

LETTERS
TO M. LETRONNE

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE AND OF THE LEGION OF HONOR,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FRANCE

REGARDING

GREEK AND BILINGUAL PAPYRI
AND SOME OTHER GREEK-EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS
OF THE ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN,

FROM

CASPAR JACOB CHRISTIAN REUVENS,
PROFESSOR OF ARCHEOLOGY AND DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL
INSTITUTE OF THE NETHERLANDS AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF SJAELLAND;
CORRESPONDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SCIENCES AT BATAVIA; MEMBER (ETR.)
OF THE ROYAL AVIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON; HONORABLE MEMBER OF THE PHIL-
SOPHICAL SOCIETY OF CAMBRIDGE AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE LABRONICA ACADEMY
OF LIVORNO.

LEIDEN/S. AND J. LUCHTMANS,
UNIVERSITY PRINTERS
1850.

1850

Translated by Todd Lillywhite, March 1983

This mummy, one of the more interesting of the Leiden Museum, is that of a young woman, named Sensaos, who was the sister of petemenoph, whose mummy is found in the collection of antiquities of the King's library at Paris. It is convenient, sir, to communicate the first notice of this mummy, that the case containing that of Petemenoph, sustains your Obsevations sur les representations zodiacales de l'antiquite. The mummy that I will occupy myself with rests under a zodiac painted on the inside of the lid of the coffin, similar to hers brother's.

In order to better prepare our jugement on this circumstance of the coffin, which should interest you particularly, we will look at the whole of the object in question.

Together with this mummy is a small hieratic manuscript bearing on the outside the name of the deceased.

There exists between the mummy of the museum of Leiden and that of Petemeoph, brought out by M. Cailliaud, and described by you and by M. Champollion le jeune, even between the two coffins, a conformity so striking, that it is sufficient for the moment to refer to the engravings of M. Cailliaud, which give it in all detail. Our plate 5 shows the zodiac of the lid: this plate will suffice to confirm in part that which i will say about the resemblance of the two coffins (1). I will return later to the small differences that can be noticed between he two coffins. To start out let's examine the inscription and the results that can be gleaned from them about the family of the deceased that is dispersed throughout the museums of Europe. That inscription, in one line, says the following:

(first in greek and then in french)

Sensaos, having for father Soter Cornelius, and for mother Cleopatra (called also Candace), daughter of Ammonius, is dead, a virgin, at the age of sixteen years, two months, nine days, the twelth year of the reign of Trajan the lord, the 21 Epiphi.

The inscription is fairly legible: in as much as the day of the month of Epiphi contained here, I give it according to the copy made in Egypt by Mr. D'anastasy, and is passably exact in other reports. It is possible that this part of the inscription has been erased some after the copy was made. (2)

The intimate relationship between Sesaos, Petemenoph and their parents is not doubtful because their names would not be given otherwise.

But the names of the father and the mother lead us to discover something else that can be joined to that which we already know about these personages.

The coffin of Petemenoph announces his association with (greek name). This word (greek word) is not very legible. Therefore , Sir, I could not do other than to adhere to the rendition that you gave.

But following the name Sensaos we read simply (greek name).

You have given the opinion that (greek word) was the name of the father, and (greek word) (royal genitive for (greek word)) the name of the grandfather. In effect there is a Soter, son of Cornelius Pollius: the coffin of his mummy is found in the British Museum. But are we sure that another monument offers another example of the announcement of the name of the relative grandparent of a particular egyptian? After you had expressed this conjecture the Greek papyri of Torino were published, and both you and I are acquainted with those of Paris and Leiden which are not published. In all these documents I do not recall any example of an association detailed so carefully. It will be

said that these papyri are of the Ptolomean epoch. I agree, but it appears that the customs have varied more under the Romans; and I know of at least two papyri written under the Roman domination, namely: the small casati papyri of the Kings library in Paris, which is from the epoch of the Antonins, and that of Mr. Edmonstone, which is from the time of the Constantines, but neither one or the other presents a good example of it. In the great greek papyri of Torinowhich contains the account of a trial, it is argued by the complainants on the one side that if their adversary had wanted to avail themselves of the national form of procedure and appeal before national judges they would have to start by proving who their parents were and who their grandparents were; but it is very probable, as Mr Peyron (1) observes, that this objection doesn't apply except in the trial in which they were involved, and that had to do with a supposed patrimonial ownership. Besides if this custom really existed among the Egyptians, it very likely fell into disuse because of the introduction of the greek procedures that were then in full force. I would therefore dare to propose that the names (greek) of the coffin of Petemenoph, and those of (greek) of the coffin of Sensaos, as three names of their common father Soter Cornelius Pollius, written more briefly on the sarcofogus of Sensaos in Leiden as Soter Cornelius, and on his own sarcofogus in the British Musuem as Soter. The same in the deed of purchase belonging to Mr. Edmonstone a certain Aurelius Dorotheus son of Serenus speaking himself at the end of the deed says: with the signature of my Dorotheus (2). Seeing that, the name of his father, the grandfather of Sensaos and Petemenoph, will remain simply Cornelius Pollius³ until other monuments show that this individual had some other sirname heretofore unknown.

Let's now pass on to the mothers name, Cleopatra. This woman was not neccessarily greek (4), since she also bore the foreign name Candace.

This last circumstance gives place to some secondary observations. Candace was a common name of all the queens and all the kings' mothers in Ehtiopia, as it appears from the different reports of sacred and secular authors (5). It is probable that so as to not neglect the particular character of this name it is rendered as its greek equivalent Cleopatra, which was common if not to all at least to the most part of the queens of Egypt. This example, that of Petemenoph translated in greek as Ammonius, and a whole host of others taken from the ancient east, render a little less probable the conjecture of Mr. Raoul-Rochette (6), that there is no real relationship between the names Sapaulis and Senchonsis (or Psenchonsis), which are attributed to the same person under a mummy coffin, that we will mention presently.

We already know, because of the explanations of Mr, Champollion, a sirname for this Cleopatra, namely the greek word (greek) that is to say mother, who has the faculty to be mother (7), a name that from all the reports could combine with Candace. Nothing has proven that the Egyptians didn't have more than one name or surname. Besides, seeing that an ancient grammarian characterized the name Candace as that of all the mothers of the Ethiopian kings, of whom the sun is considered father, we could suppose that (greek word) is simply a second translation of the Ehtiopian word that is usually rendered Cleopatra. This is only a conjecture on which I do not insist, not being able to consult the works of the scolars that concern the Ethiopian language (8).

After some time the greek mummies appear in the museums of Europe, and their inspection produces certain results, very advantageous for the study of Egyptian archeology. But as, on the other hand, it is

dificult for the scholars, who are occupied with similar researches, to under stand how these objects, that were found together, are now spread all throughout the different museums of Europe (a circumstance that is important to know). I believe it will be neccessary to bring together all of these greek mummies under one roof, to try or rather to remedy, at least for one class of monuments, this very basic shortcoming common to all collections.

Aside from the details that Mr. Cailliaud communicated to you, I have found concerning the discovery of the mummies of the Soter family two historical reports of which I must presume one is not known to you as it did not appear until after the publication of your Observations sur les representations zodiacales.

The first is found in the Voyage de Sir Frederik Henniker en Egypte, en Nubie etc. Mr. Henniker, who uniquely travelled Egypte only for pleasure, had for his companion on the upper Egypt route a Mr. Grey whose papyri have contributed greatly to advance the study of Demotic writing. Mr. Henniker reports, in his concise and, here lively, style doesn't allow the impression of great veracity (1):

"that he was present at the discovery of a tomb by the Arabs; that they offered to give to him after it was opened for the price of four guineas. It appeared to me, he says, that it was a Greek/Egyptian tomb, the first that had been found until now: it contained three chambers and fourteen coffins; on each one of these coffins was placed a bundle of sycamore branches, that crumble to dust when they are touched; there were also some mummies without coffins resembling hide, and dried in the same manner that is still practiced by the Capucins in Sicily: one of these was right at the entrance, the others were layed on benches; their heads were shorn, and we could see that their beards were shaven after a few days. On the principle coffin was the following inscription [now well known]:

(greek).

The hieroglphs, adds Mr. Henniker, show the decline of the art. The papyri found in this coffin were not rolled as they normally are, but folded flat: the bodies were wrapped in thirty sheets of linen cloth; the hands and the mouth were gilded; Mr. Henniker copied an inscription from one of the coffins that indicated that it was close to 1650 years old. The tomb also contained some vases of terra cotta of an oblong shape which were empty."

Mr. Henniker did not say whether he bout the entire tomb, but it is most likely he did not, after the other report that I will give presently.
That which is most important to know, and which is constant is that the mummies were divide among different persons. It appears, initially, because of a note from Mr. Henniker himself, that the coffin of the principle mummy Soter (that Mr. Cailliaud says belonged to Mr. Salt) (2), with the papyri that is reported here, was given to the British Museum. Mr. Grey obtained that of Tphout, young daughter of the archon Soter; he made it a gift to Mr Salt, and it passed on (apparently with the first collection of the English Consul) to the British Museum. That is the one from which we get the inscription in Hieroglyphics by Mr. Young and repeated in your Observations (3). In the end Mr. Cailliaud received the mummy of Petemenoph, son of the archon Soter, which is now found in the room of antiquities of the royal library in Paris, and is the subject of your work that I will now cite (4).

The second report from which I will now speak is that of Sir de S. Quintino, Conservator of the Museum of Torino (1); it has been communicated regarding the the mummy Petemenoph son of Pibot, which belongs to this museum, and which came from the great Drovetti collection. May I be permitted to insert this notice since it is not very widespread.

"This mummy," says Mr. De S. Quintino, "was found by a piedmontese traveller, Mr. Lebolo, in a deep tomb near ancient Thebes, in the zone that is now the arab village of Gourna. The cave resembles in structure the others that are found in great number in this area, except that it appears to be simply hollowed out of the rock or the earth, the floor of pit was constructed in brick, and that the interior walls were entirely covered with paintings"

There were deposited twelve or thirteen sarcophagi in wood, some better some not as well conserved. They all had a square form with a curved lid except one that was in the more common shape, imitating the contours of the human body. They were all provided with inscriptions of the ordinary religious in hieroglyphics, and adorned with symbolical figures of many colors, with the portrait of the defunct. Only one of them still has the exterior appearance of sycamore wood without any trace of plaster or gum or paintings that it might have born at other times. I don't know if this particularity has been observed elsewhere. Also, six or seven of these coffins have short inscriptions in Greek." All of these mummies now received different destinations. The best conserved and the most precious in all the reports, that which I described as not being painted, which bore the Greek epitaph, was acquired by Sir Drovetti, and handed over by him along with the rest of his collection to His Majesty the king of Sardinia."

One or two of these mummies with greek inscriptions were sold by Lebolo to the prussian general Count De Minutoli; but I've been assured that these perished on the coast of Africa."

[The author is probably thinking of the shipwreck that happened off the northern coast of Germany.]

"Mr. Cailliaud received the one that we have already mentioned, and another in the end remained with Mr. Danastasy, vice consul of Sweden in Alexandria; that is, if I don't deceive myself, the same one with the inscriptions copied on the spot by Mr. Grey, they were then communicated to the public in 1823 by the care of the London Egyptian Society."

[It has now been found that this is an error.]

"As far as the other mummies found by Mr. Lebolo in this same tomb, he opened some in the hope that they would contain papyri or some other precious object. One remained 'some months'

[in 1824] intact with him in Trieste: that is the one mentioned above in the ordinary egyptian form and the most beautiful of them all as far as the paintings with which it was covered. Two others finally passed on to the Drovetti museum and are found in the royal room" [of Torino.]

"These last two-are in double coffins: the interior coffin is in the egyptian form, the outer one is squared; they are covered with hieroglyphs and ornated with figures of many colors on a white background, but of an inferior style, and don't resemble those painting that you see on mummies of a more distant epoch. The bodies are wrapped in red cloth, they were covered in back

with beautiful networks formed from enamel tubes, blue in color, with the ordinary large beetle and the four assisting spirits. - One of these bodies is that of a man the other is a woman. These two mummies are without crowns and do not bear any trace of the greek inscription."

To best understand this account it is essential to observe from the outset that Mr. Lebolo, well known agent of the consul Drovetti (1), and trafficker in antiquities, probably bought from the arabs, before or after the opening, the entirety of the monument that the English travellers refused. In the last case, which is the most probable, it would be him who sold the mummy Tphout to Mr. Grey. (2)

One of the mummies marked on the spot by Mr. Lebolo was, as has said Mr. De S. Quintino a while back (p. 20), that of the archon Soter, the principle of those contained in the tomb. Mr. Cailliaud, as we have observed, says that it belonged to Mr. Salt: and combining this fact with the report of Mr. Cailliaud, that one mummy of Mr. Salt was broken up by the janissary of the consul (3), it is very probable that it is the same one that he is talking about. It would be well to hold to the testimony of Mr. Lebolo himself, to which Mr. De S. Quintino refers himself. In the end, if the coffin was passed on to Mr. Salt it is Lebolo that sold it to him, without doubt with the papyrus (4).

Mr. De S. Quintino suspects still (p. 10, 11) that it is from the other mummies dismembered by Lebolo that the three mummy masks come (apparently out of storage) that are found in the Torino museum and that bear the following greek inscription: Calaetis son of Echnoua.

But another assertion of Lebolo has been actively contested by another scholar. I also believe that it can't be but erroneous, and this error will shed serious doubt on the exactness of other details communicated by Mr. Lebolo, if they are not verified by another comparison or other formal witnesses. This voyager pretended that the great greek papyrus of the Drovetti collection was found with the mummy of Soter. It is Mr. Peyron that demonstrated the improbability of this assertion (5).

Moreover, the two reports by Mr. Henniker and Mr. De S. Quintino differ on a very essential point: the first speaks of fourteen sarcophagi, and the other of dried up mummies without coffins; while the second report only mentions twelve or thirteen coffins. The higher number indicated by Mr. Henniker will agree better with the multitude of mummies that we will have to consider.

In effect, to be better aquainted with the contents of the tomb let's sum up all the mummies and other objects that came from it, in order then to trace the genealogical table of the members of the principle family to their burials.

Mr. Grey had one mummy, that of Tphout, (now in the British Museum) (6). 1
Mr. Salt the coffin of one mummy, that of the archon Soter with the MS. (same museum) (7). 1

(According to Mr. Cailliaud, Mr. Salt had two mummies (8); but the second is apparently that of Tphout, that was given him by Mr. Grey.)

Mr. Drovetti had three; to wit: that of Petemenoph, son of Pabot, and two others, each of a double casket, but without any greek inscription. (Museum of Turin.)

Mr. De Minutoli probably had three. To start out Mr. De S. Quintino attributes to him expressly following Mr. Lebolo (p. 19 and 21) the mummy of Senchonsis also called Saaulis, daughter of Picot, that must have perished on the sea with half of the collection, in as much as it was not found with the rest of the collection that arrived in Berlin (9). Furthermore, this last half contains two coffins of the same type of those discovered in the tomb, the one of Phaminis, daughter of Heraclius; the other Sensaos and Ikauthi her

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sister. These two coffins contain the three mummies that their inscriptions indicate(1). There is no formal testimony that these two coffins came from the same tomb, but all the circumstances make this conjecture probable.

Mr. Caillaud had one mummy, Petemenoph, son of the archon Soter (2).
(Kings room of the royal Library of Paris.)

Mr. D'anastasy had one mummy, Sensaos, daughter of the archon Soter,
which is the subject of the present article. (Leiden Museum.)

Finally, Mr. Lebolo conserved one of them intact, in the ordinary form
of mummies, (in Trieste in 1824; but possibly passed on later to some museum.)

Total

11

(There has got to be a line missing here) different numbers, whose existence can be considered fairly well proven. The mummies that all these sarcofugi contained are still whole, or we know that they have become: almost one coffin only, (that of Senchonsis that was lost at sea) whose mummy is not expressly mentioned. It will be useful to make a further search in the museums to discover, if possibly some of the mummies were placed in double coffins, whose interior was taken out and sold separately.

Before passing on to the enumeration of the relics of the mummies that sure clues or formal testimonies recognize as pertaining to the individuals found in the same tomb, it is good to mention a mummy of the Leiden Museum, that very well could have been part of this same collection, whereas some written testimony reports it to have this same common origin.

This is a mummy without coffin (no. 9 of the D'anastasy mummies), wrapped in a cloth, whose back is plastered and painted in effigy of the deceased, which represents a bearded man dressed, as far as we can tell, in greek pallium garb(3), and wearing rings on his fingers. This mummy offers the most probability of having been part of the same tomb that contained the mummy of Sensaos; first, because in the catalog of Mr. D'anastasy it is placed directly after these already mentioned, and it appears that objects of the same nature, received together, have been described together (4); in the second place, because the painting of the deceased resembles very closely the style of the painting that we see on the cloth and the portraits of the Charles X Museum that I will describe shortly.

As far as the relics of the mummies that have the same origin, I believe that the more one knows the relative peculiarities of this tomb, the more easy the researches will become.

Mr. De S. Quntino reports on the origin of three mummy masks (in storage?) of which one bears the name of Calaetis.

Mr. Champollion, who has seen Egypt, who can have frequent rapport with the digging entrepreneurs in this classic country, and who possibly dismembered mummies himself, whose remains adorn the different cabinets of the Charles X Museum (5), it would be good in the present case to verify or confirm the information that he published on the relics that are contained in the Charles X Museum and even the conjectures that I dare to propose on this subject. The first of these objects consists in the mummy of a man that Mr. Champollion describes in the following manner (6): "This enbalmed body is that of a greek appertaining to a family established at Thebes during the time of the emperor Hadrien. The portrait of this individual painted in encaustic, is fastened to the bands that cover the face." I classify this mummy with the relics because it is without its coffin. It is clear from the information communicated by the author of the Notice and that the hieroglyphic inscriptions were not able to offer him, that this mummy must come from the mummy in question.

The second object is a mummy cloth, representing in a painting of natural size, a man belonging to, according to what has been told me, the Soter family. He is dressed in the roman toga, and surrounded by egyptian symbols. This cloth has not yet been reported in the Notice du Musee. It could have been undone by Mr. Lebolo, In such a way that it passed on to the Charles X Musuem with the second Salt collection or the second Drovetti collection. In this case the clothing that this person is wearing makes me consider him as the archon Soter himself, redressed in the clothing of a roman magistrate.

But the cloth could have been removed by Champollion from the mummy that I will now mention.

It is necessary to add to this five portraits painted in encaustic representing individuals from the same Soter family, as Champollion positively affirms (1). I believe to have from hearsay that the names of these individuals are found written on the reverse of the cedar planks on which they are painted.

Finally, Mr. Champollion described three hieratic papyri found with two individuals of this powerful family. Two of these papyri refer to a man named Soter, son of Baphor, whom one of these manuscripts describes as a child of 4 years. The third belongs to Cornelius, son of D' Isedjer, who Champollion believes to be Cornelius Pollius, Father of the archon Soter (2).

We are a little early to trace the genealogy of the persons that were buried in the Greek-Egyptian tomb, discovered in the presence of Mr. Henniker and Mr. Grey and sold piecemeal, inasmuch as it appears, by Mr. Lebolo. In more clarity I will repeat in a note the connections that express their different inscriptions, and on which our genealogy is based (3). You will see Sir that I have not had to do but some slight additions to the drafts of this genealogy already started by you. The capital letters indicate the personnages whose mummy or sarcophagus still exists.

Isedjer (or Iseoeri) wife of...

Cornelius Pollius - Philout (or Athor-Phimout)
(papyrus in the Charles X Museum [?])

Soter Cornelius Pollius - Cleopatra daughter of Ammonius
(the archon) (also called Candace and Gennetice)

(sarcophagus and papyrus British Museum;
Cloth with painting: Charles X Museum [?])

Heraclius Soter - Sarapout

Tphout Phaminis
(mummy (?) & (mummy and sarcoph:
sarcoph: Berlin Museum)
British Museum)

Ptemenoph

(also called Ammonius) (mummy, sarcophagus
(sarcophagus and papyrus and papyrus: Mus
antiquities room in Paris) of Leiden)

Sensaos

The known death dates of these people and of Senchonsis are all from the time of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrien and Antonin the pious.

There remains now the need to classify the following individuals whose connections do not link up to the known names:

Senchonsis, also called Sapaulis, oldest daughter of Picot.
(mummy and sarcophagus lost: De Minutoli)

Sensaos with her sister Tkauthi (child)
(mummy and sarcophagus together: Berlin Museum)

Ptemenoph, son of Pabot (child)
(mummy and sarcophagus: Turin Museum)

Soter, son of Baphor (child)

(two papyri: Charles X Museum) with the two other mummies of Turin, and that of Mr. Lebolo, all three without inscriptions, and added to those from our table whose names are written in capital letters, complete the number of eleven already found. Moreover, as Mr. De S. Quintino has already remarked,) I don't believe it is absolutely necessary to suppose that all the individuals found in the tomb be of the same family.

In as much as the remains of the relics of the mummies, attributed by the museum conservators to the individuals taken out of the same cavern, the mummy, the cloth, and above all the five portraits of the Charles X Museum are the only pieces (2) that I expect with some confidence will shed light on this subject. The three masks that Mr. De S. Quintino attributes to the same origin and of which one bears the name of Calaetis, could very easily not be except when that author calls on the testimony of Mr. Lebolo. It is the same with the eight masks of greek-egyptian individuals in the Charles X Museum (3); the mosiac works of the greek mummies (4) and the many intact greek-egyptian mummies of the Leiden Museum (5) the Passalacqua collection at Berlin (6) or finally those of other museums that without a doubt contain some.

I beg your pardon, Sir, to make you wait such a long time for the further description of the coffin of Senaos that must singularly interest you, accustommed as you are to cultivating the sciences for themselves and not to reach some personal desire.

The resemblance of the mummy Senaos with that of her brother Petemenoph is found both inside and outside the coffin, and also in their wrappings. The principle scenes from the outside of the coffins are the same; but there is on each side of ours an extra scene. The inside of the one is like a fac-simile of the other; but in the zodiac some signs are misplaced.

To better follow the details let's run through Mr. Cailliaud's plates.

