννυμε, 26.

36. εὐειλάτος: the adjective is used of Demeter, *GDI* 3536 (Cnidus): καὶ μὴ γένοιτο εὐειλάτ[ου] τύχῃ Δαμάτρο[ς]. Cf. *UPZ* 109.6, first century B.C.: εὐειλάτου τετεύχα[σι τοῦ] βα[σιλέως]. For the thought, cf. *Hes. Op.* 340; *A. Pr.* 241-3; *Call.* VI 138 (to Demeter); and *A. Supp.* 616 (to Zeus ἱκέσιος).

Hymn II (Plate VII)

χαῖρε, Τύχη Ἀγαθή, μεγαλῶννυμε Ἴσι μεγίστη,
 Ἑρμοῦθι· ἐπὶ σοὶ πᾶσα γέγηθε πόλις,
 ζωῆς καὶ καρπῶν εὐρέτρικα, οἷσί τε πάντες
 τέρπονται τε βροτοὶ σῶν χαρίτων ἔνεκα.
 5 ὅσσοι σοὶ εὐχονται ἐπ' ἐμπορίην τε παρεῖναι,

- πλουτοῦς' εὐσεβέες εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον·
 καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νοῦσοις θανατώδεσι μοῖρῃ ἔχοντ[αι
 σοὶ εὐξάμενοι ταχέως σῆς ζωῆς ἔτυχον.
 'Ως ἐτύμως ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, Σοκονῶπις κραταῖος
 10 σὺνναος ναίει πλουτοδότης ἀγαθός.
 κτίστης καὶ γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 καὶ ποταμῶν πάντων κώκυτάων τε ῥοῶν,
 καὶ Ἀγχόης ὁ σὸς υἱός, ὃς οὐρανοῦ αἰθέρα ναίει[ι
 ἥλιος ἀντέλλων ἐσθ', ὃς ἔδειξε τὸ φῶς.
 15 ὅσοι δὴ ἐθέλουσι γονὴν παίδων τε ποιῆσαι,
 εὐξάμενοι ὑμῶν εὐτεκνίης ἔτυχον.
 Νεῖλον χρυσορρόαν πείθουσ' ἀνάγεις κατὰ [κ]αι[ρό]ν
 Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνδράσω εὐτερπίν.
 Εὐανθεὶ τότε καρπὸς ἅπας καὶ πᾶσι μερίζ[εις],
 20 οἷσι θέλεις, ζωὴν παντοδαπῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 Σῶν δώρων μνησθέντες, ὅσοις πλουτόν τ' ἀνέδωκας
 καὶ χάριτας μεγάλας σὰς τε ἔχεω δι' ὅλου,
 τούτων σοι μοῖραν δεκάτην ἀπένειμαν (ἄ)παντες,
 χαίροντες κατ' ἔτος, σῇ τε πανηγυρίῃ
 25 εἶτα ἐδωρήσω περιτελλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ
 αὐτοῖς μηνὶ Παχῶν πᾶσω ἐς εὐφροσύνην.
 τερφθέντες δ' εἰς οἶκόν τε πανηγυρίσαντες ἔβησαν
 εὐφήμως πλήρεις τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τε τρυφῆς.
 Σ]ῶν δώρων κάμοι μετάδος, Ἑρμοῦθι ἄνασσα,
 30 σῶι ἱκέτῃ ὄλβον καὶ ἅμα εὐτεκνίην.
 Ἰοῖδωρος
 ἔγραψε.
 Εὐχῶν ἡδ' ὑμνῶν τε θεοὶ κλύοντες ἐμεῖο,
 ἀνταπέδωκαν ἐμοὶ εὐθυμίαν χάριτα.

3. εὐπέρει(α) Vogliano, P. R.; εὐπέρεια Vandoni. 7. ἔχοντ[αι] Vogliano 8. σῆς Vogliano; ταχέως {σ} ἥς Wilhelm 13. ναίει[ι] Vogliano 17. χρυσορ {ρ} ὄαν Vogliano; χρυσορρόαν M. Vandoni. In fin. [γαῖαν] Vogliano; [ῥας] Hondius SEG VIII; [κ]αι[ρό]ν M. Vandoni 18. ἐπὶ τῇν Vogliano; ἐπὶ γῆν Wilhelm; ἐπὶ γῆν Hondius SEG VIII 19. ὃ τε Vogliano; τότε Segre, ex imag. In fin. μερίζ[εις] Segre; μερίζ[εις] Hondius SEG VIII 29. τ]ῶν Vogliano; σ]ῶν Wilhelm.

- Hail, Agathetyche, greatly renowned Isis, mightiest
 Hermouthis, in you every city rejoices;
 O Discoverer of Life and Cereal food wherein all
 mortals delight because of your blessing(s).
 5 All who pray to you to assist their commerce,
 prosper in their piety forever;
 all who are bound in mortal illnesses in the grip of death,

- if they (but) pray to you, quickly attain your (renewal of) Life.
 How truly the Agathosdaimon, mighty Sokonopis,
 10 dwells as your temple-mate, that goodly Bestower of wealth,
 Creator of both earth and the starry heaven,
 and of all rivers, and very swift streams;
 and Anchoes your Son, who inhabits the height of heaven,
 is the rising Sun who shows forth the light.
 15 All indeed who wish to beget offspring,
 if they (but) pray to you, attain fruitfulness.
 Persuading the gold-flowing Nile, you lead it in season
 over the land of Egypt as a blessing for men.
 Then all vegetation flourishes and you apportion to all
 20 whom you favour, a life of unspeakable blessing(s).
 Remembering your gifts, men to whom you have granted wealth
 and great blessings (which you give them to possess all their lives),
 all duly set aside for you one tenth of these blessings
 rejoicing each year at the time of your Panegyrie.
 25 Thereafter you allow them, as the year rolls round (again),
 everyone to rejoice in the month of Pachon.
 Joyful after your festival, they return home
 reverently (and are) filled with the sense of blessedness that comes
 only from you.
 Grant a share of your gifts also to me, Lady Hermouthis,
 30 Your suppliant, happiness and especially the blessing of children.
 Isidorus
 wrote (it).
 Hearing my prayers and hymns, the gods
 have rewarded me with the blessing of great happiness.

1-2. Summary. Invocation to Isis as Greek Tyche Agathe and Egyptian Hermouthis.

2-8. 15-16. Summary. All should worship Isis, the creator of life and cereal food. She can enrich merchants engaged in commerce; she can heal the sick though they seem about to die, and with her synnaoi gods, Sokonopis her partner, and her son, Anchoes, she can grant a child to those who pray to her for offspring.

2. Ἑρμοῦθι: cf. I 1 and notes above.

πᾶσα πόλις: cf. D. S. I 27.4: ἐγὼ Ἰσίς εἰμι ἡ βασιλίσσα πάσης χώρας; M.

3a: Εἵς ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας; Chalkis (to Karpokrates): πᾶσαν ἐκάθηρα γῆν; H. Oxy. 219: πᾶσαν χώραν; 244: πάση χώρα; 125-6: ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χώραν and App. Met. XI.5: Totus . . . orbis. Isis is a universal god.

γέγηθε: for joy in the Isis-hymns see also εὐφροσύνη 28. Cf. H. Oxy. 31-2: ἐν

Καὶ εὐφροσύνην. For joy associated with the Isis-circle of the gods, see D. S. I 18.4: Ὅσιον φιλογέλωτα. Cf. too the epithet of Rnn.t: 'Joy of the heart' (Vogliano, S. R. p. 23). For gaiety at the Egyptian Panegyris of Isis-Demeter, see Hdt. II 58.

3-4. With these two lines cf. I 3 above and notes.

3. ζωή: the word is here equivalent to the Egyptian ankh. In Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 617, $\overline{\text{f}} \text{ } \text{⊙}$ = Life.

εὐρέτρια: see εὐρέτρια ζωῆς I 3 above and note. In this Hymn it may well be closely associated with 15-16, and 32-33. See notes below.

In Pseud.-Apul. *Asclep.* I 41 (101) = Hopfner, *Fontes*, pp. 623-4, Asclepius is addressed similarly: ὦ ζωὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς, ὦ τοῦ ζωοφοροῦντος αἰώνιος διαμονή. Cf. II 8.

4. τέρπονται: cf. εὐτερπίνην 18; τερφθέντες 27. Hesiod uses this verb to predicate the race of mortals in the Golden Age, *Op.* 115: τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων. Isidorus localizes it in the same way.

ἔνεκα: an Attic and Koine word.

5. ἐπ' ἐμπορίην: an epic-poetic idiom. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 646. The noun is used for trade and commerce of any type.

παρεῖναι: see also I 34. Cf. III 28. The verb means be present, come (to help), appear.

6. πλουτοῦσ': merchants going into foreign lands to trade may pray to Isis for wealth. If they are pious, that is, loyal to Isis the royal goddess and the King, (= εὐσεβέες), she will reward them with riches. There are affinities here with the third Hymn, where by miracles she rewards her devout and loyal followers (see III 26 κατοπτέουσα and note). 'Ploutos' was an Eleusinian god and in Hellenistic Egypt he was equated with Sarapis, Isis' husband (cf. 10). See also Ps. Kallisthenes I 33; *H. Oxy.* 209; Athenagoras 22.6; and *PGM* 13.71; 4.1170 equate Sarapis to Aion Ploutonius. Hermouthis-Renenet's own name in Egyptian means 'riches' and 'good luck.' Erman-Grapow, *WBAS* II, p. 436, 17 ff.

εὐσεβέες: the adjective means godly, pious, devout, blessed by the gods, and (in Egypt) loyal. See note above. The Egyptian gods expected such all-encompassing 'piety' of men. See D. S. I 49.3. A state of material blessedness followed men's devotion to King, god, and country (and the deity's consequent benevolence). Isidorus implies that a man's response to his Creator (and her mediator, the King) should be emotional and whole-hearted. Only then do the goddess and her people experience reciprocal 'love.' The hymns imply, of course, that the King is the mediator between Isis and men.

Early Greek authors also state that men must be εὐσεβέες to prosper, but they do not have that same sense. Cf. Solon, *Fr.* 13; *h. Hom.* XXX 7, 11-17. Greek gods always are said to honour pious folk, but loyalty to King and country is not stressed.

7. θανατώδεις: indicating death.

μοίρη: cf. ἐμ μοίραις I 29. It is a cliché meaning 'in the grip of death'; μοῖρα

appears to be in strong contrast with ζωή, 8, below.

8. σῆς ζωῆς ἔτυχον: see note on εὐρέτρια ζωῆς, 3, above. For a somewhat similar expression cf. C. C. Edgar, *Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon. Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Vol. XXIV, no. 94. τυχεῖν σε πάντων τῶν καλῶν. Like other Egyptian gods, Isis has the power to lengthen a man's life. Here she extends to those who pray to her a renewal of her basic gift of life. On 'to make alive' = 'to heal' in Semitic thought see W. W. von Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, pp. 397 ff.; σῆς appears to be emphatic. See Müller, *Isisareta-logien*, p. 83, and notes. For Isis Ὑγεία see I 30 above and note.

9-14. Summary. Two male gods are temple-dwellers with Isis and very closely associated with her: her husband, Sokonopis, the Agathos Daimon, Creator of the Cosmos, and Anchoes, the goddess' son, equated with Helios.

9. ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων: ὁ ἀγαθός is to be read ἀγαθός, with the first syllable scanned as short. The article is unpoetic.

The Agathos Daimon is Σοκονῶπις. Cf. IV 5. Δαίμων is often used for θεός. For a full discussion of ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, see M. Nilsson, *GGR* 2(2), pp. 202 ff. This god is often equated to Egyptian Š'j (= Shai, Psai, Psoi, Shay, etc.). The Agathos Daimon is, of course, equivalent to the second of the Egyptian pair Renenutet and Shay, that is, equated to Sokonopis as Agathe Tyche is to Hermouthis his wife. For Shay, see Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp. 57, 294, 440, etc., and for τύχη, I 2 above and note. The basic theology appears to be Isis-Renenet-Hermouthis or Agathe Tyche, and the Agathos Daimon, are the personal divine spirits attending men, and outlasting them. The Greeks associated τύχη ἀγαθή and ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων as a pair (Plate XI). Cf. Aes. 3 III; Lys. 13.16; Ar. Av. 544. See also Nilsson, *GGR* 2(2), p. 470. Under these names in the Fayum surely are adumbrated certain vague but continuing concepts of ancient Egyptian theology, which are intimately associated with each man's human destiny.¹²

Σοκονῶπις: cf. III 33, 35, IV 5, and *SEG* VIII 566-7. See Plate XIV. Sokonopis, as the Agathos Daimon, is here the temple dweller (σύνναος) and male counterpart of Isermuthis (= Agathe Tyche). He is mentioned as 'synnaos' also with Anchoes, the sun-god. Sokonopis and Hermuthis are the divine pair worshiped in the temple, just as Sebek (Sbk) and Renenutet (Rnn.t) had been in the XIIth Dynasty (Plate XII). The hieroglyphic inscriptions in the temple's inmost shrine name that ancient pair. See Vogliano, *S. R.*, pp. 22-28. The

12. Relevant is the phrase in *H. Oxy.* 164-5: οἱ . . . δ[α]ίμονες ἐπήκοοι σοι (Ἰσιδι) γίνονται. Isis is specifically associated with ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων in *H. Oxy.* 189: σὺ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος κ . . . B. v. Groningen mentions a cult of the Agathos Daimon and (T)hermuthis as synnaoi gods in Alexandria.

One might conjecture that the serpent form of the Greek Agathos Daimon came from his association with Hermouthis. But Nilsson (*GGR* I, p. 214 re Zeus Meilichios) thinks otherwise. At

Medinet Madi, in fact, the Agathos Daimon (Sokonopis) was represented in crocodile form (Sebek). See Vogliano, *S. R.* Tav. XXIII, and *P. R.* Tav. XI 2. Hermouthis was represented by a serpent (Plates X-XI). For evidence of a snake-cult at the temple, see Vogliano, *S. R.*, Tav. XLIV. There is also strong (pictorial) evidence from this temple that she was known as a young, attractive mother-goddess shown seated with her child on her lap (Plate XIII = Vogliano, *P. R.*, Tav. XI b).

dedication of the Hellenistic temple's latest forecourt is to Sokonopis and Hermuthis (*SEG* VIII, 566-7). And Suchos (Hymn IV 23 ff.) grouped with Ammon (= Zeus) is said to be one of the greatest gods of Egypt. Presumably both Suchos and Sokonopis are in some way assimilated to Osiris-Sarapis = the Nile.

Σοκονῶπις is, of course, really a local name of Suchos, the ancient crocodile god Sbk, variously called in Greek Sobk, Sebek, Souchos, Suchos, etc.¹³

Almost certainly the latter half of the word, Σοκονῶπις, is related to Osiris and probably, in general, the name means 'Suchos of the Nile.' Cf. Sok(nopaios), Sok(nebtunis). Suchos in very early times was associated with the Isis-family especially in the Delta. In Greco-Roman times and afterwards he was the crocodile who represented the Nile. See *ZAS* 61/2, and Plate IX a. The name Sokonopis is not known from any other sources as that of a god, but is found as a private name. See Preisigke, *NB* p. 390, and *P. Petr.* II 140, 141. The genitive is Σοκονῶπιος, the dative Σοκονῶπι.

The cult of Suchos, like that of Isis (and Sarapis), shows continuous spiritual development. In one of his latest forms, at the late Egyptian temple of Ombos, he is shown as Sobek-Re, founder of temple-worship, creator of the various languages, father of the gods, lord of the sea, saviour of sailors, and thus a god of universal power. He is finally both a fertility god and a god of light.

Herodotus (II 148) gives Crocodilopolis as the chief city in the Fayum. After the mid-second century B.C., great numbers of Greeks in the Fayum seem to have resorted to the worship of Suchos. His native temples had acquired a considerable amount of land (*P. Teb.* 62.5-6). He and Isis were healing gods (*P. Amh.* 35). In 118 Euergetes accorded Suchos' native temples greater privileges and immunities (*P. Teb.* 5 = *WChr.* 65). Papyrological evidence shows in detail the religious life of Kerkeosiris, a small village of about one thousand inhabitants (of which one-fifth were Greek), lying some twenty miles southwest of Arsinoe (Crocodilopolis). There were, rather oddly, neither Greek nor first class Egyptian temples; Isis, for instance, had two third-rate temples. There may have been a shrine to the Dioscuri; and some think there was a temple to Zeus (*P. Teb.* 14.18,39). Suchos

13. The name Σοκονῶπις is Σοκ-(ο)ν-ωπι(ι)-ς, (ο)ν being the genitive particle 'of', and (ι)ς a Greek ending. ωπι(ι) is either (1) ὠπις (Wp-W't), i.e. Egyptian Upuaut (Upwaut)/Wepwawet, for which see *RARG* p. 842; or (2) ὀπι/ἄπι (H'pj), i.e. Egyptian Hapi/Apis (see *RARG*, pp. 46 ff.). The former is shown with the head of a wolf or a dog (see A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*). Both, however, can be considered forms of Osiris, and so of the Nile. Upuaut being originally a wolf- or jackal-god is very like Anubis, with whom he is associated and even confused. He is thought to have been a war-god, or defender-god, associated with Horus and the Pharaoh. (See Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 26.) And in all periods he was closely

related to Osiris. From the time of the Middle Kingdom he also had close affinity with the sun-god Re, and was a κτίστης. See 10 note, below. In his connection with Osiris, Upuaut or Ophis is known also to have been associated with Isis. Apis-hapi, on the other hand, was a Memphite vegetation god but was also equated, at least in the late period, with Osiris and the Nile. Cf. D. S. I 85; *Plu. de Is.* 20/9, 43. Apis too, like Ophis, has some association with the sun-god, and with Horus and the Pharaoh. However, Egyptian Hapi/Apis is always elsewhere transliterated into Greek as -απς or οπις and never ωπις. Cf. Ἀμμονῶπις (*RARG*, p. 23) and βοχανοῦπις (*SB* 756).

had no temple there but most of the land (at Kerkeosiris) was owned by the temples of Suchos of Arsinoe, and Soknebtunis of Tebtunis. These lands, incidentally, seem to have been water-logged (*P. Teb.* 82; 88).

Generally, Greeks belonged to what were called the 'Synods,' that is, 'congregations,' of major Egyptian gods (*P. Teb.* 119). For instance, in 98 and 95 B.C. groups of Greeks dedicated their places of meeting to Suchos (*WChr.* 141; 142). In fact, under Ptolemy X Alexander I, at the beginning of the first century B.C., native temples flourished (*OGIS* 175; 177; 178; *SB* 1269; 4623; *P. Teb.* 59, temple of Soknebtunis). See also *ἑθνῶν* III 31 and note below. The worship of Suchos in the Fayum surpassed in importance that of any other god or goddess.¹⁴ The present Hymn belongs to an old temple establishment of Sokonopis, i.e., Suchos of the Nile, and of the heavens (equated to the Agathos Daimon) and of Isis-Hermouthis, harvest-goddess and Pantocrateira (equated to Agathe Tyche). They dwell with 'Anchoes,' a god of light (the sun-god), their son.

The last syllable of Sokonopis is scanned as short in spite of the following consonants.

κραταιός: cf. *ὁ μέγιστος κραταιός θεός Σοκνοπαῖος* *WChr.* 122.1, first century A.D.).

10. *σύνναος*: cf. *σύνναοι*, III 35. *σύνναος* with or without *σύμβωμος* is a common cult epithet. It means 'fellow-dweller in the temple.' Cf. *CIG* 2230 (Chios), *SIG* 1126.5 (Delos, second/first century B.C.), *P. Teb.* 281.5 (second century B.C.). See A. D. Nock, *σύνναοι θεοί*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XLI, 1930; *HThR* 1930/2.

The Synnaos concept was possibly an ancient one in Egypt. Synnaoi gods need not be a divine pair or family, but they could be. Here Sokonopis apparently is the husband of the goddess. Cf. the dedicatory inscriptions at the temple (*SEG* VIII 536-7). Furthermore Isidorus in Hymns II-IV speaks of the divine 'family,' Isermouthis, Sokonopis, and the child Anchoes. Sokonopis is undoubtedly assimilated to Osiris-Sarapis (see II 9 and note); and Anchoes to Horus (cf. II 14 and note, below). Further, it is almost certain that, at this temple, as in other Ptolemaic Fayum temples, there were additional cults and statues of the early Ptolemies and their queens (Ptolemy Euergetes, Berenice, and their daughter Berenice, Ptolemy Philopator and Arsinoe, and Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra, his wife). European medieval cathedrals show the same profusion of high altars, chapels and side-chapels.

πλουτοδότης: cf. *πλουτοδότι*, I 1, and *πλουτοῦς*, 6 above and notes. For the wealth-giving Nile (= Osiris) see *χρυσορρόαν*, 17 below.

11. *κτίστης*: see *εὐρέτρια* I 3, and 3 above. *PGM* 5.98-101 states (of

14. For Suchos, see *RE* (H. Kees); H. Kees, *Götterglaube*; *RARG*, pp. 755-59; C. Kuentz, "Soknobrasis," *EPap* 4, 1938, 206-11 (for the local cult names of Sbk); E. Gilliam, "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobrasis," *YCS* X, 1947, p.

182, n. 5 (bibliography of Sbk); J. A. S. Evans, "The Temple of Soknebtunis," *YCS* XVII, 1961, pp. 142 ff. (Egyptian temple organization); *ibid.*, p. 76 (brief bibliography of Sbk); Müller, *Isisaretaologien*, pp. 51-71 (Suchos at Ombos).

Osiris/Sarapis): τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν, τὸν κτίσαντα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, σὲ τὸν κτίσαντα φῶς καὶ σκότος. Cf. PGM 4.1596-1716: ὀρκίζω . . . τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα θεὸν μέγαν Σαρουσω; PGM 4.1200 (of Helios): κόσμον κτίστα, τὰ πάντα κτίστα; and PGM 5.459 (to Sarapis-Aion-Iao-Zeus-Adonis): τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν. Cf. Merkelbach, *Eid*, pp. 60-62. For ancient Egyptian κτίσται see below.

οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος is a well known Greek formula, especially associated with γαῖα. In *K. K.*, Isis herself is made to explain a cosmic system composed of four parts: (1) οὐρανός abode of the gods, controlled by the δημιουργός; (2) αἰθήρ, the upper air and abode of the stars, controlled by the sun; (3) ἀήρ, abode of the ψυχαὶ δαιμόνιαι, controlled by the moon; (4) γῆ, the abode of men and other living creatures, controlled by 'one who from time to time becomes king' (meaning one who has the finest ψυχή). In this system of Isis, ψυχαί are sent downwards to ἀήρ and γῆ. Indeed, all these elements except ἀήρ are mentioned in Isidorus' Hymns: οὐρανός is the creation of a κτίστης (= the Agathos Daimon); αἰθήρ (13) is inhabited by ἥλιος; and γῆ is the realm of men; οὐρανός, above αἰθήρ, is an immaterial realm. The κτίστης of Isidorus has many Egyptian precedents: Ptah, Schu, Atum, Osiris-Ptah-Sokaris (the last a form of Sebek), Haroeris-Schu, and Wepwawet (cf. II 9 above). See *RARG*, pp. 71-74, 270-272, 568-576, 614-619, 685-689, 723-727, 842-844. As to the starry heavens, certain Egyptian deities are known as Lord, or Mistress, of the Stars, for example Hathor, Satis, Sothis, Isis, Re, Amun, Amun-Re, and Chnum. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretales*, p. 39, notes 13-15.

12. ποταμῶν . . . κώκυτάτων τε ῥοῶν. Of course, after καὶ the following τε is redundant. Sokonopis, related to Sbk, is god of the Bahr Yussuf, and Lake Moiris.

But in the aretalogies from Cyme (*K.*), Ios (*J.*), and Saloniki (*S.*) (= *M.*), Isis, not Sokonopis, is the Creator (cf. *K.* 12, *J.* 9 = *M.* 12): ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ; (*K.* 13, *J.* 10 = *M.* 13): ἐγὼ ἀστρων ὁδοὺς ἔδειξα; (*K.* 14, *J.* 11 = *M.* 14): ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην. She is the same in *H. Oxy.* 183-185: σὺ πάντων ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καὶ ψ[υχ]ρῶν; ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντα συνέστηκεν [·], εὐρέτρια π[ά]ντων ἐγενήθης. Isidorus I 3, 8-9 and II 3 also speaks of Isis-Hermouthis as Creator of all. Obviously, however, in Hymns II-IV it does not matter to him whether the goddess, or her mate, is Creator. It seems otherwise in his Hymn I which, like the aretalogies from Cyme, Ios, and the Oxyrhynchus Hymn, praises only the goddess.

13. Ἀγχόης: cf. 32-3, III 33, 35, IV 5. See Plate XIV. This god is unknown. Ἀγχόη- is, however, a Greek transliteration of 'nhj. Egyptian 'nhj means 'The Living One.' See Erman-Grapow, *WBAS* I, p. 201. Of course, words beginning with ἀγχ, i.e. 'nh, are common. For example, a god Ἀγχόρις (dative) is associated with Isis: Ἰσιδι θεᾷ μεγ[ίστη] καὶ Σαράπιδι καὶ Ὡρωι καὶ Ἀγχόρις καὶ τοῖς συν[νάοις] θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις κτλ. (*Archiv* 2, 1902, pp. 552 ff.). Perhaps, by analogy with Ἀγχορίμφορ, Ἀγχόης is equivalent to 'nh-rn.f = His name lives (Vogliano, *P. R.*, p. 44 note 2); or it may be a short form of Ἀγχόησις = Isis lives. Cf. 'nh-mwt = The goddess Mut lives. A derivation from an adjective, ankhi,

($\eta\eta$ i = The living) would also be a suitable name for Isis' son and the sun-god. In fact, 'The living' is a known title of Horus; cf. *RARG*, Horus, p. 308.

Whatever its exact meaning, it seems certain that 'Αγχοής is related to the root ankh ($\eta\eta$) i.e. $\frac{\eta}{\eta} \frac{\eta}{\eta} =$ Life. See 3, ζωή and note. Cf. Vogliano, *P. R.*, pp. 87-8. In any case, Anchoes stands here for the son who is always an essential part of the Isis myth.

To recapitulate, Isidorus states of Anchoes that he is Isermuthis' son, his dwelling-place is the aether, he is the rising sun 'that brings the day.' In other words, he is either Re or very like that god, i.e. probably the sun-child, associated with Horus. See σύνναος above.

αἰθέρα ναίει[ι]: for a similar phrase, similarly localized, see *Il.* II 412: Ζεῦ . . . αἰθέρι ναίων. Here αἰθήρ is contained by οὐρανός (but in *Il.* XV 192 οὐρανός is ἐν αἰθέρι). For the later system of οὐρανός, αἰθήρ, ἀήρ, γῆ, see οὐρανοῦ, 11 above and note (quoting Stob. 1.41.45) and πόλος 19 above. Cf. *h. Orph.* XXXIV (to Apollo) 11 ff.: σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν . . . αἰθέρα γαῖαν τε . . . ὑπ' αἰθέρι . . . ἔχεις δὲ τε πείρατα κόσμου παντός. Isidorus' cosmos agrees in detail with the later system.

14. ἥλιος ἀντέλλων: for ἥλιος see I 10, III 25, IV 13, 32. For Isis' association with ἥλιος see *M.* 14: ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην; 44: ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αἰγαῖς εἰμι; 45: ἐγὼ παρεδρεύω τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πορείᾳ; *H. Oxy.* 112: ἐν Τ[ε]νέδω ἡλίου ὄνομα; 157: ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρει[ις]; 233: Ὠρον εἰς ἥλιον. The terms ἥλιος, φῶς, etc., when used of Isis and her son, have strong associations with early Egyptian myths of Re. Plutarch (*de Is.* 52) equates ἥλιος with ὄμμα . . . φῶς Ὠρον. Isis' son was, in fact, considered both the physical and the true sun. As part of this theology, the rising sun could be portrayed as the Sun — a child standing or sitting. See *RARG*, Horus = Sonne 731-2; J. Schubart and S. Morenz, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, and B. v. Groningen, *de P. Oxy.*, pp. 112, 157-9. There are many Egyptian legends concerning the infant Sun-god rising from the primeval sea, sometimes as a lotus flower (καρπός?), sometimes as a crocodile (Sbk?). Always he is a symbol of emerging life and light. The various legends of Re appear to have become assimilated to several young gods and especially to Horus who, at least with his nurse-mother, seems always to have been largely an anthropomorphic god. He is both the King and the sun. The Egyptian verb for the rising of the sun ($h'i$) is depicted by a hieroglyph showing the sun rising over the primeval hill. It is a verb used to mean also the rise of the stars, and, what is important here, the appearance of Pharaoh at his accession, at festivals, and on the throne. See Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 57, 150.

As usual, Isis here is shown to be one of a triad of gods, a member of the family by whom she was always attended. It is claimed that she was, in fact, inseparable from them, and that the holy family moved with her wherever she went.¹⁵

15. See S. Morenz, "Aegyptische Nationalreligion und sogenannte Isismission," *Zeitschrift*

ἔδειξε: see I 6 and notes above. Cf. *καταδείξαι* (used of Demeter), D. S. V 68.1; (of Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, Homer), Ar. Ra. 1032; and *ἀναδείξαι* (of Hestia) *h. Orph.* LXXXIV 3. Showing-teaching is a rôle of the Greek Heures-god.

φῶς is frequently associated with Isis. Cf. *M.* 18, 53; *Ank.* 7; *H. Oxy.* 148.

These lines are a continuation of 5-8 above.

15. γονήν . . . ποιῆσαι. γονή is an epic noun. Cf. *Il.* XXIV 539. Also Aeschin. 3 III: *κατὰ φύσιν γονάς ποιεῖσθαι*, and *h. Orph.* II (13, to Prothyraia): *δίδου δὲ γονάς κτλ.*

16. *εὐτεκνής*. For a similar expression, see *h. Hom.* XXX 5 ff. (*εἰς γῆν*): (*ἄνθρωποι*) *ἐκ σοῦ δ' εὐπαιδὲς τε καὶ εὐκαρποὶ τε θέλουσι, πότνια* Cf. *h. Orph.*, XXX 8: *εὐτοκίῃσι*. Plutarch (*de Is.* 52 E) equates Isis to Venus Caelestis. Cf. App. *Met.* XI 2,5 (= Venus Paphia). If a man and wife in Egypt had no children, they might resort to a temple of Isis and pray for offspring; and by the miraculous power of Isis the wife might bear a child. The reference is again, as in I 27-34, to an Isis-miracle. Of course any Egyptian family of gods (here the triad Isermuthis, Sokonopis, and the child Anchoes) is the prototype of the families of men; just as Isis bore her husband a son, so by analogy might any Egyptian (or Greco-Egyptian) wife.

17-20. Summary. The chief Isis-miracle is the rise of the Nile flood which marks the Egyptian religious New Year. It is an annual miracle, repeating the one-time primeval creation of the world and symbolizing the ancient legend of Isis' resurrection of Osiris. Here, by the help of the Nile, Isis is shown to create forever cereal food for her creature, man. The lines appear to state basic Isiac theology.

17. *χρυσορρόαν*: cf. IV 12. The double *rho* is common in poetry, only one being scanned.

χρυσορ(ρ)όας is a poetic adjective, commonly used of the Nile. Cf. Athenaeus V 203, C: *μόνως γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορρόας καλούμενος Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσὸν καταφέρει ἀκωδύνως γεωργούμενον*. See also Joann. Antioch, *FHG* IV 541, Fr. 2: *τὸν Νεῖλον τὸν λεγόμενον Χρυσορρόαν*. Cf. Joann. Lyd., *de Mens.* IV 68, Grg. Naz. = Migne 21, p. 1116. A canal, or branch, of the Nile in the Delta probably was called *Χρυσορρόας*; the word is preserved in its Coptic name. See Sethe, *Géogr. de l'Eg.*, p. 303. Recurring references to

der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1961, p. 434, note 6. Morenz refers to a portrayal of the Christian Holy Family of the third century A.D. in the Priscilla Catacomb (*ibid.*, p. 435, note 10). It shows figures in a posture strongly reminiscent of the Isis family. Cf. Hermann, *Das Kind*. For the Isis family at the Medinet Madi temple, see Plate XIV = Vogliano, *P. R.*, Tav. XIb. Isis suckling Harpokrates is a well known type. The same mother-child type is well known in early Christian

times especially from the Maria Galaktophorousa or Maria Lactans of Coptic art. See Klaus Wessel, *Coptic Art*, p. 17, and plates 5-6; also Nilsson, *GGR* 2(2), Plate 2. Müller believes that the close family relationship of Isis was emphasized in Greece (*Isisaretaologien*, p. 29). Sokonopis, the father, and Anchoes, the son, are Isis' temple-partners in Isidorus' Hymns II-IV. *M.* names Osiris her brother and husband, and Horus her son. The latter work was for the Greek world outside Egypt.

