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AEGYPTO-CARICA

They say that parenthood brings great tribulations as well as great rewards. If a touch of autobiography can be permitted in a learned conference, it is fair to say that, academically speaking, parenthood – or at least conception – began for me one morning in December 1968, while working as an inexperienced student on the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations at North Saqqâra. That morning, after breakfast, it was the turn of the inexperienced student to go down to the dig and continue recording, especially with an eye to any new inscriptions. The season in question was rich, even by the standards of Egyptian archaeology, and most days brought their surprises. However, he was not prepared for the inscriptions which were waiting that morning. During the early shift, the workmen had been given the task of clearing a large pit, which appeared to have been lined with blocks of limestone. They had taken the stones out of the pit, and turned them over, and there the stelae lay, waiting in the sunlight which they had not seen for more than two millennia. Among them was the decorated stela with the man and woman saying farewell, which is now one of the treasures of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (this is M 3 in O. Masson's *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen*). Alongside this was stela M 7, with its clearly cut columns of hieroglyphs, and with three rows arranged above them in a script which I had never before encountered. As it happened, also on the spot was our surveyor, a remarkable New Zealander called Kenneth Frazer. He had the good sense to be a freelance archaeologist, who would work throughout the winter in Egypt, go home to his apartment in Athens to check his mail, then continue to the excavations at Sardis, where he would spend most of his summers. His knowledge of the Mediterranean was wide. Something prompted me to ask him about the unusual script on these stelae. His answer was immediate: 'That is Carian, and nobody can read it.'

Now we can read it. The hieroglyphs on Kenneth Frazer's stelae turned out to possess the key to the understanding of Carian. In this respect Carian resembles the Meroitic alphabet, which was also deciphered from Egyptian bilinguals. However, Meroitic is different, in that its cognates are still unknown, whereas Carian has turned out to be part of a known family of languages, problematic though some members of that family have proved to be. On the whole it is fair to say that in the early days of its existence the Carian child was well behaved, tucked up safely inside the pages of Kadmos and the JEA. Some people tried to argue that the child was illegitimate, but that was only to be expected. Nowadays, of course, Carian has ceased to be docile, and has developed into an unruly adolescent, which needs all the patience of its teachers to keep it in check. Sometimes it gives the impression of wanting to forget its origins. Fortunately, with teachers as perceptive as Ignacio-Javier Adiego, Craig Melchert and Diether Schürr, we can be sure that it will eventually respond to their control, and that it will grow into the maturity which was intended. Let us hope that the Kaunos bilingual, which is the principal subject of this colloquium, will prove to be the making of that maturity.

The Kaunos bilingual is a mighty testimony to the correctness of the Egyptian approach to the reading of Carian, and I have no doubt that this will become clear in the course of the present symposium. To this theme there is little that can be added from the purely Egyptological point of view, but it is worth mentioning some independent clues which have recently become available through the medium of coinage. In the University of Cambridge I have been fortunate in acquiring a colleague, Dr Koray Konuk, who has come to us via Brussels, Paris and Oxford, and has been appointed to a curatorial post in the Fitzwilliam Museum. His speciality is numismatics, especially the coinage of Caria and the adjoining areas, and he has made a special study of the material from Kaunos. According to him, there is a recognisable series of coins which can be assigned to Kaunos. Several of the examples in this series bear the Carian letter-sequence 29-10, a sequence which has been known for some time, although the most recent discussion is that by Massimo Poetto (Kadmos 23, 1984, 74-75). This combination was originally read, according to the conventional system, as *p-l*, but arguments were later put forward for an alternative, based on the hieroglyphic values from Egypt (Kadmos 24, 1985, 86-88). According to the Egyptian system of decipherment, the letters on these coins should be

read *k-b*. As Dr Konuk points out, there are good reasons for believing that some, if not all, of these coins were minted at Kaunos, and there are equally good reasons, both from the evidence of Lycian and from the new bilingual, for believing that the name of Kaunos was something like *kbide* or *xbide*. It looks very much as if the coins of Kaunos are beginning to join in the chorus of support for the Egyptian system which is being led by the new bilingual stela. It is also clear that the study of numismatics will have much to add to our knowledge of the Carian language and Carian society.¹

