

# Current Research in Egyptology 2018

Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Symposium,  
Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,  
Charles University, Prague, 25–28 June 2018

edited by

Marie Peterková Hlouchová, Dana Bělohoubková,  
Jiří Honzl, Věra Nováková



Access Archaeology



# About Access Archaeology

*Access Archaeology* offers a different publishing model for specialist academic material that might traditionally prove commercially unviable, perhaps due to its sheer extent or volume of colour content, or simply due to its relatively niche field of interest. This could apply, for example, to a PhD dissertation or a catalogue of archaeological data.

All *Access Archaeology* publications are available as a free-to-download pdf eBook and in print format. The free pdf download model supports dissemination in areas of the world where budgets are more severely limited, and also allows individual academics from all over the world the opportunity to access the material privately, rather than relying solely on their university or public library. Print copies, nevertheless, remain available to individuals and institutions who need or prefer them.

The material is refereed and/or peer reviewed. Copy-editing takes place prior to submission of the work for publication and is the responsibility of the author. Academics who are able to supply print-ready material are not charged any fee to publish (including making the material available as a free-to-download pdf). In some instances the material is type-set in-house and in these cases a small charge is passed on for layout work.

Our principal effort goes into promoting the material, both the free-to-download pdf and print edition, where *Access Archaeology* books get the same level of attention as all of our publications which are marketed through e-alerts, print catalogues, displays at academic conferences, and are supported by professional distribution worldwide.

The free pdf download allows for greater dissemination of academic work than traditional print models could ever hope to support. It is common for a free-to-download pdf to be downloaded hundreds or sometimes thousands of times when it first appears on our website. Print sales of such specialist material would take years to match this figure, if indeed they ever would.

This model may well evolve over time, but its ambition will always remain to publish archaeological material that would prove commercially unviable in traditional publishing models, without passing the expense on to the academic (author or reader).





# Current Research in Egyptology 2018

Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Symposium,  
Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,  
Charles University, Prague, 25–28 June 2018

edited by

Marie Peterková Hlouchová, Dana Bělohoubková,  
Jiří Honzl, Věra Nováková

Access Archaeology





ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Summertown Pavilion

18-24 Middle Way

Summertown

Oxford OX2 7LG

[www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com)

ISBN 978-1-78969-214-3

ISBN 978-1-78969-215-0 (e-Pdf)

© Authors and Archaeopress 2019

Cover photograph: A student of the Czech Institute of Egyptology documenting a decorated limestone stela in the eastern wall of the tomb of Nyankhseshat (AS 104) at Abusir South (photo M. Odler, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website [www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com)



## Contents

List of paper presentations	iii–vii
List of poster presentations and project presentation	viii
Introduction	ix
1. The crew of the sun bark before the first appearance of the <i>Amduat</i> . A new perspective via the <i>Pyramid</i> and <i>Coffin Texts</i> <i>Abdelhaleem Awadallah</i>	1–16
2. ‘Hail you, Horus <i>jm.j-Šn.wt</i> ’? First thoughts on papyrus Leiden I 347 <i>Susanne Beck</i>	17–22
3. Some thoughts on Nubians in Gebelein region during First Intermediate Period <i>Wojciech Ejsmond</i>	23–41
4. A few remarks on the persistence of native Egyptian <i>historiolae</i> in Coptic magical texts <i>Krisztina Hevesi</i>	42–54
5. Under the lion’s shadow. Iconographic evidence of Apedemak in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata <i>Francesca Iannarilli, Silvia Callegher, Federica Pancin</i>	55–65
6. Brief notes about regional elements of the pottery assemblage from the Byzantine site of Manqabad (Asyut) <i>Ilaria Incordino</i>	66–73
7. Development of purification scenes in the Graeco-Roman Period. Detecting distinct styles in temple decoration <i>Konstantin Ivanov</i>	74–80
8. Late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs <i>Marta Kaczanowicz</i>	81–94
9. The title <i>imy-r3 pr</i> ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom <i>Věra Nováková</i>	95–112
10. A second unpublished version of the so-called Joseph Laporte’s notebook on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria. Preliminary study and remarks <i>Renaud Pietri</i>	113–129
11. Being the son of a Goddess. The claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite kings <i>Perrine Poiron</i>	130–140

12. Time measuring and time units in the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendera <i>Alexa Rickert</i>	141–148
13. Deleterious outcomes of vernacular housing at el-Tarif cemetery <i>Rasha Soliman</i>	149–161
14. Illustrations of temple rank on 21st dynasty funerary papyri <i>Marissa Stevens</i>	162–228
15. Lapis lazuli in Sinai and indigenous black copper during the 18th Dynasty <i>Kimberley Watt</i>	229–238
16. Berenike of the Ptolemies. A Hellenistic desert city/fortress <i>Marek Woźniak</i>	239–252



## List of paper presentations

Jose Manuel Alba Gómez, Yolanda de la Torre, Luisa M. García González  
*The tomb QH32 in Qubbet el-Hawa*

Cristina Alù  
*In search of the shty.w identity within the ancient Egyptian society*

Nicola Barbagli  
*The damnatio memoriae of the Roman Pharaoh*

Susanne Beck  
*‘Hail to you, Horus jm.j-šnw.t (?)’.*  
*First considerations on papyrus Leiden I 347*

Malwina Brachmańska  
*The tied leopard and the leopard manacles.*  
*Notes on the place of the leopard in the royal symbolism in the Ramesside period*

Silvia Callegher, M. Gottardo, Francesca Iannarilli, F. Pancin, S. Taurino  
*Under the lion’s shadow.*  
*Iconographic evidence of Apedemak in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata*

Cloé Caron  
*Nu as a dreadful instance.*  
*Remarks on the first sense of the concept of the primeval matter and on its etymology within the Pyramid and the Coffin Texts*

Raúl Sánchez Casado  
*The ḥmt-kꜣ.*  
*A female ritualist in the funerary cult of the Old Kingdom*

Emanuele Casini  
*‘(Re-)contextualization’ of some New Kingdom finds from the Valley of the Queens*

Julia M. Chyla  
*Gebelein quarries?*

Alessandra Colazilli  
*Catfish-headed deities.*  
*Some reflections on their nature and symbolism*

Margaritta Danilova  
*On the issue of the Middle Kingdom kꜣp-Staff*

Marwa Bdr El Din  
*The female figurines in the Egyptian Museum Cairo*

Veronika Dulíková

*A contribution to Old Kingdom administration.*

*The title iry nfr-ḥꜣt*

Samuel Dupras

*The Late Egyptian yes/no question system*

Wojciech Ejsmond

*Nubians in the Gebelein region during the First Intermediate Period*

Abraham I. Fernández Pichel

*Theological traditions in Esna II, 31.*

*Connections to Evergetes Gate in Karnak*

María Franco González

*Material evidence of religious practices and economic activities in the Temple of Millions of Years of Thutmose III*

Thomas H. Greiner

*Lapis-lazuli and long-distance trade in the Late Predynastic*

Dagmara Haładaj

*Underworld spirits in iconography of late Third Intermediate Period coffins*

Krisztina Hevesi

*The persistence of native Egyptian Historiolae in Coptic magical texts*

Jacqueline M. Huwyler

*Tracing the foreign.*

*Near Eastern communities in New Kingdom Egypt*

Ilaria Incordino

*Note on the painted decorative repertoire of pottery items from ‘Monastery of Abba Nefer the Hermit’ in Manqabad (Asyut)*

Douglas Inglis

*The Third Dynasty Abusir Boat.*

*A bridge between the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom*

Konstantin Ivanov

*Development of purification scenes in the Greco-Roman Period.*

*Detecting distinct styles in temple decoration*

Kata Jasper

*Notes on a formative period in the history of transmission of Pyramid Texts sequence 204–205, 207, 209–212*



David Jeřábek

*Abusir bureaucrats making impression(s)*

Lucie Jirásková

*Distribution pattern of burial equipment in the Old Kingdom tombs*

Marta Kaczanowicz

*Architectural aspects of tomb reuse during the First Millennium BCE*

Taichi Kuronuma

*Beyond hierarchy.*

*Heterarchical aspect of Predynastic funerary goods revisited*

Nicolle Leary

*When size matters.*

*Investigating animal figures and the canon of proportion using hypothetical grids*

Natalia Małecka-Drozd

*The economic role of the Nile Delta in the Third Millennium BCE.*

*Written sources vs. archaeological finds*

Anna Giulia De Marco

*Identify the wood workshops of Deir el-Medina.*

*A case study from the Turin collection*

Uroš Matić

*‘Joyful is her mirror in which she gazes’.*

*Mirrors in decoration of private tombs, coffins and steles from the Old to the New Kingdom*

Vera Michel

*Pits – disposal or ritual remains?*

*Offering pits from the urban quarter R/III (Avaris/Tell el-Dab‘a)*

Aurore Motte

*Speaking as an ancient Egyptian*

Ghada Mohamed

*Beyond the sign.*

*The forms and functions of the anthropomorphized Imntt sign in Ancient Egypt*

Věra Nováková

*Some notes on the title imy-r3 pr ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom*

Vincent Oeters

*The tomb of Tatia at Saqqara.*

*New insights on familial relationships and private devotion*

Pavel Onderka

*Kiosk WBN 390 and the building program of Natakamani and Amanitore at Wad Ben Naga*

Nir Orlev

*Gender-based differences in the ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts.*

*Preliminary results*

Federica Pancin

*‘In all his names, in all his forms’.*

*Figurative Osirian theonyms in the litanies of Esna*

Marie Peterková Hlouchová

*Sokar and ḥnw-bark in Old Kingdom sources*

Renaud Pietri

*A second version of the so-called Joseph Laporte’s notebook on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria*

Perrine Poirion

*Being the son of a Goddess.*

*The claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite kings*

Gyula Priskin

*The hour vigil of Osiris on Peftjauneith’s coffin*

Alexa Rickert

*Initiating the annual cycle.*

*The ritual on New Year’s Day in the temple of Hathor at Dendara*

Sergio Alarcón Robledo

*Tomb Qubbet el-Hawa 35p.*

*An architectural approach*

Sasha Rohret

*Provisioning vs. household economy in Old Kingdom settlements.*

*Preliminary results of the faunal analysis at Tell Edfu*

Lisa Sartini

*Just a matter of taste?*

*A peculiar colour scheme on black coffins of the New Kingdom*

Reham El-Shiwy

*Hapy of the South versus Hapy of the North*

Rasha Soliman

*The long forgotten Tarif tombs*



Marissa Stevens

*Illustrations of temple rank on 21st dynasty funerary papyri*

Filip Taterka

*The black eye-paint of Punt and its ritual significance*

Katarzyna Trzcińska, Anna Wodzińska

*The significance of New Kingdom amphorae from Tell el-Retaba*

Yolanda de la Torre Robles, Jose M. Alba Gómez

*Use and reuses of Qubbet el-Hawa tombs*

Valeria Turriziani

*Reconsidering the Giza writing-boards.*

*A contribution to the Old Kingdom divine pantheon*

Federica Ugliano

*Heliopolis (1903–1906).*

*For a new archaeological topography of the site through the archives of the Missione Archeologica Italiana (Museo Egizio, Turin)*

Kimberley Watt

*The administration of mining and quarrying expeditions in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt*

Dawid F. Wieczorek

*Hieratic dipinti in the Thutmose III Hathor shrine sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari*

Dorotea Wollnerová

*Rituals with linen in Ptolemaic and Roman temples*

Marek Woźniak

*Berenike of the Ptolemies.*

*Desert city, fortress or maritime gateway to the Southern Seas*

Ayano Yamada, Eissa Zidan, Mamdouh Taha, Hiromasa Kurokochi, Sakuji Yoshimura

*Numbering and counting system in ancient Egyptian boat building*

Seria Yamazaki

*Ideal and actual practices of the Middle Kingdom burials.*

*Reconsidering the ‘court type’ burial*

## List of poster presentations

Abdelhaleem Aly Ahmed Awadallah and Martin Stadler  
*The crew of the sun bark in the Amduat*

Scott Allan  
*Dark Dynasty.*  
*A reanalysis of the Second Dynasty of ancient Egypt*

Kamila Braulinska  
*Hatshepsut's monkey business*

Marion Claude  
*The cultural organisation of the town of Akhmim*

Wojciech Ejsmond  
*Temples and stars.*  
*Astronomical aspects of early sacral architecture in ancient Egypt*

Amani Hussein Ali Attia  
*Tomb of Khaemhat - TT57 in Qurnah - West Luxor*

M. Laura Iamarino, Elisa Neira Cordero, Gabriela Lovecky and Valeria Ojeda  
*The cult chapel of a Post-Amarnian tomb: TT49*

Daniel Viktor Takacs  
*The possible role of the Gebelein Speos in Hatshepsut's whm msw.t program*

## Project presentation

*Arcanae / Anciennes civilisations digitales*  
(<http://arcanae.fr/>)

## Introduction

In the year 2018 the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague celebrated the 60th anniversary of its establishment. The Institute was delighted that at this important occasion it was able to organise a special meeting in Prague: the nineteenth symposium of the Egyptological conference for young scholar, *Current Research in Egyptology*. The conference was held on 25th–28th June 2018, and hosted more than 100 students and young scholars from a number of countries and institutions. The participants presented their latest research in the fields of history, society, religious life, material culture, language, archival ‘digging’ or archaeological excavations. Moreover, six keynote lectures were presented by experts from the Czech Institute of Egyptology and the Institute of Egyptology, University of Vienna.

The Organising Committee of the Prague session would like to express their gratitude to all participants for their inspiring talks and posters. Our special thanks go to the members of the Czech Institute of Egyptology and to its director, Prof. Mgr. Miroslav Bárta, Dr., for their support and for enabling three foreign researchers to participate in the meeting. Likewise, we are grateful to the representatives of the Faculty of Arts for providing us with spatial and technical facilities, and to our colleagues and students for their important pieces of advice and their assistance.

The present volume contains 16 articles focusing on different topics from the fields of religion, society, material culture, archaeology, epigraphy, tomb reuse, kingship, Coptic, modern travelling in Egypt and the protection of Egyptian monuments. This publication thus demonstrates the wide range of Egyptological research and opens these fields of study to scholarly discussion, which enables a better understanding of ancient Egyptian and Sudanese civilisations.

Commonly, students of the Czech Institute of Egyptology participate in the excavations at Abusir, which is also reflected on the cover photo. It pictures the uncovering of a mastaba at Abusir South in the spring season of 2018. Abusir, a part of the Memphite necropolis, is a locality that has been explored by the Czech Institute of Egyptology for many decades, and its excavations have contributed to the study of many phenomena of the ancient Egyptian civilisation.

Editors





# The crew of the sun bark before the first appearance of the Amduat.

## A new perspective via the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*

Abdelhaleem Awadallah<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

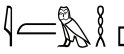

The *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* are the most important funerary texts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, usually depicted to help the spirit of the concerned person to be preserved in the afterlife and possess his place in the solar circuit, the matter which guarantee his position in the presence of the gods. So, is the Book of the Amduat which describes the nocturnal journey of the sun god and his followers from the west horizon to the eastern horizon. Regardless of the location of the Duat in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* which was in the eastern side of the sky and its location in the Book of the Amduat which was under the earth and change the nature of the journey to a horizontal movement in the domains of the Underworld, the study aims at investigating the roles played by members of the solar bark's crew in helping both the sun god and the deceased during the vertical transmission from the earth to the sky, depending on the texts before the first appearance of the Amduat.

### Keywords

Amduat; sun bark; night journey; crew; solar cycle; *Pyramid Texts*; *Coffin Texts*

### Introduction

The Amduat is one of the most important ancient Egyptian Netherworld books, recorded in many different kinds of manuscripts since the beginning of the 18th dynasty and especially on the walls of the royal tombs. Even though the Amduat first appeared in the early 18th dynasty, many scholars have agreed that the composition of the text in all likelihood predates the New Kingdom. H. Altenmüller (1968, 27–42) has argued, based on the nature of the texts, that parts of this book may be dated to the end of the Old Kingdom and that it was completed as a composition at the beginning of the New Kingdom. H. Grapow (1967, 30–3) stated that integration and compatibility can be detected between the Book of Two Ways and the Amduat, and the Book of Two Ways is considered the first form of the description of the Underworld. He also believed that the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat are similar to the map of the Book of Two Ways; in addition, some words were mentioned – as places – in the 4th and 5th Hours, which had already attested in the Book of

Two Ways, such as:  *Jmḥ.t*, 'Underworld', and  *W3.wt nt r3 st3.w*, 'Ways of Rosetau', and based on this he dated the book to the end of the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period.

Nonetheless, E. Hornung (1997, 40) and S. Schott (1958, 316–25) found it difficult to date the origins of this book to the late Old Kingdom because the text's earliest witnesses cannot be dated to this period. They believed that the Amduat could be dated to the late Middle Kingdom, and probably to the early New Kingdom. J. Wegner (2009, 143–50) stated that the tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos is an Amduat-tomb and that it embodies core ideas expressed in the Amduat given the architectural design of the tomb.

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Egyptology, Graduation school of Humanities, Julius-Maximilians-Universität (JMU), Würzburg, Germany, and Department of Tourist Guidance, Suez Canal University, Ismailiyah, Egypt.



K. Jansen-Winkel (2012, 87–9) assumes that it is true that there are many words and forms that look very ancient, and some of them may indeed have originated in Old Egyptian texts. However, most of these elements are different in certain aspects (writing, syntax, or frequency) from those found in texts genuinely from the Old Kingdom. The more likely conclusion is that most of them have been adopted to make the texts of the Amduat look as if they had been composed in ancient times. A. von Lieven (2007, 223–50) made it clear that, despite the attempts to create new ideas with an older linguistic status, the early traditional ways were still indicated in the later texts.

The previous studies tried to establish a connection between the Amduat and the former texts either through the textual themes or the architectural form of the tomb, but they did not devote a separate study to the functions and responsibilities of the divine groups of the Amduat, which are already mentioned in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. So, the proposed study focuses mainly on ascertaining the functions and responsibilities assigned to the crew who manage the sun bark's journey according to the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* before the appearance of the Amduat and proving that the Amduat is the perfect image of the Netherworld that the ancient Egyptians created as of the Old Kingdom.

Most of the hours in the Amduat, the number of crew members is nine. In the 2nd Hour, Isis and Nephthys join the crew as two serpents at the front stern of the bark. In the 3rd Hour, the sun bark, in some versions incomplete, shows the usual crew accompanied by three other barks carrying various representations of the sun god with a differing number of accompanying deities. Beginning from the 7th Hour, the sun god is enveloped by the protective serpent Mehen, and the crew is strengthened by the goddess Isis, standing at the prow and stretching out her arms against the arch-enemy of the sun, Apopi.

In the New Kingdom's Netherworld books, the number of crew members is considered subject to a specific rule. The group of nine deities represents an unfathomable multiplicity of divine powers (Schweizer 2010, 42). In contrast, in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*, the number of individuals in the sun bark's crew is not directly clarified. One spell from the Book of Two Ways states that the number is unknown, while another spell from the same book claimed that the number is six, bearing in mind that the sun god is counted as one of them.

In all Egyptian religious documents, the identification of the deceased with the sun god can be explicitly determined because the deceased wants to take his place beside Re, cross the horizon in his bark to the place where the gods were born and join the cosmic order in the east, which represents the rising of the solar bark and rebirth after a period of darkness. Thus, the deceased returns to the point where the Egyptian universe is mythically renewed (Davis 1977, 166; Allen 1989, 1–25). The main purpose of joining the sun's solar cycle for the deceased is to help him during his vertical transmission from the earth to the sky and during his horizontal movements through the domains of the Duat. This category does not begin with preparing the king or his soul for the ascension, but it begins with purifying him and his ka. The purification and prayers in the funerary ritual supposedly cleansed the deceased in preparation for his entrance into the Hereafter (Davis 1977, 163). One may suggest that the cycle of ascension encompasses three phases; the first phase includes the time after death, the embalming and going to the tomb, the second phase is that of raising the deceased in the sky and opening the gates for him, and finally, the third phase represents the deceased receiving his place in the bark amongst the crew of Re, sailing with them to fight the enemies of the sun god and reaching the eastern horizon together. The selected excerpts from the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* clarify the role played by members of the sun bark's crew during the three phases and less concerned with philological questions which can arise in the interpretations.

## The First phase

Spell *CT* 153 briefly narrates the entire process of the solar cycle and the desire of the deceased to be within the circuit of the sun god (= Text 7; see below). Many passages in the *CT* may be considered a perfect combination of the three phases of the solar cycle, represented by Re, Atum and Khepri (Minas-Nerpel 2006, 76, 84), in which the deceased travels to the front of the horizon, joins the paths of the sun which Re makes available to him, travels with Re-Atum and sits with Khepri. Re commands that the deceased shall be there as a ruler of his thrones (cf. *CT* VI, 393a–h). The connection of the fate of every blessed deceased individual with that of the sun god and the desire to live after death *ꜥnh m-ht mwt*, is very common in the *Coffin Texts*. One may say that this rejuvenation and the new birth of the sun god and the deceased is the most important mission assigned to the bark's crew.

Spell *PT* 222 is also considered a collective spell in the *PT*, comprising the three phases of ascension into the realm of the sun god, in which the most significant role of Isis, Nephthys, Seth, and Horus is to take care of the deceased's mummy during the process of embalming until reaching the horizon and being encircled by his mother Nut (Altenmüller 1972, 151–2). In *PT* § 150a–c, the speaker, perhaps the high priest, addresses the deities who accompany the sun gods on his nightly journey (Spiegel 1971, 178; Faulkner 1969, 50). The deceased wants to join the sun's circuit, so he compares his birth to that of the sun's and tries to join the day and night barks via Isis and Nephthys (= Text 1; see below). The sun passes through the bones of the god Shu, who is between the earth and the sky and appears in the horizon. The sky is reached when Nut takes the new born child in her arms (Sethe 1935, 148; Frankfort 1948, 121).

It seems strange that Nephthys is mentioned before Isis. It may be connected to the role of Nephthys during the resurrection ritual of the deceased king (Spiegel 1971, 178, 213, n. 13). One may also assume that the arrangement of events determines the order of responsibilities, as Nephthys has a function to carry out in the night bark, which sails first according to the sun's circuit, in which the sun god, and the deceased, navigate from night to day. This would mean that Nephthys takes care of the sun god starting from the downfall into the Netherworld, until Isis takes this responsibility at sunrise, and the tasks distributed are between the two sisters throughout the night and the day (Ahmed 2016, 79).

## The Second phase

This event and its parallels are considered the main event in the second phase of the solar cycle. In order to enter the Duat and open its gates and paths, Wepwawet is the one who intercepts this mission (= Text 4; see below). Wepwawet stands on the front stern of the bark of Re in most hours of the night in the Amduat, and this function was extensively mentioned in the *CT* and *PT*. The deceased ascends to the sky with all means of protection and being helped by all the gods of the Duat, where his face becomes that of Wepwawet (*PT* § 1304b–c). The deceased has been banded with the breast band of Horus, clothed in the clothing of Thoth, protected by Isis and Nephthys, with Wepwawet parting a path for him, and Shu lifting him up (*PT* § 1089a–1090c). In the *Coffin Texts*, the role of Wepwawet as an opener of the ways is frequently paralleled (*CT* I, 34a, 74i, 193b, 194a, 312i; *CT* IV, 376a–b, 378a; *CT* VII, 94h, 168e; Altenmüller 1975, 39–40; Willems 1996, 227, n. 1223).

There was a functional connection between Wepwawet and Re, which often led to the syncretistic god, Wepwawet-Re, found on a stela from the Middle Kingdom, while the text in *CT* VI, 177k reads: 'I am Re, the sole jackal in the sky'. Here, it is an obvious precept that in the night, Re opens the dark paths of the Netherworld with the aspect of Wepwawet (Assmann 2002, 107).

Spell *CT* 236 represents an important part of the second phase of the solar cycle, in which the deceased wants to be raised into the sky and enter the realm of the great gods (= Text 9; see below). He claims that he will not be turned back at the gates of the Duat, he ascends to the sky with Orion (*CT* III, 303i–304a), and his residence is at the high portal of the entourage of Re, where he can receive the food offerings and supplies from the crew who accompany the sun god. Finally, he directly declares that the executioners of Osiris do not have the power to close his mouth or to limit his movements because he knows what Sia knows (*CT* III, 305e–306b).

In the second phase, when the deceased is going out around the great god, he ascends to the sky with the strength of a lion (*CT* III, 341a–c). He knows the names which allow him to control everything, assumes his place behind Re and has the powers of Hu and Re (= Text 10; see below). Then he claims that he himself is Re. J. Zandee (1964, 42); cites several passages in which Re and Hu are at least the same (see also Borghouts 1971, 184). In *CT* 107 (*CT* II, 119i–120a), the recitation states the purpose of the journey: to go out into the day and open the Netherworld. So, it is clearly beneficial for the deceased to identify with Hu during the process of ascension until reaching to the eastern horizon, where Hu accompanies Re during the entire cycle. In the same passage, the deceased recites: ‘While I open the Lower Netherworld, I am the sun of this day, I am Horus within his eye, (...) how happy is Hu, having the scalp of the sun disc.’

### The Third phase

The event of *CT* II, 198a–b (= Text 6; see below) occurs at the beginning of the third phase, in which the crew of the sun bark is the active group fulfilling the major responsibilities in the nocturnal journey in the Duat. They sail the bark, overthrow Apopi and cause the manifestation of the sun god as Khepri (cf. *BD* 140). In the *CT* 181, the text reads: ‘It is the night bark and the day bark which are daily taken for me to the house of the good. (...) For it is Isis who rows me every day’ (cf. *CT* II, 75h–m). The navigation of the sun bark is authorized by the crew of Re who knows no destruction or weariness.

The text of *PT* § 267a–268d belongs to the third phase of the solar cycle, as the last paragraph of *PT* 249 reads: ‘I appear as Nefertem, as the lotus-bloom which is at the nose of Re; the deceased will arise from the horizon daily and the gods will be cleansed at the sight of him’. Now he has assumed his place with the sun god, announced his presence through Sia and associated himself with him (= Text 2; see below). Here, Sia is the representative of the sun god in the sky, the bearer of the divine book and the one who stands at the right hand of Re. P. Boylan (1922, 81–2) thinks that this passage refers to Thoth, because in the later periods Sia is identified with Thoth, who is also called the ‘scribe of the divine book’. However, the identification of Thoth with Sia in later times does not at all prove the same thing for the Old Kingdom. Thoth is not Sia, nor does he bear his name, but, at most, Thoth possesses Sia’s qualifications in his relation to the creator god as his own heart and tongue (Stadler 2009, 13, 403, 428–9; cf. Milde 1991, 203–4). In the Book of Gates, Sia is the spokesman of the sun god who orders the gates of the Netherworld to open wide for Re. In the *Amduat*, Sia stands with Wepwawet and ‘the lady of the bark’ at the prow of the sun bark.

Spell *CT* 758 and the first lines of Spell 759 belong to the vignette on *CT* VI, 386, in which a figure of an enthroned god is enclosed in a series of ovals or encircled by a coiled serpent (Faulkner 1977, 290, n. 1). The entire event occurred after entering the Duat and the purpose of these spells is to know the dangerous roads, full of fire, which the Mehen-serpent encircles, and in this way to come within the circumference of the Mehen-serpent and to be protected by it like Re (*CT* VI, 387a–m; Zandee 1960, 164–5). In *CT* VI, 388h, the deceased does not want to be rejected by Re and to stay within his Mehen. In *BD* 15, the text reads: ‘praise be to you (Re) when you rise wearing Mehen, “the coiled one”, lord

of the sky, foremost who is therein. May you give refreshing breath to Osiris N.’ (Allen 1960, 14, S4). Hu and Sia are travelling on a certain path and there it seems reasonable to identify the seated figure accompanying the text of the spell as Re. On the other hand, the roads by which Hu and Sia travel are specifically located in the vertex (*m wp.t*) of Re. These paths would then be the place of manifestation of Hu and Sia (Nyord 2009, 375) where the deceased wants to be integrated (= Text 11; see below).

R. Faulkner (1969, 62) titled Spell *PT* 251 as ‘The king departs to join the sun god’. In this passage, the deceased king asks the ancestors (or companions?) who are with Re to make a way for him in to assume his own throne. Then he defeats his enemies and reaches the horizon which he will not be hindered from entering. The event continues in *PT* 252 (= Text 3; see below), which is now considered part of the Akhet and represents the third phase of the solar cycle, in which the deceased king becomes the supreme deity, governs men and judges the living within the domain of the sun god. The king moves the sceptre in a threatening manner. Nevertheless, he honours the gods, but they are called upon to beware of his power and to be subject to him, since he himself is the supreme god (Hassan 1934–1935, 285, n. 5; Faulkner 1969, 62, n. 1). Here, the deceased king gains what he desires by joining the crew who rows Re in the Duat. This text was used widely in ordinary funerary services in later times (Kees 1926, 368; Mercer 1952, 126) and the entire speech, in which the deceased king ‘modestly’ identifies himself with Re, is addressed to the gods who accompany Re in the Duat (Hassan 1934–1935, 286). This matter is very clear in *PT* § 953a–c, in which the king takes his place between the sailors of Re, apparently as a helmsman. He commands, and Thoth obeys (Mercer 1952, 127).

Spell *CT* 1128 belongs to the Book of Two Ways, which is considered the precursor of the Amduat (Grapow 1967, 30–3), and this particular excerpt numerates the gods who are surrounding the sun god in his bark; the spell starts with the phrase: *šnw.t sḏ.t*, ‘the entourage of flame’, and probably indicates the resumption of the solar tradition. At the prow stand Seth, Isis, and Horus (= Text 12; see below). Seth not only appears as hostile to Horus and as the slayer of Osiris, but also as a repeller of the Apopi snake (te Velde 1967, 99–101). The appearance of Seth at the prow of the bark in the act of stabbing Apopi with a huge spear is very remarkable (Nagel 1928, Fig. 1). Isis is also mentioned in the Amduat as one of the defenders against Apopi, with Seth as *Hkꜣ Smsw* (Hornung 1991: 111–12) and it is this eldest magician whom we find in *CT* 1127 as the opponent of Apopi. In this quality, he is invoked and adored.

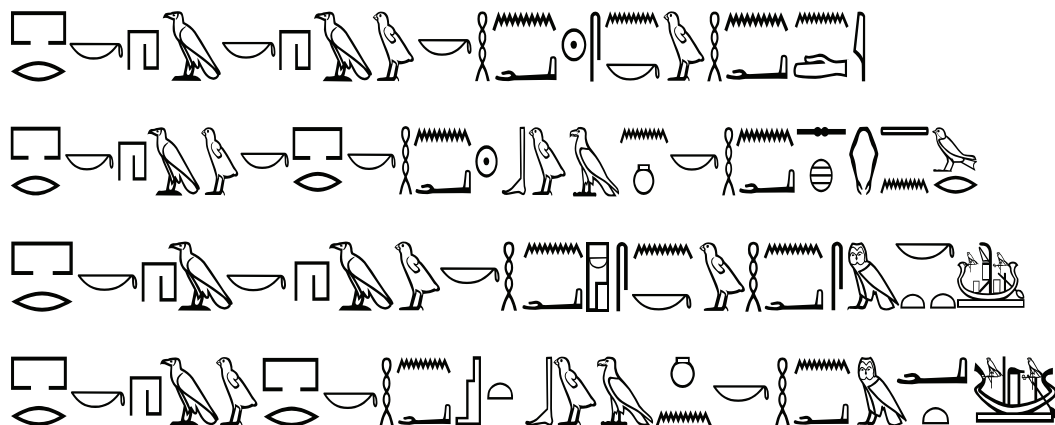
It was a clearly structured idea to divide the accompanying gods into two halves and they were meaningfully distributed. Behind the shrine are Hu and Sia as the personifications of creation, and in the front are Isis, Seth and Horus (= Text 12; see below), the most suitable and capable in the defence against Apopi. Horus is also associated with the aspect of a future glorious rule. The Amduat and the Book of Gates show Sia in the front and Hu in the back. Naming the gods as *šnw.t*, is not coincidental, since the term ‘crew’ is similar to *šnw.t n.t sḏ.t*, ‘crew of fire’ (*CT* 1033). Here the impenetrable environment of the sun god is not presented as a fire or a fiery gateway reinforced by a guardian; instead, he appears among well-known gods on his bark (Hermesen 1991, 125–6; Backes 2005, 423). This entourage received various designations in the *Coffin Texts*. Among other things, they are said to be: ‘those who are around the shrine’ (*CT* I, 394a; *CT* IV, 102f–g, 179b, 224b; *CT* VI, 231b, 236b), ‘the gods who are around the shrine’ (*CT* IV, 225b), ‘the entourage which is around the shrine’ (*CT* I, 386a, 390b, 391b) and ‘those who are around Re’ (*CT* VII 17r). All these texts stress the fact that these gods perform their protection by means of using fire and being around Re in his cabin (Sherbiny 2017, 170). For the term *šnj* and its derivatives (cf. Anthes 1961, 86–91; Ritner 1993, 43).

During the course of sailing in the third phase, the deceased goes on to say that no components of the bark will be damaged or broken on behalf of the crew of Re, and because of his travelling like Isis, he will be able to sail with the bark and row Re himself with his crew of gods (= Text 8; see below). The nautical terms *jmy-tp* and *hry-<sup>c</sup>f*, are mentioned in close conjunction with each other in other texts about the ferry. The two occur directly after the sail, the mast and its rigging. Here, the passage forms part of a much less encompassing account of the ships parts, which mentions *hmw*, ‘the helm’, *nwj*, ‘the cable’, and *hpt*, ‘the rudder’ twice (cf. CT V, 169e). If a determinative occurs, both words usually show the wood sign, except A1C and G1T, which have the sign for rope. However, the wood sign occasionally seems to designate rope on the southern Egyptian coffins. Perhaps for this reason, R. Faulkner (Faulkner 1973, 35, n. 47–8) renders *jmy-dp* as ‘stern-post’ and *hr(y)-<sup>c</sup>* as ‘tiller’. H. Willems (1996, 441) states that, although this reading has been accepted by some, there is no evidence to support it.

In the third phase and after his enduring arrival – in the presence of the sun god – to the eastern horizon, the deceased receives his clean place at the prow of the sun’s bark using the crew of Re to row him in the bark and propel him around the horizon (= Text 5; see below). Paragraph PT § 713b ends with the phrase: ‘Re purifies me and protects me from what might be evilly done against me’, which means that the purpose of the journey, to join the sun god, has hereby been accomplished.

## Sources

### Text 1: PT 222 (209a–210c)



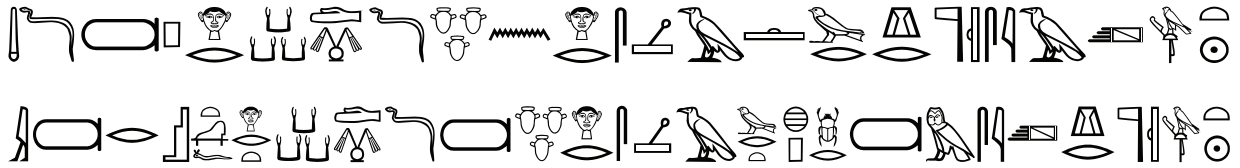
*prj=k h3j=k h3w=k hn<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup> snk.t hn<sup>c</sup> Ndj*  
*prj=k h3j=k prj=k hn<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup> wbn=k hn<sup>c</sup> zh<sup>n</sup>-wr*  
*prj=k h3j=k h3w=k hn<sup>c</sup> Nb.t-hw.t snkw hn<sup>c</sup> Mskt.t*  
*prj=k h3w=k prj=k hn<sup>c</sup> 3s.t wbn=k hn<sup>c</sup> M<sup>c</sup>nd.t*

‘You may go forth and descend; descend with Re, sink into darkness with Nedi. You may go forth and descend; ascend with Re, rise with the great float user. You may go forth and descend, descend with Nephthys, sink into darkness with the night bark. You may go forth and descend, go forth with Isis, you may shine with the day bark.’

(Hassan 1934–1935, 96; Sethe 1935–1962 I, 146–7; Münster 1968, 47; Faulkner 1969, 50; Allen 2005, 40, 155; Allen 2017, 318–9).



**Text 2: PT 250 (267a–268d)**

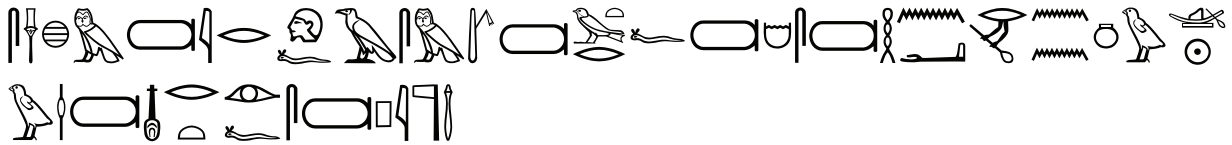


*dd mdw: N p(j) hr(y) k3.w dmd jb.w n hr(y) s3 wr hr(y) md3.t-ntr Hj3 wnm.t R<sup>c</sup>*  
*jj N r s.t=f hrt k3w dmd N jb.w hr(y) s3 wr.t hpr N m Hj3 hr(y) md3.t-ntr wnm.t R<sup>c</sup>*

‘Words spoken: NN who is over the ka-spirits, the one who unites hearts for the great one in charge of wisdom, the one who carries the god’s scroll, Sia who is at the right hand of Re. NN has come to his throne which is over the ka-spirits, N unites the hearts, for the one who is the great chief of wisdom. N will become Sia who bears the god’s book, who is at the right hand of Re.’

(Gardiner 1916, 45; Sethe 1935–1962 I, 270–1; Breasted 1959, 121, n. 1; Borghouts 1971, 183, n. 3; Allen 2005, 42, 161; Allen 2017, 326–7).

**Text 3: PT 252 (274a–c)**



*shm N jr dp=f 3ms N wr.t=f N hmsj N hn<sup>c</sup> hnnw wj3 R<sup>c</sup>*  
*w3 N nfr.t jri=f s N p(j) ntr<sup>c</sup>*

‘The power of NN is at his head, NN’s sceptre is causing respect for NN. NN will sit with those who row the bark of Re, N will command what is good and he will do it, because N is the great god.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 I, 288–9; Faulkner 1969, 62; Allen 2005, 43, 163; Allen 2017, 326–7).

**Text 4: PT 302 (463a–b)**

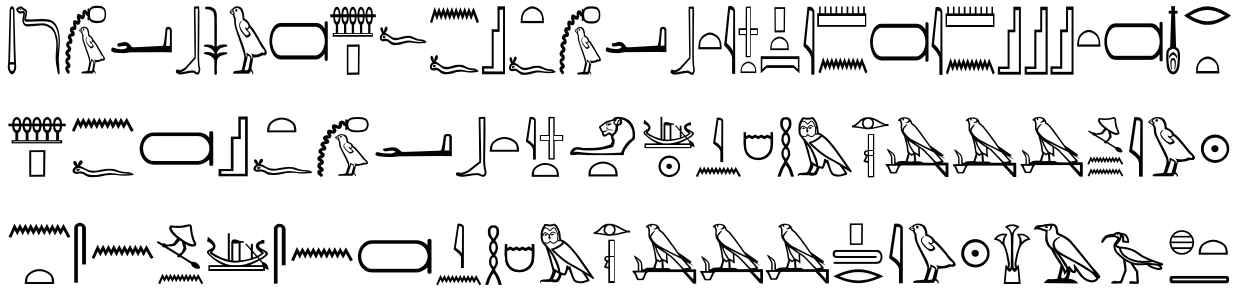


*sp3=n Wp-w3.wt N (j) r p.t mm snw=f ntr.w*

‘Wepwawet has caused N to fly up to the sky among his brothers, the gods.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 II, 253; Piankoff 1968, 21; Allen 2005, 56, 207; Allen 2017, 350–1).

Text 5: PT 407 (710a–711d)

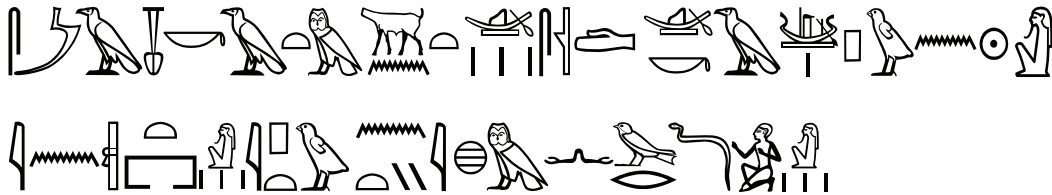


*ḏd mdw w<sup>c</sup>b sw N sšp=f n s.t=f w<sup>c</sup>b.t jmy.t p.t jmn N jmn sw.t nfr.wt  
sšp n=f N s.t=f w<sup>c</sup>b.t imyt ḥ3t wj3 R<sup>c</sup> jn-ḥm jr(y.w)-js.t ḥnj.w R<sup>c</sup>  
ntsn ḥn=sn N jn-ḥm jr(y.w)-js.t phrj.w R<sup>c</sup> ḥ3 3ḥ.t*

‘Words spoken: NN will purify himself and receive his pure throne which is in the sky, N will endure, and his beautiful thrones will endure. N receives his pure seat at the prow of the bark of Re. It is indeed the crew who rows Re, they are the ones who row N; and they are the crew who conduct Re around the horizon.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 III, 304–5; Faulkner 1969, 133; Krauss 1997, 134; Meurer 2002, 106; Allen 2005, 93, 284).

Text 6: CT 146 (CT II, 198a–b )



*sm3 k3t mḥn.wt sqd k3 wj3 pw n R<sup>c</sup>  
jn js.wt jptw nty(.w) jḥm wrḏ*

‘The ferry-boats shall be made ready, this bark of Re shall be navigated by this crew of Re. who does not know weariness.’

(Faulkner 1973, 123; Barguet 1986, 265).

Text 7: CT 153 (CT II, 263c–265a) = BD 3



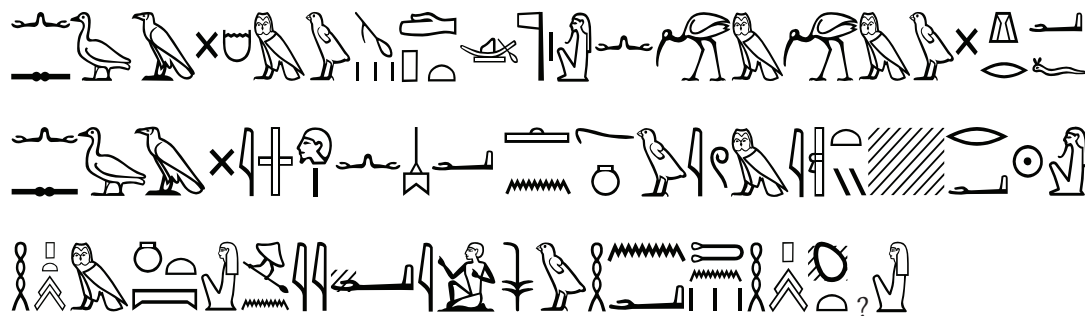


*s<sup>c</sup>r wj hnhnw jr wj<sup>3</sup>.wy <sup>3</sup>pr wn=f n=j r<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> sn=f n=j <sup>3</sup>.w jmy.w j<sup>3</sup>hw wd md.wt js.wt R<sup>c</sup> m mšrw  
<sup>c</sup>nh=j m-ht mwt mj <sup>c</sup>nh R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb*

‘The *hnhnw*-bark raises me up to the two barks of Khepri. It opens for me the mouth (gate) of the earth. It throws open for me the doors which are in the sunshine, and commands are given to the crew of Re in the evening so that I may live after death just as Re lives every day.’

(Faulkner 1973, 132; Hornung 1979, 415; Barguet 1986, 222).

**Text 8: CT 182 (CT III, 77e-k)**



*nn s<sup>3</sup>(w) hmw.w dp.t ntr n gmgmw hr(y)-<sup>c</sup>=f  
 nn s<sup>3</sup>(w) jm(y) dp nn wd<sup>c</sup>(w) nwj m js.ty R<sup>c</sup>  
 hpt m Nw.t hny=j sw hn<sup>c</sup>=tn hpt m <sup>3</sup>s.t*

‘The helm of the god’s bark will not be broken, its tiller will not be snapped, the stern-post will not be broken, the cable will not be severed by reason of the two crews of Re. O you who are the rudder in the sky, I will row him with you, you are the rudder as Isis.’

(Faulkner 1973, 153; Barguet 1986, 344).

**Text 9: CT 236 (CT III, 304b-d)**



*šsp=j htp.wt hn<sup>c</sup> Wr.w dmj=j sbh.wt <sup>3</sup>.wt šnw.t R<sup>c</sup> rd=t(w) snm.w*

‘I received food offerings with the Great Ones, my abode is at the high portals of the entourage of Re, who gives supplies of food.’

(Faulkner 1973, 185; Barguet 1986, 54).

**Text 10: CT 248 (CT III, 342b-k)**



*Rh.k(w)j tn rh.k(w)j rnw=tn sšm=j tn h³ R<sup>c</sup> ts phr*  
*s.t=f s.t=j mk.t=f mk.t=j h<sup>c</sup>.k(w)j m jr.t Hr wnm=j ntr:w*  
*sm³=j s<sup>c</sup>nh=j snh=j w<sup>c</sup>h=j wd=j sdb dr=j sdb jnk R<sup>c</sup> jnk Hw*

‘I know you and I know your names. I conduct you behind Re and vice versa; his place is my place, his protection is my protection, I have appeared in the eye of Horus, I eat the gods. I can kill him whom I made to live, I can bind him whom I released, I can implant obstacles and remove obstacles, (for) I am Re, I am Hu.’

(Grieshammer 1970, 98; Faulkner 1973, 193; Barguet 1986, 529–30).

**Text 11: CT 759 (CT VI, 388h–m)**



*n hsf=j hr R<sup>c</sup> m hnw mhn=f N jmy h.t=f jw=j gr rh.kwj w³.wt*  
*kkj.t ³q.t ³w jm=sn hn<sup>c</sup> Hj³ m hf.t 4 kki.t sšt n (j)m(y.w)-h.t=sn dp<sup>-c</sup>.wy=sn*  
*³q=j jmytw=sny hr w³.t šb³.t Jm.t wp.t R<sup>c</sup>*

‘I will not make opposition on account of Re within his *Mhn*-serpent, for I am one who is in his body. Moreover, I knew the dark paths where Hu and Sia come in with the four dark snakes which illuminate for those who are behind them and those who are in front of them. I enter between them under the secret path which is in the vertex of Re.’

(Faulkner 1977, 291; Barguet 1986, 595; Nyord 2009, 372–5).

**Text 12: CT 1128 (CT VII, 458e–i)**



*šnw.t jmy.t h³.t ³s.t Sth Hr šnw.t jmy.t ph.wy Hw Sj³ R<sup>c</sup>*

‘The entourage which is on the prow: Isis, Seth and Horus. The entourage which is on the stern: Hu, Sia and Re.’

(Lesko 1972, 128; Backes 2005, 117).

**Analysis indicating the concept of the divine group of the solar bark**

From the study of the solar bark and its contents, we know that one of the most significant implements is the sign *šms*, that could be a characterization of the entire crew. The mention of the term ‘crew’ of the sun bark is attested in ancient Egyptian literature in many variants. The most common word used to refer directly to the crew of the sun bark is *js.t*. However, the texts may also mention the entourage of Re without directly using the term ‘crew’. We also find that the members of the crew are simply named by their divine quality, and the following table clarifies the variants of the word crew and its designations from *PT* and *CT*.

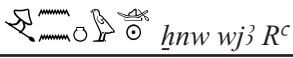

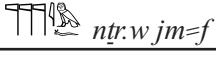



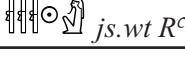

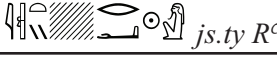



The term	Meaning	Paragraph
 <i>hnw wj<sup>3</sup> R<sup>c</sup></i>	The sailors who row the bark of Re.	PT 274a–c
 <i>js.wt hnw R<sup>c</sup></i>	The sailors who row Re.	PT 710a–711d
 <i>ntr.w jm=f</i>	The gods in it (the bark).	PT 2054a–2046c
 <i>šms.w n nb tm</i>	Followers of the lord of All.	CT I, 194f
 <i>js.wt mr.wt wj<sup>3</sup></i>	Crews and servants of the bark.	CT I, 195b
 <i>js.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	The crew of Re.	CT II, 139c–140b
 <i>js.wt R<sup>c</sup></i>	Crews of Re.	CT II, 263c–265a
 <i>js.t</i>	The crew.	CT II, 378c–381a
 <i>js.ty R<sup>c</sup></i>	The two crews of Re.	CT III, 77e–k
 <i>šn.wt R<sup>c</sup></i>	The Entourage of Re.	CT III, 304b–d
 <i>šn.wt</i>	The Entourage.	CT VII, 404d–407c
 <i>js.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	The crew of Re.	CT VII, 457a–i

Table 1. The terms for the word ‘crew’ in *PT* and *CT*.

Plenty of texts mention the roles of the sun bark’s crew before the first appearance of the Amduat. These tasks were not assigned to them individually, but also as a group, expressed by the terms: *hnw n R<sup>c</sup>*, *Jsw.t R<sup>c</sup>*, *šnw.t R<sup>c</sup>*, who are responsible for the sailing of the bark, rowing the sun god and of course the deceased and defending the bark against its enemies. Hathor could be Nebetwia, ‘the lady of the bark’, Seth could be Nehes, Sia is Thoth and Isis is Maat. Thus, after making the connection between the older texts and the scenes of the Amduat, the whole crew is doubtlessly a representation of the power and abilities of the principle gods.

## Conclusion

This paper seeks to highlight the similarities between the *Pyramid* and the *Coffins Texts* on one hand and the Amduat on the other. This resemblance is clearly established by the tasks and functions delegated to the members of the sun bark. This study addresses this through several excerpts from the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. The functions may be assigned to the crew of the bark (Texts 3, 5–9, 12) or they could be determined for a specific member of the crew (Texts 1–2, 8, 10–11). The crew as a whole has principle tasks, they row the bark of Re (Text 3) and propel him around the horizon (Text 5) without having any weariness (Text 6). Therefore, no damages or wreckage could affect the bark (Text 8). Then Re gives his commands to his crew in order to continue the circle of rebirth and resurrection by giving life to the deceased (Text 7). One more significant role of the crew is to provide the Great Gods and all those in their presence with supplies of food and offerings (Text 9), and thus ensure that the deceased will not be rejected at their portals. Only one spell in the *Coffin Texts* defined the number of the crew as six (Text 12) while another spell from the same book stated that the number is unknown (CT 1126). As for the members of the crew who are mentioned by name,

Crew Members	Function	Paragraph
Isis and Nephthys	responsible for sailing and travelling in <i>Mskt.t</i> and <i>M<sup>c</sup>nd.t</i> ;  Speak the deceased name within the sun bark;  call the deceased and speak to him to give him a road into horizon;  Isis is before the deceased and Nephthys after while ascending to the sky.	<i>PT</i> 210a–c  <i>CT</i> 48, 150  <i>PT</i> 755a–c  <i>PT</i> 1089a–c
Hu and Sia	the deceased ascend to the shrine of Re and gain his throne by assuming Hu and Sia;  Sia is at the right hand of Re the bearer of the god's book and in charge of wisdom;  the deceased is Hu, so that he has the power to place himself behind Re;  the deceased enters the circuit of Hu and Sia which makes him able to enter the one of the sun god.	<i>PT</i> 300a–c  <i>PT</i> 267a–268d  <i>CT</i> 248  <i>CT</i> 321
Wepwawet	caused the deceased to fly up to the sky,  opens a way for the deceased,  open the fair paths.	<i>PT</i> 953a–c  <i>PT</i> 1090a  <i>CT</i> 10
Mehen	The sun bark named after its name. and he is the protector of the sun god.	<i>CT</i> 758, 759
Nehes	The deceased is Nehes who overcome his enemies when going out to the sky.	<i>CT</i> 96
Seth	With Isis and Horus at the front stern of the bark.	<i>CT</i> 1128
Kherepwia	The sun bark named after him with Hathor as a lady of the bark.	<i>CT</i> 332
Hathor	The one on the bow of the bark.  Mistress of the sky who strengthened the bonds in the night (with Isis).	<i>CT</i> 484  <i>CT</i> 332
Maat	The one who travel at the head of the great bark.	<i>CT</i> 1099

Table 2. Members of the sun bark's crew in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* with some functions and responsibilities.

Isis and Nephthys are responsible for sailing the day and night barks (Text 1); even the deceased cannot travel in the sky unless he sails like Isis (Text 8). Hu and Sia are the creative powers which help the sun god to renew his work of creation every night. Sia at the right hand of Re, bears his book and acts as his representative (Text 2). Hu parts paths for the deceased to allow him to join the sun's circuit (Text 10). They appear together with Mehen, who can be seen in the Amduat enveloping 'the Flesh of Re', to protect the sun god and the deceased on the dark roads (Text 11). Finally, and based on the events and the responsibilities assigned to the members of the crew, one may say that the texts of the PT and CT represented a solid base for the author of Amduat to choose the members of the crew of the sun bark and put them in this order. I also believe that the events of CT and PT stated more detailed functions and tasks of the crew, both for the entire group and the individual.

## Acknowledgment

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. M. Stadler, Chair of Egyptology, University of Würzburg, for his generous academic and moral support over the last two years. I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. G. Vittmann for his fruitful advice and Dr. M. I. Khaled for his advantageous. My thanks also go to my fellow student A. Humphrey for proofreading my English. Finally, I would thank the reviewers for their remarks. Any errors or misunderstanding stated in this paper are of my own.

## Reference List

- Ahmed, M. Y. 2016. *Die Göttin Nephthys (Nebethut). Entstehung und Entwicklung einer ägyptischen Gottesvorstellung bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- Allen J. P. 1989. 'The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts'. In W. K. Simpson (ed.) *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*: 1–28. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- Allen, J. P. 2005. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 23. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Allen, J. P. 2017. *Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Volume 1: Unis*, Languages of the Ancient Near East 7. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Allen, T. G. 1960. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead. Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*, Oriental Institute Publications 82. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Altenmüller, B. 1975. *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe: Ägypten 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Altenmüller, H. 1968. 'Zur Überlieferung des Amduat'. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 20: 27–42.
- Altenmüller, H. 1972. *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 24. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Anthes, R. 1961. 'Das Verbum šni „umschließen, bannen“ in den Pyramidentexten'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86: 86–9.
- Assmann, J. 2002. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Bd. 1. Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

- Backes, B. 2005. *Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch Studien zu den Sargtext-Sprüchen 1029–1130*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Barguet, P. 1986. *Textes des Sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*. Paris: Le Cerf.
- Borghouts, J. F. 1971. *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 51. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Boylan, P. 1922. *A Study of Some Aspects of Theological Thought in Ancient Egypt*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Breasted, J. H. 1959. *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press.
- CT = de Buck, A. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vols. I–VII, Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Davis, M. W. 1977. 'The Ascension-Myth in the Pyramid Texts'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 36: 161–79.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1969. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Faulkner, R. O. 1977. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vols. I–III. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Frankfort, H. 1948. *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gardiner, A. 1916. 'Some Personifications II. Hu "Authoritative Utterance." Sia, "Understanding"'. *The Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology* 39: 134–7.
- Grapow, H. 1967. 'Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 72: 12–39.
- Grieshammer, R. 1970. *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hassan, S. 1934–1935. *Excavations at Giza VI. Part I. The Solar Boats of Khafra, their origin and development, together with the Mythology of the Universe which they are supposed to traverse*, Excavations of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University. Cairo: Government Press.
- Hermesen, E. 1991. *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits. Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 112. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.
- Hornung, E. 1979. *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Zürich: Artemis Verlag.
- Hornung, E. 1997. *Altägyptischer Jenseitsbücher Ein einführender Überblick*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Hornung, E. 1991. *Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne. Eine altägyptische Beschreibung des Jenseits*. Zürich: Artemis & Winkler.
- Jansen-Winkel, K. 2012. 'Zu Sprache Und Datierung des Amduat'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98: 87–106.



- Kees, H. 1926. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter: Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des mittleren Reiches*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Krauss, R. 1997. *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 59. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lesko, L. H. 1972. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- von Lieven, A. 2007. *The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das Sogenannte Nutbuch 31*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Mercer, S. A. B. 1952. *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary. Vols. I-IV*. New York: Longmans.
- Meurer, G. 2002. *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 189. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag.
- Milde, H. 1991. *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 7. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Minas-Nerpel, M. 2006. *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-romische Zeit*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 154. Leuven: Peeters.
- Münster, M. 1968. *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien 11. Berlin: Hessling.
- Nagel G. 1928. 'Set dans la barque solaire'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 28: 33–9.
- Nyord, R. 2009. *Breathing flesh. Conceptions of the body in the ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, CNI Publications 37. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Piankoff, A. 1968. *The Pyramid of Unas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ritner, R. K. 1993. *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Sethe, K. 1935–1962. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten. Bd. I-VI*. Hamburg: Augustin.
- Schott, S. 1958. *Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sherbiny, W. 2017. *Through Hermopolitan Lenses: Studies on the So-Called Book of Two Ways in Ancient Egypt*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 33. Leiden: Brill.
- Schweizer, A. 2010. *The Sungod's Journey through the Netherworld. Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Spiegel, J. 1971. *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide. Beschreibung und erläuterte Übersetzung*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Stadler, M. A. 2009. *Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch*, Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.



te Velde, H. 1967. *Seth god of confusion A study of his role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. Leiden: Brill.

Wegner, J. 2009. 'The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos: Considerations on the origins and Development of the Royal Amduat-tomb'. In D. Silverman, W. K. Simpson and J. Wegner (eds.) *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*: 103–68 New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University.

Willems, H. 1996. *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 70. Leuven: Peeters.

Zandee, J. 1960. *Death as an Enemy. According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*. *Studies in the history of religions* 5. Leiden: Brill.

Zandee, J. 1964. 'Das Schöpferwort im Alten Ägypten'. In T. P. van Baaren (ed.) *Verbum: Essays on Some Aspects of the Religious Function of Words. Dedicated to Dr H. W. Obbink, Professor in the History of Religions and Egyptology*: 33–66. Utrecht: Kemik.

# **‘Hail you, Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*’?**

## **First thoughts on papyrus Leiden I 347**

Susanne Beck<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

The papyrus Leiden I 347 contains several hymnic eulogies and two recipes focusing on Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup>, Horus of Athribis, ‘the gods in their shrines’, and ‘the lords of eternity’. Until now Papyrus Leiden I 347 has not received the attention it deserves, even if passages of the manuscript have occasionally been mentioned (e.g. Massy 1885; Vernus 1978; Borghouts 1991; Müller 2008). This paper will therefore give first thoughts on the edition of papyrus Leiden I 347, including its structure, religious and palaeographical aspects.

### **Keywords**

Papyrus Leiden I 347; Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup>; hymn; scribal mistakes; palaeography of the 18th dynasty

### **Introduction**

The god Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup> (the reading of the epithet *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup> is still in discussion) was worshipped in the 9th Upper Egyptian nome, and is attested from the Old Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman Period. Originally, he used to be a crocodile deity who secondarily was associated with Horus due to an ancient legend in which Horus saved his father Osiris in the shape of a crocodile (see Chassinat 1966, 337). Therefore, he often appears as a falcon headed crocodile (see e.g. Bresciani 1986, pl. 1). Papyrus Leiden I 347, which contains the longest known hymnic text so far on this particular god as well as other deities closely associated with him, is therefore of special importance.

### **Papyrus Leiden I 347**

#### **Manuscript**

The manuscript was acquired in Livorno, Italy, in 1826 and belonged to G. Anastasi’s (1765–1860) private collection. Nowadays, it is kept in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, Netherlands (Chabas 1901, 5). Its origin is likely from Memphis (Müller 2008, 262); paleographically it dates to the New Kingdom (18th dynasty). The papyrus is c. 226.2 cm long and c. 15.7 cm high. The height of lines is 0.5–0.6 cm. The manuscript is only inscribed on the (real) recto in twelve columns with in average of twelve lines. It ends in a colophon (R:XIII) consisting of three vertical lines. The main text is written in black. Headlines, ‘verse points’, additions, as well as corrections are marked in red. The beginning of the papyrus is broken off so that the original title of the ‘book’ is unknown. At the beginning, the text is very fragmentary but the condition improves towards the end. The reappearing holes in the manuscript suggest that it was rolled.

#### **Previous ‘editions’**

The papyrus Leiden I 347 was never thoroughly discussed – besides an edition of 22 pages by A. Massy (1885) in the 19th century – until now. F. Chabas briefly described the manuscript in the catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leemans 1840, 63–4, 73–4; Chabas 1901, 21–5). Furthermore, the text was used as reference for the different lexemes in the *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* (WB) which were incorporated by A. H. Gardiner in the dictionary. In 1991, J. F. Borghouts (1991)

---

<sup>1</sup> Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies (IANES)/Department for Egyptology, University of Tübingen, Germany.

presented this text in the context of his planned edition. In 2008, M. Müller (2008, 262–74) offered a short commented translation of the better-preserved parts of the papyrus. Additionally, parts of the manuscript are occasionally mentioned in other publications (e.g. el-Sayed 1982, 372–3; Vernus 1978, 318–19; Borghouts 1971, *passim*). Currently, the publication rights are held by the author of this article who is preparing an edition of this text.

### **Content of the papyrus**




The manuscript comprises two different texts. The first one – a ritual instruction – ends in the second column. The content is difficult to comprehend because this paragraph of the text is rather fragmentary, and the beginning is missing. This part of the papyrus contains numerous allusions to the underworld and more specifically to the judgement there. It is probably not connected to the following hymnic texts (see below).

In the third column, a new composition praising Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup> commences, ending in a colophon (R:XIII). This text is divided into five verses each starting with *j.nd hr=(k/tn)*, ‘greetings to (you)’. The first two verses praise Horus *jm.j Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup> (R:III1–10, III10–IV2), focusing on his ferocity and wisdom. The passage is followed by a prayer to Horus of Athribis (R:IV3–V8) featuring Horus as lord of everything. Thereafter, the ‘gods in their shrines’, (*ntr:w*) *jm.jw k3r:w=sn* (R:V8–X2) are invoked. This part of the text also mentions some topics of Horus of Athribis. Furthermore, he is directly named at the end. The last verse praises ‘the lords of eternity’, *nb.w nhh* (R:X2–XIII3) picking up the more general topics of Horus, e.g. Horus as son of Isis, heir of Osiris, and opponent of Seth. Even his solar aspect as heavenly god is mentioned several times. The reference to Horus *jm.j-Šnw.t*<sup>2</sup> in all these different parts of the text becomes explicit at the end, when he is named again in the ritual instruction (R:XII2). Therefore, the composition comprises five different verses which are more or less focussing on Horus *jm.j-Šn.wt*<sup>2</sup>.

After the introduction of the different verses (*j.nd hr=k/tn*), the named god or gods are praised with abundant epithets, followed by the wishes of the reciter usually asking for the defence against any evil. Thereafter, the reciter identifies himself with various deities, which is underlined by allusions to different myths and legends. The entire composition ends in a ritual instruction. Hence, the basic pattern of the five verses is roughly: address & eulogy – plea – self-classification – (ritual instruction). This basic pattern including the eulogy, the plea, and the self-classification can be repeated within the verses, that is why the length of the verses extremely differs from each other. This structure can easily be followed by one of the verses (R:III10–IV2):







The beginning ‘address & eulogy’ of the verses corresponds to hymns used in cults. The ‘plea’ on the other hand matches individual prayers according to the classification by J. Assmann (1999, 10–69). The following ‘self-classification’ is based on different analogies (e.g. Schneider 2000, 37–85), which are well known from incantations. The same can be said about the ritual instruction at the end. This text merges a rather uncommon mix of elements of hymns and incantations (see also Borghouts 1991, 106). Therefore, a final classification of the genre has yet to be determined.

### **Palaeography of the text**

The shape of the hieratic indicates a dating in the second half of the 18th dynasty. The script of the papyrus contains some peculiarities of the scribe’s hand. Striking is the graph for the word *psd.t* ‘enned’ (WB I, 559.2–15) which is used four times in the manuscript (R:VII6, VIII6 [2×], XI2). Instead of utilizing the ordinary *phonetic* writing e.g.  /  (WB I, 559), the scribe writes *psd.t* with the cardinal number ‘nine’ leading to the construction  *psd.t nw.t ntr:w* with the literal translation ‘nine of the gods’ (Fig. 1a). This uncommon writing is used in papyrus Moscow 314 (XI1, XIV4; Bommas 2013, pls.

address & eulogy	<sup>III10</sup> <u>j.nd</u> <sup>III11</sup> <u>hr=k</u> <u>Ḥr(.w)</u> <u>jm.j-šn.wt</u> <sup>2°</sup> <u>spd</u> { <u>≠j</u> }- <sup>c</sup> <u>b(w).wy</u> <u>st(t)</u> <u>r mdd</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>dšr-jb</u> <u>ssh</u> <u>šnt.yw</u> <sup>≠f°</sup> <sup>III12</sup> <u>tnw</u> { <u>r</u> } <u>s.t</u> <sup>≠f</sup> <u>r nṯr.w</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>nb-nr.w</u> <u>k3</u> <u>ḥr</u> [[ <u>wnmt</u> ]] <u>mtwn</u> <sup>≠f°</sup>	<sup>III10</sup> <u>Hail</u> <sup>III11</sup> <u>you</u> , Horus imi-shenut <sup>2°</sup> , the one with sharp horns, who accurately shoots, raging one who destroys his enemies, <sup>III12</sup> whose throne is more glorious in comparison to (other) gods, lord of fear, bull of his <u>arena</u> . <sup>°</sup>
plea	<u>jy(t).n</u> <sup>≠j</sup> <u>hr=k</u> <u>dw3</u> <sup>≠j</sup> <u>nfr.w</u> <sup>=k°</sup> <u>dr=k</u> <sup>III13</sup> <u>d</u> <u>w.wt</u> <u>jm</u> [[.w]] <u>.t</u> <u>ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w(t)</u> <sup>=j°</sup> <u>sk(y)</u> <sup>=k</sup> <u>šn.w</u> <u>wddy</u> <sup>=j°</sup> <u>dj=k</u> { <u>n</u> <sup>≠j</sup> } <u>mrw.t</u> <sup>=j</sup> <u>m</u> <u>ḥ.&lt;w&gt;t</u> <u>n(.wt)</u> <u>r(m)</u> <u>t.w</u> <u>nb.t</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>p<sup>c</sup>.t</u> <sup>III14</sup> <u>nb.t</u> <u>rhj(.t)</u> <u>nb.t</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>hnmm(.t)</u> <u>nb.t</u> <u>hmw.t-r</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>w</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>mj</u> <u>hny</u> <u>nhb.wt</u> <u>mj</u> <u>zšn.w</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>šfšf.t</u> <sup>&lt;≠j&gt;</sup> <u>m</u> <sup>IV1</sup> <u>jb.w</u> <sup>=sn</sup> <u>dj=k</u> <u>snd(w.w)</u> <u>n</u> <sup>≠j</sup> <u>t3.y</u> [[ <u>w</u> <u>n</u> ]] <u>w</u> <u>hm.wt</u> <sup>°</sup>	In order that I may praise your perfection did I come to you. You shall expel <sup>III13</sup> the evil in my limbs. You shall destroy the illness of my gall bladder? You shall give {me} my love in the bodi<es> of every man, pat, rekhit, sun folk etc. – may <my> respect be in their <sup>IV1</sup> hearts like lotus plants (and) like lotus flowers! You shall cause that men (and) woman fear me.
self-classification	<u>jnk</u> <u>Ḥr(.w)</u> <u>ms</u> [[ <u>w</u> <sup>≠j</sup> ]] <u>.n</u> <u>3s.t</u> <sup>°</sup> <sup>c</sup> <u>k</u> <sup>≠j</sup> <u>r</u> <u>pr</u> [[ <u>mrw.t(j)</u> <u>wj</u> ]] <u>mrj</u> <u>wj</u> <sup>IV2</sup> [[ <u>m</u> ]] <u>kk.w</u> <sup>°</sup> <u>pr</u> { <u>t</u> < <u>r</u> <sup>≠j</sup> > <u>r-hnt(y)</u> { <u>mrw.t</u> < <u>mrj</u> > <u>wj</u> <u>shd(w)</u> <u>dd.w</u> <sup>=j</sup> { <u>n</u> <sup>≠j</sup> } <sup>°</sup> <u>m</u> <u>hsf</u> { <u>f</u> }. <u>w</u> <sup>≠j</sup> { <u>j</u> } <u>n</u> <u>hr-nb.w</u> <u>m33.t(j)</u> <sup>=f(j)</sup> <u>wj</u> <sup>°</sup>	(because) I am Horus <u>who</u> Isis has born! When I enter a house, (then) <sup>IV2</sup> [[in]] the darkness loves me. When <I> come forth, (then) the light {love} <loves> me, which I give {to me} through my approach to every <u>person</u> who will see me.
ritual instruction	–	At the end of the papyrus (R:XII9–XIII3) for all the five verses [here not reproduced].

Table 1. Basic structure of the verses.

XI, XIV) and in papyrus Louvre E 32847 (V:XV3; Bardinet 2018, 378), too. Another rather rare graph is used for *ns.t* ‘throne’ (WB II, 321.6–323.15). It appears in an abbreviated version three times in the text (R:IV7, VIII10, XI1): . The writing becomes more clear in R:IX1 and X5 when it is phonetically complemented:  (Fig. 1b; Müller 2008, 267.43). Furthermore, the scribe always combines the sign  (G41) phonetically with the alphabetical sign  even if it is used as determinative as in e.g. R:III5, III12, V5, XII2, etc. (Fig. 1c). Other bird-hieroglyphs also slightly show variations in comparison to other texts from this period (e.g.  [G23];  [G38]).

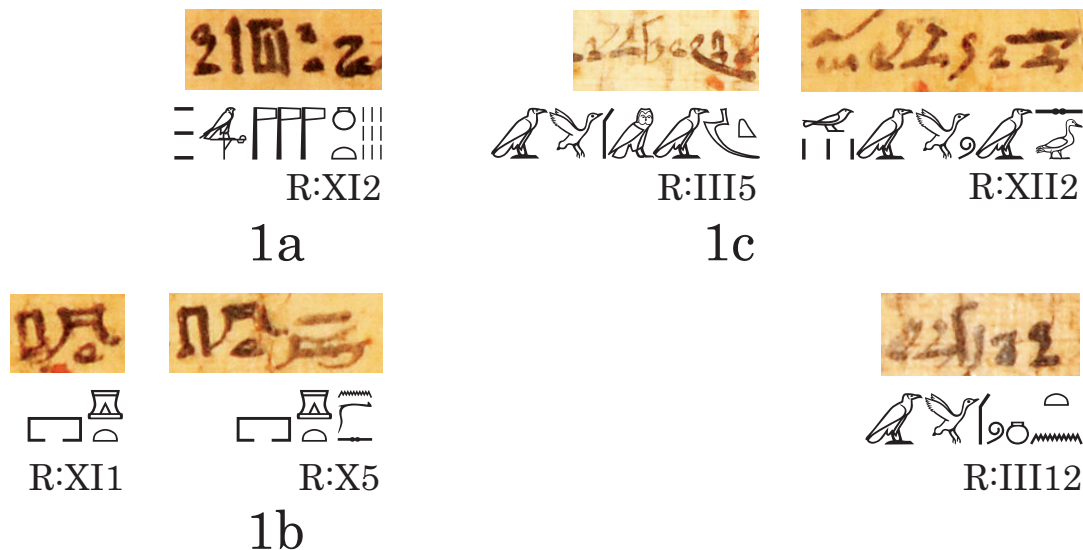


















Figure 1a–c. Paleographical peculiarities (© S. Beck).

### ***Scribal mistakes and corrections***

Besides the content of the papyrus, the manuscript is quite remarkable because of the many scribal mistakes and corrections within the text. Until now, there were more than 200 mistakes – with or without scribal correction – detectable. Usual mistakes are wrong signs (e.g. R:VI5:  for ), misspellings (e.g. R:III12:  for ), grammatical errors (e.g. R:XII11: negation  for ), wrong words (e.g. R:XII10:  for ), omission of signs or words (e.g. R:VIII1: suffix ), and erroneous addition of signs or words (e.g. R:IV2: preposition ). The corrections were implemented by only one scribe in the text in two phases. The first revision was done during the writing process. These mistakes are corrected in black; sometimes erasing the words and writing them anew (palimpsest; e.g. R:V5: *hft.jw*), sometimes overwriting wrong signs (e.g. R:III2:  to ). The second phase of correction started afterwards. These errors are corrected with red ink. Therefore the scribe inserted his corrections above, within or below the line, at times crossing out entire passages (e.g. R:V8; Fig. 2). Hence the edition process can easily be followed: copy – review/collation – correction (see e.g. Cancik-Kirschbaum and Kahl 2018, 192–8) whereas it can be assumed that not the entire text was thoroughly proof read (compare Rößler-Köhler 1979, 27). Further research will show if slips of the pen (e.g. R:XI2:  for ) or content-related mistakes (e.g. R:XI5:  for ) prevail.

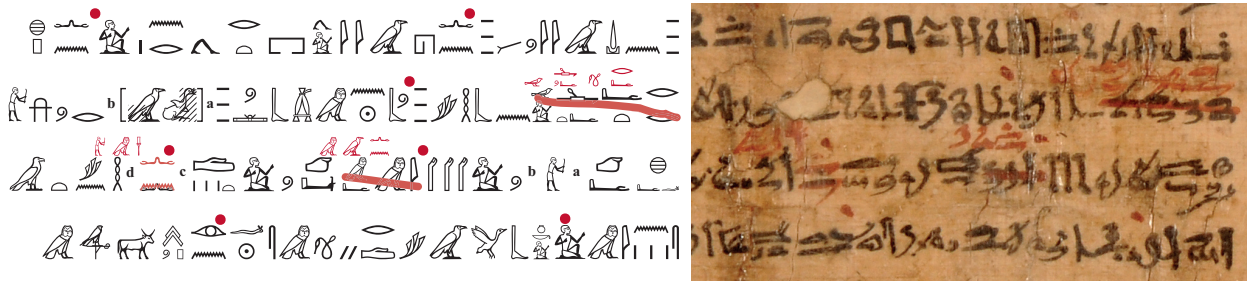


Figure 2. Papyrus Leiden I 347 R:X7-10, on the right original with mistakes and corrections (photo © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands), on the left the same text in hieroglyphs (cutout of the hieroglyphic plate; © S. Beck).

## Reference List

- Assmann, J. 1999. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitäts-Verlag.
- Bardinet, T. 2018. *Médecins et magiciens à la cour du pharaon. Une étude du papyrus médical Louvre E 32847*. Paris: Éditions Khéops.
- Bresciani, E. 1986. '𓆎𓅓𓏏𓆎 *Hr imj-šnwt*, *Hr imj-stꜣtjw* oppure *Hr imj-ḥꜣtjw*?'. In Institut d'égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry (ed.) *Hommages à Francois Daumas*: 87-94. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- Bommas, M. 2013. *Das ägyptische Investiturreitual*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 2562. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Borghouts, J. F. 1971. *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 51. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Borghouts, J. F. 1991. 'An Unedited Magical Papyrus (Leiden I 347): Some Preliminaries'. In S. Curto (ed.) *Sesto Congresso Internazionale Di Egittologia Turin, 1.-8.9.1991 Abstracts of Papers*: 106-7. Turin: International Association of Egyptologists.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E. and Kahl, J. 2018. *Erste Philologien. Archäologie einer Disziplin vom Tigris bis zum Nil*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Chabas, F. J. 1901. *Notices sommaires des papyrus hiératiques, égyptiens I. 343-371 du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Chassinat, É. 1966. *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak. Fascicule I*. Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale.
- Leemans, C. 1840. *Description raisonnée des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*. Leiden: H. W. Hazenberg.
- Massy, A. 1885. *Le papyrus de Leyde I 347, Études égyptiennes 1*. Gand: H. Engelcke.
- Müller, M. 2008. 'Beschwörung eines guten Lebens'. In B. Janowski and D. Schwemer (eds.) *Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge 4*: 262-74. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

el-Sayed, R. 1982. *La déesse Neith à Saïs. II. Documentation*, Bibliothèque d'étude 86/2. Le Caire: Institute français d'archéologie orientale.

Schneider, T. 2000. 'Die Waffe der Analogie. Altägyptische Magie als System'. In K. Gloy and M. Bachmann (eds.) *Das Analogiedenken. Vorstöße in ein neues Gebiet der Rationalitätstheorie*: 37–85. Freiburg: Alber.

Rößler-Köhler, U. 1979. *Kapitel 17 des Ägyptischen Totenbuchs. Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Funktion eines Textes der altägyptischen Totenliteratur*, Göttinger Orientforschungen 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Vernus, P. 1978. *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'étude 74. Le Caire: Institute français d'archéologie orientale.

WB = Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds.) 1982. *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache. Bd. 1–7*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.



# Some thoughts on Nubians in Gebelein region during First Intermediate Period

Wojciech Ejsmond<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

This paper explores evidence for the presence of Nubians in the Gebelein region (southern Egypt) during the First Intermediate Period (c. 2118–1880 BCE). Nubians in this text are understood as the bearers of the C-Group culture, persons described in textual sources as *Nehesi(u)*, or depicted with characteristic iconographic features, e.g. dark complexion, bushy hair, sash, etc. Published and unpublished records related with archaeological works undertaken in the Gebelein region were analysed to find any mention of artefacts, textual information or patterns of culture that can be ascribed to Nubians. The evidence is ambiguous in majority of cases. The results of the current fieldwork enable one to set these sources in topographic context. The gathered evidence is analysed and some thoughts on relations between Nubian and Egyptian populations of the Gebelein region are presented as well as how Nubians seen themselves and influenced local Egyptian population. Furthermore, the terms ‘colony’ and ‘mercenary’, which are used by many scholars in the context of the First Intermediate Period Nubians in the Gebelein region are evaluated to find more correct words.

## Keywords

Nubians; C-group; Gebelein; First Intermediate Period; integration; army; Egypt

The Egyptian-Nubian garrison in the Gebelein region is often mention in scholarly literature (e.g. Seidlmayer 2002, 101; Spalinger 2013, 451–3).<sup>2</sup> Presence of Nubian soldiers in this area was first observed by J. Vandier (1943). The idea of the existence of a garrison was proposed by G. Fischer (1961), who called the local Nubians ‘mercenaries’. Since then the idea of their ‘colony’ and ‘garrison’ in the region is often repeated. In this paper I would like to review the evidence of Nubian presence in the Gebelein region during the First Intermediate Period and reflect on the terms ‘colony’, and ‘mercenaries’ used in this context. Furthermore, attention will be paid to the influence of Nubians on the cultural landscape of the Gebelein region. An archaeological survey of the Gebelein area and the study of the archaeological material from the region is still an ongoing project, thus this paper presents rather preliminary observations. Furthermore, most of Nubian or possibly Nubian artefacts and results of previous excavations conducted at Gebelein were insufficiently published which diminishes their value for the research.

## Point of view

The discussion about Nubians in Egypt was for a long time dominated by the ancient Egyptian point of view and the opinions of early researches that convey, in more or less a conscious way, colonial and scientific racism theses. A survey of the subject made recently by U. Matić (2018) shows the scale and influence of such an approach (see also Roy 2011, 11). Thus, ancient Egyptian and 19th-20th century European stereotypes shaped our view. It is necessary to investigate how Nubians saw themselves and to give them a voice in the discussion on the history of ancient Egypt.

---

<sup>1</sup> Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw, Poland.

This paper is extended and scientific version of popular article published by the current author ‘When Nubians Spoke. Nubian Mercenaries in the Gebelein Region During the First Intermediate Period’, *Luxor Times*, February 2019 issue.

<sup>2</sup> The Gebelein region is understood here as it was defined by H. G. Fisher (1961, 44-5) and Gebelein itself as group of archaeological sites at the two mountains of Gebelein and their direct vicinity.

More recent research, for example that was carried out in the town of Abu on Elephantine island and the surrounding area, resulted in important observations. Nubians in the Aswan region can be traced from the Predynastic Period until the Late Period. They seem to have been assimilated with the local Egyptian community and numerous Nubian sherds are found in the town of Abu (Raue 2002, 2008; Gatto 2014). They were also present at other sites, like Hierakonpolis, but not seem to be so well integrated with Egyptian population, like in the Aswan region, as the separated cemeteries of Nubians indicate (Friedman 2007; Manassa Darnell 2012), if one would assume that mortuary data are good reflection of the processes taking place in settlements.

Egyptians sometimes called Nubia ‘Ta-seti’ which means ‘Land of the Bow.’ Recently, some controversy has arisen over this toponym. According to D. Michaux-Colombot (2014, 507) Ta-seti referred originally, in strict sense, to the 1st Nome of Upper Egypt between two natural barriers, Elephantine and Gebel el-Silsila. The first being its capital. It seems that ‘Ta-seti’ underwent semantic extensions in the southern direction. One can speculate, whether or not the name originated from the presence of Nubians in the southern part of Egypt who were esteemed archers.

In other parts of Egypt, Nehesi become apparent in the archaeological record during the First Intermediate Period and were working as soldiers for district rulers, e.g. the nomarchs of Assiut (Bietak 1985).

### **Native or foreign? Nubians in southern Egypt in 4th and 3rd millennium BCE**

When people started to settle in the Nile valley (see e.g. Kuper and Kröpelin 2006), there was no Nubia and Egypt and the settlers stayed within natural rather than political borders (Mortensen 1991, 11–12). The Naqada culture developed in Upper Egypt and the A-group emerged in Nubia. Both of them grew from these same Neolithic traditions that explain large similarities between them (Roy 2011, 33). Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish A-Group and Naqada pottery sherds (see e.g. Raue 2008, 2–4). The strict division to Egypt north of Aswan and Nubia south of it is a construct (Roy 2011, 45), i.e. there is no clear geographic barrier, like a mountain range, which would separate these two countries.<sup>3</sup> The division into archaeological cultures is another construct where the aim is to provide a category to which a material culture with certain features can be ascribed to. It is currently observed that, there was no clear border between what we call Nubia and Egypt in predynastic times from the archaeological point of view and in the following periods the border between the material cultures was blurry. There was a ‘grey zone’ from Lower Nubia to Armant, which was inhabited by bearers of the Naqada and the A-Group cultures (Roy 2011, 45; Buchez 2011, 31–6; Manassa Darnell 2012, 124). Similar things can be said for the First Intermediate Period, when the C-group presence is attested at many sites in southern Egypt (Seidlmayer 2002, 101). Therefore, people of the Naqada and A-Group culture as well as bearers of the C-group culture and First Intermediate Period Egyptians can be seen as two local populations of southern Egypt. Of course, the more south one goes, the stronger the Nubian element was, until it reached C-group dominated Nubia.

Contacts between Nubians and Egyptians were common (for an overview, see e.g. Seidlmayer 2002; Raue 2008; Roy 2011). A very good example is the northern part of the Gebelein region. R. Mond and O. Myers (1937) investigated an area west of Armant and part of a desert road leading to Khargah oasis. They mentioned the existence of numerous archaeological sites of the A and C-Group people (Mond and Myers 1937, pl. LXXIV; Bagnold *et al.* 1939; Kemp 1983, 118). Nubian artefacts were also found at Gebelein (Fig. 3), e.g. a leather bag that is decorated in a pattern characteristic to the A and C-Group

<sup>3</sup> Administrative division was not always in accordance with the border of Egypt in the Aswan region. For example, the Viceroy of Kush Hui was administrating Nubia and three southern nomes of Upper Egypt (Manassa Darnell 2012, 129). Ancient Egyptians did not have the concept of ‘Nubia’ as it is understood today, those southern lands were divided into regions (Wawat, Medja, etc.) (I would like to thank one of the reviewers for this remark).

pottery (Scharff 1929, 183, Taf. 37). According to P. Vernus (1986 and personal communication in July 2017) there was a desert track, frequented by Nubians and Egyptians, i.e. to passage cattle when a travel along the Nile was for some reason impossible. Thus, Nubians can be regarded as a permanent element of the local cultural landscape, which can be distinguished thanks to material culture, artistic representations, and literary sources (see below).

People of the A and C-Group were coming to Egypt not only by their free will. There were Egyptian military expeditions to Nubia, dated at least to the Early Dynastic Period (Shinnie 1996, 54–6). Nubian captives were brought back to Egypt. According to a later source, i.e. the Palermo Stone from the 5th dynasty, during one such campaign in the time of Sneferu, Egyptians were ‘smiting Nubia, bringing (in tribute) 7000 male and female live captives’ (Wilkinson 2000, 141–2). Such a policy could contributed to the decline of the native population in Nubia and to the settling of Nubian captives in Egypt.

People of the C-group (c. 2400–1550 BCE; after <https://oi.uchicago.edu/museum-exhibits/nubia/ancient-nubia-c-group-pan-grave-kerma-2400-1550-bc>, accessed 1 September 2018), that developed in Nubia after the A-Group (Shinnie 1996: 45–54), are the main concern here. They were a semi-sedentary population of the times corresponding with the Egyptian First Intermediate Period (c. 2118–1980 BCE; after Warburton *et al.* 2006, 491) (Shinnie 1996, 45–54; see also Seidlmayer 2006). The culture coincided more-less with the appearance of Nubians in Egyptian sources under the name Nehesi. Although, it is generally accepted that Nehesi are the people of the C-group, there is no conclusive evidence for this (Michaux-Colombot 2014, 507–9). Nevertheless, the terms Nehesi(u), Nubian(s), and the C-Group will be equated in this paper for convenience. The C-group archaeological sites are attested in Lower Nubia and southern Upper Egypt at least up to the Armant region in Egypt (the most northern C-group necropolis is unpublished cemetery 1900 west of Armant),<sup>4</sup> but in written sources Nubians are attested even in the Memphite region (see below).

Nehesi are depicted as household staff in Giza mastabas of the 5th dynasty (Fig. 1) as well as in narratives related with expeditions to Nubia (Lichtheim 1975, 24–5). Some of the 5th Dynasty Nubians buried at the Giza



Figure 1. Nehesi sandal bearer from Giza, mastaba of Seshathotep (Junker 1934, Abb. XVI).