πλοῦτος = wealth seem part of the underlying theme of Hymn II (cf. 6, 10, 21). If Sokonopis' name means Sebek of the Nile, it too is closely associated with Osiris-Sarapis, god of the Nile and giver of wealth (see II 9). χρυσορρόας, a traditional epithet for the Nile, therefore is part of the theme of wealth, that is, the Nile's 'gold,' or the fertile earth, source of all riches. This Athenaeus explains (see above).

ἀνάγεις . . . ἐπὶ γῆν. In Thgn. 1347 ἀνάγω means lead up, lead back. The verb may also mean bring (up) to life again, i.e. cause to awaken, revive, resurrect (cf. Hes. Th. 626). ἄγω and ἀνάγω are used frequently of Isis (and the Nile). Cf. the following: Lucian, *dial. deor.* 3 (referring to Isis-Io): καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναγέτω καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐπιπεμπέτω καὶ σωζέτω τοὺς πλέοντας; H. Oxy. 126 (referring to Isis): τὴν καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ π[ᾶσ]αν χώραν ἐπανάγουσαν; 187 (of Isis): σὺ τὸν ἀδελφόν σο[υ] ἐπα[ν]ή[γ]αγες μόνη κτλ.; and 222 ff. (of Isis): σ[υ] τῇ[ς] γῆ[ς] κυρία ἀρ[.] πλή[μ]υραν ποταμῶν τ[.] . . [.] . . [.] ἡ ἄγεις. Isis' power over the Nile was portrayed in the cult by the sistrum and pitcher, both traditionally associated with her Hellenistic cult.¹⁶

References to Isis 'bringing back' the Nile, causing the Nile to rise, were related both to her own resurrection of Osiris and, later, generally to Greek resurrection legends relating to Demeter and Persephone.¹⁷ ἀνάγω, ἄγω, καρποδοτεῖρα, etc., when first applied to Isis, might have been a deliberate adaptation from Eleusinian language.

κατὰ [ῥας: the restoration of Hondius in SEG VIII 549. Cf. κατὰ [γαίαν of Vogliano and κατὰ [κ]αι[ρό]ν of M. Vandoni, *Prolegomena*, II, 1953, Il Tempio di Madinet-Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro. With κατὰ [ῥας ('according to seasons,' that is, 'yearly') compare *h. Hom.* XXVI 12: ἐς ῥας. Also κατὰ ῥαν would be suitable (meaning 'at the right time'). κατὰ καιρόν is similar to the last.

18. εὐτερπλήν: a hapax legomenon. See *LSJ Add. et Corr.* With Isidorus' frequent use of the stem *τερπ-*, compare 4, 27, and notes.

The scansion is faulty: a mute followed by a liquid may produce a short syllable; a liquid followed by a mute, as here, may not.

19. εὐανθεῖ: cf. εὐανθέα I 8. Isidorus considers Isis to be the cause of both the blooming of vegetation (καρποί) and man's flourishing (19-20). ἄνθος becomes καρπός and by analogy πλοῦτος produces human ἀρετή. These are the outward evidence of healthy growth in the natural realms, that is, the realms that partake of generation. Cf. Plutarch, *de Is.* 33 ff. Like Plutarch later, Isidorus sees the union of Sokonopis-Osiris and Hermouthis-Isis (or the union of fertile land

16. Cf. Servius, *ad. Aen.* VIII 696: Isis per sistri motum quod gerit in dextra, Nili accessus recessusque significat; per situlam quam sinistra manu retinet ostendit affluentiam omnium lacunarum id est fossarum in quas Nilus stagnans recipiebatur.

17. ἀνάγεις occurs also of resurrection in

Orphic hymn XLIII 7 ff. describing the bringing back of Persephone to life: εὐτέ ἑ Μοῖραι καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς ποτὶ φῶς ἀνάγωσι Ζηνὶ χαρίζόμεναι καὶ μητέρι καρποδοτεῖρῃ. ἀνάγω implies that what is led is alive. Cf. W. C. Greene, *Moira*, p. 340.

and the Nile) as ultimately producing all human well-being. At least, the human and vegetable worlds are related.

καρπός: see ζώης παῖ καρπῶν, 3 above and I 8. See also εὐανθεῖ, and note above. καρπός is, of course, intimately associated with ζωή. Cf. ζωήν παντοδαπῶν ἀγαθῶν 20. It is part of the progression ἄνθος = καρπός = πλούτος = ἀρετή.

μερίζεις: ὁ μερ[ιστής, IV 26, is a title of Ammon. Cf. M. 12 (of Isis): ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.

20. οἷσι θέλοις: variation of a common epic-poetic cliché. Cf. *Il.* XXIV 335 (of Ares): . . . καὶ τ' ἔκλυες ὧ κ' ἐθέλησθα; Hes. *Op.* 268 (of Zeus): καὶ νῦν τάδ' αἰ' κ' ἐθέλῃσ' ἐπιδέρεται; and Hes. *Th.* 429 (of Hecate): ὧ δ' ἐθέλει μεγάλως παραγίγνεται ἢ δ' ὀνύησιν. A similar expression is put into the mouth of Isis herself in M. 50: ὅταν ἐμοὶ δόξη.

παντοδαπῶν ἀγαθῶν: cf. III 15, παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. This is formulaic language. Egyptian Sarapis, for instance, is 'giver of all good things' (Aelius Aristides 45.17, a Hymn to Sarapis).

21-28. Summary. These four couplets concern the Thanksgiving festival in Isis-Hermouthis' honour, held annually in the month of Pachon. The farmers of the district gather at the temple to celebrate a Thanksgiving festival for the harvest of the past year (21-22), and to pay their annual tax to the temple (22-24). The following year the goddess rewards them for their piety with a similar harvest (25-26) and they again celebrate her festival (in the succeeding year, 27-28). The process is unending. Lines 21 ff., addressed to the goddess in the name of the local citizen-farmers, are in fact a reminder at the temple gate to those farmers who honour the goddess to set aside their tax; only thus will their prosperity be unending. The Hymn was undoubtedly written for the harvest festival of Isis-Hermouthis in the month of Pachon.

With the language, compare the Hebrew harvest festival in *Lxx Ex.* 23.16; 34.22a; *Lev.* 23.17, and *Num.* 28.16. See also *h. Hom.* XXVI 11-13: καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε πολυστάφυλ' ὧ Διόνυσσε δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὐτὶς ἰκέσθαι ἐκ δ' αὖθ' ὥράων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς.

21. πλοῦτον: the whole hymn presents a picture of plenty enjoyed in rural peace. The enjoyment of the annual temple festivities and the goddess' gifts is part of such a picture.

ἀνέδωκας: for the same form see I 7. The compound ἀναδίδωμι occurs three times as predicate to Isidorus' goddess. It could be Eleusinian, associated especially with Γῆ and καρπός. Cf. *Plu. Cam.* 15.

Undoubtedly the same harvest festival is mentioned in the dedication inscriptions. Compare too the opening lines of the present Hymn.

22. χάριτας: see 4 above.

ἔχειν: commonly used after δίδωμι. See Orphic Hymn LXI 11 (to Nemesis): δὸς δ' ἀγαθὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν. Cf. *Ev. Jo.* 5.25: . . . ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἔχει ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὕτως καὶ τῷ Τιῷ ἔδωκεν ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

A divine grant making for proper possession is an old Greek theme. Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 320 ff.: wealth is properly god-given, and not to be seized. When it is obtained by violence, it cannot be kept.

The infinitive depending on δίδωμι, while classical, may have become more common in the Koine. See Mayser, *Grammatik* 2(1), p. 151, sec. 2a: die Konsekutiv-finalen und explikativen Infinitiv. Cf. for example *h. Cer.* 372.

δι' ὅλου: meaning 'always.' For the spelling δῶλου see J. Powell and E. Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, p. 8, note 1; and p. 11, note 2.

23. τούτων: the genitive case carries on the genitive of σῶν δῶρον 21.

σοὶ μοῖραν . . . ἀπένεμαν: for the portion 'set aside' for a god by Egyptians, cf. Hdt. II 4: Αἰγυπτίους . . . βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονείμει. See also Pl. *Prt.* 341e, and SIG 708.33.

The portion of produce was set aside at the time of the harvest and was, from our more secular point of view, a church-state tax. See below.

μοῖραν δεκάτην: this due tenth must be the so-called 'apomoira.' See especially C. Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*, pp. 171-187, and J. A. S. Evans, *YCS* 12, 1961, pp. 217 ff. The apomoira was a national levy on orchards and vineyards of a prescribed portion of the harvest, to be paid to certain temples. After 264 B.C., and probably before, the portion was generally one-sixth of the produce or one-tenth on less fertile land. The tenth, therefore, which was paid at Medinet Madi, indicates almost certainly that the area was thought less fertile than others. And indeed, when excavated, the temple lay immediately on the edge of the desert. See Vogliano, P. R. and S. R. and E. Bresciani, *Rapporto Preliminare*. All the towns, in fact, on the edge of the Fayum are really in the desert. Their fertile land lay in the portion irrigated. Irrigation projects of the early Ptolemies are known to have temporarily rendered the region fertile. Undoubtedly XIIth Dynasty irrigation had done the same. Cf. IV 35-6.

24. χαίροντες: in the worship of Isis Doteira, a man 'rejoices' to give back to the goddess a tenth part of her gifts to him. The setting aside, or giving, of this thank offering, in reality the apomoira or produce-tax, belongs to one Panegyris, but is thought to contribute to the success of the next year's crop. It is to be given willingly, even gladly. Our aretalogist appears interested in assuring local support for the temple.

σῇ τε πανηγυρίῃ: πανηγυρίη is a hapax legomenon for Panegyris. The festival was a social gathering for the exchange of wares, Herodotus tells us. For the Panegyris in Egypt, see Hdt. II 58-63, and 171. He tells of the frequency of such festivals in Egypt and names the chief centres: Boubastis (a festival to Artemis); Busiris (to Isis, a lamentation and feast); Sais (to Athena); Heliopolis (to the Sun-god); Buto (to Leto); Papremis (to Ares). Obviously they are all held at cult centres. Herodotus also associates the Egyptian Panegyris with the Mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis (II 171). In his view, the Egyptian Panegyris included δείκηλα, i.e. μυστήρια, which were the enactment of the god's sufferings (II 171,

58-9), and πομπαὶ καὶ προσαγωγαί (II 58). Cf. the Rosetta inscription (OGIS 90.42): ἐξοδεῦεν ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πανηγύρεσιν ἐν αἷς ἐξοδεῖναι τῶν ναῶν γίνονται and the Canopus decree (OGIS 56.60): ὅταν αἱ ἐξοδεῖναι καὶ πανηγύρεις τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν γίνονται. The above references, however, make no mention of the paying of the produce-tax.

The Panegyris, then, or 'Panegyrie' (if they are the same) was a religious procession from the temple and back, during some part of which the populace joined in the celebrations.¹⁸

The whole festival is understood to include the gift of the tenth in produce (21-4) which will ensure a successful harvest the following year (25-26). Presumably the sacrificial rites (incense and first-fruits) mentioned in III 29 are performed at the temple. There is an altar at the Medinet Madi temple only a few feet before the south portal (see above, page 10, and Plate II, right). Next, in all probability, a procession from or about the temple area takes place, but it is not mentioned by Isidorus. The Heorte or feast finally is held and the crowd returns home tired but happy (27-8). For the site of the Festival see 27, πανηγυρίσαντες, below. For the feast as a 'common meal,' see 28.

For another Panegyris in honour of Isis in Egypt, see *H. Oxy.* 133-4: τὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν βό[σ]τροχον. Cf. v. Groningen, *de P. Oxy.*, notes on lines 132-5.

25. ἐδωρήσω: the verb δωρέω is used especially to predicate benefactor-gods. With the language of 21-25 cf. *h. Hom.* XXVI 11-13 (to Dionysos) quoted 21-28 above.

περιτελλομένου ἐνιαύτου: cf. *Il.* II 550-1: περιτελλομένων ἐνιαύτων. The process goes on eternally.

26. μηνὶ Παχών: cf. III 32 below. Pachon is also the month given for the dedication of the πρόαστις of the Medinet Madi complex. The dedicatory inscription on the west, furthermore, gives the day β, the second, of Pachon. In the other, that of the east, the sigma after Pachon and the β have either been broken off or were never inscribed. Both month and day of the dedication of the forecourt and lions, therefore, are approximately the date of the Egyptian Harvest Festival to Hermouthis which Isidorus' Hymns II and III celebrate.¹⁹ See Plates

18. For the festival at Edfu, see W. H. Fairman, "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37, 1954-55, pp. 165 ff., especially pp. 182 ff. For the Sacer Ludus or Mystery Play, see *Hdt.* II 59, 63, 171; *RARG*, pp. 494 ff.; B. v. Groningen, *de P. Oxy.*, p. 133; and Müller, *Isisarealogien*, p. 49, and note 5. From III 32-33 we learn that the festival referred to by Isidorus perhaps also had a feast or ἑορτή. This could be the reference in II 27-28, a sort of cult common meal.

19. Several of the Egyptian months were closely related to festivals and thence had got their names, for example, Pharmuthi = 'The one of

Rnn.t.' See *Ἑρμοῦ* I 1, and note. Whether the Harvest Festival of Rnn.t originally fell not in Pachon but in Pharmuthi, the Harvest goddess' own month, does not concern us here. Eventually this festival presumably had become fixed, in the civil calendar, on Pachon 1 (= I Smw I, the first month of the third season, the first day), or perhaps it was late on Pharmuthi 30, really on the eve of Pachon 1, and was followed by a Harvest Festival the next day. See R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, p. 39, and Merkelbach, *Isisfeste*, pp. 42-44. The Harvest Festival of Hermouthis was the third great festival of the ecclesiastical year of the Isis cult.

IVa, and Va and b.

It will be noted that in Hymn II no day in Pachon is mentioned. In III 32, on the other hand, Pachon 20 = Thoth is given as the date of the Harvest Festival. See III 32 and note.

ἐς εὐφροσύνην: a common phrase in Lxx: Ge. XXXI 27; Si. 34.28; Ps. XX 11; Ps. Sal. X 8, and particularly Deut. XVI 10-15. Cf. Act. Ap. 2.28.

27. εἰς οἶκον: possibly Isidorus wrote metrically: *τερφθέντες δ' οἰκόνδε*; later the stonemason substituted the unmetrical, but poetic, *εἰς οἶκόν*. See A. Wilhelm, *Witmer Studies* 61/62, 1943/7, p. 175.

πανηγυρίσαντες: the festival may have been held in the spacious environs of the temple. Various outer temples, or temple-buildings, were the scene of festivities at Edfu. See W. H. Fairman, "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37, 1954-55, pp. 165-203. For the temple-complex at Medinet Madi as an *ἄστυ*, see Plate IV; the forecourt is called *προάστω*.

28. *εὐφήμως*: piously, reverently, as in A. *Eu.* 287. Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 265c, Ar. *N.* 263, and S. *Aj.* 362, where it means respectfully and silently. It is tempting to see in the line some implication of the effect of *μῆσεις* or *δείκηλα* (see 23-4 above and note). But the celebrants may have merely partaken of a festive 'common meal.' Cf. *ἐορτή* III 33.

τρυφή: the common poetic use of *τρυφή* ranges from 'daintiness,' 'lightness' (E. *Ph.* 1491), and 'fastidiousness' (Ar. *Pl.* 818), to 'licentiousness' (Ar. *Ra.* 21). But under the Ptolemies, *τρυφή* apparently attained a specific meaning, the ideal type of abundant life those monarchs lived (ideally) at court, or a peculiarly blessed or lucky life. It appeared, euphemistically, in royal surnames. See Alfredo Passerini, "La *τρυφή*," *Storiografia ellenistica, Studi ital. di Filol. Class. N. S.* 11, 1934, pp. 35-6; Otto-Bengtson, *Geschichte*, pp. 5, 47-51; and J. Tondriaux, *La Tryphé, Philosophie royale Ptolémaïque*, 1948.

Isidorus' *τρυφή* echoes a little the above Ptolemaic meaning of the word. It implies a feeling of special favour arising from the celebration of the Panegyrie and the feeling that the god was satisfied, a state of peculiar harmony fostered perhaps by the cult meal and the Mysteries. The festival celebrated, undoubtedly, the mutual regard or love of the deity and her worshipers.

It is impossible to read lines 21-28 of this Hymn without seeing its close similarity, in language at least, to Lxx Deut. XVI 10-15.

29-30, 32-33. Summary. The second hymn concludes with a request to the goddess to continue to share her gifts with her suppliant, and to grant him in particular the gift of a child. After the signature there appears a postscript, undoubtedly written some time later, stating that Isis and her Synnaoi gods heard the poet's prayer and granted him his heart's desire.

29. *σὼν δώρων . . . μετάδος*: *μετάδος* means 'give a share.' Cf. Thgn. 104, 925; and *h. Hom.* XXX (to Ge) 6-9: *σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον . . . φερέσβιος*. The whole line, and 18: *βίον θυμήρε ὄπαζε*, is not unlike the concluding prayers of

Orphic hymns. Cf. especially XXXII 15: κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, δός δ' εἰρήνην πολυόλβον.

30. *ικέτηι*: cf. *M.* 36. 'Suppliants' in Greek hymns are simply those who pray to the deity.

ὄλβον: see III 6. Cf. *h. Hom.* XV 9 and XX 8: δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

33. *ἀνταπέδωκαν*: Isidorus' meaning is theological, concerning the relationship between a man and the divine. The 'gift' is a divine reward in return for proper worship. The goddess and her *σύνναοι* gods at Medinet Madi judge of a man's actions, and bestow their rewards in his lifetime. Lines 32-33 are obviously personal. It could be that the goddess has given the poet the child he sought. Cf. 15-16, and 3. The postscript reveals many qualities in the writer, awe, humility, faith and spontaneous personal thankfulness. His feelings seem to well up and pour forth in his praises or aretalogies; cf. *εὐθυμία* below. His response to the goddess is very close to Lucius' emotion in *App. Met.* XI 25: *Nec mihi vocis ubertas ad dicenda quae de tua maiestate sentio sufficit, nec ora mille linguaeque totidem vel indefessi sermonis aeterna series.*

εὐθυμία: gladness, happiness, as in *Pi. I.* 1.63; and *Pi. Pae.* 1.2. Cf. *Ep. Jac.* 5.13; and *P. Amh.* 133.4. *εὐθυμία*, as a cult term, refers to the emotion inspired by that cult's deepest mysteries. See R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium*, p. 110, note 2, and p. 333, note 2.

Hymn III (Plate VIII)

Ἵψίστων μεδέουσα θεῶν, Ἑρμοῦθι ἀνασσα,
 Ἴσι ἀγνή, ἀγία, μεγάλη, μεγαλώνυμε Διοῖ,
 σεμνοτάτῃ δώτειρ' ἀγαθῶν μερόπεσσι ἅπασιν
 εὐσεβέσω μεγάλας χάριτας καὶ πλοῦτον ἔδωκας,
 5 καὶ (ζ)ωὴν γλυκερὴν τε ἔχεω καὶ τέρψιν ἀρίστην
 Ὀλβον, εὐτυχίην καὶ σωφροσύνην τε ἄλυπον.
 ὅσσοι δὲ ζῶουσι μακάρτατοι, ἄνδρες ἄριστοι,
 σκαπτροφόροι βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ὅσσοι κοῖρανοί εἰσι,
 οὗτοι σοι ἐπέχοντες ἀν(ά)σσουσ' ἄχρι τε γήρω[ς],
 10 λαμπρόν καὶ λιπαρόν καταλείποντες πολὺν ὄλβον
 νιάσι θ' υἱωνοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσι τοῖσι μεταῦ[τις].
 ὃν δὲ κε φίλτατον ἔσ(χ)ε ἀνάκτων ἡ βασιλεια
 οὗτος καὶ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Εὐρώπης τε ἀν(ά)σσει,
 εἰρήνη(ν) τε ἄγων, καρποὶ βριθουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 15 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν, καρπὸν τε φέροντες ἄρ[ισ]τ[ον].
 ὅππου δὴ πόλεμοί τε ἀνδροκτασίαι τε μάλιστ[α]
 μυριάδων ὄχλων τε τὸ σὸν σθένος, ἡ δύνα[μις] σου,
 πλῆθος ἀπημαύρωσ', ὀλέγοισι δὲ θάρσος ἔδωκε.

- 20 κλῦθι ἐμοῦ, Ἀγαθή τε τύχη, ἱκέτου σου, ἄνασσ[α,
 ἥ που ἐς Λιβύην ἢ ἐς Νότον ἀμφιβέβηκα[ς,
 ἥ βορέου πέρατα ναίεις ἡδυπνόου αἰεί,
 ἥ Εὐρου πνωιάς, ὅθι ἀντολαὶ ἡελίω,
 ἥ καὶ Ὀλυμπον ἱκανες ὅπου (οὐ)ρανίων[ες ἐν]ε[ισώ
 25 ἥ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὕψι μετ' ἀθανάτοισι δικάζεις,
 ἥ καὶ ἡελίου ὠκυδρόμου ἄρματα βᾶσα,
 κόσμον ἅπαν διάγουσα, κατοπτεύουσα ἅπαντα
 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν τε καὶ εὐσεβέων καθορῶσα,
 εἰ δέ καὶ ὧδε πάρει, ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἐφορῶσα,
 30 τερπομένη θύμασιν, λοιβαῖσι τε ἡδὲ θνηταῖς,
 ἀνδρῶν ναιότων Σούχου νομόν Ἀρσωοειτῶν
 παμφύλων ἐθνῶν, ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος τε πάρεισι
 εἰκάδι μηνὶ Παχῶν καὶ Θωὸθ δεκάτην σοὶ ἄγον[τ]ε[ς
 καὶ Ἀγχόη, Σοκονῶπι, θεοῖς {α} ἀγίοισιν, ἑορτή.
 35 πυθομένη εὐχῶν, μελανηφόρε Ἴσι ἐλήμων,
 καὶ ὑμεῖς, μεγάλοι τε θεοὶ σύνναοι ἅμ' αὐτῇ,
 πέμψατ' ἐμοὶ Παιῶν', ἀχέ[ω]ν ἱήτορα πάντω[ν].
 Ἰσίδωρος
 ἔγραψε.

5. ξωήν Vogliano; σωήν (Hondius) SEG VIII 7. lap. ἀνδρες 9. lap. ANΣΣ, ἀν(α)σσουσ' Vogliano; in fin. γήρω[ς] ibid. 10. ἔλβον ibid. 11. μεταῖτις ibid. 12. lap. ΕΣΚΕ, ἔσχε ibid.; in fin. βασίλεια ibid. 13. lap. ANΣΣΕ, ἀν(α)σσει ibid. 15. ἀρ[ου]ρ[ι]ς ibid.; ἀρ[ισ]τ[ον] (Hondius) SEG VIII 16. μάλιστ[α] Vogliano 17. δῖνα[μ]ίς σου ibid. 18. ἔδωκας ibid.; ἔδωκε (Hondius) SEG VIII 19. ἄνασσ[α] Vogliano 20. ἀμφιβέβηκα[ς] ibid. 23. (ἐ)πουρανίων [...] ε [...] ibid.; ὅπου (οὐ)ρανίων[ες ἐν]ε[ισώ] Segre; ὅ(ν) οὐρανίων[ες] ἔχουσιν Vandoni 26. ἅπαντα Vogliano, ἅπαντα M. Vandoni 29. θνηταῖς Vogliano 32. ἄγουσιν ibid.; ἄγον[τ]ε[ς] Segre; ἄγουσι(ν) M. Vandoni 36. ἀχέ[ω]ν Vogliano; πάντω[ν] ibid.

- O Ruler of the Highest Gods, Hermouthis, Lady,
 Isis, pure, most sacred, mighty, of might Name, Deo,
 O most hallowed Bestower of good things, to all men
 who are righteous, You grant great blessings: to possess wealth,
 5 a life that is pleasant, and most seren happiness:
 material gain, good fortune, and happy soundness of understanding.
 All who live lives of greatest bliss, the best of men:
 sceptre-bearing kings and those who are rulers,
 if they depend on You, rule until old age,
 10 leaving shining and splendid wealth in abundance
 to their sons, and sons' sons, and men who come after.
 But the one whom the heavenly Queen has held the most dear of princes,
 rules both Asia and Europe,
 keeping the peace; the harvests grow heavy for him

- 15 *with all kinds of good things, bearing fruit . . . ,
and where indeed there are wars and slaughter
of countless throngs, Your strength, and godly power
annihilates the multitude (against him); but to the few (with him) it gives
courage.*
Hear me, Agathetyche, when I pray to You, Lady,
- 20 *whether You have journeyed into Libya or to the south wind,
or whether You are dwelling in the outermost regions of the north wind ever
sweetly blowing,
or whether You dwell in the blasts of the east wind where are the risings of
the sun,
or whether You have gone to Olympos where the Olympian gods dwell,
or whether You are in heaven above, a judge with the immortal gods,*
- 25 *or whether having mounted the chariot of the swift-driving sun,
You are directing the world of men, looking down on the manifold
deeds of the wicked and gazing down on those of the just.
If You are present here too, You witness (men's) individual virtue,
delighting in the sacrifices, libations and offerings,*
- 30 *of the men who dwell in the Nome of Suchos, the Arsinoïtes,
men of mixed races who all, yearly, are present
on the twentieth of the month of Pachon and Thoth, bringing a tenth for You
and for Anchoes, and Sokonopis, most sacred (of) gods, at Your feast.
O Hearer of prayers, black-robed Isis, the Merciful,*
- 35 *and You Great Gods who share the temple with Her,
send Paeon to me, healer of all ills.*
*Isidorus
wrote (it)*

1-6. Summary. The invocation is to the great and holy Isis as goddess of the Harvest, that is, as both Hermouthis, goddess of cereal grain and the human infant (Egyptian) and as Greek Deo, Giver of all good things (= Agathe Tyche). Isidorus' royal goddess is complex.

1. ὑψίστων μεδέουσα θεῶν: with ὑψίστων cf. I 3 and IV 4. The title means Ruler of the Greatest Gods. Cf. the elaborately superlative expression in IV 23 qualifying Suchos: μεγάλου μεγάλου τε μεγίστου, and Osiris (App., Met. XI 30): deus deum magnorum potior et maiorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator. In A. 45, μεδέουσα also refers to Isis. Cf. Anthol. Palat. VI 231: Αἰγύπτου μεδέουσα μελαμβώλου λωόπεπλε, and PGM 4.2774: Ἰὼ πασικράτεια καὶ Ἰὼ πασιμεδέουσα Ἰὼ παντρεφέουσα (Io = Isis).

Ἑρμοῦθι: see I 1, II 2, and Plates IX-XIII.

2. ἀγνή: cf. IV 1 ἀγνὸν . . . ἱερόν.

ἀγία: cf. Paus. X 32.13: ἱερόν Ἰσιδος ἀγιώτατον; also IG XII 694.14, and

SIG 3.768: τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἁγιωτάτων. For the use of ἁγίος with Egyptian and Syrian gods in the Hellenistic period, see OGIS 620.2: Δύ ἁγίωι, OGIS 590.1 ff.: θεῶ ἁγίῳ βάλ. Both ἁγίος and ἁγνός signify taboo and veneration; ἁγίος, in particular, is thought basically to be a Semitic word (Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, vols. I-VI, 88). ἁγία is used of Isis etc. in *H. Oxy.* 34-5: Ἦραν ἁγίαν; 35-6: Ἀφρ[ο]δείτην βασ[ί]λειω[σαν ἁγε]ίαν; 89: ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδίπῃ ἁγίαν, 256: καὶ ἁγίαν; and IG VII 3426 (Chaeronea): τῆς ἁγίας Εἰσίδος.

μεγάλη: cf. IV 23 and note.

μεγαλῶνυμε: cf. I 2 and note.

Δηοῖ: cf. I 3 and IV 4.

3. σεμνοτάτη: Demeter especially is qualified by σεμνή. See *h. Cer.* I 486 (cf. 478). Isis' battlements are σεμνοί (*Kyr.* 13): πόλεις τε σεμνοῖς περιβόλοις ἐτείχισα.

δώτειρα: the title is used of Isis in *H. Oxy.* 68, and 13 (δότειρα), and possibly *Ank.* 10. The δώτειρα ἀγαθῶν is almost equivalent to Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη.

μερόπεσσι: cf. *A.* 20: μερόπων.

4. εὐσεβέσω: cf. 27 below, and II 6; εὐσεβέσω may contrast with ἅπασι. In line 3 all men receive gifts from Isis-Tyche, but in line 4 there are special rewards for the righteous, meaning those who are loyal (both to Isis and the King): μεγάλας χάριτας καὶ πλοῦτον. See 28, κατοπτεύουσα, and note. Cf. II 21-22: ὅσοις (εὐσεβέσω) πλοῦτον τ' ἀνέδωκας καὶ χάριτας μεγάλας.

ἔδωκας: cf. I 7, and II 21. The meaning probably is: you grant (gnomic aorist).

5. ζώην: Vogliano, *P. R.*, p. 37 reads: ζώην; SEG VIII 550.5 reads: σωήν. The facsimile shows a blurred letter that could be Σ or Ξ (see Plate VIII = Vogliano, *P. R.*, Tav. XVI).

ἔχεω: see II 22, above and note.

τέρψω ἀρίστην: cf. τέρπονται II 4, τερφθέντες *ibid.* 27, and εὐτερπίν *ibid.*

18.

6. ὄλβον: happiness based on substantial wealth. See II 30; πλοῦτος too is high among the goddess' special favours for the righteous. See 4 above. For the same thought, cf. *h. Hom.* XXX 12, and *Hes. Op.* 312-21.

εὐτυχίην: sent by τύχη ἀγαθή; τρυφή is a most desirable kind of εὐτυχία. Cf. II 28. The present Hymn concerns the εὐτυχία of royalty, or their τρυφή. See 7 ff.

σωφροσύνην: a peculiarly Greek word showing that Isidorus' goddess is Hellenized.

7-18. Summary. Isis is special protectress of kings; she grants them more blessings than other men: prosperity, length of days, and, most important, children to succeed them. And to one great King, the Egyptian Pharaoh who is King of Kings, she gives her highest favours. Indeed, through her, (through his traditional power over nature and the Nile) he can bring his people peace and a bountiful harvest. He has foes and his own forces are less numerous than theirs,

but the goddess will protect him in battle and bring him victory as she has always done. For the possible reference here to Soter II see Chapter I.

8. *σκαπτροφόροι βασιλεῖς*: *σκαπτροφόρος* is Doric, here simply poetic colouring. The whole Andros Hymn (A.) is in the Doric dialect.

9. *ἐπέχοντες*: relying on, depending on (with the dative). In Plato, *ἐπέχω* means set one's mind on (*Lg.* 926b; cf. *Plu. Aem.* 8), yield oneself to (*R.* 399b). The participle, as used here, has religious significance.

ἄρχι . . . *γήρω[ς]*: Isis, as protector of the King, grants him a long life and reign, that is, she prolongs his days.

λαμπρόν καὶ λιπαρόν: the alliterative use of these common epithets seems peculiar to Isidorus.

καταλείποντες: leaving behind (of the dying), bequeathing.

11. *υἰάσι θ' υἰωνοῖσι*: for the epic cliché, cf. *Il.* II 666: *υἱέες υἰωνοί τε*; and *Od.* XXIV 515: *οἶός θ' υἰωνός*.

τοῖσι μεταῦ[τις]: the Ionic form *μεταῦ[τις]* is restored in preference to the Attic *μεταῦθις*.

12. *φίλτατον ἔσχε*: the facsimile shows *ἔσκε*. Cf. *Il.* XXIV 67: *φίλτατος ἔσκε θεοῖσι βροτῶν οἱ ἐν Ἰλίου εἰσῶν*. The line from the *Iliad* speaks of Hector, whom Zeus could not save though he loved him most of all mortals. Isidorus may be thinking that the King of Egypt is as beloved of Isis as Hector was of Zeus. The error may, however, be that of the stonemason for surely the poet cannot mean the goddess can only grieve for her favourite.

ἔσκε, the iterative form of *εἰμί*, as in the Homeric line, is obviously misused here.

(*φίλτατον*) . . . *ἀνάκτων*: if *ἀνάκτων* has its epic significance, it means of princes, of kings. *φίλτατον* . . . *ἀνάκτων* must be similar to *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*, an epithet of the King of Egypt (who here is the ruler of 'Asia and Europe,' 13).

ἄναξ: in the plural, the noun is defined (*Arist. Fr.* 536): *υἱεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἄνακτες*. Cf. *Od.* I 397. *ἄγαξ* is also a well known title of gods, for example Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, the Dioscuri.

13. *Ἀσίας τε καὶ Εὐρώπης τε ἀν(ά)σσει*: the sweeping exaggeration of this statement is reminiscent of the formulaic ending of petitions to a Ptolemaic king, for example: *θεοὶ δοῖέν σοι βασιλεύειν πάσης χώρας ἧς ὁ ἥλιος εἰσορᾷ*. It is the language of an imagined universal monarchy.