At the moment, however, our main knowledge of Carian society still comes from Egypt. This state of affairs may well alter as more archaeological material comes to light from the mainland, but for the time being it remains the case that, if we wish to follow the history of any truly Carian community, we must turn to the material from Egypt. This at least has the advantage of reminding us that the study of Carian need not be exclusively philological, even though in the early stages of any decipherment philology is bound to dominate. Egypt was already an ancient culture when the first Carians set foot there, but it is no exaggeration to say that the land of the Nile became the Carian equivalent of the New World. Egypt in the first millennium BC was a magnet for immigrants from all over the Near East, as well as from Anatolia and the Aegean. The price which had to be paid for immigration into Egypt was assimilation. This was partly caused by political pressures, since most Carians started out their careers as employees of the Pharaoh, but it was also cultural, since the power of Egyptian religion, art, and historical consciousness was overwhelming (for a general treatment of this theme see

¹ Verbal communication from Dr Konuk. He also adds the observation that he has come across at least one example of a coin which bears the inscription *a-36-o*. Sign 36 is a difficult one, which is sometimes taken as a cursive equivalent of sign 35 (cf. Adiego 1993: 270). Schürr, 1996a argues convincingly that sign 35 should be read as a sibilant. This suggests little from the point of view of the coin-inscription, but it may be that sign 36 is better seen as a cursive equivalent of sign 7, which is now known to be λ . This would give us the reading *alo*, which may be connected with the element seen at the beginning of the word *alosharnos* and its variants. Adiego 1993, 245–46 considers the possibility that this name may have something to do with the toponym Halikarnassos. Adiego's conclusion is suitably cautious, but Konuk informs me that Halikarnassos is a possible place of origin for this coin. The material from Kaunos is the subject of his recent publication (Konuk, 1998), while the evidence from Halikarnassos will be discussed elsewhere. I am most grateful to Koray Konuk for his support, and for permission to refer to the results of his work.

Ray, 1995, as well as the excellent treatment in Kammerzell, 1993, chaps. 12 and 13). There was also the influence of Egyptian women, who were famed for their exotic ways. Military communities tend to be short of women, and it would only be a matter of time before the second and third generations of Carians born in Egypt had some Egyptian blood in them. Since much of their early experiences would have been derived from these mothers, the new Carians would gradually have been Egyptianised. At the same time a sense of paternal identity would also have been preserved, and it is probably in this light that we should understand compound terms such as Καρομεμ-φίτης . Much the same happened to other foreign communities within Egypt, and it is in this way that the data now brought to light by Diether Schürr should be understood (Schürr, 1996a).

The article by Schürr on names involving the Egyptian goddess Bastet is an impressive contribution to our knowledge of Carian, and it also contains much to interest the Egyptologist. The essence of this article is his proposal that sign 35 is a sibilant, corresponding to the Greek consonant-cluster $\sigma\tau$. This may seem strange at first, and in Ray, 1994 I confessed to having doubts about it. At that time I still suspected that the true value of sign 35 was something like *nd*, but the work of Adiego and Melchert makes it more and more likely that this value, or something like it, should be attached to sign 31 (Melchert, 1993). Other complex consonants are known in the Carian alphabet, the sheer size of which suggests *a priori* that such combinations are likely to occur.² At this point it is worth pointing out that the straightforward alphabetic combination *s-t* does not seem to occur in Carian. Acting on the advice of Adiego; and following the principle that Carian letters should be transliterated by a single sign whenever possible, Schürr proposes the reading ζ for sign 35. This has the advantage of convenience, and it allows the following good equations with Egyptian names:

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| ttbaḫi (etc.) | = $T^3\text{-}d^i\text{-}B^3st.t$ (f.) | 'Tetubásti' | Τετοβαστις |
| piubaḫi, var. piub-28-ḫi | = $P^3\text{-}(n)\text{-}B^3st.t$ | 'Paubásti' | Παυβαστις |
| pdub-28-z(i) | = $P^3\text{-}i\text{-}B^3st.t$ | 'Petubásti' | Πετοβαστις. |

² By complex consonants I mean simply those which cannot be rendered monosyllabically in Greek, or without the use of diacritics in modern transcriptions. Clear examples are λ and $\acute{\epsilon}$, which are regularly rendered by $\lambda\lambda$ and $\sigma\sigma$ in Greek. One strange exception is the combination *mn*, which is common in Greek transcriptions, but is always written biconsonantly in Carian. The reasons for this pattern may be worth considering.