Plate 67 Exterior of the coffin: n. 1 cover (7). The worship of Osiris Pethempamenthes of the right side are the same; but before this scene, that is near the feet we see the scene of the weighing of the soul, with Thoth, and the hippopotamus: follows two of the gaurdians of Osiris' house of which there are more on the coffin of Petemenoph, but which are not seated, as in the painting on this coffin, inside a sort of door or building. Between these two is the winged serpent with human legs, that the same coffin equally offers. The under-wrapping that only contains crosses on the arms, is still conforming to this same model.

On the left side band the worship of Osiris similar to Phtha-Socari with a hawk head, is still similar to that of Petemenoph's coffin; but before this scene, towards the feet of the mummy, we see that of the enbalming, surounded by two kneeling figure with hands raised that Mr. Champollion usually qualifies as Isis and Nephthys mourning the death of Osiris (8), and of the four other divinties, so-called canpiques, or genies of Amenti standing. There follows one of the gaurdians and the winged serpent as above.

Plate 68. n. 1 & 2. The left and right sides (9). The boats pulled by jackals and dog-faced baboons are the same as those on the plate of Mr. Cailliaud. Only that of the sun with Ammon is found in the left side, and that of the moon with the eye of the sun is seen on the right ; and there is a slight difference in the number and choice of the divinites that are found on the two side before the cross and the pretended nilometer. In considering these variations, which are really not important, we can't help but believe that they are the result of the whim of the Priest-painter, during the time that his painting took to work, or of some other fortuitous circumstance.

Regarding the two exterior ends of the coffin, pl.67. n. 2 & 3 (10), that at the foot shows some difference, but that at the head is the same. In place of the scarab in a boat there are two similar scenes between them

and back to back: both representing a kneeling figure on a pedestal, on whose hands there is a god with a hawk's head in one scene and an Ibis head in the other pouring a liquid. In front of each one of these kneeling figures is an eye. I don't need to say that a similar scene is very frequent among mummies and papyri. We will leave it to the care of Mr. Champollion to instruct us if the usage of this scene on the mummy of Sensaos, instead of the boat of the sun, can be related to the different circumstances of the deceased, and notably to the difference of their sex. We will now recount a notable difference coming from this last case.

As to the interior of the coffin, I have already indicated the close relationship that it has with that of the deceased's brother. This conformity also exists underneath (pl. 66. n.2) (1), on both ends (ib. n.4 & 5.) (2), and on the inside of the cover (pl. 69.) (3). This circumstance forms the most instructive part of the object that we are concerned with, I will come back to this when I have talked about the mummy itself.

I will only add here one observation concerning the four animals that surround the head of the goddess. Mr. Champollion calls them scarabs with a serpents head (4). Permit me to remark, against this celebrated antiquarian, that in the painting of the scarab on the coffin of Petemenoph (pl. 67. n. 3.) The insect is easily identified by its head, the corselet and the wingsheaths, while the animals with which he is concerned have their backs designed in the same conventional manner which serves to represent the shell of the zodiacal crayfish and very nearly that of the scorpion. They resemble so closely the crayfish that there is nothing but the head to distinguish these animals. I cannot see anything else here but tortoises, despite the length of their necks, which among some species is longer than others. I do not recall that Mr. Champollion has given an explanation of the mythological meaning of this animal, although he represents it in his tableau general: this meaning can be entirely different than the image of a human with a tortoise head, which is recounted among the paintings of the tomb of Ousirei I discovered by Belzoni (5), and in that of the tomb of Rhamses-Meiamoun, a figure that Mr. Champollion takes as the symbol of sloth (6). But I dare to surmise that the number of four that form these reptiles in the two mummy coffins, is reported, as the four heads of the ram, the four serpents and other combinations of the symbols of Ammon (7), be it the four elements, be it their four parts of space, and this idea is strengthened by the space that these animals occupy around the head of the goddess of heaven, and around the sun which sheds its rays on the goddess.

The mummy of petemenoph, pl. 70, as far as the form, size, weight, the disposition of the wrappings, and the execution of the paintings, resembles that of Leiden. But Petemenoph is similar to Osiris or at least covered with a painting representing that god with a mitre with goat horns a flail and a hook: this god is dressed in the same sort of netted robe that is worn by the goddess of heaven Tpe or Tiphe, pl. 69. (8), and that Osiris himself wears on other monuments of a careful execution. I cite in this regard a superb funeral ritual from the D'anastsy collection, 57 feet in length, and the ritual of the Charles X Museum which is more precious than ours for its material, being written on royal papyrus, but which is quite a bit less considerable (9). On the contrary, the painted cloth that Sensaos is wrapped in represents a woman's clothing. In truth this costume is the same as that of the goddess Netphe, mother of Osiris, which is also found under the coffin (pl. 66. n. 2.) (10), the hairstyle and the position of the arms along the side of the body also resemble him. The only difference, but which seems of little importance, is that the horizontal bands alternate red, green etc., which, with this goddess, only form an apron down to the knees, descend, in the painting of the mummy itself, down to the bottom of the gown, and as a result down to the feet.

But, as neither the entire inscription of Netphe, nor the vessel, which sometimes characterizes by itself this goddess, are not found added to this painting, I believe that it is the deceased herself whose portrait we find here.

The divinities within the compartments of the two sides of the principle figure are fairly similar to that of the mummy of Petemenoph, but, it is difficult to indicate all the details of it yet, because the mummy has not been unwrapped of its exterior bands. We will postpone this indication until after a furter examination. On the two sides of the head, in the place of an eye in a boat, there is a mitred serpent with human legs: this difference can be that of the principle figure.

On the breast there is a winged scarab of hide or a piece of distinct boarding. No mention is made about a crown belonging to this mummy. As the adjoining payrus has been conserved, it is probable that, if the crown was part of the ornaments of the mummy of Senaos, it would equally have come forth. Among the three greek individuals, found in the same tomb, and held at the Turin Museum, and the three others of which this museum has only the funeral masks, and that Mr. De S. Quintino reports as coming from the same source, the ones, a child and a woman, are adorned with crowns, while the others are without them (1).

But, it is above all the portrait of the young Senaos, that constitutes the difference between the funeral paintings of this mummy and that of the young man. Although I have brought out in my first letter that in general the funerals recalled the type of that of Osiris, it doesn't appear, however, that persons of the feminine sex were ever represented with the attributes of this god (2).

Thus prepared, we come together to the principle question: that to know if the removal of a zodiacal sign from the zodiac of Petemenoph could come from a purposeful and significant arrangement, while a similar circumstance is not reported in the zodiac of his sister, who died seven years before him. The two coffins are very similar on the inside, as will show the demonstration of our respective plates and as I was convinced at Paris, that you have to say that they are the work of the same artist-priest, and that it could be he prepared them ahead of time leaving a place for their names. The time that passed between the two deaths is too considerable to suppose that the two coffins were made at the same time for the people that were put in them. At the same time we cannot suppose that the coffin of Petemenoph was copied after that of Senaos, while it had been interred for quite some time, but that both were made after an ordinary model.

You have concluded, Sir, regarding the absence of the sign of capricorn on the mummy of Petememoph, that the zodiac of which it is part serves to indicate the natal theme of the deceased (3). You have proven, independently of that, that the representations of heaven on the ancient Egyptian monuments are only mythological or symbolic (4): but that all the true zodiacs of Egypt were executed during the Roman epoch (5), and you have given account of the zodiac on the coffin of Petemenoph and of that which was said to exist on another coffin of the same family, to give more weight to a conjecture that seemed to me to be authenticated (6), such that I was not aware of the mummy of Senaos, to wit, that these zodical monuments are all entirely, or principally, astrological.

In all of these serious questions of antiquity and history, you have believed it indispensable to serve ourselves of purely archeological facts. Permit me to include myself in the same circle of argument, which I believe, as you,alone needs to be considered.

To begin with it is aertain that the paintings on the two coffins of Senaos and Petemenoph are of a style infinitely inferior to the ordinary mummies, and more than careless. We have already seen (7) independently

of all system, that the difference in the nimer of the divinities on the two exterior side of the coffins is a result of whim, or the lack of space. On the one side the bisection of the zodiac is the same. The band on the left of the goddess and going from the head to the feet begins with the sign of the lion, the other band on the right that goes from the feet towards the head begins with the sign of aquarius. You have informed us , Sir, that the bisection of such and such a sign is indifferent for the explanation of the monument on which the zodiac finds itself represented (1); I would dare myself to believe that, that which we see here is nothing but the imitation of a type established by custom. In the zodiac of Petemenoph, the last sign on the left of the goddess, that of capricorn, is placed outside the zodiac on the other end of the cover; however this entire band of five signs fills all the space corresponding to that of the six signs on the other side. In the coffin of Sensaos the two bands of six signs are complete: capricorn is at the end of the first band. If we had known and studied in Europe the two coffins at the same time, wouldn't we have naturally come by comparison to believe that the intention of the two zodiacs so similar was absolutly the same; that with objects of trade, apparently prepared ahead of time and following an ordinary model, it was difficult to suppose any intention to vary the principle paintings according to the needs of each individual; and that it is not but want of space on the one side and for awkwardness, that the artist had misplaced the last sign of his zodiac? I have not lost sight of the fact , Sir, that you have found that the missing sign, that of capricorn, must be precisely the sign under which Petemenoph was born (2). In leaving intact this calculation whose precision I was more or less unable to judge, I would dare to beg you to take into consideration if this coincidence couldn't just be the result of whim? That the archeological systems, that are believd to be solidly established, have been destroyed because they only rest on an entirely casual resemblance to certain objects! If the misplaced sign form the zodiac of Petemenoph was taken from the middle of one of the two bands, or if the misplacement was found equally in the zodiac of Sensaos, be it that the sign was taken out of the middle of the band, or that the bisection of the zodiac was done differently to accomodate the precise misplacement of one sign from one of the two ends; a similar misplacement or even a similar accumulation of examples cannot be accidental, and it makes us suppose a formal intention on the part of the artist. But the example of Petemenoph is unique up to this point; another coffin, that of Sensaos, that in a priori judgement should offer the same situation, doesn't; on the contrary, it is possible to explain this particularity by reasons that deal with art and for that matter with the mechanics; won't you beleive with me, Sir, that it would be prudent, until new confirmation, to avoid the way of significative or symbolic interpretation?

You see, Sir, these doubts to which I dare to call your attention and provoke your judgement, only rest on the precise expression of such and such astrological fact in the Egyptian zodiac; and that they in no way contradict your doctrine, that all these zodiacs are from the Roman epoch, and that their frequency among the monuments of these centuries give credence to the astrological judiciaries, which, joined, so to say, with the ancient mythological systems of this people, appear to be an extraordinary advancement. I therefore have no need to defend myself of the suspicion to want to revive the arbitrary systems of chronology, refuted by you in a decisive manner, and of the hieroglyphic system of Mr. Champollion applied to the zodiac of Dendera.

But what then is the reason for placing a zodiac in the mummies' coffins? Here, Sir, are the ideas that I formed for myself on this subject, following the mythological system of Mr. Champollion and the latest discoveries of this scholar in Egypt, reported with your observations on the origin of astrology.

The name of Tphe or Tipe, the lady of heaven, attributed to the principle figure on the covers of our two mummy cases, as the 24 personnages that surround her render, and which appear to be hours, is fully conforming, even to the eyes of the least excercised spectator, on a superb mummy coffin of the D'anastasy collection, a work of better times. We have seen this same goddess, with her arms extended above her head as if to cover the body of the mummy, and wearing on her own body, that is sprinkled with stars, the spheres of the sun and the moon, well represented: in others she is surrounded by the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night, with their numbers and hieroglyphic legends (1). It is, so to say, without a doubt that the artist wanted to represent the heavens. Now, the zodiac that surrounds the heaven, on the mummy cases of an earlier time, that is to say on those of the family of Soter, archon of Thebes, only figure as its accessory. It is also a long time since we haven't found another example analogous to that of the case of Petemenoph, this explanation has at least as high a degree of explanation as that which looks for a genethliac theme. The royal tombs, in all truth, (and possibly the funeral rituals), present constellation tables and their influence on all the hours of each month of the year. This, Sir, is "a memory, that Mr. Champollion addressed to you" namely "from Thebes" (2), and in this manner the genethliac tables could seem to be earlier than the epoch to which you assign their origin. But for as far as I intend the question, their is quite a difference between believing in these influences and the skill of drawing form them some type of plan for the future, a futile skill in which the properly called judiciary astrology consists, but which supposes some knowledge too real for astrology, which the ancients did not begin to possess until near the beginning of our era (3). Consequently, as far as it is more probable, that the constellation tables of the royal tombs express a natal theme, as far as it is to believe to the contrary, that the zodiacs of the sarcophagi of an earlier age are nothing but a reminder, an imitation of these purely mythological tables, but a metomorphosed imitation after the more recent ideas that do not essentially disturb the ancient body of doctrine.

FINE

I. TABLE (a) of the papyri and other ancient monuments cited or explained in this work, arranged by order of appearance.

A. DIVERSE MONUMENTS

[(a) the letter T indicates the table]

MONUMENTS EXISTING ON THE SPOT

- Ibsamboul greek inscription. T. Art.84. note q.
Pselchis (Dakke) fragments of pottery. III. 59; T. Art.77.
Philae petition of the priests of Isis. III. 57, 45-47, 49, 64, 89 note b,92.
Ombos inscription of the temple. III. 45. note a.
Thebes royal tombs. I. 15. note d, 57.
greek tomb. II. 37 and following.
Great Oasis roman inscriptions. III 46.
Panopolis inscription, III. 88.
around Rome painting of a spa on the route to Rome at Frascati II. 32 a.
Pozzuol temple of Sarapis. III. 83. cf. 107.
Holland roman constructions presumed from the Hadrian forum. III. 84. note a.

MONUMENTS EXISTING IN OTHER MUSEUMS

- Rome-Capitolin Museum Palmyran inscription. II. 15. note c.
Mr. Dodwell-Colection, lead sheet. I. 45.
Palace uncertain bronze representing an owl. II. 21, 28.
Florence-Gallery of the Great Duke, bronze (heads dressed as birds). II. 28.
Turin-Royal museum, altar with hieroglyphic names of cities. III. 51.
another altar. III. 78.
mummy of Petemenoph, son of Pabol. II. 40,43, 47, 48 note a, 53.
two greek-egyptian mummies, of which one is Calaetis. II
41, 44, 48, 53.
Malta(?), gnostic inscription of the carpocatiens of Cyrene. II. 17 and note b.
Paris-antiquities room of the king's library, mummy of Petemeoph, son of Soter.
II. 33, 38, 43, 47, 48 note a, 49, 51 and following.
urn from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II 3.
Angerona, bronze from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II. 2.
etruscan bronze from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II. 2.
Charles X Museum, mummy of a man, N. No. 3. II. 45,48.
eight greek-egyptian mummy masks, P. 14, 15, 16. II.48.
five mummy portraits. II. 45, 48.
grek-egyptian mummy tesseras. II. 48 note e.
Aachen-Museum of M. St. Vincent, inscription of St, Cannat. III. 107.
London-British Museum, rosetta inscription. I. 60, 66, 73b; III. 27, 57,87, 108 note b
mummy of Soter. II. 38, 41, 42, 47.
mummy of Tphout. II. 38, 41, 42, 47.
pottery fragments from the Salt and Belzoni collection (?).
III . 58; T. Art. 67, 68.
Wiltonhouse, inscription in boustrophedon. II. 17a.
Berlin-Egyptian Museum, mummies of Mr. De minutoli. II. 40.
mummies of Senaos and Tkauthi. II. 43, 47.
mummies of Phaminis. II 43, 47.
mummies of Senchonsis or Sapailis. II. 36, 42, 47.
pottery fragments. III. 59; T Art. 69.
~~Trieste (?)~~, mummy of Mr. Lebole II. 43, 47.
The Hague-Royal Cabinet of Medallions and Engraved Stone, amulet of hide.
I. 17 note. b; II. 29.

Paris-Antiquities Cabinet King's Library, in general. T. Art. 4 note e.
Casati collection, in general. III. 25 note a, 37.
" " demotic papyrus. I. 73b, 81a; III. 26, 27bis,
28, 115; T. Art. 4.
" " small greek papyrus. II 35; III. 5,8, 12, 13,
14, 25 and following., 60, 90; T. Art. 71.
" " byzantine papyrus. III. 34; T. Art. 73.
Cailliaud collection(?), funeral papyrus. I. 13, 14 note d.
" " " of Petemenoph. I, 58; II. 47.
without number: demotic papyrus, containing two contracts.
T. Art. 59.

Charles X Museum, in general. III. 37.
funeral papyri: T. 13. II 52.
" " of Soter, son of Baphor, T. 21, 22. II. 46, 47.
" " of Cornelius, son of Isejder, T. 23. II. 46, 47.
demotic papyri: F. 1. T. Art. 91.
" " F. 7 or 8 (?). T. Art. 19.
" " F. 13. III. 89 note b.
" " F. 15. III. 90 note d.
greek papyri: Salt collection No. 1. III. 63; T. Art. 2.
" " " " " 3. III. 15, 90; T. Art. 2.
" " " " " 5. T. Art. 20 and note m.
" " " " " 6. T. Art. 5.
" " " " " 7. T. Art. 25.
" " " " " 8, 9. T. Art. 39.
" " " " " 11, 12. III. 76.
" " " " " 13. T. Art. 38.
" " " " " fragments of a judiciary decision.
T. Art. 16.
" " " " " fragments of the Iliad. III. 76; T. Art. 80.
" " " " " greek and latin vocabulary. T. Art. 83.
" " " " " byzantine papyrus. III. 35; T. Art. 74.
" " Drovetti collection(?) papyri of the Didymous.
" " " " " T. Art. 52, 53, and notes i, k.
" " " " " " petitions of the Didymous etc.
" " " " " III. 21, 80. A. III. 87, 88, 91.
" " " " " B. III. 94, 102. C. III. 87, 95, 100,
107 bis. D. III. 96, 104.
" " " " " E, F. III. 80, 103.
" " " " " " dreams. III. 80, 103.
" " " " " " registers of receipts and debits.
" " " " " III. 81, 106.
" " " " " " other contentious affairs. III. 81, 85.

London-British Museum, Salt collection, funeral papyrus of Soter. II. 42.
" " " demotic papyrus.T. Art. 13. and note e.

Collection of Mr. Grey, demotic papyrus. I, 73b; III. 4, 57.
" " " contract A, II. 16 note a.
" " " " A, B, C. T. Art 18, 59-61 note a.
" " " " A and C. III 28 note a.
" " " " C. T. Art. 18 note k.
greek antigraph. II. 6, 25, 27, 28 bis, 90, 98, 115; T. Art. 6.
Collection of Mr. Edmondstone, greek papyrus. II 35 bis; III. 8, 44, 59 note c;
T. Art. 6.

Berlin-Egyptian Museum, Minutoli collection, demotic papyrus. in general. I. 80.
same, demotic papyrus No. 36. III. 4, 27, 28; T. Art. 5
" " " " 37. T. Art. 14.
" " " " 39. III. 89 note b.
" " " " 40. III. 89 note b; T. Art. 25
" " " " 42. T. Art. 11.
" " " " 43. III. 41, 89 note b.
" " " " 46. T. Art. 12.
" " " " 48. T. Art. 92.
" " " " 52. III. 42, 89 note b.

Passalacqua collection. fragment of greek papyrus, No. 490. III. 90
note d; T. Art. 34.
" " " greek letter of recommendation, No. 1563.
III. 76, 100, 113; T. Art. 57.

Vienna-Imperial-Royal Museum, in general. III. 57.
greek papyrus: No. 1. curse addressed to Serapis. I. 45; T. Art. 54.
" " of Zois, No. 1, 2. III. 21, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 82,
84, 93 note a, 94, 97, 98, 102; T. Art. 42, 43.

Leiden University Antiquities Museum, total of the papyri. I. 2 note a.
funeral rites in general. I. 33; III. 58 note a.
" " Cima collection No. 1. (see the corrections) I. 32 note a.

Anastasy collection hieratic papyri. III. 106.

" " No. 1. III. Art. 1; and p. 21, 26, 27, 29, 51,
60, 86, ib. note b, c; T. Art. 35.
" " No. 2. III Art. 2; and p. 10, 29, 30, 41, 44,
51, 61, 63, 89 note b, 109; T. Art. 45.
" " No. 3. III. Art. 3; and p. 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 21,
24, 60; T. Art. 22.
" " No. 4. III. Art. 4; and p. 38; T. Art. 63.
" " No. 5. III. Art. 5; T. Art. 75.
" " No. 6. III. 91, 92.
" " No. 6, 7, bis a, b. III Art. 6; and p. 19, 51,
63, 64, 89 note b, 102; T. Art. 55-57.
" " No. 7. III. Art. 8; and p. 35, 62, 109; T. Art. 66.
" " " 7 bis. fragments. III. 35, 36.
" " " 7 bis, a. III. 51 end, 101.
" " " 7 bis, c. Art. 7; and p. 36; T. Art. 58.
" " " 8a. III. Art. 9; and p. 19, 20, 82, 84, 95,
97, 98; T. Art. 44.
" " No. 8b. III. Art. 10; T. Art. 9.
" " No. 9. III. 66.
" " No. 11 bis. III. 33.
" " No. 16. demotic. T. Art. 60.
" " No. 17. idem. T. Art. 61.
" " No. 18. III. 44.
" " No. 19. great funeral rite. II. 52; III. 38 note a.
" " No. 29. " " " of Sensaos. II. 33, 53.
" " No. 37. III. 2, 14, 16, 16*, 89 note b.
" " No. 53. III. Art. 5; T. Art. 76.
" " No. 62. Hypocephale. I. 33.
" " No. 65. I. 3, 36 and following; III. 12, 65, 76;
T. Art. 41.

Notes to page 1.

(1) Voyage to Meroe vol 2. pl. 66 and following.

(2) Mr. Letronne made me remark that the greek name of this individual is written on the case Petemenophis, and not Petemenoph as was believed earlier. I have verified the truth of this correction in the room of the library where the case is found. Mr. Champollion had originally read the hieroglyphic name Petemen (in Observations of Mr. Letronne p. 112); later it was interpreted Petemenoph, or Petamenoph (in the Voyage of Mr. Cailliaud to Meroe 4. p. 27, 28) in confirming this report the observation already published by Mr. De S. Quintino (Lezioni Archeologiche. 2. p. 70.)

Notes to page 2.

(1) Peyron, Pap. Taur. I. p. 38, 162.

(2) Hieroglyphics. pl. 46. l. 4, 18.