14. *καρποί*: the interesting suggestion is made by R. Merkelbach that Isidorus wrote *κᾶποι* (= gardens, Doric) and that the reading *καρποί*, echoing line 15, is the stonemason's error. See "Note Critiche e Filologiche, Osservazioni Critico-Testuali Agli Inni Isiaci di Isidoro, La Parola del Passato," *Rivista di Studi Antichi*, Fas. CIII, Napoli, 1965, pp. 298-9.

βρίθουσω: *βρίθω* is used of fruit trees, vines, etc., meaning be heavy, be heavily laden, bend down. The verb is epic-poetic. Cf. *Il.* XVI 384, *Od.* XIX 112, *Hes. Op.* 465-6. See also I 12 on *ὀπωρῶν*.

ἐπ' αὐτῷ: cf. 9 and II 2. *ἐπὶ* (with the dative) may mean because of. See *Il.*

XXI 585; X. HG. 3.11; Pl. *Plt.* 342. It implies strong affection.

15. καρπὸν τε φέροντες: cf. Hes. *Op.* 117 (of the Golden Age): καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα αὐτομάτη, and 232 (in the righteous city): τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γεῖα πολὺν βίον.

ἄρ[ω]τ[ον] is the reading in SEG VIII 550; ἄρ[ού]ρ[ης] is that of Vogliano, *P. R.*

Lines 11-15 assume a mystic relationship between the moral quality of the King and the bounty of the harvest. It is more than the fact that a bountiful harvest is the probable result of good government or sound leadership. Cf. *Od.* XIX 109-14. It seems odd, incidentally, that lines 12-15 speak of the goddess in the third person while 1-11 and 19-36 directly address her (and her synnaoi gods). The lines show other peculiarities, harshness, lack of coordination (14), extraordinarily naive repetition (14-15), and the solecism ἔσκε = ἔσχε (12).

16. ἀνδροκτασίαι: means 'carnage.'

17. μυριάδων: the thought that one king is more than thousands of men has many Egyptian parallels.²⁰

ὄχλων: ὄχλοι are vast crowds. It is much like πλῆθος, 18. Cf. *Th.* IV 126, and *Plot.* 6.6.12, of a multitude at a festival: ὄχλος καὶ ἑορτὴ καὶ στρατὸς καὶ πλῆθος. For the genitive ὄχλων, see Goodwin and Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, section 1133 ff.

τὸ σὸν σθένος: σθένος is an unusual word for a goddess' power; it is followed immediately by the more usual δύναμις.

δύναμις: see I 11, δυνάμει.

18. πλῆθος: signifies a nameless crowd.

ἀπημαύρωσ': the verb means cause to vanish, obscure, remove from sight, blot out utterly. Cf. *A.* 20-21: τὼς οὐκ ὀλέσει ν[ό]ος ἢ λ[ο]ς οὐδ' ἀπαμαυρώσει πολὺς χρόνος κτλ. See also *A.* 106.

The language in 16-18 is strongly suggestive of Hes. *Op.* 225 ff. (especially 238-45, 274-85, and 319-26) where people perish through no personal fault. Compare with Isidorus' language, the similar terms in *Op.* 284: ἀπαμαυροτέρη γενέη, 318: θάρσος, 325: μαυροῦσι θεοί and 243: ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.

For Isis as Destroyer-Avenger see *M.* 25, 41, 46-7; *A.* 158-160, and *H. Oxy.* 239-42. Lines 16-18 of the present Hymn re-assert more strongly than 4-15 the royal goddess' protection of her favourite, the Pharaoh. The poet supports the 'rightful' King and his goddess. A reader might well surmise from lines 16-18 that massacres are being carried out by, or in the name of, some 'pretender' (12-15). The rightful King is seriously threatened and (in traditional language) is supported only by the 'few' (18). Yet he is 'most dear' to the powerful goddess (12) and therefore he, not his opponent, can bring the country prosperity (14-15). The

20. Cf. H. J. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphia-dekret* 54, pp. 11-12, citing Erman, *Literatur*, pp. 179, 325-333, E. Hornung, "Zur Geschichtl. Rolle

des Königs in der 18. Dynastie," *MDAIK* 15, 1957, pp. 126-128; cf. Polybius V 82-85. Thissen shows that the topos is an ancient Egyptian one.

language is vague but perhaps intentionally so. It could date to the early years of the restoration of Ptolemy IX, when his success was in doubt. From other sources we know his position was doubtful until 84 B.C. The completeness of his subsequent destruction of Thebes betrays to us his fear of the Theban priests who had led the revolt. Lines 16-18 could well have been written between 88 and 84.

19-33. Summary. The second half of Hymn III begins with a new invocation of Isis-Hermouthis as Agathetyche, Giver of all good things. It reflects the era of peace succeeding the rebellion and strife of 16-18, and seems to continue lines 12-15. Here one cannot but catch the stress on Isis' observance of the citizens' morals; the 'good,' those loyal to the King, she easily distinguishes from the 'bad.' Moreover, she will perhaps attend the Thanksgiving festival when she can watch men's behaviour at close hand, and rejoice with them in their Panegyrie on 'the twentieth of Pachon and Thoth.' At this time they will pay their 'tenth' to the goddess and her family (and by implication their homage to the King).

19. κλυθι: cf. *Il.* I 37: κλυθι μεν ἀργυρότοξε. See note below.

20. ἀμφιβέβηκα[ς]: cf. *Il.* I 37: ἀργυρότοξ' ὃς Χρῦσιν ἀμφιβέβηκας. Isidorus' meaning of ἀμφιβέβηκα[ς], of course, is different. In the *Iliad* it is 'bestride,' meaning 'protect'; here it means 'go,' or 'move about.'

20-22. ἦ... ἦ... ἦ... ἦ and 23-25: ἦ καὶ... ἦ καὶ... ἦ καὶ. For ἦ repeated, see *Il.* I 138, 145, and *Od.* XV 84-5. Cf. also *h. Hom. Apollo* 208: ἦέ, 211: ἦ... ἦ..., 212: ἦ..., 214: ἦ...; Sappho Fr. 35: ἦ δὲ Κύπρος ἦ Πάφος ἦ Πάνορμος (an invocation to Aphrodite); *h. Orph.* XLIX 5 ff.; and especially *h. Orph.* XLII 5 ff. (to Misa a 'daughter' of Isis), and *h. Orph.* LV 15 ff. See too Horace *Carm.* III 21. Such formulae are epic-poetic and found very often in invocations. See 23 and note, end.

21. βορέου... ἡδυπνόου: the adjective means sweet-smelling. The description of the 'pleasant' north wind betrays the Egyptian provenance of Isidorus' Hymn. Cf. I 12. Incidentally, the north wind blows all year long in Egypt and is cooling. For instance, an Egyptian inscription from Edfu asks Renenutet (Hermouthis) to come in a 'good north wind (Edfu, VII 243b). The annual northern or etesian winds in Egypt were thought to cause the Nile flood. The Etesians are equated here to 'Boreas.'

πέρατα: 'outermost regions.'

22. πνωιάς: see πνωιά I 10 above.

ἀντολαὶ ἡελίω: an epic formula; cf. *Od.* XII 4, and *E. Ph.* 504. *H. Oxy.* 157-9 says of Isis: ἡλιων ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρε[ις].

23. Ὀλυμπον: cf. IV 3 below.

For Isis' association with the mountain Olympus, the traditional home of the Greek gods, see *A.* 26-27: Εἷς ἐγὼ πολὺβουλος ἐχ[ώ]ρισα τέρματ' Ὀλύμπω κεί χθόνα μυδαλέαν σκοτοεῖμονα, *H. Oxy.* 129-30: τὴν ἐν Ὀλύμπω θεῶν εὐπ[ρε]πήν and *Ank.* 8: πρεσβίστην μακάρων ἐν Ὀλύμπω. σκῆπτρον ἔχουσιν. Cf. too *M.* 5: ἐγὼ εἰμι Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη and *D. S.* I 27.3: ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ τοῦ νεωτάτου Κρόνου θεοῦ θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη.

ἱκανες: is epic-poetic and means 'reach.' Cf. Solon 13.21-22: θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν ἱκάνει οὐρανόν. See too Od. XVIII 217, XIX 532. The imperfect tense is odd.

Lines 20-22, introduced by ἦ, refer in rather whimsical order to the west, south, north, and east. A new series of three introduced by ἦ καὶ seems to begin, 23: Ὀλυμπον, 24: ἐν οὐρανῷ . . . μετ' ἀθανάτοισι (δικάζεις), and 25: ἡελίου ἄρματα (βάσα). The purely Greek side of the goddess' mythology is apparent. The lines sound formulaic; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I 61-68, for a similar topos.

24. οὐρανῷ. The whereabouts of Olympos, Uranos, and the Uraniones (23) is unimportant. All that matters is that the goddess can go anywhere, passing freely over all cosmic boundaries.

ὑψι: an epic adverb. See e.g. Il. XX 155: Ζεὺς δ' ἤμενος ἦψι. Cf. Il. XIII 140, and Hes. *Op.* 205.

μετ' ἀθανάτοισι: it would seem that Isidorus has in mind some cosmic system such as that described in Stob. I 41.45. See II 11, οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος and note above. In his Hymns certain ἀθάνατοι, among whom is Isis, judge in οὐρανός, 'Ἥλιος, Isis' son, is expressly located in αἰθήρ (II 14) through which he daily journeys (with his mother) and which he can be said to control (cf. 25 below). All the living creatures of Isis-Heuretria (I 3, II 3) live on Ge, where men are controlled by a King whose soul is partly divine, and therefore closely associated (9) with the goddess-Heuretria who appears both on earth and in the supra-terrestrial realms (20 ff). It may well be that Isis is actually thought of as a Greek, motherly, Demiourgos controlling the whole system from without and encountering men especially through the King and his ψυχή (12-15). Cf. Stob. I 41.45; Pl. *Ti.* 40c; Pl. *R.* 530a.

24. δικάζεις: see I 6, εὐδικίη. In Isidorus' Hymns, Isis-Hermouthis-Agathetyche-Deo, as the One, has entirely usurped the functions of the old Greek deities traditionally concerned with δίκη. She created justice (I 6); she presides over it from her place among the Olympians (III 24); during her daily journey with the sun, she constantly watches over and judges human actions, that is, she judges their δίκη and εὐσέβεια (iii 27). In fact, she has become the heavenly judge. Her earthly house, her temple, incidentally is called ὄρμος δικαιοτάτος IV 6.

With the foregoing cf. M. 16: τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρον ἐποίησα; 35: ἐγὼ τοῖς ἄδικα πράσσουσι τειμωρίαι ἐπιτίθημι, 37: ἐγὼ τοὺς δικαίως ἀμυνομένους τειμῶν; 38: παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχύει; and H. *Oxy.* 50: ἐν κυνός] πόλει τοῦ βοῦ[σε]ῖ[ρε]ίτου πραξ[ι]δ[ι]κην. See too H. *Oxy.* 34.

In 24-27, Isis watches from heaven over men's δίκη, that is, their relationship to other men, and their εὐσέβεια, or their relationship to the gods. See 27 and note below. This is a judgement of the living. But in Egyptian mythology Isis had always been associated with a last judgement of men's souls after death. And indeed she appears sometimes in Greek and Latin hymns also in her Egyptian role as Judge of the Dead. Cf. A. 41 ff.; App. *Met.* XI 6; H. *Oxy.* 71-77, 113, 127. It is

strange that in her homeland, in Isidorus' Hymns, her interest throughout is in life and the living, in men's welfare and their behaviour. She judges them like a parent, and a King, watching over them from above (24, 26); she rejoices with them, in person, participating in their festivals (28), and, most important, she comes instantly and in person to each whenever he calls on her in his human emergencies (I 34). The only condition is that they must be loyal to her and the King, her 'son.' Constantly she listens and answers prayers (I 35; II 29-30, 32-33, and III 35-36). She can, and does, prolong life for she can ward off death by helping the sick (I 29-34; II 7-8). But nothing at all is said by Isidorus about her power over, or judgement of men after, death.

25. *ἡλίου . . . ἄρματα βάσα*: Plutarch, commenting on the sun's journey by chariot, contrasts Egyptian tales of the sun's journey by boat (*de Is.* 34): *ἡλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην οὐχ ἄρμασιν ἀλλὰ πλοίοις ὁχήμασι χρωμένους περιπλεῖν φασιν*. Relying chiefly on Plutarch's quotation, Müller (*Isisaretales*, p. 73 and notes, and p. 39, note 8) takes Isidorus' line (25) to be purely Greek. Evidence for the belief in a daily journey of the Egyptian sun-god by boat is well attested; and it is also well attested (especially in late texts) that Isis, as here, accompanied him in his daily journey. Isidorus' expression, therefore, is only partly Greek.

In the other aretalogies, Isis is similarly associated with the sun: *M.* 45: *ἐγὼ παρεδρεύω τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πορείᾳ*. Cf. Harder *Karpokrates*, p. 27 on III 25. See also *A.* 137-9: *Ἀελίω βασιλῆϊον ὁμαῖ σὺν [λαμπρῶι ὁμαί]μωι καὶ με καλεῖσι παρέδρον ἐλαυνόμενα δ' ἐνι γυροῖς συμφέρομ' ἀκτείνεσσι κατ' ὠ[ρανὸν] αἰγλάεντα*, *H. Oxy.* 248: *σὺ καὶ φωτὸς καὶ φλ[ε]γμάτων κυρία*, and 157: *ἡλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρει[ις] κ[αί] ὅλοι εὐφραίνοντα[ι] οἱ θεοί*.

Isis is said to be car-borne in *G.* 17 (*διφηλάται*). Delatte refers to coins of the Roman Empire which show her in a chariot. See Roscher, *Lexikon* II, p. 424. Cf. *A.* 30-32: *. . . καὶ πυροέντων Ἀέλιον πῶλων ἀγήτορα φαύσπα κύκλων ἐς πόλον εἰθύνεσκον*. Apuleius has a more cosmic, less visual, image of her (*Met.* XI 14): *tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem*.

26. *κόσμον: κόσμον, τό* (cf. *ἅπαν*) is not found elsewhere. The late meaning of *κόσμος* (the whole inhabited world of men) is meant here. Cf. *OGIS* 458, 40; *IGRom.* IV 982; *Ev. Matt.* 16.26. Men, not the physical world, are the goddess' real concern.

κατοπτρεύουσα: the sun is frequently mentioned as watching men's acts from above. See *ἐφορῶσα*, 28 below. Zeus also keeps a like watch. In the aretalogies Isis has replaced Zeus. See *δικάζεις*, 24.

Isis watches men from above: *M.* 44-45: *ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αἰγαῖς εἰμι, ἐγὼ παρεδρεύω τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πορείᾳ*. In *M.* 16-30, 32-38, and 52, she is essentially a goddess of men's moral life, over which she can watch as she journeys daily in the sky. See *H. Oxy.* 87-8 for similar titles: *ἐν Σαλαμῶν κατόπτω* (cf. v. Groningen, *De P. Oxy.* on 87-8); 93: *ἐν Ῥεωκοροῦλοις παντόπ[τω]*; 129: *τὸν πολ(ο)υόφθαλμ[ον]*; *Ank.* 10: *πανδε[ρ]κῇ*, and Kaibel, *Epiigrammata* 985, 3-4 (*Philae*): *ἐνθ[α] πανο[π]τεύουσιν . . . Εἶσω [ὅλον σ]ώζ[ειν] κόσμον ἐπισταμένην*.

ἅπαντα: cf. Hes. *Op.* 267: πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμός καὶ πάντα νοήσας.

27. ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν τε καὶ εὐσεβέων: ἀσεβῆς means unholy, not respecting the gods, i.e. morally wrong, and (in Egypt) *rebellious*. For the last, see OGIS 90.23: τοῖς ἐπισυναχθεῖσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀσεβέσων. Dittenberger defines ἀσεβεῖς in Egypt: "qui seditionem fecerant quia rex deus habetur, qualibet rebellio in impietatis crimen incurrit." Cf. OGIS 90.26: τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβεῖς πάντας διέφθειρεν. For ἀσέβεια, see also OGIS 90.383, 117, 120; 262.15; 48.11; and SB 5680.21.

The traditional formula in Egypt for the rebel against the (divine) King, was ἀσεβῆς . . . θεοῖσιν ἐχθρός. See L. Koenen, "Ein Einheimischer Gegenkönig in Aegypten," *Chronique* 34, 1959, pp. 110 ff., and C. B. Welles, *JRS* 28, 1938, pp. 41-9, P. Yale Inv. 1528. Impiety and treason always had been considered synonymous in Egypt. Conversely, loyalty to the King was 'piety': εὐσέβεια. Cf. ἀρετὴν, line 28. There is not the precise distinction between δίκη and εὐσέβεια in Egyptian thought that there is in Greek. See 24, δικάζεις above. When Isidorus speaks of men's εὐσέβεια, he is probably speaking as an Egyptian subject and means both loyalty to the King and to the royal goddess, Isis; δίκη to him may be much the same.

καθορῶσα: cf. κατοπτρεύουσα 26, above. Isis' watch from above over men's morals is stressed in lines 24, 26, 27. See M. Vandoni, *Prolegomena* II, 1953, Il Tempio di Madinet-Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro, p. 118 notes 26-27. One strongly suspects that what Isidorus really means is that Isis watches to see who is loyal and who is not. For her watch also at close hand, see line 28.

28. ὧδε: 'in this place.'

πάρει: cf. I 3 above and note. It is an epic term for a god's presence at feasts, etc. See *Il.* X 217. Cf. *Il.* II 458. It has the additional meaning, of course, of 'be present and help.' Cf. *Il.* XVIII 472; *Od.* XIII 393; *A. Pers.* 235; *E. Or.* 1159, etc.

ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν: individual virtue, individual goodness, i.e. loyalty to the King.

The expression is very strange if it refers to the goddess' own ἀρετή (= *vis divina*). If it does, she observes her own 'virtue' as she attends the festival. This (to us) is mysterious language following what is singularly clear. Conceivably it could mean the annual 'miracle' of the harvest as evidence for her arete. At that time there was tangible evidence of a power at work, producing men's prosperity and good luck (μέγαλαι χάριτες, πλοῦτος). Cf. 4-6. Apuleius also refers to the 'miracle' of prosperity bestowed on adherents of the Egyptian cult, *Met.* XI 30: liberalis . . . providentia.

The phrase, however, is much more simply taken as 'individual goodness' or 'virtue.' This meaning is also entirely appropriate to the context where it echoes lines 24 and 27. In the first century B.C. ἰδίως most frequently means 'belonging to an individual' as opposed to κοινός; and the usual meaning of ἀρετή (of an individual) is 'moral excellence, virtue' (see Arndt and Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1949-1952). ἀρετὴν here is probably equivalent to εὐσέβειαν and possibly δικαιοσύνην.

ἐφορῶσε: cf. κατοπτεύω, 26. ἐφοράω is used in epic-poetic formulaic language for observation (of humans) by the sun. Cf. *Il.* III 277: ὃς πάντ' ἀφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει. Zeus also watches men: . . . ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίννται ὃς τις ἀμάρτη, as does Dike (*Od.* XIX 260) and the gods generally (*Od.* XVII 487). The verb is also used of keen human observation (*Hdt.* I 10).

29. τερπομένη: cf. τέρψω 5, τερφθέντες II 27, and notes.

θύμασιν: the more usual long *upsilon* is here a short vowel.

θηλαῖς: the θηλαί were probably not blood sacrifices. At Thebes, in the New Kingdom, participants of Thermouthis' cult erected altars and sacrificed harvest offerings at fixed festivals (Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp. 56 ff.). The 'Greek' θηλαί here, in which Isis-Hermouthis delights, probably therefore are first-fruits and incense, that is, the customary sacrifice to Renenet-Hermouthis, goddess of the cereal harvest. Cf. Macrobius, *Satr.* 1.7.15, and V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Plate XXIII. The μοῖρα δεκάτη (II 23) and δεκάτη (32), in reality a tax and not a sacrifice, would have been presented at the first of the Panegyris and paid probably directly to the temple (see II 24 and note). The λοβαῖοί τε καὶ θηλαῖς (29) were a later part of the Thanksgiving rites. The words are an archaic Greek formula; the δεκάτη (32) is noticeably not part of it. The offering of the tenth (as stated above) was delivered directly to the temple granaries. See II 23 and note.

This is the only mention in Isiac Greek hymns of libations and, in fact, of any offerings. Even prayer to Isis is not mentioned in the other aretologies, although we know from Apuleius that it was a natural response of the initiated. Apuleius, however, does not mention offerings; rather Lucius' gifts seem to prepare him for the goddess' service and for the trappings and general show of his initiation. There is, however, evidence for sacrifices to Isermouthis at Medinet Madi in the large altar of the first century B.C., situated south of the latest portal. And V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi* Plate XXIII, shows a priest attending a large altar in the foreground. It is garlanded and bears what appears to be flaming incense and fruit. Plate XII(4) shows another altar of burning incense, and Plate XXIV shows another large altar in the midst of worshipers. Something is heaped thereon, but it is difficult to make out.

30. Σούχου: see IV 23, II 9, Σοκονῶπις. There is much evidence to show Suchos' continued association with the area about the town of Arsinoe. In Greek accounts, the Fayum is ἡ Λίμνη and ὁ Λιμνίτης (νομός). The term 'Fayum' is Coptic: 'Phiom' means sea; the district was considered to be the site of the great primeval sea. (Cf. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 214 ff.). Herodotus says its chief city was Κροκοδ(ε)ῖλον πόλις, which is shown in Egyptian texts to be famous for its very ancient sanctuary of the crocodile god Sbk. (See H. Gauthier, *Nomes*, n. 7, and references; D. S. I 89; and Str. XVII 1, 35.)

Crocodilopolis was renamed 'Arsinoe' by Ptolemy II. (See H. Gauthier, *Nomes*, n. 7, Brady, *Reception*, quoting U. Wilcken, *Zeits. Gesells. für Erdkunde*,

22, p. 85, and Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, 1.2, n. 2.) At Arsinoe F. Petrie found frequent references to Sebek and a cemetery of innumerable mummified crocodiles. (See Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, pp. 9 ff.) Not one but numerous crocodile cults existed. In the Hymns of Isidorus, Sokonopis is more or less a local form of the great god Suchos. These cults must have also flourished throughout the whole Delta region (particularly in the west), but the centre of Sbk's worship seems always to have been in the Fayum.

Ἀρσινωειτῶν: the city, Crocodilopolis, although re-named Arsinoe by Ptolemy II for his second wife, continued to be known by its ancient name as well. Cf. Pliny, *H. N.* V 61. One of the greatest national projects of the Ptolemies was the second Ptolemy's reclaiming of the Fayum, which had reverted by Hellenistic times to a large marsh called Lake Moeris. See Bell, *JEA* 29, 1943, pp. 37-50. Under Philadelphus' influence, many new Greek towns were built and settled throughout the enlarged Fayum, and its periphery which was chiefly desert. See Σούχου, 30. The Medinet Madi Hellenistic temple-complex stands in the remote south, and is later than Philadelphus. The ancient name of the immediate south area and its history are unknown.

This whole district was not originally independent, but part of the 21st Nome of Upper Egypt. And it is not known if, when it was re-organized by Ptolemy II, the newly enlarged area became a separate Lake District or remained part of the old Nome XXI of the Pharaohs. Probably some change occurred for *ὁ Λίμνη* (or *ὁ Λιμνίτης νομός*) disappeared completely in the last years of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (ca. 246 B.C.) and became instead (*ὁ*) *Ἀρσινωίτης νομός* or, as here, *Σούχου νομός Ἀρσινωειτῶν*. See H. Gauthier, *Nomes*, n. 7.

31. *παμφύλων ἔθνων*: mingled, or mixed, tribes or races. For the *ἔθνη* of the Arsinoite Nome after 148 B.C., see J. F. Oates, *YCS* 18, 1963, pp. 72 ff. By the first century B.C. it is abundantly clear that few families would be of unmixed descent. Intermarriage had been taking place; probably an entirely new ethnic group and culture was emerging in the Fayum. See below, *ἔθνων*.

ἔθνων: Ptolemy II had colonized the cities of his newly reclaimed Arsinoite Nome with soldiers. When Egyptian natives settled with them, the institutions of the two peoples flourished side by side. Foreigners and natives entering the newly reclaimed land of the Fayum together (cf. Brady, *Reception*, pp. 13 ff. and 30) did not face, as in the rest of Egypt, an old established civilization. The effort to preserve a XIIth Dynasty chapel within the Hellenistic temple at Medinet Madi undoubtedly betrays the newcomers' efforts to associate themselves with authentic relics of Egypt's remote past. And, of course, at or near Crocodilopolis a native settlement with an elaborate temple had also endured.

After the middle of the second century B.C., large, prosperous temple establishments, as in the rest of Egypt, became in the Fayum religious focal points for all inhabitants. By 145-30 B.C. Greeks seem generally to have accepted the native deities (see Brady, *Reception*, p. 16). That is (by implication), the foreign population and their descendants in this area resorted to the worship of the

crocodile god, Souchos, Hermouthis the harvest goddess, and hero-gods like Permarres and Amenophis. (See Brady, *Reception*, p. 34 quoting *Aegyptus* 7, 1926, pp. 113-38, and *Festschrift Ebers*, pp. 107-116. For Permarres, see *Archiv* 4 p. 211). There was emerging with the new, mixed ethnic group, a religious culture that drew from both Greek and Egyptian cults.

32. *εἰκάδι μηνὶ Παχῶν καὶ Θωῦθ*: for *μηνὶ Παχῶν* see II 26, above.

εἰκάδι: for the 20th of a month in the Greek calendar as a great, or lucky, day, see Hes. *Op.* 792-3. This, however, may have had little or nothing to do with the fixing in the Fayum of Pachon 20 as a festival.

Pachon 20 and Thoth are to be taken here as one fixed date. Cf. II 26, above, where only the month is given. Isidorus states there that tithes are paid and the harvest Panegyrie is celebrated in Pachon. For another reference to Pachon 20 at Medinet Madi see Vogliano, *Mostra delle Antichità*, Tav. 27, quoted by M. Vandoni, *Prolegomena* II, 1953, *Il Tempio di Madinet-Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro*, p. 118, n. 32.

We know from the dedications on the pillars at the south portal that the proastin and its lions were dedicated on Pachon 2. Thoth, traditionally the first month of the Egyptian year, is joined here to Pachon by *καὶ*; like Isidorus' nouns joined in this way, it is probably in the same case as Pachon. It is therefore equated to Pachon 20 and to be translated: on the 20th of the month of Pachon and Thoth. The date in Thoth is not given; *μηνὶ* almost surely goes with both month-names.

Isidorus must be following a practice elsewhere attested in references to calendars and religious events — designating a day of observation in terms both of the civil and religious calendars. With both an old temple lunar calendar and a lunar schematic calendar as possibilities for one aspect of the double date, and the civil calendar the probable designee in the other, it is difficult to make firm determinations.

The date of the harvest festival of Hermouthis seems to have been Pachon 1 (of the civil calendar; see also M. Vandoni, *Prolegomena* II, 1953, *Il Tempio di Madinet-Madi e Gli Inni di Isidoro*, p. 118, n. 32, quoting Alliot, *Les Cults d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 227), but Isidorus, contrary to what we might expect, does not mention either this traditional date, Pachons 1, or even 2, the date on which the proastin and lions were dedicated to Hermouthis and Sokonopis. Yet his 'Pachon 20 and Thoth' must be related to that well known date, Pachon 1 (or 2), for one can hardly suppose the 'Pachon' of Hymn II and 'Pachon 20' of II are festivals not connected with the well known ancient Harvest and Thanksgiving event.

As to Thoth, the first day was traditionally the Egyptian New Year and associated with all sorts of Isiac celebrations: the heliacal rise of Sothis-Isis, the coming of the Nile flood (Osiris), and Isis' marriage. Hymns II and III are, however, not at all concerned with any of these. Rather, they were written specifically for the goddess' Harvest Festival eight months later and the

presentation to her at that time of the apomoira tax. See II 23 and note. Reference to the New Year when the Nile flood had just arrived at the Fayum Lake would be quite inappropriate. Therefore, Thoth must be not a Thoth-festival but merely a date which is equated to the given date in Pachon.

δεκάτην: cannot be taken with Θωύθ. It would have to be δεκάτη. It must refer to the (μοῖραν) δεκάτην of II 23. Here it is the direct object of ἄγον[τ]ες (32). See below.

ἄγον[τ]ες[ς]: see δεκάτην above. For the meaning, 'celebrate a festival,' i.e. ὀρτήν or ἑορτήν (33) ἄγειν, see Hdt. I 147, 150. (Cf. ἑορτήν ποιεῖν of Lxx Ex. 23.16.) The participle probably governs both nouns. It is an instance of zeugma: bring (their) tenth and celebrate the festival. Literally, the tenth itself and the Feast may both be thought of as offerings to the goddess and her synnaoi gods.

33. Ἀγχόη Σοκονώπι: cf. II 8-14, 32-33, IV 5-6. The goddess' festivals, like the temple cult, are shared by Anchoes and Sokonopis, her 'family' of gods. The local forms of Suchos were frequently associated with the harvest-goddess, Hermouthis (see II 9 and note); and Anchoes may represent Hermouthis' son, commonly called Napre, the corn-god (see II 13 and note). The great goddess Isis is, in fact, equated here to three goddesses, Hermouthis, Demeter, and Agathe Tyche, and Isis' ancient association with Osiris is hidden in Sokonopis' name, (See Sokonopis, II 9). Anchoes – The Living One – is undoubtedly related more closely to Horus than Napre. (See II 13.)

34-36. Summary. In the conclusion to Hymn III, Isis-Hermouthis and her family of gods are asked to send Paean, the divine Healer, to Isidorus.

34. μελανηφόρε: the same epithet is used to describe Isis' priests at Delos who dedicate gifts to her and her family (second century B.C.). See SIG 977a.2; IG XI 4 1249, 1250 = SIG 1134 (cf. IG XI 4 1226); and Bull Inst. 1874, p. 105. μελανηφόρῳ Ἰσιδι occurs in *h. Orph.* XVII 9 (to Mise, a daughter of Isis). Apuleius translating and elaborating on μελανηφορός says: palla nigerrima splendens atro nitore (*Met.* XI 3-4). Cf. *Janus* 1, 1896-97, pp. 194 ff., 205, "Das Gewand der Isis." In the last, her robe is said to be 'Egyptian.' Isermuthis wears a dark robe, Plate XIV.

ἐλήμων: cf. I 36, εὐεῖλατος. The adjective seems to be a synonym for ἰλαος, which is frequent in Orphic hymns. See *h. Orph.* XVIIb 9; XVIII 19.

35. σύνναοι: cf. II 10.

36. Παιᾶν: Παιήων is Homer's physician of the Olympian gods.

For 'Pajawon' as a healing deity in Linear B, see Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, p. 126; and J. Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*, p. 124. Mycenaean Pajawon is obviously Paieon or Paian of later Greek; and Apollo's antecedent, or 'son.' Cf. *E. Alc.* 121-126 and 220-225. Later, Paieon could be a title of other gods and meant generally 'Healer.' But in Egypt, Paean himself seems still to be a god and is addressed as Giver of the Nile; or he is Apollo as at Ptolemais, in a hymn to Asklepios (see Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 138. In the present passage, he is probably the Greco-Egyptian

Imouthes-Apollo-Asclepios. See C. Kerényi, *Asklepios, Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*, trans. R. Manheim, p. 82.

For Apollo (= Paian?) as a god at Medinet Madi, see SEG VIII 545.

I have Professor E. G. Turner of University College, the University of London, to thank for the above reference to 'Pajawon.'

