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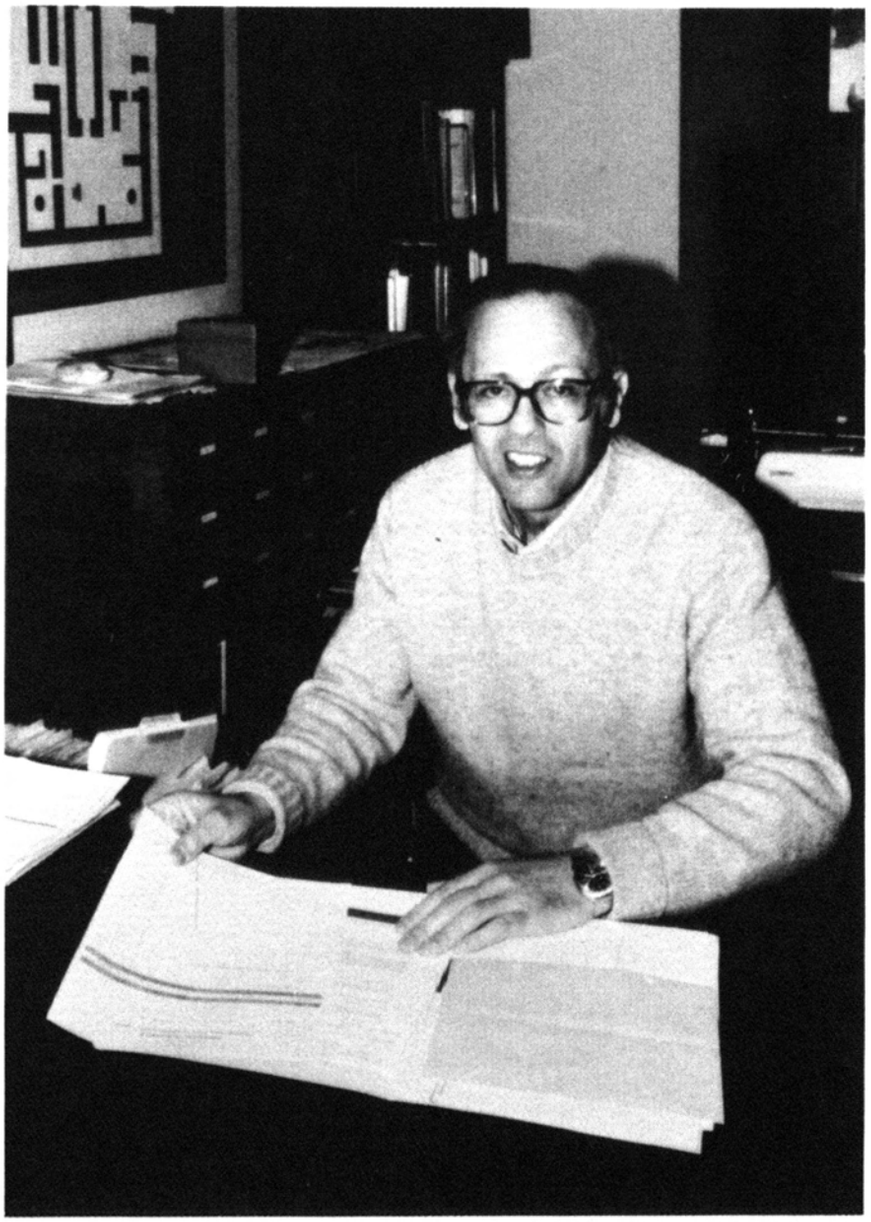
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Professor Klaus Baer in His Office at the Oriental Institute, 1987
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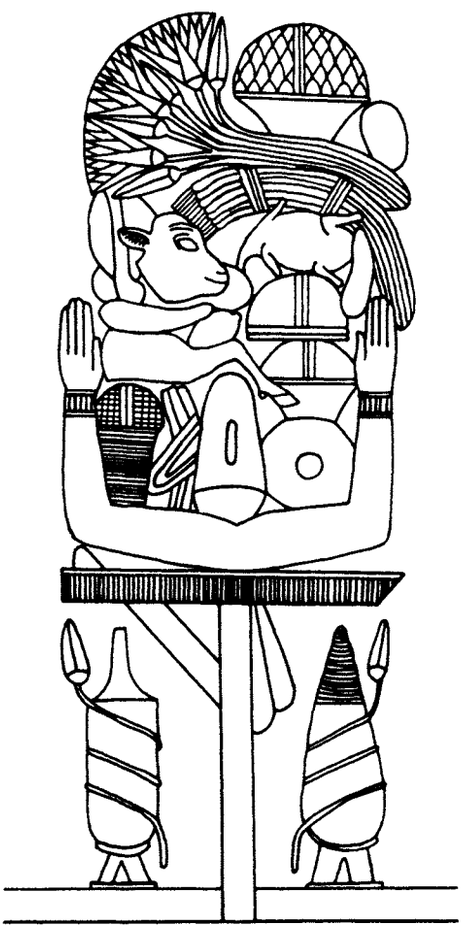
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For His Ka

Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer

Edited by David P. Silverman



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Cover Illustration

The illustration by Jennifer Houser is based on the depiction of a table of offerings that appears in several Theban tombs of the New Kingdom: Tjanefer (TT 158); the two sculptors, Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181); the vizier Ramose (TT 55); Kheruef (TT 192); Inherkha (TT 359); and the false door stela from the tomb of Puyemre (TT39).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BM	British Museum, London
CG	Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo
col(s).	column(s)
CT	Coffin Texts
fasc(s).	fascicle(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)
Gr.	Graffito
JE	Journal d'Entrée (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. Edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975–90
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MM	Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
n(n).	(foot)note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
n.s.	new series
Nt	Pyramid Texts from *Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*. By Gustave Jéquier. Fouilles à Saqqarah, vol. 12. Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1933; *see also* PT
O.	Ostracon
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
p(p).	page(s)
P.	Papyrus
pl(s).	plate(s)
PT	Pyramid Texts; *see also* Nt
pt(s).	part(s)
ro.	recto
TT	Theban Tomb
vo.	verso
vol(s).	volume(s)
Wb.	*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. 2nd ed. Edited by Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957
Wb. Beleg.	*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, die Belegstellen*. 5 vols. Edited by Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1940–59

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I should also like to thank Jennifer Houser of Yale University and Stephen Phillips of the University of Pennsylvania who assisted me in all aspects of preparing the manuscripts. Without their dedicated help, I would have had a much more difficult job of editing. Ms. Houser has also generously provided the cover artwork for the volume based on her observations of scenes of the deceased in the Theban tombs of officials of the New Kingdom. Other technical details were ably handled by David Schwartz and Julie Lotharius, both of the University of Pennsylvania.

I wish also to express my gratitude to all the authors for contributing to this memorial tribute and for their patience during the long process of publication. This collection of essays includes among other topics: grammar, philology, anthropology, archaeology, chronology, art history, and history. As such not only does it represent the range of present Egyptological studies, but it also reflects the extensive interests and expertise of the man in whose memory it is offered.

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PREFACE

Klaus Baer was a meticulous scholar who possessed a wealth of information in his chosen field of Egyptology, but he also had many varied interests as well as expertise in several other fields. He had begun the study of Egyptian hieroglyphs early in his childhood, but it was not until he entered graduate school at the University of Chicago in 1948 that he began studying the subject academically. He was quite young then, having received his B.A. degree in Classical Greek from the University of Illinois at the age of seventeen. His thirst for knowledge and his gift for languages were responsible for his mastering Egyptian and other languages of the ancient Near East, modern colloquial and classical Arabic, as well as the culture, history, and archaeology of the entire area.

Klaus was born in Halle, Germany, in 1930, but he was raised and schooled in the midwestern United States. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1958, and the following year moved to Berkeley, California, where he was appointed Assistant Professor of Egyptology at the University of California. During his six years in residence there, he built the department into a center of Egyptology on the West Coast. He returned to Chicago in 1965 as Associate Professor at the Oriental Institute and five years later became full Professor in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. He served as the Department's chair from 1972 through 1975, and while in Chicago, he also served on many departmental, university, and national committees and boards.

Throughout his career he supported American Egyptology through the American Research Center in Egypt, and in 1981, he was elected its president. He was also for a time the editor of the Center's *Journal* and was an active fund-raiser for the organization. Egyptology was, however, only one of Klaus Baer's many interests. He was fascinated with railroading, he studied Native American languages, and he loved hiking in the mountains, especially those near his retreat in Estes Park, Colorado. During the summers there, he was involved with music and encouraged young artists in residence. For many years he served on the Board of the Rocky Ridge Music Center.

Klaus Baer's virtually unlimited range of Egyptological knowledge was well known throughout the scholarly world, and many of his colleagues often called upon him for his highly valued opinions. He was always generous with his ideas and often shared information from the extensive files and detailed records that he amassed over the years. This generosity was not limited to senior scholars, for he would often consult with junior colleagues and students and provide them with access to his files. According to Klaus' own plans, this important body of information was to be deposited in the archives of the Oriental Institute Museum as his on-going contribution to scholarship. His private library, the largest personal collection of works on Egyptology, Near Eastern Studies, and linguistics in the United States, he left to the University of California at Berkeley, where it is housed separately under his name.

Given his valuable scholarly publications, his generous service to the institutions with which he was associated, the many students whose careers he guided and encouraged, and his accessibility to friends, colleagues, and students, Klaus Baer would long have been due a volume of studies in his honor. Since he was my *Doktorvater*, I had looked forward to organizing this tribute to him, but his untimely death on May 14, 1987, precluded any plans for a *Festschrift*.

A few years ago, I met with Klaus' devoted wife, Miriam Reitz Baer, and discussed the possibility of contacting Egyptologists to contribute essays for a volume in her husband's memory. She wholeheartedly supported the project and offered to help underwrite it. She felt that it would be most appropriate to invite as many of Klaus' students as possible. In addition, she suggested I include in an appendix, an annotated catalogue of Klaus' notes and files, prepared by Terry Wilfong.

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While involved in the process of organizing, compiling, and editing the contributions, I often found myself reflecting on my years at the Oriental Institute. They were exciting times, for the atmosphere there allowed for unlimited intellectual growth, due in large part to the exceptional academic environment presented by the Egyptological faculty, an extraordinary group of scholars: John Wilson, George Hughes, Edward Wente, Helene Kantor, and Klaus Baer. It is the last individual who was my first instructor in hieroglyphs and the person with whom I eventually completed my dissertation. I, however, was only one of the many Institute students who benefited from Klaus Baer's knowledge, expertise, and generosity. They too remember him well, and they all have gathered here to make offering to his memory—*for his ka*.

David P. Silverman
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
September 1993

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CHAPTER 1

PRONOMINAL RHEMATIZATION

JAMES P. ALLEN
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

One of the most important lessons I learned from Klaus Baer was the stress he laid on language as a human artifact—capable, therefore, of as much variability as human beings themselves. On more than one occasion I can recall him enumerating—with a certain mischievous glee—exception after exception to what my fellow students and I had assumed to be a "rule" of Egyptian grammar. If Klaus seemed to delight in such irregularities, it was (I realize now) because they can reveal as much about the nature of a language as the rules to which they are exceptions. In that spirit, I offer this small study of one such grammatical "irregularity" to the memory of a great scholar and teacher of the Egyptian language.

After a period of some skepticism about its usefulness, the distinction Gardiner made between "logical" and "grammatical" subject and predicate (see Gardiner 1957, § 126) has returned to discussions of Egyptian grammar, albeit under different names. Gardiner's "grammatical" categories are now mostly referred to simply as subject and predicate, or more specifically as syntactic subject and predicate. Gardiner's "logical" categories have reemerged under a number of new names, most commonly "topic" and "comment" or "theme" and "rheme." As the name implies, the theme of any proposition is that which the proposition is about—the given, background, or old information; the rheme is that which the proposition says about the theme. In normal (unmarked) propositions, theme and rheme coincide with the syntactic subject and predicate, respectively.

Rhematization is the process whereby a syntactic element other than the predicate is marked as carrying the sentence rheme (see Doret 1989, p. 54; idem 1991, p. 58; Vernus 1991, pp. 333–55). That this apparent semantic dissonance can exist within a single proposition is easily shown by the use of interrogative pronouns. These are always rhematic (cf. Polotsky 1944, § 9), yet they can occur not only as sentence predicate but also as subject or as object of a verb or preposition (cf. Gardiner 1957, § 495; Collier 1985, pp. 5–6), as in the following four examples:

[1] *ẖwt* ***mi*** *tr* (CT Spell 173 [de Buck 1947, 59b])
Who are you?

[2] *skm* ***mi*** $^{2}/_{3}$ $^{1}/_{30}$ *m 1* (P. Rhind 22)
What makes $^{7}/_{10}$ complete as 1?

[3] *jry.j* ***mi*** (Adm. 2, 9; CT Spell 188 [de Buck 1947, 94f]; CT Spell 891 [de Buck 1961, 102h])
What shall I do?

[4] *ḫpr.n 10 m* $^{2}/_{3}$ $^{1}/_{10}$ ***n mi*** (P. Rhind 30)
10 has become $^{23}/_{30}$ of what?

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Since rhematic function is an inherent feature of these pronouns, the shift of the rheme in such cases is marked by the pronoun itself. In most instances, however, it must be marked by other means.

The classic case of rhematization in Egyptian is the sentence with an "emphatic" verb form, or "second tense." Although the verb is inherently predicative, and therefore the normal rheme of its clause, in the "emphatic" sentence it is formally marked to indicate rhematization of another element, usually an adverbial adjunct, as the following comparison shows:

[5] ***jr*** *n.j ʿqw m mjnt* (Sinuhe B 87)
Food was made for me as a daily ration.[1]

[6] ***jr.n.t*** *n.j ḥtpt* (CT Spell 317 [de Buck 1951, 134c])
Food-offerings were made *for* ***me***.

Rhematization of a pronoun (usually, of a subject pronoun) in a verbal clause is illustrated by Gunn's "emphasizing construction in the future tense":[2]

[7] *ntf jr.f n.j pȝ t ḥ (n)qt* (Siut I 323–24)
He will make that bread and beer for me.

To judge from Late Egyptian, the verb in this construction undergoes precisely the same formal marking as in the "emphatic" sentence:

[8] ***j.ḏd.w*** *smy n tȝt* (P. Abbott 6, 22 = Peet 1930, pl. 4)
They should report *to the vizier*.

[9] *ntk* ***j.jr.k*** *ʿn-smy n tȝt ḥr.w* (Wente 1967, p. 70, 14–15)
You should make report to the vizier about them.

Although the motive for this marking of the verb is usually seen as syntactic (to serve as nominal subject), examples 6 and 9 expose two difficulties with such an analysis. In example 6, the standard interpretation of *jr.n.t ḥtpt* as nominal subject to the adverbial predicate *n.j* leaves unexplained the otherwise unattested syntactic process of embedding a predicate within its subject.[3] In example 9, analysis of *j.jr.k* as nominal subject to the nominal predicate *ntk* contradicts the general rule that the "emphatic" *sḏm.f* cannot serve as subject to a preceding element in Late Egyptian.[4] Rather than syntactic function, what unites the verbal

1. The Ashmolean ostracon has *jw jr n.(j) ʿqw*.
2. Gardiner 1957, §§ 227,3, 373; Gunn 1924, pp. 45–65. For recent discussion, see Borghouts 1972, pp. 271–76; Frandsen 1974, pp. 247–49 (n. 14); Junge 1978, pp. 46–54; idem 1981, pp. 431–62; Satzinger 1981, pp. 480–505; Doret 1989, pp. 59–62; idem 1990, pp. 42–47; Vernus 1990, pp. 55–60; idem 1991, pp. 334–35.
3. This point has been made, using the same example, much more cogently by Collier (1992).
4. Černý and Groll 1984, p. 378. Although the syntax of Gunn's "emphasizing construction" is often compared to that of the "participial statement" (discussed below), the former apparently cannot be negated like the latter. I know of no negated examples in Old, Middle, or Late Egyptian. The alternation between the "participial statement" and the "emphasizing construction" in P. Westcar 9, 5–7, moreover, suggests that the latter in fact cannot be negated, at least not as a nominal-predicate construction: *nn jnk js* ***jnn*** *n.k sj ... jn mi r.f* ***jn.f*** *n.j sj ... jn smsw n pȝ ḫrdw 3 ntj m ḫt n rd-ḏdt* ***jn.f*** *n.k sj*, "*I* will not bring it to you. ... Then who will bring it to me? ... The eldest of the 3 children who are in the womb of Rud-djedet will bring it to you."

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transformations visible in the "emphatic" and "emphasizing" constructions is the common semantic motive of rhematization. In both constructions, the verb is marked not because it is the subject of its clause but because it is a nonrhematic predicate.

In the case of adverbial rhematization, this marking of the verb is apparently sufficient in itself to shift the rheme to the adverbial adjunct; this is best seen in Coptic, where the forms are vocalized:

[10] ϵϕOCON ⲁTϵ$\overline{\text{TN}}$ⲁⲁC $\overline{\text{N}}$OYⲁ $\overline{\text{N}}$Nϵ$\ddot{\text{I}}$CNHY ϵTC$\overline{\text{OBK}}$
$\overline{\text{NT}}$ⲁTϵ$\overline{\text{TN}}$ⲁⲁC Nⲁ$\ddot{\text{I}}$ (Matthew 25:40)
For as much as you did it to one of these least brothers,
you did it to *me*.

Pronominal rhematization, however, requires an additional copy of the rhematized pronoun. That this is not simply frontal topicalization of the subject is shown by the use of the construction in the answer to questions for specification, where the pronoun is the rheme while the verb form clearly conveys old information:

[11] *jn mi jr.f jn.f sw gm.f sw*
jnk jn.j sw jnk gm.j sw (P. Ebers 58, 10–11 = Grapow 1958, p. 84)
Who then will fetch him and find him?
I will fetch him; *I* will find him.

Although well attested for Late Egyptian, pronominal topicalization does not seem to exist in earlier stages of the language, at least not in a form that can be confused with Gunn's "emphasizing construction."[5]

As Gunn pointed out, his "emphasizing construction" is limited to statements with future reference, with the "participial statement" used as its paradigmatic counterpart for other tenses;[6] e.g.,

[12] *z3.f smsw ʿnḫ-jr.s ḏd.f* ***jnk jr nn n (j)t(j)*** (Sethe 1903, 229.16)
His eldest son, *ʿnḫ-jr.s*, says: *I* am the one who made this for my father.

This seems to be a real nominal sentence with pronominal predicate. In Middle Egyptian it is graphically identical to the nominal sentence with first- or second-person pronominal subject:

[13] *jr n.j w3t*
jnk rḫ w3 t.f (CT Spell 484 [de Buck 1956, 54a/c])[7]
Make way for me:
I am one who knows his way.

5. For Late Egyptian (*j r jnk*, "As for me," etc.) see Černý and Groll 1984, pp. 14–15; Satzinger 1976, pp. 10–11; Borghouts (1986, pp. 54–56) has suggested that the pattern *jnk pw jnk wsjr* (CT Spell 227 [de Buck 1947, 261d]) may be a form of topicalization.
6. See Gunn 1924, pp. 44–45, 57–58. The Pyramid Texts provide some evidence of other tenses, with the *sḏm.n.f* and the nonprospective "emphatic" *sḏm.f*: see, Allen 1984, § 222. An instance of the latter is perhaps *jnk sqdd.j* in example 17, below, where the presence of initial *jnk* makes it unlikely that the adverbial adjunct is rhematized.
7. The copy on Coffin B1Bo has the third-person form *rḫ w3t.f pw NN pn*, "This NN is one who knows his way."

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Both are negated in the same manner:

[14] *jnk mrrj wn(m) dg.f*
nj jnk js wn(m) *ʿfn.w* (Fischer 1968, pp. 138–40)
I am one who likes to eat when he can see:
I am not one who eats blindfolded.

[15] ***nj jnk js ḏd n.k nw***
jn gbb ḏd n.k nw ḥnʿ wsjr (CT Spell 72 [de Buck 1935, 302e–f])
I am not the one who says this to you:
Geb is the one who says this to you, along with Osiris.

This suggests that both have the same basic structure (*jnk* NOUN), with the initial pronoun capable of either thematic or rhematic function.[8] There are, however, two visible differences that accompany this difference in function.

When the pronoun is rhematic, it shares personal congruence with any resumptives in the participial clause, while thematic pronouns are resumed only in the third person; e.g., [12] ***jnk*** *jr nn n jt.(j)* versus [13] ***jnk*** *rḫ wꜣtf*.[9] The difference makes it possible to distinguish some instances of rhematic and thematic use of the pronoun:

[16] *mi.k wḏꜣ.j*
sḫpr.n.j ḥʿw.j m ꜣḫw.j
jnk jr wj
qd.n.(j) wj r mrr.j ḫft jb.j (CT Spell 714 [de Buck 1956, 344a–d])
See, I have become sound.
Through my own agency I have caused my parts to develop;
I am the one who made me;
as I wanted, according to my own mind, have I built myself.

[17] *j jmwt mꜣt pḫry ḥnʿ ḫpr*
jnk sqdd.j ḥr tpj jrt.n.j nn ḫt nb ḥꜣt.[j]
nj ʿḥʿ ḥz sw jm.j wbꜣ.j bjꜣ r kꜣ.f
jnk jr sw
jnk ṯz ḥꜣt ʿꜣ ꜣwt.f
nj jnk js mt ḫm r.f
jnk rḫ tp.f tꜣ sḫꜣ jmnt (CT Spell 819 [de Buck 1961, 18p–x])[10]
Oh you in the granite bowl and you who develop with Developer!
I sail above what I have made, without any company about me.
He who puts himself in my way will not stand when I open up the distant sky against his bull.
I am the one who made himself.
I am the one with raised front, whose striking-powers are great.
I am not a dead person whose mention is forgotten:
I am one whom his survivor knows, whom the West remembers.

8. Against Junge's claim (1981, pp. 439–43; idem 1989, pp. 21–24) that the independent pronoun is always predicate, see Loprieno 1991, p. 208, n. 26.
9. Cf. Doret 1989, p. 60. A similar phenomenon distinguishes the English "cleft" and "pseudocleft" constructions: "It is **I** who **do** it" vs. "**I** am the one who **does** it."
10. Part of a series of spells (Coffin Texts Spells 817–20), attested only on Coffin T3C, equating the deceased with the sun-god. It is possible that the dependent pronoun of *jnk jr sw* refers to the opponent mentioned in the preceding sentence, but the context indicates otherwise.

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Similar congruence, of course, exists in Gunn's "emphasizing construction," not only between the rhematized pronoun and the suffix of the *sḏm.f* (cf. example 11) but also in other resumptives:

[18] ***ntk*** *ḥ3b.**k*** *ḥr mdt m ḥr.**k*** (P. Kahun IV 4, vo. 6–7 = Griffith 1898, pl. 31)
You should dispatch about the things in your charge.

This contrasts with the congruence in a construction that uses the independent pronoun as theme to an undefined (and unexpressed) rheme modified by the (non-"emphatic") *sḏm.f* as a "virtual" relative clause:

[19] *jnk ʿ3 m nwt.f šps m pr.f jwn ʿ3 n 3bt.f*
jnk *mr.**f*** *nfrt msḏ.**f*** *ḏwt jwt sḏr.n r(m)ṯ špt r.f* (Budge 1911, p. 49, 8)[11]
I am one great in his town and respected in his household, a big pillar for his family.
I am one who loves what is good and hates what is bad, at whom people do not go to sleep angry.

Although the syntactic structure of both *sḏm.f* constructions is clearly different from that of the nominal sentence, it is significant that personal congruence is associated in both cases with rhematic but not thematic pronouns.

The second visible feature distinguishing the nominal sentence with pronominal predicate from that with pronominal subject is the well-known alternation between (rhematic) *ntf* and (thematic) *pw* in the third person; e.g.,

[20] *ntf d3r ḫ3swt* (Sinuhe B 50)
He is the one who holds off the foreign lands.

[21] *zwzḫ t3šw pw* (Sinuhe B 71)
He is the one who broadens the borders.

where both pronouns refer to the king. The same feature in Coptic shows that *ntf* > ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ belongs to a paradigm with fully-stressed first and second-person forms (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ) while *pw* > ⲡⲉ aligns with their unstressed counterparts (ⲁ‾ⲛ‾, ⲛ̄ⲧ‾ⲕ) (see Polotsky 1987, pp. 19–23). The distinction in the first and second persons reflects a general association between phonological stress and syntactic function, with the unstressed forms serving only as subject and the fully-stressed forms as predicate (among other functions). Since the morphological distinction in the third person exists not only in Coptic but also in the earlier stages of the language, the phonological difference probably existed earlier as well (see Polotsky 1962, pp. 414–16; Groll 1967, p. 30; Gilula 1976b, p. 168; Doret 1989, pp. 54–55). In the nominal sentence, the predicate is identified through marking of the rheme, since neither of the two nominal elements equated in this construction is inherently predicative. Phonological stress, therefore, is associated more specifically with the rheme, a semantic rather than syntactic feature.

This phonological feature is evidently what distinguishes rhematic from thematic pronouns in the nominal sentence; e.g., stressed *jnk* (> ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) in [12] *jnk jr nn* but stressed *rḫ*

11. Similarly CT Spell 132 [de Buck 1938, 154d], CT Spell 236 [de Buck 1947, 305c (?)], CT Spell 1135 [de Buck 1961, 479k–l]; Budge 1911, p. 47, 11; idem 1912, p. 32, 3; Fischer 1968, p. 138. See Gunn 1924, pp. 60–61; Polotsky 1929, § 44.

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wꜣt.f in [13] *jnk rḫ wꜣt.f*, with the pronoun's stress consequently reduced (> ⲁⲛⲟⲕ). Rhematization in this case is simply a matter of stress shift. In sentences with verbal predicate, however, it also requires morphological marking of the verb (which is inherently predicative) to indicate that the rheme lies elsewhere in the proposition. Such "thematization" of the verb is apparently sufficient to mark an adverbial adjunct as rheme, but rhematization of a pronoun requires an additional copy of the pronoun, presumably to carry rhematic stress: thus, *jnk* is presumably stressed in [11] *jnk jn.j sw* and *jnk gm.j sw* but not in [19] *jnk mr.f nfrt*.

Rhematized pronouns are also attested in sentences with adverbial predicate. These are distinguished by an initial independent pronoun serving as rhematized subject to the adverb;[12] e.g.,

[22] *jr pt jr pt m ꜥb nṯrw prwtjw*
***jnk jr pt** m ꜥb nṯrw prwtjw* (PT 1114a–b P″)
To the sky! To the sky, among the emergent gods!
I am to the sky, among the emergent gods.

[23] *hꜣb.n w(j) nb.(j) m jpt n ꜥꜣt n mḏd.(j) wꜣt r ḫrp n.f st nt nḥḥ ...*
wsjr ḫnt-jmnt ḥꜥ m mnw nw nb.(j)
jnk ḏs.(j) m ḥꜥwt
jb.(j) ꜣw m ḫrpt.j (Louvre C 3, lines 4–7 = Vernus 1973)
Because of the extent of my perseverance, my lord sent me on a mission to direct for him a place of continuity ...
Osiris First of the West is elated with the monuments of my lord,
and *I* am in elation myself,
my heart glad at what I directed.

In the usual adverbial sentence, the adverbial element carries the sentence rheme while the pronoun by its very nature points to an element already given in the speech context. In the construction exemplified in [22]–[23], however, the pronoun itself is rhematic, while the accompanying adverbial conveys background information already expressed in a previous clause (*jr pt* and *m ḥꜥwt* = *ḥꜥ*, respectively). The same structure appears in sentences where the independent pronoun serves as rhematized subject to the stative:[13]

12. For this construction, see Sethe 1916, § 7; Gardiner 1957, § 116; Lefebvre 1955, p. 647; Edel 1964, §§ 905, 914; Gilula 1976a, p. 27; Vernus 1991, p. 337; Barta 1991, p. 7; Schenkel 1991, p. 190. I know of seven examples in Old-Middle Egyptian: PT 1093a P″M; PT 1114b P″ (example 22); CT Spell 40 [de Buck 1935, 176d]; Louvre C 3, line 7 (example 23); Sinuhe B 39, 185 (example 26), 255. The personal name *ntf m jb.j* cited by Gilula (1976a, p. 27, n. 14) is actually *rn.f m jb.j* (see Ranke 1935, p. 223, 14): see Scharff 1922, p. 13**, no. 46, 1.

13. I know of three clear examples: PT 2121a/2124a = Nt 820/824 (example 24), PT 251c, CT Spell 1042 [de Buck 1961, 293c] (see here example 25). Barta (1991, p. 11, n. 28), following Sethe (1916, § 7) cites PT 877b, *ṯwt wrrtj*, as another example, but this clearly contains a nisbe of *wrrt* ("crowned one"): cf. the determinative in T. The stative of *wrr* shows no gemination in the Pyramid Texts: see Allen 1984, §§ 47, 768.

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[24] *wjj jt wjj r ˁ nw jr.f ḏd.n.k*
ḥw zꜣ ꜣḫ.j ḫ ˁ.j bꜣ wꜣš.j sḫm.j ꜣw.j ˁ.f wsḫ nmt.f
m.k w jr.j jnk zꜣ.k
m.k w jr.j ***jnk NN ꜣḫ.kj*** *ḫ ˁ.k bꜣ.k wꜣš.k sḫm.k ꜣw ˁ.(j) wsḫ nmt.j* (PT 2120–21 = Nt 819–21)
Ah, father! Ah, Sun! Now, that which you have said—
"Oh for a son, effective, manifest, impressive, respected, capable, long in his arm and broad in his stride"—
look at me: *I* am your son;
look at me: *I*, NN, am effective, manifest, impressive, respected, capable, long in my arm and broad in my stride.

Here *jnk ꜣḫ.kj* (etc.) clearly belongs to the original text, which has been personalized through insertion of the deceased's name. Although the statives are predicative, they are part of the background information provided by the initial sentence (*ḥw zꜣ ꜣḫ.j*, etc.): the pronoun is the rheme.[14]

Unlike the *sḏm.f* in Gunn's "emphasizing construction," the stative with rhematized pronoun is apparently not itself marked as nonrhematic. This is presumably because the fronting of its subject already marks it as an adverbial predicate:[15] *jnk ꜣḫ.kj* is a rhematized example of the SUBJECT-STATIVE construction rather than one of the simple stative alone. The relationship is clear in an example from the Coffin Texts:

[25] *jnk ꜣḫj nb ꜣḫjw*
ꜣḫj jrj.j jw.f wn
ꜣḫj sfꜣ.j ***nj ntf wn*** (CT Spell 1042 [de Buck 1961, 293a–c])
I am an akh, lord of the akhs.
The akh I make, he is existent;
the akh I denounce,[16] *he* is not existent.

Here the preceding clause *jw.f wn* provides an instance of the normal SUBJECT-STATIVE construction, with the stative "is existent" predicated of "he." The contrastive line in the second clause could presumably have been configured negatively in the same vein,[17] but the text has chosen instead to rhematize the subject against the background of the information already given. The independent pronoun in this case is clearly the rhematized counterpart of the suffix pronoun in the preceding line.

14. Gunn (1924, p. 59, n. 1) thought that the independent pronoun was motivated by the fact that adverbial-predicate constructions introduced by *jw* "would not be possible in Old Egyptian," but this is an erroneous impression: for *jw.j m ḫ ˁwt* (versus example [23]), cf. PT 248b, 428b, 915b P, 1874b; for *jw.j ꜣḫ.kj* (versus example [24]), cf. PT 945b MN, 1067c, 1700.
15. See Allen 1991, pp. 10–12. In example [24] the preceding *m.k w jr.j jnk zꜣ.k* indicates that the stative construction *m.k w jr.j jnk NN ꜣḫ.kj* derives from *m.k w jr.j* plus SUBJECT-STATIVE and not from *m.k* SUBJECT-STATIVE. For "independent" *m.k w jr.j*, cf. PT 532b, 681a–b, 887a, 1822a.
16. Understanding *sfꜣ* as the causative of 3-lit. *wfꜣ*, "talk about, discuss" (Faulkner 1962, p. 60).
17. I.e., **nj/nn sw wn*, "he is not existent." For this negation of the SUBJECT-STATIVE construction, see Edel 1964, § 979A1; Gilula 1970, p. 211, n. 4; Allen 1984, §§ 577–78. The parallel in CT Spell 277 [de Buck 1951, 18e–f] has *ꜣḫj zzn.(j) jw.f zzn* (variant *nj wnn.f*), "The akh I hurt, he is hurt" (variant "he will not exist"); CT Spell 1151 [de Buck 1961, 501a–c] has *ꜣḫj sfꜣ.j nj wnn.f*, "The akh I denounce, he will not exist."

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This alternation between rhematic and nonrhematic pronouns is also illustrated by the three other known examples of a negated adverbial sentence with rhematized pronoun, all from the story of Sinuhe; e.g.,

[26] *dd tw ḫ3st n ḫ3st ḥr zḥ n jb.k n.k*
ptr jrt.n.k jr.tw r.k
nj wʿ3.k ḫsf.tw mdw.k
nj mdw.k m zḥ n srjw jtn.tw ṯ3zw.k
zḫr pn jn n.f jb.k n(n) ntf m jb.(j) r.k (Sinuhe B 182–85)

Land gave you to land through the counsel of your own heart.
What did you do that one should act against you?
You did not curse, so that your speech should be barred;
You did not speak against the counsel of officials, so that your phrases should be opposed.
This plan that fetched away your mind, *it* was not in my mind for you. [18]

The usual negated adverbial-predicate construction with pronominal subject uses the dependent pronoun, a construction also attested in Sinuhe:

[27] *js wʿrt tn jrt.n b3k nj ḫmt.s*
nn s m jb.j
nj qmd.j s (Sinuhe B 223–24)

Now this flight which Your servant made—it was not intended;
it was not in my mind; I did not design it.

The same substitution of a rhematic pronoun for its thematic counterpart is visible in the adjectival sentence of possession. In this construction, the dependent pronouns are used as theme and the independent forms as (part of) the rheme: [19]

18. Similarly Sinuhe B 39 and 255: *ḫ3tj.j n(n) ntf m jb.j*, "My heart, *it* was not in my body." See Gilula 1976a. Gilula (1970, p. 209; 1976a, p. 28) considers these all to be examples of the negation of a pronoun by *nj*. If so, this does not alter the rhematic nature of the pronoun, merely the scope of the negation ("My heart, not *it* was in my body"). I have interpreted them as instances of the usual adverbial-sentence negation with the second *n* written only once, an interpretation Gilula considered but rejected (Gilula 1976a, p. 28). For Sinuhe B 185, the Ashmolean ostracon has nonrhematic [*nn*] *st m jb.j r.k*; for B 255, it has *nn* [*m*]*n*[*tf*] *m ḫt.j*. In the B manuscript, the negative-arms alone before an independent pronoun is (otherwise) a writing of *jn* (= later *jn jw*): Sinuhe B 114, 230, 267; for examples of *jn* with nominal sentences, see Silverman 1980, pp. 59–64. *Pace* Gilula (*loc. cit.*), I can find no certain examples of *nj* negating just the independent pronoun. CT Spell 1042 [de Buck 1961, 293c]: *nj ntf wn* (example 25) is the negation of a SUBJECT-STATIVE construction; Sinuhe B 267: *nj ntf pw m mɜʿt* was clearly understood by the Ashmolean ostracon as interrogative (= *jn jw mntf pw <m> mɜʿt*), as also B 114: *nj jnk tr smɜ.f* (= *jn jw jnk pɜ wn smɜ.<f>*) and B 230: *nj jnk js qɜ sɜ* (= *jn jw jnk js qɜ sɜ*); CT Spell 707 [de Buck 1956, 338l]: *nj jnk pw* occurs in unclear context in a single manuscript.

19. See Gilula 1968, pp. 55–61. The pattern is less clear in Old Egyptian (see Edel 1955, §§ 365–67); here the dependent pronoun appears both as subject and as part of the predicate when both elements are pronouns: e.g., CT Spell 845 [de Buck 1961, 49m]: *n(j) ṯw s(j)*, "It belongs to you" versus CT Spell 257 [de Buck 1947, 367c], Coffin S1Ca: *n(j)-(j)nk ṯn*, "You belong to me" (see Gilula 1968, pp. 59–61). Despite examples cited by Edel and Gilula (*loc. cit.*), I can find no certain instances of the pattern with dependent pronoun and noun (e.g., example [28] *n(j) ṯw šrt*) in which the pronoun is part of the predicate rather than the subject (e.g., *"the nose belongs to you"). Old Egyptian thus seems to differ from Middle Egyptian only in sentences with two pronouns.

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[28] *st ḥt jm3m* ***n(j)*** *ṯw šrt* (PT *1901d = Nt 661–62)
Pleasant offering-smell, you belong to the nose.

[29] *jw n.k grḥ*
n(j) ***ntk hrw*** (CT Spell 60 [de Buck 1935, 254f])
The night is for you,
the day belongs to you.

There is some evidence to show that the adjective and independent pronoun formed a prosodic unit, with a single stressed syllable (Fecht 1960, §§ 110–14). The same was probably true for the adjective plus dependent pronominal subject, based on writings of *n(j)-wj* with the *nw* sign and of *n(j)-sw* and *n(j)-sj* with the *ns* sign (Gardiner 1957, § 114, 2; Fecht 1960, § 219; Gilula 1968, pp. 60–61). Greek vocalizations of personal names of the pattern *n(j)-sw-NN*, "He belongs to NN" show that the unit of adjective plus dependent pronoun bore little or no stress and was phonologically reduced much like the independent pronoun in its subject function (Fecht 1960, § 219, n. 352). This suggests a phonological pattern similar to that visible in the nominal sentence, with the pronoun unstressed as theme but stressed as rheme.

In the usual adverbial sentence with pronominal subject, the adverb presumably carries rhematic stress. This assumption rests not only on the analogy of the ⲁⲛⲧ-NOUN nominal sentence but also on the enclitic character of the normal pronominal subject in adverbial sentences—the suffix or dependent pronoun. The use of the independent pronoun as rhematized subject indicates that the same rhematic stress-shift visible in other kinds of sentences occurs with adverbial predicates as well: the pronoun replaces a thematic counterpart that is incapable of bearing full stress of its own.

Pronominal rhematization thus involves the same basic process in sentences with nominal, adverbial, or verbal predicates: the shift of rhematic stress to the pronoun. This process produces different surface structures, depending on the kind of sentence involved. Nominal sentences with first- or second-person pronoun are apparently marked only by a difference in stress (*jnk B* = ⲁⲛⲟⲕ *B* versus *jnk B* = ⲁⲛⲧ *B*); the third person involves a difference in pronouns (and subsequent word order: *ntf B* versus *A pw*). In adverbial sentences and the adjectival sentence of possession, the stressed independent pronoun is substituted for its unstressed thematic counterpart. With verbal predicate, the independent pronoun is used in addition to the unstressed pronominal suffix of the verb.

In Old and Middle Egyptian, the process of pronominal rhematization apparently occurs for the most part at a relatively early stage in the formation of the sentence, since the minimal adverbial pattern *jnk* ADVERB has no direct unmarked counterpart (**wj* ADVERB). In later stages of the language, however, rhematization is apparently also applied to existing surface structures; e.g.,

[30] *jw.j ḥmz jnk ḥn‘ p3 z ‘3* (Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. 30 vo. 2–3)
while *I* stayed with the rich man.

[31] ⲁⲛⲧ ⲫⲙⲡⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲉⲓⲥ (Jonah 1:9)
I am the servant of the Lord.

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I know of only a few likely or possible examples of this kind of rhematization earlier, all from the Coffin Texts:

[32] *jnk jꜣḫw pd nmtwt jn ḥrt n tm r šrt rʿrʿnb*
jwt.(j) šm.j wp.j wꜣt n rʿ sqd.f r ꜣḫt jmntt
jnk wj r šrt.f *ʿwj.j ḫr.f*
nḥm.(j) sw m ʿꜣpp sḏꜣ.f r ꜣḫt jmntt (CT Spell 80 [de Buck 1938, 37e–38a]; coffin B2L)
I am sunlight, spread of steps, who brings the far one to Atum at the nose of the Sun every day.
I will come and go and open the way for the Sun as he sails to the western akhet.
I am at his nose, my arms under him,
that I may save him from Apophis, as he travels to the western akhet.

[33] *jw nṯr jwy.f m ḥtp nb ḥwt dšrt jm ꜣḫt*
jnk wj *zp-2*(?) ***swꜣ.j*** *nwrw.k ḫft psḏ rʿ m ḥtp* (CT Spell 1145 [de Buck 1961, 495g–k])
The god will be coming safely, lord of the red enclosure, he in the akhet:
I will be passing by your arrows(?) as the Sun shines, safely.[20]

[34] *jnk wsjr zꜣ gbb stj rʿ*
jw mjwt.j m wjꜣ-n-ḥʿw
nj mt.j nj ḥtm.j nj sk.j
nj sk rn.j ***nj sk.j jnk*** *m tꜣ pn ḏt* (CT Spell 313 [de Buck 1951, 93m–q])
I am Osiris, son of Geb, replacement of the Sun.
My mother is the Bark-of-Flesh.
I do not die, I am not destroyed, I do not perish.
My name does not perish, *I* do not perish, in this world forever.

Example 32 is evidently an instance of alternative rhematization of the pronominal subject of an adverbial predicate; no other interpretation seems possible,[21] but the motive for rhematization is not evident in the context. Example 33 may illustrate pronominal rhematization in a sentence with the *sḏm.f* used as adverbial predicate (as it is in the preceding line), in contrast to the normal "emphasizing construction" in which it is a verbal predicate. Example 34 is a fairly clear instance of alternative rhematization with a verbal predicate: the pronominal subject "I" contrasts with the subject "my name" of the same verb in the preceding clause, and the predicate *nj sk* is "given" by the unmarked clause *nj sk.j* preceding *nj sk rn.j*.[22] This differs from the normal "emphasizing construction" both in the position of the rhematized pronoun and in the fact that the verb form is apparently not marked as

20. I cannot explain the apparent *zp-2*, which appears in all three copies. For the meaning of *nwrw.k*, cf. CT Spell 1145 [de Buck 1961, 494k] in the same spell. I understand the SUBJECT-*sḏm.f* construction in both clauses as containing the prospective form ("*sḏmw.f*"); cf. Allen 1982, p. 26.

21. Initial *jnk* in examples 32 and 33 is clearly not fronted as topic (= Late Egyptian *jr jnk*), since dependent *wj* cannot begin a clause. Gilula (1976b, p. 172, n. 65) briefly considered but rejected the possibility that *jnk wj* is a nominal sentence ("I am me"). Doret (1990, pp. 55–56; idem 1991, p. 59, n. 22) has analyzed it as adjectival; this is possible if the initial pronoun is possessive ("I am mine"). Neither of these alternatives is supported by the context.

22. Theoretically, *jnk* might also serve as subject to the following adverbial *m tꜣ pn ḏt*, but such an interpretation is less motivated by the context; cf. CT Spell 149 [de Buck 1938, 253g]; Sethe and Helck 1905–58, 2.5–6.

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thematic; the negative is probably responsible for this "anomaly," since no examples of the "emphasizing construction" with a negative are known (see n. 4, above).

The existence of pronominal rhematization on two different grammatical levels is not a feature peculiar to Egyptian. It also occurs in English. The subject of the unmarked English sentence "He did it," e.g., can be rhematized either before or after morphologization of the sentence constituents: the former produces "cleft" and "pseudocleft" sentences ("It is he who did it," "He is the one who did it"); the latter, shift in the stress pattern of the unmarked structure ("*He* did it"). In contemporary English these alternatives are relatively free synchronic choices. In Egyptian, the difference is apparently a diachronic feature.

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CHAPTER 2

ABYDOS IN THE OLD KINGDOM AND FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD, PART II*

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Professor Baer's interest in the chronology of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period stimulated my own interest in those areas. This article is a small token of commemoration for his help and encouragement throughout my graduate years at the University of Chicago. I only regret that I can no longer benefit from his sharply penetrating comments, which would certainly have been forthcoming.[1]

1

Like their Fifth Dynasty predecessors (see Brovarski, forthcoming), the kings of the Sixth Dynasty exhibited an active interest in the temple of Khentyamentiu at Abydos. King Teti issued a decree protecting the fields and serfs of the temple from exactions (Petrie 1903, pp. 10, 31, 41–42, pl. 17; Goedicke 1967, pp. 37–40, fig. 3). The decree was found by Petrie lying on the ground on one side of the street that passed through the Old Kingdom temple, opposite the earlier decree of Neferirkare (Petrie 1903, pp. 10, 31, 42–43, pl. 18; see also Brovarski, forthcoming). The decrees probably stood one on each side of the street originally. Before reaching the decrees, the street passed through a double brick enclosure wall with stone gateways, one bearing the name "Pepy" in a cartouche (Petrie 1903, pp. 10–11, pls. 47 [2–6], 53). Almost in front of the doorway of a brick building with thick walls, Petrie found the bottoms of three limestone stelae, still socketed in the original bases of limestone (Petrie 1903, pp. 10, 12). Only the northern stela retained any of its inscription, the lower part of an endowment decree (ibid., pp. 12, 31, 42–43, pls. 19 [bottom], 21 [5]; Goedicke 1967, pp. 81–86, fig. 7) recording arrangements for the cult of four statues of Pepy II, his mother Queen *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*, her sister, another Queen *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*, the mother of his predecessor Merenre, and their brother Djau, who was vizier in the earlier years of Pepy II (Baer 1960, pp. 156, 295 [591]).[2]

* See E. Brovarski, "Abydos in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, Part I," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, forthcoming.

1. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Henry G. Fischer for reading an early draft of this article and for a number of helpful additions and suggestions. I would also like to thank Prof. David O'Connor for several stimulating conversations on the Old Kingdom temples at Abydos and related topics. I would like to express my appreciation to Ms. Jordi Ensign for inking the drawings and the facsimile hieroglyphs contained in this article.

2. On the homonymous queens of Pepy I and II, see Sabbahy 1984, pp. 33–35.

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The brick building was almost square in plan and measured 60 feet (18.0 m) from front to back and 70 feet (20.0 m) in width with an overall area of 4,200 square feet (378.0 m²). It had a doorway of stone blocks 57 inches (1.50 m) wide hung with a single door leaf closing a passage 41 inches (1.1 m) wide (Petrie 1903, pp. 10–11, pls. 47 [9], 48 [1]). The internal plan of the building was poorly preserved, but it probably had three long chambers at the rear which opened on a small court or hall; on the left-hand side of this hall or court, on entering, was another chamber (see O'Connor 1992, p. 93, fig. 5C).

On the basis of the preserved text of the endowment decree, which refers to the statues of Pepy II and the other three individuals as "in the temple of Khentyamentiu," In an important article, Kemp (1968, pp. 149–50, 151, fig. 3) identified the brick building (labeled 'H' by him) as the Sixth Dynasty temple of Khentyamentiu, the chief temple of the town of Abydos at that time. While a Sixth Dynasty date is clearly indicated for the building,[3] there is good evidence to think that it may actually have been a royal "*ka*-chapel." The *ka*-chapel was typically a repository for statues of its owner (Fischer 1958, p. 332), and the brick building probably housed the four statues mentioned in the decree.

In fact, a *ka*-chapel of Merenre is known from a stela of the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties from the Kom es-Sultan at Abydos, whose owner was *sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr ḥwt-kꜣ Mr.n-Rꜥ*, "inspector of priests of the *ka*-chapel of Merenre,"[4] while the owner of a second stela of similar date from Abydos was *sḫḏ ḥwt Nfr-kꜣ-rꜥ* (Brovarski 1973, pp. 453–65, fig. 1). Parallels suggest that the last title is an abbreviation for *sḫḏ ḥm(w)-nṯr kꜣ Nfr-kꜣ-rꜥ*, "inspector of priests of the *ka*-chapel of Neferkare" (Fischer 1962a, p. 8, n. 10; Brovarski 1973, p. 455). Teti, Pepy I, and Merenre built *ka*-chapels at a number of local cult centers in Upper Egypt and the Delta (Fischer 1958, p. 331; idem 1964b, pp. 21–22),[5] and Pepy II is known to have had a *ka*-house at Cusae (Jéquier 1940a, vol. 3, pl. 21). If the title on the second stela from Abydos is restored correctly, it provides textual evidence that Pepy II followed the example of his predecessor Merenre in establishing a *ka*-house for the maintenance of his cult at Abydos.

In the foundations of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple erected above Building H were found a block of Pepy I (Petrie 1903, pp. 31, 43, pl. 20 [bottom right]), two blocks of Merenre (Petrie 1902, pp. 27, 41, pl. 54),[6] and two others of the Sixth Dynasty.[7] An alabaster vase of Pepy I was found inside a chamber of Building H and, outside, almost in front of the entrance

3. As Kemp points out (1968, p. 150) the position of the decree leaves little doubt that the temple in question is the building lying immediately behind it, while confirmation of a Sixth Dynasty date is probably to be found in the various objects bearing the names of Pepy I and II found inside and in front of Building H (*infra*). Unfortunately, the name of the king who issued the decree is lost. Since Pepy II and his relatives are honored, however, the author was probably that sovereign or one of his immediate successors.
4. CG 1615: Fischer 1962a, pp. 17–18, fig. 3, pl. 2. It is not as clear whether the *ḥwt-kꜣ* of Merenre mentioned in another stela (University College 14312) was located at Abydos; see ibid., pp. 8–11, fig. 2, pl. 1.
5. For the *ka*-chapel of Teti at Bubastis, see El-Sawi 1979, pp. 75–77, fig. 4, 164–67; O'Connor 1992, pp. 90–91.
6. One of the blocks refers to the "temple of Khentyamentiu."
7. Petrie 1903, pp. 31, 43, pl. 20, top (Mer<en>re or Mer<y>re Pepy I, with a figure of the king sniffing a lotus blossom), and bottom left (Pepy I or II); cf. Kemp 1968, p. 142.

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of the building, an alabaster vase of Pepy II was discovered (Petrie 1903, pp. 12, 32, pl. 21 [7–8]). Nearby a group of green glazed faience tablets of Pepy I and II lay close together (ibid., pp. 12, 32, pl. 21 [12–14]).[8] Petrie also found a lintel of Pepy II reused in the foundations of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (ibid., pp. 31, 42, pls. 19, 21 [16]). The lintel still retained some of its red coloring and is an early architectural instance of the use of the winged sun disk and uraei.[9] The lintel measures approximately 55.4 inches (1.40 m) in width, just a bit shorter than the stone doorway of Building H which was 57.0 inches (1.46 m) wide. Still, one would expect a lintel to be flush with the sides of the jambs, and the lintel appears a little too small for the doorway. Somewhat surprisingly, the same seems to be true of the northern facade of the gateway through the temenos wall of the *ka*-chapel of Pepy II at Bubastis, however (Habachi 1957, pl. 3, especially plan at end of volume); so it is possible that the lintel belonged to Building H after all. It seems less likely that it surmounted either of the stone gateways through the double enclosure wall.[10]

As already noted the endowment decree refers to statues of Pepy II, his mother, the mother of Merenre, and the vizier Djau. It makes no mention of statues of Pepy I and Merenre, although the stela from the Kom es-Sultan provides clear textual evidence for the cult of the latter sovereign. The vase of Pepy I discovered inside the building, his faience tablets found outside, and the block with part of an offering list and his Horus name, *Mry-tȝwy*, imply that Pepy I also built in the area, however.[11] The example of Merenre and Pepy II and the evidence of the offering list, which is appropriate to a funerary context, suggest that Pepy I's structure was also a *ka*-chapel.[12] It may be that Pepy I and Merenre's chapels are represented by two of the three other surviving brick structures in the area (designated by

8. The five tablets of Pepy I were inscribed in relief on both sides, while the one of Pepy II (14) had a single incised inscription. All six tablets refer to the first *sed*-festival. If they derive from foundation deposits, they may indicate that Building H was dedicated (or rededicated?) on the occasion of the jubilees of these two monarchs.
9. See Petrie 1903, p. 31. The disk is identified as *Bḥdty*, "the Behdetite"; the symmetrical text below, twice repeated, reads: *ʿnḫ nswt-bity Nfr-kȝ-rʿ dỉ ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs ʿnḫ mỉ Rʿ ḏt*. The lintel is now in the British Museum (no. 627); see James 1961, pl. 38 (2), p. 40. For the winged disk as an architectural element, see also Borchardt 1910, pl. 10?; idem 1907, fig. 75?; Leclant 1992, fig. D (Pepy I); Habachi 1957, fig. 2 (Pepy I). It is also used as a decorative device on the curtain box of Queen Hetepheres I (Reisner 1955, fig. 29a, pl. 11a), on the sail of a royal ship (Borchardt 1913, pl. 9), and in a relief of Neuserre (Gardiner and Peet 1955, pl. 6; cf. Smith 1949, p. 324, fig. 204).
10. It is difficult to be certain from the plan in Petrie 1903, pl. 53, but it seems that the outer gate is somewhat too big and the inner gate (with the cartouche of Pepy) somewhat too small to accommodate the lintel.
11. The possibility that this and the other relief blocks with Sixth Dynasty royal names came from structures outside the immediate area cannot be entirely excluded, but the smaller finds also attest to the activity of these sovereigns within the area bounded by the Old Kingdom enclosure walls.
12. The fragment belongs to a food offering list of Type A; see Barta 1963, pp. 47–77, especially p. 61. Only the last seven boxes from two upper rows are preserved, along with entries nos. A/23–24 and A/55–59. Over two-thirds of the width of the compartmental list, therefore, is lost, but what is preserved is sufficient to allow the reconstruction of a wall with a figure of the king at the right end, probably seated before an offering table. Assuming the scale in Petrie 1903, pl. 20, is correct, the wall would have been a minimum of 105 inches (269 cm) long.

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Kemp as J, K, L).[13] Presumably, the block with the offering list and the other limestone relief fragments with royal names formed part of the stone lining of these brick buildings. A less likely possibility is that Building H served as a *ka*-chapel for all three sovereigns of the Sixth Dynasty and that the other two broken stelae erected in front of the building originally bore endowment decrees of Pepy I and Merenre (now lost) for the benefit of their cults.

In a recent article, O'Connor (1992, pp. 89–90), for quite independent reasons, has come to the identical conclusion that Building H was not the chief temple of Khentyamentiu, but rather a *ka*-chapel for Pepy II. O'Connor points out that the modest character of Building H and the three other Old Kingdom structures all crowded together nearby identifies them as peripheral structures, like the buildings of the New Kingdom and later which overlay them and which Simpson (1974, p. 3) identifies as "cenotaphs" or memorial chapels.[14] O'Connor (1992, p. 90) believes that neither the chief New Kingdom temple of Abydos nor its Old Kingdom predecessor have been excavated but that both lay directly to the south of the area excavated by Petrie underneath the shattered remains of a large temple, built perhaps by Nekhtnebef of the Thirtieth Dynasty or, alternately in the case of the chief Old Kingdom temple, to the southwest in the area in front of the Late period temple.

O'Connor notes a similar situation at Bubastis and Hierakonpolis. At Bubastis the *ka*-chapels of Teti and Pepy I were contained within massive brick-walled enclosures peripheral to and behind the presumed site of the chief Old Kingdom temple of Bastet (O'Connor 1992, pp. 90–91). The actual *ka*-chapel of Teti within its enclosure wall was not found,[15] but the *ka*-chapel of Pepy I was a structure about the size of Building H at Abydos (ibid., p. 91). As at Abydos, the chief Old Kingdom temple has not been excavated, but Fischer has persuasively argued that it lay in the general vicinity of the later, post-New Kingdom structure (Fischer 1958, pp. 331–32; idem 1977, p. 21 [1]). At Hierakonpolis O'Connor (1992, pp. 91–92, fig. 5A) identifies a five-chambered structure built over the earlier "temple" mound as a *ka*-chapel of Pepy I. The structure at Hierakonpolis is quite similar in plan and size to the *ka*-chapel of Pepy I at Bubastis, and under its floor was found the life-size copper statue of Pepy I, which is now in Cairo.[16] A second building on the northeast of this structure, with a plan very similar to Building H at Abydos, may have been a *ka*-chapel of Pepy II (ibid., pp. 92–93, fig. 5A). The chief Old Kingdom temple of Hierakonpolis must have been in the vicinity

13. See Kemp 1968, pp. 149, 151–52, fig. 3; O'Connor 1992, pp. 89–90. As O'Connor points out (p. 89) every one of the four structures (except J) has a local north/south axis and an entrance on the local north, that is, facing on the street through the Old Kingdom enclosure. He also notes that Building K is relatively small (151.72 m^2), while H and L are comparable in size (378.0 m^2, 301.63 m^2).

14. On the New Kingdom temples, see pp. 19–20, below.

15. See El-Sawi 1979, figs. 165, 167, for a column with the inscription *ḥwt-kꜣ Ttỉ*. The same or another *ka*-chapel of Teti is mentioned in a fragmentary biographical inscription of the time of that king, CG 1433 = Sethe 1903, 86–87.

16. Cairo JE 33034: Quibell 1900, p. 11, pls. 14 (bottom), 15 (bottom); Green and Quibell 1902, pp. 27–28, 45, 46–47, pls. 47 (top), 50–56; Porter and Moss 1937, p. 193. It is not certain whether the smaller, anonymous copper statue (Cairo JE 33035) found with the statue of Pepy I, and which is usually assumed to represent his son and successor Merenre, actually formed a group with the larger statue; see recently Murnane 1977, pp. 217–18.

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of the two *ka*-chapels but has not yet been located and defined (O'Connor 1992, p. 93).[17] Thus, at Bubastis and Hierakonpolis, as at Abydos, O'Connor argues that even though the chief Old Kingdom temple has not yet been located and excavated, it is nevertheless archaeologically attested by the nature and peripheral location of the royal *ka*-chapels. At all three sites the Old Kingdom temple is probably to be sought in approximately the same location as the later temple (ibid., pp. 84, 87, 96).

At Abydos two additional pieces of inscriptional evidence support the thesis that the area of the Old Kingdom structures H, I, J, and K was the site within the precinct of the temple of Khentyamentiu sanctified by tradition for the royal *ka*-chapels. Little remains of the Middle Kingdom structures erected above Building H, except for some blocks reused in the foundations of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple and recovered by Petrie. From the evidence of the blocks, however, it seems likely that *Nb-ḥpt-rˁ* Mentuhotep II[18] and *Sˁnḫ-kȝ-rˁ* Mentuhotep III (Petrie 1903, pp. 6, 33, 35, 43, pls. 23 [3] [?], 25 [second from bottom], 32 [7]; see Freed 1984, p. 24, nn. 128, 129) both built *ka*-chapels here. A plaque of Mentuhotep III's found under a wall of Thutmosis III, close to a large pit which had been emptied in antiquity, perhaps originally a foundation deposit, actually bears the inscription: *ḥwt-kȝ Sˁnḫ-kȝ-rˁ*, "the *ka*-chapel of *Sˁnḫ-kȝ-rˁ*" (Petrie 1903, pp. 16, 33, pl. 23 [5]). The offering formula on a block of Mentuhotep II with food and drink set out on tables and stands and the lower part of a box list of offerings asks for "a thousand cakes, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster unguent jars, a thousand pieces of clothing, all offerings and all provisions for *the statue* of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nb-ḥpt-rˁ*," (ibid., pp. 33, 43, pl. 24 [bottom]), and shows that his structure was probably a funerary chapel likewise.

The royal buildings of New Kingdom and later date above the area of the Old and Middle Kingdom *ka*-chapels—the structures of Amenhotep I with a chamber where a cult of the deceased Ahmose I was celebrated alongside that of Osiris (Petrie 1902, p. 30, frontispiece, pls. 62–63; Kemp 1968, p. 143), of Thutmosis III where that king was worshipped in the guise of Osiris (Petrie 1903, pp. 17, 35, pl. 33; Porter and Moss 1937, p. 42), of Amenhotep III, of Sety I and Ramesses II, of Ramesses IV, and of Psamtek I and Ahmose II (Petrie 1903, pp. 141–48; Porter and Moss 1937, pp. 42–43)—were probably also funerary temples, like the great royal cenotaph temples of Senusert III, Ahmose and Tetisheri, Sety I, Ramesses II, etc., at South Abydos (see Simpson 1974, p. 3; Kemp, "Abydos," *LÄ* I, cols. 37–38; Porter and Moss 1937, p. 92). Of course, by the time of the New Kingdom, the term *ḥwt-kȝ* had largely passed out of use as a designation for royal funerary temples, to

17. As Fischer (1958, p. 331) notes, in graffiti at El Kab, Pepy I's *ka*-chapel is expressly said to be within the precincts of the temple of Nekhbet (Lepsius 1849–56, vol. II, p. 117 s: *ḥwt-kȝ Mry-rˁ ntt m pr-wr*; cf. u–v).

18. Petrie 1903, pp. 14–15, 33, 43, pls. 23 (1), 24, 25 (first and second from top); Habachi 1963, pp. 17–19; Freed 1984, pp. 95–96. For two other blocks found later by Lefebvre, see ibid., pp. 96–97. Although the blocks are of limestone rather than sandstone, Freed, for stylistic reasons, thinks it possible that they were part of the same or related structures and were made at approximately the same time as the blocks found by Petrie. For two altars of Mentuhotep II, see Petrie 1903, pp. 14, 16. Habachi (1963, pp. 19–28, figs. 4–8) published a *ka*-chapel of Mentuhotep II from Dendera.

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be replaced by *ḥwt* (*nt ḥḥw m rnpwt*) (see, e.g., *Wb*. III, 2.7–8; Hofmann 1970, pp. 1165–68; Spencer 1984, pp. 20–27).[19]

2

Two of the statues mentioned in the fragmentary decree found by Petrie in front of Building H belonged to two queens of Pepy I who bore the same name: *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*. One of the queens was the *mwt nswt Ḥ ʿ-nfr-Mr.n-rʿ*, "king's mother of the pyramid 'Merenre shines and is beautiful,'" that is, the mother of Merenre. The other was the *mwt nswt Mn-ʿnḫ-Nfr-kȝ-rʿ*, "king's mother of the pyramid, 'Neferkare is established and alive,'" the mother of Pepy II.[20] A third statue belonged to the *tȝyty ṯȝty zȝb Ḏ ʿw*, "the chief justice and vizier, *Ḏ ʿw*." The homonymous queens are represented with the vizier *Ḏ ʿw* in his tall narrow stela found reused in a well at Abydos.[21] In the accompanying inscriptions *Ḏ ʿw* is specifically said to be the brother of the two queens. In this case their name takes the variant form *ʿnḫ-n.s-Mryrʿ*.[22] The cult of one of the queens, or a third queen mother *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*, a wife of Pepy II and the mother of *Nfr-kȝ-rʿ*, 'the Younger' (see Jéquier 1933a, pp. 50–54, figs. 30–31) perhaps the first king of the Seventh Dynasty (Smith 1971, pp. 196–97), is known from the Sixth Dynasty stela (Baltimore 22.424) of one of its officiants who was *sḥd ḥmw-nṯr mwt-nswt ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*, "inspector of priests of the King's Mother *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*" (Baltimore 22.424: Fischer 1981, pp. 151–54, pl. 24).

Even though he suggests that the stela in question comes from Abydos, it seems more probable to Fischer (1981 p. 153) that the Memphite funerary cult of *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy*, rather than the Abydene one, is indicated by the title. Since the endowment decree establishing the offerings for the statues of Pepy II and his relatives specifically refers to priests and *ka*-priests of their cults, I can see no good reason why the owner of the Baltimore stela could not have been attached to the Abydene cult of the queen. The Abydos provenance of the stela

19. The term *ḥwt-kȝ* continues to appear sporadically alongside of *ḥwt* (*nt nḥḥ, nt dt*) as a designation for private tombs; see, e.g., *Wb*. III, 2.10–14; Lesko and Lesko 1982–90, vol. 2, p. 103; Meeks 1982, p. 183 (79.1863).

20. In both examples the queen's names are related to the names of the pyramid by means of the direct genitive with the name of the pyramid honorifically transposed; see Fischer 1964a, p. 123.

21. CG 1431: Mariette 1869, vol. 1, p. 4, pl. 2a; idem 1880, p. 84, no. 523; Fischer 1977, fig. 58, pp. 141, 143; Kemp 1968, p. 150, n. 4. Since the inscription asks for "invocation offerings from the reversion offerings of this temple, being what a decree has made for me," and was addressed to "every overseer of priests, every priest, every *šzmt*-priest and every *ḳȝ*-priest of the temple of the majesty of my lord Khentyamentiu," Kemp makes the suggestion that the stela may originally have stood near Building H, perhaps even on one of the other bases. Petrie (1903, p. 12), however, is very specific in saying that the three stelae were of limestone and that the lower parts of the stones were still socketed in their original limestone bases. *Ḏ ʿw*'s stela is of basalt and seemingly is narrower than the three broken stelae found by Petrie. This is not to say that CG 1431 was not erected near Building H. Considering its tall and narrow form, it is even possible that it was inserted into the face of a wall of the brick building.

22. The exchange of the royal prenomen and nomen in basilophoric names is a fairly common phenomenon; see, e.g., Porter and Moss 1981, pp. 596, 630, 683. One instance not generally recognized is *Ppy-ʿnḫ* the Middle, who is so referred to in his tomb chapel (D 2) published in Blackman 1924 but is also called *Mryrʿ-ʿnḫ*; the Middle in his coffin, excavated and published by Kamal 1915, pp. 251–56.

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now seems confirmed by the publication of a stela (Louvre C 293) virtually identical in style to the Baltimore piece, whose owner is identical to one of the individuals shown on the latter, as Ziegler (1990, no. 38) recognizes. Considering the format of the stela, which is that of an atrophied false door, it probably derives from Abydos rather than Naga ed-Dêr (see Fischer 1962a, pp. 8–9, n. 15; idem 1981, p. 151), even though the dealer who sold it said its provenance was Girga, and Onuris, the city-god of Thinis, is mentioned.[23] Fischer (1981, p. 153) thinks that the queen intended in this case is perhaps the mother of Pepy II, who achieved a special degree of eminence as guardian of the young king during the early years of his reign, in which case the stela would date to the reign of this ruler. He may well be right, but there is no inherent reason why she could not be the older sister, the mother of Merenre.

The later writing of Anubis with the animal on a tall stand  is first attested in the tombs of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I at Saqqara.[24] The examples in the Baltimore and Louvre stelae and in CG 1439 (*infra*) are among the earliest occurrences of the late writing at Abydos (see below, pp. 30f.). Two stelae (CG 20106, Louvre C 160) of an Abydene stela group that seems to belong to the early part of the Sixth Dynasty, from the time of Teti to perhaps Pepy I or Merenre,[25] continue to use the earlier writing of Anubis with the jackal over the *ḥtp*-sign () after the offering formula *ḥtp-ḏỉ-nswt*.[26] *Prỉ ḫrw* (*n*) is  in Baltimore 22.424 and  in Louvre C 293. The first arrangement appears late in the Fifth

23. Onuris is associated with Pepy I on a cylinder seal in the British Museum that provides the earliest evidence for that god's existence; see Kaplony 1977, vol. 2, pp. 370–71, pl. 100 (4). Outside the Thinite nome Onuris is virtually unknown before the Middle Kingdom, but at Deir el-Gebrâwi in nome 12, to which *ʾIbỉ* was sent by Merenre to govern conjointly with nome 8, that nomarch is called *ḥ3ty-ʿ mȝʿ n mrwt ḫr Inḥrt*, "a count truly beloved by Onuris"; see Davies 1902a, pl. 18. If the house of *ʾIbỉ* sprang from Abydos, as has often been claimed (e.g., ibid., pp. 29–31), familial attachment to the province of his birth would go a long way toward explaining this occurrence. A mention of Onuris in a tomb at Akhmim (Kanawati 1982, fig. 27) in the adjacent ninth nome may date to the Ninth Dynasty; see Brovarski 1985, pp. 124–37.

24. E.g., Capart 1907, pls. 11, 12 (*Nfr-sšm-r: Ššỉ*), 19, 49, 55 (*ʿnḫ-m-ʿ-Ḥr: Zzỉ*); Sakkarah Expedition 1938a, pls. 15/17; James 1953, pls. 6, 7, 19/20. Cf. Fischer 1968, p. 84 (14); Harpur 1987, p. 47, n. 42. *Kȝ-gm.nỉ: Mmỉ*, the earliest of the viziers buried in the Teti cemetery (Baer 1960, pp. 149, 295 [548]; Strudwick 1985, p. 301; Harpur 1987, p. 276, *pace* Helck 1954, p. 39; Kanawati 1980, pp. 24–27), uses the jackal alone or, in one instance, places it above the divine epithet *tp-ḏw.f*. On the chronology of the viziers, see pp. 28–29, below.

25. The group includes CG 20106, BM 832, and Louvre C 160; see Brovarski, forthcoming. A least one other monument probably can be added to the group; this is a false door stela in the Brooklyn Museum belonging to the *ỉmy-rȝ mšʿ Ṯzw* and his wife *Ḏfȝt-kȝ* published by Fazzini (1972, pp. 33–37, fig. 1). Fazzini identifies the provenance as Abydos and attributes the stela to the Sixth Dynasty. In addition to the stylistic resemblance, the elements of which have been discussed by Fazzini, the Brooklyn stela shares a significant number of paleographic and orthographic features with the other stelae, including the form of the west ideogram. The stela was on loan at the time of its publication but has since been acquired by the Brooklyn Museum, where it bears the accession number 86.226.29, as I have been kindly informed by Mary Gow of the staff of the Department of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Middle Eastern Art. In BM 832 and Brooklyn 86.226.29 only Osiris is mentioned.

26. The later form of Anubis appears in the tomb of the vizier *ʾIzỉ* at Edfu in the time of Pepy I; see Ziegler 1990, no. 9; Kanawati 1980, pp. 23–24, 29–31.

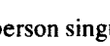
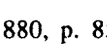
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Dynasty or early in the Sixth Dynasty at both Giza and Saqqara[27] and continues to occur as late as Pepy II at the Memphite cemeteries.[28] It does not otherwise seem to be known at Abydos in the Old Kingdom. The second arrangement recurs in two other stelae of the Abydene group of the early Sixth Dynasty just mentioned (Brooklyn 86.226.29 and BM 832).[29]

One of the three queens named *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy* appears as *ḥmt nswt* on a false door stela from the Middle Necropolis at Abydos (CG 1439) in the company of the *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *sm*, *ḫrp šnḏt nbt*, *ḫry-ḥbt ḫry-tp* *ʾIww* (fig. 2.1).[30] Borchardt recognized that a lector-priest and servitor attached to *ʾIww*'s estate, *Sbk-ḥtp* by name, who is shown on the false door burning incense before his master, also appears on CG 1643, an inscribed stone which mentions the *ỉry-pʿt*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *mšʿ mȝʿ*, *Wnỉ* and his eldest son, the *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *ỉmy-rȝ wʿbty*, *ʾIww*. Even though the titles are different, the identity of the two *ʾIww*s is thereby pretty much assured. According to his biography, the career of the well-known overseer of Upper Egypt, *Wnỉ* the Elder, extended from the reign of Teti to that of Merenre. His son probably served Pepy I and Merenre as well.[31] The relationship between the queen and *ʾIww* is not specified, but Fischer (1976b, pp.

27. See, e.g., Mariette 1889, pp. 195, 278; Sakkarah Expedition 1938a, pls. 23A, 48A; Junker 1953, fig. 104. On the dates, see Baer 1960, pp. 68 [117]; 133, 293 [479]; 141 [519]; Strudwick 1985, p. 149 (143); Harpur 1987, p. 276; for *Mrrw-kȝ*, see below, pp. 28–29.

28. Capart 1907, pl. 76; Simpson 1980, fig. 34; Abubakr 1953, fig. 5. For the dates, see Baer 1960, pp. 53, 287 [8, 16]; 93, 241 [273]; Harpur 1987, pp. 273, 280.

29. In each instance, however, it is followed by the third person singular feminine pronoun, thus:  , rather than by the name of the owner, as it is in Louvre C 293. These are probably the nominal and feminine equivalents of  (*infra*).

30. Borchardt 1937, vol. 1, p. 121, pl. 31; Mariette 1880, p. 85, no. 524. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Mohamed Saleh, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, for the photographs of CG 1439, 1457, and 1576 reproduced as figures 2.1, 4, 6 in the present article, and to Miss May Trad for help in researching these and other monuments from Abydos.

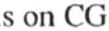
31. Because the epithet  does not occur after the name of *Wnỉ* in CG 1643, Fischer (1976b, pp. 84–85) is uncertain whether the individual mentioned is the well-known *Wnỉ* the Elder or a son of his who had the same name and eventually assumed the same position. The epithet does not occur after the name of *Wnỉ* in the Dahshur decree of Pepy I, but Fischer does not doubt that *Wnỉ* the Elder is involved. He feels that this case may antedate the use of the epithet, which would probably not have been assumed until a son of identical name had arisen to a position of prominence. Cases certainly exist where is used as an epithet to distinguish between a father and his similarly named son (see ibid., pp. 81–86), and this could also be the case with *Wnỉ*. On the other hand, an alternative explanation is possible. Fischer (pp. 88–89) has drawn attention to a number of scenes where like-named brothers are shown all in a row. In one such representation, the first figure is the owner's "eldest son" and the brothers who follow him have the epithets "the middle," "the third," and "the youngest." In another case, the first brother is again the owner's "eldest son," while his brothers are designated "the middle" and "the youngest." In the third scene, the first figure in a series of offering bearers is similarly the owner's "eldest son," while the second is "the middle"; the series is incomplete, and it is likely that the youngest brother was shown on the missing portion of the monument. As Fischer observes, the epithet was probably felt to be supplied by the term "his eldest son." This could also have been the case with *Wnỉ* "the Elder." *Wnỉ* was a popular name at Abydos (Brovarski, forthcoming), and *Wnỉ* the Elder could easily have been one of a number of brothers who bore the same name that he did.

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84–85) thinks he may have been associated with her cult in much the same way as *Sbk-ḥtp* was with his.



Figure 2.1. False Door Stela from Tomb of Count *ʾIww*, CG 1439. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

In the offering formulas on CG 1439,  and  are written.[32] As we have just seen, the later writing of Anubis with the animal on a stand is first attested in the reigns of Teti and Pepy I at Saqqara. The first clearly dated occurrences of the arrangement of *pr ḫrw n* evidenced here seem to belong to the same reigns (see Brovarski, forthcoming). At Abydos, the arrangement also occurs in two of the stelae (CG 20106, Louvre C 160) of the early Sixth

32. The group  also appears in a vertical inscription on the right jamb of the stela, which possibly represents a vertical writing of  (*supra*).

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Dynasty stela group already referred to.[33] It thus appears to be characteristic of the first part of the dynasty at Abydos.[34]

Because Queen *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy* is mentioned in Baltimore 22.424, it is clear that this stela and Louvre C 293 may be dated at least as late as the reign of Merenre. The same date is probably indicated for CG 1439, if the *ḥ3ty-ʿ ʾIww* is indeed a son of *Wnî* the Elder, as the present article assumes. On the other hand, if the *ḥ3ty-ʿ ʾIww* of CG 1439 and 1643 was a grandson rather than a son of *Wnî*, a theoretical possibility that Fischer (1976b, p. 86) entertains, he could have lived well on into the reign of Pepy II. Admittedly, the inscriptions on CG 1439 are brief, and the same may be said for Baltimore 22.424 and Louvre C 293, but there is nothing in them to support so late a date.

An iconographical feature which perhaps favors the earlier date is the presence of paired ewers and basins under the offering table at the feet of *ʾIww* and Queen *ʿnḫ-n.s-Ppy* in CG 1439. This feature is first introduced into false door panels at the very end of the Fifth Dynasty or early in the Sixth Dynasty (see Brovarski, forthcoming). The basin and ewer continued to be depicted in table scenes at other sites at least until the reign of Pepy II (Blackman 1924, pl. 5 [2]; for the date, see Baer 1960, pp. 70, 289 [133]; Harpur 1987, p. 280). At Abydos, however, they appear only once more, in Louvre C 160, the early Sixth Dynasty atrophied false door of the general *Ḥ3gi* (see above).

3

The name *ʾIww* occurs elsewhere at Abydos. The tomb of a vizier *ʾIww*, probably located in the Middle Cemetery at Abydos, was found by Lepsius (1849–56, vol. I, 65 [bottom right]; Lepsius 1904, p. 176 [5]) in the course of the Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Nubia in 1842–1845. Lepsius dated the tomb on stylistic grounds to the Fifth Dynasty.[35] Kees (1940, p. 53, n. 3), on the basis of tomb type, assigned the vizier to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Baer (1960, pp. 55, 240 [27]) felt he could not date *ʾIww* to a specific period but using his title sequences and the other information known about him limited the range to which the tomb could belong to his periods VI B–C or E–F, that is, year 10 of Teti to year 15 of Pepy II or years 35 to 85 of Pepy II. Since he bore only the titles *ỉmy-r3 nỉwt* and *ṯ3ty* and does not record any of the other responsibilities that the southern viziers held later (like *ỉmy-r3 šmʿ* and *ỉmy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*), Kanawati (1980, pp. 32–33, 89–90) placed him around the middle of Pepy I's reign. Hodjash and Berlev (1982, p. 58, no. 20), on the other hand, assign *ʾIww* to the beginning of the First Intermediate Period.

The tomb of the vizier *ʾIww* consisted of a square shaft and subterranean brickwork burial chamber roofed over with a barrel vault of six courses of mudbrick (fig. 2.2; Lepsius

33. It also occurs at Abydos in the tomb of the vizier *ʾIww*; see fig. 2.3a, c, and p. 33, below.

34. The same arrangement occurs in CG 1616, the stela of the overseer of commission(s) *Ḫnms: Nḏm-ỉb* from the Kom es-Sultan at Abydos, which may well belong to the early Sixth Dynasty. The arrangement appears again in an unpublished stela of the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties from Abydos, Cairo JE 41278. Something very like it occurs in a number of other stelae of similar date from the site; see, e.g., Fischer 1962a, fig. 3, pl. 2; Brovarski 1973, figs. 2, 4f.

35. Lepsius (1904, p. 176 [5]) is followed in this dating by Porter and Moss 1937, p. 72.

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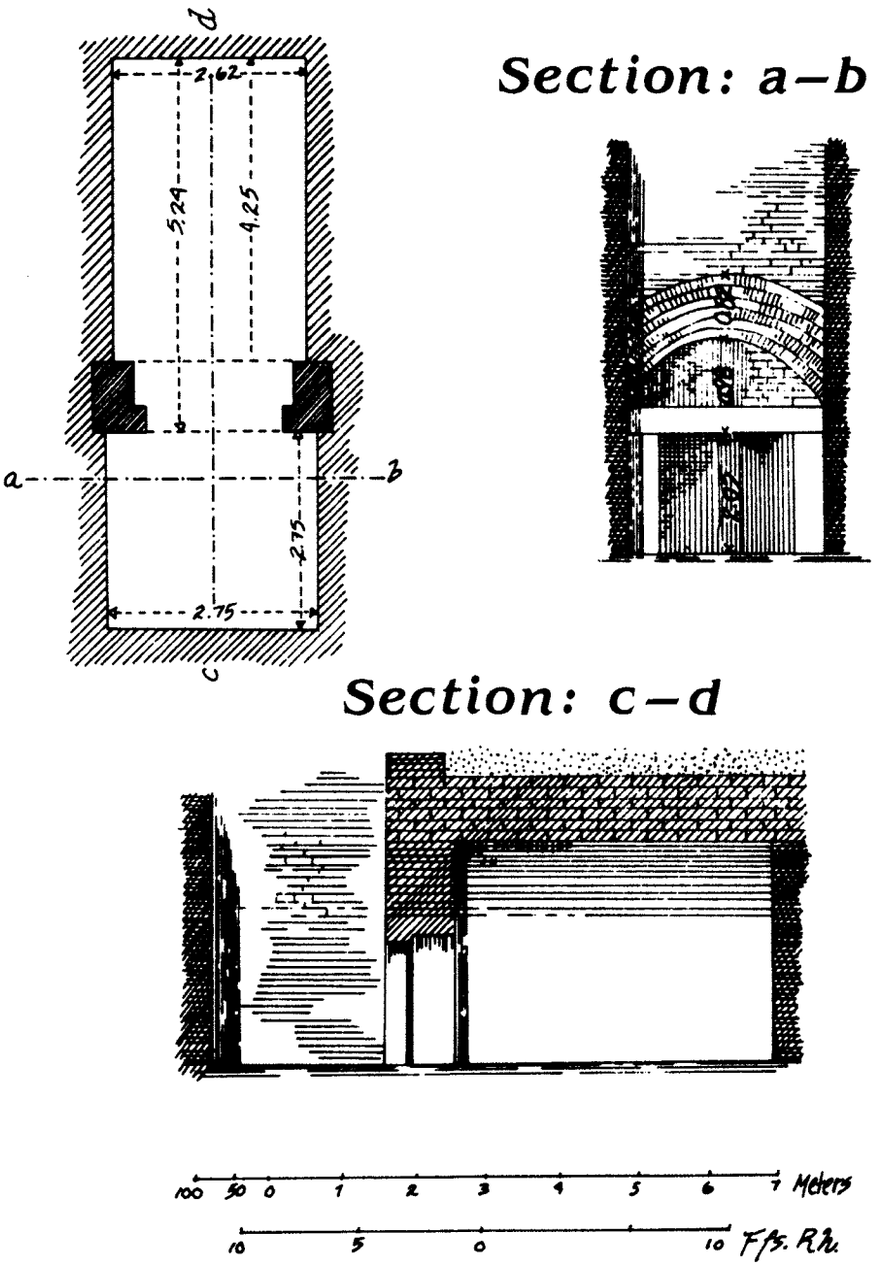


Figure 2.2. Plan and Sections of Tomb of the Vizier *ʾIww* at Abydos. Drawn by Jordi Ensign

1849–56, vol. I, p. 65 [bottom right]). Evidently, no trace of a superstructure was found. Although Lepsius does not specifically say so, the walls of the burial chamber were probably plastered and whitewashed before being painted with inscriptions (see n. 39, below). The left wall according to Lepsius bore two inscriptions (fig. 2.3a), one of which asked that the vizier be buried "in this his tomb chamber of Abydos." Another inscription, perhaps on the short back wall, began: *Ḥtp ḏi nswt ḥtp ḏi Wsir ỉwśw ỉḫt nbt ... ...* , "An offering which the king gives and an offering which Osiris gives of long-horned cattle and everything good ...

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..." (fig. 2.3b).[36] A fourth inscription copied by Lepsius may derive from the right-hand wall (fig. 2.3c).[37] Under the text on the same wall a false door was also painted.

Maspero called this type of sepulcher, of which he excavated numerous examples around the pyramids of Izezi, Pepy I, and Merenre at South Saqqara, "tombe en four" (Maspero 1885, pp. 194–207). Jéquier found many more in the cemetery around the pyramid of Pepy II (Jéquier 1929; see also Porter and Moss 1981, pp. 674, 683–89).[38] At South Saqqara the chambers were mostly stone-lined and decorated with representations and lists of offerings (Jéquier 1940b, pp. 107–15).[39]

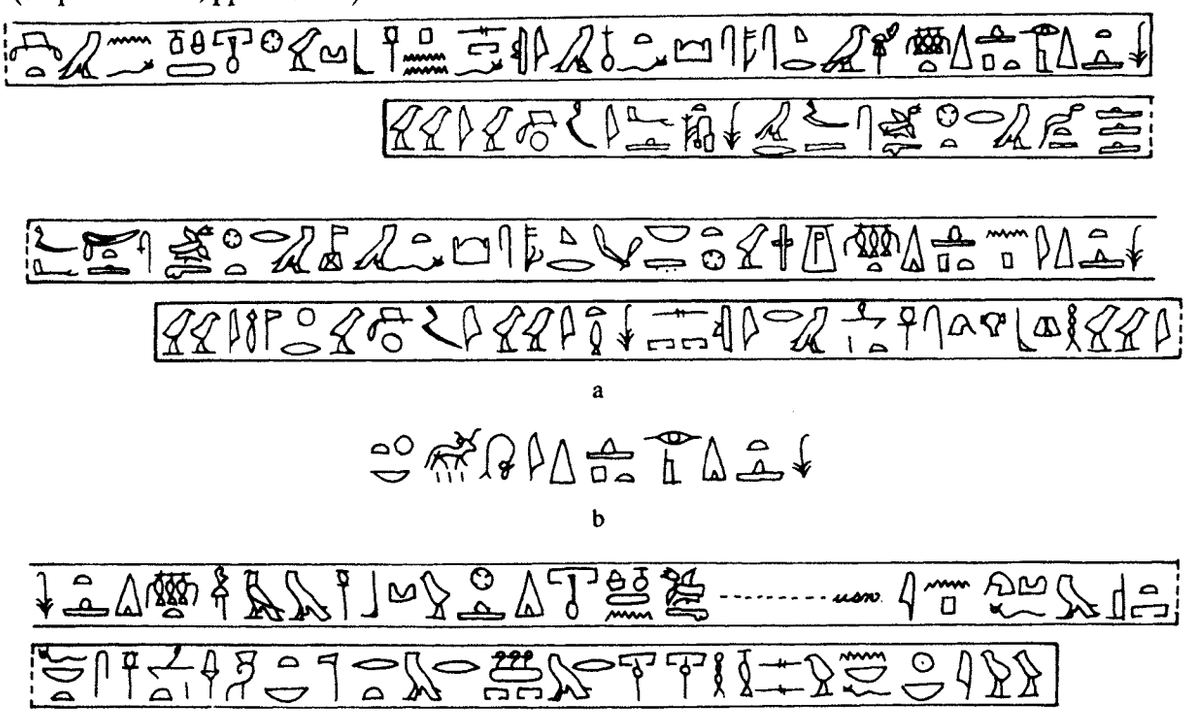


Figure 2.3. Inscriptions in Tomb of Vizier *ʾIww*. Drawn by Jordi Ensign

It is generally assumed that this type of tomb belongs to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, specifically to the reign of Pepy II.[40] This is difficult to prove or refute in a definitive manner.

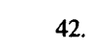
36. Lepsius (1904, p. 176 [5]) merely states: "Eine andere Inschrift beginnt mit."
37. Lepsius (ibid.) only writes: "Der Anfang einer anderen Inschrift ist." The inscription is lengthy, however, and therefore probably derives from one of the lateral walls. There evidently was another inschription running from right to left somewhere on the walls of the chamber, for Lepsius also says: "Der Verstorbene war auch  ."
38. Burial chambers of similar design and date were also excavated at Matariya; see Daressy and Barsanti 1916, pp. 193–220.
39. In the poorer class of tombs the stone-lining was absent and the brick walls usually bare, although one tomb situated near the later pyramid of King Khendjer and belonging to a late Old Kingdom nomarch of the ninth Upper Egyptian nome was decorated with paint on plaster; see Jéquier 1933b, pp. 39–43. The same is true of a burial chamber beside the western enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara; see Drioton and Lauer 1958, pp. 219–27, pls. 2, 17–19.
40. E.g., by Kees (1940, p. 53, n. 3) in his dating of the vizier *ʾIww* (*supra*).

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Due to their location, the tombs around the pyramid of Pepy II (and the Mastabat Fara'un) are almost certainly to be assigned to the reign of that king or later. Similarly, it is unlikely that any of the tombs excavated by Maspero to the east and northeast of the pyramid of Izezi between the pyramids of Izezi and Merenre and to the northwest of the pyramid of Merenre antedate the erection of the Sixth Dynasty pyramids near which they stand (Baer 1960, p. 51). Although the possibility cannot be entirely excluded, there is no evidence that any of the tombs are as early as Izezi's pyramid. One official in the area indeed held office at a pyramid the last written element of which, *nfr*, can be reconstructed to fit the names of either the pyramids of Izezi, Pepy I, or Merenre (Maspero 1885, p. 208; Baer 1960, p. 105 [336]), but a number of other tombs in the group belong to officials of Merenre's pyramid or have basilophoric names compounded with the royal name Pepy.[41] These tombs may have been built in the reigns of Merenre and Pepy I. On the other hand, since they are very similar stylistically, both in iconography and paleography,[42] to the "tombes en four" around the pyramid of Pepy II, it is also possible that the tombs as a group or certain tombs in the group are later than Pepy I and Merenre and, in fact, belong to officials who served the mortuary cults of these two kings but lived in the time of Pepy II.

Jéquier (1940b, p. 107) has noted that elements in the decoration of the "tombes en four" antedate the Sixth Dynasty, but that the task of selecting, combining, and disposing the different components into the decorative program common to the burial chambers at South Saqqara had already largely been accomplished in the burial chambers of the viziers of the reign of Teti at Saqqara, which were among the first to be fully decorated.[43] In the "tombes en four" the decorative scheme is more evolved and the disposition and composition of the component elements more standardized. In a large number of these tombs the two lateral walls are divided into three panels: the first panel on the left wall beside the entrance is occupied by food offerings, the next has a false door of palace facade type, and the third is filled by a compartmental offering list; the right wall has two panels of funerary equipment on either side of a panel with a second false door of palace facade type. The rear wall

41. Maspero 1885, pp. 196–98, 199, 199–200 [2], 200 [3], 201–04; CG 1536–37, 1634; Leclant 1954, p. 69 [top], pl.12 [7]; Porter and Moss 1981, pp. 671–74.

42. A number of features, like the arrangement of  , the writing of Anubis' epithet *ỉmy-wt*  with the prothetic reed leaf, and the phonetic spelling of Hathor  which appear in the group of tombs excavated by Maspero (1885, pp. 199, 200, 205), are rarely—if ever—attested elsewhere before the late reign of Pepy II; see, e.g., Jéquier 1940a, p. 71 (= Baer 1960, pp. 152, 295 [560]); Drioton and Lauer 1958, pp. 231, 249, 250–51, pl. 20a; Jéquier 1929, p. 76, fig. 90, pl. 11. A possible earlier occurrence of the reed leaf in a vertical writing of *ỉmy-wt*, which unfortunately cannot now be confirmed, since the false door is destroyed, may be found in Lepsius 1849–56, vol. II, p. 48; see Porter and Moss 1981, p. 492.

43. Two decorated burial chambers in the Unis cemetery at Saqqara, those of the viziers *Ny-ʿnḫ-bỉ* (Hassan 1975, pp. 45–48, pls. 26 B–29 B) and *Iḥy* (Macramallah 1935, pp. 31–35, pls. 21–24), appear to belong to the middle or late reign of Unis and are therefore somewhat earlier than the burial chambers in the Teti cemetery; see Strudwick 1985, pp. 56–57 (3), 63 (15).

    The decorated burial chambers of *Idu* I at Dendera (Petrie 1900, pl. VA) and of *Ppy-ʿnḫ* the Middle, his wife, and his son at Meir (Blackman 1914, pl. 6; idem 1924, pls. 18–21) belong to the late Sixth Dynasty and postdate the decorated burial chambers of the viziers of Unis and Teti.

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usually bears rows of round-topped granaries set under a portico of light columns and reached by a flight of stairs (Jéquier 1940b, pp. 107–15).

The clear course of evolution in decoration that can be followed from the burial chambers in the Unis pyramid cemeteries to the "tombes en four" at South Saqqara suggests that this important innovation in funerary customs evolved at the capital and was only subsequently adopted elsewhere. Even though its decoration is more rudimentary than at South Saqqara, on this basis alone it would seem likely that the tomb of the vizier *ʾIww* was built no earlier than the reign of Pepy I, although possibly as late as Pepy II.

In addition, a number of orthographic features in the texts on the walls of *ʾIww*'s burial chamber appear to reflect the practice of the suppression and modification of hieroglyphs for superstitious reasons that was intended to eliminate or render harmless the figures of men and animals considered potentially inimical to the deceased in inscriptions adjacent to the burial, a practice that is first attested in the texts in the pyramid of Unis (Lacau 1914, pp. 1–64; Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 1, pp. 171–77). These orthographic features include the omission of the determinative of the seated god in *Wsîr*, the omission of the recumbent jackal on a stand in *ʾInpw*, and the omission of the falcon in the emblem of the west in the divine name *Ḫnty-îmntyw*. Both the omission of the seated god in *Wsîr* and the purely phonetic writing of *ʾInpw* are first found in burial chambers and sarcophagi of the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara (cf. Fischer 1976a, p. 7). Of the viziers of Teti and Pepy I buried in the cemetery, *Nfr-sšm-rʿ*: *Šší*, *ʿnḫ-m-ʿ-Ḥr* : *Zzî*, and *Mrrw-kꜣ*: *Mrî* omit the divine determinative of *Wsîr* and write,  (Sakkarah Expedition 1938b, pls. 201:B/204:B, 205:A, 210:D; Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 1, pp. 101, 172; vol. 2, pl. 58 [6]). *Nfr-sšm-rʿ*, *Mrrw-kꜣ*, and *Ḫnty-kꜣ*: *ʾIḫḫî* suppress Anubis' sacred animal and write  .[44] On the basis of the title sequences in his tomb, Baer (1960, pp. 93, 291 [274]) assigned *Nfr-sšm-rʿ* to his period VI B, that is, year 10 of Teti to year 30 of Merenre. Kanawati (1980, pp. 24–26), Strudwick (1985, p. 112 [88]), and Harpur (1987, p. 274) all date the tomb to the reign of Teti. Kanawati (1980, pp. 24–26) dates *ʿnḫ-m-ʿ-Ḥr* to the end of the reign of Teti, Strudwick (1985, p. 75 [30]) from middle Teti to early Pepy I, Harpur (1987, p. 273) from late Teti to early Pepy I, and Baer (1960, p. 64 [94]) to Pepy I. Baer (1960, pp. 82, 290 [197]), Kanawati (1980, pp. 24–26), and Harpur (1987, p. 274) all date *Mrrw-kꜣ* to the reign of Teti. Strudwick (1985, p. 100 [68]) notes that the plan of *Mrrw-kꜣ*'s tomb has a number of affinities with that of *Ḫnty-kꜣ*, the decoration of which was only completed in the reign of Pepy I. He also makes the observation that parts of the tomb of *Mrrw-kꜣ* are cut in a rather rough manner as is most of the tomb of *Ḫnty-kꜣ* and all of the chapel of *Mrrw-kꜣ*'s son *Mry-Ttî*, and finally suggests a date late in the reign of Teti for *Mrrw-kꜣ*.[45] If it is impossible to settle the relative dating of the viziers in a definitive manner at present, it seems likely that the methodical suppression and modification of

44. Sakkarah Expedition 1938b, pls. 201:A–B, 204:B, 206:A–B, 207:A–B, 208:A–B; Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 2, pl. 58 [6]. *Kꜣ-gm.n.î* (see n. 24, above) and *ʿnḫ-m-ʿ-Ḥr* avoid the name of Anubis in the inscriptions in their burial chambers and use his epithets *îmy-wt* and *nb tꜣ-ḏsr* instead; in the case of *Kꜣ-gm.n.î*, this is also true of Osiris and Khentyamentiu, who are referred to by their epithets *nb Ḏdw* and *nb ꜣbḏw*, respectively; see Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 1, pp. 171–73.

45. On the basis of a priesthood at *Mn-nfr-Ppy* and the sequence of usurpations in the chapel, Nims (1939, pp. 638–47) dates *Mry-Ttî* to the reign of Pepy I.

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hieroglyphic signs in private inscriptions below ground began at Saqqara late in the reign of Teti.