(3) I would dare to doubt the exactness of the conjecture proposed in the Observations sur les Represent. Zodiac p. 27. note 27. If the name of Cornelius is used as a first name, the possibility of which I do not contest in an age of decadence of the language and the ancient roman institutions, -this abuse itself proves that we cannot apply to this case all of the other grammatical rules and stone spelling adopted during the glorious days of the republic.

(4) Cf. Obss. sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 33 and following.

(5) Acts 8:27: Strabo 17. p. 820. ed. Cas.; Plin. H. N. 6. s. 55. 8; Schleusner in v.

(6) Notice sur une Inscr. Grecque de Momie egypt. (Journal d. Sav. April 1824).

(7) In Voyage of Mr. Caillaud 4. p. 29, 30, 31.

(8) See again Schleusner 1.1.

Notes to page 3.

(1) Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, mount Sinai, and Jerusalem. London 1823. 8°. This voyager does not say in what year he was in Egypt; but he is in Jerusalem during the month of June 1820. See the certificate at the end of the voyage. It is probable that his whole voyage took place between autumn 1819 and summer the following year. To afix the precise date of the discovery of the tomb, I remark that Mr. Henniker, writing in a journal, speaks on page 74 of the new year. The last precise date he gives is January 18, p. 127; the report on the tomb is found on page 136; it must of consequence be during this same month, since on page 181 he starts dating again on the 25th of February. It is troublesome to have to form conjectures on the work of a living author as if he had written two thousand years ago. But it could be useful for museum directors for someone to make up for this omission by Mr. Henniker.

(2) Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 17; Mr. Salt, in speaking of this sarcophagus says in general terms that it was brought from Thebes by Mr. Henniker. (Essay on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics. - at the end.)

(3) Young, Hieroglyphics. pl. 35: ("given by Mr. Grey to Mr. Salt"); account p. 115, 244; Letronne Observations sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 23. pl. b.

(4) See again the description that Mr. Cailliaud himself makes of it. Voyage a Meroe, 4. p. 2, and the Notice of Mr. Champollion, same endr. p. 22.

Notes to page 4.

(1) Lezioni Archeologiche. 2. Iscrizione bilingue sopra una mumia. p. 6.-
Devere note on the Essay on the Hieroglyphic Phonetics of Mr. Salt p. 21. note 1.

Notes to page 5.

- (1) Belzoni, Operations in Egypt. 1 edit. p. 366; De Montule Voy. en Amerique, en Italie etc. 2. p.431.
- (2) Letronne, Observat. sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 27.
- (3) Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 20.
- (4) above page 58 note a.
- (5) S. Quintino. 1. 1. p. 8, 44; Peyron, Pap. Taur. 1 p. 16 and following.
- (6) above p. 38, 39 note a.
- (7) above p. 38, note a.
- (8) Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe. 4. p. 20.
- (9) Les Annales de Litterature de Vienne (20. 1822. p. 46) which I was not able to consult, equally attributes this mummy to the Minutoli collection. But Mr. Levezow, one of the conservators of the Berlin Museum, does not on what this indication is founded (in Amalthee by Mr. Bottiger 1825. III. p. 221). It appears that he id not aquainted with the account by Mr. De S. Quntino. It is just as possible that the mummy in question has perished, because the inventory of the shipwrecked party does not appear to have contained any scientific details, such that the impossibility of verifying the fact leaves us an open book for conjecture. (See this inventory with Mr. Levezow, same endr. p. 214. note **). Finally, Mr. Raoul-Rochette who gave Note sur l'inscription grecque of this mummy's coffin (Journ. d. Savans. April 1824), only says to "have received the copy of this inscription from a person who had been by himself to see a beautiful collection of egyptian antiquities brought to Europe. This collection could very easily be that of Mr. De Minutoli; the person designates could have seen it in the East. - Moreover, Mr. De S. Quintino has equally published the inscription in its entirety p. 19. and Mr. Letronne has responded to the observations of Mr. R. Rochette: Obs. sur les repres. Zod. p. 24 note 3.

Notes to page 6.

(1) Levezow endr. cited p. 220; Toelken, dans le Voyage du Gen. Minutoli p. 430. (ed. allem.).

(2) See above p. 39. note b. This mummy had been opened at Paris by Mr. Cailliaud, such that he himself reports of it in detail (Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 9). As the journal of this time mention several mummies, on which Mr. Cailliaud had made the same operation (see p. ex the Bulletin of Feruss. Hist. 1. p. 48), it would be good to advise that Mr. Cailliaud only possessed one mummy from the tomb that we are talking about. (See Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 20).

(3) There is in possession a very useful pattern for judging the pallium such that it has been used in Egypt, on the statue of an Orator found in Alexandria, and drawn in the Amalthee of Mr. Bottiger III. p. 449. (Comp. Bull. of Feruss. Hist. 2. p. 103).

(4) This observation is founded in many sections, above all in that which contains the papyri.

(5) In this museum nobody is involved with the conservation of the mummies themselves; also I have not seen there but three more or less whole (Notice- N. N°. 1, 2, 3). The conservators of the museums of Turin and Berlin are, up till now, of a different opinion, (See S. Quintino, Lez. Arch. 2. p. 10; Levezow in the Amalthee of Mr. Bottiger III. p. 220. note). In as much as one can or cannot hope about the opening of the mummies, the more instructive observations on this subject are found consigned in the Catalogue des Antiquites de Mr. Passalacqua. (p. 170, 184, 185 etc.); that is the most complete manual that exists for knowing the ordinary origin of objects that make up an egyptian museum. For me, I think that, since the mummies once opened are lost, it is of more value, in general, to keep them intact. We can form a better idea of the objects that were seen in concreto, the principal and the accessories being reunited together and in their natural state, then when their divers details are isolated; and that it is neccessary to turn to a written explanation to connect the mummy, and which does not speak to the eyes. As far as the need to know the parts which form the whole of the mummy with its accessories, MM. The excavation entrepreneurs and the Arabs took care to dismantle the mummies enough to send on abundantly to our museums all the types of smaller objects that could be found inside.

(6) Notice du Musee Charles X. - N. N°. 3.

Notes to page 7.

(1) Notice, p. 17-21.

(2) In Voyage a Meroe by Mr. Cailliaud 4. 25. - But according to the Notice du Musee Charles X (T. 21, 22, 23), this last manuscript was discovered on the same mummy as one of the other two preceding manuscripts, which bears the name Soter, son of Baphor. I am brought to believe that this is nothing but an editing error.

(3) (greek). Mr. Devere read the hieroglyphic name of the mother Athor-Phimout or Athor-Philout. (Notes sur l'Essai by Mr. Salt. p. 20. 1).

(more greek). The surname of Gennetice was found by Mr. Champollion. See above p. 36.

(greek).

Add:

(greek). Mr. De S. Quintino read in the hieroglyphic inscription, having for mother Tacui, (Lez. Arch. 2. p. 28-51).

Notes to page 8.

(1) Lezioni Archeol. 2. page 11.

(2) In a Lettre sur les antiquites egyptiennes en France (inserted in the new Journal of Mr. Bottlinger, Archeol. und Kunst. 1. 1. page 191) Mr. Seyffarth affirms that a greek mummy from the time of Hadrien is to be seen in the cabinet of antiquities in the King's library in Paris whose son rests in Turin, and whose wife at Naples. It is probable that Mr. Seyffarth, writing from memory, deceived himself and that he believed that the Petemenoph of Turin was the son of Petemenoph of Paris. As far as the assertion of the museum of Naples, I have no way of verifying it.

(3) Notice du Musee Charles X. page 14, 15, 16.

(4) The Charles X Museum contains seven of them (Notice Z. 21 to 27), whose inscriptions have not been published. There are two at Leiden, one offering the name of Sarapion, son of Hermaiscus Chrysocherius, the pther that of a woman, Thanis.

(5) It is neccessary to give at this occaison an overview of the three mummies of Leiden, which, other that the one without coffin already described (p. 44), bear all of the characteristics attributed to greek-egyptian mummies by Mr. Passalacqua , and are also called such in the catalogue by Mr. D'anastasy.

N°. 10 des Mommies D'anastasy. Mummy wrapped in cloth without painting: the arms and the legs wrapped separately. Painted coffin, imitating the contours of the body, but of a very inferior workmanship. This coffin opens underneath, in such away that the upper part or the cover makes up almost the entire casket. Such is the construction of all the caskets that for other reasons are regarded as Greco-egyptian. (Catal. de Pasalacqua p. 187. and the coffins of Sensaos and the two Petemenops).

(N°. 24). Mummy and casket resembling on all the essential reports the preceeding one. Note that, if the two preceeding coffins belonged to the tomb in question we must suppose that each one was enclosed in a second squared coffin which would have passed on to another museum.

(N°. 25). Mummy and casket still inferior in workmanship to the two preceeding, but which differ from them still on many accounts. The coffin and its cover are formed, we are lead to believe, each one from a sole piece of wood hollowed to the same depth.

The museum also has an entire sarcophagus and the fragments of two or three others in wood, square in form, and not covered with stucco or paintings. But this is not the one reason sufficeint to consider them greek, in spite of their conformity with the coffin of Petemenoph in Turin. The strip of beautiful hieroglyphics painted on the cover of the casket, and the hieroglyphics sculpted in relief on the fragments connect these pieces very probably with a better epoch of egyptian art.

As for the rest, I hope to occupy myself soon with the study of the hieroglyphic proper names on all of these objects: the results of this study should apparently shed some light on our subject.

(6) Catalogue de Pasalacqua, N°. 1544, 1547. - compare p. 208.

(7) Champollion in le Voy. de Caillaud. 4. p. 46.

(8) Notice du musee Charles X. - A. 620, 654.

(9) Champ. Voyage, notes p.50.

(10) Champ. notes p. 45.

Notes to page 9.

- (1) Champ. notes p. 49.
- (2) Champ. notes p. 48.
- (3) Champ. notes p. 51.
- (4) Champ. notes p. 52.

(5) Voy. du Gen. De Minutoli plate 21. n.2.-The Charles X Museum has a tortoise in gold, "found in Egypt, but of a workmanship," according to Mr. Champollion, "which does not appear to be egyptian." Notice-K.1527. I was not able to see this piece because of the absence of Mr. Champollion.

- (6) Bull. de Feruss. Hist. Vol. 13. p. 140.
- (7) See 1st letter. p. 31.
- (8) Champ. notes p. 51.

(9) Champ. Notice du Musee Charles X.- Vol. 13. I suppose that the papyrus of Leiden, cited in the text, is the first in size after that of Turin, which is 66 feet in length, and which Mr. De S. Quintino describes, Lez. Archeol. 2. p. 68.

- (10) Champ. notes pp. 49, 50.

Notes to page 10.

- (1) S. Quintino, Lez. Archeol. 2. p. 8-11, 43.
- (2) See the note by Mr. Banks on the Essay of Mr. Salt. p. 8. (p. 14. trad. Fr.) This negative observation is confirmed by all the mummies of the Leiden Museum.
- (3) Obss. sur les Repres. Zod. p. 53.
- (4) Ibid. p. 61.
- (5) Ibid. p. 96.
- (6) It is in this sense that I gave account in the 3rd volume first page of the Holland journal entitled Antiquities, which I published then with Mr. Westendorf.
- (7) See above p. 50.

Notes to page 11.

- (1) Obss. sur les Repres. Zod. p. 103 and following.
- (2) Ibid. p. 102.

H. de Piles
LEBOLO offerturis

LETTERS À M. LETRONNE,

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT ET DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR,
INSPECTEUR-GÉNÉRAL DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE FRANCE ETC.

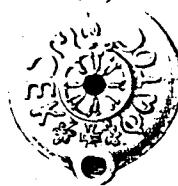
SUR

LES PAPYRUS BILINGUES ET GRECS,
ET SUR QUELQUES AUTRES MONUMENS GRÉCO-ÉGYPTIENS
DU MUSÉE D'ANTIQUITÉS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LEIDE,

PAR

C. J. C. REUVENS,

Professeur d'archéologie et directeur du musée; membre de l'institut royal des Pays-Bas et de l'académie des sciences de Zélande; corresp. de la société des sciences à Batavia; membre étr. de la société royale asiatique de Londres; membre honor. de la société philosophique de Cambridge et corresp. de l'accademia Labronica de Livourne.



Emblema Musae Lugd.-Bat.

À LEIDE,
CHEZ S. ET J. Luchtmans,

IMPRIMEURS DE L'UNIVERSITÉ.

1850.

LETTERS
A M. LETRONNE,
SUR LES PAPYRUS BILINGUES ET GRECS, ET SUR QUELQUES
AUTRES MONUMENS GRÉCO-ÉGYPTIENS
DU MUSÉE DE LEIDE.

DEUXIÈME LETTRE. — ART. II. MOMIE GRECQUE.

Cette momie, une des plus intéressantes du musée de Leide, est celle d'une jeune fille, nommée *Sensaos*, qui était la soeur de *Pétéménoph*, dont la momie se trouve au cabinet des antiquités de la bibliothèque du roi à Paris. Il est d'autant plus convenable, Monsieur, de vous communiquer la première notice sur cette momie, que la caisse qui renfermait celle de *Pétéménoph*, a donné lieu à vos *Observations sur les représentations zodiacales de l'antiquité*. La momie, dont je vais m'occuper, repose sous un zodiaque peint dans l'intérieur du couvercle de la caisse, comme celle du frère.

Afin de mieux préparer notre jugement sur cette circonstance de la caisse, qui doit vous intéresser particulièrement, nous jetterons un coup-d'œil sur l'ensemble de l'objet en question.

On a joint à cette momie un petit manuscrit hiéroglyphe, portant extérieurement, en grec, le nom de la défunte.

Il existe en général entre la momie du musée de Leide et celle de *Pétéménoph*, apportée par M. CAILLIAUD, et décrite par vous et par M. CHAM-

DEUXIÈME LETTRE

5

POLLION LE JEUNE, ainsi qu'entre les deux caisses, une conformité si frappante, qu'il suffit pour le moment de renvoyer aux gravures de M. CAILLIAUD, qui en donne tous les détails. Notre planche V offre le zodiaque du couvercle: cette planche suffira pour confirmer en partie ce que je viens de dire sur la ressemblance des deux caisses (*a*). Je reviendrai plus tard sur les petites différences que l'on peut remarquer entre l'une et l'autre. Examinons d'abord l'inscription et les résultats que l'on en peut tirer pour la famille du défunt qui est dispersée dans diverses musées de l'Europe. Cette inscription, sur une seule ligne, porte ce qui suit:

CENCAωC COTHPOC KOPNHAΙΟΥ, ΜΗΤΡΟC ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑC THC KAI KANAAKHC AMMωΝΙΟΥ, ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC, ΕΤωΝ Ι-, ΜΗΝωΝ ΔΥΟ, ΗΜΕΡωΝ ENNEA, ETEAEYTHCEN IBL TPAIANOY TOY KΥΡΙΟΥ, ΕΠΕΙΦ KA.

Sensaos, ayant pour père *Soter Cornelius*, et pour mère *Cléopatre* (*appelée*) aussi *Candacé*, fille d'*Ammonius*, est morte, vierge; à l'âge de seize ans; deux mois, neuf jours, la XII^e année du règne de *Trajan-le-Seigneur*, le 21 *Epiphi*.

L'inscription est assez lisible: au quartième d'*Epiphi* près, que je donne d'après la copie faite en Égypte pour M. D'ANASTASY, et qui est passablement exacte sous d'autres rapports. Il est possible que cette partie de l'écriture de la caisse ait été un peu effacée depuis que la copie a été faite.

L'intime relation de parenté entre *Sensaos* et *Pétéménoph* (*b*) n'est pas douteuse, puisque l'identité du père et de la mère ne saurait l'être.

Mais les noms du père et de la mère nous font découvrir quelque chose de plus, qui peut encore être ajouté à ce que nous savions déjà au sujet de ces personnages.

La caisse de *Pétéménoph* énonce la filiation de cet individu par Σωτηρος Καρνηλευ Πελλαιου. Ce mot Πελλαιου n'est presque pas lisible. Cependant, Monsieur, je ne puis qu'adhérer à la restitution que vous en avez faite.

(*a*) *Voyage à Méroé* T. II. Pl. 66 suiv.

(*b*) M. LEBROUX m'a fait remarquer que le nom grec de cet individu est écrit sur la caisse *Pétéménophis*, et non *Pétéménon* comme il l'avait cru d'abord. J'ai vérifié la justesse de cette correction au cabinet de la bibliothèque où la caisse se trouve. M. CHAMPOILLON avait d'abord lu le nom hiéroglyphique *Pétémen* (dans les *Observations de M. LEBROUX* p. 222); plus tard il l'a interprété *Pétéménoph*, ou *Pétaménoph* (dans le *Voy. de M. CAILL à Méroé IV*. p. 27, 28) en confirmant sous ce rapport l'observation publiée déjà par M. DE S. QUIETINO (*Zes. Archéol.* II. p. 70.)

Mais à la suite du nom *Sensaos* on lit simplement Σωτηρος Κορηλεω.

Vous avez émis l'opinion, que Σωτηρος était le nom du père, et Κορηλεω Πελλεω (genitif régi par Σωτηρος) le nom du grand-père. En effet, il a existé un *Soter*, fils de *Cornelius Pollius*: la caisse de sa momie se trouve au musée britannique.

Mais est-on bien sûr, qu'un monument quelconque offre un autre exemple de l'énonciation du nom de l'aïeul relativement à un particulier égyptien? Depuis que vous avez émis cette conjecture les papyrus grecs de Turin et de Vienne ont été publiés, et nous connaissons, vous et moi, ceux de Paris et de Leide qui ne le sont pas. Dans tous ces documents je ne me rappelle aucun exemple d'une filiation aussi détaillée. Ces papyrus, dira-t-on, sont de l'époque des Ptolémées. J'en conviens; mais il paraît que les usages ont fort peu varié sous les Romains; et je connais deux papyrus au moins, écrits sous la domination romaine, savoir: le petit papyrus *Casati* de la bibliothèque du roi à Paris, qui est de l'époque des *Antonins*, et celui de M. *Edmonstone*, qui est du temps des *Constantins*; mais ni l'un ni l'autre n'en présentent d'exemple. Dans le grand papyrus grec de Turin qui contient l'exposé d'un procès, il est allégué par les plaignants d'une part, que, si leur partie adverse avait voulu se prévaloir de la forme de procéder nationale et se pourvoir devant des juges nationaux, elle aurait dû commencer par prouver quels étaient ses père et mère, et ses aïeuls; mais il est très-probable, comme l'observe fort bien M. *PEYRON* (*a*), que cette objection ne s'appliquait qu'au procès dont il s'agissait, et qui concernait une propriété prétendue patrimoniale. D'ailleurs, si cette coutume a réellement existé chez les Égyptiens, elle est vraisemblablement tombée en désuétude par l'introduction des procédures grecques qui étaient alors en pleine vigueur.

J'oserais donc proposer de prendre les noms Σωτηρος Κορηλεω Πελλεω de la caisse de *Pétéménoph*, et ceux de Σωτηρος Κορηλεω de la caisse de *Sensaos*, pour trois noms de leur père commun *Soter Cornelius Pollius*, désigné plus brièvement sur le sarcophage de *Sensaos* à Leide par *Soter Cornelius*, et sur son propre sarcophage au musée britannique par *Soter*. De même dans l'acte d'affranchissement appartenant à M. *Edmonstone* un certain *Aurelius Dorothaeus fils de Serenus*, parlant lui-même à la fin de l'acte dit:

(*a*) *PEYRON*, *Pap. Taur.* I. p. 38, 162.

avec la signature de moi *Dorotheus* (*a*). Dès-lors aussi le nom du père de celui-ci, aïeul de *Sensaos* et de *Pétéménoph*, restera simplement *Cornelius Pollius* (*b*), jusqu'à ce que d'autres monumens apprennent que cet individu avait quelque autre surnom jusqu'ici inconnu.

Passons au nom de la mère, *Cléopatre*. Cette femme n'était pas nécessairement grecque (*c*), puisqu'elle portait aussi le nom étranger de *Candacé*.

Cette dernière circonstance donne lieu à des observations secondaires. *Candacé* était un nom commun à toutes les reines et à toutes les mères des rois d'Éthiopie, comme il paraît par les différents rapports des auteurs sacrés et profanes (*d*). Il est probable que c'est pour ne pas négliger le caractère particulier de ce nom, qu'on l'a rendu en grec par le nom équivalent de *Cléopatre*, qui était commun si non à toutes, du moins à la plupart des reines d'Égypte. Cet exemple, celui de *Pétéménoph* traduit en grec par *Ammoniūs*, et une foule d'autres pris dans l'antiquité orientale, rendent un peu moins probable la conjecture de M. AAOUL-ROCHETTE (*e*), qu'il n'y aurait aucun rapport réel entre les noms de *Sapaulis* et de *Senchonsis* (ou *Psenchonsis*), qui se trouvent attribués à la même personne sur une caisse de momie, dont nous ferons mention tout-à-l'heure.

On connaissait déjà par les explications de M. CHAMPOILLION un surnom de cette *Cléopatre*, savoir le mot grec *Tamtoon* c'est-à-dire mère, qui à la faculté d'être mère (*f*), nom qui sous tous les rapports pourrait s'allier avec celui de *Candacé*. Rien ne prouve, que les Egyptiennes n'aient pas porté plus d'un nom, ou plus d'un surnom. D'ailleurs, vu qu'un ancien grammairien caractérise le nom de *Candacé* comme celui de toutes les mères des rois d'Éthiopie, dont le soleil était censé le père, on pourrait sup-

(*a*) *Hieroglyphes*, pl. 46. I. 4, 28.

(*b*) J'oserais douter de l'exactitude de la conjecture proposée dans les *Observations sur les représent. zodiac* p. 27, not. 27. Si le nom de *Cornelius* est employé comme prénom, chose dont je ne conteste pas la possibilité à une époque de décadence de la langue et des anciennes institutions romaines, — cet abus même prouve qu'on ne saurait appliquer à ce cas toutes les autres règles de grammaire et d'orthographie lapidaire adoptées dans les beaux jours de la république.

(*c*) Cf. *Obs. sur les Représ. Zodiac*, p. 55 suiv.

(*d*) *Act. Apost.* VIII. 27; *STRABO*, XVII, p. 820. *éd. CAS.*; *FELIX. H. N.* VI. 2. 55. §. 6; *OCHEVREK* 10 v.