Hymn IV (Plate IX)

- τίς τόδε ἀγνόν ἔδεμ' ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦθι μεγίστη;
 ποῖς θεὸς ἐμνήσθη πανιεροῦ μακάρων;
 Ὡς αἰπὺν καὶ ἄδυτον ἐσημηώσατ' Ὀλυμπον
 Δημοῖ ὑψίστη Ἰσιδι θεσμοφόρῳ,
 5 καὶ Ἀγχόῃ νίῳ καὶ δαίμονι ἀγαθῷ Σοκονῶπι,
 ἀθανάτοισι ὄρμον εὖρε δικαιοτάτον.
 Αἰγύπτου τῶά φασι γενέσθαι θεῖον ἄνακτα,
 ὃς πάσης χώρας κύριος ἐξεφάνη,
 πλούσιον, εὐσεβέα, δυνάμει πάσῃ τε μεγίστηι
 10 ὃς κλέος καὶ ἀρετὴν ἔσχεν ἰσουράνιον.
 τούτῳ γάρ καὶ γαῖα ὑπήκοος ἦν τε θάλασσα
 καὶ ποταμῶν πάντων νάματα καλλιρρόων,
 καὶ πνοιαί ἀνέμων καὶ ἥλιος, ὃς γλυκὺ φέγγος
 ἀντέλλων φαίνει πᾶσι ἀριπρεπέως.
 15 καὶ πτηνῶν τε γένη ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔκλυεν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιστέλλων πάντα ἐπήκοα ἦν.
 Δῆλον τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅτι ὄρνεα ἔκλυεν αὐτοῦ
 ὥς οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενοι
 φάσκουσιν ποτε τοῦτον ἐπιστείλαντα κορώνην,
 20 σὺν τε ἐπιστολίῳ ἦλθε φέρουσα φάσιν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἔην βροτὸς ἀνὴρ, οὐδ' ἐκ βροτοῦ ἦεν ἄνακ[τος],
 ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μεγάλου ἔκγονος ἀενάου,
 Σούχου παγκράτορος μεγάλου μεγάλου τε μεγίστου
 δαίμονος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ υἱὸς ἀναξ ἐφάνη.
 25 Μητροπάτωρ τούτου δ' ἐστὶν ζωῆς ὁ μερῖσις,
 Ἄμμων, ὃς καὶ Ζεὺς Ἑλλάδος ἡδ' Ἀσίας.
 τοῦνεκα καὶ τῶι πάντα ἐπήκοα, ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ
 ἔρπετ' αἰὶν καὶ πτηνῶν οὐρανίων τε γένη.
 οὐνομα δ' ἦν παταπὸν τούτῳ; καὶ τίς τόδ' ἔθηκε
 30 κοίρανος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἢ τις ἀθανάτων;
 ὁ θρέψας Σέσοῳσις, ὃς οὐρανοῦ ἔσπερ' ἀφείκται,
 οὐνομ' ἔθηκε καλὸν ἡλίου εὐφεγγέος.
 Ἑρμηνεύσαντες δ' Αἰγύπτιοι οὐνομα τούτου

- Πορραμάνρην κλήζουσι, τὸν μέγαν, ἀθάνατον.
 35 θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παράδοξον ἐγὼν ἐσάκο[υ]σα παρ' ἄλλων,
 ὥς ἔπλει ἐν ὄρει ἄξοσι καὶ ἰστίῳ.
 Ἀσφαλέως δὲ μαθὼν τε παρ' ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἱστορούντων
 ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πάντ' ἀναγραψάμενος
 ἡρμῆνυσ' Ἑλλήσι θεοῦ δυνάμιν τε ἀνακτος,
 40 ὥς βρο[το]τὸς οὐδ' ἕτερος ἔσχεν ἴσιν δύνάμιν.
 Ἰσίδωρος
 ἔγραψε.

5. Σοκονῶπι Vogliano 9. μεγίστηι Vogliano 12. καλλιρ {ρ} ὄων Vogliano καλλιρρόων V. V.
 21. ἀνακ[το]ς Vogliano; ἀνακ[τος] V. V. 25. μερ[ιστής] Vogliano 35. ἐσάκ[ου]σα Vogliano; ἐσάκο[υ]σα
 Hondius

- Who built this holy temple to greatest Hermouthis?
 What god remembered the All-Holy One of the Immortals?
 He marked out the sacred shrine as a high Olympos.
 For Deo Highest, Isis Thesmophorus,
 5 for Anchoes the Son, and the Agathosdaimon, Sokonopis,
 Immortals (all), he created a most fitting (or most just) haven.
 A certain one, they say, was born a divine King of Egypt;
 he appeared on earth as Lord of all the World,
 rich, righteous, and omnipotent;
 10 he had fame, yes, and virtue that rivalled the gods'
 for to him the earth and sea were obedient,
 (and) the streams of all the beautiful-flowing rivers,
 (and) the breath of the winds, and the sun which shows sweet light,
 (and) on his rising (is) visible to all.
 15 The races of winged creatures with one accord would listen to him
 and he instructed all who heard his voice.
 The fact is clear that the birds obeyed him
 as those who have read the Sacred Scriptures
 speak of this king once entrusting a written message to a crow
 20 and she flew off with the letter, bearing his utterance (?)
 [or: she returned bearing a verbal message together with a written reply].
 (It is so) for he was not a mortal man, nor was he son of a mortal man
 but as offspring of a god, great, and eternal,
 (even) of Souchos, all powerful, very great, omnipotent,
 and the Agathosdaimon, he the son appeared on earth as a King.
 25 The maternal grandfather of this god is the Distributor of Life,
 Ammon, who is Zeus of Hellas and Asia.
 For this reason all things heard his voice, all things
 that move on earth and the races of winged heavenly creatures.*

- What was the name of this one? What ruler,
 30 what king, or who of the Immortals, determined it?
 (Why) the one who nurtured him, Sesoösis, he who has gone to the Western
 Heaven,
 gave him a fair name, 'Son of the Golden Sun.'
 When the Egyptians say his name (in their language) they call (him)
 'Porramanres, the Great, Deathless.'
 35 I have heard from others a miracle that is a riddle:
 how he 'navigated on the desert by wheels and sail.'
 Reliably learning these facts from men who study history,
 I myself have set them all up on inscribed pillars
 and translated (into Greek) for Greeks the power of a Prince who was a god,
 40 power such as no other mortal has possessed.
 Isidorus
 wrote (it).

Hymn IV is a sacred story from Egyptian scriptures retold by Isidorus to enlighten the Greeks.

1-6. Summary. Who founded the temple to the goddess and her two synnaoi gods? In answer Isidorus tells his story of the god-king, Porramanres, who founded the temple-community (7-36).

1. ἔδειμ': an epic-poetic verb for constructing large projects.

ἱερόν: the temple-complex, manifestly Greco-Egyptian in origin, is referred to as Olympos (3) and as an anchorage or haven (6). It included a XIIth Dynasty chapel, several large Hellenistic temples, and a priestly community engaged in the cults of at least three gods (5) as well as of the divine founder. τὸ ἱερόν here means the temple-community rather than merely the material structure.

Ἑρμούθι: see I 1; II 2, 29; III 1, above; also Plates IX-XIII. For her Thanksgiving festival at the temple, see II 21-28 and III 28-33.

2. ποῖς: a puzzling reading, possibly for ποῖος. A parallel seems to be: Πτολεμαῖς for Πτολεμαῖος. See *P. Par. Wiss.* 23. 19. 29 (165 B.C.) and *P. Teb.* 24.81 (117 B.C.). Wilhelm thought of reading τίς instead of ποῖς; from this he conjectured τίς (ις) was meant (*Sitz. Ber. Wiener Akad.* 224, 1946 (1) p. 47). But the photograph shows ποῖς with a clear five-bar sigma. However neither the pi nor the iota are entirely clear in the photograph, while the omicron seems deeper, clearer, and smaller than these letters. See Plate IX.

θεός: the photograph shows the final letter clearly as Ξ, which could be an incomplete five-bar sigma. The god is the Egyptian king, Porramanres, of 34. On the divinity of the Egyptian King, see Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 26-35.

ἐμνήσθη: cf. μνησθέντες II 21 above. The act of recalling, or heeding, implies a gift to the deity.

3. The line is to be best construed as: καὶ ἄδυτον ἐσημειώσατ' ὥς αἰπὺν

"Ὀλυμπον. ἄδυτον is faultily scanned: short-long-short.

ἐσημειώσατ': for ἐσημειώσατο. For the use of η = ει, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2(1) 74. The verb seems to mean mark by milestones, mark out for oneself (as in Plb. 3.39.8; 21.28.9. The reference is probably to the Egyptian ceremony of 'drawing the cord,' that is, surveying. See line 1. The same ceremony is shown in a relief within one of the Medinet Madi temple's hypostyle halls leading into the XIIth Dynasty temple. There the king is shown leading in 'drawing the cord' (or measuring the ground) for the temple's foundation. See Vogliano, S. R., p. 23; also A. Moret, *Du Caractère religieux de la Royauté pharaonique*, p. 132, plate 25.

αἰπύν: it is interesting to note that the innermost XIIth Dynasty shrine was on an upper level. See Chapter I, note 14. For the cliché, αἰπύν οὐρανόν, see Solon 13.21-22 (quoted at III 23).

Ὀλυμπον: see III 23; also αἰπύν immediately above. Like Olympus, any Egyptian temple was considered an earthly dwelling-place for gods. The temple-community could also be viewed as an 'image' of the world, a microcosm. See Rochemonteix, *Oeuvres choisies* (1897?).

4. Δηοῖ: cf. I 3; III 2, above and notes. Here as in I, Δηώ is qualified by ὑψίστη.

ὑψίστη: see I 3 above. Cf. III 1.

θεσμοφόρος: cf. I 6, θεσμούς, above. See also I 3, Δηοῖ. For a bibliography of Thesmophorus, see Müller, *Isisaretalegien*, p. 26, note 2. θεσμοφόρος is a common Greek epithet for Demeter. See for example Hdt. VI 91, 134; D. S. I 14. It is used also of Persephone (Ar. *Th.* 83; Pi. fr. 37) and of Dionysus (*h. Orph.* XVII 1). Isis has obviously been given an Eleusinian title. Müller considers the epithet Thesmophorus came directly from her assimilation with Demeter, and not from Egyptian theology, although several of the Egyptian gods in the New Kingdom were 'law-givers' (Müller, *Isisaretalegien*, pp. 26-7).

M. 4 also states (of Isis): ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θεσμοφόρος καλουμένη.

5. The scansion of the line seems to be:

καὶ Ἀγχόηι νιῶι καὶ δαίμονι(ι) ἀγαθῶι Σοκονῶπι.

Ἀγχόηι νιῶι: see II 13-14. Cf. *ibid.*, 32-33; III 33, 35.

δαίμονι ἀγαθῶι Σοκονῶπι: see II 9-12; cf. III 33, 35.

6. ὄρμον: cf. OGIS 383. The metaphor of 'gaining harbour' as a refuge from the 'storms' of life seems to have been a common one in ancient times. Cf. E. *Ba.* 902: ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ' ἔκτεν, and *Corp. Herm.* VII 1-2: σωτηρίας λιμήν. For a similar use of ὄρμος cf. Bion ap. D. L. IV 48: ὁ τῶν κακῶν ὄρμος and IG 2.2081: βίου πλεύσαντα πρὸς ὄρμον. A useful summary of ancient evidence for ὄρμος is found in C. Bonner, "Desired Haven," *HThR* 34, 1941, pp. 49-67.

For Hathor (perhaps equated to Isis) as a saving goddess of the sea, see Morenz, *Ag. Religion*, pp. 247 ff. Isis herself is entitled ὁρμίστρια, H. Oxy. 15-16, and 74; and Isis' priest tells Lucius: Ad portum quietis . . . venisti (*App. Met.* XI 15.1).

εὔρε: founded, created. Cf. I 8; also *εὐρέτρια* I 3; II 3. This is a non-Greek meaning assumed by the verb. Cf. *LJS*, *εὐρίσκω* III.

δικαιώτατον: for Isis associated with *δικαιοσύνη*, *δίκη*, *δίκαιος*, *κτλ*, see I 6 (*εὐδική*), and III 24 (*δικάζεις*). For the later meaning, see *LSJ* *δίκαιος* B. But see also note on III 24.

7-36. Summary. These 30 lines tell the story of the miracles of the god-king and folk-hero, Porramanres (34), son of Sesoösis (31). He is usually considered to have been the XIIth Dynasty Pharaoh variously known as Amenemhet [III], Amenemes, Ameres, Lamaris, Lambares, Moirios, and Moiris. In the late period the folk-hero's name appears as Porramanres, Poremanres, Premanres, Premarres, Permarres, Pramares, Prammare, and Porimandres of the magical texts. These names seem all to mean 'Pharaoh Manres.'

Traditionally Porramanres was associated with the successful control of the waters of the Fayum lake, Lake Moeris; and so his name had continued to be remembered in the Fayum where, in the late Ptolemaic era, he was the object of the popular folk-cult. One suspects it was fostered by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (see III 30) who had built a new irrigation system and planted many colonies of Greeks and Egyptians in the newly reclaimed land. Isidorus ignores Philadelphus' works. The statue of Porramanres had been set up in Fayum temples beside those of the royal gods and local divinities like Hermouthis and Sokonopis. A synod of Permarres had been established by Soter II's predecessor.

From the evidence of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the XIIth Dynasty chapel at Medinet Madi, both Amenemhet III and Amenemhet IV were remembered at the temple. Isidorus does not use this Dynastic name nor does he mention Porramanres' successor, but he does correctly name Sesoösis (= Sen-Usert, Sesostri) as the Dynastic name of the King's father. Sesostri III immediately preceded Amenemhet III. See W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den Aegyptischen Königslisten*, 1956, pp. 60 ff. Cf. the incorrect surmise of Herodotus (II 101-2) and Diodorus (I 51.5).

Although the name Porramanres is well known in the Fayum, at the Medinet Madi temple Isidorus' Hymn alone mentions him. Moreover, his story of Porramanres' pet crow (19-20) is corroborated by Aelian's tale of the tomb and stele of Pharaoh Mares' pet crow at Arsinoe-Crokodilopolis (*Ael. de Nat. An.* VI 7).

7. *ἄνακτα*: see III 12, above.

8. *πάσης χώρας (κύριος)*: cf. III 12-13. It means the whole earth. Cf. *Ank.* 9; *H. Oxy.* 121; and *A.* 7-9. This is probably not merely Hellenistic universalism. The ancient concept was even more bombastic, that the Egyptian king was the successor to the Creator, and so in his origin he was close to, if not in reality, the prototype of all kings. He was, in imagery, the champion of all cosmic order. See Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 148-9.

ἐξεφάνη: for *ἐκφαίνω* referring to human birth, see *Il.* XIX 104: *σήμερον ἄνδρα φώσδε εἰδείθην ἐκφαίνει*. In the passive it also means to shine forth, as in

Il. XIX 17, and may (perhaps by borrowing the metaphor of the sun) refer to a sudden appearance, an epiphany. In Egyptian thinking the sun is the prototype of the Pharaoh. See *φέγγος*, 13, below.

9. *εὐσεβεία*: cf. II 6; III 4, 27. As in II 6, wealth and moral goodness are concomitant: goodness brings wealth. The king is expected to be in tune, as it were, with the divine, and the mediator between his people and the gods. He will himself be blessed, and able to bless his people with material rewards.

δυνάμει πάσῃ τε μεγίστη: he is the strongest of all the kings in the world. For this use of the dative see Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik*, 2(1).433 ff. Translate: of omnipotent power.

10. *κλέρος καὶ ἀρετὴν . . . ἰσουράνιον*: cf. *Od.* VIII 74: *κλέος οὐρανὸν . . . ἔκανε*. With *ἀρετή* = virtue, power, etc. compare III 28 above. *ἀρετή* usually, of a human, ranges from general moral excellence to a specific virtue. But the arete of a god is equivalent to *divina vis*; it is discussed above, III 27. Isidorus uses the word in its fullest sense here for the King is both man and god.

The metre is faulty. Of *κλέος* the second syllable is scanned as short in spite of the two consonants following. Also *καὶ*, here long, would be shortened by a better poet.

In lines 11-14 the King is Lord of all the elements, earth, water, air, and fire. The Egyptian King is said in inscriptions to have had much the same vast elemental power as is described here. He is, for instance, often equated to the Nile as Bringer of Fertility and Riches. For references from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see D. Müller, *Isisaretalogien*, p. 62, n. 10. Annually on Thoth 1, the beginning of the Egyptian New Year, the king repeated Horus' victory over Seth, that is, the Nile's annual conquest of the western desert's drought and winds. See *OGIS* 90.23-7 (the Rosetta Decree).

13. *πνοιαί ἀνέμων*: see I 10.

φέγγος: the Egyptian king is Horus, the sun-god. The same god both makes the physical sun shine and sits on the throne of Egypt. The verb *h'i* is used for the rising of the sun and the appearance of the Pharaoh at his accession, at festivals, and on his throne. See Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 57.

14. *ἀριπρεπέως*: conspicuously, visibly, so as to be easily seen. It refers to the King's power over the physical sun and is theological. Its prominence in the line shows it is significant: the King being the True Sun (Re etc.) controls Helios who is the True Sun's *visible* image. See Frankfort, *Kingship*, p. 57; *ἀριπρεπέως* implies that *ἥλιος* can be seen; the True Sun cannot.

15. *ἔκλυεν*: cf. I 35; II 32; III 19, above. C. B. Welles suggests that the king appears to have been a kind of Orpheus. The anecdote begun in line 15 runs through to 20.

16. *ἐπιστέλλων . . . ἦν*: an awkward periphrasis for *ἐπέστελλε*. Line 16 appears to repeat 15 (see 17 and note below). The lines could be an instance of the so-called Oriental Parallelismus Membrorum. See Müller, *Isisaretalogien*, p. 74 (re *M.* 55).

ἐπήκοα: contrast ὑπήκοος, II; ἐπήκοος, possibly more literal than ὑπήκοος, may mean listening, giving ear to.

17. ὄρνεα ἔκλυεν . . . αὐτοῦ: repeats 15 and τάδ' . . . πάντα ἐπήκοα, 16. Similar repetition occurs in lines 2 and 7. Cf. III 14-15.

18. τῶν ἱερῶν: may be 'of the temples.' But οἱ ἱεροί may also mean the initiated, the members of a religious colony. See IG V 1.1390. I.

γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενοι: see Call. *Epigr.* 25: τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενος. Isidorus' expression closely resembles it. See too *ibid.*, 23.4. Apparently Isidorus cannot read hieroglyphs. Welles suggests that τῶν ἱερῶν γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενοι may be a periphrasis *metri gratia* for such a phrase as ἱερογραμματεῖς.

This is evidence for holy scripture in hieroglyphs. A magical papyrus from Leyden mentions a holy scripture by 'birds' (ὄρνεογλυφιστί). See *P. Mag. Leid.* W 2.37, 4.22.

19. ἐπιστεῖλанта: supply εἶναι. It stands for ἐπιστεῖλαι. Cf. the periphrasis ἐπιστέλλων . . . ἦν 16. Periphrases such as this are a Koine characteristic. See Appendix.

κορώνην: for reference to what appears to be the same crow see Aelian, *NA* VI 7, quoted by Vogliano, *P. R.*, p. 47. For stories of other miraculous birds in Egypt see *D. S.* I 87.8; XVII 49.5. See also the summary of 7-36 above.

20. ἐπιστολίωι: ἐπιστόλιον is a diminutive of ἐπιστολή. There is a jingle here with ἐπιστέλλων in 16, and ἐπιστεῖλанта in 19.

φάσω: φάσις means word, (oral) report. Cf. πέμψον μοι τὴν φάσω in *P. Oxy.* 2149.17 (second/third centuries A.D.). Wilhelm conjectured φάτω and Harder πάλω. The photograph, however, shows very clearly φάσω.

Line 20 appears to be the immediate result of 19, and, in fact, almost an instance of *Parallelismus Membrorum*. Cf. 16 and note. Probably the King instructed the bird and it flew off with his message in a letter to deliver it to the one addressed. Aelian's story of Mares' crow expands the same tale. See 19, above. It was his swiftest messenger, for as soon as it heard his instructions it knew exactly where to fly.

21. The line scans as an hexameter only if ἄνηρ οὐδ' is taken as a dactyl. 21 and 22-24 are to be taken together, for lines 22-24 repeat 21 in a slightly different fashion (again *Parallelismus Membrorum*). 15-16 and 19-20 are other instances of the same. Cf. I 3, 6.

22. θεοῦ μεγάλου: this is the language of Egyptian temple inscriptions. Cf. *SEG* VIII 536-7. The various forms of Sebek's name are often found with μέγας etc. See Σούχου, 23 below.

ἀενάου: 'ever-flowing' (*Hes. Op.* 595); or 'everlasting' (*Simon.* 4.9, *Pi. O.* 14. 12). The meaning is equivalent to αἰωνίου. The XIIth Dynasty hieroglyphic inscription to Sbk and Rnn.t refers to their gift of eternity to the king. See Vogliano, *S. R.*, pp. 17 ff.

23. Σούχου: cf. III 30 and note, also Σοκονῶπι III 15 and note. Σούχου

here is predicated by epithets that show limitless power, eternity, in fact an existence beyond the comprehension of mortal men. Cf. Vogliano, *S. R.*, pp. 17 ff. and Müller, *Isisaretaologien*, pp. 22 ff.

παγκράτορος: first known use of *παγκράτωρ*. It is next found in Susa in the first century A.D. See *SEG VII 13.4*. Possibly its use here is an attempt to translate an Egyptian title of Sbk into Greek. Cf. Isermuthis as *παντοκράτειρα* I 2, and Hermes (Thoth?) in Crete as *παντοκράτωρ*, Kaibel, *Epigr.* 865.

μεγάλου κτλ.: an attempt, no doubt, to reproduce the language of temple inscriptions. Cf. *θεοῦ μεγάλου* 22. The piling up of repetitions of *μέγας* and synonyms was intended to convey great holiness; it replaces more specific epithets (*ἀενόου* in 22, *παγκράτορος* in 23). The doubling of *μέγας* is particularly common in Egypt. See e.g. *SEG VIII 498*: *Σοκνε[π]τύνει θεῶι μεγάλωι μεγάλωι*. Perhaps *μεγάλου μεγάλου τε μεγίστου* is intended really as a strengthened superlative form, like Trismegistos, but Vogliano considers the first century B.C. to be too early for such an interpretation (*P. R.*, pp. 47-48). Merkelbach, "Note Critiche e Filologiche, Osservazioni Critico-Testuali Agli Inni Isiaki di Isidoro," *La Parola del Passato* 103, pp. 252, 298-9, suggests plausibly that Isidorus wrote: *παγκράτορος μεγάλου μεγάλ(ων) τε μεγίστου*. Cf. App., *Met.* XI 30: *Deus deum magnorum potior et potiorum summus et maximorum regnator Osiris*. He thinks the stone mason erred because he knew *μέγας μέγας* as used in Egypt. See, e.g., *OGIS 176.4*; *178.3*; *90.19*; *μέγας*, etc., is very common in papyri. For instance, Isis is *μεγάλα μήτηρ θεῶν* in *P. Strassb.* 81.14 (second century B.C.), and Horus is *μεγαλόψυχε παῖ* (*Stob.* I 41. 44. 973, and 981) and *μεγαλόδοξος* (*ibid.*, 974).

24. *ἄναξ ἐφάνη*: cf. *κύριος ἐξεφάνη*, line 8, Obviously the language is formulaic.

25. *μητροπάτωρ*: cf. *Il.* XI 224. This is the lineage on the mother's side.

ζωῆς ὁ μερ[ιστής]: *μεριστής* is perhaps a Greek translation of an Egyptian title of Ammon. Cf. *Poll.* 4. 176; *P. Mag. Leid.* 14.42 and *Vett. Val.* 62. 4 (where *μεριστής χρόνων ζωῆς* means Lord of the Horoscope). Or *μερ[ιστής]* may refer to a primeval divider of heaven and earth. Various Egyptian gods are said to have 'separated earth from heaven' at the time of Creation, e.g. Schu, Wepwawet, Osiris-Ptah-Sokaris, and Haroeris-Schu. For Wepwawet see II 9, note. The Greek word *δαίμων* = god in later times was etymologically derived from *δαίω* = *μερίζω*.

26. *Ἀμμων κτλ.*: Herodotus equates Zeus of Greece to Ammon/Amoun of Thebes (*II* 33, 42); Pindar calls Ammon 'The Libyan Zeus' (*P.* 4.16).

27. *τῶι*: the divine founder of the temple. See 7 ff.

27-28. *ὅσσ' . . . ἐρπετὰ κτλ.*: *ἐρπετὰ*, *ἔρπω*, *κτλ.* are formulaic for 'earth-bound' or 'earthly' creatures. Cf. *Il.* XVII 447; *Alcm.* 60.3; Cleanthes I 5. See too Horace, *Satires* I 3. *ἐρπετὰ* is, in fact, contrasted with *πετεवाί* by Herodotus (*I* 140).

29. *ποταπόν*: *ποταπός* is a frequent Koine adjective, equivalent to *τίς*. See 2 above and note.

τίς τόδ' ἔθηκε: cf. the language of I: τίς τόδ' ἔδεμ'. The answer here, however, is different: Sesoösis (31). But just as in lines 1-2, 7 ff., the questions of 29-30 are at once answered by the poet himself. The information shows a noticeable variation from the extant hieroglyphic inscriptions of the inner temple where Amenemhet IV, the successor, not the predecessor, of Amenemhet III is mentioned. See Vogliano, *S. R.*, pp. 17 ff.

τίθημι with οὐνομα/ὄνομα is a well known idiom. It appears to mean compose, determine, institute, think of first. That is, the expression keeps some of the dignity of its early use in, for example, *Od.* VIII 465. It even implies artistic achievement as in the English 'compose,' 'execute,' or 'create.' Cf. οὐνομα I 16, and note. The god in question (Sesoösis of line 31), being the earthly father of Porramanres (34) gave his son a divine title, thus making him heir to the throne. For the bestowing of a crown prince's (that is, a Pharaoh's) early titles, see Frankfurt, *Kingship*, pp. 46-7. Frankfurt lists them in order as (1) the title 'Horus'; (2) the 'Nebty' title (from the tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt); (3) 'Horus of Gold,' a name symbolizing either the imperishable brightness of the sun or Horus' victory over Seth; (4) 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt'; (5) 'Son of Re'; (6) the nomen which the king had received at birth, and which seems closely combined with 5. Isidorus appears in 32 to mention 3, 5, and 6. The translation of ἡλίου εὐφεγγέος as 'Son of the Golden Sun' is a compromise; the expression may refer to 'Horus as Victor over Seth,' as well as meaning 'Son of Re.'

The style of this Hymn is quite unlike Hymns I-III. The questions of 1-2 are answered in 7-20. Thereafter lines 21-26 interrupt the narrative with a laudatory refrain. Lines 27-28 resume narration, and two new questions are asked in 29-30. These are immediately answered in 31-32, and the lines that follow them revert to the story of the divine founder of the temple, Porramanres, whose name, after some suspense, is finally given at line 34. The last two adjectives of this line may be unimportant, and merely serve to extend the king's titles throughout the line. In narrating the story in this prolix fashion Isidorus could be following some elaborate priestly account. He says as much in 18-19 and 37-39. Incidentally, his mention of the temple, line 1, merely serves to introduce his story of its founder.

31. Σεσοῶσις: for the story of the same king (called Σεσωτρίως), see Hdt. II 102, 104, 110; and D. S. I 55. For Σεσοῶσις see Plu. *de Is.* 24; Tac. *Ann.* II 60; Strabo, 769; Josephus, *contra Apionem*, I 98. 102 (quoting Manetho's story of 'Sethosis' = Rameses); Eusebius in Dindorf, Georgius Syncellus, *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* Pars. vii, 111-112. For the history of Sesostris/Sen-Usert I, II, III, see H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, and J. A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*. The dynastic name is variously transliterated: Sesoösis, Sesostris, Sethosis, Sen-Usert, Senusert, etc. In lists of XIIth Dynasty kings, given by R. Lepsius, *Ueber die Zwölfte Königsdynastie*, Berlin, 1851, and W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den Ag. Königslisten*, 1956, pp. 60 ff. Sesostris III, Amenemhet III, and Amenemhet IV, appear in this order at the end of the dynasty. Isidorus

agrees with Lepsius' list when he says 'Amenemhet' (Porramanres) follows Sesostri (Sesoösis), and the temple hieroglyphic inscriptions also agree in that Amenemhet IV follows Amenemhet III. Both they and Isidorus know that Egyptian kingship was an institution involving two generations. However, to Hellenistic Greeks and later sources, the hero 'Sesoösis' was obviously one ancient, legendary figure whose deeds in fact included those of the three historical kings of that name.

It is not surprising that the Sen-Userets had become legendary in the Fayum; the first two historical kings of that name had been buried close to the newly developed Fayum province. Amenemhet III was associated even more closely with its history (see Porramanres, 34 below). In the third century B.C. Ptolemy II, by developing the area and repeating the work of the XIIth Dynasty benefactor-kings, may have obliquely associated himself with them by encouraging the cult of Porremanres. The present Hymn does not honour Philadelphus.

'Εσπερ': for ἔσπερα (neuter plural), cf. e.g. *Od.* XVII 191: ποτὶ ἔσπερα; and *Ap.* 5. 304: ὑφ' ἔσπερα. Cf. ὁ Ἥλιος . . . ἔσπερον κύκλον διανόων (*Nech. ap. Vett. Val.* 154.29) where the meanings 'evening' and 'western' naturally blend, as they do with us. When a Pharaoh died he was said to 'soar to heaven' (that is, escape, to the western heaven) in the form of a hawk, and so to return to his father, the god Re. The Egyptians always thought of the realm of the dead as situated in the west. Cf. Vogliano, *P. R.*, p. 49.

ἀφεῖκται: for ἀφῖκται. For long *iota* written as *ει*, see Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2(1), pp. 87 ff. Cf. εὐεῖλατος and γείων, I 36. Forms of this verb are often placed last in a Greek hexameter line. Cf. *h. Orph.* LVII 7, and XXXVIII 11, 12. The obvious meaning here is, has gone to, i.e., is now in, the western heaven.

32. οὐνομ' ἔθηκε: see 29 above. This is another instance of Isidorus' repetitious style. Cf. 11-15 and 27-8.

ἡλίου εὐφέγγεος: cf. 13 above and II 10. The metre of 32 is faulty.

33. ἐρμηνευσάμενοι κτλ.: 'when they say his name in the Egyptian language, when the Egyptians name him.' For a discussion of the voice of this verb, see Appendix.

34. Πορραμάνρην: for the various spellings of the name, see 7-36, summary. Cf. Vogliano, *P. R.*, p. 50; and *P. Mich. Zen.* 84.19. Lepsius (*Über die Zwölfte Ag. Königsdynastie*, Berlin, 1851) states that Ἀμ(μ)ενέμης in Manetho's list is 'Amenemhe,' and that (in Africanus) the same king is Amenemes, Ameres (and Lamarin or Lambares). Herodotus knows him as Μοῖριος (II 13, 101) and Diodorus as Μοῖρις (I 51.5). Cf. Strabo 811.²¹

21. For the historical king see *RARG*, p. 756; Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 1934, pp. 394 ff.; Graindor, *Terres Cuites*, No. 45, 1937; *ibid.*, *Bustes et Statues portraits d'Égypte romaine*, p. 132, No. 68; Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen*

Terrakotten, Koenigl. Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, 1914, Plate 1, 142, No. 214, Plates 21 and 141. For the same king as Amenemhet III, see W. Schmidt, *de graesk-ägyptische Terra-Kotten*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, 1911, p. 74,

For Porramanres/Amenemhet III's regulation of Nile flood waters in the Lake Moiris region, see D. S. I 51.5-7. He also built a famous Labyrinth at the entrance to the Fayum that was probably the prototype of all later labyrinths (see *RE*, s.v. Labyrinthos; H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 224). The historical XIIth Dynasty Amenemhet III's figure was engraved on the wall of the inner shrine of the Medinet Madi temple; and as Porramanres his statue also undoubtedly stood in the temple beside Hermouthis, Sokonopis, etc. Isidorus knows something of the history of the XIIth Dynasty kings; but one would imagine he would know more of the large scale attempts of Ptolemy II Philadelphus to regulate Fayum water and settle the reclaimed land. See *Ἀρσινωείων* III 30, and note on 31 above. The irrigated soil was rich and produced horticultural abundance (see Strabo XVII 80.9; cf. Hdt. II 129). Its luxuriant olive-groves were planted by Greeks under the early Ptolemies. However, what are really Ptolemy II's achievements in the area Isidorus confuses with, or passes off as, those of the XIIth Dynasty Pharaoh. Cf. Summary, 7-36, above. Porramanres' cult we know was definitely encouraged at least in the late second century B.C. under Ptolemy X Alexander I. A Synod of the same god ('Pramarres') at this time permitted Greeks to become priests for life: *ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικαλούμενου Ἀλεξάνδρου θεῶν Φιλομητόρων οἱ ἐκ τῆς [με]γάλης συνόδου πραιμαρρε[ί]ους θεοῦ μεγάλου. ὧν ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Εἰρηναῖος Ε[ί]ρηναίου ὁ συγγενὴς ἐπιμελητεύοντος [Φί]λωνος τοῦ Φίλωνος L γ ὁ καὶ ἰ' Επεὶφ κγ. (SB 1269). See also Brady, *Reception*, p. 35, notes 18, 37. At Dimai (= Soknopaios Nesos) a temple was dedicated to the four gods, Isis, (Σονονει?), Harpokrates and 'Pramarres' (OGIS 175). An altar (?) of *Πρεμάνρες* stood at 'Apollonia' (*P. Petr.* II 43 b.66).*

The metre of 34 is incorrect. Cf. 32.

35. *θαῦμα δὲ καὶ παράδοξον*: a miracle of the god-King. The phrase is probably a cliché. Cf. *Pl. Men.* 593; *R.* 473 a.

36. *ἔπλει ἐν ὄρει*: ὄρος is the 'desert,' *P. Teb.* 383.61.