At Saqqara the falcon continues to be an integral element in the west-sign in the burial chambers of *K3-gm.n.i*, *Mrrw-k3*, and *Ḫnti-k3* in the Teti cemetery.[46] By contrast, in the "tombes en four" around the pyramids of Izezi, Pepy I, and Merenre, which date either to the reigns of Pepy I or II (*supra*), the falcon has been suppressed, and  or the like appears.[47] This is also true in all but a few cases of the burial chambers in the vicinity of the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara.[48] Since an abbreviated form of the west-sign, omitting the falcon, appears in *ʾIww*'s burial chamber at Abydos (fig. 2.3a, c), this is another reason to think that the vizier is at least as late as Pepy I, if not as late as Pepy II.

The title written  with the phonetic sign of the whetstone in *ʾIww*'s burial chamber is perhaps to be read *sšmty*.[49] It probably occurs in two other Old Kingdom tombs. The first parallel is in the texts on the sarcophagus of the vizier *Mrri* at Saqqara, where *t3yty*,  , *t3ty* is written (Hassan 1975, vol. 3, fig. 20, p. 36).[50] *Mrri* probably served as vizier during the reign of Merenre or early in the reign of Pepy II (Hassan 1975, vol. 3, p. 37; Kanawati 1980, p. 34; Strudwick 1985, p. 99 [67]; Harpur 1987, p. 274). The second parallel (with double ) appears in a "tombe en four" to the south of the pyramid of Pepy II. The owner is the *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *t3ty*,  , *ḫry-ḥbt ḫry-tp*, *sm*, *<ḫrp> šndt nbt*, *smr w ʿty*, *imy-r3 ḫntyw-š pr-ʿ3*, *Ḫnm-nti*: *Ḫnmw* (Jéquier 1935a, p. 145 [O. II]).[51] On account of its location and the lack of later features, the tomb probably dates to Pepy II.

The vizier *ʾIww* is probably also known from a tablet for the seven sacred oils, once in the Hoffman Collection and now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, and from the false door stela of his granddaughter in the Cairo Museum. The tablet (Hodjash and Berlev 1982, p. 58, no. 20 [Moscow I.l.a.4672]) is dedicated to the "chief justice and vizier, overseer of the king's document scribes, one honored by Anubis, *ʾIww*." Hodjash and Berlev speculate that it is from Abydos and originally belonged to the equipment of the tomb of *ʾIww*. If they are

46. Firth and Gunn 1926, vol. 1, pp. 118, 120; vol. 2: pls. 5 A, 122, 123 (*imnt*, *imntt*); Sakkarah Expedition 1938b, pls. 201:A–B, 204:B, 206:A, 207:B, 208:B (*imnt*, *imntt*, *Ḫnty-imntyw*); James 1953, pl. 35 (*imnt*).

47. Maspero 1885, pp. 200, 201 (= CG 1572), 202, 204; the example reproduced here is from Borchardt 1937, vol. 2, pl. 74 (CG 1572 F).

48. Exceptions are Jéquier 1929, pls. 9, 16. Interestingly, as regards this feature (see PT 113b, 474c, 592b, and passim; Jéquier 1935b, pls. 3, 26) and a number of others, the Pyramid Texts from the reign of Unis through that of Kakare Ibi of the Eighth Dynasty seem to be following a different paleographical tradition than that of contemporary private inscriptions.

49. See Fischer 1960a, pp. 179–80. The presence of the folded cloth *s* and the adjunct *m3ʿ* in the uppermost line on the left-hand wall of the burial chamber (see here fig. 2.3) indicate that the copyist inadvertently omitted the *sšm*-sign, postcomplement *t*, and bookroll determinative from a second occurrence of the title on the same wall. Lepsius evidently realized this, because he added "*sic*" at this point in his copy.

50. Even though the whetstone is clearly written at Abydos (see here fig. 2.2a) and in the sarcophagus of the vizier *Mrri*, Fischer (1979, p. 181) wonders if *t3yty*, , *t3ty* is not an odd variant of the more usual  , in which the final sign of *t3ty* derives from *t3y*, "male" (*Wb.* V, 344).

51. Strudwick (1985, p. 320, n. 2) reads *skt*, connects the title with the word *skl*, 'go down' (*Wb.* IV, 311–12), and thinks it may be a term for a subordinate vizier. But as Fischer (1960a, p. 179) points out, both the whetstone and the knife () have the value *sšm* in the Old Kingdom.

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correct, as seems likely, it bears an additional epigraphic criterion that helps to date *ʾIww*. This is the writing of Anubis with the jackal on a stand  , a feature we have already seen, which occurs for the first time in the reign of Teti at Saqqara and which probably makes its appearance at Abydos as early as Merenre (see p. 21, above).

CG 1576 is a limestone stela from the Kom es-Sultan at Abydos (Mariette 1880, no. 540, p. 94; Borchardt 1937, vol. 2, pp. 57–58, pl. 75) bearing an incised representation of a false door but with no differentiation of planes (fig. 2.4; cf. Dunham 1937, no. 74). The "overseer



Figure 2.4. False Door Stela from Tomb of *Mznt*, CG 1576. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

of the city, chief justice, and vizier *ʾIww*," his daughter, the "king's noblewoman *ʾIrt.n.s*," and her daughter, the "king's noblewoman *Ḥ3t-k3w*, whose good name is *Mznt*," are named

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in three lines of text on the architrave of this false door stela.[52] The drum and jambs are inscribed for *Mznt*,[53] however, and the door evidently belonged to her. Her figure also appears at the bottom of the jambs, standing on the two outer jambs and seated on the two inner ones, in each instance sniffing a lotus. Borchardt (1937, vol. 2, pp. 57–58) assigned the stela to the Sixth Dynasty. Vandier (1954–55, pp. 440–45, fig. 285) included the piece in his discussion of other false door stelae and atrophied false doors but made no effort to date it. Since the inscriptions on the stela consist mostly of names and titles, they contain little in the way of useful dating criteria. The title *špst-nswt*, "noblewoman of the king," has a certain utility in this connection, however, since it first appears at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (Fischer 1961, p. 423).

The offering formula inscribed on the lintel of CG 1576 is brief and lacks mention of the boon sought: *Ḥtp-ḏî-nswt Wsîr Ḫnty-îmntyw*, "An offering which the king gives and Osiris (and?) Khentyamentiu (that) ... ." The west-sign in the divine name or epithet Khentyamentiu in the stela (fig. 2.5d) is identical in form to the sign in the false door of *Wnî* the Elder (CG 1574) from the Middle Cemetery at Abydos (fig. 2.5e; see Fischer 1976b, pl. 20, for photograph). In both, the falcon stands on a perch of distinctive shape. Another example of the ideogram (fig. 2.5c) from a stela of the first part of the Sixth Dynasty at Abydos helps to explain the shape of the perch in CG 1574 and 1576.[54] In figure 2.5c, the falcon stands on the letter ⌓ with an ostrich feather protruding from it, upon a staff with two short streamers.[55] In the examples from the false door of *Wnî* and the stela of *Mznt*, the ⌓, the staff, and the two streamers have coalesced into the perch of distinctive shape.

By way of summary, the suppression of hieroglyphic signs in *ʾIww*'s burial chamber at Abydos indicates a date no earlier than Teti for the vizier. The writing of  on the ointment tablet in Moscow is not at variance with this but at Abydos may indicate a date as late as Merenre. If the tomb type (a "tombe en four") suggests the reign of Pepy I as the earliest possible date for *ʾIww*, the suppression of the falcon in the west-sign in its inscriptions

52. One objection to the identification of the vizier *ʾIww* of the Abydos tomb with the owner of the ointment tablet and the grandfather of the "king's noblewoman *Mznt*" might be that *ʾIww* evidently lacks the titles *tʒyty zʒb* in the tomb, where the sequence of titles is *îmy-rʒ nîwt, ṯʒty, sšmty*(?) *mʒʿ, îmy-rʒ zš ʿ-nswt*. The last title, which according to Strudwick (1985, p. 203) was an important element in the titulary of the "southern vizier," in fact also appears on the ointment tablet, which has *tʒyty zʒb ṯʒty, îmy-rʒ zš ʿ-nswt*, while the false door stela has simply *îmy-rʒ nîwt, tʒyty zʒb ṯʒty*. The inscriptions in *ʾIww*'s burial chamber are damaged and incomplete, however, and it is possible that the missing titles occurred elsewhere on its walls. Since the admittedly few indications of date contained in the three monuments are not in open conflict, we assume for the present that the same individual is intended in each case.

53. For the name, see Ranke 1935, p. 164, 13 (our reference), and cf. CG 1616, also from Abydos.

54. The stela in question, Louvre C 160, forms a group with BM 832, Brooklyn 86.226.29, and CG 20106; see above, n. 47.

55. In the Old Kingdom, the west-sign has two principal forms; the first shows the falcon perched on a ⌓ with an ostrich feather protruding from it, upon a staff with a streamer (see here fig. 2.5a = Davies 1900, pl. 7, no. 9). This form of the sign closely resembles the example in figure 2.5c, except that it only has one streamer. The other form of the ideogram in the Old Kingdom has the falcon on the divine standard with the feather and a streamer (see here fig. 2.5b = Borchardt 1913, pl. 5). From the Sixth Dynasty the falcon is omitted in both forms of the sign for superstitious reasons (see pp. 28–29, above). Abbreviated versions of the first are the most ubiquitous of the two both in the Memphite cemeteries and in the provinces.

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supports this conclusion. This type of tomb continued to be made into the reign of Pepy II and probably into the First Intermediate Period, however, and for this reason alone a later date for the vizier cannot be entirely excluded from consideration.[56] The parallels to the rare title *sšmty*(?) could indicate that he was as late as Merenre or Pepy II.

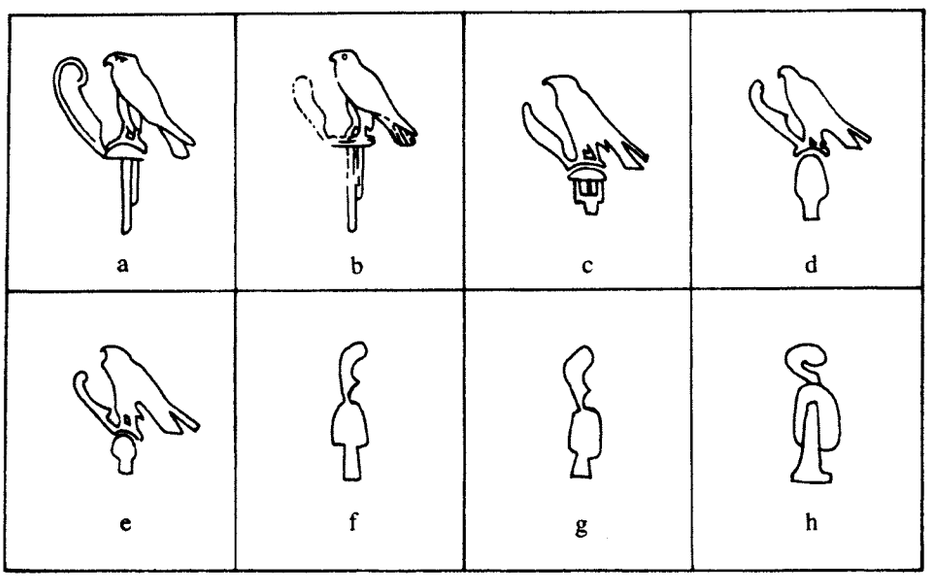
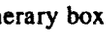


Figure 2.5. The West-sign in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period: (*a–b*) from Saqqara; (*c–g*) from Abydos; and (*h*) from Dendera

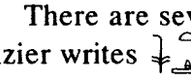
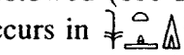
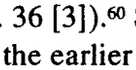
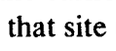
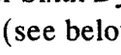
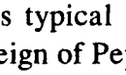
56. For a decorated burial chamber of the very end of the Sixth Dynasty or the First Intermediate Period, found by the French Archaeological Mission a short distance from the pyramid and causeway of Pepy I, see Leclant 1977, p. 244, figs. 11–12.

The inscriptions of the tomb of *ʿnw*, M. XVI at South Saqqara (Jéquier 1935a, pp. 147–55, figs. 13–17), contain indications that the owner died many years after the reign of Pepy II. Built into the southwestern corner of the great mastaba of the vizier *Mryr-ʿ-ỉmȝ*, who served Pepy II in the first half of his reign (Baer 1960, pp. 79, 290 [184]; Strudwick 1985, p. 95 [61]), the structure in which the tomb was inserted was not originally intended as a burial place. Cut down later and partly demolished to make way for the chapel and subterranean entrance to the tomb of Prince *Ttỉ*, who was buried between year 85 of Pepy II and the end of the Eighth Dynasty (Baer 1960, pp. 152, 297 [560]; Strudwick 1985, p. 157 [156]), the tomb was taken over by *ʿnw* for his own purposes. The perturbation of signs in  on the portal of *ʿnw*'s burial chamber recurs at Abydos in the late Sixth to Eighth Dynasties (Brovarski 1973, p. 464). The abbreviation  that appears in *ʿnw*'s funerary box and coffin is first attested in an inscription of the Eighth Dynasty King *Wȝḏ-kȝ-rʿ* at Khor Dehmit in Nubia (Roeder 1911, pl. 109a). The writing of  evinced in *ʿnw*'s funerary box, does not otherwise seem to be known prior to the Heracleopolitan period (Quibell 1907, pl. 15; Clère and Vandier 1948, §§11, 14, 18, 20, etc.; cf. Schenkel 1962, § 7c; Brovarski 1989, p. 258, n. 320). Taking all this into account, it seems likely that the tomb dates to the early Heracleopolitan period (Ninth Dynasty).

Christine Lilyquist (1974, pp. 27–30, pls. 1–3) published a burial chamber of probable Heracleopolitan period date at Memphis. Decorated burial chambers of First Intermediate Period date have also been found in the provinces at Dendera (Petrie 1900, pls. 3–4) and Dara (Weill 1958, pls. 57, 62, 69) in Upper Egypt, and at Mendes (Soghor 1967, p. 26, figs. 7–8, 23, 30) in the Delta. For the burial chambers at Heracleopolis itself, see Roccati 1974, pp. 161–97, pl. 4.

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But just how late was *ʾIww*? It is difficult to answer the question with certainty. The form of the west-sign in the stela of the granddaughter is identical to the form of the same sign in the stela of the overseer of Upper Egypt, *Wnî* the Elder, which might indicate that *Mznt* died at about the same time as that well-known official. *ʾIww* may have predeceased his granddaughter and concluded his life in the reign of Pepy I. On the other hand, the fact that *ʾIww* and his daughter *ʾIrt.n.s*, the mother of *Mznt*, figure prominently in the inscriptions on CG 1576 might be an indication that the latter died at a relatively young age, even though the title *špst nswt* probably shows that she was already an adult (cf. Fischer 1964b, p. 58). If this was the case and *Mznt* died in her mid-twenties, it is possible that *ʾIww* survived her and lived on into his sixties to serve King Merenre as vizier.[57]

There are several reasons for thinking that *ʾIww* is probably not as late as Pepy II. The vizier writes  (var. *ʾInpw, Ḫnty-ỉmntyw*; see fig. 2.3a–c), utilizing the earlier form of the offering formula with the king and the god understood as joint donors of the favor bestowed (see Lapp 1986, pp. 30–38; Fischer 1989b, pp. 69–76). The same construction occurs in  in a stela of the early part of the Sixth Dynasty, which has already been mentioned, CG 20106 (see n. 25, above).[58] The earlier form of the formula does not seem to be used in monuments of the latter part of the dynasty at Abydos,[59] although it is found at least once more at that site in the succeeding period of the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties (James 1961, pl. 36 [3]).[60] Similarly, *ʾIww* has  , an arrangement of *pr n.f ḫrw* that is characteristic of the earlier Sixth Dynasty at Abydos, not  , which is common at the end of the dynasty at that site (see below). He also writes Anubis' epithet *ỉmy-wt*  with the city-determinative that is typical of the older writing, not,  a spelling which first becomes popular in the reign of Pepy II (*infra*). Like the owner of CG 20106, the Overseer of Priests, *Ḥm-wr*, *ʾIww* also requests: *ḳrs.tỉ.f nfr m ỉz.f pn n ʒbḏw*, "that he be buried in this his tomb chamber of Abydos." The geographic specificity in the burial wish is rare elsewhere (see n. 25, above; Brovarski, forthcoming) and, when coupled with the analogy of the offering formulas, may indicate that *ʾIww* and *Ḥm-wr* were contemporaries. The stela group, of which CG 20106 and Louvre C 160 form a part, has been dated from the reign of Teti to Pepy I or perhaps Merenre (see Brovarski, forthcoming).

The sum of all the evidence discussed above suggests that *ʾIww* may have held the vizierate at the end of Pepy I's reign but may also have served Merenre as vizier. This tentative conclusion would have to be reconsidered, however, if further investigation revealed that the "tombes en four" around the pyramids of Pepy I and Merenre at South Saqqara indeed belong to the reign of Pepy II.[61]

57. All this assumes youthful marriage and early childbirth in ancient Egypt; for limited data available, see, e.g., Allam, "Ehe," *LÄ* I, cols. 1163–64; Brovarski 1975–76, pp. 3–6; Feucht, "Kind," *LÄ* III, col. 431.

58. Compare the writing of the formula in Louvre C 160.

59. The date of the false door of *Nfr-sšm-Pṯḥ*: *S ʿnḫ-Pṯḥ-Mryrʿ*: *Šší* is not entirely certain, although, on the basis of his name, he clearly dates to Pepy I or later.

60. The false door (BM 112) belongs to an *ỉmy-rʒ zšw <Ny>-ḥb-sd-Ppy* and paleographically is related to the group published in Brovarski 1973, pp. 453–65.

61. Dr. Henry G. Fischer informs the writer (personal communication) that he is preparing a study of the "tombe en four" that may provide an answer to this perplexing problem.

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As we have already seen, at Abydos the falcon continues to be an integral part of the west-sign as late as the reign of Merenre in the false door of *Wnì* the Elder. In two other monuments that probably derive from Abydos, however, the falcon (in both instances in *Ḥnty-ìmntyw*) is suppressed (fig. 2.5f–g).[62] The first of these is the false door of a vizier *ʾIdi*



Figure 2.6. False Door from Tomb of Vizier *ʾIdi*, CG 1457. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

in the Cairo Museum, CG 1457 (fig. 2.6). The second is another false door (and two doorposts) in Paris, Louvre C 161–63, inscribed for the overseer of priests, *ʾIww* (fig. 2.7).[63]

62. A very similar sign also appears in monuments of the First Intermediate Period; see, e.g., Brovarski 1983, fig. 8a–g. The example reproduced here as figure 2.5h (= ibid., fig. 8e) is after Fischer 1968, pl. 27 (Edinburgh 1910.95).

63. Ziegler 1990, p. 64. The photograph of the false door, Louvre C 161, was generously provided by Dr. Ziegler, Conservateur-en-chef, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre.

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Borchardt (1937, vol. 1, p. 145, n. 1) gives the provenance of the Cairo piece as "Abydos(?)," drawing attention to the fact that the same name and title appear in CG 1575, a stela which is definitely from Abydos.[64] Fischer gives other reasons for attributing CG 1457 to Abydos: the owner is "revered with all the gods of the Thinite nome" (see Brovarski, forthcoming); the feathers on the nome () are slanted much the same way as they are



Figure 2.7. False Door from Tomb of Overseer of Priests *ʾIww*, Louvre C 161. Courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris

in CG 1575; the sign  is also very similar in the two monuments (Fischer 1962b, p. 67, n. 22). The presence of the false door in the Anastasi collection at the Louvre, for the most part

64. For CG 1575, see nn. 67, 81, below.

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composed of pieces coming from Abydos, also favors an Abydene provenance (see Ziegler 1990, p. 64). The two false doors are structurally related as well; both are provided with a torus molding and cavetto cornice, have two pairs of jambs, and have a "T" shaped panel.[65] In addition to the form of the west-sign and other shared paleographic and orthographic features discussed below, it might be added that the eye in the group writing of *Wsỉr* is set at an angle, thus  .[66]

Even though their names are spelled differently, scholars have generally assumed the identity of the owner of CG 1457 with the well-known vizier *ʾIdỉ*, the uncle of Pepy I,[67] who probably served in that capacity near the middle of that king's reign.[68] The name *ʾIdỉ* in CG 1457 is written with the ear determinative () and evidently means "one who is hard of hearing" (Fischer 1962b, p. 67). The name of the uncle of Pepy II, on the other hand, both in the funerary temple of his nephew (Jéquier 1938, pls. 46, 48, 70[?]) and in his stela from Abydos (CG 1575: Borchardt 1937, vol. 2, pp. 55–57, pl. 75), is written with the ideogram of the child sitting with hand to mouth () and means "youth."[69] Consequently, there may have been two distinct *ʾIdỉ*s who functioned in the highest administrative office during the later Old Kingdom. The possibility seems to be supported by an examination of the two monuments just referred to above.

As already noted, both false doors have a "T" shaped panel. According to Strudwick, the earliest example of this panel shape is in the false door of *Ppy-ḏdỉ* found in the mastaba of *Ḫnty-kȝ*: *ʾIḫḫỉ* at Saqqara (James 1953, pl. 52, pp. 14, 69 [243]). Strudwick (1985, pp. 19–20), like James, presumes *Ppy-ḏdỉ* to be the son of *Ḫnty-kȝ*, who bore the same name, and whom he dates to the end of the reign of Pepy I. The assumption is a logical one but, if correct, this occurrence of the "T" shaped panel is considerably earlier than the next examples that are found in the tombs around the pyramid of Pepy II at South Saqqara.[70]

65. CG 1457 lacks the incised bindings on the molding and leaf-elements on the cornice of the Louvre false door, but these may have been added in paint.

66. The slanted eye also appears in a late Old Kingdom architrave from Abydos, Cairo JE 49803 (Frankfort 1928, p. 235, no. 23, pl. 20 [3]; Fischer 1987/88, p. 16, n. 5). The same feature appears again at a much later date, e.g., in the sarcophagus of Queen *Hnhnt* from Deir el-Bahri (Clère and Vandier 1948, § 27, 2) and in two stelae of the reign of Mentuhotep II from Abydos (Brunner 1965, pl. 6 [Berlin 1197]; Maspero 1882, pp. 117–18 [Turin 1513]).

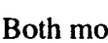
67. Helck (1954, p. 141, n. 68), Baer (1960, p. 61 [73 A]), Kanawati (1980, p. 76, n. 110), and Strudwick (1985, p. 63, n. 4) all seem to accept the identification. Fischer (1962b, pp. 67–69) evidently does not, since he does not assign CG 1575 (see n. 81, below) to the owner of CG 1457 and notes the differences in the meaning of the names of the two viziers.

68. Kees 1940, p. 54; Kanawati 1980, pp. 75–78; Strudwick 1985, pp. 63–65. Baer (1960, pp. 61, 288 [73A]) offers two different options, years 35–55 or 55–85 of Pepy II.

69. See Fischer 1960b, p. 11, for the nuances of the term *ỉdw*.

70. E.g., Jéquier 1940a, vol. 3, figs. 60, 62, 70; cf. Strudwick 1985, pp. 19–20. According to Strudwick, this panel shape is confined to the period from the middle of the Sixth Dynasty (*Ppy-ḏdỉ*) to the First Intermediate Period and had ceased to exist by the early Twelfth Dynasty. Naguib Kanawati (1992, p. 328) believes the "T" shaped panel is characteristic of the latter part of the reign of Pepy I and following and should not be used only as evidence for a date of the late Old Kingdom–First Intermediate Period. However, the false door of *Ppy-ḏdỉ* and the examples elicited by him (Kanawati et al. 1984, pls. 12, 23–24; El-Khouli and Kanawati 1988, pls. 20, 22–23) exhibit a number of late features, especially the outer or

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Both monuments write  and  , the first is a good indication, as we have already had occasion to observe more than once, that they are at least as late as Teti or, given the Abydos context, as late as Merenre.[71] At Abydos the earliest securely dated attestation of the arrangement  is in the false door of the overseer of Upper Egypt, *Wnî* the Elder (CG 1574) from the reign of Merenre.[72] CG 1457 and Louvre C 161 exhibit several other features that point to an even later period. Most prominent among these is the writing of *ỉmy-wt* with the pustule, thus:  . The earliest evidence for the pustule determinative in the epithet of Anubis is in the burial chambers of *Q3r*: *Mryr*ʿ*-nfr* and his brother *Nḫt-ỉ* at Giza (Simpson 1976, p. 18, figs. 7, 9b; see Fischer 1987/88, p. 18, n. 11).[73] *Q3r* held priesthoods of Khufu, Khafre, Menkaure, and Pepy I, and Baer (1960, pp. 136, 294 [495]) dates him to his period VI D, that is, years 15–35 of Pepy II. Harpur (1987, p. 267) concurs with a date in the reign of Pepy II, while Strudwick (1985, p. 142 [135]) prefers a somewhat earlier dating in the reign of Merenre to early Pepy II. Strudwick's dating of *Q3r* seems to be based in part on the assumption that his other name (*Mryr*ʿ*-nfr*) may be a reflection that he was born in the reign of Pepy I. In fact, there are many examples of men who adopted court names later on in life, so the argument is not compelling.[74]

The earliest occurrence of the omission of the falcon in the emblem of the west in the superstructure of a tomb is probably in the offering chamber of *Mryr*ʿ*-nfr*: *Q3r* at Edfu (Daressy 1917, p. 136 = Sethe 1903, 253.10–11, 14). In his biography *Q3r* says he was

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supplementary frame that first seems to appear in the later reign of Pepy II; see Strudwick 1985, p. 17; Brovarski 1989, pp. 130–34.

71. See above, pp. 20–21 (Baltimore 22.424 and CG 1439). Another occurrence of the later form of Anubis in the false door of the vizier *Ppy-nḫt* from Abydos (CG 1573) is dated by Baer (1960, pp. 71, 289 [135]) from Merenre to early Pepy II; by Strudwick (1985, p. 201) from middle to late Pepy II; and by Kanawati (1980, p. 89) to the latter part of Pepy II's reign. Other instances from Abydos may belong to the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties; e.g., CG 1500 (cf. Fischer 1962b, p. 68, n. 26), CG 1618, CG 1619.

72. An early occurrence in the burial chamber of *Q3r*: *Mryr*ʿ*-nfr* at Giza (Simpson 1976, fig. 7) belongs to the reign of Merenre or early Pepy II. Another early example whose precise date is uncertain appears in the tomb of the vizier *ʾIdw* I: *Nfr* (Junker 1947, fig. 43); see Baer 1960, pp. 62, 240 [78]; Strudwick 1985, p. 68 (22); Harpur 1987, p. 267. At Abydos the false door of the vizier *Ppy-nḫt* (see previous note) has while a vertical arrangement of the same group, occurs in the stela of *Ḥwỉ* and *Nbt* (CG 1578), the parents-in-law of Pepy I; cf. in the stela of their son, the vizier *Ḏ*ʿ*w*, who served Pepy II (CG 1431; see above p. 20, n. 21). The dates of the demise of *Ḥwỉ* and *Nbt* are a matter of some debate; see, e.g., Baer 1960, p. 109 [366]; Kanawati 1980, pp. 31–32, 62–63.

73. In the case of *Q3r* the determinative takes the form  , but the sign in *Nḫt-ỉ*'s burial chamber is identical to the form in CG 1497 and Louvre C 161. Fischer (1968, p. 84 [15]) also notes an occurrence in the tomb of *D*ʿ*w*: *Šm3ỉ* at least halfway through the reign of Pepy II (Davies 1902b, pl. 8), where is written, thus including the city-determinative that is typical of the older writing.

74. Kees (1929, pp. 92–93) has demonstrated that basilophoric or court names were not only given to a child at birth but could also be adopted by adults. Perhaps they were taken when a young man "tied on the fillet" and received his first appointment to office. Such names might be changed at the accession of a new king; see, e.g., James 1953, p. 14 (*Ttỉ-ḏdỉ* > *Ppy-ḏdỉ*); Lloyd, Spencer, and El-Khouli 1990, p. 6 (*Ttỉ-snb* > *Mryr*ʿ*[Ppy]-snb*). They could also commemorate kings long dead; add to the examples cited by Junker (1934, p. 30) the following: *Ḥwfw-*ʿ*nḫ* (Baer 1960, pp. 111, 292 [372]); *Wnỉs-*ʿ*nḫ* (Pantalacci 1985, pp. 245–54, fig. 2, pl. 40); and *Nfr-sšm-Ppy*: *Snnỉ* and *Mn-*ʿ*nḫ-Ppy*: *Mnỉ* (Fischer 1968, pp. 119–28, 170–75 [respectively]).

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brought to the capital under Pepy I to be educated with the children of other overlords, was appointed as *smr w ʿty*, *ỉmy-rȝ ḫntyw-š pr-ʿȝ* by the same king, and then named nomarch of Edfu by Merenre (Daressy 1917, pp. 135–36 = Sethe 1903, 253.14–254.4). His tomb was probably not decorated before the first part of Pepy II's reign (Kanawati 1980, pp. 23–24, 29–31; 57 (29), 68–70, passim).[75]

Of lesser utility for dating purposes is the presence of the foreign hill determinative  of Khentyamentiu in Louvre C 161. Dunham made the interesting suggestion that the determinative was wrongly introduced into Khentyamentiu through association with  (Dunham 1937, p. 40).[76] It is otherwise known in both groups of "tombes en four" at South Saqqara (e.g., Maspero 1885, p. 201; Jéquier 1929, p. 23, pls. 6, 16) and occurs in the First Intermediate Period at Dendera,[77] Naga ed-Dêr,[78] and Hagarsa.[79]

If the observations made above seem to lead to the conclusion that the vizier *ʾIdỉ* of CG 1457 and his contemporary, the overseer of priests *ʾIww*, are in all probability at least as late as Pepy II, two iconographical features of Louvre C 161 suggest they lived in the later years of his reign or may even have survived him and lived on into the early years of the First Intermediate Period. The first feature is the wig pattern on the right outer jamb of *ʾIww*'s false door that shows the lower and rear parts of the shoulder-length wig covered with an overlapping pattern of locks but leaves straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head. In his discussion of yet another stela from Abydos (CG 1615), whose owner has a very similar wig, Fischer (1962a, p. 17, n. 80) expresses the opinion that this pattern, which is in origin a peculiar hybrid of the patterns appropriate to short and shoulder-length wigs, probably did not appear until the very end of the Sixth Dynasty. The same pattern appears in three "stèles-maisons" found by Jéquier at South Saqqara[80] and in a number of reliefs from tombs of the courtiers of Pepy II (Jéquier 1929, figs. 97, 108, 124, pl. 15). It is also found in

75. For another example of the omission of the falcon in the west-sign in the superstructure of a tomb, see Davies 1902b, pls. 8, 11. According to Baer (1960, pp. 157, 295 [592]), the latter tomb was built between years 55 to 85 of Pepy II; see also Harpur 1987, p. 280.

76. Both *ỉmnt* and *ỉmntt* are sometimes determined with the hill-sign during the Old Kingdom; see, e.g., Simpson 1980, fig. 16; Drioton 1943, p. 506.

77. Fischer 1968, pl. 16a (Eighth Dynasty); Petrie 1900, pl. 3 (Ninth Dynasty).

78. At Naga ed-Dêr the foreign hill determinative appears in unpublished coffins of the Polychrome Group of the Ninth Dynasty from N 3765, N 4003, and SF 526 C 1, 2; in a contemporary stela of the Green Group (Dunham 1937, no. 70); in a unpublished coffin of the *Mr-ỉrty.f* Group of the early Tenth/ Eleventh Dynasties from N 170; and in *Mryt* Group stelae of the same time (ibid., nos. 26, 57, 67, 76); see Brovarski 1989, p. 792, n. 204. For a brief discussion of the Naga ed-Dêr stela groups involved, see idem, "Naga (Nagʿ)-ed-Dêr," *LÄ* IV, cols. 307–10.

79. At Hagarsa it is found in Khentyamentiu in the tomb of *Mry-ʿȝ* (Petrie 1908, pls. 7, 9), which appears to have been decorated by an artist of the Polychrome Group; see Brovarski 1989, Appendix B.

80. One of the "stèle-maisons" or model mastabas (Cairo JE 49805: Porter and Moss 1981, p. 685) belongs to the Thinite nomarch *Ḫw-bȝw*, who is placed by Fischer 1954, pp. 30–34, in the reign of Pepy II, after the three governors of nome 8, *ʾIbỉ*, *Ḏ ʿw*: *Šmȝỉ*, and *D ʿw*, who made their home at Deir el-Gebrâwi, where they also governed nome 12, and by the present writer ("Naga [Nagʿ]-ed-Dêr," *LÄ* IV, cols. 306–07) in the Sixth to Eighth Dynasties, after the death of that sovereign. One of the other two model mastabas is in Paris (Louvre E 14185: Ziegler 1990, no. 32), while the whereabouts of the third is at present unknown (Jéquier 1929, pp. 113–14, fig. 129; Porter and Moss 1981, p. 679).

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contemporary statues (Fischer 1959, p. 239, n. 16). While none of these examples is securely dated, neither is the patterning of the wig definitely attested elsewhere in monuments prior to the end of the reign of Pepy II (see Brovarski 1989, pp. 137–38). The other feature, the flaring kilt marked by folds which appears on both the doorposts of *ʾIww*, has also been discussed by Fischer (1987/88, p. 16, n. 5), who points out that this detail is first known from the very end of the Old Kingdom at Dendera and Abydos.

Scholarly opinion places the vizierate of *ʾIdi*, the uncle of Pepy II, near the middle of the latter's reign (see p. 36, above). Paleographic and stylistic considerations assign CG 1457 to the end of the same reign or even a little later. This and the evidence provided by the different spellings of their names, makes it likely that there were indeed two distinct viziers named *ʾIdi* at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.[81]

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81. On the basis of the orthographies of the names (see pp. 36–37, above), it is possible to distribute the different monuments tentatively between the two viziers. In the pyramid temple of Pepy II and in CG 1575, the name of *ʾIdi* "I" is written with the ideogram of the child. CG 1577, another stela from Abydos, like CG 1457, has the ear ideogram and probably belongs to *ʾIdi* "II." Fischer (1962b, pp. 65–67) thinks it possible that two statues in the University of Missouri's Museum of Art and Archaeology (acc. no. 60.46) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 37.2.2) likewise belong to *ʾIdi* II, even though on these monuments he is only *ỉmy-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr* and not vizier. Unlike Pepy II's uncle, *ʾIdi* II in CG 1457 and CG 1577 is both *ỉmy-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr* and *ỉmy-rꜣ Šmʿw*. The ear also occurs on the jamb of a false door inscribed for a vizier *ʾIdi* found in the debris of a chapel at South Saqqara (Jéquier 1929, p. 109). If it too were assigned to the owner of CG 1457, he would have possessed two tombs, one at Abydos and the other at Saqqara. Of course, yet a third vizier *ʾIdi* might be involved.

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CHAPTER 3

A MODEL FOR THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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Several years back, while a mere graduate student sitting before class in the cramped office of Klaus Baer, Klaus made a remark that struck me as relatively self-evident, yet one which I did not have a chance to follow up on for many years. What Professor Baer said was that Egypt over time was ruled by a small number of important families.

The traditional view of ancient Egyptian governmental structure has been centered on a strong centralized administrative system with a concomitant court-centered tradition (e.g., Trigger 1983, pp. 1–70). The implication of Professor Baer's comments is that the royal family was not omnipotent within the scheme of Egyptian governmental structure. This observation seems so obvious that it hardly need be repeated. Moreover, when one looks at the interaction of individuals and families throughout Egyptian history, one notices the tendency for the political structure of Egypt as a centralized state to change a great deal.

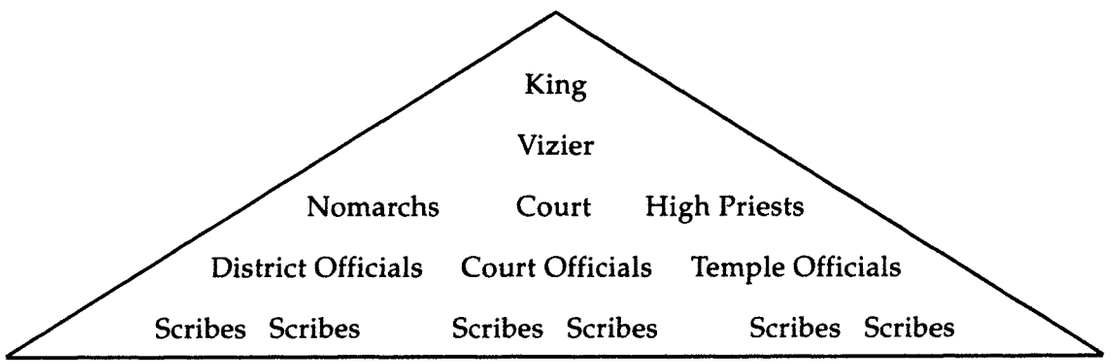


Figure 3.1. Pyramid Model of Organization of the Egyptian Government

One traditional diagram for the organization of Egyptian government is a "pyramid" with the king at the "apex" of society (see fig. 3.1). This model argues that the king was the principal holder of power in society and all were beholden to the king for their positions. Principally, this model is used to describe Egypt during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The notion of nobles achieving a place in the Netherworld on the coattails of the king in the Old Kingdom is predicated upon this type of governmental structure.

O'Connor (1983, pp. 183–278, especially p. 208) presents a different scheme for the structure of government during the New Kingdom (see fig. 3.2). The role of the temples (including that of Amun-Re), the army structure, and areas of foreign empire indicate clearly an entirely different structure for the Egyptian government.

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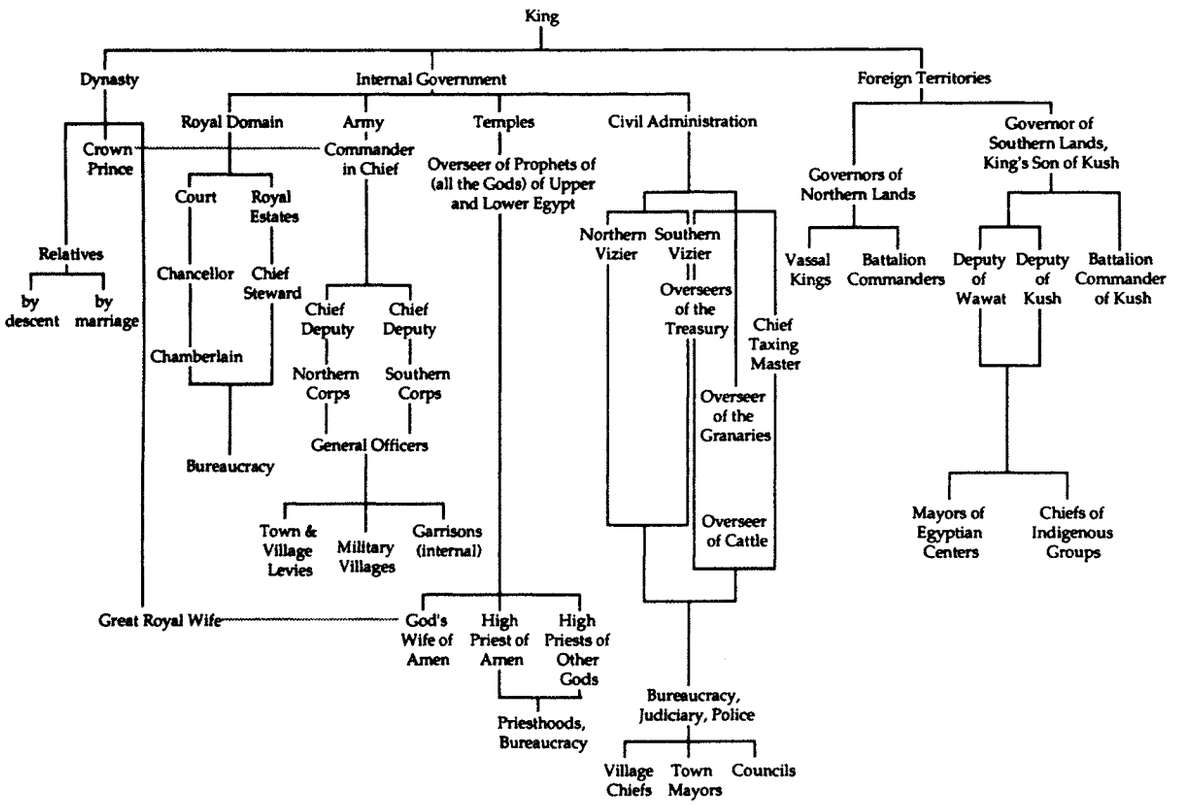


Figure 3.2. Organization of the Egyptian Government in the New Kingdom (adapted from O'Connor 1983, p. 208, fig. 3.4)

For the Persian period, I have developed this outline of a structure to try to give some indication of the role of government (see fig. 3.3). My approach has marked similarities to O'Connor's model in that I have placed items into distinct areas of responsibility.

Klaus Baer's comments become even more pertinent in this type of analysis. Do any of these models take into consideration the nature of Egyptian society and the role of families in the development of Egypt? Do they reflect the changing nature of government throughout ancient times? Are they good indicators of the nature of government for their own specific periods? To each of these questions I would answer in the negative. For example, the "pyramid" model does not reflect accurately the pivotal role that the many nomarchs played in the decline and resurgence of the central government in Egypt during the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom. Ankhtifi of Moʿalla would be a prime example of a nomarch who played a major role in the history of part of the First Intermediate Period and who, perhaps, held more real power than the contemporary king. The "pyramid" model would argue that Ankhtifi was not as important as the king.

The second model also has its drawbacks. What was the role of the viceroy of Nubia during the New Kingdom? According to O'Connor's model he would fit nicely within the sphere of administration of foreign conquests. But what was his real position? If we understand it correctly, he was the king's representative in the Nubian realm. His title was a military one, as he was the military leader of the area and commander of the military garrisons stationed therein.

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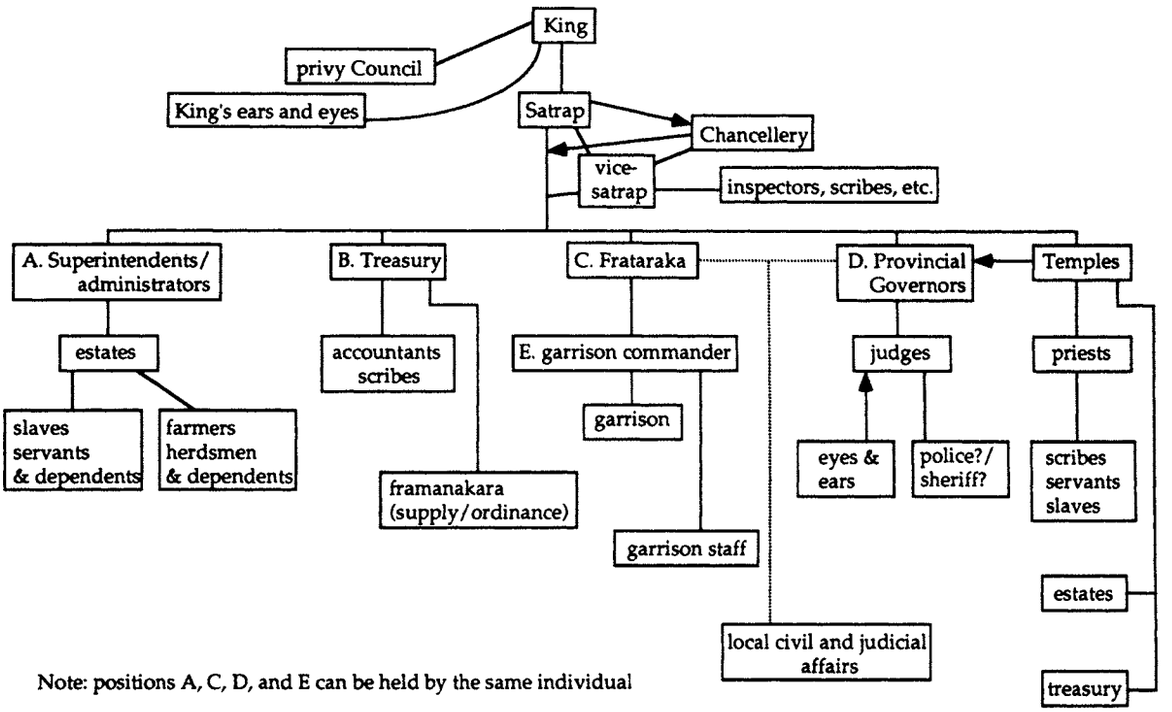


Figure 3.3. Administration of the Egyptian Satrapy during the Persian Period (Idealized Scheme)

Another aspect of O'Connor's model is the role of the vizier. According to his model, the vizier is in charge of the civil government. But to whom do individuals go for resolution of disputes between different sectors of the government, such as the temple estates and the civil government? If we understand the Tomb Robberies Papyri, they bring their disputes before the vizier. If the vizier acts as the chief justice below the king for legal disputes, then the model should have placed the vizier at a different level, such that his responsibilities *vis-à-vis* other sectors of the government can be identified.

The third scheme has similar problems. I had noted that specific areas of responsibility could have been held by a single individual. Thus the *frataraka* (chief military commander) could be the same person as the local provincial governor. One such individual would be Khnumibre whom we know was "commander of troops," but also the "Superintendent of Works in Egypt." In addition, the role of temples in the collection of tribute for the satrap is not entirely clear. In certain cases we know that tribute was collected by the temple (such as the temple of Khnum at Elephantine) and passed on directly to the provincial governor and not to the treasury.

A drawback of all three models is that the role of the scribe is not clearly defined. In the Egyptian bureaucracy there were many different scribes, such as king's scribe, scribe of the temple, scribe of the gang at Deir el-Medina, village scribe. The use of the title itself may be ambiguous. This ambiguity may be of some use. Clearly the rank of scribe was of some importance. Likewise, the type of scribe that is referred to can give us some sense of the social and/or administrative level of the holder of the office. Thus, a scribe of a village may not have the same ranking in the hierarchy as a royal scribe attached to the court.

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Can we make such blanket statements? What about the situations during the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period? Would the village scribe of the principal city of a powerful nomarch such as Ankhtifi of Moʿalla have a lesser or more important position than the minor king of that time? Clearly these models have difficulty dealing with such situations.

In light of the difficulties with each diagram noted thus far, I asked the question: Can we postulate a single model that could be used to explain the political organization of Egypt regardless of time period and one that can take into account the role of important individuals within each time period?

Such a task is not an easy one, but I have adapted a model suggested for different purposes by H. Hamill (1987) of the University of Connecticut. My model works on the concept of spheres of influence and on the idea that power is not a static fixture throughout Egyptian history, but rather one that fluctuates a great deal. This allowance for change of influence over time represents the first basis for this new model. The second area of significance is that of the role of major or noble families. A third aspect is the de-emphasis on the traditional notions of specific offices as the basis for the structure.

The resulting model can be seen in figure 3.4 and its basis is that of interconnecting circles of power. Each circle (or better yet sphere) represents a single family. In its simplest form we have the king represented by a circle. The subsidiary circles represent the various noble families who rule in Egypt. Within each circle the organization is most likely

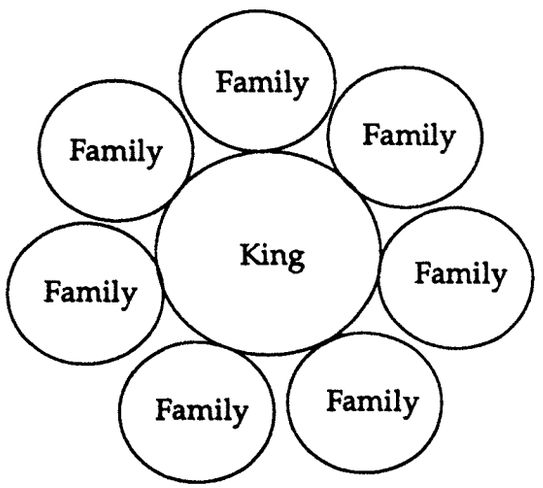


Figure 3.4. Basic Spheres of Influence Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government

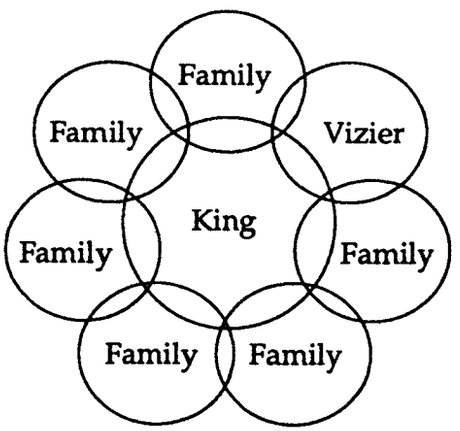


Figure 3.5. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government in the Early Old Kingdom

hierarchical, and each circle contains, for the most part, a self-sufficient section of ancient Egyptian society. Each family has a variety of individuals within it, and all have a position within society. My model suggests that their position is defined in terms of their standing within the family structure first and by extension in society as a whole. In addition, it is important that Egypt as a whole was a relatively homogenous society, such that within each self-sufficient family unit a multiplicity of offices, titles, and ranks could be identified. Each family may have been organized in a different fashion, but the homogeneity of the culture

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suggests that each family was structured along similar lines (patriarchy with strong matriarchal influences).

Why base this structure on the family? This notion came to me from two sources. The first is the notion of the nomarchial families of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Clearly the position that these groups had in Egyptian history was one of greater importance than that of any single individual in the family. The second source was the family of viziers of the late Middle Kingdom. In the Thirteenth Dynasty this family clearly had a major political role.

When we apply this model to different periods of Egyptian history, we see immediately the flexibility of the form. The application of the model to Egypt during the early Old Kingdom, such as the reign of Khufu, is shown in figure 3.5. Here the king is clearly the central part of society, and the noble families are dependent or subservient to him. There are some interconnections between noble families, and we can distinguish one family in particular, that of the vizier. An alternative way of understanding the societal structure is seen in figure 3.6, where the king is the ultimate authority, and all other aspects of society are subsumed within his sphere of influence. Either of these forms are useful for explaining the relationships between sections of society during the Old Kingdom.

The model shown in figure 3.7 would represent Egypt at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Here, the position of the king is still central to the societal structure, but his position *vis-à-vis* the nomarchs and vizier is greatly diminished. In addition, a large amount of "overlapping" occurs between spheres of influence. We know that the nomarchial families were intermarrying a great deal throughout Egypt, and this activity led to a continued diminution of the royal power. In a sense the king is first among equals in this view. It might be argued that the trend toward a lessening of the power of the royal family resulted from a shifting of economic resources away from the royal family to the nomarchs (see Müller-Wollermann 1987/88, pp. 25–40). This shifting might be seen as an attempt by the nomarchs to revert to a governmental structure from an earlier period, perhaps one nearer to the unification of Egypt.

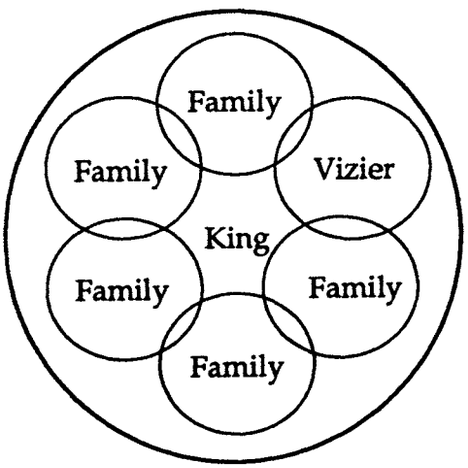


Figure 3.6. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government Showing the King as the Ultimate Authority

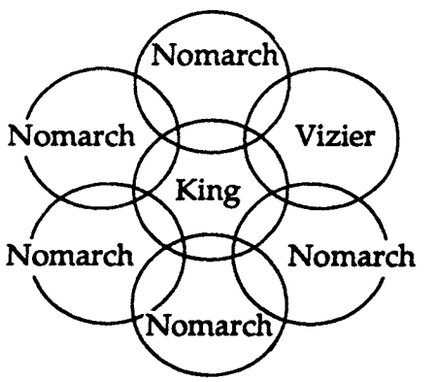


Figure 3.7. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government at the End of the Sixth Dynasty

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The next time period to which we should apply our model is the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. How we can view the organization of the Egyptian government during the reign of Amenhotep III is shown in figure 3.8. At this point in time Egypt is at its peak from a materialistic and cultural point of view. Internal peace finds a powerful king and large spheres of influence in the areas of the army, temples, administration (represented by the vizier), and foreign conquest. Because our model argues for a certain "self-sufficiency" within each sphere, the king would share influence with other portions of society that had derived large amounts of independent authority. Because the king came from an "army" background, there would be a certain larger interconnection between those two areas. The

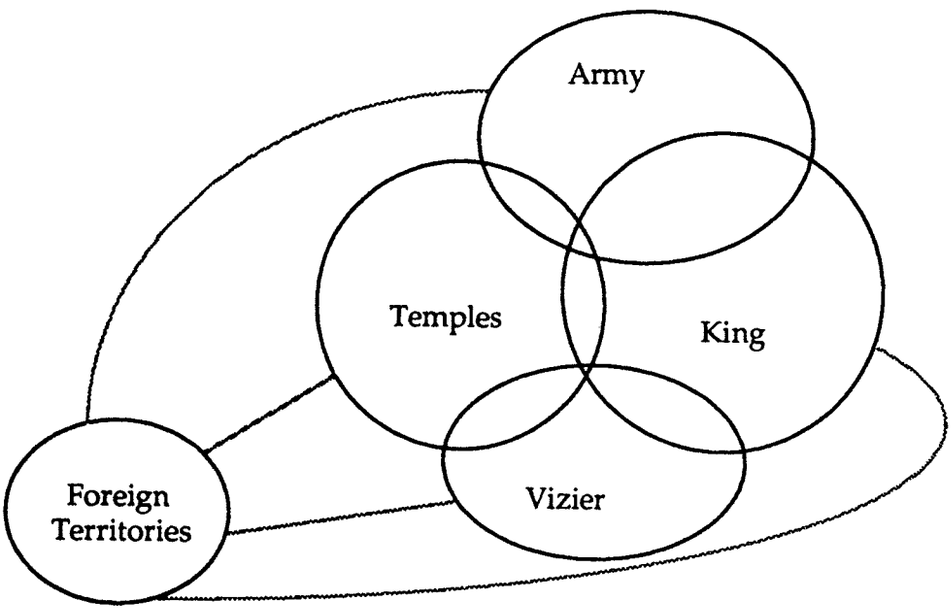


Figure 3.8. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government during the Reign of Amenhotep III

rise of the cults, notably that of Amun-Re, would be reflected in the size of its sphere of influence. The army would also have grown from basically non-existence in the Old Kingdom configuration to a major portion of Egyptian society at this time. Foreign territories and their administrative structure intertwine with all the other spheres at this time. Each of the spheres greatly benefited from the development of the empire and had personnel and estates located in those areas.

The structure of Egyptian society underwent major shifts between the end of the Old Kingdom and the Eighteenth Dynasty. The importance of the central administration under the vizier may reflect the dominance of the vizierate at the end of the Middle Kingdom, prior to the Hyksos invasion. The growth of the "army" may also reflect the reactions to the Hyksos invasion. The rise of the cults developed out of the benefits bestowed on the various temples following the victorious kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty. What is clear from these developments is that the king no longer holds the central position within society. The king retains a symbolic and political role but is no longer preeminent. I believe it is this shift away from the primacy of the king that led to the Amarna period.

The way we should understand the reign of Akhenaten is shown in figure 3.9. The king attempted to revert to the Old Kingdom version of the primacy and centrality of the pharaoh.

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The role of the temples was completely subsumed, as well as that of the other areas of society. It is certain that Akhenaten had the support of the military in his ventures and that they played a significant role in his reign.

But such a setting did not outlive the seventeen year reign of that monarch. The reversion (or "Restoration") in the reign of Tutankhamun underscores the violent shift of influence possible from one reign to another. In figure 3.10 the role of the king is subsumed. The king may have a symbolic centrality to Egypt, but in terms of power, Tutankhamun, due to age and forces not in his control, yields to the predominance of the army. The temples, especially the cult of Amun-Re, are revitalized and continue to grow until the end of the New Kingdom.

The Restoration decrees of Tutankhamun and Horemheb were especially instrumental in this area. These decrees should be seen not simply as endowing benefits to the temples, but rather as decrees that formally abdicated extensive royal prerogatives to the temples. At this time the administrative structure is revitalized, and the foreign territories play a new role in the structure of government, especially in the influence and stability of the office of the viceroy of Kush. This version of the model would be relatively accurate for the remainder of the New Kingdom up until the disintegration of central government in the Third Intermediate Period. There would be minor variations, such as the reign of Ramesses II, where the role of the king increased, but his power was based mainly on his military activities and background, and not solely upon his societal position as king.

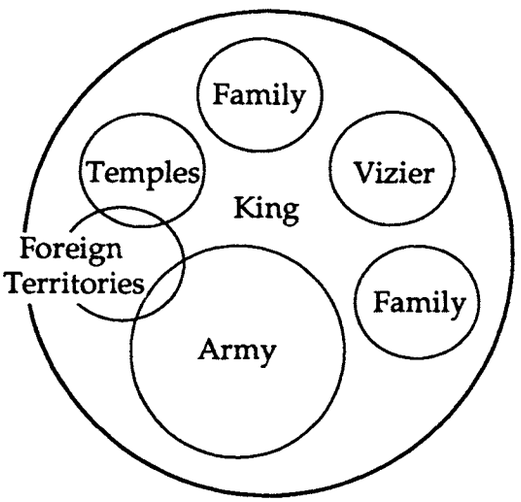


Figure 3.9. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government during the Reign of Akhenaten

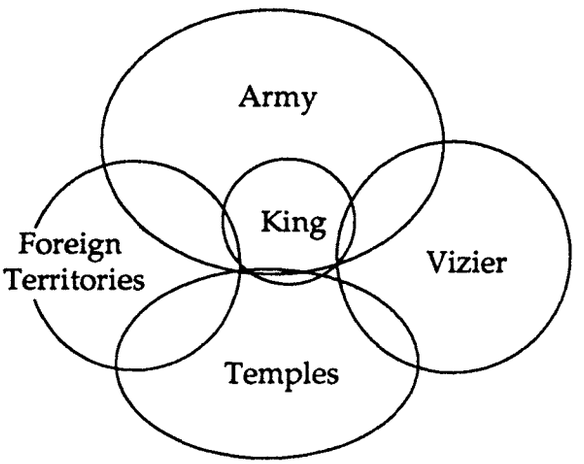


Figure 3.10. Model of the Organization of the Egyptian Government during the Reign of Tutankhamun

The scope of this article prevents me from examining in detail every period of Egyptian history. However, the few examples given here provide the basis for future study. I believe that the pattern of the model for the late periods in Egypt (including the Ptolemaic and Roman dynasties) falls back toward the pattern of the end of the Old Kingdom (with notable exceptions).

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This model contains a number of positive aspects that warrant further study. First, it can accommodate minor and radical change over time. Second, it allows for a clearer demonstration of the interconnections that existed between different sectors of Egyptian society. Third, it allows individuals to hold multiple offices in different sectors of Egyptian society and not be divorced from the family structure which serves as their support structure and basis of strength.

This model is by design one that is flexible. As such it allows for the vagaries of the various time periods in Egypt. It shows us that a single fixed model cannot be applied to all periods of pharaonic Egypt. Fixed models are not able to explain the rapid change in governmental structure that took place, e.g., during the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The model has its greatest strength in the flexibility of the spheres of influence. These spheres contract and expand over time. This contraction and expansion in and of itself explains historical change in many ways. If this model proves to have applicability to the Egyptian situation, then it suggests several important areas for further study. One of these is the notion of whether the individual is more important than the status or influence of the family from which that individual comes. Clearly this model suggests that the role of the individual is to be subsumed or overshadowed by the position of the family. It also allows a much clearer understanding of how certain individuals can have power or influence in a variety of areas in society.

When applying the model proposed here, we must be careful not to assume that it is the only means of depicting power relations. O'Connor (personal communication) noted that figures 3.1–3 can serve a useful purpose for identifying lines of authority in specific areas of Egypt's administration. When those figures were developed, they served the function of depicting a snapshot of their creator's view on a portion of Egyptian political structure. As noted above, it is what they do not do that is the subject of this paper.

As a final thought I would like to give my version of what Egypt was like at the time of the unification of Egypt. Whether one believes the historical interpretations which favor a military conquest of Lower Egypt by Upper Egypt or one where the spread of culture from the south to the north lead to a gradual formation of a state, is not significant. Trigger (1987, pp. 58–66) noted that additional factors were involved with the unification including cultural and economic items.

Most scholars identify trade and control of trade routes as a major factor in all schemes involved with the unification of Egypt. A factor which has not been noted is that of transportation and distance. The unification of a country the size and shape of Egypt must have occurred *despite* factors of distance because there was a relatively homogeneous culture within its borders. At unification and throughout recorded history, up until the modern era, the distance from Aswan to the delta never changed and neither did the principal means of transportation, boat travel on the Nile. Downstream, one followed the river currents; upstream, one utilized the favorable winds. In both cases several weeks were needed to traverse the distance. Can a country be unified easily if it takes two weeks to go from one end to the other?

Throughout pharaonic times delays in delivery of supplies are noted (Lewis 1986, especially pp. 41–42). Sometimes bureaucratic reasons are given, but in essence the distance

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between the "capital" (whatever that means and wherever it was located) and outlying provinces meant that nothing was done quickly or efficiently. One area that Klaus Baer stressed throughout his lectures was that, while the ancient Egyptians were not brilliant, they were practical and efficient. A decentralized government is the only kind that can be explained reasonably for the environmental conditions under which Egypt emerged. Thus, the model proposed above would suggest that for the initial stage of Egyptian history, we would have a scheme such as shown in figure 3.7. The principal view expressed here is that King Menes would be seen as the head of a very strong family based in the Thinite nome with a branch in Memphis, but one who is first among equals among the leaders of the numerous provinces in Egypt. As Trigger (1987, pp. 58–66) himself noted, certain accommodations with "noble" families were made to achieve the unification.

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CHAPTER 4

THE GIZA MASTABA NICHE AND FULL FRONTAL FIGURE OF REDI-NES IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

PETER DER MANUELIAN
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Klaus Baer always had time for an intellectual puzzle. While his broad overview of many facets of Egyptian language and culture was phenomenal, perhaps even more impressive was his ability to hunt down and solve scholarly puzzles that previously seemed unsolvable. More than once this writer had the privilege of entering his office with a difficult text passage or historical problem, and then leaving with a feeling that the word "enlightenment" might accurately describe. Although in my case he was unable to see his role as *Doktorvater* through to completion, he nevertheless righted many a wrong turn on my dissertation and proved a constant source of encouragement. May this short note below on an Old Kingdom puzzle from a site he knew better than most be offered in his memory.[1]

INTRODUCTION

The little limestone false door niche of the scribe and royal *w'b*-priest, Redi-nes,[2] has been known to the scholarly world since the early 1920s.[3] The primary reason for its notoriety derives from the exceedingly rare representation of the tomb-owner in a full frontal pose, with feet splayed outward, that appears in the central niche of the door. Photographs of portions of the piece have appeared in the scholarly literature, but in an incorrect reconstruction. Parts of the dedicatory inscriptions have never been published or translated, and the door shows some interesting names and examples of hieroglyphic reversals. In addition, the archaeological context has not received sufficient attention in print. The following remarks consider the excavation history of the piece, provide a new translation of the texts, a discussion of certain aspects of Redi-nes' frontal representation, and finally, a note on the date of the piece.

1. For many helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper, I am indebted to Dr. Henry G. Fischer and to Dr. Ann Macy Roth.
2. For the name, see Ranke 1935, p. 178.1. Another (?) Redi-nes is known from a false door in the Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan. For this reference, I am indebted to Dr. David P. Silverman.
3. The piece was officially accessioned to the museum in 1921 and bears the number 21.961. Its measurements are: height of door and jambs: 79.0 cm; total width of frontal surface: 58.0 cm; width of door: 41.0 cm; width of jambs: 7.3–8.5 cm; depth of jambs: 26.0–26.5 cm; height of central figure: 32.2 cm; width of central niche: 14.0 cm. I am grateful to Dr. Rita Freed, Curator of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, for permission to publish the piece and to quote from the unpublished Museum Expedition diaries. For general references, see Porter and Moss 1974, p. 145.

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Figure 4.1. View of Cemetery en Echelon in the Western Cemetery, Looking to the East (Museum Expedition Photograph B 8492; August 26, 1935); Arrow Points to Stone Marked G 5032 Indicating Position of Mastaba of Redi-nes. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

EXCAVATION HISTORY

Redi-nes constructed his limestone mastaba on the western side of the Great Pyramid, in the so-called cemetery en echelon. It is located in the street between the larger tombs G 5030 and 5040 to the west and G 5130 to the east (see figs. 4.1–2). The tomb contained four shafts (A–D), a small chapel, and a serdab (figs. 4.3–4). The Museum Expedition diary for October 29, 1915 briefly discusses the excavation of tomb G 5032 under item three of the day's work:

> (3) G. 5032 ... This is contemporaneous with G. 5031. The S[outh] niche is a very curious little stela with a figure in sunk relief *en face* in the middle panel. The feet are turned out ... The scribe:  . The figure *en face* has on the round beam above it:  . In the S[outh] end of Ch[amber], a serdab has been walled off (with a hole from Ch[amber] to S[outh]). The roof was found intact (3 stones) but the statuettes were of wood and entirely decayed.[4]

4. Museum Expedition diary, unpublished, October 29, 1915, pp. 37–38 (handwritten version, notebook covering January 5–December 13, 1915), pp. 21–22 (typescript). Additional objects discovered in the tomb bear the field numbers 35-8-38 (large blue faience barrel bead); 35-8-39 through 35-8-51 (thirteen pottery fragments); 35-8-52, 65, 71, and 35-9-13 (human bones).

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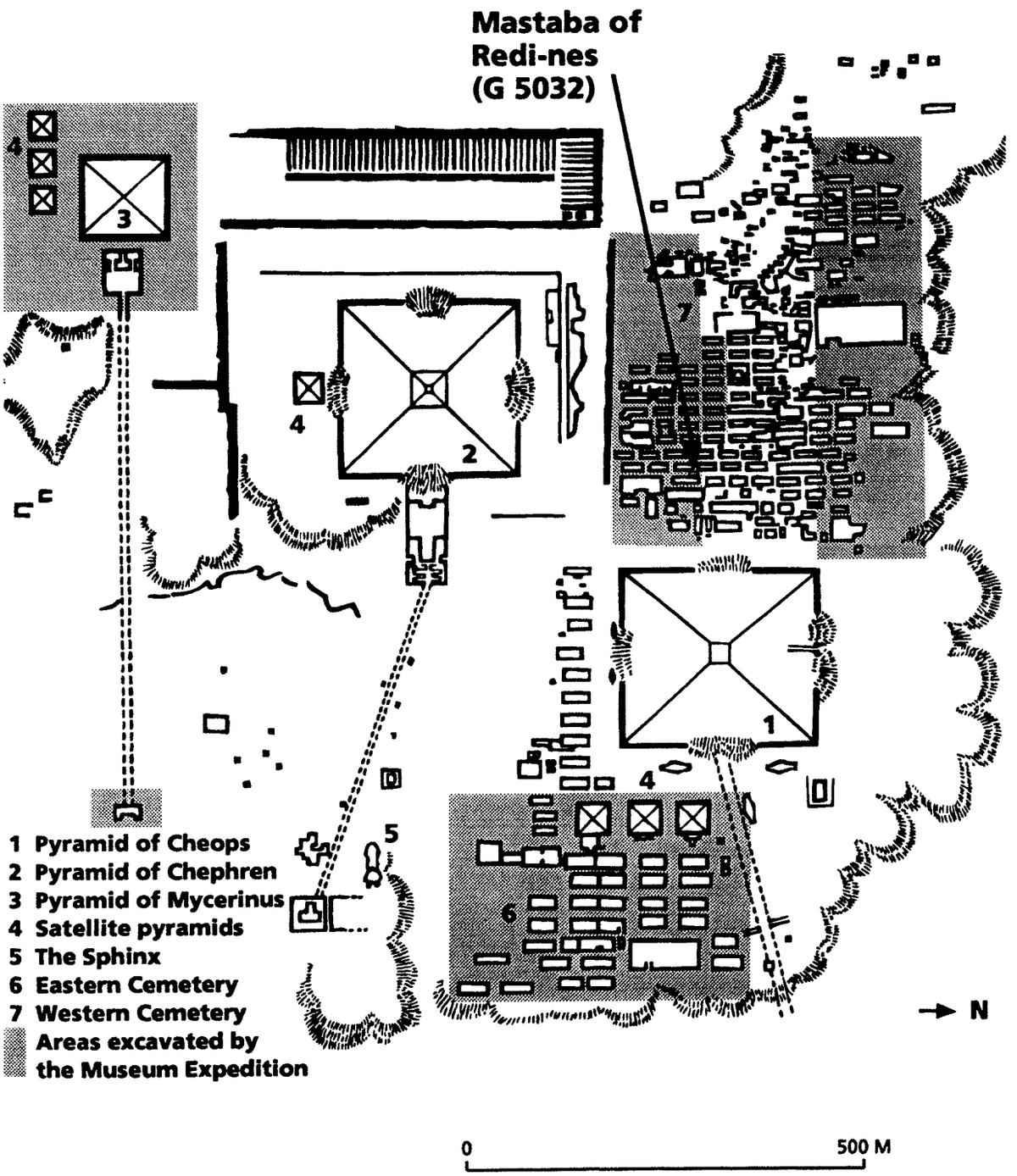


Figure 4.2. General Plan of the Giza Necropolis, Showing the Location of the Mastaba of Redi-nes (G 5032) in the Western Cemetery

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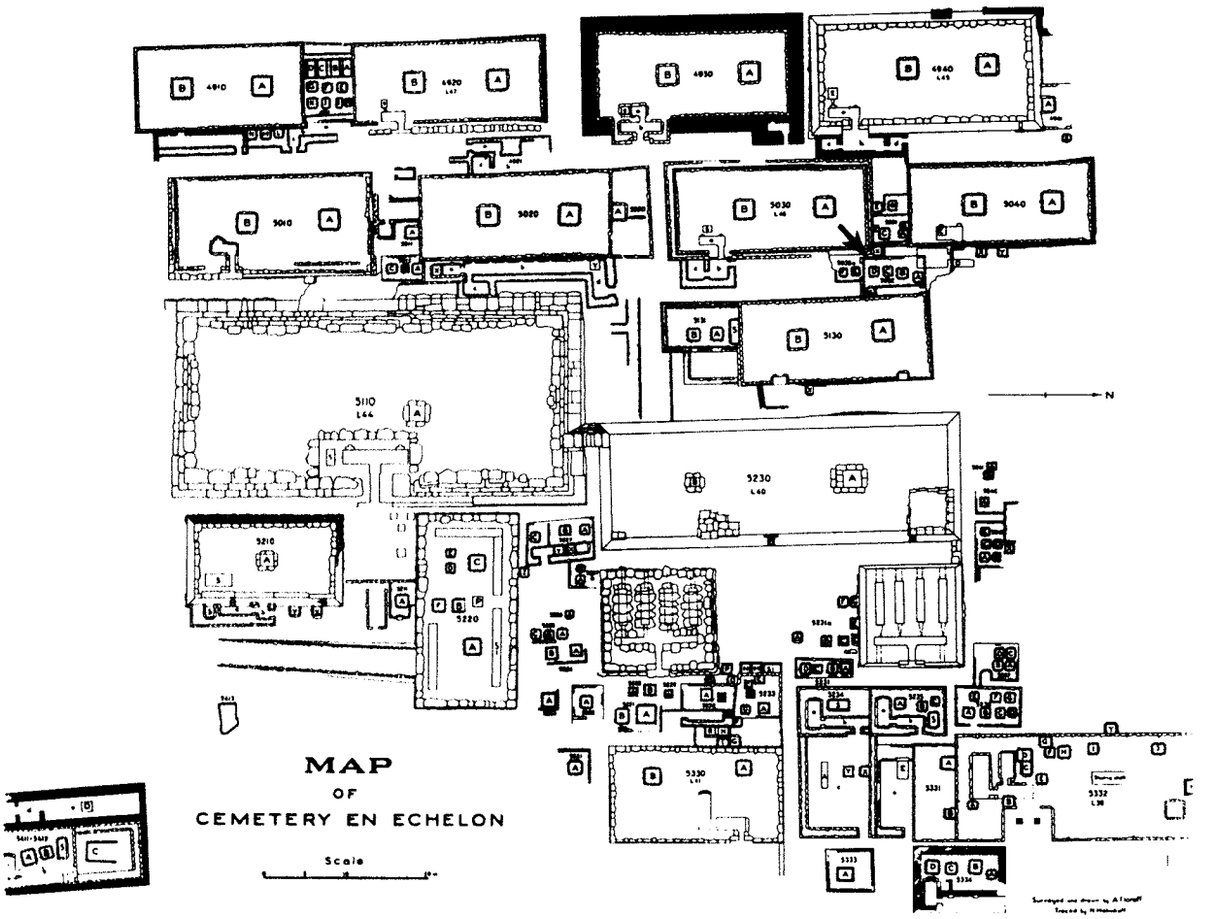


Figure 4.3. General Plan of Cemetery en Echelon by A. Floroff and N. Melnikoff

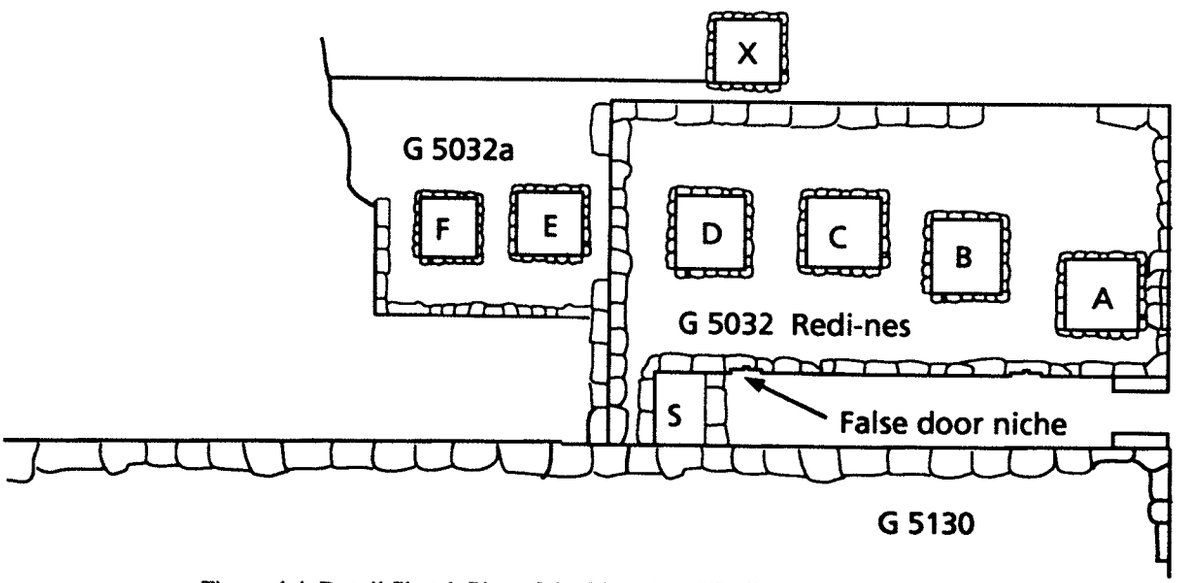


Figure 4.4. Detail Sketch Plan of the Mastaba of Redi-nes (G 5032)

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The southern niche was the only inscribed area or object in the entire tomb. It consists of a false door that is flanked on either side by inscribed, protruding jambs. Each jamb contains two vertical columns of inscription, one band on one face and the other located ninety degrees around the corner. It is interesting to note that symmetry is not in evidence here, possibly because additional inscriptions were never carved. The right-hand, or northern, jamb bears texts both facing the viewer and facing inward toward the false door. The left-hand, or southern jamb texts, however, face both out toward the viewer and southward *away* from the false door.

The photograph in figure 4.5 shows the niche still in situ with broken pottery fragments (offering table elements?) on the ledge in front of it. Recent reexamination of this photograph and the excavation diary notes has indicated, however, that around 1921, after its arrival in Boston, the niche was for a time incorrectly reassembled for exhibition.

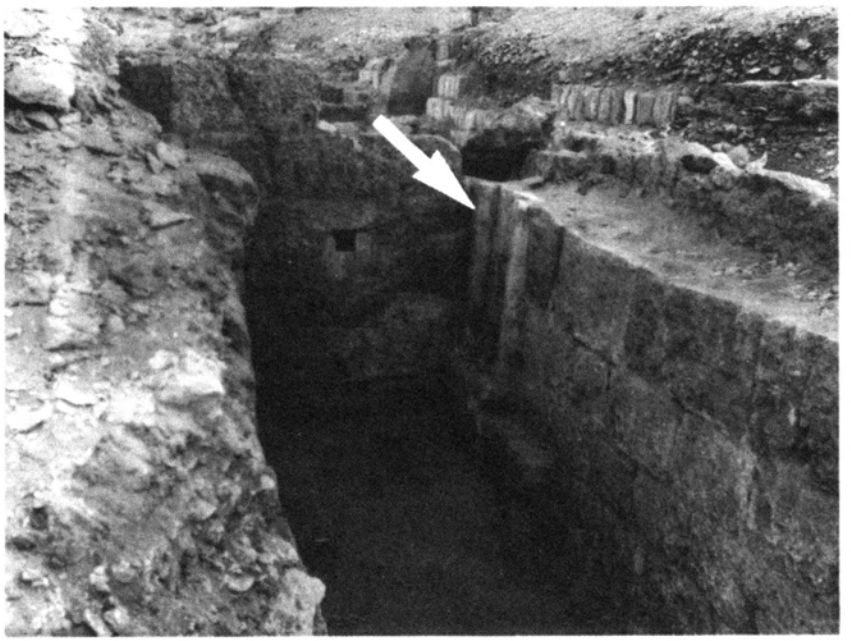


Figure 4.5. View of the Chapel of Redi-nes' Tomb, Looking to the Southwest, Showing the False Door in Situ at the Far End of the Western Wall (Museum Expedition Photograph C 6925; October 31, 1915). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Furthermore, the photograph of the piece, recording the mistake, is the photograph used in all the published illustrations of the niche. In an (apparently modern) effort to restore symmetry to the layout of the inscriptions, the left-hand, or southern, jamb of the niche was incorrectly rotated ninety degrees. The photograph in figure 4.6, the same one used in the 1922 *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Sanborn 1922, p. 27), Wreszinski's (1936, pl. 21) *Atlas*, and Brunner's (1965, pl. 3) *Chrestomathie*, shows the incorrect arrangement.[5] The left (southern) jamb in the photograph should be rotated ninety degrees outward, or to the left from the viewer's point of view. The jamb inscriptions are reproduced in figures 4.9–10. An

5. For a detail of the central figure, see here figure 4.12. The object is difficult of access for new photography in its current location on exhibit. But the photograph in figure 4.6 plus the original expedition photographs (figs. 4.9–10) serve to show all the inscribed faces of the niche. The piece is displayed correctly in the Museum of Fine Arts' gallery today.

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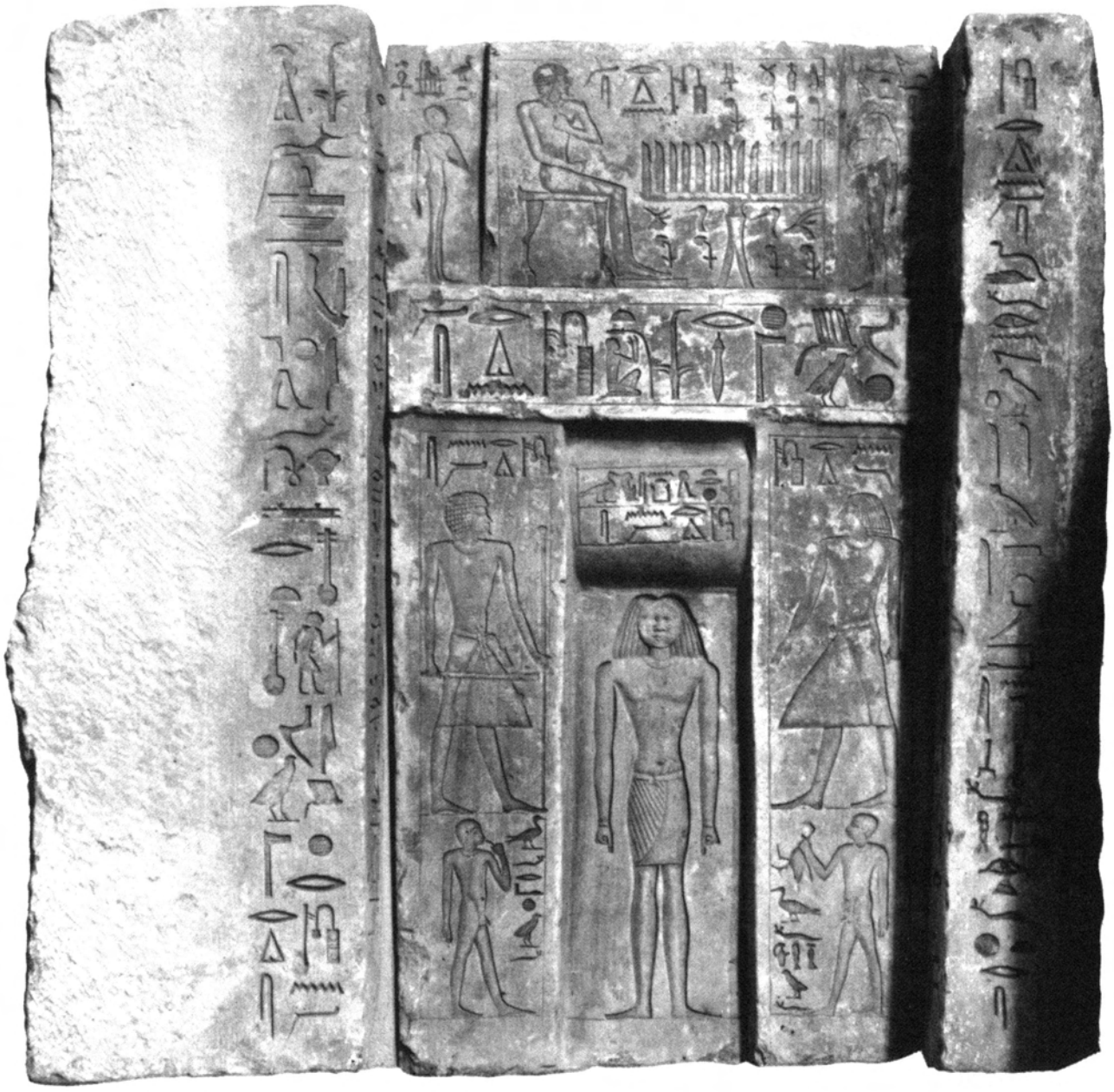


Figure 4.6. Studio Photograph of the False Door Niche, MFA 21.961, Showing the Incorrect Reconstruction of the Left Outer Jamb (Containing the  sign). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

enlargement of the photograph in figure 4.5 (see fig. 4.8) makes the texts partially visible and proves the case. Perhaps more interesting archaeologically is the fact that this exterior jamb text (beginning with the *hetep di nisut* formula) was walled up in the tomb by what must have been the subsequent construction of the serdab wall with the window (fig. 4.8).[6]

6. An alternative suggestion, kindly suggested to me by Dr. Ann Macy Roth, would place the original entrance to the tomb to the south; thus the viewer would see the two side texts with the *hetep di nisut* formulae (texts 2 and 4) first, oriented as they both are to the south.

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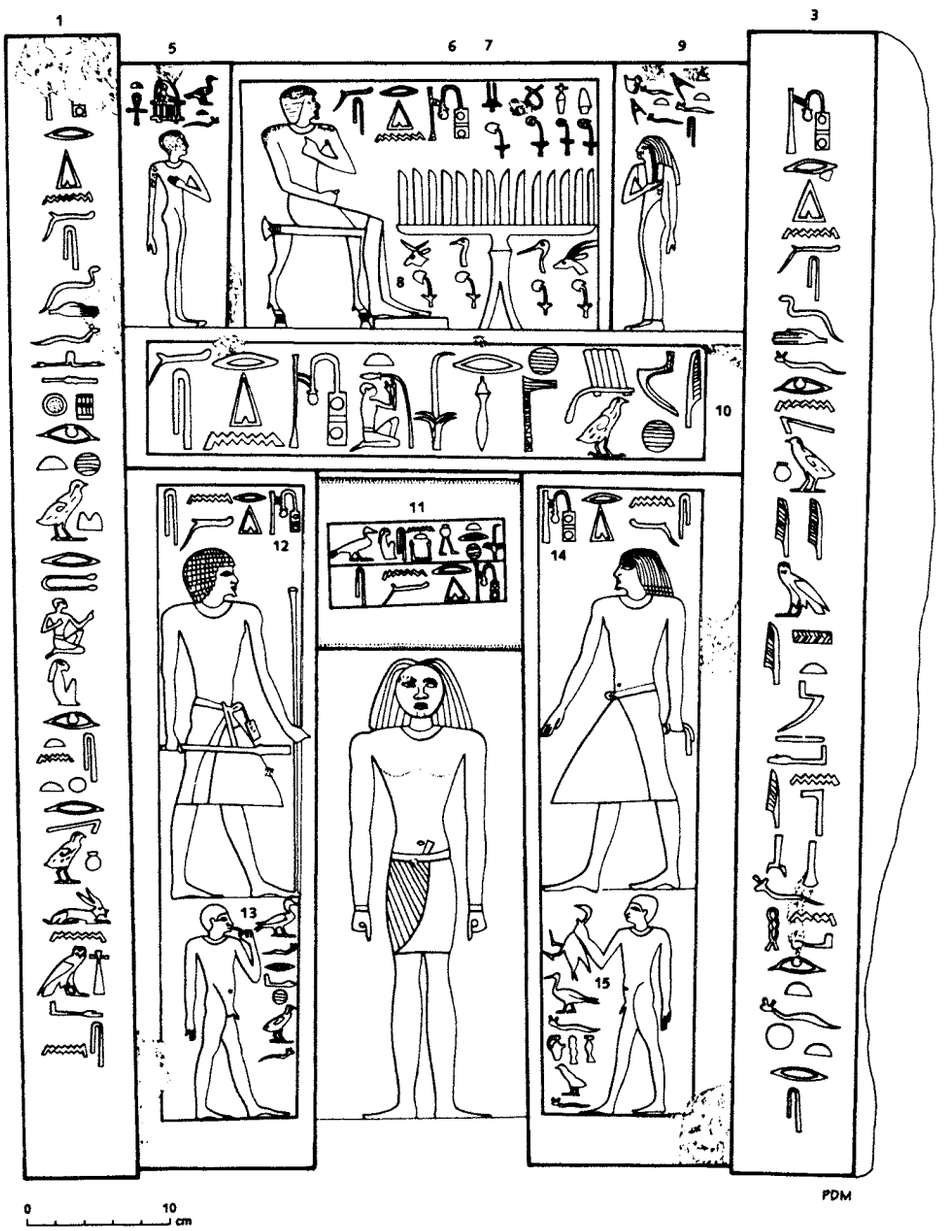


Figure 4.7. Facsimile Drawing of the False Door Niche of Redi-nes, MFA 21.961

THE TEXTS AND SCENES

The basic orientation of the inscriptions on the niche is to the right, that is, to be read from right to left. Some interesting reversals occur throughout the text. Every scribal sign hieroglyph and every occurrence of Redi-nes' name, except for that on the right inner jamb, faces to the right. Reversals include *sš* and *ns* signs on the right jamb; and the *s* sign in the right aperture in the name of Meret-it-es.[7] The hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief with a fair amount of interior detail (see fig. 4.7).

7. Most likely "retention of dominant orientation"; cf. Fischer 1977, p. 112, § 38.

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Figure 4.8. Enlargement of the Museum Expedition Photograph C 6925, Showing the Inscriptions on the False Door as Well as the Later Wall with Window Covering up the Text on the Southern (Left) Exterior Jamb. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Figure 4.9. Left (South) and Right (North) Frontal Jamb Inscriptions (Museum Expedition Photograph B 3768; 1919). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

[1] LEFT JAMB



sš Rdi-ns ḏd.f n zp ỉr.(ỉ) ḫt ḏw [r] rmṯ.t ỉr.ty.sn ḫt r nw wn.<f> nḏ(.w) m-ᶜ.sn

The scribe Redi-nes says: Never did (I) do any evil thing against people. (As for) those who will do something against this, it shall be protected from them.[8]

8. For the expression *nḏ m-ᶜ*, "protect from," see references in CT Spell 303 (de Buck 1951, 57b); CT Spell 334 (de Buck 1951, 180g); CT Spell 455 (de Buck 1954, 328c); CT Spell 456 (de Buck 1954, 329f); CT Spell 600 (de Buck 1956, 216b–d); CT Spell 790 (de Buck 1961, 2r–s); and *Wb.* II, 374.4.

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Figure 4.10. Exterior (Left or South) and Interior (Right or North) Jamb Inscriptions (Museum Expedition Photograph B 3769; 1919). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

[2] LEFT THICKNESS (EXTERIOR OF NICHE)



ḥtp dỉ nswt ỉnpw nb tȝ ḏsr ỉ.ḫp.f[9] *ḥr wȝ(t) nfrt ỉȝw nfr ỉmȝḫw ḫr nṯr sš Rdỉ-ns*

A gift which the king and Anubis, lord of the sacred land, give, that he might travel upon the beautiful way, having attained a ripe old age, (as) one revered[10] before the god; the scribe Redi-nes.

9. Note the *ỉ*-augment on the verb; cf. Edel 1955, § 481 g.
10. On the translation for *ỉmȝḫw*, instead of "well-provided," see recently Fischer 1991, p. 22, section 2.

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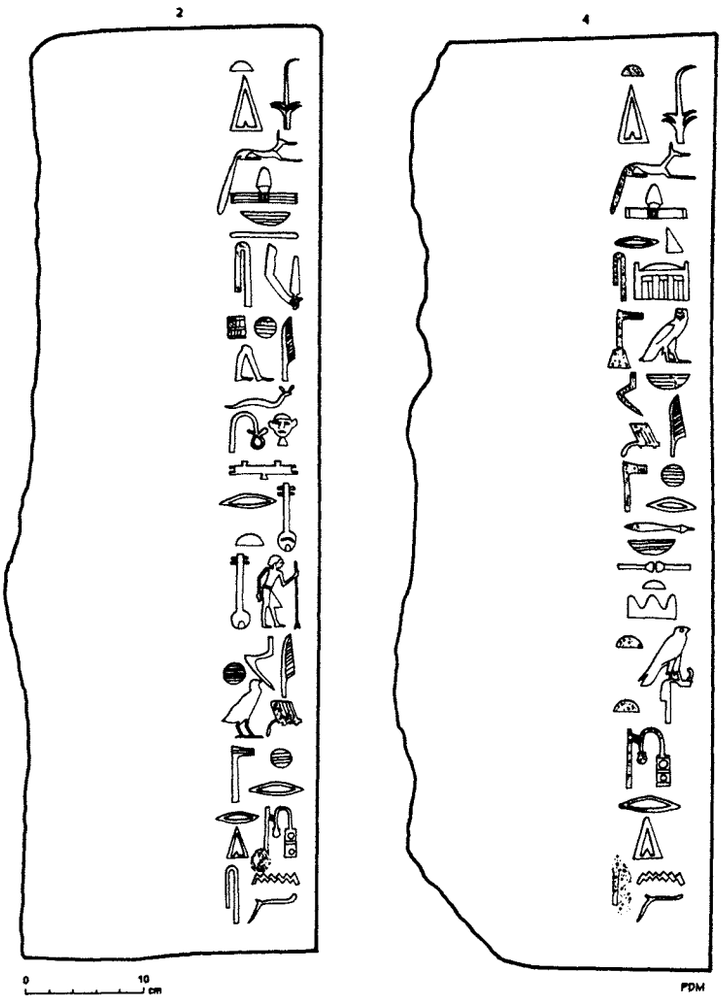


Figure 4.11. Facsimile Drawing of the Exterior and Interior Jamb Inscriptions of Redi-nes (Texts [2] and [4]), MFA 21.961

[3] RIGHT JAMB



sš Rdî-ns[11] *ḏd.f ỉr.n.(ỉ) nwy(j)*
m ỉšt.(ỉ) mȝʿ
ỉn nṯr wḏʿf mdw.(ỉ) ḥnʿ ỉr.t (y).f(y) ḫt r.s

The scribe Redi-nes says: (I) have constructed this my (tomb) with my own means.
It is the god who will judge (my) case along with him who does anything against it.[12]

11. Note the reversal of the scribal title and the personal name of Redi-nes, probably to align with his seated figure in the false door's tablet and to eliminate the need to reverse the entire column of text. The verb *ḏd*, however, is not reversed. It is interesting to note that a full frontal figure in the central niche is neutral as far as reversals are concerned. Cf. Fischer 1977, pp. 49–56, especially 63–70.
12. The expression *wḏʿ mdw*, "provide justice, judge a statement, evaluate a case, litigate, etc.," can refer to a plaintiff or an accused person; it need not necessarily concern two parties; see Edel 1944, p. 9, section 3 (including our passage). For the related expression *wḏʿ ryt*, cf. Van den Boorn 1985, pp. 1–25. Our passage is reproduced by Sethe (1903, 226.5–6) and translated by Roccati (1982, p. 162, § 150).

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[4] RIGHT THICKNESS (INTERIOR OF NICHE)



ḥtp dỉ nswt ỉnpw qrs m ḫrt-nṯr nb ỉmɜḫ ḫr nṯr ʿɜ nb st ỉmntt sš Rdỉ-ns

A gift which the king and Anubis give, (namely) a burial in the necropolis, (as) a possessor of veneration before the great god, lord of the western desert. The scribe Redi-nes.

[5] LEFT APERTURE

Above the standing figure of a woman with a close-cropped wig:



sɜt.f ʿnḫ-rpwt[13]

His daughter, Ankh-reput.

[6]–[8] TABLET

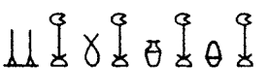
Redi-nes sits upon a stool with carved bull-like legs, before a table of fourteen offering loaves. He wears a short valanced wig, clenches his right hand on his lap, and draws his left over his chest. As he faces to the right (north), so does his identifying caption text above the offering table:

[6] 

sš Rdỉ-ns

The scribe Redi-nes.

Offerings above the table face the tomb owner:

[7] 

mnḫt ḫɜ šs ḫɜ ḥnqt ḫɜ tɜ ḫɜ

Clothing, one thousand; alabaster, one thousand; beer, one thousand; bread, one thousand.

Below the offering table are listed:

[8] 

kɜ(w) ḫɜ ɜpd(w) ḫɜ r(?) ḫɜ mɜḥḏ ḫɜ

Bulls, one thousand; fowl, one thousand; *r* (?)-geese, one thousand; oryxes, one thousand.

[9] RIGHT APERTURE

Above the standing figure of a woman with long wig: 

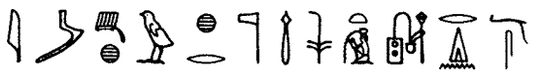
ḥm[t]f m [r]ḫt.f Mrt-ỉt.s[14]

His beloved wife, Meret-it-es.