(*e*) *Notice sur une Inscr. Grecque de momie égypt.* (*Journ. d. Sav. Avril. 1824*).

(*f*) Dans le *Voy. de M. CAILL.* IV. p. 29, 30, 51.

poser, que *γαντρη* est simplement une seconde traduction du mot éthiopien, qu'on avait coutume de rendre par *Cléopatre*. Ceci n'est qu'une conjecture sur laquelle je n'insiste pas, ne pouvant consulter les travaux des savans, qui concernent la langue éthiopienne (*a*).

Depuis quelque tems les momies grecques paraissent dans les musées d'Europe, et leur examen présente des résultats certains, très-avantageux pour l'étude de l'archéologie égyptienne. Mais comme, d'un autre côté, il est difficile aux savans, qui s'occupent de pareilles recherches, de découvrir au juste comment les objets, qui ont été trouvés ensemble, sont maintenant disséminés entre les différens musées (circonstance qu'il importe de connaître), je crois qu'il sera nécessaire de réunir toutes ces momies grecques sous un seul point de vue, pour tâcher ainsi de remédier, au moins pour une classe de monumens, à ce défaut essentiel, commun à toutes les collections.

Indépendamment du peu de détails, Monsieur, que vous a communiqués M. CAILLIAUD, j'ai trouvé, concernant la découverte des momies de la famille de Soter, deux relations historiques dont je dois présumer que l'une ne vous aura pas été connue, tandis que l'autre n'a paru qu'après la publication de vos *Observations sur les représentations zodiacales*:

La première se trouve dans le *Voyage de Sir FREDERIK HENNIKER en Egypte, en Nubie etc.* M. HENNIKER, qui voyageait uniquement pour son plaisir, a eu pour compagnon de route dans la Haute-Égypte ce M. GREY, dont les papyrus ont si puissamment contribué à avancer l'étude de l'écriture démotique. M. HENNIKER raconte, dans son style concis et qui, tout enjoué qu'il est, ne laisse pas de porter l'empreinte d'une grande véracité (*b*): » qu'il fut présent à la découverte d'un tombeau par les Arabes;

(*a*) Voyez encore *SCHLEYER*, I., I.

(*b*) *Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, mount Sinai, and Jerusalem*; Lond. 1823. 8°. Ce voyageur ne dit pas dans quelle année il était en Égypte; mais il se trouvait à Jérusalem au mois de Juin 1820. Voyez le certificat à la fin du voyage. Il est probable que tout son voyage se renferme dans l'espace de l'automne 1819 jusqu'à l'été de l'année suivante. Pour fixer la date précise de la découverte du tombeau, je remarque que M. HENNIKER, écrivant en forme de journal, parle à la page 74 du *nouvel an*. La dernière date précise qu'il donne est du 18 Janvier, p. 227; la relation du tombeau se trouve à la page 156; elle doit par conséquent être de ce même mois, puisqu'à la page 181 il reprend les dates à partir du 25 Févr. Il est facile de que l'on soit conduit à former des conjectures sur les ouvrages d'un auteur vivant, comme s'il avait écrit il y a deux mille ans. Mais il pouvait être utile pour les directeurs de musées qu'on supplétât à cette omission de M. HENNIKER.

dans vos *Observations* (a). Enfin M. CAILLIAUD reçut la momie de Péteménoph, fils de l'archonte Soter, qui se trouve maintenant à Paris au cabinet des antiques de la bibliothèque royale, et au sujet de laquelle vous avez publié l'ouvrage que je viens de citer (b).

La deuxième relation dont j'ai à parler, est celle du chevalier DE S. QUINTINO, conservateur du musée de Turin (c); elle a été communiquée à propos de la momie de Péteménoph fils de Pibôt, laquelle fait partie de ce musée, et qui provenait de la grande collection DROVETTI. Qu'il me soit permis d'insérer encore cette notice, puisque je présume qu'elle est peu répandue.

» Cette momie, » dit M. DE S. QUINTINO, » fut trouvée par un voyageur piémontais, M. Lebolo, dans un profond tombeau près de l'ancienne Thèbes, à l'endroit où est maintenant le village arabe de Gourna.

» Le caveau ressemble par sa structure aux autres qu'on trouve en grand nombre dans le même endroit, hormis qu'au lieu d'être simplement creusé dans la pierre ou dans le terrain, le fonds du puits était construit en briques, et que les parois intérieures en étaient entièrement couvertes de diverses peintures."

» Là étaient déposés douze ou treize sarcophages en bois, les uns mieux, les autres moins bien conservés. Ils étaient tous de forme carrée, à couvercle cintré, excepté un seul qui était de la forme plus commune, imitant les contours du corps humain. Tous étaient pourvus des légendes religieuses ordinaires en hiéroglyphes, et ornées de figures symboliques de plusieurs couleurs, avec le portrait du défunt. Un seul conservait encore à l'extérieur l'apparence du bois de sycomore sans aucune trace de plâtre, de gomme, ou de peintures qu'il aurait pu porter autrefois. Je ne sais si cette particularité a été remarquée ailleurs. En outre six ou sept de ces caisses présentaient aussi de courtes inscriptions en langue grecque."

(a) Youtzo, *Hieroglyphics*, pl. 35: (« Given by Mr. Grey to Mr. Salt »); *Account* p. 225, *Lettres Observations sur les Représ. Zodiac*, p. 23, pl. B.

(b) Voir encore la description qu'en fait M. CAILLIAUD lui-même. *Voyage à Mérot. IV.*

et la *Notice* de M. CHAMPOUILLOX, même endr. p. 22.

(c) *Lessoni Archéol. II. Scriz. bilingue sopra una mumia*, p. 6. — Devérez not. sur l'*Essai sur les Hiérogly. Phon.* de M. SALT, p. 21, not. 1.

Pg 4

Pg. 5

DEUXIÈME LETTRE.

» Toutes ces momies reçurent alors différentes destinations. La mieux conservée et la plus précieuse sous tous les rapports, celle que je viens de décrire comme n'étant point peinte, qui porte un épitaphe grec, fut acquise par le chevalier D'OVETTI, et cédée par lui, avec le reste de sa collection, à S. M. le roi de Sardaigne."

» Une ou deux de ces momies à inscription grecque furent vendues par M. Lebolo au général prussien comte DE MINUTOLI; mais on m'a assuré qu'elles périrent sur les côtes — de l'Afrique." [L'auteur a probablement en vue le naufrage qui a eu lieu sur les côtes septentrionales de l'Allemagne.] » M. CAILLIAUD eut celle dont nous avons déjà fait mention, et une autre enfin resta chez M. D'ANASTASY, vice-consul de Suède à Alexandrie; c'est, si je ne me trompe, la même dont les inscriptions, copiées sur les lieux par M. GREGY, furent depuis communiquées au public en 1823 par des soins de la société égyptienne de Londres." [Il est bien avéré maintenant que c'est-là une erreur.]

» — Quant aux autres momies trouvées par M. Lebolo dans ce même tombeau, il en a ouvert quelques-unes dans l'espoir qu'elles contiendraient quelque papyrus ou autre objet précieux. Une autre restait encore, il y a quelques mois" [en 1824], intacte chez lui à Trieste: c'est celle qui est mentionnée ci-dessus, de la forme ordinaire égyptienne et la plus belle de toutes sous le rapport des peintures dont elle est couverte. Deux autres enfin ont passé dans le musée D'OVETTI et se trouvent également dans ce cabinet royal" [de Turin.]

» Ces deux dernières — sont à doubles caisses: la caisse intérieure est de forme égyptienne, l'extérieure est quarrée; elles sont couvertes d'hieroglyphes et ornées de figures à plusieurs couleurs sur un fond blanc, mais d'un style inférieur, et qui ne ressemble pas à celui des peintures que l'on voit sur les momies d'une époque plus reculée. Les corps sont enveloppés de toile rouge, et ils étaient recouverts en-dessous de très-beaux réseaux, formés de tubes d'émail couleur d'azur, avec le grand scarabée ordinaire sur la poitrine et les quatre génies assistants. — — L'un de ces corps est celui d'un homme, l'autre celui d'une femme. Ces deux momies sont sans couronnes, et ne portent aucune trace d'inscription grecque."

Pour

Pour bien comprendre ce récit il est essentiel d'observer d'abord que M. Lebolo, agent bien connu du consul DROVETTI (*a*), et faisant le trafic d'antiquités, a vraisemblablement acheté des Arabes, soit avant, soit après l'ouverture, la totalité du monument que les voyageurs anglais avaient refusé. Dans le dernier cas qui est le plus probable, ce sera lui qui aura vendu à M. GREY la momie de *Tphout*.

L'une des momies brisées sur les lieux (*b*) par M. Lebolo, était, comme le dit M. DE S. QUINTINO un peu plus loin (*p. 20*), celle de l'archonte *Soter*, la principale de celles que renfermait le tombeau. M. CAILLIAUD, comme nous l'avons observé, dit qu'elle a appartenu à M. SALT; et en combinant cette donnée avec cet autre récit de M. CAILLIAUD, qu'une momie de M. SALT fut mise en pièces par le janissaire de ce consul (*c*), il est assez probable, que c'est de celle-là même qu'il parle. Mais alors il faudra bien s'en tenir au témoignage de M. Lebolo lui-même, auquel M. DE S. QUINTINO se rapporte. Au reste, si la caisse en a passé à M. SALT, c'est M. Lebolo qui la lui aura vendue, sans doute avec le papyrus (*d*).

M. DE S. QUINTINO soupçonne encore (*p. 10, 11*) que c'est des autres momies dépecées par M. Lebolo, que proviennent trois masques de momies (apparemment provenant du cartonnage), qui se trouvent au musée de Turin, et dont l'un porte l'inscription grecque suivante: ΚΑΛΑΗΤΙΚ ΥΙΟC EKNOYAC, *Calætis fils d'Ecnoua*.

Mais une autre assertion de M. Lebolo a été vivement contestée par un autre savant. Je crois aussi qu'elle ne peut qu'être erronée, et cette erreur jetera du doute sur l'exactitude des autres détails communiqués par M. Lebolo, tant qu'on ne les aura pas vérifiés par d'autres rapprochemens ou d'autres témoignages formuels. Ce voyageur prétendait que le grand papyrus grec de la collection DROVETTI à Turin a été trouvé dans la momie de *Soter*. C'est M. PETRONI qui a démontré toute l'inexactitude de cette assertion (*e*).

(*a*) BELSONI, *Operations in Egypt*. 1. édit. p. 566; DE MONTULÉ *Voy. en Amérique, en Italie etc.* II. p. 451.

(*b*) LETROUXE, *Observat. sur les Représ. Zodiac*, p. 27.

(*c*) CAILLIAUD, *Voy. à Méroé IV*, p. 20.

(*d*) Cidessus p. 58, not. a.

(*e*) S. QUINTINO. I. I. p. 8, 44; PETRONI, *Pap. Taur.* I. p. 16 sqq.

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de la même forme que celles découvertes dans le tombeau, l'une de *Phaminis fille d'Héraclius*; l'autre de *Sensaos et Thauthi sa soeur*. Ces deux caisses renferment les trois momies qu'indiquent leurs inscriptions (a). Il n'existe pas de témoignage formel que ces deux caisses proviennent du même tombeau, mais toutes les circonstances rendent cette conjecture probable. ci 3

M. CAILLIAUD une momie, de *Pétéménoph, fils de l'archonte Soter* (b). (*cabinet de la bibliothèque du roi à Paris.*)

M. D'ANASTASY une momie, de *Sensaos, fille de l'archonte Soter*, qui fait le sujet du présent article. (*musée de Leide.*)

Enfin M. Lebolo en a conservé une intacte, forme ordinaire des momies, (à Trieste en 1824; mais elle a peut-être passé depuis dans quelque musée.)

Total 11

différents numéros, dont l'existence peut être considérée comme assez bien prouvée. Les momies que contenaient tous ces sarcophages y sont encore jointes, ou du moins on sait ce qu'elles sont devenues: à une seule caisse près, (celle de *Senchonsis* qui a péri sur mer) dont la momie n'est point expressément mentionnée. Il sera utile aussi de faire dans les musées des perquisitions ultérieures pour découvrir, si peut-être quelques-unes des momies mentionnées ont été enfermées dans de doubles caisses, dont l'intérieure aurait été enlevée et vendue séparément.

que de la caisse de cette momie (Journ. d. Savans. Avril 1824), dit seulement avoir reçu la copie de cette inscription d'une personne qui avait été à même de voir une belle collection d'antiquités égyptiennes récemment apportées en Europe. Cette collection peut très-bien être celle de M. DE MINUTOLI; la personne désignée peut l'avoir vue au Levant. — Au reste, M. DE QUINTINO a publié également l'inscription toute entière p. 19. et M. LEXERRE a répondu aux observations de M. R. ROCHETTTE: Obs. sur les représ. Zod. p. 24, not. 5.

(a) LEVZOW endr. cité. p. 220; TOELKE, dans le Voyage du Gén. MINUTOLI p. 450. (Id. allem.).

(b) V. ci-dessus p. 59, not. 5. Cette momie a été ouverte à Paris par M. CAILLIAUD, ainsi qu'il le rapporte lui-même en détail (*Voy. à Méroë IV*, p. 9). Mais comme les journaux du temps ont fait mention de plusieurs momies, sur lesquelles M. CAILLIAUD a fait la même opération (v. p. ex. le *Bull. de l'Égypte Hist.* I, p. 48), il est bon d'avertir que M. CAILLIAUD n'en possédait pas d'autres qui provinssent du tombeau dont nous parlons. (*Voyez Voy. à Méroë IV*, p. 20).

new pgs.

Avant de passer à l'énumération des dépouilles de momies que des *individus certains ou des témoignages formels* font reconnaître comme appartenant aux individus renfermés dans ce tombeau commun, il convient de mentionner une momie du musée de Leide, qui pourrait bien avoir fait partie de la même collection, quoiqu'aucun témoignage écrit ne la rapporte à celle commune origine.

C'est une momie sans caisse (*N° 9 des momies d'ANASTASY*), enveloppée d'une toile, dont le dessus est plâtré et peint à l'effigie du défunt, laquelle représente un homme barbu, vêtu, à ce qu'il paraît, du *pallium* grec (*a*), et portant des anneaux aux doigts. Cette momie offre le plus de vraisemblance d'avoir fait partie du même tombeau qui contenait celle de *Sensaos*, d'abord parce que, dans le catalogue de M. d'ANASTASY, elle est placée immédiatement après celle-ci, et qu'il paraît que bien souvent dans ce catalogue les objets de même nature reçus ensemble ont été décrits conjointement (*b*); en second lieu, parce que la peinture du défunt ressemble beaucoup au *faire de la peinture* qu'on voit sur la *toile* et les *portraits* du musée CHARLES X que je décrirai bientôt.

Quant aux dépouilles de momies qui ont la même origine, je crois que plus on connaîtra de particularités relativement à ce tombeau, plus les recherches deviendront faciles.

M. DE S. QUINTINO rapporte à cette origine trois masques de momies (en cartonnage?) dont l'un porte le nom de *Calaëtis*.

M. CHAMPOULLIOU, qui a vu l'Égypte, qui peut avoir des rapports fréquents avec les entrepreneurs de fouilles dans ce pays classique, et qui peut-être a dépêcé lui-même les momies, dont les débris ornent les différentes armoires du musée CHARLES X (*c*), sera bien en état maintenant de vé-

(*a*) On possède un type fort utile pour juger du *pallium* tel qu'il était porté en Égypte, dans la statue d'un Rhéteur trouvée à Alexandrie, et figurée dans l'*Amalthee* de M. BÖTTICER III. p. 449. (*Comp. Bull. de l'Égypte. Hist.* II. p. 103).

(*b*) Cette observation est fondée sur plusieurs sections, surtout sur celle qui contient les papyrus.

(*c*) Dans ce musée on ne s'attache pas à conserver les momies elles-mêmes; aussi n'y en a-t-on que trois plus ou moins intègres (*Notice — N. N° 1, 2, 5*). Les conservateurs des musées de Turin et de Berlin sont jusqu'ici d'un autre avis. (*Voyez a. QUINTINO, Lex. Arch. II. p. 10; LEXAZOW, dans l'Amalthee de M. BÖTTICER III. p. 220. not.*) Quant à ce qu'on peut, ou non, espérer de l'ouverture des momies, les observations les plus instructives à ce sujet se trouvent consignées dans le *Catalogue des antiquités de M. PASSALACQUA*. (p. 170, 184, 185 etc.); c'est

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rifier ou de confirmer les renseignemens qu'il a publiés sur les dépouilles que contient le musée CHARLES X et même les conjectures que j'ose proposer à ce sujet. Le premier de ces objets consiste dans une momie d'homme, que M. CHAMPOILLION décrit de la manière suivante (*a*): « Ce corps embaumé est celui d'un Grec appartenant à une famille établie à Thèbes à l'époque de l'empereur Hadrien. Le portrait de cet individu peint à l'encaustique, est fixé sur les bandelettes qui recouvrent la face. » Je classe cette momie parmi les *dépouilles*, parce qu'elle est privée de son cercueil. Il est clair par les renseignemens que communique l'auteur de la *Notice* et que les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques n'ont pu lui offrir, que cette momie doit provenir du tombeau en question.

Le second objet est une *toile de momie*, représentant en peinture de grandeur naturelle un homme appartenant, à ce que l'on m'a dit, à la famille de Soter. Il est vêtu de la *toge romaine*, et environné d'attributs égyptiens. Cette toile n'est pas encore portée sur la *Notice du musée*. Elle peut avoir été défaite par *Melleboto*, de sorte qu'elle aurait passé au musée CHARLES X avec la seconde collection SALV ou avec la seconde collection PROVETTI. Dans ce cas le vêtement que porte le personnage indiqué me le ferait considérer comme l'archonte Soter lui-même, revêtu de l'habillement de magistrat Romain. Mais la toile peut aussi avoir été enlevée par M. CHAMPOILLION à la momie que je viens de mentionner.

Il faut ajouter à cela *cinq portraits peints à l'encaustique*, représentant des individus de la même famille de Soter, comme l'affirme positivement M. CHAMPOILLION (*b*). Je crois avoir où dire que les noms de ces indi-

le manuel le plus complet qui existe pour connaître l'origine ordinaire des objets qui composent un musée égyptien. Pour moi je pense que, puisque les momies une fois ouvertes sont perdues, il vaut mieux en général les conserver intactes. On se forme mieux une idée des objets que l'on voit *in concreto*, le principal et les accessoires étant réunis ensemble et dans leur état naturel, que lorsque les divers détails sont isolés; et qu'il faut suppléer au défaut de liaison par une explication écrite, et qui ne parle pas aux yeux. Quant au besoin de connaître les parties qui forment l'ensemble de la momie avec ses accessoires, MM. les entrepreneurs de fouilles et les Arabes ont bien soin de briser assez de momies pour envoyer largement à nos musées toutes les espèces de menus objets que l'on peut découvrir dans l'intérieur.

(*a*) *Notice du Musée CHARLES X* — N. N° 5.

(*b*) *Notice*, p. 27—21.

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individus se trouvent écrits sur le revers des *planches de cèdre* sur lesquel. les ils sont peints.

Enfin M. CHAMPOILLION décrit trois papyrus hiératiques, trouvés sur deux individus de cette famille puissante. Deux de ces papyrus se rapportent à un individu nommé *Soter, fils de Baphor*, que l'un des manuscrits décrit comme un enfant de 4 ans. Le troisième appartient à *Cornélius fils d'Isédjer*, que M. CHAMPOILLION croit être *Cornélius Pollius*, père de l'archonte *Soter* (*a*).

Nous sommes assez avancés maintenant pour tracer le tableau généalogique des personnes qui étaient ensevelies dans le tombeau gréco-égyptien, découvert en présence de MM. HENNIER et GREY et vendu en détail, à ce qu'il paraît, par *M. Lebolo*. Pour plus de clarté je répéterai dans une note les filiations qu'expriment leurs diverses inscriptions, et sur lesquelles notre tableau est basé (*b*). Vous verrez, Monsieur, que je n'ai en que quelques légères additions à faire à l'esquisse de ce tableau commencée par vous-même. Les lettres capitales distinguent les personnes dont la momie ou le sarcophage existe encore.

(a) Dans le *Voyage de M. CAZILLIAUD à Méroé*. IV. p. 25. — Mais selon la *Notice du Musée CHAUZEL* X (T. 21, 22, 23), ce dernier manuscrit aurait été découvert sur la même momie que l'un des deux manuscrits précédents qui portent le nom de *Soter, fils de Baphor*. Je suis porté à croire que ceci n'est qu'une erreur de rédaction.

(b) Σωτῆς Χορηγίου Ηόλιον — μητέρας Ολούρας. M. D'ARVILLAS a lu le nom hiéroglyphique de la mère *Athor-Phimout* ou *Athor-Philam*. (Notes sur l'*Essai de M. SALZI* p. 230. a.)

Πενερεντοφε, ο και Αρμονος, Σωτῆς Χορηγίου (Ηόλιον), — μητέρας Κλεοπάτρας, Αρμονο. Le surnom de Gennéticid a été trouvé par M. CHAMPOILLION. V. ci-dessus p. 36.

Σεργεας Σωτῆς Χορηγίου; — μητέρας Κλεοπάτρας, της και Καρδανης, Αρμονο. Τριαντ Ηρακλεου Σωτῆρος, — μητέρας Χαρακοντος. Θαρροντ Ηρακλεου.

Ajoutes:

Σενχαννοε, γ και Σακκαλες, προσθυτηρα, Πιανος.

Χενεων, και Τηνθ, αβερη.

Πενερεντοφε νοτ Περηρος. M. D'ARVILLAS a lu dans l'inscription hiéroglyphique, ayant pour mère Tacul, (Lez. Arch. II. p. 28—31).

Isédjer (ou *Isé-oéri*) femme de ...

Cornélius Pollius — ép. *Philout* (ou *Athor-Phimout*.)

(papyrus au muse
CHARLES X [?])

SOTER CORNÉLIUS POLLIUS — ép. *Cléopatre f. d'Ammonius.*

(l'archonte) (nommée aussi *Candace*,
(sarcoph. et papyrus: musés britann., et *Gennetid.*)
toile avec peinture: mus. CHARL. X [?].)

Héraclius Soter — ép. *Sarapout.*

TPHOUT

PHAMIKIS.