The name of the goddess in question was *Báste(t)*, a form which seems to go back to an earlier *Bíste(t)*; hence the Greek forms with the vowel epsilon which were mentioned in Schürr 1996a: 61. The *u*-vowel which appears before this name in both Carian and Greek is a glide, caused by the initial labial. It probably corresponds to something resembling the *shewa* coloured by the vowel *u* which is used in the Masoretic transcription of Hebrew. The deity in question, a cat-goddess, was fairly prominent in Egypt, including Memphis, but her centre of operations was at Bubastis in the eastern Delta. The affinity of the Carians for Bastet may be explained by the proximity of Bubastis to the site of Stratopeda, which is described in Hdt. II,154 as being one of the Carians' earliest bases in Egypt. Alternatively, a Carian goddess may have been assimilated to the Egyptian one, and be hiding behind her.

To the list of Bastet-compounds we can add other Egyptian names which have already been recognised in our corpus:

| | | | |
|--------------------|--|-----------------------|------------|
| pdnêit | = $P\bar{3}$ - $d\bar{i}$ - $N\bar{i}t$ | 'Petinêit' | Πετηνηῖθ |
| panêit, var. pnêit | = $P\bar{3}$ -(n)- $N\bar{i}t$ | 'Panêit' | Πανηῖθ |
| pdtom | = $P\bar{3}$ - $d\bar{i}$ - $\bar{i}tm$ | 'Petatûm' | Πετετουμς |
| ptnupi | = (1) $P\bar{3}$ - $d\bar{i}$ - $\bar{i}np$ (2) * $P\bar{3}$ - $d\bar{i}$ - nfr | 'Petanûpi' | Πετενουβς |
| | | 'Petenûfi' | Πετενουφς |
| camou | = $T\bar{3}y$ - $\bar{i}m.w$ | 'Tjamôu' | Θαμως |
| ntokris | = $N\bar{i}t$ - $\bar{i}qr$ | 'Nit'ôqri' | Νιτωκρς |
| ituroú | = $Irt.w$ - $r.w$ | 'Iturôu' | Ἰθορως |
| niqau (?) | = Ny - $k\bar{3}w$ | 'Nikáu' | Νεχως |
| psmškúnêit | = $Psm\bar{t}k$ - $\bar{w}y$ - $N\bar{i}t$ | 'Psemetek'eunêit (?)' | |
| pismašk, etc. | = $Psm\bar{t}k$ | 'Psemâtek (?)' | Ψαμμητιχος |

(The last name is not Egyptian by etymology, but it can be counted as Egyptian by adoption. I have left out the name *pisiri*, which might correspond to the Egyptian $P\bar{3}$ - n - $Ws\bar{i}r$ 'Pausîri', or might not.³)

The first observation to make about this list is to wonder what would constitute a decipherment of the Carian material from Egypt, if this does not. The second point is more positive: it is good that these Egyptian names should have come, for the most part, from the work of scholars who are not Egyptologists, and who have no prior reason to promote Egyptology. The names have emerged, as a natu-

³ For a discussion of this word see Schürr 1996a: 61–62 and Ray 1994: 203. Its identity is still uncertain, and it may not be Egyptian at all.

ral consequence of decipherment, and without any 'hidden agenda'. In the table above, I have given the conventional transliteration used by Egyptologists, which is graphic and based on historical linguistics. The next column contains an attempt to reconstruct the pronunciation of the Egyptian, which is based partly on the Greek version(s) given in the final column, partly on extrapolation from what survives in Coptic.⁴ While the Greek forms are essentially Hellenistic (with the exceptions of the royal names Necho and Psammetichos which are preserved in Herodotus), there is a consensus among Egyptologists that the sound changes which led to these forms were in place by the sixth century BC. This is confirmed by many of the transcriptions which are preserved in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cuneiform. In the light of this, the Carian forms become interesting. In the consonants, the standard change $d > t$ appears to have been under way in the first millennium BC, and it is clearly visible in the Aramaic transcriptions from the Achaemenid period. In Carian it is visible in *ptnupi*, whatever the exact equivalent of this was in Egyptian, but it is completely absent from *pdnèit* and *pdtom*. This argues for an early date for Carian borrowings from Egyptian. The latter name also reflects an early form of the vowel, since the normal sequence in the presence of a nasal consonant is $\hat{a} > \hat{o} > \hat{u}$. Here, the process is frozen, so to speak, at the middle stage. Much the same may be true of the sound change $\acute{i} > \acute{a}/\acute{e}$. This may account for the spelling *piubaçi* and its variant, which might go back to an earlier form **Piybiste*. However, this sound change is more problematic, since there is some evidence to suggest that it took place earlier than the others, and was confined to limited parts of the country. A similar problem has already been noted with regard to the word *pisiri*. If the Carian really does reflect the Egyptian *Pausîri*, it must go back to an early pronunciation which predates the sound-change $\acute{i} > \acute{a}/\acute{e}$. This is not impossible, in view of the conservative traits seen elsewhere in our corpus, but this word remains problematic, as we have already remarked.