13. See Ranke 1935, p. 417.2; Faulkner 1962, p. 148.
14. Note the reversal of the .

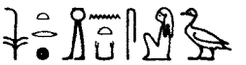
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[10] LINTEL



ỉmꜣḫw ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ wꜥb nswt sš Rdỉ-ns The revered one before the great god, the royal *wꜥb*-priest, Redi-nes.

[11] DRUM

[A]  [B] 

[A] *sꜣ rḫ(t)-nswt ỉnt-kꜣ.s* [B] *sš Rdỉ-ns* The royal acquaintance Inet-kas' son, the scribe Redi-nes.[15]

[12]–[13] LEFT INNER JAMB

The large figure of Redi-nes faces inward toward the central niche. He wears a valanced wig, wide kilt with loop and ties, and holds a tall staff in his left hand and a *sḫm*-scepter in his right.

[12] 

sš Rdỉ-ns The scribe Redi-nes.

A smaller, standing naked figure of a boy with left hand raised to the mouth, is carved beneath the larger figure of Redi-nes.

[13] 

sꜣ.f Rꜥ-ḫwỉ.f His son, Re-khuief.[16]

[14]–[15] RIGHT INNER JAMB

Redi-nes stands facing left (south), with a long, tressed wig, and simpler kilt, omitting the loops and ties on the kilt in the left inner jamb. His right hand is empty, but in his left he holds a handkerchief.

[14] 

sš[17] *Rdỉ-ns* The scribe Redi-nes.

15. For general remarks on the occurrence of the mother's name alone, see Fischer 1989, p. 4 with n. 30, and additionally du Bourget 1961, p. 14, pls. 1, 3.
16. On this name, cf. Ranke 1935, p. 220.2 (*Rꜥ-ḫwỉ.f*).
17. Note the reversal of the *sš* hieroglyph .

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A second naked son appears beneath this figure, clutching a duck by the neck in his right hand. He is identified as:

[15] 

s³.f Ḫnm-ḥsw.f His son Khnum-hesu-ef.[18]

THE CENTRAL NICHE FIGURE

The most interesting feature of the false door of Redi-nes is the unique full frontal figure of the tomb owner in the central niche (see figs. 4.7, 12).[19] While Egyptian two-dimensional representations almost always contain a combination of perspectives, this figure mixes



Figure 4.12. Enlargement of Museum Expedition Photograph B 3770, Showing the Central Figure of Redi-nes (1919). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

18. On this name, cf. Ranke 1935, p. 276.5.
19. Smith (1946, pp. 323–26) discusses examples of frontal figures; see also Schäfer 1974, § 4.4.3, pp. 205–18. The Redi-nes figure appears in Säve-Söderbergh 1968, pl. 13.

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frontal and side views in a fashion—so far as this author is aware—never quite duplicated in Egyptian art.[20] The carving is in sunk relief with raised interior elements. A modern, three-dimensional view of the figure might look something like that in figure 4.13.[21]

The head is shown straight-on, determined by an oval shape carved in raised relief. Above and behind the head "sprout" two symmetrical portions of a typical striated wig seen on many "normal" faces shown in profile. In fact, the wig resembles that on the figure in Redi-nes' right inner jamb. No ear details are shown; presumably they are hidden behind or underneath the wig, although the frontal view suggests that they should be visible, as they are in figure 4.13.

Like the wig, the facial features are carved symmetrically. The two eyes present rather narrow openings adorned with plastic eyebrows in low relief modeling. The figure's right eye

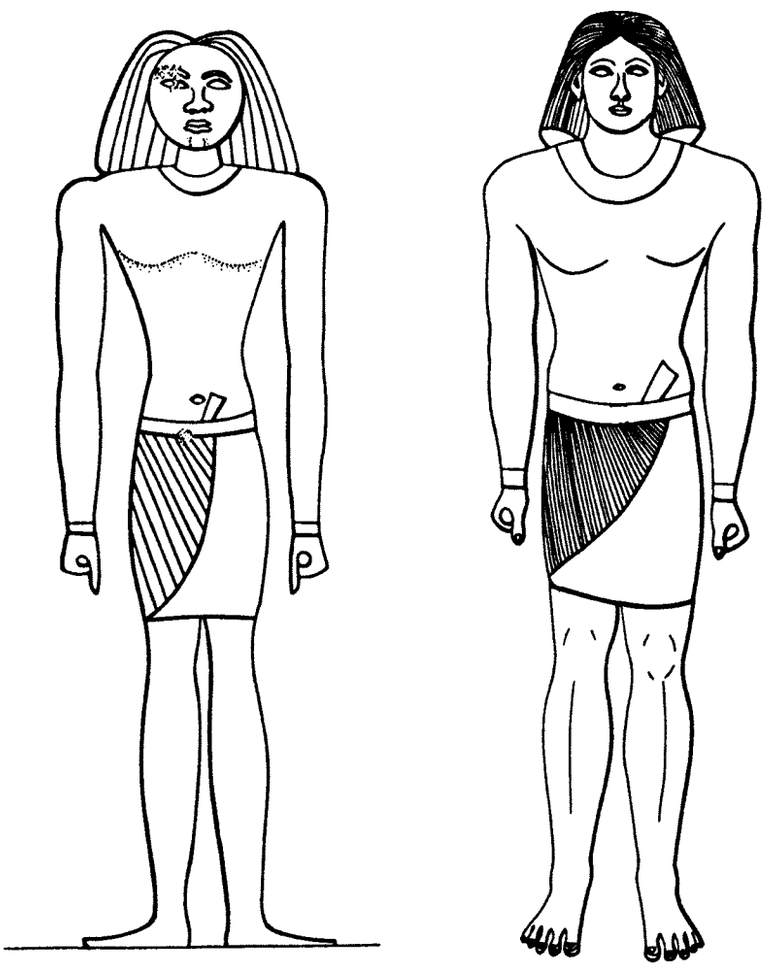


Figure 4.13. Modern Three-dimensional "Conversion" of the Central Figure of Redi-nes (Based on the Serdab Statue of Ranefer in the Cairo Museum)

20. Some interesting parallels include two women shown frontally except for their heads: one takes the form of a scale, see Smith 1958, pl. 51A, while the second woman cracks grain in a mortar (CG 1534), Fischer 1976, p. 19, fig. 11 (= Schäfer 1974, fig. 207).
21. Based (but for the feet) on the statue of Ranefer (CG 19 = JE 10063) from Saqqara, now in Cairo; see Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, cat. 45; Smith 1946, p. 18 d.

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is damaged. The full frontal nose has a wide, flat bridge and flaring nostrils. A philtrum is visible below it, and the two lips are softly carved and equal in size. No beard adorns the figure.

One is immediately tempted to compare the head to the full frontal *ḥr* hieroglyph. The oval shape of the head and the flat nose are perhaps most reminiscent of this sign.[22] And yet Redi-nes' head seems far more clumsy than its hieroglyphic counterpart. Redi-nes' lack of ears is disturbing, the thin slits for the eyes and the absence of the typical goatee beard, all present subtle but important differences from the well-known hieroglyphic sign. In fact, one almost wonders at the inability of the artist to transfer centuries of competence with the *ḥr* sign to this rendering of the face (cf. fig. 4.14). There is even an example of *ḥr* on the monument, in the text on the left exterior thickness of the niche (see text [2] above).

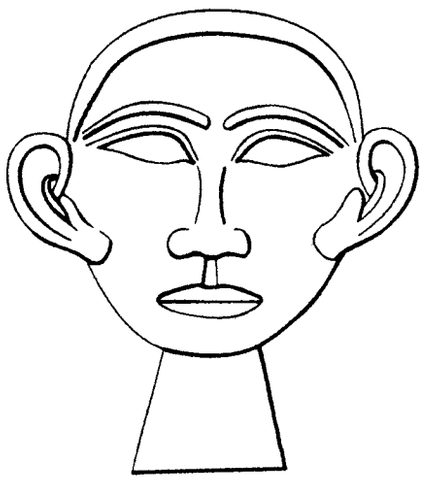


Figure 4.14. Example of the *ḥr* Hieroglyph from the False Door in the Saqqara Chapel of Kaemnofret, MFA 04.1761 (Published by W. K. Simpson)

Continuing our description of the figure, the oval head is perched upon a vertical column for a neck carved in raised relief. A small broad collar adorns the neck, and the broad shoulders splay out on either side, this time in sunk relief. There is slight frontal breast modeling on the figure. An interesting feature is the exterior torso line beginning at each of the armpits and reaching down to the waist. The profile of these lines takes such a drastic inward curve, pinching the waistline and hips to an extreme degree, that one might suggest we have here *two* symmetrical torso lines of the kind we normally see on figures in profile. Except for any bulge at the breast or nipple indication in the exterior line of the torso, the form of the curve seems directly taken from the more familiar side view of the chest.

The delineation of the two arms, however, takes an almost "neutral" shape, bulging just slightly at the forearms. A bracelet is indicated at each wrist, and the clenched fists hold rounded elements or emblematic cloth pieces (see further, below; Fischer 1975, pp. 10–21).

A simple kilt with pleated foldover and belt tie provides the only carved detail on the figure. The legs present once again an unusual combination of profile and frontal views. The

22. Cf. Wreszinski's (1936, p. 40 IIa [pl. 21]) remarks. Smith's (1946, pp. 324–35, pl. 57c) comments, including a list of parallels of frontal representations, are also pertinent.

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knee areas seem almost too thin to be in profile, and no outward bulge or kneecap modeling is present. On the other hand, the shins bulge disproportionately to either side, suggesting a profile view. This fact is further enhanced by the profile rendering of the splayed feet, such that except for the knees, Redi-nes resembles a typical profile view from the kilt downward. No toes are indicated.

We come now to the interpretation of this frontal figure of Redi-nes. Two interrelated questions worth asking here are: 1) What is the function of the figure? and 2) Is motion indicated, and if so, to what purpose and in what direction? As far as the first question is concerned, Smith (1946, p. 190, pl. 57) noted that the figure most likely represents an imitation of a statue standing in the back of the niche.[23] Smith (1960, p. 63) also stated that it "is really a cheap imitation of those false doors which have a statue of the owner standing in the inner niche as though issuing from the tomb." While Redi-nes' figure does not stand on a base (a common feature used to indicate statuary), it most likely does represent a statue. One clue that points to this conclusion is the appearance in his hands of the rounded elements that are usually seen on three-dimensional statues. However, there seems to be some discrepancy between false door statues and niche statues, as well as between figures that stand with both feet together and those that stride with left foot advanced.[24] To which camps does our figure of Redi-nes, with its unusual splayed feet, belong?

While there are several examples of statues issuing forth from statue niches, there seem to be very few that appear in the central niche of actual false doors. Usually, this area is left blank, or occasionally filled with a rightward-facing inscription or (less frequently) figure carved in relief (see below for more on rightward dominance).[25] Statue niches that are not themselves false doors may show the figure either standing or striding. Examples of such statue niches in which the figure strides with left foot advanced may be found in the court of the Giza mastaba of Nefer-bau-Ptah (G 6010; see fig. 4.15),[26] and in the Saqqara mastaba of Mereruka (see Simpson 1978, p. 156; Eggebrecht 1984, p. 309; Málek 1986, p. 108). Statue niches that show the deceased standing with both feet together include those in the Giza

23. The figure is not included in Eaton-Krauss 1984.

24. One should bear in mind that the following discussion refers only to engaged statues, not "free-standing" serdab statues. For a discussion of the representation of feet in Egyptian art, see Russmann 1980.

25. For examples of rightward-facing inscriptions carved in the central panel of false doors, see Junker 1943, p. 239, fig. 101 (Ny-ankh-nemty); idem 1950, p. 172, fig. 78 (In-kaef). Rightward-facing figures may be found in Junker 1934, p. 182, fig. 28 (Seshat-hotep); idem 1938, p. 133, fig. 16 (Kai); and Cherpion 1989, pls. 4, 24, 29. Rightward-facing figures and inscriptions are present on the false doors of Nikaure (CG 1414) and Ika (JE 72201); cf. Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, cats. 57–58. A full range of false doors may be found in Moussa and Altenmüller 1971, pls. 29 (tomb owner and son face each other), 32 (rightward facing text, and rightward-facing female figure of Meret-it-es), 36 (rightward-facing figure of Wer-bau), and 39 (mother Sen-itef with son Ny-kau-Ptah, both facing rightward). For an unusual carving of a rightward-facing *ka*-priest in the central niche of the false door with both arms raised to support a basket of offerings, see Hassan 1936, p. 91, fig. 94, pl. 27; idem 1944, p. 152.

26. This tomb is scheduled for publication, along with three other major tombs of the G 6000 cemetery, by Kent Weeks in the Giza Mastabas Series.

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mastabas of Yasen, Qar, Idu, Meresankh III, and Kaherptah.[27] Although there are doubtless others, only four false doors have turned up in a preliminary search by this writer showing a statue in the central panel. One is BM 1165, a standing figure belonging to one Ba-teti.[28] Another standing figure appears in the Saqqara tomb of Iteti (see Murray, 1905, pl. 19; Westendorf 1968, p. 65 [color photograph]). Two other statues are mentioned by Selim Hassan (1941, pp. 110, 152 [Sed-hotep and Khor-tjemat]) but are not illustrated. Unusual cases of false door statuary include the well-known bust of Idu with outstretched



Figure 4.15. Striding Statue in the Western Wall of the Outer Court of the Mastaba of Nefer-bau-Ptah (G 6010; Museum Expedition Photograph A 7963; March 28, 1938). Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

27. For Yasen (G 2196), see Simpson 1980, p. 19, pls. 41b, 42a–c, fig. 28; for Qar and Idu (G 7101–7102), see idem 1976, pls. 6b, 9b, 11a, 21–23, figs. 2, 4, 10; for Meresankh III (G 7530–7540), see Dunham and Simpson 1974, pls. 6, 11; for Kaherptah, see Kendall 1981, pp. 104–14.

28. James 1961, p. 4, pl. 4 (the drawing appears to indicate that the figure strides with left leg advanced, but it actually stands with both feet together; this drawing is also illustrated in Wiebach 1981, fig. 4b).

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arms,[29] and the two standing statues and bust (in place of a tablet scene) of Neferseshemptah from Saqqara (see Schäfer 1974, pl. 31; Fischer 1986, pl. 26).

Up to this point we have determined that representations of figures carved in the central panel of the false door are extremely rare, and those of three-dimensional statues are rarer still.[30] The only useful examples of statues that our cursory survey provided were the standing figures of Ba-teti and Iteti. Should Redi-nes be understood then as striding, as issuing forth from the tomb as does Mereruka? Or has he already "arrived," and does he merely stand in the land of the living? This question might be rephrased: Do Redi-nes' splayed feet bear (cultic) significance for the pose of the figure, or do they simply represent a somewhat awkward solution to an Egyptian experiment in representational perspective? The standing parallels in the tomb of Iteti and the false door of Ba-teti mentioned above might support the latter interpretation for a standing figure, with the splayed feet forced by conventions of symmetry. It would seem, then, that Redi-nes is not temporarily leaving the land of the dead to partake of the offerings left before the niche in the land of the living, but has in fact "already arrived," and stands before the offerings.

Schäfer noted that the figure of Redi-nes "is evidently meant to serve as a substitute for semi-sculpture. It is by no means a great work of art, and the full views of feet spread sideways have a particularly unfortunate effect" (Schäfer 1974, p. 205, with sketch of Redi-nes in fig. 206). Schäfer goes on to use this figure as the exception proving the rule that most sideways-facing figures in the central niche, and indeed all representations that "interact" with a viewer, are to be understood as directly facing the viewer in reality. Thus such profile views as the wooden reliefs of Hesy-re (CG 1427 [= JE 28504] Schäfer 1974, pls. 1, 14–15; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, cat. 21; Wood 1978, pp. 9–24; Harris 1966, pl. 1), or the central figure on the false doors of Nikaure or Ika in Cairo (Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, cats. 57–58 [CG 1414 and JE 72201, respectively]), are to be taken as frontal figures.

Fischer has discussed the Egyptian preference for the dominance of rightward orientation. This preference comes from early writing systems (not limited merely to Egypt) where the majority of right-handed people began writing on the side where their writing hand was located (Fischer 1977, pp. 6–8; see also now van Sommers 1989). The penchant for rightward orientation soon carried over from the writing system to all artistic representations, unless the factors, to use Fischer's terminology, of confrontation, symmetry, or concordance were present to warrant a reversal (Fischer 1977, pp. 9–47). In the case of Redi-nes' false door, symmetry accounts for the (typical) reversal of the two leftward-looking figures on the right inner jamb, as well as the reversed inscriptions on that whole side of the niche. In most false doors that bear a figure in the central niche, the rightward dominance is in evidence

29. Simpson 1976, pl. 29 (showing the offering slab still in place), figs. 12, 40; for a color illustration see also Málek 1986, p. 109 (minus the offering slab before the figure). This may well be the pose once held by the bust of prince Ankh-haf, which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 27.442); cf. Bolshakov 1991, pp. 4–14.

30. Hassan (1941, p. 131) notes that in the Fourth Dynasty only two of his own excavated false doors and seven out of fifty-two excavated by others bear central niche decoration; in the Fifth Dynasty three out of one hundred forty-six of his own excavated doors, and twenty-one out of eighty-eight excavated by others bear central niche decoration (p. 152).

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(Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, cats. 57–58 [CG 1414 and JE 72201, respectively]). This writer was able to find only one exception, the false door of Nisukedu discovered by Junker at Giza (see fig. 4.16; Junker 1943, p. 245, fig. 104, pl. 23d).

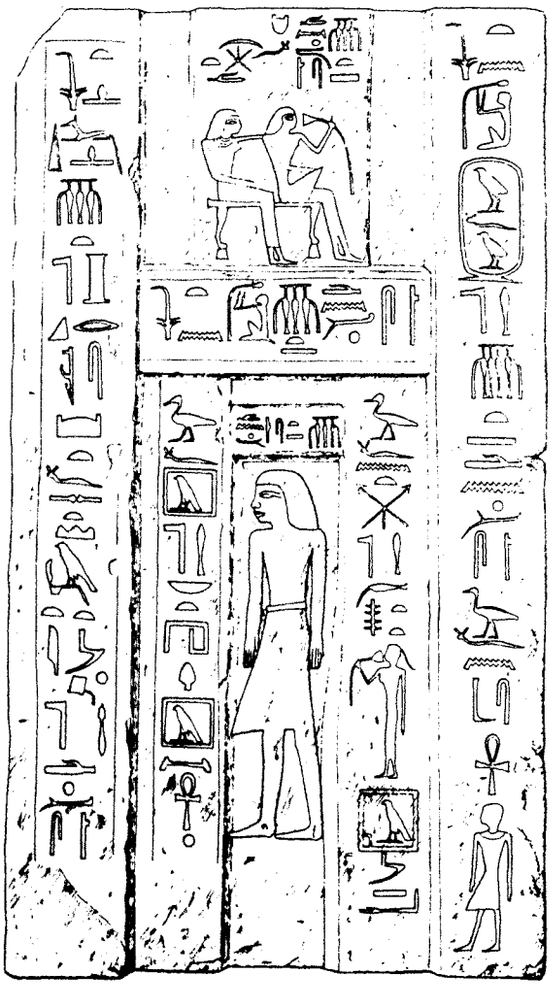


Figure 4.16. False Door of Nisukedu with Central Figure and Inscriptions Oriented to the Left (from Junker 1943, fig. 104)

In conclusion then, Redi-nes' central figure is a frontal representation of a statue that most likely stands rather than strides in the false door niche. We seem to have an ancient experiment toward a more literal interpretation of the full frontal representation, a representation normally indicated in Egyptian art by a rightward-facing figure. In terms of the technical execution of the figure, we may have a case of circular influence: when Redi-nes made the unique decision to show a (typically frontally intended) figure frontally for a change, the primary influence on the rendering was the *rightward* striding relief figure. This accounts for the unusual combination of views of carved body parts that seem to jump back and forth between rightward and frontal views (e.g., knees versus shins, exterior torso outline versus chest). The representation of the feet posed the only serious problem, because the artist apparently hesitated to let one overlap the other, and yet would have had to splay the

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legs in an altogether too awkward and asymmetrical fashion to achieve the striding effect found in most typical relief figure carvings (and the walking legs hieroglyph 𓂝).

Whatever the correct interpretation of the figure might be, Redi-nes' experiment in frontality was destined to be short-lived. It must be relegated to the category of discontinued representational techniques, along with examples such as the Third Dynasty figures of Sepa with staff carved vertically along the arm (Smith 1981, p. 68, fig. 57; idem 1946, pl. 4c; Ziegler 1990, p. 24), the inlaid paste decoration of the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Nefermaat and Atet at Medum (Porter and Moss 1934, tomb 16, pp. 92–94 [references]), and the semi-squatting Sixth Dynasty statue pose of Niankhre (Aldred 1968, pl. 49; idem 1980, p. 103, fig. 62; Vandier 1958, pl. 21.1; Russmann and Finn 1989, no. 12, pp. 34–35). As for the reasons for his experiment, we can only speculate whether the impetus came from him directly, from his craftsmen, or from his pocketbook. Perhaps his finances played the deciding role, and the figure should, as Smith once suggested, be taken as a cheap substitute for a three-dimensional sculpture. The archaeological context might well bear this point out. The tomb is a minor, intrusive burial in a street of the Western Cemetery, its false door niche is quite modest in size, and very few objects survived to be discovered with the burial.

THE DATE OF THE TOMB

It remains only to mention a possible redating of the tomb of Redi-nes. While Brunner (1965, pl. 3) and Wreszinski (1936, p. 39) originally assigned the tomb to the Fifth Dynasty, most writers since have dated the false door to the Sixth Dynasty.[31] Unfortunately, detailed examination of the cemetery en echelon remains to be undertaken, so the surrounding mastabas, which range from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, are of little concrete assistance here. Nor is the form of the false door by itself (e.g., number of lintels, jambs, etc.) particularly useful, as Wiebach (1981, pp. 20–21) has noted, contrary to the comments of Rusch (1923, pp. 101–24; cf. Cherpion 1989, pp. 70–72; Haeny, "Scheintür," *LÄ* V, cols. 563–74). Cherpion, however, has assembled several criteria for the dating of Old Kingdom mastabas, several of which are present on Redi-nes' false door. Most of these criteria date to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty, focusing on the reign of Neuserre. For our purposes, her criteria (several of which relate to the tablet scene of Redi-nes seated at table) include: a stool without back or cushion (*critère* 1) and showing bull, rather than lion, legs (*critère* 10); the form of the loaves upon the offering table (*critère* 16); the form of the table set on the jar stand (*critère* 24); the *sekhem*-scepter without a papyrus umbel (standing figure on the left inner jamb, difficult to determine due to damage to the stone; *critère* 41); and the presence of a figure in the central niche of the door (*critère* 50).[32] All of these factors may eventually vindicate the dates assigned by Brunner and Wreszinski and warrant a redating of the tomb from the Sixth Dynasty back to the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.

31. For a Sixth Dynasty dating, see Smith 1946, p. 190; Porter and Moss 1974, p. 145. Schäfer (1974, p. 205) merely refers to the piece as Old Kingdom.

32. Cherpion 1989, pp. 25–84. On the form of the bread loaves, see also Worsham 1979, pp. 7–10.

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CHAPTER 5

ANKHTIFI AND THE DESCRIPTION OF HIS TOMB AT MOʿALLA

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The inscriptions of Ankhtifi, a nomarch of the third Upper Egyptian nome, which were engraved and painted on seven pillars—sometimes on several of their sections—in the main chamber of his tomb at Moʿalla, attracted great interest already when they were first published by Vandier (1950). However, despite the numerous studies devoted to them,[1] there are still a great many passages which prove difficult to interpret. I have chosen to study here two such passages (I. Inscriptions nos. 8–9 and II. Inscription no. 11) hoping thus to honor the memory of a scholar and a teacher whose interest in the Egyptian language combined so skillfully with his knowledge of Egyptian civilization.

I. INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 8 AND 9 (II, θ, 3–III, 12)[2]

Inscription no. 8 is related to a genre known since the Old Kingdom: the curses against those who might desecrate a tomb or a sanctuary.[3] However, translators' opinions have diverged as to the details of its interpretation, arguing either that it enumerates the parts of the tomb which were important to venerate in the first place (Vandier 1950, pp. 207, 213, n. f; Schenkel 1965, pp. 50–11),[4] or stating that it mentions the various occasions, i.e., the festivals of the god Hemen, when a punishment would be inflicted upon the tomb's desecrators.[5] It seems that preference should be given to the first interpretation. The philological analysis that follows in fact shows that this inscription enumerates the

1. Kees 1952, pp. 86–97; Posener 1952, pp. 115–26; van de Walle 1953, pp. 78–85; Fischer 1961, pp. 59–77; Schenkel 1965, §37; Fecht 1968, pp. 50–60; Lichtheim 1973, pp. 85–86; Schenkel 1978, pp. 42–46; Lichtheim 1988, pp. 24–26; Spanel 1984, pp. 87–94 (who argues convincingly that the tomb dates from the Ninth Heracleopolitan Dynasty).
2. Vandier 1950, pp. 206–15 (no. 8), 216–19 (no. 9). The last study, to date, of the inscription no. 8 is by Harco Willems (1990, pp. 27–54).
3. On this type of texts, see Sottas 1913; Edel 1944, §§ 6–15; idem 1984, pp. 25–66 (Siut III), 120–27 (Siut IV), 188–94 (Saite parallels); Montet 1930–35, pp. 46–48 (Siut I, Hapidjefai, lines 223–29); Habachi 1985, pp. 36–37 (stela no. 9, lines 21–25); Newberry 1893, pl. XXV, lines 96–99 (= Sethe 1935, 30.2–3); Morschauser 1991; Willems 1990, pp. 33–38.
4. This interpretation depends partly on the parsing of the morpheme  . Although it is certainly the indirect genitive plural, and not the written form of the preposition *jn*, "by" (another possibility mentioned by Vandier; see Willems 1990, p. 29, n. 3), the identity of the "nomen regens" is somewhat problematic; see *infra*, n. b to the translation.
5. Willems 1990, pp. 28–33 (with a summary on the god Hemen on pp. 43–46).

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characteristic features of the architecture or of the decoration of the tomb's main chamber, i.e., its chapel. Inscription no. 9, in which Ankhtifi tells us the means he used to acquire his funerary equipment, completes the description.

(II, θ,3) As for any nomarch who shall be nomarch in Hefat and who shall commit a bad or evil act:

— against this my coffin or against any element (III, 1) of this my tomb: may his arm be cut off for Hemen[A] (III, 2) when he goes out in procession!

— (against any element) of[B] the entire stela:[C] may his arm be cut off for Hemen (III, 3) when he goes out in procession!

—(against any element) of the entire eastern side:[D] may his arm be cut off for Hemen when he goes out in procession!

— (against any element) (III, 4) of the entire (funerary) meal:[E] may his arm be cut off for Hemen when he goes out in procession!

— (against any element) of my Lord's (Hemen's) image[F] (III, 5): may his arm be cut off for Hemen when he goes out in procession!

—(against any) important (element) of the rest (of this tomb):[G] Hemen shall not accept (III, 6) his animal offerings on the day of the incarnation of my Lord (i.e., the day of Hemen's festival),[H] Hemen shall not accept any of his offerings[I] (III, 7) and his heir shall not inherit from him![J]

For it is with my own copper[K] that I acquired this my coffin and all the elements (III, 8) of this my tomb, for in this my tomb there is no door which (comes) from elsewhere, no upright which (comes) from elsewhere, (III, 9) for it is fighting which I taught to Upper Egypt and being firm of heart to this land.[L] I acted (in such a way) (III, 10) that one (may have a tendency) to boast (unduly)[M] of solid doors, (coffin) lids and coffins, (III, 11) for it is with wooden planks (?)[N] from trees in the nome of Coptos that I built this my coffin. No one else shall say (III, 12) as much! For I was a hero who had no equal.

Notes

A) On the meaning of *zḫ.t(w) ḫpš.f*, see Willems 1990, p. 30, n. c. A similar statement occurs in Habachi 1985, p. 36 (stela no. 9, line 22).

B) In the hypothesis that depends on *mnw nbw*, "any element (of)," the actual arrangement of the inscription could be explained by that of the papyrus which the drawer and sculptor took as a model, the first clause (II,θ,3: *jr ḥqꜣ nb ḥqꜣ.tjj.fjj m Ḥfꜣt ... r mnw nb*), serving as a heading without being repeated before every sentence beginning with *n(j)w* (on this type of arrangement, see Grapow 1936, p. 41 sqq.).

C) Read *ḥ ʿw nb* (on the writing of this word, see Müller 1933, p. 170; on the other proposed readings for this group in III,2, see Willems 1990, p. 31). For the probable representation of the deceased and his wife, engraved on the eastern wall on the axis of the door and behind the shaft (see Vandier 1950, pp. 5, 105–06, pl. VI). According to Vandier, there must have been an offering table next to this stela, and the tomb does not seem to have had a false door. In other words, the place of cult is in this case located on the eastern wall, opposite the entrance; whereas in the majority of rock-tombs that are situated on the eastern bank, it is on the western wall, even if this wall also contains the entrance door (see Brunner 1936, p. 76). According to Yvonne Harpur

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(1987, p. 120), Ankhtifi's tomb is one of the few where the decoration of the chapel seems to have exchanged, at least partly, the function of the eastern and western walls, respectively.

D) This sentence links that which precedes to the following. On the eastern wall of the tomb, more precisely on the northern half of the eastern wall, a banquet scene is represented, to which the next sentence refers (Vandier 1950, pp. 102–05, pl. XI). Note that the position of *nb* after the adjective (*gs j3btjj nb*) can probably be explained by the fact that *gs j3btjj* was conceived of as a unit; see Edel 1955, § 355; Willems 1990, pp. 31–32, n. 16.

E) The reading *ḫf3t* (), "(funerary) meal" seems clear on the photograph (Vandier 1950, pl. XVIII; Schenkel 1965, p. 51, n. d). On *ḫf3t*, "(funerary) meal", see *Wb.* III, 271.11.

F) Read *ḥm nb.(j)*, *ḥm* being followed by the falcon () as determinative (see Fischer 1979, p. 26). On *ḥm*, "incarnation; representation; image (of a god)," see Spiegel 1939, pp. 112–21; Willems 1990, pp. 32–33, n. g. The god Hemen was probably represented in the scene of the navigation of Hemen (western wall, southern half; see Vandier 1950, pp. 157–59; on this scene, see also Behrmann 1989, doc. 114 a). On the use of the word *nb* followed by a suffix to designate the local deity, see Fischer 1977, p. 143, n. o.

G) Read *šw(j)t nb ʿ3t*. On *šw(j)t*, "rest," see Schenkel 1965, p. 51, n. g; Baer 1966, p. 7, n. y.

H) This sentence describes the day on which the statue of the god was carried in a procession, perhaps on the occasion of the navigation of Hemen (see above, n. F).

I) For similar statements in other texts from the same period ("His offerings shall not be accepted anymore"), see Sottas 1913, pp. 50–51, 75; Edel 1984, p. 35; Habachi 1985, p. 36 (stela no. 9, line 24).

J) For similar statements in other texts from the same period ("His heir shall not inherit from him"), see Habachi 1985, p. 36 (stela no. 9, line 23); Newberry 1893, pl. XXV, lines 98–99 (= Sethe 1935, 30.3).

K) On this sentence, see Fischer 1961, pp. 60–64.

L) On the expression *ḫtm jb*, see Vandier 1950, p. 181, n. c.

M) On this possible meaning of verbs denoting boastfulness ("to boast by claiming other people's realizations as one's own"), see Sauneron 1966, p. 14, n. d.

N) On *jwbt*, *hapax legomenon*, see Vandier 1950, pp. 218–19, n. j.

The curses addressed to those who might desecrate any part of the tomb are therefore not linked with cult festivals, during which, and were it only symbolically, punishment was inflicted.[6] Following the tradition of the Old Kingdom, this type of curse[7] seems to hinge entirely on the power of the word, whose guarantor is the god (Boochs 1991, p. 62; C. Müller, "Anruf an die Lebenden", *LÄ* I, col. 294). It differs in this from the execration texts,[8]

6. As Willems (1990, pp. 46–51) tries to prove.
7. For other examples from the same period (Old Kingdom to Middle Kingdom), see n. 3, above.
8. On the execration texts, see Posener, "Ächtungstexte," *LÄ* I, cols. 67–69; Willems 1990, pp. 47–48.

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which become operational against the enemies of Egypt only if accompanied by the corresponding ritual.

II. INSCRIPTION NO. 11 (V,α,1–β,1)

Inscription no. 11 (Vandier 1950, pp. 232–39) describes a door, probably the one leading to the tomb's main chamber, i.e., the chapel. This description contains metaphors frequently used in ancient Egypt to describe a sacred edifice like the image of the created world (*imago mundi*). The ceiling of this edifice represents the vault of the sky, the threshold represents the earth and the uprights represent the posts supporting it.[9]

(V,α,1) It is the Prince, Nobleman, Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Overseer of priests, Commander of the Nubian mercenaries, Overseer of the desert regions, (α,2) Great Overlord of the nomes of Edfu and Hierakonpolis, Ankhtifi the Brave, who says: "It is up to the sky that I built a door, (α,3) (and) the doorway[A] is the air.[B] Its ceiling[C] is a sky strewn with stars, (α,4) and the frieze of its architrave[D] is (constituted) by uraeus, Neḥebkau's own vertebrae.[E] The uprights erected with cedar wood (α,5) are higher than the palm-trees of the two Ladies of Imet.[F] Its threshold brought (β,1) from Elephantine is like a hippopotamus which is furious against the Lord of Upper Egypt."[G]

Notes

A) On *ḥ3wt*, "doorway," see Carter and Gardiner 1917, pp. 134–35, n. 7. Note that Spencer (1984, p. 157), although referring to the passage, left the term untranslated.

B) I.e., the air between the sky and the earth. On this meaning of the word *ṯ3w*, see *Wb.* V, 351.2.

C) The term used, *ḫt*, refers to the curved body of the goddess Nut.

D) On *ḥrjjw-s3*, "frieze of the architrave," see Andreu and Cauville 1977, p. 10.

E) Several passages of the religious texts compare the uraeus to neck vertebrae (*nḥbwt*) and, more particularly, to those of Neḥebkau: PT Spruch 318, §511a–b (= CT Spell 374 [de Buck 1954, 36f–37a]); CT Spell 85 [de Buck 1938, 51e–g]; CT Spell 86 [de Buck 1938, 52h]; CT Spell 87 [de Buck 1938, 54a–b] (see B. Altenmüller 1975, pp. 17, 97); and P. Chester Beatty XIII, ro. 6 (see Shorter 1935, p. 48, 3b). However, in our passage, another word is used, *ṯ(3)zw*, "vertebrae" (see von Deines and Westendorf 1962, pp. 968–69), related to the root *ṯ3z*, "to bind together." The architrave was thus probably conceived of as something which "bound together" the various parts of the door and, thanks to the frieze of the uraeus, protected the entrance to the tomb (on the apotropaic value of the uraeus, see Johnson 1990, pp. 190–92).

F) I.e., Wadjit and Nekhbet (see Gardiner 1944, pp. 55–58). The town of the nineteenth Lower Egyptian nome, Imet, does seem to have been associated, in the same way as Buto, with the two goddesses nursing the infant Horus, particularly Wadjit (see Gardiner 1944, p. 58). The two ladies, Wadjit and Nekhbet, associated with Buto and

9. On doors in ancient Egypt, see Brunner 1982, pp. 37–59 (reprinted in 1988, pp. 248–61); also Brunner, "Tür und Tor," *LÄ* VI, cols. 778–87.

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El-Kab, are mentioned in the religious texts (PT and CT; see B. Altenmüller 1975, p. 98). Note that our passage uses the term *mꜣmꜣw*, "dom palms" (on the dom palm, see Baum 1988, pp. 109–10). In this context, one would rather expect the date palm which, according to Herodotos, grew in great numbers on the island of Chemmis (Herodotos II.156; see Wallert 1962, p. 114, n. 3). However, the dom palm is sometimes used metaphorically to express the idea of elevation (see Grapow 1924, p. 105; Fecht 1965, p. 84). This idea goes well together with that of the uprights which are considered as the four posts of the sky (see, e.g., CT Spell 378 [de Buck 1954, 41h]).

G) As shown by H. Altenmüller (1989, pp. 16–19), the marshlands and the papyrus thickets where the hippopotamus lives—an intermediary region between the liquid element and the firm earth—symbolizes the passage, or more exactly the transition, between this world and the hereafter (see also Behrmann 1989, doc. 114 b; Sørensen 1989, p. 112). The deceased needs an intercessor, possibly Hemen, the harpooner, to help him cross this passage which the presence of the hippopotamus renders dangerous (PT Spruch 231, §235a–b; CT Spell 61 [de Buck 1935, 258g–259c, in which the hippopotamus is mentioned in the *š nḫꜣ*]). The attribute *Nb-Šmʿw*, "The Lord of Upper Egypt," usually designates Horus of Qus, Haroeris (see Fischer 1961, p. 67; idem 1964, p. 3) but seems to be used here as an attribute of Hemen, emphasizing the prepotence of the tutelary god of Moʿalla (see Säve-Söderbergh 1953, p. 33).

The translation of inscription no. 11 shows that the text makes a mythological allusion corresponding to every part of the door, but it does so by modifying each time one term of the allusion. Thus, when the frieze of the uraeus is compared to the vertebrae of Neḥebkau (V,α,4),[10] the texts choose the word *ṯꜣz*, and not *nḫbt*, thus emphasizing the idea of the architrave linking (*ṯꜣz*) the various parts of the door; when the uprights made of cedar wood are compared to the palm trees surrounding Wadjit and Nekhbet nursing the infant Horus, as on the island of Chemmis (V,α,5),[11] instead of the date palm (*bnrt*) appears the dom palm (*mꜣmꜣ*), the image of elevation, which is appropriate for the four posts supporting the sky; finally, to establish the political importance of the local god Hemen, the harpooner, who allows the deceased to pass the threshold separating this world from the hereafter—the neighboring region where the hippopotamus lives—the text uses the attribute of another deity, Horus of Qus, "The Lord of Upper Egypt" (V,β,1).[12]

Thus, the door represents the transition between this world and the next,[13] and beyond the threshold, the rebirth of the deceased as well as the continuation of his existence in the hereafter will take place.

10. See n. E, above, to the translation of inscription no. 11.
11. See n. F, above, to the translation of inscription no. 11.
12. See n. G, above, to the translation of inscription no. 11.
13. For references to the door as a transition between this world and the next, see n. 9, above.

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CHAPTER 6

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OSTRACON 25346 (OSTRACON WILSON 100)*

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In April 1974 John Wilson, then Professor of Egyptology and former Director of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, offered his collection of Egyptian hieratic ostraca of "about eighty scraps" to the Oriental Institute. These had been purchased in western Thebes during the years 1928 to 1931. The collection, bearing the accession number 3652, was duly catalogued, and Oriental Institute Museum (OIM) numbers were added to the Wilson numbers on the ostraca. In 1983 I was given permission by the Oriental Institute to form and publish a catalogue of those hieratic ostraca, including the recently acquired Wilson pieces, which bore literary texts.

In the spring of 1967 I had been a member of one of the last classes John Wilson taught before his retirement. In subsequent years I took several other courses, including beginning hieratic, from Klaus Baer, earlier one of Wilson's students at the university. This interweaving of the names of two of my professors of Egyptology with my work on hieratic literary ostraca gives me the opportunity to make the following modest offering to the memory of Klaus Baer.

Among the literary ostraca in the Wilson collection is one bearing the OIM number 25346. It is number W-100 from Wilson's own collection and was particularly valued by him as a virtually complete stone and text. He thought the text was a hymn, but he was never satisfied with either his transcription or his translation of the piece, and he never published it.

Ostracon Wilson 100 is a slab of limestone 217 mm long, 123 mm high, and 36 mm thick. It has been smoothed on the recto but is very rough on the verso. It seems to be complete except for some slight chips at the edges. On the recto there are eight lines in hieratic written in black ink with numerous faded verse points in red. On the verso, on a very rough surface, appear three groups of lines: two short lines at the upper left, four lines of unequal length at the right, and finally three lines at the bottom but upside down relative to the first two groups. The first two groups on the verso have verse points, but the third does not. There are almost unreadable traces in red following the second of the groups.

The provenance of the ostracon is not known, though presumably it was from the Theban area since that is where it was purchased by Wilson. The hieratic hand is of average quality for a literary text and points to composition during the Ramesside period.

* The verse arrangement of Ostracon OIM 25346 is shown in figure 6.1. A photograph, a hieratic verse arrangement, and a hieroglyphic transcription of the recto of Ostracon OIM 25346 are shown in figures 6.2–3. A photograph, a hieratic verse arrangement, and a hieroglyphic transcription of the verso of Ostracon OIM 25346 are shown in figures 6.4–5.

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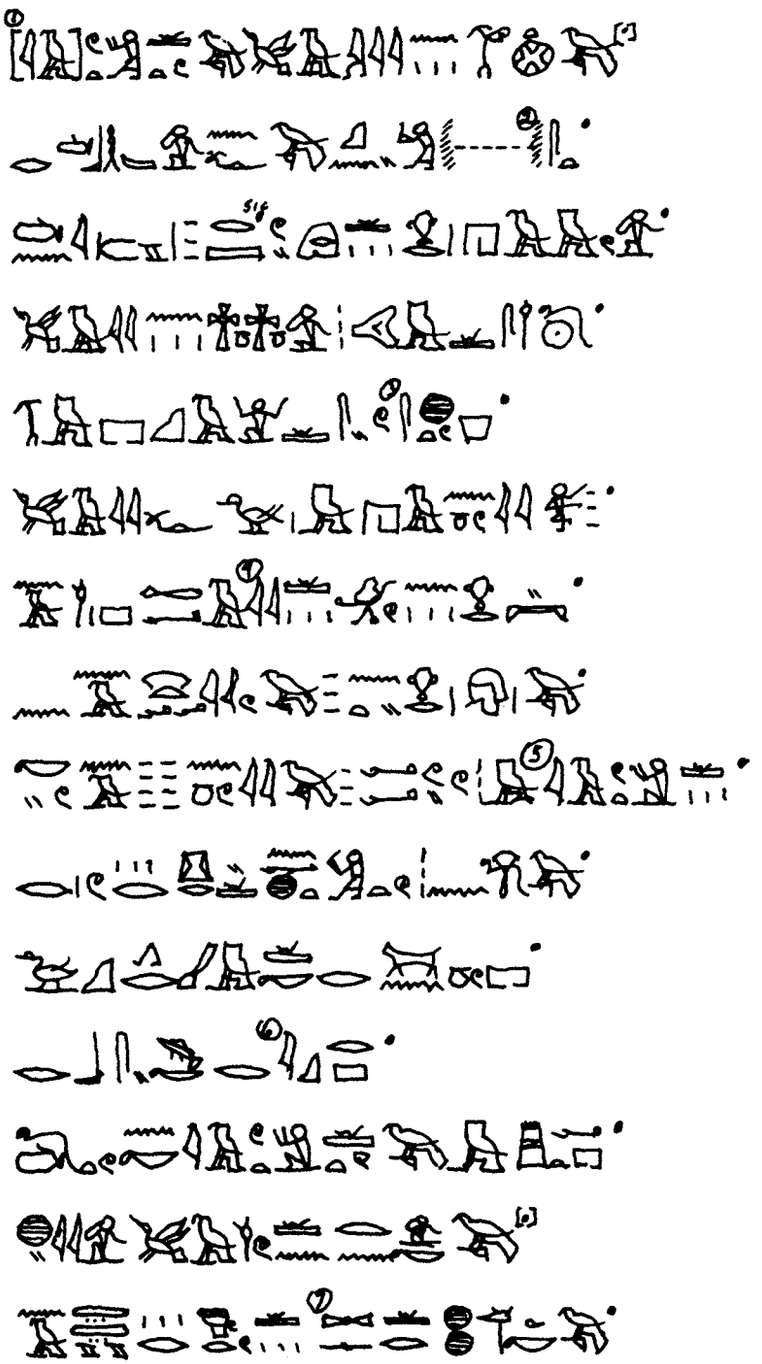


Figure 6.1. Verse Arrangement of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100)

The text is indeed that of a hymn because, despite a lacuna, the first word is either [*dw*]*ꜣwt*, "a praising," the normal title used in the hymn genre, or more probably a close variant, *dwꜣ* (*t*) *tw*, "praised be you." The verse points indicate the text is literary and show that the mode of composition is verse. The lines group clearly into pairs throughout (the thought couplet); and toward the end of the composition this grouping, thanks to the verse points and the parallelism of thought characteristic of Egyptian poetry, helps to arrange the

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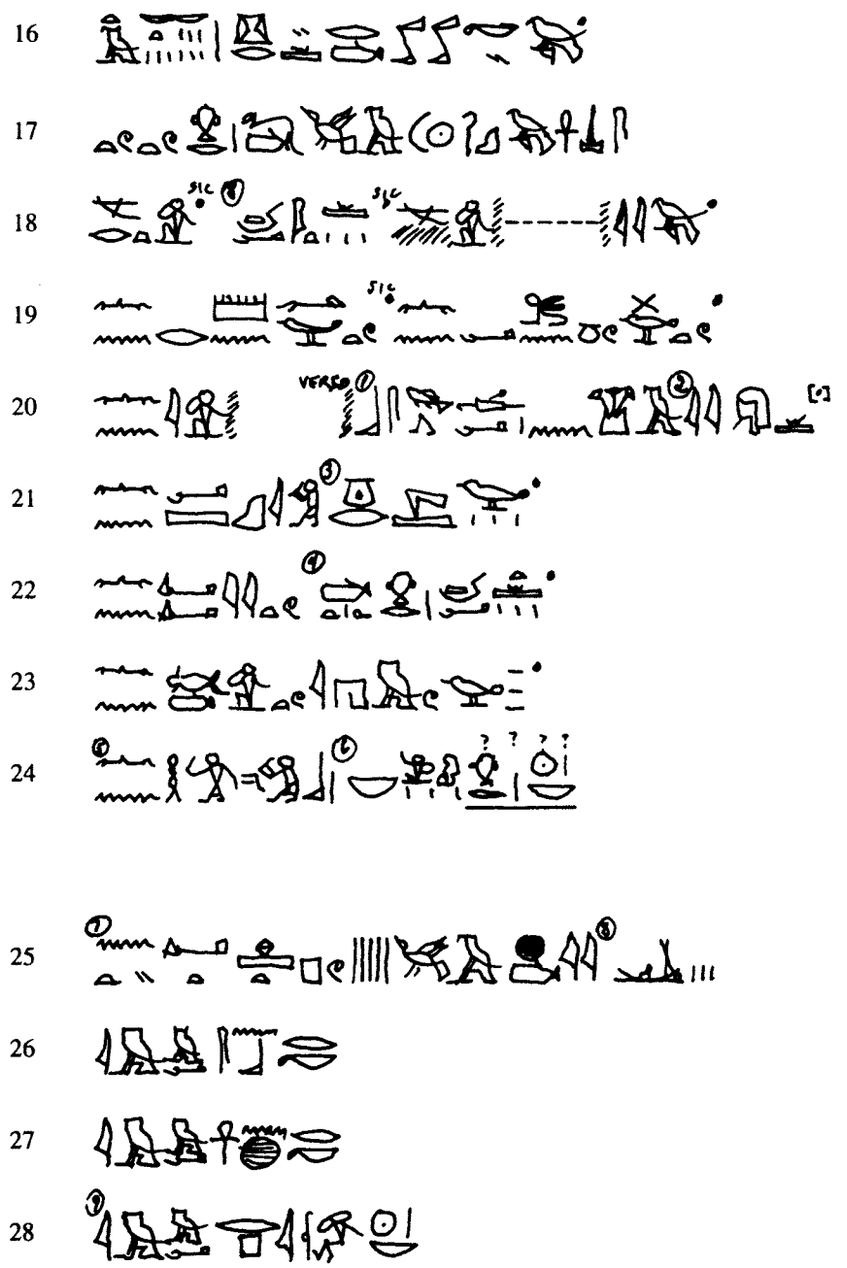


Figure 6.1. Verse Arrangement of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100) (*cont.*)

groups of hieratic lines on the verso—indicating they belong to the recto text—and to integrate them into the total composition.

The hymn is of a particular kind, with the hymnodist praising the king's arrival at Thebes "to ask strength from Her" (see verse 2). The occasion may or may not be an actual jubilee of the king since it is nowhere described as a *heb-sed* festival. However, it is specifically an occasion for "renewal" (verse 11) where the king will emerge from the visit (or ceremony)

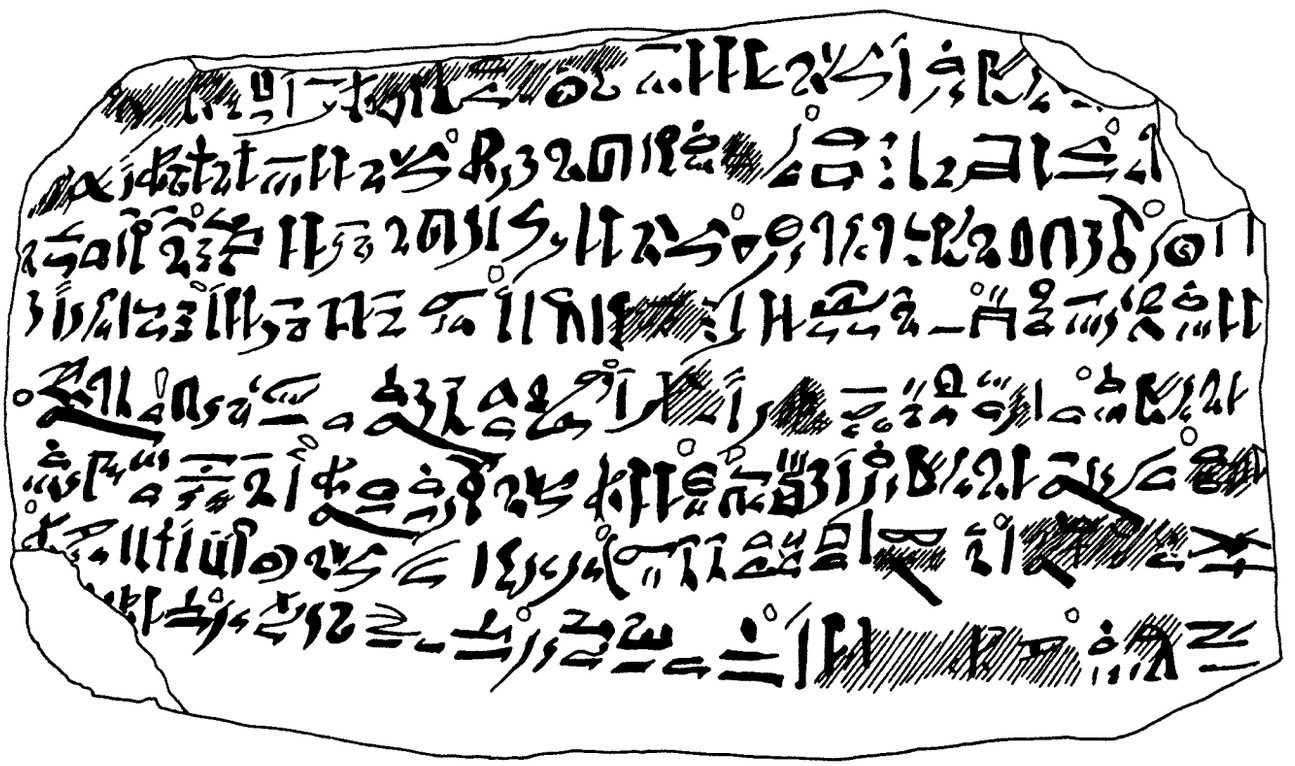
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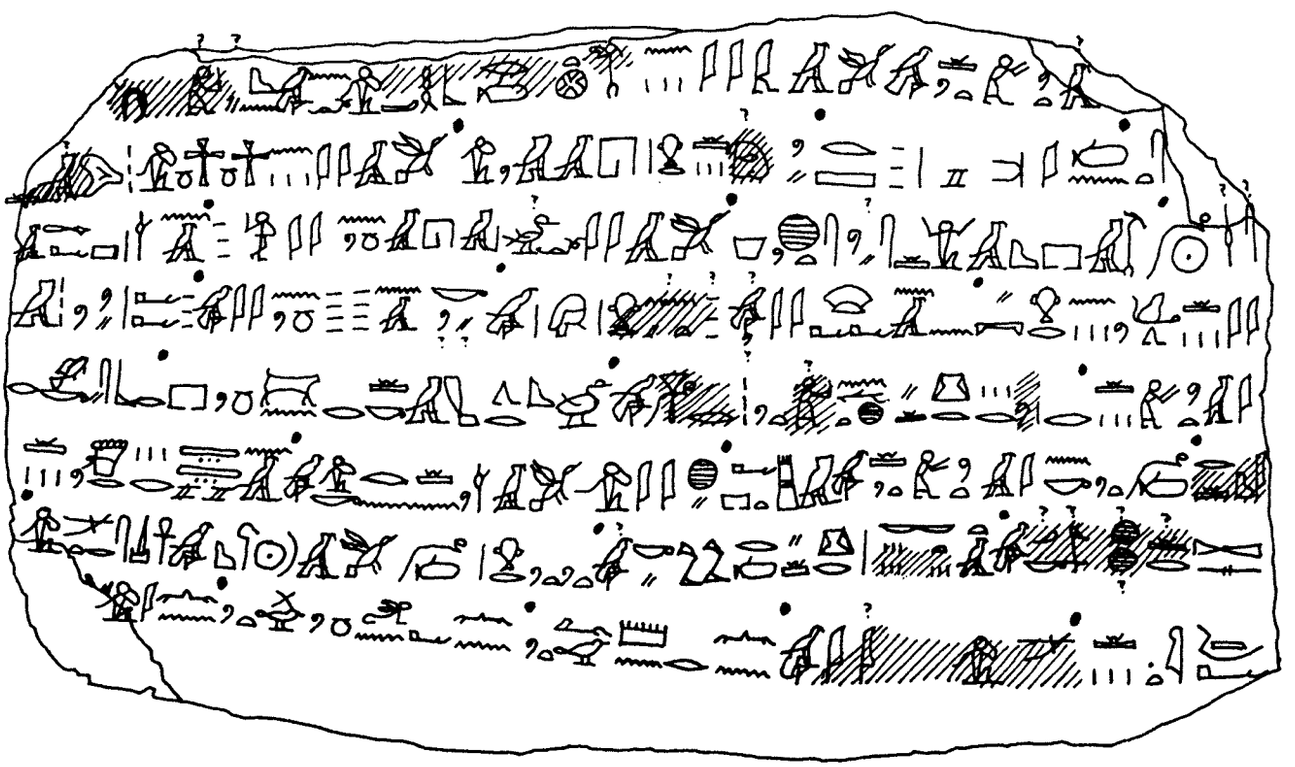
Figure 6.2. Recto of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100)

"above excellence" (*r ỉḳr*) or "more than perfect" (verse 12). The poem, comprising some twenty-eight verse lines, is composed of four short sections. The first section (verses 1–10) describes the various kinds of praise and rejoicing occasioned by the royal visit—even the Ogdoad bows and gives obeisance. The second (verses 11–16) directly addresses the ruler, emphasizing the devotion of the palace, Egypt, and even foreign lands (the "Nine Bows") to his Name and commands, as he comes specifically for renewal. The third section (verses 17–24), placed in the mouths of the celebrants ("they"), rather traditionally describes the king as

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a



b

Figure 6.3. (*a*) Hieratic Verse Arrangement and (*b*) Hieroglyphic Transcription of Recto of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100)

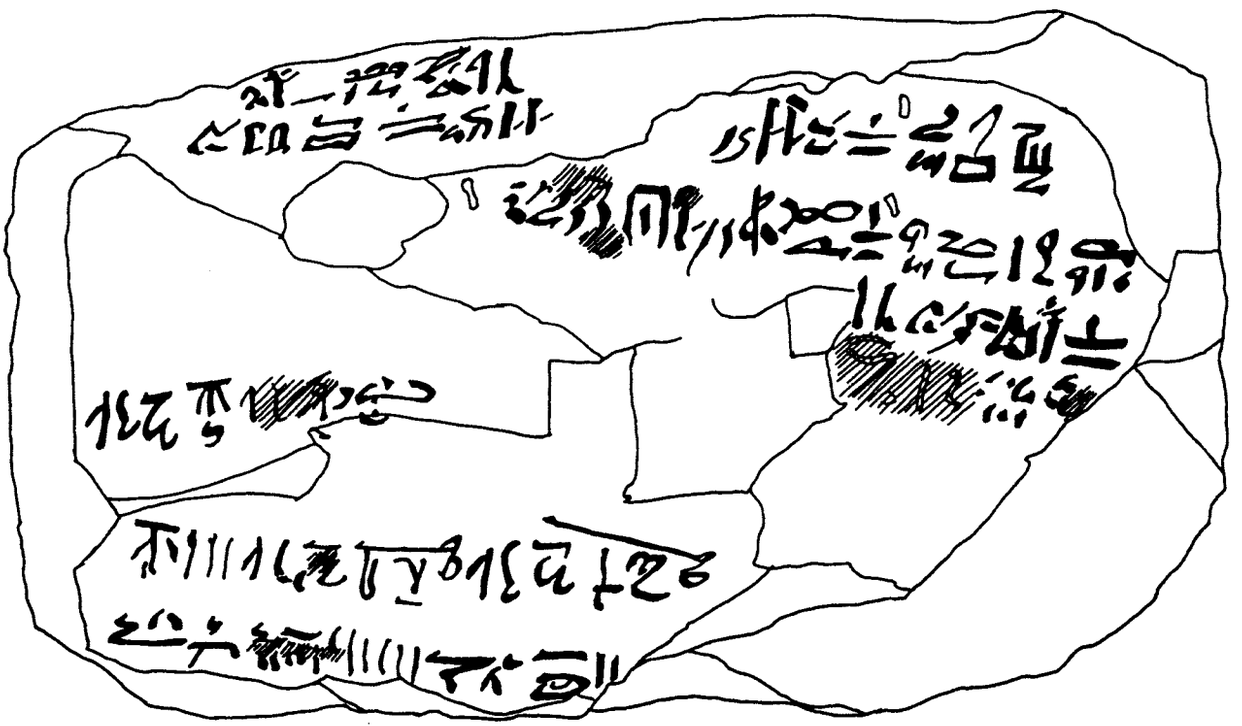
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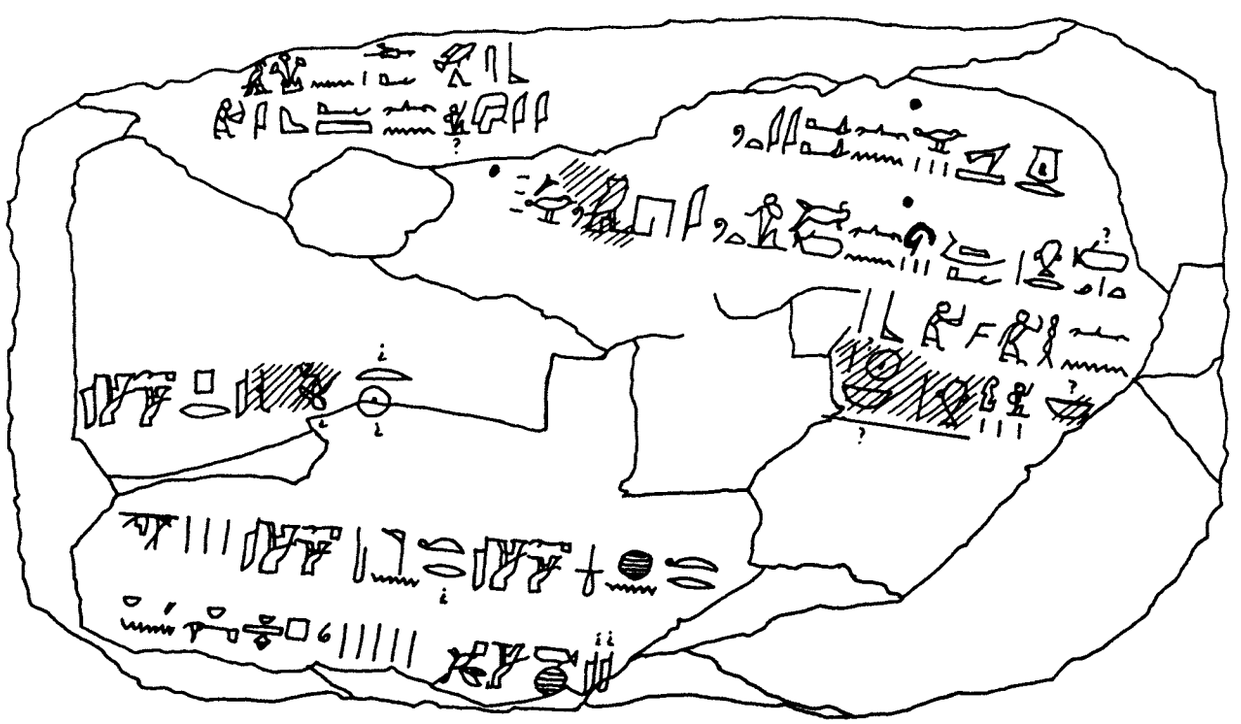
Figure 6.4. Verso of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100)

lover of Maat and probably (the context is broken) lover of kingship; and this is followed by a time of peace and joy where deceit, lies, troubles, and oppression disappear. The final short section (verses 25–28) returns to direct address and appears to be a benediction. Verse 25 is difficult to interpret but seems to be an apostrophe (directly calling upon the king as "the one who" does something) followed by three imperatives detailing the good wishes of the hymnodist and the people.

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a



b

Figure 6.5. (*a*) Hieratic Verse Arrangement and (*b*) Hieroglyphic Transcription of Verso of Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100)

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TRANSLATION

Praised are you, O [divine] one who comes to Thebes
in order to ask strength for himself ... [from] Her.
The districts are rejoicing with cries of satisfaction—
our prayers are heard by the One who Illumines;
The House of the Scepter is exalted—She is far-reaching:
His son is in celebration;
The great memorial stelae reach to the sky
because of the epiphanies of him who is divine overlord;
Bowed down are the Eight Great Gods, their arms in homage,
their mouths directed downward, their strength belonging to the Flourishing One.

Enter, in order that you may be renewed within,
in order that you may step forth [again] more than perfect.
Adoration is recited for you in the Palace;
and how beautiful is that which your Name has commanded!
The Two Lands entire are bound at your throat,
the Nine Bows are under your feet.

They are saying, "O divine Ruler (l.p.h.),
you who love Truth, you who love [kingship]—
There are none who can equal you, none who dare to deceive you!
there are none who [brush?] a single consequence aside;
There is no [longer] the oppression of falsehood;
there is no placing a [rough] hand upon Truth;
There is no reciting [a long list of] troubles;
there is no striking of anyone [upon any day?]."

O One who causes that the downstream journeys be peaceful fivefold (?)—
let good health be to you,
Let life [in abundance] be yours,
and grant [us also?] renewal each day!

COMMENTARY (BY VERSE)

1) The initial signs are chipped, but the word certainly is *ỉ=ỉ3t*, followed by *tw* with divine determinative. Thus, "Praised be thou." The *p3* indicates direct address of the king, followed by the participle, "O one [or: you] who comes." The *n* with plural strokes is here and in verse 7 an error for the preposition. Whether the *n* is also an error for *r* ("toward"), or an instance of the rarer use of *ỉy n* for motion toward a place conceived as a deity and personified (*Wb*. I, 37.12), is unclear. The combination *n* + plural strokes does function as the first plural pronoun in verse 4, following *p3y*.

2) The upper part of the line is abraded, though most of it can be made out up to the end of line one of the ostracon, where two or three signs are missing or indecipherable. The lacuna continues through perhaps one sign at most at the beginning of the second line

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on the stone. The *r* + infinitive construction indicates the king's purpose in arriving at Thebes: to ask for strength (perhaps not "victory" if his purpose is indeed a jubilee, or at least renewal of some sort, verses 11–12) from "her," i.e., Thebes.

3) The "districts" (literally, "dykes") are presumably the areas which collectively go to make up the city of Thebes; they all rejoice in the coming of the king.

4) *Nḏnḏw* here carries the meaning of "prayers" or "supplications" rather than "advice" or "counsel" since they are directed toward "the One who Illumines," that is, the sun god, Re. This interpretation clarifies the suffix pronouns of verses 5–6.

5) *Ḏ ʿm* followed by house determinative seems best translated as "House of the Scepter," perhaps referring literally to the scepter as object and also as an elegant variant on the word, *wꜣst*, which was already used in verse 1. Thus, the reputation of Thebes is enhanced, and her reputation is far flung or far extended. The poem is obviously glorifying Thebes (the feminine, *st*) while welcoming the king.

6) The masculine suffix accompanying the probable word, "son," refers back to Re. Thus both the Sun and the City celebrate the entry of the king; and it is a time of general rejoicing. This piece thus reminds one of the celebratory hymns in honor of Senusert III from the Middle Kingdom.

7) The *wḏ ꜣy*, "the great stelae," are perhaps intended figuratively for "proclamations" or the "commands" written on them. They rise upward and reach the sky. The upward thrust here (*n ḥry*) is contrasted poetically with the downward tilt of the faces of the Ogdoad (*r ḥry*) in verse 10.

8) The reason for the rejoicing in general, and specifically the proclamations rising toward heaven, is the divine appearances (*ḫʿʿyw*), the epiphanies, of the king, who is the "overlord" of both Thebes and Egypt.

9) The first word of the verse is *kyw*, "bow down" (*Wb.* V, 110.2), followed by the plural definite article. The Eight Great Gods of Hermopolis here bow with extended arms in adoration and homage to the king.

10) The mouths of the Ogdoad are *r ḥry*; but this must mean that their faces are tilted toward the earth in respect. Their "strength" "belongs to" (*n*) the Flourishing One, meaning to the king. *Wꜣḏw* can be translated variously as "green," "flourishing," "fortunate," even "raw"; but here, because of the purpose in the king's visit to Thebes, because of the ecstatic welcome he receives, even from the Ogdoad, and because he is to become renewed, perhaps "sturdy" or "flourishing" is best since he is basking in his reception and at the height of his glory and renown.

11) Whereas except for the first verse line, the initial section gives a general description of the king's reception in Thebes, using the third person, here the poet changes to directly addressing the king. Thus, *ḳ* is an imperative and is followed by two clauses of purpose, one in this verse line and one in the next. "Enter, in order that you may repeat within." The verb *wḥm* here must mean to "be again" or "be repeated," that is, to be renewed. The more familiar phrase is *wḥm ʿnḫ*, "to repeat life," but the *ʿnḫ* is lacking here. Cf. *Wb.* I, 342.13.

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COMMENTARY (BY VERSE) (*cont.*)

12) *Bsi*, here, "to step forth" rather than "to introduce." The king enters the city for renewal within it and then emerges *r ỉḳr*, "above excellence" or "more than perfect." The *r* of comparison is used.

13) Either passive or impersonal *sḏm.f* construction is used. *Ḏd* perhaps is "recite" rather than "speak."

14) *Ḥy* is the admirative particle, "how wonderful!"

15) *Ṯs*, because of the determinative, is "to bind" rather than "to uplift"; and the close ties to the king are emphasized rather than the king's power to raise the people. They are bound to his neck.

16) In this second line of the couplet, the enemies of the Two Lands (of verse 15) are trodden under the king's feet, thus pairing his followers and his traditional foes.

17) In a third section of the poem, the king's followers speak ("they say") or chant a kind of hymn to the ideal conditions of life during the king's reign. He is addressed as "ruler"; and *ḥḳꜣ* is accompanied by the word *Rꜥ*. Wilson, in his transcription of the ostracon, thought that the word *mꜣꜥt* had been omitted and that the cartouche pointed to a specific king, Ramesses IV (*ḥḳꜣ-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*). However, it is just as possible that the *Rꜥ* is an error, left over from *pꜣ-Rꜥ* (= "Pre"). Other texts often have simply *ḥḳꜣ* in a cartouche for a royal name meant to be generic or filled in later.

18) The verse points seem to be in disarray here. There is none after the "l.p.h." following *ḥḳꜣ*, where I would end verse 17. The point occurs rather after the next word, the last on line 7 of the ostracon, *mrt* (or, *mrty*). However, there is another verse point after the very next word, *mꜣꜥt*, showing that something has gone awry with the pointing. Still another point occurs after the largely obliterated words toward the right on the last recto line of the ostracon. Since the king is being addressed directly, verse 18 might read, "you who love [or "beloved of"] Maat, you who love [kingship]."

19) From verses 19 to 24 there is a litany of all the evils no longer endured under the current reign of peace and prosperity. There is an extra verse point (as I would read the line) in the middle of this verse; but the phrases are otherwise too short to complete a full verse. The *nn* throughout these lines is the negation of existence. No one can equal or deceive the king.

20) The lower left corner of the recto is chipped away, destroying the exact nature of the participle for this verse line. But the line as a whole seems to indicate that no one can ignore things or brush aside facts or "consequences." *Bs*, the first word on the verso of the ostracon, modified by *wꜥ*, suggests a noun plus adjective; so *bs* must represent the word "result" or "consequence." The series of *nn* clauses beginning on the recto (verse 19) indicates that the same text continues on the verso with further clauses of the same type.

21–24) The litany of praise continues, listing the abuses no longer occurring under the present king: people are not laid low by falsehood, truth (Maat) is not demeaned, one need no longer recite a long list of grievances, nor are people beaten and struck down.

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25) This verse line begins the final passage of four lines (if correctly divided) which ends the poem. They are written across the bottom of the ostracon and upside down when compared to the other lines on the verso. The reason for the inversion is not hard to seek: the very rough surface of the verso would naturally lead the writer to turn the stone around for easier grasping and for better control of the pen. These last lines comprise a benediction, invoking good health and life for the king as well as vitality and growth for either the king alone or for all the people. Verse 25 is difficult because it seems to require a direct address to the king, which introduces the next three lines of specific good wishes; and I am not sure that *nty* can introduce that construction (but cf. Gardiner 1957, §199, n. 4). The line seems to say, "O he who is the one who makes [= "O you who make"] peaceful the downstream journeys." Perhaps this indicates the voyage to Abydos northward from Thebes; or it may mean the journeys of life (though why it would be in the plural is not clear). But the line does seem to represent the invocation of the king for his blessing upon the author and perhaps the city of Thebes as well. There is also the problem of the five clear strokes following the word *ḥtpw*. I can only suggest they indicate "five times," thus "make peaceful fivefold."

26–28) The final three verse lines all begin with the imperative, "Give!" (*ỉm*) followed by the imperative intensifier (*r.k*, "to yourself") in verses 26–27. The lines almost repeat the standard wishes following the royal cartouche ("love, prosper, be healthy"). Here, health and life are mentioned. But then, in the final line, the imperative is followed by *rpy* (= *rnpy*), the word for "growth," "increase," "vigor," or "vitality"; and instead of repeating the *r.k*, the scribe wrote *rʿnb*. This may be an error; but it could also be a more general request for a blessing of well-being on everyone each day.

The hymn written on Ostracon OIM 25346 (Ostracon Wilson 100) is a modest survival from ancient Thebes. Unlike those in Akhenaten's "Hymn to the Sun" or in some of the better Leiden hymns to Amun, the sentiments expressed by its unknown author are not exceptional, nor are they expressed with particular poetic power. And yet, the theme of the king returning to Thebes for renewal or regeneration and the closing benediction are interesting, adding a bit of information to our knowledge of the scope of ancient Egyptian hymnody. Best of all, unlike the vast majority of ostraca, this piece is essentially complete, giving us the ancient poet's expression of his religious joy in its entirety.

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CHAPTER 7

THE HIERATIC WOODEN TABLET VARILLE

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In 1942, Alexandre Varille (1942, pp. 135–39) published a hieratic text inscribed on a wooden tablet bought by him at Luxor.[1] He provided a hieroglyphic transcription, but not a translation.[2] To my knowledge, no scholar has discussed the inscription in detail since the initial publication.[3] I would like, therefore, to offer in honor of Professor Baer's memory this attempt at rendering the Varille Wooden Tablet, an effort that would certainly have benefited from Professor Baer's criticism.

According to Varille, the object measures 18.0 cm in height, 7.5 cm in width, and 0.5 cm in thickness. The tablet is pierced by a hole, which Varille reasonably takes to indicate that it may have been bound together by rope with other documents of the same nature.[4]

On the tablet is inscribed an inventory of various vases or receptacles, cult-utensils, statues, and lamps used in a temple of Maat (*pr mꜣʿ.t*). The text does not specify the location of this sanctuary; it is, perhaps, the well-known temple of Maat in Karnak.[5] Varille suggested

1. For a list of inscribed wooden tablets, see Vernus, "Schreibtafel," *LÄ* V, cols. 703–09. Very valuable too is the article of Brashear and Hoogendijk (1990, pp. 21–54). That discussion is, to be sure, chiefly concerned with wooden tablets inscribed in Greek, Latin, and Coptic and does not mention the Varille Wooden Tablet.
2. J. Černý and E. Drioton helped Varille with the transcription of the hieratic text. I would like to emphasize that the hand copy of the tablet published with this article (see fig. 7.1) is based on the photograph in Varille's article. It is, therefore, merely intended as an aid for the reader and not as a facsimile.
3. It is cited in Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 125; Caminos 1958, pp. 130, 140; Graefe and Wassef 1979, pp. 110, 114; Quaegebeur 1978, p. 246; Cauville 1987, p. 73; Sambin 1988, p. 253. Dr. Joseph Manning has also pointed out to me that this tablet appears in an illustration in Sauneron 1980, p. 71.
4. Other scholars have explained such holes in wooden tablets as intended to facilitate the carrying of the object; see, e.g., Schlott 1989, p. 62; Silverman 1982, p. 287.
5. The scribe indeed describes himself as a priest of Amun of Karnak (verso, lines 11–12). On the temple of Maat in North Karnak (behind the larger temple of Mont), see Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 11–12, plan IV.2; Barguet 1962, p. 5. Charlotte Straube (1989, pp. 15–19) has recently discussed this contra-temple in her Master's thesis. It was Varille (1943, pp. 21–27) himself who first excavated the temple; see also Caminos 1958, p. 55; Bonnet 1952, p. 433; Borghouts 1982, pp. 85–86. To judge from several references to "priests of Maat" (see Quaegebeur 1975–76, p. 47), there was still an active cult of Maat at Thebes into the Ptolemaic era. For Maat as a divine name in a Demotic text, see, e.g., Zauzich 1971a, p. 44 (P. Turin 6070, 3). There do seem to have been other chapels or sanctuaries dedicated to Maat in the Theban area. Thus, Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III built a temple dedicated to Hathor and Maat at Deir el-Medineh (D. Valbelle, "Deir el-Medineh," *LÄ* I, col. 1031). It should also be kept in mind that the term used here, *pr mꜣʿ.t*, is employed too as a designation of a birth-house (Daumas 1958, p. 513).

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that the inventory may deal with objects in "hiding," i.e., possibly stored in a temple crypt.[6] This interpretation depends, however, on the meaning of *ỉmnw.t* in recto, line 2, a term which may also denote, e.g., the "daily offerings." The entries themselves are simple in format. Sometimes an item is merely followed by a number, thus indicating the quantity of this item in the temple of Maat. In other cases the entries have the form: "item, number, *wp-s* ("specifically, specification, to wit"), "temple of Maat," number.[7] Here the scribe seems to have wished to record the total quantity in a larger precinct, e.g., the Mont Precinct,[8] and then the number of the item in the temple of Maat. The writer does not describe the various objects in detail, nor record their physical condition.

The tablet is dated to the second year of Alexander the Great (verso, line 12). It would be tempting to connect our document with an overall inventory of temple possessions instituted by Alexander, but there is, of course, no proof for this. It is more probable that the inventory was drawn up at the beginning or end of a period of service in this temple by members of the second phyle, to which the scribe belonged. In view of the late date, the choice of script is somewhat surprising; I know of no other documentary hieratic texts of this period.[9] The parallels for this sort of record in the Ptolemaic age are in Demotic.[10]

The hand is a legible late hieratic, which displays no features of abnormal hieratic. The following forms are worth noting:

No. 96[11] () — the Varille writing (, verso, 4) is very much like that in P. Bremner () (ca. fourth century B.C.), and unlike the other examples in Möller 1912.

No. 192 () — the aleph is generally composed of two strokes (, recto, line 1), but on occasion the scribe writes only one, e.g., recto, 12 ( ).

6. Ritual objects may have been hidden in crypts, see C. Traunecker, "Krypta," *LÄ* III, col. 827. On the various functions of crypts, see Traunecker 1986, pp. 571–77.
7. In a few instances (e.g., recto, line 11), *pr mꜣꜥ.t* is omitted. Varille also notes that corrections were made in recto, lines 6, 9, 10, and verso, line 10.
8. On the secret hiding place in the Mont temple in North Karnak, see Traunecker 1986, p. 572.
9. Pestman (1967, p. 11) lists no Demotic texts dated to this year of Alexander. It is perhaps not impossible that the document is to be placed in the reign of the son of Alexander.
10. For temple inventories in earlier periods, see, e.g., Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 125. For examples of temple inventories in Demotic, see Zauzich 1971b, p. 124 (no. 218 = P. Berlin P 23591, from Elephantine, pre-Ptolemaic), which Zauzich describes so: "Tempelinventar, das vermutlich bei Dienstantritt oder-beendigung der 4. Priester-phyle geschrieben wurde. Spezifizierte Aufzählung der verschiedenen Götterbilder aus Gold und Silber sowie anderer Kostbarkeiten." Cf. also the Demotic Ostracon BM 66241, published by Wångstedt (1976–77, pp. 17–18), which is a temple inventory of statues in the Abydos Osireion. Wångstedt maintains that the priests in the Roman period had to conduct an inventory each year of temple objects and to hand over the list to the authorities; Spiegelberg 1902, p. 24 (P. Berlin P 6848); Spiegelberg 1904, pp. 80–82 (Cairo Bronze Tablet 30691). On temple inventories in Demotic, see also the discussion of Quaegebeur 1979, pp. 718, 720. On temple inventories in Greek, see the still valuable discussion of Otto (1905, vol. 1, pp. 325–29). A fine specimen of a Greek inventory is published by Boswinkel (1968, pp. 1–10).
11. The numbers refer to Möller 1912.

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No. 221 () — the "wings" are reduced to a point situated almost behind the body ( , recto, 12).

No. 389 () — the Varille specimen ( , verso, 14) seems rather more to resemble the Roman period examples of Möller 1912 than the Ptolemaic writings.

No. 391 () — this sign has a point to the right of it ( , recto, line 11), a feature of later texts (only after Leinwand in Möller 1912; see Posener 1985, p. 10).[12]

TRANSLITERATION

RECTO

1 *pꜣ snhꜣ* [A] *n ỉpd* [B]
2 *nty m ỉmnw.t* [C] *wḫꜣ n*(?) *ḥnk.t* [D] *4*
3 *qꜣỉw* [E] *3 wp-s* [F] *pr MꜣꜤ.t* [G] *wḫꜣ*
4 *ḥnk.t 1 qꜣ 1 Ꜥbš=f n hn*
5 *n ḥnk.t 2* [H] *wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1 Ꜥbš=f Ꜥꜣ*
6 *1 wdḥw* (?) [I] *n ḥnk.t 1 Ꜥn ꜣšrw*
7 *1* [J] *nms 6* [K] *wp-s ḥs.t 2.t ḥs n ...*
8 *1.t* [L] *wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t ḥs.t* [M] *nms*
9 *ḥms sḫtp 2* [N] *wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t*
10 *1 Ꜥ-n mw 1 Ꜥ-n stbḥw 1* [O]
11 *tkꜣ 4 wp-s 2* [P] *ꜣḏꜣ n*
12 *pꜣ Ꜥḥw 2.t* [Q] *wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1.t tnw*
13 *n tỉ snṯr 4* [R] *wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1 ꜣꜤb* (?) [S]
14 *1 tꜣ Ꜥn n tꜣ mkt* (?) [T] *1.t tbḥw ḥt*
15 *p* [U] *1.t mhn n gs hn 1 mhn* [V]
16 *2 wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1 gs hn 1*
17 *hn 1 nty n tr.t nꜣ ỉry-Ꜥꜣ.w* [W]

VERSO

1 *pꜣ rt n pꜣ wḫꜣ* [X]
2 *hn* [Y] *2 wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1*
3 *ššš* [Z] *2 wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 1*
4 *wtt* [AA] *3 wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 2*
5 *špꜣs* [BB] *MꜣꜤ.t 2.t*
6 *rpy.t MꜣꜤ.t 1.t ꜣms*(?) *n ms.t* [CC]
7 *Ꜥnḫ n thy 6 wp-s pr MꜣꜤ.t 2* [DD]
8 *ḥmt n ḫꜣbs 8 wp-s 2* [EE]
9 *nhy ḫꜣbs tmt 10.t* [FF]
10 *ḥw Ꜥ 1 bs n pꜣ mḏꜣ* [GG] *1*
11 *sḫ ỉt-ntr ḥm-ntr n ỉmn m ỉp.t-s*
12 *.wt Pꜣ-dỉ- ... sꜣ Ḥr* [HH] *n rnp.t 2.t*
13 *ḥr ḥm nswt-bỉty ỉrgsꜣndrs* [II]
14 *ꜣbd 1 pr.t sw 9 ḥr sꜣ 2.nw* [JJ]

12. Cf. Derchain 1965, p. 125. One might also compare Derchain's (ibid., pp. 119–27) examples of Möller 1912, nos. 32, 33, 47, 260, 266, 522, 622, with those in the Varille Tablet.

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TRANSLATION

RECTO

1 The inventory of objects
2 which are from (?) the hidden(-chamber?): bowls of offering (?) 4,
3 vases 3, specifically: temple of Maat, bowl
4 of offering 1, vase 1, one-hin measure *ʿbš=f* jars
5 of offering 2, specifically: temple of Maat 1, large *ʿbš=f* jar
6 1, offering-table (?) 1, bowl/cauldron for grilling (?)
7 1, *nms*-jars 6, specifically: water-jars 2, water-jar of ...
8 1, specifically: temple of Maat, water-jar (?), *nms*-jar,
9 water-jar (?), censers 2, specifically: temple of Maat
10 1, libation-trough (?) 1, utensil-container (?) 1,
11 torches 4, specifically: 2, tongs (?) for
12 the brazier 2, specifically: temple of Maat 1, bowls
13 for giving incense 4, specifically: temple of Maat 1, cup
14 1, the ... of the ... 1, altar-stand(?)
15 1, jar of one-half-hin 1, jars
16 2, specifically: temple of Maat 1, one-half-hin jar 1,
17 a hin-measure jar 1, which is in the possession of the door-keepers,

VERSO

1 the stairway(-base) of the (Hathor-)column,
2 containers 2, specifically: temple of Maat 1
3 sistra 2, specifically: temple of Maat 1,
4 *wtt* objects 3, specifically: temple of Maat 2,
5 divine images of Maat 2,
6 statue of Maat 1, *ȝms*-staff (?) ... ,
7 vases (?) of faience 6, specifically: temple of Maat 2,
8 copper lamp 8, specifically 2,
9 ... of a lamp, total: 10,
10 scepter 1, jar for the oil 1.
11 Written by the god's-father, prophet of Amonemipets-
12 et *Pȝ-dì-*... , son of *Ḥr*, in year 2
13 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Alexander,
14 first month of winter, day 9, for the second phyle.

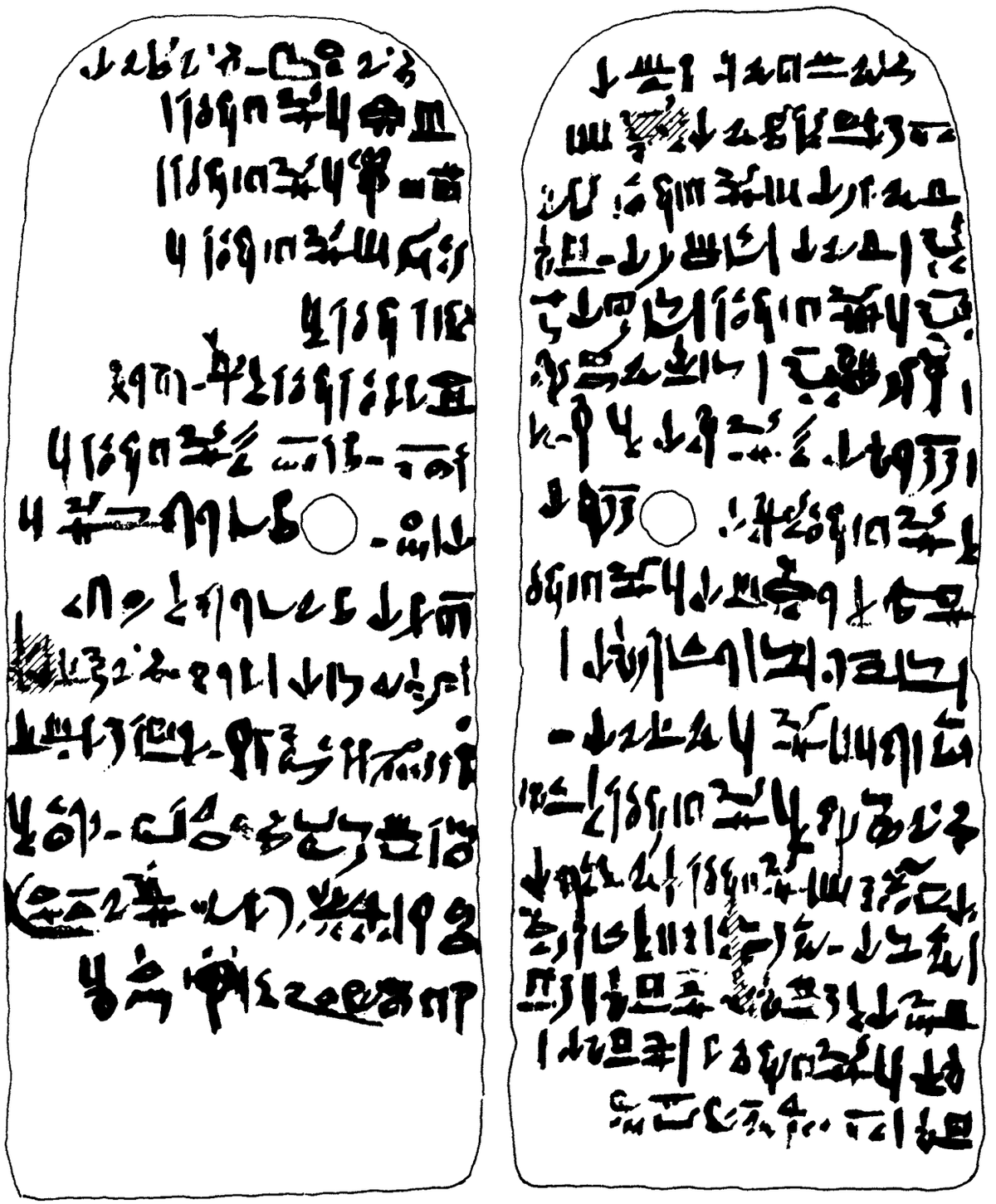
NOTES

A) *snhȝ*, "das Verzeichnis" (*Wb.* IV, 167.10). On this word, see the remarks of Caminos 1954, pp. 98–99; Janssen 1982, pp. 134–35. *snhȝ* is not in Erichsen 1954, but occurs, e.g., in P. BM 10508, 17/22 (Thissen 1984, p. 114).[13]

B) The general term for the items in the inventory is *ỉpd*, determined by the metal sign. While *ỉpt*, "Becher" (*Wb.* I, 69.17), is certainly possible, given the wide range of types of objects in this list, I have identified the word with *ỉpd*, "Möbel" (*Wb.* I, 70.10). The only item that does not seem to be made of metal is the faience *ʿnḫ*-vase in line 7 of

13. I thank Professor Janet H. Johnson for permitting me to consult the files of the Demotic Dictionary Project for this article.

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a b

Figure 7.1. Hand Copy of the Hieratic Wooden Tablet Varille: (*a*) Verso; (*b*) Recto

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the verso. Graefe and Wassef (1979, p. 112) read the group as *ỉpt n ḥmt*, which indeed seems to be written in line 20 of the text edited by them.

C) Varille had understood *nty m ỉmnw.t* as "which are hidden," and I have adopted this basic meaning in my own translation. I can quote no parallel for precisely that usage, but compare *ỉmn.t*, "das Verborgene, das Geheimnis" (*Wb.* I, 84.8–9), and *ỉmn.t*, "verborgene Stätte" (*Wb.* I, 84.10–12). It is tempting to interpret *ỉmnw.t* as a designation for a crypt or secret compartment, but I have not discovered the word so employed elsewhere.[14] One might also have expected the place determinative, whereas we have only the "falcon on a standard." It should be noted that one hin-vessel (recto, line 17) is manifestly not hidden but is described as in the possession of the "door-keepers." My impression is that the items listed as in the temple of Maat are those being actively used in the daily ritual. They may, therefore, plausibly be described as "coming from (*m*) the hidden place." Another possible rendering is "which are in the daily service," comparing *ỉmny.t*, "daily service, daily offerings," with "dauerndes Opfer" (*Wb.* I, 83.10), noting especially "(ein Opfer stiften) *m ỉmny.t* als dauerndes Opfer."

D) The compound *wḫꜣ n*(?) *ḥnk.t* occurs also in recto, lines 3–4 (*wḫꜣ ḥnk.t*). *wḫꜣ* is not listed in *Wb.*, but compare *wšỉw*, "a receptacle, metal object," in Lesko and Lesko 1982–90, vol. 1, p. 131, citing Valbelle 1977, p. 20.[15]

ḥnk.t seems to be written, which is perhaps best understood as merely a form of *ḥnk*, "schenken, beschenken" (*Wb.* III, 117.5–118.5). It is not impossible, of course, that the scribe intended a more specialized usage, e.g., *ḥnk.t*, "Raum im Tempel" (*Wb.* III, 119.10–11). On *ḥnk*, "to offer," see Zauzich 1976, p. 136; Smith 1985, pp. 109–10.

E) Compare *qꜣy*, "Napf" (*Wb.* V, 150.5–13; Lesko and Lesko 1982–90, vol. 4, p. 50 [*gꜣy*, "jar, bowl, flask"]). See further, Černý 1976, p. 324; Westendorf 1965/1977, pp. 410, 447 (who compares Demotic *gꜥ*, Erichsen 1954, p. 573; also, du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, p. 72; Valbelle 1977, p. 19; Janssen 1975, pp. 426–28; Zonhoven 1979, p. 94).

F) *wp-s.t*, "Ausdruck in Rechnungen u. dgl. für 'im Einzelnen,' detailliert (mit folg. Aufzählung der Einzelposten)" (*Wb.* I, 302.1–2). On *wp-s*, see Pestman 1980, pp.76–78; de Cenival 1977, p. 20; Wente 1967, p. 51. This writing is classified as Greek (*Wb.* I, 302).

G) As Varille states, the *pr mꜣꜥ.t* is perhaps the temple of Maat in the Mont Precinct, but this is by no means certain (see n. 5, above).

H) *ꜥbš=f* is clearly related to *ꜥbš*, "Art Weinkrug" (*Wb.* I, 179.1). The addition of the suffix is the late nominal construction discussed by Osing (1976, p. 326) who, in fact, quotes

14. The word occurs in the Speos Artemidos inscription translated by Gardiner (1946, pp. 46, 49), who renders "the Hidden Chamber" and takes it to mean the innermost sanctuary.

15. This term is not in du Mesnil du Buisson 1935. A modern treatment of the Egyptian terms for vases and similar objects is much to be desired; for a recent summary, see D. Arnold, "Gefäße," *LÄ* I, cols. 484–87. An alternative is to connect this word with *wḫꜣ*, "stand," discussed in Graefe and Wassef 1979, p. 113. Macadam (1949, p. 37, n. 13 [with illustration]) describes *wḫꜣ* as "a column for carrying the small bowl in which the brazier is placed." Cf. also *wḫꜣ*, "Hathor-column" in verso, line 1.

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this example. On the *ʿbš*-vase, see Habachi 1977, p. 75 (note 75b); du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 34–35 (with illustrations of various types of *ʿbš*-vases); and Macadam 1949, p. 12 (n. 54).

hn, "Art Topf, urspr. wohl von bestimmter Form, später wohl allgemein: Topf, Krug" (*Wb.* II, 493.2–14). This would appear to be a vase of one hin-measure; compare *mhn n gs hn*, "jar of a half-hin measure," in recto, line 15. It is to be contrasted, presumably, with the "large *ʿbš=f* vase" in recto, line 5.

I) I think that Varille's transcription for this group () is unconvincing, particularly as the *ḥs* sign, written differently, most probably occurs in the following line. More likely, I suggest, is (). If so, then we may render either *wdḥw*, "Gestell für Speisen und Getränke" (*Wb.* I, 393.15), or *wdḥw*, "jug" (see Janssen 1975, pp. 432–33).  does, however, resemble () more than (), and perhaps *wḏ*, "kleines Gefäss aus Metall" (*Wb.* I, 399.10), is also a possibility.

J) On *ʿ*, "Napf" (*Wb.* I, 158.13–18), see Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 171; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 56–57. This word, determined by the metal sign, is perhaps to be distinguished from *ʿ-n -mw* and *ʿ-n -stbḥ* in recto, line 10.

For *ȝšr*, "braten" (*Wb.* I, 21.6–9), see the detailed discussion in Verhoeven 1984, pp. 16–49. She proposes that "grillen" is a more suitable translation.

K) For the *nms* vase (*Wb.* II, 269.7–8), particularly employed in connection with water offerings, see du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 131–34; Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 186. It is rarely attested in Demotic; see Smith 1979, p. 154 (10/2); Tait 1982, p. 219.

L) It is difficult to explain the *wp-s* after *nms 6*, since the following entries seem to record various kinds of *ḥs.t*-vases. Does the scribe consider them types of *nms.t*-vases? *nms.t* itself does not appear again until the end of line 8.

Note that in this list *wp-s* is generally followed by *pr mȝʿ.t* (recto, lines 3, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16; verso, lines 2, 3, 4, 7). It is to be supplied in recto, lines 7, 11, and verso, line 8.

The reading *ḥs.t* is quite probable, compare Möller 1912, no. 502. The scribe seems to employ two variant forms of the *ḥs* sign, (in line 7, in line 8), but both are attested in Möller 1912. On the *ḥs.t*-vase, see Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 184; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 109–17; see also Tait 1982, p. 218.

I am uncertain of the traces at the end of line 7. Varille proposes () with hesitation.

M) I believe that the writing of *mȝʿ.t* ends with the goddess sign , compare Möller 1912, no. 62 , and not the divine determinative (falcon-on-a-standard) as Varille transcribed. One might have expected a numeral after *pr mȝʿ.t*. Varille has *ḫnm.t*, where I suggest *ḥs.t*.

N) *ḥms* is, perhaps, ϩO(O)MϵC, "water-jar (?)" (Crum 1929–34, p. 679a). I have found no other examples of this word before the Coptic period.

sḫtp, "censer" (*Wb.* IV, 222.23–223.3). It is rare in Demotic but occurs, e.g., in Graffito Philae 416, line 16, (Griffith 1937, p. 115).