<sup>4</sup> The Lucy Gura Archive at the Egypt Exploratnio Society. I would like to thank A. de Souza for the information on this unpublished material.



necropolis were people of high rank. For example, a certain Nubian bearing Egyptian name ‘Seneb’ held the office of a treasurer (Michaux-Colombot 2014, 508). In Pepi I’s decree from Dahshur, Nubians are mentioned as *Nhsjw ḥtp.w* (Goedicke 1967, 55–77), and this term can be translated as ‘mercenaries’ (Seidlmayer 2002, 97).<sup>5</sup> A tomb of a functionary who was in charge of the management of mercenary troops was discovered at the cemetery at Dahshur as well as an early C-Group bowl which was found there (de Morgan 1903, 15, pl. 27; Seidlmayer 2002, 97) supports the idea that there was a garrison of Nubian mercenaries in the area, although this evidence is weak. Pepi I’s decree was forbidding mercenaries from carrying out any requisitions from the pyramid towns and becoming priests there. The latter was obstructing integration process between Egyptians and Nubians (Seidlmayer 2002, 97) which may be another symptom of hiring mercenaries.<sup>6</sup> Another one is the mentioning of requisitions. Only recognised groups of people (like an army unit) or institutions can take requisitions.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 2. First Intermediate Period archaeological sites and toponyms in the Gebelein region. Places of uncertain precise locations are written in italics (base map by Google, elaborated by W. Ejsmond).

<sup>5</sup> Although N. Strudwick (2005, 104) and D. Michaux-Colombot (2014, 508) translate this as ‘pacified.’ Further study is necessary but there is no space for that in this paper. I am agreeing with Seidlmayer’s translation.

<sup>6</sup> Foreign group without ties to the local community would be more devoted to the person who is providing their pay, thus more reliable

<sup>7</sup> Since such recognitions are mentioned it must have been an issue. It is unlikely that the decree was aiming at regulation of situations that were not happening.

## Nubians in Gebelein region

Nubians were present in the region for a long time but this paper will focus on the First Intermediate Period which lasted for about 100 years (Seidlmayer 2006, 165–6). During this relatively short time one can see that their position in the region was different from other areas in Egypt. A short period of prosperity of the Nubian soldiers in question gives us a rare glimpse into how Nubians presented themselves and how they interacted with the Egyptian culture and possibly influenced it.

Gebelein is located about 28 km south-west of Luxor, on the west bank of the Nile (Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> The local landscape is dominated by two rocky mountains that gave to this place its ancient Egyptian name of ‘Inerty’, which means the same as the contemporary Egyptian name Gebelein i.e. ‘Two Mountains’. This place was always of great importance due to its strategic location. The eastern mountain of Gebelein is situated next to the Nile and enables one to control the navigation on the river (Fiore Marochetti 2010; Ejsmond 2016). Two routes begin north-west of Gebelein. The first one leads to the oasis of the Western Desert and was the alternative route to Nubia sometimes used by pastoral nomads (Vernus 1986). The second one is a track through the Theban mountains. It starts close to er-Rizeiqat and ends by Hiw, which allows one to quickly bypass Thebes on the way to the north of the country (Darnell 2002; Ejsmond 2017c).

The First Intermediate Period was the time when, in the southern part of Egypt, a new power centre had emerged in Hefat. Ankhtifi was the nomarch of the 3rd Upper Egyptian nome and had gained control of the second and first districts (Vandier 1950, 161–264). He located his residence in Hefat, which was in the northern part of his domain, just a few kilometres south from Gebelein (Manassa Darnell 2009, 76). The new residence was only about 15–20 km south from Armant, where he had military conflicts with the Theban and Coptite nomes (Willems 2014b, 82–3). When one looks at the map (Fig. 2) it becomes apparent that the most strategic place to locate a garrison is the area between Gebelein and Armant which corresponds with the cemeteries where the so called ‘Nubian stelae’ (see below) and C-group camp sites were found (Kemp 1983, 118). Ankhtifi states in the self-presentation in his tomb that he sent grain to Nubia (Lichtheim 1975, 85–7; Edwards 2016, 62–4). If this is true and not just a popular literary motif, it is hard to believe that he was doing this without the prospect of gaining something, such as attracting Nubians to his domain in order to join his battalions. It seems possible that Ankhtifi may have been responsible for the establishment of the garrison in the Gebelein region in order to protect and expand the northern part of his domain and he located it north of Gebelein (Ejsmond 2017b).

Nubians during the First Intermediate Period are thought to be desired soldiers in Egypt, prized for their archery (Zieliński 2015, 791–2) and physical skills. Kedes from the Gebelein region in his self-presentation had written ‘I surpassed this whole town in swiftness – its Nubians and its Upper Egyptians.’ This sentence would make sense if we assume that Nubians in the town were prized for their physical abilities (Lichtheim 1975, 90; Poo 2005, 108). Nubian dress was even emulated by the Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom (Spalinger 2013, 451), what corroborates with the assumption that Nubians gained the esteem of Egyptians. Furthermore, if we understand his self-presentation text literary, it means that some Nubians were living in the settlement among Egyptians. Nubians’ skill in their handling of the bow was recognised by Egyptians, and they incorporated Nubian troops into their own armies in the role of archers. The nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, often associated with Nubians, prepared these people for a military career. They hunted animals with the use of bows in mountains and deserts, travelled with cattle and goats, as well as camped across the country. An army can be compared to an

---

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the area during the First Intermediate Period, see Ejsmond (forthcoming); for the results of the current field research, see Ejsmond *et al.* (2017); Ejsmond (2017a).

extended mobile group that needs to know how to exploit the environment for resources and strategic purposes. Therefore, people acquainted with a nomadic lifestyle would be well-qualified to be valued soldiers (Spalinger 2013, 450–3).

Nehesi appear on so called ‘Nubian stelae’ found at Gebelein (e.g. Turin Supp. 1273) itself and the necropolis of er-Rizeiqat (e.g. CG 1612). The stelae from which they are known today are the result of cultural interactions between Nubians and Egyptians. Their form is Egyptian and they incorporate typical Egyptian ways of presenting the human body but with the addition of Nubian details in their appearance, such as typical Nubian bushy hair, a complexion darker than a native Egyptian, and a sash around the waist tied at the back. The stelae are executed in a distinctive style, sometimes with very basic finishing, described by scholars as crude and rough (e.g. Fisher 1961; Rosati 2004). But there was also a second workshop in the region, which was producing higher quality stelae for the army commanders and the local elite (Kubisch 2000). The composition of the latter group follows traditional Egyptian artistic conventions. The workshop that was producing for the Nubian soldiers is more interesting because it presents subjects in a more relaxed manner, leaving more opportunity for individuality, self-expression, and innovation. This gave to the Nubians a medium through which they could express how they saw themselves in relation to Egyptian culture.

But, was this influence going in one way, i.e. Nubians were only absorbing patterns of Egyptian culture without influencing it? Such beliefs are even today attributed to Nubians (e.g. Redford 2004, 10; see also Matić 2018 for comments and more examples). The evidence from Gebelein suggests that the situation was even more complex. Due to insufficient documentation from previous excavations in the area we know very little about the archaeological context of objects discovered at Gebelein. Nevertheless, there are several mentions in publications that can help us to understand the mutual relations between Egyptians and Nubians.

There are some pieces of information that suggest that Nubians retained their burial traditions.<sup>9</sup> An anthropologist G. Marro, who took part in excavations at Gebelein, described the following grave, that was unearthed at the Northern Necropolis of Gebelein:

‘One of those tombs from most ancient times is beautiful in its crudeness. A skeleton was found surrounded by huge limestone blocks without any trace of intentional work. Those blocks are simply put one to another, creating, let say, a burial chamber’ (Marro 1929, 9).

This description meets the forms of the C-group and Pan-Grave culture tombs known from other sites (see e.g. Hafsaas 2006, 28–9, 33; Friedman 2007, 57–62; de Souza 2013), although great caution should be kept because this description is very vague. What is significant, although the description is very generic, it can be understood from the general context of the description that the tomb was found within Egyptian necropolis, not as a part of some separated Nubian burial ground. This suggests integration of Nubians within Egyptian society, if we assume that a structure of a cemetery was reflection of social structure of local population. But its dating and description are very general, so conclusions should be treated with cautiousness. On the other hand, there is description by V. Rosa (1911, 52–3) of a rock-cut tomb at the Northern Necropolis where a stela showing man and woman was found. The wife is folding her arm over the shoulder of her consort, which is typical for stelae depicting Nubians. This stela has not been identified so far therefore it is impossible to draw any final conclusion regarding the ethnicity of the depicted people. In more or less this same area of the necropolis other rock-cut tombs containing oxen skulls were mentioned by Rosa. Very interesting is the case of one of them, i.e. burial of Nomarch

---

<sup>9</sup> In this paper I am trying to present all the examples of tombs and artefacts that potentially are exhibiting Nubian influence but the insufficient record often not allow for conclusive interpretations.





Figure 3. Two C-Group bowls from Gebelein (Curto 1966: Fig. 21).

Ini, where a statue of the tomb's owner was placed on the neck of a cow's skin (Rosa 1911, 67, 72; Brovarski 1976). An inventory of the objects found in the tomb (Rosa 1911, 73) is typical furnishing of Egyptian burial, e.g. wooden sandals, funerary models, etc. Thus, the burial may represent confluence of Egyptian and Nubian traditions.

There is more evidence suggesting Nubian presence at Gebelein. An image of two Nubian bowls was reproduced by S. Curto (1966, 135, Fig. 21). Unfortunately, their exact find spot is unknown. A. Roccati (1973–1975) visited Gebelein in 1970's of the 20th century and in the description of the visit he mentioned, that he have seen some tombs with stone superstructure that he interpreted as tumuli, possibly belonging to Nubian soldiers of the First Intermediate Period. They were located in the southern part of Gebelein (Roccati 1973–1975, 29–30). But he did not present any additional information, that would support this interpretation. This area is the Muslim Cemetery, thus it cannot be excluded, that a contemporary graves with stones surrounding burial pits were mistaken for Nubian tombs. This area was visited by the current author but no pottery that could be attributed to Nubians was noticed, but it must be underlined that the present Muslim burials restricted the intensity of the survey in this area. Furthermore, as it was witnessed in the southern part of the cemetery in February of 2019, a contemporary extension of the cemetery may involve the removal of the top layers of soil, thus erasing traces of its earlier use.

There is more evidence of Nubian influence on the local funerary practices, or Nubians adopted Egyptian traditions but retained some of their customs. At the Northern Necropolis were found two mummies of dogs, located by an entrance to the burial chamber of a rock-cut tomb.<sup>10</sup> Along the corridor were spread numerous bones of oxen (Marro 1929, 33–5). Dogs are frequently depicted on Nubian stela. There is one stela from Gebelein depicting Nubian called 'Seneb' who had the title of 'the guardian of dogs' (D'Amicone 1988, 98–9). It seems that dogs were also accompanying their owners in burials (see also Hartley *et al.* 2011; Hartley 2015). The presence of oxen bones is attested too in several other burials. This may be regarded as sign of Nubian culture. These are the Tomb of Iti II and his wife Neferu where oxen skulls were found in Neferu's burial chamber (Rosa 1911; Moiso 2015). The aforementioned Old Kingdom burial of Ini (Brovarski 1976) contained a cowhide and cow's skull was placed by a wooden sarcophagus. Interesting is that on the cow's skin a wooden statue of Ini was located (Donadoni Roveri 1989, 183). It is thought that this evokes Nubian tradition of cattle buried in human tombs (Donadoni Roveri 1990, 26) and the statue of Ini was deliberately placed on the cowhide in respect to Nubian tradition (Donadoni Roveri 1990, 26). A mastaba dated to 4th dynasty (Bergamini 2005, 36–7; Willems 2014a, 14) contained cow's or bull's skull

<sup>10</sup> In this case the dogs seems to play the role of the guardians of the tomb. This is wide subject. M. Hartley (2015) provides good introduction (see also Hartley *et al.* 2011).

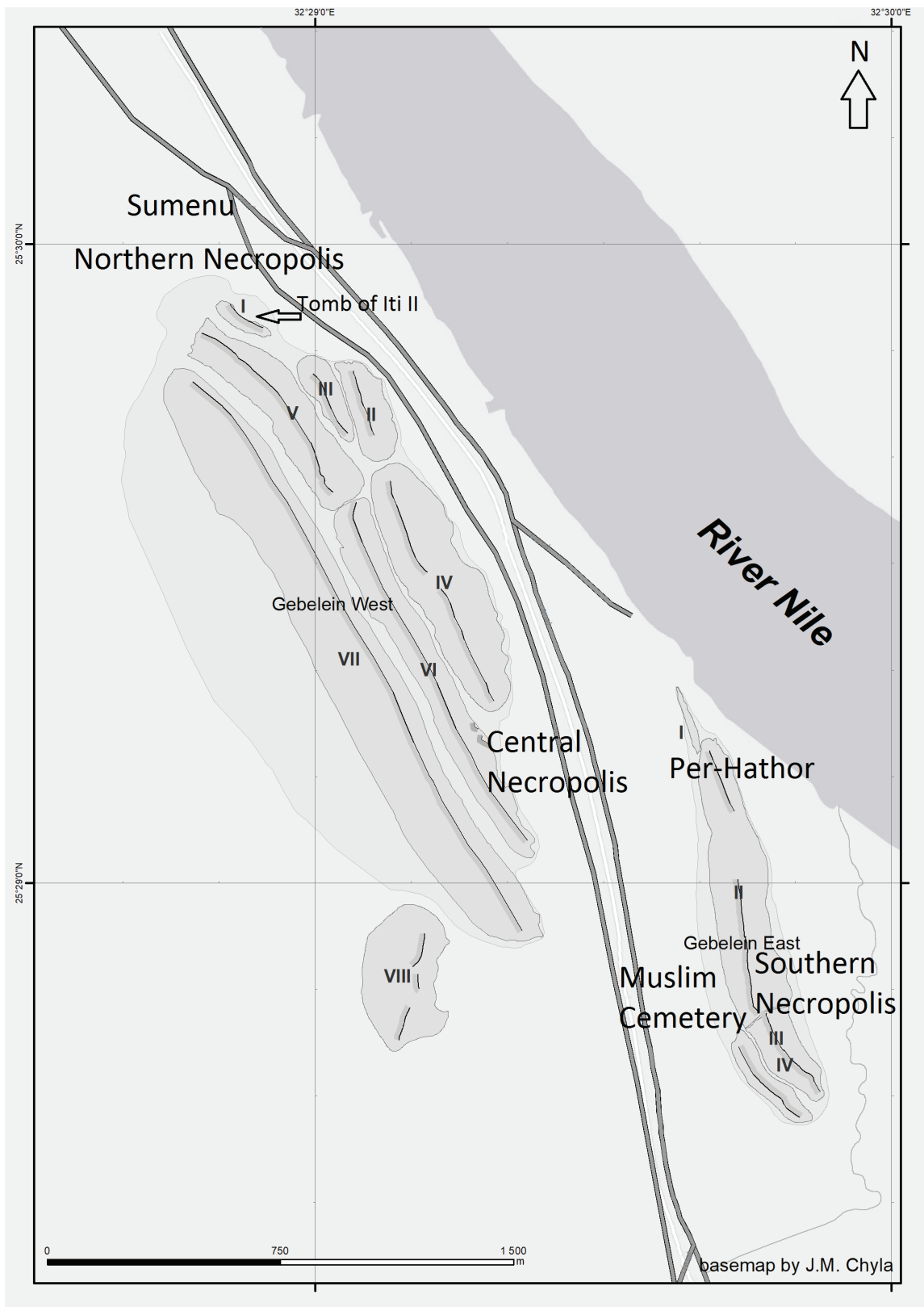


Figure 4. Archaeological sites in the Gebelein micro-region mentioned in the text. Roman numerals are numbers of rocks (base map by J. M. Chyla, elaborated by W. Ejsmond)



Figure 5. Nubian stelae from the Gebelein region. A: Nenu and Sekhathor (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Emily Esther Sears Fund, 03.1848, Fischer 1961, pl. XII); B: Tjenu (Turin Supp. 1270, Fischer 1961, pl. XIII a); C: Intef and Setnebet (University of California cat. 6-19911, Fischer 1961, pl. XII b); D: Four men (Turin Supp. 13115, photo W. Ejsmond).

placed under a coffin (El Razek and Mohammed, n.d.). Such occurrences of oxen bones is not restricted to the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. A deposit consisting of a bullock's head, two vessels and a knife was found at the Northern Necropolis (Farina 1929). It may have been related with predynastic burials in the area (Donadoni Roveri 1990, 25). The location of oxen skulls is rarely attested at cemeteries (de Meyer *et al.* 2005–2006, 64). Such frequent use of cattle parts at Gebelein may be local tradition, possibly influenced by long history of Nubian presence in the region.

### How Nubians presented themselves?

The Nubian stelae form a unique group of such tombstones.<sup>11</sup> They show in many cases Nubians and their families accompanied by their dogs. Sometimes an offering bearer is bringing a drink and the offering table is depicted with loosely distributed offerings filling empty spaces. A wife is usually holding her husband with her arm folded over his shoulder. The provenance of many of the stelae is unknown, in many cases they are attributed to the Gebelein region by means of their characteristic

<sup>11</sup> For the most recent study and bibliography on the First Intermediate Period stelae, see Pitkin (2017).



style (see also Rosati 2004; Kubisch 2000). It is uncertain who commissioned the stelae in question. They could have been ordered by the Nubians themselves or they could have been commissioned by Egyptians on their behalf, or they could have been gifts, etc.<sup>12</sup>

There is no doubt about the ethnicity of many of the owners of the stelae because they are called Nehesi in the accompanying hieroglyphic text. But in some cases, the situation is not that clear.<sup>13</sup> Nubians sometimes bear Egyptian names and clothes. Some soldiers are depicted with Egyptian-looking consorts, who bear Egyptian names but the complexion of their skin and the ethnic term Nehesi indicates Nubian descent. In other cases only the word Nehesi indicates their ancestry. Four stelae will serve as examples of the complexity of the situation in the region.

The funerary stela of Nenu and Sekhathor (Fig. 5 A) shows a family consisting of a Nubian and his wife. The woman looks entirely Egyptian, while their son and daughter exhibit Nubian features. The case of the daughter is of special interest because her complexion is yellow-red, i.e. not as red as her father's skin not as yellow as her mother's complexion. It makes an impression that the craftsman who made the stela wanted to show that she was of Nubian and Egyptian descent. According to Egyptian canons, the yellow complexion was typical for depictions of women and red for men. Nubians were shown with a darker complexion than Egyptians. It seems that the wife was Egyptian. The ethnic identity of the servant of the family is blurred. He is Egyptian judging by his hair, but his sash is a typically Nubian feature.

The stela of Tjenu in the Egyptian Museum in Turin (Fig. 5 B) shows the owner who is described in the text as Nehesi, his wife looks Egyptian, but she is also called Nubian. In front of them are represented, in Nubian clothes, Tjenu's brothers: Tjesen, Meri, Khepru, and Ihtek. Only the last name sounds Nubian and others are Egyptian.

The stela of Intef and Setnebet (Fig. 5 C) shows two people bearing Egyptian names. The male is shown as a typical Nubian and his wife is wearing Egyptian dress, but her complexion is as red as her husband's skin. Only the man is called Nehesi. It is probable that despite their Egyptian names and the Egyptian dress of the woman both of them wanted to underline their Nubian identity.

Another stela (Fig. 5 D) is more difficult to interpret. It was found in the tomb of an army commander Iti II and his wife Neferu (Moiso 2015). It shows four people with bushy hair, two of them with dark red complexions and two with yellow skin which has nothing to do with their gender. The way the men hold onto each other indicates affinity. The two people on the right of the scene have bows, which are characteristic of depictions of Nubians in the region. They also have white sashes. One can speculate whether or not these are Egyptianised Nubian sashes. The other two individuals wear typically Egyptian clothes. The dark red complexion of one of them indicates Nubian descent. This stela may show the result of the long interactions between Nubians and Egyptians: people of mixed ancestry living in one region with two cultures which were intertwining.

As one can see from the aforementioned examples,<sup>14</sup> the names of the deceased from the stelae do not always reflect their ethnicity and in the case of women their depictions do not always correspond with their Nubian ancestry. Nubian soldiers may have wanted to exhibit and underline their prowess as prized bowman because this skill allowed them to establish their position. The presence of the stelae

<sup>12</sup> I am grateful to the one of the reviewers for this remarks.

<sup>13</sup> The attribution to ethnic groups is very difficult matter in cases of multicultural societies. Unfortunately, I cannot discuss this in detail in this paper due to limited length of the text. Good overview of the subject in the context of ancient Egypt was recently published as *Journal of Egyptian History* 11 (2019).

<sup>14</sup> More complex examination of the stelae from Gebelein is planned by the current author.

also indicates that Nubian soldiers were staying in the region after their military service had ceased and had established families there. The sole existence of the stelae depicting Nubians testifies to at least partial adoption of Egyptian burial customs. The clear Nubian features of the people is also the testimony to self-awareness and cultural self-confidence of Nubians in the Gebelein region (Seidlmayer 2002, 101–2), otherwise they would exactly imitate Egyptian canons and blend in to the Egyptian population of the area.

The Nubians became visible in the archaeological record (maybe even more so than the native Egyptian soldiers) because it was the time of prosperity for the Gebelein region and especially for Nubian troops. In contrast to Dahshur, the Nubians in the Gebelein region seem to have been integrating with local Egyptians. The lack of Nubian stelae after the First Intermediate Period does not necessarily mean that they disappeared but simply that they no longer had the means for such monuments or they blended in to Egyptian population. But it is hard to say because there is far less stelae from the Middle Kingdom than it is from the First Intermediate Period from the Gebelein region.

### **Colony of mercenaries?**

H. G. Fisher (1961, 76) used the word ‘colony’ in reference to Nubians of the Gebelein region. This interpretation is often repeated by other authors, who also provided additional adjectives, e.g. that it was strong colony and ‘numbers of Nubian warriors were settled on Egyptian territory’ (Vernus 1986, 144; Török 2009, 77), what is hard to prove on the example of 28 stelae coming from or attributed to Gebelein region.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, not all of them depict Nubians.

A colony is a group of people of one nationality or race living in a foreign place and retaining traditions of and/or ties with their homeland.<sup>16</sup> Fisher’s interpretation went along the common view of his time, that see Egypt as an ethnically homogenous country inhabited by Egyptians (Matić 2018). Thus, an intrusion of other ethnicities into a certain area that endured for a longer time was seen as a colony. As it was already established, Nubians were present in southern Egypt, and the Gebelein region in particular, from very early times and it is hard to perceive them as colonists. Especially since there was no separated Nubian population but it was part of a grey zone going from the First Cataract region northward. If we treat the inscription from the stela of Kedes literally, some of them lived in this same settlements as Egyptians and, as funerary evidence shows, were buried at this same cemetery as Egyptians. One can speak about them as distinctive group. Egyptians and Nubians were living in this same area for long time and after so many generations both can be regarded as native. S. Zakrzewski (2003 and 2007, 507) studied the osteological material from Gebelein. According to her, there is change in anthropological features of the local population between the predynastic and Middle Kingdom populations of the area, which may be the reflection of the presence of Nubians in the region. However, due to poorly known archaeological context of the researched sample it is hard to give a certain interpretation of this phenomenon.

It seems that both cultures were influencing each other. Therefore, the term ‘colony’ should not be applied to Nubians in the Gebelein region because this was the ‘grey zone’ inhabited by two ethnic groups which can be called native for the area. One can refer to them simply as Nubian population of the region.

In the discourse in Egyptology and archaeology of ancient Egypt the term ‘mercenaries’ is usually used to describe foreign forces hired by Egyptians (e.g. Kaplan 2003). Mercenaries are soldiers who are paid for

---

<sup>15</sup> This is the number of all stelae from Gebelein described by M. Pitkin (2017, catalogue).

<sup>16</sup> See <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colony>, accessed 1 September 2018.

fighting for a country or group that they do not belong to.<sup>17</sup> Ancient Egyptians were employing foreigners in their army. For example, Weni, who lived during the 6th dynasty, wrote in his self-presentation:

‘When his majesty took action against the Asiatic sand-dwellers, his majesty made an army of many tens of thousands from all of Upper Egypt: (...); from Lower Egypt: (...); and from Irtjet-Nubians, Medja-Nubians, Yam-Nubians, Wawat-Nubians, Kaau-Nubians; and from Tjemeh-land’ (Lichtheim 1975, 19).

As one can see from the above text, Egyptians were familiar with foreign recruits and they distinguished different groups among Nubians. Therefore, Nubians should not be seen as a homogenous population. They probably had complex relations among themselves and represented different kinds of relations with pharaonic state as well as local potentates of the First Intermediate Period.

H. G. Fisher (1961, 76) jumped to the conclusion that Nubians with bows and dogs showed on the stelae are mercenaries. Indeed, weapons that they hold indicate the military profession, but bows can be used for hunting as well. The later interpretation is corroborated by the presence of dogs, which were presented in ancient Egyptian art as related with hunting (Rice 2006).<sup>18</sup> I am not saying here that Fisher’s interpretation is wrong, but he never elucidated on the evidence that these individuals are mercenaries. There are stelae of army commanders from the region (see e.g. that of Rudjemqeb, Szafranski 1994; and Iti II, Moiso 2015) and battalions stationing in the area of Hefat are mentioned in the self-presentation of Ankhtifi (Edwards 2016). It is reasonable to believe that Nubians were employed as soldiers in the local army, although their number is obscure. But other possibilities should not be immediately excluded. The presence of a weapon can be part of underlining Nubian descent, or hunting skills, not only the military service. Also, probably there were Nubians in the Gebelein region who were not employed in the local army. This is a broader and more complex issue which cannot be sufficiently discussed here due to the limit of the length of this paper.

If assuming that the profession of the Nubians from the stelae was soldiers one should find proper term designating their function. Ancient Egyptians could have been recruited into an army force (Spalinger 2013, 424), but in Egyptological literature native soldiers are not called ‘mercenaries’. If one would follow presented above interpretation of their presence as natives it would be wrong to call them mercenaries. One can argue that the appearance of the Nubian stelae for ordinary soldiers (i.e. persons without any commanding titles) and lack of such tombstones for Egyptian soldiers (with the exception of commanders) indicate that Nubians were paid (or paid better), than Egyptians. But such tombstones could have been gifts to selected individuals for their exceptional service. It can be assumed that Nubians of the Gebelein region formed or were part of army units commanded by Egyptians. Thus, the term professional soldiers, or soldiers, as J. Vandier (1943) called them, seems to be more accurate in the case of the Nubians in the battalions located in the Gebelein region.

### **Terminological issues**

A. Spalinger (2013, 452) made a good point by writing that the Gebelein stelae must be approached separate from the traditional Egyptian attributes of alienated Nubian settlement and applying terms like ‘acculturation’ does not solve the problem of describing of the process that was happening in the region. S. T. Smith (2018) proposed multiscalar approach that stresses ‘the creation of difference using particular markers in particular cultural contexts’. According to the scholar, ethnicity in ancient Egypt must not be seen as always stable, but it is fluid and depending on a situation, especially in multicultural case studies. This seems to be the case of Gebelein.

---

<sup>17</sup> See <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/mercenary>, accessed 1 September 2018.

<sup>18</sup> J. Vandier (1943, 24) suggest that they may have been used by archers during battles.



Presence of Nubians in the Gebelein region can be seen as a process shaped by changing circumstances. Amalgamation, multiculturalism, or integration seems to be accurate terms when speaking on Nubian and Egyptian populations in the area. Both groups were copying cultural patterns from each other, although it is often difficult to say who was Nubian and who was Egyptian on the basis of the archaeological material which is not substituted by literary sources. Confluence of Egyptian and Nubian dresses, joining of Egyptian and Nubian elements of burial traditions indicates amalgamation in this case study but the unknown or very poorly known archaeological contexts of these finds cause for many issues with their interpretations.

### Region of two cultures

Due to Gebelein location in the southern part of Egypt and on the crossroads of desert as well as valley tracks, the region was nearly always populated by Egyptians and people who are related to Nubia in scholarly literature but actually they were living in Egypt (possibly for many generations). Furthermore, Nubians and Egyptians can be regarded as indigenous populations of the Gebelein region. The First Intermediate Period Nubians left the most substantial evidence which allows us to see how they saw themselves in relation to the Egyptian society. By adopting iconographical traditions and the writing system of Egypt the Nubians from the Gebelein stelae are an invaluable source which gives them a voice in a discussion dominated by Egyptian sources. As the Gebelein case demonstrate, personal names attested in texts do not always reflect ethnicity. Thus, people known from texts could went unrecognised by researchers as Nubians.

It is possible that some part of the Nubian population of the Gebelein region was exploiting different ecological niche than Egyptians, i.e. Nubians were probably living closer to the desert edge and mountains where they could pasture e.g. cattle, than Egyptians who were more dependent on agriculture in the



Figure 6. Aashyet on the interior of her sarcophagus at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (photo J. M. Alba Gómez).

alluvial plain.<sup>19</sup> Due to their relation with nomadic lifestyle, Nubians were predisposed to be members of an elite force in the Egyptian army. They lived in Egypt with their families. One phrase from the stela of Djemi, an Egyptian army commander, living in the Gebelein region during the First Intermediate Period, mentions Nubians:

‘I taxed the people of Wawat [Lower Nubians living in his region] for any chief who happened to be in this area’ (Fisher 1961, pl. 13).

This suggests that Nubians were present in southern Egypt as organised groups with their chiefs. Thus, they had their tribal structure while living in Egypt. This recalls much later situation from the 6th century CE which we know from textual sources. When Blemmyes settled in the Gebelein region they lived under the authority of their king, who was governing his people as a tribal chief but was recognising Byzantine authority (Eide *et al.* 1998, 1202).

The Gebelein stelae show marriages between Egyptians and Nubians and it is the most intimate form of cross-cultural contact that two people from different backgrounds can engage in, since it involves bilingualism and some degree of cultural adaptation on one side or the other. Many Nubians adopted Egyptian names. In some cases, choosing certain names can be a statement or a demonstration of personal preferences, such as the commemoration of an honoured individual. A possible instance of this is the aforementioned Nubian named ‘Intef’. His name may have been reference to one of the 11th dynasty rulers. The majority of names pertain to acculturation into the Egyptian community.

It is hard to say what role Nubians played in the 11th dynasty war to re-unify Egypt. The fact that Mentuhotep II had Nubian wives, who were buried with royal splendour and their Nubian origins were underlined, may suggest that he tried to gain Nubian support. A marriage is traditionally one of the best ways to make and/or seal an alliance. By marrying Nubians who were manifesting their ancestry, Mentuhotep may have wanted to improve support from other Nubians, by showing that the royal family, and maybe future heir to the throne, has ties with Nehesi. The sarcophagus of Queen Aashyet (Fig. 6) (Liszka 2018) is important here because it shows how Nubian women were shown. When Nubian women were presented on the aforementioned stelae they look very Egyptian. Aashyet is depicted in purely Egyptian context but her Nubian descent is underlined by the dark skin and short hair. This shows that the royal family, like some other Egyptian families, was multicultural. This could attract Nubians like Intef, who was depicted on one of the aforementioned stelae, to support the 11th dynasty.

Egyptian involvement and influences in Nubia was a subject often studied by Egyptologists over the last two centuries. Early excavations in Nubia focused on the Egyptian remains. Influenced by scientific racism and colonial views, the interpretations of the results tended to emphasise the supremacy of Egyptian culture as a colonising force and its supposed attempts to ‘civilize’ the native Nubian population. From such a perspective, Nubians were supposedly attracted to the Egyptian culture and wanted to join the pharaonic civilisation. If this would be true, Nubians (especially these which were well acquainted with Egyptian culture) would not persist in manifesting their ethnic identity, as they were doing so on the Gebelein stelae. Furthermore, one should change perspective and explore Nubia’s influence over Egypt. As demonstrated above, Nubians were present in the Gebelein region for a very long time. They may even be regarded as an integral part of the local cultural landscape, that left its marks on local Egyptian culture. Further study of the Nubian presence in the region is necessary. This paper contains my preliminary thoughts, which I would like to elaborate in the future, when the fieldworks at Gebelein will be more advanced.

---

<sup>19</sup> It must be remarked that there is not too much evidence on the lower classes of society living in Egypt, although they formed the majority of the population. Thus, it is difficult to judge what was the ethnic structure of the population along the lower Nile.

## Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank U. Matic for sharing the manuscript of his paper (see references) and valuable comments on the text, M. Pitkin for her Ph.D. thesis and K. Edwards for her MA thesis, J. M. Chyla for the base map in Fig. 2, J. M. Alba Gómez for the image used as the Fig. 6, S. Elliot for proofreading, and the University of Warsaw Foundation as well as the Consulting Council for the Student's Research of the University of Warsaw for financial support of the fieldworks at Gebelein.

## Reference List

Bagnold, R. A., Myers, O. H., Peel, R. F. and Winkler, H. A. 1939. 'An Expedition to the Gilf Kebir and Uweinat, 1938'. *The Geographical Journal* 93/4: 281–313.

Bergamini, G. 2005. 'Museo Egizio – Turin (Italy): 1999 Field Activities at Gebelein'. *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 79: 33–9.

Bietak, M. 1985. 'Zu den nubischen Bogenschützen aus Assiut. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ersten Zwischenzeit'. In P. Posener-Criéger (ed.) *Melanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar I*, Bibliothèque d'études 97: 87–98. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Brovarski, E. 1976. 'Two Monuments of the First Intermediate Period from the Theban Nome'. In J. Johnson and E. Wente (eds.) *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 39: 31–41. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Buchez, N. 2011. 'Adaïma (Upper Egypt): The Stages of State Development from the Point of View of a "Village Community"'. In R. F. Friedman and P. N. Fiske (eds.) *Egypt at its Origins 3. Proceedings of the Third International Conference "Origin of the State. Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt"*, London, 27th July – 1st August 2008, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 205: 31–40. Leuven: Peeters.

Curto, S. 1966. *Nubien. Geschichte einer rätselhaften Kultur*. München: Goldmann Verlag.

D'Amicone, E. 1988. 'Religious buildings and the necropolis of Gebelein in the third millennium B.C.' In A. M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.) *Egyptian Civilisation. Religious Beliefs*: 62–81. Milan: Electa.

Darnell, J. C. 2002. 'The narrow doors of the desert: Ancient Egyptian roads in the Theban Western Desert'. In B. David and M. Wilson (eds.) *Inscribed Landscapes. Marking and Making Place*: 104–21. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Donadoni Roveri, A. M. 1989. *Dal museo al museo. Passato e futuro del Museo Egizio di Torino*. Turin: Allemandi.

Donadoni Roveri, A. M. 1990. 'Gebelein'. In G. Robins (ed.) *Beyond the Pyramids. Egyptian Regional Art from the Museo Egizio in Turin*: 23–9. Atlanta: Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology.

Edwards, K. 2016. "I was a man of whom there was no other!" A linguistic review of the 'autobiographical' inscriptions of Ankhtyfy with an excursus on his contemporary, Hetepy. Auckland: University of Auckland (unpublished MA thesis).

Eide, E. T., Hag, T., Pierce, H. and Török, L. 1998. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum III. From the First to the Sixth Century AD*. Bergen: John Grieg AS.

Ejsmond, W. 2016. *Gebelein Archaeological Project: An Overview*. Warsaw: Ośrodek Badań nad Antykem Europy Południowo-Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

- Ejsmond, W. 2017a. 'The Gebelein Archaeological Project 2013-2016'. In: M. C. Guidotti and V. Rosati (eds.) *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence, Italy 23-30 August 2015*: 182-5. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Ejsmond, W. 2017b. 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period in Light of Recent Field Research'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 14: 11-13.
- Ejsmond, W. 2017c. 'The necropolis of er-Rizeiqat'. *Ägypten und Levante* 27: 241-8.
- Ejsmond, W. (forthcoming) 'Gebelein in its regional context from late Old Kingdom until the end of the First Intermediate Period'. In M. de Meyer and E. Lange (eds.) *Proceedings of the Conference 'Beyond Memphis. The Transition of the Late Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period as reflected in Provincial Cemeteries'*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.
- Ejsmond, W., Chyla, J. M., Witkowski, P., Takács, D., Wieczorek, D. F., Xu-Nan, L., Oeters, V., Kuronuma, T., and Grylak, A. 2017. 'Report on the archaeological survey at Gebelein in 2014, 2015 and 2016 seasons'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26/1, 239-68.
- Farina, G. 1929. 'Notizie sugli scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Gebelên 1930'. *Aegyptus* 10.2/4: 291-4.
- Fiore Marochetti, E. 2010. *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Gebelein (CGT 7003/1-277)*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 39. Leiden: Brill.
- Fischer, H. G. 1961. 'The Nubian mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period'. *Kush* 9: 44-80.
- Friedman, R. 2007. 'The C-Group Cemetery at Locality HK27C: Results of the 2007 Season'. *Sudan & Nubia* 11: 57-62.
- Gatto, M. 2014. 'Cultural entanglement at the dawn of the Egyptian history: a view from the Nile First Cataract region'. *Origini. Rivista di Preistoria e Protostoria delle Civiltà Antiche/Review of Prehistory and Protohistory of Ancient Civilizations* 36: 93-123.
- Goedicke, H. 1967. *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hafsaas, H. 2006. *Cattle Pastoralists in a Multicultural Setting. The C-Group People in Lower Nubia 2500 - 1500 BCE*, The Lower Jordan River Basin Programme Publications 10. Ramallah: Birzeit University.
- Hartley, M. 2015. 'The Significance of Predynastic Canid Burials in Ancient Egypt'. *Archéo-Nil* 25: 57-74.
- Hartley, M., Buck, A. and Binder, S. 2011. 'Canine Interments in the Teti Cemetery North Saqqara'. In M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds.) *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1*: 17-29. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Junker, H. 1934. *Gîza II. Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.
- Kaplan, Ph. 2003. 'Cross-Cultural Contacts among Mercenary Communities in Saite and Persian Egypt'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18/1: 1-31.
- Kemp, B. J. 1983. 'Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and Second Intermediate Period c. 2686-1552 BC'. In B. G. Trigger, A. Lloyd, B. Kemp and D. O'Connor (eds.), *Ancient Egypt. A social history*: 71-182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



- Kubisch, S. 2000. 'Die Stelen der 1. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelein'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 56: 239–56.
- Kuper, R. and Kröpelin, S. 2006. 'Climate-Controlled Holocene Occupation in the Sahara: Motor of Africa's Evolution'. *Science* 313: 803–7.
- Lichtheim, M. 1975. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Vol. 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Liszka, K. 2018. 'Discerning Ancient Identity: The Case of Aashyet's Sarcophagus (JE 47267)'. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian History* 11: 185–207.
- Manassa Darnel, C. 2009. 'Preliminary Report 2008-2009 Season of the Mo'alla Survey Project'. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45: 57–78.
- Manassa Darnel, C. 2012. 'Nubians in the Third Upper Egyptian Nome: A View from Moalla'. In: Forstner-Müller, P. Rose (eds.) *Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts of the Middle and Early New Kingdom. Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Cairo, 11-12 December 2010*: 129–48. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Marro, G. 1929. *L'esplorazione della necropoli di Gebelen. Dai lavori della Missione Archaeologica Italiana in Egitto*, Atti Societa Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze, Torino, Settembre 1928, XVII. Pavia: Premiata Tipografia Successori Fratelli Fusi.
- Matić, U. 2018. 'De-colonizing historiography and archaeology of ancient Egypt and Nubia Part 1. Scientific Racism'. *Journal of Egyptian History* 11: 19–44.
- de Meyer, M., van Neer, W., Peeters, Ch. and Willems, H. 2005-2006. 'The Role of Animals in the Funerary Rites at Dayr al-Barshā'. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42: 45–71.
- Michaux-Colombot, D. 2014. 'Pitfall concepts in the round of 'Nubia': Ta-Sety, Nehesy, Medja, Maga and Punt revisited'. J. Anderson nad D. Welsby (eds.) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan I: 507–22. Leuven: Peeters.
- Moiso, B. 2015. 'The tomb of Iti and Neferu'. In C. Greco (ed.) *Museo Egizio*: 62–79. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini.
- Mond, R. and Myers, O. H. 1937. *Cemeteries of Armant I–II*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- de Morgan, J. 1903. *Fouilles a Dahchour en 1894–1895*, Wienne: Adolphe Holzhausen.
- Mortensen, B. 1991. 'Change in the Settlement Pattern and Population in the Beginning of the Historical Period'. *Ägypten und Levante* 2: 11–37.
- Pitkin, M. 2017. *New Perspectives for Dating Egyptian False Doors and Funerary Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, Sydney: Macquarie University (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
- Poo, M. 2005. *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes Toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Raue, D. 2002. 'Nubians on Elephantine Island'. *Sudan & Nubia* 6: 20–4.

Raue, D. 2008. 'Who was who in Elephantine of the third millennium BC?'. *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 9: 1–14.

El Razeq, Y. A. E. B. A. and Mohammed, A. H. A. M. n.d. دمحم دومحم يدهال دبع , قزارل دبع ىرابل دبع ىيحي . ١٩٩٨م سوم نيلىبجل اققطنمب انسا راثأ شيتفتب رىافح لامعأ ريقرت , [Report from excavations at Gebelein in 1998]. (unpublished report preserved in the State Ministry of Antiquities in Cairo).

Redford, D. 2004. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rice, M. 2006. *Swifter than the Arrow. The Golden Hunting Hounds of Ancient Egypt*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Roccati, A. 1973–1975. 'Ritorno a Gebelein'. *Bollettino della Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti* 27–28: 26–33.

Rosa, V. 1911. *Giornale scavi a Gebelein: campagna 1911* (unpublished field journal preserved at the City's Archive in Turin, Italy).

Rosati, G. 2004. 'A Group of Middle Kingdom Stelae from El Rizeiqat/El Gebelein Region'. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32: 333–48.

Roy, J. 2011. *The Politics of Trade Egypt and Lower Nubia in the 4th Millennium BC*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 4. Leiden: Brill.

Scharff, A. 1929. *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*. Staatliches Museum zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung V. Berlin: Karl Curtius.

Seidlmayer, J. S. 2002. 'Nubier im ägyptischen Kontext im Alten und Mittleren Reich'. In S. Leder and B. Streck (eds.) *Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung. Beiträge des Kolloquiums am 14.12.2001*, Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 4, Mitteilungen des SFB „Differenz und Integration" 2: 89–113. Halle-Wittenberg: Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität.

Seidlmayer, S. 2006. 'The relative chronology of the First Intermediate Period'. In E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. A. Warburton (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One. The Near and Middle East 83: 159–67. Leiden: Brill.

Shinnie, P. B. 1996. *Ancient Nubia*, Abington: Routledge.

Smith, S. T. 2018. 'Ethnicity: Constructions of Self and Other in Ancient Egypt'. *Journal of Egyptian History* 11: 113–46.

Spalinger, A. 2013. 'Organisation of the Pharaonic Army (Old to New Kingdom)'. In J. C. Moreno García (ed.) *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One. The Near and Middle East 104: 393–478. Leiden: Brill.

de Souza, A. 2013. 'The Egyptianisation of the Pan-Grave Culture: A New Look at an Old Idea'. *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 24: 109–26.

Strudwick, N. 2005. *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Szafrński, Z. E. 1994. 'Two Upper Egyptian Stelae from the end of the First Intermediate Period'. *Materiały Archeologiczne* 27/2: 9–14.



Török, L. 2009. *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC–AD 500*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 29. Leiden: Brill.

Vandier, J. 1943. 'Quelques stèles de soldats de la première période intermédiaire'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 18: 21–9.

Vandier, J. 1950. *Mo'alla. La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sebekhotep*, Bibliothèque d'étude 18. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Vernus, P. 1986. 'Études de philologie et de linguistique XIV. Une inscription cursive du Ouâdi Gawâsis'. *Revue d'Égyptologie* 37: 139–47.

Warburton, D., Krauss, R. and Hornung, E. 2006. 'Chronological Table for the Dynastic Period'. In: E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One. The Near and Middle East 83: 490–5. Leiden: Brill.

Willems, H. 2014a. *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture. Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*. Leiden : Brill.

Willems, H. 2014b. 'The First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom'. In A. B. Lloyd (ed.) *A Companion to Ancient Egypt I*: 81–100. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wilkinson, T. A. H. 2000. *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Zakrzewski, S. R. 2003. 'Variation in Ancient Egyptian Stature and Body Proportions'. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 121: 219–29.

Zakrzewski, S. R. 2007. 'Population Continuity or Population Change: Formation of the Ancient Egyptian State'. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 132: 501–9.

Zieliński, Ł. 2015. 'New insights into Nubian archery'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 24/1: 791–801.

## Websites

[oi.uchicago.edu](http://oi.uchicago.edu).

[www.collinsdictionary.com](http://www.collinsdictionary.com).

[www.merriam-webster.com](http://www.merriam-webster.com).

# A few remarks on the persistence of native Egyptian *historiolae* in Coptic magical texts

Krisztina Hevesi<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Beside the fact that Egypt was a crucible of various Mediterranean traditions after the Christianisation, some of the native elements still had a certain role which is reflected by the Coptic magical texts of the 4th–12th century. In Coptic magic, not only the remains of pharaonic methods, but names of gods recalling indigenous *historiolae* also persist. Why were these names included in Coptic magical texts? The main aim of the present article is to examine the references to native *historiolae* as well as the reasons and consciousness of their use. I intend to provide an insight into the occurrence of narratives mentioning the names of Horus, Isis, and/or Osiris. In the core part of my study, I discuss and categorise approximately a dozen Coptic magical texts alluding to these deities, with special regard to the related section of P. Strasbourg (P. Stras.) K 204 and 205. This analysis is followed by some concise preliminary remarks about the typology of these texts and the question of continuity.

## Keywords

Coptic magical texts; continuity; native traditions; *historiolae*; master texts

## Introduction

In the following article, I am going to give a brief overview about a few Coptic magical texts which contain the names of ancient Egyptian gods, especially Horus, Isis, and/or Osiris. These elements, appearing together with Christian, Greek, Jewish, and later on, Islamic features, cannot be treated as simple survivals of the native traditions, since their meaning and the motives of their use in Coptic texts did not remain the same over time but assimilated, to some degree, to the religious milieu of Christian Egypt and formed part of the phenomenon that is nowadays known as ‘Coptic magic’ (about the cautious consideration of surviving traditions, see Naguib 2008). Not only the names of Isis, Horus, and Osiris but those of other ‘pagan’ deities occur in Coptic magical texts, however, these attestations will not be included here – only those cases are going to be touched upon where other gods appear in the same texts as Isis, Horus, and/or Osiris (for a list of texts with references to Greek and Egyptian deities, see the Appendix of Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 257–9). The appearance of these ancient god names is an element of a wider tradition in which Coptic magical texts show a continuity, but only to a certain extent, in the field of the usage of ancient *historiolae*, methods, and idioms.

However, due to the unpublished material, the list represented here is rather incomplete, I am going to make some initial remarks and draw hypotheses on the reasons for the presence of the names of the aforementioned native deities and the change that their estimation went on.<sup>2</sup> Why were these ancient allusions still employed in the late manuscripts of the 4th–8th century CE and which contexts do call forth their occurrence?

## Coptic manuscripts containing the names of Horus, Isis, and/or Osiris

Although the corpus which can be examined within this subject is limited to approximately a dozen texts, several cases can be distinguished where the names of Horus, Isis, and Osiris are employed. If Horus is mentioned, usually, his mother, Isis appears within the same spell as well, while in some texts,

---

<sup>1</sup> Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany.

<sup>2</sup> The complete discussion of the native traditions emerging in the related Coptic texts goes far beyond my purpose in this article. A thorough study of the question of continuity and discontinuity of native Egyptian traditions within Coptic magical texts is the subject of my Ph.D. thesis.

Isis and Osiris are present together. According to the evidence that survived until now – if we do not count the Old Coptic<sup>3</sup> texts which represent a different background than the later ones –, the rarest are generally those examples where only the name of Isis or Osiris is attested alone. In the following sub-chapters, I introduce a few witnesses of each type.

### *Some attestations of the Isis-Horus historiola*

When examining native god names in Coptic manuscripts, the most common and systematic cases are those ones where Horus and Isis get an important role in the applied *historiola*. Consequently, this particular type, often following the same pattern, provides a more stable basis for the comparison of contexts. A recent article by L. Blumell and K. Dosoo (2018, 221–3) enumerates the mandatory elements of the Isis-Horus *historiolae* appearing in Coptic love spells or magical texts for insomnia. The series of events usually begins with the suffering Horus who descends to the Netherworld where he meets maidens or women which is followed by his complaint to Isis about his desire to seduce them. As we will see below, in other cases, he has different serious problems such as aching body parts. The last part of the narrative describes how Isis helps him (Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 242). The main feature of the Horus-spells is that the patient is identified with Horus and his/her problem should be resolved by the analogy of Horus' misery. This agony also receives an important role in Demotic magical texts (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2012, 310). For instance, it is part of the London-Leiden magical papyrus where Horus' headache is detailed in lines 1219–27 (PDM xiv, 1219–27; Betz 1986, 250–51 [translated by J. H. Johnson]; Frankfurter 2009, 241). In most cases, this *historiola* retains the form of a dialogue which likely goes back to the concept that the words of gods have magical and/or healing power (Frankfurter 2009, 232), thus these are expected to intensify the effect of the spells.

Generally, when we speak about the group of Coptic texts containing explicit native references, the famous examples of P. Berlin 5565, P. Berlin 8313, the Donadoni papyrus, P. Schmidt 1, and parchment Schmidt 2 emerge at once. These manuscripts bear some sort of relation to each other and include more or less the same elements of the Horus-*historiola* with only a few differences.

P. Berlin 5565 (Erman 1895a, 50–51; BKU 1904 I, 21; Kropp 1930–1931 II, 12–14; Beltz 1983, 61–3; Meyer and Smith 1999, 92–3; Frankfurter 2009, 230) consists of a spell for insomnia. The first part of the text is an invocation in which a demonic entity called Afboure, literally meaning 'he dreamed' (Meyer and Smith 1999, 93), is called forth and sent to a person who has difficulties in sleeping. The spell then continues with a narrative referring to Isis and Nephthys who both dwell in the abyss, and Horus who suffers alone, far from his mother. In the end, the text contains a passage about Abrasax who, according to this source, provided a good sleep for Abimelech for 75 years. Following this analogy, the person who is troubled with insomnia, is expected to recover. As it is seen here, different traditions are merged together in a single Coptic spell where the reference to native deities seems to be rather obscure and interrupted by the story of Abimelech without expressing the real purpose of the Isis-Horus *historiola*. The solution of this spell is offered by the short reference to Abimelech.

Insomnia, maybe as a consequence of unrequited love, is also the subject of manuscripts Schmidt 1 and 2 (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2012, 310–12). Both spells emphasise the sexual desire through the *historiola* (Meyer and Smith 1999, 94). In P. Schmidt 1 (Kropp 1930–1931 I, 11–12; Kropp 1930–1931 II,

---

<sup>3</sup> Old Coptic was mainly used between the 1st and 4th century CE, being a connecting link between Demotic and Coptic. Its alphabet developed – as an effort to accurately render the spoken language – from Demotic signs and the Greek alphabet, also applying some characters which disappeared from the later Coptic language. Due to the importance of pronunciation, the subjects of the Old Coptic texts mostly concern magic and astrology. Old Coptic glosses are attested in the papyri dating back to the 1st–5th century CE. For further information and the definition of Old Coptic, see Satzinger (1991, 169–75).

3–6; Pernigotti 1995, 3698; Meyer and Smith 1999, 94–5; Frankfurter 2009, 230), we can read a dialogue between the crying Horus who craves for the seven maidens, and his mother, Isis who proposes Horus a rite applying water. The closing formula, again, refers to the story of Abimelech who slept for 72 years as stated in this text.

P. Schmidt 2 (Kropp 1930–1931 I, 13–14; Kropp 1930–1931 II, 6–8; Pernigotti 1995, 3698–9; Meyer and Smith 1999, 152–3; Frankfurter 2009, 230) is a parallel text of P. Schmidt 1: the main purpose of the spell is to bring mutual love which is, again, implied through the *historiola* of Horus and the seven maidens who do not want to return Horus' feelings. However, the name of Horus is not mentioned (about the denomination of the protagonist, see Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 224), the close relation of the content to that of P. Schmidt 1 makes it certain that this example deals with the same narrative. An important motif of the spell is that Horus resides alone at a faraway place, which can usually be a desert, mountain or marsh, where he is in trouble or suffers without the help of his mother who finally saves him at the end of the story. The central theme of Isis saving her own or someone else's son is present in many ancient magical texts just like P. Leiden I 348 (for example, P. Leiden I 348, rt. I, 5–2,9 in Borghouts 1971, 15–16 and Pl. 1–2; see also Frankfurter 2009, 231). In the sixth spell of the Metternich stela, the son of a lady gets stung by one of the seven scorpion followers of Isis because of the lady's impolite behaviour against Isis but in the end, Isis regrets the attack and cures him (Sander-Hansen 1956, 35–43; Koenen 1962, 168; Borghouts 1978, 59–62; Faraone 1995, 314; see also Klasens 1952). Isis' ability of healing scorpion stings and snake bites is described as early as the 20th dynasty in P. Turin 1993 (see Nagel 2015, 783; new inventory number: CG 54051 in Roccati 2011, 16–17), while the deceased king has to become the Horus child in order to recover from snake bite already in PT 378 (Kákosy 1970, 21; Allen 2005, 88; Allen 2013 III, PT 378).

S. Donadoni (1966) published a papyrus encompassing a Coptic love spell which follows the events of the aforementioned texts. In this manuscript, after descending to the Netherworld, Horus meets a black-skinned beauty (cαiε) who does not requite his love. Isis appears again for the crying Horus and offers him help. In the end, Horus states that the loved one is surrounded by seventy gods who should be arrowed (Pernigotti 1995, 3714–15).

Another example for the appearance of the Isis-Horus narrative is given by the three remarkable magical ostraca from the Brigham Young University published recently (Blumell and Dosoo 2018). The love spell running continuously on O. BYU Mag. 1 (inv. n. 81), O. BYU Mag. 2 (inv. n. 77), and O. BYU Mag. 3 (inv. n. 76)<sup>4</sup> shows a striking similarity to the texts discussed above: after going through a gate of stone and coming out through a gate of iron, Horus lays eyes on a white-skinned, black-eyed beauty and suffers because his desire remains, again, unfulfilled. Isis recommends, as a remedy for the problem, that Horus – and the user of the spell – invoke an entity and eat from the vessel of the woman whom he has fallen in love with (Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 210–16 and 238). The method of drinking sanctified water or consuming something that is endowed with magical power has a long continuity going back to pharaonic practices (see the example of Horus-*cippi*; Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 241–2; about practices applying water, see Janák *et al.* 2011).

P. Berlin 8313 (BKU 1904 I, 1–2; Kropp 1930–1931 II, 9–12; Kákosy 1974, 126–30; Beltz 1983, 65–7; Meyer and Smith 1999, 95–7; Richter 2002, 250–52; Richter 2007, 259–63; Frankfurter 2009, 230) differs from the texts discussed before. The first spell within this manuscript is for labour-pains, while the second one, including native elements apparently has the purpose to cure an aching stomach based on the events of the story of Horus who went up to a mountain where he got sick because of birds that he 'cut without knife, cooked without fire, and ate without salt'. Horus invokes three demons from which he chooses

<sup>4</sup> Magical ostraca from the Brigham Young University Collection.

the third one having the required quickness to bring his mother to him. The spell ends with the words of Isis who orders that the pain leave the patient, the owner of the spell. These last words bring together the Horus narrative and the actual problem of a real person whose name should replace the well-known substitute words  $\text{NN}$   $\text{son of NN}$  appearing in master texts.

The most complex *historiola* can be found in manuscript 136 from Michigan (Worrell 1935, 17–37; Pernigotti 1995, 3715–18; Meyer and Smith 1999, 83–90; Frankfurter 2009, *passim*) which is a small bilingual codex, probably from the 6th century CE, encompassing remedies for diverse problems such as headaches, skin diseases, childbirth, and so on, together with Homeric verses and some allusions to Egyptian gods. In this example, short recipes listing ingredients and instructions are interrupted twice by sections of narratives serving as mythical precedents built upon native elements. The first invocation of this kind in lines 17–32 contains only the name of Isis (therefore it rather belongs to chapter ‘Appearance of Isis or Osiris’ according to my grouping) and a series of *voces magicae* for the protection of the womb. The second section (lines 60–110), where the recipes are followed by an ancient narrative, consists of a long story in which Amun is able to accelerate childbirth and carries the book of Thoth, and Isis is referred to as the mother of Horus. The purpose of this long spell is to bring offsprings to domestic animals.

### **References to Isis and Osiris**

A prominent example for the type where Isis and Osiris are mentioned together is manuscript Michigan 4932f (Worrell 1935, 184–7; Pernigotti 1995, 3713–14; Meyer and Smith 1999, 175–6; Frankfurter 2009, 230). At the beginning of this love spell (in lines 1–5), the invocation contains a reference to the oil that Isis used for the embalmment of the bones of Osiris. Although in the work of Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, it is Isis who deals with the dismembered body of Osiris (*De Iside* 18 in Griffiths 1970, 144), the emphasis on the motif of using oil on the bones of Osiris seems to be rare, since I did not find an exact parallel so far.

Beside Hapi, Seth, and Petbe, P. Mil. Vogl. Copt.<sup>5</sup> 16 – comprising the pages of a codex/codices – contains the names of Isis and Osiris twice in sections C.I–C.III (Pernigotti 1993, 106–21; Pernigotti 1995, 3707–8). This love spell from the 5th–7th century begins with an astronomical reference, then continues with the burning of the bones of Hapi, Isis, and Osiris. The sequence is repeated with the verb  $\lambda\omicron$  ‘to stop’ in negative third future which is followed by an allusion to Abrasax and the invocation of Seth, Petbe, and different entities to accomplish the request and gain power over ‘NN, son/daughter of NN’.

On a fragment of P. Stras. K 204 and 205 (Hevesi 2018), the names of Isis and Osiris are visible. The collection of spells under inventory numbers K 204 and 205 consists of several papyrus fragments which make up one or several magical handbooks probably from the 8th century CE. The small fragment L of P. K 204 includes the names of Isis and Osiris in line 2 of the verso (Richter 2014, 109; Hevesi 2018, 65 and 91; see also my Addenda and Corrigenda section, confirming the certainty of the reading of these names). My preliminary thought was that if the fragment could be attached to fragment C of P. K 204, which has  $\text{πταρταρος ναμεντε}$ , ‘infernal Netherworld’ in line 26, the couple of Isis and Osiris could be associated with this context giving a perfect stage to these two deities.

An important fact that I realised only after the recent publication of P. Stras. K 204 and 205 is that the section in question of P. K 204 together with the second part of fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205 (I hypothesise that fragments C, J, and M of P. K 204, fragment L of P. K 204, and fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205 once belonged together, see Hevesi 2018, 91 and 99) are close parallels of P. Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16, C.I–C.III. This similarity can be proved not only by the fact that both manuscripts mention

---

<sup>5</sup> Coptic papyrus from the Istituto di Papirologia dell’Università di Milano, founded by Achille Vogliano.



Isis and Osiris but also by the astronomical references, indication of the Three Gods (ⲱⲓⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣ in line 19 on the verso of fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205) and Sabaoth, burning of bones and probably an allusion to Petbe and thrones. The creature ‘whose head is in heaven, whose [leg] is on the earth’ (line 24 on the verso of fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205, see Hevesi 2018, 70) might describe Petbe also appearing in line 5 of P. Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16, C.II, since he is represented in the same way in lines 19–20 of the collection H. O. Lange (1932, 162–3; see also Brashear 1991, 16–62; Pernigotti 1995, 3710–11; Meyer and Smith 1999, 237–9). Based on the order of events in P. Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16, C.I–C.III, a clearer reconstruction of both the content and the original place of the fragments of P. K 204 and 205 can be developed. The sequence of the common elements listed above is as follows: 1. astronomical reference, 2. Three Gods, 3. burning bones, 4. naming the Three Gods (Hapi, Isis, and Osiris in the case of P. Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16, C.I–C.III and Isis, Osiris, and a third deity unknown to us due to the lacuna in P. K 204–205), 5. reference to Petbe (?), 6. allusion to thrones (partly falling in the lacuna in line 30 on the verso of fragment C of P. K 204). Keeping this order, the second spell (right after the separation lines) on the verso of P. K 204 and 205 would start on fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205, fragment L of P. K 204 with the names of Isis and Osiris could probably be attached to the line where the burning bones are described, while fragments C and M of P. K 204 would take their place on the right side of the layout. These attachments are also confirmed by the recto of these fragments. Therefore the transcription and interpretation of the text that we gain with these new connections are to be modified as it can be seen below (following the original numbering system of lines in my first edition after the separation lines on fragments A, I, and K of P. K 205 but finishing the passage with the last lines of fragment C of P. K 204):

ⲁⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ .ⲛⲗⲉ.[.]ⲟⲛ.[...] ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ [...] ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲃⲱⲕ ⲭⲉⲓⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲱⲁⲧ.[  
 ] ⲧⲱⲗⲁⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲡⲟⲟⲗ ⲭⲁⲛ.[...] ⲉⲧϥⲟⲧϥ <ⲙ>ⲡⲟⲟⲗ ⲡⲕⲱⲗⲧ[...]  
 ⲙⲟⲣ ϥⲙⲟϥⲗ ⲧⲟⲉϥ.[...]ⲟϥⲧ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲥⲗⲉ ⲉⲗⲣⲁⲓ  
 ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲓ.[  
 ⲟϥⲱⲛ (?) ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲱⲓⲧⲉⲧⲉⲣ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲓⲛⲁⲥⲁⲗⲧⲉ ⲗⲁⲛⲉⲉⲥ [...] .ⲛⲛⲥⲉ ⲙⲛⲟϥⲥⲓⲣⲉ [...]ⲁⲗⲣⲉ (?) ⲙⲛ ⲟϥⲗⲁⲙⲭⲁⲧⲓ  
 ⲙⲛ .[  
 20 ]ⲃⲓⲥⲁ ⲧⲁⲕⲗⲁⲃⲁⲱⲥ .[.... ⲥ]ⲃⲧⲱⲧ (?) ⲓⲙⲕⲛⲁⲓⲡⲱⲉⲃ[...].ⲙⲟ.[....]ⲗⲧ.[...]ⲉⲛ ⲱⲁ..ⲉⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡ[  
 ]ⲭⲉ ⲗⲁⲓⲟ ⲗⲁⲓⲟ ⲗⲁⲓⲟ ⲥⲟϥⲓⲛⲗ ⲡⲁⲗⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲣⲱⲛ.[...]. ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟ[ⲥ ...]ⲉ[ⲧ ⲡ]ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲱⲉ ⲛⲙⲉⲱⲉⲛⲓⲙ \ϥ/[ⲟⲟⲡ  
 ⲛⲗⲛⲧϥ (?)  
 ]ⲛⲗⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲛ[...ⲡ]ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲗⲛⲧϥ ⲛⲧⲥⲱ[ⲧⲙ (?)  
 ]ⲛⲗⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲛ... ⲭⲱ]ϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲧⲓⲛⲁⲥⲧⲟⲓ ⲧⲁ.ⲡⲓⲧⲁⲗ.[  
 ] ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲭⲱⲣ ⲗⲛⲧⲓⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲣ[ⲁⲧϥ] ⲗⲙⲡⲕⲁⲗ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲓⲛⲉ ⲥⲛⲓ[...ⲉⲣ]ⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙⲟⲗⲁⲗ [ⲉ]ⲃⲟⲗ ⲗⲙⲡⲧⲁⲣⲧⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲛⲧⲉ[  
 25 ]ⲙⲙⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲛⲗ ⲙⲛⲁⲣ[...].ⲥⲓⲗⲓⲗ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲁϥ ⲛ[...].ⲟⲣ.[...] ⲗⲓ ⲱⲁⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ ⲗⲟ [  
 ]ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲗⲛⲧϥ ⲁⲛ[ⲟ]ⲕ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲱ ⲛⲙⲓⲙ ⲛ[...]. ⲙⲛ [ⲛ]ⲥⲁⲛⲁⲣ[ⲱⲓ ... ⲭ]ⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧ [  
 ⲛ]ⲁⲥⲓⲭ ⲛⲓⲗ.[... ⲥⲱ]ⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱⲓ ⲛⲗⲭⲱⲕ [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ  
 ] ...ⲃⲱ.....ⲛ ⲱⲁⲡⲉⲟⲣⲟ[ⲛⲟⲥ  
 ]ⲁⲭⲣⲱ ⲛⲧⲓⲥⲁⲱⲉ (sic) ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲓⲁⲥ

] I spoke ... [...] King Sabaoth [said: ...] you should not go, for I may go to [  
 ] Scorpius (?) to the moon ... [...] that turns it to the moon, the fire [...] ... it burns ... [...] ... let it  
 fall down to/ and not ... [  
 ] devour (?) the Three Gods, since I will kindle fire beneath the bones [...] of Isis and Osiris [...] sedge (?) and pitch, and [  
 20 ] ... Taklabaoth [...] is ready (?) ... [...] ... the tongue ... [  
 ] ... yea, yea, yea, Suriēl, the angel ... [...] to the place [where] NN son of NN [ dwells (?)  
 ] and you may accomplish the things of [...the] place where I dwell and you may lis[ten (?)



] and you may accomplish the [things of ... comp]lete the things of my hands. I will bring back  
 ... [  
 ] whose head is in heaven, whose [leg] is on the earth, whose thumb/big toe (?) ...[ ... whose]  
 leg is bound in the infernal Netherworld [  
 25 ]... Mistraēl and ... [...]... the two sons [...]... [...] and skin. Somebody becomes... [<sup>6</sup>  
 ] to this place where I dwell. [I] am NN son of NN [...] and the things of my mou[th ... ful]fill the  
 things of my hands [  
 ]my hand[s] and you may [...lis]ten to the things of my mouth and you may comp[lete  
 ] ... to the thro[ne  
 ] light these seven torches (?) [

Even though the content of P. Stras. K 204 and 205 is similar to that of P. Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16, C.I–C.III, these two texts do not overlap completely which shows the flexibility of the use of this narrative.

### ***Appearance of Isis or Osiris***

Although the examples, where a *historiola* invokes only Isis or Osiris, are limited compared to the group of texts recounting the Isis-Horus narrative, this type can be also identified. The number of these instances is similar to the previous group where these gods are present together.

As I referred to it in chapter ‘Some attestations of the Isis-Horus *historiola*’, the first native *historiola* of manuscript Michigan 136 (Worrell 1935, 17–37; Pernigotti 1995, 3715–18; Meyer and Smith 1999, 83–90; Frankfurter 2009, *passim*), written in Greek, shares the characteristics of this group. Isis is invoked, also by her epithets, to ease the pains of the womb.

After *voces magicae*, the beginning of London Ms. Or.<sup>7</sup> 1013A (Erman 1895b, 132–5; Kropp 1930–1931 II, 14–16; Meyer and Smith 1999, 248–50) states that the amulet was written by Isis herself. Within this spell which aims at binding a dog, this is the only mention of Isis, the text does not allude to the goddess again in the following lines. The method of indicating the divine and/or ancient origin of a spell was not only used in the Antiquity but it was still common in Coptic magic, being expected to make the given spell more efficient and powerful. In the present case, probably this practice was the reason for choosing Isis as the composer of the spell.

The example of the Old Coptic Schmidt papyrus (Satzinger 1975; Meyer and Smith 1999, 21) from the 2nd century CE (or rather from earlier times: for the argumentation, see Richter 2002, 250; Quack 2017, 58–60) differs from the others, since it is the earliest manuscript among these instances invoking several ancient Egyptian gods apart from Osiris. However, the name of Osiris occurs the most frequently in this spell where a woman, named Esrempe complains about the attitude of a man, called Hor, who neglects her, and asks for the help of Osiris to render justice. The fact that the choice fell on Osiris when asking for help may prove that this action should happen in the Netherworld, since he is the judge of the dead. The epithet of Osiris once as the lord of Hasro and at the end of the spell, as the lord of Abydos as well as the other epithets of gods allude to a living tradition which is not surprising in the 2nd century CE or even before when most of the pre-Christian traditions were still alive. It is an interesting question why this early alphabetic system of Coptic based on Greek writing was used at this time for an individual spell with native elements. D. Frankfurter (1998, 252)

<sup>6</sup> Another possible translation would be ‘Every kind of skin becomes...[’.

<sup>7</sup> London Oriental Manuscript.

suggests that the reason lies in the education of the owner who was probably not literate in Demotic, so Greek characters were preferred. This way, the choice of the Greek script gave her the possibility to read the text by herself. Although it also deserves some attention that it is not indicated anywhere in the text that the owner should recite the spell in any way.

Other Old Coptic spells (for instance, *PGM IV 11–25* and *PGM IV 94–153*, see Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 257; Love 2016, *passim*) also allude to Isis or Osiris in various contexts but these attestations are not included in my study here, since similarly to the Old Coptic Schmidt papyrus, they were written in the centuries when pagan practices were still widely employed, thus they represent a different tradition than the later manuscripts after the Christianisation and Muslim conquest.

## Reasons and consciousness

### *Grouping and contexts*

As it is proven by the attestations above, the mythical precedent receives an important role when the real purpose of the spell is only present implicitly (Frankfurter 1995, 459). In the first group, the Isis-Horus spells, the aim is most often in connection with sexual desire and insomnia. Together with those sources where the purpose is different, it seems that this *historiola* was used mainly for situations where the patient suffered either from mental or physical pain. Osiris usually does not get any role in these texts, the *historiola* continues the tradition of counting on the mother-son relationship of Isis and Horus.

The second group calls attention to the significance of the Isis-Osiris *historiola* which was mostly ignored until now, probably because of lack of this kind of sources. It seems feasible to consider that these spells were used for love affairs, however, this remains uncertain examining only the published manuscripts. All the three texts refer to bones (for some remarks, see Hevesi 2018, 97). The motif of cooking bones is present in the Cannibal Hymn (*PT 273–4*; Lichtheim 1975, 36–8; Allen 2005, 50–52; Allen 2013 III, *PT 273–4*)<sup>8</sup> where Unas comes to power by eating the cooked bones of gods, albeit there is a possibility that bones were meant to be used for building a fire in this source (see Eyre 2002, 121, with further references). However, there is a several thousand-year gap between the two instances and it is unclear whether the difference between cooking and burning has any kind of role and why the bones of the Three Gods have to be burnt in the Coptic spells, gaining strength as a reason would be plausible. Until further proofs, it remains a question whether this part of the text refers to the threat of gods, a method for gaining power or something else.

The third category seems to contain the least systematic texts where, apart from the Old Coptic Schmidt papyrus, we usually find a narrow insight into the logic of the composers who decided to incorporate the names of Isis or Osiris. The subjects of the spells are diverse and the references are scant.

According to the material examined in this article, it can be pointed out that these native deities are often connected with the concept of the abyss in Coptic magical texts. This common point may reflect the view how Copts saw these entities after the Christianisation of Egypt: perhaps they belonged to a little tradition probably vivified by oral transmission than part of a greater Christian religious tradition. Although it seems likely that different practices are meant depending on which deities or group of deities (Isis-Horus; Isis-Osiris; only Isis or Osiris) are invoked.

---

<sup>8</sup> I thank Dr. G. Takács for first drawing my attention to this source a few years ago.

### *Conscious vs. unconscious use*

Based on the examples in the previous chapters, it is remarkable that other native deities often appear in those Coptic texts where either Horus, either Isis or Osiris are mentioned. If these latter gods called forth the usage of the names of other deities like Hapi, Thoth, and Amun, this practice would mean a certain consciousness in the application of the names of Egyptian gods, since in this case, the creators of the Coptic manuscripts were at least aware of the fact that Horus, Isis, and Osiris belong to the same tradition as Hapi, Thoth, and Amun. As regards the way of story-telling, manuscripts Schmidt 1 and 2, the Donadoni papyrus, and P. Berlin 8313 are more detailed, while the other sources discussed in this presentation contain rather ambiguous references to the ancient Egyptian gods and these narratives cannot be entirely reconstructed. The latter issue could be a result of well-known stories, just like in the case of the myth of Osiris which was not included in ancient Egyptian sources as a whole, or this phenomenon reflects the limited knowledge of the Coptic scribes who compiled these manuscripts. On the other hand, the clearer narratives of the first group could also refer to a sporadic tradition which required explanation during the Coptic times, thus these *historiolae* had to be more accurate.

Generally, native elements were probably kept alive in Coptic handbooks by new compositions from the known ones, oral tradition of idioms and spells, and reproduction from older handbooks in scriptoria and workshops (Frankfurter 1998, 261). These processes were noticeable not only in Coptic texts, but in Jewish exorcistic spells as well, since oral and written practices meant two different phases of transmission but in the end, they became a single mixed method for vivifying traditions (Bohak 2008, 302). The aim of the use of Christian and Jewish elements within the spells rendering native *historiolae* could be to assimilate these native narratives to the Christian background (Frankfurter 2009, 243) which would, again, show that the scribes were aware of the fact that at least, these elements were not Christian at all. The story of Abimelech was supposed to be necessary to ensure the success in manuscript Schmidt 1 and P. Berlin 5565.

It is also argued that texts like the one in P. Berlin 8313 were translated from a Greek original (Richter 2007, 263 with a reference to Dieleman 2005, 127–30), however, it is still notable, that the names of gods usually reflect the Coptic form instead of the Greek one (Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 245). In the Greek Philinna papyrus (PGM XX) dated to the period between the 1st century BCE (Ritner 1998, 1027) and the 1st century CE (Faraone 2000, 197), familiar details recur: the ‘most majestic goddess’ would refer to Isis in the Coptic parallels, her suffering child would be Horus, dwelling on a mountain evokes the usual far-away place, and the number seven, which occurs many times in the Coptic Horus-spells, is the number of black-eyed maidens who extinguish the flames in the Philinna papyrus (PGM XX; Betz 1986, 258–9). The origin of this latter number is debated: the number seven can either refer to the seven scorpion wives of Horus, the seven scorpion followers of Isis, or the seven Hathors (Koenen 1962, 168–9; Faraone 1995, 314; Ritner 1998, 1031–9; Blumell and Dosoo 2018, 229).

Concerning the Philinna papyrus, Ch. Faraone (1995, 304–8 and 329) draws attention to two elements that could be traced back to the Mesopotamian tradition: the seven virgins and the role of the blue colour of the water jars, however, R. Ritner (1998, 1030–32) clarifies that neither the number, the virginal state of the women, nor the burning sensation as problem are expressed in Mesopotamian spells but these can be clearly seen in Egyptian sources. Also the blue colour could be associated with faience in ancient Egyptian tradition, since many ritual objects were made of faience and on the healing statue of Ramesses III, one of Horus’ seven wives, *T3-Bj.t* is referred to as ‘faience-faced’ (see JE 6971, spell 1 on the left, 1.6 remarked by Ritner 1998, 1040).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Although following Prof. J. F. Quack’s remark, I would not exclude that the epithet could also be translated as ‘with brilliant face’.

The reason for the common occurrence of the black colour in the Isis-Horus spells of Coptic texts and in the Philinna papyrus is the fact that it can generally be identified with the mourning Isis as it is also stated in chapter 39 of Plutarch's *On Isis and Osiris* (Griffiths 1970, 178). The black band of Isis is used for protective and oracular purposes in Greek spells (see Betz 1986, 336 referring to PGM I, 59; VII, 227, 231; VIII, 67).

Although there are different attempts to explain the appearance of wolves, lions and bears in the spell of the Philinna papyrus (Koenen 1962, 171–3; Ritner 1998, 1029), it is also interesting to note that Petbe is represented as a mixture of lion and bear in lines 17–19 of the collection H. O. Lange (1932, 163; also Meyer and Smith 1999, 238).

The Philinna papyrus itself contains three different parts with different purposes but the one in question was written for any kind of inflammation which could indeed express the manifold usage of the spells containing this particular *historiola* recalling the frame story of Isis and Horus. However, within this short text, there are no explicit references to the Isis-Horus narrative, it would nevertheless seem to be difficult, even impossible to understand it without a comparison with the ancient Egyptian and Coptic sources. Its multicultural background is also demonstrated by similar Mesopotamian spells (see Faraone 1995 in general and his tables on p. 325–6). This famous example for the similarity between the Coptic texts and some of those *historiolae* which appear in the Greek texts, implies a widespread employment of the scheme of this narrative which likely circulated in the oral sphere for a long time.

### ***The great majority of master texts***

In his study, D. Frankfurter (2009) examines four possible scenarios for the transmission of the Isis-Horus *historiola* and introduces the nature of oral and written traditions. Although, it is suspected that in the case of the Coptic Isis-Horus spells, lullabies were the means of transmission, this idea is very difficult to prove and it is still worth to consider the other ways of adapting older practices (Frankfurter 2009, 235–40). The hypothesis that these traditions were only part of the domestic sphere could be questioned due to the fact that they appear in long compositions of handbooks written by professional and even documentary hands such as P. Stras. K 204 and 205. Apart from the Old Coptic Schmidt papyrus, which was made for a woman, and the Donadoni papyrus, which does not allude to the owner in any way, all of the manuscripts examined in this article contain master texts which were generally used as samples throughout the preparation of personalised copies. P. Schmidt 1 was found in a small bag which tells us about the purpose of making it portable and maybe personalised as well (Frankfurter 2009, 230). These collections of master texts were brought into life in workshops and scriptoria where ritualists also prepared amulets but since these latter ones are rather rare in our case, the question should be raised: where are the individual witnesses of magical texts employing native *historiolae* reproduced from scribal handbooks? In Greek magical texts, evidence can be found for the use of personalised texts written on ostraca and to be placed in graves or under the doorstep of a given person (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2014, 799), apparently resulting in the disappearance of these texts in the course of time. However, it is still curious that despite the fact that many amulets survived until nowadays, these examples are not known to us in as considerable number as their samples in handbooks, even if they were also worn around the body in capsules or bags as amulets and thus could have been preserved.

In theory, if we consider the possibility that the texts included in the present study were mostly recited (about the significance of the recitation of *historiolae*, see Frankfurter 1995, 463) and a ritualist was involved, it could also be plausible to hypothesise that due to the nature of the rite, it became unnecessary to reproduce amulets from these handbooks and replace  $\text{NIM } \text{P}\alpha\text{r}\epsilon\text{NIM}$  with the name of the actual patient in the manuscripts. This would have led to the loss of interest in the production of individualised works in this tradition.

## Conclusions

To conclude, the majority of contexts which recall the usage of *historiolae* connected to Isis, Horus, and/or Osiris, is related to love and sexual desire (Martín Hernández and Torallas Tovar 2012, 310–11.), while others cover many purposes such as insomnia, childbirth, sore body parts, and so on. The diversity of their application points to a generalized tradition of well-known elements, especially in the case of the single use of the name of Isis or Osiris. These *historiolae* establish a relationship between mythical precedents and a current situation or illness, since the patients are identified with the characters of these stories (Frankfurter 1995, 466, 469–72). It is remarkable that the spells of the first category in my classification have their parallels in the Philinna papyrus which refers to a prevalent tradition and also to the theory that these elements got into Coptic magical texts indirectly, through Greek sources, keeping some common features from which a few can only partly be traced back to ancient times without doubt.

The persistence of the story of Horus and Isis, and Osiris and Isis in magical texts both point out the circulation of the traditional myth whose significance probably became similar to tales by the time of Christianity, belonging rather to the common cultural background of the Egyptians than the religious sphere of Egypt and maintaining a relatively frozen, idiomatic form (on the familiar elements of the story of Isis and Osiris in Greek literature, see Vinson 2016). The mixture of pagan and Christian elements within the same text did not create any contradiction in the mind of everyday people in the 4th–8th century, similarly to the case of different ancient Egyptian concepts which allowed the respect as well as the aversion towards one and the same deity.

The analysis of the *historiolae* in the present article not only contributed to the further interpretation of P. Stras. K 204 and 205 but from the texts examined here, it also became apparent that on one side, there existed a narrative which inherited the skeleton of a once well-known Isis-Horus story discussed in many publications during the past few decades, on the other side, the importance of a different *historiola* involving Isis and Osiris should not be underestimated either. Resolving the issues and answering the questions about these narratives will require further research.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. J. F. Quack for having revised and annotated this article.

## Reference List

- Allen, J. P. 2005. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 23. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Allen, J. P. 2013. *A new concordance of Pyramid Texts. Vols. I–VI*. Brown University. [online] ([https://www.dropbox.com/sh/0xo88uy04urnz0v/o16\\_ojF8f\\_](https://www.dropbox.com/sh/0xo88uy04urnz0v/o16_ojF8f_)); accessed 12 November 2018.
- Beltz, W. 1983. 'Die koptischen Zauberpapyri der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 29: 59–86.
- Betz, H. D. 1986. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- BKU = Generalverwaltung (ed.) 1904. *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Koptische und arabische Urkunden. Vol. I*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.



- Blumell, L. H. and Dosoo, K. 2018. 'Horus, Isis, and the Dark-Eyed Beauty. A Series of Magical Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 64/1: 199–259.
- Bohak, G. 2008. *Ancient Jewish Magic. A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borghouts, J. F. 1971. *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 51. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Borghouts, J. F. 1978. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba. Religious Texts Translation 9. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Brashear, W. M. 1991. *Magica Varia*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
- Dieleman, J. 2005. *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Donadoni, S. 1966. 'Un incantesimo amatorio copto'. *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. II. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 100: 285–92.
- Erman, A. 1895a. 'Heidnisches bei den Kopten'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 33: 47–51.
- Erman, A. 1895b. 'Zauberspruch für einen Hund'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 33: 132–5.
- Eyre, C. 2002. *The Cannibal Hymn. A Cultural and Literary Study*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Faraone, C. A. 1995. 'The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens. Multicultural Influences on a Late Hellenistic Incantation'. In M. W. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.) *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129: 297–333. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Faraone, C. A. 2000. 'Handbooks and Anthologies: The Collection of Greek and Egyptian Incantations in Late Hellenistic Egypt'. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2/2: 195–214.
- Frankfurter, D. 1995. 'Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells'. In M. W. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.) *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129: 457–76. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Frankfurter, D. 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Frankfurter, D. 2009. 'The Laments of Horus in Coptic: Myth, Folklore, and Syncretism in Late Antique Egypt'. In U. Dill and C. Walde (eds.) *Antike Mythen. Medien Transformationen und Konstruktionen*: 229–47. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Griffiths, J. G. (ed.) 1970. *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Hevesi, K. 2018. 'P. Stras. K 204 and K 205. An Unpublished Coptic Magical Collection from the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg (with "Addenda and Corrigenda")'. In S. Kiyarad, C. Theis and L. Willer (eds.) *Bild und Schrift auf 'magischen' Artefakten*, Materiale Textkulturen 19: 49–118. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Janák, J., Megahed, M. and Vymazalová, H. 2011. 'Healing Water in Egyptian Tradition. From the Ancient Egyptian cippi to the Modern ṭāsīt il-khadda'. In H. Vymazalová, M. Megahed and F. Ondráš (eds.) *Ancient Echoes in the Culture of Modern Egypt*: 28–46. Prague: Charles University in Prague.

Kákosy, L. 1970. 'Les stèles d'«Horus sur les crocodiles» du Musée des Beaux-Arts'. *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 34–35: 7–24.

Kákosy, L. 1974. *Varázslás az ókori Egyiptomban*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Klasens, A. 1952. *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Koenen, L. 1962. 'Der brennende Horusknabe. Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 37: 167–74.

Kropp, A. M. 1930–1931. *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*. 3 vols. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.

Lange, H. O. 1932. 'Ein faijumischer Beschwörungstext'. In S. R. K. Glanville (ed.) *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*: 161–6. London: Oxford University Press.

Lichtheim, M. 1975. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. Vol. 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Love, E. O. D. 2016. *Code-switching with the Gods. The Bilingual (Old Coptic-Greek) Spells of PGM IV (P. Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément Grec. 574) and their Linguistic, Religious, and Socio-Cultural Context in Late Roman Egypt*, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beiheft* 4. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Martín Hernández, R. and Torallas Tovar, S. 2012. "'You Who Impose Sleep Upon Abimelech for Seventy Two Years": An Egyptian Spell Against Insomnia'. In M. Piranomonte and F. Marco Simón (eds.) *Contesti Magici – Contextos Mágicos*: 309–12. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte.

Martín Hernández, R. and Torallas Tovar, S. 2014. 'The Use of the Ostrakon in Magical Practice in Late antique Egypt. Magical handbooks vs. Material Evidence'. *Studie materiali distoria delle religioni* 80: 780–800.

Meyer, M. W. and Smith, R. (eds.) 1999. *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nagel, S. 2015. *Die Ausbreitung des Isiskultes im Römischen Reich: Tradition und Transformation auf dem Weg von Ägypten nach Rom. Eine Untersuchung zur Entwicklung des Isiskultes im griechisch-römischen Ägypten und zu seiner Adaption in Rom und dem westlichen Mittelmeerraum*. Heidelberg: Universität Heidelberg. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

Naguib, S.-A. 2008. 'Survivals of Pharaonic Religious Practices in Contemporary Coptic Christianity'. In W. Wendrich, J. Dieleman and E. Frood (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles: University of California. [online] (<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000s3mr8>); accessed on 1 November 2018.

PDM = Preisendanz, K. 1928–1931. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri I–II*. Leipzig: Teubner.

- Pernigotti, S. 1993. 'Una rilettura del P.Mil. Vogl. Copto 16'. *Aegyptus* 73.1/2: 93–125.
- Pernigotti, S. 1995. 'La magia copta: i testi'. In W. Haase (ed.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* II. Principat 18. Teilbd. 5. Religion: 3685–730. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- PGM = Preisendanz, K. 1928–1931. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Bd. I-II*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Quack, J. F. 2017. 'How the Coptic Script came about'. In P. Dils, E. Grossman, T. S. Richter, W. Schenkel (eds.) *Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic: Contact-Induced Change in an Ancient African Language (DDGLC Working Papers 1)*, *Lingua Aegyptia. Studia Monographica* 17: 27–96. Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag.
- Richter, T. S. 2002. 'Miscellanea magica I–II'. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88: 247–52.
- Richter, T. S. 2007. 'Miscellanea magica, III: ein vertauschter Kopf? Konjekturvorschlag für P. Berlin P 8313 ro, col. II, 19–20'. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 93: 259–63.
- Richter, T. S. 2014. 'Magical Texts in the Papyrus Collection of the Université de Strasbourg.' In A. Boud'hors, A. Delattre, C. Louis and T. S. Richter (eds.) *Coptica Argentoratensia. Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte, Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010 (P. Stras. Copt.)*, *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque Copte* 19: 109–10. Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
- Ritner, R. K. 1998. 'The Wives of Horus and the Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX)'. In W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds.) *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur. Part II*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 85: 1027–41. Leuven: Peeters.
- Roccati, A. 2011. *Magica Taurinensia. Il Grande Papiro Magico Di Torino E I Suoi Duplicati*, *Analecta Orientalia* 56. Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press.
- Sander-Hansen, C. E. 1956. *Die Texte der Metternichstele*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* VII. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
- Satzinger, H. 1975. 'The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus'. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12: 37–50.
- Satzinger, H. 1991. 'Old Coptic'. In A. S. Atiya (ed.) *The Coptic Encyclopedia. Vol. VIII*: 169–75. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Vinson, S. 2016. 'Good and Bad Women in Egyptian and Greek Fiction'. In I. Rutherford (ed.) *Greco-Egyptian Interactions. Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE*: 245–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Worrell, W. H. 1935. 'Coptic Magical and Medical Texts'. *Orientalia* 4: 1–37, 184–94.