Another regular change was $\acute{a} > \acute{o}$, which took place in the dialects of Memphis and most of the Delta. This can be seen in *camou* and *ituroú*, names which argue for an original borrowing in the north of the country. An interesting confirmation of this change can be

⁴ The principles of this method are best outlined in J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte Ib and Iib*, Louvain 1973 and 1983.



Pl. 1 Gebel Sheikh Suleiman with Inscription of King Djer. © UNESCO/Keating 1960



Pl. 2 Carian Inscription, Gebel Sheikh Suleiman. © UNESCO/Keating 1960

seen in the well-known bilingual text MY L, in which the Carian name *Šarkbiom* is rendered by the Egyptian *Šrkb-yom*. The last element in this is the Egyptian word for sea or lake, which was originally borrowed from Semitic under the form *yam* or *yama*, and which re-appears in Coptic as ⲉⲓⲟⲙ. The change of vowel from *á* to *ó* must have taken place before MY L was inscribed, or else the scribe would not have resorted to such an unusual writing. However it must be admitted that the same change appears to be absent from *niqau*(?), a form which ought to have turned into **niqou*. This is reflected in most of the Greek versions of this name, although a form Νεχᾶω is preserved in the late summaries of Manetho which survive in Africanus and Eusebius. If this identification turns out to be correct, we would have further evidence either for early borrowing, or from contact with an extremely conservative form of the language, for example as might have been used in the royal court. Unfortunately, the identification of the name Necho is not yet certain (Schürr, 1996a: 63 n. 11).

In combination, however, the evidence from prosopography tends to confirm the account in Herodotus. The Carians came to Egypt well before the Achaemenid period, and learnt Egyptian in the Delta, or possibly in Memphis. As signs of their loyalty to Pharaoh, they were happy to adopt the dynastic names Psammetichos and Nitocris, and this may have contributed to some of the folklore which was beginning to surround the latter name (Ray, 1994: 202–3). Egyptian religion began to assert its fascination on them, as it did on others, perhaps starting with the goddess Neith who was the patron of Sais and the Saite dynasty, or the god Anubis who was an essential figure in the funerary cult. At some point this interest was extended to the god Atûm, embodiment of kingship and one of the principal gods of Heliopolis, near the apex of the eastern Delta. The goddess Bastet was also at home in the eastern Delta, and her worship figures strongly in the assimilation of the Carians to the religious beliefs of their new homeland. There, for the time being, we can leave them.

In contrast to the Egyptian names which can be recognised in Carian, we should also reckon with the possibility that there are Carian names in ordinary Egyptian texts, distinct from the bilinguals in the corpus published by Masson or Masson and Yoyotte. Names of this sort have gone unrecognised, either because they do not exist, or simply because we have not been looking for them. This is of course a difficult area, since Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom and the Late

Period are full of unusual names, some of them from language-groups in Libya or the Sudan which have never been identified. But some success is possible here, as is shown by the identification by O. Masson and his collaborators of a Lycian with an Egyptian mother.⁵ As is well known, Carians and other foreigners frequently took Egyptian names, and as a result cannot be identified, although the conventional obsequiousness of such names can sometimes arouse suspicion.⁶ However, a more promising category is that where an Egyptian name – especially a name of the loyalist or over-pious type – is accompanied by a foreign patronymic. This pattern would illustrate the Egyptianisation of a second generation, a practice we have already observed. Another promising source would be to identify texts where Egyptian and non-Egyptian names coexist over several generations. For our purpose the most likely candidates would appear to be three stelae in Florence, numbered 2459, 2507, and 2536. These bear some resemblance to the Carian stelae from Memphis which are familiar to all of us, and they may turn out to be related to them. A further member of this group may be stele Louvre C 294.⁷ These inscriptions cover a period of about a century on either side of the Persian conquest in 525. The Louvre stele, which is probably early Achaemenid, mentions a man named *Pdsq* or *Prsq*, son of Petihor and Tetubasti, while Florence 2495 gives a man with a good Egyptian name, but whose father is called *P3srp*. Florence 2507, which is dated to year 4 of Pharaoh Apries (587/6 BC) belongs to a choachyte named *Pdrwi^hhy* (?), son of *'Ipdy*. The fourth stele, Florence 2536, features a man with the good Egyptian name *Djeptahef^conh*, whose father was called *Gms*.⁸ The last is dated by the editor to 482/1 BC. In spite of the early dates, we may be dealing with members of the