35-36. The explanation of this strange couplet seems somewhat as follows. First, the Egyptian word for mountain, hill, and desert is the same (since the hills were not inundated by the Nile but remained barren, or desert). Secondly, there are many pictures in temple reliefs of processions with the *carrus navalis*, which sometimes went from the villages up to the hills (and cemeteries), or to other distant sites. Thirdly, ancient Egyptian priestly guides probably invented stories to astound the traveller. (Cf. the remarks of Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Herodots bericht über Aegypten*, 1925, reprinted in W. Marg, *Herodot., Wege der Forschung*, Darmstadt, 1966.) The present verse might be explained by combining the above facts. Possibly Isidorus' priestly informants who had but little knowledge of hieroglyphs had tried to decipher an inscription accompanying the relief of a *Carrus Navalis* procession (which would state it went by river to the

hills or desert). Therein they fancied they saw a paradox or 'miracle.' And so they said that the King travelled 'by wheels and sail over the desert (or hills).' Again, they may have invented the whole thing without the aid of a relief or inscription. Isidorus merely repeats what they told him, realizing he does not understand it.

37-41. Summary. Isidorus concludes Hymn IV with the explicit statement that he has composed in Greek the story of Porramanres, basing it on what he had heard from priestly 'scholars' (18-20). He has then set it up in a public inscription to expound to the Greeks the divine nature of Egypt's Kings. This is really an aretalogy not of the goddess of Hymns I-III but of the god-King Porramanres. In a way it is an exposition of the cult. The Hymn in other words is a kind of 'evangel to the Greeks.' Doubtless, the Greeks wondered who he had been.

37. *ιστορούντων*: *ιστορέω* means *enquire into, enquire about, examine, study and report* (orally or in writing), *come to know*. Cf. Hdt. II 113: *ἔλεγον δὲ μοι οἱ ἱερεῖς ἱστορέοντι*. The present context states somewhat the same, although not Isidorus but the priests are said to 'enquire' or 'examine.' Isidorus himself (cf. 38, *αὐτὸς ἐγώ*) has carefully listened to the account given him by Egyptian scholars of the Sacred Writings (18). He does not claim to be an historian or scholar. Cf. *Isidoros ὁ γλύπτης* (Appendix, note 36).

38. *ἀναγραψάμενος*: place on record; set up publicly (a pillar with an inscription on it).

39. *ἡρμήνηυσ'*: for *ἡρμήνευσα* cf. 33, above. The active voice means interpret, say in Greek (i.e. for Greeks); the middle apparently means say in one's own language (see 33, above).

δύναμιν: cf. 9, above. *δύναμις* (of gods) is much like *ἀρετή*, meaning both divine power, and its manifestation in miracles (but *δύναμις* is the more common term).

ἄνακτος: cf. 7, above.

40. *βρο[[το]]τός*: an obvious instance of dittography. On *βροτός* see 21, above.

The line sounds like a concluding refrain. Cf. 21.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SPREAD OF THE CULT OF ISIS UNDER THE EARLY PTOLEMIES

If the so-called Hellenistic Isis had a Hellenistic beginning, our knowledge of it is tenuous. Changes in the goddess' cult and character probably were gradual, and not entirely a matter of deliberation or decree. Herodotus, after consulting the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, had interpreted Isis and Osiris as Greek Demeter and Dionysus.¹ It would appear, therefore, that Isis was already the Egyptian equivalent of a Greek Karpophoros for the karpōs association is the best attested and continuously the most distinctive feature of Demeter's cult.² If this is true of Isis, she must have usurped the rôle of the Egyptian goddess of cereal grain before the fifth century B.C., for dependable sources affirm that Isis had not always been a vegetation goddess.³ Her syncretism with Renenutet may actually have happened in very ancient times well before the fifth century.

Isis (Isis-Renenutet) appears early in the Ptolemaic period as the goddess of cereal grain, referred to in the manner we know for Demeter. From the Memphis Serapeum, in the so-called Dream of Nectanebo,⁴ she is described as *ἐνεργέτεια καρπῶν ἐνεργέτεια . . . Ἰσις*. This is the first instance of an address to her as the Karpophoros goddess. Possibly it is the first time she is so called in Greek. Henceforward, she was common to both Egyptian and Greek cults; in Greek and Egyptian inscriptions Demeter and Isis are each known as the Thesmophoros and Karpophoros goddess. For instance, at Philae, Isis is *καρποτόκος*;⁵ at Edfu, in hieroglyphs she speaks to Ptolemy IV offering him agricultural bounty;⁶ at Philae

1. Hdt. II 2, 3, 42-48, 59, 123, 142-6, 156. For Demeter Thesmophoros, II 171, and VI 91, 134.

2. The earliest references are: *h. Cer.* 4, 332, 349, 469.

3. A. D. Nock, *Karpokrates*, p. 224, n. 2 (quoting A. H. Gardiner); also Müller, *Isisaretalogen* p. 31, quoting *Chester Beatty Pap.* I, 25 (Gardiner), and Nock (op. cit.). The early Egyptian goddess of cereal grain and the cereal harvest was Rnn.t, in English Renenet or Renenutet. The Greeks called her (H)ermouthis, Thermuthis, or Terenuthis.

4. UPZ 81, *Somnium Nectanebi*, ii, 9-10. See also Brady, *Reception*, pp. 1-88. Wilcken thought

the papyrus early Ptolemaic. See note 8 below. Nectanebo, last of the Pharaohs, was associated at least by the second half of the third century B.C. with Alexander the Great in the account of Pseudo-Callisthenes, Bk. I. For the dating, see C. B. Welles, "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria," *Historia* 11, 1962, pp. 271-298. He considers Ps. Call. to be at least as early as the second half of the third century B.C. A. D. Nock, *Karpokrates*, pp. 221-8, refers to the *Somnium Nectanebi* as 'a good illustration of the Hellenistic hymn-pattern.' See Chapter IV.

5. G. Kaibel, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 982.1.

6. Edfu I.151. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretalogen*, p. 32 and note 8.

and Denderah, she appears in hieroglyphs similarly characterized;⁷ in the Hymns of Isidorus and in the long hymn, *P. Oxy.* 1380, she is entitled θεσμοφόρος. Meanwhile Isis and Demeter each continued to retain their separate characterizations in the two respective cultures. Their common cult was a new and special thing, and may have been encouraged by Eleusis.⁸

The new city of Alexandria was an important cult-site of Hellenistic Isis. Tacitus tells us that Isis had been worshiped there with Serapis in an ancient temple on the hill of Rhacotis before Alexander built his Serapeum.⁹ By Serapis Tacitus must mean Osiris-Hapi, or the bull-god Apis, whom Herodotus had already associated with both Isis and Osiris. The Memphite god Apis was later named Osorapis by the Greeks.¹⁰ Clearly, Greeks celebrated the cult of Isis and Osiris, or Isis and 'Osorapis,' both in Alexandria and Memphis.

By the third century B.C., Osiris and Osorapis/Oserapis were probably indistinguishable. Indeed, in 255 Apollonius, the finance minister, asked for wood for the 'Isis festival' in Alexandria; it seems to have been the same as the Osiris-Isis festival held in Egypt for centuries.¹¹ Although archaeologists have not been able to identify any temple of Isis in the Serapeum area at Alexandria, all agree that she was worshiped there, and probably in her own temple, at least from the early years of the Serapeum.¹² Her Greek cult was probably the same as that of Memphis.

— There are good reasons for the spread of Isis-worship among Greeks in Egypt in the early Ptolemaic period. Arsinoe II and Philadelphus himself are closely associated with propaganda for the royal cult of Isis. Arsinoe adopted the title 'Isis Arsinoe Philadelphus,'¹³ and it may well have been she who encouraged the

7. *Dend.* II, 17a; and *Philae* 509 (Photo 159). For the latter, cf. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 96. See also *OGIS* I, 107 (from Parembolê beyond Philae); and *RE* IX 2098 (Roeder). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 28 and notes 50-51. Brady states that the worship of Isis, which had been prominent in Upper Egypt since the XXXth Dynasty at Philae, 'began to forge ahead as a resort of Greeks.'

8. Quandt, *Orphei* XXIX 14. For the marriage of Isis, see Harder, *Karpokrates*, p. 46, n. 2, and Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. Cf. Quandt, *Orphei* XL (to Eleusinian Deo). This is the same goddess as Isidorus' Isis-Hermouthis.

9. *IV* 84: *Fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi atque Isidi antiquitus Sacratum*. See also Arrian, *An.* III 1.5, and *SB* 2136.

10. *Hdt.* II 153. P. Jouguet, "La Politique Intérieure du Premier Ptolémée," *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* 30 p. 535, discusses the question. Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 10, n. 15: "It is tempting to assume, as Jouguet has remarked, that during most of the reign of Ptolemy I, the worship of Oserapis was confined to the temple at Memphis and that the early expansion of the cult during this period

came from Memphis."

11. *P. Cairo Zen.* 59154, 59191, and *P. Hib.* 27.55-62; for the Osiris-Isis festival, *Hathyr* 17-20, *UPZ* 80.13; 94.17; 96.2. Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 13, and notes 10, 11.

12. A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, *Arch. W. Desert*. There are also a few stones remaining on the site of an older structure that may well be the Serapeum of Alexander, possibly with additions by Ptolemy I and II, but the identity is not certain. See also Eusebius, *Chronica* II 119; Cyrillus, "C. Jul."; Migne LXXVI. I 521, Vers. Arm.; T. Hopfner, *Fontes* 486; Athenodorus, *Protrep.* IV 48; *RE* III, pp. 916-20 (C. Robert), and O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion*, p. 8. Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 12, and notes 18-19; and Welles, "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria," *Historia* 11, 1962, pp. 271-298.

13. *OGIS* 31; *PSI* 539.3 (for Arsinoe's title as Isis); C. C. Edgar, *Bull. Soc. Alex.* 19, p. 115 (for the adoption of the cults of Isis and Sarapis by Greeks, Macedonians etc. by the end of the third century B.C.). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 13, n. 13.

spread of the cult in the Fayum temples of Philadelphus' new towns. The cult of Isis shares almost all Fayum temples of later times, although Isis herself was not always as prominent as other local deities. At court, however, Isis was paramount. Philadelphus regarded her priests as the official priesthood, and the king's ministers propagated her cult among the Greeks in Egypt. The admiral Callicrates built a temple to Isis and Anubis.¹⁴ Apollonius, mentioned above, built one to Serapis and Isis in Philadelphia.¹⁵ It is noted above that the latter considered Isis' festivals as the major festivities in Alexandria.¹⁶

Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246-221) continued to promote the cults of Isis and Serapis. He built the Serapeum proper at Alexandria. He designated only the names of Isis and Serapis to stand with those of the deified rulers in the royal oath.¹⁷ His successor, Ptolemy IV, built the small temple to Harpocrates, the infant son of Isis, in the Alexandrian Serapeum area, where it is still identifiable by its foundation plaques.¹⁸

From the end of the third century B.C. (the period to which belongs the older Ptolemaic temple within the Medinet Madi temenos), Serapis and Isis appear to have become accepted and ranked even with the Olympian gods by Greeks throughout Egypt. Serapis himself seems to have been almost entirely Greek. The Egyptians knew little or nothing of a god by that name, and Serapis was apparently still unknown to the Egyptian priesthood at the end of the third century B.C. Egyptians continued to venerate Memphite Osiris-Hapi as god of the underworld.¹⁹ Only Isis and her family were shared by both peoples.

Isis had reached lands beyond Egypt's borders well before Hellenistic times. Greeks had frequented her temple at Naucratis in the fifth century B.C., and her cult had come to the Peiraeus before the last quarter of the fourth century.²⁰ At Rhodes, a statue dedicated by a Carian in Demotic to 'Osiris-Hapi' and Isis may also be pre-Hellenistic.²¹ Later, the royal cults spread with the expansion of the activities of the early Ptolemies in the Aegean. The cult of Serapis was probably

14. SB 429 (th early years of Ptolemy II). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 13, n. 8.

15. P. Cairo Zen. 59168 (temple to Sarapis and Isis). Cf. H. I. Bell in *Gnomon* 4, p. 585; also P. Mich. Zen. 31, and *Archiv* 10, p. 74 (Wilcken). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 14, n. 19.

16. P. Cornell 1. See also references in note 15.

17. E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, London, 1927, p. 47; see SB 5680; P. Eleph. dem. 7, 22, 26. Cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 110. Only the rulers are mentioned in the earlier oaths (P. Petr. III 56a; P. Hib. 38). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, pp. 15-16, and note 29.

18. Rowe and Rees, *Arch. W. Desert*.

19. See Chapter II, Hymn II 9, and note. Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 17, and note 35.

20. C. C. Edgar, *JHS* 24, p. 337 (probably fifth century B.C.). Cf. Brady, *Reception*, p. 17, n. 4.

See Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 120, note 1, for a bibliography of the spread of Egyptian cults. For their arrival in Athens, see IG XI 1306.129 (Isis); XI (2) 1282 (Ammon). See also S. Dow, "The Egyptian cults in Athens," *HTHR* 30, 1937, pp. 183 ff.

21. P. Jouguet, *Rev. Belge* 2, p. 422. Brady, *Reception*, p. 9, note 8, states: "This statue may have been a cult object similar to that found at Cyme." He cites Salac, *BCH* 51, pp. 384-387 (and for similar objects at Delos and Pompeii: Roussel, *CE* p. 65; and Mau-Kelzey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, 2nd ed., p. 175, respectively). Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 124 and note 5, cites W. Spiegelberg ("Die demotische Inschrift auf der Statue von Rhodos," *ZAS* 50, 1912, pp. 24 ff) and says the latter dates the statue 169/64 (see D. S. XXXI 15a).

established at Delos under the reign of Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II,²² and an inscription from Miletus attests that city's early interest in Egyptian gods. The text, a dedication 'to Agathe Tyche and Osiris,' belongs to a period near the last years of Soter's reign.²³ From Halicarnassus come two early texts, one, of 270 B.C., commemorating Ptolemy I and another, also of the third century dedicated to τῇ πρώτῃ . . . Τύχῃ Ἀγαθῇ.²⁴ A third text, from Halicarnassus or its immediate vicinity, as yet unpublished, commemorates a civic honour to a Ptolemy.²⁵ Since it is third century B.C., before 257 B.C., the Ptolemy in question is undoubtedly Philadelphus. After its early start, the cult of Isis thrived at Halicarnassus. In the first century B.C. the city had a priest of Isis and the goddess appeared on their coinage.²⁶

But Ptolemaic conquests were not the only reason for the spread beyond Egypt of the royal cult of Isis and her family. While Zoilos, Apollonius, and others in the royal service were encouraging the worship of Serapis and Isis within Egypt, other officials, usually Greek, still in the service or retired, were carrying (or had already carried) the cult into cities and islands of the Aegean. For instance, toward the middle of the third century, the Sarapiastai, a cult society of Serapis, were already installed in the small town of Iulis on the island of Ceus, and are known to have passed a decree in honour of one Epameinon for services he had rendered them. The society honoured him publicly with a crown at the Isieia or festival of Isis. It is unknown when the cult of Isis had been introduced into little Ceus, but the father of Epameinon was, or had been, in the service of Philadelphus. A Myndian's dedication on Thera shows the same activity of royal officials. And a man who had served as an elephant-hunter under Philadelphus retired later to Thera, and there spent his time and money building shrines and setting up dedications to the Isis-family, and including the deified rulers in dedications: "In behalf of King Ptolemy and the gods Soteres and Philadelphoi, to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis." Although this may have been a private cult, it is probable that before the end of the third century B.C. there was a public cult of Serapis on Thera.²⁷ And in an illustration from Cnidus, a Greek returning from

22. See below, note 29.

23. Cf. Welles, *RC* 5, and comment, pp. 36 ff. Lysimachus held Miletus at the time. For Nilsson's doubt, see *GGR* 2.2, p. 127, note 15. For the date, cf. *RC*, p. 37, and note 10.

24. For the two Halicarnassus inscriptions, see *OGIS* 16, N. Greipl, *Philologus* 85, 1930, pp. 159 ff., Wilcken, *Archiv* 9, 1930, p. 223, note 2; and *SIG* 1044, p. 34. See also Welles, *RC*, p. 34, note 2. Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 126, note 7, dates the first after 270. With Isis-Tyche-Protogeneia one should compare Fortuna-Primigenia of Praeneste, of whom we first hear in 242 B.C. Tyche-Agathe-Prote of Halicarnassus may be earlier; but Isis-Tyche-Protogeneia of Delos is later. See *Delos*

2158 (115/4 B.C.). Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 131 and note 5. The full inscription is: τύχη πρωτογένεια Δικαιοσύνη Εὐφροσύνη Ἀφροδίτη δικάια. For Halicarnassus, see W. W. Tarn, *JHS* 46, p. 155; *Archiv* 9, p. 223, note 2. And for the worship of Isis-Arsinoe and Sarapis, *ibid.*, p. 224, note 1; *Inscr. in Br. Mus.* I 908; *BCH* 14, p. 3, no. 12 and Rusch 77. Cf. Brady, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. Ptolemy II secured control of Halicarnassus ca. 278 B.C.

25. The text was discussed in a paper by Mr. F. J. Frost, at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1966.

26. *BCH* XIV, p. 111, no. 12, 74; Rusch, p. 77. Cf. Brady, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and notes 73, 74.

27. The evidence for the various places: Iulis

Spread of
cult

Egypt brings to that island the cult of Serapis and Isis.²⁸

As time passed, Serapis' importance waned in the Aegean islands. The development of the cult of the Egyptian gods can best be witnessed on Delos. As at other sites, the cult of Serapis had possibly been established there in the time of Ptolemy I or II.²⁹ Well before 220, a second Serapeum was founded there by another Apollonius.³⁰ Archaeological evidence shows there were, in all, three Serapea on Delos.³¹ It is not certain that Isis accompanied Serapis when his cult first came. The cult had remained private, and therefore small, throughout the third century B.C. The second, also presumably private, cult was founded before the end of the third century. It probably came from Alexandria and is known to have had an Iseum.

The cult of the Egyptian gods grew somewhat more slowly on Delos after it was lost to Egypt. In about 180 the combined cult of Isis and Serapis became semi-public under administrators called *ιεροποιοί*, but, at all times, it appears to have had at least one professional Egyptian priest in attendance. From 180-137 it remained semi-public. By this time it was in fact under Roman surveillance, for, about 164 when Athens was considering abolition of the cult, Rome forbade the action. In 137, at Rome's command, an Athenian was established as priest of Serapis.³²

on Ceos: *IG* XII 5(1) 606; Thera: *IG* XII 3 1388; 1389; Cnidus: *SB* 2217; 2215; Thasos: *BCH* 51, p. 220; Thrace: *Jahresh.* 23, p. 193, no. 152; Amphipolis: *BCH* 18, p. 417, no. 7; Panion: *Jahresh.* 23, p. 156, no. 93; *BSA* 23, pp. 86-89 (Tod). For Anaphe, Cos, Astypalaea, Samos, Tenos, Aegiale, Lesbos and Minoa, see Brady, *Reception*, p. 31, note 69.

28. *GDI* 5528; see Brady, *Reception*, p. 23, note 83.

29. Delos was lost to Egypt in 246 B.C. See Roussel, *CE*, pp. 71-75. Tarn (*Hellenistic Civilization*, 2nd ed., p. 321) dates the introduction of the cult about 300. Roussel (*Rev. hist. et litt. Rel.* 7, p. 33) thinks it at least as early as 260. See *IG* XII 7 506; XI 4 1299. But Nilsson dates Sarapeion A to 220 B.C. (*GGR* 2.2.122). See also Brady, *Reception*, pp. 10, note 14, 18, note 42.

30. Of this confusing situation Brady says (*Reception*, p. 31): "In almost all instances, the further extension of the worship of Sarapis after the reign of Euergetes I came by way of the older foundations in the Greek world and not from Egypt. Delos had been lost to Egypt at the battle of Andros, and it remained in the hands of the Macedonian kings until Philip's defeat by Rome. During this period, although contacts with Egypt were not as close as formerly, a second cult of Sarapis was established in the island, probably about 220 (Roussel, *CE* p. 253). This second cult

may have been derived from the first one, but it is more likely to have been a separate foundation from Alexandria. The cult planted there by Apollonius was the early 'unreformed' worship and may have been looked upon by the followers of the Alexandrian worship in somewhat the same way the Christians of Rome regarded Irish Christianity. It seems clear from the history of the cults at Delos that Isis was more prominent in the Alexandrian cult than she was in that of Memphis. In time, of course, the religious literature projected Isis back and gave her an important place in the early history of the cult. In a few years, the second cult at Delos completely overshadowed that of Apollonius and about 180 was made a public cult by the Delian state (*IG* XI 1032)." For the epigraphical references, see Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 121, notes 11-12.

31. Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 122. The date of the first Sarapeion may precede the first establishment on the island of the Great Mother of the gods, or Cybele, who, after her establishment in Thrace in mid-third century B.C., had perhaps come thence to Delos. See W. Otto and H. Bengtson, *Geschichte*, p. 72. She was formally established in Rome in 204.

32. Cf. Brady, *Reception*, pp. 42 ff.: "Shortly after the Athenian occupation of Delos, perhaps about 164, the Roman Senate sent to Athens a decree in which it forbade the Athenian state to

Few details are known about Delian cult-life. From 220 onward, in the time of the second and third Serapea, there were cult associations carried on by *θεραπευταί*. After 167 B.C., Isis was given the title *Σώτειρα*, which may be related to the same title adopted in Egypt by Cleopatra II.³³ Toward the end of the second century B.C. there was a *κλείδουχος* in the Delian cult, an annually appointed *κατηφόρος* ("from a good family"), a *ζάκορος* and an *ὄνειροκρίτης*.³⁴ By 156/5, while some of the more private features seem still to have been retained, the Egyptian foundation was more flourishing than before. Further buildings were being erected: near the third Serapeum and the Iseum, a temple to Anubis with a Pastophorion was built, as were a stoa, an exedra, and a dromos, all dated to 156/5 B.C.³⁵

By the end of the second century B.C., cult societies of the Egyptian gods on Delos as in Egypt and elsewhere had become popular and affluent. Three societies appear on Delos: *κοινὸν τῶν θεραπευτῶν*, *κοινὸν τῶν μελανηφόρων*, and *θίασος τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν*.³⁶ By the mid-second century, in fact, growth of all the cults on

disestablish the cult of Sarapis in Delos (BCH 37, pp. 310 ff.; Roussel, CE 92, 93). The Athenian generals transmitted the *senatus consultum* to the Athenian superintendent in Delos. The document states that, upon request of Demetrius Rhenauius, a decree had been passed forbidding the Delians, that is, the Athenian cleruchs, and the government of Athens, to hinder Demetrius in the exercise of his priestly duties. This Demetrius is probably a descendant, perhaps a great-grandson, of Apollonius who founded the first cult of Sarapis in Delos. Some time in the early second century, the family had acquired citizenship in Delos and, like other Delians, Demetrius would have been subject to exile by the Athenian government when the Athenian colony was planted there shortly after 167/6. (Cf. Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 121.) No other explanation seems possible than that the Athenian state intended to abolish this cult of Sarapis in Delos. Roman intervention in the interest of Demetrius frustrated her plans and, thirty years later, in 137, she reestablished the old Delian public cult and appointed a state priest (Athenian) to administer its affairs. Between 166 and 137, the cult probably had had a semi-public character like the cult of Bendis in the Peiraeus. In that event, Athenians could worship the god and engage in the festivals and processions without becoming members of the private societies which were pledged to the worship of the god. But, before 137, the state took no part in the worship and did not, in all probability, authorize any dedications to the Egyptian gods on its own behalf. The popularity of the cult in Delos convinced the Athenians that it would bring even more profit to the state if given a

priest and state recognition. So, in 137, the state established an Athenian as priest of Sarapis. Between 166 and 149/8 the cult of Sarapis had been made public in Athens, and this fact, no doubt, made the final step at Delos easier. The private associations continued to exist, but ceased to have any meaning for Athenians since all citizens became *ipso facto* members of the body of worshippers."

33. SIG III 1129, Delos 1131. Cleopatra II, self-styled 'Isis-Soteira,' was married to Ptolemy VI in 176, and later to his brother Ptolemy VIII. The title, Soteira, is first attested in 131 B.C.

34. Delos, 2105, 2196, 2120. See Nilsson, GGR, 2.2 p. 122, note 2. For a more thorough treatment of the societies, officials, etc. of the Egyptian cult at Pompeii, see Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 89 ff.

35. Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 122.

36. Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 122. In Euboea, where the oldest cult establishment of Isis was founded in the first half of Philadelphus' reign, Eretria had a *κοινὸν τῶν μελανηφόρων καὶ ὑποστόλων* in the second/first centuries B.C. celebrated the festival called *πλοιαφεσία*. See IG XII, Supp. 571. Chalcis in the second century B.C. offered an initiation into the rites of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and Apis, IG XII Supp. 9, 923, 926, 928, 929. See Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 128. At Smyrna *συνανομβιασταί* are known. See P. Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, 1873, pp. 234 ff., no. 58. See also Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 127, and note 7. At Kos *Ὀσριασταί* are known. See J. and L. Robert, "Inscriptions de Lydie," *Hellenica* 6, 1948, p. 9. They are Hellenistic. See Nilsson,

Delos showed such syncretism that it is difficult for us to see how they (and their priests) preserved any individuality. To choose one well known example concerning Isis, in 130/129 a Sidonian set up an inscription to: *Ἰσιδι μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀσάρτη*.³⁷ However, some serious feeling and deliberation lies behind all such equations, it seems, for at least in the case of Isis, there is a good deal of consistency in the equations. She is repeatedly syncretized with Aphrodite, Astarte, Cybele (Mother of the gods), and Tyche Agathe (or Tyche). She is also Isis Euploia, Isis Pharia, and Isis Pelagia, that is, the specific goddess of navigation, and seems to have come from Alexandria.³⁸ She seems to have succeeded more ancient Greek deities such as *Λευκοθέα* (Ino), the sea-goddess mentioned in the *Odyssey* and an Orphic hymn.³⁹ Although the first reference to Isis Euploia is as late as 106/6 B.C. on Delos,⁴⁰ she is spoken of frequently as goddess of the sea and navigation in the Greek hymns. No doubt she was known by such titles all

GGR 2.2, p. 127, note 8. At Rhodes a cult association twice appears called *Ἰσιασταί*. See W. Spiegelberg, "Die demotische Inschrift auf der Statue von Rhodos," ZAS 50, 1912, pp. 24 ff.; Appian, *Mithrid.* 27; Lindos II, 102.7 ff.; 193; IG XII 1 786.12; Lindos II, 167; 197 (82 B.C.); 673, 674; *Clara Rhodos* VI/VII, 1932-33, pp. 391 ff., nos. 20, 38-42, 44 (after mid-third century B.C.). See Brady, *Reception*, pp. 45-46; and Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 124, notes 5-12. At Aeolid Cyme, whence comes the most important of the prose aretologies to Isis, a temple is known from the beginning of the second century B.C. although the cult was probably first established there in the third century B.C. See I. Magn. 99 = SIG II 554 (ca. 200 B.C.) = LSAM 34. See Nilsson, GGR 2.2, pp. 126-7, note 1. *θεραπεύται* of Serapis and Isis were known at Magnesia (mentioned in the pre-script to the Cyme aretology). Isicia occurred at Kios in Bithynia where *θιασῶται* are also attested. See Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, 1873, pp. 234 ff, no. 66, G. Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 1029; A. Rehm, *Milet I*, iii no. 141. Kios had probably acquired the cult in the third century B.C. from Miletus, its mother city. See Brady, *Reception*, p. 31. Later at Byzantium and Cenchreae, as in Eretria, the *πλοιαφεσία* was celebrated; this is the *Navigium Isidis* known in the West. For Byzantium, see *Athen. Mitt.* 36, 1911, p. 287, no. 2; 37, 1912, pp. 180 ff.; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10, 1955, pp. 24 ff.; for Cenchreae, App. *Met.* XI, pp. 8 ff.; J. Berreth, *Studien zum Isisbuch in Apulejus Metamorphosen*, Diss. Tübingen 1931 (1933); W. Wittmann, "Das Isisbuch des Apulejus," *Forschungen zur Kirchen und Geistesgeschichte* 12, 1938. See also A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, pp.

138 ff., and Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 625, notes 7, 9-10.

37. (Mother of the gods) Delos: *Délos* 1417 A col. II.158 and IG XI 2 1293. Cf. N. Papadakis, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ Ἰσείων ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ*, *Delt. arch.* 1, 1915, pp. 115 ff.; and IG XII Suppl. 201. See Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 131 and note 6 (cf. p. 128 and note 2).

38. SIG 7646. Isis Pelagia and Isis Pharia often appear on Alexandrian coins. See J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, 1924; W. Wittmann, "Das Isisbuch des Apulejus," *Forschungen zur Kirchen und Geistesgeschichte* 12, 1938, p. 93; Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 628, note 4; and especially Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 98 ff.; "It seems that it is in the late period that Isis finally assumes power (over the sea) when she is assimilated to other divinities. Indeed, from the time of the founding of Alexandria and of its syncretistic religion, Isis played a new rôle, viz. as patron-goddess of that port-city; here she became Protector of Navigation." Tran Tam Tinh outlines the possible reasons for Egyptian Isis' association with the sea, and gives the best evidence for Hellenistic Isis as a goddess of navigation. On Delos especially, Isis is Pelagia, Euploia, and Pharia. He relates the festival of the Ploiaphesia or *Navigium Isidis* to these titles of the great goddess.

39. Od. V 334. Cf. Pi. P. II 2. See Quandt, *Orphei* LXXIV 6 ff.

40. (Isis Pelagia), Nilsson, GGR 2.2, pp. 338, 628, note 4; (Pharia) *ibid.* p. 628, note 4. Cf. note 77 above. It could be a time of lively cult activity in the West; for example, the Serapeum at Puteoli is supposed to have been founded in 105 B.C. See note 34.

over the Aegean area as soon as her Alexandrian cult migrated north.⁴¹ The festival of the Ploiaphesia or Navigium Isidis is part of her characterization from Alexandria.

Cults on Delos flourished until 88 B.C. when the forces of Mithridates, no Isis-worshiper, advanced past Rhodes and into the Aegean. Archaeological evidence shows that his forces almost entirely destroyed the Delian cult sites. Only slight activity is attested thereafter at the Serapea.

In summary, the royal cult of Isis and her consort, usually called Serapis in the Greek world, appears originally to have been carried abroad by the Ptolemies and their officers or representatives. Independent action of Greeks who had gone to seek their fortunes in Egypt, and later returned home leisurely to enjoy their gains, accomplished much the same. Once established, the cults flourished vigorously in many places.

Finally, it is interesting to trace the growth of the cults in the West. Although they spread through the older eastern centres where they became established, the first Ptolemy's influence could have been felt directly through his step-daughter's marriage to Agathocles of Catana.⁴² And some of the influence may have gone the other way. Delian Isis may have got a cult title from Italy. She is called Isis-Tyche-Protogeneia on Delos in 115/4 B.C. This Greek title is the translation of Latin Fortuna Primigenia which is attested at Praeneste from the mid-third century B.C.⁴³ Fortuna Primigenia also had a temple in Rome by 194 B.C.⁴⁴ *Πρωτογένεια*, as found in the cult title on Delos, is a late Greek word occurring only twice, once with Physis in an Orphic hymn (X 5), and once in the aforementioned Delian inscription of 115/4 B.C.⁴⁵ It seems most reasonable to

41. Chapter II, Hymn I 32-33; and the *M.* text 15, 39, 43, 49, 50; *A.* 34-35. Cf. *Ank.* 9; *H. Oxy.* 61, 99, 121-3.

42. *M. Verr.* II 66.160. See Brady, *Reception*, p. 43, for the carrying of the Egyptian cult (of Sarapis) from older centres to their neighbours in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands: to Cyzicus, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Priene; (from Rhodes) to Lindos and Kameiros, Syme, Chalce and Rhodian Peraia; and to Pompeii, Puteoli, and probably the principal cities of South Italy; and finally (first century B.C.) to Rome, Ambracia, Dionysopolis (on the Black Sea). For Magnesia on the Maeander see *I. Mag.*, no. 99; for Priene, *Inscr. Priene*, nos 193, 195; for Ambracia, *CIG* II 1800; for Dionysopolis, *Syll.* 3 762; for Lindos, *IG* XII 1 788, 815; *Syll.* 3 765; for Kameiros, *IG* XII 1 701; for Syme, *IG* XII 3 (1) 4; for Chalce, *IG* XII 1 957; for Pompeii, Nissen, *Pompeianischen Studien*, p. 174 (the earliest temple at Pompeii, second century B.C.); for Puteoli, *CIL* X 1781.5 (105 B.C.); for Rome, *App. Met.* XI 30, *Cic. ad Att.* II 17.2, and for a temple to Sarapis in Syracuse, *Cic.*

in *Verr.* II 66. 160. Isis' arrival at Pompeii is dated probably to the second half of the second century B.C. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, p. 30.

43. For Isis-Tyche-Protogeneia on Delos 115/4, see *SIG* 113 = *Délos* 2072. For Fortuna Primigenia, see *Val. Max.* I 3.2. And for the most recent discussion of the cult and temple of the goddess at Praeneste, see F. Fasolo, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina*, Rome, 1953; and E. Jacopi, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia e il Museo archaeologica praenestino*, Rome 1959. These references have been recently sent to me by Professor George Duckworth, under whose able guidance I visited the Praeneste temple with the American Academy in Rome Summer School in 1955.