{ momie (?) et sar-
coph.: mus. brit.) { momie et sarcoph.
soph.: mus. de Berlin.)

PÉTÉMÉNOPH

{ nommée aussi *Ammonius*, } { momie, sarcoph.
(sarcoph. et pap.: cab. et pap.: mus. de
d'aut. à Paris.) Leide.)

SENSAOS

Les dates connues des décès de ces personnes et de *Senchonsis* se rapportent toutes à l'espace de temps qui comprend les règnes de *Trajan*, d'*Hadrien* et d'*Antonin le Pieux*.

Reste maintenant à classer les individus suivants dont les filiations ne se rattachent pas aux noms connus:

SENCHONSIS, nommée aussi *Sapaulis*, fille aînée de *Picôt*.

(momie et sarcophage perdus: DE MONTOLL.)

SENSAOS avec sa soeur *TKAUTHI* (enfants.)

(momie, et sarcophage combiné: mus. de Berlin.)

PÉTÉMÉNOPH, fils de *Pabot* (enfant). (momie et sarcophage: mus. de Turin.)

Soter, fils de *Baphor* (enfant). (deux papyrus: mus. CHARL. X) avec les deux autres momies de Turin, et celle de *M. Lebolo*, qui toutes trois sont dépourvues d'inscriptions, et qui ajoutées à celles du tableau dont les noms sont imprimés en lettres capitales, complètent le nombre de *mense* précédemment trouvé. Au reste, comme l'a déjà remarqué M. DE S. QUINTINO (a), je ne crois pas, qu'il soit absolument nécessaire de supposer que tous les individus trouvés dans ce tombeau sont de la même famille.

Quant au reste des dépouilles de momies, attribuées par les conservateurs

(a) *Lezioni Archeol.* II. p. 11.

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de musées aux individus tirés du même caveau, la momie, la toile et surtout les cinq portraits du musée CHARLES X sont les seules pièces (a), desquelles j'attende avec confiance quelque lumière sur ce point. Les trois masques que M. de S. QUINTINO rapporte à cette même origine et dont l'un porte le nom de *Calaëtis*, pourraient fort bien ne pas en être, puisqu'ici cet auteur n'invoque pas le témoignage de M. Lebolo. Il en est de même des huit masques d'individus gréco-égyptiens du musée CHARLES X (b); des tessères de momies grecques (c) et de plusieurs momies intactes gréco-égyptiennes soit du musée de Leide (d), soit de la collection PASSALAC-

QUA

(a) Dans une *Lettre sur les antiquités égyptiennes en France* (insérée au nouveau Journal de Philologie, Archéol. und Kunst L. 1; p. 191) M. SARTORIUS affirme que l'on voit au cabinet d'antiques de la bibliothèque du roi à Paris la momie d'un Grec du temps d'Hadrien, dont le fils repose à Turin, et la femme à Naples. Il est probable que M. SARTORIUS, écrivant à mémoire, s'est trompé et qu'il a cru que le Pétéménoph de Turin était le fils du Pétéménoph de Paris. Quant à l'assertion relative au musée de Naples, je n'ai aucun moyen de la vérifier.

(b) Notice du musée CHARLES X. P. 14, 15, 16.

(c) Le musée CHARLES X en contient sept (Notice Z. 21 à 27), dont les inscriptions ne sont pas publiées. Il y en a deux à Leide, l'une offrant le nom de *Sarapion, fils d'Hermaicus Chrysocerius*, l'autre celui d'une femme, *Thanis*.

(d) Il est nécessaire de donner à cette occasion un aperçu des trois momies de Leide, qui, outre celle sans caisse précédemment décrite (p. 44), portent tous les caractères attribués par M. PASSALACQUA aux momies gréco-égyptiennes, et sont également annoncées comme telles dans le catalogue de M. D'ANASTASI.

N° 10 des momies d'ANASTASI. Momie enveloppée de toile *sans peinture*: les bras et les jambes entourées séparément. Caisse peinte, imitant les contours du corps, mais d'un travail fort inférieur. Cette caisse s'ouvrant en-dehors, de sorte que le couvercle ou la partie supérieure forme presque le corps entier de la caisse. Telle est la construction de tous les cercueils que d'autres raisons font regarder comme gréco-égyptiens. (Catal. de PASSALACQUA p. 187, et les cercueils de Sensoe et des deux Pétéménoph).

(N° 24). Momie et caisse ressemblant sous tous les rapports essentiels à la précédente.

Notez que, si les deux caisses précédentes avaient appartenu au tombeau en question, l'on devrait supposer qu'elles ont été renfermées chacune dans une deuxième caisse carrée, laquelle aura passé à un autre musée.

(N° 25). Momie et caisse inférieures encore pour l'exécution aux deux précédentes, mais qui en diffèrent cependant sous plusieurs rapports. La caisse et son couvercle sont formés, à ce que l'on croirait, chacun d'un seul morceau de bois creusé à une égale profondeur.

Le musée possède en outre un sarcophage entier et des fragments de deux ou trois autres, en bois, de forme carrée, et non couverts de stuc ni de peintures. Mais ce n'est pas la une raison suffisante pour les considérer comme grecs, nonobstant leur conformité avec le cercueil de Pétéménoph à Turin. La bande de beaux hiéroglyphes peints sur le couvercle de la caisse, et les

hi-

qua à Berlin (*a*), soit enfin d'autres musées qui en renferment sans doute quelques-unes.

Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur, de vous avoir fait attendre si long-tems la description ultérieure de la caisse de *Sensaos* qui doit vous intéresser singulièrement, accoutumé comme vous êtes à cultiver les sciences pour elles-mêmes, et non pour y trouver un système quelconque.

La ressemblance de la momie de *Sensaos* avec celle de son frère *Pétéménoph* se fait remarquer dans l'extérieur comme dans l'intérieur de la caisse, et même dans les enveloppes. Les principales scènes de l'extérieur des deux caisses sont les mêmes; mais il y a à chaque côté de la nôtre une scène de plus. L'intérieur de l'une est comme un *fac-simile* de l'autre; mais dans le zodiaque aucun signé n'est déplacé.

Pour mieux suivre les détails, parcourons rapidement les planches de M. CAILLIAUD.

Pl. LXVII. Extérieur de la caisse: n. 1. couverole (b). Les adorations d'*Osiris Pétéménoph* de la bande à droite sont les mêmes; mais devant cette scène, c'est-à-dire vers les pieds, on voit la scène de la *pesée de l'âme*, avec *Thoth*, et l'hippopotame: ensuite deux des gardiens de la demeure d'*Osiris* dont il y a plusieurs sur la caisse de *Pétéménoph*, mais qui ne sont pas assis, comme dans la peinture de cette caisse, dans des espèces de portes, ou édifices. Entre ces deux est le serpent ailé à jambes humaines, que la même caisse offre également. La bande en-dessous qui ne contient que des croix ansées à bras, est encore conforme au même modèle.

A la bande du côté gauche l'adoration d'*Osiris* assimilé à *Phtha-Socari* à tête d'épervier, est encore parcellaire à celle de la caisse de *Pétéménoph*; mais devant cette scène, vers les pieds de la momie, on voit celle de l'embaumement, entourée de deux figures agenouillées, les mains élevées, que M. CHAMPOILLON qualifie ordinairement d'*Isis* et de *Nephthys* pleurant la mort d'*O-*

hiéroglyphes sculptés en creux sur les fragments rapportent assez probablement ces pièces à une meilleure époque de l'art égyptien.

Au reste, j'espère bientôt m'occuper de l'étude des noms propres hiéroglyphiques écrits sur tous ces objets: les résultats de cette étude répandront apparemment quelque lumière sur notre sujet.

(a) Catalogue de PASSALACQUA, N°. 1544, 1547. — comparez p. 208.

(b) CHAMPOILLON dans le Voy. de CAILL. IV. p. 45.
DEUXIÈME LETTRE.

DEUXIÈME LETTRE.

siris (a), et des quatre divinités soi-disant canopiques, ou génies de l'Amont debout. Suit un des gardiens et le serpent ailé comme dessus;

Pl. LXVIII. n. 1, 2. côtés droit et gauche (b). Les barques conduites par les chacals et les cynocéphales sont les mêmes que celles de la planche de M. CAILLIAUD. Seulement celle du soleil avec Ammon se trouve au côté gauche, et celle de la lune avec l'œil du soleil se voit à droite; et il y a quelques légères différences dans le nombre et dans le choix des divinités qui se trouvent des deux côtés devant la croix ansée et le préteur Nilomètre. En considérant ces variations qui ne sont d'aucune importance, on ne peut s'empêcher de croire qu'elles sont l'effet du caprice du peintre, de l'espace que son tableau prenait sous le travail, ou de quelque autre circonstance fortuite.

Des deux *bouts* de l'extérieur de la caisse, *pl. LXVII. n. 2, 3 (c)*, celui des pieds ne présente aucune différence, mais bien celui de la tête. Au lieu du scarabée dans une barque il y a deux scènes pareilles entre elles et adossées: représentant toutes deux une figure agenouillée sur un piédestal, sur les mains de laquelle une divinité, à tête d'épervier, dans l'une des scènes, et à tête d'ibis dans l'autre, verse une liqueur. Devant chacune de ces figures agenouillées il y a un œil. Je n'ai pas besoin de dire qu'une pareille scène est très-fréquente sur les momies et les papyrus. Nous laisserons à M. CHAMPOILLION le soin de nous instruire si l'usage de cette scène sur la momie de *Sensaos*, au lieu de la barque du soleil, peut être relatif aux différentes circonstances des défunt, et notamment à la différence du sexe. Nous rencontrerons tout à l'heure une variété notable provenant de cette dernière cause.

Quant à l'intérieur de la caisse, j'ai déjà indiqué le rapport intime qu'il a avec celle du frère de la défunte. Cette conformité existe également au-dessous (*Pl. LXVI. n. 2.*) (d), aux deux *bouts* (*ib. n. 4, 5.*) (e), et sur l'intérieur du couvercle (*Pl. LXIX.*) (f). Cette circonstance formant la partie la plus instructive de l'objet qui nous occupe, j'y reviendrai quand j'aurai parlé de la momie même.

(a) *Notice du musée CHARLES X.* — A. 620, 654.

(b) *CHAMP. Voyage*, n^o. p. 50.

(c) *CHAMP.* n^o. p. 45.

(d) *CHAMP.* n^o. p. 49.

(e) *CHAMP.* n^o. p. 53.

(f) *CHAMP.* n^o. p. 51.

Kerr. 17

Seulement j'ajouteraï ici une observation concernant les quatre animaux qui environnent la tête de la déesse. M. CHAMPOILLION les nomme *scarabées à tête de serpent* (*a*). On me permettra de remarquer, contre ce célèbre antiquaire, que dans les peintures de scarabées sur la caisse de *Pétéménoph* (*Pl. LXVII. n. 2, 3.*) l'insecte est bien caractérisé par la tête, le corselet et les élytres, tandis que les animaux dont il s'agit ont le dos dessiné de la même manière conventionnelle qui sert à représenter l'écailler de l'écrevisse du zodiaque et à peu près comme le dos du scorpion. Ils ressemblent même tellement à l'écrevisse qu'il n'y a que la tête qui distingue ces animaux. Je ne saurais y voir autre chose que des *tortues*, malgré la longueur du cou, qui est plus long chez quelques espèces de tortues que chez d'autres. Je ne me rappelle pas que M. CHAMPOILLION ait donné une explication du sens mythologique de cet animal, quoiqu'il le représente dans son *tableau général*: cette signification peut être entièrement différente de l'image composée d'une figure humaine à tête de tortue, qui se rencontre parmi les peintures du tombeau d'*Ousirei I.* découvert par BELZONI (*b*), et dans celle du tombeau de *Rhamsès-Meiamoun*, figure que M. CHAMPOILLION prend pour le symbole de la *paresse* (*c*). Mais j'ose encore conjecturer que le nombre de *quatre* que forment ces reptiles dans les deux caisses de momie, se rapporte, comme les *quatre têtes de bœuf*, les *quatre serpents* et autres combinaisons de symboles d'*Ammon* (*d*), soit aux *quatre éléments*, soit aux *quatre parties de l'espace des cieux*, et cette idée me paraît ici fortifiée par la place qu'occupent ces animaux autour de la tête de la déesse *du ciel*, et autour du *soleil* qui répand ses rayons sur la déesse.

La momie de *Pétéménoph*, *pl. LXX*, quant à la forme, la grosseur, le poids, la disposition des bandelettes, et l'exécution des peintures, ressemble à celle de Leide. Mais *Pétéménoph* est assimilé à *Osiris* ou du moins cou-

(a) CHAMP. utt. p. 52.

(b) Voy. du Gén. de MONTOLI pl. XXI. n. 2. — Le musée CHARLES X possède une tortue en or, « trouvée en Égypte, mais d'un travail, » selon M. CHAMPOILLION, « qui ne paraît point égyptien. » Notice — K. 1527. Je n'ai pu voir cette pièce à cause de l'absence de M. CHAMPOILLION.

(c) Bull. de VERUSA. Hist. T. XIII. p. 160.

(d) Voyez 1^e Lettre, p. 51.

vert d'une peinture représentant ce dieu avec une mitre à cornes de bœuf, un fléau et un crochet : ce dieu est vêtu de la même sorte de robe à réseaux que porte la déesse du ciel *Tpē ou Tiphé*, pl. LXIX. (a), et qu'*O-siris* lui-même porte dans d'autres monumens d'une exécution soignée. Je cite à ce propos un superbe rituel funéraire de la collection *ANASTASY*, de 57 pieds de longueur, et le rituel du musée *CHARLES X* qui est plus précieux que le nôtre pour la matière, étant écrit sur *papyrus royal*, mais qui est bien moins considérable (b). Au contraire, la toile peinte qui enveloppe *Sensaos*, représente un costume de femme. Ce costume à la vérité est le même que celui de la déesse *Netphé*, mère d'*Osiris*, qui se trouve aussi sur le dessous de la caisse (pl. LXVI. n. 2.) (c), la coiffure et la position des bras pendant le long du corps lui ressemblent également. La seule différence qu'il y ait, mais qui paraît peu importante, c'est que les bandes horizontales alternées de rouge, de vert etc., qui, chez cette déesse, ne forment qu'une sorte de tablier jusqu'aux genoux, descendent, dans la peinture de la momie même, jusqu'au bas de la robe, et par conséquent jusqu'aux pieds. Mais comme ni la légende entière de *Netphé*, ni le vase, qui caractérise quelquefois tout seul cette déesse, ne se trouvent ajoutés à cette peinture, je crois que c'est la défunte elle-même dont nous trouvons ici le portrait.

Les divinités dans les compartimens des deux côtés de la figure principale sont assez ressemblantes à celles de la momie de *Pétéménoph*, mais il est difficile d'en indiquer déjà tous les détails, la momie n'étant pas dépouillée de ses bandelettes extérieures. Nous remettons cette indication à un examen ultérieur. Des deux côtés de la tête, au lieu d'un oeil dans une barque, il y a un serpent mitré à jambes humaines : cette différence tient peut-être à celle de la figure principale.

Sur la poitrine il y a un scarabée ailé de cuir ou d'un morceau de caytonnage séparé. Il n'est point fait mention de couronne appartenant à cette

(a) *CHAMP.* vta. p. 51.

(b) *CHAMP.* *Notice du Musée CHARLES X.* — T. 13. Je suppose que le papyrus de Leide, cité dans le texte, est le premier en grandeur après celui de Tarin, qui a 66 pieds, et que décrit M. de A. QUINTINO, *Ley. Archæol.* II, p. 68.

(c) *CHAMP.* vta. p. 49, 50.

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momie. Comme le papyrus y attenant a été conservé, il est probable que, si la couronne avait fait partie des ornemens de la momie de *Sensaos*, elle nous serait également parvenue. Parmi les trois individus grecs, trouvés dans le même tombeau, et conservés au musée de Turin, et les trois autres dont ce musée ne possède que les masques funéraires, et que M. *D'E S. QUINTINO* rapporte à la même origine, les uns, même un enfant et une femme, sont ornés de couronnes, tandis que les autres en sont dépourvus (*a*).

Mais c'est surtout le portrait de la jeune *Sensaos*, qui constitue la différence entre les peintures funéraires de sa momie et celle du jeune homme. Quoique j'aie avancé dans ma première lettre qu'en général les funérailles rappelaient le type de celles d'*Osiris*, il ne paraît pas cependant que les personnes du sexe féminin soient jamais représentées avec les attributs de ce dieu (*b*).

Ainsi préparés, abordons ensemble la question principale : celle de savoir si le déplacement d'un signe dans le zodiaque de *Pétéménoph* peut provenir d'un arrangement exprès et significatif, quand une pareille circonstance ne se rencontre pas dans le zodiaque de sa sœur, morte *sept* ans avant lui. Les deux caisses sont tellement semblables dans l'intérieur, comme le démontrera la comparaison de nos planches respectives et comme je m'en suis convaincu à Paris, qu'on dirait qu'elles sont l'ouvrage du même artiste-prêtre, et que peut-être il les avait préparées d'avance, laissant de la place pour les noms. L'espace qui s'est écoulé entre les deux décès est trop considérable pour que l'on ose supposer que les caisses aient été faites en même temps pour les corps des personnes que l'on y a mises. Dès lors aussi on ne peut pas supposer que la caisse de *Pétéménoph* ait été copiée d'après celle de *Sensaos*, depuis longtemps enterrée, mais que l'une et l'autre ont été faites d'après un modèle ordinaire.

Vous avez conclu, Monsieur, du déplacement du signe du capricorne sur la momie de *Pétéménoph*, que le zodiaque dont il fait partie servait à indi-

(*a*) *S. QUINTINO*, *Lex. Archeol.* II. p. 8—11, 43.

(*b*) Voyer la note de M. *BAXXES* sur l'*Essai* de M. *SALT*. p. 8. (p. 14. trad. Fr.) Celle observation négative est confirmée par toutes les momies du musée de Leide.

diquer le thème natal du défunt (*a*). Vous avez prouvé, indépendamment de cela, que les représentations du ciel sur les anciens monumens égyptiens ne sont que mythologiques ou symboliques (*b*); mais que tous les vrais zodiaques d'Égypte ont été exécutés à l'époque Romaine (*c*), et vous avez tiré parti du zodiaque de la caisse de *Pétéménoph* et de celui qu'on disait exister sur une autre caisse de la même famille, pour donner plus de poids à une conjecture qui m'a paru fondée (*d*), tant que je ne connaissais pas la momie de *Sensaos*, savoir, que ces monumens zodiacaux sont tous entièrement, ou principalement, astrologiques.

Dans toutes ces graves questions d'antiquité et d'histoire, vous avez cru, Monsieur, indispensable de ne vous servir que de données purement archéologiques. Permettez-moi de me renfermer dans le même cercle d'arguments, que je crois, comme vous, devoir seul entrer en considération.

D'abord il est certain que les peintures des deux caisses de *Sensaos* et de *Pétéménoph* sont d'un style infiniment inférieur aux momies ordinaires, et plus que négligé. Nous avons déjà vu (*e*) indépendamment de tout système, que la différence du nombre des divinités sur les deux côtés extérieurs des deux caisses est un résultat du hasard, ou du manque d'espace. D'un autre côté la bissection des deux zodiaques est la même. La bande à gauche de la déesse en allant de la tête vers les pieds, commence par le signe du lion, l'autre bande à droite qui va des pieds vers la tête, commence par le verseau. Vous nous avez appris, Monsieur, que la bissection à tel ou tel signe est indifférente pour l'explication du monument sur lequel le zodiaque se trouve représenté (*f*); j'oserais même croire que, telle que nous la voyons ici, elle n'est que l'imitation d'un type établi par l'usage. Dans le zodiaque de *Pétéménoph* le dernier signe à gauche de la déesse, celui du capricorne, est placé hors du zodiaque à l'autre bout du couvercle; cependant cette bande entière de cinq signes remplit tout l'espace cor-

(*a*) *Obs. sur les Représ. Zod.* p. 53.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 61.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 96.

(*d*) C'est dans ce sens que j'en ai rendu compte dans le III^e T. 1^e. P. du journal Hollandais, intitulé *Antiquités*, que je publiais alors avec M. WESTENDORF.

(*e*) Voir ci-dessus p. 50.

(*f*) *Obs. sur les Représ. Zod.* p. 105 suiv.

Nœv *pg.*

respondant à celui des *six* signes de l'autre côté. Dans la caisse de *Sensaos* les deux bandes de *six* signes sont en entier: le capricorne est au bout de la première bande. Si l'on avait connu et étudié en Europe les deux caisses à la fois, n'aurait-on pas été conduit naturellement par la comparaison à croire, que l'intention de deux zodiaques tellement ressemblans était absolument la même; que dans des objets de trafic, apparemment préparés d'avance et d'après un type ordinaire, il était difficile de supposer quelque intention de varier les peintures principales selon les besoins de chaque individu; et que ce n'est que *faute d'espace* à l'une des deux bandes et par maladresse, que l'artiste avait déplacé de cette manière le *dernier* signe de son zodiaque? Je ne perds pas de vue, Monsieur, que vous avez trouvé, que ce signe déplacé, celui du *capricorne*, devait être précisément celui sous lequel *Pétéménoph* était né (*a*). En laissant intact ce calcul, dont je ne suis pas en état d'apprécier le plus ou moins de justesse, j'oserais vous prier de prendre en considération, si cette coïncidence ne pourrait pas être l'effet du hasard? Que de systèmes archéologiques, que l'on croyait solidement établis, ont été détruits parce qu'ils ne reposaient que sur une ressemblance entièrement fortuite de certains objets! Si le signe déplacé du zodiaque de *Pétéménoph* était pris au *milieu* de l'une des deux bandes, ou si le déplacement se rencontrait également dans le zodiaque de *Sensaos*, soit qu'il enlevât un signe du milieu d'une bande, soit que l'on eût fait différemment la bisection du zodiaque pour pouvoir déplacer précisément un signe de l'une des deux *extrémités*; un pareil déplacement ou même une pareille accumulation d'exemples ne pourrait être accidentelle, et il faudrait leur supposer une intention formelle de la part de l'artiste. Mais l'exemple de *Pétéménoph* est unique jusqu'ici; une autre caisse, celle de *Sensaos*, qui, en jugeant *a priori*, devrait offrir la même circonstance, ne l'offre pas; au contraire, il est possible d'expliquer cette particularité par des raisons qui tiennent de l'art et pour ainsi dire de la mécanique; ne croiriez-vous pas avec moi, Monsieur, qu'il serait prudent, jusqu'à nouvelle confirmation, d'éviter la voie d'interprétation significative et symbolique?