# Under the lion's shadow.

## Iconographic evidence of Apedemak in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata

Francesca Iannarilli, Silvia Callegher, Federica Pancin<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

The lion is one of the most widespread and evergreen symbols of the Egyptian kingship; the lion-king motif recurs in traditional iconography and in royal inscriptions as an attribute of power, domination, strength. At the same time, the lion gods are characterized by ambivalent value and invested with destructive as well as protective potentiality. In Nubia the lion divinity begins to take on importance in the passage between Napatan and Meroitic phases: a leonine god joins Amun like the protector of royalty, especially in central and northern Sudan; he could be the result of syncretic phenomena with the lion-headed god Mahes, but his name is purely Meroitic: Apedemak. This work is intended to give an overview about the iconographic evidence of the lion-god Apedemak, protector of kingship and guardian of the Meroitic Royal District at Jebel Barkal, currently being excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan.

### Keywords

Apedemak; lion god; Napata; Jebel Barkal; Meroitic period; Natakamani

### Introduction: the lion god in the Meroitic cultural framework (F. Iannarilli)

This paper is the result of teamwork conducted at the site of Jebel Barkal, ancient Napata, where the Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan has been working since 1973. The Italian concession corresponds to an area dated to Meroitic king Natakamani (1st century CE), centred on the big royal palace whence the majority of our finds come from. Part of the material evidence of this area consists of different objects reproducing the lion-god Apedemak, who seems to be a protagonist in the decoration of the palace of the king, in his function as protector of kingship and guardian of the whole royal area.

Following C. Rilly and A. de Voogt (2012, 102–3, 183), Apedemak – the leonine Meroitic god *par excellence* – has a purely Meroitic name, consisting of the noun *mk*, ‘god’, plus the lexeme *Apede*, ‘Creator’; among the best known Egyptian transcriptions we can mention the one in the temple of Musawwarat es-Sufra: *Iprmk*, followed by the epithets *ntr* 𐩐, ‘Great God’, *hnt(y) b-sti*, ‘the Foremost of Bowland’, and *m3y rsyt*, ‘The Lion of the South’ (Eide *et al.* 1996, 126, 582–5). Among his appellations also 𐩐-*phty*, ‘The Powerful One’, or *wsr-hpš*, ‘Powerful of Arm’ (see also Leitz 2002, 53–4). The last epithet can also be shared with other divinities, such as the lion-headed god Mahes, well known in Lower Egypt, in Leontopolis in the late New Kingdom and Bubastis in the 22nd dynasty; during the Ptolemaic Period, some inscriptions referring to him are known in Philae, Edfu, Dendera and Debod.

L. V. Žabkar (1975, 52, 62–70) suggested, in fact, that Apedemak could be the result of syncretic phenomena with Mahes (see de Wit 1951, 230–4) himself, whose motifs were also well known in Meroe. Usually placed in correspondence to pilasters or doors, leading a group of similar deities, he assumed an ambivalent role of beneficent as well as maleficent ‘genie’ protecting the entrances. This motif seems to have spread from Philae southwards in Nubian contexts, like in Dendur, Dakka and, later, Musawwarat es-Sufra, where the two lions accompanying the statues of Arensnuphis and Sebiuemker (see Onasch 1990 and 1993) are located as guardians of Temple 300 entrance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan - Jebel Barkal (Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, Italy).

<sup>2</sup> A similar scene can also be found in the inner south wall of Apedemak’s shrine, where a relief shows Apedemak leading a lion on a leash (Hintze *et al.* 1971, pl. 51a). The lion-carrying gods or kings can be interpreted as a symbol of the traditional triumphal iconography (see Török 2011, 230).

In one of the scene legends of the Temple of Debod (Hintze 1973, 335), the theonym of Apedemak is written *p<sup>3</sup> ir-mky*, ‘The Protector’, with a pseudo-etymological transcription of the original Meroitic name. This designation appears logic since Apedemak joins Amun in the role of protector of royalty, especially in the central and northern Sudan, in particular during the passage from Napatan to Meroitic phase, between the 3rd century BCE and the 1st century CE. L. Török (2011, 202–3) has stressed the association between a warrior aspect of the king and a warrior and hunter character of some deities – such as Amun, Apedemak, Arensnuphis, and Sebiemeker – that is particularly true in this specific period (see also Wenig 1993, 199).

Indications of the warrior character of Apedemak can be observed especially in the reliefs from the Lion Temple in Musawwarat es-Sufra (southern wall). There, the god is represented with a sort of leather armour (or a cuirass), holding bow and arrows, and a tied prisoner in one hand. Moreover, one of his peculiar features is the so-called *hmhm* crown,<sup>3</sup> dressed in the Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naga reliefs and also in a red slate plaque from Meroe.

In brief, the three most well-known iconographic depictions of Apedemak include (see Fig. 1):

1. an anthropomorphic lion-headed or three-lion-headed figure (Naga).<sup>4</sup>
2. a fully zoomorphic figure (e.g. in the Palace of Natakamani at Jebel Barkal; see below).
3. a composite form, like the lion-headed snake (Naga; see Wildung 2011, 61–4).

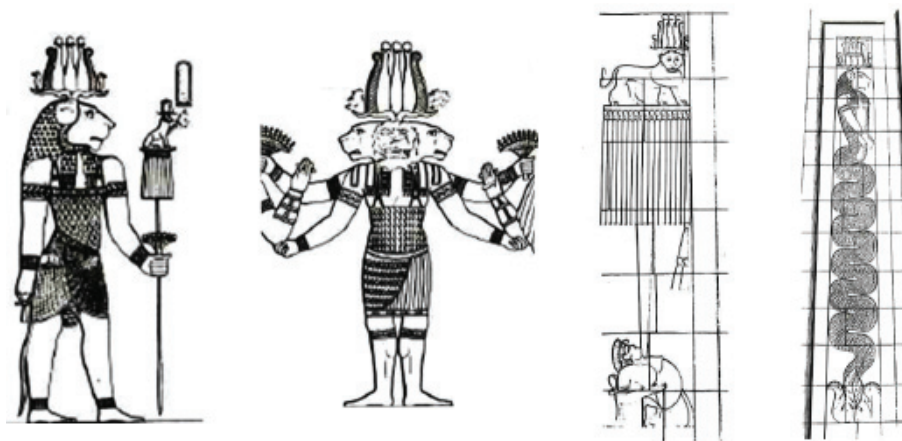


Figure 1. Different iconographies of Apedemak from the reliefs of the Lion Temple in Naga (Žabkar 1975, pls. 4, 5, 8).

This last form is quite peculiar: other deities with lion head and serpentiform body are well known especially in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, chronologically close to the Naga temple and also to Jebel Barkal Palace. In the Temple of Naga (1st century CE) it is possible to find the lion-headed Apedemak emerging from an acanthus plant with snake's body and human arms; maybe an echo from the Late-Egyptian Horus child rising from the lotus flower – which can also take the form of an acanthus chalice (Török 2011, 323; Ciampini 2011, 187).

Cobras with a lion-head – and often a sun-disk – are also part of frieze decorations of royal tombs in the Ramesside period; but more widespread are the serpent-lion figures from the Ptolemaic and Roman temple reliefs, for example in the Temple of Dakka, probably with a protective role (Roeder 1930).

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that Imn *ḥmhm*, ‘Amun Great of Roarings’, is known in the Second Intermediate Period at el-Hiba (Middle Egypt) (see Gardiner 1961, 331).

<sup>4</sup> See also the bust of Apedemak found by the Czech Mission at Wad Ben Naga (Onderka 2014, 89).



At Jebel Barkal, despite the lack of inscriptions confirming the identity of Apedemak in the local religious framework, his typical iconographical elements – in particular two out of the three above-mentioned variants, that is lion shape and snake-lion shape – can be recognised in some objects coming from the Palace and the connected buildings of the Royal District.

### **The lion statues from the palace of Natakamani at Jebel Barkal (S. Callegher)**

The increasing presence of the lion figure in the Meroitic iconography of kingship is also confirmed by the archaeological data emerging from the excavation of the palace of Natakamani (B1500), where several lion statues were discovered.

The building was characterised by a square foundation platform (61.00 × 61.00 × 1.80 m) that raised it from the surrounding ground; the walking level of the structure was therefore reachable only by means of four massive staircases, one for each side of the edifice. These monumental ramps ended in a square terrace placed just ahead of the proper threshold: although none of the lions were discovered *in situ* (see Fig. 2), their finding spot on the lower ground adjoining the entrances suggests that they were originally placed on top of this structure (Donadoni 1993, 103).



Figure 2. Some of the lion statues from the northern entrance at the moment of the excavation (photo F. Lovera).

Here they were probably arranged in couples, at least on the northern access, as suggested by the finds collected during the digging of this area, where three statues were found in a good state of preservation and a fragment implied the presence of a fourth one. As far as the other entrances are concerned, two statues were discovered in relation to the southern one, and fragments relatable to at least three lions in correspondence to the eastern access.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Data collected from the excavation journals related to the years 1982, 1983, 1995, 1997 and 1998 (unpublished).



Figure 3. General plan showing the location of the buildings of the sacred area of Napata, B1500 visible on the top right (elaboration by M. Gottardo).

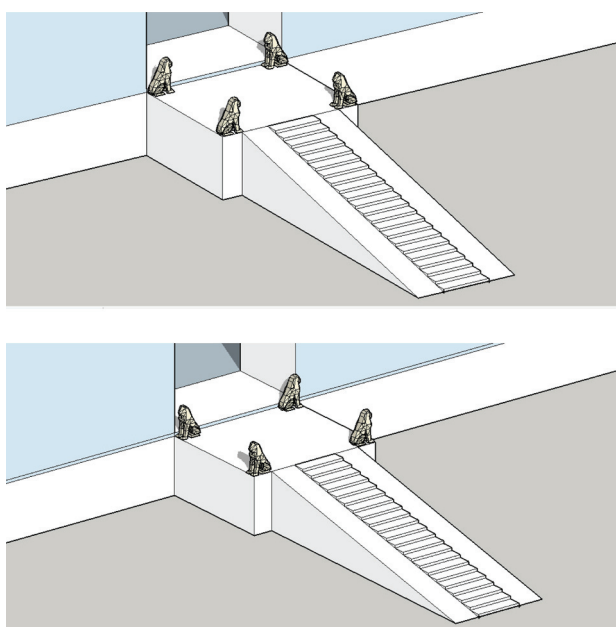


Figure 4. 3D reconstruction of two possible layouts for the lion statues on the northern terrace of palace B1500 (elaboration by S. Callegher).

The lack of evidence in the western part of the building can be justified by the different arrangement of the access in this side, it being apparently oriented towards the temple of Amun B500 (see Fig. 3), in the southern part of the site (Roccati 1997, 13).

Moreover, the location of the latter may also explain why one of the statues of the south entrance had its muzzle turned to its left, a detail which affected the reconstruction of the layout of the lions on the terraces. Indeed, considering that the only example with this peculiar feature was found in relation to the southern entrance, it is possible that at least some of the sculptures located here had their head turned in the direction of the temple, ideally following the processional way leading from the palace to the sacred area and the other way round. If this is true, we may assume that they were disposed at right angles to the direction of the incoming visitors entering the



palace, or back-to-back with their snout facing the landscape, as shown in the 3D reconstruction (see Fig. 4); certainly, in the absence of other reliable evidence, these remain just a few among many possible hypotheses.

The particular of the muzzle is not the only feature which distinguishes the southern lion from the others, it being characterised as well by a finer craftsmanship (Roccati 2015, 390) particularly evident in the rendering of the surface of the mane and by larger dimensions (1.47 m from the base to the top). In the statues coming from the north side (1.40 m high), for example, the anatomical details can be recognised only in the snout (see Fig. 5).

In addition, the presence of fragments of plaster on some statues indicates that they were originally painted in different colours: red, light blue for the bases, and yellow for the body, the same palette used for the decoration of the palace.

The role of guardians of the accesses of the royal building ascribed to the lion statues seems quite unquestionable, especially taking into account their location and the aforementioned status of dynastic deity assumed by the leonine god Apedemak. Besides, even though there is little evidence to sustain a proper identification for all the statues, it is possible that at least the southern one could actually represent Apedemak, given the presence of a carved acanthus leaf on its right shoulder. This plant, in fact, has often been connected to the birth of the deity, as suggested by the already mentioned decorative programme of the Lion Temple of Naga (see above).

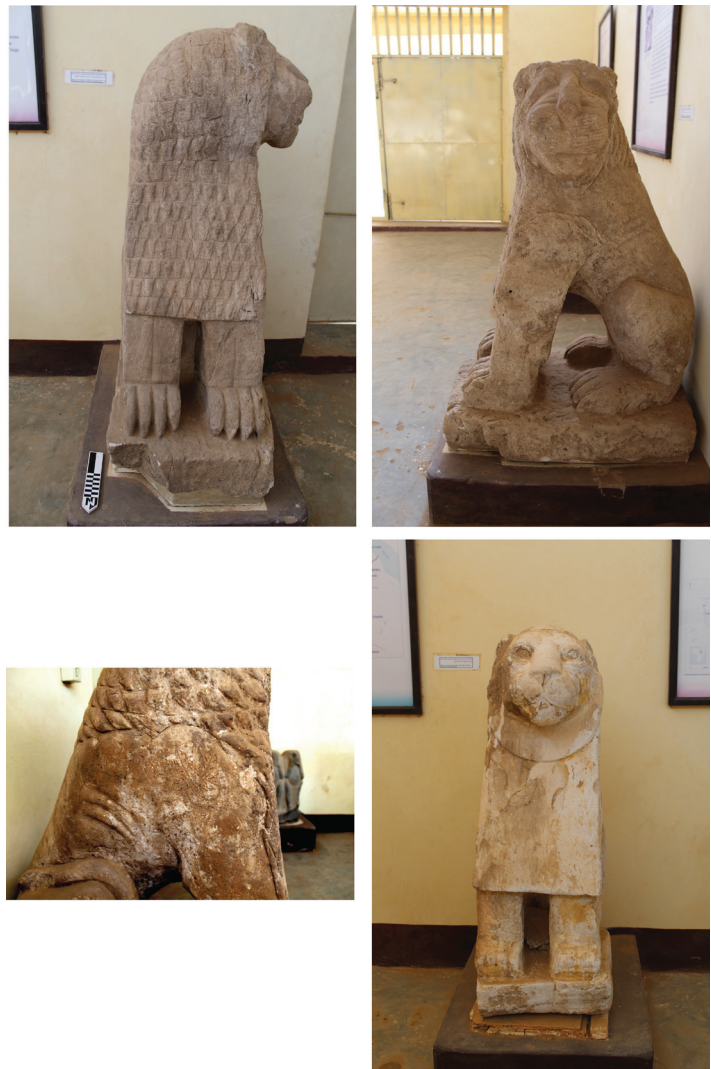


Figure 5. Lion statues exhibited at the museum of Karima. Top left and right: the lion statue from the southern access; bottom left: particular of the southern lion showing the acanthus leaf; bottom right: lion statue from the northern access (photo S. Callegher).

### **The iconographic evidence of Apedemak from the Meroitic Royal District at Napata (F. Pancin)**

If the iconography of the god managed to spread at a very early stage of the Meroitic period from the Butana region, where it was possibly Egyptianised as early as the 25th dynasty and whence its exacerbated hunter-warrior features probably came from (Török 1997, 500–2), other models played a major role in inspiring the construction of the divine visual form in Napata. It has already been pointed out (Roccati 2011, 161–70) that the lion statues at the entrances of palace B1500 are Egyptian in concept and that their execution recalls the Pharaonic statues of the renowned ‘Prudhoe Lions’ (Roccati 1997, 12–18) collected in Jebel Barkal in the early 19th century and now displayed at the British Museum

(BM EA 1 and BM EA 2). Inscriptions on their bases and bodies reveal that they were originally part of Amenhotep III's temple furniture in Soleb and that they were later usurped and moved to Napata by Meroitic king Amanislo in the mid-3rd century BCE (Török 1997, 322). Their turned head, an iconographic peculiarity, could be the direct inspirational model for B1500 southern lion (see above): even if a small sitting lion statuette with turned head was found in Naga (Wildung 2011, Fig. 60), this iconography is more common on recumbent lion statues, and the 'Prudhoe Lions' were the nearest example at hand at Jebel Barkal.<sup>6</sup>

Iconographic evidence of Apedemak is also abundant among the small finds uncovered by the Italian Mission in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata. If figurative pottery presents only some implicit references to Dionysiac themes,<sup>7</sup> such as grapevine and ivy leaves (Ciampini and Bąkowska-Czerner 2013, 72–4), some other material classes are more eloquent: there is a significant number of lion representations both in glazed tiles and sealings. Glazed terracotta tiles were cemented to the palace walls for apotropaic and decorative purpose: some plain instances, variously coloured, were found inside the representative area of building B1500, but the figurative specimens were a characterising feature of the external façade (Donadoni 1993, 102, 105). The moulded subjects include protection amulets – in the form of *s3*-knots – arranged in baroque compositions, Dionysiac figures represented in Hellenistic fashion inside large *tondi* (Taurino 2018, 210–25), and lunar crescents with the head of Apedemak (see Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Glazed terracotta moulded tile in the shape of a lunar crescent with lion-headed Apedemak; from palace B1500 at Jebel Barkal (photo F. Lovera).

The closest parallel for this object was found in the so-called 'Royal Baths' at Meroe (Garstang 1913, 79), suggesting that the type was a prerogative of royal contexts. The god wears the *hmhm* crown and is shown in a frontal position, a feature that somehow intentionally accentuates his terrifying aspect: the artist's attention focused on the rendering of the lion paws and mouth, conceivably to highlight the aggressive nature of the feral deity. The same frontal view is common in minor art, as shown on the jewellery – either worn by the Meroitic royalty represented on temple and funerary reliefs (Chapman and Dunham 1952, pl. 16a; Hintze *et al.* 1971, pls. 21, 22b, 33b–c, 34, 35), or treasured in the royal tombs at Meroe, such as queen Amanishakheto's gold shield ring with a moulded Apedemak's head now in the Ägyptische Museum in Berlin (ÄM 22872).

<sup>6</sup> One could argue that there is no indication that palace B1500 statues were carved in the Jebel Barkal area, and in fact it is not possible to determine whether they were brought from afar. Nevertheless, given their antiquity and prestigious setting, the 'Prudhoe Lions' could be considered a likely nationwide model for Meroitic recumbent lions with turned heads.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion on Apedemak and Dionysiac features in Meroitic culture, see Manzo (2006, 82–94).

B1500 glazed terracotta tile iconography is meant to stress at least three key points in the definition of the divine figure: the first is the royal and solar character of the lion god, inferred by the presence of the crown; secondly, the fierce nature of this form of kingship is symbolised by the physical attributes of the lion, the triumphant animal *par excellence* that grasps and tears his preys apart and is therefore the perfect hypostasis of the king smiting his enemies; lastly, also the lunar aspect of the divine being is emphasised, indicating the well attested connection with water and fertility, as in Meroe – annual renovation rituals performed in water sanctuaries for the Meroitic king are known also in Jebel Barkal (Ciampini and Bąkowska-Czerner 2014, 695–701; Ciampini 2015, 369–73) and the relationship between lions and water is archaeologically attested as well, namely by leonine statues found near *hafirs*, for instance in Basa, Usuda and Musawwarat es-Sufra (Elhassan 2004, 25).

S. Donadoni's excavations uncovered a large discharge of clay sealings in the basement of a room west of the representative area of the Palace (Vincentelli 1992, 106–21; Donadoni 1993, 107). The last seasons of work (2016 and 2017) made it clear that a specialisation occurred in the western wing of the building, where a sort of administrative area was conceived: here products were stored and basic counting media, such as *cretulae* and tokens, were employed. Among the figurative stamp seal impressions, some images of lions stand out for their fine making (Vincentelli 1993, Fig. 2). The felines are represented either standing or sitting and some details point to an identification with Apedemak. Indicative for the attribution of the subjects are *hmhm* crowns and solar disks, markers of kingship. In some instances the statues of the god are depicted, as the representation of the base would suggest, and their overall appearance is coherent with that of the lion sculptures standing on the palace entrance terraces.<sup>8</sup> Three *cretulae* types show couples of lions – or lion statues – turned backwards: the accepted interpretation for B1500 lions proposes groups of *facing* seated statues guarding the palace entrances (see above), but here the iconography is inspired by more ancient models and one instance is even more explicit in showing a lion-headed Aker (Vincentelli 1993, Fig. 2, n. 3); this further elaboration of classical icons testifies to the Meroitic awareness in absorbing and mixing Pharaonic contents with more genuine re-articulated Kushite paradigms (Török 1997, 425).

Two examples (see Fig. 7) show a crowned stepping lion protected by a winged sun disk and preceded by a rearing uraeus – it would appear that the lion is standing on the cobra's body. This iconography is similar to the lion standard on the back wall of the southern pylon of the Lion Temple at Naga, though the cobra is missing in this relief (Gamer-Wallert 1983, pl. 4a). Instead, the presence of both lion and uraeus reminds of something further evocative: a relief in the Lion Temple at Musawwarat es-Sufra (Hintze *et al.* 1971, pl. 85) shows a recumbent lion inside a shrine, with a rearing cobra on top. This is the ideal

representation of a god in his dwelling place and at Jebel Barkal it is usually the depiction of Amun inside the Pure Mountain, with the pinnacle being the uraeus<sup>9</sup> – as engraved on one of the walls of the Temple of Mut (Lepsius 1849–1859 V, pl. 5). In Jebel Barkal's

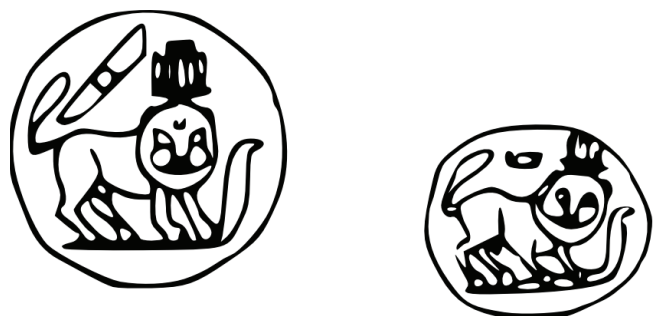


Figure 7. Lion representations on stamp-seal impressions from palace B1500 at Jebel Barkal (Vincentelli 1993, Fig. 2, n. 1–2).

<sup>8</sup> See Vincentelli (1993, Fig. 2, n. 5), for the careful outlining of the trapezoidal chest and mane of the sitting lion. The fact that the represented statues sometimes wear crowns could possibly point towards an identification of B1500 sitting lion sculptures with Apedemak.

<sup>9</sup> For some possible Kushite interpretations of the shape of the pinnacle, see Kendall (2004, 1–45).



GB 2010  
B2200  
F 687



Figure 8. Serpent-Apedemak limestone statuette from building B2200 at Jebel Barkal (photo [left] and 3D model [centre and right] S. Callegher).

glyphic art, this representation could hint at this immanence interpretation, following that *ḏw wꜥb* would not be only Amun's abode, but also Apedemak's, especially in a time in which their prerogatives somehow overlap (Török 1997, 502; Ciampini 2011, 187). The pinnacle itself could have been an aspect of the uraeiform Apedemak, as also suggested by a small limestone idol found in building B2200 in 2010 by the Italian Mission (see Fig. 8).

The object is preeminent in the record, since stone sculpture is rare in the Meroitic district. It presents a hole on its head, probably intended for the insertion of a lost element, possibly a crown. Given the small size, the feral, protective, and creative powers of the god were thus also conveyed on an individual sphere and, at the same time, grand tradition iconographies like the one of the serpent-Apedemak in Naga (see above) continued to be respected.

From local deity of southern origin, the figure of Apedemak soon grew in importance in the Meroitic period, becoming a national symbol of kingship and renewal. Though the existence of a place of worship for the lion god in the ancient town of Napata has been postulated and is still being investigated,<sup>10</sup> and notwithstanding the paucity of finds pertaining to the figure of Apedemak collected in the Meroitic District, material culture is eloquent at Jebel Barkal. A considerable number of lion statues guarding the entrances of Palace B1500 seems to refer to the apotropaic powers of the leonine god, their identification ensured – at least in one specimen – by the presence of a carved acanthus leaf (see above).<sup>11</sup> The same protective function is assumed by glazed terracotta tiles with a moulded lunar Apedemak, more easily recognisable in the typical iconography with a *hmhm* crown. As a kingship divinity, he is often chosen as a subject in glyphic art, and it is tempting to see an allusion to some representations of the god's

<sup>10</sup> For an overview of the issues concerning Meroitic temple B900 as a 'Lion Temple' at Jebel Barkal, see Kendall (2014, 663–86).

<sup>11</sup> In describing lion statues placed at the entrances of Meroitic temples, L. Žabkar (1975, 62) wrote: 'although there are no inscriptions on them which would help identify them more closely, it seems reasonable to assume that in the architectural context in which they appear as guardian deities they are associated with Apedemak'. Palace B1500 is not a temple, but as a ceremonial setting for the rituals concerning the Meroitic establishment of the 'ambulatory kingship' it has undeniable cultic implications.

dwelling place in the presence of the rearing uraeus accompanying the lion. This iconic rendering seems to be also condensed in the small serpentiform Apedemak statuette, a reduced scale instance of the traditional coiled shape the god shows at Naga.

At Jebel Barkal, then, the variety and quality of the evidence allow to observe a meaningful adoption of the figure of Apedemak in palatial and ceremonial contexts; the significant record for the god, who was characterised by royal and demiurgic connotations, contributes to the outlining of an overall picture of the ancient site of Napata, perfectly fitting in the wider scenery of the Meroitic cultural milieu.

## Acknowledgements

We are grateful to our colleagues M. Gottardo and S. Taurino who provided us with maps and documentation, and, of course, to the director of our Mission, Prof. E. M. Ciampini.

## Reference List

Chapman, S. E. and Dunham, D. 1952. *The royal cemeteries of Kush III. Decorated chapels of the Meroitic pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Ciampini, E. M. 2011. 'Riflessi imperiali in Sudan: i complessi palatini del Gebel Barkal (Napata)'. In T. Nogales and I. Rodà (eds.) *Roma y las provincias: Modelo y diffusion*, Hispania Antigua Serie Arqueológica 3: 183–9. Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider.

Ciampini, E. M. 2015. 'The Italian excavations at Gebel Barkal: a royal hammam (B2200: Seasons 2008–2009)'. In M. H. Zach (ed.) *The Kushite world. Proceedings of the 11th international conference for Meroitic studies. Vienna 1–4 September 2008*, Beiträge zur Sudanforschung Beiheft 9: 369–79. Vienna: Verein der Förderer der Sudanforschung.

Ciampini, E. M. and Bąkowska-Czerner, G. 2013. 'Snakes on the Nile. Iconographical and cultural motifs in Egypt, Nubia, and Hellenistic world'. *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 17: 67–77.

Ciampini, E. M. and Bąkowska-Czerner, G. 2014. 'Meroitic kingship and the water: the case of Napata (B2200)'. In J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds.) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*: 695–701. Leuven: Peeters.

Donadoni, S. 1993. 'Excavations of the University of Rome at Natakamani Palace'. *Kush* 16: 101–15.

Eide, T., Hägg, T., Pierce, R. H. and Török, L. 1996. *Fontes historiae Nubiorum. Textual sources for the history of the Middle Nile Region between the eighth century BC and the sixth century AD. Vol. II. From the mid-fifth to the first century BC*. Bergen: University of Bergen.

Elhassan, A. A. 2004. *Religious motifs in Meroitic painted and stamped pottery*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1285. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd.

Gamer-Wallert, I. 1983. *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan) III. Die Wandreliefs*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

Gardiner, A. 1961. *Egypt of the pharaohs. An introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Garstang, J. 1913. 'Third interim report on the excavations at Meroe'. *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 5: 73–83.

- Hintze, F. 1973. 'Apedemak'. In W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I: 335–6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Hintze, F., Hintze, U., Priese, K. H. and Stark, K. 1971. *Musawwarat es Sufra I.2. Der Löwentempel. Tafelband*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Kendall, T. 2004. 'The Monument of Taharqa on Gebel Barkal'. In S. Wenig (ed.) *Neueste Feldforschungen im Sudan und in Eritrea: Akten des Symposiums vom 13. bis 14. Oktober 1999 in Berlin*, *Meroitica* 21: 1–45. Berlin: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kendall, T. 2014. 'Reused relief blocks of Piankhy from B900: toward a decipherment of the Osiris cult at Jebel Barkal'. In J. R. Anderson and D. A. Welsby (eds.) *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*: 663–86. Leuven: Peeters.
- Leitz, C. (ed.) 2002. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Bd. I. 3 – i*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 110. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lepsius, C. R. 1849–1859. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.
- Manzo, A. 2006. 'Apedemak and Dionysos. Further remarks on the "cult of the grape" in Kush'. *Sudan & Nubia* 10: 82–94.
- Onasch, C. 1990. 'Die kuschitische Religion aus der Sicht von E. E. Kormyschewa in ihrem Werk "Religija Kuša"'. *Nubica* 1-2: 47–75.
- Onasch, C. 1993. 'Die religiöse Bedeutung des Tempels'. In F. Hintze, K.-H. Priese, S. Wenig, C. Onasch, G. Buschendorf-Otto and U. Hintze (eds.) *Musawwarat es Sufra. I.1. Der Löwentempel. Textband*: 228–67. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Onderka, P. 2014. 'Wad ben Naga: a history of the site'. *Sudan & Nubia* 18: 83–92.
- Rilly, C. and de Voogt, A. 2012. *The Meroitic language and writing system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roccati, A. 1997. 'Excavating the Palace of Natakamani at Napata. The entrances'. *Kush* 17: 12–18.
- Roccati, A. 2011. 'Un sincronismo approssimativo tra File e Napata'. *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 144: 161–70.
- Roccati, A. 2015. 'Dating the Meroitic sector at Napata'. In M. H. Zach (ed.) *The Kushite world. Proceedings of the 11th international conference for Meroitic studies. Vienna 1–4 September 2008*. Beiträge zur Sudanforschung Beiheft 9: 389–93. Vienna: Verein der Förderer der Sudanforschung.
- Roeder, G. 1930. *Der Tempel von Dakke*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Taurino, S. 2018. 'Glazed terracotta decorations from the palace of Natakamani (B1500) at Napata: a typological and iconographical analysis. Italian Archaeological Mission in Sudan at Jebel Barkal (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice)'. In I. Incordino, S. Mainieri, E. D'Itria, M. Diletta Pubblico, F. M. Rega, A. Salsano (eds.) *Current Research in Egyptology 2017. Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Symposium. University of Naples, "L'Orientale" 3–6 May 2017*: 210–25. Oxford: Archaeopress.

- Török, L. 1997. *The kingdom of Kush. Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic civilization*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 31. Leiden: Brill.
- Török, L. 2011. *Hellenizing art in ancient Nubia 300 BC–AD 250 and its Egyptian models*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vincentelli, I. 1992. 'A group of figured clay sealings from Jebel Barkal (Sudan)'. *Orientalia* 61: 106–21.
- Vincentelli, I. 1993. 'A discharge of clay sealings from the Natakamani palace'. *Kush* 16: 116–41.
- Wenig, S. 1993. 'Die Darstellungen. Untersuchung zur Ikonographie, Inhalt und Komposition der Reliefs'. In F. Hintze, K.-H. Priese, S. Wenig, C. Onasch, G. Buschendorf-Otto and U. Hintze (eds.) *Musawwarat es Sufra I.1. Der Löwentempel. Textband*: 74–227. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Wildung, D. 2011. 'Stadt der Löwen. City of lions'. In K. Kröper, S. Schoske and D. Wildung (eds.) *Königsstadt Naga. Naga – Royal city. Grabungen in der Wüste des Sudan. Excavations in the desert of the Sudan*: 53–65. München: Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst.
- de Wit, C. 1951. *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Leiden: Brill.
- Žabkar, L. V. 1975. *Apedemak lion god of Meroe*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.

# Brief notes about regional elements of the pottery assemblage from the Byzantine site of Manqabad (Asyut)

Ilaria Incordino<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The Italian-Egyptian project of study and conservation of the Manqabad site has included the collection of data about the assemblage of pottery, comprising 245 items, according to the inventories of the el-Minya Inspectorate. In the recent seasons, the pottery vessels stored in the el-Ashmunein stores have been documented, analysed and reproduced for inclusion in a digital database for a typological and stylistic study, which is currently being printed. The preliminary results of the comparison between the Manqabad wares and similar material deriving from other better known monastic sites or assemblages of Coptic pottery have revealed a substantial commonality of typologies, notably with some parallels between the Kellia and Saqqara Apa Jeremia deposits. A distinct 'regional' style can be identified among the Manqabad items, indicating a common element shared with other assemblages in Middle Egyptian monastic sites (Amarna, Kom el-Nana, el-Ashmunein, Antinoopolis and Wadi Sarga). As for decorated wares, remarkable elements have been observed, underlying the impressive artistic quality at Manqabad, related in particular to some decorative subjects painted on finely crafted vessels.

## Keywords

Middle Egyptian pottery ateliers; Byzantine pottery; Egyptian monastery Manqabad; Asyut region

## Introduction

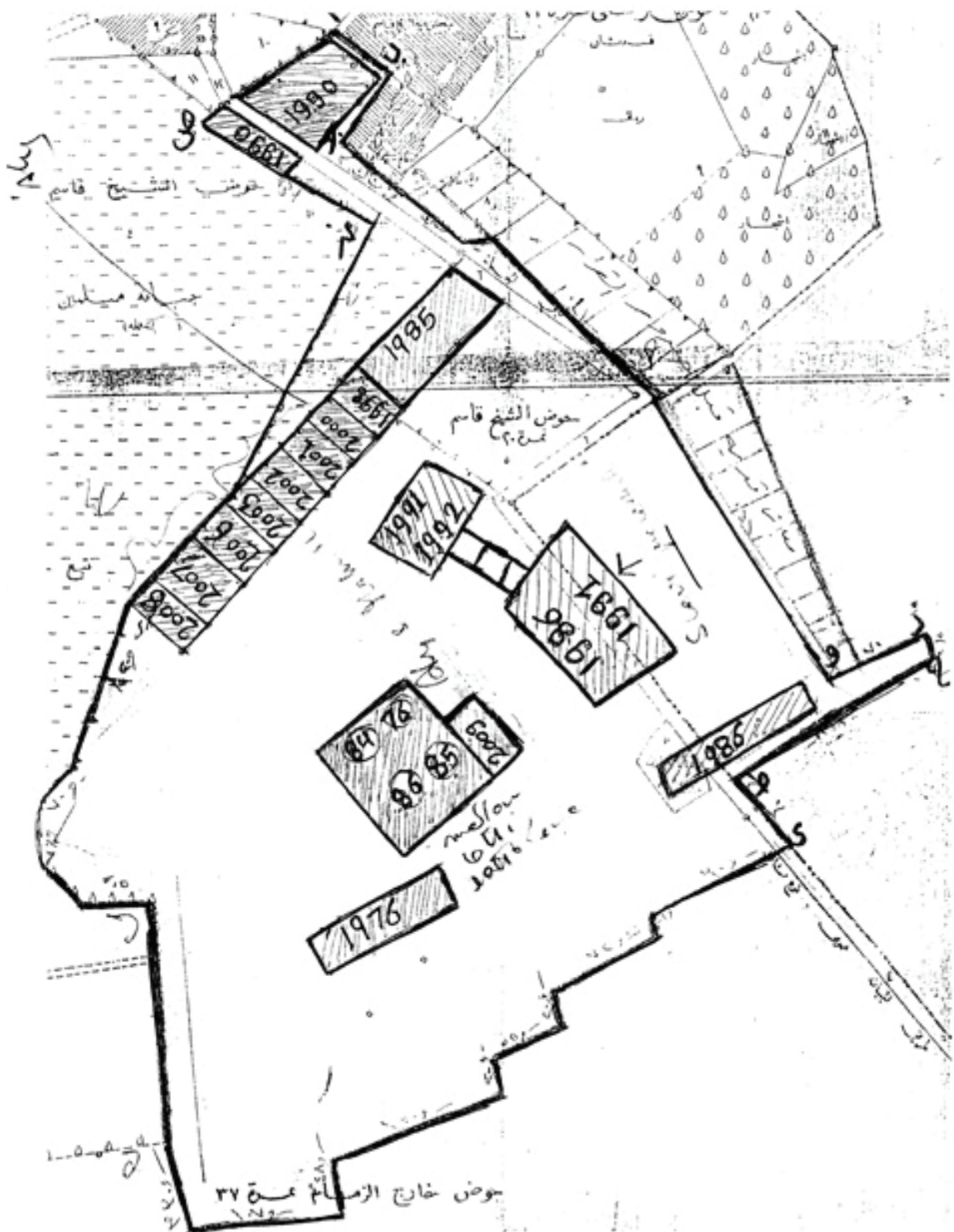
The study and conservation project of the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' in Rome, the Project Sector of the Ministry of Antiquities (MSA), the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) local Inspectorate and the Restoration Sector at Manqabad monastery has, among its principal aims, the documentation and analysis of the pottery assemblage currently kept at the el-Ashmunein and Asyut stores and the survey of the el-Minya Inspectorate inventories.<sup>2</sup> Some preliminary observations about architectural elements, frescoes, stelae, coins, a topographic survey and pottery analysis have made it possible to produce and outline of the long history of this site, divided into three main phases of occupation (First Christian Period, Phase I, 6th century CE; Second Christian Period, Phase II, 8th century CE corresponding to the beginning of the Islamic Period; Islamic Period, 19th century CE, reign of Mahmud II) and three more periods of possible or less regular human presence: a Pharaonic period (deduced from the finding of hieroglyphic signs on ancient blocks reused in the Christian era and analysed during the 2014 mission); a Ptolemaic Period (?); a Late Roman Period (for the presence of architectural structures resembling a thermal bath in the central area of the site). Moreover, the literary (papyrus) sources quote the occurrence of a *castrum* at Lykopolis still in use during the first half of the 5th century CE. This date can be seen as a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the monastic settlement at Manqabad (see Fig. 2). At present the central area of the site is occupied by the remains of the *castrum*, which may have been reused by the monastic community (Fig. 1, area 84–86, 2009).

Before the last fieldwork (October–December 2018), the pottery documentation was focused only on a part (34%) of the material (82 items) kept at the el-Ashmunein SCA stores, analysing and reproducing it to be included in a digital database for typological and stylistic study (see Incordino, forthcoming). This material is completely unstratified, so except for a few items, we had no clue about its actual provenance from different areas of the site.

<sup>1</sup> Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Italy.

<sup>2</sup> For the project general aims and methodology, see Pirelli (2014 and 2015); Pirelli and Buzi (2013); Pirelli *et al.* (2016 and 2017).





Consequently, the analysis is heavily influenced by some methodological issues, deriving mostly from previous archaeological surveys conducted by SCA inspectors. Since 1965, when the site was accidentally discovered during construction work on the local electrical system, the previous excavators have collected mainly complete vessels with painted decoration (only 12% of the material analysed so far belongs to common/coarse types of ware). Demonstrative of this method of work is the fact that in the el-Ashmunein SCA stores there are actually no fragments from the site. For this reason, it has been impossible to proceed with analysis of fresh breaks so far. Unfortunately, there are more difficulties dealing with this assemblage, concerning most of all the absence of a secure archaeological context for the finds (this is true not only of ceramics), as a direct consequence of a complete lack of documentation, with few exceptions. The most recent excavations (2000–2010), conducted by the inspectors Ali Ahmed Mahfuz and Mahmoud Ala, have provided a general map of the site with indication of the year of excavation for each part, which has been shared with the Italian mission since 2012. Thanks to the collaboration with these two former inspectors, it has been possible to associate, though rather indirectly, each vessel to the area investigated during the previous seasons by referring also to the SCA inventories today kept in the el-Minya Inspectorate.

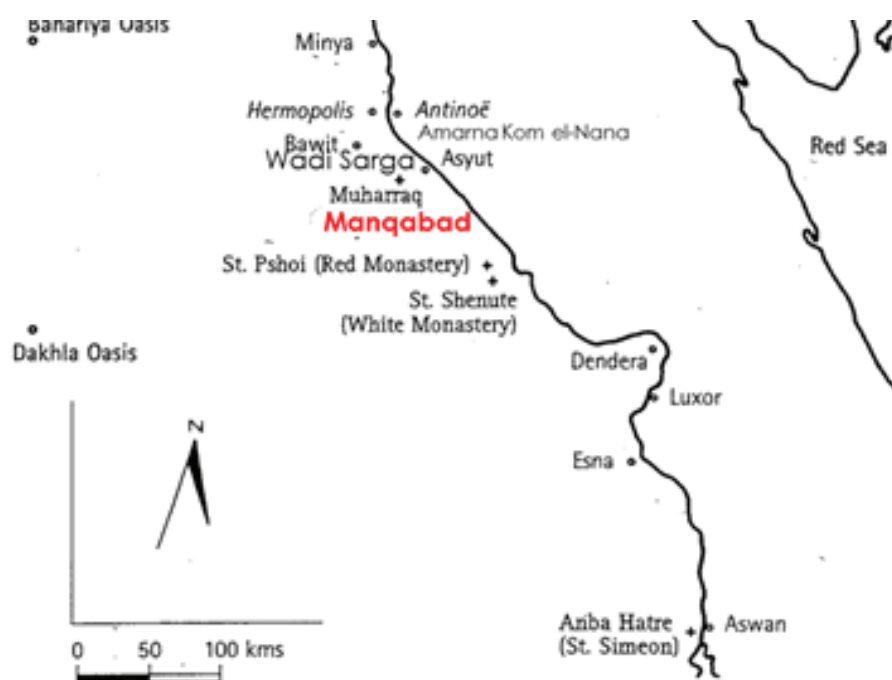


Figure 2. Map of the principal monastic site of the Byzantine Middle and Upper Egypt (Gabra 2002, XV).

Despite this, the exceptionally good state of preservation of the pottery (and of the site in general) has provided a unique condition of work: an almost undisturbed context of a Byzantine monastery in Egypt. Moreover, as regards ceramic material, working with complete items has, of course, simplified the identification of different typologies and decorative styles, to be compared with similar material deriving from other better known monastic sites of Egypt such as Kellia, Saqqara Apa Jeremia, Esna, Tebtynis and Deir el-Bakhit (West Thebes).

## Regional elements of the Manqabad pottery assemblage

The comparative analysis of the Manqabad pottery material from the el-Ashmunein SCA store has brought to light many connections between the typologies identified and similar items found mostly among Middle Egyptian centres, such as Wadi Sarga, Amarna, Kom el-Nana, el-Ashmunein and Antinopolis (Fig. 2).

In particular, some examples of Late Roman Amphorae type 7 (LRA7) have been documented in the SCA stores, used as wine containers and widespread in all the monastic sites of Egypt, and dated, for this particular stage of evolution attested in Manqabad (rounded shoulder, maximum diameter 18.5 cm), to the 7th century CE. This amphora has a characteristic elongated form, with a high neck, two band-like handles, pointed base and ribbed external surface. Many parallels of this typology have been found mostly among assemblages at Kellia (Egloff 1977, 177), Bawit (Louvre E12127), Antinoopolis (Inv. 622) and Wadi Sarga (BM E73605). In the el-Minya Inspectorate inventories, more than 35 LRA7 have been recorded as finds from the Egyptian excavation in the central area of the site, conducted in 1984–1985.

Considering the study of Byzantine pottery ateliers in Egypt, it seems confirmed that LRA7 were among the main types actually produced, at least in Antinoopolis (Sheikh Abada) and el-Ashmunein (Ballet *et al.* 1991, 134–8), which could have been the original sources of provisioning for this kind of typology for Manqabad too. The distance between el-Ashmunein and Manqabad is less than 80 km and, more importantly, the latter is located at the crossroads of very well established trade networks in the Asuyt region (Kahl 2007, 117–20).



Figure 3. Gargoulette from Manqabad (Inv. Mqb n.49, Minya 1747, photo I. Incordino).

More parallels can be found among some short amphorae with occasional painted geometric and vegetal decoration on the upper part of the vessels (Inv. Minya 1747) found in the Manqabad stores and possibly dating from the mid 5th–7th century CE. Many comparisons can be found with similar items (e.g. Louvre AF7578 and E12384) from Antinoopolis, Kellia (Egloff 1977, 204) and el-Ashmunein. The average height of Manqabad amphorae is between 30 and 35 cm, with painted vegetal garlands adorned by small red dots, or spiral motifs.

Probably also for this typology a derivation could be suggested from the main Middle Egypt ateliers of el-Ashmunein and Amarna (Kom el-Nana), since there is evidence of the local production of those little ‘gargoulettes’ made of calcareous fabric, often with a six-hole filter inside the neck, like the Manqabad item (Fig. 3).

Fine ware of class K in the Rodziewicz’s classification (cf. Rodziewicz 1976) and of Egyptian B in the Hayes’ one (see Hayes 1972) represents another type produced in el-Ashmunein and Sheikh Abada (Antinoopolis), which is also present in the Manqabad





Figure 4. Fine K ware from Manqabad (Inv. Mqb 13, Minya 1695; photo I. Incordino).

assemblage documented in SCA stores (Fig. 4). They are usually plates of Red Slip Ware used for food consumption, possibly decorated with some incised geometric motifs along the rim and body, with an average diameter of 10–15 cm.

Two additional painted plates of similar workmanship with red slip (Inv. Minya 1725, 1753, Manq. 23, 62; Figs. 4–5) are observable in the Manqabad assemblage for their noteworthy geometric and Christian motifs (cross, fish, bird) around the inner rim and arranged on the inner central surface (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Manqabad painted plate (Inv. Minya 1753; Manq. 62; photo I. Incordino).



Fig. 6 Louvre plate E11776 (left) and a Manqabad painted plate (right)  
(Inv. Minya 1725; photo I. Incordino).

This ‘pseudo-sigillata’ or ‘Egyptian B’ type (Hayes 1972, 397–9) could possibly be dated to the 7th–8th century CE because of some parallels found in the Louvre collection (E11776) but above all in the Kellia and Tod assemblage (Ballet *et al.* 2003, 474, n. 218–19; Pierrat 1991, Td 24–25). The common features between the Manqabad plates (Fig. 6) and the ones in the Louvre (see Neyret 2008) are not limited to technical data, such as the average maximum diameter (32/35 cm for Manqabad plates while the Louvre one is 30 cm) or the high vessels (11.5 cm for the Manqabad plate and 9.5 cm for the Louvre one), but include decorative motifs (a pair of fishes and a pair of birds) and patterns, especially regarding the inner division in registers defined by semi-circles of vegetal garlands.

### Planned work on the site

The forthcoming season at the Manqabad site has the principal aim of surveying the northern row of housing units (Fig. 1, areas 2000–2008, 1996, 1985), in order to proceed to a pottery surface collection. The goal is to gather diagnostic fragments from an archaeological context and analyse the fabrics, to be able to compare the preliminary results derived from items in the el-Ashmunein stores with the site material. A possible extent of the survey towards south is highly recommended and hoped for, with particular attention to the central area of the site with the remains of a Roman thermal building, and to a significant amount of discarded pottery piled up in two or three ‘kom’ at the south end of the site, already noticed in 2014. The latter could possibly offer indications of pottery production on the site. Finally, a survey of the ceramic material still *in situ* will be conducted in the northern section of the site, considering all the housing units, to collect more information about the use of complete pottery items in the domestic environment of the monastic community and in the different building phases already identified in the previous seasons.

### Conclusions

The data deriving from the pottery study of the Manqabad assemblage refer in particular to the northern section of the monastic housing units, excavated by the Egyptian inspectors in 2002–2003 (about 78% of the documented items derive from this area). The topographic survey conducted by the University of Naples ‘L’Orientale’ in this section has identified a small church or chapel, of which this fine assemblage



may be the liturgical equipment. From the preliminary stylistic and typological analysis of the pottery, it seems therefore possible to suggest a dating between the 6th and the 7th century CE for this section of the site.

More in general, by comparing those results with the analysis of different documents, such as inscribed material, architectural elements (see Salsano 2015), and topography, it was possible to confirm the high cultural level of the monastic community of Manqabad, which probably had frequent and important contacts with the most prominent monastic centres of the region (Middle Egypt), judging from the numerous links with the style and ateliers of Antinoopolis, Amarna (Kom el-Nana), el-Ashmunein, Sohag and Wadi Sarga. The strategic significance of the site could also be derived from its geographic position as meeting point of important trade routes towards the Western Desert and Nubia.

A possible spiritual bond has been also suggested between Manqabad and the monastic community of Apa Jeremia (Saqqara), mainly because of the connection between Onophrius (to whom the Manqabad monastery may have been dedicated) and Saqqara quoted by literary sources, and some similarity in the architectural style. Analysis of the pottery assemblage has not confirmed this link so far, though some difficulties encountered with fabric analysis may be one of the reason for this missing interconnection.

Hopefully the forthcoming season of work on the site will bring new dating evidence for the Manqabad assemblage and possibly also more information to support the hypothesis of a local production centre.

## Reference List

Ballet, P., Bosson, N. and Rassart-Debergh, M. 2003. *Kellia II. L'ermitage copte QR 195. Céramique, inscriptions, décor*, Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 49. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Ballet, P., Mahmoud, F., Vichy, M. and Picon M. 1991. 'Artisanat de la ceramique dans l'Égypte Romaine tardive et Byzantine. Prospections d'ateliers de potiers de Minia à Assouan'. *Cahiers de la Ceramique Egyptienne* 2: 129–50.

Egloff, M. 1977. *Kellia. La poterie copte. Quatre siècles d'artisanat et d'échanges en Basse Egypte*. Recherches Suisse d'archéologie copte III. Genève: Georg.

Gabra, G. 2002. *Coptic Monasteries. Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

Hayes, J. W. 1972. *Late Roman Pottery. A Catalogue of Roman Fine Wares*. London: The British School at Rome.

Incordino, I. (forthcoming) *Catalogue of the pottery assemblage from Manqabad (Asyut). Store and site material*, Access Archaeology. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Kahl, J. 2007. *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Neyret, C. 2008 *Catalogue en ligne. La ceramique copte dans les collections du Musee du Louvre*. [online] <[http://musee.louvre.fr/bases/neyret/notice.php?lng=0&idOeuvre=87&vignette=oui&nonnotice=1&no\\_page=1&total=1&texte=&titre=&numInv=&localisation=&periode=&artiste=&date=&type=&categorie=&acquisition=&f=3110&images\\_sans=images&nb\\_par\\_page=36](http://musee.louvre.fr/bases/neyret/notice.php?lng=0&idOeuvre=87&vignette=oui&nonnotice=1&no_page=1&total=1&texte=&titre=&numInv=&localisation=&periode=&artiste=&date=&type=&categorie=&acquisition=&f=3110&images_sans=images&nb_par_page=36)>, accessed 15 February 2019.

- Pierrat, G. 1991. 'Essai de classification de la ceramique de Tod de la fin du VIIe siecle au debut du XIIIe siecle apr. J.-C.'. *Cahiers de la Ceramique Egyptienne* 2: 145–204.
- Pirelli, R. 2014. 'The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut): First and Second Campaign'. *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA* 5: 441–54.
- Pirelli, R. 2015. 'The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut): Third Campaign'. *Newsletter di Archeologia CISA* 6: 255–65.
- Pirelli, R. and Buzi, P. 2013 'Il progetto italo-egiziano di studio e conservazione del "monastero di Abba Nefer" a Manqabad (Asyut)'. in R. Pirelli (ed.) *Ricerche Italiane e Scavi in Egitto. Vol. VI*: 197–209. Il Cairo: Istituto Italiano di Cultura.
- Pirelli, R., Buzi, P., Giunta, R, Salib, E. and Mastromanno, V. 2016. 'The Coptic site of Manqabad: an Italian-Egyptian project'. In P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (eds.) *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th-22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th-19th, 2008*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 247: 1433–46. Leuven: Peeters.
- Pirelli, R., Incordino, I., Buzi, P. and Salsano, A. 2017. 'The Italian-Egyptian Mission at the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad: results of the first four seasons' work'. In G. Rosati and M. C. Guidotti (eds.) *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists. Florence Egyptian Museum. Florence 23–30 August 2015*, Archaeopress Archaeology 19: 491–98. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Rodziewicz, M. 1976. *Alexandrie I. La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukow.
- Salsano, A. 2015. 'Stone architectural elements of Manqabad. Season 2014'. *Aegyptus* 1: 91–111.

# Development of purification scenes in the Graeco-Roman Period. Detecting distinct styles in temple decoration

Konstantin Ivanov<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The article is engaged with the episodes of pharaonic purification and the related sequence of scenes in temple decoration, mainly focusing on the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Initial observations suggest that the purification sequence examples during this time display the same common layout and share a lot of details as well. It is possible to trace a core format which the scenes followed. Despite this, every case presents subtle unique features. The paper aims to outline characteristic traits of the format and discuss some variations and exceptions, observable in examples from Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendera. Ultimately, this will illustrate the divergent styles in temple decoration which manifested regionally.

## Keywords

Purification; temples; pharaoh; coronation; sequence; temples; decoration

## Introduction

This article presents a facet of ongoing research concerning examples of the purification of the pharaoh and the purification sequence in temple decoration, with a focus on Graeco-Roman examples. The sequence has been recognized by scholars at least as early as the work of Gardiner (1950, 8). It has been described to contain four mainstay episodes (Vassilika 1989, 3), which depict the pharaoh going out of his palace (Fig. 1), being purified (Fig. 2), crowned (Fig. 3), and introduced to the patron god (Fig. 4). These constituting episodes have been previously studied individually (e.g. Barguet 1986; Liszka 2007) and together as a sequence (e.g. Vassilika 1989, 4, n. 24, 25; Labrique 1992, 163–95).



Figure 1. Pharaoh exiting the palace. Temple of Arensuphis, Philae (photo E. Koch).



Figure 2. Pharaoh being purified. Temple of Arensuphis, Philae (photo E. Koch).

<sup>1</sup> University of Copenhagen, Denmark.





Figure 3. Pharaoh being crowned. Temple of Arensuphis, Philae (photo E. Koch).



Figure 4. Pharaoh being introduced to the patron god. Temple of Arensuphis, Philae (photo E. Koch).

I have compiled a database which takes into account the characteristics of the sequence and the individual scenes. This includes the placement relative to the main axis, temple layers and wall registers; the order within the sequence, as well as the adjacent episodes; the composition of each individual episode and the details regarding the actors such as their character, posture, clothing, regalia and names (the content of inscriptions beyond the names is also taken into account but will be the subject of future publications). The database has been populated by examples from Upper Egypt, the Oasis areas and Lower Nubia, chronologically ranging from the New Kingdom until the end of Egyptian temple building. This approach allows for observation and comparison of examples on a large scale. In this way general patterns and trends can be observed which serve as background and context for further studies of each individual case. The first part of the current paper will discuss the general ‘behavior’ of the sequence from the Ramesside period onwards and compare it to the state of the sequence in the Graeco-Roman Period. In the second part the discussion will focus on examples from Edfu, Kom Ombo and Dendera, in order to illustrate how they stand out against a general backdrop of uniformity, evident in the purification sequence examples in the Graeco-Roman Period. Examples from Esna, Tod and Dabod, the *pr-dw3t*-shrines at Edfu and Philae, as well as doorway purification scenes are left aside for future studies. References to the Topographical Bibliography of Porter and Moss (1972, 1975 and 1991) are designated as *PM* and volume number in Roman numerals followed by page and specific note number.

### From the Ramesside period until Ptolemaic times

In the Ramesside period and onwards, individually or together, the constituting episodes of the purification sequence are found throughout different layers of the temple, including closer to the main shrine, although coronation scenes seem to show gradual migration away from the core (Liszka 2007, 6–7). The scenes populate different registers and relate to various other episodes. This can be observed in the temple of Seti I at Abydos (e.g. *PM* VI, 5, n. 48–50, 56–8; *PM* VI, 21, n. 192), the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (*PM* II, 502, n. 107, 505, n. 111) and the Khonsu temple at Karnak (*PM* II, 230, n. 17–18, n. 19, n. 20–1, 233, n. 25, 236, n. 40, 238, n. 65, 240, n. 83). The sequence is often easily recognizable but there are many variations such as missing scenes, additional episodes and alterations in the order. All four scenes of the purification sequence display differences in their internal compositions and a variety of divine characters as actors. Clothing and regalia fluctuate and sometimes appear rather lavish and complex;

the scenes often feature various additional elements. Examples spread throughout the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak illustrate this general description (*PM* II, 43–4, n. 152, 45, n. 154, 47, n. 158, 48, n. 159, 48–9, n. 160; visible in Nelson 1981, pls. 259–63).

Certain patterns emerge such as the tendency of Ramesside scenes to show the pharaoh with a bag-wig and a vulture or a sun disk hovering above (e.g. Nelson 1981, pls. 105, 148, 179, 198). In examples from the Nubian period there seems to be a preference for the tripartite skirt and a trend to display Thoth and Horus in Coronation scenes (Leclant 1953, Fig. 3; Barguet and Leclant 1954, pls. LXIII, LXV, LXXVI, LXXVIII). It is possible that an example from the inner sanctum at Karnak, depicting Philip Arrhidaeus (*PM* II, 100, n. 290; Gardiner 1950, pl. 2) displays some relation to earlier trends. The pharaoh wears a wig, the ibis and falcon enact the coronation. Nevertheless, variety and alterations in many aspects define the character of pre-Ptolemaic examples.

### **Ptolemaic and Roman examples**

In Graeco-Roman temples, the purification sequence behaves in a radically different manner compared to earlier examples. The configuration is predominantly found in the outer layers of the temple, confined to the first register. It is usually related to a doorway or threshold and often displays hints at symmetry. The scenes are rarely found outside of the sequence. Most exceptions to this rule are presented by the royal exit, which is not entirely surprising as it is part of the foundation sequence (Montet 1964, 2). The purification sequence is confined to the lowest register and appears very tightly knit – there are rarely any additional scenes and variations in the order are all but eliminated. The compositions of the individual scenes seem remarkably rigid – there are very few alterations to the main elements and posture of the actors. *Iunmutef* is a virtually omnipresent figure in palace exit scenes. The actors in the other three episodes mostly remain the same and are solidified to such an extent that they even retain their positions in relation to the pharaoh's position and orientation. Thus it is possible to observe that Thoth, Wadjet and Atum are found 'behind' the pharaoh, Horus, Nekhbet and Montu, 'in front'.<sup>2</sup> With slight variations this description fits examples from Edfu (*PM* VI, 125, n. 35–8, 126, n. 43–6, 156–7, n. 291–3, 159, n. 302–4), Dendera (*PM* VI, 46, n. 17–19, 47, n. 23–5, 26–7), Philae (*PM* VI, 245, n. 375–7, 246, n. 382–3) and Kalabsha (*PM* VII, 15, n. 29–30, 33–4). The order and internal structure of the scenes described above are also evident in the mammisi example (*PM* VI, 229, n. 228–34) and in the purification sequence preserved in the temple dedicated to Arensnuphis (*PM* VI, 210, n. 49–52; visible in Figs. 1–4) at Philae.

Aside from the rigidity and lack of variation, compared to purification sequences of earlier periods, there seems to be also an acute feeling of simplicity and austerity emanating from Graeco-Roman scenes. That is especially true for the purification episode where the pharaoh is usually found wearing only the most simple loin cloth, devoid of any decoration, and a type of simple compact headgear – a skull cap (e.g. Gauthier 1911, pl. LXV; Junker and Winter 1965, 230). Coronation scenes often display the pharaoh with the double crown (e.g. de Morgan *et al.* 1895, pls. 214, 439, 463; Gauthier 1911, pls. XLVIIa, LIIb; Junker and Winter 1965, 232).

<sup>2</sup> In most temples right and left are actually or symbolically aligned with north and south (Gutbub 1985, 2). This would suggest that Wadjet and Nekhbet are beside the pharaoh, on the right and left respectively, when he is walking along the main processional route. In doorway purification scenes, Thoth usually occupies the right jamb with Horus on the left (Kaper 1995, 9, nos. 40, 41). This feature suggests that the actors in the purification are on the sides of the subject. Nevertheless, another understanding comes from observing an exceptional purification scene from Dakka (Roeder 1930, Taf. 80) – the pharaoh is facing Thoth. This inversion is simply caused by the fact that Thoth is the patron god of the temple housing the scene, but it indicates that the positions of the deities were indeed understood, at least in some sense, as 'behind' and 'in front' of the ruler. Further observations on the matter will be part of a future publication.



An example from Philae, roughly dated to the reign of Ptolemy II, displays some resemblance to this general description (PM VI, 238, n. 290–5; Bénédite 1893, pls. I, II, III). Unfortunately, the damage to the hypostyle hall makes it hard to determine with certainty the relation with later iterations of the purification sequence. The earliest instances, which clearly display a conglomeration of the features described above, in synchronicity with later examples, originate from the temple of Horus at Edfu, which was begun under Ptolemy III in 237 BCE (Hölbl 2001, 87). This is especially evident in the way that the purification sequence has been applied to the naos exterior of Edfu (Chassinat 1928, pls. XC, XCI), when compared to corresponding examples from Dendera (Cauville 2007, pl. 105) and Philae (Bénédite 1893, pl. XXVII). The similarities indicate that a common underlying format was being followed by the designers. Nevertheless, the Graeco-Roman purification sequence examples are not entirely without their own identity. Variations are way fewer than before, but it is possible to detect subtle differences which distinguish temples from each other.

### **Edfu**

Edfu temple displays scenes predominantly in the outer layers of the temple, within the first register, in proximity to doorways and with hints at symmetry in the distribution of scenes on the naos (Chassinat 1928, pls. XC, XCL, LXXXIV, LXXXV) and the pylon (Chassinat 1960, pls. CXIII, CXVII). Some examples, such as the pylon sequences and the sequence inside the hypostyle hall (Chassinat 1929, pls. LIX, LXIII; PM VI, 132, n. 85–6, n. 88–9, n. 90–1) contain additional scenes. However, as mentioned above, the principal features of the common format are clearly distinguishable. Attention can be brought to the headgear of the monarch in the purification episodes – in most Graeco-Roman examples the pharaoh usually wears a skull cap, but at Edfu the preferred type of headgear is the *nms*-headcloth.

Another characteristic feature of Edfu that stands is the alteration of actors in the introduction scenes. Harsaise is inserted along with Hathor in the scenes found on the exterior of the naos. The function of Atum and Montu is entirely absorbed by Harsaise in the hypostyle and pylon examples mentioned above, as well as scenes found on the inside of the surrounding wall (Chassinat 1960, pl. CLI) and the exterior wall (Labrique 1992, pl. 13). This arrangement creates an interesting repetition within the composition – the host is Horus, the actor is a form of Horus and the pharaoh is also a form of Horus. This highlights on the patron god of Edfu.

### **Kom Ombo**

The temple of Kom Ombo presents some peculiar features compared to other shrines, some of which relate to the fact that the temple hosts two patron deities with their respective shrines at the core. The temple of Haroeris and Sobek is also heavily damaged. In this situation it is hard to comment on the structure of the sequence. Scenes of purification and the related episodes are found throughout the temple – on the exterior wall, the outer hypostyle façade as well as in the inner hypostyle and the outer vestibule (PM VI, 181, n. 4–5, 182, n. 24–7, 184, n. 45–7, 49, 188, n. 71–3, 189, n. 75–7, 190, n. 94). Nevertheless the scenes relating to purification in the temple at Kom Ombo display the traits of the common format and in turn display certain features which allow us to distinguish a characteristic style.

In the first hypostyle hall at Kom Ombo there is a scene which depicts a coronation. This scene stands out as it is carried out by four deities at the same time – two on each side (de Morgan *et al.* 1895, 163, pl. 208). In the second hypostyle hall the purification scene features a sun disk over the head of the pharaoh (de Morgan *et al.* 1895, 341, pl. 464) and further inside another purification scene displays vultures hovering above Thoth and Horus (de Morgan *et al.* 1902, 55, pl. 599). These features – the additions in the purification scenes and the coronation by four deities – are not mirrored in any of the other Graeco-Roman examples. They are, however, present in scenes that pre-date the Ptolemaic

Period. In the kiosk of Nektanebo I at Philae there are traces of a coronation scene carried out by four deities but unfortunately their identities are lost (Elgawady 2016, 510, Taf. 35). The sun disk above the head of the pharaoh is present in a purification scene from the time of Nektanebo II, in the kiosk at temple of Amun at Hibis (Cruz-Urbe 1988, 180). It is possible that the inspiration for the additional features at Kom Ombo originates from even earlier sources. As mentioned, sun disks and vultures are not uncommon in Ramesside purification scenes; coronation by four deities is also attested in that period (Calverley *et al.* 1935, pl.36; Nelson 1981, pl. 74).

### **Dendera**

The temple of Hathor at Dendera displays four examples of the purification sequence in almost perfect symmetry. Two are found flanking the doorway to the hypostyle hall and the other two are placed on each side of the exterior of the naos (Cauville 2013, 291). All four examples display the order of the sequence without interjections.

One of the things that set the temple of Dendera apart is an altogether higher level of detail. The pharaoh's attire is rather lavish and complicated with several overlapping layers; even the pedestals for Thoth and Horus are decorated (Cauville 2007, pls. 58, 130). In the Royal exit scenes there is a fifth standard present which carries the *i3tdi* symbol (Cauville 2007, pls. 58, 130 ; Elgawady 2016, 492, Taf. 17, 495, Taf. 20) – this symbol does not appear elsewhere in palace exit configurations – it appears to be unique to the temple of Hathor at Dendera. Another unique feature is found in one of the purification scenes on the exterior of the naos (Cauville 2007, pl. 130). The hand gesture of the gods in this case is slightly altered. Usually, Thoth and Horus hold their empty hands up behind the vessels used for purification. This gesture resembles the gesture and hieroglyph used to express adoration (Ivanov 2017). In this case both deities have their hands underneath the vessels in a gesture of offering, which is not unparalleled (Bourguet 2008, 128, n. 137, 141). The truly unique feature is that the ancient designers fitted a small hand, similar to the gesture of adoration in front of each of the vessels in the beginning of the water streams flowing around the pharaoh. This detail does not find precedent in earlier examples and does not find reflection in later ones. Roman dated scenes from Philae (Bénédict 1893, pl. XXVII) and Kalabsha (Gauthier 1911, pls. LIII, XLVII) display the austerity and rigidity typical for the Graeco-Roman format and do not feature the *i3tdi* symbol or the gesture of adoration in the liquid streams.

### **Conclusion**

In summary, evidence suggests that the purification sequence examples from Edfu and later Graeco-Roman temples adhere to a common format. This format dictated simplicity and uniformity compared to earlier examples. Nevertheless, each temple features nuances and variations which set it apart. Edfu sequences focus on the patron god Horus; Kom Ombo designers favoured certain archaic features; the temple of Dendera displays lavish decoration and details that point towards innovation and creativity. The fact that these traits are not transmitted geographically or chronologically suggests that they are a result of regional stylistic preferences.

### **Reference List**

Barguet, P. 1986. 'Note sur la sortie du roi hors du palais'. In Institut d'égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry (ed.) *Hommages à Francois Daumas*: 51–4. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.

Barguet, P. and Leclant, J. 1954. *Karnak-Nord IV*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

- Bénédite, G. 1893. *Le Temple de Philae*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 13. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Bourguet, P. 2008. *Le Temple de Deir al-Médîna*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Calverley, M., Broome, M. F. and Gardiner, A. H.(ed.) 1935. *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos. Volume II. The Chapels of Amen-Re', Re'-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos, Sethos 2*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Cauville, S. 2007. *Le Temple de Dendara XII. T. I-II*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Cauville, S. 2013. *Dendara. Le Pronaos du Temple d'Hathor*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 221. Leuven: Peeters.
- Chassinat, E. 1928. *Le Temple d'Edfou X/1*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Chassinat, E. 1929. *Le Temple d'Edfou IX*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Chassinat, E. 1960. *Le Temple d'Edfou X/2*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Cruz-Uribe, E. 1988. *Hibis Temple Project*. Texas: Van Siclen.
- Elgawady, K. 2016. *Die Schranken in den ägyptischen Tempeln. Quellen und Interpretationen – Altägypten*. Hützel: Backe-Verlag.
- Gardiner, A. 1950. 'The Baptism of Pharaoh'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36: 3–12.
- Gauthier, A. 1911. *Le Temple de Kalabchah. Les temples immergés de la Nubie*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Gutbub, A. 1985 'Remarques sur quelques règles observées dans l'architecture, la décoration et les inscriptions des temples de Basse Epoque'. In F. Geus and F. Thill (eds.) *Melanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*: 123–37. Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations.
- Hölbl, G. 2001. *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. London: Routledge.
- Ivanov, K. 2017. '*Pr-dw3t* – The House of Morning Adoration'. *The Journal of Egyptological Studies* 5: 77–89.
- Junker, H. and Winter, E. 1965. *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*. Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kaper, O. 1995. 'Doorway decoration patterns in the Dakhleh Oasis'. In D. Kurth (ed.) *Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration. 3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Hamburg, 1.-5. Juni 1994, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 33: 99–114. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Labrique, F. 1992. *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 51. Leuven: Peeters.
- Leclant, J. 1953. 'La colonnade éthiopienne à l'est de la grande enceinte d'Amon à Karnak'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 53: 113–72.
- Liszka, K. 2007. 'Tracing stylistic changes within coronation scenes'. In J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds.) *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150: 1151–61. Leuven: Peeters.

Montet, P. 1964. 'Rituel de fondation des temples égyptiennes'. *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* XVII: 1–20.

de Morgan, J., Bouriant U., Legrain, G., Jéquier, G. and Barsanti, A. 1895. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, Haute Égypte. T. II. Kom Ombo. Première partie*. Vienne: Adolphe Holzhausen.

de Morgan, J., Bouriant U., Legrain G., Jéquier, G. and Barsanti, A. 1902. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, Haute Égypte. T. III. Kom Ombo. Deuxième partie – Fascicule premier*. Vienne: Adolphe Holzhausen.

Nelson, H. N. 1981. *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Vol. 1. The Wall Reliefs*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 106. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

PM II = Porter, B. and Moss, R. 1972. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. II. Theban Temples*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

PM VI = Porter, B. and Moss, R. 1991. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. VI. Upper Egypt: Chief Temples*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

PM VII = Porter, B. and Moss, R. 1975. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. VII. Nubia, the Deserts and Outside Egypt*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Roeder, M. G. 1930. *Der Tempel von Dakke. T. I. Temples Immergés de la Nubie*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Vassilika, E. 1989. *Ptolemaic Philae*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 34. Leuven: Peeters.

# Late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs

Marta Kaczanowicz<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The reuse of funerary space is a phenomenon that is frequently encountered during excavations in the Theban necropolis. The aim of this paper is to analyse several examples of reused tombs and identify the main strategies applied by the 1st millennium BCE architects to appropriate existing structures for their new occupants.

## Keywords

Theban necropolis; tomb reuse; Third Intermediate Period; Late Period; architecture; funerary archaeology

## Introduction

In the past several decades, an increased scholarly interest in the archaeology of Egypt during the 1st millennium BCE has been noted, thus finally reversing the trend omnipresent in earlier Egyptological works, which were focused almost exclusively on the Bronze Age remains and literary sources (Kitchen 1973, xi). Recently published, detailed studies of pottery, burial assemblages and prosopography of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period (e.g. Niwiński 1988; Aston 1996 and 2009; Makowska 2015), have made it possible to – somewhat ironically – gather more knowledge on private funerary customs, family relationships and many other spheres of life, than for any earlier period of Egyptian history. It is also due to these studies that some preliminary remarks on the phenomenon of the reuse of Theban tombs in the 1st millennium BCE can be made, with the focus on the perception and manipulation of the ‘sacred space’ of the older tombs by their new occupants and their families. Such an investigation seems most necessary, since both tomb reuse was the most popular of all funerary practices of the late dynastic period, and the number of known burials of that date significantly surpasses those of earlier eras.

Contrary to popular belief, which associates the burials in the reused tombs with low social status of the deceased and general sloppiness of architecture, a number of intact burials dated to the 1st millennium BCE demonstrates that the architecture of the majority of the later features was never intended to differ considerably from the original layout of the tomb.<sup>2</sup>

While the chronological framework of this study (burials dated to 21st–31st dynasties, i.e. between 1069 and 332 BCE) remains fixed,<sup>3</sup> the term ‘tomb reuse’ is ambiguous and requires further comment. By ‘reused tomb’ I understand a tomb on which construction was completed or nearly completed by the original owner, and was subsequently reused by the new tenant in a way that was not intended by the first architect of the complex (adding a new shaft, cutting

---

<sup>1</sup> Institute of Archaeology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland.

<sup>2</sup> The following remarks represent observations made so far in the course of preparation of my Ph.D. dissertation and, as such, must be treated as of a very introductory nature. The thesis is to be completed and, hopefully, defended by the author of this communication by October 2020.

<sup>3</sup> The reuse of Theban tombs continued during the Graeco-Roman era, although major changes took place at this time (the most visible one during the Roman Period, when the majority of the deceased were no longer equipped with coffins and the number of grave goods decreased drastically (Riggs 2003), thus making the exact dating of these assemblages problematic), therefore burials from these periods require a separate treatment. It needs to be remembered, however, that in several instances the precise dating of the assemblages to the period between/ after 332 BCE is impossible (e.g. burials dated to 400–300 BCE or 350–300 BCE).



a new chamber or placing a coffin in a room obviously designated for someone else's burial or originally not expected to house a burial at all). Using this definition, three kinds of tombs are excluded from the investigation:

- a) tombs abandoned at a very early stage of construction, then enlarged and completed by the subsequent owner, e.g. tomb complex TT 128 – TT 129 (Schenkel 1975, 129),<sup>4</sup>
- b) tombs of which parts were appropriated by the subsequent owners, then enlarged and completed, e.g. TT 312 (Pischikova 1998, 59),
- c) tombs with chambers designated for family members of the deceased from the beginning of the construction process, e.g. the side rooms of TT 34 (Eigner 1984, 45).

### **Location in the necropolis**

The presence of burials in reused sepulchral structures has been noted in all parts of the necropolis.<sup>5</sup> Reuse occurred in both royal and private tombs, including the monuments in the Valley of the Kings. Perhaps it will be more useful to enumerate some of the tombs that do not show trace of reuse at all. To this group belong, among others, the royal saff tombs of the el-Tarif necropolis (Arnold 1976), the anonymous Middle Kingdom royal tomb in the so-called Valley of the Colours or the Third Valley (Winlock 1921, 34), and the majority of the sepulchres in the Valley of the Kings. Apart from the kingly monuments, several private tombs, located in different parts of the necropolis, also do not seem to bear any trace of reuse.

However, assessing the exact scale of the reuse is impossible today. The vast majority of Theban tombs had been robbed long before modern research started, and even tombs which do not seem to have been reused might, in fact, simply have been emptied of the remains of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period burials – known especially for the elaborately decorated coffins, highly valued by the collectors across the world – before being documented by archaeologists. It is a scenario particularly probable in the case of tombs reused by accommodating new burials in already existing structures, without adding new architectural elements. It needs to be stressed that early excavators of the tombs had their share in obscuring the later history of the sepulchres. Many Egyptologists, focusing on the original phases of tombs' occupancy, failed to pay equal attention to the 1st millennium BCE strata. In fact, in early reports of work in the Theban necropolis the late dynastic remains are rarely mentioned, and if so, the reference is usually limited to the intact burials.

It is therefore precarious to formulate any hypotheses regarding why some tombs were reused and some not. One possible factor which should be considered is the accessibility of the tombs. In the course of time and after the earthquake that occurred at the end of the New Kingdom or beginning of the Third Intermediate Period (Karakhanyan *et al.* 2014), some of the sepulchres might have become buried under debris and subsequently forgotten.

Such an explanation, however, cannot be proposed in the case of the majority of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, as numerous graffiti left by ancient travellers in the tombs in which no traces of reuse were recorded attest that they were neither buried under rubble, nor forgotten (Coppens 2016). It is tempting to conclude that the royal monuments constituted a group of tombs on which there may have been a state ban on reuse, or at least that there was a social taboo against accommodating new burials in such structures. Nevertheless, such a conjecture

---

<sup>4</sup> TT = Theban Tombs.

<sup>5</sup> Very useful overviews of the Theban necropolis during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Periods can be found in Aston (2003), and Schreiber (2008, 49–51).

is equally invalid, as there is evidence for reuse of, for example, the tomb of Ramesses I (KV 16; Belzoni 1821, 229), or the tomb of Thutmose III (KV 34; Thomas 1966, 77; Wilkinson 2016, 352), not to mention the Amarna Period tombs, located in the West Valley (Thomas 1966, 83–7; Schaden 1979; Kondo 1992 and 1995; Yoshimura 2004; Harwood 2013). It was noticed by J. H. Taylor (2016, 370) that the Third Intermediate Period burials in the Valley seem to have concentrated at the extremities of the necropolis. The proper understanding of the reuse of royal tombs is seriously hindered by the fact that they were the first to be explored by early investigators, who left very little information on the details of the ‘additional’ burials. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that, in the case of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the majority of them were already emptied in the late dynastic period, with their owners’ remains transferred to the caches.

What remains certain is that in the case of private tombs, all parts of the necropolis were being reused. New burials were accommodated not only in the districts in which new tombs were being cut simultaneously, such as the Asasif plain, but also in certain sectors seemingly abandoned in the previous centuries: the Valley of the Kings and Deir el-Medina. The latter especially, and its role in the 1st millennium BCE, is still very poorly understood, as very little of the materials from the late dynastic period, excavated by B. Bruyère, has been published. Apart from the scanty mentions of objects that could tentatively be dated to periods after the New Kingdom in Bruyère’s excavation reports, virtually nothing is known of the architectural aspects of the burial reuse (Aston 2009, 253–8).

Reuse of earlier monuments during the 1st millennium BCE was not limited to tombs. The Theban west bank temples have been utilised as burial grounds for Thebans from at least the 22nd dynasty onwards.<sup>6</sup> Similarities can be observed between burials in the reused tombs and in the reused temples, especially when it comes to the architectural technicalities, and other aspects (see below). Although the temple interments fall beyond the scope of this paper, I am convinced that both phenomena should not be treated entirely separately, and observations made in relation to temple architecture can also be useful in investigation of the tombs.

## Architecture

The burials discovered inside older tombs can be divided into two main groups. The first one comprises of burials deposited inside already existing structures, without any new architectural elements, while the other group consists of burials placed inside newly cut features: shafts, side chambers, niches, etc.

Tomb KV 45, cut for Userhat, overseer of the fields of Amun during the 18th dynasty, cleared by H. Carter during his 1902 season in the East Valley, serves as a good example of the former. In the course of his work, Carter discovered two intact burials at the bottom of the shaft: of Merenkhsu, and another of an anonymous woman. Both mummies were discovered in double coffins and with two shabti boxes filled with figurines, as well as floral wreaths. Additionally, the mummy of Merenkhsu was accompanied by a black limestone scarab (Carter 1903, 46). On the basis of Carter’s description of finds, D. A. Aston concluded that the man’s coffin must have had a detachable face, and hence dated it to between 950–730 BCE, when such coffins were in fashion

---

<sup>6</sup> Despite statements in various publications that the earliest burials excavated in Theban temples originate from the 21st dynasty, I personally was unable to find almost any evidence for interments older than around 940 BCE. It is after 900 BCE when the first deceased were interred within the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahri (Szafrński 2011, 141); 750 BCE for the temple of Tauseret (Wilkinson 2011, 167); 9th century BCE for the Medinet Habu temple complex (Hölscher 1954, 3–33). The only exception seems to be the Ramesseum, where the first burials can be dated to the reign of Siamun (Nelson 2003, 90).

(Aston 2009, 159). The rediscovery of the tomb by the Pacific Lutheran University archaeological mission directed by D. P. Ryan in 1991 provided additional evidence for such dating. Not only were the fragments described by Carter found, but also a woman's detachable face piece (Ryan 1992b, 46–7; Ryan 2007). No new architectural elements, corresponding to the phase of tomb reuse, could be identified. In fact, Userhat's tomb, as a private one, belongs to the smallest sepulchres of the Valley and consists only of a shaft and a single room. It seems therefore that the remains of the new occupants were simply deposited in the original burial chamber, without any attempt to alter the existing space. Surprisingly many such intact burials have been discovered in the Valley of the Kings. Apart from the discoveries from Userhat's tomb, untouched burials were unearthed by H. Carter in the private tomb KV 44 (Carter 1901; Rowe 1942; Ryan 1992a; Ryan 1995, 157), by G. Belzoni in WV 25 (Belzoni 1821, 171, 223–4; Schaden 1979; Harwood 2013),<sup>7</sup> and, most recently, by S. Bickel and E. Paulin-Grothe in KV 64 (Bickel and Paulin-Grothe 2012; Bickel 2017). None of the tombs seem to bear any traces of intentional reworking.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in some of them, the presence of the remains of the original burial equipment was noted (KV 44, WV 25), which indicates that even the clearing of the burial chamber before the next funeral was not particularly thorough.

As for the other group, strategies applied by the 1st millennium BCE architects to manipulate the space in order to accommodate new burials can be divided into several subgroups. The full typochronology of these new architectural elements is still a work in progress. However, the two main types that can be distinguished are: 1. cutting a burial shaft, 2. addition of a side chamber.

The first group (shafts) could be chiselled both outside (in the courtyards), and inside the tombs. The best example to demonstrate several aspects of such a burial strategy is a shaft, discovered by W. M. F. Petrie, again undisturbed, in front of the 18th dynasty tomb TT -171- in Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>9</sup> The shaft was covered with a thick mud brick platform, which had to be cut through by Petrie's employees (Petrie 1909, 12, 15). After cutting the platform a square shaft opening came to light: 'the unburnt bricks were mingled with pottery cones to stiffen the mass' (Petrie 1909, 15).

The shaft was very shallow, with a roofed chamber on the bottom in which two coffins were found, lying parallel to each other. The mummies and burial equipment (coffins, shabti boxes, figurines) proved to belong to a chantress of Amun and an unnamed man. Petrie's dating of their burials to the 25th dynasty was rightly disproved by D. A. Aston (2009, 160), who dated them to the early 22nd dynasty on the basis of the stylistic features of coffins and shabti boxes. Apart from this, not much information was provided by the excavators, not even the dimensions of the shaft and burial chamber. One cannot help but regret that Petrie left such an incomplete account of his discovery.

There are, however, more examples of such shafts, which, albeit not found intact, can still supply some information on construction techniques. A shaft found in the courtyard of the Ramesside tomb complex K93.11 had its walls smoothed and plastered, while the chamber on the bottom

<sup>7</sup> KV = Valley of the Kings; WV = Western Valley.

<sup>8</sup> Belzoni, however, remarked on the fact that coffins discovered by him in WV 25 were 'sunk four inches into cement'. It was assumed by Schaden that by 'cement' he had meant debris and therefore 'as the coffins were found to have left impressions in the floor debris one might assume that this floor fill contained many fragments of the earlier burial equipment' (Schaden 1979, 166).

<sup>9</sup> In some publications, this burial can be found as one in courtyard of the Ramesside tomb TT 19; however, it was demonstrated by F. Kampp (1996, 719–20, Fig. 102) that the shaft is closer to TT -171-, and probably should be perceived in connection with TT -171-, not TT 19.

was lined with bricks (Polz *et al.* 2003, 352–3, 360). The remains of the burial found within can be dated to the period post 750 BCE on the basis of the presence of a bead net. D. A. Aston (2009, 161) suggests that perhaps a date in the 7th century BCE is correct. This indicates that not only were the shafts (or some of them) supposed to be concealed under the mud brick blocking, but also that they were carefully prepared for receiving the deceased by dressing the walls.

Another analogy, this time not from the tomb, but a temple, is a burial of a priestly family, discovered in the Hathor shrine in the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahri. During the 1894–1895 season, E. Naville (1895 and 1898, 10) found an intact tomb, hidden under the pavement of the second hypostyle hall.<sup>10</sup> The shaft was around 12–13 feet (c. 3.66–3.96 m) deep, with a chamber on the bottom, entered through ‘a door closed by bricks and stones’ (Naville 1898, 10). Three coffins were deposited in a very small chamber – the dimensions, sadly, remain unknown – each very close to another. Inside them, two female mummies and one male were found, all of whom can be dated to the 25th dynasty (Taylor 1984). Just as in the case of the tomb found by Petrie, the mouth of the shaft was supposed to be concealed from view; certainly, it was its inconspicuousness which prevented it from being robbed.

All the examples mentioned so far were shafts ending in a singular chamber. However, shafts with two chambers on the bottom, such as the one discovered in the tomb TT 412 by M. Saleh (1983), were equally popular. The shaft, 2.8 m deep, was located in the northern part of the columned hall of the tomb. One of the two chambers on the bottom of the pit had its corners rounded. There, remains of at least 3 burials came to light, probably dated to the 22nd–25th dynasty, on the basis of the presence of cartonnage fragments. The other chamber proved to be empty.

Apart from burials in the shafts cut especially for this purpose, the other group of burials consists of those deposited in the side rooms. Just as in the case of shafts, these newly excavated chambers could be located either in the courtyard, or inside the tombs. An example of the former is tomb Carter-Carnarvon 5, located on the northern slope of the Deir el-Bahri cliff (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, 22–6). The side chamber was located in the eastern part of the rock-cut courtyard. Inside, H. Carter found undisturbed remains of a modest burial, belonging to one Padiamun, deposited in two coffins nestled inside each other, with no additional burial equipment. Opposite the chamber in which Padiamun’s remains were found, cutting of another chamber had been started, but abandoned at a very early stage of completion. Inside the tomb proper, intact burials of Padiamun’s parents, as well as six anonymous coffins, were found. Padiamun’s family must have been buried in the tomb during the 25th dynasty, judging from the style of the coffins (Aston 2009, 218).