O) *ʿ-n-mw* is the Demotic term for a "canal" (Erichsen 1954, p. 51; see Ritner 1984, p. 179). It is obviously employed here as the designation of a type of basin or vase.

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Perhaps, as John Coleman Darnell has suggested (personal communication), this is a late equivalent to the older *mr*, a term for the T-shaped basins found in offering scenes. On that word, see Gessler-Löhr 1983, p. 26.

stbḥw seems to be related to *sdbḥ*, "Ausrüstung, Geräte" (*Wb.* IV, 369.9–13).[16] *ꜥn stbḥ* occurs also in Cairo Bronze Tablet 30691, line 13, where it is translated "Gerätbehälter (?)" by Spiegelberg (1904, pp. 80–81).

P) *pr mꜣꜥ.t* is to be understood after *wp-s*.

For *tkꜣ*, "flame, torch, candle," see *Wb.* V, 331.5–332.13; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 80–81; Sauneron 1958, p. 276. The objects listed in lines 11–14 have to do with burnt-offerings, on which see Schott 1953, pp. 12–31.

Q) *ꜣḏꜣ(.t)* is not listed in *Wb*. It appears, however, in the (unpublished) manuscript dictionary of Spiegelberg (vol. 2, p. 141) as *ꜣḏꜣ.t*, "temple-utensil," quoting the Cairo Bronze Tablet 30691,a/12 and 44 (Spiegelberg 1904, pp. 80–82). I propose that it may be related to Coptic ϵⲭⲱ, "tweezer, pincer" (Westendorf 1965/1977, p. 45).[17] The word, spelled *ṯꜣ.t*, also occurs in a list of cultic implements published by Macadam (1949, p. 37).

On *ꜥḥ*, "Feuerbecken, als Gerät zum Brandopfer" (*Wb.* I, 223.13–16), see Egberts 1987, p. 31; Caminos 1958, p. 30. Kitchen (1975–76, p. 301) provides numerous references to illustrations of braziers.

R) *tnw* is presumably *ṯnj*, "Art Napf oder Schale aus Metall als Gerät im Kultus" (*Wb.* V, 380.4–5 [also written *tnỉ*]). On this object, see du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, p. 158; Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 172. For the phrase *dỉ.t snṯr* meaning "to cense," see *Wb.* IV, 181. For the sign read *snṯr*, compare Möller 1912, no. 550.

S) The writing is unclear to me, but I believe that Varille was correct in identifying this word with *ỉꜥb*, "Napf. Insbesondere vom Weihrauchnäpfchen auf dem Räucherarm" (*Wb.* I, 40.9–11 [also spelled *ꜣꜥꜥbw*]; Erichsen 1954, p. 58). It is noted that *ṯnỉ* and *ỉꜥb* are often found together (*Wb.* V, 380.5). On *ꜥꜥb*, "bowl, dish," see Schott 1953, p. 23; Tait 1982, p. 217; Wallert 1967, pp. 55–60 (who suggests that it may sometimes mean "spoon").

T) *ꜥn* is perhaps *ꜥn.t*, "ringförmiger Kruguntersatz" (*Wb.* I, 188.10; in the compound *ꜥn.t ds*; see Valbelle 1977, p. 16). In the Apis embalming text there is an unidentified metal object *ꜥnyw*, see Spiegelberg 1920, pp. 9, 12.

The reading of the next word is uncertain. Following Varille, I transcribe *mkt*. The two strokes before *l.t* may be the house determinative; compare the writing in *pr mꜣꜥ.t* of line 13. I can, however, offer no convincing interpretation of the term. Also possible is *mdk*, although the *d* is rather suspect. We might then identify it with *mḏq*, "a type of vase" (*Wb.* II, 191.10). However, this appears to have retained its masculine gender in Demotic; see Erichsen 1954, p. 195. Compare also *mtk*, "Getränk" in ꜥOnchsheshonqy 4/18 and 5/15, see Thissen 1984, p. 81.

16. On *stbḥ*, see Vleeming 1984, p. 266, n. f.

17. See Clère 1957, pp. 158–59; idem, "Pinzette," *LÄ* IV, col. 1054. There is also the compound *ṯꜣy-ỉr.t*, "eye-tweezer" (Zonhoven 1979, p. 97).

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U) *tbḥw(.t)-ḥtp* seems to be the table for offerings; compare *dbḥ.t-ḥtp*, "Speisenbedarf" (*Wb.* V, 440–441.7), and *dbḥ.t*, "Tisch für das *dbḥ.t-ḥtp*" (*Wb.* V, 441.8).

V) *mhn* is probably to be connected with *mhr*, "Milchkrug" (*Wb.* II, 115.5–8; noting especially *Wb.* II, 115.7, "Auch aus Metall als Tempelgerät"). On *mhn/mhr*, see du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, p. 152; Wente 1967, p. 73, n. l; Janssen 1975, pp. 207–08.

Lines 15–17 enumerate various types of *mhn* or *hn*-vases. The *gs-hn* at the end of line 16 appears to refer back to the *mhn n gs hn* in the middle of line 15.

W) On the title *ỉry-ꜥ* (*Wb.* I, 164.17), see Jelínková-Reymond 1953, pp. 39–59; Graefe and Wassef 1979, p. 114 (where this text is cited); Leahy 1982–83, p. 88 (n. n). McDowell (1990, pp. 41–46) has also discussed the various functions of doorkeepers in Deir el-Medina.

X) These are the stairs that form the base for the Hathor-column; an example is shown in Grdseloff 1940, p. 196; see also Russmann 1974, pp. 33–46.

wḫꜣ is the Hathor-column, on which see Posener-Kriéger 1976, pp. 65–66, 73–76. The appearance in this list of a Hathor-column, sistrum, and other objects pertaining to that deity is by no means surprising given the close connection between Maat and Hathor, particularly in the Late period; on the association of the two deities, see Derchain 1972, pp. 39–40.[18]

Y) *hn* is probably "der Kasten," used in cult (*Wb.* II, 491.18; Erichsen 1954, p. 277). See further Posener-Kriéger 1976, p. 176; Macadam 1949, p. 13. The determinative is written much like the Leinwand example in Möller 1912, no. 372.

Z) For the form of the determinative, compare the two examples in Möller 1912, no. 539.

AA) *wtt* is *wtṯ*, "Gr. als Name des Symbols das der König den Göttinnen darbringt. Ungewöhnlich; sonst *wnšb* und (älter) *šb.t* genannt" (*Wb.* I, 382.15). For this object, see Sambin 1988; Graefe 1984, pp. 895–905; Žabkar 1988, p. 183, n. 40.

BB) *šps*, "Bild" (*Wb.* IV, 451.8–9).

CC) On *rpy.t*, "(female-)Statue" (*Wb.* II, 415.11–13; Erichsen 1954, p. 244), see Thissen 1979, p. 84. Caminos (1958, pp. 129–30) discusses various statues of Maat.

I am uncertain of the reading and interpretation of the signs after *mꜣꜥ.t*. I have followed Varille's transcription of  as  (Möller 1912, no. 452) and hesitantly suggest that this may be *ꜣms*, "Art Keule" (*Wb.* I, 11.5–6). Another plausible transcription is  , comparing the writing  in Möller 1912, no. 450. This would be *ḫrp*, "Art Szepter" (*Wb.* III, 326.6).

I can offer no convincing explanation for the *ms.t* (or *ms*) at the end of the line. A number of possibilities exist, such as *ms.t*, a type of flagellum (*Wb.* II, 137.2–3; see Fischer, "Fächer und Wedel," *LÄ* II, col. 83), or *ms*, "Blumenstrauss (zumeist die eigentümlichen sogen. Stabsträusse der Form )" (*Wb.* II, 136.1).

DD) This is perhaps more likely to be an ankh-vase (*Wb.* I, 204.15) than *ꜥnḫ*, "mirror" (*Wb.* I, 204.11–14). On ankh-vessels of faience, see Radwan 1985, pp. 211–12; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, p. 108.

18. Reference courtesy of John Coleman Darnell.

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EE) On *ḥbs*, "lamp" (*Wb.* III, 230.3), see Cruz-Uribe 1990, p. 58; Johnson 1977, p. 77. The word order (*ḥmt n ḥbs*) is rather unusual.

FF) *nh.t n ḥbs* is found also in Spiegelberg 1917, p. 50 (20/29–30).[19] In both cases it is determined by the tree and metal signs. The compound apparently denotes a type of lamp or a part thereof.

I believe that must be *tmt*, "total," written  in Demotic (Erichsen 1954, p. 634).

GG) *ḥw-ˁ*, "Szepter" (*Wb.* III, 49.13). It is identical with the *sḫm*-scepter; see P. Kaplony, "Zepter," *LÄ* VI, col. 1374.

While Varille's reading of *bs* is quite plausible, the initial sign  looks rather more like a reed-leaf. On *bs*, "Art Salbgefäss" (*Wb.* I, 423.4–5 [*bꜣs*]), see du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, p. 97.[20]

I think it most likely that *mḏꜣ* is "ointment, salve," particularly employed in ritual (see *Wb.* II, 185.11–19, *mḏ.t*, but as noted in *Wb.*, it is masculine in the Greek period). Also possible are: *mḏꜣ*, "Art Mass für Datteln" (*Wb.* II, 186.15); *mḏꜣy*, "eine Opfergabe" (*Wb.* II, 186.16–17); *mḏꜣy*, "Art Gefäss oder Mass für Bier"[21] (*Wb.* II, 186.18). In Demotic there is the word *mḏy*, "in der Verbindung *mḏy ṯb*, 'Art Instrument' (bei der Balsamierung der Apisstiere gebraucht)" (Erichsen 1954, p. 194).

HH) On the titles *ỉt-nṯr* and *ḥm-nṯr* in the Late period, see, e.g., the comments of Thissen 1973, p. 42, n. c; Helck 1984, pp. 71–74.

Although clearly written, I am unable to decipher satisfactorily the name of the scribe. Varille transcribed this as *Pꜣ-dỉ-nꜣỉf-nḫt*, but I am very doubtful of the reading of as  ;  seems to me the most likely transcription of the sign.[22] A search among published texts has not revealed other possible attestations of this individual. He is entered as 5745a in Clarysse 1981, p. 102.

On the characteristic late writing of *Ḥr*, see Vittmann 1982, p. 121.

II) For the spelling of Alexander with the initial reed-leaf, see von Beckerath 1984, p. 285.

JJ) It seems that the scribe has strangely used () (*sꜣw*) (Möller 1912, no. 47 [or no. 63?]) to write the word *sw*, "day." I can quote no parallel to such a spelling. I do not believe Varille's transcription . The date corresponds to March 22, 330 B.C. according to Skeat (1954).

19. De Cenival (1988, p. 65) renders "mêche de sycomore."

20. Cf. also *bs*, "well, bucket" (Janssen 1975, p. 206).

21. Cf. again the temple inventory on Cairo Bronze Tablet 30691, line 23: *mḏꜣ.t n ḥmt 2.t*, "2 *mḏ*-Masse aus Erz" (Spiegelberg 1904, p. 81).

22. Note that the name *Pꜣy-tỉ-nfy* is found in Lüddeckens 1986, p. 445, where, in fact, the Varille Tablet is also cited. The editors suggest that this may be merely a variant of *Pꜣ-ṯnf*.

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CHAPTER 8

"ANNUITY CONTRACTS" AND MARRIAGE[1]

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Sḫ n s ʿnḫ documents are generally recognized as "annuity contracts"[2] made by a man on behalf of his wife, guaranteeing to her an annual "maintenance" and entailing all his property as security therefore. Pestman (1961, p. 43) and others (see Shore 1988, p. 201, n. 8), however, have argued that in a few cases a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* is not a "deed containing a settlement pertaining to the law of matrimonial property" and that, thus, *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents are not "always connected with a marriage, in the sense that they are drawn up between spouses either at the time or after the celebration of the marriage in order to settle the matrimonial property." One of the five cases that Pestman (1961, pp. 43–48) cites in this regard is a "family archive"[3] of which two documents are preserved in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. P. Cairo 50058[4] records an exchange of property between two brothers from Siut with priestly titles. P. Cairo 50059[5] includes a reference to two *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents, at least one of which was written in year 7 of Amasis and is the earliest *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* for which we have evidence. Shore (1988, pp. 200–06, pls. 41–42) has recently published a third document from this archive which he recognized in the British Museum, P. BM 10792. This publication and the appearance, since Pestman's work, of Hughes' and Mattha's publication of the

1. It gives me great pleasure to present this small token of appreciation and affection to the memory of Klaus Baer, my first teacher in hieroglyphs and Egyptian history and a man whose knowledge and understanding of ancient Egypt was rivaled only by his love for that ancient civilization and his concern for his modern students. I had the privilege of knowing him as a teacher, as a fellow expedition member, as a colleague, and as a friend. In all of these guises he expected much of people, but he expected and gave even more of himself. His premature death deprived us all of an enormous Egyptological and human resource. Although Demotic was outside the range of materials on which he worked regularly, it was hardly outside his range of interest, and it is my hope that he would have found the following comments of some interest, especially as he came to court and marry Miriam.
2. So translated, with discussion, by George R. Hughes (Mattha and Hughes 1975, p. 92). The word has been discussed extensively and translated in numerous fashions. Nims (1938, pp. 74–77), e.g., takes *s ʿnḫ* as "revenue-producing property" and translates "endowment," and Edgerton (1935, cols. 608–11) notes (col. 610) that a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* creates a "contingent interest in property."
3. Included by Jelínková-Reymond (1953, pp. 228–37) in her brief study. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Donald Whitcomb for his patience and assistance as I tried to sort out what was going on in this archive and for help designing the graphics and Richard Jasnow, Joseph Manning, and W. J. Tait for comments and suggestions to an earlier version of this paper.
4. Published by Spiegelberg (1932, pp. 39–42, pl. 17), included by Erichsen (1950, pp. 17–21), and reviewed by Malinine (1955, pp. 495–98).
5. Published by Spiegelberg (1932, pp. 42–46, pls. 18–20).

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Hermopolis Legal Code (JE 89127–30, JE 89137–43)[6] with its extensive discussion of "annuity law" have prompted this reexamination of the "matrimonial" connection of the earliest *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents.

Although the copy of the Hermopolis Legal Code that has been preserved can be dated to the early Ptolemaic period, the original text from which it is copied must date at least a couple of centuries earlier (see Pestman 1983, pp. 17–21; Johnson, forthcoming, n. 36). Most of the section of "annuity law" is devoted to presentation of the legal recourse in situations in which the man who made the "annuity contract" was in arrears, but the text (Hermopolis Legal Code 4/7–8) does give a model (*ḥ.t*) for the format of such "annuity contracts":

[ḥ3.t-sp mn n p3 mn p3 ỉbt	[Year X in the X Month.
ḏ p3 mn] s3 p3 mn	Said So and So (= Party A),] the son of So and So,
n p3 mn s3 p3 mn	to So and So (= Party B), the son of So and So:
tỉ =k n=y [ḥḏ mn n s ʿn] ḫ	You have given to me [such and such an amount of money for an annui]ty
n t3 sḥm.t t3 mn s3.t p3 mn mw.t=s t3 mn	for the woman So and So, the daughter of So and So, whose mother is So and So,
r tỉ n=k ḥḏ mn [n p3y=s ʿq-ḥbs ḫr rnp.t	in order to give to you such and such an amount of money [for her food and clothing annually
n p3] ʿ.wy nty mr=k s	in the] place which you desire.

To make a document to one person "on behalf of"[7] another is unusual in Egyptian legal documents. It cannot be explained simply by the fact that the person on behalf of whom the document is being made is a woman since women can, and frequently do, make or receive legal documents in their own names.[8] But it can be explained by comparison with so-called *sḫ.w n ḥm.t*, "documents of/for a wife." In examples of such "marriage documents" dated from the ninth through the mid-sixth centuries, the bridegroom dealt with the father of the bride and pledged his property to his (future) father-in-law as security for the *šp n sḥm.t*, "gift of/for/to a woman" (see Pestman 1961, pp. 13–20; Lüddeckens 1960, pp. 257–59). Thus, although the model from the Hermopolis Legal Code nowhere specifies that the woman is the daughter of Party B[9] or that she married Party A, that seems the only reasonable explanation. It is certainly the case in the only preserved *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document that actually follows (the basics of) this model, P. Bib. Nat. 219a,[10] where the woman beneficiary

6. There are numerous studies of this text which have appeared since the Mattha and Hughes publication, including running translations into German (Grunert 1982) and French and English (Donker Van Heel 1990), the latter incorporating suggestions by both Hughes and Pestman (see the preface, p. iii) and giving a bibliography of studies of the text (pp. vii–viii). For additional bibliography, see Allam 1986, pp. 50–75.
7. (*n*) *rn*, "on behalf of" in P. Cairo 50059; *n*, "for" is restored in Hermopolis Legal Code 4/7.
8. Including making loans. For a woman actively involved in financial transactions, see Pestman 1981, pp. 295–315. For a recent discussion of Demotic contracts involving women, see Allam 1990, pp. 1–34.
9. What is read *t3 sḥm.t* in the Hermopolis Legal Code could also be read *t3y=k šr.t*, "your daughter." Such a reading would specify the relation between Party B and the beneficiary but would present quite unusual word order. In addition, Party B might not always be the woman's father; for instance, if a woman's father were dead, the "annuity contract" might be made to another relative, such as a brother or uncle.
10. Published by Lüddeckens (1960, document 2D). For further references, see Erich Lüddeckens, "Papyri, demotische," *LÄ* IV, col. 862. This text, dated year 8 of Phillip Arrhidaeus, is the only post-Saite document of which we know in which the bridegroom deals with the bride's father, not the bride. What prompted this

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of the "annuity" is described by Party A to Party B as *t3y=k šr.t*, "your daughter." This explanation also fits the social situation surrounding the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents mentioned in P. Cairo 50059 and P. BM 10792, which are discussed more fully below.

All other *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents that are known[11] were made by a man directly to a woman.[12] If "annuity contracts" were simply that, contracts whereby one person "loaned" money to another in return for a regular annuity, one would expect that in at least one case a woman would have made the annuity or a man would have been the beneficiary. That such is not the case is, despite being an argument *ex silencio*, a good hint that what is involved is a practice related to marriage.

A close look at the complex family relationships reflected in the "family archive" from Siut,[13] comprised of P. Cairo 50058, P. Cairo 50059, and P. BM 10792, may help show how such "annuity contracts" worked to the benefit of the wife. After summarizing the sequence of events that can be reconstructed from these three papyri (contention over possession of property used as security for *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents, finally resolved only when the documents themselves are exchanged for the property that had stood as their security), I will attempt to make clear their implications, especially with regard to the legal and social role or function of the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document. The genealogy of this family is given in figure 8.1;[14] the

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format, approximately 200 years after it apparently had been replaced by direct contracts between bridegroom and bride, can only be the subject of conjecture.

11. The earliest extant example dates from 363 B.C. (year 17 of Nectanebo, P. OIM 17481, 3–4, published by Nims 1958, pp. 237–46, pls. 17–20), but it is assumed (Pestman 1961, p. 38, n. 2, p. 105, n. 5) that such documents began in the Persian period since the money given to the bridegroom is several times stated to be "of the treasury of Ptah," a silver standard that seems to have begun under the Persians. Note also that by the end of the sixth century even the "old style" *sḫ n ḥm.t* documents were being made directly to the bride, not to her father (e.g., P. Berlin 13614 [Lüddeckens 1960, document 5, dated year 34 of Amasis (if the document has been restored correctly; see p. 17, n. 17a)] and P. BM 10120A [ibid., document 6, dated year 5 of Darius]).

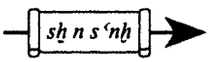
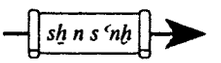
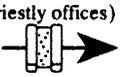
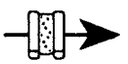
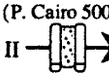
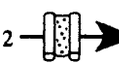
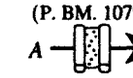
12. The only possible exception occurs in a memorandum dating from the second century, P. Fitzhugh 2 (published by Reymond 1972, pp. 260–67; re-edited by Hughes 1980, pp. 65–67). The memorandum concerns three men and the physical possession of a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document. The exact relationship of any of the men to the document depends on the reading of the verb at the end of line 5, which is broken. It is possible to read *tỉ* and understand that one man had "put" an annuity contract into the possession of another man, his (future) father-in-law, but that a third man had somehow persuaded the father-in-law to hand on the document to him. As soon as the first man heard about the third man, he wrote this memorandum requesting a hearing.

13. To be kept distinct from the so-called *Family Archive from Siut* published by H. Thompson (1934), which dates from the Ptolemaic period but reflects a similar complex family struggle between half-siblings for control of an inheritance that included real property and priestly incomes.

14. People with identical names are identified by number for ease of recognition. Roman numerals are used to indicate straight-line generations (e.g., *Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp* I is the grandfather of *Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp* II, *Ḥr* I is the grandfather of *Ḥr* II); Arabic numerals are used to indicate other relationships (e.g., the two *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* are cousins of the same generation; *Ns-p3-mt-šps* 1 and 2 are brothers-in-law while *Ns-p3-mt-šps* 3 is their mutual nephew). If a person is attested in the archive, but the name is lost, a capital Roman letter has been assigned; thus, Party A of P. BM 10792 is called *A*, his mother is called *B*, and the mother of *Ḥr* II, Party A of P. Cairo 50059, is called *C*. Other people who are necessary to complete the family tree, but who are not attested in the papyri, are merely identified by the appropriate male or female hieroglyph.

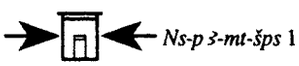
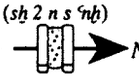
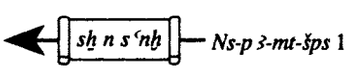
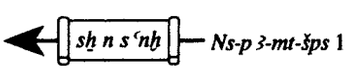
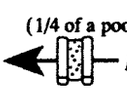
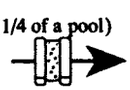
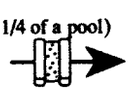
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Table 8.1. Chronology of Documents and Events

Date	*Family A*			
	Generation 2	*Generation 3*	*Generation 4*	*Generation 5*
Amasis 7 (564 B.C.)	*Ḥr* I 	—	—	—
Amasis 7 (±)	—	*Wp-w ỉw.t-Ḥtp* II 	—	—
Amasis 7 (±)	—	*Wp-w ỉw.t-Ḥtp* II 	—	—
Amasis 7 (±)	—	*Ns-t ỉ-ḥnw.t*	—	—
Pre-Amasis 28	(Priestly offices) *Ḥr* I 	*Wp-w ỉw.t-Ḥtp* II	—	—
(Pre-Amasis 28	*Ḥr* I 	*Ns-p ỉ-mt-šps* 2)	—	—
Amasis 28 (543 B.C.)	—	(P. Cairo 50058) *Wp-w ỉw.t-Ḥtp* II  *Ns-p ỉ-mt-šps* 2	—	—
Amasis 28	—	*Ns-p ỉ-mt-šps* 2  *Wp-w ỉw.t-Ḥtp* II	—	—
Cambyses 2 (528 B.C.)	—	—	—	—
Pre-Cambyses 8	—	—	*Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2	—
Cambyses 8 (522 B.C.)	—	—	(P. Cairo 50059) *Ḥr* II 	—
Cambyses 8	—	—	—	(P. BM. 10792) *A* 
Cambyses 8	—	—	*Ḥr* II	—
Cambyses 8	—	—	—	—
Cambyses 8	—	—	—	—

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Table 8.1. Chronology of Documents and Events (*cont.*)

Family B			
Generation 2	*Generation 3*	*Generation 4*	*Generation 5*
N3.w-k3.w-mr-P3-s-n-mtk(?)	(On behalf of *Ns-Ḥr*)	—	—
—	(On behalf of *Ns-Ḥr*)	—	—
—	*Ns-Ḥr*	—	—
—	 *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	(*sḫ 2 n s ʿnḫ*) *Ns-Ḥr*  *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	—	 *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 3	—
—	 *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	 *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	(1/4 of a pool)  *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	(1/4 of a pool) *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1 	*Tnî.t-n-Ḥr* 1	—
—	(1/4 of a pool) *Ns-p 3-mt-šps* 1 	—	*Wp-w 3w.t-Ḥtp* III

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associated chronology of documents and events is given in table 8.1. The family tree given here is, for the most part, identical to those given by Jelínková-Reymond (1953, p. 231) and Shore (1988, p. 202) but is somewhat more complete. Malinine (1955, pp. 495–96) recognized that the woman *Tp-šn ʿ-îir-tî-s*,[15] daughter of *Ḥr* and *ʾs.t-rš*, in P. Cairo 50058, 6, is the daughter of *Ḥr* I[16] and half-sister of *Wp-wʾw.t-Ḥtp* II and *Ns-pʾ-mt-špss* 2. More important for the reconstruction given here is the realization that the woman *Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t*, who is mentioned in P. Cairo 50059, 8, is also the daughter[17] of *Ḥr* I.[18] The genealogy shown in figure 8.1 and the historical reconstruction given below assume that she is the same *Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t* who married *Ns-pʾ-mt-špss* 1.[19]

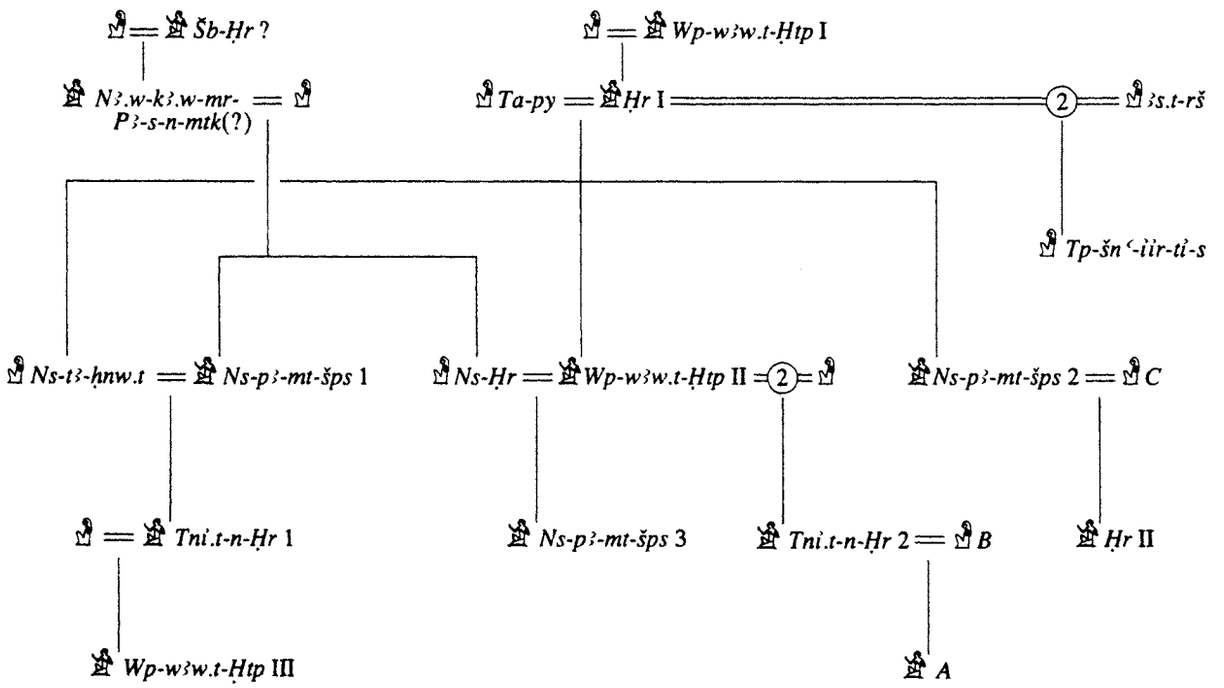


Figure 8.1. Genealogy

15. The reading of the name is that of Egberts (1987, p. 29), who rejected Malinine's *ḥry.t*(?) after *sḥm.t* and interprets the *šn ʿ* as part of the name *Tp-šn ʿ-îir-tî-s*, rather than as a title (in which case Malinine had to assume that a divine name, presumably *ʾImn*, had been omitted).
16. She is called *tʾy=n sn.t*, "our sister" by *Wp-wʾw.t-Ḥtp* II.
17. The word is written  ; the left end is broken where papyrus has flaked away. Spiegelberg (1932, p. 43) read *ḥbs* (?) and translated "wife(?)" (see Erichsen 1954, pp. 300 [*ḥbs*, "to clothe"], 306 [*ḥm.t*, "wife"]). But one expects here an indication of filiation and the reading *sʾ.t* seems fairly likely.
18. Because she received a *tnî.t*, "share" of the inheritance of *Ḥr* I, she was probably full sister to *Wp-wʾw.t-Ḥtp* II and *Ns-pʾ-mt-špss* 2.
19. Such a reconstruction best explains the broken passage in P. Cairo 50059, 8–9, in which *Ns-pʾ-mt-špss* 1 seems to have possession of [*tʾ*] *tnî.t n sḥm.t Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t sʾ.t ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Wp-wʾw.t Ḥr sʾ Wp-wʾw.t-Ḥtp*, "(the) share of the woman *Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t*, the daughter of the third Prophet of *Wp-wʾw.t Ḥr*, the son of *Wp-wʾw.t-Ḥtp*." If this *Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t* and *Ns-pʾ-mt-špss* 1's wife *Ns-tʾ-ḥnw.t* are the same person, then he has possession of, or perhaps control over, this share through his relationship with his wife.

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STAGE ONE, YEAR 7 OF AMASIS: ANNUITY CONTRACTS ARE WRITTEN

In year 7 of Amasis (see table 8.2), *Ḥr* I wrote a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document to *Nȝ.w-kȝ.w-mr-Pȝ-s-n-mtk*(?) on behalf of the latter's daughter *Ns-Ḥr*; *Ḥr* I's son *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II also wrote a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document for *Ns-Ḥr*.[20] *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II and *Ns-Ḥr* were married (whether before or at the time of the "annuity contracts" is not specified) and had at least one son, *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 3.[21] At approximately the same time, *Ns-Ḥr*'s brother *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1 married *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II's sister *Ns-tȝ-Ḥnw.t*; they had at least one son[22] and one grandson.[23]

Table 8.2. Annuity Contracts and Marriages in Year 7 of Amasis

Family A		*Family B*	
Generation 2	*Generation 3*	*Generation 2*	*Generation 3*
Ḥr I — *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* →		*Nȝ.w-kȝ.w-mr-Pȝ-s-n-mtk*(?)	(On behalf of *Ns-Ḥr*)
Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp II — *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* →			(On behalf of *Ns-Ḥr*)
Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp II → ←			*Ns-Ḥr*
Ns-tȝ-Ḥnw.t		→ ←	*Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1

STAGE TWO, YEAR 7 OF AMASIS UNTIL YEAR 8 OF CAMBYSES: DISSOLUTION OF A MARRIAGE AND CONTENTION OVER PROPERTY

At some point before his death, *Ḥr* I wrote documents transferring possession of various priestly offices (and their income) to *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II,[24] and perhaps to *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 2. In year 28 of Amasis (see table 8.3), the two brothers exchanged documents[25] by which they "sorted" the property (priestly offices and real property) that they had inherited from their father, who had presumably died fairly recently. This included the property that had been

20. The date of the latter *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document is not specified; presumably it was written at the same time as the first. The passages from P. BM 10792 and P. Cairo 50059 referring to these documents are quoted in full below, pp. 122–23.
21. Presumably named for his two uncles of the same name. He is mentioned in P. BM 10792, 3 and 7, and in P. Cairo 50059, 10, both dated to year 8 of Cambyses, although it is unclear whether he was still alive at that point.
22. *Tnî.t-n-Ḥr* 1, who is mentioned in P. BM 10792, 8 and 9.
23. *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* III, who is also mentioned in P. BM 10792, 9.
24. In P. Cairo 50058, 8–9, *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II refers to *nȝ îȝw.t ḥm-nṯr r-sḫ n=î pȝy=n ît r-r=w*, "the offices of prophet concerning which our father wrote to me."
25. P. Cairo 50058 and the equal date document referred to in P. Cairo 50058, 9: *nty nb nty* [*îw*] *ns-st n pȝy=n ît r-sḫ=k n=î r-r=w n wy n ȝbd 2 ȝḫ.t n ḫȝ.t-sp 28 ʿn n Pr-ʿȝ ʾIʿḥ-ms ʿws*, "everything which belonged to our father concerning which you wrote for me a cession in the second month of Inundation of year 28 of King Amasis, Iph, also."

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used as security for the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents. In year 2 of Cambyses (see table 8.4), *Ns-Ḥr* transferred to her brother *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1 the two "annuity contracts" that had been written to her by her husband and her father-in-law.[26] Sometime before year 8 of Cambyses, *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 3, the son of *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II and *Ns-Ḥr*, "gave" property to *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2, also the son of *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II.[27] This *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2 is not said to be the son of *Ns-Ḥr* and is, therefore, presumably the half-brother, not the full brother, of *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 3.

Table 8.3. Transfers of Property around Year 28 of Amasis

Family A	
Generation 2	*Generation 3*
(Priestly offices) *Ḥr* I →	*Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II
(*Ḥr* I →	*Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 2)
—	(P. Cairo 50058) *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II → *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 2
—	*Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 2 → *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp* II

Table 8.4. Transfers of Property between Years 2 and 8 of Cambyses

Family A	*Family B*	
Generation 4	*Generation 3*	*Generation 4*
—	(*sḫ 2 n s ʿnḫ*) *Ns-Ḥr* → *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1	—
Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr 2	—	← *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 3

26. P. Cairo 50059, 7–8, and P. BM 10792, 6. For the full context of this transfer, see below, pp. 122–23.

27. P. BM 10792, 7.

nȝ mt.wt(?)*ỉw wn-nȝw ḫr sḫ pr-ḥḏ* [...]	"the things(?) which came into the possession of the Scribe of the Treasury [...]
Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr sȝ Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp pȝy(*=ỉ*) *ỉt*	*Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr*, the son of *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp*, my father,
ỉw tỉ n=f ḫm-nṯr 3-nw n Wp-wȝw.t	which the third Prophet of *Wp-wȝw.t*
Ns-pȝ-mt-šps sȝ Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp	*Ns-pȝ-mt-šps*, the son of *Wp-wȝw.t-Ḥtp*,
mwt=f Ns-Ḥr tȝy=k sn.t	whose mother is *Ns-Ḥr*, your sister, gave to him."

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STAGE THREE, YEAR 8 OF CAMBYSES: FINAL RESOLUTION

In year 8 of Cambyses (see table 8.5), property belonging to the descendants of *Ḥr* I was redistributed once again, through (at least) two sets of exchanges. Both *Ḥr* II (*Ḥr* I's grandson through *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 2 [P. Cairo 50059]) and *A* (*Ḥr* I's great-grandson through *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II and *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2 [P. BM 10792]) wrote cession documents to *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 (the brother of *Ns-Ḥr*) ceding both priestly titles and income and real property that had belonged to *Ḥr* I. Both men cede back to *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 and *Ns-Ḥr*'s side of the family property that had, at some point, come into the possession (see *Appendix 8.2*) of *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 3, presumably the same property that the latter's father had forced him to turn over to his half brother. In addition, *A*, as the lineal descendant of *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, ceded property that had belonged to the latter. In return, *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 withdrew(?)[28] in favor of *Ḥr* II from some real property that had belonged to *Ḥr* II's father and from a one-quarter share in a pool in the west of Siut; at the same time(?), he transferred another portion(?) of the one-quarter share in the pool in the west of Siut to his own son and grandson (see *Appendix 8.1*). Both *Ḥr* II and *A* make it clear that they are ceding this property to *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 *only* in exchange for the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents that their ancestors had written to his sister, thereby canceling the annuity.

Table 8.5. Transfers of Property in Year 8 of Cambyses

Family A		*Family B*		
Generation 4	*Generation 5*	*Generation 3*	*Generation 4*	*Generation 5*
(P. Cairo 50059) *Ḥr* II →	—	*sḫ n s ʿnḫ* ← *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	(P. BM. 10792) *A* →	*sḫ n s ʿnḫ* ← *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1	—	—
Ḥr II	—	(1/4 of a pool) ← *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1	—	—
—	—	*Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 → (1/4 of a pool)	*Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 1	—
—	—	*Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 → (1/4 of a pool)	—	*Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* III

28. The verb used is *sḏ*.

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P. Cairo 50059

5 *tỉ =k mty [ḥ3.t =ỉ n ...] twṯ(?)*[29]
ỉw(=ỉ) wy.k[30] *n-ỉm =w*

ỉ-ỉr(=ỉ)[33] *ỉr n =k p3y sḏ nty r (sic !) ḥry*
6 *r-ḏb3 p3y sḏ n s ʿnḫ*
ỉ-ỉr rmn-p.t[34]*-ḥbs-ḫpr.w Ḥr s3 Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp ...*[35]

n rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w [N3.w-k3.w-mr-P3-s-n-mtk(?)[37] *s3] Šb-Ḥr(?)*

r rn sḥm.t Ns-Ḥr[39] *t3y =f šr.t t3y =k sn.t*

n ḥ3.t-sp 7
7 *3bd 4 pr.t n p3 h3 ʾỉ ʿḥ-ms*

ḥn ʿ p3 sḏ n s ʿnḫ
ỉ-ỉr rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w ...[40] *Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp*

s3 Ḥr p3y =f šr

r rn sḥm.t Ns-Ḥr [...]
r sḏ 2 n s ʿnḫ nty sḏ r ḥry r-ḏb3 ḥḏ

P. BM 10792

4 *tỉ =k [mty ḥ3.ṯ (=ỉ) ...] ... [...*
tw= ỉ wy.k r-r =k[31]*] n-ỉm =w p3y =k(?)*
ỉwty(?)[32] *[...*
...]
ỉ-ỉr(=ỉ)[33] *ỉr p3y sḏ nty ḫ[ry]*
r-ḏb3 p3y sḏ n s ʿnḫ
ỉ-ỉr ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n
5 *Wp-w3w.t Ḥr [s3 Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp ...] ... [...p3 ỉt n p3 ỉt n p3y(=ỉ)] ỉt*
n ḥm-2-nw[36] *n Wp-w3w.t N3.w-k3.w-[mr-P3-s-n-mtk(?)*[37] *p] 3y= k ỉt s3 ...*[38] *[... rn sḥm.t Ns-Ḥr t3y =f šr.t] t3y =k [sn.t]*
n ḥ3t-sp 7
3bd 4 pr.t n p3 h3w [Pr-ʿ3 ʾỉ ʿḥ-ms ʿw]s
ḥn ʿ p3y sḏ n s ʿnḫ
ỉ-ỉr rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Wp-w3w.t Wp-w3w.t-Ḥtp
p3y =f šr p3 ỉt n sḏ pr-ḥḏ n Wp-w3w.t Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr p3y(=ỉ) ỉt
6 *r*[41] *rn sḥm.t Ns[- Ḥr ...] ...*

29. The writing looks very similar to a Roman period writing of *twt*, "to gather, collect" (Erichsen 1954, p. 617), written with a final *ṯ* after the determinative. Spiegelberg suggested restoring the break "[the silver for the offices and the buildings] together." The same word occurs in line 8 after the phrase *nty sḏ r ḥry* and in a badly damaged passage in line 9.
30. Versus Spiegelberg's *nty pr*(?). This reading fits with Shore's feeling (1988, p. 206, n. e) that such a phrase should occur in this position.
31. So Shore (1988, p. 206, n. e) with question.
32. Shore (1988, p. 203) did not read. The suggested reading *ỉwty*, "without," is far from certain, as is the suggested restoration of *p3y*, which would be quite unusual.
33. The editors took these constructions as past participles, but in that case one would not have expected the *ỉr* (see the participial forms later in the passages cited, written without *ỉr*). They are better explained as second tense constructions with first singular subject (omitted, as elsewhere in these texts with the first singular) and the verb *ỉr*, "to make" (of documents).
34. So Beinlich (1976, pp. 148–49).
35. At the end of this long smudged section, Spiegelberg read *n*(?) *rn*(?).
36. Or mistake for *3-nw*?
37. For the full form of this name, see P. Cairo 50059, 2; for the reading, see Lüddeckens 1989, p. 696.
38. For this person, see P. Cairo 50059, line 6, where a reading *Šb-Ḥr* was suggested by Spiegelberg.
39. Omitted in Spiegelberg's transliteration.
40. At the end of this smudged section, Spiegelberg read (*n*) *rn*.
41. Shore read *p3*.

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You have satisfied [my heart ...] ...
I am far from you concerning them ...
...
I have made for you this document above *only*
in exchange for this annuity document which ... *Ḥr* I, the son of *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* ... made
to ... *Nꜣ.w-kꜣ.w-mr-Pꜣ-s-n-mtk* (?) ...
on behalf of the woman *Ns-Ḥr*, his daughter, your sister,
in year 7, 4th month of Winter in the time of <Pharaoh> Amasis
together with the annuity document
which ... *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp*, his son, ... made
for the woman *Ns-Ḥr*
amounting to two annuity contracts which are written above concerning silver.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIAL AND LEGAL FUNCTIONS OF "ANNUITY CONTRACTS"

One question that is raised by this summary is why *Ḥr* I wrote a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document for his daughter-in-law. The answer may lie in the economic and social function of *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents—to guarantee the beneficiary an annuity and to entail Party A's property as security for that annuity. *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II was able to entail his own property by writing his own *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document, which he did. However, he anticipated inheriting more property from his father;[42] by having his father also write a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document, he was in effect entailing the property which he would inherit and his father was agreeing to his son's annuity contract.[43] A very good parallel is found in the earliest preserved "annuity contract," written in year 17 of Nectanebo I (363 B.C.). At the end of that document the father of Party A says: "Receive So and So, my eldest son, that he may execute the aforesaid annuity contract for you and that he may fulfill its obligations for you. ... Do everything aforesaid; my heart is satisfied therewith."[44] Just as the early (Saite) practice of having witnesses copy out the entire

42. Since he was named for his grandfather, it is quite likely that he was *Ḥr* I's eldest son.

43. And perhaps even helping provide the annuity until *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II "came into his own" financially.

44. P. OIM 17481, 3–4 (Nims 1958, pp. 237–46, pls. 17–20). Such assent by the father is incorporated into other "annuity contracts" as well. For example, in P. BM 10591, 1/10–12 (from the Ptolemaic *Family Archive from Siut* [H. Thompson 1934]), it is noted that the father "confirmed" (*wšb*) his son's "annuity contract" for the son's wife.

This situation where a father signs at the end of a document made by his son in order to indicate agreement with his son's actions may also be found in the archive under discussion. All three of the documents forming the archive have witness lists on the verso. In addition, P. BM 10792 and P. Cairo 50059 both end with lines indicating that someone wrote *tp≠f*, "in his own handwriting." P. BM 10792, 11, reads *sḫ rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫprw Tnỉ.t(-n)-Ḥr sꜣ Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps mwt≠f Ns-tꜣ* [*-ḥnw.t...*] ... *tp≠f* (?), "The Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestations *Tnỉ.t(n)-Ḥr*, the son of *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps*, whose mother is *Ns-tꜣ-*[*ḥnw.t* ...] wrote with his own hand(?)." Shore did not read the first part of the name of the man who signed, nor did he suggest a restoration of his mother's name. However, the reading *Tnỉ.t(-n)-Ḥr* seems possible and, if so, the restoration *Ns-tꜣ-*[*ḥnw.t*] likely.

Three people signed at the bottom of P. Cairo 50059 "in their own handwriting." The name and titles of one is totally lost; the other two lines could be restored:

13 [*sḫ rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫprw*] *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* "[The Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestations]
sꜣ [*Ḥr pꜣ ḫm-nṯr 3-nw*] *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps*, the son of [*Ḥr* the third Prophet,]

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document was replaced by a simple record on the document of the names of the witnesses, so the writing of a separate "annuity contract" by the father from whom a man would inherit was replaced by having the father's assent incorporated into the son's document.

In the case of *Ḥr* I and *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II there may have been an additional motive behind the father's guarantee for the son. Since we know that *Ḥr* I[45] had more than one wife by whom he had children, *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II[46] may have wanted the extra guarantee of *Ḥr* I's acquiescence in writing, which acquiescence would imply that *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II would, indeed, inherit from his father. However, it is also possible that *Ḥr* I had written a *sḫ n sʿnḫ* document for his own (first) wife *Ta-py*,[47] *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II's mother. In P. Cairo 50058, 8–9, *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II refers to the property which he and his full brother *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 2 are sorting and exchanging as *tnỉ.t sʿnḫ n nty <nb> ỉw ns-st n rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr*[*.w Ḥr*] *sꜣ*[48] *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp pꜣy=n ỉt*, "share of the annuity of <every>thing which belonged to the Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestation[s *Ḥr*,] the son of *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp*, our father." The term *tnỉ.t sʿnḫ*, "share of the annuity" should imply that their father *Ḥr* I had written a *sḫ n sʿnḫ* document for their mother *Ta-py* and that it was through this annuity that the brothers were inheriting. If so, *Ḥr* I's *sḫ n sʿnḫ* document for his daughter-in-law would simply have been reaffirming in writing the legal and social situation established by the earlier *sḫ n sʿnḫ* document.

Another question raised by the summary is why *Ns-Ḥr* transferred the "annuity contracts" to her brother *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1. The simplest explanation is that *Ns-Ḥr* and *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II had divorced, that *Ns-Ḥr*'s father *Nꜣ.w-kꜣ.w-mr-Pꜣ-s-n-mtk*(?) had died by this time, and that she was transferring the two "annuity contracts" to her brother as senior member of her family in order to keep the annuity[49] within her family, away from her ex-husband. This

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	mw.t=f(?) *Tỉ-nt-*(?) *ʾỉmn-ỉpy tp=f*	whose mother is *Ta-ʾỉmn-ỉpy*, wrote with his own hand.
14	*sḫ rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫprw Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp*(?)	The Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestations
	sꜣ Ḥr pꜣ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw	*Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp*(?), the son of *Ḥr* the third Prophet,
	mw.t=f Tỉ-nt-ʾỉmn-ỉpy tp=f	whose mother is *Ta-ʾỉmn-ỉpy*, wrote with his own hand."

If the suggested restorations are correct, and if somehow one can identify *Ta-ʾỉmn-ỉpy* with *Ta-py* of P. Cairo 50058, then two of the three people signing P. Cairo 50059 are the original heirs of *Ḥr* I, i.e., the father and uncle of *Ḥr* II. By their signatures they, like *Tnỉ.t*(*n*)*-Ḥr* signing P. BM 10792, would be indicating agreement with the contents of *Ḥr* II's cession document.

45. See the genealogy (fig. 8.1) and discussion on pp. 119ff., above.

46. Or *Ns-Ḥr*, the beneficiary.

47. The name was so read by Malinine (1955, p. 497) with a question mark; Erichsen (1950, p. 17) suggested reading *Ta-py-ḥry.t*(?); Jelínková-Reymond (1953, p. 231) gives the name as *Taïn-šyaʿ*.

48. A trace of the *sꜣ* is visible after the break. The suggested restoration (which fits the space and context well and which Malinine gave in his translation without any commentary [1955, p. 498]) eliminates a supposed scribal error (Spiegelberg 1932, p. 41, n. 3).

49. And the heritable property held as security thereto. That *Ns-Ḥr* turned to a male relative to handle a legal matter for her is hardly surprising. One must distinguish between the legal and the social situation of women in ancient Egypt. Women inherited property (from both parents) and could, and not infrequently did, make or receive legal contracts in their own names. However, they did not normally hold "jobs" outside the home and otherwise participate directly in community affairs (e.g., major religious festivals, etc.). On the question of women having, or allowing, male relatives to carry out legal or financial business for them, see, recently, Pestman 1989, pp. 25, 28, and his discussion of archives (idem 1990, p. 52).

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would be especially explicable if *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II had remarried and had a second set of children who might contest for inheritance of his property. This latter is suggested by the existence of *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2, the son of *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, and by *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 3's transfer of property to this half-brother sometime before year 8 of Cambyses. This transfer was presumably the result of pressure from their father *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, who was distanced from his first family and trying to recover control of his father's property on behalf of his second family. One could suggest that the pressure on *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 3 to transfer his inheritance to his half-brother was the result of *Ns-Ḥr*'s transfer of the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents to her brother or, perhaps more likely, that *Ns-Ḥr*'s transfer of the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents to her brother was a result of the pressure brought to bear on *Ns-Ḥr*'s son by his father.

In any case, as long as *Ns-Ḥr* was alive (or? her family held the "annuity contracts"), her ex-husband *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, his second family, and the other heirs of *Ḥr* I were bound to continue providing her annuity. Property which had belonged to *Ḥr* I or his son *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II was entailed for her annuity and, presumably, her children. It was only by transferring the actual property, both priestly offices and real estate, that one side of this contentious family was able to buy its way out of the annuity. The "annuity contracts" thus served the purpose for which, from the point of view of *Ns-Ḥr*, they had been designed: they guaranteed her annuity and because of them her relatives[50] ultimately inherited her husband's and father-in-law's property.

As time went on, the extended ramifications of these "annuity contracts" involved increasingly distant members of the family, but all the later disputes and resultant exchanges of property are a direct result of the initial entailing of family property on behalf of a woman marrying into the family. Thus these documents, and this archive, are very good examples of *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents as "deeds containing a settlement pertaining to the law of matrimonial property ... drawn up ... in order to settle the matrimonial property," the very relationship that Pestman (1961, pp. 43–48) was questioning. They cannot be taken as in any way indicating an exception to the rule that such documents, although intrinsically financial documents that never mention the words "marriage" or "wife," always relate to a marriage and must be considered within such a social situation.

Nor can any of the other four cases which led Pestman to question whether *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* documents *had* to be tied to marriage. P. Loeb 612 (see now Zauzich 1974, pp. 335–40, fig. 1, pl. 52) was explained by Nims (1960, pp. 266–76) as reflecting an example of "trial marriage" (see also Erichsen and Nims 1959, pp. 119–23). W. F. Edgerton's (1931, ch. 5)[51] explanation of the Greek text P. Torino 13 as involving a second marriage, following a

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Why it was *Ns-Ḥr*'s brother, not her son, to whom she turned is unclear. It is possible that her son, who had temporarily had possession of at least some of the property/priestly titles and income before his father (presumably) forced him to relinquish them to his (younger) half-brother, had died. It is also possible that he simply did not want to "get involved" in the fight with his father and that, by contrast, *Ns-Ḥr*'s brother was more than willing to do so. Unfortunately, we shall probably never know anything about the personalities of the individuals involved.

50. The inheritance is normally entailed for the woman's children but here it is her brother, to whom she had "transferred" the documents, to whom the inheritance comes. See the discussion in the preceding note.

51. See also D. J. Thompson 1988, pp. 188–89, p. 164, n. 30, where she suggests that the father was acting for the daughter "only in the Greek legal proceedings."

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divorce, is quite convincing. In P. BM 10591, the record of the lawsuit of the *Family Archive from Siut* (H. Thompson 1934), there occur two different citations from a "Law of Year 21," that given by the plaintiff (1/17–20)[52] and quoted verbatim by the defendant (2/20–23) and that given by the judges as the basis on which they made their judgment (10/7–9).[53] The difference between the two citations led Pestman (1961, pp. 43–44) to think that two different laws were being discussed, one where the maker of the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document married the beneficiary (the form cited by the plaintiff), the other where he did not.[54] He argues that, in the second case, the maker of the *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document is entailing his property on behalf of children that the beneficiary had previously born to some other man. But this goes quite against what is seen in the documents themselves[55] and against what we know about family law and inheritance in pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt. The different citations actually result

52. She says:

17	*ḫpr ỉw=f sḫ n pȝ ḥp n ḥȝ.t-sp 21 ḏ*	It is written in the law of year 21:
	ỉỉr rmṯ ḥms ỉrm sḥm.t	"If a man lives with (i.e., marries) a woman
	mtw=f	and he
18	*sḫ n–s n s ʿnḫ*	writes for her an annuity
	nty ỉw šr ḫpr n=f ỉrm=s	and he has a son by her
	mtw=f tỉ wy=s	and he sends her away (i.e., divorces her)
	mtw=f ḥms ỉrm ge sḥm.t	and he lives with another woman
	mtw=f	and he
19	*sḫ n=s n s ʿnḫ*	writes for her an annuity
	nty ỉw šr ḫpr n=f ỉrm=s	and he has a son by her
	nty ỉw pȝ rmṯ rn=f mwt	and the said man dies,
	nȝy=f nkt.w ỉỉr ḫr tỉ=w s	his property, it is to the children
20	*n nȝ ḫrṯ.w n tȝ ḥm.t ḥȝ.ṯ*	of the first wife to whom he wrote an annuity first
	r-sḫ=f n=s n s ʿnḫ n ḥȝ.t	that it is given."

53. The (portion of the) law quoted by the judges reads:

7	*ỉw=f sḫ n pȝ ḥp n ḥȝ.t-sp 21 ḏ*	It is written in the law of year 21:
	ỉn-nȝ rmṯ r ỉr sḫ n s ʿnḫ n sḥm.t	"If a man writes an annuity contract to a woman
8	*mtw=f tỉ nkt mtwf n ge rmṯ*	and he gives property of his to another man
	r-bn-pw tȝ sḥm.t pȝy=s šr ʿȝ ge	while neither the woman nor her eldest son
	ʿš ḫr pȝ sḫ rn=f	has consented to the said document,
	ỉỉr tȝ sḥm.t pȝy=s šr ʿȝ nge smy	if the woman or her eldest son brings suit
	r pȝ rmṯ r-tỉ=w n=f nȝ nkt.w	against the man to whom the property was given,
	bw-ỉr=w w ʿb n=f	it is not cleared for him,
9	*bw-ỉr=w tỉ mḥ=f n-ỉm=w*	he is not allowed possession thereof."

54. One of Pestman's arguments is that, in the first form, "the children are said to be the children of both of them" (p. 44) while in the second the eldest son is merely called "*her* eldest son" (*pȝy=s šr ʿȝ*). However, in *both* citations the children are called *her* children (*nȝ ḫrṯ.w n tȝ ḥm.t* versus *pȝy=s šr ʿȝ*). Since it was possible that a man had children by a previous marriage at the time he wrote a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document, what was necessary was to specify that the people who had a vested interest by means of a given *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document were the *beneficiary's* children.

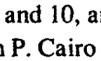
55. See Lüddeckens 1960, pp. 276–86, table 5; this is especially clear in Ptolemaic contracts, in which there is a general tendency to spell out things that were taken for granted in earlier contracts, as noted by Pestman himself (1961, p. 21): "as in the course of the centuries more and more elucidating provisions have been added to the form and thus a late example can tell us most about the nature and the aim of the document."

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from the fact that, in the form cited by both the plaintiff and defendant, the plaintiff has quoted the law in a self-serving fashion, omitting the case in which the first wife or the first wife's eldest son "consented to" (*ʿš ḥr*) any subsequent transfer of the husband/father's property. Since the plaintiff's husband had so consented,[56] the judges quoted the appropriate section of the law and ruled on behalf of the defendant. Pestman's final example comes from the *Tale of Setne Khamwas*,[57] who became so enamored of the lovely Tabubu that he was willing to sacrifice everything in order to sleep with her. When bullying and bribery did not work, he even had to agree to marry her. Although she does not use any phrase such as "make me wife" when demanding that he write a *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document to her benefit before seeming to give in to his lust, there would not have been any need to—any Egyptian hearing the story would have known the implications of writing such an "annuity contract" and this story can hardly be used as an argument that such annuity contracts are not tied to marriage.[58]

APPENDIX 8.1: THE POOL IN THE WEST OF SIUT

Both P. Cairo 50059, 9–10 and P. BM 10792, 8–10, refer to *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1's transfer of a share in a pool[59] in the west of Siut in year 8 of Cambyses. By implication in P. Cairo 50059 this is in return for the transfer to him of the various priestly offices, etc., which P. Cairo 50059 records. But in P. BM 10792 it is a transfer to *Ns-pȝ-mt-šps* 1's own son and grandson that is recorded. What the full implications of these transfers might be is quite unclear given the incomplete nature of P. BM 10792.[60]

56. Agreeing, in effect, to the transfer of one-third of his father's property to serve as security to a second *sḫ n s ʿnḫ* document.
57. Published by Griffith (1900).
58. For the use of this story to reconstruct aspects of Egyptian marriage, see Edgerton 1931, pp. 3–4.
59. Or "well"? The word is written  in P. BM 10792, 9 and 10, and  in P. Cairo 50059, 9. What would appear to be the same word is written  in P. Cairo 50058, 6.

    Spiegelberg (1932, p. 40) read the example in P. Cairo 50058, 6, *mw*, "water," a reading accepted by Erichsen (1950, p. 20). Malinine (1955, p. 496) took the word to be an abbreviated writing of *šy*, "pool," and this reading was accepted by Shore (1988, p. 206, n. k [*sic*!, n. l] for P. BM 10792, 7; but that example, which is written  , would appear to be the feminine word *šty*, "canal" [Erichsen 1954, p. 529]). In P. Cairo 50059, 9, the reading is clearly *šy* and this reading is accepted for the other examples as well.
60. The passages in P. Cairo 50059, 9–10, and P. BM 10792, 8, are worded similarly.

	P. Cairo 50059	P. BM 10792
6		*tw=ỉ wy.k r-r=k n ...*
8		*pȝ 1/4 [n pȝy šy] nty n pȝ ỉmnt*
9	*ỉw=k sṯ r-ḫr(=ỉ) n*	
	nȝ ȝḫ.w n [...]	
	Ns-pȝ-mt-šps sȝ Ḥr pȝ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw	
	pȝy(=ỉ) ỉt	
	ḥn ʿpȝ 1/4 n pȝy šy nty pȝ ỉmnty n	
10	*Sywṯ*	
		Sȝwt
		[...]
		ḥȝ.t-sp 8 [ȝbd 4 ȝḫ.t(?) n Pr-ʿȝ] Kbḏ
	r-sḫ=k n=y r-r=f	*[... r-sḫ=k r]-r=f n rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w*
		Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr [sȝ Ns-pȝ]-mt-šps
		mw.t=f Ns-tȝ-ḥnw.t ...

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APPENDIX 8.2: USING *ns* AND *wn-nꜣw ḫr* TO INDICATE POSSESSION

These documents distinguish between *nty nb nty ỉw=s* NN, "everything which belong(ed) to NN" and *ỉw wn-nꜣw ḫr* NN, "(property) which was (i.e., came into) NN's possession." The former expression is used of property owned by *Ḥr* I (P. BM 10792, 2; P. Cairo 50059, 3; and P. Cairo 50058, 8 and 9, where it is written more historically *nty nb nty ỉw ns-st* (*n*) NN) and of property owned by *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, his son (P. BM 10792, 3). These are the two men who made the "annuity contracts," thereby establishing an annuity for the woman *Ns-Ḥr* and

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n ḥꜣ.t-sp 8 ꜣbd 4 ꜣḫ.t(?) *n Pr-ꜥꜣ Kbḏ ꜥws*

9 "you renouncing(?) for me
the lands of [...]
Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps, the son of Ḥor the third
Prophet, my father,
together with the 1/4 of this pool
which is in the west of

10 Siut

about which you wrote to me

in year 8, fourth month of Inundation(?)
of Pharaoh Cambyses, Iph."

6 I cede to you ...

8 "the 1/4 [of this pool] which is in the west of
Siut
[...]
year 8 [4th month of Inundation(?) of
Pharaoh] Cambyses
[... con]cerning which [you wrote] to the
Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestations
Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr, [the son of *Ns-pꜣ-*]*mt-šps*,
whose mother is *Ns-tꜣ-ḥnw.t* ..."

The other passage in P. BM 10792 is badly broken and not entirely clear, but seems to concern the same property.

9	*ỉw*(*=ỉ*) *w*[*y.k r-r=k n* ...] *nty sḫ ḥry*	"I ce[de to you ...] which is written above
	ḥnꜥ [*pꜣ*]*y š*(*y*) ... [...]	together with [th]is pool ... [...]
	n ṯꜣy n pꜣ hrw r ḥry	from today on
	mtw(?) ... *s* ...	...
	[... *rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫp*]*r.w Tn*[*ỉ.t-n-Ḥr s*]*ꜣ*	[... Support of Heaven and Clothier of
		Manifestation]s *Tn*[*ỉ.t-n-Ḥr*, the so]n of
	Ns-[*pꜣ-mt*]*-šps mwt=f Ns-tꜣ-ḥnw*[*.t* ...]	*Ns-* [*pꜣ-mt-*]*šps*, whose mother is *Ns-tꜣ-ḥnw.*[*t* ...]
	... *n pꜣ 1/4 n pꜣy š*(*y*) *nty ḥry nty pꜣ ỉmnt*	... of the 1/4 of the pool which is above in the west
	n Sꜣwt	of Siut
	r-sḫ=k r-r=f r sḫ pr-ḥḏ n Wp-wꜣw.t	concerning which you wrote to the Scribe
		of the Treasury of *Wp-wꜣw.t*
	Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp sꜣ Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr	*Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp, the son of Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr,*
10	*nty n wꜥn nꜣ pš*(*.wt*) *pꜣy š*(*y*)	which is one of the shares of this pool
	r-sḫ=k r-r=f [*n Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr sꜣ N*]*s-pꜣ-mt-šps*	concerning which you wrote [to *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr*,
		the son of *N*]*s-pꜣ-mt-šps*."

The *ỉw* and the top of the *w* of *wy* are visible are the beginning of the citation; the following restoration seems likely. Shore read the beginning of the property description [*pꜣ 1 / 4*] *n pꜣ šy nty ḥry* [...] *tꜣỉ n*; for the reading *pꜣy*, see line 6; for the phrase *n ṯꜣy n pꜣ hrw r ḥry*, see P. Cairo 50059, 9. The restoration of the name of [*Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr sꜣ N*]*s-pꜣ-mt-šps* at the end of the passage is not certain, but likely.

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entailing their property as security for it. It is this property that is contested by later generations of the family. The form using *wn-nʒw ḫr* is used to describe property in the possession of a younger generation[61] of the family: property received by *Tnỉ.t-n-Ḥr* 2 from *Ns-pʒ-mt-šps* 3, his half brother (P. BM 10792, 7) and property which had come into the possession of *Ns-pʒ-mt-šps* 3 (P. Cairo 50059, 10; P. BM 10792, 3[62]).

I would suggest that this same phrase *ỉw wn-nʒw ḫr* should be restored at the end of P. BM 10792, 2: [*nty nb*] ... [*ỉw wn-nʒw ḫr*] *Wp-wʒw.t*[*-Ḥtp*], "[everything] ... [which came into the possession of] *Wp-wʒ.t*[*-Ḥtp*]." As Shore (1988, p. 205, n. b) noted, "more would seem to be required than '[together with] Wepwawet[hotep] son of Hor.' Reference to 'everything belonging to ... Wepwawethotep son of Hor' follows in line 3." He suggested dittography might be involved. But if the restoration suggested here is correct, then both P. Cairo 50059 and P. BM 10792 can be seen to be documents in which the transfer of the specific priestly offices which had been fought over within the extended family is followed by a general cession of "anything" which had belonged to the ancestors from whom the Parties A had inherited. *Ḥr* II in P. Cairo 50059, the grandson of *Ḥr* I, cedes to *Ns-pʒ-mt-šps* 3 a specific string of priestly titles but only two general categories of possessions: 1) any (priestly offices) that had belonged to his grandfather *Ḥr* I; and 2) any priestly titles that had come

61. And corresponds to the very common phrase in property descriptions (the house/land/etc. of NN) *nty ḫr nʒy=f ḫrṛ.w*, "which is in the possession of his children."

62. The last two passages run as follows:

P. Cairo 50059, 10	P. BM 10792, 3
nʒy ỉʒw.wt ḥm-nṯr nty sḏ r ḥry	
ỉw wn-nʒw ḫr rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w	] *wn-nʒw ḫr rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w*
	ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Wp-[*wʒw.t*] *ḥm-nṯr n tpy* [*šnʿ ḥnw.t-16*
	fḳṭ n Wsỉr nb] *Sʒwt sḏ šʿ.t sḏ sḥn* [*sḏ mšʿ sḏ*] *šn n*
	Wp[*-wʒw.t nb*] *Sʒwt*
Ns-pʒ-mt-šps sʒ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw	*Ns-pʒ-mt-šps* [*sʒ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw*] *n Wp-wʒw.t*
Wp-wʒw.t-Ḥtp mwt=f Ns-Ḥr	*Wp-wʒw.t-Ḥtp mwt=f Ns-*[*Ḥr t*]*ʒy=k sn.t*

"these offices of prophet which are written above which were in the possession of the Support of Heaven and Clothier of Manifestations third Prophet of *Wp-wʒw.t*, Prophet of the Head of [the Magazine, Mistress of 16, *fḳṭ*-priest of Osiris, Lord of] Siut, the Letter-scribe, the Scribe of Leases, [the Scribe of the Army, the Scribe of the] Seal(?) of *Wp-*[*wʒw.t*, Lord of] Siut *Ns-pʒ-mt-šps*, the son of the third Prophet (of *Wp-wʒw.t*) *Wp-wʒw.t-Ḥtp* whose mother is *Ns-Ḥr* [y]our sister."

Shore read ...] *mtw=w pʒ* at the beginning of the passage from P. BM 10792, but these first two words are identical with what he read *wn-nʒw ḫr* in line 7 and the comparison with P. Cairo 50059, 10, makes this reading certain. For the title *ḥm-nṯr* (*n*) *tpy šnʿ ḥnw.t-16*, see Egberts (1987, pp. 27–28) versus Sottas and earlier editors of the texts, who read *ḥ.*(*t*), "chapel." The title *sḏ mšʿ* was so read by Malinine (1955, p. 495) reviewing Erichsen (1950) who read *ḥbs.w*, "clothing"; Jelínková-Reymond (1953, p. 231, n. 4) read *mḏʿ*(?) and translated "scribe du livre(?)." Shore (1988, pp. 203–04, n. a, p. 205) read *mḏʒt-ntr*(?) and translated "scribe of the divine book(?)." The form in P. Cairo 50058 does look like *ḥbs.w* or *šs.w*, "linen" (Spiegelberg [1932, p. 39] read *šs* but did not translate the title), a form which also occurs in the adverb *m-šs* and, because of phonetic similarity, as the word *mšʿ*, "people, army" (see Erichsen 1954, pp. 181 [*mšʿ*], 300 [*ḥbs*], 520–22 [*šs* and *m-šs*]). The examples in P. Cairo 50059 and P. BM 10792 seem to be clear writings of *mšʿ*, "people, army." (For a discussion of the presence of *mr-mšʿ*, "general," within a priestly context, see de Cenival 1972, pp. 159–62.)

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into the possession of *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 3, to whom is attributed the exact string of priestly titles being ceded to his maternal uncle. Party *A* of P. BM 10792, the grandson of *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II and great-grandson of *Ḥr* I, cedes to *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 1 the same specific string of priestly titles, but he cedes three general categories of possessions: 1) any (priestly offices) that had belonged originally to *Ḥr* I and had come into the possession of his son *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II, Party *A*'s male ancestor (grandfather); 2) any (priestly offices) that had belonged originally to *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II; and 3) any (priestly offices) that had come into the possession of *Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps* 3.[63] This distinction is the result, I think, of the fact that *Ḥr* II's line of the family had not become involved in the dispute between *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II's families over property that *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II acquired (from his father or otherwise). Thus, while *Ḥr* II's line of the family was forced to cede property that they had inherited from *Ḥr* I, *A*'s line of the family had to cede not only what they had inherited from *Ḥr* I but also what they had acquired from his son, *Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp* II.

63. The passages run as follows:

P. BM 10792

2 *tw=ỉ w[y.k r-r=k n*
tꜣ ỉꜣw.t n] ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Wp-wꜣw.t
[tꜣ ỉꜣw.t n ḥm-nṯr tpy n šn]ʿḥnw.t-16
tꜣ ỉꜣw.t [n fkṯ n Wsỉr nb] SꜣWt
tꜣ ỉꜣw.t pꜣ sḫ šʿ.t sḫ sḥn sḫ m[šʿ sḫ šn n
Wp-wꜣw.t nb] Sꜣwt
ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw=w
[n sḫ.t] ḥw.t-[nṯr] pꜣ t[my
ḥnʿ] nty nb nty pr n r[n=w
ḥnʿ nty nb] nty ỉw=s rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w
ḥm-nṯr [3-nw] Wp[-wꜣw.t] Ḥr sꜣ
Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp
[ỉw wn-nꜣw ḫr] Wp-wꜣw.t[-Ḥtp]

3 *sꜣ Ḥr [...]*
ḥnʿ nty nb nty ỉw=s [...S]ꜣwt
Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp sꜣ Ḥr pꜣ ỉ[t n pꜣy(=ỉ) ỉt
ḥnʿ nꜣ mt.wt(?) ỉw] wn-nꜣw ḫr
rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n
Wp-[wꜣw.t] ḥm-nṯr n tpy [šnʿ ḥnw.t-16
fkṯ n Wsỉr nb] Sꜣwt sḫ šʿ.t sḫ sḥn
[sḫ mšʿ sḫ] šn n Wp[-wꜣw.t nb] Sꜣwt
Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps [sꜣ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw] n
Wp-wꜣw.t Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp
mwt=f Ns-[Ḥr t] ỉy=k sn.t]

P. Cairo 50059

2 *tw=ỉ wy.k r-r=k n*
tꜣ ỉꜣw.t ...]
... ḥm-nṯr n tpy šnʿ ḥnw.t-16
tꜣ ỉꜣw.t n fkṯ n Wsỉr nb Sywṯ
3 *tꜣ ỉꜣw.t sḫ šʿ.t sḫ sḥn sḫ mšʿ sḫ [šn n*
pr(?)] n Wp-wꜣw.t nb Sywṯ
ḥnʿ nty nb nty mtw=w
n sḫ.t ḥw.t-nṯr pꜣ tmy
ḥnʿ nty nb nty pr n rn=w

10 *ỉw=ỉ wy.ṯ r-r=k n*
nꜣy ỉꜣw.wt ḥm-nṯr nty sḫ r ḥry ỉw wn-nꜣw ḫr
rmn-p.t-ḥbs-ḫpr.w

Ns-pꜣ-mt-šps sꜣ ḥm-nṯr 3-nw
Wp-wꜣw.t-Ḥtp
mwt=f Ns-Ḥr
ḥnʿ pꜣy=w ḥnk.w n ꜣḫ

11 *ḥnʿ nty nb nty pr n rn=w*

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CHAPTER 9

HONORIFIC FIGURES OF AMENHOTEP III IN THE LUXOR TEMPLE COLONNADE HALL

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Part of the Epigraphic Survey's ongoing program of work in Luxor temple has been the identification and recovery of decorated stone fragments quarried from its walls in the medieval period.[1] This author has coordinated the Luxor Temple Fragment Project for the last decade (Johnson 1986a; idem 1986b), and it is with pleasure that he remembers Klaus Baer's ready encouragement and guidance during those first exciting years. This study is dedicated with heartfelt gratitude to a man whose keen attention to detail and remarkable insight were always an inspiration, and are sorely missed today.

When Amenhotep III inaugurated the construction of the great Colonnade Hall of Luxor temple (Porter and Moss 1929, pp. 312–16) he had no way of knowing that this undertaking would only be realized by a long succession of kings after him. Planned and begun in his final decade to commemorate his deification,[2] the Colonnade Hall was Amenhotep's third and most ambitious building project at Luxor temple.[3] In form reminiscent of a large bark station[4] it functioned primarily as an enormous entrance hall to the whole Luxor temple complex. Fronted by a single massive pylon that rose above the back roofline and supported by fourteen open papyrus columns in two rows along the central axis, it also featured a clerestory area of large, slotted windows resting on long cornices on the eastern, western,

1. For preliminary reports, see the reports of Van Siclen (1977), Bell (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985b, 1986a, 1987, 1989), and Dorman (1991, 1992). The results of the Epigraphic Survey's work in the Colonnade Hall will be presented in three volumes: *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple II*; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple III*, all forthcoming.
2. Johnson 1990, pp. 36–45; idem, forthcoming; throughout this paper, the author assumes a long coregency of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten beginning around the senior king's regnal year 28 based on the criteria presented in the studies listed above. The chronological and theological hypotheses put forth in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily represent the views of the entire Epigraphic Survey.
3. The first, the back part of the temple or the temple proper, probably built in Amenhotep's second decade, replaced a smaller temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III on the same site (Gabolde 1986, pp. 27–28). The second, a great Solar Court, fronted with a single pylon entrance was constructed in his third decade, just prior to the celebration of his first jubilee and subsequent deification in year thirty (Johnson 1990, pp. 26ff.).
4. In function as well, since there are indications in the reliefs that the barks of the Theban triad paused here on their way into the back sanctuary area of the main temple (see below).

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and probably southern sides.[5] It is likely that the Colonnade Hall was part of the same building program that saw the inauguration of the Karnak Tenth Pylon at the other end of the processional way connecting the two temple complexes, also left unfinished at Amenhotep III's death.[6]

Amenhotep III lived long enough to see the decoration of at least a portion of the facade doorjambs begun in paint before he died late in his fourth decade (Johnson 1990, pp. 29–31).[7] Building ceased for the short period during which his son and successor, Akhenaten, ruled alone,[8] and the Amun-related elements of the painted facade doorjamb were subsequently hacked during Akhenaten's short-term but intensive iconoclastic fury against Amun.

Construction on the hall was renewed as part of Tutankhamun's restoration program in Luxor temple, and it was during this king's reign that the building was finished and the carving of the interior decoration was begun. For reasons that still remain unclear, only the northern three-quarters of the interior scenes were actually carved, and the rest were simply painted.[9] The facade of the hall was completed during the reign of Tutankhamun's successor Ay, who restored and carved the section begun at the end of Amenhotep III's reign.[10] After the death of Ay, Horemheb usurped the entire monument in an official program aimed at suppressing all trace of his four predecessors: Akhenaten, Smenkhare, Tutankhamun, and Ay.[11] The southern interior area (including the four southernmost columns) was finally carved in the reign of Sety I using the earlier painted details as a guide, but the painted cartouches of Tutankhamun-usurped-by-Horemheb were replaced with those of Sety.[12]

The decorative program of Amenhotep III's successors generously acknowledged Amenhotep's responsibility for the conception and initial construction of the great hall. The

5. See Bell 1986a, p. 10 (illustration on p. 13); idem 1990 (illustration on p. 7). The traditional view leaves out the clerestory construction; for both interpretations, see Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1991, pp. 82–83 (with clerestory), 129 (without clerestory).
6. The Tenth Pylon was begun by Amenhotep III, continued by Tutankhamun but only finished by Horemheb; see Eaton-Krauss 1988, p. 1, n. 3; Azim 1982, p. 151; Redford 1983, pp. 368–69.
7. The building must have been at least half-finished for this preliminary decoration to have been initiated.
8. From his regnal year twelve and later as senior king with his own coregent (Johnson 1990, pp. 42–46).
9. Evidence for the later carving in the southern quarter includes Sety I's unrecut cartouches, the Eighteenth Dynasty-style wigs and eyes of figures of Sety where they survive, and a considerably higher raised relief used by Sety's craftsmen, in contrast to the very low relief of Tutankhamun. Perhaps a religious deadline, such as the Opet festival, necessitated a hurried completion, or more likely, Tutankhamun's death and Ay's succession. The latter event might have required the unscheduled completion of the monument for the final coronation ceremonies which took place in Luxor temple.
10. Using his predecessor's "cartoon" as a guide (Johnson 1990, p. 31).
11. Tutankhamun's and Ay's cartouches and titulary in the hall were systematically erased and recarved with those of Horemheb. Often the erasures were quickly done and covered with painted plaster, most of which has since fallen away revealing numerous traces of the original carved names, Tutankhamun's inside, and Ay's on the facade. Any further reference to cartouches or figures of Tutankhamun and Ay from the Colonnade Hall will presume their usurpation by Horemheb.
12. Only in the areas that required carving; the rest of the hall originally carved by Tutankhamun and later usurped by Horemheb was left untouched by Sety's workmen.

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primary objective of this paper is to outline briefly the various ways Amenhotep III was memorialized in the Colonnade Hall, some already noted (see in particular Wente 1969, pp. 278–79), and some presented here for the first time.

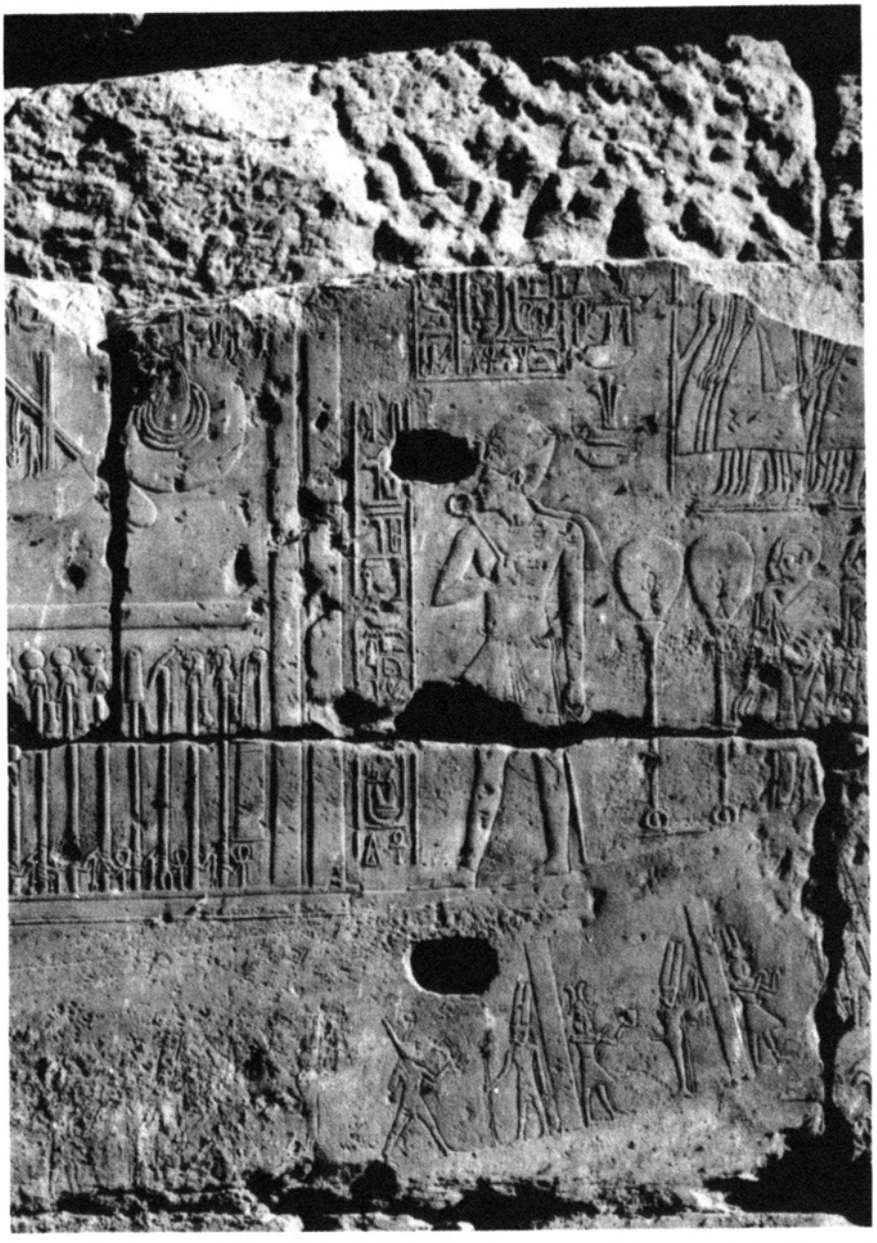


Figure 9.1. Amenhotep III in Statue Form Standing on the Amun Barge from the Opet Register on the Eastern Wall of the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple

THE NORTHERN AREA

Interior northern wall scenes on both sides of the main portal (Porter and Moss 1929, p. 314, nos. 76 [I, 2], 87 [III, 2]) and the two northernmost columns (ibid., p. 316, nos. A, H) preserve formal restoration inscriptions before figures of Tutankhamun stating that the monument was renewed for his father, Neb-maat-Re, thus giving Amenhotep III full credit

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for the structure.[13] Likewise the eastern architrave inscription, western side (started by Tutankhamun and finished by Sety I), states that the king is restoring the monument for his father Amun and also for "his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-maat-Re, Image of Re, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of Heaven." It should be noted that all of these references are located at the interior northern end of the Colonnade Hall, at its formal entryway, and would have been among the first scenes viewed upon entering the hall.

THE DOORJAMBS AND COLUMNS

Tutankhamun went an unusual step further in memorializing Amenhotep III in the Colonnade Hall. Alternating offering scenes on the entrance portal, interior and exterior (Porter and Moss 1929, p. 313, no. 72a–b), feature alternating figures of Tutankhamun (Ay on the exterior) and Amenhotep III as officiant.[14] The fourteen columns were decorated with offering scenes in much the same way: the first pair of columns depict figures of Tutankhamun, then the next pair Amenhotep III as officiant.[15] The third and fourth pairs of columns feature Tutankhamun officiating, then the fifth pair depict Amenhotep III again.[16] Sety I breaks up the sequence by carving the last four columns with himself as officiant.

13. The reign of Tutankhamun marks the first, although sporadic, appearance of the restoration (*smꜣwy-mnw*) inscription; discussed by Bell 1986b, pp. 47–49. It is perhaps significant, as Bell points out, that Tutankhamun never refers to any other king whose monument he restored as his "father," only Amenhotep III. See also Wente 1969, p. 278.

14. No iconographical or textual indication that Amenhotep III is deceased (such as *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* after his name) is ever represented. The preserved doorjamb scenes are as follows: exterior facade doorjambs, bottom (east and west) and third from bottom (east), Amenhotep III; second from bottom (east), Ay. Preserved interior northern doorjambs: bottom (east and west) and third from bottom (east), Tutankhamun; second from bottom (east), Amenhotep III. Horemheb respects the honorific figures of Amenhotep III and makes no attempt to usurp his cartouches. The southern doorjambs of the hall (today preserving only the first offering scene on the eastern and western sides; Porter and Moss 1929, p. 316, no. 90) were originally part of the entrance of Amenhotep's Solar Court pylon, carved in his third decade (and partly recarved in the Ptolemaic period).

15. Each of the royal figures on the fourteen columns is accompanied by a smaller figure of his *ka* behind him.

16. This fifth pair of columns featuring Amenhotep III before Amun and Neith is suggestive for seeming mistakes in the text. On the eastern column Neith "mistakenly" refers to Amenhotep III, whom she is addressing, as "the son of my body, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-kheperu-Re (not usurped) ... ." One might be inclined to dismiss the reference to Tutankhamun as a scribal error, were it not for the occurrence on the western column of an equally intriguing anomaly: Amenhotep's Horus name inscribed in the *serekh* over the figure of his *ka* is *Twt-msw*, Tutankhamun's Horus name (unusurped). We will never know the extent of this mixing of names, which this author suspects was intentional since Sety I interrupts the sequence of the last two pairs of columns. It is possible that the columns originally depicted Amenhotep III (associated throughout the hall with Amun) and Tutankhamun gradually merging in the same way the king gradually merges with Amun in Amenhotep III's reliefs in the temple proper during the rites of Opet (for which, see Bell 1985c, pp. 276–87). See also Wente 1969, p. 278.

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The depiction of kings officiating together or separately in the same monument is more appropriate to coregents[17] than to two kings separated in time by six years at the very least, and its utilization here is thought-provoking. It is now recognized that Tutankhamun himself began the demolition and reuse of Akhenaten's Aten complex at Karnak,[18] and it is apparent that opportunity was taken in the Colonnade Hall to associate Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun in the manner of father/son coregents[19] at the expense of Akhenaten whose memory was already being suppressed. Additional evidence also suggests that Tutankhamun may have adopted Amenhotep III's original decorative scheme for the hall that commemorated not only Amenhotep's deification, but his joint rule with Akhenaten.[20]

THE OPET REGISTER

The first register in the Colonnade Hall (Porter and Moss 1929, pp. 314–16, nos. 76–89; Wolf 1931) depicts the elaborate procession of Amun, accompanied by the king, from the god's residence at Karnak to his birthplace at Luxor temple (western wall, north to south) and back again (eastern wall, south to north) at the beginning and end of the great festival of Opet.[21] During this festival, Amun and the king, divine father and son, symbolically merged and separated again in the bark sanctuary of the temple, ritually recreating the act of creation and officially rejuvenating themselves, and all of Egypt, in the process (Bell 1985c, pp. 276–87).

The narrative[22] begins on the northern wall, western side, with the king emerging from the palace (Porter and Moss 1929, p. 314, no. 76 [2]). The adjacent long western wall is broken into three sections: 1) offerings to the enshrined divine barks of the Theban triad and the king at Karnak and bark procession out of the temple; 2) the water procession of the

17. As in Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri mortuary temple (Porter and Moss 1929, pp. 340–77); her Red Chapel at Karnak, (ibid., pp. 65–71); and the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu (ibid., pp. 466–72; currently being recorded by the Epigraphic Survey).

18. For a summary of ongoing work on this problem, see Eaton-Krauss 1988, pp. 1, 7; Johnson 1992, pp. 34–47.

19. It is likely that the two kings were also associated in this way on the eastern side of the Karnak Third Pylon, where figures of an Amarna king, most likely Tutankhamun, appear to have been inserted behind original figures of Amenhotep III on either side of the central shrine of the Amun barge (Murnane 1979, pp. 11ff.).

20. Iconography in the hall appropriate to the deified Amenhotep III, but not to Tutankhamun, suggests the younger king utilized the older king's decorative scheme with little modification. The problem will be examined more fully by this author in a future article.

21. Murnane, "Opetfest," *LÄ* IV, cols. 574–79. The Colonnade Hall Opet procession was the most elaborate of at least six versions, two from the reign of Hatshepsut: from her Deir el-Bahri temple (Porter and Moss 1929, pp. 357–58, nos. 79–80); and from her Karnak Red Chapel (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, pp. 154–69, 174–204; idem 1979, pls. 7, 9); possibly one other from Amenhotep III's reign: the Karnak Third Pylon (Porter and Moss 1929, pp. 60, 182–83); another at Karnak from the reign of Ramesses III (Epigraphic Survey 1936, pls. 84–93); and one from the reign of Herihor at Khonsu temple, Karnak (Epigraphic Survey 1979, pls. 19–23).

22. For a detailed description of the procession, see Murnane 1986, pp. 22–25; Gaballa 1976, pp. 85–90; Wolf 1931, pp. 5–51.

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divine barges of the Theban triad and their towboats (in full sail, including the barges of the king and queen) to Luxor temple; and 3) the bark procession into the Colonnade Hall and offerings to the enshrined barks of the Theban triad in Luxor temple.[23] Offering scenes of wine and flowers on the southern wall[24] hint at the rejuvenation rites in the back sanctuary area, and the long eastern wall composition documenting the return to Karnak has essentially the same format as the western wall composition (with the exception of the towboats, the sails of which are now down, since the trip back is with the Nile current). The narrative ends as it began, on the northern wall, eastern side (Porter and Moss 1929, p. 315, no. 87 [III, 2]), with the king back at the palace.

Amenhotep III is present in Tutankhamun's Opet procession scenes in the form of a statue (with his name overhead) placed behind the cabin/shrine of each of the divine barges.[25] On the barge of Amun (fig. 9.1) he wears the *khepresh* crown with streamer attached at the back, and he holds a *heka*-scepter in his right hand at an angle over his right shoulder and an ankh in his left hand. Amenhotep's simple costume consists of a calf-length kilt, triangular apron, sporran with sashes, and bull's tail, and he is represented barefoot. The Amenhotep III figure on the barge of Mut is missing its upper body but seems to have been represented similarly.

Although the barge of Khonsu was almost totally quarried away from the eastern wall (only the lower hull remains *in situ* above the barge of Mut), reconstructible fragments of the body of the vessel have been recovered by the Epigraphic Survey (fig. 9.2) preserving details of the back-to-back figures of Tutankhamun in the forearea, the open cabin/shrine with portable Khonsu bark on its stand,[26] and the intact names of Amenhotep III behind the shrine (although the king's figure is missing). An additional fragment preserves part of the apron of the Amenhotep III statue standing behind the central cabin/shrine of the western wall Amun barge, and part of the shrine itself (Luxor temple fragment number 127).

The presence of Amenhotep III on the divine barges is unexpected, but theologically sound. The king at death became one with his father the sun god, Amun-Re, and it is Amun in the form of the deceased king who is worshipped in each king's mortuary temple across the river (Nelson 1942, pp. 127–55). The position of Amenhotep III behind the barge cabin/shrine housing the portable bark of each deity links this deceased king with each of

23. The depiction of a single shrine enclosing the divine barks (as opposed to the double shrine from the Luxor temple closing ceremonies on the eastern wall) suggests that the barks were offered to in the Colonnade Hall before processing into the back of the temple.

24. Labeled "Tutankhamun" by Porter and Moss (1929, p. 316, nos. 88–89), the king's figures were actually carved by Sety I who was guided by the painted lines of Tutankhamun. The late Eighteenth Dynasty wig of the king in number 88 is distinctly un-Sety I in style.

25. Preserved on the eastern wall on the great barges of Amun and Mut (Wolf 1931, pl. II, 3).

26. This is the first monument where divine barges are represented with open cabin/shrines and exposed portable barks on bark stands within. The open cabin of the barge of Amun on the Karnak Third Pylon was a later, rather crudely carved addition dating to the Ramesside period. The actual appearance of Amenhotep III's barge of Amun is shown in a vignette gracing the hull of the barge, where the barge itself is depicted, unaltered, and its cabin is shown concealed with the traditional friezes of cobras, cartouches, and amuletic hieroglyphs. Traces of these are clearly visible on the large-scale cabin in raking light.

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these deities. It was truly an unprecedented homage on Tutankhamun's part,[27] although later examples of the king offering to Amun followed by the king's deceased father survive from the reign of Ramesses II in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Nelson 1981, pls. 53 [bark procession], 76 [offering to enshrined barks]).

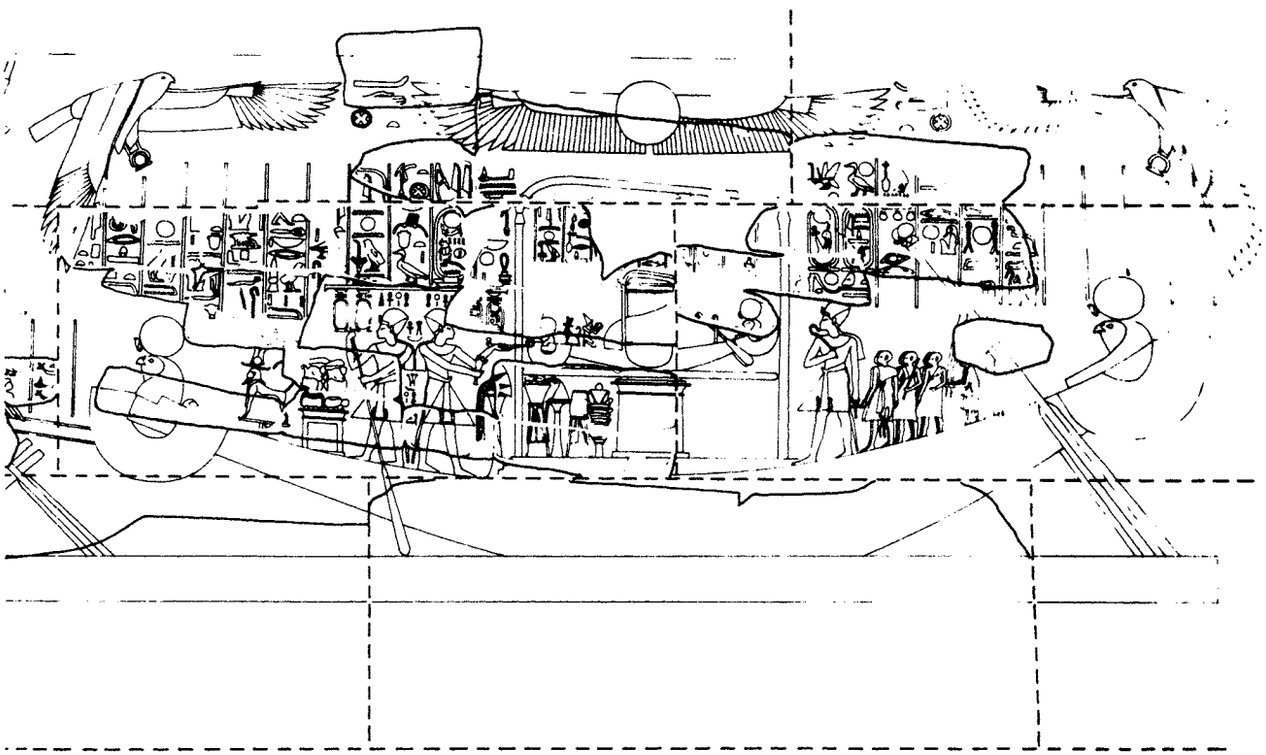


Figure 9.2. Khonsu Barge Fragment Group from the Opet Register of the Eastern Wall in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple

THE UPPER REGISTERS

Little remains of the three upper registers of decoration that originally filled the wall area above the Opet register, which were quarried away in centuries past. Only a small section in the northeastern corner of the Colonnade Hall actually survives to any height, but it

27. Unless, once again, Tutankhamun was simply following the decorative program of the deified Amenhotep III, who might very well have placed statues of himself behind the barge cabins to show his assimilation and identification with each of these deities while he was still alive. (For an additional example of this king associated with a goddess, see Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art 1979, pp. 94–95, figs. 71–72, n. 123, where in a monument of Nebnefer from ancient Sumenu, the deified Neb-maat-Re is associated with Hathor.) A hint of this occurs in a scene from the eastern wall of his Luxor temple Solar Court where Amenhotep III was represented offering to a figure of himself accompanied by his *ka* behind the bark of Amun. Quarried from the wall in antiquity, the scene has been pieced together by this author in recent years and will be published with numerous other fragments of wall relief in a future Epigraphic Survey volume on the Solar Court; for a preliminary report with illustration, see Bell 1984, pp. 6–7; also Johnson 1990, pp. 26–30, drawing 2. For examples of Ramesses II offering to images of himself behind Amun (originally Sety I offering to himself) at Karnak, see Nelson 1981, pls. 57, 61.

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preserves the original height of the Opet register, the second register, and up to the waist level of the figures of the third register (northern wall, eastern side).

What has survived in large quantities are thousands of various-sized fragments of the missing upper wall decoration, two thousand of which have come together to form bits and pieces of recognizable (and reconstructible) formulaic offering and other genre scenes. Enough survives to indicate that the main theme of the second register on both side walls was the coronation ritual of the king, while the third register highlighted the presentation of the newly crowned king to the gods of Upper Egypt on the western wall, and the gods of Lower Egypt on the eastern wall.[28]

One strip from the second register, western wall, measures 21 m in length and contains the upper part (two stone-block courses) of three consecutive scenes: 1) the king reciting an offering list to the enshrined Theban triad; 2) the king reciting an offering list and presenting bouquets to Mut alone; and 3) an Amun-Re-Kamutef procession from Karnak to Luxor (detail, fig. 9.3).[29]

The last scene is significant for a figure of Amenhotep III bringing up the rear of the procession, walking behind the Min catafalque. Amenhotep wears a *nemes*-headdress, holds the *heka*-scepter in his right hand over his right shoulder before his face, and is identified by the intact cartouches over his head. After its initial carving the inscription between the king and the catafalque was erased and replaced with cartouches of Tutankhamun (later usurped by Horemheb), thereby giving the figure two sets of names.[30]

It is noteworthy that the figure of the deceased king is not represented as a statue here. As a pendant to the scene, Tutankhamun was positioned at the head of the procession, making an offering to the enshrined Amun-Re-Kamutef, as in Sety I's later version of the same procession in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall.[31] In basic composition, this scene was arranged along the same lines as the bark procession scene into Luxor temple on the western wall Opet register, likewise the procession back to Karnak on the eastern wall.[32] Once again the association of Amenhotep III and Amun (here in his primeval ithyphallic form) seems fairly clear.