44. *Liv.* XXXIV 53.5.

45. At Halicarnassus, Agathe Tyche, probably equated to Isis, had been called *πρωτή* in *SIG* 1044, which may be third century, but is undated. The Latin titles appears to be earlier.

take this example of cult spread as from West to East, as least insofar as actual nomenclature is concerned.

In Italy, the earliest evidence for the cult of Isis herself is found, however, not at Praeneste, but at Rome, Herculaneum and Pompeii, where it arrived in the late second and early first centuries B.C.⁴⁶ Since a considerable number of Roman and Italian names are found in the Delian inscriptions, it may be that Italian adherents of the Egyptian cults fled from the onslaught of Mithridates in 88 to their respective cities in Italy, bringing with them their new cult.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Roman residents of Delos may have played a part in introducing Egyptian gods into Italy before 88 B.C., since the cult of Isis probably reached Rome during the late second century. Again, the cults of Isis and Serapis may have come directly to Italy from Alexandria.⁴⁸ A college of Pastophori was already established in Rome by the time of Sulla.⁴⁹

So the cults of Isis and her associated Egyptian deities spread through the Greek world as Ptolemaic activity brought inhabitants of the Aegean and the West into closer contact with the newly Hellenized religion. The availability of Greeks who knew the cult and of cult texts in the language of the Mediterranean made the propagation more facile. Some of the transmission may have been direct from Egypt to the West, but, undoubtedly, most of the progress of the new cults was made in stages, moving first into areas in which were the greatest activities of Ptolemies and Greeks from Egypt. Thence it moved into the further reaches of the Hellenic and Latin world.

46. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 9 ff.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 19 ff.

48. There are some cult characteristics which suggest the direct connection. The seeking and finding of the body of Osiris seems not to have been celebrated in Greece but only in Egypt and Italy. It is presumed that this festival, or Mystery, came to Italy from the Greco-Egyptian cult-life of Egypt. Part of it, the cry *εὐρήκαμεν συγχάρομεν* and the cult-term *εὐρεσις*, apply to the sacred

pageant. Nilsson suggests also that the ceremony of the mosaic of stones, as reported by Firmicius Maternus, is really the fitting together of the skeleton of Osiris. See Firm. Mat., *de err. prof. rel.* 22,2., also Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, p. 639 and notes 3-4, and V. Tan Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 100 ff. Of course, certain Greek societies, like the Melanophoroi of Delos, may have celebrated the same rites.

49. App. Met. XI 30. Cf. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, pp. 19 ff.



CHAPTER FOUR THE EARLIEST ARETALOGIES, OR GREEK HYMNS, TO ISIS

The Tradition of the Texts

After the Hymns of Isidorus, the next Isiac aretalogies come from the Greek world outside Egypt and date also to the first century B.C.: the hymn from Cyme in the Aeolid, the nine-line hymn reported by Diodorus Siculus, and the hymn found on the island of Andros. A later hymn from Ios, dated to the second/third centuries, and a few fragmentary lines from a Saloniki hymn, also supposed to date to the second/third centuries of our era, are, as far as their lines survive, identical to the Cyme hymn. These, apart from the Hymns of Isidorus, are the earliest and most important Isiac aretalogies.

Isidorus' Fayum Hymns are in hexameters and elegiacs. The Andros hymn is also hexameter, but the other two hymns of the first century B.C. are in prose. Harder believed that the prose aretalogies were translations. They and the Andros hymn are in what has been called the I-style where the goddess herself in the first person tells of her divine power and miracles.

Because of the almost exact similarity of the prose aretalogies, Richard Harder, in 1944, collated the texts of the hymns of Cyme (K.), Ios (J.), Saloniki (S.) and Diodorus (D.), into one Greek text which he called *M.*, assuming that there had been an original, Egyptian text set up on a stele at Memphis early in the Ptolemaic era.¹ He thought *D.* had come somewhat indirectly from the same prototype.² Harder does not analyse the Andros hymn (*A.*) but Werner Peek in 1931 demonstrated that it too was derived from the same source as *K.*³ Harder's hypothesis is that between *M.* and the extant Greek prose aretalogies, a Greek translation had been made, adding the introduction still preserved in *K.* (and *A.*). The translations of which several copies were made naturally had been in prose. He imagines *A.* descended from *M.* through an earlier hexameter version, *A^P*.

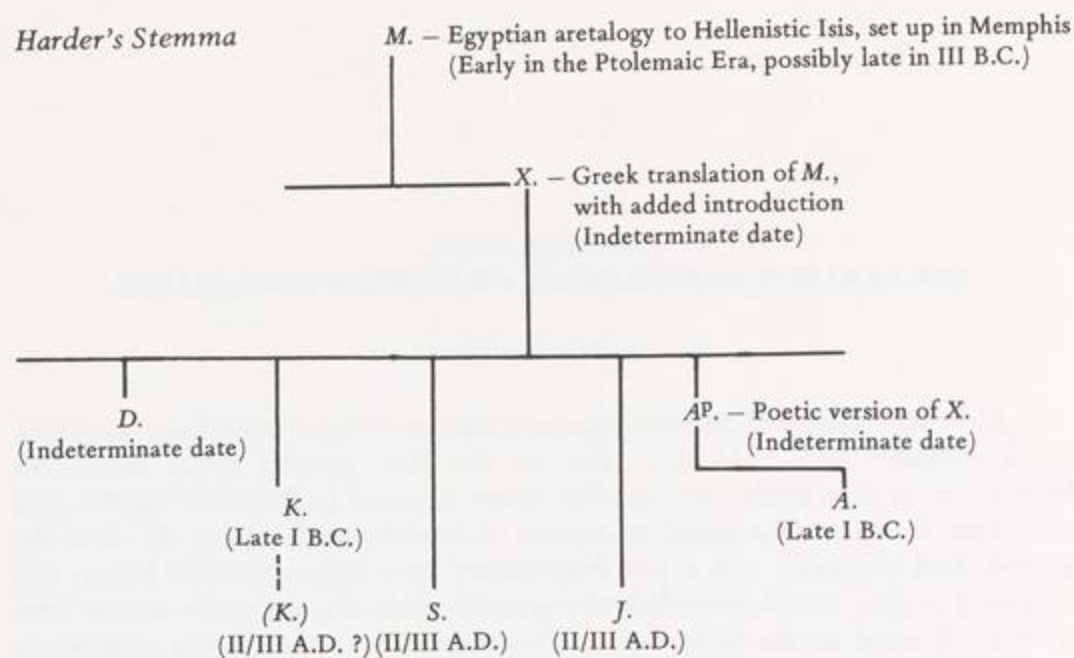
Isidorus' three Hymns to Isis are not derived from *M.*, although parts seem to be influenced by it or a similar hymn. They are of the same century as *A.*, *D.*, and *K.*; all other extant Greek hymns to Isis are later.

1. Harder, *Karpokrates*, pp. 21-22.

2. Festugière, *Arétalogies*, discussing Harder,

Karpokrates.

3. W. Peek, *Andros*.

Harder's Stemma*Language*

The language of the early aretologies to Isis reveals that their texts, generally, belong to a transitional period. The Fayum Hymns use what could be called an Hellenistic epic-poetic dialect with mostly epic-poetic traits and relatively few influences from the Koine. Further, amid their numerous epic-poetic expressions they also show certain tendencies of Hellenistic prose composition.⁴ The *M.* text (i.e. *K.*, *J.*, *S.*, and *D.*) is simple Hellenistic prose with few epic-poetic idioms. What in it appears to be poetic, or cult-language, is, in fact, not influenced by Greek poetic formulae. For instance, phrases like "I am the One who rises in the Star of the Dog," "I separated earth from heaven," "I taught the paths of the stars," "I established the course of the sun and moon," "I made justice strong," and "I am in the rays of the sun," clearly show Egyptian influence. Indeed the phrase *ἐγὼ εἰμι*, found twelve times in *M.*, is probably an Egyptian temple-formula. One can single out *M.*'s few purely Greek or Greco-Egyptian phrases:⁵ "I am the tyrant of all the land/earth," "I discovered . . .," and "the discoverer of edible vegetation (*karpoi*)."

4. For Hellenistic linguistic style I have generally relied on: Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2; Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.3; and Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*. C. B. Welles, *RC*, Introduction, has some very pertinent references to late Greek linguistic style.

5. For a summary of his study of the Greek and Egyptian influence in *M.*, see Müller, *Isisareta-logien*, especially the summary, p. 91. *ἐγὼ εἰμι* occurs: 3a, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 41, 42, 44, 49, 52. See W. Manson, *ἐγὼ εἰμι*, *JThS* 48, 1947, pp. 137-145.

The vocabulary and expression of the metrical Fayum Hymns, largely epic-poetic as the line-by-line commentary shows, is limited generally to frequent repetitions of common verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Indeed, what seems at times to be a remarkable attention to mood, tense, etc. may in reality be a close dependence on borrowed hexameter formulae. For instance, refinements like the two optatives and two subjunctives correctly used (in four purpose clauses) within ten lines of Hymn I are rare in late Hellenistic Greek.⁶ And there are other, less distinctive, borrowed features in the language. The imperatives of the Fayum Hymns, for instance, greatly resemble in vocabulary, grammatical form, and hexameter localization, the imperatives of Orphic hymns.⁷ This resemblance to Orphic hymns, of course, extends far beyond the imperative.

M. also has two subjunctives correctly used (3c, 46); and since they probably are not formulaic, *M.* must qualify, in this respect at least, as a good Hellenistic text. It has no imperatives save *χαῖρε*.

The Fayum hymnologist could not find all the expressions he needed in what he knew of epic and poetic sources. Probably because of this, he adopts certain colloquial idioms. Participles, for instance, are noticeably common in his Hymns and help him to lengthen his sentences. This is a characteristic of the Koine.⁸ To this idiom belong also his periphrastic expressions (using participles) with forms of *εἶμι* (expressed or understood).⁹ He also uses the participle with the definite article to form the equivalent of relative clauses, another common feature of Hellenistic Greek.¹⁰

M., on the other hand, shows no periphrastic constructions, but frequently uses participles with the article to replace relative clauses.

The more closely one examines the four Fayum Hymns, the more one becomes aware of their individual style. Hymn I shows the most complex Greek expressions and, at the same time, most dependence on epic-poetic formulae. Hymn IV, least like Hymn I, retains many epic forms of words but also shows what seems to be an independent, if naive, use of tense and coordinates. And it has several precise uses of the middle voice which are neither epic nor poetic. At least twice in IV there is a strong hint of prose composition. In fact, simple prose composition, juxtaposed to an epic line, twice produces a sharp stylistic contrast (IV 17-20, followed by 21 ff. and 37-9 followed by 40). The other Hymns, II and III, also show distinct Hellenistic tendencies. III is distinguished for its very numerous participles which almost all occur in one particularly rambling,

6. I 6 and 13. Optatives apart from wishes (and formulae) completely disappeared in the Koine. Welles, *RC*, lxxi, and note 10.

7. See the line-by-line commentary for the scattered references. For the Orphic hymns, see G. Quandt, *Orphic Hymni*, Berlin, 1962.

8. Welles, *RC*, xlv ff. Had Isidorus not used participles, we must conclude he would have fallen into the same confusion as is sometimes evident in

Hellenistic correspondence. Other types of subordination are less easy to master. It seems clear that, when he wishes to speak for himself directly to the reader, he can write like a good secretarial scribe, e.g. IV 37-9.

9. Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, p. 332, and Welles, *RC*, p. lxxii e.

10. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.2, pp. 54 ff.

seventeen-line sentence.¹¹

M., however, shows no remarkable variation in verb form or use throughout its 57 verses. Its participles are not overly frequent, numbering only 10. Of these, none is in a periphrastic construction, and all except the last (verse 57) are used with the article to replace relative clauses. There is much repetition; ἐγὼ εἰμι appears 12 times, and the first person singular aorist (usually active and with ἐγὼ) occurs often. Obviously the author of *M.* believed in forceful, monotonous, didactic repetition.

The Fayum Hymns are not so much repetitious as naively limited in language. There is a conscious attempt to employ artistic expression; many of the linguistic features are repeated often enough to show they are deliberate. For instance, the uses of the definite article are not unlike those of the Homeric and Orphic hymns; at the same time, they are usages of the article that scribes of the Hellenistic era followed in their correspondence. Isidorus uses the article well, particularly with participles to form the equivalent of relative clauses.¹² He uses it with adverbs and a prepositional phrase, with titles and certain epic-poetic nouns. The first two of these are particularly Hellenistic.¹³ He generally omits the article with possessive pronouns and general nouns, and, again, his omissions are very like those of epic and Orphic hymns. Significantly, his usage of the definite article is in marked contrast to the practice of certain other hymnologists of the same century. In the Andros Hymn, for instance, the article is almost entirely lacking.¹⁴

M. also uses the definite article well, in particular with nine of its ten participles, showing a close resemblance to good Hellenistic practice. In *M.* the article also occurs twice before a prepositional phrase; and it is used consistently with adjectives to form singular neuter nouns. Just as in the Fayum Hymns, it is consistently omitted with general nouns. With titles and names of countries and nationalities *M.*'s use is sporadic.¹⁵

11. The style in these lines appears not to involve parallel structure, that is, it is freer than in other verses of the hymns (IV 17-20; II 21-26). Its sentences neither coincide with the length of the line nor the couplet. They and III 24-33, as well as IV 37-39, appear to be a venture in more prosaic composition. There is noticeably almost no epic or epic-poetic language in the lines. Instead, as in III 20-33, many of the tricks of rhetoric occur: some parallel clauses, groups of three, antitheses, the contrast of a very short clause (28) with what precedes and follows, rhyming words, rhyme at the ends of lines, chiasmus, and even three participles two of which rhyme, a prolonged periphrasis 20-27, and a rise and gradual fall 31-33. For Hellenistic prose that shows exactly the same tendencies, see Welles, *RC*, pp. xlvi ff. and Numbers 14, 44. For confusion resulting from the lack of participles and an unsuccessful use of other types of subordination, see *RC* 66.22. Phrases like

τὰ συγγεγραμμένα are very common from the third century B.C. on. It would seem that Isidorus' skill in this particular construction hints at a knowledge of formulae which were common among governmental scribes and which we know from papyri and inscriptions.

12. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, 2.2, pp. 54 ff. for this common Hellenistic use. It was particularly common from the third century B.C. on. Cf. Welles, *RC*, p. lxx.

13. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.1, pp. 14 ff.

14. Peek, *Andros*, p. 81. Cf. Welles, *RC*, p. lxx, commenting on the 'well handled' use of the article in the royal letters.

15. It is interesting that *D.* four times uses the article when it is omitted in corresponding verses of *M.*: I 27.3, 6, 8, 9; and he shows an article and participle where *K.* has parataxis with καὶ (cf. *M.* 3b). See Harder, *Karpokrates*, pp. 20-21.

Finally Isidorus' frequent use of the particle $\tau\epsilon$ must be noted.¹⁶ It occurs commonly in Hymns I, II, and III. *M.* uses $\tau\epsilon$ but once, near the beginning (3c) in the well known correlative formula $\tau\epsilon \dots \kappa\alpha\iota$.¹⁷ This absence of $\tau\epsilon$, when compared with Isidorus' lavish use, indicates that the simple rhetoric of *M.* is not influenced by epic-poetic language, that, in fact, some effort has been made to avoid such expressions. It may well mean that *M.* in its origin is a scribal composition, a translation from another language. This would tend to substantiate Harder's theory that the prototype was an Egyptian text.

*The Hellenistic Hymn-Style
as it appears in early Arētalogies to Isis*

Greek Hellenistic hymns show, generally, four divisions of their content.¹⁸ The Invocation gives the names of the deity, his/her nature, cult-sites, genealogy, and relationships to other gods. The second section tells of the universal omnipotence of the deity, that is, his/her dynamis, arete, and kleros. The third section deals with specific works, miracles, and discoveries (erga, aretae, and heuremata). These entitle the god to be called universal Lord, Discoverer, Saviour, etc. By contrast with the Homeric hymns, the Hellenistic god's acts for men are not attached to one particular cult-site where miracles may have occurred. The hymns end with a personal request of the poet who speaks of himself as a suppliant. He considers his whole hymn to be a prayer.

The Homeric hymns differ from the Hellenistic hymns in that between the opening invocation and concluding prayer they relate a legend illustrating the deity's power and gifts to men;¹⁹ and they frequently refer to some particular cult-site. Thus the main section of the Hellenistic hymn is a departure from the older form of the genre.

There are many examples of the Hellenistic hymn. The most outstanding is

16. See Appendix for details. For the use of $\tau\epsilon$ see especially: Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2, pp. 235, sec. 236.2; 243, sec. 518.2 and sec. 520.4; and 241, sec. 519.1; Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.3, pp. 164, 155, 157; Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, pp. 420 ff., *LSJ* s.v. $\tau\epsilon$, R. Keydell, "Metrische Bemerkungen zu den Hymnen des Isidorus," *Prolegomena* 2, 1953, p. 123, note 1, referring to a similar use in *h. Orph.*; Theiler, *Philologus* 94, 1941, p. 249; H. Blumenthal, *Gnomon* 19, 1943, p. 144. Mayser notes that $\tau\epsilon$ is used in the Rosetta Inscription to join a participle to a verb and calls it a recognized use, as he does $\tau\epsilon$ with an infinitive. See also Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik*, p. 241, sec. 519.1.

17. $\tau\epsilon$ is avoided in early Hellenistic prose. See Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, pp. 420 ff. It

occurs for instance mostly in the Pentateuch of the Septuagint (and in Malachi, 104), but only three times in the Psalms. It declines sharply in the New Testament, appearing with any frequency only in Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

18. Harder, *Karpokrates*, for *M.*; also Festugière, *Arētalogies*, pp. 200-234, discussing Hellenistic hymn-style generally and *M.* in particular. He refers to Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, pp. 168 ff.; *RE* IX, 140 ff.; Wünsch, *Hymnos*. A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 21, 1949, pp. 221-228 (on Harder, *Karpokrates*), refers in particular to the style of the Karpokrates hymn, and somewhat generally to other Hellenistic hymns, especially *M.*

19. See especially *h. Hom.* II (the Hymn to Demeter).

Cleanthes' well known Hymn to Zeus; the Orphic hymns also illustrate the pattern. A. D. Nock classifies the *Somnium Nectanebi* and the Greek aretalogies to Isis²⁰ in the genre, and, although he was discussing only the aretalogies that comprise the *M.* text, we can add all the early Isiac aretalogies, the Andros Hymn, the prose Aretalogy of Diodorus, and those of Isidorus of the Fayum to his classification.²¹ In fact, Isidorus' Hymns I, II and III divide easily into the four sections of the Hellenistic hymn.

Although Isidorus' Hymns have their own individual characteristics, each shows in its main divisions the typical Hellenistic hymn style. Hymn I has three almost equal sections, after a sonorous three-line introduction. Though most of the main body of the Hymn is concerned with the goddess' general dynamis, it includes within that section an eleven-line polyonymos or myrionymos passage not found elsewhere in contemporary Greek hymns. Finally, the section of seven lines, preceding the concluding prayer, with specific references to human calamities within which Isis can help, is to be taken as a typical Hellenistic reference to the works of the deity.

Hymn II follows a similar pattern, opening invocation, two long sections, and concluding prayer, but it has a novelty, a postscript which appears to be the poet's own testimony to the efficacy of the goddess. Hymn III too follows this pattern: a long section following the invocation expresses a eulogy of the goddess' dynamis-arete and her particular relation to the Egyptian Pharaoh, followed by the usual passage dealing with the deity's works, in this case Isis' gifts to the people of the Fayum.

Even Hymn IV, though not addressed to the goddess but to the god-king Porramanres, who founded her temple in the XIIth Dynasty, still follows the pattern we call typically Hellenistic. There are the same references to dynamis, arete, and erga; even heurisko occurs with the Hellenistic meaning of devise, invent, found. The whole of IV magnifies Porramanres as I, II, and III did Isis, and it ends, like II, with a sentence which is obviously personal testimony.

The Memphis text, or *M.*, also shows the customary sections of the Hellenistic hymn. Harder himself analysed the hymn style of his composite text: an introductory inscription, an invocation telling Isis' genealogy, titles, relationship to other gods, etc., a dynamis section stating her power over nature etc., and her specific achievements, or erga and heuremata. Particularly stressed is her creative activity as it effects the achievements and discoveries of civilization. *M.* concludes with the goddess' farewell to Egypt.²² It will be recognized at once that Harder's divisions perfectly reflect the sections of the Hellenistic hymn, with the exception of the final prayer, necessarily omitted in *M.* since the goddess herself is speaking.

20. A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 21, 1949, pp. 221-8. Nock refers to the style found in the Karpokrates hymn as suggestive in various ways of Nonnus, the Orphic hymns, the Andros hymn, and the *Som-*

nium Nectanebi.

21. All belong to the genre; see Festugière, *Arétalogies*, pp. 211-234, notes 25, 30.

22. Harder, *Karpokrates*, pp. 39 ff.

D. Müller, in his analysis of *M.*, found that some 19 (or 22) of the 56 verses show concepts that could reasonably be said to come from Egyptian inscriptions extant in the Hellenistic era.²³ The rest of the verses he thought probably of Greek origin. Müller made no reference to hymn style or the arrangement of *M.*, but Festugière, commenting on *M.* as an example of Hellenistic hymn style, analysed *M.*'s form in essentially the same way as Harder, assigning specific lines to the sections:²⁴

A (3-11): the goddess' nature, cult sites, etc.

B¹ (12-14) and B² (39-56): the goddess' omnipotence, i.e. dynamis.

C (15-38): the goddess' discoveries, i.e. heuremata (or erga).

To explain his two divisions of B, the dynamis section, Festugière claims that an indefinite number of additions to K. and J. must have been made over a period of time and consequently the order has become distorted. According to him, verses 15-38 should follow, not precede, B² (39-56).

The sections of *M.* and of Isidorus' Hymns concerning the goddess as a Discoverer and Universal Deity are, as said above, specifically Hellenistic. That she acts alone and is almost monotheistic is another Hellenistic trend. Although the feminine title 'Heuretria' is first used in the Fayum Hymns of the early first century B.C., Festugière would date the prototype *M.*, and its characteristics generally, much earlier than all the extant aretalogies.

Finally, no analysis of the aretalogies would be complete without the observation that the content of Fayum Hymns I, II, and III, and *M.* seems all to have been rather artificially forced by the hymnologists into the Hellenistic hymn-mould. This is shown especially in the dynamis and erga sections, where the deity's dynamis really cannot be separated from her erga. When such a divinity, omnipotent but warmly personal, as in Isidorus' Hymns, is praised, it would seem to be impossible to divide her specific acts from her universal divine virtue. The conviction that this ever-active Creator's power presides over all life and nature (zoe and karpos/physis) so permeates the Fayum Hymns that her dynamis, arete, and erga, can in no way be confined to certain lines. Verbs pour out the message, showing her as a restless, beneficent, intelligent force, giving of her own life-force to men, and forever instructing, discovering-creating, and saving them. The goddess loves mankind. Surely what we find in these hymns is the emergence of the strong new Hellenistic deity which, like new wine, bursts through the form of the Hellenistic hymn. The Fayum Hymns are evidence that the prose aretalogies to Isis also could have been exalted vehicles of genuine feeling if they had been produced by a Psalmist or more sensitive aretalogos.

Certain new developments are shown in the Isiac Hellenistic hymns. While obscure or absent in *M.*, they can easily be traced in Isidorus' Fayum Hymns. His first Hymn includes a new ten-line polyonymus or myrionymus (many-name)

23. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 91: verses 3a, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13, 16, 56, 23, 24, 31, 32, 44, 45, 55, 4,

40, 3c, (11?), (46-47?).

24. A. J. Festugière, *Arétagies*.

section in which he equates his goddess to all great goddesses and claims all are merely forms of her whom he calls "the One." Harder refers to this section as traditionally Egyptian, and van Groningen gives several close parallels from Egyptian hymns of praise.²⁵ We can conclude that Isidorus' polyonymus section was influenced directly by Egyptian hymns, possibly temple-hymns. This feature did not reappear in hymns to Isis for some two centuries.²⁶ Among Greek hymnologists, Isidorus may also be an innovator in the use of the title Heuretria, since his is the first extant use.

There is, finally, the important matter of the goddess' power over death. The *M.* text makes no mention of death, although it says Isis "conquers himarmenon." These final verses of *M.* may bear some relation to Isidorus' simple claim that his goddess can save men when death threatens, or as Egyptian inscriptions would put it, she can prolong life. Isidorus says that she can heal the sick and infirm by sharing her "life" with them (II 8). Her vaster power to give a kind of life even after death, that is, her power in the underworld, is not mentioned until Roman times, and then somewhat cryptically by the Oxyrhynchus Hymn and Apuleius.²⁷ Isidorus' Hymns I and II are the first among Greek or Latin aretalogies to suggest that Isis' power to heal is really divine power over death.

One should also recall that the fourth Fayum Hymn shows at least two lines that are very like a refrain, causing the narrative both to pause midway and to close with a more or less similar, sonorous line. Such a refrain seems never to have occurred again in Isiac hymns.

These are Isidorus' innovations in the Hellenistic hymn; but he had little influence on subsequent hymns, for these features either never reappear, or only reappear much later. From our evidence, the Fayum would seem to have been, especially in the first century B.C., a more or less isolated locale of peculiarly vital religious syncretism. Its theology may come from the great institution of Memphis, but it sought local expression through its own temple hymns, some of them in Greek. Meanwhile, in the outside Greek world, the same goddess' hymns of praise were assuming an assertive new didactic prose form, as if spoken by the goddess-teacher herself to a new, foreign congregation. The I-style prose of the Greek aretalogy to Isis constitutes a peculiar type of Hellenistic hymn for a literate audience outside Egypt, while the Fayum Hymns are of and for the local bi-cultural society.

25. See Harder, *Karpokrates*, pp. 47 ff. He believes the whole of *M.* shows the "fine hand" of the Egyptian priesthood. Van Groningen, *de P. Oxy.*, pp. 79 ff., refers in particular to an Egyptian hymn (to Hathor) showing this feature. He seems to prove that references to the mighty name of Isis stem from Egyptian sources, and are therefore early. Cf. Festugière, *Arétalogies*, pp. 209-34, who implies it is a late feature. It seems to be both.

After Isidorus it does not recur in Greek hymns until about the second century of our era.

26. Cf. *App. Met.* XI 4 and *H. Oxy.* 1-142. Festugière forgets the Fayum Hymns of Isidorus when he lists this section as a feature only of later hymns, *Arétalogies*, p. 25.

27. *H. Oxy.* 13, 242-3, 246-7, 291-3(?), and *App. Met.* XI 6. In Egyptian mythology she was always concerned with the soul after death.

CHAPTER FIVE

ISIS' CHARACTERIZATION IN THE EARLIEST GREEK ARETALOGIES

From the Egyptian pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom, ancient Isis, perhaps originally a sky-goddess, or the personification of the royal throne (or its cushion), was never a vegetation goddess and was always associated with other gods in a family.¹ She was daughter, sister and wife, and mother, and, in every reference, youthful and active. She was especially concerned with the human soul after death. Her ancient family relationships are still prominent in Hellenistic *M.*, where the names of Osiris and Horus occur, but, for her new Greek congregation, Geb, her father, is now re-named Cronos; Thoth is Hermes, and Nut, her mother, is omitted.² Nor, in fact, does the name of Serapis occur in the aretalogies of the first century B.C. although he is mentioned in the Cyrenaic aretalogy, of the early second century A.D.

In the Fayum aretalogies, which are local hymns to the universal goddess, the goddess' family is also present. But they bear names appropriate to the cult of local Hermouthis: Sokonopis, dweller in the temple with the goddess is her husband; Anchoes, the visible sun and a sky-god, is her son but of lesser power and scope than his omnipotent mother. There is no mention of Hermouthis, Sokonopis or Anchoes in *M.*, nor would one expect it.

The early aretalogies emphasize Isis' power, omnipotent and creative. The goddess shows good will towards men in her erga, which are not separated from her dynamis, as might have been possible in praise of a purely Greek divinity. The goddess has given men justice and laws, she is a strong defender of all human civilization, and she presides over its progressive steps. She has become, in fact, a Greek discoverer and teacher for men, like Prometheus, Demeter, Themis, and Hestia. She "finds" and "teaches" technae: agriculture, writing, sea-faring; she has become the sea-goddess and a punisher of tyrants; she can conquer fate. She is Greek Demeter who discovered vegetation, and the eastern creator who first established the cosmos and made man. Her chief care is for men. The Fayum

1. Plu., *de Is.* 21; *RARG* p. 329, and illustration 84. Cf. v. Groningen, *De P. Oxy.*, pp. 143-4. It is interesting to see how the Fayum, Greco-Egyptian Isis-and-child representation appears as the Madonna-and-child, the Maria Galaktophorosa or Maria Lactans, in Christian art. Cf. K. Wessel, *Coptic Art*, plates 5 and 6. For further representations of Isis, cf. G. Vandebeek, *De*

interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur, 1946; P. Graindor, *Terres Cuites*, No. 27; Nilsson, *GGR* 2.2, taff. 8.2, 9.2, 11.2, and 11.3. Cf. Plates XII-XIV.

2. In *M.* 5 (= *K.* 5, *J.* 4) she is said to be daughter of Cronos. In *D.* 3 she is daughter of youngest Cronos. In *A.* 15 she is the elder daughter of Cronos and granddaughter of Ouranos (*A.* 18).

psalmist, in true Egyptian fashion, thinks of her as the cause of the Nile's annual flood.

Much of this is Eleusinian, or similar to Eleusinian theology, and may have come to Egypt from the Greek world through the Greek immigrants. But there is a strong non-Greek side to the goddess as well. She has been made to usurp the powers of all the great gods of Egypt. Not only has she ordered the courses of the stars but of the sun and moon as well; she is the primeval god who separated heaven from earth. She is, in fact, a new synthesis of all important Egyptian deities.

As this is the Isis of the early aretalogies, so it is the specific goddess of Isidorus' Hymns. Strikingly, she assumes the characteristics of Renenet, a goddess attested at least in the XIIth Dynasty; her worship had been carried on at the very temple-site of Isidorus' Hymns. In a temple text³ Renenet speaks: "I give all life eternally. I give all felicity eternally. I give all eternity eternally. I give all success (or health) eternally." This ancient Renenet (even to the I-style of her address) reappears as a component of the universal Hellenistic and Greco-Roman Isis.

Unification of different strains under the characterization of Hellenistic Isis is extensive. For instance, Greek Agathe Tyche seems to be a large component. Tyche Agathe, sometimes Tyche alone, frequently occurs equated to Isis in Aegean inscriptions of early Ptolemaic times. Isis is also Tyche Agathe in the great Oxyrhynchus Hymn of the first/second centuries A.D., that is, the title continued to cling to her in Egypt.⁴ The name Tyche (Agathe) followed Isis not only into the Greek world, but to Italy.

Since the Old Kingdom in Egypt, the control of a man's length of days had been the prerogative of Egyptian major gods. By decreeing the life span of a man, and the quality of his individual portion of life, Egyptian gods had been said to decree or control a man's fate. They could also extend an individual's life span when much of his life force was spent. Two Forces or Powers are thought eventually to have come to symbolize the individual life span and the quality of life given within it: Shai, Psoi, or Shoy, from the Egyptian verb sho, meaning to decree; and Renenet, a Power and goddess, meaning specifically Riches, and Good Fortune, or the quality of life within the life span.⁵ These two, Shay and Renenet, usually paired, were, according to inscriptions, always under the control of some major god, who might be Amun, Ptah, Khnum, or Aton in the theology of Amarna. Particularly in the later period, the royal goddess Isis, and the members of her family, Osiris and Horus, were also said to control Shay and Renenet.⁶

3. Vogliano, S. R., p. 28. See Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 56 ff.

4. Egypt. P. Oxy. 51; OGIS 119, Δύ Σωτήρι καὶ τύχη πρωτογενή(ι) αλενᾶ(ι) (cf. Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 209 and note 11); also SEG VIII 657 = SBAU 7791: Εἰσὶν μνησινύμω θεᾷ μεγίστη ἀναρωθείση τύχη (A.D. 159). See Nilsson, GGR 2.2, p. 209, note 12. And in Rome: IG 1006: θεᾷ

ἐπήκοος τῆς τύχης. See also Alföldi, *Isiskult*, p. 27, fig. 330: Isis-Tyche-Panthea, first century B.C.

5. Morenz-Müller, *Schicksals*; Müller, *Isis-aretalogien*, pp. 82 ff., especially p. 85, note 5; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 1946, pp. 53 ff.; and H. Kees, *Götterglaube*, Psoi.