Side chambers inside the tombs are particularly common in Middle Kingdom sepulchres, where additional rooms were usually cut adjacent to the long entrance corridor. The examples of such can be found e.g. in the tombs MMA 511 (Chudzik 2016, 295–7),<sup>11</sup> MMA 517 (Chudzik 2016, 297–300), MMA 820 (Soliman 2009, 85–8), and MMA 1152 (Kaczanowicz 2018, 219). However, the Middle Kingdom tombs, usually undecorated, in the past attracted much less attention than their New Kingdom counterparts, and therefore remain largely unpublished. No intact burial in such a chamber is known to me, and the dating of the side chambers is usually given simply by their excavators as ‘Late Period’ or ‘post New

<sup>10</sup> There is a discrepancy between the alleged location of the shaft. From the text of Naville’s original report it can be concluded that the tomb was found in the vestibule, while in the final publication of the temple the location in the hypostyle hall is given. From the plan of the temple, however, published in the original report from 1895, it is clear that the shaft is to be looked for in between two northern columns of the second hypostyle hall (HS-II).

<sup>11</sup> MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art Tombs.

Kingdom'. It also cannot be ruled out that at least some of such side rooms were cut by Coptic monks who appropriated the tombs for their own needs (Górecki 2007, 266).

These two main groups – shafts and side rooms – certainly do not exhaust the list of all possible features, added to the tombs to house new burials. The less popular practices include: enlargement of the original burial chamber or burial shaft,<sup>12</sup> burial in a newly-cut niche,<sup>13</sup> or even erecting a mud brick wall in the tomb's courtyard, thus creating a new room in which a burial shaft was located.<sup>14</sup>

As for the dating of the particular types of architectural features, for now the most visible trend is that during the 21st dynasty there were no attempts to add any new elements to the existing layout. I have so far found no well-dated example of a 21st dynasty shaft, chamber or niche. It seems possible that the reuse of earlier monuments at that time was limited to simply placing the new coffins inside already cut rooms. At the beginning of the 22nd dynasty, however, there was a sudden turn: a large number of burial shafts from that era can be relatively well dated. The reuse of the original burial chambers, however, was never abandoned, as can be demonstrated, for example, by the later burials within the burial chamber of the tomb TT 414, belonging to the High Steward of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun Nitocris, Ankh-Hor (Budka 2009 and 2010; Budka *et al.* 2012–2013; Budka 2015).

It is interesting to note that while during the Libyan period the reuse of tombs and temples seems to be the dominant burial mode,<sup>15</sup> its popularity did not decrease, at least not noticeably, during the Kushite and Saite era, when new tombs were built again on the Theban west bank: there are numerous examples of burials accommodated in the already existing tombs and temple precincts during the 25th and 26th dynasties, even though the monumental temple-tombs were cut simultaneously. During the Persian Period (27th dynasty), on the other hand, no new tombs were constructed and again the reuse of earlier tombs and temples became the most popular burial mode, and continued to be so until the end of the dynastic period (Aston 2003, 157–63).

### Location within the tomb

The existence of a relationship between the location of burial shafts and original decoration has already been suggested for the burials found in the temple of Hatshepsut:

‘The mouth of the tomb's shafts were located below the scenes showing offering tables, lists of offerings, rows of bearers of offerings, slaughter scenes with a frieze of offerings above them, the texts which contain, among others, formulas intended as a means of assuring the deceased prosperity in the Netherworld, the scenes where kings are shown making offerings to deities or

---

<sup>12</sup> I have so far found no securely dated material (i.e. intact burial) which could conclusively settle the matter and at least fix some anchor dates for such a reuse strategy. An interesting example of such enlargement, albeit the context is disturbed, is tomb MIDAN.05 (Missione Italiana a Dra Abu el-Naga), discovered and currently being excavated by M. Betrò (Betrò *et al.* 2007).

<sup>13</sup> E.g. in the tomb MMA 508, where the burials in the niche were dated tentatively to the Third Intermediate Period or Late Period (Chudzik 2016, 294). Similar niches are also present in other tombs in the area: MMA 509 and MMA 515 (Chudzik, personal communication).

<sup>14</sup> Such as the case of TT 105. There, a new burial shaft was connected with the tomb via an underground tunnel, leading to the transverse hall of TT 105; the transverse hall itself seems to be enlarged during the 1st millennium BCE (Collins 1976, 18–40; Kampp 1996, 380–1, Fig. 264).

<sup>15</sup> Although there were some new funerary chapels erected in Thebes, at least during the 22nd and 23rd dynasties, as attested by the excavations in the valley behind the Ramesseum (Eigner 1984, 24).



performing rites, etc.; Tomb X was executed below the false-door in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The architectural structure of the discovered tombs was constituted by two parts. The subterranean one was hollowed out of the rock. The other, the superstructure, was formed by the preserved parts of the temple, i.e. the vaulted chapels or chambers with a flat roof' (Szafranski 2011, 146).

'Indeed, it seems that the preserved architecture of Hatshepsut's temple (the walls were still standing apparently in the Third Intermediate Period) formed a religious (and functional) superstructure for the tombs executed inside the temple buildings' (Szafranski 2015, 189–91).

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of tombs. The only difference is that the focal point of decoration, and therefore a preferred site for locating a new shaft, seems to be an image of the seated tomb owner, receiving offerings, such as, for example, in the case of TT 11 (PM I, 22).

Much more difficult is assessing the importance of the site of the new burials in parts of tombs devoid of decoration or in the courtyards. In any case, the newly cut structures were in all probability not intended to significantly disturb the original layout of the tomb, at least visually. Some part of the new features were intentionally concealed from view. There is also evidence for repairing destroyed elements, for example in TT 412, where broken columns were patched up with mud bricks in the Late Period (Saleh 1983, 18).

Tombs that had been deliberately mutilated, for instance those dated to the Amarna period, were nevertheless still reused for burials during the 1st millennium BCE. The most notable example is the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), which not only housed burials in newly excavated shafts, but served as a kind of sacred site during both the Late and Ptolemaic periods, when new tombs were cut in its courtyard and ceremonies of the Erection of the Djed Pillar were likely re-enacted inside (Fakhry 1943a; Habachi 1958).

Although it is too early to make any definite statements, it is noticeable that the late dynastic architects who were adjusting the tombs for the needs of their clients made some efforts to both fit the new features into the existing layout of the sepulchres without significantly altering it, and to make a connection between placement of new burials and symbolism of the original decoration of the tombs. It seems very different from the picture of chaos which usually emerges in association with the term of 'tomb reuse'. Despite the fact that some tombs were indeed in a ruinous state, there were also attempts to repair and renovate the structures. It is not surprising if indeed the preserved parts of the tomb with original decoration were supposed to play the role of a cult instalment for new burials.

If an assumption of reuse of the original decoration of the tomb by the subsequent occupants is correct, it means that the methodology of the study of burials in reused tombs must be altered. It should therefore incorporate not only the usual description of features and finds, but also the position of the burials in relation to the function of the structures in which they were deposited. The existence of a relationship between the iconography and function of the particular parts of Egyptian monuments has been established long ago, especially in reference to temples (Arnold 1962). Analysis of the link between the location of later burials and the original ritual function of the rooms which housed them seems to be a promising path of research, helping to understand the meaning behind funerary customs of the late dynastic era. That the Theban necropolis constituted an important part of ancient ritual landscape needs not to be recalled (e.g. Dorman and Bryan 2007; Gregory 2014; Rummel 2018). The methods employed by landscape archaeology seem especially useful in the context of the study of reused monuments, with the landscape under scrutiny not only the necropolis as a whole, but also the investigated tomb itself.

Discovering the pattern of site choice of the burial within earlier tombs can tell us more about the identity of the deceased and beliefs related to the reuse of ancient monuments, during the Late Period entangled with the much wider phenomenon of archaism (Brunner 1975; Manuelian 1994; Morkot 2003; Tiradritti 2008).

## **Funeral**

The position of existing texts and representations in the tombs inevitably altered the mode of burial in the course of the funerary ceremony (as it is known to Egyptologists). The change which can be easily traced in the archaeological material is that the deceased (at least in some cases) could no longer be transported to his final resting place in a coffin. The simple reason is that the small dimensions of the majority of shafts and associated chambers did not allow the lowering of the coffins in one piece – especially the large qeresu coffins.<sup>16</sup> As É. Naville remarked on the shafts excavated under the floor of the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahri:

‘The opening of the chamber being very small, it is evident that these large coffin-cases were taken into the tomb in pieces, and put together afterward’ (Naville 1895, 35).

Since it is hard to imagine that the mourners would go down the shaft – and the dimensions of the burial chamber would not allow it, too – it must be that the last goodbye was given to the deceased before they were put in their coffins. It is especially interesting in the light of the activity of the choachytes who in the Late Period were responsible for (among other things) the accommodation of new burials within the existing Theban tombs (Aston 2003; Sheikholeslami 2017).

## **Who was buried in ancient tombs?**

The question of the identity of the deceased is the first one that comes to mind when considering the phenomenon of tomb reuse. The most immediate answer seems to be that such burials must have belonged to the lower strata of Theban society: i.e. those, who could not afford to excavate a new sepulchre. This, however, is not necessarily true. It was not only members of the elite who were buried in reused tombs, but also of the royal family. The burials of the husband and son of a daughter of Takeloth III were unearthed in the 18th dynasty tomb TT 367 (Fakhry 1943b), while an intact burial of a royal granddaughter, possibly of Ramesses XI (Aston 2014, 47), was discovered by H. Winlock inside TT 358, belonging to the queen Merytamun (Winlock 1932). One cannot fail to recall royal burials discovered inside the Royal Cache (TT 320). This is, however, a slightly different category of tomb and deserves a separate treatment. Interestingly, the people buried in the Valley of the Kings during the Libyan Period seem to have belonged to lower social strata than those interred in the reused temples in that era (Taylor 2016, 370).

The matter of actual family relationships between the original owner of the tomb and persons reusing it as a burial site during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period has already been addressed by A. Redford (2006) and N. Strudwick (2009–2010). Both scholars doubt whether there was a direct family link between the former and the latter, although such a relationship can be established during New Kingdom times, when tombs were occasionally reused. It cannot be forgotten, however, that sepulchres in the necropolis could be inherited, as confirmed by numerous documents from Deir el-Medina, and long sequences of tomb reuse, starting during the 21st dynasty and continuing through the Ptolemaic era, are not unusual. At this stage of the research, while it is impossible to establish whether the new occupants of old tombs were indeed related in any way to the original owners, it also cannot be ruled out.

---

<sup>16</sup> For example, W. M. F. Petrie (1909, 15) wrote that while excavating the shaft on the courtyard of the tomb TT -171- his workmen had to remove the lids of the coffins so that they could be taken out undamaged.

## Conclusions

While it is too early to state the conclusions of the project, some closing remarks can be offered. The main strategies for the reuse of funerary monuments during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period are:

1. Reuse of the existing chambers, without altering the original layout;
2. Creating new spaces for housing new burials:
  - a) New shafts;
  - b) Side rooms;
  - c) Other (niches, enlargements of existing rooms, etc.).

While the former is interesting especially in terms of the treatment of previous occupants of the tomb (for the problem of so-called usurpations of tombs, see Polz 1990), the latter offers insight into the phenomenon of 'taming' the sacred space of the tombs, and adjusting it for the new deceased. This is most important as burials in the reused monuments constitute the vast majority of burials from the 1st millennium BCE, and yet the high level of standardization of burial equipment of that era, combined with the fact that there are no accompanying texts and images on the tomb walls, result in that we do not know as much of the individuals buried as we would like to.

Stating that burials in the reused tombs represent primitive, uninteresting mode of dealing with the deceased belonging to the lower strata of the Egyptian society is an oversimplification which blurs the actual image of the complex and multi-dimensional world of interactions, undoubtedly present in the Theban necropolis during the late dynastic era: relations between the old and the new tomb owners, between the families of the deceased and the choachytes, between the dead and the living, and many, many more. It is a fascinating subject indeed, and an area of research that may yet bring many answers, if only the questions are formulated properly.

## Acknowledgements

Sincere thanks are due to A. Ćwiek for offering his remarks on this paper, and E. Eltze for proofreading of the text. My participation in the conference would not be possible without the generous support of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (project no DI 2014 000144, funding for 2015–2019).

## Reference List

- Arnold, D. 1962. *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*. Berlin: Hessling.
- Arnold, D. 1976. *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Aston, D. A. 1996. *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth-Seventh Centuries BC). Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Aston, D. A. 2003. 'The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period'. In N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*: 138–66. London: British Museum Press.
- Aston, D. A. 2009. *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie LIV. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean XXI. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Aston, D. A. 2014. 'Royal Burials at Thebes During the First Millennium BC'. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka and K. Griffin (eds.) *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*: 15-59. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Belzoni, G. 1821. *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples and Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia*. London: Murray.
- Betrò, M., Del Vesco, P., Ghiroldi, A. and Lippi, B. 2007. 'Preliminary Report on the University of Pisa 2007 Season in TT 14 and M.I.D.A.N.05'. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 30: 23-40.
- Bickel, S. 2017. 'KV 64. An intact 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty burial in the Valley of the Kings. Preliminary description'. In A. Amenta and H. Guichard (eds.) *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference 19-22 June 2013. Vol. I*: 83-8. Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani.
- Bickel, S. and Paulin-Grothe, E. 2012. 'The Valley of the Kings: two burials in KV 64'. *Egyptian Archaeology* 41: 36-40.
- Brunner, H. 1975. 'Archaismus'. In W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*: 386-95. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Budka, J. 2009. 'Ankh-Hor revisited: Study, Documentation and Publication of Forgotten Finds from the Asasif'. In J. Popielska-Grzybowska and J. Iwaszczuk (eds.) *Proceedings of the Fifth Central European Conference of Egyptologists. Egypt 2009: Perspectives of Research. Pułtusk 22-24 June 2009*, Acta Archaeologica Pułtuskiensia II: 23-31. Pułtusk: Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology.
- Budka, J. 2010. 'Varianz im Regelwerk. Bestattungsabläufe im Monumentalgrab von Anch-Hor, Oberhofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414)'. *Ägypten und Levante* 20: 49-66.
- Budka, J. 2015. 'The Asasif revisited: new results from the Austrian concession'. In P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds.) *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: University of the Aegean, Rhodes. 22-29 May 2008*: 111-29. Leuven: Peeters.
- Budka, J., Mekis, T. and Bruwier, M.-C. 2012-2013. 'Reuse of Saite temple tombs in the Asasif during the early Ptolemaic time: the tomb group of *Mwt-Mnw* from TT 414'. *Ägypten und Levante* 22-23: 209-51.
- Carnarvon, Earl of, and Carter, H. 1912. *Five Years Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, H. 1901. 'Report on Tomb-Pit Opened on the 26th January 1901, in the Valley of the Kings Between no. 4 and no. 8'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 2: 144-5.
- Carter, H. 1903. 'Report on General Work Done in the Southern Inspectorate'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 4: 43-50.
- Chudzik, P. 2016. 'Middle Kingdom Tombs in Asasif: Archaeological Activities in 2015'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 25: 289-302.
- Collins, L. 1976. 'The Private Tombs of Thebes: Excavations by Sir Robert Mond, 1905 and 1906'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62: 18-40.

- Coppens, F. 2016. 'Late Dynastic, Greco-Roman, and Christian Times: Post-New Kingdom Graffiti'. In R. H. Wilkinson and K. Weeks (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*: 469–80. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dorman, P. and Bryan, B. M. (eds.) 2007. *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Eigner, D. 1984. *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Fakhry, A. 1943a. 'A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 42: 449–508.
- Fakhry, A. 1943b. 'The Tomb of Paser (no. 367 at Thebes)'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 43: 410–11.
- Górecki, T. 2007. 'Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Hermitage in Tomb 1152). Preliminary Report, 2005'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 17: 263–74.
- Gregory, S. R. W. 2014. *Herihor in art and iconography. Kingship and the gods in the ritual landscape of Late New Kingdom Thebes*. London: Golden House Publications.
- Habachi, L. 1958. 'Clearance of the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (1957-1958)'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 55: 325–50.
- Harwood, R. S. 2013. 'The Western Valley of the Kings Project'. In P. P. Creasman (ed.) *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes. Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*: 39–54. Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition.
- Hölscher, U. 1954. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, Volume V: Post-Ramessid Remains*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kaczanowicz, M. 2018. 'The Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Burials to the West of the South Asasif Necropolis: Polish Excavations in the Tombs MMA 1151 and 1152'. In E. Pischikova, J. Budka and K. Griffin (eds.) *Thebes in the First Millennium BC. Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*: 214–30. London: Golden House Publications.
- Kampp, F. 1996. *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Karakhanyan, A., Avagyan, A., Gevorgyan, M., Sourouzian, H. and Lopez Roa, C. 2014. 'Evidence of a strong earthquake in the period between 1200 and 900 BC identified in the temple of Amenhotep III and in other temples of the ancient Thebes'. In G. Capriotti Vittozzi (ed.) *Egyptian Curses 1: Proceedings of the Egyptological Day Held at the National Research Council of Italy (CNR), Rome, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2012, in the International Conference "Reading Catastrophes: Methodological Approaches and Historical Interpretation. Earthquakes, Floods, Famines, Epidemics between Egypt and Palestine, 3<sup>rd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. Rome, 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> December 2012, CNR - Sapienza University of Rome"*, Archaeological Heritage & Multidisciplinary Egyptological Studies I: 143–62. Roma: CNR Edizioni.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1973. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.



- Kondo, J. 1992. 'A Preliminary Report on the Re-clearance of the Tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22)'. In C. N. Reeves (ed.) *After Tut'ankhamun: Research in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*: 41–54. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Kondo, J. 1995. 'The Re-clearance of Tombs WV 22 and WV A in the Western Valley of the Kings'. In R. H. Wilkinson (ed.) *Valley of the Sun Kings: New Expeditions in the Tombs of the Pharaohs*: 25–32. Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition.
- Makowska, A. 2015. 'Ushebtis from the Chapel of Hatshepsut'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean. Special Studies* 24/2: 137–60.
- Manuelian, P. Der 1994. *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Morkot, R. 2003. 'Archaism and innovation in art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty'. In J. Tait (ed.) *'Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of Its Past*: 79–99. London: UCL Press.
- Naville, É. 1895. 'Excavations at Deir el-Bahari during the Winter 1894–95'. In F. L. Griffith (ed.) *Egypt Exploration Fund Archaeological report: comprising the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the progress of egyptology during the year 1894-1895*: 33–7. London : Kegan Paul,
- Naville, É. 1898. *The Temple of Deir el Bahari. Part III*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Nelson, M. 2003. 'The Ramesseum Necropolis'. In N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*: 88–94. London: British Museum Press.
- Niwiński, A. 1988. *21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Study*. Theben 5. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Petrie, W. M. F. 1909. *Qurneh*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
- Pischikova, E. 1998. 'Reliefs from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty: Reconstruction, Iconography, and Style'. *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33: 57–101.
- Polz, D. 1990. 'Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 46: 301–36.
- Polz, D., Mähltz, E., Rummel, U. and Seiler, A. 2003. 'Bericht über die 9. bis 12. Grabungskampagne in der Nekropole von Dra' Abu el-Naga/Thebes-West'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 59: 313–88.
- PM I = Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B. 1960, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis. Part 1. Private Tombs (second revised edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Redford, A. F. 2006. *Theban Tomb No. 188 (The Tomb of Parennefer): A Case Study of Tomb Reuse in the Theban Necropolis*. Ann Arbor: UMI/Proquest.
- Riggs, Ch. 2003. 'The Egyptian funerary tradition at Thebes in the Roman Period'. In N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*: 189–201. London: British Museum Press.

- Rowe, A. 1942. 'Correction and Additions to report on Tomb-pit Opened on the 26th January 1901 in the Valley of the Kings between no. 4 and no. 8 by Howard Carter'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 41: 346–7.
- Rummel, U. 2018. 'Ritual space and symbol of power: monumental tomb architecture in Thebes at the end of the New Kingdom'. In S. Kubisch and U. Rummel (eds.) *The Ramesside Period in Egypt. Studies into Cultural and Historical Processes of the 19th and 20th Dynasties*: 249–75. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Ryan, D. P. 1992a. 'Some Observations Concerning Uninscribed Tombs in the Valley of the Kings'. In C. N. Reeves (ed.) *After Tut'ankhamun. Research in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*: 21–7. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Ryan, D. P. 1992b. 'The Valley Again'. *KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt* 3/1: 46–7.
- Ryan, D. P. 1995. 'Further Observations Concerning the Valley of the Kings'. In R. H. Wilkinson (ed.) *Valley of the Sun Kings. New Expeditions in the Tombs of the Pharaohs*: 157–63. Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition.
- Ryan, D. P. 2007. 'Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Project: Work Conducted During the 2005 Season'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 81: 345–61.
- Saleh, M. 1983. 'The Tomb of the Royal Scribe Qen-Amun at Khokha (Theban Necropolis No 412)'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 69: 15–28.
- Schaden, O. 1979. 'Preliminary Report on the Re-clearance of Tomb 25 in the Western Valley of the Kings'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 63: 161–8.
- Schenkel, W. 1975. 'Die Gräber des *P3-ḫnf-j* und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 31: 127–58.
- Schreiber, G. 2008. *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes II: Finds from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. Budapest: Archaeolingua.
- Sheikholeslami, C. 2017. 'Some Theban Choachytes of the Third Intermediate Period'. In C. Jurman, B. Bader and D. A. Aston (eds.) *A True Scribe of Abydos. Essays on First Millennium BC Egypt in Honour of Anthony Leahy*: 415–44. Leuven: Peeters.
- Soliman, R. 2009. *Old and Middle Kingdom Theban Tombs*. London: Golden House Publications.
- Strudwick, N. 2009–2010. 'Use and Re-use of Tombs in the Theban Necropolis: Patterns and Explanations'. In J. C. Moreno García (ed.) *Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne: actes du colloque Université Charles-de-Gaulle - Lille 3, 7 et 8 juillet 2006*: 239–61. Lille: Université Charles-de-Gaulle.
- Szafránski, Z. E. 2011. 'A New Third Intermediate Period Necropolis at Deir el-Bahari'. In Z. Hawass, T. A. Bács, G. Schreiber (eds.) *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Theban Archaeology at the Supreme Council of Antiquities, November 5, 2009*: 141–8. Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Szafránski, Z. E. 2015. 'Tombs of the Third Intermediate Period in the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut'. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean. Special Studies* 24/2: 183–204.
- Taylor, J. H. 1984. 'A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 59: 27–57.

Taylor, J. H. 2016. 'Intrusive burials and caches'. In R. H. Wilkinson and K. Weeks (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*: 360–72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomas, E. 1966. *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*. Princeton: Moorman.

Tiradritti, F. (ed.) 2008. *Pharaonic renaissance. Archaism and the sense of history*. Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana 4th March–20th July 2008. Ljubljana: Cankarjev dom, kulturni in kongresni center.

Wilkinson, R. H. 2011. 'History of the Temple'. In R. H. Wilkinson (ed.) *The temple of Tausret. The University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition Tausret Temple Project, 2004–2011*: 160–72. Arizona: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition.

Wilkinson, R. H. 2016. 'Usurpation and Reuse of Royal Tombs'. In R. H. Wilkinson and K. Weeks (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*: 347–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Winlock, H. E. 1921. 'The Egyptian Expedition 1920–1921: III. Excavations at Thebes'. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 16: 11, Part 2: 29–53.

Winlock, H. E. 1932. *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes*. New York: Ayer Co Publications.

Yoshimura, S. 2004. 'The Tomb of Amenophis III, Waseda University Excavations 1989–2000'. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 78: 205–10.

# The title *imy-r3 pr* ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom

Věra Nováková<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The title *imy-r3 pr* is already known from 4th dynasty wall decoration, where its bearer habitually appears together with other officials near the tomb owner. At that time, he functioned mainly as the head of the household of a higher official, managing his estates, as the title never appears in the central administration or in the royal service during the Old Kingdom. The title shifted from the private sphere to high ranks of state officials during the First Intermediate Period, eventually becoming associated with the third most important man at the Middle Kingdom court.

The aim of this paper is to examine the social standing of the *imy-r3 pr* by concentrating on known tombs of the owners of this title (e.g. the tomb of Uhemka), specifically tombs that contain a complete list of titles. The paper will likewise examine the social hierarchy reflected in the scenes with the aim to reconstruct the specific position of the *imy-r3 pr* within the household as well as the title’s diachronic development in order to trace a possible shift in the holder’s status in the late Old Kingdom.

## Keywords

Title; Old Kingdom; household; iconography; social status; diachronic development

## Introduction

Until recently, ancient Egypt was considered a heavily centralized state with large-scale redistribution of goods (e.g. Janssen 1981, 59–77; Bleiberg 1995, 1373–85; Altenmüller 2005). In recent decades, scholars began to apply slightly different models based on patrimonialism or patronage, social systems consisting on a hierarchy of sub-households mutually linked by personal ties at each level (see, for example, Weber 1978, 1006–10; Lehner 2000, 275–80; Schloen 2001, 51–2; Moreno García 2013, 89; Bardoňová and Nováková 2017). A fundamental socio-economic unit of these concepts, a household, is defined as a kind of social organization composed not only of relatives but also of dependent members linked to the core group by social, professional, or patronage ties, with the emphasis on residential propinquity (Gelb 1973, 3; Maisels 1990, 334–54). This structure was clearly recognized in the archaeological evidence from both civil and funerary architecture (e.g. Kemp 1989, 296–309; Kemp 2013, 163; Lehner 2000, 283–6). It is characterized by the attestation of core houses surrounded by the houses of dependents, which is typical for instance of the Amarna settlement (Kemp 2013, 163). Apart from settlements, even the tomb distribution on cemeteries shows a pattern consisting of large mastabas accompanied by different types of small tombs (Eyre 1994, 107–33; Roth 1995, 23–37; Bárta 2005, 114–16; Campagno 2014, 13). Assuming that the patrimonial household was an integral part of Ancient Egyptian economy and society as illustrated by the previous examples, an inevitable question arises, namely who stood at the head of such household. According to W. Helck (1958, 92), an individual with the title *imy-r3 pr*, ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ (Jones 2000, 114, n. 461) is supposed to be the person who was in charge of running the household.

The term *pr* had a large scale of meanings in the Old Kingdom (Hannig 2003, 448–50): it was used to denote a certain type of dwelling, both profane and sacral, such as ‘house, building, palace or temple’, but the same word also encompassed outbuildings – ‘workshops and other agriculture buildings, fields’ and the associated ‘estates’. Apart from this, the term *pr* was employed when establishing someone’s ‘property, possession’ or expressing the ‘management’ and ‘administration’. In the context of the present paper, the translation of the word *pr* as ‘household’ is of particular importance (Hannig 2003, 449, n. 8).

---

<sup>1</sup> Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Czech Republic.

Until now, a general evaluation concerning the office of *imy-r3 pr* has been almost absent from scholarly publications (except for particular comments, see e.g. Junker 1929, 30–1; Helck 1958, 92; Vasiljević 1995, 80; Grajetzki 2012, 69–70), since obviously not much attention was paid to titles which were not at the very top of Egyptian administrative structure. Only the high Middle Kingdom central administration title *imy-r3 pr wr*, ‘high steward’ has been minutely studied by Grajetzki (2000, 67–8, 80–105; see also Grajetzki 2012, 69–80) or Arnold (1991, 7–14). Therefore, the focus of the present paper is to scrutinize the office of the ‘overseer of the house’ from three main perspectives: specifying its social status, drawing relations to other household members and outlining the diachronic development over the course of the Old Kingdom with touching upon several features in the subsequent periods – the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom.

## Methodology

Due to the large quantity of iconographic evidence available from Old Kingdom tombs in which the overseer of the house occurs (as one of the household members), a sample of representative types of the depictions of this person has been chosen and illustrated by several examples in order to assess the main spheres of activity of the overseer of the house and to point out this person’s position within other members of a particular household. The core sample includes well published decorated tombs on main Memphite necropoleis (Giza, Saqqara and Abusir), complemented with their provincial counterparts in Meir, Qubbet el-Hawa, Balat, etc.; the time span ranges from the 4th to the late 6th dynasty.

The second part of the present article concentrates directly on the tombs belonging to the overseers of the house. For the purpose of the study, the available data concerning the tombs was assembled to ascertain the social status of their owners. The focus is laid on complementary titles in these tombs (including rank titles), which are instrumental not only in specifying the social standing of their holders but can also be indicative of the competences and responsibilities that were required for such a position. The data regarding the titles has been statistically evaluated and supplemented with tables. Subsequently, the development of the status of the overseer of the house during the Old Kingdom is demonstrated on the change of rank titles designating the *imy-r3 pr* officials. To trace the (dis)continuity of the development, the evidence from the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom is also taken into consideration. The data from this time span is especially acquired from the study on the most important court officials of that time (Grajetzki 2000, 2012) and derived from the wall decoration of the tombs on fundamental central and provincial Middle Kingdom necropoleis (e.g. Newberry 1893; Griffith and Newberry 1894; Arnold 2007; Willems *et al.* 2007).

## Iconography – Memphite necropoleis

Members of a particular household are represented on the walls of Egyptian tombs as personal attendants, household servants, priests, offering bearers, etc. Besides funerary priests, who were essential for maintaining the cult of the deceased, and scribes who were keeping accounting records for the tomb owner, another important individual regularly occurring among the members of a particular household is a person with the title *imy-r3 pr*, ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’. This individual is known from 4th dynasty wall decoration, where he was often portrayed as a scribe or an offering bearer in the front row of lower officials underneath the image of the tomb owner (Grajetzki 2012, 69). The first occurrence of an individual with the title *imy-r3 pr* to my knowledge comes from the tomb of Khaefkhufu (G 7130–7140) dated to the late reign of Khufu or the reign of Khafre (Simpson 1978, 20). The appearances of the overseers of the house are rather rare during the 4th dynasty when the tomb owner used to be depicted mainly within the context of his family. The fact that these individuals became much more frequent from the beginning of the 5th dynasty onwards probably reflects the development of the decorative programme of the tombs at that time far from limited decoration to slab stelae (see



e.g. Harpur 1987; Seidlmayer 1987, 211; Staring 2011, 132–7). Not only the time span but also the social status of the tomb owners has an impact on the presence or absence of the occurrence of *imy-r3 pr* officials. The tombs of lower-class officials usually include a single person with this title, whereas the tombs of viziers or high officials may contain more. For example, four different overseers of the house are present in the tomb of Vizier Ptahshepses (Verner 1986), three in the tomb of Vizier Ptahhetep (Hassan 1975; Latifa-Mourad 2015) and no less than ten overseers are recorded in the tomb of Ti from Saqqara (Épron and Wild 1939). In total, c. 140 holders of the title *imy-r3 pr* are known from the Old Kingdom (for particular references, see Hannig 2003, 93–5). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that an *imy-r3 pr* official is completely missing from numerous tombs or the title is not preserved (e.g. the tombs of Viziers Nebemakhet and Seshemnefer II or the tomb of the high official Shepsiputah).

In the iconography of the tombs, where preserved, individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr* are shown in quite a wide range of scenes. They are regularly depicted in the vicinity of the tomb owner, often portrayed sitting as a scribe or even with scribal equipment, sometimes portrayed with a papyrus scroll while reporting to the tomb owner. In the tomb of Wepemnefret, for example, overseer of the house Nefersedjem is depicted in the front row of the officials, heading a group of scribes directly in front of the standing tomb owner (Hassan 1930–1931, Fig. 219). Similarly, in the tomb of Vizier Ptahshepses, overseer of the house Wetka is portrayed in a scene of the seated tomb owner accompanied by his subordinate officials: scribes, officials employed in the central administration or a physician (see Fig. 1).

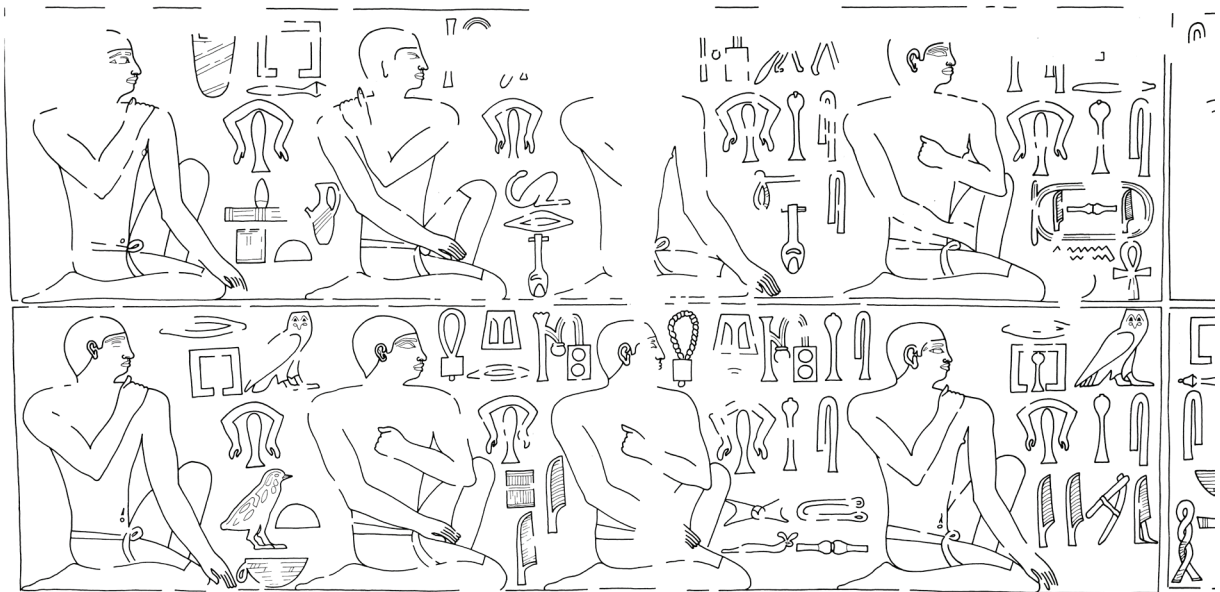


Figure 1. Depiction of Ptahshepses' closest subordinates, Room 10, east wall, mastaba of Ptahshepses (after Verner 1986, pl. 52).

An interesting feature can be seen in the tomb of princess Hemetre (Hassan 1975, 67–71): overseer of house Senebuka is represented at a larger scale than any other servant in the tomb, which probably reflects the importance of his position. A close relationship to the tomb owner is evident also in scenes of spearfishing, where the overseer of house figures directly behind the tomb owner as one of his personal attendants, for instance in the tomb of Inumin (Kanawati 2006, Fig. 44).

The next type of scenes in which the overseer of the house is drawn is the almost ever-present procession of offering bearers, often in a prominent position as one of the first in the line of the offering bearers or even heading the procession, such as in the tombs of Nesutnefer or Ti (Kanawati 2002, pl. 52; Steindorff 1913).

Another group of depictions can be connected to the supervision of the food supply for the tomb owner. The 'overseer of the house' is represented as a person engaged in the scene of animal slaughtering. In the tomb of Inumin, for instance, *imy-rʿ pr* Nyhetepptah is heading the register with the butchery cycle (see Fig. 2). Alternatively, he is portrayed with a papyrus scroll, reporting to the tomb owner in the scene of counting the animals (Roth 1995, 110, pls. 68b, 172c).

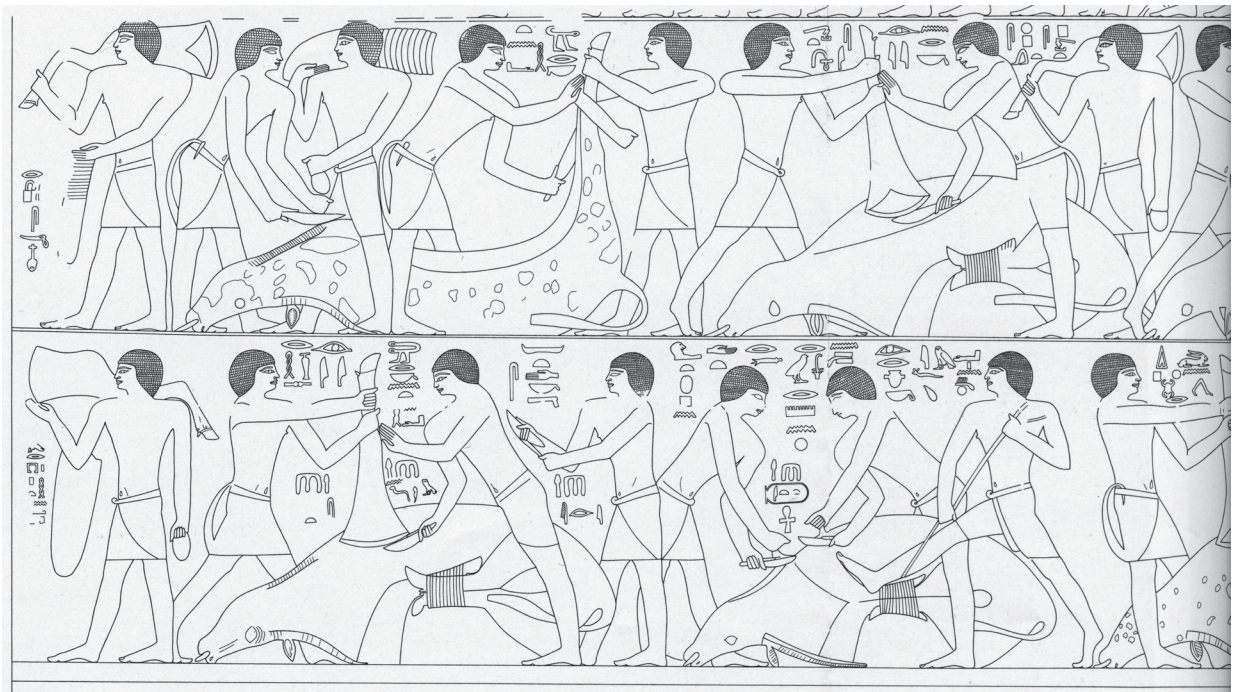


Figure 2. Butchery cycle, chapel, east wall, tomb of Inumin  
(after Kanawati 2006, pl. 52).



Figure 3. Scenes of cargo ships, Room 3, south wall, mastaba of Ptahshepes  
(after Verner 1986, pls. 3 and 4).





Figure 4. Scene of the rendering of accounts by estate managers, who are receiving a beating, room A4, west wall, the tomb of Mereruka (photo M. Zemina; © Czech Institute of Egyptology).

The connection with the estates is clearly visible in the scene where three overseers of the house are depicted as the commanders of boats transporting various products from the estates into the tomb of Vizier Ptahshepses, responsible for providing food to the vizirial household (see Fig. 3). Hints of a supervisory function regarding the estates are detectable also in a scene depicting scribes and an *imy-r³ pr* official to whom the estates managers are rendering accounts (see Fig. 4).

This official was responsible not only for cattle and farm products from the estates, as testify the aforementioned examples, but probably also for the supervision of activities in workshops. Such depiction can be found for instance in the tomb of Mereruka within the scene of the weighing of lumps of metal (see Fig. 5).

The *imy-r³ pr* individual played a rather different role within the offering table scene. Here, the ‘overseer of the house’ is pictured while following the priest who performs ceremonies for the tomb owner. One of the rare examples comes from the tomb of Ti, where an *imy-r³ pr* official stands together with priests near the serdab opening while burning incense for Ti (see Fig. 6).





Figure 5. Scene of a jewellery workshop in the tomb of Mereruka, room A3, east wall (photo M. Zemina; © Czech Institute of Egyptology).

### Iconography – provincial necropoleis

In contrast to Memphite necropoleis, where individuals with the title overseers of the house regularly appear on the main burial grounds of Giza, Saqqara or Abusir, the occurrence of the overseers of the house in the provinces significantly differs one necropolis from another. While the walls in the tombs on certain burial grounds feature a high occurrence of the title overseer of the house in the individual tombs, as is typical e.g. of the tombs of Meir (as many as 22 different individuals bear the title in the tomb of Pepiankh Kheriib, see Blackman 1924; Kanawati and Evans 2012), persons tagged with such title are almost absent from the necropoleis of Tehna, Quseir el-Amarna, el-Hawawish or Gebrawi (with the exception of the tomb of Nomarch and Southern Vizier Ibi, see Kanawati 2007, 11–22). The abovementioned necropolis of Meir is the most important in terms of the appearance of the overseers of the house. It is the only provincial necropolis with *imy-rʿ pr* officials amply represented, which makes it possible to compare it to Memphite necropoleis.<sup>2</sup>

The repertoire of scenes on the necropolis of Meir featuring the overseer of the house is similar to that of Memphite necropoleis. Overseers of the house appear in scenes rendering their importance by proximity to the tomb owner, leaning on a staff or reading from a papyrus roll, for example in the tomb

<sup>2</sup> The evidence from other necropoleis outside the Residence is insufficient to draw indisputable conclusions.





Figure 6. Offering table scene, chapel, south wall, the tomb of Ti  
(photo S. Vanini; © Czech Institute of Egyptology).

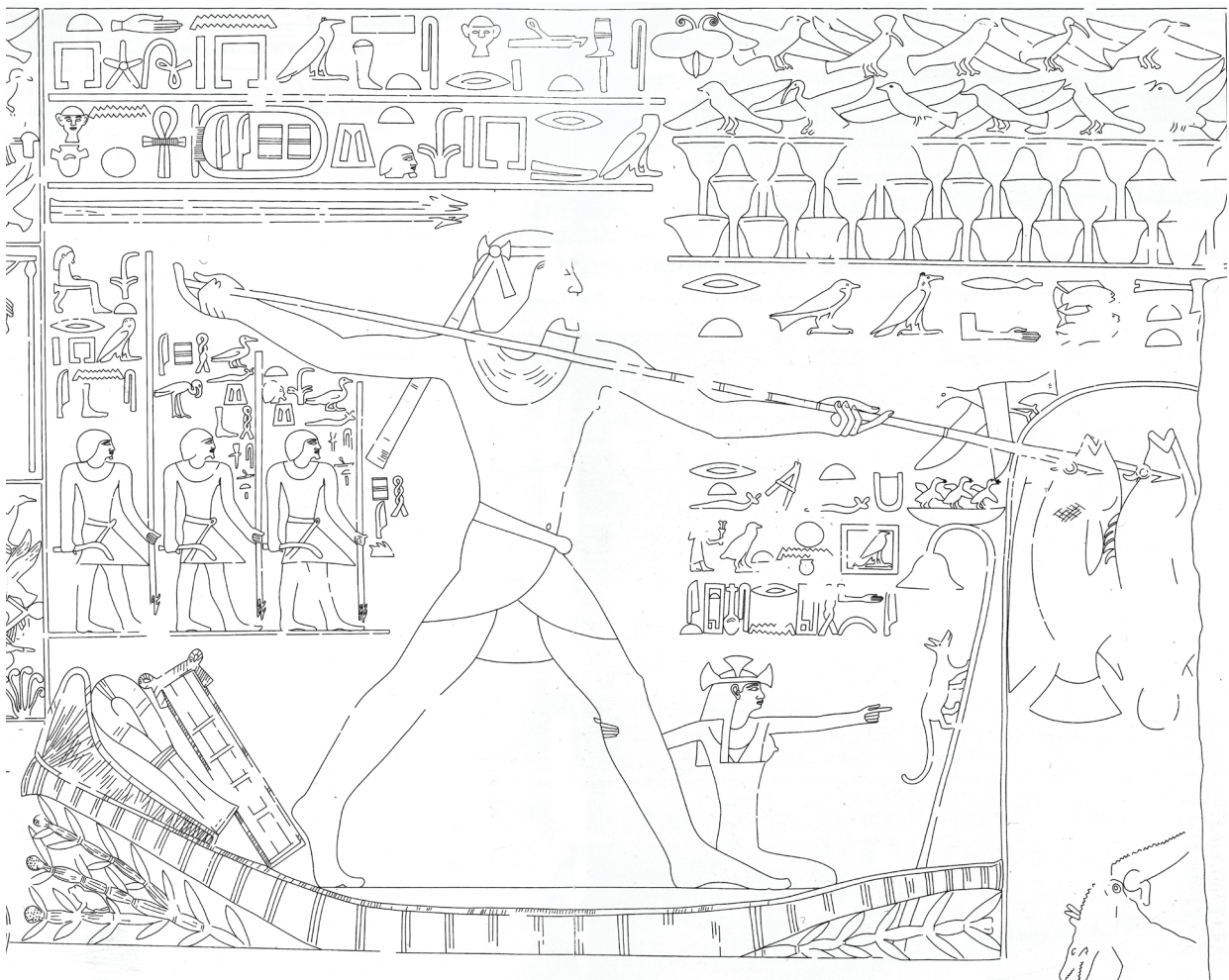


Figure 7. Spear fishing scene, room III, east wall, the tomb of Nyankhpepy the Black  
(after Kanawati 2012, pl. 80).



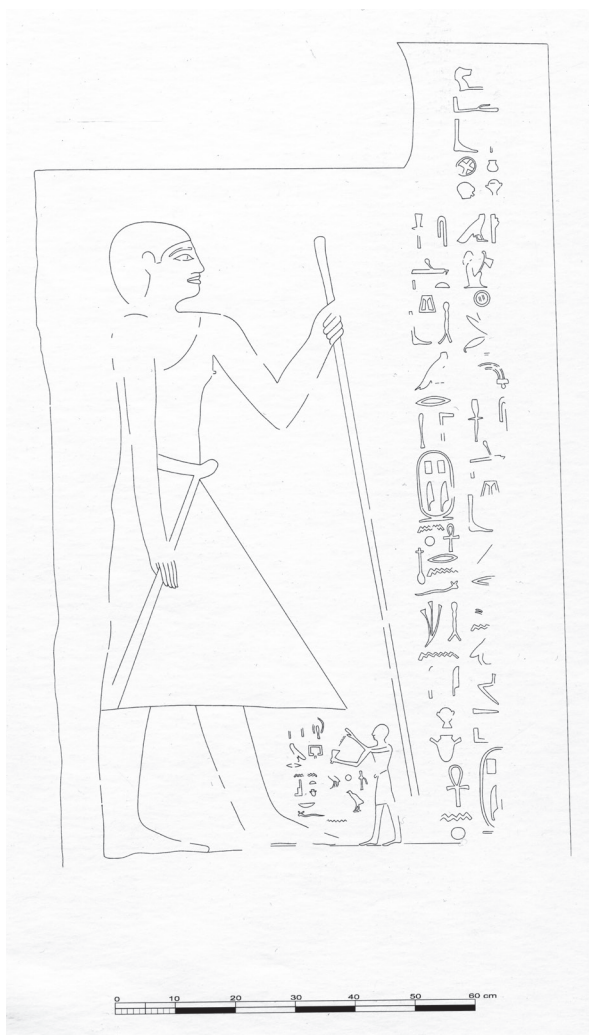


Figure 8. Overseer of the house throwing incense on the tomb owner, entrance to room III, north thickness, the tomb of Nyankhpepy the Black (after Kanawati 2012, pl. 78)

incense.<sup>4</sup> Local tradition probably had an impact also on the composition of the household members who are represented in the tombs. A large number of individuals with the title *hrp zh*, ‘director of the dining hall’,<sup>5</sup> unparalleled on other burial grounds, could indicate that at least some of the duties of the *imy-r3 pr* (those concerning the food supply) were devolved to this cult official.

Of particular importance is an attestation of *imy-r3 pr* Khnumhetep who served to two high officials, Khui (QH 34E) and Tjeti (QH 103), accompanying them on expeditions to Byblos, Punt and Retjenu, as proclaimed by his biographical inscription in Khui’s tomb (Vishak 2015, 185). His prominent position within other dependents is attested by the presence of his own cult space with a false door in the tomb of his superior (Vishak 2015, 187).

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed analysis of the decorative programme of Qubbet el-Hawa tombs, see Edel (2008); Vishak (2015).

<sup>4</sup> A depiction that is rather typical of *k3*-priests (Vishak 2015, 67).

<sup>5</sup> Almost 50 holders of the title director of the dining hall appear on the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, exceeding even the number of *k3*-priests (Vishak 2015, 45).

of Pepiankh Kheriib (Kanawati and Evans 2012, Figs. 84–5, pls. 37–47a, pls. 47b–51a). They are also engaged in spearfishing scenes portrayed standing directly behind tomb owners’ sons (see Fig. 7).

The same individuals are quite often depicted in scenes of securing food provisions for the deceased, e.g. scenes of supervising ploughing activities while following the tomb owner (Kanawati and Evans 2012, Figs. 81–2, pls. 26–33), overseeing activities in the marshlands or a scene of animal count (Kanawati and Evans 2012, Fig. 82, pls. 26–33). Apart from that, they are regularly portrayed bearing food offerings or leading an ox, as in the tomb of Nyankhpepy Kem at Meir (Kanawati *et al.* 2015, pls. 14–23, 67–8). Rarely, they are portrayed pouring libation water, holding a censer and throwing incense or performing ceremonies associated with funerary meals (see Fig. 8), scenes that are almost absent from Residential necropoleis (see Iconography – Memphite necropoleis). Interestingly, only one depiction shows *imy-r3 pr* official playing the senet game (Kanawati 2012, 59, pl. 89).

An interesting piece of evidence comes also from the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, where the iconography of most of the tombs is characterized by the absence of traditional Memphite iconographic repertoire: the walls are not decorated continuously, but as separated panels with independent scenes.<sup>3</sup> This probably influenced the variety of iconographic depictions of the *imy-r3 pr*. These individuals appear in five of the twelve tombs under consideration, pictured mainly as offering bearers and, in one case, burning

Rare attestations from other provincial burial grounds accentuate the link of the overseer of the house to agricultural produce: in the tomb of Nomarch Kaihep (Tetiiker) in el-Hawawish, the *imy-r3 pr* official reports to the tomb owner in the scene of animal count (Kanawati 1980, Figs. 9, 21); in the tomb of Iteti Shedu in Deshasha, he supervises the cutting of grapes and the pressing of wine (Kanawati and McFarlane 1993, pls. 20, 53).

The evidence of the overseer of the house from the Dakhla oasis is also worth mentioning. He is not attested directly from the tombs of the governors but in hieratic on clay tablets found within the complex of the governor palace at Balat (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002, 331–60). Two separate tablets (unfortunately only partially preserved) record two different individuals bearing the title ‘overseer of the house’. The first (no. 3487) includes a list of 18 people, each identified by name and title, but the purpose of the list is unclear. The authors suggest that it might have been part of an accounting document consisting of a list of officials who served in one of the numerous *k3*-chapels at the locality, since several *hm-ntr* priests are enumerated there (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002, 340–2). The second tablet provides evidence of an administrative letter dealing probably with some problematic issue regarding a religious domain under the competence of the local government. The *imy-r3 pr* official apparently expects a decision in the matter (Soukiassian *et al.* 2002, 358–60). Although the exact reason for making out both documents is hidden, the *imy-r3 pr* official was presumably involved in the funerary cult of deceased governors or played a certain role in the local administration by managing domains in the surroundings.

### Social status of *imy-r3 pr* – Memphite necropoleis

Tombs built by individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr* are crucial for examining the social status of their owners. The tombs provide evidence in the form of a complete list of titles, including rank titles, in contrast to the tomb decoration of high officials’ tombs, where these persons are in most cases designated only with the title *imy-r3 pr*. Senebuka, for example, is labelled with the titles *iry ht nswt*, ‘king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property’, *imy-r3 pr*, ‘overseer of the house’, and *imy-r3 hm(w)-k3*, ‘overseer of *k3*-servants’ in his tomb, whereas in the tomb of princess Hemetre, he is depicted only with his functional title overseer of the house (see Hassan 1950, 67–71; Hassan 1975). Similarly, Wehemka is in his own tomb distinguished not only by the title *imy-r3 pr* but also by titles such as *iry ht nswt*, ‘king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property’, *zš pr-md3(w)t*, ‘scribe of the archives/department of documents’, *zš nfrw*, ‘scribe of recruits’ as well as several epithets (*nb im3hw hr ntr* and *nb im3hw hr ntr 3j*) (Roeder 1927; Kayser 1964).

Individuals who held the title *imy-r3 pr* appear as subordinates in the tombs of higher officials from the 4th dynasty onwards (see Iconography – Memphite necropoleis), but the evidence of *imy-r3 pr* as owners of tombs is not attested until the early 5th dynasty. Twenty-nine tombs of owners of this title from Residential necropoleis (exclusively from Giza) dated to the 5th and 6th dynasties have been analysed (see Tab. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Out of the titles enumerated in the tombs belonging to overseers of the house, the most frequently attested was the title *iry ht nswt*, ‘king’s/royal acquaintance/custodian of the king’s property’ (17 of 29 owners). Interestingly, this rank title was regularly depicted as most important in the line of titles, often followed by the title *imy-r3 pr* in the second place (e.g. Hassan 1950, 69, Fig. 51; Kayser 1964). According to M. Bárta (1999, 79–89) the title *iry ht nswt* was originally introduced for persons who were in some way associated with the duties or service to the king at his court. It might seem contradictory in this context, since the stewards never appeared in the central administration or in the services at the

<sup>6</sup> To be more precise, the time span is somewhat shorter, because in the second part of the 6th dynasty, Memphite necropoleis suffer from scarce evidence of tombs with any identified dependent.

royal court, but the title property custodian of the king underwent a substantial change during the Old Kingdom, occurring in two different periods (Bárta 1999, 89). In the first stage down to the end of the 4th dynasty, it was associated with high-ranking officials involved in the service to the king, in contrast to the 5th and 6th dynasties when the title was connected with lower-ranking officials employed in the funerary temples of the kings. The evidence from the tombs of *imy-r3 pr* holders dated to the 5th and 6th dynasties proves that these individuals were closely associated with funeral services for the deceased king. It is apparent from their string of titles, which relatively often comprises the titles *w<sup>cb</sup> nswt* ‘wab-priest of the king’ (10 of 29 owners) and *hm-ntr* ‘hem-netjer-priest, god’s servant, “prophet”’ (7 of 29 owners), associated mainly with Kings Khufu, Khafre or Menkaure (see Tab. 1).

Name	Tomb no.	Locality	Titles	Dating	Bibliography
<i>Iy</i>	G 8911	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt</i>	5/6	Hassan 1932, 60–1, 101–4, Figs. 108–9, 171–6, pl. 66
<i>Iy-mry</i>	G 6020	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>cb</sup> nswt, imy-r3 pr (n) hwt-<sup>c3</sup>t, hm-ntr Hwfw, zš pr-md3(w)t</i>	5	Weeks 1994, 31–57; Figs. 25–46
<i>Ir-n-3ht</i>	G 2391	Giza	<i>hm-k3, imy-r3 st hntiw-š pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	6	Brovarski 1982, 120–1
<i>Itr</i>	Iter	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, šhd nfrw</i>	5/6	Curto 1993, 31–3, pl. 3
<i>Whm-k3</i>	D 117	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, zš pr-md3(w)t, zš nfrw</i>	5	Kayser 1964
<i>Wr-b3w-Pth</i>	G 6042	Giza	<i>hnty-š (n) pr-<sup>c3</sup>, iry ht nswt</i>	5	Weeks 1994, 10, 90, pl. 55a
<i>Wsr</i>	G 8912	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	6	Hassan 1932, 95–7, Figs. 161–5, pl. 58
<i>Pr-nb</i>	G 8606	Giza	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3 iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i>	5	Hassan, 1941, 157–9, Figs. 130–2, pls. 51.1; 2
<i>Mmy</i>	G 5221	Giza	<i>hrj-tp nswt pr-<sup>c3</sup></i>	5/6	Porter and Moss 1974, 155
<i>Mr-<sup>c</sup>nh.f</i>	G 8870	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>cb</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw</i>	6	Hassan 1941, 14–22, Figs. 14–21, pls. 6–9
<i>Mrw-k3</i>	G 8986	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, hm n sndwt</i>	5	Hassan 1936, 62–3, Figs. 114, 114A, pl. 42
<i>Nb-nfrrt-Pth, Mhy</i>	G 4442	Giza	<i>h3tj-<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>, imy-r3 k3t nbt nswt, zš šnwt, zš pr-hd, zš n z3</i>	6	Junker 1943, 226–8, Fig. 91, plan after p. 273
<i>Nfr</i>	G 4761	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>cb</sup> nswt, hm-ntr hr mddw, hm-ntr mdd r nbjt, imy-r3 hmw-k3</i>	5/6	Junker 1943, 26–74, 74–77, Figs. 3–18, 18a, 44, pls. 1–5
<i>Nfr II</i>	Nefer (S 576)	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt</i>	5/6	Junker 1944, 146–9, Figs. 59–60
<i>Nfr-tz</i>	Nefertjez	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>cb</sup> nswt, smsw pr</i>	5	Hawass 2018, 165–80
<i>Nimsty</i>	G 2366	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, hm-ntr, w<sup>cb</sup> nswt, imy-ht hmw-k3, imy-r3 sšr, hrp šmsw</i>	6	Simpson 1980, 32–33, Figs. 40, 43, pl. LVlb

<i>Nfr-b3w-Pth</i>	G 6010	Giza	<i>imy-r3 pr (n) hwt-3t, iry ht nswt, w<sup>c</sup> b nswt, hm-ntr Ny-wsr-R<sup>c</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-R<sup>c</sup>, hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr S3hw-R<sup>c</sup>, zš pr.,</i>	5	Weeks 1994, 1011, 21–29, Figs. 2–4, 6, 9–24, pls. 1–11a, 39–42
<i>Sn[b]</i>	G 1036	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, hm-k3</i>	5/6	Porter an Moss 1974, 54
<i>Snbw-k3(i)</i>	G 8462	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	5	Hassan 1950, 67–71
<i>Špss-k3.f-anh</i>	G 6040	Giza	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b nswt..., z3 nswt...</i>	5	Weeks 1994, 93–110, pls. XXXVIII–LII
<i>K3.i</i>	G 4651	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, zš<sup>c</sup>(w) (nw) nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3, imy-r3 prw msw-nswt, w<sup>c</sup>b nswt, zš<sup>c</sup>prw (n) z3b</i>	5	Junker 1938, 123–45, Taf. VII–VIII
<i>Hbi</i>	Hebi	Giza	<i>imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	6	Junker 1950, 118–21, Figs. 51–52, pl. 9 [c]
<i>Hnw</i>	G 8816	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>c</sup>b nswt, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-R<sup>c</sup></i>	6	Hassan 1936, 159–68, Figs. 188–201, pls. 56–60
<i>Hs.f I</i>	Hesef	Giza	<i>nfr</i>	6	Junker 1950, 192–8, Figs. 1[top], 89–90, pl. 2 [a]
<i>Hnmw-df3</i>	G 8975	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, imy-r3 hm-k3</i>	6	Hassan 1936, 46–64, Figs. 42–61, pls. 15–20
<i>Ttw</i>	G 5511	Giza	<i>imy-r3 df3 nb imy-r3 pr-šn<sup>c</sup> smit imntt</i>	6	Simpson 1980, 28, 31–2, Figs. 40, 42, pls. LIIIa, LVla
<i>Dw3-k3</i>	G 8472	Giza	<i>iry ht nswt, w<sup>c</sup>b nswt, hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>, hm-ntr hr Wsr-ib, hm-ntr wsr-m-nbty, hry-sšt3, hm-k3, shd<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b(w), smsw h(3)yt. smsw h(3)yt n wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup></i>	5	Hassan 1950, 93–110, pls. XXXVIII–LII
<i>D3ty</i>	G 2337X	Giza	<i>zš n z3, hm(w)-k3, z3b shd<sup>c</sup> zšw, ny dt.f</i>	6	Simpson 1980, 28–31, Figs. 40–41, pls. LIII–LV
<i>Df3-nswt</i>	G 4920	Giza		5	Junker 1938, 38–39 [24]

Table 1. List of tomb owners with the title *imy-r3 pr*.

Moreover, a piece of evidence from a royal document – Raneferef’s papyrus archive referred to an *imy-r3 pr* individual as one of the temple officials enumerated together with four scribes (Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová 2006, 303).<sup>7</sup> Apart from titles connected to funerary services to the deceased king or his pyramid, almost one-half of the holders of the title *imy-r3 pr* served in the funerary cult of higher officials, as expressed by the title *imy-r3 hm-k3*, ‘overseer of *k3*-servants’ (11 of 29 owners).

The last category of titles recorded in the tombs under scrutiny refers to scribal professions; to enumerate just a few: *zš*, ‘scribe’, *zš pr-md3(w)t*, ‘scribe of the archives/department of documents’,

<sup>7</sup> Hieratic administrative records found within Raneferef’s pyramid complex, see Posener-Kriéger, Verner and Vymazalová (2006).



*zš mdꜣt nswt*, ‘document scribe of the king’, or *zš ꜥrw (n) zꜣb*, ‘scribe of the crews’ (scribal profession 4 of 29 owners; for references, see Tab. 1). Some of the titles refer to the service for the king at his court – rare attestations of titles associated with *imy-rꜣ pr* officials which are connected with the living king. Scribal titles held by *imy-rꜣ pr* officials, their frequent iconographic depiction within scribes or archivists as well as scenes depicting the overseer of house reporting to the tomb owner with a papyrus scroll might indicate his responsibility for keeping records necessary for everyday running of the household and portray him as an educated individual.

### Social status of *imy-rꜣ pr* – provincial necropoleis

Local potentates began to be buried sporadically in necropoleis outside the Residence from the early 5th dynasty (for instance, on the cemetery of Tehna, see Thompson 2014). Subsequently, from the reign of Nyuserre onwards, this burial custom was established on a more regular basis (see e.g. Fischer 1968; Khouli 1990; or Kanawati and McFarlane 1993). Therefore, 4th and 5th dynasty *imy-rꜣ pr* officials are known mainly from the tombs on Memphite burial grounds. The same holds true also for the period of the first half of the 6th dynasty. Contrary to that, overseers of the house are strongly represented in tombs outside Residential necropoleis in the second half of the 6th dynasty (see e.g. Kanawati 2007, 2012; Kanawati *et al.* 2015). Despite this fact, there is no evidence of tombs built directly for *imy-rꜣ pr* officials in the provinces, at least to my knowledge. The *imy-rꜣ pr* officials appear only as household members in decorated tombs belonging to the highest echelons of local society (viziers, nomarchs or expedition leaders). Nevertheless, they are worth mentioning in this context, because rank and functional titles are frequently attached to them. Regarding the rank titles recorded, one can notice a minor change in the status of this individual. In the iconography of the tombs of the provincial elites (especially in the tombs at Meir, which comprise an absolute majority of the evidence), the ‘overseer of the house’ is often labelled with the rank title *hry tp nswt*, ‘royal chamberlain’ (12 of 28 holders). In the tomb of Nyankhpepy Kem at Meir, for instance, no less than six of the seven overseers of the house bear the title royal chamberlain (Kanawati *et al.* 2015). According to N. Kanawati (1977, 12), the title royal chamberlain denotes a middle-ranking official; as the 6th dynasty advanced, it was primarily connected with a legal function. In the provinces, the individuals under the consideration are associated more with scribal titles in general (still very rarely), rather than directly with juridical ones. In addition, another 5 of 28 holders were tagged with the rank title *šps nswt*, ‘noble of the king’.

The complementary titles of *imy-rꜣ pr* officials rarely include priestly titles, the titles overseer of the linen, director of the dining hall as well as some obscure titles such as *imy-rꜣ hrt*, ‘overseer of the tomb’, or *imy-rꜣ kdw*, ‘overseer of workmen’, both associated with the burial and the afterlife dwelling.

### Diachronic development during the Old Kingdom

About 140 holders of the title overseer of the house are known from the Old Kingdom. W. Grajetzki (2009, 70) states that during the Old Kingdom, they never appeared in the administration directly under the king: viziers and higher officials had these stewards in charge of their private belongings. Nevertheless, certain scribal titles they bore (see Social status of *imy-rꜣ pr* – Memphite necropoleis) indicate that apart from their engagement in the royal funerary cults, they could have been somehow involved in the services for the living king at his court. This assumption might be corroborated by a record in Sahure’s pyramid causeway, where an *imy-rꜣ pr* official is included within the king’s entourage (El Awady 2009, 165). According to the inscription, *imy-rꜣ pr* Userkafankh is one of persons bowing in front of the king in the scene of Sahure’s courtiers and high-ranking officials.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> T. El Awady (2009, 165, n. 1009) identifies this person with the owner of the mastaba to the east of Nyuserre’s pyramid complex at Abusir (Borchardt 1907, 109–16), although no such title appears in the tomb. It is rather

Individuals designated with the title overseer of the house sporadically appear in the tomb decoration of high social strata in the course of the 4th dynasty, portrayed mostly in close vicinity to the tomb owner. From the 5th dynasty onwards, they occur on a more regular basis; moreover, they were obviously wealthy enough to build their own tombs. The lower rank title *iry ht nswt*, which is borne by more than 75 percent of *imy-r3 pr* officials, can be considered an indicator of their social status. In the second half of the 6th dynasty, overseers of the house ceased to be recorded in the tombs on Memphite burial grounds (only family members are depicted in more modest tombs, see e.g. Firth and Gunn 1926); on the contrary, they started to be depicted in the tombs of the provincial elites outside the Residence, this time selectively, depending on the necropolis (see e.g. Kanawati 2007; Edel 2008). They are to be found more extensively in the necropolis of Meir, where more than a half of the *imy-r3 pr* officials are tagged with the middle rank title *hry tp nswt*, ‘royal chamberlain’ (Blackman 1953; Kanawati 2012 and 2015).

In order to trace if this trend of the rising status of *imy-r3 pr* individuals continues also after the end of the Old Kingdom, the evidence of these persons in the following 11th and 12th dynasties have been studied. The individuals with the title *imy-r3 pr*, ‘overseer of the house’ (this time, the translation ‘steward’ prevails in scholarly publications) still appear in private tombs in both the centre and the provinces, depicted as offering bearers, supervisors of the funerary procession, conductors of records of workshop products but most frequently connected to overseeing activities related to providing food and cattle for the household (see e.g. Davies 1902, 24, pl. 18; Arnold 2007, 59; Kanawati and Evans 2012, 41, pls. 120–1).<sup>9</sup> There, the ‘stewards’ are usually recorded without any rank title that would be indicative of their status. In their own tombs, they were connected with mid-ranking titles (see e.g. Arnold 2007, 59).

Apart from simple stewards, there began to appear also high stewards – the administrators of domains of the country responsible for providing the palace with food and, in the early Middle Kingdom, also expedition leaders (Grajetzki 2012, 69–80). Their origin dated back to the 11th dynasty, whose rulers started their careers as high officials – local governors with overseers of the house managing their households and estates. Gradually, with the foundation of the new state, the title of a personal servant, the overseer of the house, became a high state function as high steward linked to the highest rank titles: *iry p<sup>c</sup>t*, *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* (Grajetzki 2012, 71–80). In the 11th and early 12th dynasties, rank titles were the only indicator distinguishing ordinary stewards from high stewards, because the simple designation ‘steward’ alone was used prior to the consolidation of the title in the form of ‘high steward’ (Grajetzki 2012, 70).<sup>10</sup>

Thus, between the 4th and the 12th dynasties, one observes a development from an official with the lower rank title *iry ht nswt* in the 4th to the mid-6th dynasties in Residential necropoleis, followed by a slightly higher status of a middle-ranking official tagged with the title *hry tp nswt* attested in the latter half of the 6th dynasty in the provincial necropoleis. From that time on, the development of the office was twofold: while the tradition of stewards in charge of private households continued, some of these stewards employed in the households of new rulers of the land became important state officials during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.

---

questionable even if one considers that Userkafankh is represented in Sahure’s pyramid complex as a young man at the beginning of his career, whereas much more important titles are captured in the tomb built towards the end of his career, such as *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*, ‘overseer of all royal works’, or titles connected directly with the king, *hry-tp nswt m prwy*, ‘king’s liegeman/royal chamberlain in the two houses’, and *imy-r3 ht nbt nt nswt*, ‘overseer of all property of the king’.

<sup>9</sup> Within depicted household members, one encounters also subordinate variants of the title steward – officials tagged with title overseer of the house of the funerary estate, overseer of the house of the estates, overseer of the house of the fields, usually associated with food and cattle, for instance recording the measuring of grain, inspecting animals or overseeing ploughing activities (e.g. Davies 1902, pl. 18).

<sup>10</sup> Apart from simple stewards, the officials called themselves stewards of the entire land (see e.g. Allen 2003, 16, 17), and the designation could vary for the same person in different sources (Grajetzki 2012, 70).

## Conclusions

The overseer of the house/estate, the Steward was an important lower official who was in charge of the private belongings of viziers or higher officials. The iconography of the tombs testifies to the important position of the *imy-r3 pr* among other members of the household. He is usually depicted in close vicinity to the tomb owner, portrayed among other crucial individuals (tomb owner's sons, scribes, physicians, etc.) or while supervising various activities. The types of scenes in which he figures include the cattle count, ploughing activities, activities in the marshland, indicating a strong connection to farm products and showing the overseer's responsibility for the fields and cattle. Other scenes refer to his function as an estate manager, once again dealing with the agricultural produce of the estates. The range of scenes on Memphite and provincial necropoleis in which the officials appear is very similar, only particular features can be pointed out – the necropolis of Meir more accentuates scenes where the *imy-r3 pr* is involved in the funerary rites, compared to the probable assumption of this official's competences and responsibilities by 'directors of the dining hall' on the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa.

As for the occurrence of overseers of the house, the 4th and 5th dynasty holders come mostly from Memphite necropoleis, as do *imy-r3 pr* dated to the first half of the 6th dynasty. On the contrary, the second half of the 6th dynasty is strongly represented outside Residential necropoleis. The full lists of titles of the overseers of the house portray these individuals as educated lower-ranked officials who were involved in the royal mortuary cult. However, as indicated by accompanying scribal titles, they might have occasionally been associated also with services at the court.

Based on rank titles, we can trace a shift from a lower-ranking official (during the 4th to mid-6th dynasties) to an official of a middle-ranking status in the provincial vizirial court towards the end of the Old Kingdom, eventually resulting in its holder becoming the third most significant official at the Middle Kingdom royal court with the highest rank titles.

## Acknowledgements

This paper was written within the project for GA ČR, No. 16-07210S: 'Complex network methods applied to ancient Egypt data in the Old Kingdom (2700–2180 BC)'.

## Reference List:

- Allen, J. P. 2003. 'The high officials of the early Middle Kingdom'. In N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*: 14–29, London: British Museum Press.
- Altenmüller, H. 2005 'Trade and Markets'. In D. B. Redford (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*: 445–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnold, F. 1991. 'The High stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 122: 7–14.
- Arnold, D. 2007. *Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Lisht*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- El Awadi, T. 2009. *Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*, Abusir XVI. Prague: Charles University.
- Bardoňová, M and Nováková, V. 2017. 'Generous patrons, loyal clients? Some remarks on patronage of Middle Kingdom elites'. In J. M. Chyla, J. Debowska-Ludwin, K. Rosińska-Balik and C. Walsh (eds.) *Current Research in Egyptology 2016. Proceeding of the seventeenth Annual symposium*: 74–89. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

- Bárta, M. 1999. 'The title "Property custodian of the king" during the old Kingdom Egypt'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 126/2: 79–89.
- Bárta, M. 2005. 'Architectural Innovation in the Development of the Non-Royal Tomb during the Reign of Nyuserra'. In P. Jánosi (ed.) *Architecture and Significance. Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 33: 105–30. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Blackman, A. M. 1924. *The rock tombs of Meir. P. 4. The tomb-chapel of Pepi'onkh the middle son of Sebkhotepe and Pekhernefert (D, No. 2)*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Bleiberg, E. 1995. 'The Economy of Ancient Egypt'. In J. M. Sasson (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East. Vol. III*: 1373–85. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Campagno, M. 2014. 'Patronage and other logics of social organization in ancient Egypt during the IIIrd millennium BCE'. *Journal of Egyptian History* 7/1: 1–33.
- Davies, N. D. G. 1902. *The rock tombs of Deir el Gebrawi. P. 2., Tomb of Zau and tombs of the northern group*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Davies, N. D. G. 1913. *Five Theban tombs: being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati*. London: W. Clowes and Son.
- Edel, E. 2008. *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan. Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte, archäologischer Befund und Funde der Fräber QH 24 - QH 34 p. 1. Abteilung*. Paderborn: Schöningh.
- Épron, L. and Wild, F. 1939 *Le tombeau de Ti. Fasc. 1., Les approches de la chapelle*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Eyre, Ch. 1994. 'Weni's career and Old Kingdom historiography'. In Ch. Eyre (ed.) *The unbroken reed. Studies in the culture and heritage of Ancient Egypt in honour of A. F. Shore*: 107–33. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Firth, C. M. and Gunn, B. 1926. *Teti pyramid cemeteries. Vol. 1. Text*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Fischer, G. 1968. *Dendera in the 3rd Millenium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*. New York: Augustin.
- Gelb, I. J. 1973. 'Prisoners of War in early Mesopotamia'. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32.1/2: 70–98.
- Grajetzki, W. 2000. *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*. Berlin: Achet-Verlag.
- Grajetzki, W. 2012. *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Griffith, F. I. and Newberry, P. E. 1894. *El Bersheh. Part 2*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Hannig, R. 2003. *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch. Bd. 1. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.



- Harpur, Y. 1987. *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*. London: KPI.
- Hassan, S. 1936. *The excavations at Giza. Vol. 2. 1930-1931*. Cairo: Government Press.
- Hassan, S. 1950. *Excavations at Giza. The Mastabas of the Sixth Season and their Description. Vol. VI – Part III. 1934-1935*. Cairo: Government Press.
- Hassan, S. 1975. *Mastabas of princess Hemet-R<sup>c</sup> and others*. Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices.
- Hawass, Z. 2018. 'Notes on the Tomb *Nfr-tz* at Giza'. In P. Jánosi and H. Vymazalová (eds.) *The Art of Describing. The World of Tomb Decoration as Visual Culture of the Old Kingdom*: 165–180. Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts.
- Helck, W. 1954. *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Helck, W. 1958. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Leiden: Brill.
- Janssen, J. J. 1981. 'Die Struktur der pharaonischen Wirtschaft'. *Göttinger Miszellen* 48: 59–77.
- Jones, D. 2000. *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 866. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Junker, H. 1929. *Giza: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza. Bd. 1., die Mastabas der IV. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof*. Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky.
- Kayser, H. 1964. *Die Mastaba des Uhemka: ein Grab in der Wüste*. Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag.
- Kanawati, N. 1977. *The Egyptian administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence of its economic decline*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Kanawati, N. 1980. *The rock tombs of el-Hawawish: the cemetery of Akhmim. Vol. 1*. Sydney: Macquaire Ancient History Association.
- Kanawati, N. 2002. *Tombs at Giza. Vol. 2. Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4970) and Seshemnefer II (G5080)*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Kanawati, N. 2006. *The Teti cemetery at Saqqara. Vol. 8. The tomb of Inumin*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kanawati, N. 2007. *The southern cliff. The tombs of Ibi and others*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kanawati, N. 2012. *The cemetery of Meir I. The Pepiankh the Middle*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips Ltd.
- Kanawati, N. and Evans, L. 2012. *Beni Hassan. Volume I, The tomb of Khnumhotep II*. Oxford: Aris and Phillips.
- Kanawati, N., Evans, L., Lashien, M., Mourad A.-L. and Senussi, A. 2015. *The cemetery of Meir. Volume III. The tomb of Niankhpepy the Black*. Oxford: Aris and Phillips.
- Kanawati, N. and McFarlane, A. 1993. *Deshasha. The tombs of Inti, Shedw and others*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology.

- Kemp, B. J., 1989. *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*. London Routledge.
- Kemp, B. J. 2013. *The city of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Amarna and its people*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- El-Khouli, A. 1990. *The Old Kingdom tombs of El-Hammamiya*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology.
- Latifa-Mourad, A. 2015. *The Tomb of Ptahhotep I*. Oxford: Aris & Phillips.
- Lehner, M. 2000. 'Fractal House of Pharaoh: Ancient Egypt as a Complex Adaptive System, a Trial Formation'. In T. A. Kohler and G. J. Gumerman (eds.) *Dynamics in Human and Primate Societies. Agent-Based Modeling of Social and Spatial Processes*: 275–353. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maisels, Ch. K. 1990. *The Emergence of Civilization. From hunting and gathering to agriculture, cities, and the state in the Near East*. London: Routledge.
- Manuelian, P. Der 2009. *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G 2100. Part I. Major mastabas G 2100-G2220, Giza Mastabas 8*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications.
- Moreno García, J. C. 2013 'The Limits of Pharaonic Administration: Patronage, Informal Authorities, Mobile Populations and "Invisible" social sectors'. In M. Bárta and H. Küllmer (eds.) *Diachronic trends in ancient Egyptian history. Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey*: 88–101. Prague: Charles University in Prague.
- Newberry, P. E. 1893. *Beni Hassan. Part 1 and 2*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Posener-Kriéger, P., Verner, M. and Vymazalová, H. 2006. *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The papyrus archive. Abusir X*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Reisner, G. A. 1918. 'The Tomb of Hepzefa, nomarch of Siût.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5/2: 79–98.
- Roeder, G. 1927. *Die Mastaba des Uhemka im Pelizaeus-museum zu Hildesheim*. Wienhausen: Niedersächsisches Bild-Archiv.
- Roth, A. M. 1995. *A cemetery of palace attendants: including G 2084-2099, G 2230-12231, and 2240*. Boston: Museum of Fine arts.
- Seidlmayer, S. J. 1987. 'Wirtschaftliche und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung im Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich: ein Beitrag zur Archäologie der Gräberfelder der Region Qau-Matmar in der Ersten Zwischenzeit'. In J. Assmann, V. Davies and G. Burkard (eds.) *Problems and priorities in Egyptian archaeology*: 175–217. London: Routledge.
- Schloen, D. J. 2001. *The house of the father as fact and symbol. Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the ancient Near East*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Simpson, W. K. 1978. *The mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II: G 7110-20, 7130-40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G 7100*. Boston: Faculty of Fine Arts.
- Soukiassian, G., Wuttman, M. and Pantalacci, L. 2002. *Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II: les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances*. Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Staring, N. 2011. 'Fixed rules or personal choice? On the composition and arrangement of daily life scenes in Old Kingdom elite tombs'. In N. Strudwick and H. Strudwick. *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750–2150*: 256–70. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Steindorff, G. 1913. *Das Grab des Ti*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Thompson, E. 2014. *The Old Kingdom cemetery at Tehna. Volume I. The tombs of Nikaiankh I, Nikaiankh II and Kaihep*. Oxford: Aris and Phillips Ltd.

Vasiljević, V. 1995. *Untersuchungen zum Gefolge des Grabherrn in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches*. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet.

Verner, M. 1986. *The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Abusir I*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova.

Vishak, D. 2015. *Community and identity in ancient Egypt. The Old Kingdom cemetery at Qubbet el-Hawa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weber, M. 1978. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Willems, H. and Op de Beeck, L. 2007. *Dayr al-Barsha. Vol. 1. The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3 : With an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom*. Leuven: Peeters.

# A second unpublished version of the so-called Joseph Laporte's notebook on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria. Preliminary study and remarks

Renaud Pietri<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

In 2007 the facsimile edition of an original manuscript written by a French soldier of the Bonaparte's Expedition in Egypt was published. Illustrated by naive coloured plates by the hand of the author, this document relates, almost day after day, the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria. It describes the main battles between the French troops and the English and Mameluks forces, but also the discovery of an exotic country and its culture at the end of the 18th century, from a young revolutionary French soldier's point of view. The purpose of this paper is to highlight a second version of this personal *Description de l'Égypte*, probably written shortly after the first one. A preliminary study shows that this variant, still unpublished and mentioned here for the first time, is longer and more detailed. Future researches will have to explain why those two versions were written and now coexist.

## Keywords

History of Egyptology; French Expedition in Egypt and Syria; Napoleon Bonaparte; Joseph Laporte

## Introduction

The French Expedition in Egypt, whose bicentenary was celebrated two decades ago, has been and still is – the object of numerous studies (see e.g. Bret 1998; Raymond 1998; Brégeon 2006; Cole 2007; Bourdon 2018) and exhibitions (Humbert 2008; Maiterot – Jagot 2013), focusing on various topics such as the military aspects, scientific legacy, or French-Egyptian relationships during the campaign.

Together with the disastrous 1812's military campaign in Russia, the Expedition is likely one of among the most narrated and described events of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars by contemporary witnesses. These witnesses were usually important army officers, writing after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, and often belonging to the most prestigious social and military elite from their time. They include some of the most well known names of the French Emperor's reign (for a recent list including most of the French Expedition in Egypt memoirs, see especially Bourdon 2018, 300–5). Contemporary Arabic sources – the most famous being the A. el-R. Al-Jabarti's journal (Al-Jabarti 1979) – provide a different vision of the French occupation, as lived by the local inhabitants. English officers fighting against French also wrote their own testimonials (e.g. Walsh 1823).

The French Expedition was also a scientific expedition, and was wanted as such by Bonaparte himself and the French government. The Expedition gave birth to scientific books written by the scholars who accompanied the army, notably D. Vivant-Denon's *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte* (Vivant-Denon 1802) and the so-called *Description de l'Égypte*, whose edition took years after the return of the French expeditionary force. This huge amount of knowledge about ancient and modern Egypt, collected during the French Expedition and published with hundreds of high quality illustrations, is still an endless source for Egyptologists. To this time also belongs the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, a key find for J. F. Champollion's breakthrough the secret of hieroglyphics, years after. Scholars who took part in the Expedition and survived often became great names in their own scientific fields after their returns to France. They also sometimes wrote personal diaries describing their Egyptian experience (see, for example, Villiers du Terrage 2003).

---

<sup>1</sup> Chargé de cours à l'Ecole du Louvre, France.



Most of the testimonials we have about the French Expedition were written by well-educated officers such as L.-A. Berthier (1827) and J. L. E. Reynier (1827) and A.-D. Bélliard (1842). However, among the dozens of stories about the French Expedition, some are also written by soldiers of a lesser status. Back to France after the capitulation of the French expeditionary army defeated by the Turkish-English alliance in 1801, it was common for these soldiers to continue fighting for their country in the Napoleonic Wars. Inside the army, they were called 'Egyptians' and considered as experimented veterans, especially since they had often fought together with the general Bonaparte in Italy before going into Egypt. Years after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, they were demobilized by the newly restored king Louis XVIII, who thought they were dangerous and favourable to another unexpected comeback of the Emperor. They began to write and, sometimes, publish their memoirs using the notes they took during their time in Egypt – or elsewhere. Many testimonials were edited in the middle and the second half of the 19th century, others were published by their heirs or scholars over the last two centuries. The C. François' diary is a particularly famous testimonial from the French Expedition to Egypt (François 2003). Charles François is also known as the 'dromadaire François', due to his role in the camel-riders cavalry established by Bonaparte during the campaign.

### **An unpublished notebook: physical description and content**

Unpublished notebooks and soldiers personal diaries narrating the events from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, are still waiting in family archives for someone to rediscover them. I made such a discovery myself. In the summer 2014, I was asked by the owner of such a notebook to have a look on what is, according to him, a legacy from his step family.

The notebook is about 25.6 cm high, 17.6 cm wide and 5.5 cm thick (Fig. 1). The notebook's binding is currently half leather and hardback, with marbled black and white covers. Pages were bound together at an unknown time – perhaps by a previous owner during the 1950's or later, as recorded by the family oral tradition – probably to protect the original manuscript. Glued on the notebook's back, a yellow label (8.6 cm high and 4.2 cm wide) is handwritten in black ink with the title of the book: *Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie par un témoin de l'armée d'ORIENT An VI VII VIII et IX de la République*. This label was likely not written by the author but by a former owner of the notebook. Indeed, the handwriting is not the same and the written title differs slightly from the version found on the frontpage.

The notebook is composed of 709 handwritten pages, including 66 handpainted watercolours captioned and used as illustrations – some watercolours are double-paged. Probably at the time the binding was repaired, each illustration was sheltered by an interposed page of silk paper to protect the colours. Unfortunately this also divides the double-paged illustrations, sometimes preventing an easy overview of the drawings (Fig. 2).

The notebook suffered from moisture. Many pages are slightly warped, few are stained – sometimes with red wax – but overall the paper is remarkably well preserved, and so is the black ink used to write the text although it has turned red in part. The ink is darker at the end of the notebook, especially in the appendices. These final and added parts to the notebook were written by the author at a second stage to fill in the remaining free space after he finished his story of the Expedition. The colour of the ink can thus be used as a clue to determine when, during the redaction, independent elements were written. For instance, the darker colour ink visible for some references or footnotes show that these were added by the author at the end, to complete and annotate a text which had been written for some time.

As indicated in the title, the notebook is telling the story of the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria, during year VI, VII, VIII, IX of the French Republic, that is between years 1798 and 1802 of the Gregorian calendar. The names and identity of the author remain an issue and will be discussed further.



Figure 1. The notebook (courtesy of M. Métay, photo R. Pietri).



Figure 2. Example of a double-paged illustration with silk paper protection (First Battle of Aboukir) (courtesy of M. Métay, photo R. Pietri).



Following a short historical note on the victory of Bonaparte's army in Italy – illustrated with a watercolour depicting the famous general – the author addresses the reader and recalls the main historical events that happened since Louis XVI's death. He also provides few personal details and anecdotes about his life. He did not study for long as schools were closed during the Revolution and, when he was only 13 years old, he decided to join the army. He left home without informing his parents in April 1793, and joined in May of the same year as a musician in the so-called '10<sup>ème</sup> Régiment de Neustrie', based in Grenoble in Southern France. He took part in the siege of Lyon and Toulon – where a young officer named Bonaparte completed his first military achievement against the English army – then continued in the first Italian campaign and followed Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria. He describes the Expedition to Egypt and Syria as 'the main topic of this manuscript'. Exhausted by the war and its misfortunes, the author left the army few months after his return from Egypt, on '15 Floréal an X' (= 5th May 1802) in the southern city of Nice. He was only 22 years old.

In this introduction, the author indicates that he wrote a diary during the Italian campaign but lost it when he was captured near Mantua by Hungarian soldiers fighting for the Austrian Empire. He was later released but we do not know what happened to his first notebook. As the author suggests in the first few pages, his notebook is a kind of diary of the Expedition but retroactively written, years after he came back from Egypt to France, using notes taken in the field.