Above the third register and just below the cornice supporting the clerestory/window area was a name frieze extending the length of the hall, represented today only by fragments. The southern end was composed of Sety I's nomen in a cartouche on a *neb*-basket alternating

28. For a provisional reconstruction of the southern end of the western wall based on the decorated stone fragments, see Bell 1986a, figure on p. 10 (drawn by W. R. Johnson).

29. Included, greatly reduced, in Nelson 1981, pls. 53 (bark procession), 76 (offering to enshrined barks). For other examples of this scene, see Gauthier 1931; Epigraphic Survey 1940, pls. 205–17.

30. The purpose for this revision remains enigmatic. The scene is from the southern part of the register and was one of the last carved before Tutankhamun's workmen stopped carving and finished the decoration in paint. Because the added names are a revision, they must be among the last details Tutankhamun's workmen actually carved in the hall.

31. Usurped by Ramesses II, see Nelson 1981, pls. 158–59; Epigraphic Survey 1940, pl. 212.

32. It is even possible that the royal figures following the processions in those two scenes holding the *heka*-scepter in the same manner as Amenhotep III in the Amun-Re-Kamutef procession (and also in the divine barges) are honorific figures of Amenhotep III as well.

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with his prenomen without cartouche in considerably larger scale.[33] A few fragments from the northern part of the hall suggest that Sety's workmen continued Tutankhamun's preexisting decorative scheme of his own cartouches on *neb*-baskets alternating with larger prenomens of Neb-maat-Re without cartouches.[34]

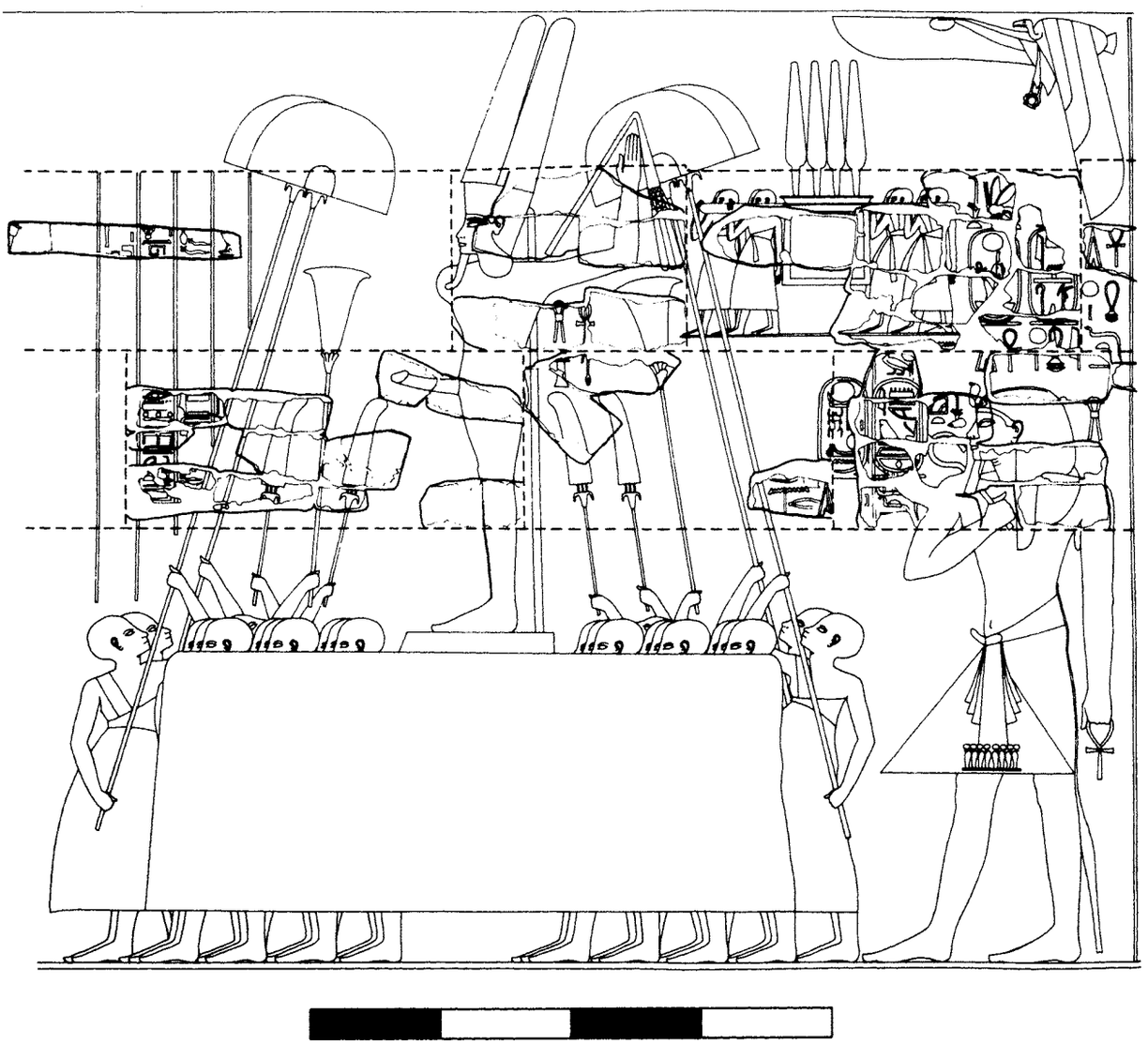


Figure 9.3. Amun-Re-Kamutef Procession Fragment Group from the Second Register of the Western Wall in the Colonnade Hall of Luxor Temple

33. For a variation of this name frieze, see Nelson 1981, pls. 137–43.
34. Amenhotep III's usual upper-wall name frieze consists of a coiled snake on a *neb*-basket surmounted by a sun disc, sometimes horned, in a rebus form of his prenomen similar to the form used by Hatshepsut in the same way (see Brunner 1977, pls. 2–22). The use of his prenomen without cartouches (ordinarily signifying deification; see Bell 1985a, p. 42, n. 6) as an upper border element in the hall commemorating his deification suggests another possible holdover from the original decorative plan.

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In summary, the Colonnade Hall was begun by Amenhotep III to commemorate his own divinity and was completed by his successors who followed through on that theme, adapting Amenhotep's own decorative program. The restoration texts on the architraves, northern wall, and northernmost columns of the Colonnade Hall give clear indication of Tutankhamun's official piety toward the king whom he claims is his father, whether that was so or not.[35] While it is true that the young king could not help but benefit from an association with his illustrious predecessor, the depiction of Amenhotep III as sole officiant in selected portal and column scenes is remarkable. By emphasizing the equivalence of Amenhotep III and Amun in the texts, divine barges, and religious processions in the Colonnade Hall, Amenhotep III's successors were celebrating not only the divinity of this beloved king, but also the inherent divinity of all kings, including themselves.

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35. This author is one who accepts his claim.

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CHAPTER 10

SPECULATIONS CONCERNING INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE ROYAL POLICY AND REPUTATION OF RAMESSES IV

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In my elementary Egyptian class with Professor Klaus Baer, I do not recall that "speculation" was looked upon with approbation, particularly when applied to my more imaginative renderings of the ancient texts. Nevertheless, mindful that nothing prompts the glint in the eye of a scholar so much as the prospect of rending asunder the (inevitably fallible) arguments of one of his colleagues, I have prepared the following tidbit in memory of my first teacher of Egyptian, in the hopes that it will cause his spirit to draw near "the place that it knows."

The personal and political differences between individual ancient Egyptian rulers are for the most part veiled by the institution of kingship, which is by its very nature a collective notion intended to merge the (almost certainly quite disparate) identities of the individual kings into the divine unity of the royal *ka*.[1] The institution of the royal *ka* joins together the power of the (still) living ruler with that of the sum total of all of his deceased predecessors to effect the continued operation of the world. Despite the overall "homogeneity" of royal hyperbolae, occasionally, however, the documentation surviving from the reigns of some Egyptian kings preserves some tinge of individuality.[2] This royal "individuality" appears to manifest itself in a particularly intriguing manner during the reign of Ramesses IV.[3] The present paper is concerned with how this particular king's expressed desire for a long reign on earth resulted in the enhancement of his contemporary (and posthumous) reputation among the residents of Ramesside Thebes.

As noted by Christophe (1950a, pp. 47–52), it is difficult to imagine that the events surrounding the end of the reign of his predecessor,[4] Ramesses III, could not have had some influence on Ramesses IV's political and religious policies. Already middle-aged at the time of his accession, his desire for a length of reign surpassing that of Ramesses II was expressed in an unusually straight-forward and explicit manner, which, in hindsight, appears both

1. On the royal *ka*, see most recently the work of Bell 1985a, pp. 31–59; idem 1985b, pp. 251–94.
2. Still, it should be recognized that this "individuality" is largely an artificial construct projected from surviving ancient documentation by modern scholars.
3. On the reign of Ramesses IV in general, see Černý 1975, pp. 606ff.; Christophe 1950a, pp. 47–67; Helck, "Ramses IV," *LÄ* V, cols. 120–23; Valbelle 1985, pp. 195–99; Hornung 1990b, pp. 7–18. For texts of the royal and private monuments of his reign, see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 1–220.
4. Notably the famous harim conspiracy. For the relevant textual information, see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. V, pp. 350ff.; Goedicke 1963, pp. 71–75; de Buck 1937, pp. 152–64; Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952, pp. 107–17.

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poignant and ironic. In addition, the oft-quoted lines from the stela that he dedicated to the god Osiris at Abydos may, in fact, be seen as a rather neat overall rationale for his attitude toward public display:

> ... and you (Osiris) shall double for me the great age and long lifetime of the King [Usima'are-setepenre], the great god. Indeed, far more numerous are the ... benefactions that I have done for your temple (namely: to increase your divine offerings and to determine every propitious occasion and every opportunity for benefactions to be done in your forecourt daily) during these four years than those which the King [Usima'are-setepenre], the great god, has done for you during his 67 years (Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 19).

The divine bestowal of life and length of reign is to be made by the god with the expectation of receiving royal donations to his cult. Although this reciprocity has long been recognized by scholars as underlying the relationship between the gods and mankind, the high degree of correlation between the sentiments expressed in the above text and the building policy of Ramesses IV is unusual. Because not only do these words go a long way toward explaining the pattern of his appropriation of already-existing structures at Thebes, but they also provide a rationale for both the siting and grand scale of his own monumental constructions there. A brief survey of Ramesses IV's inscriptional additions to Theban temples will suffice to illustrate a consistent practice.

In the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Christophe (1955, pp. 9–31, 49–66, 95–128) and Roth (1983, pp. 45–53) have noted the high frequency of the occurrence of Ramesses IV's names, titles, and depictions on the column shafts and bases of the hall, with particular emphasis on the main and southern transverse aisles. Roth (1983, pp. 46–47) drew particular attention to the relationship between the latter pathway and the temple of Khonsu, toward which the southern aisle ultimately leads, and the decoration of whose sanctuary area had been carried out largely under Ramesses IV. Elsewhere in the Karnak complex (with the exception of the temple of Khonsu just mentioned), Ramesses IV's inscriptions are less concentrated, usually consisting of *bandeau*s added to the bottom of walls, such as the northern face of the ninth pylon (Porter and Moss 1972, p. 180 [references]).

At Luxor temple the column bases and wall reliefs in the great processional colonnade received texts of Ramesses IV; and on the eastern bank inscriptions of Ramesses IV also appear in the flagstaff niches of the first pylon and in the portico of the second court of the Medinet Habu temple of his predecessor (Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 489–90, 502–03, respectively [references]).

The addition of his titulary to these, and other, standing monuments allowed Ramesses IV to "claim" them effectively as his own, thus providing him with a head start on the "more benefactions ... than (Ramesses II) had done during his 67 years." At first glance this practice appears a cynical sleight-of-hand; however, it must be remembered that, as the reigning king, his was now the responsibility for the endowments of the cults celebrated in all of the temples of Egypt. Therefore, he could legitimately claim the credit for the complexes in which they were physically housed. In the first section of P. Harris I (3,1ff. [Erichsen 1933, pp. 3ff.]), the deceased (and deified) Ramesses III lists his benefactions to the temples of the Theban triad and asks that their blessings fall similarly upon his successor, because the latter (Ramesses IV) has, indeed, "received my office ... as ruler of the Two Lands" (P. Harris I, 79,5 [Erichsen 1933, pp. 96–97]). (It is also interesting that this section ends with the words:

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"Amun commended to him the kingship while he is on earth and has doubled for him his lifetime more than [that of] any other king" [P. Harris I, 79,11–12 (Erichsen 1933, p. 97)].)

It is also clear, however, that Ramesses IV intended that the monumental structures bearing his name should include a significant number of his own creation. The evidence for the large-scale plans (if not achievements) for his building program have been previously discussed, so that there is no real need to go into them in detail here.[5] However, three pre-construction arrangements are immediately relevant: the accelerated rate of quarrying activity in the Wadi Hammamat during his first three regnal years,[6] the promotion of young recruits attached to the royal tomb soon after his accession,[7] and the doubling of the total workforce of the royal tomb (from 60 to 120) in his second year.[8]

Although the stone derived from Ramesses IV's quarrying efforts in the Wadi Hammamat was probably intended for *bekhen*-stone monuments to be sited at Coptos, Thebes, and Armant, the major beneficiary (to judge from the composition of these expeditions) was the *Pr-ʾImn* at Thebes. This intention was particularly true of the large-scale expedition in Year 3, which was headed by the high priest of Amun-Re, Ramessesnakhte, and consisted of 8,368 men. Černy (1973, pp. 65–67) suggested that some of this *bekhen*-stone was to have been utilized for his own tomb, even though no objects of this material and provenance are known; however, Harrell and Brown (1992, pp. 90–91) have recently suggested that Ramesses VI's *bekhen*-stone inner coffin may have derived from the quarrying expeditions of Ramesses IV. Certainly, several of Ramesses IV's quarrying inscriptions do mention that their royal commission included monuments "for the Place of Truth (*S.t-Mꜣʿ.t*)."[9] However, it is one of the legends on the Turin map of the Wadi Hammamat (Harrell and Brown 1992, p. 87 [number 18]) that suggests the actual destination of the *bekhen*-stone monuments was not the royal tomb itself, as Černý (1973, pp. 61–62) had posited, but it rather was the king's mortuary temple complex in the Assasif at Thebes, as I suggest below.

We already know that members of the workforce of the king's tomb could be seconded to projects outside the confines of the royal valleys. Harrell and Brown (1992, p. 100, passim) have stressed the personal involvement of the Scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte and his son, the Chief Draughtsman Amenhotep, in the Hammamat quarrying expeditions (though they felt that these individuals would not have been involved had the *bekhen*-stone monuments of the king *not* been destined for the royal tomb); and O. Cairo 25309 (Daressy 1901, p. 80, pl. LVII) mentions the dispatching of Amennakhte to *Djeseru* (Deir el-Bahri) on an official commission. This errand of the scribe Amennakhte to the area in which Ramesses IV's temples were being constructed is surely suggestive of some administrative interaction

5. For general treatments, see Černý 1975, pp. 607–10; Helck, "Ramses IV," *LÄ* V, col. 120.
6. See especially Černý 1975, p. 608, for a short summary. Quarrying expedition texts in the Wadi Hammamat are published by Kitchen (1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 1–3, 9–16). A more detailed discussion of Ramesses IV's quarrying activity is given by Harrell and Brown (1992, pp. 81–105).
7. On I *ꜣḫ.t* 18: O. Deir el-Medina 40, 12, see Černý 1973, p. 115; Valbelle 1985, pp. 195–96.
8. On III *ꜣḫ.t* 28: P. Turin 1891, ro. 5 (Pleyte and Rossi 1869–76, pl. 49; hieroglyphic transcription in Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 76–77). See also Černý 1973, pp. 103–04; Valbelle 1985, p. 197.
9. See Černý 1973, pp. 65–66, for the collected references.

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between contemporary royal building projects on the Theban western bank. (Indeed, as it is shown below, the Wadi Hammamat map's placement of the stone workshop in which a *rḫ-n=f*, "empowered image,"[10] of the king had been "abandoned, only half-worked, in the sixth regnal year"[11] is probably directly related to the construction of his mortuary complex, and not to his tomb.)

The mortuary complex planned by Ramesses IV at the eastern end of the Assasif at Thebes was known to visitors to the temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahri during the Twentieth Dynasty as: *t3 ḥw.t njswt-bjtj* ⌈*Wsrm3ʿ.trʿ-stpnjmn*⌉ <*ḫr*> *jmnt.t W3st*, "The Mansion of ⌈Usimaʿare-setepenamun⌉ <on> the west of Thebes."[12] It receives the further designation of "House of Millions of Years" in a hieratic jar label from a foundation deposit belonging to the temple itself (Bietak 1972, p. 19, pl. IX:C). It is the author's belief that Ramesses IV's monumental constructions in the Assasif[13] were intended to provide a monumental entrance to Deir el-Bahri (and its important temples) by overlying completely the eastern ends of the three causeways (from south to north) of Hatshepsut, Thutmosis III, and Nebhepetre Mentuhotep.[14] The remains of the more northern portion (Porter and Moss 1972, p. 424) of the complex comprises the columned court discovered by Carter (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pp. 9, 48, pls. XXX, XL). The temple proper, located some 100 m to the south, has been investigated by Winlock and Bietak.[15] The main structure was clearly modeled upon that of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (see Winlock 1942, p. 7, fig. 1; Lansing 1935, p. 9, fig. 7), except that it was intended to be considerably larger (Winlock 1942, p. 11). Although all of the foundation deposits associated with the temple bore the names of Ramesses IV, no trace of his titulary was found inscribed on any of the stone remains at the site. Indeed, the survival of (occasionally unfinished) inscriptions of Ramesses V and Ramesses VI (Lansing 1935, p. 6) suggests that it was they who may have been responsible for as much as was ever carried out of the building's decoration.

One aspect of the Ramesses IV Assasif complex that, to my knowledge, has never been seriously considered is why it was situated at the northern end of the Theban necropolis at the eastern end of the Deir el-Bahri causeways. And, although I cannot prove the following suggestions, they seem to me to be worth advancing as a stimulus to further discussion. The motives appear to be to be both practical and symbolic.

10. On the term *rḫ-n=f*, see Borghouts 1982, pp. 81–82 (n. 31), 90. The interpretation "empowered image" is the author's own.
11. See Černý 1973, pp. 61–62; Goyon 1949, pp. 341ff., for the text; Harrell and Brown 1992, p. 87.
12. Marciniak 1974, graffito nos. 2 (pp. 57–58, pl. II:A), 10 (pp. 68–69, pl. IX:A), 129 (pp. 151–52, pl. LXXXV:A).
13. For their approximate locations, see Porter and Moss 1972, plan XXXIII.
14. Following Lansing's (1935, pp. 11–12) suggestion. This assumes that the two construction sites of Ramesses IV in the Assasif were part of a coordinated effort. Bietak (1972, p. 19) was unsure of the connection between the two Assasif constructions and the smaller-scale chapel of Ramesses IV sited just to the north of the temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.
15. For references to the main Ramesses IV temple in the Assasif, see Bietak 1972, p. 18, n. 22; and for the Austrian Expedition of 1969–71, see ibid., pp. 17–26.

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First, although Ramesses IV may have considered following the tradition of siting a grandly-scaled mortuary temple immediately to the south of that of his predecessor, such an undertaking would have placed it at an inconvenient distance away from easily available building material—save for that of the Medinet Habu temple itself. Now, the end of the reign of Ramesses III had been complicated by a dispute over the succession; therefore, it is highly unlikely that Ramesses IV, who stressed his position as legitimate heir to Ramesses III by adding his name twice to the procession of princes in the latter's temple,[16] would consider completely dismantling his father's mortuary temple to enrich his own. For Ramesses IV to be considered a living royal *ka*, he had to be able to point to his father as a link in the chain of royal ancestors. Perhaps considerations such as these led to his erection of only a modest mortuary chapel a little to the north of the great Medinet Habu temple.[17]

Positioning his own mortuary temple at the northern end of the necropolis facilitated access to the stone available at several already-existing constructions of different types: mortuary temples, valley temples, and causeways. Indeed, the clearance of Ramesses IV's temple area yielded reused masonry from the valley temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, temples of Amenhotep I and Ramesses II,[18] and the causeways of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and Thutmosis III (Bietak 1972, p. 25). Some of this material had already been reused at least once by the time it was procured by the contractors of Ramesses IV.[19] To judge from the inscribed remains, it was constructions of Ramesses II that provided a major portion of the building material. In addition to some limestone masonry (from an as yet undetermined source), painted sandstone blocks depicting a battle scene and the left jamb of a monumental granite doorway of Ramesses II were recovered from the temple site by the Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition.[20] Although there is some evidence that some of this material may have derived from some renewal activity of the latter king in the area of the valley temples of Mentuhotep and Thutmosis III (Lansing 1935, pp. 10–14, figs. 8–9),[21] the sandstone and granite blocks quite probably derived from the Ramesseum. Now, if the Ramesseum were being heavily quarried for stone to build Ramesses IV's temple complex in the Assasif, then locating a major stoneworking area immediately adjacent would have facilitated the work of turning its masonry components into construction material for the latter's constructions. Thus, the Wadi Hammamat reference to the abandonment of an unfinished royal image of Ramesses IV in a royal stoneworking site "beside" the Ramesseum does not in fact indicate that that statue was destined for his tomb in the Valley of the Kings, but that it—like the masonry of the Ramesseum itself—was being prepared for transport to Ramesses IV's mortuary complex in the Assasif.

16. Epigraphic Survey 1957, pls. 299, 301; for accompanying texts, see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 322–23.
17. For small mortuary chapel of Ramesses IV (largely destroyed in antiquity in consequence of an expansion of the temple dedicated to Amenhotep, son of Hapu), see Robichon and Varille 1938, pp. 99–102.
18. Possibly more than one construction of Ramesses II, as some of the remains are limestone (Bietak 1972, p. 24), while others are sandstone and granite (Hayes 1990, pp. 339–41, figs. 214–15).
19. Bietak (1972) cites blocks of Hatshepsut already utilized by Thutmosis III and Ramesses II.
20. Hayes 1990, pp. 340–41; a color photograph of one of the same sandstone blocks is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, pp. 70–71.
21. Arnold (1974b, pp. 69–70) notes the restoration activity at the main Mentuhotep temple site in particular.

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Siting a monumental temple complex, clearly modeled upon that of his father, at the northern end of the line of mortuary temples would have effectively "framed" the entire necropolis between the mortuary temples of the father-and-son rulers. But perhaps an even more intriguing suggestion is that by channeling access into the Deir el-Bahri through his complex, Ramesses IV would have effectively established the primacy of his own cult, particularly in connection with the Festival of the Valley. (Because, from the Eleventh Dynasty on [Arnold 1974b, p. 33, pl. 22], when the image of Amun-Re crossed over the river from his Karnak temple, *the* major destination of the procession was the "valley" from which the festival took its name.) According to this scheme, *his* statue would have been the first to greet the god;[22] *his* sanctuary would have been the first in which the bark of Amun-Re would have rested at the commencement of the long festival proceedings; and *his* bark would have taken precedence over those of all the other deceased kings in the "following" of the god during his peregrinations around the necropolis.[23]

The Ramesses IV temple was centered on the Mentuhotep causeway (Lansing 1935, pp. 11–12), suggesting a direct symbolic link between the two structures. We know from the renewals of the Mentuhotep temple by Ramesses and Siptah, as well as the large number of graffiti left by visitors, that the structure remained a focus of attention during the Ramesside period (Arnold 1974a, pp. 69–70). Because the cult of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep was regarded as the prototype for the royal dead in the Theban necropolis,[24] his "*ka*-house" at Deir el-Bahri, where he was conjoined with Amun-Re,[25] may be viewed as the place of union between Amen-Re and the *ka* of the deceased king *par excellence*. While this is not the place to discuss all the ramifications of the association of Amun-Re with the king, which produced a different manifestation of the god/king in each mortuary temple,[26] it is interesting to note that there is at least a minor role played by Osiris, as well as Amun-Re, in the mortuary equation.[27] Given that the royal cult as celebrated in the Theban mortuary temples is associated with the deceased king, the presence of an Osiris/king association is quite logical. And because the mortuary temples are also termed *ka*-houses, it follows that that particular aspect of the king's *ka* resident in his mortuary temple is one that joins the *ka*s of the royal ancestors. If the living royal *ka* can be described as *ḫnt.y kꜣ.w ʿnḫ.w nb.w*, "foremost of all the living *ka*s" at Luxor temple, on the eastern bank at Thebes (Bell 1985b, p. 278), then it is probable that the other, most frequently-occurring epithet of the royal *ka*, *ʿnḫ m mꜣʿ.t*, "living

22. A depiction of the statue of the deified Amenhotep I "of the forecourt" greeting "his father Amun-Re, King of the Gods, at his Beautiful Festival of the Valley" occurs in TT 19 (of Amenmose): Porter and Moss 1960, p. 33, [3]: I, II. See Wilkinson and Hill 1983, p. 139 (wall painting at top = MMA 31.6.5).
23. As suggested with reference to the bark of Ramesses I (Nelson 1942, p. 143).
24. Posthumous depictions of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep occur in several New Kingdom tombs at Thebes, (and most prominently at Deir el-Medina); see Arnold 1974a, p. 95, for the occurrences.
25. For the cults of the king and Amun-Re at the Mentuhotep temple, see Arnold 1974a, pp. 73, 78–80.
26. See originally Nelson 1942, pp. 127ff.; Christophe 1950b, pp. 115–80 (especially pp. 177–80).
27. Even though it is with Amun-Re that the king is identified at death, rather than Osiris (Christophe 1950b, p. 178).

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in (or, on) truth"[28] could refer to a cult of the *ka*s of deceased rulers (particularly Ramesside) on the western bank.[29]

This may seem a rather simplistic view of the situation; however, the majority of references to the royal *ka*, *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t*, occur on monuments from the western bank, and from Deir el-Medina, in particular.[30] Bell (1985a, pp. 50–51) has identified "the motif of the king enthroned in a kiosk adored as a manifestation of the royal *ka*"; and I wonder whether, when a figure of the goddess Maʿat is placed behind the seated king, enfolding him with her wings, the royal *ka* is not specifically one connected with the "Place of Truth"[31] in both its otherworldly sense of a "place of vindication" and a specific geographical designation of those portions of the Theban western bank associated with the cults of the deceased.[32] Could Ramesses IV have selected his Horus name, *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t*,[33] with a view toward claiming primacy among the royal *ka*s?

A stela in the British Museum (BM 588)[34] depicting an enthroned Ramesses IV, protected by the wings of the goddess Maʿat, provides a transition to the final section of this paper, which is devoted to the veneration in which Ramesses IV was held by the residents of the Theban western bank in general, and by those of Deir el-Medina in particular. The text comprises a list of commodities received by the Chief Workman Inherkhaʿu, the Younger, through the intermediary of the Royal Butler Hori, who appears at the top of the stela, doing homage to the king. In his study of this piece, Janssen commented on the rarity of the goddess occurring in this relationship with the living king, citing as his closest parallels

28. Christophe (1950b, pp. 139–40, n. 6) provides a list of gods to whom this epithet is applied. Barguet (1951, p. 212) notes that *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t* is applied to Atum and Ptah (Ta-Tanen). The crowns of these two divinities share a common form, which is also to be found in the iconography of the royal *ka*.

29. Since the designation *ḫnty kɜ.w ʿnḫ.w* is also used to describe the king in his *own* tomb (as in King's Valley 8, of Merneptah; see Hornung 1990a, p. 95, fig. 56), the designation of the royal *ka* as *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t* may have resulted from this already-existing expression being applied to the king by his subjects resident at Deir el-Medina, rather than being promulgated as an aspect of royal policy.

30. Examples from Deir el-Medina are enumerated by Bruyère (1952, pp. 65–67) and Bell (1985a, pp. 50–51, n. 122 [though the numbers in the Bruyere reference as quoted by Bell are not entirely correct]). To these add: stela BM [186] (Bierbrier 1982, pp. 186–87, pl. 78 [the *kɜ-njswt* is Amenhotep I]). Bell (loc. cit.) also lists additional occurrences of the epithet *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t* from other sites. It is interesting to note that the example from Abydos (the Sety I temple) also derives from a mortuary context. The only other ruler who frequently adopts the epithet is Akhenaten, in a context where the royal *ka* and the Aten are virtually equated (Brunner 1971, pp. 13 [photograph], 16).

31. The connection between Ma at and the god Ptah is particularly noteworthy in this context, given the frequency with which the term *mɜʿ.t* occurs in his epithets; such as: Ptah *nb-mɜʿ.t njswt-tɜ.wy nfr-ḥr n S.t-Mɜʿ.t* on stela BM [589] (James 1963, p. 36, pl. XXXI:A) and Ptah *nb-mɜʿ.t njswt-tɜ.wy ḥry s.t wr.t* on stela BM 65355 (Bierbrier 1982, p. 31, pl. 72). Ptah's cult at Deir el-Medina was of some importance. It seems to me that the solar aspects of the expression *ʿnḫ m mɜʿ.t* may merge with the identification of the king and Ptah as "King of the Two Lands" at Deir el-Medina.

32. Much ink has been spilled recently over the term "Place of Truth." For the most complete discussions and evaluations of previous interpretations, see Černý 1973, pp. 29–85; Ventura 1986, pp. 38–63.

33. For the complete titulary of Ramesses IV, see Gauthier 1914, pp. 179ff.; von Beckerath 1984, pp. 246–47.

34. Published by Bierbrier (1982, pp. 24–25, pl. 57); see also Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 83–84.

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depictions of Maʿat with deities (Ptah in particular) and the deified Amenhotep I.[35] A fragmentary stela in Cairo[36] preserves a portion of a similar depiction: an enthroned king protected by the wings of a goddess standing behind him. The inscription identifies the seated ruler as the *kȝ-njswt ʿnḫ m mȝʿ.t nb-tȝ.wy mrr R* ʿ▒▒▒, "the royal *ka* living in truth, lord of the Two Lands, beloved of Re." It is therefore clear that the depiction of Ramesses IV in stela BM 588 should be considered the royal *ka* of the ruler. Could the commodities being distributed through Hori be coming from the stores of the king's mortuary establishment?

The Royal Butler Hori, son of Ptahemwia, is attested on another monument mentioning Ramesses IV from Deir el-Medina;[37] and another Royal Butler, Sutekhherwenemef, also left two stelae honoring the king[38] in western Thebes, at least one of which probably was placed in Ramesses IV's mortuary chapel near the Medinet Habu temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Robichon and Varille 1938, pp. 99–102). Two additional monuments honoring Ramesses IV are known from Deir el-Medina: a small stela[39] depicting the deified Amenhotep I and an offering table[40] dedicated to the king by the Chief Workman Nakhtemmut.

In addition to votive temple dedications, Ramesses IV receives mention in three private tombs of the Ramesside period: TT 148 (of Amenemope), TT 222 (of Heqamaʿatrenakhte-Turo), and TT 359 (of Inherkhaʿu).[41] The first two tombs are located outside Deir el-Medina and feature both Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, while the third preserves attestations of the latter only, including an allusion to his funerary cult.

Religious texts praising Ramesses IV are also known from Deir el-Medina. One complete hymn adoring the king is from the hand of the Scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte and occurs on a hieratic ostracon in Turin (O. Turin 57001 ro. [López 1978, tav. 1A/2A]). A second, this time in hieroglyphic and in a much more fragmentary condition, derives from King's Valley 9, the tomb of Ramesses VI, and is now in Cairo (Daressy 1901, p. 39, pl. XXXII). Cartouches of the king occur on the verso of O. Gardiner 301 (Černý and Gardiner 1957, p. 25, pl. XCIII) and are worshipped in a graffito from the Theban necropolis (Černý 1956, p. 13, pl. 31).

All of the above attestations of the veneration of Ramesses IV that occur on private monuments and in literary texts on ostraca are, admittedly, relatively few in number and are in fact no more than one might reasonably expect for a ruler whose reign was brief. There

35. Janssen 1963, pp. 64–70; text also in Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 83–84.
36. Cairo temp. no. 10/8/15/4, published by Černý (1927, pl. VIII:1); text also in Bruyère 1952, p. 65.
37. Deir el-Medina catalogue no. 151 (Bruyère 1952, pp. 44, 86, pl. 17).
38. Stela Allard Pierson Museum B. 9114 (for text see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 85) from Medinet Habu (Porter and Moss 1964, p. 776) and Cairo JE 38793 (Reeves 1984, p. 234, pl. 34a). Sutekhherwenemef is also known from O. Cairo 25309 and 25274.
39. Stela Cairo JE 43568 = Černý 1927, pl. V111:3; Bruyère 1925, pp. 91–93, pl. III:4.
40. Offering table Deir el-Medina = Bruyère 1952, pp. 300–01, fig. 168.
41. On Amenemope (TT 148), see Gaballa and Kitchen 1981, pp. 161–80; for the relevant text, see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 93. For Heqamaʿatrenakhte-Turo (TT 222), see Porter and Moss 1960, pp. 323–24; text: Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 95–96. For Inherkhaʿu (TT 359), see Bruyère 1933, p. 39, pl. IX; p. 46, pl. X.

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remain, however, two further categories of evidence that are rather more convincing: figured ostraca from the Valley of the Kings and the Deir el-Medina villagers' practice of naming their sons more frequently after Ramesses IV than any other ruler of the Twentieth Dynasty.

The Valley of the Kings has yielded a larger number of ostraca references and/or depictions of Ramesses IV than of any other king, including the deified Amenhotep I.[42] Attestations of the king range from actual depictions of his form[43] to versions of his names and titulary.[44] It may be no accident that most of the ostraca bearing allusions to Ramesses IV were recovered from the tomb of Ramesses VI, who characteristically usurped monuments belonging to the former. This rather unexpected distribution is made even more striking when one realized that *no ostracon depictions of Ramesses VI* were recovered from his own tomb. Since the placement of these objects in King's Valley 9 was surely an "unofficial" act on the part of the workmen,[45] we must assume that it was they who decided *not* to include representations of Ramesses VI on the ostraca. Even though they were then working on the tomb of the latter, there must have been some reason that the image of a deceased king (who was, officially at least, out of favor) replaced that of the reigning king. Could this practice reflect a distinct antipathy toward Ramesses VI, in favor of a clear preference for Ramesses IV? Considering that it was Ramesses VI[46] who cut enrollment in the royal tomb workforce back to pre-Ramesses IV levels, one can advance this single action as a major cause for the royal workmen's resentment toward the former and wistful longing for the more remunerative times of the latter.

Although it was not common practice for the residents of Deir el-Medina to name their sons after kings, it is interesting that Ramesses IV's name appears more frequently than that of any other ruler of the Twentieth Dynasty. His second prenomen, Heqama'tre (von Beckerath 1984, pp. 246–47), was the preferred element, which was usually applied to an elaborate, clearly honorific, name. The personal name Heqama'atre-sekheperdjamu occurs on an offering table from Deir el-Medina,[47] as well as on a Leiden stela dedicated to Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nofretari (Boeser 1913, pl. vii, no. 48); the Chief Workman Nakhtemmut dedicated a stela, now in Turin to Amun "of the good encounter," which also bears the name of one of his sons: Heqama'atre-em-per-Khonsu;[48] one of the sons of the

42. Compare the references to royal depictions in Daressy 1901, p. 109 (Index II).
43. As on O. Cairo 25012, 25109–110, 25120, 25122–4 (see Daressy 1901, for references) and O. Medelhavsmuseet 14.117 and 14.125 (Peterson 1973, no. 2 [pp. 68–69, pl. 2], no. 7 [p. 71, pl. 10]).
44. As on O. Cairo 25022, 25033, 25041 vo., 25047, 25049–50, 25088, 25126, 25129, 25146, 25187–89, 25194, 25196, 25202–03, and 25312. See Daressy 1901, for references.
45. Because the corpus includes both trial sketches (such as O. Cairo 25012 or 25016) and more finished pieces that could have functioned as votives (such as O. Cairo 25120 and 25041), it is unlikely that they comprised part of the official burial goods or rites.
46. O. Berlin 12654 vo. (Allam 1973, pp. 36–38, pl. 15; Janssen 1982b, pp. 134ff.). Both date the text to the reign of Ramesses VI. Also translated by Černý (1973, p. 104), who suggests the reign of Ramesses V.
47. For the text, see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 219.
48. As Bierbrier has pointed out (1975, p. 33), this man is "presumably identical" with Khonsu IV, son of Nakhtemmut III.

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infamous Draughtsman Merysekhmet[49] possessed a dual designation: Heqama'atre-en-Opet (viz., Amenemope);[50] The name Heqama'atre-neb-tawey occurs twice in lists of workmen in the Deir el-Medina corpus (O. MMA 09.184.720 and HO 25,1 vo. I,8); a *wa'b*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands Heqama'atre-nebi is known from a graffito in the "vallée de l'aigle" (Gr. 1104 [Cerný 1956, p. 4, pl. 8]); the infamous Deputy Pa'anqen, son of Amenwa'u, who participated in the looting of royal tombs during the reign of Ramesses IX[51] is known to have prefixed his name with Heqama'atre (in Gr. 1092 [Černý 1956, p. 3, pl. 5]); and a Deputy Heqama'atre-'anerhatamen, "son" of the Temple Scribe and Overseer of the House (*pr*) of Amenhotep Nakhtemmut is also attested.[52] As stated at the beginning of this paragraph, the name of no other Ramesside ruler occurs so frequently in the Deir el-Medina prosopography.

If the above speculations on the interrelatedness of royal policy and private attitudes have any thread in common, it may be that despite the vagaries of fate that may have appeared to have brought Ramesses IV's best-laid plans to naught, his reputation managed to achieve some measure of success as the great builder he so clearly sought to become. And if he never came close to threatening the record of Ramesses II, the economic promise (at least) of his short reign would soon be regarded with wistful longing by the residents of the Place of Truth at Thebes.

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49. For Merysekhmet, see Janssen 1982a, pp. 116ff.; Foster 1984, pp. 88ff.
50. In Gr. 356 (Spiegelberg 1921, p. 32).
51. On the Deputy Pa'anqen, see Černý 1973, pp. 141–42; Bierbrier 1975, p. 34.
52. Gr. 1696 (Černý and Sadek 1970, pl. X). It is conceivable that the two last-named individuals may be identical, if the designation "son" is not taken literally; however, Bierbrier (1975, p. 34) makes the latter the son of the former draughtsman Nakhtemmut, son of Amenkha'u. In any case they pertain to the same extended family.

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CHAPTER 11

JOSEPH SMITH AND EGYPTOLOGY: AN EARLY EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN SPECULATION ABOUT ANCIENT EGYPT, 1835–1844

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Klaus Baer was an Egyptologist who was a specialist in such diverse subjects as Old Egyptian, Old Kingdom rank and title, and Coptic, as well as ancient Egyptian chronology, economics, epigraphy, philology, lexicography, and etymology. If his manner was sometimes gruff, it masked a generous nature, because Klaus was well known for sharing freely of his time and knowledge with students and colleagues alike. It is regrettable that this brilliant scholar did not publish more than he did; perhaps it was because he derived more personal satisfaction simply from *solving* Egyptological problems than he did from publishing the results of his countless and varied investigations.

Further evidence of Klaus Baer's generosity is the bequest of his substantial personal Egyptological library to the Department of Near Eastern Studies in the University of California at Berkeley, where he taught Egyptology from 1959 to 1965. Long before his untimely death from heart disease in 1987, Klaus had begun to invest more heavily in the acquisition of current Egyptological titles—in many of which he had no immediate personal interest—because he knew that they would be needed for the collection he intended to leave to Berkeley, now called the Klaus Baer Library in his memory. His professional papers and correspondence were bequeathed to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, where Klaus taught from 1965 until his death. The *Papers of Klaus Baer* join the other important collections of professional papers of Chicago Egyptologists in the Oriental Institute Archives, including those of James Henry Breasted, William F. Edgerton, Charles F. Nims, Keith C. Seele, and John A. Wilson.

One of Klaus Baer's abiding interests lay in the Joseph Smith Papyri and in the history of their provenance, acquisition, and study. The purpose of this article is to introduce to a wider Egyptological audience some of the earliest evidence for speculation about ancient Egypt by Americans, during the years 1835 to 1844, at a time when the pioneering work of Jean François Champollion (1790–1832) had attained very limited circulation in Europe and was completely unknown in the Western Hemisphere; it is offered in memory of Klaus Baer and in honor of Miriam Reitz Baer, his beloved wife.

Joseph Smith, Jr. (1805–1844), was the first native-born American who is known to have made an effort to translate writings and to interpret vignettes found on ancient Egyptian funerary papyri. Beginning in early July 1835, the Mormon prophet was engaged in the sporadic study of at least three ancient papyri, the surviving fragments of which are now known as the Joseph Smith Papyri (Baer 1968, pp. 111–12). Only one of these papyri was

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subsequently translated by Smith, who identified it as *The Book of Abraham*; work on the interpretation of the others was incomplete at the time of the prophet's death in June 1844. Since 1842, when his translation was first published in a larger work entitled *The Pearl of Great Price* and became part of Mormon canonical scriptures, *The Book of Abraham* has been a focal point for attacks by anti-Mormons and rationalization by Mormon apologists.[1] When they are judged according to the standards of modern professional Egyptology, Joseph Smith's translations can, at best, be described as unorthodox.[2] Nevertheless, the position of the Mormon prophet is secure within the early history of American speculation about ancient Egypt. As a manifestation of American interest in the culture of ancient Egypt, the story of Joseph Smith and his ancient Egyptian mummies and papyri is one of the more curious chapters in the early history of American Egyptology.

Nearly thirty years ago, John A. Wilson devoted four short paragraphs to a summary of the role of Joseph Smith in his popular history of American Egyptology (Wilson 1964, pp. 37–38). As a result of his own personal involvement in the subsequent development of the story in the late 1960s, Wilson was motivated to expand upon his original treatment when he came to write about it in his autobiography (Wilson 1972, pp. 173–77). During the past twenty-five years, a great deal of interest in the Joseph Smith Papyri has been expressed in publications aimed primarily at members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (popularly known as the Mormons), but there has been little attention paid to the subject in the literature of mainstream professional Egyptology (see *Appendix 11.1: Select Bibliography*, below).

Joseph Smith, Jr., was born near Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, U.S.A., on December 23, 1805. He was the fourth of ten children of Joseph Smith (1771–1840) and Lucy Mack Smith (1776–1856). The families of both parents had been prosperously established in New England since the middle of the seventeenth century, but the Smiths themselves have been described as frontier-drifters; by the time Joseph was eleven years old, his parents had changed residence ten times (Malone 1935, vol. XVII, p. 310). As a consequence of his family's itinerant lifestyle and reduced circumstances, young Joseph had

1. Joseph Smith's translation of *The Book of Abraham* was originally serialized in the Mormon newspaper *Times & Seasons*, vol. III, no. 9 (March 1, 1842) and no. 10 (March 15, 1842); the wood-cut of Facsimile No. 3 (see fig. 11.3) appeared on May 16, 1842. The earliest attempt by a professional Egyptologist to produce a translation of the hieratic inscriptions that accompany the vignettes published as wood-cuts in *The Book of Abraham* was that of Théodule Devéria (1831–1871), which was published in 1861, p. 539. In 1912, the Right Reverend Franklin S. Spalding, Episcopal Bishop of Utah, collected negative opinions on Joseph Smith's translations in *The Book of Abraham* from Professor Archibald Henry Sayce (1845–1933) of Oxford University, Professor William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) of University College London, Professor James Henry Breasted (1865–1935) of the University of Chicago, Arthur C. Mace (1874–1928) of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Professor Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) of the University of Berlin, Professor Friedrich Wilhelm *Freiheer von* Bissing (1873–1956) of the University of Munich, and others, which he published in a little pamphlet entitled *Joseph Smith, Jr., As A Translator* (1912). The principal Mormon apologist for *The Book of Abraham* has been Professor Hugh Nibley of Brigham Young University, a student and friend of the late Professor Klaus Baer; see the citations for Nibley's books and articles in *Appendix 11.1: Select Bibliography*.
2. For a comparison of Joseph Smith's translations with those of a modern professional Egyptologist, see Baer 1968, pp. 130–32.

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little formal education. Joseph and his brothers had to hire themselves out as farmhands. At home with their mother Lucy, the Smith children learned to read and to do simple arithmetic. Mrs. Smith's English vocabulary—and, consequently, that of each of her children—was based on the King James Version of *The Bible*.[3] The family moved to Palmyra, New York, in 1816, and they remained in upstate New York until Joseph reached adulthood. The frontier counties of western New England and upstate New York, where Joseph Smith spent his boyhood, served as the incubator for a great many of the alternative religious sects and experimental societies that were born in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.[4] This was the environment from which the future prophet of Mormonism emerged.

Although this is not the place for a full discussion of the early career of Joseph Smith and the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a brief outline of the principal relevant events leading up to 1835 will serve to set the stage.[5] Joseph Smith had the first of a series of visions in the spring of 1820. The Church was formally organized at Fayette, New York on April 6, 1830. *The Book of Mormon* was published at Palmyra, New York in July 1830. In 1833, the Mormons began the construction of their first temple, located at Kirtland, Ohio near Lake Erie.

The earliest-known published description of the mummies with which the Joseph Smith Papyri were associated was printed in a Painesville, Ohio newspaper on March 27, 1835.[6] At that time, four ancient Egyptian mummies were being exhibited to the public in the nearby city of Cleveland, Ohio. In a letter to the editor of *The Telegraph*, "A Gardner" (perhaps a pseudonym, in the American tradition of Benjamin Franklin's "Poor Richard")[7] quoted a description of four human mummies—identified as three females and one male—that was written by "a friend in Cleveland," whose signature read simply "FARMER." All four mummies were described as being covered or partially covered in "linnen" [linen] wrappings, and *three* of them were said to be accompanied by rolls of papyrus. In this description, there is no mention whatsoever of sarcophagi, coffins, mummy cases or masks, jewelry, amulets, canopic jars, or any other burial equipment. As this text gives the only known detailed physical description of the mummies prior to their acquisition by the Mormons and it has not been reprinted elsewhere, it is reproduced here in its entirety.

3. Although the first edition of Noah Webster's two-volume *An American Dictionary of the English Language* had been published in 1828, Joseph Smith's spelling of many English words—and, indeed, that of nearly all of his "scribes"—remained supremely unaffected by the appearance of that standard reference work. [*Ed. note:* The many misspellings in the following passages are found in the originals and are faithfully reproduced herein.]
4. For a recent interpretation of the personality of Joseph Smith and his place in American history, see Bloom 1992, pp. 26–43. This reference was kindly pointed out to me by my colleague Robert K. Ritner. See also Hansen 1981, chap. 1, pp. 1–44; Andrew 1978, chap. 1, pp. [3]–10.
5. See the biographical entries for Joseph Smith in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1918, vol. XVI, pp. [1]–3) and *Dictionary of American Biography* (1935, vol. XVII, pp. 310–12).
6. An unattributed typescript of this text is preserved in the *Papers of Klaus Baer*, item 2344. I owe the identification of the source to Professor H. Donl Peterson, Brigham Young University.
7. As suggested by my colleague Robert K. Ritner.

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THE TELEGRAPH
PAINESVILLE, MARCH 27, 1835

[FOR THE TELEGRAPH.

MUMMIES.

Mr. Editor,—The history of the ancients is replete with grandeur & curiosity; and who is there so callous, as not to be excited with sufficient curiosity, to traverse with interest, all the dark labyrinths of pagan lore and long gone by usages. History, indeed, calls to mind spirits which have long since been traversing the golden works of the celestial world: but, how much more are we neared to them, when we can commingle with bodies *spiritless*, who traversed this earth thousands of years ago, as we now do, possessing passions and wants, ambition, avarice and superstition likes ourselves. Could we but look forward beyond the dark curtain of time and see the mighty changes, which will transpire for thousands of years to come, we should be lost in amazement. The past is wonderful although very incomplete; yet we are daily obtaining new light from the researches of scientific antiquarians. The discoveries in the long buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii which have been hidden from the world about 1800 years are truly interesting. The habits, manners and customs of those once inhabited cities are plainly inferred from the appearances of the charred dwellings and other edifices for public purposes—their ampitheaters [amphitheaters] and temples of Isis, holy utentils and baths &c. &c.

But the most interesting of all antique subjects, is the opening of the catacombs of Egypt where human bodies are found in a complete state of preservation or nearly so. How, or by what agency these bodies are preserved, or for what object is wholly an enigma. Many have conjectured that the doctrine of the resurrection was embodied in the Egyptian religious faith, and others again suppose that the practice of embalming their dead originated in their abhorence to decay—but all is speculation. Curiosity has frequently prompted us to visit and critically examine mummies which were found in the catacombs near Thebes; and to realize that I was viewing one of my own species who had lived like myself and been a member of a community thee [three] or four thousand years ago, produced a sensation like that of associating with people of another world.

I received a short description from a friend in Cleveland of four mummies that are now exhibiting in that place which may not be uninteresting to some of your readers.

A Gardner.

"Dear Sir: I send you a description of *four Mummies*, now exhibiting in this place. They were found in June, 1832—three miles from Thebes, 236 feet deep in a catecomb [catacomb] or vault 94 by 18 feet in the clear. Some stone[s] described by the finder [were] 32 ft. long, 8 high and 5 feet wide, evidently belonging to Mount Lebyen, to which there are strong indications of a rail-road. The stone[s] were put together with a cement and exhibited superior workmanship.

Some of the bodies stood in nitches [niches] of the wall; a row of bodies, however, laid on the bottom 8 feet deep (reversed,) more or less decayed. This statement of the owner is accompanied by good authority.

No. 1—4 feet 11 inches, female—supposed age 60; arms extended, hands side by side in front; the head indicating motherly goodness. There was found with this person a roll or book, having a little resemblance to birch bark; language unknown. Some linguists however say they can decipher 13-36, in what they term an epitaph; ink black and red; many female figures.

No. 2.—Height 5 ft. 1 1-2 inch; female; supposed age 40. Arms suspended by the side; hands brought in contact; head damaged by accident; found with a roll as No. 1, filled with hieroglyphics, rudely executed.

No. 3.—Heighth 4 ft. 4 1-2.—Male, very old, say 80; arms crossing on the breast, each hand on its opposite shoulder; had a roll of writing as No. 1 & 2; superior head, it will compare in the region of the sentiments with any in our land; passions mild.

No. 4.—Height 4 ft. 9; female. I am inclined to put her age at about 20 or 25, others call her an old woman; arms extended, hands by her side; auburn hair, short as girls at present in their new fashion. Found with her a braid of hair, three strans [strands] of the color of that on her head and 18 inches long. The head approximates to the form of the Orang Outang. The occipital and bazillar

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region very large; the head indicating a person of the lowest grade of human beings. Slander, fight, and devotion to the passions were undoubtedly peculiar traits in her character. They were enveloped in linnen [linen] saturated with gum, the qualities of which are not well understood. A thousand yards are supposed to be used on each body; 186 thicknesses have been counted on one of them. They are covered so as to preserve the exact form of the body and limbs. No. 3 and 4; the envelope is mostly stripped off; on 1 and 2 it is some broken. No. 1, fine linnen; No. 2, coarse; No. 3, very coarse; No. 4, very fine. The bodies evidently were reduced before winding. The man, No. 3, whose cerebral organization indicates a mind able to guide the destinies of a nation, is enveloped in the poorest and coarsest linnen, while the woman, No. 4, whose head indicates a disposition which may well be represented as the demon of society, was in the most careful manner enveloped in the finest of linnen and with a much greater proportion of gum. Is not this circumstance an intimation to us that rank was not according to merit—that superiority in station did not follow from superiority of mind, but from extraneous circumstances.

It is interesting to observe in these individuals the external indications of disposition which at this day build up and pull down society; that these relics of another and unknown age were once animated with life, and actuated by passions, hopes and fears, as we now are. How pleasing to contemplate that aged man, by rules that will not deceive, in the active exercise of those sentimental powers of the mind from which the hope of immortality springs. In such minds there is light—in such minds a nation will find prosperity, and society an anchor. But how sad to contemplate the history of that young female (No. 4)—revenge and hate indignant frown upon her brow.

The love of property is not indicated on either of their heads as being in any proportion as strong as with us. Did they not hold property in common? and is not this remark applicable to Indians?

Farmer.

Three months later, the Egyptian mummies and related papyri were brought to Kirtland, Ohio, where they were exhibited to the public by a showman named Michael H. Chandler.[8] In the summer of 1835, the 29-year-old Mormon prophet Joseph Smith had his first encounter with the mysteries of ancient Egypt.

On the 3rd of July, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphic figures and devices. As Mr. Chandler had been told I could translate them, he brought me some of the characters, and I gave him the interpretation, and like a gentleman, he gave me the following certificate:

Kirtland, July 6, 1835.

This is to make known to all who may be desirous, concerning the knowledge of Mr. Joseph Smith, Jun., in deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic characters in my possession, which I have, in many eminent cities, showed to the most learned; and, from the information that I could ever learn, or meet with, I find that of Mr. Joseph Smith, Jun., to correspond in the most minute matters.

Michael H. Chandler,
Traveling with, and proprietor of, Egyptian mummies.*

*Mr. Chandler is responsible for the English of the above certificate, and I do not feel at liberty to edit it (*History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 235).

Joseph Smith decided to try to buy the antiquities from Chandler. With the financial assistance of Church members (known as "Saints") Joseph Coe, Simeon Andrews, and

8. Virtually nothing is known about the life and career of Michael H. Chandler, apart from the Mormon historical sources quoted below. He is mentioned in Roberts 1978, hereafter cited as *History of the Church.*

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others, he purchased the mummies and papyri for $2,400, an enormous sum at the time (Backman 1983, p. 218, n. 27).[9] Within days, Joseph Smith began to apply himself to the problem of trying to interpret the inscriptions and figures on the ancient Egyptian papyri.

> Soon after this, some of the Saints at Kirtland purchased the mummies and papyrus, a description of which will appear hereafter, and with W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery as scribes, I commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc.,—a more full account of which will appear in its place, as I proceed to examine or unfold them. Truly we can say, the Lord is beginning to reveal the abundance of peace and truth (*History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 236).

Smith, assisted by his "scribes" Phelps and Cowdery, spent the last two weeks of July, 1835, working on the papyrus that had been identified as the *Book of Abraham*.

> The remainder of this month, I was continually engaged in translating an alphabet to the Book of Abraham, and arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language as practiced by the ancients (*History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 238).

There is no further record of work on the translations of the papyri until October. The official *History of the Church* and Joseph Smith's personal diaries mention sporadic activity in Kirtland, relating to the Egyptian papyri and mummies, throughout the autumn of 1835 and the winter of 1835/1836.[10]

> [October 1, 1835] This afternoon I labored on the Egyptian alphabet, in company with Brothers Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps, and during the research, the principles of astronomy as understood by Father Abraham and the ancients unfolded to our understanding, the particulars of which will appear hereafter.[11]
>
> [October 7, 1835] This afternoon I re-commenced translating the ancient records.[12]
>
> [October 19, 1835] At home. Exhibited the records of antiquity to a number who called to see them.[13]
>
> [October 24, 1835] Mr. Goodrich and wife called to see the ancient [Egyptian] records, and also Dr. Frederick G. Williams to see the mummies.[14]

9. Smith would later claim that his mother had purchased the mummies at a cost of $6,000; see below.
10. Joseph Smith's personal diaries, containing entries in his handwriting as well as the handwriting of several of his "scribes," are now housed in the archives of the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. The diaries supplement the information that was compiled for *History of the Church* and serve as a parallel source. They are now published in *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Faulring 1989), hereafter cited as *Smith Diaries*. Regrettably, there is a gap in the diary entries from December 1834 to September 1835. All excerpts from *Smith Diaries* are transcribed exactly as published, including strike throughs, underlining, etc.
11. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 286. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 35, which reads: "October 1[st] 1835 This after noon labored on the Egyptian alphabet in company with Br[other]s O[liver] Cowdery and W[illiam] W. Phelps. The system of astronomy was unfolded [to us]."
12. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 289, at the end of the entry for Wednesday, October 7, 1835. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 38, which reads: "This afternoon recommenced translating the ancient reccords."
13. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 290. The entry in *Smith Diaries*, p. 39, is identical.
14. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 291. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 40, which reads: "Saturday, 24th Mr. Goodrich and his lady called to see the antient [ancient] Records. [They] also called at Doct[or] F[rederick] G. Williams to see the mummies." The diary entry suggests that the mummies were then in the care of Dr. Frederick G. Williams who was one of Joseph Smith's "scribes." However, Emma Hale Smith's biographers have found entries in the unpublished *Journal of Caroline Barnes Crosby*, 1851–82,

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[October 29, 1835] While at the doctor's, Bishop Edward Partridge came in in company with President Phelps. I was much rejoiced to see him. We examined the mummies, returned home, and my scribe commenced writing in my journal a history of my life; concluded President Cowdery's second letter to W. W. Phelps, which President Williams had begun.[15]

[November 17, 1835] Exhibited the alphabet of the ancient records, to Mr. Holmes, and some others. Went with him to Fredrick G. Williams', to see the mummies.[16]

[November 19, 1835] I returned home and spent the day in translating the Egyptian records.[17]

[November 20, 1835] We spent the day in translating, and made rapid progress.[18]

[November 26, 1835] Spent the day in translating Egyptian characters from the papyrus, though severely afflicted with a cold.[19]

[November 30, 1835] Henry Capron, an old acquaintance from Manchester, New York, called on me. I showed him the Egyptian records.[20]

[December 7, 1835] Spent the day in reading Hebrew. Mr. John Hollister called to take the parting hand with me, and remarked that he had been in darkness all his days, but had now found the truth and intended to obey it.

This evening a number of brethren called to see the records, which I exhibited and explained. Fine sleighing.[21]

[December 10, 1835] This morning a number of brethren called to see the records, [Egyptian] which I exhibited to their satisfaction.[22]

[December 12, 1835] Spent the forenoon in reading. About twelve o'clock a number of young persons called to see the Egyptian records. My scribe exhibited them. One of the young ladies who

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now in the Utah State Historical Society, which suggest that the mummies were also exhibited for a time in the Smith's home. "Church members at Kirtland purchase them, but the mummies ended up on display in Emma's home, drawing a steady stream of visitors. Emma conducted tours, explainging the characters on them, as she had heard Joseph do." See Newell and Avery 1984, p. 54, n. 4.

15. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 293. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 42, which reads: "While at the Doct[or's], Bishop E[dward] Partri[d]ge came in in company with President Phelps. I was much rejoiced to see him. We examined the mum[m]ies, returned home, and my scribe commenced writing in/my/Journal a history of my life, concluding President [Oliver] Cowdery['s] 2d letter to W[illiam] W. Phelps, which President Williams had begun." The publication of the church history and the Prophet's life was begun in the Mormon periodical *Times & Seasons*, vol. III, no. 9, March 1, 1842.
16. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 316. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 65, which reads: "Tuesday, 17th Ex[h]ibited ~~some~~/the Alphabet/ of the ancient records to Mr. Holmes and some others. Went with him to F[rederick] G. Williams to see the Mum[m]ies."
17. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 318. The text of *Smith Diaries*, p. 66, is identical.
18. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 318. The text of *Smith Diaries*, p. 66, is identical.
19. *History of the Church*, vol. II, pp. 320–21. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 68, which reads: "Thursday, 26th At home. We spent the day in transcribing Egyptian characters from the papyrus. I am severely afflicted with a cold."
20. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 322. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 69, which reads: "This afternoon Henry Capron called to see me. He is an old a[c]quaintance of mine from Manchester, New York. [I] shewed him the Egyptian records."
21. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 326. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 72, which reads: "Spent the day in reading Hebrew. Mr. John Hollister called to take the parting hand with me and remarked that he had been in darkness all his days, but had now found the light and intended to obey it; also a number of brethren called this Evening to see the records. I ex[h]ibited and explained them to their satisfaction. We have fine sleighing."
22. *History of the Church*, vol. II, pp. 327–28. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 75, which reads: "This evening I spent at hom[e]. A number of brethren called to see the [Egyptian] records which I ex[h]ibited to them. They were much pleased with their interview."

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had been examining them, was asked if they had the appearance of antiquity. She observed, with an air of contempt, that they had not. On hearing this, I was surprised at the ignorance she displayed, and I observed to her, that she was an anomaly in creation, for all the wise and learned that had examined them, without hesitation pronounced them ancient. I further remarked, that it was downright wickedness, ignorance, bigotry and superstition had caused her to make the remark; and that I would put it on record. And I have done so, because it is a fair sample of the prevailing spirit of the times, showing that the victims of priestcraft and superstition would not believe though one should rise from the dead.[23]

[December 14, 1835] A number of brethren from New York called to visit me and see the Egyptian records.[24]

[December 16, 1835] Returned home.

Elders William E. M'Lellen, Brigham Young, and Jared Carter, called and paid me a visit with which I was much gratified. I exhibited and explained the Egyptian records to them, and explained many things concerning the dealing of God with the ancients, and the formation of the planetary system.[25]

[December 23, 1835] In the forenoon, at home, studying the Greek language. And also waited upon the brethren who came in, and exhibited to them the papyrus.[26]

[December 31, 1835] In the afternoon I attended at the chapel to give directions concerning the upper rooms, and more especially the west room, which I intend occupying for a translating room, which will be prepared this week.[27]

The public mind has been excited of late, by reports which have been circulated concerning certain Egyptian mummies and ancient records, which were purchased by certain gentlemen of Kirtland, last July. It has been said that the purchasers of these antiquities pretend they have the bodies of Abraham, Abimelech, (the king of the Philistines,) Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, &c., &c., for the purpose of attracting the attention of the multitude, and gulling the unwary; which is utterly false. Who these ancient inhabitants of Egypt were, I do not at present say. Abraham was

23. *History of the Church*, vol. II, pp. 329–30. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 75, which reads: "Saturday morning, 12th At home. Spent the fore noon in reading. At about 12 o'clock a number of young person[s] called to see the Egyptian records. I requested my Scribe [Warren Parrish] to ex[h]ibit them. He did so. One of the young ladies who had been examining them was asked if they had the appearance of Antiquity. She observed with an air of contempt that they did not. On hearing this I was surprised at the ignorance she displayed and I observed to her that she was an anomaly in creation for all the wise and learned that had ever examined them without hesitation pronounced them antient [ancient]. I further remarked that it was downright wickedness, ignorance, bigotry, and superstition that caused her to make the remark and that I would put it on record. I have done so because it is a fair sample of the prevailing spirit of the times showing that the victims of priestcraft and superstition would not believe though one should rise from the dead."

24. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 331. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 77, which reads: "Monday, 14th This morning a number of brethren from New York call[ed] to visit me and see the Egyptian records."

25. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 334. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 78, which reads: "Returned home, Elder McLellen, Elder B[righam] Young and Elder J[ared] Carter called and paid me a visit with which I was much gratified. I ex[h]ibited and explained the Egyptian Records to them and explained many things to them concerning the dealings of God with the ancients and the formation of the planetary system. They seemed much pleased with the interview."

26. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 344. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 91, which reads: "Wednesday, 23d In the forenoon at home stud[y]ing the Greek Language. Also waited upon the brethren who came in and exhibiting to them the papirus."

27. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 347. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 94, which reads: "In the after noon I attended at the Chapel [Kirtland temple] to give directions concerning the upper rooms and more especially the western room which I intend oc[c]upying for a translating room which will be prepared this week."

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buried on his own possession "in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohah, the Hittite, which is before Mamre," which he purchased of the sons of Heth. Abimelech lived in the same country, and for aught we know, died there; and the children of Israel carried Joseph's bones from Egypt, when they went out under Moses; consequently, these could not have been found in Egypt, in the nineteenth century. The record of Abraham and Joseph, found with the mummies, is beautifully written on papyrus, with black, and a small part red, ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies—hieroglyphics, etc.; with many characters of letters like the present (though probably not quite so square) form of the Hebrew without points. The records were obtained from one of the catacombs in Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes, by the celebrated French traveler, Antonio Sebolo, in the year 1831. He procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828, and employed four hundred and thirty-three men, four months and two days (if I understand correctly)—Egyptian or Turkish soldie[r]s, at from four to six cents per diem, each man. He entered the catacomb June 7, 1831, and obtained eleven mummies. There were several hundred mummies in the same catacomb; about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third orders, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity. The two last orders of embalmed were so decayed, that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris, he put in at Trieste, and, after ten days' illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole, to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, (then in Philadelphia, Pa.,) his nephew, whom he supposed to be in Ireland. Accordingly, the whole were sent to Dublin, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them to New York, where they were received at the Custom House, in the winter or spring of 1833. In April, of the same year, Mr. Chandler paid the duties and took possession of his mummies. Up to this time, they had not been taken out of the coffins, nor the coffins opened. On opening the coffins, he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, was something rolled up with the same kind of linen, saturated with the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. Two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c., were found with others of the mummies. When Mr. Chandler discovered that there was something with the mummies, he supposed or hoped it might be some diamonds or valuable metal, and was no little chagrined when he saw his disappointment. "He was immediately told, while yet in the custom house, that there was no man in that city who could translate his roll: but was referred, by the same gentleman, (a stranger,) to Mr. Joseph Smith, Jun., who, continued he, possesses some kind of power or gifts, by which he had previously translated similar characters." I was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites, had been brought before the public. From New York, he took his collection on to Philadelphia, where he obtained the certificate of the learned,* and from thence came on to Kirtland, as before related, in July. Thus I have given a brief history of the manner in which the writings of the fathers, Abraham and Joseph, have been preserved, and how I came in possession of the same—a correct translation of which I shall give in its proper place.[28]

28. *History of the Church*, vol. II, pp. 348–51. The spelling of the name "Sebolo" is an obvious misreading of "Lebolo," which probably occurred when the original handwritten records were being transcribed, typed, or typeset for publication. The internal footnote, marked by an asterisk, contains the following additional information:

> * The account here given of how the Prophet came into possession of the writings of Abraham, and of Joseph, the son of Jacob, was adapted from an article in the *Messenger and Advocate*, (Volume II, Number 3, pages 233, 236, bearing the date of December, 1835) signed by Oliver Cowdery. The article is addressed to William Frye, Esq., of Gilead, Calhoun County, Ill. The certificate of the "learned" referred to, is in the body of the article. It seems that Michael H. Chandler, the owner of the Egyptian mummies and the papyrus, exhibited his treasures in Philadelphia, and, while there, obtained the following opinion of several prominent doctors:

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[January 12, 1836] This afternoon, a young man called to see the Egyptian manuscripts, which I exhibited.[29]

[January 30, 1836] Attended school, as usual, and waited upon several visitors, and showed them the record of Abraham. Mr. Seixas, our Hebrew teacher, examined it with deep interest, and pronounced it to be original beyond all doubt. He is a man of excellent understanding, and has a knowledge of many languages which were spoken by the ancients, and he is an honorable man, so far as I can judge yet.[30]

"Having examined with attention and deep interest, a number of mummies from the Catacombs, near Thebes, in Egypt, and now exhibiting in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed; probably not less than three thousand years ago. The features of some of these mummies are in perfect expression. The papyrus covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preservation, are very interesting. The undersigned, unsolicited by any person connected by interest with this exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto, for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city."

John Redman Coxe, M.D.,
Richard Harlan, M.D.,
J. Pancoast, M.D.,
William P. C. Barton, M.D.,
E. F. Rivinus, M.D.,
Samuel G. Morgan, M.D.

"I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

"W. E. Horner, M.D."

Another paragraph in the article explains how it came about that Mr. Chandler gave the Prophet a certificate, concerning his belief in the Prophet's ability to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphics of the papyrus—which certificate will be found on page 235 of this volume, under the date of the purchase of the mummies and papyrus by certain persons in Kirtland. From the paragraph referred to, it appears that on the morning that Mr. Chandler first presented his papyrus to the Prophet Joseph Smith, he was shown by the latter, a number of characters which had been copied from the Nephite plates, and found that there were some points of resemblance between some of the Nephite characters and some of the characters on the Egyptian papyrus. Mr. Chandler then asked the Prophet's opinion concerning the antiquity of the Egyptian papyrus, and also requested him to give a translation of the characters. The Prophet gave Mr. Chandler a translation of some few of the Egyptian characters, which agreed with the interpretation given by learned men in other cities, where the mummies and papyrus had been exhibited, whereupon Mr. Chandler gave the Prophet a certificate, stating that fact.

There is no parallel account of this material in *Smith Diaries*. For a different use of the same doctors' affidavit, see below.

29. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 364. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 99, which reads: "This after noon a young man called to see the Egyptian manuscripts and I ex[h]ibited them to him. He expressed great satisfaction and appeared verry anxious to obtain a knowledge of the translation."

30. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 388. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 127, which reads: "Saturday, 30[th] Attended school as usual, and waited upon several visitors and showed them the record of Abraham. Mr. Seixas our Hebrew teacher examined them with deep interest, and pronounced them to be original beyound all doubt. He is a man of excellent understanding and has a knowledge of many languages which were spoken by the Antints [ancients]. He is an honorable man so far as I can judge as yet."

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> [February 3, 1836] Morning, attended our Hebrew lecture. Afternoon, studied with Oliver Cowdery and Sylvester Smith. Received many visitors, and showed them the Records of Abraham.[31]
>
> [February 11, 1836] Attended school, and read Hebrew with the morning class.
>
> Spent the afternoon in reading, and in exhibiting the Egyptian records to those who called to see me, and heaven's blessings have attended me.[32]
>
> [February 17, 1836] Elder Coe called to make some arrangements about the Egyptian mummies and records. He proposes to hire a room at John Johnson's Inn, and exhibit them there from day to day, at certain hours, that some benefit may be derived from them. I complied with his request, and only observed that they must be managed with prudence and care, especially the manuscripts.[33]

In 1837, William S. West, a non-Mormon, visited Kirtland and later published a report of his visit in a sixteen page pamphlet. Regarding the Egyptian antiquities, West observed:

> The Mormons have four mummies, and a quantity of records, written on papyrus, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, which were brought from the Catacombs near Thebes, in Egypt. They say that the mummies were Egyptian, but the records are those of Abraham and Joseph, and contain important information respecting the creation, the fall of man, the deluge, the patriarchs, the Book of Mormon, the lost tribes, the gathering, the end of the world, the judgement, &c., &c. ... These records were torn by being taken from the roll of embalming salve which contained them, and some parts entirely lost. ...[34]

Many Americans suffered catastrophic financial reverses as a result of the Bank Panic of 1837, and the community of Latter-day Saints at Kirtland was no exception. Years later, Joseph Smith's mother Lucy recorded her recollections of how the mummies and papyri were regarded by the Ohio neighbors to whom the Mormons and their leader were deeply in debt:

> Their first movement was to sue Joseph for debt, and, with this pretense, seize upon every piece of property belonging to any of the family. Joseph then had in his possession four Egyptian mummies, with some ancient records that accompanied them. These the mob swore they would take, and then burn every one of them. Accordingly, they obtained an execution upon them for an unjust debt of fifty dollars; but, by various stratagems, we succeeded in keeping them out of their hands (Smith 1979, p. 247).

There seems to be no published record of the westward movement of the mummies and papyri with the Mormons from Kirtland, Ohio into Missouri, and then back across the

31. *History of the Church*, vol. II, pp. 390–91. See also *Smith Diaries*, p. 128, which reads: "Wednesday, 3[rd] Attended our Hebrew lecture A.M. and studied with O[liver] Cowdery and Sylvester Smith. P.M. received many visiters and showed the records of Abraham."
32. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 394. See also *Smith Diaries*, pp. 131–32, which reads: "Thursday mornin[g], 11th Feb[ruar]y 1836 At home. Attended the School and read Hebrew with the morning Class. Spent the afternoon in reading and ex[h]ibiting the Egy[p]tian records to those who called to see me. Heaven's blessings have attended me."
33. *History of the Church*, vol. II, p. 396. See also *Smith Diaries*, pp. 133–34, which reads: "This evening Elder [Joseph] Coe called to make some ar[r]angements about the Egyptian records and the mummies. He proposes to hire a room at J[ohn] Johnson's Inn and ex[h]ibit them there from day to day at certain hours, that some benefit may be derived from them. I complied with his request and only observed that they must be managed with prudence and care, especially the manuscripts." Joseph Coe was one of the Saints who contributed funds toward the purchase price of Chandler's mummies and papyri. See n. 13 above.
34. West (1837) quoted by Clark (1968, p. 200).

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Mississippi River to Nauvoo, Illinois.[35] One can only imagine how much damage the fragile antiquities may have suffered as they bounced over hundreds of miles of rough road in carts or wagons.

After the Mormons had established themselves in the city of Nauvoo, Illinois, a non-Mormon neighbor published this account of his visit with Joseph Smith and the Egyptian antiquities:

> It was a beautiful morning towards the close of April last, when the writer ... accompanied by a friend, crossed the Mississippi river, from Montrose (Iowa), to pay a visit to the prophet. ...
>
> After he had shown us the fine grounds around his dwelling; he conducted us, at our request, to an upper room, where he drew aside the curtains of a case; and showed us several Egyptian mummies, which we were told that the Church had purchased, at his suggestion, some time before, for a large sum of money.
>
> The embalmed body that stands near the centre of the case, said he, is one of the Pharaohs, who sat upon the throne of Egypt; and the female figure by it is probably one of the daughters. ...
>
> He then walked to a secretary, on the opposite side of the room, and drew out several frames, covered with glass, under which were numerous fragments of Egyptian papyrus, on which, as usual, a great variety of hieroglyphical characters had been imprinted.
>
> These ancient records, said he, throw great light upon the subject of Christianity. They have been unrolled and preserved with great labor and care. My time has been hitherto too much taken up to translate the whole of them, but I will show you how I interpret certain parts. There, said he, pointing to a particular character, that is the signature of the patriarch Abraham.[36]

The Book of Abraham was first serialized in the Mormon newspaper *Times & Seasons* in March 1842. This follow-up article appeared in May:

> EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.
>
> These Mummies, with seven others, were taken from the Catacombs of Egypt, near where the Ancient, and we may say, almost unparalleled City of Thebes once stood, by the celebrated French traveler, Antonio Lebolo, at great expense, under the protection of the French Consul, by consent of Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. It is to be noticed that several hundred mummies, differently embalmed were found in the same catacomb, but only eleven in a state to be removed. The seven have been sold to a gentleman for private museums, and in consequence are kept from the eye of the public. They have been exhibited in Philadelphia and Baltimore to crowded audiences; in the latter place, although only engaged for two weeks, the exhibition was prolonged to five weeks, with attraction. Of all the relics of the ancient world that time has left, the Mummy is the most interesting. It is a well known fact, recorded in both sacred and profane history that men were embalmed, which science has attracted the learned for ages. All other antiquities are but the work of man, but mummies present us with the men themselves—they are the personages, preserved in human form, for the gaze and attraction of people who are occupying down the stream of time centuries from those—they have certainly been conspicuous actors in those mighty scenes of which the history of Egypt is full—An hundred generations have passed away and new Empires have begun since this flesh was animated—since those eyes were bright and the tongue was eloquent and the heart beat within this breast. These strangers—illustrious for their antiquity,

35. However, James R. Clark mentions an unpublished diary of one Samuel Woolley, in the possession of the Woolley family in Cardston, Alberta, Canada, which contains a diary entry for 1838, in which Woolley "claims the distinction of helping to transport the mummies and papyrus from Kirtland, Ohio, to Far West, Missouri, when Joseph Smith moved Church headquarters there." See Clark 1968, p. 200, n. 11.

36. Quoted, without a specific citation or date, by James R. Clark as a report by an anonymous author who is stated to have written it for the *Quincy Whig*, a newspaper published in Quincy, Illinois near Nauvoo. See Clark 1968, pp. 200–01.

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may have lived in the days of Jacob, Moses or David, and of course some thousand years have elapsed since their bodies were animated with the breath of life! History records the fact, that the higher class concealed their knowledge from the lower in figures and hieroglyphic character. A few of those, upon papyrus, used by the Egyptians for writing, will be exhibited with the Mummies.

"Having examined with considerable interest, a number of mummies from the Catacombs, near Thebes in Egypt and now exhibited in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed: probably not less than three thousand years ago. The features of some of these mummies are in perfect expression. The papyrus, covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preservation, are very interesting. The undersigned unsolicited by any person connected by interest with the exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city."

John Redman Coxe, M.D.
Richard Harlan, M.D.
J. Pancoast, M.D.
William P. C. Barton, M.D.
E. F. Rivinus, M.D.
Samuel G. Morgan, M.D.

"I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the Curious."

W. E. Horner, M.D.

We have in our possession the four mummies referred to. They, together with the records, were purchased of a Mr. Chandler who exhibited them in different parts of the Union, and sold them to us in Kirtland, Ohio. The above is a copy of the original placard published by Mr. Chandler, whilst they were yet in his possession (*Times & Seasons*, May 2, 1842, p. 774).

In the same issue of *Times & Seasons*, May 2, 1842, is an account of a "catacomb of mummies found in Kentucky." A Mr. Ash, who had reflected on them, is referred to *The Book of Mormon* for the connection between the Hebrews and Egyptians, etc.

Two weeks later, *Times & Seasons* reprinted the following note from *The Dollar Weekly Bostonian*, without editorial comment:

> The chapter from the recently recovered Book of Abraham, and the unique cut which illustrated it, on the outside, has occasioned us some expense; but we care not for that so long as we please our patrons, which we mean to do at all hazards, trusting to the good sense of the most enlightened public in this, or any other universe, for suitable remuneration.

On June 1, 1842, *Times & Seasons* noted the following item from *New York Mechanics*:

> "The Times and Seasons" the Mormon newspaper, published at Nauvoo by Joseph Smith, has commenced the translation of a book written by Abraham, and discovered in the catacombs of Egypt! These people, from a handful of persecuted outcasts have become a numerous sect, and are able to protect themselves against insult and oppression, in fact it is said that they have revolutionized the State of Illinois (*Times & Seasons*, June 1, 1842, p. 805).

In November 1843, Smith was evidently thinking again about his work on the papyri, as indicated by this entry in his personal diary:

> Wednesday, Nov[ember] 15[th] 1843 At home. 10 A.M. Held court in the office. Erskine vs Pullen. Nonsuit. [*several lines left blank*] P.M. at the office. Suggested the idea of preparing a grammar of the Egyptian Language (*Smith Diaries*, p. 427).

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Toward the end of April 1844, a scant two months before the Prophet's death, Josiah Quincy (1802–1882) and his cousin Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886) visited Nauvoo and met with Joseph Smith. Quincy later published his account of their visit to see the mummies.

> ... Ten closely written pages of my journal describe my impressions of Nauvoo, and of its prophet, mayor, general, and judge; but details, necessarily omitted in the diary, went into letters addressed to friends at home, and I shall use both these sources to make my narrative as complete as possible. I happened to visit Joseph Smith in company with a distinguished gentleman, who, if rumor may be trusted, has been as conscientious a journal writer as was his father. It is not impossible that my record may one day be supplemented by that of my fellow traveler, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.
>
> ... The prophet referred to his miraculous gift of understanding all languages, and took down a Bible in various tongues, for the purpose of exhibiting his accomplishments in this particular. Our position as guests prevented our testing his powers by a rigid examination, and the rendering of a few familiar texts seemed to be accepted by his followers as a triumphant demonstration of his abilities. It may have been an accident, but I observed that the bulk of his translations were from the Hebrew, which, presumably, his visitors did not understand, rather than from the classical languages, in which they might more easily have caught him tripping.
>
> "And now come with me," said the prophet, "and I will show you the curiosities." So saying, he led the way to a lower room, where sat a venerable and respectable-looking lady. "This is my mother, gentlemen. The curiosities we shall see belong to her. They were purchased with her own money, at a cost of six thousand dollars"; and then, with deep feeling, were added the words, "And that woman was turned out upon the prairie in the dead of night by a mob." There were some pine presses fixed against the wall of the room. These receptacles Smith opened, and disclosed four human bodies, shrunken and black with age. "These are mummies," said the exhibitor. "I want you to look at that little runt of a fellow over there. He was a great man in his day. Why, that was Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt!" Some parchments inscribed with hieroglyphics were then offered us. They were preserved under glass and handled with great respect. "That is the handwriting of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful," said the prophet. "This is the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the Creation, from which Moses composed the First Book of Genesis." The parchment last referred to showed a rude drawing of a man and woman, and a serpent walking upon a pair of legs. I ventured to doubt the propriety of providing the reptile in question with this unusual means of locomotion. "Why, that's as plain as a pikestaff," was the rejoinder. "Before the Fall snakes always went about on legs, just like chickens. They were deprived of them, in punishment for their agency in the ruin of man." We were further assured that the prophet was the only mortal who could translate these mysterious writings, and that his power was given by direct inspiration.
>
> It is well known that Joseph Smith was accustomed to make his revelations point to those sturdy business habits which lead to prosperity in this present life. He had little enough of that unmixed spiritual power which flashed out from the spare, neurasthenic body of Andrew Jackson. The prophet's hold upon you seemed to come from the balance and harmony of temperament which reposes upon a large physical basis. No association with the sacred phrases of Scripture could keep the inspirations of this man from getting down upon the hard pan of practical affairs. "Verily I say unto you, let my servant, Sidney Gilbert, plant himself in this place and establish a store." So had run one of his revelations, in which no holier spirit than that of commerce is discernible. The exhibition of these august relics concluded with a similar descent into the hard modern world of fact. Monarchs, patriarchs, and parchments were very well in their way; but this was clearly the nineteenth century, when prophets must get a living and provide for their relations. "*Gentleman*," said this *bourgeois* Mohammed, as he closed the cabinets, "*those who see these curiosities generally pay my mother a quarter of a dollar*" (Quincy 1926, pp. 317–37, "Joseph Smith at Nauvoo").

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The diaries of Charles Francis Adams have been published only for the entries through the year 1840 (*Diary of Charles Francis Adams* [1964–Present]). One of Adams' biographers described the encounter this way:

> When the pair reached Nauvoo, Illinois, they had an extraordinary interview with Joseph Smith, the Mormon leader. Smith, described by Adams as a man "of frank but not coarse vulgarity," held a long talk with the two New Englanders about his ideas and experiences. He also conducted them on a tour of his house, where he showed them four Egyptian mummies and explained (for a fee of twenty-five cents) the contents of a manuscript—"written by the hand of Abraham"—which had been found in one of them. "The cool impudence of this imposter" amused Adams but he was too polite, he noted sardonically, "to prove the negative against a man fortified by revelation" (Duberman 1961, pp. 92–93).

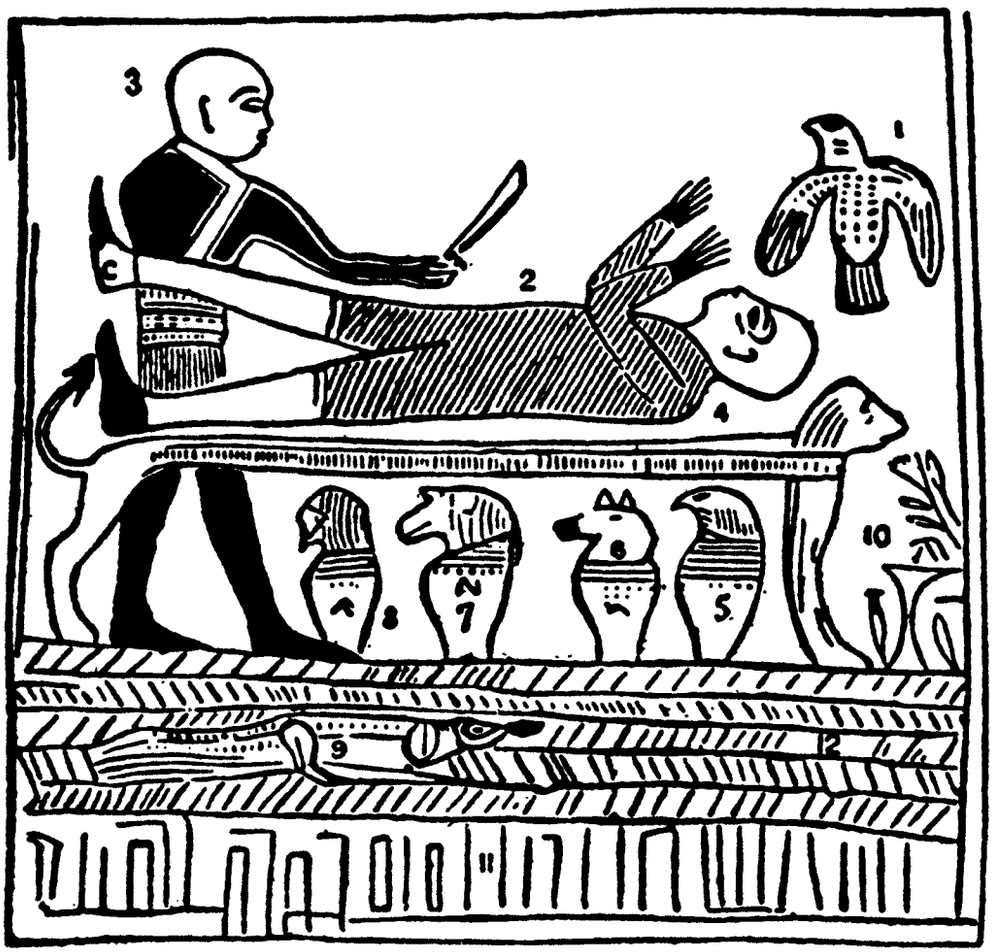
Josiah Quincy confirms that the mummies then in the possession of the Smith family were four in number. According to Quincy, one male was identified by Joseph Smith as the Pharaoh Necho. Quincy's reference to "pine presses," with no remarks on their antiquity or unusual decoration suggests that the mummies were then stored in modern upright cases, such as large cupboards or armoires. Years later, Jerusha Walker, a grandniece of Joseph Smith, recalled: "What fun we had with Aunt Emma's boys, Joseph, Frederick, Alexander and David. My favorite hiding place was in an old wardrobe which contained the mummies, and it was in here that I would creep while the others searched the house."[37] The only time that coffins are mentioned in the contemporary accounts occurs in the entry for December 31, 1835 in *History of the Church*. If the original coffins were still in the possession of Michael H. Chandler when he sold his mummies to the Mormons in July 1835, there seems to be no record of them by 1844. Perhaps Chandler had retained the coffins and disposed of them by other means.

A complete account of the sequel to the story of Joseph Smith and the Egyptian mummies and papyri after 1844 is beyond the space limitations of this article. It seems unlikely that Chandler conjured up the name of Antonio Lebolo, but a family connection between the two men remains unproved and seems unlikely. Perhaps Chandler and Lebolo were simply business partners. Two of the four mummies have been traced through a private museum in St. Louis to the Woods Museum in Chicago, where they are believed by most (but not all) researchers to have been destroyed in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, together with some of the Joseph Smith Papyri.[38] No records pertaining to the disposition of the other two mummies have been found. In 1967, eleven fragments of Joseph Smith's Egyptian papyri that had been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1947 were given to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, where they re-joined a twelfth piece known as the "Church Historian's Fragment." The fate of the hypocephalus of Shoshenq, a woodcut of which was first published in 1842 as Facsimile No. 2 (see fig. 11.2) from *The Book of Abraham*, remains a mystery.

37. Quoted by Newell and Avery (1984, pp. 265–66, n. 44).

38. Personal communication to the author from Professor H. Donl Peterson, Brigham Young University, letter of May 22, 1985: "I am not persuaded that the Joseph Smith papyri was [*sic*] destroyed in the Chicago Fire in 1871. Some of the LDS church leaders were confident that some of the papyri was [*sic*] still in existence in the rebuilt Woods Museum in 1878. I feel that Chicago still contains some answers in this puzzling history."

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EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT

Fig. 1. The Angel of the Lord. 2. Abraham fastened upon the altar. 3. The idolatrous priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice. 4. The altar for sacrifice by the idolatrous priests, standing before the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmackrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. 5. The idolatrous god of Elkenah. 6. The idolatrous god of Libnah. 7. The idolatrous god of Mahmackrah. 8. The idolatrous god of Korash. 9. The idolatrous god of Pharaoh. 10. Abraham in Egypt. 11. Designed to represent the pillars of heaven, as understood by the Egyptians. 12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant to signify Shaumau, to be high, or the heavens, answering to the Hebrew word Shaumahyeem.

Figure 11.1. Facsimile No. 1 and Its Accompanying Explanation from *The Book of Abraham* (from Spalding 1912)

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EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT

Fig. 1. Kolob, signifying the first creation, nearest to the celestial, or residence of god. First in government, the last pertaining to the measurement of time. The measurement according to celestial time which celestial time signifies one day to a cubit. One day in Kolob is equal to a thousand years, according to the measurement of this earth, which is called by the Egyptians Jah-oh-eh.

Fig. 2. Stands next to Kolob, called by the Egyptians Oliblish, which is the next grand governing creation near to the celestial or the place where God resides; holding the key of power also, pertaining to other planets; as revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar, which he had built unto the Lord.

Fig. 3. Is made to represent God, sitting upon his throne, clothed with power and authority; with a crown of eternal light upon his head; representing also the grand Key-Words of the Holy Priesthood, as revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, as also to Seth, Noah, Melchisedeck, Abraham, and all to whom the Priesthood was revealed.

Fig. 4. Answers to the Hebrew word Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament of the heavens; also a numerical figure, in Egyptian signifying one thousand; answering to the measuring of the time of Oliblish, which is equal with Kolob in its revolution and in its measuring of time.

Fig. 5. Is called in Egyptian Enish-go-on-dosh; this is one of the governing planets also, and is said by the Egyptians to be the Sun, and to borrow its light from Kolob through the medium of Kae-e-vanrash, which is the grand Key, or, in other words, the governing power, which governs fifteen other fixed planets or stars, as also Floeese or the Moon, the Earth and the Sun in their annual revolutions. This planet receives its power through the medium of Kli-flos-is-es, or Hah-ko-kau-beam, the stars represented by numbers 22 and 23, receiving light from the revolutions of Kolob.

Fig. 6. Represents the earth in its four quarters.

Fig. 7. Represents God sitting upon his throne, revealing through the heavens, the grand Key-Words of the Priesthood; as also, the sign of the Holy Ghost unto Abraham, in the form of a dove.

Fig. 8. Contains writing that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God.

Fig. 9. Ought not to be revealed at the present time.

Fig. 10. Also.

Fig. 11. Also. If the world can find out these numbers, so let it be. Amen.

Figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, will be given in their own due time of the Lord.

The above translation is given as far as we have any right to give at the present time.

Figure 11.2. Facsimile No. 2 and Its Accompanying Explanation from *The Book of Abraham* (from Spalding 1912)

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EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE CUT

1. Abraham sitting upon Pharaoh's throne, by the politeness of the king, with a crown upon his head, representing the Priesthood, as emblematical of the grand Presidency in Heaven; with the sceptre of justice and judgment in his hand.

2. King Pharaoh, whose name is given in the characters above his head.

3. Signifies Abraham in Egypt; referring to Abraham, as given in the ninth number of the *Times and Seasons*. (also as given in the first fac-simile of this book.)

4. Prince of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, as written above the hand.

5. Shulem, one of the king's principal waiters, as represented by the characters above his hand.

6. Olimlah, a slave belonging to the prince.

Abraham is reasoning upon the principles of astronomy, in the king's court.

Figure 11.3. Facsimile No. 3 and Its Accompanying Explanation from *The Book of Abraham* (from Spalding 1912)

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APPENDIX 11.1: SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPYRI

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CHAPTER 12

SOME REMARKS ON THE *BOOKS OF THE DEAD* COMPOSED FOR THE HIGH PRIESTS PINEDJEM I AND II

LEONARD H. LESKO
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This small contribution is dedicated to the memory of a friend and mentor I shall never forget. Klaus Baer was my teacher in only one course at the Oriental Institute, but before sending me off to the University of California, Berkeley as his successor there, he spent many hours in the spring and summer of 1966 reviewing every stage of Egyptian language and history and drilling me in what to cover and how to present every aspect in each course I was to teach. His remarks were up-to-date, thorough, and more practical than anything I had learned in regular classes, and the time he generously gave to this effort was clearly above and beyond the call of duty. The topic and style of this paper would certainly not have been Klaus Baer's choice, but, on the other hand, nothing in Egyptology was outside his wide range of interest.

Eight years ago while looking at photographs of papyri in the British Museum I came upon the *Book of the Dead* of Pinedjem II (BM 10793).[1] This had been acquired by Sir Archibald Campbell in 1874 and was given to the British Museum in 1960. This lengthy and beautifully written document has one illustration at its beginning on the right-hand side, but no other vignettes at all. The single illustration is of a youthful looking high priest (First Prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods) who is offering incense before the image of the god Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Wennefer, ruler of the living. Pinedjem here, but not elsewhere in the personalized chapters that follow, has the title, General of the Army, added to his priestly title. The cursive hieroglyphic texts of the rest of the manuscript are in horizontal lines divided into columns. In the thirty-one and a half columns of texts the only obvious flaw is the addition above one line of a slightly more cursive "Osiris" that had been omitted in just one of the countless occurrences of Pinedjem's name. The manuscript has sixty chapters of the *Book of the Dead* with five of these occurring twice.

Seeing such a fine manuscript of the *Book of the Dead* with the texts rather than pictures preeminent, obviously carefully written and collated, and produced for one of the highest ranking religious officials of Egypt in the Twenty-first Dynasty, when members of this same family of priests shared the rule of the country as well, all added to the excitement of finding what may be our best sourcebook for the philosophy and religion of Pinedjem, or his time, or his Upper Egyptian, Theban, context.

1. I am grateful to Vivian Davies, Morris Bierbrier, and Carol Andrews for making the British Museum's files and photographic archives accessible and for furnishing study photographs of BM 10793.

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This single manuscript provided quite enough incentive to return to the *Book of the Dead,* but I became even more interested when I saw the tiny photograph of Pinedjem I's *Book of the Dead* that Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian (1987, no. 235) published in their Cairo Museum Catalogue in 1987. Pinedjem I's book was obviously entirely different from the British Museum manuscript of his grandson, Pinedjem II, even though these two Pinedjems held the same priestly office and were only separated by one generation—a generation, however, that evidently comprised more than forty years and four other high priests' reigns, including three sons and another grandson of Pinedjem I, i.e., Smendes II (Kitchen 1973, pp. 77–78, 465). Pinedjem II seems to have married his brother's daughter, Neskhons, and had a daughter, Nesitanebetisheru, who will be mentioned again below. He also married a woman named Istemkheb, who bore him a son Psusennes II, who served as high priest but also may have succeeded to the royal throne in the north at Tanis as the king known as Psusennes II.