6. Osiris (Dendera 4971): "Shay and Renenet are under his command." Isis (Brit. Mus. 70, Cat.

Many scholars have stressed the importance of Shay and Renenet in Egyptian theology. Müller states that they are shown to have become more important and more nearly defined in the Amarna period.⁷ Shay remained a Power, unpersonified, but Renenet was a goddess more or less personified as she had been from the Old Kingdom. Shay may be very like Homer's *μοῖρα θεῶν*.⁸ But the Greek *moira theon*, when concerned with the end of a man's life, may even in Homer be *μοῖρα θανάτου*;⁹ and, in fact, Hellenistic grave inscriptions show *μοῖρα* alone to mean death without any hint of personification. But Shay and Renenet seem never to have been associated with death by the Egyptians.

It is significant that a bilingual text translates Shay as Greek Tyche.¹⁰ It must be Tyche Agathe, the good power who is the implied opponent of death. *ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* is another possible interpretation of Shay, that is, *τύχη ἀγαθή* alone and with *ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* in the Greco-Egyptian world, may be Egyptian Shay. Renenet-Hermouthis who gives men luck and riches presides with Shay over the individual life. The individual is constantly protected during his life span by these two divine agents. This theology has essentially nothing to do with his after life.

Isidorus in the Fayum Hymns invokes Isis as Hermouthis, that is Renenet, and as Agathe Tyche, that is, presumably, Shay. There is a loose equivalent here to the Egyptian title, "Lord of Shay and Renenet." In other words, Isis still controls human life and fate in the Hellenistic Greek world as she did in Egyptian temple-lore. Surely this is why the *M.* text speaks cryptically of her as controlling Heimarmenon. The concluding verses, "I conquer Himarmenon" (*sic*), and "Heimarmenon obeys me," are precisely this, cast in first the Greek and then the Egyptian idiom.¹¹ Hellenistic Heimarmenon is fate, both good and bad. That is, it would seem to be a rough equivalent of both Renenet and Shay (or life), and not, perhaps, their counterpart or *moira* (death). Isis, herself, can ward off death by prolonging life.

434; 1162 Isisstatue, Cat. 472): "Mistress of Life, Lady of Fate and Increase"; Horus (W. Spiegelberg, "Horus als Arzt," ZAS 57, 1922, pp. 70 ff.): "The words of Horus save every man whose Fate stands (just) behind him." And for Isis as able to increase a man's life span, see Philae, Pylon 76, 4-6. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 85, note 3.

7. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, pp. 81 ff. Cf. Roeder, *Der Religion des Alt. Äg.*, p. 182. They are spoken of in that era either together or separately and confused, for each might represent the other (or it would seem so). Usually Renenet is feminine and Shay masculine although this is not always so. Shay seems not to have been strongly personified, symbolizing chiefly the life span of a man from birth to death.

8. Od. III 269. *Moira theon* is a portion of life decreed for an individual. Cf. W. C. Greene, *Moira*, pp. 14 ff.

9. Od. II 100, III 236, VI 197; Il. VI 488,

XXIV 49. See A. Meyer, *Moira in Griechischen Inschriften*, Diss. Giessen 1927; I. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (Catal. Gen. Oxford 1905) 9924, pp. 15 ff.

10. R. Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnut-legen* (S. B. Heidelberg, 1923), pp. 14, 49; W. Spiegelberg, *Der Äg. Mythos vom Sonnenauge*, Strassburg, 1917, p. 321. Cf. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 84, note 3; also H. Kees, *Götterglaube*, Psoi, p. 57.

11. Müller, *Isisaretagien*, p. 85, note 5. Later, moreover, Apuleius (*Met.* 6) can say: "Vives autem beatus, vives in mea tutela gloriosus; et cum spatium saeculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis, ibi quoque in ipso subterraneo semitotundo me, quam vides Acherontis tenebris interlucentem stygiisque penetralibus regnantem." And *ibid.*: "Scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatio vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere."

The authors of the *M.* text have carefully expunged the names of all other goddesses, obviously seeking to hide Isis' syncretistic nature in *M.*'s implied monotheism. The Fayum Hymns, on the other hand, claim in Hymn I to be monotheistic, but literally glory in their goddess' syncretism. After invoking her as Egyptian Isis-Hermouthis and Greek Agathe-Tyche-Deo, Isidorus tells us the specific names of ten other great deities to whom he equates her: Syrian Astarte, Syrian Artemis, Syrian Nanaia, Lycian Leto, the Thracian Mother of the gods, and the Greek goddesses Hera, Aphrodite, Hestia, Rhea, and Demeter. Those Isidorus names are all old, important, Near East and Greek deities. Egyptian Thious, The One, comes dramatically at the end; all the others are one in her.

Isidorus' unique, divine mother is undoubtedly an early product of centuries of Greco-Egyptian syncretism in Lower Egypt. The poet is a man of some culture, living amid humbler Fayum farmers, in the early first century B.C. His Hymns meld a little Greek physical philosophy, certain Eleusinian cult concepts of a discovering-civilizing divinity, and a Near Eastern creation myth.¹² Almost surely the general concepts that underlie his words must have originated in greater intellects than his, that is, with theologians who antedated him. His is a sophisticated goddess whose character is the result of enlightened speculation, and deliberate theological formulation of a high order.

12. A striking parallel to Isis as a nature goddess appears in Psalm 103 (104). Cf. Kraus,

Psalmen II, pp. 708 ff.

APPENDIX

THE GRAMMAR, SYNTAX AND VOCABULARY OF ISIDORUS' HYMNS

The following is a brief summary of Isidorus' commoner linguistic features. His language, like his theology, belongs to the Fayum society of his day.

His use of verbs is characteristic of his vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. Statistically, he uses, on the average, one verb a line, a fairly high proportion of verbs. There is much repetition of the commonest Greek verbs, and present and aorist tenses by far outnumber other tenses. Often one particular verb form occurs.¹ His commonest moods by far are the indicative and the participle.² Other moods do occur, but are, strangely, limited almost to Hymn I, and even there to one passage of nine lines.³ To a very large extent this concentration of similar forms is true of all his lines. For instance, he uses the imperfect tense only nine times, eight of which uses are in Hymn IV.⁴ He uses participles 41 times, and over a third of these are in Hymn III.⁵ He uses subjunctives only twice, and, as said above, both times in I. He uses the optative only twice and again only in I. In short, his use of verbs is rather more rigid, and formulaic even, than one would expect from one who spoke Greek (of any type) fluently. His stilted vocabulary is evident in his infinitives. He uses only seven.⁶ This lack of fluency is even more obvious in his imperatives, although one might expect little freedom of speech in the concluding prayers of his hymns.⁷

He appears to use participles, however, with some freedom, a feature which obviously gives his syntax limited flexibility. Of his verb forms 28 per cent are participles, largely occurring in groups or clusters. Hymn III has almost twice as many as the other three hymns together. They occur in the main section of his

1. His verbs are frequently compounds of *ἔχω*, *ἄγω*, *εἰμί*, and *δίδωμι*. The others that are frequently repeated are: *κλύω*, *ναίω* (cf. *σύνναος*), *εὔχομαι* (cf. *εὐχών*), *κλήζω*, *τέρπομαι*, *φαίνω*, *χαίρω*, *τυγχάνω*, *ζάω*, *εὐρίσκω* (cf. *εὐρέτρια*), and *βαίνω*. The present tense occurs in all 70 times: in I (20 times), II (17), III (23), IV (10). The aorist in all appears 43 times: in I (5 times), II (14), III (5), IV (19). Forms such as the following appear more than once: *παρεῖναι* (I 34, II 5), *ἔχειν* (II 22, III 5), *κλῦθι* (I 35, III 19), *ὑπάρχει* (I 6, 14), *ἀνέδωκας* (I 7, II 21) and *ἔδωκας* (III 4).

2. He uses the indicative 86 times, the participle 41: I (indicative 19 times, participle 8); II

(indicative 22, participle 9); III (indicative 17, participle 14); IV (indicative 28, participle 10).

3. Subjunctive I 6, 13, optative I 47. These are the only uses in the four Hymns.

4. They are all of the three verbs: *εἰμί* (11, 16, 21 twice, 29); *κλύω* (15, 17); *πλέω* (36). The other use is III 23.

5. Nine uses are concentrated in lines 25-34.

6. In 144 lines his only infinitives are: *παρεῖναι* (twice), *ἔχειν* (twice), *ποιῆσαι* (twice), and *γενέσθαι*.

7. His only imperatives are: *κλῦθι* (twice), *γείνου*, *ἀνάπαυσον*, *χαῖρε*, *μετάδος*, *πέμψατε*.

composition, after the formulaic invocation and before the concluding formulaic prayer. In III he uses participles to compose with evident dexterity (or manoeuvring) one very long and complicated sentence.⁸ His uses of the participle are those generally recognized in Greek syntax.⁹ The conditional or temporal participle occurs 14 times, the causal and attributive each nine times, the circumstantial and supplementary each three. But his most distinguishing use of the participle is with forms of *εἰμί* (understood) in a periphrastic construction. The construction does not occur in Hymn II, but I shows one periphrastic use, III has three, and IV two. Those of IV are especially remarkable (IV 16): *ἐπιστέλλων ἦν* the equivalent of *ἐπέστελλε*, and (19) *ἐπιστεῖλαντα (εἶναι)*, the equivalent of *ἐπιστεῖλαι*.

Apart from two purpose conjunctions *ἵνα* and *ὅφρα*, Isidorus writes only simple subordinating conjunctions: *ὅπου* / *ὅπου* (once), *ὅτι* (meaning "that, because," twice), and *ὥς* (three times, all in IV).¹⁰ His use of the relative pronoun is more noteworthy because he repeats it frequently.¹¹ Clearly it is a means of description for him. The correlatives *ἦ* and *ἦ καὶ* occur only in III; but are used rhetorically to begin a group of six consecutive lines.¹² The frequent use of *καὶ* and *τε* are discussed below.

But the feature of his composition that shows most precision, and even refinement, is his use of the aorist and perfect tenses. The perfect occurs once in each hymn, and is well used. In I 9 the perfect *συνέστηχ'*, is intransitive, meaning "has come into existence, and therefore exists"; "has become compact or congealed, and therefore is solid." It is used precisely to express divine creation of the cosmos just as Plato had used it in the *Timeaus* (32b). The same verb in the perfect tense but in the active voice predicates Isis as cosmic Creator in *H. Oxy.* 183. If we can judge from Ovid's use of Latin *consistere* in a generally parallel passage (equivalent to Greek *συνίσταμαι*?), the compound form of *ἵστημι*, by the first century B.C. had become formulaic to describe the act of creating the physical cosmos.¹³ The perfect tense used as here is particularly apt but may also have been formulaic. (The Oxyrhynchus Hymn also shows this apt use of the perfect.) In Hymn II 2, the perfect tense in *γέγηθε* is the epic-poetic use of the perfect and so merely part of Isidorus' epic-poetic vocabulary; *ἀμφιβέβηκα* (III 20) is also epic-poetic. But the fourth perfect tense *ἀφεῖκται* (IV 31) is of interest.

8. Extending lines 19-33.

9. See Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, 1557 ff. for the three recognized uses: attributive, supplementary, circumstantial (including the genitive absolute, participles showing conditional, temporal, or causal, force, and participles in a periphrasis with forms of *εἰμί*). For Isidorus' attributive use see I 24, 27, 35; II 14; III 1, 30; IV 18?, 31, 37 (second); supplementary use, I 25; IV 14, 19?, and circumstantial use: genitive absolute I 33 twice; II 25; conditional or temporal: I 34; II 8,

16, 27 twice; III 14, 26 twice, 27, 28, 29 32?; IV 20?, 33?, 38?; causal: II 17, 21, 24, 32; III 9, 34; IV 33?, 37 first, 38?; the periphrastic construction with *εἰμί*: I 31; III 14?, 15?, 25; IV 16, 19?.

10. Purpose in I 6, 7, 13, and 4.

11. The epic-poetic relative pronoun *ὅσος/ὅσσος* occurs five times in I, four in II, three in III, but once only in IV. *ὅς* occurs four times in II, once in III, and five times in IV.

12. III 20-25.

13. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I 54.

Its meaning is entirely appropriate to express the blessed state of the Egyptian god-king's spirit that has reached and now dwells in the afterlife of the western heaven. It is, of course, a Koine form of the verb, where *ει* has replaced *ι*.¹⁴

Isidorus' use of the aorist is also precise. It occurs frequently, especially in Hymns II and IV.¹⁵ It shows two distinct uses, a simple past act which is the simple aorist, and an habitual or general act, the gnomic aorist, to be translated by the English present.¹⁶ All the instances of the simple aorist occur in I and IV in narration. The uses of the simple aorist in I are, with one exception, to express the seemingly instantaneous past acts of the Creator: *ἐμέλησε*, *ἀναδοίης* (4), *κατέδειξας* (6), *ἔδωκας* (7), *εὔρεο* (8), *γεῖνον* (36). These uses reveal Isidorus' basic concept of his goddess as a one-time creator and continuing power in men's lives. The real gnomic aorists are easily detected. For instance, II 14: *ὅς ἔδειξε τὸ φῶς* expresses a daily occurrence and *ἀνέδωκας* (II 21) is annual. In short, Isidorus' uses of the aorist are those of classical Greek.

He uses the present tense either as the historical present or the present general.¹⁷ The simple use of the present to express one act in present time, of course, does not normally occur in hymns although *ἔστιν* (IV 17) is an instance of it.

His participles are all the present or aorist tense. In these he distinguishes tense as carefully as he does in the indicative. All his aorist participles show acts that could properly precede the main verb or the next participle.¹⁸ This is particularly noticeable in *βᾶσα* (III 25) which is followed by six present participles.¹⁹ Each expresses an act that is continuous throughout each day: *διάγουσα*, *κατοπτεύουσα*, *καθορῶσα*, *ἐφορῶσα*, *τερπομένη*, *ναιόντων*. *βᾶσα* is a one-time act each twenty-four hours. Possibly *ἄγον[τ]ες* (32), though not really continuous, is present because it expresses the continuous stream of Fayum farmers bearing their produce offerings, as they might appear in a painted or sculptured temple relief.

Isidorus' use of voice is particularly careful, and provides evidence that the refinements we have noted above may well be intentional. The active and middle voices remain distinct in all his verbs; his use of the passive is infrequent but exact.²⁰ Middle and passive deponent verbs are used somewhat freely in I and II and are always correct. The active voice largely predominates, as is to be

14. See Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.2, pp. 87 ff. The tendency in the second century B.C. was to write *ει* for *ι* (long and short) and also to keep it for *ει*. See IV 31 commentary for examples.

15. The aorist occurs 66 times: I (5), II (37), III (5), IV (19).

16. The simple past acts are the aorists: IV 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10?, 20?, 24, 29, 32, 35, 39, 40?; I 4, 6, 7, 8; and II 32. The gnomic aorist occurs: I 36 twice; II 8, 14, 16, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29; III 4, 18 twice.

17. General present tenses are: I 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 34; II 4, 6, 10, 14, 17, 19; III 9, 13, 14, 28; IV 7, 17, 19, 25, 34.

18. I 34; II 8, 16, 21, 27 twice; III 25, 34; IV 18, 19, 31, 33, 37, 38.

19. III 26 twice, 27, 28, 29, 30 (32).

20. The middle voice occurs: I 27, 34, 26; IV 18, 33. The passive: I 11, 12, 24, 29, 30, 33 twice, 34; II 7; IV 8, 24. The deponents occur (middle): I 27, 34, 36; II 5, 8, 16, 25; III 34; IV 3, 7, 31; (passive): I 31; II 4, 21, 27; III 29; IV 2.

expected.²¹ The greatest variety of voice is in I and IV; the least in III. I also shows the greatest variety in mood.

Some of Isidorus' remarkably precise uses of voice deserve attention. For instance, ἀναλέγομαι (IV 18) is properly middle, meaning "read." Callimachus has an expression that is very similar (*Epigr.* 25). Isidorus' voices, in fact, may betray his formal training. The middle voice in ἐρμηνεύσμενοι (IV 33) almost certainly is to be translated "express, put into words, articulate in familiar speech." This is a classical use of the middle and is carefully distinguished from the active in ἡρμηνυσ' (39): "translate into a foreign language, interpret for foreigners." The latter is both classical and Koine. Another apparently precise use of voice occurs in εὔρεο (18) where the middle voice predicates the εὐρέτρια goddess. In IV 6 the same verb occurs in the active of the god-king, meaning "found, establish (the temple)." Therefore it would seem that Isidorus has deliberately chosen the epic-poetic middle voice to describe the major acts of his primeval creator. With this is to be compared the epic use of the verb (cf. *Od.* XIX 403, where it means "find, conceive and bestow").

Thus it seems obvious that Isidorus has a restricted but usually correct knowledge of epic-poetic and classical Greek. It indicates that he has had at least some formal schooling. Certain passages of poetry he may know by heart, passages such as have been found in Hellenistic school textbooks.²² Students were apparently required to memorize and study intensively selected poetic excerpts. But Isidorus' vocabulary is not entirely epic-poetic. For instance, his idiomatic ἀναγραψάμενος (IV 38), ἱστορούντων (37), and ἐρμηνεύω (33, 39) are found in what appears to be freer sentence structure, in fact almost prose structure. Hymn IV, lines 37-39 show an especially distinct style. III 26-33 may be similar.

And so, while many of his words, phrases, and sometimes whole lines can easily be identified as epic or epic-poetic, his language is, in fact, a patchwork of borrowed, well worn poetic phrases, a few commonplaces that may be original (see λαμπρόν καὶ λιπαρόν III 10), and some very good 'prose' sentences. All are combined somewhat naively and with the awkwardness that could characterize an intelligent man who had learned, but did not easily speak, Greek. Sometimes he seems to write merely nouns and adjectives joined by very unclear connectives. Cf. III 5-6:

καὶ ζώην γλυκερὴν τε ἔχων καὶ τέρψιν ἀρίστην
ὄλβον εὐτυχίην καὶ σωφροσύνην τε ἄλυπον.

Since Isidorus belongs to the late second and early first centuries B.C., his Greek should bear evidence of the Koine. And there is such evidence. Participles are abnormally frequent in III; he uses fairly often the periphrastic construction cited above; his imperatives are probably the commonest forms of the commonest

21. The active voice occurs: I (22 times), II (28), III (32), IV (30).

22. See, for instance, O. Guéraud et P.

Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Le Caire, Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1938

verbs known to Greek. His frequent and repetitious relative clauses are probably also influenced by the Koine; in fact his use of simple relative clauses for present general conditional-relative clauses is possibly Koine. At the same time, recognizable Koine forms occur: ἀφείκται (IV 31) γέων (I 36), and ἀνταπέδωκαν (II 33). Yet his pervasive dependence on epic-poetic formulae makes his language seem more epic-poetic than Koine. Purely epic expressions occur, like ἔην and ἦεν (IV 21), and ἔκανε (III 23). His uses of tense and voice are consistently classical.

The definite article appears to be somewhat sporadic at first sight. But it is noticeably well used with participles in Hymns I and IV.²³ Here it produces the equivalent of relative clauses.²⁴ This is a classical use, but it remained common in Hellenistic times. Isidorus also employs the definite article with adverbs and prepositional phrases, a classical use that continued in later Greek.²⁵ Elsewhere he uses the article chiefly in titles and sometimes with possessive pronouns or their equivalent, for example ὁ σὸς υἱός (II 13), and τὸ σὸν σθένος (III 17) (and perhaps ἡ δύναμις σου III 17). He also uses the definite article with the nouns πόλος, ἔθνη, and χρόνος which is probably a formulaic use. Otherwise he omits the article, notably with general nouns (cf. I 5 ff.).

In short, his uses of the article are seen to be both epic-poetic and Hellenistic according to the best tradition. They also coincide with the use of the article in more formal prose, such as is found in Hellenistic letters.²⁶ This good use of the article by Isidorus is to be contrasted with, for instance, its omission in the Andros hymn of the first century B.C. where it is almost entirely lacking.²⁷ Isidorus' uses could, perhaps, further indicate his formal training as a scribe.

His uses of τε are most difficult to tabulate. Generally this particle is probably epic-poetic. At first sight he appears to use it with the utmost freedom. It occurs most frequently in III and least in I and IV. Often it is merely the equivalent of καί (and δέ).²⁸ Here his use resembles somewhat that of τε in the Homeric, and certainly the Orphic, hymns. Twice the correlatives τε . . . τε occur, in what are demonstrably epic lines (I 27, III 16). And other correlative uses are clear: τε καί (I 5, II 11, III 8, 27) and τε ἡδέ (III 29).²⁹ In all instances, of course, his use of τε may be *metri gratia*, especially when it appears in the fifth foot (as it does some 11 times).³⁰ Sometimes Isidorus appears ingeniously to use it in the fifth foot both *metri gratia* and as a correlative.³¹

There are, however, less clear uses of τε in the Hymns. Some of these may be an epic adverbial use somewhat like an emphatic enclitic, which had survived in classical Greek in two, sometimes indistinguishable, forms: (a) as a suffix on

23. Cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.2, pp. 54 ff.

24. I 24, 31; IV 18, 31, 37.

25. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.1, pp. 14 ff.

26. Welles, *RC*, p. lxx.

27. Peek, *Andros*, p. 81.

28. I 9; II 24; III 19; IV 20. Cf. Pl. *Gorg.* 524b, *Phaedr.* 278b. See Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2, p. 520 n. 4; Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.3, p. 155; and

Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, pp. 420 ff.

29. For τε . . . τε, see Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2, p. 243 sec. 520 ff. For τε καί, τε . . . ἡδέ see Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.3, p. 164.

30. Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2, pp. 202, 235.

31. I 27; II 24; III 16; IV 11, 39.

conjunctions and (b) in relative clauses.³² These uses are known to epic and classical Greek, but fall into disuse in the Koine except for the occasional retention with participles and infinitives. Isidorus may know the epic and classical enclitic use of *τε* in relative clauses, but one must admit that in each of his uses in relative clauses, *τε* also appears in the fifth foot of his hexameter line. But it also occurs with participles some three times where it is not in the fifth foot. His four uses of *τε* with infinitives, however, are in the fifth foot half the time.

It could be that the *τε*, which often appears unnecessary and awkward, may be intended simply as an enclitic, i.e. emphatic, appendage. This would explain intelligibly Isidorus' use of the particle in II 12: *καὶ . . . καὶ . . . τε*; III 5: *καὶ . . . τε . . . καὶ . . .*; III 13: *καὶ . . . τε καὶ . . . τε . . .*; III 6, 35: *καὶ . . . τε*.

The particle *τε* is of epic origin, and significantly, several of Isidorus' uses of it occur in epic quotations (I 27, III 11, 16 and probably II 12). In later Greek it is rare, prosaic, variable, and usually difficult to define. Isidorus' frequent use of *τε* surprises anyone who expects him to employ the Koine.³³ But understandably it is a great convenience in writing the long Greek hexameter line, especially when a word of one short syllable may be placed almost anywhere.

Isidorus' linguistic and poetic limitations are easily recognized. His Hymns are important chiefly as documents of social history. As literary efforts they are pedestrian, but careful and intelligible especially in their employment of mood and voice, and the definite article. Generally, his language is formulaic and repetitious, but at the same time his sentiment is unusually clear. His expression is, moreover, simple, never pompous or superficial. His Greek will serve, he believes, to communicate his message to Greeks.³⁴ He may, in fact, have been able to write creditable Greek prose; and, further, Isidorus, the devout author of the Hymns, may have been Isidorus γλύπτης.³⁵ In Hymn IV he states he is writing an exposition for Greeks to be set up publicly. Obviously he seeks to merit the goddess' favour by his compositions. They are a conscious exercise of his command of the Greek language ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι. As an aretalogist at the temple, he is a professional hymn-writer. His Greek hymns obviously enjoyed the respect of the local Greek congregation of Isis-worshippers. Otherwise they would not have appeared prominently at the temple's main gate.

32. Mayser, *Grammatik* 2.3, p. 155, Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik* 2.2, p. 236, 518.2 (*τε* in relative clauses) and p. 241, sec. 519.1 (*τε* with participles and infinitives); Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 157 (*τε* with participles and infinitives); Moulton and Howard, *Grammar*, pp. 420 ff (*τε* with participles). Isidorus' use of *τε* in relative clauses occurs: II 3, 5, 15, 21; III 31; with a participle: II 27; III 14, 15; with infinitives: II 5, 15, 22; III 5.

33. *τε* declines sharply in the New Testament appearing with frequency only in Acts Ap. and Ep. Heb. See *LSJ*, *τε* A 5.

34. IV 37-9.

35. Vogliano, *P. R.*, pp. 52-3 = SEG VIII 538 = SB 8129, undated: θεῶν μεγίστη Ἰσερμούδι φιλοξένῳ, Ἰσιῶρος γλύπτης ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι.

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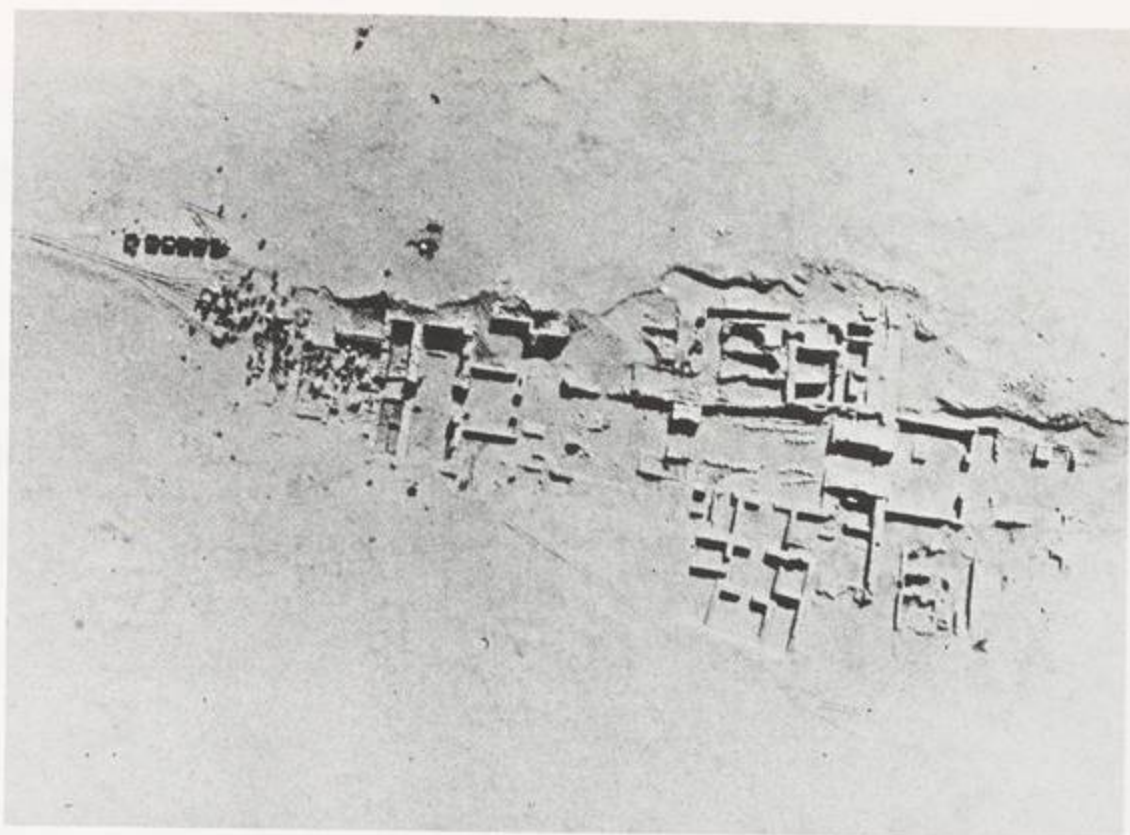


Plate I. Aerial photograph of the excavations at Medinet Madi, 1935-36.

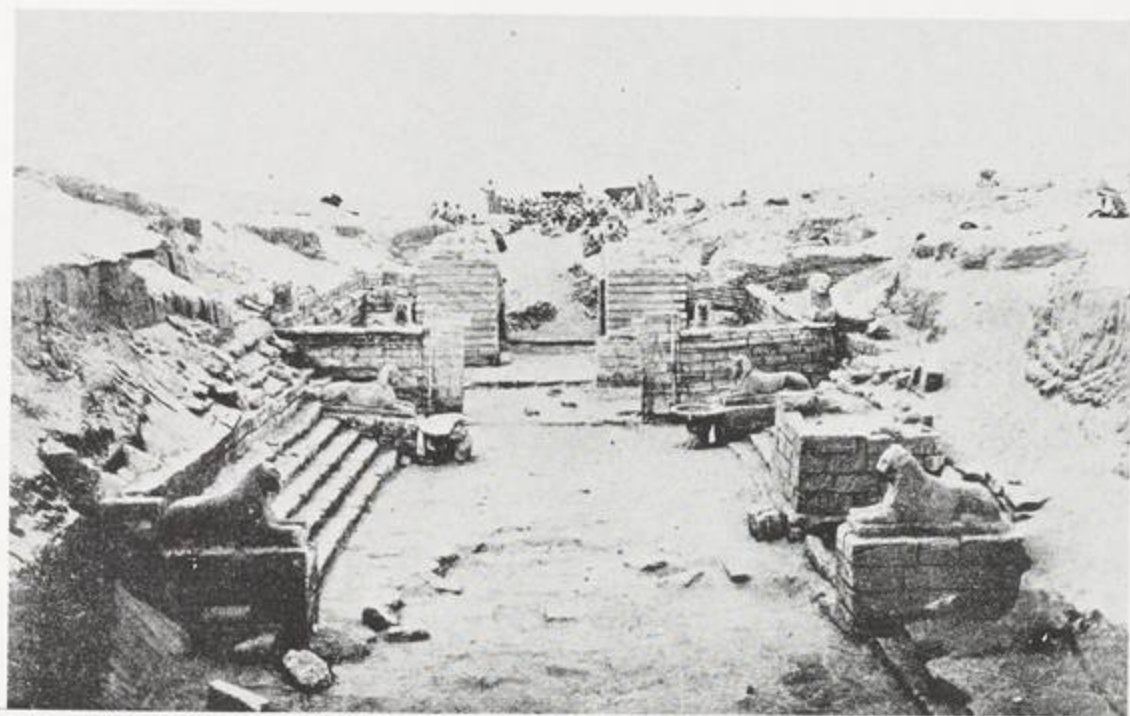


Plate II. The temple forecourt and termination of the Processional Way at the South Portal.

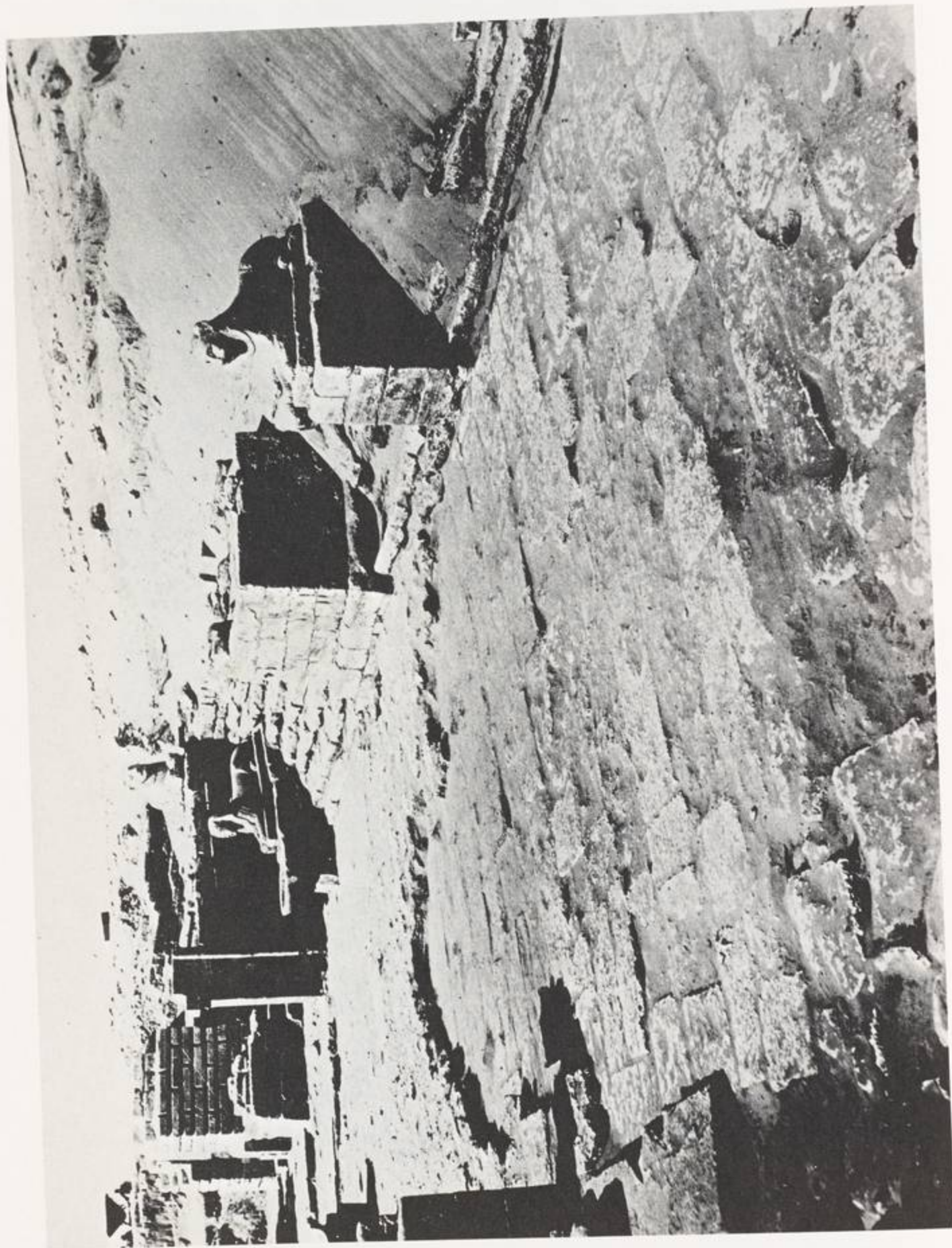


Plate III. The same as Plate II, right.