The core of the notebook consists of the narrative about the Expedition. It begins with the French government taking the decision to gather boats and troops to invade a distant country – the name of which was only known to Bonaparte and his closest officers. It ends with the French defeat against England and the Ottoman Empire, after which the author came back to France with his decimated semi-

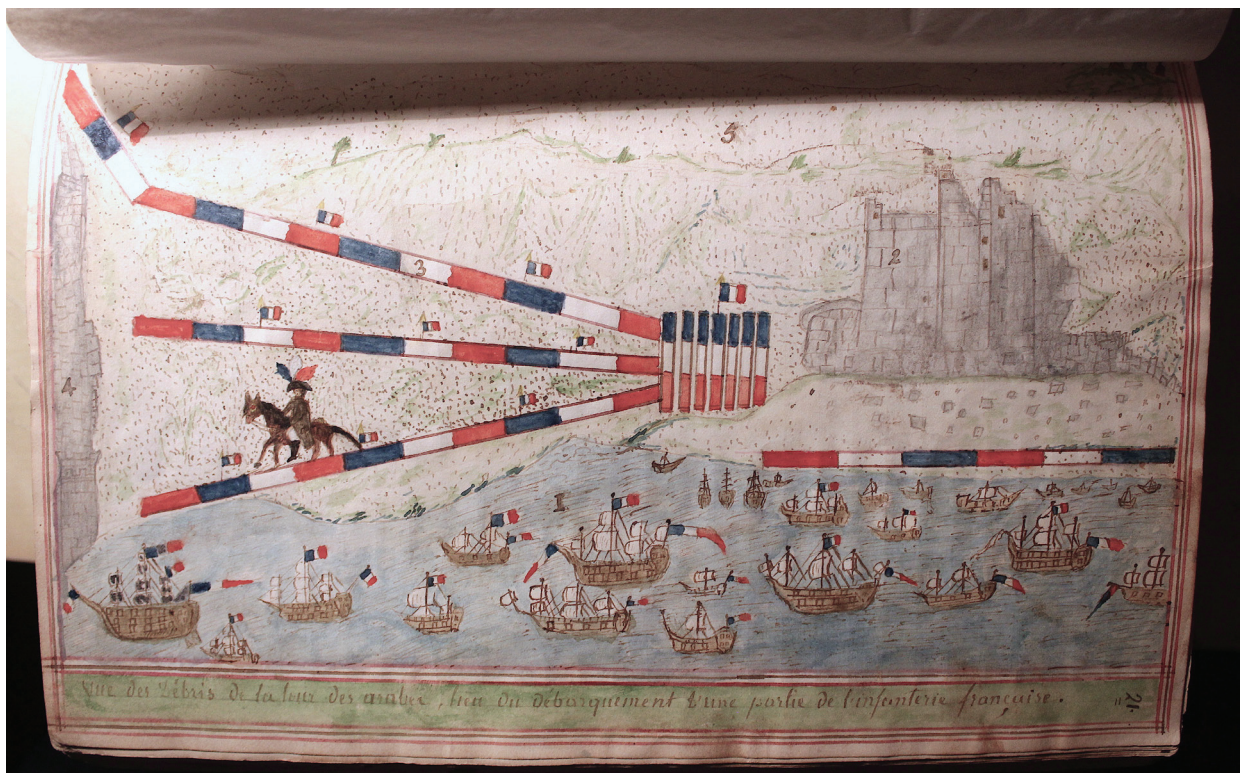


Figure 3. Example of a battle map with flags indicating the French army's lines (Attack on Alexandria) (courtesy of M. Méta, photo R. Pietri).

brigade. As the notebook was not fully filled, the author added some further thoughts about topics such as religion, the Napoleonic Empire, contemporary songs, 'VIP lists', historical anecdotes, and a very useful concluding chapter about his own life, detailing what happened to him after his return from Egypt. These all seem to have been added later, as indicated by the darker colour and better preservation of the ink.

The core of the book is written from a soldier's perspective and is expectedly dedicated to military considerations about the Expedition. It includes very long and detailed descriptions of the battles, but also summaries of daily events, sometimes focusing on the author's regiment or personal behaviour in the field, including not so glorious ones such as the plundering of dead corpses or the raping of women after the fight – the latter being implied through not so subtle allusions. Every battle, from the conquest of Alexandria to the capitulation, is described in great details and is usually illustrated with a type of military map that shows the positions of the armies – symbolised by their flags – and the battlefields' topography, along with explanatory captions (Fig. 3).



Figure 4. A Cairo mosque (courtesy of M. Métaï, photo R. Pietri).

The author belonged to the 69th semi-brigade. Although he expectedly emphasises the achievements or difficulties of the latter, he never forgets to speak about the other divisions of the army and describes precisely the role of each one. Along with the 69th semi-brigade and a major part of the French army, he took part in the Battle of the Pyramids, went into Syria, and besieged el-Arich, Jaffa and Saint Jean d'Acre, where Bonaparte was forced to stop. He was also involved in various 'law enforcement' operations in several villages of the Nile Delta and fought during the second battle of Abukir. He never went into Upper Egypt as he was not among the soldiers accompanying Desaix to chase Murad Bey and his Mameluks, however he dedicated few pages to Desaix's expedition in the south, based on military reports he was able to gather and read when he was in garrison in Cairo.

The notebook was written by a 18th/19th century soldier and some of its stories may shock the modern reader. Indeed, murdering, plundering or even raping were quite usual behaviours among soldiers at that time. The author does not provide great details about his personal behaviour, but crudely describes some of his spoils such as the plundering of dead corpses in Alexandria and Syria, a common practice for fighters searching for money or valuables to sell to improve their daily life.



French soldiers' daily life in Egypt is well described in the notebook. The difficulties of a life in a foreign and exotic country encountered by young people who never left Europe before, including language issues and cultural misunderstanding, is omnipresent in the whole narrative. Soldiers suffered from heat, thirst, and hunger as they walked through the desert without any preparation. The supply system was not really efficient, and soldiers were forced to supply for themselves, robbing or trading with locals. However, life in garrison in Cairo was not totally devoid of pleasures. The author developed good relations with local inhabitants, enjoyed drinks and dinners with friends and, although not explicitly stated, had relationships with women. Prostitution was a common thing in occupied Cairo, and so was slavery despite its abolishment in France thanks to the Revolution.

Another main topic of the narrative is the naive discovery of modern Egypt by young French people born shortly before the beginning of the Revolution. Each battle and moment of peace becomes an opportunity for the author to take notes or draw sketches to try and understand the exotic and different civilisation that is Egypt. As a result, the author provides many details about the daily life in Cairo and in Arab tribes. As an atheist and child of the French Revolution, he seems especially fascinated by Islam and its related manners and customs. He draws one of Cairo mosques (Fig. 4), gives a Latin transcription of the *chahada*, the Islamic profession of faith, and comments on various Turkish and Arabic traditions such as Islamic justice or dances, or describes local diseases and coins.

Several coloured plates show the costumes and clothes traditionally worn by local populations, that is Turkish, Arabs, Turkish women, Coptics. As an evidence of the author's curiosity, a list of 'how to count in Arabic from 1 to 100' in Latin alphabet appears in the notebook. Interestingly the same list is also translated in Italian and in German, indicating that the author's curiosity is not limited to his experience in Egypt and Syria, but also extends to the countries he visited many years before as a young soldier taking part in the Italian Campaign. The author also dedicates a whole chapter to the Nile and its central role in Egypt, illustrated with watercoloured maps representing the country during the four seasons.

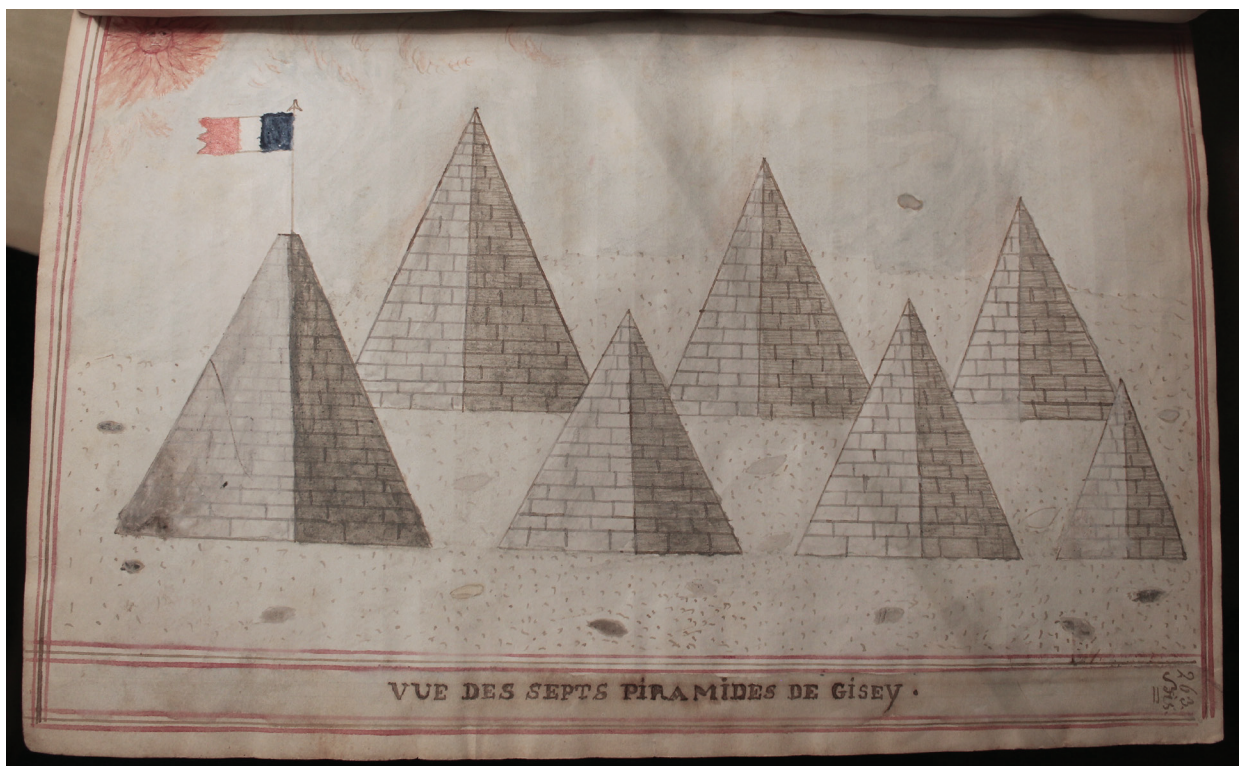


Figure 5. The Giza Pyramids (courtesy of M. Méta, photo R. Pietri).



Figure 6. The Giza Sphinx (courtesy of M. Méta, photo R. Pietri).

Ancient Egypt is mentioned only few times in the notebook, notably with the author's visit to Giza with other soldiers, protected from the Arabs tribes by the French army. Two watercolours show respectively the Giza pyramids (Fig. 5) – with a French flag proudly floating over what is very likely to be Kheop's pyramid – and the Giza Sphinx (Fig. 6), drawn in a very naive style. The French flag is also depicted planted over the Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria. The description of the Pyramids and the Sphinx is directly inspired by contemporary books about ancient Egypt, based themselves on classical authors such as Herodotus and Diodorus of Sicily. As the author did not took part in the Upper Egypt Expedition with the general Desaix, he only dedicated few lines to the southern antiquities, just quickly mentioning the most important temples in the Theban region.

Beside his ethnographical fascination for modern Egypt, the author seems to have also a true passion for more or less exotic animals. On the pretext of a visit at the Cairo menagerie, which was controlled by the French scholars and scientists of the Expedition, the author dedicates not less than 52 pages including 27 plates only to animal depictions (Fig. 7). A total of one hundred and ten different animals are then depicted and described in what we can call a true 'paper zoo'. Each animal is related to a few lines caption, and numbered to facilitate the reader's understanding.

As far as I know, the Institute of Egypt's Cairo menagerie was never studied as such, but is mentioned in the Expedition's scholars letters or diaries. Even if, according to Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1902, 81, 92–3), the Cairo menagerie was full of exotic animals and comparable to the Paris' one. It seems obvious, in my opinion, that the author exaggerated and did not limit himself to such a zoo. Indeed, if a lot of animals are representatives of the Egyptian fauna, like the crocodile, the ibis, the hyena or the jackal, some of them seem a bit amazing for a 18th century Cairo zoo. Among others, we can find a bison, a yak, a lama, a racoon or a bird of paradise, and even a polar bear (Fig. 8). For this one at least, the related caption reveals how the poor beast came in Egypt from Russia and unfortunately died because of the climate, therefore we can be sure there were such exotic animals in the Cairo menagerie.





Figure 7. Example of captioned animal plate (courtesy of M. Métay, photo R. Pietri).

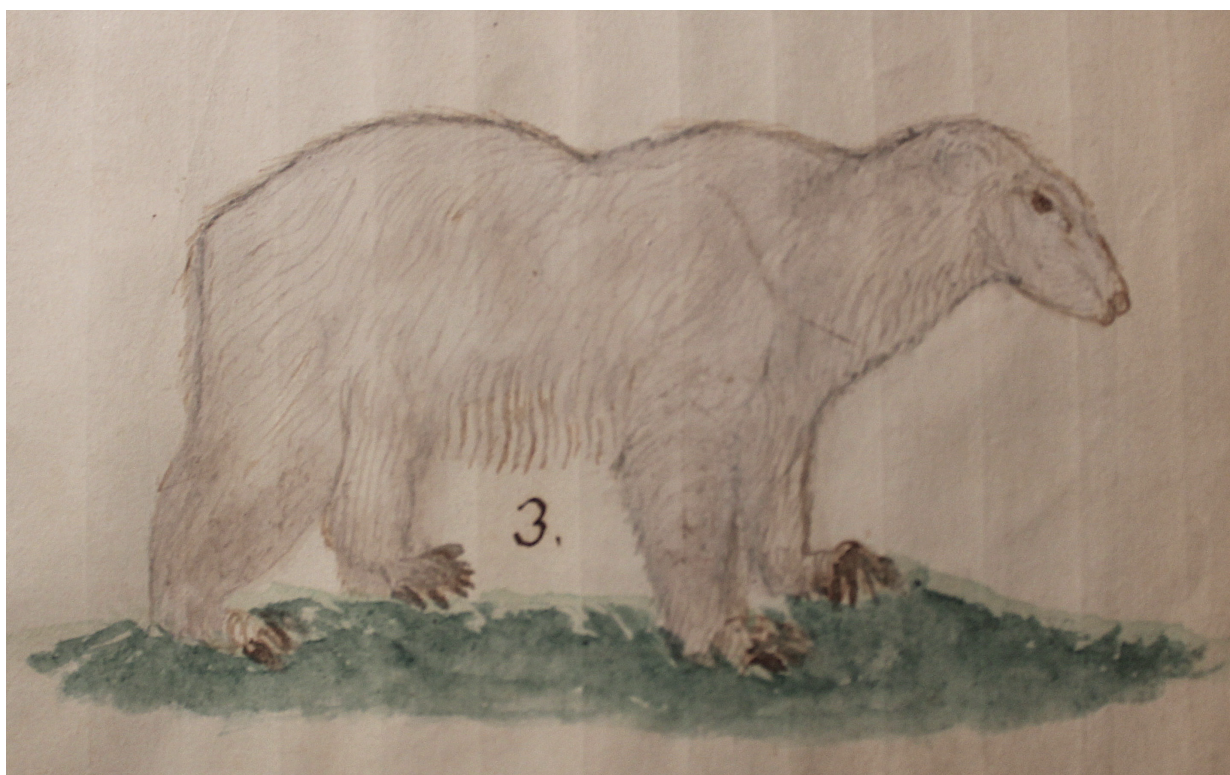


Figure 8. The polar bear (detail) (courtesy of M. Métay, photo R. Pietri).

But for dozens of animals especially including various bird and monkey species coming from Asia or South America, it is necessary to stay cautious about their possible presence in Cairo at that time, especially all together, and even considering the well known and very old Cairo's reputation as a place for exotic beasts, going back to the Medieval Times (Buquet 2013a, 2013b and 2014). Most of the descriptions given in the notebook are more or less copied or adapted from contemporary zoological works, especially the famous L. G.-L. Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (Buffon 1749–1804), a reference book for zoology in the eighteenth century, or among other sources, the work of a french zoologist and ornithologist, R. P. Lesson (1836), which is quoted in a footnote.

The last 150 pages of the notebook are dedicated to various topics, in order to 'fulfill the manuscript', as the author says himself. This second part contains among other things some name lists, the most significative one being the 'list of the senators who voted the fall of Napoleon in 1815', which illuminates the author's opinion about his Emperor. Like most of Napoleon soldiers, the author was still faithful to his former general-in-chief, and despite the fact that in the appendices, a chapter is entitled 'the main mistakes of Napoleon'. A list detailing all the French governments which succeeded after the Empire is also given, which ends in 1851 with the 2nd December 1851 *coup* and then the election of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, Napoleon's nephew and future new Emperor known as Napoleon III. A few pages are reserved for a short biography of Napoleon, followed by a collection of epitaphs inscribed by visitors in the Saint Helena Island registerbook kept next to the Emperor's tomb. Those epitaphs were likely copied from a non quoted contemporary book, published by E. le Guillou (1843, 336–8), who gives exactly the same texts but went himself to Saint Helena Island, and did the pilgrimage to Napoleon's tomb. This is not the only example where the author uses a contemporary source without reporting it: many historical anecdotes about Napoleon were directly adapted from the Duchess of Abrantès memoirs, published in the 1830's (Abrantès 1831–1835). To finish this quick panorama of the second part contents, one can mention a song, obviously entitled 'If Napoleon returned', a comparative study between the two Napoleon's wives and empresses, Joséphine and Marie-Louise – with a clear inclination for the first one, but also remarks about Arab tribes habits in Egypt, historical considerations on religions, from Islam to Hinduism and including Christianity and Judaism, a complete list of the numerous location the author visited during his military career, from France to Italy, and then to Egypt and Syria, and even a humorous chapter about French soldiers adventures in Italy, which this time is inspired by personal experiences. The concluding chapter is dedicated to the post-military life of the author, from 1802 when he left the army to 1846 and the following years when he retired in Grenoble.

At the end, the whole notebook is a kind of personal *Description de l'Égypte*, with many details, observations and remarks about everything the author saw himself or tried to document about, in Egypt and Syria, or after his return in France. He clearly wanted to be read and may have had the project to publish it, as he addresses the reader and use many editorial devices, such as footnotes, quotes, captions, page numbers and even a final table of contents. Last but not least, this notebook is probably based on a first one, about which it seems he was not satisfied enough.

### **A 'first version' published in 2007**

In 2007 the so-called notebook of Joseph Laporte on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria, in a facsimile edition of the original manuscript augmented with a preface by J. Tulard (Laporte 2007). In the preface, J. Tulard gave a light introduction about the historical interest of the document, underlining the low social status of its author, compared with other similar memoirs, and the watercolour illustrations using a naive and touching style. Flipping through the notebook, one



can quickly understand, if he knows the other one, that both notebooks were written by the same author: the hand is very close, for both writing and drawing, and topics are the same, for the narrative itself as for the illustrations. In the published notebook also, one can find the Giza Pyramids and Sphinx views, ethnographical plates depicting Arabic or Turkish clothes, flags plates, and so on.

Furthermore, a synoptic view of the introduction confirms that the author of both notebooks is the same:

**Joseph Laporte's notebook published in 2007  
(‘short/first version’)**

Lecteur, l’auteur du récit abrégé des campagnes d’Égypte et de Syrie, se recommande à votre indulgence, il la mérite eu égard à sa jeunesse et au peu de temps qu’il avait consacré à son éducation, assez bien commencée mais que la révolution le força d’interrompre, les collèges ayant été fermés au commencement de 93, époque où il était en cinquième et ayant à peine quelques connaissances de l’histoire de France, de la géographie, du dessin et de la musique, étant dans sa treizième année lorsque après la mort de Louis XVI, la Patrie fut déclarée en danger, attaquée, envahie de toutes parts.

Les nombreux bataillons de volontaires qui s’étaient déjà formés et qui se formaient encore pour voler à la défense des frontières augmentèrent en lui le désir de partir, mais que faire, si jeune encore, il réussit cependant à se faire recevoir à force de prières dans une musique et partir sans rien dire à ses parens ; assista au siège de Lyon, à celui de Toulon, fit les premières campagnes de Piémont, d’Italie, et celle d’Allemagne qui amena la paix de Campo-Formio et successivement celles qui sont l’objet de ce manuscrit, servit neuf ans et demi savoir, quatre ans et demi comme musicien, et cinq ans comme sous-officier, toujours hors de France, et s’il eût eu quelques années de plus lors des premières campagnes il eût pu peut-être obtenir de l’avancement mais son extrême jeunesse fut un obstacle et à l’époque où il était susceptible d’en avoir, deux amalgames eurent lieu en Italie, et l’on fonda les cadres de neuf bataillons pour former une demi-brigade composée de trois ; ce qui amena dans le corps, trois chefs de demi-brigade, sept chefs de bataillons, huit ou neuf officiers et

**Unpublished notebook (‘long/second version’)**

Lecteur, l’auteur du récit abrégé des campagnes d’Égypte et de Syrie, se recommande à votre indulgence. Il la mérite eût égard à sa jeunesse et au peu de temps qu’il avait consacré à son éducation assez bien commencé, mais que la révolution le força d’interrompre, les collèges ayant été fermés en l’année 1793, époque où il était en cinquième, ayant à peine quelques connaissances de l’histoire romaine, de France, de la géographie, du dessin et de la musique, étant dans sa treizième année lorsque après la mort de Louis XVI, la Patrie fut déclarée en danger, attaquée et envahie de toutes parts.

Les nombreux bataillons de volontaires qui s’étaient déjà formés et qui se formaient encore dans toute la France augmentèrent en moi le désir de partir, mais que faire si jeune encore, à quoi pouvais-je être bon ; à force de démarches de prières et de persévérance je finis cependant par réussir, et fus agréé et enrôlé comme musicien dans le 10<sup>me</sup> Régiment (Neustrie) qui se trouvait à Grenoble, pour se réorganiser et compléter, soit par des enrôlemens volontaires, soit par des réquisitionnaires qui rejoignaient journellement, et partis en avril 1793, sans en prévenir mes parents, assistai au siège de Lyon, à celui de Toulon, fis les premières campagnes en Piémont, celles d’Italie, ainsi que celle d’Allemagne qui amena la Paix de Campo-Formio dont les préliminaires avaient été signés à Léoben, après que l’armée d’Italie eût gagné et battu les ennemis de la France dans quatorze batailles rangées et quatre vingts combats meurtriers, pris cinq cents pièces de canons de campagne, deux mille pièces de gros calibre dans les places fortes, quatre équipages

un nombre extraordinaire de sous-officiers par compagnies ; de sorte qu'il n'y eut pour ainsi aucun avancement dans l'armée jusqu'à ce que tous ces officiers ou sous-officiers eussent été placés en remplacement des tués ou estropiés; à la paix de Campo-Formio il y eut quelques retraites de données et quelques réformes de faites, il resta néanmoins encore beaucoup d'officiers et de sous-officiers surnuméraires qui ne devinrent titulaires que pendant les campagnes d'Égypte au fur et à mesure des extinctions, mais les batailles et combats multipliés que cette petite armée eût à livrer pendant plus de trois années ayant presque moissonné tous les soldats et n'ayant jamais reçu de recrues depuis la dernière amalgame, on fut obligé de doubler les compagnies faute de soldats et dès lors encore moins d'avancement, les seules récompenses étaient pour les actions d'éclats, et on donnait des sabres et des fusils d'honneur ; de retour en France on dédoublait les compagnies à la réception de quinze cents conscrits, et il y eut à cette époque un peu d'avancement ; mais la paix ayant été depuis peu conclue à Amiens et ma santé étant entièrement délabrée je bornai mes desirs à pouvoir obtenir mon congé, ce qui me donna assez de peine attendu que je n'avais pas le temps de service requis, car la loi portait que cette faveur ne serait accordée qu'à ceux qui auraient onze ans de service et il n'y avait dans ce cas là que ceux qui étaient partis en 91 dans les premiers bataillons de volontaires, il me manquait un an et demi, mais la protection dont m'honorait un adjudant major qui m'avait pris en amitié dès le principe et qui m'avait presque servi de père, ainsi que celle du chef de brigade dont j'étais le seul compatriote dans la brigade, furent cause que j'obtins après avoir réitéré mes instances, ce que je désirais; le chef de brigade avait d'autres vues sur moi, et il me l'avait dit souvent en Égypte, je le remerciai de ses bonnes intentions, et me retirai dans le courant de Floréal, de l'an dix, dans mes foyers, n'ayant pas encore vingt-deux ans. J'avais également commencé en Italie un recueil de ces campagnes, mais ayant été fait prisonnier au siège de Mantoue et ayant été entièrement dévalisé je fus contraint de le cesser.

de ponts, cent mille prisonniers, et envoyé en France plus de trente millions, ainsi qu'une quantité d'objets précieux adressée au Musée de Paris &a; tous ces faits mémorables furent accomplis depuis les batailles de Montenotte, de Millesimo, de Dego, de Leva et de Mondovi, qui eurent lieu immédiatement après la nomination et l'arrivée du Général en chef Bonaparte, nommé au commandement de l'armée d'Italie, composée à peine de trente mille hommes, mourants de faim sur leurs montagnes du Piémont et de la Ligurie, sans vêtements ni souliers et presque démoralisés, jusques à la conclusion de la paix de Campo-Formio, dans l'intervalle de moins de trois années; et successivement les brillantes et pénibles campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie, qui sont le principal objet de ce manuscrit. Servis dix ans, savoir: quatre ans comme musicien et six ans comme sous-officier. Constamment hors de France, et si j'eusse eût, lors de mes premières campagnes, quelques années de plus nul doute que j'aurais obtenu de l'avancement étant assez favorisé par la nature et d'un caractère bien décidé même aventureux, mais mon extrême jeunesse fut un obstacle et à l'époque où j'en aurais été susceptible, deux amalgames eurent lieu à peu d'intervalle, en Piémont, et en Italie, l'on fonda les cadres de neuf bataillons, pour former ceux d'une  $\frac{1}{2}$  brigade ou régiment, ce qui amena dans le corps trois chefs de  $\frac{1}{2}$  Bde ou colonels, sept chefs de bataillons, huit ou neuf officiers par compagnies et un nombre extraordinaire de sous-officiers et caporaux, de sorte qu'il n'y eût pour ainsi dire aucun avancement dans l'armée jusques à ce que tous ces officiers supérieurs et autres, ainsi que les sous-officiers, eussent remplacés les tués estropiés ou prisonniers ; à la paix de Campo-Formio il y eût quelques retraites de données et quelques réformes de faites, mais il resta néanmoins encore beaucoup d'officiers et de sous-officiers surnuméraires qui ne devinrent titulaires que pendant la guerre en Orient, au fur et à mesure des extinctions, mais les batailles et combats multipliés et trop souvent répétés que cette petite armée eût à livrer

pendant près de quatre années, ayant presque moissonnés officiers et soldats, n'ayant jamais reçue de recrues depuis l'occupation du Piémont, on fut par le manque de soldats, obligé sur la fin de doubler les compagnies, et dès lors encore moins d'avancement, car les seules et rares récompenses étaient réservées pour les grandes actions d'éclat exécutées sous les yeux des Généraux, alors on donnait des sabres, fusils et baguettes d'honneur, et je puis certifier qu'à quelques exceptions près, les hommes gradés sont restés dans leur statu-quo jusques à la réorganisation de l'armée française qui eût lieu après la paix d'Amiens ; de retour en France sur la fin de l'an VIII nos compagnies furent dédoublées la ½ Brigade reçut un bataillon supplémentaire formé en Italie de notre dépôt, renforcé de nos prisonniers rendus et des malades et blessés sortis des hopitaux, plus de quinze cents conscrits, alors la ½ Brigade forte de 3600 après la deuxième amalgame, au moment de l'embarquement n'en comptait plus que 1800+, et à son retour d'Egypte 483 : se trouva ensuite avoir un effectif de 2700 hommes au moment où l'armée expéditionnaire sortit d'Italie et de France sous les ordres de Bonaparte ; sauf l'Angleterre voisine, l'Italie conquise ou organisée était tranquille mais après son départ l'Angleterre gagna l'empereur d'Allemagne et autres souverains et pendant que nous conquerions l'Egypte, on expulsait les Français de presque toute l'Italie, mais le retour inopiné de Bonaparte, la prise de possession du gouvernement suivie de la mémorable et décisive Bataille de Marengo, amena une seconde paix avec l'empereur d'Autriche, celui de Russie et successivement avec l'Angleterre notre implacable ennemie, et la paix générale fut enfin conclue et signée à Amiens. En , à cette époque on donna beaucoup de congés, ma santé était entièrement délabrée, je bornai mes désirs à obtenir de rentrer dans mes foyers, ce qui me donna assez de peine attendu que je n'avais pas le temps de service requis, car la loi portait que cette faveur n'était accordée qu'aux militaires qui avaient onze ans de service révolus, et il n'y avait dans cette catégorie que ceux qui avaient concourus à la formation des premiers

Bataillons de Volontaires qui avait eû lieu en 1791, où les militaires estropiés où atteints de graves infirmités, et quoi qu'ayant reçu quelques légères blessures été fait prisonnier je ne pus rien obtenir à la Revue de l'inspecteur Général Decaen ; il me manquait plus d'un an, mais la protection dont m'honorait le chef de ½ Brigade Brun, dont j'étais dans son corps le seul compatriote, m'ayant à diverses époques promis son appui quand le moment serait arrivé, et celle d'un adjudant major qui m'avait pris en amitié dès la première campagne sur les montagnes du Piémont, je finis mais non sans peine par obtenir ce que je desirais, ces deux braves officiers avaient d'autres projets sur mon avenir militaire, je les remerciais de leurs bonnes intentions ainsi que d'autres chefs et officiers, et quittai le corps à Nice, le 15 Floréal an 10, en compagnie du citoyen Ravanat, D'Eyben chirurgien au 2<sup>me</sup> Bon de la ½ Bridage depuis quelques temps, étant dans ma vingt-troisième année. J'avais également tenu en Italie un journal des principaux évènements militaires de ces glorieuses campagnes, avec ordre et fidélité, mais ayant été fait prisonnier à la Bataille de St Georges, devant Mantoue et entièrement dévalisé par des hongrois, je fus forcé de renoncer à sa continuation mais non à celle de réparer les pertes pécuniaires que j'avais éprouvées, l'occasion s'en présenta quinze jours après dès la Bataille de la Favorite également sous Mantoue où toute la division Provera fut obligée de mettre bas les armes après avoir perdu beaucoup de monde, un jeune Cadet de Vienne me remboursa avec usure tout ce qui m'avait été enlevé à St. Georges, tel est le sort des militaires.

As we can see, even if those incipit have a lot in common – especially the content – the unpublished version is a longer, more detailed and complete one. As we will see further, the short, already published version, was probably written some time before the longer, which is thus a kind of 'second edition'. Although both versions are very close, it should be noted that there are some other important differences between them.

The short version includes 430 pages and 34 plates, when the long one, as we saw above, is 709 pages and 66 plates. A brief survey of the main narrative about the Expedition shows also more or less minor differences, one of the most interesting being the tendency for the author, in the longer version, to give more personal details about his own behaviour, during and after the fights. But the main difference between the two notebooks are the Cairo menagerie description and the second part with appendices, succinctly described above, which are both missing in the short version. In this latter, one can find some plates depicting animals, but there are quite rare in comparison with the longer version, and there is no related scientific captions. If the second version was probably written to improve the first one, it seems that it also served as a pretext for the author to satisfy his personal taste for zoology.



## **The author's identity**

Neither in this notebook or in the second one is the name of the author given, but as we already saw above, internal clues about the life of the narrator confirm that both writers are the same, as well as the illustrations and the text itself, which is often a sort of 'copy-paste' from a version to another. The writing and drawing hand are also close enough to establish a close link between both versions, as previously noted.

The attribution to a soldier of the 69th semi-brigade named Joseph Laporte to the author of the short version, published in 2007, was suggested by J. Tulard (Laporte 2007). However, in my opinion, there is unfortunately no sufficient clue to be sure that this identification is correct. Indeed, if I was able to find a Joseph Laporte in the 69th semi-brigade register book, some details in his personal data does not match with what we know of the author, according to both notebooks. One can read in the army register book that Joseph Laporte was born in Grenoble, in 1768, and was the son of François and Catherine Gaber. But the notebooks' author was only 13 years old in 1793 when he joined the army, as he precises himself in the text, so he should be born in Grenoble, but in 1780. In the register, Joseph Laporte joined the army on 15th May 1793, so the same month and year than the notebooks' author, but was incorporated in the 6th Regiment of Var, when the author says he joined the '10ème Régiment de Neustrie'. Still according to the register, Laporte left the army on 6th Germinal, year X, after the review of the general inspector Decaen, but in the notebooks, the author leaves the army on 15th Floréal, year X, but explicitly says it was not thanks to Decaen.

As we can see, the identification of the author with Joseph Laporte seems to be unlikely. The identity of the author is therefore still to confirm or to determine, but as the long unpublished version is more complete than the first one, the final chapter, speaking mainly about the author's life during the first part of the 19th century, should allow in the future to identify him by using the national and local archives in France.

Indeed, the last chapter of the long version, totally missing in the short one, is dedicated to the author's civil career. One can learn there many details about his personal life, much more than the few anecdotes mentioned in the main narrative. When he was 25 years old, in 1805, the author, who lived in the Grenoble area since he left the army, went to Lyon in order to study. He stayed in the city of Lyon for 5 months, then going back to Grenoble, and married in September 1805, probably in Grenoble itself, before moving to the neighbouring city of Tullins. In 1806, shortly after he arrived in Tullins, he got a place as 'greffier de la justice de paix du canton', after being recommended because of his military career. He became also 'receveur de l'hospice', and after the Napoleon's defeat in Russia in 1812, was promoted captain in the local National Guard. When Napoleon triumphantly came back from his first exile in Elba Island, he took the lead of a group of his partisans, and because of that, was placed under surveillance during the so-called Second Restoration, under the reign of Louis XVIII. At the end of year 1827, his wife fell sick, and died in shortly after January 1828. When the July Revolution happened in 1830, he was appointed again officer in the National Guard, and became municipal councillor, then 'adjudant major' in the local battalion. Finally tired by the political discussions and plots, and to heal his sciatica, he retired in 1846 and moved to Grenoble again. In 1849, he inherited, and according to him, reached a social rank comparable to that of a colonel.

## **Writing date of both notebooks**

About the writing date of the notebook, it is easier to suggest an hypothesis. Luckily, both notebooks include a list of the various French governments succeeding to the Napoleonic Empire. In the short one, this list ends with the July Monarchy (beginning in 1830), and in a page mentioning important officers

of the Empire (Laporte 2007, 414), we can find an even more recent date, 1842, precisising the death year of Bertrand Clauzel, a noble promoted under Napoleon's reign and Maréchal de France under Louis-Philippe. In the long one, i.e. the unpublished one, the same list ends with the Napoleon III coup in December 1851, and then his election; the following new constitution established in January 1852 is also mentioned. At that time, the author was already 72 years old.

Therefore, the first notebook was not completed before 1842 and the last addition to the second dates back to 1852. Because of those dates and because the unpublished version is longer and more complete than the published one, it should have been written later, after 1842, which is confirmed by footnotes quoting books from the 1840's – such as the R. P. Lesson book or the stories inspired by the Duchess of Abrantès memoirs. It seems likely that it was written mainly from 1842 to 1849, as the last chapter is entitled *Quelques lignes sur ce qui m'est personnel pour terminer mon manuscrit en l'an 1846 ou suivantes*, and the last line of this chapter mentions the year 1849. The major part of the notebook was thus finished in 1846, but the author did later minor additions until 1852, including probably few corrections and footnotes in the main narrative about the Expedition, as shown by the darker ink. There is still to explain why the author wrote two different versions of the same narrative, but it seems that few years after he finished the first one, he decided to make a more complete version, as the second one includes a wider amount of details, especially about the author's personal behaviour, more plates, and includes the Cairo menagerie description part which is totally missing in the first version, as well as extended appendices about various topic.

## Conclusion

Many questions are still to be answered: was Joseph Laporte really the author of both notebooks? Is there any other trace of him in the 19th century documentation? If he was not, who was the author? Why did he wrote two different versions and did he want to publish one of them, as it seems to be revealed by many kind of 'editorial indications' that we can find in both versions? How far can we say his notebook is a personal testimony or was also inspired by other contemporary published books about the French Expedition in Egypt?

With a bit of luck, many of those questions should be answered by further researches in the departmental and national French archives, including documents belonging to the current Ministry of Armies and Ministry of Justice, as the author was first a soldier then working as a registrar for local court. Ideally, after a complete study, it would be especially interesting to publish the second version in the same way than the previous one, i.e. in facsimile and with a substantial introduction and commentary, giving details about the author and his purpose when writing both notebooks. To reach this goal, a conservation program will be necessary, in order to restore the bookbinding and the watercoloured illustrations, what will probably imply a fund raising. As the author of this notebook clearly intended to be read, such a publication would be a fair tribute to someone who suffered as much, but came back from Egypt as fascinated as we are, more than two hundred years after the Expedition which paved the way to the birth of Egyptology.

## Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank the Organisational Committee of the Prague *Current Research in Egyptology* Conference for accepting my participation in the conference, then this paper in the proceedings. I am also grateful to Dr. M. Métay, current owner of the notebook, who kindly gave me the permission to study and publish it. Furthermore, I am thankful to Y. Givry, scientific collaborator in the Martin Bodmer Foundation, for allowing me to reproduce pages from the Joseph Laporte's notebook published in 2007, despite the fact that I did not put any of these in this article. I would also like to thank F. Hamonic, S. Klein and F. Pirou for improving the English, any remaining mistake being my responsibility.

## Reference List

- Abrantès (duchesse d'), Junot L. 1831–1835. *Mémoires de Madame la Duchesse d'Abrantès, ou Souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon, la Révolution, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration*. Paris: Ladvocat.
- Bélliard, A.-D. 1842. *Mémoires du Comte Bélliard, lieutenant-général, pair de France, écrits par lui-même, recueillis et mis en ordre par M. Vinet, l'un de ses aides de camp*. Paris: Berquet et Pétion.
- Berthier, L.-A. 1827. *Mémoires du Maréchal Berthier, Prince de Neuchâtel et de Wagram, Major-Général des armées françaises. Campagne d'Égypte, I-II*. Paris: Baudouin frères.
- Bourdon, J.-O. 2018. *La campagne d'Égypte*. Paris: Belin.
- Brégeon, J.-J. 2006. *L'Égypte de Bonaparte*. Paris: Perrin.
- Bret, P. (ed.) 1998. *L'Expédition d'Égypte, une entreprise des Lumières*. Paris: Académie des Sciences.
- Buffon (comte de), Leclerc G.-L. 1749–1804. *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière avec la description du cabinet du roi*. Paris: Imprimerie royale.
- Buquet, T. 2013a. 'Animalia extranea et stupenda ad videndum. Describing and Naming Exotic Beasts in Cairo Sultan's Menagerie'. In F. de Asis Garcia Garcia, M. A. Walker Vadillo and M. V. Chico Picaza (eds.) *Animals and Otherness in the Middle Ages. Perspectives across disciplines*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 2500: 25–34. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Buquet, T. 2013b. 'Les animaux exotiques dans les ménageries médiévales'. In J. Toussaint (ed.) *Fabuleuses histoires des bêtes et des hommes*: 97–121. Trema: Société archéologique de Namur.
- Buquet, T. 2014. 'Les ménageries arabes et ottomanes'. *Bulletin de la Société Suisse Moyen Orient et Civilisation Islamique* 38: 13–19.
- Cole, J. 2007. *Napoleon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- François, C. 2003. *Journal du capitaine François dit le Dromadaire d'Égypte, présenté par Jacques Jourquin*. Paris: Tallandier.
- Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, E. 1901. *Lettre écrites d'Égypte à Cuvier, Jussieu, Lacépède, Monge, Desgenettes, Redouté Jeune, Norry, etc. aux professeurs du Muséum et à sa famille*. Paris: Hachette.
- le Guillou, E. 1843. *Voyage autour du monde de l'Astrolabe et de la Zélée, sous les ordres du contre-amiral Dumont-D'Urville, pendant les années 1837, 38, 39 et 40*. Paris: Berquet et Pétion.
- Humbert, J.-M. (ed.) 2008. *Bonaparte et l'Égypte. Feu et lumières*. Paris: Institut du Monde Arabe.
- Al-Jabarti, A. el-R. 1979. *Journal d'un notable du Caire durant l'expédition française, 1798-1801*. Paris: Albin Michel.
- Laporte, J. 2007. *Mon voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*. Paris: Fondation Martin Bodmer.
- Lesson, R. P. 1836. *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière des mammifères et des oiseaux découverts depuis la mort de Buffon*. Paris: Pourrat Frères.

Mainterot, P. and Jagot, H. (eds.) 2013. *“Du haut de ces pyramides...” L’Expédition d’Égypte et la naissance de l’égyptologie*. Lyon: Fage.

Raymond, A. 1998. *Egyptiens et Français au Caire*. Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale.

Reynier, J. L. E. 1827. *Mémoires du comte Reynier, général de division. Campagne d’Égypte, I-II*. Paris: Baudouin frères.

Villiers du Terrage, E. 2003. *L’expédition d’Égypte, 1798-1801. Journal et souvenirs d’un jeune savant*. Paris: Cosmopole.

Vivant-Denon, D. 1802. *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte*. Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot L’Aîné.

Walsh, T. 1823. *Journal de l’expédition anglaise en Égypte dans l’année mil huit cent*. Paris: J.-A.-S. Collin de Plancy.



# Being the son of a Goddess. The claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite kings

Perrine Poiron<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Among the fundamental principles of Egyptian society, that of the legitimation of power is particularly compelling. During this process, the cosmic and terrestrial spheres are closely intertwined, the newly crowned king being immediately considered the heir of major male deities such as Re or Amun. While this scenario is the rule, there are exceptions; the ascension of certain female deities in Egyptian royal ideology therefore deserves to be studied. This phenomenon is clearly observable during the Third Intermediate Period (1065–715 BCE), particularly under the 22nd dynasty (945–735 BCE), when the king's direct descendance from a goddess is emphasized in royal ideology. Some goddesses, such as Bastet, are then specifically associated with the figure of the royal mother. This change in the monarchical protocol, if it occurs relatively late in the history of the Pharaonic state, persists until its fall during the reign of Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh of Egypt, who claimed to be both 'son of Bastet' and 'son of Neith'. At a time when political changes are frequent, the study of a stable phenomenon – the patronage of female goddesses and its manifestation within official protocol – captures both the ideology and the history of the later periods in a new and original angle. The objective is to present some reflections emanating from the analysis of the construction of the official protocol of the king linked to the goddess Bastet. How is this expression of their filiation a manifestation of their claims for legitimacy?

## Keywords

22nd dynasty; Bastet; legitimation of power; official protocol; dynastic god; Third Intermediate Period; son of Bastet

## Introduction

Ancient Egyptian civilization was based on a governance system which remained, for the most part, unchanged throughout its history, despite periods of decentralization of power or invasions. So much that this system is used to name this period of history: pharaonic Egypt. Pharaoh, intercessor between men and gods, divine by his office (Posener 1960; Baines 1995; Quack 2010, 1–14) heir and son of Re or Amun (and many other major male deities whose importance varied from one century to the next), seems the constant of Egyptian civilization (O'Connor and Silverman 1995). However, the presence of Pharaoh on the throne is not necessarily synonymous with stability of power. To strengthen their claims, kings put forward their origins, both divine and terrestrial, in an official protocol which was refined as time passed and as the needs of legitimation dictated.

The oldest documents that have been uncovered show that since the Predynastic Period, Egyptians would pay attention to distinguish their sovereign's names.<sup>2</sup> As the reigns, centuries, millennia passed, the construction of an official protocol became more sophisticated, going so far as to make it be a real summary of their political program (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988; Leprohon 1996 and 2010). It was in this context that the five coronation names of Pharaoh were elaborated (cf. Gardiner 1927, 71–6; Bonhême 1978).

From then on, the king's names appeared as a marker of the political and ideological program of the ruling dynasties, both in times of stability and otherwise. As I mentioned, being the son of major male deities is usually the rule for the legitimation of power (cf. Gabolde 2018; Postel 2004). However, some exceptions did exist; the ascension of certain female deities in Egyptian royal ideology therefore

---

<sup>1</sup> Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada / Paris-Sorbonne, France.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. several sherds discovered at Saqqara (see Lacau and Lauer 1959).

deserves to be studied. This phenomenon is clearly seen during the Third Intermediate Period (1059–715 BCE), in particular in the 22nd dynasty, under Osorkon I (922–887 BCE), when the king's direct descent from a goddess is emphasized in royal ideology (Lange 2008). Goddesses such as Bastet are then specifically associated with the figure of the royal mother. This change in the official discourse, if it occurs late in ancient Egypt history, persists until its fall under the reign of Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh of Egypt, who claimed to be both 'son of Bastet' and 'son of Neith' in his nomen (CG 70013–70014).

This is why I chose to focus our study on the 22nd dynasty protocol. Indeed, during this period where political upheavals were numerous, studying a stable phenomenon such as the royal protocol makes it possible to apprehend ideology from an original point of view. I will thus analyse it to discern if and how it evolved in times.

The aim of this paper is to share some reflections emanating from the analysis of official protocol construction of the Bubastite kings who were linked to the goddess Bastet by the use of *z3-B3stt* epithet.<sup>3</sup> How can this expression of their filiation be a witness of their quest for legitimacy? To try to answer this question, my paper will focus on the use of the *z3-B3stt* epithet inside the king's nomen, which is in my opinion a testament to Bastet's importance during this period. I will begin by explaining briefly why studying the content of the kings' nomen is worthwhile. Then, I will give a quick overview of the use of *z3-X* epithets within Pharaohs' cartouches and, specifically, their coupling to form a nomen.

### **Pharaoh's prenomen and nomen: vectors of a monarchical and dynastical ideology of legitimacy?**

There is widespread agreement about the fact that it was during the Middle Kingdom (Schott 1955, 201–2) that Pharaoh's protocol was institutionalized, with the attribution of four names, given during the ceremony of coronation (cf. Aufrère 1982; Bonhême 1987, 5–6; Leprohon 1996; von Beckerath 1999, 5–29).<sup>4</sup> Those names, which were known as the king's *rn-wr* (great name) or *rn-m3c* (true name), when added to Pharaoh's birth name (also known as the *z3-Rc* name), composed the *nhbt* (titulary). What particularly interests me are the two names inscribed in cartouches; the prenomen (coronation name) and nomen (birth name) of Pharaoh. It is a well-known fact that since the New Kingdom and particularly during the Ramesside period, kings would take the same nomen as a direct ancestor and a variant of the prenomen of a predecessor (though not always the direct ancestor) with the aim to inscribe their own reign in its continuity. Since Gardiner's explanation (Gardiner 1927, 74), the academic community has not paid much attention to the nomen's composition and meaning it is often interpreted as simply a family name.<sup>5</sup> Thus, one finally uses it as a classification tool: the Thutmoside, the Ramesside and so on.

The consequences of this dismissal directly affect the analysis of the protocol itself. I believe that laudatory or subsidiary epithets inside the nomen reflect something deeper about a king's ideology. Indeed, if the coronation name has for principal objective to link a king's power and legitimacy to the continuity begun by ancestors or great pharaohs of the past, I think that the *z3-Rc* name, or nomen, can meanwhile translate a desire to inscribe oneself in the present, to state one's place within a family, in this case the 22nd dynasty Bubastite Pharaohs.

---

<sup>3</sup> This paper presents a part of my doctoral research: *Bastet and power under the 22nd Bubastite dynasty: official protocol and dynastic patronage*.

<sup>4</sup> As V. Dobrev (1993) explained, it is well known that the four names of Pharaoh's protocol were already in place under the 4th dynasty, but those names did not appear all together on the same document. Or, to be more precise, we still not have traces of it during this period. The institutionalization of the protocol only happened during the Middle Kingdom by the systematical utilization of all the four names for every new Pharaoh (Postel 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Nomen is exclusively used in this paper to talk about king's birth name.

This would be in line with the use of prenomen and nomen during the New Kingdom. In the Abydos king-list (*PM* II, 40–2; Kitchen 1975 I: 176–85), when Sethi I referred to Pharaohs of the past, he mentioned them by their prenomen. Other private inscriptions showing the ruling Pharaoh with his predecessor – offering to him a statue or stela, as the stela from Gournah (CG 34037, Lacau 1909) shows – present the predecessor by its prenomen and the reigning king with both prenomen and nomen. Furthermore, it was customary during New Kingdom that members of the royal family refer to Pharaoh by his prenomen; it was the case of Thutmose I's wife, Ahmes (CG 34009, Lacau 1909; Gauthier 1907–1917 II, 225), Amenhotep III's daughter, Satamun (Gauthier 1907–1917 II, 340, 5–6), or Thutmose II's mother, Mutneferet (Gauthier 1907–1917 II, 234). When Thutmose III expressed his desire to be considered as his grandfather's rightful heir, it was his prenomen and his grandfather's prenomen that were used (P. Berlin 1523 and 1525; Gauthier 1907–1917 II, 222). Additionally, a reading of the different volumes of Gauthier (1907–1917) and von Beckerath (1999) highlights that, in the vast majority of cases, the prenomen seems invariable. Though phonetic complements can be used, the addition of epithets seems restricted to the nomen.

However, under the 22nd dynasty, it is no longer the prenomen which was used when one refers to Pharaoh, but his nomen. This practice translates a change in the apprehension of the nomen's importance within the 22nd dynasty's ideology. For example, on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, the great priest of Amun, Iuput, who was also Sheshonq's son, expressed the fact that he was also a king's son, but rather than using his father's prenomen, he referred to him by his nomen. The same can be said of prince Osorkon, grandson of Osorkon II and believed to be Takelot II's son (Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 17). When Sheshonq III expressed his intention to be considered as the rightful heir of Osorkon II, he carved an offering scene inside Osorkon II's tomb where both kings faced each other, both named by their nomens (Montet 1947, 30). These few examples suggest that between the New Kingdom and the 22nd dynasty, methods used to designate the king changed. If the prenomen was used traditionally to refer to Pharaohs, it seems that the Bubastite kings and their entourage favoured the use of their nomen. Indeed, within my doctoral thesis, I proceeded to a geographic and diachronic survey of the 22nd dynasty Bubastite kings' cartouches and found that in a majority of cases, it was the nomen which was favoured to name the kings.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, I found that this trend was normalized between the reigns of Sheshonq I and Sheshonq V.

However, I believe that even if it seems to be an innovation from New Kingdom methods, the use of the nomen to designate Pharaohs during the Bubastite dynasty was in fact a practice dating back to the Old and Middle Kingdom (von Beckerath 1999). Indeed, during those periods, when a king's son or members of the royal family wanted to refer to the king, they used his *z3-R<sup>c</sup>* name.<sup>7</sup> The 22nd dynasty kings had to face the challenge of reunifying the Two Lands under a single monarchy, following a period where Egypt knew a diarchy (the 21st dynasty, 1065–945 BCE). They thus promoted an official discourse emphasizing a return to order, to tradition. The resurgence of an Old and Middle Kingdom practice, the choice to refer to their royal condition by the nomen as did the first great Pharaohs of Egypt, seems entirely justified.

This is why I believe that studying Pharaoh's protocol, and in particular his coronation and birth names, is necessary to understand an important element in their ideological construction. Moreover, I think that legitimization of kingship could also be more fully understood by analysing *z3-X* epithets inside the nomen, which until now were perceived as a particularity of the 1st Millennium BCE.

<sup>6</sup> It is also one of the reasons why sometimes it's hard to know which Sheshonq, Osorkon or Takelot is mentioned. The archaeological context is then really important.

<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, we must not forget that before Montuhotep II's protocol was institutionalized, it is entirely possible that the use of the *z3-R<sup>c</sup>* name did not have the same meaning.

## Overview of $z^3$ -X use inside Pharaoh's cartouches before the 22nd dynasty

N. Grimal (1986, 152) rightly explains that the use of  $z^3$ -X is so common that it is almost useless to investigate it for additional meaning, the king being de facto the son of each local deity. Nevertheless, within the royal protocol itself, there are peculiarities that make it possible to understand both the political program of the king and his ideological anchorage better. This peculiarity is related to the divine patronage of a specific deity designated as protector of the king and seemingly introduced by the epithet  $z^3$ -X.



In fact, even if the use of  $z^3$ -X epithet inside a cartouche is not widespread, especially during the New Kingdom, it is not an entirely new practice; as I have previously said, it was used well before the rise of the 22nd dynasty. Indeed, there is evidence that the 21st dynasty priest-kings already inserted a 'son of Amun' epithet into their nomen cartouches: e.g. Herihor, whose birth name included  $z^3$ -*Imn* and his successor, who was called simply  $z^3$ -*Imn* (Gauthier 1907–1917 III; Epigraphic Survey 1979 and 1981; Bonhême 1987; von Beckerath 1999).



























One wonders why this part of Herihor's name is not systematically included in publications that deal with the king's protocol, despite the inclusion of the  $z^3$ -*Imn* epithet in almost every single cartouche (Bonhême 1979; Epigraphic Survey 1981, pl. 139; von Beckerath 1999, 176–7; Lenzo 2010). Inside the political context of the 21st dynasty, I can understand that priest-kings, by linking their filiation to the monarchical god, received a larger measure of authority and legitimacy than those of the Tanite Pharaohs.

Moreover, I note that the oldest known occurrence of the term  $z^3$ - inside a cartouche goes back to the 6th dynasty. It appears inside Teti's cartouche, on pottery and on relief fragments (von Beckerath 1999, 62–3). The supreme monarchical god Re is, in light of the sources, the first to be attributed paternity of Pharaoh (Kahl 2007). This likely preempts the title of 'son of Re' traditionally placed between the king's coronation name and his birth name in the Middle Kingdom. Then, Pharaoh Pepi I, was named in turn 'son of Re', 'son of Atum' and 'son of Hathor' inside his nomen cartouche (von Beckerath 1999, 62–3). As we know, Hathor was the counterpart of Bastet during the Old Kingdom, as shown on different documents (JE 72133; Hölscher 1912, 16–17; PM II, 20; Ćwiek 2003, Fig. 19). Hathor and Bastet were preeminent during the reign of this Pharaoh, so much that inside some *Pyramid Texts*, Bastet is presented both as the king's mother (PT 1108c–9b; Carrier 2009, 732–3; PT 1111a; Carrier 2010 III, 1518–9), like the Uraeus, and his heart (PT 1109a; Carrier 2009, 732–3). The filiation with Hathor inside the cartouche seems to confirm this idea. It was later under Montuhotep II's reign that ' $z^3$ ' reappeared inside Pharaoh's nomen. In fact, on an inscription from Gebelein, the king wears the same epithet as Pepi I in his nomen:  $z^3$ -*hthr-nb(t)-Iwnw* (son of Hathor, mistress of Heliopolis) (von Beckerath 1999, 78–9). This reuse of Pepi's nomen is probably a part of his desire to associate his reign to those of his 'ancestors' and thus ensure its legitimacy. Sobek, the dynastic god of the 13th dynasty, was also used to express kinship between a god and Pharaoh inside Pharaoh's nomen (von Beckerath 1999, 112–13). Subsequently, we must wait until regnal year 21 of Thutmose III to find  $z^3$ -*Tm* added inside a nomen (*Urk.* IV, 593.2.; von Beckerath 1999, 136–7). We should keep in mind that Thutmose III spent the latter part of his reign spreading an official discourse and a strong protocol to legitimize his place on the throne.

One can therefore draw the conclusion that the use of  $z^3$ -X epithet inside a Pharaoh's nomen cartouche, though rare, was not new in practice. Is it possible, then, that the 22nd dynasty kings wanted to follow a practice of their direct (21st dynasty) and less direct predecessors from the Old and Middle Kingdom, but because they needed to express their autonomy from Amun, they rather chose to put forward their family's patron goddess, Bastet.



Furthermore, the 22nd dynasty kings expressed in different ways their knowledge of the Egyptian past and used it as an element of legitimation. This phenomenon can be observed in archaizing reliefs and the archaic spelling of Bastet's name. Since the Middle Kingdom and particularly under the New Kingdom, Egyptians would write Bastet's name with three signs  or . However, during the Predynastic

period and the Old Kingdom, Bastet's name was written with many phonetical complements: , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,  (Leitz 2002, 739). These phonetic writings can also be found during the 22nd dynasty, for example on many reliefs of the Festival Hall (Naville 1892, pl. 9; see Fig. 1). Moreover, representations of the goddess took up themes popular during the 2nd dynasty under Hetepsekhemwy (Lacau and Lauer 1959, 13, pl. XI, n. 58; see Fig. 2).

Some scholars would consider Bastet as a simple dynastic goddess because she is connected to Bubastis, the town where the 22nd dynasty kings came from. But Bastet was a major deity during the Predynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, when she was known as Pharaoh's mother and protectress (Boffdgo-Gallardo 2011). Is it possible then, that they wanted to express their real and true legitimacy on the throne by making her the supreme mother of the dynasty, as she was in an age long past? By placing her close to Pharaoh and his power, did they mean to revive her original importance? With the documentation at our disposal today, can we understand how and when the 22nd dynasty institutionalized this practice in their claim for legitimacy.

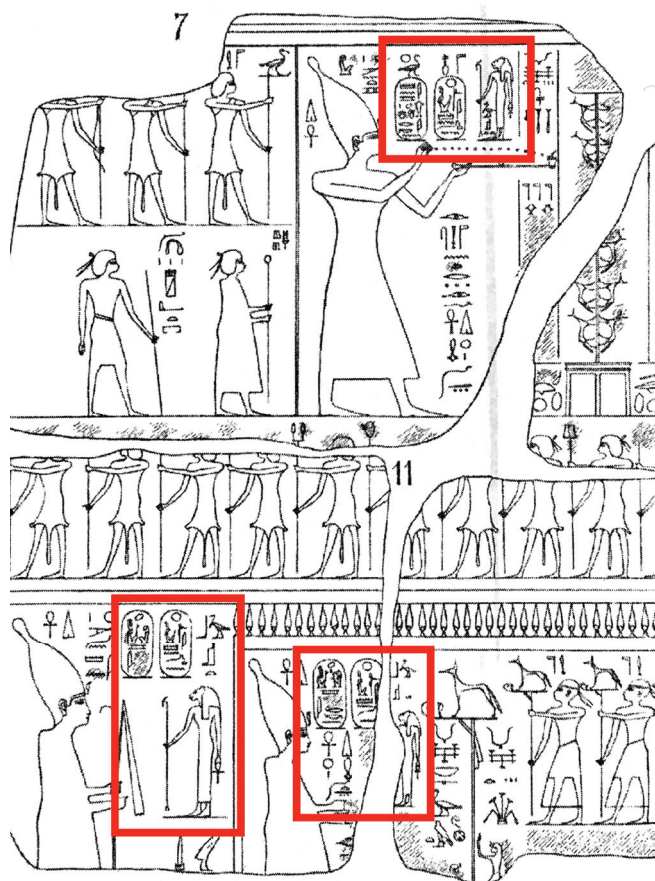


Figure 1 Bastet mentioned in the Festival Hall at Bubastis (after Naville 1892, pl. 9).

Figure 2. Bastet on a vessel of King Hetepi (after Lacau and Lauer 1959, 13, pl. XI, n. 58).



## **‘Son of Bastet’: Institutionalization<sup>8</sup> of an epithet**

Let us remember that sources suggest that it was under Osorkon I that the dynastic and familial politics of the 22nd dynasty were placed under the protection of Bastet (Lange 2008), a trait followed by Osorkon II (Naville 1891; Jacquet-Gordon 1959). It is during his reign that the ‘son of Bastet’ epithet appeared systematically inside the king’s nomen and became an indivisible part of Bubastite protocol, like the ‘beloved of Amun’ epithet. Why did that filial claim become so important during the 22nd dynasty? Is it possible that this systematic use of ‘son of Bastet’ inside king’s nomen is a part of their claim for legitimacy and their mark inside pharaonic ideology?

We still do not know when exactly, but at the beginning of Osorkon II’s reign, a new king, whose origins are unknown, appeared in Thebes with an Egyptian name: Horsiesis (von Beckerath 1999, 196–7), i.e. simply ‘Horus son of Isis’. This nominal opposition between ‘son of Bastet’ and ‘son of Isis’ could translate a geographical and political opposition between, respectively, the kings of Lower Egypt and those of Upper Egypt (Muhs 1998).

In addition to the expression  $z^3-B^3stt$ , Osorkon II took Ramesses II’s coronation name (Montet 1947, 10). Osorkon II’s official protocol perfectly illustrates the importance that cartouches can have in the claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite Pharaohs. Osorkon II’s prenomen would have aligned his power with that of a renowned ancestor, Ramses II, while his nomen represents his claims for the present: he was a true member of Sheshonq’s family and expressed his filiation with their dynastic goddess, Bastet.

When Takelot II, son of Osorkon II, was crowned in Thebes approximately four years before Osorkon II’s death and Sheshonq III’s coronation in Bubastis, he also placed the ‘son of Isis’ epithet in his nomen. However, there does not seem to be any animosity between those two kings; F. Payraudeau (forthcoming) even put forward the hypothesis that Osorkon II, who might have been quite old at the time, offered a coregency to his son. In the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, Takelot’s nomen and Osorkon’s nomen appear side by side, both with their own epithet. Therefore, with his coronation name, Takelot II expressed his place in the family by taking the one of Sheshonq I. When Sheshonq III succeeded Osorkon II in Bubastis, he took the latter’s coronation name and added  $z^3-B^3stt$  to his nomen, thus expressing his claim of royal kinship, as Takelot II had done before him. Furthermore, because we now know that Osorkon II and Takelot II are from the same family, Egyptologists must rethink the appellation of the 23rd dynasty, whose kings rather belong to an extended 22nd dynasty (Payraudeau 2014 I, 7–25). As we can see below, 22nd Bubastite dynasty and 22nd Theban dynasty were already passed when 23rd Tanite dynasty began.

While collecting data for my study of cartouches used by the 22nd dynasty Pharaohs for my doctoral thesis, I believe to have established the moment when  $z^3-B^3stt$  became institutionalized within the official protocol. Indeed, while analyzing our data geographically, I found that Osorkon II used  $z^3-B^3stt$  as an epithet inside his nomen in official documents throughout Egypt (Tanis, Bubastis, Leontopolis, Memphis, Abydos, Thebes, Elephantine, Byblos; Jansen-Winkel 2008).<sup>9</sup> I even found some palimpsest inscriptions from Tanis (Montet 1947, 31) where he is called Osorkon ‘son of Bastet’. Even more interesting is the fact that though Osorkon II had his nomen inscribed with  $z^3-B^3stt$  all around Egypt, the only time this epithet appears in his tomb at Tanis is posthumous, added under Sheshonq III (Montet 1947).

Under Sheshonq III, successor of Osorkon II, the  $z^3-B^3stt$  epithet also appears all over Egypt, i.e. in Tanis, Tell Mostai, Bendariéh, Tell el-Balamun, Kom el-Hisn, Memphis, Thebes (Jansen-Winkel 2008). But, contrarily to Osorkon II, it was also used in his tomb, which Montet discovered at Tanis (Montet 1960, i.e. pls. 13, 28). This probably illustrates the evolution from a propagandistic tool used in legitimization discourse to an institutionalized practice.

<sup>8</sup> I call institutionalization the fact that the use of ‘son of Bastet’ epithet will appear in every documentation naming the king. From his tomb, official documentation to private documentation at first, and that later on, it appeared inside Nubian’s protocol and also last native pharaoh of Egypt, Nectanebo II.

<sup>9</sup> I call official document all sources produced by and for the king. King’s tomb is an official document but with a private aspect.

22nd Bubastite	22nd Theban	23rd Tanite	25th Nubian	Local kingship		
				Leontopolis	Heracleopolis	Hermopolis
<b>Sheshonq I</b> (943-922) <b>Osorkon I</b> (922-887) <b>Takelot I</b> (887-874) <b>Sheshonq IIa</b> (874 – ?) <b>Sheshonq IIb</b> (? – 865)						
<b>Osorkon II</b> (870/865-831)	<b>Harsiesis</b> (v.850 ?)					
	<b>Takelot II</b> (834-810)					
<b>Sheshonq III</b> (831-791)	<b>Pedoubastis I</b> (823-798) <b>/Youpout I</b> 810-798 <b>Sheshonq VI</b> (800/798-792)					
	<b>Osorkon III</b> (791-763)					
<b>Sheshonq IV</b> (791-779)						
<b>Pamy</b> (779-773)	<b>Takelot III</b> (767- 751)					
<b>Sheshonq V</b> (773- 735)	<b>Roudamon</b> (751- 745)					
	<b>Iny (?)</b> (740- 735)		<b>Kashta</b> (?- 746)			
		<b>Pedoubastis II</b> (735-730) <b>Osorkon IV</b> (730-722)	<b>Piânkhy</b> (746- 722)	<b>Youpout II</b> (740 – 720)	<b>Peftjaouâouybastet</b> (730 – 720)	<b>Thotemhat</b> (v.740) <b>Nimlot</b> (v.720)

Table 1. 22nd dynasty horizontal chronology.

## Conclusion

Through this paper, I wanted to show that the study of the kings' nomen (birth name), although often neglected by researchers studying protocol and Pharaonic ideology can provide elements of understanding on the means put forward by the king to legitimize his presence on the throne.

More precisely, I hope to have been able to show that even the epithets which seem to us most innocuous (Grimal 1986), when placed at the heart of the official protocol (even inside king's birth name) are actually important.

Moreover, if the choice of Bastet as divine mother seems at first glance explained by her role as patron goddess of the 22nd dynasty homeland, I have noticed that in reality, the founders of the 22nd dynasty anchor their legitimacy with the royal mother of the monarchy, Hathor's northern counterpart during the Old Kingdom.

In conclusion, studying the 22nd dynasty Pharaohs' nomen from a geographical and diachronic point of view allowed me to put my finger on what I think is the moment when this epithet was used for legitimization purposes and the moment when this epithet was institutionalized inside the official discourse and protocol. This institutionalization went beyond a dynastic custom, as can be illustrated by its use during the 25th dynasty; the Nubian kings sometimes added the 'son of Bastet' epithet to their nomen or referred to Bastet as their divine mother (MET 41.160.104; Lepsius 1913 V, 271; Leclant 1961). With this use of the 'son of Bastet' epithet, Bastet's importance inside the legitimation of power was set, and this until the end of pharaonic Egypt.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank J. Bouchard and J. Revez for their precious help and recommendations.

### References

- Aufrère, S. 1982. 'Contribution à l'étude de la morphologie du protocole "classique"'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 82: 19–73.
- Baines, J. 1995. 'Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation'. In D. P. Silverman and D. O'Connor, (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 9: 3–47. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- von Beckerath, J. 1999. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 49. Mainz: Philip von Zabern.
- Boffdgo-Gallardo, F. L. 2011. 'Bastet en el discurso teológico de la realeza de la dinastía IV'. In E. Sanchez-Moreno and G. Mora Rodriguez (eds.) *Poder, cultura e imagen en el mundo antiguo*: 7–26. Madrid: Editorial Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Bonhême, M.-A. 1978. 'Les désignations de la "titulature royale" au Nouvel Empire'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 78: 415–438.
- Bonhême, M.-A. 1979. 'Hérihor fut-il effectivement roi?'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 78: 267–83.
- Bonhême, M.-A. 1987. *Le livre des rois de la troisième période intermédiaire. T. I. XXIème dynastie*, Bibliothèque d'étude 99, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Bonhême, M.-A. 1987. *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire*, Bibliothèque d'étude 98. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Bonhême, M.-A. and Forgeau, A. 1988. *Pharaon. Les secrets du pouvoir*, Paris: Armand Colin.
- Carrier, C. 2009. *Textes des Pyramides de l'Égypte ancienne. Tome II. Textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier*, Melchat 13. Paris: Cybelle.
- Carrier, C. 2010. *Textes des Pyramides de l'Égypte ancienne. Tome III. Textes de la pyramide de Pépy II*, Melchat 14. Paris: Cybelle.



- Ćwiek, A. 2003. *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Development, Scene Content and Iconography*. Warsaw: Warsaw University (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).
- Dobrev, V. 1993. 'Considérations sur les titulatures des rois de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie égyptienne'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 93: 179–204.
- Epigraphic Survey. 1954. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak. Volume III. The Bubastite Portal*, Oriental Institute Publications 74. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Epigraphic Survey. 1979. *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume I. Scenes of King Herihor in the court*, Oriental Institute Publications 100. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Epigraphic Survey. 1981. *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume II*, Oriental Institute Publications 103. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Gabolde, L. 2018. *Genèse d'un temple, naissance d'un dieu*. Bibliothèque d'étude 167. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Gardiner, A. H. 1927. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gauthier, H. 1907–1917. *Le livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres des rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique*. T. I–V, Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale: 17–21. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Grimal, N. 1986. *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Nouvelle série 6. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Hölscher, U. 1912. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Jacquet-Gordon, H. K. 1959. 'The Inscriptions on the Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46/1: 12–23.
- Jansen-Winkel, K. 2008. *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Bd. II. Die 22.-24. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kahl, J. 2007. «Re is My Lord». *Searching for the Rise of the Sun God at the Dawn of Egyptian History*, MENES 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kitchen, K. A. 1975. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell LTD.
- Lacau, P. 1909. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités du Musée du Caire Nr. 34001-34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Lacau, P. and Lauer, J. Ph. 1959. *La pyramide à degrés. Tome 4. Inscription gravées sur les vases. Fasc. I*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Lange, E. 2008. 'Legitimation und Herrschaft in der Libyerzeit. Eine neue Inschrift Osorkon I. aus Bubastis (Tell Basta)'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 135: 131–41.

- Leclant, J. 1961. 'Sur un contrepoids menat au nom de Taharqa. Allaitement et "apparition" royale'. In J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.) *Mélanges Mariette*, Bibliothèque d'étude 32: 251–284. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Leitz, C. 2002. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. II. <sup>c</sup> – b, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 111: 739–44. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lenzo, G. 2010. 'The two funerary papyri of Queen Nedjmet (P. BM EA 10490 and P. BM EA 10541 + Louvre E. 6258)'. *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15: 63–83.
- Leprohon, R. J. 1996. 'The Programmatic Use of the Royal Titulary in the Twelfth Dynasty'. *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt* 33: 165–71.
- Leprohon, R. J. 2010. 'The Royal Titulary in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty: Change and Continuity'. *Journal of Egyptian History* 3/1: 7–45.
- Lepsius, C. R. 1913. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text. Bd. V, Leipzig: Proff & Co.
- Montet, P. 1947. *Les constructions et le tombeau d'Osorkon II à Tanis*. T. 1. Paris: Jourde et Allard.
- Montet, P. 1960. *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis*. T. 3. Paris: Jourde et Allard.
- Muhs, B. 1998. 'Partisan Royal Epithets in the Late Third Intermediate Period and the Dynastic Affiliations of Pedubast I and Iuput II'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84: 220–3.
- Naville, É. 1891. *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, Memoir of Egypt Exploration Society 8. London: Kegan Paul.
- Naville, É. 1892. *Festival Hall of Osorkon II. Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, Memoir of Egypt Exploration Society 10. London: Kegan Paul.
- O'Connor, D. and Silverman, D. P. (eds.) 1995. *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Problem der Ägyptologie 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Payraudeau, F. 2014. *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII<sup>e</sup> dynastie bubastite*. T. I-II, Bibliothèque d'étude 160, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Payraudeau, F. (forthcoming), *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil*. Tome III. *Le premier millénaire avant J.-C.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B. 1972. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. II. *Theban Temples*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Porter, B. and Moss, R. L. B. 1974. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Vol. III. *Memphis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Posener, G. 1960. *De la divinité du pharaon*, Cahiers de la Société asiatique 15. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Postel, L. 2004. *Protocole des souverains égyptiens et dogme monarchique au début du Moyen Empire*, Monographie Reine Élisabeth 10, Turnhout: Brepols.

Quack, J. F. 2010. 'How Unapproachable is a Pharaoh?'. In G. B. Lafranchi and R. Rollinger (eds.) *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity. Proceedings of the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop. Held in Padova, November 28<sup>th</sup>- December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007*: 1–14. Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria.

Roeder, G. 1914. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* Nr 70001-70050. Naos. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Schott, S. 1955. 'Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatshepsût'. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 6: 195–219.

Urk. = Sethe, K. 1961. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Bd. IV, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

# Time measuring and time units in the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendera

Alexa Rickert<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Under ideal circumstances, the beginning of the first day of the Egyptian calendar coincided with the reappearance of Sirius after an absence of about 70 days. In the temple of Hathor at Dendera, this natural phenomenon was incorporated into the specific theological framework of the festive event. The interaction of Sirius with the rising sun was reflected by the main ritual on this day, exposing the statue of the goddess Hathor to morning light. This action was performed in the kiosk on the roof of the temple and was regarded as the encounter of a daughter (Hathor) with her father (Re) and the precondition for the renewal of the year's cycle. The kiosk was not merely the scene of the crucial events on the first day of the year, but also a measuring device for determining the time period in which the main ritual could take place. This function is mirrored by the decoration of its walls and columns, in which the representation of time units plays a major role.

## Keywords

Dendera; festival; *hnm jtn*; kiosk; New Year's Day; Ptolemaic Period; time units

## New Year's Day in the temple of Hathor at Dendera

The festival of the 'opening of the year' (*wp rnp.t*) was known since the very beginning of pharaonic history. In an ideal Egyptian calendar, it coincided with the beginning of the Nile flood, which brought fertility to the fields. This was also the moment of the so-called heliacal rising of Sirius (Egyptian *spd.t*, Greek *Sothis*), when this star rose just before sunrise after a period of invisibility of about 70 days. The turn of the year was preceded by the five epagomenal days, which initiated the phase of transition as 'days on top of the year'. New Year's Day itself, the first day of the season of Akhet, was traditionally considered to be the birthday of the sun god, Re (Daumas 1982).

Extensive information about the meaning of this event and the sequence of ritual actions cannot be found before the Graeco-Roman Period. The main sources lie in two temples of Upper Egypt: the sanctuary of the falcon god Horus in Edfu and the temple of the goddess Hathor in Dendera (Alliot 1949, 303–433; Cauville 2002, 35–49; Coppens 2007, 145–78; Coppens 2009, 4). Because the kiosk on the roof of the temple (Fig. 1), where the main ritual on New Year's Day took place, is only preserved in Dendera, this place is particularly suitable for a case study on the beginning of the annual cycle (Rickert, forthcoming).

The crucial ritual action on New Year's Day, exposing the statue of the goddess in the roof kiosk to sunlight, is called 'union with the sun disc' (*hnm jtn*). In Dendera, this moment is interpreted as a reunion of family members, more precisely as a meeting of the father Re with his daughter Hathor. The most important textual sources referring to this event are written on the walls and columns of the kiosk and on the walls of the two staircases in the west and the east of the temple (Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 139–205; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 1–122). They describe this moment using vocabulary that points to physical contact between the two divinities, for example when they mention uniting, hugging or kissing ('uniting': e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 145/3 [*hnm*], 144/10–11 [*snsn*], 145/10 [*snsn*, *sm*], 179/11 [*snsn*], 202/3 [*hnm*]; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 73/8 [*hnm*], 101/14 [*snsn*]; 'hugging': e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 143/12 [*shn*]; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 106/2 [*ˁ.wj=f h³=s*]; 'kissing': e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 110/11 [*sn*]). Very often, the *hnm jtn* is also described as a moment of looking at each other ('looking at/seeing': e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 177/11 [*dḡ*], 177/15 [*m³³*]; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 65/11 [*m³³*], 88, 8–9 [*m³³*]), and as the gathering

<sup>1</sup> Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and University of Münster, Germany.



of the left eye and the right eye of the sun god (unification of the ‘right eye’ [*wmm.t*] with the ‘left eye’ [*j3b.t*]: e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 175/4, 177/1–2, 179/1–2, 188/9, 190/16; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 73/3, 119/1). As Fig. 2 shows, these designations can be connected to the place of the sunrise on the one hand (the left eye) and the rising of Sirius on the other hand (the right eye), seen from the point of view of the temple in relation to the geographical east (Leitz 1993, 138–9). This is, however, only true for New Year’s Day in an idealised calendar, starting on the day of the heliacal rising of Sirius.



Figure 1. East façade of the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendera (private photograph).

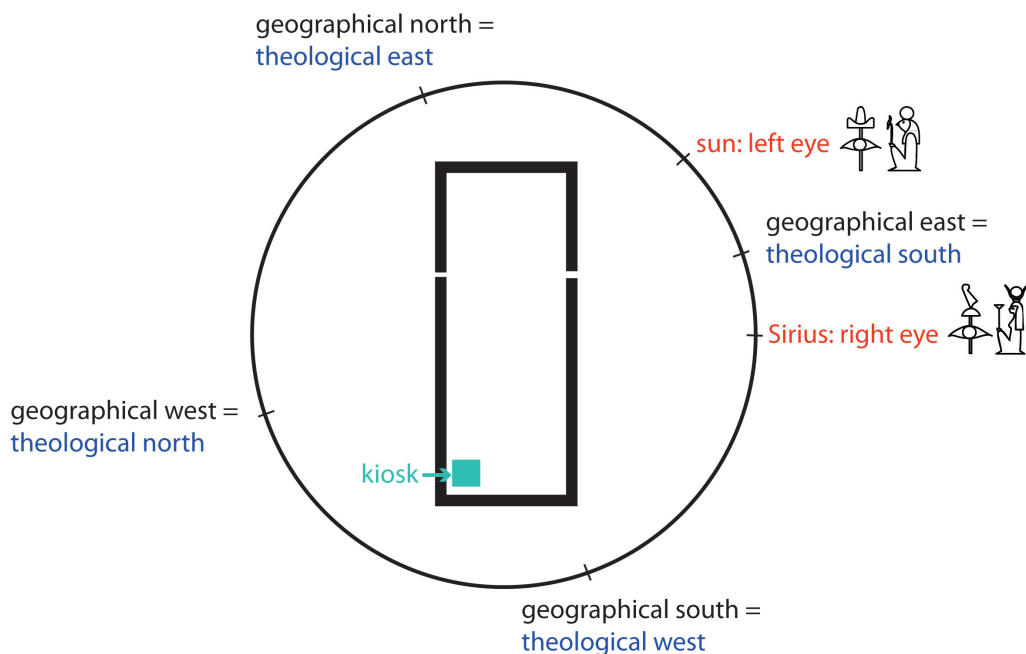


Figure 2. Sunrise and the heliacal rising of Sirius in relation to the temple of Dendera (elaboration by A. Rickert, after Leitz 1993, 139).

The description of the main ritual as the meeting of the two eyes indicates that it can be interpreted as an imitation of the events which took place at sunrise in the sky. Hathor plays here the role of Sirius, which has risen shortly before sunrise and has disappeared gradually with increasing sunlight. The Egyptian theologians understood this obviously as a fusion of two celestial bodies, which was re-enacted during the ritual by means of exposing the cult statue to the light of the rising sun.

### The time frame of the main ritual on New Year's Day

The inscriptions in the temple of Hathor provide not only insight on the theological and astronomical meaning of the main ritual, but also on the time frame of the event. By means of combining textual evidence and data supplied by the architectural environment, the approximate time span in which the main ritual must have taken place could be determined. The starting point of this investigation was the designation of New Year's Day as 'the morning of purity' (*dwꜣy.t n.t wꜥb*), which is attested six times in Dendera (Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 200/5; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 45/14, 81/13, 103/6; Cauville 2007a, 114/8; Cauville 2007b, 217/7; translation in Cauville 2011, 270–1; see also Cauville 2008, 45).<sup>2</sup> Apart from the fact that it points to the great importance of ritual purity on the first day of the year, it indicates that the most important part of the festival took place in the morning. The aforementioned emphasis in the inscriptions on the visual contact between the sun god and his daughter suggests that the ritual *hnm jtn* is mainly about illuminating the face of the statue. A text describing the festival procession on New Year's Day from the western staircase indicates the viewing direction of the goddess sitting in the kiosk:



*hꜥp=s hr ns.t=s m-qꜣb hꜣy.t=s wr.t ꜣh.t n.t kꜣ=s [hr] Tꜣ-n-Tm*  
*hr=s nfr r rsj jqr.tw m jrꜣw=s dbꜣ.tw m h.t=s.*

'She (Hathor) rests on her throne in her great kiosk, the horizon of her ka on the land of Atum (i.e. the temple of Dendera). Her beautiful face looks south, while she is excellent in her shape, while she is equipped with her things.' (Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 84, n. 6–7).

As has been first stated by A. Mariette (1875, 39–41), most inscriptions in the temple of Dendera use a specific system of coordinates, which is turned 90 degrees to the right in relation to the geographical system of the cardinal points. Therefore, the text speaking about the goddess in the kiosk looking to the south actually means that she faces the east and thus the rising sun (see above, Fig. 2: 'theological south'). This suggests that the ritual was performed in the very early hours of the morning.

To define more precisely the time period in which a statue in the centre of the kiosk could be exposed to direct sunlight, the building researcher V. Stappmanns created a digital 3D model, taking into account the geographical location of the building. The lighting conditions correspond as closely as possible to the situation on the ideal New Year's Day in the middle of the first century BCE, when the temple of Dendera was founded.<sup>3</sup> It was assumed that the image of Hathor, represented in the model by a cylindrical body, was placed in a portable shrine, like that which can be seen in the New Year's procession of the staircases (e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 2005, pl. 767).

<sup>2</sup> For the reading *dwꜣy.t*, see Rickert (forthcoming, chapter I 3.5).

<sup>3</sup> The model is based on the information provided by the in-depth study of the architecture of the main temple in Dendera by P. Zignani (2010). For further details, see Rickert (forthcoming, chapter III 4.2.1). On the date of the founding of the temple of Hathor, see Zignani (2010, 37).

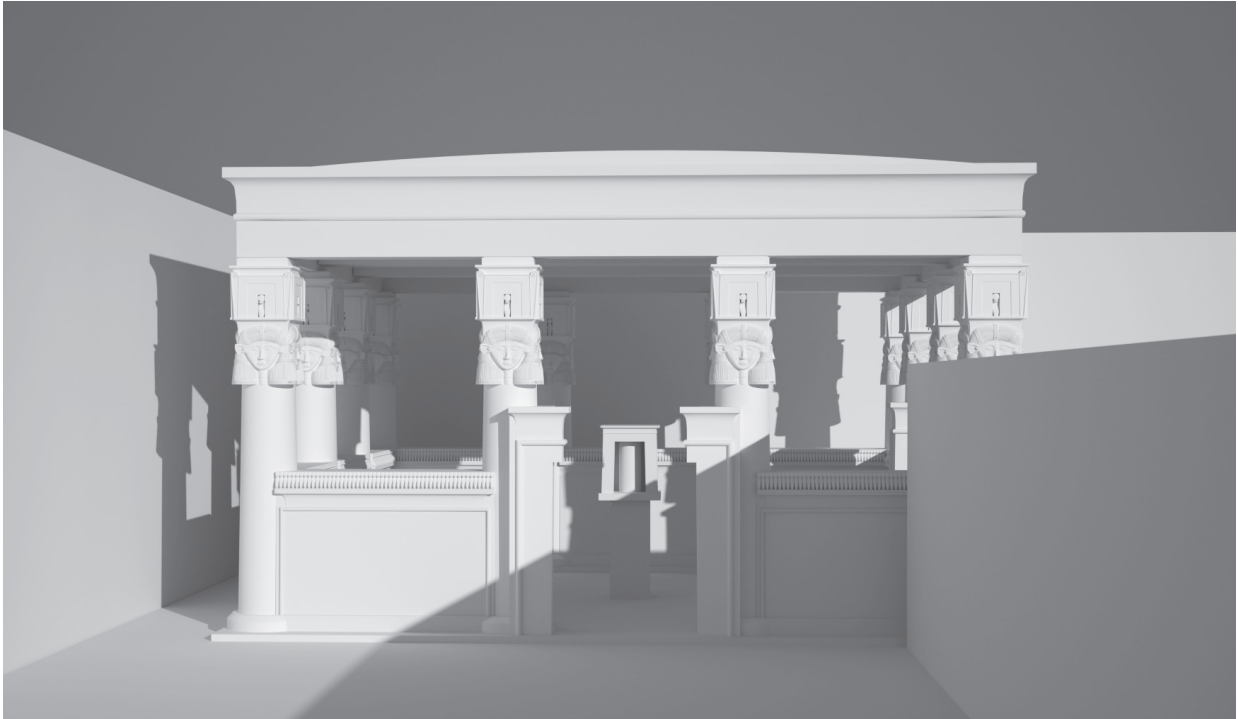


Figure 3. Digital model of the kiosk showing the lighting conditions at 6:30 am (created by V. Stappmanns).

The model indicates that the first sunrays fell on the statue and the front of the shrine shortly after 6:00 am. Fig. 3 shows the model at 6:30 am, when the statue was fully illuminated, already by 8:00 am it lay in darkness once again. In the course of the day, there was no further possibility to expose it to direct sunlight, due to the height of the surrounding walls in the south and the west. Therefore, the Egyptian priests had a little less than two hours for the performance of the main ritual *hnm jtn*, which involved not only Hathor but also the statues of the ten gods in her company (e.g. Chassinat and Daumas 1972, 201/10–11; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 52/11).<sup>4</sup>

### Time units in the decoration of the kiosk

The year which is opened by means of the abovementioned ritual is represented in all its components in the architecture of the roof kiosk. Already on the outside, in the passage and on the inside of the eastern door, through which the statue of Hathor was carried into the kiosk, a group of 36 deities is depicted (Fig. 4). Inscriptions connect them to the geography of Egypt and to 36 of the 42 nomes of the country (Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 11/8–12/13, 14/6–15/9, 17/7–18/15 with pls. 696–98). But they can also be interpreted as representatives of the 36 decades which divide the year into units of ten days (Goyon 1986). All the gods on the eastern door are said to open a good year (*rnp.t nfr.t*) for Hathor who is shown on the outside of the broken lintel (Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 11–12, pl. 696). By extension, the addressee can also be the statue of the goddess, probably placed in the centre of the building behind the door. According to this, all the gods of the decades turn their faces towards the inside of the building. Their bodies have the wings of birds, which indicate the ability to move in the sky. This is linked to the fact that

<sup>4</sup>The shrines of the gods accompanying Hathor are carried behind her in the festival procession on the walls of both staircases (Chassinat and Daumas 1972, pls. 677–80 and 689–91; Chassinat and Daumas 2005, pls. 767–71 and 793–801).