The Cairo Book (CG 40006) reads from left to right in vertical lines of hieroglyphic text. It has a few colorful but discrete vignettes, including some with the high priest shown in royal regalia with his names in cartouches below the title "King of Upper Egypt." Pinedjem I was, of course, son of Pianki and grandson of Herihor, who also claimed some degree of kingship at Thebes. Since Pinedjem I's wife Henuttawi was daughter of King Smendes, Herihor's other son, it is not surprising that her son by Pinedjem I, Menkheperre, would also claim the kingly title. What is perhaps surprising is that the high priest "King" Menkheperre's son, Pinedjem II, whose mother, another Istemkheb, was daughter of the real King Psusennes I, did not claim the kingly title, at least not on records that survive. The obvious first impression was that Pinedjem II was much more serious about his priestly office, and his *Book of the Dead* might be used to confirm this. The "General of the Army" title on the book, however, could indicate otherwise, and the provenance of his *Book of the Dead* is also not certain. It probably came from the Deir el-Bahri cache, but likely was not intimately wrapped between the legs of the mummy as Pinedjem I's book had been. Some *Book of the Dead* documents, particularly the larger copies, were placed inside of hollowed out statues and could have been kept this way for many years. Pinedjem II and other members of his family had two or three religious documents prepared for themselves, including *Books of the Dead,* short *Amduat* papyri, and decrees in the name of Amun-Re, and this fact must be borne in mind when considering these *Books of the Dead* as sourcebooks for the owners' philosophy and religion. The outstanding condition of both of these *Book of the Dead* manuscripts under consideration make it clear that they were not well-worn prayer books that would have received considerable use, but rather some combination of credential for attaining a blessed hereafter and a manual to be consulted by the deceased when necessary in the afterlife.

Andrzej Niwiński's formal analysis and classification of the late New Kingdom illustrated funerary papyri of the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C., including the two Pinedjem texts, used iconography as the basis for his typology but shows the points of transition very clearly based on the large numbers of datable examples and his tabular presentation (Niwiński 1989a, cf. particularly table XVI). Manuscripts of the *Book of the Dead* from most periods—New Kingdom to Roman period—have introductions or initial hymns to Re or Osiris (also Thoth) that can frequently be relied upon to indicate a religious

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preference—solar, Osirian, or even lunar—but the situation in the Twenty-first Dynasty is apparently more subtle, and Niwiński's work on the iconography of both coffins and papyri (assuming as he does that these were from otherwise undecorated tombs originally) led him to see a fusion of Re and Osiris (what he terms "polymorphic monotheism") in the religion of the period (Niwiński 1989b, pp. 89–106). This concept is perhaps best illustrated in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Queen Nefertari in a scene showing a mummified figure with ram head and sun disk with the texts on one side saying "It is Re who rests in Osiris," and on the other "It is Osiris who rests in Re." Niwiński's other examples may be somewhat less convincing, and it should be noted that even this scene is based on Chapter 180 of the *Book of the Dead* which is totally solar and merely subsumes Osiris to Re. At any rate interesting things were happening in both the religious iconography and the texts of the Ramesside period and Twenty-first Dynasty, and we have a hypothesis that needs to be tested, and perhaps can be, by studying the texts. What I propose then is to examine briefly the different selection and arrangement of texts based on their contents and to suggest what these factors can tell us about the religious beliefs of these individuals or of their times. The selection process for the spells that made up the religious books of the ancient Egyptians is a very interesting topic. Clearly some would have been chosen by title, and there are frequent series of transformation spells, knowledge spells, prevention spells, enabling or making worthy spells, and, of course, spells for going about, which from the original title of the collection must be considered of prime importance—these were essentially "spells for going forth by day." Some spells in all these collections were apparently chosen by key words that were not in the titles, sometimes place names like *Sekhet Ḥetepu* or god's names like the Sons of Horus would lead to a further elaboration or description, and in some cases it is clearly the general idea, without any key word, that is taken up in a succeeding chapter.

One point to bear in mind is that the chapters vary greatly in length, some being only a few lines long while others go on for many pages. The two manuscripts we are looking at are both personalized texts, and the owner in each case, if we can believe Carol Andrews, "would commission an expert scribe to write the text for him and it would consist of his own personal choice of chapters" (Faulkner 1985, p. 11). She also said of Third Intermediate Period examples that many have nothing but illustrations, and further that certain spells (e.g., 1, 17, 64) are found on every extant *Book of the Dead* papyrus (ibid., pp. 12, 14), but neither of these generalizations is true of the Pinedjem examples.

The earlier papyrus of Pinedjem I had many fewer chapters (only nine), though it was not that much shorter in length (4.5 m compared to 6.8 m). The chapters occurring on this *Book of the Dead* were listed by Niwiński (1989a, table IX), but this list has now been modified slightly by Heerma van Voss (1991, p. 155, nn. 5, 8) in a brief article that has recently appeared in the Derchain *Festschrift*. This article entitled "Religion und Philosophie im Totenbuch des Pinodjem I," offers brief summaries of the chapters and very little on the religion and philosophy involved. What this article of Heerma van Voss does provide, that is of considerable interest, is the list of spells from the manuscripts of Pinedjem's wife Henuttawi and daughter Maatkare (ibid., pp. 156–57). The selection of spells for each of their books is quite diverse with only four spells in common from potentially twenty or more

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on each. Pinedjem's *Book of the Dead* has only three chapters in common with his wife's book and two with his daughter's. Such "personal selection" indeed deserves further study.

The opening scene or etiquette of Pinedjem I's papyrus has the "king" adoring Osiris, while the famous Chapter 17A, the Heliopolitan spell with glosses that have both solar and Osirian responses to questions about the meaning of the original, provided the introductory spell. This is followed by Chapter 23 for opening the mouth of the deceased, assisted by numerous other deities from Memphite Ptah to the Heliopolitan Ennead. Chapter 72 is for going out into the day and opening up the tomb. This, like several other of his spells, is supposed to have been proved successful a million times, and it is stated that it is to be known while one is on earth and should be put on one's coffin. The next two chapters (26 and 30B) pertaining to the heart are for giving a person's heart to him in the realm of the dead and the famous spell for not letting a person's heart create opposition against him. Chapter 71 is another spell for going out into the day. This one enables him who recites it to prosper on earth with Re and to have a goodly burial with Osiris. Chapter 141/3 is a book which Pinedjem is to write for his father and his son. It lists offerings to many gods. The Field of Offerings (*Sekhet Ḥetepu*) in Chapter 110 describes a paradise where the deceased is equipped and content, plows and reaps, eats and drinks, rows and travels, makes love and does not perish. Finally, Chapter 125, the declaration of innocence, has Pinedjem declared pure, ushered in with the kings, in the suite of Osiris.

Obviously, the selection of texts for this whole book is essentially Osirian, even if we accept the Heliopolitan origin of most or all of the texts. If this were indeed Pinedjem's sole guidebook for the hereafter, it would appear rather limiting for a high priest of Amun-Re. My first reaction was that perhaps Pinedjem's kingship claim may have something to do with this selection of texts, since a Horus king at death becomes Osiris, and the whole book would then stress his regal over his priestly office. This would not, however, correspond to what happened in the earlier New Kingdom, with the selection of mortuary texts for royalty generally coming from non-Osirian, non-*Book of the Dead* sources such as *Amduat*, the *Book of Gates*, and the *Book of Caves*—works that stress the solar cyclical voyage.

For the sequence of spells in Pinedjem II's *Book of the Dead* the list compiled by Professor Shore for the British Museum was published by Niwiński (1989a, p. 115). There may be three or four inconsistencies here, but the sequence (including repeated spells) is almost identical with that of the Greenfield Papyrus (BM 10554) that belonged to Pinedjem II's daughter, Nesitanebetisheru (Budge 1902). Her papyrus is one of the longest known (41 m) since most of the chapters in her book have elaborate vignettes, but the second chapter in her book (the long solar introductory spell, Chapter 15) does not occur at the beginning of Pinedjem's book, and the end of her book has sixteen chapters also omitted in Pinedjem II's papyrus. These are likewise mostly solar texts and include some very popular chapters such as *Book of the Dead* Chapter 110, which describes the *Sekhet Ḥetepu*, and Chapter 148 with the seven celestial cows, their bull husband, and the four steering oars of the sky. Niwiński (1989a, p. 115) said "it is worth mentioning that the above sequence for the great part was followed by the scribe who wrote the pap. Greenfield for the daughter of Pinudjem II." My first impression was also that the daughter's text must be later and was embellished mainly with the vignettes. But on the other hand the Greenfield Papyrus is also more complete with

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solar introduction and conclusion, and it has an ending that makes more sense with respect to both the judgment scene (Chapter 125), which itself is incomplete in Pinedjem's book, and the texts that follow in Nesitanebetisheru's book, which regularly occur beyond the judgment in such solar documents. E. A. Wallis Budge (1902, p. vi) had called attention to the exceptional nature of Nesitanebetisheru's papyrus, to the care displayed, to the generous space allotment, to the long vignettes, and to her numerous priestly titles. He thought this book was a labor of love, and since Nesitanebetisheru had the title *Bꜣkỉ pꜣ ỉpw n ꜥImn-Rꜥ*, "servant (or "worker") of the scrolls of Amun-Re," he suggested that she herself may have been the book's author and scribe. The obvious next step was to compare the handwriting of these two books. There are similarities but both in the writings of basic alphabetic characters and in the groupings of signs in common words there are consistencies in each manuscript and differences between the manuscripts. Thus they were probably not done by the same scribe.

The one spell in Pinedjem's book that was not identified by Shore or Niwiński by chapter number was however identified as paralleling the Greenfield Papyrus, pl. 26, 16–27, 3 (Niwiński 1989a, p. 115). This same chapter occurs in the *Book of the Dead* (Cairo JE 95838) of Gatseshen, the sister of Pinedjem II, and was designated by Naville (1914, p. 6, pl. 31) in his publication of that book as Chapter 41B, presumably not because it was a variant of 41, but rather because it followed Chapter 41 immediately and had no other designation at the time he came across it. T. G. Allen (1974, p. 48, n. 86) confirmed that the two books known to him to contain Chapter 41B (i.e., Cg of Gatseshen and Ec of Nesitanebetisheru) both belonged to women. Now the discovery of the occurrence of this chapter in Pinedjem II's book, as well as in those of his sister and daughter, might not be startling, but the spell seems to have been written for a woman in all three cases, or else someone forgot to change *sꜣt*, "daughter," with a feminine *t* and egg (female determinative) to *sꜣ*, "son," at the end of Pinedjem's version of the spell. At the end of this spell for seizing the *mrty*-snakes, the deceased says of Osiris, "I am his daughter, I am his child." If indeed the text was borrowed from a woman's book, Gatseshen's papyrus or the book of some earlier member of the family which has not survived could be considered as sources. Gatseshen's book has an incredible 148 chapters with 57 paralleling the spells of Pinedjem's book, and 44 of these are in 6 identical sequences. Chapter 125 in Gatseshen's book even has a clear break for the beginning of the end of 125, which is where this spell begins in Pinedjem's book. Gatseshen's book has a further 14 spells that also occur in Nesitanebetisheru's book, but the handwriting of this book is different from both the others. Gatseshen had no exceptional titles, though this should not be used to rule her out as the source of this new tradition. The book belonging to the wife of Pinedjem II, Neskhons, has only 39 chapters and only about half find parallels in Pinedjem's work. Although her book has Chapter 41, it does not have 41B. Despite the fact that Nesitanebetisheru represents a younger generation, it is still not impossible that her manuscript or one identical to it would have been the source of Pinedjem II's book, which so clearly resembles it, and so much for the case we would like to have made for the personal selection of texts for the *Book of the Dead* of this priest of the highest rank! On the other hand Budge may not have been too far off in his estimation of the

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importance of Nesitanebetisheru, and the involvement of women in the composition and/or copying of religious texts from ancient Egypt is indeed significant in itself.

To return to the sequence of spells in Pinedjem II's book, following the protocol of the high priest before Osiris, Chapter 1 for coming forth by day (with references to Osiris, being a Busirite, the festival and house of Osiris) is a beginning quite indicative of an Osirian book. Chapter 17 includes the glosses identifying both Osiris and Re as principals. Frequently contradictory and impossible, the identifications tend to favor a solar interpretation. Since this spell in Nesitanebetisheru's book follows Chapter 15, the solar aspect there is even more certain.

Chapters 23–28 for opening the deceased's mouth, bringing magic to him, causing him to be remembered, giving his heart to him, and not permitting it to be taken from him are all practical, ritual, magical spells. Chapter 38B is for living on air, but this is "like Re" and "on the bark of Re." Chapters 40, 36, 33, and 37 are for repelling snakes and beetles, and although the first and last may have had Osirian connections originally, they seem to be most useful for the solar voyage here. Chapters 56 and 61 are for breathing air and not letting a person's soul be taken from him, while Chapter 30B is the famous heart spell to prevent the heart from testifying against the deceased, and this is followed by three more spells for not letting the heart be taken away (29 and repeats of 27 and 28).

There follow spells for going out against a foe (11), going out into the day (2), and passing on the upper way of Rosetau (4), all for the solar voyage. The next series prevents a person's decapitation (43), does not allow his soul to be taken away (61), causes a shawabti to do any work required in the realm of the dead (6), and prevents the deceased from doing work there (5). Chapter 105 is a solar spell for propitiating Pinedjem's *ka* for him, while 47 is for preventing the taking of his place and throne from him. Chapter 104 is for sitting among the great gods in the realm of the dead. This and the next spell, 96/97, for being beside Thoth and causing a man to be a spirit, both refer to the night bark of Re. In Chapter 94, for requesting a water pot and palette, the deceased refers both to Thoth and Re. Chapter 103 is the very short spell for being in the presence of Hathor, and this is followed by a repeat of Chapter 36 for repelling a beetle. Chapter 55 is for giving breath and involves Shu, while the next two chapters (117 and 118), with many references to Osiris, are for taking the road in Rosetau and arriving there. Chapter 21 is for giving a mouth to a person so that he may speak.

In Chapter 12, a spell for going in and out, Pinedjem addresses Re and refers to his balance with which he weighs out justice daily, while Chapter 122 for entering and coming out is used to enable the deceased to go in and worship Osiris. The next two spells are for driving off a crocodile (31) and going out in the day against foes. Chapter 90 for removing foolish speech from the mouth is apparently Osirian, but the next two chapters are solar, for being in the presence of Re (131) and for going aboard the bark of Re. Next comes the spell for seizing the *mrty*-snakes, Chapter 41B mentioned above, in which the deceased claims to be the child of Osiris. In Chapter 32 the deceased identifies himself with several deities including Osiris, but the last identification, with Re, is obviously the most important. The next three chapters are solar spells, for making a spirit worthy (134), for worshipping Re when he

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rises (the sun hymns of Chapter 15), and for ascending to the sky, opening up the tomb and knowing the souls of Heliopolis (115). Chapter 116 is for knowing the souls of Hermopolis.

The five following spells are transformations, into a lotus (81A), into a god giving light and darkness (80), into a snake (87), into a crocodile (88), and into any shape one may wish (76). Five negative spells follow, for not eating feces nor drinking urine (53), for not restraining his soul (91), for not dying again (44), for not letting the deceased be ferried over to the East (93), and for not entering into the executioner's block of the god (50B). Each of these chapters, including Chapter 93, is probably solar, but the following spell, Chapter 124, is for going down into the tribunal of Osiris, and this is followed by a repeat of Chapter 26. In Chapter 135 Pinedjem addresses Re, but it adds that the one who knows this spell will be a worthy spirit, who will not die again, and will eat in the presence of Osiris. For him who knows it on earth, he will be like Thoth. Chapter 130 is another spell for making a spirit worthy on the birthday of Osiris, but it is otherwise a thoroughly solar spell, even to be said over the drawing of the bark of Re. The final spell in Pinedjem II's *Book of the Dead* is the end of Chapter 125, the declaration of innocence.

As was mentioned above these *Book of the Dead* papyri apparently were not the only religious books buried with this family of priests. As Niwiński (1989a, pp. 162–64) pointed out, the "real" *Book of Amduat* with long series of iconographic creatures, which derived from the *Litany of the Sun* and *Book of the Dead* Chapter 168, commonly accompanied the separate *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, and I might add that women family members especially seem to have had either this or the "royal" *Amduat* books, e.g., Nodjme, Nauni, Henuttawi, and Neskhons. Later, but already in the middle of the Twenty-first Dynasty, abbreviated versions of the "so-called" *Amduat* (originally the royal tomb version) began to be used instead. Pinedjem II had one of these. Some individuals such as Pinedjem II, Neskhons, and Djedptahiwefankh also had "deification decrees" from Amun-Re. In these Amun-Re, King of South and North, King of the Gods, Lord of Heaven and Earth, Water, Mountains, etc. ... in return for good deeds, decrees that the deceased shall be divine in the other world, drink water, and partake of food offerings in the realm of the dead. His soul and body will be deified in the necropolis, equal in rank and power to those of any other god or goddess. His heart will enjoy happiness with his soul, all the happiness possible. The seventy songs of Re will be sung for him. Offerings will be transmitted for him to the *Sekhet Iarru* (cf. Budge 1902, p. xiv).

Initially, I was inclined to view Pinedjem II's three mortuary texts as an Osirian *Book of the Dead,* a Solar *Amduat,* and a local (Theban) Amun decree. Then it became clear after looking at the three documents that they are all essentially Solar, Re oriented, even perhaps Heliopolitan. Obviously this represents something akin to henotheism, monolatry, polymorphic monotheism, universalism, or something other than simple polytheism. Even lacking any additional funerary texts for Pinedjem I, it is clear that the religion of Pinedjem II was not the same religion that his grandfather held even though they both occupied the same priestly position. Perhaps the grandfather was feeling more kingly than priestly, but it is also possible that the lengthy *Book of the Dead* and other documents of Pinedjem II do reflect a significant and deep change in philosophy and religion in the middle of the Twenty-first Dynasty. While it is possible that Pinedjem II was responsible for the change, he may have

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come under the spell of a religious movement led by others, or may have been influenced by his very religious wife, Neskhons, or his sister Gatseshen, or may even have been provided for by his daughter, Nesitanebetisheru. A careful comparison of all the funerary texts of these four individuals and perhaps the surviving texts of other members of the extended family might provide more evidence for what appears to have been a significant religious development.

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CHAPTER 13

TOO MANY HIGH PRIESTS? ONCE AGAIN THE PTAHMOSES OF ANCIENT MEMPHIS

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Lucky the student who had Klaus Baer for a dissertation adviser. With his sharp critical sense and vast memory (even at a distance from his books) he effortlessly turned out page upon page of comments which not only polished the project at hand but suggested new and fruitful avenues of research. That he insisted on the highest and most meticulous standard of what he called "neat work" will not surprise anyone who knew him; but equally typical of his scholarship (as those who studied under him can all attest) was its insistence on a controlled imagination: "A historian," he once told me, "is not only permitted, but obliged to speculate intelligently." This attunement to the human realities that underlie an Egyptologist's data informed not only his conversation but his writing—most strikingly, I think in his semi-popular account of life in Egypt at the end of the New Kingdom, a book that is masterly in its blend of sweep and detail (although, unfortunately, his reluctance to publish without a thoroughgoing revision has kept a potential classic from all but the few associates who were privileged to read it). The short article which follows does not pretend to be in that league: with Vasari, I can only regret that this is all I was able to do rather than what I might have wished; but I hope it would have piqued Klaus's interest, and I wish he were still here to discuss it.

Anyone who investigates the structure of pharaonic government during the Eighteenth Dynasty must confront a confusing concatenation of officials named Ptahmose. Their presence is particularly marked during the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, when contemporary records attest no fewer than six high-ranking individuals who bore this name.[1] One of them was treasurer (Helck 1958b, pp. 353, 469–70), while another achieved the unusual distinction of occupying two of the highest offices in the land, being both vizier and high priest of Amun (ibid., pp. 299–302, 441–42; Lefebvre 1929, pp. 99–102, 241–43).

This last by itself is a crux that requires explanation,[2] but the real nub of the problem is that as many as four separate Ptahmoses served as high priest of Ptah in a period that spanned a minimum of forty-six to a maximum of seventy years.[3] Since there are no records that demarcate a precise tenure in office for any of these men during the reigns of the kings they served, their chronological position must be inferred from scraps of information culled

1. For a summary account, see Anthes 1936, pp. 60–68.
2. Most recently, see Bryan 1991, pp. 244, 268.
3. At this point one can only be agnostic regarding the length of Thutmose IV's reign and the total for the Eighteenth Dynasty: see Wente and Van Siclen 1976, pp. 217–61; Kitchen 1987, pp. 37–55; Bryan 1991, pp. 4–37.

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from only a few official documents and, more often, from the memorials which they or their descendants left to posterity. As shown below, none of this evidence can be more than a *terminus post quem* (and in most cases a very rough one) for the careers of the individuals in question. For the high priests of Memphis, the basic documentation is as follows:[4]

Ptahmose (II = Anthes Nr. 3): This Ptahmose is attested only by a statue in Cairo that gives a number of his titles, but no genealogical information. Thutmose IV's name appears twice, but only on the figure's body and his clothing, which indicates that the piece was manufactured sometime during this king's reign, but no more (Anthes 1936, p. 61; Bryan 1991, p. 275).

Ptahmose (III = Anthes Nr. 5): The only two attestations for this Ptahmose are both posthumous. Statue 1505 in Florence is "dated" to Amenhotep III by a cartouche on its shoulder (Helck 1958a, 1917 [top]), but it seems to have been donated by Ptahmose III's successor (possibly his son), one Pahemnetcher.[5] While it is clear that this man followed Ptahmose III in the office of Memphite high priest, we do not know whether this took place immediately on the latter's death or after some time elapsed. The autobiographical remarks placed in Ptahmose III's mouth in the inscriptions on the base suggest, however, that the statue is essentially commissioned by Ptahmose himself, and that Pahemnetcher's short text (which seems to have been added below the main text on the front of the base) serves merely to establish his role as the "heir of burial." Since no great interval is likely to separate the dedication of this piece from its owner's career, it follows that Ptahmose III's remarks also imply that he was called to office by the king whose name appears elsewhere on this statue, viz., Amenhotep III. Very little is known about Ptahmose III's antecedents.[6] In the inscription on the statue in Florence, cited above, he describes himself as "one whom the first prophet (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*) Menkheper, [justified], made,"[7] i.e., his son. The family monument of the sons of the vizier Thutmose (see below) confirms this filiation, although Menkheper is described there only as a "prophet" (*ḥm-nṯr*) (Helck 1958a, 1911.18). The implication of this variant is discussed further on.

4. For convenience, in the list that follows we cite both the numbers assigned to separate individuals by Anthes (1936) and the roman numerals by which they are distinguished in Wildung's lemma ("Hoherpriester von Memphis," *LÄ* II, cols. 1259–60).

5. Photograph in Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pl. xv (bottom). The supposed filiation rests on a plausible restoration: see Helck 1958a, 1919.4, [*jn s3.f*] *sꜥnḫ rn.f, wr-ḫrp-ḥmww P3-ḥm-nṯr*. Anthes (1936, pp. 62, 64–65), while initially cautious, ends by accepting Schiaparelli's restoration, "[it is his son] who causes his name to live," etc. Kees (1953, pp. 65–66) merely allows that Pahemnetcher might be Ptahmose III's son and that he was surely his successor (without further qualification).

   An inscribed fragment, now in Stockholm (Mogensen 1919, p. 54) has been attributed to this Pahemnetcher (Wildung, "Hoherpriester von Memphis," *LÄ* II, col. 1260 [34]), but what is preserved here is so uninformative that one wonders whether this piece might not belong to one of the other Memphite pontiffs who bore this name (ibid., cols. 1260–61 [44, 46, 47, 60]).

6. Along with Kees (1953) I am not persuaded by the interpretation of Anthes (1936, p. 62), who maintains that Ptahmose III's emphasis on the skill that justified his promotion to high priest (Helck 1958a, 1918.15–20) implies a modest family background.

7. Helck 1958a, 1918.8. There is a group missing from the end of this sentence, but Anthes (1936, p. 62) has argued convincingly that only a determinative and the signs for *m3ꜥ-ḫrw* could have stood here.

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Ptahmose (IV): This Ptahmose is listed by Wildung ("Hoherpriester von Memphis," *LÄ* II, col. 1259) as son and successor of the prince and high priest of Ptah Thutmose, son of Amenhotep III. The latter's floruit and tenure in office are both obscure (see Dodson 1990, pp. 87–96), but his supposed son is even more elusive. One of the monuments attributed to him, Florence stela no. 2565, actually belongs to the well-known Ptahmose V, son of the vizier Thutmose (see Helck 1958a, 1913–14). Another stela in Florence, dedicated to a high priest Ptahmose by one of his subordinates (Florence 2537: Bosticco 1965, pp. 41–42, pl. [nr. 34]), can be assigned on stylistic grounds to the reign of Amenhotep III; but the pontiff's titulary ("sem-priest, chief of the master craftsmen, Ptahmose") merely confirms his status as a Memphite priest—and since no filiation is given for this man, he is not identifiable as a son of the crown prince Thutmose. Quite a different Ptahmose was commemorated on a stela that is now in the Louvre: its owner was a Memphite high priest, but he also held the titles of a vizier (Louvre 3026: Pierret 1874, pp. 93–94); and, once again, no details are supplied about his family. One is forced to conclude that "Ptahmose IV," son of the crown prince Thutmose, is a ghost. His name should be struck from the roster of high priests of Ptah in Memphis.

Ptahmose (V = Anthes Nr. 4): Although this Ptahmose is the best attested of the Memphite high priests who bore this name in the later Eighteenth Dynasty (Anthes 1936, p. 61; Bosse-Griffiths 1955, p. 662), his exact placement is far from certain. The vizier Thutmose, his father, has been dated to the reign of Amenhotep III,[8] but he may have been appointed under Thutmose IV (if not earlier).[9] Another *terminus post quem* emerges from the career of Ptahmose V's brother Meriptah, who became the steward of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple and was still active in the last decade of his master's reign.[10] This might place Thutmose near the beginning of the same reign, but his tenure might have fallen earlier still and the dating of his other son's career—i.e., the extent to which both sons' activities overlapped would depend on a factor that is unknowable, viz., how much time elapsed between their births. This issue is further discussed below.

Certainly the most striking of Ptahmose's monuments is the false door he shared with his brother Meriptah, the upper part of which[11] presents a veritable family portrait gallery. This

8. Helck 1958b, pp. 298–99, 442. The only evidence, however, is a graffito which Champollion (1835–45, vol. I, 614) copied on the island of Biga, which shows an "overseer of the city, ... mose" adoring a cartouche of Amenhotep III. The bird which Champollion drew in the damaged area above *-ms* could be the ibis, but it might also be the fledgling (*ꜣ*) used in the vizier's title; and while the layout of this graffito does not match others from the same locale which are in the name of Amenhotep III's later vizier, Ramose (ibid., 162 [9]; cf. Lepsius 1849–56, vol. III, 82d; Sethe 1901, 175), the attribution is quite suspect.
9. Bryan (1991, pp. 275, 321–22, n. 257), who argues that Thutmose's false door in Florence (Nr. 2565: Helck 1958a, 1913–14; photograph in Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pl. xv [top]) has strong stylistic affinities with comparable monuments from Thutmose IV's reign, although she does not include Thutmose among this king's viziers (Bryan 1991, p. 294, 1.1) and thinks that he might have served Amenhotep II (personal communication).
10. Helck 1958a, 1954, bottom (= dockets attached to deliveries made in Meriptah's name to Amenhotep III's last two jubilees, in regnal years 43 and 37).
11. Now divided between the museums in Leiden (top: Boeser 1913, pl. xv, no. 27) and University College London (bottom: Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pp. 56–63); texts in Helck 1958a, 1910–12.

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feature, a common one on private stelae,[12] is noteworthy in this piece because the family members are presented in the round, as five individual statues, rather than as usual in relief.[13] In this group we find, from viewer's left to right, the following five figures:

1. "His mother, the mistress of the house, Towy, justified, possessor of reverence," with one arm behind the back of the figure beside her, while her other hand grasps the right arm of her son.
2. "The son of the overseer of the city, the vizier, Thutmose, (namely) the prophet, steward of the Mansion of Nebmaʿatre, Meriptah, justified." This person, whose arms hang rigidly at either side of his kilt, is identical in both posture and garb to the figure on his left (= viewer's right), his brother.
3. "The son of the overseer of the city, the vizier, Thutmose, (namely) the sem-priest, chief of the master craftsmen, Ptahmose (V), justified." Both brothers' costumes include a full wig (with a sidelock falling along the right side of the face), the jackal collar, and the leopard-skin cloak, the significance of which are discussed below.
4. To Ptahmose's left (= viewer's right) is his father, wearing the vizier's typical costume on which is inscribed a wish for "everything that customarily goes forth on the offering table of Wenennefer for the Ka of the vizier Thutmose, justified." The vizier's left arm hangs at his side, but his right is extended behind the back of his son Ptahmose in the same gesture of support which his wife displays toward their other son Meriptah. The symmetry of this family group is broken, however, by the last figure.
5. "The chief of the master craftsmen, Ptahmose (III), son of the prophet (*sic*), Menkheper." The costume of this man is the same as that of Thutmose's two sons (= figures 2 and 3 above), but his posture resembles that of the vizier (i.e., left arm held at his side, while his right arm extends behind Thutmose's back).

This grouping, superficially so informative, gives rise to a number of vexing questions. Three of the figures, for instance, wear a distinctive costume which not only has Memphite associations but also seems to be characteristic for the high priest of Ptah (Staehelin 1966, pp. 135–39). Appropriate as this is for the two Ptahmoses, it has seemed more difficult to justify in connection with the steward Meriptah.[14] Apart from being the chief administrator of his king's mortuary temple, however, Meriptah was also "sem-priest in the house of Ptah

12. Examples in relief are legion; see, among many others, Martin et al. 1985, pl. 9; Stewart 1976, pls. 15, 17, 21 (top), 23; and many other examples in Lacau 1909–26, on which the owner is shown in the company of family members whose relationships are more-or-less explicitly defined by such terms as "his father, sister, son," etc.; see Robins 1979, pp. 197–217.
13. This type of hybrid "stela-naos" is an elaboration of the false door and is encountered most frequently during the Old Kingdom, e.g., Vandier 1954–55, p. 409 (fig. 279, at upper right); Sakkarah Expedition 1938a, pl. 1; idem 1938b, pls. 123, 147–48; Koefoed-Petersen 1948, pl. 6—but it also occurs sporadically in the Middle Kingdom (Vandier 1954–55, p. 487, fig. 296: the mummiform owner is shown flanked by two female figures) and later, e.g., Lacau 1909–26, pp. 76–78 (pl. xxvi, CG Nr. 34044: only the head of the owner appears above a tablet); and Koefoed-Petersen 1948, pl. 36a: the owner, holding the standard of Amun, stands within the recess.
14. As noted by Anthes (1936, p. 66), as well as by Bosse-Griffiths (1955, p. 663), who suggests that the costume characterizes the three men's roles as sem-priests rather than as *wr-ḫrp-ḥmww*.

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chief of the master craftsmen in southern Heliopolis" (Helck 1958a, 1954 [top])—titles which made him his brother's counterpart in the Theban cult of Ptah and thus explain the costume he shares with the two Memphite high priests on the stela.

Far less easy to resolve, however, is the connection of Ptahmose III with the family of Ptahmose V. Although his association with the nuclear family group on the Leiden fragment is suggestive, the presumed relationship is so vaguely indicated that even the existence of a familial tie has been doubted. In his pioneering study of these officials, Anthes called attention to the difference in rank of Ptahmose III's father, Menkheper, on this stela (where he is only a "prophet") and the Florence 1505, on which he is "first prophet"; although both these monuments belong to the reign of Amenhotep III, Anthes suggested that the stela made for Meriptah and Ptahmose V was earlier and that Menkheper was promoted in the interval between them. Anthes also noted that Ptahmose III was the only one of the five figures not to receive the epithet *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*—a dichotomy which might suggest that only he remained alive when the monument was finished and, if so, would make him Ptahmose V's junior and his probable successor in office—which, for Anthes (1936, pp. 62, 66), was the likeliest explanation of his presence on the stela.

This explanation, while ingenious, is not altogether convincing.[15] In the first place, Ptahmose III's inscription on the Leiden fragment is also unlike the others in that it ends, not with name of the owner of the statue, but his father's. Anthes' hypothesis cleverly sidesteps the added point that neither Ptahmose III nor Menkheper are called *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* here, since he assumes both were still alive. His assumptions regarding the significance of *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* and its absence, however, are plainly unjustified: there is too much inconsistency in the use or omission of this term to allow certainty in this case.[16] Anthes' scenario, moreover, assumes a prominence for the relationship of the two Ptahmoses which this monument hardly suggests. While both brothers were beneficiaries of the cult that the monument served, the principal owner of the piece was not Ptahmose V, but Meriptah (Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pp. 58–59); and if Ptahmose III's presence reflects merely his role as a successor in office, as Anthes maintains, that connection could more naturally be assumed toward Meriptah, the most prominent individual on the stela, than toward anyone else. Since Ptahmose III's office was

15. Thus already Kees 1953, p. 66, for reasons which, although cryptically expressed, seem similar to my own.

16. In the tomb of the vizier Ramose, e.g., the fourth prophet of Amun, Simut is described as *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* (Helck 1958a, 1789.3) although he notoriously survived to reach the rank of second prophet (Porter and Moss 1960, p. 454, Tomb Nr. A-24). Although Ramose himself is generally *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, the epithet is omitted from the scenes done in the "later style" of Amenhotep IV (Helck 1958a, 1781–83)—but this makes no sense in "dating" Ramose himself, first because *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* is occasionally left off Ramose's name in finished scenes that were executed in the conventional style (e.g., Helck 1958a, 1785.13); secondly, because the scenes in that style that include *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* would have to be earlier than those from which it is absent; and third, because of the strong probability that the ostensibly "later scenes" were in process at the same time as those scenes which they balance, and which were abandoned in an equally unfinished state (see Nims 1973, pp. 181–87). Amenhotep, son of Hapu, when he boasts of having reached eighty years of age and claims that he will reach one-hundred and ten, calls himself and his mother *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* but regularly omits this epithet from his father's name even though this man was surely deceased by this time (Helck 1958a, 1827–29); and in his mortuary temple, the epithet is often omitted after Amenhotep's name (ibid., 1838–39), as it is on his funerary cones (from both his own and his father's names; see Varille 1968, p. 105).

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in Memphis while Meriptah served the cult of Ptah at Thebes,[17] however, it is hard to imagine that one succeeded the other unless Ptahmose added the leadership of the southern cult to his northern responsibilities when Meriptah died—a forced assumption which contemporary evidence does not support.[18] If Ptahmose III followed Ptahmose V as Memphite high priest and appears on the stela by virtue of that fact, however, it is legitimate to ask why the nature of their connection would have been left so vague. The overriding professional relationship which Anthes assumes is so "out of context" with the family group that it would seem to require specification—as was done here for "the servant Nu-Ptah," who appears on the jambs of the stela,[19] as well as in other cases when a colleague or subordinate took part in an ex voto.[20]

In summary, Anthes' interpretation of Ptahmose III's role on this monument requires a disquieting amount of special pleading. To assume a family tie between the families of Menkheper and the vizier Thutmose, however, requires none. Relatives of all sorts are ubiquitous on memorial monuments, whether their degree of relationship is specified or not.[21] On the Leiden fragment, moreover, Ptahmose III embraces the vizier Thutmose with the same familiar gesture—also common among close family members on other monuments which the latter and his wife employ with their two sons. A close "reading" of the figures' positions with respect to one another (which might suggest, e.g., that the relationship was between Ptahmose III and the vizier) is unwarranted: Ptahmose III's figure might just as easily stand "in apposition" to the entire family group of which he is both a part and an outsider. In any case, some sort of family tie is likely here; but the Leiden fragment cannot tell us Ptahmose III's chronological position vis-à-vis the individuals with whom he so conspicuously mingles there.

The solution, however, lies with the statue that Ptahmose III's son dedicated to his father's mortuary cult, almost certainly at the end of the latter's life. The style of this piece, which has received a thorough re-examination recently (Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992,

17. The "Götterwelt" of Ptahmose III's commemorative statue (Helck 1958a, 1917–19) is overwhelmingly Memphite—indeed, one of his titles there is "he who is over the secrets in Hikuptah" (the Memphite temple of Ptah; see Helck 1958a, 1918.9); and none of this man's other titles specify a Theban environment, as do those belonging to Meriptah (see pp. 191–92, above).

18. Another high priest of the Theban cult of Ptah, Pairy, is known from the reign of Amenhotep III (Helck 1958a, 1857; cf. Kees 1953, pp. 29, 62), which further supports the presumption that this office was kept separate from the Memphite cult at this time.

19. See Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pp. 57–58, pl. xiv; text in Helck 1958a, 1911.15.

20. E.g., on the stelae which servants of the viceroy Mermose dedicated to their master (Helck 1958a, 1934–35).

21. While the people who attend the deceased on private stelae are often identified as kin (cf. n. 12, above), just as frequently they are not, being referred to simply by name (see Lacau 1909–26, passim; cf. Stewart 1976, pls. 21 [bottom], 22 [bottom])—an omission which makes sense only if they could assume their posterity would recognize them as family members, irrespective of degree. The same can be said for the more closely analogous case of statue groups in tombs, although the precise nature of the connection is often unspecified or lost: see Hermann 1940, p. 20.

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pp. 241–42 [37]; personal communication),[22] places it unequivocally within the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign. The implications for the succession of Memphite high priests are as follows:

A. Ptahmose V, son of the vizier Thutmose, held the office during the earlier reign of Amenhotep III. His identity with Ptahmose II, who served under Thutmose IV, is unproveable but likely[23] on the basis of what is known of his brother, the steward Meriptah. Even if we assume that the latter rose to high office when he was a young man, it is still likely that he was born before Amenhotep III came to the throne. His brother, Ptahmose V, must have been in his maturity by the middle part of the reign, for he was out of the picture by its end. How much older these men were than the barest possible minimums depends on the floruit we assign their father. As we have seen (n. 8, above), the vizier Thutmose's tenure under Amenhotep III is far from certain; but his false door (n. 9, above) can be dated on stylistic grounds to Thutmose IV's reign. This monument also yields an approximate date for Ptahmose V's career, moreover, since he appears on it as high priest of Ptah—offering to his father.[24] Although works from the early reign of Amenhotep III are stylistically indistinguishable from those made during the later years of his predecessor, it seems likely on both art historical and prosopographical grounds that Ptahmose's tenure in office straddled two reigns. His prominent role on his father's false door also suggests that the earliest part of Amenhotep III's reign, if not the later years of Thutmose IV, must be the *terminus ante quem* for the vizier Thutmose's active career.

B. There is no evidence that a Ptahmose IV existed, as we have seen. His putative father, the crown prince Thutmose, did claim the Memphite pontiff's titles (Gauthier 1912, pp. 335–36 [ciii, B]),[25] however; and if in fact he exercised this office (in anticipation of other king's sons who held it during the later New Kingdom; see Kees 1953, pp. 66–67, 112–14; Gomaà 1973),[26] his pontificate must be placed somewhere in the middle of Amenhotep III's reign, since Ptahmose V must have flourished near its beginning and Ptahmose III toward its end.

22. I am indebted to Professor Bryan both for allowing me to refer to her entry in the catalogue of the Amenhotep III exhibition in Cleveland before it was published and for discussing the overall problem with me.

23. As maintained by Bryan (1991, p. 275).

24. Bosse-Griffiths 1955, pl. xv (top); cf. the text copy in Helck 1958a, 1913.20, which omits the epigraphs of the vizier and the high priest in the offering scene.

25. *Pace* Kees 1953, p. 67, n. 1; one need not assume that Thutmose's possession of the Kultusminister's title (*jmy-r ḥmw-nṯr m Šmʿw Mḥw*) "collided" with that of the vizier Ramose, since the latter is only attested during the last decade of the reign, when the Memphite pontificate was in the hands of Ptahmose III and/or his son.

26. Ramesses III's son Khaemwese seems also to have been designated for the pontificate in Memphis, but in his tomb and on other monuments he is referred to only as *sm n Ptḥ*, not *wr-ḫrp-ḥmww* (Kitchen 1975–90, vol. V, pp. 368–69); it is quite doubtful that he lived long enough to exercise the office; on Ramesses III and his descendants, see Kitchen 1972, pp. 182–94; idem 1982, pp. 116–25; Wente 1973, pp. 223–34.

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C. With the eclipse of the royal "dynasty" of high priests at Memphis, the office reverted to the ranks of the bureaucracy and was filled by Ptahmose III, the son of the prophet Menkheper. The latter may have been promoted to "first prophet" during his son's pontificate, as Anthes surmised, although it is possible that the sign *tpy* was simply omitted from Ptahmose III's text on the Leiden fragment by mistake.

D. At the latter's death, late in Amenhotep III's reign (see above), his son Pahemnetcher became high priest at Memphis. The latter's tenure was probably cut short by the religious revolution of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten,[27] during which the clergy of Ptah disappears from view, only to re-emerge after the end of the Amarna period (Wildung, "Hoherpriester von Memphis," *LÄ* II, col. 1260; Kees 1953, pp. 110–11).

If the foregoing is correct, particularly what was said about the probable family connection between Ptahmose III and his predecessor, Ptahmose V, the conjunction of these two men on Meriptah's monument assumes an even greater interest—because by showing his deceased father and brother in the company of their relative, the current "chief of the master craftsmen" Ptahmose III (who was now the Memphite counterpart of Meriptah's own position in the Theban cult of Ptah), the steward was able to proclaim to posterity a successful transition from one official "dynasty" to another, all within the same extended family. Given the arbitrariness, absolute in theory and intermittently realized in practice, by which the monarchy controlled the careers of its officials, this amounted to a subtle but emphatic statement of the personal *virtu* which, by maintaining itself in harmony with an essentially autocratic system, was able implicitly to triumph over it.[28]

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27. Two other high priests, named Wermer and Penpanebes, are attributed to "the time of Nebma'atre" in a genealogy from the Twenty-second Dynasty, but they are unattested in contemporary records and even their names are uncharacteristic for this period, so it seems safest to leave them out. See Moursi 1972, pp. 47–48; Kees 1953, p. 66, n. 4, is more skeptical.

28. Cf. the comments of Kemp (1989, pp. 228–31, 305–17).

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CHAPTER 14

THE GAMING EPISODE IN THE *TALE OF SETNE KHAMWAS* AS RELIGIOUS METAPHOR

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The subject of this paper is the identification of a religious subtext in the gaming episode of the *Tale of Setne Khamwas*, because there appears to be an underlying meaning present in the episode related to the religious significance of ancient Egyptian gaming activity and specifically to the game of senet.

The Egyptian senet game was characterized by its oblong playing field of thirty squares arranged into a pattern of three parallel rows of ten squares each. Three main types of senet boards occur in the archaeological record: thin and narrow slabs; graffiti roughly painted or etched into pavements, roofs, and portable objects; and oblong game boxes often hollowed to accommodate a drawer for the gaming pieces.[1]

The senet game was in use from at least the First Dynasty to the first century A.D. Actual slab-style and graffito game boards are found from all periods of Egyptian history. The game box, though, occurs only in Egyptian archaeological contexts from the late Seventeenth Dynasty through the reign of Ramesses II.[2] However, it is still depicted in selected funerary reliefs after that time up to the fourth century B.C. While these depictions might lead us to believe that the game box was still being manufactured at this time in Egypt, the absolute dearth of examples in the contemporary Egyptian archaeological record, coupled with the plethora of slab-style boards, indicates that these representations are only an iconographic hold-over from earlier New Kingdom representations.

A study of the game of senet indicates that before the Twelfth Dynasty, and probably as early as the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians had formulated a cultic use of the game (Piccione 1990, pp. 290f.). According to CT Spell 405 (de Buck 1954, 209–10), the dead can play senet with the living as a means of communication between them. So the spell says of the deceased:

ỉmy ḥsy.f ḫby.f šsp.f ḥkrw	Let him sing, let him dance, and let him receive ornaments.
ỉmy ḥ ʿb.f snỉ.t ḥn ʿ tpyw-tɜ	Let him play senet with those on earth.
ḫrw.f pw sdmw n mɜn.ty.f	It is his voice which is heard, (although) he is not seen.[3]

This activity is graphically represented at an earlier period on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs. In the mastabas of Kaemankh and Merynetjer-Izezi at Giza and Mereruka at

1. For the physical characteristics of the senet game and its history and development, see Piccione 1990; a revision of this study is in progress (Piccione, forthcoming).
2. Examples have been found on Cyprus dating to the reign of Ramesses III, but these are of Cypriote or Syrian manufacture imitating an earlier Egyptian motif (Piccione 1990, pp. 15f., 429f.).
3. For a full discussion of this text, see Piccione 1990, pp. 84–86.

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Saqqara, the deceased is portrayed playing senet with a living person in scenes related to funereal rituals and Hathoric celebrations (Junker 1940, p. 36, fig. 9; Pusch 1979, pp. 29–32, pls. 8–9; Sakkara Expedition 1938, pl. 172; Piccione 1990, Appendix D, scenes 10, 4, 7, respectively). The senet board itself is here a physical bridge stretching from the space of the deceased into the space of the living, connecting the two realms together (Piccione 1990, pp. 57f., 62f., 65, 370). In a similar vein, according to the New Kingdom stela of Wepwawetmose in Vienna (no. 55), a man can play senet with his own *bꜣ*:

ḥtp dỉ nswt Wsỉr	An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, ...
ḥtp bꜣ.f r ỉmy.tw ḫꜣ.t.f	that his *bꜣ* might come to rest in the midst of his corpse,
ḥb ʿf sn.t ḥn ʿf ...	that he might play senet with it ... (Piccione 1990, pp. 301–02, 378).[4]

In Berlin coffin no. 9, Coffin Texts Spell 335 indicates the existence of an actual senet ritual in association with that spell (Piccione 1990, pp. 290f., 300). According to Book of the Dead Spell 17, which is an outgrowth of Coffin Texts Spell 335, the purpose of this ritual is, among other things, to enable the *bꜣ* of the player, viz. celebrant, to achieve the mobility he requires to travel through the necropolis and transfer between the realm of the living and that of the dead.[5] The title of the spell reads:

> Spell for going forth into the day, assuming any form which he desires, playing senet and sitting in a pavilion as a living *bꜣ* by N., after he has moored (i.e., 'died'). It (the spell) is effective for the one who performs it on earth (Piccione 1990 p. 293).

Book of the Dead Spell 17 is quite specific that the spell, with its inherent senet ritual, is effective for both the living and the dead who perform it.

By the Twentieth Dynasty, the Egyptians had formalized another aspect of the senet gaming ritual, whereby the passage through the game squares evoked the nocturnal journey of the sun god through the netherworld. The purpose of performing this ritual, whether by the living or the dead, was to secure a new spiritual life in this world and the next by facilitating the passage of the *bꜣ* and by transforming into the sun god (Piccione 1990, pp. 191–200, passim). The evidence for this ritual lies in the text recording the recitation of the ceremony, as well as specially decorated slab-style senet boards and boards drawn on papyri that were manipulated and utilized in the ritual during the Twentieth Dynasty and later (Piccione 1990, pp. 323–32). The text of the ritual is known in three copies, two variants of which are on papyri, P. Cairo 58037 and P. Turin 1775, and one is inscribed in the tomb of Inherkhau at Deir el-Medina (Porter and Moss 1960, p. 422 [6]; Piccione 1990, pp. 93–154, 284).

Both aspects of the senet ritual, i.e., that of Book of the Dead Spell 17 and that of the nocturnal voyage of the sun god, evoke the passage of the *bꜣ* and the spiritual renewal or resurrection of the player (Piccione 1990 pp. 299–303, 370–72, passim; Piccione, in press). We understand then that all representations of senet playing in mortuary contexts of the New Kingdom represent not just the play of the game, but the specific performance of the senet ritual. These representations include the vignettes of senet playing of Book of the Dead Spell 17 that are portrayed in papyri and on the walls of New Kingdom tombs, as well as those scenes depicted in tomb decoration not associated specifically with that spell. The religious

4. For published sources of the stela, see von Bergmann 1877, pp. 394–96; idem 1887, p. 44; Wreszinski 1906, no. I.21, 60–66, stela no. 102.

5. For the relationship of senet to Book of the Dead Spell 17, see Piccione 1990, pp. 292–311.

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texts related to senet, as well as the rubric of Book of the Dead Spell 17, are specific that the ritual was performed ideally inside or near the tomb, i.e., "in a pavilion in the necropolis."[6] Quite a few senet boards have been found inside tombs, where they are carved as graffiti in the floors, and certainly, these were played by visitors to the tomb. Given the nature and location of the senet ritual inside the tomb, there is nothing to indicate that these boards could not also have been used by the visitors to communicate with the dead or to perform some version of the ritual (Piccione 1990, p. 375).

In the senet ritual, the opponent of the living player can be construed as a *bꜣ* of the blessed dead or the player's own living *bꜣ*, or else in limited contexts it could be an unnamed, inimical, spiritual enemy who is ultimately destroyed. However, in all cases the opponent, whether benign or evil, represents forces acting beyond this world (Piccione 1990, pp. 376–79).

SETNE AND THE GAME OF SENET

The first *Tale of Setne Khamwas* is dated to about the third century B.C., while the action of the story is projected back into the Egyptian New Kingdom, the reign of Ramesses II. The tale centers around Setne's search for the long-lost Book of Thoth and his efforts to possess it. His antagonist in this quest is Nineferkaptah, the ghostly prince and guardian of the papyrus. In the gaming episode, the two protagonists gamble for the book by means of a game of draughts (Erichsen 1937, pp. 20–21):

> (Nineferkaptah speaks:) 'As for the aforesaid papyrus, will you be able to take it through the power of a good scribe or (through) superiority(?)[7] in playing a game (of draughts) against me?[8] Let us make the manner of gaming for it together.'[9] Setne said, 'I am ready.' They placed the game before them, together with its hounds (i.e., 'draughtsmen'), and they played together. Nineferkaptah took one game from Setne. He pronounced a spell against him, and he struck him on the head with the game box which was before him, and he caused that he sink into the earth up to his legs. He did its like in the second game. He took it from Setne, and he caused that he sink into the earth up to his phallus. He did its like in the third game, and he caused that he sink into the earth up to his ears. After this, Setne suffered great distress from the hand of Nineferkaptah.

Several factors—including the physical character of the game board, its paraphernalia, and the circumstances in which it is played—suggest that the game of draughts in this episode is specifically the game of senet.

In the gaming episode of Setne Khamwas, the gaming pieces are termed, *ỉwỉw*, "hounds." During the New Kingdom, the senet game and perhaps other board games were often played with draughtsmen shaped like seated hounds or with the heads of dogs (Frankfort 1933, vol. 2, pl. 63; similarly, Pieper 1931, p. 18; cf. Piccione 1990, pp. 18f.).

6. For the circumstances and location of the senet gaming ritual, see Piccione 1990, pp. 374–76.
7. *Kpn*, "Überlegenheit(??)" (Erichsen 1937, pt. 3, p. 78); Lichtheim (1980, p. 133) otherwise suggests "skill."
8. *N ỉr ḥbꜥ.t r-ḫr.ỉ*, lit., "in making a game against me."
9. *N pꜣ s-2*, "as two men," after Spiegelberg 1910, glossary, pp. 50–51, no. 340; so also Lichtheim 1980, p. 133.

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Also, the game board is described literally as a "game box," *ḥ.t n ỉr ḥbʿ.t*. In addition to senet, only two other board games of the New Kingdom were fashioned as game boxes, the so-called "game of 20 squares" and rarely, a game of 3 × 12 squares (Piccione 1990, p. 15). Clearly, the author of the Setne story was well informed since, although the game box was not in use in his own time, it was very commonly used during the time of Khamwas in the New Kingdom. Hence, the author was striving to generate a mood of antiquity in his story by describing an object that was obsolete in his own time and yet would have been common enough in Setne's own era.

Of the New Kingdom games in the form of a game box and which used dog-shaped draughtsmen, only the game of senet fits the context of the story. Setne, a living man, plays draughts with a ghost inside a tomb. No board game, other than senet, is found in this context. Senet enjoyed centuries of tradition as a game played both by the living and the dead inside and out of the tomb.

The reason for which they play senet, let alone any board game, is significant and indicates an ulterior meaning in the story. In the story of Setne, the senet game is framed in its traditional religious setting. Like the senet games of old and the senet ritual of Coffin Texts Spell 335 and Book of the Dead Spell 17, it is set in a tomb against the forces of the afterlife. At first glance, the immediate purpose for which the game is played in the story might seem to differ from the deeper religious purpose otherwise associated with the game, since Setne gambles—almost mundanely and via a senet game—to acquire the scroll of Thoth. However, it is in losing that Setne's play reveals its deeper meaning. Each time he fails to win a game, he is pounded more deeply into the ground by his opponent, until he draws precariously near to death. Therefore, in a wider sense, the ultimate purpose for playing senet in the story is the same as the earlier religious game—to find new life. Setne not only gambles for the book, but he is also gaming for his life, staking his very existence against the possession of it.[10]

The author has employed the theme of the senet game as the centerpiece in the struggle between Setne and Nineferkaptah, because the senet game was previously understood as a mechanism to achieve new life after death. Even the location of the contest is significant, since it occurs inside a tomb, and no doubt, it was meant to evoke the New Kingdom representations that depict the religious play of the game in the necropolis—representations which themselves occur on the walls of tombs. Specifically, the episode is indicative of the senet gaming ritual, which was performed inside the tomb-chapel or courtyard or in the vicinity thereof between the living and the dead in direct contact with each other. This assertion is based on the texts of Coffin Texts Spell 405 and Book of the Dead Spell 17, as well as on the existence of the many senet boards carved into the floors of private tombs, which could have been used in the gaming ritual or at least as a means of contact with the dead.

Certainly, the characters in the story would have had knowledge of senet's religious meaning. Setne, as high priest of Ptah, was initiated into the great mysteries. Nineferkaptah, according to the tale, was a royal prince, magician, and wise man, as well as an antiquarian

10. Similarly, for the notion of how playing senet might accord with idea of gaming for one's soul, see Piankoff 1974, pp. 118–19; Riemschneider 1953, pp. 157–73.

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of Egyptian religious texts of the remotest antiquity (1 Khamwas 3, 9–10). It was he who suggested that they play senet. Both characters seemingly would have been aware of the implications of playing the game: that senet held the key to life, and thus by reverse fortune, to death also. To emphasize the senet game particularly as the mechanism of Setne's life and death struggle, the author identifies the senet game box as the specific instrument of Setne's attempted execution. It is with that box that he is pounded into the earth. With each blow of the box, Setne penetrates the earth, first up to his legs, then to his phallus, then to his ears. This process corresponds to a funerary theme first found in Pyramid Text Utt. 254 (§ 285), where the dead king is heralded into the West with the words, "You penetrate into the earth up to your thickness, to your middle, to your full length(?)" (Sethe 1935–62, vol. 1, pp. 323f.). While the passage refers to the king's interment, it also alludes to his descent into the netherworld since a result of his penetration is that he sees Ra "in his fetters," meaning the sun at night in the nether regions. The deceased then witnesses Ra's freeing from those fetters (§ 285c), seemingly by means of an amulet (so Faulkner 1969, p. 64), and hence his rising from the netherworld. I suggest that the attack on Setne hearkens back to this theme of royal burial with the senet-box as the mechanism of that process. Setne's emergence from the ground by his own amulets might also parallel the rising of Ra from the netherworld in that same context. Therefore, it would seem that the author intended the gaming episode as a pun on a more serious religious belief.

This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the role of the Book of Thoth in the story. According to the tale, the book was transcribed by the hand of Thoth himself, and it contained the ultimate secrets of life and the universe. Significantly, it contained the spells to enable an individual, while still alive, to see Re appearing in the sky with the entire Ennead, as well as the moon, the stars, and beneath the seas (1 Khamwas 3, 10–14, 35–37). It permitted one to cast magic over all creation: heaven, earth, and the netherworld. Among other things, it conferred the power to understand the speech of all animals (1 Khamwas 3, 35–36; 4, 1), and it gave a living person the ability to converse with the dead (1 Khamwas 4, 10, 15).

The papyrus was buried in a riverbed within a series of six boxes, which by their description is reminiscent of the series of shrines and coffins encasing the corpse of the king in the burial chamber of a New Kingdom royal tomb.[11] These boxes lay at the center of a great coiled serpent, *pȝ ḥf n ḏt*, "the serpent of eternity," who protected it and who repeatedly came back to life each time it was killed (1 Khamwas 3, 31–34). This is a description not unlike the protective serpent deity, Mehen, nor is it unlike depictions of the *ouroboros*, which is the form of Mehen as the serpent coiled around itself—with tail in mouth—whose magical ring was a sign of divine protection and eternity. Appropriately, representations of the Mehen-*ouroboros* are carved around the lids of New Kingdom royal sarcophagi[12] and on the

11. So 1 Khamwas 3, 34–35; e.g., the series of four shrines, canopy, and four coffins found in the tomb of Tutankhamun and the five shrines, canopy, and coffin depicted in P. Turin 1885. The latter is the architect's plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV in the Valley of the Kings (Carter and Gardiner 1917, p. 131, pl. 29).

12. E.g., the outer and inner granite lids of the stone sarcophagus of Merneptah in King's Valley 8 (Assmann 1972, pp. 47–73).

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footboards of private coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Niwiński 1989, pp. 55–56, 58)—to protect the contents therein. Thus, this episode in the *Tale of Setne* would be metaphorical, equating the burial of the papyrus with the interment of a god.

According to the tale, the papyrus is a source of light in the tomb, and its removal plunges the tomb into darkness, evoking a great lament by the spirit of Ihwere, wife of Nineferkaptah (1 Khamwas 4, 34). It is no coincidence that this episode is similar to events that occur in the netherworld, in which the light of the sun god acts in identical fashion, and evokes the same lamentations from the netherworld-dwellers, as the light of Re moves past them.

In the *Book of Gates*, Re passes through the netherworld, his light dispelling the utter darkness. As each gate is opened to allow his entry, the darkened cavern beyond is suffused with his light, awakening the souls that repose therein. Then when he passes through and into the next cavern, the light passes with him. As each gate is slammed behind the sun god, the cavern is cast back into the inky blackness—accompanied in *every* case by the laments of the souls. The refrain associated with each gateway states:

> He (Re) illumines the total darkness. He spreads light in the secret chamber. Then this door is closed after this great god has entered, and those who are in their gates lament when they hear this door slamming (cf. Zandee 1969, p. 289 [150], passim).

Similarly:

> They lament Re; they mourn for the great god, after he has passed them by. When he has gone, darkness covers them, and their caverns are closed behind them (Zandee 1969, p. 289 [135]).

This motif is the archetype of the event described in the *Tale of Setne*, and it would have been recognizable to any Egyptian who was cognizant of the *Book of Gates*.

The imagery of the papyrus whose light radiates from within the coils of a protective serpent is remarkably like the image of Re, protected in the coils of Mehen and who casts his light about, as he sails through the netherworld. Thus, the magic power imbued in the spells of the papyrus is the creative power of the sun god Re himself. Indeed, the text is quite specific that at the very same moment in which Setne returns the papyrus to the tomb, the characters become aware of the presence of Re there (1 Khamwas 6, 1).

It should come as no surprise that a papyrus document could be imbued with the power or presence of Re. The Egyptians had long believed that Re could actually inhabit the scrolls of religious texts in which his power was manifested. Thus, from at least the New Kingdom through the Ptolemaic period, the hieroglyphic term for "sacred writings" was *bꜣw Rʿ*, "the *bꜣ*s of Re" (*Wb*. I, 414.1; Sethe 1904, 14.10; Spiegelberg 1906, pp. 129–35; Reymond 1977, p. 80). Appropriately, P. BM 1005, a document on the organization of the House of Life, says:

ir mḏꜣw.t nty ỉm.f bꜣw Rʿ pw	As for the books which are in it (the House of Life), they are the *bꜣ*s of Re,
r rdỉ.t ʿnḫ nṯr pn ỉm.w	causing that this god live in them
r sḫr ḫftyw.f	in order to overthrow his enemies (Gardiner 1938, p. 168).

Hence, in the *Tale of Setne*, a book such as the scroll of Thoth could be understood literally as the "emanations of Re" (Reymond 1977, p. 80).

It is not coincidental that in overcoming Nineferkaptah, even though he had not actually won his senet games (but resorted to cheating through the use of magical amulets), Setne—a living man—was still able to act in the manner of the sun god when he removed the papyrus

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and its light. All the recurring themes in this episode relate to the power of Re and the solar cosmology, including the senet game itself, the Mehen-like serpent, the interment of the papyrus, the apotheosizing character of the Book of Thoth, its luminescent quality, the lament of the dead with its passing, and the presence of Re with its return. Also, the tale is quite specific that Thoth's authority to avenge himself and recover the stolen papyrus derived directly from the god Re himself (1 Khamwas 4, 5–9).

The entire senet episode in the *Tale of Setne* appears to be a well-crafted allegory of a deeper religious mystery, i.e., senet as a means of communication between the living and the dead, as well as the realization of the netherworld process of resurrection through the gaming medium. The episode functions on two levels: (1) what is obvious to the general reader with only an entertaining character apparent; (2) what appears as a subtext to the more knowledgeable reader, in which the episode functions as a literary adaptation of the ancient senet gaming ritual. Those Egyptians who were aware of the senet game's religious character would have recognized in it the specific instrument by which Setne becomes like Re and acts in the manner of the sun god. Cognizant Egyptians would have appreciated the story at a higher level of awareness than uninformed Egyptians.

In the story of Setne Khamwas, the dual nature of senet is revealed. It is at once a secular game that can be employed as a gambling device and a means of securing life for the person who completes it successfully and, hence, becomes god-like. For Setne, this is physical life in the world of the living, while acquiring the powers of Re and the ability to act in the manner of the god. This notion derives from beliefs centered on the senet game during the New Kingdom and later: senet is a means of achieving apotheosis with the sun god when still alive, while after death, the life achieved through senet is resurrection and life eternal.

Given the metaphorical nature of the gaming episode in the *Tale of Setne Khamwas* and its relationship to Egyptian religious beliefs and mortuary texts, it is very probable that other episodes and aspects of the story have similar connections to Egyptian religion and mortuary inscriptions. A systematic study of these connections, in the Setne tale and in other stories, might yield significant insight about Egyptian intellectual thought, notions of literary transmission, and the dichotomy—or the lack thereof—between secular literature and religious belief in ancient Egypt.

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CHAPTER 15

DENDERITE TEMPLE HIERARCHY AND THE FAMILY OF THEBAN HIGH PRIEST NEBWENENEF: BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

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If the classical model of the ideal teacher has long been Plato, who published much, there is yet another ancient scholar no less worthy of emulation: Ammonius Saccas, who published nothing. The remarkable achievements of Ammonius are to be found rather in the writings of his many famous students, who include the Christian Father Origen, the rhetorician Longinus, and the Neoplatonist Plotinus. It was in the trenchant lectures of Ammonius at Alexandria that these better-known students first gained their critical insights, and from these lost lectures surely derived much that was to dominate the intellectual life of their generation and the generations of their own successive students.[1] Klaus Baer was of the mold of Ammonius Saccas, and though he published sparingly, his greatest insights were reserved for grueling classes by which his demanding scholarly rigor has been bequeathed to generations of inspired students. All students of Klaus Baer have finer critical abilities by virtue of his influence, and all owe him a singular debt. It is an honor to be able to acknowledge this debt by this small contribution to the memory of a scholar of profound and seminal thought.[2]

The limestone block statue OIM 10729 (see figs. 15.1–3) was purchased in Cairo in 1919 by James H. Breasted from the antiquity dealer P. Kyticas. In conformity with the primary type of such statuary, the figure of the priest Basa is depicted fully enveloped within a cloak from which only the head and hands protrude (see Vandier 1958, pp. 450–62).[3] Basa sits on a stepped base with his legs drawn up before his chest and his arms crossed over his knees. His right hand is clenched about a small rolled cloth that projects slightly from either end of

1. See Ross 1949, p. 44a. The author misanalyzes the situation when he states that Plotinus' teaching soon overshadowed that of Ammonius. There could have been no Plotinus (as we know him) without Ammonius, and how much of Plotinus might be Ammonius? Prolific men produce biographers, disciples, and commentators; great men produce independent scholars.
2. This contribution was delayed and almost prevented by the 1991 Hurricane Bob that destroyed personal volumes, papers, correspondence, and notes. The resultant article is necessarily curtailed in scope, and owes much of its existence to the kindness of John A. Larson, Museum Archivist of the Oriental Institute, who supplied needed xeroxes, confirmed references, and provided working facilities during my study trip to Chicago. Photographs were supplied by John Larson and Jean Grant (photographer). I would like to thank the Director of the Oriental Institute for permission to publish OIM 10729, and Edward Wente for fruitful discussions on the careers of the Theban high priests.
3. A concise bibliography for discussions of block statues appears in de Meulenaere, "Würfelhocker," *LÄ* VI, cols. 1291–92.

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Figure 15.1. Three-Quarter View of Block Statue OIM 10729

the closed fist, while the left hand, though largely broken away, was originally extended flat with palm downward—as evidenced by the scant fragments of fingertips still visible above the statue's right knee (cf. Vandier 1958, p. 455, type [d, δ]). Abutting the seated figure is a broad back pillar of six columns. The dimensions of the statue are as follows: maximum height (including base) 41.0 cm; width of base at front 20.5 cm; width of base at back 21.4 cm; depth of base on left side 24.4 cm; depth of base on right side 23.8 cm. Wig and beard still retain their black paint, and red paint colors Basa's skin on his sculpted head and relief figures.[4] A patch of darker color on the statue's nose and left cheek is suggestive of

4. Traces of red also appear between the sculpted fingers and on the figures of Osiris and the altar in the central tableau.

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Figure 15.2. Right Side and Front of Block Statue OIM 10729

restoration, but closer examination by conservators failed to confirm this suspicion. Traces of blue pigment adhere within isolated sunken hieroglyphs.

The seated figure of Basa provides a surface for an extensive biographical text of thirty-two lines, listing the owner's numerous titles, as well as the names and titles of twenty-six generations of paternal ascendants and four generations of maternal ascendants. Featured prominently on the front of the statue is a tableau of Basa (see fig. 15.8), in ceremonial leopard skin, worshipping the enthroned Osiris and standing Isis; at either shoulder appears a smaller vignette of Basa kneeling before Osiris. A skyline of stars frames scenes and texts on the front and lateral surfaces. The base of the statue is uninscribed. Aside from a brief notice of a singular title, the statue is unpublished (Fischer 1968, p. 49, n. 197). The extended genealogy of Basa contains unparalleled information on the Denderite temple hierarchy from the New Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period and offers unique testimony on the origins and subsequent fortunes of the currently obscure family of the famous Nebwenenef, elevated to the high priesthood of Theban Amun in the first year of Ramesses II.

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Figure 15.3. Left Side and Back of Block Statue OIM 10729

The statue can be assigned to the late Twenty-second or Twenty-third Dynasty, on the basis of both style and genealogical reckoning, allowing for the nineteen generations from the datable Nebwenenef to his descendant Basa. Stylistically, the Basa statue is paralleled by a series of block statues of Theban priests recovered from the Karnak cachette and published by Legrain (1906, 1909, 1914, passim). In common with these statues is Basa's striated wig with strands horizontal above the forehead and vertical at the sides, where the hair billows forward from behind the ears.[5] The face is full and idealizing, and the eyebrows are outlined in low relief. Great attention is given to the plastic rendering of the body's volume beneath the outer cloak, with arms, shoulders, and hips readily discernible. The asymmetry of the hands is also typical, though the form of the rolled cloth (or "emblematic

5. Cf. Cairo 42.189 (Twenty-second Dynasty; Legrain 1909, p. 56, pl. LI).

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staff") is problematic.[6] The addition of decorative scenes is consistent with this period, as is the genealogical format of the text, for which the transliteration, translation, and commentary follow.

TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTION ON FRONT OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

EIGHT VERTICAL COLUMNS BELOW TABLEAU (see fig. 15.4)

1) *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t)* [A] *ʾIwn.t ḥry-sšt3 n nṯr.w nṯr.wt nb.w ʾIwn.t w ʿb- ʿ.wy* [B] *w3ḥ*
2) *mnḫ(.t) n pr pn sš ḥw.t-nṯr sš wb3* [C] *sš šn* [D] *sš {ḫt}-*
3) *t3* [E] *ḥw.t-nṯr n Pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t wn ʿ.wy p.t* [F] *n nṯr.w nṯr.wt nb.w m ʾIwn.t ỉmy-r3 dỉ*
4) *ḥtp.w-nṯr.w nb.w ḥr s.t=s* [G] *shtp nṯr m dbḥ.*[w] [H] *ỉmy-*
5) *r3 snṯ w r* [I] *n Nb(.t) p.t ḥm-nṯr ỉmy-wnw.t=f* [J] *n s3 3-nw ỉmy-r3 š n* [K] *ỉmy-*
6) *s.t-ʿ{3}* [L] *ḥr s3 tp(y) s3 3-nw ỉmy-r3 w ʿb Sḫm.t ỉmy-r3 ỉḥ ḥry ḥm.t*
7) *ỉmy-3bd* [M] *ḥr s3 tp(y) s3 2-nw s3 3-nw s3 4-nw n Pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t ḥm-nṯr*
8) *Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥry s.t-wr.t* [N] *ḥm-nṯr Rʿ ḥr-ỉb ʾIwn.t ḥm-nṯr n ʾImn ḥr-ỉb*



Figure 15.4. Inscription (lines 1–8) on Front of Block Statue OIM 10729

6. Examples of the right hand holding a folded cloth are common (cf. Cairo 42.196, 42.217, 42.230, 42.233, and 42.250), but the form of the cloth is 𓋴. The rolled cloth in Basa's hand could be readily missed, and perhaps finds parallels in the Cairo statues designated by Legrain as having nothing in the closed fist. For the designation "emblematic staff," see Bothmer, de Meulenaere, and Müller 1960, p. 10; cf. *mks*, "sceptre/container for documents," in Faulkner 1962, p. 120.

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TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTION ON RIGHT SIDE OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

NINE VERTICAL COLUMNS, FINAL THREE BELOW VIGNETTE (see fig. 15.5)

9) [ʾIw] *n.t ḥm-*[*nṯr*] *Wsi̯r ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr Wsi̯r-Skr ḥm-nṯr Pṯḥ Sḫm.t*

10) *ḥr-i̯b* ʾIwn.t *ḥm-nṯr n Wsi̯r-Ḥmɜq* O *ḥm-nṯr Mn-kɜ-mw.t=f ḥr-i̯b* ʾIwn.t *ḥm-nṯr*

11) *n mdw-*ʿ*nḫ* P *n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Smɜ-Tɜ.wy ḥm-nṯr n* ʾImn-m-ʾIp.t *ḥr-i̯b* ʾIwn.t *sḥtp ḥm.t=s* Q *i̯ḫy smɜ-i̯r(w)* R

12) *w*ʿ*b i̯qr i̯mɜḫ ḫr Nb(.t)* ʾIwn.t ***Bɜsɜ*** *sɜ ḥm-nṯr sḥtp ḥm.t=s*

13) *ḥm-nṯr n mdw-*ʿ*nḫ n Ḥw.t-Ḥr i̯my-rɜ i̯ḫ n Pr Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t)* ʾIwn.t ***Ḏd-Ḥr-i̯w=f-*ʿ*nḫ***

14) *mɜ*ʿ*-ḫrw sɜ mi̯-nw* ***Bɜsɜ*** *mɜ*ʿ*-ḫrw sɜ mi̯-nw ḥm Nbw.t ḥnk* S *i̯my-rɜ šn i̯my-*

15) *s.t-*ʿ *ḥr sɜ 3-nw* ***Ns-pɜ-ḫrd***

16) *mɜ*ʿ*-ḫrw sɜ ḥm Nbw.t w*ʿ*b (ḥb ?)-i̯tr* T *wr 15-*

17) *n.t* U *i̯my-rɜ ḥm.w-nṯr Nb(.t)* ʾIwn.t *i̯my-rɜ snṯ*



Figure 15.5. Inscription (lines 9–17) on Right Side of Block Statue OIM 10729

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TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

SIX VERTICAL COLUMNS (see fig. 15.6)

18) *wr Nb.t p.t ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) [ʾIw]n.t ḥry-sšt3* [V] *mnḫ(.t) ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥry s.t-wr.t ḥm-nṯr n Wsir ny-sw.t*

19) *nṯr.w wn ʿ.wy p.t n nṯr.w imy ʾIwn.t shtp nṯr m dbḥ {n} .w* [H] *ḥm-nṯr P(3)-Rʿ ḥr-ib ʾIwn.t*

20) *ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3-mw.t =f imy-r3 šn. d* [K] *imy-s.t-n.t-ʿ ḥr s3 3-nw shtp ḥm.t =s iḥy sm3 ir(w) im3ḫ ḫr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t*

21) ***B3s3*** *s3 mi-nw* ***Ḏd-Ḥr-iw =f-ʿnḫ*** *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***B3s3*** *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***Ns-***

22) ***p(3)-ḫrd*** *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***Pnpn*** [W] *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***Ns-k3-f(3y)-ʿ*** [X] *s3 mi-nn* [Y] ***ʾImn-m-ʾIp.t*** *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3*

23) *mi-nw* ***P(3)-ʿn-ḫr-M3ʿ.t*** [Z] *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***Wḏ3 =f-r-w y*** [AA] *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw* ***P(3)-Nḥs*** *m3ʿ-ḫrw s3 mi-nw*



Figure 15.6. Inscription (lines 18–23) on Back of Block Statue OIM 10729

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TRANSLITERATION OF INSCRIPTION ON LEFT SIDE OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

NINE VERTICAL COLUMNS, INITIAL THREE BELOW VIGNETTE (see fig. 15.7)

24) *ʾ**Imn-šd=f** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ* BB *mỉ-nw **Pꜣ-n-nw-***

25) ***Nbw(.t)-r=f*** CC *mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ-nw **Sꜣ-Ḥw.t-Ḥr** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ*

26) *ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t **Ḫʿy***

27) *mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ-nw **Smꜣ-tꜣ.wy** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n ʾImn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w **Nb-wn n*** DD

28) *mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ ḥm-nṯr tp(y) n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t ỉmy-rꜣ ỉḫ ỉmy-rꜣ sḫ.t ỉmy-rꜣ šnw.t **Smꜣ-tꜣ.wy** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ*

29) *mỉ-nw **Sꜣ-n-Ḥw.t-Ḥr** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ-n n* Y *ʾ**Imn-ḥtp** sꜣ mỉ-nw **Sꜣ-Ḥw.t-Ḥr***

30) *sꜣ mỉ-nw **Nfr** mꜣʿ-ḫrw sꜣ mỉ-nw ỉmy-rꜣ gs-pr **Dd** mꜣʿ-ḫrw ỉr.n Nb(.t)-pr ỉḫy.t n*

31) *ʾImn-Rʿ ḥm(.t) n Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t **Tꜣy=s-mr-dn*** EE *sꜣ.t ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t ḫꜣ.ty-ʿ*

32) *n ʾIwn.t **P(ꜣ)-dỉ-Nb.ty** sꜣ mỉ-nw **Ḏd-Ḫnsw-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ** sꜣ mỉ-nw **Ns-pꜣ-ỉḥy** mꜣʿ-ḫrw*



Figure 15.7. Inscription (lines 24–32) on Left Side of Block Statue OIM 10729

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TRANSLATION

(*Front*, 1) Third prophet of Hathor, Lady [A] of Dendera, overseer of secrets of all the Gods and Goddesses of Dendera, pure one of hands,[B] stolist (2) priest of this temple, temple scribe, scribe of the forecourt/shrine,[C] scribe of investigation,[D] scribe of the temple (3) cadaster [E] of the Estate of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, he who opens the doors of heaven [F] of all the Gods and Goddesses in Dendera, overseer of providing (4) all divine offerings in Her (*scil.* "Hathor's") place,[G] he who pacifies the deity with necessities,[H] over- (5) seer of the Great Plan [I] of the Lady of Heaven, prophet and astrologer [J] priest of the third phylae, lesonis priest,[K] (6) acolyte [L] for the first phylae and third phylae, overseer of wab-priests of Sakhmet, overseer of cattle, overseer of craftsmen, (7) monthly priest [M] for the first phylae, second phylae, third phylae, and fourth phylae of the Estate of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, prophet (8) of Hathor, overseer of the sanctuary,[N] prophet of Re, resident in Dendera, prophet of Amun, resident in (*Right Side*, 9) Dendera, prophet of Osiris, King of the Gods, prophet of Osiris-Sokar, prophet of Ptah and Sakhmet, (10) resident in Dendera, prophet of Osiris, the Bandaged One,[O] prophet of Min, Bull of His Mother, resident in Dendera, prophet (11) of the living staff [P] of Hathor and Sematawy, prophet of Amenemope resident in Dendera, satisfier of Her Majesty,[Q] sistrum player, he who unites the forms,[R] (12) excellent wab-priest, revered one before the Lady of Dendera, **Bꜣsꜣ** (IV), son of the prophet, satisfier of Her Majesty, (13) prophet of the living staff of Hathor, overseer of cattle of the Estate of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, **Ḏd-Ḥr-iw=f-ʿnḫ** (II) (14), the justified, son of the similarly titled **Bꜣsꜣ** (III), the justified. son of the similarly titled prophet of the Golden One, offering priest,[S] lesonis priest, (15) acolyte for the third phylae, **Ns-pꜣ-ḫrd** (II), (16) the justified, son of the prophet of the Golden One, wab-priest of the river festival,[T] great one of the half-month,[U] (17) overseer of the prophets of the Lady of Dendera, overseer of the Great Plan (*Back*, 18) of the Lady of Heaven, third prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, overseer of secrets [V] of clothing (stolist priest), prophet of Hathor, overseer of the sanctuary, prophet of Osiris, King (19) of the Gods, opener of the doors of heaven of the Gods who are in Dendera, he who pacifies the deity with necessities,[H] prophet of Pre, resident in Dendera, (20) prophet of Min, Bull of His Mother, lesonis priest,[K] acolyte for the third phylae, satisfier of Her Majesty, sistrum player, he who unites the forms, revered one before the Lady of Dendera, (21) **Bꜣsꜣ** (II), son of the similarly titled **Ḏd-Ḥr-iw=f-ʿnḫ** (I), the justified, son of the similarly titled **Bꜣsꜣ** (I), the justified, son of the similarly titled **Ns-** (22) **pꜣ)-ḫrd** (I), the justified, son of the similarly titled **Pnpn**,[W] the justified, son of the similarly titled **Ns-kꜣ-f(ꜣy)-ʿ**,[X] son of the similarly titled[Y] **ꜣImn-m-ꜣIp.t**, the justified, son of (23) the similarly titled **Pꜣ)-ʿn-ḫr-Mꜣʿ.t**,[Z] the justified, son of the similarly titled **Wḏꜣ=f-r-wy**,[AA] the justified, son of the similarly titled **Pꜣ)-Nḥs**, the justified, son of the similarly titled (*Left Side*, 24) **ꜣImn-šd=f**, the justified, son [BB] of the similarly titled **Pꜣ-n-nw-** (25) **Nbw(.t)-r=f**,[CC] the justified, son of the similarly titled **Sꜣ-Ḥw.t-Ḥr** (II), the justified, son of (26) the first prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, **Ḫʿy**, (27) the justified, son of the similarly titled **Smꜣ-tꜣ.wy** (II), the justified, son of the first prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, **Nb-wnn**,[DD] (28) the justified, son of the first prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, overseer of cattle, overseer of fields, overseer of the granary, **Smꜣ-tꜣ.wy** (I), the justified, son of (29) the similarly titled

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S3-n-Ḥw.t-Ḥr, the justified, son of the similarly titled[Y] **ʾImn-ḥtp**, son of the similarly titled **S3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr** (1), (30) son of the similarly titled **Nfr**, the justified, son of the similarly titled temple overseer, **Dd**, the justified; born by the Lady of the House, the sistrum player of (31) Amun-Re, the servant of the Lady of Dendera, **T3y=s-mr-dn**,[EE] daughter of the prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, the mayor (32) of Dendera, **P(3)-dì-Nb.ty**, son of the similarly titled **Ḏd-Ḫnsw-iw=f-ʿnḫ**, son of the similarly titled **Ns-p3-ìḥy**, the justified.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF CENTRAL TABLEAU OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729 (see fig. 15.8a)

ABOVE BASA

(1) *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n* (2) *Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t* (3) *ḥry-*[*sš*]*t3 mnḫ(.t)* (4) *s*[*š ḥw.*]*t-*[*nṯ*]*r* ***B3s3***

(1) Third prophet of (2) Hathor, Lady of Dendera, (3) overseer of secrets of clothing, (4) temple scribe, **B3s3**

BEFORE OSIRIS

(1) *ḏd-mdw ìn Wsìr Wn-* (2) *nfr ḥr-ìb ʾIwn.t nṯr ʿ3* (3) *ḥq3 ḏ.t*

(1) Words said by Osiris On- (2) nophris, resident in Dendera, Great God, (3) Ruler of Eternity

BEFORE ISIS

ḏd-mdw ìn 3s.t wr(.t) mw.t-nṯr ḥr-ìb ʾIwn.t Nb(.t) p.t ḥnw.t nṯr.w

Words said by Isis the Great, the God's Mother, resident in Dendera, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods

TRANSLITERATION OF VIGNETTE ON RIGHT SHOULDER OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729 (see fig. 15.8b)

ABOVE KNEELING BASA

(1) *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t ḥry-sšt3* (2) *mnḫ(.t) sš ḥw.t-nṯr* ***B3s3***

BEFORE OSIRIS

Wsìr ḥr-ìb ʾIwn.t

TRANSLITERATION OF VIGNETTE ON LEFT SHOULDER OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729 (see fig. 15.8c)

ABOVE KNEELING BASA

(1) [*ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n*] *Ḥw.t-Ḥr Nb(.t) ʾIwn.t ḥry-sšt3* (2) [*mnḫ(.t) sš*] *ḥw.t-nṯr* ***B3s3***

BEFORE OSIRIS

[*Wsìr ḥr-ìb ʾIwn.t*]

TRANSLATION OF BOTH LATERAL VIGNETTES OF BLOCK STATUE OIM 10729

ABOVE KNEELING BASA

(1) Third prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, overseer of secrets (2) of clothing, temple scribe, **B3s3**

BEFORE OSIRIS

Osiris, resident in Dendera

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a



b



c

Figure 15.8. Vignettes on (*a*) Front, (*b*) Right Shoulder, and (*c*) Left Shoulder of Block Statue OIM 10729

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TEXTUAL NOTES

A) In all instances, "Hathor, Lady of Dendera" is carved with the *nb*-basket directly adjoining the base line of the rectangular *ḥw.t*-sign, as in the local private stelae published in Petrie's excavation report on the site (Petrie 1900, p. 54, pl. XXV: middle stela, line 4, right stela, lines 5, 7).

B) For the cultic title, see *Wb*. I, 281.15.

C) See *Wb*. II, 291.10–14. For Ptolemaic attestations of the title at Dendera, see Daressy 1917, p. 92 (line 3); Shore 1979, pp. 144–47 (line 15), 150 (n. k), 154–57 (lines x + 7).

D) For *sš šn*, "investigating scribe" (literally, "scribe of asking"), see *Wb*. IV, 497.1.

E) Despite the peculiar spelling, this surely represents a local variant of the late priestly title well-attested on contemporary block statues from the Theban area, *sš ṯȝ* (*n Pr-ʾImn*), interpreted by Kees as "Schreiber eines Rechnungsbüros" or, more simply, "Katasterschreiber" (Kees 1953, pp. 284, 257–58; idem 1958, p. 25) The intrusive addition of the word *ḫt*, "wood," can be understood by reference to *Wb*. V, 342.5, where the term *ṯȝ*, "cadaster" (determined with 𓊪) is designated a variant of the *ṯȝ*, "container" (determined with 𓎛), of *Wb*. V, 349.5–8. In writings of the Theban title, the determinative is often placed over the back of the phonetic sign 𓋴, so that in designing a text in vertical columns, the scribe of the Chicago statue has misplaced the determinative above, and thus before, the proper initial sign (cf. n. N, below), while the adjunct *ḥw.t-nṯr* has been placed in honorific transposition. Further, as with the spelling of *dbḥ* in lines 4 and 19, the scribe has confused a determinative (here 𓎛) with a phonetic element and thus inserted the phonetic complements *ḫt* into the spelling. Far less likely, the phrase could entail a conflation of two terms for "cadaster," adding to *ṯȝ* the *ḫt*, "cadaster," of *Wb*. III, 342.14. For Ptolemaic examples of the office of *sš ṯȝ* at Dendera, see Daressy 1917, pp. 90 (line 4, *sš n ṯȝy n r.w-pr.w*), 92 (line 3, written *sš ḏȝy*); Shore 1979, pp. 154–57 (lines x + 7 and x + 13, written *sš ḏȝy*).

F) Listed as a Theban title (*Wb*. I, 311.5).

G) Compare *Wb. Beleg*. IV, p. 55b, citation for *Wb*. IV, 222.13: *shtp nṯr ḥr s.t=f*, "who satisfies the God in His place."

H) The word is a writing of *dbḥ*, "cultic necessity" (*Wb*. V, 440), determined with a Lower Egyptian crown and a clothing hieroglyph. The title recurs in line 19, where 𓋔 is misinterpreted as a phonetic *n*, and the alphabetic 𓈖 has been substituted for reasons of space.

I) The phrase recurs in lines 17–18 (cf. *Wb*. IV, 179.5). For the title and its history, see the primary discussion of Fischer (1968, pp. 47–49, with specific mention of these Chicago attestations on p. 49, n. 197). For Theban usage, see Kees 1953, pp. 209–10. Further references are gathered in Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, p. 68, n. 39.

J) For the horologer-priest or "astrologer," see *Wb*. I, 316.2; Erichsen 1954, pp. 30, 90.

K) The title is found in lines 5, 14, and 20, each time preceding the title "acolyte" (*ỉmy-s.t-ʿ*). For the lesonis priest ("overseer of asking/investigating"), see *Wb*. IV, 496.13–15,

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to which should be added 499.7–8; Erichsen 1954, p. 512. For Theban attestations, see Kees 1958, p. 51. The writing of the term in line 20 is aberrant, concluding with the hieroglyph of a hand (), probably a substitution of *d* for the final *t* found in the variants grouped in *Wb*. IV, 498.1–2. Although such writings are understood in the *Wb.* as "overseer of 100," the final *-t* is probably only the infinitival ending of *šnỉ*, "to ask/investigate" (*Wb*. IV, 495).

L) In three variant writings, the title is found in lines 5–6 (*ỉmy-s.t-ꜥ3*), 14–15 (*ỉmy-s.t-ꜥ*), and 20 (*ỉmy-s.t-n.t-ꜥ*). The underlying unity of these variants is shown by the addition to each of the qualifying phrase *ḥr* (*s3 tpy*) *s3 3-nw*, "for the (first and) third phylae." The standard writing of the term "assistant/acolyte" is *ỉmy-s.t-ꜥ* (*Wb*. I, 75.12; Faulkner 1962, p. 19). The writing in lines 5–6 represents a phonetic spelling, substituting *ꜥ3*, "great," for *ꜥ*, "hand," while that of line 20 inserts the feminine genitive *n.t* in the expression that literally means "overseer of the place of the hand." For the role of the acolyte in the Theban hierarchy, see Kees 1953, p. 301, with additional references gathered in idem 1958, p. 50 (under "Assistant"). Ptolemaic attestations at Dendera appear in Daressy 1917, pp. 91 (line 1), 92 (line 3; spelled phonetically *ỉmy-s.t-y*, and compare *ḥry ỉmy-s.t* in the same line).

M) For the development of the "monthly service priest" in the Theban hierarchy, see Kees 1953, p. 303; and the additional references gathered in idem 1958, p. 51 (under "Monatsdiensttuer"). For the *ỉmy-ꜣbd* (*ḥr s3 tpy*) at Dendera, see Stela Munich 40 (Spiegelberg 1904, pl. XXIV, pp. 48–49), with further discussion and date (ca. 500 B.C.) by Munro (1973, pp. 80, 257–58).

N) The arrangement of the text in vertical columns has produced an inversion of the signs (yielding *wr.t-s.t*). In proper order, the title recurs in line 18, again in the title string "prophet of Hathor, overseer of the sanctuary" (*ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥry s.t-wr.t*).

O) For *Wsỉr-Ḥmꜣg*, "Osiris the Bandaged One," see *Wb*. III, 94.14.

P) For the cult of the divine staff, see *Wb*. II, 178.7–9; Spiegelberg 1903, pp. 184–90 (with specific reference to the Ptolemaic cult at Dendera). The supporting *ꜥnḫ*-sign has here been transcribed and translated, but this may well be merely a graphic design since the ankh, provided with hands, often carries cultic emblems in relief. The usual epithet of the sacred staff is *špss*, "noble"; compare Daressy 1917, p. 92, line 4: *ḥm-nṯr n p(3) mdw špss*.

Q) The title occurs in lines 11, 12, and 20 (followed in lines 11 and 20 by *ỉḫy smꜣ-ỉrw ... ỉmꜣḫ ḥr Nb.t ỉwn.t*). Registered in *Wb*. IV, 222.15, this is one of the few distinctive titles of the Denderite temple hierarchy attested on later private monuments from the site. Of the three stelae found by Petrie that compose the totality of locally excavated inscriptional evidence between the Eleventh Dynasty and the Ptolemaic era, *sḥtp ḥm(.t)=s* appears on two. On the stela of *Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣs.t*, the owner bears this rank as does his father *Pꜣ-tỉ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* (line 4), while on the stela of the untitled *Nḏm-ꜥnḫ*, it is his father *Pꜣ-tỉ-Ḥr-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* who has this as the first of many titles (line 4; Petrie 1900, p. 54, pl. XXV [middle and right stelae]). Designated in the *Wb.* as belonging to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, these stelae have now been assigned later dates by Munro (*Ḥr-*

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sꜣ-ꜣs.t ca. 500 or 380 B.C.; *Nḏm-ʿnḫ* ca. 320–300 B.C.) (*Wb. Beleg.* IV, p. 38 [to *Wb.* IV, 222.15]; Munro 1973, pp. 80, 257). Following the Edfu "Geographic List," Petrie (1900, p. 54) considered this the specific designation of the high priest of Hathor at Dendera. On the Edfu list, the senior priest is entitled *wr smꜣ-ỉrw sḥtp ḥm(.t)=s ỉr n=f* (Brugsch 1879, p. 1361).[7] On the Chicago statue, however, *sḥtp ḥm(.t)=s* is placed toward the end of Basa IV's hierarchical titulary that descends in rank from third prophet of Hathor to excellent wab-priest. The lower status of this office is similarly evident in the title string of Basa II, though it is a primary title of the obviously less-prominent *Ḏd-Ḥr-ỉw=f-ʿnḫ* II. The evidence thus demonstrates a clear evolution in the status of this title from the Twenty-second Dynasty to the Ptolemaic era.

R) For this title in lines 11 and 20, see the fuller writings in *Wb.* III, 447.14–15, where it is paired with *smꜣ-ḫpr.w* and identified simply as a Greco-Roman priestly title in Dendera. *Smꜣ* should be a participle, "one who unites/who is united (of)"; and *ỉrw*, by its pairing with *ḫpr.w*, "transformations," should be understood as "essential forms" (*Wb.* I, 113.13ff.) rather than "rites" (*Wb.* I, 113.8–11). The title is borne by the high priest of Dendera in the Edfu "Geographic List," see n. Q, above.

S) Compare *Wb.* III, 118.8.

T) Compare(?) *Wb.* I, 146.16: the festival of *šsp ỉtr*.

U) Compare *Wb.* IV, 147.1: *smd.t* (?). For the role of the half-month priest, see Kees 1953, pp. 304–05; and the additional references gathered in idem 1958, p. 26.

V) For the standard association of the *ḥry-sštꜣ* with the role of stolist, see Vittmann, "Stolist," *LÄ* VI, cols. 63–65.

W) The name is a variant spelling of *Pꜣ-n-P*, "He of Pe," see Ranke 1935, p. 107a, no. 12 (Twenty-second Dynasty and following) and the variants on p. 107b, nos. 24–25, especially p. 108a, no. 1: *Pnpn*, misinterpreted *Pꜣ-n-Pnw* by Ranke (○ is a copyist's error for ⊛). Note that Ranke's examples on p. 107a, no. 12, were read *Pnpn* by Moret (1913, p. 323).

X) For the name, see Ranke 1935, p. 175b, nos. 19–20; idem 1952, p. 365a: "He who belongs to the bull with the raised arm (Min)."

Y) The standard phrase "likewise" (*Wb.* II, 216.17) is written throughout the text as *mỉ-nw* but as *mỉ-nn* with phonetic complement only in lines 22 and 29, where it precedes the two names beginning with *ꜣmn*.

Z) The name is not recorded by Ranke, but for the formation, see Ranke 1935, p. 102b, nos. 23–28.

AA) The name is not recorded by Ranke, but represents an apotropaic name, "Let him be sound against them" (*Wḏꜣ=f-r=w*). The end of the name is defectively carved with two final stokes (*=y*) rather than three (*=w*).

7. At Dendera itself, *sḥtp ḥm(.t)=s* and *smꜣ-ỉrw* are conjoined in Mariette 1870, pl. 20 (B), lines 2–3. However, these titles are borne by different priests in Mariette 1873, pl. 33 (top), where the primary cleric in the procession is styled *sḥtp ḥm(.t)=s*, but a later priest is *smꜣ-ỉrw smꜣ-ḫpr.w*.

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BB) For reasons of space, *s3* is here uniquely written with the egg rather than the goose. Spatial concerns presumably motivated a variety of inconsistencies, so that the term *m3ʿ-ḫrw* has been omitted after the names of *B3s3* (IV), *B3s3* (II), *Ns-k3-f(3y)-ʿ*, *3lmn-ḥtp*, *S3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (I), and the maternal relatives *P(3)-dì-Nb.ty* and *Ḏd-Ḫnsw-ìw=f-ʿnḫ*. In addition, no human determinative follows any name in lines 21–25, and it is occasionally omitted thereafter.

CC) Compare Ranke 1935, p. 182b, no. 24: *Nw-Nb*, "The one whom 'The Golden' regards."

DD) The name is a variant of *Nb-wnn=f*, borne by the famous high priest of Amun under Ramesses II (Ranke 1935, p. 184a, no. 8). The same truncated spelling is standardly used in Ptolemaic Demotic (and Greek) references to the high priest; see Lüddeckens 1989, p. 640: *Nbwnn*. For *Nb-wnn=f*, see the commentary below.

EE) The name signifies "Her love is exalted" (*dn* < *ṯnì*, *Wb*. V, 374). Compare Ranke 1935, p. 159b, no. 19: *Mr.t-ṯnì*, understood by Ranke as "die von This Geliebte."