Vous sentez, Monsieur, que ces doutes sur lesquels j'ose appeler votre

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 102.

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attention et provoquer votre jugement, ne reposent que sur l'expression précise de telle ou telle donnée astrologique dans les zodiaques égyptiens; et qu'ils ne contredisent nullement votre doctrine, que tous ces zodiaques sont de l'époque romaine, et que leur multiplication parmi les monumens de ces siècles tient aux croyances à l'astrologie judiciaire, lesquelles, entées pour ainsi dire sur les antiques systèmes mythologiques de ce peuple, prirent à cette époque un essor extraordinaire. Je n'ai donc nul besoin de me défendre du soupçon de vouloir faire revivre des systèmes arbitraires sur la chronologie, résutés d'une manière préemptoire pour vous, Monsieur, et par le système hiéroglyphique de M. CHAMPOILLION, appliqué au zodiaque de Dendéra.

Mais quelle sera donc la raison du placement d'un zodiaque dans les caisses de momies? Voici, Monsieur, les idées que je me suis formées à ce sujet, d'après le système mythologique de M. CHAMPOILLION et les dernières découvertes de ce savant en Égypte, mises en rapport avec vos observations sur l'origine de l'astrologie.

Le nom de *Tphé* ou *Tipé*, *la dame du ciel*, attribué à la figure principale des couvercles de nos deux caisses de momie, que rendent déjà assez probable les 24 personnages qui l'environnent, et qui paraissent être des *heures*, est pleinement confirmé, même aux yeux du spectateur le moins exercé, par une superbe caisse de momie de la collection ANASTASY, d'un travail du meilleur tems. L'on y voit cette même déesse, ayant les bras étendus au-dessus de la tête comme pour couvrir le corps de la momie, et portant sur son propre corps, qui est parsemé d'étoiles, les disques du soleil et de la lune, bien caractérisés: en outre elle est environnée des douze heures du jour et des douze heures de la nuit, avec leurs nombres et légendes hiéroglyphiques (*a*). Il est, pour ainsi dire, hors de doute que l'artiste a voulu figurer le ciel. Or, le zodiaque qui environne le ciel, sur les

cais-

(*a*) Cette caisse, en bois d'une grosseur et d'un poids extraordinaire, est du plus beau travail. Les nombres des heures la rendent éminemment intéressante, puisque ces nombres ne sont pas exprimés sur le magnifique sarcophage en granit de Ramez Meiamoun, conservé au musée CARLUZ, et cité par M. CHAMPOILLION à ce propos (*Voy. de CAILLIAUD à Méroé. IV. p. 52*). Les heures du jour sur notre caisse tiennent un disque de soleil dans les mains; celles de la nuit, une figure d'étoile. Les nombres forment deux séries de douze chacune.

caisses de momie d'un temps postérieur, c'est-à-dire sur celles de la famille de *Soter*, l'archonte de Thèbes, ne figure que comme son accessoire. Aussi longtemps qu'il ne se trouvera point d'autre exemple analogue à celui de la caisse de *Périménoph*, cette explication aura au moins un aussi haut degré de vraisemblance que celle qui y cherche un thème générthliaque. Les tombes royales, à la vérité, (et peut-être les rituels funéraires), présentent des tables des constellations et de leurs influences pour toutes les heures de chaque mois de l'année. C'est, Monsieur, « un souvenir, que M. CHAMPOILLION vous a adressé nommément » de Thèbes^(a), et de cette manière les tableaux générthliaques pourraient sembler être bien antérieurs à l'époque à laquelle vous assignez leur origine. Mais pour autant que j'entende la question, il y a bien loin de la croyance à ces influences, à l'art d'en tirer des pronostics pour le futur, art futile dans lequel consiste l'astrologie judiciaire proprement dite, mais qui suppose des connaissances très-réelles en astronomie, que les anciens n'ont commencé à posséder que vers le commencement de notre ère^(b). En conséquence, autant il est peu probable, que les *tables des constellations* des tombes royales expriment un thème natal, autant il est à croire au contraire, que les zodiaques des sarcophages d'un âge postérieur ne sont qu'une reminiscence, une imitation de ces tables purement mythologiques, mais une imitation métamorphosée d'après les idées plus récentes qui ne dérangeaient pas essentiellement l'ancien corps de doctrine.

(a) CHAMP. 13e lettre d'Egypte. *Bull. de Perrusse. Hist.* T. XIII. p. 138. J'ai hésité de mettre en parallèle avec les textes hiéroglyphiques des tombeaux ceux des rituels funéraires que décrit ailleurs M. CHAMPOILLION (dans le *Voy. de M. CAILLIAUD à Méroé IV.* p. 38, et dans la *Notice du musée chauvins X. T. 9.* vers la fin), quoiqu'il n'y soit pas fait mention expresse des constellations; d'abord parce que ces rituels me semblent n'être en général que des abrégés plus ou moins complets de la doctrine mythologique exposée avec tous ses détails dans les grandes tombes royales; ensuite parce que au moins une des divinités nommées dans cette partie des rituels (le dieu Macedo, gardien des tropiques) est en rapport avec les astres. Aussi M. CHAMPOILLION dit-il en termes assez clairs, que ces parties des rituels « se lient aux systèmes astrologiques». (*Voy.* cité p. 57).

(b) L'ASTROLOGIE, *Oeuvre sur les Représ. Zodiac.* p. 57, 89. Comparez les pp. 68, 76 et 77 note.

TABLEAU DES MONUMENS
I - T A B L E (a)

DES

PAPYRUS ET AUTRES MONUMENS ANCIENS,

CITÉS OU EXPLIQUÉS DANS CET OUVRAGE,

RANGÉS PAR ORDRE DE LIEUX où ILS SE TROUVENT.

~~MONUMENS EXISTANT SUR LES LIEUX~~

A. MONUMENS DIVERS.

~~MONUMENS EXISTANT SUR LES LIEUX~~

ISSAMBOUL.

Inscription grecque. T. Art. 84. not. q.

PSELCHIS (Dakké).

Fragments de poterie. III. 59; T. Art. 77.

PHILAE.

Pétition des prêtres d'Isis. III. 57, 45—47, 49, 64, 89 not. b, 92.

OMBOS.

Inscription du temple. III. 45. not. a.

THÈBES.

Tombes royales. I. 15. not. d, 57.

Tombeau grec. II. 57 suiv.

GRANDE OASIS.

Inscriptions romaines. III. 46.

PANOPOLIS.

Inscription. III. 88.

Environs de ROME.

Peinture d'un bain sur la route de Rome à Frascati. II. 59 a.

(a) La lettre T indique le Tableau.

I. TABLE DES PAPYRUS

(«) Ε Ἀπόλευτα Τ Ι

Temple de Serapis. III. 83. cf. 107.

PAPYRUS-BAS.

Constructions romaines, présumées du Forum Hadriani. III. 84. not. a.
Εγκίνα επιθύμησιν στοιχείων της πόλης.

EDMONDUMENS EXISTANT DANS DIFFÉRENTS MUSÉES

ROMA. — Musée Capitolin.
Inscription Palmyréenne. II. 15. not. c.

— Collection de M. DODWELL.

Lame de plomb. I. 45.

CIL VI 17 Palaip̄ īc̄t̄ḡn̄ O M A
Bronze, représentant une chouette. II. 21, 28.FLORENCE. — Galerie du Grand-Duc.
Bronzes (vêtements d'un pigeon). Ηταβίκε εκείνου μονον

TURIN. — Musée royal.

Autel avec les noms hiéroglyphiques de villes. III. 51.

Autre autel. III. 78.

Momie de Pétéménoph, fils de Pabb. IR. 39, 43, 47, 48 not. a, 55.

Deux momies Gréco-égyptiennes. II. 49, 51, 53.

Trois masques de momies, dont l'un de Calaïtis. II. 41, 44, 48, 53.

MALTZ (?) III. 41. Inscription gnostique des carpocratens de Cyrène. II. 17 et not. b.

PARIS. — Cabinet des antiquités de la bibliothèque du roi.
Momie de Pétéménoph, fils de Pabb. II. 33, 38, 43, 47, 48 not. a, 49,
51 suiv.

Urne provenant du cabinet du prince d'Orange. II. 3.

Angerona, bronze provenant du cabinet du prince d'Orange. II. 2.

Bronze étrusque provenant du cabinet du prince d'Orange. II. 2.

— Musée CHARLES XIII. Collection analogique.
Momie d'homme, N. N°. 5. II. 43, 48.

Huit masques de momies gréco-égyptiennes. II. 14, 15, 16. II. 48.

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LONDRES. — Musée Britannique, empêtrée. 212. 213.

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BERLIN. — Musée égyptien.

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Momie de M. LEBOLE. II. 43, 47.

LA HAYE. — Cabinet royal des médailles et pierres gravées.

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" " XIV. T. Art. 28.
" " XV. T. Art. 1.

PARIS. — Cabinet des antiquités de la bibliothèque du roi.

En général. T. Art. 4 not. e.

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" " pap. démotique. I. 73b, 81a; III. 26, 27 bis, 28,

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" " petit pap. grec. II. 55; III. 7, 9 not. a, 12, 22 not. a,
44, 45; T. Art. 71.

" " grand pap. grec. III. 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 25 suiv., 60,
90; T. Art. 21.

" " pap. Byzantins. III. 34; T. Art. 73.

Coll. CAILLAUD (?) pap. funéraire. I. 15, 16 not. d.

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" " " F. 15. III. 89 not. b.

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16. démotique. T. Art. 60.

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LETTERS TO M. LETRONNE

Caspar Reuvens

LETTERS
TO M. LETRONNE

"Well known works
"Voyage"

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE AND OF THE LEGION OF HONOR,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FRANCE

REGARDING

GREEK AND BILINGUAL PAPYRI
AND SOME OTHER GREEK-EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS
OF THE ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN,

FROM

CASPAR JACOB CHRISTIAN REUVENS,
PROFESSOR OF ARCHEOLOGY AND DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL
INSTITUTE OF THE NETHERLANDS AND OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF SJAELLAND;
CORRESPONDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF THE SCIENCES AT BATAVIA; MEMBER (ETR.)
OF THE ROYAL AVIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON; HONORABLE MEMBER OF THE PHILI-
SOPHICAL SOCIETY OF CAMBRIDGE AND CORRESPONDENT OF THE LABRONICA ACADEMY
OF LIVORNO.

LEIDEN/S. AND J. LUCHTMANS,
UNIVERSITY PRINTERS
1850.

Translated by Todd Lillywhite, March 1983

This mummy, one of the more interesting of the Leiden Museum, is that of a young woman, named Sensaos, who was the sister of Petemenoph, whose mummy is found in the collection of antiquities of the King's library at Paris. It is convenient, sir, to communicate the first notice of this mummy, that the case containing that of Petemenoph, sustains your Obsevations sur les representations zodiacales de l'antiquite. The mummy that I will occupy myself with rests under a zodiac painted on the inside of the lid of the coffin, similar to hers brother's.

In order to better prepare our judgement on this circumstance of the coffin, which should interest you particularly, we will look at the whole of the object in question.

Together with this mummy is a small hieratic manuscript bearing on the outside the name of the deceased.

There exists between the mummy of the museum of Leiden and that of Petemeoph, brought out by M. Caillaud, and described by you and by M. Champollion le jeune, even between the two coffins, a conformity so striking, that it is sufficient for the moment to refer to the engravings of M. Caillaud, which give it in all detail. Our plate 5 shows the zodiac of the lid: this plate will suffice to confirm in part that which I will say about the resemblance of the two coffins (1). I will return later to the small differences that can be noticed between her two coffins. To start out let's examine the inscription and the results that can be gleaned from them about the family of the deceased that is dispersed throughout the museums of Europe. That inscription, in one line, says the following:

(first in Greek and then in french)

Sensaos, having for father Soter Cornelius, and for mother Cleopatra (called also Candace), daughter of Ammonius, is dead, a virgin, at the age of sixteen years, two months, nine days, the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan the lord, the 21 Epiphi.

The inscription is fairly legible: in as much as the day of the month of Epiphi contained here, I give it according to the copy made in Egypt by Mr. D'anastasy, and is passably exact in other reports. It is possible that this part of the inscription has been erased some after the copy was made.

The intimate relationship between Sensaos, Petemenoph, and their parents is not doubtful because their names would not be given otherwise.

But the names of the father and the mother lead us to discover something else that can be joined to that which we already know about these personages.

The coffin of Petemenoph announces his association with (Greek name). This word (Greek word) is not very legible. Therefore, Sir, I could not do other than to adhere to the rendition that you gave.

But following the name Sensaos we read simply (greek name).

You have given the opinion that (greek word) was the name of the father, and (greek word) (royal genitive for (greek word)) the name of the grandfather. In effect there is a Soter, son of Cornelius Pollius: the coffin of his mummy is found in the British Museum. But are we sure that another monument offers another example of the announcement of the name of the relative grandparent of a particular Egyptian? After you had expressed this conjecture the Greek papyri of Torino were published, and both you and I are acquainted with those of Paris and Leiden which are not published. In all these documents I do not recall any example of an association detailed so carefully. It will be

said that these papyri are of the Ptolomean epoch. I agree, but it appears that the customs have varied more under the Romans; and I know of at least two papyri written under the Roman domination, namely: the small casati papyri of the Kings library in Paris, which is from the epoch of the Antonins, and that of Mr. Edmonstone, which is from the time of the Constantines, but neither one or the other presents a good example of it. In the great Greek papyri of Torino which contains the account of a trial, it is argued by the complainants on the one side that if their adversary had wanted to avail themselves of the national form of procedure and appeal before national judges they would have to start by proving who their parents were and who their grandparents were; but it is very probable, as Mr Peyron (1) observes, that this objection doesn't apply except in the trial in which they were involved, and that had to do with a supposed patrimonial ownership. Besides if this custom really existed among the Egyptians, it very likely fell into disuse because of the introduction of the Greek procedures that were then in full force. I would therefore dare to propose that the names (greek) of the coffin of Petemenoph, and those of (greek) of the coffin of Senaos, as three names of their common father Soter Cornelius Pollius, written more briefly on the sarcophagus of Senaos in Leiden as Soter Cornelius, and on his own sarcophagus in the British Museum as Soter. The same in the deed of purchase belonging to Mr. Edmonstone a certain Aurelius Dorotheus son of Serenus speaking himself at the end of the deed says: with the signature of my Dorotheus (2). Seeing that, the name of his father, the grandfather of Senaos and Petemenoph, will remain simply Cornelius Pollius until other monuments show that this individual had some other surname heretofore unknown.

Let's now pass on to the mother's name, Cleopatra. This woman was not necessarily Greek (4), since she also bore the foreign name Candace.

This last circumstance gives place to some secondary observations. Candace was a common name of all the queens and all the kings' mothers in Ethiopia, as it appears from the different reports of sacred and secular authors (5). It is probable that so as to not neglect the particular character of this name it is rendered as its Greek equivalent Cleopatra, which was common if not to all at least to the most part of the queens of Egypt. This example, that of Petemenoph translated in Greek as Ammonius, and a whole host of others taken from the ancient east, render a little less probable the conjecture of Mr. Raoul-Rochette (6), that there is no real relationship between the names Sapaulis and Senchonsis (or Psenchonsis), which are attributed to the same person under a mummy coffin, that we will mention presently.

We already know, because of the explanations of Mr. Champollion, a surname for this Cleopatra, namely the greek word (greek) that is to say mother, who has the faculty to be mother (7), a name that from all the reports could combine with Candace. Nothing has proven that the Egyptians didn't have more than one name or surname. Besides, seeing that an ancient grammarian characterized the name Candace as that of all the mothers of the Ethiopian kings, of whom the sun is considered father, we could suppose that (greek word) is simply a second translation of the Ethiopian word that is usually rendered Cleopatra. This is only a conjecture on which I do not insist, not being able to consult the works of the scholars that concern the Ethiopian language (8).

After some time the Greek mummies appear in the museums of Europe, and their inspection produces certain results, very advantageous for the study of Egyptian archeology. But as, on the other hand, it is

difcult for the scholars, who are occupied with similar research to understand how these objects, that were found together, spread all throughout the different museums of Europe (a circumstance that is important to know). I believe it will be necessary to bring together all of these Greek mummies under one roof, to try to remedy, at least for one class of monuments, this very basic shortcoming common to all collections.

4

ited

Aside from the details that Mr. Cailliaud communicated to you, found concerning the discovery of the mummies of the Soter family two historical reports of which I must presume one is not known to you as it did not appear until after the publication of your Observations sur les representations zodiacales.

The first is found in the Voyage de Sir Frederik Henniker en Egypte, en Nubie etc. Mr. Henniker, who uniquely travelled Egypt only for pleasure, had for his companion on the upper Egypt route a Mr. Grey whose papyri have contributed greatly to advance the study of Demotic writing. Mr. Henniker reports, in his concise and, here lively, style doesn't allow the impression of great veracity (1):

"that he was present at the discovery of a tomb by the Arabs; that they offered to give to him after it was opened for the price of four guineas. It appeared to me, he says, that it was a Greek/Egyptian tomb, the first that had been found until now: it contained three chambers and fourteen coffins; on each one of these coffins was placed a bundle of sycamore branches, that crumble to dust when they are touched; there were also some mummies without coffins resembling hide, and dried in the same manner that is still practiced by the Capucins in Sicily: one of these was right at the entrance, the others were layed on benches; their heads were shorn, and we could see that their beards were shaven after a few days. On the principle coffin was the following inscription [now well known]:

(greek).

The hieroglyphs, adds Mr. Henniker, show the decline of the art. The papyri found in this coffin were not rolled as they normally are, but folded flat: the bodies were wrapped in thirty sheets of linen cloth; the hands and the mouth were gilded; Mr. Henniker copied an inscription from one of the coffins that indicated that it was close to 1650 years old. The tomb also contained some vases of terra cotta of an oblong shape which were empty." *body*

*The papyri were
folded flat*

Mr. Henniker did not say whether he ~~bout~~ the entire tomb, but it is most likely he did not, after the other report that I will give presently. That which is most important to know, and which is constant is that the mummies were divided among different persons. It appears, initially, because of a note from Mr. Henniker himself, that the coffin of the principle mummy Soter (that Mr. Cailliaud says belonged to Mr. Salt) (2), with the papyri that is reported here, was given to the British Museum. Mr. Grey obtained that of Tphout, young daughter of the archon Soter; he made it a gift to Mr Salt, and it passed on (apparently with the first collection of the English Consul) to the British Museum. That is the one from which we get the inscription in Hieroglyphics by Mr. Young and repeated in your Observations (3). In the end Mr. Cailliaud received the mummy of Petemenoph, son of the archon Soter, which is now found in the room of antiquities of the royal library in Paris, and is the subject of your work that I will now cite (4).

The second report from which I will now speak is that of Sir de S. Quintino, Conservator of the Museum of Torino (1); it has been communicated regarding the the mummy Petemenoph son of Pibot, which belongs to this museum, and which came from the great Drovetti collection. May I be permitted to insert this notice since it is not very widespread.

"This mummy," says Mr. De S. Quintino, "was found by a Piedmontese traveller, Mr. Lebolo, in a deep tomb near ancient Thebes, in the zone that is now the arab village of Gourna. The cave resembles in structure the others that are found in great number in this area, except that it appears to be simply hollowed out of the rock or the earth, the floor of pit was constructed in brick, and that the interior walls were entirely covered with paintings".

There were deposited twelve or thirteen sarcophagi in wood, some better some not as well conserved. They all had a square form with a curved lid except one that was in the more common shape, imitating the contours of the human body. They were all provided with inscriptions of the ordinary religious in hieroglyphics, and adorned with symbolical figures of many colors, with the portrait of the defunct. Only one of them still has the exterior appearance of sycamore wood without any trace of plaster or gum or paintings that it might have born at other times. I don't know if this particularity has been observed elsewhere. Also, six or seven of these coffins have short inscriptions in Greek." All of these mummies now received different destinations. The best conserved and the most precious in all the reports, that which I described as not being painted, which bore the Greek epitaph, was ^{acquired} by Sir Drovetti, and handed over by him along with the rest of his collection to His Majesty the king of Sardinia."

One or two of these mummies with Greek inscriptions were sold by Lebolo to the Prussian General Count De Minutoli; but I've been assured that these perished on the coast of Africa."

[The author is probably thinking of the shipwreck that happened off the northern coast of Germany.]

"Mr. Caillaud received the one that we have already mentioned, and another in the end remained with Mr. Danastasy, vice consul of Sweden in Alexandria; that is, if I don't deceive myself, the same one with the inscriptions copied on the spot by Mr. Grey, they were then communicated to the public in 1823 by the care of the London Egyptian Society."

[It has now been found that this is an error.]

"-As far as the other mummies found by Mr. Lebolo in this same tomb, he opened some in the hope that they would contain papyri or some other precious object. One remained 'some months'

[in 1824] intact with him in Trieste: that is the one mentioned above in the ordinary Egyptian form and the most beautiful of them all as far as the paintings with which it was covered. Two others finally passed on to the Drovetti museum and are found in the royal room" [of Torino.]

"These last two are in double coffins: the interior coffin is in the Egyptian form, the outer one is squared; they are covered with hieroglyphs and ornated with figures of many colors on a white background, but of an inferior style, and don't resemble those painting that you see on mummies of a more distant epoch. The bodies are wrapped in red cloth, they were covered in back

*wooden
Sarcophagi*

*Lebolo
mummy
of the
whole body*

with beautiful networks formed from enamel tubes, blue in color, with the ordinary large beetle and the four assis. spirits. - One of these bodies is that of a man the other a woman. These two mummies are without crowns and do not bear any trace of the Greek inscription."

To best understand this account it is essential to observe from the outset that Mr. Lebolo, well known agent of the consul Drovetti (1), and trafficker in antiquities, probably bought from the Arabs, before or after the opening, the entirety of the monument that the English travellers refused. In the last case, which is the most probable, it would be him who sold the mummy Tphout to Mr. Grey. (2)

One of the mummies marked on the spot by Mr. Lebolo was, as has said Mr. De S. Quintino a while back (p. 20), that of the archon Soter, the principle of those contained in the tomb. Mr. Cailliaud, as we have observed, says that it belonged to Mr. Salt: and combining this fact with the report of Mr. Cailliaud, that one mummy of Mr. Salt was broken up by the janissary of the consul (3), it is very probable that it is the same one that he is talking about. It would be well to hold to the testimony of Mr. Lebolo himself, to which Mr. De S. Quintino refers himself. In the end, if the coffin was passed on to Mr. Salt it is Lebolo that sold it to him, without doubt with the papyrus (4).