Figure 4. Two of the 36 winged gods on the eastern door of the kiosk (private photographs).

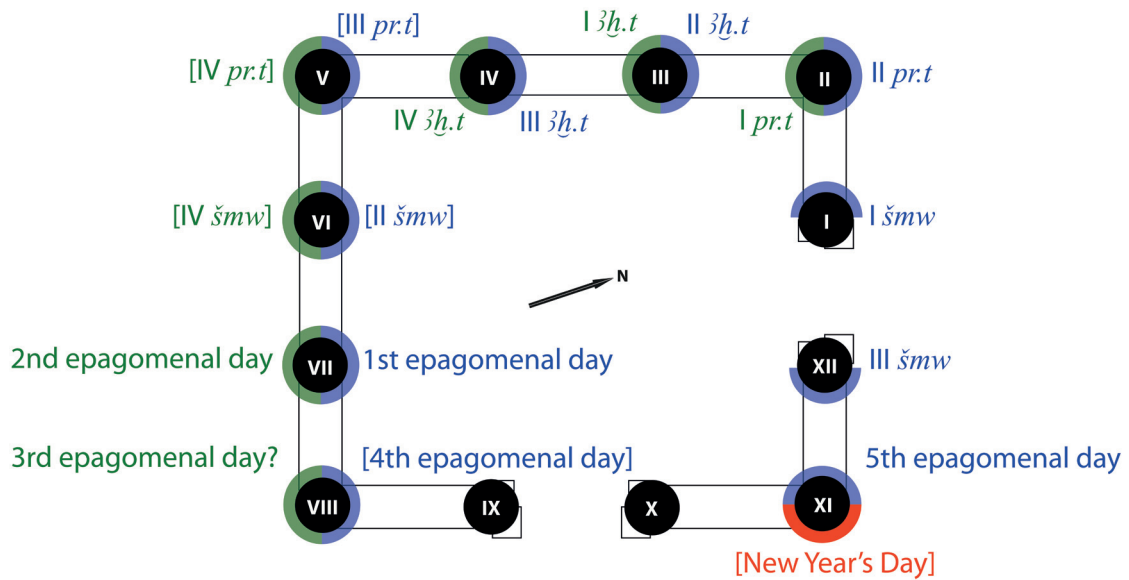


Figure 5. Location of the goddesses representing the months of the year, the epagomenal days, and New Year's Day (after Mendel 2005, pl. 3; Ventker 2018, 321).

every decade was associated with a particular star, which marks the beginning of the hours of the night by its rising, culmination or setting (Leitz 1995, 67–8; Quack 1995, 99–100; Quack 2002, 35–6; von Lieven 2007, 78–94, 157–74). Thus, the eastern entrance of the kiosk is an image of the whole year, subdivided in its decades.



The decoration of the columns of the building is also dedicated to the representation of time units. The inscriptions accompanying the musicians in the shape of Taweret in the first register of each column associate them with the twelve months of the year and the epagomenal days. Moreover, the east side of column XI, now severely damaged, was probably once decorated with a representative of the first day of the year (Mendel 2005, 72–3; Ventker 2018, 307–24).

At first glance, the distribution of the goddesses representing the months and epagomenal days in the building seems to be very irregular, but a closer look reveals that the days before the turn of the Year and probably also New Year's Day itself are situated right and left of the eastern entrance (see Fig. 5). On the opposite wall – on the columns III and IV – the goddesses of the first four months of the year are situated. When Hathor was carried into the kiosk through the eastern door and placed in front of the west wall, she symbolically left behind the old year and moved to the beginning of the New Year.<sup>5</sup>

It is not only the scenes on the columns that are dedicated to the representation of time units, but also the decoration of the screen walls shielding the building in the west and in the south. They face the area outside the temple, regarded as hostile and threatening, which is why we find here a larger number of protective deities. In relation to time units, a group of lion-headed figures, facing the king in altogether four scenes and receiving food offerings (see Chassinat and Daumas 2005, 33/11–34, 16, pl. 718, 39, 3–40/3 with pl. 723, 40/6–41/7 with pls. 724–5, 41/10–42/6 with pl. 726), is particularly interesting. Although only fourteen of those deities are preserved, we can reconstruct a total number of eighteen. They are linked to the last eighteen days of the Egyptian calendar, including the epagomenal days, as C. Leitz has shown by comparison with parallel texts in Kom Ombo. This period could correspond to the time span between the summer solstice and the heliacal rising of Sirius (Leitz 2009). The lion gods lead thus, by her chronological attribution to the last days in the calendar, to New Year's Day and protect the dangerous period preceding it (see e.g. Quack 2013, 88).

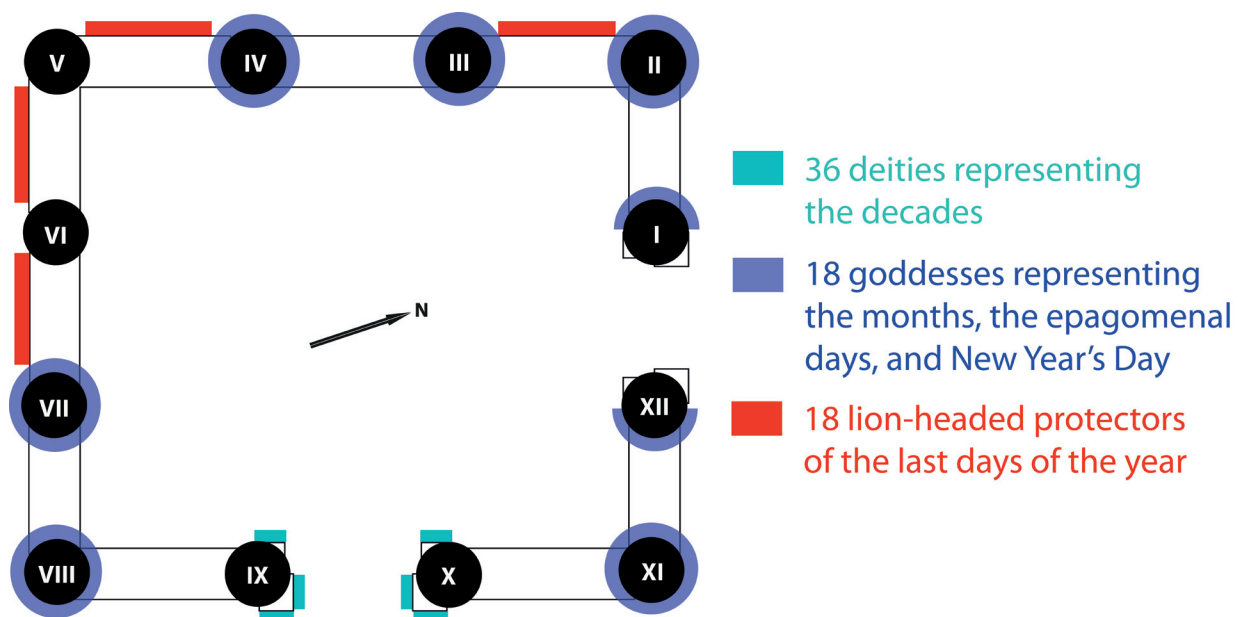


Figure 6. Overview of the time units represented in the decoration of the kiosk (elaborated by A. Rickert).

<sup>5</sup> For some arguments for a movement from east to west, see Cauville (2002, 47–8), in more detail Rickert (forthcoming, chapter III 2.2.4).

## Conclusion

In the decoration of the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Hathor in Dendera, in which the main ritual on New Year's Day took place, representatives of time units play a major role. The beginning year in its main components (decades, months, and epagomenal days) is already present here. The last eighteen days of the year as well as New Year's Day itself have their own protective deities, which can be interpreted as a reference to potential dangers in the transition phase (Fig. 6).

All this indicates that the roof kiosk was designed as an image of the whole year set in stone. Furthermore, the building had, as shown above, an additional function as a measuring device for determining the time period in which the ritual on New Year's Day could take place. Key factors here were the position of the building in the southwestern corner of the roof, the orientation of one of its doors to the east as well as the design of its façade, which allowed the contact between the sunrays and the cult statue for less than two hours in the morning of the ideal *wp rnp.t*. Thus, the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendera was not only a silent witness to the turn of the year, but it contributed, by means of its architectural design, to the timely execution of the ritual which was necessary to open a new year cycle.

## Acknowledgements

This paper as well as my doctoral thesis on which it is based were written within the framework of the research project *Der Tempel als Kanon der religiösen Literatur Ägyptens* (Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften). Special thanks to Dr. A. Murock Hussein for the proofreading of my English.

## Reference List

- Alliot, M. 1949. *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, Bibliothèque d'étude 20. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Cauville, S. 2002. *Dendara. Les fêtes d'Hathor*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 105. Leuven: Peeters.
- Cauville, S. 2007a. *Le temple de Dendara. Tome douzième*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Cauville, S. 2007b. *Dendara. Tome treizième*. [online] (<http://www.dendara.net>), accessed 3 January 2014 (no longer available, see Cauville 2011).
- Cauville, S. 2008. 'Le bâton sacré d'Hathor'. In W. Waitkus (ed.) *Diener des Horus. Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*, Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia 1: 41–66. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.
- Cauville, S. 2011. *Dendara XIII. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Façade et colonnes*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 196. Leuven: Peeters.
- Chassinat, É. and Daumas, F. 1972. *Le temple de Dendara. Tome septième*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Chassinat, É. and Daumas, F. 2005. *Le temple de Dendara. Tome huitième*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Coppens, F. 2007. *The Wabet. Tradition and Innovation in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.

- Coppens, F. 2009. 'Temple Festivals of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods'. In J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*: 1–11. Los Angeles. [online] (<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4cd7q9mn>), accessed 7 September 2017.
- Daumas, F. 1982. 'Neujahr'. In W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Bd. IV. *Megiddo-Pyramiden*: 466–72. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Goyon, J.-C. 1986. 'Le feu nouveau du jour de l'an à Dendara et Karnak'. In Institut d'égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry (ed.) *Hommages à Francois Daumas*: 331–44. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- Leitz, C. 1993. 'Die Nacht des Kindes in seinem Nest in Dendara'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 120: 136–65, 181.
- Leitz, C. 1995. *Altägyptische Sternuhren*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 62. Leuven: Peeters.
- Leitz, C. 2009. 'Die Götter, die ihre Majestät begleiten'. In D. Kessler, R. Schulz, M. Ullmann, A. Verbovsek and S. Wimmer (eds.) *Texte – Theben – Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard, Ägypten und Altes Testament* 76: 289–311. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- von Lieven, A. 2007. *The Carlsberg Papyri 8. Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 31. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Mariette, A. 1875. *Dendérah. Description générale du grand temple de cette ville. Tome sixième*. Paris: Librairie A. Franck.
- Mendel, D. 2005. *Die Monatsgöttinnen in Tempeln und im privaten Kult*, Rites égyptiens 11. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Quack, J. F. 1995: 'Dekane und Gliedervergottung. Altägyptische Traditionen im Apokryphon Johannis'. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 38: 97–122.
- Quack, J. F. 2002. 'Zwischen Sonne und Mond – Zeitrechnung im Alten Ägypten'. In H. Falck (ed.) *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie. Zum Wesen kontinuierlicher Zeitrechnung in Antike und Gegenwart*: 27–67. Bremen: Hempen.
- Quack, J. F. 2013. 'Zeit, Krise und Bewältigung: Ägyptische Zeiteinheiten, ihre Schutzgötter und deren bildliche Umsetzung'. In T. Greub (ed.) *Das Bild der Jahreszeiten im Wandel der Kulturen und Zeiten*, *Morphomata* 7: 73–98. München: Wilhelm Fink.
- Rickert, A. (forthcoming). *Das Horn des Steinbocks. Die Treppen und der Dachkiosk in Dendara als Quellen zum Neujahrsfest*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ventker, B. 2018. *Garanten der Herrschaft. Die Prozessionen der Kas und Hemusut in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *Soubassementstudien VI*, Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 18. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Zignani, P. 2010. *Le temple d'Hathor à Dendara. Relevés et étude architecturale*, Bibliothèque d'étude 146. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

# Deleterious outcomes of vernacular housing at el-Tarif cemetery

Rasha Soliman<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Several ancient archaeological sites have been encroached upon by humans, thus generating modern landscapes, such as the vernacular housing built surrounding, and on top of el-Tarif tombs. The residents regularly dwelled in the tombs' chambers at first, however, currently the majority use them as either storage rooms or have, devastatingly, constructed mud brick houses and even concrete buildings or cultivated fields atop them.

This paper integrates numerous social visits and meticulous investigation aspiring to record the tombs' present condition. A good first step, but experts should co-operate in both the royal and non-royal saff tombs' study, preservation and restoration before their complete loss. Even after all the years of residential living at an archaeological site which was further degraded by smuggling ancient artefacts, the region still has great prospects. It is likely that many other tombs are located underneath the village.

## Keywords

Saff tombs; el-Tarif; Intefs; vernacular housing; heritage

## Introduction

Ancient Egypt's archaeological distinctiveness continues to be unmatched; nevertheless, the lack of up keeping continues to be shocking. Archaeological 'science' is unquestionably engaged with a socially constructed environment. Hidden for centuries right under everyone's eyes, the site of el-Tarif is just one of the neglected cemeteries, though it holds modern buildings, and presumably unlimited historical value and interest.

What is so special about el-Tarif? What can be done to stop people using the cemetery for constructing buildings or even as farmland? This paper points out the modern expansion, vernacular urbanism, the link between social making of space and the vernacular heritage of el-Tarif. The field research indicates the importance of the saff tombs anticipating that they will be included within policies for other Theban archaeological sites as well as the conservation and preservation of their larger landscape including cultural heritage that has infiltrated the site. A decision needs to be taken regarding the archaeological significance of these tombs and how much are they valued. It is important to update the available documentation and information regarding the cemetery.

The management of cultural heritage needs multidisciplinary understanding particularly one that considers a complicated and extensive variation of interdependent management concerns (Leask 2006). Cultural heritage needs to shift highlighting only outstanding archaeological sites and begin to shed light on synchronous heritage sites such as el-Tarif (Khalaf 2017, 261). Vernacular heritage is one of the most marginalized patterns of cultural heritage, especially the African and Arab countries' UNESCO cultural heritage sites (Abdel Tawab 2018, 92). Besides, it is necessary to understand that el-Tarif cemetery has become a vernacular heritage site. Numerous archaeological sites have been contemptibly manipulated by humans, but of course the blending of their living areas with the dead pinpoints a unique setting.

Vernacular buildings rose up from the ancient el-Tarif tombs to form a distinctive site that is exasperated for conservation (Fig. 1). There is a solid illustration and advantage formed by the fact that the el-Tarif tombs are of distinct architectural and landscape interest since they have not been amended, altered in

---

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Archaeology and Tourism Guidance, Misr University for Sciences & Technology, Cairo, Egypt.





Figure 1. Present day condition of the royal tomb at Saff el-Dawaba  
(photo R. Soliman, January 2017).

ancient times, as sadly other Theban tombs have been. Frequent informal visits to numerous families within el-Tarif village led to considering the aims and techniques for this fieldwork. It took time to build trust, but explaining the purpose of recording the accessible areas and inviting the tenants to view the work done reduced the risk of possible resentments surfacing.

Restoration and conservation projects under heritage initiative should commence rapidly at least within the saff royal tombs. It is appalling that even though the fact that D. Arnold's documented a large number of tombs study (Arnold 1976): None of the present projects for el-Tarif territory highlight the condition and the necessity for conservation of either the royal or non-royal tombs as a valued archaeological site.

### **A short history of the site's exploration**

The archaeological site of el-Tarif was not revealed until the 1820s by Sir J. Wilkinson, and R. Hay (1816–1830). In the second half of the 19th century A. Mariette (1860), G. Maspero (1884) and G. Daressy (1889) had carried out several sondages, during which fragments of a stela (CG 20512) of the Theban king Wahankh Intef II was discovered. Later, by the late 19th century, and early 20th century E. Schiaparelli (1884–1885) and W. M. F. Petrie (1908–1909) declared that a modern village concealed the cemetery. W. M. F. Petrie had only published his findings regarding the smaller individuals' tombs. It was not until the late 1970s that a Polish team including B. Ginter, J. Kozłowski and J. Sliwa (1978–1982) examined the evidence dating back to pre-dynastic times (Bard 1999, 1009). However, significant recording did not occur until 1976 when D. Arnold directed excavations in the royal tombs, allowing first-hand structural views as well as a complete survey map of all detectable saff tombs at a scale of 1:1000 (Arnold 1976;

Bard 1999, 1012–13). Sadly, el-Tarif remains a marginalized archaeological site to an extent that even W. M. F. Petrie (1909) declared it has already been fully excavated and that these grounds will not be looked at anymore (El-Masry 1988, 84).

### **History of el-Tarif**

The Middle Kingdom re-unification of Upper and Lower Egypt led to several social, religious and political perceptions that initiated major funerary architectural alterations, which were necessary to document (González 2014, 4). The Tarifian necropolis has a multi-layered history and has experienced the comings and goings of different architectural burials starting with the 4th dynasty mastabas, followed by First Intermediate Period shaft burials. The village of el-Tarif is recognized for the royal saff tombs of the kings of the 11th dynasty Sehertawy Intef I who was buried at Saff el-Dawaba, Wahankh Intef II at Saff el-Kissasiya, and last of all Nakhtnebtnefer Intef III at the site of Saff el-Baqar (Arnold 1976), and besides tombs of some of officials of the same period. The term ‘saff’ was attributed to the Arabic word ‘row’ based on the main feature of this type of long colonnades with pillared porticos.

### **Vernacular urbanism**

Ever since the 19th century and even more intensively by the 1970s the whole site of el-Tarif became the only solution for the housing needs of the local urban poor. Present day urban settlements at el-Tarif are classified as vernacular housing. Consequently, the migrant groups built their own dwellings in a special and original form of housing. The spontaneous setting of the housing at el-Tarif resulted in various materials of uneven blocks and designs. Vernacular houses, stone workshops, animal barns and rubbish dumps had accumulated over time, along with a few sheikhs’ mausoleums (Fig. 2).

In archaeological terms, the burial ground presents societal problems of another kind. While the tenants above may privately own the area itself, thus inaccessible these monuments remain in private hands, and so financial grants for conservation could be questioned from the point of view that money could be spent on private benefit. This delicate private/public ecology affects both modern architecture and archaeological preservation.

The instinctive setting of the housing at el-Tarif resulted in uneven urban growth caused by the existence of prior constructions, but essentially the earth’s soft gravel ensued the rock cutting of the tombs. Families chose this ancient Egyptian necropolis to build their houses upon and around, besides storage rooms, and even they used the empty tombs as dwellings (Fig. 3). After so many years of living and even with the relentless looting, the area continues to offer more tombs. The tenants’ search for ancient treasures is due to obliviousness; the tenants feel they possess the tombs and thus the artefacts within. Scholars remain concerned that these tombs were and will be continuously vandalized. Several archaeological sites were encroached upon after the 2011 revolution. Noteworthy, it is tough to set boundaries to these sites as they merge within nearby sites and the surrounding landscape. The process of building an enclosure wall would protect against looting and, in the case of el-Tarif, the locals’ careless habitation of the cemetery. Sadly, robbery remains part of modern everyday life in western Thebes; tenants are eager to become rich by discovering treasures under their houses.

The variations in temperatures, especially in Upper Egypt, are severe to an extent that during an eight-hour period the temperature can range from 15 to 41 °C. Furthermore, the geological composition of the tombs help existing tenants to use the tombs to avoid the summer heat or even to warm themselves during the cold winters. Instability in humidity and temperature are another problem that cause damage, including biological degradation, salt crystallization, rock swelling, wind erosion and ultimately damage





Figure 2. Modern el-Tarif village with different construction materials used above the royal and non-royal saff tombs (photo R. Soliman, January 2017).

as a result of temperature variation. There is no doubt that these vast changes can harm stone surfaces. Alongside the vernacular housing, these tombs have sadly attained green agricultural spaces on top of them, but this is purely a misstep owing to ignorance and fear of the tombs' value, which eventually is destroyed by watering the agricultural fields that drain into the tombs below. Over-emphasis on natural habitat priorities continues to cause interference between agriculture and archaeology fostered by the modern locals' farming necessities.

One of the biggest problems is the people living in, and around, or even on top of the tombs. The current problem of modern expansion can be seen in many places. Practically none of the houses have a sewage system and, as a result, sewage is leaking outrageously, the sewage drainage pipes lead or leak into the tombs (Fig. 4). Salt layers are all over the interior of these tombs. Salt crystallization is a problem that cannot be overlooked (Fig. 5). The sewage water is full of salt, and when it comes into contact with monuments a chemical reaction hits causing damage to any kind of stone. Cracks are all over the walls, ceilings and pillars. Arrangements taken to control the sewage drainage of the modern housing of el-Tarif are inadequate, only a governmental sewage suction vehicle comes around once or twice a week; for which residents are obliged to pay to empty the wet wastes. A current concern is the disastrous condition these tombs have reached. Problems have risen because local authorities fully ignore the residents' needs. In short, the problems that come from the buildings above increase all sorts of effluence in the tombs below (Hareedy 2016, 145).

The el-Tarif cemetery needs protection against the quick expansion of resident constructions erected in violation of antiquities' laws, specifically the use of bricks and concrete, which is remote from the



Figure 3. Tenants' kitchen within one of the non-royal tombs  
(photo R. Soliman, February 2017).

conventional mud brick. The urban area resembles living organisms that also become wrecked over time because of increasing population, natural disasters and poor construction. When we examine the constructions, we see that one-story mudbrick dwellings were the majority of construction that took place until the late 20th century. Sadly, these earlier mud brick constructions were replaced with concrete buildings with the expectation that the occupants would adapt to these new structures. It failed because for instance in the barns, the animals could not adapt to the concrete buildings (Mahmoud 2016, 201, 213). Nevertheless, modern residents have devastatingly entrenched in them concrete pillars as foundations to their two- or three-story modern brick buildings, or have blocked them totally, meanwhile, luckily for archaeological research a few tombs have been left uninhabited (Fig. 6).

From the fieldwork and previous researches dealing with vernacular housing, in order to preserve the cultural, social, economic, and environmental essence it is necessary to maintain the genuine architectural features of the site and not just the artificial exterior. Thus, experts would share and support finding answers according to the setting. Further, there is the possibility of upholding both the values and traditions of vernacular architecture. Such attitude allows space for the tenants' collaboration and avoiding any enforced solutions (Ahmed and Elgizawi 2009, 700–1).

### **Laws and regulations considering damage and safety**

Despite the perception that there is a national crisis with the conservation of archaeological cemeteries, there are good examples of management and maintenance. The standards for inclusion of cultural sites in the United Nations World Heritage List (UNESCO 2001) are set forth in article no. 1 of the UNESCO Convention





Figure 4. Water sewage pipes leading into a large official's saff tomb  
(photo R. Soliman, February 2017).



Figure 5. Salt crystallization in a non-royal saff tomb  
(photo R. Soliman, February 2017).





Figure 6. Concrete pillars erected outside the façade of Saff el-Kissasiya royal tomb (photo R. Soliman, January 2017).

for World Heritage, that defines eligible properties as monuments, groups of buildings, or sites. To be eligible as a World Heritage site, properties must be of ‘exceptional worldwide significance’ according to certain criteria and authenticity. The Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Organization recognize that a World Heritage Site should display a significant exchange of human values, within a period of time, or be an outstanding kind of architecture or landscape which shows an important era in history (Joyce 2003, 14). The UNESCO world heritage scheme enriched the universal entitlements of heritage practice when in the year 2000 an estimate of 20,000 Theban tenants (World Monuments Fund 2011, 6) were expected to be relocated in order to achieve a major touristic project of expanding both western and eastern Theban banks as part of an open-air museum. This was part of a United Nations and Egyptian governmental cultural heritage management plan (Abraham, Bakr and Lan 2000) in order to remove non-ancient Egyptian constructions.

Nevertheless, the Egyptian ‘antiquities protection law no. 117 of the year 1983’ amendment ‘n. 3 in year 2010’ (The Official Gazette 2010) mostly offers support and outlines, but sadly continues, to be inapplicable in written policies. These unapplied written laws result in destructive outcomes for the ancient Egyptian heritage. Consequential notice involves that these archaeological sites are tenuous, distinctive and matchless, meaning that any destruction cannot be overturned (Hareedy 2016, 146). Whatever kind of decision needs the approval of a committee. The antiquities’ law has a non-comprehensive legal framework as a guideline for a personal verdict that would be taken by competent members of the Ministry of Antiquities’ Permanent Committee (Ahmed and El-Gizawy 2010, 417–19). Nevertheless, previous re-locating projects need to be analysed carefully so as to avoid the unproductive outcomes that led to the tombs tenants’ rejection of relocating (Mahmoud 2016, 214) such as the famous example dating back to the 1940s of the ‘New Qurna village of Hassan Fathi’. Even with its

new appealing architecture, it continued to be totally rejected by the 'Old Qurna residents'. Very few families approved the re-location; only 130 out of 900 families moved (Ahmed and Elgizawi 2009, 696). Urban space remains complicated.

In the year 2008, a joint report was issued between the 'World Heritage Centre and the ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites) reactive monitoring mission' regarding Thebes and its necropolis (Michaelides and Dauge 2008). The report documents that the people will not be forced out of their homes and states:

'The proposed new settlement will offer all basic facilities of water, drainage, primary health care and education, as well as a market, currently not available in Gurnah proper. The mission noted that the State Party stressed "the incompatibility and unsustainability of the situation in terms of living conditions of the communities in relation to World Heritage site management" and that "inhabitants would only move on a voluntary basis with adequate compensation"' (Michaelides and Dauge 2008, 7).

In the same report the committee supports a moratorium on the demolition of Old Qurna until there is an evaluation of the impacts of the relocation. Despite the numerous appeals for a joint efficient protection plan for both eastern and western Theban banks, no such plans have been executed. Each of these banks' projects may have been accomplished individually but never incorporated the salvation of the entire landscape. It is necessary to encourage the preservation of such an exceptional archaeological city that has been enrolled in the World Heritage list (Michaelides and Dauge 2008, 7, 9, 20).

In 1979, 'Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis' was added by UNESCO to the World Heritage list and el-Tarif is within the perimeters of the Necropolis (Fig. 7). Basically, the Egyptian government pays more attention mainly to the cultural heritage sites listed by UNESCO; nevertheless, it has neglected the northwest Theban necropolis where el-Tarif cemetery is located. An ICOMOS report dated 2011 included dual attentions; they were expected to document the vulnerabilities resulting from the Qurna village to the archaeological site and meanwhile evaluate the village's cultural and ethnological value. The village's tenants were forcefully relocated and their houses destroyed. Sadly, Egypt struggles to preserve these archaeological sites due to its morbid economic state. The government can scarcely apportion the necessary budget for upkeep (Hang and Kong 2008, 77).

Sites with archaeological ruins and landscape features are considered significant in the present-day for public viewing and demand fairly unusual policies for management and presentation (Matero 2008, 4). Any archaeological site is impossible to be matched; damage is absolute.

Egypt's government could not provide adequate shelter to the new 'urban population'. Consequently, the migrant groups built their own dwellings in a distinct form of housing. In 2002, it was documented by G. Abraham (2002) that the population of the modern day el-Tarif village would remain 8,000, as formerly designed due to its vicinity to the famous Valley of the Kings necropolis. Unfavourable effects would result if it had a higher population (Abraham 2002, 393). Despondently, the author believes the latter number has more than doubled. Most of what remains of ancient Egypt deals with the dead yet it remains ironic that modern Egyptians' attract such diverse interaction between the ancient cemeteries and the present Egyptian existence (Tully and Hanna 2013, 384). Though, tenants are apprehensively concerned regarding their well-being, but they continue to disregard the environmentally complexity of the cemetery's constraint territories (Steiner 2008, 261).



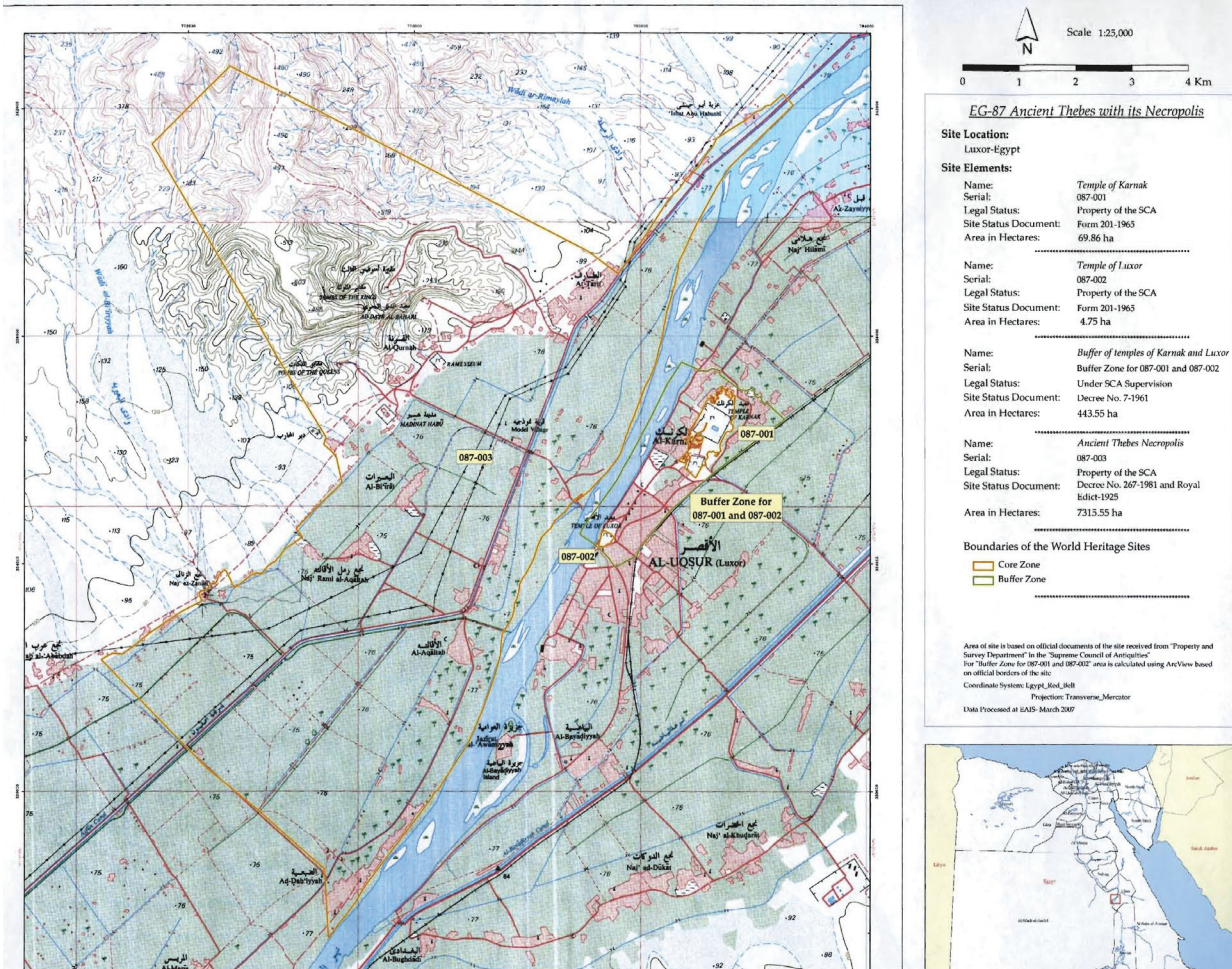


Figure 7. Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis (MSA) (after <http://whc.unesco.org/document/100844>, accessed 25 September 2018)

For many of the tenants of these vernacular buildings, there is a growing anxiety about 'Health and Safety' issues, notably the dangers of collapsing masonry in modern constructions down into the tombs due to inappropriate foundations, if these foundations were even erected. This will cause engineering and archaeological consultants major concerns, as they have to balance safety, cost and heritage factors when considering what to do to ensure both the tenants safety and safeguarding of the ancient tombs. The method by which these residents urbanized this site, along with the materials and architecture used within this historical site remains critical (Mahmoud 2016, 201).

In 2016, a woman died when her house collapsed into the underground tomb, yet today many tens of people are not even considering force-testing the infrastructure of their buildings for safety. With the mass haphazard construction-taking place several other buildings continue to remain unstable. Many of the least stable buildings date from recent times and are the result of poor design or faulty workmanship. The tenants' concern with safety is now manipulating the condition, and the setting of these ancient tombs.



## Official neglect

The el-Tarif cemetery has been unnoticed and unacknowledged as an Egyptian heritage legacy and has never been safeguarded (Abulnour 2013, 781). In this paper I indicate the importance of both the royal and non-royal el-Tarif saff tombs anticipating that they will be included within the policies enacted for other Theban archaeological sites, as well as, the conservation and preservation of their larger landscape including the modern cultural heritage that has infiltrated the site. The residents have become part of its landscape. Hence it remains indispensable to acknowledge and allocate the archaeological site in its own form. However, strong construction laws are needed to recover the nature of the native design and should decisively be applied instead of the lifeless concrete constructions. A sustainable flexible process of an ecological design for archaeological sites is vital to achieve both human and archaeological requirements (Hareedy 2016, 149). However, an issue that was restated by residents is that no concern was given to this neglected site since the 1970s. Evidence of the latter is the ease of tenants to unlawfully either construct buildings or even dig in search for ancient treasures.

Significantly, heritage comprises not only monuments, but also objects, inherited traditions and culture. Most of these heritage factors are located at the village of el-Tarif. Thus, the management of such archaeological heritage resources are desperately needed before natural progressions, such as erosion and decay, that not only threaten but also will eventually destroy such irreplaceable heritage (Ndoro 2018, 16). Finally, heritage management needs to be looked upon on a broad scale and not each site individually; it needs to include the nature of the site as a key issue for conservation leading to preservation. Destruction needs to be minimized by taking measures to lessen damage. Most countries have safety regulations and Archaeological Impact Assessments (AIA) to identify the status of archaeological resources. Naturally, this would help in recording archaeological sites and resources, and thus valuing the site significance leading to assessment of the anticipated impacts (Willems 2010, 216). The el-Tarif cemetery is nowhere on such mapped plans or assessments. If at one point, el-Tarif joins the famous cemeteries of western Thebes, then such heritage will be looked upon and gain some kind of preservation.

A 'Monuments Protection Programme' (MPP) needs to be settled individually according to the condition of, at least, the royal tombs, supported funding, and keeping into consideration the socio-cultural repercussions to such decision-making procedures. It is necessary to find communication channels between the tenants and the decision makers. The dangerous present condition needs recording of the hazards and damages. Besides, it is crucial to record the meteorological data, satellite imaging, aerial photographs of exposed zones, as well as, assessing the geological formation and condition of the stone. Time is crucial due to rapid deterioration. What remains of the saff royal tombs requires to be detected and continuously protected to prevent further damage (Abulnour 2013, 782–3).

## Conclusion

The el-Tarif royal and non-royal saff tombs call out for urgent protection to maintain their survival. This abandoned necropolis is unsettled and has to be examined, documented and preserved from urban waste and encroaching infrastructure before it is too late. A well-studied, synthesized strategy is essential and should include preservation, conservation and, last but not least, cultural heritage management of this vanishing necropolis. Specialized Egyptologists from all over the world should get together to investigate the different architectural types of tombs found at el-Tarif. And how many other unknown sites there are. The latter disputes may have been earlier briefly addressed; though the author ensures the presence of non-royal tombs of undocumented architectural classifications, and has ascertained that the el-Tarif cemetery expands much further north than the limits previously recognized.

Many hazards affect ancient monuments, including robbery and ecological erosion, but el-Tarif cemetery has one of the worst threats which lamentably is the nonstop urban development. Human actions have had devastating impacts. Among these are the constructions of modern buildings that have no foundations above these tombs, unquestionably due to the absence of cultural awareness.

The foremost complications for preservation and restoration involve primarily economic and cultural difficulties. The cultural difficulty is the tenants not wishing to depart from their homes and economically seeking appropriate compensation for being re-located; a compensation that includes land, housing and money. Prioritization of sites is necessary according to the scope of damage and archaeological importance. The tenants need to be content economically, emotionally, socially and even psychologically. Residents require water, electricity, well-designed streets, and mud brick houses with adaptable temperature rather than air conditioning. Several inhabitants attempted to save their dwellings by re-modification, yet some houses did not last as they were built without foundations and quite a few collapsed. It is noteworthy that reconstruction after a disaster is an opportunity to upgrade the community's housing condition. Careful planning by assessing the possible risks and mitigation plans for the unusual impacts is the solution and not demolition of these vernacular houses.

Consultation from heritage agencies is necessary for the reconstruction planning. Teams must be formed that consist of archaeologists, conservators, anthropologists, engineers, in brief all kinds of experts that would integrate their assessment by providing a schedule with timings for the necessary work. However, with the above resolution being a vast struggle, management is crucial to avoid any further loss. The plan should commence with the salvage of the saff royal tombs by exploration, protection and from there determination of the parts of the village or the houses that can possibly at least, be conserved in terms of water management as well as identifying construction materials. The following is an immediate crucial action plan: modern technology is necessary to register the present condition. It is necessary to incorporate 'satellite remote sensing' (SRS) or even 'ground penetrating radars' (GPR) that would assist in 'construction engineering technology' (CET) which allows scanning followed by 3D printing and the building up of a complete database and possibly even multimedia documentation of the necropolis. Once the latter has been done, there is a strong possibility of agreeing upon monitoring the condition of these tombs in order to harmonize new housing and settlements in archaeological and cultural heritage methods.

The World Heritage committee is anticipated to address the Ministry of Supreme Antiquities (MSA) requesting re-evaluation and prioritization of el-Tarif, modifying the preservation boundaries of the UNESCO list so as to include such vernacular heritage site in the Theban conservation project. The author recommends to encourage awareness and provide incentives to the inhabitants by declaring their properties for conservation; undoubtedly the owners cannot save the necropolis. A common language needs to be set between the MSA and the inhabitants who need to be allowed to partake in some kind of an interactive consultation rather than to consent to the decision or policy making and later become informed of what will take place. Strict measures are crucial in order to maintain the community's welfare as well as the cemetery itself.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Egyptian Expedition of the University of Arizona for their considerate Wilkinson Research fellowship and the use of their excavation house during my fieldwork at western Thebes. They were the foremost motivation for such opportunity to accomplish the required work and to spend lengthy time with Tarifians. I would also like to thank the Czech Institute of Egyptology, faculty of Arts, Charles University for hosting me to present my fieldwork during the *Current Research of Egyptology* conference. Ultimately, I am grateful for the constant encouragement given by my home institution Misr University for Science and Technology in Cairo, Egypt. I appreciate all of their support.

## Reference List

- Abdel Tawab, A. 2018. 'Reconsidering the Significance, Authenticity and Integrity of New Gournia Village within the Context of the World Heritage Convention'. *Urban and Regional Planning* 3/3: 92–101.
- Abraham, G. 2002. 'The comprehensive development plan for the city of Luxor'. In: C. A. Brebbia, J. F. Martin-Duque and L. C. Wadhwa (eds.) *The Sustainable City II. Urban Regeneration and Sustainability*, International Series on Advances in Architecture 14: 387–96. Southampton: WIT Press. [online] (<https://www.witpress.com/Secure/elibrary/papers/URS02/URS02037FU.pdf>), accessed 6 March 2019.
- Abraham, G., Bakr, A. and Lan, J. 2000. *The Comprehensive Development of the City of Luxor Project, Egypt – Final Structure Plan, Volume I - Technical Report Executive Summary*, Cambridge: Abt Associates Inc. [online] (<https://docplayer.net/62795308-The-comprehensive-development-of-the-city-of-luxor-project-egypt-final-structure-plan-volume-i-technical-report.htmlpdf>), accessed 6 March 2019.
- Abulnour, A. M. H. 2013. 'Protecting the Egyptian monuments: Fundamentals of proficiency'. *Alexandria Engineering Journal* 52/4: 779–85.
- Ahmed, K. G. and Elgizawi, L. 2009. 'Two Versions of "New Gournia" and the dilemma of sustainability in new urban communities in Egypt'. In C. A. Brebbia and M. Neophytou (eds.) *Sustainable Development and Planning IV*, WIT Transactions on Ecology and the Environment 120: 691–701. Southampton: WIT Press.
- Ahmed, K. G. and El-Gizawy, L. 2010. 'The Dilemma of Sustainability in the Development projects of Rural communities in Egypt – in case of New Gournia'. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 5/4: 407–29.
- Arnold, D. 1976. *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in El-Tarif*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 17. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.
- Arnold, D. and Settgast, J. 1968. 'Vierter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo in Qurna unternommenen Arbeiten'. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 23: 9–25.
- Bard, K. 1999. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Archaeology*. New York: Routledge.
- Barsum, L. K. (ed.) 2000. *The Comprehensive Development for the City of Luxor Project (CDLC). Sponsored by the Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities (MHUUC) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)*. Cairo: Ministry of Housing, Utilities, and Urban communities.
- González, J. R. N. 2014. *Complejos Funerarios Reales del Reino Medio*. Madrid: Asociación Española de Egiptología.
- Hang, P. and Kong, C. 2008. 'Heritage management and control: The case of Egypt'. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism* 2/1–2: 105–17.
- Hareedy, S. S. 2016. 'Primarily Criteria for the Architectural Treatment of Archaeological Sites' Boundaries in Sensitive Landscapes Case Study: Luxor's Western Bank'. *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences* 225: 145–65.
- Joyce, R. A. 2003. 'The Monumental and the Trace: Archaeological Conservation and the Materiality of the Past' In N. Agnew and J. Bridgland (eds.) *Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation*: 13–18. Los Angeles: The Getty conservation Institute.

Khalaf, R. W. 2017. 'A viewpoint on the reconstruction of destroyed UNESCO Cultural World Heritage Sites'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23/3: 261–74.

Leask, A. 2006. 'World Heritage Site designation'. In A. Leask and A. Fyall (eds.) *Managing World Heritage Sites*: 5–19. Butterworth-Heinemann: Elsevier.

Mahmoud, R. A. 2016. 'Old Gourni: The complexity of vernacular architecture/urbanism and cultural heritage', *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 225: 200–15.

El-Masry, I. 1988. 'Preliminary Report. A Middle Kingdom Cemetery at Tarif', *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 2: 83–6. [online] (<http://www.newchronology.org/tfiles/1399487025/02b083-001.pdf>), accessed 6 March 2019.

Matero, F. G. 2008. 'Heritage, Conservation, and Archaeology: An Introduction', *AIA Site Preservation Program*: 1–5. [online] (<https://www.archaeological.org/pdfs/Matero.pdf>), accessed 6 March 2019.

Michaelides, M. and Dauge, V. 2008 'Report of The Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission to the World Heritage Site of Thebes and its Necropolis (18 to 24 April 2008)'. *World Heritage Patrimoine mondial* 32: 1–24. [online] (<https://whc.unesco.org/document/100786>); accessed 26 March 2019.

Ndoro, W. 2018. 'Conservation and Management of Archaeological Heritage Resources' In A. Heritage and J. Copithorne (eds.) *Sharing Conservation Decisions Current Issues and Future Strategies*: 15–26. Rome: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1909. *Qurneh*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Steiner, F. R. 2008. *The Living Landscape: An Ecological Approach to Landscape Planning*. Washington: Island Press.

Tully, G. and Hanna, M. 2013. "“One Landscape, Many Tenants”: Uncovering Multiple Claims, Visions and Meanings on the Theban Necropolis'. *Archaeologies* 9/: 364–98.

Willems, W. J. H. 2010. 'Laws, language, and learning. Managing Archaeological Heritage Resources in Europe', In P. M. Messenger and G. S. Smith (eds.) *Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective*: 212–29. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

## Websites

World Monuments Fund: [wmf.org](http://wmf.org).



# Illustrations of temple rank on 21st dynasty funerary papyri

Marissa Stevens<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The political division between the Tanite kings and the Theban priesthood of Amun marks the 21st dynasty as a time of decentralization and crisis. For the Theban priesthood, this decentralization created complications with regards to social identity, but was a crisis navigable via their materiality. The temple was an obvious choice for this theocratic regime to physically and socially connect to maintain their status and identity. This social maintenance resulted in funerary papyri becoming a more common type of burial good, as reliance on extended burial caches and the condensation of the funerary assemblage warranted a more compact internment. With decorative space limited to the coffin set and papyri, choices were made regarding the content. The priesthood utilized their papyri as a form of social competition in varying ways and to different extents. In particular, the highest of elite, those with rarer titles, and women utilized their papyri to illustrate their unique status among their peers.

## Keywords

21st dynasty; funerary papyri; Thebes; burial practise; social identity; Egyptian priesthood

## Temple titles of the 21st dynasty

Twenty-first dynasty Theban funerary papyri provide a unique glimpse into the social organisation and lives of the priesthood. Because so many individuals of the priesthood owned his or her own funerary papyri, this time period and subset of society provides a rare glimpse into the construction and maintenance of the social status of individuals in the Egyptian archaeological record. There are currently 557 known 21st dynasty funerary papyri housed in over 90 museums worldwide. While several major catalogues pertaining to 21st dynasty funerary materiality exist (Sadek 1985; Niwiński 1989; Aston 2009), none of these works feature the entire corpus. These papyri clearly present a Theban phenomenon, at least in terms of their preservation. One important point about this corpus of papyri is that men and women are represented equally within the dataset. The present discussion considers the 557 papyri in terms of their content as it relates to title<sup>2</sup> and gender.

The 21st dynasty fluctuations in the political sphere, coupled with a resulting shift in burial practices, ushered in many unique changes to 21st dynasty elite culture. One primary change was the shift from palace titles to temple titles, with added emphasis on family relationships. These newly emphasized titles of the deceased suggest a shift in loyalty from the king to the state temple complexes. As the king lost power and prestige towards the end of the Ramesside Period, the Theban elite found it much more self-serving to highlight their roles within the temple. Titles grew more hereditary (Whale 1989, 239). A natural failsafe to maintain prestigious social identity was a connection to a strong family lineage from which one could gain inheritance, property, prestige, and titles (Dorman 2003, 30–41).

For men, this meant finding prestige in one's association with the temple via family relationships, rather than establishing a relationship to the king. For women, this shift away from a royal patriarchal title system afforded option and opportunity. Women could now utilize temple titles along with their male

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles, USA.

<sup>2</sup> There is a vast array of titles preserved on 21st dynasty funerary papyri. The breadth of titles preserved is much greater than those on 21st dynasty coffins, presumably because there is less limited space on papyri. Additionally, the complicating factor of widespread coffin reuse (see Cooney 2017) causes the titles preserved on coffins to be incomplete or incorrect.

counterparts in a very relevant way to this priestly subsection of Egyptian society. With the emphasis on the temple, women had more of a venue and voice to actively participate among their peers in a socially defining way. A. M. Villar Gómez (2014: 81–7) has even demonstrated that during the 21st dynasty, it was the women associated with the temple precinct of Khonsu who elevate the social status of their husbands and fathers – not the other way around. Thus, just as women’s access to the temple and specific titles grew during the 21st dynasty, so also did their social identity outside of marriage expand.

This is not to say that women reached equality to their male counterparts during the 21st dynasty. It is safe to say that Theban elite women were still very much subject to the control of first their fathers and then their husbands in this elite priestly society. However, the unique economic and political situation that augmented the traditional ties of kinship allowed elite women to advance their autonomy in the funerary record in terms of their recorded titles, grave goods, and observable independence from their male family members.

### **Women’s Titles**

During other times in pharaonic history, women were often defined through and by means of their male counterparts (Robins 1999, 155–88). Commonly relegated to the domestic sphere, it is no surprise that a clear majority of women’s titles during pharaonic times reflect their household status. Because of the close association of the woman to her husband, social status and prestige for both were derived through his professional titles and his close association to the king and palace complex (Moreno García 2012, 9). Thus, there usually existed a lack of complexity and depth in female titles as compared to men. Of course, there were always priestess functions for women in the temple, but these titles were more restricted and occurred much less frequently than male titles of the palace and temple complexes.<sup>3</sup>

The titles that are preserved for women can be broken into two major categories: household titles and temple titles. An analysis of the papyri and the titles they contain is a means of understanding female agency and power in the 21st dynasty. While women’s titles are much more restrictive than their male counterparts, observations can be made with the variation that is present. Navigating within a narrower range of titles makes the social distinction that is perceptible even more important and outstanding. It also demonstrates that Egyptologists should not focus on titles in isolation, but as one component of the identity of an individual.

Household titles for women during the 21st dynasty are much more limited in scale and scope than the newly available temple titles. Among the household titles of women, the title *nb.t-pr*, or Lady of the House is by far the most common. This title suggests a married status wherein the woman is considered the head of the domestic household. Of the 224 21st dynasty papyri with female owners, 134 title the owner as *nb.t-pr*.<sup>4</sup> This title, coupled with that of *šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w)*, ‘Chantress of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’, constitutes the clear majority of title combinations for women. In this 21st dynasty dataset, 78 of the 176 women are labelled as simply *nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w)* on at least one of their papyri, and many more women’s papyri contain this pair of titles along with other, more rare titles. The title of *šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w)* is even

<sup>3</sup> The New Kingdom Instructions of Ani suggests the following advice for social harmony: ‘Rank creates its rules: A woman is asked about her husband; a man is asked about his rank.’ (6.14–15; see Lichtheim 1976, 135–46).

<sup>4</sup> This statistic is for the number of papyri – many women have two or more papyri as part of their funerary set and sometimes, (though, not always) their titles duplicate themselves between the documents. The 224 papyri with female owners are distributed amongst 176 total women; 110 of the 176 total women are designated as a *nb.t-pr* on their papyri.

more common than that of *nb.t-pr*, with 147 of the 176 women of this dataset labelled as Chantresses of Amun, suggesting a strong emphasis on temple titles versus household titles, especially when the issue of space on funerary materiality is taken into consideration.

Temple titles during the 21st dynasty largely revolve around the Theban triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, although several other deities are represented in the preserved titles. Titles related to Amun are most common. Suzanne Onstine has observed that:

‘There is a disproportionate increase in the numbers of women who held the *šmayt* title between the time of the late 20th Dynasty and middle of the 21st. Such an artificial increase may have been the effect of active recruitment’ (Onstine 2005, 31).

With the commonality of the *šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn* title, the prestige associated with it would have declined, leaving its mark mostly as an honorific notation on the women’s papyri. The title, however, could be augmented to express an elevated level of prestige, as one example attests. The title *wr.t šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w*, ‘Great Chantress of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’, has been attested on the papyrus of Nodjmet (London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525), and suggests a leadership role or advanced level of initiation into the temple. In addition, the titles *ḥsi.t n Imn*, ‘Singer of Amun’, *ḥsi.t ʿ3 Imn (n Ip.t)*, ‘Chief Singer of Amun (of Thebes)’, and *iḥi.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*, ‘Sistrum Player of Amun-Re’ suggest a similar songstress function within the temple, although they are much less common.<sup>5</sup>

Other titles women have associating them with Amun are much more prestigious in nature, as the titles of *ḥm.t ntr n Imn-m-Ip.t(-sw.t)*, ‘Priestess of Amunemipet (Amun of Karnak)’ and *wr.t ḥnr.t n Imn / wr.t ḥnrt.t tp.t n.t Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w)*, ‘(First) Chief Musician of Amun(-Re, King of the Gods)’ and variants suggest. Tashedkhons (Cairo CG 40016, SR VII 10240), Maatkare A (Cairo CG 40007, JE 26229, SR IV 980), Harweben (Cairo SR VII 10256, TR 14/7/35/6), Gautseshen A (Cairo CG 40012, JE 95838, SR IV 936), Istemkheb D (Cairo JE 26228 bis, SR IV 525), Nesykhonsu A (Cairo JE 26230, SR VII 11573, SR VII 11485), Nesitanebashru (London BM 10554, P. Greenfield), Djedmutesankh A (New York MMA 25.3.27), Henettawy C (New York MMA 25.3.28 and New York MMA 25.3.29), Istemakhbit (P. London BM EA 9903), and Anhay (P. London BM EA 10472) all possess at least one of these titles. Most of these women have attained this status in conjunction with some of the more common religious titles associated with Amun mentioned above. This suggests additional administrative status within the Karnak temple complex, which would thus translate into a higher social status for these women.

For the goddess Mut, we see a similar array of titles, ranging from the musically adoring to priestly functions. Twenty women have the title of *ḥsi.t n Mwt*, ‘Singer of Mut’, *ḥsi.t n p3 ʿn Mwt (wr.t nb.t Išrw)*, ‘Singer in the Choir of Mut, Great Lady of the Mut Precinct’, or *ḥsi.t ʿ3.t n Mwt (nb.t p.t mr.t n Ḥwt-Ḥr)*, ‘Great Singer of Mut (Lady of the Sky, Beloved of Hathor)’. In addition, a small number of women have priestly titles referring to Mut: *ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt (n pr-msw)*, ‘Priestess of Mut (of the Birth House)’, *wr.t ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt (wr.t nb.t Išrw)*, ‘Great Priestess of Mut (Great Lady of the Mut Precinct)’, and *ʿ3.t n pr n Mwt*, ‘Great One of the House of Mut’.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The title *ḥsi.t n Imn*, ‘Singer of Amun’, is attested on the papyri of Nauny (New York MMA 30.3.32 and New York MMA 30.3.31 TM 134564). The title *ḥsi.t ʿ3 Imn (n Ip.t)*, ‘Chief Singer of Amun (of Thebes)’ is attested on the papyri of Ta... (P. London BM EA 10012), and Hennutawy A (Cairo CG 40005, JE 95856, SR IV 955; P. Boulaq 22). The title *iḥi.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*, ‘Sistrum Player of Amun-Re’ is attested on the papyrus of Mutemhab (P. Sydney R 402).

<sup>6</sup> The title *ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt* is attested on the papyri of Harweben (Cairo JE 31986, SR VII 10245) and (Cairo SR VII 10256, TR 14/7/35/6, TM 134462), Tashedkhons (Cairo CG 40016, SR VII 10240), and Istemkheb D (Cairo JE 26228 bis, SR IV 525). The title *wr.t ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt* is listed on the papyrus of Hennutawy A (Cairo CG 40005, JE 95856, SR IV 955; P. Boulaq 22). The title *ʿ3.t n pr n Mwt* is attested on the papyrus of Istemkheb D (Cairo JE 26228 bis, SR IV 525).

Finally, Khonsu involved his female devotees in a maternal fashion, with titles focusing on being a mother or nursemaid to the child god, in addition to those of a songstress and priestly function. Titles for Khonsu are the least common out of the Theban triad, with only seven women possessing titles related to this deity. Meretamun (Cairo JE 95836, SR IV 933) is provided the title *mnit n Hnsw(-p<sup>3</sup>-hrd)*, ‘Nursemaid of Khonsu (the Child)’; Nodjmet (London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection TM 133525) and Istemkheb D (Cairo JE 26228 bis; SR IV 525) hold the title *mw.t (ntr) n Hnsw-p<sup>3</sup>-hrd*, ‘(Divine) Mother of Khonsu the Child’; Henettawy A (Cairo CG 40005, JE 95856, SR IV 955; P. Boulaq 22) holds this former title as well as *ꜥ3 n pr n Hnsw m W<sup>3</sup>st*, ‘Great One of the House of Khonsu in Thebes’. In addition to these motherly titles, Nauny (New York MMA 30.3.31 and New York MMA 30.3.32) possesses the chantress title of *h<sup>3</sup>si.t n (nb W<sup>3</sup>st) Hnsw*, ‘Singer of (Lord of Thebes) Khonsu’, and Tanedjemut (P. Turin 1784) holds the title of *šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Hnsw*, ‘Chantress of Khonsu’. One unique title held by Nesykhonsu (P. Vatican 48812, P. Vatican 31) and related to this child deity is *hnr.t n Hnsw-p<sup>3</sup>-hrd*, ‘Musician of Khonsu the Child’.

In addition to the titles discussed, there are two women worth mentioning for their unprecedented titles on 21st dynasty funerary papyri. The first woman is Tawedjatre. In her pair of papyri (Cairo JE 34033, SR VII 11500, and Cairo SR VII 11496), she holds the standard titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun and the less common position of Singer in the Choir of Mut. She also, however, holds the title of *šm<sup>c</sup>.t n p<sup>3</sup> grg w<sup>c</sup>b n Pth*, ‘Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah’. She is the only woman to hold such a title on her papyri. It is unclear if this title in any way equates to a male equivalent or if this title was one meant to elevate the status of Tawedjatre but does indicate that Tawedjatre was in the service of Ptah, a rarity for women in the 21st dynasty. The second woman is Tashedkhons (Cairo CG 40016, SR VII 10240), who, in addition to her titles of Singer in the Choir of Mut, Chantress of Amun, Priestess of Amun, and Priestess of Mut, is also a *hm.t-ntr n Nh<sup>3</sup>b.t*, ‘Priestess of Nekhbet’, and *ꜥ3(.t) qnt nw.t bit Mn-m<sup>ꜥ3</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> m h.t-fmri-f Mri-Pth St<sup>h</sup>i*, ‘Great One at the Seat of King Sethi I’.

### Men’s Titles

The number of titles referenced by men far outstretched those used by women, with women utilizing a corpus of titles only about one-third the size the amount of titles available to men, as preserved on the corpus of 557 21st dynasty papyri. The larger number of distinct titles represent the greater range provided to men to express their rank and position within the temple. Generally, men’s titles fall into several major categories, including the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest, the *h<sup>3</sup>si*, ‘singer’, the *it-ntr*, the *hm-ntr*, the scribe, and the overseer of certain temple institutions or works. In addition to these broad categories, men sometimes further qualified these positions with terms such as ‘great’, ‘chief’, or ‘foremost’. Most of the temple titles of men centre on the chief deity of Amun. These titles represent the greatest diversity and opportunity for social competition among men. Usually, a man’s more common affiliation with Amun could be supplemented with affiliations to additional deities.

The title of God’s Father (*it-ntr*) is employed by 71 men in relation to Amun, making it one of the most popular titles among the male Theban elite. This title has accompanying counterparts for Mut and Khonsu, and many individuals are the God’s Father to more than one deity. There is one individual, Amenmese (Cairo JE 6262, SR VII 10250, Boulaq 9), who has a ranked God’s Father position, indicating that there was a hierarchy of this title. He was a Fourth God’s Father of Amun-Re, revealing that there were at least four different divisions of rank within this title category.



Another common title for men is that of *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest,<sup>7</sup> with 59 men holding this position in at least one form. Relating to Amun, 35 men hold the title of *w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w)*. Additionally, men could clarify their service to a particular institution relating to Amun. These titles include *w<sup>c</sup>b n <sup>c</sup>.wy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w*, ‘Priest of the Doors of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’, *w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>.wy n Ipt-sw.t*, ‘Priest of the Doors of Karnak’, *w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>q n pr Imn*, ‘Priest at the Entrance to the House of Amun’, *w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>q m Ipt-sw.t*, ‘Priest at the Entrance to Karnak’, *w<sup>c</sup>b m Ipt-sw.t*, ‘Priest of Karnak’, *w<sup>c</sup>b n h<sup>3</sup>.t n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w)*, ‘Priest at the Front of Amun(-Re, King of the Gods)’, and *w<sup>c</sup>b imy s.t <sup>c</sup>3.t n pr Imn*, ‘Priest in the Place of Works of the House of Amun’.

A further category of priest is the *hm-ntr*-priest. There are 14 men that hold this title in some form as it pertains to Amun. In addition to the standard *hm-ntr n Imn* title, there exist several variants that express rank. Two men have the title of *hm-ntr 3-nw n Imn(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w)*, ‘Third High-Priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’. One man, Ramose (P. London BM EA 9966), holds the title of *hm-ntr sn.w*, ‘Second High Priest (of Amun)’. Above that rank, there is *hm-ntr tpy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w*, ‘High Priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’.

Men are much more rarely designated as singers than women. There are, however, several instances of men serving Amun in this capacity. The title *hsi <sup>c</sup>3 n Imn*, ‘Great Singer of Amun’, is found on the papyri of Djedkhonsuefankh (Cairo SR VII 11498, TR 14/7/35/2) and Paser (P. Leiden T 7, AMS 34). The title *hsi <sup>c</sup>3 n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w*, ‘Great Singer of the House of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’, is recorded on the papyrus of Shedsukhons (P. London BM EA 10674). Seramun (P. Paris Louvre E. 17400) holds the title of *hsi <sup>c</sup>3 m rh Imn*, ‘Great Singer in the Service of Amun’.

There are fewer temple titles for men associated with Mut than for the chief deity Amun. There are only fourteen men who hold the title of *it-ntr n Mwt (wr.t nb Išrw)*, ‘God’s Father of Mut, Great Lady of the Mut Precinct’. There is a similarly low number of *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests associated with the goddess, with only two titles attested: *w<sup>c</sup>b n Mwt*, ‘Priest of Mut’, and *w<sup>c</sup>b n h<sup>3</sup>.t n Mwt*, ‘Priest at the Front of Mut’. There is only one person, Amenhotep (P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250), holding the title of *hm-ntr n Mwt*, ‘Priest of Mut’. Regarding ranked temple positions in the Mut Precinct, there are again only two titles attested: *hry <sup>c</sup>t (n Mwt)*, ‘Chief of the Doors of Mut’, and *iry <sup>c</sup>3 n pr Mwt*, ‘Great Doer in the House of Mut’.

Male temple titles relating to Khonsu are preserved even more sparingly than those for Mut. There are only nine men that hold the title of *it-ntr n Hnsw*, ‘God’s Father of Khonsu’. It should be noted that while women often use the qualification of ‘the Child’ when referring to the god Khonsu, no men use such an epitaph when describing the deity. Men must have held ranked priestly positions for Khonsu, as there is an attestation of the title *hm-ntr 2-nw Hnsw*, ‘Second High Priest of Khonsu’, on the papyrus of Menkheperre B (Cairo CG 40010, JE 95866, SR IV 967), however this is the only ranked title that is preserved. Amenhotep (P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250), holds the unranked position of *hm-ntr n Hnsw*, ‘Priest of Khonsu’. There is also one man, Khonsuemheb (Cairo SR VII 10228), who holds the title of *hm-ntr n Hnsw-R<sup>c</sup>*, ‘Priest of Khonsu-Re’, which either refers to a syncretized deity or a scribal error of a copyist who confused the titles of Priest of Khonsu and Priest of Amun-Re. Finally, the vague title of *hsi n ntr=f*, ‘Singer of His God’, is attested on the papyrus of Padikhons (P. London BM EA 10312) and probably refers to Khonsu because Padikhons’s other titles refer to this deity.

<sup>7</sup> While traditionally translated as a type of priest, the term *w<sup>c</sup>b* can also be used as an adjective describe the pure state of an individual. In some of the following titles, the term ‘pure’, rather than the classification of priest, is more appropriate and used to designate the temple association of the title.

There are a small number of titles pertaining to deities other than the Theban triad. These include Thoth, Montu, Maat, Anubis, Re-Atum, Khnum, Horus, Sobek, Onuris, and a deified Amenhotep I. There are two titles pertaining to Thoth in the form of the positions of *it-ntr n Dḥwty(-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w)*, ‘God’s Father of Thoth(-Re, King of the Gods)’, and *ḥm-ntr n Dḥwty*, ‘Priest of Thoth’. There are also two titles that refer to service for Montu: *it-ntr n Mntw*, ‘God’s Father of Montu’, and *ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb w3st*, ‘Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes’. Finally, there are two titles for Maat. The first is *w<sup>c</sup>b n M3<sup>c</sup>.t*, ‘Priest of Maat’, and the second is *sš ḥwt-ntr n pr M3<sup>c</sup>.t*, ‘Scribe of the Temple of the House of Maat’.

The remaining deities only have one title attested on 21st dynasty papyri. They are *ḥm-ntr n Inpw*, ‘Priest of Anubis’, *stm r3-Itm m W3s.t*, ‘Priest of Re-Atum in Thebes’, *ḥm-ntr n Hnm nb qbh*, ‘Priest of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract Region’, *ḥm-ntr n Hrw (Bḥdt)*, ‘Priest of Horus (of Edfu)’, *ḥm-ntr Sbk nb smnw*, ‘Priest of Sobek, Lord of Semenu-Hor’, and *ḥm-ntr n ny-sw.t bi.ty Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> Imn-ḥtp p3 ibib n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w*, ‘Priest of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeser-Ka-Re Amenhotep, Darling of Amun-Re, King of the Gods’. Finally, one individual holds the administrative title *sš šhn n pr Ini-ḥr.t*, ‘Superintendent Scribe of the House of Onuris’, listed on both his papyri. This rare title features Onuris, literally ‘the one who brings the distant one’, referring to the eye of Re. Onuris was the main deity of This and is often connected to the god Shu (Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 117).

For titles not directly holding a religious function, there are several categories worth mentioning, although they fall outside the scope of the current study. The first category centres on positions that functioned as support for the temples. These include a number of scribal positions, administrative overseer (*imy-r3*) positions, dozens of titles pertaining to the temple works, the keeper of secrets positions, guard positions, and festival organisation positions. The next group of non-priestly titles are those pertaining to the military. These titles feature administrative and overseer functions. The third group of titles focuses on funerary services. Civil administrative titles constitute the fourth group. Within this group, the main function is that of the judge. In addition, there are also titles that indicate personal service to another individual or group of people. The fifth and final group pertains to titles that are royal in nature and refer to the High Priests who took on the traditional titles of kingship during their theocratic reigns in Thebes.

### **Rank and status reflected on papyri**

The following discussion addresses the various subsets of the Theban priesthood utilized the content of their papyri to mark social status. After studying the corpus of 557 papyri by a combination of personal museum work and the use of published editions, I compiled a dataset that included such information as the name and titles of the deceased, content of the papyrus, and family associations described in the biographic texts of each document. I now aim to provide observations and interpretations regarding how each subgroup utilized their papyri as a means of constructing social identity. To do this, it is best to address each subgroup in turn, starting with the smallest group (the priesthood of non-Theban triad deities) and then progressing through each of the Theban triad priesthoods in turn (Khonsu, Mut, and Amun). Lastly, a unique group of individual, those termed pseudo-royal persons, will be discussed.

### ***Non-Theban triad priesthood***

The group of individuals in service to deities other than the Theban triad (or in addition to the Theban triad) constitutes the smallest sub-division within the assemblage. Only fourteen individuals, comprising twelve men and two women, as outlined in Tab. 1, hold titles pertaining to deities outside the Theban triad common for 21st dynasty Theban elite.

Deity	Name of deacease	Papyrus	Title
Deified Sethi I	Tashedkhons	Cairo CG 40016	<i>ꜥ3(.t) qnt nw.t bit Mn-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> m ḥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth Sthi</i> (Great One at the Seat of King Sethi I)
Nekhet	Tashedkhons	Cairo CG 40016	<i>ḥm.t-ntr n Nhbt</i> (Priestess of Nekhet)
Ptah	Tawedjat	Cairo JE 34033 and Cairo SR VII 11496	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n p3 grg w<sup>c</sup>b n Pth</i> (Chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah)
Thoth	Djedkhonsuefankh	Cairo SR VII 10267	<i>it-ntr n Dḥwty</i> (God's Father of Thoth)
	Nespernub	Cairo SR VII 11487	<i>ḥm-ntr n Dḥwty</i> (Priest of Thoth)
Montu	Nesyamun	P. Boston MFA o.Nr.	<i>it-ntr n Mntw</i> (God's Father of Montu)
	Tjanefer A	Cairo SR IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014	<i>ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb w<sup>c</sup>st</i> (Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes)
Maat	Nesyamun	New York MMA 26.2.51	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n M3<sup>c</sup>.t</i> (Priest of Maat)
	Penrenu	P. Manchester Hieroglyphic 1	<i>sš ḥwt-ntr n pr m3<sup>c</sup>.t</i> (Scribe of the Temple of the House of Maat)
Anubis	Pasebkhaenet	Cairo SR VII 10273	<i>ḥm-ntr n Inpw</i> (Priest of Anubis)
Re-Atum	Padiamun	Cairo SR VII 10654	<i>stm R<sup>c</sup>-Itm m Ws.t</i> (Priest of Re-Atum in Thebes)
Khnum	Tjanefer A	Cairo SR IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014	<i>ḥm-ntr n Hnm nb qbh</i> (Priest of Khnum, Lord of the Cataract Region)
Horus	Amunhatpamesha	Cairo SR VII 11502	<i>ḥm-ntr n Hrw Bḥdt</i> (Priest of Horus of Bekhdet)
Sobek	Amenhotep	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250	<i>ḥm-ntr Sbk nb smnw</i> (Priest of Sobek, Lord of Semenu-Hor)
Onuris	Khonsemrenep	Cairo SR VII 11501 and Chicago FM 31759	<i>sš šhn n pr Ini-ḥrt</i> (Superintendent Scribe of the House of Onuris)
Deified Amenhotep I	Amenhotep	P. Paris Louvre N. 3095	<i>ḥm-ntr n ny-sw.t bi.ty Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> Imn-ḥtp</i> (Priest of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoser-ka-Re Amenhotep)

Table 1. Non-Theban triad deities and the associated members of the Theban priesthood.

The inclusion of such titles outside the norm must have signalled to the Theban elite a rare, and possibly elevated, social status. Perhaps, with the regional associations of particular deities, such titles signalled lineage or kinship connections outside the Theban area. Such a regional distinction could emphasize a larger sphere of influence of control for the individual stressing a connection to a deity of a different region.

In terms of content, three observations are worth mentioning. The first is that the overall content of a papyrus of this category does not reflect a stressing of the deities referenced in the titles of the deceased. For example, the papyrus of Pasebkhaenet (Cairo SR VII 10273), God's Father of Amun and God's Father of Anubis, does not in any way reflect an allegiance or association with Anubis in terms of content. The etiquette is a standard depiction of the deceased venerating Osiris, and the content of the papyrus is a standard transmission of the 10th Hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber.

This disassociation between the deities served and deities depicted is consistent throughout the papyri of the fourteen individuals of this subgroup. It is, however, not surprising, as the content of the papyri is meant to be primarily Osirian and secondarily solar in theme. Serving a funerary function and holding transformative properties for the deceased, the content is not meant to be a reflection of the details of a profession in that regard. Instead of focusing on deities that directly correlate with titles, the general content of the papyri of this category features more complex funerary motifs, an abundance of rare Cosmographic Scenes, and incorporates more ritual hymns than the corpus of papyri as a whole.

This choice in more unique content is the second observation for this subgroup. A majority feature Cosmographic Scenes and/or other rare funerary compositions. Cosmographic Scenes have been previously uncategorized in scholarly literature, sometimes called a mythological scene (Piankoff and Rambova 1957) or an unknown composition (Bottigliengo 2017, 89–96). I have identified 46 such scenes in my 21st dynasty corpus, with most scenes attested on more than one papyrus. While a full discussion of the categories and subcategories is outside the scope of this paper, Tab. 2 provides a brief description of the main classifications along with a list of attestations.

Organizational system and description of Cosmographic Scenes		
Number	Description	Attestations
CS 1	The daily movement of the sun, highlighting its east to west path and its nightly return and symbolic rebirth. There are oftentimes strong allusions to the 12th Hour of the Book of the Hidden Chamber and/or the 12th Division of the Book of Gates, but compositional variation, combination, blending, and adaptation differentiate these scenes from their more traditional counterparts.	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); Cairo JE 34000 (SR VII 10235); Cairo JE 95657 (SR IV 555); Cairo JE 95659 (SR IV 557); Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652); Cairo S. R. VII 11506; Cairo SR 10257; Cairo SR IV 541 (JE 95644); Cairo SR VII 10231; Cairo SR VII 10238; Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11501; Cairo SR VII 11502; Cairo SR 10257; Luxor J. 24 (Cairo SR VII 10253); New York MMA 25.3.31; P. Berlin P. 3127; P. Berlin P. 3128; P. Berlin P. 3147; P. Cairo No Number; P. Cambridge E.92.1904; P. London BM EA 10004; P. London BM EA 10007; P. London BM EA 10010; P. London BM EA 10018; P. London BM EA 10330; P. London BM EA 9919 P. London BM EA 9932; P. Paris BN 170–73; P. Paris Louvre N. 3287; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; P. Richmond 54-10; P. Turin 1769; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A & B

Table 2. Chart of Cosmographic Scenes and their attestations.



CS 2	A venerated sun disk with a heron encircled.	Cairo SR 10257; P. Turin 1781
CS 3	The solar barque of Re sails across the sky. The bark may be towed (usually by jackals and cobras) and Seth may be present spearing Apopi. The deceased may be depicted venerating this scene, either in human form or as a ba bird.	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); Cairo JE 36465; Cairo JE 95645; Cairo JE 95648; Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); Cairo SR VII 10267; Cairo SR 10257; Luxor J. 24 (Cairo SR VII 10253); P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827); P. London BM EA 10674; P. London BM EA 9941; P. Paris BN 170-173; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; P. Turin 1781; P. Zagreb 885
CS 4	An unusual portrayal of arching Nut, depicting the circular movement of the solar barque as it enters and leaves the netherworld. There could be a possible connection to the Books of Day and Night.	Cairo JE 95648
CS 5	Nut arching over Geb. She is held aloft by either Shu or an ape-headed god. The deceased may be depicted venerating this scene. (For a description of this scene type, see Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 47-9).	Cairo CG 40017; Cairo SR VII 10267; Cairo SR VII 11501; London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield); P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34); P. London BM EA 10008; P. London BM EA 10018; P. London BM EA 9941; P. Paris BN 170-3; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401
CS 6	Osiris depicted upside down, with accompanying epitaphs written upside down.	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M
CS 7	A reclining ithyphallic Osiris resting on a hillside, enveloped by a serpent.	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); P. Richmond 54-10
CS 8	Osiris (or the deceased depicted as an Osiris) rises from the lion-couch. (For a description of this scene type, see Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 57-8).	Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240); Cairo CG 40017; Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11501; P. Berlin P. 3147
CS 9	The Osirian enthronement on the Double Stairway. This stairway represents the Primeval Hill and the unification of Egypt. (For a description of this scene type, see Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 58-60).	Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11501; London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield)

Table 2 (continued). Chart of Cosmographic Scenes and their attestations.

CS 10	Various netherworld beings (baboons, serpent-headed goddess) riding a serpent. These deities, and others that surround them, represent the control of chaos symbolized by the tame serpent.	Cairo JE 51949; Cairo SR VII 10232; P. Paris Louvre E. 17400; P. Paris Louvre N. 3069; P. Paris Louvre N. 3297
CS 11	Deities gripping serpents and carrying them like a rope.	Cairo JE 95655; New York MMA 25.3.31
CS 12	Serpents being controlled and destroyed by knives wielded by a variety of netherworld deities. The theme of order controlling chaos is prevalent in all scenes.	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII 10234); Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652); P. London BM EA 9932; P. Paris Louvre N. 3069
CS 13	The pulling of a serpent from an entity appearing to be associated with the goddess Neith.	Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652)
CS 14	A scarab encircled by an ouroboros.	Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652)
CS 15	A fire-spitting serpent facing rows of stars covering enemies with its body.	Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652)
CS 16	Scenes composed as an adoration scene, but not appearing in the primary place on a papyrus. They also feature more obscure underworld divinities instead of the traditional pantheon of venerated gods and goddesses.	Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240); Cairo CG 40017; Cairo JE 95660 (SR IV 558); P. London BM EA 10330; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401
CS 17	Libation, offering, or veneration scene where the deceased is entering a liminal space.	Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240); Cairo CG 40017; Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII 10234); Cairo JE 95660 (SR IV 558); Cairo JE 95645; Cairo SR VII 11506; Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11496; Cairo SR VII 11501; Chicago FM 31759; Luxor J. 24 (Cairo SR VII 10253); New York MMA 25.3.33; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401
CS 18	The deceased depicted in the traditional posture of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe.	Cairo CG 40014 (JE 33997, SR VII 10244); Cairo SR VII 11496; London BM 10554 (P. Greenfield); P. Paris Louvre E. 17400
CS 19	The deceased processes on a ritual boat journey, depicting the deceased traveling to the cultic sites of Heliopolis/Memphis and Abydos.	Cairo CG 40017; P. London BM EA 9932; P. Paris BN 170-3; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B

CS 20	The deceased presents his or her heart to a winged serpent.	Cairo JE 95657 (SR IV 555); Cairo SR VII 10238; P. Berlin P. 3127; P. Berlin P. 3128; P. Cairo No Number; P. London BM EA 10004; P. London BM EA 10007; P. Paris Louvre N. 3287; P. Turin 1769
CS 21	The deceased venerates a crocodile, personifying the earth god Geb.	Cairo SR VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)
CS 22	The deceased prepares to slaughter a bound donkey to a group of seated Netherworld divinities. (For a discussion of this scene, see Kees 1942, 79)	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B
CS 23	A group of individuals stand in veneration of two signs for temples.	New York MMA 30.3.31
CS 24	The deceased kneels in veneration of the tomb entrance.	New York MMA 30.3.31
CS 25	A goddess with a crocodile and lion head holds knives as she stands in front of a group of human-headed chests, among which flies the ba of the deceased. A vulture-headed god wears a panther skin and holds magic wands, and a jackal-headed goddess holds an unrolled papyrus.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 26	Four winged jackals precede four women standing by a canal. Each woman holds a jar to be filled by water pouring from a larger jar.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 27	Men work construction surrounded by shrines.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 28	A serpent is coiled in a circle, biting its tail. Inside the enclosure made by the snake are four decapitated seated figures with their heads on their laps. A woman stands with her arms outstretched towards this group, and a goddess with a West sign for her head stands behind her.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)

Table 2 (continued). Chart of Cosmographic Scenes and their attestations.

CS 29	Front facing ba birds each have a lamp associated with them. Behind the ba birds, is a coiled serpent. Above the serpent are four seated figures. In between the coil of the serpent are seated underworld deities and severed heads.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 30	A row of front facing Osiris-headed jars (?) wear atef crowns and hold crooks and flails. To the left is a recumbent human headed animal, also front facing. Above this creature is a front facing ba bird with wings outstretched.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 31	Groups of mythological animals in the underworld.	Cairo CG 40017; Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A-B; P. Paris BN 170-73
CS 32	Isis and Nephthys pour fiery liquid in a circular pattern around small figures holding hoes and two disks referencing the circuit of the sun. This scene alludes to the ceremony of the 'Hoeing of the Earth' which preceded the presentation of offerings to the deceased. (For a description of this scene type, see Piankoff and Rambova 1957, 93-5; and Regen 2017, 439-50).	Cairo CG 40017; P. Paris BN 170-173; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 A-B
CS 33	Isis and/or Nephthys performing an act of adoration or veneration.	Cairo CG 40017; Florence 3663; P. London BM EA 10472; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401
CS 34	The Four Sons of Horus, or groups of deities that evoke the Four Sons of Hours, with variation, in association with serpents. Another key of this group is the placement of these deities with serpents.	Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240); Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245); Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII 10234); Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652); Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); Cairo SR VII 11501; Florence 3663; New York MMA 25.3.34; P. Berlin P. 3147; P. Paris Louvre N. 3069; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292
CS 35	A row of coiled serpents guards a group of the Lords of the Netherworld.	Cairo JE 36465; Luxor J. 25 (from Cairo SR 10252)



CS 36	Groupings of Netherworld deities.	Cairo JE 51949; Cairo JE 95647 (SR IV 545); Cairo JE 95659 (SR IV 557); Cairo JE 95660 (SR IV 558); Cairo JE 95645; Cairo JE 95648; Cairo JE 95655; Cairo S. R. VII 11506; Cairo SR VII 10230; Cairo SR VII 10231; Cairo SR VII 10232; Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11501; Cairo SR VII 11502; Cairo SR 10257; Florence 3663; New York MMA 25.3.31; P. Paris Louvre N. 3292; P. Turin 1768
CS 37	Entities representing the cardinal directions being led by a goddess with the head of a snake carrying knives.	P. Paris BN 170-3
CS 38	A ram-headed sun god stands in the center of a personified akhet, consisting of two humans joined at the torso. The humans are holding a serpent.	Cairo SR VII 10267
CS 39	A row of cobras sits atop scarabs enclosed in ovals.	P. Richmond 54-10
CS 40	A personified wine press is held by two hawk-headed deities who twist a rope containing severed human heads. The bodies lie below, and braziers of fire are placed above the net. Red dots representing blood spurting from the heads surround the scene.	P. Turin 1781
CS 41	A series of solar barques in a vertical column are situated above a crocodile. Various divinities are seated in the solar barques, including a fire-spitting serpent, a vulture goddess, a cobra goddess, and a scarab beetle.	P. Paris Louvre N. 3069
CS 42	A double group of symbols consisting of two signs for gold, two rectangles, and two signs for sky rest upon signs for Upper and Lower Egypt (clumps of lotuses and papyrus plants, respectively).	Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII 10234)

CS 43	Black and red serpents looped above four cups.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4)
CS 44	Four lower Egyptian shrines.	Cairo SR VII 10266 (TR 14/7/35/4); New York MMA 25.3.31
CS 45	The deceased stands wrapped in a white cloak that gives him a bell shape. The head of a lion protrudes from the cloak. The deceased wears a crown of two horns, a sun disk, and two plumes.	Cairo SR VII 10267; P. Richmond 54-10
CS 46	Personified djed pillars.	Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII 10234); Cairo SR IV 541 (JE 95644); Cairo SR VII 10654 (TR 23/4/40/2); Cairo SR VII 11501; P. Paris Louvre E. 17401; P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 3859 B

Table 2 (continued). Chart of Cosmographic Scenes and their attestations.

Fourteen papyri of individuals associated with non-Theban triad deities contain the above Cosmographic Scenes, the Litany of Re, a selection of *Pyramid Texts*, *Books of the Earth* compositions, and/or portions of the Book of the Day and the Book of the Night. A full list of the 557 papyri of this dataset in alphabetical order, is featured in the appendix following this chapter. This appendix includes the lengths and heights of each papyrus (when known), as well as the organised content of each papyrus. The list of abbreviations with regard to the content of each papyrus are:

BC	Book of Caverns
BD	Book of the Dead
BE	Books of the Earth
BG	Book of Gates
BHC	Book of the Hidden Chamber
CS	Cosmographic Scene
LR	Litany of Re
PT	Pyramid Texts
WH	Weighing of the Heart

The apparent preference for what can be argued as more elevated content within this subgroup reflects the socially unique status of the owners of these papyri. The content of this subgroup also contains a number of solar hymns, funerary hymns, and a written record of a number of priestly rituals that reinforce the status of the owner as one who is highly initiated into the Egyptian religious system. For example, one of the papyri of Padiamun (Cairo SR VII 10654, TR 23/4/40/2) centres on a description and written record of priestly mysteries, providing a strong connection to cultic practice in the text of this papyrus. One text describes the ritual act of opening the doors to the shrine of Amun in Karnak to behold and care for the god every morning. Another describes Padiamun's role (as a member of the effective dead) in the Feast of Sokar at Memphis. The remaining content is a mixture of Book of the Dead spells, Cosmographic Scenes, *Pyramid Texts*, a Books of the Earth scene, and Solar Hymns.

Finally, there is an observation about the length of papyri in this subgroup worthy of discussion. The average length of papyri in this category is 3.37 m, which is markedly above the two-metre average length for the entire corpus of 557 21st dynasty funerary papyri. This longer average length again falls in line with the idea that individual with rarer titles chose to express their unique social positions via the extended materiality of their funerary papyri, commissioning documents that contained elevated content and were longer. These two traits would arguably make the papyri more expensive and perhaps require the ritual knowledge of specialists beyond the standard craftsmen responsible for making more standard papyri in terms of content.

### ***Priesthood of Khonsu***

For the personnel of Khonsu, a similar pattern appears to that of the personnel of non-Theban triad deities. The papyri of the personnel of Khonsu, consisting of 27 papyri distributed amongst twenty individuals, have an average length of 3.35 m. This number is well above the overall average of 2 m for the whole data set and indicates that these individuals were investing more in the construction of their funerary papyri. The question, again, is what content is being recorded that accounts for this additional length, and possibly speaks to the social identity of this group of individuals?

Of the 20 papyri, two have unknown content. Of the remaining eighteen, there are seven that have rarer Cosmographic Scenes, the Litany of Re, Book of Caverns, and Book of Gates content. While this is a similar trend to that of the personnel of the non-Theban triad deities, it is not as strong. Instead, the majority of papyri of this group feature Book of the Dead spells. No other patterns or trends of content can be observed for this subgroup of papyri.

### ***Priesthood of Mut***

Just like the personnel of Khonsu, little can be said for the personnel of Mut as a group. This group is larger, with 49 individuals owning a total of 71 papyri. As the size of the subgroup grows, the elements of their papyri that signal elite status decrease, indicating that for those operating in the formal Karnak temple complex, the larger the social circle, the less prestigious the group. For example, the average papyrus length for this category is 2.69 m, much closer to the overall average. In addition, the presence of rare funerary content is restricted to 26 of the 63 papyri for which the full breadth of content is known. While still a significant number, it matches that of the frequency of rare funerary content for the subgroup of papyri relating to Khonsu, indicating less access to highly restricted knowledge.

### ***Priesthood of Amun***

The personnel of Amun constitute the largest subgroup of priestly affiliates. 307 individuals in this data set hold at least one title pertaining to this chief deity in Thebes. 248 of these individuals refer only to Amun in their titles. With such a large group, there is little to be said about the group as a whole that cannot be said for the entire corpus of 21st dynasty funerary papyri or their owners. The average papyrus length for the 248 individuals who refer only to Amun in their papyri is exactly 2m, and exactly the average for the whole dataset. The content and quality of the papyri of this subgroup is also just as varied as the entire corpus.

Therefore, it is more beneficial to break this subgroup down even further. With the individuals who only reference Amun in their titles, there are clear distinctions between the three main types of priest in service to this main deity. They are the God's Father (*it-ntr*), the *hm-ntr*-priest, and the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest. The Egyptians must have viewed serving in these positions as separate functions ill-compatible with crossover service. The evidence for this is the clear lack of individuals holding a multiple of these titles. Of the 71 men serving Amun as a God's Father, only one man, Pakharu (Cairo JE 95878, SR IV 979, and

Cairo JE 95705, SR IV 635), also holds the titles of both *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Amun and *wꜥb*-priest of Amun. He holds these two additional titles on one papyrus, and only describes himself as a God's Father of Amun on his second papyrus. Additionally, Djehutymes (P. Turin 1781) holds both the titles of God's Father of Amun and *wꜥb*-priest of Amun. Amenhotep (P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250) holds both the titles of God's Father of Amun and *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Amun. For *ḥm-ntr*-priests, in addition to Pakharu and Amehotep just described, there is only one additional man, Djedkhonsu (P. Dublin MS 1673), who holds both the *ḥm-ntr*-priest title and the *wꜥb*-priest title.