COMMENTARY

From the end of the New Kingdom, extended genealogical references proliferate, whether in the form of graffiti, tables, reliefs, or in filiations on block statues such as OIM 10729. As noted by Redford (1986, p. 62, n. 226), "There is no implication here that genealogical information was not carefully kept, nor family trees sometimes set forth, in earlier times. But it is simply a fact that extended genealogies on private stelae and in statue inscriptions become usual only in the aftermath of the decline of the 20th Dynasty." Innovation in practice suggests a novel stimulus and special significance, and both of these factors are best understood by reference to the underlying Libyan social context of subsequent dynasties. Among the newly-dominant families of Libyan tribal descent, such lengthy genealogies were undoubtedly traditional.[8] For both persons and families, genealogy was history. As is common within tribal societies, genealogies would have served to prove an individual's attachment to—and thus official status within—the politically powerful lineage.[9]

As Libyan dynasts typically assigned spheres of influence (military and civil offices, priesthoods, etc.) on the basis of such hereditary kinship,[10] long-prominent Egyptian families lost control of these traditional sources of wealth. Perhaps in reaction against Libyan encroachment, families of Egyptian descent began to employ similarly detailed genealogies, establishing hereditary claim to temple benefices and forming the priestly caste system that was to be encountered by Herodotus (Herodotus II.37.5; see Lloyd 1976, p. 171). Few documents express this principle so clearly as P. Rylands IX (time of Darius I), in which the protagonist Peteêsi (III) claims the return of priestly offices and income precisely because they had belonged to his family for several generations (see Lloyd 1983, pp. 304–05). Basa's well-delineated paternal heritage seems rather more than a subject of pride; it was a

8. For Libyan influence on the Third Intermediate Period, see the discussions by Leahy (1990) and Ritner (1990, pp. 101–08).

9. Note the many family histories of collateral branches of Libyan/Saite royal houses, gathered by Redford (1986, p. 62, n. 226).

10. See the remarks of O'Connor (1983, p. 239).

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declaration of the source and legitimacy of the statue donor's many honors. Presumably placed within the temple precinct of Dendera, OIM 10729 was a public record of individual and family status.

A temple setting for the Chicago statue would correspond with known parallels and with the probable find spot of the piece, as other late statuary was recovered by *sebakh* diggers in 1907, particularly at the northern face of the great enclosure wall.[11] Whether or not the statue of Basa ultimately derives from the vanished contemporary temple of Dendera, it nonetheless represents one of the very few sources of evidence for the cult—and for the city itself—between the First Intermediate and Ptolemaic periods. New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period remains are almost totally lacking at Dendera, and four published private stelae comprise virtually all of the inscriptional documentation between the Eleventh Dynasty and the Ptolemaic era.[12] To these meager records, the Chicago statue adds a further twenty-seven generations of positions and title-holders; it is currently the single most important document for New Kingdom and late pharaonic Denderite history.

For lack of such detailed information, Dendera was largely excluded from Kees' fundamental study, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*. Now, as surveyed in the preceding textual notes, it seems possible to trace the evolution of several distinctively Denderite sacerdotal titles, e.g., *šḥtp-ḥm(.t)=s* and *sm3-ỉrw*, while at the same time discerning a close similarity of local titles with those at Thebes: *sš t3*, *ỉmy-r3 snṯ-wr*, *wn ʿ.wy-p.t* (assigned to the high priest of Theban Amun in the Edfu "Geographic List"; Brugsch 1879, p. 1361), *ỉmy-s.t-ʿ*, etc. In addition, the Chicago statue furnishes information on three generations of civil authority at Dendera, as Basa's maternal grandfathers were all mayors of the city (lines 31–32).

The close relation between Thebes and Dendera is embodied in the person of Nebwenenef, chosen by oracle for the high priesthood of Amun of Thebes in year 1 of Ramesses II (ca. 1279 B.C.), after a career as high priest of Onuris at This, high priest of Hathor at Dendera, and chief of the prophets of all the gods between Gurna and This. Despite the recognized importance of this high priest for the early reign of Ramesses II, Nebwenenef has remained an enigmatic figure, with little information on his family connections, the rationale for his appointment, or his length of tenure.[13] Though his tomb (TT

11. For parallel placement, cf. the discovery in the Karnak temple cachette of similar block statues of contemporary Theban priests, published by Legrain (1906, 1909, 1914). For the *sebakh* discoveries, see Englebach 1921, p. 72; Porter and Moss 1937, pp. 115–16.

12. Petrie 1900, pp. 2, 53–54, pl. XXV; Spiegelberg 1904, pp. 48–49, pl. XXIV (no. 37); recent discussion in Munro 1973, pp. 80, 256–58; the few additional sources are listed by Porter and Moss (1937, pp. 114–16). A monument of a festival director of Hathor (Louvre C 65; time of Horemheb?) is cited by Kees (1953, p. 323).

13. See the conservative summaries by Bierbrier ("Nebwenenef," *LÄ* IV, col. 366; idem, "Hoherpriester des Amun," *LÄ* II, col. 1243). While Lefebvre (1929, p. 123) suggested that Ramesses' familiarity with Nebwenenef was due to the latter's authority over Gurna, near Sety I's mortuary temple, it seems more likely that the priest's elevation resulted from his regional supervision of Abydos and its royal funerary complex. It is perhaps significant that Nebwenenef was informed of his selection on the occasion of the new king's dedication of the Abydos temple. One must now discard Bell's statement that a new high priest is recorded in year 17; cf. Bell 1973, p. 18; Kitchen 1975, p. 267 (graffito in tomb of Khety). On the basis

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157) at Dra Abu el-Naga in Western Thebes has long been known, it has never been properly published. Excerpted scenes were copied by Champollion (1844, pp. 535–36, 851–52), Lepsius (1900, p. 239) and, most importantly, by Sethe (1907–08, pp. 30–35), while studies of Wreszinski (1904, p. 12, § 16) and Lefebvre (1929, pp. 117–23, 248–49) synthesized the available information. Judged the "largest and most important tomb of the entire area," it was examined during two seasons of excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga by Clarence Fisher in 1921–23, but the major publication was deferred, and collation work was not resumed on the site until 1966 (see Fisher 1924, pp. 44–47; Bell 1968, pp. 38–47). As noted by Field Director L. Bell:

> It should be observed further on this point, as an indication of the general neglect which this part of the necropolis has received in the past, that of the four tombs of Ramesside High Priests of Amun of Karnak which are known at Thebes ... , all four are at Dra Abu el-Naga, and all four remain unpublished. The fact that three of these lie within our concession serves to lend a certain urgency to our work and enhances its importance (Bell 1969, p. 29).

Nevertheless, in 1973 J. Schmidt (1973, p. 24) observed that the tomb had still "received little attention except for some photographs" and in 1994 Bell's urgent epigraphic goals have yet to be met, though the project has cleared the central hall and has produced four anecdotal reports for a popular audience, a brief lecture abstract, and a provisional list of dispersed objects from the tombs of the Theban high priests.[14] The best general description of the tomb remains that of Porter and Moss (1960, pp. 266–68). A few photographs published in the preliminary reports were subsequently made available to K. Kitchen, and it is to him that we owe the only modern collated textual editions from the tomb, though these are necessarily incomplete (1980).[15]

Genealogical evidence is potentially of great importance,[16] but information from the tomb has been scanty.[17] Thus, on an unrelocated inscription from the tomb, Lepsius copied the titles—but not the name—of Nebwenenef's father (Lepsius 1900, p. 239; Kitchen 1975–90, vol. III, p. 290). From the genealogy of Basa, it is now possible to restore this name (*Sm3-t3.wy*), and to add five additional paternal ascendants, all of whom bore the titles of first prophet of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, overseer of cattle, overseer of fields, and overseer of the granary. Thus, contrary to the assessment of Černy (1975, p. 626), Nebwenenef derives from a lineage of regional distinction, and need not be dismissed as "a politically and

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of argumentation yet unpublished, Kitchen (1982, pp. 126, 171; followed by Lalouette 1985, p. 230) assumes that the high priest died about year 12.

14. Bell 1968, pp. 38–47; idem 1969, pp. 26–37; idem 1973, pp. 17–27; Anonymous 1979, pp. 50–51; Bell 1974, pp. 24–25; idem 1981, pp. 52–62, to which (p. 54) should be added the fragment of the lower torso and legs of a ushebti of Nebwenenef, OIM 15638, excavated at Medinet Habu in 1928 (reference courtesy John Larson). Contra Bell (ibid.) the Demotic references to the priest are certain and can be multiplied; see below.

15. Kitchen 1975–90, vol. III, pp. 282–91; Kitchen had made textual copies in 1962–63, before the tomb clearance.

16. Cf. the remarks of Bell (1968, p. 39).

17. The names and titles of relatives are now published in Kitchen 1975–90, vol. III, p. 286; cf. Porter and Moss 1960, p. 267, § 6/II. Named relatives include his wife, a son, a daughter, and a sister (termed mother in Bell 1974, p. 24).

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financially insignificant High Priest of Osiris [*sic*] of This."[18] This pattern of inherited office confirms the restoration and interpretation of a broken passage in the appointment text of Nebwenenef, where his former office of high priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, is assigned to "[your son] in accordance with the offices of your fathers" (Kitchen 1975–90, vol. III, p. 283/10 [lines 6–7]; Sethe 1907–08, pp. 31–32). As the son, Sematawy II, was sufficiently mature to accede to this office in 1279, the earliest recorded forebear, Dedi, should date to the middle or possibly early Eighteenth Dynasty, with priest Amenhotep styled for either the second or third monarch of that *nomen*. Other names often follow the common pattern of calling sons after grandfathers (*S3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr/S3-n-Ḥw.t-Ḥr, Sm3-t3.wy* I and II), and the entire sequence of names (but not titles) repeats for the latest eight generations of male children.

To posterity, Nebwenenef's importance was evident not only in the records of his family, whose fortunes remained centered upon Dendera, but in later Theban documents as well. A series of Demotic papyri record the use of "the tomb of Nebwenen on the western region of Thebes" as a mausoleum for secondary burials that were administered and traded by funerary priests of the Ptolemaic era.[19] At both Thebes and Dendera, the name was preserved in truncated form, perhaps reinterpreted following the late title "Lord of Light."[20]

18. Nebwenenef's position with respect to Abydos was also significant; see above, n. 13.

19. See the references gathered in Lüddeckens 1989, p. 640, superseding the hesitant identification in Bell 1981, p. 54. Secondary burials were discovered in the tomb clearance; see Bell 1973, p. 24. For the practice, cf. P. Bib. Nat. 218, line 15: "You have satisfied my heart with the money for the $\frac{1}{2}$ share of my $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the revenues of the priests who are buried in the tomb of Nebwenen on the western region of Thebes" (Zauzich 1968, pp. 44–45).

20. One example from the unpublished Amherst papyri (57, line 3) preserves the final *f*; see Lüddeckens 1989, p. 640. For the divine epithet, see Medinet Habu Graffito 235, line 5, in Thissen 1989, p. 144.

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GENEALOGY OF BASA

PATERNAL STEMMA

Dd
Nfr
S3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr (I)
ʾImn-ḥtp
S3-n-Ḥw.t-Ḥr
Sm3-t3.wy (I)
Nb-wnn{=f}
Sm3-t3.wy (II)
Ḫʿy
S3-Ḥw.t-Ḥr (II)
P3-n-nw-Nbw(.t)-r=f
ʾImn-šd=f
P(3)-Nḥs
Wḏ3=f-r-wy
P(3)-ʿn-ḫr-M3ʿ.t
ʾImn-m-ʾIp.t
Ns-k3-f(3y)-ʿ
Pnpn
Ns-p(3)-ḫrd (I)
B3s3 (I)
Ḏd-Ḥr-iw=f-ʿnḫ (I)
B3s3 (II)
Ns-p3-ḫrd (II)
B3s3 (III)
Ḏd-Ḥr-iw=f-ʿnḫ (II)

MATERNAL STEMMA

Ns-p3-iḥy
Ḏd-Ḫnsw-iw=f-ʿnḫ
P(3)-di-Nb.ty
T3y=s-mr-dn

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B3s3 (IV)

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CHAPTER 16

THE PRACTICAL ECONOMICS OF TOMB-BUILDING IN THE OLD KINGDOM: A VISIT TO THE NECROPOLIS IN A CARRYING CHAIR[1]

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A major goal of Klaus Baer's investigations into the organization of ancient Egyptian society was to understand how its economic system functioned, a goal which his work brought much closer to realization. As a tribute to his memory, it is thus appropriate to offer here a study of the payment of craftsmen in the Old Kingdom. This study is based on an unpublished scene from a tomb at Giza and its caption, both of which are closely paralleled in two other Giza tombs. The writing of the word *ḏbꜣ* in the new text and a passage preserved in the parallels, when compared with other texts that describe tomb-building, underscore the importance of cloth in paying for construction work during this period. Further examination of the evidence suggests that there were two complementary types of compensation for such labor, one of which was customarily presented and acknowledged during a formal visit of inspection.

THE TOMBS OF NEFER-KHUWI, ANKHMA-RE, AND NIMAAT-RE

Giza mastaba G 2098, the tomb of Nefer-khuwi, was excavated in 1939 by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition directed by G. A. Reisner.[2] On the northern wall of its recessed corridor chapel, Nefer-khuwi boasts of his generous payment to the craftsmen who built the tomb, a claim presumably intended to demonstrate his upright character and also to deter acts of vandalism by disgruntled craftsmen.[3] The placement and orientation of the chapel's decoration suggest that it was most often approached from the south, so that the northern wall with its claim of financial responsibility was the first to be

1. This paper has benefited from the comments of William Kelly Simpson and Peter Der Manuelian on an earlier draft. I am especially indebted to Professor Simpson for allowing me to discuss unpublished material from the tomb of Ankhma-Re (G 7837+7843), which he is preparing for publication in the Giza Mastabas series of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. His collated facsimile copies of this tomb will undoubtedly improve upon my description, which is based solely on the expedition photographs. I am grateful to Rita Freed and her staff at the Museum of Fine Arts for assisting my access to them.

2. G 2098 is not described by Porter and Moss (1974), but plan XI shows it as an unlabeled mastaba to the north of G 2089 and to the west of G 2099. My epigraphic and archaeological publication of this mastaba and the mastabas that adjoin it is forthcoming in the Giza Mastabas series of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The study of these tombs was supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, #RO-21745-88.

3. Such texts, and the motivation for recording them, are discussed by Eyre (1987, pp. 24–25).

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seen by most visitors. Drawing further to this claim was its placement as the caption of the only scene in the chapel that was not entirely conventional: a scene of Nefer-khuwi traveling in a canopied carrying chair.[4]

The scene and its accompanying text were carved in a one-centimeter-thick surface of plaster, of which only a small part, not including the text, still adhered to the wall at the time of excavation. Parts of the text were preserved among the many fragments of fallen plaster that were collected during the clearance.[5] This text clearly belongs in the uppermost register of the wall. Its position within that register can be established by associating a cavity in the bottom of the largest fragment with a triangular gap between the blocks of the wall. This gap would originally have been filled with a coarse plaster plug. When the plug fell out, it carried with it the overlying surface plaster that bore the decoration, leaving an outline of its shape on the edge of the plaster above it. Later, pulled away from the wall by its own unsupported weight, this upper section of the plaster fell in one piece and was preserved. The original position of this fragment can thus be restored by placing the cavity at its base directly over the gap in the underlying blocks.

From this placement of the largest fragment, the remaining text can be reconstructed almost in its entirety, as had been done in figure 16.1. The text given in dotted line and the placement of the isolated fragments relative to each other are based on parallel texts that accompany carrying-chair scenes in two other Giza tombs: the mastaba of Nimaat-Re,[6] near the "pyramid town" of Khentkawes, and the rock-cut chapel of Ankhma-Re (Reisner's G 7837+7843; Porter and Moss 1974, p. 206),[7] at the eastern edge of the Cemetery. W. K. Simpson (1979, p. 495) has already noted the similarity of these two texts to each other. The texts from these scenes are given in figures 16.2–3, again restored in dotted line.[8]

Besides their carrying-chair scenes, these three tombs have in common a procession of personified estates with names based on the name of the tomb owner, in all of which men alternate with women.[9] Since estates are never personified as men after the Fifth Dynasty (Jacquet-Gordon 1962, p. 27), these tombs cannot date later than that period. Nimaat-Re's false door mentions the god Osiris and a priesthood of Neuserre (Hassan 1936, fig. 237

4. I can find only fifteen other scenes depicting carrying-chair processions at Giza, and only thirty-seven such scenes in the Memphite cemeteries altogether.
5. The clearance of the chapel of G 2098 took place January 17–22, 1939, according to the expedition diary kept by Reis Mohammed Said Ahmed and preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. F. O. Allen and W. S. Smith collected the plaster fragments and made some joins.
6. Porter and Moss 1974, pp. 282–84; Hassan 1936, pp. 202–25, figs. 223–51 [the parallel scene is shown in fig. 240], pls. 77–83.
7. Simpson (1979, fig. 3) records the parallel scene.
8. The Nimaat-Re text is based on the publication with additions proposed by Grdseloff (1943, p. 52). The restorations shown in dotted line are my own and are discussed below. The text from the Ankhma-Re scene was drawn from expedition photographs, while consulting the published drawing (based on a more recent tracing). I am grateful to the staff of the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for allowing me to consult these photographs.
9. Jacquet-Gordon 1962, pp. 279–80 (Nimaat-Re), pp. 290–91 (Ankhma-Re). The Nefer-khuwi procession will be published in the Giza Mastabas volume.

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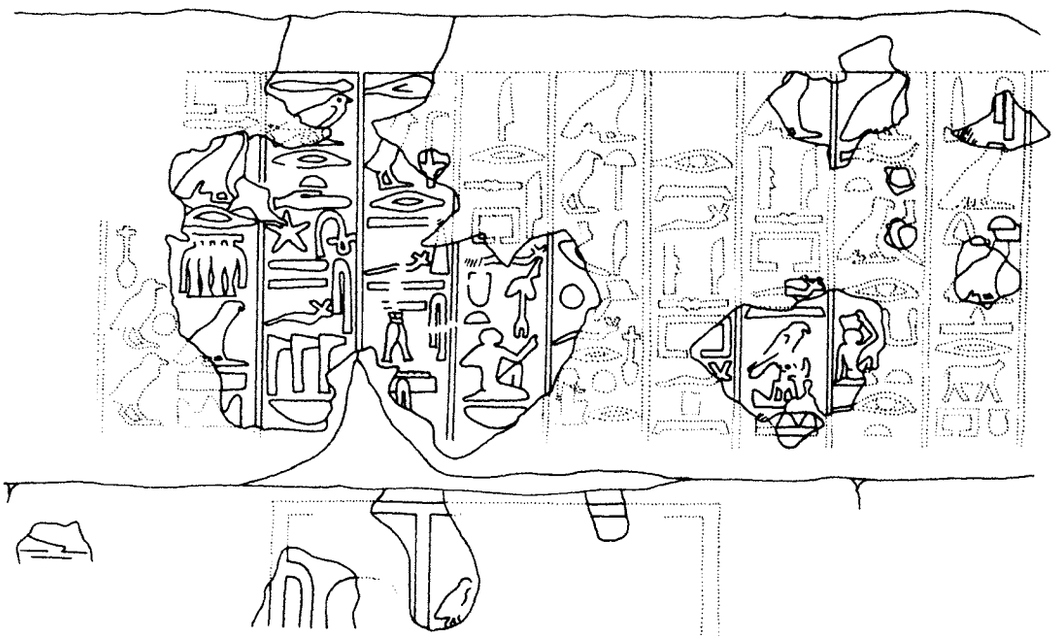


Figure 16.1. Text above the Carrying-Chair Scene in the Tomb of Nefer-khuwi (G 2098)

[facing p. 218]), features that imply a date in the late Fifth Dynasty.[10] Because of its relationship to other tombs in the same cluster, Nefer-khuwi's tomb must date from the reign of Unis or slightly earlier.[11] Porter and Moss (1974, p. 206) date the tomb of Ankhma-Re to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty; but K. Baer (1960, p. 64, no. 92) suggested, and N. Strudwick has defended,[12] a late Fifth Dynasty date. Clear evidence of a phyle organization in Ankhma-Re's cult also supports the later date.[13] Thus these tombs probably all date within the last two reigns of the Fifth Dynasty.

In all three tombs, the carrying-chair procession is directed away from the false door and toward the door of the chapel, in accordance with the statement in the accompanying text that the tomb owner is returning home from a visit to his tomb. The scene in Nefer-khuwi's chapel is on the northern wall and is oriented right, to the east. The other two scenes are on the eastern walls of their chapels facing the doorway, Ankhma-Re's from the north and

10. Helck (1991, p. 164) argues that Osiris does not appear in private tomb inscriptions before the reign of Djedkare Izezi.

11. Four phases of tomb construction can be distinguished in the cluster, based on architectural relationships and changes in orientation. Features from all the mastabas in each phase can be combined and tested against dating criteria to yield more exact chronological limits. (The criteria proposed by Cherpion [1989] were used extensively, though not exclusively, in this analysis.) Phase III, to which the decoration of the mastaba of Nefer-khuwi belongs, must be later than Phase II, which began during the reign of Djedkare and included three successive additions to a single mastaba.

12. Strudwick (1985, p. 73) notes the possibility that Ankhma-Re is depicted as a son in the tomb of Nika-Re (Porter and Moss 1981, pp. 696–97), a suggestion he credits to E. Brovarski. Like Nimaat-Re, Nika-Re held a priesthood of Neuserre; Strudwick (1985, p. 108) dates his tomb to Neuserre's reign or shortly thereafter.

13. See Roth 1991, p. 96; the use of phyle organization in private tombs is most common at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (ibid., p. 92).

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Figure 16.2. Text above the Carrying-Chair Scene in the Tomb of Ankhma-Re (G 7837+7843)

Nimaat-Re's from the south. All three scenes show the owner in a low platform chair, with poles supporting a canopy. Nuwi's chair is carried by two groups of five porters; Nimaat-Re's by two groups of six; and Ankhma-Re's by two groups of seven. Under the chair of Nimaat-Re, and between the groups of porters, is a boy carrying a sack over his shoulder, a rectangular object under his arm, and a basket. In the tomb of Nefer-khuwi, a boy in this space holds the same sack and rectangular object; but instead of the basket, he leads a dog on a leash. In the tomb of Ankhma-Re, the boy is replaced by a dwarf, who walks empty-handed beside a dog.

Formally, the Nefer-khuwi scene resembles that of Ankhma-Re. Both occupy an entire wall, on which the carrying chair is centered, while Nimaat-Re's procession occurs in the lower left part of its wall, with agricultural scenes to the right. In the tombs of Nefer-khuwi and Ankhma-Re, the text fills a horizontal space of nine short columns, ending with the name and title in a double-width column; in Nimaat-Re's scene, five long columns rest on a horizontal line of text giving his name and titles. Both Nefer-khuwi and Ankhma-Re have a register of attendants beneath the carrying-chair porters. Nefer-khuwi's men carry food toward the false door in the direction opposite to that of the procession, while the men in the lowest register in Ankhma-Re's scene accompany the procession empty-handed or carrying only scribal palettes. The damaged text above these men, however, seems to contain a wish for invocation offerings.[14]

In content, however, Nefer-khuwi's scene is more closely related to Nimaat-Re's than to Ankhma-Re's. Both men are shown reaching out to an attendant who has turned to face them and to give or take something that is not preserved in either scene.[15] This gesture probably illustrated the confirmation of the payment to the craftsmen described by the captions of these two scenes, which was apparently the purpose of the visit.

14. The published drawing from Ankhma-Re's tomb does not include this register.

15. The attendant directly in front of Ankhma-Re also turns his head back toward the tomb owner, but only to wish him enjoyment of the road back from the cemetery. This gesture may have resulted from the artist's memory of the posture of the men in the other two scenes.

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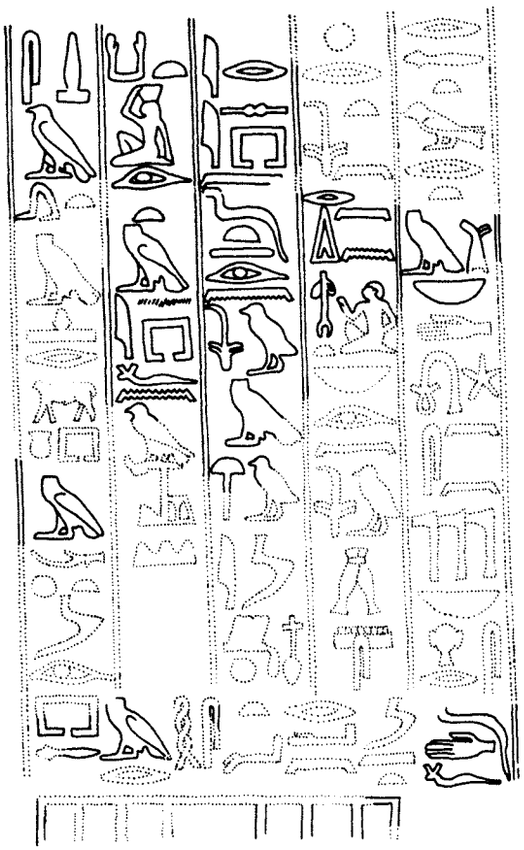


Figure 16.3. Text above the Carrying-Chair Scene in the Tomb of Nimaat-Re

No such indication of purpose appears in the text or scene recording Ankhma-Re's visit to his tomb, unless the phrase *m ḥtp*, "in peace," implies that he was allowed to leave unmolested because he had paid his workmen sufficiently. However, a very extensive text paralleling those in the other two tombs occurs just around the corner from the scene, on the outer doorjamb,[16] where it was probably moved to make it more visible to passersby. It is clear then, that the visit depicted in the tomb of Ankhma-Re was also made in order to ensure that his workmen had been paid.

Nefer-khuwi and Nimaat-Re also shared a place of employment. Both served in the palace (as overseer of *ḫntjw-š* and overseer of singers, respectively) and claim to have exercised their offices *m ḫnw štꜣw pr-ꜥꜣ*, "in the secret interior of the palace" (Hassan 1936, p. 213, fig. 231),[17] an otherwise unparalleled phrase.[18] Ankhma-Re seems to have worked in a different sphere, having no palace titles, although he claims privileged knowledge: one of his texts makes several references to "the secret craft of the lector-priest." His principal office seems to have been that of overseer of the granary and his other titles show

16. The text and its implications are discussed further below.
17. In the chapel of Nefer-khuwi, the phrase occurs on the northern false door.
18. The closest parallel I could find is the intriguing claim of Ibi of Deir el-Gebrâwi: *jw rḫ.n.(j) ḥkꜣ nb štꜣ n ḫnw*, "I have learned all the secret magic of the interior" (Sethe 1903, 143.2). Here, however, *ḫnw* is perhaps best translated "(royal) Residence," which is not possible in the Nefer-khuwi and Nimaat-Re examples.

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involvement with the judiciary and with food production.[19] All three tomb owners bore the title *w ʿb-nswt*.

The scenes in these tombs might tentatively be arranged in the developmental sequence Nimaat-Re, Nefer-khuwi, Ankhma-Re.[20] The agricultural scenes adjacent to Nimaat-Re's procession suggest a connection with earlier carrying-chair scenes where the destination was the fields of the mortuary endowment;[21] while in Ankhma-Re's scene the substitution of the dwarf for the boy and the mortuary overtones (the reference to invocation offerings in the lower register and the emphasis placed on the west) point toward features of the scene more common in the Sixth Dynasty (Roth 1989). The scene of Nefer-khuwi is in many ways intermediate between the other two.

Despite these differences, however, the above analysis shows a close connection among the carrying-chair scenes and the features in these three tombs, which must reflect a connection of some sort between the tomb owners. It is this connection that justifies the extensive restoration of the texts of Nimaat-Re and Nefer-khuwi, based on comparison with each other and with the more complete text in the tomb of Ankhma-Re.

THE TEXTS AND THE TERM *ḏbꜣ*

The text in the tomb of Nefer-khuwi, as reconstructed and illustrated in figure 16.1, reads:

s[ḏ]ꜣt m [ḥtp r ḫnw]	Proceeding in peace to the Residence
m ḫt mꜣ [ꜣ] kꜣt jr [.tj]	after seeing the work that was done
m [jz].f n ḫrtj-nṯr	in his tomb of the necropolis.
... [jr n.f jz].f [pn] [22]	This tomb of his was made for him
[m šw j]mꜣḫ.f [nfr ḫr nṯr]	because he was well venerated before god.
[jr jz.] f ḥmt nb	As for his tomb, all the craftsmen who
jr sw rdj.n.f n.sn ḏbꜣ	made it, he gave them a very great payment,
ʿꜣ wrt dwꜣ.n.sn n.f nṯrw nb	so that they thanked all the gods for him,
[jmj]-r ḫntjw-š [pr-ʿꜣ]	the overseer of palace attendants
[Nfr-ḫw-w(j)][23]	Nefer-khuwi

19. Strudwick 1985, p. 73; Roth 1991, p. 96 (both lists are incomplete). The title *jmj-r jʿ-r nswt*, perhaps "overseer of the king's breakfast," is more likely to be connected with Ankhma-Re's granary titles than to imply personal service to the king.

20. A further development of the same tradition might be seen in the slightly later scene of Mery-Re-nefer/Qar, in Giza 7101 (Simpson 1976, fig. 27, pl. 11b). In this scene, the procession is directed out of the tomb, as the tomb owner reaches forward to an attendant. The name of the tomb owner is written horizontally above his head, as it is in all three scenes under discussion; however, the remainder of the damaged inscription seems to be of a different character.

21. This goal is explicitly stated in the scenes of Itsen (Hassan 1944, p. 266, fig. 122; Porter and Moss 1974, p. 252) and of Niankh-Khnum (Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, pls. 55–60; Porter and Moss 1981, p. 643).

22. The line presumably began with some initial particle, most likely *jw*. I have translated the verb as a passive *sḏm(w).f*, since Nefer-khuwi's venerated condition would have inspired the actions of his workers, with whom the text is principally concerned.

23. The title *jmꜣḫw*, which is the only other title used between the title *jmj-r ḫntjw-š pr-ʿꜣ* and Nefer-khuwi's name in this tomb, seems to be avoided in these scenes. Perhaps the sunshade carried by the man to the left extended over this space.

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The parallel scene in the tomb of Ankhma-Re is accompanied by the first three lines of this text (fig. 16.2). However, an unpublished inscription on the northern outer doorjamb of Ankhma-Re, separated from the carrying-chair scene by only an inner jamb, seems to parallel the later parts of Nefer-khuwi's text. This very broken inscription is more extensive than that accompanying either of the parallels. It seems to begin with the standard claims of virtuous acts and abstinence from reprehensible ones. There is a reference to the tomb, and later the word *ḥmt*, "craftsmen," followed by a break and then a close parallel to the Nefer-khuwi text: *sk jgr rdj.n.(j) n.sn ḏbꜣw ꜥ wrt* [gap of four and a half groups] *dwꜣ.n.sn n.(j) nṯrw* [*nb*]*w*, "While I had given to them very great payments ... so that they thanked all the gods for me." The word *ḏbꜣw* is here written with three *ḏbꜣ* signs and a quail-chick *w*, but no determinative. The first sign in the gap after *ꜥ wrt* may be an *m*, perhaps *m sšr nb*, "of every kind of linen."[24] The next line quotes the direct speech of the workmen, who call upon all the gods, presumably to honor Ankhma-Re, with whose name and titles the text ends.

The translation of *ḏbꜣ* and *ḏbꜣw* as "payment(s)" makes good sense initially and may indeed be the best translation; however, the cloth determinative that follows the word *ḏbꜣ* in the Nefer-khuwi example is both unparalleled and suggestive.

A survey of the uses of the word *ḏbꜣ* in the Old Kingdom indicates that the most common meaning was the verb "to dress" or "to adorn" in the Abu Sir archives and the Pyramid Texts.[25] The Pyramid Texts also record variants of the word used to refer to articles of dress or adornment.[26] A less common and slightly later verbal use is to mean "to replace, substitute."[27] A related older word, *ḏbꜣ(t)*, was used to designate a part of a palace or temple, possibly the entire palace or temple by a reference to the niched facade surrounding it.[28] This usage survives in the Old Kingdom only in a number of palace titles[29] and the title *ḏbꜣtj* given to the high priest of Memphis (see *Wb.* V, 562.6; *Wb. Beleg*). A wooden box, presumably that in which clothing or jewelry was kept, is called *ḏbꜣw* in the inventories of the Abu Sir papyri (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pl. 21o–p), and the later meaning "shrine" may also be attested in these texts (ibid., pl. 26a; Posener-Kriéger 1991, pp. 294–95). (It is difficult to reconcile any of these meanings with the hieroglyph itself, which apparently represented some kind of float [see *Wb.* V, 555.1]. The relationship may have been purely phonetic.)

24. This phrase is paralleled in the tomb of Nimaat-Re and a similar text from the tomb of Remenu-ka, as is discussed below.

25. This usage is the one attested in the Abu Sir papyri, where *ḏbꜣ* is used to describe the service of dressing the cult statue (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pls. 5B, 4h). The service is distinguished from *nms*, which Posener-Kriéger (1976, pp. 53–54) translates "habiller" as opposed to *ḏbꜣ*, "parer." The word was also used with this meaning in PT 625, 743, 845, 1373, 1507, 1612, 2004, 2094, and 2108 according to *Wb. Beleg*. V, 557.6–12. None of these spells are attested before the reign of Pepy I.

26. A kilt with an animal tail is called *ḏbꜣ* in PT 41; PT 43 refers to a *ḏbꜣ* scepter. Both texts are first attested in the pyramid of Pepy II.

27. PT 906, 1171, 1325, and 1573; Sethe 1903, 255.1. This usage is not attested before the reign of Pepy I.

28. Kees (1914, pp. 15–16) points out that this term may occur on the Narmer palette and that men called *šmsw ḏbꜣt* are distinguished from men called *šmsw pr-ꜥ* in the mortuary temple of Neuserre.

29. E.g., *smsw ḏbꜣt* ("elder of the palace"), *sḫḏ ḏbꜣt* ("inspector of the palace"), and *šms ḏbꜣt* ("follower of the palace"); Helck 1954, p. 38.

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Ḏbꜣ is not the term normally used to mean "payment" in exchange transactions during the Old Kingdom; the usual term is *jsw*, in the phrases *rdj r jsw*, "give against a payment, sell," and *jnj r jsw*, "fetch against a payment, buy."[30] During the Old Kingdom, *ḏbꜣ* is used to mean "payment" only twice outside of the texts discussed here: in an inscription on an architrave from the tomb of Remenu-ka at Giza that, like the Nefer-khuwi and Ankhma-Re texts, claims that workmen on the tomb have been paid; and in a legal text recording a sale, found near the mortuary temple of Khafre. It may be significant that all four occurrences of *ḏbꜣ* with this meaning derive from Giza.[31]

The tomb of Remenu-ka dates to the Sixth Dynasty. The relevant sections of the text on his architrave (Hassan 1936, pp. 169–78, fig. 206; Porter and Moss 1974, p. 261) read: "As for this tomb of eternity, I made it[32] because I was well venerated before people and before god (*jr.n.(j) sw m šwt jmꜣḫ.(j) nfr ḥr rmṯw ḥr nṯr*) ... this tomb was built on the bread and beer that I gave all the craftsmen who made this tomb, having given them (previously) the very great payments in linen of all kinds for which they asked and for which they thanked me (*sk jgr rdj.n.(j) ḏbꜣw r ꜥꜣ wrt m sšr nb dbḥ.n.sn dwꜣ.n.sn (n.j) nṯr ḥr.s*)." The word *ḏbꜣw* is determined only with the three small circles that serve as plural strokes in this text.

The phrases *jr.n.(j) sw m šwt* and *m sšr nb* on Remenu-ka's architrave are exactly paralleled in Nimaat-Re's carrying-chair scene.[33] This parallel, together with parallels in the texts of Nefer-khuwi and Ankhma-Re, can be applied to restore Nimaat-Re's text,[34] as has been done in figure 16.3. The closeness of the Nimaat-Re text to those of Remenu-ka, Nefer-khuwi, and Ankhma-Re, as well as the similarity of the accompanying carrying-chair scene to the scenes in the last two tombs, makes it likely that the word *ḏbꜣ* was used here, again in connection with a payment of cloth.

The only other Old Kingdom occurrence of the word *ḏbꜣ* with the meaning "payment" is in the much-discussed "sale document," found near the mortuary temple of Khafre, where it refers to the payment for a building (Cairo JE 42787; Sethe 1903, 157.14–158.10; Hölscher

30. Théodoridès 1979, p. 42 and references in n. 36; see also Doret 1986, p. 79, especially nn. 901–02.

31. In a Deir el-Gebrâwi tomb (Davies 1902, pl. 4), the man who presents a catch of fish to the tomb owner says *mꜣꜣ nn n ḏbꜣw*, "See these *ḏbꜣw*." Brewer and Friedman (1989, p. 12) have suggested on the basis of other evidence that Old Kingdom officials used fish to pay their subordinates, a custom to which this text might be taken to allude. A text just above the one under discussion, however, states the fish are for the *ka* of the tomb owner; fish were used as funerary offerings in the provinces, though not in Memphite tombs (ibid., p. 15). It seems more reasonable to follow Fischer (1976, p. 9) who translates the word *ḏbꜣw* in the text as "floaters," a metaphorical reference to the fish themselves based upon the papyrus float used to write the word.

32. I have here followed the traditional translation (see, e.g., Doret 1986, p. 78), although the motive given seems to apply to the workmen rather than the tomb owner. Unfortunately, the use of the dependent pronoun *sw* prevents the passive translation I have preferred elsewhere. Perhaps this construction contained some implication of ability: "As for this tomb, I was able to make it because ... ."

33. Edel (1944, pp. 74–77) already has used parts of Remenu-ka's architrave text to restore the text at the entrance to Nimaat-Re's tomb.

34. Similar texts in the tomb, especially those on the outer jambs (Hassan 1936, fig. 231), were also useful in the restoration of this text.

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1912, pp. 111–12, fig. 164).[35] The text cannot be dated more exactly than to the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties. The payment consisted of two quantities of cloth and a bed. Since the comparative values given indicate that the bed made up only two-fifths of the total price, this payment, too, consisted predominantly of cloth. Tomb scenes of bed-making show that linen was used to make up beds in the Old Kingdom,[36] and in view of the unanimity of the other sources, one wonders whether the word *ꜣtt* in the sale document might mean "(the linen necessary to make up) a bed." This sale document is closely paralleled by two documents from Gebelein dated to the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty, where the two payments are unambiguously made in cloth, but the term *ḏbꜣ* is not used (Posener-Kriéger 1979, pp. 318–31).

The sale document is the only Old Kingdom example that uses the word *ḏbꜣ* without explicitly stating that the payment is in exchange for labor in constructing a building. A building is concerned in the transaction, however, and two of the witnesses to the payment are builders (*ḳdw*). Two others are given the otherwise unattested title *jmj-ḫt zꜣ*, implying that they were members of phyles, organizational groups that are known from building crews as well as temple and palace staffs (Roth 1991, pp. 119–43).[37] Perhaps this text, too, recorded a payment for labor, witnessed by those who would eventually receive it.[38]

The use of the word *ḏbꜣ* to mean "payment" in the tomb of Nefer-khuwi is its earliest use with this meaning (although the missing example from Nimaat-Re would have been earlier). The fact that the word has a cloth determinative there suggests that it is closely related to the verb "to clothe, adorn" that is attested in the contemporary papyri from Abu Sir.[39] Since the use of the word *ḏbꜣ* to mean "payment" in the tomb of Remenu-ka, and probably also in the tombs of Nimaat-Re and Ankhma-Re, specifies that the payment consists of cloth, and since

35. For a recent discussion and summary of previous interpretations, as well as a photograph and facsimile of the text, see Théodoridès 1979, pp. 31–85. The building involved has been variously identified as a house and a tomb.

36. E.g., the attendants are called *jmj-r sšr* ("overseer of linen") in the bed-making scene of Mereruka (Sakkarah Expedition 1938, pl. 93); and a man is shown bringing pieces of cloth to make a bed in the chapel of Weriren-Ptah (James 1961, pl. 29.2).

37. The supervisory titles of palace and temple phyles are known, while those of labor crews are not. The unknown title here is thus more likely to have been one of the latter.

38. On the right side of the text, a statement that the transaction took place before the court of Akhet-Khufu is followed directly by the groups "many witnesses" and "the butcher Tjenty." The names of the four construction workers are arranged horizontally under both the stipulation of the price and these two groups. To the left is the seller's oath, written vertically, but ending in a horizontal line, *mḥ.n.k ḏbꜣ jpn m wḏb*, "you having fulfilled this payment in exchange." Significantly, this clause extends under the names of the four workers, for whom the seller (by my interpretation) was acting as agent. The preceding phrase of the oath, *ḫpr jmj nbt nt pr pn*, is problematic: had it referred to the contents of the *pr*, one would have expected *ḫt nbt jmjt pr pn*. However, if the *jmj* sign is actually *ḳd* (which looks possible from the photograph), the phrase can be read *ḫpr ḳd(t) nbt nt pr pn*, "all of the building (or decoration?) of this *pr* being finished." In the parallel documents from Gebelein, both this phrase and the concluding phrase of the oath are omitted, which would be explained by the absence of laborers in those straightforward exchange transactions; however, other explanations are also possible.

39. If the earliest attested meaning of this root, "palace," refers to the niched enclosure wall, as Kees (1914, pp. 15–16) suggests, it may also be related, since the wall figuratively "clothes" the palace and the niched facade itself derives from a framework covered by cloth panels or mats.

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the payment in the sale document also consists largely (if not entirely) of cloth, it seems likely that *ḏbꜣ* was not a general term for "payment" or "price," but a more specialized word meaning "payment in durable goods," in which cloth was the medium *par excellence*. The name for this "payment" was thus probably derived from the verb "to clothe"; and the verbal meaning "to replace, substitute, pay," attested only later, was secondary to that meaning.

Cloth had both religious and economic significance from the very earliest periods. The extensive linen lists on early stelae demonstrate its importance for the afterlife, and its religious value is clear from its use in mummification and to wrap the staff that served as the hieroglyph for "god."[40] It also played a role in ceremonies of circumcision (Roth 1991, pp. 64–65), either as a part of the ritual or as an initiation fee, and it is frequently cited in the few documents of economic transactions that have survived (Posener-Kriéger 1979, pp. 318–19). As a means of payment it offered durability and established qualities and quantities (Posener-Kriéger 1977, pp. 86–96), probably with well-known values. That it was used for payments is clear from the examples above as well as from cloth distributions to mortuary cult functionaries in the papyri from Abu Sir and probably another cult (Posener-Kriéger 1985, pp. 36–38, pl. 3).[41] It is probably significant that, like payments for construction work, distribution of cloth to cult functionaries was compensation for labor, rather than for a physical commodity produced.

PAYING FOR A TOMB IN THE OLD KINGDOM

The use of cloth to pay for tombs or parts of tombs is also recorded in several texts from the late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period. Khenemty, a *ka*-priest, built a doorway in his patron's tomb, inscribed with his own name and recording the fact that the doorway cost a bolt of cloth (*jw jr n.f sbꜣ pn m-jsw dꜣjw*; CG 1634; Fischer 1977, pp. 106–07). It is not clear whether Khenemty received the cloth for building the door himself or paid it to someone else to build it; however, here again the labor of construction was clearly involved. On the basis of this example, H. G. Fischer (1976, pp. 17–18, fig. 11) has restored a broken passage from Deir el-Gebrâwi to read "[I made this my tomb beside (that of)] this noble in exchange for my own cloth (*dꜣjw*)." More difficult to interpret is the claim made by Qar/Mery-Re-nefer, in his autobiography at Edfu, to have buried everyone in his nome who had no son "with garments out of my own goods" (*m ḥbs m jšt.(j) ḏs.(j)*; Sethe 1903, 255.2–3).[42] The garments may have actually been used to wrap the deceased, or they may have been payment for the funeral expenses or the construction of a tomb.

The other principal commodities given to tomb workers were apparently bread and beer. The owner of a false door in the British Museum (1186) claims to have built his tomb "on" bread and beer (*jr.n.(j) jz pn ḥr t ḥnḳt*) and mentions no other payment (Sethe 1903, 226.12). Using the same phrase, Remenu-ka noted that he gave his workmen bread and beer in addition to the cloth payment (Hassan 1936, pp. 169–78, fig. 206). A different formulation

40. See the discussion of Hornung (1982, pp. 35–38).

41. A text that may record cloth distribution in an earlier royal mortuary cult is discussed by Roth (1991, pp. 181–88).

42. Interestingly, the line directly preceding uses the word *ḏbꜣ* as a verb, "to replace, pay for," for the resolution of a grain debt. The form this payment took is not specified.

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of the arrangement is recorded on the entrance jamb of Metjetji (Goedicke 1958, pp. 23–25, pl. 2). The upper line of the text is lost, but the surviving portion reads ... *jr.n.f kꜣt jm.f ... rdj.(j) n.sn ḥbs jrjj.(j) ʿnḫ.sn m t ḥnḳt n pr ḏt dwꜣ.n.sn n.(j) nṯr ḥr.s*, "[As for this tomb of mine, every craftsman] who did work in it ... , I gave[43] to them cloth,[44] and I caused that they live on bread and beer[45] of the estate, so that they thanked god for me on account of it." Still another tomb builder, Mehu-akhti (G 2375; Edel 1953, pp. 327–33; see also idem 1958, pp. 17–18), uses the variant phrase *jr.f n(.j) ḥr t ḥnḳt*, "it (the tomb) was made for me on bread and beer," ... *sk rdj.n(.j) n.sn ḥbs mrḥt ḥmt jt ꜥꜣ wrt*, "after I had already given them clothing, oil, copper, and barley (in) very great (quantities)." Hetepher-akhti claims that his people "built this for me upon bread, upon beer, upon clothing, upon oil, and upon barley (in) very great (quantities)" (Sethe 1903, 50.6–7). Although here the supply of bread and beer on which the tomb is built is not distinguished from the more durable commodities given to the craftsmen as it is in the texts of Remenu-ka and Mehu-akhti, Hetepher-akhti lists bread and beer first, followed by clothing, which is the first element in Mehu-akhti's list.

Compensation of two types thus seems to have been given to the workers under different circumstances. To judge from the use of the past tense to describe the distribution of cloth or other durable goods in the captions of the carrying-chair scenes, these were the real payment, given before the beginning of the work.[46] As the text of Metjetji makes explicit, bread and beer were supplied later, as rations to sustain the workers during the actual construction. Most of these perishable commodities were probably consumed at the site of the tomb, so that it was figuratively built "on" them. From the quantity of bread molds and beer jars noted in the fill of several mastabas during a recent architectural survey, these tombs seem also to have been literally built "on" the containers of the bread and beer that the workers consumed on the spot.[47]

It is difficult to determine whether these two types of payment were the general rule. They are specified in only a few cases, although never in such a way as to imply that they were unusual. If this double mode of compensation were indeed a normal practice, it would

43. The use of the indicative form *rdj* implies the past tense (Doret 1986, p. 24). For other examples of non-initial uses of this form, see ibid., example 3, n. 102.

44. Note the use of the word cloth (*ḥbs*) here, in a context almost identical to that in which the Giza carrying-chair texts use the term *ḏbꜣ*.

45. Edel (1958, p. 16) argues that beer is not meant here, but only the generic *t*, "bread, food." Although it is outnumbered four to one by bread loaves, a beer jar is included in the group, and in view of the parallels, it seems likely that it is to be read.

46. This sequence is admittedly the opposite of that proposed above for the sale document found near the Khafre mortuary temple, in which, by my interpretation, the agent for some workmen is paid for a completed building. However, that document clearly records an anomalous transaction, perhaps one in which payment had been disputed, since it required the intervention of the court of Akhet-Khufu.

47. This survey of mastabas G 2084 through G 2099, G 2230+1, and G 2240 was made in the summer of 1990 by myself, Robin Sewell, Jeffrey Burden, and Michael Jones, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and a generous private grant. The containers might also have been the remains of funerary offerings from surrounding tombs, but the even greater numbers of model vessels in the mastaba fill suggests that models were the preferred form of offering during the period when these tombs were constructed.

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be interesting to know whether it extended to the compensation of workers employed on royal monuments. The large-scale production of bread for these workers has recently been confirmed archaeologically.[48]

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the carrying-chair scenes and the texts accompanying them was not to explain the intricacies of the economic relationship between an Old Kingdom official and the craftsmen who built his tomb. They were claims of moral rectitude and fiscal responsibility, boldly stated and further confirmed by the willingness of the craftsmen to carve the scene. Nonetheless, the tombs of Nefer-khuwi, Ankhma-Re, and Nimaat-Re demonstrate that craftsmen were compensated for their work with a payment of durable goods, usually cloth. Comparison with parallel texts indicates that this payment was probably in addition to rations of bread and beer that were supplied to workers on private as well as royal monuments.[49]

These scenes also demonstrate the personal involvement of tomb owners in such transactions. The visits of the three tomb owners to their tombs were intended to ensure that the initial payment had been made and to receive the thanks of the workmen for their generosity. Such visits may have had a royal parallel. A possible allusion to the performance of this payment ceremony by the vizier may be seen in a Sixth Dynasty letter in which a supervisor of men working in the Tura quarries complains of the waste of time entailed by the demand that he bring his men to Saqqara to collect clothing in the vizier's presence.[50] Whether or not the vizier was acting as proxy for the king in this instance, it is likely that, at least in theory, the king himself made a ceremonial visit to the pyramid construction site, perhaps also in a carrying chair, to ensure that the royal workmen had been properly paid and to receive their gratitude in person.

48. Recent excavations to the south of the Menkaure valley temple by the University of Chicago have recovered two chambers of what is probably a modularly organized bakery in this area, as well as myriad bread mold fragments of various types (M. Lehner, personal communication).

49. Interestingly, this dual mode of payment was also current in the medieval Islamic world, where soldiers were given both a monetary salary and a supply of food. These two kinds of compensation were kept strictly separate in accounts and demands for arrears (E. K. Rowson, personal communication).

50. P. Cairo JE 49623. I here follow Wente's (1990, p. 42) interpretation of this letter.

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CHAPTER 17

THE FIRST DYNASTY EGYPTIAN PRESENCE AT ʿEN BESOR IN THE SINAI

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For Klaus in remembrance. Instead of Rosemary.

A number of the fragments of the clay sealings from ʿEn Besor upon which impressions were made have undergone a petrographic analysis in the laboratory of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. These have proved to be of local Palestinian clay rather than of Nile Valley mud. Therefore we can conclusively say that the various jars and bags which had been sealed by these lumps of clay had been sealed locally at ʿEn Besor and this, in turn, should certainly have a bearing on the nature and the purpose of the Egyptian presence at the site and should provide an important piece of evidence for the nature of the relations between Egypt and Canaan at the end of the fourth and beginning of the third millennium B.C.

Modern scholarship is divided in its interpretation of the raison d'être for the Egyptian presence in Canaan at this time. Syro-Palestinian archaeologists, for the most part, see it primarily as an imperialistic presence, established by military force and maintained by military control.[1] Egyptologists, however, and a few Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have viewed the evidence as reflecting a purely commercial relationship, with overtones of political domination,[2] I, myself, argued that ʿEn Besor was a staging post on the trade route between Egypt and Canaan and that the seal impressions which were found there came from the seals of Egyptians who were temporarily stationed there, officials who were

> responsible for dispatching provisions (coming) from Egypt in sealed bags or jars for the use of Egyptians stationed at ʿEn Besor or passing through this staging post (Schulman 1980, p. 33).

In view of the petrographic analysis of the clay on which the impressions were rolled, I can no longer maintain this view. The fact that the clay of the impression is local Palestinian clay makes it obvious that the jars and bags were sealed at ʿEn Besor, but this, in turn, does not really allow us to make any conclusive statements about the original provenance of their contents. Clearly, since the vast majority of the impressions were found in the same stratum and locus of the tell, this should have been the garbage dump of the site's kitchen area. If so, then the fragments of the mud sealings that were found there obviously came from those

1. Inter alia: Albright 1954; Anati 1963; Drower 1971, pp. 351–62; Gophna 1976a, pp. 31–37, idem 1976b, pp. 1–9; Hennessy 1967; Lapp 1970, pp. 101–31; Mellart 1979, pp. 6–18; Oren 1973, pp. 198–205; Perrot 1979; Yadin 1955, pp. 1–16; Yeivin 1960, pp. 193–203; idem 1963, pp. 205–13; idem 1965, pp. 204–06; idem 1968, pp. 37–50.
2. Inter alia: Amiran 1969, pp. 50–53; idem 1974, pp. 4–12; Helck 1971; Kantor 1965, pp. 1–46; Schulman 1976, pp. 16–26; idem 1980, pp. 17–33; Ward 1963, pp. 1–57; idem 1969, pp. 205–21.

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containers which not only had been filled at ʿEn Besor, but which then were also stored there until the need for consuming their contents arose.

The existence of the Egyptian "residency," which was definitely built by Egyptian workmen using local materials, but using them in exactly the same way as they would have in Egypt (see Gophna and Gazit 1985, p. 9), together with the attestation of the names of at least four successive rulers of the First Dynasty on six of the seal impressions (Djet on no. 42, Den on nos. 26 and 50, Anedjib on nos. 35 and 46, and probably Semerkhet on no. 39), as well as the name of Den incised on a sherd of Egyptian kitchenware, more than suggests that the Egyptian presence at ʿEn Besor is to be considered as a permanent one. This, when taken into conjunction with the permanent First Dynasty presence at other sites in the south, such as Tel Erani or Arad, is clearly another link in an Egyptian chain of outposts that dominated the frontier marches of southern Canaan. I would, however, stop referring to ʿEn Besor as a "staging post" since it really is not situated on any of the major trade routes. Earlier, I agreed with Gophna and Gazit, that the residency and the Egyptian presence had been established to control the springs of ʿEn Besor "which are the richest and most stable perennial water source to be found in the entire southern coastal plain of Canaan" (Gophna and Gazit 1985, p. 15). I am not so sure of the correctness of this interpretation any longer. Gophna (1976b, p. 9) further viewed the Egyptian occupation of ʿEn Besor and the other First Dynasty sites in this region as serving "in this period as a springboard for Egyptian commercial and *military* expeditions to Canaan," but this can hardly have been the case with ʿEn Besor. The actual tell is exceedingly small and is located at some distance from the springs. To my knowledge, there is no cemetery in the vicinity. The Egyptian residency itself was not very large and certainly did not house many people. The fact that thousands of fragments of "baking bowls" or "bread molds" were found does not prove that these were used to bake supplies for transient caravans. Inasmuch as the duration of the Egyptian occupation of ʿEn Besor coincides with the duration of the First Dynasty, the bread baked in these vast numbers of baking bowls could very easily have been that intended for Egyptian personnel who manned the residency during this same length of time. The actual physical size of the residency, which suggests that it housed only a few people at any one time, and its physical location at some distance from the springs rule out, as far as I am concerned, any possibility of ʿEn Besor's having been a military installation. The exact purpose of the Egyptian presence there was probably analogous with those of similar posts that existed some two millennia later during the Ramesside period. The activities and the mission of these are described in P. Anastasi III, vs. 6/1–5/9 (The Border Journal) and P. Anastasi V, ro. 19/6–20/3 (A Mission to Tjeku). The first of these texts reads:

> Year 3, month 9, day 15:
>
> The retainer Baalrēʿ, son of Djapael of Gaza went up. He had with him two dispatches for Syria: one dispatch for the garrison officer Khay and one dispatch for the prince of Djar, Baal-tulmag.
>
> Year 3, month 9, day 17:
>
> The brigade commander of the Wells of Ḥotepḥima-Merenptaḥ which are in the highlands arrived to investigate in the fortress which is in Tjaru.

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Year 3, month 9, day 22:

> The retainer, Djḥuty, son of Tjakarem of Geḳty came. Metjet, son of Sham-baal and Sutekhmose, son of Apir-degal of the same place were with him. The garrison officer Khay, tribute(?), and one dispatch was with him(?) for the place where the king was. The retainer Nakhtamūn, son of Tjar, of the stronghold of Ḥotepḥima-Merenptaḥ which is on the approach of Djarrum went up. He had two dispatches for Syria, one dispatch for the garrison officer Penamūn and one dispatch for the steward Ramesses-nakht (of) this town.
>
> The stablemaster Pamerkhetem, son of Any of the town of Ḥotepḥima-Merenptaḥ which is in the region of Payerem came. He had two dispatches for the place where the king is, one dispatch for the garrison officer, Prēʿemḥeb and one dispatch for the adjutant Prēʿemḥeb.

Year 3, month 9, day 25:

> Inwau, the charioteer of the great stable of Banirēʿ-Miamūn of the Residence went up.

The second text is not comprised of extracts from the post's journal, but rather describes how such posts would function:

> And further: I set forth from the Broad Halls of the Palace in month 3 of the Shomu-season, day 9, at the time of evening, in pursuit of these two servants. Now when I arrived at the fort of Tjeku in month 3 of the Shomu-season, day 10, they said to me: 'They say in the south that they passed by in month 3 of the Shomu-season, day 10.' Now when I arrived at the *ḫtm*-fort they said to me: 'The groom(?) came from upon the highland saying that they passed by the northern outpost of the migdol of Seti-Merneptaḥ (named) "Beloved like Set.'

It is clear that in both texts the installations that are referred to are border-control posts or checkpoints. While there are no such explicit documents spelling out the purpose of the Egyptian installation at ʿEn Besor two millennia earlier, it is difficult to see how it could have been anything other than an Egyptian border-control checkpoint.

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CHAPTER 18

THE TITLE *WR BZT* IN THE TOMB CHAPEL OF *K3.(J)-PW-Rʿ*

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The tomb chapel of the Old Kingdom official *K3.(j)-pw-Rʿ* is the subject of a monograph to be published by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Silverman, forthcoming).[1] Its original provenance was Saqqara, in the cemetery to the north of the pyramid of Djoser (Porter and Moss 1981, p. 455), but in 1903 Quibell excavated the tomb, and the Egyptian Government subsequently exported it to the United States for inclusion among other attractions displayed at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. At the close of the fair, the tomb chapel, along with some assorted artifacts, became available for purchase, and Mr. John Wanamaker, owner of the large Philadelphia department store bearing his name, negotiated successfully for this collection on behalf of the University Museum (or "The Free Museum of Science and Art," as it was then called). The museum accessioned the tomb chapel as part of its collection after its arrival later in 1905, and a year later it was exhibited in a room in the basement. After more than two decades in a location where few had access to it, the chapel was moved to the then newly opened Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Wing, where all visitors to the museum could view it.

The scenes, texts, architecture, and construction display many interesting features, and some of them have been used as dating criteria in other studies.[2] One of the titles of *K3.(j)-pw-Rʿ*, *wr bzt*, however, has yet to be explained completely, and it is this detail that I wish to discuss in the present publication. I have chosen this particular subject because of Klaus Baer's interest, research, and expertise in titles (see, e.g., Baer 1960), and I offer my study as a memorial to my first teacher of hieroglyphs, my dissertation advisor, and my friend.

The tomb of *K3.(j)-pw-Rʿ* has been known about for almost one hundred and fifty years, and in perhaps the earliest reference to it in print, the published figure illustrates an architectural element upon which the title *wr bzt* was recorded. Yet, even though this designation appeared at such an early date in the literature and Egyptologists have referred to it many times during the last century and a half, no one has investigated its real meaning,

1. Aspects of this paper had been presented in 1987 at the American Research Center in Egypt Conference in Memphis, and I am grateful to several of my colleagues for a variety of suggestions they have offered. I have often used this chapel in my classes in Old Egyptian and have benefited from the many observations that resulted from my review of the scenes and inscriptions with my students. I am indebted to Jennifer Houser for the excellent illustrations she prepared for figures 18.1–3, and her careful word processing of the manuscript.
2. See most recently, e.g., Strudwick 1985, pp. 16, 19, 57, 149, 269–70, 277, 280–81, 283, 297–98; Cherpion 1989, pp. 6, 14, 18, 53, 55.

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and the phrase, whenever it appears in a text, usually is left untranslated (see, e.g., Porter and Moss 1974, p. 190: 131; Strudwick 1985, pp. 280–81).

Margaret Murray entered this title in her *Index* (1908, pl. XIX), and she listed two sources, both of which were mastabas from Saqqara (*Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rʿ* and *Ḏfꜣw*). A few years later she included a discussion of *wr bzt* in another publication in a section devoted to the goddess Bast(et), and there she translated the phrase, "Great one of Bst" (Murray and Sethe 1937). She assumed, since the determinative of *bzt* had the shape of a lioness (ibid., p. 7), that the word would be related to a feline deity. She realized, however, that there was a discrepancy in the spelling, since Bast(et) traditionally uses 𓃒 not 𓃭 (ibid.; *Wb.* I, 423.7). Moreover, the biliteral *bꜣ* sign frequently found with the deity's name indicates the presence of an aleph. Murray noted further that the determinative, which resembled a gaming piece, could stand for *pḥ* (Murray and Sethe 1937, p. 8). While aware that the title is taken in *Wb.* I, 472.18, to refer to an official of the treasury, ostensibly owing to its association with *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*, Murray concluded that the *wr bzt* was a "civilian guardian" in charge of a small weight used for weighing precious metals, and that the feline shape of this object would ensure its protection by the local lioness deity.

Helck (1954, p. 62, n. 27) also briefly discussed the title in his study and noted two other sources: *Jzj* and *Nj-kꜣw-Ptḥ*. He showed clearly that the holders of *wr bzt* were all officials of the treasury. He felt that the meaning of the final sign was unclear, but he suggested that Murray's theory that it might be a weighing stone was a plausible explanation.

In his study of the administration in the Old Kingdom, Strudwick (1985, pp. 104, 280, 289) understood that each of the holders of the title *wr bzt* were overseers of the treasury.[3] To those already known, he added a few new individuals with the same designation: *Nj-sʿnḫ ꜣḫt/Jtj*, his father *ʿnḫ-ḥꜣ.f/Qꜣr*, and an unnamed individual whose inscription on a seated statue now in the Cairo Museum includes this title.[4] Although Helck (1954, p. 62) had already identified *Nj-kꜣw-Ptḥ*, as a treasury official who also held the title *wr bzt*, and he referred to an earlier article by Grdseloff (1943, p. 46) with a similar conclusion, Strudwick (1985, pp. 280–81) did not include *wr bzt* among the designations of this particular individual.[5] Evidence suggests, however, that the earlier scholars may have been correct.[6]

3. For a recent publication of *Jzj* (#18) in the Louvre, see Ziegler 1990, pp. 82–85.
4. To Helck's single Cairo reference to *Jzj*, Strudwick (1985, p. 65) has added several other sources.
5. When Strudwick (1985, p. 106) lists the titles of *Nj-kꜣw-Ptḥ* (#77) in his study, he does not include *wr bzt* as did Helck (1954, p. 62). He apparently followed Murray (1917, pp. 62–63) who suggested that the space over *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ* in the damaged inscription suited *mdw rḫyt*.
6. Grdseloff (1943, p. 46, n. 3) felt that he could see *wr bzt* clearly on the photograph in Murray's publication, and, apparently, Helck agreed with this conclusion. A few years ago, Strudwick (1987, pp. 139–46) republished the piece with a more recent and clearer photograph. The condition of the surface in the area in question, however, has become much worse for wear during the passage of time. Strudwick does not refer to the readings suggested by either Helck or Grdseloff; rather, he has retained the reading as he published it in 1985 (p. 106), the one first proposed by Murray (1917, p. 63). Strudwick (1985, p. 144) was aware that the titles he read as *mdw rḫyt* and *jwn knmwt* in the space were traditionally associated with legal officials and that *Nj-kꜣw-Ptḥ*, therefore, did not fit the pattern; apparently, he did not alter his understanding of the signs in question. Clearly the space available, traces, and other titles of *Nj-kꜣw-Ptḥ* suit the reading *wr bzt* better. (Note, however, that *Jzj*, #18, also has legal titles, ibid., p. 66.)

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There probably are, therefore, eight holders of the title from the Old Kingdom, and they are listed chronologically in table 18.1, below. While many of these officials held more than one title related to the treasury, that of *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ* appears to be more common among those who are also a *wr bzt*; I have, therefore, listed in the table *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ* as the relevant treasury title of any individual who possessed it.[7]

Table 18.1. Holders of the Title *wr bzt* in the Old Kingdom

Name and Strudwick Number		*Relevant Treasury Title*	*Provenance*	*Date According to Strudwick*
Jzj	(17)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*	Saqqara	Mid–late Fourth Dynasty
Nj-k3w-Pth	(77)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*	Saqqara	Mid-Fifth Dynasty[8]
Df3w	(167)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*	Saqqara	Mid–late Fifth Dynasty
No Name	(171)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ n(j) ḫnw*[9]	Saqqara(?)	Mid-Fifth Dynasty or later
K3.(j)-pw-R‘	(143)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*	Saqqara	Late Fifth Dynasty
‘nḫ-ḥ3.f/Q3r	(35)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḏ*	Giza	Early Sixth Dynasty
Nj-s ‘nḫ-3ḫt/Jtj	(73)	*jmy-r prwy-ḥḏ*	Giza	Pepy I
Jzj	(18)	*jmy-r prwy-ḥḏ*	?	End of Old Kingdom or later

Each of the individuals in table 18.1 held a wide variety of titles as did other officials of the treasury, and this fact is seen easily in Strudwick's tables 25–26 (1985, pp. 281, 285). He organized each of his tables, according to the highest of the titles of the treasury; in one he listed all of those people who were *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ* and, in the other, all of those who were *jmy-r prwy-ḥḏ*. Alongside each name are the other significant designations that the person held. In the accompanying discussion, he provides some observations regarding the relationships amongst the titles, pointing out that the *jmy pr-ḥḏ* and the *jmy prwy-ḥḏ* also possessed designations relating to the administration, scribal or legal establishments, and religious or royal institutions (Strudwick 1985, pp. 280–89). After reviewing this data, examining primary sources and original publications, and incorporating pertinent information about *Nj-k3w-Pth*,[10] I have constructed table 18.2 to deal specifically with the eight holders of the title *wr bzt*. The names of each are on the left, and on the right are three areas in which there appears to be some connection with the *wr bzt* (Strudwick 1985, pp. 280–86).

7. See also table 18.2 for further details and a more complete listing of the relevant titles.
8. For his latest opinion on the provenance and date, see Strudwick 1987, pp. 141–44.
9. Monuments other than this seated statue might provide the higher title *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ* for this individual. E. Brovarski pointed out to me that Fischer (1962, p. 67, n. 24) has noted that officials might not necessarily have their highest titles inscribed on their statues. It is also possible that the seated statue may belong to one of the officials already identified. Note that Strudwick (1985, p. 289) has shown that *Df3w* and *K3(j)-pw-R‘*, both of whom are from Saqqara, are the only two other treasury officials that also have the complex title and that the father *‘nḫ-ḥ3.f/Q3r* and his son, *Ny-s ‘nḫ-3ḫt*, both of whom are from Giza, have the variant *jmy-r pr-ḥḏ n(j) ḫnw*.
10. See the discussion beginning on previous page and nn. 5–6, above.

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Table 18.2. Additional Titles Held by Men Holding the Title *wr bzt* in the Old Kingdom

Name and Strudwick Number	*Treasury Titles*	*Titles with Linen*	*Titles with* ḫkrt njzwt
Jzj (17)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ*	—	*jmy-r ḫkrt njzwt*
Nj-kꜣw-Pṯḥ (77)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ* *sḥḍ zš Pṯḥ pr-ḥḍ*[11] *jmy-ḫt pr-ḥḍ*	—	*jmy-r ḫkrt njzwt* *sḥḍ zš Pṯḥ pr-ḥḍ ḫkrt njzwt*[12]
Dfꜣw (167)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ* *jmy-r prwy -ḥḍ* *jmy-r pr-ḥḍ n(j)*[14] *ḫnw* *jmy-r prwy nwb*	*jmy-r sšr njzwt*	*jmy-r jz* [*ḫkrt*][13] *njzwt*
No Name (171)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ n(j) ḫnw*	—	—
Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rᶜ (143)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ* *jmy-r pr-ḥḍ n(j) ḫnw* *jmy-ḫt pr-ḥḍ* *sḥḍ zš pr-ḥḍ*	*zš sšr njzwt ḫkrt njzwt*[15] *zš sšr njzwt*(?)*n(j) zꜣ* (?)[17]	*zš sšr njzwt ḫkrt njzwt*[16] *zš sšr njzwt* (?) *n(j) zꜣ* (?)[18]

11. This title may also be read as suggested under *Titles with* ḫkrt njzwt (table 18.2); see also n. 12, below.
12. See n. 11, above. Compare the title of *N(j)-sᶜnḫ-ꜣḫt*, *sḥḍ zš pr-ḥḍ*, which is followed by the phrases *ḫkrt njzwt* and *ḥry sštꜣ*, in Hassan 1941, p. 133, fig. 114. Strudwick (1985, p. 104) understood these latter two expressions to belong to one title, apparently with the first one in honorific transposition (see *Nj-sᶜnḫ-ꜣḫt/Jtj*'s title under *Titles with* ḫkrt njzwt [table 18.2]). It may be possible, although the arrangement of the signs might mitigate against it, that *ḫkrt njzwt* might serve in both titles. If such a suggestion were accepted, then the resulting title *sḥḍ zš pr-ḥḍ ḫkrt njzwt* would be parallel to *sḥḍ zš Pṯḥ pr-ḥḍ ḫkrt njzwt*.
13. See Strudwick 1985, p. 166.
14. While I have indicated the presence of the indirect genitive in this title, examples where *n(j)* is absent also occur; see, e.g., the false door of *Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rᶜ*.
15. This inscription appears on the false door of *Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rᶜ*, and Strudwick (1985, p.149) has incorrectly read the *sšr* sign as *ᶜprw*. In the inscription, *zš* appears only once, after the first *njzwt*. Perhaps it is placed there because of honorific transposition with the phrase *ḫkrt njzwt* (apparently, a similar conclusion was reached by Strudwick [ibid.]; see also the remarks of Nord [1970, p. 10] regarding this proposition and another title). It is also possible to understand *zš* as referring to both the phrase before it and after it, resulting in scribal titles related to both the royal linen (see Porter and Moss 1981, p. 934, for a parallel) and the *ḫkrt njzwt*.
16. See the comments in n. 15, above.
17. This inscription appears on the lintel of the false door of *Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rᶜ*, and Strudwick (1985, p. 149) has incorrectly read it, *ny zꜣ ᶜprw nzwt* (?), misinterpreting the *sšr* sign (see also n. 15, above) and omitting the *zš* (he apparently relied on Mariette's copy which has the same error). The *zš* occurs between two phrases. Its position allows two interpretations: (1) it can be read once at the head of the construction, resulting in the translation, "the scribe of the royal linen of the phyle," or (2) it can be read twice, once before *sšr n(j)zwt* and once before *n(j) zꜣ*, resulting in two separate titles, "scribe of the royal linen" and "scribe of the phyle." The title as written in the table 18.2 above is not otherwise attested. Nor is it included by Roth (1991, pp. 95–112); she does note (p. 113), however, that *zš n(j) zꜣ* is not uncommon in royal cults and is often associated with a royal institution. It should be noted that *Kꜣ.(j)-pw-Rᶜ* (#143) was involved in both, and this title may be either the well-known simple form or an elaboration of it.
18. See the comments in n. 17, above.

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Table 18.2. Additional Titles Held by Men Holding the Title *wr bzt* in the Old Kingdom (*cont.*)

Name and Strudwick Number		*Treasury Titles*	*Titles with Linen*	*Titles with* ḫkrt njzwt
ʿnḫ-ḥ3.f/Q3r	(35)	*jmy-r pr-ḥḍ* *jmy-r prwy -ḥḍ* *jmy-r prwy-ḥḍ n(j) ḫnw* *jmy-r prwy nwb*	—	*jmy-r jz(wy) ḫkrt njzwt*
Nj-sʿnḫ 3ḫt/Jtj	(73)	*jmy-r prwy -ḥḍ* *jmy-r prwy-ḥḍ n(j) ḫnw* *sḥḍ zš pr-ḥḍ* *jmy-r zš pr-ḥḍ* *jmy-r prwy nwb*	—	*ḥry-sšt3 ḫkrt njzwt*
Jzj	(18)	*jmy-r prwy -ḥḍ* *jmy-ḥt prwy-ḥḍ* *jmy-r zš prwy-ḥḍ*	—	—

Clearly, along with a good variety of titles in the treasury (Strudwick 1985, pp. 281, 285), the *wr bzt* always held the very highest titles within it as well, either *imy-r pr-ḥḍ* or *jmy-r prwy-ḥḍ* or both, the only exception being "No Name" (171) who held only *jmy-r pr-ḥḍ n(j) ḫnw*. Since the other holders of the last designation also possessed the title *pr* or *pr(wy) ḥḍ* (Strudwick 1985, p. 289), perhaps this individual also possessed another monument on which the higher designation could have been recorded (see n. 9, above). In addition, the *wr bzt* was, in most cases, also involved with the *ḫkrt njzwt* (see Strudwick 1985, p. 281; Helck 1954, pp. 65–66).[19] The two exceptions to this trend, *Jzj* (18) and "No Name" (171), do not pose any serious threat to the validity of this observation. *Jzj* (18) dates at the earliest to the end of the Old Kingdom (Strudwick 1985, p. 67), a time period much later than that to which the other bearers of *wr bzt* belong, and the absence of *ḫkrt njzwt* may as well reflect a change in the titulary of the office. "No Name" (171), as already pointed out, represents only one monument of an individual who probably possessed others, some or one of which might have a title associated with *ḫkrt njzwt*.

While early scholars had already suggested that *wr bzt* was related to the treasury, they did not investigate specifically the association of this title with *ḫkrt njzwt* (see Strudwick 1985, p. 281). Nord (1970, p. 11) has pointed out in her study that the latter phrase refers to all types of precious materials and that the *jzwy* chambers associated with it probably contained such materials for royalty and dancers, as well as for male and female personnel. Interestingly, the *wr bzt* holds titles relating to the *ḫkrt njzwt* directly (17, 173, 171, and perhaps 143) and also indirectly through the *jz(wy)* chambers (165, 35, and 73). Because of the apparent closeness of the offices associated with *wr bzt* and *ḫkrt njzwt*, the actions of the latter may provide some information on the functions of the former. Just what that relationship entails is not made clear by a comparison of the titles.

19. For further discussions on this phrase, see Ward 1986, p. 91; Fischer 1989, p. 16; Nord 1970, pp. 9–12.

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In order to identify the *wr bzt* Murray paid considerable attention to the determinative 𓃀. In her discussion, she noted the similarity between our sign 𓃀 and that used for *pḥ* (Murray and Sethe 1937, p. 8; see *Wb*. I, 540.9). However, a clear phonetic difference exists between the two, as the examples of both words with phonetic signs attest (see figs. 18.1–2a–b).[20]

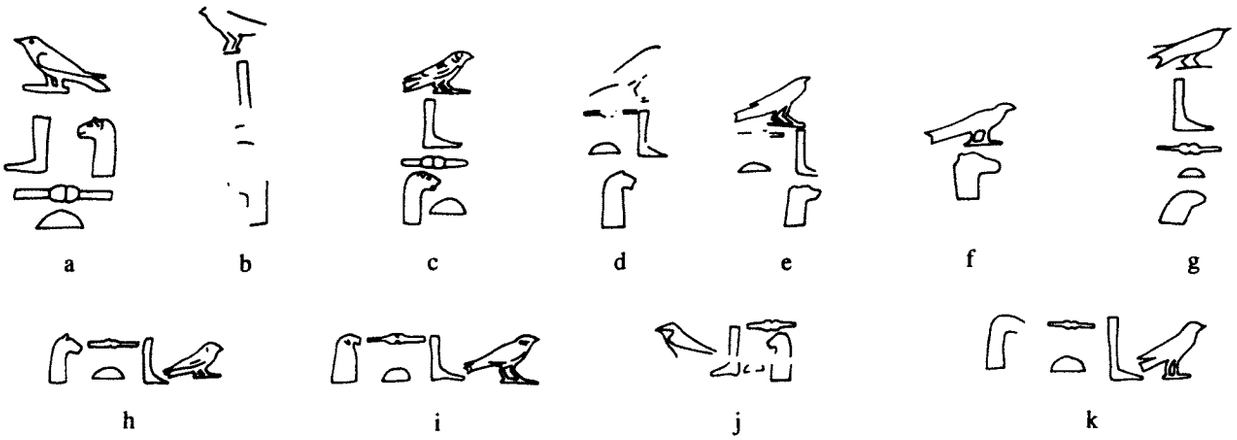


Figure 18.1. Orthography and Paleography of the Title *wr bzt* : (*a*) *Jzj*, Saqqara; (*b*) *Ny-kꜣ-Pṯḥ*, Saqqara; (*c*) *Dfꜣw*, Saqqara; (*d*) *Kꜣ(j)-pw-Rʿ*, Saqqara; (*e*) *ʿnḫ-ḥꜣ.f/Qꜣr*, Giza; (*f*) *Ny-sʿnḫ-ꜣḫt/Jtj*, Giza; (*g*) *Jzj*, unknown; (*h*) *Dfꜣw*, Saqqara; (*i*) *Kꜣ(j)-pw-Rʿ*, Saqqara; (*j*) *Kꜣ(j)-pw-Rʿ*, Saqqara; and (*k*) *ʿnḫ-ḥꜣ.f/Qꜣr*, Giza. Drawn by Jennifer Houser

Although Murray did not point it out, a similar determinative also appears in other words. In *bꜣ*, "leopard" and "leopard skin" (fig. 18.2c–e), 𓃀 can occur with some or no phonetic signs (*Wb*. I, 415.7, 10; Simpson 1978, pl. XVIII, fig. 30, p. 14);[21] 𓃀 is found in *ꜣt*, "striking power" (*Wb*. I, 2.3–4), and it can even wear the uraeus (fig. 18.2f).[22] The head of the panther in this word can stand alone or be accompanied with phonetic signs.[23] 𓃀 appears as the final hieroglyph after the alphabetical signs in *ꜣzb*, "fierce" (fig. 18.2g),[24] and it also occurs in the homograph *bzt* that appears to designate a particular funerary estate.[25]

20. Only one example of *wr bzt* occurs without phonetic signs (see fig. 18.1f), but the context of the inscription and the presence of other parallels would make the reading certain. The word *pḥty* is rare in the Old Kingdom, and the two examples shown in figure 18.2a–b, indicate the usual presence of some phonetic signs. See *Wb*. I, 539–40, for the spellings of this word in later periods, when the 𓃀 can occur without any complements.

21. For a further discussion of the leopard in ancient Egypt and the designations for it, see the references in Störk, "Geopard," *LÄ* II, cols. 530–31; idem, "Leopard," *LÄ* III, cols. 1006–07.

22. PT 334a and 1487b; PT 532a has it without the uraeus.

23. For a discussion of *ꜣt*, the significance of the uraeus, and the later substitution of the hippopotamus head, see Gardiner 1948, pp. 13–15. He also supplies other examples to illustrate the different orthographies of this word.

24. *ꜣzb* is the correct reading, despite the fact that the word is understood as *bz* in *Wb*. I, 472.17; see PT 324 and Coffin Texts Spell 40a, where basically the same phrase: *ꜣzb jꜣḫw* occurs. See Faulkner 1969, p. 70, n. 3, for the reading in the Pyramid Texts. Faulkner (1977, p. 195) provides references for *ꜣzb*, "Radiant one," in the Coffin Texts. See also *Wb*. I, 20.19–20, where *ꜣzb* is treated. For a discussion of the deity *ꜣzb* in the Coffin Texts, see Altenmüller 1975, pp. 12–13.

25. See also *bzt* as a locality (?) in *Wb*. I, 472.19. Jacquet-Gordon (1962, p. 249) has included this reference, which is one of the estates of *Nj-kꜣ-njswt*, among those estates that are characterized by a single noun. She

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While there may well be a reason for determining the other words with the head of a leopard—the nature of the creature and its quick, fierce, and predatory movement (see Gardiner 1948, pp. 13–15)—the same justification may not be valid for its use with *bzt*. Murray, as noted above, had suggested interpreting the head as either a gaming piece or a

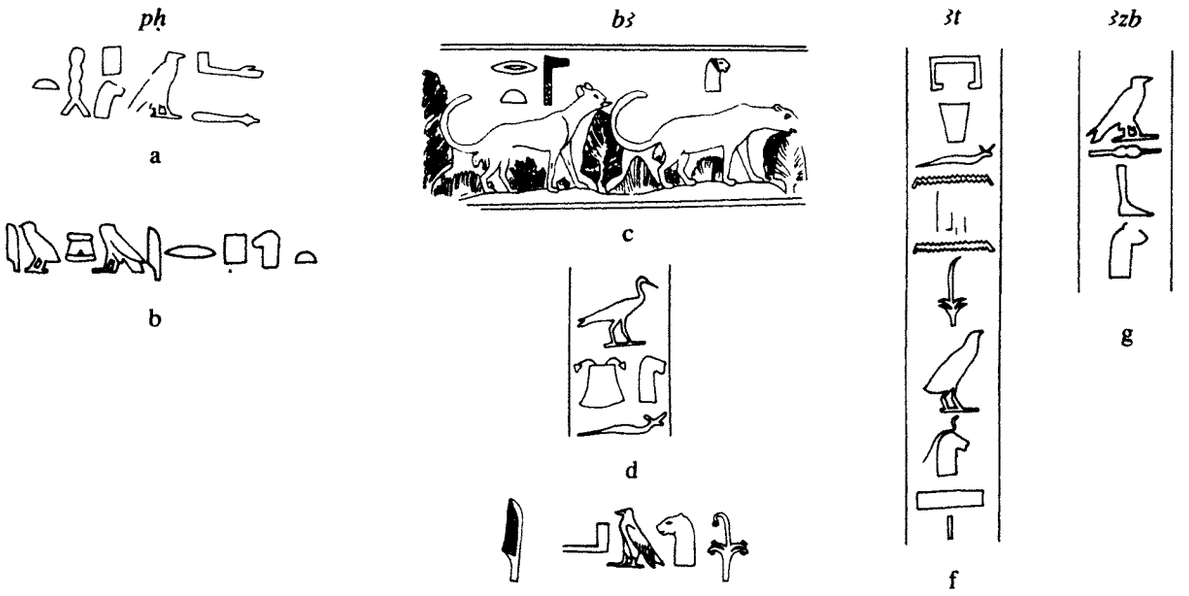


Figure 18.2. The 𓃒 in Words Other than *bzt*: (*a*) Senedjem-ib; (*b*) CG 1534; (*c*) Sun Temple of Ne-User-Re, Berlin Inv. Nr. 20036; (*d*) Unas Pyramid Text 338a–b; (*e*) Khafkhufu; (*f*) Unas Pyramid Text 334a–b; (*g*) Unas Pyramid Text 324b–c. Drawn by Jennifer Houser

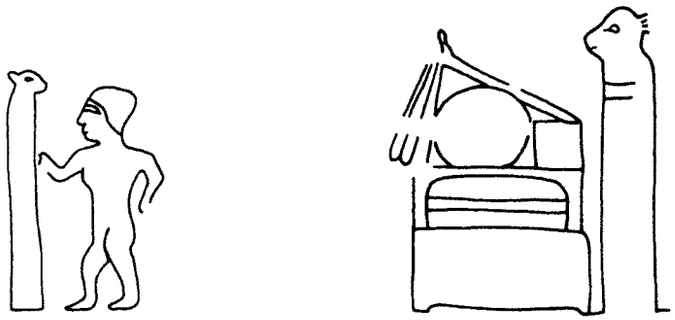
weight. She does not discuss the former in any detail, settling on the latter and theorizing that its shape related it to a divinity, thereby insuring protection. She further related it to the operations of the treasury, and Helck and others have accepted her suggestion of a weight. Thus far, no one has contradicted it, and indeed it seems justified. While this identification may appear appropriate in the circumstances, no contemporaneous archaeological or iconographic support has yet come to light. Weights can be found from several periods, but the earlier ones fairly consistently take simple geometric forms. From the New Kingdom on, weights in the shape of complete animals do appear (Weigall 1908; Petrie 1926, pp. 3–6; Doll 1982, pp. 58–62). In regard to gaming pieces, the archaeological and iconographic evidence is better. Animal shapes occur very early, but the pieces generally take the form of the whole animal, and lions are the preferred species (Hayes 1953, pp. 45, 103, 250, 297). Three-dimensional animal heads and heads on sticks occur more commonly from the New Kingdom on, but none of these have been identified as a leopard (Kendall n.d., pp. 3–27; idem 1982, pp. 263–72). The supporting evidence for *bzt* as a gaming piece appears better than that for a weight, but in the context of a treasury official, such an identification leaves much to be desired.

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suggests the translation, "la tête de panthère (?)." She does not, however, include any other parts of animals in this category, and the term may refer to the same object as that used in the title, *wr bzt*. Dr. Peter Der Manuelian kindly examined early photographs of the sign and confirmed that the neck on the panther is long. For a possible identification of the object, see below.

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A careful examination of all of the paleography of 𓃒 in *wr bzt* does not support identification with either a gaming piece or a weight; it does reveal, however, that what has been assumed in the past to be a single sign is actually a figure with significant variation and that the feline head used in the title *wr bzt* may not be the same as that used in the words *ph*, *b3*, *3t*, and *3zb*. Although not totally consistent, the determinative in *wr bzt* generally appears to be on a larger scale and to have a slightly more elongated neck than that used in the other words (see fig. 18.3).



a b

Figure 18.3. Depictions of the "Container of Adornments" (*a*) from the Tomb of Debehen, Giza, and (*b*) from the Mastaba of Mersyankh III, Giza. Drawn by Jennifer Houser

Although a possible iconographic parallel is recorded (*Wb. Beleg.* I, 472.18), it has gone virtually unnoticed. The reference is to a relief from the Old Kingdom tomb of Debehen at Giza (Hassan 1941, pl. XLIX), and it may provide a possible solution. Below three registers of offerings is a register of harpists, singers, and flutists, and below them is a register in which several female dancers and clappers appear. Behind these figures stands a dwarf who places a hand on a tall slender object, the top of which terminates in the head of an animal (see fig. 18.3a). There may be another object of the same type pictured on a relief from a contemporaneous tomb, also in Giza. Depicted on the lowest register of the southern wall in the main room in the tomb of Mersyankh III, the object appears to be part of the equipment piled before a series of female attendants and a dwarf (see fig. 18.3b; Dunham and Simpson 1974, pl. IX, fig. 8). In the publication of the latter, both this object and that in the tomb of Debehen are understood to be "a clothes bag terminating at the top in a calf's head" (ibid., p. 16). It is difficult to say with certainty whether the top of the cylinder is more leonine or bovine, but the published drawings and photographs of the object in both tombs may not be distinct enough to make a definitive judgment.[26] The major distinction between the sign in the determinative and the type of animal represented atop the "clothes bag" is not the shape of the head, but the manner of depicting the ear. In 𓃒, the ears stand upward or project slightly forward (see figs. 18.1–2), as if the feline were in a state of wariness. The ears on the head in the two reliefs, however, appear to project back, perhaps imitating the feline's trait of keeping its ears down before an attack or at other critical moments. Leopards in both states of action were represented on reliefs of the Old Kingdom.[27] If one accepts that the

26. Fischer (Dunham and Simpson 1974, p. 16) noted that the illustration in Lepsius 1972, pl. 36c, made the head appear more leonine than it actually was; see also Hassan 1943, fig. 119.

27. For an illustration of both, see figure 18.2c.

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head atop the "clothes bag" is that of a leopard, then it may be possible perhaps to attribute the position of the ears to a desire on the part of the Egyptians to use this particular animal as an apotropaic image rather than merely as a decorative feature. This "receptacle" could be used to store and transport clothes, ointments, and adornments,[28] the very items that are associated with the *ḫkrt njzwt*. As Nord has already pointed out, such articles were used for adorning royalty (as inferred in the tomb of Mersyankh III) or dancers (as illustrated in the tomb of Debeḥen). The tall container pictured in these two reliefs then may well be a *bzt*, and the sign of the long-necked leopard head that determines all of the occurrences of the word *bzt* (see fig. 18.1) may represent just such a container.[29] The *wr bzt* might best be rendered "Great One of the Container of Adornments."[30] While this suggestion for the interpretation of the determinative in *bzt* and the meaning of the word is not without its problems, it has the advantage over the others proposed earlier that a close iconographic parallel may actually exist.

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28. It may be coincidental, but *K3.(j)-pw-R^{c}* and *Df3w* possess titles related to linen items which also might have been stored in the *bzt*. See nn. 15, 17, above.
29. It is also possible that such containers in reality could be surmounted by many different animal heads and that the one with the leopard may have become a "generic" type found only in hieroglyphs.
30. Brovarski (1973, p. 455) has rendered *wr* as "chief" in certain titles, but only when "the second element represents a group of people."

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CHAPTER 19

BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERING TABLES

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Klaus Baer was a devoted instructor, a scholar of broad interests, and a patient advisor who gave encouragement when needed most. I offer the following study in his memory.

Small bronze figures in the form of offering tables (figs. 19.1–2) are found in museum collections throughout the world. Groups of these objects have been published by Roeder (1957), and more recently by Christine Green (1987). Additional examples that are not cited in the above works can be found in many museums including the British Museum, London;[1] the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;[2] the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago;[3] the Ägyptische Sammlung, Cologne (Doetsch-Amberger 1987, p. 74, no. 162); and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[4] I am confident that there are many more examples in other collections throughout the world.[5]

A. DESCRIPTION

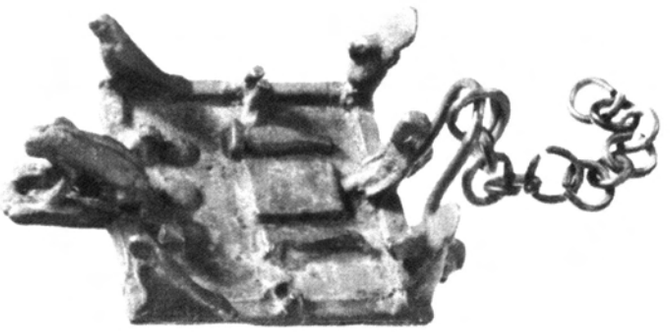
These objects are thin, flat squares or rectangular pieces of copper alloy in the form of a *ḥtp*-offering table. A raised lip runs around the edges of most examples. The central surface of the plate is often decorated in low relief with the representation of circular loaves of bread and often with one or two *hes*-vases.

Each of these miniature tables is equipped with two loops opposite the spout. A widely curved bronze wire that is threaded through the loops is preserved on some tables, and examples in the Louvre and Chicago (fig. 19.1a)[6] have remains of a copper alloy chain attached to the looped wire.

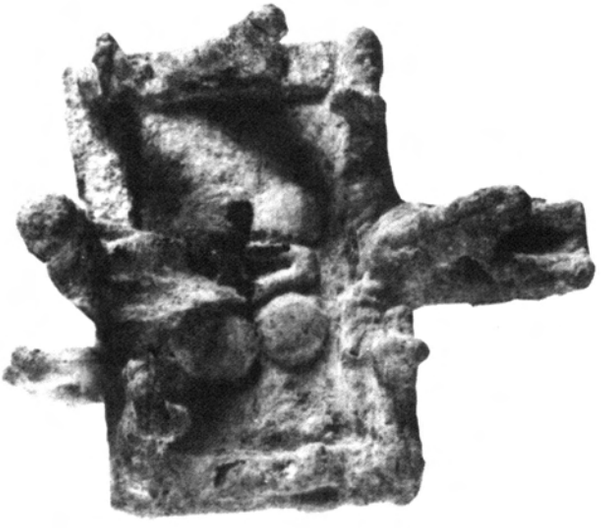
1. BM 2287 (fig. 19.2b), 17090 (fig. 19.2c), 22767 (fig. 19.2a), and 64027 [all previously unpublished]. I thank W. V. Davies, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities for his kind permission to publish photographs of their objects here and also Carol Andrews who responded to my request for information and photographs.
2. MFA 3.1665, 18.576, 72.4418, 353 [all unpublished].
3. OIM 9918, 10258, 11393 (fig. 19.1a), and 15254 (fig. 19.1b) [all previously unpublished]. I thank William Sumner, Director of the Oriental Institute, and Karen L. Wilson, Curator of the Oriental Institute Museum, for their permission to publish these examples.
4. Ashmolean 1971.125, which is the same object as that given by Green (1987, p. 119, no. 459).
5. A request for such information at the annual meeting of American Research Center in Egypt in Boston (1991) resulted in curators mentioning an additional five examples.
6. Louvre example in Roeder 1957, pl. 87b; OIM 11393 (fig. 19.1a). Note that Roeder (ibid., p. 434) says that the chain is modern, although I do not know upon what basis this judgment was made. The chain on OIM 11393 (fig. 19.1a) is in very good condition, and there seems to be no good reason to doubt its antiquity.

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a



b

Figure 19.1. Model Tables in the Collection of the Oriental Institute Museum: (a) OIM 11393 and (b) OIM 15254

Although the form and the surface decoration of these small objects clearly identify them as a type of offering table, they include small figures modeled in the round that clearly differentiate them from their larger stone counterparts. The most prominent figure on the small tables, and one that is included on virtually all examples, is a man, kneeling opposite the spout. He may be shown pouring a libation upon the plate (figs. 19.1b, 19.2a), his arms at his sides (figs. 19.1a, 19.2c) or with his arms raised in adoration (Green 1987, p. 120, no. 464). In well-preserved examples, the simple kilt of the man can be made out. However, in most examples, the detail has been lost to corrosion or other damage. The figure generally is depicted with no suggestion of hair, the intent being to portray either a shaved head, or perhaps a priestly cap. A single example known to me shows the figure with a side lock (Green 1987, p. 117, no. 452).

Another figure which is consistently found on these small tables is a frog that sits opposite the human figure, astride the runnel of the spout (figs. 19.1–2). The frog is positioned to look in the same direction as the human figure, i.e., toward the spout of the table. Although the depiction of the round loaves of bread, the human figure, and the frog are

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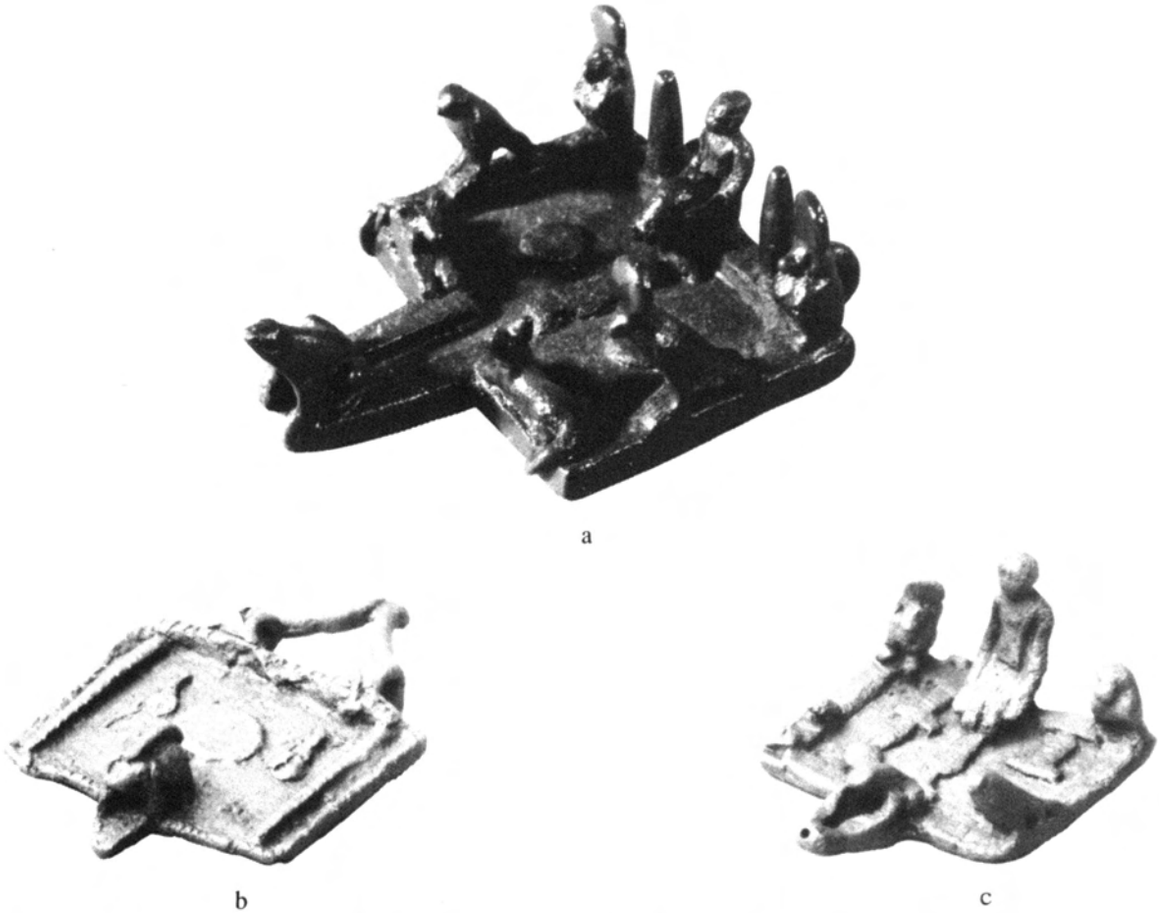


Figure 19.2. Model Tables in the Collection of the British Museum: (a) BM 22767, (*b*) BM 2287, and (*c*) BM 17090. Courtesy of the British Museum, London

found on virtually all examples of these tables, others have additional figures that are positioned around the edges of the offering table. These figures may take the following forms:

Jackals When present, jackals appear in pairs, each animal positioned along the front edge of the offering table, their muzzles pointing toward the frog.