Plate III. The same as Plate II, right.

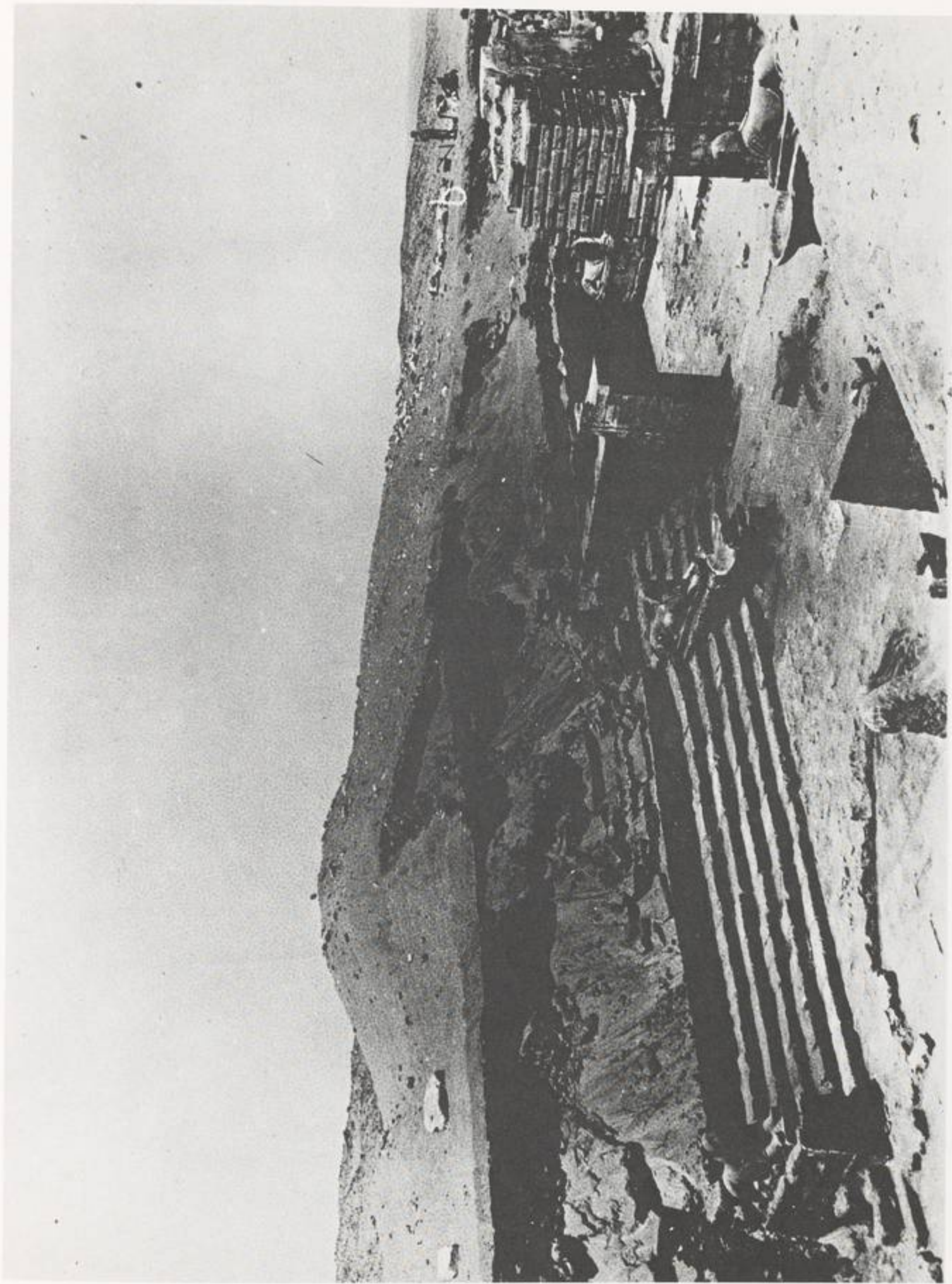


Plate IV. The same as Plate II, left.



Plate Va. The dedication inscribed at the top of the left pillar.

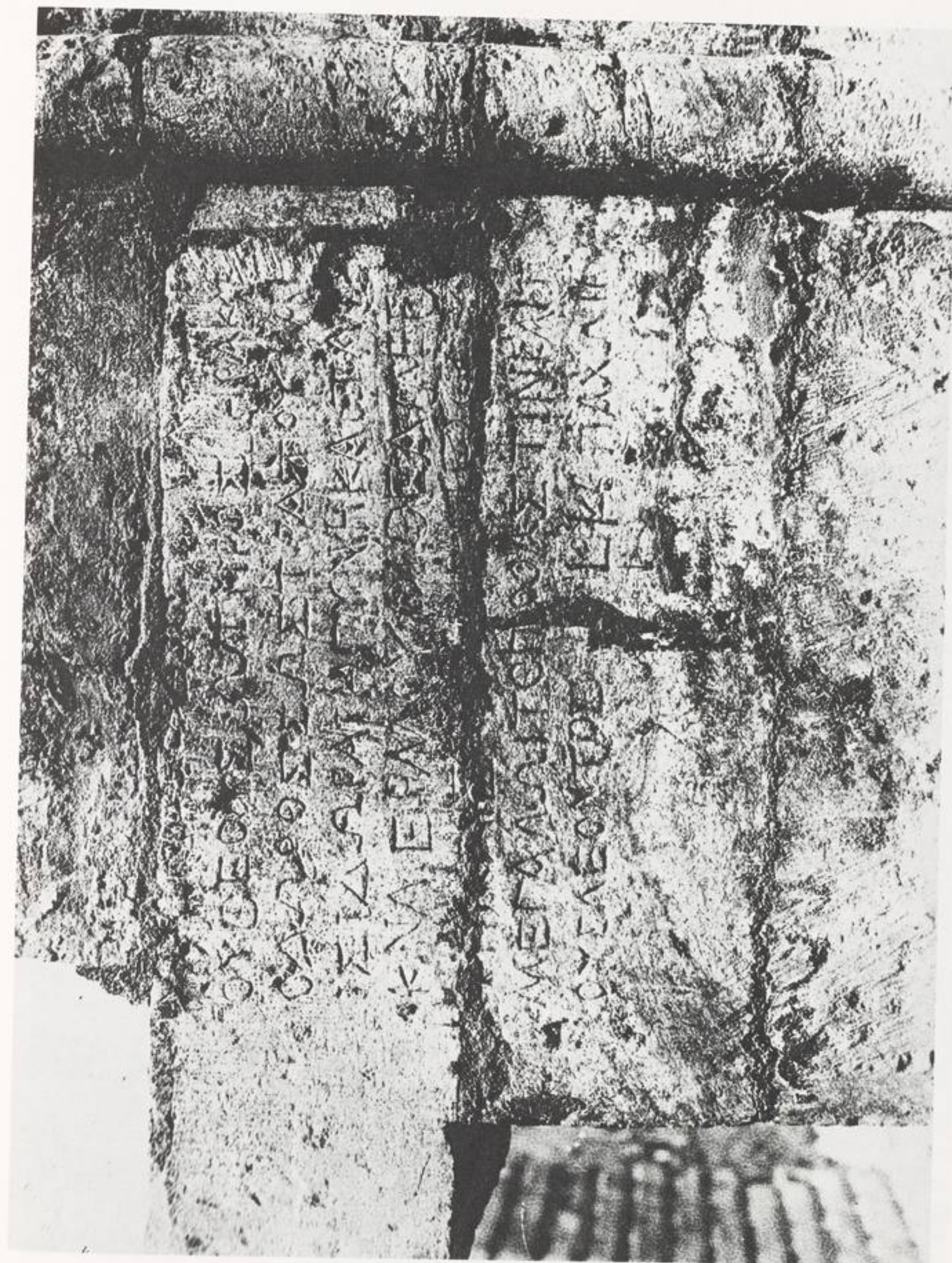


Plate Vb. The dedication inscribed at the top of the right pillar.



Plate VII. Isidorus' Hymn II.

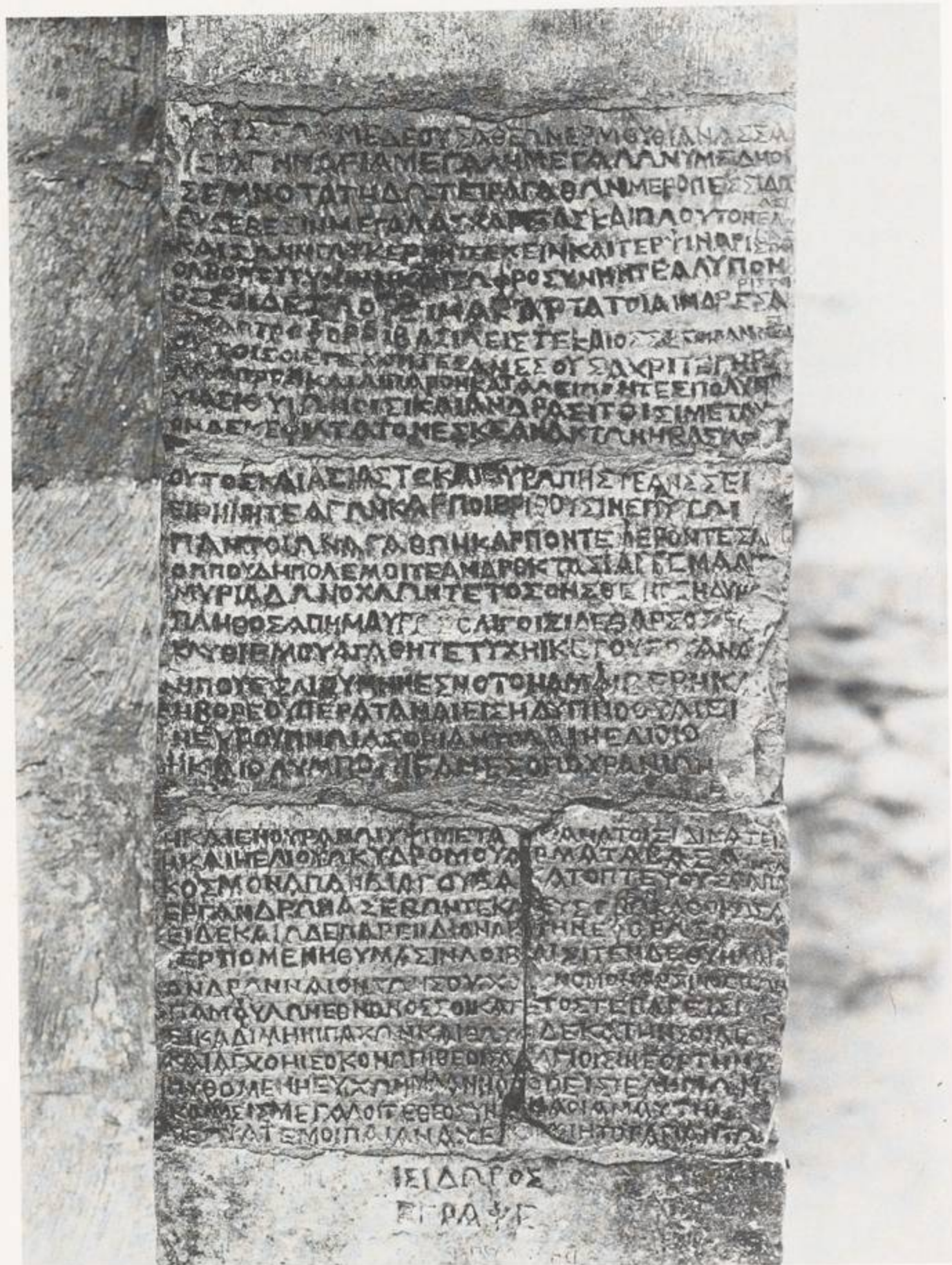


Plate VIII. Isidorus' Hymn III.



Plate X. The left pillar and its inscriptions.

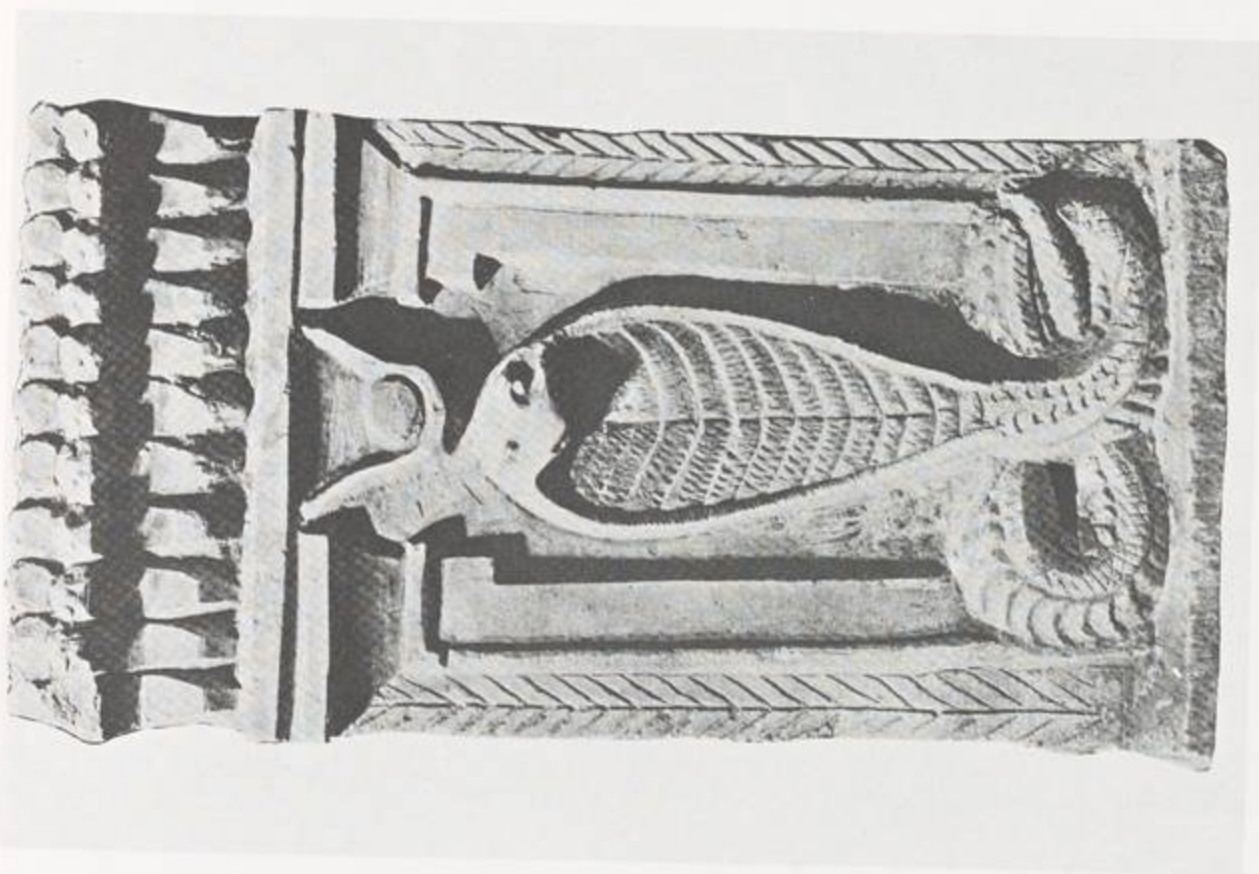


Plate XI. Renenutet-Hermouthis on a dedicatory stele
found at Medinet Madi during the 1936 excavation



Plate XIIa. Isermuthis, terracotta statuette from
Medinet Madi

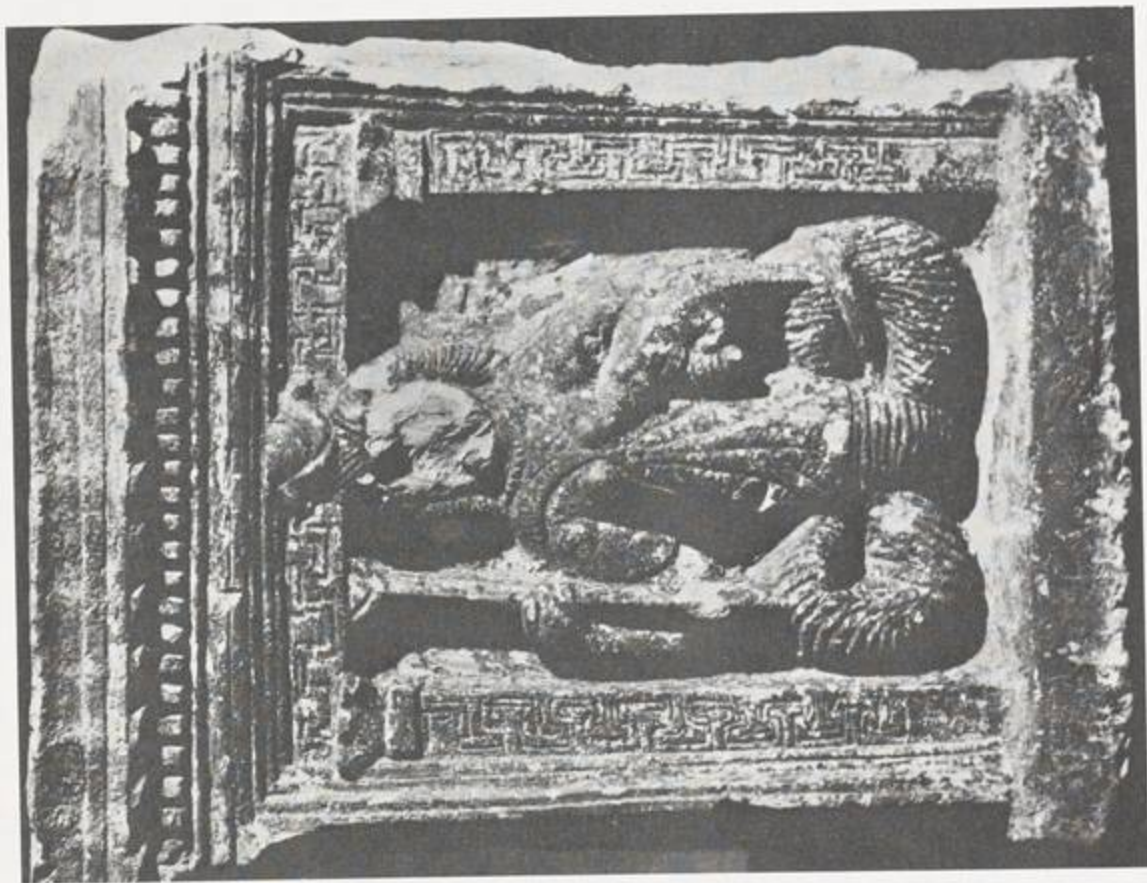


Plate XIIb. Isermuthis suckles Sebek, Medinet Madi, 1969



Plate XIII. Isermuthis, Fayum Statuette, Roman



Plate XIV. Isermuthis, Anchoes (?), Sokonopis;
a fresco found in situ in an alcove of the Second Court, 1936

K

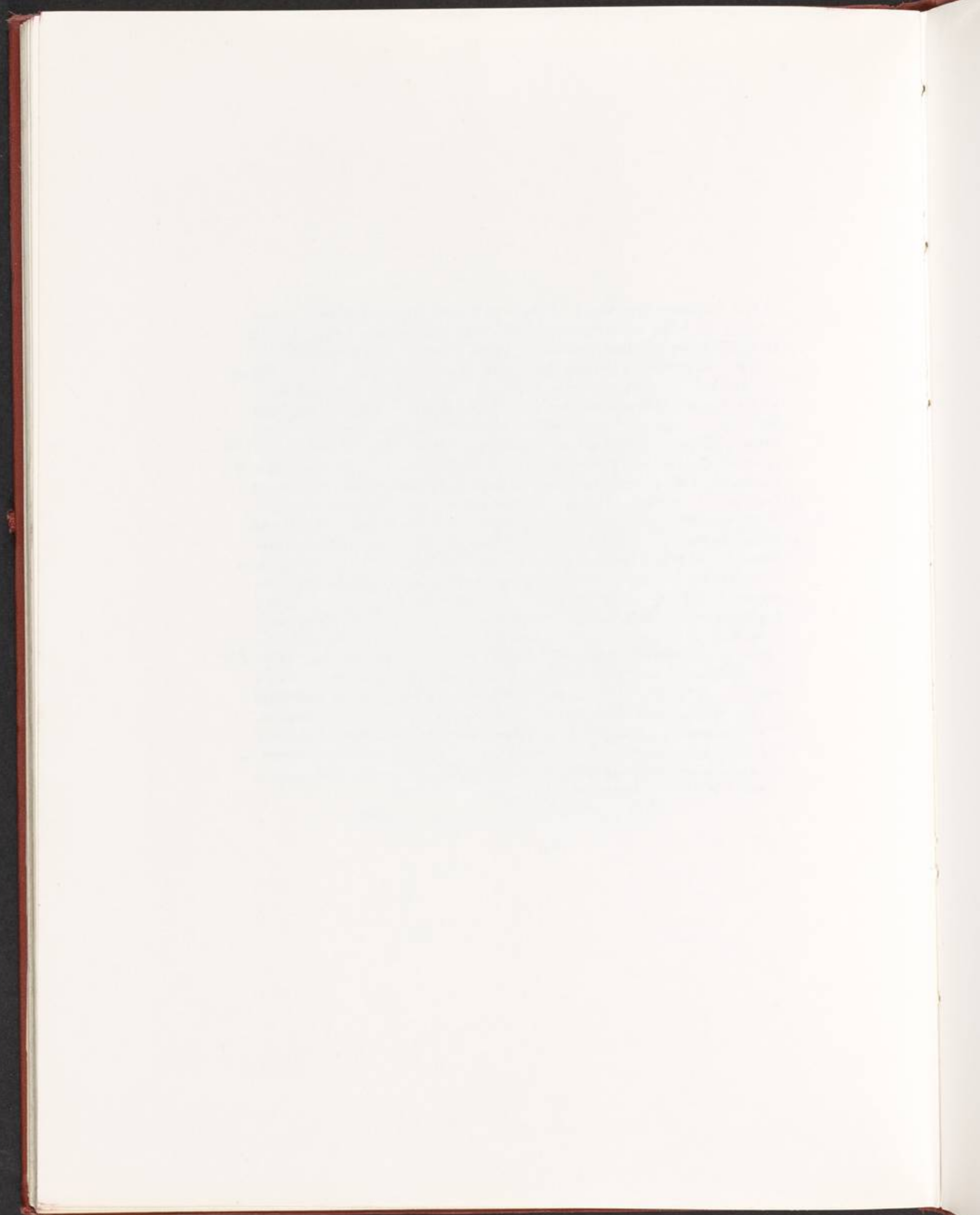
¹ Δημήτριος ἄρτεμιδώρου δ καὶ θρασέας
Μάγνη[ς] ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου Ἰσιδι εὐχὴν.
² Τάδε ἐγράφη ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει
ἥτις ἔστηκεν πρὸς τῷ Ἡφαιστίῳ.

J

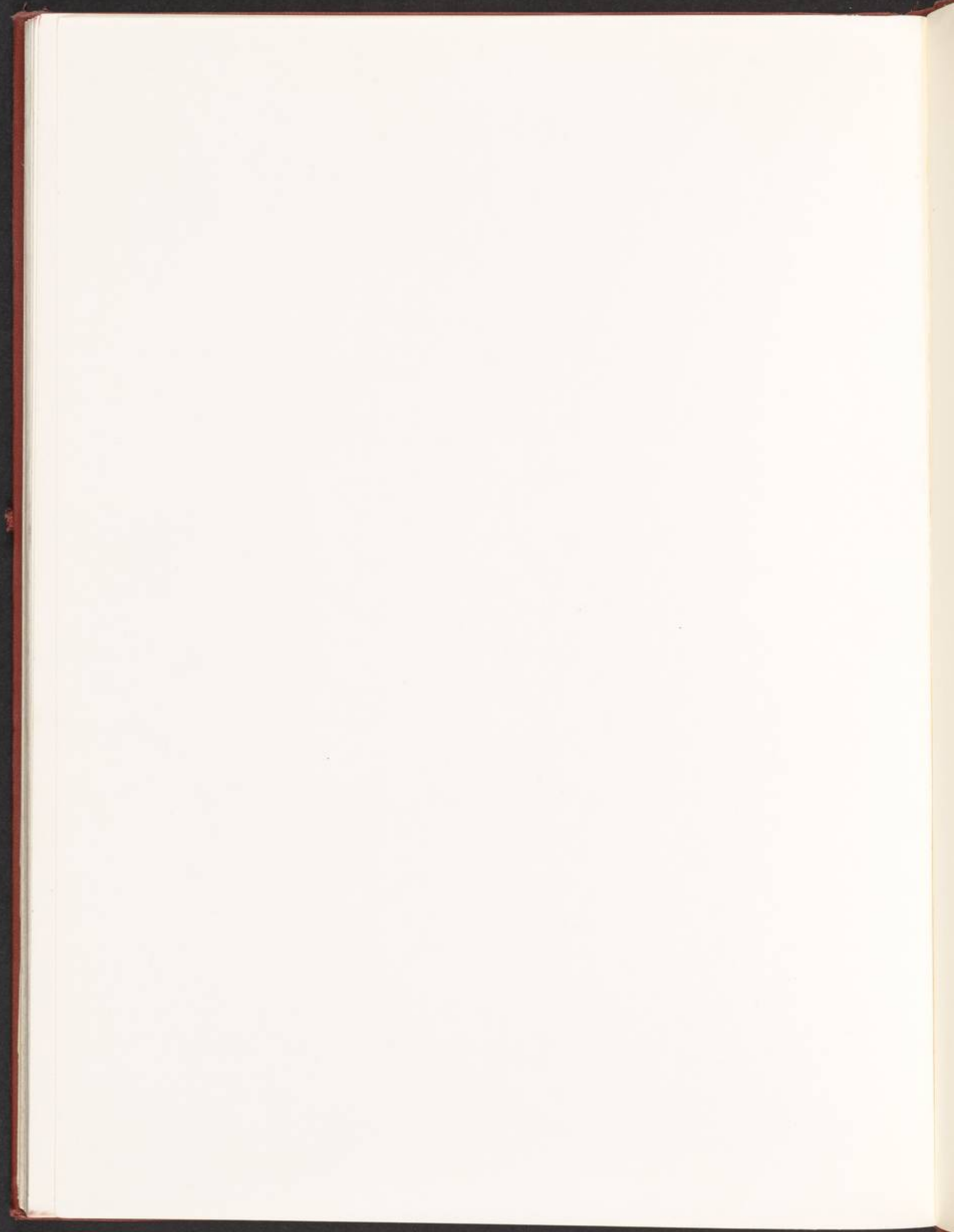
[Εἴ]σι[δι] Ὀσεῖρ]ιδι ἄνουβιδι
Κα[ρποκρά]τη.

KJ ³ Εἰς ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας. καὶ ἐπαιδεύθην ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ. καὶ ⁵
D ἐγὼ Ἰσίς εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας, ἡ παιδευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ.
γράμματα εὗρον μετὰ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
πάντα γράβηται.
⁴ Ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην καὶ ἐνομοθέτησα δ οὐδεὶς δύναται μεταθεῖναι.
καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνομοθέτησα, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ δύναται λῦσαι. ¹⁰
⁵ Ἐγὼ εἰμι Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη. ⁶ Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ
Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ τοῦ νεωτάτου Κρόνου θεοῦ θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη. Ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ
καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσεΐριδος βασιλέως. ⁷ Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις
καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις
KJS εὐροῦσα. ⁸ Ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὠρου βασιλέως. ⁹ Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυνὸς ¹⁵
εὐροῦσα. Ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὠρου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ τῷ
ἄστρῳ ἐπιτέλλουσα. ¹⁰ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ θεὸς καλουμένη. ¹¹ ἐμοὶ
κυνὶ ἐπιτέλλουσα. ¹² ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. ¹³ ἐγὼ ²⁰
Βούβαστος πόλις ὠκοδομήθη. ¹⁴ ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην.
ἄστρον ὁδοῦς ἔδειξα, ¹⁴ ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην.

¹⁵ ἐγὼ θαλάσσια ἔργα εὗρον. ¹⁶ ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα. ¹⁷ ἐγὼ
 γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγον. ¹⁸ ἐγὼ γυναιξὶ δεκαμηνιαῖον βρέφος εἰς φῶς
 ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔταξα. ¹⁹ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τέκνων γονεῖς φιλοστοργεῖσθαι ἐνομοθέτησα,
²⁰ ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀστόργως γονεῦσι διακειμένοις, τειμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα. ²¹ ἐγὼ μετὰ ²⁵
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὀσίριδος τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπαυσα. ²² ἐγὼ μύσεις ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἐπέδειξα. ²³ ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα θεῶν τειμᾶν ἐδίδαξα. ²⁴ ἐγὼ τεμένη θεῶν
 ἱδρυσάμην. ²⁵ ἐγὼ τυράννων ἀρχὰς κατέλυσα. ²⁶ ἐγὼ φόνους ἔπαυσα. ²⁷ ἐγὼ
 στέργεσθαι γυναῖκας ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἠνάγκασα. ²⁸ ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρότερον
 χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐποίησα. ²⁹ ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθὲς καλὸν ἐνομοθέτησα νομι- ³⁰
 ζεσθαι. ³⁰ ἐγὼ συγγραφὰς γαμικὰς εὗρο. ³¹ ἐγὼ διαλέκτους Ἑλλήσι καὶ
 KJ βαρβάροις διεταξάμην. ³² ἐγὼ τὸ καλὸν καὶ αἰσχροὺς διαγεινώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ
 τῆς φύσεως ἐποίησα. ³³ ἐγὼ ὄρκου φοβερώτερον οὐδὲν ἐποίησα. ³⁴ ἐγὼ τὸν
 K ἀδίκως ἐπιβουλεύοντα {ἄλλοις} ἄλλῳ ὑποχείριον τῷ ἐπιβουλευομένῳ παρέ-
 δωκα, ³⁵ ἐγὼ τοῖς ἄδικα πράσσουσι τειμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι. ³⁶ ἐγὼ ἰκέτας ἐλεᾶν ³⁵
 ἐνομοθέτησα. ³⁷ ἐγὼ τοὺς δικαίως ἀμυνομένους τειμῶ. ³⁸ παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ δίκαιον
 ἰσχύει. ³⁹ ἐγὼ ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης εἰμὶ κυρία. ⁴⁰ οὐθεὶς
 δοξάζεται ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης. ⁴¹ ἐγὼ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία. ⁴² ἐγὼ κεραυνοῦ
 κυρία εἰμὶ. ⁴³ ἐγὼ πραῦνω καὶ κυμαίνω θάλασσαν. ⁴⁴ ἐγὼ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου
 αὐγαῖς εἰμι, ⁴⁵ ἐγὼ παρεδρεύω τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πορείᾳ. ⁴⁶ ὃ ἂν ἐμοὶ δόξη, τοῦτο ⁴⁰
 καὶ τελεῖται. ⁴⁷ ἐμοὶ πάντ' ἐπείκει. ⁴⁸ ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς λύω. ⁴⁹ ἐγὼ
 ναυτιλίας εἰμὶ κυρία. ⁵⁰ ἐγὼ τὰ πλωτὰ ἄπλωτα ποιῶ, ὅταν ἐμοὶ δόξη.
⁵¹ ἐγὼ περιβόλους πόλεων ἔκτισα. ⁵² ἐ(γ)ώ εἰμι ἡ θεσμοφόρος καλουμένη.
⁵³ ἐγὼ νήσους ἐγ β[υθ]ῶν εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγον. ⁵⁴ ἐγὼ ὄμβρων εἰμὶ κυρία.
⁵⁵ ἐγὼ τὸ ἱμαρμένον νικῶ, ⁵⁶ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἱμαρμένον ἀκούει. ⁴⁵
⁵⁷ Χαῖρε αἰγυπτέ θρέψασά με.
 D χαῖρε χαῖρε αἰγυπτέ ἡ θρέψασά με.










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