Mr. De S. Quintino suspects still (p. 10, 11) that it is from the other mummies dismembered by Lebolo that the three mummy masks come (apparently out of storage) that are found in the Torino museum and that bear the following greek inscription: Calaetis son of Ecnoua.

But another assertion of Lebolo has been actively contested by another scholar. I also believe that it can't be but erroneous, and this error will shed serious doubt on the exactness of other details communicated by Mr. Lebolo, if they are not verified by another comparison or other formal witnesses. This voyager pretended that the great Greek papyrus of the Drovetti collection was found with the mummy of Soter. It is Mr. Peyron that demonstrated the improbability of this assertion (5).

Moreover, the two reports by Mr. Henniker and Mr. De S. Quintino differ on a very essential point: the first speaks of fourteen sarcophagi, and the other of dried up mummies without coffins; while the second report only mentions twelve or thirteen coffins. The higher number indicated by Mr. Henniker will agree better with the multitude of mummies that we will have to consider.

In effect, to be better acquainted with the contents of the tomb let's sum up all the mummies and other objects that came from it, in order then to trace the genealogical table of the members of the principle family to their burials.

Mr. Grey had one mummy, that of Tphout, (now in the British Museum) (6). 1
Mr. Salt, the coffin of one mummy, that of the archon Soter with the MSS. (same museum) (7).

(According to Mr. Cailliaud, Mr. Salt had two mummies (8); but the second is apparently that of Tphout, that was given him by Mr. Grey.)

Mr. Drovetti had three; to wit: that of Petemenoph, son of Pabot, and two others, each of a double casket, but without any greek inscription. (Museum of Turin.)

Mr. De Minutoli probably had three. To start out Mr. De S. Quintino attributes to him expressly following Mr. Lebolo (p. 19 and 21) the mummy of Senchonsis also called Saaulis, daughter of Picot, that must have perished on the sea with half of the collection, in as much as it was not found with the rest of the collection that arrived in Berlin (9). Furthermore, this last half contains two coffins of the same type of those discovered in the tomb, the one of Phaminis daughter of Heraclius; the other Sensaos and Tkauthi her

*Well known
+ J. Drovetti
+ Trafficker
and
Lebolo*

sister. These two coffins contain the three mummies that their inscript^y indicate(1). There is no formal testimony that these two coffins came from the same tomb, but all the circumstances make this conjecture probable.

Mr. Cailliaud had one mummy, Petemenoph, son of the archon Soter (2). (Kings room of the royal library of Paris.)

Mr. D'anastasy had one mummy, Sensaos, daughter of the archon Soter, which is the subject of the present article. (Leiden Museum.)

Finally, Mr. Lebolo conserved one of them intact, in the ordinary form of mummies, (in Trieste in 1824; but possibly passed on later to some museum.)

Total

(There has got to be a line missing here) different numbers, whose existence can be considered fairly well proven. The mummies that all these sarcofugi contained are still whole, or we know that they have become: almost one coffin only, (that of Senchonsis that was lost at sea) whose mummy is not expressly mentioned. It will be useful to make a further search in the museums to discover, if possibly some of the mummies were placed in double coffins, whose interior was taken out and sold separately.

Before passing on to the enumeration of the relics of the mummies that sure clues or formal testimonies recognize as pertaining to the individuals found in the same tomb, it is good to mention a mummy of the Leiden Museum, that very well could have been part of this same collection, whereas some written testimony reports it to have this same common origin.

This is a mummy without coffin (no. 9 of the D'anastasy mummies), wrapped in a cloth, whose back is plastered and painted in effigy of the deceased, which represents a bearded man dressed, as far as we can tell, in Greek pallium garb(3), and wearing rings on his fingers. This mummy offers the most probability of having been part of the same tomb that contained the mummy of Sensaos; first, because in the catalog of Mr. D'anastasy it is placed directly after these already mentioned, and it appears that objects of the same nature, received together, have been described together (4); in the second place, because the painting of the deceased resembles very closely the style of the painting that we see on the cloth and the portraits of the Charles X Museum that I will describe shortly.

As far as the relics of the mummies that have the same origin, I believe that the more one knows the relative peculiarities of this tomb, the more easy the researches will become.

Mr. De S. Quntino reports on the origin of three mummy masks (in storage?) of which one bears the name of Calaetis.

Mr. Champollion, who has seen Egypt, who can have frequent rapport with the digging entrepreneurs in this classic country, and who possibly dismembered mummies himself, whose remains adorn the different cabinets of the Charles X Museum (5), it would be good in the present case to verify or confirm the information that he published on the relics that are contained in the Charles X Museum and even the conjectures that I dare to propose on this subject. The first of these objects consists in the mummy of a man that Mr. Champollion describes in the following manner (6): "This embalmed body is that of a Greek appertaining to a family established at Thebes during the time of the emperor Hadrian. The portrait of this individual painted in encaustic, is fastened to the bands that cover the face." I classify this mummy with the relics because it is without its coffin. It is clear from the information communicated by the author of the Notice and that the hieroglyphic inscriptions were not able to offer him, that this mummy must come from the mummy in question.

The second object is a mummy cloth, representing in a painting of natural size, a man belonging to , according to what has been told me, the Soter family. He is dressed in the Roman toga, and surrounded by Egyptian symbols. This cloth has not yet been reported in the Notice du Musee. It could have been undone by Mr. Lebolo, In such a way that it passed on to the Charles X Museum with the second Salt collection or the second Drovetti collection. In this case the clothing that this person is wearing makes me consider him as the archon Soter himself, redressed in the clothing of a Roman magistrate.

LEBLO
MUMMY
LOST

Soter
clicky?

But the cloth could have been removed by Champollion from the mummy that I will now mention.

It is necessary to add to this five portraits painted in encaustic representing individuals from the same Soter family, as Champollion positively affirms (1). I believe to have from hearsay that the names of these individuals are found written on the reverse of the cedar planks on which they are painted.

Finally, Mr. Champollion described three hieratic papyri found with two individuals of this powerful family. Two of these papyri refer to a man named Soter, son of Baphor, whom one of these manuscripts describes as a child of 4 years. The third belongs to Cornelius, son of D' Isedjer, who Champollion believes to be Cornelius Pollius, Father of the archon Soter (2).

We are a little early to trace the genealogy of the persons that were buried in the Greek-Egyptian tomb, discovered in the presence of Mr. Henniker and Mr. Grey and sold piecemeal, inasmuch as it appears, by Mr. Lebolo. In more clarity I will repeat in a note the connections that express their different inscriptions, and on which our genealogy is based (3). You will see Sir that I have not had to do but some slight additions to the drafts of this genealogy already started by you. The capital letters indicate the personnages whose mummy or sarcophagus still exists.

Isedjer (or Isseoeri) wife of...

Cornelius Pollius - Philout (or Athor-Phimout)
(papyrus in the Charles X Museum [?])

Soter Cornelius Pollius - Cleopatra daughter of Ammonius
(the archon) (also called Candace and Gennetice)

(sarcophagus and papyrus British Museum;
Cloth with painting: Charles X Museum [?])

Heraclius Soter - Sarapout

Tphout Phaminis
(mummy (?) & (mummy and sarcoph:
sarcoph: Berlin Museum).
British Museum)

Petemenoph

(also called Ammonius) (mummy, sarcophagus
(sarcophagus and papyrus and papyrus: Mus
antiquities room in Paris) of Leiden)

Sensaos

The known death dates of these people and of Senchonsis are all from the time of the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antonin the pious.

There remains now the need to classify the following individuals whose connections do not link up to the known names:

Senchonsis, also called Sapaulis, oldest daughter of Picot.
(mummy and sarcophagus lost: De Minutoli)

Sensaos with her sister Tkauthi (child)
(mummy and sarcophagus together: Berlin Museum)

Petemenoph, son of Pabot (child)
(mummy and sarcophagus: Turin Museum)

Soter, son of Baphor (child)

(two papyri: Charles X Museum) with the two other mummies of Turin, and that of Mr. Lebolo, all three without inscriptions, and added to those from our table whose names are written in capital letters, complete the number of eleven already found. Moreover, as Mr. De S. Quintino has already remarked, I don't believe it is absolutely necessary to suppose that all the individuals found in the tomb be of the same family.

In as much as the remains of the relics of the mummies, attributed by the museum conservators to the individuals taken out of the same cavern, the mummy, the cloth, and above all the five portraits of the Charles X Museum are the only pieces (2) that I expect with some confidence will shed light on this subject. The three masks that Mr. De S. Quintino attributes to the same origin and of which one bears the name of Calaetis, could very easily not be except when that author calls on the testimony of Mr. Lebolo. It is the same with the eight masks of Greek-Egyptian individuals in the Charles X Museum (3); the mosaic works of the Greek mummies (4) and the many intact Greek-Egyptian mummies of the Leiden Museum (5) the Passalacqua collection at Berlin (6) or finally those of other museums that without a doubt contain some.

I beg your pardon, Sir, to make you wait such a long time for the further description of the coffin of Sensaos that must singularly interest you, accustomed as you are to cultivating the sciences for themselves and not to reach some personal desire.

The resemblance of the mummy Sensaos with that of her brother Petemenoph is found both inside and outside the coffin, and also in their wrappings. The principle scenes from the outside of the coffins are the same; but there is on each side of ours an extra scene. The inside of the one is like a fac-simile of the other; but in the zodiac some signs are misplaced.

To better follow the details let's run through Mr. Cailliaud's plates.

Plate 67 Exterior of the coffin: n. 1 cover (7). The worship of Osiris Pethempantches of the right side are the same; but before this scene, that is near the feet we see the scene of the weighing of the soul, with Thoth, and the hippopotamus: follows two of the gaurdians of Osiris' house of which there are more on the coffin of Petemenoph, but which are not seated, as in the painting on this coffin, inside a sort of door or building. Between these two is the winged serpent with human legs, that the same coffin equally offers. The under-wrapping that only contains crosses on the arms, is still conforming to this same model.

On the left side band the worship of Osiris similar to Phtha-Socari with a hawk head, is still similar to that of Petemenoph's coffin; but before this scene, towards the feet of the mummy, we see that of the enbalming, surounded by two kneeling figure with hands raised that Mr. Champollion usually qualifies as Isis and Nephthys mourning the death of Osiris (8), and of the four other divinties, so-called canpiques, or genies of Amenti standing. There follows one of the guardians and the winged serpent as above.

Plate 68. n. 1 & 2. The left and right sides (9). The boats pulled by jackals and dog-faced baboons are the same as those on the plate of Mr. Cailliaud. Only that of the sun with Ammon is found in the left side, and that of the moon with the eye of the sun is seen on the right; and there is a slight difference in the number and choice of the divinites that are found on the two side before the cross and the pretended nilometer. In considering these variations, which are really not important, we can't help but believe that they are the result of the whim of the Priest-painter, during the time that his painting took to work, or of some other fortuitous circumstance.

Regarding the two exterior ends of the coffin, pl.67. n. 2 & 3 (10), that at the foot shows some difference, but that at the head is the same. In place of the scarab in a boat there are two similar scenes between them

and back to back: both representing a kneeling figure on a pedestal, on whose hands there is a god with a hawk's head in one scene and an Ibis head in the other pouring a liquid. In front of each one of these kneeling figures is an eye. I don't need to say that a similar scene is very frequent among mummies and papyri. We will leave it to the care of Mr. Champollion to instruct us if the usage of this scene on the mummy of Senaos, instead of the boat of the sun, can be related to the different circumstances of the deceased, and notably to the difference of their sex. We will now recount a notable difference coming from this last case.

As to the interior of the coffin, I have already indicated the close relationship that it has with that of the deceased's brother. This conformity also exists underneath (pl. 66. n.2) (1), on both ends (ib. n.4 & 5.) (2), and on the inside of the cover (pl. 69.) (3). This circumstance forms the most instructive part of the object that we are concerned with, I will come back to this when I have talked about the mummy itself.

I will only add here one observation concerning the four animals that surround the head of the goddess. Mr. Champollion calls them scarabs with a serpents head (4). Permit me to remark, against this celebrated antiquarian, that in the painting of the scarab on the coffin of Petemenoph (pl. 67. n. 3.) The insect is easily identified by its head, the corselet and the wingsheaths, while the animals with which he is concerned have their backs designed in the same conventional manner which serves to represent the shell of the zodiacal crayfish and very nearly that of the scorpion. They resemble so closely the crayfish that there is nothing but the head to distinguish these animals. I cannot see anything else here but tortoises, despite the length of their necks, which among some species is longer than others. I do not recall that Mr. Champollion has given an explanation of the mythological meaning of this animal, although he represents it in his tableau general: this meaning can be entirely different than the image of a human with a tortoise head, which is recounted among the paintings of the tomb of Ousirei I discovered by Belzoni (5), and in that of the tomb of Rhamses-Meiamoun, a figure that Mr. Champollion takes as the symbol of sloth (6). But I dare to surmise that the number of four that form these reptiles in the two mummy coffins, is reported, as the four heads of the ram, the four serpents and other combinations of the symbols of Ammon (7), be it the four elements, be it their four parts of space, and this idea is strengthened by the space that these animals occupy around the head of the goddess of heaven, and around the sun which sheds its rays on the goddess.

The mummy of Petemenoph, pl. 70, as far as the form, size, weight, the disposition of the wrappings, and the execution of the paintings, resembles that of Leiden. But Petemenoph is similar to Osiris or at least covered with a painting representing that god with a mitre with goat horns a flail and a hook: this god is dressed in the same sort of netted robe that is worn by the goddess of heaven Tpe or Tiphe, pl. 69. (8), and that Osiris himself wears on other monuments of a careful execution. I cite in this regard a superb funeral ritual from the D'anastsy collection, 57 feet in length, and the ritual of the Charles X Museum which is more precious than ours for its material, being written on royal papyrus, but which is quite a bit less considerable (9). On the contrary, the painted cloth that Senaos is wrapped in represents a woman's clothing. In truth this costume is the same as that of the goddess Netphe, mother of Osiris, which is also found under the coffin (pl. 66. n. 2.) (10), the hairstyle and the position of the arms along the side of the body also resemble him. The only difference, but which seems of little importance, is that the horizontal bands alternate red, green etc., which, with this goddess, only form an apron down to the knees, descend, in the painting of the mummy itself, down to the bottom of the gown, and as a result down to the feet.

But, as neither the entire inscription of Netphe, nor the vessel, which sometimes characterizes by itself this goddess, are not found added to this painting, I believe that it is the deceased herself whose portrait we find here.

The divinities within the compartments of the two sides of the principle figure are fairly similar to that of the mummy of Petemenoph, but, it is difficult to indicate all the details of it yet, because the mummy has not been unwrapped of its exterior bands. We will postpone this indication until after a furter examination. On the two sides of the head, in the place of an eye in a boat, there is a mitred serpent with human legs: this difference can be that of the principle figure.

On the breast there is a winged scarab of hide or a piece of distinct boarding. No mention is made about a crown belonging to this mummy. As the adjoining payrus has been conserved, it is probable that, if the crown was part of the ornaments of the mummy of Sensaos, it would equally have come forth. Among the three greek individuals, found in the same tomb, and held at the Turin Museum, and the three others of which this museum has only the funeral masks, and that Mr. De S. Quintino reports as coming from the same source, the ones, a child and a woman, are adorned with crowns, while the others are without them (1).

But, it is above all the portrait of the young Sensaos, that constitutes the difference between the funeral paintings of this mummy and that of the young man. Although I have brought out in my first letter that in general the funerals recalled the type of that of Osiris, it doesn't appear, however, that persons of the feminine sex were ever represented with the attributes of this god (2).

Thus prepared, we come together to the principle question: that to know if the removal of a zodiacal sign from the zodiac of Petemenoph could come from a purposeful and significant arrangement, while a similar circumstance is not reported in the zodiac of his sister, who died seven years before him. The two coffins are very similar on the inside, as will show the demonstration of our respective plates and as I was convinced at Paris, that you have to say that they are the work of the same artist-priest, and that it could be he prepared them ahead of time leaving a place for their names. The time that passed between the two deaths is too considerable to suppose that the two coffins were made at the same time for the people that were put in them. At the same time we cannot suppose that the coffin of Petemenoph was copied after that of Sensaos, while it had been interred for quite some time, but that both were made after an ordinary model.

You have concluded, Sir, regarding the absence of the sign of capricorn on the mummy of Petememoph, that the zodiac of which it is part serves to indicate the natal theme of the deceased (3). You have proven, independently of that, that the representations of heaven on the ancient Egyptian monuments are only mythological or symbolic (4): but that all the true zodiacs of Egypt were executed during the Roman epoch (5), and you have given account of the zodiac on the coffin of Petemenoph and of that which was said to exist on another coffin of the same family, to give more weight to a conjecture that seemed to me to be authenticated (6), such that I was not aware of the mummy of Sensaos, to wit, that these zodiacal monuments are all entirely, or principally, astrological.

In all of these serious questions of antiquity and history, you have believed it indispensible to serve ourselves of purely archeological facts. Permit me to include myself in the same circle of argument, which I believe, as you, alone needs to be considered.

To begin with it is certain that the paintings on the two coffins of Sensaos and Petemenoph are of a style infinitely inferior to the ordinary mummies, and more than careless. We have already seen (7) independently

of all system, that the difference in the number of the divinities on the two exterior side of the coffins is a result of whim, or the lack of space. On the one side the bisection of the zodiac is the same. The band on the left of the goddess and going from the head to the feet begins with the sign of the lion, the other band on the right that goes from the feet towards the head begins with the sign of aquarius. You have informed us, Sir, that the bisection of such and such a sign is indifferent for the explanation of the monument on which the zodiac finds itself represented (1); I would dare myself to believe that, that which we see here is nothing but the imitation of a type established by custom. In the zodiac of Petemenoph, the last sign on the left of the goddess, that of capricorn, is placed outside the zodiac on the other end of the cover; however this entire band of five signs fills all the space corresponding to that of the six signs on the other side. In the coffin of Senaos the two bands of six signs are complete: capricorn is at the end of the first band. If we had known and studied in Europe the two coffins at the same time, wouldn't we have naturally come by comparison to believe that the intention of the two zodiacs so similar was absolutely the same; that with objects of trade, apparently prepared ahead of time and following an ordinary model, it was difficult to suppose any intention to vary the principle paintings according to the needs of each individual; and that it is not but want of space on the one side and for awkwardness, that the artist had misplaced the last sign of his zodiac? I have not lost sight of the fact, Sir, that you have found that the missing sign, that of capricorn, must be precisely the sign under which Petemenoph was born (2). In leaving intact this calculation whose precision I was more or less unable to judge, I would dare to beg you to take into consideration if this coincidence couldn't just be the result of whim? That the archeological systems, that are believed to be solidly established, have been destroyed because they only rest on an entirely casual resemblance to certain objects! If the misplaced sign form the zodiac of Petemenoph was taken from the middle of one of the two bands, or if the misplacement was found equally in the zodiac of Senaos, be it that the sign was taken out of the middle of the band, or that the bisection of the zodiac was done differently to accomodate the precise misplacement of one sign from one of the two ends; a similar misplacement or even a similar accumulation of examples cannot be accidental, and it makes us suppose a formal intention on the part of the artist. But the example of Petemenoph is unique up to this point; another coffin, that of Senaos, that in a priori judgement should offer the same situation, doesn't; on the contrary, it is possible to explain this particularity by reasons that deal with art and for that matter with the mechanics; won't you beleive with me, Sir, that it would be prudent, until new confirmation, to avoid the way of significative or symbolic interpretation?

You see, Sir, these doubts to which I dare to call your attention and provoke your judgement, only rest on the precise expression of such and such astrological fact in the Egyptian zodiac; and that they in no way contradict your doctrine, that all these zodiacs are from the Roman epoch, and that their frequency among the monuments of these centuries give credence to the astrological judiciaries, which, joined, so to say, with the ancient mythological systems of this people, appear to be an extraordinary advancement. I therefore have no need to defend myself of the suspicion to want to revive the arbitrary systems of chronology, refuted by you in a decisive manner, and of the hieroglyphic system of Mr. Champollion applied to the zodiac of Dendera?

But what then is the reason for placing a zodiac in the mummies' coffins? Here, Sir, are the ideas that I formed for myself on this subject, following the mythological system of Mr. Champollion and the latest discoveries of this scholar in Egypt, reported with your observations on the origin of astrology.

The name of Tphe or Tipe, the lady of heaven, attributed to the principle figure on the covers of our two mummy cases, as the 24 personnages that surround her render, and which appear to be hours, is fully conforming, even to the eyes of the least excercised spectator, on a superb mummy coffin of the D'anastasy collection, a work of better times. We have seen this same goddess, with her arms extended above her head as if to cover the body of the mummy, and wearing on her own body, that is sprinkled with stars, the spheres of the sun and the moon, well represented: in others she is surrounded by the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night, with their numbers and hieroglyphic legends (1). It is, so to say, without a doubt that the artist wanted to represent the heavens. Now, the zodiac that surrounds the heaven, on the mummy cases of an earlier time, that is to say on those of the family of Soter, archon of Thebes, only figure as its accessory. It is also a long time since we haven't found another example analogous to that of the case of Petemenoph, this explanation has at least as high a degree of explanation as that which looks for a genethliac theme. The royal tombs, in all truth, (and possibly the funeral rituals), present constellation tables and their influence on all the hours of each month of the year. This, Sir, is "a memory, that Mr. Champollion addressed to you" namely "from Thebes" (2), and in this manner the genethliac tables could seem to be earlier than the epoch to which you assign their origin. But for as far as I intend the question, their is quite a difference between believing in these influences and the skill of drawing form them some type of plan for the future, a futile skill in which the properly called judiciary astrology consists, but which supposes some knowledge too real for astrology, which the ancients did not begin to possess until near the beginning of our era (3). Consequently, as far as it is more probable, that the constellation tables of the royal tombs express a natal theme, as far as it is to believe to the contrary, that the zodiacs of the sarcophagi of an earlier age are nothing but a reminder, an imitation of these purely mythological tables, but a metomorphosed imitation after the more recent ideas that do not essentially disturb the ancient body of doctrine.