Apes When present, these figures, also in pairs, appear on either side of the human figure (figs. 19.1–2).[7] In most examples, the apes wear disks upon their heads.[8] However, in many cases, it is difficult to determine if disks were originally present and have since been destroyed.

The jackals and the apes show consistency in their placement, because when present, they appear invariably in the location mentioned. The model tables may also be adorned with other types of small figures. Unlike the jackal and apes, these figures do not always

7. MFA 18.576 is unusual in that the apes are on the front edge, flanking the frog and spout.

8. These disk are described as "moon disks" by Green (1987, p. 119). For a discussion of the type of disk, see below, *C. Iconography and Symbolism.*

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appear in a fixed location. Figure 19.3 illustrates the most common placement of these figures which include:

Falcons When present, a pair of falcons are often positioned on the side of the tables, near the front corner and the tail of the jackals (figs. 19.1a, 19.2). In most examples, the falcons have disks on their heads, although some examples lack this element (Green 1987, p. 117–18, no. 453; BM 17090 [fig. 19.2c]). However, as with the disks that appear on the heads of the apes, the absence of the disk may be due to rough handling of the object through the millennia.[9]

"Obelisks" Pairs of pillar-like structures may appear on either side of the human figure (fig. 19.2a), or less frequently on the front and back corners of the table (Berlin 2748 in Roeder 1957, pl. 61d). These features have been described as posts ("pieux [?]"; Amélineau 1905, p. 444) and more recently as "obelisks" (Green 1987, p. 119, nos. 459–60). The identity of these objects is proposed in conjunction with the iconography of the tables in section *C. Iconography and Symbolism*, of this discussion.

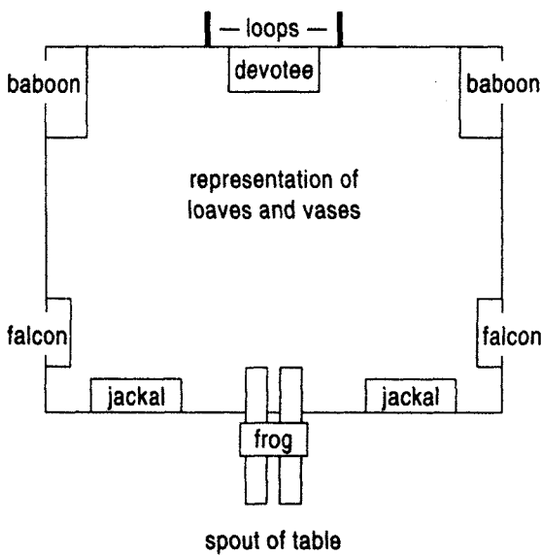


Figure 19.3. Plan Showing Arrangement of Figures on Votive Offering Tables

Other figures may occur on isolated examples of the small tables. The specimens recovered by Amélineau at Abydos (Amélineau 1905, pl. 26), as well as Berlin 2724 (Roeder 1957, pl. 61b),[10] show a further elaboration upon the decorative theme of the small offering tables, because they include anthropoid figures at each side of the table who pour a libation onto its surface. Amélineau (1905, p. 444) describes these standing figures (which are indistinct in the photograph included in the 1905 publication) as having the head of birds ("tête d'épervier"). The Berlin example is distinctly different, because the one intact figure

9. See, e.g., BM 22767 (fig. 19.2a) where one falcon has a disk preserved, the other does not. It is not clear whether this is the original scheme, or if the decoration was, as with other examples, more symmetrical.

10. Fragments of feet (?) that appear on the edges of OIM 11393 (fig. 19.1a) suggest that such figures also may have stood along the edges of that example.

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of the pair is human-headed, and he is portrayed as kneeling as he pours a libation upon the table's surface.

Although these model tables occur in various sizes, most fall into the range of about 2.5 by 2.0 inches. An example from Saqqara is among the largest at 5.0 inches square (Green 1987, p. 116, no. 448). The smallest example includes an example from Saqqara (1.5 by 2.0 inches) (Green 1987, p. 118, no. 456). One model table (OIM 10258) in the Oriental Institute Museum, which lacks figures on its surface, is a mere 1.00 by 0.75 inches.

B. PROVENANCE

Seventeen tables were discovered by Emery during his excavations of the temple terrace of the sacred animal necropolis at North Saqqara between the years 1964 and 1976. One of these is now in the Ashmolean Museum, registered as 1971.125 (Green 1987, p. 119, no. 459). The remainder of the tables are stored either in magazines at Saqqara or in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and few have been given permanent registration numbers.[11] With the exception of these examples from Saqqara, few of the offering tables have a provenance, having entered museum collections through purchase or gift. Among the few other excavated examples are single specimens from Abydos and Medinet Habu. The Abydos example was discovered by Amélineau in 1897–98 in an apparent jumble of Early Dynastic material near the tomb of Peribsen (Amélineau 1905, p. 444). OIM 15254 (fig. 19.1b) was excavated by the Architectural Survey from the *radim* of the Ptolemaic temple at Medinet Habu in the 1926–27 season.[12] BM 2287 (fig. 19.2b) and 22767 (fig. 19.2a) are "said to be from Thebes," and BM 17090 (fig. 19.2c) is attributed to the find spot of Tell el-Mogdair.

C. ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM

Could the complex iconography of the offering tables be related to any other objects or rituals? The best parallel to the decoration of the tables is found on situlae; indeed the decorative motif of the two types of objects is remarkably similar.

Situlae, ritual buckets that were used for water, milk, or other libations,[13] appear first in the Middle Kingdom (Lichtheim 1947 p. 170). They are closely associated with both funerary rituals of revivification and with purification. They were employed in the mortuary context (Evrard-Derriks and Quaegebeur 1979, pp. 33–37, 40–41), especially in funerary processions where milk was poured before the cows who pulled the sledge and coffin, and they were also used to hold liquid refreshment for the deceased (Lichtheim 1947, p. 172). In that context, situlae were hung from the surface of offering tables (OIM 1351 pictured in Lichtheim 1947, pl. VII). Representations of situlae, as well as actual examples, are very

11. See Green 1987, pp. 116–20, for information concerning the location and disposition of the other sixteen examples.
12. The table was found with an assortment of badly corroded metal statuettes. The deposit contained four bronze Osiris statues that vary in size from 18.0 cm to 2.7 cm, the head of another bronze Osiris statue (7.5 cm), a fragment of a lead Osiris figure with traces of inlay on the flail (6.1 cm), a small bronze figure of Isis and Horus (4.0 cm), a standing figure and a seated figure of undetermined identity in bronze (4.0 cm each), and a bronze cat figurine (3.7 cm).
13. See Lichtheim 1947, pp. 171–74, for a discussion of the "multiplicity of functions" of situlae.

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common from the Third Intermediate Period on through the Ptolemaic period. The 337 examples excavated by Emery in 1964–76 at the animal necropoli in North Saqqara indicate the important role these objects played in popular cults.

Many situlae are incised with registers of decoration, the upper two of which show considerable regularity in their arrangement and theme (figs. 19.4–6). The uppermost register commonly shows the transit of the sun across the sky, while the second register shows the devotee before the gods. Lower registers, if present, may depict a floral motif that covers the tip of the bucket, hieroglyphs (figs. 19.5–6), or tableaux of mythological scenes (fig. 19.4).[14]

The procession of barks drawn by jackals and adored by baboons, which occupies the upper register of situlae (figs. 19.4, 6), is an illustration of several well-known religious themes. The baboons who adore the rising sun are found, among other places, in Book of the Dead Spell 100, which relates "I have hymned and worshipped the solar disk, I have joined him who is with the worshipping baboons."[15] The motif of the baboons who adore the rising sun is graphically illustrated by figures of apes who stand at the base of obelisks.[16] The association of the baboons with the rising sun indicates that the disk on the head of the small ape figures on the tables are to be interpreted as solar disks, rather than the moon disks suggested by Green (1987, p.116, no. 449, p. 119, no. 460).

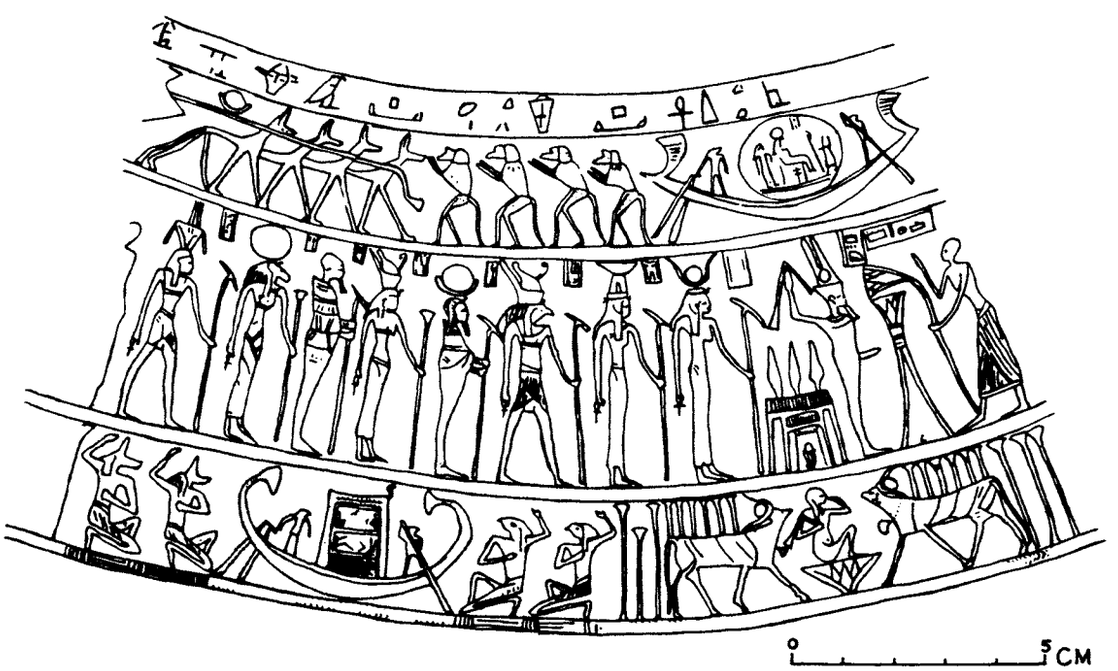


Figure 19.4. Diagram of Decoration on Situla (from Green 1987, fig. 102, no. 166). Courtesy of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society, London

14. This decorative register has been omitted from the accompanying line drawings.
15. Translation from Faulkner 1985, p. 98; see also te Velde 1988, pp. 129–31.
16. Luxor temple, pictured in Habachi 1977, pl. 24; the altar of the northern (sun) chapel of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel was also decorated with small obelisks and four figures of baboons (Habachi 1977, pl. 25).

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The bark drawn by four jackals shown on situlae represents the sun bark, traveling through the night to be reborn at dawn. This theme is united with the motif of the jackals, sun disk, and apes in the *Books of Day and Night* represented on the ceilings of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX.[17] In the sarcophagus hall, corridors C and D, and hall E of the earlier tomb, the setting and rising sun, respectively, are represented on opposite sides of the ceiling by the jackals who draw the evening bark, and the baboons who adore the new day (Piankoff and Rambova 1954, fig. 130, pls. 150, 152, pp. 397, 426).[18] On the situlae, this theme has been compacted into a single scene, composed of the sun disk in a bark, drawn by the jackals, greeted and adored by apes as it emerges from the darkness of night to be reborn (fig. 19.4; Hornung 1990, pp. 71–101; idem 1991). On some vessels, the scene is abbreviated yet further, showing only a pair of apes (fig. 19.5).[19] Just as the animals are reduced in number on the situla, they are also shown as a single pair on the tables.

The falcon that is found on some examples of the tables (figs. 19.1–2) is the sun itself, which is represented on situlae and in the royal tombs by the falcon-headed figure who appears in the bark (figs. 19.4–5).

A model table from Emery's excavations (Green 1987, p. 116, no. 449) illustrates an alternate manner in which the theme of the travel and rebirth of the sun could be expressed. On the center back of that table is shown a scarab beetle, pushing a disk with its hind legs, a well-attested symbol of the passage of the sun across the heaven. This explicit solar imagery may serve as confirmation of the solar associations of the jackal, ape, and falcon figures that appear on the offering tables.

The iconography found on the second register of situlae also closely corresponds to the decoration found on the model tables. In this section of many vessels, the dedicant is shown before the gods (figs. 19.4–6). On many situlae, he stands before the gods, his hands upheld in adoration of the deity. Although the figure on the offering tables kneels, it may assume a similar hand posture, symbolizing adoration. In other, less frequent examples, the dedicant shown on situlae may pour a liquid offering onto the surface of the table that stands between the mortal and divine figures.[20] This motif is closely paralleled on the small tables where the kneeling human figure likewise pours a libation (figs. 19.1b, 2a). On the situlae, the offering is poured upon the offering stand, whereas on the tables, it is poured directly onto the surface of the table which is, by its *ḥtp*-form, an offering table. This parallel iconography is further emphasized by the form of the vessel from which the offering is poured. One situla from Saqqara (fig. 19.6) clearly shows that the vessel in the hands of the dedicant is situla-form, while a vessel of the same form is preserved in the hands of the kneeling figure on a small table in the British Museum (fig. 19.2a).

The decoration of situlae gives a good clue as to the identity of the pillar-like objects on the back edge of some tables (fig. 19.2a; also Amélineau 1905, pl. 26). On situlae, the

17. The *Book of Day and Night* seems to form a better correspondence to the situla decoration than the Fourth Hour of *Amduat* suggested by Lichtheim (1947, p. 176).
18. The great baboon statues at Hermopolis are also symbols which greet the rising sun.
19. Unless, of course, they are shown in overlapping pairs which obscure the far ape.
20. This type of composition is frequently encountered on funerary stelae of the Third Intermediate Period. See Munro 1973, pls. 11–12, 29–31, 36–39, 41–43, 80–82, 141, 147.

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offering table between the devotee and the gods may be stacked with cone-shaped loaves of bread (fig. 19.5). It is these loaves that are translated into obelisk-like shapes on the model tables.[21]

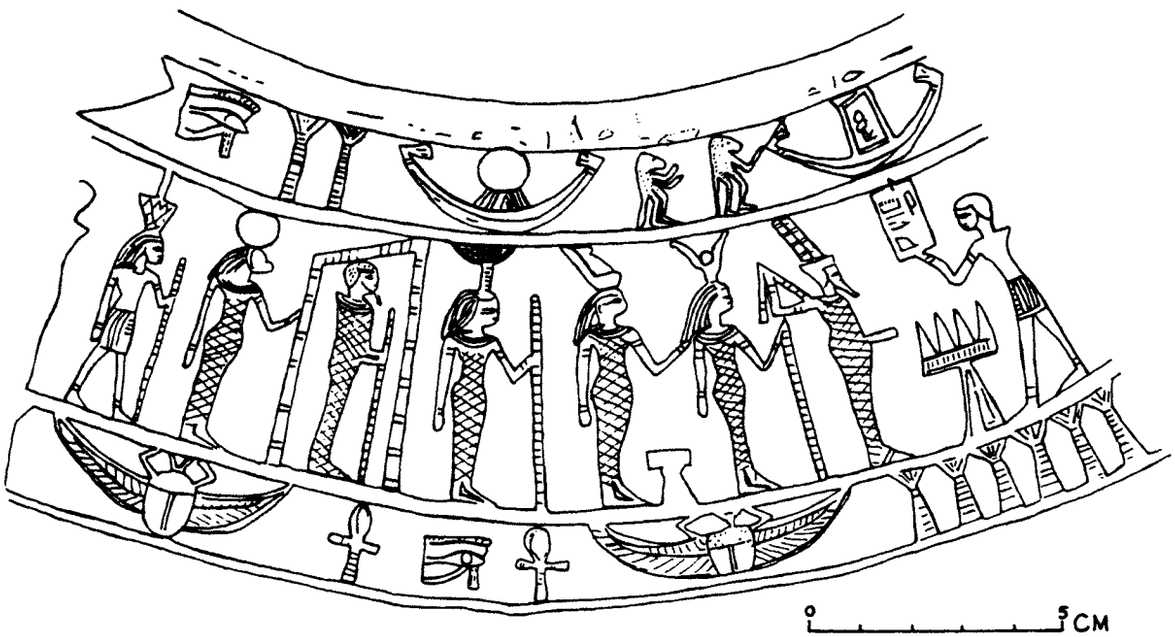


Figure 19.5. Diagram of Decoration on Situla (from Green 1987, fig. 102, no. 167). Courtesy of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society, London

The similarities between the situlae and the model tables can be seen in other ways. For example, the looped wire handle that appears on several examples of the tables is very similar to the looped handle of situlae.

The association between the two types of objects is indicated further by inscriptions that appear on both types of objects. Although only two examples of the tables known to me are inscribed, a dedication not infrequently appears on situlae. The most common text on the vessels is a short dedication, which, with few exceptions, calls upon Isis to grant life and health to the dedicator (fig. 19.6). Two model tables (BM 64027; Green 1987, p. 117, no. 452) bear similar inscriptions, invoking Isis to give life to the dedicator of the table. This association of the situlae with Isis is related to the nurturing ability of Isis, and to the milk that was stored in the vessel (Leclant 1951, pp. 123–27). In turn, this association was transferred to the model tables as a dual symbol of offerings (*ḥtp*) and satisfaction (*ḥtp*) inherent in the shape of the table itself.

The association of the situlae and the model tables is again indicated by the circumstances under which examples were discovered at Saqqara. In Emery's excavations of the baboon galleries, he discovered a mass of metal comprising "two situlae and a situla handle ... . In antiquity it appears that one of the [two] situlae was soldered on to it [the table] and the other attached by its handle to the tray, the whole corroded together" (Green 1987, p. 116, no. 448). This group-find suggests that not only was the iconography closely

21. For cone-shaped loaves of bread, see Jacquet-Gordon 1981, pp. 19–21.

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shared by the vessels and the model tables, but that they may also have been used in the same ritual.

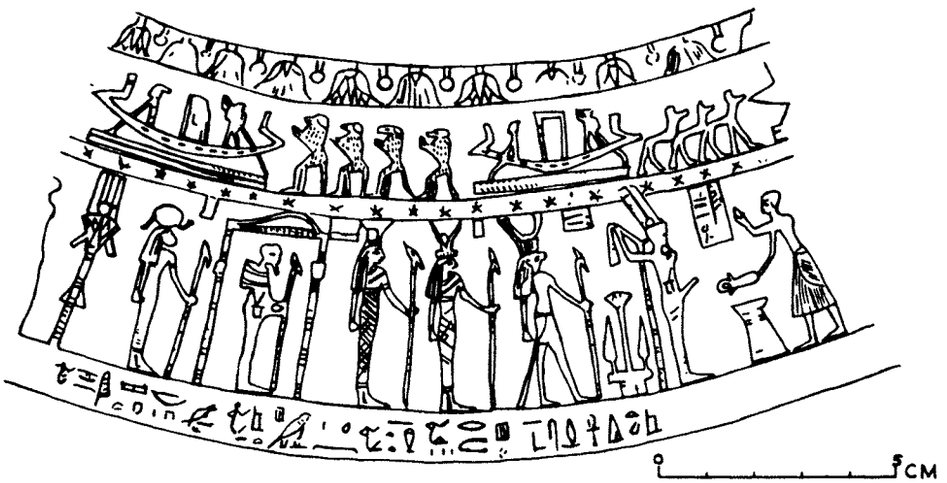


Figure 19.6. Diagram of Decoration on Situla (from Green 1987, fig. 110, no. 183). Courtesy of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society, London

D. THE DATE OF THE MODEL TABLES

The lack of provenance for many of the model tables makes assigning a range of possible dates difficult, because the majority of examples with known provenance have been recovered from disturbed sites. For example, OIM 15254 (fig. 19.1b) was recovered from the radim of the Ptolemaic temple at Medinet Habu, while the example recovered by Amélineau was from a mixed context which reflected the Early Dynastic period onward. The only significant find for dating purposes are the seventeen examples recovered by Emery at North Saqqara. This group of objects was found primarily on the ruins of the terrace of the temple. Emery and Green have dated the tables, like the situlae from the same excavation, from the fourth to the second centuries B.C. (Green 1987, pp. 116–20).

This early Ptolemaic date may be confirmed in several ways. One table from Saqqara (Green 1987, pp. 116–17, no. 450) has a trapezoidal back pillar behind the devotee. According to Bothmer, such forms do not appear until the Persian period (Bothmer, de Meulenaere, and Müller 1960, p. 87), suggesting that the tables do not appear before that time. A date during the early Ptolemaic period also accords with Christine Hibbs' study of the development of funerary offering table. In her study Hibbs (1985, pp. 38ff.) concluded that, in the Ptolemaic period, offering tables are generally decorated with two round loaves accompanied by two *hes*-vases. This corresponds to the decoration seen on the central area of most of the model tables.

E. FUNCTION OF THE MODEL TABLES

Since the form, decoration, and, in one case, circumstance of excavation of the small tables are associated with situlae, it appears that their ritual functions are intertwined. The dedication inscriptions on both types of objects indicate that they are votive objects, deposited at the temple to demonstrate the piety of individuals rather than serving as

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funerary offering tables. They are not recovered from a funerary context, hence one might assume that the tables were not intended to provide the deceased with offerings in the afterlife, but rather with merit in this life as a devotee of the deity.

The manner in which the tables were employed by pilgrims and in the course of what ritual is yet unknown. However, the iconography shared by situlae and votive offering tables indicates that they may well have been employed in the same ritual, which may have involved pouring a liquid from the situla upon the votive offering table.[22]

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22. Those who held the title translated as "milk-can porters" (*fy mhr*; *Wb.* II, 115.8), attested in Demotic as well as in earlier texts (Sethe 1909, 1020.16; Kitchen 1975–90, vol. II, p. 348, line 3) may be involved with rituals involving the pouring of liquid from situlae. On the southern side of the First Pylon of the Luxor temple, eastern wing, a procession of offering bearers is shown. One area, now badly damaged, is inscribed *fȝy mhrw n Imn*, "situla carriers (?) of Amun." Although no figure is visible, the intact area preserves the depiction of numerous long-necked vessels. Although it is difficult to tell from the published photos, the *fȝy mhrw* may be one of the figures who holds flowers and an offering tray. For this scene, see Abdul-Qader Muhammad 1968, pls. 62–63. Wångstedt (1974–75, p. 9) has suggested that the *fy mhn* in O. BM 5781.1.2 is related to the Buchis cult. However, Manning (1992) notes that *fy mhn* in P. Lille 48 and 67 are associated with the title *ʿȝm*, "herdsman," suggesting that it may be a non-cultic title.

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CHAPTER 20

A STELA FROM TOULOUSE RE-EXAMINED

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One of Klaus Baer's many interests was chronology and the proper dating of monuments. Thus the fixing of an anonymous year date on the stela discussed below to a particular reign would have caught his attention, and as such is a fitting tribute to a teacher, colleague, and friend.

In 1930, Alexandre Varille published a stela belonging to the chantress Meryre dated to a year 7 of an unnamed king (fig. 20.1).[1] Stylistically, the stela (which comes from Abydos) is dated to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty,[2] but it is not known exactly whose year 7 is meant. An examination of information on the stela suggests that it may be dated more precisely.

The decoration of the stela is divided into three parts. In the upper part is a representation of the *Neshmet*-bark of Osiris. In the middle are two lines of text that read: "Year 7, the arrival of the scribe Mose who is associated[3] with the fan-bearer on the right-hand of the King Sahta-nefer, justified, carrying the great *Neshmet*-bark, mistress of Abydos." In the lower portion of the stela are represented the figures of a woman named Meryre and a man identified as the scribe Mose (already mentioned in the two lines of text). Before the woman are two columns of text that read: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris that he (literally, you) might give invocation offerings of bread and beer, cool water and offerings (to) the chantress Meryre, justified, the wife[4] of the fan-bearer on the right of the king, Sahta-nefer." A single column of text before the male figure reads: "May you give invocation offerings of bread and beer, cool water and offerings to the scribe Mose." The relationship between Meryre and Mose is unspecified; perhaps they are brother and sister.

While the names and titles of Meryre and Mose are commonplace, both the name Sahta-nefer[5] and his title fan-bearer are more distinctive. If this person can be connected to other monuments, it should be possible to date the stela more precisely. The best known bearer of the name was the vizier Nebmaatre-nakht who has the common name Saht(a)-nefer.[6] He is

1. Varille 1930–35, pp. 39–43, pl. 1; perhaps limestone, carved in sunk relief, 50 × 28 cm. The stela does not appear in the recent catalogue of the collection (Ramond 1977). Figures 20.1–2 were drawn by C. Karcher under the author's direction.
2. So dated by Pomorska (1987, p. 215, no. 134).
3. See Varille 1930–35, p. 41.
4. See Pestman 1961, p. 10, n. 7.
5. Ranke 1935, p. 299, no. 24 (Saht-nefer), p. 300, no. 2 (Sahta-nefer); the two are probably orthographic variants of the same name.
6. For his monuments, see Helck 1958, p. 464, no. 42; republished in part by Kitchen (1975–90, vol. VI, pp. 841–42).

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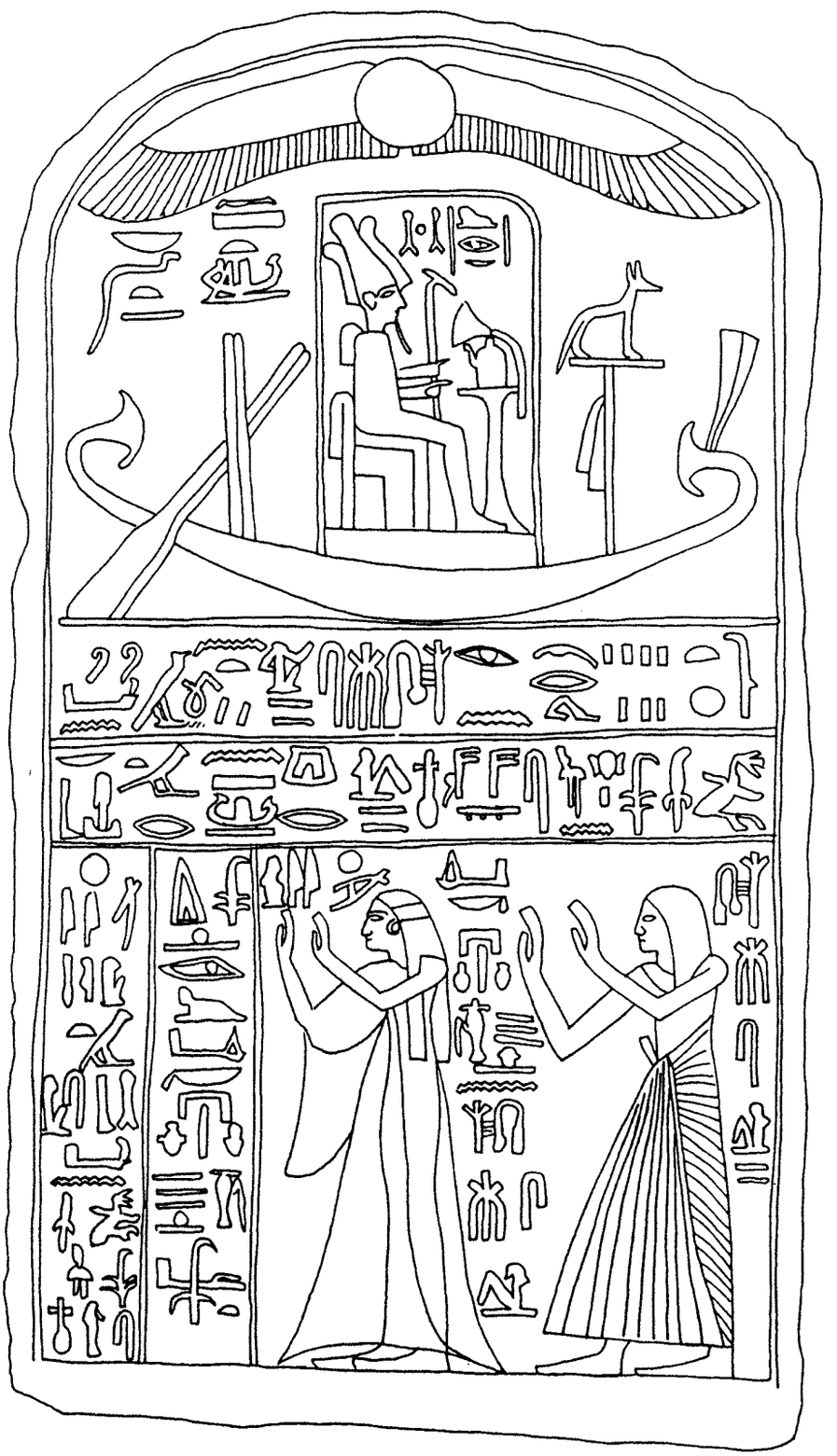


Figure 20.1. Stela of Meryre from Toulouse (Inv. 1175). Drawn by C. Karcher

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well attested, dating from year 16 of Ramesses IX (approximately 1111 B.C.)[7] to year 2 of the Renaissance, that is, year 20 of Ramesses XI (approximately 1079 B.C.).[8] During the Ramesside period, the combination of the titles fan-bearer and vizier was common,[9] and among the published documents that deal with this vizier, one does preserve the title fan-bearer: P. Deir el-Medina 13, ro. 1, where the man is referred to as "[the fan-bearer on the right] of the king, the overseer of the city and vizier, Nebmaatre-nakht."[10] In a recently published catalogue of a private collection, a small fragment of relief has been illustrated that may provide yet another instance of this title for the vizier. It is a small limestone fragment from Thebes (fig. 20.2) that bears parts of three columns of text which only partly preserve the titles and name of the owner of the stela to which it once belonged (Scott 1992, p. 7, no. 1D; height 7.3 cm). The columns read:

1 ... [to the *ka*] of the fan-[bearer on the right of the king] ...

2 ... the overseer of the city and vizier ...

3 ...-*nakht*.

This fragment documents a vizier and fan-bearer whose name ends in the element *nakht*. An examination of the corpus of monuments of known viziers of the Ramesside period (Helck 1958, pp. 433–65; Kitchen 1975–90, passim) provides only two viziers with a name ending in *nakht*: One is the vizier Nebmaatre-nakht mentioned above, and the other is an obscure vizier Ramesses-nakht.[11] Until additional viziers whose names end in the element *nakht* are

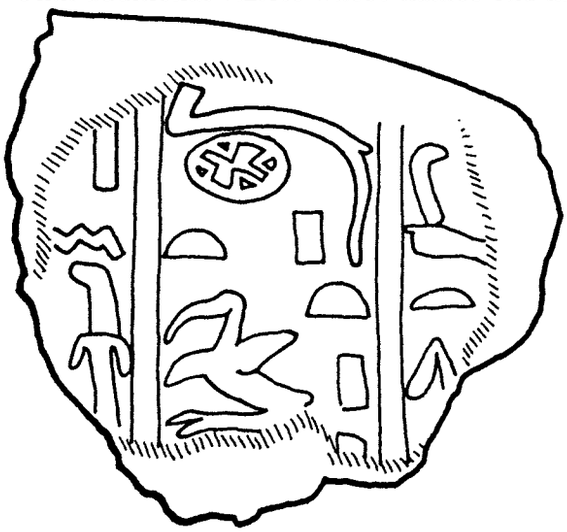


Figure 20.2. Fragmentary Stela in a Private Collection. Drawn by C. Karcher

7. P. Abbott (BM 10221) ro. 4/15, conveniently Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 474, line 8 (actually with reference to a year 14).
8. P. de Burgh (BM 10383) ro. 1/2, conveniently Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 833, line 14.
9. Helck 1958, pp. 433–65, nos. 21–22, 24, 26–28, 31–33, 36, 39–41; see also the remarks by Pomorska (1987, pp. 39–40).
10. Conveniently, Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VI, p. 524, line 8; Helck (1958, p. 464, no. 42) did not have access to this document.
11. Helck (1958, p. 464) lists two objects for the vizier Ramesses-nakht (as an alternate name for the vizier Nebmaatre-nakht): O. CG 25344 and O. CG 25236. The latter ostracon belongs to the vizier Ramesses-Montuerhatef; see Kitchen 1975–90, vol. VII, pp. 460–61. CG 25344 is assigned by Kitchen (1975–90, vol. VI, p. 350) to the reign of Ramesses VI.

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discovered or more is learned about the enigmatic vizier Ramesses-nakht, it is reasonable to attribute the ownership of this fragment to the fan-bearer and vizier Nebmaatre-nakht as well.

Since the vizier Nebmaatre-nakht clearly was a fan-bearer, and since he was also known by the rare name Saht(a)-nefer, I would suggest that he was the husband of Meryre who is referred to on the stela in Toulouse, despite the slight variation in the orthography of the name. The facts that Sahta-nefer does not yet have the title vizier and that his formal name Nebmaatre-nakht is not used on the stela would suggest that the stela had been made early in his long career, and therefore, the year 7 probably refers to the reign of Ramesses IX. Since Saht(a)-nefer's formal name makes reference to Nebmaatre (Ramesses VI), it is probable that he was born during that king's reign. Since Saht(a)-nefer would have been only 18 (±4) years old in year 7 of Ramesses IX when the stela was carved, the year date could not refer to any earlier king. Thus Nebmaatre-nakht/Saht(a)-nefer is attested as holding office for a minimum of 42 years (from year 7 of Ramesses IX until year 2 of the Renaissance = year 20 of Ramesses XI), and he would have been 60 (±4) years old at its end. The close of his career is uncertain. Redford ("Herihor," *LÄ* II, col. 1131) has suggested that Herihor caused the aged vizier "to repair north" at the start of the Renaissance, but Nebmaatre-nakht/Saht(a)-nefer may have only died of old age shortly after his last attestation (see n. 8, above), and the presence of his ushebtis in Theban Tomb 293 suggest that his burial was in Thebes.[12]

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12. On the tomb see Larkin and Van Siclen 1975, pp. 129–34, especially p. 133.

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CHAPTER 21

SECURITY AND THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY IN THE NAQADA PERIOD

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Renowned for devotion to documentation, Klaus Baer also laid stress on the fragmentary and deceptive nature of available evidence. For him, the adventure of reconstruction was essential to the process of penetrating ancient realities.

Among Klaus Baer's abiding interests were the economic foundations of Egypt and the development of urban life, intertwined themes that required not only critical scholarship but also willingness to use estimation to bridge the chasm between this fragmentary evidence and the actual pattern of ancient life (Baer 1962, 1963, 1971). The following remarks are an attempt to emulate his approach in pursuing the development of towns and cities in a remote age.

Whatever differences existed between Egyptian cities and others in the ancient world, compact permanent centers certainly were built in Egypt (Kemp 1977, pp. 185–86, 198–99; Bietak, "Stadt(anlage)," *LÄ* IV, cols. 1233–49; idem 1986; Atzler 1986, pp. 5–24), and they were readily identified with their urban counterparts elsewhere, both by Egyptians and foreigners.

Individual cities can be traced in literature and representations throughout the numbered dynasties, but discussions of early developments are often contradictory indicating some confusion about what an early city comprised (Kaiser 1958; Hoffman, Hamroush, and Allen 1986; Bietak 1986). The evidence is incomplete and difficult to evaluate, but it can be assembled into a meaningful pattern to give new direction and coherence to an inquiry into urban life in early Egypt.[1]

The most important obstacles to reconstructing cities in Upper Egypt during the Naqada period are well known. Most exploration has been done on the desert edge where few ancient towns were situated.[2] Towns were constantly renewed, often destroying earlier

1. An early date for the foundation of actual towns was advocated by H. S. Smith (1965). The present discussion uses the archaeological chronology outlined by Kaiser (1957). Although sometimes questioned, Kaiser's chronology has never been successfully refuted; see Williams 1987 pp. 17–18; Williams and Logan 1987, pp. 245, 280. Attempts to abbreviate the chronology by regional or social overlapping have been based on highly compressed typologies (e.g., Kemp 1975; idem 1982) or have ignored the fact that distinctive features of all major phases can be correlated from Nubia to the northern Delta (for a summary, see Kaiser 1985, pp. 83–87, as opposed to Mortensen 1991, pp. 11–18; she continues to recognize a Naqada III, however).
2. See, e.g., Hierakonpolis (Adams, "Hierakonpolis," *LÄ* II, cols. 1182–86; Kaiser 1958, pp. 183–87; Hoffman, Hany Hamroush, and Allen 1986, pp. 178–87). None of the studies definitely identified the

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structures, and many are now below the water table. Important representations that might include walled cities have been subjected to widely varying interpretations,[3] and they appear to differ from the recently discovered town wall of Elephantine.

The wall consists of a subrectangular enceinte with simple gates and a few convex projecting towers. Over time, the enclosed area was expanded and there were a number of additional parallel walls (Kaiser et al. 1987, pp. 88–96; Kaiser et al. 1988, pp. 139–49; see now Ziermann 1993, especially pp. 27–60). The very shape of the wall is comparable to the oval, round, and sub-rectangular enclosures depicted in documents of Naqada III and First Dynasty. The largest documents are palettes; the Bull Palette (Petrie 1953, pl. G:17–18; Asselberghs 1961, pl. XCIII), the Libyan Booty Palette (Petrie 1953, pl. G:19–20; Asselberghs 1961, pl. XCII), and the Narmer Palette (Quibell 1900, pl. XXIX; Petrie 1953, pls. J–K; Asselberghs 1961, pls. XCIV–XCV). Wood and ivory plaques include plaques of Narmer (Petrie 1901b, pl. X:1), Aha (Petrie 1901b, pls. IIIA:5–6, X:2, XI:2), Djer (Schott 1950, fig. 15), and Den (Petrie 1900, pls. XI:14–15, XV:16–17). First and Second Dynasty sealings with enclosures are common (Kaplony 1963, nos. 99a, 126, 199, 216, 225, 230–34, 276–86). The apparent contrast between the simple wall of Elephantine and the paneled or bastioned walls shown in representations can be resolved by explaining the projections as fighting platforms or machicolations that extended from the parapet.[4]

The disputes over whether the representations depict construction or destruction of walls may be resolved by abandoning the practice of considering details in isolation in favor of interpreting them as parts of compositions with interrelated elements—formulistic complexes that appear later as standard elements of pharaonic ritual representation. In any case, the opinion that the enclosures on the palettes are being destroyed is supported by the Narmer Palette, where a wall is knocked over by a bull that also tramples a victim, and the Libyan Booty Palette, on which the images of gods wield hoes that penetrate the walls.[5]

Fortresses of this type continue to be shown in the First Dynasty on labels, scenes derived from Naqada III, but with added details and inscriptions. For example, two walls with hoe-signs above them are shown between royal (sacred) barks followed by an arrival at Buto, which is also surrounded by such a wall (Schott 1950, fig. 15). If this aquatic procession (Williams and Logan 1987, especially pp. 262–60) began elsewhere in Egypt, it is highly likely that Egyptian walls are being hacked up. Buto itself was similarly fortified. In addition,

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mound as the early center, but they all assumed that the growth of the town began with extended village sites on the desert edge.

3. Compare Schott 1950, pp. 1725–27, with O'Connor 1989, pp. 59–61. See also Bietak, "Stadt(anlage)," *LÄ* IV, cols. 1233–34; idem 1986, p. 32, where, however, he accepts Nibbi's (1979, pp. 143–54) conclusion that the towns were being founded rather than destroyed.

4. The projections on the sub-rectangular walls may be either platforms (Newberry 1893, pl. XIV) or crenellations, shown splayed. See O'Connor 1989, fig. 5b, for comparison of square and sub-rectangular structures (no oval sub-rectangular structure is included for Aha, but see Petrie 1901b, pl. X:2). Neither would appear on a ground plan. Note that sealings show the same place enclosed by a plain and a paneled wall (Kaplony 1963, nos. 291, 296). A relationship between the rectangular and oval structures may exist (compare Kaplony 1963, no. 73, with the lower panel on the obverse of the Narmer Palette).

5. See Baines 1989, pp. 472–75, 478, for a summary. For an interpretation, see Baines 1985, pp. 42–43; *pace* Nibbi 1979; Bietak 1986, p. 32. On the Bull Palette, an enclosure is located just below the victim.

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the seals show the names of royal installations surrounded by such machicolated walls. The landscape of these documents thus includes traditional places with continuing fortification (Buto), places whose fortifications, at least, were hacked up, and foundations. The fortifications appear quite often and they are so important that they are often the only feature of a place depicted.

Although the Palermo Stone does not stress the hacking up of walled places,[6] it does not follow that these walls originated in conflicts over political consolidation that arose just before the First Dynasty (cf. Bietak, "Stadt(anlage)," *LÄ* IV, cols. 1233–34; Gardiner 1979, pp. 393–396). The famous wall model from Abadiya tomb B 83 clearly indicates that such structures existed by about the end of Naqada I (see fig. 21.1; Petrie 1901a, p. 32, pl. VI).[7]

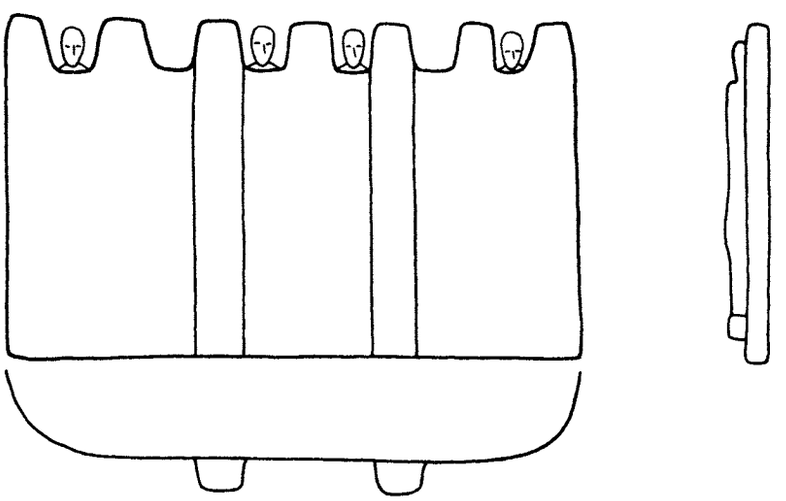


Figure 21.1. Reconstruction of a Clay Model of a Town of the Type Found in Abadiya Tomb B83
(Note that the wall is slightly taller than the Abadiya model)

The model depicts a sub-rectangular crenellated enclosure with a single pier or buttress, with two men standing on steps peering over the parapet. Although the wall has been called modest (Baumgartel 1960, p. 135),[8] the size of the human figures is probably exaggerated. In addition to the model, two important representations of Naqada I (the Turin Painted Linen) and Naqada II (the Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb) may include walls being attacked or destroyed.

The Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb is pertinent because it is a composition of four tableaux or tableau-combinations that surround a depiction of the pharaonic Heb-Sed dance (Williams and Logan 1987, pp. 253–55). Each of the corner-tableaux corresponds to a representation

6. Schäfer (1902, p. 24 [obverse line 4, no. 8], p. 30 [obverse line 6, row 2]) notes the hacking the land of Nubia by Sneferu.
7. Although Petrie himself gave the tomb a relatively wide range of dates extending into Naqada II, apparently because it contained no white-painted red pottery, Baumgartel pointed out that certain features dated to Naqada I (Petrie 1920, pl. LII; Baumgartel 1960, pp. 68, 135, pl. XII). The grave itself (Petrie Excavation Manuscripts, fiche 148) is not recorded in detail, but its sketch resembles tomb B101, the largest early tomb in the cemetery.
8. Baumgartel based an estimate of 5 feet on the fact that the men peer over the side, but they actually stand on stepped projections (parts of stairs?); see also Kemp 1977; idem 1989, pp. 31–46.

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Figure 21.2. Figures from the Upper Left Corner of the Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb (Solid bands are black, stippled bands are red, bands between the circles are white or gray)

found on major stone monuments.[9] The correspondence may be used to interpret remaining difficult areas in this great document,[10] such as the damaged upper left corner. This shows a smiting ruler and two lions (Green and Quibell 1902, pp. 21–22, pl. LXXVI [above]; Kemp 1973; Payne 1973, especially pl. XXV) above a sprawled, possibly bound, figure and two ringlike shapes (fig. 21.2).

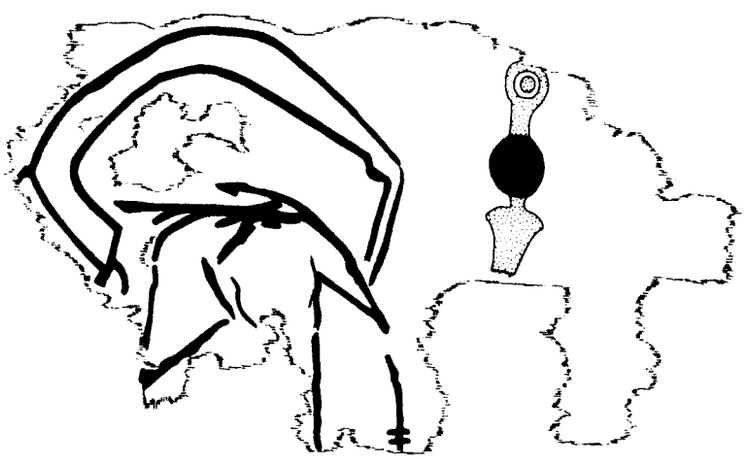


Figure 21.3. Fragment of the Turin Painted Linen (Stippled areas are red)

These rings are gray or white bands outlined in black. The incomplete ring on the left has a single curved projection above, while that on the right has a pair of projections on the right side. Crossing the two rings are elongated figures. Both figures are outlined below in black, with a red line curving upward to form an outline. The figure on the left has a hind leg and

9. This is particularly clear in the lower left corner, which corresponds to both sides of the Narmer Palette. (Green and Quibell 1902, pl. LXXVI). To the left, the ruler figure smites three figures (compare Narmer Palette reverse, Quibell 1900, pl. XXIX). In the center, a man restrains two animals; on the right is a battle.

10. Although some details do not appear on the major stone and ivory monuments, notably the "animal trap."

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tail indicating that it is an animal. If the red projection below the body is a scrotum or sheath, both clearly depicted on the Bull and Narmer Palettes, the combination can be identified as a curved wall with towers of the same type as the Abadiya model, being battered down by a bull (?). The figure that batters or dominates the ring on the right is more difficult to identify.[11]

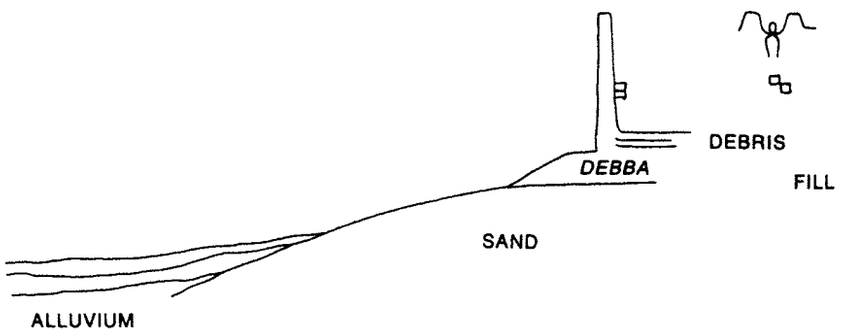


Figure 21.4. Reconstructed Section of a Town Wall on a Low Rise in the Valley

The Naqada I fragments of painted textile in Turin were closely related to the Hierakonpolis Painted Tomb and they, too, may include the depiction of such a wall smashed by an animal (see here fig. 21.3; Galassi 1955, figs. 7–8; Williams and Logan 1987, fig. 15). This consists of a sub-polygonal enclosure outlined in black, which is open or broken below, and the left end of the outline has open projections. The open space is occupied by the black outline of a massive figure (animal?) with projecting hairs, bold texturing on the body, and a long projection at one end. Although it is not carefully drawn, the figure can be compared with an elephant shown on a Naqada I rhomboid slate palette from Abadiya (Petrie 1901a, pl. V, from tomb B102). Beside the enclosure is an armless figure with a red and gray mass (of blood and matter?) above his head. Elsewhere figures of this type show bound prisoners or enemies (Williams 1988a, Appendix, figs. 35–36; Asselberghs 1961, pl. 6; Petrie 1920, pl. XVIII, no. 74).[12] Although the interpretation of the figures on the painted textile and the tomb wall is not obvious, their identification as representations of fallen victims and walls destroyed by symbolic figures is consistent with the juxtaposition of victims and enclosures on the palettes and the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument.[13]

If the Abadiya model was placed in the tomb as a thing to be conquered magically, like contemporary hippopotamus figurines, a coherent pattern of representation can be traced from Naqada I to Naqada III.

The pattern is completed by pointing out that the stone revetment at Hierakonpolis outlines a structure of the Abadiya type and was probably a foundation of an inner enceinte of the city.

11. The figure could also be symbolic, such as a catfish (see Baines 1989, p. 475).
12. For the armless prisoner in three dimensions, see the vessel from Abadiya tomb B83 (Petrie 1901a, pl. VI). Note the flaring rim that would correspond to the gushing blood.
13. Where they are *niwt* signs; see Murnane 1987, fig. 1.

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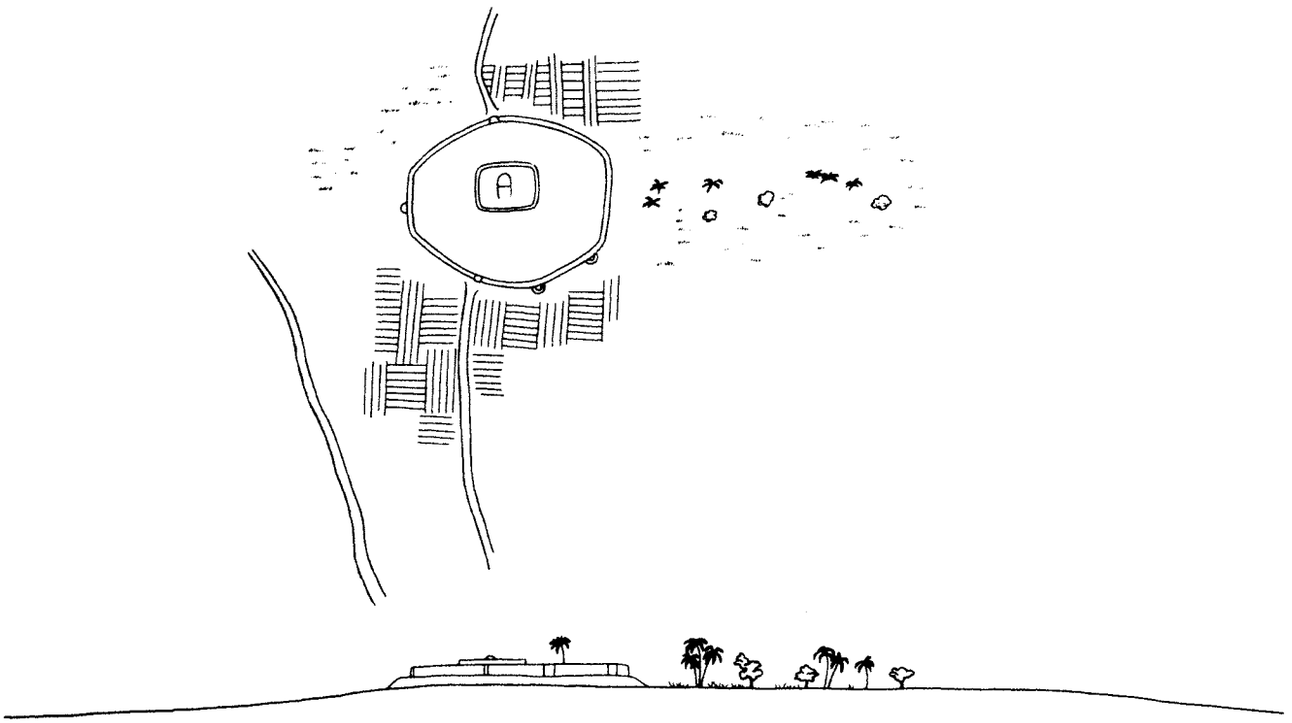


Figure 21.5. Hypothetical Reconstruction of a Town of Naqada I Situated on Low Rise (Former Island) in Floodplain (Inner enclosure is enceinte of a temple; pathways assumed to be located on early dikes lead from two gates, fields [cross-hatched areas] are much smaller than would have been necessary; to left is meandering watercourse or drain; vertical scale is exaggerated)

Combining the evidence from all sources, the urban landscape of the Naqada period may be summarily reconstructed.[14] Major fortified towns containing temples (Williams 1988b, pp. 46–54), granaries (Green and Quibell 1902, p. 11, pl. LXXII; Kaiser et al. 1987, figs. 5–6), dwellings, and high-value industries were located in the valley on eminences that were probably artificially enlarged (*debba*; see here figs. 21.4–6; Kleppe 1982; Titherington 1923).[15] These were supported by extensive suburban installations[16] used for activities that

14. Kemp (1989, pp. 31–33, fig. 7) has inferred that these structures were located in the valley, on eminences, then somewhat more prominent than now. These would normally escape the flood, but water could always be obtained from wells.
15. Similar mounds occur in ancient sites near Kassala, but they have not been dated by excavation (Sadr 1990, pp. 73–74). The revetment fill at Hierakonpolis is described by Green and Quibell (1902, pp. 3–5). Remarks and sketches in the Green notebooks in Cambridge show the stratigraphy to be more complex inside the revetment than indicated in the publication.
16. In addition to cemeteries, the low desert plateau to the west of Hierakonpolis was covered with debris from industry, scattered habitations, and probably trash deposits, which both Hoffman (Hoffman,

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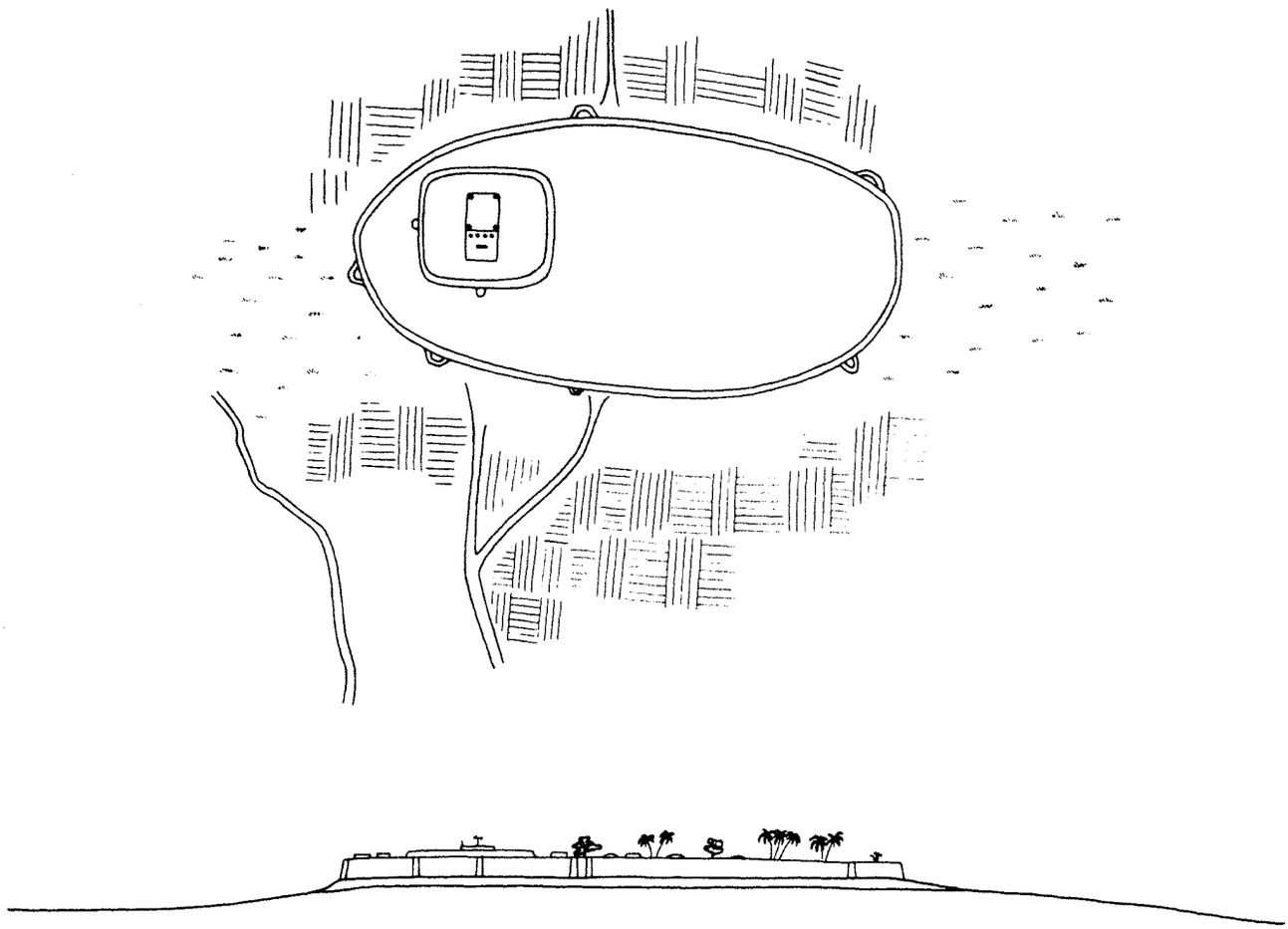


Figure 21.6. Same Town Shown in Figure 21.5 as Expanded in Naqada II–III to Cover Entire Eminence (Its length is approximately one kilometer)

were dangerous, noxious, or required a great deal of space. Most of these would have been located on the low desert (fig. 21.7).

Because of lacunae in actual remains, evidence for the location of the most important fortified places must be assembled from the fragments of suburbs[17] and cemeteries as well as walls and temples. Here, the class analysis of burials for rulers (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, pp. 242–45; Kemp 1973), officials or courtiers, and magnates helps to identify important centers of activity.[18]

Hamroush, and Allen 1986, pp. 181–83) and Kaiser (1958, pp. 186–87) considered part of the town (see also Geller 1989). Although these were certainly present because of the town, they are considered suburban installations in the present discussion. In addition, it is difficult to determine whether the trash deposits are contemporary or whether they were dug away and scattered later. They therefore indicate only that there was Naqada period activity in the area.

17. See the previous note. Even substantial (official) structures such as the South Town at Naqada might be included (Petrie and Quibell 1896, pp. 50, 54, pl. LXXXV).

18. A point implied by such studies is that the early courtiers/officials had burials that were as modest in proportion to the rulers as those that the courtiers had in the later national cemeteries. The difference

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Because only the concentrated great cemeteries and the mounds of Hierakonpolis and Elephantine remain, numerical estimates for an urban population must be highly flexible. Large as they are, the Naqada period cemeteries cannot represent any complete population.[19] The small proportion they could represent probably included those with a special claim of association with the local government or cult. Most likely, they were the people shown carrying crooks in representations (Green and Quibell 1902, pl. LXXVI [below left]), whose descendants apparently became the literate or title-bearing class.

A sizable population is also indicated by the fact that Hierakonpolis at the end of the Naqada period easily rivals contemporary sites in Syria, such as Habuba Kabira, in size.[20] Earlier towns could have been much more modest, while retaining their significance as centers of government, cult, and economy.[21]

The royal cities at the end of the Naqada period would have included Hierakonpolis, Naqada, Hiu or Abadiya, and Abydos, all sites with royal-type tombs, with possibly Tarkhan and someplace near Thebes, or even Coptos. For royal centers of Naqada I, Cemetery B at Abadiya would establish a standard. A sequence might be established as follows: In Naqada I there were well-walled places with crenellations on (sandy) eminences, perhaps old islands, probably with fill, resembling more recent *debba* on the upper Nile, surrounded by fields, fallow, and trees, quite probably expanded in Naqada II. A reconstructed landscape includes subordinate (*niwt debba*) settlements nearby.[22] Scattered habitations would be largely temporary and dispensable.

The existence of large costly fortifications implies a serious concern for security, and their continuation further indicates that the security problem was persistent or recurrent. Since the casualties in most of the battle scenes that depict the enclosures are hardly distinguished from the victors, the security problem must have been rooted in the Egyptian valley.

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between them and the fewer ordinary burials remaining, which were sometimes quite poor, was much less than the difference between the burials of later magnates (or "patricians") and commoners.

19. For an estimate of the rural population in Ramesside times, see Baer 1962, p. 44. Assuming that the burials were those of a small group selected for special treatment, the following estimate for Naqada might be generated (see Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. LXXVI; Baumgartel 1970). The rough maximum of 4,000 burials (in about 2,200 graves) at Naqada would give about five burials a year in 800 years. If the total population were replaced every 30 years, about 150 persons would be alive at any one time. If they were one to five percent of the population, 3,000–15,000 people could have belonged to Naqada town, with five to six times that many in its "contado" (Baer [1971] estimates a ratio of five to one, rural versus urban population). Assuming a smaller population at the beginning and a greater one at the end of the Naqada period, and five or six entities the size of Naqada (Hierakonpolis, Thebes or vicinity, Naqada, Coptos, Abydos, and Hiu, later Tarkhan), between 100,000 and 400,000 people could have lived in Upper Egypt by Naqada III. The numbers are extremely vague and show only that the population was substantial.

20. Compare Kaiser 1958, fig. 1, with Strommenger 1980, plan, inside rear cover, figs. 1, 12; see also Ziermann 1993, fig. 13.

21. The dependence on a single cycle contrasts with Sudan where the population of the Shendi Reach has always had a greater variety of resources to draw on, crops grown in the wadis and trade, notably with the Gash Delta.

22. For *niwt* as victims, see Murnane 1987, fig. 1a–b.

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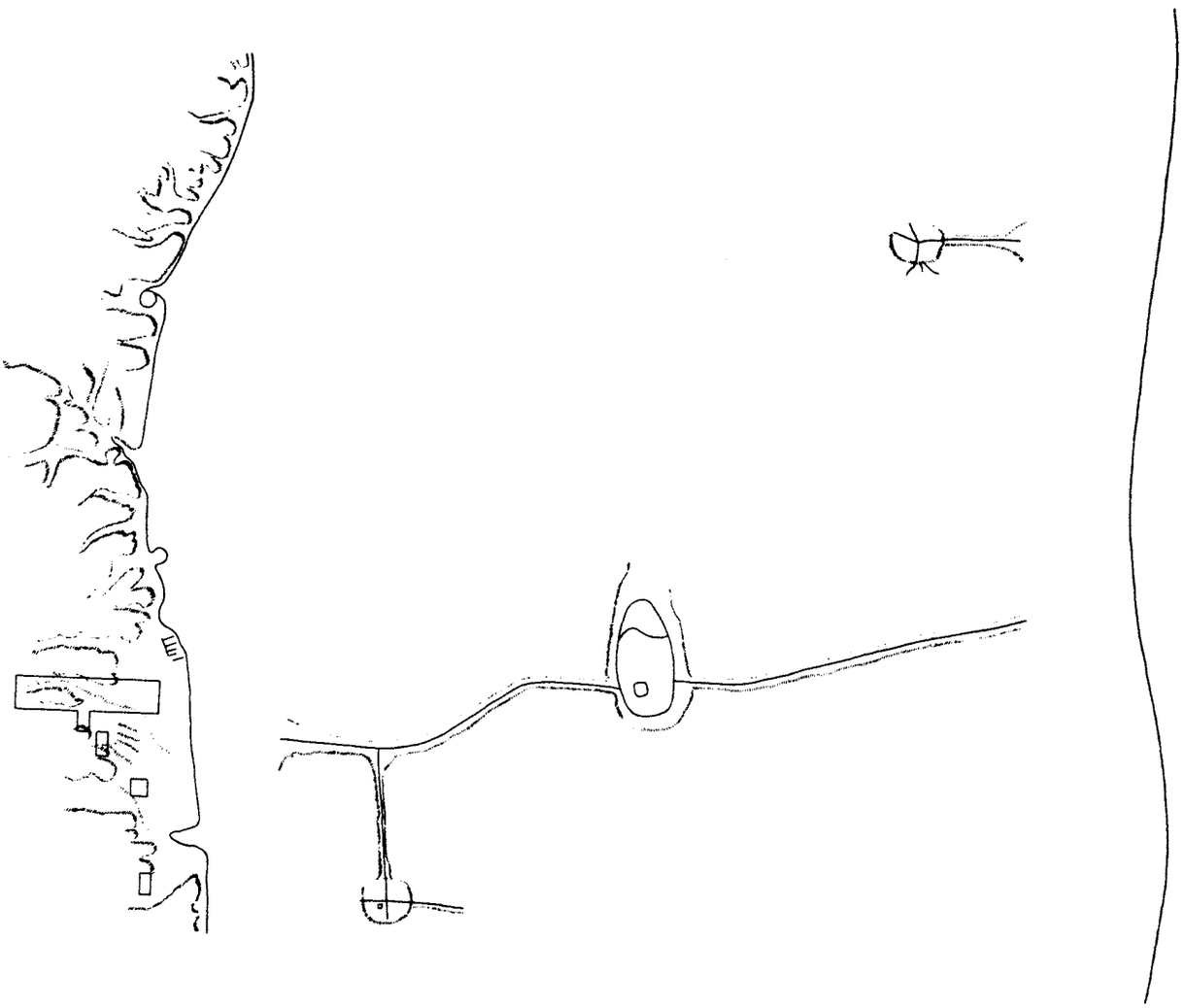


Figure 21.7. Hypothetical Landscape of Naqada II–III (Note that Naqada area is used as a template, but no reconstuction of Naqada is intended, as settlements there probably were near the Nile; reconstruction includes central town, two *niwt* villages, transverse dike with roads, cemeteries, and suburban installations)

A strategy behind urban origins can be outlined briefly: Egypt before the existence of dense populations was not secure for a productive economy. Although defensive elaborations such as crenellations and machicolations were directed toward a human opponent, the rapid deployment of fortifications at an early date was probably due to dangers from both humans and animals. Both the herds and fields contained the same food wanted by humans and animals and the long annual drought would simply magnify the danger. Before the coming of firearms it was hardly possible to spend the night outside of a protective *zariba* of thorns throughout much of northeastern Africa (Burckhardt 1822, p. 351; Alvares 1961, pp. 228–29, 251). Well-built enclosures such as those of the Masai were often breached (Tepilit Ole Saitoti and Beckwith 1979, pp. 29–30 [photograph, p. 43], 190–91).

Although easily built, a *zariba* or palisade is easily destroyed and the mere possession of property and stored food invites human attack, especially in an unstable environment of

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annual inundations. Even a small population would need to store and protect an ample supply of food[23] and maintain some reliable agreement for its distribution. In such circumstances it is not easy to accept a reconstruction of early Egyptian settlement as only culminating in concentrated cities. It is more likely that fortified settlements appeared almost as soon as Neolithic settlement in the valley, progressing only in size, number, and elaboration. Thus the pattern for early settlement in Upper Egypt would be established by the Pan Grave fortified village at Wadi es-Sebu'a (Gratien 1985, fig. 1) rather than the Neolithic habitations of the Libyan Desert (Wendorf and Schild 1984, p. 417).

A strategy for urban consolidation can also be deduced: The normal cycle of life in the valley presents a natural security problem that requires organization and discipline to manage. The usable area is limited, because poor water and soil in the wadis left no serious alternative to the Nile's cycle for the production of food.[24]

Since Nile failures are frequent (about two cycles in seven) and failure or destruction does not treat all areas equally (Russell 1966, pp. 78–79), systematic storage management is essential. Later failures caused impoverishment and disorder exacerbated by hoarding and conflict, including the use of foreign troops, a potent recipe for disaster.[25]

The problem could be limited for early entities by securing key points, removing strategic defenses from potential opponents, and acquiring secure frontiers to prevent outsiders from affecting or creating internal struggles.

The advantages of wider control—order and reduced military effort—would be manifest. However, the corollary clearly found in the documents, dismantling local fortifications, could leave large areas vulnerable to disorder and invasion. A strong, often fortified, frontier, supported by a forward policy beyond, was thus an important part of keeping order in Egypt, policies which have often been misunderstood as merely imperial.

Since policies for security occurred in all of Egypt's great ages, it is reasonable to say that the Egyptians had permanent interests which held the attention of their government from the earliest times. The enduring nature of these interests was due to the cultural continuity that can be traced in an unbroken succession from the earliest phases of settlement in Upper Egypt. From the Tasian period onward, the Egyptians developed the major institutions created in earlier times into the symbols and apparatus of a mighty state. As they struggled, first with the elements, then with themselves, the Egyptians developed and elaborated these institutions, forging the high culture that appears fully matured at the beginning of the numbered dynasties.

23. For examples of instability in Egyptian flood-plain agriculture from Medieval times, see Russell 1966, especially pp. 75, 77–82. In earlier times cache pits were important and they continued to be made, especially at important trans-shipment points, where they are related to trade rather than settlement (Williams 1982).

24. Elsewhere in Africa (Harlan 1982, p. 630) agriculturalists can return to herding to help survive a bad harvest. See Burckhardt 1822, pp. 334, 349–50, for grain trade in Sudan that compensated for poor inundations.

25. Although Hekanakhte did not suffer all these calamities, his experience of famine and careful strategy for coping with it are instructive (Baer 1963, especially pp. 16–18).

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APPENDIX

THE EGYPTOLOGICAL PAPERS OF KLAUS BAER IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM ARCHIVES

TERRY G. WILFONG
University of Chicago, Chicago

> You ask for my purpose as a scholar. It is to die knowing a little more about ancient Egypt than I do now. I am not, and probably will never be, a builder of sweeping historical theory; but I hope that I can provide some of the secure knowledge on which such theories rest.
>
> Klaus Baer
> From a grant proposal entitled "Land Ownership, Rent and Taxation" (•*1282*)

In the summer of 1988, the estate of Klaus Baer commissioned me to prepare an inventory of Baer's unpublished Egyptological papers for the Oriental Institute Museum Archives, to which the papers had been bequeathed. I completed this inventory in the following summer and it has been made available in a number of Egyptological libraries as a guide to the Oriental Institute Museum Archives' holdings. The present guide was edited from the original inventory as an overview of the contents of the Baer papers. I am pleased to offer this as a tribute to Klaus Baer, who gave me my formal introduction to Egyptology, and whose great encouragement and assistance will never be forgotten.

The original inventory was a literal item-by-item listing of everything in the Baer papers—manuscripts, photographs, offprints, labeled folders, and containers—nearly 200 pages long with 2,390 numbered entries. This has required considerable abbreviation and rearrangement for inclusion in this volume. In general, entries in the present guide consist only of titles of bibliographically discrete items, followed by the original inventory numbers, which are in italics and preceded by a dot (•). (The Baer papers are identified by these numbers in the Oriental Institute Museum Archives.) Dates of items are given where known, although few pieces are actually dated. Except in exceptional circumstances, archival information—paginations, medium designations, etc.—is not included here. Entries for duplicate items have been consolidated, and entries for numbered folders and boxes listed in the original inventory are omitted here. Photocopies and offprints of work by other scholars, as well as most correspondence and published photographs, have not been listed. The arrangement of materials in this guide is different from that in the original inventory, which presented items in the order in which they were found. I have tried to retain the original order where possible, but have grouped the papers under general subject headings, which are often further subdivided. Each section has a brief introduction that gives an overview of its contents.

Most of the items that make up the Baer papers are not full-length unpublished essays, although there are a number of these. The majority of items are groups of notes for teaching, lectures, or personal reference. Extensive unpublished works apparently intended for publication are noted in the introduction to each section. Titles given in quotation marks are Klaus Baer's, otherwise the titles were assigned by me on the basis of content or folder label. Inquiries about items in the papers should be directed to the Oriental Institute Museum Archives, and should cite the italicized inventory numbers.

I would like to thank John Larson, Oriental Institute Museum Archivist, and Janet Johnson, former Director of the Oriental Institute, for their help and for allowing me unrestricted access to the

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Baer papers during my original inventory. I would also like to thank Charles Jones, Oriental Institute Research Archivist, for his encouragement and technical assistance. I would especially like to thank Miriam Reitz Baer for her extraordinary kindness and generosity toward me throughout my work on her late husband's papers and related projects.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
BM	British Museum
CG	Coptic Gnostic Codex
CGC	*Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*
CJE	Journal d'Entrée, Cairo Museum
CM	Cairo Museum
Dyn.	Dynasty/Dynasties
Giornale	*Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*. By G. Botti and T. E. Peet. Turin: Museo Egizio, 1928
HO	*Hieratic Ostraca, vol. 1*. By Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957
J(d)E	Journal d'Entrée, Cairo Museum
LE	Lower Egypt
LRL	*Late Ramesside Letters*. By Jaroslav Černý. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939
ME	Middle Egyptian
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MK	Middle Kingdom
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NEHIST	Near Eastern History
NEL	Near Eastern Languages
NELC	Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago
NK	New Kingdom
NT	New Testament
o./o	ostracon
ODM	Deir el-Medina Ostracon
OE	Old Egyptian
OIM	Oriental Institute Museum
OK	Old Kingdom
Orinst	Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
P./p/Pap.	papyrus
PGP	Pearl of Great Price
PT	Pyramid Texts
RB	Readingbook
RI	Ramesside Inscriptions
ro.	recto
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
UE	Upper Egypt
vs.	verso

EGYPTOLOGICAL PAPERS OF KLAUS BAER IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM ARCHIVES

LEXICAL FILES

These card files are, in some ways, the core of Klaus Baer's unpublished work. Far from being the usual such files maintained by Egyptologists, these cards contain a methodical commentary on over thirty years' worth of lexicographical work. Since Baer published so little, these files were, in one sense, his life's work and are an enormous source for the ancient Egyptian language. These files will soon be made available in the form of a bound photocopy in the Oriental Institute's Research Archives, the Klaus Baer Library of Egyptology at Berkeley, Chicago House Library in Luxor, and other Egyptological libraries.

Egyptian Lexical file: approximately 14,475 index cards •*98*

Signlist: approximately 1,000 index cards, arranged according to the Theinhardt font •*99*

Egyptian Grammar and Realia: approximately 685 index cards •*100*

Coptic Verbs/Roots: approximately 925 slips •*103*

Coptic Words Index: Coptic words, Greek words in Coptic, Grammar, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Dialects: approximately 905 index cards •*104*

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COPTIC LANGUAGE, GRAMMAR, AND TEXTS

COPTIC GRAMMAR MANUSCRIPTS

For the last several years of his life, Klaus Baer was widely known to be at work on a Coptic grammar. What emerged from his papers were the elements of four different grammars of Sahidic Coptic. Of these, what is referred to here as his "Teaching Grammar" is the most complete: it consists of 155 pages containing some 22 lessons, with examples taken from actual texts, vocabularies, reading passages, exercises, indices, and bibliography. There are also chapters from what was to have been a "Reference Grammar," each around 60 pages in length, with additional notes. There is also a 20 page "Introduction to Coptic Grammar through the Sahidic Gospel of Mark." Finally, there are Baer's notes on Thomas Lambdin's Coptic grammar (1983) that he used as handouts for his introductory Coptic class. These notes are extensive (over 50 pages typescript) and go far beyond the scope of Lambdin's book.

Coptic Teaching Grammar

Coptic Grammar; •*218*; Corrected photocopy with typescript revisions of some chapters •*219*; index on slips •*106*; bibliography on index cards •*105*

"Outline of differences between Saʿidic and Bohairic": keyed to grammar •*225*; notes •*226*

Copy of *Koptische Grammatik (Saïdischer Dialekt) mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen)*, by W. C. Till (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1955), extensively annotated by Klaus Baer •*198*

Coptic—Till Checklist: list used to check points in Till's Coptic Grammar with those in Klaus Baer's •*275–76*

"Nouns in the Saʿidic NT with Separate Plurals" •*212*

"Common Greek Words in the Saʿidic NT" •*59*

Coptic Reference Grammar

"Coptic Grammar: I Phonetics" •*209*

"Coptic Grammar: II Nouns" •*210*

"Coptic Grammar: III Verbs" •*208*

"Coptic Grammar: Notes already written up" •*206*

"Coptic Grammar: Notes not yet written up" •*207*

Additional notes in card file •*107*

Coptic Grammar Through the Gospel of Mark

"Grammatical Notes on the Saʿidic Gospel of Mark" •*200–02*; notes •*203*

"Words in Mark from Wilmet" •*204*

"Greek words in Mark from Lefort" •*205*

Notes to Thomas Lambdin's Coptic Grammar

"Thomas O. Lambdin *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* Notes and Comments"; Autumn, 1983 •*214*; annotated photocopy •*215*; notes •*216*

TEACHING MATERIALS

In addition to the grammars listed above, Baer prepared a number of teaching aids and handouts for his Coptic classes.

Coptic Grammar: Lessons and Handouts: notes •*259, 262*

"Introductory Coptic Lessons Based on 'Vita Athanasii'" •*228–29*

"Common Constructions of ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ-(ⲙ)ⲙⲛⲧⲉ-" •*230*

Interrogatives: ⲟⲩ ⲁⲱ / ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ •*231*

"Coptic Lessons 1982" •*257*

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COPTIC LANGUAGE, GRAMMAR, AND TEXTS (*cont.*)

TEACHING MATERIALS (cont.)

"Concordance of Till and Plumley" •*57, 258*
"Articles on Coptic Grammar" •*260*
"Egyptian Verb Forms Surviving in Coptic" •*261*
"Irregular Imperatives Apart from ⲙⲁ-" •*271*
"Sermon on the Mount" •*272*
"Lessons in Coptic"; November 1967 •*273*; notes •*270, 274*

COPTIC LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

Under this heading are grouped various papers and notes on the Coptic language. These include extensive notes on Coptic phonology, which will surprise no one who remembers Klaus Baer's insistence on the correct pronunciation of Coptic in class. Also included is an unpublished article on Bohairic pointing, which was originally intended for the George Hughes *Festschrift*.

"How Reliable is the Phonological Analysis Underlying Coptic Orthography?" ARCE San Francisco; April 15 1980 •*233–34*
"ⲙⲉⲧ- + Sonant or Semi-vowel in B" •*236*
"ʿvv = vɜ?" •*237*
"Coptic aleph? Evidence for ⊥ from P assembled by Mark Smith" •*238–39*
"Coptic words with Stressed -ⲉ, -ⲁⲓ̈ -ⲁ, -ⲁⲁⲓ̈, etc." •*241*
"Vowel Lengthening in Pronominal Before -tn, etc." •*242*
"Paleo-Coptic Vowels and Syllables" •*243*
Vocalization of Pre-Coptic Egyptian and Coptic •*244*
"Bohairic Short Stressed Diphthongs" •*245*
"Bohairic Pointing and Its Implications," unpublished article •*222*; notes •*221–23*
"Notes on Vocalization" •*246*
"Words with ⲫⲉ in Saʿidic" •*247*
"Words with ⲁⲁ in Saʿidic" •*248–49*
ⲁⲁ and ⲫⲉ •*250*
"Morphophonemic Groups of Vowels in S. (long-short)" •*251*
"Reconstructed Stressed Vowels in Proto-Coptic" •*252*
"Historical Phonology" •*442*
"Vowel Phonology in Coptic" •*278*
Coptic Consonants: notes •*254*
"Place Names with h and ḫ of Potentially Ancient Egyptian Origin ..." •*255*
"Coptic Etymologies in the Wörterbuch" •*441*
Coptic: Grammatical and Morphological Notes •*62, 277, 280–81*
"Coptic Syllable Juncture" •*279*
"On use of final accent ^" •*282*
"Problems: (1) Nature and use of ⲓ̈ ⲓ ⲉⲓ" •*283*
"Diphthongs with ⲟⲩ and Contractions" •*284*
"Breaks at End of Line Where Not Morpheme Boundaries" •*285*
"Circumstantial ⲉ-, Prep. ⲉ-, Perfect ⲁ-" •*287*; "Unstable ⲉ" •*286*
Definite Articles •*288*; "Articles" notebook •*289*
Coptic Noun Patterns •*267*; notes •*268*
"Coptic Demonstratives" •*437*
"Forms of the Coptic Verb Stem" •*438*
"The Coptic Verbal Auxiliaries" •*439*

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COPTIC TEXTS

Primarily notes on texts that Baer used in classes, mostly transcriptions or collations of texts. Most extensive are his transcription of the unpublished "Martyrdom of Sts. Theodore, Leontios, and Panêgyrus" from the Pierpont Morgan codices, his work on Nag Hammadi texts and his notes on the writings of Shenute.

"Acts" of the Council of Ephesus •*298–300*; notes •*301*
Acts of the Council of Nicea: transcription •*302–03*
Apophthegmata: notes •*304–06*
"Archellides": notes •*307–08*
"Kasr el-Wizz MS Found by Oriental Institute Ca. 10th Century" •*235*
Life of Pisentius, notes •*309, 312*
"Corrections to 'The Life of Bishop Pisentius' ed. E. A. W. Budge ..." •*310–11*
Martyrdoms—general notes •*313–14*
"Martyrdom of Sts. Theodore the Anatolian, Leontios the Arab and Panêgyrus": Transcription of Pierpont Morgan Library Codex M583, with variants from Codices M584 and M613 •*315–16*
Martyrdom of Epima: collation and corrections of published text •*317–18*
Nagʿ Hammadi: ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲉ: transcription •*321–22*
CG XIII 35,1–50,24 (Trimorphia Protennoia): transcription and collation; Spring 1975 •*323–26*
Shenute—Life and Works •*327–28*; Editions of Shenute: notebooks •*290, 292*
"The Attempted Trial of Shenute at Antinoupolis After the Destruction of Temples and Idols at Banawit": transcription of texts •*329*

DISSERTATION MATERIALS: RANK AND TITLE IN THE OLD KINGDOM

These items were the raw material for Baer's dissertation (published as *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). The thirteen notebooks contain approximately 2,000 pages of Old Kingdom titles and title sequences. The card file of Old Kingdom names is a prosopography of the Old Kingdom and was maintained up to Klaus Baer's death.

"Rank Sequences of Titles in Tombs of the OK": 4 vols. •*332–35*
"Titles of OK Persons": 8 vols. •*337–44*
"O.K. Titles Women": 1 vol. •*336*
Miscellaneous Notes: OK genealogies, bibliography, transcriptions of OK ostraca •*345*
OK Miscellaneous: approximately 1,140 index cards, OK history, religion, etc. •*101*
OK Names: approximately 6,025 index cards, prosopography of OK names •*102*
OK Officials and Titles: file of cards •*347*
OK Titles: Additional •*1320*
"Incomplete and doubtful titles to be rechecked" •*1321*; general notes on OK titles •*1322*
"Thesis: General Notes and Ideas" •*1323–24*
"High Priests" in OK: *wr ḫrp ḥmw, wr mˁw ḫrp nstj*, etc. •*1312–13*

FIELD NOTES

These notes are mostly copies of inscriptions taken in the field. Of particular interest are the notes on Baer's work at Saqqara/Haram el-Shamwaf in the 1950s, his collations of Giza mastaba texts, and the records of his epigraphic work on the tombs at Hierakonpolis.

SAQQARA

Drawings of reliefs from Khufu Mortuary Temple: 5-12-38 O.R. 2092 •*66*; 29-11-1938 O.R. 2090 •*67*; 27-10-1938 O.R. 2084 •*68*; 11-12-38 O.R. 2093 •*69*; 31-10-1938 •*70*

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FIELD NOTES (*cont.*)

SAQQARA (cont.)

OK Reliefs, photographs: Box 8-48031-D5-69B, Box 8-48031-O5-69B, Box 8-48030-D5-62B, Box 8-48030-D5-67B •*91–94*

"Preliminary Report"; notes on the 1952 excavations at Saqqara •*71*

Mastaba of *Mḥw* at Saqqara •*73*

"Khufu Mortuary Temple 13-11-1938" •*76*

"Plan of a MK Tomb at Der Rifa" •*77*

"Estates in the Mortuary Temple of King *Ḏd-kȝ-R ʿ*" •*75, 82*; "Gods from *Ḏd-kȝ-R ʿ*" •*74*

"Kairo Museum Stücke in Urk. I" •*78*

"*Wnj*'s Causeway" •*80*

Excavations, texts, plans from Saqqara: notebook •*156*

Notes from Saqqara: notebook •*172*

"Haram el-Shamwaf: The Queen's Pyramid" [portions of planned publication]: "Chapter II. Architecture" •*84, 89*; "Plates Needed for Chapter III [and additional notes]" •*85*; "Approximate plan of Small Pyramid Temple" •*86*; "Plan of Later Brick Structures" •*87*; "Note on Hathor" •*88*

Saqqara: Haram el-Shamwaf: 144 Photographs: mostly reliefs; a few of excavation work in progress •*152–54*

"Part of a round column or object found by Abdessalam at the Haram el-Shamwaf on 25-10-2945, No. 136" •*83*

GIZA

"Notes on survey of QMT" notebook •*155*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from Photographs and Records Cem. 7000" •*159*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from Photographs and Records 1601–1683, GW 1–26, MQ 1–2, 4000–6000" •*160*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from Photographs and Records III: 6040–6052, 2100–" •*161*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from Photographs and Records IV: 2337x–" •*162*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from Photographs and Records G7540, 7101, 7102" •*163*

"Harvard-Boston MFA Excavations at Giza: Notes from the Photographs and Objects 1001–1501" •*164*

HIERAKONPOLIS

"Hierakonpolis, 1969: Epigraphic Work"; 9 October 1969 "For ARCE 22/11/69" •*1543*

"Hierakonpolis 1978: Epigraphy Notebook E 1" •*1553*; "Epigraphy Notebook E 2" •*1557*

Notes from Hierakonpolis: notebook; 31 Jan 1969–15 March 1969 •*167*

Ḥr-m-ḫ ʿw.f, other Hierakonpolis tombs: notes and photographs •*1525–30, 1552*

"Sketch of Burg el-Hamam from local ESE" •*1538*

"Family of Horankhawef" •*1539*

Date of the tomb of Horemkhawef •*1548*

"Die Fürsten von Elkab in 17. Jhdt. v. Chr.: Die Ausgrabungen in Hierakonpolis 1969": München; 9 June 1969 •*1547, 1551*

"Ramesses XI at Hierakonpolis": ARCE; 14 April 1978 •*1554–55*

"Decorated Tombs at Hierakonpolis: Report on Epigraphic Work in 1978" •*1558*

"List of Decorated Tombs at Hierakonpolis: Report on Epigraphic Work in 1978" •*1559*

Inscriptions and tombs at Hierakonpolis: notebook •*1560*

Notes on tombs, graffiti, stelae from Hierakonpolis—including tomb of Horemkhawef; Inserts: texts from Urk. IV; Kom el-Ahmar: Bibliography •*157*

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"Elkab—Related Genealogic Data from Dyn. 13; Copies of the Seal Impressions from Hierakonpolis 1969; Fullish Notes on Elkab Tombs of Dyn. 12–17: No. 8, No. 9, *Rn-snb* (complete), Between 8bis and 10 and another near 8 bis, 8bis *Bbj*, No. 10 Sbk-nht, Snwsrt": notebook; insert: "Report on 3 Hot Days in Elkab," 2 March 1969 •*168*

"Tombs in Burg el-Hamam": copies of inscriptions •*1556*

OTHER SITES AND MUSEUMS

Lists of tombs and owners from various sites; Copies of texts from *Rifeh I*; Journal from 1 March 1954–27 March 1954; text copies, notes and plans from Thebes, Karnak, Der Rifa, Saqqara; papyri from the Cairo Museum: notebook •*158*

Private Notes: Notes from Dahshur, Saqqara; 30 November 1952 •*170*

Private Tombs: Notes from the Ramesseum, Assasif, Deir el-Medineh El-Kab: notebook; insert: Hierakonpolis Fort •*171*

Theban tombs and temples, Shunet er Zebih, Umm el-Qaʿab: notebook; 2 February 1953 •*173*; Theban tombs and temples: notebook •*174*

Tod temple, Theban tombs, Aswan Museum, Elephantine, Sety temple at Gurna: notebook; 6 February 1952 •*175*

Moʿalla, Karnak temples: notebook •*176–77*

Zawiyet el-Ammat, ME sites, Hawawish, Hagarsa, Ashmunein, Assiut, Mellawi, Amarna, Hatnub, Beni Hasan: notebook; 4–26 February 1954 •*179*

Texts from Turin Museum, Louvre, British and Brooklyn Museums: notebook •*169*

Texts in museums: Walters Art Gallery, Philadelphia, Princeton, Boston; Mastaba of Ptahshepses (from Černý Notebook); index of tombs (MFA Giza): notebook •*165*

SCRIBE OF ANCIENT THEBES MANUSCRIPT

Full-length book on the necropolis scribe Tuthmosis and the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina prepared for publication but never published. The full, corrected manuscript apparently dates to the late 1960s.

"A Scribe of Ancient Thebes: A Documentary Biography of the Necropolis Scribe Tuthmosis (ca. 1150–1090 B.C.)" 633 leaves annotated typescript "Corrected Master Copy; submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Promotion to the Rank of Associate Professor to the University of California at Berkeley" •*1341*; "Uncorrected copy with old pages" •*1340*; notes, charts and figures for book •*1325–27, 1330–39*

"Errors Not Corrected in Original typescript ..." •*1328*; "Notes to Printer" •*1329*

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

One of Baer's major ongoing projects was the preparation of an accurate general chronology of pharaonic Egypt. The major product of this was his 1976 "Egyptian Chronology" and related files, which were often used as handouts for classes. Various updated versions and additions to this main chronology are also noted. These papers also include the notes for Baer's 1973 article on Third Intermediate Period chronology ("The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes on the Chronology of Dynasties XXII to XXVI," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32: 4–25). The period that most interested Baer in terms of chronology was the Old Kingdom: he left behind two extensive manuscripts on Old Kingdom chronology from contemporary sources, as well as several supplementary studies, many of which were used as class handouts. Some of Baer's chronological work was incorporated, with his full permission and cooperation, into *Dynasties of the World: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook*, by J. E. Morby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 [pp. 3–10]).

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EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY (*cont.*)

GENERAL CHRONOLOGY

"Egyptian Chronology"; Winter 1976 •*476, 497, 1535*; "Master copy for corrections" •*473*
"Additions and Corrections to Egyptian Chronology Winter 1976"; Autumn 1976 •*474, 498, 500*; "Corrections after Winter 1976" •*472*
"Egyptian Chronology"; Spring 1980 •*468*
"Egyptian Chronology, Dyn. 0–XVII"; 3 May 1975 •*484, 872*
"Archaic Period: Two Reconstructions of Rows 2–5 of the Annals of the OK (Palermo and Cairo 1)" •*475*
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"The Ninth Dyn.": Lecture at Brandeis; 12 November 1975 •*486*
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Extensive collection of papers, mostly teaching notes, that include a number of papers given at conferences, public lectures, and manuscripts originally intended for publication. His interest in Egyptian history spanned from the predynastic period to the present day, and his papers reflect his far-ranging interests. His material on the temple in the Old Kingdom and the existence of "feudalism" in Upper Egypt during the First Intermediate Period are extensive and of great interest. Despite Baer's avowed aversion to the Amarna period (a syllabus for one of his Egyptian history classes forbids the use of the Amarna period as a subject for papers—with no exceptions), his extensive notes show a great deal of thoughtful work on that brief period. The late Twentieth and early Twenty-first Dynasties were a time of special interest to Baer, and his papers on the tomb robberies, the necropolis scribe Tuthmosis, and the transition from the Ramesside kings to those of the Twenty-first Dynasty are noteworthy. Baer's interest in the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period led to much work on the historical events of that period as well.

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One of Baer's major interests was agriculture in ancient Egypt, and its many aspects: geography, irrigation, land tenure, taxation, crop yields, and population. Much of this interest is evident in his published papers, but his unpublished materials contain much that is of great interest. He also devoted much time and research to such diverse topics as law, mail service, practical implications of the tomb, sale and inheritance of office, and the ancient Egyptian sense and writing of history. His paper on prudery in ancient Egypt is a most interesting observation on Egyptian social history.

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EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

Klaus Baer will be best remembered by many of his students as a teacher of Egyptian language, and the study of the Egyptian language was one of his major interests. His fascination with the very early history of the Egyptian language and its development is seen in an extensive group of materials

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on Old Egyptian phonology and morphology. Baer's survey of Old Egyptian grammar is a concise and extremely useful overview of that difficult subject. One of Baer's most influential contributions to an entire generation of Egyptology students must be the handouts for his Middle Egyptian classes. His exhaustive notes on Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* (1957), have provided valuable updates, additions, and corrections to that standard work. Similarly, his notes on the grammatical examples and texts in de Buck's *Egyptian Readingbook* (1948) and his outlines and surveys of different aspects of Egyptian grammar were important teaching and learning tools, upon which he expended an enormous amount of time and effort.

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MORMON MATERIALS

Perhaps no work of Klaus Baer attracted more outside attention than his article "The Breathing Permit of Hōr: A Translation of the Apparent Source of the Book of Abraham" (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3/3 [1968]: 109–34), an elegant translation of some of the Joseph Smith papyri owned by the Mormon Church. He amassed a substantial file of documentation and correspondence, much of which was far from favorable and some of which was downright abusive (one document refers to him as the "Gentile Anti-Christ Klaus Baer"). Baer's forbearance and sense of humor in dealing with his correspondents in this matter are evident in his preserved replies to many of these letters. These items form a fascinating collection of the reaction to his work. Of Baer's own unpublished work on the subject, the most important item is certainly his parallel text edition of all known texts of the 'breathing permit,' from which he prepared the translation for his article. There are also a number of other lecture typescripts and notes on the subject.

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