Regarding content, of which Fig. 1 provides a visual summary, for *wꜥb*-priests of Amun who serve no other deities, 30% of their funerary papyri employ rarer content. For *wꜥb*-priests of Amun who serve other deities and thus have greater access to additional stores of temple knowledge, 38.46% have rarer content on their papyri. For individuals holding just the *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Amun title in some form, 16% of their funerary papyri contain such scenes. When those who serve other deities are included in this analysis, this percentage increases to 28.6%. And for the God's Father of Amun position to the exclusion of other deities, only 13% of their papyri have such content. For God's Fathers of Amun who hold titles referring to other deities, this percentage again increases to 17.9%. This pattern generally matches the trend for men to utilize such scenes in a context that reflects their associated rank within the temple system. Those men with higher titles or titles that show a broader range of influence within the temple system utilize rarer content to reinforce their social status.

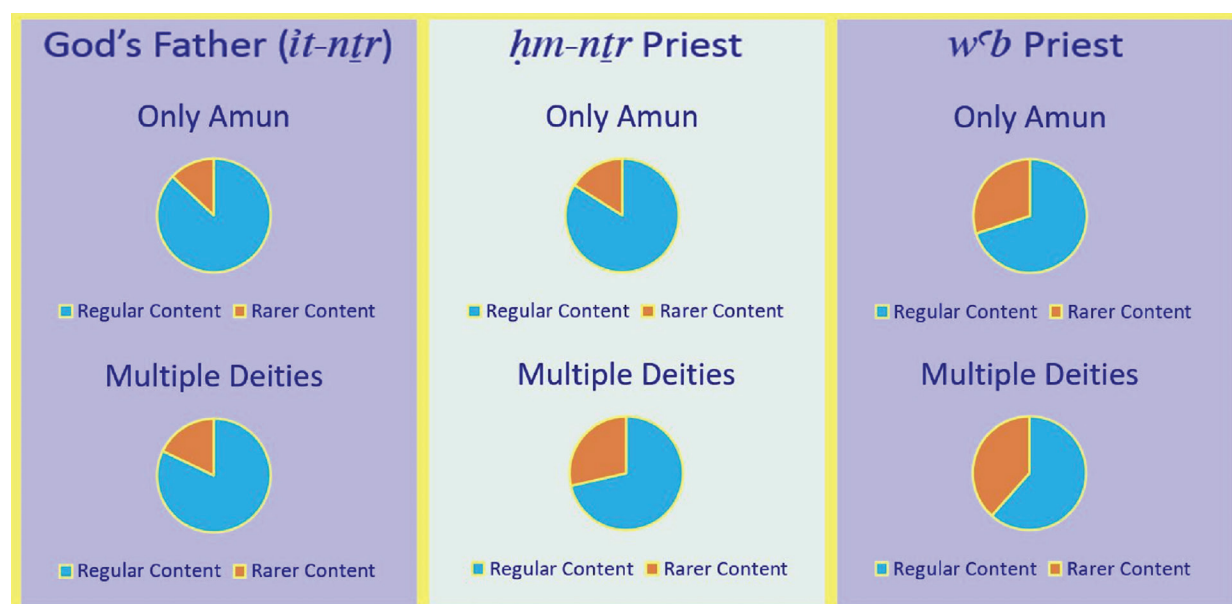


Figure 1. Content type divided by title and associated deity.

### Pseudo-royal persons

One final category to highlight is that of pseudo-royal persons.<sup>8</sup> While the concept of royalty is one intrinsically tied to family lineage, the 'royalty' of the 21st dynasty was linked to the highest of elite status in the temple, as the authority of these individuals arguably derived from the temple rather than any perceived or claimed royal blood. Individuals making a royal claim hold the highest positions within the temple, namely the High Priest of Amun. All others following in this royal pattern are connected to

<sup>8</sup> The term 'pseudo-royal' is used here because these individuals, although claiming royal titles and/or royal lineage, were not acknowledged outside themselves and their inner circle as being a legitimate ruler of Egypt.



the High Priest in some way. Because the royal claim is only derived through status in the temple, and the value of the royal claim is only supported by the temple, the royal status of individuals in Thebes in the 21st dynasty is priestly in nature.

There are thirteen individuals, presented in Tab. 3, who make a royal claim on his or her papyri.

Individuals with Royal Claims on Papyri			
Provenance	Name of deceased	Papyrus	Royal claim
Bab el-Gasus, A.133	Harweben	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245)	
		Cairo SR VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	· Menkheperre listed as her grandfather · Pinedjem I listed as her father
Bab el-Gasus, A.137	Tashedkhons	Florence 3663	
		Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240)	· Claims to be a descendant of Sethi I
Bab el-Gasus, A.140	Ankhefenmut	Cairo SR VII 10274	· Menkheperre listed as his father
		Cairo SR VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	· Menkheperre listed as his father
Bab el-Gasus, A.147	Menkheperre B	Cairo JE 95638	
		Cairo CG 40010 (JE 95866, SR IV 967)	· Menkheperre listed as his grandfather
Bab el-Gasus, A.151	Tjanefer A	Cairo SR IV 952	
		Cairo CG 40014 (JE 33997, SR VII 10244)	· Menkheperre listed as his father
Bab el-Gasus, A.152	Gautseshen A	Cairo SR VII 10265 (TR 14/7/35/3)	
		Cairo CG 40012 (JE 95838, SR IV 936)	· Menkheperre listed as her father
TT 320	Nodjmet	London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection	· Holds the title 'Mother of the King' · Herihor listed as her husband
		London BM 10490	· Herihor listed as her husband
TT 320	Pinedjem I	Cairo No Number	
		Cairo CG 40006 (SR VII 11488)	· Holds the title 'King, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re'

TT 320	Henettawy A	Cairo CG 40005 (JE 95856, SR IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Pinedjem I listed as her husband</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Mother of the King'</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Wife of the King'</li> </ul>
		Cairo JE 95887 (SR IV 992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Pinedjem I listed as her husband</li> <li>· Ramesses XI listed as her father</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Mother of the King'</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Wife of the King'</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Mother of the Wife of a King'</li> </ul>
TT 320	Maatkare A	Cairo CG 40007 (JE 26229, SR IV 980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Pinedjem I listed as her father</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Daughter of the King'</li> <li>· Holds the title 'Mother of the King'</li> </ul>
MMA 60	Henettawy B	Cairo JE 51948 a–c	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Holds the title 'Daughter of the King'</li> </ul>
		Cairo JE 51949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Holds the title 'Daughter of the King'</li> <li>· Pinedjem I listed as her father</li> </ul>
MMA 60	Henettawy C	New York MMA 25.3.28	
		New York MMA 25.3.29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Menkheperre listed as her father</li> </ul>
MMA 65	Nauny	New York MMA 30.3.32	
		New York MMA 30.3.31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Holds the title 'Daughter of the King'</li> </ul>

Table 3. Individuals with royal claims on papyri.

There are two important observations to be made with these individuals, both of which are based on a division between provenances. The first is that while both individuals from the Bab el-Gasus cache and the Royal Cache/Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) tombs make royal claims, only individuals from the Royal Cache/MMA tombs do so with formal titles. Individuals from Bab el-Gasus reference the specific person to which they are related, and do not express such relationship in a formal title. The individuals from the Royal Cache/MMA tombs express such relationships by both listing family members and using formal titles. These formal titles do not always provide the actual name of the relative. For example, Nauny uses the title of 'Daughter of the King', but she does not state who this 'king' is. Scholars generally speculate that her father must be Pinedjem I, but it is just as probable that her father was Herihor or even Nesibanebdjedet I (Dodson 2012, 246, no. 32). At the time of her burial, Nauny's social status and identity must have been so well known that no clarification seemed necessary. In addition, it should be noted that by being buried in the Royal Cache/MMA tombs, one was building a direct physical connection to the royalty of Egypt's recent past. This connection would have been well noted by the Theban elite.

Conversely, the individuals buried in the Bab el-Gasus cache were less directly connected to those individuals in the Royal Cache/MMA tombs. As such, they always mention by name the individual to whom they are trying to connect. Perhaps because their social identity was less stable or overt to the Theban elite, these individuals felt the need to specify without any ambiguity their relationship to individuals of a higher social rank.

The second observation pertains to the content of the papyri delineated by provenance and by gender. The papyri from Bab el-Gasus have a higher concentration of rare content (consisting of Cosmographic Scenes and Litany of Re content), whereas the content of the Royal Cache/MMA tombs contains much more traditional Book of the Dead and Book of the Hidden Chamber content. Within the Royal Cache/MMA tombs group, it is only the women who use rarer content in the form of included Cosmographic Scenes, Litany of Re, and Book of Caverns. This content is used more sparingly than what is found in the Bab el-Gasus cache. In both groups, however, it is overwhelmingly the women who utilize such content, with only one man, Tjanefer A (Cairo SR IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014, JE 33997, SR VII 10244), using such material.

This observation illustrates the need for women – even women of a higher social status – to compete socially with one another using materiality instead of titles. As discussed previously, men with higher ranking titles used their titles to illustrate their social position within the temple. More elite women use Cosmographic Scenes more frequently as a means of illustrating or perhaps further supplementing their elevated social status.

### **Priesthood identity and social competition**

One problem with the type of analysis presented here is the fact that most members of the Theban elite mentioned themselves with titles associated with multiple deities. With this in mind, it becomes impossible to ascertain whether a particular funerary vignette on a papyrus was meant to reference their service to Khonsu or to Amun, for example. If we are to accept that this content had meaning to the deceased, his or her family, and the larger Theban elite community, then it stands to reason that the particular content of a papyrus must have reflected the multifaceted persona of the owner, and that choosing certain content reinforced the roles and definitions of that person within the community. But teasing out the meaning of the content from the multiple identities that each person held is an elusive process.

What can be observed with the evidence presented here is that the Theban elite of the 21st dynasty were operating in different (albeit overlapping) arenas of competition. First, the highest of elite society – those who must have had the most unbridled access to rarer content for their funerary papyri – did not participate in the social competition centred on the materiality and content of funerary papyri. Their social status was so secure that participating in this form of social differentiation must have been seen as unnecessary. The competitive arena of papyrus content appears to be centred on the lower elite – those with less differentiated titles and more to gain from showcasing their knowledge of exclusive and restrictive religious content. This observation is further demonstrated by the fact that women – even those in higher position – use rarer content more than men. Because their titles were less distinct, they chose to elevate their social positions through the materiality of their papyri in a way that their male counterparts did not. At the core of this discussion is the concept that individuals were using the resources afforded to them to commission and purchase papyri that reflected their social selves and could act as a form of social competition among their peers. For some individuals, the content reflected a more singular social identity (as with the personnel of a single deity only). But for most of the 21st dynasty Theban elite, these papyri were meant to reflect their multifaceted identities and compete socially with several different sub-groups of elite society.

## Acknowledgements

This research was aided by the support of the UCLA Graduate Division, the UCLA Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, the Keck Foundation, Charles Steinmetz and the Cotsen Friends of Archaeology, and the Mellon Foundation. I also wish to thank J. Kamrin, Associate Curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and J. Taylor, Curator in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan of the British Museum, for providing me with additional photographs and new photography of papyri in their respective collections.

## Reference List

### *Primary sources*

Instructions of Ani (Lichtheim 1976)

### *Literature*

Aston, D. A. 2009. *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie LIV. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean XXI. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Bottigliengo, F. 2017. 'Digging in the Museum: Some Notes on Amduat Papyri in the Museo Egizio of Turin'. In A. Amenta and H. Guichard (eds.) *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference 19-22 June 2013*. Vol. I: 89–96. Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani.

Cooney, K. 2017. 'Coffin Reuse: Ritual Materialism in the Context of Scarcity'. In A. Amenta and H. Guichard (eds.) *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffin Conference 19-22 June 2013*. Vol. I: 101–12. Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani.

Dodson, A. 2012. *Afterglow of Empire: Egypt from the Fall of the New Kingdom to the Saite Renaissance*. New York: The American University in Cairo Press.

Dorman, P. 2003. 'Family burial and commemoration in the Theban necropolis'. In N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds.) *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*: 30–41. London: British Museum Press.

Kees, H. 1942. *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lichtheim, M. 1976. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume II: The New Kingdom*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Moreno García, J. C. 2012. 'Households'. In E. Frood and W. Wendrich (eds.) *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles: UCLA. [online] (<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002czx07>); accessed 20 February 2019.

Niwiński, A. 1989. *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C.*, Fribourg, Switzerland: Fribourg University Council.

Onstine, S. 2005. *The Role of the Chantress (Šmꜣyt) in Ancient Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1401. Oxford: Hadrian Books Ltd.

Piankoff, A. and Rambova, N. 1957. *Mythological Papyri, Vols. I-II*. New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc.



Régen, I. 2017. 'Tradition and Innovation on the Third Intermediate Period Coffins: The Case of an Uncommon Rising Solar and Osirian Scene with Hacking up of the Earth'. In A. Amenta and H. Guichard (eds.) *Proceedings of the First Vatican Coffins Conference 19-22 June 2013. Vol. II*: 439–50. Città del Vaticano: Edizioni Musei Vaticani.

Robins, G. 1999. 'Women in Ancient Egypt.' In B. Vivante (ed.) *Women's Roles in Ancient Civilizations: A Reference Guide*: 155-88. London: Greenwood Press.

Sadek Abd el-Aziz, F. 1985. *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat. Les variants tardives du Livre de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du Musée du Caire*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 65. Friburg: Universitätsverlag.

Villar Gómez, A. M<sup>a</sup>. 2014. 'An Overview of the Servants of Khonsu during the Third Intermediate Period at Thebes'. In T. Lekov and E. Buzov (eds.) *Cult and Belief in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress for Young Egyptologists 25-27 September 2012, Sofia*: 81–7. Sofia: New Bulgarian University.

Whale, S. 1989. *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. A Study of the Representations of the Family in Private Tombs*. Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

# APPENDIX

Name of Deceased	Gender	Title	M u s e u m Number(s)	Length (m)	Height (cm)	Order of Vignettes
[.]-tamenet	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10448	0.19	15.5	BD 17
...amun	Male	.... <i>Imn sš pr-hd</i>	P. Vienna no number	N/A	N/A	N/A
...ef	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3134	N/A	24	N/A
Aaamun	Male	<i>it-ntr mry ntr w<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup>wy m Ipt-sw.t hry sšt3 m Ipt-sw.t hry nfw.w wi3 n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10014	2.79	33	Adoration of Osiris - BD 9 - BD 181 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 57 - BD 57V - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 144 - BD 144V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 53 - BD 187 - BD 187V - BD 125 - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Aaneru	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup> (n) h3.t n Mwt it-ntr n Mwt 3.t nrw</i>	P. Turin 1771	3.44	20	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V - WH - BD 126V - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 9 - BD 9V
Ahmoose	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Bologna KS 3164	0.75	21	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 17
Akhesenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR VII 10255	2.45	24	BD 124 - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 86V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 133 - BD 190 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 32 - BD 32V - BD 31 - BD 166 - BD 166V - BD 151 - BD 151V - BD 92 - BD 92V - BD 42
Amenemhet	Male	none	Cairo SR VII 11495	3.88	23	Adoration of Osiris - ? - BD 130
		<i>it-ntr n Imn hry q<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	Cairo SR VII 10230	2.45	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - Purification Scene - Hymn to Re-Horakhty-Atum - Adoration of Osiris - CS 36b - BD 110 V - BD 150V
		<i>sš pr-hd</i>	CG 40030 (JE 95855, SR IV 954)	2.28	23	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B - BD 172 - Solar Hymn
Amenemint	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> sš n pr-hd n nb t3.wy n pr Imn</i>	Cairo S. R. VII 11506	2.7	22.5	Adoration of Osiris (deceased with ba) -CS 1a - BD4/BHC 11 - Adoration of Re-Horakhty (ba only) - BD 110V - BD 86V - CS 17 - CS 36a - BD126V - CS 17

Amenemipet	Male	<i>ḥm-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w ḥry sš t3 ḥry sš qd.wt n pr Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95713 (SR IV 646)	1.5	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18
Amenemipet	Male	none	P. Oxford 1878.236	0.53	20	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 29
Amenemipet	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	P. Private Collection [1] (P. Fischer)	0.48	22	Unknown Text - BD 27/29 - BD 26 - BD 6 - Magic Spell
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w sš n3 mnhj.w n p3 imy-r3 mšc</i>	Cairo JE 95646 (SR IV 543)	1.44	23.5	BD 149 - BD 149V
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn sš mšc</i>	Cairo JE 95648	1.37	23	BHC 12 - BE 8 - BHC 10 - BHC 11 - CS 36b - BD 87V - CS 4 - CS 3a - BD 137A - BD 146V - BD 148V
Amenhotep	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n Mwt ḥm nṯr n Imn nb prt p3 wdb.w n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Avignon A.69	1.93	23.5	N/A
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w w<sup>c</sup>b m Ipt-swt ḥry sš ḥwt-nṯr n pr Imn ḥry sš ḥwt-nṯr n nṯr:w nṯr:wt nb.w it-nṯr n Mwt it-nṯr n Ḥnsw it mri m pt t3 dw3t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3005 A-D	2.36	39	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
Amenhotep	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w ḥm-nṯr n Mwt t3 ḥry st wr:t ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnsw p3 ḥry st wr:(t) ḥm-nṯr n Imn ḥry ib Ipt-swt sš.w ḥwt- nṯr n pr Imn ḥry sš ḥwt- nṯr nṯr:w nṯr:wt nb ḥm-nṯr Sbk nb smnw</i>	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 250	1.82	33.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180
Amenhotep	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn w<sup>c</sup>b (n) Mwt ḥm-nṯr n ny-swt bi.ty Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> Imn-ḥtp p3 ibib n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3095	1.32	17.2	Adoration of Osiris - BD 33 - BD 35
Amenkhau	Male	<i>ḥm-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-swt nṯr:w</i>	P. London BM EA 10041	0.97	24.1	Adoration of Osiris - BD 149 - BD 149V

Amenmese	Male	<i>it-nṯr S-nw n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo JE 6262 (SR VII 10250, Boulaq 9)	1.7	23.7	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Amenmese	Male	<i>it-nṯr mry ḥry k3.t n pr Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg P-1-1952 (P. Tallinn)	0.985	19.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 61 - BD 30B
Amenmese	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b sš n pr-ḥd n Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1666	1.6	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - WH - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 125B - BD 125BV
Amenmese	Male	<i>imy-r3 qd.w n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341)	1.65	19	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 125A - BD 125C - Solar Hymn
Amenmese	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b sš pr-ḥd n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10011	1.59	23.5	Litany of Re
Amenniutnakht	Male	<i>it-nṯr ḥry sšb</i>	Cairo SR VII 10224	5.13	23	BD 81 - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 175 - BD 75V - BD 73V - BD 94V - BD 99V - BD 2V - BD 3 - BD 9 - BD 148V - BD 72 - BD 71 - BD 64 - BD 100V - BD 134V - BD 130V - BD 89 - BD 63 - BD 99 - BD 124 - BD 125 A - BD 125B - BD 124V - BD 153AV - BD 138V - BD 140V - BD 30V - BD 6V - BD 125C - BD 126V - BD 57V - BD 59V - BD 87V - BD 127B - BD 137V - BD 42
AmunemSoef	Male	<i>ḥry qr<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	Cairo CG 58025 (SR IV 946, JE 95854)	0.112	21	BD 135
AmunemSoef	Male	<i>ḥry qr<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3292	4.49	38	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - Solar Hymn - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 30B - BD 30BV - WH - CS 3b - CS 34a - CS 36a - BE 3 - Adoration of Osiris - Solar Hymn - BD 150V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - CS 1b
AmunemSoef	Male	<i>qr<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3293	2.68	23.5	N/A
Amunenwia	Male	<i>ḥry c.t n pr Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3127	1.72	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Amunenwia	Male	<i>ḥry c.t n pr Imn</i>	P. Paris BN 33-37	3.18	22.5	Adoration of the Sun - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V



Amunhatpamesha	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hm-ntr n Hrw Bhd</i>	Cairo SR VII 11502	2.6	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 26 - BD 30B - Adoration of Thoth - Speech of Thoth - CS 36a - Solar Hymn - CS 1a - BD 136V - BD 149 - BD 149V
		<i>it-ntr n Mwt hm-ntr Hrw</i>				
		<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	Cairo SR VII 10233 (JE 34049)	2.18	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11
Anhay	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn wrt hm.t n nb.wt ib.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10472	4.43	42	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 15 - BD 125 - BD 146BD 125V - WH - BD 110V - BD 125 - BD 82 - BD 79 - CS 33a
Ankhefenamun	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn sš nfr:w n pr Imn</i>	P. Dresden Aeg. 775	2.81	22.5	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 151 - BD 151V - Speech by Thoth - BD 125 - BD 125V - WH - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys
Ankhefenamun	Male	<i>hry k3.t hnty pr Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1109	0.775	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ankhefenkhons	Male	none	Cairo JE 95656 (SR IV 554)	1.47	23.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hry sšt3 hry t3i bsn n pr Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95658 (SR IV 556)	1.59	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 57 - BD 89 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 56 - BD 9 - BD 9V
Ankhefenkhons	Male	<i>hm- ntr n w3 n Imn- R' ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B	1.29	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 64 - BD 30B - BD 133
Ankhefenkhons	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w sš n ntr htp.w pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9980	0.622	24.1	BHC 12 - BG 8
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it- ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo SR IV 1003	0.76	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12
		<i>it-ntr mry-ntr hry sšt3 m pt t3 dw3.t hry hm.w.tyw n pr Imn</i>	P. Vatican 19651	0.965	22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 133 - BD 136/136A
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w t3i bsn n pr-Imn</i>	P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number	1.2	24	N/A
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr sš</i>	P. Turin 1790	0.6	22	BHC 11 - BHC 10
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Cologny CI	1.18	23.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	<i>it- ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	P. Private Collection Paris 1	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134

Ankhefenkhonsu	Male	none	P. Warrington WAGMG; RA 298	1.03	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn it-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo SR VII 10274	1.28	36	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
		<i>it-ntr n Imn it-ntr n Mwt wr:t nb.t Isrw</i>	Cairo SR VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9)	1.17	19	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 150V - BD 126V - BD 99V - BD 136V - BD 110V
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>nbi n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Berlin P. 3017	0.35	23	N/A
Ankhefenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 3	0.84	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 25B - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ankhefkonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn ny-sw:t ntr:w</i>	P. Leiden AMS 46	1.235	24	N/A
Ankhefkonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn hry sst3 s3b wn n.t 'q m Ipt-sw:t hry-tp n 3ht nhlh</i>	P. Unknown	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ankenkhonsuenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw:t ntr:w</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1826 E	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ankhes	Female	<i>nb.t-pr sm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw:t ntr:w</i>	P. London BM EA 10203 (P. Harris 506)	0.51	24.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 180
Ankhesenaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr sm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.6	0.59	19.5	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Ankhesenaset	Female	none	P. Den Haag 43/89	0.24	21	BD 166
Ankhesenaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr sm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn hst.t n.t p3 ' n Mwt</i>	P. Paris BN 62- 88	5.365	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 7 - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 57 - BD 53 - BD 93 - BD 75 - BD 61 - BD 189 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 27 - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V

Ankheseniset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w ḥs.t n.t p<sup>3</sup> ' n Mwt wr nb.t Išrw</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3109	N/A	44	N/A
Ankhesenmut	Female	<i>ḥs.t n p<sup>3</sup> ' n Mwt wr:t nb.t Išrw nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	Cairo JE 95637 a-d (SR IV 528)	2.22	34	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD 150V - BHC 11 - BD 110V
Ankhesenmut	Female	none	P. Paris Louvre N. 3244	N/A	46	BD 23 - Unknown Texts - BD 162 - Unknown Texts
Annesu	Female	none	P. Turin CGT 53006 (Nr. 1853)	0.97	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Anonymous			Cairo SR VII 11505	3	23	N/A
Anonymous			Cairo SR VII 10226	1.53	25	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous			Cairo SR VII 10248	1.76	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous	Female		Cairo JE 95664 (SR IV 565)	1.32	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 10000	1.21	12.5	BHC 12
Anonymous			P.LeidenNoNumber	0.945	20	N/A
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3165	0.4	24	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre 3288	N/A	24	N/A
Anonymous			P. Zagreb 883	1.495	43.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Zagreb 884	0.54	19.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris BN 156	0.73	22	BHC 12
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9985	0.8	12.8	N/A
Anonymous			P. London BM EA 9987	0.37	22.9	N/A
Anonymous			P. Berlin P. 3007 A-F	2.16	22	N/A

Anonymous		P. Berlin P. 3129	1.19	23	N/A
Anonymous		P. Berlin P. 3130	0.95	24	N/A
Anonymous		P. Berlin P. 3123	0.75	23.5	N/A
Anonymous	Female	P. Berlin P. 3148	1.4	19	N/A
Anonymous	Female <i>nb. t-pr</i>	P. Berlin P. 3152	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous		P. Berlin P. 3004	0.27	20	N/A
Anonymous		P. Paris Louvre N. 3110	N/A	20	N/A
Anonymous		P. Turin 1776	4.16	24	BHC 9 - BHC 10 - BHC 11 - BHC 12 - BHC Abridged
Anonymous		P. Turin 1778	1.54	12	N/A
Anonymous		P. Turin 1783	0.94	24	BHC 12
Anonymous		P. Turin 1786	0.38	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Anonymous		P. Turin 1788	0.275	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Anonymous		P. Turin 1789	1.25	13	N/A
Anonymous	Male <i>it-ntr n Imm</i>	P. Leiden T 27 (AMS 48)	1.22	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Anonymous		P. Leiden AMS 32	4.55	48	N/A
Anonymous		P. Leiden AMS 49	0.59	25	N/A
Anonymous		P. Leiden ACS 10	1.85	23	N/A
Anonymous		P. London BM EA 9975	0.6	23	BHC 12
Anonymous		P. Paris Louvre N. 3235	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Anonymous		P. Leiden L.I.1	4.6	24	N/A
Anonymous		P. Leiden L.I.3	1.37	24	N/A



Anonymous		P. Dublin MS 1665	1.17	21.5	N/A	
Anonymous	Female <i>nb.t-pr sm<sup>c.t</sup> n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hst.t n Mwt m<sup>3c</sup>.t hrw</i>	P. Dublin MS 1672	1.94	23.7		Adoration of Osiris - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 31 - BD 102 - BD 119 - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 116 - BD 85 - BD 77 - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125B
Anonymous		P. E.1026	0.72	24	N/A	
Anonymous		P.Bologna KS3169	0.36	22	N/A	
Anonymous		P. London BM EA 10024	1.105	17	N/A	
Anonymous		P. Marseille 293	N/A	N/A	BHC 12	
Anonymous		P. Marseille 295	N/A	N/A	BHC 3	
Anonymous		P. London BM EA 9979	0.73	25.4	BHC 12	
Anonymous		P. London BM EA 10001	1.26	19	BD 166 - BHC 12	
Anonymous		P. London BM EA 10267 (P. Harris 505)	0.75	23	N/A	
Anonymous		P. Hermitage 2509	0.59	21	N/A	
Anonymous		P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.3	1.84	19	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 94508	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 94536	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 95692	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 95724	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 99067	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		Cairo JE 95701 (SR IV 631)	4.11	11.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9	

Anonymous	Cairo JE 95721 (SR IV 655)	2.75	23.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Anonymous	Cairo JE 34000 (SR VII 10235)	1.65	24	Right: BG 5 - BG 8 - BHC 10 - BG 10/BHC 9 - BHC 11 - BG 5 Left: CS 1b - BE 8
Anonymous	Cairo SR VII 11491	4.35	45	N/A
Anonymous	Brooklyn Museum 37.1699 E	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 430	0.3048	22.86	N/A
Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 431	0.6604	25.4	N/A
Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 434	0.00508	86.36	N/A
Anonymous	P. Aylesbury 435	0.1905	24.13	N/A
Anonymous	P. Berlin P. 3051	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous	Budapest 51.2547	1	N/A	N/A
Anonymous	P. Cambridge E.26 c - 1940	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous	P. Cortona 394	0.635	22.5	N/A
Anonymous	P. Den Hagg 37	2.66	33	N/A
Anonymous	P. Genf D 406	0.35	12	BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Anonymous	P. Heidelberg von Portheim Stiftung 5	N/A	N/A	BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 162
Anonymous	Female <i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t ntr.w</i>	0.295	19	BD 23 - BD 25 - BD 26
Anonymous	P. Kazan 2	0.17	7.8	N/A
Anonymous	P. Liège No Number	0.515	25.5	BHC 12
Anonymous	P. London UC 32801	N/A	N/A	BD 28

Anonymous	Male	$w^c b$ n <i>Imn it-ntr</i> n <i>H<sub>NSW</sub></i> sš [...]	P. Mainz PJG 96	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris
Anonymous			P. Munich 89	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Moscow I, 1b, 8	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous			P. Pairs Louvre N. 3062	N/A	32	N/A
Anonymous			P. Pairs Louvre N. 3071	N/A	37	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3111	N/A	24	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3118	0.62	10.5	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3179		30	WH
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3374	N/A	9	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3451	N/A	25	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 5451	N/A	18	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre E. 6257	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3142 A	0.051	20.8	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3160	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Paris Louvre N. 3172	0.134	8	BD 166
Anonymous			P. Perm, Nr.?	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Re-Horakhty
Anonymous			P. Vatican 38590	0.286	6.2	N/A

Anonymous		P. Vatican 52	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		P. Vatican 91	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Anonymous		P. St. Petersburg 1114	N/A	N/A	N/A	BD 166
Anonymous		P. Lowie 5-267	0.36	26		BHC 12 - BHC 9 - BHC 5 - BHC 6
		P. Lowie 5-268	N/A	N/A		BD 146 - BD 147 - BD 148 - BD 149
Aset	Female	P. Munich ÄS 17	N/A	N/A		Unknown Texts - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 125B - BD 125C
Aset	Female	P. Turin CGT 53007 (Nr. 1851)	1.16	24		Adoration of Osiris - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 38B - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 122/58 - BD 57 - BD 132
Aseti	Female	P. Leiden T 37	0.233	21.8		BD 166
Ast	Female	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.7	0.66	24		BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B
Ast	Female	P. London BM EA 10703	0.081	15.6		BD 1
Astemakhbit	Female	P. London BM EA 10062	1.09	25		BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Astemakhbit	Female	P. London BM EA 10743	1.28	24		Adoration of Osiris - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Astemkhebit	Female	P. London BM EA 10019	2.63	20.3		BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Asti	Female	P. London BM EA 10084	3.4	32		BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 136B - BD 136/136A - BD 98 - BD 99/99B - BD 63B - BD 8 - BD 82 - BD 77 - BD 86 - BD 85 - BD 83 - BD 102 - BD 57 - BD 53 - BD 93 - BD 75 - BD 61 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 153A - BD 125A



Bakenkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn hry sšt<sup>3</sup> ɛ.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 17399	2.11	34.5	BD 110 - BD 125
Bakenmut		<i>w<sup>ɛ</sup>b nbi n pr Imn it-ntr n Mwt wr.t nb išrw</i>	Cairo SR VII 10231	2.52	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 36a - BG 1 - BHC 6 - BE 6 - BHC 11 - BHC 4 - CS 1e
	Male	<i>w<sup>ɛ</sup>b nbi n pr Imn it-ntr n Mwt</i>	Cairo CG 40023 (JE 95880, SR IV 982 A-E)	2.45	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 194 - BD 135B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD125AV - WH - BD 126V - Purification Scene - BD 110V
Bakenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.724	N/A	20.6	N/A
Bakenmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.882	0.72	20.5	BD 23 - BD 162 - BD 61 - BD 29 - BD 6
Bakenmut	Male	<i>w<sup>ɛ</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w it-ntr n Hnsw n w<sup>3</sup>st nfr htp sš ntr htp.w n pr Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3297	0.99	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 10 - BHC 10 - BD 126V/BG 9/BHC 10
Bakenweren	Male	<i>w<sup>ɛ</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup> nb t<sup>3</sup>.wy hry hb n Imn m Ipt-sw.t</i>	none	3.25	33.5	Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168B - BD 168BV) - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 99 - BD 99V - BD 100 - BD 100V - BD 110V - BD 90 - BD 90V - BD 186 - BD 186V
Baumuternehktu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>ɛ</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3069	1.06	21.6	Adoration of Osiris (deceased with ba) - BD 149V/150V - CS 34b - BD 148V - CS 41 - CS 10 - CS 12b
Buhar	Male	none	P. London BM EA 9974	0.4	12.7	Adoration of Re-Horakhty
Buharuamun	Male	<i>hry ɛ.t (n) Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup></i>	P. Leiden AMS 51	0.65	11	N/A
Buiruharmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>ɛ</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cleveland 1914.725	0.48	24.2	N/A
Buiruharmut	Male	none	P. Cleveland 1914.733	N/A	24.3	BD 23 - Unknown Text
Dhutynakht	Male	<i>w<sup>ɛ</sup>b n Imn nbi n p<sup>3</sup> sšm hw n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 26231 (JE 26191, SR IV 995)	0.37	21.5	BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 181V
Diekhonsiri	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>ɛ</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR VII 10236	2.13	24	BHC 12 - BHC 11

Dimutiudu	Female	$\check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm$	P. London BM EA 74136	0.944	20	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Direpu	Female	$nb.t-pr\ \check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w$  none	Cairo SR 10257  Cairo CG 40018 (JE 95860, SR IV 960)	2.67  2.61	23.5  24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys + Four Sons of Horus - CS 3c - CS 1d - BD 83V - BD 90V - BD 125V - CS 2 - CS 36a - BD 149V/150V - BD 146V - BD 149V - BHC 10 - BD 148V - CS 1b  Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136 - BD 134 - BD 64 - 133 - BD 136 - BD 134
Disuenmut	Female	$nb.t-pr\ \check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm$	P. London BM EA 9948	1.21	21.6	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18V
Djedamunetiusankh	Female	$nb.t-pr\ \check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm$	P. London BM EA 10307	0.5	25	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Djedamuniuefankh	Male	$hm-n\ tr\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w$  $hm-n\ tr\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w$	Cairo JE 95716 (SR IV 650)  Cairo JE 95718 (SR IV 652)	0.645  0.99	26  27	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 162  CS 1a - CS 13a - CS 13b - CS 14 - BD 1V - CS 34c - CS 12c - CS 15
Djedamuniuefankh	Male	$it-n\ tr\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w\ s\ ib\ n\ t\ qnbt\ n\ niwt$	Cairo SR IV 530 (JE 4891)	0.64	24	BHC 12
Djedamuniesankh	Female	none	P. Vatican 46	N/A	N/A	N/A
Djedasetiusankh	Female	$\check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w\ \check{s}ps.t$	P. Moscow I, 1b, 130	2.917	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text
Djedbastet	Female	$\check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm$	P. Turin CGT 53009 (Nr. 1862/2)	0.61	14	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23- BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Djeddjhutyuefankh	Male	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 3238 (P. Anastasi 1037)	0.46	8.5	BD 1
Djedefenkonsu called Penpy	Male	$w^c b\ ^c q\ n\ pr\ Imm$	P. Oberlin AMAM 52.12	0.73	24.4	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Djedhor	Male	none	P. Paris BN 61	N/A	14	BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 28
Djedimentetieufankh	Male	$it-n\ tr\ n\ Imm-R^c\ ny-sw.t\ n\ tr.w$	P. Marseille 292	0.503	57.2	BD 23 - BD 100/129 - BD 5 - BD 157 - BD 175 - BD 30B - BD 26
Djedimentetiesankh	Female	$\check{sm}^c.t\ n\ Imm$	P. Vatican 38579	0.225	31.3	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25

Djedisetiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Garstang 56.22.673	0.59	24.5	N/A
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Garstang 56.22.674	0.688	24.5	N/A
Djedkhonsesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 33999	1.73	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 145V - BD 146V - BD 58V - BD 77V - BD 86V - BD 87V - BD 81AV
		none	???			N/A
Djedkhonsiufankh	Male	none	P. London BM EA 74135	0.87	21	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Djedkhonsiusankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10044	1.32	24.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 180
Djedkhonsiusankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn hr.it ssš.t (n) pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10328	0.39	24.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Texts - BD 162
Djedkhonsu	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9983	1.016	16.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>hm-ntr n Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	P. Dublin MS 1673	3.94	12.7	Adoration of Osiris and Re-Atum - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cortona 187	0.23	8	BD 149 - BD 3V
Djedkhonsu	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn ss pr Mwt</i>	P. St. Petersburg 18587	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi ʿ3 imnt.t Wʿ3.s.t</i>	Cairo JE 95659 (SR IV 557)	1.4	23	CS 1b - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - Solar Hymn - Purification Scene - Solar Hymn - CS 36a
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	none	Cairo JE 95835 (SR IV 932)	1.38	25	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 30V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 149V - BD 17V - BHC 11 - BD 89

Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>ḥsi</i> <sup>33</sup> <i>n Imn it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> imy-r<sup>3</sup> pr imy-r<sup>3</sup> šnw. tw sš wr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	Cairo SR 11498 14/7/35/2)	VII (TR)	6.15	28	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BD 150V - BD 110V - Offering Scene
		<i>imy-r<sup>3</sup> šnw.tw sš wr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo SR 10266 14/7/35/4)	VII (T.R.)	7.14	16.5	CS 36b - BD 151 - BD 148 - CS 3a - CS 43 - CS 17 - BD 182V - CS 44 - CS 34c - BD 30V - CS 34c - CS 36b - BD 89 - CS 34c - CS 26 - CS 3a - CS 36b - BD 182V - CS 34c - CS 27 - CS 28 - CS 29 - CS 30 - BD 144V - CS 25 - CS 36b - CS 31b - CS 3a - BD 84V - BD 81V - BD 148V - BD 30V - BD 105V - BD 114V - BD 116 V - BD 112V - BD 113V - BD 137V - Purification Scene
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn it-nṯr n Dḥwtw-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo SR 10267	VII	3.54	22	BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 132 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 30B - BD 75 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C
		<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn it-nṯr n Dḥwtw nb niwt n psḏ.t sš</i>	Cairo SR 10267	VII	3.54	22	Adoration of Osiris - CS 3a - Corruption of Text from the Book of Day and the Book of Night - CS 3b - CS 3a - Solar Hymn - BD 136 - BD 149 - CS 5 - WH - BD 10 - CS 45 - CS 38
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Mineapolis 16.675	1		24.7	N/A
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn ḥry šn<sup>c</sup> n pr Imn</i>	P. Bologna 3163	KS	0.65	16	Adoration of ? - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 24 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162 - BD 61
Djedkhonsuefankh	Male	<i>it-nṯr mry imy st n <sup>c</sup>.t n pr Imn</i>	Brooklyn Museum 37.1782E		N/A	N/A	N/A
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn pr...m ḥ.t...n pr Imn</i>	P. Turin 1779		1.23	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BD 148V - BD 149V
Djedkhonsuiuefankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b (n) ḥ<sup>3</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854)		1.02	15	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1108		1.115	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3125		1.23	23	N/A
Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Oxford Ms. Egypt. d. 10 (P) + d. 11 (P)		N/A	21	BD 166 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27



Djedkhonsuiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Pairs Louvre N. 3276	N/A	25	Introduction: BD 149 Upper Register: BD 151V - BG 8 - BHC 12 - BE 6 - BE 8 - BE 9 - BE 10 - BHC 12 Middle Register: BE 3 - BE 6 - BE 10 - BHC 12 Lower Register: BE 3b - BE 3 - BHC 11 - BE 7 - BE 10 - BHC 12
		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3280	2.18	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Djedmaatasesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 95645	1.46	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 36a - CS 17 - CS 3b - CS 36b
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 95655	1.55	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 11 - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - CS 36a - CS 11 - BD 85V
Djedmaatuiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Cologny CVIII	1.277	27	BHC 12 - BD 30A - BD 30B - Solar Hymn
Djedmehitiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3009	0.45	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 136/136A
Djedmenetch	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn ny-sw.t ntr.w s3b sš n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Leiden AMS 36	1.33	22.5	N/A
Djedmontiufankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ny-sw.t h3 (?) n nb ts.wy</i>	P. London BM EA 75034	N/A	21.6	BD 31V - BD 33V - BD 149 - BD 82V
Djedmut	Male	<i>it-ntr (n) Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3130	0.5	25	Adoration of Osiris
Djedmut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3126	1.24	24	N/A
Djedmut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Norwich 1921.37.262.3 A	N/A	N/A	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Djedmutesankh	Female		???	N/A	N/A	N/A
			???	N/A	N/A	N/A
			???	N/A	N/A	N/A
Djedmutesankh A	Female	<i>wr.t hnr.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.27	2.27	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Djedmutesankh A		none	Cairo JE 49165	N/A	N/A	N/A
Djedmutiuefankh	Male	<i>it-ntr n Mwt</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 4	1.12		N/A

Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin 53008 (Nr. 1855)	CGT 0.89	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10223	VII 1.32	13	Adoration of Osiris + Hathor and Isis - BD 136/136AV - BD 104V - WH - BD 126V - BD 110V - BD 86V - BD 150V - Adoration of Osiris - BD 63AV - Purification Scene
Djedmutiuesankh		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR VII 10220	0.92	13	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Djedmutiuesankh	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Ann Arbor 3524; P. Munich ÄS 30+719	0.78	9.3	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 162
Djedmutiufankh	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n h<sup>3</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w it-ntr n Mwt wr:t nb.t Išrw</i>	P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134-136)	1.42	20.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172
Djedptahefankh	Male	<i>hm-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	Cairo SR 10246	2.84	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Djedptahefankh	Male	none	Collection Brocklehurst	2.75	30.5	N/A
Djedptahefankh	Male	none	LOST	N/A	N/A	Deification Decree
Djhuty	Male	<i>s<sup>3</sup>b q<sup>3</sup>r</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850)	N/A	17.5	Recto: BD 125; Verso: 125 - BD 126 - BD 126V
Djhutyiu	Female	none	P. Paris Louvre N. 3127	N/A	33	BD 148V
Djhutymes	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w w<sup>c</sup>b n Mwt sš it-ntr n pr Imn</i>	P. Turin 1781	1.02	24	CS 3a - Solar Hymn - CS 40 - CS 2
Djhutymes	Male	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10221	2.3	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 11
Djhutymes	Male	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> c n Mwt nb.t Išrw</i>	Cairo CG 40013 (JE 29636, SR IV 1001)	1.81	19.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125 - BD 149 - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 149 - BD 149V
Gautseshen	Female	none	Cairo JE 95846 (CG 58002)	0.25	12	BD 166

Gautseshen	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.31	1.195	24	Adoration of Osiris + Selket - CS 1a - BE 3 - BE 68 - CS 36b - BHC 10 - CS 11 - BHC 10 - CS 44
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.32	1.2	27.9	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn
Gautseshen	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53010 (Nr. 1852)	1.14	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 180
		none	CairoSRVII10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3)	4.77	45	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9  Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 15B - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 1134 - BD 134V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 68V - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 136A - BD 136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99B - BD 99BV - BD 63B - BD 8 - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 111 - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 107V - BD 108 - BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 114 - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 7 - BD 39 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 41 - BD 41B - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - Bd 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 58 - BD 57 - BD 132 - BD 189 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD 63A - BD 156 - BD 155 - BD 79 - BD 75 - BD 179 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 105V - BD 47 - BD 103 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 97V - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 141/142 - BD 190 - BD 146 - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 137AV - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 152 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 153B - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 125D - BD 125V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 136BV - BD 151 - Hours of the Night - BD 177 - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V - Purification Scene
Gautseshen A	Female	<i>nb.t-pr wr.t hnr.t tp.t n Imn šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn hsi.t c<sub>3</sub>.t (n) Mwt</i>	Cairo CG 40012 (JE 95838, SR IV 936)	17.94	33	

Ha	Male	<i>ḥry s3.wty sš.w</i>	P. New York Amherst 17 [B]	N/A	N/A	Hymn to Osiris - Solar Hymn - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 173 - BD 173V
Harweben	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṛ-w ḥm.t-nṛ Ḥ-nw n Mwt</i>	Cairo JE 31986 (SR VII 10245)	1.91	23.5	CS 3b - CS 12a - CS 1e - BD 9V - CS 17 - CS 34b - CS 7
		<i>nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṛ-w wr.t ḥnrt.t n Imn ḥm.t-nṛ n Mwt</i>	Cairo SR VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6)	1.98	23.5	Adoration of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis/Hathor/Nephthys - Purification Scene (Thoth and Horus) - BE 3 - CS 21 - BD 110V
Hat (?)			P. London BM EA 75026	0.17	19.4	BD 166
Hathat	Male	<i>ḥry ʿ.t n pr Imn</i>	P. New Haven Ct YBR 2755	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text
Henettawy A	Female	<i>ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm=f nb.t t3.wy ḥis ʿ3 Imn n Ip.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p3 ḥm nṛ tpy n Imn mw.t n nṛ n Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t ḥm.t nṛ n Mwt wr.t nb.t lsrw ʿ3 n pr n Ḥnsw m W3s.t ḥm.t nṛ n ini pt 5w s3-Rꜥ mw.t nṛ n Ḥnsw p3 ḥnd</i>	Cairo CG 40005 (JE 95856, SR IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22)	3.67	45.5	BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - Purification Scene - BD 150V - BD 22 - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 43 - BD 30A - BD 31 - BD 33 - BD 45 - BD 93 - Adoration Scene - Solar Hymn
		<i>ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t3.wy ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm=f mw.t ḥm.t nṛ n Imn mw.t n ḥm.t nṛ n Imn m Ipt-šwt mw.t n nṛ-t n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṛ-w mw.t n ḥm.t wr.t n nb.t t3.wy mw.t n p3 ḥm nṛ tpy n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṛ-w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšꜥ.w wr n t3.wy</i>	Cairo JE 95887 (SR IV 992)	1.43	33.5	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - Litany of Re
Henettawy B	Female	<i>s3.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo JE 51948 a-c	1.33	21	N/A
		<i>s3.t ny-sw.t</i>	Cairo JE 51949	1.29	21	BD 149V - CS 36b - WH - CS 10 - BHC 6 - BD126V



Henettawy C	Female	<i>wrt ḥnr.t n Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.28	1.39	23.5	BHC 10
		<i>wrt ḥnr.t n Imn</i>	New York MMA 25.3.29	1.66	20	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 64 - BD 133
Henettawy E	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR IV 1531	N/A	N/A	N/A
Henibesenes	Female	none	Cairo JE 96272 (S. R. IV 1528)	14.5	18.3	BD 162
Hennutawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10018	1.23	19.7	CS 1e - CS 5 - CS 5 - BHC 11 - BE 3
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Richmond 54-10	1.1	20.32	Adoration of Osiris - Purification Scene - CS 39 - CS 1d - CS 45 - CS 7
Hered	Male	<i>ḥry <sup>c</sup>.t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3124	1.07	16	N/A
Herusaiset	Female	none	P. Dublin MS 1675	0.48	8.3	N/A
Herusaiset	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Lüttich I/627 bis	0.39	19.5	BD 23 - Unknown Text - BD 26 - Unknown Text
Hor	Male	none	???			N/A
Hor	Male	<i>it-ntr mri-ntr wn <sup>3</sup>.wy n.w p.t m Ipt-sw.t</i>	P. Berlin P. 3121	0.83	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Hor	Male	none	P. Den Haag 40/86	N/A	N/A	BD 181 - BD 29 - BD 30B - BD 30A - BD 162 - BD 28
Horemakhibit	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn- R' ny-sw.t ntr.w sš ḥw.t-ntr n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10339	0.24	11	BD 72
Horemhabit	Male	<i>it-ntr mry ntr w<sup>c</sup>b ḥry ḥ3w.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n pr Imn ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n ntr.w ntr.wt nb.w(t) šm<sup>c</sup> mḥi</i>	P. Berlin P. 3001 A-M	7.56	34	WH - BD 126 - BD 126V - BHC 12 - BHC 10 - BHC 9 - CS 6
		<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w w<sup>c</sup>b ḥry ḥ3w.t ḥry sš.w ḥw.t-ntr n ntr.w nb.w šm<sup>c</sup> mḥi</i>	P. Leiden T 6 (AMS 33)	6.48	35	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum and Osiris - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 91 - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 109 - BD 110V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV

Hori	Male	<i>ḥry šn' it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r<sup>3</sup> šn' n Imn š3(i)' n ḥ3.t Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn ḥry šn' n pr Imn w<sup>c</sup>b š3i n ḥ3.t Imn</i>	P. Cleveland 1921.1032	1.8	24	Adoration - BD 161 - BD 161V - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 151A - BD 151AV - BD 138V
Hornefer	Male	<i>sš n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10013 (P. Salt 827)	1.55	23	Re-Horakhty before Osiris in Worship - Speech of Thoth - Hymn to Osiris - WH - CS 3b - Solar Hymn - BD 100/129V
Horu	Male	<i>sḏm.w n pr-Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38593	0.62	24	BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 162 - BD 181
Iiditukhonsukheper	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b (n) Imn</i>	P. Zagreb 601 (alt 887)	0.93	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Iimut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38566 (P. Vatican 56)	1.16	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 90 - BD 61 - BD 5 - BD 6 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 23 - BD 94 - BD 15
Ikhwy	Male	none	Cairo JE 95663 (SR IV 564)	1.405	23.5	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn
Inienpheuefwdjtu	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry-tp i<sup>3</sup>w wi3 n pr Imn</i>	P. Bodmer C	3.73	21	N/A
Inipehefenhet	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry nḥw.w wi3 n pr Imn</i>	P. Cologny C	3.78	22	BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 130 - BD 81A - BD 77 - BD 71 - BD 146 - BD 100/129 - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V
Inpehefnakht	Male	<i>ḥry nḥw.w wi3 n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i> <i>ḥry nḥw.w wi3 n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Cambridge E.92.1904 P. London BM EA 9932	1.765 1.52	38 44	Litany of Re - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 86V - Solar Hymn -CS 1b - BD 126V BD 125B - BD 125BV - WH - BD 99/99BV - CS 19 - CS 1b - CS 12a
Iset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Manchester Hieratic 2	0.495	21.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 30B - BD 26 - BD 162 - Unknown Text
Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9904	4.11	28	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 56 - BD 56V - BD 9 - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 89 - BD 17 - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 6 - BD 61 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125BV - WH - BD 126V
Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II	N/A	14	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 136/136A

Isetemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Vindob. 12000	Vienna Aeg. 1.1	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 101 - Unknown Text
Isetenkhonsumut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	B r o o k l y n M u s e u m 37.1801 E	N/A	N/A	BD 136/136A - BD 17
Isetnofret	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Dublin 1674	MS 1.795	14.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Isety	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3143	1.06	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 12
Isis		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10239	2.23	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Chicago FM 31326	2.235	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 125b - BD 125bV - BD 110V - BD 149V - BD151V
		none	Cairo CG 58026 (SR IV 990, JE 95886)	0.455	47	BD 182
Isis		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95654 (SR IV 552)	0.94	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
	Female	none	Cairo CG 58001	0.204	24.3	BD 166
		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 95651 (SR IV 549)	5.4	23	BD 180 + BD 136 - BD 134 - BD 134V - BD 1 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 136 - BD 136B V - BD 136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99 - BD 99V - BD 14 - BD 14V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 111 - BD 111V - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 109 - BD 109V
Istemakhbit	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn wr.t hnr.t n Imn wsr h3t</i>	P. London BM EA 9903	BM 1.58	25.4	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 8 - BD 8V - BD 44 - BD 71 - BD 71V - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 33 - BD 35 - BD 35V - BD 123-139 - BD 123/139V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 27
Istemkheb	Female	none	Cairo SR VII 10655 (TR 23/4/40/3)	1.75	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 1
Istemkheb	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95657 (SR IV 555)	1.36	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b

Istemkheh D	Female	<i>hṛt wr.t hnr.t tp.t n.t Imn</i> <i>hm.t ntr n Mwt š.t n pr n</i> <i>Mwt mw.t ntr n Hnsw p3</i> <i>hṛd hry šps.t</i>	Cairo JE 26228 bis (SR IV 525)	6.12	22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 100/129 - BD 136B
Istemkheh K	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmṣ.t n Imn-Rᶜ ny-</i> <i>sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR VII 11490 (T.R. 3.33 14/7/35/1)	37	N/A	
Itawy	Female	<i>šmṣ.t n Imn nb.t-pr</i>	P. Paris BN 60	0.56	24	BD 17
Iuefenmut	Male	<i>k3w.ti n pr Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50)	1	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180 - BD 181
Iuefenmut	Male	<i>wᶜb n Imn-Rᶜ ny-sw.t</i> <i>ntr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3150	0.53	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Iuesankh	Female	<i>šmṣ.t n Imn-Rᶜ ny-sw.t</i> <i>ntr.w</i>	P. Brüssel 19391	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134
Iuesenhasutmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmṣ.t n Imn</i>	P. Darmstadt 269	N/A	N/A	N/A
Iueshesienmut	Female	<i>šmṣ.t n Imn-Rᶜ ny-sw.t</i> <i>ntr.w</i>	P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12459	0.67	23	BD 65 - BD 102 - BD 68
Iufankh	Male	<i>wᶜb n Imn sš qd</i>	P. London 10207	1	19.68	N/A
Kashuenkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmṣ.t n Imn-Rᶜ ny-</i> <i>sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 95892 (SR IV 1000)		22	N/A
Khaes	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šmṣ.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95647 (SR IV 545)	1.47	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 36b - BD 126V - Adoration of Osiris
Khaefenhakhonsu	Male	<i>šmṣ.t n Imn</i> <i>it-ntr mry ntr imy-r3 šmṣ n</i> <i>pr Imn</i>	???	N/A	N/A	N/A
Khay	Male	<i>hry s3w.tw sš.w n nb t3.wy</i>	Cairo CG 58024 (JE 96275, SR IV 1533)	0.2	26	BD 27 - Unknown Text
			P. London BM EA 9953 B P. New York Amherst 17 [A]	0.6	41	BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 181 - BD 173 - Solar Hymn - 80/86 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 18V BD 181 - BD 181V - BD 1 - BD 1V



Adoration of Osiris with Deceased Led by Thoth - CS 17 -  
Funerary Hymn - BE 68 - Offering Formula - CS 9 - CS 1c - BD  
9V - CS 8 - CS 36b - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 87V - BD 146V -  
CS 36b - BD 148V - CS 1e - BD 145V/146V - CS 17 - Adoration  
of Osiris by Isis and Nephthys - Funerary Hymn - CS 17 - BD  
138V - CS 5 - CS 36b - CS 46a - CS 34a - BD 87V  
Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 17 - BD 126V - WH - Speech  
of Thoth

*w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn sš sḥn n pr Ini-  
ḥr:t* VII 4.3 25.5  
Cairo SR 11501

*w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn sš sḥn n pr Ini-  
ḥr:t* FM 4.27 23  
Chicago 31759

Male  
Khonsuemrenep

Khonsu Male *w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t  
nṯr:w* P. Berlin P. 3011;  
P. Genf D 190 0.39 28  
Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 162

Khonsuemheb Male none Cairo SR IV 541  
(JE 95644) 1.49 40  
Litany of Re Abridged - BHC 11 - BHC 4 - CS 36a - CS 1d - BHC  
4 - BD 92V

Khonsuemheb *it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t  
nṯr:w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw ḥm-  
nṯr n Ḥnsw-R<sup>c</sup> sš ḥsb n  
pr Imn* Cairo SR VII 2.59 23  
Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 186V - BD 194 - BD 194V - WH  
- BD 110V - BD 146V - BD 148V

Khonsumes Male *it-nṯr n Imn m Ipt-sw.t  
it-nṯr sš ḥwt-nṯr n Mwt  
ḥry s3w sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr  
Imn sš n3 ḥwt nb.w n Imn  
Mwt Ḥnsw* P. Paris Louvre 4 26.8  
N. 3070  
Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum, Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys  
- BD 94 - BD 71 - BD 72 - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 125 - BD 108  
- BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 126V - Solar Hymn - BD  
151V verso: BD 110V

*ḥry s3w sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr  
Imn it-nṯr n Imn* P. Vienna  
Vindob. Aeg. 4.205 15.3  
3859 A & B  
BD 8V - BD 9V - CS 1c - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 151V - BD 87V - BD 81V  
- BD 86V - BD 77/78V - BD 149V - CS 32 - BD 59V - Adoration of Horus of  
the Horizon - BD 148V - BD 126V - WH - CS 46b - CS 22 - CS 19 - BD 151V

Khonsumes Male *w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t  
nṯr:w nbi n pr Imn* P. Paris BN 20-  
23 N/A 25  
Adoration of Horakhty-Atum - BD 92 - BD 89 - BD 138 - BD  
118 - BD 94 - BD 26 - BD 75 - BD 137A  
*w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t  
nṯr:w nbi n pr Imn* P. Paris BN 153-  
155 1.705 24  
BHC 12 - BG 12 - BHC 12 - BE 4 - BE 9 - BE 8 - BE 9 - BE 3 - BE  
5 - BE 4 - BE 10 - BE 49 - BD 30

Maatkare A Female *mw.t-m-ḥ3t ḥm.t nṯr n Imn  
m Ipt swt s3.t ny-sw.t ḥm.t  
ny-sw.t wr:t (n) nb b3.wy* Cairo CG 40007  
(JE 26229, SR IV 980) 6.12 N/A  
BD 151F - Offering Scene - BD 1V - BD 79 - BD 1 - BD 99/99B - BD  
99/99BV - BD 105 - BD 138 - BD 187 - BD 123/139 - BD 144 - BD 144V  
- BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 86 - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 6 - BD 6V - BD 83 - BD  
83V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 148 - BD  
148V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B -  
BD 125BV - WH - BD 149B - BD 149BV - BD 150V - BD 110V

Maatkaretashepset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95650 (SR VI 548, TR14/7/35/8)	1.33	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
		none	Cairo SR IV 959	1.38	24.3	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Mehmuthat	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10005	0.96	20.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10035	0.81	22.2	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Mehytemiry	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. London BM EA 9992	0.55	26.7	BD 148 - Solar Hymn
Menkheperre B	Male	<i>hm-ntr 3-nw n Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R' tpy hwni (n) pr Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95638	1.52 + x	25.5	N/A
		<i>hm-ntr 3-nw n Imn imy-r3 imn.t n pr R' tpy hwnw (n) pr Imn hm-ntr H-nw Hnsw</i>	Cairo CG 40010 (JE 95866, SR IV 967)	3.4	33.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 1
Mepwi	Male	<i>hry sst3 n pr Imn</i>	Cairo SR VII 10271	0.59	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Merefenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40021 (JE 95858, SR IV 957)	N/A	22.5	Osiris with Offering - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV
Merenkhonsu	Male	none	P. Paris BN 59	0.5	24	Adoration of Amenhotep I - BD 30B
Merenkhonsu	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn sš</i>	P. Vatican 38606	0.6	24.2	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Meretamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hsi.t n p3 'n Mwt wr:t nb Išrw mnit n Hnsw-p3-hrd</i>	Cairo JE 95836 (SR IV 933)	1.46	24.5	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Merimaat	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Chantilly OA 1931	1.05	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104
Meritamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40027 (SR IV 999)	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B - BD 180 - BD 166 - BD 101 - BD 155 - BD 156 - Spell for the Wedjat-Amulet in Bia-Metal - Adoration of Osiris
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>	Cairo SR VII 10227	2.43	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10

Meshsebek	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin 1769	1.74	16.5	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Mutemhab	Female	<i>nb.t-pr ihi.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> šps.t</i>	P. Sydney R 402	54.7	24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Unknown Text - BD 26
Mutemipet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 30 (AMS 42)	0.79	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 162
Mutemwia	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3157	N/A	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 110V
Mutemwia	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn hsi.t n.t p<sup>3</sup> n Mwt wr.t nb.t Isrw</i>	P. London BM EA 10003	1.49	20.3	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - WH - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 110V
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. London BM EA 10006	1.93	22	Litany of Re
Muthat	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. Turin CGT 53013 (Nr. 1862/3)	0.59	13	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - Hymn to Osiris
Muthetepti	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10010	2.89	33.66	CS 1a - Solar Hymn - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - BD 174 - BD 174V - BD 182 - BD 182V - BD 151 - BD 151V
Mutmeres	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3132, P. Paris Louvre E. 18965, P. New Haven P. Ct YBR 2754 (1)-(6)	1.764	17	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Mutred	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin 1787	0.6	22	BHC 11
Nauny	Female	<i>hsi.t n nb.w W<sup>3</sup>s.t Imn Mwt Hnsw nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w šsp.t s<sup>3</sup>.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.32	2.032	36.8	Litany of Re
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi.t n nb.w W<sup>3</sup>s.t Imn Mwt Hnsw s<sup>3</sup>.t ny-sw.t</i>	New York MMA 30.3.31	5.64	35	BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 125A - BD 38B - BD 75 - WH - BD 93 - BD 152 - BD 132 - BD 94 - BD 71 - BD 72R - BD 126V - BD 72 - Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 72 - BD 105 - Adoration of Osiris; Upper Vignettes: BD 85V - BD 38BV - CS 24 - BD 149V - CS 23 - BD 94V - BD 77V - BD 72V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 105V - BD 151V - BD 86V - BD 83V - BD 94V - BD 110V

Nebhepet	Male	$w^c b \text{ } s\ddot{s} \text{ } m \text{ } \dot{3} h.t \text{ } h\dot{h} \text{ } imy-r^3$ $nfr.w \text{ } m \text{ } s.t \text{ } M^3 \text{ } t \text{ } imy-r^3$ $k^3.t \text{ } m \text{ } pr \text{ } d.t \text{ } s\ddot{s} \text{ } n \text{ } pr \text{ } hr$	P. Turin 1768	3	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 136BV - BD 126V - BD 110V - CS 36b - BD 110V
Nebmaat	Male	none	P. London BM EA 75035	N/A	21.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 1
Nebnetru	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. Cologny CIII	1.002	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Explanatory Text - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 6 - BD 162 - Explanatory Text - BD 61 - BD 28
Nesamenopet	Male	none	Cairo SR VII10245	1.63	25	BHC 11 - BHC 10
Nesamun	Male	$w^c b \text{ } imy \text{ } s.t^c \text{ } n \text{ } pr \text{ } Imn$	Cairo SR VII 10269	1.65	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 127B - BD 125C
	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10040	0.54	24.1	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Nesipakashuty	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t</i> <i>ntr.w imy-r^3 pr-hd n pr</i> <i>dw^3.t ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95889 (SR IV 994)	1.35	23.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125bV - BD 149 - BD 110 - BD 110V
	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t</i> <i>ntr.w imy-r^3 pr-hd n pr</i> <i>dw^3.t ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10272	1.12	25	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 12



Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 1V - Solar Hymn  
 - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD  
 27 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36 - BD BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD  
 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61  
 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 94 - BD  
 103 - BD 36 - BD 55 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 21 - BD 12/120 - BD 122  
 - BD 31 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 102 - BD 41B - BD 32 - BD  
 134 - Solar Hymn - Hymn to Atum - BD 99/99B - BD 111 - BD 112  
 - BD 113 - BD 107 - BD 108 - BD 109 - BD 114 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD  
 81A - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 -  
 BD 50 - BD 188 - Solar Hymn - BD 141/142 - BD 124 - BD 125A - BD  
 125B - BD 125C - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 148 - BD 147 - BD 193 - Hymn  
 to Osiris - BD 146 - BD 145 - Thoth before Re-Horakhty - BD 149 - BD  
 149V - BD 150V - BD 126V - BD 182 - Adoration of Thoth - Adoration  
 of Re-Horakhty - BD 183 - WH - Hymn to Re-Horakhty - WH - BD  
 126V - BD 110V - BD 144 - BD 144V - BD 145 - BD 145V - BG 12 - CS  
 18 - CS 5 - CS 9 - Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 101 -  
 BD 141/142 - BD 190 - BD 133; Upper Vignettes: BD 1V - BD 17V - BD  
 18V - BD 21V - BD 23V - BD 38BV - BD 75V - BD 56V - BD 105V - BD  
 105V - BD 95V - BD 40V - BD 103V - BD 104V - BD 37V - BD 31V - BD  
 32V - BD 99/99BV - BD 102V - BD 114V - BD 112V - BD 113V - BD  
 108V - BD 86V - BD 77V - BD 78V - BD 87V - BD 88V - BD 82V - BD  
 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 80V - BD 89V - BD 152V - BD  
 85V - BD 94V - BD 99/99BV - BD 136/136A/136BV - BD 18V - BD  
 148V - BD 17V - BD 89V - BD 17V - BD 99/99BV - BD 148V - BD 17V  
 - BD 89V - BD 17V - BD 99/99BV - BD 148V - Purification Scene - BD  
 145V - BD 140V - BD 136/136A/136BBV - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD  
 136/136A/136BV - BD 126V - BD 153AV - BD 153BV - BD 147V - BD  
 95V - BD 104BD - BD 194V - BD 61V - BD 134V - BD 17V - BD 194V -  
 BD 61V - BD 110V - BD 144V - BD 141V

Nesitanebashru Female *hr:t wr:t hnr:t tp:t n Imn-  
R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw:t ntr:w* London BM 10554 (P. 40.538 48  
Greenfield)

Nesitiset	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw:t ntr:w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.30	1.86	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Neskashuty	Male	?	P. Avignon A. 71	N/A	N/A	
Neskhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Luxor J.25 (from Cairo SR 10252)	1.24	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 145V/146V - CS 35 - BD 149V/150V
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 36465	1.55	23	Adoration of Osiris - CS 3b - CS 35 - BD 149V/150V

Neskhons	Female	$\dot{s}m^c.t\ n\ Imn-R^c\ ny-sw.t$ $ntr:w$	P. London BM EA 10329	0.86	22.8	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Neskhons	Female	$nb.t-pr\ \dot{s}m^c.t\ n\ Imn-R^c\ ny-sw.t$ $ntr:w$	P. London BM EA 75032	N/A	15.5	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11
Nesmut	Female	$\dot{s}m^c.t\ n\ Imn-R^c\ ny-sw.t$ $ntr:w$	P. London BM EA 9984	0.635	17.8	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Nesmutaeneru	Female	none	P. London BM EA 9982	0.84	24.1	BHC 12
Nesmutankhti	Female	$nb.t-pr\ \dot{s}m^c.t\ n\ Imn\ \check{s}ps.t$	P. London BM EA 10036	0.775	25.1	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 1 - BD 23 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 81A
Nesphertahat	Male	$it-ntr\ n\ Mwt$	P. London BM EA 9981	0.78	21.6	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Nespahoran	Male	none	B o d l e i a n Library No. 2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nespaneferhor	Male	$it-ntr\ n\ Imn-R^c\ ny-sw.t$ $ntr:w\ it-ntr\ n\ Mwt\ imy-r^3$ $nfr:w\ n\ pr\ Imn$	Cairo SR VII 10229  Cairo CG 58003 (SR IV 941, JE 95843)	2.44	23	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Nespaneferhor	Male	none		0.15	23.8	BD 166
Nespaneferhor	Male	$it-ntr\ mr-ntr\ hry\ s\check{s}b\ m\ p.t\ t^3$ $dw^3.t\ imy-r^3\ nfr:w\ n\ pr\ Imn$	Cairo SR VII 11503	2.66	23	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Nespauttawy	Male	$w^c b\ n\ Imn$	Cairo SR VII 10238	2.25	12	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b

Nespernub	Male	<i>sš ʕn tš hry wr.t hnr.t tp n Imn it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Hnsw m imnt nṯr htp ḥm nṯr n Dḥwtj p<sup>3</sup> hry st wr.t ʕ mḥ ib n nb=f sš ḥwt-nṯr n pr Mwt wrt nb iṣrw imy-r<sup>3</sup> ḥm.w nṯr n nṯr.w nb.w tšwy</i>					Cairo SR VII 3 11487	35	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 125V - BD 125D - BD 136/136 - BD 136V - BD 134 - BD 124V - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 68
		<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Mwt Hnsw</i>					Cairo JE 95854 (SR IV 953)	7.87	23.5	
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>					Cairo SR VII 11492	4.29	22.5	N/A
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥst.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕn Mwt wr.t nb.t Iṣrw</i>					Cairo CG 40017	4.29	22.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - CS 33b - CS 32 - CS 17 - BD 81V - BD 87V - BD 81 - BD 149V/150V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 9V - BD 77V - BD 78V - BD 59V - CS 16f - CS 19 - BD 148V - WH - CS 5 - CS 8 - BD 87V -BD 126V - CS 33c - CS 16d - BD 186V
		<i>nb.t-pr</i>					Cairo SR VII 11504	1.13	20	
Nestanebtawy	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>					Cairo JE 36259 (SR VII 10651)	1.25	21	N/A
Nestawedjatakhet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥst.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕn Mwt wr.t nb.t Iṣrw</i>					Cairo JE 95660 (SR IV 558)	1.33	24	Adoration of Osiris - CS 36a - CS 17 - CS 16e - CS 36b
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn ḥst.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕn Mwt</i>					Cairo SR 11497	1.4	22	
Nestikhonsutapahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nṯr.w</i>					P. Leiden T 9 (CI.10)	0.63	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 126V
Nesy	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b ʕq m Ipt-sw.t</i>					P. London BM EA 10031	1.19	22.9	BD 145 - Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 147 - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 152 - BD 148 - Unknown Text
Nesyamun	Male	none					Cairo SR VII 10268 (T.R. 14/7/35/5)	6.15	36	BHC Abridged - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9

Nesyamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> it-ntr n Mwt it-ntr n Hnsw</i>	P. Turin 1780	1.06	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Nesyamun	Male	none	P. Turin CGT 53005 (Nr. 1856)	0.7	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Nesyamun	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n M3<sup>c</sup>.t w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.51	1	22	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Nesyamun	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n M3<sup>c</sup>.t w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	New York MMA 26.2.52	0.205	24.5	BD 166
Nesyamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n Mnṯw</i>	P. Boston MFA o.Nr.	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nesyamun	Male	<i>sš ḥwt-ntr Hnsw p3 iri sḥr(.w) mry-ntr</i>	P. Vatican 38592 (P. Vatican 44-45)	1.072	22.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180 - BD 28 - BD 30A - BD 19 - Unknown Text
Nesyamunemipet	Male	<i>it-ntr Dḥwtj</i>	P. New York Amherst fragments group 6	N/A	N/A	BD 17
Nesyamuntawy	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w 5 n mw pr (n) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 3153	1.57	22.5	N/A
Nesyuiiset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin 1782	1.04	20	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Leiden T 28 (AMS 35)	1.29	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 95706 (SR IV 638)	0.49	26	Adoration of Re-Horakhty- BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn šps.t</i>	P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 488 (37.1); P. Houston 31.72	N/A	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 19.167	0.385	24	Adoration of Osiris - Solar Hymn
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Turin 1818	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 1
Nesykhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w ḥnr.t n Hnsw p3 ḥrd</i>	P. Vatican 48812 (P. Vatican 31)	0.69	23	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17



	none	Cairo CG 58032 (SR IV 991, JE 26228)	23.5	2.66	23.5	Deification Decree	
Nesykhonsu A	Female	<i>wrt hnr.t n Imn hrt wr.t tp.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	44	6.9		Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 2 - BD 65 - BD 65V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 63B - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 111 - BD 111V - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 107V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 41 - BD 41V - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 38B - BD 38BV - BD 55 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 105V - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD 96/97 - BD 96/97V - BD 103 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 153B - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 110V - Purification Scene	
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	25	1.97	P. Leiden T 25 (AMS 43)	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B - BD 30B - BD 11/49 - BD 94 - BD 162 - BD 166	
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w šps.t</i>	14	N/A	P. Paris Louvre N. 3140	N/A	
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w šps.t</i>	14	0.42	P. Paris Louvre N. 3141	Solar Hymn - Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum	
Nesykhonsupahered	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w wr.t hnr.t n Imn hr s<sup>3</sup> tpy šps.t</i>	21.7	0.86	P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162	
Nesykhonsupahered Ikauihered	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i> <i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	25	0.505	P. Colmar o.Nr.	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 30 - BD 5 - BD 51	
Nesykut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	25	0.5	P. Colmar o.Nr.	BHC 12	
Nesykut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	25	0.5	P. Los Angeles 83.AI.46.5	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26	
Nesykut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	22.1	1.03	P. Hamm 2236	Adoration of Osiris - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 70 - BD 101	
Nesypaahasebek	Male	<i>wn n pr Imn (?)...</i>	22	0.3	P. Berlin P. 3010	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - Opening of the Mouth	

Nesypaheran	Male	$w^c b \text{ sš } \dot{h} t p . w \text{ n} \dot{t} r \text{ n } p r \text{ Imn}$	P. Berlin P. 3006	1.43	41	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168)
		$w^c b \text{ sš } \dot{h} t p . w \text{ n} \dot{t} r \text{ n } p r \text{ Imn } i t - n \dot{t} r \text{ n } m r i \text{ } ^c t \text{ n } M w t$	Bodleian Library No Number	2.44	24	Litany of Re
Nesypaferher	Male	$w^c b \text{ n } Imn - R^c \text{ ny-sw.t } n \dot{t} r : w \text{ sš}$	P. Oslo MS 126	1.016	16	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110V - BD 149V - BD 110V
Nesypaqashuty	Male	$sš \text{ } \dot{h} s b \text{ } i t - n \dot{t} r \text{ n } p r \text{ Imn}$	P. Paris Louvre E. 17401	2.56	19.3	CS 17 - WH - BD 59V - CS 46a - CS 32 - CS 5 - BD 126V - BD 87V - BD 81V - CS 16b - BD 148V - CS 33b
Nesypawitheryhat	Male	$sš \text{ n } p r \text{ Imn}$	P. Dublin MS 1668	1.2	24.5	BD 148V - BD 60 - BD 62 - Degraded Vignette - BD 4 - BD 117 - BD 117V
Nesypawittawy	Male	$i r y \text{ } ^c \text{ n } p r \text{ Imn}$	P. Berlin P. 3012A+B	0.82	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26
Nesypernebu	Male	$i t - n \dot{t} r \text{ n } Imn - R^c \text{ ny-sw.t } n \dot{t} r : w \text{ m r i - } n \dot{t} r \text{ w n } ^c \text{ } ^c \text{ } w y \text{ } \dot{h} . w \text{ } \dot{h} r y \text{ m } I p t - s w . t$	P. Cologne CVI	0.6	26	BD 26 - BD 162 - Explanatory Text - Unknown Text - Explanatory Text
Nesytanebetisheru	Female	$\dot{s} m ^c . t \text{ n } Imn - R^c \text{ ny-sw.t } n \dot{t} r : w$	P. Paris Louvre E. 3227	1.085	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Nesytanebetisheru	Female	$n b . t - p r \dot{s} m ^c . t \text{ n } Imn - R^c \text{ ny-sw.t } n \dot{t} r : w$	P. Edinburgh 1958.850	0.64	23	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 108 - Unknown Text
Nesytanebtawy	Female	none	P. Avignon A.73	N/A	N/A	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27 - BD 28
						BD 180 - BD 181 - BD 79 - BD 127A - BD 180 - BD 79 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 1 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101
Nesytanetasheru	Female	$n b . t - p r \dot{s} m ^c . t \text{ n } Imn$	P. Turin CGT 53003 (Nr. 1850)	1.24	25	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 17
Nesytanetasheru	Female	$\dot{s} m ^c . t \text{ n } Imn$	P. Oxford 1892.618	N/A	N/A	BD 101
		$\dot{s} m ^c . t \text{ n } Imn$	P. Oxford 1892.619	N/A	N/A	BD 135 - BD 166

Nesytaresaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr</i>	P. Leiden 47b	AMS	0.375	24	N/A
Nesytkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w hsi.t Mwt</i>	P. Houston 37	31-	0.6	24	N/A
Nodjmet	Female	<i>mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t<sup>3</sup>wy</i>	London 10541,	BM			Adoration of Re - Solar Hymn - WH - BD 135V - BD 101 - BD 100 - BD 100V - BD 15V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 17 - BD 17V - BD 18 - BD 153AV - BD 89V - BD 71V - BD 124 - BD 124V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 134 - BD 136A - BD 64 - BD 2 - BD 132 - BD 141/142 - BD 142V - BD 63A - BD 63AV - BD 106 - BD 79V - BD 102 - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 146 - BD 146V - BD 148V - Adoration of Osiris + Isis
		<i>mw.t n Hnsw p<sup>3</sup> hrd wr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w hry šps.wt nb t<sup>3</sup>wy</i>	Paris Louvre ex Mook Collection		14.61	34.6	
Osorkon	Male	none	London 10490	BM	4.19	34.8	Adoration of Amun-Re-Horakhty and Osiris - BD 190 - BD 148 - BC 2 - BD 125A - BD 125B - BC 6 - BD 19A - BD 100/129 - BC 4 - BD 101 - BD 91 - BD 1B/172 - BD 1
		<i>hm-ntr n Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C)		0.79	23.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 30A - BD 29 - BD 180
Padi...	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg SSL2		0.8	23.5	N/A
Padiamenet	Male	<i>hry-tp<sup>c</sup>.t n pr Imn</i>	P. Turin 1777		1.44	24	BHC 11 - BHC 10
Padiamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w ss hsb it n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10063	SR VII	0.91	24.7	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27
Padiamun	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10653		2.36	20.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 126V - CS 36a - BD 125 - BD 125V - CS 10 - BD 89
		<i>it-ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo SR 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1)	VII	3.9	21	Adoration of Osiris - BD 124 - BD 124V - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 151 - BD 151V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 119 - BD 119V - BD 125A - BD 126V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 37 - BD 91 - BD 102

Padiamun	Male	<i>it-ntr mri hry sšb m p.t t3 dw3.t wn ʿwy p.t r3 m lpt-sw.t sšb p.t m33 imy stm r3-Imn m W3s.t stm m 3h.t hm-ntr n Imn</i>	Cairo SR VII 10654 (T.R. 3.95 23/4/40/2)	23	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - CS 17 - Ritual Text - CS 1c - Solar Hymn - Funerary Hymn - CS 9 - BD 83V - BD 85V - PT 368/427/429/432/446 - CS 46a - BE 68 - BD 9V - CS 1e - CS 8 - CS 36b
Padiamun	Male	<i>hm-ntr n Imn it-ntr mri hry sšb m p.t t3 dw3.t</i>	Cairo JE 95879 (SR IV 981)	N/A 22.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 136V - BD 1V - BD 65V - BD 100V - BD 129V - BD 136BV - BD 136AV - BD 98V - BD 99V - BD 77V - BD 82V - BD 78V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 112V - BD 108V - BD 113V - BD 109V - BD 114V - BD 42V - BD 102V - BD 31V - BD 38AV - BD 30BV - BD 105V - BD 103V - BD 96V - BD 97V - BD 104V - BD 145V - BD 137AV - BD 147V - BD 148V - BD 153AV - BD 126V - BD 149V - BD 136V - BD 150V - BD 110V - Purification Scene
Padiamun	Male	none	P. Moscow I, lb, 83	N/A	BD 100/129
Padiamun	Male	<i>mry-ntr</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3139	N/A 26	N/A
Padief	Male	none	O r i e n t a l Museum, 1952-7	N/A 14	N/A
Padikhons	Male	<i>it-ntr n Hmsw m W3s.t nfr htp qb.h.w it-ntr mri-ntr hsi n ntr=f</i>	P. London BM EA 10312	0.5 22.8	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - BD 180
Padikhons	Male	<i>wcb n Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš htp.w ntr n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10004	1.25 19	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Padikhonsu	Male	<i>hry ʿt n pr Imn</i>	P. Leiden R.A. 58A	2.255 24.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 15B - BD 180
Padikhonsu	Male	<i>wcb n Imn it-ntr n Mwt sš snw.tw Imn</i>	P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 /2)	1.89 24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn
Padimut	Male	<i>hm-ntr n Imn-Rc n-yswt ntr.w sš mšc.wt n t3 dr</i>	P. London BM EA 10093	1.24 24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17
Padimut	Male	<i>wcb n Imn</i>	P. Dresden Aeg. 776	0.81 24.5	N/A
Paditef	Male	<i>wcb n Imn hry s3w n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10119	0.71 25.4	BD 23 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 30B - BD 26

Paemhat	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w nbi (n) pr Imn</i>	P. Turin 1770	0.97	25	N/A
Paempai	Male	<i>iry <sup>c</sup>3 n pr Mwt</i>	P. Cologny CVII	1	24	Adoration of Re-Horakhty-Atum - Solar Hymn - BHC 12
Paiefadjani	Male	<i>hry hb hry h<sup>3</sup>w.t</i>	Cairo CG 40020 (S. R. IV 1532)	3.146	23	BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134 - BD 136/136A - BD 130 - BD 166
Paiestchenef	Male	<i>it-ntr mry-ntr</i>	P. Edinburgh 212.113 (2)+(3)	0.49	19	BD 170 - BD 171
Pakharu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hry sst<sup>3</sup> <sup>3</sup>h.t nh<sup>h</sup> wn <sup>c</sup>wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t sm.t m <sup>3</sup>h.t nh<sup>h</sup></i>	Cairo JE 95878 (SR IV 979)	1.64	22.5	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - Litany of Re
		<i>hm-ntr n Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	Cairo JE 95705 (SR IV 635)	0.32	21	BD 23 - BD 26 - BD 25
Pamer	Male	<i>hry nfw n p<sup>3</sup> w<sup>3</sup> n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 73665	0.595	23.5	BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28
Paneferher	Male	<i>hry-tp <sup>c</sup>.t n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10327	0.48	24.1	N/A
Panefernefer	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w hry s<sup>3</sup>w.ti s<sup>3</sup> n pr-hd n pr Imn imy-r<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>t imy-r<sup>3</sup> hw.wt nb.w n Imn</i>	P. Vienna ÄS 3860 (No. 14)	2.55	20	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 151V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - WH - BD 126V - BD 110V
Pasebahaniut	Male	none	Cairo SR VII 10241	1.18	18	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 11 - Adoration of Osiris
Pasebkhaenet	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn hm-ntr n Itpw</i>	Cairo SR VII 10273	1.35	24	Adoration of Osiris - BHC 10
Paser	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w m Ipt-sw.t m W<sup>3</sup>st hsi <sup>3</sup> n ntr=f Imn w<sup>c</sup>b <sup>c</sup>wy m Ipt-sw.t it-ntr n Imn m irw=f nb kk (?)</i>	P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34)	3.65	39	Adoration of Osiris and Isis - BD 141-143 - BD 141/143V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 126V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 110V - CS 5
		<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w it-ntr mry n Imn m Ipt-sw.t hry-tp <sup>3</sup>ty shtpw h<sup>3</sup>t Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	P. Paris BN 158- 161	1.91	37	Adoration of Osiris - Litany of Re



Pashebutmutwebkhet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 10988	1.969	14.6	Adoration Scene - BD 190 - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134 - BD 136/136A - BD 130 - BD 166 - BD 101 - BD 155 - BD 156 - Unknown Text - BD 137A - BD 100/129 - BD 137B - BD 137A
Pashebutmutwobethet	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i> none	P. London BM EA 10007 P. Berlin P. 3031 A-G	2.86	11	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b BD 162 - BD 166 - BD 4
Pashedkhons	Male	<i>hry<sup>c</sup>.t n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Dublin MS 1667	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pasherienhuther	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w hry s<sup>3</sup>w sš(.w)</i>	P. Turin CGT 53011 (Nr. 1857)	0.65	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 25 - Unknown Text - BD 14 - Unknown Text
Patawemdjeretmut	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w imy st<sup>c</sup>.t n pr Imn</i>	P. Ann Arbor 2725; P. Dublin Chester Beatty Library	1.262	7.6	Michigan: BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 47 - BD 96/97 - BD 94 - BD 55 - BD 118 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 102 - BD 32; Dublin: BD 28 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 12/120 - BD 31 - BD 102 - Speech of the Dead Spirit - BD 38
Pawiaenadjidiu	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Berlin P. 10466	0.94	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 162
Payespermeh	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. St. Petersburg 84449 + 84450	N/A	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 25 - BD 26
Penaa	Male	none	P. Turin 1785	0.6	25	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Penmaat	Male	<i>it-ntr n Imn sš h<sup>w</sup>.t-ntr</i>	P. London BM EA 10029	1.08	25.4	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36

Penmaat	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry s3w.ti sš n pr-ḥd n pr Imn imy-r3 pr-ḥd n pr Imn sš.w pr-ḥd n pr Imn imy-r3 šnw.wt</i>	P. London BM EA 10020	2.74	44.1	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 13/121 - BD 8 - BD 60 - BD 60V - BD 33- BD 33V - BD 36V - BD 81AV - BD 77V - BD 83V - BD 86V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 138 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - WH - BD 126V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 150V - BD 110V
Pennesuttawy	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw sš w3ḥ-ḥtp nṯr n Imn Mwt Ḥnsw</i>	Cairo JE 95881 (SR IV 984)	N/A	36	BD 146- BD 146V - Speech of Thoth - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 126V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 101 - BD 102 - BD 136/136A - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V
Pennesuttawy	Male	<i>w3b ḥry nṯr.w wi3 n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10064	10.54	32.4	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 180 - BD 181 - Solar Hymn - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 133V - BD 136/136A - BD 136/136AV - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - D 65 - BD 65V - BD 92 - BD 68 - BD 69 - BD 70 - BD 101 - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 136B - BD 136BV - BD 136/136A - BD 136/36AV - BD 98 - BD 98V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 63B - BD 8 - BD 14 - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 87V - BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 76 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 116V - BD 111 - BD 112 - BD 112V - BD 113 - BD 113V - BD 107 - BD 108 - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 114 - BD 114V - BD 102 - BD 102V - BD 119 - BD 119V - BD 7 - BD 39 - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 41 - BD 41B - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 32 - BD 32V - BD 40 - BD 40V - BD 36 - BD 36V - BD 33 - BD 33V - BD 37 - BD 37V - BD 38B - BD 54 - BD 55 - BD 38A - BD 38AV - BD 56 - BD 13/121 - BD 138 - BD 123/139 - BD 187 - BD 12/120 - BD 58 - BD 57 - BD 132 - BD 189 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD 63A - BD 156 - BD 155 - BD 79 - BD 75 - BD 179 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 105V - BD 47 - BD 103 - BD 104 - BD 104V - BD 96/97 - BD 96/97V - BD 94 - BD 94V - BD 103 - BD 103V - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 141/142 - BD 190 - BD 146 - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 147 - BD 147V - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 152 - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 153 - BD 153BV - BD 125A - BD 125C - BD 125D - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 125CV - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 136/136A/136BV - BD 151 - Ritual Hour Text - BD 177 - BD 110 - BD 178 - BD 110V - Purification Scene