⁵ G. Lacaze, O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, Deux documents memphites copiés par J. M. Vansleb, RdE 35, 1984, 132–37.

⁶ A good example of this may be contained in an ovoid plaque found at Memphis, which shows the cartouches of Psammetichus II and the name of a general Wahibre-nebqen, son of the general Psametik-'au-Neith (G. Daressy, ASAE 3, 1902, 143–44; cf. J. Yoyotte, RdE 8, 1951, 238 n. b). He may well have been one of the Ionian or Carian commanders who accompanied this king's Nubian campaign; but it is impossible to be certain of this.

⁷ The Florence stelae are published by S. Bosticco, Le stèle egiziane di epoca tarda, Rome 1972, and these together with the Louvre stele are also published with commentary by P. Munro, Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen, Äg. Forsch. 25, Glückstadt 1973, 328–34. I am grateful to my colleague H. de Meulenaere for his observations on these, and other, texts.

⁸ This is Bosticco's reading, which is preferable to Munro's *Gmn*.

Caromemphite community who were already on their way to communicating in Egyptian rather than the language they brought from their homeland.

Another interesting name is the one which appears in hieroglyphic as *Pshrs*. This is attested, particularly at Memphis, in texts dating from the Achaemenid period and the century or so following. It also appears in the dedications inscribed on bronze statuettes, similar to those which are published as MY I–M. (Such statue-bases tend to be rich in unusual names, probably because they were favoured by pilgrims to religious sites.) *Pshrs* is sometimes interpreted as a hybrid name *p3 srs*, ‘the *saris*’, the latter being equated with the Persian or Aramaic title discussed in G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, BdE 11, Cairo 1936, 126 n. c. More recently the name was recognised by H. de Meulenaere in a hieroglyphic inscription from Saqqâra.⁹ The name is also attested in Egyptian demotic, in the form *P3-shrs* (E. Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch I*, Wiesbaden 1984, 218). The latter writing certainly shows that the opening syllable of the name was interpreted as the definite article, which in its masculine form was pronounced something like *pə*-. However, the following element, *shrs*, makes no sense in Egyptian, and the idea that it is Aramaic also leaves something to be desired. The apparent article may simply be a rationalisation, and examples of this sort of re-interpretation are not uncommon in linguistics. The same is probably true of the feminine by-form *T3y-s-hrs* which is quoted in Dem. *Namenbuch*, and which merely represents a pronunciation like **Tesh̃res*. This is not Egyptian, and it seems more likely that the entire name *Pshrs* is Anatolian, where names beginning with *p-s* are regularly found (Adiego 1993: 248; Schürr 1996a: 61). In this context it is worth mentioning the stele Vienna 185, which introduces us to a *P3shrs*, son of Petosiri and a lady named Tetubasti.¹⁰ This brings us neatly back to the family of names which have been identified by Diether Schürr, and it is worth remembering

⁹ CdE 66, 1981, 80, with detailed bibliography. The original is Text 271 of G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and other Reliefs and Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra 1964–1973*, EES Texts from Excavations 4, London 1979. De Meulenaere rejects the reading *s3 T3pshrs* suggested by the original editor, in favour of the more likely combination *s3 n Pshrs* ‘son of *Pshrs*’.

¹⁰ P. Munro, *Totenstelen*, 333.

that it may well have been women with names like these who were the ones who taught their Carian sons to be bilingual.

Another unusual combination, also from North Saqqâra, is contained in a dedication on behalf of a dead man named *Rdr* son of *Nqḏbs*.¹¹ Initial *r* is not attested in Carian, but the Egyptian could represent *l* instead.¹² These names also have an Anatolian look to them, although the use of Egyptian *ḏ* (originally a palatalised *d*, which in many cases turned into something resembling a fricative) will need some explanation, since it is not used in the bilingual texts, and its Carian equivalent is still unknown. At first sight, the patronymic has a Greek appearance, but it is difficult to think of a Greek sound which would need to be conveyed by Egyptian *ḏ*.