FINE

I. TABLE (a) of the papyri and other ancient monuments cited or explained
in this work, arranged by order of appearance.

A. DIVERSE MONUMENTS

[(a) the letter T indicates the table]

MONUMENTS EXISTING ON THE SPOT

- Ibsamboul greek inscription. T. Art.84. note q.
Pselchis (Dakke) fragments of pottery. III. 59; T. Art.77.
Philae petition of the priests of Isis. III. 57, 45-47, 49, 64, 89 note b, 92.
Ombos inscription of the temple. III. 45. note a.
Thebes royal tombs. I. 15. note d, 57.
greek tomb. II. 37 and following.
Great Oasis roman inscriptions. III 46.
Panopolis inscription, III. 88.
around Rome painting of a spa on the route to Rome at Frascati II. 32 a.
Pozzuoli temple of Sarapis. III. 83. cf. 107.
Holland roman constructions presumed from the Hadrian forum. III. 84. note a.

MONUMENTS EXISTING IN OTHER MUSEUMS

- Rome-Capitolin Museum Palmyran inscription. II. 15. note c.
Mr. Dodweil-Collection, lead sheet. I. 45.
Palace uncertain bronze representing an owl. II. 21, 28.
Florence-Gallery of the Great Duke, bronze (heads dressed as birds). II. 28.
Turin-Royal museum, altar with hieroglyphic names of cities. III. 51.
another altar. III. 78.
mummy of Petemenoph, son of Pabol. II. 40, 43, 47, 48 note a, 53.
two Greek-Egyptian mummies, of which one is Calaetis. II
41, 44, 48, 53.
Malta(?), gnostic inscription of the carpocatiens of Cyrene. II. 17 and note b.
Paris-antiquities room of the king's library, mummy of Petemeoph, son of Soter.
II. 33, 38, 43, 47, 48 note a, 49, 51 and following.
urn from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II 3.
Angerona, bronze from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II. 2.
etruscan bronze from the cabinet of the prince of Orange. II. 2.
Charles X Museum, mummy of a man, N. No. 3. II. 45, 48.
eight greek-egyptian mummy masks, P. 14, 15, 16. II. 48.
five mummy portraits. II. 45, 48.
Greek-Egyptian mummy tesseras. II. 48 note e.
Aachen-Museum of M. St. Vincent, inscription of St. Cannat. III. 107.
London-British Museum, Rosetta inscription. I. 60, 66, 73b; III. 27, 57, 87, 108 note
No. mummy of Soter. II. 38, 41, 42, 47.
mummy of Tphout. II. 38, 41, 42, 47.
pottery fragments from the Salt and Belzoni collection (?).
III. 58; T. Art. 67, 68.
Wiltonhouse, inscription in Boustrophedon. II. 17a.
Berlin-Egyptian Museum, mummies of Mr. De minutoli. II. 40.
mummies of Sensaos and Tkauthi. II. 43, 47.
mummies of Phaminis. II 43, 47.
mummies of Senchonsis or Sapailis. II. 36, 42, 47.
pottery fragments. III. 59; T Art. 69.
Trieste (?), mummy of Mr. Lepolo. II. 43, 47.
The Hague-Royal Cabinet of Medallions and Engraved Stone, amulet of hide.
I. 17 note. b; II. 29.

Leiden-University Museum of Antiquities, ~~mummy of Sensaos~~. II. 40, 43, 47, 49
and following:
mummy, Anastasy No. 5; with the goddess of heaven and the
24 hours. II. 56.
mummy, Anastasy No. 9. II. 44.
Greek-Egyptian mummies, Anastasy No. 10, 24, 25. II. 48 note d.
sarcophagus in wood in the form of a room, without painting.
II. 48 note d.
tesseras of Greek-Egyptian mummies. II. 48 note c.
table of wood, containing an alphabet. III. 111.
sheet of gold. I. 48.
pottery fragments. III. 50 note b, 56; T. Art. 70.
etruscan bronzes (heretofore Corazzi). II 2 note c.
Roman bronze, bust of a woman, in Isiac costume. II. 29.
Dunico-Roman gravestone. II. 8.
Christian sepulchre inscription, found between Goulette and
Carthage. II. 17 b.
University Library, MS. chemical, MSS. Voss. 4th. 47. I 10 note a; III. 75.
another MS. chemical, MSS, Rhunk. II. 13. III. 75.

TABLE B. PAPYRI.

Rome-Vatican Museum, demotic papyrus No. 11. E. T. Art. 33. 12. A. T. Art. 84.
Naples(?) -Borgia collection, Greek papyrus. III. 1; T. Art. 65.
Turin-Royal Museum, in general. III. 15, 37.
great funeral rite. II. 52 note b.
hieroglyphic papyrus: history of Manethon(?). III. 76.
hieratic papyrus: register of receipts and debits. III. 76.
demotic papyrus: contracts of the 16th year of Ptolemy
Alexander I. III. 45; T. Art. 78, 79.
same, 4th year of Ptolemy, Alexander II(?). III. 45 note a.
two demotic papryri containing some receipts. T. Art. 85, 86.
demotic papyrus: four contracts. T. Art. 87-90.
papyrus with grotesque and obscene figures. III. 76.
Greek papyri: great papyrus No. 1. II. 55, 41; III. 28 note a, 38,
46 note c, 65; T. Art. 17.
same, No. 2 T. Art. 15.
" No. 3. iii. 50 note b, 63; T. Art. 7.
" " 4. III 28 note a; 46 note b, c, 63, 65, 98; T. Art. 10.
" " 5. T. Art. 50.
" " 6. T. Art. 51.
" " 7. T. Art. 52.
" " 8. III. 64, 115 note b; T. Art. 26.
" " 9. T. Art. 27.
" " 10. III. 60; T. Art. 36.
" " 11. III. 90.
" " 12. III. 65; T. Art. 29.
" " 13. III. 19, 53, 63; T. Art. 62.
" " 14. T. Art. 28.
" " 15. T. Art. 1.

Paris-Antiquities Cabinet King's Library, in general. T. Art. 4 note e.
Casati collection, in general. III. 25 note a, 37.
" " demotic papyrus. I. 73b, 81a; III. 26, 27bis,
28, 115; T. Art. 4.
" " small greek papyrus. II 35; III. 5,8, 12, 13,
14, 25 and following., 60, 90; T. Art. 71.
" " byzantine papyrus. III. 34; T. Art. 73.
Cailliaud collection(?), funeral papyrus. I. 13, 14 note d.
" " " of Petemenoph. I, 58; II. 47.
without number: demotic papyrus, containing two contracts.
T. Art. 59.

Charles X Museum, in general. III. 37.
funeral papyri: T. 13. II 52.
" " of Soter, son of Baphor, T. 21, 22. II. 46, 47.
" " of Cornelius, son of Isejder, T. 23. II. 46, 47.
demotic papyri: F. 1. T. Art. 91.
" " F. 7 or 8 (?). T. Art. 19.
" " F. 13. III. 89 note b.
" " F. 15. III. 90 note d.
greek papyri: Salt collection No. 1. III. 63; T. Art. 2.
" " " " " 3. III. 15, 90; T. Art. 2.
" " " " " 5. T. Art. 20 and note m.
" " " " " 6. T. Art. 5.
" " " " " 7. T. Art. 25.
" " " " " 8, 9. T. Art. 39.
" " " " " 11, 12. III. 76.
" " " " " 13. T. Art. 38.
" " " " fragments of a judiciary decision.
T. Art. 16.
" " " " fragments of the Iliad. III. 76; T. Art. 80.
" " " " greek and latin vocabulary. T. Art. 83.
" " " " byzantine papyrus. III. 35; T. Art. 74.
" " Drovetti collection(?) papyri of the Didymous.
T. Art. 52, 53, and notes i, k.
" " " " petitions of the Didymous etc.
III. 21, 80. A. III. 87, 88, 91.
B. III. 94, 102. C. III. 87, 95, 100,
107 bis. D. III. 96, 104.
E, F. III. 80, 103.
" " " dreams. III. 80, 103.
" " " registers of receipts and debits.
III. 81, 106.
" " " other contentious affairs. III. 81, 85.

London-British Museum, Salt collection, funeral papyrus of Soter. II. 42.
" " demotic papyrus. T. Art. 13. and note e.

Collection of Mr. Grey, demotic papyrus. I, 73b; III. 4, 57.
" " contract A, II. 16 note a.
" " " A, B, C. T. Art 18, 59-61 note a.
" " " A and C. III 28 note a.
" " " C. T. Art. 18 note k.

Greek antigraph. II. 6, 25, 27, 28 bis, 90, 98, 115; T. Art. 6.

Collection of Mr. Edmondstone, greek papyrus. II 35 bis; III. 8, 44, 59 note c;
T. Art. 6.

Notes to page 1.

(1) Voyage to Meroe vol 2. pl. 66 and following.

(2) Mr. Letronne made me remark that the Greek name of this individual is written on the case Petemenophis, and not Petemenoph as was believed earlier. I have verified the truth of this correction in the room of the library where the case is found. Mr. Champollion had originally read the hieroglyphic name Petemen (in Observations of Mr. Letronne p. 112); later it was interpreted Petemenoph, or Petamenoph (in the Voyage of Mr. Cailliad to Meroe 4. p. 27, 28) in confirming this report the observation already published by Mr. De S. Quintino (Lezioni Archeologiche. 2. p. 70.)

Notes to page 2.

- (1) Peyron, Pap. Taur. I. p. 38, 162.
- (2) Hieroglyphics. pl. 46. l. 4, 18.

(3) I would dare to doubt the exactness of the conjecture proposed in the Observations sur les Represent. Zodiac p. 27. note 27. If the name of Cornelius is used as a first name, the possibility of which I do not contest in an age of decadence of the language and the ancient Roman institutions, -this abuse itself proves that we cannot apply to this case all of the other grammatical rules and stone spelling adopted during the glorious days of the republic.

- (4) Cf. Obss. sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 33 and following.

(5) Acts 8:27: Strabo 17. p. 820. ed. Cas.; Plin. H. N. 6. s. 55. 8; Schleusner in v.

- (6) Notice sur une Inscr. Greque de Momie egypt. (Journal d. Sav. April 1824).

- (7) In Voyage of Mr. Cailliard 4. p. 29, 30, 31.

- (8) See again Schleusner 1.1.

Notes to page 3.

(1) Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, mount Sinai, and Jerusalem. London 1823. 8°. This voyager does not say in what year he was in Egypt; but he is in Jerusalem during the month of June 1820. See the certificate at the end of the voyage. It is probable that his whole voyage took place between autumn 1819 and summer the following year. To affix the precise date of the discovery of the tomb, I remark that Mr. Henniker, writing in a journal, speaks on page 74 of the New Year. The last precise date he gives is January 18, p. 127; the report on the tomb is found on page 136; it must of consequence be during this same month, since on page 181 he starts dating again on the 25th of February. It is troublesome to have to form conjectures on the work of a living author as if he had written two thousand years ago. But it could be useful for museum directors for someone to make up for this omission by Mr. Henniker.

(2) Cailliard, Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 17; Mr. Salt, in speaking of this sarcophagus says in general terms that it was brought from Thebes by Mr. Henniker. (Essay on the Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics. - at the end.)

(3) Young, Hieroglyphics. pl. 35: ("given by Mr. Grey to Mr. Salt"); account p. 115, 244; Letronne Observations sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 23. pl. b.

(4) See again the description that Mr. Cailliard himself makes of it. Voyage a Meroe, 4. p. 2, and the Notice of Mr. Champollion, same endr. p. 22.

Notes to page 4.

(1) Lezioni Archeologiche. 2. Iscrizione bilingue sopra una mumia. p. 6.-
Devere note on the Essay on the Hieroglyphic Phonetics of Mr. Salt p. 21. note 1.

Notes to page 5.

- (1) Belzoni, Operations in Egypt. 1 edit. p. 366; De Montule Voy. en Amerique, en Italie etc. 2. p. 431.
(2) Letronne, Observat. sur les Repres. Zodiac. p. 27.
(3) Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 20.
(4) above page 58 note a.
(5) S. Quintino. 1. 1. p. 8, 44; Peyron, Pap. Taur. 1 p. 16 and following
(6) above p. 38, 39 note a.
(7) above p. 38, note a.
(8) Cailliaud, Voy. a Meroe. 4. p. 20.
(9) Les Annales de Litterature de Vienne (20. 1822. p. 46) which I was not able to consult, equally attributes this mummy to the Minutoli collection. But Mr. Levezow, one of the conservators of the Berlin Museum, does not on what this indication is founded (in Amalthee by Mr. Bottiger 1825. III. p. 221). It appears that he is not acquainted with the account by Mr. De S. Quintino. It is just as possible that the mummy in question has perished, because the inventory of the shipwrecked party does not appear to have contained any scientific details, such that the impossibility of verifying the fact leaves us an open book for conjecture. (See this inventory with Mr. Levezow, same endr. p. 214. note **). Finally, Mr. Raoul-Rochette who gave Note sur l'inscription grecque of this mummy's coffin (Journ. d. Savans. April 1824), only says to "have received the copy of this inscription from a person who had been by himself to see a beautiful collection of Egyptian antiquities brought to Europe. This collection could very easily be that of Mr. De Minutoli; the person designates could have seen it in the East. - Moreover, Mr. De S. Quintino has equally published the inscription in its entirety p. 19. and Mr. Letronne has responded to the observations of Mr. R. Rochette: Obs. sur les repres. Zod. p. 24 note 3".

Notes to page 6.

(1) Levezow endr. cited p. 220; Toelken, dans le Voyage du Gen. Minutoli p. 430. (ed. allem.).

(2) See above p. 39. note b. This mummy had been opened at Paris by Mr. Cailliaud, such that he himself reports of it in detail (Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 9). As the journal of this time mention several mummies, on which Mr. Cailliaud had made the same operation (see p. ex the Bulletin of Feruss. Hist. 1. p. 48), it would be good to advise that Mr. Cailliaud only possessed one mummy from the tomb that we are talking about. (See Voy. a Meroe 4. p. 20).

(3) There is in possession a very useful pattern for judging the pallium such that it has been used in Egypt, on the statue of an Orator found in Alexandria and drawn in the Amalthee of Mr. Bottiger III. p. 449. (Comp. Bull. of Feruss. Hist. 2. p. 103).

(4) This observation is founded in many sections, above all in that which contains the papyri.

(5) In this museum nobody is involved with the conservation of the mummies themselves; also I have not seen there but three more or less whole (Notice-N. N°. 1, 2, 3). The conservators of the museums of Turin and Berlin are, up till now, of a different opinion, (See S. Quintino, Lez. Arch. 2. p. 10; Levezow in the Amalthee of Mr. Bottiger III. p. 220. note). In as much as one can or cannot hope about the opening of the mummies, the more instructive observations on this subject are found consigned in the Catalogue des Antiquites de Mr. Passalacqua. (p. 170, 184, 185 etc.); that is the most complete manual that exists for knowing the ordinary origin of objects that make up an egyptian museum. For me, I think that, since the mummies once opened are lost, it is of more value, in general, to keep them intact. We can form a better idea of the objects that were seen in concreto, the principal and the accessories being reunited together and in their natural state, then when their divers details are isolated; and that it is necessary to turn to a written explanation to connect the mummy, and which does not speak to the eyes. As far as the need to know the parts which form the whole of the mummy with its accessories, MM. The excavation entrepreneurs and the Arabs took care to dismantle the mummies enough to send on abundantly to our museums all the types of smaller objects that could be found inside.

(6) Notice du Musee Charles X. - N. N°. 3.

Notes to page 7.

(1) Notice, p. 17-21.

(2) In Voyage a Meroe by Mr. Cailliad 4. 25. - But according to the Notice du Musee Charles X (T. 21, 22, 23), this last manuscript was discovered on the same mummy as one of the other two preceding manuscripts, which bears the name Soter, son of Baphor. I am brought to believe that this is nothing but an editing error.

(3) (greek). Mr. Devere read the hieroglyphic name of the mother Athor-Phimout or Athor-Philout. (Notes sur l'Essai by Mr. Salt. p. 20. 1).

(more greek). The surname of Gennetice was found by Mr. Champollion. See above p. 36.

(greek).

Add:

(greek). Mr. De S. Quintino read in the hieroglyphic inscription, having for mother Tacui, (Lez. Arch. 2. p. 28-51).

Notes to page 8.

(1) Lezioni Archeol. 2. page 11.

(2) In a Lettre sur les antiquites egyptiennes en France (inserted in the new Journal of Mr. Bottinger, Archeol. und Kunst. 1. 1. page 191) Mr. Seyffarth affirms that a Greek mummy from the time of Hadrian is to be seen in the cabinet of antiquities in the King's library in Paris whose son rests in Turin, and whose wife at Naples. It is probable that Mr. Seyffarth, writing from memory, deceived himself and that he believed that the Petemenoph of Turin was the son of Petemenoph of Paris. As far as the assertion of the museum of Naples, I have no way of verifying it.

(3) Notice du Musee Charles X. page 14, 15, 16.

(4) The Charles X Museum contains seven of them (Notice Z. 21 to 27), whose inscriptions have not been published. There are two at Leiden, one offering the name of Sarapion, son of Hermaiscus Chrysocherius, the other that of a woman, Thanis.

(5) It is necessary to give at this occasion an overview of the three mummies of Leiden, which, other than the one without coffin already described (p. 44), bear all of the characteristics attributed to Greek-Egyptian mummies by Mr. Passalacqua, and are also called such in the catalogue by Mr. D'anastasy.

N°. 10 des Mommies D'anastasy. Mummy wrapped in cloth without painting: the arms and the legs wrapped separately. Painted coffin, imitating the contours of the body, but of a very inferior workmanship. This coffin opens underneath, in such a way that the upper part or the cover makes up almost the entire casket. Such is the construction of all the caskets that for other reasons are regarded as Greco-Egyptian. (Catal. de Pasalacqua p. 187. and the coffins of Sensaos and the two Petemenops).

(N°. 24). Mummy and casket resembling on all the essential reports the preceding one. Note that, if the two preceding coffins belonged to the tomb in question we must suppose that each one was enclosed in a second squared coffin which would have passed on to another museum.

(N°. 25). Mummy and casket still inferior in workmanship to the two preceding, but which differ from them still on many accounts. The coffin and its cover are formed, we are lead to believe, each one from a sole piece of wood hollowed to the same depth.

The museum also has an entire sarcophagus and the fragments of two or three others in wood, square in form, and not covered with stucco or paintings. But this is not the one reason sufficient to consider them Greek, in spite of their conformity with the coffin of Petemenoph in Turin. The strip of beautiful hieroglyphics painted on the cover of the casket, and the hieroglyphics sculpted in relief on the fragments connect these pieces very probably with a better epoch of Egyptian art.

As for the rest, I hope to occupy myself soon with the study of the hieroglyphic proper names on all of these objects: the results of this study should apparently shed some light on our subject.

(6) Catalogue de Pasalacqua, N°. 1544, 1547. - compare p. 208.

(7) Champollion in le Voy. de Caillaud. 4. p. 46.

(8) Notice du musee Charles X. - A. 620, 654.

(9) Champ. Voyage, notes p. 50.

(10) Champ. notes p. 45.

[] Notes to page 9.

- [] (1) Champ. notes p. 49.
[] (2) Champ. notes p. 48.
[] (3) Champ. notes p. 51.
[] (4) Champ. notes p. 52.

[] (5) Voy. du Gen. De Minutoli plate 21. n.2.-The Charles X Museum has a tortoise in gold, "found in Egypt, but of a workmanship," according to Mr. Champollion, "which does not appear to be Egyptian." Notice-K.1527. I was not able to see this piece because of the absence of Mr. Champollion.

- [] (6) Bull. de Feruss. Hist. Vol. 13. p. 140.
[] (7) See 1st letter. p. 31.
[] (8) Champ. notes p. 51.

[] (9) Champ. Notice du Musee Charles X.- Vol. 13. I suppose that the papyrus of Leiden, cited in the text, is the first in size after that of Turin, which is 66 feet in length, and which Mr. De S. Quintino describes, Lez. Archeol. 2. p. 68.

- [] (10) Champ. notes pp. 49, 50.

[] Notes to page 10.

[] (1) S. Quintino, Lez. Archeol. 2. p. 8-11, 43.

[] (2) See the note by Mr. Banks on the Essay of Mr. Salt. p. 8. (p. 14.
trad. Fr.) This negative observation is confirmed by all the mummies of the
Leiden Museum.

[] (3) Obss. sur les Repres. Zod. p. 53.

[] (4) Ibid. p. 61.

[] (5) Ibid. p. 96.

[] (6) It is in this sense that I gave account in the 3rd volume first page
of the Holland journal entitled Antiquities, which I published then with Mr.
Westendorf.

[] (7) See above p. 50.

[] Notes to page 11.

- [] (1) Obss. sur les Repres. Zod. p. 103 and following.
[] (2) Ibid. p. 102.

Notes to page 12.

(1) This coffin of an extraordinary size and weight, is of the most beautiful workmanship. The numbers of the hours render it eminently interesting since these numbers are not expressed on the magnificent granite sarcophagus of Ramses Meiamoun, kept in the Charles X Museum, and cited by Mr. Champollion in this regard (Voy. de Cailliaud à Meroë. 4. p. 52). The hours of the day on our coffin hold the sphere of the sun in their hands: those of the night, that of a star. The numbers form two series of twelve each.

(2) Champ. 13e Lettre d'Egypte. Bull. de Feruss. Hist. Vol. 13. p. 138 I have ventured to put in parallel with the hieroglyphic text of the tomb those of the funeral rituals that Mr. Champollion describes elsewhere (in the Voy. de M. Cailliaud à Meroë 4. p. 38. and in the Notice du Musée Charles X. Vol. 9. towards the end), although it does not expressly mention constellations first because these rituals seem to be in general nothing but abridgements, more or less complete, of the mythological doctrine exposed in all its detail in the great royal tombs; and following because at least one of the divinities named in this part of the rituals (the god Macedo, guardian of the tropics) is in bearing with the stars. Also Mr. Champollion says it in very clear terms that this part of the rituals "are tied in with the astrological systems". (Voy. cited p. 37).

(3) Letronne, Observ. sur les Rêves. Zodiac. p. 75, 89. Compare pages 58, 75 and 77 notes.