Penrenu	Male	<i>it-ntr sš hwt-ntr n pr m<sup>3c</sup>.t</i>	P. Manchester Hieroglyphic 1	0.98	24.3	BHC 10
Pentaperuser	Male	none	P. Paris Louvre E. 20257	N/A	N/A	BD 162
Piamun	Male	none	Cairo JE 95844 (SR IV 942, CG 58004)	0.12	11.4	BD 166
Pinedjem	Male	none	Cairo SR VII 10237	2.1	23	BHC 12 - BHC 11
Pinedjem I	Male	<i>ny-sw.t nb t<sup>3</sup>.wy s<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> n h.t=fmr=f</i>	Cairo No Number Cairo CG 40006 (SR VII 11488)	N/A 4.44	N/A 37	N/A Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 23 - BD 23V - BD 72 - BD 72V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 71 - BD 71V - BD 141/143 - BD 141/143V - BD 110V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV
Pinedjem II	Male	<i>hm-ntr tpy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w imy-r<sup>3</sup> mš<sup>c</sup> wr ir 3h.t m lpt-sw.t</i>	Cairo CG 58033 (JE 95684)  London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell)	2.98  6.8	23  34	Deification Decree  Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28 - BD 27 - BD 38B - BD 40 - BD 36 - BD 33 - BD 37 - BD 56 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 11/49 - BD 2 - BD 4 - BD 43 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 105 - BD 47 - BD 104 - BD 96/97 - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 36 - BD 55 - BD 117 - BD 118 - BD 21 - BD 12/120 - BD 122 - BD 31 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 131 - BD 102 - BD 41B - BD 32 - BD 134 - BD 15 - BD 115 - BD 116 - BD 81A - BD 80 - BD 87 - BD 88 - BD 76 - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 124 - BD 26 - BD 135 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 125C - BD 125D
Ramose	Male	<i>hm-ntr snw</i>	Cairo SR VII 11492	4.8	32	BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 9
		<i>hm-ntr tpy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w imy-r<sup>3</sup> mš<sup>c</sup> wr shrr h.t ntr:w m ph.w iqr:w n mš<sup>c</sup>.t shb w<sup>c</sup>.st hw.t-hr ssdf.w hw.w ntr:w</i>	P. London BM EA 9966			Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168)

Satkmons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo CG 58006 (SR IV 943, JE 95845)	0.214	21.1	BD 166
Seramun		<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n ḥ3t n Imn imy-r3 nfr.w n pr Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n ḥ3t n Mwt</i>	P. Paris BN Cabinet des Medailles	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Male	<i>imy-r3 nfr.w n pr-Imn w<sup>c</sup>b n ḥ3t n Imn ḥm-ntr n Imn ḥpr-ḥr-ḥ3.t imy-r3 k3.w n p3-nb-šfi.t ḥsi 3 m rh Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre E. 17400	1.8	22	Adoration of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris + Isis - BD 89V - BD 54V - BD 23V - BD 92V - BD 138V - BD 81AV - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 77V - Litany of Re -CS 10 - CS 3a - CS 5 - CS 18
Serdjehuty	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b ḥ3.t n Mwt w<sup>c</sup>b idnw n pr Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10747	2.085	22	Adoration of Osiris - BD 53 - BD 91 - BD 44 - BD 93 - BD 50 - BD 188 - BD 117 - BD 34 - BD 35 - BD 74 - BD 45 - BD 63A - Unknown Text - BD 41 - BD 31 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 27 - BD 28 - Unknown Text - BD 105 - Unknown Text
Sesiusheri	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Cologny CXI	1.065	23	BD 136B - BD 136/136A - BD 98 - BD 77 - BD 86 - BD 85
Sesu		<i>ḥry<sup>c</sup>.t n Mwt</i>	P. Berlin P. 3147	1.2	24	Adoration of Osiris + Hathor/Isis and Nephthys - CS 1b - CS 8 - CS 34b - BD 9
	Male	<i>ḥry<sup>c</sup>.t n Mwt</i>	P. London BM EA 9941	1.27	17.8	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - CS 5 - CS 3b - BD 186
Shebeniset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3131	N/A	24	Adoration of Osiris - BD 27 - BD 124
Shedefpanebinu	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn</i>	New York MMA 28.3.112	1	N/A	BHC 11

Shedhor	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r<sup>3</sup> pr wr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš wr (n) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	Cairo SR 11499	VII	4.45	23	N/A	Adoration of Osiris - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 136V - BD 1V - BD 65V - BD 100V - BD 129V - BD 136BV - BD 136AV - BD 98V - BD 99V - BD 82V - BD 77V - BD 86V - BD 85V - BD 83V - BD 84V - BD 81AV - BD 30BV - BD 112V - BD 42V - BD 105V - BD 116V - BD 113V - BD 115V - BD 31V - BD 104V - BD 96/97V - BD 103V - BD 38BV - BD 87V - BD 137V - BD 126V - BD 148V - BD 145V - Purification Scene - BD 110V
Shedsuamun	Male	<i>w<sup>cb</sup> sš pr-ḥd n Imn w<sup>cb</sup> n ʕwy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš pr-ḥd n pr Imn</i>	Cairo SR IV 1530	N/A			N/A	
Shedsukhons	Male	<i>imy-r<sup>3</sup> nṯr.w n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi ʕ<sup>3</sup> n pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš</i>	P. London BM EA 10674	BM	3.2	11		Adoration of Osiris - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3a - CS 3b - Litany of Re
Shedsukhonsu	Male	<i>sš n pr Imn w<sup>cb</sup> sš n pr Imn</i>	P. Dublin 1671	MS	3.39	23.4		Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 27 - BD 28 - BD 61 - BD 6 - BD 5 - BD 61 - BD 30B - BD 29 - BD 31 - BD 102 - BD 119 - BD 81A - BD 80 - BD 116 - BD 85 - BD 77 - BD 99/99B - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125C - BD 125D - BD 125DV - BD 110V
Sutymes	Male	<i>ḥry sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr n Imn w<sup>cb</sup> ḥry ḥ<sup>3</sup>w.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr m Ip.t-sw.t ḥry s<sup>3</sup>w.ti sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr (n) Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t nṯr.w</i>	P. Paris BN 45	38-	6.04	35.5		Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - BD 18 - BD 1 - BD 68 - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 92 - BD 92V - BD 63A - BD 63AV - BD 105 - BD 105V - BD 42 - BD 42V - BD 26 - BD 26V - BD 30B - BD 30BV - BD 22 - BD 22V - BD 5 - BD 5V - BD 67 - BD 61 - BD 61V - BD 79 - BD 79V - BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 149 - BD 149V
Sutymes	Male	<i>it-nṯr n Imn</i>	P. Vatican 38607 (P. Vatican 30)		0.69	24.5		Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 27
Swernerpaneb	Male	<i>ṯw mḏ<sup>3</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974		N/A	N/A		Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - BD 125 - BD 110
Ta...	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn ḥsi.t ʕ<sup>3</sup>.t</i>	P. London BM EA 10012	BM	3.33	21.5		Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Taamun	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR VII 10242		1.05	18		Adoration of Osiris - BHC 10



Tabakenkhonsu	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR VII 10222	2.46	24	BD 1 - BD 1V - BD 81A - BD 81AV - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 138 - BD 138V - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 110V
Tabakenkhonsu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w ḥsi.t n.t p<sup>3</sup> c n Mwt wr nb Išrw</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3287	1.06	21.4	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Tadiipetweret	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10330	0.73	23.5	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - BD 24 - CS 16c - BHC 12 - CS 1b
Taenimnetheretib	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w</i>	P. Cologny CII	1.2	25	Adoration of Osiris - BD 17 - 17V - BD 1
Tahemenmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Berlin P. 3128	1.35	23	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	N a r o d o w e 199628 MN	1.26	23	N/A
T a h u t i / Tausretemsuper	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo SR IV 1544	N/A		N/A
Tameniu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10002	1.43	28	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 148V - BD 126V - BD 81AV - BD 87V - BD 59V - BD 63V
	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10008	1.613	9.52	BD 149 - BD 150 - BD 125B - WH - CS 5
Tameret	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w ḥsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> c n Mwt wr:t nb.t Išrw</i>	P. Turin CGT 53001 (Nr. 1849)	2.31	25	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 148 - BD 135 - BD 1B/172 - Solar Hymn - BD 180 - BD 190 - BD 133 - BD 134
Tamiu (?)			P. London BM EA 75027	N/A	7	BD 166 - BHC 11
Tanedjemut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w n Mwt Hnsw</i>	P. Turin 1784	1.57	24	Adoration of Amenhotep I - BHC 12 - BHC 11
Tanetamun	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr:w ḥsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> c n Mwt wr:t nb.t Išrw</i>	P. Paris BN 170-173	3.25	22	Adoration of Osiris + Isis and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - WH - Solar Hymn - BD 78V - BD 86V - CS 3a - CS 37 -BD 62V -CS 5 - BD 87V - BD 81AV - BD 126V - CS 32 - CS 1b - CS 19 - BD 149V - BD 150V - BD 308V - BD 148V - BD 186V
Tanetpasu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. Leiden T 26 (AMS 39)	0.6	25	Adoration of Atum - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28

Tanytbastet	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i> <i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i> <i>ḥsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕn Mwt nb.t p.t rsi.t (?) nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn ḥm.t-ntr n Imn-(m-)</i> <i>Ip.t ḥm.t-ntr n Mwt n pr-msw ḥm.t-ntr n Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn ʕ<sup>3</sup>(t) qnt nw.t bit Mn-m<sup>3</sup>c.t-R<sup>c</sup> m ḥ.t-f mri-f Mri-Pth Stḥi</i>	P. Paris BN 128 Florence 3663 Cairo CG 40016 (SR VII 10240)	0.497 1.25 2.75	22.7 24 28	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - BD 23 - Offering Text - Speech of the Ba - BD 162 - Unknown Text Adoration of Osiris - CS 34a - BD 77V - CS 33a - CS 36a - CS 31a - BD 148 - BD 78V Adoration of Osiris + Nephthys - CS 17 - BD 125 - BD 125V -Solar Hymn - CS 34a - BD 110V - BD 126V - BD 110V - BD 86V - CS 16a - CS 8
Tauhenut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i> <i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 36464 (SR VII 10243) Cairo SR VII 10270	1.26 1.25	17 15.5	BHC 9 Adoration of Osiris - BD 145 - BD 145V
Tawedjatre	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn šm<sup>c</sup>.t n p<sup>3</sup> grg w<sup>c</sup>b n Pth</i> <i>ḥsi.t ʕ<sup>3</sup>.t n Mwt nb.t p.t mr.t n ḥwt-ḥr wsr.t nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w šm<sup>c</sup>.t n p<sup>3</sup> grg w<sup>c</sup>b n Pth ḥsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕ n Mwt t<sup>3</sup> šps.t ḥsi.t n p<sup>3</sup> ʕ n Mwt nb.t Išrw</i>	Cairo JE 34033 (SR VII 11500) Cairo SR VII 11496	3.8 4.32	28 32	Adoration of Re-Horakhty - Litany of Re Adoration of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys - Adoration of Thoth - WH - BD 8V - BD 77V/BD 78V - CS 18 - BD 9V - BD 85V - BD 17V - BD 86V - BD 146V - BD 148V - BD 125 - CS 17 - BD 110V - BD 126V - BD 110V
Tawosretempnesu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Luxor J. 24 (Cairo SR VII 10253)	1.215	21.5	Adoration of Osiris (Deceased Led by Isis) - CS 1a - Spell of the Twelve Caves (BD 168) - Solar Hymn - BD 182V - CS 3a - Solar Hymn - CS 17
Tayiuhenetmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Chicago OIM 18039	1.01	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 23 - BD 24 - BD 25 - BD 26 - BD 28

Tayukhertiu	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nt<sup>r</sup>.w ḥs.t Ĝ.t n p<sup>3</sup> ĉ n Mwt</i>	P. Leiden T 3 11 (AMS 40)	33	Recto: BD 45 - BD 45V - BD 31 - BD 31V - BD 35 - BD 35V - BD 93 - BD 93V - Solar Hymn - BD 108 - BD 108V - BD 109 - BD 109V - BD 86 - BD 86V - BD 87 - BD 87V; Verso: BD 88 - BD 88V - BD 77 - BD 77V - BD 78 - BD 78V - BD 82 - BD 82V - BD 85 - BD 85V - BD 83 - BD 83V - BD 84 - BD 84V - BD 80 - BD 80V - BD 81A - 81AV - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 3V - BD 71- BD 71V - BD 64 - BD 64V - BD 141/142 - BD 141/142V - BD 100/129 - BD 100/129V - BD 99/99B - BD 99/99BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 153A - BD 153AV - BD 89 - BD 89V - BD 125A - Purification Scene - BD 126V - WH - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 194 - BD 194V - BD 151 - BD 151AV - BD 193 - BD 193V - BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 149 - BD 149V - BD 150V - Adoration of Osiris
-------------	--------	--	------------------------------	----	--

Tchaiheruiautef	Male	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b n Imn ʒ šmit</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3080	N/A	24.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 64 - BD 133 - BD 136/136A A - BD 134 - BD 1 - BD 72 - BD 2 - BD 3 - BD 65 - BD 92 - BD 68
Tchauenhui	Male	<i>ḥry q<sup>c</sup>.w ʒ, w nt ḥry wr m ḥ.t</i>	P. Paris Louvre N. 3294	N/A	25	N/A
Tchauenhui	Male	<i>ḥry sʒw.ti sš.w n pr-ḥd n pr Imn</i>	P. Zagreb 885	2	16.5	BD 125A - BD 125AV - BD 125B - BD 125BV - Speech of Thoth - WH - CS 3a - BD 148V - Adoration of Re-Horakhty
Tchensarekna	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nt<sup>r</sup>.w</i>	Cairo JE 95712 (SR IV 645)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tefrerwaset	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 10094	0.68	20.3	Solar Hymn - BD 180
	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny- sw.t nt<sup>r</sup>.w</i>	P. Louvre N.3119	N/A	20	N/A

Tendetmut	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo JE 35404 (SR VII.10234)	3.11	20	Adoration of Osiris - CS 17 - CS 34b - BD 145V/146V - CS 42 - BE 68 - BD 37V - CS 12a - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - BD 154V - BD 145V/146V - CS 46a - BD 148V - BD 149V/150V - BD 186V
		none	Cairo CG 58005 (JE 35413, SR IV 997)	0.173	21.8	BD 166
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	Cairo SR VII.10251	1.71	24	N/A
		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	Cairo CG 40009 (JE 95861, SR IV 961)	2.45	20.5	Adoration of Osiris - BD 1 - BD 130 - BD 136/136A - BD 134 - BD 130 - BD 64
Tenetpenherunefer	Female	none	Cairo JE 95639 (SR VII.10258)	1.78	20	BHC 12- BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
Tentosorkon	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. London BM EA 9919	1.7	24	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BD 130 - BD 130V - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 149V - BD 110V - CS 1b
Tentosorkon	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	P. Cairo No Number	N/A	N/A	CS 20 - BD 30V - BD 145V/146V - BD 149V/150V - BD 148V - CS 1b
Tentshedkhons	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. London BM EA 9938 (P. Salt 1, 70-1 ?)	0.48	12.7	BD 126V - BD 145V - Adoration of Osiris - Purification Scene
Tentshedmut	Female	<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn</i>	P. London BM EA 9970	2.16	24.8	Adoration of Osiris + Isis - BHC 12 - BHC 11 - BHC 10 - BHC 9
		<i>šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup></i>	P. Paris N.3286	N/A	24	Adoration of Osiris + Nephthys - BD 104 - BD 96 - BD 97 - BD 94 - BD 103 - BD 10/48 - BD 90 - BD 75 - BD 125
Tiubes (?)			P. Berlin P. 3016	0.32	24	N/A
		<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.33	1.23	28.6	Adoration of Osiris - BD 9V - CS 17 - BHC 11 - BHC 10
Tiye	Female	<i>nb.t-pr šm<sup>c</sup>.t n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> ny-sw.t ntr.w</i>	New York MMA 25.3.34	1.225	28.6	Adoration of Osiris - WH - CS 34a - Opening of the Mouth

Tjanefer A	Male	<i>it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t wn ʿwy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t ḥm-nṯr 3-nw Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr-w ḥm- nṯr n Mnṯw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy ḥwt n pr Imn ḥm-nṯr n 3nm nb qbḥ</i>					25	4	Cairo SR IV 952	Litany of Re
		<i>it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ḥm-nṯr n Imn wn ʿwy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr-w ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw nb w3st imy-r3 k3.w nw pr-Rc tpy ḥwt n pr Imn ḥm-nṯr n 3nm nb qbḥ</i>					35	5.7	Cairo CG 40014 (JE 33997, SR VII 10244)	Adoration of Osiris + Thoth, Isis, and Nephthys - CS 18 - BD 85V - Hymn to Re-Horakhty - Speech of Thoth - WH - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 126V - BD 186 - BD 86V - BD 110V - BD 17V
Userhetmes	Male	<i>wʿb n Imn-Rc ny-sw.t nṯr-w sš pr-ḥq</i>					23	2.15	Cairo JE 34023 (SR VII 10225)	Litany of Re
		<i>wʿb n Imn sš pr-ḥq wʿb n Mwt</i>					33	5.2	Cairo SR VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7)	BD 145 - BD 145V - BD 148 - BD 148V - BD 125A - BD 125B - BD 125BV - BD 110 - BD 110V - BD 125C - WH - BD 186 - BD 186V



# Lapis lazuli in Sinai and indigenous black copper during the 18th dynasty

Kimberley Watt<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

After examining the provenance of materials used in monumental architecture during the 18th dynasty from the emic perspective of textual sources, the nature of black copper (*hmty km*), which appeared in the sources at the beginning of the period, is explored. This appellation was used to differentiate it from foreign copper received as tribute from the reign of Thutmose I. As Asiatic copper was lighter in colour, it is possible that Egyptian copper contained more metal contaminants that made it appear darker. The provenance of this copper is examined, on the basis of texts as well as the archaeometallurgical surveys made in Egypt.

A rare mention of lapis lazuli which is allochthonous to Sinai, in an inscription dating to the reign of Thutmose III is examined. This, as well as the presence in the Sinai inscriptions of several royal envoys, who regularly appeared in foreign and diplomatic contexts, lead to a discussion about Serabit el-Khadim and the Sinai acting as a meeting point for Egyptians and foreigners.

## Keywords

Sinai; black copper; lapis lazuli; royal envoy; expeditions

## Introduction

Portals made of granite of Elephantine, doors of wood imported from Lebanon decorated with gold from the revenues of the southern lands: Egyptian monumental dedication inscriptions depict temples full of colour and lavishness, but also allude to a world that extends further than Egypt. This paper is the result of a thorough examination of the provenance of materials used in monumental constructions and projects, from temple gates and obelisks to sacred barks. In order to have an emic approach and to gain an understanding of the ancient Egyptians' conceptions of provenance, only literary sources mentioning said building resources have been used. In addition to the building stones, including limestone of Ainu (the quarries of Tura-Masaara) and sandstone – the latter being more widely used from the reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut onwards –, the Egyptians employed many resources to decorate the stones themselves. The provenance of those resources is occasionally referred to in the inscriptions themselves, in statements such as 'electrum from the tributes of the southern land' (*b3k.t n h3st rswt*; Urk. IV, 1668.2–3).

This paper addresses the acquisition of materials, more specifically copper and lapis lazuli, and questions the provenance of a type of copper while assessing the accuracy of the inscriptions in Sinai referring to the presence of the latter. It focuses on two aspects in relation with the Sinai peninsula: first the identification of an indigenous copper, 'black copper', as opposed to the 'Asian' and foreign one, as well as its possible provenance; second the possibility that there were commercial contacts with foreigners in Sinai during the 18th dynasty, based on a reference to lapis lazuli in an inscription and the presence of a high number of royal envoy's onsite.

This paper first provides an overview of the provenance of various materials used in monumental constructions as mentioned in 18th dynasty texts, which are then briefly discussed. After, it focuses on a specific type of copper and the presence of lapis lazuli in Sinai.

---

<sup>1</sup> University of Cambridge, United Kingdom.

## Provenance of materials used in monumental constructions according to 18th dynasty sources

In this section I briefly discuss a number of these materials, as the provenance of many does not require further explanation than the Table 1 provides. Ancient Egyptians considered gold (*nbw*), silver (*ḥd*) and electrum (*dꜥm*) as noble and different from the other metallic components (Harris 1961, 32): they may well have actually been regarded as the same substance, with a different colour range, and the materials appear to have come from the same locations, mostly the Eastern Desert and Nubia mines. The origin of turquoise is not given in inscriptions but the source is well known as being in Sinai (Tallet 2018, 60–1), in the vicinity of the temple of Serabit el-Khadim. The provenance of the two types of copper is examined here, on the basis of textual references supported by contextual evidence.

Egyptian officials' inscriptions were scattered around the site of Serabit el-Khadim, home to a temple dedicated to 'Hathor, Mistress of turquoise' (Valbelle and Bonnet 1996): these have been extensively published since the beginning of the 20th century, starting with A. H. Gardiner and T. E. Peet (1917) then A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý (1955), before P. Tallet (2012 and 2018) published the inscriptions that had been missed. The social network of the site during the Middle Kingdom has already been extensively studied, focusing on the relations at a micro-level of this famous site (Bloxam 2006). For that reason, only those inscriptions that are relevant to the current discussions are presented.

### *Ḥmty km*, a distinctive brand of indigenous<sup>2</sup> copper

Strangely absent from inscriptions in Sinai, copper was nevertheless mined in the vicinity of Serabit el-Khadim and at various sites of the peninsula: ceramic crucibles and smelting slags were found there (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 13). P. Tallet (2018, 217–18) notes however that evidence for copper activity in the region dates predominantly to the Old Kingdom. Overall, copper industries in Sinai are supported by the fact that this area was a major exploitation site of turquoise, it being a hydrated phosphate of copper and aluminium (Aston *et al.* 2000, 62) and thus found in similar geological contexts.

Two types of copper appear in the sources of the 18th dynasty: the *ḥmty n stt*, 'copper of Asia', and the *ḥmty km*, 'black copper', with no provenance. The latter has been considered to be a copper that had been darkened by an artificial patina (Giumlíá-Mair and Quirke 1997, 95; Mohamed and Darweesh 2012) which 'was reserved for those objects which were to receive inlays of precious metals' (Cooney 1966, 45). While it is true that the copper of these objects is indeed darker and resembles bronze more than the red hues of copper, as far as this author knows, no such object is clearly labelled as being *ḥmty km*. Additionally, the patina of selected British Museum objects has been compared to that of the Japanese shakudo or that of the Corinthian bronze (Craddock and Giumlíá-Mair 1993); however, all the objects examined are clearly bronze and date of the Late Period, nearly a millennium after the 18th dynasty evidence presented here. J. R. Harris (1961, 57) describes this appellation as 'copper that has been smelted from its ore, but which has not yet been purified and still therefore contains traces of gold, silver and other metals'. I suggest that indeed, this copper ore contained metallic contaminants generating such darker colour. It does not appear to be manufactured, except for its transformation process to extract the metal, as in Thutmose III's Annals, *ḥmty km* appears to be a raw resource among others (Urk. IV, 744.13–5). In the tomb TT 95 of Mery, High priest of Amun under Amenhotep II, he refers to materials used in workshops as 'bronze, black copper, copper from his foreign lands' (*ḥsmn ḥmty km ḥmty ḥr ḥst=f*; Urk. IV, 1571.2), underlying the distinction from an ancient perspective between these resources.

---

<sup>2</sup> As copper was exploited in Sinai since the Old Kingdom, it is considered to be the 'original' and 'usual' copper handled in Egypt, without referring to the status of Sinai as being part or not of the ancient kingdom of Kemet. This question falls outside of the boundaries of the current paper to be addressed.

Materials	From Egyptian inscriptions
Gold	<i>n tp.y ḥ3s.wt nb.wt</i> , ‘of the best of all foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1379.10, 2030.4); <i>n inl.w n ḥ3st swt</i> , ‘of the tribute of the southern foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1379.10); <i>n Kš 3st</i> , ‘of vile Kush’ (Urk. IV, 931.8); <i>b3k m nbw n ḥ3s.wt nb.wt</i> , ‘covered with the gold of all foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1268.12, 2036.7); <i>nbw n tp.w ḥ3s.wt n inl.w n ḥ3st swt</i> , ‘covered in gold of the finest of the foreign lands from the tributes of the southern lands’ (Urk. IV, 1379.10); <i>m b3k n ḥ3s.wt mḥty.w</i> , ‘from the revenue of the northern foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1668.5); <i>ḥr ḥ3s.wt</i> , ‘from the foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1795.12); <i>m ḥ3q.w n b3k.wt ḥm=f</i> , ‘from the plunder of the might of his Majesty’ (Urk. IV, 2036.6)
Electrum	<i>n ḥ3st rswt</i> , ‘of the southern foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1668.3); <i>n tp ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt)</i> , ‘of the best of all foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 362.12, 1706.4, 1708.9, 2029.3); <i>m b3kt wr.w ḥ3st nb.t</i> , ‘with the revenue of the officials of all foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1667.19)
Silver	<i>Rtnw</i> , ‘Retjenu’ (Urk. IV, 669.14, 691.17, 706.6, 717.16, 722.3); <i>Inw3mw</i> , ‘Inuaamu’ (Urk. IV, 666.9); <i>Wrtt</i> , ‘Ullaza’ (Urk. IV, 686.7); <i>Ḥt3</i> , ‘Hatti’ (Urk. IV, 701.12); <i>Tin3i</i> , ‘Tinai’ (Urk. IV, 733.5)
Turquoise	Sinai (Aston <i>et al.</i> 2000, 63)
Copper	<i>(n) stt m b3k n ḥ3s.wt mḥty.w</i> , ‘(of) Asia from the revenue of the Northern foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1668.5); <i>ḥr ḥ3st=f</i> , ‘from his foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1571.2)*; <i>ḥmty km</i> , ‘black copper’ (Urk. IV, 98.1, 168.5, 174.10, 422.10, 744.14, 1571.1, 1710.2)
Bronze	(Believed to be the same as copper by Ogden 2000)
Lapis lazuli	<i>n stt</i> , ‘of Asia’ (Gardiner <i>et al.</i> 1955, 162, n. 200, line 8); Transit through the Levant (Amarna Letters; Moran 1992)
Cedar wood	<i>n tp ḥtyw</i> , ‘from the best of the terrace’ (Urk. IV, 23.12, 98.14, 1267.18, 1268.9, 1707.13, 2030.2); <i>n ḥnt-š</i> , ‘of Lebanon’ (Urk. IV, 169.17, 1730.9); <i>ḥr ḥ3st Rtnw</i> , ‘in the foreign land of Retjenu’ (Urk. IV, 1552.6); <i>ḥr ḥ3s.wt t3 ntr</i> , ‘from the foreign lands of the place of the god’ (Urk. IV, 1652.14, 1732.6); <i>(n) stt m b3k n ḥ3s.wt mḥty.w</i> , ‘(of) Asia from the revenue of the Northern foreign lands’ (Urk. IV, 1668.5); <i>n Rmnn</i> , ‘of the Terrace’ (Urk. IV, 1711.7); <i>n tp nḥt b3k ḥtyw</i> , ‘from among the finest wood of the revenue of the Terrace’ (Urk. IV, 1295.3); <i>n ḥnt-š m stp n Ng3w</i> , ‘of Lebanon, from the pick of Negau’ (Urk. IV, 1795.11)
Limestone	<i>n 3nw</i> , ‘of Ainu’ (Urk. IV, 25.9, 43.5, 214.2, 295.15, 388.9, 607.5, 1260.16, 1795.9); <i>n T3-stl</i> , ‘of Nubia’ (Urk. IV, 197.16, 212.7, 213.14); <i>(n) š3ct</i> , ‘of š3ct’ (Urk. IV, 212.1)
Sandstone	(Not specified in texts of the 18th dynasty)
Granite	<i>(n) 3bw</i> , ‘(of) Elephantine’ (Urk. IV, 843.4, 1249.14, 1648.15); <i>(n) -rsy</i> , ‘(of) Aswan’ (Urk. IV, 362.11)
Quartzite	<i>n dw dšr</i> , ‘of the Red mountain’ (Urk. IV, 167.3)
Alabaster	<i>n Ḥwt-nbw</i> , ‘of Hatnub’ (Urk. IV, 388.10, 424.2; Hayes 1939, pl. 5, line 7)
Ebony	<i>n T3-stl</i> , ‘of Nubia’ (Urk. IV, 423.17)

Table 1. Provenance of materials used in monumental constructions, according to 18th dynasty texts.

\* J. R. Harris (1961, 56) and H. Brugsch (1867, 1629) consider that ‘*ḥr ḥ3st=f*’ should be understood as from its (the copper) foreign country’. However, a translation of ‘his (Majesty’s) foreign lands’ appears more likely in this context due to the common indication that foreign lands were subservient to the king in official discourses (i.e. Urk. IV, 1667).

## Known origins of copper

As for the first copper *ḥmty n Sṯt*,<sup>3</sup> it is possible to believe that it was requested by the Egyptian king in the Amarna Letter EA 77.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it can be associated to instances where copper is said to come from Asia or from the ‘revenues of the Northern foreign lands’ (*Urk.* IV, 1667–8, 1707, 2124), and where Syrians are bringing red copper ingots in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39; Davies 1922: pl. XXXI). However, in that of Rekhmire (TT 100; Davies 1943: pl. XIX), the copper ingots shaped like oxhide are brought by people from ‘*Kḥtyw*’ and from the ‘lands in the Great sea’ (*t3.w w3ḏ wr*), identified as Cypriots and Cyprus (Ogden 2000, 151). One may thus suggest that the Egyptian painter did not differentiate between Cypriots and Syrians, both coming from the ‘North’. On the other hand, it may indicate that Syrians acted as middlemen for most of the eastern Mediterranean trade, thus supporting the provenance of copper as ‘*n Sṯt*’. Lead isotope analyses have shown that part of the Ramesside Egyptian copper indeed came from Cyprus (Rademakers *et al.* 2017, 56), which may have been considered as *Sṯt* as a whole.

As for other provenances, archaeometallurgical studies and archaeological remains reveal that copper mines were exploited in Sinai all throughout the New Kingdom: for instance tuyères, moulds and crucibles were found in Sinai, at Bir Nasib, suggesting the existence of smelting and casting installations onsite (Tallet 2003, 461). Though the epigraphic references stress the importance of turquoise with no mention of copper, it is indubitable that it was extracted in parallel: these sources have been known and exploited already in the Middle Kingdom, as so many inscriptions attest to the presence of officials at the time in Sinai and smelting furnaces for ores have been known to date from the Old Kingdom (Tallet 2018, 66). Many other mines have also been identified in the Eastern Desert (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012), and posited to exist in Nubia alongside auriferous areas (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 50).

## Darker than the Asiatic one

This paper posits that *ḥmty km*, ‘black copper’, refers to the copper primarily used in Egypt during the preceding periods, it being labelled *km* after the introduction on the market of another lighter type, ‘of *Sṯt*’ from the beginning of the 18th dynasty. It would have been darker due to the presence of other metal contaminants. Indeed, minor content of other metal contaminants in the ore, such as nickel or arsenic would have made copper greyer (Mödlinger *et al.* 2017, 19).

Referring to Asiatic copper in oxhide ingots brought to the temple of Amun, as attested in the tomb of Rekhmire, J. R. Harris (1961, 57; referring to *Urk.* IV, 1150.11) argues that it was ‘apparently a species of copper or copper alloy of a characteristic light colour’. As a consequence, one might therefore suggest that the original *ḥmty* being newly labelled *km*, which had never appeared in the textual evidence of the previous periods, coincides with the large arrival of a foreign copper presumably given as tribute, with their distinctive different colours making their respective origins clear. This influx of foreign copper may have been a consequence of the campaigns of Thutmose I towards the Levant, as mentions of *ḥmty km* appear then (*Urk.* IV, 98.1); on the other hand, copper (*ḥmty*) is clearly said to come from the revenues of the Northern lands, and more precisely (*n*) *Sṯt* later during the 18th dynasty (*Urk.* IV, 2124.2).

<sup>3</sup> Evidence provided by P. Tallet (2018, 15) identifying *Sṯt* as the Sinai peninsula is only circumstantial in the author’s understanding of the sources: only the Sinai inscription 411 (Gardiner *et al.* 1955, 208) refers to *sṯt* together with expeditions procuring ‘turquoise, lapis lazuli (of) Teferret and an incense from an eastern land’. The geographical range of the resources mentioned alongside the provenance *sṯt* support a translation as ‘Asia’.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Rib-Hadda to Amenhotep, referring to a previous request for copper (Moran 1992, 77).

Thus, with the introduction of a lighter ‘Asiatic’ copper, I suggest that the darker one, labelled *hmty km*, refers to copper used previously in Egypt, for which it was not required to provide provenance details. This is supported by a detail of TT 95 of Mery dating to the reign of Amenhotep II, where various materials are mentioned, including *hmty km hmty hr h3st=f* (Urk. IV, 1571.2): the second type of copper is clearly referred to as coming from abroad and the first as being indigenous. This *hmty km* was an element of sacred barks (Urk. IV, 98.1) and that of barriers (Urk. IV, 174.9); doors were said to be ‘banded with’ this particular material (*ndbw m hmty km*; Urk. IV, 168.5, 1709.18). It appears to have been selected for its colour, as the name alludes to it, but potentially also because it was more resistant due to the inclusions of other metals (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1995), thus potentially used in a similar fashion as modern brass, another copper alloy, in Art Deco architecture.

Thus I suggest that Egyptians did note a difference between the two coppers and named the one found locally *hmty km*. As this type of copper may have been used since the early dynastic periods and it was the one considered to be common in Egypt at the time of the 18th dynasty, it would not have required further geographic specification.

As for physical provenance, due to Harris’s suggestion that Asiatic copper was ‘lighter’, an indigenous origin of the darker copper could have been identified as Sinai. However, if we accept that it was darker in colour due to specific metals’ contaminations, it casts aside most of the mines from Sinai as the ore there is low in contaminants (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 8). Ores from mines in the northern part of the Eastern Desert surveyed by Abdel-Motelib’s project have a higher proportion of arsenic that may have affected its colour (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 8), than those of the Sinai peninsula. For instance, with the analyses performed during this survey, the ore of Gebel Zeit which contained low minor element contents of zinc may be a potential match, or that of Wadi Semna III with high proportion of arsenic, even that of Nabi Salah in Sinai had high nickel content (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 38–9). This *hmty km* could have originated from those mines as well as those down in Nubia, as copper also appeared in auriferous regions (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 50). Additionally, copper with a significant gold input does appear darker; however this proportion is rarely found naturally (between 2% and 4%) (Oguchi 1983).

Nevertheless, it is possible that this darker colour is due to a stage in the smelting process itself, as copper from the Old Kingdom onwards contain traces of iron (Rademakers *et al.* 2018, 185–6); for now, no study has been done examining the colour of ancient CuFe alloys. But if one accepts that *hmty km* was the type of copper used primarily before the introduction of foreign ones, one may suggest looking more into the nature and provenance of copper objects of earlier periods, such as those described in Rademakers’ study. More research has to be done from a chemical perspective; it may provide more answer to analyse *hmty km* in objects.

### **Lapis lazuli in Sinai: Trope or evidence of interactions with foreigners?**

Lapis lazuli is the only stone appearing in inscriptions in Sinai that has no geological mine in the area; in this section I argue that Sinai was a trading post for lapis lazuli. In two parallel inscriptions, Nakht refers to how ‘they brought away every good product of [this] foreign land’ (Gardiner *et al.* 1955, 153–4, n. 182, line 6) ‘turquoise in exceeding great quantity, lapis lazuli of Asia, malachite, green feldspar and blue [eye paint], without end’ (Gardiner *et al.* 1955, 162, n. 200, line 8; transliteration below). Turquoise is known to come from sites in Sinai, as well as malachite from copper-rich mines Timna at the apex of the Red Sea (Rothenberg 1972, 20), while the mines of green feldspar or amazonite are to be found mainly in the Eastern Desert (Aston *et al.* 2000, 46). It is to be questioned why lapis lazuli joined such Egyptian materials.



### *Provenance of minerals*

Studies have shown that lapis lazuli had been in use from the predynastic times onwards, originating from modern Afghanistan, presumably the valley of Kochka in the province of Badakhshan (Bavay 1997, 94). Its transportation route from this remote East region is for now unknown though L. Bavay has pointed out that several routes may be considered: through the Eastern desert, maritime routes or crossing the junction between Palestine and Egypt across the Sinai peninsula. Lapis lazuli appears regularly as presents from the Near Eastern rulers to the king in the Amarna Letters (EA8, EA9, EA10, EA11, EA19, EA21; Moran 1992); this is viewed as a clear indication that this precious stone transited through their countries and that local rulers acted as intermediaries for Egypt's access to it.

T. Hikade (2001, 13) believes that this reference by Nakht is merely a literary trope, rather than reality, describing a recurrent motif within the 'culturally specific' phrasing. In the inscription discussed above (n. 200), Nakht refers to *mfk3t.w r 3.t wr.t hsbd.w (n) stt šsmt.w nšmt.w [h̄tm].w irt̄y.w*, 'turquoise in exceeding great quantity, lapis lazuli of Asia, malachite, green feldspar and blue *h̄tm*' (Gardiner *et al.* 1955, 162, pl. LXI, n. 200). This phraseology appears also in the other inscription which he recorded, referring to Hatshepsut this time (n. 182): *mfk3t r 3.t wr.t hsbd stt šsmt nšmt bl3w 3š3w*, (translation above), with the same materials, except for the blue eye paint present in n. 200 (*h̄tm.w irt̄y.w*) which may have been replaced by metal in this inscription. There are no other inscriptions referring to these resources in such order or context from the 18th dynasty, which suggests that this scribe Nakht recorded materials he had actually collected, similarly to what appears in the sources of the Middle Kingdom in Sinai (see above, note 3). Diachronically, one must note the singular interest given to lapis lazuli in the Sinai inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom to the reign of Rameses IV (Tallet 2018, 62).

It is worth examining Tallet's suggestion that in the mention *hsbd (n) stt*, 'lapis lazuli (of) Setjet' the provenance *stt* should be understood as a locality referring to Sinai itself, and this type of *hsbd* being another dark blue mineral, the azurite (Tallet 2018, 63). While appealing, this may be contradicted by the clear mention of copper 'of Asia (*stt*) from the revenue of the Northern foreign lands' (*Urk.* IV: 1668.5), and *stt* has never appeared in tribute registers as an independent locality, similar to those described in the Annals' lists of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV, 645–95). For that reason, one should not dismiss the transit of lapis lazuli through Sinai.

Also coming from a distance, the malachite's origin, the Timna valley, is distant of approximately 400 km from the site of Serabit el-Khadim. The survey in the Timna valley attests only of the Egyptian presence during the 19th and 20th dynasties, with the discovery of material culture and a Ramesside cartouche on a stone pillar (Rothenberg 1972, 125–49, 162–66, pl. 76). One may suggest that during the 18th dynasty, such mining was not undertaken by Egyptians which required the intervention of other groups to acquire malachite. The site of Serabit el-Khadim where most inscriptions have been left, could have served as a converging point for the resources and the people.

### *Envoys of the king as intermediaries*

Contextual evidence from Sinai may support this acquisition of lapis lazuli by Nakht, principally the high number of inscriptions of *wꜣꜣꜣꜣ nīswt*, 'royal envoys' from the 18th dynasty in this location, grouped in the table below (Tab. 2).

Serabit el-Khadim, temple, statue	<i>wpwty nṯswt [...] n ḥm=f ṯmy-rʿ kʿt n ḥʿt-shm mḥ-ib [...]</i>	18th dynasty	Gardiner <i>et al.</i> 1955, 171, pl. LXVII, n. 231A
Serabit el-Khadim, temple	<i>wpwty nṯswt m ḥʿt mšc sš Nḥt, sš sphr ḥw Nḥt, sš bht [n] ḥm=f [N]ḥt</i>	Hatshepsut – Thutmose III, year 20	Gardiner <i>et al.</i> 1955, 152–3, n. 181, 154, n. 183, 155, n. 184, 157, n. 191, 162, n. 200
Serabit el-Khadim, temple	<i>wpwty nṯswt ṯmy-rʿ ḥʿt-nb n wʿd-wr sš ḥnmw &lt;n&gt; tʿ wn sdʿwt bṯy smr w ty sʿb Sʿmntw</i>	Thutmose III, year 25	Gardiner <i>et al.</i> 1955, 160, pl. LXIV, n. 196
Serabit el-Khadim, parietal inscriptions in mines	<i>wpwty nṯswt ḥr ḥʿs.wt nb.(wt) ṯmy-rʿ pr n ṯpt ḥmt nṯswt ḥʿty-c n Tʿrw ḥrd n kʿp Nby</i>	Thutmose IV, year 4	Tallet 2012, 142–3, Doc. 171
Serabit el-Khadim, parietal inscriptions in mines	<i>wpwty nṯswt ḥrd [n] kʿp ḥr.y pḏ.wt n Tkḡ Imnmḥʿt</i>	Thutmose IV, year 7	Tallet 2012, 146–7, Doc. 176
Serabit el-Khadim, temple and surrounding areas	<i>wpwty nṯswt ḥʿswt nb.(wt) sr [bʿwt nw Pwnt] pʿ ṯr wp [NA]</i>	Amenhotep III, possibly the expedition in year 36	Tallet 2012, 179, Doc. 202

Table 2. Officials with the title of Royal envoy in Sinai at the 18th dynasty.

Out of the two dozen inscriptions dating to the 18th dynasty known in Sinai, six of them refer to royal envoys. Among these, two record being ‘in all foreign lands’ (*ḥʿs.wt nb.(wt)*) and one holds a title ‘overseer of every river mouth of the sea’ (*ṯmy-rʿ ḥʿt nb n wʿd-wr*) in relation with the Mediterranean Sea; this ‘out-of-border’ association is very clear in this instance. Additionally, the scribe Amenmose of the overseer of the treasury Sobekhotep called Pinhasy, who took part in the expedition to Sinai of the 36th year of reign of Amenhotep III, recorded that he had taken part in the expedition to Punt (Gardiner *et al.* 1955, 166, n. 211, lines 17–18). Thus the officials who took part in these missions had often already experienced the ‘otherness’ of foreign lands and were ‘familiar with the local context’ (Valloggia 1998, 43).<sup>5</sup> M. Valloggia adds that in the New Kingdom, these leaders of expeditions to Sinai often held high responsibilities’ duties in the Delta.

M. Valloggia (1976, 239) considers the *wpwty* to be a trusted person of the king, who acted in a diplomatic role, as a messenger or an envoy to foreign courts. Regarding their involvement in the transportation of goods from Sinai to Egypt, one can establish a parallel with an expedition to Punt where these royal envoys (*wpwty.w nṯswt*) acted as temporary ambassadors but also as those entrusted with the supervision of goods from Egypt to Punt and back (Valloggia 1976, 245, referring to *Urk.* IV, 326).

### ***Serabit el-Khadim, resources hub in the Sinai?***

I suggest that Serabit el-Khadim may have been a meeting point for people bearing products from the East, due to the mention of lapis lazuli above, as well as the reference to malachite which came from the valley of Timna. It would also explain why so many of the officials at the site are titled *wpwty*, acting as ‘representatives’. Indeed, in comparison with the written evidence of Wadi Hammamat, including the rare 18th dynasty inscriptions and the more frequent ones of the 19th dynasty (Hikade 2006, 165–8),

<sup>5</sup> In French in the text: ‘Familiarisés avec le contexte local’.

this Sinai site has many more officials with such a function. At least one foreigner, judging by his name '*pr-B<sup>c</sup>l*' recorded his presence during an expedition of Amenhotep III. He adds that he is 'known to the king' (*rḥ nṯswt*) (Tallet 2012, 214, Doc. 241); his exact role and involvement cannot be further extrapolated, whether he was visiting the site coming from Egypt or from another land, meeting Egyptians.<sup>6</sup>

Sinai has been used since Predynastic times to reach the Levant from Egypt, either via the northern route 'Way of Horus' along the Mediterranean coast (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 7), or possibly via the south of the peninsula, a sea route, potentially supported by the rare remains of a New Kingdom harbour at El-Markha (Chartier-Raymond *et al.* 1994, 34). Nile valley material culture discovered at Hujayrat al-Guzlan may suggest an alternative route across the peninsula (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012, 6), potentially reaching the temple of Serabit el-Khadim. The fact that New Kingdom miners in Sinai referred to foreigners in a peaceful way in depictions is to be seen, according to M. Chartier-Raymond *et al.* (1994, 74), as an indication that Sinai was indeed a crossroad, and potentially a meeting point.

## Discussion

As discussed in this paper, despite its absence in inscriptions, copper was exploited in Sinai as demonstrated by the tuyeres found by Tallet and the numerous smelting installations (Abdel-Motelib *et al.* 2012). The type *ḥmty km*, 'black copper', is considered to be the one used in Egypt from the Old Kingdom, as opposed to the one coming from Asia resulting of foreign exchanges. It appears to have been highly valued by ancient Egyptians and was used alongside 'Asiatic' copper in monuments. It is impossible to state with certainty whether this *ḥmty km* had a darker colour due to its provenance and metallic contaminants or from a stage in the smelting process; if it is the latter, it may suggest a provenance from the mines of Sinai, as well as those of the Eastern Desert. It is not yet possible to say why copper was so conspicuously absent of the textual evidence at the site of Serabit el-Khadim or in the Sinai.

On the other hand, among the minerals that are listed in the Sinai inscriptions, lapis lazuli is the only stone which has no geological reasons to be referred to. Rather than reducing it to a literary motif or attributing it to another mineral, I suggest that this rare evidence indicates that the expedition that took place during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III was involved in the acquisition of the stone. This would be supported by several inscriptions referring to royal envoys, officials who were representatives of the authority of the royal court and thus acted as intermediaries during trading operations of importance, as well as the reference to malachite coming from Timna at the apex of the Gulf of Aqaba. The lapis lazuli offers an insight into the social and economic interactions and exchanges with foreigners from Asia in Sinai.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Thomas Mulvey Egyptological Fund for the studentship that enabled this research, the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Cambridge for its financial support towards the completion of my Ph.D., as well as my college Trinity Hall for helping me pay the expenses related to this presentation at the *Current Research in Egyptology* in Prague. I direct my thanks to my supervisor Dr. H. Papazian, my colleague Dr. M. Gener-Moret and to my friend Dr. P. Van Pelt for their beneficial comments that helped my research progress, as well as to the editors for their valuable reviews.

---

<sup>6</sup> For more on foreigners in Sinai, see Tallet (2018, 32–47).

## Reference List

- Abdel-Motelib, A., Bode, M., Hartmann, R., Hartung, U., Hauptmann, A. and Pfeiffer, K. 2012. 'Archaeometallurgical expeditions to the Sinai Peninsula and the Eastern Desert of Egypt (2006, 2008)'. *Metalla (Bochum)* 19.1/2: 3–59.
- Aston, B. G., Harrell, J. A. and Shaw, I. 2000. 'Stone'. In P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*: 5–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bavay, L. 1997. 'Matière première et commerce à longue distance: le lapis-lazuli et l'Égypte protodynastique'. *Archéo-Nil* 7: 79–100.
- Bloxam, E. G. 2006. 'Miners and mistresses. Middle Kingdom mining on the margins'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 62: 277–303.
- Brugsch, H. 1867. *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch: enthaltend in wissenschaftlicher Anordnung die gebräuchlichsten Wörter und Gruppen der Heiligen und der Volks-Sprache und Schrift der alten Ägypter, nebst deren Erklärung in französischer, deutscher und arabischer Spachen und Angabe ihrer Verwandtschaft mit den entsprechenden Wörtern des Koptischen und der semitischen Idiome. Bd. I.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Chartier-Raymond, M., Gratien, B., Traunecker, C., Vinçon, J.-M. 1994. 'Les sites miniers pharaoniques du Sud-Sinaï: quelques notes et observations de terrain'. *Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 16: 31–77.
- Cooney, J. D. 1966. 'On the meaning of *ḥmty km*'. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93: 43–7.
- Craddock, P. and Giumlíá-Mair, A. 1993. '*Hsmn-Km*, Corinthian bronze, shakudo: black-patinated bronze in the ancient world'. In S. La Niece and P. Craddock (eds.) *Metal Plating and Patination: Cultural, Technical and Historical Development*: 101–127. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Davies, N. de G. 1922. *The tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davies, N. de G. 1943. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Gardiner, A. H. and Peet, T. E. 1917. *The inscriptions of Sinai. Part 1*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Gardiner, A. H., Peet, T. E. and Černý, J. 1955. *The inscriptions of Sinai. Part 2. Translations and commentary*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Giumlíá-Mair, A. and Quirke, S. 1997. 'Black copper in Bronze Age Egypt'. *Revue d'égyptologie* 48: 95–108.
- Harris, J. R. 1961. *Lexicographical studies in ancient Egyptian minerals*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Hayes, W. C. 1939. *The Burial Chamber from the Treasurer Sobk-mose from er-Rizeikat*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Hikade, T. 2001. *Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Aussenhandel*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Hikade, T. 2006. 'Expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat during the New Kingdom'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 92: 153–68.

- Mödlinger, M., Kuijpers, M. H. G., Braekmans, D. and Berger, D. 2017. 'Quantitative comparisons of the color of CuAs, CuSn, CuNi, and CuSb alloys'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 88: 14–23.
- Mohamed, W. and Darweesh, S. 2012. 'Ancient Egyptian black-patinated copper alloys'. *Archaeometry* 54/1: 175–92.
- Moran, W. L. 1992. *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ogden, J. 2000. 'Metals'. In P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian materials and technology*: 148–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oguchi, H. 1983. 'Japanese Shakudo: Its History, Properties and Production from Gold-Containing Alloys'. *Gold Bulletin* 16/4: 125–32.
- Rademakers, F. W., Rehren, T. and Pernicka, E. 2017. 'Copper for the Pharaoh: Identifying multiple metal sources for Ramesses' workshops from bronze and crucible remains'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 80: 50–73.
- Rademakers, F. W., Verly, G., Delvaux, L. and Degryse, P. 2018. 'Copper for the afterlife in Predynastic to Old Kingdom Egypt: Provenance characterization by chemical and lead isotope analysis (RMAH collection, Belgium)'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 96: 175–90.
- Rothenberg, B. 1972. *Timna, Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Stos-Gale, Z., Gale, N. and Houghton, J. 1995. 'The origins of Egyptian copper: lead-isotope analysis of metals from el-Amarna'. In W. V. Davies and L. Schofield, (eds.) *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: interconnections in the second millennium BC*: 127–35. London: British Museum Press.
- Tallet, P. 2003. 'Notes sur la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï au Nouvel Empire'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 103: 459–86.
- Tallet, P. 2012. *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinaï. T. I. Catalogue complémentaire des inscriptions du Sinaï*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
- Tallet, P. 2018. *La zone minière pharaonique du Sud-Sinaï. T. III. Les expéditions égyptiennes dans la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï du prédynastique à la fin de la XXe dynastie*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Valbelle, D. and Bonnet, C. 1996. *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise: Sérabit el-Khadim au Moyen Empire*. Paris: Picard.
- Valloggia, M. 1976. *Recherche sur les messagers (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*. Genève: Droz.
- Valloggia, M. 1998. 'Chanceliers du dieu et messagers du roi à l'est de l'Égypte'. In D. Valbelle and C. Bonnet (eds.) *Le Sinaï durant l'antiquité et le Moyen-Âge: 4000 ans d'histoire pour un désert. Actes du colloque "Sinaï" qui s'est tenu à l'UNESCO du 19 au 21 septembre 1997*: 39–43. Paris: Errance.
- Urk. = Helck, H. W. 1956. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Bd. I–III, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Urk. = Sethe, K. 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Bd. I–IV, Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'.



# Berenike of the Ptolemies. A Hellenistic desert city/fortress

Marek Woźniak<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The founding of the Red Sea port of Berenike by Ptolemy II was known until recently only from historical sources. Recent archaeological research carried out under the Berenike Archaeological Project contributed extensively to a better view of the circumstances of this foundation. A magnetic survey of the site initiated in 1999, followed by excavations, most recently in 2018, revealed that the so-called Hellenistic Industrial Area, interpreted as the harbor facilities of the town, was instead a huge fortified compound with towers, courtyards, and workshops. The structure was at least 12,800 sq. m in area and it is barely a third of the area presumed to be covered by the Hellenistic city. So far excavations have uncovered a double line of defense walls and a fortified gate with internal well/cistern, water collecting basins, and underground tunnels, giving a fascinating glimpse of the scope of this military enterprise.

## Keywords

Hellenism; Ptolemaic Empire; ancient Red Sea ports; ancient elephant hunting; periphery of Hellenistic world

## Introduction

Hellenistic Berenike and its history seemed to be well known since ancient times. Our knowledge, however, was based almost exclusively on written sources. Mentions in work of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* VI, 168, XXXVII, 108) make it clear that city/harbor was founded by order of the Ptolemy II. It was established by strategos Philon, and was named after king's mother, Berenike I. New city was the key point in Ptolemaic project of exploration of the western coast of the Red Sea (Sidebotham 2011, 13), but (especially in the beginning of its history) was founded primarily as a main port for transshipment of east African elephants imported for Ptolemaic army (Casson 1993, 257). Animals were caught probably somewhere in Tokar delta in today's Sudan, loaded on ships in another (not localised yet) port called Ptolemais Theron (Strabo, *Geographica* XVI, 4, 7) and transported to Berenike. Surprisingly, despite this information, until discoveries of the Berenike Project (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1998, 85–8; Sidebotham and Wendrich 2002, 25–7; Sawtel 2007; Selvakumar 2007) it was possible to examine archaeologically almost nothing of structures of the Hellenistic Berenike. Even now, it is not possible to locate certainly any of the other Ptolemaic cities of the Red Sea area, however, what was found during last few seasons in Berenike completely changed our idea about this city and the form of the other Hellenistic centers in the region.

## Localisation of Hellenistic Berenice in the light of written sources

Based on the written sources, especially Strabo (*Geographica* XVI, 4, 5, XVII, 1, 45) we have just basic geographical information about the general location of city/base and sailing conditions in its bay and lagoon. There is almost nothing about Berenike itself. On the basis of the type of provided information, it can be assumed that Strabon (or his source – a kind of early periplus maybe) obtained it from one of the sailors sailing to Berenike. For this group of informers, the most important were navigation tips. Therefore, a complete lack of other data should not be surprising. None of the ancient authors mentioned the appearance of the city, probably also because in the time of Strabo and Pliny the Hellenistic Berenice was already deep beneath the dunes of the wind-blown sand.

---

<sup>1</sup> Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology, Poland (grant NCN: UMO-2015/17/N/HS3/00163).

The results of archaeological work may indicate that between the period of Hellenistic Berenike's heyday and time of the second peak of its activity in the 1st century CE. Extremely significant changes have taken place in the natural environment. Only one, extremely interesting information came from Strabo when he writes about Ptolemais Theron. Something that was never written in the context of Berenike but in the light of last discoveries (Woźniak 2017) should be mentioned:

'To protect the city area, Eumedes [strategos who established this city; M. Woźniak] secretly put up walls and a moat to close/cut off the cape from the mainland.'  
(Strabo, *Geographica* XVI, 4, 7).

### **Localisation of Hellenistic Berenike in the light of archaeological evidence**

Ancient city Berenike was located in a sheltered bay on the Red Sea coast of Egypt, some 300 km south of Quseir (825 km south of Suez) (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1998, 85). Although extensive bay, which is a kind of external port of Berenike, was full of coral reefs,<sup>2</sup> it was protected from northerly sea currents (and to some extent against the winds) by the rocky Ras Benas cape – ancient Lepte Akra (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VI, 175). The city was located on the peninsula laying between two small wadis exiting into the sea. The Roman town, the ruins of which can still be seen between the sand dunes, occupied a fossil reef jutting out into the sea and rising some 2 m a.s.l (Harrel 1995, 102–3), but the historic settlement covered a much greater area (Woźniak 2017), extending north and north-west of a small, now partly silted 'southern lagoon'. That lagoon was a natural, inner harbor (probably mentioned by Strabo, *Geographica* XVII, 1, 45) and connected with a deeper bay that opened out to the sea (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 505). That deep and huge bay (present Foul Bay) was probably an external anchorage that could accommodate many seagoing vessels and is still used, even today.

The first Dutch-American Archaeological Project provided some interesting, but basic information about Hellenistic Berenike. It allowed the site to be divided into two main parts – the eastern one, in the mainly Roman city on a fossil coral reef, and the western area, with hardly any visible remains of structures and Hellenistic material that suggested an Industrial character of this part of site (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1998, 85–8; Sidebotham and Wendrich 2002, 25–7; Sawtel 2007; Selvakumar 2007). Separating the two was extensive Hellenistic trash dump. Even a cursory observation of today's shape of the terrain, supported by the analysis of the geomagnetic map, indicates that the central part of the site was located lower than both extreme areas. In that central zone of site natural bedrock was also much deeper than in the western plateau or under the Roman city.

The actual extent of the Hellenistic city (especially in its eastern part) is still very difficult to determine. The most difficult is the situation of the living quarter which has not been located for sure. Some Hellenistic remains were recorded by the first, Dutch-American archaeological team, below the Roman city, to the north of the Great Temple (known as Serapis Temple, too) (Bruning 2007, 56–60) but the project then was focused on the late Roman architecture, hence it did pursue only limited investigation of the earliest phases at the time (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1998, 85–8; Sidebotham and Wendrich 2002, 25–7; Sawtel 2007; Selvakumar 2007). Recent surveys and observations allowed to localise significant amount of structures, built of fragments of gypsum/anhydrite and big pieces of coral heads, in the central part of the site, under Hellenistic/early Roman trash dump. It is possible that these buildings can be identified as a Hellenistic/early Roman workshop area, but this supposition needs to be proofed by further archaeological works (Fig. 1).

---

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (*Geographica* XVI, 4, 5) mentioned it as Akathartos Kolpos: 'impure bay'.

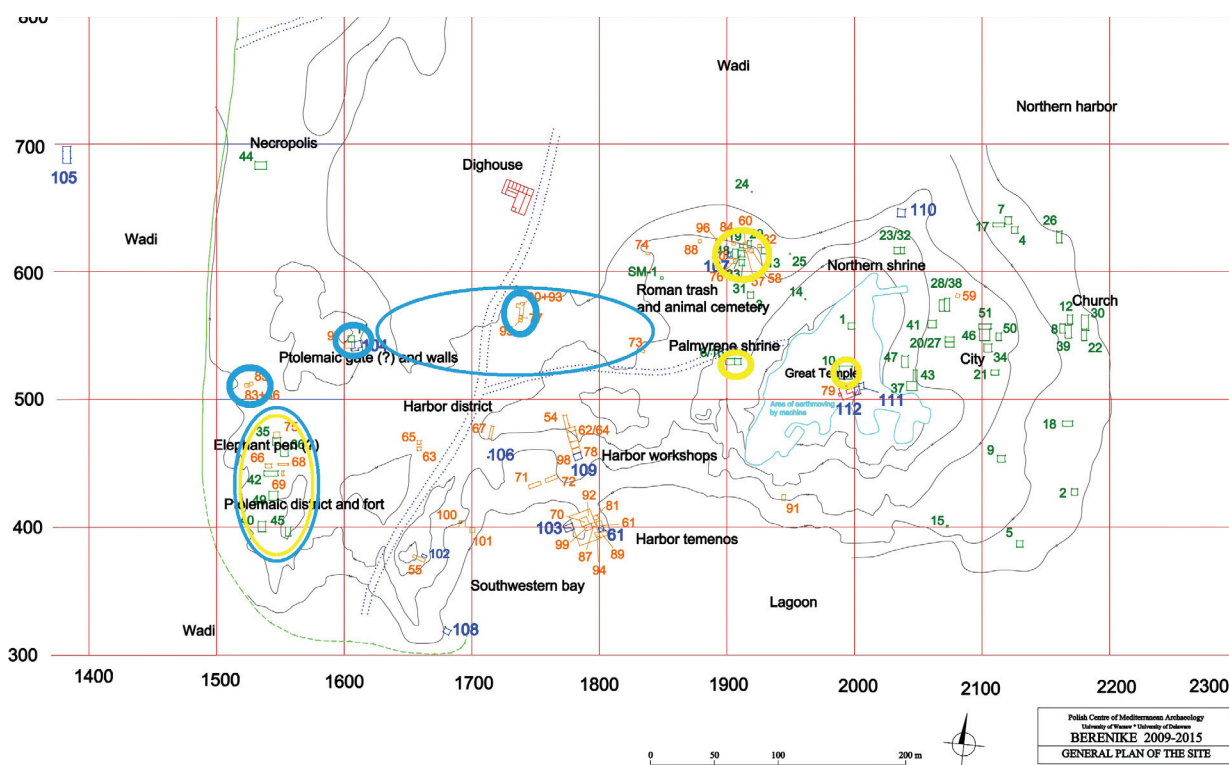


Figure 1. Areas of the Berenike archaeological site with Hellenistic remains found during the first, Dutch-American Berenike Project (in yellow) and during the second, Polish-American Berenike Project (in blue).

## Research

Since 2012, the Polish-American Project Berenike conducts planned and organized research focused on the discovery and multidisciplinary analysis of Hellenistic remains.

One of the most important methods of prospection is geomagnetic research, carried out by T. Herbich and his cooperators since year 2009 (Herbich 2007). It allows to identify even structures that could not be seen under the sand cover. This method is particularly useful in the case of massive walls covered with wind-blown sand, industrial production zones, mainly metallurgical and shafts or structures cut in the bedrock (for example water cisterns). The effects of geomagnetic research, although they allowed to recognize the system of remains invisible on the surface and formed the basis for archaeological research, during the work of the whole project were constantly supplemented by surveys, topographic measurements and finally archaeological research itself. Only such combination brings the desired scientific results.

The first object of 'Hellenistic research' were anomalies localised in the western part of the site (in seasons 2001 and 2009–2010). In the course of extended analysis of the results of geomagnetic research supported by excavation works it was interpreted as a large defense, industrial and storage construction (so-called 'fort') (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014; Sidebotham *et al.* 2015). Its north-western tower was so clear and well visible (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 510–16) that it was chosen as the first object for archaeological research of Hellenistic structures provided by members of the Polish-American team. Expectations in time of exploration of trench on the site of the tower were great. Soon, however, it turned out that the architecture had been robbed completely, leaving just poor remains of the Hellenistic structures including remnants of leveling layers reinforced with large



fragments of early Hellenistic amphorae (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 517–18, Fig. 6a). Although not very spectacular, these finds provided good material for the dating of discovered remains (3rd century BCE even first half of 3rd century BCE).

Most of remnants of the structures that still existed here were rock cut foundation trenches of the tower itself and of the western wall of northern, square courtyard of ‘fort’ (Fig. 2) Not fully robbed remains of the walls, which were originally built in the discovered foundation trenches, indicate the use of several types of building material during their construction. In the main constructions (example in the western wall of the courtyard, to the south of tower) builders (at least in foundations) used unworked fragments of gypsum/anhydrite and coral heads. To the south-west and west of the remains of the tower another, poorly preserved, fragment of a later, additional wall was found. It was built of irregular fragments of coarse sandstone, very unusual material in Hellenistic structures of Berenike. It was probably much cheaper than good gypsum/anhydrite because its outcrops are localised quite close, about 500 m north of the city. The most interesting feature is the wide, shallow trench, probably the first structure made in this area. Its purpose is not entirely clear. It may be that the first Hellenistic builders marked the extent of the future fortress by the shallow trench cut in the upper part of bedrock and running from the north to the south, on the western edge of the rocky plateau of ‘fort’. The tower’s foundation trenches were then dug in this already existing, ‘primary’ trench (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 517–19).



Figure 2. Rock-cut foundation trenches of north-western tower of northern courtyard of the Hellenistic ‘fort’, view from south-east (photo S. Sidebotham).

In the same trench (but to the south of the square, northern courtyard) an uncovered fragment of so-called V-shaped ditch (discovered in 2000 season by Dutch-American mission) was dug (Sidebotham and Wendrich 2002, 26–7; Sidebotham *et al.* 2008, 162–4). It was probably a part of a ditch that surrounds an elephant pen in the first phase of the functioning of the Berenike's 'fort'. The support for this theory can be an elephant tooth (not a tusk) which was found in the area bounded by this ditch in season 2010. Elephants shed molar teeth a number of times in their life, hence the presence of this tooth is the best proof of live elephants having passed through this part of the site (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 517). The elephants were in early Hellenistic times brought by the Ptolemaic hunting teams from East Africa, to be used in the Egyptian army as the 'tanks of antiquity'. From Berenike, they were herded to the Thebaid in Nile Valley to be sent via Faiyum to Memphis or Alexandria and trained for battle (Burstein 1996, 800–1; Casson 1993, 258–9). The v-shaped ditch was probably one of the oldest structures in fort area, probably part of its first phase joint with small, northern 'tetrapyrion'.

In the next phase, the fortified western industrial/storage structure was heavily expanded. It was now a huge building with thick stone walls (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 520–2). The two main courtyards (built to the south of an old, small 'tetrapyrion') were equipped with additional structures: cisterns for water, and granaries or containers for animal feed, etc. (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 521). Two of them (well visible on the geomagnetic map) were only partly uncovered in season 2000. Their size can be estimated on the base of a geophysical map for 5.5 m by 7.5 m for northern and 5 m by 6.5 m for southern one. Both structures were preserved only up to a height of 1.5 m but originally were probably much higher (Selvakumar 2007, 32–4). Together they can contain minimum 60 cu. m of raw material (grain?). To the south from the courtyard with granaries and cistern excavations uncovered a few, small and not so well preserved, fragments of walls belonging to the western row of rooms of second and third phases of early Hellenistic 'fort' (Sawtel 2007, 37–9).

Based on the results of the geomagnetic survey, as well as results of archaeological excavations conducted in this area by members of both (Dutch-American and Polish-American) parts of Berenike Project, the three main phases of the Hellenistic fortress can be reconstructed (Woźniak and Rądkowska 2014, 520–3) (Fig. 3):

- a) the first one, small tetrapyrion (with excavated north-western tower) and animal pen on the south – the end of the first half of 3rd century BCE;
- b) the second one, the expanded fortress with all the storage and industrial facilities – half of 3rd century BCE;
- c) third one, additional chambers, probably workshops – the end of 3rd century BCE.

Based on the excavations and recent surveys it was possible to conclude that an important part of the activity conducted in the 'fort' was the production of lead and perhaps also copper (Selvakumar 2007, 34–5; Sidebotham and Wendrich 2002, 26). Remains of copper or lead production (a slag with droplets of copper, burned, vitrified pottery) were localised in season 2018 in the south-western part of the 'fort' area.

### **Northern line of fortifications**

In season 2013 the scope of research has been extended to identify remains visible on the surface in the northern part of the site. It seemed that we were dealing here with a heavily damaged wall built of anhydrite blocks (significant size) quite typical for Hellenistic and early Roman structures of Berenike. The Hellenistic provenance of the remnants was indicated by the fact that structure was partly covered by a trash dump that could be dated to the Hellenistic age (Woźniak 2017, 43–5).



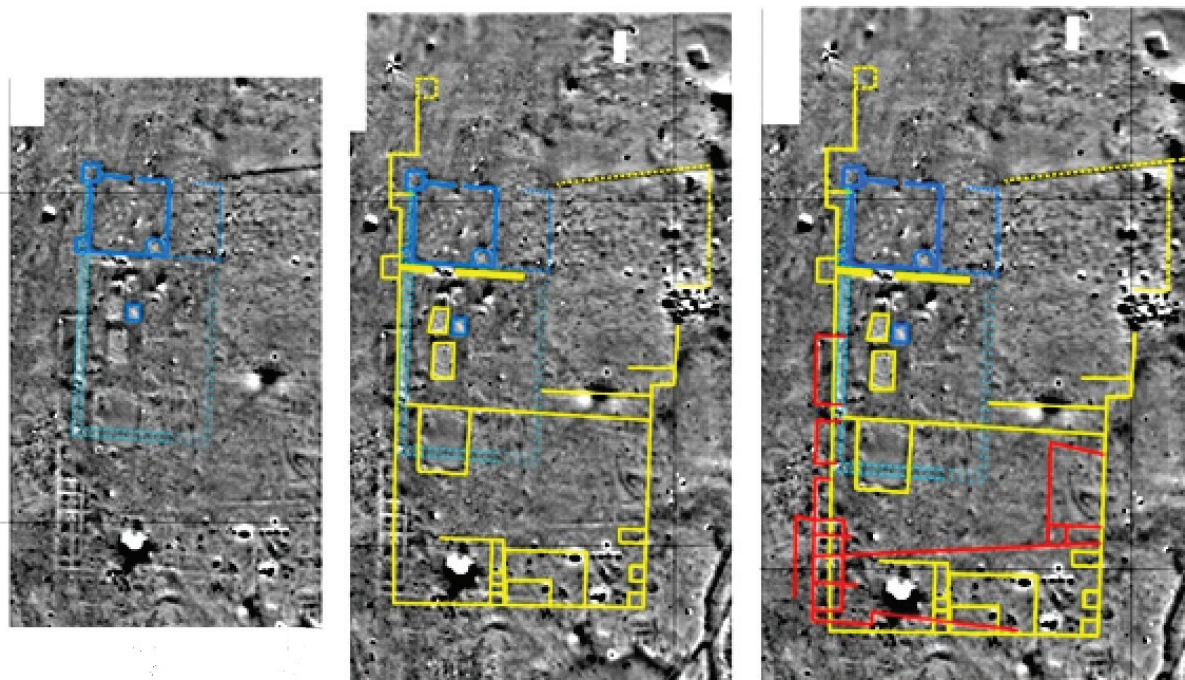


Figure 3. Three phases of the development of the storage-industrial structure (so called 'fort') in the western part of the Hellenistic Berenike: first one (marked in blue), second one (in yellow), third one (in red) (geomagnetic map by T. Herbich, elaborated by M. Woźniak and J. Rądkowska).

During archaeological work, the enigmatic remains on the surface turned to be stones piled at the edge of a wide robbers' trench. The big surprise was that the robbed-out feature was a huge wall that probably had been some part of the previously unknown, Hellenistic fortification system. The wall was 1 m thick, built with cut, local gypsum/anhydrite rock of various size. The structure was largely destroyed by stone robbers, but it seems that at least its 1.6 m wide footing and most crucial parts were reinforced with big, regular but rough worked stone blocks (Woźniak 2017, 45–6) 0.5–0.7 m by 0.35–0.5 m by 0.2–0.3 m. It was also very interesting to note that although the foot of discovered wall was about 1.6 m below today's ground level, its foundation trench has not reached the level of bedrock. Also, soundings, carried out at the bottom of a robber's trench, to a depth of approximately 0.4 m did not indicate the presence of a top of the bedrock.

In the 2013 season, it seemed that the robbery of building material from discovered structures was related to the construction of the early Roman city. In uppermost soils of fill of robber's trench, however, a badly preserved burial was discovered. After discoveries of seasons 2015 and 2019 (especially graves discovered in the Hellenistic gate area) dating of the whole horizon of graves, to which mentioned above grave in robber's trench clearly belongs, with high probability can be established for the end of 1st century BCE – 1st century CE. If robber's trench in such an early moment of Roman presence in Berenike was completely filled with sand, demolition of the discussed structures had to start much earlier, perhaps even in the end of 3rd century BCE (it can be proved by recent observations in the 'Hellenistic gate area').

From the layers of Hellenistic garbage, located on the southern side of the wall, also comes another interesting find. A bone was discovered here, which after the archeozoological analysis (by M. Osypińska)





Figure 4. Excavated fragment of the northern defense wall of the Hellenistic Berenike.  
View from the north (photo S. Sidebotham).



Figure 5. Fragments of the skull of a young elephant found in Hellenistic trash dump  
on southern side of northern, defense wall (photo M. Osypińska).

turned out to be a fragment of the skull of a young elephant. However, the fragment was quite small, it was well preserved. Together with the find of elephant tooth in the fort 'area' it's the first example of remains of Hellenistic war elephants (Fig. 5).

The re-analysis of the magnetic map revealed that newly discovered wall was part of the fortification system, strictly the central section of the northern defensive wall of the Hellenistic city/base Berenike (Woźniak 2017, 46). Although the northern defensive wall of the city (most probably almost completely destroyed by stone robbers) is not well visible on the geomagnetic map, it left its traces in the field. The shape of the northern edge of Hellenistic trash-dump exactly coincides with the course of the line of Ptolemaic fortification.

### **The gate with the well**

The most important and interesting discoveries were made however in 2014 and 2015–2018 seasons. Excavation works in these seasons were concentrated in the zone on the southern slope of a high (about 3 m high) mound of sand and ashes, located northeast of the 'fort' and to the south of it (pile of sand and ash itself was excavated in 1996) (Haeckl 1998, 109; Tomber 1998, 163–9; Vermeeren 1998, 344–6). Here the remains of a massive, fortified early Hellenistic gate were discovered (Zych *et al.* 2016; Woźniak 2017, 48–59).

The best-preserved part of this structure, visible almost on the surface, was a western part of a gateway. In the first phase, it was simply a western part of the gate tower. In the second phase, it was reinforced from outside to the form of the solid, massive pylon. In the third phase, probably after a fairly long period of abandonment and destruction, the pylon was reconstructed from about 1.2 m above its foundation. Today from this reconstruction left an only single level of stones about 5 cm wider than older construction of the second phase. In the method of processing and the type of material used to build subsequent phases of the pylon, a gradual decrease in the quality of the constructed structures is clearly visible. It is very characteristic and noticeable in all the better-known parts of early Hellenistic structures discovered in Berenice. Internal, oldest walls of the first phase of gate tower (in the north-western corner) were built of very carefully worked anhydrite blocks of different size. External reinforcement made in the second phase, however, was built of broken fragments of anhydrite stone, bonded with yellowish clay, with the corners reinforced with chiseled ashlar of anhydrite stone and huge coral-heads (Woźniak 2017, 50–1). Similar, large but only 'roughly worked' blocks of reddish gypsum/anhydrite formed also 0.5–1.2 m thick walls preserved in the western part of the gate tower housing its main chamber, and in a particularly wide section of its eastern wall. Also, they are probably associated with the second phase of the pylon. In the third phase, in addition to the reconstruction of the upper part of the pylon, the eastern part of the gate tower was almost completely rebuilt. Its walls were still raised from gypsum/anhydrite blocks, but they were half thinner. Finally, the gate itself was also blocked (Fig. 6).

The inner chamber of the gate tower was completely filled with wind-blown sand and debris from crumbling walls of the building. During excavations, it was possible to identify at least two, separate levels of a tumble in the fill of chamber. It can be related to two separate periods of the destruction of the whole structure or two separate moments of the collapse of two separate walls (western – earlier and southern – later) divided by a long period of windy and dry weather. Even in one of the upper soils of this fill however two early Hellenistic coins were found, that's mean the final abandonment of gate internal structures can be dated not later than the beginning of 2nd century BCE.

To the east of the 'gate building' archaeological works uncovered a unique system for collecting or drainage of rainwater. It had the form of wide (0.7–1.5 m) but shallow (10 cm in depth) pools,





Figure 6. The Hellenistic gate area after excavations in 2015.  
View from north-west (photo S. Sidebotham).

dug directly in the loamy ground, connected by narrow (0.3 m width) channel. At least three ‘pipes’ connecting the collecting pools with channel were made of two joint necks of early Hellenistic, Egyptian amphorae (dated for 3rd–2nd century BCE).<sup>3</sup>

This simple but interesting complex of structures had at least two phases. The second one, later, was a kind of shallow and very provisional channel made to protect a weak, late wall (dated for about end of 3rd – beginning of 2nd century BCE) against rainwater. It runs along the wall (south – north) and then changes direction to the north-east. In season 2019 it became possible to indicate that this channel ends in huge (about 2.5–3 m) pit just dug in the loamy ground about 5 m to the north-east of the gate building. After the building was abandoned, sometimes at the end of the 1st century BCE, this water-collecting system was partly destroyed by intrusive early Roman graves (Zych *et al.* 2016, 323, 325–6, Figs. 3, 6; Woźniak 2017, 56–7).

From the south and south-west, a large, open basin adjoined the gate building. Just a small part of it was excavated in season 2015. In the sandy fill of the basin a collection of fragments of Hellenistic drinking cups and *unguentarias* (dated mostly for 3rd–2nd century BCE) (R. Tomber, personal communication) were discovered (Woźniak 2017, 57, Fig. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Only a small part of this system has been excavated, but is almost certain that it continues further to the east and discharges the collected water to the rock-cut cistern partially uncovered in the 2019 season and located approximately 10 m east of the gate building. This second, rock cut-cistern seems to be a center of much bigger and complicated system of collecting and drainage of rainwater. It also includes a whole network of narrow, rock-cut channels located north of the cistern (also discovered in the 2019 season).



In season 2018 works in this area have been extended. Extension allowed to state that to the south-west of the 'gate' a developed water storage and distribution system was located. It consisted of two large, open basins with total capacity minimum 17 000 l of water. It seems that the pools were originally located in a large room with a floor lined with two layers of thick hydraulic mortar and ceiling supported by two (or more) massive, rectangular pillars built by well-worked blocks of gypsum/anhydrite. In order to withstand the enormous pressure of the water collected inside, the side walls of the basins were supported on 0.45 m thick walls of gate building. The bottom was placed almost directly on the rock. The entire inner surface of both large basins was covered with a reddish, hydraulic mortar 5 cm thick. Access to both basins (from the side of the room where they were located) was probably possible in the only place where their walls were thinner, that is from the south-west, in a place where both pools were in contact. For the second basin (located more to the southwest of the first) access was also possible via the makeshift steps at its north-west corner (Fig. 7 and 8).

Western of the large basins, used as the main water source, was joint by extremely well preserved, lead pipe with series of small, semi-circular basins located to the south-west and runs to the west. The small basin was covered with 3 cm thick layer of the same reddish mortar and supported by thick housing built by small fragments of gypsum/anhydrite. A better preserved, completely covered with mortar fragment of the housing may indicate that the small, semicircular pool was accessible from the north, from the inside of the room also containing large basins. So far, in the building associated with the blocked, early Hellenistic gate, it has not been possible to discover remains that point to the bathroom character of the studied structures. However, several fragments of *unguentaria* were also found between the numerous finds of the drinking cup discovered inside the large pools. Based on



Figure 7. Room 4 in the Hellenistic gate building. Inside a system of water basins and hydraulic floor. View from the west (photo S. Sidebotham).





Figure 8. Two Hellenistic water basins to the south-west of the well in main chamber of early Hellenistic gate. View from the south (photo S. Sidebotham).

the analysis of the terrain surrounding the excavated area, it can be assumed that up to 1/3 of the researched building has been uncovered so far, none of the quoted statements can be considered as final.

Date of uncovered structures was proved by finds of two early Hellenistic coins on the bottom of the second basin and on the foot of wall 075 in room 4 (containing large basins). This dating fits perfectly with other dates obtained for other parts of the building, which peak of use can be dated for the second half of 3rd century BCE.

In one of the upper layers of the fill of the inner chamber of the 'gate' (blocked at this moment and used for some secondary purpose), two large, Egyptian, probably Faiyum-made (R. Tomber, personal communication) amphorae were discovered. The containers were dated to 3rd–2nd century BCE (most probably to second half, even end of 2nd century BCE). One of them was damaged by the rubble in which it lay, but the other remained intact. A dipinto with the name of *Antiochou* could be read on the upper body of the amphora. The amphora was complete and sealed – inside remains of small fish bones were found. It seems that was a kind of fish sauce – the Greek *garos* what was stored in this container (Zych and Sidebotham 2016, 325). It is difficult to say whether this is the product produced in the Berenike (and stored in a reused amphora) or imported from the Nile valley.

On almost the same level, in wind-blown sand of chamber fill, appeared four wide entrances to chambers cut in the rock of northern and southern sides of the chamber. A fifth opening, on the east side of the lower part of the chamber (in south-eastern corner) led to a long and narrow tunnel.





Figure 9. One of the niches, cut in the rock of the lower part of main chamber of the early Hellenistic gate. Four of such niches extended a capacity of well/cistern dug in main chamber of blocked gate. View from north (photo S. Sidebotham).

The ceiling of four, wider chambers sloped at an angle of 45°, giving the impression of a kind of entrances or big niches (Woźniak 2017, 53–56, Figs 6, 7).

The narrow tunnel is about 9 m long, it runs about 6 m eastward and then it curves slightly to the north-east. Its sides and ceiling are covered with white salt crystals, on the partly silted bottom, large fragments of amphorae are still visible, cemented to the ground with a salt cover. The end of the tunnel is still unexcavated, it is filled with sand. It seems that tunnel is a kind of short 'kanat' transporting of water to the north-east, to a different part of the same, huge building or different buildings located there (surveys found there a series of anhydrite and coral-made walls). If this supposition proves to be true, the tunnel can have a considerable length, even twice as long as the length of the previously measured section.

In the 2018 season, the excavations inside the early Hellenistic 'gate' were finally completed. Their effects exceeded all expectations. The chamber turned out to be a fully usable well. In the first phase of its use well was simple, square (2 × 2 m) shaft only. In the second phase (probably related with the third phase of the whole gate) small, old well was enlarged in a structure combining the advantages of a well and a cistern (2 × 3.9 m). It was obviously joint with blockage of the gate and turning the whole of space inside its chamber in



Figure 10. Bottom of the main chamber of the early Hellenistic gate filled by water. In the water, on the right side, visible a darker, square shape of the older, first phase of the well. View from the north (photo J. Rądkowska).

the well/cistern. It is possible that this extension was related to changes in the room with the big basins too (probably with a making of the second, higher level of the hydraulic floor) (Fig. 9).

Four niches (1.23 to 1.35 m wide) carved in the southern and northern walls were made to increase the capacity of the entire chamber and collect the water slowly flowing from the water-bearing soil. In the time of excavations inside niches discovered dozens of fragments of amphorae (between of them many imports, mostly from Greek islands) prepared for extraction of water from the well and moving it to open pools on the surface. On the arms of at least one of the vessels a row of small holes was pierced allowing to extract water even at the moment when the level of water in the well will be quite low (Fig. 8). Except for pottery vessels, a find of wooden peg proved that not only amphorae were used for this purpose but leather bags (similar to girbas used by Ababda Beduins) too. It is possible that these containers were used to transport water during the expedition outside the fortress, as was practiced by the desert caravans not so long ago.

Except the discovery of well (only one known from the ancient cities of Red Sea coast) and explanation of the ways of the functioning of the water distribution system associated with it, the excavations in the 'gate area' allowed to reconstruct the shape of the second, external line of the fortifications of the city, located northward of the main fortress (Woźniak 2017, 58, Fig. 9). It completes the picture of the Hellenistic constructions of the central and western part of the site. The examined area is however only a small part of terrains where the structures dating back to the Hellenistic period were found. Archaeological excavations will, of course, continue in subsequent seasons.

## Reference List

- Bruning, M. T. 2007. 'Trench BE 96/97/98/99/00-10'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region*: 54–77. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Burstein, S. M. 1996. 'Ivory and Ptolemaic Exploration of the Red Sea. The Missing Factor'. *Topoi* 6/2: 799–807.
- Casson L. 1993. 'Ptolemy II and the Hunting of African Elephants'. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123: 247–60.
- Haeckl, A. E. 1998. 'Trench BE 96-11'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1996. Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*: 101–9. Leiden: Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies.
- Harrell, J. A. 1995. 'Geology'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1994. Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*: 99–126. Leiden: Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies.
- Herbich, T. 2007. 'Magnetic Survey'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region*: 24–6. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Sawtel, W. 2007. 'Trench BE00-40'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region*: 37–44. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.

- Selvakumar, V. 2007. 'Trench BE00-36'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1999/2000. Report on the Excavations at Berenike Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat and Siket and the Survey of the Mons Smaragdus Region*: 31–7. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
- Sidebotham, S. E. S. 2011. *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sidebotham, S. E. S. and Wendrich, W. Z. 1998. 'Berenike: Archaeological fieldwork at a Ptolemaic-Roman port on the Red Sea coast of Egypt 1994–1998'. *Sahara* 10: 85–96.
- Sidebotham, S. E. S. and Wendrich, W. Z. 2002. 'Berenike: Archaeological fieldwork at a Ptolemaic-Roman port on the Red Sea coast of Egypt 1999–2001'. *Sahara* 13: 23–50.
- Sidebotham, S. E. S., Hense, M. and Nouwens, H. M. 2008. *The Red Land. The Illustrated Archaeology of Egypt's Eastern Desert*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Sidebotham, S. E. S., Zych, I., Rądkowska, J. K. and Woźniak, M. 2015. 'Berenike Project. Hellenistic fort, Roman harbor, late Roman temple, and other fieldwork: archaeological work in the 2012 and 2013 seasons'. *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean* 24/1: 297–324.
- Tomber, R. S. 1998. 'Pottery'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1996. Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*: 163–80. Leiden: Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies.
- Vermeeren, C. E. 1998. 'Wood and Charcoal'. In S. E. S. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds.) *Berenike 1996. Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*: 331–48. Leiden: Centrum voor Niet-Westerse Studies.
- Woźniak, M. and Rądkowska, J. K. 2014. 'In search of Berenike of the Ptolemies. The Hellenistic fort of Berenike Troglodytika, its localization, form and development (part one)'. *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean* 23/1: 505–26.
- Woźniak, M. 2017. 'Shaping a city and its defenses: fortifications of Hellenistic Berenike Troglodytika'. *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean. Special Studies, Berenike and Aynuna: Polish Research on the Red Sea* 26/2: 43–60.
- Zych, I., Sidebotham, S. E. S., Hense, M., Rądkowska, J. K. and Woźniak, M. 2016. 'Archaeological fieldwork in Berenike in 2014 and 2015: from Hellenistic rock-cut installations to abandoned temple ruins'. *Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean* 25: 315–48.