We should not confine our search for Carians merely to Egyptian texts. One of the Phoenician graffiti from the temple of Osiris at Abydos – a site where Carians left records of their own – mentions a *Bnḥdš bn Grhkl hkrs* (= KAI 17). This graffito has most recently been discussed by Y. Garfinkel, JNES 47, 1988, 27–34, who emends the final word from the editor's *hkps*. The first name is Semitic, but the patronymic is not, and it may well be Anatolian, possibly a Carian name ending in *-ol*. The final element appears to be a definite article, followed by the word *krs*. According to Garfinkel, this is an ethnic or professional term found elsewhere in close association with the word for Greeks (*Ktym*). The *krsym* appear to have been mercenaries. Garfinkel is inclined to locate them in Cyprus, where they are otherwise unknown, but they are also attested from Elephantine and other sites in Upper Egypt. The possibility that the *krsym* are Carians is obviously an attractive one, which should be investigated further. If so, we can conclude that *Bnḥdš* was a Carian who has come to Egypt in Semitic disguise, and there may be others waiting to be found.

Finally, it may be appropriate here to publish a small addition to the corpus of Carian material from Egypt and the Sudan. In Cambridge in the early 1980s we were fortunate to receive a series of photo-

¹¹ G. T. Martin, *Hetepka*, 79 (Text 291). The reading given here seems preferable to the original editor's tentative suggestion *īrdr .. tqḏbs*.

¹² D. Schürr compares *Rdr* to a possible Carian *ltari* (written communication, 2 February 1998). He is also inclined to see a link between Egyptian *Pdsq* or *Prsq* and Παρσικως, as well as perhaps the *parśqlou*(?) of AS 1.

graphs, taken on behalf of UNESCO in Nubia in or before 1960, during the archaeological survey which preceded the building of the Aswan High Dam. One of these is a photograph of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman near the Second Cataract, just within the Sudanese frontier opposite Wadi Halfa; this was later published in a reduced form as plate 2 of Rex Keating's *Nubian Twilight*, London 1962, and is reproduced here on Pls. 1-2. It shows the famous inscription traditionally dated to King Djer, in an area which came to be surrounded by later graffiti, mainly hieratic.¹³ However, the upper right-hand corner of the rock face shows some signs which have a good chance of being Carian. As far as can be made out from the photograph, there are at least five signs, with possible traces of a further two above. The surviving letters appear to read $\mathfrak{M} \Theta \text{ } \text{ } \mathfrak{M} \text{E}$. The second sign looks like the horizontal variant of no. 25 (a form which is attested in Egypt). Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, it may be the theta-like sign which is increasingly read as *q* or *g*. The middle sign looks like an upside down version of no. 22, which is now generally read as *n*. But this would be unusual, and it is better to regard it as a damaged writing either of sign 32 = *ú*, or possibly of sign 38 = *í*. The last two signs are clear, although the exact value of the final sign (E) is not yet certain. Present values, as given by Adiego, give us the overall reading *pqúpù* or *pqípù*. This could be a proper name, of the type beginning with *Pig-* or *Pik-* in Anatolian. (It will take all the ingenuity of my colleagues to turn it into something Egyptian, but they are welcome to try.) The text appears to be unpublished; certainly it is not the same as Sayce's inscription, GSS 72 F, which is distinguished by its comparative length.¹⁴ Small though our new text is, we should add it to our corpus of Carian material from the Nile Valley.

We have come a long way since December, 1968, and the journey is not yet complete. But it has been an exciting one, and we can be sure

¹³ For the inscriptions from the site see B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings VII*, Oxford 1952, 140.

¹⁴ On this text see M. Meier-Brügger, *Kadmos* 18, 1972, 132. The area of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman was inundated by the waters of Lake Nasser, but parts of the inscription were moved to the Archaeological Museum in Khartoum. It may be that examination of these will produce more evidence of Carian graffiti. I am grateful to the late O. Masson for commenting on an earlier enquiry about this text.

that there are still surprises, and rewards, to come. When we have finished, we will be able to say that we restored to the Carians their lost language, and with language comes history and identity.

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